

**THE ROSETTE SYMBOL IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST:
AN ICONOGRAPHIC APPROACH**

by

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DECLARATION

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The rosette symbol in the Ancient Near East: an iconographic approach:

I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.



Estelle Cornelia Grobler

5 September 2021

ABSTRACT

My interests lie in the occurrence of rosettes found in many places and cultures in the ancient Near East. My aim was to research and interpret the various iconographic instances where the rosette symbol is depicted within a historical and archaeological context. The primary objective was to investigate the value and significance of the rosette as a symbol. The research comprised the collection, iconographic analyses, and iconological interpretation of the Bronze and Iron Age rosettes in Egypt and the ancient Near East. In this research an iconographical approach as well as a multi-disciplinary approach were followed. The archaeological material was adapted to a qualitative iconographical and comparative methodology.

The main research questions were: What was the symbolic meaning of the rosette? How was the rosette portrayed in different artefacts, in different areas and at different times in the ancient Near East? Why did royalty and deities from different ancient civilizations of the Near East, and over different time spans, make use of rosettes as one of their symbols?

An iconological approach (by using Panofsky's model) illuminated the important role and symbolism of the rosette in the ancient Near East. A comparative approach to explore the significance and occurrence of the rosette symbol in the various ancient Near Eastern regions also helped to enlighten the origin, meaning and significance of the rosette symbol. My objective was to research the rosette on an intra- and inter-regional basis in order to establish similarities, differences, and trends in perception within a region and then between regions. These regions are Egypt, Sumer, Assyria, Babylon, Anatolia and Persia.

The primary sources are illustrations of rosette designs on artworks and artefacts, as it is an iconographical research. The rosette image was found on diadems, palaces, royal clothing, seals, jewellery, vessels, tombs, winged spiritual beings, divinity, sanctuaries and temples. With the aid of the multi-disciplinary approach my goals and my main questions have been answered. The symbol was probably used for divine protection and divine fertility. The origin can most likely be traced back to the sun and Ishtar with her Venus star.

Key terms: Ancient Near East; Iron/Bronze Ages; rosette symbol; iconography; iconological interpretations; divinity; temples; royalty; palaces; lotus; daisy; the sun; Venus.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add II	Addendum II
ANE	Ancient Near East
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
<i>ASOR</i>	American Schools of Oriental Research
BAR	Biblical Archaeology Review
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
ICAANE	International <i>Congress</i> on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East
IRSA	Istituto per le Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte
IVF	In vitro fertilization
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern <i>Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Arts
n.p.	no page
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
RIA	Recontre Assyriologique Internationale
UNISA	University of South Africa

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

During a visit to a couple of museums and archaeological sites in the ancient Near East with Professor Fanie Vermaak (from the University of South Africa), it was the iconography of the Mesopotamian art that instantly touched my heart. I noticed a few symbols that seemed to crop up everywhere. These images encompassed the bull, the lion, the mother goddess, the tree of life, rosettes, the lotus flower and the sun image in different forms. During my research for my master's dissertation, it was again these same images that kept appearing in the iconography of ivory in the ancient Near East. These images 'need to talk to us', if only we would listen!

I agree wholeheartedly with Doctor Irene Winter when she argues or rather pleads for the weight and significance of visual evidence, even in the absence of textual confirmation. In some cases, we see the extraordinary visual record preserved in Mesopotamian art not merely as illustrations of (and hence secondary to) texts, but rather as a highly developed system of communication in their own right (2010:76).

In 1985, with the publication of *Materials and manufacture in ancient Mesopotamia*, Roger Moorey pointed to the need to integrate the material remains with relevant documentary evidence, particularly with respect to the socio-economic context in which works were produced and consumed (Moorey 1985:x; cf. Winter 2010:271).

This is no less true when considering the socio-cultural context of value-properties deemed worthy of positive evaluation when assessing the overall worth of materials and individual specimens of material culture (Winter 2010:271). What has become increasingly clear is that if we are to pursue the meaning(s) attached to major works of material culture in antiquity, and in particular meaning(s) attached to appreciation, this can only be accessed with reference to a combination of evidentiary sources that include both the archaeological and the textual record (Winter 2010:271).

As my research mostly makes use of archaeological artefacts and not texts, I would like to stress the importance of iconology as well as the importance of meaning, which must be supplied by human beings (Dever 2002:72).

Text is very important, but not more important than iconography. This is not to say that texts should be completely ignored, but rather than looking for perfect matches, a 'mental background' should be sought (Suter 2000:8). Lewis's (2005:76) sentiment that 'iconography complements texts, it cannot replace them' is not applicable when no contemporary texts on the subject are available (Van Dijk 2016:5). Unfortunately this is the case with most of the artefacts that I am researching.

Iconography serves to enhance the understanding of the ancient Near East as it is more effective at elucidating than solely texts. Iconography forces us to look through the eyes of the ancient Near East (Keel 1978:8).

'Icono' - means indicating an image or likeness and '-graphy' means 'writing' or 'to describe'. Iconography is therefore the use or study of images or symbols in visual arts (Pearsall 2001:906). A symbol prompts abstract conception and the specifically human power of abstraction manifests itself by transforming the data of experience into symbols (Reno 1977:77). Keel (1997:7) holds that ancient Near Eastern imagery was 'not intended to be viewed, like paintings of the nineteenth or twentieth-century European art (*Sehbild*), but rather to be read (*Denkbild*). Unlike texts, the images markedly simplify the intended meaning. Like a monument, they tend to summarize a particular concept in one or two grand 'gestures' (Keel 1997:7).

The visual art form has huge pedagogical advantages especially in an era which is highly receptive to visual stimuli. Uehlinger & Williamson (2007:223) elucidates: 'Images should not be viewed as mere reflections of their time and place, but rather as extensions of the social contexts in which they were commissioned and produced.' When we look at images while reading the text, the barriers between them tend to blur. The images can be 'read' and the text can be 'seen' (Nissinen & Carter 2009:7, 13).

The post-processual archaeologists have a persisting theme, namely 'reading' the artefacts, not unlike reading texts. In fact, artefacts are 'texts,' and similarly informative when skilfully and sympathetically interpreted (Dever 2002:66).

Iconography is defined as 'that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form' (Panofsky 1939:3), and works to 'retrieve the symbolic and allegorical meanings contained in works of art' (D'Alleva 2005:23; Van Dijk 2016:6).

Some symbols, for instance the cross or the swastika, are generally accepted to represent a vast and/or specific spectrum of implications and meanings. It is possible that there are such implications that have remained hidden in the ancient Near Eastern cultures because some symbols have not been researched deeply enough. All religions have a set of symbols that accompany their material and spiritual character (Vermaak 1995:30). Symbols or pictorial devices, being a basic element of all religions, give some insight into the understanding of the culture of a people. These symbols were possibly not used for decoration but were meant to be associated with the characteristics of divinity (Vermaak 1995:30) and royalty. This should be investigated in terms of the rosette symbol.

With the help of the rosette symbol my aim is to obtain some insight from the inner beliefs and worldview of the following cultures: Egyptians, Sumerians and Akkadians, Assyrians, Babylonians, the Anatolians and the Persians. 'Via the [rosette] symbol, one may discover some of the driving forces behind a culture so as to provide an understanding of its relationship with the outside world' (Black & Green 1992; Keel & Uehlinger 1990; Vermaak 1995:19).

Van Andringa is of opinion that archaeological discoveries of sanctuaries can increase our knowledge of ancient religions, as long as the perspective is well defined and the adopted methodology is compatible with the material evidence (2015:30). Today, the development of stratigraphical archaeology and sciences applied to modern archaeology leads to results which increase the scope of observations we can make on material remains from cult practices and which can be integrated into the framework of the interpretation given by the history of ancient religions (Van Andringa 2015:30). Such an investigation aims at giving the sanctuaries a wider definition than just their architecture because temples are more than their architecture and sometimes a cultic place has no architectural structure at all. The organization of the space and its limits, and of the cult equipment, as well as the treatment of sacrificial remains, defined the specific religious language that each community built for its own gods (Van Andringa 2015:30). This cult equipment may include rosettes, and the gaps in previous research work indicate that the iconological interpretation, or deeper meaning of the rosette symbol, should be investigated

more thoroughly. There is a need to explore the rosette symbols on temples, religious sites and of cultic items of various ancient Near Eastern cultures.

Facts may be assumed to 'speak,' but until meaning, which is a uniquely human quality, is supplied, there is no message. These inherent limitations of the facts brought to light by archaeologists must always be kept in mind (Dever 2002:70). Thus archaeologists and researchers are better off speaking not of 'proofs' or 'facts,' but rather of various 'probabilities' and 'possibilities'. There are different kinds of facts with which the archaeologists and researchers work: artefacts, textual facts and eco-facts (Dever 2002:71).

Archaeological facts in themselves may possess intrinsic value, but this is not true for meaning, which must be supplied by human beings (Dever 2002:72). In that sense, facts become data only as interpreted within an intellectual framework that is capable of giving them significance. I find a void in the deeper meaning of the rosette, and therefore I am going to attempt to interpret various rosettes depicted on artefacts within an iconographical and comparative framework. It is possible to learn about the past by coordinating the pieces of evidence and situating them within a context, relating knowledge to a deliberate quest (Dever 2002:72). My aim is to collect all possible pieces of evidence from the ancient Near Eastern cultures and try to derive some significance and deeper meaning of the rosette symbol within an iconographical and comparative framework.

I agree wholeheartedly with Van der Toorn when he writes: 'The image has been recognised as an independent message. It is no longer inferior to the text, and may under certain circumstances take precedence' (1997b:16).

As stated above my interests lie in the occurrence of rosettes found in many places and cultures in the ancient Near East. In my opinion this tiny symbol is neglected, in comparison with the lion, the sun, the bull, Tree of Life and many other symbols. The rosette is a symbol that is not interpreted or researched in a proper or satisfactory way. Very few authors have ventured into symbolism and even fewer authors have tried to explain the symbolic meaning or origin of the rosette in the different geographical areas. Rosettes are found in the art and iconography of the ancient Near East from Prehistoric Neolithic times until after the birth of Christ and beyond. A multitude of examples are found from every area of civilization of the ancient Near East – from Sumer and Akkad, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia, Egypt and even Persia.

It appears that various gods and goddesses used the rosette as one of their symbols, but it is also used on walls, ceilings, floors, jewellery, goblets and other utensils. The fact that the rosette looks like a flower does not necessarily mean that it is a flower; it might be a symbol for a star, the sun or even the Tree of Life. This research is undertaken because, to my knowledge, no other comprehensive study of the iconography of the rosette in the ancient Near East exists, except for the PhD candidate work of Cheryl Hart (2020). Her PhD research comprises a detailed analysis of the rosette motif within the iconographic repertoire of the Eastern Mediterranean region during the Fourth to First Millennia BC. She is called the 'rosette lady' because she was the first person to scrutinise rosette symbolism.

The research will consist of the collection, iconographic analysis, and interpretation of the *Bronze and Iron Age* rosettes in Egypt and the ancient Near East. However, the research is hampered because there is limited research done on rosette symbolism. Helene Kantor (1999), Jane Cahill (1997), Pauline Albenda (2005), Othmar Keel (1997; 1998), Izak Cornelius (1990; 2004; 2009), Irene Winter (1976; 1995; 2009; 2010), Talley Ornan (1995; 2005a; 2005b), Julian Reade (1979a; 1991) and Cheryl Hart (2018) are a few scholars who have explored the rosette meaning and/or the rosette symbolism.

There are a few existing theories concerning the rosette symbol, as far as I know. Irene Winter has suggested that the rosette was a symbol for *fertility* (1976:46; 2009:241). Julian Read (1991:32) suggests that the rosette symbol was a symbol for *protection and good luck*. Cheryl Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are also of opinion that the rosette symbol was a symbol for *protection*. During this research the above-mentioned theories will all be taken into consideration.

Both texts and artefacts symbolically represent a particular perception of reality; both are 'encoded messages' that must be decoded, using rational, critical methods as well as empathy; both remain somewhat enigmatic, however skilful and persistent the attempts to penetrate their full meaning (Dever 2002:71). This research therefore hopes to add to the 'decoding' of the rosette symbol in the ancient Near East.

According to Dever the advance of real and lasting knowledge comes not so much from chance discovery, but rather from the systematic investigation of specific questions (2002:72). My aim is to conduct a systematic investigation of the occurrence and possible meaning of the rosette symbol in many places and many civilizations of the ancient Near East. 'What is learned depends

largely on what is already known, the goals and orientation of the investigation, and the method of inquiry' (2002:72). A systematic investigation of the pieces of evidence within an iconographical framework might cast new light on this enigmatic rosette symbol. True 'data' is the result of framing appropriate questions. The use of the word 'appropriate' does not imply any value judgment about what the right questions are, but a notion of what may be possible, given the nature of the material at one's disposal and the intellectual stage of the discipline at the moment (Dever 2002:72).

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main question I want to explore is:

What was the symbolic meaning/s of the rosette in the ancient Near East?

Further questions are:

- Could the use of the Panofsky iconographical model of interpretation illuminate the significance of the rosette symbol?
- Could a comparative study of the rosette in the different regions illuminate the significance of the rosette?
- Was this symbol of the rosette only used among the elite? The material used to create rosettes might possibly contribute to the answer of this question.
- Was the rosette symbol linked to gods and goddesses in the different civilizations of the ancient Near East?
- If the rosette was a royal and divine symbol, did it perhaps have a 'word,' a 'concept' or a 'character trait' of the divinity or royalty connected to it?
- Why did royalty from different civilizations of the ancient Near East, and over different time spans, make use of rosettes as one of their symbols, such as rosettes on crowns, diadems, palaces, temples, tombs, jewellery, vessels and seals?
- Did the rosette symbol have a different meaning or significance in the different civilizations of the ancient Near East?
- Could a systematic investigation of the occurrence of the rosette in the various regions answer the question of *what was the inspiration or origin* of the rosette symbol in the various regions?
- How was the rosette portrayed in different artefacts in different areas (Egypt, Sumer/Akkad, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Persia) and at different periods in the ancient Near East?

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

My main aim is to investigate the value and significance of the rosette as a symbol in the ancient Near East.

The objective is further to research and interpret the various iconographic information where the rosette symbol is depicted within a historical and archaeological context. It is further my goal to enlighten the importance of the rather unknown rosette symbol in the ancient Near East (Egypt, Sumer/Akkad, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Persia) with the help of Panofsky's iconographical model as well as a comparative approach.

This study will also examine the meaning of the rosette symbol in connection with gods and demi-gods as well as royal identities. The written word which includes mythology, prayers, instructions, the Bible, and other inscriptions will be consulted where possible and together with iconography might give a balanced perspective.

My objective will further be to research the rosette on an intra- and inter-regional basis in order to establish similarities, differences, and trends in perception within a region and then between regions. These regions are Egypt, Sumer, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Persia. It might then be possible to establish what characteristics of the rosette have passed as influence from one region to another and what has been established independently. I will compare the specific role of the rosette across the ancient Near East rather than limit it to one region or one religion – a systematic investigation of a specific question.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

Panofsky's model for interpreting iconography might illuminate the important role and symbolism of the rosette in the ancient Near East. A systematic investigation of the pieces of evidence within an iconographical framework might cast new light on this enigmatic rosette symbol. A comparative approach, to explore the significance and occurrence of the rosette symbol in the various ancient Near Eastern regions, might also help to enlighten the origin, meaning and significance of the rosette symbol.

1.5 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is the first of its kind in that never before have so many rosettes, from such a variety of ancient Near Eastern civilizations, occurred in one collection.

As far as I know it is also a first for finding and describing double and triple rosettes depicted on top of each other. Two different rosettes occur and sometimes even three rosettes occur together on one artefact. It is usually the lotus, the daisy and the sunflower depicted together.

The differential assessment and the linguistic appraisal will always be the most important stance in the ancient Near East, but the *iconographical assessment* brings its own unique and special advantage and benefits (Keel 1997:8). The objective is to *add significance and value* to the much-neglected rosette symbol of the ancient Near East. Various available depictions of rosettes from different civilizations will be compared and read on three different iconographical levels. This will be the first systematic analyses of all the available rosette material found at different places and different civilizations in the ancient Near East. I hope that the systematic analyses of the obtainable rosette material in the ancient Near East will bring a unique and special value to the understanding of the symbolic meaning of the rosette, as well as the *origin* or *inspiration* for the rosette symbol in the different geographical areas.

1.6 DEFINITION OF A ROSETTE

In this study, a rosette will be defined as a radially symmetrical, circular design. Such a radially symmetrical, circular design is usually considered to denote decorations derived from plant forms such as the 'daisy' and lotus flower. In some cases, there is a stem connected to the flower. Some rosettes have sharp edges and others have round edges. Radial elements vary in number. All the elements are frequently matching in form (Kantor 1999:127). Helen Kantor in her book, (1999), *Plant ornament in the ancient Near East. Revised*. Chapter IV, deals specifically with rosettes and I have copied some of the descriptions that she attached to certain types of rosettes. Lotus, daisy, broad-banded concentric, and obovate petals were descriptive terms borrowed from her. The broad-banded concentric type of rosette that Kantor describes, is also what I suggest as the sunflower type. The other descriptive names are given by me such as three-dimensional, circles with lines, star-like rosettes and combined (two/three flowers in one). Sharp-ended rosettes are different from the star-like rosettes because they are a normal lotus- or daisy-like rosette but with sharp ends.

1.6.1 Key to the different rosettes types

Lotus - Any number of petals between five and twelve with rounded petals and rounded ends. Mostly eight petals and at Persepolis twelve petals. The Venus rosette of Ishtar also has eight petals with rounded petals, and to prevent confusion will also fall under the lotus-like rosette for the purposes of this research.

Daisy-like - Several and numerous petals with elongated petals ending in round edges or sometimes with sharp petals.

Sunflower - Also called broad-banded concentric circle by Kantor. This rosette has a large inner circle with several smaller petals surrounding the inner circle. This flower might be an anachronistic flower as it is not sure if there were sunflowers found in the ancient Near East.

Obovate - This is a name I borrowed from Kantor and it consists of rosettes with 'loose' petals not touching each other.

Circles with lines - This is exactly what it says. Only a few of these rosettes were encountered, mostly in Egypt.

Star-like - These rosettes can be inside a circle or without a circle and display a sharp-ended, star-like feature.

Three-dimensional - This is used where an artefact is obviously curved or bent to form a rosette.

Combined - These rosettes can be two or three rosettes on top of each other.

Sharp-ended - They are different from the star-like rosette because they are a normal lotus- or daisy-like rosette but ending with sharp ends.

Daisy/lotus-like – When it is difficult to distinguish between the daisy and lotus rosettes.

1.7 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Achaemenids	The dynasty that ruled the Persian Empire from the 6 th - 4 th century BC.
Akkadian	Overall term for all dialects of Assyrian and Babylonian language.
Amulet	An amulet is an object that is typically worn on one's person, that some people believe has the magical or miraculous power to protect its holder; it is often also used as an ornament though that may not be its intended purpose.
Anthropomorphic	Ascribing human form or attributes to a being or thing not human, especially to a deity.
Auroch	A type of extinct bull.
Baldachin	A ceremonial canopy.

<i>Beq'a</i>	Half a shekel.
Bullae	The impression in soft clay made by the seal as document sealer. Bullae came into general use after the end of cuneiform writing.
Cuneiform	The wedge-shaped signs of ancient Mesopotamian writing.
Cylinder	A memorial or record inscribed with cuneiform script onto clay or stone in a barrel shape.
Cylinder seal	A typical stone seal up to 5cm in length with a design engraved around the circumference.
Diadem	A jewelled crown or headband worn as a symbol of sovereignty. A diadem is usually a thinner decoration than a proper crown.
Egyptian blue	Egyptian blue is a synthetic blue pigment made up of a mixture of silica, lime, copper, and an alkali.
Faience	Earthenware decorated with colourful opaque glazes.
Feature	A feature is any material remains that cannot be removed from the site, for example pits, house floors, fire hearths, or large altars.
Idiosyncratic	Peculiar, individual or eccentric.
Iconography	The use or study of images or symbols in visual arts.
Iconological	The historical analysis and interpretive study (deeper meaning) of symbols or images and their contextual significance.
<i>In situ</i>	Original place.
Iridescent	Showing luminous colours that seem to change when seen from different angles (multicolour).
Lapis lazuli	Mineral sodium aluminium silicate and sulphur in the form of a bright blue gemstone that was commonly used for jewellery. It was mined in Afghanistan.
Levant	The lands to the east of the Mediterranean where the sun rises; from the French <i>lever</i> - 'to rise.'
Numinous	Supernatural divine power. Indicating the presence of a divinity.
Ossuary	Small chest in which human bones were placed, also called a bone box.
<i>Phiale</i>	A shallow drinking vessel, often used for ceremonial occasions.
<i>Pyxis</i>	A tiny box, casket or container.
Porphyry	A hard rock, largely composed of crystals, quarried in ancient Egypt.
Relief	Sculpture consisting of shapes carved on a surface so as to stand out from the surrounding background. Relief is a sculptural technique where the

	sculpted elements remain attached to a solid background of the same material. Sunken relief - a carving of the objects is let into the background.
Sarcophagus	A stone coffin often sculptured or inscribed.
Seal	The tool that makes an impression on clay or wax. It can be a cylindrical or a stamp seal. The impression made on clay or wax to mark ownership, sometimes called a print, is also called a sealing.
Stele/Stela	An upright pillar, stone slab or column with a commemorative inscription and sometimes a sculpture. The word stela and stele are often used for the same object.
Tel, Tell, Tall	Tel - Sematic word for a ruin-mound that is made up from the successive layers of occupancy of a site. <i>Tell</i> , also spelled <i>tel</i> and in Arabic <i>tall</i> .
Votive offering	Contribution made to the gods in fulfilment of a vow.

1.8 METHODOLOGY

1.8.1 Approach

This research will be a *qualitative study*. According to Morse & Richards (2002:8-9) the term *qualitative research* (in broad terms) constitutes an attempt to understand people in terms of their own definition of their worlds. It implies interpretation. The process of qualitative research is also inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses and theories from details (Morse & Richards 2002:8-9).

In this research an *iconographical approach* will be applied. The *iconographical approach* displays great originality, authenticity, and verification. The historian Panofsky (1939:14-15; 1955:26-41) developed a model by which material is collected, examined, interpreted and classified. According to this model, three layers of meaning can be discerned: the first, the 'iconographic description' is a pure description of what is seen, in the second 'iconographic analysis,' the subject of the representation is determined, and finally, the aim of the 'iconological interpretation' is to reveal deeper meanings (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016). These three layers will be applied in each chapter to describe, analyse and interpret the possible deeper meaning and symbolism of the rosette as displayed on the various artefacts. The iconographic analyses and the iconological interpretation will often be done as one because it is difficult to distinguish between the subject of the representation and the aim.

Erwin Panofsky defines iconography as 'a known principle in the known world', while iconology is 'an iconography turned interpretive'. The suffix 'graphy' denotes something descriptive and the

suffix 'logy' derived from logos, which means 'thought' or 'reason' which denotes something interpretative. According to his view, iconology tries to reveal the underlying principles that form the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical perspective (1955:32).

The fact that Panofsky's model does not need texts is one of the reasons why I made use of this model. It has its limitations, but together with the comparative approach it provides a framework where artefacts, which is not in context and does not have the support of texts, can in a way be interpreted, listed, compared and kind of understood.

Although it might be perceived to be outdated by some scholars, panofsky's approach has still been utilized, in some way or another by many ancient Near Eastern iconographic studies, such as Bonatz (2000); Lamprichts (1999); Ornan (2010); Suter (2000); Steymans (2010b); Weissenrieder & Wendt (2005); Winter (2009) and Van Dijk (2016). Similarly, Keel and the 'Fribourg School' follow Panofsky's basic model, but divide their iconographic interpretation scheme into the analysis of motifs, scenes /themes and decorations, and stress that each motif can mean different things depending on the *Sitz im Leben* or context in which it is found (Keel 1992; 1997; Keel & Uehlinger 1998). Motifs, scenes/themes, and decorations can be classified by their type, and these types can constitute independent avenues of research.

Goff (1963: xxxiv) differentiates between the 'vertical method' and the 'horizontal method' of studying symbolism. The vertical method studies 'separate symbols, one at a time, and traces the use of each through a series of cultures in different times and places' (Van Dijk 2016:9). This study will be 'vertical' in that it will study the symbol of the rosette within a relatively limited period of time, the Bronze (3500-1200 BC) and Iron Periods (1200-586 BC) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:4).

The culture and traditions were rather homogenous and relatively consistent across the ancient Near East. Because of this 'conservative nature of ancient art, one may apply conclusions from early findings to later ones, and vice versa' (Ornan 2005b:10; Van Dijk 2016:9).

For the descriptive purposes of the Panofsky model I will name the different types of rosettes. This is no easy task as they tend to overlap, especially the lotus- and daisy-like rosettes (See 1.6.1). This ordering of the different type of rosettes will be necessary for comparing the different regional rosettes, but there is no deep meaning to be found in the naming or counting of

the petals. Different materials used to create rosettes are also described for the sake of the Panofsky model, but might be considered for comparison between the different civilizations.

As mentioned above the research will also consist of a *comparative, cross-cultural approach*. According to Mouton the definition of a comparative study is: 'Comparative studies focus on the similarities and (especially) differences between groups of units of analysis. Such 'objects' can include individual organisations, cultures, countries, societies, institutions and even individuals' (2001:154).

This thesis is, therefore, an iconographical cross-cultural research in terms of geography. The cross-cultural and widely spread environment presents a holistic perspective which is far better than an isolated view. A *comparative study* of the rosette will focus on the possible similarities and differences between the different civilizations concerning the occurrence and presentation of the rosette symbol. These civilizations are: Egypt, Sumer/Akkad, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, Anatolia and the Persians. Each civilization will then be divided into different sections: Divinity and their temples depicting rosettes, to be followed by royalty and their palace buildings depicting rosettes; royal items and additional items depicting rosettes will also be included in the comparative research to try to find possible similarities and/or differences. These similarities or differences might possibly help the research towards finding the origin of the rosette symbol by studying the occurrences and uses of the symbol in different places and different civilizations in the ancient Near East.

I chose to find, describe (and interpreted) with as many rosette artefacts as possible, and not to describe and interpret just a few rosettes as most scholars do (cf. Hart (2014a, 2015), Albenda (2005) and Ornan (1995)).

A comprehensive amount of rosette material, unexplored before, is compacted together in this research. The artefacts with museum numbers will be gathered in a kind of catalogue although not all the rosettes portrayed in this thesis will have museum numbers. If a museum number is not found or if it is a building portraying rosettes (cf. Persepolis), it will be stated as such. The catalogue will be found at the end of the thesis.

Tables of the results at the end of every chapter will be provided.

Table 1 will comprise the distinctive types of rosettes depicted in/or on artefacts, Table 2 will be about the different materials used to create rosettes, Table 3 will be an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol, Table 4 will be a chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes, Table 5 will be a chart for divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol, Table 6 will be a chart of the number of different rosettes found and Table 7 will be a chart of three main rosette illustrations in that area.

At the end of the thesis a more precise table of the artefacts will be created.

A key to the 'reading' of different kind of rosettes are drawn up (see 1.6.1).

The origin of the rosette symbol in the ancient Near East will be investigated. The sun, Venus, the Tree of Life, the winged disc, the daisy flower and the lotus flower are all contenders to be the inspiration for the rosette symbol which will be discussed in the different chapters

1.8.2 The structure of the thesis

Chapter Two: Rosettes in Egypt. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate all available depictions of rosettes related to gods or goddesses and kings and queens. I will also examine and try to interpret the occurrence of the rosette symbol on divinities, temples, palaces, kings and queens, royal items and elsewhere. Panofsky's model will be applied to describe, analyse and interpret the illustrations. In my search for the origin or inspiration for the rosette symbol, the possible connection between the Nile River, *the lotus flower*, *the sun* and the rosette symbol will be explored.

Chapter Three: Rosettes in Sumer and Akkad deals with the Sumerian and Akkadian region and the connection with the rosette symbol. This could possibly assist in determining the significance and the importance of the rosette symbol. Palace life, temple life and the gods and goddesses are researched. The 'Death Pit' from Ur has a few rare finds with rosettes attached. Panofsky's model will again be applied to the illustrations of rosettes which are collected from various levels of the civilization. The importance of the *Venus star* in relation to the rosette symbol will be scrutinized as a possible inspiration for the rosette symbol.

Chapter Four: Rosettes in Assyria is the chapter which presents the rosette symbol in the Old Assyrian, Middle Assyrian and New Assyrian Periods. Assyrians used to live in the northern part of the Euphrates-Tigris plain. The Assyrian art which developed from the Late Bronze Age is

easily recognisable across the media, in both major and minor works, and is remarkably uniform. It served as a state art or *Machtkunst* (art displaying power) and contained a deliberate propaganda message. Rosette images in relation to divinity and their temples are discussed. The palaces of various kings include rosette images painted on the walls and on the reliefs. The reliefs on the walls show winged spiritual beings with rosette bracelets and some have rosettes on their diadems (crowns). Rosettes are also found on various royal items such as horses' bridles, material, and palace floors. Panofsky's model will be applied to the available illustrations of rosettes which have been collected. I will examine whether the origin or inspiration for the rosette symbol might lie in the *Tree of Life* or whether it had any influence in the way it was depicted in this part of the world.

Chapter Five: Rosette in Babylonia. In this chapter divinity, temples, palaces and royal lives are also explored where the rosette symbol is concerned. The *melammu* (aura) of the gods and goddesses are also discussed. Panofsky's model will again be applied to analyse and interpret illustrations of rosettes which are collected from various levels of the civilization. I will examine whether the origin or inspiration for the rosette symbol might lie in the *daisy flower* or whether it had any influence in the way it was depicted in this part of the world. The possible link between the fertility goddess, the daisy flower (*ayäru*) and the depiction of the rosette will be investigated as it is believed by Doctor Irene Winter (2010:241) that the rosette symbol was a daisy flower and that its symbolism was fertility.

Chapter Six: Rosettes in Anatolia and Syro-Palestine. This chapter has five distinctive parts. The Hittites, the Hurrians, the Urartians, the Halaf culture and the Alasiya civilization. All five civilizations formed part of the greater Anatolia region at some stage. This will include the Hittite monuments displaying various rosettes, and the bronze armor from Urartu will be scrutinized. Halaf pottery portrays a couple of rosettes. The Alasiya civilization (Cyprus) used to belong to the Hittites and therefore artefacts from this region will be included in this chapter. The Hurrians also provide us with a few artefacts displaying rosettes. The purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the importance of the rosette symbol, as different Hittite kings portrayed a rosette on their royal seals. Panofsky's model will be applied to the illustrations of rosettes. I will examine whether the origin or the inspiration for the rosette symbol might lie in the *winged sun disc* or whether it had any influence in the way it was depicted in this part of the world.

Chapter Seven: Rosettes in Persia turns to the different periods in the Persian history. The objective of this chapter is also to try to illuminate the importance of the rosette symbol in

Persia. Persepolis in Persia exemplifies the Achaemenid style of architecture with rosette borders around the reliefs on the walls. Divinity, temples, royalty and royal items, as well as general artefacts will be reviewed. Panofsky's model will be applied to the illustrations of rosettes. The origin or inspiration for the rosette symbol might possibly lie in the *lotus flower* as seen in Chapter Two and will be investigated.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion. This chapter will compare the similarities and differences of the meaning of the rosette symbol in the various regions and on the different levels of the societies.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

Thus far I have not encountered any study that systematically and specifically focuses on comparing the use of the rosette symbol in different regions and in different religions although a wide selection of books and journal articles has been consulted.

1.9.1 Primary sources

Illustrations of *rosette designs on all available artefacts* from the ancient Near East are the primary source of this thesis. As this thesis is an iconographical research, the primary sources of my research are artworks and artefacts relating to rosette imagery. Ancient Near Eastern rosette imagery is found on objects as small as *a seal* or as big as an *Aladlammû* (human-headed winged protective lion). The rosette image was found on various diadems, palace walls, royal clothing, jewellery, plates, bowls, grave steles, city gates, sanctuaries, temples and deities.

Primary data are *illustrations of artefacts* which are found in articles, on the internet and in museums. A few *Google Images* of illustrations and sketches will be explored. While photographs or sketches of pieces can be found in books or online, my research also took me to a few museum websites where I could examine original works of art first hand. These visual museums are: The British Museum;¹ The Louvre Museum;² Monuments of the Hittites;³ The Bagdad Museum;⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art;⁵ virtual tour of the Oriental Institute Museum;⁶ The Vorderasiatisches Museum;⁷ The Pergamon Museum;⁸ The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology⁹ and The Achemenet Museum.¹⁰

1 <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research.aspx>

2 http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=crt_frm_rs&langue=en&initCritere=true

3 <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/>

4 http://bagdad.iam.pl/en/site/popup_gallery.id=wx_national_museum_objects

5 [Http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rdas/hd_rdas.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rdas/hd_rdas.htm)

6 <http://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/tourfiles/index.htmlhe>

Internet resources have been used extensively to view the primary sources, which consist of images. Google Images have a wide range of illustrations although only a few were used during this research. Search engines such as Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian or Egyptian history with their various images were also used to perceive the artefacts and artworks. A comprehensive number of illustrations concerning the rosette symbol have been gathered.

As mentioned above, most of these illustrations of artefacts have little descriptive texts. I consequently had to rely on secondary sources for more information concerning certain themes, for instance: royalty, priests, temples, jewellery, wigs, Egyptian Blue, lapis lazuli, *kudurrus* and a lot of information concerning divinity and winged spiritual beings. The information has thus been drawn mainly from secondary and tertiary sources.

Translations of ancient Near Eastern texts are also utilized to elucidate and substantiate findings such as prayers, royal hymns and royal texts. This study can only be done with the help of analytical studies of previous academic works and in certain instances the ancient texts themselves, such as:

The Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa number 63 will be incorporated. The meaning and significance of the Venus star, one of Inanna's symbols, is discussed by Reiner & Pingree (1975), *Babylonian planetary omens. Part One. Enūma Anu Enlil Tablet 63: The Venus Tablet of Ammišaduqa*.

Opperheim, AL 1949. Neo-Babylonian text *BIN, Ii*, 125:1-7 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 32nd year).

Oppenheim, AL (1949). 'The golden garments of the gods'. Dougherty's translation (GCCII, II, 69:1-9).

Thompson, RC 1976. *Utukki Limnuti Tablet B*.

Strassmaier, J N. 1889. British Museum, et al (eds), *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555-538 v. Chr.)*. Sagwan Press 2015.

The Electronic Text Corpus of the Sumerian Literature. The University of Oxford¹¹ was consulted in connection with translations.

⁷ https://www.google.com/search?q=the+Vorderasiatische+Museum+in+Berlin.&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b&gfe_rd=cr&ei=suFwWfTLF4mp8weYxJXQBQ

⁸ <https://artsandculture.google.com/partner/pergamonmuseum-staatliche-museen-zu-berlin?hl=de>

⁹ <https://www.penn.museum/exhibitions/galleries-and-exhibitions/middle-east-galleries>

¹⁰ <http://www.achemenet.com/en/tree/?/achaemenid-museum/object-categories/>

¹¹ <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>

Horne (1917). Sacred scriptures and Spiritual texts. A selection of sacred books in sacred texts Archive.¹²

Knapp, AB 1988. *The history and culture of ancient Western Asia and Egypt* incorporates *Enūma Eliš*.

Sjöberg, A & Bergmann, E 1969. *The collections of the Sumerian temple hymns, texts from cuneiform sources* 3, 24; 77.

A few ancient manuscripts are quoted *Nbn* 591:2-3 and *GCCI*, II, 69:1-9.

Nimrud Monolith in Russell, JM 1998. The program of the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud: issues in the research and presentation of Assyrian art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 102(4), 655-715.

The Pyramid texts in McDonald, JA 2018 Influences of Egyptian lotus symbolism and ritualistic practices on sacral tree worship in the Fertile Crescent from 1500 BCE to 200 CE. *Religions* 9 (9), 256.

Babylonian texts translated by Dalley, S 1989 in *Myths from Mesopotamia*.

Reiner, E & Pingree, D 1975. *Enuma, Anu, Enlil* in *Babylonian planetary omens*. Vol 2. Tablet 50-51.

The stele of Hammurabi in the Louvre Museum in Paris, originally translated by Jean-Vincent Scheil in 1904.

Room H, from the Grand Palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata in Egypt.

Tomb B3 of the nomarch Senbi II, pit 1 at Meir, an Upper Egyptian site.

Winter, I 2012. *Emmerkar and the lord of Aratta* in 'Gold! Divine light and lustre in ancient Mesopotamia', in *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the ancient Near East* Vol 2.

1.9.2 Secondary sources

Because little research has been done into most areas of rosette iconography there are relatively few books and I therefore had to rely also on articles written on the topic.

¹² <http://www.luminist.org/archives/texts.htm>

Panofsky's approach has been utilized by many ancient Near Eastern iconographic studies and has also been applied in this thesis concerning rosette symbolism: (1939), *Studies in iconology; humanistic themes in the art of the Renaissance* and (1955), *Meaning in the visual arts*.

Othmar Keel only touches on the rosette in his iconographical works: (1997), *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern iconography and the book of Psalms* and (1998), *Goddesses and trees, new moon and Yahweh. Ancient Near Eastern art and the Hebrew Bible*, as well as Keel, O & Uehlinger, C (1998) in *Gods, goddesses, and images of god in ancient Israel*.

Talley Ornan has also done some work on the rosette and the winged disc in her articles which were of great help:(1995), 'Symbols of royalty and divinity, an iconographical history' and more specifically in the case of the winged disc and in (2005b), 'A complex system of religious symbols: The case of the winged disc in Near Eastern imagery of the first millennium BCE', in Suter, CE & Uehlinger, C (eds), *Crafts and images in contact*.

Helen Kantor in her book, (1999), *Plant ornament in the ancient Near East. Revised*. Chapter IV, deals specifically with rosettes, but although she describes quite a lot of rosette images, she does not explain the possible symbolism.

Pauline Albenda has a few pages about the Assyrian rosettes in her book which is very helpful particularly in connection with the sun flower: (2005), *Ornamental wall painting in the art of the Assyrian Empire*.

Jane Cahill has done some work on the rosette, especially the royalty and the rosette symbol in her article: (1997), 'Royal Rosettes: Fit for a King'. This research includes rosettes for various royalty from different civilizations.

Irene Winter only touches on the rosette in her book and articles in: (2009), *On art in the ancient near East Volume I of the First Millennium BCE*; (2010), *On Art in the ancient Near East Volume II from the Third Millennium BCE*; (1995), 'Aesthetics in ancient Mesopotamian Art', in Sasson JM (ed), *Civilizations of the ancient Near East*, Volume IV and in (2012), 'Gold! Divine Light and Lustre in ancient Mesopotamia'.

Julian Reade is of opinion that the rosette symbol is a symbol for protection and good luck: (1991), *Mesopotamia*.

The work of Cheryl Hart was indispensable throughout my research as she has done extensive work specifically on the rosette motif: (2014a), 'An analysis of the iconographic rosette motif as a means of non-verbal communication: A case study - The rosette motif and its association with solar symbolism' and in (2015), 'An examination and analysis of the role of the iconographic rosette motif in the Egyptian artistic repertoire: a case study' and (2016), 'Royal flower power? An examination of the rosette motif on the relief scenes at Persepolis' and (2018), 'The role of the rosette motif and non-verbal communication as embodied elements of warfare and violence: Ancient Cyprus - a unique case'.

The following scholars discuss Mesopotamian religious iconography and provide valuable information regarding the symbols of the gods:

Van Buren (1945), *Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art*; (1939), 'The rosette in Mesopotamian art' in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 45, 99-107.

Black & Green (2008), *Gods, demons and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia*, and the very informative book by Cornelius deals with the many faces of the goddess (2004), *The many faces of the goddess: the iconography of the Syro-Palestinian goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qadesh, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE*.

Books and encyclopedia regarding more general information about the ancient Near East, or discussions regarding topics not ostensibly relating to the rosette.

On Egypt the following books:

Andrews (1990), *Ancient Egyptian jewellery*; Bianchi (1995), *Ancient Egyptian reliefs, statuary, and monumental paintings*; Budge (1969), *The gods of the Egyptians*; Casson (1966), *Great ages of man. Ancient Egypt*; Graves-Brown (2010), *Dancing for Hathor. Women in ancient Egypt*; Hagen & Hagen (2005), *Egypt. People, Gods, Pharaohs*; Hoffmeier (1994), 'Egyptians'; Naydler (1996) *Temple of the cosmos. The ancient Egyptian experience of the sacred*; Nicholson (1993), *Egyptian faience and glass*; O' Connor & Silverman (eds) (1995), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*; Pinch (2002), *Handbook of Egyptian mythology*; Teeter (2011), *Religion and ritual in ancient Egypt*; Wilkinson (2010), *The rise and fall of ancient Egypt*.

On Sumer and Akkad the following books:

Baring & Cashford (1991), *The myth of the goddess: evolution of an image*; Bottéro (1992b), *Mesopotamia: writing, reasoning and the gods*; Bottéro (1992a), *Mesopotamia: The religious system*; Bottéro (2001), *Religion in ancient Mesopotamia*; Bourke (2008), *The Middle East. The cradle of civilization revealed*; Collon (1987), *First impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*; Cotterell & Storm (2006), *The ultimate encyclopaedia of mythology*; Flückiger-Hawker (1999), *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian literary tradition*; Foster (2005), *Before the muses: An anthology of Akkadian literature*; Frankfort (1939), *Cylinder seals: A documentary essay on the art and religion of the ancient Near East*; Frayne (1990a), *Early periods. Royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia*; Kramer (1963b), *The Sumerians: their history, culture and character*; Oppenheim (1966), *Mesopotamia - Land of many cities*; Pryke (2017), *Ishtar*; Sjöberg & Bergmann (1969), *The collections of the Sumerian temple hymns, texts from cuneiform sources*; Suter (2000), *Gudea's temple building: The representation of an early Mesopotamian ruler in text and image*; Wolkstein & Kramer (1983), *Inanna, Queen of heaven and earth*; Woolley (1934), *Ur excavations, Volume II: The royal cemetery, a report on the Predynastic and Sargonid graves excavated between 1926 and 1931*; Woolley (1965), *Ur of the Chaldees*.

Books with topics related to Assyria:

Albenda (2005), *Ornamental wall painting in the art of the Assyrian Empire*; Barnett (1975), *Catalogue of the Nimrud ivories with other examples of ancient Near Eastern ivories in the British Museum* (2nd enlarged ed); Barnett (1976), *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh*; Barnett Bleibtreu & Turner (1998), *Sculptures from the southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh*; Giovino (2007), *The Assyrian Sacred Tree: A History of Interpretations*; Grayson (1987), *Royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Period, Volume I*; Grayson (1991), *Royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Period, Volume 2*; Hussein (2016), *Nimrud: The queens' tombs*; Hussein & Suleiman (1999/2000), *Nimrud: a city of golden treasures*; Luckenbill (1927), *Ancient records of Assyrian and Babylon, Volume II. Historical records of Assyria from Sargon to the end*; Reade (1983), *Assyrian sculpture*; Reade (2009), *Fez, diadem, turban, chaplet: Power-dressing at the Assyrian court*.

Articles and essays with topics related to Assyria:

Albenda (1994), 'Assyrian sacred trees in the Brooklyn Museum'; Amiet (1983), *Nineveh. A symbol of Assyrian power*; Collins (2006), 'An Assyrian-style ivory plaque from Hasanlu, Iran'; Collon (2010), 'Getting it wrong in Assyria: some bracelets from Nimrud'; Grace (1940), 'An Assyrian genius'; Guralnick (2004), 'Neo-Assyrian patterned fabrics'; Gwaltney (1994), *Assyrians*; Huxley (2000), 'The gates and guardians in: Sennacherib's addition to the temple of

Assur'; Ornan (2004), 'Expelling demons at Nineveh: On the visibility of benevolent demons in the palaces of Nineveh'; Porter (1993), 'Sacred trees, date palms, and the royal persona of Ashurnasirpal II'; Reade (1979a), 'Assyrian architectural decoration: Techniques and subject matter'; Reade (1979b), *Ideology and propaganda in Assyrian art*; Russell (1998), 'The program of the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud: issues in the research and presentation of Assyrian art'; Winter (2003) 'Ornament and the 'rhetoric of abundance' in Assyria'.

The following books were invaluable on topics related to Babylonia:

Baigent (1994), *The omens of Babylon, astrology and ancient Mesopotamia*; Collon (1986), *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic seals in the British Museum, cylinder seals III, Irsin-Larsa and the Old Babylonian Periods*; Ehrenberg (2002), *The Kassite cross revisited*; Frayne (1990b), *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595): Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia*; Pizzimenti (2014), *The astral family in Kassite kudurrus reliefs*; Reiner & Pingree (1975), *Babylonian planetary omens: Part One – The Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa*; Saggs (1962), *The Greatness that was Babylon*; Seidl (1989) *Die Babylonischen kudurru reliefs*.

On Anatolia the following books:

Akurgal (1962), *The art of the Hittites*; Akurgal (2001), *The Hittian and Hittite civilizations*; Macqueen (2013), *The Hittites and their contemporaries in Asia Minor*.

The following books on topics related to the Persians were of great value:

Afhami & Gambke (2012), *Colour and light in the architecture of Persepolis*; Compareti (2007), *The eight-pointed rosette: a possible important emblem in Sasanian heraldry*; Curtis & Tallis (2014), *Forgotten Empire. The world of ancient Persia*; Dandamaev & Lukonin (1989), *The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran*; Harper, Aruz & Tallon (eds), (1992), *The royal city of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern treasures in the Louvre*; Kokh (2006), *Persepolis and its surroundings*; Muscarella (1989), *Bronzes of Luristan. Encyclopedia Iranica Volume 4*; Nylander (1970), *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian architecture*; Root (1979), *The king and kingship in Archaemenid art: Essays on the creation of an iconography of Empire*; Stronach (1978), *Pasargadae: A report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian studies from 1961 to 1963*; Yamauchi (1990), *Persia and the Bible*.

1.9.3 Tertiary sources

Much of the information came from tertiary sources as mentioned above. These consist of articles and information about the rosette and the ancient Near East, found on the internet and

search engines. A list of the web addresses that I have visited is to be found under the list of references (cf. Internet articles).

1.10 LIMITATIONS

I have found the model provided by Panofsky useful to describe and interpret the available depictions of rosettes in the ANE. Although I find it at times difficult to differentiate between the iconographic analyses and the iconological interpretation of an artefact, the basic model of Panofsky will hopefully give value to the understanding of the symbolic meaning of the rosette and the role it played in the ancient Near East.

Although a vast number of illustrations of rosettes have been found, the descriptive texts to these illustrations usually did not provide *adequate information* concerning the particular illustration. Thus, secondary sources had to be consulted to get a broader knowledge of the 'theme' of the specific illustration, when available. The dates of the artefacts were also not always indicated.

The ancient Near East covers a *vast area* and a large time span. Because the scope is so large, not all aspects can be covered. The background of the political and religious aspects of the different ancient Near Eastern cultures is discussed very briefly and does not intend to be comprehensive. The reason for covering such a vast area is to include as many rosette artefacts as possible.

This research will therefore attempt to discuss various specific themes in the representation of the concept of the rosette. The context in which the various artefacts with rosette depictions are found nor the *dating* are not always known to us. This is unfortunate but in some cases it is all that is available.

The texts that have been analyzed with transliteration is problematic because we do not know if it has been done correctly. As a researcher, I also do not possess enough knowledge of these languages, and have to rely on the interpretations of others.

1.11 DELIMITATIONS

In assigning the artefacts to respective regions, using geographical terms cannot be avoided, but as Irene Winters suggests: '...that we emphasize we are using ambiguous identifiers, like 'Phoenician,' in their geographical and not ethnic or political sense' (2005:39).

Different sources *do not agree* on specific dates of all the periods of civilizations and therefore I have chosen to use one source only, which is the dates used by Cornelius & Venter (2002).

The ancient Near East is the geographic area that will be investigated. Egypt, Sumeria and Akkadia, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and the Persians will be discussed. A short portrayal of the rosette symbol in the Palestinian civilizations does occur in Addendum 1.

The following dates are approximate dates and are provided by Cornelius & Venter (2002):

Egypt:

Old Kingdom 2600-2130 BCE; Middle Kingdom 1938-1630 BCE and the New Kingdom 1540-1075 BCE (2002:30).

Sumer and Akkad:

Uruk 3800-3200 BCE; Jemdet Nasir 3200-2900 BCE; Early Dynastic 2800-2400 BCE; Akkad 2400-2100 BCE and Ur III 2100-1950 BCE (2002:155).

Assyria:

Old Assyrian Period 1920-1800 BCE; Middle Assyrian Period 1500-100 BCE and the Neo-Assyrian Period 1000-600 BCE (2002:176).

Babylonia:

Old Babylonian Period 1800-1590 BCE; Kassite Period 1590-1100 BCE and the Neo-Babylonian Period 628-539 BCE (2002:196).

Anatolia and Syro-Palestine:

Hittites Old Kingdom 1650-1400 BCE and the Hittite Empire 1400-1207 BCE (2002:87).

Persia:

Early Persian History 750-550 BCE; Achaemenid Empire 550-333 BCE and the Partian Empire 248-224 BCE (2002:218).

CHAPTER TWO

ROSETTES IN EGYPT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Nile Valley and delta - 'The Two Lands' in the Egyptians' own terminology - are the backdrops to the rise and fall of ancient Egypt (Fig. 2.1). The Nile was the cause and inspiration of ancient Egyptian culture and it was also the unifying thread running through Egyptian history. The Nile witnessed royal progresses, the transport of obelisks, the processions of gods and the movement of armies (Wilkinson 2010:30, 32).

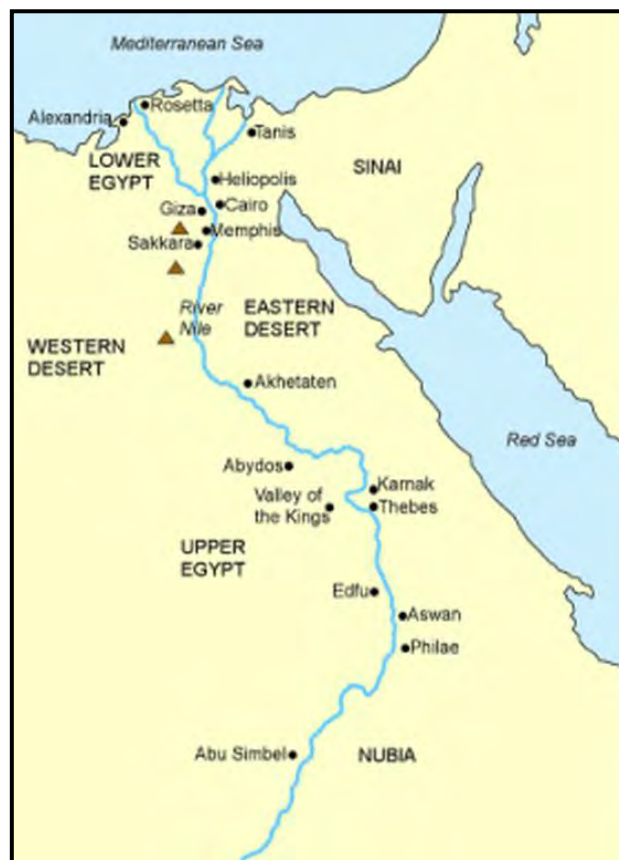


Fig. 2.1 Map of ancient Egypt and Nubia.¹³

The 'Egyptian rosette' has enjoyed an important place in the history of ornaments since it has been regarded as the source for the rosettes of other countries (Goodyear 1891:99-104). Such views were combated by Von Sybel (1883:17), who derived the rosette from Mesopotamia, and by Streng (1918:32) who insisted that Mesopotamia was the ultimate home of the eight ray rosettes of all countries. According to Goodyear (1891:99-104) the Egyptian rosette derives from different parts of *Nymphaea* (lotus) plants.

¹³ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Map+of+ancient+Egypt+and+Nubia&client=firefox>

In this chapter, I will discuss and illustrate the existence of several rosette artefacts in Egypt, and in doing so, maybe find the meaning and origin of the rosette symbol. A few artefacts from neighbouring Nubia are also included in this chapter. The Napatan Period is a timespan in Nubian history, today called the Sudan. Napatan was also the name for the royal capital of the *time*. Only a few artefacts exist from Nubia, not enough for a separate chapter, therefore they are included with the Egyptians.

According to Winter (1976a:45) the lotus flower and possibly the sun could have been the inspiration for the rosette symbol as the blue lotus flower (*Caerulea*) is the symbol for the sun in Egypt, but this will be explored. The term 'rosettes' which can be used to cover all radially symmetrical circular designs, is usually considered to denote decorations derived from plant forms (Meuer 1909:202; cf. 1.6).

As discussed in Chapter One an iconographic approach will be followed with the aid of the Panofsky model (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6). The model will be applied to the illustrations of rosettes that I could find on the artefacts from Egypt and Nubia. Numerous internet illustrations of different materials are used, since very few rosettes are portrayed in books and academic work. Different types of rosettes will be reviewed and I hope that the Panofsky model will help to find patterns, differences and similarities.

Tilley has promoted the perception of material culture and its associated iconography as a means of non-verbal communication, with symbols found on material forms being vehicles via which complex ideas are communicated to others (Tilley 2006:7, 61; Hodder 1987:1-10; Braithwaite 1982:80). I suspect that the rosette symbol is such a non-verbal symbol communicating complex ideas.

2.2 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

In certain instances, the rosette might have been merely a 'nice' flower to use as decoration, but the prospect of a *divine connotation to the rosette* symbol will be considered, seeing that this has been confirmed by certain scholars (Frankfort 1948:224-226; Ussishkin 1982:115; Winter 1976a:46), and seeing that it is one of my aims to confirm this theory.

2.2.1 The Nile River

The Egyptians' reverence for the river is evident in the 'Hymn to the Nile', which was probably written sometime between the Middle and New Kingdoms for an inundating festival held at Thebes. The following is an excerpt: '...When the Nile floods, offering is made to thee, oxen are sacrificed to thee, great oblations are made to thee, birds are fattened for thee, lions are hunted for thee in the desert, fire is provided for thee. And offering is made to every god, as is done for the Nile, with prime incense, oxen, cattle, birds and flame...' (Casson 1966:36).

To the ancient Egyptians, the hippopotamus was one of the most dangerous animals in their world and regarded as a hostile force. The huge creatures were a hazard for small fishing boats and other rivercraft on the Nile River. The beast might also be encountered on the waterways in the journey to the afterlife (The Metropolitan Museum).¹⁴ As such, the hippopotamus was a force of nature that needed to be propitiated and controlled, both in this life and the next.

Small models were decorated with marsh plants, including rosettes on their backs and behinds, as well as lotus patterns. This was done in black paint (Figs. 2.2-2.3). The dual qualities of destruction and creation imbued images of hippopotami with *special magical power*, and they were often deposited in the tombs of high-ranking civil servants toward the end of the Middle Kingdom (1650-1550 BC).

2.2.1.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes depicted on the hippopotami

a) Hippopotamus with painted rosettes

This well-formed statuette of a hippopotamus (Figs. 2.2-2.3) was moulded in blue faience (circa 1961-1878 BC). Beneath the blue glaze, the body was painted with the outlines of river plants, symbolizing the marshes in which the animal lived (Information-The Met Museum).¹⁵ A couple of large lotus flowers are depicted as well as a few lotus buds. Two rosettes with short stems and twelve petals each are depicted on its buttocks. The statue in Figures 2.2 and 2.3 is from Middle Egypt, Meir, *Tomb B3 of the nomarch Senbi II, pit 1* at Meir, an Upper Egyptian site about thirty miles south of modern Asyut. Three of its legs have been restored because they were probably purposefully broken to prevent the creature from harming the deceased. This artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 17.9.1 (see Add II, A5).

¹⁴ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544227>

¹⁵ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544227>



Fig. 2.2 Back view of the faience hippopotamus.

Fig. 2.3 Side view of the faience hippopotamus.

(The Metropolitan Museum, 17.9.1)¹⁶

2.2.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes painted on the hippopotami*

The Nile was hailed as 'creator of all good' (Casson 1966:37). The hippopotamus was also a power for good. It is most probably lotus flowers and Nile River plants that are depicted on the Hippopotami as the Nile River was their habitat. This is one of a few demonstrations that the lotus flower was possibly also rendered as a rosette. This theory will be discussed further in 2.7.3.1c and in 2.7.10.1c and f. The rosette was probably the 'open' lotus as seen from the top and therefore I tend to agree with Goodyear (1891:99-104). Goodyear was of opinion that the rosette correlated with the lotus flower with petals spread out or viewed from above (Kantor 1999:129). Figure 2.78 is a good example to confirm the theory of Goodyear.

Hippopotami are found in the Nile and tiny hippopotami statues are found with rosettes and lotus flowers painted on their bodies. The fact that lotus flowers were painted on the hippopotami might possibly have indicated the divinity of Tawaret, a hippo goddess who protected women in pregnancy and childbirth. The fatter hippopotami symbolized fertility and rebirth, the same as the lotus flower, which closes at night and opens in the morning, being another symbol of rebirth.¹⁷

¹⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/17.9.1/>

¹⁷ <https://www.dailyartmagazine.com/blue-faience-hippopotamus-world-unite/>

2.2.2 Ra, the sun god (Re)

According to one creation myth, it was an enormous lotus which first rose out of the watery chaos at the beginning of time. Ra, the sun god, was depicted as a child who rose on the first day from this giant lotus (Cotterell & Storm 2006:310).

Herakhty, or Horus of the Horizon, was a sun god who rose each morning on the eastern horizon. He was often identified with the sun god Ra, and was eventually absorbed by him, forming Ra-Herakhty (Cotterell & Storm 2006:284). Amun was also associated with the sun god Ra and venerated as the god Amun-Ra.

Mythological tales relating to the sun relate to an association between the daily transit of the sun through the heavens, and a cycle of birth, death and rebirth (Naydler 1996:24, 63). 'Light and day signify creation, life, order and salvation when the powers of chaos and the wicked are eliminated by the sun. The break of the new day and the rising of the sun therefore signify a new creation every day, the creation of a *Weltordnung*, forming a contrast with the night as a time of disorder, sickness, death and lurking enemies' (Cornelius 1990:26). The creator of the universe and the giver of life, the sun or Ra also represented life, warmth and growth. *Protection* and new life (*fertility*) were two very important attributes of the Sun god.

Because of the life-giving qualities of the *sun*, the Egyptians worshiped the sun as a god. In their worldview, the creator of the universe and the giver of life, the sun god Ra, therefore also represented life, warmth and growth. The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is also the symbol of the sun, of creation and rebirth, and as such it is a sacred flower, which in turn is possibly connected to the rosette symbol. The *lotus flower* can be seen (from the top looking down) as a rosette, as seen in Figure 2.78. There is a possibility that the lotus flower, with all its good properties of being a symbol for the sun, is represented by the rosette symbol (cf. Figs. 2.58 and 2.78). The vegetation aspect, fertility, protection, chasing away evil and darkness, new life and healing, were all in association with the movements of the sun and were symbolized by the lotus flower .

Seeing that the sun was seen as the giver of life, vegetation (*fertility*), and also gave protection against evil forces and darkness, specifically in Egypt, this is a reason to believe that the rosette is probably a symbol for *divine fertility* and *divine protection* offered by Ra.

The *divine fertility* aspect, the *divine protection* aspect and the *birth, death and rebirth* aspects given by the Sun god, Ra, might possibly be the *inspiration* for the lotus-like and daisy-like rosette in Egypt (see Table 2.5).

2.2.3 Hathor

Hathor is an ancient Egyptian goddess who personified mainly the principles of joy, feminine love, and motherhood. Hathor was closely connected with the sun god Ra of Heliopolis whose daughter she was said to be, and she was also called 'Goddess of the Sky'. She was one of the most important and popular deities throughout the history of ancient Egypt (Baring & Cashford 1991:264). She was also the patroness of many minerals gained from the desert such as the Sinai turquoise mines. She was also called 'Lady of Turquoise'. Hathor, Nut, and Isis are often spoken of as a unity, and all three are at times called 'Goddess of the Sycamore Tree', 'Mother of Heaven', 'Queen of all gods and goddesses'. Isis was also called 'Queen of Earth and Heaven', 'Maker of the Sunshine', 'The God-mother' and the 'Wife of the Lord of the inundation, Osiris' (Baring & Cashford 1991:264). According to Winter (1976a:46-47), Hathor represents both 'the *creative force of the sun* and at the same time embodies the *fertile aspects of vegetation*'. This might be the reason for Hathor to be the wife of the Lord of inundation, as the inundation helps with watering and thus vegetation. There is a *possibility that the rosette symbol derived from the lotus flower and the sun*. 'The rosette represents that which endures and generates, and, if the botanical analogy is well taken, is an appropriate symbol for goddesses associated with *fertility*' (Winter 1976a:46).

The statue of a god or goddess functioned as a transient receptacle for the presence or essence (*ba*) of the god or goddess (see Figure 2.4). The *ba* (spirit) was a powerful force that was always potentially present in nature. The divine statue was provided as *ka* (a physical form) in which the *ba* (spirit) could reside so that human beings could communicate with it. The divine *ba* (spirit) was omnipresent in the cosmos (Teeter 2011:43, 44).

2.2.3.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on Hathor's hair

Hathor was the only goddess depicted with rosettes on her hair in statues (Fig. 2.4 & Add II, A6). This is the reason that only Hathor is discussed, although numerous divinities existed in Egypt.

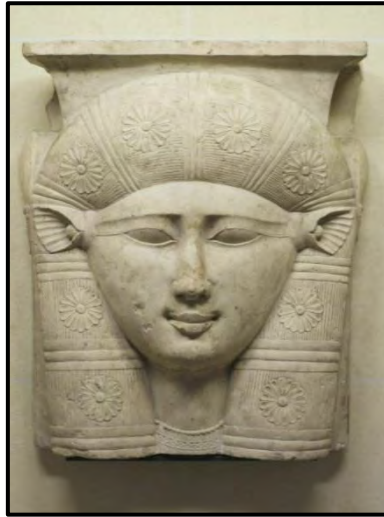


Fig. 2.4 Face of Hathor with cow ears and rosette motifs on her hair.
(The Louvre Museum, D32)¹⁸

The face of the goddess Hathor, with cow ears is part of a fragment of a capital from a limestone column. It is from the Ptolemaic Period, circa 305-30 BC. It is currently housed in the Louvre, museum number D32. Four daisy-like rosettes are depicted above the cow ears of Hathor and four daisy-like rosettes are depicted beneath her cow ears. All eight rosettes look exactly alike and consist of 16 petals arranged around a tiny centre. Lines differentiate the rosettes into eight segments.

2.2.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on Hathor's hair*

According to Winter (1976a:46-47), Hathor represents both 'the *creative force of the sun* and at the same time embodies the *fertile aspects of vegetation*'. In Figure 2.19 Hathor occurs again, this time holding Nefertiti's hand.

It is therefore possible that the rosettes on Hathor represented some of the characteristics associated with her and the sun - which might be creativity and fertility in this case.

Hathor was associated with the creative force of the sun. The sun is the giver of life, controlling the ripening of crops which were worked by man. Because of the life-giving qualities of the sun the Egyptians worshiped the sun as a god. The creator of the universe and the giver of life, the sun or Ra also represented life, warmth and growth (cf. 2.2.2). Winter (2009:241) suggests that the rosette symbol might indicate *fertility*, which is then a good reason for Hathor, the goddess of *fertile aspects*, to use the rosette as her symbol.

¹⁸ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010011609>

2.3 TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES DECORATED WITH ROSETTES

2.3.1 Religion affected every area

There was no 'secular' realm in Egypt because all aspects of the society and culture were outgrowths of religion. Reminders of religion and gods were everywhere. Temples were the dominant feature of every landscape (Teeter 2011:4). The Egyptians were a most religious people. Religion affected every area of life: piety, ethics, politics, and death. If we eliminate all the archaeological remains connected to religion, for instance temples, funerary structures, cultic statues, stele, little would remain (Hoffmeier 1994:284).

As the pharaoh was of divine nature, he was also the highest priest in the land and responsible for interaction with the gods (Hagen 2005:40). Priests could be recognized by their shaven heads. Since the gods determined the well-being of the land, there was no conflict of interest in serving the state and the temple at the same time (Hagen 2005:190). The gods of Egypt did not live in far-away heaven, but here on earth in mighty temples. Across the whole country, the pharaohs built splendid fortified houses in their honour. When the gods accepted them and entered the inner sanctum of the temple to unite with their statue of gold or silver, then happiness, order, and prosperity were ensured (Hagen 2005:190).

The temples of the gods were massive walled structures laid out on one level and almost always made of sandstone. The temple itself was vast, but it formed only a part of an even greater complex. The complex included living quarters, workshops, a school, a sacred pool, granaries and other storehouses (Casson 1966:120; Pinch 2002:21). Throughout the New Kingdom much of the wealth generated by the empire and exploitation of Egyptian and Nubian gold was spent on endowing the temples (Pinch 2002:21).

2.3.1.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes depicted on the Malkata tiles*

In Figures 2.5-2.7 broken tiles excavated in *Room H, from the Grand Palace of Amenhotep III* at Malkata in Egypt are presented. They date from the 18th Dynasty, Egypt. The rosettes depicted on the tiles consist of a large light blue inner circle with numerous white short petals around the blue core. Seeing that the tiles are broken it is difficult to count the number of petals. These tiles are presented in alternating rows (see Fig. 2.7). These tiles could possibly resemble the broad-banded circle-type of rosette. I suggest that the broad-banded type of rosette might possibly have been inspired by a sunflower also having a large inner circle. More examples of broad-banded inner circle-rosettes are Figures 2.30; 2.44; 2.45 and 2.69.

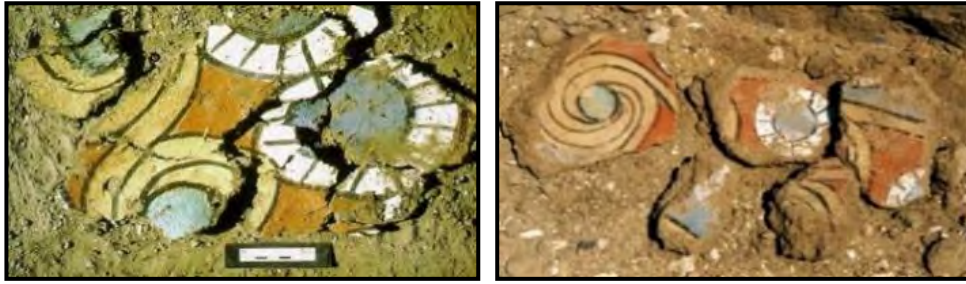


Fig. 2.5 Broken wall tiles from Malkata, Egypt.¹⁹

Fig. 2.6 Tiles from Malkata, Egypt.²⁰

2.3.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes depicted on the Malkata tiles*

The tiles date from the 18th Dynasty, Egypt. The tiles in Figures 2.5-2.7 were found in stacks on the floor of a room in the southwest corner of a temple built to honour the god Amun. Amun (also Amon, Ammon) is the ancient Egyptian god of the sun and air. He is one of the most important gods of ancient Egypt. Originally the tiles probably decorated the sides of a wooden shrine or some other piece of temple furniture such as a sacred barque that would have been used to carry the god's image in celebrations. The reconstruction is based on the shapes of the tiles which suggest that they were made to fill spaces between series of running spirals. These spirals would probably have been carved in wood or plaster and covered with gold foil, restored here in yellow paint (Fig. 2.7).



Fig. 2.7 Reconstruction of the temple tiles in Figs. 2.5-2.6.²¹

Smaller, rectangular tiles formed the borders of the decoration. The excavators found other decorative elements in the same area as the tiles, including a cavetto cornice and a cartouche containing the throne name of Amenhotep III (Nebmaatre) (Information - The Metropolitan Museum of Art).

¹⁹ <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmH2L.JPG>

²⁰ [https://www.google.com/search?q=White+faience+flower+with+yellow+inlay.+Dynasty+18.+Reign+of+Akhenaten+\(13511334+BCE\)&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjFoOSDubXeAhULRBoKHTeQCFAQ_AUIDigB&biw=1366&bih=632#imgdii=rvuBK35PW0wL0M:&imgcr=vThXF0oIIY40hM:](https://www.google.com/search?q=White+faience+flower+with+yellow+inlay.+Dynasty+18.+Reign+of+Akhenaten+(13511334+BCE)&client=firefox-b&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjFoOSDubXeAhULRBoKHTeQCFAQ_AUIDigB&biw=1366&bih=632#imgdii=rvuBK35PW0wL0M:&imgcr=vThXF0oIIY40hM:)

²¹ <http://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/image/MPrmN5L.JPG>

The rosettes on the tiles might possibly have symbolized sanctification of the temple, or protection for the people entering the temple, as protection was a suggestion for the rosette symbol by Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19). *Amun* is the hidden god. He was also associated with the sun god Ra and venerated as the god Amun-Ra in the 12th Dynasty, conveying the possibility of the rosettes in his temple as *sun* symbols (cf. 2.2.2).

2.4 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

It has been established by scholars that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern *divinity and royalty* (Frankfort 1948:224-226; Ussishkin 1982:115), although the true meaning behind the rosette symbol still escapes us. To find the symbol associated with divinity and/or royalty is still not a reason for 'why' the rosette were used as a symbol.

2.4.1 Egyptian kings and queens

From the beginning, the living king in Egypt was invested with the aura of a divine being. Because the king was a god in potential, not becoming a deity until his death he was not recognized as a god incarnate until the reign of Amenhotep II and then only until the end of Dynasty 20. The king as incarnate deity only occurs during a specific period of Egyptian kings. The king's religious sanctions were evident everywhere, for he was nominally the chief priest in every temple (Saggs 1989a:21). The king was often identified with the sun god Ra, and the sun disc in ceremonial court hymns (O'Conner & Silverman 1995:176).

In Egypt the king was seen as godly in potential, not becoming a deity until his death. The living king became Horus and the deceased king took on the role of Osiris, or 'became Osiris' (Baring & Cashford 1991:236). Herakhty, or 'Horus of the horizon', was a sun god who rose each morning on the eastern horizon. He was often identified with the sun god, Ra, and was eventually at some undefined period absorbed by him, forming the falcon-headed Ra-Herankhty (Cotterell & Storm 2006:284). Harakhty, 'Horus-of-the-Horizon', was assimilated to Ra (Verner 1994:99-112). Therefore it would be perfect for the royal family to wear something indicating their godliness and divinity.

The king could not rule without a female counterpart, and so throughout Egyptian history, kings always had queens at their sides. As the female counterpart of kingship, necessary for the fecundity of Egypt, queens took part in royal rituals of revival and rebirth. They were therefore among a small number who could enter sacred spaces with the king (Graves-Brown 2010:129).

2.4.2 Diadems decorated with rosettes

The royal families of Egypt are found wearing diadems with rosettes adorning them. A diadem is usually a thinner decoration than a proper crown, almost like a headband. Figures 2.8-2.13 demonstrate a few examples of diadems:

2.4.2.1 Iconographic description of rosettes depicted on diadems

a) The diadem of Nofret

The first illustration of a diadem decorated with rosettes is that of Nofret, the wife of prince Rahotep from the fifth reign of Sneferu (2613-2589 BC) (Fig. 2.8 & Add II, A1). Orange rosettes with eight petals each, and orange buds are depicted on her diadem. The rosettes are the 'circles with lines' type and resemble the same type as seen in Figures 2.42 and 2.43. 'At the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty circles divided by eight radii are important elements in the head band of Nofret. Each segment probably represents a patch of cloisonné filled by inlaid stone or paste' (Kantor 1999:132). All Old Kingdom statues were painted (Fig. 2.8). In tomb paintings of all periods, women are rarely depicted in roles outside the home. As throughout the ancient Mediterranean world, an Egyptian woman was shown with paler skin colour on statues and tomb painting than men (Fig. 2.8) (Graves-Brown 2010:145). The colours on these statues are extremely well preserved. This and their very realistic eyes, inlaid with rock-crystal, calcite, and outlined with copper make these statues among the most impressive pieces in the Egyptian Museum, museum number 32.²²



Fig. 2.8 Rahotep and Nofret with rosettes and lotus flowers.
(The Egyptian Museum, CG 3, 4)²³

²² <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=14847>

²³ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:%C3%84gyptisches_Museum_Kairo_2016-03-29_Rahotep_Nofret_04.jpg

b) The diadem of Princess Khnumet

The diadem of Princess Khnumet is made of silver, gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli and turquoise. The diadem was found in the tomb of princess Khnumet at the funerary complex of Amenemhet II (1929-1892 BC) (Fig. 2.9 & Add II, A2). A few light blue daisy-like rosettes with orange (carnelian) centres are in an alternating pattern with another design. Six other patterns protrude from the base and a centre piece goes up even higher. It is difficult to count the petals of the rosettes.

The central elements are rosettes of gold cloisonné with large carnelian centres around which are placed twelve turquoise, obovate lobes; the remaining spaces within the circumference are filled with lapis. Attached to these rosettes are u-shaped flowers with six lacinated projections; they cannot be identified with certainty, but resemble the shape of a South-flower perianth that was current in the Twelfth Dynasty (Kantor 1999:135).



Fig. 2.9 Diadem of Princess Khnumet.
(Cairo Antiquities Museum, CG 52860)²⁴

c) The diadem of Princess Sat-Hathor Lunet

The next diadem belonged to Princess Sat-Hathor Lunet (also known as Sithathoriunet), the daughter of king Senusret III (Fig. 2.10 & Add II, A3). It is made of gold and faience and semi-precious stones. It is from the 12th Dynasty. This diadem with fairly large rosettes in relief on a band of gold is housed in the Cairo Museum, no museum number found. The Uraeus is seen in the middle of the diadem and it is flanked by rosettes on both sides. The fact that the name of Hathor occurs in the name of the princess might possibly bring a connection of the rosettes on Hathor's hair in Figure 2.4 and the rosettes on the diadem in Figure 2.10 into consideration. The rosettes on the diadem are difficult to distinguish, but they might resemble daisy-like rosettes. The rosettes on Hathor's hair in Figure 2.4 were very clear daisy-like rosettes.

²⁴ <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/picture04282004.htm>



Fig. 2.10 Diadem of Princess Sat-Hathor Lunet²⁵.

d) A diadem from the reign of Thutmose III

The golden diadem in Figure 2.11 & Add II, A4 is from the reign of Thutmose III from the 18th Dynasty and was found at Wadi Gabbanat in Thebes, Upper Egypt. Two cloisonné rosettes, inlaid with different coloured material, are on both sides of two buck (possibly ibexes) and two more of these colourful rosettes are nestled at the top of the golden band that goes over the head from the front to the back of the head. It seems as if each daisy-like rosette consisted of twelve petals, inlaid with probably four Egyptian blue petals, four carnelian petals and possibly four golden petals.



Fig. 2.11 Diadem of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 26.8.99)²⁶

²⁵ [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crown_of_Sit-Hathor_Yunet_\(Senusret_II%27s_daughter\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Crown_of_Sit-Hathor_Yunet_(Senusret_II%27s_daughter).jpg)

²⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/553269>

e) The diadem of Queen Tawosret

In the Nineteenth Dynasty (1292-1189 BC) Queen Tawosret (or Twosret), wife of Seti I, possessed a diadem consisting of sixteen gold rosettes attached to a narrow gold band. They have raised centers and their floral nature is emphasized by their concavity (Fig. 2.12) (Kantor 1999:152). The diadem was found in *tomb KV 56*, also called the Golden Tomb, in the Valley of the Kings. It is now housed in the Cairo Museum in Egypt. Each rosette had ten petals with a rather huge knob in the centre.



Fig. 2.12 Golden rosette diadem of queen Tawosret.
(Egyptian Museum, Cairo)²⁷

f. A diadem from Nubia

The diadem in Figure 2.13 & Add II, A7 is from the *tomb of Talakhamani, Pyramid 16, Chamber A* in Nubia. It is from the Napatan Period and the reign of Talakhamani (435-431 BC). It was excavated by the Harvard University (Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition, museum number 20.306). Twelve golden rosettes are attached to a narrow golden band. The rosettes on this diadem are three-dimensional and protrude from the golden band in the same way as the rosettes in Figure 2.12 do. It is again difficult to count the petals. I would suggest that this type of rosette possibly resembles a lotus-like rosette rather than a daisy-like rosette and it definitely suits the three-dimensional type of rosette.



Fig. 2.13 Golden rosettes diadem from Nubia.
(The Boston Museum, 20.306)²⁸

²⁷ <https://za.pinterest.com/ebadiary/theodore-m-daviss-discoveries-in-the-valley-of-the/>
²⁸ <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/142372>

2.4.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes depicted on diadems*

A crown (diadem) is the quintessential emblem of monarchy. Sovereigns have always distinguished themselves by wearing a special form of headdress which elevates the wearer above the populace, literally and metaphorically (Wilkinson 2010:43). The custom of using rosettes on diadems occurred over a long period of time, for instance from 2613-431 BC. The rosettes on the diadems might possibly have symbolized their holiness as part of being consecrated.

The king was often identified with the sun god Ra, because the king was an incarnate god in Egypt. The rosette symbols on the diadems could thus probably have indicated the *sun* as the giver of life and it would be perfect for the royal family to wear something indicating their *divinity*. The sun is also a symbol for *protection* (against evil and darkness), thus the rosettes on the diadems of royalty might possibly also have indicated protection towards the king and queen and the royal household (I would suggest *divine protection*). On the other hand, Hathor was the goddess of *creativity* and *fertility* and the rosettes on the royal diadems might have symbolized *divine fertility*, as we find a daisy-like rosette symbol portrayed on her hair in Figure 2.4.

2.4.3 **Royal wig cover from the reign of Thutmose III decorated with rosettes**

Artistic wigs adorned the heads of upper-class ladies.

2.4.3.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on a wig cover*

a) Wig cover from the reign of Thutmose III

Here is one example of a wig cover decorated with numerous tiny rosettes worn over wigs (Fig. 2.14 & Add II, A8). Figure 2.14 shows an inlaid golden wig ornament with numerous tiny golden daisy-like rosettes hanging in strings from a top centre piece and these strings go all round the head with only an opening at the front where the face should be. Gold, gesso, carnelian, jasper and glass form part of the wig cover. This wig belonged to one of the wives of Thutmose III, who ruled for a time as co-regent with Hatshepsut. His reign is usually dated from 1479-1425 BC, the 18th Dynasty. This wig cover is housed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.²⁹

²⁹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547754>



Fig. 2.14 Wig cover from the reign of Thutmose III.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 1982.137.1)³⁰

b) Golden headdress from the reign of Thutmose III

In Figure 2.15 we find a golden headdress again with numerous rosettes of a lady of the court of Thutmose III in Thebes, Egypt, circa 1450 BC. In addition to gold, carnelians, turquoise and glass paste are used in this wig cover of the 18th Dynasty.

³⁰ [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wig_Cover-_Rosettes_\(6\)_MET_26.8.117a_EGDP011965.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Wig_Cover-_Rosettes_(6)_MET_26.8.117a_EGDP011965.jpg)



Fig. 2.15 Wig cover of one of the wives of Thutmose III.³¹

c) A longer headdress from the court of Thutmose III

The wig cover in Figure 2.16 is much longer than the previous two wig covers in Figures 2.14-2.15. The strings of tiny daisy-like rosettes are connected to each other and not loose as in Figure 2.14. In addition to gold, carnelians, turquoise and glass paste are used to create the tiny daisy-like rosettes for this wig cover. It belonged to the 18th Dynasty (circa 1450 BC).



Fig. 2.16 Golden headdress of a lady of the court of Thutmose III.
(The Metropolitan Museum of Art)³²

The rosettes on the wig cover in Figure 2.16 might possibly indicate that the person wearing the longer wig cover was even more important than the person wearing a shorter wig cover.

2.4.3.2 *Iconographical analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on wig covers*

Kings and queens throughout history have adopted elaborate trappings to distinguish themselves from their subjects. Royal regalia encodes the different attributes of kingship (and his consort), providing a kind of visual language for a complex underlying ideology (Wilkinson 2010:42-43).

³¹ <https://www.elegantwigs.com/history-of-wigs.html>

³² <https://www.alamy.com/a-headdress-of-a-queen-or-lady-of-the-court-of-thutmose-iii-from-the-image60323970.html>

It might possibly have been fashion, and individuality might have played a role in the design of the wig cover, although bragging about their wealth might also have played a role in the length of the wig cover. The rosette symbol might possibly have pointed to the wearer of the wig's sacredness as part of the divine royal family.

The king was seen as divine as was the queen who ruled with him (cf. 2.4.1). The rosettes on the wig might possibly indicate their divinity or the rosettes might possibly have had the same meaning or connotation of creativity and fertility as the rosettes on Hathor's hair (cf. 2.2.3.2). In case the rosettes were a symbol for fertility it would make sense that the wig cover would have been worn to bed to ensure offspring. Winter suggests fertility as symbol (2009:241), but Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) suggest that the rosette symbol indicated or suggested protection. Thus the wig cover might possibly have been worn as a protective symbol, almost like the evil eye of today, and might even have brought good luck as Reade also suggests (1991:32). I suggest that the rosette symbol might possibly have indicated the consecration of the wearer of the wig as part of the divine royal family, which in turn was associated with the sun god Ra, and Hathor, both of whom might possibly have 'used' the rosette for symbolic purposes, such as *divine protection, divine fertility and new life*.

2.4.4 Cleopatra VII's bracelet

2.4.4.1 Iconographic description of the rosette on Cleopatra's bracelet

In Figures 2.17-2.18 Cleopatra VII is wearing a bracelet on her right upper arm with one rosette clearly in view, although there might be more rosettes around her arm and at the back. It is an attractive eight-petal lotus-like rosette with two lines forming divisions on both sides of the rosette. Cleopatra was the name given to several Ptolemaic queens of Egypt, of which Cleopatra VII is the most well-known (Hagen 2005:52). A relief in the temple at Kom Ombo shows Cleopatra with a bracelet on her upper-arm decorated with a rosette (Figs. 2.17-2.18). The temple is from the Ptolemaic Period of ancient Egypt (Hagen 2005:52).

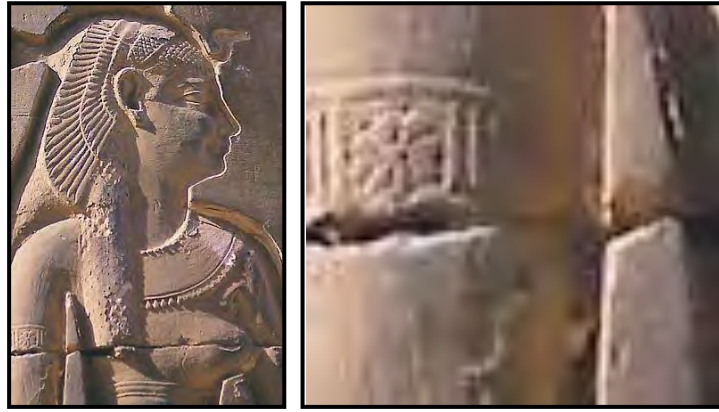


Fig. 2.17 Profile of Cleopatra in relief in Kom Ombo.

Fig. 2.18 Enlargement of armlet.

(Hagen 2005:53, Photo credit: Henry Stierlin)

2.4.4.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette on Cleopatra's bracelet*

Cleopatra was regarded as a goddess; her personal cult lasted almost 350 years after her death (Graves-Brown 2010:157, 159). The eight-petal lotus-like rosette bracelet on her upper arm may possibly indicate her *divinity* or she might have worn it for *divine protection* against evil and all the problems that comes with that. The eight petals might point toward a lotus flower, which in turn might have indicated the sun god Ra with all his good qualities, such as protection and new life, which include fertility. There is also a chance that the bracelet might have been worn as adornment and creativity.

2.4.5 **Nefertiti's bracelet**

2.4.5.1 *Iconographic description of the rosette on Nefertiti's bracelet*

Nefertiti was the daughter of King Tao II and she was the mother of Amenhotep I. Her titles include: King's daughter, King's Principal Wife, God's Wife of Amun and Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt. In Figures 2.19-2.20 Hathor is holding the hand of Nefertiti and a bracelet is seen with an eight-petal lotus-like rosette.



Fig. 2.19 Hathor holding Nefertiti's hand.³³

Fig. 2.20 Enlargement of bracelet

³³ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/172262754480658138/>

For the duration of the Middle Kingdom, Hathor was the most important goddess, and queens like Nefertiti are shown identifying with Hathor herself (Graves-Brown 2010:132; 146).

2.4.5.2 *Iconographical analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette on Nefertiti's bracelet*

Nefertiti's rosette bracelet may possibly indicate her *divinity*: as a queen she was considered to be divine. It could also serve as a kind of amulet and imply divine protection towards her. All the good qualities discussed under Hathor (2.2.3) could have been 'transferred' to Nefertiti as a divinity, and thus the symbolism of the rosette regarding Hathor, as well. Through the rosette symbol on Hathor's hair and the rosette symbol on Nefertiti's bracelet, it might be that Nefertiti is in direct association with Hathor. According to Winter (1976a:46-47), Hathor represents both 'the *creative force of the sun* and at the same time embodies the *fertile aspects of vegetation*' (my emphasis). The eight petals might point toward a lotus flower, which in turn might have indicated the sun god Ra with all his good qualities, such as protection and new life, which include fertility (cf. 2.2.2). There is also a chance that the bracelet might have been worn as adornment and creativity.

2.4.6 **Rosette breast ornaments**

2.4.6.1 *Iconographic description of rosette breast ornaments (Tudittu)*

a) Statue of Meryetamun

Breast ornaments (Akkadian *tudittu*) are a type of object whose function has not been clearly determined. They have been described by scholars as pendants, toggle pins, and breast shields, but no convincing identification of *tuditti* has yet been made (Bahrani 1995:1641). The statue of Meryetamun, daughter of Ramses II (circa 1250 BC) is possibly wearing a *tuditti* in the form of a rosette (Figs. 2.21-2.22). The very neat daisy-like rosette in Figure 2.22 has sixteen petals and resembles the daisy-like rosettes on Hathor's hair in Figure 2.4.

Although the *tudittu* is of Mesopotamian description, and this example of a breast ornament is from the Cairo Museum, Egypt, I am almost convinced that such a rosette, worn on the breast, is what is implied in the *Babylonian text*, speaking of a breast ornament. In '*The descent of Ishtar to the underworld*' it states: 'he let her through the fourth door, but stripped off and took away the toggle-pins at her breast' (Dalley 1989:156).



Fig. 2.21 Statue of Meryetamun, daughter of Ramses II.³⁴
 Fig. 2.22 Enlargement of the rosette.

b) Tiaa the mother of Thutmose IV

Another example of a statue with rosettes on her breasts is Tiaa the mother of Thutmose IV (Figs. 2.23-2.24 & Add II, A14). Two rosettes, one on each breast, consist of numerous daisy-like petals. This statue is currently housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Gallery number 12.



Fig. 2.23 Statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa³⁵
 Fig. 2.24 Enlargement of Tiaa.

c) Statue of Sekhmet with rosettes

Another example of a statue with rosettes on her breasts is Sekhmet Fig. 2.25 & Add II, A10). She was not a fertility goddess, but a goddess of destruction, illness and healing. It might be that she was in a position to heal infertility and as such she could have worn the rosette symbol on her breasts. The statue on the left is from the reign of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC), 18th dynasty. These diorite statues are currently housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris with a museum number A 8 for the left statue, and A7 for the statue on the right.

³⁴ <http://www.egyptorigins.org/rosettesx.htm>

³⁵ <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/thutmose-iv-and-tiaa-john-g-ross.html?product=art-print>



Fig. 2.25 Sekhmet with rosettes and enlargement of the rosettes.
(The Louvre Museum, A8)³⁶

2.4.6.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of depictions of breast ornaments (*Tudittu*).

According to Hart (2015:60) she has analysed the depictions of rosettes on the breasts of ten statuary of goddesses and royal or elite women - one each of Neith, Hathor, Nephthys, plus seven of Sekhmet. Sekhmet was not a fertility goddess, but a goddess of destruction, illness and healing. In the case of royal and elite women, statues depicting rosettes on the breasts are known for Tiaa, wife of Amenhotep II (Fig. 2.23); Tiye wife of Amenhotep III; Henuttaneb daughter of Amenotep III; Manana, wife of a high official in the court of Amenhotep III; Tuya mother of Rameses II; Meryetamun daughter of Rameses II (Fig. 2.21); and also an unknown Ptolemaic queen or princess. There are also several breasts with painted rosettes on coffins (Hart 2015:61). Llewellyn-Jones remarked that the 'large nipples' suggested abundant *fertility* (2002:18) whilst Riggs stated that the gilded or painted rosettes on breasts both *protected* and called attention to them (2005:78), charging the image with fertility (2005:34; Hart 2015:63).

The rosette symbol could possibly have been worn as a symbol of protection (like a kind of amulet) against evil or it might have just been worn as part of erotica. As a breast also feeds an infant it might also be a symbol for *fertility* and/or *provision*. According to Hart (2015:64) breasts certainly have a fertility aspect in respect to female sexuality and also as a mode of regeneration in the feeding of the next generation. It is known that, at Mirgissa and Timna, offerings of pebbles resembling breasts and models of breasts were offered as votive to Hathor (Hart 2015:63; Meskell 2004:140-141). These offerings would possibly be to ensure offspring. Winter (2009:241), suggests that the rosette symbol might indicate *fertility* in general hence it is then a good reason for Hathor, the goddess of *fertile aspects*, to make use of rosettes. Although

³⁶ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010009032>

Ra the sun god also represents fertility and creativity, the fact that Hathor is female, to my mind, probably better suits the symbol in this specific case.

2.4.7 THE PECTORALS OF TUTANKHAMUN

2.4.7.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on the pectoral of King Tutankhamun*

Tutankhamun (1332-1322 BC) was one of the ruling kings during the New Kingdom (Teeter 2011: xviii). Figure 2.26 is a depiction of the pectoral of Tutankhamun. A large lotus flower facing down is filling most of the pectoral and two smaller rosettes with sixteen-petal, daisy-like rosettes are seen above the lotus flower. The rosettes in Figures 2.22 and 2.26 resemble the same kind of daisy-like rosettes. They are finished off with long strings of beads at the bottom. Four strings of beads are connected on each side of the pectoral for hanging purposes.



Fig. 2.26 Pectoral of King Tutankhamun with two rosettes next to the lotus flower (Egyptian Museum, Cairo)³⁷

2.4.7.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the pectoral of King Tutankhamun*

According to the New English Oxford Dictionary, a pectoral is an ornamental breastplate worn on the chest (Pearsall 2001:1366). The lotus flower represents the sun and the rosette symbol possibly also represents the sun. The wearing of this pectoral might possibly have signified King Tutankhamun's divinity, and being part of keeping 'order', the same as the sun god Ra is keeping order (cf. 2.2.2).

The huge lotus flower and the two smaller daisy-like rosettes in Figure 2.26 might possibly have indicated that the king was consecrated. Therefore it would be perfect for the royal family to wear something indicating their divinity and it seems as if the lotus flower was possibly a

³⁷ <https://www.alamy.com/egypt-cairo-egyptian-museum-tutankhamon-jewellery-from-his-tomb-in-luxor-counterweight-of-a-pectoral-rosettes-beads-lotus-flowers-and-buds-image401104601.html?>

symbol for divinity in Egypt (cf. 2.8). On the other hand the king might have worn the pectoral for protection, which rosettes probably also symbolized (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473; Stronach 1993:19). According to Reade a rosette symbol might even have been worn for good luck (1991:32) much the same as the 'evil eye' which is, still to this day, worn by certain Near Eastern cultures. The fact that the lotus and the rosette symbols are depicted together in the same artefact might possibly indicate that they had the same symbolic function. I would suggest that they symbolized the *sun* with all its good properties and characteristics of the sun god Ra (cf. 2.2.2).

2.4.8 The pectoral of Ptolemy V

2.4.8.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on the pectoral of Ptolemy V

A pectoral from the Ptolemaic Period belonged to Ptolemy V from Egypt (204-180 BC) (Teeter 2011: xxiii) and is depicted in Figures 2.27-2.28 & Add II, A17. The pectoral was made of wood, plaster and glass. Alternating rows of tiny lotus flowers facing down, and rows of tiny many-petalled, daisy-like rosettes adorn the pectoral. The form of the pectoral almost looks like a baby's bib. Different blues are used in this pectoral and even a tiny bit of red occurs in the down-facing lotus flowers. This artefact is currently housed in the Brooklyn Museum, Number 33.383.



Fig. 2.27 Votive pectoral of Ptolemy V.
(The Brooklyn Museum, 33.383)³⁸

³⁸ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3321>



Fig. 2.28 Enlargements of the pectoral.
(The Brooklyn Museum, 33.383)³⁹

2.4.8.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the pectoral of Ptolemy V*

The fact the lotus and the rosette symbols are depicted together in the same artefact might possibly indicate that they had the same symbolic function.

It has been established by scholars that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern *divinity and royalty* (Cahill 1997; Collon 1995; Frankfort 1948:224-226; Ussishkin 1982:115). The fact that the lotus flower together with rosettes are seen together in the pectoral might possibly indicate the *divinity* of the king (cf. 2.4.1) or they might possibly have symbolized *protection* towards the king (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473; Stronach 1993:19). According to Reade the rosette symbol was also a symbol for good luck, hence it might even have been worn for *good luck* (1991:32). I would also suggest that the lotus and rosette symbols might possibly have symbolized the *sun* with all its good properties and characteristics of the sun god Ra (cf. 2.2.2).

2.4.9 **A royal earring resembling a rosette**

2.4.9.1 *Iconographic description of an earring resembling a rosette*

A three-dimensional rosette earring, made of gold, carnelian and lapis lazuli, was found at Malkata, Upper Egypt. More specifically it was found in the palace of Amenhotep III, 18th Dynasty (circa 1390-1353 BC) (Fig. 2.29 & Add II, A33). I could not find another rosette similar

³⁹ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3321>

to this one, although I found a three-dimensional clay mould (Fig. 2.54) from Malkata which in some way resembles this earring.



Fig. 2.29 Earring from the reign of Amenhotep III.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 44.4.6)⁴⁰

2.4.9.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette earring*

Because it was found in a palace and is made of expensive material, it could possibly have belonged to a queen. As said before, it has been established by scholars that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern *divinity and royalty* (Cahill 1997; Collon 1995; Frankfort 1948:224-226; Ussishkin 1982:115). The earring could have been worn for protection and good luck or even just as decoration. If this rosette resembles a lotus flower it might possibly also symbolize the sun. The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is the symbol of the *sun*, of *creation and rebirth* and therefore also fertility (divine fertility).

2.5 PALACE BUILDINGS DEPICTING ROSETTES

Numerous artefacts display rosettes, but it is mostly the palaces which provide us with attractive rosettes. In the palaces faience tiles and paintings with rosette designs are found on the walls, floors (2.5.1), wall plaster (2.5.2) and ceilings (2.5.3).

2.5.1 **Faience tiles on palace walls and floors**

2.5.1.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on faience tiles*

a) Faience tile from Amenhotep III's palace

The tiled faience floor (Fig. 2.30 & Add II, A26) showing broad-banded concentric, golden rosettes, is from Amenhotep III's (circa 1390–1352 BC) palace in Thebes from the 18th Dynasty. The medium is faience and gold paint. These broad-banded concentric tiles resemble those in

⁴⁰ https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554755?rpp=20&pg=28&rndkey=20140208&ao=on&ft=* &what=Ear+ornaments&pos=551

Figures 2.5-2.7; 2.44; 2.45 and 2.69. I suggest that the broad-banded centres of these rosettes resemble the large centres of sun flowers with tiny petals all around the centre.



Fig. 2.30 Reconstructed tile from the Grand Palace of Amenhotep III.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 17.10.1a)⁴¹

The faience tiles were unearthed during the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Malkata, the site of a festival city constructed by Amenhotep III to celebrate his three jubilee festivals, or *Heb-Seds*. The Metropolitan Museum number is 17.10.1a.

An alternative to gemstones lies in a less prestigious material known as faience. The technology of faience is closely related to that of glass, and the main component of both is silica. Faience is an inexpensive artificial material that may be formed into almost any shape and decorated by almost any colour, thus effectively becoming an artificial 'precious stone' (Nicholson 1993:9). The rosettes in this instance are rather obscure rosettes, but they fall under the rosettes with wide inner circles, such as a sunflower (see Table 2.1 at the end of this chapter). This is the reason for choosing to add Figure 2.30 to my collection of rosettes.

b) Glazed faience floral frieze

The glazed faience frieze in Figure 2.31 & Add II, A18 is from the 20th Dynasty and it is housed in the Brooklyn Museum, number 55.182a-i.

⁴¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551605>



Fig. 2.31 Faience floral frieze, circa 1184-1153 BC.
(The Brooklyn Museum, 55.182a-i)⁴²

The tiny white, eight petalled lotus-like rosettes, are combined with much larger lotus flowers. This might possibly have significant symbolism as the lotus flower and the rosette symbol might possibly have been the same flower seen from the top and seen from the side (cf. Figs. 2.58 and 2.78), or the lotus flower with all its good properties was the inspiration for the rosette symbol, being a symbol for the sun with its life-giving forces (cf. 2.8).

c) Faience tile from the reign of Akhenaten

Although the use of glazed tiles and coloured paste inlays is known from as early as the Old Kingdom, the apogee of their use came during the New Kingdom (Twentieth Dynasty). A piece of such a frieze with two white, eight-petalled lotus-like rosettes, is housed in The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, number I.1.a.3381 in Mosco, Russia (Fig. 2.32 & Add II, A19). This might possibly have formed part of the frieze in Figure 2.32 above, but there is no evidence for the suggestion except that it has exactly the same features.



Fig. 2.32 Faience artefact from the reign of Akhenaten (1351-1334 BC).
(The Pushkin Museum, I.1.a.3381)⁴³

⁴² <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3620>

⁴³ https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_3381/index.php?lang=en

d) Tiles from Ramesses III's palace

The Egyptians termed faience *thenet*, which means 'dazzling' or 'shining', which is the optical effect of glazed faience (Andrews 1990:57). Faience is found in various colours, according to the colouring agent used in the glaze.

In Figure 2.33 the white, rosette faience tiles from the palace of Ramesses III at Tell el-Yahudiyeh, are an example of rosettes with eight petals each. These rosettes in Figure 2.33 are a good example of eight-petal rosettes (cf. 1.6), which I would term as lotus-like rosettes (see Table 2.1 at the end of this chapter).



Fig. 2.33 Tiles from the palace of Ramesses III at Tell el-Yahudiyeh.
(The Cairo Museum, no number)⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Refer to figure 12: <https://rivista.museoegizio.it/article/three-faience-rosette-discs-in-the-museo-egizio-in-turin-the-early-ramesside-pharaohs-in-the-eastern-delta-and-their-glittering-palaces/>

e) Rosette tiles and other faience collections

Like most Ramesside sites in the Delta, the palace of Ramesses III at Tel el Yahudieh, was badly plundered for building materials and looted for the sale of chunks of its attractive painted and tiled walls to tourists and antiquities collectors. The tiles were particularly easy to collect and sell, and are now in museums all over the world (Figs. 2.34 & Add II, A24). Brugsch-Bey alone brought back 3600 rosettes of various sizes and patterns from his work at the Ramasside palace in the 1870s (Ancient Egypt in Liverpool-web).⁴⁵ The rosettes in Figure 2.34 are the lotus-like rosettes with eight petals. The white rosettes are painted on grey backgrounds, on yellow background paint. These tiles are currently housed in the National Liverpool Museum, number 56.22.166a.



Fig. 2.34 Rosette tiles, ancient Egypt collection.
(National Museums Liverpool, 56.22.166a)⁴⁶

f) Depictions of favourite early Ramesside tiles

The palace, reduced to an indeterminate mound by the beginnings of the 19th century, must have been magnificent when it was first built in the south eastern Delta, 30 miles from Memphis. It would have been comparable to the second Great Palace of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu (Luxor), full of vibrant colours and beautiful depictions of favourite early Ramesside themes (Ancient Egypt in Liverpool-web).⁴⁷ The rosette tiles in Figure 2.35 & Add II, A35 are housed in the National Museum in Liverpool. It is mostly eight petalled lotus-like rosettes displayed in Figure 2.35.

⁴⁵ <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt>

⁴⁶ <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/search/Rosette%20tiles>

⁴⁷ Ancient Egypt in Liverpool-web <https://www.gluseum.com/GB/Liverpool/12014553903/Ancient-Egypt-in-Liverpool>



Fig. 2.35 Eleven Egyptian faience rosettes.
(Christies, Lot 2063380)⁴⁸

The colouring agent of faience was probably an oxide of copper, cobalt, manganese, antimony, lead or iron which can produce green, blue, red and yellow and many shades in between (Andrews 1990:57). A combination of different rosettes occurs in Figure 2.35. The middle rosette and largest rosettes consist of ten grey petals. The bottom three rosettes, and the two top left rosettes, each have eight petals and resemble the lotus-like rosette in Figures 2.33. The rosettes have distinctive yellow cores (Figs. 2.31-2.33 and 2.35).

As Egypt has harsh conditions and desert terrain, the daisy plant could have been encountered in Egypt, as the daisy plant can survive the most difficult circumstances which would destroy normal plants, and they are not affected by the weather (Winter 1976a:46; Palmer 1960:36-45). This might be the reason why daisy-like rosettes are found in Egypt (cf. 2.36-2.40). More daisy-like images will be encountered in Chapter Five with the Babylonian civilization (5.2).

g) Inlaid flowers resembling daisy-like rosettes

Figure 2.36 & Add II, A30 depicts a vegetative decoration of plant stems, blue flax flowers, and three separate inlaid flowers resembling daisy-like rosettes with numerous white petals, and distinctive yellow centres. A third broken daisy-like rosette is also present at the bottom of the artefact. It is currently housed in the Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, Germany, museum number 4824.

⁴⁸ <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-2063380>



Fig. 2.36 Tile with rosette decoration, El-Amarna, the reign of Akhenaten.
(The Pelizaeus Museum, 4824)⁴⁹

h) A tile border on a wall of the Great Palace at El-Amarna

The faience tile in Figure 2.37 & Add II, A23 is thought to have adorned a tile border on a wall of the Great Palace at El-Amarna in Egypt from the 18th Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten (circa 1352-1336 BC). This tile is housed in the Brooklyn Museum, number 35.2001.

Eleven white daisy-like rosettes are depicted with distinctive yellow centers and numerous petals. All eleven daisies occur on the same tile with a greenish background.



