

Stags in the Sumerian Royal Tombs and their Anatolian Connections

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Abstract

The Royal Tombs of Ur from Early Dynastic Sumer provide insight into unique and interesting rituals, while also revealing to researchers the cultural and artistic preferences of that time. Often, these overarching themes are neglected in order to focus on the rich materials and exceptional artistic quality of individual objects. One overlooked anomaly is the large number of stag representations found in the burials at Ur. These animals seldom appear in Early Dynastic art, as they were not native to that area, so one must question what caused their sudden and short-lived appearance. I began my research by delving into the background of the tombs and finding all stag imagery located in them, as well as looking for stag imagery from Early Dynastic Mesopotamia as a whole. This led me to Anatolia, which was a major provider of material goods for southern Mesopotamia, since that area lacked most natural resources. While I discovered few stag images in Mesopotamia, Anatolia was full of them because the animals were indigenous there. I found many similarities, but also some differences, in uses, associations, and contexts relating to stags between the two cultures. From this, I concluded that not only material goods travelled the trade routes; thoughts, values, and cultural practices did too. Sumer adopted the original Anatolian images and their associations, and then adapted them to fit within their preexisting artistic styles and societal beliefs.

A. Introduction

The Royal Tombs of Ur, located in ancient Sumer, have yielded numerous exquisite and enigmatic objects, but many of them receive attention primarily due to the richness of their materials. Thus, some objects and their themes have not gained the attention they deserve. Throughout the Royal Tombs of Ur one sees a variety of stag imagery, especially in PG 1237, in larger quantities than are seen in most other areas of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia. Two beautifully rendered, but poorly preserved, freestanding copper stag statuettes remain unique among finds in southern Mesopotamia: the animals otherwise only appear on seals or reliefs, and even then they are few and far between. One then must wonder where this imagery came from, as living stags were not commonly found in this area, and also what were the artists' intentions and meanings for the imagery.

While stags rarely appear in Early Dynastic Sumerian art, they are commonly portrayed throughout Anatolia, spanning centuries from the Early Dynastic times onward. It seems that not only gold, wood, and other materials that southern Mesopotamia lacked travelled through the trade routes: thoughts, ideas, and thematic preferences were also shared. The Sumerians adopted the preference for stag imagery, which the Anatolians associated with storm and sun gods, and included it in their own artistic repertoires. They, too, connected the animals to the power and strength of gods, but also to the focus on fertility seen throughout ED Mesopotamian art. As in contemporary Anatolian cemeteries, the Sumerians also included the animals in grave goods found in tombs, showcasing their importance.

This paper will present background on Ur, the royal tombs, the excavations, and common grave goods found there, in order to provide a full and proper context for the study of stag imagery. Then, stags found in the tombs will be discussed, as well as stag imagery in ED

Mesopotamia in general. Finally, stag imagery in Anatolia will be considered in order to appreciate the similarities and differences between the two areas in their usage of the animals. This will allow for an interpretation of the stags found in Ur based on their appearances in different locations and different time periods.¹

Map 1:



<http://bftaxhelp.files.wordpress.com/2009/02/mesopotamia2.jpg>

¹ I am very grateful to Birger Helgestad, Richard Zettler, St. John Simpson, Holly Pittman, Elizabeth Simpson, and Naomi Miller for their help and for the images they generously shared with me. I would also like to thank Elspeth Dusingberre for her advice, guidance, and encouragement.

B. Background

1. Ur

Ur, modern day Tell al-Muqayyar, was located in southern Mesopotamia, around 200 miles south of Baghdad, Iraq between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (Map 1). It was the main center of the city-state of Sumer, close to both land and water trade routes that were extensively used to transport the many exotic materials later found in digs. These included lapis lazuli, silver, gold, copper, limestone, and more that were not naturally occurring in that area. The use of irrigation allowed for crop surpluses and a wealthier economy, which, in conjunction with the large trade systems, aided in the creation of an elite ruling class. Most people view this area as ‘the cradle of civilization,’ so it has often drawn interest, especially from western archaeologists, as people have lived there since the seventh millennium BCE.²

Even with this interest, the excavations at Ur struggled to gain proper funding and leadership. At the end of the 19th century, initial excavations began with J. E. Taylor, a British vice-consul at Barsa, but focused mostly on the ziggurat of Ur. Later, R. Campbell-Thompson worked briefly at Ur, but for military reasons moved to Eridu. Then, Dr. H. R. Hall led expeditions during 1918 and 1919 at Ur, Eridu, and al-‘Ubaid.³ Finally in 1922, the University of Pennsylvania Museum proposed a joint excavation with the British Museum in Southern Mesopotamia, and they chose Ur as their primary site. C. Leonard Woolley became director of excavations, which turned out to be serendipitous for future researchers as he took extremely detailed notes, sketches, and photographs of all finds.⁴ He also took great care when removing artifacts to ensure they would remain intact or easily reconstructed. He worked at the site for

² Richard Zettler and Lee Horne, editors, *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998), 1.

³ P. R. S. Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees:’ A Revised and Updated Edition of Sir Leonard Woolley’s Excavations at Ur* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), 13.

⁴ Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees:’* 13.

twelve winters, finally stopping in order to publish his finds. Even with this in-depth dig, he was able to uncover only a small portion of the city that had been inhabited for thousands of years.

The dating of the area proved to be rather difficult, and it continues to cause conflict and disagreement. Woolley and other contemporaneous scholars tentatively divided the time periods into the al-'Ubaid period from the fifth millennium and earlier, the Jamdat Nasr and Uruk period from the fourth millennium, and the Early Dynastic period, ranging from 3000 BCE to about 2330 BCE.⁵ The Early Dynastic period is further divided into three parts: EDI, EDII, and EDIII (the latter is divided into parts a and b). The Royal Tombs that form the focus of this thesis were created during EDIIIa between ca. 2650 and 2550 BCE. Researchers arrived at some of these dates by comparing various inscriptions found on seals, bricks, vessels, and other objects to the Sumerian King List that was written ca. 1800 BCE.⁶ While not all of the kings and dynasties named on the list can be authenticated or separated from myth, many do appear to have existed, allowing for chronological comparisons. The complications in excavating various levels from long-ranging time periods in conjunction with the destruction of archaeological evidence by later cities and burials makes an absolute chronology practically unattainable.⁷ Until further finds reveal new information, these estimates will have to be sufficient.

2. Death and Burial at Ur

Woolley began excavations at Ur on November 2, 1922, and hoped to gain an understanding of the generalized topography of the site during the first season in order to allow later seasons to be well planned and easily executed (Image 1). He began by digging two trenches, A and B: A cut across the area encompassing the Royal Cemetery, while B uncovered

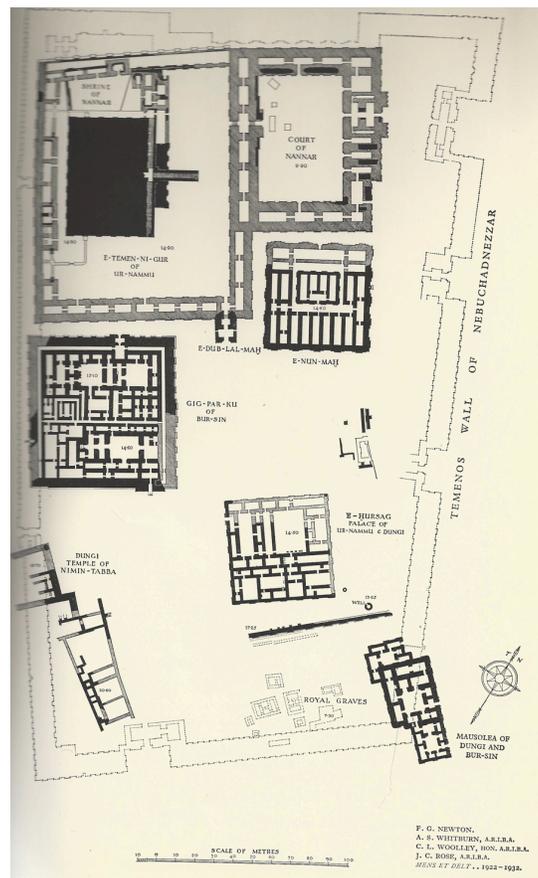
⁵ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees:'* 16.

⁶ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 15.

⁷ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 16.

more architectural finds and contained Nebuchadnezzar's *temenos* wall.⁸ Woolley focused on the findings from trench B for the next four seasons, because, as he stated: "Our object was to get history, not to fill museum cases with miscellaneous curios, and history could not be got unless both we and our men were duly trained."⁹ So he put off excavating the tombs until he and his men were better prepared, allowing him to indulge his interests in the architectural finds around and in the *temenos*.¹⁰ He finally returned to trench A and the graves after completing the circuit around the wall.

Image 1:
Third Dynasty period, ca. 2300 BCE, Drawing by Woolley



Woolley, C.L. *Ur Excavations Volume II: The Royal Cemetery*. Published for the Trustees of the Two Museums by the aid of a Grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1934.

⁸ Zettler, 14.

⁹ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 52.

¹⁰ Zettler, 14.

The cemetery included approximately 2000 burials that can be broken down into two separate groups: the earlier graves fall in the Early Dynastic period (ca. 2550) and include about 660 burials, while the later ones belong to the Sargonic period (2334-2279), as is clear from seal inscriptions naming the daughter of Sargon.¹¹ Layers of debris containing bricks, sealings, and pieces of pottery separated burials from different times, since later people used the area as a rubbish heap.¹²

Of the 660 Early Dynastic burials, most were simple inhumations where each body, wrapped in reed matting or in a simple coffin, was placed in the bottom of a rectangular pit. All of the bodies lay on their sides with legs flexed, arms in front of their breasts, and hands at mouth level, giving them the appearance of being asleep.¹³ Although people looted these graves during subsequent burials, many objects still remained. Each body was buried with some of his or her belongings, including beads, jewelry, knives, and seals, and often he or she held a cup. Outside of the body lay offerings such as food or drink, weapons, tools, and vessels. Although no notable images of gods appear, these goods imply some belief in an after-life or journey.¹⁴ The quantity and quality of the goods probably indicated the status of the deceased and his or her family, as the burials varied greatly in the richness of materials and artistic skill.

One of these simpler graves held extremely rich finds and possibly belonged to a man named Meskalamdug, as suggested by a seal bearing that inscription. The pit was slightly larger than the other shaft burials and contained many copper, silver and gold vessels, multiple arrows and spears, hundreds of gold beads, and many pieces of jewelry. The deceased wore a silver belt with a lapis lazuli and gold dagger and also had a delicately carved gold helmet, hammered with

¹¹ Alexandra Irving and Janet Ambers, "Hidden Treasure from the Royal Cemetery at Ur: Technology Sheds New Light on the Ancient Near East," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65 (2002): 207.

¹² Zettler, 22.

¹³ Zettler, 22.

¹⁴ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 55.

details of human hair to form a distinguishable hairstyle.¹⁵ While the name Meskalamdug is associated with kingship on seals found in other graves, Woolley did not include this grave with the other royal tombs. He believed the deceased was only a high status individual with the same name as the later king because of differences in burial rituals, i.e., the lack of extra attendants, no death pit, and fewer rich objects.¹⁶

3. Discovery of the Royal Tombs

Sixteen graves stood apart from these simple inhumations in wealth, burial practices, and architecture (Image 2). Woolley called these the Royal Tombs due to seal inscriptions such as one found in PG 800, giving the title of nin, or queen, to a woman named Puabi.¹⁷ Other seals referred to “Meskalamdug the king” and “Akalamdug king of Ur,” further strengthening Woolley’s idea that ancient Sumerian kings and queens were buried there.¹⁸ While these sixteen graves were not identical, they all differed from the standard shaft graves and shared some architectural and ritual similarities.

