

# Politics, Religion, and Cylinder Seals:

A Study of Mesopotamian Symbolism  
in the Second Millennium B.C.

Jeanne Nijhowne

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*Politics, Religion and Cylinder Seals*

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	i
LIST OF TABLES.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT.....	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY.....	4
CHAPTER 3: THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE PERIODS.....	16
CHAPTER 4: RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.....	30
CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS: ICONOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS.....	38
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS.....	53
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS.....	71
APPENDIX A: SOURCES OF IN-TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS.....	78
APPENDIX B: SOURCES OF SEALS.....	79
PLATES.....	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	110



## LIST OF TABLES

### **CHAPTER 3: THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE PERIODS**

Table 3.1 The Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon.....	17
Table 3.2 Chronological Chart for the Old Babylonian Period.....	20
Table 3.3 The Kassite King List.....	25

### **CHAPTER 5: DESCRIPTION OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS: ICONOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS**

Table 5.1 Composition of the Data Base.....	38
Table 5.2 Sources of Old Babylonian Seals.....	38
Table 5.3 Sources of Kassite Seals.....	40
Table 5.4 Old Babylonian Headwear.....	42
Table 5.5 Old Babylonian Hairstyles.....	42
Table 5.6 Main Babylonian Motifs.....	42
Table 5.7 Interceding Goddess (IG).....	44
Table 5.8 Figure with Mace (FM).....	44
Table 5.9 Lahmu (Triple Curls).....	44
Table 5.10 Ascending God (AG).....	45
Table 5.11 Worshiper with Quadrupe (WQ).....	45
Table 5.12 Bullman (BM).....	45
Table 5.13 Seated God (SG).....	45
Table 5.14 Smiting Figure (SF).....	46
Table 5.15 Warrior Ishtar (WI).....	46
Table 5.16 Old Babylonian Fill Figures.....	47
Table 5.17 Old Babylonian Seals with Only the Inscriptions Preserved.....	47
Table 5.18 Kassite Headwear.....	48
Table 5.19 Main Figures on Kassite Seals.....	48
Table 5.20 Kassite Fill Figures.....	50
Table 5.21 Motifs in Band Decoration.....	51

## CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS

Table 6.1 Strength of Association Between Main Figures.....	53
Table 6.2 Use of Main Figures on OB Seals.....	54
Table 6.3 Chronological Distribution of Seals Without Standard Figures.....	54
Table 6.4 Subdivision of Old Babylonian Seals.....	55
Table 6.5 Number of Occurrences of Main Figures on Old Babylonian Seals.....	55
Table 6.6 Correlation of Hats and Hair.....	56
Table 6.7 Correlation of Garment and Hair.....	57
Table 6.8 Early Old Babylonian Fill Figures.....	58
Table 6.9 Chronological Distribution of Seals Without Standard Figures or Smiting Figures.....	59
Table 6.10 Presence of Beards on the Figure with the Mace and Figure with the Scimitar.....	60
Table 6.11 Figure with the Scimitar.....	60
Table 6.12 Comparison of OB Main Motifs on Old Babylonian and Kassite Seals.....	61
Table 6.13 Comparison of Gender on Old Babylonian and Kassite Seals.....	61
Table 6.14 Headwear.....	62
Table 6.15 Objects Held.....	62
Table 6.16 Fill Figures.....	62
Table 6.17 Rare Old Babylonian and Kassite Fill Figures.....	64
Table 6.18 Type of Inscription.....	66
Table 6.19 Old Babylonian Seal Conventions Discontinued in the Kassite Period.....	67
Table 6.20 Use of Divine Names on Old Babylonian and Kassite Seals.....	68
Table 6.21 Sources of Seals with Marduk-D in the Inscription.....	70

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of Mesopotamia.....	3
Figure 2. Map of Findspots of Kassite Seals.....	39
Figure 3. Headwear and Hairstyles.....	41
Figure 4. Old Babylonian Main Figures.....	43
Figure 5. Objects Held by Main Figures.....	63
Figure 6. Fill Figures.....	65



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED in the TEXT

AG	Ascending God (Shamash)
AS	Apil-Sin
BM	Bullman
DN or -D	Divine Name
EOB	Early Old Babylonian (Sumuabum-Hammurabi)
FDB	First Dynasty of Babylon
FK	First Kassite
FM	Figure with the Mace
H	Hammurabi
IG	Interceding Goddess
KAS	Kassite
KC or FKC	First Kassite-Central
KM	King with the Mace
KN or FKN	First Kassite-Northern
KP	Kassite-Composite
KV	Kassite-VariouS Seals
LOB	Late Old Babylonian (Samsuiluna-Samsuditana)
OB	Old Babylonian
PK	Pseudo-Kassite
PN	Personal Name
SF	Smiting Figure
SG	Seated God
SK	Second Kassite
T or -T	Theophoric Name
TC	Figure with the Triple Curls (Lahmu)
TK	Third Kassite
WI	Warrior Ishtar
WQ	Worshipper with Quadruped



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Mesopotamia, "the land between the rivers", already enjoyed a long and illustrious history at the dawn of the second millennium B.C. The earliest known evidence from Tell Oueili suggests that people had settled in southern Mesopotamia by the sixth millennium B.C. (Calvet, 1993) (see Figure 1, p.3). Two thousand years later, thriving urban centers dotted the floodplain. These Sumerian city-states were characterized by stratified societies, huge temple complexes, and irrigated agriculture. But perhaps the Sumerian's most significant contribution to civilization was the utilization of the written word.

The appearance of documents, though, has proved to be somewhat of a mixed blessing in reference to our understanding of Mesopotamian society. On one hand, texts have made enormous contributions to our knowledge of politics, religion, the economy, language, social behavior, and so forth. But on the other, the very existence of such a rich source of data has led most researchers to disregard material remains as a significant source of information about historical periods. Consequently, most archaeologists have tacitly abandoned documented eras to the historians and epigraphers and concentrated their work in prehistoric periods. J. N. Postgate summed up the situation this way, "There has been a general reluctance on the part of archaeologists to engage with the written evidence, and those who read the texts have been equally reluctant to cross this barrier" (1994:176).

This self-imposed division between historians and prehistorians has gradually started breaking down in recent years as a number of scholars have consciously begun integrating textual information with archaeological data (e.g. Gibson, 1972b, 1980; Postgate, 1993; Winter, 1986, 1987). Elizabeth Stone (1981) published one of the earlier studies done along these lines. Excavations at Nippur revealed that many residences had been modified during the Old Babylonian period. Stone correlated these architectural changes with sales' contracts, discovered in the houses, that recorded the buying and selling of individual rooms. In every case, she found an association between a blocked doorway and a transaction referred to in the documents. The results enabled her to formulate an hypothesis concerning Old Babylonian residence patterns. Such inferences would not have been possible if archaeological and textual data had been considered separately.

The year after Elizabeth Stone published her study, several now famous volumes were issued by a group of scholars from Cambridge led by Ian Hodder (Hodder, 1982a, 1982b). Hodder and his colleagues challenged the traditional approach to the study of archaeological remains, i.e., that artifacts directly reflect past action. Instead, they asserted that material culture plays an active role in the construction of social reality and must be considered as transformations of human behavior. Researchers, they argued, need to

recognize that people manipulate material culture for many reasons including attempts to legitimize authority and disguise unequal power relationships. And since people do not produce artifacts in a vacuum, material remains must be interpreted as much as possible in reference to their original cultural setting.

These parallel developments in Near Eastern studies and anthropology inspired me to undertake a study of material culture symbols in a historical setting. Texts aid significantly in the reconstruction of cultural context as advocated by Hodder and others. I initially chose the Old Babylonian period because it has the reputation of being one of the most well-documented phases of Mesopotamian history. The Old Babylonian period encompasses the First Dynasty of Babylon which dates between 1894-1595 B.C. according to the most generally accepted chronology (Sollberger and Kupper, 1971). Thousands of texts exist concerning such subjects as the economy, legal system, administration, science, and religion (Roux, 1992:208). Information gleaned from these tablets furnished the necessary background for interpreting the material culture.

The next step involved choosing a specific problem to investigate. As I became more familiar with the literature on the Old Babylonian period, I found frequent references to the rise of Marduk. Marduk was the city god of Babylon. At some point in time, he displaced Enlil, the city god of Nippur, as the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Enlil had held this position for over a millennium. No one doubts that Marduk's promotion was linked to the enduring political and religious significance of Babylon which began during the Old Babylonian period. However, few scholars seem to agree on when the transition occurred or how Marduk's supporters engineered it. I decided to examine whether religious iconography was being manipulated with the goal of promoting Marduk and legitimizing his new status.

This research question required data that fulfilled a number of different requirements. 1) It had to contain religious symbolism; 2) It had to be datable so I could analyze change through time; 3) A reasonable quantity had to be available so the results would not be inherently biased by a small sample size; And 4) it had to be published so I had access to it. Cylinder seals and impressions comprised the only type of artifact that met all these requirements. Cylinder seals are generally small, carved, stone cylinders that create a frieze when rolled out onto wet clay. Hundreds of dated seal impressions from clay tablets have been published over the last century. They provided an excellent source of data for this project.

As so often happens when doing research, the goals expanded as I became more familiar with both the history of the Old Babylonian period and the seals themselves. A book

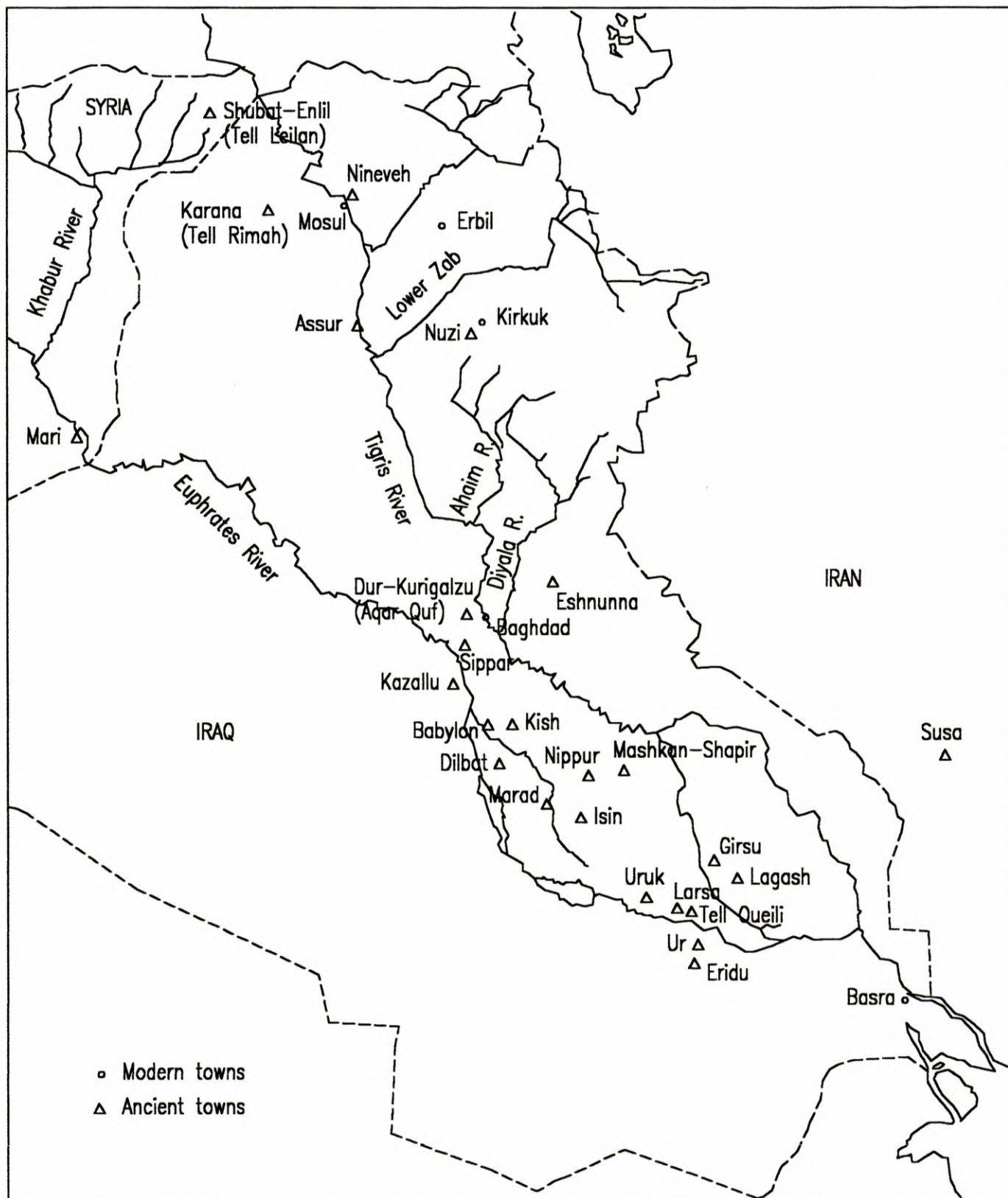


by Sommerfeld (1982) demonstrated that Enlil maintained control over the pantheon throughout the Old Babylonian and the following Kassite period. This persuaded me to include Kassite seals in my study as well. In addition, other major events occurred during this time besides the growing importance of Marduk. Hammurabi conquered an empire which dissolved shortly afterwards in the reign of his son. Following the collapse of the First Dynasty, a purportedly 'new' ethnic group, the Kassites, assumed control of Babylon. Personal religion increased in importance. These changes undoubtedly had a significant impact on the Babylonian social system. My dissertation investigates the relationship between cylinder seal iconography and the political and religious developments of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods.

The remainder of the work explores this subject. In chapter two, I discuss the theoretical foundations of the research, present a general description of the data base, and explain the methodology employed in the study. Chapters 3 and 4 are devoted to setting out the cultural context in which the seals were made, used, and discarded. This information relies almost exclusively on textual data. Chapter 3 gives a detailed political history of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods and chapter 4 recounts the religious beliefs. In chapter 5, I present a detailed description of Old Babylonian and Kassite cylinder seal iconography. Chapter 6 contains the analyses of the seal data. In the conclusion, I set forth a series of inferences on how the Babylonians and Kassites used cylinder seal iconography to create, as well as contend with, their changing social reality.



MAP OF MESOPOTAMIA





## THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

## INTRODUCTION

The theoretical perspective employed by an archaeologist provides the framework for his or her research. Theory can be thought of as "an attempt to explain" (Bell, 1994b:18). It is the basis for trying to understand what the archaeological record 'means'. It determines what questions are asked, what is taken for granted, the kind of data necessary to answer the questions proposed, and the range of answers that might be considered acceptable. Because theory is inseparable from every aspect of the archaeological endeavor, it must be made as explicit as possible so conclusions drawn by the researcher can be accurately evaluated.

Theory, then, addresses the problem of how to derive meaning from the archaeological record. At present, no general consensus exists within the discipline as to how this should be done. In this dissertation, I have chosen to use a cognitive-processual approach as advocated by Colin Renfrew (1994a), James Bell (1994b), and others. In order to explain why I chose this particular theoretical position to analyze my data set, it is necessary to examine the theoretical debate between the processualists and the post-processualists currently being conducted in the literature.

## BACKGROUND: THE 'NEW ARCHEOLOGY'

'New Archeology' emerged in the 1960s in part as a reaction to perceived problems with 'traditional' archaeological methods. Gibbon (1989:64-66) summarized the main sources of this dissatisfaction. These included the gathering and description of archaeological data as an end in itself; the assumption that an understanding of the past would become clear as the archaeological record became more complete; the idea that culture was a system of internalized norms passed on through the processes of socialization and diffusion; and, that 'cultures' identified in the archaeological record could be adequately represented as a list of traits or artifact types.

Concurrent with a growing uneasiness with the 'Culture-History' approach, some researchers began to reexplore the applicability of evolutionary theory to the discipline (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:215-6). Evolution had been rejected by American archaeologists earlier in the twentieth century for a variety of reasons. First, no evidence indicated Native Americans had been on this continent for a long period of time. Second, the archaeological record had not revealed patterns of long term cultural change in regard to Native Americans. Third, no concept of microchange existed in the discipline (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:91). In addition, the stratigraphic method of excavation had yet to

become common in the Americas. When it did become accepted practice, archaeologists could see very well that cultures did change through time. Nor did these changes appear to be the result of chance. Willey and Sabloff (1993:220) suggest that the nonrandomness of change through time as well as an overall concern with chronology became the main reasons why evolutionary theory was accepted in archaeology.

The dissatisfaction with traditional methods and the acceptance of evolutionary theory comprised the backbone of 'New Archeology' as formulated by Lewis Binford in the 1960s (e.g., Binford, 1962, 1965). Over time, New Archeology came to be distinguished by four main characteristics (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:221). These categories are not to be viewed as mutually exclusive but each emphasizes a somewhat different aspect of the approach. They are briefly summarized below.

*Neo-Evolutionism*

The evolutionary theory adopted by the New Archeologists can be traced to the work of Leslie White (1949, 1959). White believed that evolution entailed the concept of progress, achieved through the constant improvement of subsistence strategies and technology. As a society harnessed more energy, its culture evolved. White's law can be stated as: Culture = Energy x Technology (Trigger, 1989:291). This notion of processual change through time, or cultural evolution, was soon consciously or tacitly accepted by most archaeologists.

The neo-evolutionists also thought that if one part of a culture could be understood, it would be relatively easy to reconstruct the remaining aspects of that society. In this view, subsystems could be divided into the technological, social, and ideological realms. These three formed a single functioning system, i.e., culture, and by examining the changing relationships among the subsystems, it would be possible to begin to understand the evolution of culture. In addition, they felt that a limited number of general historical processes should be able to account for the almost infinite variety of cultural manifestations around the world (Trigger, 1989:294-5). This position emphasized the regularities of human behavior and led researchers to concentrate on similarities between cultures while ignoring or minimizing the differences.

*Systems Theory*

Archaeologists borrowed systems theory from an array of disciplines including biology in an attempt to characterize the relationship between culture and the environment. This approach assumed that many different entities could be conceived of as systems made up of interacting subsystems.



Rules could be found that described the nature of these interactions. Because systems tended to be conceptualized as homeostatic, change necessarily had to originate from factors outside the system. This led to an emphasis on ecological explanations for culture change. Researchers concentrated on studying such issues as subsistence, trade, settlement patterns, and optimal foraging strategies. In turn, they interpreted changes in cultural systems as adaptive responses to alterations in the natural environment or in nearby competing cultures. Despite the fact that culture had been defined as having both a social and ideological subsystem, in reality these were largely ignored in favor of environmental-technical explanations. Most systems oriented archaeologists dismissed religion and ideology as epiphenomenal, mere byproducts of ecological adaptation. Binford (1972:198) scornfully called any consideration of these issues as attempts at 'paleopsychology'.

#### *Introduction of Statistical Analysis*

The New Archeologists introduced a greater degree of methodological rigor through the use of statistics and probability sampling. Based on a systems perspective, archaeologists no longer accepted the assumption that a small portion of one site adequately represented a whole culture. Rather, the entire system or settlement network had to be studied in order to reconstruct systemic relationships. Obviously it was impossible to excavate all sites completely in an entire region so archaeologists turned to methods of probability sampling in an effort to eliminate subjectively selected data sets. Such techniques allowed researchers to compile representative samples that could be used with a certain degree of confidence to make predictions about the entire region tested. Probability sampling also revealed the often unconscious biases of intuitive investigations of the past. The introduction of computers made it possible to cope with the enormous amounts of information generated by such research.

#### *A General Scientific Approach*

Neo-evolutionary theory, systems theory, and the use of quantification and statistics can all be included in the general effort of the New Archaeologists to make the discipline more scientific. They argued for the need to make archaeology problem-oriented rather than just a random search to 'see what's out there'. Scientific archaeology, according to the New Archeologists, should include hypothesis testing, explicit assumptions, and detailed research strategies. The philosophical underpinnings of this approach came from the work of Carl Hempel (1966) and his ideas about logico-deductive positivism and the covering law model. Merilee Salmon defined positivism as "the view that *knowledge* of the world is obtained only through applying the scientific method to experience obtained through our senses" (1992:229). For the archaeologist, this meant that relationships between variables had to be tested and shown to be statistically significant before they could be accepted. Positivists believed that such a method would eliminate subjectivity in archaeological data bases and provide an objective foundation for scientific interpretation. Hypothesis testing became the key element for advancing

explanations of the archaeological record. New Archeologists assumed that as more work was done, some hypotheses would receive support while others became untenable. In this way, they hoped to achieve their overall goal of the discovery of regularities in human behavior that could be formulated into general or covering laws that could explain the dynamics of culture change.

### **POSTPROCESSUALISM: REACTION AGAINST 'NEW ARCHEOLOGY'**

#### *Criticisms of New Archeology*

Despite the admirable goals of New Archeology, the following decades brought an increasing awareness in the minds of some researchers of problems with the processualist approach. In the early 1980's, books and articles began appearing with increasing frequency challenging neo-evolutionary-positivism (e.g., Hodder, 1982a-c; Kristiansen, 1984; Leone, 1982; Miller, 1982a-b; Shanks and Tilley, 1982). This reactionary movement eventually acquired the label 'postprocessualism'. This is not a particularly appropriate term because 1)it does not represent a common viewpoint (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:298) and 2)processual archaeology remains alive and well in the 1990s (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:304). Still postprocessualists all begin with the rejection of an explicitly scientific approach to archaeology which they equate with positivism (Bell, 1994b:254).

One of the most fundamental criticisms this group has levelled at processualism is that it did not recognize humans as active participants in the creation of their own culture. New Archeologists generally sought factors outside the cultural system, usually ecological perturbations, as agents responsible for initiating change within a system. This in turn led to the assumption that cultural stability should be viewed as the norm and did not need explanation. Postprocessualists rejected the idea of stability as the 'normal' state of societies claiming homeostasis needed just as much explanation as fluctuation. They also felt that the ecosystemic view unduly restricted potential sources of influence on human communities. Concurrently, they objected to a definition of culture which equated it largely with adaptation. In particular, postprocessualists could not accept the two main principles adopted from Hempel, i.e., the search for covering laws and the necessity of empirically verifiable hypotheses. They rejected the first because they believed a much wider range of diversity existed in human societies than could be explained by a finite number of 'laws' as did many processualists. The acceptance of only verifiable hypotheses was too restrictive to produce anything of interest. Finally, they challenged the New Archaeologists claim of cultural neutrality. No one, they insisted, could completely eliminate the influences of their own society and treat past cultural remains in a totally objective way.

#### *Common Themes in Postprocessualism*

Critiques of New Archeology have become ever more frequent from a variety of sources during the last decade



(e.g., Hodder, 1982a; Leone, 1982; Patterson, 1989; Shanks and Tilley, 1992). This does not mean, however, that the voices opposing processualism all agree with one another. Nevertheless certain common themes can be found running through the work labelled 'postprocessualist'. The first involves a human-centered view of history. People are regarded as active participants in cultural change, not passive respondents to forces beyond their control. The second characteristic of this work is the attention paid to the role of material symbols as they relate to shaping ideology, power, and religion within a society. They emphasize the active role material culture plays in the construction of social reality. Third is their insistence on the proposition that the past is not knowable in any truly objective way. This stems in part from the fact that much of human behavior with its inherently ideological overtones is not preserved in the archaeological record. These relativist attitudes have their roots in the works of Collingwood, Hegel, and Kant (Willey and Sabloff, 1993:298). Finally they all see the past as a construct created by modern archaeologists. They argue that scientific research itself is innately influenced by ideology. Any interpretations that archaeologists produce should be understood in light of the social, political, and historical context in which they were formulated.

#### *Diversity within Postprocessual Approaches*

Various authors have made the point that post-processualism is not a unified program. In a recent article, Patterson (1990:192-3) identified three distinct, although overlapping, types of postprocessualist thought. The first is contextual archaeology most closely identified with Ian Hodder (e.g., Hodder, 1982a-c, 1986, 1987, 1992). Hodder's ideas have changed over the years but much of the inspiration for contextual archaeology came from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, Clifford Geertz, Paul Ricoeur and others. This approach stresses the following points. The first, and perhaps the most well-known, is that material culture plays an active role in the formation and reformation of societal relationships. Thus objects, the 'things' people make, cannot be studied as direct reflections of past action. Rather, they must be considered transformations of human behavior because ideology structures their production, use, and discard. This is what Hodder means when he says "material culture is meaningfully constituted" (1992:12). This view stands in direct opposition to the general processualist method of treating material culture as the end product of adaption to the environment. Hodder (1982a) has demonstrated with his ethnographic work that groups actively manipulate material culture for a variety of reasons including attempts to legitimize authority and disguise unequal power relationships. Hodder assumes that past peoples also used material culture as part of symbolic strategies to shape their society.

The second point Hodder makes is that even though material culture is 'meaningfully constituted', some of those meanings are, at least in part, arbitrary. That is, some objects may have cultural significance to one segment within a society but not to another. This implies that the symbolic meaning of material culture cannot be reconstructed solely

on the bases of its physical properties or the way it was used. It must be interpreted in relation to all the other aspects of its cultural milieu. Hodder points out the great potential for misinterpretation if artifacts are analyzed without reference to their cultural context. It is only by studying artifacts as fully as possible within their original setting that we can begin to investigate their role in society and in the processes of long-term change.

A third major premise emphasizes the fact that material culture is historically derived. Hodder draws attention to the fact that the shape, color, decoration, etc. of any particular type of material culture is not decided in a cultural vacuum. Rather these choices are influenced by previous knowledge, beliefs, patterns, etc. that has preceded them within a particular tradition. Of equal importance is that once an artifact is produced, it in turn becomes a model for what follows it. But this in no way implies that symbols are unthinkingly reproduced according to some predetermined mental template. Material culture is an expression of the particular historical situation in which it was made and in turn creates a guide for the future.

Finally, Hodder (1991a, 1992) believes that interpreting the archaeological record should be considered analogous to reading a text. Material culture is produced ostensibly with a given meaning or meanings in the mind of the maker. But once created, the maker has no control over how people interpret his/her product. It is quite probable that different observers will ascribe various meanings to the same object. This is similar to the reactions of assorted people reading the same book. Not everyone will derive exactly the same messages from it. The textual metaphor underscores the need to regard material culture as active and imbued with multiple meanings. These meanings can vary across space and through time so contextual analysis is absolutely critical if we hope to begin to understand how material culture objects functioned within a society at a given place and time.

A second major variety of postprocessualism focuses on the issues of power and domination in social relationships (e.g., McGuire and Paynter, 1991; Miller and Tilley, 1984; Shanks and Tilley, 1987). Much of this work is based on the writings of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, and Karl Marx among others (Preucel, 1991:3). Traditional considerations of power have equated it with coercion, particularly in the political arena. But more recently, social theorists have expanded the notion of power to include all different kinds of relationships; parent-child, teacher-student, owner-worker, etc. (McGuire and Paynter, 1991:5). They argue that power should be seen as a structural feature of all social systems. We as archaeologists need to be aware of how people may have used material culture in the negotiation of power relationships.

Miller and Tilley (1984:5-8) and Shanks and Tilley (1992:129-30) discuss the distinction between two different kinds of power. The first type is "power to" or productive power. It allows individuals to act in and on the world. It should be conceived of as a positive force. "Power to" involves people's ability to obtain, create, and transform resources, both material and nonmaterial. It is intimately



connected with the production and reproduction of social reality. "Power over" refers to social control, repression, and domination. Miller and Tilley (1984) contend that "power over" ultimately rests on the threat of physical force. The difference becomes important in archaeology when we attempt to attach meaning to symbols. We need to know whether a certain group of symbols represented coercive power or whether they were being used in more subtle ways by specific individuals.

The third strain of postprocessualism identified by Patterson (1990:193) concerns the concept of ideology. Mark Leone (e.g., Leone, 1982, 1984; Leone, et al., 1987) is one of the researchers most closely associated with attempts to incorporate ideology into his analysis. Leone derives his definition of ideology from Shanks and Tilley's critique (1982:129-54) of the work of Althusser combined with his reading of Georg Lukács (Leone, 1984:26).

A definition of ideology begins with what it is not, i.e., a shared worldview or system of beliefs. Instead it should be thought of as ideas about nature, cause, time and person, the things society takes as 'givens' (Leone, 1984:26). These 'givens' constitute a powerful social force that impact cultural change. Ideology pervades all aspects of culture and is inseparable from it. Therefore it cannot be ignored as 'epiphenomenal' in the pursuit of explaining the processes of change.

Ideology's main function, according to Leone, "is to disguise the arbitrariness of the social order, including the uneven distribution of resources, and it reproduces rather than transforms society" (1984:26). This position derives from the 'Dominant Ideology Thesis' put forward by Althusser (1971:127-86). It implies that any given society shares a single, consistent ideology which is constructed and controlled by the dominant group. The elite in turn impose their ideas on those in lower social positions.

The 'Dominant Ideology Thesis' has been severely criticized for a variety of reasons (e.g., Abercrombie and Turner, 1980; Beaudry, et al., 1991; Hodder, 1986). These authors claim that it denies the ability of subgroups within a society to create their own ideologies. It credits the elite with too much influence and social control over diverse elements within a community. Hodder (1992:13) points out the possibility of different ideological reactions to the same material culture. Finally, Abercrombie and Turner have demonstrated that even within the elite group, ideological factions can exist. They suggest that 'dominant ideologies' seldom had much effect on subordinate classes.

Despite the problems with the 'Dominant Ideology Thesis', it did serve to focus attention on the role of ideology in the legitimizing strategies of ruling groups. But even though most archaeologists acknowledge the existence of multiple ideologies within a society, it is still possible to study the ways in which people used material symbols to construct their social reality. Earle (1990), who studies complex chiefdoms, contends that at the local level, there may be significant amounts of stylistic variation in display items. At a regional level, elites will tend to use a limited

iconographic repertoire to set them apart in an effort to legitimize their special status. Earle also notes that these symbols typically link the aristocracy to the higher gods of the culture, i.e., those divinities without specific geographical ties. In cultures that depend heavily on their own past to provide 'templates' for the present, the group that controls precedence may find it easier to protect their own interests (Leone, 1984:26). The function of ideology then is to mask the arbitrariness of the social hierarchy by making it seem natural and inevitable. An elite iconography, especially if it is religious in nature, serves to identify an aristocratic class and both empowers and sanctifies its political domination (Earle, 1990:75-6).

A fourth strain of postprocessualism is known as 'Interpretive Archaeology'. It came about as a conscious effort on the part of some postprocessual archaeologists to answer the following criticisms. First, they were accused of not actually *doing* archaeology (Tilley, 1993:ix). The second charge levelled at them concerned their emphasis on deconstructing the works of others rather than on making positive contributions of their own (Chippendale, 1993:32). While relying on many of the theoretical underpinnings of 'postprocessualism' mentioned above, those advocating an interpretive approach have tended to lean more towards relativism than most of their colleagues. The following brief discussion is based on works by Shanks and Tilley (1992), Shanks (1992), and Tilley (1993). Shanks and Tilley assert (1992:22-23) that the recreation of an objective past is not possible. The argument runs as follows. First, words are needed to describe artifacts but terminology can never be totally culturally neutral. All descriptions therefore have connotations embedded within them that may or may not be appropriate to that particular set of material culture. Second, since human beings have the task of deciding what attributes to record, we consciously or unconsciously make judgements about what is and is not important. Even though researchers may believe they are being completely objective by taking this or that measurement on a given artifact, they are, by definition, interpreting it.

The past, then, only exists in its relationship to the present. The nature of the relationship is influenced by the experience, cultural background, and biases of the persons carrying out archeological investigations. This is what Tilley means when he says, "(we) regard the archaeological record as the end product of the way in which contemporary individuals experience it" (Tilley, 1993:7). Even though a 'real' past happened, this is not what archaeologists study. We can never know what 'actually took place' because we cannot avoid viewing the past through the filter of our modern perceptions. In the same vein, artifacts should be referred to as 'theoretical objects' rather than as independent, real 'objects' to emphasize the interpretive quality inherent in their descriptions (Shanks and Tilley, 1992:111).

If one accepts the position that there is no way to describe an objective past, the question arises as to how can meaning be derived from the archaeological record? The point made by Tilley (1993:5) is that there is no *single* meaning of the past. Meaning is created by and within the relationship between



the observer and observed. Therefore multiple meanings are inevitable, even desirable, as each researcher brings a unique outlook to his or her work. This prevents any given interpretation from becoming entrenched and immutable. As new theoretical perspectives emerge in the future, perceptions of ancient societies will inevitably change as well. Thus meaning is never stagnant but constantly sliding and shifting through time. Tilley goes on to say, "We are no longer obsessed with fidelity to the evidence or the facts erroneously regarded as some kind of factual bedrock beyond disputation, but put more emphasis on the manner in which these facts and this evidence are 'read' by the archaeologist or appropriated in her or his discourse" (1993:7). In fact, he suggests that the word 'meaning' may be better off being discarded altogether. Perhaps archaeologists should just try and make *sense* of the archaeological record. This avoids the troublesome problem of "Whose meaning?", the person/s who created the material culture or the modern researcher trying to understand it. Making sense of archaeological data implies that it is a creative process, subject to change, and that the meaning of the past is ultimately unknowable.

## REACTION TO "POSTPROCESSUALISM"

### *Critique of Postprocessualism*

Like New Archeology, postprocessualism has produced its share of critics (e.g., Binford, 1987; Earle and Preucel, 1987; Yoffee and Sherratt, 1993a-b). That does not mean, however, that they as a group completely reject all the tenets of postprocessualism. Kohl (1993:13), for instance, notes that a debunking of the naive positivism and pervasive ecological emphasis of New Archeology was long overdue. Renfrew and Bahn (1991:431-2) acknowledge the importance of incorporating the concepts of symbolism, power, ideology and 'material culture as an active force in society' into their analysis. In addition, they no longer defend the position that facts can exist independently of theory.

Even though many researchers have now incorporated certain aspects of postprocessualism into their work, significant differences remain. The major one pertains to the rejection of the scientific method by most postprocessualists. This stems, as discussed above, with their disillusionment with positivism, hypothesis testing, and the search for covering laws. Hodder states this very clearly in his reply to Earle and Preucel, "I do reject a rigid positivism ..., the linking of explanation with prediction, and the belief that objective data can in some way be separated from subjective theory in order to allow independent testing" (Hodder in Earle and Preucel, 1987:517). Postprocessualists instead seek to interpret archaeological data. In doing so, archaeologists are free to alter or change their assumptions to explain the data (Bell, 1994a:17; Earle and Preucel, 1987:510).

Processualists, too, interpret archaeological data but they reject the flexibility the postprocessualists allow in their assumptions to accommodate their explanations (Bell,

1994b:17). Instead, processualists require that at least some hypotheses derived from their theories to be testable. This simply means that a theory can be either verified or disproved by at least some kinds of additional data. This is clearly contrary to the statement by Hodder who does not permit independent testing because of the subjective component of all data. Processualists also recognize that the present helps to define the past, but they feel the interpretative 'school' has gone too far by denying that we cannot be objective at all. Advances in scientific techniques like dating, data recovery, identification and quantification of plant and animal remains and trace-element analysis all provide ways to test whether a theory is plausible. So too does the use of appropriate ethnographic analogies and historical data (Trigger, 1989:396). But trying to understand the individual intentions of persons in the past as idealists such as Hegel, Collingwood, Geertz, and Ricoeur would have us do is clearly counterproductive because it is impossible (Renfrew, 1994a:4). Archaeology as a science cannot advance in an atmosphere of unbridled relativism. Testability must remain a tool in the archaeologists repertoire to help decide if a theory is viable. Yoffee and Sherratt sum up their position this way...

...if archaeologists are to think themselves into the past and regard the process of inference as a species of story-telling, we shall not only lose academic credibility as scientists, but also we shall bore the public who can always find more entertaining versions of the past than archaeologists are likely to produce.

(Yoffee and Sherratt, 1993b:6)

Another issue that divides the two groups involves the definition of 'context'. Nearly all archaeologists working today agree on the necessity of analyzing artifacts and other remains in reference to their cultural setting. Material culture divorced from its surroundings can contribute little to explanations of its place in that society. But what constitutes 'context' is conceived somewhat differently by the two 'schools'. Both agree that 'context' includes the archaeological milieu in which the data was recovered as well as other kinds of information that may help to illuminate the artifact(s) use and/or meaning in that culture. Other information may include settlement pattern studies, natural processes which have affected the site, historical records, and ethnographic analogies.

But the postprocessualists believe that 'context' must also include the dialectic relationship between the past and the archaeologist interpreting that past. An historical survey has indicated that researchers can subtly impose meaning on data without really being aware of it (Trigger, 1989). Social status, gender, race, and personality as well as culture and historical place all can influence what questions archaeologists ask and what answers they are predisposed to accept. Trigger states that social conditions have played and will continue to play a major role in shaping archaeological interpretation (1989:380). Such a position suggests that there is no way to reliably reconstruct the past because any



interpretation ultimately involves subjective meanings from the present.

The processualists reject this line of reasoning. They argue that even though subjectivity cannot be eliminated altogether, the past and by implication, the archaeological record, has an existence independent of the present. Thus it is not *completely* open to any kind of interpretation someone may wish to place on it. To lessen, although not eliminate, the impact of observer biases, processualists advocate the construction and testing of two or more mutually exclusive hypotheses to explain the same data (Trigger, 1989). They also suggest using as many kinds of evidence as possible to bear on a particular problem. Other techniques such as use-wear and trace element analyses, new archaeological discoveries, and new theories of human behavior can all help to bolster or disprove current interpretations. The utilization of multiple lines of evidence makes it more likely that an archaeologist is reconstructing a portion of the past that may have happened rather than a creating a story that springs largely from his/her imagination. To strengthen their argument, processualists point out that archaeologists have built up a large body of data that has stood the test of time. The broad outlines of what happened in prehistory have remained substantially intact although specific interpretations have been constantly revised. The past may not be knowable in its details, but the assertion that we can not know anything for sure is certainly over pessimistic.

#### *Cognitive-Processual/Holistic Archaeology*

As indicated above, many archaeologists rejected the relativistic tendencies of postprocessualism but acknowledged the validity of many of its criticisms of New Archeology. This led to attempts to integrate the symbolic, religious, and ideological concerns of postprocessualism with the traditional pursuits and methodological rigor of processualism. Renfrew (1982) was one of the first to call this fusion cognitive archaeology. Later he renamed it cognitive-processual archaeology (Renfrew, 1994a:10). Marcus and Flannery (1994:55) prefer the term 'holistic archaeology' because it implies that cognition deserves equal status with other ecological, economic, and sociopolitical variables while not singling out cognition as the *only* important variable. They also point out that concern with ideology, symbols, and religion is not new in archaeology. They advocated a holistic approach back in 1976 (Flannery and Marcus, 1976). Near Eastern archaeologists are certainly familiar with the remarkable book, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* by Frankfort, et al. (1946) which dealt with these topics. Cognitive or holistic archaeology should be viewed more as a rediscovery of previous concerns rather than as a completely new field. (In the remainder of the paper, I will use the term cognitive archaeology to avoid confusing the holistic approach suggested by Flannery and holism as discussed by Bell (1992). The latter *does not* incorporate the idea that individuals can be significant factors in influencing long term social development.)

Cognitive archaeology, in general terms, is the "study of past ways of thought as inferred from material remains" (Renfrew, 1994a:3). Cognitive archaeologists seek to study

ancient thought processes, the construction of symbol systems and their relationship to each other within the context of specific societies. The emphasis lies on how symbol systems were used by ancient peoples as distinct from trying to reconstruct how ancient individuals interpreted or thought about them.

Bell (1994b:301-2) identifies three reasons for studying ancient cognition. First, he feels that trying to gain some insights into how ancient people thought is a legitimate end in itself. Second, we know that the ideas of specific individuals have shaped societies in historic periods. Presumably this was also true in prehistory. The third goal is trying to understand how thought processes influenced long-term change. Processual archaeologists should incorporate cognition along with other variables in their explanations of cultural change.

These studies, though, should still be structured along traditional methodological lines of enquiry. That is, assumptions should be as explicit as possible and the basis for making inferences should be carefully linked to existing data. By proceeding in this manner, we can begin to understand how concepts were formed and used in specific situations. Renfrew argues that this is possible because humans have a cognitive map, *mappa* he calls it (Renfrew, 1994a), which we share to a large degree with other members of our culture. These common conceptions of the world held by members of a given society allow us, modern researchers, to infer not only patterns of action but also patterns of thought from material remains.

The difficulty arises not with acknowledging that we should be studying cognition, but with choosing appropriate methodologies to apply to specific problems. In the volume edited by Renfrew and Zubrow (1994), a number of authors have suggested a variety of potentially useful approaches. Marcus and Flannery (1994:55) mention three. The first, the Direct Historical Approach is similar to Hill's 'Tight Local Analogy' (1994). In each case, the researcher compares data from a known historic situation to prehistoric remains. As the names suggest, there must be strong reasons to believe there is cultural continuity from the unknown to the known example. The other two approaches Marcus and Flannery use are the analysis of public space and religious architecture and the contextual analysis of religious paraphernalia. They applied these methods to the Zapotecs who did not leave behind written records.

Researchers who work in historic periods have this additional, and often, invaluable source of evidence with which to formulate and test their theories about ancient cognition. To demonstrate this, J.N. Postgate (1994) looked at clay figurines from two sites in Mesopotamia dated a millennium apart. He combined the artifactual data with their archaeological context and documentary evidence. Based on his findings, Postgate argued that it was likely that the same cognitive system had been in operation for at least 1000 years.

The final method to be mentioned here was discussed by Renfrew (1994b). He thinks that one of the most profitable sources of information about belief systems, if one excludes



written documents, is iconography. Iconography, according to Renfrew, is a method of non-verbal communication between people who understand the conventions of that culture. Iconographic representation relies heavily on repetition of individual symbols and groups of symbols to convey its message. Cognitive archaeologists acknowledge that the meanings of ancient symbolic systems are largely inaccessible to us given the nature of our data. Meaning here refers to the ways in which ancient people interpreted their own material culture. Nevertheless, the very coherency and redundancy often employed in the perpetuation of symbolic systems may make it possible for researchers to deduce one or several meanings of a given set of symbols. What must always be kept in mind is that archaeologists at most can only hope to glimpse a fraction of the meanings that originally existed.

## THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Mesopotamia, during the second millennium B.C., provides an excellent opportunity to investigate ancient belief systems using a cognitive-processual approach because of the abundance of archaeological data that can be combined with historical documents. But as Postgate noted, this kind of work has not been done in recent years (1994:176). The present study endeavors to make a contribution towards rectifying this situation.

The Old Babylonian and Kassite periods together cover roughly three-quarters of the second millennium B.C. This time frame witnessed several major political and religious transformations which affected Mesopotamian life. In the political arena, the First Dynasty of Babylon expanded, contracted, and eventually fell. Later documentary evidence reveals that a new ethnic group, the Kassites, assumed control of Babylonia (Grayson, 1975; Moran, 1987). Despite the fact they were foreigners, the Kassites appear to have adopted a great deal of the indigenous Mesopotamian culture (Roux, 1992:248). Concurrently in the religious sphere, personal religion grew in importance as did the status of Marduk, the city god of Babylon. By the end of the Kassite period, the priests of Marduk stood poised to promote him to the head of the pantheon.

I contend that the political and religious iconography spanning this time period must be sensitive to these great changes in Mesopotamian life. Researchers have demonstrated that in other complex societies "symbols of political legitimation, including relationships between present rulers and the gods or ancestors and other aspects of ideology account for much 'artistic' activity in ancient state" (Hayes, 1993:82-3). The main goal of this project is to seek to explain some of the patterns of change detected in the use of iconography in relation to the political and religious events of the Old Babylonian and Kassite Periods, and to construct inferences of how they might have affected one another.

This objective can be broken down into six more specific research questions. The initial three pertain exclusively to material from the First Dynasty of Babylon. The latter three

address issues concerning changes in the symbolic repertoire through the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. The inclusion of the Kassite material posed difficulties because the vast majority of the 283 seals and sealings could not be dated. Therefore I had to treat them as a single chronological unit. To create comparable categories of analysis in the Old Babylonian data, I subdivided those seals into two groups. I designated the 295 seals and sealings from Sumuabum through Hammurabi 'Early Old Babylonian' (EOB) and the 305 from Samsuiluna through Samsuditana 'Late Old Babylonian' (LOB). This division provided me with three subgroups, roughly equal in size, that could be analyzed in chronological order. Even though this type of aggregation doubtless obscures many variations in the use of symbols through time, it can nevertheless provide a general picture of iconographic change on cylinder seals over the course of the second millennium B.C.

1. Can any 'principles of composition' be detected in the Old Babylonian seal designs?
2. Can any of the OB iconography be used as chronological indicators?
3. Can any changes in the frequencies of OB iconography be related to the rise and fall of the Old Babylonian empire?
4. Did the Kassite seal carving tradition evolve from the Late Old Babylonian style?
5. Can OB and KAS iconography and inscriptions be linked to the rise of personal religion?
6. Does any OB and Kassite iconography and/or inscriptions relate to the rising prominence of Marduk?

### *The Data Base*

The data available for the analysis exist in the form of hundreds of Old Babylonian and Kassite cylinder seals and seal impressions. Cylinder seals are generally cylindrically-shaped pieces of stone or other material with heights ranging on average between 15 and 40 millimeters. Engravers carved designs, symbols, scenes, and/or inscriptions on their surface such that a continuous frieze would be created when rolled out onto wet clay. The preserved clay impression is known as a 'sealing'. A sealing by definition presupposes the existence of a seal even though original seals have rarely been recovered. Since my data consist of a combination of seals and sealings, both terms will be used to refer to the iconography on the seal regardless of whether it derives directly from an extant object or indirectly from an impression.

Cylinder seals comprise an excellent data base for a cognitive-processual study for a variety of reasons. First, the symbolic repertoire used on OB and Kassite seals consists mainly of deities, hybrid creatures, and other motifs (Black and Green, 1992:63). All OB seals appear to have been inscribed with at least some iconography. There are no instances that I am aware of a complete Old Babylonian seal with just an inscription and no symbols. On the other hand, there are many seals that only have iconography but do not have an inscription. A few seals from the Kassite Period do have just an inscription but the vast majority have at least some iconography. This suggests that the Mesopotamians



considered cylinder seals as appropriate objects for displaying symbolic messages.

Second, the seals and sealings available span virtually the entire Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. The earliest seal in my data base, seal 1, bears the name of the first king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. (Note: Seal numbers in bold type refer to those illustrated in the plate section.) The last datable Kassite seal I included, seal 879, comes from a tablet assigned to the eleventh year of Shagarakti-Shuriash. He reigned less than one century before the fall of the Kassite dynasty.

Third, in order to do a cognitive study, an adequate amount of material must be available. Of course, what constitutes adequate is subjective. In this case, there are hundreds of seals illustrated in publications stretching back over a century. Because my research questions depend on datable material, I selected only those Old Babylonian seals and inscriptions assignable to a specific king. I did exclude some extremely fragmentary examples, as well as some others that most likely originated outside Mesopotamia. The end result was six hundred seals and sealings datable to the Old Babylonian period. Most of these have at least some piece of the impression missing. It is difficult to predict what effect the use of partial sealings might have on the results. I do believe though, that the large quantity analyzed will prevent any major skewing of the results. Choosing which Kassite seals to include was more complex because only a fraction are datable to a specific king. Even these cannot be assigned a definite order because, in many instances, no one has yet been able to determine in which order the Kassite kings reigned (Brinkman, 1976). The problem is compounded because several kings of the dynasty bore the same name. For this study, I selected 283 Kassite seals. The rationale will be discussed below.

Finally, cylinder seals represent a huge, virtually untapped source of data for studying symbolic behavior. That does not mean seals have not received scholastic attention. Beginning in the 1880's, most researchers published collections of seals in the form of catalogs (cf. Buchanan, 1966, 1981; DeClerq, 1888; Delaporte, 1909, 1910, 1920, 1923; Moortgat, 1940; Porada, 1948; Von der Osten, 1934, 1936; Ward, 1909, 1910, 1920). These works treated seals primarily as art objects. The general concern of the authors lay with trying to identify stylistic traditions in seal cutting. In addition, the publication format made it clear that most of these researchers conceived of seals as being composed of two distinct parts: iconography and inscriptions. Inscriptions sometimes did appear with the description of the seal (Delaporte, 1909, 1910, 1920, 1923; Moortgat, 1940) but were more often listed separately in the back of the book (Buchanan, 1966, 1981; Von der Osten, 1934, 1936) or omitted entirely (Frankfort, 1939; Ward, 1910). A few studies concentrated on just the seal texts and omitted the iconography altogether (Langdon, 1919; Limet, 1971).

The conceptual division of seals into distinct parts, symbol and text, coupled with their removal from the context in which they were made and used, has limited the kind of interpretation that has been possible concerning what seal

compositions may have meant. Only recently has some work been done combining image, text, and context in order to begin "... decoding the cultural information contained in the glyptic arts" (Winter, 1987:92). From her study on seals belonging to bureaucrats of the Ur III period, Irene Winter concluded that the text and image worked together to convey information regarding the owner's place in the administrative system. Her work demonstrates how such an approach can yield insights that would be missed if image and text were analyzed separately.

Before beginning a cognitive-processual analysis, several additional issues must be explored. First, it is necessary to know what seal design conventions were in use at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period to establish a baseline against which later seals can be compared. At the onset of the OB period, the practice of carving cylinder seals was already fifteen hundred years old. Seal engravers did not need to create a symbolic repertoire from scratch, and indeed they borrowed heavily from their predecessors. In fact, all of the principle motifs used on OB seals, with one exception, can be traced back to earlier periods. The human-faced bull, for instance, dates back to the Early Dynastic period. From the Akkadians they inherited Lahmu, the man with the triple curls (568) and the sun god, Shamash (290). Shamash stands with one foot resting on a mound and wears the typical horned crown and long, flounced garment of the divine (Black and Green, 1992:182). Ur III seals provided the sun symbol in the crescent moon (141) and the interceding goddess (89). Though the motifs are recognizable by such attributes as a horned crown or flounced robe, the combinations and compositions in which they appear are quite different. Still, the existence of identifiable figures over many centuries indicates that the tradition of seal carving in Mesopotamia, at least until the beginning of the OB period, did not readily change its iconographic repertoire.

It cannot be said for certain who selected specific motifs or who composed the seal designs from the individual elements in either time period. There does seem, though, to be some evidence for the existence of seal-carving shops during the OB period. After analyzing OB seal impressions from Sippar, al-Gailani Werr (1988) believes that she found evidence for two different shops. Their products can be distinguished based on the method of rendering the details of the long, flounced garment worn by many of the figures. But maybe more importantly, the shops cannot be distinguished by the iconography carved on the seals. The motifs they used on the seals were identical. This suggests that the symbolic repertoire consisted of a standardized set of figures, and that seal design was not idiosyncratic. Seal carvers may have kept catalogs of motifs from which the customers could choose the elements they desired. However, in order for the seal cutters to stay in business, they could not offer designs that radically violated the prevailing notion of appropriate seal iconography. In fact, the repertoire of main figures on Old Babylonian seals was actually quite limited. Only nine full-size motifs appear with any regularity. Theoretically, the design repertoire could have been nearly infinite. Since symbolic communication is facilitated through repetition, the evidence clearly suggests



that cylinder seals only conveyed a limited number of messages using a set of standardized figures.

In order to address the next logical question, who used the seals, one must first understand how cylinder seals were utilized. The main function of seals during the Old Babylonian Period was to provide a method for authenticating documents, in particular, legal contracts. In Mesopotamia, contracts were evidence that a legal transaction had taken place. They did not represent the agreement itself as they do in modern society (Renger, 1977). Contracts were normally written in past tense, as if the transaction had already taken place. The language used reflected the arrangement from the viewpoint of the witnesses. The text explained the type of transaction, e.g., the sale of property, loan of a commodity, etc., and usually included an agreement by the parties involved not to sue each other in the future (Renger, 1977). The completed contract would then be encased in a hollow clay envelope. Witnesses to the transaction or the persons directly involved would roll out their cylinder seals on the left margin of the obverse and reverse of the envelope before the envelope itself was inscribed. If a dispute arose, the witnesses who had sealed the document could be called to testify.

The sealings preserved from the Old Babylonian Period appear to come largely from these 'legal' documents, i.e., contracts (Renger, 1977). On the surface, these contracts seem to be transactions conducted between private individuals. Presumably, then, individuals ordered and owned personal seals to be used on the necessary occasions. However, to complicate matters, Renger mentions in a footnote that as scholars delve deeper into the material, what seem to be private legal documents are actually records of business dealings being conducted on behalf of the temple or palace (Renger, 1977:81). That of course raises the question of whether or not the individuals used personal seals to impress these contracts or did the seals belong to a bureaucratic office? Because, at present, it is not possible to make this distinction, no attempt can be made to differentiate between the iconography on personal versus bureaucratic seals during the Old Babylonian period, if such a distinction indeed existed.

The sealings on Kassite legal texts probably functioned in a manner similar to those on Old Babylonian documents (Renger, 1977). But three-fourths of the Kassite seals in this data base are actual seals, not sealings found on clay tablets or envelopes. This presents the possibility that Kassite seals could have been used only as amulets (Collon, 1988:119) or votive offerings in contrast to the OB material. There is no way of knowing at present whether other kinds of functions may have affected the choice of seal designs.