Fig. 2.37 Faience rosette tile.
(The Brooklyn Museum, 35.2001)⁵⁰

i) Two white daisy-like rosettes with distinctive yellow centres

Akhetaten became the capital city of Egypt during Akhenaten's reign (1352-1336 BC). Today, archaeologists call it the modern Arabic name, Amarna. The city housed the royal palace and the Great Temple. These faience tiles are from the palace (Fig. 2.38). They are currently housed in the Brooklyn Museum. In Figure 2.38 two white daisy-like rosettes with distinctive yellow

⁴⁹ <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=11292>

⁵⁰ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3377>

centres and numerous petals are depicted in a broken dark coloured tile. The hollow inlays of the lost daisy-like rosettes can be seen.



Fig. 2.38 Faience tile from El-Amarna.
(The Petrie Museum)⁵¹

j) Sixteen white, daisy-like rosettes with numerous petals

The sixteen white, daisy-like rosettes with numerous petals, in Figure 2.39, are set in a light brownish colour tile, and it seems as if stems were painted in between the daisies although the stems' paint is rather faded.



Fig. 2.39 Faience tiles with rosettes from the palace of Akhetaten.
(The Brussels Museum)⁵²

k) A white faience flower with yellow inlay, resembling a natural white daisy

The daisy-like rosette is probably depicted on the tiles in Figures 2.36-2.40 (cf. 5.2). In Figure 2.40 & Add II, A15 a white faience flower with yellow inlay, and numerous petals, is displayed and rather resembles a white natural daisy. The daisy-like rosette in Figure 2.40 belongs to the 18th Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten (1351-1334 BC). This artefact is housed in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, number I.1.a 3361.

⁵¹ http://www.aldokkan.com/photos/petrie/22_petrie.jpg

⁵² <http://www.luzyartes.com/2017/02/son-35-siglos-decorativos-los-que-nos.html>



Fig. 2.40 White faience flower.
(The Pushkin Museum, I.1.a 3361)⁵³

2.5.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on faience tiles

The colouring agent of faience was probably an oxide of copper, cobalt, manganese, antimony, lead or iron which can produce green, blue, red and yellow and many shades in between (Andrews 1990:57). A few tiles with rosette inlays are found, the rosettes having distinctive yellow cores (Figs. 2.36-2.40). According to Kantor (1999:149) the tiles in Figures 2.36-2.40 are primarily decorative, but they may still be considered as examples of the representational use of daisy-like rosettes (cf. 5.2 and 5.8).

The similarity between a natural white daisy flower's yellow part with tiny knobs and the faience yellow part with knobs (Figs. 2.36-2.40) is remarkable. It seems as if these faience tiles with white flowers could have depicted the white daisy flower, rather than a white lotus flower. Reade is of opinion that the rosette symbol is a symbol for protection and good luck (1991:32). This could certainly also apply to these rosette tiles in the palaces as they could symbolize *divine protection* towards the building and its occupants, although Winter (2009:241) is of opinion that the daisy rosette is a symbol for fertility, and thus these tiles depicting daisy-like rosettes might symbolize *divine fertility*. The daisy plant survives the most difficult circumstances which would destroy normal plants and they are not affected by the weather (Winter 1976a:46; Palmer 1960:36-45). The most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to *multiply rapidly*. They reproduce and regenerate fast even under difficult circumstances. The daisy symbolizes that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a goddess associated with *fertility*, such as Hathor (Winter 1976a:46).

2.5.2 Palace walls with painted wall plaster depicting rosettes

During the Old Kingdom the Egyptians had but five colour words: black, white, red, green and variegated. Despite the apparent lack of a complex terminology, colour was important because it

⁵³ https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_3361/index.php?lang=en

was imbued with symbolic value, a subject often overlooked in discussions of ancient Egyptian paintings (Bianchi 1995:26).

2.5.2.1 *Iconographic description of painted wall plaster depicting rosettes*

a) Decorated painted wall plaster from the North Riverside palace

The decorated painted wall plaster in Figure 2.41 is from the North Riverside palace at Amarna. This artefact is from the Eighteenth Dynasty⁵⁴. It has the typical white flowers (rosettes) which are also found in the faience tiles (cf. Fig. 2.36-2.40). Two white daisy-like rosettes with yellow centres are in line and it seems to be part of a border. The top of the artefact is painted in blue. Ten white petals are indicated in each of these rosettes and the petals are separated with thin black lines. These rosettes with lines are the same type of rosettes as depicted in Figures 2.43; 2.42; 2.66 and 2.67. The illustration is published in *Amarna Palace Painting* by Weatherhead 2007, 230 and 229, fig. 123.



Fig. 2.41 Decorated painted wall plaster.
(Weatherhead 2007, Figure 123)

b) Wall painting from Amenhotep III's bedroom

There is another wall painting in the Malkata palace, but this time it is from Amenhotep III's bedroom. It consists of rosettes and a checker pattern (Fig. 2.42). These rosettes have twelve white petals each with a blue/grey circle around the rosette. In this artefact six rosettes are depicted, but it seems as if it was part of a border with a distinctive white line at the bottom and the top of the rosettes.

⁵⁴ [https://egyptcentre.abasetcollections.com/Objects/Details/165?SavedSelections=\\$Page-1\\$Pr-PS_38-](https://egyptcentre.abasetcollections.com/Objects/Details/165?SavedSelections=$Page-1$Pr-PS_38-)



Fig. 2.42 Painted mural at the Malkata palace.⁵⁵

2.5.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on painted wall plaster*

Hathor is also associated with rosettes and the fact that she was the goddess of *fertility* and *love* might possibly be the reason for the rosettes being 'used' in Amenhotep III's bedroom. These rosettes on the painted wall might possibly have indicated *protection* towards the palace. Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are all convinced that the rosette symbol was a symbol for protection. I would prefer *divine protection* especially as royalty was also seen as divine. On the other hand it could have indicated that the palace was consecrated (set apart).

2.5.3 **Palace ceilings**

2.5.3.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on palace ceilings

Amenhotep III (like most pharaohs) definitely favoured a rosette pattern, with rosettes on the palace floor, rosette patterns on the faience tiles, and rosette patterns on the palace ceilings. It must have left a colourful impression (see Figs. 2.43-2.45).

a) The ceiling of the palace of Amenhotep III

The rosettes in Figure 2.43 are lines painted across a circle to form a kind of rosette with varying numbers of petals (cf. Figs. 2.41; 2.42; 2.66 and 2.67).

⁵⁵ <https://bajolasarenasdekemet.wordpress.com/2015/07/04/malkata/> Image courtesy of the Institute of Egyptology, Waseda University



Fig. 2.43 Ceiling Room L5, Amenhotep III's palace.
(Institute of Egyptology, Waseda University)⁵⁶

b) Reconstruction of ceiling in Room B5

The rosettes in Figure 2.44 consist of the broad-banded concentric, blue and white rosettes which might possibly have indicated a sunflower (cf. Fig. 2.30).

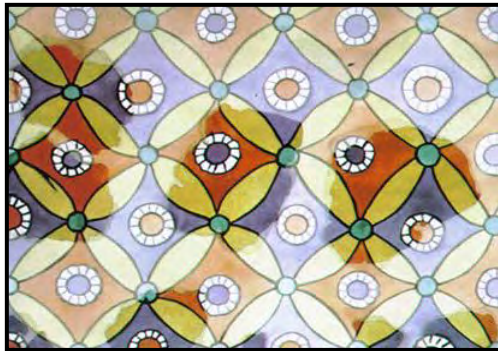


Fig. 2.44 Reconstruction of ceiling in Room B5.⁵⁷

Just as the floor and wall tiles (see 2.5.1) and the wall plaster (see 2.5.2) with rosettes decorating them, the ceilings with rosettes painted on them might possibly have had the same symbolic meaning (2.5.3). I would consider consecration as the symbolic meaning for the palace (set apart).

c) Ceiling painting with bulls heads from the palace of Amenhotep III

Figure 2.45 & Add II, A25 is also a ceiling painting from the palace of Amenhotep III (circa 1390-1353 BC) from the New Kingdom in Egypt. This ceiling painting depicts the heads of Mycenaean-style bulls with a rosette on the bulls' foreheads. The motif consists also of a repeating pattern of broad-banded concentric rosette-filled running spirals alternating with bucrania (ox/bull skulls). It is housed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, number 11.215.451.

⁵⁶ <https://www.egyptpro.sci.waseda.ac.jp/e-mp.html>

⁵⁷ <https://bajolasarenasdekemet.wordpress.com/2015/07/04/malkata/>

The rosettes in Figure 2.45 consist of the broad-banded concentric rosettes which might possibly have indicated a sunflower (cf. Figs. 2.5-2.7; 2.30; 2.44 and 2.69).



Fig. 2.45 Ceiling painting from the palace of Amenhotep III.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 11.215.451)

We know the exact location of the ceiling discovery because a photograph was taken of the fragments lying on the floor where they had fallen (Fig. 2.46). It was discovered by the Metropolitan Museum excavation in the winter of 1910-1911 AD.



Fig. 2.46 Ceiling with the rosettes and bull heads as it was found.⁵⁸

2.5.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on palace ceilings*

The rosette symbols on the ceilings might possibly have protected the palace and the royal family. On the other hand the rosette symbol might have been there to enhance the fertility aspect, which might possibly have had its origin with the sun and its creative and fertility characteristics. According to Van Dijk (2011:2) there can be little doubt that bulls (aurochs) were

⁵⁸ <https://imalqata.wordpress.com/>

associated with divinities. At times the bull acted as a manifestation of a god or accompanied a deity, but they were symbols of divinity (Van Dijk 2011:2). The motif of the bull in the ancient Near East is especially associated with the aurochs. The aurochs was the ancestor of modern cattle, and had a straight back and horns that were as long as its head (Van Dijk 2011:1). This beast could stand two metres tall at the shoulder.

According to Ruether it is easy to comprehend why 'bull symbolism is associated with male virility (fertility), power (protection) and wealth' (2006:26). Conrad (1959:29) elaborates on this concept, asserting that the bull became 'a symbol of the all-powerful and the all-fertile, in short, a god.' It is then not so strange to find a symbol, namely the rosette, next to a bull image or on its forehead (Fig. 2.45) as this might indicate that the rosette symbol was indeed used for *fertility* and *protection* (cf. 2.2.2) in Egypt and the ancient Near East (cf. 2.2.3.2; 3.3.2 and 4.3.3). Although it is more often goddesses connected to the rosette symbol, as being a symbol for fertility I would suggest that the bull and rosette ceiling in Figure 2.45 symbolized *divine protection* towards the palace, as the other broad-banded concentric rosettes might possibly have indicated a sunflower, which in turn might have represented the sun, as sunflowers respond to the sunlight. If it was indeed the sun that was also symbolized together with the bull, it might indicate *divine fertility* as well. If the ceiling belonged to a bedroom in the palace, it would possibly symbolize fertility and new life, to ensure offspring possibly linked to Hathor. According to Van Dijk (2011:2) there can be little doubt that bulls (aurochs) were associated with divinities, thus *divine fertility*.

2.6 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

2.6.1 The Narmer palette and the 'hanging' rosettes

According to Wilkinson (2000: Abstract), Narmer, the best-attested Egyptian king from the period of state formation, reigned at a time of great social and political change. Narmer presided over a crucial transition in the concept of the ruler. His reign displays certain features characteristic of Egypt's prehistoric past, but also some early examples of the new forms that were to distinguish pharaonic civilization (First Dynastic Period 3100-2890 BC). A recognition of this dichotomy brings new insights into the meaning of Narmer's name and the artistic significance of his famous palette (Figs. 2.47-2.48 & Add II, A11) (Wilkinson 2000: Abstract).

The Narmer palette was commissioned by King Narmer to celebrate the unification of Egypt and the creation of the pharaonic state. Narmer is depicted wearing the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, triumphing over his enemies. The myth of Osiris reflects the prolonged struggle

between Upper and Lower Egypt for predominance, ending in the unification of the two regions into one Kingdom (Hooke 1963:67).

2.6.1.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on the Narmer palette*

On both sides of the palette the king is depicted as rather small, and in both instances a rather large obovate petal-type rosette accompanies the king close to his head. The rosette on the one side has six points and the other rosette has seven points. Both look like a flower without a stem and fall under the descriptive type of obovate petal rosettes (cf. Table 2.1 at the end of this chapter). It is ancient Egypt's founding document (Wilkinson 2010:137), and therefore stands in a tall glass case in the entrance hall of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Wilkinson 2010:17). The rosettes in Figures 2.47 and 2.48 resemble the rosette in Figure 2.49.

2.6.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the Narmer palette*

Both sides of the Narmer palette have a 'hanging rosette' near the king's head, possibly for symbolic purposes. The fact that the rosette is up in the air and above the king is an indication that it probably symbolized *divine protection*, especially because the king is busy smiting his enemy.



Fig. 2.47 Both sides of the Narmer Palette.
(The Cairo Museum, JE 32169)⁵⁹

⁵⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narmer_Palette#/media/File:Narmer_Palette.jpg



Fig. 2.48 Enlargement of the rosette on both sides of the palette.
(The Cairo Museum, JE 32169)

The rosette symbol might possibly have indicated that the king was '*set apart*' as *divinity*, or another possibility might be that *protection* and *good luck* were offered to the king through the rosette symbol (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473; Stronach 1993:19). This artefact is currently housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, number JE 32169.

2.6.2 The Scorpion mace head and the 'hanging' rosette

2.6.2.1 *Iconographic description of the rosette on the Scorpion mace head*

The Scorpion mace head is an ancient Egyptian decorative stone mace head (Figs. 2.49-2.50). Again a 'hanging' rosette appears close to the king (King Scorpion) - the same as in the Narmer palette (see Fig. 2.48). In the enlargement of the rosette in Figure 2.50, a seven-ovovate petal rosette is seen above the king Scorpion's head.

2.6.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette on the Scorpion mace head*

The mace head is dated to the Early Dynastic Period reign of King Narmer (circa 3100 BC) whose *serekh* (heraldic crest) is engraved on it (Wilkinson 2010:48). It was found in the 'main deposit' in the temple area of Horus, in the ancient Egyptian city of Nekhen (Wilkinson 2010:48).



Fig. 2.49 Scorpion mace head (Hierakonpolis, circa 3050 BC).
(The Ashmolean Museum)⁶⁰

Horus was worshipped as the god of the sky. His eyes were said to be the sun and the moon. Horus of the Horizon (Herakhty) was a sun god who rose each morning on the eastern horizon. He was often identified with the sun god Ra, and was eventually absorbed by him forming Ra-Herakhty (cf. 2.2.2) (Cotterell & Storm 2006:284). If the rosette symbol was indeed also a symbol for the sun god, it would possibly be a reason for the sun, in its *divine protective aspects*, *protecting* the king, although the rosette symbol might have signified that the king was *divine* as the rosette symbol was also a symbol for divinity, and in Egypt the king was seen as divine (cf. 2.4.1).



Fig. 2.50 Enlargement of the rosette.

Monarchy was not just an integral part of religion, the two were synonymous (Wilkinson 2010:49). This *divine protection* might possibly have been given by the sun god Ra, as he had probably had a rosette as a symbol, and protection against 'darkness and evil' was one of his main attributes.

⁶⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scorpion_Macehead#/media/File:Scorpion_Macehead.jpg

2.6.3 The 'House of Birth'

2.6.3.1 Iconographic description of the rosette on the 'House of Birth'

In Figure 2.51 the 'House of Birth' of the sanctuary of the Goddess Hathor at Nitentóre (Dendera), the King together with his two lions, is depicted smiting the captured rebels. Three 'hanging' rosettes each with eight petal lotus-like rosettes are also depicted.



Fig. 2.51 'House of Birth' of the sanctuary of the goddess Hathor at Nitentóre (Dendera).⁶¹

2.6.3.2 Iconological analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette on the 'House of Birth'

Similar to the Narmer palette and the Scorpion mace head, there are again 'hanging' rosettes near the head of the king. It seems as if in all these instances a scene of 'might and power' are executed as the king is smiting his opponents.

The fact that power and might are depicted might indicate the 'order' that the king has to execute and this 'order' against the enemy and darkness might possibly be symbolized by the sun, and the sun might possibly be symbolized by the rosette symbol. Protection from Hathor, towards the king, might possibly also have been the reason for the 'hanging' rosettes close to the king. The 'name' of the artefact brings Hathor and her good qualities into consideration for the rosette symbol (cf. 2.2.3). Hathor was associated with the creative force of the sun. The sun is the giver of life, controlling the ripening of crops which were worked by man. Winter (2009:241), suggests that the rosette symbol might indicate *fertility*, which is then a good reason for Hathor, the goddess of *fertile aspects*, to use the rosette as her symbol especially with a sanctuary called 'House of Birth'.

⁶¹ <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/87/fb/2f/87fb2f20f94d10c02a66635c4daac7e1.jpg>

2.7 ADDITIONAL ARTEFACTS WITH ROSETTES

Rosettes are found on items that do not fit any of the above headings and therefore they will fall under the heading of additional artefacts depicting rosettes, and with subtitles: Moulds (2.7.1), Jewellery (2.7.2), Cosmetic containers and cosmetic spoons (2.7.3), Tomb ceilings of noble men (2.7.4), Buttons and discs (2.7.5) and Lotus flowers depicted on vessels (2.7.6).

2.7.1 Moulds

An important archaeological site lies at the southern end of the Theban necropolis in Egypt, about one kilometre south of the temple of Medinet Habu. This was the town and palace site of Amenhotep III of the 18th Dynasty, first discovered in 1888 AD. The complex included a large number of buildings, courts and parade grounds, housing for the inhabitants and a large Temple of Amun as well as the royal palaces (Egyptian Monuments- web).⁶²

2.7.1.1 Iconographic description of rosette moulds

a) Clay mould for a rosette inlay from Amarna

A few clay moulds with rosette inlays were found at the palace site of Amenhotep III. The first mould shows a deep-cut impression of a daisy-like rosette with numerous petals and with remains of red faience paste still inside (Fig. 2.52). The daisy-like rosette is also encountered in Figures 2.11; 2.14; 2.16; 2.22; 2.26; 2.36; 2.37; 2.39; 2.52 and 2.64.



Fig. 2.52 Clay mould for a rosette inlay from Amarna, Egypt (1364-1341 BC).⁶³

b) Two tiny daisy-like rosette moulds

Two tiny daisy-like rosette moulds with numerous petals must have been made with the same kind of stamp (Fig. 2.53). They look identical in size and style, and each seems to have the same small tick on one petal. They come from the industrial site at Malkata in Egypt (Diana Craig Patch-web).⁶⁴

⁶² <https://egyptsites.wordpress.com/2009/02/10/palace-site-of-amenhotep-iii-malqata/>

⁶³ http://www.ancientresource.com/lots/egyptian/amarna_egypt.html

⁶⁴ Diana Craig Patch. Stamp of Approval. iMalqata Blog | March 3, 2017 <https://imalqata.wordpress.com/>



Fig. 2.53 Two identical moulds, possibly made with the same stamp.⁶⁵

c) A deep-cut mould forming a rosette

In Figure 2.54 the deep-cut mould forming a rosette is also found at the industrial site at Malkata in Egypt. The earring in Figure 2.29 resembles a three-dimensional type of rosette, the same as the three-dimensional rosette mould in Figure 2.54.



Fig. 2.54 Clay mould found at Malkata, Egypt.⁶⁶

d) Rosette moulds showing the stamps inside the moulds

A master stamp was carved in a soft stone, like steatite, which allows for the addition of fine details and could have survived repeated use. Steatite also could be baked to make the completed design harder. Then this design could be attached to a handle (Diana Craig Patch-web).⁶⁷ These master stamps were made from a hard substance so that they could survive repeated use, especially for the forms that are very repetitive: rosettes, leaves, petals, mandrakes, and openwork beads. In Figure 2.55 such stamps are shown inside the moulds.

⁶⁵ <https://imalqata.wordpress.com/2017/03/03/a-stamp-of-approval/>

⁶⁶ <https://imalqata.wordpress.com/2017/03/03/a-stamp-of-approval/>

⁶⁷ <https://imalqata.wordpress.com/>



Fig. 2.55 Rosette mould showing the stamps inside the moulds.⁶⁸

2.7.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosette moulds*

With so many rosette moulds found it is a fact that the rosette was more frequently used than previously acknowledged. The moulds could have been used for casting gold, silver, bronze or glass into the moulds for further use as a symbolic feature. The symbolism connected to the specific rosette would alter, as the rosette possibly had different symbolic meanings depending on what type of rosette was displayed (see conclusion, Chapter Eight) and even where it has been found.

The rosette symbol has possibly been identified as a symbol for fertility, protection and good luck. Seeing that fertility played a huge role in Egypt and the ancient Near East, it is understandable that the rosette symbol, possibly implying fertility and new life would be a popular item. The sun god Ra played a huge role in protection and fertility and new life, and therefore it might be that the daisy-like rosettes were a symbol for the sun, as the daisy flower and the lotus flower respond to sunlight.

Protection during war, diseases, death, evil forces, darkness and magic would surely have played a huge role in choosing the rosette as a symbol, specifically if it had the same 'healing' properties as the sun.

2.7.2 **Egyptian blue and jewellery**

Egyptian blue is a sintered mixture of quartz and a silicate of copper and calcium (Collon 1995:172). Egyptian blue is the name given to a specific frit, which has a granular or chalky texture and is of a powder blue or royal blue colour (Moorey 1999:186-189). This name is also commonly used to denote a pigment of the same colour. The implements needed to produce jewellery of faience and Egyptian blue are relatively simple. The ingredients were mixed with a

⁶⁸ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/477451997995571815/>

little water and then kneaded into a gritty paste in a bowl, basin or on a worktable (Ogden 1982:125). With just the right amount of water, the paste is neither too wet to hold its shape, nor too dry to crack and split during forming. The next step is pressing the material into a stone or clay mould for faience beads, such as those found at el-Amarna in Egypt. The impression is then removed from the mould and allowed to dry, then glazed and fired (Ogden 1982:125).

2.7.3 Rosettes depicted on a necklace and two amulets

2.7.3.1 *Iconographic descriptions of rosettes on a necklace and two amulets*

a) Egyptian blue necklace with aegis of Sakhmet

The necklace in Figure 2.56 & Add II, A12, with a huge daisy-like rosette at the bottom, is from the Ramesside Dynasty (1295-1070 BC) and is made with the Egyptian blue mixture. This artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 23.6.54. At the top of the necklace, or necklace counterpoise, is the head of a lion-headed goddess, wearing a broad collar and crowned with a sun disk. A relief scene showing a lion-headed goddess seated on a throne and holding a papyrus sceptre decorates the centre section of the necklace. This part is flanked on each side by a cobra wearing the Upper Egyptian crown. The bottom section features a large daisy-like rosette with sixteen petals. The daisy-like rosette is also encountered in Figures 2.11; 2.16; 2.23; 2.27; 2.37; 2.53; 2.59; 2.64 and 2.65.



Fig. 2.56 Faience necklace counterpoise with aegis of Sekhmet.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 23.6.54)⁶⁹

⁶⁹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548327>

b) Steatite (glazed) amulet from the Temple of Hatshepsut

Figure 2.57 & Add II, A36 depicts a Steatite (glazed) amulet with a six, obovate petal, rosette from the temple of Hatshepsut at Thebes, Upper Egypt (circa 1479-1458 BC). It is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, number Number 27.3.365.



Fig. 2.57 Steatite (glazed) amulet from the temple of Hatshepsut.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 27.3.365)⁷⁰

c) Blue and black faience lotus flower amulet

In Fig. 2.58 we find an interesting and rare amulet depicting an eight-petalled lotus-like rosette with detailed petals with alternating blue and black glazes. This amulet is from the New Kingdom (1550-1077 BC). The amulet is pierced for suspension and belongs to the Carl Devries Collection (Andrews 1990:88). This brings to mind the Egyptian blue faience vessels depicted with lotus and rosette designs (2.7.10) as well as the hippopotami (2.2.1.2).



Fig. 2.58 Blue and black faience lotus flower amulet.
(Andrews, C 1990:88)

d) Blue daisy pendant

In Figure 2.59 & Add II, A28 we find a blue daisy with two different blues. The knob in the centre is rather large. The daisy consists of sixteen petals, but one petal is missing. It belongs to reign of Amenhotep III ca. 1390-1353 BC. The artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 11.215.252.

⁷⁰ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549747>



Fig. 2.59 Blue daisy pendant.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 11.215.252)⁷¹

2.7.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on a necklace and two amulets*

The Egyptian blue necklace has connotations towards divinity (lion-headed goddess) and the two amulets indicate protection and good luck as that was the purpose of wearing an amulet.

Figures 2.56 possibly also indicate divine protection with the head of a lion-headed goddess, wearing a broad collar and crowned with a sun disk. The sun (indicated by the sun disk) in this instance might possibly indicate the creative and protective force of the sun although the sun is also the giver of life and regeneration (fertility), thus divine fertility.

The example in Figure 2.58 is indeed credible as well as persuasive for the idea that the rosette is possibly also the lotus flower, and as the lotus flower is seen as divine in Egypt the inference can be made that the rosette is also a divine symbol, possibly depicting *divine protection*. The lotus was also a symbol for the *sun*, which was also considered divine (Ra), with all its good properties like *fertility*, *protection* against darkness and evil, as well as being a *creative force* (cf. 2.2.2). Wearing an amulet indicating a rosette and/or a lotus flower would possibly indicate *divine protection and good luck*.

If the rosette symbol was used to imply consecration, then it could possibly also have meant blessings to the wearer of the pendant in Figure 2.59 or even 'set apart'.

⁷¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551537>

2.7.4 Two scarab amulets

2.7.4.1 Iconographic description of two scarab amulets with rosettes

a) Winged scarab openwork faience amulet

In Figure 2.60 & Add II, A22 the openwork faience amulet is a winged scarab which is topped with a winged sun disk (cf. 6.2). The scarab has four wings. The scarab's legs seem to be holding the two, many-petalled, and daisy-like rosettes. It is from the Napatan Period (circa 750-300 BC) and was found at *El-Kurru in Tomb 51*, in Nubia (Information - Penn Museum, number 92-2-97).



Fig. 2.60 Openwork amulet of a winged scarab.
(The Penn Museum, 92-2-97)⁷²

b) Faience winged scarab amulet from Nubia

Figure 2.61 & Add II, A37 depicts a faience winged scarab amulet from the Nubian, Napatan Period of the reign of Piankhy (Piye) (743-712 BC). It was found in the *Tomb of queen Tabiry at El-Kurru (tomb 53)* in Nubia. The scarab is holding one, many-petalled, and daisy-like rosette between his paws. The artefact is housed in the Boston Museum of Fine arts, number 24.713.



Fig. 2.61 Winged scarab amulet.
(The Boston Museum, 24.713)⁷³

⁷² <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/95100>

2.7.4.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the two scarab amulets with rosettes*

An amulet was worn to confer *protection* upon its possessor so the rosette might also have symbolized protection. Magic was central to the practice of healing in the ancient world. Magic was employed in a number of different ways and each kind of magic, such as wearing amulets, had different ways of being effective (Craffert 1999b:61). The rosette between the scarab's legs would most probably imply the sun with all its good properties.

According to Cornelius (1990:28) in Egypt the scarab (Egyptian *hpr* which sounds similar to the verb 'to become' *hpr*, [Keel & Uehlinger 1990:62-63] or sacred beetle was connected with the new-born sun, rising from the nether world of the night. The rising sun disperses evil. The reason for the popularity of the sun symbol may lie in the fact that the sun symbolises order and the control over the powers of darkness and evil. In this regard *protection* comes into play. This might possibly indicate that the rosette was a symbol for the sun, as the scarab symbol was associated with the sun, as well as with good luck, just as the lotus flower was also associated with the sun (cf. 2.7.10.2).

The pharaoh was the son of the sun god Ra (Cornelius 1990:31) and he also had to execute order (cf. 2.2.2). The fact that the scarab is holding (or rolling) a rosette between its paws might indicate that the rosette symbol is also the symbol for the sun in its *protective* role, guarding the person wearing the amulet from evil and darkness. The scarab amulet depicting a rosette might possibly symbolize '*order*' in the life of the wearer and *protection* towards the person. *Fertility*, *new life* and the *creative force* of the sun god Ra must also be considered in this artefact, as the rosette between the scarab's legs might possibly imply these aspects of the sun god. On the other hand both Hathor and Ra are Egyptian divinity and there is a good chance of the scarab amulet to rather have had Nubian influences as it was a Nubian artefact.

2.7.5 **Cosmetic containers depicting rosettes**

The presence of a few motifs such as the guilloche and rosette was a common trait for cosmetic containers, including kohl-boxes and other cosmetic instruments. These motifs derive from an Early Bronze Age tradition for precious and often exotic stone containers (Mazzoni 2005:57).

⁷³ <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/145731/winged-scarab-amulet?ctx=1a378143-cf69-4570-b7d8-38a2e0e0fc3b&idx=0>

2.7.5.1. *Iconographic description of rosettes on cosmetic containers*

a) A wooden cosmetic container with rosettes

The wooden box in Figure 2.62 & Add II, A13 has a swivel top incised with a decorative pattern of concentric and overlapping circles that must have been made with an early version of a drawing compass. The inside of the box was incised with a simple rosette design, although it is not noticeable in Figure 2.65. The box was found inside a coffin discovered in the tomb of Hatnefer (circa 1492-1473 BC). This artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 36.3.11.



Fig. 2.62 Cosmetic container from the reign of Thutmose II.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 36.3.11)⁷⁴

b) An ivory cosmetic container with rosette

A similar box from the same period, but made of ivory, is also in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum, number 16.10.425. This small ivory box (Fig. 2.63 & Add II, A9) has a lid that is pegged at one end, allowing it to swivel open and closed. The hole at the other end of the lid once held another peg. When closed, the peg in the lid and the peg protruding from the box could be bound together with string to keep the box from opening. The top of the box has been decorated with incised lines that form a daisy-like rosette with many sharp-ended petals, framed by a tiny zig-zag pattern. The rosettes in Figures 3.39; 3.40; 3.52 and 3.59 resemble the same type of rosette.

⁷⁴ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548960>



Fig. 2.63 Ivory container (circa 1550-1458 BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 16.10.425)⁷⁵

According to the Metropolitan Museum of Art the decoration was once filled with a material called 'Egyptian blue'. Boxes similar to this one, made of wood, bone, or ivory, probably held dry cosmetics such as rouge. The box was excavated by the Cairo Museum's Egyptian Expedition in 1916. The ivory cosmetic box comes from Thebes in Upper Egypt and was used during the 18th Dynasty.

2.7.5.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on cosmetic containers*

The function of these small pots and the products they contained, such as oils, perfumes, cosmetics, and spices, and the occasion for which they were destined, were probably ritual and cultic ceremonies, both official and private (Mazzoni 2005:57). If the cosmetic containers were used for ritual and cultic purposes as Mazzoni proposes, a rosette could probably have symbolized that they were consecrated (set apart) for the temple. On the other hand, *divine protection* towards women and even *divine fertility* aspects suit women well, and this might possibly have been the reason for the rosette symbol on these cosmetic containers. The sun god Ra and Hathor were both seen as divine protectors and both were also 'givers' of fertility. The rosette that occurs on the cosmetic containers in Figures 2.62-2.63 might possibly have pointed to these attributes of the god and goddess.

⁷⁵ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547031>

2.7.6 Cosmetic spoons

2.7.6.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on two mixing spoons

a) Faience cosmetic spoon

The faience cosmetic spoon in Figure 2.64 & Add II, A32 depicts a figure with two goats, one of which is carried over his shoulder. A daisy-like rosette with 16 petals is depicted inside the round spoon part of the mixing tray.



Fig. 2.64 Faience cosmetic spoon (circa 712-332 BC).
(LACMA, 1992.152.59)⁷⁶

The faience cosmetic spoon (Fig. 2.64) is 13cm high and is housed in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA, 1992.152.59).

b) Limestone cosmetic tray

Figure 2.65 & Add II, A21 depicts a limestone cosmetic tray with a sphinx and also a 16-petal daisy-like rosette in the spoon part of the tray. The limestone cosmetic tray with a sphinx dates from the 6th-5th century BC. It is housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 1999.353.

⁷⁶ <https://collections.lacma.org/node/172517>



Fig. 2.65 Limestone cosmetic tray.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 1999.353)⁷⁷

2.7.6.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on two cosmetic mixing spoons*

An item which formed part of the Egyptian cosmetic repertoire was the mixing spoon, also called mixing tray. The hollow part of cosmetic spoons was used to mix the powder and the liquid to form a paste. The paste could have been eyeshadow or rouge or any other cosmetic mixture and it might possibly have been used in rituals in the temple. The occasions for which they were destined were probably ritual and cultic ceremonies, both official and private, and thus the rosettes on the spoons could possibly have indicated to a divinity. It could also be that the royal females used these spoons for their own make up, and hence the rosettes on them might have symbolized their *divine royalty*. Even men used eye makeup and there is a possibility that the spoons with rosettes in Figures 2.64-2.65 were used for mixing the male eye makeup, and if that were indeed the case, I would suggest royalty, indicating their divinity. The rosette symbol might possibly have been a symbol for the sun god, indicating all his good characteristics.

Divine protection towards women, and even *divine fertility* aspects suit women well, and this might possibly have been the reason for the rosette symbol on these cosmetic spoons. The sun god Ra and Hathor were both seen as divine protectors and both were also 'givers' of fertility. The rosette that occurs on the cosmetic spoons in Figures 2.64-2.65 might possibly have indicated these attributes of the god and goddess.

⁷⁷ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327826>

2.7.7 Tomb ceilings of noble men depicting rosettes

At the beginning of the Old Kingdom, only pharaohs were entitled to an afterlife, but by the time of the New Kingdom, eleven centuries later, life after death was the expectation of all Egyptians. The Egyptians carefully prepared for a hereafter. Different colourful rosette designs form part of tomb ceilings (see Figs. 2.66-2.70).

2.7.7.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on tomb ceilings

a) The ceiling of Neferrenpet's tomb

The ceiling of Neferrenpet's tomb was decorated with different geometric patterns. In Figure 2.66 we see a design with yellow, red and blue rosettes, with circles and lines forming a type of rosette. Neferrenpet was a deputy administrator of the treasury and a 'Scribe of the divine offering of all the gods' during the reign of Ramses II. His tomb (TT 296) can be found in the Necropolis of El-Khoka on the west bank at Luxor. It is one of the so-called 'Tombs of the Nobles' (Paul Smit. Egypt: Tombs of Luxor-web).⁷⁸ Figures 2.41; 2.42; 2.43 and 2.67 are rosettes resembling the circle and line type of rosettes in Figure 2.66.



Fig. 2.66 Ceiling in Neferrenpet's tomb at Luxor.⁷⁹
(Photo credit: Mick Palarczyk & Paul Smit)

b) Another part of the ceiling of Neferrenpet's tomb

Figure 2.67 depicts another part of the ceiling of Neferrenpet's tomb in Luxor which was decorated with red rosettes within blue circles. Different petals are indicated with white painted lines. The number of petals seems to differ, but I would suggest that daisy-like rosettes were imitated by the white lines crossing the red circles. (Paul Smit. Egypt: Tombs of Luxor- web).⁸⁰

⁷⁸ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

⁷⁹ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

⁸⁰ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>



Fig. 2.67 Another ceiling in Neferrenpet's tomb.⁸¹
(Photo credit: Mick Palarczyk & Paul Smit)

c) The ceiling of Djutmoses' tomb

The ceiling of Djutmoses' tomb at Luxor was decorated with different geometric patterns. Figure 2.68 shows a design with vibrant blue daisy-like rosettes. The blue petals come together at a round yellow centre and the blue petals differ in darker and lighter blue colours. Although the diadem of Princess Sat-Hathor Lunet, in Figure 2.10, is not very clear, it might possibly bear a resemblance to the daisy-like rosettes of Figure 2.68. Djutmose (also called Paroy) was an embalmer with the title 'Head of the secrets in the Chest of Anubis' during the reigns of Thutmosis IV and Amenhotep III. His tomb (TT 295) can be found in the Necropolis of El-Khoka on the west bank at Luxor. It is one of the so-called 'Tombs of the Nobles' (Paul Smit. Egypt: Tombs of Luxor-web.)⁸²



Fig. 2.68 Ceiling of Djutmoses' tomb.⁸³
(Photo Mick Palarczyk & Paul Smit)

d) The ceiling of Userhet's tomb

The ceiling of Userhet's tomb was decorated with colourful patterns and rosettes (Fig. 2.69). Userhet (also called Neferhabef) was 'First Prophet of the Royal Ka (soul) of Thutmosis I' and

⁸¹ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

⁸² <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

⁸³ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

served in the cult temple of this 18th Dynasty pharaoh during the reigns of 19th Dynasty pharaohs Ramses I and Seti I (Paul Smith Egypt: Tombs of Luxor-web).⁸⁴



Fig. 2.69 Colourful ceiling in Userhet's tomb at Luxor.⁸⁵
(Photo credit: Mick Palarczyk & Paul Smit)

The tomb (TT 51) is located in the Sheikh Abd el Qurnah Necropolis on the west bank at Luxor and is one of the so-called 'Tombs of the Nobles'. Originally it was one of the most beautiful tombs of the necropolis, but it was badly vandalized in 1941 AD (Paul Smith Egypt: Tombs of Luxor-web). Rows of broad-banded concentric rosettes with white petals decorate the ceiling on red and blue backgrounds. These rosettes resemble those found in Figures 2.5-2.7; 2.30; 2.44 and 2.45).

2.7.7.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the tomb ceilings*

This tomb ceiling (Fig. 2.69) appears much the same as the reconstruction of the temple tiles in Figure 2.5-2.7; 2.30 and 2.45. It seems as if the temple-, palace-, and tomb decorations all corresponded. They were definitely adorned with numerous rosettes of different types. It is amazing how the colours are still bright and vibrant after such a long time. The 'yellow' might possibly have indicated gold as the spirals in Figures 2.30 have actually been decorated with golden paint.

The rosettes might possibly indicate the sanctity of these buildings, or they might possibly have indicated *protection* for the people (especially the royal family) using them, as *protection* would fit a palace. On the other hand, if it was the sun that was portrayed in the rosette symbol, it might even have meant a new life and new beginnings. The last idea would be very befitting for a tomb, and *spiritual awakening* would also fit a temple.

⁸⁴ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

⁸⁵ <https://paulsmit.smugmug.com/Features/Africa/Egypt-Luxor-tombs/>

2.7.8 Buttons and disc tiles depicting rosettes

2.7.8.1 Iconographic description of rosette buttons and tiles from Qantir

a) Blue and white faience rosette disc

Figure 2.70 depicts a blue and white faience rosette disc with a hole in the middle. Ten light blue petals are arranged on a white background. This depiction of a rosette might possibly also resemble a daisy-like rosette, although in this instance the petals are a tiny bit apart, the same as in Figure 2.72 and the grey, larger rosette in the middle of Figure 2.35. The front and the back are shown and it is said to be a button. The photo was taken by Peter Fischer.



Fig. 2.70 Egyptian faience button, front, and back (circa 1200 BC).
(Photo credit: Peter Fischer)⁸⁶

b) Golden rosette disc

Figure 2.71 & Add II, A38 depicts a golden three-dimensional rosette button with eight petals from the Napatan Period (900-270 BC).



Fig. 2.71 Rosette button from Nubia (circa 535 BC)
(The Boston Museum, 20.272)⁸⁷

c) Six different rosette disc tiles

The faience rosettes in Figure 2.72 & Add II, A16 originate from Qantir. The illustration depicts six different disc tiles. The first three are more or less similar in form, and have ten dark (possibly black) petals each on white backgrounds. The next disc tile seems to have had ten petals and a hole in the middle of the disc although it is not very clear. The fifth disc is also not very attractive, but it seems as if it also had ten petals on a disc. The last disc is different because

⁸⁶ <http://www.sci-news.com/archaeology/stunning-artifacts-cyprus-04107.html>

⁸⁷ <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/142330>

it depicts sixteen white petals on a disc and resembles a daisy. This artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum, number 35.1.139.



Fig. 2.72 Rosette disc tiles from Qantir-Piamesesses.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 35.1.139)⁸⁸

Mahmud Hamza's excavations confirmed that the source of the faience material, also the rosettes in Figure 2.72, was from Qantir. What he found at a distance of sixty metres or so, was substantial evidence of a faience and glazing factory of great size (Webb 2017:10).

2.7.8.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the buttons, the roundel and tiles from Qantir*

Qantir is now the site of long-term investigations which have revealed very large glass and metal manufacturing workshops (Webb 2017:10). In the debris from the glazing workshop many tiles bearing the name and titles of Ramesses II, rosette tiles and other decorative forms, about ten thousand terra-cotta moulds, and other evidence of the manufacturing process were found (Webb 2017:10). Many of the moulds were for rosette tiles. This material found its way both to the Cairo Museum and the Metropolitan Museum in New York and, as a result, further work was undertaken by W. C. Hayes which concentrated on reconstructing the actual decoration of the palace of Rameses II (Webb 2017:10).⁸⁹

The numerous rosette tiles must have meant that there was a great demand for rosettes for the Egyptians, and definitely for Ramesses II. The king was also often identified with the *sun god* because the king was an incarnate god in Egypt. Ramses II, being a king was *divine* and the sun with its good properties, such as *creative* and *fertility* aspects, could possibly have played a role in his choice of the numerous displays of rosettes. On the other hand, if the rosette symbol was indeed a symbol for protection as Reade and Hart suggest, the numerous discs found in connection with Ramesses II could have been placed as symbol of *protection* on his palaces and

⁸⁸ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/568007>

⁸⁹ As it is believed that Moses and the Israelites in Egypt, lived there under Ramses II, it might be possible that they encountered the rosette symbol (see Addendum I).

temples. I suggest that it could have indicated consecration and the concepts recognized with consecration, such as blessings, holiness, set apart, sacredness and sanctification.

2.7.9 The lotus flower symbolizing the sun

The lotus was well known in ancient Egypt growing mainly in the Nile River, but it is not endemic to Mesopotamia or Palestine. Two main species of lotus plants are the white lotus (*Nymphaea lotus*) and the blue lotus (*Nymphaea caeruleae*) (Albenda 2005:117). The white lotus flowers during the evening and therefore has a strong association with the moon. The blue lotus was the more popular flower, because of the colour, but mostly for the lovely fragrance of the flowers (Albenda 2005:117).

The natural open lotus flower looks very similar to a rosette. It exemplifies the rosette design we find in ancient Near Eastern art. The form of the natural lotus bud is also often portrayed in Egyptian art as seen on the hippopotami (Figs 2.2-2.3) and also on a faience bowl with lotus buds (Fig. 2.75).

The lotus has its roots in earthly mud, but as it grows upwards towards the light, the petals open out in a beautiful flower. At night the lotus flower closes and sinks underwater, and at dawn it rises and opens again (Meeuse & Schneider 1979:65-79). This could be the reason for the association with the *sun*, which also disappears at night-time and rises again at dawn (Albenda 2005:117; McDonald 2002:122). 'It is also widely acknowledged that the symbolic relationship between the Egyptian lotus and the sun is based on the natural colour scheme and radial symmetry of lotus blossoms, for flowers of *Nymphaea nouchalii* display a golden ovarian disk inside a sky-blue corolla, suggesting the image of a yellow sun in an azure sky' (McDonald 2002:122). The blue lotus bud opens precisely at dawn and closes at midday, when the sun is most destructive (Tait 1963:96).

Egyptian and Middle Eastern iconographers and mythographers recognised a natural symbolic relationship between their *sacred flower* and the *sacred sun* (McDonald 2002:122). The Egyptian lotus flower symbol was called *Sesen* in the Egyptian language. The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is the symbol of the *sun*, of *creation and rebirth*, and as such it is a *sacred flower* (Albenda 2005:117).

The way the lotus arose and disappeared every day symbolized the sun's journey, and so it also symbolized the journey of *death and rebirth* - a central theme in ancient Egyptian religion. Lotus

plants were the only plants which flowered throughout the year in Egypt, and this is one more reason for the blue lotus to symbolize the sun (Albenda 2005:117). There is a possibility that the *rosette symbol derived from the lotus flower*. If the *rosette* did resemble the *lotus flower*, then the rosette would also symbolize the *sun*.

2.7.10 The lotus flower depicted on five vessels resembling a rosette

The reason for depicting lotus shaped vessels here is because I am trying to bring the lotus flower and the rosette symbol together as one and the same symbol, in the sense of both symbolizing the sun. This idea has also been encountered with the hippopotami and the rosette flowers on its body (2.2.1.2). The blue and black faience lotus flower amulet in Figure 2.58, where the lotus looks like a lotus flower from the side, but as a rosette from the bottom, also enhances this argument.

2.7.10.1 Iconographic descriptions of five vessels depicting lotus flowers

a) A chalice-shaped vessel

The chalice-shaped vessel in Figure 2.73 & Add II, A41 is from the 22nd Dynasty (945-715 BC) and resembles a blue lotus flower. It is currently housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris.



Fig. 2.73 Siliceous faience chalice-shaped lotus vessel.
(The Louvre Museum, E 11349)⁹⁰

b) Egyptian blue, lotus-shaped chalice

An Egyptian blue, lotus-shaped chalice (cup) (Fig. 2.74 & Add II, A27) belongs to The New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, and reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC). It is currently housed in the British Museum, number EA32626.

⁹⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010007229>



Fig. 2.74 Egyptian blue lotus-shaped chalice.
(The British Museum, EA32626)⁹¹

c) Faience bowl with lotus buds

Figure 2.75 & Add II, A39 is from Deir el-Bahri, Egypt and is now housed in The Metropolitan Museum, New York. It depicts a faience bowl (also known as a marsh bowl)⁹² with lotus buds together with a ten-petal, lotus-like rosette in the middle. This rosette might actually be an open lotus flower, and if this is indeed the case, my theory of the rosette being inspired by an open lotus seen from the top is enhanced in this artefact (cf. 2.2.1.2).



Fig. 2.75 Blue faience bowl with lotus buds and a rosette in the middle (18th Dynasty).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 22.3.73)⁹³

⁹¹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA32626

⁹² <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547609>

⁹³ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547570>

d) Blue faience saucer with a stand

The blue faience saucer with a stand in Figure 2.76 & Add II, A40 is a good example of a daisy-like rosette with several petals, as well as a fine-looking example of Egyptian blue. The white rosette decorates the bottom of the saucer and stands out against the blue faience.



Fig. 2.76 Blue faience saucer and stand, New Kingdom (1400-1325 BC)
(The Walters Arts Museum, 48.1608)⁹⁴

e) Chalice in the shape of a lotus flower

The blue faience lotus flower cup (Fig. 2.77) almost resembles the chalices in Figure 2.73 and 2.74. The cup in Fig. 2.77 was found by Petrie Flinders. It belongs to the assemblage of late Predynastic and Early Dynastic artefacts from Petrie's excavations at Kafr-Tarkhan (situated south of Cairo). Petrie's excavations here were done over two seasons: from 1911 to 1912, and from 1912 to 1913. Over 2 000 ancient grave sites were excavated at Kafr-Tarkhan and most found artefacts date back to Naqada III and Dynasty 1 (ca. 3325-2667 BC). The artefact is currently housed in the Iziko Museum in Cape Town.

⁹⁴ <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/22836/blue-faience-saucer-and-stand/>



Fig. 2.77 Lotus flower cup from Kafr-Tarkhan.
(Iziko Museum, SACHM1722)⁹⁵

The majority of artefacts in Iziko's collection are from excavations carried out by British archaeologist and Egyptologist Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie (1853 -1942).

f) Cup in the shape of a lotus flower

From the side, the blue-glazed drinking-cup in Figure 2.78 gives the impression of a blue lotus flower, but from the top, it has the shape of a lotus-like rosette. It is not clear how many petals form part of this cup, but probably eight, as eight was a regular number for lotus-like rosettes. This artefact is housed in the British Museum in London.



Fig. 2.78 Blue faience cup in the shape of a lotus flower.
(The Encyclopaedia of Ancient Myths and Culture 2003:561)

⁹⁵ <https://www.iziko.org.za/collections/ancient-and-classical-cultures>

2.7.10.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of five vessels depicting lotus flowers*

Egyptian blue, together with the style of the blue lotus flower, was often used in bowls and vessels in Egypt. It is usually the lotus flower that is depicted in these Egyptian blue vessels, but it seems as if the rosette might also have been indicated, as the lotus flower is seen from above, resembling a rosette (Fig. 2.78). The lotus flower was a symbol for the sun and all its good properties, such as new life, fertility and protection, thus the rosette might possibly have had the same qualities.

This leaves the question open: is the lotus flower also the rosette, or maybe the lotus flower is where the rosette originated from? This idea has also been encountered with the hippopotami and the rosette flowers on its body (2.2.1.2) and with the blue and black faience lotus flower amulet in Figure 2.58, where the lotus looked like a lotus flower from the side, but as a rosette from the bottom. These artefacts should possibly confirm the association between the rosette symbol and the lotus flower and that they were probably matching, similar and corresponding.

2.8 CONCLUSION

During my iconological interpretations I found the rosette symbol mostly displayed with or on *divinity* and their *temples*, as well as with *royalty* and their *palaces*, and therefore, I agree committedly with Cahill (1997), Collon (1995), Frankfort (1948:224-226) and Ussishkin (1982:115) that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern *divinity and royalty*.

After considering my iconographic analyses and iconological interpretations I also agree unreservedly with Tilley (2006:7, 61), Hodder (1987:1-10) and Braithwaite (1982:80) that symbols such as the rosette formed part of important non-verbal communication. Tilley has promoted the perception of material culture and its associated iconography as a means of non-verbal communication, with symbols found on material forms being vehicles via which complex ideas are communicated to others.

The iconological interpretations of the rosettes encountered during this chapter on Egypt brought me to a place of not yet being convinced that the rosette symbol was merely a symbol for protection as Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) propose it to be. I am also not yet convinced that the rosette symbol was a symbol purely for fertility as Winter (2009:241; 1976a:46) suggests. I am attempting to connect the characteristic of *divinity* to the rosette symbol and therefore I would prefer the terms *divine fertility* and *divine protection*, as the

role of the divine sun, divine lotus flower, the divinities Ra, Hathor, the River Nile, and the divine kings, all point to this conclusion. I am not disagreeing with the above mentioned scholars, but I am trying to *add* the concept of *consecration* to the rosette symbol. At this stage of my research I would prefer to believe that the rosette symbol was a non-verbal sign for the *divine/godly, including consecration*. If I am correct in my assessment that the rosette symbol signified *divinity*, it would suit the worldview of the Egyptians, where nothing stood on its own, but everything was connected to the divine. The Egyptians were a most religious people. Religion affected every area of life: piety, ethics, politics, and death. If we eliminate all the archaeological remains and artefacts connected to religion, for instance temples, funerary structures, cultic statues and stele, little would remain (Hoffmeier 1994:284).

Because of the life giving qualities of the sun, the Egyptians worshiped the sun as a god. The creator of the universe and the giver of life, the *sun Ra* also represented life, warmth and growth. The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the *lotus* is the symbol of the *sun*, of *creation and rebirth*, and as such it is *a sacred flower*, which in turn is possibly connected to the *rosette symbol*. Mythological tales relating to the sun point to an association between the daily transit of the sun through the heavens, and a cycle of *birth, death and rebirth*, a recurring theme in the Egyptian religion.

Seeing that the *sun was seen as the giver of life, vegetation (fertility)*, and also gave *protection against evil forces and darkness*, specifically in Egypt, this is a reason to believe that the rosette is probably a symbol for *divine fertility* and *divine protection*.

Hathor was associated with the creative force of the *sun*. The sun is the giver of life, controlling the ripening of crops which were worked by man. Winter suggests that the rosette symbol might indicate *fertility* (1976:46), which is then a good reason for Hathor, the goddess of *fertile aspects*, to make use of rosettes.

It is known that the lotus plant and the lotus flower had spiritual connotations in different cultures including the Far East, as well as the ancient Near East, but more specifically Egypt. It became clear that the *lotus flower (as a symbol for the sun)* might have played a major role as *inspiration* for the rosette as symbol. The *sun* most probably represented fertility, protection and divinity, because the sun was also seen as a god (see above). Eight-pointed stars, eight-petalled lotus flowers (Figs. 2.17; 2.19; 2.31; 2.34; 2.51 and 2.58), and rosettes are claimed to be ancient solar symbols connected to the rising and setting sun, and to the sun's life-giving energy.

The *king* was often identified with the sun god because the king was an incarnate god in Egypt. The rosette symbols on royal items could probably have indicated the *sun* as the giver of life and it would be perfect for the royal family to wear, or use, something indicating their *sacredness*. The sun is also a symbol for *protection* (against evil and darkness), thus the rosettes on royal artefacts might possibly also have indicated *protection towards the king and queen* and the royal household (I would suggest divine protection). Hathor on the other hand was the goddess of creativity and fertility and the rosettes on royal items might have symbolised *divine fertility*.

In the *palaces* faience tiles and paintings with rosette designs are found on the walls, floors and ceilings in abundance. These rosettes used at the palaces might possibly have indicated the *divine protection* of the divinity, being Ra and/or Hathor, towards the palace and its occupants, although it could also have been a symbol for consecration and the concepts recognised with consecration, such as blessings, holiness, set apart, sacredness and sanctification.

Seeing that the lotus flower was moreover the symbol for the sun, the rosette might thus correspondingly be the symbol for the sun and the associated sun god, Ra. The rosette and the lotus flower *resemble* each other in certain instances (see Figs. 2.58 and 2.78). The lotus flower can be seen (from the top looking down) resembling a rosette, although the lotus flower was not the only type of rosette in Egypt.

The daisy-like rosette used in the palaces might have symbolized *divine fertility*, as Winter suggests that daisies are a good contender for fertility, as it can endure harsh circumstances (1976:46). The *daisy* does not only endure difficult circumstances, but the flowers also respond to the sunlight. When dark, the flowers close their petals, but the more brightly the sun shines, the more open the petals are. This is then also, just like the lotus, a flower responding directly to the sun.

A third flower which responds to the strength of sunlight is the sunflower. The sunflowers lift their heads towards the sun, but with poor sunlight they let their heads hang. The sun flower might thus also have been a contender to symbolize the good aspects and character traits of the sun god.

The research questions that have been addressed in this chapter are the *illumination* of the rather unknown rosette symbol in the ancient Near East, more specifically, Egypt. The *origin* of the

rosette symbol has possibly been reached, namely *the sun* (Ra), which is symbolized by the lotus and possibly also a rosette-like symbol. The daisy flower and the sunflower might have been portrayed in the Egyptian artefacts as sun symbols, as both these flower types respond to sun light.

I have found six *distinctive types* of rosettes (cf. 1.6) depicted in/or on artefacts from Egypt:

The lotus-like rosette (Figs. 2.2; 2.3; 2.17; 2.19; 2.31; 2.32; 2.33; 2.34; 2.35; 2.51; 2.58; 2.75 and 2.78).

The daisy-like rosette (Figs. 2.9; 2.10; 2.11; 2.14; 2.16; 2.22; 2.23; 2.26; 2.27; 2.36; 2.37; 2.38; 2.39; 2.40; 2.52; 2.53; 2.59; 2.60; 2.61; 2.63; 2.64; 2.65; 2.68; 2.70 and 2.76).

The daisy, broad-banded concentric rosettes almost identifiable with a sunflower (Figs. 2.5; 2.6; 2.7; 2.30; 2.44; 2.45 and 2.69).

Obovate petalled rosettes resembling leaves or petals not touching each other (Figs. 2.47; 2.48; 2.50 and 2.57).

Three dimensional rosettes occur although this style is scarce (Figs. 2.12; 2.13; 2.29 and 2.71).

Painted rosettes within a circle and distinctive lines cutting across the circle to resemble a rosette (Figs. 2.8; 2.41; 2.42; 2.43; 2.66 and 2.67).

See Table 2.1 at the end of Chapter Two.

Different materials have been used in Egypt to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium are illustrated in the attached Table 2.2 at the end of Chapter Two. Gold, faience, ivory, baked and glazed tiles, stone and paint are the different materials that are mostly used in producing rosettes, although these are not the only mediums that the Egyptians worked with. These are the materials that I could find during my research, although I am sure there are more rosettes in Egypt which might be made with a different kind of material. In some of the other civilizations we encounter glass and silver rosettes as well.

I found it interesting that no silver rosettes were encountered in Egypt although silver was seen as a 'rich' commodity. It could possibly be that gold was in such abundance and was the preferred

metal. I also find it peculiar that only one ivory cosmetic box with a rosette was found throughout my research, as many other ivory items are found in Egypt. Not only was elephant ivory used in Egypt, but also hippopotami teeth were gathered for ivory.

See Table 2.2 at the end of Chapter Two.

Table 2.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol.

Table 2.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes from different civilizations.

Table 2.5 is an elementary chart of the main divinities with their main characteristics.

Table 2.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different types of rosettes found in Egypt.

Table 2.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in Egypt. The three artefacts also disagree with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes. The discussion on these three artefacts follows in the conclusion in Chapter Eight.

Table 2.1 Examples of different types of rosettes found in Egyptian art




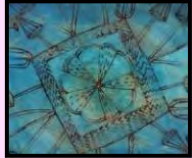



















Lotus	 <p>Figure 2.2</p>	 <p>Figure 2.34</p>	 <p>Figure 2.58</p>	 <p>Figure 2.75</p>
Daisy	 <p>Figure 2.36</p>	 <p>Figure 2.38</p>	 <p>Figure 2.39</p>	 <p>Figure 2.40</p>
Broad banded concentric	 <p>Figure 2.5</p>	 <p>Figure 2.30</p>	 <p>Figure 2.45</p>	 <p>Figure 2.69</p>
Obovate petals	 <p>Figure 2.48</p>	 <p>Figure 2.48</p>	 <p>Figure 2.50</p>	-
Three dimensional	 <p>Figure 2.12</p>	 <p>Figure 2.13</p>	 <p>Figure 2.29</p>	 <p>Figure 2.78</p>
Circles with lines	 <p>Figure 2.42</p>	 <p>Figure 2.43</p>	 <p>Figure 2.66</p>	 <p>Figure 2.67</p>

Table 2.2 Rosettes created from different materials in Egyptian art

Gold	 Figure 2.10	 Figure 2.12	 Figure 2.13	 Figure 2.16
Silver	-	-	-	-
Faience	 Figure 2.2	 Figure 2.58	 Figure 2.61	 Figure 2.64
Ivory/ Mother of pearl	 Figure 2.63	-	-	-
Stone	 Figure 2.4	 Figure 2.18	 Figure 2.20	 Figure 2.22
Paint	 Figure 2.41	 Figure 2.42	 Figure 2.66	
Baked and glazed tiles	 Figure 2.33	 Figure 2.34	 Figure 2.35	 Figure 2.72
Glass	-	-	-	-

Table 2.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer							
Assyria							
Babylonia							
Anatolia							
Persia							

Table 2.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer		
Assyria		
Babylonia		
Anatolia		
Persia		

Table 2.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creative	New Life	Herding	War
Ra	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna										
Utu										
Ishtar										
Shamash										
Shamash										
Adad										
Marduk										
Arinna										
Kumbaba										
Ahura M										
Anahita										
Mithra										

Table 2.6 The number of different types of rosettes encountered in Chapter Two

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer										
Assyria										
Babilonia										
Anatolia										
Persian										

Table 2.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Egypt



Fig. 2.17 Cleopatra with an eight petalled rosette bracelet on her upper arm



Fig. 2.78 A vessel in the form of a combined lotus flower and a rosette



Fig. 2.4 Hathor with rosettes on her hair

CHAPTER THREE

ROSETTES IN SUMER AND AKKAD

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The land of Sumeria refers to the southern part of the flat alluvial plains that lie between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. The Akkadian Empire (2400-2100 BC) denotes the northern part of the same flood plain where the two rivers nearly converge in the vicinity of modern Bagdad. This was the home to some of the earliest cities in the world: Uruk, Ur, Umma, Lagash and Nippur (Fig. 3.1) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:150).

Sumerian history is divided into different periods: Uruk Period (3800-3200 BC), Jemdet Nasar Period (3200-2900 BC), Early Dynastic Period (2800-2400 BC), the Akkad Period (2400-2100 BC), and the Ur III Period (2100-1950 BC) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:155).

The oldest and largest city of the Sumerian civilisation was Uruk which had a population totalling approximately ten thousand. Founded in circa 3800 BC, the land of the Sumerians was so fruitful that surpluses were being produced (Lewis 2002:198).

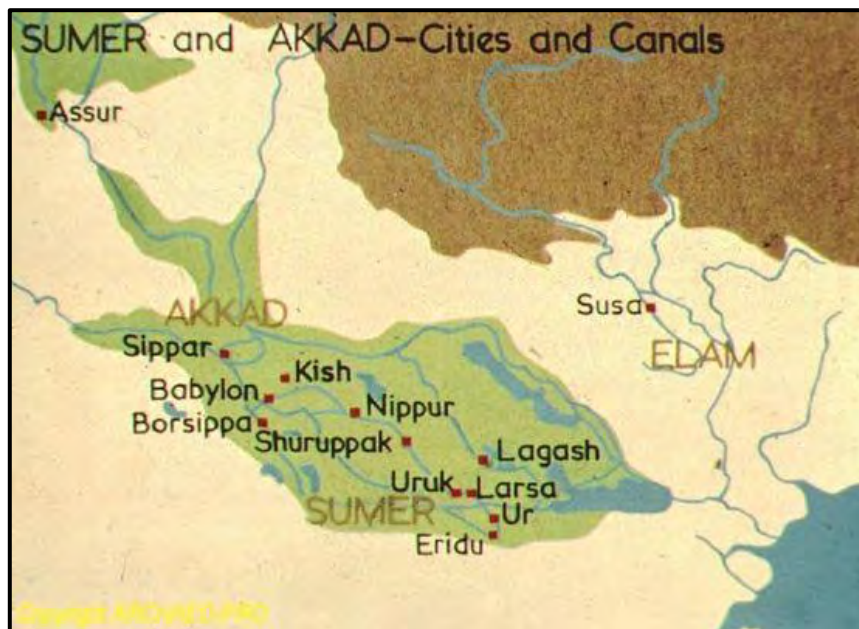


Fig. 3.1 Map of Sumerian and Akkadian cities.⁹⁶

In Uruk and the other Sumerian cities, the temple complex was the storehouse where the surplus food was stored, the splendid palaces had an opulent lifestyle, and the military had a reputation for conquest (Lewis 2002:198).

⁹⁶ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/115756652905299965/> also see <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/1352/map-of-sumer/> as well as [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cities_of_Sumer_\(en\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cities_of_Sumer_(en).svg)

The secular kings who first appeared around 2750 BC ruled by strict codes of law. The first set of laws was promulgated by Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Woolf 2005:74). The first kings also had a reputation for military conquest. Such a reputation was very necessary at a time when the city-states of Sumer were becoming overcrowded and were vying with each other for land and resources (Lewis 2002:199). Ultimately, a ruler able to overtake all others came on the scene: Sargon of Agade, who conquered Mesopotamia in approximately 2334 BC and set up the Akkadian Empire. Sargon then extended his empire to the Mediterranean and Anatolia (Lewis 2002:199).

From the land of Akkad came the name Akkadian given to the Semitic language that came into common use in Mesopotamia from Sargon's time onwards. Akkadian is also the term by which modern scholars identify the period in Mesopotamian history that was dominated by Sargon and other rulers who came after him (Kramer 1968:39).

In this chapter, I would like to examine artefacts with a depiction of rosettes or rosette-like symbols in the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations, and in doing so, maybe find the 'inspiration' and symbolic meaning of the rosette. The art of the ancient Near East was profoundly influenced by the developments of the Uruk Period. Not only did the innovations in the field of pottery making, architecture, sculpture, seals and writing have a lasting impact, but certain pictorial conventions and iconographical creations originated at this time (Collon 1995:55).

Art has long been investigated as a visual code of communication (Hoskins 2006:82). As Hart states: 'In any case of cross-cultural use of iconographic motifs, indigenous creation should be a consideration' (2014b:132). Phillips (2005:41) is of opinion that transmission and reception should not be assumed because they appear visually related. Where representational patterns survive in the process of translation from one culture to another, their meaning may have changed beyond recognition (Hart 2014b:133). This will also be the case when we encounter the rosette motif in the following chapters. Some scholars consider Egypt to be the origin of the rosette symbol, with the Nile, the lotus flower and sun as inspiration (cf. Chapter Two). The origin of the rosette symbol will be investigated again, just as the lotus flower and the sun were considered in Egypt, but in Sumer and Akkad it might possibly be a rather different story. The Venus star might possibly have been the creative force behind the rosette symbol in Sumer and Akkad.

According to Matthiae a connection with the deities of the southern Mesopotamian religious and ideological spheres were made with the rosettes, rectangles, triangles and meanders decorations (Matthiae 2003:381-402; Ramazzotti 2018:293). The connection between the Sumerian and Akkadian deities and the rosette symbol is exactly what I am going to investigate in this chapter (3.2 and 3.3). The ideographic apparatus seems to be a good possibility for further exploration of the ancient Mesopotamian aesthetic of an ornament as a mark of grace and divine favour, yet at the same time it is also the starting point for the production of a generative inner grammar of symbols (Ramazzotti 2018:293; Winter 2003:252-264). Winter speaks of 'inner grammar of symbols', and I call it codes, codes that need to be decoded. Panofsky calls it the iconological interpretation or deeper meaning (1939:14-15).

Again in this chapter an iconographic approach will be followed and Panofsky's model will be applied (cf. 1.6 Methodology) (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6).

The religious systems of the ancient Near East all consisted of a vast pantheon of gods that represented cosmic and natural forces. In Sumer the feelings of admiration and power elicited by the ruler were comparable to the feelings stimulated by numinous powers. This parallel led the Sumerians to the conclusion of associating the wonder and strength of the elements and nature, i.e. water and thunderstorms, with a supernatural ruler in human form (Saggs 1989a:272). This pattern of thought led to the development of anthropomorphic deities in the religious system of the Sumerians.

The people of the ancient Near East were extremely dependent on natural elements for their future existence. This was the reason that so many gods and goddesses used elements from nature as their symbols, for instance *the sun*, the moon, thunder storms with lightning as well as *stars* (Saggs 1989a:277).

The Mesopotamians believed that the future was predetermined by the gods and that gods used omens to communicate their decisions and intentions (Bertman 2003:168-169). As the ancient Mesopotamians believed that humanity's destiny was written in the stars, astrology, consequently, became very important. Mesopotamian priests viewed astronomy as a higher spiritual truth (Bertman 2003:170). In the Sumerians' quest to know more about the stars it is possible that they followed the path of the Venus star closely. The Venus star might possibly have been the inspiration for the rosette symbol in Sumer and Akkad.

3.2 VENUS

We know that the people of Mesopotamia were well advanced in astrology and that they watched the great constellations wheeling around them, as they came to identify the most brilliant stars and gave the zodiacal belt the names and images that endure to this day (Baring & Cashford 1991:199).

The Venus star is a timeless symbol that has appeared as an independent element on a wide array of artefacts since the fourth millennium BC (Ornan 2005a:151). According to Baring & Cashford (1991:199) the Sumerians and Babylonians were fascinated by the stars. *Eight* was the *number sacred* to the morning and evening star, addressed as the 'radiant Star' (Baring & Cashford 1991:199).

The star's shape changed over time in the number of its points, which usually oscillated between six and eight (Ornan 2005a:151). According to Marcus (1990:136) some stars have five or nine points. As stated, Venus is not always represented with the classical eight-pointed star, but the point number of the star could be *five, six, seven, eight or nine* (Pizzimenti 2014:153).

3.2.1 The Venus-tablet of Ammisaduqa, number 63

The importance of the Venus star in the lives of the Sumerians and Akkadians can be observed by the discovery of the *Venus-tablet of Ammisaduqa, number 63*. Venus has an eight-year rhythm, which fashioned the subject of the world's oldest astrological script, the *Venus-tablet of Ammisaduqa, number 63*, (Fig. 3.2 & Add II, A8) from Nineveh. The text was part of a series called *Enūma Anu Enlil*, the 'Book of the Gods of Heaven and Earth', and was dated to the 17th century BC. *Enūma Anu Enlil*, or 'When Anu and Enlil...' was the most important and extensive collection of omens of its time. In its entirety, it consisted of an estimated 70 different tablets and 7000 omens (Neugebauer 1969:101). Many of these were discovered in the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh (Aaboe 1974:278), but only one tablet is of interest to the investigation of astronomy and scientific approaches: *The Venus tablet, number 63* (Reiner & Pingree 1975:7; Harris 2011:23). *The Venus tablet, number 63* effectively recorded the *five synodic periods of Venus*, giving a series of ten omens over the *eight-year cycle* through the pattern of Venus's appearance and disappearance from view (Baigent 1994:59), although a number of observational errors would have inhibited the assembly of a perfect rosette. This artefact is currently housed in the British Museum, number K.160.



Fig. 3.2 The Venus tablet. Number 63.
(The British Museum, K.160)⁹⁷

3.2.1.1 *The dance of Venus creates a five petal rosette*

As mentioned above *the Venus tablet, number 63* effectively recorded the *five synodic periods* of Venus. Venus will dance its conjunctions in the shape of a heart, because of her backwards or retrograde cycle. The shape of these five hearts over the *eight-year cycle* constructs a *five-petal rosette* (Fig. 3.3) (Kollerstrom-web).⁹⁸

Unlike the other terrestrial planets, Venus has a retrograde rotation. The rotation of Venus is very slow, resulting in a solar day that is 117 earth days long (Fix 1999:219). Every *eight years*, Venus returns to almost exactly the same point where it was eight years before, and in the exact same relationship to the sun. Were the ancient people of Sumer and Akkad able to record these 'dances' with only their eye vision is questionable, and the movement of the Venus star must have been watched extremely carefully.

⁹⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_K-160

⁹⁸ <http://www.skyscript.co.uk/venusrose.html>

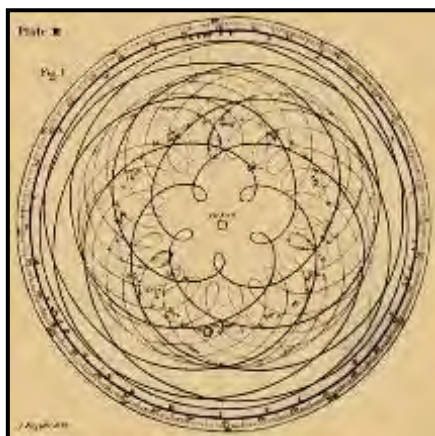


Fig. 3.3 Venus moves around the sun to form a rosette.⁹⁹

3.2.1.2 The dance of Venus creates a pentagon shape star

Venus also has a 'dance with the earth' which results in a pentagon, looking like a star. Venus traces a pentagon shape in the sky over ten meetings with the sun; it does this by moving, between each 'inferior' conjunction, exactly 1.6 times around the zodiac, and the time it takes to do this, 584 days, is its synodic period (Fig. 3.4-3.5) (Kollerstrom-web).

The Venus tablet number 63 recorded the five synodic periods of Venus, giving a series of ten omens over the eight-year cycle through the pattern of Venus's appearance and disappearance from view (Baigent 1994:59; Reiner & Pingree 1975:7; Harris 2011:23). The ancient astronomers watched the skies closely and recorded all the movements that they observed according to *The Venus tablet number 63*.



Fig. 3.4 Venus also has a 'dance with the earth' which results in a pentagon, looking like a star.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ <https://johncarlosbaez.wordpress.com/2014/01/04/the-pentagram-of-venus/>

¹⁰⁰ <http://blog.mahalasaastrology.com/2018/05/09/planet-alert-may-2018/>

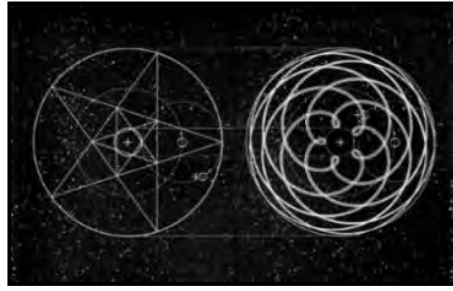


Fig. 3.5 Diagram of both the star and the rosette patterns of Venus.¹⁰¹

The pentagon-shaped star is traced around the zodiac in five such synodic periods, which is 7.993 years or *eight* years to a fraction of a day. Venus returns to the same portion of the zodiac after ten solar conjunctions, over a period of exactly 8 years (Kollerstrom-web).

Watching the dance of Venus brings the possibility of *Venus being the inspiration for the rosette* symbol into consideration as well as the *dance of Venus creating a pentagon shape star*. The rosette and star designs, which were created by the Venus star, might possibly be the reason for the rosettes and stars being depicted with the goddesses Inanna and Ishtar (cf. 3.3.2) (Figs. 3.6-3.11 and 3.14-3.15), indicating all her qualities as a divine goddess (cf. 3.3.2).

I am not sure if the ancients could really follow the star's path so closely without all the modern equipment we have today. On the other hand, they considered *eight* as a *sacred number* specifically in connection with the *Venus star*, and both the *star* and the *rosette* were some of the most important *symbols of Inanna*. The connection between the Venus star, the number eight, rosettes with eight petals, and stars with eight points, could surely not have been by accident?

Throughout the rest of the research the numbers of the petals will be counted to *try* to find a connection between the number of the petals and the symbolic meaning of the rosette.

3.3 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

3.3.1 The mother goddesses and father gods

It is difficult to discover a consistent identity and genealogy for the many goddesses and gods in the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations (Baring & Cashford 1991:182). Their dates and names are still muddled and obscure, partly because *every city in Sumeria had its favourite deity* and sometimes gave a special name to a god or goddess who may have played the same role in different places, and partly because older goddesses and gods evolved into new ones and were given new names (Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:30; Jacobson 1973:295). Moreover, they

¹⁰¹ <https://earthsky.org/astronomy-essentials/five-petals-of-venus/>

have Sumerian names in the south and Semitic names in the north, even though they may be contemporary with each other (Baring & Cashford 1991:182). Sargon seems to have been responsible for the reorganisation of the pantheon (Baring & Cashford 1991:145, 146).

The Sumerian deities were mostly associated with *fertility* and animal husbandry but the Akkadian deities were predominantly *astral*, representing *sun, moon, thunder and stars* (Baring & Cashford 1991:145-146). In order to unite the country, and in an attempt at breaking the close connection between gods and goddesses and their cities, Sumerian and Akkadian deities were thrown together (possibly by Sargon), and a new pantheon was created so that they could easily be identified visually (Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:34; Baring & Cashford 1991:145, 146). This is the reason why it is difficult in this chapter to distinguish between the divinities.

According to Vermaak the goddess as a religious symbol is not familiar to modern Western cultures. This is due to the fact that in the West divine elements in the universe are usually portrayed by means of masculine images. However, since prehistoric times goddesses have been worshipped and have formed part of the religious world of 'mankind' with a variety of functions and duties to be performed towards the divinity (1995:16; Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:20-21).

The term 'mother goddess' is widely used in popular writing with regard to polytheistic, pre-modern or so-called primitive religions, and had a variety of meanings. It also overlaps with such terms as 'earth mother', 'earth goddess', or 'fertility goddess' (Vermaak 1995:16; Black & Green 1992:132-133), although in Egypt the earth deity was male.

The role of the mother goddess as reflected in the ancient Near Eastern written and unwritten sources was, however, directly and indirectly, associated with the masculine 'storm god' which was in turn connected with the seasonal agricultural cycle (Vermaak 1995:17). This goddess was responsible for the return and rebirth of the storm god and in this regard played a pertinent and continuous role in *fertility*, making them a binary combination (Vermaak 1995:17). Although some sort of common cultural unity existed in the ancient Near East, each community still had its own idiosyncrasies; this also included the characters of the gods and goddesses (Vermaak 1995:17).

Towards the middle of the Bronze Age, the mother goddess recedes into the background as father gods begin to move to the centre of the stage. The imagery of the goddess begins to lose

its capacity to inspire; gradually the male principal assumes an increasingly dynamic role (Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:22; Baring & Cashford 1991:151-152). Gods like Anu, Marduk, Suen, Enki and Enlil are becoming more prominent.

Only the goddess Inanna/Ishtar (3.2.2) and the god Utu (3.2.3) of the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheon will be discussed as they are the only god and goddess that I could find with depictions of stars and/or rosettes. It is interesting that the goddess and the god had associations with celestial symbols, as Inanna was connected to the Venus star and Utu with the sun, and they were twins (Pryke 2017:36-37).

3.3.2 The goddess Inanna which in time became known as Ishtar

Inanna was occasionally identified as none other than Ishtar of Babylonia and Assyria or as Astarte, Asherah, Ashtoreth or Anat of Canaan and Egypt. Although the time spans fluctuate, all of these civilizations shared close iconographic relations with the sacred lotus (Frankfort 1939:207, 278; Keel & Uehlinger 1998:54, 65, 66, 86, 87, 360; Patai 1967:58-60). The Sumerians normally recognised Inanna as *a goddess of the skies and twin sister of the sun god Utu*. During this chapter I will be referring to the goddess Inanna, who later became Ishtar, as Inanna/Ishtar.

The goddess Inanna, who later became known as Ishtar (Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:62), was the most important female deity in Mesopotamia in all periods and her origins go back deep into pre-history. From around 3000 BC, the beginning of history in Sumeria, Inanna wielded immense power in a male-dominated pantheon (Bienkowski & Millard 2000:156; Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:76).

Jacobsen argues that Inanna's labelling as a *fertility goddess* has tended to obscure her complex nature. Alone or jointly with a male god, she *controlled a number of elements, both natural and cultural*, that were important to Sumerian society, among them storms and rains, the harvest storehouse, warfare, morning and evening stars, and sexual love, including prostitution (1976:135-139).

Inanna also *conferred the right of sovereignty* on Mesopotamian monarchs (Stuckey 2001:94-95; Frymer-Kensky 1992:27). Kingship was one of her gifts (Wolkstein & Kramer 1983:16). A few ancient texts refer to certain kings as Inanna's 'sons' but the references may rather be examples of

the use by ancient peoples of kinship terms to describe close relationships between deities, or between deities and humans, especially royal ones (Coogan 1978:56).

The '*shimmering*' Inanna, the goddess of *love, fertility and war*, queen of heaven *and earth* was the most important goddess in the Sumerian pantheon (Jacobsen 1976:135-139). One of her symbols was the *reed bundle* and she was often portrayed with *bright sunbeams* radiating from her image. According to Von Soden (1996:176) Inanna was the *goddess of the herd* and therefore her sacred beast was the sheep. She watched over her sacred herd of her temple (Baring & Cashford 1991:195). According to Keel (1984:64), the goddesses of love in Mesopotamia and Egypt were also embodied in the *palm tree* (Pienaar 2008:65). Inanna was also the most famous goddess of *vegetation in Sumer* (Wolkstein & Kramer 1983:4-9).

In the *Electronic Text corpus of Sumerian hymns*, Inanna wears a holy crown of An:

... Inanna ...At the shrine, in Nibru, in the E-du-kug ... by An, with the holy crown of An placed on her head, the most holy garment of An draped around her torso, and the holy sceptre of An placed in her hand - seated on a seat in the assembly, rendering great judgments in the mountains, and reaching majestic decisions in all the lands.¹⁰²

In Sumer and Akkad it was in particular *the symbol of the Venus star* that was used for the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna, *which in time turned into Ishtar* (Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:44; Baring & Cashford 1991:199). According to Baring & Cashford, Venus leaves two footprints behind - the one a *rosette with eight petals*, and the other a *pentagon star* (1991:199). This already gives us a clear indication of the inspiration for the rosette symbol in Sumer and Akkad. The question is what is the *symbolic meaning* of the rosette as displayed on numerous artefacts and what could be the inspiration or origin of this symbol in the Sumer and Akkad region?

Venus the star was the symbol of the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna who later became known as Ishtar, and we find her image on artefacts with *one or many stars* (Figs. 3.7-3.15) (Baring & Cashford 1991:199). The rosette symbol is a huge favourite in the Sumerian and Akkadian religious and royal spheres.

¹⁰² <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.4.07.a#>

3.3.2.1 Iconographic description of stars depicted with Inanna/Ishtar

a) Seal imprint with stars at the back of Inanna and on her *polos* (crown)

Figure 3.6 depicts an eight-point star on Inanna's horned crown and a vertical row of eight pointed stars behind her back. A goat eating from a tree is also included in this print and resembles the goats in 3.4.2 and 3.4.3, also enjoying *divine provision* given by Inanna, as she was also called the goddess of the herd.



Fig. 3.6 Seal imprint with stars at the back of Inanna and on her *polos* (crown).¹⁰³

b) The goddess Inanna is surrounded by stars and three huge rosettes

In Figure 3.7 Inanna is not only depicted with a circle of eight pointed stars around her, and one eight-pointed star on her crown, but three distinctive rosettes with seven petals each also occur in this print.



Fig. 3.7 The goddess Inanna is surrounded by stars and three huge rosettes.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ <https://therealsamizdat.com/2015/05/11/the-avarice-of-ishtar/>

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/inanna/>

c) Inanna surrounded by stars

Ishtar is often shown with a *circle of stars around her* as she personified the zodiac. The zodiac was called 'Ishtar's girdle' (Figs. 3.8-3.11 and 3.14-3.15) (Baring & Cashford 1991:199-200) as portrayed on the seal below.



Fig. 3.8 Seventh century BC seal imprint.¹⁰⁵
Fig. 3.9 Sketch of Ishtar surrounded by stars.¹⁰⁶

In Figures 3.9-3.11 Inanna the goddess is again seen with eight-pointed stars surrounding her, as well as an eight-pointed star on the goddess's headpiece. In Figure 3.10 a seven-pointed star is also depicted, besides the tiny eight-pointed stars depicted in the print.



Fig. 3.10 Inanna surrounded by stars.¹⁰⁷

d) The artefacts show Ishtar the goddess of war

In Figures 3.11-3.12 the artefacts show Ishtar the goddess of war. Although this artefact belongs to Til Barsip in Syria I have decided to use it in this chapter as it clearly depicts Ishtar's war-like character. Ishtar is holding the lion's leash in her left hand. She wears a long sword at her waist and two quivers of arrows slung crosswise across her back. She also wears a horned headdress, a typical attribute of the divine in Near Eastern iconography. The headdress is cylindrical and topped with an eight-petal rosette possibly in reference to the fact that Ishtar also represents the planet Venus. Her costume is asymmetrical, consisting of a short tunic and a fringed shawl worn

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/inanna/>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/inanna/>

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.unc.edu/courses/2005fall/art/080a/001/Mesopotamia/mesopotamian%20deities.htm>

across the body, leaving one leg free. For the ancient Near East, this is typically masculine clothing. The artefact in Figure 3.12 is now housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris, but originally came from Til Barsip, modern Tell Ahmar, an ancient site situated along the Euphrates (Cornelius 2009:30-32).¹⁰⁸



Fig. 3.11 Sketch of a print of Ishtar.¹⁰⁹
 Fig. 3.12 Ishtar standing on her lion.¹¹⁰

Notice the eight-point lotus/Venus-like rosette on her *polos* (crown) which might possibly indicate her protection or divinity, and the rosette might be a symbol for the Venus star, which may have given rise to the image of the eight-pointed star as well as the stylized rosette (see more rosettes on her polos in Figures 3.6; 3.7; 3.9; 3.10 and 3.11).

e) Sketch of Ishtar surrounded by stars

Figure 3.13-14 is a sketch and a seal (Add II, A13) depicting Ishtar with stars surrounding her. Only the star on her head has eight points and the circle of stars surrounding her have six points each.

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/stele-representing-goddess-ishtar>

¹⁰⁹ <https://therealsamizdat.com/tag/nimrud/>

¹¹⁰ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/inanna/>



Fig. 3.13 Sketch of Ishtar surrounded by stars.¹¹¹

Fig. 3.14 Seal of Ishtar surrounded by stars.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 1989.361.1)¹¹²

3.3.2.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of stars depicted with Inanna/Ishtar as goddess

As mentioned before Ishtar had two character traits, the one being the *goddess of love and fertility* and the other being the *goddess of war*, sometimes called '*Lady of Battles*' (Cotterell & Storm 2006:289; Asher-Greves & Westenholz 2013:62). Venus is called the morning and the evening star although it is exactly the same star. According to Saggs, the Venus star with a double face might have been a good choice for the goddess Ishtar, with a double face of love and war (Saggs 1962:319).

According to Pizzimenti, Ishtar has in fact a *double nature*, male and female, as attested to in inscriptions and myths. For example in the Agušaya poem is said that 'she dances around the gods and kings in her manliness' (Pizzimenti 2018:308-309).

'The formal resemblance between the rosette and the star suggests that they both should be decoded in a similar manner as alluding to a female deity. Indeed, from the late fourth millennium BC, the rosette appeared in a huge array of visual representations, which reflected an association with a female deity in general and with Inanna/Ishtar in particular' (Winter 1976:46; Ornan 2005:152). The fact that Inanna/Ishtar is displayed with so many stars in Figures 3.6-3.10 and 13-14 is a confirmation of her association with the Venus star.

Both Inanna and Ishtar were worshipped as queen of heaven (Jacobsen 1976:135-139). Their principle images were the moon and Venus, the morning and evening star, which may have

¹¹¹ <https://drakenberg.weebly.com/ishtar.htm>

¹¹² <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327434>

given rise to the image of the *eight-pointed star* as well as the stylized rosette as *symbolic of their presence*.

It is possible that the seal imprints with the eight-pointed stars (eight being the sacred number of the morning and evening star) surrounding the goddess might have shown the pathway of Venus moving, instead of being the twelve zodiac signs of the year surrounding her, eight being the sacred number of the morning and evening star. I have no support for this idea except the dance of Venus creates a pentagon-shape star (see 3.2.1.2) as well as a rosette (see 3.2.1.1) (see Fig. 3.4). The stars might possibly have indicated the divine presence of Ishtar, the queen of heaven, and possibly also her brilliance as she is shown to be as bright as the stars.

It is interesting that the goddess and the god had associations with celestial symbols, as Inanna was connected to the Venus star and Utu with the sun and they were twins (Pryke 2017:36-37). It might possibly have been the sun sign (rosette) of Utu her twin brother, which Inanna elicited in 'using' the rosette symbol. However, this is speculation without proof.

Ishtar is known to have had a dual personality as has already been discussed; therefore she might possibly have had *two symbols*, the star and the rosette, the one being the goddess of love and fertility and the other being the goddess of war, although this is pure speculation. The Venus star also had a 'dual face' in the sense that it was seen as the morning and evening star, although it was exactly the same star.

3.4 TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES

The Sumerian gods lived within the temples dedicated to them where they were represented by their images or statues (Lewis 2002:208).

3.4.1 Temple history in Sumer and Akkad

In the Early Bronze Age, people lived in small villages, cultivating the land around them, where animals also grazed. In Sumeria, the temple came to be the focus of the rites that renewed the earth's fertility, as well as being the safest place of storage for the produce of the land (Baring & Cashford 1991:150).

In Sumeria, the temple and the produce belonged in the first instance to the deity, who was known by various names in different villages. Here the priestess or priest who took care of the rites of the deity was also the custodian of the land, the *En*, who organized the people of the

village to look after it. Everybody served the deity, working on the land, tending the animals (Figs. 3.15-3.17) or building the temples (Baring & Cashford 1991:150-151).

Gradually, during the course of the third millennium BC, the atmosphere of Bronze Age cultures changed. Instead of villages clustered around a temple-mound and focused on agricultural and pastoral activities, there is the city, and then the city-state ruled by a king, who increasingly had to use his powers to defend his land (Baring & Cashford 1991:151-152). The temple was no longer the concern of the headman of the village but of a body of priests, who also organized the life of the community and were responsible for keeping accounts, taxation, appointing land and distributing food (Baring & Cashford 1991:151-152). In Ur III Period the kings made full use of their relatives to help spread the burden of cultic duties: a son might for instance be chosen as the high priest of Anu at Uruk (Postgate 1992a:150).

In the light of the available artefacts displaying rosettes or similar symbols three different themes will be discussed: the temple priest/king distributing food to animals (3.4.2), cultic vessels (3.4.3), and ceremonial troughs (3.4.4). All of these examples display rosettes (Figs. 3.15-3.27).

3.4.2 The temple priest-king distributing food to his flock

The earliest Sumerian priest-kings were the shepherds of their people and the custodian of the land and its produce on behalf of the goddess and, later, the god (Baring & Cashford 1991:209). *Sipa* is the Sumerian word for shepherd. There is a possibility that the flock is the symbol for the nation being fed by the god/goddess (via the priest/king). The concept of shepherd leadership was continued by the Babylonians long after the Sumerian civilization had disappeared, and it later spread throughout the rest of the ancient Near East.¹¹³

In a hymn the king of Ur, Ur-Nammu (2112 BC–2095 BC), states that he is 'the faithful shepherd who has increased his flock' (Flückiger-Hawker 1999:C76) declaring his 'enormous harvest which raises itself high' (Flückiger-Hawker 1999:C80).¹¹⁴

¹¹³ <https://sumerianshakespeare.com/70701/502901.html>

¹¹⁴ In the Bible a similar parable concerning a shepherd is found in John 10:14: 'I am the good shepherd; I know My own and My own know me ...' as well as in Psalms 95:7: 'For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand.'

3.4.2.1 Iconographic description of three seals depicting leaves or rosettes

a) Priest-king feeding the flock

Figure 3.15 depicts a seal with the Uruk priest-king standing with two outstretched arms with leaves in his hands feeding the flock. It seems as if the priest-king had an assistant standing behind him. There are six animals standing in two rows of three. Although this illustration does not include rosettes, I have chosen to add it as an example of the animals being fed by a priest-king and because this cylinder seal in Figure 3.15 has the same theme here and in Figures 3.16-3.17, where the cylinder seals are decorated with rosette-shaped leaves.



Fig. 3.15 Uruk-period seal. Priest-king feeding the flock.¹¹⁵

b) Limestone cylinder seal from Uruk

Figure 3.16 & Add II, A14 depicts a limestone seal with the Uruk priest-king also feeding leaves to the flock, but importantly the leaves that are fed to the animals by the Uruk priest-king are in the shape of the *rosette* symbol. Each lotus-like rosette has eight petals and Inanna's gate posts are in the middle of the scene where four sheep without horns are depicted.¹¹⁶ The fact that the herd is fed with lotus-like rosettes and that Inanna was also known as the *goddess of the herd*, illustrates that the eight petal lotus-like rosette was indeed one of her symbols and her sacred beast was the sheep. 'She watched over her sacred herd of her temple' (Baring & Cashford 1991:195).

The Uruk priest-king appears in various roles on artefacts – feeding flocks, defeating the enemy, or standing before containers of temple provisions.

¹¹⁵ <https://digital.library.illinoisstate.edu/digital/collection/ilstudia/id/50/>

¹¹⁶ <https://www.arretetonchar.fr/le-sceau-cylindre-fabrications-et-facons-de-le-porter/>



Fig. 3.16 Limestone cylinder seal from Uruk (circa 3300-3000 BC).
(The British Museum, 116722)¹¹⁷

c) Marble cylinder seal

On one Uruk Period marble seal in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, the *ensi*, flanked by bundles of reeds (cf. 3.3.2), the sign of Inanna's gateposts (*asherim*), is seen feeding the horned sheep of the goddess with *eight-petal lotus-like rosette-shaped leaves* (Figs. 3.17-3.18). The leaves that are fed to the animals are in the shape of eight-petal rosettes growing on branches (Figs. 3.17-3.18).



Fig. 3.17 Marble cylinder seal.¹¹⁸
Fig. 3.18 Enlargement of rosettes.

3.4.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the leaves and rosettes depicted on cylinder seals*

Each rosette has eight petals which might possibly have an association with the Venus star. As mentioned above *eight* was the *number sacred* to the morning and evening star, addressed as the 'radiant Star' (Baring & Cashford 1991:199) (Keel 1998:20).

Inanna's standards (gateposts) that frame the image suggest that the event is happening inside her temple grounds and one of her names was 'goddess of the herd'. One of the symbols which might have been used to symbolize Inanna was the Venus star with eight-petal rosettes (cf. 3.2), and

¹¹⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1925-0110-20

¹¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uruk_period#/media/File:Rolzegel.JPG

one of her names was 'goddess of the herd'. I would suggest that Inanna is, via the priest-king, feeding her 'flock' with *fertility* and new life, as her followers partake in her divinity by means of feeding on the rosette symbol or on the leaves as in Figure 3.16-3.18. *Fertility* was one of her main characteristics (cf. 3.3.2). Inanna's gateposts (*asherim*) that frame the image suggest that the event is happening inside her temple grounds (Figs. 3.16-3.18).

The flock is presumably the people or 'congregation' and the leaves and rosettes which are fed to the congregation might possibly be the 'religious food'. The priest-king probably took on the role as standing in for the god or goddess. On the other hand, the symbolic meaning might not have indicated people or a congregation but literally her animals kept on her temple grounds.

The eight-petal rosettes or leaves in Figures 3.16-3.18 which were fed to the animals ('people') by their god/goddess (in this case possibly Inanna) via the priest-king, might possibly have been for *divine provision*, *divine fertility*, *divine protection*, or possibly partaking in the *divinity* of the god/goddess, the same as some religions take holy communion in this modern era. I would suggest that the goddess involved in these artefacts (Figs. 3.16-3.18) was Inanna, as she was an important divinity in Sumer and Akkad, but mostly because the rosettes have eight petals each and an eight-petal rosette was indeed one of her symbols. The eight-petal rosette on the other hand might possibly have originated from the Venus star as the Venus star was Inanna's celestial sign.

One more possibility is that the priest-king was portraying himself as a shepherd looking after his flock, with other words provision. However, the exact meaning is difficult to ascertain, and may depend on its specific context. It is, though, generally accepted that the motif was related to aspects of *fertility* and *abundance* (Keel 1998:72-75).

3.4.3 The statuettes of two markhor goats depicted with rosettes

The pair of statuettes of goats depicted with rosettes, of which one is housed in the British Museum in London (Fig. 3.19), were unearthed by Sir Leonard Woolley at the Royal Cemetery of Ur (circa 2500-2400 BC). The second goat statuette is housed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Figs. 3.20).

3.4.3.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes depicted with two markhor goats*

a) Goat with golden rosettes from the British Museum in London

These goats have faces and legs of gold leaf; horns, eyes and shoulder fleece of lapis lazuli; body fleece of white shell; originally mounted on wooden core; silver pedestal with mosaic description in shell, lapis lazuli and red limestone. The tube rising from their shoulders indicates that it was used to support something. Golden lotus-like rosettes with eight petals each are on thin golden branches extending from a larger golden stump/tree. The object is known as ‘The Ram in the Thicket’ (The British Museum).¹¹⁹ (Figs. 3.19 & Add II, B3).



Fig. 3.19 Goat with golden rosettes.
(The British Museum, 122200)¹²⁰

b) Goat with golden rosettes from the University of Pennsylvania Museum

The golden eight-petal lotus-like rosette in Figure 3.20-3.21 & Add II, B15 almost resembles the golden eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes on the crowns in Figures 3.28; 3.29 and 3.30.

¹¹⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-1

¹²⁰ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-1



Fig. 3.20 Goat with golden rosettes.
 Fig.3.21 Enlargement.
 (The Penn Museum, 30-12-702)¹²¹

3.4.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes depicted with two markhor goats*

Sir Leonard Woolley dubbed the two goat statues 'Ram in the thicket' as an allusion to the Biblical story of Abraham, Isaac and the ram in the thicket (Figs. 3.19-3.20).¹²² It is more likely two goats standing on their back legs, eating from the tree with rosette leaves, as also illustrated in seal impressions where goats are eating rosettes (cf. Fig. 3.16-3.18).

The theme of horned animals standing on their hind legs and nibbling the leaves of a tree is an age-old motif, represented in Mesopotamian imagery since the mid-third millennium BC and continuing until Old Babylonian times (Woolley 1934:91, 264, 276-277). I would suggest that the golden rosettes with the markhor goats probably indicate Inanna as the goddess of the herd, as has been discussed above (cf. 3.4.2).

In this instance the rosettes are attached to a tree which might probably imply the Tree of Life. (cf. 4.8). The Tree of Life symbolises a nourishing, life-giving, life-sustaining, godly figure or godliness which by nature was divine. *The fact that the rosettes in these two artefacts have eight petals each might possibly imply the characteristics of Inanna, as eight was her sacred number. She was the goddess of love and war, but also fertility and vegetation* (cf. 3.3.2). I would guess that the rosettes and the goats possibly symbolize the provision of the goddess towards her herd. According to Von Soden (1996:176) Inanna was the goddess of the herd and therefore her sacred

¹²¹ https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=242250

¹²² Genesis 22:7-14

beast was the sheep. She watched over her sacred herd of her temple (Baring & Cashford 1991:195). The eight petals might possibly also imply the Venus star, which was the astral sign of Inanna, and was usually portrayed with eight petals.

3.4.4 An ivory plaque depicting two goats and a rosette

3.4.4.1 Iconographic description of the ivory plaque

Another example of goats and a rosette is the ivory plaque (Fig. 3.22), housed in The British Museum in London. Notice the tiny seven-petal rosette at the top between the two goats. The rosette is connected to the tree where the eighth petal would have been, and this might be the reason why this rosette only has seven petals. It seems as if a tree with many leaves (possibly the Tree of Life) is depicted and the goats are grazing on the rosette.



Fig. 3.22 Ivory plaque with goats and rosette.¹²³

3.4.4.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the ivory plaque

The Tree would often replace a male deity, perhaps the storm-god, while the caprids (goats) often represented the image of Ishtar (Ornan 2005:45; Keel 1998:22-36; Lambert 1985:435).

If the Tree was the symbol for divinity as Ornan (2005:45); Keel (1998:22-36) and Lambert (1985:435) suggest, the artefact in Figure 3.22 might possibly indicate that it is a religious scene.

The Tree could possibly symbolize a male god, and the rosette could possibly symbolize Inanna/Ishtar as the rosette seems to be the 'food' that the goats want to get to, and possibly symbolized Inanna the *goddess of the herd*, as a rosette was one of her symbols. The rosette could possibly have indicated her provision, protection and/or fertility. Jacobsen argues that *alone or jointly* with a male god, she *controlled a number of elements, both natural and cultural*, that were important to Sumerian society, among them, storms and rains, the harvest storehouse, provision, fertility, protection, warfare, and sexual love, including prostitution (1976:135-139).

¹²³ https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Shell-engraving-U-10917A-Woolley-1934-91-and-pl-100-C-The-Trustees-of-the-British_fig2_234036265

3.4.5 Vessel with a ladle

The luminous qualities associated with the sacred in Mesopotamia have been enumerated by Bruschweiler and others (e.g. Bruschweiler 1987 and Winter 1995), for which gold becomes an ideal material conveyance. We know from both text and artefact that both gold and silver served as the materials for sacred, liturgical objects throughout the Mesopotamian sequence' (Winter 2012:158).

Evidence of contact with the divine is often manifest as light, thus materials that *shine* were seen as signals of *purity* and *sacredness*. Winter is of opinion that the cultic vessels, therefore, are made of gold and silver, because of the symbolic properties of shine that they possess (see Fig. 3.23) (Winter 2012:158).

3.4.5.1 Iconographic description of the rosette on a vessel with a ladle

The silver vessel in Figure 3.23 with eight-petal, lotus-like rosette decoration intended to channel the flow of some liquid, hence its ladle.

The open end would serve either as a handle or a spout for the liquid (Winter 2010:241). An eight-petal, lotus-like rosette decorates the bottom of the ladle, surrounded by many ruffles. This rosette resembles the other sharp-ended eight-petal rosettes in Figures 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.28; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40.



Fig. 3.23 Silver open bowl, cultic pouring vessel from Ur.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ <http://sumerianshakespeare.com/117701/118001.html>

3.4.5.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette on a vessel with a ladle*

Shallow vessels were found in the Ur graves (Woolley 1934:283). Shallow vessels include objects of roughly similar shape executed in shell and alabaster, as well as in gold, silver, and copper. The shape is characterized by an open channel and bowl that would hold approximately 6 ounces of liquid by modern measure (Winter 2010:232-233; cf. Woolley 1934:283); 6 ounces equals roughly 175ml. The eight-petal lotus-like rosette on the vessel might possibly indicate that it was 'set apart' for the royal household to be used in Inanna's temple, or in the palace, and therefore it was also buried with the deceased royalty to possibly 'use' it in their afterlife (cf. Addendum I where the LMLK vessels in Israel had rosettes on them, indicating that they were 'set apart' for the royal household).

Liquid libations such as wine, oil, honey, beer, milk and clarified butter were poured for the gods during religious ceremonies (Winter 2010:250; Michalowski 1994:32-33). The vessel in Figure 3.23 could possibly have been used in such a ritual. If that was the case the rosette symbol on the vessel could have possibly meant that the vessel belonged to a divinity in which case I would suggest Inanna, as an eight-petal rosette was one of her symbols. The vessel might have served its purposes in one of Inanna's temples. The rosette symbol might possibly have originated from the Venus star as the Venus star is Inanna's symbol, and one of the paths that the Venus star makes over an eight-year period is a rosette design. Because the rosette is then connected to Inanna as one of her symbols, it might possibly point to her characteristics which suit a temple and temple paraphernalia. Some of her qualities are the giver of *divine fertility, vegetation, divine protection, goddess of the herd, goddess of love and war, giver of kingship and queen of heaven*.

3.4.6 **Long-necked vessel**

3.4.6.1 *Iconographic description of a rosette on a long-necked vessel*

Long-necked vessels have also been found in the Ur graves. These vessels are directly connected to the worship of deities and/or their statues (Winter 2010:239). Eight such sprouted jugs are recorded in the Royal Cemetery catalogue and seven open bowls (Woolley 1934:520-521).

The jug in Figure 3.24 is made of metal and two, eight-petal star-like rosettes decorate the jug. The ends are rather sharp and two colours are used in the rosette. The one colour is white and the other colour is an orange to light brown colour. A pattern forms a border at the top and at the bottom of the rosettes. It is possible that more rosettes are found on the back of the vessel. These

rosettes with sharp ends resemble the rosettes depicted in Figures 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.28; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40.



Fig. 3.24 Sumerian ritual jug with mosaic rosettes (circa 3000 BC).¹²⁵

In Figure 3.25 a Sumerian cylinder sealing/print depicts sacrificial temple offerings from circa 3000 BC. A jug with a spout is shown exactly as the one in Figure 3.24.



Fig. 3.25 Sumerian cylinder seal depicting temple offerings (circa 3000 BC).¹²⁶

3.4.6.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a rosette on a long-necked vessel*

The fact that the vessel in Figure 3.24 has rosettes on the jug might possibly imply that it was used in Inanna's temple as an eight-petal lotus-like rosette was one of her symbols. A series of relatively tall, long-necked metal vessels, with narrow upward pointing spouts issuing from the body, have been designated libation jugs, indicative of a ritual pouring of liquids (Woolley 1934:302). Winter (2010:239) argues for the likelihood of ritual acts associated with burial ceremonies for the deceased, where libation was also included. This may possibly be the reason for the eight jugs found in the Royal cemetery.

