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FOUNDATION FIGURINES AND OFFERINGS

BY

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN



Nineveh. B. M. 90,996.

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to
PROFESSOR DR. WALTER ANDRAE
to
whose kindness and encouragement
the accomplishment
of this little study
is due.

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List of Museum indications and inventory numbers

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM:	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
B. M.:	British Museum, London.
C. B. S.:	Collection of the Babylonian Section, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
COLL. DE MORGAN:	Collection de Morgan, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
COLL. ORIENTAL INSTITUTE:	Collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago.
FIELD MUS.:	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
I. O. M.:	Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.
IRAQ MUS.:	Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
LOUVRE, ANTIQ. ASSYR.:	Pottier, <i>Catalogue des Antiquités Assyriennes</i> : Musée du Louvre, Paris.
MORGAN COLL.:	Collection in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, New York.
MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CAC.:	Heuzey, <i>Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes du Musée du Louvre</i> , Paris.
NAT. MUS.:	Musée National, Athènes.
TO.:	Inventory numbers of objects found during the excavations at al-'Ubaid (Tell el-Obeid).
U.:	Inventory numbers of objects found at Ur by the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania.
VA.:	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin.
Y. B. C.:	Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

List of abbreviations

- AA.: Art and Archaeology. (Washington, D. C.)
AASOR.: Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research. (New Haven & London.)
AAT.: Walter Andrae, Der Anu-Adad Tempel in Assur. (Leipzig, 1909.)
ADisc.: George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries. (London, 1875.)
AfO.: Archiv für Orientforschung; hrsg. von Ernst F. Weidner. (Berlin, 1920—.)
AIT.: Walter Andrae, Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur. (Leipzig, 1922.)
AJ.: The Antiquaries Journal. (London, 1921—.)
AKB.: J. Hunger und H. Lamer, Altorientalische Kultur im Bilde. 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1923.)
Altor. Studien: Altorientalische Studien Bruno Meißner zum 60ten Geburtstag gewidmet. (Mitt. der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft. Bd. 4.) (Leipzig, 1928—29.)
Anc. Records: Daniel David Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. 2 vols. (Chicago, 1926.)
Antiq. Assy.: Edmond Pottier, Catalogue des Antiquités Assyriennes: Musée National du Louvre. (Paris, 1927.)
Antiq. Or.: Georges Contenau, Musée du Louvre: Antiquités Orientales: Sumer, Babylonie et Elam. (Paris, 1927.)
Antiquities of Ur: C. Leonard Woolley, Antiquities of Ur: An Introduction to the eighth temporary exhibition of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. (London, 1930.)
AO.: Der Alte Orient. (Leipzig.)
AO. XV: Bruno Meißner, „Grundzüge der babylonischen und assyrischen Plastik“. — Alte Orient XV. (Leipzig, 1915.)
AoB. I: Altorientalische Bibliothek I: „Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige.“ Ernst Weidner.
AOTB.: Hugo Großmann, Altorientalische Texte und Bilder. (2. Aufl. 1926.)
APAW. 1929 No. 7: Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Jahrgang 1929. Phil.-Hist. Klasse Nr. 7. „Die in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen 1928—29,“ von Julius Jordan. (Berlin, 1930.)
Archaic Fict. Revet.: E. Douglas Van Buren, Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia. (London, 1923.)
Art de l'Asie Occid.: Georges Contenau, L'Art de l'Asie Occidentale Ancienne. (Bibliothèque de l'Histoire et de l'Art.) (Paris et Bruxelles, 1928.)
Ashur: Hormuzd Rassam, Ashur and the Land of Nimrod. (London.)
ASuS.: Maurice Pézard et Edmond Pottier, Antiquités de la Susiane. 2me éd. (Paris, 1926.)
ATAO.: Alfred Jeremias, Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orient. 3. Aufl. (Leipzig 1916.)
Ausgr. in Warka: Julius Jordan, Die Ausgrabungen der Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft in Warka. (1929.)
Bab. Rec.: Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, ed. by Albert T. Clay. (New Haven, 1923.)
Babyl. Art: Simon Harcourt-Smith, Babylonian Art. (London, 1928.)
Babyl. Relig.: Leonard W. King, Babylonian Religion. (London, 1899.)
BAss. I: Beiträge zur Assyriologie; hrsg. von Delitzsch und Haupt. I: „Die Cultustafel von Sippar“, von Johannes Jeremias. (Leipzig & Baltimore, Md.)

- BBR.: Heinrich Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. (Assyriologische Bibliothek 12.) (Leipzig, 1901.)
- BBSt.: Leonard W. King, Babylonian Boundary Stones. (London, 1912.)
- Berliner Mus.: Amtliche Berichte aus den Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen. (Berlin.)
- BGAS. XXVI: Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philol.-Philos. und Hist. Klasse. XXVI, „Beiträge zur Geschichte der assyrischen Skulptur“, von Frh. von Bissing. (München, 1912.)
- Bilder.: Maurice Jastrow, Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. (Gießen, 1912.)
- Bism.: Edgar J. Banks, Bismya, or the Lost City of Adab. (New York, 1912.)
- BMQ.: The British Museum Quarterly. (London, 1926—.)
- Boll. d'Arte: Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. (Milano, Roma.)
- Bronzes, Coll. Morgan: Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan. Bronzes, Antique, Greek, Roman, etc. including some antique objects in gold and silver. Introduction and descriptions by Sir Cecil H. Smith. (Paris, 1913.)
- BuA.: Bruno Meißner, Babylonien und Assyrien. (Heidelberg, 1920.)
- BuS.: Karl Frank, „Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter.“ (Leipziger Semitische Studien II, 2.) (Leipzig, 1906.)
- CAC.: Léon Heuzey, Catalogue des Antiquités chaldéennes du Musée du Louvre. (Paris, 1902.)
- Cat. Mus. Barracco: Catalogo del Museo di Scultura antica: Fondazione Barracco. (Roma, 1910.)
- CBA.: Maurice Jastrow, Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria. (Philadelphia & London, 1915.)
- CF.: E. Douglas Van Buren, Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria. (New Haven, Conn., 1930.)
- CFAT.: Léon Heuzey, Catalogue des Figurines Antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre. (Paris, 1882. 2me éd. 1923.)
- CT.: Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. (London.)
- DC.: Découvertes en Chaldée: éd. E. de Sarzec. (Paris, 1881—1906.)
- DP.: Délégation en Perse: Mémoires publiées sous la direction de Jacques de Morgan. (Paris.)
- ERE.: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics: ed. by Hastings.
- Eucharisterion: „Eucharisterion“ für Hermann Gunkel. I (Göttingen, 1923.) (19. Heft, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des alten und neuen Testaments. Neue Folge. XXIV [1927].)
- Expl. at Nineveh: R. Campbell-Thompson, A Century of Exploration at Nineveh. (London, 1929.)
- FA.: Léon Heuzey, Les Figurines Antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre. (Paris, 1883.)
- FGM.: George Rawlinson, The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World. 2nd. ed. (London 1875.)
- FWA.: Walter Andrae, Die Festungswerke von Assur. 23. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. (Leipzig, 1913.)
- Ges. Bab. u. Assy.: Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens.
- Ges. d. Steinschneidekunst: R. Heidenreich, Beiträge zur Geschichte der vorderasiatischen Steinschneidekunst. (Heidelberg, 1925.)
- Glyp. Or.: Joachim Menant, Les Pierres Gravées de la Haute Asie: Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale. 2 vols. (Paris, 1883—86.)
- Gotteshaus: Walter Andrae, Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient. (Berlin, 1930.)
- Gu.: A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities: British Museum. 3rd ed. (London, 1922.)
- Guide: Essad Nassouhi, Musées des Antiquités de Stamboul. Antiquités Assyro-Babyloniennes: Guide Sommaire. (Constantinople, 1926.)

- Guide du Mus. Nat.: Semni Papaspiridi, Guide du Musée National d'Athènes: Marbres, Bronzes et Vases.
- HAA.: Georges Perrot et Charles Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité II: Chaldée et l'Assyrie. (Paris, 1884.)
- HAOG.: Alfred Jeremias, Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur. 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1929.)
- HB.: Leonard W. King, A History of Babylon. (London, 1915.)
- HBA.: R. W. Rogers, A History of Babylonia and Assyria. 6th ed. (New York & Cincinnati, 1915.)
- Hist. anc.: Gaston Maspero, L'Histoire ancienne des Peuples d'Orient.
- Hist. and Mon. of Ur: C. J. Gadd, History and Monuments of Ur. (London, 1929.)
- HofA.: A. T. Olmstead, A History of Assyria. (New York & London, 1923.)
- HSA.: Leonard W. King, A History of Sumer and Akkad. (London, 1910.)
- ISA.: François Thureau-Dangin, Inscriptions de Sumer et Accad. (1905.)
- ISB.: Oscar Reuther, Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes). 47. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. (Leipzig, 1926.)
- JRAS.: The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. (London.)
- JRAS. 1926: The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1926: „Babylonian Prophylactic Figures“, by C. L. Woolley. (London, 1926.)
- KAH.: Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts: hrsg. von Leopold Messerschmidt. (1911.)
- KAO.: Heinrich Schäfer und Walter Andrae, Die Kunst des Alten Orients. 2. Aufl. (Berlin, 1930.)
- KAR.: Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts: hrsg. von Erich Ebeling. (1915—20.)
- KB.: Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. (Berlin, 1892—.)
- KGB.: Kunstgeschichte in Bildern I: Das Altertum: 2. Heft: Babylonisch-assyrische Kunst: hrsg. von Karl Frank. (Leipzig, 1912.)
- Khorsabad: M. Pillet, Khorsabad, les Découvertes de V. Place en Assyrie. (Paris, 1918.)
- Kish: Excavations at Kish. I, ed. by Stephen Langdon. (Paris, 1921.) III, ed. by L. Gh. Watelin. (Paris, 1930.)
- Klio XIX: Klio XIX; „Zur Geschichte der Barttracht im alten Orient“, von Hugo Mötefindt. (1923.)
- Magie Assy.: Fossey, Magie Assyrienne. (Paris, 1902.)
- Manuel d'Arch.: Ernest Babelon, Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale. (Paris, 1888.)
- MDOG.: Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
- Mesop. Arch.: Percy Handcock, Mesopotamian Archaeology. (London, 1912.)
- Mon.: Botta et Flandin, Le Monument de Ninive. (Paris, 1849—50.)
- Mon. Ant.: Monumenti Antichi della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. (Roma.)
- Mus. Napoléon III.: A. de Longpérier, Musée Napoléon III; Choix des Monuments Antiques.
- NA.: Victor Place, Ninive et l'Assyrie. (Paris, 1867.)
- NAA.: A. de Longpérier, Notice des Antiquités Assyriennes. (3me éd. Paris, 1854.)
- NaB.: Austen Henry Layard, Nineveh and Babylon. (London, 1867.)
- NB.: Carl Bezold, Ninive und Babylon. (Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1909.)
- NBK.: Stephen Langdon, Neubabylonische Königsinschriften. VAB. IV. (Leipzig, 1912.)
- NFT.: G. Cros, Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello. (1910.)
- Nippur: John Punnett Peters, Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates. 2 vols. (New York & London, 1898.)
- NIR.: Austen Henry Layard, Nineveh and its Remains. 2 vols. (London, 1849.)
- Not. Scavi: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità. (Roma.)
- OBI.: Old Babylonian Inscriptions: ed. by H. V. Hilprecht. (Philadelphia.)
- Österr. Jahresh.: Jahreshette des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien. (Wien.)
- OLZ.: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. (Leipzig.)
- OOA.: Léon Heuzey, Les Origines Orientales de l'Art. (Paris.)

- PBS. XIV: The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania; Publications of the Babylonian Section. XIV: „The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collection of the Museum”, Léon Legrain. (Philadelphia, 1925.)
- PBS. XV: The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania; Publications of the Babylonian Section. XV: „Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon”, Léon Legrain. (Philadelphia, 1926.)
- PRAK.: Henri de Genouillac, Premières Recherches Archéologiques à Kich, 2 vols. (Paris, 1924—25.)
- RA.: Revue d'Assyriologie. (Paris.)
- Records of Tukulti-Ninib: Leonard W. King, The Reign and Records of Tukulti-Ninib I. (London.)
- RI.: Barton, Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad. (New Haven, Conn., 1929.)
- RLV.: Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte: hrsg. von E. Ebert. (Berlin, 1924—29.)
- Rois d'Ur: Ch.-Guil. Janneau, Une Dynastie chaldéenne: Les Rois d'Ur. (Paris, 1911.)
- Roscher: Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie: hrsg. von Roscher. (Leipzig, 1884—.)
- SAK.: François Thureau-Dangin, Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften. VAB. I. (Leipzig, 1907.)
- Sculp. babyl. et assyr.: H. R. Hall, La Sculpture babylonienne et assyrienne au British Museum. (Paris et Bruxelles, 1928.)
- SFS.: V. Scheil, Une Saison de Fouilles à Sippar. (Le Caire, 1902.)
- SS.: Eduard Meyer, „Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien”. (Abh. d. Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss. 1906.)
- Statuettes de terre: Edmond Pottier, Les Statuettes de terre cuite dans l'Antiquité. (Paris, 1890.)
- Sumerians: C. Leonard Woolley, The Sumerians. (Oxford, 1928.)
- Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst: E. Unger, Sumerische und Akkadische Kunst. (Breslau, 1926.)
- Syria: Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie. (Paris, 1920—.)
- TBB.: R. Koldewey, Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa. 15. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. (Leipzig, 1911.)
- TBSBR.: Transactions of the Society for Biblical Research.
- Ur-Engur: C. H. W. Johns, Ur-Engur: A Bronze of the Fourth Millennium in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan. A brief treatise on canephorous statues. (New York, 1908.)
- Ur Ex.: Ur Excavations I: Al-'Ubaid (H. R. Hall & C. L. Woolley). (Oxford, 1927.) Texts, I: Royal Inscriptions (C. J. Gadd & Léon Legrain). (Oxford, 1928.)
- Ur of the Chaldees: C. Leonard Woolley, Ur of the Chaldees. (London, 1929.)
- UW.: Julius Jordan, Uruk-Warka. 51. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft. (Leipzig, 1928.)
- VAB.: Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
- Villa chald.: Léon Heuzey, Une Villa royale chaldéenne. (Paris, 1900.)
- Waffen: Hans Bonnet, Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients. (Leipzig, 1926.)
- WB.: R. Koldewey, Das wieder-erstehende Babylon. (4. Aufl. Leipzig, 1925.)
- Yale Bab. Coll.: Collections of Yale University, No. 2: The Yale Babylonian Collection, by Albert T. Clay. (New Haven, Conn., 1925.)
- YBI.: Yale Babylonian Inscriptions. I, ed. by Albert T. Clay. (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA.: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. (Berlin und Leipzig.)
- ZDMG.: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

Preface

As early as 1859 attention was called to the subject of foundation figurines by the acquisition for the Louvre of the statuette from Afady, and several decades later this interest was stimulated afresh by the remarkable discoveries at Lagash. Most of the earlier scholars were more interested in the texts engraved on them than in the figurines themselves; for that reason, as they have been fully studied elsewhere, foundation stones, building cylinders, cones, and similar objects are not included in this little monograph which is primarily concerned with the figurines. Such great masters as Léon Heuzey and Robert Koldewey studied certain groups of figurines, and every writer on the art of Babylonia and Assyria has had to discuss them from the aesthetic point of view.

But there has been no analysis of them as a whole, nor any attempt to elucidate the rigid rules which governed the fashioning of the figures, the type of figurine to be used, or the exact position in which it was to be placed. A survey of all the material reveals the fact that no detail was fortuitous, but each was derived from or was symbolical of some definite, concrete object, and was prescribed by firmly-established religious ordinances in conformity with an ordered scheme, so that each single part fitted into its proper place and was united with other elements to make one harmonious whole.

This study, however, could not have been brought to a conclusion without the help of many kind friends to whom I am deeply indebted. Professor Dr. W. Andrae, Direktor der Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, with great generosity put at my disposal unpublished material, gave me photographs, and helped in every way by ungrudgingly giving me the benefit of his profound knowledge and invaluable practical experience. The Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Mr. E. T. Leeds, kindly had photographs taken of certain objects in the museum in his charge, and gave permission for their publication. To Commendatore Settimo Bocconi, Direttore dei Musei Capitolini, Roma, I am indebted for permission to publish photographs of the two figurines in the Museo Barracco. The Director of the British Museum, Sir Frederic Kenyon, was good enough to furnish photographs and consent to the publication of the figurines from Ur. The late Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, Dr. H. R. Hall, gave permission for the publication of photographs. Professor Raymond P. Dougherty was most kind in allowing me to study the objects in the Yale Babylonian Collection, and in having photographs made of some of them. Mr. C. J. Gadd, Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, courteously gave most welcome practical assistance.

Professor Stephen Langdon, in answer to a request, was so good as to supply bibliographical details. I am under a deep obligation to Mr. John Pierpont Morgan and the Staff of the Morgan Library, New York, for I was given every facility to study the beautiful statuette, and then received as a gift the photograph with permission to publish it. The kindness and generosity of Mr. C. Leonard Woolley in allowing me to publish a photograph of the results of his most recent campaign of excavations are very highly appreciated.

To all the scholars who have been good enough to assist me I render hearty thanks, and I hope that this short study may prove of some use as a first step toward the elucidation of the big problem of one aspect of the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

Rome, September 14, 1930.

E. Douglas Van Buren.

Chapter I

Introduction

The practice of consecrating foundation sacrifices or offerings seems to have originated almost as early as the art of building. This was natural, for the desire to ensure the stability and permanence of his work was aroused in man as soon as he became aware of the necessity of erecting a durable shelter for himself, or an enclosed abiding-place for his god.

In archaic times a human dwelling was a more or less temporary construction; hence, if there was a foundation ceremony at all, the offerings were likely to be of an evanescent character. The sanctuary for a god, on the contrary, was erected upon a spot already marked out in some special way as hallowed and therefore inviolable, and the building was intended to last for countless ages. For this reason the ceremonies for the foundation of a sacred edifice were elaborated, and by degrees the rites were strictly defined according to a prescribed formula. In Egypt foundation deposits usually took the form of specimens of the materials used in the building, or of miniature models of the tools used during the work¹). But those offerings were the expression of quite different religious beliefs, and form a contrast, not a parallel, to the rites practised in Mesopotamia. From a very early period the offerings consisted of figurines, either inscribed with the appropriate dedication, or accompanied by a tablet on which the inscription was set forth. These tablets were copies in stone of plano-convex bricks.

The earliest figurines used as foundation deposits took the form of a human bust ending in a long, tapering tongue of metal, a type which has been thought to derive from the clay nails stuck into the walls of buildings, some of which bear votive inscriptions²). But such nails as have been found *in situ* have always been fulfilling a purely decorative purpose, and it must be remembered that the earliest inscribed nail yet known is the one from Warka dedicated by Enannatum³), whereas in the time of Ur-Nina, and even earlier, the copper figurines abounded, and the idea expressed is clearly that of a personage whose body merges into an ever-diminishing strip of metal. It has been observed that the nail is not applicable to brick construction, and that in consequence its presence as a foundation amulet presupposes an antecedent domination of wood construction⁴). But Mesopotamia was a treeless land, and the earliest

¹) King, Records of Tukulti-Ninib I, pp. 16, 19—28. He contrasts Babylonian and Egyptian foundation offerings.

²) RLV. VIII, „Nagelurkunde”, p. 422 (E. Unger); Mowinckle, „Die vorderas. Königs- und Fürsteninschriften”, Eucharisterion I, pp. 278—322.

³) Jordan, APAW. 1929, Nr. 7, pp. 4, 49—50.

⁴) Müller, Altor. Studien I, p. 130.

dwelling were of reeds¹). Huts of reeds were followed by walls of earth and mud, and this primitive method of construction by the use of unbaked bricks, and lastly of baked bricks which endured throughout the whole course of Mesopotamian civilisation. But in none of these methods of building has the nail any function, and Dr. Andrae has shown that its original purpose was to fasten up the ornamental woven hangings which covered the rude walls²).

Yet the fact that it was chosen for such a purpose proves that the original object from which the figurine derived must have fulfilled an important office, probably of a structural character. Perhaps the term „nail-figure”, although a handy description, is a misnomer, for the form is that of a post or peg which could be stuck or screwed into the ground, rather than a nail which must be hit on the head to drive it in.

In Mesopotamia the earliest type of habitation made by man was the reed hut, and its most important elements were the door-posts, bundles of reeds tied together at the top and bottom and firmly planted in the soil, for by securing the door in place the owner could close his dwelling to outsiders, and fortify himself against the attacks of foes³). Thus the door-posts incorporated the spirit of the house, and symbolically drew life from the earth in which they were rooted. Early representations of primitive dwellings invariably show the door-posts rising even higher than the roof⁴); but gradually, when new methods of construction were introduced, the meaning of the door-posts was forgotten, although they were never omitted from the design. Originally a miniature model of a door-post must have been buried as a foundation offering to symbolise the „luck” of the house. But by degrees the bundle of reeds crowned by its tuft of leaves was transformed into a human bust, although the lower part always retained its original shape. The foundation figurines first appear when plano-convex bricks were in use, and from the time of Ur-Nina at least the tablets accompanying them were always models in stone of bricks of that type, like the one Aannipadda inscribed and buried in the substructures of the temple he erected to the goddess Ninkhursag at al-'Ubaid⁵). This suggests that the people who introduced the use of plano-convex bricks took over the simpler foundation rites of their predecessors, and by combining the aniconic form of the post with the anthropomorphic image of the spirit of the door-post typifying the house, in accordance with their own more animistic ideas, they created an amulet of exceptional magical potency, and established the type of figurine to be used and the ritual appropriate to its installation as a guardian of the building.

It is uncertain whom the foundation figurines are supposed to represent. Some have thought that the king offered his own image as a perpetual record of his piety. But the earliest figurines depict a woman with clasped hands, and those

¹) Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, pp. 45—65; Woolley, *Sumerians*, pp. 13—14.

²) Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, pp. 79—85, figs. 77—96.

³) Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, pp. 47, 55—56.

⁴) *BMQ*, III, 2 (1928), pp. 40—41, pl. xxii; VA. 7236.

⁵) *Ur Ex. I* (Hall and Woolley), pp. 80, 126, pls. xxxv, xl; B. M. 116, 982.

of the time of Entemena show a being whose head is encircled by a pair of big horns, the infallible sign of divinity. The horned cap of the personage clasping a post of the time of Ur-Bau and Gudea has the same connotation. The basket-bearers, so frequently dedicated from the time of Gudea until that of the Kings of Larsa, are referred to as the image of the king himself bearing the basket of a workman as a memorial of his pious act in building or restoring a temple; but as some of them are undoubtedly feminine, it is probable that they were all really so, although crude workmanship and the accidents of time have rendered the sex of the figurines hard to determine. The statuettes of the Neo-Babylonian period are assuredly those of divine or semi-divine beings, and the evidence as a whole tends to prove that the figurines used in foundation ceremonies represented a beneficent godling whose function it was to safeguard the sacred property against foes, both human and supernatural, to present the vows of the dedicant to the deity in whose honour the temple was to be built, and to stand as a perpetual reminder of the rite performed.

From before the days of Ur-Nina until after the time of Entemena the figurines are of copper without any alloy, and are cast solid. They are almost always in the form of a feminine being whose body terminates in a post, and whose hands are clasped against her chest. But even if the type is the same there is a great variety in details, not only between the figurines of one age and the next, but even between those of the same epoch. The knowledge of solid casting goes back to a very early date, for the process was comparatively simple¹). None of the moulds used in archaic times have survived, but they were probably of clay and sand well dried and kneaded with bitumen, and they may have been made in the following fashion²). The object to be cast was modelled in wax or bitumen, and then surrounded by a mixture of clay and sand to make a kind of mantle. When this was quite dry an opening was made in a suitable place, and the whole was put in the oven until all the wax or bitumen had melted. The molten metal was then poured in, and the air escaped through vent holes which had been made in the mantle for the purpose. After cooling, the mantle was broken up, and the copper statuette could be finished off by being touched up with a tool, smoothed and polished. E. Pernice has shown that the stone moulds found in excavations in Greece could not, as was supposed, have been used for bronze casting, but that they may have served for lead casting or for pouring in molten wax to make the models needed for the *cire-perdu* process³). This explains why the archaic statuettes differ so much one from another, for even if the wax model was always approximately the same, the necessity of starting the process afresh every time gave occasion to great divergencies of treatment.

¹) H. Frankfort, „Sumerians, Semites and the Origins of Copper Working”, *AJ*, VIII (1928), pp. 217—35.

²) Gisela Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. xviii; De Mecquenem, *DP*, VI, pp. 126—27.

³) E. Pernice, *Österr. Jahresh.* VII (1904), pp. 154—97.

Chapter II

The Prehistoric Period

In the time of the First Dynasty of Ur figurines do not seem to have been used in foundation ceremonies. But evidence for the rite was found in the area of the Royal Graves at Ur¹). PG/1054 was a stone-built chamber with a small court in front of it. After the burial the court was filled up with earth until only the top of the dome stood out surrounded by a flat floor. On this floor, at each corner of the shaft, fires were lit, apparently for a funeral sacrifice, and then everything was covered over with more earth which, at the top, was beaten hard. But just below the surface a piece of matting was spread on the ground, and on it were laid clay dishes containing food; next a great clay bowl was inverted over the sacrifice, and everything was covered with layers of offerings; finally, on top of all, the foundations of a mud brick building were laid, apparently a funerary chapel.

At the narrow end of the *temenos* at Ur were constructions prior to the age of the First Dynasty²). Here three examples of foundation deposits were discovered. Where it was proposed to build a wall a pit was dug, and the flat bottom was covered with a mat upon which clay vessels containing food-stuffs were arranged. A great clay pot, bottom upward, was placed over the offerings, the pit was filled in with care, and the wall built across the top of it. Both the pot and the mat appear again in later foundation deposits, and the latter would seem to have been one of the essential components of the offering, although in most cases its perishable nature has caused it to vanish without leaving any trace.

In the plain at the base of mound VI at Bismayah two clay jars were discovered, standing upright side by side just below the surface³). They had big bodies and small mouths, but unfortunately one fell to pieces as soon as it was uncovered. In the smaller one were ashes, fine pieces of bone, a fragment of a brick and twelve small, deep saucers. The excavator writes: „Evidently the jars were the burial places of the ashes of the cremated dead, and the saucer-like dishes may have held the ashes of individual bodies.” The pots were not an appropriate shape for cremation burials, and it would be most unusual to find a pot kept open to serve for a protracted series of burials of twelve persons. A brick, too, was a strange object to find in a tomb. It is more probable that, on the analogy of the finds at Ur, we have here another example of a foundation deposit, although this time it was not covered by the pot, but placed inside it. The ashes and bits of bone were those of small sacrificial victims, the saucers must have held food-stuffs, the brick was prob-

¹) Woolley, AJ. IX (1929), pp. 314—15.

²) Woolley, AJ. VI (1926), p. 397.

³) Banks, Bism., p. 146.

ably inscribed and recorded the name of the dedicant, or the purpose of the offering. If this is correct it is the earliest example of a „tablet” thus used.

At Susa a foundation deposit was found enclosed in two big pots, one broken, and the other of more careful make and covered with a smaller vessel to prevent humidity from penetrating to the interior¹). But this deposit was comparatively late. At Byblos also, buried beneath the base of a column, were two clay vases containing foundation offerings²). The contents of the vases belong stylistically to the first half of the second millennium, but the intact pot was of a much earlier time, and must have been used to contain an archaic foundation deposit which was found when the temple was rebuilt, emptied of its contents and used again to hold the deposit for the new temple. These examples from Susa and Byblos, although not early, are interesting because they show that the custom of enclosing foundation deposits in two pots placed side by side was long maintained and widely diffused in the Near Eastern area. In all three cases one of the two pots was broken, but that may have been fortuitous, as both pots alike seem to have contained offerings.