Based on the Old Babylonian model, we may hypothesize the existence of seal cutting shops during the Kassite period. Individuals ordered seals from the seal cutters, and ideology provided the cultural restraints that dictated what was 'appropriate' or 'desirable' on seals at any given point in time. This is the proposed scenario for all the Kassite seals with the exception of Second Kassite (see discussion of styles below). In regard to these, Donald Matthews has

argued that this particular style was only used by particular individuals for special, official business (1992:55-59). To determine this, he correlated the type of document with the style of seal impression for Kassite seals from Nippur. The only instance in which the results presented a definite pattern was the sealing of so-called "salary" texts with seals bearing a Second Kassite design. These texts concern the authorization of expenditures by persons in an official capacity. This certainly suggests that the iconography on these seals would be closely correlated with the prevailing ideology of the ruling class if not actually dictated by the king.

This brings us back to the question of who actually used the seals? During the Old Babylonian period, most of the seals appear to have been owned and used by men. This can be deduced from seal inscriptions which almost without exception read, "PN (personal name), Son of PN..." which indicates a male owner. Renger states that in a volume of texts pertaining to the activities of naditu women from Sippar, only nine seals bore women's names (1977:84). The cases where a seal can be definitely identified as having been owned by a female is again based on the inscription which says "PN, Daughter of PN...". Another collection of over five hundred OB texts did not have a single personal female name on a seal (Finkelstein, 1972). The reason for this seems to be that women did not usually act as witnesses to legal transactions during the OB period. At least there exists very little evidence to suggest they did (Renger, 1977). This, in turn, is reflected in the lack of cylinder seals ascribable to females.

The question of whether these men for the most part belonged to the same social class is difficult, if not impossible, to answer. The importance of the issue lies in the realization that different classes can have different ideologies. A cognitive analysis is more apt to yield consistent results if the data comes from the most homogenous social grouping possible. There is no way to be absolutely sure that seal owners/users were members of the same social stratum, but a number of factors point to the fact that seals were used by a wealthier set of people. No single factor can be considered proof in and of itself, but taken together there is a strong indication that this may indeed have been the case.

First of all, most OB cylinder seals were made of hematite. Hematite, along with virtually every other kind of stone used for seals, had to be imported into Mesopotamia. This fact alone may have made seals luxury items. Besides the raw material, an individual also had to pay a craftsman to carve his seal, thus adding to its cost.

Second, the dated and sealed documents from the OB period deal almost exclusively with economic transactions. Many of the texts concern the sale, purchase, or lease of houses or fields. As previously noted, it is often difficult to tell whether the transactions were personal or undertaken on behalf of the crown. Either way, these men would either be wealthy enough to buy, sell, or lease property on their own behalf or be government officials who possessed a certain level of responsibility.



Third, the evidence makes it clear that not everyone owned a seal. Thus seals were not evenly distributed throughout the entire society as utilitarian objects might be. If an individual needed a seal but did not have one, s/he could borrow someone else's seal. Notations made above the sealing on the document would say that person A was using person B's seal (Renger, 1977). Individuals could also opt to press a fingernail or garment hem into the clay. Some the hem impressions are actually labelled "Seal of PN" (Renger, 1977). These would certainly seem to be inexpensive alternatives to purchasing your own seal.

Another possibility was the use of a burgul seal. Burgul seals could be fabricated quickly out of inexpensive materials like clay and may have been designed for a single rolling (Renger, 1977). These might be thought of as 'disposable' seals. Renger says that after studying several hundred OB tablets from Sippar, he found no evidence for the use of burgul seals (Renger, 1977:77). My data base contains 600 seals and impressions from the OB period, 420 of which come from Sippar or its suburb, Ed-Der. Thus I am assuming the majority of my OB sealings were produced from carved stone seals and not temporary burgul seals. All this evidence taken together, the probable cost of the seal, the documents on which they were used, and the cheaper alternatives to cylinder seals, suggest that OB seals were used and owned by people, mostly men, from the more well-to-do sectors of Babylonian society. Many were probably government officials which suggests they were in closer contact with the structures of power than people who did not need to use seals on an everyday basis. This makes it likely that many of the persons who owned seals found it expedient to promulgate the ideological perspective of the ruling class, whether they believed it or not.

Kassite seals present a more complex situation. Five individual styles have been identified; First Kassite Central (FKC), First Kassite Northern (FKN), Second Kassite (SK), Third Kassite (TK), and Pseudo-Kassite (PK). (I did not include First Kassite Various (KV) as identified by Matthews (1990) in this group because it does not constitute a style. It is a catchall category for seal designs that did not seem to fit well into one of the other style categories. I did include these seals in my study.) Many of the FKN sealings come from Nuzi and seem to be on tablets similar in content to the OB documents (Morrison, et al., 1993:7). At present, they appear to be chronologically earlier than the other styles (Matthews, 1992). In Babylonia proper, Matthews (1992) discovered that three styles were in use simultaneously; FKC, SK, and PK. To explain this, he correlated the style of the seal with the type of document sealed and the presence or absence of a gold cap. He came to the following conclusions. FKC and SK seals seem to be preferred by rich people as indicated by the relative higher frequency of gold caps associated with them. In contrast, only one PK seal had a gold cap. From his earlier work (Matthews, 1990:14), we also know that 86% of First Kassite seals were carved from hard stones, which implies imported material, while only 3% of PK designs are found on hard stone. 'Composite' materials like glass, which can be made locally, comprise 85% of PK seals but include no First Kassite designs. Lapis lazuli, a luxury import, seems to

have been favored for Second Kassite seals. SK impressions frequently appear on envelopes and rarely on bullae while the opposite distribution holds true for PK seals. Envelopes are associated with activities requiring literacy such as receipts and salary payments while bullae are lumps of clay used to prevent tampering with the contents of a container.

All these lines of evidence suggest that FKC and SK were used by persons of a higher social status than those people possessing PK and other styles. I felt that the social strata of the seal owners should be as similar as possible in all time periods to minimize the possibility that observed differences in seals were the result of class differences rather than changes in the political and religious climate. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the dominant ideology thesis has been shown to be untenable. So even though the ideology of the upper and lower classes is not completely unrelated, the variations in beliefs between these groups could have certainly affected the choice of symbolic messages on seals. For this reason, I eliminated the Pseudo-Kassite seals from this study.

The Third Kassite style remains problematical for a variety of reasons. Researchers have yet to agree on its origin, duration, and geographical distribution. Matthews (1990) believes TK overlaps the end of the Kassite period and the beginning of the Isin II dynasty. It also appears to derive more from Assyrian tradition than from Babylonian antecedents. Given these uncertainties, Third Kassite seals also will not be included in this data base.

From the preceding discussion, we surmise that whatever symbolic messages were being communicated in the form of cylinder seal iconography and inscriptions, they were probably limited to the upper stratum of society. This is borne out by another feature of cylinder seals, their size. Old Babylonian seals generally ranged from 15-27 mm long. Kassite seals could be up to 50 mm in length but most averaged around 32 mm. Obviously, their size can be understood principally in terms of their function. But the fact remains, cylinder seals did not act like billboards. Their messages were not designed for public consumption. The iconography and inscriptions were probably only seen by the owners, the scribes who wrote the documents, and the parties involved in the transactions. In many cases, the entire seal was not completely rolled out on the tablet. Often much of the seal impression was damaged by the cuneiform written on top of it. This may indicate that seals were considered personal objects and the symbolic messages were supposed to be meaningful largely to the owner. Even if this proves to be the case, individuals are products of their culture and we can still hope to understand how cultural messages changed through time.

## METHODOLOGY

Cognitive-processual archaeologists have stressed, along with others, the necessity of studying material culture in the context in which it was made and used. Unfortunately for this study, most of the available seals and tablets with seal impressions come from undocumented archaeological



excavations. Very often they cannot even be assigned to a specific site. Context, here, is restricted to the political and religious events that can be reconstructed from the thousands of cuneiform documents dated to the second millennium B.C. Because politics and religion are crucial for interpreting ideology, and in turn iconography, they will be examined in detail in the following two chapters. This will be done in order to provide the most complete possible background for inferring links between seal iconography and current events.

The next step involves analyzing changes in seal iconography and inscriptions through time. To do this, cylinder seals or impressions that can be dated are a necessity. Unfortunately, seals from the second millennium rarely bear the name of a king. Typical seal inscriptions from the OB period follow the pattern, 'PN1, Son of PN2, Servant of DN' (Personal Name 1, Personal Name 2, Divine Name). Most Kassite inscriptions are prayers. There seem to be only two short-lived exceptions to these general patterns. The first came in the middle of Hammurabi's reign. As he gained more control over all aspects of life in Babylonia, he gradually exerted his influence over the courts which had always been under the domain of the temples. There is evidence that at the beginning of his reign the Sanga priests called themselves servants of DN (Harris, 1961). By the end of his reign, they inscribed their seals, servants of Hammurabi. This practice continued on into his son's reign. But as Samsuiluna lost control of the provinces, the courts again returned to the aegis of the temple.

The other exception seems to be a group of seals dated to the middle of the Kassite Period. They bear the names of what may prove to be three successive generations of kings. This suggests that the fashion of inscribing the monarch's name on personal seals was in vogue for awhile. The uncertainty stems from the fact that establishing chronological order for the Kassite kings is particularly confusing since many names were reused and the seals were not recovered from stratified contexts.

Many dated seal impressions do exist though, particularly from the Old Babylonian period. During that time, scribes routinely dated clay documents by recording the king's name along with his day, month, and year in office. Sealings on these tablets and envelopes prove that, although the seal was not necessarily engraved in that year, it was in use. I am assuming that this implies that its symbolic message was still relevant. Except for the few cases when a king's name was inscribed on the seal itself, all the seal impressions from the Old Babylonian Period come from dated cuneiform documents. I placed these seals in sequential order on the following basis. First, I grouped them by king's name. Within the set assigned to a given monarch, I then arranged them by year date. When multiple impressions appeared on one tablet (so the sealings all had the same king and year), I kept them in the order listed in the original publication for the sake of convenience. If the year date was missing or unknown, I placed those impressions after the dated material for that particular king.

Few dated, sealed documents from the Kassite Period have been published. But many of the actual seals have survived and are available from a wide variety of sources. Unlike the OB sealings, there is no way at present to accurately arrange the Kassite material in chronological order. For this study, I used the traditional stylistic divisions established by Beran (1957-8), i.e., First Kassite and Second Kassite and the subsequent subcategories established by Matthews (1990), i.e., FKC, FKN and KV. I also included another group which I named, 'Composite' or KP (for Kassite-comPOSITE). These seals exhibit a combination of elements normally associated with the Old Babylonian and Kassite repertoire. I deliberately avoided the term 'transitional' for this category because the dating remains problematic.

I classified the Kassite seals using the identifications largely done by others (Beran, 1957-8; Matthews, 1990; 1992). Within each main group, I then arranged the seals on the basis of stylistic similarity. Finally I put the main categories in the following order: KP-FKN-FKC-KV-SK. The rationale is as follows. Intuition suggests that the KP group must come at the end of the OB period or be among the earliest of the Kassite seals. Until seals in stratified contexts are recovered, this remains speculation. FKN comes second because Matthews (1992) argued that FKN may be somewhat earlier than either FKC or SK which are contemporaneous. The Northern style derives from sealings found in an archive at Nuzi which lies in northern Mesopotamia. The earliest tablets with FKN sealings belong to the second of five generations represented in the archives (M. Morrison, et al., 1993). While no precise date exists for the archives, they ended with the destruction of Nuzi, c.1350-1330 B.C. (Stein, 1989:58). Matthews concludes the FKN style should be dated to roughly 1450-1400 B.C. (Matthews, 1990:57). The first *substantiated* date for a FKC seal is 1340 B.C. (Matthews, 1992:7) although the style may have existed earlier. It is currently not possible to say with certainty that the Northern sealings predate the other Kassite styles.

Due to the inability to assign specific dates to the Kassite seals and the somewhat uneven distribution of sealings within the Old Babylonian Period, I will initially divide the seals into three chronological groups. The first category, Early Old Babylonian seals (EOB), includes the material from the first king, Sumuabum, through the reign of Hammurabi. Late Old Babylonian seals (LOB) comprise those of Hammurabi's successors. The third group is the Kassite seals.

After the seal order had been determined, the seals were sequentially numbered. The next step involved coding the iconography and divine and theophoric names in the inscriptions so they could be quantified. At this point, I treated every seal as one case. Each discrete symbol or icon on every seal was recorded separately as either a main figure or a fill figure. Main icons are the full or medium-size figures which comprise the primary scene or scenes in the seal design. They may be gods, goddesses, humans, animals, monsters, quasi-human (part animal/part human), or objects (e.g., 9, 72, 300, 445). Deciding whether the numerous partial figures were gods, goddesses, or humans involved a



variety of indicators. Divinities in the OB period often wore a horned crown and flounced robe (89, 139). If either was present, I classified the figure as divine. I found hairstyle to be an excellent indicator of gender. Gods had short ponytails (452) and goddesses had long ponytails (139). Goddesses could also have hair curled above the shoulders (200) or flowing over the shoulder (185). Human males, virtually without exception, had no hair visible and often wore turbans (497). In the Kassite period, distinctive dress, headgear, and hairstyles almost disappeared so I could not differentiate between divine and human icons. For main figures, I also took different postures into account. Standing gods, for instance, were recorded separately from seated gods. Another attribute noted for main figures was objects they held in their hands. Common ones included a small quadruped, staff, knife (all found on 23), and flowing vase (396).

The second category of symbols and icons on seals are the 'fill' figures. Fill figures are small in comparison to main figures and, in our perception, appear in the background of scenes. In recent literature (Collon, 1988), there has been objection to this term on the grounds that 'fill' implies 'extraneous'. I agree that these figures were included in the designs for specific purposes but at this time their meaning remains unclear. I use the term 'fill' simply to avoid confusion with previous studies. It has been in use since at least 1939 when Frankfort employed it in his classic volume on cylinder seals. Fill figures are typically animals, objects, geometric shapes, and other symbols (e.g., 141, 147).

After all the figures and names had been recorded, I divided the six hundred OB seals into twelve groups. Each one consisted of 50 consecutively numbered seals. The two exceptions were one EOB group which had 45 seals and one LOB group which had 55 seals. This occurred because there were 295 EOB seals and 305 LOB seals. Within each block, I calculated the number of times each individual main and fill figure and divine name appeared. Even though each category covers a different number of actual years, these frequency totals provide a way to monitor the popularity of the various icons, symbols, and divine names throughout the OB period. The patterns established can then be correlated with the historical and religious events and hypotheses suggested as to why changes in iconography did or did not occur. Less fine-grained analysis can be done by comparing trends between the EOB, LOB, and Kassite periods.

Another method of analysis that may indicate how people thought about seal composition is to test for strength of association between elements. While recording the seal iconography, I found that certain individual figures, symbols, and names seemed to appear together while other combinations never did. I wanted to know whether these intuitive observations could be statistically verified. The data presented problems. Since most of the OB material comprises sealing fragments, it is not possible to know what is missing. That left a small sample size in which even the most common icons and symbols occurred on less than half of the sealings. In this situation, Shennan (1988) recommends the use of Jaccard's Coefficient. Based on a 2 x 2 contingency table, the formula is  $S = a/a+b+c$ . In other

words, it tests the strength of association between variables that are present but is not affected by a high number of cases where both variables are absent. 'S' values vary between '0' and '1'. A '0' indicates a perfect negative correlation which means the variables being tested never co-occur. A '1' implies the opposite, the two variables always co-occur. A value in the middle suggests there is some association but not necessarily a strong one.

## CONCLUSION

The main goal of this project is to seek to explain some of the patterns of change detected in cylinder seal iconography and inscriptions by relating them to the political and religious events of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. In the past, cylinder seals have been, for the most part, regarded as art objects. Scholars discussed collections of seals but any attempts at interpreting the symbolism and iconography was inevitably frustrated because they had been divorced from their cultural context. It has only been in recent years that a few studies have begun to treat seals as material objects that actively participated in everyday life. As Postgate (1994) has observed, even now in Mesopotamian archaeology, a clear line exists between history and prehistory. Anthropologically trained archaeologists rarely venture into historical periods and historians and epigraphers are mainly preoccupied with texts. The cognitive-processual approach offers a way for archaeologists to begin working in the historical periods and finally break down this division. This study hopes to make a contribution to this end.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE PERIODS (c.1894-1154 B.C.)

#### INTRODUCTION

The Old Babylonian period represents one of the best documented phases of political history in Mesopotamia. This information comes to us not because they intentionally wrote it down for posterity, but rather as a byproduct of their extensive bureaucratic system. Government officials, as well as private individuals, recorded business transactions, marriage and inheritance contracts, law suits, and so forth on clay tablets. Then, as now, some sort of dating system was necessary to keep all these documents in order.

The Babylonians used a method that had been developed in Mesopotamia around the middle of the third millennium B.C. (Finegan, 1979:33). Year dates, as we now know them, contained the king's name followed by his current regnal year and the 'official year name'. The latter normally consisted of a short description of an important political or religious event that had taken place in the king's previous year in office. Thus the date formula for Hammurabi 10 actually refers to incidents that took place in his year 9. In addition to political and religious events, year dates also mention the building and repair of city walls or canals. Over time, scribes compiled date formulae into lists (Ungnad, 1938). These year names provide a source of specific historical information which is invaluable in reconstructing the political events of the Old Babylonian period.

Year dates, though, never allude to economic, social, or environmental conditions. This inevitably produces an uneven picture of this time period. We know a great deal about some aspects of life and virtually nothing about others. To gain insights about facets of society not recorded in the date formulae, we must rely on other types of written records and archaeological data. But even though year dates only provide limited types of information, their historical value is inestimable.

Unfortunately, from our point of view, the Kassites dropped this method of recording and adopted the simpler scheme of 'king's name' coupled with the 'number of the regnal year' (Finegan, 1979:78). Thus the data on the Kassite period derives from a much scantier group of sources. Of the approximately 12,000 tablets dating to this time, less than ten percent have been published (Roux, 1992:247). In addition to these, we have letters from el-Amarna, Egypt that compose part of the correspondence between a number of pharaohs and Kassite kings (Moran, 1992). There is also an Assyrian chronicle dating to the 7th c. B.C. known as the 'Synchronistic History' (Grayson, 1975). Chronicle 21, as it is also known, contains a record of events pertaining to the relations between Assyria and Babylon from the first half of

the 15th century through the beginning of the 8th century (Grayson, 1975:51). This material forms the bulk of written material relevant to the Kassite Period.

Archaeological data help fill out the picture for both the Old Babylonian and Kassite eras. Unfortunately, little is available from Babylon itself. Most of the occupation levels prior to Neo-Babylonian times, c.609-539 B.C., lie below the modern water table (Roux, 1992:208). The most informative excavations for the Old Babylonian period have been at ancient Sippar, Ur, Nippur, Kish, and Mari. Kassite material has been recovered at Aqar Quf, Nippur, Isin, Larsa, and Ur.

#### BACKGROUND

The kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur ruled most of the Mesopotamian floodplain towards the end of the third millennium B.C. (Oates, 1986:43). During the reign of Shu-Sin, documents begin to contain records of attacks and incursions along the frontiers. On the ascension of Shu-Sin's successor, Ibbi-Sin, the empire "literally disintegrated" (Roux, 1992:176). The provinces of Eshnunna and Elam declared their independence in the east. Simultaneously, Amorite tribes from the west infiltrated Sumer, destroying crops and cutting off lines of trade and communication. The Elamites, ever-ready to exploit difficulties in Mesopotamia, attacked and burned Ur in 2004 B.C. (Sollberger and Kupper, 1971). Ibbi-Sin became a prisoner of war and eventually died in the Elamite capital city of Susa. Thus ended the last great Sumerian dynasty.

The downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur set the stage for the next phase of Mesopotamian history. Isin and Larsa became the two dominant city-states in the south. At first, Isin managed to hold sway by capturing Nippur, Uruk, Eridu and eventually, Ur. But in 1924 B.C., Gungunum of Larsa launched an attack against Isin (Edzard, 1957). Within a few years, Larsa controlled half of Sumer but the feuding continued. This period of squabbling between Isin and Larsa created a power vacuum in parts of Sumer and Akkad. History tells us a number of Amorite sheikhs managed to establish their own dynasties in places such as Kazallu, Sippar, Uruk, Kish, Marad and Babylon (Edzard, 1957).

Even though these nomadic peoples had been partly responsible for the demise of Ibbi-Sin's empire, they should probably not be regarded as invaders in the traditional sense of the word. Amorites are mentioned in documents dating as far back as Shar-kali-sharra of Agade (Roux, 1992:176). Undoubtedly, there was a long history of interaction between



sedentary peoples and nomads whatever their ethnic origin. Sometimes contacts were peaceful, other times not. To date, no evidence exists that supports the presence of widespread ethnic conflict.

### THE FIRST DYNASTY OF BABYLON (1894-1595 B.C.)

The origins of the First Dynasty of Babylon took root in the unsettled conditions of the Isin-Larsa period. A sheikh by the name of Sumuabum took the opportunity, like a number of his contemporaries, to assume power in a pre-existing town. Sumuabum chose Babylon. Not much is known about the early history of Babylon. The oldest potsherds appear to date back to the latter part of the Early Dynastic period (Gibson, 1972). The first written reference to it is from the Akkadian Period. Shar-kali-sharra mentions a temple he had built there. During the Third Dynasty of Ur, it merited a local governor, an ensi, under both Shulgi and Amar-Sin.

Few details are known about Sumuabum's 14 year reign. The general picture that emerges from the written sources suggests he was one of a number of rulers fighting for control of the territory of Akkad. In his first year, he began construction of a defensive wall around Babylon. This may have been in response to or in anticipation of the long period of hostilities that was to follow. Sumuabum's year-names imply he lost no time in expanding his control. By his second year, he was in Dilbat (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986) and may have defeated Kilbalbaru since he fortified that town a year later. Its exact location is unknown but it probably lies in the vicinity of Babylon. Kish also became a target of Babylon's military ambitions at this time although it did not fall for a number of years. Sumuabum's third year name commemorates the 'taking of the wall of Ilip' (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986:12-13). This is also the year that identifies him as a coregent with a ruler named Manana. For this and other reasons, Charpin has argued that the Manana's home-city should be identified with Ilip (Charpin, 1978a).

Table 3.1

#### The Kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon

1. Sumuabum	1894-1881	14 yrs
2. Sumulailum	1880-1845	36 yrs
3. Sabium	1844-1831	14 yrs
4. Apil-Sin	1830-1813	18 yrs
5. Sinmuballit	1812-1793	20 yrs
6. Hammurabi	1792-1750	43 yrs
7. Samsuiluna	1749-1712	38 yrs
8. Abieshu	1711-1684	28 yrs
9. Ammiditana	1683-1647	37 yrs
10. Ammisaduqa	1646-1626	21 yrs
11. Samsuditana	1625-1595	30 yrs

(Chronology is based on Sollberger and Kupper, 1971)

There are no extant records of specific military campaigns in Sumuabum's middle years. In his eighth year, he completed the fortifications at Dilbat. The following year, he finally claims suzerainty over Kish after eight years of fighting (King, 1969:144). The king of Kish, Yawium, who was already a vassal of Manana, was allowed to remain on the throne. Three years after the defeat of Kish, Sumuabum conquered Kazallu (Ungnad, 1938:175). While its exact location is unknown, it appears to have been southeast of Babylon. This may have marked the onset of hostilities between Babylon and Larsa since Larsa had captured Kazallu nine years prior to the Babylonian victory. Other towns such as Kisurru may have come under Sumuabum's control for a brief period as well.

Sumuabum probably could not maintain tight political control over any of the areas he conquered. This is evidenced by the fact that in Kish, oaths could be sworn by the regent, Manana, but were followed by Sumuabum's year date (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986). If Sumuabum had had complete jurisdiction over Kish, presumably oaths would have been issued in his name rather than in the name of the regent. Some writers speculate that he may have also controlled Sippar and allowed the local king to remain as a vassal (King, 1969:144). Harris, on the other hand, doubts this as only one document with Sumuabum's year name has been found (Harris, 1975:5). Unlike Kish, no documentation exists from Sippar which contains the regent's name coupled with Sumuabum's year date.

Good Mesopotamian kings, besides being successful military leaders, also needed to look after the religious life of the people. Sumuabum apparently took these duties seriously. He constructed a temple dedicated to Ninisinna in his third year. He built a temple to Nanna, the moon god, a year later and three years later had cedar doors installed on it (Ungnad, 1938:175). After the defeat of Kish in his ninth year, he dedicated a crown to the sky god, Anu, in Kish. This information, though scanty, set the tone for the dynasty that was to follow. Sumuabum's successors acted like good Babylonian kings by trying to enlarge the territory under their control and looking after the religious traditions they inherited.

Sumulailum, Sumuabum's successor, may not have been his son, but rather a contemporary and perhaps his rival. Some documents reveal that later kings traced their ancestry back to him as opposed to Sumuabum (Edzard, 1957:112). Other sources include Sumuabum in the First Dynasty of Babylon (Finkelstein, 1966). Either way, Sumulailum must be considered the real founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon. It was he who forged the core area of influence that was to remain intact until the last king of the royal family was defeated.

The first 12 years of Sumulailum's 36 year reign, according to his date formulae, were largely spent on building and repairing the canals and waterways. During this period, he also rebuilt, or perhaps completed, the great fortification wall around Babylon initiated by Sumuabum (King, 1969:146). The only military activity recorded was the successful defense of Dilbat against an attack by the city of



Marad. A date formula found in Kish suggests that Sumulailum might have also acted as coregent there with Yawium as Sumuabum had (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986:14). Kazallu, on the other hand, fell back into the hands of Larsa.

Beginning in Sumulailum's 12th year, the situation changed. The king of Kish rebelled against Babylon's overlordship. Five years later with conditions still unsettled, Iakhzir-ilum (Jahzirel) of Kazallu joined Kish in its fight against Babylon (King, 1969:146). The following year, commemorated in the date formula for Sumulailum 19, the Babylonian forces finally subdued Kish and destroyed its wall. This event marked the end of Kish's independence. From this point onwards, Kish's destiny was linked with Babylon (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986:15).

In his 20th year date, Sumulailum records the conquest and destruction of Kazallu. The victory remained incomplete because its ruler, Iakhzir-ilum, escaped. He fought a guerrilla war against Babylon for five years before he was finally captured and put to death (King, 1969:146). Texts indicate that the majority of the military action took place in the area of the traditional dividing line between north and south Mesopotamia, i.e., the neighborhood of Marad-Kazallu-Apiak (Donbaz and Yoffee, 1986:14). In his 27th year, Sumulailum commemorates the destruction and rebuilding of Cutha. In the same year he also notes that he treated the wall of the god Zakar in a similar fashion. Dur-Zakar is one of the defenses of Nippur (King, 1969:146). This appears to be the first attempt to expand southward and capture that venerable old city. Sumulailum probably took the opportunity to attack Nippur while there was a temporary power vacuum in the south. The king of Isin, Ura-imitti, had died with no legitimate heirs and would-be claimants to the throne were embroiled in a fierce power struggle.

Sumulailum wanted to possess Nippur for the same reason all Mesopotamian leaders had for the past thousand years. Nippur was the city of Enlil, the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon. From earliest times, Enlil had the responsibility of conferring kingship on the rulers of Sumer (Kramer, 1963). Thus, whoever controlled the city could proclaim that Enlil had chosen him in Nippur. The city itself never seems to have wielded any military power. Its importance lay in its tremendous symbolic significance to the Mesopotamian people. Because of this, Nippur remained safe from destruction despite the fact it frequently changed hands in the wake of armed conflict.

Babylon appears to have held Nippur briefly. Documents from Sumulailum's descendants reveal that he built at least six fortresses to safeguard the boundaries of Akkad (King, 1969:148). The only one of these forts that can actually be identified is Dur-Zakar at Nippur. The remainder most likely lay along the southern and eastern borders of Babylon's territory. Nippur, though, did not form part of Babylon's core area.

In Sumulailum's 29th year name, he recorded what proved to be a decisive event for the First Dynasty, "Year

Sumu-la-ila (re)built the wall of Sippar" (Harris, 1975:5). Sippar lies roughly 55 kms to the north of Babylon. The fact that Sippar's wall may have needed rebuilding indicates the Babylonian army may have taken the city by force. Another possibility is that the citizens let their wall deteriorate and could not mount an effective resistance to the Babylonian forces. From this point on, with a possible brief exception, Sippar remained firmly under Babylonian control until the end of the dynasty. Sippar prospered under Babylon's rule and in turn, Sippar's wealth and manpower contributed to the success of Babylon. Sumulailum's daughter joined the cloister in Sippar becoming a naditu of Shamash, Sippar's city-god.

Like Sumuabum, Sumulailum respected the religious traditions of the towns he conquered and incorporated them into the city-state of Babylon. But he also promoted the worship of Babylon's own city-god, Marduk. It was Sumulailum who introduced Marduk's cult at Sippar. In Babylon, he had a throne made for Marduk covered in gold and silver. Two years later he ordered a statue made of Marduk's wife, Sarpanitum.

The last military action attributable to Sumulailum was the occupation of the town of Barzi (Ungnad, 1938:176). By this time, his old adversaries, the kings of the Manana dynasty, had died out as well. Sumulailum cemented an alliance with Uruk by marrying one of his daughters to Sinkashid, the king of Uruk. But his real legacy was the creation of the Babylonian core area. This territory, which included Kish and Sippar, was destined to remain firmly under Babylonian control until the end of the dynasty.

Almost nothing is known about the reign of the third king of the dynasty, Sabium. It seems as if he was primarily occupied during his 14 year reign with the internal administration of the territory conquered by his father. Twenty-nine documents with Sabium's date formulae attest to Babylon's continuing control of Sippar (Harris, 1975:6). In his seventh year, he had the temple of Shamash rebuilt there. Of his military activities, we only know that at some point he sent 1000 men to Uruk, presumably at their request. This is in keeping with the alliance established by his father. The city of Kazallu rebelled during Sabium's reign, but Babylonian troops subdued it.

Apil-Sin, Sabium's son, succeeded him and ruled for 18 years. Again, little is known about his reign. Apil-Sin followed his father's example and spent most of his time consolidating and improving the area already under his control. This pause allowed the Babylonians to lay the foundation for a much greater expansion in years to come. Texts record he strengthened the walls of Babylon and Barzi, as well as built more canals (Ungnad, 1938:176). He also rebuilt some great temples. In Sippar, he had thrones made for Shamash and his consort, Sherida, which is another name for the goddess Aya.

Little is heard from Babylon during this period, in part because its neighbors wielded much more influence than the fledgling Babylonian dynasty. The city-state of Eshnunna started expanding its territory under Ibiq-adad II. They



called him "Enlarger of Eshnunna" and "Shepherd of the black-headed people" (Frankfort, et al., 1940:128). Eventually he was deified. His son, Naram-Sin, may even have controlled Sippar for a year or two. There is a six year gap in Babylonian year date formulae at Sippar lasting from Apil-Sin 14 to Sinmuballit 1 (Frankfort, et al., 1940:128). At least one date formula of Naram-Sin has been found there. His occupation of Sippar, if it indeed occurred, did not last long. He also dropped the titles used by his father.

In the south, too, a new and powerful kingdom came into being. Prior to Sabium's reign, as demonstrated by Sumulailum's incursion into Nippur, neither Isin nor Larsa had a strong king. And like so many times in the past, the Elamites could not resist taking advantage of the situation. This time they chose to interfere with Larsa's affairs because they judged it the weaker of the two states. In Sabium's ninth year, Silli-Adad of Larsa lost his throne. There is some disagreement in the literature as to exactly what happened. Roux (1992:184) says he got killed in a war with Babylon and the Elamites moved in to take over an empty throne. Joan Oates (1986:61) contends that an Elamite sheikh, Kudur-Mabuk, deposed Silli-Adad. Either way, Kudur-Mabuk installed his son, Warad-Sin, as king of Larsa. He ruled there from 1834-1823 B.C. (Hallo and Simpson, 1971:98). Even though he was an Elamite, he acted like any other good Mesopotamian king. He set about strengthening Larsa's position and six years later captured Nippur, claiming legitimate kingship of the south. When he died, his brother, Rim Sin I, ascended the throne of Larsa. This occurred in Apil-Sin's ninth year. Rim Sin I was destined to rule for 60 years.

Sinmuballit took over the reigns of government in 1812 and reigned for 20 years (Ungnad, 1938:177-8). For the first 13 years or so he seemed mainly occupied with building canals. He also rebuilt walls at Rubatum, Zakar-dada, Dur-Sinmuballit (modern Khafajah), Bit-Karkara and Marad (King, 1969:153). It was during his time that Babylon started exercising more direct control over the city-states within its sphere of influence. Eshnunna's power and influence had waned under the leadership of Dadusha, Naram-Sin's successor. Records indicate that Dadusha confined his military activities to areas close to home.

One exception to this relatively quiet early period occurred in Sinmuballit's fourth year. Rim Sin I of Larsa, now in his 14th year, was continuing to expand his kingdom in southern Mesopotamia to the great consternation of other leaders. In an effort to halt his advance, Babylon formed a military coalition with Rapiqum, Isin, Sutu, and Uruk (Edzard, 1957:177). The results must have been indecisive since Larsa's power continued to grow. Roughly nine years went by before there is any indication that Sinmuballit again tried to take a hand in southern affairs. At this point, a three-sided battle ensued between Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Sinmuballit's date formula for year 14 commemorates the defeat of an army from Ur which at this time was controlled by Larsa (Ungnad, 1938:177). Three years later, Sinmuballit claims to have destroyed Isin. The results appear to have been inconclusive since the following year, Babylon formed another alliance against Larsa. This time Rim Sin prevailed

and finally conquered Isin. Despite the military defeat, Babylon's forces did prevent any further northern encroachment by Rim Sin. Sinmuballit also continued the policy of fortifying his vassal cities including Nanga and Basu (King, 1969:153).

A year or so after his defeat by Larsa, Sinmuballit died and was succeeded by his son and the greatest of the First Dynasty kings, Hammurabi. Hammurabi came to power in 1792 during a time of great political instability. Rim Sin now effectively controlled all of southern Mesopotamia. Dadusha of Eshnunna, in league with the Elamites, held the territory to the north of Babylon and as far west as the Euphrates. The powerful Shamshi-Adad dominated northern Mesopotamia and huge tracts of land to the west including Mari. Shamshi-Adad was a capable administrator with a powerful personality and undoubtedly the greatest figure of his age.

Hammurabi inherited a kingdom only 150 km long and 60 km wide (Roux, 1992:197). In modern geographical terms, it encompassed the area from Fallujah to Diwanayah. Hammurabi, like all his predecessors, was ambitious. When he ascended the throne, however, he may have had to pay tribute to Rim Sin of Larsa. This would not be unprecedented since his father had suffered a military defeat at the hands of Larsa the year before. The documents also indicate that he was probably a vassal of Shamshi Adad (Gadd, 1973:177).

In the early years of his reign, he seems to have devoted his time to establishing a military organization and generally improving the infrastructure of his kingdom. His military ventures began in his sixth year and were directed towards the south. In 1787, he seized Isin away from Rim Sin and advanced down the Euphrates as far as Uruk (Ungnad, 1938:178). Three years later he campaigned in Emutbal and captured the most important city in the district, Malgum. The following year, Shalibi and Rapiqum fell to the Babylonian army. Rapiqum lay upstream from Sippar. The latter three campaigns undoubtedly infringed on the territory of Eshnunna still lead by Dadusha. The reaction of the Eshnunnians remains unknown. The northern campaigns may have been undertaken on his own initiative, in conjunction with Assyria as an ally, or even conducted at the command of Shamshi Adad. At this time, it is not possible to decide which was the case.

If the date formulae are to be believed, Hammurabi instigated no military actions for the next 18 years (Ungnad, 1938:179-80). Instead, he concentrated on the internal administration of his realm including legal and judicial reforms. For nearly his first 30 years, his date formulae commemorate mainly such activities as building temples, dedicating statues and other paraphernalia to the gods, constructing walls, and digging canals. He probably rebuilt the walls of Kish during this period.

Even though Hammurabi did not initiate any campaigns during this time, Babylon was involved in military activities. The situation must have been unavoidable given the personalities surrounding him. Several years after of



Table 3.2

## Chronological Chart for the Old Babylonian Period

BABYLON	ISIN	LARSA	ESHNUNNA	MARI	ASSYRIA
Sumuabum (1894-1881)					
Sumulailum (1880-1845)	Ura-imitti (1868-1861)		Ibal-piel I Ibiq-adad II		
Sabium (1844-1831)		Silli-Adad (1842-1835)	Naram-Sin		
Apil-Sin (1830-1813)		Warad-Sin (1834-1823)			
Sinmuballit (1812-1793)		Rim- Sin I (1822-1763)	Dadusha (c.1805-1780)	Yasmah-Adad (1796-1776)	Shamshi-Adad I (1809-1776)
Hammurabi (1792-1750)		H. conquers Larsa (1763)	Ibal-piel II H. conquers Esh. -----	Zimri-Lim (1776-1761)	Ishme-Dagan (1780-1741)
				H. destroys Mari (1761) -----	
Samsuiluna (1749-1712)	<b>Second Sealand Dynasty</b> Iluma-Ilum (c.1732)	Rim-Sin II (1741-1736)	Iluni Samsuiluna destroys Esh. -----		Adasi
Abieshu (1711-1684)					
Ammidтана (1683-1647)					
Ammisaduqa (1646-1626)					
Samsuditana (1625-1595)					

(This chronological chart is based on Charpin and Durand, 1985; Porada, et al., 1992; Roux, 1992; and Sollberger and Kupper, 1971)

Eshnunna. Then in 1776, (according to the most recent estimates by Charpin and Durand, (1985)), Shamshi-Adad was killed in battle along with his incompetent son Yasmah-Adad who had been ruler of Mari. This left the way open for Zimri-Lim, a son or close relative of the previously deposed king of Mari, to return from exile and reclaim the

throne. Ishme-Dagan, Shamshi-Adad's remaining son, continued to rule Assyria and Ekallatum.

No one city-state predominated in the political or military arena during this time. Documentary evidence corroborates the impression that this period was one of overall political



weakness. A famous letter indicates that each of several leaders, including Hammurabi, could only count on the support of 10-15 other rulers (Pritchard, 1975:190). The only way any one king could mount a successful attack against a neighboring state was to form alliances.

Within the first few years of Zimri-Lim's return to power in Mari, he enlisted the aid of the Elamites and Babylon against the growing threat of Eshnunna. Together they managed to conquer the city. This victory apparently triggered a desire for more territory on the part of the Elamites because soon afterwards, they sent one army against Babylon and another against Ekallatum. Hammurabi won his encounter with the invaders but Ishme Dagan did not fare as well. The Elamites managed to occupy a number of towns in northern Mesopotamia including Ekallatum and Shubat-Enlil. The latter is now positively identified as Tell Leilan (Hallo, 1964).

A year or two later Ibal-piel II again surfaced as a force to be reckoned with despite the fact Eshnunna had been captured recently by Zimri Lim and the Elamites. In 1771, which was Hammurabi's 22nd year in office, Ibal-piel II adopted the Elamite strategy of sending two armies into the field simultaneously, one along the Euphrates valley and the other along the Tigris (Roux, 1992:198). Ekallatum, normally part of Assyria, again fell into foreign hands but the battle for Mari was inconclusive. Ibal-piel and Zimri-Lim negotiated a treaty forcing the latter to recognize Eshnunna as overlord. But as soon as the invaders went home, Zimri-Lim's vassals again swore their allegiance to him. At this point in time, Hammurabi, who was not involved in the latest round of fighting, and Zimri-Lim together commanded the entire length of the Euphrates.

The real turning point, in what was to become the short-lived Old Babylonian empire, came in the 29th year of Hammurabi, 1764 B.C. A coalition, which included Elam, Assyria under Ishme-Dagan, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgum as allies, attacked Babylon (Ungnad, 1938:180). Hammurabi's troops defeated them and then marched north and to lay siege to Razama with the aid of Zimri-Lim. Razama at this time was in the hands of Elam and Eshnunna. Finally in 1763, Hammurabi turned his attention to the south (Oates, 1986:65). With the assistance of Mari and Eshnunna, he conquered Rim-Sin of Larsa bringing to an end the longest reign known from ancient Mesopotamia. Hammurabi did not destroy Larsa. He needed it along with the other cities of Sumer to act as a buffer against the Elamites and other potential enemies. In addition, leaving these cities intact allowed him to lay claim to the traditional kingship of Sumer and Akkad, a title of which he was very proud.

The year after Rim-Sin's defeat, the Tigris coalition reassembled and attacked the Babylonian forces. Eshnunna was part of this group even though Hammurabi had been able to compel them to send reinforcements south the year before. This time the Babylonian troops not only overthrew the combined armies of the enemy but marched north up the Tigris to the frontier of Subartu. This effectively ended Eshnunna's role as a major player in the politics of

Mesopotamia. The city, however, did continue to plague Babylon for several more decades.

Hammurabi's 32nd year, 1761, was to prove a busy one. In the domestic sphere, he focused his energy on Sumer and Akkad. He ordered a canal dug called 'Hammurabi is abundance for the people'. In the date formula from his 33rd year (referring to activities that took place in his 32nd year), he boasts that it provided a "permanent water of plenty" for Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk, and Isin (Ungnad, 1938:180). Hammurabi also reorganized government bureaucracies and made Larsa his southern capital.

On the military side, Hammurabi felt secure enough to begin expanding his empire to the north and west. He turned against his long-time ally, Zimri-Lim and conquered Mari as well as some other cities in Subartu including Malgi. Evidence suggests that he forced the leaders to become vassals or as Hammurabi preferred to phrase it, "by a friendly agreement [he made them] (listen) to his orders" (Roux, 1992:200). Zimri-Lim apparently retained his throne although clay labels originally attached to baskets were found at Mari bearing the year date Hammurabi 32 (Oates, 1986:65) This suggests that civil servants from Babylon were cataloging the official Mari archives. Zimri-Lim did not prove to be a docile vassal for two years later in 1759 B.C., Hammurabi returned and destroyed the walls of both Mari and Malgi. Mari was totally destroyed and Zimri-Lim's beautiful palace was burned to the ground. The city never recovered.

The prologue to the Law Code of Hammurabi mentions both Assur and Nineveh but the nature of their relationship with Babylon is not known. The year dates indicate that neither Assyria nor Eshnunna were ever completely subdued. During the years 1757 and 1755, i.e., his 36th and 38th years, Hammurabi was again fighting the army of Subartu (Assyria) and each time claimed victory (Ungnad, 1938:181). Ishme Dagan seems to have retained his throne throughout the hostilities albeit as a vassal. Assyria's total domination of northern Mesopotamia was at an end for nearly the next 400 years. Meanwhile, in year 37, Hammurabi engineered a flood to depress the rising pretensions of Eshnunna.

Throughout this period of Babylonian expansion, Elam and Syria remained independent. In addition, there were other groups gathering on the borders of Mesopotamia that would soon play a role in Babylonian history. The Hittites were establishing themselves in Anatolia although they had not yet seized power. Hurrian peoples filtered into Syria and the Jazira from the north. Finally, the Kassites, who eventually inherited the kingship of Babylonia, were probably on the outskirts of Mesopotamia as well. Whether their homeland was behind the Zagros Mountains or in the west is still a matter of debate (Clayden, 1989:53-55).

Hammurabi claimed suzerainty over all of Mesopotamia. He regarded himself as the traditional heir to the kingship of Sumer and Akkad. He assumed the titles 'mighty King, King of Babylon, King of the whole country of Amurru, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of the Four Quarters of the



World' (Sollberger and Kupper, 1971) but stopped short of describing himself as King of the Universe. His domain now encompassed five previously autonomous states; Babylon, Larsa, Eshnunna, Subartu (Assyria) and Mari. Each of the latter four had a long history of independence. To bring this vast area under control, Hammurabi concentrated all the main functions of the state in Babylon. This created a degree of centralization unknown in the past and effectively served to enrich the capital and bankrupt the provinces. The lack of integration fostered by Hammurabi's system of government was to have grave consequences for his descendants. Soon after his death, the new territories rebelled against Babylonian hegemony and the empire crumbled. However, Hammurabi did succeed in making Babylon the seat of kingship in Mesopotamia for the next two millennia. It reigned supreme until the Greeks built Seleucia.

Hammurabi was succeeded by his son, Samsuiluna. For the first eight years Samsuiluna seems to have ruled in relative peace. His year names commemorate the building of two canals and the adornment of temples in Sippar and Babylon (Horsnell, 1984). But the resentment rife in the annexed territories soon boiled over. Its source lay in the fact that Hammurabi and his officials either appropriated or purchased vast tracts of land from their rightful owners. The system at first was quite efficient and income flowed into the capital. Over time, however, it proved to be too inflexible to respond to changing economic and social conditions and soon the subject populace was destitute (Yoffee, 1977a). These conditions foster rebellion against the offending government. The south in particular suffered and it is from here we have the most well-documented challenge to Babylon's rule.

Samsuiluna's hold on the empire his father created only lasted eight years. Documents suggest that although he inherited many of his father's military and administrative capabilities, the problems inherent in the bureaucratic system were beyond the capacity of one person to control. The initial revolt began in the 6th month of Samsuiluna's eighth year led by a man calling himself Rim Sin II (Stol, 1976). There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way related to the famous Rim Sin I of Larsa. He more likely adopted the prestigious name to bolster his credibility. Rim Sin II managed to capture the south, including Nippur, by the end of the year. In doing so, he triggered a war that lasted five years.

By his ninth year, Samsuiluna was fighting on two fronts. The Kassites, appearing as warriors for the first time in recorded history, attacked from the east but were successfully repelled. Meanwhile Eshnunna, no friend of Babylon, had joined forces with Rim Sin II. At the end of year 9 and the beginning of year 10, Samsuiluna mounted a vigorous counterattack to regain his territories. Starting in the northeast, he occupied Eshnunna, before marching south to soon reclaim Nippur, Larsa, Ur, and Uruk.

The evidence for this campaign comes from both texts and archaeology. A text dated to Samsuiluna 10 came from Larsa which implies he was again in control of the city (Leemans, 1950:79). His year formulae record the conquest

of Ur and Uruk in year name 11, which refers to events occurring in year 10 (Ungnad, 1938:183). It is probable that Samsuiluna spent the beginning of his 11th year eliminating the last pockets of resistance to Babylonian rule. This included the destruction of Ur c.1739. His army threw down the city wall, plundered and burned temples and public buildings, and partially destroyed the city. Uruk faced the same fate as Ur. This allowed the Elamites to intervene. Their king, Kuturnahunte I, marched in and with his men looted Uruk. He took, among other things, a statue of the goddess Inanna back to Susa which Ashurbanipal recovered 1000 years later.

The archaeological record supports the textual claims of devastation. All public buildings at Ur show signs of violent overthrow. Dated economic and legal texts cease at about this time in all the cities south of Nippur. Renger (1970) suggests Samsuiluna may have diverted canals to cut the south off from their water supply. It was a particularly effective method of subduing an enemy. Archaeological survey evidence indicates a widespread disruption in settled life (Adams, 1981:165). Nippur itself was half abandoned between the years 1739-1730 which correspond to Samsuiluna years 11-20 (Stone, 1977).

Disturbances continued despite the terrible havoc Samsuiluna wreaked on the southern cities. Year formula 14 commemorates the "overthrow of the usurping king [referring to Iluma-ilum] whom the Akkadians had caused to lead a rebellion" (King, 1969:199). It took Samsuiluna until the following year to finally capture and kill Rim Sin II. The battle took place at Kish in c.1736, his 14th year as king (Moorey, 1978). The wall of Isin was destroyed during the same campaign.

Samsuiluna did attempt to strengthen his recaptured territory even though the unrest continued. After Rim Sin's defeat, repairs were undertaken at Kish. Year formula 17 informs us that the king reconstructed the great walls of Emutbalum which had been destroyed. Stol (1976) has demonstrated the term refers to the territory around Larsa. He also undertook the restoration of the Ebabbar Temple of Shamash in Sippar.

The victory over Rim-Sin II proved hollow. By 1732, Samsuiluna's 18th year, Iluma-ilum took control of Sumer south of Nippur and founded the so-called Dynasty of the Sealand. Since Sumer had never been well integrated into Babylon's sphere of influence, capturing it did not prove difficult. One year later c.1731, the north-eastern districts, including Assyria and Eshnunna, managed to break away from Babylonian rule. Adasi, presumably a descendant of Shamshi Adad, led the rebellion. He remained famous in the Assyrian annals for "ending the servitude of Assur" (Grayson, 1972:31). Another war with Eshnunna ensued. Its leader, Iluni, once again called himself King of Eshnunna. It took Babylon four years to defeat Eshnunna. Iluni, himself, got caught by the Babylonian soldiers and eventually had his throat cut (Sollberger, 1969). Shortly after Iluni was killed c.1727, Samsuiluna built Dur-Samsuiluna at Khafajah and rebuilt other fortresses destroyed in the war.



Meanwhile, beginning around 1730, life in Nippur returned to normal. Perhaps, as Stone suggests (1977, 1987), Samsuiluna managed to restore the water supply. But Nippur's comeback was shortlived. In 1722, which was Samsuiluna's 28th year, Iluma-ilum managed to capture Nippur. The loss of Nippur along with the rest of central Babylonia was more indicative of Babylon's weakness than the military strength of the Sealand Dynasty. In retaliation, Samsuiluna cut off Nippur's water supply and this time the city could not recover. It was abandoned a year or two later not to be fully reoccupied for some 300 years.

Only the northwest still lay open to Babylon. In his 33rd year, Samsuiluna could still build 60 miles upstream from Mari on the Khabur. Nevertheless, the fighting continued. Samsuiluna defeated an Amorite army in his 35th year. Raids were also a problem. Suteans would capture Mesopotamians and sell them back as slaves to the Mesopotamians themselves (Roux, 1992). By the end of his reign, the empire no longer existed. The Sealand Dynasty occupied the south and the Kassites were establishing themselves on the middle Euphrates in the kingdom of Hana. Only the core area forged by Hammurabi's predecessors, which included Kish and Sippar, remained.

The contraction of its territory had grave consequences for the crown. The system of government set in place by Hammurabi depended on a flow of taxes and tribute from the hinterland into the capital (see Harris, 1968; Yoffee, 1977a, 1979). These resources in turn supported huge public work projects such as rebuilding city walls, canals, and temples. As pieces of the empire broke away from Babylonian domination, incoming revenue steadily declined. The king and his advisors coped with this problem in two ways. First they recruited more bureaucrats from mid- to upper-level elites who had access to resources the crown did not. Secondly, they required these new people to more closely administer crown lands, i.e., intensify agricultural production to make up for the loss of resources that used to come from the provinces. The increased pressure on a dwindling amount of land led to the inevitable result, environmental degradation in the form of salinization and decreased yields. As officials desperately tried to increase production, they only succeeded in aggravating the problem. This situation prevailed throughout the remainder of the OB period.

Abieshu, Samsuiluna's son, ruled for 28 years, c.1711 to 1684 B.C. Very little is known about his reign. Year dates have been found spanning his entire time in office but the exact order cannot be determined. He did make an attempt to capture the Sealand king, Iluma-ilum, going so far as damming the Tigris. The dam worked but Iluma-ilum escaped. Eventually he seems to have adopted his father's policy of leaving the Sealand dynasty alone.

Like his father, he too had to fight the Kassites. Even though the Kassites were unable to conquer Babylon, neither could Abieshu destroy them. References have also been found in the documents indicating that Kassites were working in Babylonia as agricultural laborers (Brinkman, 1976-80:466). It was probably during Abieshu's reign that

Kashtiliash I, a man with a good Kassite name, became king of Hana around the year 1700.

Abieshu's building activities remain confined to the neighborhood of Babylon. Since military greatness no longer seemed possible, he and the later kings became more and more engrossed in cult-observances. Date formulae suggest that enormous quantities of temple furniture were made and given to the temples. To circumvent the loss of Nippur and with it, access to the main shrine of Enlil, either a new temple to Enlil was constructed in Babylon or an older one was enlarged and refurbished.

Ammititana followed Abieshu and reigned c.1683 to 1647 or 37 years. He alone of the last four First Dynasty kings may have made some inroads at least temporarily into Sealand territory. The only definite reference is in the date formula for year 37 which says, "Year king Ammititana destroyed the wall of Durum which the people of Damiq-ilishu built" (Yoffee, 1978). Damiq-ilishu was a contemporary of both Abieshu and Ammititana. Durum lay near Uruk so the Babylonian army seems to have been able to penetrate that far south. It also recalls the close ties between Uruk and Babylon. But it is highly unlikely that Babylon could exercise any real control that far away from its core area at this point in time.

Ammisaduqa succeeded Ammititana. He is famous for two things, his Edict of Justice and for the so-called Venus tablets of Ammisaduqa. The latter give a clue, albeit ambiguous, to the real as opposed to relative date of this period. From the edict we can infer indirectly the economic conditions of the time. Ammisaduqa claimed he was trying to lessen the burden on his subjects.

Almost nothing is known about the 30 year reign of the final king of the First Dynasty, Samsuditana. All that is left are some date formulae. Many of these commemorate the dedication of a statue of himself to various temples (Feigin, 1955). If the quantity of texts is any indication, then we can surmise that economic activity continued unabated (Finkelstein, 1959).

The First Dynasty of Babylon represents one of the most stable royal lines in Mesopotamian history. With the possible exception of Sumuabum, kingship passed from father to son in a smooth transition of power for roughly three centuries. The last six rulers beginning with Hammurabi, on average, reigned 33 years each. Only for a small fraction of this time did Babylon govern an empire. For the most part, its kings controlled Babylon and its surrounding core area. These long periods of unchanging leadership must have given people a sense of timelessness concerning their government.