¹²⁵ <https://adoninas.com/2017/11/06/las-sacerdotisas-de-astara/>

¹²⁶ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/author/nibirudb/page/54/>

Liquid libations such as wine, oil, honey, beer, milk and clarified butter were poured for the gods during religious ceremonies (Winter 2010:250; Michalowski 1994:32-33). I suggest that the long-necked vessel depicting eight-petal, sharp-ended rosettes, were used in Inanna's temple in the same way as the vessel with a ladle in Figure 3.23. The eight-petal rosette might have symbolized the Venus star which symbolized her qualities such as *divine protection, divine fertility, divine provision, love and queen of heaven* (cf. 3.2.2). Inanna was known as the goddess of love and war, but she was also the goddess of the herd. The Sumerian gods and goddesses lived within the temples dedicated to them where they were represented by their images or statues (Lewis 2002:208). Inanna's *sacred number* was the number eight, and it is possibly the reason for the artefacts in Figures 3.23 and 3.24 having eight-petal rosettes on them.

3.4.7 Ceremonial trough

3.4.7.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on a ceremonial trough

A ceremonial trough from Uruk is made from gypsum and is carved in low relief with processions of ewes and rams approaching a reed building of the type still found in southern Iraq, the *mudhif* (reed hut) (Fig. 3.26 & Add II, B4) (Collon 1995:50). From this structure, two lambs emerge.



Fig. 3.26 Ceremonial trough from Uruk.
(The British Museum, 120000)¹²⁷



Fig. 3.27 Side view of the trough with two rosettes.
(The British Museum, 120000)

¹²⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1928-0714-1

They are repeated on the ends of the trough together with two goats and two eight-petal rosettes, another element associated with the goddess Inanna (Winter 2009:204; Collon 1995:50) as she was according to Von Soden (1996:176) known as the goddess of the herd (Fig. 3.27 & Add II, B5). She watched over her sacred herd of her temple (Baring & Cashford 1991:195). The two rosettes each have eight petals with rather sharp ends similar to those in Figures 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.28; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40. The trough is housed in the British Museum in London, number 120000.

3.4.7.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the ceremonial trough*

Reed bundles (cf. 3.3.2) with streamers on the *mudhif* and at the ends of the scene in Figs. 3.27-3.28 are known as a symbol of the goddess of *love* and *fertility*, Inanna (Szarzynska 1987:8). The trough in Figs. 3.26-3.27 was probably used in Inanna's temple for feeding the temple animals and therefore it was decorated with Inanna's symbols, namely the reed bundles and the eight-petal rosette and her 'herd'. Eight was the sacred number of Inanna and it possibly originated from her Venus star, being her celestial sign. In a Sumerian temple hymn of the Ur III Period, we are told that a temple interior is 'a beaming light issuing forth' (Sjöberg & Bergmann 1969:24), suggesting an outward movement. Thus we understand the active way in which the finished work of the temple, once fully endowed and ritually consecrated, was thought to emit its qualities socially affectively and not merely reflectively (Bryson 1988:91; Winter 2010:319).

The temple could probably indicate that the rosette symbolized Inanna's divinity as queen of heaven, although *divine provision*, *divine protection*, as well as *divine fertility*, could all have been implied by the rosettes on the trough. Cultic vessels and troughs would have been made *specifically for the temples of Inanna* and as the eight-petal rosette was one of her symbols, it could possibly have pointed to her *divinity* as well as her other characteristics. According to Wolkstein & Kramer, Inanna was also the most famous goddess of *vegetation* in Sumer (1983:4-9) and the rosettes on the trough might possibly symbolize this divine characteristic trait of hers, as well as being the goddess of the herd (1983:4-9).

3.5 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

The rosette symbol appeared not only on depictions of gods and goddesses and buildings or items associated with them, but also on items associated with the royal family. In what follows I will once again investigate whether the rosette symbols look similar to those displayed on gods

and goddesses and the items associated with them, as well as what types of rosettes are used by the royal family.

3.5.1 Royal tombs of Ur

The ancient Sumerian city of Ur was located in present-day Iraq, between Baghdad and the Persian Gulf, close to the gulf. The Royal Cemetery of Ur was opened by archaeologist Sir Charles Leonard Woolley, who led excavations in the Sumerian city of Ur in the 1920s (Scarre & Fagan 2016:80). He found the royal tomb of Queen Pu-abi (Shub-ad). The treasures from the tomb of Pu-abi, which, like the tomb of Tutankhamun, did not suffer at the hands of the robbers, are kept at the Pennsylvania University Museum and the British Museum in London. Unfortunately, the part that was left at the Baghdad Museum has been lost since the museum was looted during the war in 2003 (Scarre & Fagan 2016:80).

Sir Woolley writes:

...another group of bodies, those of ten women carefully arranged in two rows; they wore head-dresses of gold, lapis lazuli, and carnelian, and elaborate head necklaces ...the upper part of the body was entirely hidden by a mass of beads of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, carnelian, agate, and chalcedony, long strings of which, hanging from a collar, had formed a cloak reaching to the waist and bordered below with a broad band of tubular beads of lapis, carnelian, and gold... (Woolley & Moorey 1982:45-46).

For ancient Sumer mastery, embellishment and perfection not only constituted perceptible affective properties that contributed to aesthetic experience at the highest cultural level, they also represent attributes that qualify as 'great' (Winter 2010:283). Kant defined such beautiful artistic work as the ultimate stimulus leading to aesthetic response itself. He defined it as 'adherent' or 'dependent' beauty (Kant 2000:114-116). Sumerian rulers thought it necessary to stress the process of skilled production as part of the larger picture of aesthetic and cultural value (Winter 2010:283).

Gold rosettes are made of narrow strips of gold looped backwards and forwards between gold rings. A gold stud has its head incised to form linked spirals, and the chain on a head ornament is executed with the double loop-in-loop links still found in Victorian jewellery (Collon 1995:72). Small animals and fish were made of gold leaf over a bitumen core, and of different stones. All this jewellery was combined in headdresses which are works of art in themselves and which were topped by huge pins cut from sheets of silver to form stems ending in rosettes of inlaid stones which quivered as the wearer moved (Collon 1995:72). They were worn with strings of beads and chockers, and huge, boat-shaped earrings made of sheet gold. It has been possible to

reconstruct these headdresses and necklaces because they were excavated where they lay on the skeletons of those who had worn the jewellery (Collon 1995:72).

An ornate diadem of thousands of small lapis lazuli beads with gold pendants of animals and plants was found on a table near Queen Pu-abi's head in the royal tomb. Lapis lazuli was used for jewellery, cylinder seals, and inlays, and came from north-eastern Afghanistan. Mentioned in Mesopotamian myths and hymns as a material worthy of kings and gods, lapis lazuli would arrive in small, unfinished chunks to be worked locally into beads, cylinder seals, or inlays (Information-Penn Museum).¹²⁸ The Sumerians, more than any other people in the world, loved lapis lazuli. For them, it represented fabulous wealth, literally and as well as figuratively. It is not indigenous to Sumer, and was mined in faraway Afghanistan.

Because lapis lazuli had to be imported over vast distances, it was very expensive. This mid-third millennium BC assemblage represents one of the earliest and richest collections of gold and precious stones from antiquity and figures as one of the most renowned and often illustrated aspects of Sumerian culture. Queen Pu-abi's jewellery weighed 14 pounds (Queen Pu-abi, British Museum number 122311).

3.5.1.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on headdresses

a) Sumerian headdress of Princess Pu-abi

The British Museum in London, museum number 122311, has a beautiful Sumerian headdress of Princess Pu-abi (2600 BC) (Fig. 3.28 & Add II, A16), and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology has an extravagant headpiece and cloak adorned with gold, lapis lazuli, carnelian, and various stones (Fig. 3.29).

¹²⁸ <https://www.penn.museum> › sites › Iraq



Fig. 3.28 Headdress of Queen Pu-abi.
(The British Museum, 122311)¹²⁹

b) Pu-abi's headdress and cloak

In Figure 3.29 Queen Pu-abi is depicted wearing an elaborate headdress of gold leaves, gold ribbons, and strands of lapis lazuli and carnelian beads. At the top of the headpiece, extending from a golden comb are three golden rosettes. Each of the three golden rosettes has eight petals with sharp ends, almost resembling a star, but also resembling an eight-petal rosette. Figures 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40 displays the same type of eight-petal rosettes, with sharp ends.

The headdress in Figure 3.29 & Add II, B2 has a couple of large golden rosettes extending from the comb at the top of the head, as well as a few smaller rosettes just underneath the large rosettes. All the rosettes (small and large) had eight petals and again the rosettes end with rather sharp ends, almost resembling stars, but also resembling an eight-petal rosette. Figures 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40 displays the same type of eight petal rosettes, with sharp ends.



Fig. 3.29 Pu-abi's headdress and beaded cloak, and side-view of rosettes
(University of Pennsylvania Museum, B17711A)¹³⁰

¹²⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-123

¹³⁰ <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/1138>

c) The headdress of the attendant of Queen Pu-abi

Queen Pu-abi had her attendant buried in the same grave as she, to serve her in the afterlife. The attendant also wore three golden lotus-like rosettes with eight petals each on her headdress (Fig. 3.30), probably because she belonged to the royal household. The three rosettes fastened to a comb in Figure 3.30 resemble the three rosettes in Figure 3.28. Figures 3.27; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40 display the same type of eight petal rosettes, with sharp ends.



Fig. 3.30 Queen Pu-abi's attendant.¹³¹

3.5.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on headdresses

The rosettes with eight petals each on the headdresses (Figs. 3.28; 3.29 and 3.30) might have indicated the royal role that the queen took on, as we encountered this phenomenon throughout this research. These rosettes might possibly have indicated her *divine royalty* as she was consecrated. On the other hand, the eight-point rosette might possibly indicate that Inanna/Ishtar and her Venus star was inferred in the wearing of these headdresses, as eight was the sacred number of Inanna (cf. 3.3.2).

The presence of eight-petal rosettes on the combs might have indicated a connection with Inanna and she was in control of love, sexuality and fertility, although Inanna also *conferred the right of sovereignty* on Mesopotamian monarchs including queens (Stuckey 2001:94-95; Frymer-Kensky 1992:27). I would make a guess that *divine sovereignty* is what is implied by these rosettes on the combs as a symbol for Inanna's gift to kingship and queenship.

¹³¹ <https://aratta.wordpress.com/the-rosette-symbol/>

3.6 ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

The rosette symbols are also displayed on different artefacts belonging to the royal family. First are the food, drinking and libation vessels (3.5.1). Then follows the royal jewellery (3.5.2), the royal game boards (3.5.3), and lastly the royal seals (3.5.4).

3.6.1 Rosette images on food, drinking and libation vessels depicting rosettes

Statues of royalty set in gods' shrines also received food offerings, according to Early Dynastic Period (2800-2400 BC) texts (Bauer 1969:111; Winter 2010:183). Since these royal sculptural images within the shrines were called upon to be no less animate than those of the gods whom they faced, obviously they too required provisions. One can only assume that only the best utensils would have been used for these purposes.

3.6.1.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes depicted on royal vessels*

a) Gold drinking tumbler

A gold drinking tumbler was found in the Royal Tombs of Ur and is referenced as belonging to Queen Shubad. It looks like gold, but it is actually electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver. The height of the tumbler is 15.2 cm. (Fig. 3.31 & Add II, B12). A rosette with eight petals occurs at the bottom of the tumbler. This might have resembled the lotus-like rosette from Egypt, but the petals found in Egypt were round petalled and these end with sharp points (Fig. 3.32).



Fig. 3.31 Tumbler of Queen Shubad.
Fig. 3.32 The bottom of the tumbler
(The Penn Museum, B17691)¹³²

b. Silver tumblers

Silver tumblers similar to the gold (electrum) one seen in Figure 3.33 were also found in the Royal Tombs of Ur, with the same eight-petal lotus/Venus-like rosette design at the bottom,

¹³² https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=177713

inside a lotus-flower shaped vessel. This eight-petal rosette resembles the silver open bowl cultic pouring vessel from Ur, with a similar eight-petal rosette displayed in Figure 3.23. The diameter of these silver tumblers is 10.3 cm (Fig. 3.33).



Fig. 3.33 Silver drinking tumblers from the Ur tombs.¹³³

c) A golden bowl

A golden bowl, made of gold and copper alloy, possibly used for libation purposes, is housed in the British Museum in London (Figs. 3.34-3.35 & Add II, B9). The bowl depicts a rosette with twelve petals on the bottom of the bowl with the petals ending with rather sharp points. This is not the typical eight-petal rosette encountered in Sumer and Akkad, but possibly resembles a daisy (cf. 3.36; 3.37 and 3.43).



Fig. 3.34 Golden bowl.
Fig. 3.35 Bottom of the bowl.
(The Penn Museum, B17693).¹³⁴

3.6.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes depicted on royal vessels*

The rosette symbol is thought to have special significance for the Sumerians as this motif occurs frequently in their art, jewellery, and items of daily use. Royalty were seen as consecrated, and Inanna/Ishtar might possibly have been the inspiration for these vessels with rosettes on them. Eight was the sacred number of Inanna and could possibly have indicated to her Venus star, one

¹³³ <https://www.arth501-2016.com/ur.html>

¹³⁴ <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/70096>

of her symbols. Yet, the number of petals on rosettes varies in some instances and may be ten, twelve or even more as seen in Figure 3.35.

Everything shining such as gold, bronze, electro, copper and silver may be connected with the divine world, because in ancient Mesopotamia everything that is bright and shiny can be associated with the divine world (Winter 1999:46). According to Ussishkin (1982:115) the rosette symbol has also been connected to royalty and not only to divinity, and this might be the reason for the rosette symbol on these vessels. The kings were also seen as divine and would possibly 'use' the same symbols as the gods and goddesses, but also to associate them with the goddess, in this case Inanna, because of the eight-petal rosette reflecting her connection with the Venus star. The eight-petal rosette might possibly represent the Venus star which is linked to Inanna, queen of heaven. The rosette symbol of Inanna could have symbolized her divine protection, divine fertility, love, vegetation and divine kingship. Kingship was one of Inanna's gifts (Wolkstein & Kramer 1983:16).

3.6.2 Royal jewellery and the rosette image

Sumerian and Akkadian inscriptions provide a wealth of information on jewellery and jewellers' workshops. The texts also reveal that jewellery was exchanged as gifts between rulers, given as wedding gifts and inheritances, and formed parts of dowries. The texts also record that jewellery was taken as plunder from foreign lands during military campaigns (Bahrani 1995:1635). Gold was not native to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley and had to be acquired from a distance and at some cost. This is known from the early third millennium texts such as *'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta'* (Winter 2012:157).

In Sumer and Akkad many techniques were employed in the making of jewellery. Gold leaf was applied by cold hammering. Embossing, soldering and filigree work had all been mastered in the early third millennium BC (Rachet 1983:56).

The grave goods in the Ur Royal Tombs had gradations of colours which were often charged with a symbolic meaning (Gage 1999:107). The ancients regarded the brilliance of colour as its most important characteristic. Three words are identified for that characteristic: sparkle, brilliance and shine (Jones & McGregor 2002:14). It is often almost impossible to find the exact match for the terms designating colours in ancient texts. However, the word for the colour blue expresses simultaneously in both the Sumerian (*zagin*) and the Akkadian (*uqnûm*) languages the idea of brightness and brilliance, a concept that will be useful in the investigation of

archaeological and iconographical contexts (Zanon 2012:223). As lapis lazuli was used intensively in Sumer and in their jewellery, it might be because of the above explanation of the colour blue. Rosettes were even brought into designs of jewellery and this could possibly have had symbolic value.

3.6.2.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on Sumerian jewellery*

a) Choker necklace from Queen Pu-abi

Cloisonné is illustrated by the central discs of two necklaces where spaces between gold circles are filled with lapis lazuli and carnelian chips (Figs. 3.36 & Add II, B7) (Penn Museum number B16694). The Sumerians had extremely clever jewellers (Collon 1995:71-72). The choker in Figure 3.36 is fastened to three strings on each side of the twelve-petal daisy-like rosette with blue and golden beads (probably lapis lazuli). This daisy-like rosette, of which a few *cloisonné* fillings have disappeared, is stuck inside a golden circle.



Fig. 3.36 Choker necklace of Queen Pu-abi.
(The Penn Museum, B16694)¹³⁵

b) Necklace with *cloisonné* rosette

The necklace with a *cloisonné* rosette in Figure 3.37 has ten light blue petals inside a golden circle. Ten and twelve petals are different to the more general eight-petal rosettes. What could the reason be? My guess is that the many petals indicate a different flower much like the daisy-like rosettes found in Egypt (cf. Figs. 2.40; 2.52; 2.53 and 2.53).

¹³⁵ https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=38475



Fig. 3.37 Necklace with rosette.¹³⁶

c) Necklace with rosettes belonging to Queen Pu-abi

The necklace in Figure 3.38 is housed in the Bagdad Museum in Iraq. It also belonged to Queen Pu-abi. The rosettes on this necklace differ from the two cloisonné rosettes with lapis lazuli inlays in (Figs. 3.36-3.37), as tiny eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes alternating with golden leaves decorate this necklace. The tiny rosettes each have eight petals and seem to be gold as the bundles of three leaves also seems to be made of gold.



Fig. 3.38 Queen Pu-abi's necklace with rosettes.
(The Pen Museum, B17711)¹³⁷

d) Close-up illustration of the necklace of Queen Pu-abi with two rosettes

The necklace of Queen Pu-abi in Figure 3.39 & Add II, B17 displays the same kind of inlaid rosettes with eight points as those in Figures 3.40 and 3.41 & Add II, B17. The *cloisonné* inlays in the necklace of Figure 3.39 are alternating blue and white coloured petals, the blue

¹³⁶ <https://nasvete.com/queen-puabi-jewellery/>

¹³⁷ https://www.penn.museum/collections/object_images.php?irn=108736#image4

presumably lapis lazuli. A bundle of three golden leaves accompany the two lotus-like rosettes, see the bundles of leaves in Figure 3.38.



Fig. 3.39 Necklace of Queen Pu-abi with two rosettes.
(The Penn Museum, B17711)¹³⁸

We are most fortunate that the excavation methods employed by Sir Leonard Woolley and his staff at Ur in the late 1920s and 1930s permit such detailed contextual reconstruction (Winter 2012:158). The combs of the headdresses with *cloisonné* rosettes (Figs. 3.40-3.42) are some of the finds by Sir Wooley at the Royal Tombs of Ur.

e) Cloisonné rosettes from the comb of a headdress

The comb of a headdress in Figure 3.40 & Add II, B6 consists of three lotus-like rosettes fastened onto one comb. Each rosette has eight petals ending in rounded ends. Each rosette has three different coloured petals of which blue and gold are possibly recognisable as lapis lazuli and gold.



Fig. 3.40 Cloisonné rosettes from the comb of a headdress.
Penn Museum museum number 30-12-437.230-12-437.2)¹³⁹

¹³⁸ <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/108736>

¹³⁹ <http://sumerianshakespeare.com/117701/118101.html>

f) Three cloisonné rosettes from a comb with rounded petals

The three rosettes on the comb of a headdress in Figure 3.41 & Add II, B10 has rounded petals on the eight-petalled lotus-like rosettes and it seems as if there were two colours used in this comb of which blue (possibly lapis lazuli) is one. The combs in Figures 3.40 and 3.41 resemble the rosettes in Figure 3.39. The question arises: Why are there three rosettes on each comb and why did the leaf bundles in Figures 3.38 and 3.39 each have three leaves?



Fig. 3.41 Three cloisonné rosettes from a comb.
(The British Museum, 122301)¹⁴⁰

g) Golden comb decorated with rosettes from the Royal tombs of Ur

A golden comb with seven golden star-like rosettes (eight petals each) is another example of the importance of the rosette symbol in Sumer (Fig. 3.42 & Add II, B1). In all three instances (Figs. 3.40-3.42) eight-petal rosettes are depicted and again the comb was found with the royalty. The rosettes on the golden comb in Figure 3.42 have sharp ends on each rosette almost resembling golden stars (cf. Figs. 3.28; 3.29 and 3.30).



Fig. 3.42 Golden comb decorated with rosettes.
(The Penn Museum, B16693)¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1929-1017-113

¹⁴¹ <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/6667>

h) Golden rosette from Ur Royal Cemetery

The golden daisy-like rosette in Figure 3.43 is inside a golden circle with thirteen petals. I would suggest, although this is pure speculation, that this rosette in Figure 3.43 would have had lapis lazuli inlays just as the two rosettes in Figures 3.36 and Figure 3.37 and that it formed part of a choker necklace. This might have been merely decorative as rosettes with thirteen petals have not been generally seen or discovered up to now.



Fig. 3.43 Golden rosette from Ur Royal Cemetery.
(The National Museum of Iraq)¹⁴²

3.6.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Sumerian jewellery*

Based upon the paper by Amy Gansell (2007), it is clear that personal adornment at Ur was not random or idiosyncratic, but adhered to notions of 'sets', distinct by gender and by status.

Baadsgaard is of opinion that the jewellery and ornaments are more than just cultural accessories; they are central, even essential, parts of humanity. Jewellery and personal ornaments are ubiquitous across cultures distant in time and place, and yet they are so diverse in their forms, colours, and styles that they provide an intimate look into different ways of viewing, acting, and living in the worlds (2008:129).

Muscarella agrees that the rosette design was a very popular design in the Sumerian jewellery arsenal, possibly because the rosette is a prevalent ancient Near Eastern decorative motif long associated with the goddess Inanna (1977:36) (cf. 3.3.2). I agree with Muscarella, although I am sure that a deeper symbolic meaning than a decorative motif can be connected to the rosette motif. It is mostly eight-petal rosettes that are displayed with the Sumerian and Akkadian jewellery, and this could possibly have symbolized the Venus eight-point star, as well as the Venus eight-petal rosette, which were symbols of the goddess Inanna. If this is indeed the case,

¹⁴² <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Puabi's-adornment-for-the-afterlife%3A-Materials-and-Benzel/451dbd39a5e697429c5663e8e09205ff76884c6e>

the good qualities of the goddess could possibly have been presented by wearing this jewellery (cf. 3.3.2).

3.6.3 Royal game boards with rosette images

At least six graves in the Royal Cemetery contained a wooden game board inlaid with shell, carnelian and lapis lazuli for what later became known as the Royal Game Board of Ur (Fig. 3.44). These are the first known boards for a game that was played all over the ancient Near East for about 3000 years. Various kinds of board games existed in ancient times and they have been categorized by Murray into alignment games, war games, hunt games, race games and mancala games (Murray 1978:4-5).

Since their discovery in 1927, the series of graves designated as the Royal Cemetery at Ur have been recognized as among the richest and most important finds of the ancient Near East, occasioning studies on topics ranging from chronology and iconography to wealth and social status (Winter 2010:227). The Royal Cemetery includes over 500 graves with significant assemblages (Schwartz 1986:54). They belong to the later part of the Early Dynastic Period, ED III A, dated to circa 2600 BC. The one grave that provides us with beautiful rosettes is the Great Death Pit.

3.6.3.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on game boards

The game boards in Figure 3.44 & Add II, B11 display rosettes as part of the game plan. Each board has five rosettes and each star-like rosette consists of eight petals. It seems as if the rosettes are of a darker colour than the rest of the board, possibly ensuring that the rosettes stand out.



Fig. 3.44 Two different views of the Royal game board from Ur.
(The British Museum, 120834)¹⁴³

¹⁴³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1928-1009-378

3.6.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on game boards*

According to Vermaak (1995:122) the game boards of the ancient Near East had to do with religious aspects. The ancient Near Easterners built their culture with various types of sport and games, of which the board games formed a very crucial part. Although they initially played the board games as a pastime, they later became serious games. The games might possibly have been played for the sake of *divine fertility*, and as Inanna was the goddess of love and fertility and a rosette was one of her symbols, it might possibly be the reason for the rosettes being enhanced. On the other hand, these games might have ensured *divine protection* from the gods in which case I would again consider Inanna, as eight was her sacred number (cf. 3.3.2).

According to Vermaak (1995:122) life after death or 'new life' might possibly be the reason for the rosettes on the game boards. It became a religious phenomenon, where mortal people played the game in order to influence the gods in the question of life after death and to acquire immortality (Vermaak 1995:122). Although this is the opinion of Vermaak, I do not agree with him as my systematic research tends to differ. I would prefer to connect Inanna and her Venus star to the game boards as these game boards were found in Sumeria. Inanna was an important goddess of Sumeria (cf. 3.3.2). Number eight was her sacred number and the eight-petal rosette and eight-pointed star were her symbols; therefore I would suggest that the good character traits of Inanna were involved in playing these games, and that she conveyed her divine intervention to the outcome of the game. This divine intervention could have consisted of different attributes of Inanna, such as divine protection, divine fertility, divine provision or even love. The player landing on the blocks with rosettes possibly had some advantage. I would suggest that blessings might have played a role as the rosette symbol might possibly have been a symbol for consecration.

3.7 ADDITIONAL ARTEFACT WITH ROSETTE

3.7.1 Sumerian bowl with a rosette

3.7.1.1 *Iconographic description of a rosette on a Sumerian bowl*

In Figure 3.45 a Sumerian bowl with an eight-petal star-like rosette inlay is from the Khafaje, Jemdet Nasr Period. It consists of bituminous limestone and the rosette is made with mother of pearl. Two circles above the rosette are the other decorations on the bowl. The eight-petal, sharp-end rosette resembles the same type of rosette as encountered in Figure 3.24. Long-necked vessels have also been found in the Ur graves. These vessels are directly connected to the worship of deities and/or their statues (Winter 2010:239). Eight such spouted jugs are recorded in the Royal Cemetery catalogue and seven open bowls (Woolley 1934:520-521). The fact that

the long-necked vessel in Figure 3.29 was found in the Ur graves might imply that the bowl in Figure 3.49 could have belonged to the Ur graves as Wooley recorded seven open bowls together with long-necked vessels. The height is 11.1 cm and the bowl is housed in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.



Fig. 3.45 Sumerian bowl with rosette inlay.
(The National Museum of Iraq).¹⁴⁴

3.7.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a rosette on the Sumerian bowl*

I am convinced by the sheer number of rosettes that I have encountered in Sumer and Akkad that the rosette on the bowl probably had something to do with the goddess Inanna, as the rosette was one of her symbols and that this bowl was probably used in one of her temples. I agree with Winter when she says 'the vessels are directly connected to the worship of deities and/or their statues' (2010:239).

I would suggest that the rosette with eight petals on the Sumerian bowl indicated to the *divinity* of Inanna/Ishtar and was possibly used in one of her temples before it landed in the Ur graves. I do not think that the rosette on the bowl implied *fertility* or even *protection* as many of the other Sumerian artefacts have indicated.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The systematic approach of the three-level Panofsky model is starting to slowly show uniform patterns in the depictions of rosettes on all levels of society and divinity of the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations.

The rosette motif we encounter in Sumer and Akkad, as well as the potential origin, differ vastly from what we have encountered with the Egyptians in Chapter Two. Where the sun and the lotus

¹⁴⁴ <https://allmesopotamia.tumblr.com/post/16754307968/khafaje-bowl-with-mosaic-inlays-on-outside-mother>

flower were the main contenders as the inspiration for the rosette symbolism in Chapter Two, it is Inanna/Ishtar and her Venus star that take on this role with Sumer and Akkad.

In Sumer and Akkad it was in particular *the symbol of the Venus star* that was used for the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna, which in time turned into Ishtar. This interpretation is far from the lotus flower idea (2.2) of being the possible original source of the rosette, but two different civilizations might have had two different takings on the matter of the rosette symbol. I would suggest that indigenous creation took place as Hart states: 'In any case of cross-cultural use of iconographic motifs, indigenous creation should be a consideration' (2014b:132).

The symbolic meaning of the Venus star was connected to Inanna and her divine character traits. The most important characteristics of Inanna, which in time turned into Ishtar, is that she was known as goddess of *love*, but also of *war*. She also presented *divine protection* and *divine fertility*. She was known as the *goddess of herds*, thus *divine provision* towards her flock. Another one of her traits was to *hand out kingship*. Alone or jointly with a male god, she *controlled a number of elements*, both *natural and cultural* that were important to Sumerian society, among them *storms and rains* and the *harvest storehouse*. She was also known as the queen of heaven and the goddess of *vegetation*.

After the iconographical analyses of the artefacts in this chapter, I found the possibility of *Venus* as the *inspiration* for the rosette symbol. The *dance of Venus* creates a pentagon-shape *star* and the star symbol was also a symbol for *Inanna*. The rosette and star designs, which were created by the Venus star, might possibly be the reason for the rosettes with eight petals, and eight-pointed stars, depicted with the goddess Inanna/Ishtar. That it was a very important symbol to the Sumerians and Akkadians is not to be denied.

Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are of opinion that the rosette in general was a symbol of *protection*, but Winter (2009:241) believes the rosette symbol indicated *fertility*. I agree with these theories but would prefer the terms *divine protection* and *divine fertility*. I believe that the rosette symbol possibly had an inherent conceptual meaning which encompasses the various forms by means of *non-verbal communication* by meaning *divine* or *godly*, but more specific consecration. I am not convinced that a temple on its own can be divine although it can be sacred, the same goes for a crown. I am not sure that a crown which is a material object could be divine on its own, but it might be seen as holy (see 3.2.1). It is thus my

opinion that the rosette symbol is a symbol for sacred, holy and set apart and these attributes falls under consecrated, whilst consecrated falls under divine.

Liquid libations such as wine, oil, honey, beer, milk and clarified butter were poured for the gods during religious ceremonies (Winter 2010:250; Michalowski 1994:32-33). I suggest that the long-necked vessel with eight-petal, sharp-ended rosettes in Figure 3.24 were used in Inanna's temple in the same way as the vessel with a ladle in Figure 3.23. The eight-petal rosette might have symbolized the Venus star which symbolized Inanna's qualities such as, *divine protection*, *divine fertility*, *divine provision*, *love and queen of heaven* (cf. 3.2.2).

Through the iconographic analyses and iconological interpretations of the artefacts of Sumer and Akkad, I find the rosettes in the *temple of Inanna*, as well as the fact that the priest-king serves the flock (goats) rosettes as food, significant reasons to make a *divine* or *sacred* connotation to the rosette. The temple is a sacred space and the rosette is found in Inanna's temple and on temple paraphernalia. I would therefore suggest that the rosette might possibly have had a *sacred and divine* inference to it. The same argument stands for the ceremonial trough from Uruk depicted in Figure 3.27. The trough is clearly a ceremonial trough depicting the standard posts indicating the temple of Inanna. The trough might possibly imply some other characteristic trait of Inanna; I would suggest her *divine provision* as she feeds her flock from the trough with 'her' rosettes.

When queen Pu-abu wears rosettes on her headdress-combs, this could possibly have indicated her *divinity* as *royalty* and specifically her *connection to Inanna*, because of the eight-pointed rosette. The presence of eight-petal rosettes on the combs might have indicated a connection between queen and Inanna. She was in control of love, sexuality and fertility, although Inanna also *conferred the right of sovereignty* on Mesopotamian monarchs including queens (Stuckey 2001:94-95; Frymer-Kensky 1992:27). It could also have implied *divine protection* towards the queen, or *divine fertility*, or it could have indicated '*kingship*' as this was one of Inanna's gifts to mankind, in which case I would again suggest *divine protection*, *divine fertility* or *divine kingship/queenship* given by Inanna.

After careful consideration of the iconological interpretations of the illustrations of the artefacts in this chapter, and the inspiration of the Venus star, I think it is possible to say that the *Venus star* played the most important role in the Sumerian and Akkadian rosette symbolism. It is therefore not unreasonable to make the assumption that the rosette in this southern area of

Mesopotamia had its *origin* with the Venus star, at least in Sumer and Akkad and that it was one of the symbols Inanna/Ishtar 'used' in abundance.

There is one more consideration or suggestion that I would like to make, and that is that the rosette symbol actually belonged to Utu, the twin brother of Inanna and that the *star* was primarily for *Inanna* denoting the *Venus star*, and the *rosette* was actually not so much her own symbol, although she 'used' it, but that of her twin brother the *sun god Utu*, signifying the sun.

I would suggest that indigenous creation took place in Sumer and Akkad as the rosette symbolism encountered in Egypt is vastly different from the rosette symbolism in Sumer and Akkad, although both civilizations possibly denote *divinity, including consecration*.

I have found four *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in or on artefacts from Sumer and Akkad. The full-blooming eight-petal lotus flower found in Egypt might also have been the eight-petal Venus star rosette in Sumer and Akkad, as they look alike. Eight rosettes with eight-petal, Venus star-like rosettes were found (cf. Figs. 3.11; 3.16; 3.18; 3.21; 3.22; 3.41; 3.44 and 3.45).

Nine Venus-like rosettes with sharp ends were encountered (cf. Figs. 3.23; 3.24; 3.27; 3.28; 3.32; 3.33; 3.35; 3.38 and 3.40).

Only four daisy-like rosettes were encountered in Figures 3.35; 3.36; 3.37 and 3.43.

Furthermore three-dimensional rosettes occur only on the rosettes of combs, but they were all created with eight-petal Venus star-like rosettes each (Figs. 3.29; 3.30 and 3.42) (see Table 3.1 at the end of Chapter Three).

No broad-banded concentric (sunflower) type of rosette was encountered in Sumer and Akkad and no obovate type of rosette. No lines inside a circle type of rosette, as seen in Egyptian painted ceilings and tombs, were found in Sumer and Akkad, possibly because no painted artefacts of rosettes survived.

Different materials have been used in Sumer and Akkad to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium are illustrated in the attached Table 3.2 at the end of this chapter. Gold, silver, ivory, mother of pearl and stone are the different materials that are mostly used in producing rosettes in this region, although I am sure these are not the only mediums that the Sumerians and Akkadians

worked with. In some of the other civilizations we will encounter glass rosettes as well. No faience, baked and glazed tiles, or paint have survived in Sumerian and Akkadian artefacts. I would like to emphasize that they may exist, but I have not encountered them during this research. This is in contrast with Egypt where many faience rosettes and painted rosettes were found. Sumer and Akkad delivered silver artefacts whereas Egypt displayed no silver rosettes.

The materials used to create rosettes in Sumer and Akkad were very expensive material (see Table 3.2) and this might possibly answer one of the research questions: Was this symbol of the rosette only used among the elite?

Table 3.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol.

Table 3.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes.

Table 3.5 is an elementary chart of the main divinities with their main characteristics.

Table 3.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different rosettes found in Sumeria.

Table 3.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in Sumer and Akkad. The three artefacts also disagrees with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

Table 3.1 Examples of different types of rosettes found in Sumer and Akkad



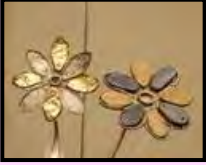








Lotus/Venus eight petals	 <p>Figure 3.24</p>	 <p>Figure 3.40</p>	 <p>Figure 3.41</p>	 <p>Figure 3.45</p>
Daisy numerous petals	 <p>Figure 3.35</p>	 <p>Figure 3.36</p>	 <p>Figure 3.37</p>	 <p>Figure 3.43</p>
Broad banded concentric	-	-	-	-
Obovate petals	-	-	-	-
Three dimensional	 <p>Figure 3.29</p>	 <p>Figure 3.30</p>	 <p>Figure 3.42</p>	-
Circles with lines	-	-	-	-

Table 3.2 Rosettes created from different materials in Sumer and Akkad












Gold/ Electrum	 Figure 3.27	 Figure 3.32	 Figure 3.35	 Figure 3.42
Silver	 Figure 3.23	 Figure 3.33	-	-
Faience	-	-	-	-
Ivory/ Mother of pearl	 Figure 3.22	 Figure 3.45	-	-
Stone	 Figure 3.16	 Figure 3.18	 Figure 3.27	 Figure 3.14
Paint	-	-	-	-
Baked and glazed tiles	-	-	-	-
Glass	-	-	-	-

Table 3.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer		x	x				x
Assyria							
Babylonia							
Anatolia							
Persia							

Table 3.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer		Inanna/Ishtar
Assyria		
Babylonia		
Anatolia		
Persia		

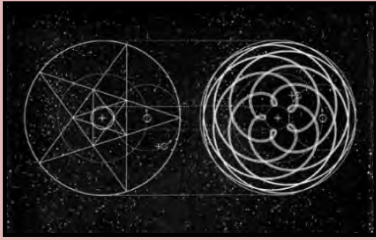
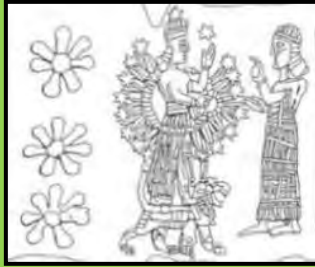

Table 3.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creation	Resurrection	Herding	War
Ra	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna	x	x	x	x					x	x
Utu					x	x	x	x		
Ishtar										
shamash										
Shamash										
Adad										
Marduk										
Arinna										
Kumbaba										
Ahura M										
Anahita										
Mithra										

Table 3.6 The number of different rosettes encountered in Chapter Three

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer	8	4	0	0	0	0	9	0	3	0
Assyria										
Babilonia										
Anatolia										
Persian										

Table 3.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Sumer and Akkad

 <p>Fig. 3.5 Diagram of both the star and the rosette patterns of Venus</p>	 <p>Fig. 3.7 The goddess Inanna is surrounded by stars and three huge rosettes</p>	 <p>Fig. 3.18 The Uruk priest-king feeding his flock with rosettes</p>
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CHAPTER FOUR

ROSETTES IN ASSYRIA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Assyrians used to live in the northern part of the Euphrates-Tigris plain (circa 1920-600 BC) (Fig. 4.1). Assyrian history is divided into different periods: Old Assyrian Period (1920-1800 BC), 'Dark Ages' (1800-1500 BC), Middle Assyrian Period (1500-1000 BC), Neo-Assyrian Period (1000-600 BC) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:176).

Because of its firm chronology, Assyria is normally used as the starting point for any discussion of Near Eastern art during the first four centuries of the first millennium BC (Collon 1995:128-129). Assyrian art is marked by strong continuity, and monuments of the Middle Assyrian Period served as models for the later kings of Assyria, who often consciously revived earlier styles. As Assyrian power grew, so its influence on the artistic production of its neighbours increased. As a result, there is an internationalism in all types of artefacts (Collon 1995:128-129).



Fig. 4.1 Map of the Assyrian Empire.¹⁴⁵

The Assyrian art which developed from the Late Bronze Age is easily recognisable across the media, in both major and minor works and is remarkably uniform. It served as a state art or *Machtkunst* (art displaying power) and contained a deliberate propaganda message. However,

¹⁴⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Map_of_Assyria.png

even within this authoritarian state, there is considerable variation in style, technique, and detail (Hermann 2005:11).

In this chapter, my objective is to enlighten and demonstrate the existence of several available rosettes displayed on artefacts in the Assyrian civilization, and in doing so, maybe find the meaning or significance of the rosette. How can the rosette be perceived, understood, and interpreted in the scenes and artefacts to follow? I will also investigate the possible influence of the 'Tree of Life' (4.2) as the possible inspiration for the rosette symbol in the Assyrian Empire although the sun and the sun god Shamash (4.3.2) might play a major role in the Assyrian religion.

Predilection for non-anthropomorphic representation of deities is noticeable in Middle Assyrian imagery, where examples of devotional scenes of *symbol worship* in lieu of divine-figure worship are apparent (Ornan 2005:52), but there is an ample number of stone slabs depicting winged spiritual beings with rosettes on their bracelets and diadems.

The king's attire and headgear show plentiful rosettes. The rosette occurs as early as the thirteenth century BC on the stone altar of king Tukulti- Ninurta I that was discovered at Ashur (Albenda 2005:84; Moortgat 1969:120). The rosette does not occur in Neo-Assyrian wall paintings until the start of the eighth century BC. Its absence from the ornamental painted designs between the end of the thirteenth century and the end of the ninth centuries is due to the complete lack of excavated material from that time (Albenda 2005:84).

In this chapter the model provided by Panofsky will again be used as the framework to describe, analyse and interpret the use of the rosette symbol on different artefacts on different levels of society. According to this model three layers of reading of the artefacts can be discerned: firstly the 'iconographic description' is a pure description of what is seen in the 81 available illustrations; and in the second 'iconographic analysis' the subject of the representation is determined as it is gathered under different headings, for instance divinity, temples royalty, palaces, and general. Finally, the aim of the 'iconological interpretation' is to reveal deeper meanings, which will be done with each illustration and again concluded in the summary (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6).

4.2 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL AND THE TREE OF LIFE

Once again the search for the possible inspiration of the rosette continues. In this chapter it is the Tree of Life which will be investigated because the flowers (palmettes) almost resemble a rosette. The Tree of Life is a challenging subject as scholars do not agree on the exact meaning of this tree, except that it has some connection with *fertility* (Vermaak 1995:26) (cf. the discussions on the tree in Assyrian art, Reade 1983:27; Parpola 1993:161-208; Porter 1993:129-139; Albenda 1994:123-133).

As Keel (1998:38) puts it: 'We should not strive for an exclusive and strict identification'.

Therefore only a shortened discussion on the Tree of Life from different sources will follow. There are a few different opinions in the understanding of the Tree of Life, but I will not go into depth into the opinions of these scholars.

Keel argues that, in the Levant, people worshipped both living trees and 'artificial trees' as manifesting a single female deity, or a number of different ones (Keel 1998:16).

According to Shiloh (1979:26), the basic pattern underlying the Tree of Life is the palm tree. He also regards this motif, in all its manifestations, as a typical ornamental feature of Western Asia (Pienaar 2008:59).

Teissier (1996:101) has noted an association between the palm and the sun, stating that the association of the sun with a palm was both an Egyptian and Mesopotamian concept. Marinatos (2010:60) extended this idea with the further claim that the palm was commonly linked with a rosette disc.

In this regard a text from the 17th century BC describes the *goddess Ishtar* from Nineveh: 'O palm tree, daughter of Nineveh, stag of the lands! She is glorious, most glorious, the finest of goddesses... the crown on her head gleams like the stars; the luminescent disks on her breasts shine like the sun' (Livingston 1989, no.7) (cf. 2.4.5.5).

Here the goddess seems to be associated with a palm tree or more likely *she is symbolized as the palm tree* (Albenda 2005:110, 111). Furthermore, the rosette as a symbol of Ishtar is also a symbol associated with the palm tree which is in turn related to the *sun*; thus the rosette symbol might possibly be linked with the sun. The sun on the other hand is also seen as *divine* and the

giver of new life, which might possibly be considered as the *divine fertility* aspect of Ishtar, as seen in her specific rosette symbol.

Not in the Assyrian Period, but in the much later Kabbalistic group of books called *The Zohar*, the Tree of Life is described as a tree of light, which encompasses all living things (cf. Addendum II). 'The light of the Tree of Life with its radiance gives everlasting life to all creatures and endures to all eternity. No wickedness shall dwell there' (Ameisenowa & Mainland 1939:336). There is also a quote in the *Zohar* saying: 'Now the Tree of Life extends from above downwards, and is the sun which illuminates all' (Cook 1974:18).

Not during the Assyrian Period, but much later, the writers of the Apocrypha books are of the opinion that an olive tree was the Tree of Life¹⁴⁶ and that this olive tree stands next to the cosmic tree and the olive oil flows continually. This oil brings *eternal life* to the *blessed ones* (Ameisenowa & Mainland 1939:331).

McDonald (2002:117) argues that the Tree of Life is rather a rendering of the blue *lotus flower*. Egyptians and members of the Heliopolitan pantheon recognized *the sun* and its animate equivalent, the sun-like blossoms of the Nilotic lotus, as earthly and heavenly aspects of the Nile's first recorded creator figure, Nefertum (McDonald 2002:113-129). Hence, the lotus flower was deemed as much a creator of life as an incarnate aspect of the everlasting sun itself (cf. 2.8). The *Pyramid Texts* are full of refrains that describe the lotus plant as the progenitor (i.e., as Nefertum) of the sun (Ra): not vice versa (McDonald 2002:113-129). 'Egyptian allusions to an immortalizing plant (lotus) that bears close relations to the sun foreshadow mythic themes that relate to various Middle Eastern cuneiform texts and Biblical references to the Tree of Life' (McDonald 2002:113-129).

'This incongruence owes in no small part to the dominant role of linguistic fields of inquiry in the study of Mesopotamian and Near Eastern history, whose ongoing contributions are often at a loss to identify ancient plant names and highly stylized vegetative and floral motifs on a botanical basis' (Darby et al 1977:36-37; Giovino 2007:12-16; Moldenke & Moldenke 1952:2-9).

Winter suggests that Proverbs 11:30 is to be linked to the imagery of the tree as a symbol of the divinely authorized and royally guaranteed world order. He suggests that this was one of the

¹⁴⁶ *Vita Adae* 36 en II *Henog* VIII, 5.

standard uses of the stylized holy tree in Mesopotamian and north Syrian and Palestinian art (1986:152).

Hornung & Staehelin are of opinion that when the tree is flanked by ibexes, they are feeding from the central tree, and this accentuates its role as the sustaining Tree of Life, giving nourishment (1976:138-140).

James is of opinion that the Tree of Life is the symbol of resurrection of vegetation and of the rebirth of the year in the spring (or its seasonal equivalent). The sacred tree became the Tree of Immortality, giving superabundance of life to the dead in an eternity. The entire universe has been conceived as belonging to one great system of interrelated and inherent life in which the Tree of Life has been a source of ever-renewing vitality (1968:246).

Parpola is sure that the meaning of the motif is not clear, but its overall composition strikingly recalls the Tree of Life of later Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Buddhist art. The question of whether the concept of the Tree of Life actually existed in ancient Mesopotamia has been debated and thus many scholars today prefer the more neutral term 'sacred tree' when referring to the Mesopotamian tree (1993:161).

In iconography, the tree is described as sacred when 'it is set upon a base or elevation or placed in a position of prominence' (Hestrin 1987b:214).

According to Campbell a focally important symbol was the sacred tree symbolizing goddesses, which may also have symbolized the World Tree or World Axis (1965:486-489).

There are many different views on the Tree of Life and its topic is a study on its own. It seems that different regions, different religions and different timespans had different trees as a symbol for the Tree of Life. The Assyrian Tree of Life or Sacred Tree is usually illustrated on reliefs together with winged spiritual beings and these trees often have palmettes on their branches. A few examples of palmettes will be displayed in Figures 4.2; 4.3; 4.5; 4.6 and 4.7.

4.2.1 Palmettes or rosettes on a bronze belt

Urartu (biblical Kingdom of Ararat or Kingdom of Van) was a prehistoric Iron Age kingdom centered on Lake Van in the Armenian Highlands. Assyrian inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (circa 1274 BC) first mention *Uruartri* as one of the states of Nairi, which he conquered. Urartu re-emerged in Assyrian inscriptions in the 9th century BC as a powerful northern rival of Assyria (Akurgal 2001:274). The Uratian culture (cf. 6.1.3) could possibly have influenced the Assyrian art in the palmettes used on the Tree of Life or Sacred Tree.

4.2.1.1 Iconographic description of palmettes/rosettes on the bronze belt

To the left of the artefact in Figure 2 a tree is depicted, possibly the Tree of Life, and on the right side a griffin is depicted. A few free standing (loose) palmettes resembling the palmettes on the tree are in the middle of the artefact and surround the griffin (winged lion). These palmettes are not very visible, but could possibly be the same kind of palmettes as in Figures 4.3; 4.5; 4.6 and 4.7. They could possibly be the prototype for the development of the rosette symbol in Assyria.



Fig. 4.2 Urartian bronze armory belt (circa 8th-7th century BC).¹⁴⁷

4.2.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the palmettes/rosettes on the bronze belt

What I find interesting is that the loose/free palmettes in Figure 4.2 are exactly the same as the palmettes on the Sacred Tree. If this was a trend on Urartian artefacts and Urartia is just to the north of Assyria, it might indicate that a rosette could have been depicted as a free identity from a Sacred Tree in Assyria.

There is a possibility that the rosette symbol, equated to the palmettes of a Tree of Life because they appear quite similar, could mean sacred or *divine* as the *Tree of Life* was seen as a *divine*

¹⁴⁷ <https://archaicwonder.tumblr.com/post/96745231537/urartian-bronze-armory-belt-c-8th-7th-century>

tree. Thus, the equated rosette will also be a symbol for divinity or godliness, not symbolizing any specific god or goddess but possibly different gods and goddesses.

4.2.2 Palmettes or rosettes on bronze gates

4.2.2.1 Iconographic description of palmettes/rosettes on bronze gates

The artefact in Figure 4.3 is from a bronze gate ornament. The artefact is from the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II and it adorned the gate of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud. It depicts two rows of almost rosette-like palmettes, possibly of the Tree of Life (883-859 BC) at the top and the bottom of the bronze gate ornament.



Fig. 4.3 Bronze gate ornament.
(Universal History Archive/UIG via Alamy Images)¹⁴⁸

In Figure 4.4 a bronze band from a gate ornament depicts Sargon II (725-705 BC) taming bulls with a row of daisy-like rosettes with several petals adorning the top (cf. 5.2.1).

¹⁴⁸ <https://www.alamy.com/bronze-gate-ornament-from-the-reign-of-the-assyrian-king-ashurnasirpal-ii-883-859-bc-from-the-north-west-palace-at-nimrud-in-iraq-image235037180.html>



Fig. 4.4 Bronze bands from a gate at Dur-Sharrukin (modern Khorsabad, Iraq).¹⁴⁹

4.2.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the palmettes/rosettes on bronze gates*

The fact that both the rosettes and the palmettes are at the top of the two bronze bands of gate ornaments might possibly indicate that the palmette and the rosette could have had the same symbolic meaning. The palmettes of the Tree of Life might possibly have been the original rosettes. If the Tree of Life (cf. 4.2) was indeed a godly symbol as Edelman (2006:152) suggests, this could indicate that the rosette is also a *divine* or godly symbol. The rosettes on the artefact in Figure 4.4 might possibly have identified that it was a divine scene or it might have indicated *divine protection* possibly from Ishtar, as the rosette was one of her symbols (cf. 3.3.2).

4.2.3 **Palmettes or rosettes on Assyrian trees**

4.2.3.1 *Iconographic description of palmettes/rosettes on Assyrian trees*

a) Wall relief from the North-Western Palace of Ashurnasirpal II

According to the Sulaymaniyah Museum in Iraqi Kurdistan, the fragment on the wall relief from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (Fig. 4.5) shows the right hand of an *Apkallu* (winged spiritual being) holding a *banddudû* (bucket) before branches of the Sacred Tree or the Tree of Life. This artefact is from Nimrud in Assyria. It is retained in the Sulaymaniyah Museum, Iraqi Kurdistan. The almost rosette-like flowers of the Tree of Life or Sacred Tree resemble the flowers on Figure 4.5 and on a twig carried by the *Apkallu* in Figure 4.51-4.52.

¹⁴⁹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bronze_bands_-_Shamash_Temple,_Palace_of_Sargon_II,_Khorsabad_-_Oriental_Institute_Museum,_University_of_Chicago_-_DSC07561.JPG



Fig. 4.5 Wall relief from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II.¹⁵⁰
(Sulaymaniyah-Museum, Photo credit: Osama S.M. Amin)

b) *Apkallu* and two sacred trees

According to the Brooklyn Museum in New York, the alabaster relief in Figure 4.6 & Add II, C2 depicts an *Apkallu* (winged spiritual being), flanked by two sacred trees with rosette-like flowers with seven petals each on the branches. It belongs to the Neo-Assyrian Period and was found at Nimrud. It belonged to the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (circa 883-859 BC).



Fig. 4.6 *Apkallu* and two sacred trees.
(The Brooklyn Museum, 55.147)¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ <http://etc.ancient.eu/photos/assyrian-wall-reliefs-sulaymaniyah-museum/>

¹⁵¹ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/70569>

c) Tree of Life with three-quarter palmettes protruding from the tree

In Figure 4.7 another example of the Tree of Life is depicted with seven-petalled, rosette-like flowers on the branches. This time the tree is bent over another much larger tree or flower also with seven petals, and tiny daisy/lotus-like rosettes with several petals make up the border (cf. 5.2.1). This depiction of an Assyrian Tree of Life, also called Sacred Tree, is housed in the British Museum in London.

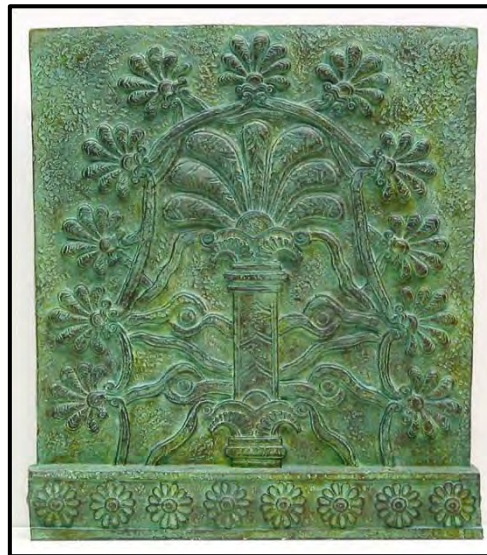


Fig. 4.7 Tree of Life with three-quarter palmettes protruding from the tree. (The British Museum,)¹⁵²

4.2.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of palmettes/rosettes on Assyrian trees*

With a little imagination the flowers on the trees in Figures 4.5-4.7 equate to almost proper rosettes. In case the palmettes are indeed renderings of the Tree of Life in shortened version and the flowers on the Sacred Tree are almost identical to rosettes, it is possible that the huge Tree of Life is the inspiration for the single rosette or became integrated into each other.

The Tree of Life might possibly have been a general symbol for godliness or as Keel proposes a female goddess (1998:16) as it symbolizes fertility and nourishment (cf. 4.2). The symbolic meaning of a *single rosette* could possibly have remained the same as the symbolic meaning of Tree of Life, namely a godly entity or *divinity*.

¹⁵² <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/470626229788138236/>

4.3 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

To date, no monumental free-standing sculpture of a major Assyrian deity has been recovered (Seidl 2000:106). This does not mean that anthropomorphic cult images did not exist or were not worshipped in Assyrian temples and sanctuaries, for their existence can be inferred from textual evidence (Ornan 2005:73).

Ashur, Adad, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar were the chief deities of the Assyrian pantheon, although the Sumerian Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Nabu were honoured as well (Saggs 1989:57; Gwaltney 1994:102; Ornan 2005:142-143). Only the male principal god in Assyria, Ashur, will be discussed briefly, as well as Shamash the sun god and Ishtar. I have chosen these three because of the sun symbol, the Venus rosette symbol, and because of Ashur making use of symbols instead of being anthropomorphic.

4.3.1 Ashur

Ashur was the national god of Assyria and his name is that of the city-state of Ashur (or Assur) which was the first capital of Assyria, located on the western bank of the Tigris River in modern Iraq (Kaiser 2005:2081). He is praised in no hymns, nor is he ever engaged in incantations, and no mythological poem about him is known. His images are not anthropomorphic but only symbolic icons (see Fig. 4.41) although he is represented as partially anthropomorphic within the winged disc. The winged disc does not exclusively allude to Ashur in first millennium Assyrian imagery, as most often it represents the sun god, Shamash (Ornan 2005:102). In Figure 4.41 Ashur is represented with a winged disc and a rosette in the middle of the sun disc.

According to Teissier (1996:95-101), the winged disk was charged with a multi-faceted meaning and was not exclusively confined to the solar aspect. It seems as if both Assur and Shamash used the winged disc as a symbol. The Hittites used the winged disc (cf. 6.2) and the symbol also evolved into the Faravahar (the symbol of the divine power and royal glory in Persian culture in Zoroastrian Persia; cf. 7.3.2.1 and Figure 7.5).

Parpola has presented a theory of the monotheism of Ashur (2000:165–209). To support his thesis Parpola quoted not only textual and iconographic data, but also onomastic data, for example, the personal names Gabbu-ilani-Ashur, which means 'Ashur is all the gods' (Parpola 2000:165-209). Mesopotamian cosmological speculation regarded north as the 'head' of the world and south as the 'foot' (Huxley 2000:113). Sennacherib's symbolism placed the throne of

Ashur in the northern sky because, according to Assyrian theology, Ashur was the supreme god who reigned over all the other divinities.

Ashur was Marduk's ancestor, being indeed three generations older. Marduk was the patron deity of Babylon (cf. 5.3.1). From the ninth century BC onwards, Ashur was equated with Anshar who was the male principal god in Babylonian mythology (Cotterell & Storm 2006:264).

4.3.2 Shamash

Shamash was the sun god of Assyria (cf. 2.2.2 and 5.3.2). In a hymn to the sun god it suggests that the brightness of the sun hides the visibility of the stars in daytime, 'Shamash your sheen is a blazing fire, the stars of the sky are covered all the day' (Huxley 2000:124). Mythological tales relating to the sun relate to an association between the daily transit of the sun through the heavens, and a cycle of birth, death and rebirth (Naydler 1996:24, 63). 'Light and day signify creation, life, order and salvation when the powers of chaos and the wicked are eliminated by the sun. The break of the new day and the rising of the sun therefore signify a new creation every day, the creation of a *weltordnung*, forming a contrast with the night as a time of disorder, sickness, death and lurking enemies' (Cornelius 1990:26).

Among the great variety of major and minor divinities shown in Mesopotamian art, only a small number were portrayed with the winged disc, but the winged disc had a role in the mythology of Shamash. Dalley notes that the winged disc was known as *Šalmu*, and according to the Mesopotamian god-list this was a name for Shamash (1986:88). In this chapter no specific illustration portrays Shamash.

4.3.3 Ishtar

Ishtar was an important goddess in the Assyrian pantheon. According to Pizzimenti, Ishtar has in fact a double nature, male and female, as attested to in inscriptions and myths (2018:308-309). The rosette is one of Ishtar's symbols and of her Sumerian correspondent Inanna (cf. 3.3.2) from the Uruk to Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods (Van Buren 1939:99-107; Black & Green 1992:156; Herles 2006:227-228; Ornan 2005:151-152). She is also associated with the palm-tree as testified by an Assyrian text of Assurbanipal and mentioned above: 'O palm-tree, daughter of Nineveh, stag of the land! She is glorious, the finest goddesses... the crown on her head gleams like the stars; the luminescent disks on her breasts shine like the sun' (Livingstone 1989:no.7). These discs on her breasts display the same kind of description as those found on

royalty in Egypt (see Figures 2.30-2.33; cf. 2.4.5.5). The star (*kakkabu*) was another Ishtar symbol, representing the Venus star (cf. 3.2.1.2) (Albenda 2005:97).

Van Buren is of opinion that the star and the rosette are both identified with the goddess Ishtar; however, each motif probably represents a different attribute of the goddess (1939:99-107). Unfortunately he does not say which attributes. I would venture into the unknown and suggest that the star was possibly symbolic of her brilliance and the rosette was possibly a symbol of her divinity which then would include *divine fertility*, *divine protection*, *divine provision* and *divine presence* (cf. 7.2.2; 3.2.4.1a and 3.2.4.1b).

The symbolic meaning of the Venus star was connected to Ishtar and therefore her character traits need to come into play whenever a rosette is displayed and her *divine character* or *divine presence* might possibly be symbolized by the rosette. The most important characteristic of Ishtar was that she was known as goddess of *love*, but also of *war*. She also represented *divine protection* and *divine fertility*. She was known as the *goddess of herds*, thus *divine provision* towards her flock. Another one of her traits was to *hand out kingship*. Alone or jointly with a male god, she *controlled a number of elements*, both *natural and cultural*. She was also known as the *Queen of Heaven*, associated with the Venus star, and the goddess of *vegetation*.

4.4 TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES

Lambert (1990:123-124) sheds light on the supreme holiness of the divine images embodied within the sacred cult statue and suggests that cult statues were usually kept only within the limits of the temple. Thus, when 'removed' from their sacred surroundings, for example, depicted on a stone stele, or shown on a palace wall relief, the divine image was replaced by its surrogate, a non-anthropomorphic symbol.

4.4.1 The gods being pleased with their temples

Often the gods are the selected audience, particularly in royal inscriptions where the building of temples is recorded. The Middle Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 BC) built the Ashur temple after the destruction of the earlier one by fire.

When the god is brought in to take up residence in the new temple, the ruler describes his hope that his work will bring satisfaction in terms of the god's first seeing and then being pleased with his new abode: 'May he [the god Assur] see the bright/shining works of that temple and rejoice' (Grayson 1987:185). The Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) also consistently

concludes his temple-building accounts with the hope that the deity involved may 'look joyously' upon the king's work (Winter 2010:440).

Another type of visual response is consistently recorded: that of the 'the people' to a major work. Whereas the reaction of 'joy' is ascribed to gods and rulers, who are the direct beneficiaries of the great temple works, the lower-echelon viewers respond with 'admiration' and 'awe' (Akkadian *tabrītu* and *qalu*) (Frayne 1990:303).

Deities are not the only audience whose gaze is invoked. On the colossal gateway lion statues from the Sharrat Niphi Temple in Nimrud, Assurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) records that he built the temple 'for the eternal regard of rulers and princes' (Grayson 1991:296).

4.4.2 Middle Assyrian Ishtar temples

Assurnasirpal built three temples to Ishtar during his reign. In grave goods found near the precincts of the Middle Assyrian Ishtar temple at Assur, various images of the goddess with date palm trees are found (Porter 1993:138). Moortgat dated this grave to the fourteenth century BC and suggested that its occupants were priestesses from the Ishtar temple; grave goods included a comb showing a procession, bordered by date palms and rosettes, and according to Porter both are symbols of Ishtar (Porter 1993:138; Moortgat 1967:72-74). However, recent research has shown that Ashur's rich Tomb 45 was not associated with the nearby Temple of Ishtar, as previously thought, but was the family vault of a wealthy private individual, Babu-aha-iddina (Harper et al. 1995:81-88; Hermann & Millard 2003:377).

In a text of Assurnasirpal I (1049-1030 BC), an ornate bed made for the inner chamber of the temple of the goddess Ishtar is elaborately described. The king tells us that the bed has been made of *taskarinnu* wood and gold, adorned with precious stones, and as a result, it shines 'like the rays of the sun (god)' (Winter 2010:441).

King Tukulti-Ninurta I built a temple for Ishtar at Ashur during the thirteenth century BC (Albenda 2005:84). Figure 4.8 is the excavation site of where the altars were found.



Fig. 4.8 Excavation site at Ashur where the altars were found.¹⁵³

4.4.2.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on the altars at Ishtar's temples

a) Rosettes on the horns of the altar

Figure 4.9 depicts two rosettes with twelve petals each on the horns of the altar at Ishtar's temple. One standing person and one kneeling person are also displayed, probably praying and bringing sacrifices to the altar. The altar (*ara*) was used to burn those parts of the sacrifice that were given to the gods. The original meaning of the word was fire pit or place for burnt sacrifices, but its scope slowly extended to encompass all sites of sacrifice, even though it usually refers to a stone altar (Siebert 2015:394). In principle, an *ara* was defined by the temple and sacrificial cult it was associated with. *Ara* could also, however, be spatially unrelated to the temple and be erected in a grove or as temporary structures made from very simple materials, such as earth or stones (Siebert 2015:394). The rosettes in Figure 4.9 resemble the lotus-like rosettes of the Persian Empire (cf. Figs. 7.14-7.21), also with the double ring around the centre.



Fig. 4.9 Altar with rosettes.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ <http://bharatkalyan97.blogspot.com/2013/12/tin-road-from-meluhha-to-ancient-near.html>

¹⁵⁴ https://www.researchgate.net/figure/An-altar-which-was-probably-dedicated-by-Tukulti-Ninurta-I-Engraved-figures-from-the_fig4_347911821
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/5856689199>

b) Eight rosettes are depicted on the altar

In Figure 4.10 two encircled star-like rosettes (cf. 1.6), with eight petals each, are depicted on the horns of the altar at Ishtar's temple, and two of the same kind on the standards, and two of the same kind on the people's heads holding the standards. A third person is depicted in the middle of the two standard-bearing people, which might possibly be the king. The two persons holding the standards might probably be priests, one might even be the high priest.



Fig. 4.10 Altar at Ishtar's temple with rosettes on the horns (circa 1300 BC).¹⁵⁵

4.4.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the altars at Ishtar's temples*

Many of the rosettes known from the Middle Assyrian Period were found in the Ishtar (Inanna) temple at Ashur (Muscarella 1977:36). We have already established that the rosette symbol was one of Ishtar's symbols (cf. 3.2.4.1b) along with a star (cf. 3.2.4.1a).

The lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each in Figure 4.9 might have symbolized her main characteristics which were *divine protection*, *divine fertility*, *divine provision* and *divine presence*. The altar with the rosettes could also have symbolized that they were sacred and holy. The star-like rosettes in Figure 4.10 could have symbolized her Venus star with eight rays (petals) each and eight was the sacred number for Ishtar.

The fact that the subject under discussion is a temple and thus a *divine* building for Ishtar brings the theory of *godly* and *divine* as a symbol for the rosette also into consideration. This is a *divine scene* and should be considered when choosing a character trait for the rosette symbol. It is the temple of Ishtar, and thus rosettes will occur at her temple, as the rosette symbol is one of her symbols. The rosettes on the horned corners might possibly have symbolized the goddess Ishtar and her *divine presence* and also that they were *sacred*.

¹⁵⁵ <https://www.chegg.com/flashcards/mesopotamian-art-a61ad681-edf2-448c-9ab1-2bf758e31d8f/deck>

4.5 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

I will rely mainly on the dating provided by Perego (1998:52) and Cornelius & Venter (2002:177).

The main kings of Assyria were circa:

Ashur-nasir-pal II	(880–859 BCE)
Shalmaneser III	(859-810 BCE)
Adad-nirari III	(810-782 BCE)
Shalmaneser IV	(782-773 BCE)
Tiglath-Pileser III	(745-727 BCE)
Shalmaneser V	(726-725 BCE)
Sargon II	(725-705 BCE)
Sennacherib	(705-681 BCE)
Esarhaddon	(681-669 BCE)
Ashurbanipal	(669-625 BCE)

4.5.1 'Portraits' of the kings of Assyria

According to Amiet the rosette motif was used as a *royal symbol* in Assyria by the ninth century BC. Reliefs recovered from the throne room of the Northwest Palace at Nimrud portray King Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) wearing rosette bracelets (Amiet 1980:283, 406).

Almost every Assyrian king following Ashurnasirpal II is similarly portrayed wearing rosette-ornamented apparel - Shalmaneser III (857-824 BC), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 BC), Esarhaddon (680-669 BC) and Ashurbanipal (668-627 BC) (Cahill 1997:50).

In first-millennium Assyrian art, the status of the king is elevated where a king replaces the divine image and instead a non-anthropomorphic symbol is used. In spite of the heightened role of the king, the highest position of the divine presence is maintained, as the gods were basically conceived as the power underlying all royal achievements. Shown as *non-anthropomorphic renderings (symbols)*, these gods still dominate the scene, yet do not compete with the royal figure in the eye of the beholder (Ornan 2005:56). Substitution of a *divine symbol* for a deity in human form occurred as a result of a rift that emerged between man and god in Assyrian art (Frankfort 1996:132).

In this nation of warriors the king and the army played an essential role. Artistic representations of war incorporated violent acts that both supported and justified wars (Bahrani 2008:12, 59).

The sovereign was the source of all authority and as the representative of the gods he was above mere mortals and lived apart from them in his palace, isolated in his majesty (Hamlyn 1968:89).

A royal inscription found on the *Nimrud Monolith* explains the importance of the king Assurnasirpal:

Assurnasirpal, provider of offerings for the gods, legitimate prince, to whom is perpetually entrusted the proper administration of the rites of the temples of his land, whose deeds and offerings the great gods of heaven and underworld love so that they [therefore] established forever his priesthood in the temples, granted to his dominion their fierce weapons, [and] made him more marvellous than [any of] the kings of the four quarters with respect to the splendour of his weapons [(and)] the radiance of his dominion (Russell 1998:686).

We can reconstruct a fairly accurate picture of the times from the astonishing realistic sculptures that decorate the monumental palaces and temples which the kings of Assyria erected to their own glory (Hamlyn 1968:89).

The rosette design is common in Assyrian alabaster reliefs. The kings are seen with rosettes on their bangles, rosettes on their crowns and diadems, and rosette patterns on their attire. This trend was adopted by almost all the Assyrian kings (cf. Figs. 4.11-4.19).

Kings in both kingdoms, Babylon and Assyria, display a range of hats. In Assyria there is the fez and the tall fez resembling a *polos*, both of these with a conical top; in Babylonia there is the fez, the polos, the polos with a conical top, and the conical cap (cf. Figs. 5.19; 5.20; 5.23) (Reade 2009:248). In Assyria the fez was the normal royal headgear, and the taller versions of it were used on some ceremonial occasions (Reade 2009:248). Nobles, eunuchs and servants could all wear fezzes. The king was distinguished by the cone on his fez, and perhaps by other elements of his dress such as colour (Reade 2009:249). A version of the fez, with conical top, decorations, and ribbons attached at the back, became established as the Assyrian royal hat (Reade 2009:262). Thereafter the Assyrian fez remained in principle unchanged, except that a taller version was worn in ritual contexts, until Tiglath-Pileser added an extra band of decoration (Reade 2009:262). The king's deputy or second-in-command wore a diadem with a ribbon attached at the back. This person is found between the reigns of Assurnasirpal II and Esarhaddon, and would normally have been the crown prince or heir apparent (Reade 2009:262).

4.5.1.1 *Iconographic description of reliefs depicting rosettes and kings*

a) Tiglath-Pileser II displaying rosettes

In Figures 4.11-4.12 Tiglath-Pileser II is depicted with rosettes on his wrist and on his diadem. The king is seen with a loose piece of material that is wrapped over the bottom of the headgear depicting a daisy-like rosette with several petals (cf. 1.6). The bracelet rosette seems to also be a daisy-like rosette. The tassel hanging over his shoulder possibly suggests that the top part was loose before it was bound together.



Fig. 4.11 Tiglath-Pileser II with rosettes.¹⁵⁶

Fig. 4.12 Enlargement of the diadem.

b) King Tiglath-Pileser III is depicted with rosettes

In Figure 4.13 King Tiglath-Pileser III is depicted with a ten-petal, lotus-like diadem with a single rosette in front as well as a ten-petal, lotus-like rosette on his bracelet (cf. 1.6).



Fig. 4.13 Tiglath-Pileser III (745-725 BC) with rosettes on his wrist and on his diadem.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/king-early-assyria-shamsi-adad>

¹⁵⁷ https://www.worldhistory.org/Tiglath_Pileser_III/

c) Sargon II with rosettes on his attire

Sargon II was one of the well-known kings of Assyria. Notice the many eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes on his exquisite attire, on his headgear and on his bracelet, as well as another type of rosette on his horse's bridles, possibly a daisy-like rosette (Fig. 4.14).



Fig. 4.14 Sargon II (725-705 BC) with rosettes on his attire.
(The British Museum)¹⁵⁸

Close examination and analysis done by Hart (2018:470) on the use of the rosette motif in both battle and hunting scenes from the Assyrian palaces indicates that in battle scenes the king is rarely depicted and where rosettes are shown, they tend to be associated almost exclusively with weaponry, whereas on the hunting reliefs which prominently feature the king, vast numbers of rosettes of many types are incorporated into the imagery (Hart 2018:470). The tiny eight-petalled rosettes in Figure 4.14 resemble those in Figures 4.42; 4.55; 4.69 and 4.81.

d) Sargon II with rosettes on his headgear, wrist and on his clothes

In Figure 4.15 the rosettes probably indicate to two different types of rosettes as the inner rosette looks like an eight-petal, lotus-like rosette inside a many-petalled, daisy-like rosette. The attire of the king is covered with these rosettes. The *polos* (crown) has the same type of double rosettes as the attire. The double rosettes on the king's attire are also found in Figures 4.16 on the diadem and in Figure 4.19 the attire and *polos* have many double rosettes.

¹⁵⁸ https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cacer%C3%ADa_de_leones_de_Asurbanipal



Fig. 4.15 Sargon II (725-705 BC) with rosettes on his headgear, wrist and on his clothes.¹⁵⁹

e) Sargon II depicted on the walls of the temple of Nabu

Another depiction of Sargon II is depicted on the walls of the Nabu temple in the city of Khorsabad or Dur-Sharrukin, the capital of the Assyrian Empire. It is housed in the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago in Chicago (Fig. 4.16). Notice the double-like rosettes with several petals on his diadem and the neat and tiny lotus-like rosettes with eight to ten petals each, alternating with tiny squares on his sleeve. The double-like rosette resembles the one in Figure 4.74.



Fig. 4.16 Sargon II (725-705 BC) depicted on the walls of the temple of Nabu.¹⁶⁰

f) Tiglath-Pileser III depicted with rosettes

In Figure 4.17 & Add II, C4 we find the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser III (745-725 BC) with rosettes on his diadem, his wrist, and on the ribbon that ties the diadem at the back, as well as tiny rosettes on the rim of his sleeve. Unfortunately they are not very visible but it seems like lotus-like rosettes are depicted on the ribbon and the sleeve.

¹⁵⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sargon_II#/media/File:Sargon_II,_Iraq_Museum_in_Baghdad.jpg

¹⁶⁰ <https://alchetron.com/Sargon-II>



Fig. 4.17 Tiglath-Pileser III (745-725 BC).
(The British Museum, 118900)¹⁶¹

With Tiglath-Pileser III there is a final change in the basic form of the royal fez. The taller variety becomes standard, with an additional decorative or embroidered band centrally placed between the topmost band and the band representing a diadem or upturned brim below (Reade 2009:254, 261). The standard decoration on all three bands is a row of rosettes. This new type of royal fez with three bands of decoration was retained throughout most of the seventh century (cf. Fig. 4.18) (Reade 2009:254, 261).

g) King Esarhaddon depicted with rosettes

Figure 4.18 depicts King Esarhaddon with faded rosettes on his headdress and a faded rosette bracelet. Unfortunately the rosettes are very faded and not really perceptible, although the

¹⁶¹ https://www.worldhistory.org/Tiglath_Pileser_III/

rosettes on the bottom row of the *polos* are bigger than those on the upper two rows. This corresponds with the headgear of Sargon II in Figure 4.15. Upon the death of Sennacherib, his son Esarhaddon (681-669 BC), became Assyria's king.

The diadem and ribbon were still worn by the crown princes of Sennacherib (704-681 BC) and Esarhaddon (680-669 BC). They were also sometimes worn by Assurbanipal (669-625 BC), even when he was king, while killing animals or enjoying a picnic. The previously worn turban had probably disappeared: the king's senior courtiers, both eunuchs and bearded men, are bareheaded at court. There is instead a new form of headgear, a chaplet consisting of two or more strands of cord or beads (see Fig. 4.19) (Reade 2009:261).

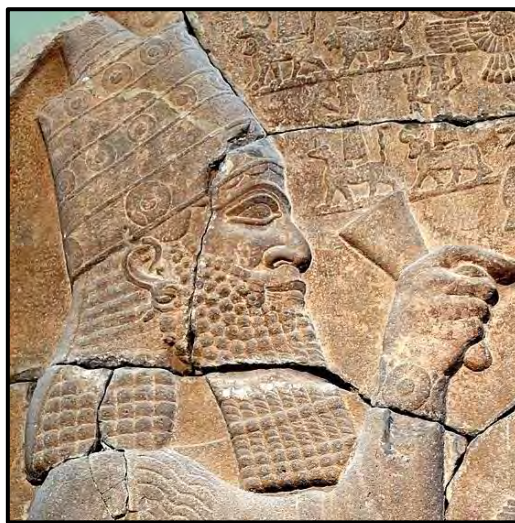


Fig. 4.18 King Esarhaddon (681-669 BC).¹⁶²

h) Ashurbanipal depicted with rosettes

Figure 4.19 depicts details of an alabaster bas-relief with the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal. According to the British Museum in London the king is identified by his conical head cap. He holds a bow and throws arrows towards a succession of lions. Note the exquisitely carved embroidery, armlets, earring, and costume. His royal attendant guides the royal chariot. The rosettes in Figure 4.19 on the king's *polos* and his attire are many-petalled, double-like rosettes with the outer rosette possibly being the sunflower and the inner rosette possibly a daisy.

The eyes of the king and his attendant were intentionally damaged after the fall of Nineveh. From Room C of the North Palace, Nineveh (modern-day Kouyunjik, Mosul Governorate), Iraq (British Museum).¹⁶³

¹⁶² <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esarhaddon>

¹⁶³ https://www.researchgate.net/figure/fig1_309843168

Patterning of fabrics was most complex and symbolic during the reign of the first of the great Late Assyrian kings, Assurnasirpal II (880-859 BC) (Guralnick 2004:231). Some patterns such as the complex rosette are seen only in association with a king or a god. In Figure 4.19 Ashurbanipal (circa 669-625 BC) is also shown with complex encircled double rosettes (cf. 1.6) on his *polos* and on his garment. Eight-petalled, sharp-ended, lotus-like rosettes are also found on his attire. Double-like rosettes are found on his *polos* and on his attire and it is interesting that so many different rosette types are shown on one section of 'material'.



Fig. 4.19 Ashurbanipal (circa 669-625 BC).
(The British Museum. Photo credit: Osama SM Amin)¹⁶⁴

Under both Sennacherib and Assurbanipal many of the mace-bearers, grooms, soldiers, and other such bearded men on the palace staff, though not usually eunuchs, regularly wear a chaplet, and it is not shown as worn by ordinary people (cf. Barnett 1976: Pls. V–VI). Probably anyone wearing the chaplet was recognised with respect in the streets of Nineveh as a member of the royal household (Reade 2009:261).

According to Albenda (2005:89) each flower in Figure 4.19 is rendered with much attention to detail and it is a decorative interpretation of a member of the daisy (*Asteraceae*) family, although

¹⁶⁴ https://www.researchgate.net/figure/fig1_309843168

the sunflower is also to be a likely candidate for the rosettes, since it is among the flowering plants that are depicted in the royal garden in room E of Ashurbanipal's palace (2005:89).

The elaborate, encircled daisy-like rosette with internal concentric circle and central dot is exclusively an element of *royal* garments and crowns throughout the Late Assyrian Period. This might indicate that the circle enclosing a complex rosette was somehow symbolic of kingship (Guralnick 2004:231), and I would add possibly symbolizing divinity. The kingship could have been handed out by Ishtar as that was one of her attributes.

4.5.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosette symbol and the Assyrian kings*

The rosette's prominent position in royal Assyrian art has led archaeologist David Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University to conclude that the Assyrian rosette was not merely a decorative element but a symbol of *royal sovereignty* (1982:115).

The king of Assyria as representative and likeness (*muššulu*) of the gods, also has a *melammu* and aura the same as the gods, which constitutes the *divine legitimation of his royalty* (Oppenheim 1943:31). This 'halo' legitimizes the king by endowing him with a godlike appearance and power. Yet he could lose his divine support, and then his *melammu* would turn from him. When his *melammu* disappears it becomes known that he is no longer king 'by the grace of god' (Oppenheim 1943:31). The religious texts say that the gods wear (*našû*) the *melammu* on their heads as a *supernatural headgear* in which case the headgear of the *king* should then also imply a *supernatural power* (Oppenheim 1943:31) (see Figures 4.11-4.19).

The daisy-like rosettes (Figs. 4.11; 4.12 and 4.19) might possibly have symbolized the sun or rather the sun god Shamash as the daisy flower corresponds to the strength of the sun, opening and closing with the sun (cf. 5.2). Shamash the sun god of Assyria, would have had the same attributes as the other sun gods (cf. 2.2.2 and 5.3.2) which is *divine protection* against evil and darkness and dark forces. The sun god would also imply *divine fertility* as the sunshine is necessary for growth. The fact that the sun appears in the morning was a reason to believe that the sun was reborn every day and therefore a good symbol for new life and resurrection (cf. 2.2.2). The daisy-like rosette symbols might possibly have implied *divine protection* for the king and the royal household (Reade 1991:32).

Ishtar played a huge role in the Assyrian religion and in her war-like aspect, as she is the goddess of war, she could possibly have been the *divine protector* of the king as this was one of her main

characteristics and the eight-petalled lotus-like rosette was one of her symbols (Figs. 4.13; 4.14; 4.19 and probably 4.17). On the other hand the rosette symbol might possibly have implied that the king was *divine*, as the representative of the gods. The kings were above mere mortals (*set apart*) and lived in their majesty in their palaces (Hamlyn 1968:89).

Double rosettes have been encountered in Figures 4.15 and 4.16 only on the diadem, and on the *polos* and attire of King Ashurbanipal in Figure 4.19.

The wide distribution throughout the Assyrian Empire on garments and clothing accessories, jewels and weapons demonstrates the benevolent *amuletic* function of the rosette symbol (Black & Green 1992:156; Moorey 1985:173-174), especially where kings and other royalty are wearing them in situations of war or hunting, for example.

Reade is of opinion that the rosette symbol in Assyria was for *magical protection* (Reade 2009:254, 261). As magical refers to supernatural, a case can be made for this to also possibly mean *divine protection* as it serves as a type of *amulet*, in this case possibly referring to the goddess of war, Ishtar, and her divine protection. The fact that the royalty are in war or hunting attire means that they possibly needed protection and thus the amulet theory makes sense.

The religious texts say that the gods are wearing (*našû*) the *melammu* on their heads as a *supernatural headgear* (Oppenheim 1943:31) in which case the *headgear of the king* should then also imply a *supernatural power*. By implication, if the rosette is a symbol of royalty, it could then also be a symbol of godliness when it appears with a king standing in for a deity (Figs. 4.11-4.19).

I am of opinion that the rosettes particularly on the Assyrian kings were for *divine presence* and *attributes of the divine* and this is what the kings took over from them whilst being the gods' and goddesses' assistants.

The king of Assyria as representative and likeness (*muššulu*) of the gods, also has a *melammu* and aura the same as the gods, which constitutes the divine legitimation of his royalty (Oppenheim 1943:31). This 'halo' legitimizes the king by endowing him with a godlike appearance and power. This *melammu* might have been illustrated by the numerous rosettes on the king's headgear and even on his attire.

4.5.2 Great wealth and a huge portion of gold in Nimrud

Great wealth is recorded for Ashur in the Middle Assyrian Period, according to Feldman (2006:21-43). In the tombs discovered below the Northwest Palace at Nimrud in 1989 by an expedition of 'The Iraqi Department of Antiquities and Heritage', the archaeologists discovered a huge portion of gold (Hussein & Suleiman 2000:n.p.).

From Tomb II, discovered below the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, we learn that in addition to individual ornaments, the entire body of the deceased was wrapped in textiles, now long gone, onto which gold ornaments had been sewn in such profusion as to suggest whole-body sparkle. Tomb III actually contained at least three coffins, some thirteen bodies and staggering quantities of jewellery (Winter 2012:159). This particular tomb, found beneath room 57 of the palace, bears inscribed bricks of Shalmaneser III of the 9th century BC, while inscriptions on a sarcophagus lid and tablet refer to one Mulissu-Mukanishat-Ninua, Queen of Assurnasirpal II and mother of Shalmaneser (Winter 2012:159). Among the tomb finds there were objects inscribed with the names of state officials of the later 9th through the 8th century BC. Some 450 objects were retrieved from the tomb, the gold and silver alone weighing in at nearly 25 kilograms (Winter 2012:159).

4.5.2.1 *Iconographic description of the golden objects displaying rosettes found in the Nimrud tombs*

a) The crown of Mulissu-Mukanishat-Ninua

Particularly impressive is an elaborate gold headdress, completely worked, and requiring multiple skills in goldsmithing and assembly. The decoration consisted of a fillet of daisy-like rosettes with several petals (possibly twelve each) from which clusters of lapis lazuli grapes hung; above the fillet, a register of winged protective female figures makes the transition to a crown of overlapping flat grape leaves (Fig. 4.20) (Winter 2012:159). In Figures 4.25; 4.77 and 4.88 the star-like rosettes resemble the rosettes in this crown although they are star-like.



Fig. 4.20 The crown of Mulissu-Mukanishat-Ninua.¹⁶⁵

b) Queen Yaba's golden rosette-filled crown from the royal tomb

Another spectacular golden crown belonged to queen Yaba. This crown is one of the highlights of the spectacular Nimrud Treasure (Fig. 4.21). Three rows of daisy/lotus-like rosettes with several petals each and resembling each other, surround the crown. In Figure 4.88 the golden rosettes resemble the rosettes on the crown in Figure 4.21.



Fig. 4.21 Queen Yaba's golden rosette-filled crown from the royal tomb.¹⁶⁶

4.5.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of golden objects found in the tombs*

The crown with rosettes could possibly have indicated the *divinity* of the queen herself as a register of winged protective female figures also indicates that this was probably a 'religious' crown, as she was a very important person, being the wife of Assurnasirpal II and mother of Shalmaneser (Winter 2012:159). Although the fact that protective figures (resembling spiritual winged beings), also adorn the crown could probably indicate that the rosette symbolizes *divine protection* for the queen in the same manner as an *amulet*. Magic was employed in a number of

¹⁶⁵ <https://iraqeverything.wordpress.com/2007/09/26/treasure-of-nimrud-is-found-in-iraq-and-its-spectacular/>

¹⁶⁶ <https://iraqeverything.wordpress.com/2007/09/26/treasure-of-nimrud-is-found-in-iraq-and-its-spectacular/>

different ways and each kind of magic, such as wearing amulets, had different ways of being effective (Craffert 1999b:61). Most striking is the sheer abundance of gold that encircles the head, and what that would have meant as a radiant surround.

According to Irene Winter (2012:159) both Cassin (1968) and Garelli (1990) have dealt to some extent with the importance of intense light-bearing 'radiance' with respect to both effect and the sacred. Not just the material 'shine' possessed by precious metals, gold in particular, as in Akkadian *namru*, but a powerful radiance that is 'awe-inducing' (Winter 2012:159).

4.5.3 The radiant surround of gold

Texts make clear that the radiance of the head (*polos* or diadem on the head) surrounded by gold is a visible luminous manifestation, associated with both protective and destructive power. Mesopotamian rulers, particularly later Neo-Assyrian kings, claim this property for themselves as well (Winter 1997:373). Insofar as it is said to be visible and have the power to overwhelm, we must envision the king's *melammu* (divine radiance or aura), too, as a vital force or energy emanating from the ruler. Winter (2012:160) argues that the Mesopotamian artists had not yet found a way to render the *melammu* in the art (as witnessed by the Assurnasirpal II statue found at the Ishtar Sharrat-Niphi temple at Nimrud) (Winter 2012:160). On the other hand, I suggest that whenever rosettes or stars are shown on their clothes, or on their diadems, the *melammu* (divine radiance or aura) (cf. 5.3.6) was possibly indicated in such a manner.

4.5.4 Amber statue of Assurnasirpal II

4.5.4.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on an amber statue of Assurnasirpal II

A Baltic amber statue of Assurnasirpal II, king of Assyria (885-860 BC) shows the king with a golden breastplate (Fig. 4.22 & Add II, C6). The breastplate shows three rows of rosettes with eight-petalled, daisy-like rosettes (cf. 1.6) with *cloisonné* cells. The use of a breastplate reminds us of Aaron, the high priest of the Israelites, who wore a breastplate with precious stones (Olmstead 1938:78).



Fig. 4.22 Amber statue of Assurnasirpal II (885-860 BC).
(The Boston Museum, 38.1396)¹⁶⁷

The king also had to take on the role of high priest. The rosettes with *cloisonné* (cells) were probably filled with coloured semi-precious stones like lapis lazuli, turquoise, carnelian, agate or chalcedony (Gunter 1995:1549). It is not certain if this artefact is authentic.

4.5.4.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the amber statue of Assurnasirpal II*

The rosettes could possibly have indicated the *consecration* of the king as he was also considered to take on the role of *high priest*. Although the Assyrian king was never a god, the whole of official religion centred upon him, the prosperity of the whole nation being tied up in his welfare (Wiseman 1973:173). This prosperity of the whole nation could also imply fertility.

The king could possibly also *protect* his nation through his association with the divine. On the other hand, the daisy rosette might also have symbolized the *sun* with *divine fertility*, *divine protective* and *divine provisional* qualities (cf. 5.2).

4.6 PALACE BUILDINGS

4.6.1 **Aladlammû (Winged-bull and winged-lion statues)**

French excavators sawed their colossal bulls into four pieces for transportation back to Paris. In 1855, boats carrying artefacts destined for the Louvre Museum were attacked and sunk into the Tigris, never to be recovered (Potts 2012:61).

Austin Henry Layard excavated seven Assyrian palaces, ranging in date from the ninth to seventh centuries BC. Layard also arranged for one each of the human-headed, winged-bulls and winged-lions which guarded and *protected* the doorways of the palaces to be shipped to England.

¹⁶⁷ <https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/statuette-of-an-assyrian-king-251368>

They are 3.5 meters tall and weigh almost 10 tons each (Collon 1995:27). The colossus Aladlammû (winged-bull and winged-lion statues) convoy was attacked by a band of robbers on its way to the river, and the lion statue bears a bullet mark as evidence (Collon 1995:27). The winged-bull and winged-lion Aladlammû statues are housed in the British Museum. The one winged-lion Aladlammû has rosettes on its knuckles on all five paws (Fig. 4.23-4.24). Bourke is of opinion that the Aladlammû can best be described as angels, acting as intermediaries between the human world and the divine (2008:189). Layard's work in Iraq included the South-West Palace of Sennacherib where a series of deep, dark, and airless tunnels was the means of excavation. The scale of the undertaking was truly remarkable, for as Layard wrote:

In this huge edifice I opened no less than seventy-one halls, chambers, and passages, whose walls, almost without exception, had been panelled with slabs of sculptured alabaster recording the wars, the triumphs, and the great deeds of the Assyrian kings. About 9,880 feet, or nearly 2 miles of bas-reliefs, with twenty-seven portals, formed by colossal winged bulls and lion-sphinxes, were uncovered in that part alone of the building explored during my researches (Collon 1995:29-30).



Fig. 4.23 Statue of an Aladlammû at the ancient site of Nimrud.
(Photo credit: Agatha Christie)¹⁶⁸

In Figure 4.23 the 1949 photo taken by British mystery author Agatha Christie shows a statue of an Aladlammû, (a winged bull) from Assyrian mythology who guarded the royal courts from evil, at the ancient site of Nimrud, near modern day Mosul, Iraq. She accompanied her husband Max Mallowan on his archaeological expeditions. One of the quotes Agatha Christie wrote, which I think suits archaeology well, is: 'everything that has existed, lingers in the Eternity' (1985).

The Assyrians produced some of the finest artistic creations of all times. The huge human-headed, eagle-winged lion- and bull-figures which guarded the doorways into the main rooms of Assyrian palaces were fine creations (Bourke 2008:189). Some were cast in bronze, but those

¹⁶⁸ <https://www.apnews.com/27e13478042249e8b00d25a73ddee97e>

that survive were carved from slabs deep enough to accommodate the width of the animal; one side remained uncarved as it was let into the wall. The head, worked almost entirely in the round, emerged from the end of the slab, and the body was carved in high relief (Bourke 2008:189).

The Louvre Museum in Paris states that the stone statue of a human-headed winged bull (Fig. 4.24) is from City Gate no 3 at Dur Sharrukin, the palace of Assyrian King Sargon II at Khorsabad. The date of the Aladlammû is circa 713-706 BC. When the statue of an Aladlammû is standing upright it is combination of a human (possibly the face of the king), a bull, a lion, a bird and at times a scorpion at the end of the tail.



Fig. 4.24 Stone statue of a human-headed winged bull/lion.
(The Louvre Museum. Photo credit: E. Grobler)

4.6.1.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on the lamassu*

a) The front and back knuckles on the claws of the *lamassu*

The front claws on the Aladlammû in Figures 4.25 have a star-like rosette (cf. 1.6) with eight petals on each knuckle. The rosettes on the back paws are slightly different and rather resemble daisy-like rosettes with several petals. Thus far I could not find a scholarly explanation for the occurrence of rosettes on the knuckles. The reason might be that the tiny rosettes are rather obscure and if you are not 'searching' for rosettes they might disappear in sight of the colossal statue and therefore they have not been mentioned before by scholars. Notice the five legs, two seen when looking from the front, and four seen from the side. All Aladlammû were five-legged creatures.



Fig. 4.25 Aladlammû from Nimrud with rosettes on its front knuckles.
(The British Museum. Photo credit: E. Grobler)

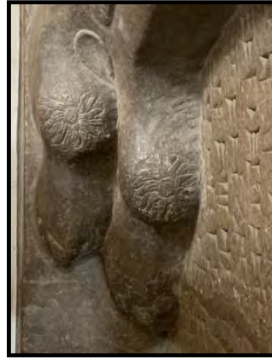


Fig. 4.26 Back paw knuckles.
(The British Museum. Photo credit: E. Grobler)

b) Stone statue of a human-headed winged bull

Notice the delicate lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each on the feathered headgear (Fig. 4.27). The horned crown on the Aladlammû's head was also an indicator that this is no ordinary being but a semi-divine being (Cornelius & Venter 2002:188).



Fig. 4.27 Stone statue of a human-headed winged bull.
(The Louvre Museum, room 4)¹⁶⁹

Under Assurnasirpal the winged bull colossi were monoliths about 3.3 meters high, but those of Sargon's reign were over 4.4 meters, and under Esarhaddon, they became so large (about 5.7 meters high) that they had to be made of several blocks of stone fitted together (Potts 2012:61).

¹⁶⁹ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/500673683575249219/>

c) Aladlammû at a gate of the citadel of Sargon II at Dur Sharrukin

Figure 4.28 depicts guardian figures at a gate of the citadel of Sargon II during its excavation in the 1840s by Paul-Émile Botta. These Aladlammû (winged bulls) were from Dur Sharrukin (present-day Khorsabad, Iraq). They are dated circa 721-706 BC. The man standing next to the Aladlammû is an indicator of the height of these statues, over 4.4 meters. See Figure 4.27 for the rosettes on the headgear of these Aladlammû in Figure 4.28.



Fig. 4.28 Aladlammû at a gate of the citadel of Sargon II at Dur Sharrukin.¹⁷⁰

4.6.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the lamassu*

According to Wicks the artwork in the palaces cannot fully be understood in its social dimension unless one can decode what is affective and what is causing the social force (Wicks 1997:395). Underlying authority structures, systems of belief, notions of history, and systems of value such as *symbolic*, material and aesthetic, all have to be considered when palace buildings and their art are discussed (Wicks 1997:395).

Semi-divine creatures existed in the ancient Near East (see Figs. 4.33; 4.49; 4.51; 4.58 and 4.59). The horned mitre (crown) on the Aladlammû's head was also an indicator that this is no ordinary being, but a semi-divine being (Cornelius & Venter 2002:188) (cf. 4.6.9). This is possibly an indication that the Aladlammû was seen as divine. The more horns there are, the more holy they are (Spycket 1995:55). I suggest that the rosettes on the Aladlammû possibly indicated its *divinity* along with the horned crown, and as such maybe its *divine protection* towards the king and the palace.

¹⁷⁰ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/63837859@N06/5809225381/>

According to Russell (1998:675) the function of these winged creatures was evidently both to guard and *protect* the door and to draw attention to it. I would suggest *divine protection* from these creatures towards the palace and its occupants as they were semi-divine creatures. It was probably Ishtar in her war-like character that inspired the rosettes on the headgear of the Aladlammû, consequently bringing *divine protection* to the palace and the royal household.

4.6.2 Carved thresholds in the palaces

4.6.2.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on the carved thresholds in the palaces

In many cases, the stone thresholds between these gigantic figures were carved with intricate patterns which probably imitated carpets.

a) Part of a stone threshold in Sennacherib's South-West Palace at Nineveh

Daisy-like rosettes with many petals, as well as lotus flowers seen from the side, were depicted on them. The lotus flowers seen from the side formed the border after which a row of daisy-like rosettes follows (Figs. 4.29 & Add II, C1) (Collon 1995:139). They were carved on gypsum alabaster.

According to the Metropolitan Museum in New York the doorsill in Figure 4.29 is one of multiple examples designed to mimic a carpet that were used in doorways within the later Assyrian palaces. In a sense, they are a solution to the everyday practical problem of carpet wear in a heavily used space (e.g. a doorway), but a solution so signally expensive and labour-intensive that it does not make sense to see their use as a practical measure in reality. Like all Assyrian reliefs, their quarrying, transport, and carving involved difficult and time-consuming work. They would also have been painted, and where real carpets would eventually need replacing, these panels would presumably have needed to be repainted regularly (Metropolitan Museum).¹⁷¹ The border displays lotus flowers and lotus buds seen from the side, as well as in the larger square, although this time the side view lotus is linked with an open rosette seen from the top. This resembles more or less the Egyptian plate in Figure 2.75 and the hippopotamus in Figure 2.2. The other rosettes bordering the squares are possibly daisy-like with several petals each.

¹⁷¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/328745>



Fig. 4.29 Part of a stone threshold in the South-West Palace at Nineveh.
(The Metropolitan Museum, X.153)¹⁷²

b) Stone floor sill from the palace of Ashurbanipal

The stone floor sill from the palace of Ashurbanipal in Figure 4.30 is currently housed in the Louvre Museum. The 'Flower of Life' is the modern name given to a geometrical figure composed of multiple evenly spaced, overlapping circles that are arranged so that they form a flower-like pattern (overlapping rosettes) with a six-fold symmetry like a hexagon. The centre of each circle is on the circumference of six surrounding circles of the same diameter. Each flower resembles a star-like rosette with six petals (cf. 1.6).



Fig. 4.30 Stone floor sill from the palace of Ashurbanipal.¹⁷³
(Louvre Museum, Photo credit: Marko Manninen)

c) Cleaned stone threshold leading to the throne room of Sennacherib's palace

In Figure 4.31 the entire threshold can be seen with rosettes and lotus flowers seen from the side, as the border pattern. The 'Flower of Life' pattern fills the inside of the threshold (Metropolitan Museum) (see enlarged illustration in Figure 4.32).

¹⁷² <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/328745>

¹⁷³ <http://www.esotericonline.net/profiles/blogs/artifacts-of-the-flower-of-life>



Fig. 4.31 Cleaned stone threshold leading to the throne room of Sennacherib's palace.¹⁷⁴

d) Assyrian stone carpet in the British Museum, London

The interlocking of the flowers in the stone floor sill (Fig. 4.32 & Add II, C7) is an example of the 'Flower of Life' pattern. The 'Flower of Life' is described above (4.6.2.1b). A lotus flower seen from the side forms a border and a daisy-like row of rosettes follows. The entire middle is filled with an interlocking 'Flower of Life' pattern. I think they had to do a bit of mathematics to get everything to fit properly into the space. I also think the artists had to carve and chop away the stone incredibly carefully so as to not make a single mistake. This is remarkable as it is actually stone they are working with.



Fig. 4.32 Close up of the threshold. Assyrian stone carpet.
(The British Museum, 118913)¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ <https://allmesopotamia.tumblr.com/post/29540990725/a-cleaned-stone-threshold-leading-to-the-throne>

¹⁷⁵ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1856-0909-44

4.6.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of carved thresholds in the palaces*

The Assyrian palaces were filled with fine carpets and hangings, but none survive. With fluctuating moisture levels and often very high salinity, the Mesopotamian soil is not well suited to the preservation of organic materials. Unlike in Egypt, where very stable dry conditions have allowed significant quantities of textiles to survive, the recovery of textile fragments in Mesopotamian archaeology is rare. Representations of textiles in other media help to compensate for this loss, particularly when, as here, the designs and patterns that would have been used in real carpets are depicted in detail.

According to Stronach (1993:19), the iconographic aspect and prophylactic nature of borders and repeat pattern of rosettes, palmettes, quatrefoils, cone-and-lotus motifs and rayed stars which appear simultaneously in different media in royal context, were not merely ornamental. He suggests that they served a *protective role*, surrounding both the image and presence of the king as seen on thresholds, garments, carpets, throne covers and baldachins (Stronach 1993:19). This opinion of Stronach agrees with the *protective theory* of Reade (1991:32) as well as Hart (2018:473) where the rosette symbol is concerned.

The many rosettes on the thresholds might have enhanced the divine kingship of the king and his royal household as the daisy and lotus rosettes were possibly seen as symbols for the divine symbolizing Ishtar and Shamash.

4.6.3 The palace was decorated with painted walls, tiles and bricks

4.6.3.1 *Iconographic description of painted walls, tiles and bricks*

The rosette is generally speaking the decorative motif in Assyrian art forms and has definitely played a decorative role as seen in the rows and rows of rosettes on wall panels in the Assyrian palaces from as early as the Middle-Kingdom until the Neo-Assyrian Kingdom. Nevertheless, the motif must have had a significant symbolic meaning in the broader contexts (Albenda 2005:90).

a) Wall paintings of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad

In Figure 4.33 the wall paintings of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad have a sunflower-like rosette with fourteen petals inside a double circle (cf. 1.6). This is possibly an anachronism. There is a prominent knob in the middle of the rosette. Two kneeling spiritual beings with four wings

each are holding buckets (*banduddu*) and cones in their hands with which they are either blessing or purifying the rosette. Two decorated circles are on each side of the spiritual beings.

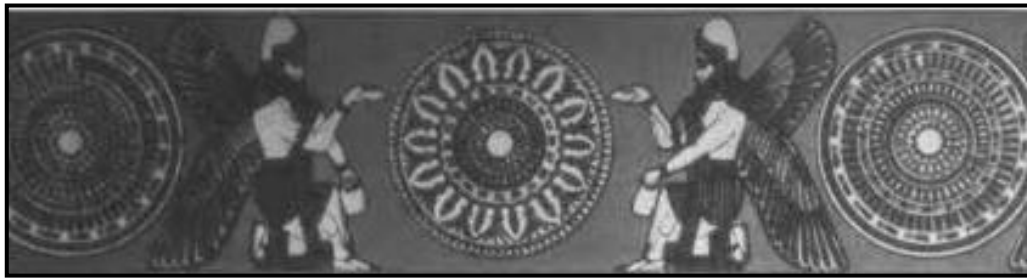


Fig. 4.33 Khorsabad, Building K, Room 12.¹⁷⁶
The wall paintings have rosettes inside circles.

A few painted wall decorations depicting rosettes have stood the test of time. Figures 4.34 - 4.37 are good examples of painted tiles and bricks.

b) Painted tile (circa 900-600 BC)

This rosette in Figure 4.34 & Add II, C8 has a bigger centre with a definitive circle in the middle, and sixteen lotus/daisy-like petals form the inside flower, with an outer rosette consisting of nineteen sunflower petals, resembling a sunflower (cf. 1.6). At the end of the sunflower petals another second circle is found. This is again possibly an anachronism. This is a double rosette and resembles the rosettes in Figures 4.33; 4.73; 4.74 and 7.23. According to Albenda (2005:89) the rosette was modified in the course of the ninth century BC. The petals of the ray or disc flower are always drawn within a circular shape, and they vary in number from twelve to as many as sixteen. The larger number is the rule in later periods.