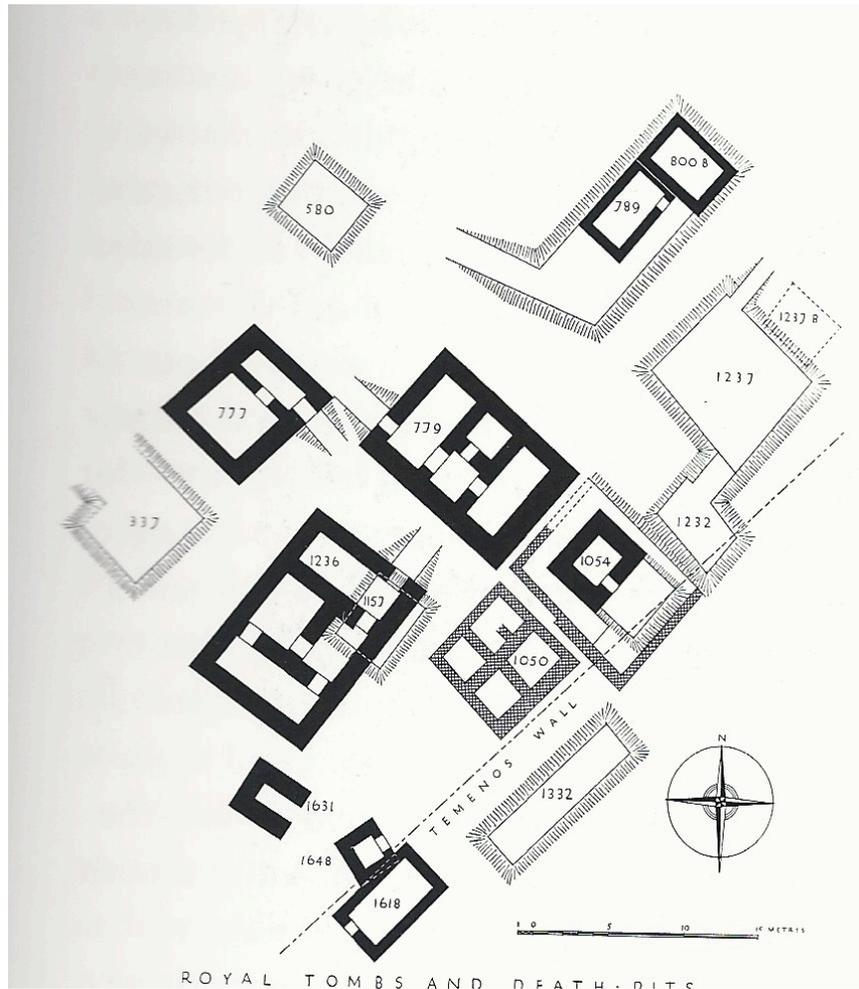
¹⁵ Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees,’* 57.

¹⁶ Zettler, 25.

¹⁷ Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees,’* 89.

¹⁸ Zettler, 22.

Image 2:
Detail of the Sixteen “Royal” Tombs



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

The deceased lay in tombs built of stone or stone and mud-brick, with some being single-chamber tombs and others comprising multiple rooms. Elaborate rites and rituals also probably occurred there, as seen by the inclusion of human sacrifice, an unusual practice for that time and date. These graves undoubtedly had visual markers on the surface that did not survive past antiquity, allowing others to mourn and perform rituals on site after the tombs were sealed.¹⁹ All royal tombs included attendants ranging between six and eighty additional people. They

¹⁹ Susan Pollock, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 211.

accompanied the primary figure into death, either as help in the afterlife or as sacrifices, and did not receive the same treatment as the main deceased person.²⁰ The addition of these attendants remains somewhat puzzling, and no texts explicitly speak to their purposes. The closest example can be found in the poem, *Death of Gilgamesh*, which discusses Gilgamesh's journey into the netherworld.²¹ The mythological ruler travels with his wife, son, concubine, musician, servants, and officials who bring gifts for the goddess of the underworld.²² Although they travel with him, no mention is made about whether or not they died or merely offered gifts after his death. The *Death of Gilgamesh* also differs from the Royal Tombs, since the tombs lack children and contain more female attendants, whereas the poem speaks of more men.

For Woolley, these graves were the focal point of the cemetery, with other tombs being secondary and of less importance. Although many of these tombs were destroyed and looted during the digging of later burials, they still give some insight into Early Dynastic society and ritual.

Two of the most wealthy and well-preserved tombs are the so-called King's and Queen's tombs, PG 789 and PG 800, with PG 789 dating to an earlier time. Although the exact relationship between the two tombs remains uncertain, the assumption that they belong to a king who preceded his queen in death persists.²³ Both burial chambers contained a vaulted stone tomb, where the primary occupant lay with personal goods, accessed by a ramp with an outer area deemed the "death pit" by Woolley.²⁴ This outer area held the additional attendants as well as more items portraying wealth and status. Although many of the attendants, both men and

²⁰ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 60.

²¹ Jean Bottero, *Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 38.

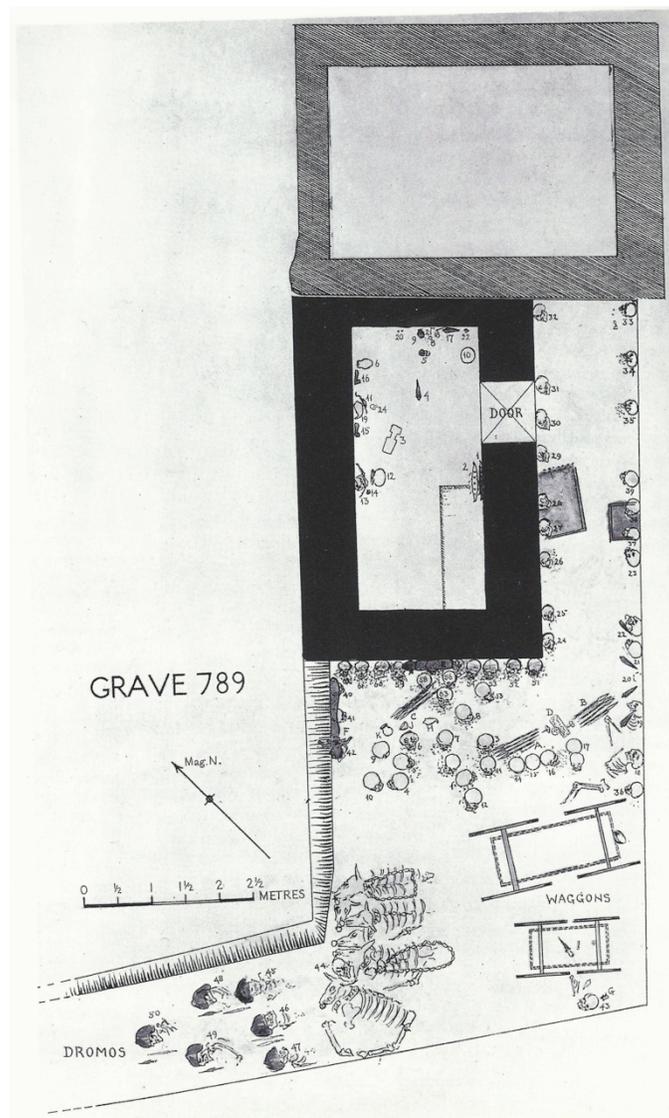
²² Bottero, 38.

²³ Zettler, 33.

²⁴ Zettler, 22.

women, wore elaborate dress and jewels, their lack of a private burial and similarities among them imply a lower status or importance than the people buried in the tombs' inner chambers.

Image 3:
PG 789

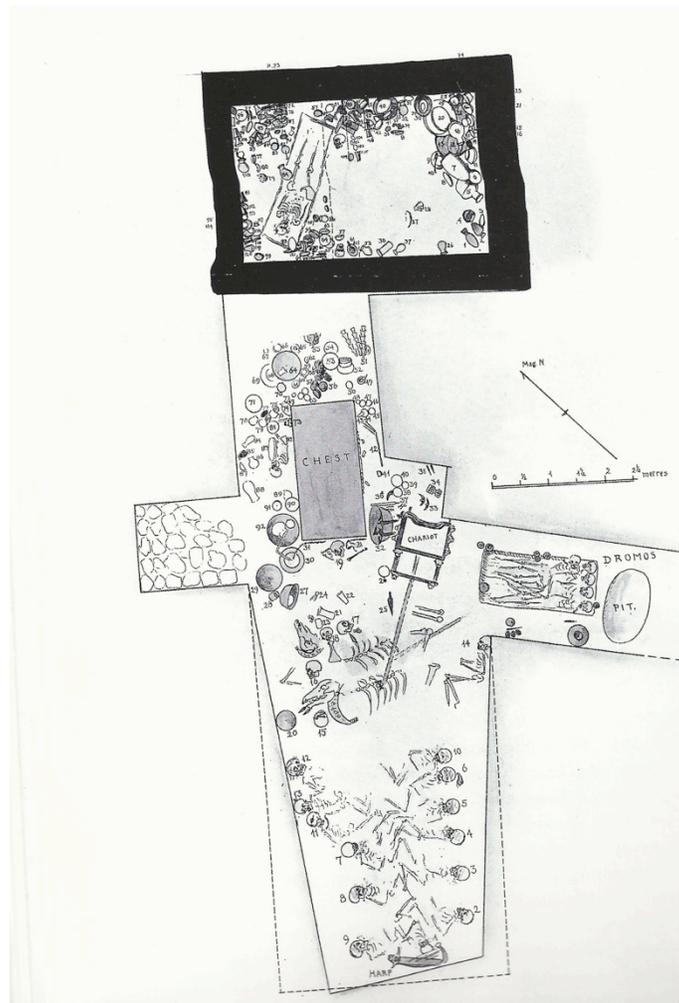


Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

PG 789 (Image 3) had been mostly looted and destroyed, but the connected pit remained intact. In it were found six male soldiers with copper spears and helmets lying next to two

wooden wagons, each pulled by three oxen. Also found in the death pit were nine women, wearing lapis and carnelian headdresses with gold pendants shaped like beech leaves. Additionally they were adorned with large earrings of gold and silver hair combs embellished with lapis and gold flowers.²⁵ Also included in the lavish burial were a decorated lyre with a bull's head, model boats of copper and silver, an elaborate gaming board, and a variety of other containers and vessels in gold, silver, lapis, and carnelian.

Image 4:
PG 800



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

²⁵ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 63.

The queen's tomb, PG 800 (Image 4) managed to evade looting, allowing for a more complete glimpse into burial practices, which may be applicable to the king's tomb as well. The body lay on a wooden bier and was covered in gold, silver, lapis, carnelian, and agate, jewelry fit for a woman of high status and royalty. Among the finds was a lapis cylinder seal stating the name Puabi, the assumed primary occupant.²⁶ She wore an elaborate headdress made from precious metals in the shapes of leaves and rosettes (Image 5), as well as gold and beaded necklaces, also in the shapes of leaves, and a cape made entirely from beaded strands.

Image 5:
Puabi's Headdress, PG 800



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

²⁶ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 64.

Her adornments included a diadem of leather decorated with lapis beads and gold floral and faunal images. Gold, silver, and copper vessels acted as offerings nearby, and cockleshells used with cosmetics also scattered her tomb. Two female attendants sat next to the bier, with one at the queen's head and one at her feet, indicating that personal attendants followed the primary occupant into death.²⁷ This occurred in most of the other royal burials as well. These attendants were not laid out majestically in a manner similar to the kings and queens; instead, they were portrayed in the act of serving and did not have burial objects of their own.²⁸

The pit outside Puabi's burial chamber sat on a different plane from her tomb, which created some controversy over the legitimacy of their connection.²⁹ Numerous female attendants were found buried in this pit. These women would have shone in the light prior to entombment since they wore elaborate dresses and a multitude of jewels including headdresses similar to, but simpler than Puabi's. Various harps and lyres were discovered, as well as chariots with oxen and guards at the entrance of the ramp. Most figures held cups, or at least had one associated with his or her body, as was the case in most death pits found in the royal cemetery.

Some scholars assume from the presence of cups and the detailed positioning of the bodies that the attendants drank poison, or at least a sedative, allowing for the arrangement of bodies after death or loss of consciousness.³⁰ One then must wonder whether or not these individuals participated willingly in their deaths. The possibility exists that prisoners of war or slaves were used in these rituals as representations of the personal attendants, musicians, soldiers, etc., but it is just as probable that households and servants accompanied the head into

²⁷ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 69.