But the First Dynasty of Babylon did come to an end. By that time, loss of territory, lack of income, and environmental degradation had reduced it to a mere shadow of its former greatness. Nor was it finally terminated by its traditional enemies, the Sealand kings or the Elamites. Instead a relatively new group, the Hittites, struck the final blow. The Hittites, anxious to expand out of Anatolia, were



boxed in on three sides. South was the only road open to them. Their king, Hattusilis, records at least two campaigns in that direction as well as the destruction of Alalah. While trying to conquer Aleppo, Hattusilis got killed. His heir, Mursilis I, succeeded in taking Aleppo, followed by Carchemish. He and his army then marched down the Euphrates straight into Babylon c.1595 B.C. Babylon does not appear to have been able to mount much resistance. Their latter annals record the defeat in terse language, "Against Samsuditana the men of the land of Khatti marched, against the land of Akkad" (King, 1907:Vol.2, p.22). The Hittites record, "Thereafter he (Mursilis) went to Babylon and occupied Babylon; he also attacked the Hurrians and kept the prisoners and possessions from Babylon at Hattusas" (quoted in Roux, 1992:246). The Hittites plundered Babylon and took statues of Marduk and his consort Sarpanitum as booty. For some reason we do not understand, the statues appear to have been left at Hana.

It remains unclear whether the Hittites actually planned on expanding as far south as Babylon. It seems more likely that they took advantage of an opportunity to plunder the city, burn it, and thus demonstrate their military superiority to northeastern Mesopotamia. But Mursilis was unable to exploit his victory. Court intrigues made it mandatory for him to return immediately to Anatolia. He was subsequently murdered in a palace coup c.1590, five years after sacking Babylon (Roux, 1992:254).

This left a power vacuum in Babylon itself. Historical sources provide only the sketchiest of information about this period. It does remain within the realm of possibility that the Sealand kings may have occupied the throne of Babylon at least temporarily. Both Babylonian Kinglists A and B include the Sealand Dynasty in the succession. The name of Gulkishar appears on a tablet supposedly written in the year he became king (Oates, 1986). However since only a single reference to him has been found, the information is considered potentially unreliable until additional inscriptions appear.

### THE KASSITE PERIOD (c.1570-1154 B.C.)

The real recipients of the Babylonian legacy were not the Sealander, but none other than the Kassites who had been warring with Babylonian kings since the reign of Samsuiluna. The Kassites ruled Babylonia for approximately 400 years, longer than any other single dynasty in Mesopotamia. Yet little is known about them. There are several reasons for this unfortunate state of affairs. First, only a relatively small percentage of the available documents have been translated and published. What has been published is so fragmented that there seems to be little coherence in the literature (see comments by Brinkman, 1970:301:Footnote 2; also Clayden, 1989:8). Second, only four sites have yielded significant amounts of Middle Babylonian tablets; Nippur, Dur-Kurigalzu (modern 'Aqar Quf), Ur, and Babylon (Brinkman, 1976). Third, political history has been particularly difficult to reconstruct because these kings did not commemorate events in year formulae

nor did they record their military ventures even when they were victorious.

Kassite chronology still remains quite problematic. Kinglist A has provided a generally accepted framework of 36 kings reigning for a combined total of 576 years (Brinkman, 1974:402). This includes rulers prior to the occupation of Babylon. But in his volume on Kassite source material, Brinkman (1976) emphasizes again and again that his chronological reconstruction should be considered tentative at best based as it is on fragmented, scanty, and contradictory data. He points out that the only reasons certain sequences have remained unchallenged are because there is no evidence that directly contradicts them and no alternative hypothesis would be any more convincing than the present one. So little information exists concerning the first 14 kings that not even their names and order can be determined with confidence. It is not until we come to kings 22-25 that the order seems reasonably certain.

To add to the chronological morass, Clayden (1989) has recently suggested decoupling two events that have served as an anchor in Kassite history for many years. He argues for a variety of reasons that the Hittite raid on Babylon which ended Samsuditana's reign and the removal of the Marduk statue to Syria (either Hatti or Hana-see Borger, 1971) should not be considered co-incidents. If his conclusions are accepted, there is no longer any way to directly link the end of the Old Babylonian period with the beginning of the Kassite dynasty. His line of reasoning is at present being debated in the literature. While recognizing the problematical nature of the evidence, I do not find the arguments in favor of 'separating' these two events compelling enough to incorporate them into this dissertation. I choose to rely on the traditional interpretation (Goetze, 1964) pending further investigation.

The final problematic area that must be mentioned is a text that appears to show that Kadashman-Enlil II ruled before Kadashman-Turgu, not after as has been generally accepted (Donbaz, 1982). Brinkman (1983) finds the text idiosyncratic in a variety of ways. He feels the weight of evidence still favors the original order although the reversal of the two names is not impossible. I will use the traditional ordering of these two kings.

#### *Kings 1-8 c.1792-1570*

No definitive contemporary texts can be assigned to the first eight monarchs of the Kassite dynasty. Indeed it is doubtful they were even kings. The most suggestive name is one Kashtiliash cited as King of Hana c.1681-1660 (Clayden, 1989). This and other circumstantial evidence suggests that the Kassite's homeland may have been located on the middle Euphrates rather than in the Zagros Mountains as had been previously thought (see discussion in Clayden, 1989:50-53). However, due to the paucity of material, additional information is needed before either position can be accepted.

#### *9. Agum II (Agum-kakrime) c.1570*

How and when the Kassites actually took over Babylon remains a mystery. There are no records to indicate whether they peacefully assumed power or were first obliged to expel



the Sealander by force. The first king to rule the city may have been the ninth king of the dynasty, Agum II (Again, note Brinkman's qualifications, 1976:13). He is usually, although not always, assumed to be identical with Agum-

Table 3.3

**The Kassite King List**

1.Gandash	c.1729-1704
2.Agum I	c.1703-1682
3.Kashtiliash I (King of Hana)	c.1681-1660
4.(Abi-rattash)	
5.(Kashtiliash II)	
6.Urzigurumash	
7.Harbashihu	
8.?	
9.Agum II (kakrime?)	c.1570
10.Burna-Buriash I	c.1510
11.(Kashtiliash III)	c.1490
12.(Ulamburiash)	c.1455
13.(Agum III)	
14.?	
15.Kara-indash	c.1413
16.Kadashman-Harbe I	c.1400
17.Kurigalzu I?	c.1390-1375
18.Kadashman-Enlil I	1374-1360
19.Burna-Buriash II	1359-1333
20.Karahardash	c.1333
21.Nazi-Bugash	c.1333
22.Kurigalzu II	1332-1308
23.Nazi-Maruttash	1307-1282
24.Kadashman-Turgu	1281-1264
25.Kadashman-Enlil II	1263-1255
26.Kudur-Enlil	1254-1246
27.Shagarakti-Shuriash	1245-1233
28.Kashtiliash IV	1232-1225
28a.Tukulti-Ninurta	1225
29.Enlil-nadin-shumi	1224
30.Kadashman-Harbe II	1223-1222
31.Adad-shuma-iddina	1221-1216
32.Adad-shuma-usur	1215-1186
33.Meli-Shipak	1185-1171
34.Marduk-apla-iddina	1170-1158
35.Zababa-shuma-iddina	1157
36.Enlil-nadin-ahi	1156-1154

(This list is based on Brinkman (1976) with some adjustments incorporated by Clayden (1989:49)).

kakrime. Recently M. Astour (1986) has argued in favor of the identification. A document known as the 'Agum Kakrime Text' records the retrieval of the statues of Marduk and his consort Sarpanitum from Hana after they had been living away from Babylon for 24 years. Agum-kakrime reinstalled them with great pomp and ceremony in their temples in Babylon. The text provides two important pieces of information. First, if it is correct, it gives an absolute span of time between the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon and the assumption of power by the Kassites. Second, it demonstrates that like all their predecessors, this non-native dynasty was attempting to establish itself as the legitimate heir to Babylonian kingship. It should be noted, however, that except for this document, there is no other evidence for an Agum restoring the statue of Marduk to Babylon (Brinkman, 1976).

10. *Burna-Buriash I c.1510*

The reconstruction of the names and sequence of the next four monarchs is particularly tenuous. It is known that a Burna-Buriash, presumably the First, signed a treaty with his counterpart Puzur-Assur III of Assyria that established a border between the two countries. This division lasted for roughly 1000 years.

11-13. *Kashtiliash III - Ulamburiash - Agum III*

After settling their relationship with Assyria, the next several monarchs turned their attention to the Sealand dynasty in southern Babylonia. It is not certain who started the war but Ulamburiash, Kashtiliash III's brother, clearly fought Ea-gamil of the Sealand Dynasty (Grayson, 1975:156). Sometime between 1460 and 1450, he successfully drove Ea-gamil into Elam and declared himself king of the Sealands. Some pockets of resistance may have remained because Agum III, Kashtiliash III's son, also had to fight the Sealander. The conquest proved to be a turning point in Mesopotamian history. The Kassite kings finally managed to neutralize the old city-state structure and forge Babylonia into a functioning geopolitical unit (Brinkman, 1972). The king henceforth was King of Babylonia. Even when the government was weak, the country no longer dissolved into component city-states.

Very little is known about the nature or extent of their association with other foreign countries in the latter half of the 15th century. Texts from Nuzi archives suggest the two areas maintained contact and possibly some Kassite citizens resided there (Brinkman, 1976-80). Letters exchanged with Egypt indicate that it was probably during this time that the Kassite kings and Egyptian pharaohs were establishing connections that would soon blossom into a full-fledged diplomatic relationship.

15. *Karaindash c.1413*

From the 15th to the 13th century, the Near Eastern world was cosmopolitan and Babylonia enjoyed a prominent position in international affairs. This was, in part, based on the veneration of her culture as witnessed by the fact that Babylonian became the language of diplomacy. Babylon could not boast of being a great military power yet undoubtedly Babylonian kings were considered one of the few "Great Kings" of the time. But what this term actually



meant is unknown (Moran, 1992:3). It is interesting to note that this title was reserved for international correspondence.

It appears that by the end of the 15th century, Babylon's relationships with other countries were firmly established. To the north, Karaindash signed a treaty with the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-nisheshu, similar to the one signed one hundred years before by Burna-Buriash I (Grayson, 1975:158). In the west, the Kassite kings maintained close contacts with Hatti and Egypt. Messengers facilitated communication, constantly travelling back and forth between the various parties. They were only prevented from doing so by bad roads, detention, or because other conditions made it too dangerous to get through. If messages stopped, serious misunderstandings could arise.

The association between Babylon and Egypt seems to have been particularly close. So even though Egypt had become a formidable military power regularly campaigning in Syria, Babylonian caravans could travel to Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. A Babylonian ambassador resided in the Egyptian court to supervise diplomatic affairs. An important aspect this involved the exchange of 'gifts' between the two countries. In fact, much international trade was carried out in this guise. Egypt wanted lapis lazuli, chariots, and especially, horses from the Kassites. The Kassites were famed in the ancient world for both their horses and their horsemanship. In return, Egypt supplied Babylon with gold, silver, bronze, ivory, furniture of ebony and other precious woods, garments, and oil (Brinkman, 1972).

Karaindash spent some of this wealth on refurbishing the old temples of Sumer. He built a new temple to Inanna at Uruk. This building remains particularly significant because it is the first building that dates unequivocally to the Kassite Period. It also displays the distinctive "Kassite" feature of a molded brick facade (Clayden, 1989). The figures in the reliefs apparently were not meant to represent specific gods, but rather lamassu's or guardian gods.

#### 16. *Kadashman-Harbe I c.1400*

Little is known about the reign of Kadashman-Harbe I. Chronicle P refers to a conflict between the Babylonians and the Suteans followed by an order to set up fortresses in the region of Mount Hihi in Syria (Brinkman, 1976:146). The earliest known Kassite economic and legal texts from Nippur date to his reign. This probably marks the beginning of the return of a permanent urban population to Nippur since its abandonment c.1720. If the documents can be used as a reliable guide, it took several more generations before the city fully recovered.

#### 17. *Kurigalzu I c.1390-1375*

Kurigalzu I enjoys the reputation of being one of the great builders among the Kassite kings. Despite the paucity of evidence, most researchers assume he was the Kurigalzu who embarked on an extensive rebuilding program at the ancient city of Ur. The city, at this point, had been neglected for roughly 350 years after being badly damaged during Samsuiluna's war with Rim Sin II c.1740. His objective was to restore the past, not create a contemporary city. He even chose Sumerian rather than Babylonian for his building

inscriptions. Old foundations must have been used where possible because the new Ningal temple was almost identical to the one from the Ur III period. Kurigalzu's workers continued the reconstruction of the Nanna courtyard that had been repaired and rebuilt in the Larsa period. Why he singled out Ur remains a mystery. According to the survey data, Ur was part of only a minor province and no other Kassite kings undertook any major construction there (Brinkman, 1969). Undoubtedly, his projects were financed by the gold flowing into Babylonia from Egypt.

Some researchers credit him with founding the new and important town, Dur-Kurigalzu (modern 'Aqar Quf), 33 km due west of Baghdad (Moortgat, 1969; Oates, 1986). Oates bases her identification on the fact a reference to the town exists in documents dated to Burna-Buriash. Clayden (1989) does not accept this and assigns the founding of Dur-Kurigalzu to the second king of this name. Either way, its temples were dedicated to Enlil, Ninlil and their son Ninurta. Parts of a huge palace complex were also found. One of the two earliest levels can be dated to "Kurigalzu". Despite this major new town, the city of Babylon remained the capital, the seat of kingship, and the most important political and religious center in the country.

Sorting out the many texts, inscriptions, and building projects attributed to "Kurigalzu" has proved virtually impossible. Kurigalzu inscriptions have been found at Adab, Borsippa, Der, Dur-Kurigalzu, Isin, Kish, Nippur, Sippar, Ur, and Uruk. Surprisingly none of his inscriptions have been found at Babylon or Larsa. Brinkman says that a full review of the evidence is desirable but adds that the results would probably be inconclusive (1976:205). The important point is that by rebuilding the ancient temple complexes, the Kassite dynasty played a critical role in transmitting Babylonian traditions into the next millennium.

#### **The Amarna Period: c.1374-1333**

The diplomatic relationship between Babylon and Egypt began sometime around 1450 B.C. As early as 1431, Pharaoh Amenophis II records gifts from Babylonia. But the majority of extant correspondence between the two countries dates to the reigns of pharaohs Amenophis III (1390-1352), Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) (1352-1336), and Tutankhamen (1332-1323) (Moran, 1992:xxxix) and kings Kadashman-Enlil I (1374-1360) and his son, Burna-Buriash II (1359-1333). This period has been designated 'The Amarna Period' after modern El-Amarna where the tablets were discovered. Amarna was the ancient city of Akhenaten built by Akhenaten as his capital. In the earlier letters, the two countries seem to be on good terms. Rich gifts flowed back and forth. Babylon received so much gold from Egypt that the Kassites adopted the gold standard during the 13th and 12th centuries. Personnel and services were also exchanged such as physicians and craftsmen. Marriage connections reinforced the bonds. A sister of Kadashman-Enlil I and possibly a daughter became wives of Amenophis III. Later, Burna-Buriash II mentions that a royal princess had been sent to Egypt for Akhenaten.



In the Amarna letters, Burna-Buriash is recognized as a Great King along with the rulers of Egypt, Mitanni, and Hatti (Moran, 1992). Initially the Assyrian king, Ashurballit I (1365-1330), did not warrant this status. Mitanni probably controlled Assyria at this time. But with the collapse of Mitannian hegemony and the destruction of Nuzi sometime between 1350 and 1330, Assyrian power grew. Ashurballit eventually took the title 'Great King' and began corresponding directly with Egypt (Moran, 1992:38). Burna-Buriash II complained to Egypt that the Assyrian king was there without his permission possibly implying that Assyria had recently been under Babylonian control (Brinkman, 1972). Eventually, one of Ashurballit's daughters married a prince of Babylon.

Despite the regular contact, Babylon's relationship with Egypt deteriorated during the Amarna period. This could have been due to internal troubles in Egypt itself. Akhenaten showed little interest in international affairs. The letters reveal disturbed conditions in the Asiatic territories of Egypt especially along the Mediterranean coast around Byblos. The pharaoh, however, did nothing to intervene. Burna-Buriash II complains to Akhenaten that Babylonian merchants have been robbed and murdered in the land of Canaan. He calls upon the Egyptian king to make amends for he says, "In your country I have been despoiled" (Moran, 1992:16). Both Kadashman-Enlil I and Burna-Buriash II complain of ill-treatment of their messengers and stinginess on the part of the pharaoh hearkening back to better days.

#### 18. *Kadashman-Enlil I (1374-1360)*

The vast majority of dated material from Mesopotamia begins in the reign of Kadashman-Enlil I and continues until the fall of Kashtiliash IV. Most of the Nippur archives belong to this era. This may not be a direct reflection of economic activity. Archives that are well preserved have texts that cluster together in time. From this period too comes the oldest economic texts from Ur, Dur-Kurigalzu, and Babylon.

#### 19. *Burna-Buriash II (1359-1333)*

Little evidence has been found of his building activities. The most significant so far have been at Larsa where he undertook the restoration of the É.BARBAR temple. It must have been in a considerable state of disrepair since excavations revealed it had not received any attention since the days of Rim-Sin or Samsuiluna. The only other evidence we have of a construction project comes in the form of two bricks from Nippur.

#### 20-21. *Karahardash and Nazi-Bugash c.1333*

What happened immediately after Burna-Buriash II died remains uncertain. One possible scenario is as follows. Karahardash ascended the throne on the death of his father. However, the Babylonians found this situation intolerable because his grandfather was Ashurballit, king of Assyria. They deposed him and installed one Nazi-Bugash in his place (Grayson, 1975:159). Ashurballit intervened, suppressed the revolt, and instated a different son of Burna-Buriash II as king. Presumably Karahardash was killed in the revolt. It should be reiterated at this point that there are no unequivocal fixed dates in Kassite chronology.

Brinkman (1970) points out the flexibility while retaining the synchronisms with Assyrian chronologies.

#### 22. *Kurigalzu II (1332-1308)*

Kurigalzu II owed his throne to the Assyrians. Despite this, there is a tradition of military conflict between Babylon and Assyria around this time. At least two battles took place in Assyrian territory between Kurigalzu II and Enlil-nirari, Ashurballit's successor (Brinkman, 1972). One particular battle, that of Sugagu, was recorded even though the specific Assyrian king involved is not known for certain. The location also remains in doubt although according to an Old Babylonian itinerary, it lay "one day's journey south" from Assur (Brinkman, 1970). Kurigalzu claimed victory and there appears to have been some readjustment of the border. Since it was so close to Ashur, the Babylonians may have been on the offensive.

Kurigalzu successfully fought the Elamite king, Hurbatila, and defeated him at Dur-Shulgi. Eventually, according to Chronicle 22 (Grayson, 1975), all of Elam fell. Kurigalzu set up a statue recording his victory and brought home, among other things, a tablet of Shulgi's composed in the Ur III period.

#### 23. *Nazi-maruttash (1307-1282)*

Kurigalzu II had clearly given Babylon the military edge over Assyria during his reign. An Assyrian text written by Adad-nirari says "My father (i.e., Arik-den-ili) could not rectify the calamities inflicted by the army of the king of the Kassite land" (Brinkman, 1970:309). Kurigalzu's son, Nazi-maruttash did not fare as well. After a series of conflicts with the Assyrians, Adad-nirari I attacked Nazi-Maruttash's encampment and captured his standards. Eventually the border was realigned in Assyria's favor. But despite the rising military power of Assyria, the Kassite kings still managed to hold them in check. This suggests that even though little has been found detailing Kassite military strength, it must have been fairly substantial since the hostile countries surrounding Babylonia could not easily defeat it.

#### 24-25. *Kadashman-Turgu (1281-1264) and Kadashman-Enlil II (1263-1255)*

Assyria certainly caused its neighbors anxiety. It was probably the motivating force behind the Hittites renewal of ties with Babylon. Hattusilis III entered into an alliance with the Kassites around the time of Kadashman-Turgu. The two houses may have been linked by marriage ties as well (Oates, 1986). Unfortunately, Kadashman-Turgu died while his son and successor, Kadashman-Enlil II, was only a child.

Real power fell into the hands of the vizier, Itti-Marduk-balatu. He resented the Hittites possibly because their king attempted to meddle in Babylon's affairs. First Hattusilis III tried to ensure Kadashman-Enlil's succession and later on, urged him to attack Assyrian territory (Oppenheim, 1968). Nevertheless, Babylon remained peaceful. Neither Assyria or Elam invaded during this period of time. After Kadashman-Enlil's death, the Hittite



connection faded in part due to the difficulty of exchanging messages caused by tribal unrest.

26-27. *Kudur-Enlil (1254-1246) and Shagarakti-Shuriash (1245-1233)*

Little is known of the following two kings. In later traditions, they were treated as part of a continuing succession of father to son but there is no contemporary evidence to verify this. Their short reigns make this unlikely in genealogical terms so they may very well have been unrelated. Even so, they seem to have acted like all other good Babylonian kings. Kudur-Enlil extensively refurbished the Enlil Temple in Nippur. Shagarakti-Shuriash is credited by Nabonidus with building a temple in Sippar or its suburb. He does appear to have been the father of the following king, Kashtiliash IV.

28. *Kashtiliash IV (1232-1225)*

When Kashtiliash IV ascended the throne, he found himself caught between two hostile countries, Assyria and Elam. The Elamite king, Untash-napirisha, may have staged a raid on Babylonia around this time although the evidence is ambiguous (Brinkman, 1970:footnote 111). But there is no doubt about the war that the Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta, waged against Kashtiliash. Whether Babylon provoked the attack or whether the Assyrians decided to embark on a mission of conquest remains unclear. The first campaign did not succeed from the Assyrian point of view. But during the second offensive, Kashtiliash fell into the hands of the enemy. Tukulti-Ninurta I tells how he brought the Babylonian king to his capital, and presented him stripped and bound before Ashur (Grayson, 1972:108). Chronicle P recounts the destruction of the wall of Babylon, the murder of citizens, and the sack of the city and its main temple, Esagila (Grayson, 1975:176). The Assyrian's most humiliating act was the removal of the statue of Marduk to the city of Assur.

28a. *Tukulti-Ninurta (1225)*

Tukulti-Ninurta extended Assyrian control over all of Babylonia for the first time. He added 'King of Karduniash, King of Sumer and Akkad, King of Sippar and Babylon, King of Dilmun and Meluhha, King of the Upper and Lower Seas' to his titles (Grayson, 1972). Within a year of his conquest, he appointed governors to oversee Babylon. The next three kings are usually considered to have served as vassals but Brinkman (1976) thinks the evidence is too scanty to be certain of their relationship with Assyria.

29-31. *Enlil-nadin-shumi (1224), Kadashman-Harbe II (1223-1222), and Adad-shuma-iddina (1221-1216)*

The Elamite king, Kidin-Hudrudish, tried to take advantage of Babylonian weakness during this period and invaded Mesopotamia twice. According to Chronicle P (Grayson, 1975), he attacked Nippur, Der, and Edimgalkalamma and deposed Enlil-nadin-shumi. Several years later when Adad-shuma-iddina was king, he crossed the Tigris and destroyed Isin.

32. *Adad-shuma-usur (1215-1186)*

The Babylonians soon revolted against Assyrian rule and placed Adad-shuma-usur on the throne. He was the son of

Kashtiliash IV which suggests the previous three monarchs were not from the ruling family. From this point on very few economic texts have been found. Only 35 texts can be assigned to the last 62 years of the dynasty (Brinkman, 1976:39). Again it is difficult to know whether this reflects a decline in economic activity or whether the texts either have not been found or preserved.

The reign of Adad-shuma-usur ushered in a period of relative peace and prosperity for Babylonia. He was even strong enough to interfere in Assyrian politics. After a clash with Enlil-kudur-usur, he actively assisted Ninurta-apil-Ekur to become king of Assyria (Brinkman, 1972). Ninurta-apil-Ekur had been living in exile in Babylon before the fighting erupted (Brinkman, 1970).

33-34. *Meli-Shipak (1185-1171) and Marduk-apal-iddina I (1170-1158)*

Virtually nothing is known about the political situation in Babylon at this time. The affluence of both these monarchs can be seen in their dedication of gold baskets to the temple at either Ur or Nippur (Brinkman, 1969). There seems to have been renewed interest in building as well. Meli-Shipak's name appears on stamped bricks found in an altar floor of the Enlil Temple at Nippur. Marduk-apal-iddina's name has been found on tablets in the uppermost levels of Dur-Kurigalzu. They correspond to the period of the Painted Palace, so-called because of its well-preserved wall paintings. Marduk-apal-iddina also records the construction of the Ezida Temple in Borsippa for Marduk.

35-36. *Zababa-shum-iddina (1157) and Enlil-nadin-ahhe (1156-1154)*

On the ascension of Zababa-shum-iddina, the kingdom quickly fell apart. No documents attest to his parentage or whether the last monarch was his son. Ashur-dan I of Assyria attacked Babylonia and captured the territory between the Lower Zab and the Adhaim Rivers (Grayson, 1975:162). This was followed shortly by an Elamite offensive. Shutruk-Nahhunte, the Elamite king, deposed the king and looted Babylonia. Many of these objects were found at Susa. He appointed his son Kutir-Nahhunte governor of Babylon but the Babylonians did not give in easily. Enlil-nadin-ahhe fought on for another three years but was eventually captured and deported (Carter and Stolper, 1983). Babylonians recalled this period as a time of extraordinary violence (Oates, 1986). When he finally vanquished the opposition, Kutir-Nahhunte committed the act for which he would forever remain infamous, the removal of the Marduk statue to Susa.

## CONCLUSION

The Old Babylonian and Kassite Periods span most of the second millennium B.C. The First Dynasty of Babylon began modestly when a sheikh by the name of Sumuabum established himself as ruler of that provincial town. He and his successors forged a core area of influence that Hammurabi, the sixth king of the dynasty, used as a base to create an empire. Hammurabi did not have time to effectively integrate the conquered territories into a state



before he died. They regained their independence during the reign of his son, Samsuiluna. His descendants again ruled over just the core area. A Hittite raid deposed the last king and looted the city.

No one can be sure exactly when the Kassites assumed power in Babylon or even the names and order of the early kings. Unlike the First Dynasty, most of the Kassite kings did not seem to be interested in territorial expansion. Once they regained possession of Sumer in the mid-fifteenth century, there was little movement of the overall boundaries. The northern border seems to have been well north of the Adhaim River and maybe even nearer the Lower Zab. Lubdu and Arrapha were part of Babylonia. The boundary readjustments with Assyria never gave Babylon territory to the north of the Lower Zab or Assyria south of the Adhaim. The Kassites controlled more land to the northeast of the Tigris than later dynasties. Babylonians stationed on the middle Euphrates reported on the activities of the Assyrians and the Hittites.

Even though Kassite Babylon does not seem to have engaged in wars of expansion, its neighbors regarded it as an important regional power. They had diplomatic and trade relations with Dilmun, Egypt, Hatti, and Mitanni. Babylonian princesses married into a number of foreign royal families. Assyria engineered one decisive military victory over the Kassites, but in the end, only held power for a mere seven years. The overall picture of Babylon that emerges is of a real, but generally nonaggressive, power.

Cultural development during the second millennium B.C. can only be understood against the backdrop of the changing political landscape because it affected all aspects of life. Unfortunately, the events of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods in Mesopotamia range from the 'very-well documented' to the 'completely unknown'. The most critical gap in the historical sequence lies between the collapse of the Old Babylonian empire c.1712 B.C. and the beginning of the Amarna Period, c.1374. It comprises a span of over 330 years that might be longer if the 'long chronology' proves correct (Huber, 1982). This interval is crucial because it encompasses the transition from Old Babylonian to Kassite culture.

The political history of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods constitutes a major portion of the cultural context necessary for interpreting the cylinder seal data. The other equally important part, which concerns religion, appears in the next chapter. It should be noted that, unlike our society, the Mesopotamians made no attempt to separate church and state. They probably would have considered the idea ludicrous. Even though the palace and the temple represented distinct institutions, they remained completely interdependent. The fact that I have divided politics and religion into two chapters has more to do with our perception of reality rather than theirs.



## RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.

### INTRODUCTION

The origins of Mesopotamian religion extend well back into the mists of the prehistoric period. By the time the first literary texts appear in the third millennium, the Sumerians already had a conception of the universe and the powers controlling it (Jacobsen, 1976). They envisioned the earth as a flat-disk surrounded by a huge solid shell. Encompassing this on all sides, as well as top and bottom, lay the primeval sea (Pritchard, 1969:60ff). Wind or air separated heaven from earth. They likened the ordering of the cosmos to large state-run institutions they knew on earth. Such organizations required sizable numbers of people to oversee them or they crumbled. Likewise, the cosmos needed divine managers to keep it going. The Sumerians believed that hundreds of gods and goddesses existed to tend to every aspect of life on earth (Kramer, 1963).

Over the course of time, theologians organized the major gods and goddesses into a hierarchical order based on their importance. The essential structure of the pantheon appears to have been worked out by at least the middle of the third millennium if not earlier (Jacobsen, 1976). At the top came the four deities responsible for the basic components of the cosmos, An/Anu (heaven), Enlil (air), Ninhursaga (earth), and Enki/Ea (sea). The next most influential group consisted of astral divinities, Nanna/Sin (moon), Utu/Shamash (sun), and Inanna/Ishtar (morning and evening star). These may have been the "seven deities who 'decree the fates'" (Kramer, 1963:122-3). In addition, allusions to fifty "great gods" appear in the texts but are never identified (Jacobsen, 1970:404-5, Note 50). They may have been the children of the sky god An but this remains uncertain.

Mesopotamian deities, despite being immortal, acted very much like human beings. The Sumerians envisaged them as living in households with spouses, children, and servants. They needed food to live, got into fights, and could even get sick and die. The more important divinities had the responsibility of acting as patron deities to the various city-states (Pritchard, 1969:43). Each god/dess championed a different city. The most prominent cities, in general, boasted the most important god/desses as their protectors. The only apparent exception to this seems to have been Nippur. Its city-god was Enlil, one of the highest ranking gods in Mesopotamia. Yet Nippur never appears to have wielded any military power over its neighbors. How Nippur came to be identified as the city of Enlil remains unknown.

Even though each city-state claimed a specific god or goddess as its patron, this does not mean that only one deity was worshipped in each place. Rather a multiplicity of cults existed in every city (Lambert, 1975a). Often lesser known divinities became incorporated into the extended family or

court personnel surrounding the city-god. This may have been a way to link local gods to the larger Mesopotamian pantheon.

### THE MESOPOTAMIAN PANTHEON

The highest ranking gods can be divided into two triads. The first consists of An, Enlil, and Enki. Ninhursaga, the mother goddess, originally belonged in this group. However, she had no political power and Enki supplanted her in the ruling triad during the second millennium (Jacobsen, 1976). Her name rarely appears on seals so she is not included in the following list.

The second trio comprises astral deities who the Sumerians conceptualized as grandchildren and great grandchildren of An. They did not have the authority of the members of the first triad but were nevertheless very popular. Often a fourth god, Adad, a god of storms, was included in this group as well (Jacobsen, 1976). The moon god, Nanna, ranked first in this set as Utu and Inanna were his children. These two triads combined gods and goddesses of similar aspect and rank but no other implication should be attached to them.

The following list contains a short description of the divinities which most often appear in seal legends and/or iconography. The first name listed is the Sumerian version, the second is the Akkadian form. In the remainder of this study, I will normally use the Akkadian version since the First Dynasty of Babylon spoke a Semitic language and these were the versions used by them.

#### *The First Triad*

**An/Anu:** Anu, the sky god and city-god of Uruk, ranked first in the Mesopotamian pantheon. He was considered the father of all the other gods as well as many demons and evil spirits (Jacobsen, 1976). The dominant position of the sky in a spatial sense and its association with rainfall, and by extension life, naturally lead Anu to be identified with authority. His power extended to both human society and the universe as a whole. On earth, he was closely associated with royalty. Despite his importance, his nature remained ill-defined. He is rarely (if ever) represented in art. This makes it difficult to link any specific iconography with him (Black and Green, 1992).

The figure of Anu seems to have become increasingly remote through time (Kramer, 1964). By way of illustration, his depiction in two famous stories can be compared. In the Gilgamesh Epic, which dates to the third millennium B.C., Anu appears in complete command (Jacobsen, 1976:208ff). His daughter, Ishtar demands that he give her the Bull of Heaven so she can use it to kill Gilgamesh. Anu eventually



complies (Pritchard, 1969:84). By the time the *Enûma Elish* was written down around the beginning of the first millennium, we find Anu slinking back to his father unable to face Tiamat (Pritchard, 1969). Most of his powers by this time had been assumed by other gods.

**Enlil:** Enlil, 'Lord Wind', controlled the free space between heaven and earth. He embodied the power in the moist spring winds which made the soil workable (Jacobsen, 1976). But in addition to gentle winds, Mesopotamia is also subject to fierce storms. Thus the Sumerians described Enlil as a 'raging storm' and 'wild bull' (Black and Green, 1992:76). In this guise, he personified force and became executor of the verdicts of the gods. This included the destruction of temples and cities and any other punitive decrees mandated by the divine assembly.

Early in the third millennium, Enlil came to share the task of heading the pantheon with Anu (Kramer, 1963:118). Anu was so remote that in time the leadership in the divine assembly virtually belonged to Enlil. His main shrine was in Nippur, but his importance extended far beyond that city. The Mesopotamians regarded Enlil as "King of the Earth" and revered him as the national god of Sumer (Ringgren, 1973:6). Like Anu, no specific iconography can be associated with him during the second millennium.

**Enki/Ea:** Ea embodied the power in fresh water. His domain comprised what the Sumerians imagined to be a vast subterranean freshwater sea and the surface water in pools and marshes (Jacobsen, 1987:16). In art, he is represented with streams of water flowing from his arms or shoulders. The goatfish became his symbol in the Kassite period. Ea's main characteristic was wisdom which he used on behalf of mankind. It was he who instructed mankind in all the arts and crafts of civilization. He possessed all secret magical knowledge and gained his ends through cleverness and manipulation rather than outright power. His cult center was Eridu which the Sumerians considered to be the oldest city in Sumer (Pritchard, 1969:43).

#### *The Second Triad*

**Nanna/Sin:** Sin, the moon god, was the son of either Anu or Enlil according to variant traditions. His different names seem to apply to specific phases of the moon. Nanna indicated the full moon and Sin referred to him as the crescent moon. Sin controlled the night, the lunar calendar, and provided fertility. According to Jacobsen (1976), lunar festivals appear to have been closely connected with the king and his household. The high priestess of Nanna at Ur, his main cult center, came from the royal family. There she became the human spouse of the god. Sin was quite popular with the people as well even though he always remained subordinate to the chief gods of the pantheon.

**Utu/Shamash:** Shamash, the sun god, became associated with truth and justice because the power of the sun allowed him to observe everything. The Mesopotamians considered him a benevolent god who took a direct interest in their affairs. As god of justice, he particularly watched out for the

poor. Besides protecting good and rooting out evil, Shamash also provided the light and heat necessary for successful agriculture. His symbols included the sun disk, the pruning saw which was a curved blade with jagged teeth, a knife, and the rod and ring of divine justice (Ringgren, 1973). He had two principal cities, Larsa in the south and Sippar in the north.

**Inanna/Ishtar:** Ishtar embodied three main aspects in her personality. First, she represented love and sexual behavior. She never had children so she cannot be associated with a mother goddess figure. Rather she served as the protector of prostitutes and the men Ishtar got involved with normally came to grief. Secondly, Ishtar relished battle so she was seen as a goddess of war. Artists depicted her with her beast, the lion, and arrows radiating from her shoulders (Black and Green, 1992:108). She often holds a scimitar and a double-headed lion club as well. In her third aspect, she became Venus, the morning and evening star. Her astral symbol was an eight pointed star. Over time, Ishtar absorbed the characteristics of many other goddesses so she herself became a very complex and often contradictory personality (Jacobsen, 1976). By the Kassite period, she had assimilated virtually every other female deity. The Mesopotamians worshipped her in many different locations, but her two major cult centers were in the important cities of Uruk and Kish.

**Iskur/Adad:** The cult of Adad, a weather god, probably originated with the Western Semites. He personified the power in spring rainstorms. He commanded greater respect in the north, because farmers there depended more on precipitation than on irrigation to water their crops. The lightning fork naturally became his symbol and the bull his animal (Jacobsen, 1976). Depending on tradition, he was considered either the son of Sin and brother of Shamash and Ishtar or the son of Anu and twin brother of Enki. Karkara was his cult center.

#### *Other Divine Figures*

**Marduk:** Marduk was always considered the patron god of Babylon although information concerning his origins remains extremely scanty. Only two 'possible' references to him exist prior to the second millennium B.C. (Sommerfeld, 1982:19). The etymology of his name appears to be Sumerian but, again, its precise history is uncertain. Marduk may mean "Bull-calf of Utu", its original form being 'Marutuk' (Lambert, 1975a). By the time of Hammurabi, Marduk had absorbed the personality of Asalluhi, a local deity in the Eridu region. Asalluhi, probably an independent god of Kuar/Kumar, had been incorporated into the Mesopotamian pantheon by making him Enki's son (Jacobsen, 1987:18). By merging with him, Marduk attained a higher position in the divine hierarchy because Ea ranked higher than Shamash. His initial attributes are not known although his symbol, the marru (spade), suggests he may have been an agricultural deity (Black and Green, 1992). From Asalluhi, he acquired his association with thunderstorms and rain. As Ea's son, Marduk learned wisdom and magic. He is even connected with judgment, implying a link with Shamash.



**Nabu:** Nabu, the god of scribes, began as Marduk's minister but later became his son. Due to his association with writing, he was also considered a god of wisdom. His main cult came to be centered in Borsippa.

**Nergal/Erra:** Nergal (which may be a generic name for the Lord of the Underworld) became Lord of the Underworld by marrying its formidable ruler, the goddess Ereshkigal (Jacobsen, 1987:27). In his own right, he was a much-feared god of pestilence, fevers, and forest fires. The Mesopotamians eventually melded him completely with the god Erra. Erra's attributes included plagues like Nergal but added the aspects of violence and war. In art, he shares much in common with depictions of Ishtar dressed in warrior garb. They often have one leg resting on a support and carry a scimitar and a double-headed lion-scepter (Black and Green, 1992). His main cult was in the city of Cutha.

**Martu/Amurru:** Amurru probably originated in the west as god of the nomadic peoples (Ringgren, 1973). He appears in Sumer by the end of the third millennium no doubt introduced by the Amorites filtering in from the desert. Maybe because he was a god of nomads, Amurru destroyed cities and rampaged "over the land like a storm" (Black and Green, 1992:129). His cult flourished for a while in Babylonia. Amurru can be identified by his symbol, the crook.

**Ninshubur:** Both a male and female Ninshubur existed. They were minor deities that functioned as ministers. The male Ninshubur served Anu and the female Ninshubur assisted Inanna.

**Gula:** Gula's popularity arose from her position as the goddess of healing and the patroness of doctors. The Mesopotamians called her the "Great Lady Physician" (Oppenheim, 1977:304). Her principle shrine was at Isin although she was eventually identified with Nin-nibru, meaning Lady of Nippur. Gula is often represented by her sacred animal, the dog.

**Lahmu:** For many years, researchers referred to this figure as the 'nude hero'. Recently, Black and Green (1992) argued that he should be called Lahmu which means 'Hairy'. His distinctive iconographic feature is the two or three large curls on either side of his head. Depictions of Lahmu often, but not always, pair him with the bull-man. He should be regarded as a protective deity helpful to mankind. Black and Green (1992) suggest that he was originally associated with Enki and later on with Marduk.

**Lama/Lamassu:** Lama refers to a goddess whose main duty seems to have been to attend or introduce worshippers into the presence of more important gods. One or both of her hands are shown raised in worship. These goddesses do not appear to have specific names. In the past, she has often been called a 'suppliant goddess' (see Buchanan, 1981). Like Lahmu, her function was to protect humans. Oppenheim thinks that the use of the term 'Lamassu' in Old Babylonian female names actually suggests the meaning of "angel" (1977:200). However, the Mesopotamians knew that

divinities did not always act with their best interests in mind. This aspect of 'Lamassu' indicates she may share a common background with the dangerous female demon 'Lamashtu' (Oppenheim, 1977:201).

**Bull-Man:** The figure of the bull-man incorporates the face and torso of a man but with the horns, ears, and lower body of a bull. He first appears in the Early Dynastic II period. The significance of the bull-man remains unknown.

## OFFICIAL OR STATE RELIGION

Official or state religion in Mesopotamia centered around the cults of the gods and goddesses. According to the myths, the gods created humans for the express purpose of relieving them of having to do menial work (Jacobsen, 1976:117-8). Thus people existed to serve and care for the gods. The Sumerians took these duties very seriously. They thought that without divine management, the cosmos would cease to function (Ringgren, 1973).

The temple served literally as the house of a god/dess. It was in the temple that professional staffs cared for the titular deity. Divinities needed to be fed, bathed, dressed, and so forth. In every way, they led the life of a king (Oppenheim, 1977). The focal point of this attention centered on the statue of the deity. The Mesopotamians believed that a god or goddess took up residence in his/her image after a series of elaborate and very secret rituals (Ringgren, 1973). Every day specific rites and ceremonies had to be performed to keep the god/dess content. If this was not done, he or she would not look favorably on humankind (Kramer, 1963). The close association of the divinity with its image can be illustrated by the fact that when an invader removed a cult statue, the Mesopotamians thought the god or goddess went with it (Oppenheim, 1977). But this should not be interpreted to mean that the gods only existed within their images. The Mesopotamians had many ways to evoke the presence of the divine including cult dramas, poetry, hymns, myths, and epics (Jacobsen, 1976:15).

In addition to the temple personnel, the king played an important role in official religion. Theoretically, he was head of the cult of the city-god/dess (Ringgren, 1973). He regularly officiated at ceremonies and festivals. Kings lavished expensive gifts on the gods and installed statues of themselves in the temples to remind the deity of his constant devotion. But the single greatest service any king could perform was the building or restoration of a temple (Frankfort, 1978:267). A leader did not undertake such an endeavor lightly. The gods themselves needed to send the appropriate signs that the time was propitious.

The Mesopotamians believed that the assembly of gods selected the king (Frankfort, 1978). He in turn acted as the steward of the gods on earth. The king's principal duties consisted of upholding justice and providing leadership in time of war (Frankfort, et al., 1946:209). His careful observance of religious traditions was a necessity because the welfare of the country depended on how well he pleased the deities.



The preceding section gives an idealized picture of king's involvement with the religious institutions of his day. In actual fact, the temple and the palace represent two interdependent organizations that had to negotiate an ongoing but complex relationship through time. One of its fundamental aspects must certainly have been the struggle over political power (Oppenheim, 1977:109). Kings could regulate temple estates to some degree through laws and taxes. This had to be done with care since the priests could easily retaliate by interpreting omens as being unfavorable to the king (Saggs, 1988:147). A monarch could also declare himself divine in part to gain control over religious institutions. But divine kingship clearly violates the spirit of Mesopotamian theology which asserts that people were created to serve the gods.

The most famous example of a king claiming divine honors was Naram-Sin, an Akkadian ruler in the third millennium B.C. (Kramer, 1963). From the religious point of view, he committed a further affront to the gods by allowing his soldiers to sack Nippur and destroy the sanctuary of Enlil (Pritchard, 1969:646ff). For this sacrilege, the gods sent the Gutians to obliterate the country of Agade. Later religious leaders used this story as a warning tale to other kings in case they considered flouting the will of the divine (Jacobsen, 1976:79). We do not know if this tradition really affected the actions of later monarchs, but divine kingship never became an established practice in Mesopotamia. The temples never lost their dominance in religious matters.

The temple and the palace both constituted "great organizations" at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (Oppenheim, 1977). The temples and their cults not only provided a world view and *raison d'être* for the citizens but represented major centers of economic activity (Oppenheim, 1977). In theory, the city's patron deity owned the city-state, although in practice a certain amount of land always remained in the hands of private individuals. Even so, major temples held large amounts of property and controlled a great deal of wealth. They required large staffs in addition to the priest/esses to maintain and administer temple assets. The produce from their fields and animals from their flocks supported the cult and fed temple personnel (Frankfort, et al., 1946). Surplus could be used as loans or as collateral for business ventures. Some temples acted as manufacturing centers as well.

This was the existing situation when Sumuabum took control of Babylon in the 19th century B.C. It is not difficult to understand why either out of respect for ancient traditions, economic expediency, or both, Sumuabum and his successors behaved like good Sumerian monarchs. They rebuilt temples, dedicated statues, and supported the religious life of Mesopotamia (Ungnad, 1938). It would have been very difficult to disrupt the religious traditions without seriously affecting the psychological and economic well-being of the city.

The reign of Hammurabi marks a definite change in the relationship between the temple and the palace. By this time Oppenheim surmises, the decline in the importance of the temple as an economic institution had already begun

(1977:105 and 187). The royal palace, on the other hand, enjoyed a steady increase in its influence in society. The growth in power of the king at the expense of religious institutions can be illustrated by several examples from Sippar during the reign of Hammurabi. First, documents indicate that control of the judiciary shifted from the temple and to the king during this time (Harris, 1961 and 1975:116-7). By Samsuiluna's day, temples no longer served as places to hold court. Second, prior to Hammurabi, the office of the chief priest of Shamash was controlled by the temple. By the end of his rule, the *sanga* priest had become a royal servant (Harris, 1961).

The Prologue to the Law Code of Hammurabi also suggests a change in the perception of the king's relationship to the gods (Jacobsen, 1976:188-9). In Sumerian tradition, Anu and Enlil granted kingship to cities on a temporary basis. But Hammurabi states that Babylon received "an enduring kingship" (Pritchard, 1969:164). The Prologue uses precisely the same word for 'enduring' that Enlil did when he specifically denied giving a 'lasting' kingship to Ur (Jacobsen, 1976:189). Again, this indicates a conscious attempt to lessen the religious control over the dispensation of political power. It should also be mentioned that Hammurabi cites many different gods and goddesses in the Prologue. This confers a legitimacy on his kingship beyond the borders of Babylon itself.

The Kassites assumed leadership of Babylonia at least several decades after the downfall of Samsuditana. Texts credit the new ruler, perhaps Agum II, with retrieving and installing the statues of Marduk and his wife, Sarpanitum, in their refurbished temples in Babylon (Grayson, 1975). Because gods travelled with their images, Agum had literally brought Marduk and Sarpanitum back to the people. This act on the part of a foreigner established him in the eyes of the public as the legitimate heir of Hammurabi's dynasty. It also reinforced one of the most salient features of Mesopotamian religion, the enormous respect it commanded from nonindigenous ethnic groups that assumed power in Babylonia from time to time (Brinkman, 1976-80).

The Kassites not only seemed to have tolerated Mesopotamian gods but actually promoted their worship. When they restored temples, they prided themselves on using the most ancient groundplans they could find (Brinkman, 1969). Scribes wrote building inscriptions in Sumerian even though Babylonian was the spoken language (Brinkman, 1976:63). The designers of Dur-Kurigalzu, modern Aqar Quf, erected a ziggurat which still stands nearly 60 meters high despite being severely eroded (Baqir, 1945 and 1946a). The king dedicated its temples to the major Sumerian gods: Enlil, Sin, and Ninurta. However, we do not know how much political influence the temples wielded. Oppenheim argues that despite the resources spent on them, the temple as an institution became continuously and progressively isolated after the Old Babylonian period (1977:187).

Overall, the evidence supports the conclusion that the Kassites observed and promoted the religious traditions of Mesopotamia in a manner similar to their predecessors. But



indications do exist that some changes took place during the 400 year reign of the dynasty. The first point concerns Kassite deities. Despite the fact they promoted the Babylonian pantheon, Kassite kings used their own gods in their personal names for many generations. The first monarch with a pure Babylonian name did not appear until Kudur-Enlil, the 26th king of his line. Shuqamuna and Shumalia, two Kassite divinities, may have been patrons of the royal family and they probably had shrines in Babylon (Lambert, 1964). However, we do not know of any special building activity in relation to Kassite gods. In return for tolerance of the native customs, the Mesopotamians accepted Kassite gods and continued to worship them even after the end of the dynasty (Brinkman, 1976-80).

The second issue has to do with a subtle shift in the attitudes towards the gods during the second millennium. As the government became more centralized and efficient, the meting out of justice became more regular as well (Frankfort, et al., 1946). Gradually the notion took hold that justice should be expected as a right rather than as a favor. Justice, of course, came directly from the gods. In this view, if a person fulfilled his/her religious obligations, s/he would prosper. Life should treat a person fairly unless s/he had been disobedient to the gods. However, it was equally clear that even a good individual could get sick, have financial difficulties, and so forth. This forced the Mesopotamians to confront the problem of the 'righteous sufferer' (Frankfort, et al., 1946). How could the divine powers unjustly punish someone who was behaving according to their decrees? At the end of the most famous piece of literature dealing with this problem, "Ludlul Bel Nemeqi" (I will praise the lord of wisdom) (Pritchard, 1975:148ff), the sufferer is rescued from his predicament. But the mere fact that righteousness does not necessarily prevent hardship in the first place, gave the people a sense that the gods could be unfair. Roux sums up the Kassites' relationship with the divine this way, "...the stress was put on resignation rather than confidence, superstition rather than faith" (1992:251).

## THE RISE OF PERSONAL RELIGION

The previous discussion refers largely to the city cults, the preserve of the temple workers, kings, and upper classes. The degree of interaction between ordinary people and religious institutions remains unknown. Most scholars take the position that just as serfs had little to do with the lords of the castle, so too did the average Mesopotamian have limited contact with the great gods (Jacobsen, 1946:218; Oates, 1986:171; Ringgren, 1973:77). Texts do indicate that the populace did participate in the major religious festivals of the year (Oppenheim, 1977:108). Whether individuals could approach the temple under special circumstances, such as illness or to ask for the pacification of demons, remains debatable. Oppenheim thinks it is more likely that they sought help from diviners and exorcists who were not sanctioned by the temple (1977). For the most part, religious observance for the populace took place in a street corner shrine or a private chapel in their home. There they had direct contact with their personal god.

The concept of a personal god goes back at least as far as the third millennium B.C. (Frankfort, et al., 1946). The Mesopotamians believed a deity dwelt within their body and was passed down from father to son, generation after generation. Originally, the personal god may have been the personification of a man's luck and success. Over time, the importance of personal gods grew to the point the interests of the individual rivaled the welfare of the community (Jacobsen, 1976). The rise of this so-called 'personal religion' can be traced back to the earliest examples of "Penitential Psalms" and "Letters to Gods" composed towards the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (Jacobsen, 1976).

The perception of a 'personal god' included a variety of elements. The first of these as noted above was the aspect of success and good fortune. In fact, the phrase denoting luck in both Sumerian and Akkadian meant "to acquire a god" (Jacobsen, 1976:155). Individuals depended on their gods for personal achievement and held them morally responsible for both prosperity or failure. Another feature of this relationship was specificity. Persons always knew their god or goddess by name and applied exclusively to him or her. The only exception to this appears to have been prayers directed to the goddess of healing. In the beginning, personal gods were usually minor members of the pantheon. Over time, texts reveal that any god, even major gods like Ea, Sin, Shamash, and Adad, could assume this role (Jacobsen, 1976:157).

Finally, the relationship between a personal god and wo/man can metaphorically be characterized as that of parent and child. The personal god in the role of 'father' became the provider and protector of the family. Protection on earth often required 'friends in high places' (Jacobsen, 1976). In the same manner, an individual would ask a personal god to approach the great gods to intercede on his/her behalf. It is in this relationship that all the awe and majesty of the divine seems to disappear. Some of the "Letters to Gods" show that some persons treated their personal gods like demanding children trying to manipulate their parents (Frankfort, et al., 1946).

Kings, like all other people, had personal gods who were more accessible than the great gods and who could be approached when necessary. When the great gods chose a man to be king, the city-god would inform the personal god of the candidate of their decision. The personal god had the responsibility to ensure the king conscientiously performed his duties throughout his reign.

Personal religion stands in stark contrast to official religion in so far as the relationship between humans and the divine is essentially reversed. In official religion, humankind exists only to serve the gods and they must be obeyed. The basis of personal religion lies with the almost limitless presumption of self-importance on the part of the human beings (Jacobsen, 1976). The personal god/dess descended into the world of the individual to take care of him/her and his/her needs. If for some reason, the god/dess was perceived as failing in his/her duty, s/he could be cajoled or even threatened with lack of adoration (Frankfort, et al., 1946).



Personal god/desses seemed to have become nothing more than agents for gratifying wishes. This attitude gradually permeated all personal religion. However, according to Jacobsen (1976), it apparently never penetrated public religion or shaped the nation's attitude as a whole towards the national divinities. Instead a paradoxical situation developed over the course of the second millennium. The deities of the temple cults remained distant and awesome, to be cared for and obeyed as in centuries past. But the populace demanded health, wealth, and happiness from their personal god/desses. They were on such familiar terms with them that they freely expressed their disapproval when life did not go as they wished.

## THE PROMOTION OF MARDUK

The single most dramatic change in Mesopotamian religion during the second millennium B.C. involved the promotion of Marduk to the head of the pantheon. Various theories have been put forward over the years concerning Marduk's rise to prominence but several points remain indisputable. During the third millennium and well into the second, Enlil, the patron god of Nippur, functioned as the effective head of the Mesopotamian pantheon (Kramer, 1963). By the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II in the first millennium, Marduk had indisputably assumed this role (Lambert, 1964). Two of the questions confronting scholars over the years have been, 'When did Marduk assume leadership of the pantheon?' and 'How did his supporters legitimate his claims?'

