

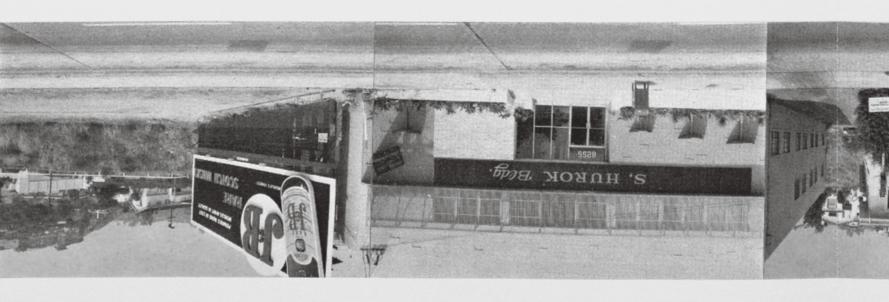
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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM **JOURNAL** 55

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Founded in 1968, the Metropolitan Museum Journal is a blind, peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its range encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The Journal encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin

MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

Domesticated Partners: A New Analysis of a Sumerian Vessel

BAILEY E. BARNARD

Representations of animals in ancient Near Eastern art are abundant, and their subjects are diverse. They include everything from domesticated livestock to wild beasts, theriomorphic gods, sacrificial victims, and mythological creatures. In these depictions, visual markers of anatomy, pose, and iconography distinguish docile farm animals from ferocious beasts, and divine or mythological characters from earthly creatures. The significance of minute details, such as the upward turn of a goat's tail versus the downward hang of a sheep's, or the fully coiled horns of an adult ram versus the short, budding horns of a lamb, might not be recognized by many viewers today. The details themselves might even escape notice. However, such particulars would not have been lost on most ancient Mesopotamians, who possessed far greater



fig. 1 Vessel supported by two sheep. Sumerian (Early Dynastic Illa), ca. 2600–2500 B.C. Alabaster, 2% × 4% × 1% in. (7 × 11.8 × 3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust, 1989 (1989.281.3)

fig. 2 Back view of vessel supported by two sheep (fig. 1)



fig. 3 Statuette of a recumbent calf. Sumerian (Early Dynastic I-II), ca. 2800–2700 B.C., from E-anna Precinct, Uruk. Limestone inlaid with lapis lazuli, 1 × 2½6 in. (2.6 × 5.2 cm). Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (VA 14536)

fig. 4 Side view of vessel supported by two sheep (fig. 1)



visual acumen in distinguishing creatures of all kinds. The physical presence of livestock in their daily lives, the frequency and visibility of religious rituals involving animal sacrifice, and the wealth of animal imagery in works of art ranging from tiny private objects to public monuments gave them remarkable knowledge of animals real and represented.

Domesticated animals, and animal husbandry more broadly, featured prominently in ancient Mesopotamian art of the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods (ca. 3400-2334 B.C.). An outstanding work of this type is in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The small alabaster votive sculpture displays five animals: four shown in pairs and one in isolation (figs. 1, 2).¹ The main group comprises two recumbent horned sheep-probably rams, although ewes, too, can have horns.² Together, the sheep support on their backs a vessel displaying an image of another pair of interacting animals. An image of a single bull is incised on the back of the vessel. The present study shows that in both form and iconography, the two pairs of conjoined figures convey the potentiality of animal abundance, both productive and reproductive, in a manner that is exemplary among comparable objects from the ancient Near East. Analysis of this carving reveals the manifold ways in which representations of domesticated animals functioned as metaphors for civilization, fertility, abundance, prosperity, and the cyclical passage of time.