Fig. 4.34 Painted tile (circa 900-600 BC).
(The Barakat Art Gallery, SF.315)¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Sargon+II+with+rosettes+on+his+head+decorations+and+on+his+wrist+as+well+as+on+his+clothing&client=firefox-b&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewj4t4jrhbbeAhUSDOWKHbMNDU4Q7Al6BAgEEBM&biw=1366&bih=632#imgrc=4vgxkL6nJgpKxM:>

¹⁷⁷ <http://store.barakatgallery.com/product/painted-tile-with-rosette-motif/>

Before the middle of the eighth century the centre of the rosette consists of concentric circles which by the middle of the eighth century BC are replaced by a button centre (see Fig. 4.33 and 4.34). According to Albenda (2005:89) this type of rosette is generally a sunflower. The flowers in Figures 4.33 and 4.34 resemble sunflowers because the middle section is larger than is the case with daisies or lotus-like rosettes, but it can be an anachronism. It has not been established yet if sunflowers were found in the ancient Near East, and therefore it is best to see the sunflower as an anachronism. The sunflower does not close its petals completely without sunshine, but they tend to let their heads hang without the sunbeams shining on them. When the sun is shining brightly on them, they turn their heads towards the sun.

c) Glazed brick with rosettes from Khorsabad

Figure 4.35 depicts a glazed brick with lotus/daisy-like rosettes (cf. 1.6) from Khorsabad in Iraq, the ancient capital city of Assyrian King Sargon II (721-705 BC). This artefact is currently housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Nine white petals are neatly placed around a yellow core. A border of plain yellow paint is painted at the top and the bottom of the tile and complements the yellow of the rosette.



Fig. 4.35 Glazed brick with rosettes from Khorsabad (Nineveh)
(The Louvre Museum)¹⁷⁸

d) Fragment of a wall painting from the palace at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta

Figure 4.36 depicts a fragment of a wall painting from the palace at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. Note the tiny rosettes on the border as well as the larger rosettes. Unfortunately, it is difficult to say for sure how many petals occurred on each rosette, but I would guess eight. The large rosettes are of a reddish colour and the tiny white rosettes are found on the same reddish coloured border.

¹⁷⁸ <https://www.tileheritage.org/Louvre-Summer-05.html>



Fig. 4.36 Fragment of a wall painting from the palace at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta.¹⁷⁹

Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta was a totally new foundation about three kilometers north of Ashur, which was the old capital of the Assyrian empire. Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta was placed on the left bank of the river Tigris. In the western part, a temple was erected for the Assyrian main deity, Ashur. North of the temple stood the royal palace (Dittmann 1992:307-310). All remains of the palace building are lost, although many wall paintings were found.

Throughout Mesopotamia, colour has been applied to walls of houses, temples, and palaces for millennia. The basic colours are red (iron oxide), white (gypsum), and black (bitumen), later supplemented by blue (lapis lazuli, copper oxide), green (malachite), and yellow and ochre (ferruginous earth). The colour was mixed with water with a binder that could have been egg white or casein from milk (Spycket 1995:57-58).

e) Fired clay, glazed brick with a rosette

In Figure 4.37 & Add II, C9 we find a fired, clay glazed brick with a rosette on the face, stamped on top with the name of King Sargon II (721-705 BC). The obovate-like rosette has white petals around a yellow centre (cf. 1.6). The centre is surrounded by a light blue, double line circle. Unfortunately, it is difficult to count the petals, but I would guess twelve. It is currently housed in the British Museum in London.

¹⁷⁹ <http://bharatkalyan97.blogspot.com/2013/11/tukulti-ninurta-worships-fire-god-at.html>



Fig. 4.37 Fired clay glazed brick with a rosette on the face.
(The British Museum, 92192)¹⁸⁰

f) Panel of rosettes

Figure 4.38 depicts a panel with inlaid rosettes with ten star-like petals each. The blue and yellow colours have been preserved remarkably well in this artefact. This panel is from the Neo-Assyrian Period, 9th-7th centuries BC, and was found at Nimrud. It is housed in the Sulaimaniyah Museum in Iraq. Figures 4.25; 4.77 and 4.92 resemble the star-like rosettes in Figure 4.38.



Fig. 4.38 Panel of rosettes. The Sulaimaniyah Museum, Iraq.
(The Sulaimaniyah Museum. Photo credit: Osama S.M. Amin)¹⁸¹

Assyrian tile-painting was more durable than wall-painting, but mostly fragments have been found. The largest one was found at the city of (Kalhu) Nimrud (see Fig. 4.39).

¹⁸⁰ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_-92192

¹⁸¹ <http://etc.ancient.eu/exhibitions/nimrud-ivories-sulaymaniyah-museum/>

g) Glazed terracotta tile from Nimrud

In Figure 4.39 & Add II, C10 the Assyrian king is probably accompanied by an eunuch and the crown prince. Note the eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes on the king's and possibly the eunuch's robes. One single rosette is displayed on the king's diadem with possibly also an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette. The king is holding a cup (cf. Figs. 4.70 and 4.72) in his hand much the same as the king does in Figure 4.41. The artefact is from Nimrud and its height is 30 centimetres.



Fig. 4.39 Glazed terracotta tile from Nimrud (circa 875-850 BC).
(The British Museum number 90859)¹⁸²

The diadem on the headgear of the king in Figure 4.39 is the same as the headgear in the drawing in Figures 4.67 and 4.68. The ribbon that ties the diadem at the back might resemble the one in Figure 4.17. The terracotta tile has a rather large guilloche border.

h) A tile depicting a rosette

In Figure 4.40 we find a poor attempt to reconstruct a tile depicting an eight-petal, obovate rosette (cf. 1.6). At the bottom is the Iraqi Museum acquisition number. This artefact is from the Neo-Assyrian Period, the 9th-7th centuries BC, and was found at Nimrud. Other obovate-like rosettes resembling this one in Figure 4.40 are found in Figures 4.89 and 4.91.



Fig. 4.40 Tile with rosette (the Sulaimaniyah Museum, Iraq).
(The Sulaimaniyah Museum. Photo credit: Osama S.M. Amin)¹⁸³

¹⁸² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_N-1035

¹⁸³ <http://etc.ancient.eu/exhibitions/nimrud-ivories-sulaymaniyah-museum/>

4.6.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of painted walls, tiles and bricks*

According to Reade the rosette which is so often depicted in Assyrian art could possibly have indicated protection (Reade 1991:32; Stronach 1993:19). The scene in Figure 4.33 is of huge value as it possibly suggests a *divine presence for the rosette symbol*. This artefact also contradicts any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

The winged spiritual beings in Figure 4.33 are *blessing the rosette* or *purifying the rosette*, or even *praying* to the rosette symbol, much the same as they do towards the 'Tree of Life' (see Fig. 4.6), in which case it might possibly elevate the rosette symbol to a *consecrated identity* or *divine presence*. The fact that the sunflower is possibly associated with the sun brings the sun god Shamash into consideration and therefore the rosette being venerated might possibly have been a symbol for Shamash.

With all the different rosettes decorating the *palaces* of different Assyrian kings, it is not difficult to see that the rosette was indeed also a royal symbol. The symbolic meaning of the numerous rosette tiles (Figs 4.34-4.40) being used in these palaces might possibly indicate *divine protection* coming from Ashur, Shamash and Ishtar towards the royalty and the palace staff, as it has been documented that the rosette symbol was also a symbol for protection by Reade (1991:32) and Stronach (1993:19). On the other hand, the rosettes might have symbolized *kingship* including his royal household and the palace building.

4.6.4 The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III

4.6.4.1 *Iconographic description of the Black Obelisk*

Mitchell is of the opinion that a propaganda scene is taking place in Figure 4.41 & Add II, C13 where possibly, but not necessarily, Jehu himself, King of Israel, is paying tribute to King Shalmaneser III of Assyria, on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud (circa 827 BC) (Mitchell 2016:52). It is currently housed in the British Museum in London. Notice the winged symbol of the Assyrian god Assur with a lotus-like rosette (cf. 1.6) in the middle, and next to it, the sun symbol of probably Shamash the sun god. King Shalmaneser III is probably dedicating a sacrificial drink to the gods in the cup he is holding towards their symbols. This cup that the king is holding in the palm of his hand might have been a golden shallow cup as seen in Figures 4.70 and 4.72.



Fig. 4.41 King Shalmaneser III (British Museum number ANE 18885).¹⁸⁴

4.6.4.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the Black Obelisk

'The modification of the winged disc in Neo-Assyrian art may serve as an example for revealing the process of visual borrowing, in which a well-known, almost "international" ancient Near Eastern emblem is charged with a new and distinct meaning that is adjusted to a particular religious and political system' (Lambert 1983:82-86; Ornan 2005b:212).

According to Teissier (1996:95-101), the winged disc was charged with a multi-faceted meaning and was not exclusively confined to the solar aspect. The fact that the winged disc was combined with a rosette could indicate that the rosette was possibly a symbol for *divinity* as the winged disc was the symbol for the national god Ashur (cf. 4.3.1) and as his godly symbol the *winged disc* was a *divine symbol*, although not exclusively belonging to him. Locked up in this symbol, all his good characteristics might have been symbolized (see 4.3.1).

There is another possibility, namely that the rosette might have implied Ishtar as the rosette symbol was one of her symbols, inspired by her Venus star, and she played a huge role in Assyrian religion (cf. 4.3.3). The winged disc with a rosette might then symbolize Assur and Ishtar. The sun symbol next to the winged symbol might possibly have indicated Shamash (4.3.2) the sun god of Assyria. If this was the case all three major divinities of Assyria are represented on this Black Obelisk of King Shalmaneser III.

¹⁸⁴ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jehu-Obelisk-cropped.jpg>

It is not only and solely Ishtar that used the rosette as a symbol (cf. 3.3.2). For instance, she was not worshipped in Egypt, yet numerous rosettes occur in Egypt where possibly the sun and lotus flowers were the source of inspiration for the rosette symbol (cf. 2.8). In case the rosette symbol was a godly symbol for various gods and for various royalty, it might possibly have stood for *divinity* rather than for one specific god or goddess (e.g. Ishtar) or for one notion like protection or even fertility. Consecration with blessings, set apart, holy, sacred and sanctification should also be considered as a symbol for the rosette.

The symbols could possibly have been a general concept which was known in the ancient Near East and did indeed 'speak' to the audience of that time. Unfortunately, we have lost the hidden codes of the non-verbal communication.

4.6.5 The palace walls were decorated with ivory panels

4.6.5.1 Iconographic description of the palaces' ivory panels

The Sulaimaniyah Museum in Iraq states that the artefact in Figure 4.42 is an ivory plaque decorated with nine rosettes inside a guilloche design. Each rosette is an eight-petal, lotus-like rosette (cf. 1.6) resembling the rosettes in Figures 4.55; 4.69 and 4.81. The artefact is from the Neo-Assyrian Period, 9th-7th centuries BC. It was found at Nimrud and is currently housed in the Sulaimaniyah Museum in Iraq.



Fig. 4.42 Carved ivory plaque that depicts rosette decoration.
(Sulaymaniyah Museum, Photo credit: Osama S.M. Amin)¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309846697_Nimrud_Ivories_at_the_Sulaymaniyah_Museum

4.6.5.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the palaces' ivory panels*

In the ancient Near East, it was the manner of royalty and wealthy people to decorate their houses and furniture with ivory (I Kings 22:39; Amos 3:15). Specifically Assyrian ivories were relatively few in number until Mallowan began his excavations at Nimrud in 1949. The remarkable discoveries at Nimrud have continued up to 1960 and have not only greatly increased the ivory stock of objects, but have opened up a whole new world of art (Parrot 1961:144). The fact that ivory was an expensive commodity is one of the reasons that only wealthy people and royalty could decorate their houses and palaces with it. The eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes might have symbolized Ishtar and her good characteristics, such as *divine protection* and *divine fertility* bestowed upon humans, animals and crops. The lotus-like rosettes might have been inspired by the Venus star, which was the symbol of Ishtar (cf. 3.2.1).

4.6.6 **Sculptured stone slabs**

'Assyrian adoption of international motifs with diplomatic symbolism hints at Assyria's early attempts at acceptance among the diplomatic community. The state's ultimate rejection of diplomacy in favour of military domination finds expression in the creation of a forceful style based on narrative scenes, which climaxed in the palace reliefs depicting war and hunting of the Late Assyrian Empire' (Feldman 2006:40).

Material culture studies owe much too semiotic theory which views all cultural processes as being those of communication (Eco 1977:8; Thomas 1998:97). 'Semiotic approaches stress how *fundamental concepts* could be *visibly encoded* in artefacts, objects and art. The communicative function of concepts in visual art is actualized due to relations of concepts with non-verbal elements of the work' (Somov 2010:476). This is exactly what the palace reliefs intend to do. The Assyrian palaces prominently featured scenes of extreme physical violence in both war scenes and those of lion hunts. The hunting scenes, in particular, prominently feature rosette motifs (Hart 2018:469).

When Assyria was just beginning to expand territorially under Assurnasirpal II there was a greater need to display in art and texts signifiers of military might, to promote an image of the king as predator. As Assyrian forces became more established by the middle of Shalmaneser's reign, the imperial ideology became centred on other issues. The later artworks suggest that the king's power and legitimacy went undisputed (Marcus 1995:2487).

Dur-Sharrukin, the palace of the 'True King', Sargon II, was a massive corpus of personal propaganda (Franklin 2001:261; Reade 1979b:331). To build his new capital, Sargon purchased the town of Magganubba, situated in central Assyria, the region of Halah at the foot of Mount Musri (Franklin 2001:261; Luckenbill 1927:119). The foundations were laid in 717 BC, the gods entered their temples in 707 BC, and the city was inaugurated on the sixth of Iyyar, 706 BC (Tadmor 1958:n.p.). The reliefs decorating the walls of Dur-Sharrukin were carved on slabs of Mosul marble, two to three meters high. The carving was carried out once the slabs were placed in position (Reade 1979a:17).

Since few people were literate, the reliefs had to be self-explanatory, the participants and location easily recognisable. The visual narrative is independent of the annals (Franklin 2001:261; Reade 1976:97), yet also served as propaganda. The reliefs decorating the walls of Dur-Sharrukin are renowned for shedding light on Assyrian art and architecture.

The difficulties in the way of transportation of these heavy stone slabs resulted in the frequent cutting up of the large ones by the excavators themselves. The *inscriptions* that were a regular part of the reliefs and were easily cut off to reduce the weight of the blocks for shipment suffered the most from this treatment (Grace 1940:22). Such arbitrary amputation could not but affect the character of the sculptured design. In the ancient Near East and Egypt the literary image of the written word was iconographical, of at least equal importance to the carved image (Grace 1940:22-23). The sculptured stone slabs that once lined palace walls are now displayed in museums in Bagdad, Paris, London and Chicago. If only we had the inscriptions, the symbolism might have been understood better.

The Neo-Assyrian King Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) built his magnificent Northwest Palace at Nimrud (now in northern Iraq) (Winter 2010:361). Its interior decoration featured a series of remarkable carved stone panels. According to Scarre & Fagan (2016:208) these stone panels were originally brightly painted in vivid colours, with further painted scenes on the plaster of the high walls above. Traces of paint still survive on some of the relief panels (Scarre & Fagan 2016:208), although the bright paint that would have covered the reliefs in ancient times was largely gone even when first excavated, but exposure to light and overzealous museum cleaning has further erased it (Verri et al 2009:61).

According to Hart (2018:473) the rosette generally acts to enhance or augment the symbolic value of the context in which it appears. That is, in the context of warfare, its appearance on

weapons or armour symbolically increases the martial power or *protection* [by the war-like Ishtar] of such objects. The rosette motif's association with depictions of the king in hunting scenes enhances the perceived power of the king in his cosmological battle of control over the wild, or by extension, his enemies (Hart 2018:473).

4.6.7 The winged spiritual beings (*Apkallu*) with flowering branches in palaces

In the 9th century BC the Assyrian kings made Nimrud both the centre and the symbol of their imperialist policies. In 1949 the British archaeologist Max Mallowan resumed the exploration of the site which had been begun by Sir Austen Layard a century before (Amiet 1983:115). Their discoveries threw new light on the palaces of Nimrud and Nineveh.

4.6.7.1 Iconographic descriptions of *Apkallu* with flowering (rosette) branches

a) Flowering branch with three rosette-like flowers

In Figure 4.43 the left hand of an *Apkallu* holds a flowering branch with three lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each. The three lotus-like rosettes are connected to lotus-like flowers with five leaves or petals seen from the side (cf. Figs. 2.22 and 2.26). The bracelet on the left wrist of the *Apkallu* displays a daisy-like rosette with several petals (cf. 1.6). The detail is of the panel at Door C from Room S in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, modern-day Iraq.¹⁸⁶ It belongs to the Neo-Assyrian Period (865-860 BC). Following Seidl (1989: 120-121, 125), an object carried by a deity can be defined as an attribute, while that depicted without a divine figure is to be regarded as a symbol, which often replaces the human-shaped deity (Ornan 2005:169).



Fig. 4.43 Winged spiritual being holding a twig with rosette-like flowers.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ <https://www.ancient.eu/image/7304/flowering-branch-held-by-an-apkallu-door-c/>

¹⁸⁷ <https://www.ancient.eu/image/7304/flowering-branch-held-by-an-apkallu-door-c/>

b) Three flowers resembling lotus flowers

In Figure 4.44 the left hand (with a many-petalled, daisy-like rosette bracelet) of a protective winged spiritual being is also holding a flowering branch. In this instance it is again three lotus-like rosettes with ten to twelve petals that are depicted, but the end part of the flowers differs from those in Figure 4.43 as they are depicted with only three leaves or petals. These flowers are also close to the depictions of lotus flowers from the side (cf. Figs. 2.28; 2.31 and 2.58). This panel is from the Neo-Assyrian Period (865-860 BC). Detail of Panel 1, Door A from Room F in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, modern-day Iraq.¹⁸⁸



Fig. 4.44 Winged spiritual being holding three flowers (rosettes) on a branch.¹⁸⁹

c) A twig with two rosettes

At Nimrud rosettes are also found on a branch of a relief panel made of gypsum alabaster (Figs. 4.45-4.46 & Add II, C11). The hand of the four-winged spiritual being, with an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette bracelet on his left wrist, is holding a twig with only two, eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes (cf. 1.6). The rosettes are placed on a twig with protruding ends, again possibly lotus flowers seen from the side (cf. Figs. 2.28; 2.31 and 2.58). I would make an educated guess that there were three flowers before the panel was cut, probably for transport reasons. The cut is also visible at the top where the border stops abruptly. This panel belongs to the Neo-Assyrian Period (circa 883-859 BC).

¹⁸⁸ <https://www.ancient.eu/image/7306/flowering-branch-held-by-an-apkallu-panel-1/>

¹⁸⁹ <https://www.ancient.eu/image/7306/flowering-branch-held-by-an-apkallu-panel-1/>



Fig. 4.45 Relief panel from Nimrud.
 Fig. 4.46 Enlargement of twig.
 (The Metropolitan Museum number 32.143.10)¹⁹⁰

d) Rosettes inside circles on a twig

On a stone relief from Nineveh, four lotus-like rosettes with eight to ten petals each are seen inside circles on a branch which is held by a winged spiritual being, also wearing a rather unclear rosette bracelet on the outside of his right wrist (Figs. 4.47-4.48). The four lotus-like rosettes inside circles also end with protruding leaves or petals: possibly lotus flowers seen from the side (cf. Figs. 2.28; 2.31 and 2.58).



Fig. 4.47 Rosettes on a twig.
 Fig. 4.48 Enlargement of the rosettes.
 (British Museum, photo credit: E. Grobler)

¹⁹⁰ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/322617?rpp=60&pg=11&ft=mesopotamia&pos=636>

The difference with this twig with circles around the rosettes is that all the other twigs (Figures 4.43; 4.44; 4.45 and 4.49) had no circles around the rosettes. The artefact in Figure 4.47 is currently housed in the British Museum in London.

e) Five rosettes on a twig

The wall panel in Figures 4.49-4.50 depicts another winged spiritual being (with an unclear rosette bracelet on the left wrist) holding a branch with five daisy-like rosettes with several petals (possibly twelve each) on the end of a twig (cf. 1.6). Detail of Panel 8 from Room Z from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud in modern-day Iraq is kept in the British Museum in London. It belonged to the Neo-Assyrian Period (865-860 BC). The rosettes are without the protruding lotus as seen from the side, at the end of the twig, possibly because these flowers portrayed daisies rather than lotus flowers images. These five rosettes are starting to look more or less the same as the flowers on the 'Tree of Life' (cf. Figs. 4.5-4.7). If this is the case, the flowers would possibly signify 'new life' and fertility, the same as the 'Tree of Life'.



Fig. 4.49 *Apkallu* holding a twig with five rosettes.
Fig. 4.50 Enlargement of five rosettes.¹⁹¹

f) A twig with rosettes resembling the 'Tree of Life' palmettes

In Figures 4.51-4.52 the four-winged, spiritual being displays two bracelets, one on each arm with several-petalled, daisy-like rosettes, as well as a twig with five 'Tree of Life' palmette-like rosettes (cf. 4.2.3). The spiritual being also displays a rosette diadem which is not clear enough to describe although it does resemble the diadem in Figure 4.13 of Tiglath-Pileser III (745-725 BC). This relief is currently accommodated in the British Museum in London.

¹⁹¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assyrian_sculpture



Fig. 4.51 *Apkallu* with a goat and a twig with rosettes.

Fig. 4.52 Enlargement of *Apkallu*.
(The British Museum)¹⁹²

4.6.7.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of Apkallu with rosettes on branches*

The artefact in Figure 4.43 depicts rosettes together with flowers that possibly imitate a lotus flower seen from the side. According to Albenda (2005:117) the lotus flower with its symbolic connotation may have been brought to the attention of the Assyrian kings during the second half of the eighth century BC. This knowledge would have occurred as a consequence of Assyrian military incursions to the west and direct contact with Egypt although the daisy flower could have been introduced in Assyria via the Babylonians (cf. 5.2). Both the lotus-like and the daisy-like rosettes might have been symbols for the sun god Shamash as both these flowers correspond to the strength of the sun and if it was indeed the sun god Shamash it would have symbolized his good characteristics. A few characteristics of a sun god are *divine fertility, resurrection, a new life, protection and provision* (cf. 2.2.2; 3.3.3; 5.3.2; 7.3.3 and a sun goddess in 6.3.5).

The image in Figure 4.44 might have indicated *divine protection* towards the palace, in this case, *divine protection*. There is also a rosette bracelet depicted on the arm of the genie which might possibly have indicated a decree between the spiritual being and the god, probably Ashur, as he was the main god of Assyria (cf. 4.6.8.2).

¹⁹² <https://etc.worldhistory.org/education/wall-reliefs-assyrian-apkallus-nimrud/>

The winged spiritual being holding three lotus-like rosettes in Figure 4.44 might indicate that the spiritual beings are protectors of the palace. Then again, I would prefer '*divine protection*' because these beings are semi-divine. Again, a daisy-like rosette with several petals is on the bracelet of the spiritual being, which could possibly indicate a decree with a god (cf. 4.6.8.2). The ancient beholder was probably familiar with the clues with which such scenes were invested, and thus was able to perceive their non-verbal message (Ornan 2004:87).

In Figure 4.45-4.46 the winged spiritual being is holding two lotus-like rosettes at the end of a twig. This time with eight petals, it would symbolize the lotus flower and with all the lotus flower's good properties, the same as the sun god (cf. 2.2.2). It might possibly also symbolize Ishtar as number eight is her sacred number, and the eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette was one of her symbols. It did not originate from a lotus flower but possibly from her Venus star, but in this research, I prefer to call *all* eight-petal-like rosettes, the lotus-like rosettes, to avoid confusion with the two types of 'eight-petal' rosettes. If the rosettes on the twig in Figure 4.45-4.46 did symbolize Ishtar it would include her character traits (cf. 3.3.2; 4.3.3 and 5.3.4).

Figure 4.47-4.48 might portray lotus flowers seen from the side, combined with encircled rosettes on the twig. The lotus flower had resurrection properties (2.8) and thus the branch in Figure 4.49-4.50 could have indicated 'new life' and fertility. If the rosettes are rather daisy-like and not lotus-like rosettes this too could mean fertility, in which case I support the idea of Winter (1976:46) that the rosette symbol is a symbol for *fertility*, but I would prefer the term *divine fertility*.

In Figures 4.51-4.52 the twig has rosettes on the end which resonates with the 'Tree of Life' flowers, also called palmettes (cf. Figs. 4.5; 4.6 and 4.7). If this is indeed the case, we can begin to understand that the rosette is possibly a shortened version of the 'Tree of Life'. The 'Tree of Life' seems to first have symbolized (in general) a female nourishing goddess with divine presence and divine provision, nourishing her flock, which over time changed to a male god (Keel 1998:20, 21). The 'Tree of Life' is possibly a symbol for a godly entity (cf. 4.2.) making it a divine symbol, and if the rosette symbol is possibly a symbol for the 'Tree of Life' it would then also be a symbol for divinity.

At times the Apkallu carries an animal (see Figs 4.51- 4.52), which probably depicts sacrifice to the god, since in divine as well as in secular households, it would be normal to accompany a request with a gift (Postgate 1992:132). Apkallu carrying animals had a long tradition in

Assyrian art. The carried animal is considered by some scholars to represent a 'scapegoat'. Known only from Assyrian ritual texts, scapegoats (*mašhultuppû*) were living animals intended as the destination for malignant demons removed by an exorcist from within a sufferer (Russell 1998:702) (cf. Leviticus 16:15-19). In the Old Testament we find texts in connection with sin offerings comprising goats. This might not correspond exactly as the scapegoat in Assyria, but it tends towards the same kind of ritual.

According to Collins a better interpretation of the animal held by the Apkallu may be that it is an indication of the abundance believed to have been issued from the gods through the king - and richness emphasized throughout the decoration of Assyrian palaces (2006:27).

4.6.8 Rosette bracelets with rosettes on the winged spiritual beings (*Apkallu*)

Sennacherib calls his new residence 'Palace without a Rival.' He says of the limestone reliefs, 'I made them objects of astonishment' (Winter 2010:361). By Garelli's account, because the palace was the work of the king, it was possessed of the same 'splendour' and 'majesty' as the king himself (Garelli 1990:176). He noted that standard words for 'beautiful' or 'well-built' were not used for royal buildings; rather, one finds a vocabulary focusing on qualities also applied to the person of the king.

The Assyrian wall reliefs depict kings with rosette bracelets, and the spiritual beings also wear these bracelets with rosettes. Figures 4.43-4.52 are fine examples of bracelets worn by the kings as well as winged spiritual beings. According to Collon (2010:152), these bracelets of the Assyrian kings are also occasionally worn by queens, courtiers and high officials, some gateway *lamassu* figures, minor deities, winged spiritual beings, and other apotropaic figures (2010:153). Collon (2010:158) states that it is striking that the majority of the bracelets illustrated in official Assyrian art seem to have designs based on a several-petalled, daisy-like rosette (cf. 5.2). These bracelets are almost always depicted on each wrist and at Nimrud bracelet artefacts were indeed found in pairs (Collon 2010:153).

*4.6.8.1 Iconographic description of bracelets on *Apkallu**

a) Close-up photo of a rosette bracelet

Figure 4.53 is a close-up photo of a daisy-like rosette bracelet with several petals, on a winged being from the reliefs of King Ashurnasirpal II. Other daisy-like rosettes resembling this one are found in Figures 4.4; 4.50 and 4.56.



Fig. 4.53 Close-up photo of a rosette bracelet.¹⁹³
 (The New York City Art Museum, Ancient king gallery)

b) Rosette bracelet from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II



Fig. 4.54 Wall reliefs: Ashurnasirpal II at the North-West Palace.¹⁹⁴

In Figure 4.54 a twelve-petal, daisy-like rosette with sharp ends is displayed on the Apkallu's left arm. Figure 4.54 is from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC).

c) Palace relief with a lotus-like rosette with eight petals on a bracelet

In Figure 4.55 a bracelet is shown with cuneiform across, and the hand with the bracelet is holding a *banduddu* (bucket). According to Russell the bucket contained *holy water* for sprinkling¹⁹⁵ with a purifier, purifying whoever entered the room (Russell 1998:674). They are both from Nimrud.

The eight-petalled lotus-like rosette on the bracelet in Figure 4.55 is different from the other bracelet rosettes in Figures 4.53-4.56 because this rosette is definitely a lotus-like rosette (cf. 1.6), whereas the other rosettes most probably display daisy-like rosettes.

¹⁹³ <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/brankoab/sets/72157624713153545/>

¹⁹⁴ <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/4073/assyrian-bracelet/>

¹⁹⁵ Some type of sprinkling happened during Old Testament times, although possibly not exactly the same as in Assyria (cf. Numbers 19:17-19).



Fig. 4.55 Palace relief with a rosette bracelet.¹⁹⁶

d) One more rosette bracelet from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II

In Figure 4.56 the daisy-like rosette with several petals is depicted inside a circle, the same as all the other rosettes on the bracelets in Figures 4.53-4.55. The bracelet is displayed on the inside of the wrist of the left arm of the spiritual winged being. The sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette in Figure 4.56 ends with round ends and differs from the sharp-ended rosette in Figure 4.54 (cf. 1.6).



Fig. 4.56 North-West Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC).¹⁹⁷

4.6.8.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of bracelets on Apkallu*

According to Roobaert (1996:85) this type of bracelet depicted with rosettes can be seen adorning the wrists of kings and genies.

¹⁹⁶ https://www.flickr.com/photos/shamash_of_mesopotamia/14278015010

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/brankoab/5280710194/in/photostream/lightbox/>

I am convinced that the rosette bracelets on the winged spiritual beings found in palaces would have symbolized *divine presence* and *divine protection* towards the palace and the king as well as his royal household.

4.6.9 Multi-paired horned mitres

The spiritual winged beings (*apkallu*) had two types of headgear. The one type was the multi-paired horned mitres decorated with several pairs of horns (cf. 4.39; 4.43 and 4.44). The more the horns there are, the more holy they are (Spycket 1995:55). The relief from Nimrud in Figure 4.57 depicts the *apkallu* (winged spiritual being) with a holy mitre with three horns.

These horns might be the influence of the bull who played a huge role in the ancient Near East. 'Bull symbolism is associated with male virility, power and wealth' (Ruether 2006:26). Conrad (1959:29) elaborates on this concept, asserting that the bull became 'a symbol of the all-powerful and the all-fertile, in short, a god.' It is then not so strange to find horns on the mitres of winged spiritual beings also known as *apkallu*.



Fig. 4.57 Relief of an *apkallu* from Nimrud.¹⁹⁸

4.6.10 Diadems on apkallu

4.6.10.1 Iconographic description of diadems on apkallu

a) Winged spiritual being carrying an ibex

The second type of headgear was the diadem with one or more rosettes. In the case of a single rosette, it was centred in the front, in the middle. Figure 4.58 is an example of such a daisy-like diadem. Two daisy-like rosettes with several petals appear on both the bracelets of the *apkallu* (winged spiritual being) in Figure 4.58. The alabaster wall relief is from the Northwestern Palace in Nimrud, but is currently housed in the Brooklyn Museum.

¹⁹⁸ <http://codulluioreste.ro/mesopotamia-sumer-akkadbabilon-asiria-3500-536-i-hr/>

The diadem of the spiritual being in Figure 4.58 corresponds with the ones in Figures 4.52 and 4.59 also worn by spiritual beings. In Figure 4.13 King Tiglath-Pileser III is depicted with a twelve-petal, lotus-like diadem with a single rosette in front resembling the same kind of diadem.



Fig. 4.58 Winged spiritual being carrying an ibex (circa 875-860 BC).¹⁹⁹

b) *Apkallu* with a rosette in the front of his diadem and on two bracelets

The *Apkallu* in Figure 4.59 & Add II, C15 wears an eight-petal, lotus like rosette on his diadem and eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes on his two bracelets.



Fig. 4.59 *Apkallu* with a rosette in the front of his diadem and on two bracelets. (The Brooklyn Museum)²⁰⁰

4.6.10.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretations of diadems on *Apkallu*

The goat in Figure 4.58 is presumably the Caucasian ibex or Tur (*Capra Caucasica*) with its two large horns curving outward and back (Albenda 2005:120).

¹⁹⁹ <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/70569>

²⁰⁰ [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Winged_Genie_Wearing_Fancy_Bracelets_-_Room_H,_Northwest_Palace,_Nimrud_\(Kalhu\),_Iraq,_Neo-Assyrian_Period,_reign_of_Ashur-nasir-pal_II,_c._883-859_BC,_alabaster_-_Brooklyn_Museum_-_Brooklyn,_NY_-_DSC08633.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Winged_Genie_Wearing_Fancy_Bracelets_-_Room_H,_Northwest_Palace,_Nimrud_(Kalhu),_Iraq,_Neo-Assyrian_Period,_reign_of_Ashur-nasir-pal_II,_c._883-859_BC,_alabaster_-_Brooklyn_Museum_-_Brooklyn,_NY_-_DSC08633.JPG)

The frequency with which four-winged figures occur in Asirnasirpal's temples, in contrast to their scarcity in his palace, may be cues that they had a cultic function (Russell 1998:682). Again as possibly with the king wearing wrist bracelets, the *apkallu* might possibly have worn the rosette bracelets to indicate the decree or covenant with the god or goddess (cf. 4.6.9.2). According to Russell the four-winged figures were thought to be more powerful, or at least more effective than their two-winged counterparts (1998:707).

4.7 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

The Iraqi archaeologist Muzahim Mahmud noticed an unusual patch of re-laid tiles on the floor of the harem at Nimrud. He uncovered a series of untouched royal tombs and a treasure unparalleled since the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in the 1920s. The 640 gold, silver and crystal objects which make up the Nimrud treasure once belonged to the queens of Assyria and were buried with them beneath the floor of the harem (Pollard 2007:53).

Different royal items will be discussed in the following segment. First to be discussed is the richly decorated attire of royalty (4.7.1), then an arm bracelet with a rosette will be discussed as it is usually wrist bracelets which are found on the kings' arm (4.7.2). The kings' crown/diadem will follow (4.7.3). Royal vessels, bowls and dishes are depicted in (4.7.4), with the kings' horses and chariots next (4.7.5). Almost last, but not least, is a discussion of royal jewellery (4.7.6-4.7.8), and then lastly, fragments of royal furniture are discussed (4.7.9).

4.7.1 Material woven or embroidered with rosette images

4.7.1.1 Iconographic description of royal attire

a) Embroidery on the upper part of the robe of King Assurnasirpal II

Richly decorated material with patterns on were woven exclusively for royalty and for religious attendants (Fig. 4.60). The material was thus the epitome of wealth. In ceremonies, it is only the kings' tables which are draped with richly decorated linen (Bier 1995:1583). The less complex rosettes appear on the garments of the kings' officials. In rare cases a complex rosette with a circle around it appears in a soldier's uniform. The general idea is that such a soldier had a high rank or might have been a royal watchman (Guralnick 2004:231).

Different patterns in the complex rosette with a circle around it must have carried different meanings. The rosette design on clothing might not only have served as decoration, but might have had hidden codes, almost like the school ties of modern times.

In Figure 4.60 loose 'hanging' daisy-like rosettes are seen near a sphinx and a winged spiritual being. These 'hanging' rosettes were also found on artefacts from Egypt (cf. Figs. 2.48-2.50). The local artisans combined Egyptian influence with their own popular motifs. 'For many centuries Egyptian cultural influence dominated the scene in the Levant, and the cultural heritage it left was not totally eradicated by their loss of power' (Pienaar 2008:64). Despite the Egyptian influence it did not escape local adaptation by indigenous artisans. The local artisans added their own style to the Egyptian motif as seen in the example of the sphinxes in Figure 4.60 (Pienaar 2008:64).

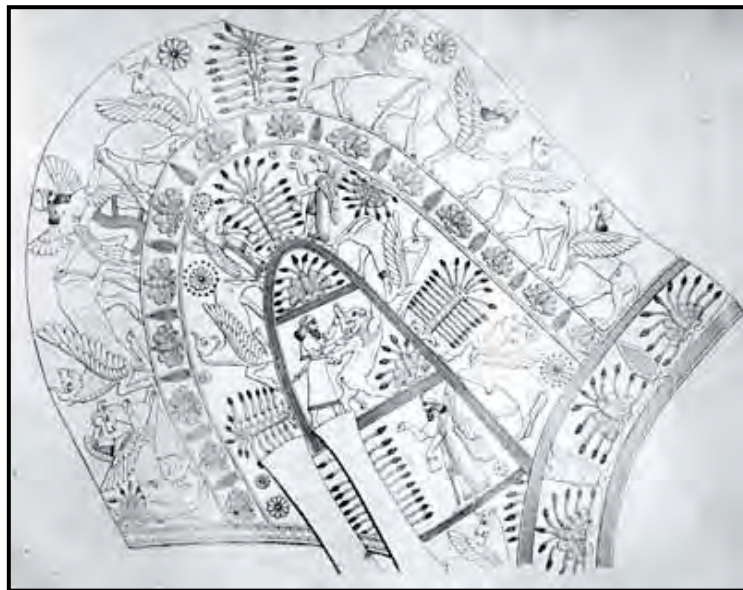


Fig. 4.60 Embroidery on the upper part of the robe of king Assurnasirpal II. (Layard 1849, Pl. 8)

It should however be stressed that winged spiritual beings are missing in seventh-century BC traceable depictions of royal Assyrian garments. The royal attire in these cases seems to comprise only geometric and floral patterns including rosettes (Ornan 2004:87).

b) Reliefs of King Assurnasirpal II, showing delicate rosette patterns

The following illustrations are the reliefs of King Assurnasirpal II (Figs. 4.61-4.63) from the New York City Art Museum: ancient king gallery. The close-up photos show how often the lotus-like rosette with eight to ten petals each appears on the material. It even appears on the handle of a dagger (Fig. 4.64) and the rosette symbol also appears on an earring (Fig. 4.65).



Fig. 4.61 Reliefs of King Assurnasirpal II, showing delicate rosette patterns ²⁰¹



Fig. 4.62 Rosettes on the garment of King Assurnasirpal II ²⁰²

Fig. 4.63 Rosettes on the sleeve of Assurnasirpal II ²⁰³



Fig. 4.64 Rosette engraved on a dagger ²⁰⁴

Fig. 4.65 Earring with an engraved rosette ²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/brankoab/sets/72157624713153545/>

²⁰² <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/brankoab/sets/72157624713153545/>

²⁰³ <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/brankoab/sets/72157624713153545/>

²⁰⁴ <http://www.flickrriver.com/photos/brankoab/sets/72157624713153545/>

²⁰⁵ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/brankoab/7673429106/sizes/l/>

c) Rosette engraved on a dagger

Two daggers are displayed in Figure 4.64 but the dagger on the left side has one rosette with ten petals on the handle sticking out of the garment which also displays a larger lotus-like rosette.

d) Earring with an engraved rosette

An eight-petal, lotus-like rosette is engraved on the bottom part of a drop earring, hanging over the wavy hair of King Assurnasirpal II (Fig. 4.65).

4.7.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretations of royal attire

The prominent position of the rosette in royal art has led archaeologist David Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University to conclude that the Assyrian rosette was not merely a decorative element, but also a symbol of royal sovereignty (1982:115).

The rosette symbol on the clothes of King Assurnasirpal II (Figs. 4.60-4.63) might possibly have indicated his divinity or it might possibly have indicated *divine protection* towards the king. The rosette occurs so often on royal attire that it is difficult not to think of the rosette as a *royal* symbol.

The rosette symbol on the dagger (Fig. 4.64) could possibly imply *divine protection* for the user of the dagger. Bahrani (2008:189) states that, in some respects, weapons such as bows, maces, swords and daggers were seen as '...instruments of divine purpose...', and that rulers or heroes were often associated with particular powerful weapons (Bahrani 2008:192). 'What may have been assigned as ceremonial weapons tended to be more than simply personal decoration or modes of male adornment; the detailed elements of such weapons were laden with significance, particularly in their material and iconography' (Bahrani 2008:193); such iconography commonly incorporating rosette motifs (Hart 2018:471).

The beautiful rosette on the earring in Figure 4.65 might presumably have signalled protection, the same as an *amulet*.

4.7.2 Arm bracelet depicting a rosette

4.7.2.1 Iconographic description of an arm bracelet

In addition to the wrist bracelets with rosettes we also find an arm bracelet with a daisy-like rosette on an Assyrian wall relief (Fig. 4.66).



Fig. 4.66 Assyrian wall relief depicting bracelets as well as an armlet with a rosette²⁰⁶

4.7.2.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of an arm bracelet

The arm bracelet in Figure 4.66 is similar to the arm bracelet of Cleopatra in Figures 2.17-2.18. They are both worn on the upper arm. The symbolism of the arm bracelets could have had a different meaning from the wrist bracelets. The arm bracelet may have indicated to the king's *consecration* or his *sovereign kingship*.

4.7.3 Rosettes displayed on the kings' golden crown or diadem

4.7.3.1 Iconographic description of the royal crown

The crown in the ancient world came in many shapes and forms. They were made of very costly material, symbolizing royalty and sovereignty. According to Paley (1977:533), in the time of King Assurnasirpal II a special type of fillet was worn. The fillet was sometimes decorated in front either with a thin, gold, rosette-shaped bracteates (plate or frontlet) or a gold-embroidered textile which conforms to the contour of the head. The fillet would seem to be part of the mitre with specific meaning, for the wearing of the royal fillet meant that the prince was *chosen by the gods or designated* by his father, the king, as the crown prince (Paley 1977:533).

After the ceremony of the investiture, which included the tying on of the royal fillet, the crown prince might be considered second to the king himself (Paley 1977:533).

a) A fillet with a few rosettes

Figure 4.67 is a sketch of the crown of an Assyrian king showing a fillet with a few rosettes, probably made of gold.

²⁰⁶ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Sargon+II+with+rosettes+on+his+head+decorations+and+on+his+wrist+as+well+as+on+his+clothing&client=firefox-b&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj4t4jrhbbeAhUSDOWKHbMNDU4Q7A16BAgEEBM&biw=1366&bih=632#imgsrc=cNkFDsWpqDsZRM:>



Fig. 4.67 Sketch of the crown of an Assyrian king.²⁰⁷

b) The crown of an Assyrian king

According to Read (2009:255) a typical fez worn by Sargon and later kings is a tall fez banded in different colours, with a diadem or upturned brim, topped by a cone, with ribbons down the back (cf. Figs. 4.11; 4.39; 4.67 and 4.68). A more precise sketch of an Assyrian king with his crown is depicted in Figure 4.68. A large daisy/lotus-like rosette in the middle in the front of the crown, as well as smaller rosettes, the ribbon and the cone at the top are also precisely illustrated.



Fig. 4.68 A more precise sketch of the crown of an Assyrian king.²⁰⁸

A text of Sennacherib exists, also speaking of a golden diadem:

I Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, have given golden arm rings inlaid with ivory, a golden diadem, golden necklaces, these jewels which are inlaid with speckled chalcedony, banded chalcedony and lapis lazuli weighing 1½ minas 2½ shekels to Esarhaddon my son, after he became called Assur-etil-ilani-ka'in-apla as a present, booty from Bit-Amuk [region of Babylonia] (Harper 1914:1452).

²⁰⁷ https://24.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_lyy9iqcph11qakhsjo1_500.jpg

²⁰⁸ <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/sennacherib-was-a-famous-king-of-assyria-who-succeeded-his-news-photo/515467506?adppopup=true>

Hence there is a possibility that the crowns depicted in Figures 4.67 and 4.68 were made of pure gold or at least the rosettes were made of pure gold.

4.7.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the royal crown*

The headgear of royals had significant meaning whether it was the queen, prince or the king himself. It was the *epitome of sovereignty*, and the fact that all these crowns and diadems had rosettes displayed on them indicate that the rosette had a significant role to play in ancient Near Eastern symbolism. It was indeed a symbol for royalty, but I am not convinced that that was the only reason for 'using' the rosette symbol. I am of opinion that it was a symbol for divine presence or godliness and that when it was displayed with royalty, it could perhaps have indicated the divine presence of some god in their lives, possibly protecting them or giving other attributes such as fertility, provision and good luck.

4.7.4 **Rosette images on royal vessels, bowls and dishes**

4.7.4.1 *Iconographic description of various vessels, bowls and dishes*

a) Assyrian faience offering dish

In Figure 4.69 an Assyrian faience offering dish is displayed. It is a pale turquoise-blue dish on a ring base, with a beautiful eight petalled, lotus-like rosette at the center, and a moulded rope pattern along the rim.



Fig. 4.69 Assyrian faience offering dish (circa 700 BC).
(Edgar L. Owen Galleries)²⁰⁹

b) Golden vessel of Shalmaneser V

King Shalmaneser V, king of Assyria (726-722 BC), used a golden vessel with a tiny rosette in the middle (Figs. 4.70-4.71 7 Add II, C12). Unfortunately it is not possible to describe the rosette properly.

²⁰⁹ <https://edgarlowen.com/a58ane.shtml>



Fig. 4.70 Golden vessel of Shalmaneser V.

Fig. 4.71 Enlargement of the rosette.
(The Iraq Museum, IM 105698)²¹⁰

c) Assyrian gold vessel, treasure of Nimrud

A golden bowl with an interesting rosette was amongst the grave goods discovered in Tomb 2 of the Royal tombs in Nimrud (Fig. 4.72). It is inscribed with a cuneiform inscription giving the name and title of Banitu, queen of Shalmaneser V. Only members of the royal family were entitled to golden tableware (Information from the Iraq Museum).²¹¹ This golden bowl is presently (2018) housed in the Central Bank Vault in Baghdad in Iraq. I would like to make an educated guess that the rosette in Figure 4.72 resembles an open daisy flower (cf. 5.2.1) although it could just as well be a lotus flower. In some instances it is really difficult to distinguish between the lotus and the daisy flower images.



Fig. 4.72 Assyrian gold vessel, treasure of Nimrud (1000-800 BC).²¹²

d) Bronze bowls from the Northwest Palace at the city of Nimrud

Over 150 bronze bowls were found in the Northwest Palace at the city of Nimrud. These bowls were made in Phoenicia (modern-day Lebanese and Syrian coasts) and were brought to Nimrud as tribute or booty by one of the kings who campaigned in the west, perhaps Tiglath-pileser III (reigned 744-727 BC) (British Museum).²¹³ The bronze bowl in Figure 4.73 depicts an interesting sunflower rosette with many petals surrounding a huge intricate knob. It seems as if a tiny, daisy-like rosette is in the middle surrounded with round knobs which could possibly depict a lotus flower and the outer flower possibly depicts a sunflower. The three flowers which we encounter regularly in the art of the ancient Near East might be depicted together in this bowl.

²¹⁰ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/kings/shalmaneserv/>

²¹¹ <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/sargon/essentials/kings/shalmaneserv/>

²¹² <http://www.aina.org/nimrud/nimrudtreasures.htm>

²¹³ <https://www.ancient.eu/image/7001/phoenician-bronze-bowl-from-nimrud/>



Fig. 4.73 One of the 150 bronze bowls found in a palace at Nimrud.
(The British Museum)²¹⁴

e) An Assyrian ivory lid

In Figure 4.74 & Add II, C14 an Assyrian ivory lid dates from the Neo-Assyrian Period (circa 9th-8th century BC). The lid is from Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) and is presently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This artefact presents itself with a double rosette, something that is not perceived often. The inner lotus-like rosette has twelve petals and the outer daisy-like rosette has several petals. It might be that both rosettes symbolized daisy-like rosettes although double rosettes are usually from different floral species (cf. Figs. 4.34 and 4.73).



Fig. 4.74 Ivory lid from Nimrud (circa 9th-8th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 54.117.9)²¹⁵

f) Lid fragment from the Neo-Assyrian Period

In Figure 4.75 & Add II, C16 a fragment of a lid from the Neo-Assyrian Period is depicted. This artefact is from Nimrud and has two remaining rosettes on the side of the lid. The one remaining rosette resembles the same rosettes as the rosettes in Figures 2.44-2.47 on tile decorations, as well as on a variety of natural daisies in Figure 5.2.

²¹⁴ <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/7001/phoenician-bronze-bowl-from-nimrud/>

²¹⁵ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324330>



Fig. 4.75 Lid fragment (circa 9th–8th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 52.23.8)²¹⁶

The rosette on the right side of the lid in Figure 4.75 is very realistically carved and does indeed resemble a 'daisy'. The detail on the flower on the left side seems to be damaged or it might have been a different rendering of a flower, probably a lotus-like rosette with the round petals. If this is the case this would be a different way of displaying two different rosettes on one artefact.

4.7.4.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of various vessels, bowls and dishes*

Only members of the royal family were entitled to golden tableware, thus the vessels in Figures 4.70-4.72 would have belonged to the royal household and the rosettes on them might have indicated *kingship* or belonging to the king. (cf. Addendum I number 4 where in Israel the LMLK imprints and the rosette imprints of stamped jar handles indicated that they belonged to the king).

The rosettes on the other vessels (Figs, 4.69; 4.73; 4.74 and 4.75) might all have had the same function of symbolizing the *kingship* and importance of the royal household.

4.7.5 The king's horses and chariots are depicted with rosette ornamentation

In Assyria the rosette motif was also used to identify royal officials and objects belonging to the king. In the palace reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) the trappings of the royal horses are decorated with rosettes (Barnett 1960:27-28). Large-scale bronze rosettes are known from Mesopotamia that were probably integral elements of physical horse harnesses, as seen on horse pectorals bearing rosettes (Hart 2018:472).

²¹⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324205>

4.7.5.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on royal horse trappings

a) Relief from the palace of Sargon II

Three daisy-like, tiny rosettes with a huge centre are used (Fig. 4.76) on the Sargon's horses trappings but it is not a clear enough illustration to describe the rosettes properly. On the alabaster stone reliefs of Nimrud, only the equipment of the king's horses is shown with tassels and rosettes as decoration (Fig. 4.76-4.77). Richly decorated cloth hangs over the royal horses (Bier 1995:1583). The rosettes used for the horses vary and it does not seem as if there was any uniform pattern.

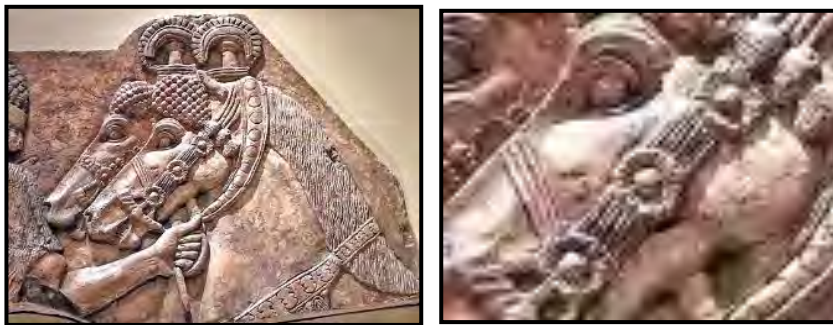


Fig. 4.76 Relief from the palace of Sargon II, originally located in Khorsabad, Iraq (721-705 BC).²¹⁷

b) Detail of a bas-relief showing Ashurbanipal II's horses

According to the British Museum in London the detail in Figure 4.77 is a depiction of an alabaster bas-relief showing Ashurbanipal II's horses with daisy-like rosettes with several petals on their bridles, although only one large rosette is visible. Two strings of smaller rosettes are displayed near the horse's ear ending in a middle-sized rosette. It seems as if all the rosette designs on the bridle are different. The artefact is from Room S of the North Palace, Nineveh (modern-day Kouyunjik, Mosul Governorate, Iraq) (circa 645-635 BC). This relief is currently housed in the British Museum in London.

²¹⁷ [https://www.google.com/search?q=Carved+ivory+plaque+that+depicts+rosette+decoration.+Neo+Assyrian+period,+9th7th+centuries+BCE.+Nimrud,+Mesopotamia+\(The+Sulaimaniyah+Museum,+Iraq.++Photo++Osama+S.M.+Amin\)&client=firefox-b&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiw9ajlsrbeAhVCKBoKHZP8AjcQ7Al6BAgAEBM&biw=1366&bih=632](https://www.google.com/search?q=Carved+ivory+plaque+that+depicts+rosette+decoration.+Neo+Assyrian+period,+9th7th+centuries+BCE.+Nimrud,+Mesopotamia+(The+Sulaimaniyah+Museum,+Iraq.++Photo++Osama+S.M.+Amin)&client=firefox-b&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiw9ajlsrbeAhVCKBoKHZP8AjcQ7Al6BAgAEBM&biw=1366&bih=632)



Fig. 4.77 Detail of a bas-relief showing Ashurbanipal II's horses.
(Photo credit: Osama S.M. Amin)²¹⁸

4.7.5.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on royal horse trappings

According to Hart (2018:473) the rosette acts to enhance or augment the symbolic value of the context in which it appears. The rosettes on the horse's bridles might possibly represent a *divine presence*, in this case the presence of possibly Ishtar in her war-like capacity, to protect the horses and riders, almost functioning as an *amulet*. As the representative of the gods, the king was above mere mortals and lived apart from them in his palace, isolated in his majesty (Hamlyn 1968:89). This idea of 'above mere mortals' might have been the inspiration for the rosette symbol to indicate exactly that: lived apart, *set apart* and *consecrated*.

4.7.6 Royal jewellery and the rosette image

Neo-Assyrian reliefs provide a wealth of information on jewellery, how it was worn, and by whom. This is truer for men than for women and children, because women are less often represented and children rarely depicted (Bahrani 1995:1643). Ivory artefacts showing jewellery worn by royal females are found at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

4.7.6.1 Iconographic description of royal jewellery depicting rosettes

a) Plaque with a 'woman at the window'

An ivory plaque with a 'woman at the window' was found at Nimrud. This lady is wearing a diadem with a rare six-petalled, three dimensional rosette in the middle of the thin diadem (Fig. 4.78 & Add II, C17).

²¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horses_in_art#/media/File:Assyrian_horses.jpg



Fig. 4.78 Plaque with a 'woman at the window'.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 59.107.18)²¹⁹

b) Ivory head with a diadem

A beautiful ivory female head was found at Nimrud (Figs. 4.79-4.80 & Add II, C18). This lady too is wearing a diadem with eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes all round her head and a frontlet in the middle. This exquisite piece is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The date of this artefact is circa 8th century BC. The ivory head was found by Max Mallowan in Nimrud while excavating during 1952. The same artefact is shown from the front and from the side in Figures 4.79-4.80.



Fig. 4.79 Ivory head with a diadem.
Fig. 4.80 The profile of the same ivory head.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 54.117.8)²²⁰

c) Ivory head with a diadem from Nimrud

As displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there are alternating lotus-like rosettes with eight petals each and circles around the ivory profile head of a lady with a diadem (Fig. 4.81 & Add II, C5). The artefact was found at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu). This artefact is currently housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It belonged to the Neo-Assyrian Period (900-700 BC).

²¹⁹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324938>

²²⁰ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324329>



Fig. 4.81 Ivory female head with a diadem from Nimrud.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 52.23.3)²²¹

d) Another ivory head with a diadem from Nimrud

The ivory head in Figure 4.82 & Add II, C19 resembles the ivory head profile in Figure 4.81 although the rosettes differ. The rosettes on the ivory head facing to the front are daisy-like rosettes with twelve petals each and the hair styles also differ a tiny bit. The artefact in Figure 4.82 is currently housed in the British Museum in London.



Fig. 4.82 Ivory head with a diadem from Nimrud.
(The British Museum, 118234)²²²

²²¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324200>

²²² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_N-898

e) Smaller female ivory head with rosettes

A smaller ivory head is also displayed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and belonged to the Neo-Assyrian Period (900-700 BC). The smaller female head also depicts a diadem with rosettes but unfortunately it is not a clear illustration to really distinguish the rosettes properly (Figure 4.83 & Add II, C20).



Fig. 4.83 Smaller female ivory head with rosettes.
(The British Museum, 118233)²²³

4.7.6.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of ivory artefacts depicting jewellery*

None of the ivory females' names are known, but they would have been important because they are wearing diadems (crowns). They could have been from the royal family or they may have been from the temple representing the high priestess.

4.7.7 Golden bracelet

4.7.7.1 *Iconographic description of a bracelet*

a) Assyrian golden bracelet

In the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, a beautiful golden bracelet from Nimrud is housed. It depicts eight tiny star-like rosettes with ten petals each, as well as a large broad-banded inner circle, sunflower-like rosette with twenty-four petals in the middle and with an agate at its center (Fig. 4.84). This bracelet forms part of the royal tombs discovery in the Northwest Palace built by Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) at the new capital Kalhu (Nimrud) (Bahrani 1995:1638).

²²³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_N-899



Fig. 4.84 Assyrian golden bracelet (8th century BC).
(The National Museum of Iraq)²²⁴

4.7.7.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a bracelet*

The bracelet might have been worn for *divine protection* as an amulet, much the same as the evil eye, still to this day, plays a huge part in certain Near Eastern countries.

4.7.8 Jewellery from the queens' tomb in Nimrud

The Northwest Palace at Nimrud, built by Ashurnasirpal II, and the Queens' Tombs were among the most important archaeological finds in the world in the twentieth century (Hussein 1916:n.p.).

4.7.8.1 *Iconographic description for jewellery from the queens' tombs in Nimrud*

a) A bracelet with five rings attached to the bracelet

The Queens' Tombs in Nimrud offered beautiful jewellery pieces. In Tomb III in coffin I, a bracelet with five rings attached to the bracelet were found (Fig. 4.85). All five rings with eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes look alike. It seems as if they were made with *cloisonné* cells and originally filled with something, possibly precious stones.

²²⁴ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>



Fig. 4.85 Jewellery from the Queens' tomb in Nimrud.²²⁵
(Photo credit: D Youkhanna)

b) Numerous golden rosettes

In Figures 4.86 and 4.87 gold clothing ornaments from Tomb II are depicted. In Figure 4.86 numerous golden daisy/lotus-like rosettes with ten petals each are seen.

c) Golden stars

In Figure 4.87 abundant golden eight-pointed stars are depicted. These rosettes and stars were attached to royal clothing. In this research it is also possible to call these stars “star-like rosettes”.



Fig. 4.86 Golden rosettes.²²⁶
Fig. 4.87 Golden stars.²²⁷
(Photo credits: D Youkhanna)

d) Golden rosettes from the Queens' Tomb III

Figure 4.88 depicts golden eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes from Tomb III, Coffin 2, from the Queens' Tomb in Nimrud. They were probably used as clothing decorations. It seems as if they were previously filled with some substance in the middle of each tiny rosette.

²²⁵ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>

²²⁶ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>

²²⁷ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>

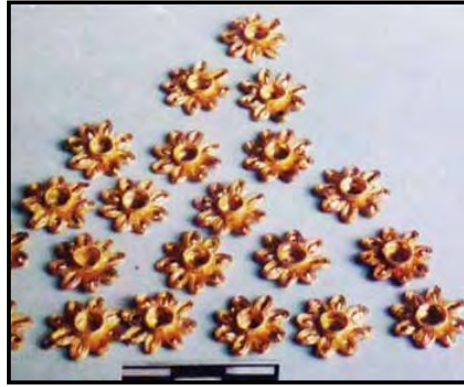


Fig. 4.88 Golden rosettes from the Queens' Tomb III.²²⁸
(Photo credit: D Youkhanna)

4.7.8.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation for jewellery from the Queens' Tomb in Nimrud*

During the Neo-Assyrian Period jewellery was also represented on supernatural creatures such as winged bulls and winged lions, winged genii, and fish-men (Bahrani 1995:1643).

The golden rosettes (Fig. 4.86) and golden stars (4.87) might possibly have indicated the *divinity* of the Queen (cf. 4.5.3). Gold ornaments had been sewn in such profusion as to suggest whole-body sparkle and thus her *melammu* (Winter 2012:159). On the other hand, it might have indicated the presence of Ishtar. The rosette and the star symbols (both originating from the Venus star cf. 3.2), were symbols of Ishtar and she was highly revered in Assyria (cf. 4.3.3). This would then mean either her *divine presence*, *divine protection* or her *divine fertility* aspects were enhanced, although there is also always the chance of purely boasting as to how rich the kings were.

4.7.9 **Royal furniture with rosette images**

In the 9th or 8th century BC, the technique of casting glass vessels appeared for the first time in the Levant. Made in translucent glass, the vessels were cast, cut and then ground using lapidary techniques (O'hea 2011: Abstract).

4.7.9.1 *Iconographic description of glass inlays with rosettes and a glass artefact*

According to Curtis (1999:61) a survey of glass plaques with rosettes reveals that there were two different types in circulation in the ancient Near East.

²²⁸ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>

a) Blue piece of glass with a white rosette

There are large, blue, glass plaques where the white, six-petalled, obovate type rosette design is recessed into the surface and filled with what is now (where it survives) opaque white glass (Fig. 4.89). A characteristic of plaques made in this way is that the inlaid rosettes are visible only from one side. Barag comments that 'the petals were probably pressed into the blue matrix while both were in a viscous state' (1985:72), but in the view of Von Saldern (1966:632-633) 'the shallow depressions in the tiles to receive the white fillings of rosettes, were cut into the blue glass'.



Fig. 4.89 Blue piece of glass with a white rosette.²²⁹

b) Furniture glass inlays from Nimrud

The furniture six-petalled, obovate-rosette glass inlays in Figure 4.90 & Add II, C21 are from the Neo-Assyrian Period (circa 9th-7th century BC).



Fig. 4.90 Furniture glass inlays from Nimrud.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 57.80.18a-i)²³⁰

²²⁹ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Assyrian+piece+of+blue+glas+with+white+rosette&tbm=isch&source=univ&client=firefoxbd&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiGjc6XwNfiAhVBQxUIHaKBqAQ7Al6BAgFEA8&biw=1366&bih=632#imgrc=BkiC0s4uVaweGM:>

²³⁰ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324683>

According to Curtis (1999:59) they found glass inlay rosettes during their excavation at Nimrud in Assyria. Curtis states: 'There were also four small glass plaques of a very distinctive type. They are almost square (dimensions: 1.7 x 1.7 cm), made of blue glass and have rosette designs recessed into the surface and filled with a different colour glass that was probably originally yellow' (circa 9th-8th century BC) (Fig. 4.90).

c) Neo-Assyrian furniture glass inlays depicting rosettes

These plaques are to be distinguished from the smaller mosaic glass plaques that also have rosette designs but are made in a different way, with the six obovate-petalled rosettes being introduced while the glass was still viscous rather than being inlaid (Fig. 4.91 & Add II, C22). Among these inlays, there are about one hundred examples of blue glass plaques with inlaid rosettes from the British School excavations (Curtis 1999:61). Barnett (1963-4:84) and von Saldern (1970:224) have suggested that the inlaid glass plaques might have decorated ivories of a specific type, but we have no certain evidence that they were fixed to ivories (Curtis 1999:62).



Fig. 4.91 Furniture glass inlays. Neo-Assyrian.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 62.269.15a-d)²³¹

d) Glass artefact from Ashur

Figure 4.92 depicts a glass artefact that was found at Ashur, on the Tigris River; this artefact belonged to the Middle Assyrian Period. One orange, eight-petalled, star-like rosette is displayed inside a reddish circle.



Fig. 4.92 Glass artefact from Ashur.
(The Vorderasiatisches Museum)²³²

²³¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325561>

²³² <http://www.arthistory.upenn.edu/spr03/422/April3/422April3.html> also see <http://www.arthistory.upenn.edu/spr03/422/April3/201.JPG>

4.7.9.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the glass inlays depicting rosettes*

These glass artefacts (Figs 4.89-4.91) with rosette images on them might possibly have decorated furniture of the palaces. If they were indeed stuck into ivory as suggested by Barnett (1963-4:84) and Von Saldern (1970:224), they would have been expensive, as ivory was an expensive commodity in the ancient Near East, and thus they may have belonged to the furniture of the palace (Grobler 2015:22). The glass artefact in Figure 4.92 with eight pointed petals might have symbolized Ishtar as eight was her sacred number and a rosette was one of her symbols. She might have *protected* the 'user' of this artefact.

4.7.10 **Ivory plaque with rosette**

4.7.10.1 *Iconographic description of a rosette on an ivory plaque*

An elephant ivory plaque with a daisy/lotus-like rosette with sixteen petals and the paw of possibly a sphinx is housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris (Fig. 4.93 & Add II, C23). This artefact might have been part of furniture. I find it difficult to name this specific rosette so I have decided to name it daisy/lotus-like instead of just choosing any name. This problem will be encountered a few more times during the research.



Fig. 4.93 Ivory plaque with rosette and part of a sphinx paw.
(The Louvre Museum, AO 26281)²³³

4.7.10.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a rosette on the ivory plaque*

'The pictorial record reveals that Egyptian artistic influence in the Levant did not remain constant throughout the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, but fluctuated according to the extent of Egyptian political and commercial involvement in the region' (Markoe 1990:23). The rosette seems to be *worshipped* or *blessed* by a sphinx (Fig. 4.93 sphinx's paw). It seems as if there were two sphinxes doing this on both sides of the rosette. Only one paw has remained on the left side of the rosette, but this is enough evidence to make this assumption. This scene is really of huge

²³³ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010150681>

value as it can possibly suggest *divinity/godly presence* for the rosette symbol. This artefact resembles the illustration in Figure 4.32 where the sphinx is replaced with winged spiritual beings (*Apkallu*) venerating a rosette.

4.7.11 Inlaid wood with rosettes

4.7.11.1 *Iconographical description of rosettes on the inlaid wood*

In Figure 4.94 we find a piece of broken, inlaid wood with a few broken golden rosettes. It is difficult to count the petals as five of the rosettes are not intact and differ in sizes. The whole lotus-like rosette on the third piece of wood has nine petals. A row of tiny golden rosettes borders the larger rosettes.



Fig. 4.94 Fragments of inlaid wood from the Queens' Tomb in Nimrud.²³⁴
(Photo credit: D Youkhanna)

4.7.11.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the inlaid wood*

It is not sure what the purpose of this piece of wood was, but it might possibly have belonged to a furniture piece. It was found in Nimrud in the Queens' Tomb. The fact that these pieces of wood were found in the Queens' Tomb might possibly have implied that the rosette was for renewal and new life. Thus fertility is a possible meaning that can be attached to the rosette in this artefact, although the rosette as a *royal symbol* could also have indicated the 'setting apart' of the queen.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The systematic approach of the three-level Panofsky model is starting to show uniform patterns in the depictions of rosettes on all levels of society and divinity of the Assyrian civilization. The iconography of the Assyrians is the most exciting to work with as there is a large number of artefacts in this region.

²³⁴ <https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/misc-2016-Nimrud-Queens-Tombs-web.pdf>

The rosette motif we encounter in the Assyrian civilization, as well as the potential origin, differ vastly from what we encountered with the Egyptians in Chapter Two. Where the sun and the lotus flower were the main contenders to be the inspiration for rosette symbolism in Chapter Two, it is Inanna/Ishtar and her Venus star that take on this role with Sumer and Akkad in Chapter Three. In this chapter the inspiration for the Assyrian rosette symbol might possibly be the Tree of Life.

The Tree of Life, also called Sacred Tree, could possibly have been a substitute for divinity. The Tree of Life seems to first have symbolized (in general) a female nourishing goddess, which over time changed to a male god (Keel 1998:20, 21). The Tree of Life is possibly a symbol for a godly entity or divinity (cf. 4.2.). The Tree of Life probably symbolizes the characteristics of a nourishing, protecting, life-giving, life-sustaining and healing godly entity.

With a little imagination, the flowers on the trees in Figures 4.2-4.7 equate to almost proper rosettes. In case the palmettes are indeed renderings of the Tree of Life in a shortened version and the palmette flowers on the Tree are almost identical to rosettes, it might possibly have gradually replaced the image of the huge Tree of Life in the form of just a single rosette. The symbolic meaning of a single rosette could possibly have had the same symbolic meaning as the Tree of Life, namely a godly entity or divinity, and in Assyria it might possibly have symbolized Ashur as the main god of the Assyrians (cf. 4.3.1).

On the other hand it could be a flower that inspired the rosette symbol in Assyria. A flower in general, and not one specific kind of flower, might have inspired the rosette symbol, as I have encountered lotus flowers, daisies and sunflowers to be the possible inspiration for the rosette symbol. I do not think that it really matters which flower is used to portray the rosette, as long as the message that it brings was understood by the Assyrians. It might be that all three of these flowers were depicted together on one vessel (cf. Figs. 4.73) and two flowers together on two vessels (cf. Fig. 4.34 and 4.74). All three of these flowers respond to sunlight and could have symbolized the sun god Shamash (cf. 4.3.2).

Ishtar was symbolized by a star and an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette (cf. 4.3.3). The most important characteristic of Ishtar is that she was known as the goddess of love, but also of war. She also presented *divine protection* and *divine fertility*. She was known as the goddess of herds, thus *divine provision* towards her flock. Another one of her traits was to hand out kingship.

Alone or jointly with a male god, she controlled a number of elements, both natural and cultural. She was also known as the queen of heaven and the goddess of vegetation.

It is difficult to decide whom the rosette symbol suits best, Ashur, Shamash or Ishtar, but if the rosette symbol was for a *divine presence* in general it would not really matter which god or goddess the rosette symbol belonged to as it would symbolize a godly entity.

The religious texts say that the gods are wearing (našû) the melammu on their heads as a supernatural headgear (Oppenheim 1943:31) in which case the headgear of the king should then also imply a supernatural power. Texts make clear that the radiant surround of gold of the head is a visible, luminous manifestation, associated with both protective and destructive power.

Mesopotamian rulers, particularly later Neo-Assyrian kings, claim this property for themselves as well (Winter 1997:373). Insofar as it is said to be visible and have the power to overwhelm, we must envision the king's *melammu* (divine radiance or aura), too, as a vital force or energy emanating from the ruler. Winter (2012:160) argues that the Mesopotamian artists had not yet found a way to render the *melammu* in their art. I on the other hand suggest that whenever rosettes or stars are shown on their clothes, or on their diadems, the *melammu* (divine/holy radiance or aura), was possibly indicated in such a manner.

The winged spiritual beings in Figure 4.33 are blessing the rosette or purifying the rosette symbol, or even praying to the rosette symbol, much the same as they do towards the Tree of Life (see Figs. 4.6), in which case this might possibly elevate the rosette symbol to a *godly identity*.

Aladlammû could possibly have stood at the palace gates to execute *protection*. I suggest that the rosettes on the Aladlammû paws, together with the horns on its headgear (cf. 4.6.9), possibly indicated its *divinity* and as such maybe its *divine protection*. The Aladlammû is thus possibly a *divine protector* of the king and his palace.

Substitution of a divine emblem for a deity in human form occurred, as postulated by Frankfort (1996:132), as a result of a chasm that emerged between man and god in Assyrian art. The rosette symbol and even the winged sun disc might have been a substitute for a deity.

According to Teissier (1996:95-101), the winged disc was charged with a multi-faceted meaning and was not exclusively confined to the solar aspect. The fact that the *winged disc was combined* with a rosette (cf. Fig. 4.41) could indicate that the rosette was possibly a symbol for *divinity* as the winged disc was the symbol for the god Assur, and as his godly symbol, the winged disc, was divine.

The wide distribution throughout the Assyrian Empire on garments and clothing accessories, jewels and weapons demonstrates the benevolent *amuletic* function of the rosette symbol (Black & Green 1992:156; Moorey 1985:173-174).

The palaces of the Assyrian kings with the wall friezes leave us with a clear picture of what the palaces looked like as well as what royalty did for a living. No other civilization has so many portraits of their kings as the Assyrians, so it is possible to see how they wore their garments and headdresses with abundant rosettes.

The tombs of Nimrud have provided us with beautiful crowns, jewellery, and artefacts with rosettes to be investigated. Together with the stone reliefs of the Assyrian palaces many (81) rosettes were observed, described, analyzed and interpreted during this chapter, and it seems as if the rosette symbol did indeed play a symbolic role in the *divine* and *royal* lives of the Assyrian civilization.

The sovereign was the source of all authority and as the representative of the gods he was above mere mortals and in his palace lived apart from them, isolated in his majesty (Hamlyn 1968:89). My suggestion for the rosette symbol being a symbol for *divine kingship* is meant for all the Assyrian kings and not one particular king.

The rosette symbol on the attire of kings might possibly have indicated that they were set apart (consecrated) as kings or it might have indicated *divine protection* towards the king (Reade 1991:32). Ishtar played a huge role in the Assyrian religion, and in her war-like aspect, she could possibly have been the protector of the king. The rosettes could possibly have indicated that the king was acting in a divine role and he was also considered to take on the role of high priest. Although the Assyrian king was never a god, the whole of official religion centred upon him, the prosperity of the whole nation being tied up in his welfare (Wiseman 1973:173). This prosperity of the whole nation could imply fertility and here the fertility theory suits the rosette symbol

well. With all the different rosettes decorating the palaces of different Assyrian kings it is not difficult to see that the rosette was indeed a *royal symbol*.

It was not only the kings but also the queens that were 'set apart'. Golden rosettes and golden stars might possibly have indicated the *divinity* of the queens. Gold ornaments had been sewn in such profusion as to suggest whole-body sparkle and thus their *melammu* (Winter 2012:159). On the other hand, it might have indicated the *presence of Ishtar*. The rosette and the star symbols were both symbols of Ishtar and she was highly revered in Assyria (cf. 4.3.3). This would then possibly mean either her protection or/and her fertility aspects were enhanced.

The rosette in Figure 4.93 depicts a religious scene. Only one paw has remained on the left side of the rosette, but this is enough evidence to make this assumption. The sphinxes might even be praying to the rosette symbol, in which case any of the mentioned above, will elevate the *rosette symbol* to a *divine* or *godly presence*. This artefact resembles the illustration in Figure 4.33 where the sphinx is replaced with winged spiritual beings (*Apkallu*) venerating a rosette. The veneration of the rosette by other beings has now been encountered twice. This may be proof enough that the rosette was more than a symbol for protection and more than a fertility symbol. Therefore I would suggest the term *divine protector* and *divine fertility* instead because I am of opinion that the rosette was a symbol for *divine consecration and divine presence*.

In case the rosette symbol was a godly symbol for various gods and for various royalty, it might possibly have stood for a *character trait of divinity* such as *divine protection*, *divine fertility*, *divine provider*, *divine giver of life* and even *good luck*, rather than for one specific god or goddess (e.g. Ishtar). Reade (1991:32), Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are of opinion that the rosette in general was a symbol of *protection*, but Winter (2009:241) believes the rosette symbol indicated *fertility*. I agree with these theories but would prefer the terms *divine protection* and *divine fertility*.

I would suggest that indigenous creation took place in Assyria as the rosette symbolism encountered in Egypt and in Sumer and Akkad is vastly different from the rosette symbolism in Assyria, although all three civilizations possibly denote *divinity*. After careful consideration I believe that the rosette symbol possibly had an inherent conceptual meaning which encompasses the various forms by means of *non-verbal communication* by meaning *divine* and *consecrated*.

I have found six *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in/on artefacts from Assyria. Only a few of each style/type are illustrated in the attached Table 4.1 at the end of this chapter.

The full-blooming, eight-petalled lotus flower perceived in Egypt might also have been the eight-petal Venus star rosette in Sumer and Akkad as they look alike. This eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette has been found in Assyria:

Lotus-like rosettes were encountered (Figs. 4.9; 4.10; 4.13; 4.14; 4.16; 4.22; 4.27; 4.35; 4.39; 4.41; 4.42; 4.43; 4.44; 4.45; 4.47; 4.55; 4.59; 4.61; 4.62; 4.63; 4.64; 4.65; 4.69; 4.75; 4.79; 4.81; 4.85; 4.86; 4.88 and 4.94).

Daisy-like rosettes were encountered (Figs. 4.4; 4.19; 4.20; 4.21; 4.29; 4.32; 4.43; 4.44; 4.50; 4.51; 4.53; 4.54; 4.56; 4.58; 4.60; 4.66; 4.75; 4.77 and 4.82).

Five obovate petalled rosette, resembling petals not touching each other, was displayed (Figs. 4.37; 4.40; 4.89; 4.90 and 4.91).

No three dimensional rosettes occur on the rosettes of Assyria.

Four broad-banded concentric (sunflower) type of rosette was encountered in Assyria (Figs. 4.33; 4.34; 4.73 and 4.84).

No lines inside a circle type of rosette, as seen in Egyptian painted ceilings and tombs, were found in Assyria.

Star-like rosettes have been encountered in/on Assyrian artefacts (Figs. 4.25; 4.26; 4.30; 4.38; 4.77; 4.87 and 4.92).

Combined flowers on top of each other were encountered (Figs. 4.15; 4.16; 4.34; 4.73 and 4.74).

One palmette-like rosette was displayed in Figure 4.52.

A new name has been created by me as I could not decide if a rosette was lotus-like or daisy-like, thus I am calling it daisy/lotus-like. Only three of these indecisive rosettes have occurred (Figs. 4.68; 4.72 and 4.93).

Different materials have been used in Assyria to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium are illustrated in the attached Table 4.2 at the end of this chapter. Gold, copper, ivory, glass, stone and paint are the different materials that were mostly used to produce rosettes in this region, although I am sure these are not the only mediums that the Assyrians worked with. Faience, baked and glazed tiles have survived to entice us. No silver rosettes have been found; I would like to emphasize that they may exist, but I have not encountered them during this research. Sumer and Akkad did deliver silver artefacts whereas Egypt also displayed no silver rosettes.

Table 4.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol. Table 4.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes. Table 4.5 is an elementary chart of the main divinities with their main characteristics. Table 4.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different rosettes found in Assyria. Table 4.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in Assyria. The three artefacts also disagree with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

Table 4.1 Examples of six different types of rosettes found in Assyrian art













Lotus/Venus 8 petals	 <p>Figure 4.42</p>	 <p>Figure 4.55</p>	 <p>Figure 4.69</p>	 <p>Figure 4.81</p>
Daisy many petals	 <p>Figure 4.50</p>	 <p>Figure 4.53</p>	 <p>Figure 4.93</p>	 <p>Figure 4.82</p>
Broad banded concentric / sun flower	 <p>Figure 4.33</p>	 <p>Figure 4.34</p>	 <p>Figure 4.73</p>	 <p>Figure 4.84</p>
Obovate petals	 <p>Figure 4.37</p>	 <p>Figure 4.40</p>	 <p>Figure 4.89</p>	 <p>Figure 4.91</p>
Star-like with many petals	 <p>Figure 4.25</p>	 <p>Figure 4.77</p>	 <p>Figure 4.87</p>	 <p>Figure 4.92</p>
Combined - on top of each other	 <p>Figure 4.16</p>	 <p>Figure 4.34</p>	 <p>Fig. 4.73</p>	 <p>Fig. 4.74</p>

Table 4.2 Rosettes created from different materials in Assyrian art

























Gold	 Figure 4.21	 Figure 4.72	 Figure 4.86	 Figure 4.88
Silver	–	–	–	–
Bronze	 Figure 4.4	 Figure 4.73	–	–
Ivory	 Figure 4.42	 Figure 4.74	 Figure 4.81	 Figure 4.93
Stone	 Figure 4.53	 Figure 4.54	 Figure 4.55	 Figure 4.77
Paint	 Figure 4.33	 Figure 4.34	 Figure 4.36	–
Baked and glazed faience	 Figure 4.35	 Figure 4.37	 Figure 4.69	
Glass	 Figure 4.89	 Figure 4.90	 Figure 4.91	 Figure 4.92

Table 4.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer		x	x				x
Assyria		x	x	x		x	x
Babylonia							
Anatolia							
Persia							

Table 4.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer	Utu	Inanna
Assyria	Shamash	Ishtar
Babylonia		
Anatolia		
Persia		

Table 4.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creative	Resurrection	Herding	War
Ra	x	X	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna	x	X	x	x					x	x
Utu	x	X	x		x	x	x	x		
Ishtar	x	X	x	x					x	x
Shamash	x	X	x		x		x	x		
Shamash										
Adad										
Marduk										
Arinna										
Kumbab a										
Ahura M										
Anahita										
Mithra										

Table 4.6 The number of different rosettes encountered in Chapter Four

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer	13	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	5
Assyria	30	19	4	0	5	5	7	3	0	0
Babilonia										
Anatolia										
Persian										

Table 4.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Assyria

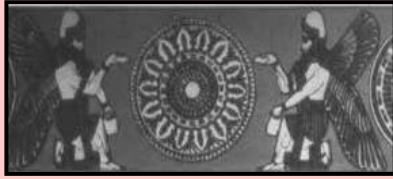


Fig. 4.33 Winged spiritual beings venerating the rosette symbol in a wall painting of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad



Fig. 4.41 King Shalmaneser III bringing an offering to the Assyrian divinities, probably Ashur, Ishtar and Shamash



Fig. 4.93 Ivory plaque with rosette and part of a sphinx paw venerating the rosette symbol

CHAPTER FIVE

ROSETTES IN BABYLONIA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The early first millennium BC was the time when a great number of Levantine territorial states and urban polities developed their own visual language with peculiar regional vocabularies while functioning as essential intermediaries and transmitters of central iconography from one central area to another (Uehlinger 2000:xviii). The situation is complex, since not only was the area multi-centred, but also the political situation was extremely fluid (Uehlinger 2000: xviii). Babylonian history is divided into different periods: the Old Babylonian Period (1800-1590 BC), the Kassite Period (1590-1100 BC) and the Neo-Babylonian Period (628-539 BC) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:196).

After the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Babylon eventually emerged as the seat of an Amorite Dynasty. This was the First Dynasty of Babylon (1894-1595 BC) (Fig. 5.1). The sixth king of this line, Hammurabi (1792-1750 BC), is well-known for his collection of 282 laws (Wood 1999:91).

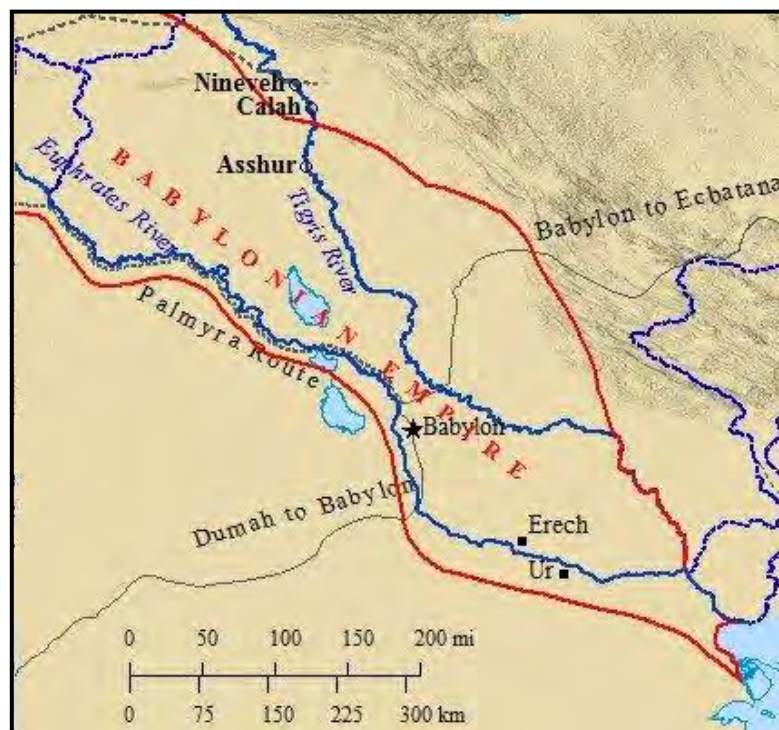


Fig. 5.1 Map of the Babylonian Empire.²³⁵

²³⁵ <http://www.israel-a-history-of.com/map-of-ancient-mesopotamia.html#His>

After Hammurabi, the economic basis of the Babylonian Kingdom seems to have collapsed. Babylonia's final collapse came in 1595 BC when a totally unexpected raid from the Hittites from central Turkey befell them. They swept down the Euphrates, overthrew Babylon and disappeared as suddenly as they had arrived, carrying off with them the city-god of Babylon, Marduk (Collon 1995:102, 104).

It was the Medes, allied with the Babylonians (Chaldeans), who, in 614 BC and then again in 612 BC, swept through Assyria, destroying its cities and bringing that great empire to its knees (Eybers 1978:17).

It was the Persian king Cyrus the Great who captured Babylon in 539 BC, bringing the Neo-Babylonian Empire, whose greatest king had been Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BC), to an end (Collon 1995:177). The use of material culture as symbols of power provides archaeologists with access to the strategic patterns involved in the creation, maintenance and collapse of power among cultural groups (Clarke et al 1985:4).

The cultures of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods which followed at the start of the second millennium BC showed a break with the cultural and religious traditions of those of the Sumerians and Akkadians (cf. 3.3; 3.3.2). Although there was a break in these traditions, the rosette and star images still played a major role in Old Babylonian Periods (Ornan 2005a:151). The Babylonians followed the Sumerian and Akkadian civilizations, as they did not form part of the Sumerian and Akkadian Dynasties. The goddess Inanna from Sumer and Akkad became known as Ishtar in Babylon and was still highly revered (Cotterell & Storm 2006:288). The Ishtar Gate in Babylon is a good example of her importance in the city (see Fig. 5.31).

Craffert (1998:351) states that in addition to descriptions of artefacts and evidence, new archaeological research should focus on the interpretation and explanation of the cultural processes. He also emphasises that instead of mere data collection, the research project should be designed to answer specific questions (Renfrew & Bahn 1991:35). Data should be interpreted in terms of the total cultural system in which it appeared (Binford 1962:224; Craffert 1998:351). This is what I have attempted to do in this chapter, whilst reminding myself that I perceive the rosette motif to act as a means of non-verbal communication.

In this chapter, I will try to enlighten and demonstrate the existence of several rosette artefacts in the Babylonian civilization. Divinity and their temples will be scrutinized for images of rosettes

as well as the Babylonian royalty and their palaces. A few extra rosette artefacts fall under the heading – 'General'. In doing so, I might possibly find the meaning of the rosette symbol and a characteristic to suit the symbol. The possible origin or inspiration and significance of the rosette symbol in the Babylonian civilization will be investigated. Could the daisy-flower have played such a role in the Babylonian Empire?

An *iconographic approach* will be followed and the Panofsky (1939:14-15) model will be applied (cf. 1.7.1) on the 32 illustrations of rosettes. Material is collected, examined and interpreted. Finally, the aim of the 'iconological interpretation' is to reveal deeper meanings, which will be concluded in the summary (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6) (cf. 1.7.1).

Art was not a field in which the Babylonians excelled though cylinder seals are one of the commonest and best-known forms of Babylonian art (Wiseman 1973:186-187).

There are three theories concerning the rosette symbol. Julian Reade suggests that the rosette symbol was a symbol for *protection* and *good luck* (1991:32). Cheryl Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are also of opinion that the rosette symbol was a symbol for *protection*. Irene Winter has suggested that the rosette was a symbol representing the daisy flower (*ayāru*) and symbolized *fertility* (1976:46). Inspired by the 'daisy theory' of Irene Winter, I have decided to start an investigation into the daisy as a possible inspiration for the rosette symbol in Babylonia.

5.2 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL AND THE DAISY FAMILY

5.2.1 The daisy flower as potential inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Albenda (2005:84) argues that the antique rosette flower (daisy) of the ancient Near East is called (*ayāru*) and is a common theme in the Mesopotamian art forms. The rosette symbol or a similar daisy pattern is plentiful in Babylonia as will be encountered throughout this chapter. Winter is of the opinion that the rosette in Babylon is equal to the daisy flower (Winter 2009:241).

Plants growing close to the ground with ray-like petals (called basal leaves or rosettes) are the hardiest plants in the world. These kinds of plants survive the most difficult circumstances which would destroy normal plants and they are not affected by the weather (Winter 1976a:46; Palmer 1960:36-45). The most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to *multiply rapidly*. They reproduce and regenerate fast even under difficult circumstances. According to Winter the

daisy symbolizes that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a goddess associated with *fertility* (1976a:46).

In addition to resembling a rosette, the daisy flower also resembles a star. The Venus star was a symbol of Inanna/Ishtar and a daisy flower also has an appearance like a star (cf. 3.7) (Fig. 5.2). A daisy flower has multiple petals centred round a yellow inner core or inner circle. The petals can be round ended or sharp ended. The round-ended petals resemble a daisy-like rosette and the sharp-ended daisies resemble a star-like rosette. In nature daisies come in different bright colours, but in the ancient Near Eastern iconography it seems as if they were mostly white (cf. Figs. 2.36; 2.37; 2.38; 2.39; 2.40; 5.29; 5.30; 5.31; 5.32; 5.33; and 5.35).



Fig. 5.2 A variety of daisies showing rosette- and star-like designs.²³⁶

The opening and closing of the daisy petals according to the settings and strength of the sun remind me of the opening and closing of the lotus flower mainly in Egypt (cf. 2.1.1), although they are literally worlds apart, the one being a water plant and growing in muddy waters and the other, flowering in dry and difficult conditions, but both were reacting to *the sun*.

Ishtar played an important role as goddess of love (fertility) and war (protection against enemies) in Babylon (see 5.3.2). There is a possibility that the multiplication of the daisy plant, resembling a rosette-type (see Table 5.1), was a good symbol for a *fertility goddess* such as Ishtar (Winter 1976a:46). It was very important for the people to multiply as the mortality rate was high, but fruitfulness and fertility were even more important for their animals and crops as this was their food supply.

5.3 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

Although the Babylonians introduced new deities, they also adopted many Sumerian deities, changing their names into their own Semitic language. An became Anu, Enki became Ea, Enlil

²³⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asteraceae>

became Ellil, Utu became Shamash, Nannar became Sin and Inanna became Ishtar (Lewis 2002:209). According to Lewis with Ishtar the symbols of Inanna came to Babylonia, namely the rosette and the star. The adoption of the Sumerian pantheon was hardly surprising since the Babylonians inherited the religious institutions of Sumer. The Babylonian myths also reveal a growing consciousness of national identity and ideology as exemplified by the rise of Marduk, the deity who created both the earth and the human race (Lewis 2002:209).

In spite of material attesting to anthropomorphic representation of deities (cf. 5.3; 5.4; 5.6; 5.7 and 5.8), inanimate objects, animals, composite creatures, stylised natural phenomena and floral motifs were used to signify divine entities in Mesopotamian imagery from Old Babylonian times (Ornan 2005a:42). These were shown as objects either carried by a deity or shown in his or her immediate proximity, and their main purpose was to serve as an identifying attribute (Ornan 2005a:42). At other times, objects associated with divinities were shown without the deity in question and hence served as symbols standing for their signified entity (cf. Figs. 5.24-5.27) (Ornan 2005a:42). The three Babylonian periods differ in their showing and avoiding of anthropomorphic art.

During Old Babylonian times divine emblems *occasionally replace anthropomorphic* statues, as the latter were perceived to be most holy and could not always be in attendance when a divine presence was needed, as is attested in late periods, when oaths were sometimes sworn in front of symbols in lieu of divine statues (Lambert 1990:123-124; Ornan 2005a:42).

As indicated by Seidl (1989:195) the human-form portrayal of the divine was pushed aside by other means of symbolic representation in Middle Babylonian monumental art. The tendency to avoid divine anthropomorphic portrayals was apparent through all media of Middle Babylonian iconography, and was not restricted to monumental art (Ornan 2005a:51).

Anthropomorphic representations of deities are *absent* from *Neo-Babylonian* art, thus *symbol worship is considered a Middle and Neo-Babylonian characteristic* (Ornan 2005a:109). The various deities were mostly personifications of parts or aspects of nature. The moon, the sun and Venus were represented and worshipped as Sin, Shamash and Ishtar. The storm god Adad was well known in Babylonia, but no major city professed him as patron (Wiseman 1973:184).

Marduk (5.2.1), Ishtar (5.2.2), Shamash (5.2.3) and Adad (5.2.4) will briefly be discussed with a few rosette images accompanying them. I will try to enhance and illuminate the rosette symbol and possibly the meaning and origin or inspiration for this symbol in Babylonia.

5.3.1 Marduk

Marduk was the patron deity of Babylon and was associated with the planet Jupiter (Von Soden 1996:180). Marduk was a *healing god* and was associated with *magic* and *wisdom* (Leick 1998:116). In his healing capacity Marduk only had to look upon a sufferer in order for him to be healed (Scurlock & Anderson 2005:118; Golding 2013:98). In a Babylonian incantation in *Utukki Limnuti Tablet B* he is referred to as 'Marduk, *magician of heaven and earth*' (Thompson 1976:133; Golding 2013:97).

He is most known through the *Enūma Eliš* and the role he played in defeating Tiamat and her brood of monsters. This text which consists of almost 900 lines on seven tablets, *Enūma Eliš* (When on high), takes its title, according to ancient Near Eastern custom, from the opening words (Knapp 1988:153). It was recited regularly on the fourth day of the New Year Festival in Esagila, the temple of Marduk in Babylon (Beyerlin 1978:80).

Marduk was also praised as the saviour of the gods and creation, the bestowal of seed and *fertility*, the sustainer of *justice* and the punisher of evil, the *regulator of life* and the *creator of permanence*. He was supreme, *shepherd and lord of all the gods* (Larue 1975:39). Marduk was the Biblical Merodach (Jeremiah 50:2) and is mentioned three times in the Hebrew prophets under this name: Isaiah 46:1, Jeremiah 50:2 and 51:44 (Wiseman 1973:185). Marduk later became known as Bel 'Lord' (Von Soden 1996:182).

5.3.1.1 Iconographic description of Marduk with rosettes on a seal

The only representation of Marduk that I could find is Figure 5.3. It is a depiction of a seal imprint of Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon. Of importance is that four daisy-like rosettes are depicted with the deity. Each rosette has many petals (more or less twenty) and resembles a daisy-like rosette (cf. Fig. 5.2). Four more obovate rosettes are also depicted in the scene with eight petals each, not touching each other, and it seems as if they have stems. Water is poured from vessels held in both hands of the standing Marduk. Cuneiform script accompanies the seal on both sides of Marduk.²³⁷

²³⁷ The flowing water poured from the god Marduk resembles the parable of the living water in the Bible, John 4:10.



Fig. 5.3 Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon.²³⁸

5.3.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of Marduk with rosettes on a seal

The four daisy-like rosettes might possibly have indicated the *fertility* aspect of Marduk, as the daisy was seen as a good symbol for fertility because of its ability to multiply quickly under difficult circumstances and Marduk was known as the bestowal of *seed* and *fertility*. The most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to *multiply rapidly* (cf. 5.2.1). They reproduce and regenerate fast even under difficult circumstances. The daisy symbolises that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a god or goddess associated with *fertility* (Winter 1976:46).

On the other hand the four daisy-like rosettes might have suggested Marduk's *protection* as rescuer of the gods and creation which suits best according to his role as saviour. It might be that the different type of rosettes on this seal indicated to Marduk's *divine fertility* and *divine protective* aspects. Marduk might possibly assign the characteristic of *divine protection* to the daisy-like rosette, by him being a divine protector.

The four flower-like rosettes with *eight petals* each with their stems in Figure 5.3 might possibly indicate Ishtar's rosettes, as the number *eight* was her sacred number and rosettes were one of her symbols; this in turn is possibly her association with the Venus star (cf. 3.2). This could also have indicated to *fertility* as this was one of Ishtar's main characteristics and thus enhance the idea of fertility through the use of *double images of fertility*.

5.3.2 Shamash the sun god

The two main centres of sun-worship in Babylonia were Sippar and Larsa (modern Senkerah). At both places the chief sanctuary bore the name *E-babbara* 'the shining house,' a direct allusion to the brilliancy of the sun god. The temple at Sippar was the most famous, but temples to Shamash

²³⁸ <http://www.mesopotamiangods.com/marduk-ra-overview/>

were erected in all large centres, such as Babylon, Ur, Mari, Nippur and Nineveh (British Museum).²³⁹

Shamash was a very important sun god in Babylonia, known to the Sumerians as Utu (cf. 3.3.3). The attributes most commonly associated with Shamash are *justice* and *divination* (Cotterell & Storm 2006:318). 'Shamash is the mighty judge of heaven and earth' (Pritchard 1969:179).

The name Shamash simply means 'sun'.²⁴⁰ Just as the sun disperses darkness, so Shamash brings wrong and injustice to light. In his daily course across the heavens, he dispelled all darkness and could see all the works of man. By being the one from whom no secrets are hid, he was god of justice (Cotterell & Storm 2006:318). Shamash is portrayed on the *stele of Hammurabi* as symbolically handing over the just laws to the king, Hammurabi. The oldest Hebrew code, the *Book of the Covenant* (Exodus 21-23), has some close parallels with the Laws of Hammurabi and the earliest Mesopotamian laws (Wiseman 1973:192).

A few artefacts displaying Shamash will be discussed. A cylinder seal with Shamash (5.3.2.1a) and Shamash with the rod, ring and the sun (5.3.2.1b) will also be discussed. The next artefact is Shamas on the *tablet of Shamash* (5.3.2.1c) and two cylinder seals depicting the seated sun god Shamash will follow (5.3.2.1.d and 5.3.2.1e) and lastly the description of the stela of king Nabonidus (5.3.2.1f).

5.3.2.1 *Iconographic description of the depictions of Shamash on artefacts*

a) Cylinder seal and impression of Shamash

According to the Louvre Museum the limestone cylinder seal in Figure 5.4 & Add II, D5 depicts the worship of Shamash. There are two rosette-like symbols in this cylinder seal. The larger obovate rosette-like symbol has twelve points and the petals/rays are not touching each other, but are in obovate manner, meaning that they are thinner at the base than at the ends. The petals/rays come together at a raised tiny circle in the middle of the symbol. Together with Shamash there is also a goat, possibly jumping over the sun, a sickle moon and a smaller rosette-like symbol.

²³⁹ <https://www.ebay.com/itm/British-Museum-Neo-Babylonian-Akkadian-Tablets-Cuneiform-Shamash-Temple-Sippar-/382198364271>

²⁴⁰ <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/shamash>



Fig. 5.4 Cylinder seal and impression of Shamash.
(The Louvre Museum, AO 9132)²⁴¹

Here follow a few verses from an Akkadian prayer to Shamash:

Šamaš, illuminator of the entire heaven, who lightens the darkness, shepherd in upper and lower regions... your beams like a net covers the earth, you brighten the gloom of the farthest away mountains... All beings seek out your splendour, you brighten the universe like an immense fire... (Bottéro 1992:209-210).

All the hymns and prayers of the different divinities reflect the same admiration, respect and fear of a certain transcendence (Bottéro 1992:210).

b) Shamash with the rod, ring and the sun

As the god of justice, Shamash is commonly represented with the rod and ring, symbolically denoting straightness and completeness, or right and justice (Fig. 5.5) (Saggs 1962:318). The rod and ring are merely in association with Shamash's judging capacity although he had many more attributes. In Figure 5.5 Shamash is on his throne with a sun at the top of the image. The sun has sixteen points or rays and has a rosette-like image, almost resembling the daisy-like rosette. In Mesopotamian art the more important persons are depicted larger than the others. The gods are depicted taller than the kings, who, in turn, tower over their subjects (Spycket 1995:45).

²⁴¹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010169825>



Fig. 5.5 Shamash with the rod and ring and sun above (circa 2000 BC).²⁴²

c) The rosette on the tablet of Shamash

According to Ornan the *tablet of Shamash* (Fig. 5.6 & Add II, D6) is found in Sippar in ancient Babylonia; it dates from the 9th century BC and shows the sun god Shamash on the throne, in front of the Babylonian king Nabu-apla-iddina (888-855 BC) with two interceding deities. The text tells how the king made a new cultic statue for the god and gave privileges to his temple. The new cultic image was put in the temple after a period of about two hundred years, during which the image was substituted by a divine sun emblem (Ornan 2005a:63-64; Frankfort 1996:202; Mettinger 1995:48; Walker & Dick 1999:58-63). The wavy lines inside the circle are typical of the Babylonian sun, but in a way the sun image also resembles a rosette (cf. Figures 5.25 and 5.27).



Fig. 5.6 Relief image on the tablet of Shamash.
(The British Museum, 91000)²⁴³

²⁴² <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/300967187569880516/>

²⁴³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1881-0428-34-a

d) A cylinder seal depicting the seated sun god Shamash

According to the British Museum in London, Shamash is depicted with a rosette and a Kassite cross on two cylinder seals (see Figs. 5.7-5.8). The first seal is a streaked pink-orange carnelian cylinder seal housed in the British Museum. In front of the seated sun god Shamash is a Kassite cross and a daisy-like rosette with many petals. It is from the Kassite Period (1400-1350 BC).



Fig. 5.7 Streaked pink-orange carnelian cylinder seal depicting the seated sun-god Shamash (Porada & Collon 2016:198).

The name of the owner of the seal in Figure 5.7 is Ša-ilimma-damqa; he is probably the father of Kidin-Marduk, who was an official of King Burnaburiash II (Porada & Collon 2016:57). Both seals (Figures 5.7 and 5.8) are considered by Matthews (1990:981) as belonging to a classic series of First Kassite seals.

e) A chalcedony matrix cylinder seal

In Figure 5.8 a Kassite cross and a daisy-like rosette with many petals again appear on the seal together with a seated Shamash.



Fig. 5.8 Brecciated dark red jasper and white-grey chalcedony matrix cylinder seal.
(Porada & Collon 2016:198)

f) The Harran Stela of king Nabonidus (555-539 BC)

In Figures 5.9 and 5.10 & Add II, D7, King Nabonidus is holding his standard under an arch with three divine symbols above his head. The sun symbol with six 'rays' appears very much like a rosette rather than the traditional Babylonian sun disc (see Figures 5.6 and 5.12). It might possibly not have been the sun symbol, but rather the Venus star, although the Venus star normally has eight pointed 'rays.' The sun symbol (or Venus) is shown with the moon god and the winged disc, which could have symbolized the sky god.



Fig. 5.9 Stela of king Nabonidus.
Fig. 5.10 Enlargement of the stela.
(The British Museum, 90837)²⁴⁴

5.3.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of Shamash and rosette-like symbols*

There is no doubt that Shamash was a very important deity in the ancient Near East. It is my guess that the smaller rosette-like symbol in Figure 5.4 was for Ishtar and the moon indicated Sin, the moon god. The sun (the larger rosette-like symbol), the moon and the Venus star are regularly placed together on artefacts to represent the three major deities in Babylon (see Figs.

²⁴⁴ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1825-0503-99

5.25 and 5.27). The goat might possibly have indicated *fertility* and the lifegiving force of the sun. Shamash was also known as the shepherd in upper and lower regions; as the verse in a prayer to Shamash suggests (5.3.2.1a), it might possibly be this shepherding which the goat indicated to.