The problem of when Marduk actually displaced Enlil as head of the pantheon has been debated for many years. A brief survey of the literature shows there is still no general consensus. Finegan (1979:66) said his elevation most likely took place during the reign of Hammurabi. Lambert (1964) argued for a date specifically in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I and reiterated his position in 1984. Jacobsen, one of the foremost scholars on Mesopotamian religion, has changed his published opinion through the years. In 1946, he dated the shift to the middle second millennium. Thirty years later, he suggested it took place in the middle of the latter half of the second millennium. In reference to the same issue, he wrote in 1987, "With the advent of the first millennium, however, began his [i.e., Marduk's] rise to supreme god of the universe and his rivalry for that honor with Ashur of Assyria" (Jacobsen, 1987:19; emphasis mine). Joan Oates exemplifies the general uncertainty surrounding the issue. She wrote that the event took place no earlier than the Kassite period and perhaps as late as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (c.1125-1104) (Oates, 1986:172).

I believe the available evidence supports Lambert's position, i.e., that Marduk was officially promoted to the head of the pantheon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. The argument runs as follows. During the third millennium, Marduk may have very well been considered the son of the sun god Shamash, literally "Bull-calf of Utu". Babylon lay in the vicinity of Sippar (Lambert, 1975a). The Mesopotamians held Sippar in particularly high esteem because, according to tradition, it had existed before the flood (Saggs, 1988:40). It was common practice among the Sumerians to perceive

gods of less important towns as younger relations of more important deities. Eventually Sumuabum took over Babylon and he and his successors created a core area of influence which included Sippar.

Under Hammurabi, Babylon however temporarily, became the center of an empire. It can be guessed that the government of Babylon felt that it was no longer acceptable to have their city-god, Marduk, be just a minor member of the pantheon. Being the son of Shamash made Marduk the grandson of Sin, who himself was only in the second tier of the hierarchy. To get around this ranking problem, Lambert (1975a) suggests that the scribes may have deliberately equated Marduk with Asalluhi, Enki's son.

The Prologue to the Code of Hammurabi confirms Marduk's initial rise in status. It says that Anu and Enlil have "...determined for Marduk, the first-born of Enki, the Enlil functions over all mankind, made him great among the Igigi..." (Pritchard, 1969:164ff). 'Enlil functions' constitute the executive powers of the divine assembly. In the past, these had always been associated with Enlil, hence the name (Frankfort, et al., 1946:207ff). Enlil has now turned them over to Marduk. The Igigi gods serve Enlil and make up part of the 50 great gods (Pritchard, 1969:164). The Prologue makes Marduk one of them. It is clear that during the reign of Hammurabi, Marduk achieved a major elevation in his status. But although he had become an important god, he certainly did not yet head the pantheon.

The next period suggested as a possibility for the promotion of Marduk was sometime during the 400 year reign of the Kassite kings. Sommerfeld (1982) examined this very issue. After an extensive analysis of written materials, he concluded that even though Marduk was popular in personal names, official records indicate Enlil retained firm control of the pantheon throughout the Kassite period.

The Kassite dynasty ended with the sacking of Babylon by the Elamites and the removal of the Marduk statue to Susa (Oates, 1986). For the Mesopotamians, this event was catastrophic because the god had literally deserted his city. Marduk remained in Susa until Nebuchadnezzar I of the Second Dynasty of Isin retrieved him and returned him to Babylon in the late twelfth century B.C. Lambert (1964) argues that the jubilation surrounding the return of Marduk created the psychologically correct moment that allowed the final elevation to take place. As corroborating evidence, we find the first official statement asserting Marduk's supremacy in the pantheon dates to Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Lambert, 1964).

Much of the controversy surrounding the dating of Marduk's rise has always hinged on when various authors thought the *Enuma Elish*, i.e., the Epic of Creation, was composed (Pritchard, 1969:60ff). In the story, Tiamat declared war on the gods. They asked Marduk to defend them against her. He agreed on the condition that he be given supreme power in return for victory. Marduk occupies the role of hero in the story from beginning to end. The final tablet lists the 50 names of Marduk, a deliberate assimilation of many other gods into him. The number 50



itself is symbolic in so far as 50 was always Enlil's number. By claiming the number 50, Marduk absorbed Enlil as well (Böhl, 1936/37).

The extant copies of the *Enuma Elish* come mostly from the first half of the first millennium. The style of the Akkadian, however, suggests it was composed in an earlier period (Jacobsen, 1976). Von Soden (1955) and Sommerfeld (1982) both agree a Kassite date is likely. But Lambert (1984) points out that in the poem, Babylon becomes the meeting place for the gods when they gather to 'decree destinies' explicitly replacing Nippur. He feels that if this situation did not exist in the past and was not likely to exist in the future, such a statement in the poem would appear ludicrous. This, in conjunction with the Epilogue's declaration that it should be used to teach the whole populace, leads Lambert to conclude that the *Enuma Elish* was written after Marduk's ascension had already been completed.

The Mesopotamians always showed themselves to be extremely conservative when it came to religious matters. The groundwork must have been laid over the course of several centuries in order to make the final shift seem natural. The first step as previously mentioned, appears to have been the assimilation of Marduk with Asalluhi in order to bring him up into the ranks of the great gods. Marduk became an important god during the Old Babylonian period but not the head of the pantheon.

Several important changes took place during the Kassite period that made the promotion of Marduk possible (Lambert, 1964). First and foremost, the center of power did not shift away from Babylon as it had from so many other city-states in the past. Babylon maintained its social and political importance from the time of Hammurabi onward despite the changing fortunes of its individual leaders. Over time, the aura of being the capital by divine right took hold. One of the Kurigalzus calls Babylon "the eternal city" which used to be the designation of Sippar (Lambert, 1964:7). The Weidner Chronicle (Grayson, 1975) and the *Enuma Elish* (Pritchard, 1969) call Babylon the first city rather than Eridu. These examples illustrate that the city of Babylon itself experienced an elevation of its status. The question that must have arisen was, "Why should the city-god of Babylon be inferior to the gods of less important cities like Nippur and Uruk?". And, of course, the political leaders knew that the promotion of Marduk to the head of the pantheon would bolster as well as permanently solidify Babylon's position as the undisputed capital of Mesopotamia.

The second factor that contributed to acceptance of Marduk as a replacement for Enlil came from the Kassites themselves. This involved the quiet but persistent worship of their own gods, in particular Shuqamuna and Shimaliya. Lambert (1964) discusses a text in which the last Kurigalzu (II?, mid 14th c.) is invested with the insignias of royal office by Shuqamuna and Shimaliya. All the great gods congregated in their shrine including the Mesopotamian gods. The clear implication is that the inferior gods assembled in the house of the superior gods. Lambert adds,

"Still clearer is the statement that the king hearkens to Shamash (probably identified with the Kassite sun god), and Anu, Enlil, and Enki also hearken to him (i.e., Shamash). The leading trinity of the old pantheon is now subject to other gods" (1964:8).

It is unclear just what role the Kassite gods played in society. To date, this remains the only example suggesting the entire ruling triad was subject to foreign deities. The official documents from Sommerfeld's study (1982) appear to unequivocally attribute the head of the pantheon to Enlil. But if such ceremonies did take place, that may have given the Marduk priests the idea of elevating Marduk since he had more of a claim to be head of the pantheon than the Kassite gods.

The official position of Marduk towards the end of the Kassite period seems ambiguous. A late copy of an inscription says that Anu and Enlil looked on Adad-shuma-usur with favor but Marduk named him to kingship (Sommerfeld, 1982:171). Two reigns later, Marduk-apla-iddina I credited Enlil with raising him to kingship despite the fact the whole inscription was dedicated to Marduk. It appears that the Kassite kings carefully avoided interfering with the status quo when it came to religious matters (Sommerfeld, 1982:174). They had to act as kings of Babylonia, not kings of Babylon. Even the priests of Marduk could not set him up as head of the pantheon without the support of the king. This reluctance to stray from tradition was probably the reason that the Kassites were accepted as a legitimate dynasty and not noxious usurpers for 400 years. So despite the importance of Babylon, Marduk could only secure the highest rank in the pantheon after the Kassites had lost power.

The substitution of Marduk for Enlil may have been engineered by the Marduk priests but it also had to be accepted by the people. Even though the ordinary citizen probably had little to do with official religion on a daily basis, they did participate in many major festivals (Oppenheim, 1977). The temple could not just change the focal point of the New Year's Festival, for instance, without the support of the populace. As mentioned previously, part of the willingness to adopt the change must have been predicated on the continuing importance of Babylon. By the end of the Kassite period, it had been the preeminent city in the land for 600 years.

The second factor in influencing the attitude of the population can be tied to the rise of personal religion and the dependence on Marduk as a personal god. As personal religion grew in importance throughout the course of the second millennium, the perception of Marduk's consequence developed as well. This can be seen in the number of seal inscriptions devoted to Marduk and the explosion of personal names which incorporate his epithet. A document dated to the reign of Kudur-Enlil contained the name Marduk-shar-lani, i.e., "Marduk-is-king-of-the-gods" (Sommerfeld, 1982). Lambert (1984) pointed out that many other gods are mentioned as 'king-of-the-gods' in Kassite personal names. Even so, it does illustrate the idea was in



circulation by the middle of the 13th century. It took over another hundred years for it to come to fruition.

## CONCLUSION

It is not possible to understand Mesopotamian society without fully appreciating the integral role religion played in it. Mesopotamian religious ideas were so highly respected in the ancient world that foreign ethnic groups that assumed leadership in Babylonia, such as the Amorites and the Kassites, adopted the prevailing customs rather than imposing their own. The foundation of their beliefs rested on the conception that natural forces were divine beings. These could be either male or female. People existed to serve the gods so they in turn could manage the cosmos. This view of the pantheon never changed.

Over the course of the second millennium, the idea of personal religion took root alongside official religion. Each person had his/her own personal god/dess with whom s/he enjoyed a close and familiar relationship. A bond such as that between parent and child developed and it was to the personal god/dess that an individual brought his/her problems and concerns. Initially personal gods were usually minor members of the pantheon but eventually even great gods assumed this role. Marduk seems to have become especially popular during the Kassite period. This may have helped his final promotion to the head of the pantheon be accepted by the people. It is difficult for us to understand how two such opposing views of deities could exist harmoniously side by side. Perhaps the approachability of the personal god/dess provided comfort in what seemed to be an uncertain and hostile world.

The previous two chapters have drawn together the bulk of the information available on Old Babylonian and Kassite politics and religion. Together they constitute the cultural context that will act as a frame of reference for the analyses of the seal iconography and inscriptions. This will now be set aside, temporarily, so a detailed description of the seal iconography can be presented.



**DESCRIPTION OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS:  
ICONOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS**

**INTRODUCTION**

The previous chapters on Mesopotamian history and religion provide the context for interpreting the cylinder seal iconography and inscriptions of the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. This chapter provides a detailed description of numerous aspects of the data base. It includes a discussion of the main figures found on the cylinder seals, some of their attributes, the fill figures, and the seal inscriptions. I treated the OB and Kassite material separately for the most part due to the differences observed in their iconographic repertoire.

**COMPOSITION of the DATA BASE**

The general characteristics of the data base for this study can be found in Chapter 2. To reiterate, it consists of 883 seals and sealings dated to the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. The Early Old Babylonian group (EOB) includes the material from Sumuabum through the reign of Hammurabi. Late Old Babylonian (LOB) seals begin with Samsuiluna and end with Samsuditana. This division between the EOB and LOB corresponds roughly to the expansion and then contraction of the Old Babylonian empire. The Kassite material cannot be arranged chronologically so it is assigned to groups based on style.

The majority of the OB material comes from sealings on dated tablets. The opposite situation exists for the Kassite period where most of the data consists of extant seals. Table 5.1 illustrates the number of actual seals as opposed to sealings for each period and the number of complete and incomplete designs. 'Complete' refers to a seal whose entire surface could be reconstructed. It will be noticed that there are more Kassite seals than complete designs. I listed 24 broken or eroded seals as incomplete and 12 fully preserved sealings as complete. There is no way at present to compensate for the large percentage of incomplete OB scenes or the possible bias that may be introduced by comparing sealings to seals.

Table 5.1

**Composition of the Data Base**

	Seal	Sealing	Complete	Incomp	Total
EOB	6	289	90	205	295
LOB	4	301	93	211	305
KAS	210	73	198	85	283

(EOB=Early Old Babylonian period; LOB=Late Old Babylonian period; KAS=Kassite period)

Another problem with this data that cannot be controlled for lies in the source of the original seals. Since one of the primary purposes of a cognitive study is to try to understand how ancient people used symbols, the material being studied must represent people who shared the same *mappa*. *Mappa* refers to common conceptions of the world held by members of a given society (Renfrew, 1994a:10-11; also see discussion in Chapter 2). Unfortunately, I cannot know for certain that my data meets this criterion.

In the case of the OB tablets, roughly two-thirds of the seal impressions can be assigned to Sippar or its suburb, ed-Der (see Table 5.2). This brings up several issues. First is that these seal impressions from Sippar may not be representative of the seals being used in other cities during the First Dynasty of Babylon. I already argued that cylinder seals were probably confined to the wealthier levels of society. Until additional material is found at Babylon and other places, this question will remain open. However, the historical records indicate that Sippar had close ties with Babylon for virtually the entire period. Given the Babylonian kings' propensity for being closely involved in the management of their territory, it is hardly likely that the citizens of Sippar could have produced seal designs unacceptable in Babylon. This supposition is bolstered by the fact that many of the individuals who used cylinder seals conducted business on behalf of the crown.

The second point concerns continuity. Because so many of the seals come from one city, a certain consistency exists within the data. We can see how the symbols evolved in at least one place through time. With the potential effects of geographical diversity held to a minimum, other factors can be sought to explain any observed variation. It must be also noted that one-fourth of the OB material cannot be assigned to any specific site.

Table 5.2

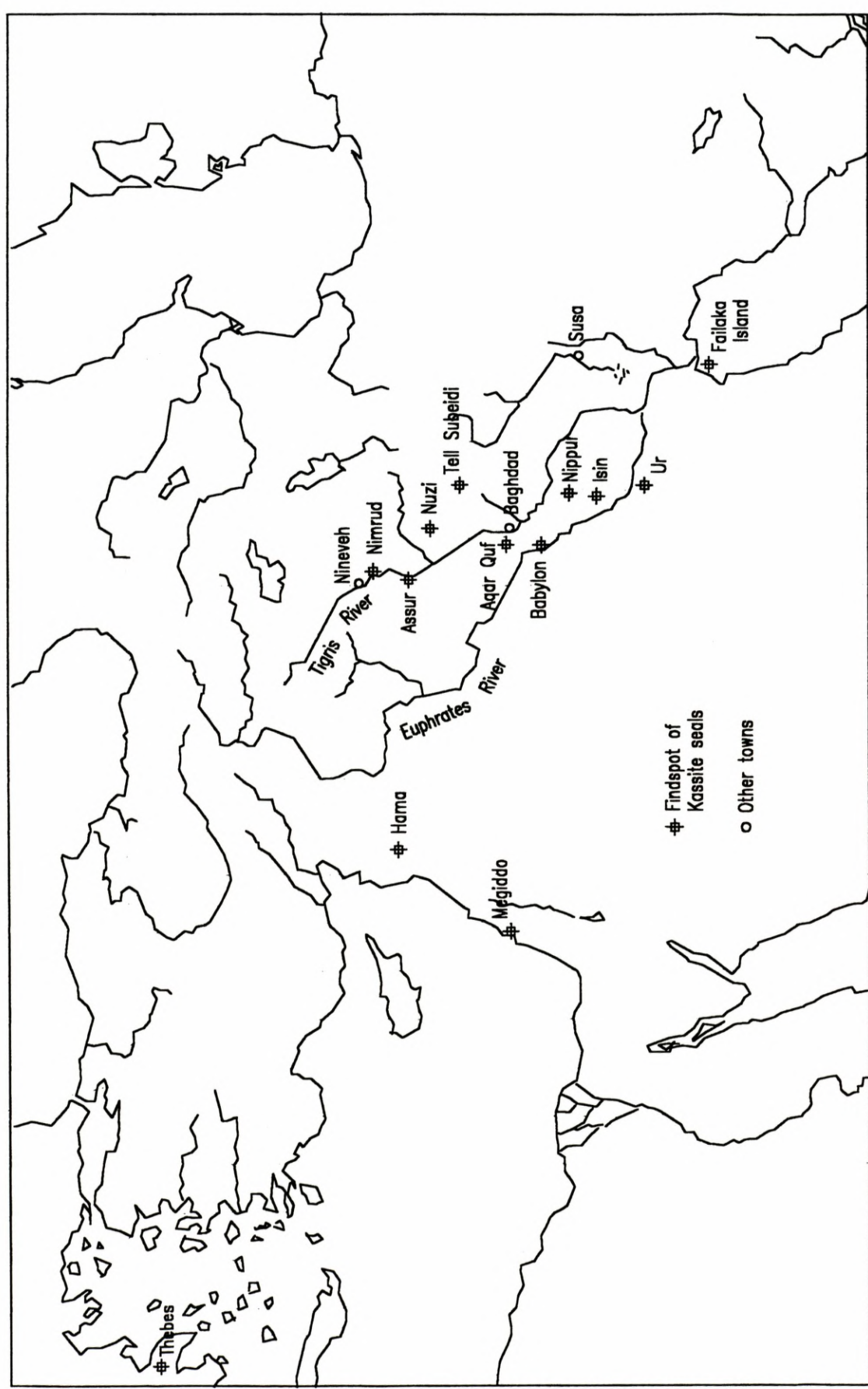
**Sources of Old Babylonian Seals**

	ed-Der Sippar	Larsa	Kish	Babylon	Ur	Mari	Unknown
EOB	244	8	0	0	0	1	42
LOB	169	22	3	1	2	0	108

The Kassite seals constitute a much murkier situation than the OB material. Most of the seals come from museums or private collections and no records exist that indicate where they were found. Here Renfrew's warning (1994b:53-4) about combining data from numerous time periods and sites must be considered. I am mixing, like others have before me, Kassite seals that may span a 400 year time period and come from over a dozen sites (Table 5.3 and Fig. 2, p.39).



MAP OF FINDSPOTS OF KASSITE SEALS





The largest category in the source list is the ever-popular 'Unknown'. It cannot be deduced, at this point in time, whether the variety of styles and motifs evident in the Kassite seals results from differences between places, chronological disparities, or whether these seals were just a lot less standardized than OB seals. Perhaps some combination of all these factors account for the diversity in the Kassite seals. Until a group of cylinders or impressed tablets can be excavated in stratigraphical position from one or more sites in Iraq to serve as a comparative corpus, it is impossible to predict what effect this mixture of sources will have on my results.

Table 5.3

Sources of Kassite Seals

Aqar Quf	1	Nimrud	1
Assur	4	Nippur	48
Babylon	4	Nuzi	17
Failaka	1	Tell Subeidi	2
Hama	1	Thebes,	12
Isin	1	Ur	5
Megiddo	1	Unknown	85
		Total	283

Nevertheless, I believe that it is acceptable to consider the Kassite seals as representing one cultural group. Once the Kassites assumed power in Babylonia, they ruled virtually without interruption for approximately 400 years. Even though their culture undoubtedly changed through time, the remarkable stability of the Kassite dynasty argues for a continuity in cultural tradition. We can surmise that even though the seals came from a variety of places, they still represent people with the same *mappa*. Some aspects of this *mappa* even seem to predate the OB period. Postgate (1994) has shown that in the case of certain effigies, the same cognitive system appears to have been operating at Kassite Aqar Quf as at Early Dynastic Abu Salabikh. I think, then, that the Kassite seals represent a single cultural tradition despite the obvious problems with the data base. At this point in the analysis, the OB and Kassite material will be described separately due to their fundamentally different iconographic repertoire.

## THE OLD BABYLONIAN SEALS

### *Identification of the Main Figures*

Main figures comprise the scene or scenes on Old Babylonian seals. This differentiates them from the so-called 'fill figures' which seem to be set in the background. The term 'filling motive' was used as long ago as 1939 by Henri Frankfort in his classic book on cylinder seals. Even though he does not define 'filling motive' per se, his meaning is obvious in this sentence. "These vessels...have a comprehensible function as space-filling motives between

the main groups..." (Frankfort, 1939:25). The phrase 'filling motif' is generally accepted in the literature and has its own entry in a recent dictionary of Mesopotamian symbols (Black and Green, 1992:82). 'Large' or 'main' figures are terms of my own to distinguish them from fill figures.

Main figures are usually the largest motifs on the seals. However, they were not always carved in proportion to one another. Often the seal cutter engraved smaller figures behind, in front of, or in between larger ones. Many times, the engraver placed the smaller icons (icon will be used as a synonym for motif) on the same groundline as the full size figures. Other times smaller motifs appeared above the groundline, making it difficult to determine whether an element should be classified as a main or a fill figure. I ultimately based the decision on whether the icon seemed to be part of the scene and the type of motif involved. In general, different sets of symbols were used for main figures and fill figures. Occasionally the seal cutter divided the seal into horizontal registers so all the figures became necessarily small. Because of this and the fact that many small figures clearly appear to be part of main scenes, I categorized the smaller figures as main figures despite differences in actual sizes. Whether size reductions of certain motifs, other than the division into registers, were due to space considerations, related to the significance of the individual elements, or done for some other reason is not known.

The next step following the classification of the motifs into main or fill figures, involved coding them for entry into a computer database program. The fragmentary condition of most of the OB material led me to develop a system whereby I could record the main icons both as complete figures and as a series of individual attributes. The latter included such things as posture, type of garment, headwear, hairstyle, and object held in the hand(s). I did this in an effort to maximize the amount of information available for analysis.

Several attributes proved particularly useful for making the fundamental distinction between human and divine figures. In reference to garments, only gods and goddesses wore flounced robes (Collon, 1988). It seems to be the only kind of clothing that was unequivocally reserved for deities. Flounced robes provided an unmistakable indicator of status especially when only the bottom half of the seal was preserved.

Headwear, which included horn crowns, hats, and turbans, also indicated the status of its wearer. Horn crowns of various types always belonged to deities (Pritchard, 1969:114; Van Buren, 1945:108ff). Humans wore turbans or half-circle hats. During the LOB period, brimmed hats gained in popularity. Many of them were worn by figures whose other attributes proclaimed their divine status. Often, though, it was difficult to tell on the basis of a brimmed hat alone whether an icon should be considered a deity or not. Table 5.4 shows the distribution of types of headwear recorded on the OB cylinder seals. (See Figure 3 for illustrations, p.41)



HEADWEAR



a) Horn Crown



b) Single Horn Crown



c) High Triangular Hat



d) Turban-style 1



e) Turban-style 2



f) Half-circle Hat



g) Brimmed Hat with High Crown



h) Brimmed Hat with Low Crown



i) Brimmed Hat with Circular Crown

HAIRSTYLES



k) Short Ponytail



j) Long Ponytail



l) Shoulder Length



m) Below Shoulder Length



Table 5.4

**Old Babylonian Headwear**

	EOB	LOB
Horn Crown	242	144
Single Horn Crown	19	11
Turban-Style 1	106	72
Brimmed Hat with High Crown	26	47
Brimmed Hat with Low Crown	5	55
Brimmed Hat Circular Crown	0	20
Half-Circle Hat	17	18
Other	7	14
Unidentified	21	28

Hairstyles also served to distinguish deities from non-deities as well as identify individual divinities from each other. This does not include beards however which seem to be common to both gods and men. Human males did not have any hairstyle indicated below their turbans or other hats. Gods, on the other hand, had short ponytails, visible in profile.

Several different hairstyles can be distinguished among the goddesses. Ones shown in profile often had a long ponytail. Seal cutters depicted a presumably different goddess facing the front. Her hair came down in straight lines on either side of her head and ended in little circles just above her shoulders. Another style used for a front-facing goddess showed her hair cascading over her shoulders and ending half way down to her elbows (see Figure 3, p.41). I did not include rarer styles in this illustration such as bald men or ones with their heads shaved, females with hair in a loop, or women with their hair flipped out which was typical of the nude female. Nor did I count hair executed by a drill that became common during the LOB period. It was impossible to guess whether these circles represented a new style or a simpler way of expressing the old one. The styles listed in Table 5.5 are the most common distinguishable ones from the Old Babylonian period.

Table 5.5

**Old Babylonian Hairstyles**

	EOB	LOB
Short Ponytail (Male)	120	86
Long Ponytail (Female)	78	43
Shoulder Length	11	6
Below Shoulder Length	38	11

After the main figures and their various attributes had been identified, recorded, and entered into a database program, I calculated the total for each category. The tabulations clearly elucidated the Babylonian approach to design composition. Only nine motifs appeared with any real frequency on the seals. Seal cutters selected between one and three of these

nine figures for most of their seals. These icons were then combined with a wide variety of other large motifs to form a diversity of scenes. The latter appear only rarely in the data base as a whole. Seal engravers depicted most of the major icons so consistently that it was possible in many cases to infer the identity of the complete figure from a single attribute.

Table 5.6 lists the nine predominant motifs in this data base (see Figure 4, p.43, for illustrations). The first column indicates the total number of times each symbol appeared in the entire collection of seals during the OB period. Sometimes the same icon appeared more than once on the same seal. For this reason, I listed the actual number of seals on which the icon was inscribed in the second column. It should also be noted here that these numbers only represent 523 OB sealings. The remaining 77 had no iconography preserved.

Table 5.6

**Main Babylonian Motifs**

Symbol	Total	No. of Seals
1.The Interceding Goddess (IG)	204	192
2.Figure with the Mace (FM)	138	138
3.Lahmu:Fig. w/Triple Curls (TC)	97	88
4.Ascending God (AG)	85	85
5.Worshiper with Quadruped (WQ)	80	80
6.Bullman (BM)	52	47
7.Seated God (SG)	47	47
8.Smiting Figure (SF)	46	43
9.Warrior Ishtar (WI)	39	39

Even though the seal cutters depicted most large figures with a remarkable degree of consistency, some variability does exist. To illustrate this, each main figure is described below along with the criteria used for inclusion in that category. Individual tables follow which show the total number of occurrences in the EOB and LOB periods along with the variations I noted in headwear, hairstyle, objects held, and any other feature pertinent to that figure. The total number of depictions is usually less than the attribute totals combined because most icons possess several traits listed. An unidentified category appears under some subheadings. This refers to the fact that some area of the figure was missing or too fragmentary to identify with any degree of confidence.

**Description of the Nine Main Old Babylonian Motifs**

**1.The Interceding Goddess (IG):** The Interceding Goddess appears more frequently than any other single motif on the Babylonian seals. The criterion used to identify this figure was a standing female with both hands raised in supplication. Females can be distinguished from males by their long ponytail and lack of a beard. Through most of the OB period, the Interceding Goddesses wore a flounced skirt



MAIN OLD BABYLONIAN FIGURES



a) Interceding Goddess



b) Figure with the Mace



c) Figure with the Triple Curls (Lahmu)



d) Ascending God (Shamash)



e) Worshipper with Quadruped



f) Bullman



g) Seated God



h) Smiting Figure



i) Warrior Ishtar



and a horn crown. She often, but not always, had a ribbon down her back. Towards the end of the OB period, goddesses appeared in plain gowns with other styles of hats in addition to the horn crown. Nevertheless, they still raised their hands in the typical position and the ribbon remained so I classified them as Interceding Goddesses as well. The lifted hands were so characteristic of the IG that I counted her present when only the hands were preserved. Recently, Black and Green (1992) have suggested the IG be identified as *lama*. *Lama* seems to have been a generic term applied to a benevolent goddess. These goddesses do not have specific names.

Table 5.7

**Interceding Goddess (IG)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	99	105
<i>Headwear</i>		
Horn Crown	59	34
Brimmed Hat with a Low Crown	1	15
Brimmed Hat with a High Crown	1	4
No Hat	0	2
Hat-Other Type	0	6
<i>Other Features</i>		
Ribbon Down Back	22	30
Long Ponytail	59	37
Only Hands Visible	33	37

**2. Figure with the Mace (FM):** The Babylonians also favored the Figure with the Mace on their seals. Unlike the other main icons, the FM seems to have had his origin in the second millennium. The standardized representation of his posture and dress made him easy to identify. The seal cutters always depicted him with his left leg forward, his right arm hanging straight down behind his back, and his left hand pressed against his chest. In the latter hand, he usually holds a mace although for the most part in the impressions only the bottom of the mace is visible. He wears a short tunic that forms a 'V' shape between his knees. The FM generally faces to the right, wears a turban, and does not have any hairstyle shown. These details can vary. Sometimes he is depicted in a tall hat and thrice with a horn crown. Beards appear occasionally as do ponytails. Several times, he stands on platforms of various types. The FM was so consistently drawn that even if only a straight right arm and the back of a turban was preserved, I counted it in this group. No other motif had this particular combination of characteristics.

Table 5.8

**Figure with Mace (FM)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	83	55
<i>Headwear</i>		
Turban	50	25
Brimmed Hat with High Crown	15	5
Horn Crown	1	2
Unidentified	4	4
<i>Beard</i>		
Present	18	8
Absent	33	18
Unidentified	18	10
<i>Hair</i>		
None Indicated	49	25
Short Ponytail	16	8
Unidentified	6	3
Head Missing	13	19
<i>Other Features</i>		
Standson Platform	6	0

**3. Lahmu-Figure with Triple Curls (TC):** In the past, the Figure with Triple Curls has usually been termed 'the Nude Hero'. Black and Green (1992) argue that this designation is no longer appropriate. Instead, he should be called Lahmu which means 'Hairy'. He is a protective and benevolent deity who was originally associated with Ea. His main identifiable feature is the series of three large curls on either side of his head. Unlike the previous two icons, the TC does

Table 5.9

**Lahmu (Triple Curls)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	61	36
<i>Contest with:</i>		
Bullman	11	4
Lion	16	3
Partner Unidentified	4	4
<i>Holds:</i>		
Flowing Vase	7	5
Vessel	3	2
Quadruped	5	2
Staff	2	3
<i>Other Features</i>		
Hands Clasped at Waist	8	9
Action Unidentified	5	4



not assume a standardized pose. Roughly half the time, he struggles with a partner in what have become known as contest scenes (Collon, 1988:27). Other times he holds an object or clasps his hands together at his waist. Despite a variety of actions, his nudity and hairstyle make him identifiable as the same figure.

**4. Ascending God holding a Knife, Saw, or Ring (AG):** The Ascending God, who is identified as Shamash, derived his name from his posture. His left foot remains on the ground while his right foot rests on a block or stone of some kind. Normally he faces left. The AG dresses in a long robe and horn crown although a different hat is shown twice in the LOB sealings. He usually carries a knife or saw. The knife is held out at arm's length and is so closely associated with the AG, that if a figure's body was missing but the knife was extending out in the typical position, I counted it as a figure in this category. Besides the knife, the Ascending God can also hold the ring of justice, a stylus, and perhaps a mace or staff. Only the bottom of the latter is preserved.

Table 5.10

**Ascending God (AG)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	46	39
<i>Headwear</i>		
Horn Crown Holding Knife/Saw	16	14
Horn Crown Holding Unid. Object	12	13
Hat with Brim Holding a knife	0	2
<i>Holds</i>		
Knife but No Body Visible	8	7
Ring	4	0
Other Object	6	5

**5. Worshiper with Quadruped (WQ):** The main criterion for inclusion in this category was, obviously, that a figure had to be holding a small animal in his arms. Worshipers usually wore long robes and turbans. They all appear to be males because no hairstyle is shown nor do females wear turbans. I did not include deities identifiable by their horn crowns or other figures counted elsewhere, such as TC, in this group. The term quadruped includes both sheep and goats since the two cannot be distinguished.

Table 5.11

**Worshiper with Quadruped (WQ)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	37	43
Long Plain Robe with a Turban	25	24
Flounced Robe with a Turban	1	4
Hat-Other	1	8
Head Missing	10	7

**6. Bullman (BM):** The bullman should not be confused with other part human-part animal figures on OB cylinder seals. The Bullman stands upright. The lower half of his body belongs to a bovine but from the waist up, he is human although he does have bulls' ears. He is often paired in a contest scene with Lahmu or a lion. Like Lahmu, he can also be seen holding a quadruped or staff or with his hands clasped at his waist.

Table 5.12

**Bullman (BM)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	28	24
<i>Contest with:</i>		
Lahmu	11	4
Lion	7	1
'Other'	0	3
Partner Unident.	2	2
<i>Holds:</i>		
Quadruped	3	6
Staff	3	2
<i>Other Features</i>		
Hands Clasped at Waist	1	3
Action Unidentified	1	1

**7. Seated God (SG):** The seated god cannot be identified as any specific deity. The main criteria for this category included a seated figure wearing a horn crown and/or flounced robe. If the head of the icon was missing but he wore a flounced robe I assumed it was a divine figure. I found no instances of a seated goddess. I did not count persons wearing plain robes and turbans in this group.

Table 5.13

**Seated God (SG)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	27	20
<i>Headwear</i>		
Horn Crown	25	13
Brimmed Hat with Low Crown	0	1
Unidentified	2	6
<i>Holds:</i>		
Stylus	5	9
Stylus and Ring	7	3
Vessel	3	1
Other Object	0	2
Unidentified Object	8	4
Hands Empty	4	1



**8.Smiting Figure (SF):** The Smiting Figure cannot be regarded as a specific individual as for example the Ascending God can. Rather the SF represents a divinity or human with his hand raised up behind him ready to strike a blow. I included it here because of the huge jump in the number of these figures during the Late Old Babylonian period. Because the SF does not represent one particular individual or type of individual, it is the least consistently depicted of the nine main icons. In the majority of cases, the weapon he brandishes above his head cannot be determined because the top portion of the sealing was not preserved.

Table 5.14

**Smiting Figure (SF)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	7	39
<i>Headwear</i>		
Horn Crown	3	4
Turban	3	2
Brimmed Hat	1	27
Head Missing	0	5
<i>Wears:</i>		
Long Robe	1	9
Short Tunic	5	13
Naked	1	11
<i>Brandishes a:</i>		
Knife	0	1
Scimitar	3	8
Club	0	5
Other	0	2
Unidentified	4	23

**9.Warrior Ishtar (WI):** Ishtar, dressed in her battle garb, is one of the few figures that can be positively identified. She can be easily recognized because of the consistent way the seal carvers portrayed her. She faces the front with long hair flowing over her shoulders with one foot resting on the head of her animal, the lion. She usually carries a scimitar in her left hand and a double lion club in her right. Often arrows seem to sprout from her shoulders.

Table 5.15

**Warrior Ishtar (WI)**

	EOB	LOB
Total	31	8
<i>Position</i>		
Ascending-Foot on One Lion	17	5
Standing on Two Lions	5	1
<i>Weapons</i>		
Arrows Sprouting from Shoulders	17	3
Lion Club in Right Hand	20	6
Lion Club Missing in Impression	2	1
Scimitar in Left Hand	14	4
<i>Other Features</i>		
Long Hair	26	5
Shown in Profile	2	1

**The Old Babylonian Fill Figures**

The Babylonian seal carvers used a wide variety of so-called 'fill motifs' in their seal designs (see Table 5.16). Some scholars now think that the term should be changed because these symbols undoubtedly served some specific purpose (Black and Green, 1992:82). The word 'fill' implies something extraneous or unimportant. The single most common fill figure on Old Babylonian seals was the sun inside the crescent moon, possibly representing both Sin and Shamash. The only other individual motif that appears with any degree of frequency in both the EOB and LOB periods is the head. What it symbolizes remains unknown. Cuneiform signs, also counted here, may not be actual fill figures. Seal engravers sometimes scattered them in the field because the rest of the surface was full.



Table 5.16

## Old Babylonian Fill Figures

	EOB	LOB		EOB	LOB
Cuneiform Signs	34	30	Turtle	3	0
SunMoon	52	43	Bullman	6	1
Sun Only	6	1	Mermaid	1	2
Crescent Moon	6	10	Fishman	2	1
Star	2	11	Nude Male	7	5
Rosette	0	8	Nude Female	6	2
Reclining	5	4	Human Figure	3	4
Quadruped- Facing Forward			Human Lifting Animal	1	0
Reclining Quad- ruped w. Head Turned Back	4	1	Dragon Attacks Human Head	1	0
Reclining Quadruped-No Head	8	3	Lahmu	22	11
Upright Quadruped	7	2	Humbaba Mask	4	2
Crossed Quadrupeds	1	3	Ballstaff	7	0
Quadruped with Young	5	3	Crook	9	14
Unid. Quadruped	3	2	Vessel	5	0
Animal-Unid.	0	4	Flying 'U'	8	9
Bird-Shaped like 'V'	9	4	'Wig on a Stand'	0	1
Bird-Other	1	0	Crescent Staff	1	0
Bull	8	2	Diamond Staff	1	0
Dog	0	1	Lightning Staff	2	2
Dog with Crook	5	0	Lyre Staff	2	2
Fish	4	3	Marru	0	1
Fly	3	2	Star Staff	0	1
Goatfish	10	4	Other Staff	1	0
Hedgehog	3	0	Single Dot	0	20
Jellyfish	3	0	Dots in Group	3	4
Lion	3	4	Dots in a Line	1	1
Lionfish	7	8	Guilloche	0	1
Mongoose	5	3	Cross	0	1
Scorpion	3	1	Unidentified	7	8

## Old Babylonian Seal Inscriptions

Seventy-seven OB sealings only had their inscriptions preserved. I assume that iconography existed on the original

seal as I know of no complete OB seal that does not have at least one figure on it. I included these despite the loss of iconography because they could be dated and the inscription contained at least one divine or theophoric name. Most Old Babylonian seal inscriptions conformed to the formula, 'PN1 (Personal Name 1), Son of PN2 (Personal Name 2), Servant of DN (Divine Name)'. Table 5.17 lists all the seal numbers in this data base that consist of just an inscription (see Appendix B).

Table 5.17

Old Babylonian Seals  
with Only the Inscriptions Preserved

85	225	277	326	367	459	481
97	227	279	327	390	461	482
101	242	281	331	391	462	483
148	250	283	332	392	463	484
164	251	284	333	393	464	485
165	254	303	337	394	465	494
166	255	314	345	395	471	512
168	256	316	347	402	477	536
197	257	318	349	404	478	541
201	259	324	350	456	479	542
224	268	325	366	457	480	551

## THE KASSITE SEALS

## Identification of the Main Figures

The main figures on the Kassite seals, as on the OB seals, were those that comprised the principal scene or scenes. But unlike the OB situation, no small group of icons emerged as representative of the data as a whole. The standardized depiction of most motifs largely disappeared. To contend with this situation, I grouped most icons according to specific characteristics while ignoring others. The criteria for inclusion in each category is described below.

Identifying individual figures proved all but impossible in the Kassite iconographic repertoire. Headwear, which crosscut many categories, did not act as a distinctive attribute as it often did in the OB period. In fact, the rendering of hats on Kassite seals often made it difficult to distinguish even between turbans and low brimmed hats. Because of this difficulty, I eventually grouped headwear into two main categories: high hats and low hats (see Table 5.18). High hats included the horn crown, a tall triangular cap, and brimmed hats with high crowns (see Figure 3, p.41). Low hats consisted mainly of turbans and those with low crowns and brims. The turbans depicted on Kassite seals, what I called style 2, fitted right on the head without the definite bottom band seen on the OB turban style 1.

Headwear cannot be used to identify figures as human or divine either. I counted roughly twice as many low hats as high hats on the Kassite seals. It remains unclear how this



figure should be interpreted. In the OB period, divinities typically wore horn crowns and later on, hats with brims. Only the Figure with the Mace usually had a turban and I will argue below that he is human. In the Kassite period, the half man/half mountain figures on SK seals seem to be indisputably gods yet they wear turbans. The Figure with the Scimitar also wears a turban and he may or may not be a deity. These seemingly conflicting indications suggest that a more specific interpretation of headwear will have to wait for the future.

Table 5.18

**Kassite Headwear**

	Total
<i>High Hats</i>	
Horn Crown	12
High Triangular Hat	66
Brimmed Hat with High Crown	6
<i>Low Hats</i>	
Turban-style 1	5
Turban-style 2	193
Brimmed Hat with Low Crown	21
<i>Other Types</i>	
Brimmed Hat w. Circular Crown	1
Other	8
Unidentified	8

It will be noticed that the hat totals do not coincide precisely with the standing and seated figure totals. This is in part due to the fragmentary condition of some seals. In addition, some icons that did not stand or sit, such as fishmen, wore turbans.

The distinctive hairstyles exhibited on the OB sealings disappeared on the Kassite seals. This made it particularly difficult to distinguish males without beards from females with any certainty. Many Kassite figures have hair that ends just above their shoulders in a teardrop shape. Personages in profile are also shown with hair in the shape of a circle just above their shoulders. Sometimes the circle has a little extra piece coming out from it. In trying to identify specific hairstyles as was possible on the OB seals, I was forced to conclude that most of the hair on Kassite figures was rendered in several generic ways.

Table 5.19 lists the main figures on Kassite seals. The name of the motif is followed by the number of times it occurs in each of the five style subgroups, the total number of times it appears, and finally, the total number of seals on which it appears. I included this last figure to illustrate the cases where a given icon is repeated several times on the same seal. This table only incorporates those motifs that occurred 10 or more times. This eliminated figures that were used very infrequently on the 283 seals. Twenty-five groups met

Table 5.19

**Main Figures on Kassite Seals**

	Style Group						# of Seals
	KP	KN	KC	KV	SK	Total	
Number of Seals	13	56	126	21	67	283	
<i>Standing Figures</i>							
Fig. Faces Left, High Hat	7	5	11	1	2	26	23
Fig. Faces Right, High Hat	5	3	16	0	0	24	24
Fig. Faces Left, Low Hat	0	27	24	10	11	72	70
Fig. Faces Right, Low Hat	3	17	32	9	0	61	47
Either Direction, Hat Unid.	2	9	14	6	9	40	36
<i>Seated Figures</i>							
Figure w. High Hat	0	0	21	0	3	24	24
Figure with Low Hat	0	0	19	1	1	21	21
Hat Unidentified	0	0	13	2	0	15	15
<i>Other Figures</i>							
Figure with Scimitar	0	51	0	3	1	55	46
Fishman	0	0	1	0	13	14	8
Kneeling figure	0	0	11	0	1	12	12
<i>Animals</i>							
Bird-Flying	0	0	0	1	39	40	19
Bird-on Bush	0	0	0	0	22	22	15
Bird-on Ground	0	1	0	0	11	12	6
Dog	0	0	18	0	2	20	17
Insects	0	0	14	0	0	14	3
Quadruped-No Horns	1	0	1	0	8	10	8
Quadruped-Short Horns	0	0	1	1	10	12	9
Quadruped-Lg Curved Horns	0	0	1	1	22	24	16
Quadruped-Wavy Horns	0	0	0	0	18	18	9
Quadruped-with Wings	0	0	0	0	20	20	12
<i>Plants</i>							
Bush	0	0	0	0	27	27	20
Grain	0	0	1	0	11	12	8
Flower	0	0	0	0	12	12	6
Tree	0	0	1	0	28	29	28

(KP=Composite; KN=Northern Kassite; KC=Central Kassite; KV=Various; SK=Second Kassite)



this criterion. Since most of the Kassite seals are complete, I do not think any one category is seriously underrepresented.

### Description of the Main Kassite Motifs

**1. Standing and Seated Figures:** Kassite artists did not use standardized representations to depict standing and seated figures. The majority are male however, based on the presence of a beard. Whether they should be considered gods or not remains an open question. All wear long robes although at least three different styles are apparent. Standing individuals face either right or left in roughly equal proportions. If a person/divinity is seated, he inevitably faces left as was traditional on OB seals. The position of the arms seem to be more consistently depicted than any other aspect of the figure. Standing and seated individuals facing left hold their left arm crooked at their side and raise their right hand in front of them. If the figure faces right, generally the left arm encircles the waist and the right arm again is lifted up in front of him/her. Occasionally the arms are switched or both hands are raised together in a gesture reminiscent of the Interceding Goddess.

**2. Figure with Scimitar:** The seals that depict a Figure with the Scimitar came to be categorized as Northern largely because this motif appears frequently on sealings from Nuzi. Altogether he is shown 55 times on 46 seals. These figures all face to the right and hold a scimitar behind them in their right hand. But like the standing and seated individuals, specific attributes vary from one icon to another. One does not get the impression that this is the same personage being represented over and over as one does with the Figure with the Mace. The Figure with the Scimitar can stand, stride, or even have his foot on a bird in the ascending position. Garments vary as well. Long gowns can be plain, have a ladder pattern, or even be flounced. Some long gowns are worn pulled aside in front to reveal a knee-length tunic. Two of these icons even wear a different style of garment on the same seal. Headwear usually comprises a turban but there are instances of a peaked, triangular cap and a low crowned brimmed hat.

**3. Fishman:** A Fishman's body from the waist up looks like a typical male. He has a beard and wears a turban. The lower half of his body is, however, a fish. On Second Kassite seals, fishermen with one exception appear in pairs and are always shown holding a flowing vase.

**4. Birds:** The Second Kassite seals exhibited a wide variety of birds. Some may have been eagles but most remain unidentifiable in regard to species. Seal carvers showed them flying, holding fish in their talons, and eating carrion. Some dip their beaks in the stream of water from the flowing vase. They look forward, backward, and some even have two heads. There was so little uniformity in the depiction of birds that I decided to categorize them by their actions. The divisions of flying, perched on a bush, and on the ground correspond roughly to their position in the scenes.

**5. Other Animals:** Other animals include dogs, insects, and various kinds of quadrupeds. Most dogs sit facing right and

look up at a standing or seated figure. These may represent Gula, the goddess of healing. The association of dogs with Gula began in the Old Babylonian period and lasted through the Neo-Babylonian period (Black and Green, 1992). One seal, 681, shows four dogs, each with a lozenge behind it, in a vertical column as the sole decoration of a long inscription. Three other seals of this type depict insects. They cannot be identified with any degree of certainty although the insects on 679 look like flies. While dogs and insects appear on FKC seals, quadrupeds appear mostly on Second Kassite seals. Again, artists did not represent them in a standardized form. Their most distinctive attributes seemed to be the shape of their horn(s) and the presence or absence of wings. I grouped all those with wings together regardless of horn shape. Quadrupeds, like birds, appear in a variety of scenes but the most frequent posture shows two animals leaping towards one another often over a bush or tree.

**6. Plants:** Vegetation largely appears on Second Kassite seals. Bushes, trees, and flowers all assume a diversity of forms even though they remain recognizable. Only grain is depicted in a consistent manner.

### Kassite Fill Figures

Seal carvers placed so-called fill figures in the background of Kassite seals just as their Babylonian predecessors had done. A wide variety appear on the seals although many were only used once or twice in the entire collection (see Table 5.20). The four most numerous types are cuneiform signs, rosette, lozenge, and Kassite cross. Engravers commonly put cuneiform signs in between other icons in both the OB and Kassite periods. This may have been due to space considerations or text added after the original seal was produced. The remaining three, the rosette, lozenge, and Kassite cross, all have been used to classify seals as Kassite so one cannot make any inferences about the frequency of their appearance. The significance of these symbols remains unclear although there is some evidence to suggest that the lozenge should be associated with Ishtar (Black and Green, 1992:153).



Table 5.20

## Kassite Fill Figures

	Style Group						Style Group				
	KP	KN	KC	KV	SK		KP	KN	KC	KV	SK
No. of Seals with Fill Figs.	4	38	67	9	47	Goatfish	0	1	0	0	2
Cuneiform signs	0	3	20	0	15	Grasshopper	0	2	9	1	1
Sun Only	0	0	1	0	0	Lion	0	1	0	0	0
Crescent Moon	0	1	2	1	0	Mongoose	0	1	0	0	0
Star	1	0	3	0	1	Monkey	0	1	0	0	1
Rosette	0	4	16	3	16	Fishman	0	0	1	0	0
Wheel	0	1	0	0	3	Human Figure	0	1	1	0	0
Reclining Quad.-Facing Forward	0	6	0	0	1	Hand	0	1	0	0	0
Recl. Quad.-Facing Backwards	0	11	1	0	1	Ballstaff	0	2	1	0	0
Reclining Quadruped-No Head	0	1	0	0	0	Vessel	0	3	0	0	0
Upright Quadruped	0	2	0	0	1	Grain	0	0	2	0	1
Dble Horn Q.-Facing Backwards	0	4	2	0	0	Tree	0	0	1	0	1
Long Horned Quad.	0	1	2	1	2	Other Staff	1	0	0	0	1
Long Horned Head	0	1	2	0	1	Single Dot	0	0	1	0	0
Walking Quadruped	0	1	2	0	0	Dots in a Group	0	0	0	0	1
Quadruped with Young	0	0	0	0	1	Dots in a Line	1	0	0	0	0
Animal-Unid	1	4	3	0	2	'Tomato'	0	4	0	0	1
Birds	0	19	5	0	0	Lozenge	0	14	43	3	39
Dog	0	2	0	1	2	Guilloche	0	2	0	0	0
Fish	0	2	4	1	9	Kassite Cross	0	4	30	1	18
Fly	1	5	6	3	0	Cross	1	2	0	1	5
Frog	0	1	0	0	0	Unidentified	0	7	7	4	6
						Total	6	115	165	20	132

## Kassite Figures in Band Decoration

Band decoration, as I defined it, does not occur on Old Babylonian seals. By this I mean motifs that appear in bands above and/or below the main scene. The band is created by a line running from one edge of the inscription to the other. Twenty-three Kassite seals were decorated in this fashion. These designs seemed secondary to the main scene but could not be considered in the same category as fill figures. Most

of the symbols used in band decoration came from the fill figure repertoire. Table 5.21 lists the motifs and the number present in each style group. The final column shows the actual number of seals represented in regard to each symbol. This is particularly important for lozenges because sometimes they formed a frieze. Despite their frequency, they only appeared on nine seals.



Table 5.21

**Motifs in Band Decoration**

	Style Group					# of Seals
	KN	KC	KV	SK	Tot.	
No. with Band Dec.	2	12	3	6	23	*
Rosette	1	11	0	0	12	4
Reclining Quadruped-Facing Forward	0	4	0	0	4	2
Upright Quadruped	0	0	2	0	2	1
Walking Quadruped	0	2	0	0	2	1
Two Birds Eating Dead Quadruped	0	1	0	0	1	1
Birds-Other	2	0	2	4	2	2
Grasshopper	0	2	0	0	2	1
Monkey	0	0	0	2	2	1
Half-Man/Half-Lion with Wings	0	2	0	2	4	2
Fishman	0	2	0	0	2	1
Tree/Bush/Plant	0	2	1	3	6	5
Lozenge	0	16	2	52	70	9
Kassite Cross	0	3	0	0	3	1
Cross-Hatched Triangles	0	0	0	7	7	1
Unidentified	0	0	1	0	1	1
Total Number of Motifs	3	45	8	66	122	*

**Kassite Seal Inscriptions**

The Kassite inscriptions no longer used the typical OB formula. They mainly consisted of prayers to various deities and rarely mentioned the owner's name (Lambert, 1975b). Therefore, most seal inscriptions did not have to be specifically composed for particular individuals. The Kassite period also witnessed the beginning of the trend towards carving inscriptions horizontally as well as vertically on the seal. Horizontal inscriptions were generally inscribed so the text could be read directly off the seal rather than in reverse (Lambert, 1975b). Texts carved in reverse only appeared correct after they had been rolled out onto prepared clay. Sixteen of these seals have horizontal rows of cuneiform. Most have a longer vertical inscription as well. Fourteen belong to the Second Kassite group while the other two are First Kassite Central.

**Description of Stylistic Groups**

**Composite:** I gave the label 'Composite' to the first 13 seals because they all combine typical Old Babylonian iconography with inscriptions that are more characteristic of the Kassite period. Other authors have noted this phenomenon but no name has been accepted in the literature to identify them. This has led to some disagreements. In his review of Limet's work (1971) on Kassite cylinder seal

legends, Lambert (1975b) lists 9 seals cited by Limet as probably belonging to the Old Babylonian period. Porada (1948) termed these "transitional examples" (her words), Early Kassite. Briggs Buchanan (1966) says a Proto-Kassite style existed towards the end of the OB period. Unfortunately none of these examples can be dated which is why I deliberately avoided the term 'Transitional' for this category. At present, there is no way to know when these seals were in use and how long this style persisted. Additional material from controlled excavations could help to solve this chronological problem.

**First Kassite Northern:** First Kassite Northern is a relatively new term in the field of Kassite glyptic art. Donald Matthews proposed the division of First Kassite seals, as defined by Beran (1957-8), into two stylistic categories in 1990. He called one style 'Northern' because many of the seals in that group came from Nuzi. The most prevalent motif on Northern seals is undoubtedly the Figure with the Scimitar. In the 56 seals I included in the Northern group, 15 came from the Nuzi excavations. Of these, 11 depicted the Figure with the Scimitar. Matthews (1990, 1992) classified virtually every seal with this icon as Northern even if the findspot was unknown. Therefore, KN can be used to refer to a glyptic style, but not a geographic location or a time period.

**First Kassite Central:** Matthews (1990) labelled the other stylistic category 'Central' because many of these seals came from Nippur. He considers this the easiest Kassite style to recognize. For the most part, the inscription dominates the seal while the iconography is confined to less than half of the surface area. The main motifs consist largely of standing or seated figures often with fill figures in the background. I incorporated 156 First Kassite Central seals into this study.