Although the object's provenance is unknown, it likely originated in Sumer, in what is now southern Iraq, in the Early Dynastic IIIa period (ca. 2600–2500 B.C.). Less than three inches high, the closed-form sculpture had a practical function, evidenced by the doublewelled vessel on the sheep's backs, which probably held cosmetics or unguents.³ Holes on the top, front, and back of the container likely secured metal handles or hinges used for suspension or for operating a lid mechanism along the dividing wall of the vessel's interior.⁴ The sheep are similar in appearance. Their heads,

turned at ninety-degree angles, look steadfastly toward the viewer. The animals lie rump to shoulder, broadsides touching. Their legs, folded beneath them, remain visible, carved in low relief along their flanks. This manner of rendering the legs of recumbent animals is commonly found in Uruk and Early Dynastic votive objects and amulets, as exemplified by the statuette of a calf from the E-anna Precinct at Uruk (fig. 3).⁵

Votive images were dedicated to gods in sacred spaces, offered alongside donations of live animals, vessels, tithes of various kinds, valuable materials or objects, and representations of the acts of giving and praying. Within the context of gifts befitting the gods, votive images of animals derived their meaning and expressive power not only from their materials and forms but also from their zoological specificity.6 For example, in the calf statuette mentioned above, the costly lapis lazuli inlays and superb carving contributed to the preciousness of the object, while the folds of the softly modeled flesh and the nearly budding horns conveyed the potentiality and value of the animal's youth.7 Represented at less than one year of age, the calf is shown at a highly valuable stage in its life: it has reached the maximum weight for yielding the tenderest meat and softest skin.8

While the vessel-bearing sheep are far from young, as revealed by their curling horns, they, too, bear marks of their potentiality and great value. Horns of such length, possessing more than a full coil, indicate that the animals are adult (fig. 4). Seemingly, these sheep were prized for their ability to produce wool year after year. The carefully carved, vertical zigzag patterns on the sheep's bodies draw attention to their most







 $\it fig. 5$ Cylinder seal with bovines and a recumbent ram. Sumerian (Uruk), ca. 3300 B.C. Copper and magnetite, 2% × Diam. 1% in. (6.3 × Diam. 3.7 cm). Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford (AN1964.744)

important asset, their fleece, stylized and starkly contrasted with the animals' smooth, softly modeled foreheads, muzzles, and ears. With such bounteous fleeces, both sheep appear to be ripe for combing. Thus, the sculpture's pairing of the ripe fleeces with the animals' advanced age captures in stone the longevity of the pair's abundant fleece production. Their yields are perhaps alluded to by the thin plinth beneath the sheep, its braided or double-twisted edge resembling the border of a woven textile or mat, possibly made of wool. 11

The recumbent sheep are alike not only in pose and anatomy but also in size. It seems the sculptor made no attempt to differentiate them. At first glance, they appear to be mirror images of each other; only their slightly staggered positioning disrupts the compositional symmetry. United in their shared task of bearing the double-welled vessel, the sheep are partners but not a breeding pair. The emphatic sameness of their anatomy suggests that they are both either male or female. In many breeds of sheep, ewes and rams alike can have horns, although horns are more common in males than females. While the inclusion of horns does not guarantee maleness in this case, Mesopotamian works of art in a variety of media commonly distinguish rams from ewes, and bulls from cows, by means of horns and relative size, or through more obvious features such as genitalia and udders, and even by birthing scenes.12 An indicative example is carved in low relief on one side of an alabaster trough from Uruk. The scene represents two pairs of breeding sheep—the males clearly distinguished by horns—flanking a hut from which two lambs emerge.¹³ Given the lack of explicit female characteristics in the sheep portrayed in the Metropolitan Museum's sculpture and the tendency in this period to represent rams with horns and ewes without, it is likely that the recumbent animals are male. In the unlikely event that ewes are represented, the artist chose not to focus on their distinctly female capacities for producing offspring and milk.