The vast Neo-Babylonian temple of Ishtar at Kish stood upon the remains of earlier temples, and even the ziggurats belonged to buildings that were in ruins when the temple of Sargon's period was erected. Down below the Sargonic temple was a red earth stratum which marks the *temenos* platform upon which stood the whole temple complex and the stage-towers³). It must have been the work of some powerful ruler who carried out a complete reconstruction of the sacred area, levelling the existing buildings and burying them under his extensive platform orientated with its corners towards the cardinal points. „The red stratum is separated by six feet of *débris* from the foundation of the Sargonic building above it. In this intervening layer the buildings are of plano-convex bricks in two periods, the superior stratum having the smaller size, . . . the lower stratum immediately above the *temenos* (red) platform having the larger, 22 × 11 × 5 cm. We here reach a depth of 10 m. from mound level⁴).” Right down at the bottom of the red stratum was a foundation box put together of plano-convex bricks measuring 23 × 11 × 4,2 cm.; it must have been placed in position by the builder of the *temenos* platform when he performed the foundation ceremonies for the building of his temple. These bricks were of the same size and quality as those used in the original palace on mound „A”; „consequently the *temenos* area dates from the same period as the palace”, and „in the red stratum were found Sumerian temple records of about the same period epigraphically as those at Lagash in the time of Ur-Nina”. The excavators do not say what the box contained, but the whole discovery is extremely important, because it is the earliest instance of a foundation box found *in situ*.

¹) DP. XII, p. 223—25.

²) Maurice Dunaud, Syria VIII (1927), pp. 95—96, pl. xxvi; René Dussaud, Syria VIII, pp. 114—15.

³) Langdon, AA. XXVI (1928), pp. 155—68.

⁴) Langdon, AA. XXVI (1928), pp. 165—66.

Chapter III

The Archaic Period

At Lagash on Tell K, called the *Tell-de-la-Maison-des-Fruits*, a rectangular building divided into two unequal parts was discovered below the constructions of Ur-Nina, and therefore considerably older than the time of that ruler. At the west corner of this edifice and under the floor of the larger chamber were copper figurines stuck into the ground, and arranged in concentric circles. Musée du Louvre, CAC. Nos. 131—41¹⁾. They were in the shape of a feminine head and bust, but the lower part of the body ends in a long, pointed strip of metal. They were of pure copper, cast solid, and the height varies from 7 to 17 cm. The forehead is low, the big nose projects sharply, the eyes are flat dabs, the hair hangs on to the shoulders in a heavy mass and is furrowed with parallel grooves to indicate a wave. The arms are freed from the body, and the hands are clasped in front of the chest, the left always folded over the right. No tablets were discovered with or near them, and if there was ever any inscription on the post it has been entirely obliterated. In places the figurines were set so close one to the other that several were welded together by the effects of oxidisation.

B. M. 103,372 is a well-preserved figurine of this type (Fig. 1)²⁾. Ht. 15,5 cm. The enormous nose, sharp line of the jaw, and big, flat eyes impart to the face a haggard expression. The breasts are well developed, and the work gives evidence of great care. B. M. 108,980 is smaller, ht. 13,5 cm.; but the work is good, the arms are detached from the body, and the position of the hands, with the right clasped in the left, is carefully studied (Fig. 2)³⁾. B. M. 104,849 is badly corroded, and all the post is missing.

The copper figurines dedicated by Ur-Nina were stuck into the ground around the building which he erected at Lagash on Tell K, called from this very edifice the *Tell-de-la-Maison-des-Fruits*, but two were found at the south and east corners of the large room of the building. Musée du Louvre, CAC. Nos. 142—44⁴⁾. A female figure with clasped hands is depicted, ht. 15 cm.,

¹⁾ DC., pp. 238—40, 385—86, 414, (Heuzey), Plan C, pl. 1 bis, figs. 3—7; CAC., pp. 294—98, Nos. 131—41, fig. p. 295; Villa chald., p. 56, fig. 40; RA. V (1899), p. 44, fig. 40; Meyer, SS., p. 79; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., pp. 244—45, fig. 38, A, C; Meissner, AO. XV, pp. 18—19, figs. 27—28; BuA. I, p. 267, fig. 76; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 26, Nos. 79, a—c; CBA., p. 409, pl. lxiv, fig. 1.

²⁾ Gu., p. 90.

³⁾ Gu., p. 90.

⁴⁾ DC., pp. 240, 408—9 (Heuzey), pl. 2ter, fig. 2; RA. IV (1897—98), pp. 113—15, figs. 20—22; Villa chald., pp. 27—29, figs. 20—22; CAC., pp. 298—99, Nos. 142—44; King, HSA., p. 74, fig. 25; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., pp. 244—45, fig. 38, B; Jastrow, CBA., p. 409, pl. lxiv, fig. 2; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde“, p. 565, (Unger), pl. 265, a.

with thick, wig-like hair, enormous nose and beady eyes; the arms are long, with sharply pointed elbows; the lower part of the body dwindles into a post and is thrust through a hole in a copper plate, rounded in front, but at the back ending in a swallow-tail appendix which makes, with the woman's head, a triangular balance, and thus enables the figure, which appears to rest on the support, more easily to bear the burden of the grey limestone tablet which is balanced on its head. On the swallow-tail end of the support was an inscription, still preserved on certain specimens; and on the backs of some of the figures, below the hair, is written: „Ur-Nina, king of Shirpurla, son of Gunudu, has built the *Ab-Girsu*.” But the full dedication was set forth on the tablets shaped like plano-convex bricks. The inscription does not begin with a religious invocation, but with the king's name and his genealogy. The text, also, is not invariable, but appears to consist of excerpts from lists of royal foundations, varying in the order and choice of the edifices mentioned. Of the ten tablets found eight speak of the *Ab-Girsu*, but there is no mention of the temple of Ningirsu. Hence it has been suggested that the building which these figurines of Ur-Nina surrounded was a small store-house occupying the ground floor of what was the temple of Ningirsu until the larger sanctuary was afterwards erected on Tell A, and that the complex of temple and storeroom was designated by the comprehensive title of the *Ab-Girsu*. Seven of the tablets are now in the Louvre, three in Constantinople.

I. O. M. 493, 496 are from the same site¹⁾. On the support of No. 496 the inscription is plainly visible.

B. M. 96,565 is an excellent example of the type, and is evidently from the same group (Fig. 3)²⁾. Ht. 14,5 cm. The inscription on it reads: „Ur-Nina, King of Lagash, has built the shrine of *Girsu*.”

At Athens in the National Museum is a copper figurine, No. 14,803, said by the dealer, from whom it was purchased, to come from Epirus³⁾. But it is absolutely unlike anything Greek, and resembles works from Mesopotamia too closely to leave any doubt that its original provenance was from there, and that it must have been imported into Greece in modern times. The height is 16,2 cm., and it represents a woman with thick hair hanging on to her shoulders and clasped hands, whose body merges into a long, slender strip of metal. The emphasis laid upon the head and its shape, the nose like a big, triangular wedge, the pointed elbows, all seem to show that it belongs to the time of Ur-Nina, and was intended to be thrust through the opening in a metal support.

Another object which seems to belong to this period is a long copper spike or peg: the upper end is transformed into, rather than crowned by, the figure of a crouching lion, its head resting on its outstretched forepaws, its tail extended to its full length and lying along the edge of the spike. It was found at Bismayah, the ancient Adab, in the stone substructures of a building anterior

¹⁾ Unger, Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst, fig. 27; RLV. VIII, pls. 138, a, b, 140, a.

²⁾ Gu., p. 83.

³⁾ Semni Papaspiridi, Guide du Mus. Nat., p. 185, No. 14,803; Müller, Altor. Studien I, pp. 130—31, pl. i, fig. 3.

to the ancient temple of plano-convex bricks that preceded the work of Sargon of Agade¹). The lion is very realistically modelled, for although its attitude is one of repose, yet the beast is on the alert, ready to spring up at a moment's notice. The transition from aniconic to theriomorphic form is also cleverly accomplished, for the tufted tail, stretched along the edge of the spike, helps to conceal the abrupt transformation. The copper is so corroded that no traces of an inscription can now be found, even if one was ever engraved on the spike or on the beast's flank; probably it was originally accompanied by a stone tablet which repeated the dedicatory formula. No other theriomorphic foundation figurine is known from so archaic a period, with the possible exception of the shell bulls from Ur²), but the very early level in which this specimen was found, and the similarity of its workmanship and technique to those of objects found at Lagash, imply that it belongs to the age of Ur-Nina, or shortly after.

The copper figurines of Entemena were found at Lagash on Tell K; near the Oval Basin, and to the north-east of the Well was a long structure of bricks stamped with the name of Entemena, and round it four of these figurines were planted, while a fifth was placed in the middle of the doorway. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 145³). The figurines are bigger than those of Ur-Nina, for they measure 24 cm. in height; the hands are clasped, the nose is still too big, the eyes are more naturally rendered, and the hair hangs in loose locks over the shoulders and down the back almost to the waist. Round the head is a single pair of big horns. The body ends in a sharply pointed spike. On one or two examples, which are less corroded than the others, the inscription on the post can still be deciphered, a dedication in the name of Entemena to the god Nin-girsu. But here again the principal inscription was engraved on the tablet which had on its lower surface a cavity into which the head of the figurine was thrust; but the increased size of the figurine was considered sufficient to bear the weight, and there was no additional support. The inscription is important for the genealogical details it furnishes, and it mentions the chief building operations of Entemena, ending with a repeated reference to a special foundation, probably the one that the figurines were set to guard.

I. O. M. Nos. 490, 1521, 1534, 1716 are from the same excavations. They are good specimens, and all display interesting details. The head of No. 1534 is still inserted into the tablet⁴).

VA. 3024 obviously belongs to this series (Figs. 4,5⁵). The long, wavy hair is clasped by two gigantic horns. The brows meet above the immense nose and

¹) Banks, Bism., pp. 237—38, fig. in text; RLV. VIII, „Mischwesen”, p. 202 (Unger).

²) cf. p. 19.

³) DC., pp. 240—41, 420—21 (Heuzey), Plan D, pl. 5 bis, fig. 1, a—c; Villa chald., p. 86, fig. 56; CAC., pp. 299—300, No. 145; Thureau-Dangin, SAK., pp. 30—33; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 26, No. 80, a, b; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 19, fig. 29; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungs-urkunde”, p. 565 (Unger), pl. 265, b.

⁴) Essad Nassouhi, Guide, p. 32, pl. 4, No. 1; Unger, Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst, figs. 25—26; RLV. VIII, „Nagelurkunde”, p. 422, pl. 139, a—c.

⁵) Valentin Müller, „Zwei neue mesopotamische Nagelmenschen”, Altor. Studien I, pp. 129—30, pl. i, figs. 1, 2.

stand out in sharply accentuated arches above the sunken eyes. The hands are clasped, and the body ends in a very long, tapering spike. Ht. 24,5 cm. Acquired by purchase. Originally the head supported the alabaster tablet VA. 3095, inscribed with a building dedication of Entemena. On the forearm of the figure there are traces of a very damaged inscription, but the copper is so badly oxidised that the only sign legible is that for „god”.

The copper figurine B. M. 116,685 is labelled: „From a foundation deposit. Period of Ur-Nina” (Fig. 6)¹). But the larger scale, ht. 14,5 cm., and the traces of the two big horns clasping the hair indicate that it was one of the group of figurines of Entemena. B. M. 108,811 is very similar, but is much worn: the arms are detached from the body. It was presented by H. B. T. Lynch, Esq.²). B. M. 87,215 is on a smaller scale.

The first break with tradition is furnished by B. M. 102,599, for it is no longer a female figure which is represented, but a god with a broad face, big nose now damaged, well marked eyes, long, straight beard, but shaven upper lip (Fig. 7)³). A big spiral lock of hair hangs forward over either shoulder on each side of his beard. The hair of his head is long, and is encircled by a pair of thick horns. His ears are set very high and stuck out, but as they are broken it is impossible to ascertain whether they were really bull's ears. His hands are clasped in front of his chest, his arms are thick, and they are not detached from his body, the lower part of which diminishes to an attenuated point. Ht. 19,8 cm. The provenance is stated to be Lagash, but it is remarkable that no figures like this one are known from there. Nevertheless the attitude, the great horns, and the style of the work reveal its kinship with the figurines of Entemena, notwithstanding the fact that here greater care has been expended on the faithful delineation of details. It may belong to a period a little later than that of Entemena.

Nearly akin to it is the copper figurine B. M. 91,016 (Fig. 8)⁴). Ht. 22,6 cm. The features are well formed, although the nose is somewhat big; he has immense, flat ears, hair in waves over the forehead and hanging down the back, and a long beard divided, like his hair, into separate strands. The arms are detached from the body, and the hands are clasped against the chest and must once have been fairly well worked; but now the whole figure is badly rubbed and worn. The sex is marked. The provenance is said to be Lagash.

The statuette of Lugal-kisalsi, king of Uruk and Ur, enters the category of foundation figurines owing to the shape of the lower part, which is that of a rapidly diminishing post. Ht. 24 cm. The long hair and beard, the attitude with clasped hands, prove that it is in the line of succession from B. M. 102,599. The statuette, VA. 4855 (Fig. 9)⁵), is of pale yellow limestone, and the surface

¹) Perrot, HAA. II, p. 604, fig. 295.

²) Gu., p. 90.

³) Gu., p. 90.

⁴) Gu., p. 90, fig. in text; King, HB., pl. xii; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 248.

⁵) Weber, Berliner Mus. XXXVI (1914—15), cols. 73—80, figs. 28, 30, 31; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 24; BuA. I, pl.-fig. 10; Christlieb Jeremias, „Die Vergöttlichung der

is highly polished. The face is carefully modelled, but the forehead is still extremely low. The eyes are large, the nose is now broken, but must have been big, the mouth and shaven lip are delicately rendered, the ears are enormously long and leathery in texture. Every hair of the brows is indicated by tiny strokes, and the whole face is framed by the hair and beard. The hair ends in scalloped waves round the forehead, and at the back reaches almost to the waist. It is divided into strands, each marked by diagonal incised lines and ending in a spiral curl. The beard, hanging from the lower jaw and chin, is treated in the same manner. The head is sunk between the shoulders, for there is very little neck, although the defect is partly concealed by the long hair at the back and the beard in front. The wide shoulders are rendered naturally, in contrast to the arms glued to the sides and the supine, shapeless fingers of the clasped hands. The lower part of the body is not modelled, for it tapers to a point, and was evidently intended to be thrust into the ground. On one shoulder the character for „king” is inscribed; on the front of the figure is a dedicatory inscription in the name of Lugal-kisalsi in honour of the goddess Nammu.

The statuette of Lugal-kisalsi has nothing to indicate that a god is portrayed; the absence of horns, the mark of a divinity, and the word „*lugal*” inscribed on the shoulder may imply that the king dedicated his own image. Yet from its shape and its resemblance to B. M. 91,016 it seems undeniable that the statuette was really a foundation figurine, and it must therefore personify the guardian spirit of the building. If the king’s own image was dedicated it could only have been set up after he had been deified to intimate that he in his own person had assumed the office of guardian spirit. But it is more likely that the figure depicted the spirit of the door-post as usual, and that the one legible word „*lugal*” was part of the formula with which the king dedicated the object.

A building of considerable size, called by the excavator a palace, stood upon an artificial platform on mound I at Bismayah¹). When the earth was being shovelled out of a trench dug along the north-east front of the platform a small piece of crumpled yellow metal was thrown out with it. It had been lying in a little square chamber, and proved to be part of a gold plaque with an inscription in six lines very clearly engraved upon it, beginning with the words: „Naram-Sin, King of Agade . . .” All the evidence suggests that the structure was not a palace, but a temple complex, and that the gold plaque was a foundation tablet of Naram-Sin enclosed in a little box or recess made for the purpose, apparently at one corner of the retaining wall, or possibly in front of an entrance. It is the first example known to us of precious metal used as a tablet for that particular purpose.

babyl.-assy. Könige”, AO. XIX (1919), p. 14, fig. 2; Unger, Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst, p. 29, fig. 3, a, b; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 565, pl. 265, c, d; Contenau, Art de l’Asie Occid., p. 19, pl. xiii, b.

¹) Banks, Bism., p. 145, fig. in text; RLV IV, 2, p. 566.

Chapter IV

The Age of Gudea

After a long interval foundation figurines reappear with the kneeling god of Ur-Bau. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 146¹). At Lagash, in the south-west region of Tell A, the *Tell-du-Palais*, were the substructions of a rectangular building known to be the work of Ur-Bau because his name was stamped on the bricks used in the construction. It may have been *E-Ninnu*, the temple of Ningirsu, which Ur-Bau, in the inscription on his statue, states that he erected. Under one corner of this building was a wheel-made pot of fine, grey clay, the bottom of which had been pierced with three holes after firing. Inside it were a copper figurine and a very big white marble tablet, intact and looking like new when found²). The copper figurine, ht. 28 cm., is cast solid, and is bigger and better both in composition and execution than the later examples of the same type. The god kneels on his right knee and clasps with both hands a low, stout post which decreases in girth toward the lower end. He wears a high cap ending in a knob and encircled by four pairs of horns. His long hair is turned up at the back and tucked under the rim of his cap. He has a big, curved nose, strongly accentuated brows, well-drawn eyes and lips. His straight beard hangs down from his chin, for his upper lip is shaven. His chest is bare, and he wears a short garment belted round the waist and reaching to the knees. His arms are outstretched so that his hands can encompass the upper part of the post. It is incorrect to state that he appears to press it into the earth, for he exerts no pressure but simply clasps it lightly, as if to manifest his connexion with it. Engraved round the post is a dedication to Ningirsu in which Ur-Bau mentions that he built *E-Ninnu*, the favourite shrine of the god. On the tablet found with the figurine is an abridged version of the inscription on the statue of Ur-Bau.

It is a great pity that only one corner of the edifice was investigated, for had the whole area been scientifically excavated much valuable information might have been gained as to the exact spot where, in accordance with the ritual, each type of figurine should be placed, and light would have been shed on the significance of the beings depicted. At least we learn that the post-figurines were no longer in use, although the post which the god grasps may, from its tapering shape, retain some reminiscence of the earlier post. Most

¹) DC., pp. 241—42, 401—7 (Heuzey), plan p. 397, A, B, C, pl. 8 bis, fig. 1; CAC., pp. 300—4, No. 146, fig. p. 303; Maspero, Hist. anc. I, fig. p. 703; King, HSA., p. 270; Thureau-Dangin, SAK., pp. 62—63, No. 12; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 247, fig. 39, C; Meyer, SS., p. 56, No. 7; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 47, 11; Contenau, Antiq. Or., p. 17, pl. 27, fig. 1.

²) DC., pl. 8 bis, figs. 2, 3; Thureau-Dangin, SAK., pp. 62—63, No. 12.

probably the post symbolises a gate-post such as the earliest cylinder seals often illustrate, and the god holds it to signify that he as „Warden of the Gate” watches over that portion of the sacred area confided to his charge. The office of warden seems to have been entrusted to the six sons of the god Ea¹⁾, but although their names are known it is impossible from the pictorial representations of them to differentiate one from another. The post-figurines were stuck into the soil, and thus maintained direct contact with the earth; perhaps in this case it was felt to be undesirable, even if the figurine was in a pot, to sever the contact between it and the earth, and so the holes were bored in the bottom of the pot to restore the connexion.

The technical advance shown in this work is extraordinary. Instead of a body rigidly portrayed with no divergence from the frontal axis, here we have a complicated scheme, beautifully balanced to convey an impression of force and vitality even in repose. Large sculptural works of art were still stiff and ill-proportioned at this period, but in this little work the execution shows a high degree of artistic proficiency. A stone from Susa carved in relief portrays the same god clasping a post and followed by a supplicating goddess²⁾. The stone is probably contemporary with Gudea, but it shows that at this epoch the type of the kneeling god was already well established, for on the *stèle* of Gudea from Lagash a worshipper offers a figurine of this type kneeling on the tablet into which the end of the post is stuck³⁾.

Most numerous is the type of the kneeling god. Musée du Louvre, CAC. Nos. 147—55⁴⁾. The figurines are of unalloyed copper cast solid, and the height is usually from 20 to 21 cm., but certain examples are smaller and of slenderer proportions, for they are all from different moulds and of uneven workmanship. The god, clad in a short garment reaching from the waist to the knees, and a high cap ending in a knob and adorned with four pairs of horns, kneels upon his right knee, and with both hands clasps a short, thick post. The root of the big nose is deeply sunk, the frontal orbit projects so that the eyes appear to be set far back, the ears are of normal size; as the lips are shaven they are distinctly visible. From the chin hangs a long, straight beard; a little fringe of hair can be seen round the forehead below the rim of the cap, and at the back the long hair is turned up and the ends tucked under the cap. The hands are disproportionately big, and in some cases the fingers almost meet round the post. The arms and legs are well modelled, and the right foot, with toes pressing the ground and raised sole curving from the ball of the foot to the toe, is reproduced with great naturalness. Sometimes an inscription can be

¹⁾ Heidenreich, Ges. d. Steinschneidekunst, pp. 15—22.

²⁾ DP. VI, p. 8, pl. 2, figs. 1—3; Coll. de Morgan, No. 26; Pézard, ASuS., p. 39, No. 6.

³⁾ NFT., p. 294 (Heuzey), fig. 8.

⁴⁾ DC., pp. 69—72 (De Sarzec), 242—44, 407 (Heuzey), pl. 28, figs. 3, 4; RA. IV (1897), p. 89; CAC., pp. 304—5, Nos. 147—55; OOA., p. 104; Hommel, Ges. Bab. u. Assyr., p. 241, fig. in text; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 25, No. 78; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 53, fig. 93; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 47, 10; Schäfer-Andrae, KAO., pl. 499, 1; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 565 (Unger), pl. 266, c.

deciphered on the right thigh and on the post, but, lest it should be lost owing to rust, it was always repeated word for word on the tablet which accompanied the figurine. Each figurine was enclosed in a box made of six bricks put together and lined inside with bitumen to make it waterproof. At the bottom of the box lay a slab of white transparent gypsum upon which the tablet of black or white stone in the shape of a plano-convex brick was placed. These objects were then covered with a mat on which the copper figurine was deposited, for „on several of the figurines the verdigris had also preserved the imprint of a stuff in which they must have been wrapped”¹⁾. Of the nine specimens in the Louvre two, with their tablets of dark-green steatite, record the construction by Gudea of the temple *E-Ninnu* for the great god Ningirsu. Three others, with white limestone tablets, mention the temple consecrated to the god Galalim, the eldest son of Ningirsu, and another son of his, Dunsaganna, was honoured with a sixth figurine and tablet²⁾. The boxes were orientated with great care, always with one corner pointing to the north. In two instances the boxes were found to have been arranged in fours, thus forming a square, but in neither case were they complete, one box in four was destroyed or empty, or there had been a reshuffling of the contents. M. Heuzey, in his account of the excavations, remarks: „Statuettes were not distributed in a sufficiently regular order for it to be possible to recognise if some fixed rule governed their distribution³⁾.” Probably the more scientific methods of excavation now employed would have obtained better results, but something can be gained from an examination of the places where the deposits are said to have been found.

On the summit of Tell K, the *Tell-de-la-Maison-des-Fruits*, was the corner of a wall flanked by a threshold stone of Gudea and by two brick boxes⁴⁾. In one box was the figurine of a kneeling god consecrated by Gudea with its tablet, in the other the figurine of a basket-bearer and a tablet of Dungi. All the objects found in this place were dedicated to Ningirsu, and this gave rise to the supposition that here, from the days of Ur-Nina, was a temple of the god subsidiary to his principal sanctuary on Tell A.

On the south-east and north-east slopes of Tell K were terraces reached by flights of steps⁵⁾. Below the east corner of the mound was a stairway of eighteen steps made of square bricks of Gudea, leading in a north-westerly direction to a paved way which was flanked by two brick boxes, apparently empty. This was named the Small Stairway.

More important was the Great Stairway, also of eighteen steps, which did not lead to the upper platform, but to one of the lower terraces that formed the first stage of the mound⁶⁾. The platform at the head of this stairway rested upon two blocks of brickwork, and sunk within them were two brick boxes

¹⁾ DC., p. 242 (Heuzey); CAC., p. 304.

²⁾ Thureau-Dangin, SAK., pp. 140—43.

³⁾ DC., p. 243.

⁴⁾ DC., p. 407.

⁵⁾ DC., p. 423, Plan D.

⁶⁾ DC., pp. 423—24, Plan D; Cros, NFT., p. 88, plan J.

waterproofed with bitumen. Evidently the boxes marked the approach to a sacred place. All evidence of these constructions was removed by the excavators. At the lower end of the stairway was a complex of buildings including a rectangular construction with a group of four united columns, apparently part of a monumental gateway¹). On each side of this mass of masonry was a box made of bricks, one of which bore the name of Gudea. The box, solidly joined together and plastered inside with bitumen, was covered by two other bricks; it must have been emptied in antiquity, for a little below it, in the black earth, was the foundation tablet with Gudea's inscription, and near by the gypsum slab on which it had lain.

On Tell A, the *Tell-du-Palais*, there were also stairways leading to the terraces on the slopes of the mound. On the north-east slope was a flight of nine steps leading from Tell A to Tell B, the *Tell-des-Grands-Briques*²). On one of the slabs which paved the steps was the beginning of an inscription in which Gudea refers to Ningirsu and his temple *E-Ninnu*. On each side of the stairway was a brick box containing a figurine of a kneeling god. At the foot of the stairs, on the landing or terrace, stood a rectangular edifice divided into two parts, presumably a temple³). All the bricks bore the same dedication of Ur-Bau to Ningirsu as those of his building under the corner of the palace on Tell A. Buried under one corner of the building was a brick box, and in it was a copper figurine of a kneeling god. No tablet was found with it, and the surface of the copper had been partly eaten away by corrosion, so that any inscription that there may have been had vanished. In spite of the fact that the bricks used in the building were those of Ur-Bau, this foundation deposit seems to have been offered by Gudea. It does not agree with the only known deposit of Ur-Bau where the figurine and tablet were placed in a pot⁴), and here the figurine resembles those found in the boxes on each side of the stairway leading to the "temple", also below one chamber of the edifice was a brick box with a basket-bearer and tablet of Gudea. Perhaps the shrine begun and partly built by Ur-Bau was finished and dedicated by Gudea.

At point R, halfway between the *Tell-du-réservoir* and the *Grand-Tell* which were really parts of Tell A, were masses of rubble with bricks of a peculiar red tint⁵). Implanted among these ruins were three brick boxes, each box carefully orientated with one corner pointing toward the north. They were equidistant one from another, and must originally have made, with a fourth now missing, a square with the corners orientated toward the points of the compass. The measurement of the outer sides of each box was 80 cm.; inside it measured 27 cm. long by 12 cm. wide and 34 cm. deep. The box was plastered inside with bitumen, and at the bottom lay the gypsum slab with the white limestone tablet resting upon it. The box was then nearly filled with fine,

¹) DC., p. 424; Gros, NFT., p. 87.

²) Gros, NFT., pp. 66, 282, plans H, K.

³) DC., p. 58; NFT., p. 282 (Heuzey), plans H, K.

⁴) cf. p. 11.

⁵) DC., pp. 71—72, 242—44, 407, pl. 28, figs. 3, 4.

golden sand, and in it was placed the copper figurine of a kneeling god. In all probability over the sand a bit of matting was spread, for the imprint of woven stuff could be seen on the oxidised surface of the figurines when first they came to light. It seems likely that when the custom first arose of enclosing foundation deposits in brick boxes, these boxes were always filled with sand to signify the earth with which it was ritually desirable to maintain contact. Fine, golden sand, from its dry texture, would have a less deleterious effect on copper objects than ordinary earth with its tendency to deteriorate into damp mould.

At point S to the south-east of Tell A, before reaching Tell G, four brick boxes making an orientated square were discovered at a depth of only 30 cm. below the original ground level¹). One box was empty, but two of the others each contained a copper figurine of a kneeling god and an inscribed tablet of dark green steatite. In the fourth box was a figurine of a basket-bearer and a white limestone tablet. The inscriptions on the tablets, however, were not identical with those on the statuettes; evidently there had been some tampering with the objects, either in antiquity or at a later date.

On Tell T, far to the south-east, two graves were found; the second was empty, but on the right side, built into the masonry, was a brick box containing the copper image of a kneeling god²). It seems probable that the brickwork was part of the ruins of an early building, presumably a temple, the foundation deposit of which was undisturbed in its brick box when the late grave was hollowed out beside the wall.

M. de Sarzec describes the course of the excavations at Lagash and mentions: "On the little Tell L I found only several cubes made of brick and bitumen, containing indeed the hollow boxes which must have been rifled . . . Tell P is interesting only for two empty boxes of the same kind as the preceding ones³."

Some of the figurines found in the French excavations are now in the museum at Constantinople⁴). On one specimen the inscription on the post is still clear, and the one on the god's thigh also.

There are five figurines of this type in the B. M. Nos. 91,056—58, 96,566, 102,613⁵). They all bear on the post an inscription recording the building of the temple of Ningirsu by Gudea. They are alike in the main essentials, but details, such as the shape of the horned cap or the length of the fingers, vary. No. 91,057 measures 15,5 cm. in height. It was presented by J. Fremlyn Streatfield, Esq. (Fig. 10). No. 96,566 is larger, ht. 17,2 cm. (Fig. 11). No. 102,613 is smaller, but very well preserved. The tips of the fingers meet round the post (Fig. 12).