**Various:** Matthews also designated some First Kassite designs as 'various' in his 1990 work. The term 'various' refers to seals that did not seem to fit well into one of the other categories. Thus 'various' should not be considered a class at all but a collection of seals with assorted characteristics. I assigned 21 seals to this group. Several of them belong to the squat-figure designs discussed by Dolce (1986). She points out that many Kassite seals and impressions cannot easily be fit into one of the major categories. She does not give these particular seals a label but does allude to them as a "...distinctive group within Kassite glyptic production..." (Dolce, 1986:72). Without additional dated or at least stratified examples, it is impossible to ascertain their function, spatial distribution, or their relationship to other Kassite styles. In some cases, one can question whether they should even be classified as Kassite at all. Besides these, some seals had major portions of their iconography broken away. I put them in the 'various' group because the scene could not be reconstructed.

**Second Kassite:** Beran (1957-8) also defined the 'Second Kassite' style. Recently Matthews (1990:60-63) described it in detail so I will only give a brief summary here. Second Kassite designs are quite distinctive from other Kassite styles because SK did not have its roots in the Babylonian



tradition. It is instead related to the artistic revolution that produced the Middle Assyrian style. Rather than individual figures who stand or sit in front of a long inscription, SK seals feature trees, bushes, leaping quadrupeds, quadrupeds with wings, a multitude of birds, fishmen, men with wings, and a 'chthonic god' or gods. Matthews considers the latter the most important of the motifs. Of the 67 SK seals included here, only nine depict this figure. His upper body appears human but the lower half may take the form of streams, a mountain, or possibly a tree. He either holds a flowing vase or fends off a pair of rearing quadrupeds. Because Kassite engravers did not render him in a consistent fashion and many of his attributes such as the association with water or a mountain could apply to any number of gods, Matthews thinks he did not represent one particular deity. Instead he should be viewed as embodying the general concept of 'divinity'.

## CONCLUSION

The data base for this study comprises 883 cylinder seals and sealings from the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. All but 77 have extant iconography. I found it necessary to describe the material from the two periods separately because the Babylonians and Kassites utilized very different iconographic repertoires. The Old Babylonian seal carvers depended on a relatively small group of standardized icons to compose their designs. They depicted the symbols so consistently that individual attributes such as headwear, hairstyles, and objects held proved useful in identifying partially preserved motifs.

Kassite seals are less amenable to analysis than Old Babylonian seals for two reasons. First, they lack the standardized repertoire so evident on the Old Babylonian seals. Second, most of the Kassite material cannot be dated so it is impossible to study how the iconography changed through time. As a result, researchers usually analyze Kassite seals according to stylistic groups. Beran suggested the original classifications in 1957-8. Recently, Matthews (1990) proposed some additions. I have used these groups in my study as well because, at present, there is no other way besides style to categorize these seals.



## ANALYSIS OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE CYLINDER SEALS

## INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter described in detail various aspects of the 883 seals in this data base. While necessary to act as a foundation for further inference, this kind of narrative does nothing in and of itself to explain seal design or changes in those designs through time. In the following section, I will examine how symbols were used on the seals. Ascertaining use may not reveal meaning, but it can give us insights into how the minds of some people in ancient Mesopotamia worked (Renfrew, 1994a:6). By monitoring what symbols they selected, combined, and eventually eliminated, we can gain some knowledge concerning shifts in popularity of the various motifs through time. These changes in material symbol frequencies can then be related to the ongoing political and religious situation in order to ascertain how each might have influenced the other.

I will begin with a consideration of "complete" Old Babylonian seals. "Complete", here, means seals that have at least two main icons preserved. I want to see if any rules can be discerned in reference to design composition. Rules can suggest what the Babylonians considered acceptable versus what they felt was unacceptable. Next, changes in the frequencies of the main and fill figures during the entire First Dynasty of Babylon will be examined. A relationship may be discernible between the use of a motif and the concurrent political and religious situation. Finally, I will compare the differences evident between the OB and Kassite seals and offer some suggestions as to why Kassite seal iconography and inscriptions changed as they did.

## ANALYSIS OF "COMPLETE" OLD BABYLONIAN SEALS

Scholars who study Mesopotamian cylinder seals have been frustrated in their attempts to categorize specific types of Old Babylonian scenes. In his classic work on cylinder seals, Frankfort refers to a typical OB seal design as a "mere conglomeration of figures" and "a haphazard collection of motives, assembled merely to be distinctive in its variety" (Frankfort, 1939:156). Al-Gailani Werr came to a similar conclusion in her study of OB seals. She says in her conclusion, "There is no uniformity of style among the seals of the Old Babylonian period" (Al-Gailani Werr, 1988:58). My impression from working on the seals coincides with the previous two authors' conclusions. The Babylonians seemed to have relied on a limited number of main icons that they combined in various ways. But no group of two or more motifs appeared to be inextricably linked together in an archetypal scene. Impressions, however, are not always reliable. For this reason, I used Jaccard's coefficient to measure the strength of association between variables as an independent check on whether certain motifs could be shown to co-occur (Shennan, 1988). A Jaccard coefficient of

'1' means two motifs always appear together while a '0' means they never do. A '.5' indicates a random association.

The first step involved selecting from the data base those sealings that had two or more main icons preserved. This process brought the available number of OB seals down from 600 to 398. Next, I had to decide which pairs of motifs to test because the number of possible combinations was enormous. I based the initial choices on the icons that appeared most frequently on these seals, the motifs usually cited in the literature as being related, and my own intuition. If any statistically significant associations existed between elements, it seemed likely they should be found among these.

The combinations I tested were the Interceding Goddess with the Figure with the Mace, the Interceding Goddess with the Worshiper with the Quadruped, the IG with the Ascending God, the AG with the Worshiper with the Quadruped, the Ascending God with the Figure with the Mace, the Ascending God with the Seated God, the Ascending God with the Smiting Figure, and lastly, the Figure with the Triple Curls with the Bullman. The results are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Strength of Association Between Main Figures

	(a)	(b)	(c)	
V1-V2	Both	V1	V2	S=
IG-FM	61	94	36	0.32
IG-WQ	40	115	39	0.21
IG-AG	28	127	54	0.13
AG-WQ	37	45	42	0.3
AG-FM	12	70	85	0.07
AG-SG	1	81	44	0.01
AG-SF	5	77	35	0.04
TC-BM	23	62	24	0.21

These numbers largely confirm what has been known intuitively for many years. The Babylonians did not use a standardized formula for creating seal designs. Even the two most frequently paired motifs, the Interceding Goddess and the Figure with the Mace, only appear together roughly one-third of the time. Most of the 'S' (strength of association) coefficients fall within the range of what one would expect if a limited number of main icons were being randomly selected for inclusion on any given seal.



Table 6.1 clearly shows that no main motifs co-occur in any kind of systematic fashion. However, the numbers do indicate two sets of icons the Babylonians seem to have deliberately avoided using on the same seal. The Ascending God, i.e., Shamash, and the seated god appear together only once in the entire data base. This may in part be due to the fact they both represent major gods. Most seal inscriptions of the OB period refer to the seal owner as 'Servant of [a particular god]' rather than a goddess. I found only eight cases where the owner called himself 'Servant of Ishtar'. It may have been considered inappropriate to depict two major male deities while declaring yourself servant of only one. The problem with this particular explanation is that the divine name mentioned in the inscription can rarely be matched with the iconography on the seal. This raises the question, "Why would it be acceptable to name a second god in the legend but not picture another one on the seal?". At present, I have no answer to suggest.

The Ascending God also rarely occurs with the Smiting Figure. Again, this appears to be the result of a conscious decision for the following reasons. Of the 40 seals with the SF used to calculate the coefficient, 20 of them came from Sippar or ed-Der. The source of the other 20 remains unknown. Shamash was the city-god of Sippar and his popularity on cylinder seals continued unabated throughout the entire OB period (see Table 6.5). Since both figures can be associated with Sippar or its suburb, it would seem likely that they would occasionally co-occur on the same seal strictly by chance. This is clearly not the case. They appear together only five times. Nor can this be explained by the replacement of the AG by the SF towards the end of the period. A plausible explanation might be that the symbolic message(s) associated with Shamash were redundant or incompatible with those conveyed by the Smiting Figure.

The Babylonian approach to seal design composition apparently did not involve using consistent combinations of main figures. Yet on the vast majority of their seals, they included at least one motif from a very limited iconographic repertoire. To illustrate this, I ranked the 15 most common icons in order from the most to the least frequent (see Table 6.2). In this case, I included the symbols on all 523 seals that had extant iconography. Each motif is followed by the actual number of seals on which it appears, a cumulative total, and the percent that cumulative total comprises of the 523 seals. For example, the IG appears on 192 seals which translates into 37% of the total sealings. She and/or the FM can be found on 269 seals. That means together or separately, seal carvers portrayed them on 51% of the OB material. Next, the seals with Lahmu (TC) can be added in.. Artists depicted at least one of the IG, FM, or TC on 63% of the seals. Continuing on in the same way, the figures show that six motifs appear on over three-quarters of the total seals. The nine main icons I described in the previous chapter represent 84% of the seals in the data base. The next six most common icons combined are only depicted on 26 seals that do not include one of the previous nine figures. This limited number of motifs formed the backbone of cylinder seal designs during the Old Babylonian period. One can also view Table 6.2 from another perspective. If 440 seals contained one of the nine standard figures, that means

Table 6.2

**Use of Main Figures on OB Seals**

Main Symbol	No. of Seals	Cum No. of Seals	Percent of Total
1.IntGod (IG)	192	192	37%
2.FMace (FM)	138	269	51%
3.TpCurl (TC)	88	329	63%
4.AscdG (AG)	85	368	70%
5.WorQd (WQ)	80	379	72%
6.SeatG (SG)	47	401	77%
7.BullM (BM)	47	410	78%
8.SmitF (SF)	43	432	83%
9.WarIsh (WI)	39	440	84%
<hr/>			
10.Lion	33	447	85%
11.Nude Woman	31	455	87%
12.Bald Priest	24	460	88%
13.Nude Man	19	464	89%
14.Lion-Dragon	17	465	89%
15.Goat	13	466	89%

83 did not. I grouped the remaining seals according to the subperiods defined for the FDB. Table 6.3 shows that they were randomly distributed throughout the OB period. This seems to suggest that no shift in the main repertoire occurred during this timeframe. In addition, 43 of these 83 sealings had only one or two symbols preserved. Their fragmentary condition may in part be responsible for the lack of a standard figure in this group. The remaining 40 seals, or 7.6% of the 523 seals with iconography, had more than two figures present but did not include one of the nine basic motifs.

Table 6.3

**Chronological  
Distribution of Seals  
Without Standard Figures**

EOB1- 9	LOB1- 3
EOB2-10	LOB2- 6
EOB3- 7	LOB3-12
EOB4- 7	LOB4- 6
EOB5- 5	LOB5- 5
EOB6- 6	LOB6- 7
TOT--44	TOT--39

The combined results of the last two tables point to the difficulties which arise in trying to interpret OB seal designs. We assume that seal iconography, at some level, conveyed messages in symbolic form. To effectively communicate in this manner, one of the principles that people most often adhere to is the rule of redundancy.



Identifiable symbols put together in standardized formats can more easily convey an interpretable message than those that constantly change in appearance and context. The seal carvers of the FDB clearly did employ a limited set of icons with specific, identifiable attributes. These would have facilitated symbolic communication. However, artists did not combine these motifs into recognizable patterns. But the use of deliberate choices can be seen in pairs of icons that **do not** appear together. This demonstrates that despite the evidence, the icons were not being chosen in a completely random fashion.

## CHANGES IN ICONOGRAPHY DURING THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

A second problem in interpreting Old Babylonian glyptic has been the inability of researchers to identify specific motifs as chronological indicators. Thousands of OB seals exist and are, for the most part, undatable. When analyzed together, no icon can be isolated and studied in terms of its frequency through time. This approach masks any variations in iconography that may have existed. It also makes it impossible to relate changes in iconography to their broader cultural context.

This data base provides a means to test whether changes in symbolism can be detected within the OB period. If so, can these be explained in relation to the concurrent political and religious situation? To detect this, I divided the 295 Early Old Babylonian seals and 305 Late Old Babylonian seals into six subgroups each. Every subdivision contains 50 seals with the exception of EOB1 which has 45 seals and LOB1 with 55. I listed the 12 subgroups in Table 6.4 along with the name of the kings and their regnal years, if known. These categories necessarily encompass different spans of time due to the uneven distribution of the seals within the OB period. However, this problem does not impede the

Table 6.4

### Subdivision of Old Babylonian Seals

Group	Seal #s	King and Year of Reign
EOB1	1- 45	Sumuabum - AS/Sinmubal.
EOB2	46- 95	AS/Sinmubal. - Sinmuballit
EOB3	95-145	Sinmuballit - Hammurabi 3
EOB4	146-195	Hammurabi 4 - Hammurabi 18
EOB5	196-245	Hammurabi 25 - Hammurabi 38
EOB6	246-295	Hammurabi 38 - Hammurabi
LOB1	296-350	Samsuiluna 1 - Samsuiluna 5
LOB2	351-400	Samsuiluna 5 - Samsuiluna 9
LOB3	401-450	Samsuiluna 9 - Samsuiluna 30
LOB4	451-500	Samsuiluna 33 - Ammiditana 11
LOB5	501-550	Ammiditana 15 - Ammisaduqa 9
LOB6	551-600	Ammisaduqa 9 - Samsuditana

effort to monitor general trends of consistency or change of a given motif through time.

Table 6.5 lists the number of times each of the nine main figures appears in each subgroup. The columns give a general impression of the variations in the frequency of use of the individual icons throughout the OB period. Again it should be emphasized that all these counts are undoubtedly too low because of the fragmentary nature of the data base. The following discussion is based on these results.

Table 6.5

### Number of Occurrences of Main Figures on OB Seals

	IG	FM	TC	AG	WQ	BM	SG	SF	WI	N=
EOB1	20	11	11	15	9	5	1	5	7	45
EOB2	11	8	7	6	6	8	5	0	6	50
EOB3	21	22	13	6	3	5	2	0	7	50
EOB4	19	15	16	9	8	4	4	1	3	50
EOB5	18	12	8	6	8	3	12	0	6	50
EOB6	10	15	6	4	3	3	3	1	2	50
LOB1	16	13	5	4	6	7	2	2	3	55
LOB2	15	23	5	7	3	1	3	1	2	50
LOB3	21	6	5	6	13	8	5	3	1	50
LOB4	15	6	5	5	7	1	4	3	1	50
LOB5	18	4	9	8	7	2	5	11	1	50
LOB6	20	3	7	9	7	5	1	19	0	50
TOT	204	138	97	85	80	52	47	46	39	600

The table reveals that the presence of the Interceding Goddess and the Bullman remained remarkably steady over the course of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Given variations due to sampling error, it seems their popularity neither surged nor waned. The Ascending God, Worshiper with Quadruped, and Seated God also appear reasonably consistent but with one brief surge each. There is no way to know whether they enjoyed a short burst of favor or whether these numbers reflect a skewed sample. Lahmu with the Triple Curls may have been slightly more popular during the EOB period, but from EOB5 onwards, he appears quite regularly on the seals. The remaining three motifs, the Figure with the Mace, Smiting Figure, and Warrior Ishtar have more suggestive distributions. I will discuss them individually below.

### The Figure with the Mace (FM)

The Figure with the Mace has been a source of controversy among scholars for many years. He has alternatively been referred to as the God with the Mace (Van Buren, 1954:8; Von der Osten, 1934:6) or the King with the Mace (Collon, 1988:45). Frankfort (1939:168) thought that either might be possible. Recently, Black and Green (1992:124) used the more neutral term, Figure with the Mace. Who this personage represented is important because the correct identification of an icon must necessarily be the first step in trying to reconstruct the meaning of a symbol. An



examination of the variations in his attributes and his distribution through the OB period may offer some new insights concerning the Figure with the Mace.

The first question to be addressed pertains to his status. Was the FM human or divine? During the OB period, seal carvers used several attributes, including headwear and depiction of hair, to designate personages as humans or deities. Divinities wore horn crowns and had identifiable hairstyles while human males wore turbans and had no hair shown. The intermediate style of tall hats with brims probably belonged to minor deities.

The FM usually wears a turban but occasionally appears in a tall brimmed hat. Only twice is he depicted with a horn crown. As expected, if he wears a turban, no hair is indicated with one or two possible exceptions. On seal 141, the FM has a ponytail of sorts. However, the original publication (Buchanan, 1981:294, No.790d) did not include a photo of this section of the sealing so it was impossible to verify. The other seal which shows a FM with a turban plus a ponytail is 378. On the occasions when he wears a high hat or horn crown, the FM virtually always has a ponytail.

I identified 138 seals as having a FM but in 45 instances, the head was missing from the impression. That left a total of 93 icons with which to calculate the strength of the correlation between hat type and hairstyle (see Table 6.6). I did not include the FM on seal 141 as having hair in this calculation because the artist who sketched the sealing, also shows the IG with a turban. Even in the published photo one can see that she has a horn crown (Buchanan, 1981:294, No.790d). Therefore, I found it difficult to accept that the FM had a ponytail on the basis of this drawing alone.

Table 6.6

**Correlation of Hats and Hair**

	Turban	High Hat/HC	S=
No Hair	69	2	
Hair	1	21	0.912

I chose the phi coefficient to determine the strength of association between these two variables (Shennan, 1988). Phi can range from minus one to plus one. A plus one means the two variables have a perfect positive correlation. Every time one is present, so is the other. A minus one implies that if the first variable is present the second is absent. A zero indicates the variables have no association at all. The phi coefficient for the relationship between hairstyles and type of hat came out to be .912. This confirms that artists consistently used the attributes of headwear and hair together to indicate divinity. Very few icons displayed a 'mixed message'. Overall, the FM appears as a human roughly 75% of the time versus being shown as a minor god the other 25% of the time.

The headwear and hairstyle suggest that the FM should be regarded as a human, but should he necessarily be identified as the king? Other evidence provides support for this supposition. Six seals from the EOB period show the FM on

a platform or pile of rocks; 9, 19, 107, 126, 128, and 132. Number 19 must be considered uncertain. On 19, the FM is small in comparison to the other figures and looks as if he could be on a platform, but the bottom part of the impression is missing. These particular icons may represent cult statues of the king. Frankfort (1939:159) suggested this interpretation. In Mesopotamia, kings often placed statues of themselves in temples to constantly remind the deity of their presence (Frankfort, 1978:303). In all six depictions, the FM wears a turban, not a high brimmed hat or horn crown.

The last and perhaps most unexpected piece of evidence which supports the identification of the FM with the king proved to be the distribution of this motif within the OB period. Looking back at Table 6.5, the FM starts at a relatively high level of popularity in EOB1. This continues throughout the entire EOB and beginning of the LOB period. In fact, in LOB2, the FM appears on just under half the total seals in that group. That is the single highest sum in the entire table. The following subgroup LOB3 reveals a dramatic drop in his representations which continue to trail off through the end of the LOB.

The sudden drop in the depiction of the FM cannot be understood without reference to the political situation of the mid-18th century B.C. The early kings of the FDB gradually extended and then consolidated Babylon's rule over its neighbors. This area comprised the core of the OB state. Hammurabi did not or could not expand beyond that territory until his 29th regnal year. In the ensuing years, he first captured Sumer and then turned his attention north and west towards Karana and Mari. However, he did not live to incorporate these new lands effectively into the Babylonian administrative system. By the middle of his son's eighth year, rebellions broke out as previously conquered cities tried to reclaim their independence. Even though Samsuiluna struggled to maintain control, by the end of his reign, only the core area remained under Babylon's domination.

The end of the LOB2 seal group coincides with Samsuiluna year 9. The LOB3 and later seals represent the years of decline and stagnation for Babylon. I suggest that the dramatic drop of the FM on LOB cylinder directly reflects the deteriorating political situation and the subsequent weakening of the king's prestige. The Figure with the Mace portrays an individual striding forth with confidence often facing a benevolent goddess. This image of the monarch fits in well with the period of Babylon's rise to power. The height of the FDB's control encompasses the end of Hammurabi's and the beginning of Samsuiluna's reigns. The maximum number of representations of the FM coincides with Samsuiluna's years five to nine. With the disintegration of the empire, the image of the self-assured monarch dropped precipitously from the peak of its popularity. It must be remembered that the success of a king to take care of his people came directly from gods. If disaster struck, it meant that the gods had withdrawn their favor. To a Babylonian monarch, to be abandoned by your god was nothing less than a catastrophe. The distribution of the Figure with the Mace on OB cylinder seals mirrors the fate of the First Dynasty kings. This combined with the previous



evidence strongly suggests that this figure should indeed be identified as the King with the Mace.

Finally, the one-quarter of the Figures with the Mace that wear a tall brimmed hat and have a ponytail must be considered. In this data base, he has the same distribution as the mortal figure. Again, this suggests that this specific figure should also be regarded as a king rather than just a minor deity. Some authors (Black and Green, 1992) have suggested that he represents a deified former king. Mesopotamians normally did not deify their kings but kings certainly did have more contact with the divine than mere mortals. Thus the possibility exists that some artists deliberately blurred the line between human and god.

### **Smiting Figure (SF)**

The most salient feature of the Smiting Figure concerns his abrupt increase on seals towards the end of the LOB period. In the entire EOB period, he appeared on a total of seven seals. In LOB1 through LOB4, I counted him nine times. Then, the number of Smiting Figures jumped to 11 in LOB5 and 19 in LOB6. Personages in the smiting position cannot be identified as specific individuals. Nor are they necessarily divine or human. Nearly all the SF of the LOB period wear brimmed hats which cannot be used as unequivocal indicators of status. Nor does type of garment or the depiction of hair shed much light on the problem. Table 6.7 shows a random distribution of these two attributes in the 30 SF of the last two subperiods.

Table 6.7

**Correlation of Garment and Hair**

	Hair	NoHair	Unid.
Long	2	1	2
Short	3	4	4
Naked	3	6	1
Unident.	3	1	

The SF gives one the impression of action. He is striking out at someone or something. LOB5 begins in the 15th year of Ammiditana. He alone of the last four kings seems to have had some military success against the Sealand dynasty. In his 36th regnal year, he marched as far south as Durum near Uruk. This campaign apparently had few long term effects. Ammiditana's immediate successor, Ammisaduqa, inadvertently reveals the situation in his Edict in which he attempts to alleviate the suffering of the people. Maybe Smiting Figures reveal the wish that someone, either god or man, could improve the difficult economic and political circumstances at the end of the Old Babylonian period.

### **Warrior Ishtar (WI)**

Ishtar in her warrior garb only appears 39 times in the whole data base. Despite this modest total, her distribution throughout the OB period suggests she was more popular in the earlier part of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Her

presence on OB cylinder seals may be linked directly to the relationship between Babylon and Uruk.

It will be recalled that Ishtar was the city-goddess of Uruk. The early kings of Babylon forged and maintained an especially close link with that southern city. Sumulailum, the second king of the dynasty, married his daughter to the king of Uruk. His son, Sabium, sent 1000 men to aid Uruk, presumably at their request. Uruk and Babylon formed part of an alliance against Rim-Sin I in Samsuiluna's fourth year. It is not surprising Babylonian artists depicted her on their seals.

A dip in the number of her depictions occurs in EOB4. This coincides with the first half of the reign of Hammurabi. During this time, Rim Sin I controlled all of southern Mesopotamia including Uruk. Hammurabi finally captured Uruk in his 30th regnal year and incorporated it into his empire. But the southern cities did not fare well under Babylonian rule. When the empire began to break up in the eighth year of Samsuiluna, Uruk was one of the cities that rebelled. Samsuiluna destroyed Uruk either late in his 10th or early in his 11th year. This corresponds roughly to the beginning of the LOB3 seals. From Samsuiluna year 9 to the end of the Old Babylonian period, Warrior Ishtar only appears three times. Political and religious considerations converged to make the portrayal of the patron-goddess of a rebellious city no longer acceptable.

The number of depictions of Warrior Ishtar is small. Even so, the previous explanation gains plausibility when compared to the frequency of representations of the Ascending God. The AG, as mentioned earlier, can be identified as Shamash, the city-god of Sippar. Sippar came directly under Babylonian control during the reign of Sumulailum. It remained under their influence right to the end of the dynasty. If the depictions of the city-god correlate positively with that city's relations with Babylon, then the depictions of Shamash should remain relatively constant throughout the entire period. This is in fact what the evidence shows.

### **Fill Figures Exclusive to the Early Old Babylonian Period**

The breakdown of the OB period material into chronological subgroups has revealed that the frequency of several main figures varied through time. It also showed that six fill figures were confined exclusively to the EOB period. Table 6.8 lists the name of the motif, the total number found in the data base, the date of its last appearance, and the individual seal numbers on which I identified them. It has been suggested that fill figures represented magical symbols on seals (Black and Green, 1992). Their disappearance on LOB seals can probably be tied to changes in religious ideas, but why these particular motifs dropped out after Hammurabi remains enigmatic. Despite this, their distribution suggests they might prove useful as chronological indexes for a collection of seals.



Table 6.8

## Early Old Babylonian Fill Figures

Motif	N	Last Appears:	Seal Numbers
Turtle	3	Hamm. 10	77, 141, 171
Hedgehog	3	Hamm. 25	146, 184, 209
Humbaba Mask	7	Hamm. 39	33, 40, 64, 99, 161, 174, 252
Crook	5	Hamm. 43	48, 141, 147, 177, 265
Jellyfish	3	Hamm. no date	23, 82, 290
Animal w/Crook	5	Hamm. no date	43, 48, 93, 124, 272

## DISCUSSION OF OLD BABYLONIAN ICONOGRAPHY

This study of dated Old Babylonian seal iconography investigated some long-held beliefs about cylinder seals belonging to this time period. The findings confirmed much of what has been known intuitively for many years. In addition, I discovered some previously undetected trends in seal iconography. These can now be examined in relation to the political and religious events of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

The first question I investigated concerned design composition. Scholars have long held that Old Babylonian seal cutters did not combine motifs systematically to create identifiable scenes (Al-Gailani Werr, 1988; Frankfort, 1939). My study corroborated this. I found that no two main motifs could be shown to co-occur at a statistically significant level. This suggests that artisans or buyers could use the iconography of their choice for the seal designs. However, the analysis also revealed two combinations that virtually never appeared together. Seal carvers rarely paired the Ascending God, Shamash, with either a Seated God or the Smiting Figure. This probably reflected subconscious religious ideas concerning what figures could, or in this case could not, be grouped together.

The second question I examined was the efficacy of using iconography to date seals *within* the OB period. Only one study pertaining to this issue has been done. It was published by Nagel (1957-8) and involved just 20 OB seals. My study used 523 seals and sealings with extant iconography. I found that the frequencies of some of the main icons did vary significantly through time. Several fill figures had chronological implications as well. Based on this data, it might be possible to infer approximate chronological parameters for a group of undated but affiliated OB seals. Upper and lower time limits could be determined by the relative abundance of a variety of symbols and icons including the King with the Mace, Warrior Ishtar, and the Smiting Figure. Due to the paucity of material from both the beginning and the end of the period, it would be inappropriate to use it to date isolated seals.

Finally, I sought to explain change in seal iconography by relating it to the political and religious climate of the times. Early in the investigation, it became apparent that the number of large figures which appeared frequently on OB seals was quite limited. The iconographic repertoire overall gave the impression of standardization. This was confirmed by the work of Lamia Al-Gailani Werr (1988). She found that two workshops operating in Sippar during the OB period could only be distinguished by their method of engraving seals, not by their choice of motifs. I think this degree of consistency in OB iconography can only be explained by hypothesizing that the government exercised some control over the choice of symbols. The number of main figures is too small to have happened strictly by chance.

The contention that the palace to some extent controlled the symbols used on cylinder seals is supported by the distributions of the King with the Mace (KM) and the Smiting Figure throughout the OB period. The relative abundance of the KM on OB cylinder seals closely parallels the fortunes of Babylon during the First Dynasty. Hammurabi, the sixth king, extended Babylonian suzerainty, albeit briefly, to the south, north, and west. Documents show that he exercised a firm control over many aspects of the governing of his kingdom (Harris, 1968; Yoffee, 1977a and 1978). No detail seemed too small for Hammurabi to ignore. This presumably included deciding what motifs should be used on cylinder seals. At this point in time, not surprisingly, the KM motif rivalled the Interceding Goddess in popularity.

This situation lasted through the eighth year of his son, Samsuiluna. Despite Samsuiluna's efforts, the territory under Babylon's hegemony steadily shrank until only the core area remained. The economic situation deteriorated as well. Taxes, often in the form of foodstuffs, no longer flowed in from the provinces (Yoffee, 1977a). More food had to be grown on the land available. But additional irrigation aggravated the salinization problem which in turn meant even lower yields (Gibson, 1974). The Edict of Ammisaduqa, unintentionally perhaps, acknowledges the hardships being faced by the Babylonian people (Pritchard, 1969). In Mesopotamia, such conditions signalled the loss of divine favor towards the king. Thus the Late Old Babylonian rulers could no longer claim the unequivocal endorsement of the gods. With the breakdown of the centralized political system, traditional forms of leadership reasserted themselves in the countryside (Yoffee, 1988a).

As the Babylonian kings' authority over the provinces loosened, so did their apparent ability to oversee the choice of seal iconography. This is manifested in two ways. First the King with the Mace motif suffered a precipitous decline after Samsuiluna year 9. Under the circumstances, the sharp reduction of a symbol that represents a self-confident, successful monarch does not seem to require explanation. But it has been demonstrated in other situations that symbols of power and prestige can far outlast the reality of that power. Why didn't it happen in this case? As just stated, the king was probably no longer in a position to dictate or at least significantly influence what symbols were used on seals. In addition, the analysis of seal designs



showed that scene composition had never been closely regulated by the crown. This meant that seal engravers or buyers had always exercised some freedom in choosing seal iconography. The upper classes who used the seals knew the image of the self-assured monarch striding forth to meet or perhaps receive blessings from a benevolent goddess no longer fit the empirical situation. Supposedly they could have continued to use the KM motif as a form of flattery. But in Mesopotamia, politics and religious beliefs cannot be separated. In Babylonian ideology, bad times meant the gods had removed their support from the king. No person would want to be perceived as acting contrary to the wishes of the gods. As a result, the use of this particular depiction of the king became rare.

The other indication that points to the loss of government control over seal iconography can be seen in the increased variety of figures on Late Old Babylonian seals. The Smiting Figure (SF) along with the Interceding Goddess were the two most prominent main motifs especially by the end of the period. As previously mentioned, seal cutters did not depict the SF in a standardized fashion. The rigid control over iconography had broken down. To illustrate this, I removed the Smiting Figure from the group of main figures. Then I recalculated the figures in Table 6.3 which showed the number of seals *without* standardized motifs during the entire OB period (see Table 6.9). The table reveals that if the SF is no longer considered a standard motif, only one seal belonging to the EOB period would be added to the total that did not contain at least one main icon. But during the LOB period, the number of seals without main motifs jumps dramatically if the SF is no longer included. In LOB5, for instance, the number of seals rises from 5 to 13. The overall LOB total climbs from 39 to 60. This evident decrease in the standardization of iconography can be attributed to the loss of government control over the iconographic repertoire used on cylinder seals.

Table 6.9  
Chronological Distribution of Seals Without Standard Figures or Smiting Figures

	W/SF	Without SF		W/SF	Without SF
EOB1	9	10 (+1)	LOB1	3	4 (+1)
EOB2	10		LOB2	6	
EOB3	7		LOB3	12	14 (+2)
EOB4	7		LOB4	6	7 (+1)
EOB5	5		LOB5	5	13 (+8)
EOB6	6		LOB6	7	16 (+9)
TOT	44	45 (+1)	TOT	39	60 (+21)

The choice of iconography on Old Babylonian cylinder seals resulted from the interaction of at least three different forces: the government, religious ideology, and personal preferences. While the government maintained some control over what motifs could be used, religious beliefs and personal preferences determined how these icons were actually combined on the seal. When the king's political control declined, we find a concomitant decrease in

standardization of the symbolism. The influence of religious ideology, however, probably remained strong. Unfortunately, the increased diversity of the LOB figures makes them very difficult to interpret.

## TRANSITION FROM THE OLD BABYLONIAN TO THE KASSITE PERIOD

The nature of the relationship between Old Babylonian and Kassite cylinder seals poses problems for a variety of reasons. First and foremost is the lack of dated material between the reign of Samsuditana and seals that can definitely be ascribed to the Kassite period. Even seals that bear the names of Kassite monarchs can rarely be assigned to a specific king. Rulers often shared the same name. In addition, the chronological order of the entire dynasty remains uncertain (Brinkman, 1976). Thus most Kassite seals have been attributed to the period on the basis of style.

Despite these difficulties, researchers have postulated links between OB and Kassite iconography. The First Kassite styles have generally been considered direct descendants of the LOB seals (Collon, 1988; Matthews, 1990; Porada, 1948; Van Buren, 1954). Van Buren says that at the beginning of the Kassite period, only the inscriptions distinguished Kassite seals from their Babylonian models (1954:4). Matthews talks about the First Kassite style 'gradually emerging' from its Babylonian predecessors (1990:57). Most of these conclusions rest on the comparison of individual Kassite seals to seals from the OB period. Given the chronological ambiguity of the Kassite material, I believe a systematic analysis between a body of OB and Kassite seals needs to be done before any hypotheses can be suggested. In the following section, I will examine changes in iconography through time based on three major chronological groupings: Early Old Babylonian (EOB), Late Old Babylonian (LOB), and Kassite (KAS). By looking at the frequencies of various symbols in each category, it may be possible to elucidate what relationship, if any, may have existed between the two periods.

### Main Figures and Their Attributes

The Old Babylonian figure most often cited as having persisted into the Kassite period is the Figure with the Mace (or as I have argued, the King with the Mace). Black and Green contend that a bearded, male figure striking a distinctive pose who usually carries a mace often appears on both OB and Kassite seals (1992:124). In my collection of Kassite seals, I found the KM only once. This partially preserved sealing looks identical to many other OB scenes. The only reason I categorized this one as Kassite was due to the inscription. A short prayer took the place of the usual 'PN, son of PN, servant of DN' formula. From this single example, the King with the Mace in his OB form cannot be termed a popular figure in the Kassite period.

Van Buren (1954:8), on the other hand, believed the KM provided the prototype for the Figure with the Scimitar found on Northern Kassite seals (e.g., 616, 635, 646, 665). She acknowledged that his garment and headwear changed, the mace disappeared from his left hand, and that he now



held a scimitar in his right hand. Nevertheless, his pose remained similar to the KM. On some Kassite seals, artists duplicated the Figure with the Scimitar but they both face in the same direction (Seal 665). Van Buren (1954:10) cites two undated OB seals as models for this latter configuration. It should also be noted here that she identified the KM as the “god with a mace”.

Can we say, based on the available evidence, that the KM most likely served as the pattern for the Figure with the Scimitar? An examination of the data reveals several things. First, it must be recalled that the number of depictions of the KM dropped off sharply after Samsuiluna year 9. This coincides roughly with 1740 B.C. The earliest known examples of the Figure with the Scimitar come from Nuzi. The Nuzi archives date from the late 15th to mid-14th century B.C. (Matthews, 1992:7). That means about 250 years elapsed between the peak of the KM’s popularity in the OB period and his hypothetical reincarnation on the Nuzi seals.

The similarity of their poses provides the main reason researchers assume the Figure with the Scimitar derived from the KM. Another attribute they both supposedly share is the splayed beard as noted by Black and Green (1992). But many of the KM motifs in the OB period did not wear a beard (e.g., 147, 193, 273). Table 6.10 illustrates the number of figures with and without beards in each group and the percentage they comprise of the total number of figures. In this data base, twice as many OB motifs **did not** have beards as those that did. On the other hand, beards predominate on the Kassite icons.

Table 6.10  
Presence of Beards on KM and FigScimitar

	Old Babylonian		Kassite	
	KM	%	FigScim	%
Beard	26	19	44	80
NoBeard	51	37	5	9
Unid	61	44	6	11
Total	138	100	55	100

Van Buren (1954:8) advanced another argument for identifying the KM as the model for the Figure with the Scimitar. It concerns his attendants. According to Van Buren, the Early Old Babylonian trio of KM (replaced by the Figure with the Scimitar), Interceding Goddess, and nude female remained essentially unchanged in the early part of the Kassite period. Gradually Kassite artists eliminated all extraneous elements until only the god remained (Van Buren, 1954:9). This supposition is problematic for two reasons. First, any discussion concerning change in Kassite motifs through time must be regarded as premature due to the paucity of dated material. No one knows which designs came first or by how many years.

Second, even the contention that the Kassites utilized a familiar OB grouping does not seem to withstand closer

scrutiny. Table 6.11 shows the breakdown of the 48 Kassite seals that depicted the Figure with the Scimitar. Only five show the three figures grouped together in the predicted configuration. On an additional five, he looks at a female but without the nude female in between. The majority of the time the Figure with the Scimitar approaches another male or faces an inscription. At the present time, there does not seem to be adequate evidence to suggest that the King with the Mace provided the inspiration for the Figure with the Scimitar.

Table 6.11  
Figure with the Scimitar

	No. of Seals
Two in a Line Facing Same Direction	7
<i>Faces:</i>	
Inscription	10
Male	16
Female Only	5
Female and Nude Female	5
Nude Female only	2
Unidentified	3

Another connection often noted between the LOB and Kassite periods focuses on the lone figure standing or seated before an inscription. This style became common in the latter part of the FDB and is the hallmark of FKC seals. In this data base, from the time of Ammiditana onwards, 26 sealings (i.e., 491-600) fall into this category. They comprise 24% of the material assigned to the last three kings. The next seals of this type that can be dated do not appear until the 14th century B.C. (Matthews, 1992). The only transitional seals seem to be the 13 assigned to the Composite group which combine typical Babylonian iconography with Kassite prayers. The question is, does the evidence support a gradual transition, or at least close ties, between OB and Kassite seals despite the apparent 200 year hiatus in the existing material?

The first step in investigating this problem consists of comparing the main figures on EOB, LOB, and KAS seals. Table 6.12 lists the nine main OB motifs and their frequency of use in each group. As the table shows, seven of the nine motifs no longer appear on Kassite seals. Only two of the most common OB figures continued on in some form into the following period. I identified a total of 40 Interceding Goddesses on Kassite seals. The *only* criterion I used was a female with both hands raised in front of her face. Even though the IG did not completely drop out of the Kassite repertoire, I found 12 (or 30%) in the Composite Kassite group. As I said earlier, these may very well belong to the LOB period. Another 8 (or 20%) appeared together on a single seal, i.e., 742. Thus, only 20 Interceding Goddess motifs can be found in the Kassite material that look somewhat similar to those from the OB period.

The total for the ‘Seated God’ on Kassite seals came from the count of Seated Figure(s) with High Hat(s) found in



Table 5.19. If icons with low hats should also be classified as gods, then this number would roughly double. Unfortunately not enough is known about Kassite iconography to definitely identify figures as either human or divine based on their various attributes.

Table 6.12

**Comparison of OB Main Motifs  
on Old Babylonian and Kassite Seals**

	EOB	LOB	KAS
Interceding Goddess	99	105	40
Figure/King with Mace	83	55	1
Lahmu: Fig. w/Triple Curls	61	36	0
Ascending God	46	39	0
Worshipper with Quadruped	37	43	0
BullMan	28	24	0
Seated God	27	20	24
Smiting Figure	7	39	1
Warrior Ishtar	31	8	0

A comparison of identifiable figures through time shows little obvious connection between the OB and Kassite periods. But I also wanted to examine specific aspects of the main figures in case the Kassite carvers were choosing to adopt some, but not all, characteristics of the Babylonian repertoire. I began with a consideration of gender. If Kassite seal makers carried on OB seal carving traditions, then the ratio of male to female personages should remain relatively constant regardless of other trends.

Identifying the gender of a figure proved difficult on occasion. In the OB period, it was reasonably simple as males and females wore different hairstyles. But the Kassite artists depicted the hair of both sexes in a similar style. To contend with this, I depended mainly on the presence of

beards to distinguish gender. I also accepted the description of the figures given in the catalogs because the author had access to the original seals. Details are notoriously difficult to distinguish in photographs (Collon, 1988:6-7). If no information was available, I classified the figure as unknown. Overall, 88% of the figures I identified as male in the Kassite period had beards.

Table 6.13 gives the number and percentage of males and females in the EOB, LOB, and KAS periods as well as a breakdown by style of the Kassite seals. A comparison shows that the representation of females declined somewhat between the EOB and LOB groups but dropped sharply between LOB and Kassite. It is true that at the same time, the percentage of 'Unidentified' figures increased as well. However, for the percentage of females to have remained the same between LOB and KAS, the entire rise in the 'Unidentified' category would have to be attributed to figures that were in reality female. This seems unlikely since the ratio of males to females on KAS seals stands at five to one.

First Kassite Central and Northern seals, as previously mentioned, have been interpreted as the direct descendants of the LOB carving tradition. The ratios of females to males in FKC and FKN are quite similar. But both styles favor males six to one versus LOB seals which depict males less than three to one. Again, the high percentage of 'Unidentified' in the Kassite material remains problematic.

Column KAS-P stands for the Kassite numbers recalculated without the Composite subgroup. The KP seals had an unusually high number of females depicted on them even in comparison to OB iconography. Since they are undated, they may in reality belong to the end of the LOB period. To check this possibility, I calculated the frequency of males and females on the 26 single figure LOB sealings which ranged from Ammiditana to Samsuditana. The results showed 58% of the icons as female which corresponds well to the 60% seen in the KP group. The Kassite Central and

Table 6.13

**Comparison of Gender on Old Babylonian and Kassite Seals**

	EOB	LOB	KAS	KAS-P		KP	KN	KC	KV	SK
Hum/Div	688	643	399	379	*	20	123	164	34	58
Female	227	168	55	43	*	12	16	19	7	1
Males	390	402	260	255	*	5	86	109	16	44
Beards			229		*	3	74	100	13	39
MaleNB			31		*	2	12	9	3	5
Unid	71	73	84	81	*	3	21	36	11	13
-----										
%Female	33	26.1	13.8	11.3	*	60	13	11	21	2
%Male	56.7	62.5	65.2	67.3	*	25	70	66	47	76
%Unid	10.3	11.4	21	21.4	*	15	17	22	32	22



Kassite Northern seals exhibited a ratio of males to females approximately the reverse of that found on KP (Kassite Composite) seals.

Another attribute common to large figures on OB and KAS seals is headwear. Old Babylonian and Kassite seal carvers used distinctive hats to help differentiate individual icons. Table 6.14 shows a comparison between the varieties of headwear favored in each period. The horn crown, already in decline by the LOB period, virtually drops out on Kassite seals. A high triangular hat may have replaced it but was not used nearly as often as the horn crown. Turbans, on the other hand, became the predominate type of headwear in the Kassite period. There is little evidence of continuity in this particular attribute between the OB and Kassite periods.

Table 6.14

**Headwear**

	EOB	LOB	KAS	Total
Horn Crown	242	144	12	398
Single Horn Crown	19	11	0	30
High Triangular Hat	0	2	66	68
Turban-style 1	106	72	5	183
Turban-style 2	0	1	193	194
Brimmed Hat with High Crown	26	47	6	79
Brimmed Hat with Low Crown	5	55	21	81
Brimmed Hat w. Circular Crown	0	20	1	21
Half-Circle Hat	17	18	0	35
Other	7	14	8	29
Unidentified	21	28	8	57

The last feature of the main motifs I compared was the objects they held in their hands. To eliminate rare examples, I excluded ones that appeared fewer than 10 times in every time period group. Table 6.15 lists the results (see Figure 5, p.63, for illustrations). The totals reveal that the number of objects main figures held declined sharply in the Kassite period. Artists discarded virtually the entire Old Babylonian repertoire with the exception of the small bladed scimitar and the flowing vase. This is particularly unexpected since objects like the quadruped and knife showed no decrease in popularity during the OB period. In fact, the lightning and globe staffs both gained in prominence during the Late Old Babylonian period.

**Fill Figures**

A comparison of the main figures and their individual attributes indicate a lack of continuity in the seal carving tradition between the Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. But fill figures also comprise part of the iconographic repertoire and may have been adopted by the Kassite

Table 6.15

**Objects Held**

	EOB	LOB	KAS
Total	310	293	120
Quadruped	58	57	0
Flowing Vase	12	9	14
Knife/Saw	25	23	0
Double Lion Mace	22	11	0
Mace (bottom)	59	30	2
Scimitar-small blade	23	13	26
Scimitar-large blade	0	0	18
Cup/Sprinkler	12	6	0
Pail	15	8	0
Ring	14	8	0
Globe Staff	0	12	0
Lightning Staff	5	23	1
Stylus	20	14	2

engravers. Table 6.16 lists the frequencies of the most commonly used fill figures in the EOB, LOB, and KAS periods (see Figure 6, p.65 for illustrations). To be included, motifs had to be identifiable and appear a minimum of 10 times in at least one phase. I compiled all the less frequently used and unidentified fill figures in Table 6.17 to illustrate the variety of symbols found on cylinder seals in all time periods.

Table 6.16

**Fill Figures**

	EOB	LOB	KAS
Total (incl. Rare FF)	302	254	438
Cuneiform signs	34	30	38
SunMoon	52	43	0
Crescent Moon	6	10	4
Star	2	11	5
Rosette	0	8	39
Reclining Quadruped w. Head Turned Back	4	1	13
Bird	1	0	24
Fish	4	3	16
Fly	3	2	15
Goatfish	10	4	3
Grasshopper	0	0	13
Head	22	11	0
Ballstaff	9	14	3
Single Dot	0	20	2
Lozenge	0	0	99
Kassite Cross	0	0	53



OBJECTS HELD



a) Quadruped



b) Flowing Vase



c) Knife/Saw



d) Double Lion Mace



e) Mace (bottom)



f) Scimitar - small blade



g) Scimitar - large blade



h) Cup/Sprinkler



i) Pail



j) Globe Staff



k) Lightning Staff



l) Stylus



Table 6.17

## Rare Old Babylonian and Kassite Fill Figures

	EB	LB	K		EB	LB	K
Sun Only	6	1	1	Nude Male	7	5	0
Wheel	0	0	4	Nude Female	6	2	0
Reclining Quadruped-Facing Forward	5	4	7	Human Figure	3	4	2
Reclining Quadruped-No Head	8	3	2	Human Lifting Animal	1	0	0
Upright Quadruped	7	2	3	Dragon Attacks Human	1	0	0
Double Horn Quadruped-Facing Backwards	0	0	6	Hand	0	0	1
Long Horned Quadruped	0	0	6	Lahmu	4	2	0
Long Horned Head	0	0	4	Humbaba Mask	7	0	0
Walking Quadruped	0	0	3	Crook	5	0	0
Crossed Quadrupeds	1	3	0	Vessel	8	9	3
Quadruped with Young	5	3	1	Grain	0	0	3
Unidentified Quadruped	3	2	0	Flying 'U'	0	1	0
Animal-Unidentified	0	4	10	Tree	0	0	2
Bull	8	2	0	'Wig on a Stand'	1	0	0
Dog	0	1	5	Crescent Staff	1	0	0
Dog with Crook	5	0	0	Diamond Staff	1	0	0
Frog	0	0	1	Lightning Staff	2	2	0
Hedgehog	3	0	0	Lyre Staff	2	2	0
Jellyfish	3	0	0	Marru	0	1	0
Lion	3	4	1	Star Staff	0	1	0
Lionfish	7	8	0	Other Staff	1	0	2
Mongoose	5	3	1	Dots in a Group	3	4	1
Monkey	0	0	2	Dots in a Line	1	1	1
Scorpion	3	1	0	'Tomato'	0	0	5
Turtle	3	0	0	Guilloche	0	1	2
Bullman	6	1	0	Cross	0	1	9
Mermaid	1	2	0	Unidentified	7	8	24
Fishman	2	1	1				

Table 6.16 contains 16 motifs. It should be noted that the presence of a lozenge or Kassite cross on a seal *automatically* placed it in the Kassite category. Therefore, these symbols cannot be used as evidence for changes in fill scattered amongst the iconography. Whether they should be considered true fill figures remains questionable. Often text seems placed within the scene because the artist did not leave enough room in the ruled columns. Some appears to have been added after the original seal was manufactured.

The remaining motifs reveal a pattern comparable to that of the large figures. The two most numerous OB fill figures, the sun/moon and the head disappear completely in the

Kassite period. A single drilling, popular on LOB seals, also drops out for the most part. Instead, the Kassites favored a variety of motifs that were unknown or rarely used in the OB period. These included the grasshopper, rosette, reclining quadruped with head turned back, bird, fish, and fly. This table shows virtually no continuation of the most popular fill figures from the OB into the Kassite period. Again, it points to a hiatus in seal carving tradition rather than a gradual transition between the two. I should also like to mention that the Kassites are usually credited with using less fill figures than the OB (Van Buren, 1954). My data did not support this finding.



FILL FIGURES



a) SunMoon



b) Crescent moon



c) Star



d) Rosette



e) Reclining Quadruped



f) Bird



g) Fish



h) Fly



i) Goatfish



j) Grasshopper



k) Head



l) Ballstaff



m) Single Dot



n) Lozenge



o) Kassite Cross



## Inscriptions

Finally, the inscriptions, which comprise an integral part of seal design, must also be considered. The question is, did the Kassites model their inscriptions after OB prototypes? Table 6.18 shows a comparison of the types of inscriptions found in the three time periods as well as a breakdown by style group for the Kassite seals. It reflects only those inscriptions which appear in ruled columns and have translations available. The OB seal owners almost invariably used the formula 'PN1, Son of PN2, Servant of DN' on their cylinders. I abbreviated this formula as NSS (Name, Son of..., Servant of...). NSS-Var refers to variations of this basic pattern found mainly on Kassite seals. This covers a range of alterations including calling yourself servant of more than one divinity, adding your profession, and replacing the divine name with the name of a king. Limet published many of these variants together in his category two (1971:57-63). The single EOB example deletes the line containing 'Son of...' (seal 4). In addition to the NSS type, there are prayers addressed to deities. 'Other' denotes those that do not fit into any of the previous groupings.

Table 6.18

### Type of Inscription

				Breakdown for KAS				
	EOB	LOB	KAS	KP	KN	KC	KV	SK
NSS	62	105	5 *	0	3	2	0	0
NSS-Var	1	0	19 *	2	1	11	1	4
Prayer	1	2	147 *	9	23	81	11	23
Other	12	10	12 *	1	1	4	3	3
Total	76	117	183					

(NSS=Name, Son of..., Servant of...)

Table 6.18 illustrates that the standard Babylonian formula, NSS, actually became more prevalent during the LOB period than it had been earlier. Nor were variants of it in use. The inscriptions of the OB period confirm the impression of an ongoing seal carving tradition. The Kassite seals, however, display an abrupt shift in the types of inscriptions commonly carved on seals. Prayers predominate over any other variety. In comparison, only three dated OB seals contain prayers. The NSS formula which comprises roughly 90% of the LOB inscriptions drops to under 3% in the Kassite period. These findings coincide with that of the large and fill figures. Every aspect of the cylinder seal examined thus far has undergone a substantial change between the LOB and Kassite periods.

## COMPARISON OF OLD BABYLONIAN AND KASSITE ICONOGRAPHY AND INSCRIPTIONS

The transition from the Old Babylonian to the Kassite period has been portrayed as a time of gradual transition from one tradition to another (Matthews, 1990). Van Buren suggests the Kassites drew inspiration from the early Old Babylonian period although they did not slavishly reproduce

their designs (1954:2). First Kassite seals in particular have been characterized as a simplification of the OB style (Matthews, 1990:56). A systematic examination of OB and Kassite seals has suggested this purported connection needs to be reconsidered.

The principal reason most OB and First Kassite icons have been correlated rests on posture. The Figure with the Scimitar resembles the King with the Mace. But a closer look at the data did not show any connection other than pose (and gender). Standing and seated divinities/persons appear on both OB and First Kassite seals of all types. However, Kassite artists did not depict them in a consistent manner or with recognizable attributes. Differences in headwear, hair, and dress may possibly be ascribed to changes in popular styles. But the percentage of female personages depicted on seals declined precipitously during the Kassite period as well. This shift, although less obvious than headwear, cannot be dismissed as the result of a fashion trend.

Table 6.19 lists Old Babylonian symbols and inscription types that no longer appear on Kassite seals. Seven of the nine most popular OB main figures dropped out completely. This is in spite of the fact that three of them, the AG, WQ, and BM, remained popular in both the EOB and LOB. The SF showed a sharp increase in depictions in the LOB. The 'Objects Held' category generally reflects the main figures that were discontinued. The most common types of headwear and the identifiable hairstyles disappeared as well. Nor do the Kassites use the two most common OB fill figures or the ubiquitous NSS inscription formula.

The supposition that the Kassite artists derived their style of seal carving directly from the Babylonians is not supported by the available evidence. A look at the political and economic situation at the end of the Late Old Babylonian period suggests that a break in seal carving tradition should be expected. Living conditions had undoubtedly become very difficult. I only found 14 sealings attributable to Samsudtana. Of these, the last datable impressions came from year 14. No seals at present can be assigned to his remaining 16 years. In addition to the poorly documented conclusion of the OB period, we do not yet know for certain how much time elapsed before the Kassites assumed power in Babylon. Nor is there any indication when the economic situation began to improve.