The two sheep contrast with the pair of animals incised on the front of the double-welled vessel. That panel, now weathered and partly broken, depicts in profile a female goat mounted from behind by a male goat. The rearing animal was previously misidentified as a lion that was described, incorrectly, to be attacking a wild goat, or caprid. The small, thin horns of the mounted goat differ from those in typical representations of caprids, undomesticated animals that live in mountainous terrain. In art of the period, caprids are typically distinguished from domesticated goats by their long corkscrew horns and downturned tails. Frequently, images of vegetation such as wild thickets or stylized

fig. 6 Uruk Vase. Sumerian (Uruk), ca. 3300 B.C. Alabaster, 41% × Diam. 14% in. (105 × Diam. 36 cm). Iraq Museum, Baghdad (19606)

branches supplement the caprid's anatomical markers to indicate its undomesticated nature. Two sculpted goats from the Great Death Pit at Ur exhibit features typical of caprids. Both animals are portrayed standing on their hind legs, front legs braced against a sculpted tree, as they reach for the leaves and stylized rosette flowers on its branches. The caprids' long corkscrew horns and downturned tails represent a known species of wild goat, the markhor, native to Central Asia. 18

The scene on the front of the vessel includes neither foliage nor the anatomical markers typical of Mesopotamian representations of caprids. Instead, the mounted animal has short, widely spaced horns and a short, upturned tail, suggesting that the creature represents a domesticated goat.¹⁹ Close examination reveals that the rear animal's thin legs, hooves, and beard are similar to those of its partner. These features, combined with the absence of a lion's mane, identify the animal as another goat.²⁰ On the underside of the mounting goat, the sheath of a penis is visible. The buck's mounted mate, a doe, has no such projection from her underside and has a less prominent beard.²¹ Thus, the goats on the vessel's front convey the potentiality of reproductive abundance, while the recumbent sheep, carved in the round, evoke another kind of animal abundance through their ripe fleeces.

Incised on the rear of the vessel is the figure of a solitary, standing bull. Unlike the other animals in the composition, the bull has no partner and does not engage in any apparent task or activity. His isolation may at first seem curious when compared to the pairings of sheep and goats represented on the same object. Stone vessels and cylinder seals from the period commonly show series or pairs of bulls, repeating pairs of bovines attacked by lions, or alternating images of bulls and plants.²² Assortments of domesticated sheep, goats, and bulls are also fairly typical. For example, a Late Uruk-period cylinder seal depicts a series of overlapping bovines in its upper register and four reed huts teeming with calves in its lower register (fig. 5).23 This image of bovine reproductive plenitude is paired with the image of a single recumbent ram, cast in copper, atop the seal.²⁴ In effect, the solitary animal is a pendant to the animal pairs or herds. In the vessel supported by two sheep, the lone bull may represent the Mesopotamian primogenitor, an expression of male reproductive potency.²⁵ It emphasizes the active, procreative capacity of the male goat on the front of the vessel.26

Together, the domesticated animals on the Metropolitan Museum's sculpture emphasize the potentiality of two types of animal abundance:



the sheep convey the potential for animal productivity through their fleeces, while the mating goats and the bull emblematize fertility and reproduction. Such depictions undoubtedly reflect a dependence on animal husbandry. Yet plant cultivation was equally vital and was often represented in art of the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods as the complement to animal husbandry. For example, a frieze on the circumference of a southern Mesopotamian stone bowl in the Metropolitan Museum features the repeated image of a domesticated bull and a stalk of wheat.²⁷ A similar pairing of plant and animal abundance appears on the Uruk Vase (fig. 6).²⁸ The lowest register on the vase displays a row of alternating

fig. 7 Four-part vessel with animal supports. Sumerian (Early Dynastic I-III), ca. 2900–2350 B.C. Gypsum, 2% × 3% × 41/16 in. (7.3 × 8.5 × 11.2 cm). Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (A7463)



plants—possibly flax and wheat; directly above, a frieze of sheep, alternating male and female, circles the vessel.²⁹ Above the rams and ewes, men processing in single file carry large receptacles that presumably contain byproducts of a successful agricultural season.³⁰ In contrast to the Uruk Vase and the Metropolitan Museum's stone bowl, the vessel supported by two sheep lacks iconographic references to plant production and focuses entirely on animals.