This wingless sun symbol in Figure 5.6 differs from the daisy-like rosette also found in Babylonia. According to Seidl the Babylonian emblem symbolising the sun deity was the *nip̄hu* or *šamšatum*, the traditional wingless disk decorated with four groups of wavy lines (Seidl 1971:485). 'Developed in the Ur III Period, the sun emblem is well attested in the imagery of the Old Babylonian Period and on Middle Babylonian *kudurrus*' (Collon 1986:48; Ornan 2005b:217).

It might possibly be that the sun symbol of Shamash was indicated or replaced by the daisy-like rosette symbol during the Neo-Babylonian era. This is probably the reason for the daisy-like rosettes appearing on the cylinder seals in Figures 5.7 and 5.8. According to Goodison (1989:72) the presence of the moon in close proximity to the *rosette* motif in images (Fig. 5.9-5.10) makes the identification of the rosette motif as *the sun* hard to contest. Their simultaneous appearances in representations may be a means of reinforcing the cosmic aspects of the scene portrayed (Hart 2014:132). Cashford (2003:172), states that both solar and lunar modes of consciousness were commonly brought together in symbolism and myths.

It might possibly also have been an indication of the *divinity* of the god as the sun was seen as holy, and if the daisy-like rosette did indeed replace the Babylonian *sun symbol*, *the rosette symbol* might probably have indicated the *divinity* of Shamash. The sun is also the sustainer of life so *divine fertility* would suit the rosette symbol. On the other hand the sun is chasing away the darkness (and evil) and brings back order which brings *divine protection* also equally into consideration. In case it is indeed the daisy-like rosette symbolizing the sun god Shamash, it is a good symbol for the sun, as the daisy flower opens and closes with the rising and setting of the sun. The daisy plant is also known to be fertile as it can grow and multiply under difficult circumstances (cf. 5.2.1) and could thus have been the inspiration or origin for the daisy-like rosette, symbolizing the sun.

5.3.3 Adad

Adad also known as Hadad was the weather god in Babylonia, and his manifestations were lightning and thunder (Saggs 1962:320). He rose to prominence under the Amorite Dynasty of Hammurabi. The bull and the lightning bolt functioned as symbols of the storm god most probably in the absence of his anthropomorphic representation. The two symbols are either depicted among other symbols, or appear as the main focus of worship (Ornan 2005a:43). The Babylonian pantheon, numbering into thousands, was an interesting blend of deities that were basically related to natural phenomena (Arnold 1994:71).

5.3.3.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on a lapis lazuli seal depicting Adad*

In Figure 5.11 rosette-like patterns occur on Adad's robe. According to the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin this lapis lazuli seal is from the 9th century BC. Adad is depicted with a robe that has three circles with symbols inside the circles that might possibly represent the natural elements like the sun, Venus and possibly other stars. The circle in the middle has an eight -star-like rosette and is of interest, as similar rosettes have been encountered in Figures 5.27 and 5.38. This eight-pointed star-like rosette most probably symbolizes Ishtar and her Venus star (cf. 3.3.2; 5.3.4 and 5.6.1). I do not recognize the other two symbols in the circles, but would make an educated guess that they were also astral symbols.

Kings sent emissaries off to acquire the stone, lapis lazuli, in foreign trade missions, and hoarded the raw material within their palaces; deities received votive gifts and booty of lapis lazuli, consisting of items of personal adornment and cult objects, while their temples are described as decorated with lapis lazuli or shining like lapis (Winter 2009:291-292). Lapis lazuli is also mentioned in Mesopotamian myths and hymns as a material worthy of kings and gods to be worked locally into beads, cylinder seals, or inlays (Information-Penn Museum).²⁴⁵ These references amply attest to the high value accorded lapis lazuli, which is further supported by those economic texts that record specific equivalents of lapis lazuli in silver (Winter 2009:291-292). According to Westenholz one block of lapis lazuli was said to be worth 13 shekels of silver (Westenholz 1975:16; Winter 2009:292).

²⁴⁵ <https://www.penn.museum/sites/iraqi>



Fig. 5.11 Lapis lazuli seal of the god Adad of Babylonia.
(Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin)²⁴⁶

5.3.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the seal depicting Adad*

The symbol in the middle resembles a star-like rosette with eight 'rays' which might possibly be the Venus star of Inanna/Ishtar. The storm god was usually connected to the fertility goddess and the seal might possibly be a symbol of Adad connected to the other astral bodies, especially Ishtar in her fertile aspects, bringing rain so that the fields can be fertile and produce crops.

5.3.4 **Ishtar**

5.3.4.1 *Iconographic description of Ishtar on two seal images*

In Figure 5.12 the sun symbol with the Babylonian traditional wingless disk decorated with four groups of wavy lines is depicted (cf. Fig. 5.6). In Figure 5.13 Ishtar is wearing an eight-pointed star on her crown.

Ishtar was the lion goddess *par excellence* in Mesopotamia. She is frequently depicted with lions (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13), with the latter serving as her mount or as her subdued animal, or even both. She is often depicted with one foot raised on the beast's neck (Ornan 2005a:36). She is also depicted as the goddess in her warlike aspect; she is heavily armed, with scimitar, bow, and quiver (Strawn 2009:59).

²⁴⁶ <http://www.hubert-herald.nl/Thunderbolt.htm>



Fig. 5.12 Ishtar with her lion on a cylinder seal imprint.²⁴⁷

Fig. 5.13 Ishtar standing on top of her lion.²⁴⁸

More images and information concerning Ishtar is to be found under 5.6.1 where the Ishtar Gate and Procession Street are discussed.

5.3.4.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of Ishtar on two seal images

The sun symbol with the Babylonian traditional wingless disk decorated with four groups of wavy lines could possibly indicate to her twin brother Shamash the sun god (cf. 5.3.2). In Figure 5.13 the eight-pointed star on Ishtar's *polos* (crown) could possibly indicate her connection with the Venus star (cf. 3.2). The Venus star is a timeless symbol that has appeared as an independent symbol on a wide array of artefacts since the fourth millennium BC (Ornan 2005a:151). According to Baring & Cashford (1991:199) the Babylonians were fascinated by the stars. *Eight* was the *number sacred* to the morning and evening star, addressed as the 'radiant Star' (Baring & Cashford 1991:199).

5.3.5 The garments of the gods and goddesses

The gods of Mesopotamia had an *aura*, named *melammu*, around them and this was demonstrated by light and stars (Cornelius 2009:25). The images (statues) of the gods and goddesses were clad and they were portrayed as shiny (Postgate 1992:118). As the perception of colour is based on a common human neurophysiological structure, social and cultural attitudes towards colours are considered universal; sparkle and brilliance are particularly thought of as sharing cross-cultural effects (Jones & McGregor 2002:14; Winter 2002:17). Such properties can be transmitted by a variety of materials, including polished stones (Winter 2002:18), but are most fully manifested by the precious metals gold, silver and electrum (Ornan 2018:445).

²⁴⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inanna#/media/File:Seal_of_Inanna,_2350-2150_BCE.jpg

²⁴⁸ <https://gnosticwarrior.com/the-descent-of-ishtar-into-hades.html>

The three Babylonian periods differ in their showing and avoiding of anthropomorphic art. During Old Babylonian times divine emblems *occasionally replaced anthropomorphic* statues, as the latter were perceived to be most holy and could not always be in attendance when a divine presence was needed, as is attested in late periods, when oaths were sometimes sworn in front of symbols in lieu of divine statues (Lambert 1990:123-124; Ornan 2005:42).

The Old Babylonian gods and goddesses were depicted in human form and were clad in the most expensive material that was economically viable for that community (Postgate 1992:118). In due time different costumes and outfits, jewellery and other paraphernalia was gathered and kept in storerooms. Inventories are found stating the enormous amount of paraphernalia that was stored. A list found at a small Babylonian temple of Ishtar at Lagaba shows exactly the amount of goods that were kept there (Postgate 1992:118). These texts of the inventories show that the golden ornaments, which included rosettes, could be taken off or sewn on as desired. The taking off of these golden ornaments were for cleaning, polishing or restoration purposes (Postgate 1992:118). The golden ornaments could have little holes for the stitching on, or they had little loops at the back, just like modern buttons.

5.3.5.1 *Iconographic description of an applique depicting a rosette as well as two golden stars*

a) A Babylonian gold rosette applique

The golden rosette applique in Figure 5.14 has two holes for stitching on purposes and a 'not to clear eight petal obovate-like rosettes' is done in repoussé style.



Fig. 5.14 Babylonian gold rosette applique.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ <http://www.hixenbaugh.net/gallery/detail.cfm?itemnum=5757>

b) Two golden stars

The golden stars of Figure 5.15 are housed in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. The diameter is 2.4 cm. The date is unknown but early first millennium (Price 2008:37). Each star has eight points.



Fig. 5.15 Golden stars as it was used on garments in Babylon.
(Price 2008:37 Photo credit: Peter Lanyi)

5.3.5.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the applique depicting a rosette and two golden stars*

The eight points of the stars might possibly indicate that it was the *Venus star of Inanna/Ishtar* that was symbolized by these stars and then again all her good qualities as goddess would be included in the symbol (cf. 3.7). Ishtar was a *fertility goddess* and alone or jointly with a male god, she *controlled a number of elements*, both *natural and cultural*, that were important to Babylonian society, among them, storms and rains, the harvest storehouse, love and warfare (Jacobson 1976:135-139).

Inanna also *conferred the right of sovereignty* on Mesopotamian monarchs (Stuckey 2001:94-95; Frymer-Kensky 1992:27). Kingship was one of her gifts (Wolkstein & Kramer 1983:16). A few ancient texts refer to certain kings as Inanna's 'sons' but the references may rather be examples of the use by ancient peoples of kinship terms to describe close relationships between deities, or between deities and humans, especially royal ones (Coogan 1978:56).

There is a possibility that the golden artefacts depicted in Figures 5.14 and 5.15 could have been present on the gods' and goddesses' outfits and could have implied their *aura*, also called *melammu*. The stars in Figure 5.15 might possibly have helped with the aura of Inanna/Ishtar as she was known to use stars as a symbol (cf. 3.2.1.3) and this might have 'imparted the impression of glory and splendour' (Postgate 1992:124).

5.3.6 The glowing and shining of the god's brilliance (the *melammu*)

The images of the gods and goddesses used to be robed in clothes and ornamentation. When the gods, goddesses and divine persons are illustrated on seals and other art, the real golden ornaments that they wore in real life cannot be seen, therefore the golden objects are illustrated with symbols or designs such as triangles, stars, squares and *rosettes* indicating and signifying amongst other things the *melammu* or brilliance. The gods and goddesses were clothed in garments on which various golden symbols were pinned and sewn on (Oppenheim 1949:174). The glowing and shining *melammu* (brilliance of the divinity) is illustrated with these golden ornaments. The glowing and shining of these golden ornaments would have imparted the impression of glory, brilliance and splendour. In the text (*Nbn*, 591:2-3) translated by Strassmaier, Nabonidus stated that gold was given to the goldsmith: 'for the repair of the *rosettes* and *tensia* from the *pisannu* garment of the Lady of Sippar' (translation in Oppenheim 1949:174). According to Dougherty (*GCCI*, II, 69:1-9), a statement of Nabopolassar reads: '700+x *rosettes* of gold, *tensia* of gold, their weight- including the garment- is 23 minas, which are (to be) mounted upon (the garment of the image of) Nana, 172 *rosettes* of gold and *tensia* of gold in addition, 1½ minas is their weight, were taken down for cleaning purposes' (translation in Oppenheim 1949:174).

Except for the golden *aiaru* (rosette), *niphu* (disk), and *tensia* (square?), the Neo-Babylonian text *BIN*, *Ii*, 125:1-7 (Nebuchadnezzar II, 32nd year), also indicates that there were more symbols used for this purpose. An example: '18 ¾ shekels of gold, 61 golden *stars*, which are damaged from the *kusitu* garment of the 'Lady of Uruk' are at the disposal of N. and A., the goldsmiths, for repair work on the golden stars' (Oppenheim 1949:176).

The use of golden ornaments on garments in Mesopotamia is well documented in Babylonia during the seventh century BC. The individual weight of a golden sheet is light, ⅓ - ½ shekel apiece. The general impression of such a garment would have been very shiny and would have imparted the impression of glory and splendour (Postgate 1992:124).

The gods or goddesses and his/her following left the temple and went to the countryside to take part in the agricultural rituals associated with fertility (Postgate 1992:124). These feasts are called *akítum* and they were associated with the New Year ceremonies at Babylon. At the time of the third millennium, the feasts were held at different places and at different times (Postgate 1992:124; Von Soden 1996:191).

The gods and goddesses also visited each other and special garments were used for these excursions. It was mostly the gods from the southern parts of Mesopotamia which visited the gods from Nippur and Eridu (Postgate 1992:124). These visits had mostly to do with celebrations, and festivities played a huge part of the yearly calendar (Postgate 1992:124). Oppenheim (1949:180) mentions that *Nalbas samê* is the name of one of the garments which was worn during a ceremony and it means garment of the sky or sky-garment. This was the custom in Babylonia and only happened in connection with the gods and goddesses, but in Assyria, it also happened in the royal household as well (Oppenheim 1949:180). I suggest that the garment could possibly have been decorated with golden *rosettes and golden stars* to enhance the *melammu*

According to Oppenheim (1943:34), the idea of glowing, sparkling and shining are implicated when *melammu* is used, but the words *namriru* and *šalummatu* both meaning 'radiance', or 'awe-inspiring glory', are synonymous with the word *melammu* (1943:33).

According to Winter (2009:293) it is apparently the combination of light-plus-sheen yielding a kind of lustrousness that is seen as particularly positive and auspicious, so that persons and things that are divine, ritually pure, joyous or beautiful are generally described in terms of light (Winter 2009:293). Light has always been considered the sign of divine epiphany, a concept that in Mesopotamia was conveyed by the word *melammu*, the nimbus or halo of light surrounding the gods (Winter 1994:123). I am of opinion that this halo of light could possibly have been evoked by *golden rosettes and golden stars*.

According to Oppenheim *melammu* denotes a characteristic attribute of the gods consisting of a dazzling aureole or nimbus which surrounds the divinity (1943:31). This radiance is shared by everything endowed with divine power or sanctified by divine presence: the divine weapons and symbols of the gods as well as their sanctuaries and temples have such a *melammu* (Oppenheim 1943:31). I am again of opinion that this aureole or nimbus was portrayed by golden rosettes and golden stars.

5.4 TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES

5.4.1 Ziggurats and divine statues

Although no free-standing sculptures of Babylonian deities have come down to us (Seidl 2000:106), this by no means implies that anthropomorphic cult images did not exist or were not worshipped in Babylonian temples and sanctuaries (Ornan 2005a:60), as is clearly deduced from textual evidence, such as the 'mouth-washing' or 'mouth-opening' rituals (*mīs pī* and *pīt pī*), carried out for the induction of the Mesopotamian cult statue where divine human-shaped images were indeed used in Babylonian worship (2005a:60).

Man had to build earthly dwellings for his gods, magnificent, monumental, stepped structures called ziggurats (Postgate 1992a:110). The ziggurat's main external feature was the huge staircase that led up the facade to the top level, where shrines to the gods were housed. The visual impact of these man-made mountains, rearing as much as 500 feet (150 m) above ground level, was increased by the flatness of the surrounding plains (Woolf 2005:81). The Ziggurat of Marduk in Babylon lies 90 kilometres south of modern-day Baghdad in Iraq.

A large Babylonian town had a number of temples, although only one deity was acknowledged as patron of the place. Each temple would have within it facilities for the worship of various gods and goddesses in addition to the one whose temple it was. The various deities were mostly personifications of parts or aspects of nature. The moon, the sun, and Venus had their deities: Sin, Shamash and Ishtar (Lambert 1973:184).

The main room in a temple or sacred building usually contained a godly statue (cult image), which in turn was publicly worshipped. As a rule, divinities in Mesopotamia and in other areas of the ancient Near East were perceived to be of human form, notwithstanding the fact that their physical dimensions and other characteristics were considered to be larger and superior to that of humans (Boehmer 1957:71; Jacobsen 1989:126; Lambert 1990:122-123; Black & Green 1992:93; Bottéro 2001:58-59).

The god's statue had to be fed two to four times daily, a clean bed was to be prepared and perfumed, and music and dancing were performed to please the god or goddess (Olivová 1977:49).

The covering of divine statues with precious metal such as gold, silver and electrum, was common in the ancient Near East, where the resulting shine and sparkle was considered a sign of

superior workmanship befitting divine images. Precious metal was also applied to architectural components of temples, special buildings and opulent sacred objects, as well as images of kings (Winter 2002:13). In Akkadian *uhhuzu* refers to the coating of objects, including statues, with precious material (Tawil 2009:12). According to Scarre & Fagan (2016:214) the shrine of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, contained a golden statue of the god of six meters (20 feet) tall (cf. 5.2.1).

In the Babylonian version of the mouth-opening ritual, once the mouth has been opened, the image of the god may be offered food to eat (Smith 1925:53-54). As the statue cannot actually eat the food, I suppose it is just supplied on a plate as they still do in Buddhism today.

There is a plea directed to the image itself not to stay in heaven, but to 'enter the form (statue)...' (Smith 1925:56-57). The plea was given to the image to let the spirit not stay in heaven, but enter the image.

A king of Larsa says about a godly statue: 'having entered the temple, may it be a living thing in the temple' (Frayne 1990a:195).

The image of the Babylonian deity Marduk was expected to play an active role at the New Year's festival, held at the spring equinox (Philip 2004:70). This festival celebrated the victory of Marduk over the dragon Tiamat, and allowed Marduk once more to fulfil his role in ordering the universe, by setting the destinies of the stars and planets for another year (Philip 2004:70).

'The numinosity of a temple interior is caused not only by visual perception but involves a whole number of senses, for example by the smell of burning incense or acoustic signals' (Kovacs 1989:102). 'Moreover, the acts of worship that took place in its context included acts of ritual performance, which brought together the revered, temple staff and the public' (Von Hesberg 2015:320).

'Mesopotamian religion was the product of communal reactions towards the same sacred in the darkness of prehistory. The inhabitants of the country had been able to derive religion from the viewpoint, the sensibility, and the mentality peculiar to their traditional culture. Their religion only adapted their native habits of thinking, feeling, and living to the supernatural' (Bottéro 1992:203).

'Representations of divine anthropomorphic images became rare when turning to first-millennium Babylonian glyptic evidence. The inclination to refrain from human-shaped divinities continued into the Late Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods, where devotion before divine symbols (possibly also the rosette symbol) became the dominant theme' (Ornan 2005a:70). 'The lack of three-dimensional statues depicting deities in First-Millennium Babylon accord well with the rare portrayals of divinities in two-dimensional representations, both in monumental and miniature art, and demonstrates that the paucity of such renderings is not an accident of survival' (Ornan 2005a:71).

'The nature of the archaeological evidence suggests that although anthropomorphic divine statues were indeed kept in shrines (Lambert 1990:122), temples and sanctuaries, following the custom of ancient Mesopotamian worship, there was some undercurrent reluctance in First-Millennium Babylon to render the divine in human form when shown outside the context of a temple' (Ornan 2005a:72). 'Divine anthropomorphic representation was articulated mainly on objects that belonged to the sacred area or were used as temple paraphernalia' (Seidl 2000:108-109). 'When, conversely, anthropomorphic-perceived divinities were articulated on artefacts that did not relate to the temple locality, their human-shaped articulation was usually eliminated and replaced with a non-anthropomorphic symbol in which case it could be a number of symbols as there were many gods and goddesses' (Ornan 2005a:72). The rosette symbol would probably have been one of these replacement symbols, possibly for Ishtar, as the rosette was one of her symbols. On the other hand, it might possibly have been a replacement symbol for the sun god Shamash or even Marduk, as the rosette symbol also occurred with these gods (cf. 5.3.1 and 5.3.2).

'One may only speculate that it was the sacredness and splendour of the divine figures that motivated the avoidance of rendering them in visual form outside the temple' (Ornan 2005a:178).

5.5 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

5.5.1 *Kudurrus* depicting rosettes on the king's attire

One of the many duties of the king was granting land. This act was documented on a stone stele and possibly the best-known Kassite artefacts, the *kudurrus*. *Kudurrus*, sometimes referred to as boundary markers, were actually land-grant documents used by kings to reward their favoured servants (Knapp 1988:157). It has been suggested by Seidl (1989:76, 91) that they were monuments providing assurance of a type of permanent entitlement to be inherited by succeeding generations. These monuments were set up in temples to record royal land grants (Spycket 1995:47). The full force of the Mesopotamian pantheon was utilized both to witness and

guarantee the land grant by carving the symbols and the sacred animals associated with the deities, on the *kudurru* (Knapp 1988:157). Each *kudurru* is unique; a good deal of variation exists in the number and choice of deities which appear. They are plentiful from the twelfth century BC onwards and continue into the next millennium (Collon 1995:120; Knapp 1988:157).

5.5.1.1 Iconographic description of kudurrus depicting the king's attire with rosettes

a) A *Kudurru* with King Marduk-nadin-ahhe (circa 1099-1082 BC)

Figure 5.16 & Add II, D8 displays rosettes and feathers at the top of the crown of the king. The crown is also called *polos*. In the enlargement it seems as if these rosettes could possibly match the daisy-like rosettes with many petals encountered in Babylonia. This *kudurru* is currently housed in the British Museum. Marduk-nadin-ahhe (circa 1099-1082 BC) was the sixth king of the Second Dynasty of Isin and the 4th Dynasty of Babylon.



Fig. 5.16 *Kudurru* of King Marduk-nadin-ahhe (circa 1099-1082 BC).
(The Walters Art Museum, 21.10)²⁵⁰

It is quite common to find rosettes on the king's attire as depicted on the iconography of ancient Babylonia (see Table 5.2 at the end of this chapter). This is in accordance with the royalty of other civilizations in the ancient Near East.

²⁵⁰ <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/23851/boundary-stone/>



Fig. 5.17 *Kudurru* from north Babylon.²⁵¹
 Fig. 5.18 Enlargement of the *polos*.

b) A *Kudurru* from north Babylon

In Figures 5.17 (and enlarged in 5.18) the document records a royal land grant. The recipient (in Fig. 5.17) is shown on the right, facing the king. The king is sitting on his throne. At the top are symbols of various gods. Notice the three rosettes on the *polos* (crown) of the king (circa 875-850 BC). In the enlargement it again seems that the rosettes resemble the many-petal, daisy-like rosettes encountered in Babylonia.

c) A Stone *kudurru* with Nabu-Mukin-Apli, king of Babylonia

According to the British Museum in London, the document in Figure 5.19 records the history of an estate which passed from one family to another through marriage but then a dispute over the land follows. The king is identified as Nabu-Mukin-Apli, king of Babylonia (circa 954 BC). The *kudurru* is from Sippar. Note the rosettes on the seam of the garment (Fig. 5.20), on the belt and possibly on the *polos*, though faded (Fig. 5.21). The best example of these rosettes is found on the belt of the king. The rosettes on the belt and the garment resemble the same daisy-like rosettes as the previous *kudurrus* in Figures 5.16-5.18.

²⁵¹ https://www.google.com/search?q=Babylonian+kudurru&client=firefox-b-d&sxsrf=ALeKk00iUQTza25-MMpO6jRUpuYVEAISuQ:1602794755306&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=UQEKeRKwDb9FdM%252CgcEzaTz8DiWBcM%252C_&vet=1&usg=AI4_-kTzmW14IpcNY-7TUISvT9B6kTnmWQ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiTtqbgu7fsAhUKJ8AKHZQgCTYQ9QF6BAgCEGc&biw=1278&bih=725#imgrc=2uhhhtFjwRtM



Fig. 5.19 A Stone *kudurru*.



Fig. 5.20 Enlargement of the seam.

Fig. 5.21 Enlargement of belt.
(The British Museum, 90835)²⁵²

d) A limestone *kudurru*, of King Marduk-nadin-akhkhe (circa 1099-1082 BC)
 Figures 5.22 & Add II, D3 (and enlarged 5.23) is a black limestone *kudurru*, of King Marduk-nadin-akhkhe (circa 1099-1082 BC) holding a bow and two arrows. He wears a feather-topped Babylonian crown, decorated with daisy-like rosettes on the front of the crown, and his belt also displays a row of tiny daisy-like rosettes. There is also a row of tiny daisy-like rosettes across his chest. His garment, with pleats at the back and straps across the chest, remained the Babylonian royal dress for centuries and was adopted at Carchemish (Collon 1995:123). This *kudurru* is currently housed in the British Museum in London.

²⁵² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1882-0522-1799



Fig. 5.22 Marduk-nadin-ahhe on a *kudurru*.
 Fig. 5.23 Enlargement of *polos* and belt.
 (The British Museum, 90841)²⁵³

5.5.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of kudurrus depicting the king's attire with rosettes

As Knapp said: 'The full force of the Mesopotamian pantheon was utilized both to witness and guarantee the land grant by carving the symbols and the sacred animals associated with the deities, on the *kudurru*' (1988:157). Therefore it is difficult to suit the rosette symbol to only one god/goddess, although Ishtar was an important goddess in Babylonia and I would suggest that the rosettes on the kings' attire symbolized her as the rosette was one of her symbols.

The rosettes on the kings' attire including the crowns (*polos*) could possibly have indicated that Ishtar was *protecting* them as this was one of her main characteristics and therefore *divine protection*. *Divine fertility* can also be symbolized by these rosettes as the kings and their nations would need offspring, and this was another main characteristic of Ishtar. On the other hand, the rosettes were a known symbol with *royalty* and the king might possibly have worn the rosette symbol to indicate his *divine kingship*.

²⁵³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1863-0826-1

5.5.2 *Kudurrus depicting rosettes together with other divine symbols*

Symbolic divine representations are the main subject of the decorations of the *kudurrus*, the Babylonian boundary stones, more correctly called *narûs* (Pizzimenti 2014:153).

5.5.2.1 *Iconographic description of divine symbols on the kudurrus*

a) The three most important symbols in Babylonia

The top of the *kudurru* in Figures 5.24 & Add II, D1 (and enlarged 5.25) shows the eight-point, rosette-like Venus star (Ishtar; cf. 3.3.2), the moon (Sin) and the sun (Shamash; cf. 5.3.2) together with other godly symbols which are placed underneath the three most important symbols in Babylonia. The Venus star on the *kudurrus* in Figures 5.25 and 5.27 both display eight rays. 'Eight was the number sacred to the morning and evening star, addressed as the radiant Star' (Baring & Cashford 1991:199). Watching the dance of Venus (3.2.1.1) brings the possibility of *Venus being the inspiration for the rosette* symbol into consideration as well as the *dance of Venus creates a pentagon shape star* (see Fig. 3.4). The rosette and star designs, which were created by the Venus star, might possibly be the reason for the rosettes and stars being depicted with the goddesses Inanna and Ishtar (cf. 3.3.2) (Figs. 3.7-3.10 and 3.13-3.14), indicating all her qualities as divine goddess (cf. 3.3.2). The artefact is currently housed in the British Museum, number 102485.



Fig. 5.24 *Kudurru*

Fig. 5.25 Enlargement of *kudurrus*.
(The British Museum, 102485).²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1907-1014-1

b) A grant deed by Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BC)

In Sippar, Babylonia the land-grant deeds by King Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BC) done on *Kudurru* stones again depict the godly symbols, the star, the moon and the sun together with a variety of other godly symbols (Figs. 5.26-5.27 & Add II, D2). The representation that imitates the real positions of the moon, sun and Venus changes over time into a hierarchy of the divine family, where the moon (Sin) is the father and the sun (Shamash) and the planet Venus (Ishtar) are his twins. Ashurnasirpal I (1050-1032 BC) dedicated a psalm to Ishtar, with the epithet of 'daughter of Sin, twin sister of Shamash' (Foster 2005:327). This portrays the notion that Inanna (Venus) was the twin sister of Utu (the sun) in the Sumerian and Akkadian pantheon.

It seems as if these three symbols representing the Venus star, the moon and the sun were the most important symbols as they appear regularly at the top of the *kudurrus* (Pizzimenti 2014:153).



Fig. 5.26 Grant deed by Nebuchadnezzar I (1125-1104 BC).

Fig. 5.27 Enlargement of symbols.
(The British Museum, 90858)²⁵⁵

Sin was the Babylonian moon god, whose symbol, the crescent moon, is depicted on the carved stone above (Fig. 5.26). The god was held in supreme regard in Mesopotamia. His chief cult centres were at Ur and Haran (Cotterell & Storm 2006:319). The last king of Babylon, Nabonidus, in a consciously traditional gesture made his daughter priestess of the moon god at Ur (Postgate 1992:130). The Venus star symbol and the sun symbol are included with the moon symbol in this *kudurru*. See the explanation of these symbols above in the previous paragraph. The artefact is housed in the British Museum, number 90858.

²⁵⁵ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1882-0522-1800

5.5.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of divine symbols on the kudurrus*

The eight-pointed Venus star, the symbol of Inanna/Ishtar, is extremely important in Sumeria (cf. 3.2.4), but still has a prominent place in the Babylonian pantheon. The Venus star of Ishtar is a candidate for the rosette symbol and the role it played in Babylon and on the *kudurrus*. It might have been her divine presence that was needed as a witness to the contract the kudurru represented.

The sun symbol is very important in Babylon, as it is the symbol of the sun god Shamash (see Figs. 5.4-5.8; cf. 5.2.3.2) (Wiseman 1973:184). The attributes most commonly associated with Shamash are *justice* and *divination* (Cotterell & Storm 2006:318). 'Shamash is the mighty judge of heaven and earth' (Pritchard 1969:179), and in his capacity as *judge* could have been represented on the contracts of the *kudurrus*.

5.6 PALACE BUILDINGS

5.6.1 The Ishtar Gate

Figure 5.28 depicts an original 1925 photogravure of the bas-relief aurochs on the Ishtar Gate.



Fig. 5.28 An original 1925 photogravure of the bas-relief aurochs on the Ishtar Gate.²⁵⁶

5.6.1.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on the Ishtar Gate*

Glazed brick decoration was used in Babylonia and huge panels have been restored in Berlin (Collon 1995:133). Walls with rosette designs on glazed tiles are found on the Ishtar Gate in Babylon and in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II (Fig. 5.29). These rosettes on the Ishtar Gate certainly confirm that the rosette symbol was one of the goddess's symbols. The Ishtar Gate is

²⁵⁶ https://66.media.tumblr.com/tumblr_m0ueajiPB81q15d2uo1_500.jpg

one of the eight gates of the inner city of Babylon built during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, 575 BC (Collon 1995:133).

The north entrance to the official quarters of the inner city was the Ishtar Gate, a towering regal confection of blue glazed bricks with *mušhušhu* (dragons) and lions, symbols of Marduk and Ishtar (Bourke 2008:219). The Ishtar Gate in the Babylonian walls has white daisy-like rosettes at the top as well as the bottom and they even surround the arch. Daisy-like rosettes with many petals appear on glazed bricks on the walls of the city and along the Processional Way (Figs. 5.29-5.31; 5.33-5.34).



Fig. 5.29 Ishtar Gate of Babylon.
(Berlin State Museum)²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ <https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/pergamonmuseum/home/> also refer to <https://www.chaldeannews.com/features-1/2020/8/27/from-babylon-to-berlin>

5.6.1.2. *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the Ishtar Gate depicting rosettes*

The rosettes on the Ishtar Gate might possibly have indicated her *divine presence*, or her fertility aspect, or most probably her *divine protection* towards the inhabitants. The gate was called *Ištar-sakipat-tebiša* – Ishtar who *decimates her enemies* (Ornan 2005a:113) (see Ishtar Gate and Babylon: Virtually reunited in 3D).

Taking the name of the gate into consideration I feel that her *divine protection* plays a huge role in this instance and might possibly indicate that it was her main attribute connected to the rosette symbol, although *divine fertility* is also still a major contender for the most important characteristic of Ishtar when she is symbolized by the rosette.

5.6.2 The Processional Way

5.6.2.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes depicted on the Processional Way*

Past the gate lay the Processional Way which was one kilometre long and led to a massive ziggurat and Esagila temple complex (Bourke 2008:219).

a) The rosettes bordering the bulls on the walls

White daisy-like rosettes, with sixteen petals and a bright yellow core each, form a border for the pacing lions and bulls on the glazed walls of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon, which was constructed in circa 575 BC by order of King Nebuchadnezzar II (Figs. 5.30-5.31). These walls are housed in the Berlin State Museum in Germany.



Fig. 5.30 Striding bull.²⁵⁸
(Berlin State Museum)

²⁵⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ishtar_Gate#/media/File:Close-up_of_Ishtar_Gate_tiles,_Pergamon_Museum_3.jpg



Fig. 5.31 Striding lions.
D4. Striding lion (The Met Museum number 31.13.1)

b) The rosettes bordering the lions on the walls

The Processional Way leading to the Ishtar Gate depicted 120 lions with white rosettes bordering the lions at the top and the bottom (Fig. 5.31) (Strawn 2009:60). The connection between Ishtar and the lion is general knowledge (Cornelius 2009:23; 28) and the 120 lions leave no doubt about the importance of this attribute of the goddess. These white daisy-like rosettes with sixteen petals each also have bright yellow centres. These rosettes resemble white daisy flowers.

c) The daisy-like rosettes on the Babylonian walls

In Figures 5.32-5.33 rosette-like 'daisies' (cf. 5.2 and Fig. 5.2) in close-up formation are depicted on the ancient Babylonian walls, and they almost resemble the white tiled daisies of Egypt (cf. Figs. 2.36-2.40).



Fig. 5.32 Rosette-like flower on glazed tiles of ancient Babylon.²⁵⁹
Fig. 5.33 Three rosette-like flowers.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ <https://archeopolis.blogspot.com/2015/10/ishtar-gate-and-processional-way-from.html>
²⁶⁰ <https://archeopolis.blogspot.com/2015/10/ishtar-gate-and-processional-way-from.html>

5.6.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes depicted on the Processional Way*

The rosettes might possibly indicate *divine protection* and *divine fertility* to the people passing through the Processional Way, especially the royal family on their way to a massive ziggurat and the Esagila temple complex. On the other hand, it might possibly enhance the fact that these animals (both the lion and the bull) were seen as *divine symbols* to the gods and goddesses in Mesopotamia. Ishtar is frequently seen standing on her lion and thus the rosette border and these animals might possibly have been part of a *religious scene*. The bull and its divinity have already been discussed (cf. 2.5.3.2).

According to Bernbeck & Pollock the key to the power of this motif in Mesopotamia lies in the phenomenon of repetition. If one of the primary characteristics of the fourth millennium was an 'unprecedented focus on duration' (2002:189-190), then repeating bands of plants and animals (and rosettes), especially in a frieze (Figs. 5.228; 5.30; 5.31; 5.33 and 5.35), represent precisely that which endures and is not subject to temporal variability. Therefore, the rosettes on the Processional Way could represent the durability of the daisy-like rosette, which in turn could imply the *divine presence of Ishtar's fertility* and *divine protection*. According to Winter the most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to *multiply rapidly*. They reproduce and regenerate fast even under difficult circumstances. The daisy symbolises that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a goddess associated with *fertility* (Winter 1976:46). In Figure 5.34 an old photo from 1917 depicts the work of the German archaeologist Robert Koldewey at the archaeology site of Babylon.



Fig. 5.34 Photo of archaeological work at Babylon.²⁶¹

²⁶¹ <https://www.orient-gesellschaft.de/forschungen/projekt.php?a=50>

5.6.3 Glazed wall tiles depicting warriors

5.6.3.1 Iconographic description of wall tiles depicting warriors and rosettes

Figure 5.35 is a panel of glazed wall tiles from Babylon, depicting three warriors. The warriors are bordered with tiny, many-petalled, white, daisy-like rosettes at the top as well as the bottom, together with other designs. These rosettes are similar to the daisy-like rosettes bordering the bulls and lions on the Processional Way (see 5.30 and 5.31).



Fig. 5.35 Three warrior panel of glazed bricks.
(Pergamon Museum, Berlin)²⁶²

The enlarged warrior in Figure 5.36 has white rosettes with yellow cores inside light blue circles on his yellow attire. These star-like rosettes resemble the other star-like rosettes in Figures 5.11; 5.25 and 5.42.

²⁶² <https://fineartamerica.com/featured/three-warriors-on-ancient-wall-from-babylon-patricia-hofmeester.html>



Fig. 5.36 Enlargement of the rosettes on the attire of a warrior.²⁶³

5.6.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of wall tiles depicting warriors and rosettes*

It was pre-supposed that warriors were appropriately dressed and equipped with armour and weaponry, such paraphernalia being an integral part of the warriors' status (Alphas & Zachariou-Kaila 2015:158; Vandkilde 2015:611). Warfare, and to a similar extent hunting, are forms of organised violence and were perceived as aspects of civilized behaviour (Bahrani 2008:9-10). The fact that the warrior in Figure 5.38 is clothed with rosettes might possibly indicate his *connection with the royalty* as it has been established that the rosette symbol was indeed also a royal symbol (Ussishkin 1982:115; Frankfort 1948:224-226).

As we have encountered in Chapter Three, Ishtar was symbolized with one of her symbols, the rosette, on various artefacts (cf. 3.2.4); therefore it will be befitting for her to have rosettes on her Ishtar Gate and on the processional walls accompanying the gate into the inner city.

The white rosettes as a border might possibly indicate Ishtar's *protection* (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473; Stronach 1993:19) as they were one of Ishtar's symbols. *Fertility* might come into play as well, as Bernbeck & Pollock (2002:189-190) suggest that the key to the power of this motif in Mesopotamia lies in the phenomenon of repetition. One of the main characteristics of Ishtar was *fertility*.

²⁶³ <https://www.dreamstime.com/editorial-stock-photo-two-soldiers-bows-spears-ceramic-patterned-wall-city-babylon-berlin-germany-sept-historical-empire-septemper-image61919248>

The rosettes on the attendants' attire in Figure 5.36 was probably worn to indicate that the divine protects the warrior. In this case it would probably be Ishtar, in her *protective* role, because a rosette was one of her symbols. The rosettes might possibly also mean that the warrior was '*set apart*' for the duty of the king as rosettes have been known to be symbols used by the royal family (Ussishkin 1982:19).

The rosettes on the royal family and attendant might possibly have directed to their *divine kingship*. The *king* was often identified with the sun god because the king was an incarnate god in Babylon. Thus *divine protection*, *divine fertility* and the rosette as a *royal symbol* are possibly indicated by these glazed wall tiles in Babylon.

5.7 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

5.7.1 A bronze beaker

The British Museum is of opinion that although the beakers (see Figures 5.37-5.38) are often called *situlae* this term is better retained for a distinct group of larger bucket-shaped containers with swinging handles, whereas these beakers were probably simply used as the equivalent of drinking-goblets; the capacity of the beaker is equivalent to over four normal glasses of wine. The beaker is made of bronze (circa 10th - 9th century BC) (Information-British Museum).

5.7.1.1 *Iconographic description of a beaker depicting rosettes*

Figure 5.37 depicts a bronze beaker with five 'hanging' rosettes with eight petals each, appearing around the two upright standing goats. The bottom is decorated with one large Venus/lotus-like rosette with eight petals (Fig 5.38). These 'hanging' rosettes resemble the same kind of 'hanging' rosettes in Figures 2.48; 2.50; 2.51 and 4.60. The large rosette at the bottom of the beaker in Figure 5.38 resembles the large rosette at the bottom of the beaker in Figure 7.47.



Fig. 5.37 Babylonian bronze beaker.²⁶⁴

Fig. 5.38 Bottom of the beaker depicting a large rosette.²⁶⁵

5.7.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the beaker depicting rosettes

The large rosette at the bottom of the beaker together with the small rosettes each with eight petals, might possibly indicate that Ishtar was considered in the symbolism of this beaker, because Ishtar was associated with an eight-petal rosette. Inanna/Ishtar is also perceived with goats and rosettes in Chapter Three (see Figs. 3.15-3.18). The fact that rosettes accompany the two goats might possibly indicate *fertility*, one of the character traits of Ishtar. It might even be an indication to the Sumerian Inanna (cf. 3.3.2), which later became Ishtar, as the goddess of the herd (cf. 3.3.2). The rosettes on the beaker could possibly be a symbol for Inanna's *divine provision* and as the beaker is used for drinking, even as provision for the person drinking from the beaker.

5.7.2 Jewellery

5.7.2.1 Iconographic description of the Dilbat jewellery displaying three rosettes

These pieces (in Fig. 5.39 & Add II, D9) are from Dilbat, Babylonia (circa 18th-17th century BC). Three different types of rosettes are depicted on the pendants, displayed in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

²⁶⁴ <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/80/8a/0c/808a0c45656e20530d70aa0ea0642c87.png>

²⁶⁵ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/313633561530919681/>



Fig. 5.39 Golden necklace pendants
(Metropolitan Museum, 47.1a–h).²⁶⁶

5.7.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the Dilbat jewellery displaying three rosettes*

The two rosette pendants on the left and right side might possibly be the symbol of Ishtar as they each display eight petals and the rosette-like pendant in the middle might possibly be the symbol of Shamash, the sun god of Babylonia, because it resembles the sun image on a cylinder seal in Figure 5.6.

The rosette was a symbol for Ishtar, and the fact that there are two rosettes with eight petals each might possibly be because she was represented by a dual character, as well as the fact that Venus is the morning and evening star (cf. 3.2.4.1). The pendant with the sun symbol might possibly be a symbol for Shamash, the sun god (cf. 5.31) and possibly indicates his justice, and also the new life aspect of the sun for fertility, although the sun was also the protector against evil and this might have been the main reason for wearing amulet trinkets as jewellery. If it was worn by a female, I would suggest the amulet was worn to ask the divine for help with her fertility. These pendants might have been worn as *amulets bringing divine protection and good luck and/or divine fertility*.

²⁶⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/329227>

5.8 ADDITIONAL ARTEFACTS WITH ROSETTES

5.8.1 Moulds

5.8.1.1 Iconographic description of moulds with rosette

a) A stone mould dating to the Early Middle Bronze Period

This stone mould in Figure 5.40 is from Sippar and belonged to the Early Middle Bronze Period (circa 2250-1740 BC). The mould could have been used for casting a daisy-like rosette, squares, round seal patterns, triple-circles, doughnut shapes, female figurines, two types of pins, and amulets with suspension loops. The daisy-like rosette has a loop at the top to be worn probably as an amulet.



Fig. 5.40 Stone mould from Sippar.²⁶⁷

b) Early Bronze Age trinket moulds

Early Bronze Age trinket moulds are used for mass production of stamps, amulets and pendants (Figs. 5.41-5.42). Figure 5.41 is depicted with two circles looking like rosette-like designs although there are two rows of petals. Goats and two stylists are also found on this mould. The goats might possibly resemble the Hattian goats of Anatolia.

Figure 5.42 depicts a few different symbols, and in the right corner a star-like rosette symbol is depicted inside a circle with a loop.

²⁶⁷ <http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/british%20museum/pages/bm-sep-2007-60.htm> Also refer to Canby (1965, Plate IX)



Fig. 5.41 Early Bronze mould.

Fig. 5.42 Trinket mould.

(Canby, 1965: Plate X)

5.8.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the moulds with rosettes

In Figure 5.42 a daisy-like rosette with a loop is depicted at the bottom (middle) of the mould. This was probably a trinket to be worn as an amulet, chasing away evil, much the same as the evil eye of today. It might also have been worn for fertility or for provision. There are many personal reasons why a person would have needed an amulet, especially an amulet that symbolized a divinity (possibly Ishtar as the rosette was one of her symbols).

The two rosette-like circles in the mould in Figure 5.41 were probably for a sun image as well as very cute goats. It seems as if Figure 5.42 has a mould at the bottom right corner which could also possibly have been a sun image. Shamash was the sun god in Babylonia and it could possibly be that the sun symbols represented him. As the sun is also the sustainer of life, the *divine fertility* theory would suit the symbol well (3.3.3; 5.3.2.2). On the other hand, the sun chases away the darkness (and evil) and brings back order which brings the protector theory also equally into consideration.

Both the symbols of the *sun* and the *rosette* were highly revered in Babylonia, as the sun god Shamash, as well as Ishtar, were both worshipped here. The sun image at the bottom right hand corner in Figure 5.42 has a loop fastened to it, to be worn possibly as an amulet. This would have probably been worn for *divine protection and good luck*. Reade is of opinion that the rosette symbol in Mesopotamia was a symbol for protection and good luck (1991:32).

5.9 CONCLUSION

The research question that has been addressed in this chapter is the *illumination* of the rather unknown rosette symbol in the ancient Near East, more specifically, Babylon.

In Babylonia the rosette symbol resembles the daisy flower, both as star-like rosettes with sharp ends and as daisy-like rosettes with round ends, and therefore the daisy flower might possibly be the inspiration for the rosette symbol in this area. It is not only the resemblance of the daisy flower to the rosette, but the daisy plant can endure harsh circumstances. These kinds of plants survive the most difficult circumstances which would destroy normal plants and they are not affected by the weather (Winter 1976a:46; Palmer 1960:36-45).

The most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to *multiply rapidly*. According to Winter the daisy symbolizes that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a goddess associated with *fertility* (1976a:46). Because of the fertility aspect of Ishtar, it is possible that the daisy-like rosette symbol in Babylon also implies awakening and new life when Ishtar is implied. In comparison, the daisy-like rosette symbol of Ishtar with the description of fertility, is *similar to the lotus flower symbol with awakening and new life in Egypt* (cf. 2.2.1.3).

Furthermore, the Babylonian daisy-like rosette has the same two designs as those of Sumerian Inanna/Ishtar, the rosette and the star (see Fig. 3.5). I am of opinion that the star might possibly also imply the aura/brilliance/*melammu* of the goddess Ishtar, and the rosette symbol might possibly imply her *divine protection* towards the city of Babylon, as her rosette symbol occurs on the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way (cf. 5.6.1). The gate was called *Ištar-sakipat-tebiša* – Ishtar who *decimates her enemies* (Ornan 2005:113) and thus the many rosettes on the glazed wall tiles might have been the symbols for Ishtar's *divine protection*, as this was one of her main character traits (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473). It seems as if this *divine protection* was meant mainly for the royal family and the royal household.

This inspiration of the daisy plant and daisy flower could have led to the 'use' of the daisy-like rosettes on royal and divine equipment and buildings such as temples and palaces. During Old Babylonian times divine emblems (symbols) occasionally replaced anthropomorphic statues, as the latter were perceived to be *most holy* and could not always be in attendance when a divine presence was needed. This might possibly be the reason why the rosette symbol was sometimes represented in place of the Babylonian Ishtar. At other times, objects associated with divinities

were shown without the deity in question and hence served as symbols standing for their signified entity (Ornan 2005a:42). This might be the reason for the rosette symbol to have been a symbol for holiness as it stood in the place of the holy diety. It could thus also have meant consecrated and concepts like set apart, sacred and blessed. The rosette symbol could in turn be similar to all the good qualities of the divinity when it was iconographically displayed as a non-verbal symbol.

Symbol worship is considered a Babylonian characteristic (Ornan 2005a:109). The fact that lions and bulls were both seen as divine symbols in Mesopotamia, and they were combined with a rosette border (Figs. 5.30-5.31), might possibly indicate that the three components formed part of a divine scene. *Mušḫušḫu* (dragons) and lions, divine symbols of Marduk and Ishtar, combined with numerous rosettes on the glazed wall tiles of Babylon, possibly also imply that the rosette is seen as a *divine symbol*. The rosette, bull and lion differ as divine symbols. The lion is one of Ishtar's symbols, the bull is the Babylonian god Marduk's symbol and the bull symbol in general does usually imply fertility and the stormgod. The rosette symbol could have symbolized divinity in general or used with the bull and lion artefacts, the rosettes could have meant that they were holy creatures, set apart for the god and goddess.

In case the daisy-like rosette symbol in Babylonia was a symbol for the *sun god* Shamash, it would make sense that the symbol under discussion was a daisy, as the daisy flower opens and closes with the movement of the sun, similar to the lotus flower in Egypt (cf. 2.2.1.3).

It is not yet clear if it was Ishtar the goddess of fertility and protection, or the sun god Shamash, who inspired the rosette image in Babylonia. The sun god had the same two main characteristics as Ishtar, namely *divine protection* (against evil) and also he was the giver of new life (*fertility*). The rosette symbol in Babylonia might also have been a compilation and accumulation of the Venus star associated with Inanna from the Sumerians, the Tree of Life from the Assyrians, as well as the daisy flower from Babylonia, seeing that acculturation and diffusion took place amongst these civilizations. Trade took place between these cultures and with trade there are always traits and trends interchanging and accumulating.

The *king* was often identified with the sun god because the king was an incarnate god in Babylon. The rosette symbols on the royal items could probably have indicated the *sun* as the giver of life and it would be perfect for the royal family to wear, or use, something directing to their *divinity*. The sun is also a symbol for *divine protection* (against evil and darkness); thus the

rosettes on the royal artefacts might possibly also have indicated protection towards the king and queen and the royal household.

When the rosettes are worn as jewellery, and possibly also on their attire, an amuletic purpose should also be considered, specifically for *divine protection* against evil, but even for *divine fertility*.

According to Winter 'Babylon had many rosettes in their art, especially on the glazed wall tiles which might possibly have been inspired by Ishtar' (2009:241). Although Winter states that Babylon had plenty of rosettes, I think she meant the glazed wall tiles with many rosettes, as I found other artefacts depicting rosettes were rather scarce.

Unfortunately, Babylonia did not deliver us with a royal tomb as the Sumerians and Assyrians did, therefore jewellery is scarce and almost no vessels depicting rosettes were found to investigate.

The iconological interpretations of the rosettes encountered during this chapter on Babylon brought me to a place of not yet being convinced that the rosette symbol was merely a symbol for protection as Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473 and Stronach 1993:19 propose it to be. I am also not yet convinced that the rosette symbol was a symbol purely for fertility as Winter (2009:241; 1976a:46) suggests. I am not disagreeing with the above-mentioned scholars, but I am trying to enhance the concept of *divinity by adding consecration* to the rosette symbol. If the god/goddess was seen as holy and the rosette symbol could stand in the place of the holy god/goddess, I would suggest that the rosette symbol could thus been seen as *holy and set apart* which falls under *consecration*.

In case the rosette symbol stood for a character trait like divinity, provider, protector or any other character trait, it would not really have mattered what the origin of the symbol was, as long as it could convey the right message to that specific culture in the form of *non-verbal communication*. A picture is starting to appear of the gods and royalty making use of the rosette image on their crowns, attire, utensils as well as palace and temple walls (see Tables 1, 2 and 3 on the last pages of this thesis).

I have found four *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in or on artefacts from Babylonia. One full-blooming lotus flower (Fig. 5.38), three obovate-petal rosettes resembling petals/rays with

the narrow end at the base and the petals not touching each other (Figs. 5.4; 5.14 and 5.39), and circles with star-like rosettes (Figs. 5.11; 5.25; 5.36 and 5.42) (see Table 5.1 at the end of this chapter). However, the daisy-like rosette was found in abundance (the rest of all the rosettes found in Babylonia), so I would suggest that the *inspiration* for the rosette symbol in Babylonia was indeed the daisy (*Ayāru*) in association with the different gods.

Different materials have been used in Babylonia to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium are illustrated in the attached Table 5.2 at the end of this chapter. Gold, baked and glazed tiles, bronze and stone are the different materials that are mostly used in producing rosettes in this region, although I am sure these are not the only mediums that the Babylonians worked with. In some of the other civilizations we encounter glass and silver rosettes as well. No faience, paint, ivory, mother of pearl or glass have survived in the Babylonian artefacts that I have reflected on during my research. I would like to emphasize that they may exist, but I have not found them during this research.

Table 5.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol.

Table 5.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes.

Table 5.5 is an elementary chart of the main divinities with their main characteristics.

Table 5.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different rosettes found in Babylonia.

Table 5.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in Babylonia. The three artefacts also disagree with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

Table 5.1 Examples of different types of rosettes found in Babylonian art












Lotus	 Figure 5.38	-	-	-
Daisy	 Figure 5.3	 Figure 5.7	 Figure 5.32	 Figure 5.33
Broad banded concentric	-	-	-	-
Obovate petals	 Figure 5.4	 Figure 5.14	 Figure 5.39	-
Three dimensional	-	-	-	-
Circles with star-like rosettes	 Figure 5.11	 Figure 5.25	 Figure 5.36	 Figure 5.42

Table 5.2 Rosettes created from different materials in Babylonian art






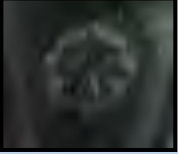









Gold	 Figure 5.14	 Figure 5.15	 Figure 5.39	 Figure 5.39
Silver/Bronze	 Figure 5.37	 Figure 5.37	 Figure 5.42	–
Faience	–	–	–	–
Ivory/Mother of pearl	–	–	–	–
Stone	 Figure 5.16	 Figure 5.18	 Figure 5.21	 Figure 5.40
Paint	–	–	–	–
Baked and glazed tiles	 Figure 5.31	 Figure 5.32	 Figure 5.33	 Figure 5.36
Glass	–	–	–	–

Table 5.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer		x	x				x
Assyria		x		x		x	x
Babylonia	x	x	x		x		x
Anatolia							
Persia							

Table 5.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer	Utu	Inanna
Assyria	Shamash	Ishtar
Babylonia	Marduk and Shamash	Ishtar
Anatolia		
Persia		

Table 5.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creative	Resurrection	Herding	War
Ra	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna	x	x	x	x					x	x
Utu	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Ishtar	x	x	x	x					x	x
shamash	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Shamash	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Adad	x		x							
Marduk	x	x	x			x	x		x	
Arinna										
Kumbab a										
Ahura M										
Anahita										
Mithra										

Table 5.6 The number of different rosettes encountered in Chapter Five

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer	13	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	5
Assyria	32	19	4	0	5	5	8	5	0	0
Babilonia	1	16	0	0	3	0	4	1	0	0
Anatolia										
Persian										

Table 5.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Babylonia



Fig. 5.33 Daisy-like rosettes found in abundance at Babylon



Fig. 5.7 Sun god Shamash depicted with a rosette



Fig. 5.3 Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon depicted with rosettes

CHAPTER SIX

ROSETTES IN ANATOLIA AND SYRO-PALESTINE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The oldest known name for the Anatolian peninsula is the 'Land of Hatti'. First mentioned in Mesopotamian written sources from the period of the Akkad Dynasty, the term continued in use until about 630 BC, as is seen from the Assyrian chronicles. Thus for at least 1500 years, Anatolia was known as the Land of Hatti (Akurgal 2001:4) (Fig. 6.1).



Fig. 6.1 Map of the Anatolian Peninsula.²⁶⁸

In this chapter, I would like to investigate available rosette artefacts in the Anatolian and Syro-Palestinian civilizations, and in doing so, maybe illuminate the meaning of the rosette.

Gods and their temples will be scrutinized for images of rosettes as will the Anatolian royalty and their palaces. A few extra rosette artefacts fall under the heading – 'General'. In doing so, I might possibly find the meaning of the rosette symbol and a characteristic to suit the symbol. The possible origin or inspiration and significance of the rosette symbol in the Anatolian and Syro-Palestine civilizations will be investigated. In this instance it might be the winged-sun disc

²⁶⁸ <https://istanbulclues.com/anatolia-map-history-facts-asia-minor/>

which may have been the inspiration of the rosette symbol in Anatolia, especially on the kings' seals.

An iconographical approach will once again be followed and Panofsky's model (cf. 1.9) will be applied (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6). This model includes an iconographical reading of (76) artefacts on three-levels: iconographical description, iconographical analyses and iconological interpretation (cf. 1.7.1).

Because Anatolia and Syro-Palestine is such an enormous area, available artefacts of a few cultures from this region, such as the Hittites, the Hurrians, the Urartians, the Halaf culture and the Alasiya culture, will be included in this chapter. Just a brief background on their history follows.

6.1.1 The Halaf culture

The Halaf culture is a prehistoric period which lasted between about 5500 BC and 5000 BC. The period is a continuous development out of the earlier Pottery Neolithic and is located primarily in south-eastern Turkey, Syria, and northern Iraq, although the Halaf-influenced material is found throughout greater Mesopotamia (Reade 1991:20). According to Reade the boundaries of the Halaf culture covers all north Mesopotamia including the upper Tigris valley in Turkey, which helps account for a Halaf presence as far north as Lake Van and Armenia (Reade 1991:20). Halaf pottery displays beautiful rosettes (cf. 6.8.4) which is the exact reason for being included in this chapter.

6.1.2 The Hurrian, also called the Kingdom of Mitanni

The Hurrian kingdom (also called the kingdom of Mitannian) (circa 1500-1360 BC), had its capital at Washshukani, somewhere near the River Khabur in Syria. The kingdom seems to have been ruled by an Indo-European aristocracy who worshipped Indo-European gods (Collon 1995:110).

6.1.3 The Hittite civilization

When the Hittites first arrived in Anatolia they were in a primitive state and because of this, they were profoundly influenced by the Hattians in religion, mythology and literature (Akurgal 2001:23).

The Hittites were perhaps the world's first historians. On numerous clay tablets recovered largely over the last century by archaeologists, they wrote down what we today recognise as history, rather than merely relating myths or the acts of the gods. Much of what we know about the Hittites, therefore, comes from the pen (or stylus) of the Hittites themselves (Bryce 2005). Hattusa was the capital of the powerful Hittite Empire until it fell around 1200 BC (Gorny 1989:79). The history of the Hittites is divided into two different periods: The Old Kingdom (circa 1595-1500 BC) and The Hittite Empire (circa 1400-1207 BC) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:87).

6.1.4 The Urartian culture

Urartu was an Iron Age kingdom centred on Lake Van in the Armenian Highlands. Assyrian inscriptions of King Shalmaneser I (circa 1271-1242 BC) first mention Uruartri as one of the states of Nairi, a loose confederation of small kingdoms and tribal states in the Armenian Highland in the 13th to 11th centuries BC, which he conquered (Akurgal 2001:274-276). Urartu re-emerged in Assyrian inscriptions in the 9th century BC as a powerful northern rival of Assyria. The Nairi states and tribes became a unified kingdom under King Aramu (circa 860-843 BC) (Akurgal 2001:274-276). The region of Urartu corresponds to the mountainous plateau between Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and the Caucasus mountains, later known as the Armenian Highlands. Different artefacts from Urartu display rosettes, such as statues of goddesses (cf. 6.3.2; 6.3.3; 6.3.4), painted murals (cf. 6.5.2) and bronze belts (cf. 6.8.2).

6.1.5 The Alasiya culture (Cyprus)

The written sources reveal that during the reign of Tudhaliyas IV (1250-1220 BC), Alasiya, modern Cyprus, was taken over by Hattusa and upon this kingdom was imposed a tribute to be paid in gold and copper (Akurgal 2001:104). To ensure that the conditions of the agreement were properly carried out a governor was appointed in addition to the king. Until the collapse of Hattusa (circa 1200 BC), the island of Cyprus remained attached to the Hittite kingdom (Akurgal 2001:104). Various artefacts from Cyprus depicting rosettes will be encountered throughout this chapter, but first I will discuss the winged disc as it may possibly be the inspiration for the rosette symbol in Anatolia.

6.2 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL AND THE WINGED SUN-DISC

6.2.1 The winged sun-disc (*Aedicula*)

The winged sun-disc has its origin in Egypt, where it has been considered a symbol of royalty, in the second millennium BC, but from there it spread to Syria (Winter 1976:4). According to Cornelius, the Egyptian winged sun spread from the Hittites to Mesopotamia and later to Persia (1990:25-43). The iconography of the winged sun disk is often associated with the protection of the king (LeMon 2010:152).

The reason for the popularity of the sun-disc may lie in the fact that the sun symbolizes order and control over the power of darkness and evil. The break of the new day and the rising of the sun therefore signify a new creation every day, the creation of a *Weltordnung* (world order and orderly conduct) forming a contrast with the night as a time of disorder, sickness, death and lurking enemies (Cornelius 1990:25-43). Like Shamash and the Egyptian winged sun disk, the winged sun disk can restore order to chaotic situations? God metes out justice (LeMon 2010:165).

According to Hart there is no doubt that the sun was represented iconographically in various forms (Hart 2014b:127).

The sun also unites the king and the sun god or sun goddess. In the same way that the pharaoh was the son of the sun god and personified order, the kings of the Hittites were personified as sons of the sun (Cornelius 1990:25-43). The winged sun disk appears in the uppermost position in numerous iconographic contexts throughout the ancient Near East as it portrays the most high (LeMon 2010:183).

Even at the outset of Egyptian history, wings were disassociated from the bird figure as a kind of hieroglyph for 'protection' (Keel 1978:192). The wings can represent the feminine-motherly aspect of the sky in its protective function (Keel 1978:192). The winged motif, which originated in Egypt, was adopted in Palestine and Syria at the close of the second millennium and the beginning of the first; the Phoenicians carried the winged motif westward throughout the Mediterranean world and eastward via north Syria to northern Mesopotamia (Keel 1978:192) and Anatolia.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ In the Bible in Psalm 91:4 the wings are wings of protection: '...and under the wings of Yaweh you will find refuge...'

Ornan (2005b:224) is of opinion that the rosette which was added to the winged symbol, is not a solar symbol and that the idea was doubtful. Although the Hittite winged disc, which was also adorned with a rosette, probably served as an inspiration for the first millennium North Syrian images, the Hittite emblem was not exclusively used for solar symbolism (Ornan 2005b:225).

Since the rosette is associated with fertility goddesses and with specific goddesses like Ishtar or Kubaba its appearance within the winged disc may hint at gender-oriented symbolism and signify a female deity (Ornan 2005b:225).

6.2.1.1 *Iconographic description of the winged sun-discs (Aedicula)*

a) Winged sun-disc with an eight-petal rosette

A basalt tomb stela from the 8th century BC (Figs. 6.2-6.3) shows the winged sun-disc with an eight-petalled lotus-like rosette symbol hovering over a princess and her attendant. What appears to be a sun-disc contains an eight-petal rosette with two highly detailed wings stretching out on either side. This artefact is from Zincirli, the capital of Sam'al, an Armenian kingdom.

According to Winter (1976a:47) this particular form of sun-disc first developed in Anatolia during the period of the Hittite Empire (1400-1200 BC). This artefact is currently housed in Das Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin.



Fig. 6.2 Winged sun-disc.
Fig. 6.3 Enlargement of the sun-disc.
(Bergamon Museum, VA 2995)²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/565342559471665089/>

b) Winged disc with a sickle moon and a rosette symbol

In Figure 6.4 the orthostat reliefs from the palace entrance from Sakcagözü (Orthmann 1971:531) depicts a tree (possibly the 'Tree of Life', cf. 4.2) between two worshippers and a prominent winged disc hovering above them. The winged disc portrays a sickle moon and a twelve-petalled lotus-like rosette symbol. It is from the second half of the eight century BC and is housed in the The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara 1807. Twelve-petalled lotus-like rosettes are encountered many times in Persia (cf. Figs. 7.8; 7.10; 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19; 7.21; 7.22; 7.24; 7.26; 7.27; 7.28; 7.29; 7.34; 7.57 and 7.60).



Fig. 6.4 Winged disc with a sickle moon and a rosette symbol.²⁷¹

c) A religious scene from Malatya-Aslantepe

There is a possibility that Figure 6.5 is a 'religious' scene from Malatya-Aslantepe, depicted on a basalt slab. It is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. Unfortunately, the relief is not well preserved, but at least the rosette in the middle of the winged disc is still noticeable although it is not possible to count how many petals there are, or even what type of rosette was created in the first place. In accordance with Hittite protocol the weather god of the sky is on the right and his seated wife Kubaba (cf. 6.3.1) is on his left (Akurgal 2001:216, Fig. 105). An additional rosette might have occurred above the existing winged rosette, but as a result of erosion it is not visible enough to be sure.

²⁷¹ <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/sakcagozu/>



Fig. 6.5 Basalt religious scene from Malatya- Aslantepe.
(Akurgal 2001:216, Fig. 105)

d) Sacred bronze plaque depicting a rosette

In Figure 6.6 a sacred tree (possibly the 'Tree of life' cf. 4.2) appears in the middle with two bull-headed spirits, carrying the winged sun while standing presumably on lions (1050 BC-850 BC) (Akurgal 2001:184, Fig. 98). It is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. An additional rosette might have occurred above the (possibly star-like) rosette inside a circle, but as a result of erosion it is not visible enough to describe.



Fig. 6.6 Sacred bronze plaque.
(Akurgal 2001:184, Fig. 98)

e) King Tudhaliyas IV with a double rosette

In Figure 6.7 King Tudhaliyas IV is depicted with a large winged sun-disc above his head. In this instance the wings are rather long and double star-like rosettes occur, one above the other. Next to the king, hieroglyphs are depicted identifying the king as King Tudhaliyas IV.



Fig. 6.7 Hieroglyphs identifying King Tudhaliyas IV.
(Akurgal 2001:105, Fig. 49)

6.2.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the Hittite winged sun-discs*

There is a possibility that the rosette symbol appearing on Hittite iconography personifies the sun goddess Arinna (see 6.3.5), and that the rosette inside the winged disc also animates the sun (Figs. 6.2-6.3). The reason for the popularity of the sun-disc may lie in the fact that the sun symbolizes order and control over the power of darkness, evil, sickness, death and lurking enemies (Cornelius 1990:25-43), thus the winged sun symbol could have symbolized *divine presence and protection*. The rosette symbol and other sun gods have been encountered (2.2.2; 3.33; 4.3.2; 5.3.2 and 7.3.3) but with the Hittites wings have been added to the sun-disc.

In Figure 6.4 a religious scene takes place. The worshippers and the 'Tree of Life' as well as the huge winged sun-disc with a rosette and a moon, all together in one 'picture,' might probably indicate that this is a religious or divine scene. The fact that the moon is placed together with the rosette in the winged sun symbol might possibly indicate that the rosette was in this instance indeed a symbol for the sun, as the sun and moon are often portrayed together, as seen in the Babylonian civilization (cf. Figs. 5.27 and 5.29).

The Babylonian goddess Ishtar (cf. 5.3.4) played a great role in the renovated Hittite religion (Akurgal 2001:101). King Hattusilis refers to himself on his royal seal as: 'favourite of Ishtar of Samuha, of the sky god of Nerikka and of the sun goddess of Arinna'. Naming the one god and the two goddesses on one seal might be significant in understanding the winged disc with the two rosettes. There is a possibility that one of the star-like rosettes on the Hittite artefacts could symbolize Ishtar, as the Venus rosette was one of her main symbols, and she was venerated in the Hittite pantheon (cf. 5.3.4). It might be the influence of Ishtar and the sun goddess of Arinna, who inspired the use of the double rosette symbol in Anatolia, and the wings might have been a

symbol for the sky god Nerikka, as the inscription of King Hattusilis's royal seal is possibly giving away a 'clue'.

My suggestion is that the use of wings together with two rosettes (see Fig. 6.7) might have been a combination of the wings of the sky god: the one rosette might be a symbol for the sun goddess Arinna, and the other rosette might be the symbol of Ishtar. The rosette symbol of Ishtar might have originated from the Venus star (cf. 3.2).

6.2.2 The lotus flower and the king

6.2.2.1 *Iconographic description of the king holding a lotus flower*

In Figure 6.8 King Kulamuwa from Zincirli is holding a lotus flower in his hand. A servant is also holding a lotus flower (Cornelius 2019:193). The height of the stele is 58.5 cm. This artefact is currently housed in the Berlin Museum in Germany.

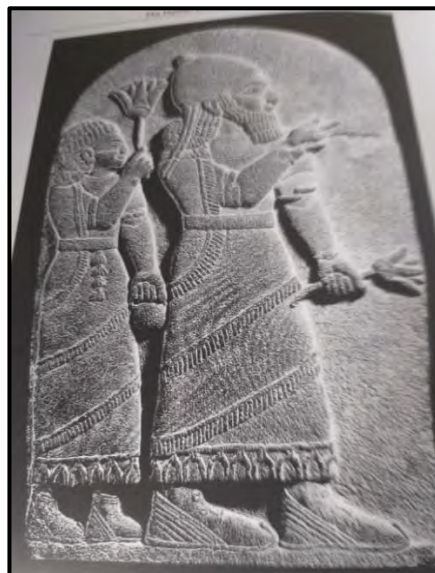


Fig. 6.8 King Kulamuwa depicted with a lotus flower.
(Akurgal 2001:224, Fig 119)

6.2.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the king holding a lotus flower*

The king holding a lotus flower has been described as a symbol of the Levantine ruler (Orthmann 1971: 292). King Kulamuwa from Zincirli is holding a lotus flower in his hand and as anything that the king holds deems that article important, this could signify that the lotus flower was very important in the ancient Hittite and Armenean civilizations and this might have led to the many rosettes depicted on the kings' seals, as the lotus might have also material and even with images of the Achaemenid ruler and crown prince from Persepolis, but these

are later, so the flower is a local element (Orthmann 1971:292). The sun is the symbol for the king (Keel 1978:28). In Figure 6.6 the lotus flower probably representing the sun (cf. 2.7.9) is carried by the king who is also represented by the sun. In a letter from Ramesses from Egypt to the Hittite king Hattusilis, he states: 'You are truly the Great King of the lands of Hatti. The Sun Goddess of Arinna and the Sky God gave you the right to sit upon the throne of your great-grandfather' (Akurgal 2001:97). This scene with a king holding a lotus flower is also encountered in Persia where King Darius I holds a lotus flower.

6.3 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

Macqueen is of opinion that religious beliefs and practices of a community can seldom be tidily arranged as a unified system. Hittite religion is a good example of this confusion (2013:109). There is a pantheon of considerable size and complexity (Macqueen 2013:110). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to try to solve this complex issue. A brief summary to serve as background to the study will suffice.

The Hittite gods were the masters, and the purpose of man was to serve god as a good servant serves his master. In return, the god, like a good master, provided protection from sickness, famine and enemy action, and punished any bad servant who had neglected his ritual duty (Macqueen 2013:115). The mother-goddess Kubaba wearing a *polos* (crown) will be inspected (6.3.1), as well as a few other gods and goddesses (6.3.2 the nameless goddess; 6.3.3 Teisheba; 6.3.4 Arubani; 6.3.5 Arinna; and 6.3.6 Adda). This is done to find a possible explanation for the use and significance of the rosette symbol in Anatolia.

6.3.1 Kubaba (Kumbaba) and the rosette symbol

The mother goddess, Kubaba, was also known in Greece as Kybele. In Upper Mesopotamia she was known as Gubaba (Cotterell & Storm 2006:293). The cult of Kubaba appears at Carchemish, at the eastern end of the Hittite Empire, on the Euphrates (Cotterell & Storm 2006:293). It seems to develop in this area, then to move westwards to Hittite Boğazköy later to Pessinus, Pergamum and Rome (Baring & Cashford 1991:395). The root of the name Kubaba may be *kube* or *kuba*, meaning a cube, which suggests the connection with the meteorite or cube-shaped stone worshipped as the goddess in Anatolia (Cotterell & Storm 2006:273). This image relates also to the cube-shaped black stone at Petra and to the other meteorite stone of the Ka'aba at Mecca, which was worshipped as an image of the goddess until the rise of Islam. Kubaba's temple has been found at Carchemish (Baring & Cashford 1991:395-396).

6.3.1.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Kubaba's polos

a) The relief of Kubaba depicted with rosettes on her *polos* (crown)

Two lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each are shown on the *polos* (crown) of the mother goddess Kubaba (Fig. 6.9).



Fig. 6.9 Stone relief of the goddess, Kubaba.²⁷²
(Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara)

b) The god of thunder and goddess Kubaba

Figures 6.10-6.11 depict the god of thunder and the goddess Kubaba with rosettes on Kubaba's *polos* (crown). The rosettes are not very visible, but it seems as if a row of eight-petal rosettes is on her *polos*.



Fig. 6.10 God of thunder and goddess Kubaba from Zincirli.²⁷³
Fig. 6.11 Enlargement of Kubaba.

In Figure 6.10 Kubaba is holding a mirror. According to Akurgal (2001:218) the mirror is described as 'the symbol of woman' in Hittite written sources. The high *polos* (crown) of the goddess Kubaba at Yazilikaya (Anatolia, modern-day Turkey) seems to have been reserved

²⁷² <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/karkamis/kargamis50.htm>

²⁷³ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/80924124534256328/>

primarily for divinities, but the queen may sometimes have worn them in her capacity as a high priestess (Macqueen 2013:100). This might possibly indicate that the *polos* had spiritual significance, indicating a goddess (possibly Arinna the sun goddess) or Ishtar as she was venerated in the Hittite civilization, and the number eight was her sacred number.

6.3.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Kubaba's polos*

The fact that Kubaba is portrayed together with the weather god (storm god) in Figure 6.10 could possibly imply that she is rendered, in this specific artefact, as the *fertility* goddess because the storm god and fertility goddess are usually shown together, because they 'work' together to ensure good crops and thus fertility. Kubaba wearing rosettes could have signified that the rosette symbol in the Hittite civilization was also seen as a *divine* symbol. Eight-petalled rosettes have been associated with her, which in turn was associated with her Venus star (cf. 3.3.2). Every *eight years*, Venus returns to almost exactly the same point where it was eight years before, and in exactly the same relationship to the sun.

6.3.2 Nameless Urartian goddess

6.3.2.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on the nameless Urartian goddess*

The ivory figure in Figures 6.12-6.13 & Add II, E3 has remains of blue inlays in the eyes of a woman wearing an elaborate *polos* (crown) with eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes. It seems as if the rosettes were surrounding the *polos* (crown) although only three are visible from the front. It is found at Toprakkale and is from the Urartian kingdom, 8th-7th centuries BC. The statue is housed in the British Museum in London.



Fig. 6.12 Presumably a fertility goddess with rosettes.

Fig. 6.13 Enlargement *polos*.of the
(The British Museum, 119447)²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴ <https://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=01532405001>

6.3.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the nameless Urartian goddess*

This nameless goddess might possibly have been associated with *divine fertility* or *divine provision* as she is holding or presenting her breasts. Because of this I would make an educated guess that this statue of a nameless goddess was also a *fertility goddess*.

6.3.3 **Teisheba the Urartian storm and war god**

6.3.3.1 *Iconographic description of the rosettes on Teisheba's attire*

According to the British Museum the Figures 6.14-6.15 & Add II, E4 depicts the figure of an Urartian storm- and war god Teisheba, with a patterned robe with tiny eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes inside squares, standing on a recumbent bull. It is a cast and incised bronze furniture fitting, originally inlaid and gilded. It belongs to late 8th century BC Urartian art and was found at Toprakkale and was excavated by Clayton and Raynolds in 1880. It is currently housed in the British Museum in London.



Fig. 6.14 The god Teisheba standing on a bull.

Fig. 6.15 Enlargement of Teisheba's dress.

(The British Museum, 91243)²⁷⁵

6.3.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on Teisheba's attire*

The storm and war god might possibly have had rosettes on his attire to symbolize *divine protection* for the people going to war, or possibly also for symbolizing *divine fertility* as the storm god (see 6.3.1.2). The weather and war god Teisheba wearing rosettes could have signified

²⁷⁵ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1880-1216-9

that the rosette symbol in the Urartian civilization was also seen as a *divine* symbol. The tiny squares with lotus-like rosettes in Figures 6.14-6.15 are similar to those in Figures 6.16-6.17.

6.3.4 Urartian goddess, Arubani

6.3.4.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Arubani's attire

Tiny eight-petal rosettes appear inside little squares on the dress of the goddess Arubani (Figs. 6.16-6.17). This corresponds with the tiny rosettes in little squares as seen on the Urartian storm and war god, Teisheba in Figure 6.14-6.15. This tiny statue of Arubani is housed in the National Museum of the History of Armenia. She was the wife of Haldi.



Fig. 6.16 Arubani.
Fig. 6.17 Enlargement of Arubani.
(History Museum of Armenia)²⁷⁶

6.3.4.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on Arubani's attire

According to the National Museum of the History of Armenia, Arubani is the Urartian's goddess of *fertility* and *art*. She was also the wife of their supreme god, Khaldi. We again encounter a *fertility* goddess with the rosette symbol associated with her. The storm and war god Teisheba had the same tiny eight-petal rosettes inside tiny squares on his attire, and both of them are from the Urartian pantheon. Arubani is the Urartian's goddess of *fertility* and art and with the weather and war god Teisheba both wearing the same type of tiny, eight petal rosettes, they could have signified that the rosette symbol in the Urartian civilization was also seen as a *divine* symbol, indicating *divine fertility*.

²⁷⁶ <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Arubani02~.jpg>

6.3.5 Arinna the Hittite sun goddess

Although I could not find a statue or any art presenting Arinna the sun goddess with a rosette, I have found a text relating to her: 'The Great King, King of Hatti, the hero, Tabarna Hattusilis, who is favoured by the sun goddess Arinna and by the sky god of (the city of) Nerik and by Ishtar of (the city of) Samuha...'

From the Hittite Old Kingdom, the sun goddess of Arinna legitimised the authority of the king, in conjunction with the weather god Tarḫunna. The land belonged to the two deities and they established the king, who would refer to the sun goddess as 'Mother' (Popko 2009:28).

6.3.7 The Syrian storm god, Adda/ Hadda/ Teshup

6.3.7.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Adda/Hadda/Teshup

The remains of a Bronze Age temple (Figs. 6.18-6.21) dedicated to the storm god Adda was discovered beneath Aleppo's Ottoman citadel. Figure 6.18 is from the inner chamber (*cella*) of the temple looking east.



Fig. 6.18 Citadel in Aleppo excavations of 2010.²⁷⁷

The storm god Adda is on the left side and the King Taita is the other figure on the right (Lawler 2009:20-25). The god Adda has a few eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes on his attire (Figs. 6.19-6.20). He was the lord of *rain* and *fertility* and associated with the Canaanite storm god Baal (Cotterell and Storm 2006:271).

²⁷⁷ <https://www.wmf.org/project/temple-storm-god-citadel-aleppo>

Through the millennia, as Syrian, Anatolian, and Mesopotamian cultures mixed and blurred at this ancient crossroads, Adda was known variously as Addu, Teshup, Tarhunta, and Hadad (Lawler 2009:20-25).



Fig. 6.19 Storm god, Adda (left) and King Taita (right).²⁷⁸



Fig. 6.20 Enlargement of Adda.²⁷⁹

6.3.7.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Adda/Hadda/Teshup

I find it interesting that it is again a storm god displaying rosettes on his attire, as he is not the first storm god with the rosette symbolism connected to him (6.3.3). It might be that the weather god Adda is depicted with rosettes as a symbol of *divine fertility*, the same as the Urartian storm and war god, Teisheba. It might possibly also have been to signify that the rosette symbol in the Anatolian and Syro-Palestine region was seen as a *divine* symbol.

²⁷⁸ <https://www.wmf.org/project/temple-storm-god-citadel-aleppo>

²⁷⁹ <https://www.wmf.org/project/temple-storm-god-citadel-aleppo>

6.4 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

Hittite kings were *not considered to be divine while living*. When a king died, however, it was said that he 'became a god.' The king was the gods' appointed regent and this at once secured great respect for the person of the king and placed upon him exacting requirements of behaviour (Hoffner 1994:139-141).

According to Frankfort the ultimate source of the rosette motif's popularity as a *royal* symbol appears to have been a common belief in the ancient Near Eastern cultures that a close relationship occurred between humans and divine authority (1948:224-226; 237).

At least six titles or standard epithets accompany the king's name in official documents: 'My sun-god; Labarna; Great King; King of the Land of Khatti; Hero; Beloved/favourite of the god (Hoffner 1995:563).

According to Albright, in Hittite iconography the *rosette motif was an incarnation of the sun god, whose symbol, the winged disc, later evolved into the winged rosette* (1940:21). According to Hart (2014b:131) regarding Near Eastern iconographic images, evidence shows that where rosette motifs are used as solar symbols, they most commonly appear incorporated into the winged sun-disc. With the Hittites it is actually not the sun god, but the sun goddess, Arinna, that is venerated, but she would probably have had the same *divine protection, divine fertility, new life and resurrectional abilities* as the other sun gods had (cf. 2.2.2; 3.3.3; 4.3.2; 5.3.2 and 7.3.3).

As the land's supreme priest, the king's person was sacred and had to be *protected* at all times from defilement. When presiding at religious ceremonies the king carried a crook (Hittite *kalmush*) and wore the robe and cap of the *sun god* (Hoffner 1994:139-141).

The Hittites adopted the *sun symbol* from the Egyptians, but gave it a new shape and made it the *principal symbol of royalty*. The sun symbol meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (Akurgal 2001:143). I suggest that this *new shape* came in the *form of a rosette*.

According to Keel, the *winged sun* may represent the Hittite *royal title 'my sun'* (Keel 1978:28). Winter is in accordance with Keel that the Hittite king was addressed as 'my sun' (Winter 1976a:5). This name '*my sun*' might possibly be the reason for the kings to use the rosette symbol on their seals, as the rosette has been identified as a symbol for the sun. This corresponds well

with the sun and rosette symbol and the royalty of Egypt (2.4), Sumer (3.5), Assyria (4.5), Babylonia (5.5) and Persia (7.5) where the rosette symbol also occurred in connection to royalty.

6.4.1 Seals of Hittite kings

Closely connected with the position of the king was that of the queen (*Tawanannas*). There are many features which suggest that this lady did not hold her title merely because she was the king's consort. She retained her position after the death of her husband and often took part in the governing of the country (Macqueen 2013:76).

6.4.1.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Hittite king seals

a) The seal of king Tudhaliya III (circa 1400-1380 BC)

The seal of King Tudhaliya III (circa 1400-1380 BC) in Figure 6.21 & Add II, E5 is stamped on a fragment of a letter sent to the king of Ugarit. Although the letter is written in cuneiform, the seal is in Hittite hieroglyphics. Notice the winged disc and double rosettes on the winged disc. The rosettes are unfortunately not properly visible, but it seems as if two star-like rosettes are inside the circles.



Fig. 6.21 The seal of King Tudhaliya III (circa 1400-1380 BC).
(The Louvre Museum, AO 21091)²⁸⁰

b) The seal impression of King Alluwamna (1510-1500 BC)

The seal impression of the Hittite king, King Alluwamna was found at Hattusa. Notice the single eight-petal, lotus-like rosette with round petals, in the middle of the seal in Figure 6.22. This lotus-like rosette resembles those in Figures 6.62; 6.67; 6.81 and 6.92.

²⁸⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010123045>

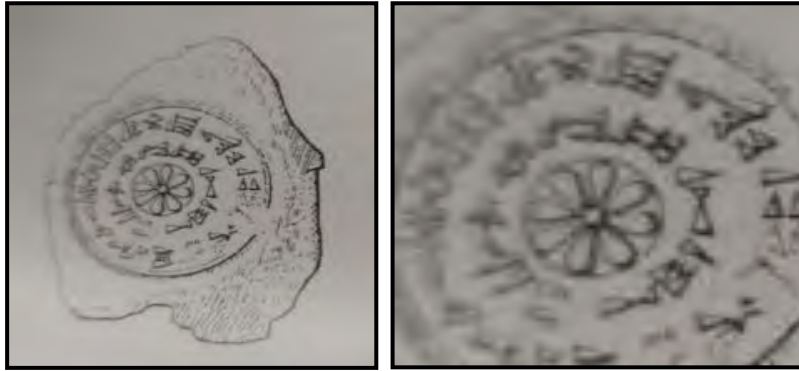


Fig. 6.22 Seal impression of King Alluwamna.
(Akurgal 2001:66, Fig. 32)

c) The seal impression of King Huzziyas II (1480-1460 BC)

In Figure 6.23 a seal from Hattusa is depicted. It is the seal impression of King Huzziyas II and this seal too has a single large six-petal, lotus-like rosette in the middle (although the lotus like-rosette usually has eight rounded petals). This six-petal, lotus-like rosette resembles the one in Figure 6.54.



Fig. 6.23 Seal impression of King Huzziyas II (1480-1460 BC).
(Akurgal 2001:66, Fig. 33)

d) The Hittite seal impression of King Zidanta I, from Hattusa

Figure 6.24 depicts a seal impression of King Zidanta I (1570-1560 BC) and it was also found at Hattusa. Notice the double rosette in the middle of the seal. The inside lotus-like rosette has eight petals and the outer lotus-like rosette has twelve petals. This double lotus-like rosette resembles those in Figures 6.26 and 6.31.



Fig. 6.24 Hittite seal impression of King Zidanta I, from Hattusa.
(Erdoğan Bakla archive)²⁸¹

e) The seal impression of King Mursilis II (1345-1315 BC)

King Mursilis II was one of the Hittite Empire's most successful kings. With his raids, his wars and his cautious administration, Mursilis II was one of the most important kings of Hittite history. Mursilis found it necessary to arrange a religious ceremony in honour of the sun goddess of the city of Arinna before each undertaking (Akurgal 2001:81). The name of the sun goddess Arinna probably came from this city also called Arinna.

Figure 6.25 is a depiction of a seal imprint of King Mursilis II which was found at Ugarit. Only a tiny knob is displayed above the winged disc, but I am including this artefact as I would like to emphasise the way the king is described. The elongated triangle signifies king and upon it the sign whose two ends are curled means great (Akurgal 2001:84).



Fig. 6.25 Seal impression of King Mursilis II.
(Erdoğan Bakla archive)²⁸²

²⁸¹ <https://www.pinterest.de/pin/4574037102503768/>

²⁸² <https://fi.pinterest.com/pin/704602304180446844/>

Mursilis is described as: 'The Great king, king of Hatti, the hero, Tabarna Hattusilis, who is favoured by the *sun goddess Arinna* and by the *sky god of Nerik* and by *Ishtar of Samuha*, the son of the son of the son of Hattusilis... king of Hatti, the hero Mursilis' (Akurgal 2001:73). Three major divinities attest to the king's sonship.

f) The Hittite seal of Tahurwali

In Figure 6.26 a Hittite seal impression is depicted on the seal of King Tahurwali. It is housed in the Anadolu Medeniyetler Museum in Ankara, Turkey. Notice the double rosette in the middle of the seal imprint. It seems as if the middle rosette resembles an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette and around this rosette follows another lotus-like rosette with possibly twelve petals. This type of double or even triple rosettes has been encountered on seals in Figures 6.24; 6.31; 6.55; 6.63 and on vessels in Figures 7.23; 7.41 and 7.43.



Fig. 6.26 Hittite seal of Tahurwali.
(Anadolu Medeniyetler Museum in Ankara, Erdinç Bakla archive)²⁸³

g) The seal impression of King Suppiluliumas and *Tawanannas*

In Figure 6.27 a seal imprint drawing depicts the King Suppiluliumas (1380-1345 BC) and *Tawanannas*. The Hittite seal is found at Ugarit. Notice the winged disc with a rather vague rosette. It is difficult to describe this tiny rosette accurately.



Fig. 6.27 Seal impression of King Suppiluliumas and *Tawanannas*.
(Erdinç Bakla archive)²⁸⁴

²⁸³ <http://pinosy.com/media/767652698953856869/>

²⁸⁴ <https://fi.pinterest.com/pin/9007267985977396/>

h) The seal impression of King Hattusilis III and Queen Puduhepa

In Figure 6.28 Hattusilis III and Queen Puduhepa are named on the seal imprint from Hattusa. Notice the winged sun-disc, called (*aedicula*) (Macqueen 2013:102). It is unfortunately also not a clear rosette to identify, permitting 'my naming' of the rosettes.

Queen Puduhepa, wife of Hattusilis III, shared much of her husband's power. She entered into a long correspondence with Rameses II, probably asking that her daughter should become Rameses's principal wife (Cornelius & Venter 2002:90). Puduhepa had been the Hurrian chief priestess of Ishtar before her marriage to Hattusilis III and some of her importance may be attributed to the fact that *Ishtar* was the *protector* of Khattushili. Queen Puduhepa was very concerned with religious matters throughout her life and it is possible that most of the Hurrian deities came into the Hittite pantheon through her (Cornelius & Venter 2002:90). Hattusilis III says of Puduhepa that, 'I took her to wife on command of the deity Ishtar, revealed through a dream' (Akurgal 2001:97).



Fig. 6.28 Seal impression of King Hattusilis III and Queen Puduhepa.
(Erdoğan Bakla archive)²⁸⁵

i) The seal impression of King Tudhaliyas IV (1250-1220 BC)

King Tudhaliyas IV was the first Hittite ruler to call himself 'King of the universe' as the Assyrians did. This royal title had begun to be used in Assyria since Adad-Niari (1297-1265 BC). It seems as if Tudhaliyas IV was obliged to imitate those kings around him who were becoming powerful and took on ambitious titles (Akurgal 2001:103). Notice again the double (possibly eight-petal, star-like) rosette on the winged disc in Figures 6.29-6.30.

Unfortunately the petals of the two rosettes are rather blurred. This seal imprint was found at Ugarit. The double rosette was also encountered in Figure 6.19.

²⁸⁵ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/341569952985265537/>



Fig. 6.29 Seal impression of King Tudhaliyas IV from Ugarit.²⁸⁶



Fig. 6.30 Enlargement of the double rosettes on the seal of King Tudhaliyas IV.²⁸⁷
(Erdoğan Bakla archive)

Members of the aristocracy were bound by oaths of loyalty to the king, and in return for their services were given grants of land. The control of the conquered territory was given at first to members of the royal family, and then with the extension of Hittite authority, increasingly to governors and military commanders drawn from the aristocratic families. These officials were expected to work with the elders of their districts and to oversee the administration of justice, the due performance of festivals and the general welfare of the people (Macqueen 2013:76-77; Akurgal 2001:87).

j) A document of a land grant

The document in Figure 6.31 is a document recording a grant of land. It is from Boğazköy, 14th-13th century BC. It is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara. Notice the eight-petal lotus-like rosette on top of a twelve-petal, lotus-like rosette in the middle of the document. This double rosette resembles those in Figures 6.24 and 6.26. This time the 'double' rosettes are not on top of each other as in Figures 6.29-6.30 but seen from the top. The rosettes in Figures 6.24; 6.26 and 6.63 also present a double rosette.

²⁸⁶ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/396387204692913487/>

²⁸⁷ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/396387204692913487/>

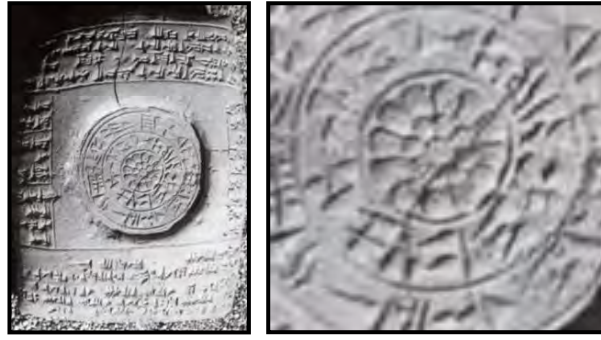


Fig. 6.31 Document of a land grant.
(Museum of Anatolian Civilizations)²⁸⁸

k) A Hittite document of King Tabarna

In Figure 6.32 a tiny, neat, eight-petal rosette is also found in the middle of the Hittite document of King Tabarna.



Fig. 6.32 Hittite document of King Tabarna.
(Erdoğan Bakla archive)²⁸⁹

6.4.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Hittite king seals

According to Ornan (2005b:229) the frequent combination of the winged disc with various emblems or images such as the crescent moon, the rosette, a storm deity or a nude goddess-image that represent major deities, implies that the winged disc sometimes signified deities other than the sun god. It may well be argued that because the winged disc representing the sun god had great 'prestige', wings were added to other symbols, such as the rosette or the crescent moon, which 'traditionally' were not depicted with wings (cf. 6.4). This addition was intended to elevate the deities represented by these other emblems and increase their status and popularity (Ornan 2005b:229). According to Akurgal the winged sun-disc could possibly have indicated the heavens (wings) also called the sky god (2001:184).

²⁸⁸ <https://muze.gov.tr/muze-detay?SectionId=AMM01&DistId=AMM>

²⁸⁹ <https://hist105fall2011.wordpress.com/2011/10/10/anatolia-in-the-bronze-age/edict-of-telipinu/>

In the Hittite pantheon the sky god together with the double rosettes might possibly have indicated a combination of the sun goddess Arinna (6.3.5), Ishtar and the sky god. Ishtar still played a huge role in the Hittite religion and as she was the protector of Khattushili, this might possibly indicate her role as *divine protector* in the bigger Anatolian region as well (cf. 3.3.2; 5.3.4).

The fusion of different symbols into one emblem may convey the formation of a supreme deity, perhaps that of the head of a pantheon, who could absorb features of many other deities, like the combination of Arinna and Ishtar (Ornan 2005b:229).

The name '*my sun*' might possibly be the reason for the kings to use the rosette symbol on their seals, as the *rosette* has been identified as a symbol for the sun (cf. 2.2.2 and 2.8).

6.4.2 King Mutallu from Malatya

6.4.2.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on King Mutallu's diadem

In Figure 6.33 a limestone statue of King Mutallu from Malatya, Aslantepe, is depicted with a diadem with rosettes. The statue is over three meters tall.



Fig. 6.33 Statue of King Mutallu from Malatya, Aslantepe.
(Museum of Anatolian Civilization)²⁹⁰

It is housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilization in Ankara and the date of this statue is circa 750 BC. A diadem with a row of eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes is displayed on the head of the king.

²⁹⁰ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/300544975122907532/>

6.4.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on King Mutallu's diadem*

It could be an educated indication that if the statue was previously painted, the diadem with rosettes would have been done in gold, as the manner was in the ancient Near East. In the Hittite civilization the kings were not seen as divine while living (Hoffner 1994:139-141), thus the symbolism of divinity would not have been considered in wearing this diadem. According to Akurgal the Hittites adopted the *sun symbol* from the Egyptians, but gave it a new shape and made it the *principal symbol of royalty*. This *new shape* came in the *form of a rosette*. The sun symbol (rosette) meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (2001:143).

6.5 PALACE BUILDINGS

Hattusa, the capital city of the Hittites, was located near the modern town of Boğazköy in northeast central Anatolia, in Turkey. Estimates for the size of the city range from 10,000 to 40,000 inhabitants (Bourke 2008:128-129). The build-up of the entire town was a supreme engineering achievement, as the Hittites had to traverse very rugged and mountainous terrain and cross massive gorges to create this powerful fortress city. There was an upper city and a lower city. Over 30 temples have been excavated in the upper city. The palace was built on the royal acropolis in the southeast sector of the upper city (Bourke 2008:128-129).

The Hittite population devoted to food production was obliged to deliver part of the produce to the central authority. The central authority used what it received both for its own requirements and for the maintenance of those who lived within its own sphere (Imparatti 1995:577-578).

6.5.1 **Ionic column, protective wall sphinx and gate sphinx**

6.5.1.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on a column and sphinxes*

a) A column base

This ionic column base (Figs. 6.34-6.35), with its indented profile consisting of *toros* and *trochilos* elements, is a characteristic of Late Hittite style under Armenian influence. The mushroom-shaped ionic capitals owe their existence to Late Hittite architecture (Akurgal 2001:270). The column base is from the entrance of the palace of the Neo-Hittite tell Tayinat. It is currently housed in the Oriental Institute University of Chicago. Tiny, eight-petal, lotus-like rosettes are depicted all round the capital. These rosettes resemble those on the statue of King Mutallu from Malatya (Fig. 6.33).



Fig. 6.34 Column base.
 Fig. 6.35 Enlargement of base.
 (Oriental Institute Museum)²⁹¹

b) The Hittite Sphinx gate at Hattusa

In seeking to defend themselves, the inhabitants of second-millennium Anatolia did not put their trust solely in stone and mud-brick. No city, however strong, could stand without the protective aid of supernatural powers. At Boğazköy, the King's gate, the Lion gate and the Sphinx gate all have their carved portal-figures designed to keep evil influences and evil men at bay (Macqueen 2013:72-73). The Sphinx gate depicts six rosettes with eight-petaled, lotus-like rosettes on the bottom four rosettes on the head of the sphinx (Figs. 6.36-6.37). The top two rosettes are not visible enough to identify them, at least in this illustration.



Fig. 6.36 Hittite Sphinx Gate at Hattusa.²⁹²
 Fig. 6.37 Enlargement of sphinx's face.²⁹³

²⁹¹ See page 42 of Osborne (2012) linked here:

<https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/epdf/10.5615/bullamerschoorie.368.0029>

²⁹² https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Sphinx_Gate,_Hattusa#/media/File:Sphinx_Gate,_Hattusa_01.jpg

²⁹³ [https://madainproject.com/sphinx_gate_\(hattusa\)](https://madainproject.com/sphinx_gate_(hattusa))

c) A Hittite winged sphinx

In Figures 6.38-6.39 & Add II, E2 the winged sphinx wears a diadem with a couple of eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette from the Late Hittite Period. The sphinx is from Sam-al Zincirli, but is now housed in the Museum of Oriental Antiquities in İstanbul. The diadem of the sphinx is almost similar to King Mutallu's diadem in Figure 6.33.



Fig. 6.38 Late Hittite sphinx.
Fig. 6.39 Enlargement of sphinx.
(Museum of the Ancient Orient)²⁹⁴

6.5.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on a column and sphinxes*

The column base from the entrance of the palace of the Neo-Hittite tell Tayinat (Figs. 6.34 and 6.35) displaying tiny rosettes, might possibly have signified that the palace was part of the royal paraphernalia which 'used' the rosette symbol to demonstrate the greatness of the king.

Although these Hittite sphinxes (Figs. 6.36-6.39) are not executed as beautifully as the *Lamassu* from Assyria they probably had the same function of protection (cf. 4.6.1 and 4.6.2), their purpose being to protect the city and its inhabitants, especially the royal family. The rosettes on their heads probably indicated their *divine protection* by Ishtar, as this was one of her main characteristics and a rosette was one of her symbols (3.3.2 and 5.3.4). The Hittite pantheon was very large and the sphinxes could possibly also have been encryptions of other divinity.

The ancient Near Eastern imagination was fascinated with winged creatures, as evidenced by examples in art and statuary of winged deities, *lamassu*, monsters, sphinxes, winged discs and scarabs (Ryken & Wilhoit & Longman 1998:954).

²⁹⁴ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Hittite_sphinx._Basalt._8th_century_BC._From_Sam%27al._Museum_of_the_Ancient_Orient,_Istanbul.jpg

6.5.2 Painted murals

There are no sumptuously appointed royal tombs to provide 'treasures'. In places such as palaces and temples, buildings which in other civilizations were lavishly adorned with mural decoration, there is little indication that Hittite rulers felt any need for similar artistic effects (Macqueen 2013:137). Although some fragments of painted wall-plaster have been found at Hittite sites there is at present little evidence for pictorial wall-decoration (Macqueen 2013:137). The palace was conceived as incorporating a bundle of activities and functions: residential, political, administrative, industrial, ritual and ceremonial (Winter 2010:363).

6.5.2.1 Iconographic description of painted rosettes on murals

a) Two Urartian frescos from the Erebuni fortress

In contrast to the Hittites the Urartian fortress of Erebuni at Yerevan in Armenia does have frescos, which are actually in quite good condition seeing that they exist from the 8th century BC. Notice the sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette flanked by lions in Figure 6.40. The petals are alternating in colours of light blue and dark red on a golden background. Only half of a sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette with the same colours, flanked by bulls, is depicted in Figure 6.41. It almost seems as if the kneeling bull is venerating the rosette. This resembles, in a way, the venerating of the rosette symbol in Assyria portrayed in Figures 4.33; 4.93 and in Persia, Figure 7.38.



Fig. 6.40 Urartian fresco from the Erebuni fortress.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ https://hy.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D5%8A%D5%A1%D5%BF%D5%AF%D5%A5%D6%80:Urartian_Fresco02.jpg



Fig. 6.41 Urartian fresco with rosette.²⁹⁶

b) The fresco of the Erebuni Fortress

The Erebuni Fortress is also known as Arin Berd meaning the fortress of blood (circa 8th BC). Dye used in the frescos of Erebuni Fortress, showing numerous star-like rosettes with many sharp petals, inside double circles, is copper paint obtained from a specific Armenian stone, which was used in Mesopotamia since the third millennium BC (Figs. 6.41-6.43).



Fig. 6.42 Fresco of the Erebuni Fortress.²⁹⁷

Fig. 6.43 Enlargement of fresco.²⁹⁸

c) A god painted on his lion on the fresco from the Erebuni Fortress

In Figure 6.44 a god (possibly Haldi, an Urartian war god) is painted standing on his lion, on the interior wall fresco from the Erebuni Fortress (circa 8th BC). Underneath the god, a row of star-like rosettes with several petals occur. They seem to be the same type of star-like rosettes as seen in Figures 6.42-6.43.

²⁹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Art_of_Urartu#/media/File:Urartian_Fresco05.jpg

²⁹⁷ <https://armenianhighland.tumblr.com/post/111767614625/ancient-wall-paintings-at-erebuni-fortress-in>

²⁹⁸ <http://armenia.travel/en/blog/erebuni-fortress-when-history-leaves-its-marks>

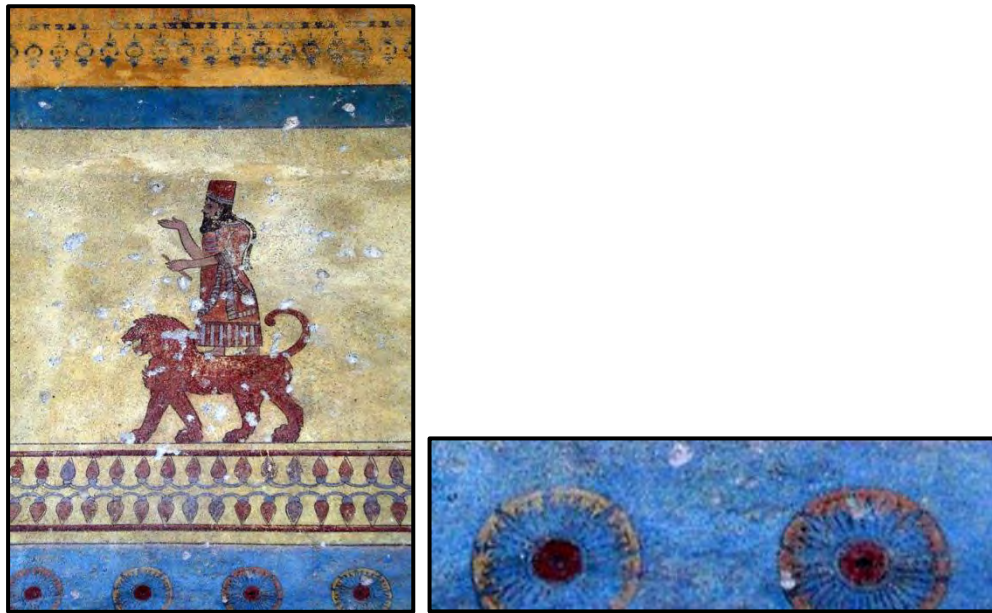


Fig. 6.44 Urartian god painted on his lion on the fresco from the Erebuni Fortress (circa 8th BC).²⁹⁹

Blue is used as background colour, imitating the sky. Tomabechi pointed out in 1983 that blue was a favourite background colour on wall paintings in Mesopotamia as a representation of the sky (1983:128). It is a pity that the fortress is not protected against graffiti.