¹) DC., pp. 72, 243; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 329, fig. 146.

²) DC., p. 73 (De Sarzec).

³) DC., pp. 69—70.

⁴) Essad Nassouhi, Guide, p. 31, pl. 4, No. 2; Jeremias, HAOG., p. 400, fig. 223 a; RL.V. VIII, pl. 140, b.

⁵) Gu., p. 84, fig. in text; King, HSA., pl. xxvi, 1.

VA. 3032, 3056 are both too corroded to allow the finer details of modelling to be discernible. Ht. 17,5 cm.¹⁾

The figurine in the Yale Babylonian Collection is terribly corroded²⁾. Its total height is 20,5 cm., height of figure only 15,5 cm. No inscription is legible, but the figurine conforms so exactly to type that there can be no doubt that it belongs to the age of Gudea, and in all likelihood it came from Lagash. The kneeling god has a lofty, knobbed cap with four pairs of horns. His features are almost flattened out, but his long beard is still visible. Round his waist are the two incised lines of his girdle, and he holds the unusually thick post with normal-sized and fairly well-modelled hands. His right knee is bent and he sits on the heel of that foot. Faint traces of green patina and of bright blue oxide.

Almost equally badly corroded is the example in the Museo Barracco, No. 45 (Fig. 13)³⁾. Ht. 18 cm. His high cap decorated with four pairs of horns, his girdle and various details can be discerned. The inscription also, although badly worn, is sufficiently legible to prove that it is a replica of an example in the Louvre. Therefore the figurine must have come from another part of the same building at Lagash that the Louvre specimen guarded.

The second type of foundation figurine of Gudea depicts a basket-bearer. Musée du Louvre, CAC., Nos. 156—58⁴⁾. The figurines, of unalloyed copper cast solid, are those of a woman who stands upon a post, thick at the top and diminishing toward the base. The upper part of her body and her legs are bare, but she wears a little garment reaching from waist to knees. Her face is well modelled, with strongly marked brows, almond eyes, a somewhat fleshy nose which curves down toward the tip, a small mouth, rounded chin, and ears correctly attached to the completely shaven head. According to Sumerian custom men shaved both face and head, but these figures, in spite of their sex, follow the same fashion. Apparently these semi-divine beings acted as deputies for the king, and to assimilate themselves to him in his character of workman they humbled themselves to assume the shaven crown and short garment of the menial worker. She stands perfectly naturally with one foot slightly advanced, as if she were balancing herself upon a precarious foothold. Both arms are raised high in a graceful attitude, so that with her two hands she may steady the basket she bears on her head. There is no indication of the texture of the basket or of the nature of its contents, but the subject symbolises the first basket of earth or clay brought for the foundation of the new sanctuary. The front of the skirt is covered with the inscription

¹⁾ Meyer, SS., p. 56, Nr. 7, fig. in text.

²⁾ Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, note 42.

³⁾ Cat. Mus. Barracco, p. 18, No. 45.

⁴⁾ DC., pp. 244—45 (Heuzey), pl. 28, fig. 2; CAC., pp. 305—6, Nos. 156—58, fig. p. 307; Thureau-Dangin, ISA., p. 206, K; Koldewey, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), p. 17; Johns, Ur-Engur, pp. 13, 37, pls. ix,a,b, x,a, xiii; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 53, fig. 94; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 25, No. 78; CBA., p. 408, pl. lxiii; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 247, fig. 39, B; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 47, 9; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 329, fig. 147; Schäfer-Andrae, KAO., pl. 498, 2; RLV. VIII, „Nagelurkunde“, p. 422 (Unger), pl. 140, c.

which is legible on one only of the three figurines in the Louvre, for the other two are badly corroded. But each figurine was buried in its own box together with the tablet on which the inscription was repeated. The best preserved figurine and its tablet of dark green steatite record Gudea's work on the temple of Ningirsu; the black steatite tablet of another recounts the erection of a temple for the god Dunsaganna.

In this composition the tapering base carries on the old tradition of the post. The ugly amalgamation of post and human body has been relinquished; yet the post is still there, and the feminine form is there, but each is relegated to its proper sphere. Many writers state that these figurines of basket-bearers represent „the *patesi* in person accomplishing in this humble guise the very ancient ceremony of bearing the clay and brick for the foundation with the help of the sacred basket”¹⁾. But in Gudea's time the figurines are undoubtedly female, and the sex of those of a later period cannot always be decided with certainty, but appears to be feminine. They were goddesses who fulfilled the duties on the king's behalf.

The custom, however, went back to remote ages, for in a fragmentary inscription of the time of Lannipadda found at al-'Ubaid the king declares: „... son of ... who built the temple of Ninkhursag, the holy carrying-pad he uplifted (?) for her²⁾.” Ur-Nina speaks of the ceremony of „bearing the pure carrying-pad”, implying thereby the basket of earth and all that it symbolised³⁾. In well-preserved examples the carrying-pad is easily distinguishable, and sometimes the roll is marked by diagonal lines, as if to show that it was a length of stuff twisted to make a ring or pad, such as is used to this day in countries where it is customary for women to carry burdens on their heads. Ur-Nina in his relief bears a basket, and at a later period three inscribed *stelai* depict a monarch steadying the ritual basket containing the first load of clay on his head. Two of them show Ashurbanipal, the third his brother Shamashsumi-ukin⁴⁾. Yet it has been objected that the baskets borne by these Assyrian princes „are very different in shape and may have only held garlands or offerings. This would point to a sacrifice rather than a foundation ceremony”⁵⁾. On all three reliefs the round baskets are evidently woven of rushes or strips of palm leaves. The receptacle borne by the figurines is oval rather than round in shape, and the contents are heaped up until they form a smooth, domed mound, such as would be produced by earth, clay or mortar, but which could not possibly be anything so profiled as garlands, fruit or similar offerings. The *stèle* of Ur-Nammu found at Ur shows that at the inauguration ceremony the king bore in person the tools used in building the temple⁶⁾; but even if

¹⁾ Heuzey, CAC., p. 305.

²⁾ Ur Ex. I (Hall and Woolley), p. 126, TO. 159.

³⁾ Thureau-Dangin, SAK., pp. 6—7, h), 4.

⁴⁾ RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 566 (Unger), pl. 267, c—e.

⁵⁾ Johns, Ur-Engur, p. 26.

⁶⁾ Woolley, AJ. V (1925), pp. 398—400, pls. xlvi, 1, 2, xvii, 1, xviii; Ur of the Chaldees, p. 131, pl. x, b; Gadd, Hist. and Mon. of Ur, pp. 135—37, pl. xviii, a.

he bore the basket also as part of the rite it was only a temporary act, and for the long vigil as foundation guardian his duties were delegated to these divine or semi-divine beings.

On the north-east slopes of Tell A was a stairway of nine steps connecting the upper and lower terraces, on each side of which was a brick box holding a figurine of a kneeling god. On the lower terrace was a rectangular edifice divided into two parts¹⁾. The bricks used in its construction all bore the stamp of Ur-Bau, but below one of the two chambers (marked F in the plan) was a brick box, and in it were a copper figurine of a basket-bearer and a tablet with an inscription of Gudea.

Two graves were found on Tell T²⁾. Within the first were a skeleton and a terra-cotta lamp which proved the grave to be of a late date. But stuck in between the bricks to the right of the head of the corpse was a copper figurine of a basket-bearer, and near it were two tablets, one with an inscription of Gudea. In the masonry of the other grave was a brick box with the figurine of a kneeling god, but no tablet; perhaps to it really belonged one of the two tablets in the first grave.

I. O. M. 6506 came from the French excavations at Lagash³⁾. It is in a good state of preservation, and the easy pose and well modelled limbs can be fully appreciated.

Y. B. C. 21188 has a green patina (Fig. 14)⁴⁾. Total ht. 24 cm., height of figure only 16 cm. The eyelids, outlined by a grooved line, open upon almond eyes. The nose is thick, the mouth small, the ears clumsily modelled. The basket does not rest upon any perceptible pad, and the fingers of the broad hands spread some distance over the top. At the back the shoulder blades are indicated, and the contour of the legs. The inscription is incised right round the skirt.

The third type of figurine was a recumbent bull. Musée du Louvre, CAC. Nos. 159—60⁵⁾. The animal lies in a natural position on the little oblong plinth or base which makes the head of the long, tapering spike. The bull's head is raised and turned to one side, so that the whole composition is unifacial. The work is rather negligent, and the flat back shows that the copper statuette was cast in a mould in one piece. The total height, including the support, is 22 cm., width 10 cm. The bull has a powerful neck and short, curved horns. One of the only two examples discovered is in bad condition. As far as one can gather from the meagre description of the find both bulls were from the foundation deposits of the same building, for on the slopes of Tell M two intact brick boxes came to light, and enclosed in each was a copper figurine of a bull and

¹⁾ DC., p. 58 (De Sarzec); Cros, NFT., pp. 66, 282, plan H.

²⁾ DC., p. 73 (De Sarzec).

³⁾ RLV. VIII, „Nagelurkunde”, p. 422 (Unger), pl. 140, c.

⁴⁾ Clay, Yale Bab. Coll., p. 11, fig. 11; Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, note 42.

⁵⁾ DC., p. 245 (Heuzey), pl. 28, fig. 5; CAC., pp. 306—7, Nos. 159—60; OOA., p. 105; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 329, fig. 148; King, HSA., p. 256, fig. 63; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 25, No. 78; CBA., p. 409, pl. lxiii; Frank, KGB. I, 2, Heft, 48, 2; Schäfer-Andrae, KAO., pl. 499, 3.

a thick white limestone tablet lying on a slab of semi-transparent white gypsum¹⁾. The inscription on the tablet is repeated on the copper spike below the bull; it is in honour of the goddess Innanna, and mentions the construction of her temple *E-Anna*.

This type is interesting because, while adhering strictly to the prescribed arrangement of the contents of the box, the figurine is theriomorphic instead of anthropomorphic. But the post is still kept, and the problem of combining it with a living form has been happily solved. But the model of a recumbent bull as a foundation offering does not seem to have originated in Gudea's time. We catch a glimpse of the same custom at a far earlier period. At the extreme south-west of the *temenos* at Ur, at its narrowest span between the lines of the prehistoric terrace front and the Neo-Babylonian *temenos* wall, were various buildings, and among others two intersecting walls, the scanty remains of four chambers, the other sides of which had disappeared²⁾. The floor was of fine, hard, red clay, and beneath it was a shell amulet in the shape of a reclining bull. A little farther to the south-east, in the filling of the floor of another chamber, there was a second bull amulet, also of shell, but of cruder work. One cannot say definitely whether these chambers were part of a temple, a funerary chapel, or a dwelling, but the excavator states that he was able „to establish with tolerable certainty a general level of the First Dynasty”.

It is a matter for great regret that from the accounts of the excavations at Lagash one can learn so little about the precise disposition and distribution of the figurines of Gudea. The kneeling god seems to have flanked stairways leading to shrines or sacred areas, or the thresholds of such edifices; sometimes they were placed under one corner of a building, and presumably at the other three corners also. At times they were arranged in a complicated fashion, four boxes making an orientated square.

The distribution of the figurines of basket-bearers is even harder to understand. They seem to have been connected in some way with those of the kneeling god. For the latter were found in the two boxes on each side of the flight of steps leading from the upper terrace on Tell A to the „temple” on the lower terrace, and a third under the corner of the building, whereas inside the „temple”, under the floor of the room, was the figurine of a basket-bearer. In other instances of the juxtaposition of the two types the kneeling god bore the name of Gudea, the basket-bearer that of Dungi, implying that both rulers worked on the same building, or that the contents of the boxes were mixed up either in antiquity or in the course of excavation. Even the inscribed tablets are not much help, because it is not now absolutely certain at what spot any particular specimen was found.

The excavation of the site where the two bulls were discovered was not carried far enough to ascertain the nature of the building they guarded. The inscription suggests that it was a temple of the goddess Innanna.

¹⁾ DC., p. 69 (De Sarzec).

²⁾ Woolley, AJ. VI (1926), p. 394.

From the reign of Ur-Ningirsu only one foundation figurine is known, Y. B. C. (Fig. 15)¹). It is of copper, cast solid, and represents a woman bearing a basket on her head, and with the lower part of her body tapering to a slender point. The low forehead recedes sharply, the brows are in relief, the eyelids project strongly, the nose is slightly curved, the thin, flexible lips of the big mouth are parted. Big, flat ears are stuck on to the sides of the head. These strongly emphasised features give a very individual expression to the face. The chest is very flat, the arms are raised with elbows bent and hands only touching the sides of the basket which is flat, but rests upon a big pad. The back is scarcely modelled. Round the waist is a line, and the inscription begins lower down and makes a band 6 cm. wide. It reads: „For Ninmar, the gracious lady, the eldest daughter of Nina, Ur-Ningirsu, governor of Lagash, has built her Queen's Palace of the treasure." On the figure are traces of vivid blue oxidisation. Ht. 22 cm. This is a return to the original combination of post and figurine, and is the first example of the conventionalised form of the figurines of basket-bearers which was maintained for a long period.

¹) YBI. I, No. 8 (Clay); Gadd, JRAS. 1922, p. 393; Barton, RL., pp. 264—65, No. 5; Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, note 42.

Chapter V

The Third Dynasty of Ur

A glance at the splendid *stèle* of Ur-Nammu from Ur shows that in his day sculptors could produce admirably executed and skilfully arranged compositions. Copper casting, too, had reached a high standard of excellency, and one of the finest examples of the craft is the figurine of a basket-bearer dedicated by Ur-Nammu and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (Fig. 16)¹). It was purchased from a Paris dealer, and is of copper cast solid. Total height including the plinth 33.5 cm., width from elbow to elbow 13 cm., weight 16½ lbs. The figurine represents a woman whose head is set on a well-rounded neck; her body is slender, and she raises her arms in a graceful curve so that both hands steady the basket resting on a cushion or pad upon her shaven head. Her long fingers, with carefully marked nails, spread across the top of the basket. She does not stand upon a post, but on a thick plinth, and the grace and naturalness of the pose go far toward concealing the fact that signs of a tendency toward a schematic rendering of the human figure can here be traced. The long, stiff skirt imparts a touch of the hieratic to the wearer; but it hides the lower limbs like a sheath; this is the transitional stage from the perfect naturalness of Gudea's age to the herm-like figures ending in a cone or post always found from this time forth. The artist was influenced by the technique of carving in stone. Here at the back the skirt reaches to the ground and merges into the plinth to give a solid support, but in front it is cut back to show the feet, the method adopted for stone statues from an early date. The brows are rendered by a double ridge, the upper one incised with tiny diagonal lines to indicate the hair, just as can be seen on stone statues. The eyes are large, the nose well proportioned, the lips extraordinarily delicately modelled; the ears are also well shaped and are outlined by a tiny band in relief. Her charming countenance has a grave and steadfast look. It has been objected that one of the least satisfactory points about all this series „is the blank expression on the face, and this despite the fact that the simple features are drawn in good proportions"²). But persons taking part in a religious rite usually have an austere rather than an animated expression, for undue levity would be unseemly; furthermore the only play of features tolerated in Sumerian art was in the portrayal of a snarling demon or a ravaging beast. In many of these figurines, however, the originally

¹) Johns, Ur-Engur, pp. 20—23, pl. xx; Bronzes Coll. Morgan, pp. ii, 1, pl. 1, a, b; Bab. Rec., p. 46, No. 43, pl. i; Janneau, Rois d'Ur, p. 5, note 3, fig. 1; Meissner, BuA. I, pl.-fig. 15; Jeremias, HAOG., p. 12, fig. 20; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde", p. 565 (Unger), pl. 265, f.

²) Jastrow, CBA., p. 408.

decorous cast of countenance has been distorted by corrosion or other injuries. A thick girdle or belt round the waist fastens the skirt which swells out toward the bottom, producing a line flowing over the hips and down to the lower edge of the skirt, below which the delicately modelled little feet resting on the plinth are visible. The toes of one foot have been injured by a blow from a pick, and there is a break in the basket due to rust; otherwise the figurine is excellently preserved, and the patina is extremely fine.

Across the front and three-quarters of the way round the figure at about the height of the knees runs the inscription, identical with that stamped on the brick B. M. 90,802 from Nippur. It runs: „Ur-Nammu, King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad, who built (rebuilt) the temple of Enlil”¹⁾. This mention of the temple of Enlil strengthens the supposition that the figurine was discovered at Nippur as the dealer who sold it had been informed. The stone tablet of Ur-Nammu, No. 44 in the Morgan Collection, is the type of tablet usually found with the figurines; but as the inscription refers to the dedication of a temple to the goddess Innini, it cannot be the one that really belonged to the statuette.

A bronze figurine of a basket-bearer dedicated by Ur-Nammu to the goddess Innini comes from Warka. B. M. 113,896 (Fig. 18)²⁾. Ht. 27 cm. The proportions are slim and elegant, the head is shaved bare, the brows and eyes are in relief, the root of the nose is sunken, and the nose itself describes a slight curve from root to tip. The straight lips, combined with the pleasing oval of the face, give it a serious, intent expression. The ears are very big, and are set far back. The breasts are slightly moulded, and the long, slender arms reach up to enable the fingers to grasp the sides of the basket raised above the head on a twisted pad indicated by incised diagonal lines. Below the waist the body is transformed into an abruptly decreasing cone or post. From the hips down the columns of the inscription cover the cone, for the characters are unusually large and widely spaced; it records the king's rebuilding and restoration of the temple of the goddess Innini. Nothing is known of the precise spot or fashion in which this figurine was buried.

At the far end of the Sacred Area at Ur were a group of buildings consecrated to Nannar, the Moon-god, or to minor deities associated with him³⁾. One edifice of this group was constructed of bricks stamped with the name of Ur-Nammu and the title of the building, 'The House of Nannar', a comprehensive name for the whole complex of the temple and its appurtenances. Built into the wall foundations at each corner was the foundation deposit, a box of burnt bricks waterproofed inside with bitumen, and lined or spread with matting on which stood the copper figurine of a basket-bearer, the upper part fully anthropomorphic, the lower part merging into a sheet or tongue of metal diminishing

¹⁾ Bab. Rec., p. 46, No. 43, pl. 44.

²⁾ Gu., p. 85.

³⁾ Woolley, AJ. III (1923), p. 318, pl. xxii, fig. 2; Ur of the Chaldees, pp. 141—46; Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, note 42; AK, II (1924), p. 38, fig. 2; Jeremias, HAOG., p. 12, fig. 19; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 565 (Unger), pl. 265, g

toward the lower end. The face depicts a somewhat pinguid type of countenance, with arched brows, almond eyes in sharply modelled lids, a nose that curves down slightly toward the tip, a small mouth, and a rounded chin. With both raised hands she steadies the basket she bears on her shaven head. The metal is badly corroded. Lying in the box in front of the figure was a small stone tablet in the shape of a plano-convex brick, but the tablets from each corner and their companion figurines were absolutely blank. Inscribed offerings generally marked a sacred edifice, but the excavator thinks that this one was a royal palace, and explains the lack of any written record as follows: „Where the building was in the king's own honour there would be a difficulty about the inscription on his statuette, and it might be omitted”¹⁾. Whatever the reason for the absence of a dedicatory formula, the figurines may safely be ascribed to the time of Ur-Nammu owing to his stamped bricks used in the walls.

The temple of Nannar at Ur was built against the north-west face of Ur-Nammu's ziggurat, and here in the west corner of the main block of buildings, underneath the superimposed walls of Larsa and Kassite times, was a box of bricks stamped with the name of Ur-Nammu which had once held a foundation deposit, but when it was found it was empty²⁾.

In the time of Dungi the basket-bearer was still the most frequent type of foundation figurine. A certain number were found at Lagash. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 161³⁾. They are of copper, and were cast in double moulds from which some of them have been badly withdrawn, with the result that the execution seems feeble and lacking in character. The average height is from 24 to 26 cm., but there is considerable variation in the dimensions. The feminine body is transformed from the waist down into a post or peg which diminishes rapidly to a point. The big ears are stuck on to the sides of the shaven head, the brows and eyelids are in high relief; in some cases the eyes are like narrow slits slanting down toward the inner corners, thus giving the effect of a frown. Sometimes the mouth is small and pretty, at others it is large and turns down at the outer corners. The face is broad, the jaw square, the chin rounded. The breasts are slightly rounded. Both arms are raised with a more angular gesture than that of Ur-Nammu's figurines, and the proportions are not so well balanced, for the head is unduly big and makes the body look meagre in comparison. The basket always rests upon a twisted carrying-pad, and at times it is so low and flat that the exaggeratedly long fingers stretch almost half-way across it on each side. All down the front of the post the inscription is engraved, and it is repeated on the tablet accompanying the figurine.

¹⁾ Woolley, Ur of the Chaldees, p. 146.

²⁾ Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 354.

³⁾ DC., pp. 246—47 (Heuzey), pl. 28, fig. 1; RA. IV (1897), p. 89; CAC., pp. 309—10, No. 161; OOA., pp. 103—104; Hommel, Ges. Bab. u. Assy., p. 335, fig. in text; Kolde-
wey, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), p. 17; Johns, Ur-Engur, pp. 13—14, pls. x, b, xii; Jastrow,
Bilder., pl. 25, No. 78; CBA., p. 409, pl. lxiii; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 47, 8; Schäfer-
Andrae, KAO., pl. 498, 1.

On the summit of Tell K, the *Tell-de-la-Maison-des-Fruits*, was a construction of Gudea with a threshold stone inscribed with his name¹⁾. On either side of the entrance was a brick box. In one was a kneeling god of Gudea²⁾, in the other, situated to west, were a copper figurine of a basket-bearer and a dark green steatite tablet, both inscribed with Dungi's formula of consecration of the temple *E-Ninnu* to Ningirsu.

A little beyond the depression in the ground which separates Tell F and Tell G, at point S four brick boxes were discovered arranged in an orientated square³⁾. One was empty, two contained figurines of a kneeling god of Gudea with two tablets, while the fourth held a figurine of a basket-bearer on which was an inscription of Dungi, and a tablet of black stone. But the inscriptions on the figurines are not identical with those on the tablets said to have been found in the box with each one; the deposits must have been disturbed and their contents rearranged either in antiquity or on a later occasion. As there is one example in the Louvre and at least three in Constantinople more specimens must have come to light than are recorded in the account of the excavations, but they all seem to bear the same dedication of Dungi in honour of the god Ningirsu.

In I. O. M. are three other figurines from Lagash⁴⁾. They vary considerably in size, for one is attenuated and has a pointed post; the other two are thick-set and have big heads. The basket also is held differently, for the fingers of two of them merely cover the edge, those of the third stretch almost half-way across the top of the basket. They all bear Dungi's dedication of a temple to Ningirsu.

A replica of the figurines now in the Louvre is Museo Barracco, No. 41 (Fig. 20)⁵⁾. It is of copper with a reddish patina, and measures 24 cm. in height. The eyes are widely open, the mouth is straight, the ears are very big. The basket rests on a high pad, and the fingers spread far across the top of it. Round the waist is a plain band between incised lines, and below that the inscription extends down to the base. It has been much worked over.

The example in the Y. B. C. also measures 24 cm. in height (Fig. 21)⁶⁾. The face is broad, the eyelids deeply grooved, the nose has spreading nostrils, the mouth is small and straight. The ears are enormous and very flat. The arms sweep up almost without a bend at the elbow, and the long fingers stretch nearly half-way across the top of the basket. The inscription extends from the waist line to about two-thirds down the post, and is engraved across the front only, for the back of the figurine is not worked and is almost flat; it may, indeed, be said to be quadrilateral, for the sides are squared rather than rounded.

At Susa the temple of the god Shushinak was the most important sanctuary, and deep down in its foundations eight foundation deposits were discovered.

¹⁾ DC., pp. 246, 407 (Heuzey).

²⁾ cf. p. 13.

³⁾ DC., pp. 72 (De Sarzec), 246—47 (Heuzey); cf. p. 15.

⁴⁾ Essad Nassouhi, Guide, p. 32, pl. 4, c; Unger, Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst, fig. 53; RLV. VIII, „Nagelurkunde”, p. 422, pl. 141, a—c.

⁵⁾ Cat. Mus. Barracco, p. 18, No. 44.

⁶⁾ Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, note 42.

They were at some distance apart, and were arranged to make a square within a larger rectangle, perhaps to delimit the temple and the *cella* within it. Each deposit consisted of a brick box enclosing a copper figurine of a female basket-bearer and a stone tablet, and all of them bear the following legend: „To Shushinak, his King, Dungi, the mighty man, king of Sumer and Akkad, in the thicket of freshness, his beloved temple has built”. The figurines closely resemble those of Dungi from Lagash. Louvre, Coll. de Morgan, No. 236¹⁾. The arched brows are in strong relief, the eyes are surrounded by heavy lids, the body is slender, the arms thin, the immensely long fingers are spread over the top of the basket. The inscription does not extend the whole length of the post, but makes a band across the front reaching from the hips to a little below the knees.

The temple of Ninkhursag at Susa was identified by the discovery of eight foundation deposits placed about 50 cm. below the foundations of the walls²⁾. Apparently here also they defined the boundaries of the temple and the *cella* from the accretions of buildings around them, but the positions are irregular and not easy to understand. Within each brick box was a copper figurine of a basket-bearer and a stone tablet, inscribed alike by Dungi in honour of the goddess Ninkhursag. The figurines are in all respects like those from the temple of Shushinak. Coll. de Morgan, No. 235³⁾.

At the extreme north-west of the *temenos* at Ur, between the lines of the pre-historic terrace front and the Neo-Babylonian *temenos* wall, rose the temple of the goddess Dim-tab-ba⁴⁾. During the excavations five brick boxes were revealed buried beneath the foundations of a heavy mud-brick wall 3 m. 50 thick. Owing to the denudation of the surface this wall had almost disappeared, but wherever it was intersected by a cross-wall running south-west the juncture was marked by a foundation box. Five of them were preserved, but probably there was originally a parallel line of boxes at a short distance to indicate the other line of the temple limits. In each box was a copper figurine of a basket-bearer and a steatite tablet shaped like a plano-convex brick; on both these objects were Dungi's name and his dedication of the building to the goddess Dim-tab-ba (Figs. 17, 19). The basket-bearer has a round face, rather wide across the cheek-bones, widely opened eyes, a small mouth, and a rounded chin. The breasts are drawn upward by the pull of the raised arms, a very natural detail. The body is slender, and the basket quite small, but supported on a rather high pad. The surface has been much damaged by corrosion.

In addition to the type of the basket-bearer Dungi dedicated at least one example of a recumbent bull. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 162⁵⁾. The bull

¹⁾ DP. VII, p. 63 (De Mecquenem), pl. xi, a, b; XII, pp. 67—68, fig. 32; VI (Textes élam.-scn. III (V. Scheil), p. 21, pl. 6; Thureau-Dangin, ISA., pp. 274—75; Pézard, ASuS., p. 108, No. 236, note 4; Janneau, Rois d'Ur, p. 18, note 1; Johns, Ur-Engur, p. 16.

²⁾ DP. XII, p. 70 (De Mecquenem), fig. 33.

³⁾ Pézard, ASuS., p. 108, No. 235; Janneau, Rois d'Ur, p. 18, note 1, fig. vi.

⁴⁾ Woolley, AJ. VI (1926), p. 392, plan pl. lviii; Illustr. London News, March 20, 1926, p. 513, fig. 7; Ur Ex.: Royal Inscr. I (Gadd and Legrain), p. 13, No. 59, pls. XIV and J.

⁵⁾ DC., p. 247 (Heuzey), pl. 28, fig. 6; CAC., pp. 310—13, No. 162, fig. p. 311; OOA., pp. 104—5; Hommel, Ges. Bab. u. Assy., p. 335, fig. in text; Maspero, Hist. anc. I.

lies in a perfectly natural attitude on top of an oblong plinth which makes the head of the long spike. It is of copper, and was cast in a double mould all in one piece with the support, so that the whole measures 26 cm. in height, and the greatest width is 10 cm. The bull is modelled with a very careful observation of nature, and the effect is even more vivacious and lifelike than Gudea's bull. Instead of being turned to one side the head, with its short horns, thick neck, and wide dewlap, is raised as if the animal had been startled and was just about to bellow. The tail coils round the hind leg and the tuft falls over the hoof with a suggestion of complete repose. Incised on the creature's flank is a dedication to the goddess Innanni in which Dungi mentions the temple he had constructed for her.