The comparison vessels and cylinder seals discussed above all present friezes of repeated paired images: the cylinder seal features overlapping bovines paired with calves; the Metropolitan Museum's bowl shows alternating images of bulls with wheat stalks; and the Uruk Vase displays processions of rams and ewes. Whether the animals are matched with offspring, mates, partners, or agricultural products, their recurring pairings form a continuous loop around the vessels and cylinder seals, expressing infinite cycles of agricultural production and/or animal husbandry.31 This continuous bounty is most clearly witnessed in the top register of the Uruk Vase, where pairs of animals and offerings are seen behind the goddess and the reed gateposts associated with her sanctuary. These items appear to be already donated and stored in Inanna's abode. But as the vase is turned, the items seem to be resting behind the offering bearer, waiting to be given to the goddess. The circular frieze thus perpetually repeats the cycle of carrying, offering, and housing dedications at the temple.³² The same visual strategies could not be employed to convey a sense of endless cyclical abundance on the irregularly shaped vessel supported by two sheep. Instead of circling bands of repeating pairs, the sheep and the vessel on their backs present a compounding of doubles that starts with the two sheep, continues with the pair of goats, and culminates in the double-welled vessel.

Similar Early Dynastic objects, such as a rectangular gypsum container from Nippur at the Metropolitan Museum, indicate an ancient trend for double-welled vessels.33 Some two-part vessels are enhanced with reliefs depicting a pair of humans or animals, as exemplified by a double-welled container from Nippur with two identical male figures carved on the vessel's front.34 More elaborate examples include vessels with paired animal supports, as in the double vessel with duckshaped supports at the Metropolitan Museum and a four-part vessel with calf supports at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (fig. 7).35 In both objects, a compounding of doubles is apparent. In the former, each of two identical pairs of ducks supports a vessel; in the latter, each of two identical pairs of calves supports a double-welled vessel. The animals, the pairs of animals, and the vessels are all doubled (the wells of the vessel supported by calves are twice doubled). In both cases, the emphatic sameness of the animals and their symmetrical arrangement allow for two fluctuating pairings: at one moment, the outward-facing animals appear locked in perpetual partnership; at the next, the two animals sharing the weight of the vessels seem the more exclusive pairing. Originally, this effect may have been more pronounced. Contemporaneous viewers, while handling the objects and turning them from side to side, would have been engaged in pairing and re-pairing the animals, effectively enacting the redoublings. Thus, like the endless loops on the vessels and cylinder seals discussed above, the compounding of doubles is a formal strategy for conveying the idea of boundless abundance.

In the vessel supported by two sheep, the most apparent doubling is that of the recumbent sheep. Their close resemblance in pose, shared task, size, and anatomical features suggests that the animals are of the same sex. Although partners in bearing the vessel, they do not generate abundance through reproduction. Rather, each provides bounty in the form of its heavy fleece. Unlike friezes of processing animals, where repeated pairs stride forward in a line, the sheep's bodies are positioned in opposite directions: the animal in front points to the left, the other to the right. Even though the sheep are not perfectly symmetrical, the overall effect is that of a mirror image, a perpetual doubling of each sheep.36 And unlike the looping images on the cylinder seals and circular vessels, which require the viewer to turn the object in order to apprehend the boundlessness of the repeating cycle, the mirror image of recumbent sheep is revealed all at once; the doubling of the sheep is immediately visible and enacted.

Atop the sheep, the double-welled vessel and pair of mating goats incised on its front compound the doubling effect. The procreant goats are not simply juxtaposed as a male-female pair, as is the case in several of the previously discussed objects.³⁷ Instead, like the sheep, the goats are engaged in a shared activity. And, like the sheep's partnership, theirs is conspicuous, physical, and productive. This compounding of doubles has the same effect as the looping friezes of paired animals and plants in that it expresses endless abundance. However, the confluence of multiple and multiplying animal duos and the double-welled vessel present infinite abundance not as a repeating agricultural cycle but rather as compounding multiplication.³⁸

For the Early Dynastic vessel supported by two sheep, the redoublings of animals—one pair ripe for sheering and another pair mating—illustrate the potentiality of animal fruitfulness. The sheeps' wool, like barley, is harvested, and the sheep, like soil, are nurtured in order to regrow their supply. Thus, like the traditional pairings of domesticated animals and plants, the combination of mating goats with thick-coated sheep conveys reproductive and productive abundance. Underscoring the indispensability of successful animal husbandry in this period, the vessel supported by two sheep presents animals, not agriculture, as sources of both production and reproduction.