The art of seal carving died out in Mesopotamia at the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon. However, in areas peripheral to Babylonia, it continued on uninterrupted. Under the Kassites, the Mesopotamian economy eventually revived and their merchants began trading with other regions. These tradespeople naturally encountered cylinder seals being used in other areas. Kassites living in places like Nuzi needed their own seals to conduct business with the local population. They may have been the first to develop a recognizable Kassite style. These merchants, in turn, reintroduced seals back into Babylonia. This hypothesis accounts for the absence of seals or sealings in Mesopotamia datable to the 16th and 15th centuries, the earliest identifiable Kassite seals appearing in areas peripheral to Babylonia rather than in Babylonia itself, and the almost complete lack of continuity in the iconographic repertoire



and inscriptions used between the Old Babylonian and the Kassite periods.

Table 6.19

**Old Babylonian Seal Conventions Discontinued  
in the Kassite Period**

	EOB	LOB	KAS
<b>Main Figures</b>			
Figure/King with Mace	83	55	1
Lahmu: Fig. w/Triple Curls	61	36	0
Ascending God	46	39	0
Worshipper with Quadruped	37	43	0
BullMan	28	24	0
Smiting Figure	7	39	1
Warrior Ishtar	31	8	0
<b>Objects Held</b>			
Quadruped	58	57	0
Knife/Saw	25	23	0
Double Lion Mace	22	11	0
Mace (bottom)	59	30	2
Stylus	20	14	2
<b>Head Wear</b>			
Horn Crown	242	144	12
Turban-style 1	106	72	5
<b>Hairstyles</b>			
Long Ponytail	78	43	1
Female w/Shoulder Length	17	6	0
Goddess with Long Hair	38	11	0
<b>Fill Figures</b>			
SunMoon	52	43	0
Head	22	11	0
<b>Inscription Type</b>			
Name, Son of..., Servant of...	62	105	5

**RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE  
SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C.**

The second millennium witnessed several significant changes in the realm of religion. These consisted of the growing importance of personal religion and the rise of Marduk to a position of prominence in the Mesopotamian pantheon. Both developments can be investigated by examining the iconography and inscriptions of cylinder seals. Seal iconography and inscription types have been enumerated in the previous sections. An additional aspect of the inscriptions that needs to be included at this point is the frequency of divine and theophoric names on the seals.

Table 6.20 lists divinities found on OB and Kassite seals. A 'D' extension means the name appeared in reference to the

god or goddess while a 'T' implies it formed part of a theophoric name. Because most deities were alluded to by many different names, I grouped all the variations under one appellation. For instance, I counted Inanna, Ninsianna, Nin-Eanna, Inana, Nin-ana, Innin, Eshtar, and E-anna under 'Ishtar'. Nearly 100 individual divinities appeared in this data base, but most were mentioned fewer than five times.

The upper portion of table 6.20 contains the only five deities cited more than 25 times in the three time periods combined. By way of comparison, the lower part gives the counts for the gods which formed the highest ranking triad in the Mesopotamian pantheon.

**The Rise of Personal Religion**

The origins of personal religion date back at least into the third millennium B.C. But during the Old Babylonian and subsequent Kassite periods, it became increasingly important in people's lives (Jacobsen, 1976:161). This meant that individuals relied on, or indeed demanded, that their personal deities take care of them and their needs. The shift towards personal religion remains difficult to trace between the OB and Kassite periods due to the lack of documentation. But eventually, any deity, including great gods like Sin, Shamash, and Marduk, could take on the role of personal god. People could approach them directly via prayer. I hypothesized that such a major religious change should be evident in seal iconography and inscriptions.

The seal designs of the Old Babylonian period largely reflected official religion. This involved the organized worship of the major gods and goddesses by the king, priests, and priestesses. Thus we find the King with the Mace approaching the Interceding Goddess, as well as Shamash, Ishtar, and seated gods among the most popular icons on OB seals. The worshipper with the quadruped, which may also be the king, depicts the formal presentation of an offering to a divinity (Saggs, 1988:305). OB seal inscriptions followed the inevitable formula, 'PN, son of PN, servant of DN'.

Even though OB seals represented official religion, they seldom mentioned the two most important gods in the pantheon, Anu and Enlil. They were not incorporated into personal names nor did their symbols appear. This becomes explicable when one considers the aura of awe and remoteness that surrounded these deities. Even kings had personal gods to act as intermediaries with the great gods. It was the second ranking tier of divinities that comprised the majority of identifiable icons and names on Old Babylonian seals.

The first noticeable changes in OB cylinder seal iconography coincided with the disintegration of the empire after Samsuiluna year nine. The sudden decline in the use of the King with the Mace motif suggests a crisis of confidence in the king's ability to mediate between society and the gods. The loss of Nippur must have been an additional blow to people's faith in the institution of kingship. These events may have persuaded the Babylonians to rely more on their own personal gods for their needs. The first hint of this



Table 6.20

## Use of Divine Names on OB and Kassite Seals

					Breakdown for KAS					
	EOB	LOB	KAS	Total	*	KP	KN	KC	KV	SK
Shamash-D	18	16	20	54	*	1	9	8	0	2
Shamash-T	13	22	7	42	*	1	2	3	0	1
Sin-D	8	8	13	29	*	1	4	6	2	0
Sin-T	30	37	11	78	*	2	3	6	0	0
Adad-D	4	6	9	19	*	1	1	5	2	0
Adad-T	2	4	8	14	*	0	0	5	2	1
Marduk-D	2	1	56	59	*	1	9	23	7	16
Marduk-T	4	16	19	39	*	0	1	13	1	4
Ishtar-D	1	7	28	36	*	1	6	18	2	1
Ishtar-T	3	4	1	8	*	0	0	1	0	0
Total	85	121	172	378	*	8	35	88	16	25
-----										
Anu-D	1	1	4	6	*	1	0	2	1	0
Anu-T	0	1	1	2	*	0	0	1	0	0
Enlil-D	0	2	8	10	*	0	1	4	2	1
Enlil-T	1	2	2	5	*	0	0	2	0	0
Ea-D	5	2	6	13	*	0	1	4	1	0
Ea-T	1	2	4	7	*	0	1	3	0	0
Total	8	10	25	43	*	1	3	16	4	1

change comes towards the end of the LOB period. Some seals show a single figure, who may or may not be human, standing next to an inscription. Unfortunately, many of these inscriptions remain untranslated. But they bear a similarity to the Kassite Composite group which depicts typical OB iconography in conjunction with Kassite-type prayers.

First Kassite seals, in particular, exemplify the rise of personal religion. Unlike OB seals, inscriptions usually in the form of prayers predominate. The iconography often consists of just a lone figure standing before the prayer. Occasionally the seal carver eliminated the iconography altogether or reduced it to a column of small insects or animals. I found it difficult to tell whether these figures were supposed to be human or divine. Clearly the Kassite artists had switched the emphasis to the inscription, i.e., the prayer, and away from the iconography of official religion. This may also explain why virtually all the popular Old Babylonian cylinder seal motifs representing official religion were never reintroduced into the Kassite repertoire.

The shift away from the NSS inscription formula in the OB period to prayers on Kassite seals parallels the emerging importance of personal religion. Concurrently, the deities

appealed to most often in the prayers should indicate the most popular personal god/desses of the seal owners. Marduk appears most often on First Kassite seals followed closely by Ishtar (see Table 6.20).

Despite the popularity of Marduk and Ishtar, no recognizable images of them appear in the FK iconographic repertoire. I suggest that this can be attributed to the nature of personal religion. As Jacobsen argues, despite its outward appearance, personal religion is "...based on an almost limitless presumption of self-importance, its drawing the greatest cosmic powers into the little personal world of the individual..." (1976:161). Personal religion emphasizes the needs and wants of the individual. First Kassite seals are the material manifestations of the same attitude. The demand in the form of a prayer assumes priority while the power and awe belonging to the divine all but disappears.

#### The Promotion of Marduk

The second major change in Mesopotamian religion pertains to the rising importance of Marduk, the city god of Babylon during the second millennium. By the end of the Kassite period, he stood poised to depose Enlil as the head of the



Mesopotamian pantheon. I anticipated an increase in the number of his image, symbols, and name through time on cylinder seals. Symbols of a god can actively be used to help establish a new religious order. This in turn reflects the growing importance of that particular deity. In this case, I assumed that the Kassites would depict Marduk frequently to visually reinforce and help legitimize his growing importance despite his official subordination to Enlil.

No iconography attributable to Marduk appears on EOB seals at all. I only found one marru, Marduk's symbol, in the LOB period (see Table 6.17). It was the only one I found in the entire data base. No identifiable depictions of Marduk can be found on First Kassite seals either. However, Edith Porada (1981) believed that Marduk was portrayed on a special group of Second Kassite seals. The following section summarizes her reasons (Porada, 1981:68-70).

A cache of Kassite seals turned up in excavations at Thebes in Boetia, Greece. They were made of lapis lazuli and engraved in the SK style. Due to their size and material, researchers immediately suspected they could have originally been designed as votive offerings for a temple (Porada, 1981:70 referring to the first article about these seals written by N. Platon for the *Illustrated London News*). Porada suspected they came from a Marduk temple since so many of the inscriptions were dedicated to him. If that was true, how did they come to be in Greece?

We know from historical records that Tukulti Ninurta sacked the Marduk temple in Babylon when he defeated the city c.1225 B.C. (Brinkman, 1983). At the same time, the Hittites refused to trade with Assyria since Tukulti Ninurta had caused trouble for them in Commagene. The circumstances suggest that Tukulti Ninurta sent lapis lazuli in the form of the looted cylinder seals to the Greek king as a gift. He did this in an effort to establish friendly relations for the purposes of trade. The evidence from Greece indicates that Thebes itself was sacked and burned c.1220 B.C. The short period of time elapsed between the arrival of the cylinders at Thebes and its destructions helps explain why the seals had not been abraded and reengraved which was a common practice.

If Edith Porada is correct in her assessment that these seals came from the Marduk temple in Babylon, can the god pictured on them be identified as Marduk? She thinks so. Other scholars disagree on the basis that Marduk was not yet head of the pantheon during this period (Porada, 1981:50-51, footnote 151). A analysis of divine (excluding theophoric) names by style reveals that Marduk comprises 40% of the total on FKC seals. In fact, Ishtar appears almost as often as Marduk. But his name predominates in SK inscriptions, i.e., it represents 84% of the total. On the other hand, I could find no distinctive iconography on SK seals that corresponded to the use of Marduk's name in the inscription. I think the main icons display too much variation to confidently assume they represent a single god.

The documentary evidence shows that Marduk did take over the Mesopotamian pantheon. His rising status, however, cannot be detected in the iconography depicted on cylinder seals. Symbols can certainly be used to covertly disrupt and

change an existing power structure. In this case, they were not. It is difficult to surmise why the Kassites did not use this avenue to promote Marduk. I have argued above that the tradition of seal carving died out in Babylonia for several centuries prior to its reemergence under the Kassites. Therefore it seems unlikely that any long-standing taboo could be the reason for this omission.

Whatever kept Marduk's image and symbols from appearing on seals, it did not apply to his name. The increase in theophoric names incorporating Marduk begins in the reign of Abieshu (partway through LOB4). Overall, the number of Marduk personal names quadruples from 4 in EOB to 16 in LOB. This probably has more to do with the fact that he was a favorite personal god rather than any relation to his official status.

Marduk's name, in its divine form, did not become common until the Kassite period. Prayers addressed to him predominate in both First and Second Kassite inscriptions. As I argued above, Marduk's official position cannot be addressed by examining FK seals because these seals were associated with the dictates of personal religion. Second Kassite seals, on the other hand, appear to be reserved for use on documents related to administrative activities (Matthews, 1992).

His name comprises 84% of the total divinities mentioned. This compares to his 40% on FKC seals (see Table 6.20). The important point to note here is that SK seals belonged to government officials. This suggests that Marduk's supporters had the tacit approval of the king to promote him in this way. It remains unclear why prayers addressed to Marduk were acceptable while his symbols were not. However, the prevalence of prayers to Marduk indicate that by the middle of the Kassite period (based on the dating of the SK seals), he had become the preferred god of the bureaucracy. This seems to challenge the notion, even if covertly, that Enlil remained undisputed head of the pantheon.

I do not believe this conclusion is skewed by a disproportionate number of seals from Babylon where the government officials probably had a vested interest in promoting Marduk. Table 6.21 comprises a tabulation of the findspots of seals with Marduk-D in the inscription. (I accepted the Porada's hypothesis that the seals from Thebes were looted from the Marduk temple in Babylon). The findspots of the vast majority of seals remains unknown. And since most of the second millennium levels of Babylon lie below the modern watertable, it remains highly unlikely that a majority of the 'unknown' seals come from there (Roux, 1992:208). As it is, an equal number of seals originated in Babylon and Nippur, the city of Enlil. Even though Marduk ranked lower than Enlil, the inscriptions on official seals proclaimed dependence on the city-god of Babylon. This seems to suggest that prayers dedicated to Marduk were an acceptable way of positioning Marduk so he could eventually assume control of the pantheon.



Table 6.21

**Sources of Seals  
with Marduk-D in the Inscription**

	KP	KN	KC	KV	SK	Total
Thebes (Babylon)	0	0	1	0	4	5
Nippur	0	1	4	0	0	5
Subeidi	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hama	0	0	1	0	0	1
Unknown	1	6	16	7	11	41

## CONCLUSION

The analysis of the cylinder seal data was structured around six specific research questions enumerated in chapter two. Some answers can now be suggested based on the results of the investigation. The first question concerned whether any 'principles of composition' could be detected in Old Babylonian seal designs. The statistical comparison of motifs showed that no pair co-occurred any more than chance would dictate. However, it also revealed that some icons rarely if ever appeared together. This indicates that some guidelines, in reference to composition, must have existed.

Second, I wanted to determine if any Old Babylonian icons could be utilized as precise chronological indicators. I found no motifs that correlated, for instance, with a specific reign, but a number of symbols do bear chronological implications. The King with the Mace and Warrior Ishtar both became much less frequent after Samsuiluna year 9. Smiting Figures gained in popularity beginning approximately in the 15th year of Ammiditana. Six fill figures, i.e., the turtle, hedgehog, Humbaba mask, crook, jellyfish, and an animal balancing a crook on its head, did not appear on any of these Old Babylonian seals after the reign of Hammurabi. The aforementioned motifs can provide general chronological parameters for a group of associated seals and sealings. Individual cylinder seals, however, cannot be dated accurately by iconography alone.

Third, I wondered if any changes in the frequencies of Old Babylonian seal iconography could be related to the rise and fall of Hammurabi's empire. This inquiry produced the most unexpected finding of the research project. The use of the King with the Mace motif dropped off dramatically and permanently coincident with the onset of the rebellion against Babylon's rule by the conquered territories. Earlier in Samsuiluna's reign, the frequency of the King with the Mace had actually been increasing. Warrior Ishtar also declined during the Late Old Babylonian period. This can be explained in terms of her status as the representative of an enemy city.

Fourth, I investigated the relationship between the Old Babylonian and Kassite seal carving traditions. In the literature, there exists a widespread assumption that Kassite

styles evolved from Late Old Babylonian seals. My research did not support this conclusion. A comparison of main figures, their attributes including gender, headwear, hairstyles, and objects held, showed substantial differences between the two groups. Seven out of the nine most popular Old Babylonian icons disappeared completely. A detailed comparison of the Figure with the Scimitar with the Figure with the Mace, which has been one of the main justifications for linking the two periods, revealed more differences than similarities. The Kassite seals displayed a completely different repertoire of fill figures as well. Even the type of inscriptions found on the seals changed. Based on the available evidence, I think the purported relationship between Old Babylonian and Kassite seals needs to be reconsidered.

Fifth, I looked for connections between Old Babylonian and Kassite seals and the rise of personal religion. I could not identify any changes on Old Babylonian seals that might correlate with this particular shift in religious attitudes. But, the increasing importance of personal religion may have exerted influence on the design of First Kassite Central seals with their long prayers and often minimal iconography.

The last research question is the one that inspired this project in the first place. Can the rising influence of Marduk be detected in Old Babylonian and/or Kassite cylinder seals? Ironically, the short answer seems to be 'no'. Neither Marduk nor his symbols appear unequivocally on Old Babylonian or Kassite cylinder seals. But, the use of his name, in both its divine and theophoric forms, increases dramatically. Unfortunately these changes cannot be traced within the Kassite period due to the lack of dated material. In the end, my goal of discerning the rise of Marduk through the medium of cylinder seal imagery could not be realized because the Babylonians and Kassites apparently did not depict him on their seals. While this was certainly disappointing, it also raised a new set of questions. Why **didn't** the Babylonians or Kassites portray Marduk on cylinder seals? Did they use some other type of material culture to help legitimize his status? My analysis did not produce the anticipated results but it did suggest new avenues of research.



## CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation investigated patterns of change in the use of iconography on Old Babylonian and Kassite cylinder seals. These patterns can now be related to the major political and religious developments of the second millennium B.C. The latter include the rise and fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the takeover of Babylonia by the Kassites, the growing importance of personal religion, and the rising status of Marduk. In the following section, I will present a series of inferences that seek to explain how the Babylonians integrated cylinder seal iconography into the construction of their social reality.

The first major political event in this study involved the founding of the First Dynasty of Babylon by Sumuabum. He was an Amorite sheikh and a nomad who rose to power early in the 19th century B.C. Conquest made Sumuabum the de facto ruler of Babylon, but it did not automatically make him the *legitimate* king of Babylon. This had to be accomplished by other means. It also had to be done quickly because claiming power and retaining it are two different matters.

Sumuabum and his followers faced the same problem confronted by every other group trying to establish control within a hierarchical political system. How can an elite create and maintain the legitimate right to rule? According to Cohen (1988), political legitimacy implies a degree of consensus concerning the rules which govern a society. It allows the inequality of power inherent in a hierarchical political system to be acceptable to the people subject to its laws. Usually such inequity is justified to the public by promising them peace and prosperity. In addition, legitimacy also implies that persons with access to coercive power will refrain from, or at least appear to refrain from, making arbitrary use of that power.

The methods by which elites establish and maintain their legitimacy include both coercive power and the use of productive power or the "power to" (Miller and Tilley, 1984:5-8; Shanks and Tilley, 1992:129-30). "Power to" involves people's ability to obtain and transform resources, both material and nonmaterial. It is intimately connected with the production and reproduction of social reality. Studies have shown that ruling groups actively utilize material culture to create, maintain, and justify their unequal access to power and resources, in short, their legitimacy.

Persons who exercise productive power have the opportunity to control what kinds of symbolic messages are directed towards particular audiences. This allows them to deliberately shape and reinforce perceptions of social reality to their own advantage. For instance, material culture intended for public consumption often emphasizes differences between 'noble' and 'commoner'. Elites

frequently create this distinction by identifying themselves with religious symbols and iconography. This provides their political position with the aura of divine sanctification.

Joyce Marcus (1974) investigated the relationship between the control of iconography and the establishment, preservation, and maintenance of political legitimacy during the Classic Maya period. She found that the Maya used conventionalized symbols and iconography on stelae, lintels, staircases, altars, and panels to convey messages concerning rank and status. As expected, rulers often appeared in the carvings. However, they cannot be distinguished from each other on the basis of individual characteristics. Instead, artists adopted a standardized, and probably idealized, depiction of a ruler. He was shown as well-dressed with a rigid but serene countenance. This portrayal contrasted sharply with the grimacing, contorted, half-naked prisoners who often appeared in the same scene. Captives, however, were placed in the lower registers of stelae where they literally as well as symbolically supported the king. The overall composition visually represented the Mayan hierarchical social structure.

Maya artisans also carved images of prisoners into the risers or steps of great staircases. In this way, people could physically tread on their enemies. The sharp contrasts depicted between ruler and conquered illustrate just one way the Mayan elite utilized iconography to communicate and validate their power and status. According to Marcus, these prominent displays of power actually helped create the reality of that power. She contends that they were necessary precisely because the Maya had yet to effectively institutionalize their political control.

Timothy Earle studied similar issues in reference to complex chiefdoms in Hawaii (1990). Each major island was ruled by its own chiefly line. These lines engaged in intense competition for control over all the islands wielded by the paramount chief. As such, they shared, as Earle put it, "a single ideology of legitimization" (1990:76). The regional elites used an array of special objects to communicate their chiefly status to both the general public and other ruling groups. The feathered cape and headdress comprised two of the most important display items. The Hawaiians believed that feathers were the clothes of the gods. By wearing feathers, the chiefs proclaimed their divine status and their legitimate right to rule. Variations existed in the cloaks and helmets which conveyed a chief's place within the overall elite hierarchy. For instance, only the paramount chief could wear the largest capes made of the very rare yellow *mamo*. The ruling lines manufactured and distributed these items. In so doing, they maintained control over who could claim divinity and, by extension, political power.



The Mayan and Hawaiian case studies illustrate how iconography has been used to communicate unequal relationships of power and status to the populace in general. But other types of material culture remain accessible only to elite groups. In these situations, symbolic messages can be expected to differ from those discussed above. Instead of emphasizing broad themes concerning ruler and ruled, iconography with a limited distribution within society can address issues specific to the upper classes. Some examples might include legitimizing an individual's place within the existing social order, negotiating an internal hierarchy within the elite, and working out problems between competing elite groups.

Several studies have focused on how material culture helps construct social reality within the ruling class. Perhaps the most widely known is Mark Leone's analysis of the William Paca garden which was built in the 1760s in Maryland (Leone, 1984:29). Leone contends that the designs of private, formal gardens from this period can be related to the ideological beliefs of the upper class documented in written records. These included the sanction and protection of the existing social hierarchy which incorporated slavery as well as vociferous demands for personal freedom and liberty. The contradiction between these positions soon became apparent. The upper class attempted to mask and thus deny the problem by making the social hierarchy appear embedded in nature. They actively conveyed this message to themselves and others of similar social position in the design of their gardens.

Eighteenth-century sources asserted that two elements in particular were necessary for building a successful garden. First, the designer must have a thorough knowledge of local soil, plants, and weather conditions. This allowed order to be applied to nature as precedents provided information concerning the behavior of the various factors impinging on a garden. Second, the planner needed to understand geometry so principles of perspective could be manipulated in the design. Evenly spaced descending terraces comprised a main feature of most formal gardens at this time. They produced the effect of a neatly segmented natural world extending back into the past. This artificially created 'natural order', in turn, was identified with the social order making the latter appear as if it too was natural. The symbolic messages of the garden fostered the illusion that the social hierarchy, with the owner, his family, and friends occupying positions of power, derived from nature and had always existed.

Irene Winter (1987) also studied material culture which had a limited distribution within society. She analyzed presentation scenes on cylinder seals from the Third Dynasty of Ur III. They date to the end of the third millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia. The scenes depicted a seated king with an individual standing in front of him. Usually an interceding goddess preceded or followed the worshipper. The legends accompanying the iconography included the name of the king, his titles, and the name of the seal owner.

Seals of this type belonged to a special class of high ranking public official. The seal imagery conveyed the general place of the seal owner within the bureaucratic system. The most highly placed individuals dispensed with the interceding goddess on their seals. The juxtaposition of the king and the solitary individual visually proclaimed his direct access to the king. The legends provided information complementary to the symbolism on the seal.

The image and text worked together to form a complete symbolic message. It, in turn, served a dual purpose. First, the very possession of such a seal validated the position of the bureaucrat in the system. The seal acted as his mark of legitimacy and authority bestowed on him by the king. The variations in the legends and iconography, i.e. with or without interceding goddess, went further to establish a hierarchy within the highest ranks of the bureaucracy. Second, the king's image and name in legend confirmed his right to issue the seal. It legitimized his power, and by extension, his divine right to exercise that power. Thus these seals acted to validate both the position of the king and the bureaucrat within the social system.

These last two examples show how material culture can be used to facilitate symbolic communication between individuals of similar social status. Neither the William Paca Garden nor the special bureaucratic seals of Ur III conveyed ideological messages encoded for the general public. Consequently neither overtly stressed the differences between the elite and commoner as the Mayan glyphs or the feathered garments of the Hawaiians did. Instead the gardens and seals created and validated the elite individual's place within the hierarchy. The symbolic messages served to maintain the status quo and reproduce social reality.

With the preceding discussion as background, the question of how Sumuabum and his successors handled the issue of legitimizing their dynasty can now be examined. Roughly a century separated the end of the Ur III period from the beginning of the Old Babylonian period. Since so little time had elapsed when the Amorites took over Babylon, Sumuabum found the local culture largely intact. Part of his ultimately successful strategy for achieving legitimization included the adoption of the social practices and material culture of the indigenous people in order to insert himself into ongoing Mesopotamian traditions.

The early kings accomplished several things by appropriating local symbols. First, they established a symbolic link to the past that did not in fact exist. This created the impression that they were the legitimate heirs to political power in Babylon. In cultures that depend heavily on their own past to provide 'templates' for the present, the persons that control precedence may find it easier to protect their own interests (Leone, 1984:26). It also gave them a way to visually display their acceptance by the divine pantheon. Second, by retaining familiar iconography, the new kings intentionally communicated an unambiguous symbolic message to the populace. They embraced the indigenous religious traditions of the society. Since religion permeated all aspects of life, such an affirmation was extremely important.



One of the practices adopted by the new rulers was the use of cylinder seals. However, they did not significantly revise the extant seal carving tradition. The iconography of the early Old Babylonian seals displays virtually the same symbolic repertoire that had been in existence for nearly a thousand years. This degree of continuity suggests several things. First, the people with access to seals still understood their symbolic messages and found them meaningful. Second, the retention of familiar seal iconography clearly asserted to the upper class that the new kings had every intention of maintaining the status quo.

Earle has suggested that a strong continuity in iconography can imply a similar continuity in symbolic meaning (1990:74). Irene Winter's work (1987) demonstrated that the symbolic messages associated with a specific group of Ur III seals functioned to establish an individual's place in the bureaucratic hierarchy, while conversely validating the king's legitimate right to rule. No comparable subgroup of seals has yet been identified for the Old Babylonian period. Nor did I find any images that could reasonably be interpreted as individual owners. But based on the predominance of deities as well as depictions of the king on OB seals, I think that at least part of the message remained intact. Specifically, I suggest that the palace exerted some control over the iconographic content on Old Babylonian seals in order to legitimize the king's position as ruler by virtue of divine sanction.

Unfortunately, no known source states this fact out right. But several lines of evidence taken together support this contention. First, only a limited number of symbols appear in any quantity on Old Babylonian seals. Lamia al-Gailani Werr (1988) studied the Old Babylonian seals from Sippar. They displayed a number of stylistic variations which led her to conclude that at least two distinct seal carving workshops existed in that city. However, she could detect no difference in the symbolic repertoires utilized by each shop. Such consistency would be more likely to occur if some outside agency determined what iconography was acceptable on seals.

Second, the analysis showed that no main Old Babylonian motifs were positively associated at statistically significant levels. This implies that seal carvers combined the main icons in a random fashion. Yet I demonstrated that two pairs of motifs, Ascending God-Smiting Figure and Ascending God-Seated God, rarely occurred together. If seal designers composed scenes entirely by selecting symbols in an arbitrary manner, this would not happen. This seems particularly true if there was more than one workshop making seals. One could argue that the proprietor of a single workshop might unconsciously avoid putting certain icons together. But the identical decision made by all the other shops on a completely independent basis is untenable. Some general guidelines must have existed that specified what symbols could and could not be combined on seals.

Third, there remains a general lack of artistic innovation or experimentation on seals up until the reign of Samsuiluna. This suggests that some agency with power over all the seal cutters deliberately insisted that certain kinds of variation be

kept to a minimum. By suppressing a multiplicity of icons, the government could effectively control the symbolic messages on seals. A small number of standardized icons facilitates communication by only allowing a limited number of identifiable messages.

Finally, the Old Babylonian kings introduced and promoted the King with the Mace motif. Seal engravers usually depicted him striding confidently forth to request favors from a benevolent goddess. The symbolism portrays the king as a strong leader whose rule the gods actively support. The government took steps to make certain this message appeared on cylinder seals. Officials encouraged, or possibly insisted, that seal cutters use the KM in their seal designs. This would explain why from his initial appearance, the King with the Mace achieved a numeric representation comparable to two figures with long histories of use on seals, Lahmu and Shamash. By the time of Sinmuballit-early Hammurabi, his popularity on seals rivalled the Interceding Goddess.

Redundancy also formed part of the palace's strategy. Seal cutters depicted the King with the Mace in a consistent fashion from the time of his introduction so there could be no confusion as to his identity. This parallels the Mayan portrayals of their kings. Nor did the Old Babylonian monarchs allow any other new symbol to compete with the KM motif. It was the **only** new seal icon that gained any prominence during the Old Babylonian period. These factors imply that the palace exerted pressure on the artisans to include this image on their seals. This situation may well be analogous to the one Joyce Marcus (1974) described for the Maya. The kings promoted an iconography of power sanctified by the gods precisely because it had yet to be firmly established. The symbolic message initially did not reflect an existing situation, but rather was designed to help create it.

Cylinder seal iconography conveyed the legitimate status of the king primarily to the elites. In this case, elites refer to persons who came in contact with the seals, i.e., the scribes who wrote the tablets, merchants involved in business transactions, government officials, etc. Seal symbolism emphasized the king's acceptance by the divine pantheon because in Mesopotamia, trade, commerce, and government cannot be divorced from religion. For instance, Harris (1975:262) says that business partnerships began and ended in the Shamash temple. Reckonings of profit and loss took place there as well. Typical Old Babylonian contracts which represent the transactions of the palace, temples, and private individuals include oaths sworn to one or more deities. And it was in the elites' interests to support the king. Only a strong king could create stable political conditions which in turn allowed trade and commerce to flourish.

Once a legitimate government has been established, the issue cannot be set aside and forgotten. Legitimacy must be actively maintained by continuously producing symbolic messages that recreate and reinforce social reality. The Babylonian rulers demonstrated their awareness of this fact by adopting the indigenous local culture and introducing



new iconography that conveyed this message. Another obvious example dates to the reign of Hammurabi.

Hammurabi conquered vast quantities of territory towards the end of his life. These areas consisted primarily of previously independent states. Like Sumuabum, victory had made him the de facto ruler but not the legitimate ruler of the new provinces. Yoffee (1988b) has argued that Hammurabi made a calculated attempt to portray himself as a legitimate king in the newly acquired areas by the issuance of a law code. Law codes constituted a traditional device used by Mesopotamian kings to characterize themselves as just rulers.

The Code of Hammurabi consisted of a list of crimes with their requisite punishments. Even though few people could actually read the laws, their very existence chiseled in stone symbolized justice. In addition, Hammurabi had an image of himself carved on top of the stela paying homage to Shamash, the sun god and god of justice. This reinforced the symbolic message that Hammurabi represented the divinely sanctioned law of the land. As Yoffee (1988b) has shown, the law code had little to do with jurisprudence, legal issues, etc. Rather it served as a piece of political propaganda intended to legitimize the rule of a foreign overlord.

The next major political development in the Old Babylonian period provides striking testimony that Hammurabi's attempts to legitimize his rule in the conquered territories ultimately failed. Within nine years of Hammurabi's death, the people in the newly won provinces rebelled against Babylonian rule. By the end of Samsuiluna's reign, he only controlled Babylon's original core area which included the cities of Sippar and Kish.

The loss of the provinces dealt a severe blow to the palace's sources of revenue. But the Crown did not decrease its spending accordingly (Yoffee, 1988a). They continued to undertake large scale irrigation and building projects. Fiscal instability was the inevitable result. To save money, the Crown started to rely on a seasonal work force recruited by local leaders. This gave the village headmen the chance to reassert their authority that had previously been usurped by the central government. The temples also regained much of their former economic power as they reassumed their role as lending institutions.

The palace's financial difficulties exacerbated the problem of environmental degradation. Yoffee (1988a) thinks the later kings may have tried to grow more food in an effort to increase revenue. Since they did not have access to any additional land, the only way to accomplish this would have been by abandoning the system of fallow. Such an action would provide some short-term relief but in the long run would damage fields and lower productivity because of salinization. Even though there is no direct evidence to prove this, documents attest to inflated food prices and new attempts at intensive land management in the later Old Babylonian period. The Edict of Ammisaduqa, written in the reign of the second to last king of the dynasty, makes reference to the debt load on the people (Pritchard, 1975).

The years following the break up of the Old Babylonian empire witnessed a devolution of the central government as political and economic power reverted back to more traditional sources of authority. I believe that the king suffered a comparable decline in power and prestige. In Mesopotamian theology, a king's reign only prospered if the divine pantheon supported him. Conversely, hard times meant that the gods had withdrawn their sanction of his leadership. As a result, the king would have a much more difficult time portraying himself as the legitimate ruler. This did not automatically mean he would lose the throne. But he could no longer effectively persuade the people to believe that he could establish peace and prosperity.

The decline in the standard of living combined with the declining power of the king, both real and perceived, facilitated the rise of personal religion. Personal religion was not a new invention. It dated back at least into the third millennium B.C. What did change was the role it played in people's lives. Its importance grew during the Late Old Babylonian period because people had no other place to turn to for assistance. The government clearly could not provide the services it once had. But individuals could appeal to their personal god or goddess for luck, success, health, and wealth. They believed if they had been devout worshippers, the deity would answer their prayers. This trend towards the reliance on personal gods to fulfill individual needs continued throughout the Kassite period.

The political, economic, and religious transformations that occurred in the latter half of the OB period undoubtedly had a major effect on people's lives. As circumstances changed, people inevitably altered their material culture with its embedded symbolic messages to help them structure their new social reality. At present, there have been few studies done on how this might be recognized in the archaeological record.

I think people might be expected to adopt a number of different strategies in the production of material symbols in the case of cultural decline. First, the existing iconographic repertoire would be modified as people coped with the necessity of creating new symbolic messages. This might include the introduction of new icons and the modification or recombination of existing ones. Some motifs might be discontinued altogether if their symbolic associations became irrelevant or somehow unacceptable. For instance, symbols of legitimation previously reserved for use by the government could be coopted by other groups or abandoned as representations of power that no longer worked.

Second, a greater diversity in iconography may result if a centralized government loses its control over symbolic activity. As Winter (1987) and Earle (1990) demonstrated, elites often choose to convey a limited number of identifiable messages through the use of a restricted number of standardized symbols. With a breakdown of coercive authority, the opposite situation could occur. Individuals would assume the "power to" express themselves using a wide variety of symbols. However, if the government retained its hold on coercive power despite political



setbacks, then symbols of legitimation could remain long after the reality of that power had disappeared.

Finally, the collapse of a society may trigger an overall decline in symbolic activity. Kelley Ann Hayes (1993) suggests that symbols of political legitimation should be considered as investments of time, labor, and materials. They can fulfill a variety of functions including the communication of status within a social hierarchy. If the society ultimately collapses, the need for negotiating social position substantially lessens. Thus, investment in symbolic communication would no longer be as important as it once was. The quantity and quality of artistic activity would diminish as a result.

The cylinder seal iconography utilized during the Late Old Babylonian period displays evidence of all three of these responses to cultural collapse. Some symbols were largely abandoned while others gained in importance. Diversity in the iconographic repertoire increased, but the overall quality of the seals decreased. The motif that appeared to be most directly affected by the onset of the political turmoil was the King with the Mace. This icon suffered a sudden, sharp fall in its depiction on seals which coincided almost exactly with Samsuiluna's ninth year. I argued earlier that the OB kings introduced and promoted the King with the Mace as a means of portraying themselves as legitimate kings. Its precipitous decline indicates that the palace no longer had the power to insist on its inclusion on seals.

The question remains though, why didn't the elites continue to use the King with the Mace motif in attempt to curry favor with the ruler? I believe the unstable political conditions triggered a crisis of confidence in the dynastic line. In Mesopotamia, a king only ruled effectively at the pleasure of the gods. The people must have considered the perceived withdrawal of divine sanction for the king as a very serious matter. Since the KM showed the monarch basking in the approval of a benevolent goddess, its continued use must have been thought to be offensive to the gods. Thus, the elite chose to drop this symbol in deference to the wishes of the divine pantheon. This hypothesis takes into account a number of factors concerning the sudden virtual abandonment of the KM motif. It explains why this particular icon lost favor, the timing and extent of its decline, and why it never regained its former popularity. If the king had gradually lost his ability to recreate his legitimate status as power devolved away from the central government, then the KM symbol would have declined over time, not suffered a precipitous and permanent drop.

Warrior Ishtar is another motif whose use diminished during and after the reign of Samsuiluna. She also represented an icon that no longer carried an appropriate message. She was the patron goddess of Uruk, a city that had once enjoyed a close relationship with Babylon. But the citizens of Uruk rebelled against the rule of Samsuiluna along with the rest of the south. Uruk eventually fell into the hands of the Sealand Dynasty. Consequently, during the Late Old Babylonian period, Ishtar symbolized an enemy city. Her image on northern cylinder seals became correspondingly rare.

I suggested previously that the discontinuance of the KM motif indicated that the palace could no longer dictate seal iconography. Further support for this hypothesis can be found in the increasing amount of variation used in the depiction of icons. Smiting Figures, for instance, which became prominent towards the end of the dynasty exhibit less standardization than any other main OB figure. In fact, it remains doubtful whether these all represent the same personage. Posture is the only feature that they all have in common. Headwear, too, consists of a wider range of types than in the EOB period. The horn crown and the turban predominated prior to Samsuiluna. Later on, at least three styles of brimmed hats became popular in addition to the other two types.

Finally, Late Old Babylonian seal impressions clearly display a decreased investment in the manufacture of the seals. Buchanan (1970) thought the change was so dramatic he called it a 'revolution in art'. He dated the shift to a short period of time during the reign of Abieshu. The main features of this new style consisted of the obvious use of the drill and cutting wheel. They allowed seal makers to quickly etch out schematic figures rather than carefully depict them by hand as they had in the past. Frankfort called the effect 'coarse' (1939:154). Collon says the new cutting techniques resulted in the production of poor quality seals from then on (1988:52). None of these authors has suggested a reason for the decline in the overall quality of LOB cylinder seals. Following Hayes (1993), I believe that it can be related to a change in the function of seals as conveyors of symbolic messages. It already appears as if LOB seals played less of a role in establishing the legitimacy of the king. Over time, elites exercised less economic power as it shifted back into the hands of the temples and local leaders. If the social hierarchy gradually broke down under the weight of economic hardship, then the upper class no longer needed to invest in top quality seals in order to communicate and negotiate their social position. This situation remained unchanged for the rest of the dynasty.

The Kassite takeover of Babylonia probably occurred during the 16th century B.C. But unlike Sumuabum and his successors, the early Kassite kings **did not** appropriate the symbols of the past for their seals. In fact, virtually all the most popular and identifiable figures from the Old Babylonian period disappeared from their repertoire. The evidence suggests that the Kassites did not use seal iconography to establish a symbolic link to the previous dynasty.

The question is, why? In many ways, the situations at the beginning of the Old Babylonian and the Kassite periods appear to be quite similar. In both instances, new groups came into Mesopotamia and took over the reigns of government during a period of general political weakness. Unsettled conditions of the Isin-Larsa period allowed Sumuabum to establish a power base in Babylon. The Kassites moved into Babylon sometime after the Hittites created a power vacuum by deposing Samsuditana. The Kassites, like the Babylonians, honored other indigenous traditions. The Kassites even went so far as digging up old building foundations so the new structures could be rebuilt



as closely as possible on the original plans. They must have found cylinder seals as well so it is unlikely they were entirely unfamiliar with the iconography. So why did the two sets of new kings adopt such different strategies?

I suggest that the Kassites did not adopt Old Babylonian seal iconography because there was no compelling reason for them to do so. When Sumuabum took over Babylon, seal makers still worked in many parts of southern Mesopotamia. The people involved in trading activities were undoubtedly familiar with seal iconography from surrounding areas. These symbols provided Sumuabum and his successors a convenient way to insert themselves into Mesopotamian tradition, and thereby establish a claim as the legitimate government. However, when the Kassites took over Babylon, the seal carving tradition had died out in central Mesopotamia. No dated seals can be placed there in the time period extending from year 14 of Samsuditana, c.1611 B.C., to roughly 1400 B.C. For a time span lasting about 200 years, no evidence exists to date of cylinder seals being either made or used in Babylonia. This means there was no ongoing seal carving tradition for the Kassites to appropriate. Nothing could be gained by resurrecting symbols of the past that no one remembered.

The Kassite seals, because they did not derive from an ongoing tradition, present a marked contrast to their predecessors. Kassite main motifs lack the redundancy of Old Babylonian icons. When comparing many OB sealings, one often has to look carefully to detect whether they came from the same or different seals. Old Babylonian seal carvers even resorted to inscribing little emblems within the legend to help individuals differentiate between similar sealings. Kassite seals, on the other hand, can be divided into at least two major stylistic groups, First Kassite-Central and Second Kassite. Even within these, similar types of motifs were not carved in virtually identical fashion on the majority of seals.

Matthews (1992) argued that distinct Kassite styles existed because they served different functions within society. He thinks that First Kassite-Central seals belonged to individuals and were used for personal business. I believe the inscriptions and iconography support Matthews' assertion. The inscriptions, as others have noted (Frankfort, 1939; Matthews, 1990) assumed a prominent position on FKC seals. These were almost always prayers to specific deities. This parallels the growth in importance of personal religion which began in the OB period. By Kassite times, FKC seals had become another means for individuals to petition their personal gods.

The iconography, too, suggests that these seals functioned as vehicles for personal expression rather than as ways to communicate symbolic messages to other people. In other words, individuals retained the power to choose what was inscribed on their seals. Single figures often just flank the inscription. The lack of standardized renderings of these personages may mean that these were depictions of the actual seal owners standing beside the prayer.

A dog appears on 18 of the First Kassite seals. Dogs symbolize Gula, the goddess of healing. The Mesopotamians did not know what caused disease, but thought much of it was the work of demons or punishment for sins. Priests assumed the role of medical practitioners as they tried to exorcise the evil. Gula was the patron goddess of doctors. The presence of her symbol, the dog, on seals should be interpreted either as a prayer for the good health of the owner or possibly as a sign of thanks for health restored. Either way, the iconography indicates a symbolic message concerned with personal issues. This individual approach to seal composition stands in marked contrast to the Old Babylonian seals which exhibited a limited number of widely recognized icons like Shamash, Ishtar, Lahmu, the king, etc. It suggests that the First Kassite cylinder seals, as vehicles for symbolic communication, carried substantially different messages than Old Babylonian seals.

Second Kassite seals present a stylistic as well as functional contrast to First Kassite-Central seals. Matthews (1992) demonstrated that the government reserved the Second Kassite style largely for its own use. But where and how the style originated is not well understood. The latest evidence indicates that it evolved in conjunction with the Middle Assyrian style in the second half of the 14th century B.C. (Matthews, 1992:48). But who initiated the style, who borrowed it, and how the areas influenced each other cannot be determined at present.

The completely new iconographic repertoire of the Second Kassite seals combined with its restricted use suggests that the Kassite kings maintained some control over the choice of these designs. A sealing in this style, which differs markedly from First Kassite seals, would quickly identify a tablet as a government document. Regulation of these designs must have been necessary to avoid confusion or misrepresentation. Again, it is worth noting that when the Kassite kings did decide to adopt a style for bureaucratic use, they selected totally new iconography. They did not choose to link themselves to their Old Babylonian predecessors.

Second Kassite iconography and inscriptions, unlike that of First Kassite seals, pose significant difficulties in interpretation. The symbols and motifs vary so much, no coherent pattern can be discerned. If, as Matthews (1992) suggests, Second Kassite seals belonged to government officials, then one would predict that SK seals would be a likely medium for communicating symbolic messages within the bureaucracy. The lack of redundancy in Second Kassite iconography argues against this. A possible answer to this problem lies in an hypothesis put forth by Hayes (1993). She contends that if a stable managerial elite exists such that little stress develops within the system, then the need to negotiate problems through symbolic activity might not arise. The Kassite kings may not have standardized the iconography on bureaucratic seals simply because it was not necessary.

Second Kassite seal inscriptions, on the other hand, show a remarkable consistency especially when compared to the iconography. They are mainly prayers, the vast majority of



which are dedicated to Marduk. On the surface, this requires little explanation. The appearance of Second Kassite seals coincides with the period when the priests of Marduk were positioning him to takeover the Mesopotamian pantheon. Since the temple and the crown did not comprise separate and independent institutions, it seems logical that most of the prayers would be addressed to him. This in turn suggests that SK seals were being used to help promote Marduk. But, if that were indeed the case, one must ask why no unequivocal image of Marduk and/or his symbol appears on any SK seal. Why should Marduk be so prominent in the inscriptions and remain invisible in the iconography?

I have two answers to suggest. One, the Kassite kings would not allow Marduk's image on official seals. The Kassite kings took great care to keep Babylonian cultural traditions intact. If they would have consented to promote Marduk to the head of the pantheon, it would have been done at the expense of Enlil. Undoubtedly, the temple personnel representing Enlil had no desire to lose their special status. To change things could have led to a very public and unpleasant fight for power between two competing groups of temple representatives. The Kassite kings decided not to disrupt the status quo.

Second, the Second Kassite inscriptions indicate that whoever chose them, possibly the bureaucrats themselves, already favored Marduk. The iconography could be used to communicate other types of messages. The group who needed to be persuaded to accept Marduk as the head of the pantheon was the general public. These people probably had little contact with state religion except during the celebration of major festivals. Yet they would have had to be prepared for the change for it to be accepted. Second Kassite cylinder seals could not be used effectively for this purpose because ordinary citizens probably never saw them.

This being said, the problem still remains as to why Marduk symbols do not appear on any Kassite seals. When I began this study, I fully expected to find an increased use of images relating to Marduk as his status rose. This just did not happen. In the case of First Kassite-Central seals, the inscriptions certainly confirm Marduk's popularity. But the gods and goddesses depicted are not identifiable as specific deities. Some of the figures may represent seal owners but certainly not all of them can be explained in this way. At present, I have no reason to suggest why the gods and goddesses mentioned in the inscriptions, including Marduk, do not seem to be inscribed on the seals.

The Second Kassite situation remains even more perplexing. If the crown did not allow Marduk's image on the seals, why did they let most of the inscriptions be addressed to him? Or, since they permitted the use of his name, why would they forbid the symbolism? It is true that in a largely illiterate society, iconography can provide a more effective method of communication than text because symbols would be more recognizable by the majority of the people. Text would have provided a less conspicuous way of supporting Marduk. But if the kings did not want Marduk promoted, why tolerate any reference to him at all? In short, the symbols and text on Second Kassite seals don't readily

'match'. The iconography seems to have conveyed a symbolic message that differed from the inscription. The widespread use of Marduk and Marduk names in the seal legends coincide with his growing importance in Kassite society. For unknown reasons, this message was not reinforced with his image or symbols.

This dissertation has illustrated how iconography can in some cases be tied directly to political or religious events and in other cases it can not. It shows that symbols, then as now, actively participated in the creation and recreation of social reality. Substantial amounts of documentation allowed the reconstruction of the cultural context in which the symbols were made and used. This allowed some of the meanings embedded in the iconography to be deduced. But even though historical records can be invaluable as sources of information, they ultimately serve a different cultural function than iconography. They do not, for instance, address questions of political legitimization or record how people negotiate their position within the social hierarchy. Nor is the written word an effective method for communicating in largely illiterate societies. Only the analyses of material culture symbols in conjunction with documents can provide more in-depth knowledge into the conflicts and issues affecting people's lives. My study makes a contribution to the growing body of literature which demonstrates the efficacy of this approach.



APPENDIX A

Illustration Credits for Figures

Abbreviations:

GW Al-Gailani Werr, Lamia  
MATT Matthews, Donald

**Figure 1:** Map of Mesopotamia-Redrawn from J. Oates, 1986:8

**Figure 2:** Map of the Find Spots of Kassite Seals-Redrawn from G. Roux, 1992 "Map of Near and Middle East in Early Antiquity" in the map section in the back of the book

**Figure 3:** Head Wear and Hairstyles

Source	Plate	Seal No.
a) GW:1988	XXXVIII	9(269.c)
b) GW:1988	XXVII	1(190.i)
c) MATT:1990		78
d) GW:1988	XL	2(280)
e) MATT:1990		73
f) GW:1988	II	12(30)
g) GW:1988	XXVII	4(208.b)
h) GW:1988	XXXVII	7(180)
i) GW:1988	XXXVII	1(253)
j) GW:1988	XXXI	4(222.f)
k) GW:1988	XXX	4(198.b)
l) GW:1988	XXVII	7(210.b and c)
m) GW:1988	XXVII	5(190.e)

**Figure 4:** Large Figures

Source	Plate	Seal No.
a) GW:1988	XI	7(89)
b) GW:1988	XI	7(89)
c) GW:1988	XXVI	5(235.b)
d) GW:1988	V	9(134.a)
e) GW:1988	XXVIII	5(216.b)
f) GW:1988	XXXII	6(197.c)
g) GW:1988	XVIII	7(129.f)
h) GW:1988	XXXVII	9(260.a)
i) GW:1988	XVIII	8(123.b)

**Figure 5:** Objects Held

Source	Plate	Seal No.
a) GW:1988	XXX	7(206.f)
b) GW:1988	XXVI	5(235.b)
c) GW:1988	V	4(69.f)
d) GW:1988	XXXI	8(247.e)
e) GW:1988	XLI	9(293)
f) GW:1988	XXXVIII	2(271.c)
g) MATT:1990		73
h) GW:1988	XVII	7(117)
i) GW:1988	XVII	7(117)
j) GW:1988	XXXVII	1(253)
k) GW:1988	XXXIV	8(224.a)
l) GW:1988	XXVIII	6(612.e)

**Figure 6:** Fill Figures

Source	Plate	Seal No.
a) GW:1988	IV	4(76.a)
b) GW:1988	V	2(27.b)
c) GW:1988	IV	4(76.a)
d) MATT:1992		16
e) MATT:1990		122
f) MATT:1990		120
g) MATT:1990		141
h) MATT:1990		73
i) GW:1988	XXVI	2(216.b)
j) MATT:1992		16
k) GW:1988	XXV	2(189.d)
l) GW:1988	VII	8(135.b)
m) GW:1988	II	4(4.b)
n) MATT:1992		30
o) MATT:1992		55



## APPENDIX B

### Sources of Seals and Illustrations

The seals and impressions used in this dissertation were compiled from published sources. The following catalog lists references and other pertinent information concerning each seal. The first line gives the museum number, the name of the collection, or the site name of the seal or tablet. In some cases, none of this information was available. Next I cited between one and three publications for each seal. This index is not meant to be exhaustive. Some seals have been published once while others have appeared many times. I deliberately kept abbreviations in this section to a minimum for the convenience of the reader. Full citations can be found in the bibliography.

Below the references, the date of the seal is indicated by the name of the king and his regnal year, if known. All the OB seals are dated while only comparatively few Kassite seals are. Last comes the names of the gods and goddesses in the order they appeared in the inscription. A 'D' extension means the name was used in its divine form. A 'T' refers to its incorporation into a theophoric name. Kings could also be mentioned in seal legends. In these situations, the king's name appears twice: first in reference to the date of the seal and the second time as a name in the inscription.

Seal numbers depicted in **bold type** mean that an illustration of the seal is included in the plates. The source of the drawing is also shown in bold type. An asterisk (\*) at the end of the citation denotes additional information or explanation concerning the seal.

Finally, a special system had to be devised to refer to the drawings from Lamia al-Gailani Werr's article of 1980. These illustrations were not numbered individually so I used the following method for describing their position on the page. These appear in parentheses. The 'R' with a number refers to the row. For instance, an 'R4' means the sketch is in the fourth row on that page. The next letter gives its placement within the row. I abbreviated these positions as: FL=Far Left, L=Left, CL=Center Left, C=Center, CR=Center Right, R=Right, and FR=Far Right. If the placement letter is omitted, it signifies that the illustration was the only one in that particular row. Last, I gave the page number.