This bull was found at Lagash on Tell N, to the south of Tell A, and between it and Tell K.¹⁾ The black tablet, said to have been found with it, bore quite a different inscription, one of Gudea in honour of Ningirsu. But as the same group of tablets also comprised a black one having the name of Dungi and that of the goddess Innanna, which had been assigned without adequate reason to a kneeling god of Gudea, it is obvious that there has been some confusion of the objects. This model of a bull is a link with the similar offering made by Gudea more than a hundred years before to the same goddess. Yet the deposits were at a considerable distance from each other, and Dungi's bull is said to have been found in an isolated brick box. Nevertheless if there really was a brick box it must have been buried in the foundations of some building, or on one side of an entrance. It is possible that it was a sporadic find which had been removed from its original position in ancient times, and was lost or thrown away on this lonely mound.

At Susa in the precinct of the temple of Shushinak, the copper figurines of basket-bearers were not the only foundation deposits. Outside the temple proper, but near what may have been a monumental entrance, the excavators uncovered at a depth of 3 m. 60 below the pavement a rectangular pit of which three very irregular and crumbling walls, three or four rows of bricks in height, were still extant²⁾. Loose in the soil at the bottom of the pit lay objects in great disorder, masses of beads, rings, ornaments, bits of gold, silver, and bronze, statuettes of copper, vases of clay; but most of the smaller things were broken. The deposit may be dated by a cylinder seal discovered among the objects, for it is engraved with an ascription of Dungi, king of Ur, to the goddess Ningal³⁾.

This promiscuous confusion recalls the similar agglomeration of objects found by Victor Place under the foundations of the walls at Khorsabad where,

fig. p. 757; King, HSA., p. 256, fig. 62; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., p. 250, fig. 40, C; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 53, fig. 95; BuA. I, pl.-fig. 139; Jastrow, Bilder., pl. 25, No. 78; CBA., p. 409, pl. lxiii; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 48, 3; Schäfer-Andrae, KAO., pl. 499, 2; Contenau, Antiq. Or., p. 17, pl. 27, b.

¹⁾ DC., pp. 70, 247.

²⁾ DP. VII, pp. 64—65 (De Mecquenem), fig. 126; XII, pp. 67—69, fig. 32; Pézard, ASuS., p. 108.

³⁾ DP. VII, p. 94.

he thought, all those present at the foundation ceremonies threw the amulets they wore into a pit prepared for the purpose¹⁾. But M. de Mecquenem points out that here, as it was not a question merely of city walls, but of a temple, the offerings thrown in were not amulets only, but other cherished possessions specially brought for the purpose. As the objects seem to have been systematically broken it is probable that this was done from religious motives to render the sacrifice more complete, or for reasons of sympathetic magic that any evil which approached the sacred precinct might thus be broken in pieces. This ritual breakage recalls the fact that at Susa M. Dieulafoy found in the ruins of a building which he thought was a temple numerous examples of one special type of clay figurine of a nude woman holding her breasts, all broken into three pieces²⁾. At Warka also the filling under the floors of the house of the priests quite near to the temple *E-Anna* consisted entirely of clay figurines, packed so closely that they formed an almost solid mass; but they were almost all broken³⁾. M. de Mecquenem thinks that: „The Elamites broke the vases, damaged the jewels, and retained a bit as record of the sacrifice made. This would explain why, in spite of meticulous search, we were not often able to obtain enough material for a complete reconstruction”.

Among the other objects were several bronze figurines representing a man making a gesture of reverence, or carrying a bird or animal for the sacrifice. Coll. de Morgan, Nos. 138—140 *bis*⁴⁾. The figurines are cast in a mould, but the desire to economise metal caused the artist to cast them hollow; they must therefore have been produced in a mould with a core. When a broken figurine was carefully cleaned it was found to contain earth impregnated with bitumen⁵⁾. The upper part of the body is fully worked in the round; the lower part, on the contrary, is cylindrical, but occasionally incised lines trace a fold of the garment, or the feet can be seen peeping out below the lower edge of the robe. Yet they are akin to the earlier post-figurines, because each one is mounted on a support which makes an oblong plinth below the figure and then diminishes toward the point like a long tongue of metal. All the figurines represent a man with shaven face and head, sometimes covered with a turban. Some of them have a garment wrapped round their lower limbs, leaving the chest bare; others wear a long, straight robe. The work, although it is on a small scale, has all the characteristics of mature Sumerian art, such as the contour of the cranium, the quiet planes, the double ridge to indicate the eyebrows, the eyes set flatly in the same plane as the cheek-bones, the tendency to plumpness, all details which can be seen in countless works of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

¹⁾ cf. p. 50.

²⁾ Heuzey, OOA., p. 9, note 1.

³⁾ Jordan, UW., pp. 57—63, pls. 78—84; APAW. 1929, Nr. 7, pp. 39—40.

⁴⁾ DP. VII, pp. 73—75, 126—27, pls. xv, figs. 1—6, xvi, figs. 1—13, xvii, figs. 2—3; XII, p. 69; Pézard, ASuS., p. 109, Nos. 238—40 *bis*; P. Cruveilhier, Les principaux résultats des nouvelles fouilles de Suse, p. 82; Harcourt-Smith, Babyl. Art, p. 25, pl. 28.

⁵⁾ DP. VII, pp. 126—27.

One statuette is unlike the others. The body is so flat that it looks like a slightly bent tongue of metal¹). The head is worked out in more detail. The big eyes are sunk into their sockets, the straight nose has slightly spreading nostrils, the mouth is small, the chin pointed; there is no trace of the ears. The headdress has ends that cross behind the head. The arms are glued to the side, and turn up sharply from the elbows, so that the hands, raised to the level of the chin, are turned palms inward. This is the attitude of supplication often assumed by the attendant goddess on cylinder seals, or on the carved stone from Susa.

There are numerous broken heads or bodies belonging to male figurines of the same kind, and there is one badly damaged but complete specimen which is unique²). It represents a god seated on a high-backed throne. He wears a horned cap and a long, flounced robe, but his face and the upper part of his body are almost obliterated. He extends his right hand in a gesture of welcome. Over the upper edge of the throne's very high back peer the heads of four serpents; the bodies of three of them writhe up the rear side of the throne, that of the fourth is not figured. The god is pictured in the guise usually distinctive of a male deity throughout the whole course of Sumerian art. The high-backed throne with projections or wings at the upper corners can be seen on clay reliefs illustrating a god or goddess enthroned³). Most unusual are the snakes overhanging the throne; but from Ur comes a tiny model throne of clay, and up it crawl two serpents to rest their heads upon the seat⁴). The celebrated relief from Sippar is of a later period⁵); it does not depict the serpent actually on the god's throne, but it glides along the architrave, and overshadows the deity.

These two last figures afford the clue to the whole series, for it can be nothing less than a representation in the round of the scene so often illustrated on cylinder seals, the introduction of a group of worshippers carrying offerings into the presence of a god on his throne by a goddess who makes supplication for them.

Only one foundation figurine is known from the days of Bur-Sin, that of a basket-bearer. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 163⁶). It is of copper with an alloy of lead, and is cast solid. It is broken at the bottom, but the present height is 22 cm. The face is more realistic than those of Dungi's time, but the nose is still too big, and the ears are stuck flatly against the sides of the head. On top of the shaven crown is the twisted carrying-pad on which the basket rests, the fingers touching it lightly on each side to steady it. The slender body merges into the post on which is engraved an inscription, repeated on the black steatite tablet discovered with the figurine, a dedication of Bur-Sin to the god Nannar. This

¹) DP. VII, p. 75, pl. xvi, fig. 9.

²) DP. VII, p. 75, pl. xviii, figs. 1—2; XII, p. 202, fig. 382.

³) De Genouillac, PRAK. II, pp. 17, 19, pls. vi, 1, xiv, 6; Y. B. C. 2994; VA. 3943.

⁴) U. 1112; now C. B. S. 15,711.

⁵) cf. p. 62.

⁶) Heuzey, CAC., pp. 313—14, No. 163; Johns, Ur-Engur, pp. 16, 38, pl. xi, a.

suggests that, although the objects were purchased in Baghdad, they were found at Ur, the chief seat of the Moon-god's cult.

From the age of Gimil-Sin also only one foundation figurine has survived; its provenance is said to be Lagash. B. M. 91,017 (Fig. 22)¹). It is of bronze, and represents a basket-bearer. The small head has been badly damaged by blows from a pick. The nose and the left half of the chin have been destroyed. The ears are bad, and are set almost at the back of the head. The hands are large, and the fingers stretch far across the top of the basket. Round the waist are two incised lines, and below them in front is the inscription. There is not much modelling in the back of the figure, but the shoulder blades are indicated.

The city walls at Ashur were strongly fortified, and show evidence of the work of many rulers who repaired, strengthened or altered the walls of their predecessors²). At the Northern Point six different building periods can be distinguished, and the oldest wall rests on the upper edge of the rock. Right under the stone foundations of the south-west tower brick boxes were built in as component parts of the walls, and two of them, at a distance of 4 m. 70 one from another, were preserved. The western one was intact and was filled almost two-thirds full of loose, grey earth; apart from traces of wood nothing was found in it. But these meagre remains are enough to hint at the existence of wooden figures such as were often found in the brick boxes in both Babylonia and Assyria. The boxes were made of bricks which bore a stamp of Irishum referring to the temple of Ašur, and so having nothing to do directly with the fortifications. As the temple precinct abutted on the fortifications it is conceivable that the bricks were reused, but the plaster and brick material of that part of the walls shows nothing to make impossible the attribution to Irishum (2039—19), and the choice lies between him and his son and successor Ikunum who is mentioned by a later ruler as the restorer, not the builder, of the *Dāru*, or city wall³).

Investigations under the archaic ziggurat of the temple of Ašur, perhaps originally that of Enlil, revealed the fact that the foundations of the ziggurat were laid upon carefully prepared deposits, which unfortunately contained no inscribed objects. On bed rock in the very middle of the square traced for the ground plan, and also under the south corner, layers of four kinds of sea shells, eight kinds of curiously-shaped beads, and tiny bits of gold had been strewn, and over them the ziggurat was built⁴).

¹) Gu., pp. 85—86; King, HSA., pl. xxvi, 2.

²) Andrae, MDOG. No. 26 (1905), p. 61; FWA., pp. 9, 95.

³) The dating is based on Weidner AfO. IV (1927), pp. 16—17.

⁴) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), pp. 47, 60; Reallex. d. Assy. I, „Assur” p. 189 (E. Unger).

Chapter VI

The Kings of Larsa

After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur the times were too full of trouble and uncertainty to be propitious for the erection of new sanctuaries for the gods or the embellishment of those already built. But when the Elamite Kudur-Mabug, who always refers to himself as 'father' or governor of Emutbal, and his sons Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin, kings of Larsa, had established themselves firmly in power they began an extensive work of restoring such temples in all the cities under their dominion as had been damaged or overthrown. To commemorate their piety and safeguard their work they were careful to place deposits at such spots in the foundations as the ritual prescribed.

The best and longest known figurine of this period was acquired in 1859, and was said to have been found at Afady on the Tigris near Baghdad. Musée du Louvre, CAC. No. 164¹). It is of copper, and is 26 cm. in ht. The subject portrayed is a female basket-bearer whose lower limbs are transformed into a cone or post. It is executed with great care, and is more robust and better proportioned than the figurines of an earlier period. The head is shaven as usual; a deep line traced along the outer curve of the brows throws them into strong relief; the eyes are still set rather flatly in their sockets and are enclosed in heavy lids. The body is firm and well knit, with slightly swelling breasts. The arms do not sweep up in a gentle curve, but are more widely extended and are bent at the elbows. The fingers also do not spread over the top of the basket, but grasp the sides below the rim. An incised line marks the waist, and below it the long columns of the inscription reach to the bottom of the cone. It is vowed to the goddess Innini by Kudur-Mabug, governor of Emutbal, and Rim-Sin his son, illustrious prince of Nippur, guardian of Ur, king of Larsa, King of Sumer and Akkad.

Another basket-bearer of Kudur-Mabug is VA. 2922 (Fig. 23)²), which entered the Berlin Museum in 1898. The figurine is of copper and is 24 cm. high; it is so well balanced that it creates an impression of a woman so strong and active that she hardly feels the heavy basket of earth upon her head, and only touches it with her fingers on each side to maintain the equilibrium as she moves forward. The cranium is high and dome-shaped, perhaps a racial char-

¹) De Longpérier, Mus. Napoléon III, pl. 1, No. 1; Lenormant, Choix des Textes, No. 70; Menant, Glyp. Or. I, p. 171, fig. 106; Heuzey, CAC., pp. 314—17, No. 164, fig. p. 315; OOA., p. 103; Hommel, Ges. Bab. u. Assy., fig. p. 358; Jensen, KB. III, p. 98; Thureau-Dangin, ISA., p. 310, e; SAK., pp. 218—20; Koldewey, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), pp. 17—18; Johns, Ur-Engur, pp. 16—17, pl. xi, b; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 247, fig. 39, A; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 57; Barton, RI., pp. 330—31, No. 6.

²) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), p. 18; Johns, Ur-Engur, p. 19, pl. xv.

acteristic exaggerated to make a solid support for the basket with its contents piled up into a mound. The brows and eyelids are thick and heavy, but the nose is thin and straight, and the small mouth and rounded chin give an agreeable expression to the face. The worst features are the ears, for they are like shapeless lumps stuck on to each side of the skull. The arms are admirably rendered, the breasts are firm and round. The transition from human body to post is somewhat disguised, for the incised line round the waist looks like the upper edge of a long skirt, and this is furthered by the well-cut characters of the inscription which might well be a patterned ornament on the stuff. The text is a repetition of that on the figurine in the Louvre; it is not so well preserved, but the two together constitute a complete version.

In 1900 another figurine of a basket-bearer, said to have been found at Lagash, was donated to the *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* by Herr James Simon, and was then placed by the Society in the Berlin Museum, where it is inventoried as VA. 3025 (Fig. 24)¹). It is of copper, and is 26 cm. in height and 10 cm. in width from elbow to elbow. It is exceptionally well preserved, and the sharply cut features and rounded limbs excellently portray a sturdy being well adapted to the task she has to perform. Although the contours of the basket are clearly defined it is impossible to ascertain of what substance it is made, and it looks more like a bowl of clay or metal than a basket woven of plaited rush. The face is modelled in few planes; the high, domed forehead merges into the cheeks, and they into the rounded chin. The most salient feature is the nose with its delicately moulded nostrils, for the eyeballs appear to be in high relief only because they are outlined by a deep groove. The ears, although they are not big, are leathery in texture and inorganically attached to the head. The swelling breasts are set close together; the arms, bent at the elbows, are not absolutely symmetrical, and so produce a more lifelike effect. The back is as well worked as the front, the shoulder blades being rendered with much subtilty. The post is separated from the body by two incised lines with a narrow plain band between them. The columns of the inscription extend from the lower of these two lines to the base of the post right round the figure. It is set forth in the Sumerian speech, and in it Kudur-Mabug and Rim-Sin, his son, dedicated to the goddess Innanna the temple they had prepared for her. A prayer to the goddess terminates the invocation. It would be interesting if this could be proved to be a restoration of the same temple of the goddess in which Gudea and Dungi dedicated their bulls.

There is another figurine of a basket-bearer from Lagash. B. M. 91,144 (Fig. 25)²). The figurine is of bronze and measures 33 cm. in height, but it is

¹) Koldewey, „Eine neue Kanephore aus dem 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.“, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), pp. 18, 21, figs. 4—5; Thureau-Dangin, SAK., p. 220; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 248; Johns, Ur-Engur, p. 19, pl. xvi; Dougherty, AASOR. V (1923—24), p. 34, fig. 7; Bezold, NB., fig. 91; Jeremias, HAOG. (1913), p. 293, fig. 191; Unger, Sum. u. Akkad. Kunst, fig. 54; Barton, RI., pp. 330—31, No. 7.

²) CT. XXI, pls. 31—32, No. 91,144; Evetts, PSBA. 1891, pp. 158—59; Gu., p. 87, fig. in text; King, HSA., pl. xxvi, 2; HB., p. 152, note 1; Thureau-Dangin, ISA.,

so heavily and solidly built that it has a stunted appearance. The eyelids are in strong relief, the small mouth is drawn in a bow, the ears are set far back, the chest is rather flat, and the arms are thick. Part of this lumpy aspect is due to the fact that all the finer details of the modelling have been blunted and coarsened by corrosion. Round the waist is a double line, and below it the inscription reaches almost to the bottom of the post; in part it is difficult to decipher, but the main portion proclaims: „To Innini of Kullab, daughter of Sin, to my Lady, Warad-Sin, king of Larsa, I, for my life and for the life of Kudur-Mabug, the father who begat me . . . the temple . . . which recently she ordered me to build . . . I have erected.”

The figurine of the basket-bearer B. M. 102,462 is of more slender proportions (Fig. 26)¹). The brows are traced by an incised groove outlining the ridge in relief, the eyelids are less heavy, the nose is well shaped, the mouth is small and straight, the chin rounded, and the breasts full. The inscription covers all the space from the waist line to the bottom of the post, and records the fact that Kudur-Mabug, governor of Emuthal, and his son Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, built a temple to the goddess Innini.

The most recently found of all this series is in many ways the most interesting of all (Fig. 27)²). At Ur, on the banks of the canal which bisected the ancient city, was a temple which had been built and rebuilt more than once. It was a shrine of Enki, the god of the waters under the earth. The bricks at a low level were stamped with the name of Bur-Sin, but higher up it was evident that it had been rebuilt on a somewhat different plan. In the brick foundations of this later phase, in line with the first buttress of the northern front, a brick box had been buried, and within it were a copper figurine of a basket-bearer and a steatite tablet. The figurine is excellently preserved. The brows are in relief, and the relief of the eyelids is emphasised by the grooved line which outlines them. The nose is delicately modelled, the lips of the wide mouth are closed, the head is set on a rather long neck. The fingers do not grasp the basket, but merely reach over the edge to steady it in a very charming and natural fashion. There is a certain amount of modelling of the breasts, but the most unusual detail is the very broad base with its rounded end. The tablet is in the shape of a plano-convex brick, and the inscription states that the temple was set up by Rim-Sin and dedicated to the Water-god. Now the ninth year of Rim-Sin was styled officially: „The year in which he built the temple of Enki at Ur.” Thus the foundation deposit can be dated with some accuracy. Apart from the fact that the dedication to Enki is unusual and interesting, this deposit is very important, because it is the only one of the series belonging to the Larsa period of which all particulars of the find are recorded, and it

pp. 306—7; Koldewey, MDOG. No. 5 (1900), p. 18; Johns, *Ur-Engur*, p. 18, pl. xiv; Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, p. 173, pl. xxv; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 565 (Unger), pl. 265, h; Barton, *RI.*, pp. 322—23, No. 7.

¹) Gu., p. 86.

²) Woolley, *AJ.* X (1930), p. 323, pl. xxxviii, b; *Antiquities of Ur* (1930), p. 10, pl. i.

proves that the kings of Larsa followed the customs of former rulers as to the arrangement of the foundation deposit.

The kings of Larsa were in the habit of recording their pious foundations upon clay cones, and these objects have often been found in the course of excavations. Another form of foundation deposit was to wall into the sub-structures of a building tablets of various substances all bearing identical texts. A pair of such tablets have been recently acquired for the British Museum, B. M. 116,662—63¹). One is of limestone, the other of copper, and they both commemorate the erection of a temple at Larsa for the goddess Nin-egal by Simat-Innanna, one of the wives of Rim-Sin.

Below the floor of a room in the temple of Ningal at Ur were a copper tablet and one of black steatite inscribed alike with the statement that Warad-Sin, king of Larsa, built „the Great Wall like a mountain”²).

¹) Gadd, *JRAS.*, pp. 679—84.

²) Woolley, *AJ.* V (1925), p. 370, pl. xxxvi, 1; *Ur Ex.: Royal Inscr. I* (Gadd and Legrain), p. 36, No. 129, pls. xxv and P.

Chapter VII

The Kassite Period

This form of offering was continued during the dominion of the Kassite kings, for in Ningal's temple at Ur, in the very room where Warad-Sin's tablets were discovered, a tablet of copper and one of white steatite came to light, and both recorded in the same phraseology that Kuri-Galzu restored a certain building¹). The four tablets, however, do not seem to have been in their original positions. In the course of some work of demolition, probably of a sacred edifice, they must have been unearthened, and in spite of the fact that they were then useless and of no intrinsic value they were scrupulously reinterred in the temple precincts, for they had once been consecrated. Lying near them under the floor was the lower part of a limestone statuette depicting the lower limbs of a personage clad in a long robe. Perhaps when complete it resembled the clay figurines of godlings in various attitudes from Babylon and other sites, and possibly it, too, was a foundation offering.

Kuri-Galzu transferred the site of the temple of Ningal at Ur. In the *cella* of his new temple a shallow recess in the north-west wall must have sheltered the cult statue, for its base still remains, and embedded in its brickwork were numerous small objects, a gold vase, a silver pot, tiny vases of glazed frit, a model of an altar and a statuette of unbaked clay, now broken, but still preserving a few words of the dedicatory formula once engraved upon it²). This is the earliest known instance of a figurine buried in the base of a cult statue, but in late Babylonian days it was a custom which pertained almost invariably.

Kuri-Galzu worked also on the temple of the Moon-god Nannar, and it was he who built two heavy brick benches on either side of the entrance passage of the middle gate-chamber. A clay pot was buried in the brickwork of one of them, and in it were samples of the various metals used in the building, gold, silver, and copper, and in addition a set of glass-paste cylinder seals³).

In the Great Courtyard of Nannar's temple all the business of the temple seems to have been transacted, for here the temple herdsman and farmers brought their produce. Around it on three sides were small chambers for storerooms, while on the fourth side the priests had their residential quarters, and there was one long, narrow room, the back wall of which formed the retaining wall of the platform supporting the sanctuary and the ziggurat. Below

¹) Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 370; Ur of the Chaldees, p. 184; Ur Ex.: Royal Inscr. I (Gadd and Legrain), p. 50, No. 164, pls. xxxix and R.

²) U. 3327, now in the Iraq Museum; Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 372; Ur Ex.: Royal Inscr. I (Gadd and Legrain), p. 49, No. 160, pl. xxxviii.

³) Woolley, AJ. IX (1929), p. 335.

the foundations of the back wall was a box composed of lightly baked red bricks, but the contents had long ago been dispersed, leaving the box empty¹).

From the vestiges of buildings in the sacred area at Susa it seems possible that a second great temple faced the temple of Shushinak. In the area between the two temples, toward the south-east and near the bronze column, a foundation deposit was revealed under the paving stones and at a depth of 50 cm. below the original ground level²). At this point was a space paved with two lines, each made of three almost square bricks covered on the upper surface with green vitreous glaze, now badly worn. On these slabs the votive offerings were laid, and then the earth was piled above and around them and packed tightly. Near the spot where the objects lay buried were a few bones of a sheep or goat, all that remained of the sacrifice once performed there.

The offerings, although few in number, were of great value. The most important are two statuettes representing a man with one hand raised in prayer, the other grasping the animal he has brought for sacrifice. Coll. de Morgan, Nos. 374—75³). One is of electrum, the other of silver, and both are 6 cm. high. Both of them portray a man with a short, carefully trimmed beard, a thick, flowing moustache, and well formed features, who has a curious headdress consisting of a frontlet adorned with crossed lines and kept in place by a thick, twisted cloth or cord like that worn by the Arabs in these days. His hair at the back is covered by a tightly drawn cloth or net like a Greek *sakkos*. He wears a skirt reaching from his waist to his feet decorated round the lower edge with a fringe. His chest and arms are bare, and the flesh is modelled with admirable skill. The skirt is kept in place by a belt of cloth rolled round the waist, and is adorned with hammered dots sprinkled irregularly over the surface; the lower edge curves up in front so that the feet can be seen. The electrum statuette holds a goat with long horns, the silver one has an animal hard to identify; both creatures are on a very minute scale. The work is exquisite in the delicate sharpness of every detail.

In addition to these beautiful little works of art the same deposit contained a series of nine clay statuettes baked hard and covered with vitreous glaze. Coll. de Morgan, No. 430⁴). They vary in height from 6,5 cm. to 8,5 cm. The head and shoulders of all of them are fully worked out in the round, but the lower part of the body is like a cylinder without modelling. Details vary slightly, but the head is always on too big a scale and is covered with hair cut short at the back, and marked with parallel longitudinal grooves over the head. The broad face is clean shaven, the eyes are set obliquely, the brows meet over the root of the fleshy nose which curves down toward the tip. The garment seems to be a tightly fitting robe, the lower part without a fold, but

¹) Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 364.

²) DP. VII, pp. 64, 131 (R. de Mecquenem); XII, plan to p. 72.

³) DP. VII, pp. 131—33, pl. xxiv, figs. 1, a—c, 2, a—c; Pézard, ASuS., p. 152, Nos. 374—75, pl. xix, 1, 2; Frank, KGB, I, 2. Heft, 51, 8, 9; Harcourt-Smith, Babyl. Art, p. 25, pl. 30.

⁴) DP. VII, p. 133, pl. xxiii, figs. 4—6; Pézard, ASuS., p. 182, No. 430.

the upper part, to judge from faint indications on three of the statuettes, consisted of bands of stuff which covered the shoulders like a cape and were crossed at the back. Six of the figurines carry a bird in one hand, the left arm of the other three is folded across his waist, the right raised in a gesture of reverence.

Other objects in the deposit were as follows: a lion's head in gold repoussé mounted on a rod of grey bituminous limestone. Coll. de Morgan, No. 377¹). A bird of lapis lazuli. Coll. de Morgan, No. 378²). The tail feathers were worked separately and inserted, and so was the beak. Where the legs should have been there is a gold disk, and round the neck and breast are three rows of gold nails with big, flat heads. A gold bird with a tail of lapis lazuli was found at Ur³). A recumbent lion carved in agate. Coll. de Morgan, No. 385⁴). A pendant of lapis lazuli in the shape of a bull's head. Coll. de Morgan, No. 385⁵). The other objects in the deposit were a necklace of carnelian beads and various detached agate beads or pendants. One of them was carved with the faces alternately flat and rounded⁶). On it was an inscription in two columns and one sign over: it mentions an offering made by Kuri-Galzu to the god Kadi.

The contents of this deposit are usually assigned to the time of Dungi, and the electrum and silver statuettes are regarded as images of the king as founder, because figurines bearing his name were buried in the foundations of the temple of Shushinak. But this deposit was not found inside the temple, but at a little distance from it. That it was a foundation deposit seems evident; but there were traces of many buildings in the vicinity, none of which were excavated and to any of which it might have belonged. The statuettes of precious metal are beautifully executed, but do not resemble work of Dungi's age, nor are the physical traits exhibited consonant with what we know of Sumerian characteristics in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, for then kings wore long, carefully trimmed beards, but shaved their upper lip; commoners were clean shaven, the working class had rough, untrimmed beards. This man has a short beard and a profuse moustache. In Kassite days the great brick figures in high relief ranged round the Innini temple of Karaindash at Warka demonstrate that gods were portrayed with short beard and moustache⁷), and several kudurru illustrate that the Kassite rulers followed the same fashion.

A mantle was often adorned with a fringed border, but it is rare to find the lower hem of a skirt decorated in that manner. Such a garment is worn by two female figures in the upper register of the *stèle* of Untas-Gal, about 1500 B. C.⁸),

¹) DP. VII, pp. 134—35, pl. xxiv, fig. 3, a—c; Pézard, ASuS., p. 153, No. 377, pl. xix, No. 3.

²) DP. VII, pp. 133—34, pl. xxv, figs. 1, 2; Pézard, ASuS., p. 153, No. 378; Schäfer-Andrae, KAO., pl. 512, 1; Harcourt-Smith, Babyl. Art, p. 25, pl. 29.

³) U. 9076; A.J. VIII (1928), pl. ix, 1.

⁴) DP. VII, pp. 135—36, pl. xiii, fig. 13; Pézard, ASuS., p. 155, No. 385; Harcourt-Smith, Babyl. Art, p. 25, pl. 29.

⁵) DP. VII, p. 134, pl. xiii, fig. 12; Pézard, ASuS., p. 155, No. 385.

⁶) DP. VII, p. 135.

⁷) Jordan, APAW. 1929, Nr. 7, pp. 34—35, pl. 15; Ausgr. in Warka, p. 8, fig. 5.