Analysis of the Metropolitan Museum's small votive carving demonstrates the richness and specificity of animal images in ancient Mesopotamia, particularly those from the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods. The centrality of animal husbandry to individual and community livelihoods meant that plenitude and poverty, life and death, could be affected by animals—a reality that is reflected in art from the period. While it is not surprising that images of domesticated animals functioned as metaphors for abundance, the nuances of these artistic expressions, and especially their capacity to relay ideas of unbound time and infinite bounty, are remarkable.

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NOTES

- 1 The object was included in the 2017 exhibition "Noah's Beasts: Sculpted Animals from Ancient Mesopotamia, ca. 3300– 2250 B.C." at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York, under the title Vessel Supported by Two Rams. See Babcock 2017.
- 2 The sex of the two sheep is discussed in detail below. Although both animals are probably male, the point cannot be proved with certainty. Therefore, they are referred to by the genderless term "sheep" throughout this article.
- 3 Two comparable double-welled vessels in the Met that likely held cosmetics, oils, or unguents are a double vessel with duckshaped supports from Nippur, Early Dynastic Illa, ca. 2600–2500 B.C. (62.70.3); and a rectangular container from Nippur, ca. 2600–2500 B.C. (62.70.5). See Wilkinson 1962, p. 84, and Amiet 1980, p. 306.
- 4 These possibilities are discussed in Muscarella 1992, p. 11. Zoomorphic vessels found in the Sammelfund of the Late Uruk period may have supported attached vessels, judging by slots for tenons atop the animal bases; Searight 2008, pp. 101–3, nos. 621–26.
- 5 Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (VA14536). See also related objects held by the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 14536, VA 10108, and VA 11005), the Metropolitan Museum (62.70.68),

- the Musée du Louvre, Paris (AO 7021), the Yale Babylonian Collection, New Haven (YBC 02261), and the Cleveland Museum of Art (1970.61).
- 6 The similarities of MMA 1989.281.3 to vessels and animal figurines excavated in the E-anna Precinct at Uruk and other known sanctuary contexts suggest that the vessel supported by two sheep functioned as a votive or sacred object within a temple or sacred precinct.
- 7 For a discussion of votives capturing potentiality, see Bahrani 2017, p. 67.
- 8 In the ancient Near East, the prime age for obtaining soft hides and tender meat from sheep was three to four months; see Helmer, Gourichon, and Vila 2007, especially p. 59. While analysis of the archaeological evidence of the slaughter of cows in the region remains elusive, it seems reasonable to assume that the prime age for bovines was similar.
- 9 In ancient Mesopotamia, adult sheep were valued for their ability to produce offspring, milk, cheese, and fleece. In the Met's sculpture, the sheep's maturity and luxuriant fleeces are evident, but no sign is given of their reproductive capabilities or capacity to produce milk. This subject is addressed more fully below. The economics of wool production in Mesopotamia are discussed in