²⁸ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 71.

²⁹ Zettler, 33.

³⁰ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 75.

his or her death.³¹ The addition of these secondarily buried persons may have shown the status, power, and influence of the primary occupant, and also assisted in elevating the status of any survivors and heirs, something that would be especially important during times of succession.³²

Because of the discovery of cups and vessels near most of the victims, Woolley, and many scholars after him, assumed that the deceased took poison or sedatives willingly prior to being buried.³³ The lack of complete skeletons and bones in good condition, as well as improper technology, fostered this belief until further studies were performed in 2007.³⁴ The University of Pennsylvania Museum performed CT scans on a young female from PG 1237 and a mature male from PG 789, showing the woman to be in her late teens or early twenties and the male to be somewhere between twenty-five and thirty.³⁵ Interestingly, the researchers found two small holes in the man's skull and one in the female's created shortly before death by a small, pointed instrument similar to a battle-axe found in an Akkadian grave in the royal cemetery.³⁶ There was also evidence of heating and the use of mercury sulfide or cinnabar, which would have preserved the bodies for a longer period of time, implying lengthy funerary ceremonies and post-mortem arrangement of the bodies.³⁷ Since the two skulls came from different tombs, one can assume that the preservation as well as the death by blunt force trauma was standard practice at the royal tombs during the Early Dynastic period.³⁸

Another possibility, dismissed by Woolley, is that these royal tombs actually represent an annual ceremony of a sacred marriage: the queens and kings would thus be priests and

³¹ Irving, 209.

³² Zettler, 29.

³³ Aubrey Baadsgaard, Janet Monge, Samantha Cox, and Richard L. Zettler, "Human Sacrifice and Intentional Corpse Preservation in the Royal Cemetery of Ur," *Antiquity* 85 (2011): 29.

³⁴ Baadsgaard, 27 and John Noble Wilford, "At Ur, Ritual Deaths That Were Anything but Serene," *New York Times*, October 27, 2009.

³⁵ Baadsgaard, 33.

³⁶ Baadsgaard, 36.

³⁷ Baadsgaard, 38.

³⁸ Baadsgaard, 39.

priestesses representing the gods in the ceremony. They would be ritually killed in order to ensure fertility of land and health and prosperity of the people. Woolley disagreed with this idea because not enough graves existed for annual ceremonies to have occurred over such a long period of time. He also assumed that each tomb would then contain a male and a female, instead of being separated. Finally he felt that young fertile women would be used in such a ritual, but Puabi was an older woman.³⁹

Other scholars believed that the tombs were designed for the wives of kings or priestesses, which would explain the large number of buried women found in the graves.⁴⁰ This may connect to the cult of the Moon-god Nanna and his wife Ningal, who were the tutelary gods of Ur.⁴¹ Although not much is known about the cult, evidence supports the existence of a mostly female clergy that was led by a high priestess who was often the daughter of the king or ruler.⁴² This would account for the many women and the rich objects that could have acted as offerings to the gods in addition to the human sacrifices.

One final, and more likely, explanation for these unique tombs is that the primary burials represented heads of “great households” that also held ritual or managerial roles in society, making a public burial understandable.⁴³ The differences between the tombs can be explained as the need to show household identities through practices and artistic styles and preferences.⁴⁴ The other graves from the cemetery represent members of the household who either died prior to the head or who were not chosen to participate in the death ritual, but, because of their associations,

³⁹ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 88.

⁴⁰ Bottero, 37.

⁴¹ Bottero, 39.

⁴² Bottero, 39.

⁴³ Susan Pollock, “Death of a Household,” in *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, edited by Nicola Laneri (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 210.

⁴⁴ Pollock, “Death of a Household,” 210.

had the honor of being buried there as opposed to in their homes, which was standard practice.⁴⁵

The rituals surrounding these burials represented the end of that household through a destruction, or burial, of personal wealth and objects, a necessary process because many positions were not meant to be inheritable.⁴⁶ This destruction allowed for the family to follow the law, while still keeping some of their wealth, as well as laborers, children, and tools available for the rest of the household and the next generation.⁴⁷

Without written description of these rituals and without evidence for other similar burials from Mesopotamia, much remains speculative, and researchers must be open to various possibilities and hypotheses. Even the gender of the attendants cannot be taken as fact. Woolley based the genders on grave goods associated with the bodies: figures with weapons and armor were men and those with jewelry or cosmetics were women. It is possible that some of the musicians included in the death pits were actually eunuchs, transvestites, or homosexuals, suggesting less clear-cut gender identification and roles.⁴⁸ This implies that the long-standing idea of assigning gender based purely on costume and accessories may be inaccurate, but for the purposes of this paper, when referring to various attendants, I will use Woolley's interpretation.

⁴⁵ Pollock, "Death of a Household," 215.

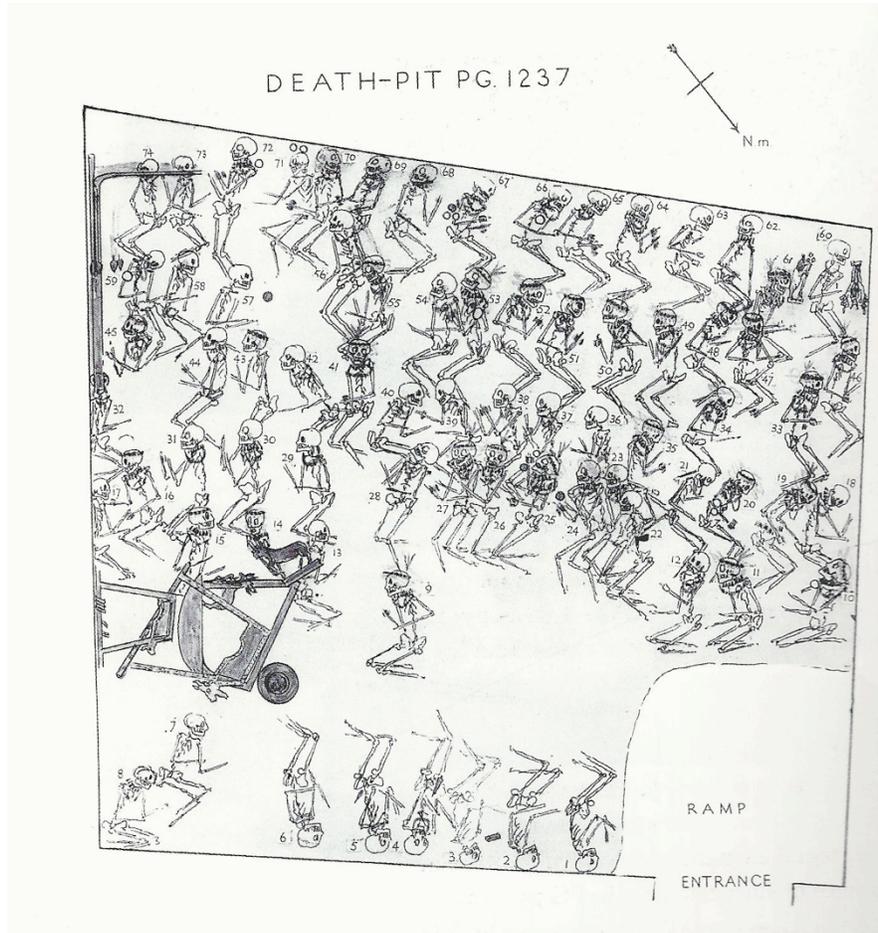
⁴⁶ Pollock, "Death of a Household," 214.

⁴⁷ Pollock, "Death of a Household," 214.

⁴⁸ Jack Cheng, "A Review of Early Dynastic III Music: Man's Animal Call," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (July, 2009): 168.

4. The Great Death Pit (PG 1237)

Image 6:
PG 1237



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

PG 1237 (Image 6), sometimes referred to as the ‘great death pit,’ remains one of the best-preserved death pits unearthed in the royal cemetery. The tomb chamber connected with this pit was never discovered: the digging of later graves as well as looting probably led to its destruction.⁴⁹ Woolley used the discovery of “loose blocks of limestone rubble” and multiple loose lapis and gold beads as evidence for this tomb and ‘royal burial,’ believing that grave

⁴⁹Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees,’* 76.

robbers took the bricks and stones from walls to use as material in other buildings, as was common practice at that time.⁵⁰ The area was 27 x 24 feet with the standard ramped approach seen with many other tomb/pit combinations such as PG 789 and PG 800, but it varied in number of attendants and richness of finds.⁵¹

The most striking discovery in the pit was the sixty-eight bodies lying in rows on the floor from northwest to southeast, implying manipulation after death.⁵² Due to later disruptions and the pressure of the earth, many of the bodies that Woolley believed were women based on clothing and accessories became overlapped, making positive attributions of artifacts difficult.⁵³ It is likely that each body had a stone or metal bowl associated with it, and each also wore elaborate headdresses similar to those found on Puabi in her tomb.⁵⁴ Some also had cockleshells, like those seen in PG 800, with remnants of green paint, probably used for cosmetics.⁵⁵ Each woman wore large, lunate earrings, had spiral ribbons of gold or silver wire in her hair, wore necklaces and chokers of gold, silver, lapis, and carnelian (Image 7), and would also have worn beaded cuffs, again made of lapis, carnelian, and gold.⁵⁶ Pieces of bright red textile remained attached to the bowls, implying that brilliantly colored costumes were worn by the individuals.⁵⁷ The combination of brightly colored clothing with shimmering jewelry and accessories would have made these women appear to glitter during the rituals that occurred in these pits.

⁵⁰ C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations Volume II: The Royal Cemetery* (Published for the Trustees of the Two Museums by the aid of A Grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York: 1934), 114.

⁵¹ Woolley, *Ur*, 113.

⁵² Woolley, *Ur*, 116.

⁵³ Woolley, *Ur*, 120.

⁵⁴ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 78.

⁵⁵ Woolley, *Ur*, 120.

⁵⁶ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 76.

⁵⁷ Woolley, *Ur*, 121.

Image 7:
Necklace from Great Death Pit



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

To the northeast of the grave shaft was an offering table of burnt brick and bitumen, whose intended use, although probably ritualistic, remains unknown.⁵⁸ Discovered on the opposite side of the pit were ambiguous rods and poles covered with bands of gold, lapis, shell, or silver.⁵⁹ Nearby were rings made from shell and more wooden rods that ended in copper leaves.⁶⁰ Again, their use is hard to decipher, but they more than likely once stood as the framework for a canopy or awning with cloth attached to the rods by the shell rings.⁶¹ Regardless of the exact ritual that occurred at this location, the prominently shown wealth, in both goods and number of attendants, implied power and high status of whoever occupied the main burial.

⁵⁸ Woolley, *Ur*, 114.

⁵⁹ Woolley, *Ur*, 123.

⁶⁰ Woolley, *Ur*, 123.

⁶¹ Woolley, *Ur*, 124.

Six presumably male attendants lay against the northeast wall near the entrance of the ramp, holding either a knife or an axe.⁶² Six women also lay in the southern corner, spatially separated from the main grouping of attendants. Near these women sat a large copper cauldron that some scholars believe to have held either the poison or sedative used in the death ritual.⁶³ Two of the women lay against the wall, while the other four surrounded a grouping of three lyres near the southeastern corner: a gold lyre, a silver lyre and a boat-shaped lyre (Image 8).⁶⁴

Image 8:
Excavation photograph of lyres and stag statuettes



Scan of photographic negative from the Ur excavations provided by Birger Helgestad of the British Museum

⁶² Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 76.

⁶³ Irving, "Hidden Treasures," 210.

⁶⁴ Woolley, *Ur,* 116.

C. Stag Imagery at Ur

1. Animal Imagery and Lyres from the Great Death Pit

Three lyres lay heaped together in one corner of PG 1237, and were connected not only spatially but also through the use of animals as decoration. The ‘Gold Lyre’ (12353) depicts the head of a bull plated in gold with pointed, curved horns on the front of the sound box and measures about 1.2 meters high and 1.4 meters in length (Image 9).

Image 9:
Gold Lyre, PG 1237



Woolley, C.L. *Ur Excavations Volume II: The Royal Cemetery*. Published for the Trustees of the Two Museums by the aid of a Grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1934.