⁸) DP. XII, pl. vi, 1.

or by certain clay figurines in the Louvre¹); of these last one at least came from Warka as its whole aspect reveals, for it is precisely like one type of figurine found under the floor of the house near the temple *E-Anna*. Indeed several types both male and female among that collection of figurines wear a skirt with a fringed border. The unusual headdress of the two statuettes is very seldom encountered. The only parallels are a fragment of a diorite head from Ur where the crossed lines of the frontlet make a chevron pattern, and the hair at the back is enclosed in a net²), and a clay figurine from Warka found under the floor of a house of the Kassite period³).

The nine clay statuettes also have marked characteristics. The fact that they are covered with vitreous glaze implies that they cannot belong to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The disproportionately big head seems to poke forward, because it is supported on such a short neck; the short hair, the beardless face with beetling brows meeting above the root of the fleshy nose which curves down to the tip, find their only parallels among the Kassite figurines from Warka. The gold lion's head, meticulous as is the workmanship, is quite unlike gold objects found at Lagash or at Ur. The conventional rendering of the whiskers by punctured dots arranged in a formal design and the granulated work introduced are unlike anything of an earlier date. The technique employed to make the lapis lazuli bird is akin to that used for the votive wig and headdress discovered on the Acropolis at Susa, and dated not later than the ninth century⁴). The agate lion and the lapis lazuli bull's head are proof that the artist had attained a high degree of proficiency in working such hard materials.

All the evidence goes to prove that the objects from this deposit are quite unlike work of the time of Dungi, and that the closest affinities of each one independently are to be found in the Kassite period. In this deposit is one item which must date the whole group, because as the deposit was found intact with the earth packed tightly all around it no foreign body could have percolated into it. I refer to the agate bead dedicated by Kuri-Galzu to the god Kadi. M. de Mecquenem writes: „Unfortunately all the constructions at Susa were so utterly overthrown that it is temerarious to attempt to make restorations. The position of the objects found in the ordinary course of the excavations does not even permit, as a rule, of any deductions⁵).” But nothing hinders us from surmising that certain of these devastated edifices had been rebuilt or founded by the Kassite kings who, we know, erected monuments at Susa and left inscriptions, and that this group of objects formed the foundation deposit of one such building. It was not a promiscuous collection of offerings cast in by all the devout, as happened in Dungi's time, but precious

¹) Heuzey, CFAT., pp. 14—15, Nos. 23—24, pl. ii, fig. 2, p. 22, Nos. 71—72, pl. ii, fig. 7.

²) B. M. 114,197; Hall, Sculp. Babyl. et Assyr. au B. M., pl. viii, 8.

³) Jordan, UW., p. 57, pl. 78, d, and No. 3054, b.

⁴) DP. VII, p. 44, pls. viii—x; Pézard, ASuS., p. 135, Nos. 330—31.

⁵) DP. VII, p. 136.

works of art offered by the king and his family or his immediate followers in honour of the god to whom the temple was vowed. It was almost in the nature of a compromise between a foundation deposit and a deposit of votive offerings. Examples of true deposits of votive offerings are those found in wooden chests in the so-called "shops" in front of the temple of Enlil at Nippur¹). They were the offerings of various Kassite kings throughout a period of nearly a century and a half.

Mention has frequently been made of the clay figurines from Warka. They were found under the floors of several rooms in a house which is thought to have been a residence for the priests who served the temple *E-Anna* nearby²). There are many different types among them, but they all seem to have had a religious significance, and the majority represent a bearded man holding a flask with both hands. They were not in ordered array, but almost every one was broken, and they were packed closely together to make the filling underneath the pavements. Therefore this was not a foundation deposit, but the clearance of a collection of votive offerings or abandoned foundation deposits which were too sacred to throw away, and consequently were reinterred within the temple precincts. Such a means of disposing of consecrated objects no longer in use was employed at Caulonia and Locri in Magna Graecia and at Syracuse in Sicily³).

¹) Peters, Nippur II, pp. 131—35, 143—44; Hilprecht, OBI. I, p. 31, pls. 15, Nos. 28—31, 18, Nos. 34—36, 20, Nos. 39—40; Legrain, PBS. XV, pp. 30—31, Nos. 51—52, 54.

²) Jordan, UW., pp. 57—63, pls. 78—81; APAW. 1929, Nr. 7, pp. 39—40, pl. 23; Ausgr. in Warka, p. 15.

³) Paolo Orsi, Not. Scavi 1922, pp. 147—49; Boll. d'Arte III (1909), pp. 407—10; Mon. Ant. XXV (1919), cols. 391—403; Van Buren, Archaic Fict. Revet., pp. 10, 28, 66.

Chapter VIII

The Early Assyrian Period

The Assyrian monarchs continued the tradition maintained by the Kassite kings. Shalmaneser I (1280—56) describes the rites in connexion with the building of a temple. „Over against its foundations (tablets of) stone, silver, gold, iron, bronze, lead (together with) herbs in herbs I placed. In oil, choice oil, resin (blood of cedar), honey(?), and butter I laid its walls¹).” One of his gold tablets was found which refers to the restoration of the Court of Ishtar of Nineveh at Ashur. Part of the inscription runs as follows: „When the former Court of the Ninevite (Ishtar), my Lady, which the kings who went before me had built aforetime, had fallen into decay, from its foundation to its top I (re)built it. To its place I restored it, and set up my memorial *stèle*²).”

The reign of his son Tukulti-Ninurta I (1255—18) supplies more complete evidence for the complicated arrangement of the foundation deposits during the early Assyrian Empire. At Ashur in the temple of Ishtar of Ashur a limestone slab and a lead tablet were discovered; they were the building documents of Adad-nirari. But more important were the records of his grandson Tukulti-Ninurta, for in the brick foundations of the back wall of the main *cella* three lead blocks were sunk, all inscribed with deeply cut characters, and with the space of a brick between one and another³). Around and over them were strewn sea shells, glass beads, chips of coloured stones, bits of lead, copper, and iron. Everything was then covered with a reed mat and bits of wood laid straight and crosswise, and over all a layer of clay was plastered. Once again beads were strewn over the surface, this time so thickly that they made a cushion, and upon them, just at the point where the heaviest part of the great stone slab would rest, a gold and a silver inscribed tablet were laid⁴), and close to them were two tiny uninscribed plaquettes, 1 cm. square, one of gold, the other of silver. Finally a great slab of limestone was lowered into place above all the other objects, in such a way that the lower corners fitted over the edges of the lead blocks. On its outer edge was an inscription of four columns and

¹) KAH. I, No. 13; Weidner, AoB. I, p. 123; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, pp. 41—42, § 120—22.

²) Andrae, MDOG. No. 28 (1905), p. 31; KAH. II, No. 43; Weidner, AoB. I, pp. 142—45, note 8; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, p. 46, § 130.

³) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), pp. 25—28, 36—37, fig. 8; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungs-urkunde”, pp. 566—67 (Unger); Olmstead, HofA., pp. 54—55.

⁴) KAH. II, Nos. 48, 51; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, pp. 62—63, § 180—82, 183.

five lines in the margin, very clearly and deeply cut¹). When the slab was in position the inscription could be read by anyone standing in the *cella*. More matting was spread over the stone, and placed in the middle of the back line was a fourth lead block of the same dimensions as the other three and weighing about 400 kgs. Under the north corner of the temple lay a fifth lead block.

This deposit incorporates elements that are found in less complete form in many other instances. Tablets of precious metal were dedicated at various times from the days of Naram-Sin²). The reed mat was an invariable item of the sacrifices in the prehistoric period at Ur³), and recurs so frequently that it must be considered an integral part of a foundation offering. The gaily tinted beads, for some were of one colour only, some were variegated, recall those offered in the age of Dungi or of Kuri-Galzu, and still more closely the thousand glass beads in the deposit placed by Shalmaneser III under the corner of the ziggurat of the temple of Ašur⁴). That deposit also contained one hundred bits of agate and quartz, recalling the chips of coloured stone here strewn over the lead blocks. The fragments of metal were probably samples of those used in building the shrine, like the ones in the clay pot buried by Kuri-Galzu in the substructures of the temple of Nannar at Ur⁵). Possibly the tiny square plaquettes of gold and silver had the same significance. The enormous weight of the lead blocks and the stone slab testifies that the king did all he could to ensure the permanence of his record.

The *cella* itself was long and narrow, and at one end was the raised daïs for the cult statue approached by steps leading up from the main part of the room. To right and left immediately in front of the steps, and at a distance of one row of bricks from them, two little brick boxes were embedded under the plaster bed for the brick pavement which was partly preserved in its original condition⁶). They were symmetrically placed 1 m. 10 apart, and were empty, for they had evidently been rifled in antiquity.

The temple of Ishtar Dînitû was part of the complex of buildings composing the Ishtar-temple at Ashur⁷). In the back wall of the secondary *cella* the foundation deposit was found *in situ*, and by its inscriptions revealed the name of the shrine and that of its founder. The arrangement was simpler than that employed in the more important sanctuary, but it contained all the essential features. At the level of the lowest layer of the stone foundations an immense slab of limestone weighing over one ton was sunk, inscribed on the upper sur-

¹) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), p. 27; KAH. II, No. 59; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, pp. 63—64, § 185—88.

²) cf. p. 10.

³) cf. p. 4.

⁴) cf. p. 48.

⁵) cf. p. 34.

⁶) Jordan, MDOG. No. 49 (1912), p. 29; Luhrs, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), p. 54; Andrae, AIT., pl. 4 (for position of boxes).

⁷) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), pp. 21—24; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde“, p. 567 (Unger).

face with an inscription in three columns. It was covered with reed matting upon which were scattered glass beads and bits of agate. In the midst of these, and reposing on the middle column of the inscription, was a tablet of unalloyed lead weighing 500 kgs., but it was terribly corroded, and lumps of white and blue oxide covered it like sores, and had eaten into its very core, so that the inscription engraved on both the obverse and the reverse was partly obliterated and was, in general, hard to read. This tablet was removed, and under it were disclosed a gold tablet and one of silver engraved with a repetition of the dedication cut on the lead tablet and the stone slab. Beside them were two tiny plaquettes of gold and of silver, 1 cm. square, but with nothing written upon them. The inscription on the gold tablet repeats Tukulti-Ninurta's description of himself, his prowess, and his genealogy which he set forth on the gold tablet in the temple of Ishtar of Ashur, and then relates how he restored this temple to more than its former glory¹). On the silver tablet was an abbreviated version²). At the west corner of the temple, between the stone foundations and the lowest row of bricks, was a well preserved lead tablet, once more with a repetition of Tukulti-Ninurta's foundation formula. It is curious that in the case of this temple and also of that of Ishtar of Ashur an isolated lead tablet was found at one only of the four corners of the edifice; in the latter case it was at the north corner, here at the west. Perhaps as the real foundation offering was in the *cella* it was considered sufficient protection to the sanctuary to safeguard one corner.

Tukulti-Ninurta also restored the temple of Anunaitu, and recorded his piety upon tablets of gold and silver as follows: „Tukulti-Ninurta, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ašur, son of Shalmaneser, priest of Ašur, (grand)son of Adad-nirâri, priest of Ašur. When the temple of Anunaitu, my Lady, which the kings who went before me had built aforetime, (when) that temple fell into decay and became old, Shalmaneser my father, priest of Ašur, cleared away its ruins, penetrated to its foundation, laid (anew) its foundation walls. He rebuilt that temple. 72 *tipku* he raised it on high. Then (I), Tukulti-Ninurta, prefect of Enlil, priest of Ašur, added 20 *tipku* to these. Beams and door-leaves I set up, I (re)built the temple. I completed it. A shrine I prepared, I caused Anunaitu, the Lady, to dwell in her shrine in joy and gladness. And I set up my memorial *stèle*. Let (some) future prince restore its ruins, let him return my inscribed name to its place. (Then) Anunaitu will hear his prayers³).” These two tablets were found together with a gold tablet of Shalmaneser I recording his restoration of the Court of the temple of Ishtar of Nineveh⁴). But here, although Tukulti-Ninurta mentions that work was carried out by his father, he speaks only of the temple of Anunaitu. The most convincing

¹) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), p. 24; KAH. II, No. 49; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, p. 65, § 193—95.

²) KAH. II, No. 52; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, pp. 65—66, § 196.

³) Andrae, MDOG. No. 28 (1905), p. 31; KAH. II, No. 50; Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, p. 66, § 197—99.

⁴) cf. p. 39.

theory to account for this discrepancy is that the temple was a double one, as was often the case at Ashur, and that Shalmaneser restored the part of the temple sacred to Ishtar of Nineveh, Tukulti-Ninurta the half dedicated to Anunaitu¹).

The temple of Ishtar at Ashur suffered many vicissitudes. During the reign of Ashur-resh-ishi I (1149—17) he decided to restore it, and perhaps because the condition of Tukulti-Ninurta's temple was such that an entirely new building seemed less costly than repairing the old one, he abandoned the old site and began again from the beginning, erecting his new sanctuary on the eastern side of the original site²). In the *cella* of Ashur-resh-ishi's temple, under the *daïs* for the cult statue, was a brick foundation box, and in it was a badly damaged clay figurine of a god with a horned cap and a long robe. Ht. about 15 cm. It is so battered that it is hard to distinguish the position of the arms, but the left seems to have been lowered against his side, the right was probably extended from the elbow. Near the figurine was a tiny bit of rolled-up gold foil, the casing of a wooden or copper staff, for this was evidently a statuette of the type always found under the base for the cult statue, a god in peaceful attitude, one arm by his side, the other hand holding his wand of office.

In Ashur there were a group of dwelling houses which can be dated in the early Assyrian period. The clay tablets found in one of these houses prove that it must have belonged to a member of the order of priest-exorcists, and probably the other houses were not those of private citizens, but of priests in the service of the temple³). In these houses, especially in *h D 10 I*, *c D 6 III* and *h C 10 I*, beneath the floors of certain rooms, were numerous boxes made of four bricks put together built into the plaster bed of the pavement. The boxes contained clay reliefs or figurines which were sometimes *in situ*, arranged in pairs or in sets of seven in each box, or else lay scattered near the ruined boxes. The rectangular slabs are of fine, well purified, carefully baked clay; they were dipped into a bath of lime wash which tinted the background ivory white, and against it the figures stood out in relief, picked out with various colours.

The first type is a rectangular relief, ht. 14 cm., greatest width 9 cm., thick 1,5 cm. VA. 4885, etc. (Fig. 28)⁴). It depicts a being with the head of an eagle and one pair of great wings, but the body, arms and legs of a human being. He stands turned to right and stretches out both arms to hold the long, slender reed on his left. The enormous beak and great round eyes are exaggerated to give ferocity to the portrait; but the head is not that of a natural eagle, for a stiff crest runs up the back of the neck to the crown of the head, and he has locks of hair ending in curls like a man. He wears a closely fitting tunic reaching to his knees, the lower hem adorned with a rich border. Round the waist is

¹) AoB. I, pp. 142—45, and note 8 (E. Weidner).

²) Andrae, AIT., p. 3.

³) MDOG. No. 31 (1906), p. 23; No. 51 (1913), p. 29.

⁴) Maresch, MDOG. No. 51 (1913), p. 29, fig. 4; Montelius, Die älteren Kulturperioden II, p. 349, fig. 1128; RLV. VIII, „Mischwesen", p. 211 (Unger).

a wide belt, perhaps of leather as it is slightly concave when laced by the long cords, knotted in front and hanging down in long, dangling ends enriched with tassels. His hands and feet are immense, and he holds the rod in an affected manner. These reliefs were found in *h D 10 I*, and there were always seven in a box.

There are certain variants of this type; in one the being has the same appearance, but instead of holding a doorpost he has a little bucket in one hand lowered by his side, and a date-spathe in the other. In some examples he is in profile to left, in others to right, and the dimensions of the relief also varied in accordance with those of the group to which it belonged. Each box contained seven reliefs. This type is well known, because it often appears on the carved slabs that decorated the façades of palaces at Nimrud and Khorsabad.

Another variant holds the bucket, and in the other hand he has a branch with twigs sprouting from it.

The second type measures ht. 12,5 cm., width 7,1 cm., thick 1 cm. VA. 5451, etc. (Fig. 29). Against a flat background stands a figure turned to right, but with head frontal. He has a square beard and his hair is arranged in parallel grooves over his head to represent waves, but sticks out in three thick curls on each side. He wears a skirt reaching to his knees and held in place by a wide belt fastened by cords with long, tasselled ends. His right arm is stretched across his body and his hand rests in front of a tall shaft crowned with what looks like a spear-head. His left arm is extended and turned up sharply from the elbow with the palm turned outward; in order to produce this effect the hand has been drawn as if it were the right one. Beside and partly covering the arm is an inscription. There is an identical relief in the Y. B. C.

The third type is on a rectangular background, ht. 13,2 cm., width 5,5 cm., thick 1,2 cm. VA. 4891, etc. (Figs. 30—31). Once more the figure stands turned to right, but with the head turned toward the front. He had thick hair making scalloped waves round his forehead and breaking out into three curls of graduated length on each side of his head. His nose is like a triangular wedge; he has big, round eyes and a square beard. His short garment has an ornamental lower border, and the wide belt is held together by cords with long, tasselled ends. Both arms are outstretched to right, so that he may grasp the rod which in this type passes behind and below his advanced foot. Along both arms from shoulder to elbow runs an inscription.

There are three very well preserved examples of this type in the Y. B. C. which must derive from the same source, and Dr. Ebeling publishes another replica purchased by Professor Meissner from a dealer¹). He points out that the type has long been known, and has been identified as Gilgamesh, Tammuz, or the „Wild Man". But the inscriptions on the arms give a clue to his apotropaic significance, for on his right arm is written „Come hither, Guardian of Welfare", and on his left „Go hence, Guardian of Evil". The incantation ritual *KAR. VII*, No. 298 decrees: „Images of *talim* of clay, who a . . . of wood

¹) Ebeling, AFO. V (1929), „Talim", pp. 218—19, fig. in text.

raised on high, on their arms [shalt thou write]: „Come [hither, Guard]ian of Welfare, Go hence, Guard[ian of Evil], w . . . are they clad, water draw with black clay [upon it], in the corner . . . in the court shalt thou bury [it].” These images of the *talim* must have been identical with or very similar to this Ashur relief. As *talim* means ‘twin’ or ‘companion’ and is an appellative, not an individual name, Dr. Ebeling thinks that these figures were generally in pairs, and that of the many couples known to Babylonian mythology they might with most plausibility be identified with Tammuz and Gizzada, the Guardians before the palace of Anu. This theory is confirmed by other details. The slender rod held or touched by all these figures is not the *urigallu* nor a spear, but one of the two tall posts which framed the door of the primitive reed hut¹⁾. In later art it was misunderstood, and there was a tendency to give it more and more the likeness of a lofty spear with a ring near the top, the survival of the loop through which the longitudinal pole was passed to fasten the door in place. We have seen that from the time of Ur-Bau male foundation figures took the form of a god holding a post, and that he was possibly one of the six sons of the god Ea who were nominated guardians of the dwellings of the great gods. Thus these beings from Ashur hold the symbol of their office, but as they no longer guard a temple they are of smaller dimensions and less costly material than the copper figurines. This particular type must have been standardized quite early. On the altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I found at Ashur a pair of them stand one on each side of the central figure²⁾, and the door-posts they hold are much nearer to their original form. They appear on clay reliefs of an earlier period where they stand on each side of the temple doorway through which a deity is manifested³⁾. Perhaps one of the earliest representations of the type is the engraved shell plaque from Lagash where one such being holds both door-posts⁴⁾.

Another type is set against a background rounded off at the top. Ht. 14 cm., width at base 5,5 cm., thick 1,2 cm. VA. 5452, etc. (Fig. 32). It is a bull-man whose body is in profile to right, but who turns his head to the front. He has deep-set eyes, a small, pointed nose, a long beard and thick hair clustering on his shoulders. He wears a rounded cap with an extremely broad border and a single pair of horns. Two incised lines round his waist indicate a belt, the point of transition from human to animal shape. His tufted tail reaches to his hoofs. His right arm is stretched across his body and in his hand he held a tiny copper rod, his left is raised from the elbow. His arms are well rounded, and if the reliefs of this type had not been found with the others one would think they were later and more developed in style. There is an inscription on both upper arms. This type also was frequently found on clay reliefs holding

¹⁾ Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, p. 56, figs. 48a, 61.

²⁾ I. O. M. 7802; MDOG. No. 49 (1912), pp. 24, 33—40 (J. Jordan), figs. 4—5; RLV. VII. pl. 147.

³⁾ Van Buren, *CF.*, p. 207, Nos. 1004—7, figs. 254—55.

⁴⁾ *DC.*, p. 271, fig. A; Heuzey, *CAC.*, No. 232.

what is usually called ‘a standard’¹⁾, or he is paired with a companion before a shrine²⁾. He was almost always depicted in relief, and it is rare to find him portrayed in the round. Yet a very early example is the beautiful little gold pendant, work of the period of Agade, where he stands holding the two door-posts while a real bull rears to right and left³⁾.

These reliefs are all in profile to right, but in other houses all the reliefs found were turned to left. In *c D 6 III* the type of eagle-headed being was discovered⁴⁾. The relief is on a smaller scale and measures only about 9 × 6 cm. In the same house examples of the bull-man turned to left came to light⁵⁾, and also two little clay figurines discovered *in situ* embedded in the soil. They both represent a man, barcheaded and bearded, who wears a long, belted robe and stands with hands folded. They are modelled frechand, and on the thigh of each is a short inscription. Figurines of this type were found at Ur, Warka and other sites in houses belonging to priests, but never in temples. They are closely akin to the man holding a flask or clasping the slender post in front of him with both hands⁶⁾.

In the various houses there were also figurines of a bearded man wearing a garment girt at the waist. VA. 5480, 5496, etc. One arm hangs by his side, his right is folded across his chest and he holds some object. He appears to move forward with one leg advanced, and over his head and shoulders is drawn a fish-skin which hangs down his back to the ground. The figurines are of unbaked clay and are made in a double mould, but the back is merely rounded, and there is little modelling except the depressions for the fish’s eyes, the peak for the dorsal fin, and the projection for the tail. Details were supplied in colour, for the figures were dipped in a bath of white lime which coated them like a ground tint, and on this the hair and eyes of the man, the eyes and probably the tail of the fish were painted black, while its scales and other details were picked out in red. The figurines vary in dimensions from 13 cm. to 11 cm. in ht., and some are finished with more care than others. In the smaller variety one arm hangs by the man’s side, and he seems to clutch his breast or beard with the other hand. Seven of these figurines were always placed in one box. The figurines were thought by early Assyriologists to be images of Dagan or of Ea-Oannes, or else one of the genii who bear a date spathe or a pitcher. More recently they have been explained as a priest clad in the fish-skin for ritual purposes⁷⁾. But these figures were not the image of a mortal man, even in priestly vestments, but of a supernatural being who was powerful to bring good fortune and to avert evil.

¹⁾ Van Buren, *CF.*, pp. 207—10, Nos. 1008—19, figs. 256—58.

²⁾ Van Buren, *CF.*, p. 211, Nos. 1021—23.

³⁾ Mus. du Louvre, Contenau, *Art de l’Asie Occid.*, p. 47, pl. lxii, figs. 1—2.

⁴⁾ Andrae, MDOG. No. 31 (1906), p. 23, fig. 6; Meissner, *BuA. II*, p. 205, pl.-fig. 37.

⁵⁾ Andrae, MDOG. No. 31 (1906), p. 23; RLV. VIII, „Mischwesen”, p. 215 (Unger).

⁶⁾ B. M. 90,996, 91,841; Van Buren, *CF.*, p. 199, No. 971, fig. 249.

⁷⁾ Roscher III, „Ea-Oannes”, cols. 580—93 (A. Jeremias); Frank, *BuS.*, p. 12; Zimmern, *ZA. XXXV* (1924), pp. 151—51; Sidney Smith, *JRAS.* 1926, p. 709, note 17.

In the house *h D 101*, at a short distance from where the other boxes were uncovered, the excavators followed the line of the wall of a room, and in so doing they struck upon the upturned shoulder of a pot without any foot or rim, but as the edges of the fractures showed it must have been broken in antiquity¹). The pot lay under the stone foundations of the house, within the room, but just in front of a small doorway. Underneath it was a figurine of unbaked clay, and quite close to it lay a little vase of the same substance (Fig. 33). The statuette is that of a man whose head is badly battered, but the outline of his beard can be plainly seen. The present height is about 16 cm. His right arm is raised as if he were about to hurl a weapon, his left arm hangs by his side, but the hand was pierced. When he was disinterred his right hand was missing, and could not be found in spite of diligent search; presumably he held weapons, for a tiny copper axe-head and a spear-head came to light in the *débris*, and in the clay vase was a second spear-head, evidently broken off from something. He must have poised the spear in his raised right hand and held the axe in reserve in his lowered left. Round the little man's waist was a copper girdle 1 cm. wide, and through it was thrust a copper dagger or short sword 7 cm. long in such a way that it rested on his right hip. It looks as if this were a return to the practice of placing foundation deposits in a pot, but as the pot was broken one cannot say exactly how the objects were arranged. Evidently the little vase contained the remains of a small sacrifice, and the clay man guarded the entrance to some sacred spot.

It is obvious that the whole group formed a complete series within which each type had an individual significance, but unless it were associated with the other types it lost much of its magical value. It is hard to decide whether such objects are really foundation figurines or simply apotropaic images. But all foundation figurines had an apotropaic meaning, and these objects were buried in brick boxes under the floors of houses which seem always to have been those of priests of the special order of exorcists. They must have been put in place when the floor was laid, and were permanently concealed by the pavement slabs. For that reason the ritual for the exorcism of evil spirits from a sick man which is often thought to explain such figurines as these cannot be applied too literally²). Its intention was to prescribe the correct fashioning of the figurines and the positions in which they were to be temporarily placed about the room and round the couch until they had served their purpose. These images buried below the floors had a more enduring function. But the ritual texts certainly afford some clue to their interpretation. *KAR.* No. 298³), after mentioning the „seven figures of the Sages” whose names were to be written on their thighs, speaks of „seven figures of the Sages who have faces of birds and wings fitted”, and of „seven clay figures of the Sages, covered with gypsum,

¹) Maresch, *MDOG.* No. 51 (1913), pp. 34—35.

²) *KAR.* VII, No. 298; Zimmern, *ZA.* XXXV (1924), pp. 151—54; *BBR.*, p. 169, R. 54.

³) Gressmann, *AOTB.* I, p. 147; Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, p. 9; Sidney Smith, *JRAS.* 1926, pp. 695—701.

cloaked with the skin of a fish, carrying in their right hands the *urigallu* reed, grasping their breasts with their left hands”. Another incantation formula describes: „Seven figures of *eru*-wood, covered with the headdress proper to each, clad with the garment proper to each, having in their right hand an *eru*-wood with seven points, and having wings, bearing in their left hand the vessel of purification”, an accurate description of the third variant of eagle-headed beings. At least we know that to acquire their full magical properties they had to be made in the prescribed way, of the proper material, and placed in pairs or in sets of seven in a box, and that the box had to be buried in exactly the right spot.

Chapter IX

The Assyrian Period

To Shalmaneser III (858—824) is due the best known example of the foundation deposit of a ziggurat such as it must have been customary to place at one, at least, of the four corners; but our lack of knowledge is owing to the fact that as a rule the excavators were unable to penetrate under such enormous masses of masonry. At Ashur, however, the ziggurat of the temple of Ašur was investigated, and the southern corner was found to rest upon a bed of specially prepared objects¹). Upon a layer of reed matting were strewn one thousand little sea shells, one thousand bright blue spherical and cylindrical glass beads, one hundred chips of agate and quartz, some stone beads and bits of lead and iron. In the midst of the layer of beads lay some bronze disks on which was an inscription running concentrically with the end bent up in a spiral in the middle of the disk. It serves to date the ziggurat, for it proclaims: „For Ašur, his Lord, has Shalmaneser dedicated [this], appertaining to the ziggurat”. There can be no question that it refers to anyone but Shalmaneser III. Over the whole layer reed matting was again spread, and the work of construction proceeded.

At Ašur Tiglath-Pileser I built a temple in honour of Anu and Adad. This temple fell into decay, and was in such a ruinous condition that Shalmaneser III, when he wished to restore it, was obliged to raze it to ground level²). Then he began his work of reconstruction, but in order to protect it from mischance he implanted at various points in the foundations certain objects with potent magical or religious properties. The objects themselves were always in pairs and invariably consisted of a bronze axe and a copper sword on too small a scale ever to have been of any real use, and therefore purely symbolical. In the south-east series of chambers eight pairs of weapons came to light and three single specimens, probably because the companion weapon had been destroyed by rust. None were found in other parts of the building, but this may be owing to ancient destruction of one portion of the edifice, and to the fact that in other parts the walls were so well preserved that the excavator did not wish to demolish them to discover what might be underneath. The number of pairs deposited in one place seems to have varied, for two pairs were found at the southern corner of the building, one pair and one sword at the east corner, two pairs at

¹) Andrae, MDOG. No. 54 (1914), pp. 19—21, fig. 5; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 567 (Unger), pl. 270, a.