Fig. 6.45 Erebuni Fortress (circa 8th century BC).³⁰⁰

d) The rosette border on a painted wall frieze from the Urartian temple

Figure 6.46 is a fragment of a wall painting from the Urartian temple at Altintepe, near Erzincan in Turkey. It belongs to the end of the 8th, beginning of the 7th century BC (Akurgal 2001:284). Two winged spiritual beings stand on both sides of the sacred tree (possibly the Tree of Life) and tiny white eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes border the scene. The painting is made of clay and

²⁹⁹ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/312366924147072989/>

³⁰⁰ <https://weepingredorger.wordpress.com/2013/07/31/erebuni-fortress-yerevan/>

plaster. The eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes resemble those in Figures 6.32; 6.33; 6.62 and 6.67.



Fig. 6.46 Rosette border on a painted wall frieze from the Urartian temple at Altintepe.³⁰¹

6.5.2.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of painted rosettes on murals

The blue mural of the Erebuni Fortress might possibly have indicated the sky and the rosettes might have symbolized Haldi's *divine protection* as he is identified standing on his lion in Figure 6.44. As he was also the god of war and the fortress's name was known as Arin Berd, meaning the fortress of blood, it might be *divine protection* that the numerous star-like rosettes symbolize.

In Figure 6.46 a religious scene is depicted with a winged spiritual being venerating a sacred tree and the white rosettes might possibly indicate that it is a *divine* scene, since rosettes possibly symbolized divinity.

6.6 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

6.6.1 Orthostat with lion hunt

6.6.1.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on the lion hunt orthostat

The relief in Figure 6.47 is a representation of a lion hunt. The three-piece basalt orthostat was first noted in 1883 by Karl Humann and Otto Puchstein built into the wall of a nearby house. Altogether it is about 1.16 meters in height and 2.65 meters in length, and originally about 0.50 meter in thickness before the blocks were trimmed down to 15 cm and transferred to Berlin by Humann and Puchstein. It is currently housed in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin and dated to circa 750 BC (Pergamon Museum).

³⁰¹ <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/8165/urartian-mural-painting/>



Fig. 6.47 Orthostat showing a lion hunt found at Sakçagözü.³⁰²

The person on the right with the *polos* might possibly be the king, busy killing the lion. Four loose 'hanging' daisy-like rosettes with several petals (possibly sixteen) adorn the scene. These rosettes near the king resemble the 'hanging' rosettes in 2.6.1 and 2.6.2.

6.6.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the lion hunt orthostat*

This is in my opinion an image of the king busy with a royal sacrificial scenario, because it seems as if it was also a religious scene with the winged disc above, together with the four rosettes above the lion. The rosettes, possibly symbolizing the sun, might have indicated *divine protection* toward the king in such a risky situation.

The winged sun-disc might attest to the sun goddess Arinna for whom the lion might have been sacrificed as an offering, or I prefer possibly for Ishtar, as the lion was her beast symbol. I am not sure that all the lion hunts portrayed throughout the ancient Near East were for pleasure hunting purposes only. My theory is that the lions were killed as a thank offering to Ishtar, probably after the war-like Ishtar 'helped' the king in battle. Hart (2018:469) found that the rosette symbol accompanied the king mostly on lion *hunts* and not so much when depicted in *war* scenes. This could possibly be because the lion hunts were *religious scenes* and the winged disc and rosettes drew attention to the sacredness of the scene. I lay my theory on the following hymn or thank offering of King Assurbanipal of Assyria, as well as the illustration of the lions being offered to Assur and Ishtar (see Figure 6.48 below & Add II, E6).

³⁰² <https://www.worldhistory.org/image/7158/lion-hunting-scene-from-sakcagozu/>

...With the aid of Assur and Ishtar...I pierced his body with my lance.
 Upon the lions which I slew, I rested the fierce bow of the goddess Ishtar.
 I offered a sacrifice over them and poured on them a libation of wine.
 The great gods, in their council...Caused me to attain unto the priesthood, which I
 desired.
 The offerings I brought were pleasing unto them. The sanctuaries of the great gods,
 my Lords,
 I restored.
 (Kramer 1968:66, 68).



Fig. 6.48 King Assurbanipal throwing a libation offering over the lions.
 (The British Museum, 124886)³⁰³

The lion hunt is used as an example of pleasing the gods in the article of Dominik Bonatz in 'Ashurbanipal's Headhunt: An anthropological Perspective (2004:96). 'The methods for inventing such a tradition as human head hunting could have been many. One, for example, could have been the parallelism between the royal lion hunt ritual and that of the human trophy' (Bonatz 2004:100). 'This shows that the head was not only a constant object of visual propaganda, but that it had also become a consecrated medium of communication with the gods' (Bonatz 2004:99) in which case it could have had the same function with the lion hunts.

6.6.2 Royal jewellery and the rosette image

6.6.2.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on a few jewellery pieces

Jewellery was worn by both sexes, and there are examples of earrings, finger rings, bracelets, armlets and necklaces. Hanging pendants, probably with some sort of amuletic function, were popular - ornamental sun-discs, lunate shapes, pairs of shoes, animal or divine figurines, singly or in groups (Macqueen 2013:100-101).

³⁰³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1856-0909-51_1

a) *Cloisonné* lapis lazuli and golden ring

In Figure 6.49 an attractive golden ring with lapis lazuli, set in *cloisonné* and a seven-petalled, lotus-like rosette is depicted, although the lotus-like rosette usually consists of eight petals. Other Figures where the lotus-like rosette also does not consist of eight petals, are Figures 6.50 and 6.54 where six and nine petals occur.

Lapis lazuli was an expensive stone (5.3.3.1) and combined with gold it would have been an exceptional piece of art, probably belonging to royalty. The ring was found at Kültepe. Lapis lazuli is also mentioned in Mesopotamian myths and hymns as a material worthy of kings and gods to be worked locally into beads, cylinder seals, or *cloisonné* inlays (Information-Penn Museum).³⁰⁴



Fig. 6.49 *Cloisonné* lapis lazuli on golden ring (Erdinç Bakla archive).³⁰⁵

b) A silver medallion (pendant) from Karmir Blur from the Kingdom of Urartu

In Figure 6.50 a silver pendant from Karmir Blur in Urartu is depicted. Notice the single seven-petal lotus-like rosette at the bottom of the pendant.

This rosette might indicate *divine protection* and/or *good luck* as it could possibly have been worn for these exact purposes, as an amulet.

³⁰⁴ <https://www.penn.museum/sites/iraqi>

³⁰⁵ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/80924124534459669/>



Fig. 6.50 Silver medallion (pendant) from Karmir Blur from the Kingdom of Urartu.³⁰⁶

c) A golden medallion (pendant) from the Kingdom of Urartu

In Figure 6.51 a golden medallion (pendant) from the Kingdom of Urartu (circa 9th century BC) is depicted, with an eight-petal, star-like rosette close to the god/goddess riding on his/her lion.



Fig. 6.51 Golden medallion (pendant) from the Kingdom of Urartu (circa 9th century BC).³⁰⁷

d) A fibula with three rosettes

The *cloisonné*, nine-petal, lotus-like rosettes are positioned on the top and on both sides of the golden fibula in Figures 6.52-6.53. These rosettes almost resemble the rosettes in Figures 3.40 and 3.41, also with *cloisonné*, and the rosettes in Figures 3.45 and 3.46 also have nine petals each. The fibula was found at Kition in Cyprus (Heiniger & Heiniger 1974) (Flourentz Luisa Vitobello-web).³⁰⁸

³⁰⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Art_of_Urartu

³⁰⁷ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/189080884341557426/>

³⁰⁸ Flourentz Luisa Vitobello-web <https://journals.openedition.org/archeosciences/2135>



Fig. 6.52 Fibula with three rosettes.³⁰⁹

Fig. 6.53 Enlargement of fibula.

e) A golden bracelet (5th century BC)

Originally the golden bracelet with gorgeous six-petal, lotus-like rosettes in Figure 6.54 must have been very colourful and eye-catching, but now all of the *cloisonné* inlays have been lost. The bracelet is from Cyprus and possibly belonged to royalty.



Fig. 6.54 Gold with *cloisonné* bracelet (5th century BC).³¹⁰

f) A golden part of an ornament, presumably a pectoral

The plaque in Figure 6.55 is made of thin gold sheet with the edges turned inwards. In the centre is a tiny lotus-like rosette with ten petals. The lack of holes for threads seems to indicate that it was not sewn onto textile as with certain Mesopotamian golden ornaments (cf. Fig. 5.14). It may have been a pectoral (Kantor 1999:145). It might also have been part of a horse harness decoration or a piece of a lid for a *pyxie*.

³⁰⁹ <https://journals.openedition.org/archeosciences/2135>

³¹⁰ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/peterjr1961/3784205962/in/set-72157602708652383>



Fig. 6.55 Golden part of an ornament.
(Oriental Museum of Chicago)³¹¹

g) A Urartian silver pectoral with repoussé decorations

In Figure 6.56 an Urartian silver pectoral (ornamental breastplate) with repoussé decorations is depicted. It belongs to the 8th-7th centuries BC and is housed in the Miho Museum in Japan. Notice the four 'hanging' rosettes with several petals resembling a daisy-like rosette. This daisy-like rosette in Figure 6.56 resembles those in Figures 6.73 and 6.88.



Fig. 6.56 Urartian silver pectoral with repoussé decorations. 8th-7th BC.
(The Miho Museum in Japan)³¹²

6.6.2.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on a few jewellery pieces

In Figure 6.50 the pendant might possibly have been worn for protection and good luck, and specifically the rosette symbol on the pendant might possibly have symbolized *protection* or *good luck*, as the rosette symbol might have been a symbol for the sun and all its good properties.

³¹¹ See page 145 of Kantor (1957) linked here <https://www.jstor.org/stable/542758>

³¹² <http://www.miho.or.jp/booth/html/artcon/00000921e.htm>

In Figure 6.51 a golden medallion (pendant) from the Kingdom of Urartu (circa 9th century BC) is depicted, with an eight-petalled, star-like rosette close to the god/goddess riding on his/her lion. The god/goddess looks similar to Ishtar standing on her lion, and with her weapons (cf. Fig. 3.11). I would suggest that this was Haldi on his lion (cf. Fig. 6.44) as the pendant also comes from Urartu. It might have been worn for Haldi's *divine protection and even good luck*.

The fibula in Figure 6.52-6.53 and the bracelet in Figure 6.51 might possibly have served as divine symbols of protection and/or fertility. The lotus-like rosettes might symbolize Ishtar as she was venerated in Anatolia and it might have symbolized her *divine fertility* and *divine protection* characteristics (cf. 3.3.2). The golden ornament in Figure 6.55 resembles the seals of the kings (cf. Figs. 6.24; 6.26 and 6.31) although the use of the artefact is not defined yet.

There is always the chance of decoration being the main purpose when jewellery is worn, but their ordinary lives were so much integrated with their religious beliefs that I doubt if it could be mere decoration. In Figure 6.56 the Urartian pectoral is laden with religious figures, Trees of Life, kneeling winged spiritual beings, as well as four rosettes. This pectoral could possibly have been worn in the temple by the king, also being the high priest, symbolizing the king's disposition with divinity.

The royalty were seen as divine, therefore they were closely connected to the divine and their symbolism.

6.6.3 ROYAL FURNITURE AND THE ROSETTE IMAGES

6.6.3.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on royal furniture*

a) A winged figure from Urartu

The bronze cast figure in Figures 6.57-6.58 with engraved decoration formed part of the decoration of a large throne for one of the rulers of the kingdom of Urartu. It was found in 1884 at the site of Toprakkale, near Van. It consists of a winged lion-shaped figure which forms part of the detail of a bronze throne of an Urartian king (8th century BC). Notice the ten-petal lotus-like rosette on the shoulder of the figure in Figure 6.58.



Fig. 6.57 Winged figure from Urartu.
 Fig. 6.58 Rosette on the figure's shoulder.³¹³

b) Limestone footstools

Footstools formed part of a king's throne in the ancient Near Eastern civilizations. They were usually decorated as seen in Figures 6.59 and 6.60. The limestone footstools are both from Cyprus and are now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They belong to the first half of the 5th century BC.³¹⁴ The footstool in Figures 6.59 has two lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each and a lion between them. The rosettes in Figure 6.60 have two daisy-like rosettes with sixteen petals each. A tiny scene of a fighting bull and lion are displayed in between the two rosettes.



Fig. 6.59 Cypriot limestone footstool.³¹⁵
 Fig. 6.60 Limestone footstool depicting two rosettes.³¹⁶

6.6.3.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on royal furniture

The rosettes on the winged furniture piece (Fig. 6.58), and on the footstools (Figs. 6.59-6.60) might have formed part of the *divine protection* for the king, but the rosette was also seen as a symbol for *kingship* and this might probably be the reason for 'using' rosettes on the furniture

³¹³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Urartian_Art_04a~.jpg

³¹⁴ Footstools are also mentioned in the Bible. The footstool of the Lord might probably have signalled His Kingship: Psalms 99:5: 'extol the Lord our god; worship at his footstool! Holy is he!' Isaiah 66:1: 'Thus says the Lord: "heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool"'. Psalms 110:1; Matthew 5:35; Acts 7:49; Hebrews 1:13 as well as Hebrews 10:13 are all verses in connection to the Lord's footstool (The Holy Bible).³¹⁴

³¹⁵ <http://www.ipernity.com/tag/laurieannie/keyword/52251>

³¹⁶ <http://www.ipernity.com/tag/laurieannie/keyword/52251>

piece and on the footstools. According to Akurgal the sun symbol (rosette) meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (2001:143) and the sun has been associated with the rosette symbol (cf. 2.7.9).

6.7 ADDITIONAL ARTEFACTS WITH ROSETTES

The crystallization of various city-states in the course of the ninth and eighth centuries BC brought about a fragmentation of artistic language expressed in a variety of styles, and the production of minor art increased (Suter & Uehlinger 2005: xxiv).

In this section additional artefacts with rosettes will be displayed and discussed. Funerary stela will be discussed (6.7.1) followed by jugs, bowls and *pyxis* (a small box) (6.7.2), after which a few bronze belts with rosettes etched on them will follow (6.7.3). Seals with rosettes are shown (6.7.4) and after the seals the Halaf pottery (6.7.5) and ivory artefacts will be displayed (6.7.6). Nuzi ware with rosettes are depicted in (6.7.7), and lastly under the heading, general, a few more artefacts will be discussed (6.7.8).

6.7.1 Hittite funerary stela

6.7.1.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on funerary stela*

Despite the differences in the burial customs and funerary monuments of the regions and time periods, we can identify certain similarities in the ritual elements. The way in which ancient cultures handled death was strongly affected by the desire for eternal commemoration. Commemorating the dead is thus the most important task of society, even if it is manifested in quite different forms, depending on social status, regional tradition and diachronic change (Von Hesberg & Nowak & Thiermann 2015:248).

a) A basalt Hittite tomb-stela

The Hittites made use of tomb-stela to commemorate their burials. In Figures 6.61-6.62 the diadem of the mother figure displays a few eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes. It is a basalt Hittite tomb-stela. It is from the modern city of Kahramanmaraş (previously Maraş) and belongs to the Late Hittite Period (8th-7th BC). The eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes in Figures 6.22; 6.33; 6.67; 6.81 and 6.92 resemble the rosettes in Figure 6.62.



Fig. 6.61 Hittite Tomb-stela.³¹⁷
 Fig. 6.62 Enlargement of the rosettes.

b) A Hittite tomb-stone from Arsuz-Hatay

Figure 6.63 depicts a Hittite tomb-stela with a large double rosette (cf. 1.6) with eleven petals, above a winged sun-disc, at the top of the stele. Inside the larger rosette a tiny rosette resides with probably six petals. This stele is housed in the Hatay Archaeology Museum in Antakya, Turkey.



Fig. 6.63 Hittite tomb-stone from Arsuz-Hatay.
 (Hatay Archaeology Museum)³¹⁸

c) A Hittite stela with Etruscan crosses and rosette symbols

In Figure 6.64 a Hittite funerary stela is depicted with five crosses and two lotus-like rosettes with eight petals each (cf. 1.6). A cross together with a rosette resembles the seal imprints in Chapter Five of the cylinder seals, before the seated sun god Shamash (cf. Figs. 5.7 and 5.8).

³¹⁷ https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Relief-of-a-seated-woman-holding-a-spindle-funerary-stela-from-Mara-s-afterYakar-and_fig4_269312268

³¹⁸ <https://www.hittitemonuments.com/arsuz/arsuz04.htm>

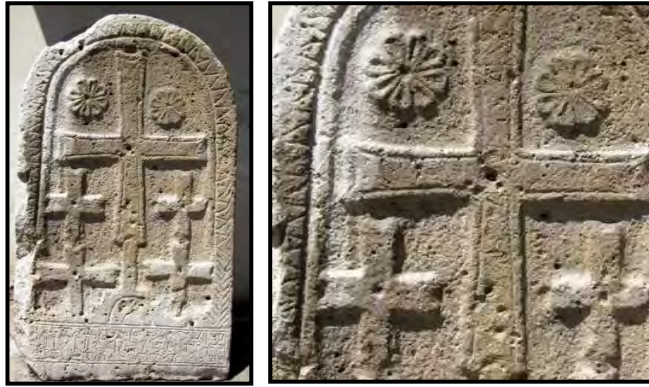


Fig. 6.64 Hittite stela with Etruscan crosses and rosette symbols.³¹⁹

d) A funerary stela from Kahramanmaras in Turkey

The Hittite funerary stela in Figures 6.65-6.66 is from Kahramanmaras in Turkey. It belongs to the Late Hittite Period (8th-7th century BC). The stela is housed in the Archaeology Museum in Adana. The funerary stela of a wine merchant and his wife shows Aramean influence.

Heavy jewellery of women indicates a wealthy family. The *polos* (crown) recalls the headdresses ornamented with gold coins that are still worn by Turkish peasant women of today. Notice the tiny rosettes on the diadem of the headdress. Unfortunately, the rosettes are not clear enough to count the petals or to describe them properly.

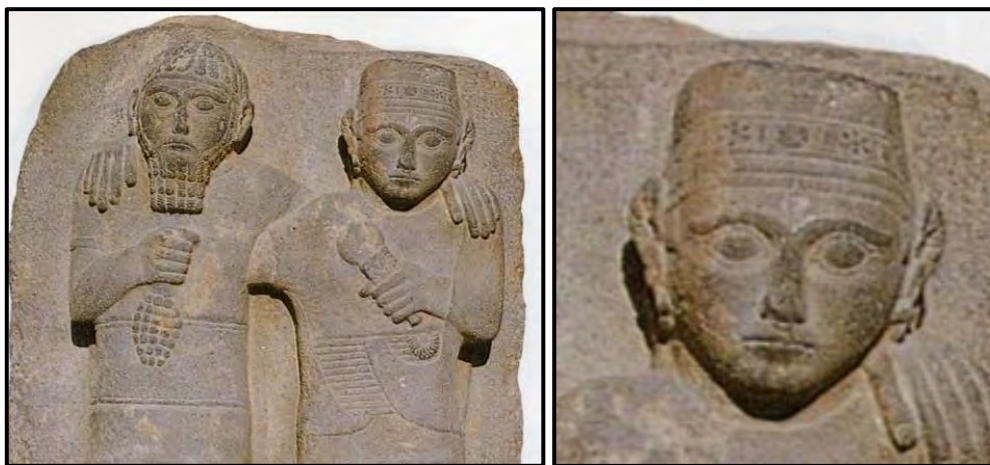


Fig. 6.65 Funerary stela from Kahramanmaras in Turkey.

Fig. 6.66 Enlargement of headdress.
(Adana Archaeology Museum)³²⁰

³¹⁹ <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/egrek/egrek01.jpg>

³²⁰ <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/393009504981807563/>

6.7.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on funerary stela*

Eternal commemoration was very important for the Hittites. Resurrection and new life would suit the *fertility* theory concerning the rosette symbol, as fertility forms part of 'new life' in plants, animals and human beings. The rosettes on the funerary artefacts might possibly symbolize the sun goddess Arinna with all her good attributes, such as new life and resurrection. On the other hand they might have symbolized Ishtar who was venerated in Anatolia. The rosette symbol was one of Ishtar's symbols (cf. 3.3.2). One of Ishtar's character traits was *divine fertility* and thus new life to be handed out by her.

6.7.2 **Terracotta and stone jugs, bowls and pyxis**

6.7.2.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on jugs, bowls and pyxis*³²¹

Pottery of Hittite-type was in use throughout central Anatolia and in many areas affected by Hittite political or military influence. There was no one pottery style prevalent over central Anatolia and several different pottery provinces can be distinguished (Macqueen 2013:102). The Hittite-type pottery is predominantly monochrome, and ranges from brown through reddish-brown to red (Macqueen 2013:102).

a) A Bronze-Iron Age vase displaying three rosettes

In Figure 6.67 the vase which depicts two eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes on the horse's body is from Cyprus and is dated to the Bronze-Iron Age. The chariot wheel also resembles a rosette (possibly seven petals). The vase is housed in the Neues Museum in Berlin.



Fig. 6.67 Bronze-Iron age vase.
(Neues Museum, Berlin)³²²

³²¹ Pyxis is a small box or casket or container.

³²² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cypriot_Bichrome_ware#/media/File:Neues_Museum_-_Krug_mit_szenischer_Darstellung3.jpg

b) A Hittite pilgrim's-flask with one rosette

Figure 6.68 depicts a beautiful terracotta Hittite pilgrim's flask. It was found at Alaca Höyük near Ankara in Turkey. It is now housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. Notice the seven-petalled, lotus-like rosette in the middle of the flask with circles around the rosette. The seven-petalled lotus-like rosette of the depicted chariot wheel in Figure 6.67 also has seven petals.



Fig. 6.68 Hittite, pilgrim's-flask.
(A.Muhibbe Darga, Erdinç Bakla archive)³²³

c) A terracotta jug from Cyprus

Figure 6.69 depicts a terracotta jug from the 6th-5th century BC. The fine-looking jug is now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Notice the single eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette at the front of the jug (cf. 2.7.9). The rosette in Figure 6.69 & Add II, E7 resembles those in Figures 6.13; 6.22; 6.62; 6.67; 6.81 and 6.92.



Fig. 6.69 Terracotta jug from Cyprus (6th-5th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 74.51.634)³²⁴

³²³ <https://sk.pinterest.com/pin/790733647049918727/>

³²⁴ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/240221>

d) A cosmetic stone *pyxis* with six-petal rosette decoration

According to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Figures 6.70-6.71 & Add II, E8 depict a stone cosmetic *pyxis* (a tiny box or casket). Rosettes with star-like petals are engraved on the sides with two circles around the six-petalled rosettes. It was found in the Amik Valley at Tell Judaidah in Turkey. It is housed in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The date is approximately 900-550 BC. Notice that the lid displays an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette with sharp ends engraved into the stone (cf. 1.6).

Among minor art of the first millennium BC, cosmetic containers carved in miniature relief provide an example of artefacts originating in different sources of production and inspiration. (Mazzoni 2005:43). Being specialized for cosmetics and aromatic oils which were used in prestige contexts and in ritual or on ceremonial occasions, they can be made of precious material, such as ivory and Egyptian Blue, but are more often made of steatite (Mazzoni 2005:43).



Fig. 6.70 Cosmetic stone *pyxis* with six petal rosette decoration.

Fig. 6.71 The lid from the top.

(Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1887)³²⁵

e) A *Pyxis* and lid

According to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston where the *pyxis* in Figure 6.72 is housed, it is made of a reddish steatite. It seems like eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes are displayed going all around the lid of the *pyxis*. The bottom part is unfortunately broken, but it seems as if it also depicted at least one of the same type of rosettes, inside a circle, at the far right side underneath the lid. The two rosettes on the right side of the lid resemble the eight-petalled lotus-like rosettes in Figures 6.13; 6.22; 6.62; 6.67; 6.69; 6.81 and 6.92.

³²⁵ <https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/49e50380-bcde-49b7-8fd3-59b21aa9e3d0>

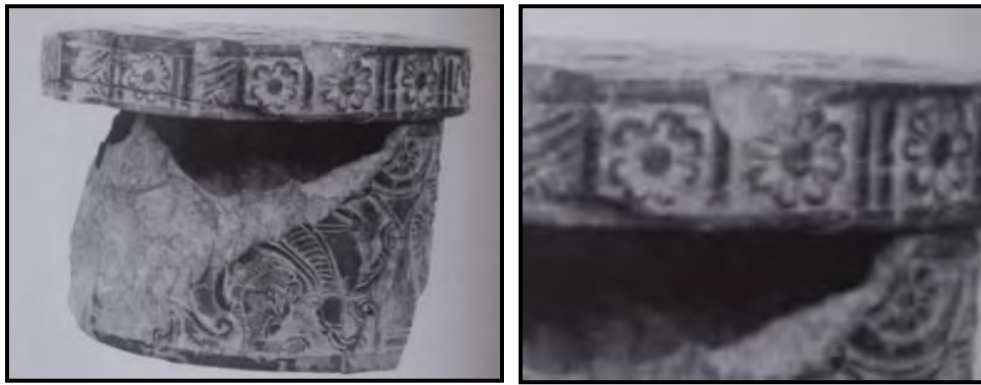


Fig. 6.72 *Pyxis* and lid.

(Mazzoni 2005, Plate XII in *Pyxides and hand-lion bowls: A case of minor arts*)

f) A stone *pyxis* (Erebuni Museum, Yerevan)

According to the Erebuni Museum, Figure 6.73 depicts an Urartian stone *pyxis* with a daisy-like rosette with numerous petals. This *pyxis* was found at Karmir Blur. It is housed in the Erebuni Museum in Yerevan in Armenia. *Pyxis* like the one in Figure 6.73 were usually used for storing make-up. The extraordinary rosette on this stone *pyxis* might match the rosette in Figure 7.40 where the Achaemenid silver *phiale* is displayed.



Fig. 6.73 A stone *pyxis*.
(Erebuni Museum, Yerevan)³²⁶

g) Fragment of a steatite bowl

Figures 6.74 depicts a stone bowl with a (possibly ten-petal) star-like rosette at the bottom of the bowl. The illustration and information come from the article 'Pyxides and hand-lion bowls: A case of minor arts' by Mazzoni (2005). The star-like rosette inside a circle resembles those in (Figs. 6.51; 6.70 and 6.84) and one (Fig. 6.48) without a circle.

³²⁶ https://hyperleap.com/topic/Erebuni_Museum



Fig. 6.74 Fragment of a steatite bowl.
(Mazzoni 2005[after Woolley 1939, pl. XVII a])

h. Fragments of stone bowls

Figure 6.75 displays two fragments of steatite stone bowls with possibly eight to ten sharp-ended star-like petal rosettes, at the bottom of the bowls. These artefacts were found at Carchemish.



Fig. 6.75 Fragments of stone bowls.
(Mazzoni 2005[after Hrouda 1962, pl. 52:96-97])

6.7.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on jugs, bowls and pyxis*

The three jugs in Figures 6.67-6.68 might have belonged to the palace as the rosette was also a symbol for kingship.

Pyxis was specialized for cosmetics and aromatic oils used in prestige contexts and in ritual or on ceremonial occasions. The three *pyxis* in Figures 6.70-6.73 might have been used for makeup either for temple makeup or in the royal household as the rosette symbol was often found at temples and at palaces.

The fragments of bowls in Figure 6.74-6.75 all three have rosettes at the bottom of the bowl and the bowl in Figure 6.74 has a star-like rosette resembling those on the Nimrud *Lamassu* knuckles in Figures 4.25-4.26. The rosettes on these bowls in Figures 6.74-6.75 might have symbolized 'belonging to the king,' or consecrated as set apart.

There is no definite rosette design followed in these Hittite vessels. The rosette might have indicated the palace or the temples making use of these artefacts, as has previously been encountered in all of the other civilizations (cf. 2.7.5; 3.6.1; 4.6.3 and 7.7.2). Seeing that the rosette was a symbol for *kingship* in the Hittite civilization (Akurgal 2001:143), I suggest that these jugs, bowls and *pyxis* belonged to the royal family and the palace. According to Akurgal, the sun symbol (rosette) specifically in the Hittite civilization, meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (2001:143) and thus the rosettes on these containers might have indicated their 'belonging to the king'.

6.7.3 Bronze belts from Urartu

6.7.3.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Urartian bronze belts

Urartian bronze belts, which are splendid specimens of their art, have been found in graves in Armenia and in the province of Kars.

a) Rosettes on a bronze belt

The bronze belt in Figures 6.76-6.77 & Add II, E9 displays daisy-like rosettes with several petals behind the men on horseback. Other daisy-like rosettes resembling these rosettes are seen in Figures 6.83; 6.85 and 6.88.



Fig. 6.76 Rosettes on a bronze belt (circa 7th century BC).

Fig. 6.77 Enlargement of the belt.
(Pierre Berge & Associés, Lot 179)³²⁷

b) Tiny rosettes on a bronze belt

In Figures 6.78-6.79 & Add II, E10 another Urartian bronze belt is displayed with six tiny-petalled, obovate-like rosettes appearing on the belt. The belt is from circa 7th century BC. The rosette in Figure 6.79 resembles the rosettes in Figures 6.3; 6.80 and 7.33.

³²⁷ <https://www.pba-auctions.com/lot/12242/2420195?npp=1000&>



Fig. 6.78 Tiny rosettes on a bronze belt.
 Fig. 6.79 Enlargement of the bronze belt.
 (Christies, 9482, Lot 26)³²⁸

6.7.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Urartian bronze belts*

Although the Urartians sought inspiration from the long-established cultures of their neighbours, they combined these influences into a distinctive art of their own. The presence of rich mineral deposits in Eastern Anatolia provided impetus for a lively metalworking industry. Urartian products are of a very good quality (Collon 1995:163).

These bronze belts might have been worn to battle as part of the soldiers' attire. The tiny scenes of the men on horseback in Figures 6.76-6.77 indicate that this might have been the case. The rosettes might possibly have symbolized *divine protection* for the soldier wearing the belt; this argument also stands for Figures 6.78-6.79.

6.7.4 **Seals and imprints (sealings) not belonging to kings**

6.7.4.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on seals and imprints*

The normal form of the Hittite seals was the stamp-seal, usually of a conical shape rising from a circular base to a ring or perforated boss. Sometimes decoration was added round the border of the seal (Macqueen 2013:101).

a) A ceramic imprint of a rosette

In Figure 6.80 & Add II, E11 we find a ceramic imprint made with a stamp seal, of an eight-petal, obovate rosette surrounded by eight dots, from Acemhöyük in Anatolia. The obovate rosette resembles the one in Figure 7.33 but without the extra dots and the one in Figures 6.3 and 6.79.

³²⁸ <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-3993840>



Fig. 6.80 Ceramic sealing of a rosette (circa 18th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 36.70.21)³²⁹

b) A light grey steatite Hittite seal

In Figure 6.81 a light grey steatite Hittite seal dating from 1500 BC has a stag on one side and an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette on the other. This eight-petalled lotus-like rosette resembles those in Figures 6.13; 6.20; 6.22; 6.32; 6.33; 6.39; 6.46; 6.62; 6.67; 6.69; 6.81 and 6.92.



Fig. 6.81 Light grey steatite Hittite seal dating from 1500 BC.³³⁰

c) A cone-like seal

Figure 6.82 displays a cone-like seal (age unknown), depicting an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette unearthed in Anatolia. Similar lotus-like rosettes are depicted in Figures 6.13; 6.32; 6.33; 6.35; 6.39; 6.46; 6.62; 6.67; 6.69; 6.81 and 6.92.

³²⁹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/323539>

³³⁰ <http://www.thebookblog.co.uk/2011/02/the-rosette-motif-in-ancient-art/>



Fig. 6.82 Seal unearthed in Anatolia.³³¹

d) Hittite imprint from Boğazköy

Figure 6.83 depicts an Old Hittite Period imprint from Boğazköy (Macqueen 2013:102). The sealing is round with a circle with a border, and in the middle is a sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette. This rosette resembles the one in Figure 7.31.



Fig. 6.83 Hittite sealing from Boğazköy.
(Macqueen 2013:102)

6.7.4.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on seals and imprints (sealings)*

The seals in Figures 6.80-6.83 were used in the same way as our identity documents work today. They could also give approval to a deal, with the stamp of the seal belonging to a certain person, usually someone important. The fact that these seals are 'nameless', meaning no king can be ascribed to any of them, does not mean that they did not belong to the Hittite royalty, although they were most probably used in trade. Traders used seals [in the name of the king] for identification, witnessing of contracts and the security of a deposit (Porada & Collon 2016:1). The fact that the rosette symbol occurs on them might have symbolized 'belonging to the king'.

³³¹ <http://www.thebookblog.co.uk/2011/02/the-rosette-motif-in-ancient-art/>

6.7.5 Halaf pottery

6.7.5.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Halaf pottery

Halaf is named after Tell Halaf which is located primarily in south-eastern Turkey, Syria, and northern Iraq, although the Halaf-influenced material is found throughout greater Mesopotamia (Reade 1991:20). The pottery has distinctive shapes, reflecting usage. The smaller vessels represent what has been perhaps the finest tradition of hand-made pottery in the world; they are thin-walled but strong, with complicated and imaginative designs painted in one or more colours (Reade 1991:20). Different rosette designs are often depicted in the middle of the plate/bowl (Figs. 6.84-6.86).³³²

a) A ceramic plate from Halaf

The rosette in Figure 6.84 is displaying an eight-petalled, star-like rosette (cf. 1.6) which resembles the star-like rosettes in Figures 6.51; 6.70; 6.74; 6.75 and 6.86.



Fig. 6.84 Ceramic plate from Halaf
(The Louvre Museum).³³³

b) A bowl from Arpachiyah, Tell Halaf

The rosette in Figure 6.85 displays a daisy-like rosette with several petals at the bottom of the bowl with numerous tiny squares above the rosette. The rosettes in Figures 6.73; 6.83 and 6.88 resemble the daisy-like rosette with several petals in Figure 6.85.

Because of its quality, shards of this ware are easily recognized, and their recorded distribution from the Mediterranean coast to Iran is greater than might have been the case otherwise (Reade 1991:20).

³³² <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=Tell+Halaf+ceramics>

³³³ <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=Tell+Halaf+ceramics>



Fig. 6.85 Bowl from Arpachiyah, Tell Halaf.³³⁴

c) Two different plates

Figure 6.86 has two rosettes displayed on two different plates. The first plate has an eight-petalled, star-like rosette at the bottom of the bowl resembling the star-like rosettes in Figures 6.48; 6.67; 6.71 and 6.81. The rosette on the second plate, has a sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette at the bottom of the bowl resembling Figures 6.73 and 6.76.



Figs. 6.86 Ceramics from Halaf (6000-5100 BC).
(The British Museum)³³⁵

6.7.5.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Halaf pottery*

The Halaf pottery is beautiful and it is hard to believe that this art form was perfected so long ago. This might possibly be among the oldest pottery ever found (circa 5500 BC and 5000 BC). Different types of rosettes are found on the pottery from Halaf. The so-called daisy-like and star-like rosettes are found on the rosette depictions of Figures 6.84-6.86. These rosettes might have

³³⁴ <http://sumerianshakespeare.com/106901.html>

³³⁵ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Tell_Arpachiyah#/media/File:Bowl_from_Tell_Arpachiyah,_Iraq._The_bowl_was_found_fragmented,_and_the_pieces_were_scattered_over_the_floor_before_the_building_was_slight._6000-5000_BCE._British_Museum.jpg

symbolized the sun and all its good properties as both types of rosettes have sharp ends that might have indicated the sun's rays, and the daisy-like rosette have been identified with the sun in Chapter Five (cf. 5.2.1 & 1.6.1).

It is possible that these bowls were used in a temple, and that the rosette symbol stood for *divinity*, or they might have been used in the palace with the *royalty* enjoying the beautiful dishes and vessels. However the Halaf culture is a prehistoric period which lasted between about 5500 BC and 5000 BC (cf. 6.1.4) and because this civilization is so old, I am not sure if the normal theories connected to the rosette symbol (divine protection and divine fertility) would also suit these artefacts.

6.7.6 Ivory artefacts

6.7.6.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on ivory artefacts

a) An ivory box lid (1340-1050 BC)

In Figure 6.87 & Add II, E12 we find a circular ivory lid with a stepped profile, decorated on the broad face with a carved, double-framed lotus-like rosette with twelve petals, and a double-encircled dot in the centre. This ivory lid was found at Enkomi in Cyprus.



Fig. 6.87 Ivory box lid (1340-1050 BC).
(The British Museum, 1897,0401.1353)³³⁶

b) An ivory disc from Enkomi, Cyprus

In Figure 6.88 & Add II, E13 an ivory disc, probably the lid or base of a box, is depicted. It is oval with eight drilled holes, evenly spaced around the edge. The disc is decorated with a carved rosette with six daisy-like petals, overlaying two concentric circles which link six smaller petals, and two horizontal lines encircle the central pattern. This design gives the illusion of a double flower (cf. Figs. 4.72 and 7.52). The disc is from Enkomi in Cyprus but is now housed in the British Museum in London.

³³⁶ http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=452229&partId=1&searchText=rosette&images=true&page=6



Fig. 6.88 Ivory disc from Enkomi, Cyprus.
(The British Museum, 1897.0401.1357)³³⁷

c) An ivory spindle whorl from Cyprus

The concentric and overlapping circles in Figure 6.89 & ADd II, E14 display the 'Flower of Life' design. Six-petaled 'Flower of Life' rosettes overlap each other; some petals belong to the previous, but also to the next rosette, and this continues right through the design. If you focus on one flower, it represents a star-like rosette.



Fig. 6.89 Ivory spindle whorl. Cyprus (1340-1050 BC).
(The British Museum, 1897,0401.1368)³³⁸

6.7.6.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes displayed on ivory artefacts*

The artefacts in Figures 6.87-6.89 may possibly have belonged to the palace as the Hittite rosette symbol was seen as a *royal* symbol and also because ivory was an expensive commodity in the ancient Near East and not everybody could afford ivory. The three different types of rosettes portrayed on the ivory artefacts might symbolize the sun and new life as the lotus and the daisy rosettes might symbolize the sun, and the 'Flower of Life' design also had new life properties connected to it (cf. Addendum II, 10.2).

³³⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1897-0401-1357

³³⁸ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1897-0401-1368

6.7.7 Nuzi ware displaying rosettes

6.7.7.1 Iconographic description of rosettes on Nuzi ware

A distinctive type of painted pottery, with daisy-like rosettes with several petals, is found throughout the area occupied by the Mitannians, although it too has variations, being known as Nuzi ware (Fig. 6.90) in the east, and Atchana ware in the west (Fig. 6.91). The pottery was painted in a dark brown or black paint upon which the predominantly floral decoration is applied in white paint, sometimes combined with daisy-like rosettes (Collon 1995:112). Figures 5.32; 7.48 and 7.58 resemble the daisy-like rosettes in Figures 6.90 and 6.91.



Fig. 6.90 Nuzi ware
(University of Pennsylvania)³³⁹
Fig. 6.91 Atchana ware
(The Oriental Institute Museum)³⁴⁰

6.7.7.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on Nuzi ware

The naturalistic daisy-like rosettes with several petals might possibly have symbolized the sun and all its good properties of new life, fertility and chasing away evil and death (cf. 5.2.1), as these beautiful containers would probably have belonged to the temple or the palace.

6.7.8 General

Hittite art is basically naturalistic in the superficial sense that it portrays human beings, animals and occasionally objects (Macqueen 2013:141). The art is rather 'idealistic' and 'conceptual' in the sense that the artist's aim is not to copy accurately what he sees before him, but to convey with maximum clarity what he considers to be the 'essence' of what he is carving. The principal purpose is to evoke feeling rather than to portray fact (Macqueen 2013:143).

³³⁹ <http://www.arthistory.upenn.edu/spr03/422/April1/35.JPG>

³⁴⁰ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atchana-Nuzi_ware_painted_vase,_Chatal_Hoyuk,_Amuq_M,_1600-1200_BC,_ceramic_-_Oriental_Institute_Museum,_University_of_Chicago_-_DSC07677.JPG

The next few artefacts all portray rosettes: a cauldron base (6.8.7.1a); a limestone tripod bowl (6.8.7.1.b); a stone mould (6.8.7.1c); a Mitannian artefact from Ugarit (6.8.7.1 d); and a bronze terminal of a chariot (6.8.7.1e).

6.7.8.1 Iconographic description of a few artefacts

a) Bronze cauldron base (early 7th century BC)

The first artefact is a bronze cauldron base (Fig. 6.92). This artefact was found in the *Berberini Tomb* and the date is early 7th century BC. It is now housed in the Villa Giulia Museum in Rome. Notice the single, eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette underneath the sphinx's legs. This rosette resembles the eight-petalled lotus-like rosettes in Figures 6.62; 6.67; 6.69 and 6.81.



Fig. 6.92 Bronze cauldron base (early 7th century BC).
(Villa Giulia Museum, Rome)³⁴¹

b) A limestone tripod bowl

Figure 6.93 & Add II, E1 depicts a limestone bowl with three legs and a sculptured frieze on the side depicting two archers hunting wild animals, and one daisy-like rosette with several (possibly twelve) petals on each leg. This was probably used for burning incense. The bowl is from Tell Halaf and dates to the 10th century BC (British Museum).³⁴²



Fig. 6.93 Limestone tripod bowl.
(The British Museum, 1920, 1211.477)³⁴³

³⁴¹ See page 43 of Pletinckx (2013) linked here:

https://www.academia.edu/4229910/Etruscanning_Digital_Encounters_with_the_Regolini_Galassi_Tomb

³⁴² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1920-1211-477

³⁴³ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1920-1211-477

c) A Mitannian artefact from Ugarit

In Figure 6.94 we find a chariot with a proportionally huge ten-petalled lotus-like rosette with sharp ends resembling Figures 7.27; 7.32 and 7.38. The artefact is from Ugarit and is dated as circa 1200 BC. The position of Ugarit in the Hittite Empire was that of a vassal, whose rights and duties had been laid down in a number of treaties with the Hittite kings.



Fig. 6.94 Mitannian artefact from Ugarit (1200 BC).³⁴⁴

d) A bronze terminal of a chariot

In Figures 6.95-6.96 the terminal of a chariot displays tiny lotus-like rosettes, surrounding a goddess, most probably Ishtar. The tiny lotus-like rosettes are connected to a circle and the circle is behind the figure of a god or goddess. It is difficult to count the petals, probably eight each.



Fig. 6.95 Urartu Bronze terminal of a chariot.
Fig. 6.96 Enlargement of the bronze terminal.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ <https://axecosmique.wordpress.com/2019/12/04/le-symbolisme-du-char/>

³⁴⁵ <https://auction.catawiki.com/kavels/17270101-urartu-bronze-terminal-of-a-chariot-height-80-mm-diam-70-mm>

6.7.8.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a few artefacts*

The rosette is depicted on a wide range of artefacts. This is reason enough to believe that the non-verbal symbol had a wide audience 'reading' the messages they surely understood.

The cauldron base in Figure 6.92 resembles Egyptian sphinxes and might have been influenced by Egyptian art. Multi-cultural connections were formed through trade and the Hittites and the Egyptians were known to each other. Queen Puduhepa, wife of King Hattusilis III, entered into a long correspondence with Rameses II from Egypt, probably asking that her daughter should become Rameses's principal wife (Cornelius & Venter 2002:90). The lotus-like rosette might possibly have symbolized the sun with all its good properties (cf. 2.7.9).

The tripod incense burner in Figure 6.93 is unique as we have not encountered one of these in this research so far.

The purpose of the chariot in Figure 6.95 is not known.

The terminal of a chariot in Figure 6.96 might possibly display Ishtar with a circle of stars around her, as she possibly personified the zodiac. The zodiac was called 'Ishtar's girdle' (cf. Figs. 3.6; 3.8; 3.9 and 3.12) (Baring & Cashford 1991:199-200). On the other hand the stars surrounding Ishtar might have indicated the path of the Venus star (cf. 3.2.1).

6.8 CONCLUSION

The rosette design is depicted throughout the broader Anatolian region. It appears on religious scenes, on funerary scenes and on royal scenes. As Rûmî (2003), a native from Anatolia, writes in Jalâl ad-Dîn: 'Every story is us'.

Almost all the seals of the Hittite kings have at least one, or occasionally two, rosettes engraved on them, and almost all the royalty had rosettes on their diadems and on their *poloses*.

It might still be the influence of Ishtar (cf. 3.2.4 and 5.2.2), or it might possibly be the winged sun goddess Arinna who inspired the use of the rosette symbol in Anatolia. My suggestion is that it was possibly a combination of the sun goddess Arinna and the Venus rosette symbol of Ishtar (cf. 3.2.4). This could be an explanation for the two rosettes used simultaneously on certain artefacts.

However, it seems as if the sun goddess Arinna plays a significant part in the rosette symbol possibly being portrayed as her symbol. If this is indeed the case, it appears as if the sun god Ra in Egypt, the sun god Utu from Sumer, the sun god Shamash from Babylon, and the sun goddess Arinna from Anatolia, are all connected by being worshipped with the sun as their symbol, and then also possibly the rosette as a symbol for the sun. It has so far been established that the rosette might possibly be the symbol for the sun. This sun is not the physical sun only as we portray it today, but is connected to a *divine* sun with *goodness, protection* and *rebirth* characteristics. The break of the new day and the rising of the sun signify a new creation every day, the creation of a *Weltordnung* (world order and orderly conduct), forming a contrast with the night as a time of disorder, sickness, death and lurking enemies (Cornelius 1990:25-43) (cf. 2.2.2).

The Hittites adopted the *sun symbol* from the Egyptians, but gave it a new shape and made it the *principal symbol of royalty* together with also being a symbol for divinity. The sun symbol meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (Akurgal 2001:143).

According to Keel, the *winged sun* may represent the Hittite *royal title 'my sun'* (Keel 1978:28). Winter is in agreement with Keel that the Hittite king was addressed as 'my sun' (Winter 1976a:5). This name '*my sun*' might possibly be one of the reasons for the kings to make use of the rosette symbol on their seals, as the rosette has been seen as a symbol for the sun. This corresponds well with the sun and rosette symbol and the royalty of Egypt (2.4), Sumer (3.5), Assyria (4.5), Babylonia 5.5) and Persia (7.5) where the rosette symbol also existed in connection to royalty.

King Hattusilis refers to himself on his royal seal as: 'favourite of Ishtar of Samuha, of the sky god of Nerikka and of the sun goddess of Arinna'. Naming the one god and the two goddesses on one seal might be significant in understanding the winged disc with the two rosettes.

King Mursilis is described as: 'The Great king, king of Hatti, the hero, Tabarna Hattusilis, who is favoured by the *sun goddess Arinna* and by the *sky god of Nerik* and by *Ishtar of Samuha*, the son of the son of the son of Hattusilis... king of Hatti, the hero Mursilis' (Akurgal 2001:73). The three major divinities again attest to the king's sonship.

There is a possibility that one of the double rosettes on the Hittite artefacts could symbolize Ishtar, as a rosette was one of her main symbols (originating from Venus), and she was venerated

in the Hittite pantheon (cf. 5.3.4). The other rosette of the double rosettes might be the influence of the sun goddess of Arinna, who possibly inspired the use of the double rosette symbol in Anatolia, and the wings might have been a symbol for the sky god Nerikka, as the inscription of King Hattusilis's royal seal possibly gives a 'clue'.

In some instances this divine sun is portrayed with wings, probably to elevate the symbol to 'higher' importance. The wings might also have signified the sky god Nerikka as it is understood from a text from Hattusilis (see above) (cf. Figs. 6.3; 6.4; 6.5; 6.6 and 6.7).

There is no doubt that the sun was represented iconographically in various forms (Hart 2014b:127). Goodison (1989:12) suggested that a variety of circular or rayed motifs lend themselves to such symbolism as an international representation of the sun. However, rosettes are also represented by circular or rayed motifs, and this might exactly bring about the confusion of the rosette symbol versus the sun symbol.

As evidence of my wider research, I believe that the rosette symbol was possibly used in a wider context than only sun worship and sun gods. The rosette symbol had its own unique characteristic, over and beyond the sun (cf. 3.2 Venus).

The fact that the rosette also presents itself in the royal sphere, and on vessels and jewellery, brings the idea to mind that the rosette was seen in Anatolia also as a *royal* and a *divine* symbol. When the rosette is presented on vessels and other household articles, it could possibly have meant 'set apart' for the king because the rosette symbol might have shown the 'greatness' of the king. These rosette symbols on the royal household articles might have emphasised the fact that the king was seen as the 'son of the sun', and the sun possibly being portrayed in the form of a rosette which possibly *originated* with the *sun goddess Arinna*.

I would suggest that the *inspiration* for the rosette symbol in Anatolia was the *winged sun-disc* in association with the different gods, more specifically *Ishtar* and the *sun goddess Arinna*, in connection to the king.

I have found six *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in or on artefacts from Anatolia:

Full blooming eight-petalled lotus-like rosettes (Figs. 6.13; 6.15; 6.17; 6.20; 6.22; 6.32; 6.33; 6.35; 6.37; 6.39; 6.46; 6.62; 6.64; 6.67; 6.69; 6.71; 6.72; 6.81; 6.92).

However, the lotus-like rosette was also found without the typical eight petals, but also with six, seven, nine, ten and even twelve petals each (see Figs. 6.4; 6.9; 6.23; 6.49; 6.50; 6.51; 6.52; 6.53; 6.54; 6.55; 6.58; 6.59; 6.68; 6.87 and 94).

Star-like rosettes inside a circle were found (Figs. 6.42; 6.43; 6.51; 6.70; 6.74; 6.84 and 6.89) and one (Figure 6.48) without a circle.

Daisy-like rosettes were also encountered (Figs. 6.40; 6.41; 6.47; 6.56; 6.60; 6.73; 6.76; 6.83; 6.85; 6.88; 6.90; 6.91 and 6.93).

What is exceptionally interesting about the rosettes found in Anatolia is the double type of rosettes. There are two styles of double rosettes, and the rosettes (in Figs. 6.24; 6.26; 6.31 and 6.63) are double rosettes seen from the top.

The double rosettes in Figures 6.7; 6.21; 6.29; and 6.30 are seen from the front. These double rosettes all had to do with the seals of the kings. The double rosettes might possibly have symbolized Arinna and Ishtar.

Different materials have been used in Anatolia to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium are illustrated in the attached Table 6.2. Gold, ceramic, bronze, ivory and stone are the different materials that are mostly used in producing rosettes in this region, although I am sure these are not the only mediums that the Anatolians worked with. No rosettes created with glass or mother of pearl have survived in the Anatolian artefacts that I have examined during my research. Strangely enough no baked or glazed tiles have been encountered as in previous civilizations (cf. Figs. 2.44; 2.45; 2.46; 2.77; 4.37; 4.35; 4.97; 5.33; 5.34; 5.35 and 5.38). I would like to emphasize that they may exist, but I have not encountered them during this investigation. Paint was only found at the Urartian fortress of Erebuni at Yerevan in Armenia and at the Urartian temple at Altintepe near Erzincan in Turkey (Figs. 6.40-6.46). No paint has been found with the Hittites as there is little indication that Hittite rulers felt any need for similar artistic effects.

Table 6.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol.

Table 6.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes.

Table 6.5 is an elementary chart of the main divinities with their main characteristics.

Table 6.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different rosettes found in Anatolia.

Table 6.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in Anatolia. The three artefacts also disagree with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

Table 6.1 Examples of six different types of rosettes found in Anatolian art
























Lotus 8 petals	 Figure 6.13	 Figure 6.67	 Figure 6.81	 Figure 6.82
Daisy	 Figure 6.76	 Figure 6.83	 Figure 6.85	 Figure 6.90
Double rosettes	 Figure 6.24	 Figure 6.26	 Figure 6.31	 Figure 6.63
Lotus-like with 6, 7 or 9 petals	 Figure 6.49	 Figure 6.53	 Figure 6.54	 Figure 6.58
Star-like rosettes	 Figure 6.51	 Figure 6.70	 Figure 6.74	 Figure 6.84
Two rosettes on top of each other	 Figure 6.7	 Figure 6.21	 Figure 6.30	

Table 6.2 Rosettes created from different materials in Anatolian art





















Gold	 Figure 6.49	 Figure 6.51	 Figure 6.54	 Figure 6.55
Silver / Bronze	 Figure 6.15	 Figure 6.50	 Figure 6.56	 Figure 6.76
Ceramic	 Figure 6.67	 Figure 6.68	 Figure 6.84	 Figure 6.91
Ivory	 Figure 6.13	 Figure 6.87	 Figure 6.88	 Figure 6.89
Stone	 Figure 6.9	 Figure 6.20	 Figure 6.65	 Figure 6.70
Paint	 Figure 6.40	 Figure 6.41	 Figure 6.43	 Figure 6.46
glazed	--	--	--	--
Glass	--	--	--	--

Table 6.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer		x	x				x
Assyria		x		x		x	x
Babylonia	x	x	x		x		x
Anatolia		x				x	x
Persia							

Table 6.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer	Utu	Inanna
Assyria	Shamash	Ishtar
Babylonia	Shamash and Marduk	Ishtar
Anatolia	Nerikka	Arinna and Kumbaba
Persia		

Table 6.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creative	Resurrection	Herding	War
Ra	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna	x	x	x	x						x
Utu	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Ishtar	x	x	x	x					x	x
shamash	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Shamash	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Adad	x		x							
Marduk	x	x	x			x	x		x	
Arinna	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
Kumbaba	x	x	x							
Ahura M										
Anahita										
Mithra										

Table 6.6 The number of different types of rosettes encountered in Chapter Six

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer	13	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	5
Assyria	32	19	4	0	5	5	8	5	0	0
Babilonia	1	16	0	0	3	0	4	1	0	0
Anatolia	34	13	0	0	3	9	9	0	0	0
Persian										

Table 6.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Anatolia



Fig. 6.3 Hittite winged sun disc with an eight-petalled rosette in the middle from a basalt tomb stela



Fig. 6.21 Hittite winged sun disc with two rosette symbols, possibly Ishtar and Arinna



Fig. 6.41 Bull venerating and kneeling to a rosette image on the Urartian fresco at the fortress of Erebuni

CHAPTER SEVEN

ROSETTES IN PERSIA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Persian Empire, lying east and south-east of Elam, consists of different geographical regions. It is mainly a plateau, but mountainous areas as well as fertile valleys are also to be found. During the Achaemenid Empire (circa 550-330 BC) Cyrus and his successors acquired a vast kingdom which reached from the Indus River in the east up to the Mediterranean Sea, including all the lands on its eastern shores (Fig. 7.1) (Eybers 1978:17).

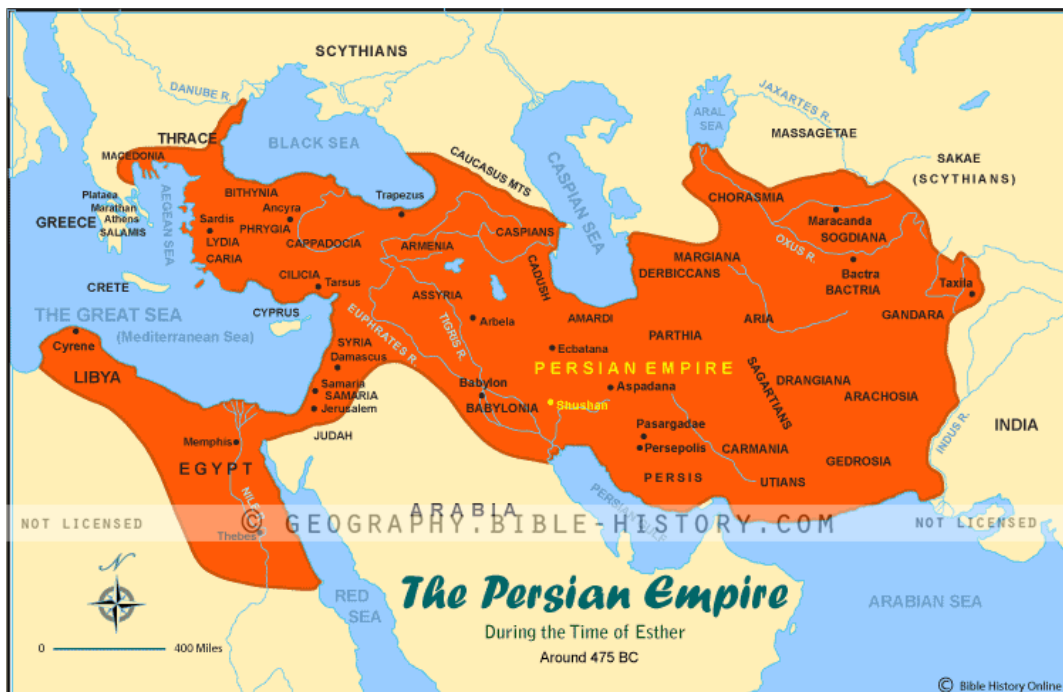


Fig. 7.1 Map of the Persian Empire.³⁴⁶

The Persian historical periods are: Early Persian History (750-550 BCE), the Achaemenid Empire (550-333 BCE), the Parthian Empire (248 BC-224 CE) and the Sasanian Empire (224-651 CE) (Cornelius & Venter 2002:218).

Pasargadae was the capital city of Persia during the 6th century BC and here the tomb of Cyrus is still *in situ*. Later the Persian rulers built Persepolis as one of their royal residences. Persepolis dates back to 515 BC. It exemplifies the Achaemenid style of architecture. Here remains of their

³⁴⁶ <https://bible-history.com/biblemaps/the-persian-empire-3/>

magnificent palaces, adorned with rosettes, were found by archaeologists (Eybers 1978:17). Darius the Great moved the capital of the Achaemenid Empire to Persepolis (circa 522 BC).

Late in the sixth century BC, the centre of world power moved eastward, out of the Tigris Euphrates valley and into Persia. The new power was that of the Achaemenes, who were a nomadic people, and therefore had little established artistic tradition. The Achaemenes were a dynasty that ruled the Persian Empire from 550 BC-333 BC. Their architecture draws most of all upon the traditions of Babylonia, and of Mesopotamia, but they quickly synthesised a mature style of architecture by importing artists and craftsmen from all the surrounding regions under their rule (Nylander 1970:140-141).

Ecbatana (Achmetha) the former capital of the Medes, lying about 300 km north of Susa, became the summer residence of the Persian kings (Eybers 1978:17). After supremacy in this area for two centuries, and a number of battles against the Greeks, the Persians were conquered by Alexander the Great.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate the existence of several rosette artefacts in the Persian civilization. Value and significance need to be added to the rosette symbol and there is a possibility that the lotus flower might have played a major role as inspiration to the depiction of the rosette symbol in Persia. The 'influence' or inspiration of the lotus flower might be a cross-cultural transmission from one civilization to another, such as Egypt (cf. 2.1.1) towards Persia. In Persia, as in Egypt, the sun (symbolized by the lotus flower) might also have been a huge inspiration to the origin and development of the rosette symbol over time and in various civilizations.

It has been argued that Achaemenid art was the conscious creation of its rulers who manipulated specific and carefully chosen motifs (symbols) in order to equip themselves with a distinctive iconography of kingship which reflected their own particular vision of royalty (Root 1979; Kuhrt 1984:156). Thus the representation at Persepolis might be a pure expression of royal ideology (Calmeyer 1980:61). Hart (2016:20) is of the opinion that the many rosettes at Persepolis are merely there to enhance the kingship of Darius I. The rosettes occur mostly at Persepolis as borders for other scenes, depicted on stone slabs.

Soudavar (2010:111) states that, rather than being merely decorative compositions, there is considerable information embedded in Achaemenid iconography which needs to be deciphered – this will be investigated.

As indicated above (and in the previous chapters) an iconographic approach will again be followed which includes Panofsky's three-levelled iconographic reading model. According to this model, three layers of meaning can be discerned, the first, the 'iconographic description' is a pure description of what is seen on the 50 illustrations, in the second 'iconographic analysis' the subject of the representation is determined, and finally, the aim of the 'iconological interpretation' is to reveal deeper meanings (Panofsky 1939:14-15; 1955:26-41; Van Dijk 2016:6).

7.2 THE LOTUS FLOWER AS THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

7.2.1 Lotus flowers, the sun and rosettes

The origin of the Persian rosette will only be discussed briefly as it seems to duplicate the lotus, sun and rosette impression of the Egyptians (cf. 2.8), although the lotus flower in Egypt was mostly displayed with eight petals and the Persian lotus has twelve petals, as seen on the rows and rows of twelve-petal, lotus-like rosettes bordering scenes at Persepolis.

The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is the symbol of the *sun*, of *creation and rebirth*, and as such it is *a sacred flower* (Albenda 2005:117). Mythological tales relating to the sun include an association between the daily transit of the sun through the heavens, and a cycle of birth, death and rebirth (Naydler 1996:24, 63) (cf. 2.2.2), and it is possible that the lotus flower in Persia had the same symbolic meaning as the sun. The sun provided *divine protection* against the darkness and evil forces, and *divine fertility as well as divine provision*.

Egyptian and Middle Eastern iconographers and mythographers recognised a natural symbolic relationship between their *sacred flower* and the *sacred sun* (McDonald 2002:122). The lotus flower is in Egypt the symbol for the sun, thus if the lotus flower was also the inspiration for the twelve-petal lotus-like rosette of the Persians, it would mean that the rosette symbol in Persia could possibly also have been a symbol for the *sun*, with all its good qualities, such as fertility, resurrection, provision and protection against darkness and evil forces, working perhaps something like the evil eye, which is still used in some countries today.

According to Compareti the sun is equated to a flower, more specifically a rosette in Persian art (2007:216). Unfortunately Compareti does not specify the flower that he talks about. I would

like to agree with Compareti (2007:216) that the sun is *equated to a flower, but I would specify a twelve-petal lotus-like rosette* in the art of Persepolis.

7.2.1.1. *Iconographic description of King Darius I, holding a lotus flower in his hand*

Figures 7.2-7.3 depict King Darius I (Darius the Great) seated on his throne at Persepolis (circa 500 BC). Notice his staff in his right hand, but more importantly notice the lotus flower in his left hand. It has been established by scholars that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern divinity and royalty (Cahill 1997; Collon 1995; Frankfort 1948:224-226; Ussishkin 1982:115), and if the rosette and the lotus flower were interchangeable or a similar entity, it would make sense that the king is holding a lotus flower for divine protection and possibly to enhance his kingship.



Fig. 7.2 King Darius I holding a lotus flower.
Fig. 7.3 Enlargement of a lotus flower.³⁴⁷
(Kokh 2006:127, Fig. 130)

7.2.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of King Darius I, holding a lotus flower in his hand*

In Figure 7.2 the king holds a lotus flower in his hand and as anything that the king holds deems that article important, this could signify that the lotus flower was very important in ancient Persia, and this might have led to the numerous twelve-petal lotus-like rosettes bordering almost all the scenes at Persepolis. The king could also underscore his status by including various symbols of his office in his depiction (Benzel, Graff, Rakic & Watts 2010:36). Weapons, such as a bow or a sword, are common attributes that refer to the ruler's might in the midst of battle, even when no military action is depicted. Lions are also associated with depictions of rulers from a very early period, and this imagery persists for millennia (Benzel, Graff, Rakic & Watts 2010:36).

³⁴⁷ <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/imperialism/notes/darius.html>

The king holding a lotus flower could possibly have symbolised *divine protection* from Ahura Mazda towards the king and his royal household. Various prayers of the Persian kings, signal to the *divine protection* of Ahura Mazda (cf. 7.3.2). Another possibility for the king holding the lotus flower in Figure 7.2 could be that the lotus flower in Persia depicted the *king himself as divine* (cf. 2.2.1.3).

7.3 DIVINITY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

7.3.1 Anahita

Anahita is the goddess of *water* and *fertility*. The Avestan word for *anahita* means 'immaculate', and was the appellative of the goddess Ardvi (Weller 1938:77). She is depicted as a beautiful maiden, clothed in beaver skins and driving a chariot pulled by wind, rain, cloud, and sleet. Her cult was *strongly influenced by the Babylonian goddess Ishtar* who also had *fertility* as one of her main characteristics. Like the latter she was associated with the planet Venus (Weller 1938:77) (cf. 3.2.1.3). She was the female counterpart of Mithra (cf. 7.3.3) (Kokh 1995:1967).

In Figure 7.4 the king Artaxerxes II is facing the goddess Anahita, who sits on top of her lion. Behind Anahita the clear display of the sun is seen.



Fig. 7.4 King Artaxerxes II is facing the goddess Anahita who sits on her lion.³⁴⁸

7.3.2 Ahura Mazda

Ahura Mazda was the supreme god in Persian religion, especially in the religious system of the prophet Zoroaster (7th-6th century BC) (Yamauchi 1990:408). Ahura Mazda was the creator of the earth and of man and he bestowed *kingship* onto the king (Kokh 2006:25).

³⁴⁸ <https://www.kavehfarrokh.com/arthurian-legends-and-iran-europe-links/anahita-the-deity-of-water-fertility-healing-and-wisdom/>

Ahura Mazda was not a sun god but a god of *wisdom* and *light* and here it is clear how the winged sun god changed into a symbol where it is merely a winged godly symbol (see Figure 7.5). The word Ahura means 'Lord' and Mazda means 'wisdom' (Yamauchi 1990:436).

The king was regarded as being in the service of the light god Ahura Mazda (who ruled the *light* which came from the sun, rather than the sun itself) and therefore eternally confronted the god of darkness and death, Angra Mainyu, who was also the spirit of lies (Walker 1980:56). There is just a slight difference in being the sun god or being the god of light, which also alludes to the sun's light. The rosettes bordering almost all the scenes at Persepolis might possibly have symbolized a god, or as previously discussed the '*light of the sun*', Ahura Mazda. These rosettes might possibly have symbolized Ahura Mazda's *divine protection*. Neatly chiselled inscriptions in Old Persian (always in the middle, Elamite and Babylonian at the outer sides) indicate that protection was very important and that the kings prayed for Ahura Mazda's *divine protection* (Kokh 2006:25).

Different Persian kings prayed to Ahura Mazda and ask specifically for protection: 'Darius, the Great King, King of Kings, King of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid...Me may Ahura Mazda protect my royal house' (Kokh 2006:31).

Xerxes also prays to Ahura Mazda for protection: 'proclaims Xerxes, the King: Me may Ahura Mazda protect, and my kingdom, and what was made by me, and what was made by my father, that also may Ahura Mazda protect' (Kokh 2006:25).

Zoroaster (also called Zarathushtra) was a priest who preached the message of the worship of Ahura Mazda, although texts from the reign of Darius indicate that the court also recognized numerous other gods as well (Yamauchi 1994:60). Frye observes: 'All of the Achaemenid rulers recognized the existence of other deities, even if they themselves did not worship them' (1984:172). The only contemporary source on Zoroaster is his own writings, the sacred text of Zoroastrianism, called *Gathas*. Moreover, we have very little trustworthy data on the life of Zoroaster (Yamauchi 1994:60). Zoroastrianism had a sacred fire burning all the time. The veneration of fire probably has its roots in the remote Indo-Iranian past. From the Archaemenian Period, if not earlier, fire functioned as a visual manifestation of the divine (Shenkar 2008:242; Houtkamp 1991:23-49).

7.3.2.1 Iconographic description of Ahura Mazda bordered by rosettes

Figures 7.5-7.6 depict Ahura Mazda inside a winged disc. Notice the two rows of twelve-petalled lotus-like rosettes bordering the god. These twelve-petalled lotus-like rosettes resemble those found on the wall reliefs at Persepolis (see Figs. 7.14-7.20). This relief is *in situ* at Persepolis. The winged disc with the god Ahura Mazda is prominent with its enormous wings and it is called the *Faravahar* (Kokh 2006:42). Wings were probably used because the more-than-earthly quality of birds in flight made the wing a symbol in ancient iconography for the spiritual, the numinous, and the transcendent (Ryken & Wilhoit & Longman 1998:955).



Fig. 7.5 Ahura Mazda the supreme god in Persia.
(Relief at Persepolis)³⁴⁹

7.3.2.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of Ahura Mazda bordered by rosettes

The addition of the human torso to the winged disc, which was a popular symbol of principal deities in the ancient Near East, was apparently an Assyrian invention created to depict their national god Ashur and, in some instances, also Shamash (Collon 2001:79-80). The Achaemenians adopted this symbol to represent their highest god, Ahura Mazda, who like Ashur, had previously lacked his own iconography (Ornan 2005b:212-213; 2009:101-102). The winged disc without the human-shaped figure also features frequently in Achaemenian glyptic (see Figs. 7.20-7.21).

The rows of rosettes might possibly have symbolized *Ahura Mazda's divine protection*. If the rosette symbol was indeed a symbol for divinity, it would make sense that the divine rosettes border a divine scene with the chief god, Ahura Mazda, in the middle of the scene. The lotus was a symbol for the sun in Egypt and could possibly also have been a symbol for the sun in Persia. The rosettes bordering Ahura Mazda could possibly also have indicated the sun's light which

³⁴⁹ <http://www.crystalinks.com/faravahar.html>

Ahura Mazda used as his symbol, as there is not much difference between the sun and the light of the sun (see 7.3.2 above).

7.3.3 Mithra (*Mithras*)

Mithra was not as important as the chief god Ahura Mazda as the dedications and prayer inscriptions at Persepolis all include Ahura Mazda; Mithra is only occasionally named together with Ahura Mazda and Anahita. Mithra (who was originally the god of 'contract,' the literal meaning of his name) later became the sun god and the god of *war*, the most favoured god in the Indo-Aryan world (Kokh 1995:1967). As the sun god, Mithra would have had the same characteristics as the other sun-gods, namely: protection from evil and darkness, fertility, provision, new life and resurrection (cf. 2.2.2; 3.3.3; 4.3.2; 5.3.2 and 6.3.5). In addition to being the divinity of contracts, Mithra is also a *judicial* figure, an all-seeing *protector* of truth, and the guardian of cattle, the harvest, and of the waters. He was worshipped by both Iranians and Indians. In both communities the god was associated with the sun (Yamauchi 1990:408, 411).

7.4 TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES

'It was the Persians' great achievement to have taken elements from the disparate cultures of their huge empire and to have forged them, within a single generation, into a distinctive imperial style. In this they were repeating the feat of the Akkadians almost two millennia earlier, and used art as an instrument of royal propaganda with the message 'this is Akkadian' or 'this is Achaemenid', still recognisable today' (Collon 1995:187).

The Persian Empire was self-sufficient not only in timber, but also in metals, particularly copper, iron and silver. Large quantities of stone, quarried in the mountains of Elam (north of the Persian Gulf), provided the material to build royal capitals with colossal palace and temple complexes (Browne 1977:40).

Sacrifices were performed at these temples to ensure the success of military campaigns, good harvests, health and several other things. The regular repetition of the act of gift-giving transformed it into a routine action, a seamless part of everyday life in ancient Mesopotamia (Siebert 2015:389).

7.4.1 Achaemenid golden rhyton depicting a rosette

7.4.1.1 Iconographic description of a rhyton depicting a rosette

Most iconography of the Achaemenid period was based around enormously ornate zoomorphic statuary and architectural design as seen in Persepolis, and smaller items, such as this golden *rhyton* in Figure 7.7 & Add II, F7, retain much of their grandiose monumentality. The golden *rhyton* consists of a golden cup connected to the front half of a bull with a fairly large daisy-like rosette with sixteen petals on the shoulder of the bull.

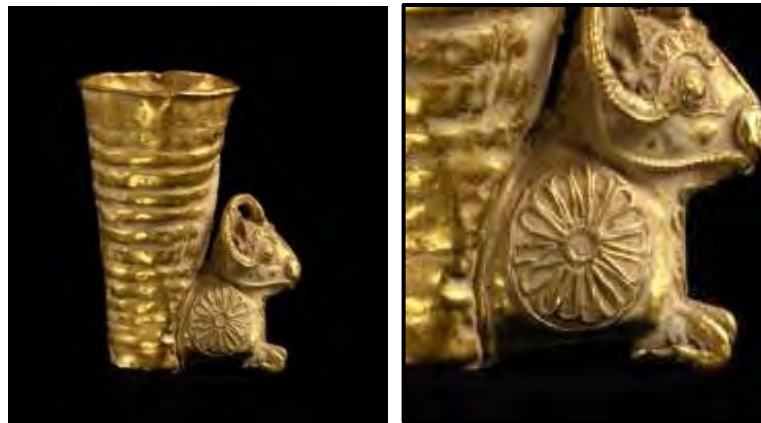


Fig. 7.7 Achaemenid golden *rhyton* (circa 500-400 BC).
(Barakat Gallery LO.1326)³⁵⁰

7.4.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the golden rhyton depicting a rosette

A *rhyton* is a roughly conical container from which fluids were intended to be drunk or to be poured in some ceremony such as libation. This specific rhyton has a bull combined with a rosette, a theme we have encountered before in Figures 2.45; 5.30 and 6.41. Both the bull and the rosette are symbols for divinity (cf. 2.5.3.2; 5.6.2.2) and as such the rhyton in Figure 7.7 could possibly have played a role in the temple practices, and more so possibly with divine fertility, as the bull symbol was usually a symbol for the storm god and the fertility that came to the fields and animals after the rainy season.

7.4.2 Pinheads depicting rosettes

7.4.2.1 Iconographic description of pinheads depicting rosettes

a) Bronze casted pinhead

The bronze casted pinhead in Figure 7.8 & Add II, F22 is from Luristan in Iran. The technique is openwork and depicts six daisy-like rosettes with many petals each. The pinhead is now housed

³⁵⁰ <https://store.barakatgallery.com/product/achaemenid-gold-rhyton/>

in the Los Angeles County Museum (LACMA). The daisy-like rosettes in this instance resemble the same daisy-like rosettes on the pinhead of Figure 7.9.



Fig. 7.8 Bronze cast pin (circa 1000-650 BC).
(LACMA, M.76.97.206)³⁵¹

b) Pinhead from Luristan

Figure 7.9 & Add II, F5 depicts another bronze pinhead, this time with two daisy-like rosettes with many petals. These daisy-like rosettes in Figure 7.9 are similar to the daisy-like rosette in Figure 7.8. The artefact is from Luristan (circa 1000-650 BC). The sharp needle section of the pins have not survived in most cases. The craftsmanship of these works is astonishing, especially given their tiny size (approximately 13.5 x 10 x 1 cm). This artefact is currently also housed in the Los Angeles County Museum (LACMA).



Fig. 7.9 Bronze pinhead from Luristan (circa 1000-650 BC).
(LACMA M.76.97.207)³⁵²

³⁵¹ <https://collections.lacma.org/node/226013>

³⁵² <https://collections.lacma.org/node/225998>

7.4.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on pinheads*

According to Muscarella the use for bronze pinheads is uncertain; they were probably used as votive offerings, as the numbers found in the excavated temple at Surkh Dum suggests, but also worn as decoration or for fastening clothes (1989:173-180). It is also possible that the pinheads with rosettes might have been worn as *amulets*, warding off evil. It seems as if a kind of goat with large horns is depicted and this might possibly indicate the *provision and protection* aspects of the Persian divinity, probably by Ahura Mazda (cf. 3.4.2; 3.4.3 and 7.3.2). The rosettes and the goats possibly symbolize the *provision* of the divine towards its herd and by giving the pinhead as a sacrifice to the temple, might possibly have been in 'exchange' for good *provision and/or fertility*. The daisy-like rosettes might possibly have been a symbol for the sun and all its good properties, such as *fertility* and *protection* (cf. 5.2). If the daisy-like rosettes on these two pinheads symbolized *fertility* it would be Anahita and not Ahura Mazda that is indicated as she was the goddess of fertility (cf. 7.3.1).

7.4.3 **The door of the fire temple at Chak Chak**

Because the Persian Empire encompassed a variety of peoples with different religions, the Persian kings adopted a policy of religious tolerance throughout their domain. They not only allowed subjects to follow their own religious beliefs and perform their own ritual ceremonies freely, but they also provided financial aid for building or rebuilding temples dedicated to foreign gods and religions (Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989:348-9). From at least the Archaemenian Period, fire functioned as a visual manifestation of the divine (Shenkar 2008:242; Houtkamp 1991:23-49).

7.4.3.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on the door of the fire temple*

Figure 7.10 depicts the door of the inner sanctum of the Zoroastrian Fire Temple at Chak Chak in Iran. Two rows of lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each border the door together with the depiction of possibly a king or high priest holding a staff. In Figure 7.43 the middle part of the vessel resembles the rosettes on the door, as well as the rosettes in Figure 7.57.



Fig. 7.10 Door of the Zoroastrian Fire Temple at Chak Chak.
(Photo credit: E.Grobler)

7.4.3.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on the door of the fire temple*

Chak Chak is a Zoroastrian temple with an eternal sacred flame. Fire, which is considered to be the symbol of the god of light (Ahura Mazda), has been burning for the past 1500 years, which makes the place one of the most important fire temples for the Zoroastrian religion³⁵³. The rosettes on the temple door might have symbolized Ahura Mazda and his (sun) light as the rosette have been seen as a symbol for the sun (cf. 2.2.2; 3.3.3; 4.3.2; 5.3.2; 6.3.5).

7.5 THE ROYAL FAMILY AND THE ROSETTE SYMBOL

Kingship involved a mixture of *divine* and *mortal* attributes. 'In a world in which kingship was believed to be deeply involved in maintaining the cosmic order, parallels between the earthly and heavenly realms expressed what was seen as both the central ideology and practical role of kingship' (Trigger 2001:103). The primary function of the king was the preservation of the cosmic order and the seasonal regeneration of the world by a complex system of ritual, thus creating the harmonious integration of humankind with nature (Oakley 2006:15).

The kings as well as the *magi* (priests in Zoroastrianism) performed ritual ceremonies. They presided over ritual performances that mainly happened at night-time in the open air under a crescent moon. This scene is represented on the facades of the royal tombs and on seals. Such

³⁵³ <https://www.persianvoyages.com/yazd/>

ceremonies were possibly performed at the plinths of the sacred precinct at Pasargadae (Stronach 1978:141).

The king at the centre controlled a network of governors dedicated to the transfer of wealth from the peoples of the empire to their great king. He was king of kings, not only king of lands. The king needed satraps to help him administer the vast kingdom of the Persian Empire (Curtis & Tallis 2014:183).

Some of the Persepolis reliefs depicted the royal guard, but the most spectacular representations of this elite corps were executed in glazed brick in the Palace of Darius at Susa. It has been demonstrated that these figures were designed according to a strict canon of proportions based on a unit corresponding to the height of a brick, namely 8.5 centimetres (Collon 1995:179-180).

The technique employed to make these huge panels was extremely complex and required three firings: the first, of the undecorated moulded bricks, the second to fix the threads of thick glaze to form separate compartments for the colours, and the third to fix the colours themselves (Collon 1995:179-180). The glaze was a siliceous vitreous fluid coloured by lead antimony, copper, ferrous manganese and tin to produce various shades of yellow, blue, green, black, brown and white. Rosettes form part of these intrinsically complex firings and are found in abundance in the Persian Empire.

7.5.1 FRIEZE WITH ARCHERS

7.5.1.1 *Iconographic description of rosettes on the archers' robes*

a) Frieze with four archers

Important for the purpose of this study is that the figures wear robes decorated with a variety of motifs: rosettes in squares, stars in circles, rosettes in circles, or crenelated castles in squares (Fig. 7.11 & Add II, F20) (Collon 1995:179, 180). Furthermore, the two archers with yellow robes feature daisy-like rosettes inside circles, on their attire.



Fig. 7.11 Frieze with archers.
(The Louvre Museum, Sb 21965)³⁵⁴³⁵⁵

b) A guard at the Palace of Darius depicting rosettes on his attire

In Figure 7.12 the rosettes on the polychrome glazed bricks, showing a guard at the Palace of Darius, are more visible. White daisy-like rosettes with many petals are displayed with a yellow background between the many rosettes. These daisy-like rosettes resemble those in Figure 7.11.



Fig. 7.12 Glazed bricks at the Palace of Darius at Susa depicting rosettes.
(Photo credit: Ferrell Jenkins)³⁵⁶

7.5.1.2 Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes depicted on the archers' robes

In this instance I would suggest that *divine protection* played a huge role for the rosettes being depicted on the robes. I would conclude that it was the *divine protection* of the god Ahura Mazda that was implied by the rosette symbol (cf. 7.3.2) because Darius prays for divine protection and these glazed bricks are from the Palace of Darius. Different Persian kings prayed to Ahura Mazda and asked specifically for protection: 'Darius, the Great King, King of Kings, King of the lands, the son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid...Me may Ahura Mazda protect my royal house' (Kokh 2006:31).

³⁵⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Achaemenid_architecture#/media/File:Immortels_-_dynamosquito.jpg

³⁵⁵ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010192625>

³⁵⁶ <https://ferrelljenkins.blog/tag/darius/> also see <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010192625>

Reade (1991:32); Hart (2018:473) and Stronach (1993:19) are of opinion that the rosette was a symbol for *protection* in the ancient Near East, but not exclusively Persian rosettes.

7.5.2 A statue of King Cyrus the Great

Neitzel (1995:397) stated that 'elite symbols [the rosette] and styles, particularly those associated with rulers, should vary regionally in their relative frequency and possibly in their appearance. Symbols which communicate messages of power, high status, and special relationships with the gods, should be represented in greatest relative frequency, and be elaborated at the larger sites which served as residence of the kings' (Neitzel 1995:397) as well as on statues of the kings.

7.5.2.1 Iconographic description of the rosettes on the statue of Cyrus the Great

It was not only the royal guard and archers who are decorated with all kinds of rosettes, but also a statue of King Cyrus the Great. Figure 7.13 depicts a statue of King Cyrus in the city of Shiraz in Iran. Eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes are seen on bands over his shoulders, as well as on his *polos* (crown). Other eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes resembling those in Figure 7.13 are in Figures 7.36, 7.49 and 7.59.



Fig. 7.13 Statue of King Cyrus the Great in Shiraz, Iran.³⁵⁷

³⁵⁷ http://farm9.staticflickr.com/8194/8102022857_9fc0de9de0_b.jpg

7.5.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on the statue of Cyrus the Great*

Seeing that the eight-petal lotus flower was moreover the symbol for Ishtar and her Venus star in the other Near Eastern civilizations, the eight-petal rosette might thus correspondingly be the symbol for Ishtar/Anahita on this statue of King Cyrus.

Anahita's cult was *strongly influenced by the Babylonian goddess Ishtar* who also had *divine fertility* and *divine protection* as two of her main characteristics. Like the latter she was identified with the planet Venus (Weller 1938:77) (cf. 3.2.1.3). Anahita and her good properties such as *divine fertility* and *divine protection* might have been symbolized by these eight-petal rosettes in Persia.

I agree with Neitzel (1995:397) that the symbol (in this case the rosette) is a message of *power, high status, and special relationships with the gods*, in this case Ishtar and Anahita.

The eight-petal rosette that we encounter with the Persians might have come from intercultural exchanges and borrowing trends that took place. The Persian neighbours, the Assyrians (cf. 4.5) and Babylonians (cf. 5.5) used to have *eight-petalled rosettes also connected to their kings*, which were associated to their goddess, Ishtar, and her Venus star.

7.6 PALACE BUILDINGS

The palace was created by Persian architects, who deliberately, and most probably by royal command, combined several styles to demonstrate the unification of the different parts of the empire. The capital Persepolis is typical of Achaemenid art in combining elements taken from different civilizations to form, nonetheless, a coherent stylistic ensemble. The 36 columns of the Audience Hall stood 21 metres in height. Each consists of a square base inscribed with the name of the king, and a fluted shaft recalling the Ionian style, surmounted by three successive elements: a basket-like ensemble of palm-fronds borrowed from Egypt, an arrangement of double volutes with rosettes taken from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and above this the foreparts of two kneeling bulls, back to back. The beam rested in the gap between the necks of the animals.³⁵⁸

On a huge terrace cut into the natural rock, Darius the Great (521-486 BC) and his successors built a whole series of palaces, columned halls and storerooms, reached by monumental

³⁵⁸ <https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/capital-column-audience-hall-palace-darius-i>

stairways. There is no doubt that the Achaemenid kings had aimed to outdo the Assyrians with their palaces at Persepolis (Collon 1995:177-178).

In respect to the visibility of the rosette motif to a widespread 'audience', the reliefs at Persepolis evidence what may be termed 'public symbolism', in that the visual imagery at the site has been moved from the private elite sphere, such as that of the Assyrian palaces where the reliefs were displayed within the interior rooms of the palaces, to spaces which could be accessed by numerous peoples (Hart 2016:21).

The excessive bordering of relief scenes with rosettes at Persepolis, as well as at Susa, parallels the rosette borders of the Processional Way (cf. 5.6.2) in Babylon and the Ishtar Gate (cf. 5.6.1), which presumably would have been known from the Persian invasion of Babylon in 539 BC.

Many of the buildings on the Persepolis terrace conform to the basic *Apadana*³⁵⁹ plan. The origin of the columned halls that are typical of the Achaemenid Period has been debated. It seems certain that they should be traced back to the columned halls that have been excavated at Hasanlu, dating from the Iron Age IV Period (Stronach 2001:97).

According to Afhami & Gambke (2012:340) the bright colours of the column capitals and roof beams were illuminated extensively by the sunlight entering through roof openings. Looking up 21 meters above ground a number of lapis lazuli blue bulls with blue and green hair, cinnabar-red eyes, and golden hoofs must have appeared as mythical creatures from heaven resting on columns (Afhami & Gambke 2012:340). It has been established that Persepolis was painted in a variety of colours.

Analyses of fragments of the harems' floor indicate the colorant to be crushed hematite, sometimes possibly with a cinnabar overcoat (Stodulski, Farrell and Newman 1984:149).

Rosettes in the centre of spiral motifs are believed to have been decorated with gold sheet. Lotus flowers on reliefs are suggested to have had green paint on the body of the lotus and upper leaves, while the central triple leaves (flower) were painted in red (Afhami & Gambke 2012:339). The normal colours for lotus flowers are white, blue and pink, but it might be that the 'red' actually imitated the pink lotus flower.

³⁵⁹ The great hall in ancient Persian palaces

The depictions of the rosette symbol is not only found on the royalties' clothes, jewellery, personal or household items, but also on the various royal buildings.

7.6.1 Stone reliefs depicting rosettes

7.6.1.1 Iconographic description of stone reliefs depicting rosettes

a) Rosettes and lotus flowers on the reliefs of Persepolis

Figure 7.14 depicts a twelve-petalled lotus-like rosette border as well as flowers on the reliefs at Persepolis. In Persia it seems as if the eight-petal lotus might possibly have been adapted into a *twelve-petal* lotus flower.



Fig. 7.14 Rosettes and flowers on the reliefs of Persepolis.
(Photo credit: E. Grobler)

b) A winged lion at Persepolis with rosettes

Figure 7.15 & Add II, F19 depicts a fragment of a limestone relief from Persepolis with a small, seated human-headed, winged lion. The bearded male sphinx in Figure 7.15 faces the right with his left forepaw raised, wearing a divine horned head-dress (cf. 4.6.9) with a band of rosettes below the feathered top. There is a border of lotus-like rosettes, each with twelve petals, at the top and bottom, and a stylized plant with half an open flower at the top of its stalk. There are traces of green pigment on the earring (Ambers & Simpson 2005:9-11). The sphinx was originally one of a pair flanking a winged disc figure of Ahura Mazda, with paws raised in veneration. Ahura Mazda was the utmost god of the Persian Empire. The artefact belongs to the

early 5th century BC and the height is 75 centimetres.³⁶⁰ Twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes are plentiful at Persepolis and border almost all the scenes (see also Figs. 7.14-7.19).



Fig. 7.15 Winged lion at Persepolis.
(The British Museum, ANE 129381)³⁶¹

c) A limestone relief from Persepolis

Figure 7.16 & Add II, F21 depicts a limestone relief from Persepolis in Iran (circa 500-450 BC). It is a relief of a gift bearer with a row of lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals each, above the gift bearer. These rosettes of Figure 7.16 resemble the rosettes in Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19; 7.20 and 7.34. Persepolis is known for the immaculate twelve-petal rosette borders. The twelve petals are all very neatly and perfectly formed around a tiny round centre. They are all exactly the same and it must have taken a lot of concentration from the artists, not to make any mistakes. In this fragment (Fig. 7.16) from a larger relief, a man is depicted carrying a covered vessel. His dress suggests that he is a nobleman from Media, an area that stretches from present-day Turkey to Iran (Information LACMA)³⁶². The fragment was probably a part of the decorated staircase of Tachara, the private Palace of Darius I the Great (reigned 521-486 BC). Built by Darius I, Tachara is one of the magnificent palaces located in the capital Persepolis³⁶³ (present-day Iran) (Information LACMA). The complex underwent a period of construction that stretched for over 60 years and is made up of numerous buildings situated on raised ground and platforms (Information LACMA, see footnote 406).

³⁶⁰ https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=367127&partId=1&images=true

³⁶¹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1938-0110-1

³⁶² LACMA stands for Los Angeles County Museum of Art

³⁶³ <https://collections.lacma.org/node/173518>



Fig. 7.16 Limestone relief from Persepolis.
(LACMA, 63.36.17)³⁶⁴

d) A palace panel with lion and rosette border

In Figure 7.17 the lion on the palace stone relief is bordered by an upper and lower row of lotus-like rosettes. It is again the twelve-petalled lotus-like rosette that is depicted on this relief (see also Figs. 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.18; 7.19; 7.20 and 7.34). This artefact is housed in the Achaemenid Museum of Persepolis (Takht-e-Jamshid) in Shiraz, in Iran. This lion bordered by rosettes resembles the pacing lions, bordered by rosettes at the Processional Way in Babylon (cf. Fig. 5.31).

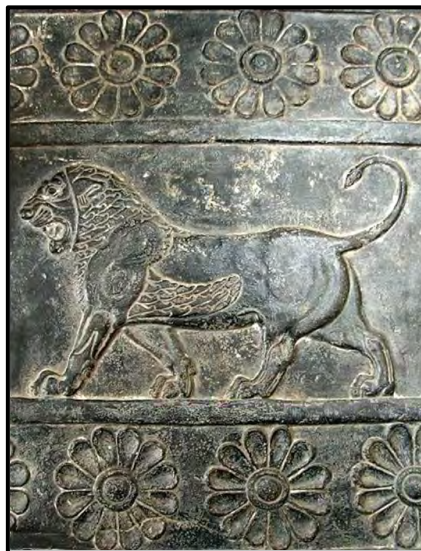


Fig. 7.17 Palace panel with lion and rosette border.
(Achaemenid Museum of Persepolis)³⁶⁵

³⁶⁴ <https://collections.lacma.org/node/173518>

³⁶⁵ <https://www.balatarin.com/permlink/2019/11/19/5205488>

e) A sphinx on the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius

In Figure 7.18 a seated sphinx with his paw raised in *veneration* is seen between flowers whilst two rows of twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes make up an attractive border at the top and bottom of the scene. The rosette border could possibly indicate a *divine scene* or *divine presence* (cf. 2.8), but *divine protection* from Ahura Mazda is most probably the reason for the twelve-petalled, lotus-like symbol (cf. 7.3.2.2).



Fig. 7.18 The sphinx on the façade, southern stairway, Palace of Darius, Persepolis. (Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)³⁶⁶

f) Ancient Persian cuneiform inscription on the temple of Darius

Figure 7.19 depicts rosette borders all along the ancient Persian cuneiform inscription on the temple of Darius in Persepolis. The lotus-like rosettes have twelve petals each and it seems as if their centres were a tiny dot with a circle around the dot. These rosettes resemble the rosettes of the stone reliefs and a lapis lazuli plate (see Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.20 and 7.34).



Fig. 7.19 Ancient Persian cuneiform inscription on the temple of Darius in Persepolis.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/palace-darius?action=big&size=original#3D4_72dpi.png

³⁶⁷ <https://www.prints-online.com/iran-persepolis-palace-darius-i-14324634.html>

The fact that the inscription is located at a temple could possibly indicate that the rosettes bordering the script were put there to sanctify the words and to venerate the scene.

g) King Xerxes seated on his throne

Figures 7.20-7.21 depict another king, this time King Xerxes, seated on his throne, and a servant with a fly swatter behind the king. The winged sun-disc of Ahura Mazda has the same motif as the Assyrian winged sun-disc of Ashur, the design originally being Egyptian (Widengren 1973:337). Three rows of twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes border the two rows of winged sun-discs. One row includes lions on both sides of the winged sun-disc, and the other row depicts bulls on both sides of the winged sun-disc. These lotus-like rosettes are similar to those in Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19 and 7.34).



Fig. 7.20 King Xerxes on his throne (Relief at Persepolis)..³⁶⁸

Fig. 7.21 Enlargement of rosettes.

7.6.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the rosettes on stone reliefs*

If the lotus flower was possibly also the rosette (cf. 2.3), it could probably be the reason for the large quantities of rosettes (cf. 7.2.1). Seeing that the *lotus flower was moreover the symbol for the sun, the rosette might thus correspondingly be the symbol for the sun.* The rosette and the lotus flower do *resemble* each other in certain instances (see also Figs. 2.2-2.3; 2.58; 2.75 and 2.78). The lotus flower can be seen (from the top looking down) possibly resembling a rosette.

The rosette borders in Figures 7.15 and 7.18 could possibly indicate a *divine scene* or *divine presence* (cf. 2.8) as it seems as if there are blessings or prayers symbolized with the raised paws.

³⁶⁸ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/youngrobv/499538865/in/photostream>

Divine protection is most probably the reason for the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes in Figures 7.16 and 7.17 as the Persian kings pray to Ahura Mazda for divine protection over their royal households (cf. 7.3.2.2).

The fact that the inscription in Figure 7.19 is located at a temple could possibly indicate that the rosettes bordering the script were put there to sanctify the words and to venerate the scene.

The rows of rosettes bordering the two winged discs of Ahura Mazda are important (Figs.7.20-7.21). It is possible that the rosettes indicate the *divine presence* of the winged sun-discs, or that the winged sun-discs give prominence to the rosette symbol. The fact that the stone relief in Figure 7.20 is above king Xerxes's head might possibly indicate to the important *divine protection* towards the king, but it might possibly also have indicated to the *divinity of the king*. Consecration as in 'set apart' may also be considered.

The sun is sometimes displayed with wings. The winged sun-disc has its origin in Egypt, where it has been considered a symbol of royalty, in the second millennium BC, but from there it spread to Syria (Winter 1976b:4). According to Cornelius the Egyptian winged sun spread from the Hittites to Mesopotamia and later to Persia (1990:25-43).

Winged discs are generally associated with the sky god and the winged sun-disc could possibly have indicated the heavens (wings) (Akurgal 2001:184) together with the sun. Religious scenes have displayed winged discs throughout the ancient Near Eastern art.

7.6.2 Stone bricks and blocks as well as wall fragments depicting rosettes

7.6.2.1 Iconographic description of different bricks and fragments depicting rosettes

a) A stone decoration from Persepolis

Figure 7.22 & Add II, F8 depicts a relief of a square stone slab in grey limestone with relief decoration showing a twelve-petalled lotus-like rosette. This stone slab with rosette was originally from Persepolis but is now housed in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Several examples of such slabs were found by the Oriental Institute Expedition, but none in their original positions (Curtis & Tallis 2014:96). This rosette corresponds well with the rosettes carved on the stone reliefs resembling lotus-like rosettes with twelve petals (cf. Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19; 7.20 and a lapis lazuli plate 7.34).



Fig. 7.22 Relief on a stone decoration from Persepolis.³⁶⁹
(Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, number 321)

b) A glazed brick from the *Apadana* of the Palace of Darius I

Figure 7.23 & Add II, F18 depicts a glazed brick from the *Apadana* (the great audience hall and portico) of the Palace of Darius I at Susa. The decoration is in green, white, brown and yellow, and shows a sixteen-petalled lotus-like double rosette set between two bands of interlocking triangles. Such tiles are thought to have decorated the sides of staircases (Curtis & Tallis 2005:95). Similar tiles were found in the area to the south of the *Apadana* at Susa (Harper, Aruz & Tallon 1992:231-232).



Fig. 7.23 Achaemenid glazed brick from the *Apadana* of the Palace of Darius I in Susa.
(The Louvre Museum, SB 3337)³⁷⁰

Notice the double rosette on the glazed brick (cf. Fig. 4.28). The double rosette has a centre in the middle with a double circle around the centre. The glazed brick has a border of many tiny white triangles. I have not encountered a double rosette like this before although this brick is a typical example of Achaemenid art.³⁷¹ It seems as if the inner rosette might have previously been a blue colour that in time turned to more of a greenish colour and the outer rosette might have been yellow, which possibly indicates a blue lotus flower and a yellow sunflower. Both of these

³⁶⁹ <https://wikividly.com/wiki/Persepolis>

³⁷⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010177302>

³⁷¹ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Glazed_Brick_Rosace_Apadana_Susa.jpg

flowers respond to the sun's strength and could have symbolized the sun or the sunlight of Ahura Mazda.

c) Glazed rosettes on the walls of the *Apadana* of the Palace of Darius I

Figures 7.24-7.29 all depict wall fragments with rosettes which occur in the Persian palaces. In Figure 7.24 white lotus-like glazed rosettes, with twelve petals each, are on the walls of the *Apadana* of the Palace of Darius I at Susa (cf. Fig. 5.36). The white lotus-like rosette has a yellow/orange centre dot with a blue circle around the dot. These lotus-like rosettes resemble those in Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19 and 7.20.



Fig. 7.24 Glazed rosettes on the walls of the *Apadana* of the Palace of Darius I at Susa.³⁷²

d) Glazed bricks with white and yellow rosettes, found near Persepolis

Figure 7.25 depicts a few glazed bricks painted with white and yellow rosettes. These bricks were found near Persepolis. Although these bricks are broken they probably depict a white daisy-like rosette with a yellow core. This time the centre is not encircled. It is difficult to count the number of petals in this instance as it is not a full rosette/flower. The white daisy-like rosette with a yellow inner circle resembles the same kind of rosette as in Figure 4.35.

³⁷² <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dynamosquito/4489659789/in/faves-34411222@N06/>



Fig. 7.25 Glazed bricks with white and yellow rosettes, found near Persepolis.³⁷³

e) Rosettes on Persian walls from Susa

In Figure 7.26 the tiny white lotus-like rosette with many petals as well as a half-open flower sticking out from blue and yellow leaves, is from the *Apadana*, on the west courtyard of the palace in Susa, Iran. These glazed siliceous bricks are dated as circa 510 BC. The tiny white lotus-like rosette is again represented with a yellow dot in the centre which has a blue circle around the yellow dot. The flower on a stalk resembles the same flowers seen on the stone walls (see Figs. 7.14; 7.15; 7.16 and 7.17) with a little circle in the middle.



Fig. 7.26 Rosettes on Persian walls from Susa (circa 510 BC).³⁷⁴

f) Ancient art depicting glazed bricks

Faience bricks and tiles are plentiful in ancient Persian art. Half a flower with a large stalk is often depicted together with rosettes in this art form (cf. Figs. 7.15; 7.18 and 7.26).

³⁷³ <https://biblearchaeology.org/founders-corner-list/2-home/4824-cyrus-and-persepolis-persia-and-its-imperial-city>

³⁷⁴ <https://www.flickr.com/photos/profzucker/12886215925>

Figure 7.27 displays this ancient Persian art as faience glazed bricks. A light blue twelve-petal, lotus-like rosette with a yellow centre and sharp ends contrasts with most of the twelve-petalled lotus-like rosettes with round ends encountered thus far.



Fig. 7.27 Ancient art depicting glazed bricks in Iran.³⁷⁵

g) A corner fragment with a rosette

Figure 7.28 & Add II, F1 depicts a corner fragment of a glazed composition brick made of sand and lime mixture, then fired, decorated and incised with the twelve-petalled, lotus-like, sharper-ended rosette, with light turquoise-blue petals and a yellow centre. A double circle encircles the yellow dot in the centre of the rosette but it could also appear to have three circles if the yellow centre's line is counted as a circle. The ends of the twelve petals are rather sharp in comparison to the more familiar round petals of the stone wall depictions of rosettes. The blue colour is partly due to copper (British Museum).³⁷⁶ It seems as if this is the same fragment as that in Figure 7.27, resembling the sharp-ended, twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette in Figures 7.32; 7.37 and 7.38.

³⁷⁵ <https://www.iranheritage.org/glazed-bricks-from-western-iran.html> also refer to <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324036>

³⁷⁶ https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=282608&partId=1&searchText=Persepolis&sortBy=imageName&view=list&page=1



Fig. 7.28 Corner fragment with a rosette.
(The British Museum, 92185)³⁷⁷

h) A faded white and yellow rosette

Figure 7.29 & Add II, F2 depicts a glazed brick made with a sand and lime composition. The glazed brick is decorated with a lotus-like rosette with twelve white petals, a yellow centre, and a light blue background. The centre has one circle around the yellow core consisting of two black lines. Most of the glaze colours are now heavily faded. The rosette in Figure 7.29 resembles the rosettes in Figures 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19; 7.20; 7.22 and a lapis lazuli plate 7.34.



Fig. 7.29 Faded white and yellow rosette.
(The British Museum, 1979, 1218.78)³⁷⁸

This artefact is presumably from Susa as the fabric of the brick closely resembles other Achaemenid bricks from this site rather than contemporary Achaemenid bricks from Persepolis (British Museum).³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1853-1219-89

³⁷⁸ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1979-1218-78

³⁷⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=1306059001&objectId=683150&partId=1

7.6.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of rosettes on different bricks and fragments*

I am of opinion that the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes depicted on the palaces at Persepolis representing the lotus flower seen from the top, and symbolizing the sun with all its good properties, and the lotus flower (the same as the daisy flower) correspond to the settings of the sun (see Figs. 7.22; 7.24 and 7.29 in 7.6.2.1a, 7.6.2.1c and 7.6.2.1h). Figures 7.25-7.26 in 7.6.2.1d and 7.6.2.1e are not visible enough to count the petals, but Figure 7.25 might have symbolized the daisy-like rosette, and the rosette in Figure 7.26 might have been a lotus-like rosette. Figures 7.27-7.28 in 7.6.2.1f and 7.6.2.1g have twelve petals each, but ending with sharp pointed ends. The lotus-like rosette was depicted with eight petals in Egypt, Sumeria, Assyria, Babylonia and Anatolia (cf. 2.2.1.3), whereas the lotus-like rosette in Persepolis has twelve petals, sometimes with sharp ends but mostly with rounded ends.