His eyes are inlaid with shell and lapis, adding to the lavishness of the piece. The bull has a gold beard made of wavy lines that represent hair. Three separate tresses also appear on each side of his face, above which ears protrude outward from his head. The detailed portrayal is highlighted by the open mouth, flaring nostrils, and expressive wrinkles above the inlaid eyes. The sound box, made of wood, is outlined with a mosaic pattern of red, white, and blue in shell, lapis lazuli, and red limestone.⁶⁵ On the uprights are another mosaic pattern of similar color and material, with bands of gold foil separating the sections. The whole piece is topped by a crossbar half covered in silver sheets and half in plain wood.⁶⁶

Image 10:
Shell Plaque from the Gold Lyre, PG 1237
U.12353



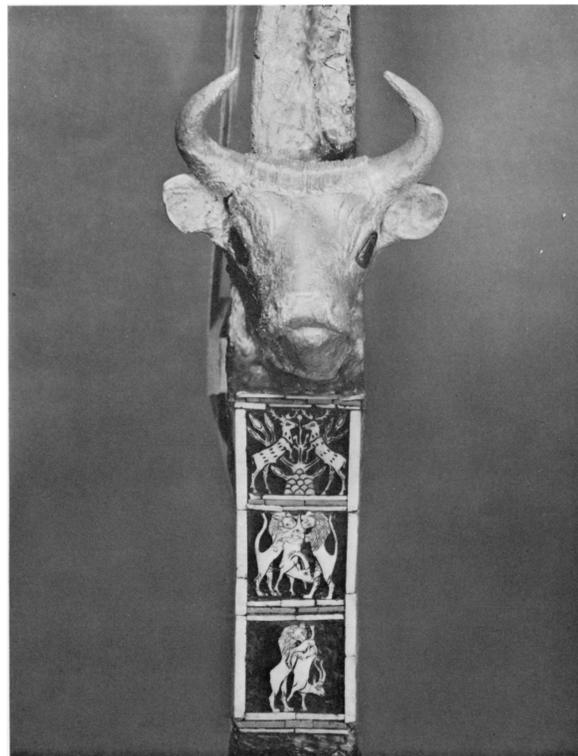
Cheng, Jack. "A Review of Early Dynastic III Music: Man's Animal Call." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (July, 2009): 163-178.

⁶⁵ Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

⁶⁶ Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

An inlaid plaque of shell, lapis, and red paste appears on the front of the sound box of the gold lyre and is separated into four different scenes occurring in four registers (Image 10).⁶⁷ The upper scene shows a master of animals in the form of a goat/man hybrid who has a human upper body, but also has horns and hooved feet. He holds two large spotted cats by the tails, one on each side, so they have only their front legs on the ground. The next scene shows two antelopes or goats facing one another with their forelegs in foliage with spear-shaped leaves. Next are two lions on their hind legs facing one another with a bull being devoured between them. The bottom register was more damaged than the upper three and may have shown one or two bulls with forelegs on foliage, reminiscent of the second scene.

Image 11:
Silver Lyre, PG 1237



The Silver lyre (BM.121199): front view of bull's head and inlays of sound-box.

Barnett, R. D. "New Facts about Musical Instruments from Ur." *Iraq* 31 (Autumn, 1969): 96-103.

⁶⁷ Woolley, *Ur*, 252.

The 'Silver Lyre' (12354) stands 1.06 meters high, and although it is made of wood overlaid with silver sheets, it greatly resembles the gold lyre in many aspects (Image 11).⁶⁸ It too has the head of an animal protruding from the front of its sound box, but instead of a bearded bull, there is a silver-plated cow's head. The animal has curved horns and inlaid eyes of shell and lapis. Again, mosaic patterns of shell and lapis surround the sound box, but on this crossbar, a red and blue inlaid rosette of shell appears at the front end.⁶⁹ Also like the gold lyre, this has shell plaques on the front of the wooden sound box showing three scenes (Image 12). The upper one shows two male spotted stags with narrow branched antlers, each with its forelegs on foliage with arrow-shaped leaves. The next scene shows two lions on their hind legs devouring a bearded goat as they suspend him by his rear legs. The final scene shows a lion biting the hindquarters of an animal resembling an antelope.

Image 12:
Shell Plaques from Silver Lyre, PG 1237
U.12354



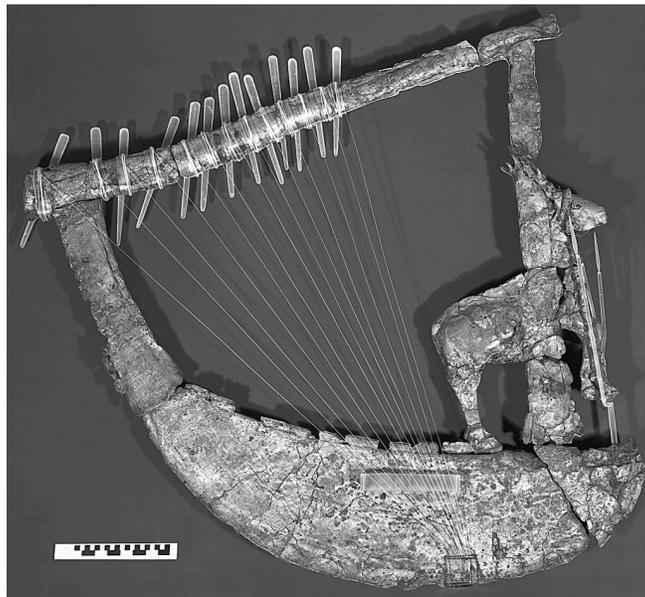
Cheng, Jack. "A Review of Early Dynastic III Music: Man's Animal Call." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (July, 2009): 163-178.

⁶⁸ Woolley, *Ur*, 253.

⁶⁹ Woolley, *Ur*, 254.

The third lyre (12355), standing 1.16 meters high and 1.05 meters in length, often referred to as the boat-shaped lyre, remains largely unique and distinct from both the other lyres in PG 1237 and from most other lyres throughout the tombs (Image 13). As opposed to the rectangular sound box of the other two, this one resembles a boat that curves upwards into the front and rear uprights. A slanted crossbar slopes up to the front, creating asymmetrical string positions. This instrument lacks the mosaic adornments and details seen in most other lyres, but does include an animal arising from the front of the sound box.

Image 13:
Boat-Shaped Lyre, PG 1237



Cheng, Jack. “A Review of Early Dynastic III Music: Man’s Animal Call.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 68 (July, 2009): 163-178.

Instead of using only the head of an animal, the entire figure of a naturalistic stag (0.7 meters tall) stands upright with his front hooves on copper foliage with ‘arrow-bladed’ leaves on thin stalks that rise up on either side of the animal’s head (Image 14).⁷⁰ Its antlers, which the upright passes between, are relatively small and not terribly spread out, resembling a younger roe

⁷⁰ Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

deer as opposed to a mature stag.⁷¹ The face has detailed eyes inlaid with lapis lazuli, as well as realistic bends in each leg joint. Both the stag and the entire lyre are covered with a thin millimeter-thick sheet of 99% pure silver held together by small silver tacks, with the majority of it being created with a wooden core.⁷² The head of the stag, uniquely, is modeled from bitumen instead of wood and covered in hammered silver, while the antlers are also modeled of bitumen surrounding copper rods.⁷³ Although bitumen was commonly utilized, its use with an armature had not been seen prior to this discovery.⁷⁴ The rest of the stag has a wooden core made of either pistachio or boxwood, neither of which was native to the area, but not enough wood remained to decipher the type of wood used in the rest of the lyre.⁷⁵ Pistachio trees have and had a larger range, with some of the seven species growing in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Greece, Syria, Libya, and multiple other regions and countries.⁷⁶ Boxwood is more specialized, growing primarily in Anatolia, which demonstrates trade of materials and ideas between that region and southern Mesopotamia.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Maude De Schauensee, "The 'boat-shaped' lyre," *Expedition* 40 (1998): 22.

⁷² Woolley, *Ur*, 255.

⁷³ Maude De Schauensee, *Two Lyres from Ur* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2002), 42.

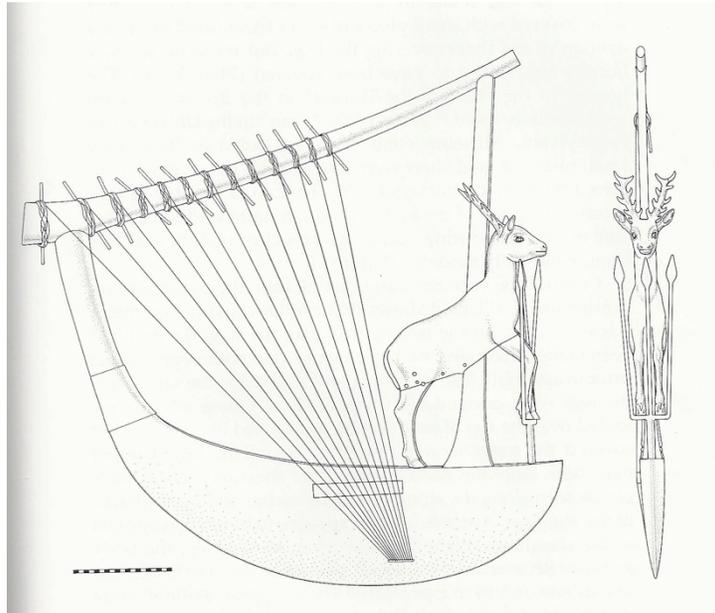
⁷⁴ De Schauensee, "The 'boat-shaped' lyre," 24.

⁷⁵ De Schauensee, *Two Lyres*, 29 & 35.

⁷⁶ Michael Zohary, *Geobotanical Foundations of the Middle East Volume 2* (Amsterdam: Gustav Fischer Verlag Stuttgart Swets & Zeitlinger: 1973), 368.

⁷⁷ Zohary, 368. Elizabeth Simpson, *The Gordian Wooden Objects: The Furniture from Tumulus MM* (Boston: Brill, 2011). Personal Correspondence with Elizabeth Hanim, 1/18/2013. Personal Correspondence with Naomi Miller, 1/17/2013.

Image 14:
Reconstructing drawing of boat-shaped lyre by Veronica Socha, 1997



De Schauensee, Maude. *Two Lyres from Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2002.

The unique shape and design of this instrument, as well as the close proximity to other freestanding stag statuettes, led some scholars to doubt Woolley's reconstruction. He felt the stag did belong to this lyre as opposed to there being multiple instruments crushed together over time.⁷⁸ This argument began because the instrument resembled a combination between a harp and a lyre, differing greatly from other box lyres seen in the tombs.⁷⁹ It was strengthened when scholars found out that Woolley had accidentally combined a harp and a lyre from Puabi's grave (PG 800).⁸⁰ What Woolley believed to be a harp-lyre hybrid with a bull's head was, in fact, two separate instruments (a bull lyre and a boat-shaped harp) that stood on top of one another,

⁷⁸ De Schauensee, *Two Lyres*, 18.

⁷⁹ Harps have only one arm, causing the strings to attach from the arm to the sound box, while lyres have two arms with a crossbar between them. The strings then span from this crossbar to the sound box below. See Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin's "Music in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt" *World Archaeology* 12 (1981): 287-297, for more information.

⁸⁰ R. D. Barnett, "New Facts about Musical Instruments from Ur," *Iraq* 31 (Autumn, 1969): 99.

causing the upper part of one and lower part of the other to decay.⁸¹ Later restoration, however, as well as the use of x-rays and CT scans, confirmed that the boat-shaped lyre from PG 1237 was one piece and that the rampant stag did belong to the distinctive instrument, dispelling any further arguments against the veracity of Woolley's reconstruction.⁸² Although no other examples of a lyre with a full figure of the stag on the front exist, a steatite seal from the Indus valley portrays a lyre with two full bulls on it, further supporting the idea that the lyre could have an entire figure of an animal as opposed to just its head.⁸³

2. Music and Animals in the Royal Tombs

PG 1237 was not the only location for instruments: nine lyres, two harps, a flute, sistra, and cymbals have been discovered throughout the royal tombs, and many more probably existed that have been lost through looting and decomposition of perishable material.⁸⁴ The number, variety, and decoration of these instruments convey their importance in the rituals that occurred at the tombs, but one must also remember that the tombs would not have been where they were used in everyday life: music would have been heard at temples, palaces, and other public spaces.⁸⁵ Musicians would have played during religious ceremonies and funerary rites, and may have even been employed by the temples and palaces.⁸⁶ There is also a more profane aspect of Sumerian music emphasized by the connection between instruments and animals. Many, especially the lyres, included the head of an animal, often that of a bull, protruding from the

⁸¹ Barnett, "New Facts," 100.