²) Andrae, MDOG. No. 31 (1906), p. 31, fig. 13; AAT., pp. 53—54, figs. 46—47; Bonnet, Waffen, pp. 21, 83, fig. 9.

the north corner of the court, three pairs at the eastern buttress of the doorway from the court to Room A, and one sword in the Gate-chamber A, all spots which had a special meaning in the temple. The little axe or hatchet is forged with a combination of horizontal and vertical blades and a strengthened shaft-shank into which a hollow bronze shaft-case was tightly wedged, but the wooden shaft it once encased had utterly disappeared. In one group, indeed, traces of wood were found, but they did not seem adapted for the purpose. These small weapons might be thought to have belonged to figurines of wood or some perishable substance, like those from the temple of Ninurta at Babylon¹); but the fragments of wood preserved here would not have been sufficient to compose such figures. In two cases the weapons were corroded together, a proof that they had originally lain side by side. The idea at the root of this offering of symbolical weapons seems contrary to the supposition that they were merely part of the accoutrement of a protective figurine, and not symbols of power in themselves. These deposits contained no inscribed objects, but as the rebuilding of the temple is known to have been the work of Shalmaneser, he only can be responsible for the foundation deposits.

That Shalmaneser III, like his ancestors, maintained the custom of dedicating tablets of precious metal is proved by a gold tablet now in the Collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago which appears to have commemorated the restoration of the fortification walls of Ashur²).

Close to the ziggurat of the temple of Ašur was a collection of forty beads of lapis lazuli and thirty-two beads of alabaster. They were strewn thickly at a short distance below the surface, and some of them bore inscriptions stating that they were vowed by Samsi-Adad (823—810) and Adad-nirari (805—782) „for their life”³). These beads cannot have been foundation offerings; they lay quite close to the surface, and they were offered by two rulers, apparently at various times; they must have been part of a collection of votive offerings, such as those stored in wooden chests in the so-called „shops” at Nippur.

At Nimrud George Smith excavated part of the South-East Palace originally built by Shalmaneser III, but entirely rebuilt by Tiglath-Pileser III (745—727). Smith writes: „Altogether I opened six chambers, all of the same character; the entrances were ornamented with clusters of square pilasters and recesses in the rooms in the same style. In one of the rooms there appeared a brick receptacle let into the floor, and on lifting the brick which covered this, I found six terra-cotta winged figures, closely packed into the receptacle. Each figure was full face, having a head like a lion, four wings, with one hand across the breast, holding a basket in the other and clothed in a long dress to the feet”⁴).

¹) cf. p. 64.

²) Luckenbill, Anc. Records I, p. 251, § 706.

³) Andrae, MDOG. No. 22 (1904), pp. 19, 21; KAH. I, Nos. 31—33, 35—36.

⁴) George Smith, ADisc., p. 78, fig. in text; Layard, NaB., p. 357; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 331; Heuzey, CFAT. (1882), p. 16; Fossey, Magie Assy., p. 114; Zimmern, ZA. XXXV (1924), p. 153; ERE. III, „Charms”, p. 410 (R. Campbell-Thompson); Woolley, JRAS. 1926, pp. 689, 709, note 11; Van Buren, CF., p. 226, No. 1106, fig. 280.

B. M. 90,989—92, 90,998, 91,839 (Fig. 34). These were composite beings who partook of the nature of various living creatures. Most of the figurines were headless, or the face had been damaged, but it seems to have been more like an eagle than a lion; their hair hangs forward over their shoulders in twisted side-locks, usually the mark of a divinity; one pair of wings rises above their shoulders, the other points downward. The long, plain robe girt by a broad belt which they wear conceals their feet. They were coloured with blue derived from copper; the clay is well baked and has a rosy tint. There can be little doubt that there were originally seven figures in the box in accordance with the directions in the ritual texts. It is not certain whom they represent, but some writers consider that they were figures of the *apkallu* order of priests clad in ritual garb in order to impersonate beneficent powers. But like the being clothed with a fish-skin it is far more likely that they are images of those powers themselves, although it is hard to decide precisely which of the many types described in the ritual texts these figurines from Nimrud may represent.

The mound at Khorsabad was one of the first to be investigated by early excavators. As the city was the creation of Sargon II (721—705), and at his death soon faded out of existence, its limited date can be accurately ascertained. In the summer of the year 1854 Victor Place was busy uncovering Sargon's great palace which Botta had discovered. At certain points in the foundations of the city walls and in the beds of especially prepared sand between the bases of the great carved bulls which guarded the Gateways he discovered hundreds of small miscellaneous objects, beads, cylinder seals, cones, clay figurines, rude amulets, shells, stones pierced with a hole; but some of them bore marks which seemed to prove that they had been personal ornaments¹). This made him think that many people must have assisted at the foundation ceremony, and that every person present threw in some little offering to typify their participation in the rite.

In that part of the complex of buildings which he called 'the Serail', but which seems in reality to have been a group of three temples completed by a ziggurat, he was struck by the unusual thickness of what seemed a simple partition wall separating Rooms 17 and 18 from 19 and 20²). He made trial trenches, and between Rooms 18 and 20 he came upon two inscribed cylinder seals. Then at a depth of 2 m. the workmen's picks struck upon an alabaster slab. This he caused to be carefully removed, and it was found to be part of a stone box, the lid of which had been broken by the weight of the wall. Within it were five foundation tablets of gold, silver, bronze, magnesite, and lead. Four of the tablets were at once despatched to the Louvre, but the fifth, the lead one,

¹) Place, NA. I, pp. 90—92; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 332.

²) Place, NA. I, pp. 62—63; II, pp. 303—7; III, pl. 77; Opert, Expédition en Mesopotamie II, pp. 343—50; Pillet, Khorsabad, p. 84; Pottier, Antiq. Assyr., pp. 124—25, Nos. 132—35; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 331; Fossey, Magie Assyr., p. 113; Thureau-Dangin, OLZ. VII (1904), pp. 1—2; Lyon, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons I, pp. 20—27; Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons II, pp. 43—44; Luckenbill, Anc. Records II, pp. 56—59, § 107—15.

was too heavy to move at once; it was afterwards sent to Basrah with the rest of the collection on rafts which sunk with the whole of their freight. With slight variations the tablets all bear the same text: it enumerates Sargon's titles, describes the building of Dur-Sargon, the palace, the temples, and mentions the materials employed in their construction. Several times Sargon declares: "On tablets of gold, silver, bronze, lead, magnesite (?), lapis lazuli, and alabaster I inscribed my name, and I placed them in the foundation walls". But in the only deposit which came to light there was no trace of the lapis lazuli tablet.

This great building also yielded an interesting series of clay figurines. Botta describes how they were found in "little recesses hidden under the pavements of the court, either before the doors, or at other points in the circuit of the walls", hidden in cavities which were "square, receding a little toward the base, garnished with four bricks cemented with bitumen and covered with a fifth brick of the pavement level. At the bottom was a layer of sand in which the little statuettes were placed upright"¹). This is a continuance of the arrangement prescribed in Gudea's time, for here once again there is the brick box waterproofed with bitumen, the filling of fine sand and the figurine, not of copper or bronze it is true, but of clay. There is no mention of fragments of matting, and it is probable that they had entirely disintegrated.

The contents of the brick boxes were a series of clay figurines of various types, each apparently with its own significance and function. One represents a god with a horned cap and a beard carefully arranged in horizontal waves. Louvre, Antiq. Assyr. No. 212²). His features are noble, his thick hair hangs on to his shoulders. His long, plain robe leaves his bare feet uncovered. His arms are broken, but as there is no sign of an abrasion where the hand might have rested against the body it seems probable that both arms were extended from the elbows and that he held a weapon in each hand like the figurines from the temple of Ninurta at Babylon³). It measures 20 cm. in height, and when found beneath the floor of the court still bore traces of vivid blue.

Two other figures were also discovered below the pavement. One was a being with a human body, but the head and paws of a lion. Louvre, Antiq. Assyr. No. 215⁴). It is badly damaged and is eaten away by the salts which have exuded from the clay.

¹) Botta, Mon. V, pp. 41, 168—69, pl. 165; Place, NA. I, p. 195; Heuzey, CFAT. (1882), pp. 1—2.

²) Botta, Mon. I, pl. 21; II, pl. 153; V, pp. 41, 168—69; A. de Longpérier, NAA., No. 262; Heuzey, CFAT. (ed. 1882), p. 19, No. 1; (ed. 1923), pp. 5—6; FA., p. 1, pl. i, fig. 2; Pottier, Antiq. Assyr., p. 152, No. 212, pl. xxxii, fig. 1; Fossey, Magie Assyr., p. 113; Jastrow, Bilder., fig. 69; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., p. 321, fig. 86, C; Jeremias, ATAÖ., p. 323, fig. 133; RLV. IV, 2, "Gründungsurkunde", p. 567 (Unger), pl. 266, d.

³) cf. p. 64.

⁴) Botta, Mon. II, pl. 152 bis, a, b; V, pp. 42, 169; De Longpérier, NAA., No. 268; Pottier, Antiq. Assyr., p. 153, No. 215, pl. xxxii, fig. 5.

More than one specimen of the third type was found. Louvre, Antiq. Assy. Nos. 213—14¹⁾). A man, with abundant locks of hair which break into spiral curls on his head and shoulders, stands with both hands resting on a thick post on his left. Ht. 24 cm. His nose is decidedly curved, his eyes are well-defined below his thick brows, his beard hangs squarely on his chest and is arranged in three stages of horizontal waves, but his upper lip is shaven. His short garment reaches to his knees and is girt by a wide belt. The upper part of the figure is worked entirely in the round, the lower rises in high relief from the background. His hands rest lightly upon the post, and he does not exert any pressure such as would be necessary if he were supposed to be driving it into the ground. He was originally explained as the oriental Herakles, Gilgamesh, but nothing identifies him incontrovertably with that hero. He is far more like the divine or semi-divine „Guardians of the Gate”, and the object he touches must be a door-post like that held by the beings at Ashur.

Yet another type was a being with a cap with one pair of horns and a long garment, hair curling up on his shoulders, and a well-trimmed beard, but the legs of a bull²⁾). Ht. 23 cm. In one example his hands are clasped on his chest, in another his left arm hangs by his side, his right is bent forward from the elbow and he holds some object.

Lastly there is a fantastic being with the head of a carnivorous animal, but feet like those of a bird of prey³⁾). When first discovered it had long ears rising straight up above its head, and there were strong traces of the black colour that once covered it. But now the body is all split and cracked with salt, and the arms have entirely disappeared. Ht. 20 cm.

Here many of the types found under the floors of houses at Ashur are repeated. The armed god, the figure with symmetrical curls, the bull-man crowned with a cap with a single pair of horns; but instead of being in relief they are modelled wholly or partly in the round, and the style is later and more careless. From the similarity of types represented one must conclude that these figurines were buried beneath the floors of rooms in the temple set apart for the use of the priestly exorcists.

It was Esarhaddon (680—669) who erected the South-West Palace at Nimrud, and Layard gives a description of his excavations there. He writes: „A trial trench revealed a box of bricks carefully fitted together, containing several

¹⁾ Botta, Mon. II, pl. 154; V, p. 169; De Longpérier, NAA., Nos. 263—67; Heuzey, CFAT. (ed. 1882), pp. 20—21, Nos. 3—6; (ed. 1923), pp. 6—8; FA., p. 1, pl. i, fig. 1; Pottier, Antiq. Assy., p. 152, Nos. 213—14; Statuettes de tc., p. 3, fig. 3; Babelon, Manuel d'Arch., p. 132, fig. 86; Fossey, Magie Assy., p. 113; Olmstead, HofA., fig. 164; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, p. 567 (Unger), pl. 266, a; VIII, p. 206.

²⁾ Botta, Mon. II, pl. 153, a, c; V, p. 169; Jastrow, Bilder., fig. 69; RLV. VIII, „Mischwesen”, p. 215; Fossey, Magie Assy., p. 113.

³⁾ Botta, Mon. II, pl. 152; V, p. 169; Heuzey, CFAT. (ed. 1882), pp. 19—20, No. 2; FA., p. 2, pl. i, fig. 3; Maspero, Hist. anc. I, p. 632; Rawlinson, FGM. I, p. 342, fig. in text; Jastrow, Bilder., fig. 67; Frank, RA. VII (1910), p. 22, note 1; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 149, fig. 255; Jeremias, HAOG. p. 300, fig. 201; Hunger u. Lamer, AKB., fig. 101.

small heads in unbaked clay of a dark brown colour. These heads were bearded and had a very high pointed cap. They were about 20 ft. below the surface”¹⁾). Everything except the heads had apparently disintegrated, therefore one can only hazard a guess as to what type the figures belonged. As it is expressly stated that there were several heads in the box it is legitimate to surmise that there were originally seven. The figurines cannot have resembled the little man holding a weapon in each hand like those from Babylon or Khorsabad, for of that particular type there were never more than one in each box. The being with clasped hands or holding a flask or post was invariably bareheaded. Possibly they represented the bull-man, but he also generally seems to have been alone in his box. Perhaps they were like the being found at Ur who held a vase and was human in all respects save for his tail²⁾).

The name of *Esagila*, the temple of Marduk at Babylon, is known from a brick stamp of Ashurbanipal. It lay right under the mound Amran, and only a small portion of the vast complex of sacred buildings was excavated³⁾. So famous was the sanctuary that many succeeding rulers wished their names to be remembered as its benefactors, and in consequence the constructions of one period covered up or cut through and destroyed those of an earlier generation. There were no less than six pavements; the two uppermost ones were of stamped bricks of Nebuchadnezzar; the third and fourth bore the stamp of Ashurbanipal, and below the fourth was a single brick with an inscription recounting the work Esarhaddon had done on the temple. The two lowest pavements were unstamped. When the lowest pavement but one was laid several little boxes made of unstamped bricks put together were sunk into the lowest pavement. But when the third pavement was put down the second one was largely destroyed, and the brick boxes connected with it were in many cases injured, or intentionally opened and the contents removed. There were three *cellae* around which most of the boxes found were grouped. In the main *cella* a box, K 2, lay in front of the precise middle of the daïs for the cult statue, and another, K 3, was in line with it, but underneath the substructure for the daïs. K 4 and 5 were also in the *cella* on either side of a door leading to Room D. K 6 and 7 were in Court B, stationed at one end, as K 8 and 9 were at the other end, of an entrance way leading to what was either the narrow chamber or the wide corridor A. K 10 was also in Court B at the corner of one of the square buttresses that marked the doorways from the Court to the chambers beyond; K 11 was at the further side of the same buttress. All these boxes were empty or more or less filled with earth which had fallen into them.

The only box containing anything of interest was K 1 buried in Court B at the corner of the buttress decorating the doorway to the main *cella*, for in it was a

¹⁾ Layard, NIR. II, p. 37; Fossey, Magie Assy., p. 114; Van Buren, CF., p. 200, No. 974.

²⁾ cf. p. 59.

³⁾ Koldewey, TBB., pp. 37—44, pl. xvi; WB., pp. 200—9.

rectangular relief picturing the bull-man holding a standard¹). His face is destroyed, but the lower part of his square beard shows that it, like his body, was presented frontally; his bull's legs and tufted tail are in profile to right, and his arms are extended in that direction so that he might hold the slender shaft of the standard crowned by a solar disk. The figurine of the bull-man from Khorsabad has no standard²), but the one from Ashur stands in the same attitude as this Babylonian example³). Probably the place where this relief was found was part of the quarters assigned to the priests, for the relief is not a type found in temples. The second lowest pavement and the boxes connected with it must have been the work of a ruler earlier than Ashurbanipal, possibly Esarhaddon, one of whose bricks was found loose above this pavement.

¹) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 7 (1900), p. 22, fig. 6; TBB., p. 41, fig. 63; WB., p. 203, fig. 128; Jeremias, HAOG. (1913), p. 116, fig. 97.

²) cf. p. 52.

³) cf. p. 44.

Chapter X

The Babylonian Period

At Nineveh during the early excavations a set of clay figurines came to light. B. M. 90,997, 90,999, 91,835—38 (Fig. 35)¹). They represent a bearded man who wears a short garment girt with a cord with long, tasselled ends. A fish-skin is drawn over his head and covers his shoulders and back like a great mantle. The figurines were of unbaked clay coated with a lime wash on which details were painted. Consequently the modelling was superficial, and the position of the hands is quite indistinct. In some cases he seems to hold some object in both hands. As six of the figurines are preserved there must originally have been seven in the box, but nothing is known as to the circumstances of the discovery. When, however, excavations were renewed there in 1903 in the Northern Palace erected by Ashurbanipal (668—626), at the south side of the entrance, beneath the pavement, a small, roughly made cist of limestone slabs was unearthened, and in it were figurines identical with those previously found²). After a lapse of years excavations again commenced and this time, under the opposite doorsill, a group of what must originally have been seven figures of the man with the fish-skin were found. One was almost complete, the others were almost all eaten away, but six figurines could be distinguished³).

Another type found at Nineveh was that of a man standing frontally, holding in front of him with both hands a rod with a triangular head. B. M. 90,996, 91,841 (Frontispiece)⁴). His hair is in parallel waves over his head and breaks into three spiral curls on each side of his head. His beard is carefully arranged in two layers, the lower ending in tight curls. He wears a robe reaching to his feet and with short sleeves; the lower hem is adorned with a fringe. His feet are bare. This is the same being who appears on the reliefs at Ashur⁵); the

¹) Rawlinson, FGM. I, p. 312, fig. in text; Gu., p. 188, fig. in text; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., pp. 319—21, fig. 86, A, B; Perrot, HAA. II, fig. 211; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 149, fig. 254; Roscher III. „Ea-Oannes”, cols. 580—93 (A. Jeremias); Zimmern, ZA. XXXV (1924), pp. 151—54; RLV. IV, 2, „Göttersymbol”, p. 432 (Unger); Woolley, JRAS. 1926, p. 693, pl. ix, 1; Van Buren, CF., p. 204, No. 994, fig. 251.

²) Campbell-Thompson, Expl. at Nineveh, pp. 61—62.

³) Campbell-Thompson, Expl. at Nineveh, p. 66; Essad Nassouhi, RA. XXII (1925), p. 21, figs. iii-iv.

⁴) Gu., p. 188, fig. in text; Perrot, HAA. II, p. 653, fig. 318; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 149, fig. 256; BuA. II, p. 205, fig. 34; v. Bissing, BGAS. XXVI (1912), p. 12; Mötefindt, Klio XIX (1923), p. 54; Montelius, Die älteren Kulturperioden II, p. 343, fig. 1124; Woolley, JRAS. 1926, p. 706, pl. xii, 14; Van Buren, CF., p. 199, No. 971, fig. 249.

⁵) cf. p. 43.

arrangement of the hair, the face and beard are the same, but in a more sophisticated form. On the relief the door-post resembles a great spear, here it is reduced to a staff with a triangular head which he holds in front of him.

In the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh there were other interesting finds, for Layard discovered five clay models of dogs buried below the floor. B. M. 30,001—5 (Fig. 36)¹). The upper part of these models is in the round, the lower part is engaged in the background. The dogs are of the mastiff breed with rounded muzzles, large, pointed ears, deep chests, slender hindquarters and bushy tails. They are crudely executed, for they were given a bath of lime wash on which colour was applied; some of them have preserved considerable traces of the original tints. On each is engraved its appropriate name, such as „Averter of the Foe”, or „Biter of his Opponent”, and this proves that the dogs are the very ones mentioned in the ritual text *KAR*. No. 298, which ordains that five pairs of dogs should be made, each pair of a different colour, and that one of each colour should be buried on either side of the threshold of a house to drive away evil spirits. The dogs from Nineveh are therefore the group from one side of a doorway. No. 30,001 was once covered with a white wash on which were irregular spots of red ochre, and was a white dog with red spots. No. 30,002 was coloured bright red. No. 30,003 was covered with a white wash to represent the white dog of the ritual text. No. 30,004 has a slightly greenish-blue tint, and was probably intended to depict a grey dog; No. 30,005 was entirely covered with black, much of it still preserved. These dogs were found in a palace, but apparently they sometimes served as real foundation figurines in temples, for it is related that when Nebuchadnezzar restored the temple of the goddess Ninkharrek in Sippar he discovered the ancient dedication inscribed, not on a cylinder, but on a little clay dog²).

Among the objects brought back from Nineveh by Victor Place were six little bronze dogs³). Nothing is known as to how and where they were found, but from the fact that there were six identical models one must conclude that, on the analogy of the clay dogs from Ashurbanipal's palace, they were part of a series of such apotropaic guardians and that on prescribed occasions, or in certain localities, it was proper that the dogs should be of bronze rather than of clay. We are told that Nebuchadnezzar placed two golden dogs, two silver dogs and two dogs of bronze in the foundations of the doors of the temple of Gula⁴); perhaps it was ordained that dogs of metal should usually

¹) Rawlinson, FGM. I, pp. 234—35, fig. in text; Jastrow, Bilder., fig. 71, b—e; Hancock, Mesop. Arch., p. 323, fig. 87; Gu., pp. 221, 239; Meissner, BuA. II, p. 205, pl.-fig. 38; „Magische Hunde”, ZDMG. No. 73 (1919), pp. 176—82; „Apotropäische Hunde”, OLZ. 1922, pp. 201—2; AO. XV, p. 149, fig. 257; Bezold, NB., p. 104, figs. 72—73; Schröder, OLZ. XXII (1919), pp. 114—17; Gadd, RA. XIX (1922), pp. 158—59; Langdon, Kish I, p. 91; RLV. V, „Hund”, p. 410 (Ebeling); Van Buren, CF., p. 230, No. 1123.

²) Langdon, NBK., pp. 110—11, Nr. 13, col. III, 37—41.

³) Pillet, Khorsabad, p. 86; Note des Objets d'Antiquités provenant des fouilles de Ninive, déposés au Ministre d'État par M. V. Place. Paris, le 9 Mai, 1856; Nos. 6—11.

⁴) Langdon, NBK., pp. 164—65, Nr. 19, col. VI, 20—24.

be placed in temples, dogs of clay in palaces or the houses of priests. The date of the bronze dogs from Nineveh is also unknown, but as there are no examples of dogs used for this purpose earlier than the time of Ashurbanipal these dogs may be attributed to the same period.

A little bronze statuette was purchased from a dealer in Baghdad; consequently there is no information as to the place and circumstances of the find¹). It represents the bull-man turned to left, with both hands outstretched to touch a now-vanished post. He has a high, knobbed cap adorned with four pairs of horns, and a girdle round his waist. His peculiarly round beard is formally arranged in a series of spirally coiled, vertical curls. His hair hangs forward on to his shoulders in two great side-locks which curl up at the ends. This bull-man differs from the ones from Ashur and Khorsabad in having a knobbed cap with four pairs of horns, but like the Ashur type he is ithyphallic, and so are the two bull-men on the clay relief VA. 5393, or those on certain seal impressions of the Kassite period where three such beings, all holding a post, stand in post-procession²). The work is good and sharp, but it is unusual to have a figure in the round of the bull-man, who is generally portrayed in relief, and this is the only example of a bronze statuette of the type. One might hazard a suggestion that, like the dogs, the clay figurines of the type were buried in palaces or the houses of priests, the replicas in bronze in temples. As nothing is known of the provenance it is hard to date it. The sharp precision of every detail, the close adherence to an earlier tradition, the general style of the work seem to set it near to the clay figurines of this period, for it is quite different from the more fluid treatment of a later age when types were softened and humanized in accordance with more flexible religious ideas.

Among the collection of clay figurines and reliefs found at Sippar by V. Scheil was a relief of a bull-man of precisely this type³). The spot where the objects were discovered was thought to be a potter's shop. „His stock was divided into several little cases or compartments separated by walls about 1 m. in ht. over the whole area. One only of these compartments contained the terra-cotta animals⁴).” This account implies that the objects were in boxes, but of unusually large dimensions for foundation boxes. More probably they were part of a collection of votive offerings in a temple treasury, a theory strengthened by the fact that they were very varied in character, and that, although some of them, such as the bull-man and the fantastic animals, conform to the types of foundation figurines, others belong to other categories, and one, the little dog dedicated to the goddess Me-Me, was a votive offering.

Outside the boundaries of the *temenos* in which stood the ziggurat and the temple of Nannar at Ur was *Gig-Par-Ku*, the earlier site of the sanctuary of

¹) De Mecquenem, RA. XXI (1924), p. 115, fig. 9.

²) C. B. S. 8092, 8094; Legrain, PBS. XIV, p. 281, No. 492, pl. xxvi.

³) Scheil, SFS., p. 87, No. 9; I. O. M. 1357; Meyer, SS., p. 57, note 1; Friedrich. BAss. V (1906), p. 472, fig. in text; Van Buren, CF., p. 209, No. 1012.

⁴) Scheil, SFS., p. 91.

Ningal¹). In the Kassite period this temple was in ruins, and instead of rebuilding it on the same spot Kuri-Galzu chose an entirely new site within the sacred area and there erected a temple in honour of the goddess. Where the earlier shrine had stood arose a dwelling, perhaps for the use of the priest. In course of time this building was rebuilt or altered again and again, until finally about 650 B. C. a restorer who, from the evidence supplied by the methods and materials used in the building and from other indications, seems to have been the Assyrian governor, Sin-balatsu-ikbi, found everything in such a ruinous condition that all he could do was to level the area and start afresh. Beneath the brick floors of certain rooms in this house a very interesting series of mud figurines were discovered. The boxes containing them were placed in a prescribed order against the walls of the rooms, and each box was made of three plano-convex bricks, leaving the side turned toward the room open, so that the figurine within could survey the whole space. The lid of the box consisted of a pavement brick fitted into place above the deposit. In every box were one or more figurines planted upright, and also remains of food stuffs and bones of small animals or birds, all that was left of the little sacrifice which had consecrated the establishment of each figure in its proper niche. There were at least twelve different types of figurines, and the care with which they were excavated furnishes invaluable information as to whether it was proper to put a single specimen or several of any particular type in a box, and the exact order in which they had to be arranged, some along the sides of the rooms, others always on either side of a doorway: at times the types alternated, such as type 3 and type 7; or two of one type were placed between two of another, for instance, a pair of type 10 between two boxes of type 4, or two of type 9 flanked by two of type 3.

The figurines were all of unbaked clay, some modelled by hand, others made in a mould. After they had been lifted from the mould and dried many of them were dipped into a bath of thick lime which coated them all over like a coarse slip and obliterated details of modelling. Therefore such details were roughly painted on the slip in black with occasional touches of red, but in a few cases they were painted directly on the reddish-brown clay, or the whole surface was washed black. Little of the white slip could be preserved, for it easily flaked off, and the clay was impregnated with salts which crystallized inside the figures and split or distorted them.

No. 1. A bearded man wearing a fish-skin, the fish's head making a high, pointed cap, its body covering the wearer's shoulders and back. The man always stands with one leg advanced, but the position of his arms varies, for there are three variants; both hands are clasped in front of his chest; or the left hangs down and holds some object, while with his right he clutches his chest; or both arms are extended. Seven were always found in one box. It is the same type as that found at Ashur²).

¹) Woolley, *AJ.* VI (1926), pp. 378—79, pl. lvi, b; *JRAS.* 1926, pp. 692—708, fig. 28 (plan of positions in rooms), pls. ix-xi, figs. 1—10; *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 156, pl. xiv, a.

²) cf. p. 45.

No. 2. A being with the head crowned with a crest and the wings of a bird, and a human body swathed in a long, foldless garment below which its human feet peep forth. One arm is usually folded across the breast, the other hand is lowered and holds a little bucket, but there are variants of this attitude. There were seven in a box. This type also was found at Ashur where its characteristics as an eagle-headed being are more strongly marked and where there were three variants¹).

No. 3. A god wearing a low rounded cap with one pair of horns, and a long, plain garment. He holds a sword, and has affinities with the god found at Khorsabad²). Each one seems to have been alone in his box.

No. 4. A bareheaded, bearded man who holds a staff. Once more there was one in each box. This type is like the one found at Ashur, Khorsabad, and especially at Nineveh³).