#### Abbreviations used in Appendix B

DEL - Delaporte, Louis  
 GW - Al-Gailani Werr, Lamia  
 OSTEN - Von der Osten, Hans

### THE SEALS

- |   |  |  |  |
|---|--|--|--|
| <p>1. CBS1111<br/>                     LEGRAIN:326 (1925)<br/> <b>GW:12 (R5, p.39) (1980)</b><br/>                     Sumuabum<br/>                     Dagan-T<br/>                     Sumuabum<br/>                     Legrain says AG has a lightning fork in his hand.</p> | <p>7. IM51024<br/>                     GW:154C (1988)<br/>                     Sabium 13</p>   | <p>14. FIGULLA:PLI:3 (1914)<br/>                     GW:24 (R1, FR, p.46) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin 9</p>                   | <p>21. BM16826A<br/>                     FIGULLA:3A:2 (1967)<br/>                     GW:185B (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> |
| <p>2. MLC1218<br/>                     BUCHANAN:754 (1981)<br/>                     Sumulailum 6</p>  | <p>8. IM49301<br/>                     GW:155 (1988)<br/>                     Sabium 13</p>  | <p>15. FIGULLA:PLI:3 (1914)<br/>                     GW:24 (R1, CL, p.46) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin 9</p>                   | <p>22. BM16826A<br/>                     FIGULLA:3A:3 (1967)<br/>                     GW:185C (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> |
| <p>3. AO1766<br/>                     DEL:A477:A (1923)<br/>                     GW:183 (1988)<br/>                     GW:14 (R4, p.40) (1980)<br/>                     Sumulailum</p>   | <p>9. BM2189A<br/>                     WATERMAN:p.202 (1913)<br/> <b>GW:18a (R3, p.43) (1980)</b><br/>                     Sabium</p>  | <p>16. FIGULLA:PLI:3 (1914)<br/>                     GW:24 (R1, FL, p.46) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin 9</p>                   | <p>23. BM16826A<br/>                     FIGULLA:3A:4 (1967)<br/> <b>GW:185D (1988)</b><br/>                     Apil-Sin</p>              |
| <p>4. BN138<br/>                     DEL:138 (1910)<br/> <b>GW:13 (R3, p.40) (1980)</b><br/>                     Sumulailum<br/>                     Sumulailum</p>   | <p>10. BU2189A<br/>                     WATERMAN:p.203 (1913)<br/>                     GW:18a (R4, L, p.43) (1980)<br/>                     Sabium</p>   | <p>17. FIGULLA:PLI:3 (1914)<br/>                     GW:24 (R2, p.46) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin 18</p>                      | <p>24. BM17060A<br/>                     FIGULLA:7A:? (1967)<br/>                     GW:186A (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> |
| <p>5. IM51024<br/>                     GW:154A (1988)<br/>                     Sabium 13</p>  | <p>11. BU2189A<br/>                     WATERMAN:p.203 (1913)<br/>                     GW:18a (R4, R, p.43) (1980)<br/>                     Sabium</p>   | <p>18. BM17099A<br/>                     FIGULLA:2A:1 (1967)<br/>                     GW:184A (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> | <p>25. BM17060A<br/>                     FIGULLA:7A:? (1967)<br/>                     GW:186B (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> |
| <p>6. IM51024<br/>                     GW:154B (1988)<br/>                     Sabium 13</p>  | <p>12. CBS8978<br/>                     LEGRAIN:327 (1925)<br/>                     GW:18 (R2, p.43) (1980)<br/>                     Sabium<br/>                     Sin-T<br/>                     Sabium</p> | <p>19. BM17099A<br/>                     FIGULLA:2A:2 (1967)<br/>                     GW:184B (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> | <p>26. BM17060A<br/>                     FIGULLA:7A:? (1967)<br/>                     GW:186C (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> |
|   | <p>13. FIGULLA:PLI:3 (1914)<br/>                     GW:24 (R1, CR, p.46) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin 9</p>   | <p>20. BM16826A<br/>                     FIGULLA:3A:1 (1967)<br/>                     GW:185A (1988)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p> | <p>27. PORADA:Fig.1 (1950)<br/>                     GW:24 (R5, p.45) (1980)<br/>                     Apil-Sin</p>                          |



28. MLC113  
BUCHANAN:764A (1981)  
Apil-Sin
29. MLC113  
BUCHANAN:764B (1981)  
Apil-Sin
30. IM48822  
GW:158A (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
31. IM48822  
GW:158B (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
32. IM48822  
GW:158C (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
33. IM48822  
GW:158E (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
34. IM50413  
GW:159A (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
35. IM50413  
GW:159B (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
36. IM50413  
GW:159C (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
37. IM50413  
GW:159D (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
38. IM48826  
GW:160A (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
39. IM48826  
GW:160B (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
40. IM49320  
GW:161 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
41. IM49265  
GW:162 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
42. IM50427  
GW:163 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
43. IM49541  
GW:164 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
44. IM50898  
GW:165A (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
45. IM50898  
GW:165B (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
46. IM50898  
GW:165C (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
47. IM50898  
GW:165D (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
48. IM50426  
GW:166A (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
49. IM50426  
GW:166B (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
50. IM50426  
GW:166C (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
51. IM50426  
GW:166D (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
52. IM49347  
GW:167 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
53. IM50437  
GW:168 (1988)  
Apil-Sin/Sinmuballit
54. NBC7687  
BUCHANAN:789 (1981)  
Sinmuballit 8
55. BM17070A  
FIGULLA:10A:1 & 7 (1967)  
GW:187D & E (1988)  
Sinmuballit 8
56. BM17070A  
FIGULLA:10A:2 (1967)  
GW:187A (1988)  
Sinmuballit 8
57. BM17070A  
FIGULLA:10A:5 (1967)  
GW:187B (1988)  
Sinmuballit 8  
Amurru-T
58. BM17070A  
FIGULLA:10A:6 (1967)  
GW:187C (1988)  
Sinmuballit 8  
Shamash-T
59. BM17070A  
FIGULLA:10A:8 (1967)  
GW:187F (1988)  
Sinmuballit 8
60. BM16823A  
FIGULLA:12A:1 (1967)  
GW:188A (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, L, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 9  
Ninshubur-T  
Shamash-D
61. BM16823A  
FIGULLA:12A:3 (1967)  
GW:188B (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, C, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 9  
Adad-T
62. BM16823A  
FIGULLA:12A:5 (1967)  
GW:188C (1988)  
GW:33 (R4, L, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 9  
Sin-T  
Shamash-T  
Sin-D
63. BM16823A  
FIGULLA:12A:6 (1967)  
GW:188D (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, R, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 9
64. BM16823A  
FIGULLA:12A:7 (1967)  
GW:188E (1988)  
GW:33 (R4, C, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 9
65. CUA86:A  
GOETZE:PLI:4 (1957a)  
GW:33 (R1, L, p.54) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 12
66. CUA86:B  
GOETZE:PLI:5-6 (1957a)  
GW:33 (R1, R, p.54) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 12
67. AO1646  
DEL:A517:B (1923)  
GW:189B (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, R, p.55) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 14
68. AO1646  
DEL:A517:C (1923)  
GW:189C (1988)  
Sinmuballit 14
69. AO1646  
DEL:A517:D (1923)  
GW:189D (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, L, p.55) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 14
70. AO1646  
DEL:A517:E (1923)  
GW:189E (1988)  
GW:33 (R4, p.55) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 14
71. AO1646  
DEL:A517:G (1923)  
GW:189G (1988)  
GW:33 (R5, L, p.55) (1980)  
Sinmuballit 14
72. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:1 (1967)  
GW:190:1 & 197C (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, L, p.55) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
73. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:2 (1967)  
GW:190:2 (1988)  
Sinmuballit  
Adad-T  
Damu-T
74. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:6 (1967)  
GW:190:6 (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, L, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
75. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:7 (1967)  
GW:190:7 (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, C, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit  
Sin-D  
Lama-G
76. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:8 (1967)  
GW:190:8 (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, R, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
77. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:9 (1967)  
GW:190:9 (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, L, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
78. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:12 (1967)  
GW:190:12 (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, C, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
79. BM16819A  
FIGULLA:11A:13 (1967)  
GW:190:13 (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, R, p.53) (1980)  
Sinmuballit
80. BM16833A  
FIGULLA:13A:1 (1967)  
GW:191:A (1988)  
Sinmuballit
81. BM16833A  
FIGULLA:13A:2 or 3 (1967)  
GW:191:B (1988)  
Sinmuballit  
Sin-T
82. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:1 (1967)  
GW:192:1 (1988)  
Sinmuballit
83. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:2 (1967)  
GW:192:2; 190:3; & 196B (1988)  
Sinmuballit  
Shamash-T  
Shamash-T
84. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:3 (1967)  
GW:192:3 & 196A (1988)  
Sinmuballit
85. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:4 (1967)  
Sinmuballit  
Shamash-T
86. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:5 (1967)  
GW:192:5 (1988)  
Sinmuballit
87. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:6 (1967)  
GW:192:6 (1988)  
Sinmuballit  
Ea-D  
Damgalnunna-D
88. BM16836A  
FIGULLA:15A:7 (1967)  
GW:192:7 (1988)  
Sinmuballit
89. BM16858A  
FIGULLA:17A:1 (1967)  
GW:193:1 (1988)  
Sinmuballit



90. BM16858A  
FIGULLA:17A:2 (1967)  
GW:193:2 (1988)  
Simmuballit
91. BM16858A  
FIGULLA:17A:3 (1967)  
GW:193:3 (1988)  
Simmuballit
92. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:1 (1967)  
GW:194:1 (1988)  
Simmuballit  
Amurru-D  
Geshtinanna-D
93. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:2 (1967)  
GW:194:2 (1988)  
Simmuballit
94. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:3 (1967)  
GW:194:3 (1988)  
Simmuballit
95. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:4 (1967)  
GW:194:4 (1988)  
Simmuballit
96. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:5 (1967)  
GW:194:5 (1988)  
Simmuballit  
Shamash-T  
Ikunum-T  
AN.MARTU-D
97. BM17052A  
FIGULLA:19A:6 (1967)  
Simmuballit  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
98. AO1647  
DEL:A518:A (1923)  
GW:195A (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, L & R, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit  
\*The designs on the left and right in R2 in GW 1980 are combined into one in GW 1988.
99. AO1647  
DEL:A518:B (1923)  
GW:195B (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, C, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit  
Shamash-D
100. AO1647  
DEL:A518:C (1923)  
GW:195C (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, L, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
101. AO1647  
DEL:A518:D (1923)  
Simmuballit  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D  
Amurru-D  
Adad-D  
Shala-D
102. AO1647  
DEL:A518:E (1923)  
GW:195E (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, C, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
103. AO1647  
DEL:A518:F (1923)  
GW:195F (1988)  
Simmuballit
104. AO1647  
DEL:A518:G (1923)  
GW:195G (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, R, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
105. AO1647  
DEL:A518:H (1923)  
GW:195H (1988)  
GW:33 (R1, L, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit  
Amurru-D  
Anu-D
106. AO1647  
DEL:A518:X (1923)  
GW:195X (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, R, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
107. AO1763  
DEL:A519:A (1923)  
GW:196C (1988)  
Simmuballit  
Marduk-T  
Sin-T  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-D
108. AO1763  
DEL:A519:B (1923)  
GW:196E (1988)  
Simmuballit  
Ninshubur-T
109. AO1763  
DEL:A519:C (1923)  
Simmuballit  
Aya-T  
Ninshubur-T  
Shamash-D  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
110. AO1763  
DEL:A519:X (1923)  
GW:196D (1988)  
Simmuballit
111. AO1650  
DEL:A520:A (1923)  
GW:197A (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, C, p.55) (1980)  
Simmuballit
112. AO1650  
DEL:A520:D (1923)  
GW:197D (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, L, p.55) (1980)  
Simmuballit
113. AO1650  
DEL:A520:E (1923)  
GW:197E (1988)  
Simmuballit
114. AO1650  
DEL:A520:F (1923)  
GW:197F (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, R, p.55) (1980)  
Simmuballit
115. AO1649  
DEL:A522:B (1923)  
GW:198B (1988)  
Simmuballit
116. AO1649  
DEL:A522:C (1923)  
GW:198C (1988)  
Simmuballit
117. AO1649  
DEL:A522:D (1923)  
GW:198D (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, C, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
118. AO1649  
DEL:A522:E (1923)  
GW:198E (1988)  
GW:33 (R2, R, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
119. AO1649  
DEL:A522:F (1923)  
GW:198F (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, L, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
120. AO1649  
DEL:A522:G (1923)  
GW:198G (1988)  
GW:33 (R3, R, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
121. AO1649  
DEL:A522:H (1923)  
GW:198H (1988)  
GW:33 (R4, R, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
122. AO1649  
DEL:A522:I (1923)  
GW:198I (1988)  
GW:33 (R4, L, p.54) (1980)  
Simmuballit
123. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:1 (1986)  
Simmuballit
124. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:2 (1986)  
Simmuballit
125. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:4 (1986)  
Simmuballit
126. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:6 (1986)  
Simmuballit
127. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:7 (1986)  
Simmuballit
128. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:9 (1986)  
Simmuballit
129. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:10 (1986)  
Simmuballit
130. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:11 (1986)  
Simmuballit
131. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:12 (1986)  
Simmuballit
132. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:13 (1986)  
Simmuballit
133. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:14 (1986)  
Simmuballit
134. VAT712  
KLENGEL-BRANDT:15 (1986)  
Simmuballit
135. FIGULLA:PLI:10 (1914)  
GW:33 (R5, R, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
136. FIGULLA:PLI:10 (1914)  
GW:33 (R5, L, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
137. MCC  
BALLERINI:PLII:4 (1908)  
GW:33 (R4, L, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
138. MCC  
BALLERINI:PLII:4 (1908)  
GW:33 (R4, C, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
139. MCC  
BALLERINI:PLII:4 (1908)  
GW:33 (R4, R, p.56) (1980)  
Simmuballit
140. CARNEGIE  
CARNEGIE:QB43 (1906)  
Simmuballit  
Shamash-T  
Simmuballit  
Ea-D  
Shamash-D
141. NBC8898  
BUCHANAN:790 (1981)  
Hammurabi 1
142. AO1672  
DEL:A523:A (1923)  
GW:199A (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, p.60) (1980)  
Hammurabi 2
143. AO1672  
DEL:A523:B (1923)  
GW:199B (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, p.60) (1980)  
Hammurabi 2
144. BM16841A  
FIGULLA:25A:5 (1967)  
GW:200 (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, Three figs. on L, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 3  
\*I split R1 into two designs.  
Right part recorded as seal 145.



145. BM16841A  
FIGULLA:25A:6 (1967)  
GW:200 (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, Four figs. on R,  
p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 3  
\*I split R1 into two designs. Left  
part recorded as seal 144.
146. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:1, 4, & 7  
(1967)  
GW:201:1, 7, & 4 (1988)  
Hammurabi 4
147. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:2 (1967)  
**GW:201:2 & 5 (1988)**  
Hammurabi 4
148. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:3 (1967)  
Hammurabi 4  
Abu-T  
Sin-D
149. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:6 (1967)  
GW:201:6 (1988)  
Hammurabi 4
150. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:8 (1967)  
GW:201:8 (1988)  
Hammurabi 4  
Ninshubur-T  
Sin-T
151. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:10 (1967)  
GW:201:10 (1988)  
Hammurabi 4
152. BM17056A  
FIGULLA:27A:X (1967)  
GW:201:X (1988)  
Hammurabi 4
153. BM16827A  
FIGULLA:28A:1 (1967)  
GW:202:1 (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, R, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 7  
Sin-T  
Amuru-T  
Ikunum-D
154. BM16827A  
FIGULLA:28A:2 (1967)  
GW:202:2 (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, L, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 7
155. BM16827A  
FIGULLA:28A:5 (1967)  
GW:202:3 (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 7
156. BM16824A  
FIGULLA:29A:1 (1967)  
GW:203:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi 7  
Sin-T  
Apil-Sin
157. BM16824A  
FIGULLA:29A:3 (1967)  
GW:203:3 (1988)  
Hammurabi 7
158. BM16824A  
FIGULLA:29A:4 (1967)  
GW:203:4 (1988)  
Hammurabi 7
159. BM16824A  
FIGULLA:29A:6 (1967)  
GW:203:6 (1988)  
Hammurabi 7
160. BM16824A  
FIGULLA:29A:7 (1967)  
GW:203:7 (1988)  
Hammurabi 7
161. BM78280  
PINCHES:20 (1964)  
**GW:204:1 (1988)**  
Hammurabi 9
162. BM78280  
PINCHES:20 (1964)  
GW:204:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi 9
163. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:1 (1967)  
GW:205:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi 10  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
164. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:2 (1967)  
Hammurabi 10  
Shamash-T
165. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:3 (1967)  
Hammurabi 10
166. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:4 (1967)  
Hammurabi 10  
Sin-T
167. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:5 (1967)  
GW:205:5 (1988)  
Hammurabi 10
168. BM17045A  
FIGULLA:30A:6 (1967)  
Hammurabi 10
169. AO1651  
DEL:A524:A (1923)  
GW:206A (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, R, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 10  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Adad-D  
Shamash-D
170. AO1651  
DEL:A524:B (1923)  
GW:206B (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 10  
Sin-T  
Ishtar-D
171. AO1651  
DEL:A524:C (1923)  
GW:206C (1988)  
**GW:39 (R1, L, p.61) (1980)**  
Hammurabi 10  
Ea-T  
Ea-D  
Damgalnunna-D
172. AO1651  
DEL:A524:D (1923)  
GW:206D (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, R, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 10
173. AO1651  
DEL:A524:E (1923)  
GW:206E (1988)  
Hammurabi 10
174. AO1651  
DEL:A524:F (1923)  
GW:206F (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, L, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 10  
Sin-D  
Shamash-D
175. BM17046A  
FIGULLA:31A:1 (1967)  
GW:207:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11
176. BM17046A  
FIGULLA:31A:2 (1967)  
GW:207:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11
177. BM16835A  
FIGULLA:32A:2 (1967)  
GW:208:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11  
Wedum-T
178. BM16835A  
FIGULLA:32A:3 (1967)  
GW:208:3 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11
179. BM16835A  
FIGULLA:32A:4 (1967)  
GW:208:4 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11
180. BM16835A  
FIGULLA:32A:5 & 6 (1967)  
GW:208:5 & 6 (1988)  
Hammurabi 11
181. FIGULLA:PLII:18 (1914)  
GW:39 (R4, L, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 13
182. FIGULLA:PLII:18 (1914)  
GW:39 (R4, R, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 13
183. FIGULLA:PLII:18 (1914)  
GW:39 (R5, L, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 13
184. FIGULLA:PLII:18 (1914)  
GW:39 (R5, R, p.61) (1980)  
Hammurabi 13
185. BM16815A  
FIGULLA:22A:1 (1967)  
GW:209:1 (1988)  
**GW:39 (R5, R, p.65) (1980)**  
Hammurabi 14
186. BM16815A  
FIGULLA:22A:2 (1967)  
GW:209:2 (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, L, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi 14  
Sin-T  
Shamash-T  
Shamash-D
187. BM16815A  
FIGULLA:22A:4 (1967)  
GW:209:4 (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, R, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi 14
188. BM16815A  
FIGULLA:22A:5 (1967)  
GW:209:5 (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, L, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi 14
189. BM17071A  
FIGULLA:34A:1 (1967)  
GW:211:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi 14
190. BM17071A  
FIGULLA:34A:2 (1967)  
GW:211:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi 14  
Shamash-T  
Sin-D
191. BM17071A  
FIGULLA:34A:3 (1967)  
GW:211:3 (1988)  
Hammurabi 14
192. BM17071A  
FIGULLA:34A:4 & 10 (1967)  
GW:211:4 & 10 (1988)  
Hammurabi 14
193. BM17071A  
FIGULLA:34A:5 & 6 (1967)  
**GW:211:5 & 6 (1988)**  
Hammurabi 14
194. MLC1220  
BUCHANAN:791:1 (1981)  
Hammurabi 18  
Zamama-D  
Hammurabi
195. MLC1220  
BUCHANAN:791:2 (1981)  
Hammurabi 18  
Zamama-D  
Baba-D
196. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:3 (1967)  
GW:212:3 (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, R, Three figs. on  
R, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25  
\*GW 1988 split her 1980  
drawing into two seals. The  
left part is recorded under 199.
197. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:4 (1967)  
Hammurabi 25  
Ninshubur-T  
Ninshubur-D
198. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:6 (1967)  
Hammurabi 25
199. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:7 (1967)  
GW:212:7 (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, R, One lg and  
two small figs on p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25  
\*GW 1988 split her 1980  
drawing into two seals. The  
right part is recorded under  
196.



200. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:8 (1967)  
GW:212:8 (1988)  
Hammurabi 25  
Sin-T
201. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:9 (1967)  
Hammurabi 25  
Ninshubur-T  
Ninshubur-D
202. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:10 (1967)  
GW:212:10 (1988)  
GW:39 (R5, L, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25
203. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:11 (1967)  
GW:212:11 (1988)  
GW:39 (R5, R, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25
204. BM17069A  
FIGULLA:39A:12 (1967)  
GW:212:12 (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, L, p.66) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25
205. BM16821A  
FIGULLA:47A:1 (1967)  
GW:213:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi 25  
Sin-T  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
206. BM16821A  
FIGULLA:47A:3 (1967)  
GW:213:3 (1988)  
Hammurabi 25  
Sin-D  
Shamash-D  
Ishtar-T  
Aya-D
207. BM16821A  
FIGULLA:47A:4 (1967)  
GW:213:4 (1988)  
Hammurabi 25  
Sin-T  
Shamash-D
208. BM16821A  
FIGULLA:47A:5 (1967)  
GW:227:7 (1988)  
FIGULLA:67A:7 (1967)  
Hammurabi 25  
Marduk-T  
Sin-T  
Shamash-D  
Hammurabi
209. CBM1283  
PORADA:Fig.3 (1957)  
GW:39 (R1, L, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25
210. CBM1283  
PORADA:Fig.4 (1957)  
GW:39 (R1, R, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi 25
211. AO1928  
DEL:A525:A (1923)  
GW:214A (1988)  
Hammurabi 26
212. AO1928  
DEL:A525:B (1923)  
GW:214B (1988)  
Hammurabi 26
213. YBC7153  
BUCHANAN:792A (1981)  
Hammurabi 28
214. YBC7153  
BUCHANAN:792B (1981)  
Hammurabi 28
215. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
GW:39 (R1, Four figs. on L  
combined with R2, L, p.62)  
(1980)  
Hammurabi 29  
\*Row 1 split into two sealings.  
The man in the turban in R1 is  
the same fig. that appears in  
the design in R2, L. Right part  
of R1 is recorded as 216.
216. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
GW:39 (R1, Six figs. on R,  
p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 29  
\*Left part of sealing is  
recorded as 215.
217. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
GW:39 (R2, C, p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 29
218. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
GW:39 (R3, p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 29
219. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
Hammurabi 29  
Ea-D  
Dangalnunna-D  
\*This seal is not recorded in  
GW 1980. Divine names are  
from Text 28:e, Translation 14.
220. CBM1273  
RANKE:PLIV:7 (1906)  
GW:39 (R2, R, p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 29
221. FIGULLA:PLII:20 (1914)  
GW:39 (R4, Far L, .62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 30
222. FIGULLA:PLII:20 (1914)  
GW:39 (R4, Far R, p.62)  
(1980)  
Hammurabi 30
223. BM17064A  
FIGULLA:42A:2 (1967)  
GW:215:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi 32  
Sin-D
224. BM17064A  
FIGULLA:42A:3 (1967)  
Hammurabi 32  
Sin-T  
AN.MARTU-D
225. BM17064A  
FIGULLA:42A:7 (1967)  
Hammurabi 32  
Sin-T
226. BM17064A  
FIGULLA:42A:8 (1967)  
GW:215:8 (1988)  
Hammurabi 32  
Sin-T
227. AO1767  
DEL:A526:A (1923)  
Hammurabi 33  
Nabu-D
228. FIGULLA:PLII:23 (1914)  
GW:39 (R5, L, p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 34
229. FIGULLA:PLII:23 (1914)  
GW:39 (R5, R, p.62) (1980)  
Hammurabi 34
230. AO1648  
DEL:A527:B (1923)  
GW:216B (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, L, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
231. AO1648  
DEL:A527:C (1923)  
GW:216C (1988)  
Hammurabi 35
232. AO1648  
DEL:A527:D (1923)  
GW:216D (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, L, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
233. AO1648  
DEL:A527:E (1923)  
GW:216E (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, R, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35  
Adad-D  
Ninurta-D
234. AO1648  
DEL:A527:F (1923)  
GW:216F (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, R, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
235. AO1648  
DEL:A527:G (1923)  
GW:216G (1988)  
GW:39 (R3, L, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
236. AO1648  
DEL:A527:H (1923)  
GW:216H (1988)  
GW:39 (R5, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
237. AO1648  
DEL:A527:I (1923)  
GW:216I (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, L, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
238. AO1648  
DEL:A527:J (1923)  
GW:216J (1988)  
GW:39 (R4, R, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35
239. AO1648  
DEL:A527:K (1923)  
GW:216K (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, R, p.63) (1980)  
Hammurabi 35  
Ishum-D
240. AO1648  
DEL:A527:X (1923)  
GW:216X (1988)  
Hammurabi 35
241. AO1648  
DEL:A528 (1923)  
GW:217 (1988)  
Hammurabi 35
242. BM16843A  
FIGULLA:45A:1 (1967)  
Hammurabi 37  
Marduk-T  
Bunene-D  
Nisisa-D
243. YBC4435  
BUCHANAN:796 (1981)  
GW:39 (R1, p.68) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:9 (1970)  
Hammurabi 37
244. CBM1262  
RANKE:PL.VII:11 (1906)  
GW:39 (R2, p.64) (1980)  
Hammurabi 38
245. CBM1262  
RANKE:PL.VII:11 (1906)  
GW:39 (R3, L, p.64) (1980)  
Hammurabi 38
246. CBM1262  
RANKE:PL.VII:11 (1906)  
GW:39 (R3, R, p.64) (1980)  
Hammurabi 38
247. YBC10486  
BUCHANAN:793 (1981)  
Hammurabi 38  
Shamash-T
248. YBC4348  
BUCHANAN:794:1 (1981)  
Hammurabi 38  
La-qipum-D  
Ahua-D
249. YBC4348  
BUCHANAN:794:2 (1981)  
Hammurabi 38  
Nabu-D  
Marduk-D
250. BM16939  
FIGULLA:46:1 (1967)  
Hammurabi 39  
AN.MARTU-D
251. BM16939  
FIGULLA:46:2 (1967)  
Hammurabi 39  
Sin-T
252. YBC7758  
BUCHANAN:795 (1981)  
Hammurabi 39
253. AO6407  
DEL:A529 (1923)  
GW:288 (1988)  
(also) DEL:A535 (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Amurru-T  
Ishtar-T  
Amurru-D
254. AO6401  
DEL:A530:A (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Ishtar-T



255. AO6401  
DEL:A530:B (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Sin-T  
Adad-D
256. AO6401  
DEL:A530:C (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
257. AO6401  
DEL:A530:D (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Sin-T
258. AO6401  
DEL:A530:E (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Shamash-T  
Sin-T  
Nergal-D
259. AO6401  
DEL:A530:F (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Sin-T
260. AO6401  
DEL:A530:G (1923)  
Hammurabi 40  
Sin-T
261. YBC7150  
BUCHANAN:797A (1981)  
GW:39 (R5, p.64) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:8 (1970)  
Hammurabi 41
262. YBC7150  
BUCHANAN:797B (1981)  
Hammurabi 41
263. YBC4474  
BUCHANAN:798 (1981)  
Hammurabi 41
264. IM43487  
GW:218A (1988)  
Hammurabi 43
265. IM43487  
GW:218B (1988)  
Hammurabi 43
266. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:2 (1967)  
GW:210:2 (1988)  
GW:39 (R5, L, p.65) (1980)  
Hammurabi
267. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:3 (1967)  
GW:210:3 & 4 (1988)  
Hammurabi
268. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:7 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Sin-D  
Amurru-D
269. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:8 (1967)  
GW:210:8 (1988)  
Hammurabi
270. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:9 (1967)  
GW:210:9 (1988)  
Hammurabi
271. BM17062A  
FIGULLA:23A:10 (1967)  
GW:210:10 (1988)  
Hammurabi
272. BM17194A  
FIGULLA:35A:1 (1967)  
GW:219:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi  
Enlil-T
273. BM17194A  
FIGULLA:35A:2 (1967)  
GW:219:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi
274. BM17093A  
FIGULLA:37A:1 (1967)  
GW:220 (1988)  
Hammurabi
275. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:1 (1967)  
GW:221:1 (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, L, p.67) (1980)  
Hammurabi  
Shamash-T
276. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:2 & 3 (1967)  
GW:221:2 & 3 (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, C, p.67) (1980)  
Hammurabi
277. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:4 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Shamash-D
278. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:5 (1967)  
GW:221:5 (1988)  
GW:39 (R1, R, p.67) (1980)  
Hammurabi
279. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:6 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
280. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:7 (1967)  
GW:221:7 (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, R, p.67) (1980)  
Hammurabi  
Ea-D
281. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:8 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Shamash-D
282. BM17063A  
FIGULLA:40A:10 (1967)  
GW:221:10 (1988)  
GW:39 (R2, L, p.67) (1980)  
Hammurabi
283. BM16829A  
FIGULLA:44A:1 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Sin-T
284. BM16829A  
FIGULLA:44A:2 (1967)  
Hammurabi  
Sin-T
285. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:1 (1967)  
GW:222:1 (1988)  
Hammurabi
286. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:2 (1967)  
GW:222:2 (1988)  
Hammurabi
287. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:3 (1967)  
GW:222:3 (1988)  
Hammurabi  
Ninshubur-D
288. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:4 (1967)  
GW:222:4 (1988)  
Hammurabi
289. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:5 (1967)  
GW:222:5 (1988)  
Hammurabi
290. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:7 (1967)  
GW:222:7 (1988)  
Hammurabi
291. BM17072A  
FIGULLA:50A:8 (1967)  
GW:222:8 (1988)  
Hammurabi
292. CBM1165  
RANKE:Pl. V:8 (1906)  
GW:39 (R4, p.64) (1980)  
Hammurabi
293. PARROT:193 (1959)  
GW:38 (R2, R, p.60) (1980)  
Hammurabi  
Marduk-T  
Hammurabi
294. BN200  
DEL:200 (1910)  
GW:38 (R2, L, p.60) (1980)  
Hammurabi  
Hammurabi
295. ÖZGÜÇ:32 (1955)  
GW:37 (R1, p.60) (1980)  
Hammurabi
296. BM16834A  
FIGULLA:51A:1 (1967)  
GW:223:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1  
Adad-T  
Ninshubur-D
297. BM16834A  
FIGULLA:51A:2 & 3 (1967)  
GW:223:2 & 3 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1
298. BM16834A  
FIGULLA:51A:5 (1967)  
GW:223:5 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1
299. BM17054A  
FIGULLA:52A:1 (1967)  
GW:224:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1  
Sin-T  
Adad-D
300. BM17054A  
FIGULLA:52A:2 (1967)  
GW:224:2 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1
301. BM17054A  
FIGULLA:52A:3 (1967)  
GW:224:3 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1
302. BM17054A  
FIGULLA:52A:4 (1967)  
GW:224:4 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 1
303. BM17054A  
FIGULLA:52A:5 (1967)  
FIGULLA:54A:1 and 56A:5  
(1967)  
Samsuiluna 1  
Lugalbanda-D
304. AO6414  
DEL:A532:A (1923)  
GW:43 (R3, C, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 1  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
305. AO6414  
DEL:A532:B (1923)  
GW:43 (R3, L, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 1  
Shamash-D  
Baitil-D  
Enlil-D
306. AO1682  
DEL:A531:A (1923)  
GW:225B (1988)  
Samsuiluna 2  
Sin-T  
Shamash-T
307. AO1682  
DEL:A531:B (1923)  
GW:225A (1988)  
GW:43 (R3, R, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 2
308. AO6427  
DEL:A533:A (1923)  
GW:293 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 2  
Shamash-D
309. YBC6972  
BUCHANAN:803A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 2
310. YBC6972  
BUCHANAN:803B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 2
311. YBC6972  
BUCHANAN:803X (1981)  
Samsuiluna 2
312. CBM1277  
PORADA:Fig.5 (1957)  
GW:43 (R4, R, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 3
313. AO6396  
DEL:A534:A (1923)  
GW:294A (1988)  
Samsuiluna 3



314. AO6396  
DEL:A534:B (1923)  
Samsuiluna 3  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
315. AO6396  
DEL:A534:C (1923)  
GW:294B (1988)  
Samsuiluna 3  
Sherum-T  
Ishtar-D
316. AO6396  
DEL:A534:D (1923)  
DEL:A541:B (1923)  
Samsuiluna 3  
Shamash-T  
Ninshubur-D
317. AO6396  
DEL:A534:E (1923)  
DEL:A541:A (1923)  
Samsuiluna 3  
Sin-T  
Ishtar-D
318. AO6396  
DEL:A534:F (1923)  
Samsuiluna 3  
Shamash-T  
Sin-D  
Ninshubur-D
319. YBC6744  
**BUCHANAN:804A (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 3
320. YBC6744  
**BUCHANAN:804B (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 3  
Ishtar-T  
Ninshubur-D
321. AO4649  
DEL:A536:A (1923)  
GW:248A (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Nabu-T  
Sin-T  
Ea-D
322. AO4649  
DEL:A536:B (1923)  
GW:248B (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
323. AO4649  
DEL:A536:C (1923)  
GW:248C (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
324. AO4649  
DEL:A536:CI (1923)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Amurru-T  
Marduk-T  
Nabu-D
325. AO4649  
DEL:A536:CII (1923)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Ishtar-T  
Ishtar-D
326. AO4649  
DEL:A536:CIII (1923)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Nabu-T  
Marduk-T  
Nabu-D
327. AO4649  
DEL:A536:CIV (1923)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Sin-D
328. AO1656  
DEL:A537:B (1923)  
GW:228A (1988)  
GW:43 (R1, L, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 4
329. AO1658  
DEL:A537:A (1923)  
GW:228B (1988)  
GW:43 (R1, R, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 4
330. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:2 (1967)  
GW:226B (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Enlil-T
331. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:3 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Samsuiluna
332. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:5 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Amurru-D
333. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:6 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Shamash-T  
Sin-T
334. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:7 (1968)  
GW:226A (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
335. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:8 (1967)  
GW:226C (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
336. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:9 (1967)  
GW:226D (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
337. BM17055A  
FIGULLA:56A:11 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Shamash-T  
Sin-D  
AN.MARTU-D
338. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:1 (1967)  
GW:227:1 (1988)  
FIGULLA:56A:4 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Shamash-T  
Enlil-T
339. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:2 (1967)  
GW:227:2 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Sin-T  
Lugalbanda-D
340. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:3 (1967)  
GW:227:3 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
341. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:4 (1967)  
GW:227:4 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Shamash-T
342. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:5 (1967)  
GW:227:5 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
343. BM17085A  
FIGULLA:67A:6 (1967)  
GW:227:6 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
344. BM17085A  
**FIGULLA:67A:8 (1967)**  
GW:227:8 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 4
345. AO6399  
DEL:A538 (1923)  
Samsuiluna 4  
Ishtar-T
346. AO6410  
DEL:A540:A (1923)  
**GW:43 (R2, R, p.72) (1980)**  
Samsuiluna 5  
Shamash-D
347. AO6410  
DEL:A540:B (1923)  
Samsuiluna 5  
Shamash-T  
Shamash-T  
Shamash-D
348. AO6410  
DEL:A540:C (1923)  
GW:43 (R3, R, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 5
349. AO6381  
DEL:A541:C (1923)  
Samsuiluna 5  
Sin-T
350. AO6381  
DEL:A541:D (1923)  
Samsuiluna 5
351. AO2720  
DEL:A539 (1923)  
GW:43 (R2, L, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 5
352. YBC6232  
**BUCHANAN:806A (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 5
353. YBC6232  
**BUCHANAN:806B (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 5
354. YBC6232  
**BUCHANAN:806C (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 5
355. YBC6232  
**BUCHANAN:806D (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 5
356. YBC6232  
**BUCHANAN:806E (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 5
357. AO1677  
DEL:A543:A (1923)  
GW:230A (1988)  
GW:43 (R3, L, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 6
358. AO1677  
DEL:A543:B (1923)  
Samsuiluna 6  
Sin-T  
Bunene-D
359. AO1656  
DEL:A544:A (1923)  
GW:231A (1988)  
**GW:43 (R4, FL, p.72) (1980)**  
Samsuiluna 6
360. AO1656  
DEL:A544:B (1923)  
GW:231B (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, FR, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 6
361. AO1656  
DEL:A544:C (1923)  
GW:231C (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, CR, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 6
362. AO1656  
DEL:A544:E (1923)  
GW:231D (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, CL, p.72) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 6
363. BM16862A  
FIGULLA:57A (1967)  
**GW:229 (1988)**  
Samsuiluna 6
364. AO6405  
DEL:A542 (1923)  
GW:289 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 6  
Sin-T  
Nergal-D
365. AO6412  
DEL:A545 (1923)  
Samsuiluna 7
366. AO6409  
DEL:A546:A (1923)  
Samsuiluna 7  
AN.MARTU-D
367. AO6409  
DEL:A546:B (1923)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Nergal-D
368. AO6409  
DEL:A546:C (1923)  
GW:290 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Lugal.marda-D
369. AO6422  
DEL:A547 (1923)  
GW:291 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Amurru-T  
Amurru-T  
Amurru-D
370. AO6440  
DEL:A548 (1923)  
GW:292 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Shamash-T  
Enlil-D



371. YBC4313  
BUCHANAN:807A (1981)  
GW:43 (R1, L, p.73) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:10a (1970)  
Samsuiluna 7
372. YBC4313  
BUCHANAN:807B (1981)  
GW:43 (R1, C, p.73) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:10b (1970)  
Samsuiluna 7
373. YBC4313  
BUCHANAN:807C (1981)  
GW:43 (R1, R, p.72) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:10c (1970)  
Samsuiluna 7
374. YBC4313  
BUCHANAN:807X (1981)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Nergal-T
375. YBC6039  
BUCHANAN:808 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 7
376. YBC4246  
BUCHANAN:809A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 7  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
377. YBC4246  
BUCHANAN:809B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 7
378. YBC5910  
**BUCHANAN:810 (1981)**  
Samsuiluna 7
379. AO1750  
DEL:A549:A (1923)  
GW:232A (1988)  
GW:43 (R5, L, p.73) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 8
380. AO1750  
DEL:A549:A (1923)  
GW:232B (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, L, p.73) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 8
381. AO1657  
DEL:A551 (1923)  
GW:233 (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, R, p.73) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 8
382. AO1684  
DEL:A552:A (1923)  
GW:234 (1988)  
**GW:43 (R5, R, p.73) (1980)**  
Samsuiluna 8
383. NBC6799  
BUCHANAN:811 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8
384. YBC7160  
BUCHANAN:812A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8
385. YBC7160  
BUCHANAN:812B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8
386. YBC6083  
BUCHANAN:813A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8
387. YBC6083  
BUCHANAN:813B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8  
Sin-T  
Ishtar-D
388. YBC6174  
BUCHANAN:814 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 8  
Ninshubur-T
389. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:1 (1967)  
GW:235:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Sin-D
390. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:2 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Shamash-T  
Kabta-T  
Ishtar-D
391. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:3 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Ishum-D
392. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:4 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Sin-D
393. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:5 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
BAR-D
394. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:6 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
395. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:7 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
BAR-D
396. BM17051A  
FIGULLA:58A:8 (1967)  
**GW:235:8 (1988)**  
Samsuiluna 9  
NIN.UG-D  
Shamash-D
397. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:1 (1967)  
GW:236:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9
398. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:2 (1967)  
GW:236:2 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9
399. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:3 (1967)  
GW:236:3 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Sin-T  
Amurru-D
400. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:4 (1967)  
GW:236:4 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9
401. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:6 (1967)  
GW:236:6 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9
402. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:8 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Aya-T  
Ea-T  
Ea-D
403. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:9 (1967)  
GW:236:9 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 9
404. BM17439A  
FIGULLA:62A:10 (1967)  
Samsuiluna 9  
Adad-D
405. AO4139  
DEL:A553:A (1923)  
GW:237A (1988)  
**GW:43 (R1, R, Three figs. on L, p.74) (1980)**  
Samsuiluna 10  
\*Right seal split. Right part is recorded as 406.
406. AO4139  
DEL:A553:B (1923)  
GW:237B (1988)  
GW:43 (R1, R, Two fill figs. plus two registers on R, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10  
Sin-T  
Sin-T  
Ishum-D  
\*Right seal split. Left part is recorded as 405.
407. AO4139  
DEL:A553:C (1923)  
GW:237C (1988)  
GW:43 (R2, L, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10
408. AO4139  
DEL:A553:D (1923)  
GW:237D (1988)  
GW:43 (R1, L, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10
409. AO4139  
DEL:A553:E (1923)  
GW:237E (1988)  
GW:43 (R2, R, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10  
Adad-T  
Shamash-T
410. AO2708  
DEL:A554:A (1923)  
GW:238A (1988)  
GW:43 (R3, L, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10  
Sin-T  
Adad-D
411. AO2708  
DEL:A554:B (1923)  
GW:238B (1988)  
GW:43 (R3, R, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10
412. AO2708  
DEL:A554:C (1923)  
GW:238C (1988)  
GW:43 (R3, C, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 10  
Shamash-T  
Shamash-T  
Nergal-D
413. YBC5998  
BUCHANAN:815 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 10
414. YBC4214  
BUCHANAN:816A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 10  
Shamash-D
415. AO2713  
DEL:A555:A (1923)  
GW:239A (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, R, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 11
416. AO2713  
DEL:A555:B (1923)  
GW:239B (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, C, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 11
417. AO1726  
DEL:A556:AI (1923)  
GW:241A (1988)  
**GW:43 (R5, R, p.74) (1980)**  
Samsuiluna 14
418. AO1726  
DEL:A556:AI (1923)  
GW:241B (1988)  
GW:43 (R5, L, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 14  
Adad-T  
Sin-T
419. BM16851A  
FIGULLA:63A:3 & 9 (1967)  
GW:240:3 & 9 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 14
420. BM16851A  
FIGULLA:63A:4 & 10 (1967)  
GW:240:4 & 10 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 14
421. BM16851A  
FIGULLA:63A:6 (1967)  
GW:240:6e (1988)  
Samsuiluna 14
422. BM16851A  
FIGULLA:63A:7 (1967)  
GW:240:7f (1988)  
Samsuiluna 14
423. BM16851A  
FIGULLA:63A:8 (1967)  
**GW:240:8 (1988)**  
Samsuiluna 14
424. MLC1581  
BUCHANAN:817 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 14
425. IM50498  
GW:171 (Five figs. on Right) (1988)  
Samsuiluna 18  
\*Left part is recorded as 426.



426. IM50498  
GW:171 (Three figs. on left) (1988)  
Samsuiluna 18  
\*Right part is recorded as 425.
427. AO1678  
DEL:A557:1 (1923)  
GW:242:9b (1988)  
GW:43 (R6, L, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 18
428. AO1678  
DEL:A557:2 (1923)  
GW:242:9a (1988)  
GW:43 (R6, R, p.74) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 18
429. MLC202  
BUCHANAN:983 (1981)  
GW:43 (R1, p.75) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:11 (1970)  
Samsuiluna 18  
Sin-T
430. NBC8570  
BUCHANAN:984 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 19  
Ninshubur-D
431. NBC8885  
BUCHANAN:985 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 21
432. YBC7743  
BUCHANAN:986A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 21  
Marduk-T  
Samsuiluna
433. YBC7743  
BUCHANAN:986B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 21
434. AO1924  
DEL:A558:A (1923)  
GW:243:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 22
435. AO1924  
DEL:A558:B (1923)  
GW:243:2 (1988)  
Samsuiluna 22
436. IM57304  
FIGULLA & MARTIN:256 (1953)  
GW:326A (1988)  
GW:43 (R2, L, p.75) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 23
437. IM57304  
FIGULLA & MARTIN:256 (1953)  
GW:326B (1988)  
GW:43 (R2, R, p.75) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 23
438. YBC7665  
BUCHANAN:987 (1981)  
GW:43 (R3, p.75) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:12 (1970)  
Samsuiluna 27
439. NBC9264  
BUCHANAN:988 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 27
440. YBC4407  
BUCHANAN:989 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 27
441. YBC5986  
BUCHANAN:990 (1981)  
Samsuiluna 28
442. HSM109  
LYON:PL.I:1 (1906)  
GW:43 (R1, R, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 30
443. HSM109  
LYON:PL.I:2 (1906)  
GW:43 (R3, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 30
444. HSM109  
LYON:PL.I:3 (1906)  
GW:43 (R1, L, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 30
445. HSM109  
LYON:PL.II:5 (1906)  
GW:43 (R2, L, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 30
446. HSM109  
LYON:PL.II:6 (1906)  
GW:43 (R2, R, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna 30
447. YBC4981  
BUCHANAN:991A (1981)  
Samsuiluna 30  
Aya-T  
Shamash-T
448. YBC4981  
BUCHANAN:991B (1981)  
Samsuiluna 30
449. YBC4981  
BUCHANAN:991C (1981)  
Samsuiluna 30
450. YBC4981  
BUCHANAN:991D (1981)  
Samsuiluna 30
451. AO4498  
DEL:A559:A (1923)  
GW:244A (1988)  
Samsuiluna 33
452. AO4498  
DEL:A559:B (1923)  
GW:244B (1988)  
Samsuiluna 33
453. AO4498  
DEL:A559:X (1923)  
GW:244X (1988)  
Samsuiluna 33
454. BM78258  
PINCHES:33 (1964)  
GW:245A (1988)  
Samsuiluna
455. BM78258  
PINCHES:33 (1964)  
GW:245B (1988)  
Samsuiluna
456. BM16916A  
FIGULLA:54:2 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-T  
Ninshubur-D
457. BM17043  
FIGULLA:59:1 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Shamash-D
458. BM16861A  
FIGULLA:60A:2 (1967)  
GW:246 (1988)  
Samsuiluna
459. BM16818A  
FIGULLA:61A:1 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Ishtar-D
460. BM16818A  
FIGULLA:61A:3 (1967)  
GW:236:7 (1988)  
GW:43 (R4, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna
461. BM16812A  
FIGULLA:65A:1 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Shamash-T  
Samsuiluna
462. BM16812A  
FIGULLA:65A:2 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Sin-D  
Shamash-D  
Samsuiluna
463. BM16812A  
FIGULLA:65A:3 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Ishtar-T  
Sin-T  
Sin-D  
AN.MARTU-D
464. BM16812A  
FIGULLA:65A:4 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
465. BM16812A  
FIGULLA:65A:5 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Marduk-T  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-T  
Samsuiluna
466. BM17059A  
FIGULLA:68A:1 (1967)  
GW:247:1 (1988)  
Samsuiluna
467. BM17049A  
FIGULLA:68A:2 (1967)  
GW:247:2 (1988)  
Samsuiluna  
Sin-T  
Samsuiluna
468. BM17049A  
FIGULLA:68A:3 (1967)  
GW:247:3 (1988)  
GW:43 (R5, C, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna
469. BM17049A  
FIGULLA:68A:4 (1967)  
GW:247:4 (1988)  
GW:43 (R5, L, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna
470. BM17049A  
FIGULLA:68A:5 (1967)  
GW:247:5 (1988)  
GW:43 (R5, R, p.76) (1980)  
Samsuiluna
471. BM17049A  
FIGULLA:68A:8 (1967)  
Samsuiluna  
Sin-T  
AN.MARTU-D
472. KALEBDJIAN  
SCHEIL:PL.II:13 (1916)  
GW:41 (R1, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna  
Samsuiluna
473. CUA57  
GOETZE:PL.I:7-9 (1957a)  
GW:42 (R2, p.71) (1980)  
Samsuiluna  
Samsuiluna
474. MLC222  
BUCHANAN:996 (1981)  
GW:44 (R5, p.77) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:15 (1970)  
Abieshu 28  
Nabu-T
475. AO1727  
DEL:A560:A (1923)  
GW:249A (1988)  
GW:44 (R2, R, p.77) (1980)  
Abieshu
476. AO1727  
DEL:A560:B (1923)  
GW:249B (1988)  
GW:44 (R2, L, p.77) (1980)  
Abieshu
477. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:2 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Sin-T  
Ninshubur-D
478. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:4 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Aya-T  
Shamash-D  
Sin-T  
Abieshu
479. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:5 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Shamash-T
480. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:6 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Marduk-D
481. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:7 (1967)  
Abieshu  
BILGI.x-T  
Shamash-D  
Shamash-T
482. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:8 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Shamash-T  
Sin-D  
Ningal-D



483. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:9 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Shamash-D
484. BM17067A  
FIGULLA:69A:10 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Sin-T  
Shamash-T
485. BM17328A  
FIGULLA:70 (1967)  
Abieshu  
Marduk-T  
Shamash-T  
Nabu-D
486. VA3242  
MOORTGAT:494 (1940)  
**GW:44 (R1, p.77) (1980)**  
Abieshu  
Marduk-T  
Abieshu
487. YBC5665  
BUCHANAN:992 (1981)  
GW:44 (R3, p.77) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:13 (1970)  
Abieshu
488. YBC5939  
BUCHANAN:993 (1981)  
GW:44 (R4, p.77) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:14 (1970)  
Abieshu
489. YBC1190  
BUCHANAN:994A (1981)  
Abieshu
490. MLC1287  
BUCHANAN:995 (1981)  
Abieshu
491. AO1689  
DEL:A561 (1923)  
GW:46 (R3, Two figs. on  
Left, p.79) (1980)  
Ammiditana 3
492. YBC12983  
BUCHANAN:997 (1981)  
Ammiditana 3
493. AO2502  
DEL:A562:A (1923)  
GW:250B (1988)  
Ammiditana 5  
Nabu-T  
Aya-D  
Marduk-T  
Ammiditana
494. AO2502  
DEL:A562:B (1923)  
GW:250A (1988)  
Ammiditana 5  
Shamash-D  
Shamash-D  
Aya-D
495. BM80161  
PINCHES:46:1 (1964)  
GW:251:1 (1988)  
GW:45 (R3, p.78) (1980)  
Ammiditana 6
496. BM80161  
PINCHES:46:2 (1964)  
GW:251:2 (1988)  
GW:45 (R2, R, p.78) (1980)  
Ammiditana 6
497. BM80161  
PINCHES:46:3 (1964)  
GW:251:3 (1988)  
**GW:45 (R2, L, p.78) (1980)**  
Ammiditana 6
498. YBC5477  
BUCHANAN:998A (1981)  
Ammiditana 8
499. YBC5477  
BUCHANAN:998B (1981)  
Ammiditana 8
500. YBC5920  
BUCHANAN:999 (1981)  
GW:45 (R1, p.78) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:16 (1970)  
Ammiditana 11
501. AO1671  
DEL:A563:A (1923)  
GW:252A (1988)  
GW:45 (R5, R, p.78) (1980)  
Ammiditana 15
502. AO1671  
DEL:A563:B (1923)  
GW:252B (1988)  
GW:45 (R5, L, p.78) (1980)  
Ammiditana 15  
Nergal-T  
Ammiditana
503. AO1671  
DEL:A563:C (1923)  
GW:252C (1988)  
GW:45 (R4, R, p.78) (1980)  
Ammiditana 15
504. AO1671  
DEL:A563:X (1923)  
GW:252:X (1988)  
**GW:45 (R4, L, p.78) (1980)**  
Ammiditana 15
505. YBC12259  
BUCHANAN:1000A (1981)  
Ammiditana 20
506. YBC12259  
BUCHANAN:1000B (1981)  
Ammiditana 20
507. AO2709  
DEL:A564 (1923)  
GW:253 (1988)  
GW:46 (R4, p.79) (1980)  
Ammiditana 24
508. YBC5501  
BUCHANAN:1001 (1981)  
Ammiditana 31
509. AO2503  
DEL:A565:A (1923)  
GW:254A (1988)  
Ammiditana 34
510. AO2503  
DEL:A565:B (1923)  
GW:254B (1988)  
Ammiditana 34  
Marduk-T  
Amurru-D
511. AO2503  
DEL:A565:C (1923)  
GW:254C (1988)  
Ammiditana 34
512. AO2503  
DEL:A565:E (1923)  
Ammiditana 34  
Ninshubur-T  
Ninshubur-D
513. MLC425  
**BUCHANAN:1002 (1981)**  
Ammiditana 36
514. NBC1273  
BUCHANAN:1003 (1981)  
Ammiditana 36
515. AO4499  
DEL:A566:A (1923)  
GW:255A (1988)  
GW:46 (R1, L, p.80) (1980)  
Ammiditana 37
516. AO4499  
DEL:A566:B (1923)  
GW:255B (1988)  
GW:46 (R1, R, p.80) (1980)  
Ammiditana 37
517. CBM1512  
RANKE:PL.VIII:13 (1906)  
GW:46 (R2, L, p.79) (1980)  
Ammiditana
518. CBM1512  
RANKE:PL.VIII:13 (1906)  
GW:46 (R2, R, p.79) (1980)  
Ammiditana
519. AO4657  
DEL:A567:A (1923)  
Ammiditana  
Ea-T  
Adad-D  
Shala-D
520. AO4657  
DEL:A567:B (1923)  
GW:46 (R1, p.79) (1980)  
Ammiditana  
Sin-T  
Ammiditana
521. AO4657  
DEL:A567:C (1923)  
Ammiditana  
Anu-T  
Ammiditana
522. BM80217  
PINCHES:55 (1964)  
GW:256:1 (1988)  
Ammiditana
523. BM80217  
PINCHES:55 (1964)  
GW:256:2 (1988)  
Ammiditana
524. BM80217  
PINCHES:55 (1964)  
GW:256:3 (1988)  
Ammiditana
525. YBC4271  
**BUCHANAN:1004A (1981)**  
GW:49 (R4, p.81) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:17 (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 1
526. YBC4271  
BUCHANAN:1004B (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 1
527. IM50868  
GW:172A (1988)  
GW:50 (R1, L, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 2
528. IM50868  
GW:172B (1988)  
GW:50 (R1, C, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 2
529. AO1734  
DEL:A568 (1923)  
GW:257 (1988)  
**GW:50 (R5, p.81) (1980)**  
Ammisaduqa 2  
Adad-T  
Marduk-T
530. MLC2656  
PORADA:PL.13:A (1976)  
GW:46 (R3, L, p.80) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 3
531. MLC2656  
PORADA:PL.13:C (1976)  
GW:46 (R3, R, p.80) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 3
532. MLC2656  
PORADA:PL.13:B (1976)  
GW:46 (R4, p.80) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 3
533. IM50894  
GW:173 (1988)  
GW:50 (R1, R, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 4
534. IM50893  
GW:174 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 4
535. MLC606  
BUCHANAN:1005A (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Marduk-T
536. MLC606  
BUCHANAN:1005B (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Sin-T  
Amurru-T  
Amurru-D
537. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551A (1966)  
GW:50 (R5, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:1005X (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Marduk-T
538. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551B (1966)  
GW:50 (R6, R, p.82) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Shamash-T  
Ammisaduqa
539. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551C (1966)  
Ammisaduqa 6
540. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551D (1966)  
GW:50 (R6, L, p.82) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Sin-T



541. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551Y (1966)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Adad-D  
Nin.SHA.GUR (?)>D
542. ASH:BOD:B12  
BUCHANAN:551X (1966)  
Ammisaduqa 6  
Sin-T  
Nabu-D
543. IM50418  
GW:176 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 7
544. IM50421  
GW:178 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 7
545. IM50418  
GW:177 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 7
546. AO7595  
DEL:A569 (1923)  
GW:258 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 8  
Amurru-D  
Anu-D
547. MLC1388  
**BUCHANAN:1006 (1981)**  
Ammisaduqa 8
548. AO2500  
DEL:A570:A (1923)  
GW:259A (1988)  
GW:50 (R2, L, Three figs. on  
L, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 9  
\*Left seal split. Right part  
recorded as 549.
549. AO2500  
DEL:A570:B (1923)  
GW:259A (1988)  
GW:50 (R2, L, Three figs. on  
R, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 9  
\*Left seal split. Left part  
recorded as 548.
550. AO2500  
DEL:A570:C (1923)  
GW:259B (1988)  
GW:50 (R2, R, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 9
551. AO2500  
DEL:A570:E (1923)  
Ammisaduqa 9  
Ishtar-D
552. YBC4329  
BUCHANAN:1007 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 9
553. MLC1394  
BUCHANAN:1008 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 9
554. YBC6769  
BUCHANAN:1009 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 9
555. IM50869  
GW:179A (1988)  
GW:50 (R3, L, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 11
556. IM50869  
GW:179B (1988)  
GW:50 (R3, R, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 11
557. IM50869  
GW:179C (1988)  
GW:50 (R3, C, p.83) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 11
558. YBC9118  
**BUCHANAN:1010 (1981)**  
Ammisaduqa 11
559. MLC828  
BUCHANAN:1011A (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 13
560. MLC828  
BUCHANAN:1011B (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 13
561. YBC5987  
BUCHANAN:1012 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 13
562. IM50419  
GW:180 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 14
563. NBC5355  
BUCHANAN:1013 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 15
564. AO1931  
DEL:A571:A (1923)  
GW:260A (1988)  
GW:50 (R1, R, p.82) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 16
565. AO1931  
DEL:A571:B (1923)  
GW:260B (1988)  
GW:50 (R1, L, p.82) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa 16
566. YBC4962  
BUCHANAN:1014 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 16
567. YBC7813  
BUCHANAN:1015 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 16
568. MLC807  
**BUCHANAN:1016 (1981)**  
GW:50 (R2, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:18 (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 16
569. BM80160  
PINCHES:60 (1964)  
GW:261:1 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 17
570. BM80160  
PINCHES:60 (1964)  
GW:261:2 (1988)  
Ammisaduqa 17
571. MLC2228  
BUCHANAN:1017 (1981)  
Ammisaduqa 17
572. MLC811  
BUCHANAN:1018 (1981)  
GW:50 (R4, L, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:19 (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 17
573. MLC210  
BUCHANAN:1019A (1981)  
GW:50 (R3, L, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:20a (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 17
574. MLC223  
**BUCHANAN:1019B (1981)**  
GW:50 (R3, R, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:20b (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 17
575. MLC2212  
BUCHANAN:1020 (1981)  
GW:50 (R4, R, p.82) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:21 (1970)  
Ammisaduqa 17
576. CBM9478  
RANKE:PLX:15 (1906)  
GW:48 (R3, p.81) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa
577. CBM9478  
RANKE:PLX:15 (1906)  
GW:48 (R2, R, p.81) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa
578. CBM9478  
RANKE:PLX:15 (1906)  
Ammisaduqa
579. CBM9478  
RANKE:PLX:15 (1906)  
GW:48 (R2, L, p.81) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa
580. CBM9478  
RANKE:PLX:15 (1906)  
Ammisaduqa
581. VA6940  
MOORTGAT:495 (1940)  
GW:47 (R1, p.81) (1980)  
Ammisaduqa  
Marduk-T  
Ammisaduqa
582. IM50432  
GW:181A (1988)  
Ammisaduqa
583. IM50432  
GW:181B (1988)  
Ammisaduqa
584. IM50432  
GW:181C (1988)  
Ammisaduqa
585. MLC1331  
BUCHANAN:1021 (1981)  
Samsuditana 2  
Sin-T  
Marduk-T
586. MLC1742  
BUCHANAN:1022 (1981)  
Samsuditana 5
587. MLC644  
BUCHANAN:1023A (1981)  
Samsuditana 12
588. MLC644  
BUCHANAN:1023B (1981)  
Samsuditana 12
589. MLC644  
BUCHANAN:1023C (1981)  
Samsuditana 12
590. MLC1656  
BUCHANAN:1024 (1981)  
Samsuditana 12
591. MLC1604  
BUCHANAN:1025A (1981)  
GW:52 (R4, L, p.84) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:22a (1970)  
Samsuditana 13
592. MLC1604  
BUCHANAN:1025B (1981)  
GW:52 (R4, R, p.84) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:22b (1970)  
Samsuditana 13
593. YBC3285  
BUCHANAN:1026A (1981)  
GW:52 (R5, L, p.84) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:23a (1970)  
Samsuditana 14
594. YBC3285  
BUCHANAN:1026B (1981)  
GW:52 (R5, R, p.84) (1980)  
BUCHANAN:23b (1970)  
Samsuditana 14
595. MLC1654  
**BUCHANAN:1027 (1981)**  
Samsuditana 14
596. YBC8308  
BUCHANAN:1028 (1981)  
Samsuditana 14
597. AO4651  
DEL:A573:A (1923)  
GW:52 (R3, R, p.84) (1980)  
Samsuditana  
Nabu-D  
Marduk-T
598. AO4651  
DEL:A573:B (1923)  
GW:52 (R3, L, p.84) (1980)  
Samsuditana  
Adad-D  
Shala-D
599. WAG:C20  
GORDON:26 (1939)  
**GW:51 (R1, p.84) (1980)**  
Samsuditana  
Marduk-T  
Sin-T  
Samsuditana
600. MLC1515  
BUCHANAN:1029A (1981)  
Samsuditana
601. CBS11035-11049  
LEGRAIN:536 (1925)
602. NUZI  
PORADA:680 (1947)
603. E30.1946  
MUNN-RANKIN:21 (1959)  
Sin-T  
Nabu-D
604. CBS11626  
MATTHEWS:13 (1992)  
Shamash-D
605. ASH1921.946  
BUCHANAN:558 (1966)  
**MATTHEWS:114 (1990)**  
Sin-T



606. YBC2582  
NIES & KEISER:Pl.74B  
(1920)  
Adad-D  
Anu-D
607. CBS7292  
LEGRAIN:538 (1925)  
Lugalbanda-D
608. Cinq596  
SPELEERS:596 (1917)  
Shunugi-D  
Lama-T
609. CBS5060  
LEGRAIN:537 (1925)  
Shamash-T  
Marduk-D
610. A3703  
WILLIAMS:54 (1927-28)
611. Cinq601  
SPELEERS:601 (1917)  
Nin.SHA.GUR(?) -D
612. MLC  
PORADA:568 (1948)  
Ishtar-D
613. NEWELL  
OSTEN:273 (1934)  
Sin-D
614. MLC  
PORADA:572 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:75 (1990)  
WARD:522 (1910)  
Ishtar-D  
Ea-T
615. NUZI  
PORADA:681 (1947)
616. MLC  
PORADA:571 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:73 (1990)  
WARD:523 (1910)  
Nergal-D
617. N2342  
LAMBERT:60 (1979)
618. MAZDA  
LIMET:4 (1978-79)  
Sin-D  
Ea-D
619. METMUS  
PORADA:570 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:76 (1990)  
WARD:538 (1910)  
Sin-T  
Sin-D  
Ninmah-D
620. BN294  
DEL:294 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:74 (1990)  
Shamash-D
621. NUZI  
PORADA:706 (1947)
622. BM89001  
WARD:526 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:78 (1990)  
COLLON:462 (1988)  
Marduk-D
623. NUZI  
PORADA:698 (1947)
624. BM138139  
MATTHEWS:90 (1990)
625. N2257  
MATTHEWS:6 (1992)  
Kadashman-Enlil
626. NUZI  
PORADA:690 (1947)
627. CBS14442  
LEGRAIN:566 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:9 (1992)
628. NUZI  
PORADA:688 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:95 (1990)
629. NUZI  
PORADA:689 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:98 (1990)
630. NUZI  
PORADA:686 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:91 (1990)
631. NUZI  
PORADA:687 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:92 (1990)
632. NUZI  
PORADA:683 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:123 (1990)
633. BN293  
DEL:293 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:119 (1990)  
Shamash-D
634. 12N691d.e  
GIBSON:Fig.92:2 (1978)  
MATTHEWS:10 (1992)  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-D  
Ishtar-D
635. ASH1969.352  
MOOREY & GURNEY:78  
(1978)  
MATTHEWS:101 (1990)
636. NUZI  
PORADA:691 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:105 (1990)
637. NUZI  
PORADA:699 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:106 (1990)
638. MLC  
PORADA:574 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:97 (1990)  
WARD:528 (1910)  
Shamash-T  
Marduk-T  
Adad-D  
Ishtar-D
639. MLC  
PORADA:573 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:102 (1990)  
Marduk-D
640. KALEBDJIAN  
SCHEIL:27 (1916)  
MATTHEWS:107 (1990)  
Marduk-D
641. ASH1953.113  
BUCHANAN:560 (1966)  
MATTHEWS:96 (1990)  
Marduk-D
642. NUZI  
PORADA:694 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:72 (1990)
643. AOD105  
DEL:D56 (1920)  
MATTHEWS:122 (1990)  
COLLON:674 (1988)  
Kurigalzu II  
Shidada-T  
Ishtar-D  
Kurigalzu
644. DEC266  
WARD:534 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:84 (1990)  
Marduk-D  
Shamash-T
645. NUZI  
PORADA:697 (1947)
646. PM:B488  
PARKER:3 (1949)  
MATTHEWS:82 (1990)  
Marduk-D
647. BM89182  
VANBUREN:Pl.I:5 (1954)  
MATTHEWS:88 (1990)  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-D  
Ishtar-D
648. MOORE110  
EISEN:69 (1940)  
MATTHEWS:85 (1990)
649. ND5374  
PARKER:Pl.13:1 (1962)  
MATTHEWS:80 (1990)
650. NUZI  
PORADA:696 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:81 (1990)
651. NUZI  
PORADA:695 (1947)  
MATTHEWS:83 (1990)
652. BM89173  
WARD:529 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:87 (1990)  
Sin-D  
Sin-T  
Sin-T
653. M119  
ZADOKS & JTTA:109  
(1952)
654. CBS14237  
LEGRAIN:542 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:94 (1990)  
Sin-D  
Enlil-D
655. BM89849  
WISEMAN:44 (1959)  
MATTHEWS:71 (1990)  
Marduk-D
656. HUSM293  
LACHEMAN:293 (1950)  
MATTHEWS:104 (1990)
657. BIRM:551'65  
LAMBERT:56 (1966)  
MATTHEWS:89 (1990)  
DOLCE:5 (1986)  
Shamash-D
658. BM89175  
MATTHEWS:118 (1990)
659. N2340  
LAMBERT:61 (1979)  
MATTHEWS:121 (1990)  
DOLCE:8 (1986)
660. ASH1892.1421  
BUCHANAN:561 (1966)  
Shamash-D
661. DEC228  
MATTHEWS:86 (1990)  
Shamash-D
662. BM89215  
MATTHEWS:108 (1990)
663. CFM88263  
WARD:531 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:100 (1990)  
Ishtar-D
664. DNM768  
RAVN:77 (1960)  
MATTHEWS:120 (1990)  
Shamash-D
665. BM89258  
VANBUREN:Pl.I:6 (1954)  
MATTHEWS:93 (1990)
666. CBS14240  
MATTHEWS:4 (1992)
667. N2429  
LAMBERT:57 (1979)  
DOLCE:6 (1986)
668. MLC  
PORADA:585 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:103 (1990)  
Shamash-D
669. KW714  
COLLON:571 (1988)  
MATTHEWS:124 (1990)
670. NEWELL  
OSTEN:665 (1934)  
Kurigalzu II  
Adad-D  
Kurigalzu  
Burnaburiash
671. BRETT  
OSTEN:82 (1936)  
I.lu.ru.gu-D  
Adad-T  
Adad-T
672. BN302  
DEL:302 (1910)  
Amurru-D
673. BN303  
DEL:303 (1910)  
Gula-D
674. GMOA:N2398  
LAMBERT:62 (1979)  
Ea-D  
Ea-T



675. FN201  
PORADA:35 (1981)
676. FN205  
PORADA:36 (1981)  
Marduk-D
677. BM114704  
COLLON:929 (1988)  
**MATTHEWS:68 (1990)**  
Kurigalzu II  
Ninsun-D  
Enlil-D  
Marduk-T  
Ea-T  
Kurigalzu
678. BM129099  
SMITH.p.3 (1938)  
Ishtar-D  
Ea-D
679. MOORE159  
EISEN:70 (1940)  
Gula-D
680. FH-6  
FERRARA.p.69 (1977)
681. VA6971  
MOORTGAT:558 (1940)  
Sin-D  
Shugab-T  
Adad-D
682. DEC253  
WARD:540 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:70 (1990)
683. NOUGAYROL:1 (1966)  
Marduk-D
684. NEWELL  
OSTEN:662 (1934)  
MATTHEWS:63 (1990)  
Kurigalzu II  
Ishtar-D  
Shamash-T  
Kurigalzu
685. CBS13321  
MATTHEWS:53 (1992)
686. FN186  
PORADA:34 (1981)  
Abu-D  
Marduk-T
687. DNM:DFA660  
RAVN:86 (1960)  
Adad-D  
Anu-D
688. BM28799  
VANBUREN:PLI:7 (1954)
689. ND1681  
PARKER:PL.10:2 (1955)
690. NEWELL  
OSTEN:276 (1934)  
MATTHEWS:58 (1990)  
Kurigalzu II  
Enlil-T  
Enlil-D  
Kurigalzu
691. DEC260  
LANGDON:29 (1919)  
Sin-D
692. MLC  
PORADA:577 (1948)  
**MATTHEWS:60 (1990)**  
WARD:40 & 512 (1910)  
Burnaburiash II  
Adad-D  
Shudu-T  
Burnaburiash
693. MM73.51.4301  
WARD:516 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:54 (1990)  
Marduk-D
694. MLC  
PORADA:576 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:59 (1990)  
WARD:518 (1910)  
Marduk-D  
Marduk-T
695. DEC262  
WARD:520 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:61 (1990)  
Ishtar-T
696. MOORE165  
EISEN:68 (1940)  
Ishtar-D  
Shamash-T
697. DEC267  
MATTHEWS:56 (1990)  
Shamash-D
698. ZURICH  
BOISSIER:1 (1912)  
Marduk-D
699. DEC260TER  
LANGDON:20 (1919)  
Lugalbanda-D
700. MLC  
PORADA:579 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:4 (1990)  
WARD:122 (1909)  
Sin-D
701. DEC261  
WARD:527 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:5 (1990)  
Nergal-D
702. VA:BAB1377  
MOORTGAT:557 (1940)  
**MATTHEWS:6 (1990)**  
Adad-T  
Ninsun-T  
Lugalbanda-D  
Ishtar-D
703. MARCOPOLI  
TEISSIER:134 (1984)
704. NEWELL  
OSTEN:274 (1934)  
Ishtar-D  
Gula-D
705. MAZDA  
LIMET:1 (1978-79)  
Damu-T  
Ishtar-D  
Ishtar-D  
Gula-D  
Gula-T  
Gula-D  
Ungal-D
706. DEC259  
DOLCE:3 (1986)
707. BN295  
DEL:295 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:10 (1990)  
Ishtar-D
708. BOS:98.698  
WARD:513 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:11 (1990)  
Kurigalzu I  
Kurigalzu
709. IB.SA48  
VANBUREN:61 (1940)
710. WAG42.428  
GORDON:31 (1939)
711. AOD106  
DEL:D55 (1920)  
Sin-T  
Ninlil-D
712. IB961  
HROUDA:50 (1981)  
MATTHEWS:12 (1990)  
Ishtar-D  
Sin-T  
Sin-D
713. CBS1077  
LEGRAIN:544 (1925)
714. MOORE182  
EISEN:67 (1940)  
MATTHEWS:13 (1990)  
Marduk-T  
Nabu-T  
Ninimma-D  
Ningal-D
715. MLC  
PORADA:583 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:65 (1990)
716. CBS1062  
LEGRAIN:531 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:66 (1990)  
Kurigalzu  
Kurigalzu
717. BN296  
DEL:296 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:7 (1990)  
WARD:514 (1910)  
Kurigalzu  
Marduk-D  
Ea-D  
Kurigalzu
718. N1069  
**MATTHEWS:66 (1992)**  
Marduk-D
719. BRETT  
OSTEN:81 (1936)  
MATTHEWS:8 (1990)  
Ninurta-D  
Lama-T
720. MNB1927  
DEL:A601 (1923)  
MATTHEWS:64 (1990)  
Marduk-D
721. GUIMET95  
DEL:95 (1909)  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-D
722. NOUGAYROL:Fig.2 (1971)  
Marduk-D  
Marduk-T
723. CBS6646  
MATTHEWS:55 (1992)  
Nazi-Maruttash 14
724. DEC260BIS  
LANGDON:21 (1919)  
Adad-T  
Sin-T
725. WARD:521 (1910)
726. UM29-15-719  
MATTHEWS:56 (1992)  
Kurigalzu 21
727. AO1509  
DEL:A598 (1923)  
MATTHEWS:51 (1990)  
Marduk-D
728. AO4457  
DEL:A599 (1923)  
**MATTHEWS:52 (1990)**  
Marduk-D
729. DNM:5B:176  
RAVN:87 (1960)  
MATTHEWS:50 (1990)  
Shamash-D  
Marduk-D  
Ishtar-D
730. BN297  
DEL:297 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:49 (1990)  
WARD:525 (1910)  
Marduk-D
731. NEWELL  
OSTEN:663 (1934)  
MATTHEWS:53 (1990)
732. DEC264  
WARD:524 (1910)  
**MATTHEWS:14 (1990)**  
Sin-T  
Marduk-T  
Marduk-D  
Sin-D  
Ishtar-D
733. MNB1947  
DEL:A600 (1923)  
Marduk-D
734. SPELEERS:422 (1917)  
MATTHEWS:15 (1990)
735. CBS3350  
MATTHEWS:58 (1992)
736. MARCOPOLI  
TEISSIER:135 (1984)
737. CBS8276  
LEGRAIN:543 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:111 (1990)  
MATTHEWS:12 (1992)  
Marduk-D
738. N2343  
LAMBERT:59 (1979)  
MATTHEWS:2 (1990)  
Sin-T
739. BM89853  
COLLON:236 (1988)  
MATTHEWS:3 (1990)  
WARD:654 (1910)  
DimkiraBADna-D  
Enlil-D



740. BN292  
DEL:292 (1910)
741. BM122696  
COLLON:237 (1988)  
**MATTHEWS:9 (1990)**  
Kurigalzu I  
Marduk-T  
Ea-T  
Kurigalzu
742. CBS1108  
LEGRAIN:530 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:1 (1990)  
COLLON:235 (1988)  
Karaindash  
Nergal-D  
Marduk-T  
Karaindash
743. UM51-6-344  
MATTHEWS:36 (1992)  
Bumaburiash  
Ishtar-D  
Bumaburiash
744. ASH1969.353  
MOOREY & GURNEY:36  
(1978)  
MATTHEWS:44 (1990)  
Ninshubur-D
745. UM29-15-3  
MATTHEWS:35 (1992)  
Enlil-T
746. VA723  
MOORTGAT:553 (1940)
747. BUCHANAN:819 (1981)  
Ea-D
748. CUGNIN55  
LEGRAIN:55 (1911)  
Ishtaran-D
749. MAZDA  
LIMET:2 (1978-79)  
Marduk-D  
Shamash-T
750. CARNEGIE  
CARNEGIE:QB38 (1908)  
Shamash-D
751. SCHEIL:26 (1916)  
Urash-D  
Shamash-D
752. AO4456  
DEL:A606 (1923)  
MATTHEWS:38 (1990)  
COLLON:550 (1988)  
Kurigalzu II  
Kurigalzu
753. DEC255  
LANGDON:14 (1919)  
Ninshubur-D  
Ninshubur-T  
Sukkal-T
754. CBS3098  
MATTHEWS:32 (1992)  
Gula-D  
Anu-D
755. CBS3126  
MATTHEWS:33 (1992)
756. CBS3233  
MATTHEWS:34 (1992)  
Anu-T
757. DEC254  
WARD:537 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:37 (1990)  
Shamash-D
758. NOVECK:31 (1975)  
MATTHEWS:42 (1990)  
Ishtar-D
759. CBS6743  
MATTHEWS:29 (1992)  
LEGRAIN:565 (1925)  
Gula-D  
Gula-T  
Marduk-T
760. CINQ425  
SPELEERS:425 (1917)  
MATTHEWS:46 (1990)  
Ishtar-D  
Ninurta-T
761. BM89128  
VANBUREN:PI.I:2 (1954)  
**MATTHEWS:34 (1990)**  
COLLON:238 (1988)  
Shamash-D
762. NEWELL  
OSTEN:270 (1934)  
Marduk-D
763. MAZDA  
LIMET:3 (1978-79)
764. BM89240  
WARD:535 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:35 (1990)  
Ishtar-D
765. CBS8972  
LEGRAIN:545 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:39 (1990)  
Ishtar-D  
Sin-D  
Ninshubur-T
766. LAMBERT:Fig.2 (1970)  
MATTHEWS:45 (1990)  
Kurigalzu  
Ninurta-D  
Kurigalzu
767. N1702  
MATTHEWS:38 (1992)
768. AO14028  
AMIET:456 (1973)  
MATTHEWS:41 (1990)  
Marduk-T  
Nuska-D  
Sadamunna-D
769. CBS6740  
LEGRAIN:563 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:40 (1990)  
MATTHEWS:31 (1992)  
Ninurta-D  
Gula-D
770. HERM6516  
LIMET:5.11 (1971)  
MATTHEWS:27 (1990)  
Gula-D
771. VA3869  
MOORTGAT:554 (1940)  
**MATTHEWS:28 (1990)**  
COLLON:239 (1988)  
Bumaburiash II  
Marduk-T  
Bumaburiash
772. CBS3045  
MATTHEWS:60 (1992)  
Kurigalzu 5
773. WG85  
BLEIBTRAU:85 (1981)  
MATTHEWS:29 (1990)
774. CBS3127  
MATTHEWS:59 (1992)
775. DNM8603  
RAVN:85 (1960)  
MATTHEWS:125 (1990)  
Ishtar-D  
Sin-T
776. WARD:542 (1910)  
**MATTHEWS:25 (1990)**  
Amurru-D  
Ninegal-D
777. CARNEGIE  
CARNEGIE:QB41 (1908)  
MATTHEWS:33 (1990)  
Nazi-Maruttash  
Nazi-Maruttash
778. CBS11455  
MATTHEWS:62 (1992)
779. BM89015  
VANBUREN:PI.I:3 (1954)  
MATTHEWS:17 (1990)
780. 2D213  
MATTHEWS:17 (1992)  
MATTHEWS:48 (1990)  
Adad-D  
Shala-D
781. BN298  
DEL:298 (1910)  
MATTHEWS:18 (1990)  
Sumugan-D
782. CBS8250  
LEGRAIN:554 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:19 (1990)  
MATTHEWS:63 (1992)
783. CBS3015  
MATTHEWS:61 (1992)  
**MATTHEWS:20 (1990)**  
Nazi-Maruttash 4  
Enlil-D  
Kadashman-Enlil  
Kurigalzu  
Nuska-D  
Sharrat-Nippur-D
784. CBS14247  
LEGRAIN:552 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:47 (1990)  
MATTHEWS:16 (1992)  
Kurigalzu
785. CBS6729  
LEGRAIN:557 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:21 (1990)  
Marduk-D
786. CBS6747  
LEGRAIN:556 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:32 (1990)  
Marduk-D
787. CBS8973  
LEGRAIN:547 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:31 (1990)  
Marduk-D
788. MLC  
PORADA:575 (1948)  
MATTHEWS:22 (1990)  
WARD:537A (1910)  
Marduk-T  
Marduk-T  
Marduk-D  
Gula-D
789. CBS9098  
LEGRAIN:546 (1925)  
MATTHEWS:24 (1990)  
Ishtar-D
790. ASH1889.364  
BUCHANAN:559 (1966)  
MATTHEWS:16 (1990)  
Ningizzida-D
791. COLLON:653 (1988)  
MATTHEWS:126 (1990)  
WARD:536 (1910)  
Nabu-T  
Shamash-D  
Amurru-D
792. WARD:515 (1910)  
**MATTHEWS:23 (1990)**  
Kurigalzu I  
Sumugan-D  
Adad-T
793. CBS3116  
**MATTHEWS:18 (1992)**  
Kadashman-[Enlil]  
Kadashman-[ ]
794. MLC  
PORADA:569 (1948)  
Nergal-D
795. CBS7242  
MATTHEWS:48 (1992)  
Nazi-Maruttash 10  
Kurigalzu
796. INV1928/12687  
VOLLENWEIDER:53 (1967)  
Adad-T  
Marduk-D  
Marduk-T  
Adad-D  
Ishtar-D
797. WOODBROOKE  
LAMBERT:Fig.1 (1970)  
MATTHEWS:113 (1990)  
Ishtar-D  
Adad-T
798. GUIMET94  
DEL:94 (1909)  
Marduk-D
799. NEWELL  
OSTEN:275 (1934)  
Enlil-D
800. WARD:533 (1910)



801. FRIB99  
COLLON:245 (1988)  
**MATTHEWS:112 (1990)**  
Sin-D
802. DEC265  
LANGDON:25 (1919)  
Ninmah-D
803. BM89252  
MATTHEWS:109 (1990)
804. NUZI  
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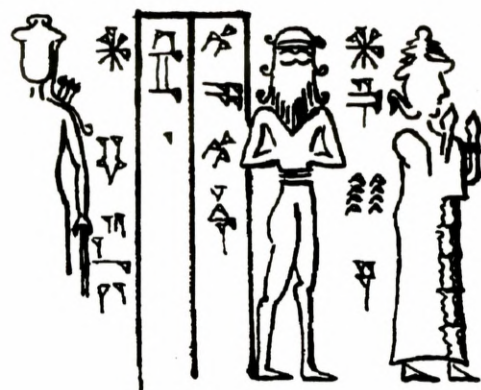
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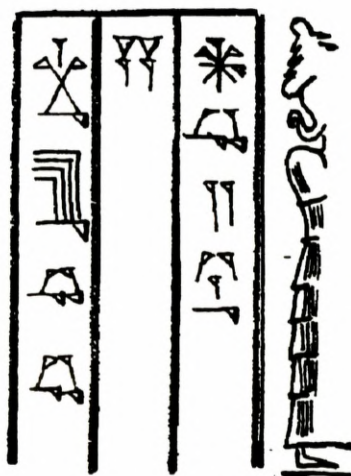
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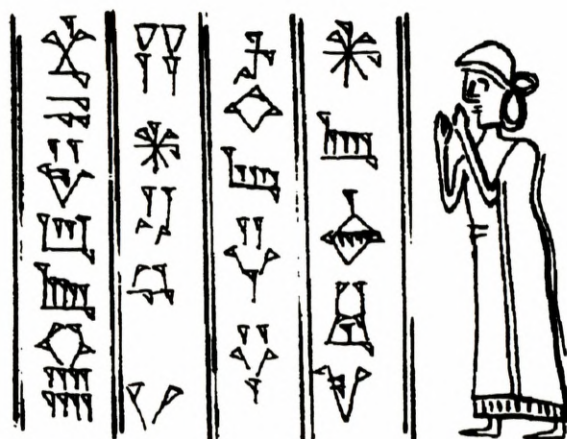
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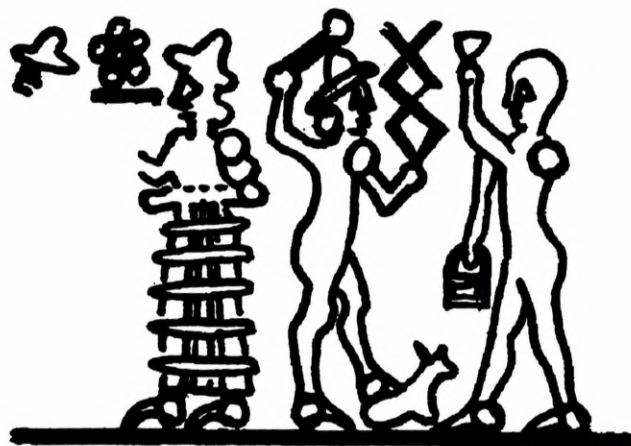




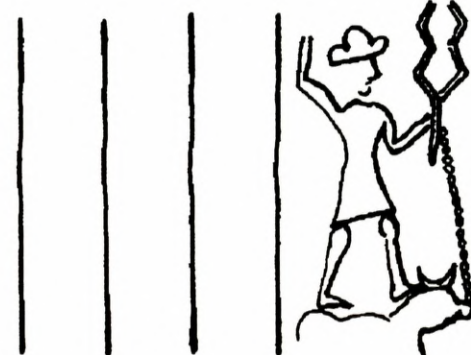
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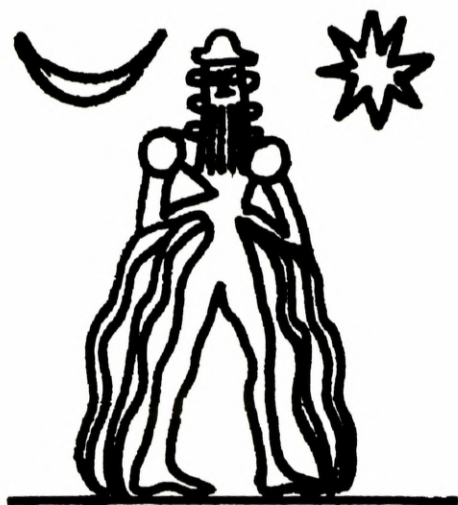


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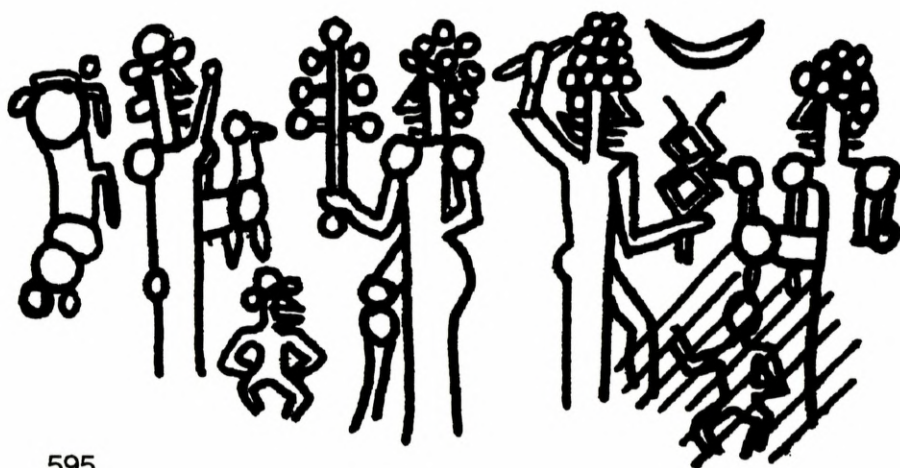




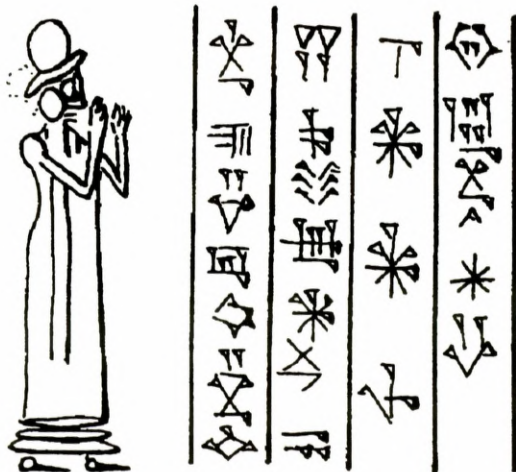
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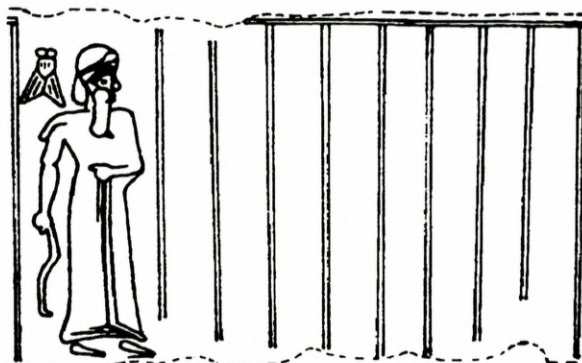


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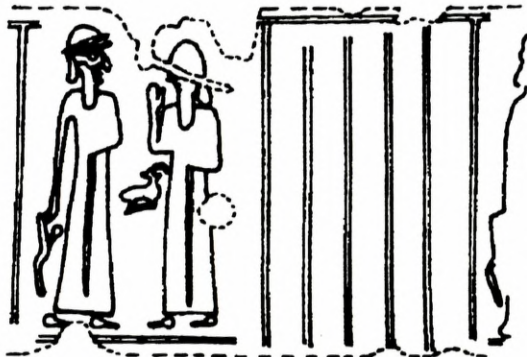




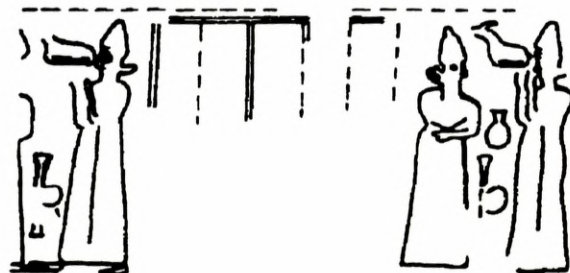
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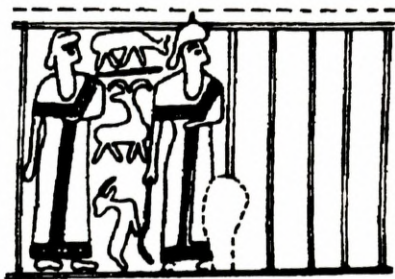
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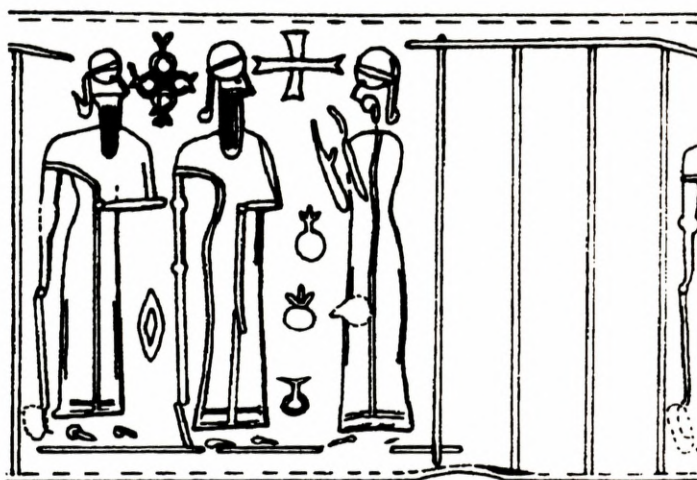
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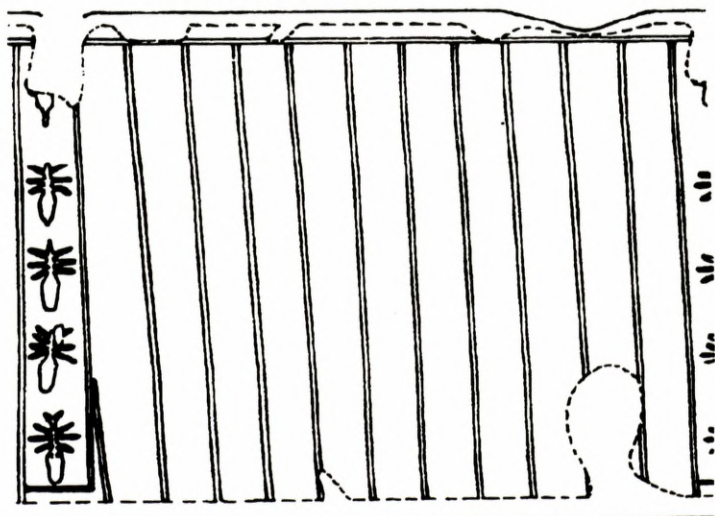
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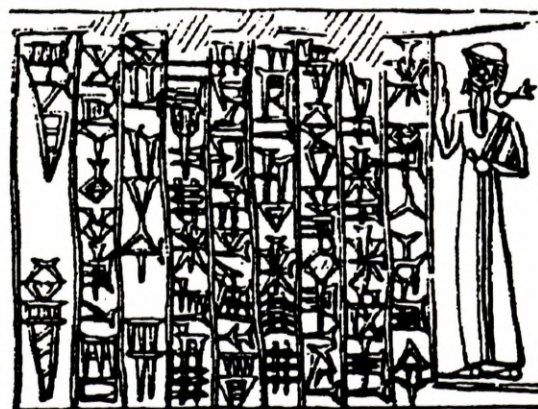
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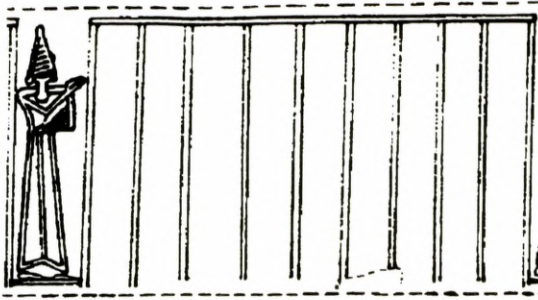


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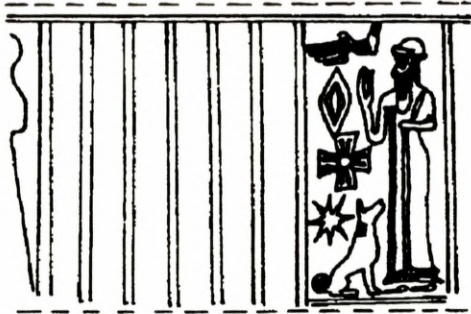




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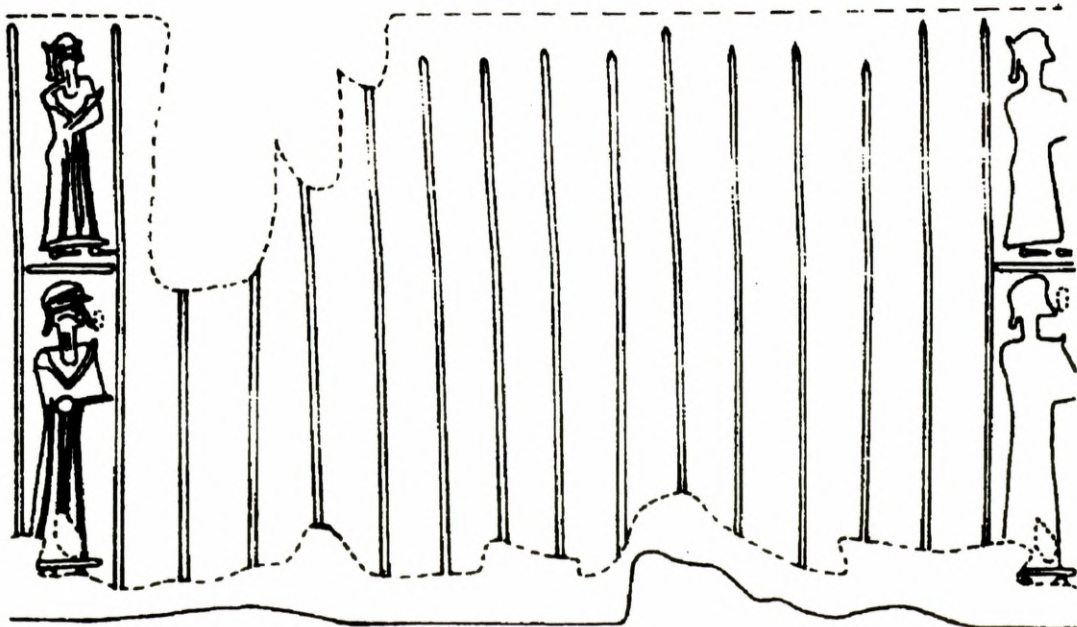
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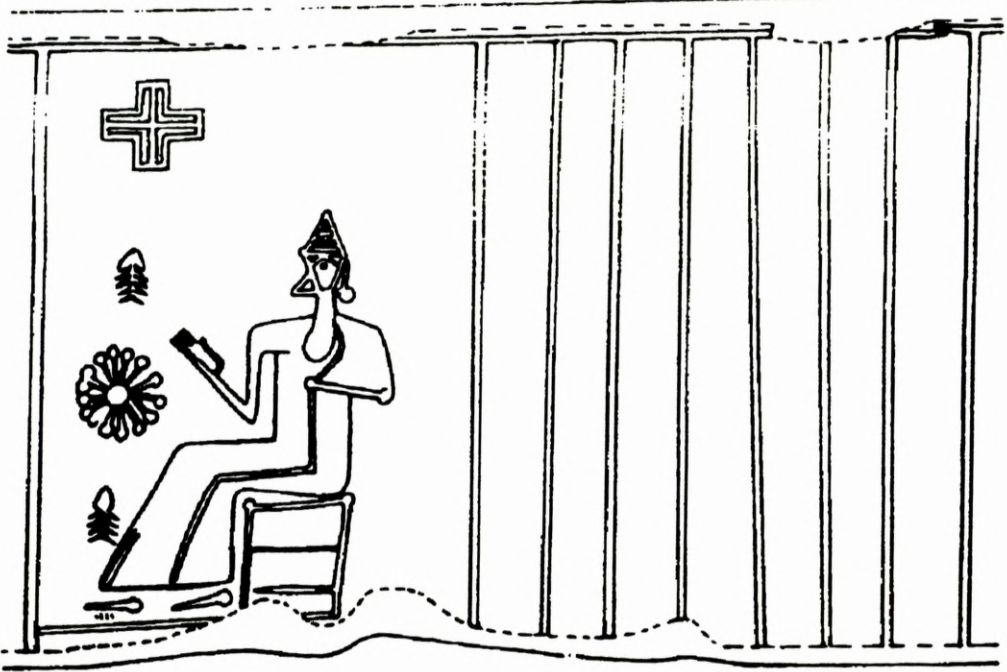


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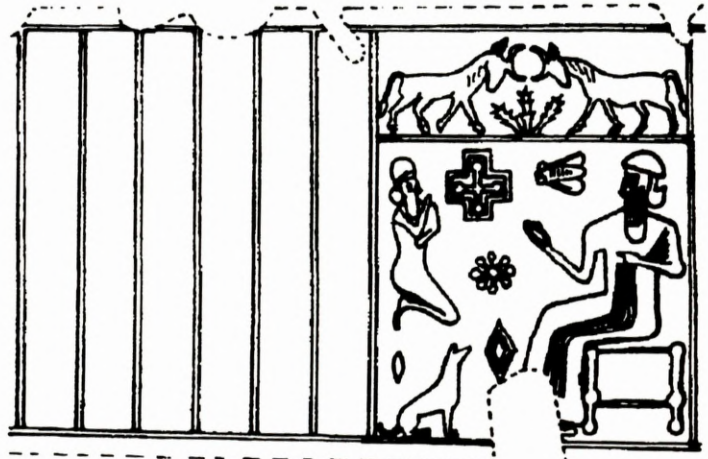


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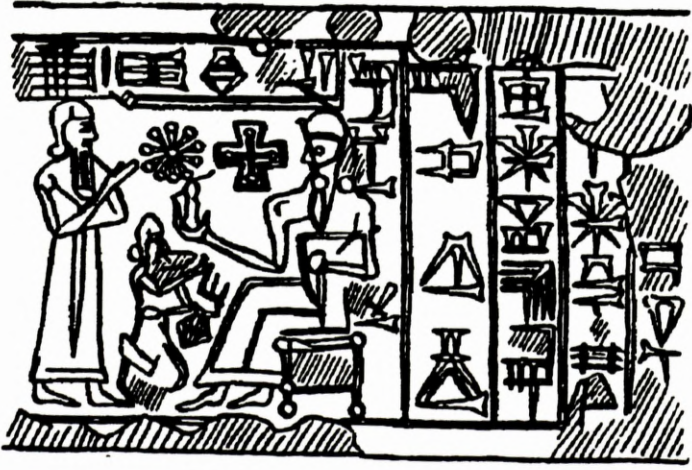




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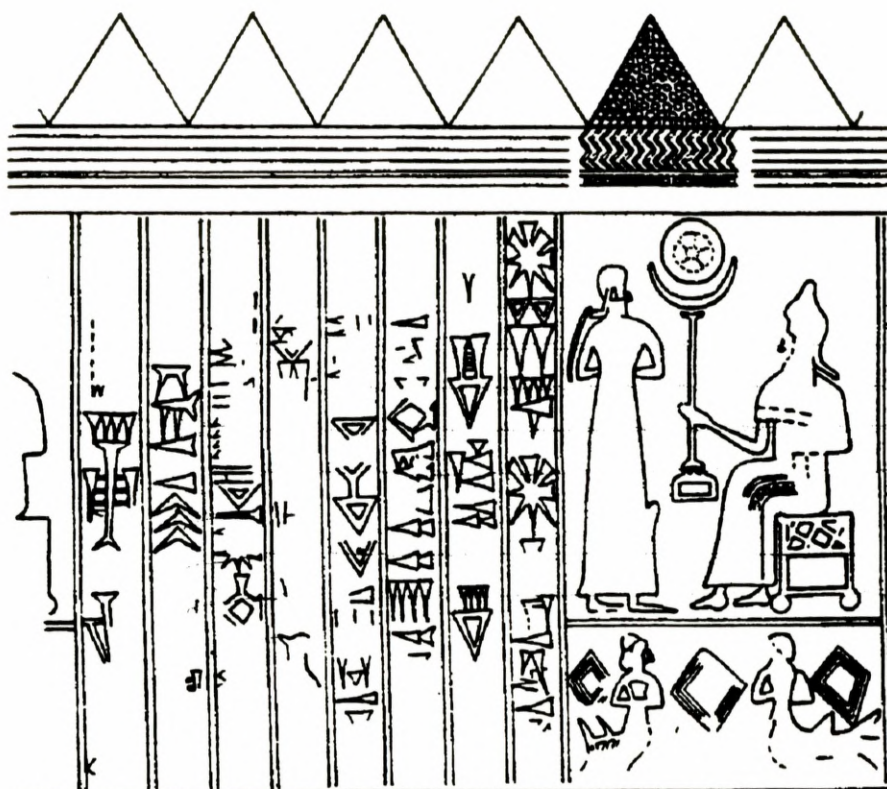


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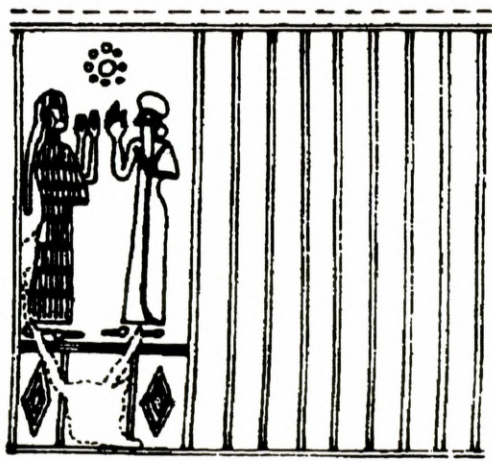




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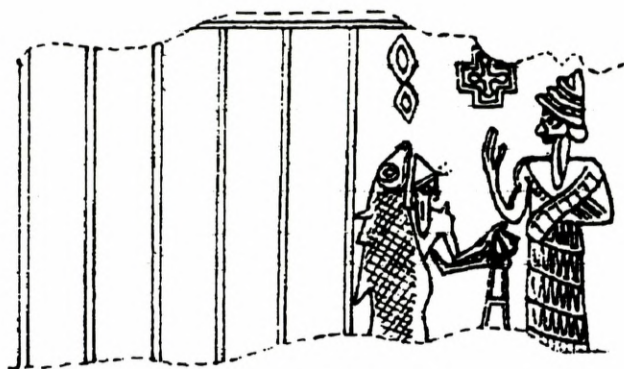


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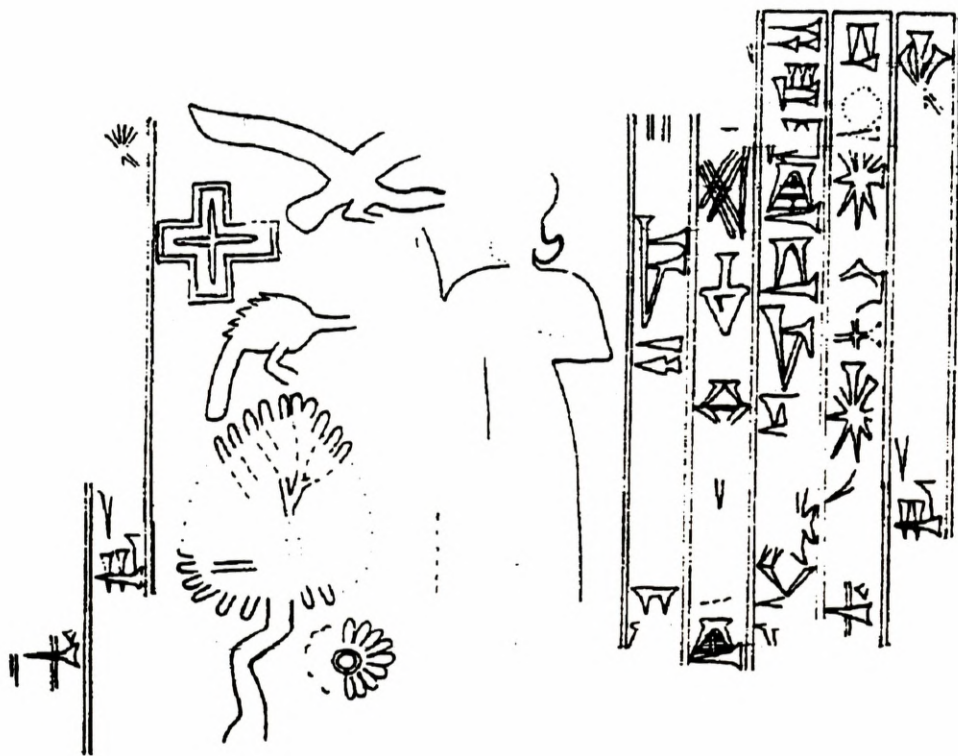


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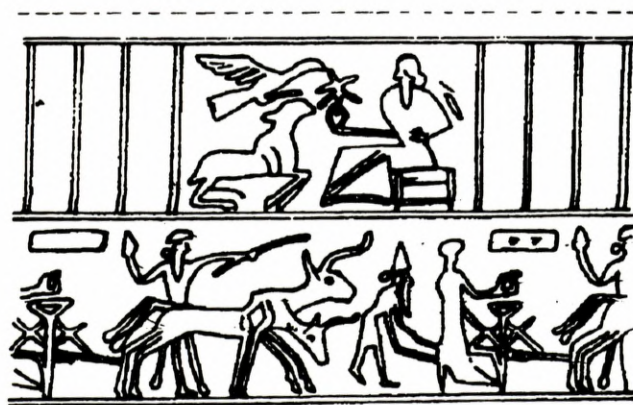




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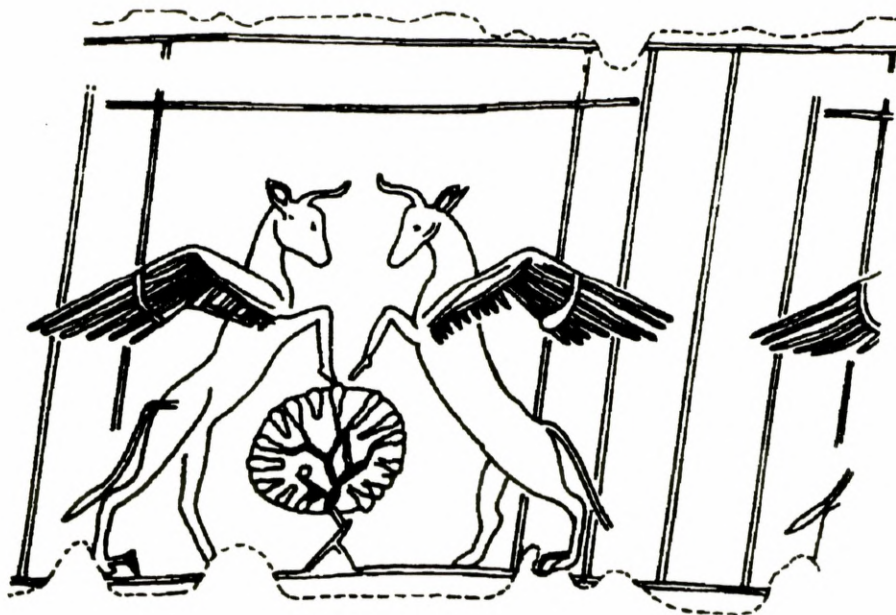


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