⁸² De Schauensee, "The 'boat-shaped' lyre," 23.

⁸³ Barnett, "New Facts," 101.

⁸⁴ De Schauensee, *Two Lyres*, 13 and De Schauensee, "The 'boat-shaped' lyre," 20.

⁸⁵ Cheng, 177.

⁸⁶ Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, "Music in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt." *World Archaeology* 12 (1981): 295.

front, causing the sound box to, in a sense, become the body of that animal.⁸⁷ This may even have been related to the sound the instruments produced: the larger lyres with bulls' heads may have been basses and resembled the bellowing tone a bull produced, those with cows' heads may have been tenors, and finally, those with stag representations may have been altos.⁸⁸

The faunal connection does not stop with the addition of the animals' heads: twenty of the twenty-two shell inlay panels on the fronts of the instruments also contain animal scenes, making the connection between music and the natural world.⁸⁹ Many portray the master of animals, who is either a human or human-animal hybrid, often restraining two heraldic animals, who may represent the "intellectual human taming, and control[ling] these [more primal] emotions."⁹⁰ Animal combat scenes as well as anthropomorphized animals also populate these plaques.⁹¹ The Sumerians may have connected the power of music with the power of animal communication: music became a "balance of intellect and emotion...control and passion," where the appearance of creatures represented this animalistic passion.⁹² Music was then inherently connected to the earth and environment.

3. Animal Statues in PG 1237

Other objects with animal imagery were also discovered in PG 1237, including two similar gold and lapis statuettes of goats and a pair of copper stags sharing the same base. The two goats were found in the west corner of the pit and were close to one another, separated only

⁸⁷ Woolley, *Ur*, 81.

⁸⁸ Moorey, *Ur 'Of The Chaldees,'* 81.

⁸⁹ Cheng, 164 & 177.

⁹⁰ Cheng, 178.

⁹¹ Cheng, 177.

⁹² Cheng, 178.

by the remains of an attendant.⁹³ One was broken in half across its body giving a frontal view, while the other was crushed flat, showing its silhouette.⁹⁴ Through Woolley's careful use of paraffin wax and plaster to remove the pieces, as well as the multiple angles available, relatively accurate reconstructions were created, allowing for more careful and confident study of the artifacts.⁹⁵ Although Woolley knew that the statues represented non-native markhor goats⁹⁶, he took to calling them "rams in the thicket" or "rams of goats" in reference to the biblical story of Abraham and Isaac (Images 15 and 16).⁹⁷

Image 15:
Pennsylvania Ram



Rakic, Yelena. "Rescue and Restoration: A History of the Philadelphia 'Ram Caught in a Thicket.'" *Expedition 40* (1998).

⁹³ Yelena Rakic, "Rescue and Restoration: A History of the Philadelphia 'Ram Caught in a Thicket,'" *Expedition 40* (1998): 52.

⁹⁴ Woolley, *Ur*, 264.

⁹⁵ Irving, "Hidden Treasures," 210.

⁹⁶ These goats were native to central Asia and have unique horns, allowing for fairly certain identification. Although they would have been exotic in Ur, they also appear on the Standard of Ur from the Royal Cemetery. See Yelena Rakic's "Rescue and Restoration: A History of the Philadelphia 'Ram Caught in a Thicket'" for more information.

⁹⁷ Rakic, "Rescue and Restoration," 56.

Image 16:
London Ram



Rakic, Yelena. “Rescue and Restoration: A History of the Philadelphia ‘Ram Caught in a Thicket.’” *Expedition 40* (1998).

Both rams stand on their hind legs with the forelegs placed on golden foliage topped with flowers shaped as rosettes. Their feet and heads are also of gold with lapis horns, beards, and eyes. The detailed fleece is carved from both lapis on the upper shoulders and white shell for the rest, providing contrasting colors that stand out against the gold. Their bellies were covered in silver, but one’s was entirely desiccated by the time of discovery.⁹⁸ Each stood on a unique base: one is entirely a mosaic of shell, lapis, and red limestone, while the other also contains silver aspects.⁹⁹ A gold tube protruded from the top shoulders of each, implying that they would have been used as a support for something, perhaps a wooden table that perished with time.¹⁰⁰

Woolley felt that the two were a pair, and would have faced one another in a heraldic

⁹⁸ Woolley, *Ur*, 264.

⁹⁹ Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

¹⁰⁰ Woolley, *Ur*, 265.

composition in the process of supporting an offering table, similar to other animal imagery from that time,¹⁰¹ but their separated find locations place some doubt on this hypothesis.¹⁰²

The style of the goats, with their forelegs on flora, is representative of the manner in which the animals would eat in the wild. Horned animals in connection with trees often appear in shell inlays, cylinder seals, and statues throughout Mesopotamia.¹⁰³ The common appearance of the non-native animals may imply some kind of well-known legend not found in written records.¹⁰⁴ The other possibility is that this connection between plant and animal was meant to represent fertility: the goat, because of his stance, was in the “sexual act of symbolically fertilizing the tree.”¹⁰⁵ This would be emphasized by the addition of flowers/rosettes blossoming, symbols of fertility, as well as the gold penis sheath and testicles visible on the ram now located in the British Museum.¹⁰⁶ The connection would be further bolstered by a silver chain physically linking the goat to the plant.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹ Woolley, *Ur*, 266.

¹⁰² Rakic, “Rescue and Restoration,” 58.

¹⁰³ Rakic, “Rescue and Restoration,” 57.

¹⁰⁴ Moorey, *Ur ‘Of The Chaldees,’* 81.

¹⁰⁵ Rakic, “Rescue and Restoration,” 56.

¹⁰⁶ Rakic, “Rescue and Restoration,” 56.

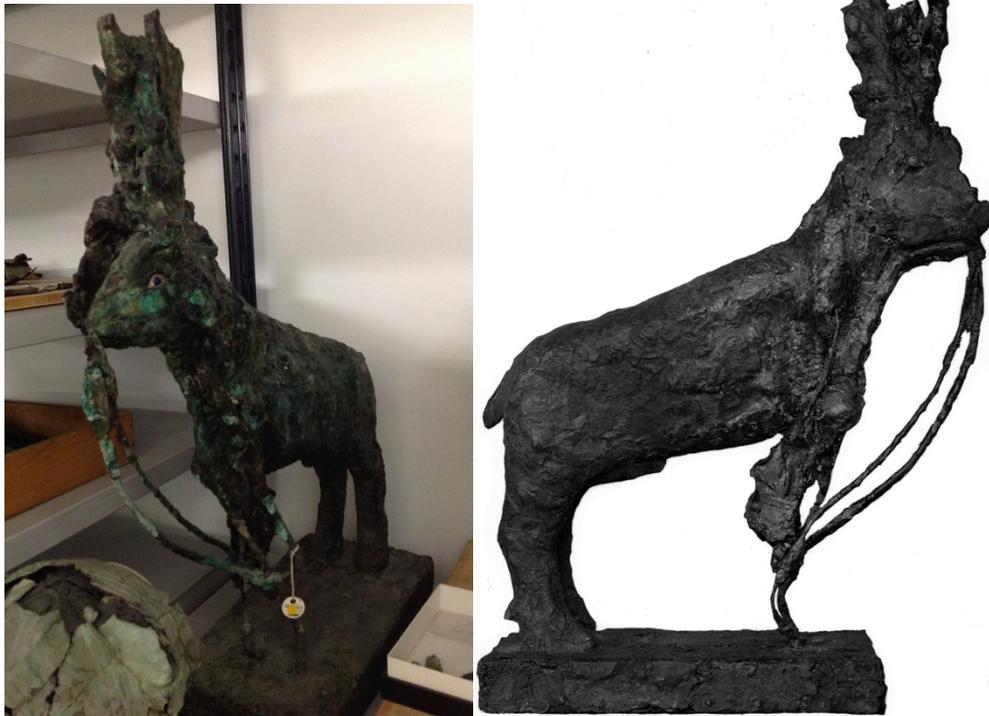
¹⁰⁷ Woolley, *Ur*, 265.

Image 17:
Copper Stag Statuettes, Woolley's Drawing



Scan of Woolley's notes provided by Birger Helgestad of the British Museum

Image18:
Copper Stag Statuettes



Photograph and scan of original negative provided by Birger Helgestad of the British Museum

The other statues in PG 1237 were copper stags found next to the lyres, but they were in much worse condition than the lyres and goat statues (Images 17 and 18). The weight of the earth crushed the two animals into one another, causing one body to perish entirely and corroding the heads together.¹⁰⁸ They were in such disrepair that Woolley only attempted excavating them as an experiment; he did not hold high hopes for a successful removal or reconstruction.¹⁰⁹ Woolley believed that the two stood on the front of a lyre in a manner similar to the boat-shaped lyre because of the discovery of carbonized wood nearby, but this idea is often disputed.¹¹⁰ Much to Woolley's surprise, the removal was successful, and he was able to see that the animals were hammered copper over a core, similar in creation to the boat-shaped lyre animal.¹¹¹ The statuette stands 0.88 meters high and is 0.56 meters in length, making it almost too large to be an addition to a musical instrument.¹¹²

The two stags stand in a manner identical to the goats: their hind legs are flat on the silver base while the front hooves are placed in the nook of silver foliage. As opposed to rosette-shaped flowers, this plant consists of simple long stems ending in spear- or arrow-shaped leaves that rise up to the snouts of the animals. As a whole, these figures are not as detailed as some of the other animal statues found in the royal tombs, but it is too difficult to tell if this is an accurate assumption or if the poor condition of the find gives that impression. The animals lack defined musculature, and the surviving body appears to be a more simplified block shape with no detailing in the fur or skin and only the addition of a tail and smoothed genitals to break up the shape. The hind hooves are bulkier than the front, probably due to the need to support the statue, but this also gives the piece an asymmetric feel, as the hind area appears heavier than the

¹⁰⁸ Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

¹⁰⁹ Woolley, *Ur*, 123.

¹¹⁰ Woolley, *Ur*, 123.

¹¹¹ Woolley, *Ur*, 301.

¹¹² Woolley, *Ur*, 582.

front. The hooves on the plant are slightly more detailed, as the division between hoof and leg is visible. There is also a slightly more naturalistic bend in the knees, giving a more realistic appearance and proportion to the front legs than the hind. Thick necks then lead into the animals' heads, which again lack some detailing. It is possible that there would have been more detailing in the piece prior to its being crushed and decimated. The snouts are somewhat short and connect to the tips of the foliage. The eyes are made of lapis and shell, showing the attention to naturalism and drama seen in the other statues: this addition gives the animals a liveliness and animation. The heads end in antlers that are larger than those seen on the boat-shaped lyre's stag. They branch off into points as they would on a real stag, but do not have a wide span, again perhaps implying that the animals are somewhat younger or less developed roe deer.

Although simplified and less naturalistic than the ram statues, the stags are easily identifiable, even in their unnatural stances. The goat statues resemble the stance a goat uses in order to reach fruits and foliage from higher places, but the same cannot be said for stags: one does not usually see them climbing trees and plants in the wild. This could imply an alternate meaning or just a lack of understanding of the somewhat more exotic animal. In order to decipher this, one must first look at other stag imagery from the Near East at this time.