No. 5. A bareheaded, bearded man holding a vase with both hands in front of him. On some of the figures black, wavy lines to typify water were painted on the white slip, and thus they fulfil the ritual directions: „The third, covered with gypsum and with water drawn on him in black wash⁴).” No water is visible flowing from the vase, and therefore it may have contained the mass of honey and butter mentioned in the texts as part of the prescribed offering. The type is well known from many sites, but was always found in houses and never in temples. They vary considerably in size.

No. 6. A small nude male figure with a horned cap. He is bearded and has thick hair curling up on his shoulders and a tail which has generally been broken off, but was evidently very thick at the root and stood straight up. He held a vase with both hands. The figures were covered with a coat of lime. This type resembles the being on a kudurru of the seventh century from Babylon, now VA., who, however, holds a door-post and has the legs of a bull in addition to a short, brushlike tail which curls upward, and resembles the tails of dragons of the early period. There was only one in a box.

No. 7. The bull-man. The head was so damaged by the action of salt that only the high, horned cap and the beard could be traced. The hands met and held some object in front of him. The bull-man is one of the essential component parts of these groups, but it would be strange to find him holding a vase; perhaps he clasped an atrophied door-post. The figure is larger than most of the others, and was dipped in lime and details were afterwards painted in black.

No. 8. A being with a human head and body, but the legs and claws of a bird of prey. He is bearded and has a horned cap and a garment. His left arm is broken, but seems to have been outstretched, his right is extended straight out from his body. Only one example was found. Details were painted black on the white slip.

¹) cf. p. 43.

²) cf. p. 51.

³) cf. pp. 43, 52, 55.

⁴) *KAR.* VII, No. 298, 6.

No. 9. A being with a human body and the head of a cat. He wore a heavy, foldless garment, and his right arm is held well away from the body and sharply turned up from the elbow, for the hand originally held a clay club; the clenched left hand is pressed against the chest. A black wash was painted all over on a lime basis. Perhaps these are the figures described in the ritual text as: „Clay figures of the lion-man, on their sides write, 'Bolt out the supporter of the evil head'." These figures have been discussed and classified as demons¹⁾.

No. 10. A figure resembling a bear standing on its hind legs with its right arm raised to brandish a club (now broken); the left hand is held in front of the body. There is only one example, and it is much distorted by the action of the salt. Details in black were painted on the lime wash. This figure and the previous one recall the fantastic animals found at Sippar and Kish.

No. 11. The *mušruš* dragon with a dog-like body, the head of a serpent and a long tail. The discovery of this dragon among the other types in this collection suggests that the numerous clay reliefs of dragons may have a similar meaning²⁾.

No. 12. Snakes, roughly made by hand, and without any traces of lime wash. Two snakes were found in one room, each in its own box, and two more in the adjoining room, for evidently it was ordained that the boxes containing them should be buried in pairs.

From the plan which Mr. Woolley gives in fig. 28 the exact order of the boxes can be seen.

In the Neo-Babylonian period the temple of Ningal lay in the area south-east of the ziggurat. It was Sin-balatsu-ikbi, governor of Ur about 650 B. C., who built it, for his name occurs on the pavement bricks, and he was proved to be the founder because thirteen cones inscribed by him with a dedication of the shrine to the goddess Ningal were discovered *in situ*, set upright each in a bed of bitumen in cavities below the walls and pavements³⁾. The temple was restored by Nabonidus who, however, did not alter the original plan. Yet the whole edifice was so damaged that very little could be made out as to the ritual practised in it. The floor of the *cella* had been broken up by plunderers, but evidence for the one-time existence of a foundation deposit was afforded by a big gold bead and two fragments of gold leaf. A bronze figurine of a dog was unearthed from under the floor of Room 7.

The temple was built in accordance with a very complicated plan. Apparently the purely religious portion was separated from that part where were the storerooms and business offices connected with the temple estate by a street. A few courses of Larsa bricks were revealed covered by Kassite work which, in its turn, disappeared under the constructions of Neo-Babylonian times. Under the floor of one chamber belonging to the later phase of the temple were three brick boxes. Two of them were destroyed, but the third enclosed seven figurines of a man covered with a fish-skin⁴⁾. The figurines

¹⁾ Frank, RA. VII (1910), pp. 21—32.

²⁾ Van Buren, CF., pp. 187—88, Nos. 942—45, figs. 239—40.

³⁾ Woolley, AJ. V (1925), pp. 368—69, pl. xxxv, 1.

⁴⁾ Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 375; JRS. 1926, p. 693.

had been modelled in unbaked clay and then dipped in a bath of white lime. The lime formed a thick coating on the figurines, and on this surface details, such as the fish-scales, were coarsely painted in black with touches of red. Unfortunately they had suffered badly from damp which percolated down from the floor level, and of the whole number found, only two were at all recognisable. Most likely the two damaged boxes once held figurines of other types belonging to the series; it is a pity that everything had perished so completely that no deductions can be drawn as to the arrangement of the various types and that there was nothing to indicate the nature of the room in which they were found.

Great was the renown enjoyed by the temple of the Sun-god at Sippar. In the course of centuries many rulers showed their piety by restoring, adding to, or embellishing the sanctuary; this is illustrated by a discovery made by Rassam when he was excavating the shrine. In clearing out a chamber the diggers came upon an asphalt pavement and under it, in the south-eastern corner of the chamber and about 3 ft. below the surface, was a clay coffer containing a marble tablet¹⁾. On each side of the box was a label to explain the relief carved at the top of the marble tablet, for they were inscribed: „Image of Shamash, the great Lord, dwelling in *E-babbara*, situated in Sippar." In addition to the marble tablet the box contained two terra-cotta moulds, reproducing all the details of the relief. B. M. 19,001—4; I. O. M. 459²⁾. The inscription covers both the obverse and the reverse of the tablet, and is a long and detailed record of how Nabu-aplu-iddina (c. 851) re-endowed the Sun-god's temple. The king describes how the temple had fallen into decay, and as it had been pillaged by the Sutean tribes the image of the Sun-god had been destroyed, and all efforts to find an exact copy were in vain. At last a clay model of the image was discovered by chance on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and from this model a new image was fashioned. Then the king re-endowed the temple and supervised the re-ordering of the ritual and the business connected with its estates. The list of witnesses and the date are given, and curses are invoked upon whosoever should disturb the record.

But in course of time it was disturbed, for on the back of one of the clay moulds is an inscription of Nabopolassar (625—605) with a statement of how he restored the temple and a list of the offerings he deposited in it. He piously adhered to the injunctions of his predecessor concerning his record, but in order that it might be preserved with the utmost care he ordered a clay coffer

¹⁾ Rassam, Ashur, pp. 401—2; Rogers, HBA. I, p. 292.

²⁾ King, BBSt., p. 120, note 1, pls. xviii-cii; Babyl. Relig., fig. p. 18; HB., p. 261, pl. xxiii; Gu., pp. 69—71, 2 figs. in text, pl. xxvi; Essad Nassouhi, Guide, p. 31; Pinches, TSB. III (1883—85), pp. 164—67; Perrot, HAA. II, pp. 209—10, fig. 71; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., p. 117, fig. 5; Meissner, BuA. I, p. 323, pl.-fig. 184; Mötefindt, Klio XIX (1923), p. 52; RLV. IV, 2, „Götterbild", p. 425 (Unger); „Gründungs-urkunde", p. 566, pl. 198, b; Van Buren, CF., pp. 189—91, No. 950; Johannes Jeremias, BAss. I, pp. 268—92; Langdon, NBK., No. 5, pp. 15, 70—71, Nr. 5.

to be made, and in it he placed Nabu-aplu-iddina's marble tablet, the two labels to explain the picture, and two terra-cotta moulds which reproduced the scene carved on the tablet, so that if that were broken any future prince might take casts from the moulds, and the image of the Sun-god would never again be entirely lost.

The scene carved in relief is that of a worshipper, probably the king himself, introduced into the presence of the god Shamash who, wearing a horned cap and flounced robe, sits upon a carved stool beneath which two figures of the bull-man act as supports. In his right hand the god holds the ring and staff, and with his left seems to grasp the end of his long beard. Dr. Andrae has pointed out that the shrine is a perfect example of the primitive shelter made by the reed mat being drawn up at the back and fastened to the top of two lofty poles made of bundles of reeds tied together¹). Here only one of the two columns is given, but it clearly shows the triple binding of the bundle at the top and bottom and the crown of leaves at the top. The edge of the awning is outlined by a conventionalised snake, its head resting on the capital. Its presence is explained by the inscription beside the god's crown: „Crown of Shamash, the serpent has two faces”, a description carried out by the busts of two godlings who appear to sit on the serpent's head. They lean forward and hold the ends of the ropes by which the monstrous disk of the Sun-god is suspended above the altar placed in front of the shrine. High up under the awning are symbols of the sun, the moon and the planet Venus, and the shrine stood upon the Celestial Ocean, in which four small disks set at regular intervals seem intended for the four cardinal points. On a smaller scale than the deity are the three figures who approach him. The first seems to be a minor god or a priest who grasps the leg of the altar with one hand and with the other leads forward the suppliant. Behind them stands a goddess in an attitude of supplication. The style of the work suggests that the half of the scene portraying the god in his shrine was really derived from a good model, the ancient image found by Nabu-aplu-iddina, and that the scene illustrated on the other half was the creation of an artist of the king's own time. The clay copies, on the other hand, were made at the order of Nabopolassar, and to him the whole arrangement of the foundation deposit is due. It is a proof of the reverence with which he treated his predecessor's tokens, and also of his solicitude for the proper performance of the foundation rites.

Sippar was not the only place where traces of Nabopolassar's religious fervour can be discerned. At Babylon, as one would expect, his activity can be traced. He built himself a palace there, and below the floor in the middle of the doorway of one chamber he set a clay figurine of a god with a lofty cap with four pairs of horns on which are traces of blue colour and below which a little fringe of curls is visible. Iraq Museum (Fig. 37)²). Ht. 17 cm. His beard is rendered by vertical rows of squares to indicate strands of carefully waved hair, and his

¹) Andrae, *Gotteshaus*, p. 42, figs. 30, 64.

²) Koldewey, *WB.*, p. 117, fig. 69; Schäfer-Andrae, *KAO.*, pl. 523, 4.

little moustache turns down squarely on each side of his lips. His long robe has short sleeves and a wide belt. His left arm hangs by his side, but the hand was pierced for the handle of a weapon; his right is raised as if he were about to hurl a spear, but his hand and the weapon he once held are lost. This is precisely the attitude of the little man found beneath the big pot in a house at Ashur, or the pair from the Library at Kish¹); probably this godling, like the others, once had a copper belt with a sword thrust through it in addition to the spear and axe he carried. Figurines of this type never seem to have been associated with temples, but with palaces or the houses of priests, and it is probable that the room where this one was found was not a sleeping chamber as the excavator surmised, but that the little god guarded the threshold of some precinct set apart for a special purpose.

The temple of Ishtar of Agade lay in the midst of houses on the northern slopes of the „Merkes”. This temple, the smallest so far known at Babylon, was on a street which, in front of the sacred edifice, widened out into a piazza²). It is possible to distinguish three phases in the construction. It is not known definitely who the builder of the earliest sanctuary was, but the bricks used for the boxes are the size characteristic of the work of Nabopolassar, and other evidence points to him as the person most likely to have erected a temple to Ishtar in that particular aspect. To this older temple belong two foundation boxes, one, K 4, under the east corner of the western buttress at the main entrance to the South front; the other, K 5, in the *cella* under the south corner of the daïs for the cult statue. The boxes were put together of unstamped bricks 31 cm. square, bricks of the dimensions and quality employed by Nabopolassar who, in his earlier work, did not always stamp his bricks. The boxes were made watertight by smearing lime mortar over the joins. The box at the temple Gate contained only a shapeless mass of clay, all that remained of a figurine. The other in the *cella* was better preserved³). In it was a figurine of unbaked clay representing a bearded god with a horned cap and a long robe. He had been placed with his back, on which he bore a three-line inscription, to the west wall of the box, but his base had crumbled and he had toppled over and rested against the south-west corner. His left arm hung by his side, his right was extended from the elbow, but the arm was broken off at that point and lay at his feet, the hand still grasping a short wooden rod which must have measured about 3 cm. in length. It had become carbonized in the long-enclosed, fetid air, but near the little bits of charcoal lay a ferrule of thin gold foil which had once capped the end. Upon the ground in front of the clay man were crumbling shreds of woven stuff, all that was left of the matting once spread beneath the figurine. Thus in the time of Nabopolassar the traditional elements of a foundation offering were faithfully reproduced. The box

¹) cf. pp. 46, 71.

²) Reuther, *MDOG.* No. 45 (1911), p. 26—33; *ISB.*, p. 123—40, pl. 29; Koldewey, *WB.*, p. 288—92, fig. 244 (ground plan).

³) Reuther, *MDOG.* No. 45 (1911), pp. 31—32, figs. 8, 9; *ISB.*, p. 126, pls. 40, c, d, 41, a—d.

was of brick plastered to make it waterproof, matting was spread within it, and on this stood the figurine prepared for its long vigil.

Epatutilla, the temple of Ninurta, lay to the south of the city area, and its name was ascertained from a building cylinder of Nabopolassar. Every important point in the temple precincts was safeguarded by the establishment below the soil of the figurine appropriate to that particular locality¹). In the middle of the East Gateway were two brick boxes, K 1 and 2, but they were empty. A doorway admitted one from the anteroom of the Gateway to the great Court, and to the right and left of this doorway on the Court side were the brick boxes, K 7 and 8. They had once contained identical figurines of perishable material, probably of wood, for the wooden hands are partly preserved. These statuettes had a copper belt across their chests, and a copper girdle into which a long dagger was thrust, and in their right hand each held an immense copper sword, in their left hand a little mace with an onyx head²). These godlings were especially appropriate in this temple, for Ninurta was the God of War; but their attitude was not actively aggressive; they were the armed guardians of the sacred precinct.

This temple possessed Gateways at the north and south; these were a deviation from the usual arrangement, and were made on purpose to give free access to processions passing through the temple. Below the threshold of each Gateway was a brick box, and K 6 of the North Gateway, just like K 14 of the South Gateway, contained the copper sword and belt of a figurine which had entirely perished³). From the anteroom of the North Gateway one entered the Court, and within the Court to each side of the doorway were the brick boxes K 9 and 10, quite empty. In K 12 and 13 on the Court side of the entrance from it to the South Gateway were traces of figurines, for in K 13 were a wooden hand and a little copper diadem⁴).

On the west side of the Court lay the main *cella* with a secondary *cella* on each side of it. At the inner corners of the profiled buttresses of the main *cella* which projected into the corner two boxes, K 15 and 16, enclosed the scanty remains of figurines who both carried a little copper bucket⁵). In the main *cella*, one metre below the level of the substructures for the daïs of the cult statue, but on axis in the middle of the room, was K 17, and in it was a figurine of unbaked clay, a bearded man with thick hair clustering on his shoulders, a horned cap and a long robe reaching to his bare feet⁶). His left arm hangs straight down, his right is bent forward from the elbow and the

¹) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), p. 5; TBB., pp. 27—30, pl. vii; WB., p. 226.

²) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), p. 5; TBB., p. 27, figs. 26—27; WB., p. 226, fig. 145; Jeremias, HAOG., fig. 235; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde“, pl. 268, c; „Götterbild“, p. 424 (Unger).

³) Koldewey, TBB., p. 29, figs. 37—38.

⁴) Koldewey, TBB., p. 29.

⁵) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), p. 5; TBB., p. 29, fig. 38, (right).

⁶) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), p. 5; TBB., pp. 29—30, figs. 34—36; WB., p. 226, fig. 146; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., p. 323.

hand, now broken off, must have held some object, presumably a slender rod to which was fastened the tiny gold band which lay at the feet of the figurine. It does not seem to have been a staff like that held by the godlings buried under the bases of cult statues; a staff of that kind, however, was found in the temple rubbish and must have belonged to the statuette which once stood in a box beneath the now vanished daïs for the cult statue. On the back of the figurine from the middle of the *cella* a four-line inscription was cut, but it is now badly damaged. In the south *cella* were three little boxes in a row, K 3, 4 and 5, but in them nothing could be recognised. To one side of a doorway in the north-west series of chambers was a box K 11.

This is the most complete collection of foundation figurines discovered in a temple, and thanks to the scientific exactitude of the excavator much can be learnt as to the disposition of the various types. The armed godling guarded the Gateways and the path from the Gateway to the Court. At the entrance to the main *cella* were beings holding buckets, tokens of offerings; in the *cella* itself was a godling with a gold-ornamented rod; below the base of the cult statue was a god with a gold staff.

Five clay figurines of a bearded man who is bareheaded and holds a flask with both hands were found loose in the temple precincts¹). This type was not normally found in boxes in temples, but in the fillings below the floors of houses which seem to have been dwellings for priests. Perhaps these specimens came from the more outlying parts of the sanctuary where the priests had their quarters.

¹) Koldewey, WB., p. 32, fig. 49.

Chapter XI

The Late Babylonian Period

To west of the temple of Ninurta stood Temple „Z” on the Amran mound. In the constructions brick stamps of Nebuchadnezzar were found, and the evidence seems to prove that the temple belonged to the middle years of his reign, about 600 B. C. The approaches to the sanctuary and every spot that was especially sacred were protected by foundation deposits in the form of a box made of six bricks buried below the pavement¹). Two such boxes, K 1 and 2, stood on either side of the main Eastern Gateway; two others, K 5 and 6, guarded the Northern Gateway. The broad entrance-way leading from the Court to the vestibule of the *cella* was ornamented on the Court side by profiled buttresses, and at the inner corner of these buttresses were the two boxes K 3 and 4. K 8 was right in the middle of the entrance-way, and under the substructures for the daïs of the cult statue was K 7.

It is probable that this was the temple of a female divinity, perhaps Gula, for instead of the martial godling stationed at the entrance to resist all foes, here, at the main entrance, K 5 contained a clay model of a bird, perhaps in conformity with the inscription accompanying it a ferocious bird of prey, and close to it was a shapeless little bit of clay bearing a four-line inscription²). A hole in the top of this little fragment shows that it was really a label, and it was originally fastened to the bird by a wooden pin. The inscription, although it is plainly written, is difficult to decipher. It was apparently a formula of aversion, and it has been translated as follows: „May the bird’s claws drag down the foe’s face from the Gate, may it hold back his breast, keep far his devastating steps.”

The brick box, K 7, situated underneath the daïs of the cult statue, held a well-preserved figurine of unbaked clay personifying a god with a high cap ending in a knob and encircled by a single pair of horns, and a long robe leaving uncovered his bare feet³). His long hair hangs down at the back and is turned up and tucked under the rim of his cap; his square beard is formally arranged in horizontal waves; his upper lip is shaven. His left arm hangs by his side,

¹) Koldewey, TBB., pp. 19—20, pl. v; WB., pp. 218—21.

²) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), p. 13; TBB., p. 19, figs. 20—21; WB., p. 218; Woolley, JRAS. 1926, p. 692, note 1; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, pp. 566—67, (Unger), pl. 269, b, c.

³) Koldewey, MDOG. No. 11 (1901), pp. 12—13; TBB., pp. 20, 68, figs. 32—33; WB., pp. 220—21, figs. 140—41; Handcock, Mesop. Arch., p. 323; Meissner, AO. XV, p. 85, fig. 153; Sidney Smith, JRAS. 1926, p. 710, note 21.

his right is bent forward from the elbow, and he holds a slender gold rod. The figurine measures 20 cm. in height, and is the best example of the type which has come down to us. On the shoulder is an inscription of four lines testifying that this being is the „Messenger of the Gods”.

Most of the other boxes were empty, but in K 8 the contents consisted of a heap of sand and one gold bead, all that remained of a sumptuously adorned offering. But the mention of sand is interesting, for it proves that in the time of Nebuchadnezzar the traditions of earlier ages were maintained.

The temple of Ninmakh was on the „Kasr”, and the constructions were of the time of Nebuchadnezzar¹). The main entrance was on the north side, and there, on either side of the Gateway, was a box of six bricks, K 1 and 2. In the eastern box, K 2, were the clay model of a bird and the tiny clay label with an almost illegible inscription²). The other box was empty. The buttresses adorning the doorway from the Court to the vestibule of the *cella* were marked as especially important by two boxes, K 3 and 4, but a trench dug by an earlier excavator, possibly Rassam, had destroyed one of them; the other, K 4, was undisturbed, but was devoid of contents. In the *cella*, beneath the substructures for the base of the cult statue, was a small brick box, K 7, with a figurine of the same type as that found in Temple „Z”³). The upper part of the figurine had crumbled away, but the lower part and the arm with the gold rod were well preserved, and it stood in a layer of sand, proving that even at that late period it was customary, whenever possible, to maintain the symbolical contact of the figurines with the earth. The boxes, K 5 and 6, were buried in the *cella*, one on either side of the doorway leading to Anteroom 2; they were filled almost full of clean sand, and nothing else was found in them⁴).

As stated before the first temple of Ishtar of Agade seems to have been built by Nabopolassar⁵); its subsequent history is harder to understand. It was rebuilt twice, and the second time undoubtedly by Nabonidus whose building cylinder found *in situ* made known the name of the temple; he states that he found the building in an absolutely ruinous condition⁶). The first time the temple was rebuilt on the same level, but with a slightly altered ground plan. The second time it was rebuilt the same ground plan was adhered to, but the level was raised five metres, and to this second rebuilding the building cylinder of Nabonidus belongs. There is more uncertainty as to the builder of the second temple. The bricks of the podium, the walls of the rooms, the pavement and

¹) Koldewey, TBB., pp. 6—13, pl. iii; WB., pp. 55—59.

²) Koldewey, TBB., p. 7, figs. 4—5; WB., p. 57; Karl Hau, „German Excavations at Babylon 1901—2,” Records of the Past II (1903), p. 273; Meissner, OLZ. XXVI (1923), p. 619; RLV. IV, 2, „Gründungsurkunde”, pp. 566—67 (Unger), pl. 268, b.

³) Koldewey, TBB., p. 13, figs. 15—16; WB., p. 59.

⁴) Koldewey, TBB., p. 14, fig. 18.

⁵) cf. p. 63.

⁶) Reuther, MDOG. No. 45 (1911), pp. 26—32; No. 47 (1911), pp. 20—24; Koldewey, WB., pp. 288—92, fig. 244.

the cases for the door sockets at the main entrance, and even those of which the foundation boxes were made all bore a four-line inscription of Nebuchadnezzar who, in consequence, was thought by the excavators to have been responsible for the first rebuilding. But more recently a theory has been advanced that Nabonidus was the author of the first rebuilding as well as of the second¹). According to this theory the architect of Nabonidus erected the new temple at the same level as that of Nabopolassar, and completed the final details of smoothing and painting the walls, thus proving that even the roof had been put in place. He then discovered that as the ground level all round had risen considerably the site had become a cesspool into which all the water of the area drained, and at the king's order he tore down the upper part of the walls, filled in the lower part with earth to a height of 5 m., and began the building again at the higher level thus obtained. It seems remarkable that Nabonidus, in the later, troublous years of his reign, should have been able to demolish a building only just completed, and immediately set up another on the site. It would not be unheard of for one ruler to use a few bricks of his predecessor, but it was strange to make exclusive use of such bricks, and it would be the only time that a monarch dedicated foundation boxes made of bricks bearing a stamp not his own. Such a course would vitiate all the merit of the offering, and would divert from the dedicant any benefit to be derived from his act of piety, for the gods, looking down upon the offering, would naturally think it was the work of Nebuchadnezzar whose inscription the bricks bore, and would bestow their blessing upon him rather than upon Nabonidus.

The foundation boxes belonging to the first rebuilding were three in number. They stood with their lower half sunk into the bed of lime plaster prepared for the pavement, and with their upper half sticking up into the loose, filling earth packed in to make the raised level for the second rebuilding. All three boxes were made of six bricks put together, stamped with the four-line inscription of Nebuchadnezzar. They are now in the Iraq Museum. K 1 lay under the threshold of the main entrance on the South front, right in the middle of the Gateway²). When the box was opened all that was left were a number of depressions in the loose earth filling with impressions of tiny bits of wood that had perished without leaving any other traces. The attempt to reconstruct the figurine by taking a cast was in vain. K 2 lay in the middle of the doorway leading from the Court to the Anteroom 17, and in it the lower part of a figurine was preserved³); it had once consisted of wood or some perishable material, and had been coated with a thick slip. The core was worn away, but the coating like a hollow sheath still remained, and bits of the upper part of the figurine had sunk down into it. Near it lay two gold objects, a tiny ring or band, and a bit of gold foil pointed at one end and something like a dagger

¹) Reuther, ISB., pp. 137—40.

²) Reuther, MDOG. No. 47 (1911), p. 20; ISB., p. 133, pl. 40, a; Koldewey, WB., p. 288.

³) Reuther, MDOG. No. 47 (1911), p. 20; ISB., p. 133, pl. 40, b; Koldewey, WB., pp. 288, 291.

in shape, length 12 mm. In spite of the fact that this was the shrine of a goddess, these fragments suggest that the figurine embodied the type of the armed godling, but that here, possibly because it was a female divinity who was honoured, their accoutrement was especially splendid, and was gilded instead of being of plain copper like those from the temple of Ninurta.

In the *cella* only meagre traces of the daïs for the cult statue were preserved, but in the north corner of the niche at a depth of 2 m. 50 lay the box K 3¹). Inside it was a figurine of unbaked clay, but all the lower part had disintegrated. It was a bearded god with a horned cap, and enough of the upper part of the arms exists to enable one to ascertain that the type represented was that of a god with his left arm hanging by his side, his right extended forward from the elbow and holding in his hand a staff of gold or of gilded wood or copper. On his back and shoulders was a three-line inscription which has not yet been deciphered.

At Borsippa the chief sanctuary was *Ezidu*, the temple of Nabu. Built into the daïs for the cult statue were thirteen inscribed bricks of Nebuchadnezzar, thus certifying that the building was due to him²). In the substructures of the daïs, at a depth of 2 m. 50 below the pavement, a brick box was built into the extraordinarily massive masonry, and within it had once stood a figurine. When the box was opened, however, all that remained was the lump of clay into which the figure had dissolved, the gold staff he had carried, and a tiny silver plaquette ornamented with a relief of three musicians which may have been the buckle of a belt. More important is the gold staff, for that proves that here again, as in similar positions in the *cellae* of temples at Babylon, the figurine had been the type of a bearded man with a horned cap and long robe, holding in his right hand his wand of office.

At Borsippa³), as at Babylon⁴), clay figurines were found sporadically at different times in the course of the excavations. When they came to light in the vicinity of a temple it is permissible to suppose that they had originally formed part of the series of symbolical temple defenders. When, on the contrary, they were discovered in the city area, it is more likely that they belonged to the other series of apotropaic beings who were buried below the floors of houses. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that most of them represent the type of a bearded man, bareheaded and wearing a long garment, who holds a small vase in front of him with both hands. This type is precisely the one that predominated among the figurines found below the floor of the dwelling of the priests at Warka⁵); but there is no proof that it was ever found in a box in a temple. Evidently the functions of this being were different from those of the temple guardians.

¹) Reuther, MDOG. No. 45 (1911), p. 28; ISB., p. 133, fig. 87; Koldewey, WB., p. 288, fig. 243.

²) Koldewey, TBB., pp. 53—54, pl. xii.

³) Ashmolean Museum, Borsippa 1924.

⁴) Koldewey, TBB., p. 32, fig. 50; WB., p. 273, fig. 213; Frank, KGB. I, 2. Heft, 56, 6.

⁵) cf. p. 38.

About the year 600 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar seems to have found the Great Courtyard of the *temenos* at Ur in utter ruins¹). He raised the floor level two metres, but probably his building, which has now completely vanished, followed the main lines of the Courtyard designed by Kuri-Galzu. Against the outer jambs of the door of Room 6 were two boxes fashioned of bricks bearing the stamp of Nebuchadnezzar. Inside them was nothing but piles of earth, and, in one of them, a broken potsherd. It has been suggested that this was a bit of a vessel once containing foodstuffs or remains of sacrifices, and that the figurines may have been of wood which, in that damp soil, would have perished without leaving any trace. There were also boxes against the door jambs of Room 5, but they were of unbaked brick with lids of baked brick, and bore no stamp. They were quite empty.