Although Ahura Mazda was the '*god of light*', it was the light from the *sun that 'produced' his divine light*. Therefore I suggest that it is the connection of the sun (light), like the rays of the sun, that inspired the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes at Persepolis and elsewhere in the Persian Empire. The lotus was a symbol for the sun with all its good properties like *fertility, protection* against darkness and evil, as well as being a creative force. In using the twelve-petalled lotus-like rosette, daisy-like and sunflower-like rosettes on the palace's walls, this would possibly indicate *divine protection* and *divine presence* as well as *divine fertility*. Royalty and divinity are again the two main contenders for the rosette symbolism in Persia.

7.6.3 **Pillar heads with bulls and rosettes**

7.6.3.1 *Iconographic description of pillar heads with bulls and rosettes*

Figure 7.30-7.31 depicts a pillar head with a double bull from the Palace of Darius I at Susa. Several petalled daisy-like rosettes adorn all four sides of the pillars. These pillars are currently in the Louvre Museum in Paris. 'The capital is in the form of two bull protomes back to back and beneath them is elaborate volute decoration surmounting a palm capital. The column base is bell-shaped with carved rosette decoration' (Curtis & Tallis 2014:64). Similar rosettes are found in Figures 7.7; 7.8; 7.9 and 7.53.



Fig. 7.30 Pillar head from Susa (circa 550-330 BC).

Fig. 7.31 Enlargement of pillar.
(The Louvre Museum)³⁸⁰

7.6.3.2. *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the pillar heads with bulls and rosettes*

In Zoroastrianism the bull was a sign of purity, and thus for a Persian, embodied both *protective* power and purity (Kawani 1986:263). The rosettes on the pillars might possibly have enhanced the *divine protection* aspect. The pillar heads have bulls combined with rosettes, a theme we have encountered before in Figures 2.45; 5.30 and 6.36. Both the bull and the rosette are symbols for divinity (cf. 2.5.3.2; 5.6.2.2) and as such the pillar heads in Figure 7.30-7.31 could possibly have revealed the Palace of Darius I as *consecrated* and *protected by divinity*. This protection probably came from Ahura Mazda as he was the god they prayed to for protection (cf. 7.3.2), although Hart (2016:20) is of opinion that the many rosettes at Persepolis are there to enhance the kingship of Darius I. The pillar heads in Figures 7.30-7.31 are from Susa, but the same argument can be applied to Susa as for Persepolis as parts of both cities belonged to King Darius I. If Hart is correct in her assessment of the rosettes in Persepolis, the pillar heads might have symbolized *the kingship* of Darius I (2016:20).

³⁸⁰ <https://hamid.aminus3.com/image/2007-10-05.html>

7.7 THE ROSETTE SYMBOL DISPLAYED ON VARIOUS ROYAL ITEMS

7.7.1 Royal jewellery

The goldsmiths of Persia were specialised professionals with a high level of skill in both artistic and aesthetic terms. Several fine metal-working techniques were combined and executed in a predetermined sequence of steps (Curtis & Tallis 2014:136).

7.7.1.1 *Iconographic description of a diadem and a pendant depicting rosettes*

a) A diadem from Kelermes

In Figure 7.32 a golden diadem in the shape of a broad band is decorated with flowers, alternating with figurines of birds. At the bottom of the diadem several rosettes with sharp ends are hanging from the diadem. This diadem was found at Kelermes in northern Persia (circa 7th - 6th BC). This is a splendid piece, not encountered before. The twelve-petalled, sharp-ended, lotus-like rosettes in Figure 7.32 are similar to those displayed in Figures 7.27; 7.28 and 7.37.



Fig. 7.32 Diadem from Kelermes.
(Artamonov 1969:27)

Royal men and women from all the civilizations of the ancient Near East wore diadems, which is a thin crown (tiara), but in Assyria the winged spiritual beings also wore diadems (cf. Figs. 4.52; 4.58 and 4.59).

b) A golden pendant with a rosette

The golden pendant with a rosette in Figure 7.33 & Add II, F6 belongs to the Hasanlu culture of ancient Persia. One single obovate rosette with ten petals is displayed inside a circle. The petals of this rosette do not touch each other but they are situated around one knob in the middle of the rosette. It is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York.



Fig. 7.33 Rosette pendant (Iron Age II circa 9th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 61.100.69)³⁸¹

7.7.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of the jewellery depicting rosettes*

We do not know who the diadem in Figure 7.32 belonged to, but it possibly belonged to a queen. If the jewellery did indeed belong to a queen it would possibly indicate her *royalty* as it has been established that the rosette symbol was used as a royal symbol throughout the ancient Near East. The rosettes on the queen's jewellery might possibly also have symbolized *divine protection* towards her or even *divine fertility*. Anahita was the goddess of fertility in Persia (cf. 7.3.1). The rosette symbol might possibly also have been a message of power, high status, and special relationships with the gods, in this case Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Anahita. I would also add that, if the rosette was indeed a symbol for the sun, the sunlight bearing qualities of Ahura Mazda would have been symbolized by the daisy-like and lotus-like rosettes, symbolizing all the good qualities of the divinity.

The golden pendant in Figure 7.33 might possibly have been worn as an *amulet for divine protection* or *good luck* or even for the sake of *divine fertility* (cf. other amulets being discussed 2.7.3; 2.7.4; 5.7.2.2; 6.6.2.1b and 6.6.2.1c).

7.7.2 **Plates, bowls, vases, jugs, goblets and beakers**

7.7.2.1 *Iconographic description of plates, bowls, vases, jugs goblets and beakers*

a) An Achaemenid lapis lazuli plate

Lapis lazuli is a beautiful semi-precious stone which was usually used in jewellery, but as shown in Figure 7.34 & Add II, F9 the Achaemenid plate was made of lapis lazuli with perfect twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes all along the border and a sphinx in the middle. These rosettes resemble the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes on the wall reliefs (cf. Figs. 7.14-7.21).

³⁸¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325200>

In the middle of the third millennium BC there were centres for the lapis lazuli trade in Persia at Shahr-i-Sokhta in Sistan (eastern Iran). There was a workshop containing blocks of lapis lazuli up to two kilograms in weight, together with utensils for stone working, and chips and beads of lapis lazuli (Saggs 1989:129). According to Curtis & Tallis (2014:96) this was perhaps an architectural adornment and not a plate for food.



Fig. 7.34 Achaemenid ornamental lapis lazuli plate.
(Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts Centre, Tehran 31)³⁸²

b) Blue and white faience bowl

Figure 7.35 depicts an attractive blue and cream faience bowl from the Elamite city of Susa. The age of the bowl is circa 650 BC, but looks as if it could be displayed in our shops today. A large blue rosette with eight petals adorns the bowl. This rosette resembles the lotus-style rosettes in Figures 2.32; 2.33; 2.34. 2.35; 4.42; 4.55; 4.69; 4.81; 7.13; 7.36; 7.49 and 7.59.



Fig. 7.35 Blue and white faience bowl from Susa (circa 650 BC).³⁸³

³⁸² <https://treasures-and-beauty.tumblr.com/post/171777548389/iran-achaemenid-ornamental-lapis-lazuli-plate-ca>

³⁸³ https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/99/Rose_cup_Susa_Louvre_MAOS53.jpg



Fig. 7.39 Vase with rosette-like petals.
(Metropolitan Museum, 55.121.2)³⁸⁹

f) An Achaemenid silver *phiale*

Silver and bronze were used for the making of Achaemenid *phiale*. The *phiale* (drinking vessel) at times were made in the form of a large rosette. In Figure 7.40 & Add II, F13 such a silver *phiale* (circa 700-300 BC) is depicted with multiple daisy-like petals around a circle (cf. Fig. 7.38), and inside the circle a smaller daisy-like rosette with sixteen sharp-ended petals is depicted (almost resembling the bracelet in Figure 4.53). According to Curtis & Tallis the decoration is visible only from the underside. The shape and decoration of this bowl is typical of the Achaemenid Period (2005:178). This double rosette almost resembles the other double rosettes in Figures 7.41 and 7.43, not so much in its design, but in being a double rosette.



Fig. 7.40 Achaemenid silver *phiale* (Circa 700-300 BC).
(The Louvre Museum, SB 2756)³⁹⁰

³⁸⁹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324432>

³⁹⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010176843>

g) *Phiale* decorated with repoussé

In Figure 7.41 another Achaemenid silver *phiale* decorated in repoussé is depicted. It belongs to late 7th - early 6th century BC. Notice the sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette in the middle of the *phiale*. This is a unique *phiale* because it almost seems as if the artist placed a daisy-like rosette inside a obovate-like rosette (possibly symbolizing a lotus flower), inside a sun flower-like rosette. These combined rosettes resemble the golden bowl in Figure 7.43, again not in design, but in being a double/triple rosette.



Fig. 7.41 *Phiale* decorated with repoussé.³⁹¹

h) An Achaemenid bronze *phiale* (circa 5th century BC)

In Figure 7.42 the exterior of the solid-cast shallow vessel has twenty-six long overlapping petals radiating from a centre, with a thin flaring rim. The *phiale* is made of bronze and stems from the Achaemenid Period. The daisy-like rosette almost resembles the rosette in Figure 7.40, both being three-dimensional with longer elongated petals, ending with sharp-ended petals. Figure 7.52 also resembles the overlapping, elongated, daisy-like petals although it is made of glass and not bronze.

³⁹¹ <https://mungfali.com/post/9FD1E06C1C7FB2B9E43CC51502F2F2AF92268D35>



Fig. 7.42 Achaemenid bronze *phiale*.
(Christies, 9172, Lot 200)³⁹²

i) A golden bowl from Hamadan

An exceptionally finely crafted golden bowl (Fig. 7.43) is said to be from Hamadan in northern Iran, but currently resides in the British Museum in London. The bowl has a cuneiform inscription around the neck written in Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite, and records 'Xerxes the king' (Curtis & Tallis 2014:112). At the bottom of the bowl in the middle, a twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette is located and another larger rosette with several petals is to be found on the outside of the inner rosette. On the outside of the second rosette with many petals it seems as if another kind of rosette is also depicted ending at the rim of the bowl. It seems as if three different types of rosettes are combined to make this three-dimensional golden bowl, possibly the lotus-like rosette, inside a daisy-like rosette, inside a sun flower-like rosette.



Fig. 7.43 Golden bowl from Hamadan.
(The British Museum)³⁹³

³⁹² <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-an-achaemenid-bronze-phiale-circa-5th-century-1520101/?from=salesummary&pos=115&intObjectID=1520101&sid=c6acf991-bb41-40c3-b18b-f99f21742c43>

³⁹³ <http://zoroastrianheritage.blogspot.com/2011/07/achaemenian-persian-kings-table.html>

j) A silver bowl with rosette design and cuneiform inscription

The silver bowl in Figure 7.44 & Add II, F3 is hammered from a single thick piece of sheet, with embossed decoration showing a fourteen-petalled, three dimensional, and sharp-ended rosette design on the interior with a large centre circle. According to Curtis & Tallis there is an inscription of Artaxerxes I (465-424 BC) punched in Old Persian cuneiform in a single line around the inner rim (2014:114). This is one of four authenticated silver bowls said to be from Hamadan which were first recorded in circa 1932, carrying identical inscriptions referring to Artaxerxes I.

The Old Persian inscription translation reads: 'Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Xerxes the king, of Xerxes [who was] son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian, in whose house this drinking cup/saucer was made' (Curtis & Tallis 2014:114). I have not encountered another bowl resembling the one in Figure 7.44 during this research.



Fig. 7.44 Silver bowl with rosette design and cuneiform inscription (5th century BC).
(The British Museum, 1994,0127.1)³⁹⁴

k) An electrum goblet bottom decorated with a rosette

In Figure 7.45 an electrum goblet, originally from the Iron Age, is depicted with four fishes and a six-petalled, star-like rosette inside a circle, at the bottom of the goblet. The artefact is from Marlik in northern Iran. The star-like rosette in Figure 7.45 resembles the same kind of six-petalled rosette inside a circle in Figures 6.70 and in Figure 7.50.

³⁹⁴ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1994-0127-1



Fig. 7.45 Electrum goblet bottom decorated with a rosette.
(Lessing Archive)³⁹⁵

1) A bronze beaker

Figures 7.46-7.47 & Add II, F25 depict a bronze beaker from Luristan province in western Iran with a daisy-like rosette with several petals at the bottom of the beaker. The large rosette is depicted in a three-dimensional rosette curving around the end of the beaker and the centrepiece is a rather protruding knob. This beaker is from the Neo-Elamite Period but now resides in the British Museum in London. The capacity of the beaker is equivalent to over four normal glasses of wine (British Museum).³⁹⁶ The beaker was probably used to cool and serve wine at banquets. Many of these beakers have been found at different locations (cf. Figs. 5.37-5.38).



Fig. 7.46 Bronze beaker.

Fig. 7.47 Enlargement of the beaker.
(The British Museum, 130905)³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ <https://www.pinterest.es/pin/747316131891264985/>

³⁹⁶ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1951-0409-1

³⁹⁷ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1951-0409-1

According to Muscarella objects like this should be called a 'nipple beaker' (German: *Knopfbecher*) instead of *situla*, as has been (and still is) customary; the term *situla* should only be used for buckets with handles (1988:245).

m) A golden cup from Kelermes

Figure 7.48 depicts a golden cup from Kelermes in north-western Iran with a sixteen-petalled, daisy-like rosette embossed on the bottom. It is dated to the 7th-6th centuries BC. The daisy-like rosette in Figure 7.48 resembles the daisy-like rosette in Figure 7.53.

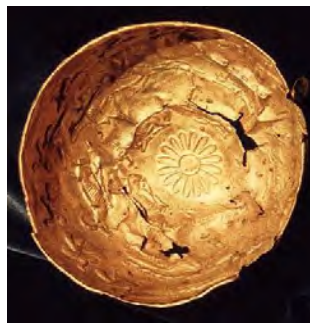


Fig. 7.48 Golden cup from Kelermes with a rosette embossed on the bottom.³⁹⁸

n) An electrum beaker from Marlik

In Figure 7.49 we find an attractive electrum beaker from Marlik in northern Iran (1200-1400 BC). Three rather large rosettes, as well as a large figure (possibly the king) adorn the beaker. Two of the rosettes resemble the several-petalled, daisy-like rosette and the rosette in the middle resembles an eight petalled, lotus-like rosette. Figure 7.36 resembles the lotus-like rosette in the middle of the beaker. This artefact now resides in the Miho Museum in Japan.



Fig. 7.49 Daisy-like rosette, electrum beaker from Marlik and lotus-like rosette. (Miho Museum)³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸ <https://www.pinterest.ru/pin/354799276864477125/>

³⁹⁹ <https://www.miho.jp/booth/html/artcon/00000455e.htm>

o) The underside of a golden goblet

Figure 7.50 depicts the underside of a golden goblet, housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

According to the Louvre it is also from Marlik in northern Iran and is dated as circa 1400-1100 BC. Notice the star-like rosette with six petals inside a circle, resembling Figures 6.70 and 7.45.



Fig. 7.50 Underside of a golden goblet with an engraved rosette.⁴⁰⁰

p) A square vase with a rosette between the sphinx's legs

According to the Louvre Museum Figure 7.51 & Add II, F26 depicts a square vase with a daisy-like rosette with many petals between the sphinx's legs (900-800 BC) from the Apadana, in the western forecourt of the Palace of Darius I at Persepolis. The artefact is currently housed in the Louvre Museum. For similar 'hanging rosettes' see also Figures 2.48 and 2.50.



Fig. 7.51 A square vase with a rosette between the sphinx's legs.
(The Louvre, SB 2810)⁴⁰¹

q) A glass bowl

The glass bowl in Figure 7.52 & Add II, F16 has a flared rim of typical Achaemenid shape and a daisy-like rosette decoration in low relief on the underside. The provenance is unknown and the artefact is currently housed in the Museum of Glass and Ceramics in Tehran (Curtis & Tallis

⁴⁰⁰ http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=obj_view_obj&objet=cartel_22114_68379_SH029466_001.jpg_obj.html&flag=false

⁴⁰¹ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010121717>

2005:119). The design of this 'double' daisy-like rosette is also portrayed in Figures 4.72; 6.88 and 7.42 where it seems as if one daisy is overlapping another daisy.



Fig. 7.52 A glass dish from Tehran.
(The British Museum, 1870, 0606.7)⁴⁰²

r) A bronze bowl

The bronze bowl in Figure 7.53 & Add II, F17, whose height is 12 cm, is said to come from Hamadan. The bowl has high sides, and the embossed and chased decoration shows two pairs of winged lions (sphinxes) (Curtis & Tallis 2005:118), separated by a daisy-like rosette inside a circle with several petals.



Fig. 7.53 Bronze bowl.
(Tehran Museum number 1394-7819)

7.7.2.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of plates, bowls, vases, jugs, goblets and beakers*

It is possible that the rosettes on these household items were a *royal symbol* as they are mostly connected to the palace. A certain king's name was at times engraved on these vessels (see Figures 7.43 and 7.44), which enhances the theory of belonging to royalty. Royalty were linked to the divine and the gods associated with them were Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Anahita, a Persian goddess. They were the most important divinities in the Persian religion.

The rosettes on Figure 7.34 resemble the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes on the wall reliefs in design (cf. Figs. 7.14-7.19) and thus could possibly have symbolized the sun (light) of Ahura

⁴⁰² https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1870-0606-7

Mazda and all its good properties (cf. 7.3.2). The twelve-petalled rosette was probably also the 'open' lotus as seen from the top and therefore I tend to agree with Goodyear (1891:99-104) who was of opinion that the eight-petal rosette correlated with the lotus flower with petals spread out or viewed from above (Kantor 1999:129).

In Figure 7.35 a large blue rosette with eight petals adorns the bowl. This rosette resembles the lotus-style rosettes in Figures 2.32; 2.33; 2.34. 2.35; 4.42; 4.55; 4.69; 4.81; 7.13; 7.36; 7.49 and 7.59. Anahita's cult was *strongly influenced by the Babylonian goddess Ishtar* who also had *fertility* as one of her main characteristics. Like the latter she was identified with the planet Venus (Weller 1938:77) (cf. 3.2.1.3). This bowl might have symbolized Anahita and all her good characteristics which were the same as Ishtar's characteristics, which were the same as Inanna's of Sumer (cf. 3.3.2).

A broken but attractive golden cup with an eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette in the middle is depicted in Figure 7.36, resembling the eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes in Figures 7.13; 7.49 and 7.59. These eight-petalled rosettes might possibly identify the goddess Anahita (see paragraph above). The level of sophistication of ancient Persian cuisine during the Persian Achaemenian Dynasty (circa 700 BC-330 BC) was at its highest at the king's table during a feast. This fact strengthens the theory that the rosettes on Persian artefacts belonged to *royalty* and *divinity*.

Figure 7.37 depicts a very similar design as Figure 7.39 consisting of a glazed ceramic vase from Ziwiye in Iran. Similar daisy-like petals adorn the neck of the vase and again a kneeling stag is depicted on the middle strip of the vase. Goats and stags combined with rosettes have been encountered in Chapter Three (cf. 3.4.3.1a), symbolizing the provision of the divine, indicating that the scene was a religious scene, which could possibly also be the case with these vases in Figures 7.37-7.39. In case the 'not so pretty' goat was rather a bull, it too would have symbolized a religious scene, as the bull and rosette motif has also been encountered before (cf. 2.5.3.1c). If indeed a religious scene is depicted on these vases, it would strengthen the theory of royalty and divinity making use of the rosette symbol, and *divine provision* might have inspired these vases with animals painted on them. Figure 7.40 has two types of rosettes displayed on the *phiale*: the smaller one has sharp ends and the larger one with several petals covers the whole bottom of the artefact in a daisy-like rosette.

Figures 7.41 and 7.43 are both unique vessels because it almost seems as if the artist placed a daisy-like rosette inside a lotus-like rosette inside a sunflower-like rosette. If this was the case it could confirm my theory that the rosette symbol not only represented the lotus flower or the daisy flower, or a sunflower, but was also a symbol, which included all three types of flowers that responded *to sunshine*. This general flower symbol could possibly have been used to the advantage of the message it was portraying as a non-verbal symbol, and the audience would have understood it. As all three of these flowers respond to the sun, I am rather certain that the lotus-like and daisy-like rosettes encountered in these household articles were in connection to the *sunlight* that Ahura Mazda portrayed as one of his main characteristics (cf. 7.3.2.2). Ahura Mazda was the god of wisdom and light (Yamauchi 1990:436); although he was not a sun god, he portrayed the *light* of the sun. The *light* of Ahura Mazda fought with the evil forces of darkness and death, Angra Mainyu, who was also the spirit of lies (Walker 1980:56). Ahura Mazda was also the *divine protector* and the numerous twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes at Persepolis might have symbolized his divine protection toward the royal household and the palace.

7.8 ADDITIONAL ARTEFACTS WITH ROSETTES

7.8.1. A glass rosette, a quiver, a seal, two roundels and two furniture feet

7.8.1.1 *Iconographic description of a rosette, a quiver, a seal, roundels and furniture feet*

a) Egyptian blue glass rosette

The Egyptian blue glass daisy-like rosette with several petals in Figure 7.54 & Add II, F27 is from the Hasanlu culture of ancient Persia, today's Iran. This ornament is housed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. At the Metropolitan Museum it is classified as a glass ornament. The rosette has multiple petals connected to a round centre in the middle. The use for this ornament is unknown.



Fig. 7.54 Blue glass ornament (Iron Age II circa 9th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 31.100.7)⁴⁰³

⁴⁰³ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325142>

b) Metal quiver plaque from ancient Luristan

Figures 7.55-7.56 depict a metal quiver plaque from ancient Luristan, which is located in Western Iran, in the Zagros Mountains. The quiver is divided by rows of rosettes into four sections. The rows of tiny rosettes resemble a circle with lines crossing the circle to form an eight-petal rosette. (Figs. 2.41; 2.42; 2.43 and 2.67 are rosettes resembling the circle and line type of rosettes in Figure 2.55). Scenes with animals and men decorate the rest of the quiver.



Fig. 7.55 Metal quiver plaque from ancient Luristan.⁴⁰⁴

Fig. 7.56 Enlargement of the quiver.

c) A golden and lapis lazuli seal

The cylindrical seal in Figure 7.57 & Add II, F23 is from the Achaemenid Period (5th-4th century BC). It is made from gold and lapis lazuli. This artefact belongs to the Oxus treasure and is housed in the National Museum of Iran (see footnote 437). The four tiny, twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes decorating the handle of the seal, might imply that it was the seal of a Persian king and therefore 'set apart' for royalty. The king held a lotus flower in his hand in Figure 7.2-7.3 indicating the importance of the lotus flower in the Persian kings' life (cf. 7.2.1.2).

⁴⁰⁴ <https://kavehfarrokh.com/iranica/sassanian-era/dr-manouchehr-moshtagh-khorasani-receives-world-prize-of-book-of-the-year-for-iranian-studies/>



Fig. 7.57 Gold and lapis lazuli seal from the Achaemenid Period.
(The British Museum, 135908)⁴⁰⁵

d) A roundel with a rosette

The roundel in Figure 7.58 is from the Middle Elamite Period (circa 14th-13th century BC) in southwestern Iran. The roundel is made of gold, silver foil, bronze and bitumen (Information the Metropolitan Museum). A sixteen-petal, daisy-like rosette is displayed in the middle of the roundel within a circle, and six tiny goats are displayed around the daisy-like rosette. It is not sure what the function of the roundel was, but it might have been used as a horse harness decoration. One more sixteen-petalled rosette resembling the rosette in Figure 7.58 is the rosette in Figure 7.48.

In 1947 a treasure was reputedly found at a mound near the village of Ziwiye in north-western Iran. Objects attributed to Ziwiye are stylistically similar to Assyrian art of the eighth and seventh centuries BC, as well as to the art of contemporary Syria, Urartu, and Scythia (Information Metropolitan Museum).⁴⁰⁶



Fig. 7.58 Roundel with a rosette.
(The Metropolitan Museum)⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1973-0616-1

⁴⁰⁶ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325016>

⁴⁰⁷ <http://www.ipernity.com/tag/laurieannie/keyword/5225>

e) Metalwork roundel made of silver and electrum

Figure 7.59 & Add II, F4 depicts another roundel. This boss, a type of raised ornamentation, is decorated with a knob in the centre ending in an eight-petal, lotus-like rosette. Its function is uncertain but a riveted loop at the back may indicate that it could have been used as a horse harness decoration. This rosette resembles the same eight-petalled, lotus-like rosettes in Figures 7.13; 7.36 and 7.49).



Fig. 7.59 Metalwork roundel made of silver and electrum (8th–7th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 54.194)⁴⁰⁸

f) Bronze furniture foot

According to Curtis & Tallis (2005:102) the bronze foot in the form of a lion's paw belonged to a piece of furniture (Fig. 7.60 & Add II, F11). The paw is surmounted by a twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette flanked by two volutes. Similar bronze furniture feet are now in the Israel Museum, all from thrones of the type depicted on the Persepolis reliefs. This artefact is currently housed in the British Museum in London. This rosette resembles the rosettes in Figures 7.14-7.19 and 7.34.



Fig. 7.60 Bronze Furniture foot.
(The British Museum, 136050)⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁸ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324411>

⁴⁰⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1939-0324-121

g) Bronze furniture foot with rosette

In Figure 7.61 & Add II, F10 a floral moulding is displayed surmounted by a lion's paw, which supports a lotus-like rosette with ten petals flanked by volutes. Thrones with furniture legs of this type are represented on reliefs at Persepolis. This artefact is housed in the Louvre Museum in Paris (Curtis & Tallis 2005:101). This rosette almost resembles the rosette in Figure 7.60 although the number of petals differ.



Fig. 7.61 Furniture piece with a rosette.
(The Louvre Museum, AO 2787)⁴¹⁰

7.8.1.2 *Iconographic analyses and iconological interpretation of a glass rosette, a quiver, a seal, roundels and furniture feet.*

I am not sure how to analyse the glass ornament (Fig. 7.52) and the two roundels (Figs. 7.58-7.59) as their 'use' has not been described clearly and the function of an artefact can indeed help to decipher and interpret the meaning of the rosettes on the artefact.

The rosettes on the quiver in Figures 7.55-7.56 could possibly have had a symbolic meaning of *divine protection* of Ahura Mazda, as arrows would have been used in hunting or war.

The rosettes decorating the handle of the seal in Figure 7.56 might imply that it was the seal of a Persian king, possibly Darius I, as Hart suggests that the rosettes at Persepolis were there merely to enhance his kingship (2016:20). Unfortunately, we know too little about this artefact to really make a proper assessment. The foot pieces belonging to furniture in Figures 7.60 and 7.61 might possibly have belonged to thrones and in that case, they might have symbolized the *kingship* of the king. All seven artefacts under the heading 'General' were poorly assessed because of too

⁴¹⁰ <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010152127>

little information about the artefacts' purposes and where they were found. It is always helpful if an artefact (like the seal in Fig. 7.57) could have been found at a palace.

7.9 CONCLUSION

The rows and rows of rosettes bordering the reliefs at Persepolis possibly had a significant meaning to them (see Figs. 7.14-7.20). It is my suggestion that the lotus-like rosette motif with twelve petals of ancient Persia is also derived from a lotus flower seen from the top, and that the Persian lotus flower was also seen as portraying the *divine sun*, the same as in Egypt, thus also rendering the rosette symbol as *divine* (cf. 2.8), this time not associated with Ra but with Ahura Mazda.

Daisy-like rosettes also occur in the Persian artefacts and as previously discussed (cf. 5.2.1), the daisy also (the same as the lotus and sunflower) responds to the strength of the sun. Thus the daisy-like rosettes might possibly have also been displayed as a sun symbol.

Sunflower depictions have not occurred on their own but might have been incorporated in combined rosettes. The sunflower might have had the same function as the lotus and daisy flowers symbolizing the sun because sunflowers lift their heads towards the sun.

The three rows of rosettes bordering the two winged discs above King Xerxes' head, in Figures 7.20-7.21, could possibly imply that the rosette had *divine* connotations. It is possible that the rosettes indicate the sacredness of the winged discs, or that the winged discs, usually a symbol for the sky god, are giving prominence to the rosette symbol in the form of the winged discs being a divine symbol.

It is my opinion that the Persian rosette was a symbol for Ahura Mazda (cf. 7.3.2) who had the sun's light as his godly symbol, thus the rosette in Persia would have been a symbol for *divine* or *godly*. The origin of the Persian rosette symbol might possibly have been the light of the sun.

Although Mithra was the sun god (cf. 7.3.3) of the Persians it is Ahura Mazda (cf.7.3.2) whom the inscriptions indicate. The good characteristics that accompanied the lotus flower and the sun in Egypt which was transferred to the gods might possibly have been duplicated by the Persians. The *divine fertility* aspect, the *divine protection* aspect and the *birth, death and rebirth* aspects which the sun symbolized might possibly be the inspiration for the twelve-petalled, lotus-like and daisy-like rosettes in Persia.

Anahita was strongly influenced by Ishtar, and her symbol was also the Venus star (cf. 7.3.1). It might even be the Venus star (cf. 3.2) which is indicated with the eight-petalled rosettes depicted on a few artefacts (see Figs. 7.13; 7.36; 7.49 and 7.59).

My suggestion for linking the Persian lotus flower to 'divine', is drawn from the fact that King Darius I is holding a lotus flower in his hand (Fig. 7.6), communicating in a non-verbal manner the importance of the lotus symbol, possibly as a sun symbol. Kings in the ancient Near East are usually seen holding something important conveying a message to the beholder (Benzel, Graff, Rakic & Watts 2010:36).

I have found eight *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in/or on artefacts from Persia:

The full-blooming, eight-petalled, lotus-like rosette was scarce, see Figures 7.13; 7.35; 7.36; 7.49 and 7.59, but the twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette occurred regularly, specifically at Persepolis, see Figures 7.10; 7.14; 7.15; 7.16; 7.17; 7.18; 7.19; 7.21; 7.22; 7.24; 7.26; 7.29; 7.34; 7.57 but 7.61 has only ten petals.

Obovate-petalled rosettes resembling petals with the petals not touching each other were found only once in Figure 7.33.

Star-like rosettes were encountered in Figures 7.45 and 7.50.

Three-dimensional rosettes are displayed in Figures 7.44; 7.46 and 7.47.

Only once the circle with lines type of rosette is depicted in Figure 7.56.

Rosettes with sharp ends were found in Figures 7.27; 7.28; 7.32; 7.37 and 7.38. Both depictions on Figures 7.37 and 7.38 are from the same vase but in a different manner.

Daisy-like rosettes were found with elongated petals and with different numbers of petals, as seen in Figures 7.7; 7.8; 7.9; 7.11; 7.12; 7.25; 7.30; 7.31; 7.37; 7.39; 7.42; 7.51; 7.52; 7.53; 7.54 and 7.58.

The twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette was found in abundance with round or sharp ends, and therefore I would suggest that the *inspiration* for the rosette symbol in the Persian Empire was rather the *twelve-petalled lotus* symbolizing the *sun and sunlight* (cf. 7.2.1).

It is also interesting that two artefacts display more than one kind of flower on the same vessel, namely the lotus, daisy and sunflower (see Figs. 7.41 and 7.43 in Table 7.1 at the end of the chapter). All three types of flowers react to the strength of the sun. In Figure 7.23 it seems as if two flowers are shown together on one brick, the one possibly being the lotus flower and the

outer flower could possibly be a sunflower. Both these flowers are in direct association with the sun as they use the sunlight to open or lift their heads. This in turn might possibly refer to the sun(light) god, Ahura Mazda, in the Persian Empire, as the light of the sun is a characteristic of Ahura Mazda (cf. 7.3.2), the supreme god of the Persians. This light of the sun was extremely important because it would ensure order. Another example of two different types of rosettes on one artefact is Figure 7.48 where two daisy-like rosettes and one lotus-like rosette between the daisies occur.

Different materials have been used in Persia to create rosettes. Only a few of each medium is illustrated in the attached Table 7.2. Gold, baked and glazed tiles, bronze and stone are the different materials that are mostly used in producing rosettes in this region, although I am sure these are not the only mediums that the Persians worked with. No rosettes created with paint, ivory or mother of pearl have survived in the Persian artefacts that I have reflected on during my research. I would like to emphasise that they may exist, but I have not encountered them during this investigation.

Table 7.3 is an elementary chart of the main items of inspiration for the original rosette symbol. The lotus flower, sunflower, daisy and divinity are shown.

Table 7.4 is an elementary chart of the names of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes in Persia, namely Ahura Mazda, Mithra and Anahita.

Table 7.5 is an elementary chart for divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol.

Table 7.6 is an elementary chart of the number of different rosettes found in Anatolia.

Table 7.7 is an elementary chart of three rosette illustrations with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in Persia. The three artefacts also disagree with any opinion or theory that the rosette was used just for decoration purposes.

Table 7.1 Examples of six different types of rosettes found in Persian art
























Lotus / 8 petals	 <p>Figure 7.13</p>	 <p>Figure 7.36</p>	 <p>Figure 7.49</p>	 <p>Figure 7.59</p>
Lotus / 12 petals	 <p>Figure 7.17</p>	 <p>Figure 7.22</p>	 <p>Figure 7.29</p>	 <p>Figure 7.34</p>
Sharp-end petals	 <p>Figure 7.28</p>	 <p>Figure 7.32</p>	 <p>Figure 7.37</p>	 <p>Figure 7.37</p>
Daisy	 <p>Figure 7.48</p>	 <p>Figure 7.53</p>	 <p>Figure 7.54</p>	 <p>Figure 7.58</p>
Three dimensional	 <p>Figure 7.38</p>	 <p>Figure 7.39</p>	 <p>Figure 7.44</p>	 <p>Figure 7.47</p>
Two / Three flowers in one	 <p>Figure 7.23</p>	 <p>Figure 7.41</p>	 <p>Figure 7.43</p>	-

Table 7.2 Rosettes created from different materials used in Persian art



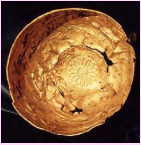









Gold	 Figure 7.7	 Figure 7.32	 Figure 7.43	 Figure 7.48
Silver/Bronze	 Figure 7.41	 Figure 7.44	 Figure 7.47	 Figure 7.59
Faience	 Figure 7.28	 Figure 7.35	 Figure 7.37	 Figure 7.39
Ivory/Bone	-	-	-	-
Stone	 Figure 7.15	 Figure 7.17	 Figure 7.21	 Figure 7.22
Paint	-	-	-	-
Baked and glazed tiles	 Figure 7.12	 Figure 7.23	 Figure 7.24	 Figure 7.29
Glass	 Figure 7.54	-	-	-

Table 7.3 Main items of creativity and inspiration for the original rosette symbol

Place	Lotus	Sun	Venus	Tree of Life	Daisy	Winged sun disc	Gods & Goddesses
Egypt	x	x			x		x
Sumer		x	x				x
Assyria		x				x	x
Babylonia	x	x	x		x		x
Anatolia		x				x	x
Persia	x	x			x		x

Table 7.4 Gods and goddesses connected to the rosette symbol

Civilization	God	Goddess
Egypt	Ra	Hathor
Sumer	Utu	Inanna
Assyria	Shamash	Ishtar
Babylonia	Marduk and Shamash	Ishtar
Anatolia	Nerikka	Arinna and Kumbaba
Persia	Ahura Mazda and Mithra	Anahita

Table 7.5 Divinity and their main characteristics, possibly connected to the rosette symbol

Divinity	Fertility	Protection	Provision	Kingship	Order	Justice	Creative	Resurrection	Herding	War
Ra	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Hathor	x		x				x			
Inanna	x	x	x	x					x	x
Utu	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Ishtar	x	x	x	x					x	x
Shamash	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		
Shamash	x	x	x		x		x	x		
Adad	x		x							
Marduk	x	x	x			x	x		x	
Arinna	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		
Kumbab a	x	x	x							
Ahura M	x	x	x	x						
Anahita	x	x	x							
Mithra			x			x			x	x

Table 7.6 The number of different types of rosettes encountered in Chapter Seven

Civilization	Lotus-like	Daisy-like	Sun flower-like	Circles & lines	Obovate	Combined 2 and 3	Star-like	Daisy/Lotus-like	Three-dimensional	Sharp-end petals
Egypt	14	25	7	6	4	3	0	0	4	0
Sumer	13	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	5
Assyria	32	19	4	0	5	5	8	5	0	0
Babilonia	1	16	0	0	3	0	4	1	0	0
Anatolia	34	13	0	0	3	9	9	0	0	0
Persian	24	12	0	2	1	3	4	0	4	4

Table 7.7 The three illustrations depicting rosettes with the most significance in Persia



Fig. 7.5 The winged sun-disk of Ahura Mazda, the design originally being Egyptian, bordered by rosettes



Fig. 7.17 All the scenes at Persepolis have numerous twelve-petaled, lotus-like rosette borders, possibly symbolizing the sun, symbolizing Ahura Mazda's protection



Fig. 7.37 Two goats/stags are venerating and kneeling to the rosette symbol, possibly symbolizing a divine presence

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The interpretation and understanding of artefacts should happen within their overall cultural setting (Craffert 1998:353). Artefactual data typically is neutral on historical matters and is subject to a range of interpretations (Craffert 1998:352). Interpretation as such is what I intended to do in this research and with the help from the systematic investigation of specific research questions.

My main aim was to collect all possible pieces of evidence from the ancient Near Eastern cultures and to investigate the value, significance and deeper meaning of the rosette as a symbol in the ancient Near East within an iconographical and comparative framework. The objective was further to research and interpret the various iconographic information where the rosette symbol was depicted within a historical and archaeological context. It was further my goal to enlighten the importance of the rather unknown rosette symbol in the ancient Near East (specifically Egypt, Sumer, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Syro-Palestine and Persia). I did that by making use of Panofsky's iconographical model as well as the application of a comparative approach.

This study also examined the meaning of the rosette symbol in connection with gods and demi-gods as well as royal identities. The written word which includes mythology, prayers, instructions, the Bible, and other inscriptions were consulted where possible and together with iconography gave a balanced perspective. What this research emphasises is that archaeology is as much an armchair activity of interpretation as it is fieldwork, excavations and laboratory analyses.

According to Dever (2002:71) archaeologists and researchers are better off speaking not of 'proofs' or 'facts,' but rather of various 'probabilities' and 'possibilities', this is the reason that the words occur often during this research.

With the help of the Panofsky model and the comparative approach, a systematic investigation of the pieces of evidence within an iconographical theoretical framework did cast new light on this enigmatic rosette symbol.

8.2 AN ICONOGRAPHIC AND COMPARATIVE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

8.2.1 Panofsky's model

The application of Panofsky's model (as well as a comparative approach, see below) made it possible to reach most of the goals and aims I set out to accomplish. The model did indeed help me find my way through a vast area with a great deal of information over a long time span. Panofsky's model was created to interpret iconographic material where no texts are available. Although Panofsky's model might be perceived to be outdated, it was exactly for this reason that I made use of it in combination with a comparative approach for the purpose of my investigation.

A systematic investigation of the pieces of evidence within an iconographical framework cast new light on this enigmatic rosette symbol. The iconographical descriptive part of the model indeed forced me to look at artefacts with a magnifying glass and I literally had to enlarge most of the artefacts to give a proper description and in this way I 'discovered' some very unique rosettes which might not have been possible if I had not had to do it – one such example is the so-called 'double rosette' (see Figs. 4.16; 4.34; 4.73; 4.74; 6.7; 6.21; 6.24; 6.26; 6.30; 6.31; 6.63; 7.23; 7.41 and 7.43). The double and even triple rosettes on top of each other on artefacts in the ancient Near East possibly had connections with the sun (cf. 8.3.3.2 below). The lotus, the daisy and the sunflower were the three 'sun' flowers depicted as triple rosettes (cf. Figs. 4.73; 7.41 and 7.43), symbolizing the characteristics of the sun and all its good properties.

However, the model of Panofsky showed that not all the rosettes of the ancient Near East symbolized the sun, but that Ishtar and the Venus star played equally important roles in the rosette symbolism.

The differences between the iconographical analyses and the iconological interpretation were not always easy, but having to seek the deeper meaning of what they represented helped me to cast new light on this enigmatic rosette symbol.

8.2.2 A comparative approach

My objective was further to research the rosette on an intra- and inter-regional basis in order to establish similarities, differences, and trends in perception within a region and then between regions. These regions are Egypt, Sumeria, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Persia.

The archaeological material that I gathered was adapted to a qualitative iconographical methodology where the rosette symbol was depicted within a historical and archaeological context. The comparative approach of the rosette helped me to do research on an intra- and inter-

regional basis (as mentioned above) to determine similarities, differences and trends within a region and between regions.

The framework I compiled for the comparative study was firstly to look into the possible inspiration for the rosette symbol in each area, then the gods and goddesses and their temples were investigated (see Table 1), followed by royalty (see Table 2) and their palaces (see Table 3). A section with the heading 'Additional artefacts', including other objects, followed. This included a selection of jewellery from different areas (see Table 4) and a selection of vessels from different areas were shown (see Table 5). General artefacts followed at the end of the 'Additional artefacts'. (Tables 1-5 are found at the end of the thesis).

A combination of the comparative framework as well as Panofsky's iconographic model enabled me to get a grip on all the randomly collected, often out-of-context, available depictions of rosettes on artefacts in the ancient Near East. This combined theoretical framework enabled me to observe not only valuable similarities between the different levels of the different areas, but also important differences. I was also able to create a few tables with the help of the comparative approach and these tables occur at the end of each chapter. Table 1 of each chapter comprises the *distinctive types* of rosettes depicted in/or on artefacts.

It is not always easy to differentiate between the lotus-like and the daisy-like rosettes and counting the petals did not always help, as the *number of petals* was often different whilst they were meant to belong to the same type of rosette. I have encountered eight-petal rosettes as one of Ishtar's symbols, but also lotus-like rosettes with eight petals, which complicated the matter. Furthermore, I have encountered twelve-petal, lotus-like rosettes in Persia, which is also not the norm for a lotus flower, as eight petals were the norm. Thus my attempt to name the rosettes is not completely successful, but I believe that in most of the cases it was well implemented. I tried to enhance the iconographic descriptive level of the Panofsky model by naming the rosettes (see 1.6).

Table 2 of each chapter is about the *different materials* that were used to create rosettes. Table 3 of each chapter is an elementary chart of the main items of *inspiration* for the original rosette symbol. Table 4 of each chapter is an elementary chart of the *names* of the gods and goddesses connected to rosettes. Table 5 of each chapter is an elementary chart for divinity and their *main characteristics*, possibly connected to the rosette symbol. Table 6 of each chapter is an elementary chart of the *number* of different rosettes found in that area. Table 7 of each chapter is

an elementary chart of *three rosette illustrations* with probably the most significance in the quest to find the meaning of the rosette in that area. The three artefacts also confirm most probably that the rosette was not just used for decoration purposes.

This comparative approach also enlightened the origin, meaning and significance of the rosette symbol in the ancient Near East.

8.3 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES REACHED

8.3.1 Value and significance of the rosette symbol

Because little research has been done into most areas of rosette iconography there are relatively few books written on the topic. This was one of my reasons to start with a research exploring the significance of the rosette image.

The primary aim was to add some *value* and *significance* to the relatively under-explored rosette symbol, and this was indeed done throughout the research. A comprehensive amount of rosette material is compacted together in this research and Panofsky's model and the comparative approach served as a theoretical framework (as mentioned above). The rosette image has been recognised as an independent message. It is no longer inferior to the text and has communicated to us without the help of texts and have even taken precedence.

My aim to find the origin of the rosette symbol might have been met in the planetary movements being the inspiration for the rosette linked to so many gods and goddesses (cf. 8.3.3.1). The sun gods and Ishtar are the main gods linked to the planetary movements, although minor gods and goddesses and even the moon god, Sin, is also included in the planetary movements. Royalty was also seen as divine; thus the rosette symbol is also linked with them.

I found four artefacts where the rosette symbol was venerated as an independent identity, showing that the rosette might have been godly or linked to the divine. These artefacts are displayed in Figures 4.33; 4.93; 6.41 and 7.37.

8.3.2 Research of the rosette on an intra- and inter-regional basis

My objective to research the rosette on an intra- and inter-regional basis in order to establish similarities, differences, and trends in perception within a region and then between regions was met with the help of my comparative theoretical framework. The intra- and inter-regional similarities and differences are mostly intra-regional, but a few inter-regional occurrences has

been noticed. These regions were Egypt, Sumer, Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia and Syro-Palestine and Persia (see above 8.2.2). The cross-cultural and widely spread environment presents a holistic perspective which is far better than an isolated view.

8.3.3 Origins or possible inspiration for the rosette symbol in the ancient Near East

Entering the field of pure hypothesis, the problem of the origin or inspiration of the rosette symbol in the different areas remains open, but some possibilities are as follows:

8.3.3.1 Significance of the planetary movements

It is important to know that the people of the ancient Near East were extremely dependent on natural elements for their future existence. This was the reason that so many gods and goddesses were symbolized by elements from nature, for instance the sun, the moon, thunderstorms with lightning, the sky, as well as stars [Venus] and other planets (Saggs 1989a:277).

The Mesopotamians believed that the future was predetermined by the gods and that gods used omens to communicate their decisions and intentions (Bertman 2003:168-169). As the ancient Mesopotamians believed that humanity's destiny was written in the stars, astrology, consequently, became very important. Mesopotamian priests viewed astronomy as a higher spiritual truth (Bertman 2003:170).

Creating, naming and giving symbols to the ancient Near Eastern civilizations' divinity took place by the people themselves only after the planetary figures in our solar system were already there, and their movements were fascinating as they still are today. The cosmos, the extra-terrestrial vastness, and the universe in contrast to the earth gave rise to choosing them as their gods.

It became evident that the divinities and their symbols (especially the rosette) were inspired by the *planetary movements* and the societies linked their gods, which were created by themselves, only after they were amazed by the planetary figures such as the sun, the moon, Venus, Jupiter and so forth. The rosette symbol (with or without wings) is found with all of the gods and goddesses mentioned during this research, namely Ra, Hathor, Utu, Inanna, Ishtar, Shamash Asher, Adad, Marduk, Arinna, Kumbaba, Ahura Mazda, Anahita and Mithra and even a few less important gods and goddesses. Therefore, after careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the origin or inspiration for the rosette symbol was most probably the *cosmos*

with the moving planets which includes specifically the sun (8.3.3.2) and the Venus star (8.3.3.3).

a) The sun as divine symbol

The sun gods were given their characteristics by the people themselves, and they were inspired by the *movement of the sun (regeneration and resurrection), the vegetation aspect, and fertility, the protective aspect, chasing away evil and darkness, and healing properties* which were all in association with the movements of the sun.

As discussed above the rosette might in some cases be the symbol for the sun. It appears as if the sun god Ra in Egypt, the sun god Utu in Sumer, the sun god Shamash in Assyria and Babylon, and the sun goddess Arinna from Anatolia, are all associated, being worshipped *with the sun as their symbol* and represented by the rosette. This sun is not the physical sun only as we portray it today, but a mythical, divine sun representing goodness, protection, fertility and rebirth characteristics.

According to Hart (2014:131) regarding Near Eastern iconographic images, evidence shows that where rosette motifs are used as solar symbols, they most commonly appear incorporated into the winged sun disc (cf. 6.2).

If the rosette symbol was the symbol for the sun (cf. 2.2.1.3), it would then contribute to the idea that the rosette was the symbol for *new life* or *fertility* as Irene Winter suggests (2010:241). On the other hand, the sun chases away the darkness and evil and brings back order which brings the *protector* theory of Julian Reade (1991:32), Chyral Hart (2018:473) and David Stronach (1993:19) equally into consideration.

However, as evidence of my wider research, I believe that the rosette symbol was used in a wider context than only sun worship and sun gods. I agree with Hart (2014:128) that solar symbolism is *not* the definitive significance of the rosette motif and that the Panofsky model and the comparative study showed that not all the rosettes of the ancient Near East symbolized the sun, but that Ishtar and the Venus star played equally important roles in the rosette symbolism.

b) The Venus star as inspiration

The Venus star inspired the people of Sumeria to link their supreme female goddess, Inanna who later became Ishtar, to the Venus star and from this time forth she was depicted with the morning

and evening star, and both her main attributes being 'love' and 'war' were linked to the star (cf. 3.2.1.1 and 3.2.1.2).

The Venus tablet, number 63 (cf. 3.2.1) effectively recorded the five synodic periods of Venus, giving a series of ten omens over the *eight-year cycle* through the pattern of Venus's appearance and disappearance from view (Baigent 1994:59). *Eight* was the *number sacred* to the morning and evening star, addressed as the 'radiant Star' (Baring & Cashford 1991:199). Therefore, in cases where the rosette symbol is depicted with eight petals, this might have indicated a direct link or reference to the goddess Ishtar (and the Venus star).

I am of opinion that Ishtar's star symbol might imply the aura/brilliance/*melammu* of the goddess Ishtar, and her rosette symbol might imply her *divine fertility* and her *divine protection* (cf. 3.2.4). Ishtar had a dual character (cf. 3.3.2.2) and as such her rosette could have pointed to fertility and protection: fertility connected to her 'love and sexual' side, and protection connected to her 'war-like' side.

8.3.3.4 *Lotus flower, the daisy, the sunflower and the Tree of Life*

Except for the planetary movements, especially of the sun and Venus, the comparative study shows that there were also *flowers in the different areas* that had special properties and responded directly to the movement of the sun, which would have been an inspiration for the specific depiction of the rosette in that area.

a) The lotus flower

Egyptian and Middle Eastern iconographers and mythographers recognised a natural symbolic relationship between their *sacred flower* and the *sacred sun* (McDonald 2002:122). The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is the symbol of the *sun*, of *creation and rebirth*, and as such it is *a sacred flower* (Albenda 2005:117). According to one creation myth, it was an enormous lotus which first rose out of the watery chaos at the beginning of time. Ra, the sun god, was depicted as a child who rose on the first day from this giant lotus (see 2.2.2).

The way the *lotus arose and disappeared every day symbolized the sun's journey*, and so it also symbolized the journey of *death and rebirth* - a central theme in ancient Egyptian religion. Lotus plants were the only plants which flowered throughout the year in Egypt, and this is one more reason for the blue lotus to symbolize the sun (Albenda 2005:117). There is a possibility that some of the depictions of the *rosette derived from the lotus flower*. If the *rosette* did indeed

resemble the *lotus flower*, then the rosette would also symbolize the *sun* (cf. 2.8 & 7.2 & Tables 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 5.1, 6.1 & 7.1).

b) The daisy flower

Albenda (2005:84) states that the rosette flower (daisy) of the ancient Near East is called (*ayäru*) and is a common theme in Mesopotamian iconography. The rosette symbol or a very similar daisy pattern with several elongated petals (cf. 1.6) is plentiful in the ancient Near East. Winter is also of the opinion that the rosette in Babylon is equal to the daisy flower (Winter 2009:241).

Whether the daisy was already in existence or not, the most important characteristic of the daisy (or a similar flower) is the potential to *multiply rapidly*. They reproduce and regenerate fast even under difficult circumstances. There is a possibility that the multiplication of the daisy plant, resembling a rosette-type (see Table 5.1), was a good symbol for a *fertility goddess* such as Ishtar (Winter 1976a:46).

The opening and closing of the daisy petals (cf. 5.2) according to the rising and setting and strength of the sun remind me of the opening and closing of the lotus flower mainly in Egypt (cf. 2.1.1). Although they are literally worlds apart, the one being a water plant and growing in muddy waters, and the other flowering in dry and difficult conditions, they both react to *the movements of the sun* and can therefore also be linked to the sun gods (Ra in Egypt, Utu in Sumer, Shamash in Assyria and Babylon, and the sun goddess Arinna from Anatolia). These sun gods are all associated with each other, being worshipped *with the sun as their symbol* and represented by the rosette.

c) The sunflower

Sunflowers are not depicted often in the ancient Near East iconography, but they do occur. The sunflower also *reacts to the strength of the sun* and lifts its head towards the sun and lets its head hang when the sun sets or disappears. I have encountered too few of these flowers to really find them to be the inspiration for the rosette symbol in the ancient Near East. The sunflower was sometimes in conjunction with one other flower such as a daisy or a lotus (cf. Fig 7.23, see Table 7.1). On rare occasions the three flowers were displayed together on one artefact (cf. Figs. 7.41 and possibly 7.43).

d) The Tree of Life

In some cases it appears to be that the rosette symbol was a shortened version of the Tree of Life (cf. 4.2.3.2 and Figs. 4.2; 4.5; 4.6 and 4.7). If this is the case, it brings us back to a divine characteristic for the rosette symbol as the Tree of Life was possibly seen as a symbol for a god or goddess. Although the Tree of Life is also a symbol for divinity (cf. 4.2), I have found in this research that it is not depicted often *enough* to be the inspiration for the rosette symbol.

8.3.4 Interpretations of the characteristics the rosette symbol represents

During my iconological interpretations (with the help of Panofsky's model) I found the rosette symbol mostly displayed with or on *divinity* and their *temples*, as well as with *royalty* and their *palaces*, and therefore, I agree wholeheartedly with Cahill (1997), Collon (1995), Frankfort (1948:224-226) and Ussishkin (1982:115) that the rosette is definitely a symbol for ancient Near Eastern *divinity* and *royalty* (cf. Tables 1 and 2 at the end of the thesis). However, I feel that under divinity, consecration plays a huge part of the divine theme appearing throughout this research. Consecration includes effects such as blessings, holy, set apart, sanctify and sacred.

I also agree unreservedly with Tilley (2006:7, 61), Hodder (1987:1-10) and Braithwaite (1982:80) that symbols (such as the rosette) formed part of important non-verbal communication (my insertion). Tilley has promoted the perception of material culture and its associated iconography as a means of non-verbal communication, with symbols found on material forms being vehicles via which complex ideas are communicated to others.

It became evident that the rosette symbol was in most cases a symbol for *divine* or *godly*. This includes *divine presence*, *divine protection*, *divine fertility* and *divine provision*. This message of a *divine presence* has been consistent in each of the civilizations encountered during this research. Although I am not convinced that a temple on its own can be divine but it can be sacred, the same goes for a crown. I am not sure that a crown which is a material object could be divine on its own, but it might be seen as holy (see 3.3.2). It is thus my opinion that the rosette symbol is a symbol for blessings, sacredness, holy or set apart, and these attributes falls under consecrated. It is thus my opinion that the rosette symbol was a symbol for consecration when ever and where ever it was not in connection to the divinity itself.

8.3.4.1 Egypt

If I am correct in my assessment that the rosette symbol mainly signified *divinity or a divine presence*, it would suit the worldview of the Egyptians (and others), where nothing stood on its

own, but everything was connected to the divine. The Egyptians were a most religious people. Religion affected every area of life: piety, ethics, politics, and death. If we eliminate all the archaeological remains and artefacts connected to religion, for instance temples, funerary structures, cultic statues and stele, little would remain (Hoffmeier 1994:284).

Because of the life-giving qualities of the *sun*, the Egyptians worshiped the sun as a god. In their worldview, the creator of the universe and the giver of life, the sun god Ra, therefore also represented life, warmth and growth. The Egyptian hieroglyph symbol for the lotus is also the symbol of the sun, of creation and rebirth, and as such it is a sacred flower, which in turn is possibly connected to the rosette symbol. The *lotus flower* can be seen (from the top looking down) as a rosette, as seen in Figure 2.78. There is a possibility that the lotus flower, with all its good properties of being a symbol for the sun, is represented by the rosette symbol (cf. Figs. 2.58 and 2.78). The vegetation aspect, fertility, protection, chasing away evil and darkness, new life and healing, were all in association with the movements of the sun and were symbolized by the lotus flower (as discussed above).

Mythological tales relating to the sun point to an association between the daily transit of the sun through the heavens, and a cycle of birth, death and rebirth, a recurring theme in Egyptian religion. Seeing that the sun was seen as the giver of life, vegetation (fertility), and also gave protection against evil forces and darkness, specifically in Egypt, this is a reason to believe that the rosette is probably a symbol for *divine fertility* and *divine protection*.

The *divine fertility* aspect, the *divine protection* aspect and the *birth, death and rebirth* aspects which the sun symbolized might possibly be the *inspiration* for the *lotus-like* and *daisy-like rosette* in Egypt (see Table 2.5).

The goddess Hathor was also associated with the creative force of the sun. The sun is the giver of life, controlling the ripening of crops which were worked by man. Winter suggests that the rosette symbol might indicate fertility (1976:46), which is then a good reason for Hathor, the goddess of fertile aspects, to be depicted in Figure 2.4 with rosettes on her hair.

The Egyptians believed in magic and good luck. The magic and good luck might have 'worked' as a kind of amulet, such as the evil eye (which is still portrayed in certain countries to this day).

In Egypt the king and the royal family were seen as godly because everything was connected to the divine (cf. 2.4). Therefore it would be perfect for the royal family to wear something

indicating their being (set apart) divinity. If the rosette was possibly a symbol for *divine protection* and/or *divine fertility* (provided by the sun god), it would be the ideal symbol to use, especially on their crowns, diadems, wig-covers and jewellery and many other places. Their palaces were also adorned with numerous rosettes (cf. 2.5).

I regard the illustrations of the goddess Hathor (Fig. 2.4) and Queen Cleopatra (Fig. 2.17) as the most significant artefacts in this chapter, as well as a vessel with lotus and rosette features in Figure 2.78, as the vessel illustrates the possibility of the lotus flower also being a rosette seen from above (cf. Table 2.7). It was mostly lotus-like and daisy-like rosettes that have been encountered in Egypt (cf. Table 2.6).

8.3.4.2 Sumer and Akkad

I would suggest that indigenous creativity took place in connection with the rosette symbol in Sumer and Akkad. I agree with Hart that in any case of cross-cultural use of iconographic motifs, indigenous creation should be a consideration (2014b:132). The Sumerian rosette symbol and its inspiration differ vastly from the Egyptian rosette symbol and its inspiration. In the Sumerians' quest to know more about the stars and other planetary movements (cf. 8.3.3.1) it is possible that they followed the path of the Venus star closely (cf. Fig. 3.5). The *Venus star* might possibly have been the inspiration for the rosette symbol in Sumer and Akkad (see 8.3.3.3 and cf. Table 3.3).

It was in particular *the symbol of the Venus star* that was used for the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna (cf. Fig.3.4), which in time was called Ishtar (cf. 3.2). Inanna was associated with protection, fertility, provision and herding, and she conferred the right of sovereignty (cf. Table 3.5).

The fact that we find rosettes in the temple of Inanna and that the priest-king is serving the flock (goats) rosettes as food (Figs. 3.16 and 3.18) should perhaps indicate a *divine* connotation to the goddess and her rosette symbol. The temple is a holy space, and the rosette is found in the temple and on temple paraphernalia such as the trough (crib) in Figure 3.26. This might imply that the rosette symbol represents divinity and, in this case, I suggest *divine provision and consecration*.

When queen Pu-abi wears rosettes on her headdress-combs this could possibly have indicated her *divinity* as *royalty* and specifically her connection to Inanna, because of the eight-pointed

rosette. Inanna conferred the right of sovereignty on Mesopotamian monarchs including queens (Stuckey 2001:94-95; Frymer-Kensky 1992:27).

According to my research not much cross-cultural interaction took place between Egypt and Sumer except that both civilizations had divine royalty and both civilizations were fascinated by planetary movements: in Egypt more so by the movements of the sun and in Sumer by the movements (dances) of Venus.

The three most significant illustrations to my mind found in this chapter are Figure 3.5 where the movement of the Venus star is illustrated, a seal of Inanna seen with rosettes and stars in Figure 3.7, and Figure 3.18 where the flock is fed rosettes (cf. Table 3.7). It was mostly lotus-like and daisy-like rosettes that have been encountered in Sumer (cf. Table 3.6).

8.3.4.3 *Assyria*

Predilection for non-anthropomorphic representation of deities is noticeable in Middle Assyrian imagery, where examples of devotional scenes of symbol worship in lieu of divine-figure worship are apparent (Ornan 2005:52), but the stone slabs depicting winged spiritual beings with rosettes on their bracelets and diadems are numerous.

Substitution of a divine emblem for a deity in human form occurred, as postulated by Frankfort (1996:132), as a result of a chasm that emerged between man and god in Assyrian art. The rosette symbol and even the winged sun disc might have been a substitute for a deity.

It seems as if both Ashur and Shamash used the winged disc as a divine symbol. The Hittites used the winged sun disc (cf. 6.2) and the symbol also evolved into the Faravahar (the symbol of divine power and royal glory in Persian culture in Zoroastrian Persia) (cf. 7.3.2.1 and Fig. 7.5). According to Teissier (1996:95-101), the winged disc was charged with a multi-faceted meaning but was not exclusively confined to the solar aspect. The fact that the *winged disc was combined* with a rosette (cf. Fig. 4.41) could indicate that the rosette was possibly a symbol for *divinity*.

Ishtar was previously known as Inanna, and the Venus star was also associated with her (cf. 3.3.2). Ishtar played a huge role in Assyrian religion and, in her war-like aspect, she could possibly have been the protector of the king. The rosettes could possibly have indicated that the king was acting in a religious or sacred role as he was also considered to take on the role of high priest. Although the Assyrian king was never a god, the whole of official religion centred upon

him, the prosperity of the whole nation being tied up in his welfare (Wiseman 1973:173). This prosperity of the whole nation could imply fertility needed for crops, animals and people, and this sits well with the rosette being a *fertility symbol* as suggested by Winter (2010:241). With all the different rosettes decorating the palaces of different Assyrian kings it is not difficult to see that the rosette was indeed a *royal symbol* (representing the divine).

Cross-cultural influences could have played a role as the palaces of the Egyptians (cf. 2.5) and the Persians (cf. 7.6) were both decorated with numerous rosettes, possibly symbolizing a 'divine' royal symbol.

Spiritual winged beings, Aladlammû and other protective creatures may have worn rosettes to indicate their divine protection towards Assyrian royalty and their palaces. Aladlammû could possibly have stood at the palace gates to convey protection. I suggest that the rosettes on the Aladlammû paws, together with the horns on its headgear (cf. 4.6.9), possibly indicated its divinity and as such its divine protection. The Aladlammû is thus a divine protector of the king and his palace.

The religious texts says that the gods are wearing (našû) the *melammu* on their heads as a supernatural headgear (Oppenheim 1943:31) in which case the headgear of the king should then also imply a supernatural power. Texts make it clear that the radiant surround of gold on the head is a visible luminous manifestation, associated with both protective and destructive power. Mesopotamian rulers, particularly later Neo-Assyrian kings, claim this property for themselves as well (Winter 1997:373). Insofar as it is said to be visible and have the power to overwhelm, we must envision the king's *melammu* (divine radiance or aura), too, as a vital force or energy emanating from the ruler. Winter (2012:160) argues that the Mesopotamian artists had not yet found a way to render the *melammu* in their art. I on the other hand suggest that whenever rosettes or stars are shown on their clothes, or on their diadems, the *melammu* (divine/holy radiance or aura) was possibly indicated in such a manner (cf. 4.5.3).

The palaces of the Assyrian kings (cf. 4.6) with the wall friezes leave us with a clear picture of what the palaces looked like as well as what the royalty did for a living. The sovereign was the source of all authority and as the representative of the gods he was above mere mortals and in his palace lived apart from them, isolated in his majesty (Hamlyn 1968:89). My suggestion for the rosette symbol being a symbol for *divine kingship* is meant for all the Assyrian kings and not one particular king.

The tombs of Nimrud have provided us with beautiful crowns, jewellery, and artefacts with rosettes to be investigated. Together with the stone reliefs of the Assyrian palaces many rosettes were observed by me, and it seems as if the rosette symbol did indeed play a symbolic role in the *divine* and *royal* lives of the Assyrian civilization.

The winged spiritual beings in Figure 4.33 are blessing, praying or purifying the rosette symbol in a wall painting of the palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad, in which case it elevates the rosette symbol to a *godly consecrated identity*. Two more very important artefacts are seen in Figure 4.41 where King Shalmaneser III is bringing an offer to the Assyrian divinities, probably Ashur, Ishtar and Shamash and in Figure 4.93 where only part of a sphinx's paw is venerating the rosette symbol, again indicating that the rosette symbol is a symbol for divinity (cf. Table 4.7).

The rosette in Figure 4.93 depicts a religious scene. The rosette seems to be worshipped by a sphinx. It appears as if there were two sphinxes doing this on both sides of the rosette. Only a paw has remained on the left side of the rosette, but this is enough evidence to make this assumption. The sphinxes might be praying to the rosette symbol, which will elevate the rosette symbol to a *godly identity*. This artefact resembles the illustration in Figure 4.33 where the sphinx is replaced with winged spiritual beings (*Apkallu*) venerating a rosette. These two examples may be an indication that the rosette was a *divine symbol*. It was mostly lotus-like and daisy-like rosettes that were encountered in Assyria (cf. Table 4.6).

8.3.4.4 *Babylonia*

Symbol worship is considered a Babylonian characteristic (Ornan 2005:109). According to Winter, daisies (cf. 5.2; 1.6) symbolize that which endures and reproduces and is, therefore, a worthy symbol for a goddess associated with *fertility* (1976a:46).

Because of the fertility aspect of Ishtar it is possible that the daisy-like rosette symbol in Babylon also implies awakening and new life when Ishtar is implied. In comparison, the daisy-like rosette symbol of Ishtar with the description of *fertility*, is similar to the lotus flower-symbol with awakening and new life in Egypt (cf. 2.2.1.3). The most important characteristic of the daisy is the potential to multiply rapidly, symbolizing creation, rebirth and fertility.

Furthermore the Babylonian daisy-like rosette has the same two designs as those of Sumerian Inanna/Ishtar, the rosette and the star (see Fig. 3.5). I am of opinion that the star might possibly

also imply the aura/brilliance/*melammu* of the goddess Ishtar, and the rosette symbol might possibly imply her *divine protection* (as warrior-goddess) towards the city of Babylon, as her rosette symbol occurs on the Ishtar Gate and Processional Way (cf. 5.6.1). The gate was called *Ištar-sakipat-tebiša* – Ishtar who *decimates her enemies* (Ornan 2005:113) and thus the many rosettes on the glazed wall tiles might have been the symbols for Ishtar's *divine protection* as this was one of her main character traits (Reade 1991:32; Hart 2018:473). It seems as if this *divine protection* was meant mainly for the royal family and the royal household. The relief along the Processional Way includes lions and bulls. The fact that lions and bulls were both seen as divine symbols in Mesopotamia, and that they were combined with rosette borders (Figs. 5.30-5.31), might indicate that the three components formed part of a religious scene.

In case the daisy-like rosette symbol in Babylonia was a symbol for the sun god Shamash, it would make sense that the symbol under discussion was a daisy, as the daisy flower opens and closes with the movement of the sun, similar to the lotus flower in Egypt (cf. 2.2.1.3). All the sun gods of the ancient Near East had the same characteristics of goodness, protection, fertility and rebirth attributes, and all of them were probably symbolized by a rosette symbol.

I would suggest that cross-cultural exchanges took place between the sun gods and even more so with Shamash being the sun god of the Assyrians and the Babylonians. Cross-cultural exchanges might also have happened with the Sumerian Ishtar and the Babylonian Ishtar being the 'same' goddess.

The king was often identified with the sun god because the king was an incarnate god in Babylon. The rosette symbols on royal items could possibly have indicated the sun as the giver of life and it would be perfect for the royal family to wear, or use, something indicating their *divinity*. The sun is also a symbol for *divine protection* (against evil and darkness), thus the rosettes on royal artefacts might possibly also have indicated protection towards the king and queen and the royal household. When the rosettes are worn as jewellery, and possibly also on their attire, an *amuletic* purpose should also be considered, specifically for *divine protection* against evil, but also for *divine fertility*.

The three most important artefacts in this chapter are depicted in Figures 5.33 where the abundance of the daisy-like rosettes found at Babylon are shown, Figure 5.7 where the sun god Shamash is depicted with a daisy-like rosette, as well as Figure 5.3 where Marduk, the patron

deity of Babylon, is depicted with daisy-like rosettes (cf. Table 5.7). It was mostly daisy-like rosettes that were encountered in Babylon (cf. Table 5.6).

8.3.4.5 *Anatolia and Syro-Palestine*

The comparative approach made it possible to determine that the rosette design is depicted throughout the broader Anatolian region. The sun god Ra in Egypt, the sun god Utu from Sumer, the sun god Shamash from Assyria and Babylon, and the sun goddess Arinna from Anatolia are all associated by being worshipped with the sun as their symbol, and the rosette as a symbol for the sun. This is a clear indication of 'cross-cultural use of iconographic motifs' (Hart 2014b:132).

The break of the new day and the rising of the sun signify a new creation every day, the creation of a *Weltordnung* (world order and orderly conduct) forming a contrast with the night as a time of disorder, sickness, death and lurking enemies (Cornelius 1990:25-43) (cf. 2.2.2) (see Table 6.5).

The Hittites adopted the sun symbol from the Egyptians, but gave it a new shape and made it the principal symbol of royalty together with also being a symbol for divinity. The sun symbol meant 'I, My Majesty, the King' (Akurgal 2001:143).

Almost all the seals of the Hittite kings have at least one or occasionally two rosettes engraved on them, and almost all royalty had rosettes on their diadems and on their *poloses*. It might still be the influence of Ishtar (cf. 3.2.4 and 5.2.2), or it might possibly be the sun goddess Arinna who inspired the use of the rosette symbol in Anatolia. My suggestion is that it was possibly a combination of the sun goddess Arinna and the Venus rosette symbol associated with Ishtar (cf. 3.2.4). This could be an explanation for the two rosettes used simultaneously on certain artefacts (see Table 6.1).

In some instances this divine sun is portrayed with wings (*Aedicula*) probably to elevate the symbol to 'higher' importance or to symbolize the sky god (6.2.1). According to Albright, in Hittite iconography the rosette motif was an incarnation of the sun god, whose symbol, the winged disc, later evolved into the winged rosette (1940:21). Wings are found mostly with the Anatolia artefacts in connection with the sun, rosettes and kings' seals. According to Keel, the *winged sun disc* may represent the Hittite royal title 'my sun' (Keel 1978:28). Winter is in agreement with Keel that the Hittite king was addressed as 'my sun' (Winter 1976a:5). This name 'my sun' might possibly be one of the reasons for the kings to make use of the rosette symbol on their seals, as the rosette has been seen as a symbol for the sun. This corresponds well with the

sun and rosette symbol and the royalty of Egypt (2.4), Sumer (3.5), Assyria (4.5), Babylonia (5.5) and Persia (7.5) where the rosette symbol also existed in connection with royalty.

Figure 6:41 displays a kneeling bull, seemingly venerating the rosette image on the Urartian fresco at the fortress of Erebuni. This resembles the venerating of the rosette symbol in Assyria depicted in Figures 4.33 and 4.93. This is a strong indication that the rosette symbol was seen as a *divine symbol*. Two more important artefacts are the Hittite winged sun disc with an eight-petalled rosette in the middle from a basalt tomb stela, illustrating the important winged sun disc with a rosette in the middle (cf. Fig. 6.3) as well as Figure 6.21 where the Hittite winged sun disc with two rosette symbols, possibly Ishtar and Arinna, is displayed (cf. Table 6.7).

I am not in disagreement with scholars such as Julian Reade, Cheryl Hart, David Stronach and Irene Winter (whom I have often quoted). My theory does not prove their theories wrong, but only *adds* to their theories, namely the concept of *consecration*. My interpretive findings are that the rosette symbol represents *divinity, including consecration such as blessings, set apart, sanctification, holiness and sacredness*.

It was mostly the double-type of rosettes that were encountered in the Hittite kingdom, both on top of each other, and above each other (cf. Table 6.6).

8.3.4.6 Persia

It is my suggestion that the rosette motif of ancient Persia was a lotus flower seen from the top and that the Persian lotus flower was also associated with the *divine* symbol, the same as in Egypt (cf. 2.8), although in Persia it was the twelve-petal rosettes instead of eight-petal rosettes as in Egypt. This again is a possible indication of cross-cultural influence.

It is my opinion that the Persian rosette was a symbol for Ahura Mazda (cf. 7.3.2) who had the sun's light as his godly symbol; thus the rosette in Persia would have been a symbol for the *divine* sun. It is Ahura Mazda (cf.7.3.2) whom the inscriptions at the palaces indicate to rather than Mithra, who later became the sun god (cf. 7.3.3) of the Persians.

The good characteristics that accompanied the lotus flower and the sun in Egypt which were transferred to the gods, might possibly have been duplicated by the Persians. The *divine fertility* aspect, the *divine protection* aspect and the *birth, death and rebirth* aspects which the sun

symbolized might possibly have been the *inspiration* for mostly the twelve-petal, lotus-like and daisy-like rosette in Persia (see Table 7.5).

Anahita was strongly influenced by Ishtar and her symbol was also the Venus star (cf. 7.3.1). A few articles are depicted with eight petals instead of the normal twelve petals in Persia, and it might be the Venus star (cf. 3.2) which is indicated with the eight-petal rosettes (see Figs. 7.13; 7.35; 7.49; 7.59 and Table 7.3).

My suggestion for interpreting the Persian rosette as *divine* is drawn from the fact that the rosettes bordered divine scenes such as Ahura Mazda the supreme god of the Persians (cf. Figs. 7.5) and especially the artefact of two stags venerating and kneeling to the rosette symbol in Figure 7.37. All the scenes at Persepolis have numerous twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosette borders, possibly symbolizing the sun, indicating Ahura Mazda's protection (cf. Fig. 7.17 and Table 7.7).

King Darius I holds a lotus flower in his hand (Fig. 7.2-7.3), communicating in a non-verbal manner the importance of the lotus symbol. I would therefore argue that the twelve-petal rosette of Persia and the lotus flower could be interchangeable and both could symbolize godliness (cf. 2.8). It was mostly twelve-petalled, lotus-like rosettes that were encountered in Persia (cf. Table 7.6).

8.4 CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE RESEARCH TO THE FIELD OF STUDY

- The rosette symbol communicated through its visual imagery that it was a vehicle for non-verbal communication. Weight and significance of visual evidence, even in the absence of textual confirmation has been added to the rosette symbol.
- The importance of iconology as well as the importance of meaning, which must be supplied by human beings, have been attempted during this research. Some insight from the inner beliefs and worldview of the following cultures: Egyptians, Sumerians and Akkadians, Assyrians, Babylonians, the Anatolians and the Persians have been obtained.
- Archaeological discoveries of sanctuaries did increase our knowledge of ancient religions. The cult equipment have included rosettes, and the gaps in previous research work indicate that the iconological interpretation of the rosette symbol, should be investigated more thoroughly. This is indeed what this research attempted to do. The

rosette symbols on temples, religious sites and of cultic items of various ancient Near Eastern cultures have been investigated.

- The unnoticed and previously rather unimportant symbol has been given a new life (as it is possibly also the symbol of new life) and iconography has shown how important it is to study and examine the smallest picture to get to the bigger picture.
- I chose to go as wide as possible with the idea of gathering as many rosettes as possible rather than going deep into less artefacts displaying rosettes. Never before have so many rosettes, from such a variety of ancient Near Eastern civilizations, occurred in one collection.
- I have investigated all available depictions of rosettes in the ancient Near East, which shows that they are mostly linked to a divine symbol (inspired by a specific planet or flower) or goddess/god and this added to our knowledge of the rosette. The concept that I suggest is that the rosette represents divinity and godliness, which can be transferred to a divine presence, divine fertility, divine provision or divine protection. I would include an amuletic function, falling under divine protection. Under divinity I include consecration which in turn includes sacred, sanctify, blessed, holy and set apart. When royalty occurs with a rosette I would suggest that it symbolizes consecration, specifically set apart.
- The important role that the Venus star played in connection with Inanna, Ishtar and Anahita was illuminated (cf. 3.2). The eight-petal rosette could have symbolized Inanna, later known as Ishtar, as eight was her sacred number originating from her Venus star and one of the paths (dances) of the star (cf. 3.2.1.1). The other path (dance) was the star symbol which was also one of Inanna's and Ishtar's symbols (3.2.1.2).
- Together the stars and rosettes showed the *melammu* (aura) of the gods and goddesses and possibly also the *melammu* of royalty as they wore golden discs fastened to their attire as well as on diadems (cf. 5.3.5 and 5.3.6).
- I suggest that the rosette was also a symbol for the sun, which in turn was an insignia for new beginnings, creation, revival and new life as well as protection. The rosette symbol was found in connection with different sun gods and one sun goddess, being Ra of the Egyptians (cf. 2.2.2), Utu of the Sumerians (cf. 3.3.3) and Shamash of the Assyrians (cf. 4.3.2) as well as Shamash of the Babylonians (cf. 5.3.2). Arinna of the Hittites was the only sun goddess (cf. 6.3.6). In Persia it was Ahura Mazda (cf. 7.3.2), the god of light (sunlight) and later on Mithra (cf. 7.3.3) that were worshipped as sun gods.

- In some cases it might be that the rosette symbol was a shortened version of the 'Tree of Life' (cf. 4.2.3.2 and Figs. 4.2; 4.3; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7). If this is the case, it brings us back to a divine characteristic for the rosette symbol, as the 'Tree of Life' was possibly seen as a symbol for a god or goddess.
- The lotus flower is most probably depicted in some cases as one of the rosette types, looking down from the top, and that the rosette and the lotus flower were one and the same symbol, signifying the sun and the sun gods (cf. 2.7.10.2 and Figs. 2.2; 2.58; 2.75; 2.78).
- My very wide investigation of all the available depictions of the rosette symbol and the royal family has also contributed to the knowledge of the rosette symbol. Here it is mostly the diadems and jewellery, palaces and royal paraphernalia (cf. 2.4; 3.5; 4.5; 5.5; 6.4 and 7.5) that made it clear that the symbol was also royal.
- The rosette symbol was also combined with the winged disc, probably symbolizing the sky god. In the Hittite civilization, two rosettes occur on top of each other as seen from the front and not from the top (cf. Figs 6.5; 6.7; 6.21 and 6.30). These two rosettes might indicate Arinna the sun goddess, and Ishtar.
- Depictions of figures such as sphinxes, lions, bulls, stags and goats venerating the rosette symbol and even kneeling to the rosette in illustrations also brings my suggestion of the rosette being a sacred identity or godly presence to the forefront (cf. Figs. 4.33; 4.93; 6.41 and 7.37).
- First for describing double and triple rosettes depicted on top of each other. Two and even three rosettes have been found on top of each other suggesting that these specific artefacts really symbolized the sun god, as all three flower types of rosettes had an association with the sun, either by closing and opening their petals, or by lifting and turning their heads towards the sun. This has been encountered a few times and the rosettes symbolizing this *phenomenon* are the lotus-like rosette and the daisy-like rosette (cf. Fig. 4.15; 4.16; 4.34; 4.73; 4.74; 6.24; 6.26; 6.63; 7.23; 7.41 and 7.43), as well as the sunflower when three rosettes occur.
- The answer to the search for the inspiration of the rosette symbol has possibly been reached, in the form of planetary figures and their movements (see above 8.3.3.1), and the sun gods (see above 8.3.3.1) and Ishtar with her Venus star (see above 8.3.3.3) are included in the planetary movements (cf. 2.2.2; 3.2.1.1; 3.3.3; 4.3.2; 5.3.2; 6.3.6; 7.3.2 and 7.3.3).

- The research also highlighted an amuletic function of the rosette symbol. The wide distribution throughout the ancient Near East on garments and clothing accessories, jewellery and weapons demonstrates the possible benevolent *amuletic* function of the rosette symbol, warding off evil and giving magical protection (cf. 2.7.3; 2.7.4; 5.7.2.2; 6.6.2.1b; 6.6.2.1c; 7.4.2.2 and 7.7.1.2).
- I created a key for naming the different types of rosettes found in the ancient Near East (cf. 1.6).
- A catalogue has been provided with several museum numbers at the end of the thesis. This is not intended as a comprehensive or complete catalogue, nor is it even an attempt to move in this direction, as it would need several more museum numbers. I have added available museum numbers as far as possible, but there are still a large amount of illustrations without museum referencing. I have added a web address with the illustrations if I could not find a museum number, rather than removing them as they may still add value to the field of study.
- I suggest that not all the lion hunts portrayed throughout the ancient Near East, but specifically in Assyria, were for pleasure hunting purposes only. My theory is that the lions were killed as a thank offering to Ishtar, probably after the war-like Ishtar 'helped' the king in battle. Hart (2018:469) found that the rosette symbol accompanied the king mostly on lion *hunts* and not so much when depicted in *war* scenes. This could possibly be because lion hunts were in my opinion rather *religious and sacred scenes* and the winged disc and rosettes drew attention to the sacredness of the scene. I base my theory on the hymn or thank offering of King Assurbanipal of Assyria (cf. 6.6.1.2), as well as the illustration of the lions being offered to Assur and Ishtar (see Figure 6.48).
- From the expensive material of most of the rosettes, the conclusion can be made that the rosette symbol was widely used by the elite.

8.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATION

- As archaeology expands, new rosette images may appear which may add or even alter the conclusion made by this research.
- As ancient texts and manuscripts are still to be translated, new ideas might come to light on the rosette symbol through these texts.

- The rosette and its importance to the ancient Near East might be compared to images of ancient Greece, India and the Far East as the rosette also frequently occurs in these countries.

I would like to end this thesis with a quote from William Faulkner (1951:73)

'The past is never dead, it is not even past'

Table 1 Divinity, Demi-Gods, The Winged Disc, Temples and Sanctuaries Depicted With Rosettes











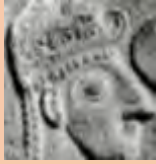








EGYPT	 Figure 2.4	 Figure 2.5	 Figure 2.6			
SUMER						
BABYLON	 Figure 5.3	 Figure 5.6	 Figure 5.5			
ASSYRIA	 Figure 4.45	 Figure 4.49	 Figure 4.51	 Figure 4.41	 Figure 4.10	 Figure 4.9
ANATOLIA	 Figure 6.9	 Figure 6.11	 Figure 6.13	 Figure 6.20	 Figure 6.3	 Figure 6.4
PERSIA	 Figure 7.21	 Figure 7.4	 Figure 7.5	 Figure 7.10	 Figure 7.19	

Table 2

Kings and Queens with Crowns, Diadems and Wig Covers Depicting Rosettes

EGYPT	 Figure 2.10	 Figure 2.11	 Figure 2.8	 Figure 2.13	 Figure 2.12	 Figure 2.9	 Figure 2.14	 Figure 2.15	 Figure 2.16
SUMER	 Figure 3.28	 Figure 3.29	 Figure 3.30						
BABYLON	 Figure 5.18	 Figure 5.21	 Figure 5.23						
ASSYRIA	 Figure 4.12	 Figure 4.13	 Figure 4.15	 Figure 4.16	 Figure 4.17	 Figure 4.18	 Figure 4.19	 Figure 4.20	 Figure 4.21
ANATOLIA	 Figure 6.33								
PERSIA	 Figure 7.13	 Figure 7.32							

Table 3 Palace Buildings, City Walls and City Gates Depicting Rosettes







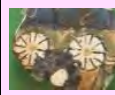





























EGYPT									
SUMER									
BABYLON									
ASSYRIA									
ANATOLIA									
PERSIA									

Table 4 Jewellery and Ornamentation Decorated with Rosettes














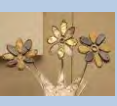





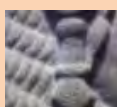

















EGYPT	 Figure 2.18	 Figure 2.20	 Figure 2.22	 Figure 2.26	 Figure 2.28	 Figure 2.29	 Figure 2.56	 Figure 2.57	 Figure 3.58
SUMER	 Figure 3.36	 Figure 3.37	 Figure 3.38	 Figure 3.40	 Figure 3.41	 Figure 3.42	 Figure 3.43		
BABYLON	 Figure 5.39	 Figure 5.14	 Figure 5.15						
ASSYRIA	 Figure 4.65	 Figure 4.78	 Figure 4.81	 Figure 4.82	 Figure 4.84	 Figure 4.53	 Figure 4.55	 Figure 4.66	
ANATOLIA	 Figure 6.49	 Figure 6.50	 Figure 6.51	 Figure 6.56	 Figure 6.53	 Figure 6.54	 Figure 6.55		
PERSIA	 Figure 7.8	 Figure 7.9	 Figure 7.33						

Table 5 Rosettes Depicted on Plates, Bowls, Jugs, Vases, Pyxis as well As on Cultic and Libation Vessels

EGYPT											
	Figure 2.75	Figure 2.76	Figure 2.78								
SUMER											
	Figure 3.32	Figure 3.26	Figure 3.35	Figure 3.23	Figure 3.24	Figure 3.45					
BABYLON											
	Figure 5.38										
ASSYRIA											
	Figure 4.69	Figure 4.70	Figure 4.72	Figure 4.73	Figure 4.74	Figure 4.75					
ANATOLIA											
	Figure 6.90	Figure 6.91	Figure 6.67	Figure 6.68	Figure 6.69	Figure 6.70	Figure 6.71	Figure 6.72	Figure 6.73	Figure 6.74	Figure 6.75
PERSIA											
	Figure 7.34	Figure 7.35	Figure 7.37	Figure 7.40	Figure 7.41	Figure 7.43	Figure 7.42	Figure 7.49	Figure 7.7	Figure 7.48	Figure 7.44

ADDENDUM I

ROSETTES FROM SYRO-PALESTINE

1. INTRODUCTION

A few artefacts of the Syro-Palestine area are included in Addendum 2. Rosettes found at synagogues (2), the Hulda Gate tunnel (3), the LMLK jars (4), royal game boards (5), tombs, tombstones, sacrophagi and ossuaries (6), and two golden rosettes (7). Panofsky's model will not be applied and neither will the comparative approach be applied.

2. ROSETTES FOUND AT SYNAGOGUES

The village of Capernaum is a well-known and venerated archaeological site in northern Israel. Notice the row of rosettes at the bottom of the fragment of the synagogue at Capernaum (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1 Fragments of the synagogue at Capernaum⁴¹¹

The stone door fragment from a synagogue in Galilee in Figure 2 depicts a menorah and a rosette. The rosette has a circle around as well as six dots in between the petals.



Fig. 2 Stone door fragment from a synagogue in Galilee⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ <http://generationword.com/devotions/photos-diagrams/pics-images/mar-photos/>

⁴¹² <https://www.google.com/search?q=Stone+door+fragment+from+a+%22synagogue%22+in+Galilee&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b>

In 2009 an important discovery was made at the ancient site of Migdal (also called Magdala) in Galilee. In a salvage excavation by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA),⁴¹³ a first century synagogue was unearthed, and within it, on the floor, a large decorated stone-block with Eucharistic reliefs was discovered (Figs 3-4). The stone-block in Figure 3 has a rosette at the top and the menorah depicted on the one side (Aviam 2013:205).



Fig. 3 The stone-block from Magdala with a top view of a large rosette⁴¹⁴

Two rosettes or chariot wheels are on the other side of the same stone block found inside the first-century synagogue at Magdala (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 Stone-block with two rosettes on the side⁴¹⁵

Figure 5 depicts a rosette on the floor of the first-century synagogue at Magdala, next to the Sea of Galilee. The stone-block discussed in Figures 3 and 4 can be seen in the background.

⁴¹³The Israel Department of Antiquities is an independent Israeli governmental authority responsible for enforcing the 1978 Law of Antiquities

⁴¹⁴ <https://heiscomingblog.wordpress.com/2015/08/23/near-the-sea-of-galilee-archaeologists-unearthed-mary-magdalenes-hometown-and-a-synagogue-where-jesus-may-have-preached/>

⁴¹⁵ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Israel+Magdala,+Galilee,+stone+altar+with+Eucharistic+reliefs&client=firefox-b&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjsgu3kv9PeAhXGJFAKHXNaAZEQ7A16BAgBEA0&biw=1366&bih=632>



Fig. 5 The mosaic floor of the first-century synagogue at Magdala
(Photo credit: Eric Mitchell)⁴¹⁶

3 THE HULDA GATE TUNNEL DECORATED WITH ROSETTES

The Hulda Gates have long been blocked from the outside. Most of the gate is covered by a medieval building. Both tunnels can be entered, however, from inside the walls although few Westerners have done so. The double-gate tunnel was preserved in its original Herodian state. The decorated domes inside the double-gate's entrance are over 16 feet in diameter. These domes were embossed with a variety of floral and geometric decorations that left no open spaces. These flowers were originally painted in appropriate colours (Fig. 6) (Shanks 1986:30-31).



Fig. 6 Rosette in the dome of the Hulda Gate's tunnels

⁴¹⁶ [https://www.google.com/search?q=The+floor+of+the+first+century+synagogue+at+Magdala+\(Photo+credit:+Eric+Mitchell\)&client=firefox-b-d&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiBreaZ-JHiAhU5SxUIHVIDBRkQ_AUIDigB&biw=1366&bih=632](https://www.google.com/search?q=The+floor+of+the+first+century+synagogue+at+Magdala+(Photo+credit:+Eric+Mitchell)&client=firefox-b-d&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiBreaZ-JHiAhU5SxUIHVIDBRkQ_AUIDigB&biw=1366&bih=632)

A series of variously coloured and fantastically ornate round-domed chambers were decorated with squares of intricately different geometric patterns combined with rosettes resembling chrysanthemums, crowfoot and other local flowers (Crossan & Reed 2001:239).

4. THE LMLK (*LAMMELEKH*) JARS

Seals impressed in the clay on jar handles were possibly made during the reign of King Hezekiah though they cannot be positively connected with any particular king (Mitchell 2016:62). The tradition of stamped governmental jars continued for centuries (Figs 7-8). The major difference between the LMLK imprints and the rosette imprints of stamped jar handles is their dates. The LMLK impressed jars were produced in anticipation of Sennacherib's campaign to Judah in the late eighth century BC, whereas rosette-impressed jars were made in preparation for Nebuchadnezzar's campaign to Judah in the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC (Cahill 1995:247-250).



Fig. 7 Jar with a rosette
Fig. 8 Enlargement of the rosette
(Photo credit: Zev Radovan)⁴¹⁷

The jar handle in Figure 9 was made in the final stages of the Kingdom of Judah (circa 586 BC).



Fig. 9 Stamped jar handle
(Photo credit: Luke Chandler)⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ <https://www.google.com/search?q=LMLK+jars+wih+rosette+print+of+Jerusalem&client=firefox->

The jar handle with a rosette seal in Figure 10 belongs to the City of David Archive. Most of the surviving stamped handles are broken away from the original jars. Over eight hundred of these stamped handles have been found at over twenty excavated sites in Palestine (Mitchell 2016:62).



Fig. 10 Rosette seal
(Copyright: Eliyahu Yanai, Courtesy of the City of David Archive)⁴¹⁹

The jug handle in Figure 11 was used by the Jerusalem administrative system that developed towards the end of the Judean Kingdom. The containers were used for storage of food and drink. The jars show that they stood about 2 feet in height, and had a capacity of between 9 and 10 gallons (Mitchell 2016:62).



Fig. 11 Jug handle with a rosette seal used by the administrative system⁴²⁰

Figure 12 depicts a jar handle with a fine-looking rosette. This artefact is from Lachish and is dated circa after 701 BC. More than four hundred stamped handles have been found at Lachish, nearly all in the territory to which Judah was confined by about 700 BC (Mitchell 2016:62).

⁴¹⁸ <https://lukehandler.wordpress.com/2015/11/05/signs-of-administration-in-the-early-kingdom-of-judah/>

⁴¹⁹ <http://embassies.gov.il/london/NewsAndEvents/Pages/New-evidence-from-.aspx>

⁴²⁰ <https://www.google.com/search?q=rosetteseal+print+on+jar+handle+in+Israel&client=firefox-b&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjEvMyPrtPeAhUxz4UKHeNqA6wQ7Al6BAgA EA0&biw=1366&bih=632#imgrc=u1D5dAQojyIJM:>



Fig. 12 Fine example of a jar handle rosette⁴²¹

The rosette on a Judean jar handle in Figure 13 is a rare type of rosette. The petals are shorter than the normal rosettes, which are found on the other jars. It is dated as 7th century BC, and forms part of the LMLK jars.



Fig. 13 Rare rosette type seal on a Judaea LMLK jar handle⁴²²

These vessels would have been suitable for any of the three staples derived from the land: grain, wine or oil (Mitchell 2016:62). During the Persian Period Judah became a province of the Persian Empire. Many jar handles belonging to this period were found stamped YHD, the Aramic name for Judah and YRShLM for Jerusalem (Pearlman & Yannai 1964:23).

5. ROYAL GAME BOARDS DEPICTING ROSETTES

In Megiddo three well-preserved ivory game boards, and fragments of a fourth one, have been discovered. The two best preserved game boards are on exhibition in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, and the other less well-preserved game board is on display in the

⁴²¹ <https://www.google.com/search?q=rosetteseal+print+on+jar+handle+in+Israel&client=firefox&t>

⁴²² <https://www.google.com/search?q=rosetteseal+print+on+jar+handle+in+Israel&client=firefox-b&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjEvMyPrtPeAhUxz4UKHeNqA6wQ7AI6BAgAEA0&biw=1366&bih=632#imgrc=y4aRnqXlkUIvtM:>

Oriental Institute in Chicago (Vermaak 1998:54). Several pieces were found which fit into the rosette-like holes on the boards.

In Figure 14 the remaining golden rosettes on one of the ivory game boards from the Canaanite Period are shown.



Fig. 14 Ivory game board from Megiddo with golden rosettes.
(Oriental Institute of Chicago, number OIM A22254)⁴²³

Barnett (1975:25) suggested that ivory collecting was an important form of wealth, in which perhaps either the local prince or princess traded or acted as distributor for the Pharaoh or more likely on his or her own behalf. Consequently the hoarding of ivory began and the 'ivory rooms' formed part of the king's treasure bank (cf. I Kings 22:39).

6. TOMBS, TOMBSTONES, SARCOPHAGI AND OSSUARIES

Jews in the Jerusalem area practised *ossilegium* or secondary burial: about a year after the initial burial, when the flesh had decomposed, the bones of the deceased were placed in a small stone box, called an ossuary (Grossberg 1996:n.d.). The term ossuary comes from the Latin word for bone, *os*. The ossuary was hewn from a large block of limestone in the shape of a rectangular box (Craffert 1999:12). They were usually decorated on the front and sides with chip-carved designs (Figs. 15-17), the most common motif being two or three rosettes in a frame. Other ossuary motifs include geometrical or architectural designs.

In November 1990 a cave was discovered in the Old City of Jerusalem which contained twelve limestone ossuaries. One of these bore the inscription: 'Joseph son of Caiaphas' in Aramaic. Almost all scholars agree that this ossuary contains the remains of the high priest

⁴²³ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Ivory+game+board+from+Megiddo+with+golden+rosettes&tbnisch&source=univ&client=firefox-b&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjCrNXTt47gAhUMmBQKHTHuBUMQ7Al6B-AgCEA0&biw=1366&bih=632>

responsible for the trial of Jesus. The box is decorated with different rosette designs (Fig. 15) (Anderson & Edwards 2014:142).



Fig. 15 Presumably the ossuary of the high priest Caiaphas (Anderson & Edwards, Israel Museum I-468AA 1991)



Fig. 16 Limestone ossuary (The Met Museum number X.248.11a, b)⁴²⁴



Fig. 17 Ossuary housed in the British Museum, London. (The British Museum, 126392)⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/256777>

⁴²⁵ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Ivory+game+board+from+Megiddo+with+golden+rosettes>

Many more ossuaries depicting rosettes are available, but the point that they existed in Israel is made.

One of the most impressive, important, yet largely unknown archaeological sites in the Holy Land lies at the southeast end of the Hinnom Valley just outside the Old City of Jerusalem. This tomb has an enormous rosette as a ceiling (Fig. 18) (Ritmeyer & Ritmeyer 1994:n.p.).



Fig. 18 Possibly the tomb of a high priest.⁴²⁶

In Figure 19 the Banais tombstone has a tiny rosette in the triangle at the top as well as a large rosette inside a circle. The theme of six petals around a rosette to form a circle was also found at the decorated stone-block with Eucharistic reliefs at the ancient site of Migdal (also called Magdala) in Galilee (see Figure 3).



Fig. 19 Tomb stone of Banais with rosette, Israel⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ <https://members.bib-arch.org/biblical-archaeology-review/20/6/1>

The geometric form of a rosette, seen on the stone fragment in Figure 20, was used to decorate the frieze (wide central section) above the entrance of a tomb at Tibneh during the Second Temple Period. Tibneh is located on the West Bank, between the villages Deir Nidham and Nabi Salih.



Fig. 20 Rosette, seen on the stone fragment⁴²⁸

Fig. 21 Entrance at Tibneh to the tomb⁴²⁹

The stone fragment broke down and now it lies near the entrance. There was originally a cornice above, now broken away. The tomb is choked thus only the top of the door is visible.⁴³⁰

7. TWO GOLDEN ROSETTES

The golden rosette of the 14th-13th century BC in Figure 22 is stamped in repoussé. The edges protrude on the back, which indicates that this object was sewn to a garment or ribbon, a practice used during the Iron Age. The tiny holes indicate that it was stitched onto something. It is a gift of Jonathan Rosen, New York, to American Friends of the Israel Museum (Price 2008:64).

⁴²⁷ <https://www.google.com/search?q=Tomb+stone+at+Banais+with+rosette,+Israel&client=firefoxb&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj8mHwtPeAhUGfFAKHYYrAxAQ7Al6BAgFEA0&biw=1366&bih=632>

⁴²⁸ <https://biblewalks.com/sites/Tibneh.html>

⁴²⁹ <https://biblewalks.com/sites/Tibneh.html>

⁴³⁰ <https://biblewalks.com/sites/Tibneh.html>



Fig. 22 Golden rosette.
The Israel Museum, Jerusalem (Photo credit: Peter Lanyi) Price (2008:64).

Figure 23 demonstrates a rosette made from thin gold. This rosette is from circa 1400 -1300 BC. Tiny holes indicate that this rosette was fastened to something else and is therefore not jewellery. The real size is 6.2 cm and the artefact is housed in the Rockefeller Museum in Israel.



Fig. 23 Golden rosette from the Iron Age (1400-1300 BC)
Price (2008:64)

8. SUMMARY

The fact that Israel was often engaged in wars and was twice deported is the reason for very limited artefacts being found in Israel. Their precious artwork and riches were looted by various other civilizations such as the Assyrian, Babylonians and Persians. This is the reason why only a few rosette images remain to be investigated in this region. Luckily storage vases from palaces depicting beautiful rosette images and rosettes on ossuaries are plentiful. Unfortunately very little jewellery, diadems, furniture or clothing has survived

ADDENDUM II

CATALOGUE A: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF EGYPTIAN ARTEFACTS



A1. Rahotep and Nofret (The Egyptian Museum number CG 3, 4)

Gallery number:	32 – Ground Floor
Period:	Old Kingdom
Dynasty:	Dynasty 4, Reign of Snofru (ca. 2613-2589 BC)
Size:	Height of Rahotep 121 cm; Height of Nofret 122 cm
Place of discovery:	Mastaba of Rahotep, Meidum
Material:	Painted Limestone, eyes inlaid with rock-crystal, calcite and outlined with copper



A2. Diadem of Princess Khnumet (Cairo Museum number CG 52860)

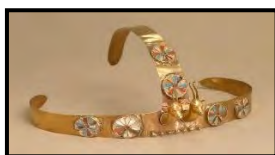
Cairo Antiquities Museum

Material:	Silver, Gold, Carnelian, Lapis Lazuli and Turquoise
Size:	Circumference 64 cm
Location:	Dashur, Funerary Complex of Amenemhet II, Tomb of Khnumet
Excavation:	J. De Morgan Excavations of 1895
Period:	12th Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhet II (1929-1892 BC)
Description:	This diadem is composed of eight horizontal decorative elements and the same number of vertical elements alternating to create a harmonious form. Each of the horizontal elements is centered around rosette, the carnelian nucleus of which is surrounded by fourteen turquoise petals that stand out against a background of lapis lazuli



A3. Diadem of Sat-hathor-Yunet (No museum number found)

Identity:	Sat-Hathor-Yunet, Daughter of Senusert II
Material:	Gold, Green Faience, Carnelian, Lapis lazuli
Period:	Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty
Reign:	Amenemhat III
Dimensions:	Height: ca. 44 cm Width: 19.2 cm
Description:	This type of diadem was usually fitted on a wig with long braids, each one of which was clasped in little gold rings. The diadem takes the form of a large flat band of solid gold, ornamented with a uraeus and rosettes. Both the gold cloisonné rosettes and the uraeus are ornamented with lapis lazuli, carnelian and green faience. The uraeus head is of lapis lazuli, while its eyes are of garnet set in gold rims



A4. Diadem of Thutmose III (The Met Museum number 26.8.99)

Title: Diadem with a Pair of Gazelle Heads
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18, early
Reign: reign of Thutmose III
Date: ca. 1479–1425 B.C.
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Wadi D, Tomb of the Three Foreign Wives of Thutmose III
Medium: Gold, carnelian, opaque turquoise glass, decayed crizzled glass
Dimensions: L. of forehead band 48 cm (18 7/8 in.); W. at bottom of vertical strip 3 cm (1 1/8 in.)
Credit Line: Purchase, George F. Baker and Mr. and Mrs. V. Everit Macy Gifts, 1920
Accession Number: 26.8.99



A5. Back view of the hippopotamus (The Met Museum number 17.9.1) Side view

Title: Hippopotamus ("William")
Period: Middle Kingdom Dynasty 12
Reign: Senwosret I to Senwosret II
Date: ca. 1961–1878 BC
Geography: From Egypt, Middle Egypt, Meir, Tomb B3 of the nomarch Senbi II, pit 1 (steward Senbi), Khashaba excavations, 1910
Medium: Faience
Dimensions: L. 20 cm (7 7/8 in.); W. 7.5 cm (2 15/16 in.); H. 11.2 cm (4 7/16 in.)
Credit Line: Gift of Edward S. Harkness, 1917
Accession Number: 17.9.1



A6. Face of Hathor with cow ears and rosette motifs on her hair (Louvre Museum, D32)

Date of fabrication: Ptolamy Dynasty (332-330 BC)
Found at: Dendéra
Inventory Number: D 32
Number principal: N 384
Collection: Département des Antiquités égyptiennes
Materials: Limestone
Place of discovery: Dendéra
Dedicatée: Salt, Henry
Acquisition date: 1826
Held by: Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités égyptiennes



A7. Golden rosette diadem from Nubia (Boston Museum number 20.306)

Period: Nubian: Napatan Period, reign of Talakhamani 435–431 BC
Findspot: Sudan, Nubia, Nuri, Pyramid 16
Medium/Technique: Gold
Dimensions: Height x diameter: 1.8 x 2.6 cm (11/16 x 1 in.)
Credit Line: Harvard University—Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition
Accession Number: 20.306
Collections: Jewelry, Ancient Egypt, Nubia and the Near East
Classifications: Jewelry / Adornment – Diadems
Description: Gold, flower shaped; incised tubular bead soldered to top; button inside.
Provenance: From Nuri. Pyramid 16 (tomb of Talakhamani), chamber A. 1916: excavated by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Sudan (Accession date: March 1, 1920)



A8. Wig cover from the reign of Thutmose III (The Met Museum number 1982.137.1)

Title: Ensemble of Rosettes
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18
Reign: Reign of Thutmose III
Date: ca. 1479–1425 BC
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud, Wadi D, Tomb of the Three Foreign Wives of Thutmose III
Medium: Gold, gesso, carnelian, jasper, transparent crizzled glass, opaque turquoise glass
Dimensions: L. in front 35 cm (13 3/4 in.); Circumference 40.2 cm (15 13/16 in.)
Credit Line: Purchase, Henry Walters and Edward S. Harkness Gifts, 1920 (1926.8.117a); Frederick P. Huntley Bequest, 1958 (58.153.2-.3); Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1966 (66.2.1, .7); Rogers Fund, 1970 (1970.169.80); Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1982 (1982.137.1, 1983.96.1–13)
Accession Number: 26.8.117a



A.9 Ivory cosmetic container (The Met Museum number 16.10.425)

Title: Cosmetic Box with a Swivel Top
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18, early
Date: ca. 1550–1458 BC
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Asasif, Courtyard CC 41, Pit 3, Burial B 4, Between head of coffin and wall, MMA excavations, 1915–1916
Medium: Ivory, Egyptian Blue
Dimensions: L. 9.2 cm (3 5/8 in.); W. 7.7 cm (3 1/16 in.); H. 3.3cm (1 5/16 in.)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1916
Accession Number: 16.10.425
Description: This small ivory box has a lid that is pegged at one end, allowing it to swivel open and closed. The hole at the other end of the lid once held another peg. When closed, the peg in the lid and the peg protruding from the box could be bound together with string to keep the box from opening. The top of the box has been

decorated with incised lines that form a rosette framed by a zig-zag pattern. The rosette was probably made using an early type of compass. The decoration was once filled with a material called Egyptian blue. Boxes similar to this one, made of wood, bone, or ivory, probably held dry cosmetics such as rouge. The box was excavated by the Museum's Egyptian Expedition in 1916. It had been placed near the head of a coffin along with a number of other jars that came to the Museum when the finds were divided with the Egyptian Antiquities Service. These include three jars of Egyptian alabaster (16.10.421, 16.10.423–.424), one small ointment jar of serpentine (16.10.422), two pottery vessels (16.10.427–.428), and three ivory combs (16.10.428–.430).