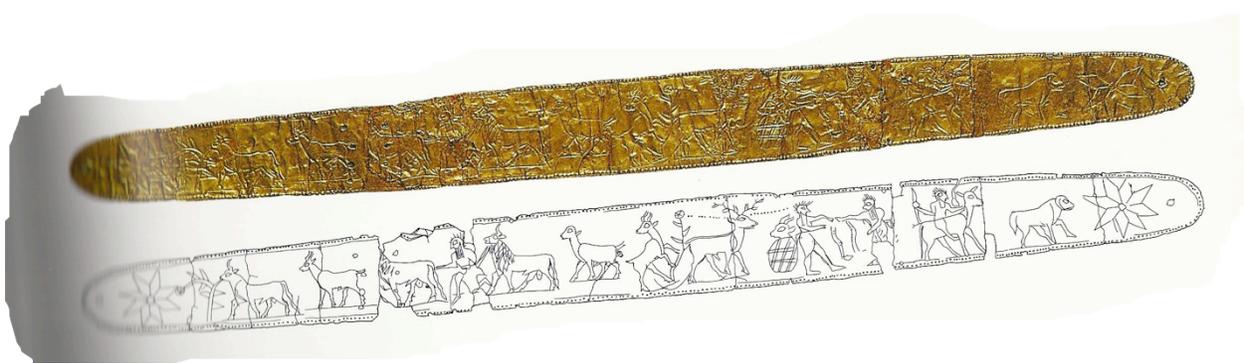
4. Stag Imagery in the Royal Tombs

In addition to the boat-shaped lyre with the stag statuette and the copper stags, all found in PG 1237, other examples of stag imagery also appear in the Royal Tombs. On the silver lyre, also from PG 1237, the ornamental shell plaques on the front of the sound box utilize three registers to show various animal scenes (Image 12). As mentioned above, the upper one shows two male spotted deer with branched antlers, each placing its forelegs on foliage with spear-

shaped leaves in a pose reminiscent of the other animal and foliage statuettes from the same tomb. Like the goat statues, these animals may signify fertility of land and nature.

In PG154, a non-royal grave, the body had a simple reed matting inhumation and was accompanied by copper and stone bowls, gold and lapis lazuli beads, as well as a gold fillet or headband (Image 19).¹¹³

Image 19:
Gold Fillet or Headband



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

The ovoid incised headband, cut from a single sheet of gold, shows a complicated scene comprising humans, animals, and plants with rosette-shaped flowers appearing on both ends.¹¹⁴ Starting from the left, a bull eats from a plant, followed by a ram, and a bearded figure that holds two bearded bulls. Next comes a ewe with visible udders that is giving birth, followed by a ram with forelegs on a plant with rosette blossoms. Then comes a stag, whose broad antlers resemble plants, and who has a clearly visible penis, emphasizing his masculinity. He is followed by a goat in a basket and two figures holding animal parts that represent a butchering scene. A man riding an onager and finally a sheep end the image. While the stag does not play a large part in

¹¹³ Zettler, 65.

¹¹⁴ Zettler, 65.

the image, its inclusion still remains interesting as Early Dynastic art usually uses goats, oxen, or lions, as opposed to the more exotic animal.¹¹⁵

Stags also appear on cylinder seals in the Royal Tombs. Most cylinder seals from the cemetery and from Early Dynastic times in general show either banqueting scenes or combat scenes.¹¹⁶ The banqueting scenes show two or more people eating or drinking in a peaceful manner, while the combat scenes show either a long-haired hero figure grappling with wild animals, sometimes to protect an herbivore, or animals grappling with each other. The former figure may represent a person fighting against his basic animal instinct, or it may merely be a physical representation of protection of the flocks that would ensure a successful and fertile society.¹¹⁷

A shell cylinder seal from PG 800 was found on the body of one of Puabi's grooms. It depicts a combat scene, usually connected with men and masculinity, whereas the other four seals from the tomb show a banqueting scene, which is normally found with women.¹¹⁸ This scene portrays a long-haired hero on the left wearing a wrestling belt and grappling with a lion that holds a cervid by its forelegs. The herbivore has antlers clearly visible falling back from the animal's upturned head. Nearby, another rampant lion bites the hind end of a goat.

Also found in PG 800 were two gold pendants naturalistically rendered to resemble stags lying to the left of Puabi's bier (Images 20 and 21).¹¹⁹ The figures come from what Woolley believed to be a diadem, but upon closer examination, researchers discovered that it was not a

¹¹⁵ Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 39.

¹¹⁶ Zettler, 76.

¹¹⁷ Zettler, 76.

¹¹⁸ Zettler, 80.

¹¹⁹ Zettler, *Treasures*, 92.

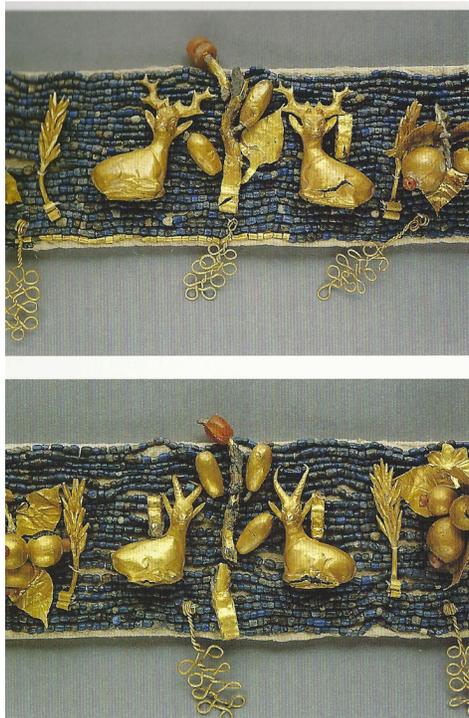
single item; the beads and metalwork could have come from up to six different pieces of jewelry.¹²⁰

Image 20:
Diadem, PG 800



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

Image 21:
Detail of Diadem, PG 800



Zettler, Richard L. and Lee Horne, editors. *Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1998.

¹²⁰ Naomi F. Miller, "Symbols of Fertility and Abundance in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, Iraq," *American Journal of Archaeology* 117 (2013): 128.

The piece is composed of lapis beads, twisted wires, and gold pendants in the shapes of flowering date palms, apples, bulls, stags, gazelles, rams, and rosettes.¹²¹ Each animal, made from bitumen covered with gold foil, was one of a pair that lay down on all fours facing each other.¹²² The imagery evokes ideas about “procreation and abundance,” via the reference to fertility of land and animal.¹²³ Apples and dates directly connect to the Inanna, goddess of love and war, while the sheep, goats, and gazelle relate to her consort Dumuzi, a shepherd.¹²⁴ In myth, their marriage and consummation provide for the fertility of the land, and some religious rituals recreated this marriage to ensure abundance.¹²⁵ The appearance of this jewelry in tombs may be to “evoke life in a place of death.”¹²⁶ The beads and jewels have another purpose as well: some were brought as gifts or bribes for the gods and demons of the underworld, while others were used to evoke Inanna’s journey into the netherworld.¹²⁷ As she descended after Dumuzi, she shed her jewelry at each level.¹²⁸

In general, stags do not play a prominent role in Early Dynastic seals, but appear more frequently at later times.¹²⁹ When they do show up in ED times, the seals normally portray combat scenes in which lions or men maul or hunt the stags, or the stags are shown amidst plants or trees.¹³⁰ A group of stags is preserved on a seal impression from the “Larsa brick-rubbish

¹²¹ Miller, “Symbols,” 128.

¹²² Zettler, *Treasures*, 92.

¹²³ Andrew Cohen, *Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship* (Boston: Brill-Styx, 2005), 128.

¹²⁴ Cohen, *Death Rituals*, 130.

¹²⁵ Cohen, 134.

¹²⁶ Miller, 127.

¹²⁷ Zettler, 48.

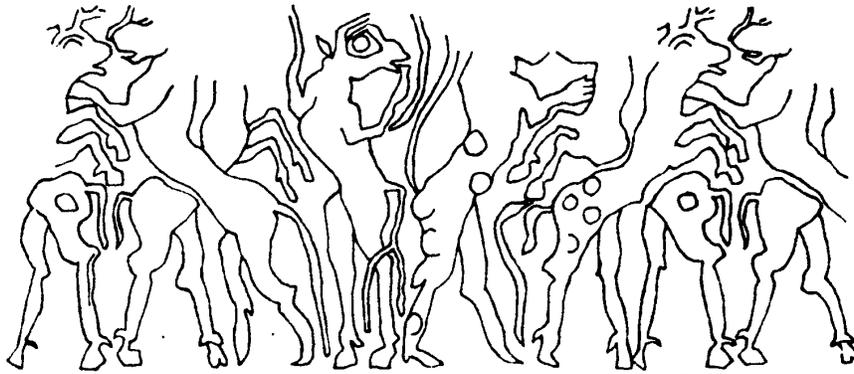
¹²⁸ Zettler 48.

¹²⁹ Moorey, “Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings,” 112.

¹³⁰ Van Buren, 39 and 42.

stratum” of the Royal Cemetery, which shows a combat scene with rampant animals attacking herbivores (Image 22).¹³¹

Image 22:
Seal impression from Royal Cemetery



Moorey, P.R. “Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings from Ur in the British Museum.” *Iraq* 41 (1979): 105-120.

The object was broken into three separate pieces, and it is assumed they come from the same seal, so the image is rather fragmentary. Overlapping peaceful animals stand on their hind legs as violent carnivorous lions attack them. Although badly damaged, some of the herbivores appear to have spots on their hindquarters, a characteristic often associated with fallow deer, but the antlers are too damaged to see if they too correspond with fallow deer or another species.¹³² Another Ur seal impression shows a walking quadruped with visible antlers, indicating a stag, with a star above and a scorpion, which connects to mythology, behind (Image 23).¹³³

¹³¹ P.R. Moorey, “Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings from Ur in the British Museum,” *Iraq* 41 (1979): 108.

¹³² E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art*, (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1939), 37.

¹³³ Moorey, “Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings,” 111.

Image 23:
Seal Impression from Ur, Early Dynastic



Moorey, P.R. "Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings from Ur in the British Museum." *Iraq* 41 (1979): 105-120.

D. Stag Imagery in Other Sites

1. Stags from Other Early Dynastic Sites

Stags do not normally appear in the visual art of southern Mesopotamia during the Early Dynastic period, but one of the most famous artifacts from the beginning of this period includes them. The piece dates to an earlier time than the royal tombs, but shows historical precedence for the usage of stags and also represents another meaning behind the use of the animals. The copper relief from about 3000 BCE found in al'Ubaid once stood over a doorway of a temple to the goddess Ninhursag (Image 24).¹³⁴

¹³⁴ H.R. Hall, "Sumerian Relief in Copper, c. 3000 B.C." *The British Museum Quarterly* 4 (1927): 85.

Image 24:
Copper Relif, Al ‘Ubaid



Frankfort, Henri. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

The imposing piece, spanning 2.3 meters across and about one meter high, would have been frightening and awe-inspiring for all who entered the building.¹³⁵ The plaque shows Imdugud, a storm god and representation of black rain clouds, as a lion-headed eagle grasping two stags.¹³⁶ All were deeply carved, making them appear almost in the round, which adds to their visual impact. The figures seem to burst from the carved frame, emphasized by the large antlers that project out and above the scene, as well as the head of the god that protrudes above. The figures create a heraldic triangle that encompasses the entire scene. The artist or artists lengthened the bodies of the stags, going against a purely naturalistic representation, in order to better fill the space.¹³⁷ The heads, in contrast, were beautifully and naturally modeled and even

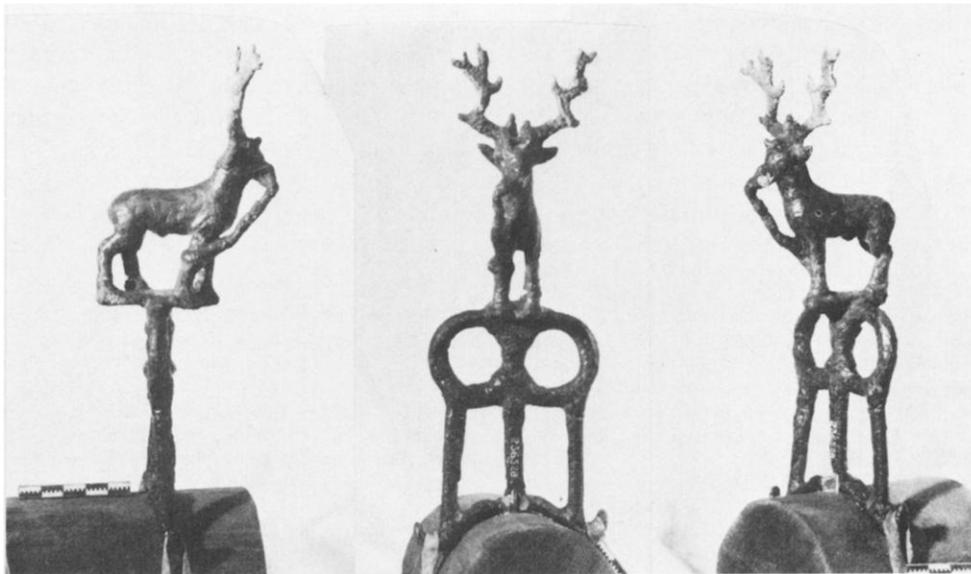
¹³⁵ Hall, 85.