At Kish a large part of the mound Ingharra was occupied by a vast temple with its subsidiary buildings of the Neo-Babylonian period, built over an older edifice with a different orientation to which the ziggurats belonged²). This was most likely *E-Hursagkamma*, the temple of Ishtar as Goddess of War, but not a single inscription or inscribed monument was found to throw any light upon the subject. The shrine complex consisted of the *cella* with a small room to the right and left of it, and in front of it a double row of three rooms each which served as anterooms. The three outer anterooms, 8-7-9, were connected with the Court by three doorways, and beneath the threshold of these doorways, right in the middle of each, and at a comparatively slight depth lay three boxes made of bricks with a stamp of Nebuchadnezzar. Two of them were empty; in the third was a gold pin with a lapis lazuli head³). They are now in the Field Museum, Chicago.

The *cella* was paved with baked plano-convex bricks of unusual size, apparently made by the Neo-Babylonians for this particular purpose, because they were the type considered especially sacred. At the back of the *cella* was a shallow niche in which stood the *daïs* for the cult statue, and immediately below the pavement, 1 m. 90 from the back wall of the *cella*, was a box made of baked bricks measuring 31 × 31 × 14 cm., each bearing a stamp of Nebuchadnezzar; the joins were smeared with plaster to render the box water-tight⁴). There were traces of bitumen on the back of the bricks, and therefore it has been thought that this proves that „they must have been in mortar in some wall previously and been removed from their original position”, and that therefore the box derives from the time of Nabonidus. But this does not necessarily follow. If the traces of bitumen were on the *backs* of the bricks, that means they were on the inner side of the box, for the inscription was on the front, or outer side; thus it is an interesting proof of the maintainance of a long-established tradition which decreed that the boxes should be plastered inside with bitumen to render them waterproof. Here, as at the temple of Ishtar

¹) Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 8; JRAS. 1926, p. 690; Ur of the Chaldees, pp. 136—37.

²) Langdon, AA XXIV (1927), pp. 103—11; Kish III (Watelin), pp. 1—13.

³) Langdon, AA XXIV (1927), p. 106, fig. 10; Kish III (Watelin), p. 10.

⁴) Langdon, AA. XXIV (1927), p. 107; Kish III (Watelin), p. 8, pl. vi.

of Agade¹), it is difficult to believe that one monarch dedicated a box made of bricks stamped by another, or that Nabonidus, who adhered with almost superstitious scrupulousness to ancient prescribed forms, would ever have done anything, such as using somebody else's old, discarded bricks, which might invalidate the sacred rite. If, during a work of restoration, a ruler found the foundation box of an earlier builder, he usually investigated the contents before he reburied the offering, as Nabopolassar did with the foundation tablet of Nabu-apluddina²), or as Nebuchadnezzar says he did at the temple of Ninkharrek at Borsippa³). But this box had never been touched since it was buried below the pavement of Nebuchadnezzar's bricks; therefore it seems more likely that he, and not Nabonidus, was the dedicant. In the box was the clay figurine of a god with a horned cap and a long robe, his lowered left arm by his side, his right outstretched from the elbow with the hand holding a gold staff, the end of which rested on the pedestal. On the back was a short inscription. Ashmolean Museum, 1928.527 (Fig. 38).

At a short distance from the temple there was a large building at Kish which seems, from the wealth of clay tablets found there, to have been the *Bit-Akkil*, or „House of Writing”. The main Library belonged to the Isin and Hammurabi periods, and it was covered by the great buildings of the Neo-Babylonian age, largely the work of Nebuchadnezzar. In one room two clay figurines were found *in situ*. Ashmolean Museum, 1924.701 (Fig. 39)⁴). They both represent the same type, a bearded god with a horned cap and a long robe, beneath the lower hem of which his bare left foot is thrust forth, for his attitude was a bellicose one and he raised his right hand holding the long copper shaft of a spear, while in his left, now broken, he must have held a little copper axe. He had a copper belt, and a copper band, serving as a support for his weapons, passed over his right shoulder and was fastened at front and back to the belt. Photographs taken at the moment the figurines were unearthed demonstrate the attitude, but it was not found possible to preserve the copper accoutrements, or to remove the figurines themselves in their original condition. The type is that found at Ashur in the house of the priest, or at Babylon in the palace of Nabopolassar⁵).

Under the floor of the same room in the Library three little clay models of dogs came to light. Ashmolean Museum, Kish 1924.302—304 (Fig. 40)⁶). When first removed from the soil faint traces of colour could still be seen on them, but they soon disappeared when exposed to the air. The dogs are seated on their haunches; they are fragmentary, and the head of one only is preserved. They are of dull grey clay. On two of them their names can be deciphered,

¹) cf. p. 68.

²) cf. p. 61.

³) Langdon, NBK., pp. 110—11, Nr. 13, col. III, 37—41; pp. 194—95, Nr. 27a, 10—22.

⁴) Langdon, Kish I, pp. 91—92, pl. xlv; Sidney Smith, JRAS. 1926, p. 710, note 21.

⁵) cf. pp. 46, 62—63.

⁶) Langdon, Kish I, p. 91, pl. xxviii, 1; Woolley, JRAS. 1926, pp. 689, 712, note 44; Van Buren, CF., p. 231, No. 1124.

„Biter of his enemy” and „Consumer of his life”. An incantation ritual ordains that five pairs of dogs should be buried beneath the thresholds of houses for expiatory purposes¹). All ten names are given, and according to the ritual the name „Biter of his enemy” should be assigned to a green dog, and „Consumer of his life” to a black one; yet on this second dog from Kish there were traces of blue colour. These Kish dogs are quite different from those from Nineveh; they are of another breed, and are very small, ht. 6 cm. The ritual text prescribes that they should be placed five on each side of the threshold of a house, and the dogs from Nineveh were found in a palace²). The room that these dogs occupied at Kish may have been set apart in some way, and the conjunction of these guardian dogs and the armed godlings indicates that it was the approach to a sacred place. A dog of precisely this type was found at Sippar, but from the inscription on its back it seems to have been a votive offering, and not a prophylactic figurine³).

In another room of the Library a discovery was made which is described as the ‘strong-box’ of a private citizen⁴). „This was constructed of nine baked bricks of the Nebuchadnezzar type, and evidently stood in a vault, for a long semi-circular ‘peep-hole’ was found passing through a thick wall from this box into the next room. The box contained scraps of copper and bronze which were regarded as most precious.” This remarkable statement arouses immediate interest. It is strange that a private citizen should have been able to construct such an elaborate ‘strong-box’ of royal bricks in a royal palace, and still more strange that he should have built a ‘peep-hole’ through which it would be possible to look from the adjoining room into his treasury, for the purpose of a strong-box is precisely that of keeping its contents hermetically sealed and concealed from view. In this case the contents were certainly not of any intrinsic value if they were merely scraps of copper and bronze. But in the time of Nebuchadnezzar both metals were far too common for scraps of them to have been considered as precious unless they had some fictitious value, not for themselves, but for what they signified. All the circumstances seem to suggest that this was a foundation deposit put in place in a specially prepared cavity or ‘vault’, and the scraps of copper and bronze were the remains of the samples of materials used in the building. There is no other example of a ‘peep-hole’ in connexion with a foundation offering, but it may have been made to establish direct contact with the consecrated spot where the deposit was buried and the still more sacred spot before which it stood as mystical guardian. It recalls the foundation deposit in the temple of Ishtar at Ashur, which was arranged in such a way that the inscription on the great stone slab could be read by anyone standing in the *cella*⁵).

¹) Ebeling, KAR. VII, No. 298, Rev. 17—22.

²) cf. p. 56.

³) I. O. M. 1336; Scheil, SFS., pp. 90—91, fig. 13; Essad Nassouhi, Guide, p. 31, pl. 12; Meissner, OLZ. XXV (1922), p. 202.

⁴) Langdon, Kish I, p. 89, pl. xxiii, No. 4.

⁵) cf. p. 40.

At Ur Nabonidus erected for his daughter Bel-shalti-nannar, the High-Priestess, a dwelling house or convent which contained a complicated system of offices where business could be transacted, as well as a school and a museum. The site was so ruined that even the bricks of the pavement had vanished, but in one of the rooms, ES. 1, giving on the Courtyard, two little bronze models of dogs were lying right against the footings of the walls at some depth in the soil, so that it is safe to surmise that, although they were not inside boxes, but apparently loose in the packing, they had been intentionally buried below the floor level. U. 2853, 2867¹). They resemble the dogs from Kish, and have a pointed muzzle, pointed ears and a stumpy tail. They sit on their haunches. In Room ES. 4 two more dogs of the same kind were found, one having its face covered with gold leaf. This recalls the fact that Nebuchadnezzar says he placed in the foundations of the temple of Gula two golden dogs, two silver dogs, and two bronze dogs²). Here at Ur two such bronze dogs have come to light, and also two gilded dogs; there were no traces of a pair of silver dogs. Apparently in the time of Nabonidus it was too costly to dedicate dogs of solid gold, and by a pitiful makeshift dogs of gilded bronze were offered in their stead.

In the first room, in addition to the dogs, there was also a little bronze figurine of a bearded man with abundant locks of hair hanging down on to his shoulders, but no covering on his head. U. 2854³). He wears a long robe, and with both hands he holds in front of him a small vase with a rounded body and a long narrow neck. This is the type, translated into another material, of the figurines found in such numbers at Warka and sporadically at Babylon. His presence seems to prove that the place where he watched was not a temple or even a private chapel, but some room assigned to the use of a person leading the religious life, perhaps in this case the Princess herself, a room in which at times the rites of exorcism were practised.

¹) Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 383, pl. xl, 2; JRAS. 1926, pp. 690—91, figs. 16, 17.

²) Langdon, NBK., pp. 164—65, Nr. 19, col. VI, 20—24.

³) Woolley, AJ. V (1925), p. 383, pl. xl, 2; JRAS. 1926, p. 690—91, fig. 12.

Chapter XII

Conclusion

A survey of the whole material is illuminating, because it demonstrates that the idea of foundation offerings originated in very early times, and that quite soon the desire arose to leave some more permanent record than a mere sacrifice.

The earliest sacrifices were perhaps of the nature of propitiatory rites, and were possibly initiated even before buildings existed to consecrate a specially hallowed spot, perhaps symbolized then and throughout the ages by the piece of matting laid down under the offering. Later the wish to make the building a living, imperishable entity, with its roots firmly planted in the soil to ensure its stability and durability, induced man to implant in the foundations a miniature model of a door-post incorporating the spirit of the house, because it was the most important feature of the building. At first the offering was probably placed under the threshold where danger might enter, but with the gradual evolution of architectural forms it was felt desirable to ensure the safety of other vital spots in the building, and similar images were placed at the four corners or beneath the floor of the *cella*, a custom expanded in accordance with the growing complexity of the architecture.

In course of time the idea of the spirit of the house was made concrete, and the model door-post was transformed into the anthropomorphic image of the spirit and guardian of the house and therefore the servant of the owner. Thus in a temple this guardian spirit was the servant of the divinity, and a dedicatory formula was engraved on the figurine, and an appeal was made to the deity to look graciously upon and reinforce the work of his servant. The anthropomorphized door-post was naturally the guardian of the door or gate, hence there soon arose an order of minor gods whose duty it was to act as „Guardians of the Gate”, the best known of whom are the six sons of the god Ea. Down to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur rulers sought to ensure to themselves the good-will of the gods by placing in the foundations of the temples they erected a permanent record of their piety. In later ages, however, this idea was almost superseded by the desire to safeguard the temple from natural foes and the even more dangerous spiritual assailants who might seek an entry. Hence the duties of guardians were partitioned among a number of superhuman beings, each with his own special functions, and new types were created to personify them; but although their aspect differs they have one particular in common, almost all of them hold, touch, or stand upon a post.

The earliest foundation figurines known represent a female figure with clasped hands; perhaps with the idea of the spirit of the door-post was incorporated that of the supplicating goddess afterwards depicted in the background on many cylinder seals or on the carved stone from Susa, probably itself a door socket¹). When first a male figure was introduced he was usually designated as a god by the horns round his head or cap. In later ages the male figurines buried in temples always seem to have been crowned with a horned cap; those interred in secular buildings were sometimes bareheaded and stood with clasped hands or holding a vase²).

There is not sufficiently precise information from Lagash to enable one to be absolutely sure what kind of building any particular type of figurine guarded, but apparently the kneeling god was always dedicated to a male divinity, the recumbent bull to the goddess Innanna. The temples at Ashur and Babylon, owing to the admirable methods of excavating employed, supply the best criteria for the subject. In temples there never seem to have been more than one figurine in each box. In the substructures of the daïs for the cult statue there was always a god holding a slender staff or wand of office of gold or of gilded wood or copper³). In the *cella*, in front of the daïs but not under it, was a god in peaceful attitude, his left arm hanging by his side, his right raised to hold diagonally against his shoulder a rod or implement ornamented or cased with gold⁴). Gateways and certain doorways were guarded by a god with a long copper sword in his right hand and a stone mace in his left, who stands at attention, but not in an aggressive attitude⁵). A being carrying a little copper bucket was stationed at the corner of the profiled buttresses of the doorways from the Court to the *cella*⁶). At the Gateway of the temple of a female divinity, instead of the armed retainer, a bird with sharp talons drove away aggressors⁷). In three cases a god was found with poised spear in his raised right hand and a copper axe in his lowered left, although he never came to light in a temple, but in the house of a priest, a palace, or the complex of buildings around a palace Library⁸).

Possibly he belongs to the other series of figurines buried under the floors of palaces or the houses of priests, for the types employed for that purpose were quite distinct, and perhaps should more properly be classed as apotropaic. Among them is the man with his head bare, but with hair in symmetrically arranged curls, who holds a door-post⁹). Another type is the man who has a

¹) DP. VI, p. 8, pl. 2, figs. 1—3; Pézard, ASuS., p. 39, No. 6.

²) Warka; Ashur, priest's house; Ur, E-Gig-Par.

³) Ashur, XI cent. temple of Ishtar; Babylon, temple of Ishtar of Agade (two examples), temple of Ninurta, Temple „Z”, temple of Ninmakh; Borsippa, temple of Nabu; Kish, temple of Ishtar.

⁴) Babylon, temple of Ninurta.

⁵) Babylon, temple of Ninurta, temple of Ishtar of Agade; Khorsabad, temple.

⁶) Babylon, temple of Ninurta.

⁷) Babylon, Temple „Z”, temple of Ninmakh.

⁸) Ashur, priest's house; Babylon, palace of Nabopolassar; Kish, *Bit-Akkil*.

⁹) Ashur, houses of priests; Khorsabad, palace; Nineveh, palace.

fish-skin drawn over his head and shoulders¹⁾. The bull-man, as a figurine or a relief, holds a door-post or „standard”²⁾.

The figurines found beneath the floors of rooms in the Sin-balatsu-ikbi building at Ur constitute an almost complete set of the images ordered by the ritual texts to be placed in rooms where ceremonies of exorcism were practised. Seven of some of them had to fill a box, others were alone in their clay houses, the boxes containing the snakes were placed in pairs. When the types from other sites are duplicates of, or similar to, those from Ur, and were found enclosed in boxes according to a prescribed order, they may be presumed to be other examples of figurines associated with incantations. When they are entirely different they probably served some other purpose to which we do not yet know the clue.

The actual arrangement of the foundation deposit varied to some extent from one age to the next, but there were certain elements which seem to have been essential, for they are found from the prehistoric age to the time of Nabonidus. The earliest figurines were stuck into the earth, but not promiscuously, for they were grouped in concentric circles, an order which in itself probably had a mystic significance. The figurines of Ur-Nina are said to have been found scattered around the area, but as mention is made of the fact that two marked the south and east corners of the large chamber it is not unlikely that the others had really been placed in ordered sequence, although it escaped the notice of the excavators. The figurines of Entemena were certainly arranged according to a given plan, for one was stationed in front of the threshold, and the other four one at each corner of the building.

The first example of a figurine removed from direct contact with the earth occurs in Ur-Bau's time when the figurine and tablet were secreted in a clay pot, but holes were pierced in the bottom of the pot so that contact with the earth should be maintained. Brick boxes are employed in Gudea's reign, and precise rules as to the component parts of a deposit were formulated.

Theoretically the clay box should be made of six bricks put together so as to make a coffer; this was plastered inside with bitumen to render it waterproof and to weld it together at the joins. At the bottom of the box lay a slab of white transparent gypsum, and on it rested the stone tablet in the shape of a plano-convex brick. The box was then half filled with fine golden sand to typify the earth, and over it a piece of matting was spread to mark it as holy ground. Upon the matting a copper figurine was placed, and everything was sealed up by the brick lid. Even in Neo-Babylonian times traces of sand and matting were occasionally found in the boxes, but as a rule the matting had entirely disintegrated. As the significance of these figurines was fundamentally magical, it was of the utmost importance that every item of the ceremony should be carried out with scrupulous precision.

Deposits of samples of materials used in the building have affinities with customs pertaining in Egypt, and the dedication of tablets of different precious

¹⁾ Ashur, houses of priests; Nineveh, palace; Ur, *Gig-Par-Ku*, temple of Ningal.

²⁾ Ashur, houses of priests; Khorsabad, palace; Babylon, temple of Marduk.

metals, all bearing an identical inscription, belongs to the same order of ideas. The little weapons buried in pairs at Ashur have a different significance; they may be precursors of the armed god who defended the Gateways of temples at Babylon, but more likely they should be regarded as symbols of the god who ruled in the temple, and thus as signifying that he himself, by the might of his weapons, would defend his property from every foe.

The great mixed accumulations of offerings at Susa and at Khorsabad explain themselves. All the devout spectators, to mark their participation in the ceremony, cast an offering into the pit.

At Ashur the ceremonies in connexion with the building of the ziggurat of the temple of Ašur and the temple of Ishtar of Ashur and Ishtar-Dīnitu were of a special character. Pieces of matting played an essential part, as in the offerings of the prehistoric age at Ur. There must have been some magical power in the number one hundred, perhaps as ten groups of ten, and this potency would be enhanced tenfold when a hundred groups of ten were deposited. The nature of the deposit must also have been symbolical. It is easy to understand that the thousand bright blue glass beads were efficacious against the Evil Eye. The sea shells had been brought from afar to inland Ashur; they must have had a meaning of very remote origin, for sea shells were found in deposits of the neolithic age in Italy.

There are no examples of foundation deposits in the Persian period. They, as worshippers of the sun and fire, would have had no occasion to commit magical objects to the earth.

The study of foundation deposits is a study of the tenacity and persistence of certain religious beliefs throughout many centuries, and in spite of changes of dynasty and even of race. Details might vary, the offerings were sometimes more sumptuous, but the root idea never altered, the desire to seek the protection of beneficent powers and to avert those of evil.

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Plates

DRUCK VON C. SCHULZE & CO., G. M. B. H., GRAFENHAINICHEN

Van Buren, Foundation Figurines and Offerings.



Fig. 1. Before Ur-Nina. B. M. 103,372.



Fig. 2. Before Ur-Nina. B. M. 108,980.



Fig. 3. Time of Ur-Nina. B. M. 96,565.



Fig. 4.
VA. 3024.
Side view.
Scale 2:5.



Fig. 5.
Time of Entemena.
VA. 3024. Scale 2:5.



Fig. 6.
Time of Entemena. B. M. 116,685.



Fig. 7.
Time of Entemena. B. M. 102,599. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 8.
Time of Entemena. B. M. 91,016. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 9. Time of Lugalkisalsi. VA. 4855. Scale 2 : 3.



Fig. 10.
Time of Gudea. B. M. 91,057.



Fig. 11.
Time of Gudea. B. M. 96,566.



Fig. 12. Time of Gudea.
B. M. 102,613.



Fig. 13. Time of Gudea.
Museo Barracco, No. 45. Scale 3 : 4.

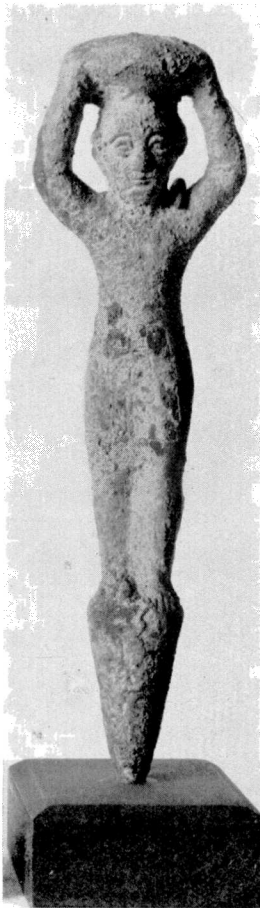


Fig. 14. Time of Gudea.
Y. B. C. 21188. Scale 2:5.



Fig. 15. Time of Ur-Ningirsu.
Y. B. C. Scale 2:5.



Fig. 16. Time of Ur-Nammu.
The Pierpont Morgan Library. Scale 1:3.



Fig. 17. Time of Dungi.
Ur. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 18. Time of Ur-Nammu. B. M. 113,896. Scale 2:3.

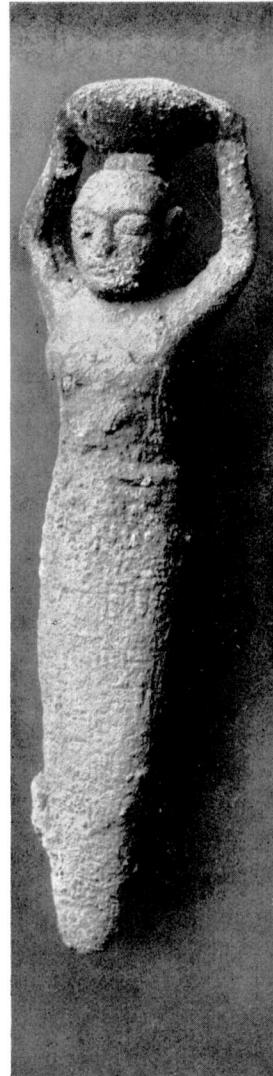


Fig. 19. Time of Dungi.
Ur. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 20. Time of Dungi.
Museo Barracco, No. 44. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 21. Time of Dungi.
Y. B. C. Scale 2:3.



Fig. 22. Time of Gimil-Sin
B. M. 91,017.



Fig. 23. Time of Kudur-Mabug.
VA. 2922. Scale 1 : 2.



Fig. 24. Time of Rim-Sin. VA. 3025.
Scale 1:2.



Fig. 25. Time of Warad-Sin.
B. M. 91,144. Scale 1:3.



Fig. 26. Time of Rim-Sin. B. M. 102,462. Scale 5 : 6.



Fig. 27. Time of Rim-Sin. Figurine *in situ*, Temple of Enki, Ur.



Fig. 28. Ashur. VA. Eagle-headed being. Scale 1:2.



Fig. 29. Ashur. VA. Man with „spear”. Scale 1:2



Fig. 30. Ashur. VA.
„Guardian of the Gate”.
Scale 1 : 2.



Fig. 31. Ashur. VA.
„Guardian of the Gate”.
Scale 1 : 2.



Fig. 32. Ashur. VA.
The Bull-Man.
Scale 1 : 2.



Fig. 33.
Ashur. Found in a private house.
Scale 1:2.



Fig. 34. Nimrud. B. M. 90,989
Scale 3:4.



Fig. 35. Nineveh.
B. M. 91,835.
Scale 3:4.



Fig. 36. Nineveh. B. M. 30,001.



Fig. 37. Babylon. Found in the Palace of Nabopolassar. Scale 1 : 2.



Fig. 38. Kish.
Ashmolean Museum,
1928. 527. Scale 3:4



Fig. 39. Kish. Ashmolean Museum,
1924. 701. Scale 3:4

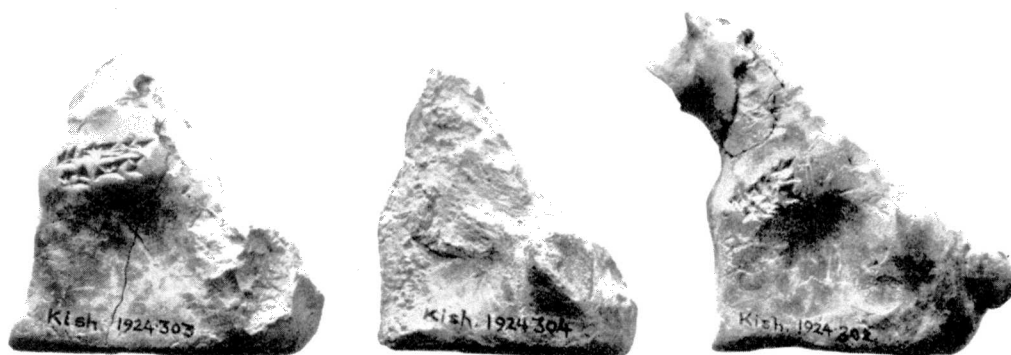


Fig. 40. Kish. Ashmolean Museum, 1924. 302—4.

Verlagsanzeigen

STUDIEN ZUR BAUFORSCHUNG

Herausgegeben

von der

KOLDEWEY-GESELLSCHAFT

HEFT 2:

DAS GOTTESHAUS UND DIE URFORMEN DES BAUENS IM ALTEN ORIENT

von

Professor Dr. WALTER ANDRAE

Direktor an den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

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Die Forschungen im Gebiete des Alten Orients und Ägyptens haben uns während der letzten Jahrzehnte eine Fülle neuer Kenntnisse geschenkt. Insbesondere werden die Formen des Bauens in den frühzeitlichen Kulturen aufschlußreich für das Verständnis der Gestaltungen geschichtlicher Kunst. Sie strahlen vom orientalischen in die westlichen Kulturkreise hinein. Stark beherrscht sie das Religiöse. So bewahrt das Gotteshaus Urgedanken lebendig bis in die christliche Welt. Die hier niedergelegten Gedankengänge werden daher trotz aller ihrer Problematik dem Kunstgeschichtler und Archäologen, dem Religionsforscher und Orientalisten, dem Architekten und jedem Nachdenklichen Neues bringen.

Die Jahrespublikationen werden fortgesetzt.

EINLADUNG ZUR VORAUSBESTELLUNG

SKYTHIEN UND DER BOSPORUS BAND I

Kritische Übersicht

der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen

Neu bearbeitet für Deutschland mit neuem Kartenmaterial von
Professor Dr. M. ROSTOWZEW in New Haven (USA.)

Aus dem Russischen übersetzt von

Prof. Dr. E. PRIDIK in Leningrad

1931 / 4^o / Etwa 650 Seiten Text und 7 Karten / Ganzleinen

Bei Vorausbestellung bis 28. Februar 1931 Preis 60 RM.

Späterer Ladenpreis 70 RM.

In einer Zeit, in der durch die hochinteressanten Funde in der Mongolei Skythien mit seiner eigenartigen Kultur und Kunst in den Vordergrund des wissenschaftlichen Interesses gerückt ist und die Probleme über die gegenseitigen Beziehungen und Zusammenhänge der Kultur des fernen Ostens, Mittelasiens und Europas an der Tagesordnung sind, wird das Erscheinen dieses großangelegten Werkes des autoritativen Verfassers wohl allgemein mit großer Freude und Genugtuung begrüßt werden. Das bekannte Buch von Ellis Minns, *Skythians and Greeks* war eine geschickte Kompilation alles vorher Geleisteten, aber der Verfasser war selbst kein Fachmann und konnte daher die Sache nur wenig fördern. Prof. Rostowzew hingegen, zur Zeit unstreitig der beste Kenner von Südrußland und einer der hervorragendsten Historiker der Jetztzeit, hat hier mit gewohnter Meisterschaft zum ersten Male ein allen modernen Anforderungen entsprechendes, sicheres Fundament gelegt, auf dem ruhig weiter gebaut werden kann. Es ist bewundernswert, wie das ganze ungeheuere Material, das der Verfasser aus Autopsie kennt, hier verarbeitet und die ganze Literatur bis auf die letzte Zeit herangezogen ist. Der erste Band, der spätestens im Dezember 1930 erscheinen soll, behandelt die literarischen und monumentalen Quellen; der zweite wird die politische Geschichte, der dritte die Kulturgeschichte Skythiens und des bosporanischen Reiches umfassen. Das Werk sollte schon vor Jahren in russischer Sprache erscheinen, doch trat der Weltkrieg hindernd in den Weg. Nur der erste Band, der im Manuskript bereits 1918 druckfertig vorlag, erschien 1925 im Verlage der Archäologischen Akademie in Leningrad (St. Petersburg), als der Verfasser bereits seine Heimat verlassen hatte und der Möglichkeit beraubt war, Änderungen und Nachträge hinzuzufügen. Die jetzt erscheinende deutsche Auflage ist vollständig umgearbeitet und bis auf die letzte Zeit herabgeführt.

Die Übersetzung des russischen Textes stammt aus der Feder des Prof. Dr. Eugen Pridik in Leningrad, der auch die Herstellung der ausführlichen Indices und die Redaktion der beiden folgenden Bände freundlichst übernommen hat.