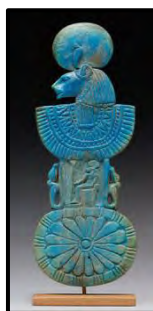
A10. Sekhmet with rosettes on the bust (Louvre Museum A8)

Description: Goddess Sekhmet, statues of the reign of Amenhotep III
Date: Reign of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC) 18th Dynasty
Medium: Diorite
Dimensions: left 218 cm; right 209 cm
Collection: The Louvre Museum
Accession number: Left A8; right A7



A11. Both sides of the Narmer Palette (The Cairo Museum number JE 32169)

Title: The Narmer Palette
Date: ca. 3200-3000 BC
Discovered: The Narmer Palette was discovered at the Hierakonpolis excavation site in 1897-98 by British archaeologist, James Edward Quibell, along with Frederick W. Green
Findspot: It was discovered at the Temple of Horus in the ancient capital of the Upper Kingdom, Hierakonpolis
Museum number: JE 32169
Collection: The Egyptian Museum in Egypt Cairo
Description: This palette commemorates the victories of King Narmer, who came from the south of Egypt to invade the Delta in about 3200-3000 BC. It represents the most important evidence that the first political unification in the history of mankind occurred in Egypt.



A12. Faience necklace counterpoise with aegis of Sekhmet (The Met Museum of Art 23.6.54)

Title: Necklace counterpoise with aegis of Sakhmet
Period: New Kingdom, Ramesside
Dynasty: Dynasty 19–20
Date: ca. 1295–1070 BC
Geography: From Egypt
Medium: Faience
Dimensions: H. 10 × W. 3.9 × D. 1 cm (3 15/16 × 1 9/16 × 3/8 in.)
Credit Line: Gift of Lily S. Place, 1923
Accession Number: 23.6.54

Description: At the top of this menat, or necklace counterpoise, is the head of a lion-headed goddess, wearing a broad collar and crowned with a sun disk. A relief scene showing a lion-headed goddess seated on a throne and holding a papyrus scepter decorates the menat's center section. This part is flanked on each side by a cobra wearing the Upper Egyptian crown. The bottom section features a rosette.



A13. Cosmetic container from the reign of Thutmose II (The Met Museum number 36.3.11)

Camomile-shaped inlay. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18,
Period: Reign of Akhenaten (Amarna period), ca. 1351 – 1334 BC
Material: Faience
Dimensions: Dm. 3,5 cm
Location: At the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts since 1911
Credit line: Purchased from Vladimir Golenischev, provenance: El-Amarna
Accession number: I.1.a 3361
Collection: Sculpture, Egypt Department, The Ancient Orient

Description: Wall inlays made of bright polychromous faience tiles formed a mosaic-like pattern or were inserted into painted walls. The tiles exhibited in the State Museum of Fine Arts show that they could be freely painted or decorated with semiabstract motifs with lotus petals, rosettes, and bunches of grapes between them



A14. Seated statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa (The Cairo Museum Gallery number 12)

Title: Seated statue of Thutmose IV and his mother, Tiaa
Gallery number: 12 – Ground Floor
Period: New Kingdom, Thutmose IV Menkheperure (ca. 1400-1390 BC)
Dynasty: N/A
Place of discovery: South Court Karnak Temple

Size: H 111.50 cm W 68.20 cm D/L 80.70 cm
Material: Granodiorite



A15. White faience flower (Pushkin Museum number I.1.a 3361)

Camomile-shaped inlay.

Period: Reign of Akhenaten (Amarna period), ca. 1351 – 1334 BC
Material: Faience
Dimensions: Dm. 3,5 cm
Location: At the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts since 1911
Credit line: Purchased from Vladimir Golenischev, provenance: El-Amarna
Asseccion number: I.1.a 3361
Collection: Sculpture, Egypt Department, The Ancient Orient

Description: Wall inlays made of bright polychromous faience tiles formed a mosaic-like pattern or were inserted into painted walls. The tiles exhibited in the State Museum of Fine Arts show that they could be freely painted or decorated with semiabstract motifs with lotus petals, rosettes, and bunches of grapes between them



A16. Rosette disc tiles from Qantir-Piameses (The Met Museum number 35.1.139)

Object Details: Group of rosettes 35.1.134, .135, .136, .137, .138, .139
Title: Tiles and ornaments from the palace of Ramesses II
Period: New Kingdom, Ramesside
Dynasty: Dynasty 19
Reign: Reign of Ramesses II
Date: ca. 1279–1213 B.C.
Geography: From Egypt, Eastern Delta, Qantir (Piramesse), Palace of Ramesses II, Private apartments
Medium: Faience
Dimensions: Diam. 2.9 cm (1 1/8 in.); Th. 0.8 cm (5 1/16 in.)
Credit Line: Purchase, Rogers Fund, Edward S. Harkness Gift and by exchange, 1922, 1929, 1935
Accession Number: 35.1.139



A17. Votive pectoral of Ptolemy V (Brooklyn Museum number 33.383)

Title: Pectoral of Ptolemy V
Medium: Wood, gesso, glass
Place Made: Egypt
Dates: 205-180 BC
Period: Ptolemaic Period
Dimensions: 19 5/8 x 14 1/2 in. (49.8 x 36.9 cm) Other (Registers): 1 3/4 in. (4.4 cm) (show scale)
Collections: Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
Accession number: 33.383
Credit Line: Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art

Description: Register of nine faience tiles representing lotus and grape frieze. Forms alternately conventionalized lotus flower and triangles, the latter inlaid with rosettes and bunches of grapes or with conventionalized tree (?). Polychrome glaze, red, blue, white yellow, etc. The marks on the rear sides of fragment d and fragment g. Condition: Poor. Three lotus forms incomplete. Two rosettes missing. Glaze worn.

Egyptian collars provided protection as well as decoration. Worn by the deceased in the tomb, they were also used in life to safeguard sacred objects.

The decoration and shape of this collar are typical of a *beb*-collar, one that hung from the prow of a sacred boat, protecting both it and the image of the god carried within. Successful defence of the god against the forces of evil helped ensure the continuation of the original world order.



A18. Faience, glazed floral frieze (Brooklyn Museum number 55.182a-i)

Title: Floral Frieze
Location: Brooklyn Museum, Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
Medium: Faience
Possible Place Made: Tell el-Yahudiya, Egypt
Dates: ca. 1184-1153 BC
Dynasty: 20th Dynasty
Period: New Kingdom
Dimensions: 11 7/16 × 2 13/16 in. (29.1 × 7.1 cm) (show scale)
Collections: Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
Accession number: 55.182a-i
Credit Line: Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund
Discussion: Although the use of glazed tiles and colored paste inlays is known from as early as the Old Kingdom, the apogee of their use came during the New Kingdom (Dynasties XVIII–XX). An almost identical frieze of lotuses, other flowers, and grape clusters is known to have adorned a wall of a palace of Ramesses III at Tell el Yahudiya in lower (northern) Egypt.



A19. Faience artefact from the reign of Akhenaten (1351-1334 BC) (Pushkin Museum number I.1.a.3381)

Medium: Faience
Dimensions: L. 6,1 cm; w. 4 cm
Location: At the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts since 1911
Credit line: Purchased from Vladimir Golenischev
Provenance: El-Amarna
Accession number: I.1.a.3381
Collection: Archaeology Egypt
Department: The Ancient Orient
Description: Inlay depicting a bunch of grapes between rosettes. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, reign of Akhenaten (Amarna period), ca. 1351 – 1334 B. C.



A20. Glazed lid with rosette design (number:1973.1.7b)

Title: Glazed faience disc shaped lid with floral motif.
Accession number: 1973.1.7b
Collection type: Personal Object
Culture: New Kingdom
Date made: 1186 BC - 1069 BC
Collector: Henry Solomon Wellcome
Place collected: Northern Africa: Egypt
Materials: Egyptian Faience
Dimensions: Overall: 11 mm x 66 mm
Credit line: Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome Collection
Legal status: Permanent collection
Provenance: Henry Solomon Wellcome
Previous owner: Purchased, Owned from: 1913-06-24, Owned until: 1936-06-25
Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, Donor, From Henry Solomon Wellcome, Owned from: 1913-06-24, Donation, Owned until: 1971



A21. Cosmetic tray with sphinx ca. 6th-5th century BC (The Met Museum number1999.353)

Title: Cosmetic tray with sphinx
Period: Iron Age
Date: ca. 6th-5th century BC
Geography: Egypt or Iran
Medium: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 4.5 in. (11.43 cm)
Credit Line: Purchase, Rogers Fund and Mrs. Vladimir S. Littauer Gift, 1999
Accession Number: 1999.353



A22. Openwork amulet of a winged scarab (Penn Museum number 92-2-97)

Title: Amulet of a winged scarab
Current location: Collection storage of the Penn Museum
Culture: Napatan
Provenience: Sudan El-Kurru
Locus: Tomb 51
Date made: 700-600 BC

Section: Egyptian
Materials: Faience
Iconography: Winged scarab
Dimensions: L 9.1, W 6 cm, D 0.9 cm
Object number: 92-2-97

Description: Openwork amulet of a winged scarab. The amulet is topped with a winged sun disk. The scarab has four wings. The sun disks held in its legs are decorated with a floral pattern.



A23. Faience rosette tile (Brooklyn Museum number 35.2001)

Title: Tile with Floral Inlays
Period: Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Near Eastern Art
Medium: Faience
Place Excavated: Tell el-Amarna, Egypt
Dates: ca. 1352-1336 BC
Dynasty: Late Dynasty 18
Period: New Kingdom, Amarna Period
Dimensions: 4 3/8 x 1/4 x 6 1/2 in. (11.1 x 0.7 x 16.5 cm)
Collections: Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
Accession number: 35.2001
Credit Line: Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society. Brooklyn Museum photograph

Description: This tile probably formed part of a decorative faience border framing a painting done on a mud wall in the Great Palace. The eleven tiny floral inlays are marguerites, white or yellow flowers resembling the daisy.



A24. Rosette tiles, ancient Egypt collection (National Museums Liverpool number 56.22.166a)

These tiles are currently housed in the National Liverpool Museum, number 56.22.166a.



A25. Ceiling painting from the palace of Amenhotep III (The Met Museum number 11.215.451)

Title: Ceiling painting from the palace of Amenhotep III ca. 1390-1353 BC
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18
Reign: Reign of Amenhotep III
Date: ca. 1390-1353 B.C.
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Malqata, Palace of Amenhotep III, Antechamber to King's bedroom, MMA excavations, 1910-11
Medium: Dried Mud, mud plaster, paint, gesso

Dimensions: h. 140 cm (55 1/8 in); w. 140 cm (55 1/8 in)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1911
Accession Number: 11.215.451

Description: The important buildings in the palace complex of Amenhotep III at Malqata were embellished with floor, wall, and ceiling paintings. This partially restored section of a ceiling painting was discovered lying face up in a room adjacent to the king's bedchamber. The motif consists of a repeating pattern of rosette-filled running spirals alternating with bucrania (ox skulls). Similar ceiling patterns, both painted and modeled in plaster, have been excavated at Aegean sites of a slightly earlier period.



A26. Reconstruction of Geometric Decoration ca. 1390-1352 BC (The Met Museum number 17.10.1a)

Title: Reconstruction of Geometric Decoration
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18
Reign: Reign of Amenhotep III
Date: ca. 1390–1352 B.C.
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Malqata, Temple of Amun, On Floor in Southwest Corner, MMA excavations, 1916–17
Medium: Faience, modern plaster, gold paint
Dimensions: H. 98.7 cm (38 7/8 in.); W. 73.7 cm (29 in.); D. 3.2 cm (1 1/4 in.)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1917
Accession Number: 17.10.1a

Description:

The faience tiles in this reconstructed panel of geometric decoration were unearthed during the Museum's excavations at Malqata, the site of a festival city constructed by Amenhotep III to celebrate his three rejuvenation festivals, or *heb seds*. The tiles were found in stacks on the floor of a room in the southwest corner of a temple built to honor the god Amun (see the excavation photo above). Originally they probably decorated the sides of a wooden shrine or some other piece of temple furniture such as the cabin on a sacred barque that would have been used to carry the god's image in celebrations.

The reconstruction is based on the shapes of the tiles which suggest that they were made to fill spaces between series of running spirals. These spirals would probably have been carved in wood or plaster and covered with gold foil (restored here in gold paint). Smaller, rectangular tiles formed the borders of the decoration. A similar geometric pattern may be seen on a section of painted ceiling decoration that was discovered in the King's Palace, the main ceremonial building at Malqata.

The excavators found other decorative elements in the same area as the tiles, including a long section of cavetto cornice and a cartouche containing the throne name of Amenhotep III, *Nebmaatre*. Originally thought to be parts of wall decoration, it now seems more likely that these are the remains of decorated temple furniture that was dismantled to retrieve the gold after the temple was no longer in use.



A27. Egyptian blue lotus-shaped chalice (British Museum number EA32626)

Object Type: Cup
Museum number: EA32626
Cultures/periods: New Kingdom 18th Dynasty (?)
Findspot: Egypt
Materials: Glazed composition
Technique: Glazed, incised
Dimensions: Diameter: 9.50 centimetres (max), Height: 13.60 centimetres (max)
Location: On display (G61/dc5) (G61/dc5)
Condition: fair (rim chipped in places)
Purchased from: Robert James Hay
Acquisition date: 1868
Department: Egypt and Sudan
BM/Big number: EA32626
Registration number: 1868,1102.185
Curator's comments: On faience footed cups, typically recovered from elite tombs, see Egypt's Golden Age (exhibition catalogue, Boston, 1982): 145-8.
Description: Blue-green glazed composition (faience) cup with circular foot, short stem and bell-shaped body, exterior elaborated with incised decoration representing lotus petals.



A28. Daisy pendant (The Met Museum number 11.215.252)

Title: Daisy Pendant
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18
Reign: Reign of Amenhotep III
Date: ca. 1390-1353 BC.
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Malqata, Palace of Amenhotep III, MMA excavations, 1910-11
Medium: Faience
Dimensions: Diam. 1.5 cm (9/16 in)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1911
Accession Number: 11.215.252



A29. Tile from the palace of Ramesses II (The Met Museum number 35.1.138)

Title: Tiles and ornaments from the palace of Ramesses II
Period: New Kingdom, Ramesside
Dynasty: Dynasty 19
Reign: Reign of Ramesses II
Date: ca. 1279-1213 B.C.

Geography: From Egypt, Eastern Delta, Qantir (Piramesse), Palace of Ramesses II, Private apartments
 Medium: Faience
 Dimensions: Diam. 3 cm (1 3/16 in.); Th. 0.4 cm (3/16 in.)
 Credit Line: Purchase, Rogers Fund, Edward S. Harkness Gift and by exchange, 1922, 1929, 1935
 Accession Number: 35.1.138



A30. Tile with rosettes, El-Amarna, the reign of Akhenaten (Pelizaeus Museum number 4824)

Present location: Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim
 Inventory number: 4824
 Dating: Amenotep IV/Amenophis IV/Neferkheperure/Akhenaten
 Archaeological Site: El-Amarna/akhetaten
 Material: Faience; Glaze
 Technique: Faience, Glazed, Inlay; Painted
 Dimensions: Height: 1.7 cm, Width: 7.4 cm
 Bibliography: Meisterwerke altägyptischer Keramik : 5000 Jahre Kunst und Kunsthandwerk aus Ton und Fayence, Montabaur 1978, Kat.-Nr. 237. Eggebrecht, A. (Hrsg.), Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim : Die ägyptische Sammlung, Hildesheim - Mainz 1993, Abb. 56.

Description: This tile formed part of the wall decoration of the great palace at El-Amarna. It shows a vegetative decoration of plant stems, blue flax flowers, and separate inlaid flowers of *Anthemis pseudocotula*, which has white leaves and yellow flower heads.



A31. Faience tiles with rosettes from the palace of Akhetaten (Brooklyn Museum number 35.2001)

Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art.
 Medium: Faience
 Place Excavated: Tell el-Amarna, Egypt
 Dates: ca. 1352-1336 B.C.E.
 Dynasty: Late Dynasty 18
 Period: New Kingdom, Amarna Period
 Dimensions: 4 3/8 x 1/4 x 6 1/2 in. (11.1 x 0.7 x 16.5 cm)
 Collections: Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
 Museum location: This item is on view in Amarna Period, Martha A. and Robert S. Rubin Gallery, 3rd Floor
 Accession number: 35.2001
 Credit Line: Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society

Description: This tile probably formed part of a decorative faience border framing a painting done on a mud wall in the Great Palace. The eleven tiny floral inlays are marguerites, white or yellow flowers resembling the daisy.



A32. Faience cosmetic spoon (circa 712-332 BC) (LACMA number 1992.152.59)

Title: Faience cosmetic tray
LACMA: No museum number found.
Period: Egypt, Late Period, 712-332 BC.
Type: Tools and Equipment: palettes
Material: Faience
Dimensions: 5 × 3 × 1 1/2 in. (12.7 × 7.62 × 3.81 cm)
Credit line: Gift of Varya and Hans Cohn (AC1992.152.59)
Location: Egyptian Art. Not currently on public view
Bibliography: Thomas, Nancy and Constantina Oldknow, eds. *By Judgment of the Eye: The Varya and Hans Cohn Collection*. Los Angeles: Hans Cohn, 1991.



A33. Earring from the reign of Amenhotep III (Metropolitan Museum number 44.4.6)

Title: Floral Ornament
Period: New Kingdom
Dynasty: Dynasty 18
Reign: reign of Amenhotep III
Date: ca. 1390–1353 B.C.
Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Malqata, Palace of Amenhotep III, MMA excavations 1911-12
Medium: Gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli
Dimensions: Overall: L. 2.7 cm (1 1/16 in.); diam. 1.8 cm (11/16 in.); Tube: L. 2.3 cm (7/8 in.); diam. 0.6 cm (1/4 in.)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1944
Accession Number: 44.4.6
Location: The Metropolitan Museum



A34. Votive pectoral of Ptolemy V (Brooklyn Museum number 33.383)

Title: Broad Collar
 Period: Ptolemaic Period
 Date: ca. 205–180 B.C.E
 Medium: Wood, glass, gesso
 Dimensions: 49.8 x 36.9 cm
 Credit Line: Wilbour Fund
 Accession Number: 33.383
 Location: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 19th Dynasty to Roman Period, Rubin Gallery, 3rd Floor
 Description: Egyptian collars provided protection as well as decoration. Worn by the deceased in the tomb, they were also used in life to safeguard sacred objects. The decoration and shape of this collar are typical of a beb-collar, one that hung from the prow of a sacred boat, protecting both it and the image of the god carried within. Successful defense of the god against the forces of evil helped ensure the continuation of the original world order.



A35. Eleven Egyptian faience rosettes (Christies, 2063380)

Title: Eleven Egyptian faience rosette inlays
 Period: New Kingdom
 Dynasty: Dynasty XX
 Date: ca. 1196–1070 BC
 Medium: Faience
 Lot Number: 2063380
 Description: Including ten white rosettes with eight petals and raised yellow centers, two with an X-shaped design and maat-feather on the back, and a ten-petal rosette dark tan in color
 2½ in. (6.4 cm) diameter for the largest (11)



A36. Steatite (glazed) amulet from the temple of Hatshepsut (Met Museum number 273.365)

Title: Cowroid Seal Amulet Inscribed with a Decorative Motif
 Period: New Kingdom
 Dynasty: 18th Dynasty
 Date: ca. 1479–1458 BC
 Medium: Steatite (glazed)
 Dimensions: Length: 9 cm; Width: 1.2 cm; Height: 0.6 cm
 Accession Number: 273.365
 Geography: From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, Temple of Hatshepsut, Foundation Deposit 9 (I), MMA excavations, 1926–27
 Description: Most of the amulets found in the foundation deposits of Hatshepsut's funerary temple were scarabs, but a hand full were carved in the shape of a cowrie shell. Like this one, the backs of most of these cowroids

have been incised with a decorative pattern that suggests the setting of a swivel ring bezel (see 36.3.46). Others (27.3.180) have also been inscribed with the image of a boliti fish (a tilapia), and two have been carved with the image of a falcon, with its wings outstretched and wearing an atef-crown (27.3.164, 27.3.396). The decoration on the base of this cowroid includes a central rosette and what appears to be a papyrus skiff which may represent the boat that transports the sun across the sky.



A37. Winged scarab amulet (Boston Museum number 24.713)

Title: Winged scarab amulet
 Period: Napatan Period
 Dynasty: reign of Piankhy (Piye)
 Date: ca. 743–712 BC
 Medium: Faience
 Dimensions: 8.1 x 7.4 x 0.9 cm
 Accession Number: 24.713
 Provenance: From el-Kurru, Ku 53 (tomb of queen Tabiry). 1919: excavated by the Harvard University–Boston Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Sudan.

Description: This amulet of blue glazed faience depicts a four-winged scarab with a rosette held between its hind legs. On the reverse is an incised cartouche between wedjats. Two suspension rings at top enabled it to be strung on a necklace.



A38. Rosette button from Nubia (circa 535 BC) (Boston Museum number 20.272)

Title: Rosette button
 Period: Napatan Period
 Date: ca. 535 BC
 Medium: Gold
 Dimensions: Diameter .015in, Height .02in, Weight .014in
 Accession Number: 20.272
 Provenance: Sudan, Nubia, Nuri, Pyramid 18
 Description: Gold; eight petals; loop in back.



A39. Blue faience bowl with lotus buds and a rosette in the middle (18th Dynasty).
 (The Met Museum number 22.3.73)

Title: Marsh Bowl
 Period: New Kingdom
 Date: ca. 1479–1458 BC
 Medium: Faience, paint

Dimensions: Diameter .8.8cm, Height .9cm
Accession Number: 22.3.73
Provenance From Egypt, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Deir el-Bahri, near pit 219, Hathor shrine rubbish heaps, MMA excavations, 1922
Description: The bowl's interior is decorated with a pool surrounded by blue lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea*) and papyrus flowers. The underside shows the petals and sepals of an open lotus. These motifs symbolize the themes of fertility, rebirth, and regeneration. Shrines dedicated to Hathor produced large quantities of such bowls, some of which have decoration that clearly symbolizes the goddess; others, like this one, bear patterns that are more general. The bright blue color reinforces the importance of the gift to Hathor, "Lady of Turquoise."



A40. Blue faience saucer and stand, New Kingdom (1400-1325 BC)
(The Walters Arts Museum number 48.1608)

Title: Saucer and stand
Period: New Kingdom
Date: ca. 1400-1325 BC
Medium: Faience, paint
Dimensions: Diameter .4.7cm, Height 4 cm
Accession Number: 48.1608
Description: A daisy decorates the interior of a tazza, or footed dish. A point on the bottom of the saucer fits into a corresponding depression in the stand, securing the two together. Patterns cut into the still moist composition were filled with a different colored paste to create the inlay.



A41. Siliceous faience chalice-shaped lotus vessel.
(The Louvre Museum, E 11349)

Object Type: Chalice
Museum number: E 11349
Location: The Louvre Museum, room 643
Collection: Department of Egyptian Antiques
Material: faïence
Date: circa 1550-713BC
Bibliography:
Pierrat-Bonnefois, Geneviève (dir.), *De sable et d'azur : la faïence dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Petit journal de l'exposition, cat. exp. (Le Mans, musée de Tessé, du 25 novembre 2006 au 1er avril 2007), Le Mans, 2006, p. 12, ill. p. 12 *Faïences de l'Antiquité. De l'Égypte à l'Iran*, cat. exp. (Paris, musée du Louvre, 10 juin - 12 septembre 2005), Paris, Musée du Louvre / 5 Continents, 2005, p. 100, 102, ill. p. 100 et 198, n° 260 Tait, George A. D., « The Egyptian relief chalice », *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (JEA)*, 49, 1963, p. 93-139, p. 102, pl. XIII, 1

CATALOGUE B: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF SUMERIAN ARTEFACTS



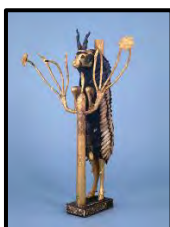
B1. Gold comb of Queen Pu-abi (Pennsylvania Museum number B16693)

Current Location: Collections Storage
Provenience: Iraq Ur
Archaeology Area: PG 800
Period: Early Dynastic III
Date Made: 2600-2450 BCE
Early Date: -2600
Late Date: -2450
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Lapis Lazuli, Gold
Dimensions: Height: 30.6 cm, Width: 27.8 cm, Depth: 11.7 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1928
Other Number: U.10937 - Field No SF
CBS Register: Gold comb of Queen Shubad and 7 gold flowers.
Description: Shubad, now Puabi. Broad hair comb of solid gold found behind the skull of Queen Puabi in grave 800 in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. This would originally have been fastened in amongst the hair at the back of the head to stabilize a large coiffure. The seven gold flowers that spring from it would have jutted above the hair-do to form a dazzling display. Each of the gold flowers has eight petals and a lapis center that is then topped by a gold disk. The two cuneiform signs that compose her name were initially read as "Shub-ad" in Sumerian. Today, however, we think they should be read in Akkadian as "Pu-abi."



B2. Pu-abi's headdress and cloak
(University of Pennsylvania Museum number B17711A)

Current Location: Collections Storage
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Archaeology Area: PG 800
Period: Early Dynastic III
Date Made: 2600-2450 BC
Early Date: -2600
Late Date: -2450
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Gold
Dimensions: Height: 0.7 cm, Width: 0.6 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1928
Other Number: U.10934 - Field No SF
CBS Register: U.10936-10934 (ribbon) Queen Shubad's headdress.
Description: Shubad, now Puabi. The two cuneiform signs that compose her name were initially read as "Shub-ad" in Sumerian. Today, however, we think they should be read in Akkadian as "Pu-abi."



B3. Ram in the thicket (British Museum number 122200)

Object Number: 122200
Current Location: Middle East Galleries
Provenience: Iraq, Ur, Royal cemetery of Ur
Date Made: 2450 BC
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Gold, Silver, Lapis Lazuli
Iconography: Ram, Goat, Tree
Dimensions: Height: 42.5 cm, Length: 18 cm, Width: 27 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1930

Description: Goat of gold, silver, lapis, shell, in the round, standing in a gold bush, on mosaic pavement. Small figural furnishing found with a near duplicate in grave 1237 in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. Though colloquially known as the 'Ram in the Thicket' it more accurately depicts a goat standing on its back legs to feed on leaves in a tree. The goat is formed of shell, lapis, and gold originally formed over a wood and bitumen core. It was crushed flat by the weight of some nine meters of soil above it and had to be painstakingly restored.



B4. Ceremonial trough from Uruk (British Museum number 120000)

Object Type: Trough, drinking-vessel, cast
Museum number: 120000
Object: The Uruk Trough
Cultures/periods: Late Uruk
Production date: 3300BC-3000BC
Found/Acquired: Warka
Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, South: Warka
Materials: limestone
Dimensions: Height: 15.20 cm, Length: 96.50 cm, Weight: 35 kg, Width: 35.50 cm
Location: On display (G56/dc7) (G56/dc7)

Bibliographic reference: Hall H R 1928d / An early Sumerian sculptured trough Andrae 1930a / Steinbecher (with photo of the Berlin fragment); Frankfort H 1954a / The art and architecture of the Ancient Orient (pl. 3c) Delougaz P 1960a / Architectural representations on steatite vases (p.91); Barnett & Wiseman 1969a / Fifty masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art (pp 8-9); Reade 2000c / Early carvings from the Mocatta, Blau, and Herzfeld Collections (p.81)

Description: Drinking trough; limestone; wide convex ends; impractical, as if it were raised high enough to see the relief decoration, it could not be used as a trough or basin; probably a cult image in the temple of Inanna; decoration shows flocks of sheep approaching reed hut and lambs emerging from it; scene probably reflects fecundity of flocks under Inanna's protection; high volutes projecting from the hut and repeated elsewhere are symbols of the goddess as are rosettes on the ends; the right end of one side is a cast, the original being in Berlin.



B5. The Uruk trough through side view (British Museum number 120000)

Image id: 00032384001
Object type: Trough, drinking-vessel, cast
Object title: The Uruk Trough (end view)
Technique: Relief, cast
Findspot: Warka
Materials: Limestone
Period / culture: Late Uruk
Production date: 3300BC-3000BC
Subject: Mammal, flower, architecture
Department: Middle East
Reference numbers: 1200001928,0714.1



B6. Hair comb with three rosettes (Penn Museum number 30-12-437.230-12-437.2)

Museum number: 30-12-437.230-12-437.2)
Current Location: Middle East Galleries
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Limestone, Gold, Silver
Iconography: Flower
Dimensions: Height 8 cm, Width 8.2 cm, Depth 2 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1930
Bibliography:
Horne, Lee C., and Zettler, Richard L. 1998. Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Actual Citation: Page/Fig./Plate: 106



B7 Choker with rosette (Penn Museum number B16694)

Current Location: Collections Storage
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Archaeology Area: PG 800
Period: Early Dynastic III
Date Made: 2600-2450 BC
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Gold, Lapis Lazuli
Iconography: Rosette
Dimensions: Height: 0.3 cm, Length: 43 cm, Width: 3 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1928
Other Number: U.10982 - Field No SF

Description: CBS Register: Queen Shubad necklace. 3 string lapis and gold. Pendant of gold and lapis. 12 petals. Choker necklace found at the neck of Queen Puabi in grave 800 of the Royal Cemetery at Ur. It has a gold rosette at the center with 12 petals on the rosette, lapis at the center of "flower" and 6 lapis petal inlays in every other petal on the flower. Coming off of each side are three strands of lapis and gold ball-shaped beads. The majority of the bead pattern is as follows: One lapis, one gold; three lapis, three gold. This pattern repeats on each strand coming off the rosette. The two cuneiform signs that compose her name were initially read as "Shub-ad" in Sumerian. Today, however, we think they should be read in Akkadian as "Pu-abi."



B8. The Venus tablet. Number 63 (British Museum number K.160)

Title: The venus Tablet
Museum number: K.160
Series: Series: Library of Ashurbanipal
Cultures/periods: Neo-Assyrian
Findspot: Kouyunjik Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, North: Kouyunjik
Materials: Clay
Dimensions: Length: 17.14 cm, Thickness: 2.22 cm, Width: 9.20 cm
Inscriptions: Cuneiform
Location: On display (G55/dc8) (G55/dc8)
Bibliographic references: Bezold 1889a / Catalogue of the cuneiform tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum (p.42); Rawlinson H C & Smith G 1870a / The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia, III (63) Sayce 1893 (p.316 ff); Bosanquet & Sayce 1880 (p.566 ff); CDLI / Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (P393774)
Description: Upper part of a clay tablet, 3 pieces, beginning of obverse and the end of reverse are wanting, astrological forecasts, a copy of the so-called Venus Tablet of Ammisaduqa, Neo-Assyrian.



B9. Golden bowl (Penn Museum number B17693) Bottom of the bowl (B17693)

Current Location: Middle East Galleries
Location: Currently On Display
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Archaeology Area: PG 800
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Gold
Dimensions: Height: 4.4 cm, Length: 13.1 cm, Width: 9.4 cm
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1928
Other Number: U.10850 - Field No SF
Description: CBS Register: gold fluted bowls with plain lugs. of Queen Shubad. with sketch. cf.16707
The two cuneiform signs that compose her name were initially read as "Shub-ad" in Sumerian. Today, however, we think they should be read in Akkadian as "Pu-abi."
Bibliography: [Catalogue] Horne, Lee C., and Zettler, Richard L. 1998. Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: 129



B10. Three cloisonné rosettes from a comb (British Museum number 122301)

Object Type: Comb
Museum number: 122301
Production date: 2600BC
Excavated by: Sir Leonard Woolley
Findspot: Royal Cemetery (Ur)
Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, South: Royal Cemetery (Ur)
Cultures/periods: Early Dynastic III
Materials: Gold, shell, bitumen
Technique: Inlaid
Dimensions: Length: 10.75 inches, Width: 9.87 inches
Location: On display (G56/dc18) (G56/dc18)
Condition: Restored.
Acquisition name: Division of Finds: Department of Antiquities of Iraq
Acquisition date: 1929
Department: Middle East
BM/Big number: 122301
Registration number: 1929,1017.113
Description: Inlaid head ornament; restored; silver hair-comb with three flower finials with petals of gold, shell, bitumen etc.



B11. Two different views of the Royal game board from Ur (British Museum number 120834)

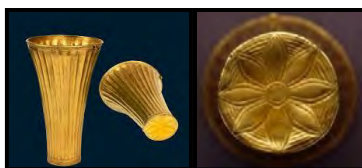
Object Type: Game-board
Museum number: 120834
Title: Series: The Royal Game of Ur
Cultures/periods: Early Dynastic III
Production date: 2600BC-2400BC
Production place: Made in: Iraq Asia: Middle East: Iraq
Excavated by: Sir Leonard Woolley
Findspot: Royal Cemetery (Ur) Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, South: Royal Cemetery (Ur)
Materials: Wood, shell
Technique: Inlaid
Dimensions: Height: 2.40 centimetres, Length: 30.10 centimetres, Width: 5.70 centimetres (narrow part of b) (narrow part of b), Width: 11 centimetres
Location: On display (G56/dc16) (G56/dc16)

Curator's comments:

Description: Game-board; wooden, originally hollow; top covered with 20 inlaid square shell plaques; edges made of small plaques and strips, some sculptured with an eye and some with rosettes; on the back are three lines of triangular shell ornamental inlays set as part of the modern reconstruction.

Circumstances of discovery and consolidation in the field described by Woolley (and quoted by Grunfeld) as follows: "The board lay face upwards in the soil. With the decay of the wood the whole of the encrustation of the upper surface had sunk down into the void so left, while the strip-work along the sides remained sticking up above it

Bibliographic references: Woolley et al 1934a / The Royal Cemetery (p.276, pl. 95b); Barnett & Wiseman 1960a / Fifty masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art (pp.24-25, no. 9); Grunfeld F V 1968a / The mystery game of Ur; Du Ry C J 1969a / Art of the Ancient Near and Middle East (p.57); Marseille 1991 / Jouer dans l'Antiquité (pp.154-55); Finkel I L 1995a / Board games and fortune telling: a case from antiquity; Aruz & Wallenfels 2003a / Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus (no.



B12. Tumbler (Penn Museum number B17691)
The bottom of a tumbler from Ur graves (B17691)

Current Location: Middle Eastern Gallery Middle
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Archaeology Area: PG 800
Section: Near Eastern
Materials: Electrum
Credit Line: British Museum/University Museum Expedition to Ur, Iraq, 1928
Other Number: U.10453 - Field No SF; 0407 - Cast Number
CBS Register: Gold tumbler of Queen Shubad, with illustration.
Description: The two cuneiform signs that compose her name were initially read as "Shub-ad" in Sumerian. Today, however, we think they should be read in Akkadian as "Pu-abi."
Bibliography:
[Catalogue] Legrain, Leon. 1950. The Babylonian Collection of the University Museum, University Museum Bulletin Vol.: 10:3-4. The University Museum. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: 21 [Book] Quick, Jennifer. 2004. Magnificent Objects from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. ed. 1st. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: 146 [Catalogue] Horne, Lee C., and Zettler, Richard L. 1998. Treasures from the Royal Tombs of Ur. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: 133 [Catalogue, Exhibition] Aruz, Joan. 2003. Art of the First Cities: The Third Millenium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus. New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: 117 [Book] Madeira, Percy C. 1964. Men in Search of Man: The First Seventy-Five Years of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. University of Pennsylvania Press. Actual Citation : Page/Fig./Plate: p. 92



B13. Seal of Ishtar surrounded by stars.
(The Metropolitan Museum number 1989.361.1)

Title: Cylinder seal with cultic scene
Period: Neo-Assyrian
Date: Late 9th-early 8th century BC
Geography: Mesopotamia
Culture: Assyrian
Medium: Flawed neutral Chalcedony (Quartz)
Dimensions: Hight. 1 ¼ in. (3.1 cm)
Credit Line: Gift of Martin and Sarah Cherkasky, 1989
Accession Number: 1989.361.1
Current Location: The Metropolitan Museum



B14. Limestone cylinder seal from Uruk (circa 3300-3000 BC).
(The British Museum number 116722)

Object type: Cylinder seal

Museum number: 116722

Cultures: Late Uruk

Production date: 3300BC–3000BC

Findspot: Warka, Asia, Middle East, Iraq

Materials: Calcite

Dimensions: Diameter 4.20 cm, Hight 7.20 cm

Location: The British Museum

Bibliographic references

Wiseman 1962a / Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals I: Uruk - Early Dynastic Periods (p.1, pl.1a)

Frankfort H 1939 / Cylinder Seals: a documentary essay on the art and religion of the ancient Near East (p.21 or 24, pl.Vi)

Heinrich E 1936 / Kleinfunde aus den archaischen tempelschichten in Uruk (p.14, pl.17c)

Strommenger E & Hirmer M 1962a / Funf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien (pl.17, p.55)



B15. Goat with golden rosettes.
(The Penn Museum number 30-12-702)

Object Title: Ram in the thicket

Object number: 30-12-702

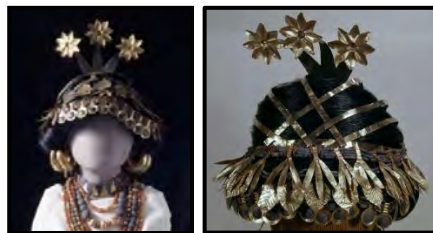
Current location: Penn Museum, Middle Eastern Galleries

Provenience: Iraq, Ur

Date: 2450 BC

Materials: Gold, Lapis Lazuli, Silver

Dimensions: Hight 42.5 cm, Length 18 cm, Width 27 cm



B16. Headdress of Queen Pu-abi.
(The British Museum number 122311)

Object Type: Headdress

Museum number: 122311

Cultures: Early Dynastic III

Production date: 2600 BC
Excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley
Findspot: Royal Cemetery of Ur
Materials: Gold



B17. Wreath of Queen Pu-abi with two rosettes.
(The Penn Museum number B17711)

Object Title: Wreath
Museum Number: B17711
Provenience: Iraq, Ur
Period: Early Dynastic III
Date: 2600BC-2450BC
Materials: Shell, Gold, Lapis Lazuli, Carnelian
Dimensions: Length 66 cm, Width 10 cm

CATALOGUE C: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF ASSYRIAN ARTEFACTS



C1. Threshold pavement slab with a carpet design (The Met Museum number X.153)

Title: Threshold pavement slab with a carpet design
Period: Neo-Assyrian
Date: ca. 7th century BC
Geography: Mesopotamia, probably Nineveh
Culture: Assyrian
Medium: Gypsum alabaster
Dimensions: 33.3/4 x 29.1/8 x 2.9/16 in (85.7 x 74 x 6.5 cm)
Credit Line: Museum Accession
Accession Number: X.153

Description: This doorsill is one of multiple examples designed to mimic a carpet that were used in doorways within the later Assyrian palaces. In a sense, they are a solution to the everyday practical problem of carpet wear in a heavily used space (e.g., a doorway), but a solution so signally expensive and labor-intensive that it does not make sense to see their use as a practical measure in reality. Like all Assyrian reliefs, their quarrying, transport, and carving involved difficult and time-consuming work. They would also have been painted, and where real carpet would eventually need replacing, these panels would presumably have needed to be repainted regularly. The Assyrian palaces were filled with fine carpets and hangings, but none survive. With fluctuating moisture levels and often very high salinity, the Mesopotamian soil is not well suited to the preservation of organic materials. Unlike in Egypt, where very stable dry conditions have allowed significant quantities of textiles to survive, the recovery of textile fragments in Mesopotamian archaeology is rare. Representations of textiles in other media help to compensate for this loss, particularly when, as here, the designs and patterns that would have been used in real carpets are depicted in detail.



C2. *Apkallu* and two sacred trees (Brooklyn Museum number 55.147)

Title: Apkallu-figure
Cultures: Assyrian; Ancient Near Eastern
Medium: Gypsum stone, pigment
Place made: Assyria, Nimrud (modern Kahlu), Iraq
Dates: ca. 883-859 BC
Period: Neo-Assyrian Period
Material: Gypsum stone, pigment
Dimensions: 93 1/16 x 80 13/16 in. (236.3 x 205.3 cm) Approximate weight: 3780 lb. (1714.6kg) (show scale)
Collections: Egyptian, Classical, Ancient Near Eastern Art
Museum Location: This item is on view in Ancient Middle Eastern Art, The Hagop Kevorkian Gallery, 3rd Floor
Accession number: 55.147

Description: Because most people in the ancient Near East could not read, artists developed symbols to help individuals identify the figures on palace and temple walls. As a sign of their supernatural essence, the human-headed genies in the reliefs from Ashur-nasir-pal II's palace all wear horned helmets. This association between horns and divine (or semidivine) presence had a long history in the ancient Near East. Beginning in the Akkadian Period (circa 2371–2230 b.c.) artists used bovine horns as symbols of divinity, and biblical and archaeological evidence indicates that horned altars were common in Israelite religion. Credit Line: Purchased with funds given by Hagop Kevorkian and the Kevorkian Foundation

Catalogue Description: Alabaster relief, standing, winged and horned, man-headed figure (genie) facing right between conventionalized date palms. Figure is pollinating the tree with a cone held in right hand, in his left is a small bucket. "Standard inscription" incised across center of relief. Joins with 55.148. Condition: Top center edge broken. Scattered minor chips on surface.



C3. Faded white and yellow rosette (British Museum number 1979,1218.78)

Object Type: Brick
Museum number: 1979,1218.78
Production date: 6thC BC-4thC BC
Excavator/field collector: William Kennett Loftus (?)
Findspot: Susa, Asia: Middle East: Iran: Iran, South West: Khuzistan (province): Shush: Susa
Materials: Glazed composition
Technique: Mould-made, glazed
Dimensions: Length: 8.30 cm, Thickness: 4.50 cm, Width: 8.50 cm
Subjects: Flower
Acquisition date: 1853
Acquisition notes: Small old rectangular paper label attached to one side similar to other Loftus finds
Department: Middle East
Cultures/periods: Achaemenid
Registration number: 1979,1218.78
Curator's comments: Presumably from Susa as the fabric of the brick closely resembles other Achaemenid bricks from this site rather than contemporary Achaemenid bricks from Persepolis, Babylon or Birs

Nimrud/Borsippa; the brick must thus be a previously unregistered find from Loftus' investigations at the site; the shape and state of the paper label also resembles those on other Loftus registered items.

Description: Glazed brick; sand and lime composition; moulded glazed face decorated with a small rosette with 12 white petals and a yellow centre, light blue background; most glaze colours now heavily decayed; semi-complete.



C4. Tiglath-Pileser III (745-725 BC) (British Museum number 118900)

Title:	Tiglath-Pileser III
Date:	ca.732 BC
Origin:	Nimrud
Discovered:	Austen Henry Layard in 1845
Dimensions:	H 108.5 cm, W 107 cm
Location:	The British Museum
Museum number:	MRK375



C5. Ivory female head with a diadem from Nimrud (The Met Museum number 52.23.3)

Title:	Head of a female figure
Period:	Neo-Assyrian
Date:	ca. 8th–7th century B.C.
Geography:	Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
Culture:	Assyrian
Medium:	Ivory
Dimensions:	1.97 x 1.22 in. (5 x 3.1 cm)
Credit Line:	Rogers Fund, 1952
Accession Number:	52.23.3
Location:	The Metropolitan Museum
Bibliography:	Wilkinson, Charles K. 1952. "Some New Contacts with Nimrud and Assyria." <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i> 10 (8), p. 235; Weinhardt, Carl J. 1970. <i>Treasures from the Metropolitan: Catalogue of the Inaugural Exhibition of the Indianapolis Museum of Art</i> . exh. cat. Indianapolis: Indianapolis Museum of Art, p. 32, no. 14; Harper, Prudence O. et al. 1984. "Ancient Near Eastern Art." <i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i> 41 (4), Spring 1984, p. 37, fig. 47.



C6. Amber statue of Assurnasirpal II (885-860 BC).
(The Boston Museum number 38.1396)

Title:	Assyrian King with breastplate
Material:	Baltic amber and gold
Accession Number:	38.1396
Classification:	Sculpture

Dimensions: Height: 24.3 cm (9 9/16 in.)
Date: 9th century BC or 20th century AD
The general scholarly consensus is that this statue is not ancient.



C7. Close up of the threshold. Assyrian stone carpet.
(British Museum number 118913)

Object Type: Door-sill
Museum Number: 118913
Culture: Neo-Assyrian
Date: 645BC-640BC
Findspot: North Palace Nineveh, Iraq
Material: Limestone
Technique: Carved
Dimensions: Length: 127 cm, Thickness: 7.50 centimetres, Width: 124 centimetres

Description:

Rectangular door-sill; carved from limestone; designed to appear as a carpet. The overall pattern of the principal rectangle is a field of interlocking circles, drawn with a compass, giving the effect of flowers with six petals. There is a row of rosettes around the edge, while an arcaded lotus and bud pattern forms an outer fringe.

Bibliography:

Barnett 1976 / *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C)* (p.43, pl.XXVII)
Curtis & Reade 1994a / *Tesoros de asiria en el Museo Britanico: Arte e Imperio* (45)
Curtis & Reade 1995a / *Art and empire: treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (45)
Paterson A 1915a / *Assyrian sculptures, palace of Sinacherib [sic]* (pl 102(2))
Gadd 1936b / *The Stones of Assyria: the surviving remains of Assyrian sculpture, their recovery, and their original positions* (p.190)
Gadd 1934c / *The Assyrian Sculptures* (pp.12, 73)
British Museum 2011a / *Splendours of Mesopotamia* (p.145, cat.121)



C8. Painted tile (circa 900-600 BC).
(The Barakat Art Gallery, SF.315)

Title: Painted tile
Museum number: SF 315
Date: circa 900-600BC
Dimensions: H 33.3 cm, W 33.0 cm
Material: Stone
Origin: Central Asia
Location: The Barakat Art Gallery UK



C9. Fired clay glazed brick with a rosette on the face.
(The British Museum number 92192)

Object Type: Brick
Museum number: 92192
Cultures: Neo-Assyrian
Date: 721-705BC
Material: Fired clay
Technique: Glazed, stamped with the name of King Sargon II
Location: The British Museum, not on display
Findspot: Asia, Middle-East, Iraq, Khorsabad
Curator's comments:

External facades and gateways of Assyrian palaces and temples were often decorated with brilliantly coloured glazed bricks and tiles. The glazed surfaces, now faded, give an indication of the colours such as once also covered the Assyrian sculptures. Some colours, black, blue and yellow, have survived far better than others.



C10. Glazed terracotta tile from Nimrud (circa 875-850 BC).
(The British Museum, 90859)

Object Type: Wall-tile
Museum number: 90859
Cultures: Neo-Assyrian
Date: 875-850BC
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Nimrud, North West Palace
Material: Fired clay
Technique: Glazed
Dimensions: Height: 38.30 centimetres (including base)
Width: 26 centimetres (including base)
Depth: 11.50 centimetres (including base)

Location: The British Museum, not on display
Excavator: Sir Austen Henry Layard

Description:

Fired clay wall-tile; glazed in yellow, green and black. This originally formed part of a narrative scene representing the Assyrian king (possibly Ashurnasirpal II) beneath a parasol with a shallow drinking-bowl in his right hand and bow in the other, and accompanied by military attendants.

Curator's comments:

A similar narrative composition was found at Ashur (W. Andrae, 1925: 28-29, fig. 6). The nature suggests that the remainder of the scene was of a military nature. See also BM 92190, from the Southeast palace at Nimrud.

Bibliography:

Albenda 2005b / Ornamental Wall Painting in the Art of the Assyrian Empire (pp 102-103, pl. 35).



C11. Relief panel from Nimrud.
(The Metropolitan Museum number 32.143.10)

Title: Relief panel
 Period: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: circa 883–859 BC
 Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
 Culture: Assyrian
 Medium: Gypsum alabaster
 Dimensions: 54 x 30 in. (137.2 x 76.2 cm)
 Credit Line: Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1932
 Accession Number: 32.143.10
 Excavator: Sir Austen Henry Layard
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts

Bibliography:

Budge, Ernest A.W. and Leonard W. King. 1902. *Annals of the kings of Assyria*. Volume I. London. Trustees of the British Museum. Pp. 212-221.
 Gladd, Cyril, J. 1936. *The stones of Assyria*. London: Chatto and Windus, pp.15.
 Russell, John M. 1997. *From Nineveh to New York*. New haven: Yale University Press, pp. 82-83, 110-112, Figs. 50, 91.



C12. Golden vessel of Shalmaneser V.
(Iraq Museum number IM 105698)

Title: Golden wine cup
 Location: Iraq Museum
 Museum number: IM 105698.
 Findspot: Tomb 2 at Kalhu
 Inscription: The name of Banitu, queen of Shalmaneser V
 Description:

Its form identifies it as a wine cup; wine was consumed at the Assyrian court during royal banquets following a precise formal procedure involving elaborate serving protocols and precious luxury vessels whose materials indicated the social status of its consumer. Only members of the royal family were entitled to golden tableware.



C13. Depiction of possibly Jehu paying tribute to King Shalmaneser III (British Museum number ANE 18885)

Title: Black obelisk
Origin: Nimrud, Assyria
Date: circa 825 BC
Discovered: Austen Layard in 1846
Dimensions: H 198 cm
Location: The British Museum
Museum number: ANE 18885



C 14. Ivory lid from Nimrud (circa 9th–8th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 54.117.9)

Title: Lid fragment
Period: Neo-Assyrian
Date: circa 9th–8th century B.C.
Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
Culture: Assyrian
Medium: Ivory
Dimensions: 4.92 x 4.06 x 0.59 in. (12.5 x 10.31 x 1.5 cm)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1954
Accession Number: 54.117.9
Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts
Excavator: Max Mallowan
Bibliography:

Mallowan, Max E.L. 1952. "Ivories of Unsurpassed Magnificence - The Finest and Largest from the ancient Near East Discovered in this Season's Excavation at Nimrud," *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 16, 1952, p. 256, fig. 24.

Lines, Joan. 1955. "The Ivories from Nimrud." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, pp. 240-241.

Mallowan, Max E.L. 1966. *Nimrud and its Remains I*. London: Collins, pp. 217, fig. 171, 172.

Wicke, Dirk. 2008. *Vorderasiatische Pyxiden der Spätbronzezeit und der Früheisenzeit*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 45. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, p. 316, no. NIM.96.



C15. *Apkallu* with a rosette in the front of his diadem and on two bracelets.
(The Brooklyn Museum no number)

Title: Winged Spiritual being
Culture: Neo-Assyrian
Material: Alabaster
Date: Circa 883-859BC
Reign: Ashurnasirpal II
Findspot: Room H, Northwest Palace Nimrud (Kalhu), Iraq
Location: Brooklyn Museum



C16. Lid fragment (circa 9th–8th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 52.23.8)

Title: Lid fragment
 Period: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: circa 9th–8th century BC
 Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
 Culture: Assyrian
 Medium: Ivory
 Dimensions: 0.87 x 2.64 in. (2.21 x 6.71 cm)
 Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1952
 Excavated: Max Mallowan
 Accession Number: 52.23.8
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts
 Description:

Built by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II, the palaces and storerooms of Nimrud housed thousands of pieces of carved ivory. Most of the ivories served as furniture inlays or small precious objects such as boxes. This broken piece of carved ivory was probably a lid for a small round box, called a pyxis by scholars.



C17. Plaque with a 'woman at the window'.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 59.107.18)

Title: Openwork furniture plaque with a "woman at the window"
 Period: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: circa 8th century BC
 Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
 Culture: Assyrian
 Medium: Ivory
 Dimensions: 2.83 x 2.72 x 0.31 in. (7.19 x 6.91 x 0.79 cm)
 Credit Line: Rogers Fund 1959
 Accession Number: 59.107.18
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts
 Excavator: Max Mallowan
 Bibliography:

Mallowan, Max E.L. 1966. *Nimrud and its Remains II*. London: Collins, p. 574, fig. 528.

Imai, Ayako. 1983. "Nimrud Ivories." In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Selections from the Collection of the Ancient Near East Department*, exh. cat. Tokyo: Chunichi Shimbun, no. 13.

Herrmann, Georgina. 1992. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963): The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*, Fasc. V. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, no. 103, p. 64, pl. 18.

Suter, Claudia. 1992. "Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg." *Neunundzwanzigster Band* 29, p. 18, fig. 14.

Aruz, Joan, with Jean-François de Lapérouse. 2014. "Nimrud Ivories." In *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*, exh. cat. edited by Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 3.31, pp. 144-145.

Winter, Irene J. 2016. "The 'Woman at the Window': Iconography and Inferences of a Motif in First-Millennium B.C. Levantine Ivory Carving." In *Assyria to Iberia: Art and Culture in the Iron Age*, edited by Joan Aruz and Michael Seymour. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 181, fig. 3.

Herrmann, Georgina. 2017. *Ancient Ivory. Masterpieces of the Assyrian Empire*. London: Thames and Hudson, pp. 80-81, fig. 89.



C18. Ivory head with a diadem and the profile of the same ivory head.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 54.117.8)

Title: Head of a female figure
Period: Neo-Assyrian
Date: circa 8th century B.C.
Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
Culture: Assyrian
Medium: Ivory
Dimensions: 1 11/16 × 1 3/8 × 1 3/16 in. (4.3 × 3.5 × 3 cm)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1954
Excavator: Max Mallowan
Accession Number: 54.117.8
Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts
Description: Carved in the round, this female head was found in the Burnt Palace at Nimrud and was blackened through exposure to fire during the final defeat of Assyria at the end of the seventh century BC.

Bibliography:

Mallowan, Max E.L. 1952. "Ivories of Unsurpassed Magnificence - The Finest and Largest from the ancient Near East Discovered in this Season's Excavation at Nimrud," *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 16, 1952, p. 255, fig. 8, 9.

Lines, Joan. 1955. "The Ivories from Nimrud." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, pp. 233-236.

Mallowan, Max E.L. 1966. *Nimrud and its Remains I*. London: Collins, pp. 211, 255, fig. 148, 149.

Maxwell-Hyslop, K.R. 1971. *Western Asiatic Jewellery, c. 3000-612B.C.* London: Meuthen Young Books, pl. 234a, b, p. 254.

Morris, Edwin T. 1999. *Scents of Time: Perfume from Ancient Egypt to the 21st Century*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 16-17.

Giovino, Mariana. 2007. *The Assyrian Sacred Tree. A History of Interpretations*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 230, Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, fig. 60.

Gansell, Amy R. 2008. "Women of Ivory as Embodiments of Ideal Femininity Beauty in the Ancient Near East during the First Millenium BCE." PhD diss., Harvard, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 44, 56-57, 65, 91, 113, 129, 144, 149, 156-157, 161, fig. 2.24.

Rakic, Yelena ed. 2010. *Discovering the Art of the Ancient Near East: Archaeological Excavations Supported by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1931–2010*. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 68 (1), Summer 2010, p. 20.

Gansell, Amy Rebecca. 2016. "Imperial Fashion Networks: Royal Assyrian, Near Eastern, Intercultural, and Composite Style Adornment from the Neo-Assyrian Royal Women's Tombs at Nimrud." In *Assyria to Iberia: Art and Culture in the Iron Age*, edited by Joan Aruz and Michael Seymour. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 58, fig. 5.



C19. Ivory head with a diadem from Nimrud.
(The British Museum, 118234)

Object Type: Statuette
Museum number: 118234
Culture: Assyrian
Date: 900-700BC
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Nimrud, Burnt Palace
Material: Ivory
Technique: Incised and inlaid
Dimensions:
Height: 4.50 centimetres (overall)
Width: 3.50 centimetres (maximum)
Depth: 3.50 centimetres
Excavator: Sir Austen Henry Layard
Location: The British Museum (not on display)
Bibliography:
Curtis & Reade 1994a / *Tesoros de asiria en el Museo Britanico: Arte e Imperio* (174)
Barnett & Davies 1975a / *A catalogue of Nimrud ivories with other examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories* (S.172; pl. LXX)
Curtis & Reade 1995a / *Art and empire: treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (174)
British Museum 2011a / *Splendours of Mesopotamia* (p.121, cat.88).



C20. Smaller female ivory head with rosettes.
(The British Museum, 118233)

Object Type: Figure
Museum number: 118233
Excavator: Sir Austen Henry Layard
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Nimrud, South East Palace
Material: Ivory
Technique: Inlaid
Location: The British Museum (not on display)
Dimensions:
Height: 5.20 centimetres
Weight: 40 grammes
Width: 4.30 centimetres (Maximum width overall)
Bibliography:
Barnett & Davies 1975a / *A catalogue of Nimrud ivories with other examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories* (S.173)
Frankfort H 1954a / *The art and architecture of the Ancient Orient* (167 bottom)
Strommenger E & Hirmer M 1962a / *Funf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (pl.264)



C21. Furniture glass inlays from Nimrud.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 57.80.18a–i)

Title: Furniture ornaments
 Period: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: circa 9th–8th century BC
 Geography: Syria, probably from Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatu)
 Culture: Assyrian
 Medium: Glass, bronze
 Dimensions: 0.75 x 0.75 in. (1.91 x 1.91 cm)
 Credit Line: Fletcher Fund, 1957
 Accession Number: 57.80.18a–i
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Arts
 Bibliography:

von Saldern, Axel. 1966. "Appendix III: Glass." In *Nimrud and Its Remains II*, edited by M.E.L. Mallowan. New York: Dodd, p. 630.

von Saldern, Axel. 1970. "Other Mesopotamian Glass Vessels (1500 - 600 B.C.)" In *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Corning Museum of Glass Monographs III. New York: Corning Museum of Glass, p. 224, no. 40.

Grose, David F. 1989. *Early Ancient Glass: Core-Formed, Rod-Formed, and Cast Vessels and Objects from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Roman Empire, 1600 B.C. to A.D. 50*. Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art, p. 176.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1991. *Glass Gathers*. exh. cat. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 2.

Curtis, John. 1999. "Glass Inlays and Nimrud Ivories." *Iraq* 61, pp. 62, 65, fig. 12.

Aruz, Joan and Elisabetta Valtz Fino. 2001. "Ancient near Eastern Art." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Ars Vitruvia: Glass in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 59 (1), p. 9.

Spaer, Maud. 2005. "Reconsidering the Iron Age glass inlays found in association with carved ivories." *Annales du 16e congrès de l'association internationale pour l'histoire du verre*, London, 7-13 September 2003. Nottingham: AIHV, p. 29, fig. 1.

Fontan, Elisabeth, and Giorgio Affanni (eds.). 2018. *Les ivoires d'Arslan Tash. Décor de mobilier syrien (IXe-VIIIe siècles avant J.-C.)*. Paris: Éditions Picard; Louvre éditions, p. 249.

Schmidt, Katharina. 2019. *Glass and Glass Production in the Near East during the Iron Age: Evidence from Objects, Texts, and Chemical Analysis*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 223-225, 260, no. AM22, AM23, AM24, AM25, AM26, AM27, AM38, pl. 32.



C22. Furniture glass inlays. Neo-Assyrian.
(The Metropolitan Museum, 62.269.15a–d)

Title: Inlays: white rosettes on blue backgrounds
 Period: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: circa 9th–8th century BC
 Geography: Mesopotamia, Nimrud (ancient Kalhu)
 Culture: Assyrian
 Medium: Glass
 Dimensions: 11/16 × 11/16 × 1/8 in. (1.8 × 1.8 × 0.3 cm)
 Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1962
 Accession Number: 62.269.15a–d
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum
 Excavator: Max Mallowan

Bibliography:

Curtis, John. 1999. "Glass Inlays and Nimrud Ivories." *Iraq* 61, pp. 59, 68, fig. 5.

Aruz, Joan and Elisabetta Valtz Fino. 2001. "Ancient near Eastern Art." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Ars Vitraria: Glass in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 59 (1), p. 9.

Schmidt, Katharina. 2019. *Glass and Glass Production in the Near East during the Iron Age: Evidence from Objects, Texts, and Chemical Analysis*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 200, 255, 257, no. Nim61, Nim62, Nim63, Nim64, pl. 27, 29.



C23. Ivory plaque with rosette and part of a sphinx paw.
(The Louvre Museum, AO 26281)

Object Type: Fragment of a sphinx
Museum number: AO 26281
Collection: Department of Oriental Antiques
Material: Ivory
Findspot: Iran, Kurdistan, in the region of Ziwiyeh
Location: The Louvre Museum, room 306
Dimensions: H 2.5 cm, L 3.3 cm

CATALOGUE D: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF BABYLONIAN ARTEFACTS



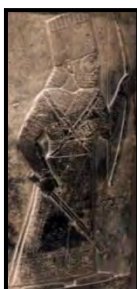
D1. *Kudurru* (British Museum number 102485)

Title: Kudurru
Object Type: Kudurru
Museum number: 102485
Cultures/periods: Middle Babylonian
Production date: 125 BC-1100 BC
Materials: Limestone
Dimensions: Height: 14.25 inches, Length: 9 inches, Width: 5 inches
Description: Limestone kudurru or boundary stone: consisting of a boulder of dark limestone, the faces of which have been slightly flattened by rubbing in order to take inscriptions and sculptures in relief. The stone tapers rather more towards the top than towards the base.



D2. Grant deed by Nebuchadnezzar I (British Museum number 90858)

Title: Kudurru
 Object Type: Boundary-stone kudurru
 British Museum number: 90858
 Ruler: Nebuchadnezzar I
 Cultures/periods: Middle Babylonian
 Excavator: Hormuzd Rassam
 Findspot: Abu Habba (Sippar) Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, South: Abu Habba (Sippar)
 Materials: Limestone
 Technique: High relief carved
 Dimensions: Height: 64 cm, Length: 21 cm, Width: 18 cm
 Description: Limestone stela in the form of a boundary-stone: consisting of a block of calcareous limestone, shaped and prepared on four sides to take sculptures and inscriptions. It is now mounted on a stone plinth. Face A has been sculptured in comparatively high relief with symbols, arranged in six registers.



D3. Marduk-nadin-ahhe on a kudurru (British Museum number 90841)

Object Type: Kudurru
 Museum number: 90841
 Cultures/periods: Middle Babylonian
 Production date: 11th Century BC
 Findspot: Asia: Middle East: Iraq: Iraq, South: Babylon (Iraq)
 Materials: limestone
 Technique: carved
 Dimensions: Diam 5.25 - 6.25 inches, W 8.75 - 9.75 inches, H 25.75 inches
 Location: The British Museum
 Bibliography: Barnett & Wiseman 1960a / Fifty masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art (pp.38-39, no.17)
 King 1912a / Babylonian boundary-stones and memorial tablets in the British Museum (no. VII, pls. LIII-LXVI, p. 37-42); Hall H R 1928a / Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum (p.3, pl. IX); Du Ry C J 1969a / Art of the Ancient Near and Middle East (p.93); British Museum 2011a/Splendours of Mesopotamia (pp.182-83, cat.156)
 Description: Limestone kudurru reign of Marduk-nadin-ahhe: the boundary-stone consists of a block of black limestone, which has been shaped and rubbed down to take sculptures and inscriptions. The rounded top of the stone is sculptured on all four sides and on the top with emblems: Face A: (1) Lunar disc, (2) Solar disc, (3) Eight-pointed star, (4) Horned headdress upon...



D4. Striding lion (The Met Museum number 31.13.1)

Title: Panel with striding lion
 Period: Neo-Babylonian
 Date: ca. 604–562 BC
 Geography: Mesopotamia, Babylon (modern Hillah)

Culture: Babylonian
Medium: Ceramic, glaze
Dimensions: 38 1/4 × 89 1/2 in. (97.2 × 227.3 cm)
Credit Line: Fletcher Fund, 1931
Location: The Metropolitan Museum
Accession Number: 31.13.1



D5. Cylinder seal and impression of Shamash.
(The Louvre Museum, AO 9132)

Object Type: Cylinder seal
Museum number: AO 9132
Location: The Louvre Museum (not on display)
Collection: Oriental Antiques
Culture: Neo-Assyrian
Date: circa 911-604BC
Technique: Engraved
Dimensions: H 3.7 cm, Dia. 1.7 cm



D6. Relief image on the tablet of Shamash.
(The British Museum, 91000)

Object Type: The Sun God Tablet
Museum number: 91000
Material: Limestone
Technique: Engraved and bevelled
Date: 860-850BC
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Sippar
Culture: Middle Babylonian
Excavator: Hormuzd Rassam
Dimensions: Height 29.21 cm, Width 17.78 cm

Bibliography:

Barnett & Wiseman 1960a / Fifty masterpieces of Ancient Near Eastern Art (pp.40-41, no.18)
King 1912a / Babylonian boundary-stones and memorial tablets in the British Museum (no.XXXVI, pp.120-27, pl.XCVIII f)
van Buren E D 1931a / Foundation figurines and offerings (pp.61-62)
De Meyer L 1980a / Tell ed-D r III (no.60, pp.102-103)
Rassam H 1897a / Asshur and the Land of Nimrod (402 and pls.facing pp.402 and 404)
Lippincott 1999 / The Story of Time (p.31, cat.019)
Zawadzki S 2006 / Garments of the gods (pp. 140-152)
Slanski 2003 / The Babylonian entitlement narûs (kudurrus): A study in their form and function (196-221)
Slanski 2000 / Classification, historiography and monumental authority: The Babylonian entitlement narûs (kudurrus).
Woods 2004 / The sun-god tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina revisited.
Seidl 2001 / Das Ringen um das richtige Bild des Šamaš von Sippar



D7. Stela of king Nabonidus.
(The British Museum 90837)

Object Type: Stela
Museum number: 90837
Ruler: Nabonidus
Cultures: Neo-Babylonian
Date: 554-539BC
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Babylon
Material: Basalt
Technique: carved

Dimensions:

Height 58 cm, Width 46 cm, Depth 25 cm

Bibliography:

King 1912a / Babylonian boundary-stones and memorial tablets in the British Museum (no.XXXVII, p.128, pl.XCIII f)

British Museum 2011a / Splendours of Mesopotamia (pp.210-11, cat.190)



D8. *Kudurru* of King Marduk-nadin-ahhe (circa 1099-1082 BC).
(The Walters Art Museum, 21.10)

Object Type: Kudurru (boundary stone)
Museum number: 21.10
Location: The Walters Art Museum
Findspot: Esagila
Culture: Middle-Babylonian
Date: 1099-1082BC
Dimensions: 1 x 8 1/4 x 4 1/4 in. (28 x 21 x 10.8 cm)
Material: Stone



D9. Golden necklace pendants
(Metropolitan Museum, 47.1a-h).

Title: Necklace pendants and beads
Period: Old Babylonian
Date: circa 18th-17th century B.C.
Geography: Mesopotamia, said to be from Dilbat

Culture: Babylonian
 Medium: Gold
 Dimensions: L. 42 in. (3.6 cm), D. of largest medallion 1 3/8 in. (3.6 cm)
 Credit Line: Fletcher Fund, 1947
 Accession Number: 47.1a-h
 Location: The Metropolitan Museum, Gallery 406
 Bibliography:
 Meissner, Bruno. 1915. Grundzüge der babylonisch-assyrischen plastik. Der Alte Orient 15. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, p. 64, fig. 115.

CATALOGUE E: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF ANATOLIAN AND SYRO-PALESTINIAN ARTEFACTS



E1. Limestone tripod bowl (British Museum number 1920, 1211.477)

Object Type: Tripod-bowl
 Museum number: 1920, 1211.477
 Cultures/periods: Iron Age II
 Production date: 10thC BC-8thC BC
 Excavator/field collector: Excavated by: Max von Oppenheim
 Materials: Limestone
 Technique: Carved
 Dimensions: Diameter: 11.80 cm (rim) (rim), Height: 12 cm
 Findspot: Tell Halaf Asia: Middle East: Levant: Syria: Syria, North East: Al-Hasakah (governorate): Tell Halaf

Curator's comments:

Previously labelled as "Limestone bowl (1920-12-11,477) with three legs and a sculptured frieze on the side showing two archers hunting wild animals and a bird above rosettes. This was probably used for burning incense. From Tell Halaf. Ninth to eighth century B.C."

Bibliography:

Searight, Reade & Finkel 2008a / Assyrian Stone Vessels and related material in the British Museum (447, pp.62-63, fig.34); Hrouda B 1962a / Tell Halaf IV: Die Kleinfunde aus historischer Zeit (plate 6);

Description: Soft, pale brown limestone or siltstone tripod bowl with many shells; three feet and central stem, each with a rosette, and decorated with a carved low relief frieze of sculptured bulls, a winged animal and a man shooting a long-necked bird with a bow and arrow; complete but worn or decayed; slight mark of burning in middle of interior.



E2. Late Hittite sphinx (Ancient Orient Museum Istanbul, no number)

Title: Sphinx.
 Material: Basalt.
 Date: Late Hittite period, 8th century BC.
 Origin: From the entrance to palace no. III at Sam'al (Zincirli), Turkey.
 Location: Ancient Orient Museum Istanbul, Turkey.



E3. Presumably a fertility goddess with rosettes.
(The British Museum, 119447)

Object Type: Figure / statue
 Museum number: 119447
 Material: Ivory
 Technique: Inlaid
 Findspot: Toprakkale
 Culture: Urartian
 Date: 8th century - 7th century BC
 Dimensions: 32.05cm x 42.33cm
 Department: Middle East
 Location: The British Museum
 Description:
 Nude figure of a woman made of ivory wearing an elaborate crown and necklace, with remains of blue inlay in the eyes.



E4. The god Teisheba standing on a bull.
 Enlargement of Teisheba's dress.
 (The British Museum, 91243)

Object Type: Furniture-fitting?
 Museum number: 91243
 Culture: Urartian
 Date: 8th century BC
 Findspot: Asia, Turkey, Eastern Anatolia Region, Van (province), Toprakkale
 Materials: copper alloy, gold
 Techniques: Incised, gilded, inlaid
 Dimensions: Height: 21 cm, Width: 13 cm
 Excavators: Emilius Clayton & Dr G C Raynolds & Hormuzd Rassam
 Location: The British Museum (not on display)
 Description:
 Cast and incised copper alloy furniture fitting, originally inlaid and gilded. Figure of a god in a patterned and fringed robe, standing on a recumbent bull.
 Bibliography:
 Budge 1922a / A guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities. (p.173)
 Burney & Lang 1971a / The peoples of the hills (pl.64)
 Talbot Rice T 1964a / Ancient Arts of Central Asia (fig.47, p.60)
 Vanden Berghe & De Meyer 1982a / Urartu: een vergeten cultuur uit het bergland Armenië (no.140, p.186)



E5. The seal of King Tudhaliya III (circa 1400-1380 BC).
(The Louvre Museum, AO 21091)

Object Type: Seal / document print
 Museum number: AO 21091
 Material: Clay?
 Technique: Imprint
 Language: Akkadian
 Findspot: Syrian, Ras Shamra, Ugarit
 Location: The Louvre Museum, room 301
 Date: circa 1400-1380 BC

Bibliography:

Blanchard, Vincent, *Royaumes oubliés : de l'Empire hittite aux araméens*, Paris, Louvre éditions - Liénart, 2019, p. 85, n° 42

Petersen, Lars (dir.), *Ramses Götterlicher Herrscher am Nil*, cat. exp. (Karlsruhe (Externe, Allemagne), Badisches Landesmuseum, 2016), Petersberg, Michael Imhof Verlag, 2016, p. 382, n° 214

Courtils des, Jacques ; Cavalier, Laurence (dir.), *Civilisations oubliées de l'Anatolie antique*, cat. exp. (Bordeaux, Musée d'Aquitaine, 19 février au 16 mai 2010), Bordeaux, Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux, 2010, p. 91, n° 11

Guidotti, Maria Cristina ; Pecchioli Daddi, Franca (dir.), *La battaglia di Qadesh : Ramses II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*, cat. exp. (Florence, musée archéologique, 6 juin-8 décembre 2002), Florence, Sillabe, 2002, p. 132, n° 47

André-Leickman, Béatrice ; Ziegler, Christiane (dir.), *Naissance de l'écriture : cunéiformes et hiéroglyphes*, cat. exp. (Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 7 mai-9 août 1982), Paris, Ministère de la Culture / Réunion des musées nationaux, 1982, p. 106, n° 65

Huit millénaires de civilisation anatolienne : objets prêtés par le musée du Louvre, cat. exp. (Paris, Maison de l'UNESCO, 1981), Ankara, Paris, Ministère des affaires étrangères de Turquie / Louvre éditions, 1981, p. 20, n° 16

Amiet, Pierre, *L'art antique du Proche-Orient*, Paris, Mazenod (L'art et les grandes civilisations, 7), 1977, p. 433, n° 737

Nougayrol, Jean, *Textes en cunéiformes babyloniens des archives du Grand Palais et du Palais Sud d'Ugarit. Le palais royal d'Ugarit VI (PRU). Mission Ras Shamra, tome XII (MRS).*, Paris, Klincksieck, (Mission de Ras Shamra, tome 9), 1970, p. 129-130, PRU 6,179.



E6. King Assurbanipal throwing a libation offering over the lions.
(The British Museum, 124886)

Object Type: Wall panel relief
 Museum number: 124886
 Ruler: Ashurbanipal
 Cultures: Neo-Assyrian
 Date: 645-640BC
 Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Kouyunjik, North Palace (Nineveh)
 Materials: Gypsum
 Dimensions: Height 160 cm, Thickness 17 cm, Width 169 cm
 Location: The British Museum (not on display)

Bibliography:

- Barnett 1976 / *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C)* (p.54, pl.LVII)
Curtis & Reade 1994a / *Tesoros de asiria en el Museo Britanico: Arte e Imperio* (28)
Curtis & Reade 1995a / *Art and empire: treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (28)
Paterson 1901-11 / *Assyrian Sculptures* (12 parts) (1907 vol., pl.XXXIV-V)
Gadd 1936b / *The Stones of Assyria: the surviving remains of Assyrian sculpture, their recovery, and their original positions* (p.187-188)
Barnett & Foreman 1959 / *Assyrian Palace Reliefs and their Influence on the Sculptures of Babylonia and Persia* (pls.90-99)
Frankfort H 1954a / *The art and architecture of the Ancient Orient* (pl.108b)
Pritchard, J B 1954a / *The Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (p.205, fig.626)
Rawlinson H C & Norris E 1861a / *The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia, I: a selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyria, and Babylonia* (pl.7 IX.D & IX.A)
Streck M 1916a / *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's I-III* (vol.2, p.306(γ) & p.304(α)).
-



E7. Terracotta jug from Cyprus (6th–5th century BC).
(The Metropolitan Museum, 74.51.634)

Title: Terracotta jug
Period: Cypro-Archaic–Cypro-Classical
Date: 6th–5th century BC
Culture: Cypriot
Medium: H. 11 1/2 in. (29.21 cm)
Classification: Vases
Credit Line: The Cesnola Collection, Purchased by subscription, 1874–76
Accession Number: 74.51.634
Location: The Metropolitan Museum
Bibliography:
Myres, John L. 1914. *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. no. 884, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



E8. Cosmetic stone *pyxis* with six petal rosette decoration.
The lid from the top.
(Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1887)

Object Type: Contain
Accession Number: 1887er
Classification/Specific: Pyxis
Material: Stone or Rock
Dimensions: 95 H X 50 Depth X 89 Diam mm
Findspot: Turkey, Amuq, Tell Judaidah

Period: Iron Age II Iron Age III
Date: 900- 550 BC
Location: University of Chicago (Oriental Institute)



E9. Rosettes on a bronze belt (circa 7th century BC).
Enlargement of the belt.
(Pierre Berge & Associés, Lot 179)

Object Type: Bronze belt
Culture: Urartu
Date: circa 8th-7th century BC
Material: Bronze
Dimensions: H 4.3 in, Diam. 13.4 in.

Bibliography:

O. W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1988, pp. 433-435, n° 578.

H. J. Kellner, *Urartu, a metalworking centre in the first millennium BC. catalogue d'exposition*, New York, 1991, pp. 141-161.



E10. Tiny rosettes on a bronze belt.
Enlargement of the bronze belt.
(Christies, 9482, Lot 26)

Object Type: Bronze belt
Date: circa Late 8th - Early 7th century BC
Material: Bronze
Culture: Urartian
Dimensions: L 46 in. (117 cm.), H 3 5/8 in. (9.2 cm.)

Bibliography:

H. Born and U. Seidl, *Schutzwaffen aus Assyrien und Urartu. Sammlung Axel Guttman*, IV, Mainz, 1995, pp. 100-102, 163, pls. 92-93, 129-130 (AG 427).



E11. Ceramic sealing of a rosette (circa 18th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 36.70.21)⁴³¹

Title: Sealing with stamp seal impression: rosette
Period: Middle Bronze Age–Old Assyrian Trading Colony

⁴³¹ <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/323539>

Date: circa 18th century B.C.
Geography: Anatolia, probably from Achemhöyük
Culture: Old Assyrian Trading Colony
Medium: Ceramic
Dimensions: Diam: Seal 1.45 cm, Seal Face Sealing: 2.38 x 2.45 cm, H 1.19 cm
Credit Line: Gift of Mrs. George D. Pratt, in memory of George D. Pratt, 1936
Accession Number: 36.70.21

Bibliography:

Özgüç, Nimet. 1983. "Sealings from Achemhöyük in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York." In Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel, edited by R.M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann, vol. 1. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, no. 9, p. 420, fig. 9, pl. 83, 9.



E12. Ivory box lid (1340-1050 BC).
(The British Museum, 1897,0401.1353)⁴³²

Object Type: Box
Museum number: 0401.1353
Cultures: Late Cypriot IIC or Late Cypriot III
Date: 1340-1050 BC
Findspot: Europe, Cyprus, Famagusta (district), Enkomi
Material: Ivory
Technique: Carved
Dimensions: Diameter 5 cm, Height 0.80 cm
Location: The British Museum (not on display)
Excavator: Turner Bequest Excavations, Enkomi

Description:

Ivory box lid; circular with a stepped profile; decorated on the broad face with a carved, double framed rosette with twelve petals and double encircled dot in the centre; part of the edge missing.



E13. Ivory disc from Enkomi, Cyprus.
(The British Museum number 1897. 0401.1357)

Object Type: Lid, base, box?
Museum number: 1897.0401.1357
Culture: Late Cypriot IIC or Late Cypriot III
Date: 1340-1050 BC
Findspot: Europe, Cyprus, Enkomi
Material: Ivory
Technique: Carved and drilled
Dimensions: Height: 0.50 cm, Length: 5.60 cm, Width: 4.90 cm
Location: The British Museum (not on display)

Description:

⁴³² http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=452229&partId=1&searchText=rosette&images=true&page=6

Ivory disc, probably the lid or base of a box; oval with eight drilled holes, evenly spaced around the edge; decorated with a carved rosette with six petals, overlaying two concentric circles which link six smaller petals; two horizontal lines encircle the central pattern; part of one edge damaged.



E14. Ivory spindle whorl. Cyprus (1340-1050 BC).
(The British Museum, 1897.0401.1368)

Object Type: Spindle-whorl
Museum number: 1897.0401.1368
Material: Hippopotamus ivory
Technique: carved and drilled
Findspot: Europe, Cyprus, Enkomi
Date: 1340-1050 BC
Dimensions: Diameter: 3.20 cm, Height: 0.50 cm, Weight: 3.03 grams
Excavator: Turner Bequest Excavations, Enkomi
Locion: The British Museum (not on display)

Description:

Ivory (hippopotamus) spindle-whorl with one low conical and one flat face; centrally drilled hole; carved decoration on the conical face of concentric circles on outer edge with joining arcs forming rosettes on the interior; chip from one side of maximum diameter.

CATALOGUE F: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF PERSIAN ARTEFACTS



F1. Brick (British Museum number 92185)

Cultures/periods: Achaemenid
Production date: 6thC BC-4thC BC
Excavated by: William Kennett Loftus
Findspot: Excavated/Findspot: Susa Asia: Middle East: Iran: Iran, South West: Khuzistan (province): Shush: Susa
Materials: Sand. Lime, Glazed composition
Technique: Glazed, Incised, Painted
Museum number: 92185
Dimensions: Height: 13 cm, Width: 14.30 cm, Depth: 13 cm

Curator's comments:

Achaemenid glazed bricks showing rosettes have been found at Babylon, Persepolis and Susa and compare with the ubiquitous rosette borders found on the stone sculptures at Persepolis. All of the bricks are made from gypsum compound but the designs vary slightly in the number of petals (up to 16) and the number and colour of the concentric rings around the yellow centre (for example compare Z. Djafar-Mohammedi and N. Chevalier et al. 2001, 'Les Recherches Archeologiques Francaises en Iran', Tehran, p. 117, no. 15)

Bibliography:

Curtis 1993a / William Kennett Loftus and his excavations at Susa (G.106, p.33, pl.20c); Harper P O et al. 1992a / The Royal City of Susa (159)

Description: Glazed composition brick made of sand and lime mixture; fired; decorated; incised and possibly painted fitter's mark on upper undecorated surface of the piece with the rosette with turquoise-blue petals and a yellow centre; white borders at top and bottom; blue colour partly due to copper; corner



F2. Faded white and yellow rosette (British Museum number 1979,1218.78)

Object Type: Bbrick
Museum number: 1979,1218.78
Production date: 6thC BC-4thC BC
Excavator/field collector: William Kennett Loftus (?)
Findspot: Susa, Asia: Middle East: Iran: Iran, South West: Khuzistan (province): Shush: Susa
Materials: Glazed composition
Technique: Mould-made, glazed
Cultures/periods: Achaemenid
Dimensions: Length: 8.30 cm (complete), Thickness: 4.50 cm, Width: 8.50 cm
Subjects: Flower
Acquisition date: 1853
Acquisition notes: Small old rectangular paper label attached to one side similar to other Loftus finds
Department: Middle East
Registration number: 1979,1218.78
Curator's comments:

Presumably from Susa as the fabric of the brick closely resembles other Achaemenid bricks from this site rather than contemporary Achaemenid bricks from Persepolis, Babylon or Birs Nimrud/Borsippa; the brick must thus be a previously unregistered find from Loftus' investigations at the site; the shape and state of the paper label also resembles those on other Loftus registered items.

Description: Glazed brick; sand and lime composition; moulded glazed face decorated with a small rosette with 12 white petals and a yellow centre, light blue background; most glaze colours now heavily decayed; semi-complete.



F3. Silver bowl with rosette design and cuneiform inscription (British Museum number 1994,0127.1)

Object Type: Bowl
Museum number: 1994,0127.1
Ruler: Artaxerxes I
Cultures/periods: Achaemenid
Production date: 464BC-424BC
Materials: Silver
Location: On display: (G52/dc3) (G52/dc3)
Technique: Hammered, punched, embossed
Dimensions: Diameter: 28.90 cm, Height: 4.70 cm, Weight: 804.10 grammes
Inscriptions: Inscription, position: rim, language: Old Persian
Named in inscription: Artaxerxes I, Xerxes I, Darius I
Inscription translation: Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Xerxes the king, of Xerxes [who was] son of Darius the king, the Achaemenian, in whose house this drinking cup/saucer was made.
Purchased from: Christie's
Funder name: With contribution from: Art Fund (as NACF); British Museum Friends (as British Museum Society); Friends of the Ancient Near East
Acquisition date: 1994
Department: Middle East
Registration number: 1994,0127.1
Description:

Silver bowl: hammered from a single thick piece of sheet, with embossed decoration showing a stylized lotus-flower design on the interior. There is an inscription of Artaxerxes I (465-424 BC) in punched Old Persian cuneiform in a single line around the inner rim.

Curator's comments: One of four authenticated silver bowls said to be from Hamadan which were first recorded in c. 1932 and carrying identical inscriptions referring to Artaxerxes. Their individual weights are 166.66, 140, 145 and 127.5 'sigloi' according to the heavier weight standard of c. 5.40-5.56 g which was introduced in the first half of the 5th century BC, but according to...

Bibliography:

Curtis, Cowell & Walker 1995a / A Silver Bowl of Artaxerxes I; Muscarella O W 2000a / The Lie Became Great: The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures (pp. 61, 207, no. 13, endnote 24) ; Vickers M 1996a / Rock crystal: the key to cut glass and 'diatreta' in Persia and Rome (p.55); Vickers M 2002 / "Shed No Tears"? Three Studies in Ancient Metrology (pp. 335-36) ; Sims-Williams N 2001a / The inscriptions on the Miho bowl and some comparable objects (regards the inscription as added); Allen 2005a / The Persian Empire: A History (p.88); Curtis & Tallis 2005 / Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia (cat. 103, p. 114); Curtis 1997a / Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 539-331 BC (Proceedings of a Seminar in memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin) (pl.3); Herzfeld 1935 / Eine Silberschüssel Artaxerxes I; Kent 1953 / Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon, (A11); Curtis 2000a / Ancient Persia (fig. 62); Treister M 2009a / Silver Phialai from the Prokhorovka Burial-mound No. 1 (p.97, fig. 9)



F4. Metalwork artefact (The Met Museum number 54.194)

Title:	Decorated boss
Period:	Iron Age III
Date:	circa 8th–7th century B.C.
Geography:	Iran, said to be from Ziwiye
Culture:	Iran
Medium:	Silver, electrum
Dimensions:	1 1/8 × 3 7/8 × 3 7/8 in. (2.8 × 9.8 × 9.8 cm)
Credit Line:	Rogers Fund, 1954
Accession Number:	54.194
Location:	The Metropolitan Museum



F5. Bronze pinhead from Luristan (LACMA number M.76.97.207)

Title:	Openwork pinhead
Description:	Iran, Luristan, Jewelry and Adornments; pins
Date:	Iron Age II-III (circa 1000-650 B.C.)
Material:	Bronze
Dimensions:	5 1/4 x 3 3/4 in. (13.2 x 9.8 cm)
Accession number:	M.76.97.207
Location:	LACMA
Credit line:	The Nasli M. Heeramaneck Collection of Ancient Near Eastern and Central Asian Art, gift of The Ahmanson Foundation (M.76.97.207)



F6. Rosette pendant (The Met Museum number 61.100.69)

Title: Rosette pendant
Period: Iron Age II, Hasanlu Period IV
Date: ca. 9th century BC.
Geography: Iran, Hasanlu
Culture: Iran
Medium: Gold
Dimensions: 1.38 in. (3.51 cm)
Credit Line: Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Accession Number: 61.100.69
Location: The Metropolitan Museum



F7. Golden rhyton Barakat Gallery LO.1326

Title: Achaemenid golden rhyton
SKU: LO.1326
Date: circa 500-400BC
Material: Gold
Dimensions: Width 3.1" (7.9cm) x 2.9 "(7.4)
Origin: Persian
Gallery location: United Kingdom



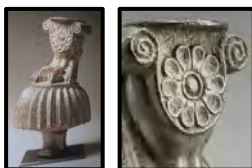
F8. Relief on a stone decoration from Persepolis (Persepolis Museum number 321)

Title: Square slab in grey limestone
Dimensions: H 34.5 cm, W 33.5cm, Th 7.cm
Location: Persepolis Museum
Museum number: 321
Found by: The Oriental Institute Expedition



F9. Achaemenid ornamental lapis lazuli plate (Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts centre, Tehran 31)

Title: Part of a lapis-lazuli disc
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: H 12 cm, W 14 cm, Th 1.4 cm
Location: Reza Abbasi Cultural and Arts centre, Tehran
Museum number: 31



F10. Furniture piece with a rosette (Louvre Museum number AO 2787)

Title: Bronze furniture foot
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: H 20cm, W 11.5 cm
Location: The Louvre Museum
Museum number: AO 2787



F11. Bronze Furniture foot (British Museum number ANE 136050)

Title: Bronze furniture foot
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: H 12.5 cm, W 8.5 cm
Bequeathed: Sir Robert Mond in 1939
Location: The British Museum
Museum number: ANE 136050



F12. Golden bowl from Hamadan (The British Museum, No museum number found)

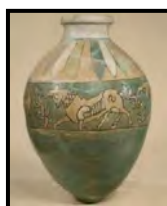
Title: Golden bowl
Origin: Hamadan
Dimensions: H 11.6 cm, Diam. 20.5 cm wt 1407 g
Museum number: No museum number found
Location: The British Museum



F13. Achaemenid silver *phiale* (Circa 700-300 BC) (Louvre Museum number Sb 2756)

Title: Silver bowl
Origin: Susa Acropolis

Excavator: J. de Morgan, 1901
Dimensions: H 4.3 cm, Diam 18.4 cm, Wt 562 g
Location: The Louvre Museum
Museum number: Sb 2756



F14. Vase with rosette-like petals (Met Museum number 55.121.2)

Title: Jar with a frieze of bulls
Period: Iron Age III
Date: circa 8th–7th century BC
Geography: Iran, said to be from Ziwiye
Culture: Iran
Medium: Glazed ceramic
Dimensions: 17 1/8 × Dia. 11 1/2 in. (43.5 × 29.2 cm)
Credit Line: Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1955
Accession Number: 55.121.2
Location: The Metropolitan Museum

Bibliography:

Porada, Edith. 1962. *Alt-Iran: die Kunst in Vorislamischer Zeit*. Baden-Baden, Germany: Holle Verlag, p. 125.
Porada, Edith. 1965. *The Art of Ancient Iran*. New York: Crown Publishers, p. 132, pl. 36
Du Ry, Carel. 1969. *Art of the Ancient Near and Middle East*. New York: Abrams, p. 136.
Muscarella, Oscar W. 1983. "Jar with Frieze of Bulls." In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Selections from the Collection of the Ancient Near East Department*, exh. cat. Tokyo: Chunichi Shimbun, no. 82.
Harper, Prudence O. et al. 1984. "Ancient Near Eastern Art." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 41 (4), Spring 1984, p. 43, fig. 59.
Galitz, Kathryn Calley. 2016. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Masterpiece Paintings*. New York: Rizzoli, p. 14, no. 2.
Sheikhi, Mahta, Alireza Hejebri Nobari, Mahmoud Tavoosi and Reza Shabani Samghabadi. 2016. "The Impact of Neo-Assyrian Art on Mannaean Societies of Western and Northern Iran." *International Journal of Humanities* 24 (4), p. 75, fig. 9.



F15. Vase with rosettes and alternating stags (Barakat Gallery collection number X.0199 (LSO))

Title: Glazed Terracotta Jar
Origin: Central Asia
Circa: 800 - 700 BC
Dimensions: 11" (27.9cm) high
Collection: Near Eastern
Style: Ziwiye
Museum number: X.0199 (LSO)
Location: Barakat Gallery Style:
Medium: Glazed Terracotta



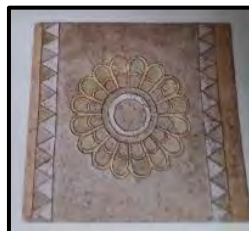
F16. A shallow dish (The British Museum number 1870, 0606.7)

Title: Shallow bowl
Medium: Glass
Dimensions: H 2.8 cm Diam 12.4 cm
Origin: Persepolis (L182)
Museum number: 1870, 0606.7
Location: The British Museum
Bibliography:
Oliver A 1970a / Persian Export Glass (pp.10-11, fig. 6)
Allen 2005a / The Persian Empire: A History (p.90)
Curtis & Tallis 2005 / Forgotten Empire: The world of Ancient Persia (cat. 114, p. 119)
Glass / Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass in the British Museum (1266)
Tait 1991 / Five Thousand Years of Glass (pl.51)
Glass 2 / Catalogue of Greek and Roman Glass, Volume 2 (531)
Harden et al 1968 / Masterpieces of Glass (34)



F17. Bronze bowl (Tehran Museum number 1394-7819)

Title: Bronze Bowl
Origin: Hamadan
Dimensions: H 12 cm, Diam 18 cm
Location: Tehran Museum
Museum number: 1394-7819



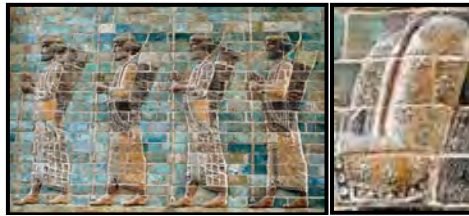
F18. Achaemenid glazed brick from the Apadana (Louvre Museum number Sb 3337)

Title: Square faience tile
Medium: Tile with polychrome glazed decorations
Dimensions: H 36.5 cm, W 34 cm, Th 8.8 cm
Origin: Apadana at Susa
Location: The Louvre museum
Museum number: Sb3337
Bibliography:
De Mecquenem 1947: 78-79, figs 47, 1-2
Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 231-232, no 159



F19. Winged lion at Persepolis (British Museum number ANE 129381)

Title: Stone relief showing a winged sphinx
Origin: Persepolis. North staircase of Palace H
Dimensions: H 82.1 cm, W 75 cm, Th 9 cm
Location: The British Museum
Museum number: ANE 129381
Bibliography:
Barnett 1975: no.22, pl. XXI/4
Ambers and Simpson 2005: 9-11



F20. Frieze with archers (Louvre Museum number Sb 21965)

Title: Panel made up of bricks showing a guard
Material: Polychrome glazed bricks
Dimensions: H 194.6 cm, W 81 cm
Origin: Susa
Location: The Louvre Museum
Museum number: Sb 21965



F21. Limestone relief from Persepolis (LACMA 63.36.17)

Title: Relief of a giftbearer from Persepolis
Museum number: 63.36.17
Origin: Southern Iran, Persepolis
Date: 500-450 BC
Material: Stone
Dimensions: H 50.8, W 29.21, Th 10.16 cm Wt 31.1 kg
Art of the Middle East: Ancient
Location: LACMA
Gift of Carl Holmes (63.36.17)
Not currently on public view
Bibliography:

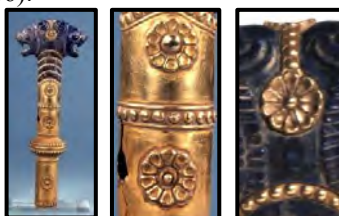
Hopkins, Henry T., ed. *Illustrated Handbook of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art*. West Germany: Bruder Hartmann, 1965.

Mousavi, Ali. *Ancient Near Eastern art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2012.



F22. Bronze cast pin (LACMA Museum number M.76.97.206)

Title: Openwork Pinhead
Description: Iran, said to be from Luristan
Date: Between circa 1000-650 BC
Material: Bronze cast
Dimensions: 3.3/4 x 3.1/2 in (9.8 x 8.8 cm)
Museum number: M.76.97.206
Location: LACMA Museum
Founder: The Nasli M. Heeramanek Collection of Ancient Near Eastern and Central Asian Art, gift of The Ahmanson Foundation (M.76.97.206).



F23. Gold and lapis lazuli seal from the Achaemenid Period.
(The British Museum number 135908)

Object Type: Staff
Museum number: 135908
Date: 20th century BC
Findspot: Asia, Middle East, Iran
Material: Gold, lapis lazuli, ivory or bone
Technique: Repoussé
Dimensions: Height: 19.60 cm, Width: 7.80 cm (max.)
Location: The British Museum (not on display)
Bibliography:
Report of the Trustees 1972-1975 / Report of the Trustees 1972-1975 (p.II)
Philby H StJ B 1981a / The Queen of Sheba (p.119)
Muscarella O W 2000a / The Lie Became Great: The Forgery of Ancient Near Eastern Cultures (no.5, p.74).



F24. Brick with half a rosette
(The met Museum number 48.98.20a-c)

Title: Bricks with a palmette motif
Period: Achaemenid

Date: circa 6th–4th century B.C.
Geography: Iran, Susa
Culture: Achaemenid
Medium: Ceramic, glaze
Dimensions: 3.35 x 5.51 x 7.48 in. (8.51 x 14 x 19 cm)
Credit Line: Rogers Fund, 1948
Accession Number: 48.98.20a–c
Location: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bibliography:

Wilkinson, Charles K. 1963. *Iranian Ceramics*, exh. cat., Asia House, New York, cat. 15, p. 3, p. 120.

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F25. Bronze beaker.
(The British Museum number 130905)

Object type: beaker
Museum number: 130905

Description:

Bronze nipple-footed beaker (situla); beaker has a cylindrical body tapering to a nipple base rendered as the centre of a chased rosette with 16 petals with rounded tips; hammered from sheet with low repoussé and chased decoration of a row of guilloche and scallops along the top and bottom, framing the central scene of a pair of rearing mountain-goats.

Culture: Middle Babylonian
Date: 10th century BC
Origin: Asia, Middle East, Iraq, Luristan province
Material: Copper alloy
Technique: hammered, chased

Dimensions:

Diameter: 6.50 cm (beaker)

Diameter: 6.90 cm (lid)

Height: 14.50 centimetres

Weight: 161 grammes (beaker)

Weight: Weight: 33.50 grammes (lid)

Volume: 400 millilitres

Bibliography:

Calmeyer 1965a / *Eine westiranische Bronzwerkstatt des 10/9. Jahrhunderts vor Christus zwischen Zalu Ab und dem Gebiet der Kakavand* (p.30, G.1)

Calmeyer 1973a / *Reliefbronzen in babylonischen Stil. Eine westiranische Werkstatt des 10. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (pp.58-59, G1.1)

Moorey P R S 1974b / *Ancient Bronzes from Luristan* (p. 37, pl. XVII)

Curtis 1995d / *Later Mesopotamia and Iran: Tribes and Empires 1600-539 BC* (Proceedings of a Seminar in memory of Vladimir G. Lukonin) (p.15, col. pl. I: left)

Simpson 2008a / *Bronzes du Luristan. Enigmes de l'Iran ancien (IIIe-1er millenaire av. J.C.)*. (pp.218-19, cat.223).



F26. A square vase with a rosette between the sphinx's legs.
(The Louvre museum number SB 2810)

Object Type: Square vase
Museum number: SB 2810
Date: 100-744BC
Material: Faience
Technique: Glazed
Dimensions: H 17 cm, L 12.4 cm
Findspot: The Susa palace of Darius
Location: The Louvre Museum, room 306



F27. Blue glass ornament (Iron Age II circa 9th century BC).
(Metropolitan Museum, 31.100.7)

Title: Ornament
Period: Iron Age II, Hasanlu Period IV
Date: circa 9th century B.C.
Geography: Iran, Hasanlu
Culture: Persian
Medium: Glass, Egyptian Blue
Dimensions: 1.34 in. (3.4 cm)
Credit Line: Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961
Accession Number: 61.100.7
Location: The Metropolitan Museum

CATALOGUE G: MUSEUM NUMBERS OF PALESTINIAN ARTEFACTS



G1. Ivory game board from Megiddo

Title: Ivory game board
Medium: Ivory and gold
Origin: Megiddo
Date: Late Bronze Age (3th century BC.)
Location: Oriental Institute of Chicago
Museum number: OIM A22254 (D. 005480)



G2. Presumably the ossuary of the high priest Caiaphas

Title: Limestone burial box
Origin: Jerusalem
Date: First century
Found by: Zvi Greenhut 1990
Dimensions: H 37 cm, L 74 cm
Location: Israel Museum
Museum number: IAA 1991-468



G3. Ossuary (British Museum number 126392)

Object Type: Ossuary
Museum number: 126392
Cultures/periods: Roman
Production date: 1st Century
Excavator: John Gray Hill
Findspot: Asia: Middle East: Levant: Jerusalem: Valley of the Convent of the Cross
Materials: limestone
Technique: carved, incised
Dimensions: Length: 42.50cm, Weight: 55 kg, Width: 78 cm
Location: The British Museum, not on display
Bibliography: Treasures 2009 / Treasures, The World's Cultures from the British Museum (p.31)
Description: Carved limestone ossuary decorated with incised floral, geometric and architectural designs, lid is decorated with an eight-arched arcade with rosettes in the centre of each arcade.



G4. Limestone ossuary (Met Museum number X.248.11a, b)

Title: Limestone ossuary with lid
Period: Late Hellenistic or Early Imperial
Date: circa 1st century BC–1st century AD
Culture: Roman
Medium: Limestone, paint
Dimensions: Lid: 12 1/4 × 12 × 25 in., 5.8 lb. (31.1 × 30.5 × 63.5 cm, 2639.935g)
Body: 16 3/4 × 12 × 23 1/2 in., 5.9 lb. (42.5 × 30.5 × 59.7 cm, 2.7 kg)
Height: 10 7/8 in. (27.6 cm)
Classification: Stone Sculpture
Accession Number: X.248.11a, b
Location: The Metropolitan Museum

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