¹³⁶ Frankfort, 61.

¹³⁷ Hall, 85.

include folds in the eyes.¹³⁸ Some scholars believe they represent the oriental red deer based on the heads and antlers, but this cannot be known for sure as the antlers were exaggerated for aesthetic purposes and to increase the emotional impact of the image.¹³⁹ Although the god grasps both stags, he does so not out of aggression but out of affinity, as Imdugud was symbolized by both bird and deer.¹⁴⁰ In this instance, the stags are closely associated with the violence and strength the storm god possessed, but this scene shows the natural balance and harmony instead of fear and destruction.

Image 25:
Stag Rein-Ring



Muller-Karpe, Michael. "Antlers of the Stag Rein Ring from Kish." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (Jan. 1985): 58.

The image of a stag also appears on a copper rein-ring found from a late Early Dynastic II cemetery at Inghara (Image 25).¹⁴¹ Rein-rings with animals other than stags were also

¹³⁸ Hall, 86.

¹³⁹ Hall, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Frankfort, 60.

¹⁴¹ Michael Muller-Karpe, "Antlers of the Stag Rein Ring from Kish," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44 (Jan., 1985): 57.

included in the royal tombs as part of the funerary practices. They either accompanied the deceased for use in the after-life or were placed in tombs as offerings to gods, since chariots were often used by gods and goddesses in ancient myths.¹⁴² The animal has antlers, originally lost, as well as two small conical horns directly above the eyes. Research into the methods of construction show that these stumps were intentionally added and actually resemble those found on the diadem from PG 800 previously discussed.¹⁴³ Some researchers believe that the animal represented on the ring was the same animal used to pull the vehicle, due to the evidence of onager and oxen rein rings.¹⁴⁴ This would imply that the stags were used in a manner similar to reindeer, but this seems unlikely, as no other evidence has been found to support this claim.

Following a gap of well over a thousand years after the Royal Tombs of Ur, during which stags were rarely seen in art, cultures in Mesopotamia began to see an increase in their imagery, especially while under Assyrian rule.¹⁴⁵ The Assyrian kings enjoyed hunting a wide variety of exotic animals, including stags, and these events were commemorated on wall reliefs and obelisks that show royal hunts (Images 26 and 27).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² M. E. L. Mallowan, "A Copper Rein-Ring from Southern Iraq," *Iraq* 10 (1948): 54.

¹⁴³ Muller-Karpe, 57.

¹⁴⁴ Van Buren, 41.

¹⁴⁵ In Scythia one also finds a large number of beautiful, naturalistically rendered stag images, but again these stem from a much later time period: 8th and 9th century BCE. For more information see: Max Loehr, "The Stag Image in Scythia and the Far East," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America* 9 (1955): 63-76.

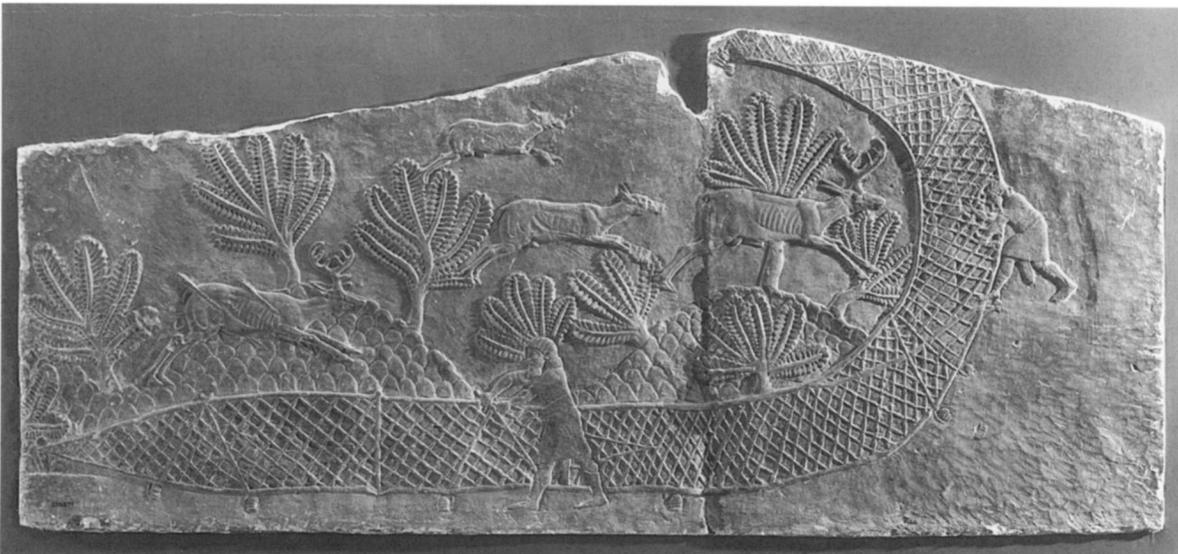
¹⁴⁶ Pauline Albenda, "Assyrian Royal Hunts: Antlered and Horned Animals from Distant Lands," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 349 (Feb 2008): 62.

Image 26:
Landscape Panel from Black Obelisk of King Shalmaneser III



Albenda, Pauline. "Assyrian Royal Hunts: Antlered and Horned Animals from Distant Lands."
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 349 (Feb. 2008): 61-78.

Image 27:
Deer Hunt from North Palace at Nineveh



Albenda, Pauline. "Assyrian Royal Hunts: Antlered and Horned Animals from Distant Lands."
Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 349 (Feb. 2008): 61-78.

Fallow, roe, and red deer appear in these works, presumably due to the wide-ranging rule exerted by the Assyrians that covered multiple lands and, therefore, multiple habitats for the cervids.¹⁴⁷ These hunting scenes often have archers on the ground and in chariots and are used to demonstrate the skill of the archer and the king because of the speed of the stags (Image 28).¹⁴⁸ Both the hunting scenes and other reliefs showing genies holding up stags also have political meanings: the animals represent the distant lands conquered and controlled by Assyrians, showing how drastically the stag image had changed from the Early Dynastic period.¹⁴⁹

Image 28:
Neo-Assyrian Seal



Albenda, Pauline. “Assyrian Royal Hunts: Antlered and Horned Animals from Distant Lands.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 349 (Feb. 2008): 61-78.

¹⁴⁷ Albenda, 66.

¹⁴⁸ Albenda, 74.

¹⁴⁹ Albenda, 75.

2. Anatolia, Home of Stags

Image 29:
Copper Standard, Alaca Höyük



Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Anatolia provides many examples of stag images, since the animals were native to that area, and from a time period closer to that of the pieces found at the Royal Tombs of Ur. Sometime prior to the middle of the second millennium—thus shortly before the date of the Royal Tombs—standards showing stags appear in tombs of both men and women at Alaca Höyük (Image 29).¹⁵⁰ As with the tombs at Ur, many consider these to be the graves of royalty, with about fourteen separate burials identified, each entombed with a variety of personal ornaments, weapons, ceramics, figurines, vessels, and the standards.¹⁵¹ These would have been placed on the tops of poles that have since decomposed, and many have openwork metal disks that may connect to the sun god; about twenty standards contain only openwork disks as

¹⁵⁰ Frankfort, 210.

¹⁵¹ Omur Harmansah, “Monuments and Memory: Architecture and Visual Culture in Ancient Anatolian History,” In *Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000-323 BCE)*, edited by Sharon R. Steadman and Gregory McMahon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 629.

decoration.¹⁵² This connection implies that the animals themselves may be representations of the sun god, and because the pieces were found with both men and women, scholars assume a religious as opposed to militaristic use.

Image 30:
Copper Standard with Inlay



Frankfort, Henri. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

While some of the animals were made solely of copper, others were somewhat more ornate, with silver foil on heads and antlers as well as inlaid silver on the body (Image 30). The figure has simplified limbs and body, but detailed multi-tined antlers with an elongated face. The addition of circular and zigzag designs on the sides of the animals enhances the more stylized and less naturalistic appearance. A copper sistrum, or rattle, from the late third millennium was found at another tomb site, Horoztepe (Image 31).¹⁵³ This instrument resembles

¹⁵² Frankfort, 210.

¹⁵³ Joan Aruz, *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 287.

the standards from Alaca Höyük in the stylistic portrayal of the does and stag that walk across the top. On either side, lions attack caprids, also shown in a simplified manner: none of the animals contain naturalistic details and are portrayed purely through abstracted shapes. The stag was not usually seen as a sacred animal in most of the near east, but was worshipped in Eurasian steppes and by the later Hittites, so this may imply that the inhabitants of the tombs came from Russia or central Asia, or may represent the beginning of religious connotations associated with the stag.¹⁵⁴ About seven bull standards and at least three stag ones have been found, and many interpret the bulls to represent the thunderstorm deity and the stag to represent a protective deity, as is the case in later Hittite texts.¹⁵⁵

Image 31:
Sistrum



Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

¹⁵⁴ Frankfort, 212.

¹⁵⁵ Joan Aruz, *Art of the First Cities*, 277.

Most other portrayals of stags in the art of Anatolia come from the Hittite empire (ca. 17th century through 12th century BCE) where there was an obvious association between gods and the animals. The Hittites respected and incorporated earlier Anatolian influences in their art and culture, so even though much of their imagery comes from the second millennium, it may also be representative of earlier cultures and is worth considering in the context of broader cultural ideas about stag imagery in the later third millennium.¹⁵⁶

The Hittites were influenced by both Egypt and Mesopotamia, creating monumental art and buildings, including many large rock-cut reliefs.¹⁵⁷ Most scenes had religious intent, even those depicting hunts and battles, and the continued use of the stags with large and majestic antlers further bolsters the idea that the earlier standards from Alaca Höyük and Horozetepe also had a religious purpose.¹⁵⁸ Two main deities shown are a weather god, represented as a figure standing on mountains or bulls, and a god of the hunt who is also the protector of nature and wildlife, shown as a winged stag-man holding animals by their hind legs or as a figure standing on a stag holding a tamed bird of prey in one hand and a dead animal in the other.¹⁵⁹ The two gods often appear with one another on seals and rock-cut reliefs, often also in connection with the sun-goddess Arinna.¹⁶⁰

Thus, in Anatolia at a time just prior to the Royal Tombs, copper stags were found in elite burials, and their associated imagery suggests that the animals were connected to the sun god. Just after the period of the Royal Tombs, associations and connections begin to change. The stag then acts as the symbol of the protector god of the hunt, but is still intimately linked with sun

¹⁵⁶ Jeanny Vorys Canby, "Hittite Art," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 52 (1989): 110.

¹⁵⁷ Canby, 110.

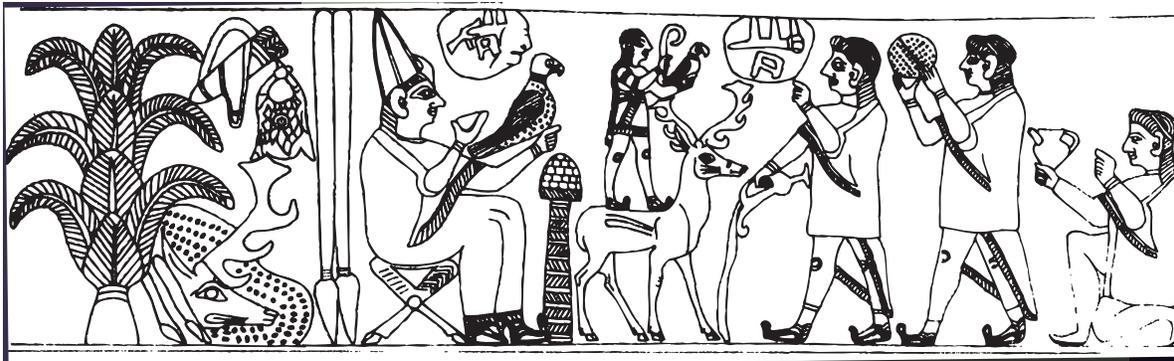
¹⁵⁸ Canby, 111.

¹⁵⁹ Canby, 113.

¹⁶⁰ Piotr Taracha, "The Sculptures of Alaca Höyük: A Key to Religious Symbolism in Hittite Representational Art," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75 (2012): 108.

gods and goddesses and also the storm god through visual presentations. Anatolia, therefore, provides interesting cultural connections: in third-millennium Sumer, copper stags associated with storm gods are found and also buried in elite burials; in Anatolia, the animals are associated with the sun, the hunt, and with storm gods. Other Hittite remains will help illuminate these cross-cultural connections and will also better illustrate the Hittite beliefs surrounding the stag.

Image 32:
Stag Vessel Offering Scene



Taracha, Piotr. “The Sculptures of Alaca Höyük: A Key to Religious Symbolism in Hittite Representational Art.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75 (2012): 108-115.

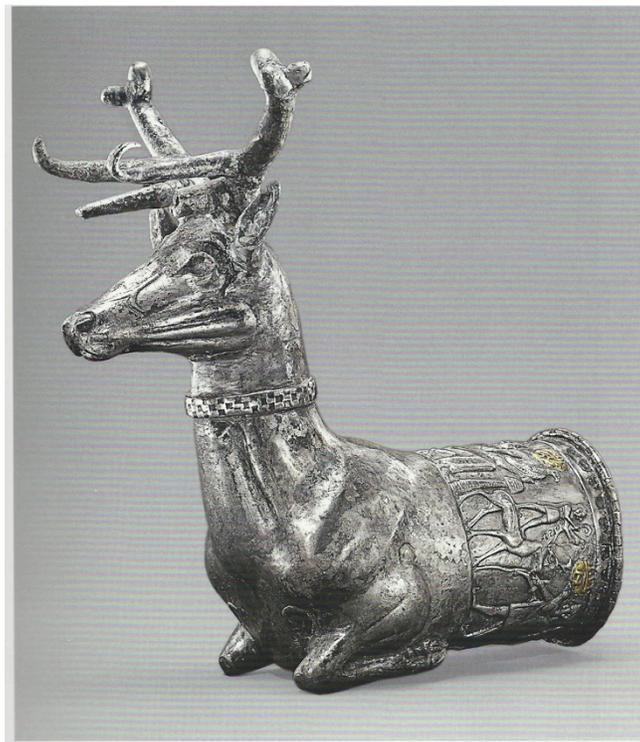
A Hittite vessel in the shape of a stag (ca. 14th-13th century) has reliefs around its opening. Two gods are represented: one sits in front of an altar with a cup to his lips and a falcon on his fist, while the other one stands on a stag carrying a falcon as well as a *kalmus*, which is a curved rod that symbolizes authority and is used to flush out animals during hunts (Image 32).¹⁶¹ Three priests carrying libations and offerings approach them and a deceased stag lies behind the seated deity next to spears and a quiver, showing that the “stag had to be conquered before it became the special animal of the protector god of the Wild Fields.”¹⁶² The vessel itself is the beautifully rendered front quarters of a stag with its front legs folded underneath, and the cup portion

¹⁶¹ Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans, *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 181.

¹⁶² Canby, 116.

opening from his midsection (Image 33). Its muscles are naturalistically shown, while the face and antlers lack details, combining naturalistic and stylistic features in the one piece. A seal from Hattusa also shows a goddess holding a bird while sitting on a goat as an archer shoots at a stag and a lion, again showing connections between different gods and goddesses.¹⁶³ It also emphasizes the power of the gods by associating them with conquering and harnessing the strength and speed of the two animals.

Image 33:
Stag Vessel



Aruz, Joan, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans. *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Gods, goddesses, and stags also appear on more monumental reliefs throughout the Hittite empire. At Alaca Höyük, perhaps between the 15th and 13th century BCE, the bottom

¹⁶³ Taracha, 112.

register of one tower shows a procession of a king and queen marching toward the weather god, symbolized by a bull on a pedestal.¹⁶⁴ Other registers in both the right and left tower show figures playing instruments, a goddess seated in a niche with a cup in her hand, and multiple hunting scenes, including a stag hunt.¹⁶⁵ In that scene, a kneeling archer aims at a stag that moves towards a previously captured deer tethered to a tree as two other stags and a fawn flee the hunter. The scene focuses on the prowess of the hunter, and in doing so, the power and strength of the rulers shown in the procession.

Many other images of gods standing on stags appear, including some from Alaca Höyük, Malatya, and other principalities of the Hittite Empire.¹⁶⁶ One of the most impressive overlooks the river Karasu, and is a monumental relief from the imperial age of the Hittite empire, 1450-1200 BCE (Image 34).¹⁶⁷ Although its original function may never be known with certainty, it may have demonstrated political power while also acting as a religious shrine.¹⁶⁸ The scene shows a sharply modeled stag facing left with large ears, broad multi-tined antlers, and an elongated snout shown in a front-facing view, while his elongated body with a flattened back is in profile. The animal may be a European Red deer, found throughout northern and central Asia Minor, seen through its many-pointed, un-palmated antlers.¹⁶⁹ A male figure stands on the animal's flattened back, also facing left, while holding a sword and a spear. He has deeply modeled legs and wears turned-up pointed shoes and a tunic. His legs are shown in profile while his chest, shoulders, and head appear frontally. Above his head is a winged solar disk, showing

¹⁶⁴ Taracha, 110.

¹⁶⁵ Canby, 119.

¹⁶⁶ Hellenkemper, 171.

¹⁶⁷ Hansgerd Hellenkemper and Jorg Wagner, "The God on the Stag: A Late Hittite Rock-Relief on the River Karasu," *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1977): 167.

¹⁶⁸ Hellenkemper, 167.

¹⁶⁹ Hellenkemper, 168.

him to be a god, further emphasized by his pointed shoes and the weapons he carries.¹⁷⁰ His appearance on the stag visually labels him as the stag-god Runda, a deity connected to wildlife and the hunt.¹⁷¹ Hollows and cup marks appear between the relief and a trench cut through the rock, which imply a cultic function, since they probably held containers for libations.¹⁷² Again the Anatolians connected the stag to gods, including the sun god, implied through the winged solar disk, and the god of the hunt. The monumental nature of the animal emphasizes its strength, and thus emphasizes the strength and power of the gods who grant successful hunts, allowing society to thrive.

Image 34:
Hittite Relief from Karasu River



Hellenkemper, Hansgerd and Jorg Wagner. "The God on the Stag: A Late Hittite Rock-Relief on the River Karasu." *Anatolian Studies* 22 (1977): 167-173.

¹⁷⁰ Hellenkemper, 170.

¹⁷¹ Hellenkemper, 170.

¹⁷² Hellenkemper, 173.

E. Concluding Remarks

1. Stags in Anatolia and Sumer

Although stags commonly appeared in Anatolian art, as well as in nature, their appearance in Mesopotamia occurred less frequently. The Anatolian uses focused on the power and strength of the gods, in particular the stag god, who was also the protector of the wild fields, the storm god, and the sun god. These figures controlled the successes of society as a whole by allowing for plentiful crops, wildlife, and habitable weather. In Mesopotamia, the stags were intended to express similar meanings, but this occurred in a different manner. Much of Mesopotamian art stressed the need for fertility of the land and people in order for society to survive, and this could only occur through a mutual relationship between society, its rulers, and gods.¹⁷³ The natural forces controlled by gods were often represented by animal imagery, including bulls, goats, and less frequently stags.¹⁷⁴ They were often associated with fruit and vegetation, furthering the connection to fertility, which was always in flux, as southern Mesopotamia often lacked sufficient rainfall to sustain its agriculture.¹⁷⁵ As previously discussed, this imagery in the tombs may be used to show life and rebirth, even after death, as well as offerings to the gods who controlled the futures of the deceased's society. The plant and animal imagery represents the regeneration and renewal of life, as well as the gods responsible for this fertility and fecundity. While the Mesopotamian artists stressed a generalized idea about fertility and gods, the Anatolians evoked more specific deities with their animal imagery.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ Cohen, *Death Rituals*, 119.

¹⁷⁴ Frankfort, 40.

¹⁷⁵ Zettler, 48.

¹⁷⁶ W.G. Lambert, "Trees, Snakes and Gods in Ancient Syria and Anatolia," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 48 (1985): 437.

2. Stags in the Royal Tombs at Ur

Even with those differences, the appearances of stag imagery in Sumer, and elsewhere in Mesopotamia, visually represents a connection to Anatolia. Evidence for commercial and trade interaction is very strong: Sumer lacked most natural resources, so they had to look elsewhere for goods. Lapis Lazuli was sourced from Afghanistan, while agate, gold, wood, and copper came from both Anatolia and Iran.¹⁷⁷ It is hard to decipher the exact origin of these metals, since earlier texts lacked such details, but other evidence points to Anatolia as the origin for at least some.¹⁷⁸ Sumerian gold techniques and preferences, such as a double spiral form found at the Royal Tombs, have also been found in multiple cities of Anatolia, showing societal interactions.¹⁷⁹ The stags themselves also suggest this interaction: they were not common in either Mesopotamia or Iran, with no evidence for their use as a food source in either location.¹⁸⁰ Both physical materials and cultural ideas travelled along the trade route. The large number of representations of the animal at Ur remains an anomaly, perhaps explained by Anatolian influences: images of the animals travelled between the two cultures, as did associations with natural deities. The Sumerians then incorporated the exotic animal into their ideas about fertility by using it in the same manner as the sacred bulls and fertile rams seen throughout that area. The connection with gods and natural forces remained important, seen in the copper Imdugud plaque from al'Ubaid, as both cultures respected and feared the power and strength of the gods who presided over nature and society. The use of stag imagery in that location also shows the animal's connections to storm gods, an idea also obtained from Anatolia.

¹⁷⁷ P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 85, 99, 220, and 247.

¹⁷⁸ P. R. S. Moorey, "The Archaeological Evidence for Metallurgy and Related Technologies in Mesopotamia, c. 5500-2100 B.C.," *Iraq* 44 (1982): 14.

¹⁷⁹ K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, "The Ur Jewellery. A Re-Assessment in the Light of Some Recent Discoveries," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 110.

¹⁸⁰ Melinda A. Zeder, *Feeding Cities: Specialized Animal Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 33, 49, 136, 180, and 216.

The lack of native stags in Sumer and their rarity in most Early Dynastic imagery, aside from the royal tombs, shows some interaction with Anatolia, since statues of the animals were being buried in elite tombs at Alaca Höyük, where they were native, at the same time they were in Ur. Their appearance in wealthy burials suggests the importance and power the animals wielded for society. The Sumerians adopted and then adapted the stag images and associations that travelled the trade routes from Anatolia with the material trade goods. The animals maintained a connection to storm gods, which began in Anatolia, as well as to the power the gods held over society as a whole. Both cultures connected stags to natural fertility that was required for survival, but at Ur we see the artists utilizing the exotic animals in specifically Sumerian ways: they appear on lyres, as statuettes, and on seals in the same manner as the goats and bulls that historically appeared in Sumerian art. Thus, the animals represent power, wealth, and fertility in their appearances in the Royal Tombs. This combination of Sumerian and Anatolian ideas and beliefs demonstrates the complex and rich exchange of ideas and materials between the two varying cultures.

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¹⁸¹ Asterisks signify that the source was cited within the paper.

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