- Oppenheim 1974, pp. 83–85, and in Zettler 1992, chap. 6. Archaeozoological evidence of culling ages for sheep and goats is used to analyze the consumption of animal products in the ancient Near East in Helmer, Gourichon, and Vila 2007.
- 10 In this period, sheep did not have the woolly fleeces for which most of their modern descendants have been bred; their wool was collected by combing rather than shearing. For the evolution of fleeces, see Ryder 1984 and 1992. According to Emmanuelle Vila and Daniel Helmer (2014), iconographic and bone analyses suggest that two breeds of sheep existed in the Near East during the Bronze Age. One had coiled horns, like the sheep depicted in the sculpture discussed here, and was likely prized for its fleece. In the other breed, which seems eventually to have fallen out of favor, the rams had tight, spiraling horns, and the ewes were hornless (polled).
- 11 This interpretation is speculative, as woven mats in the ancient Near East were also made from plants and materials derived from animals other than sheep. At the very least, the artist seems intentionally to have juxtaposed the raw material of the fleece with the finished materials in the textile.
- 12 On the Uruk Vase, dating about 3300 B.C. (fig. 6), male and female sheep represented as procreant pairs are clearly distinguishable by size and the presence or absence of horns and beards. These same distinctions can be seen in the images of six bovines on a cylinder seal from about 3300 B.C. (Yale Babylonian Collection, YPM BC 005552). Female bovines, like female sheep, can have horns similar to their male counterparts'. In ancient Mesopotamian art they are frequently represented without horns when shown as part of a male-female pair. For birthing scenes, representations of udders, and milking scenes, see Delougaz 1968 and Hansen 2003a, p. 28 (especially the scenes from the frieze at Tell al Ubaid, Early Dynastic Illa, ca. 2550–2400 B.C.).
- 13 The Uruk Trough, ca. 3300–3000 B.C. (British Museum, London, 120000). Procreant pairs such as these are a recurring motif in the art of this period. Irene Winter (2010, pp. 203–7) has interpreted them as representations of animal abundance.
- 14 Muscarella 1992, p. 11.
- 15 Frankfort 1965, p. 17.
- 16 Sometimes a longer, fuller beard extending down the animal's neck and chest may suggest that a goat is wild, but the inconsistent occurrence of this feature makes it an inconclusive marker.
- 17 University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum), Philadelphia (30-12-702), and the British Museum (122200). The British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley named both sculptures Ram Caught in a Thicket in his 1929 excavation report (p. 322), although the title does not accurately describe the goats' situation. They are feeding on rather than caught in foliage. The Penn Museum now calls its sculpture Ram in a Thicket. For a brief discussion of the two works, see Hansen 2003b. The two rams, a seemingly same-sex, mirror-image pair, originally supported a tray, bowl, or stand of some kind. They exemplify the tendency to double an animal's image when it is used as a support for a vessel. This subject is addressed in more detail below.
- 18 These distinguishing features of caprids in ancient Near Eastern art also appear on cylinder seals. On a marble seal from Uruk, ca. 3200–3000 B.C. (Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, VA 10537), a domesticated sheep or goat depicted within the goddess Inanna's sanctuary is contrasted with large caprids standing outside the sanctuary, on uneven terrain. The caprids are identifiable by their elongated corkscrew horns and long beards;

- a male figure holding stylized branches with rosette flowers (symbols of Inanna, mistress of animals) attempts to feed and tame the animals. Another cylinder seal, this one of limestone, from the second half of the fourth century B.C. (British Museum, 128864), represents a series of recumbent mouflons with oversized horns amid vegetation.
- 19 Both goats on the front of the vessel also show short, thin beards dangling from their chins. These beards are unlike the long, thick variety that can, but do not always, characterize wild goats (see note 16 above).
- 20 If the scene pictured a lion attack, the victim would likely be presented in a compromised position, probably with a large paw clawing its flesh.
- 21 Both male and female goats can have beards and horns.
- 22 Examples include an Early Dynastic ewer with sculpted animals, ca. 3350–3250 B.C. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1977.802); and the limestone ewer from Uruk, ca. 3000–2900 B.C. (Iraq Museum, 19169). A series of low-relief images of bulls once encircled the southern Mesopotamian bowl that survives as a fragment in the Met (50.218).
- 23 Holly Pittman (2003, p. 40), noting the uniqueness of overlapping bovines in Uruk-period images, interpreted the motif as a means to emphasize the vast size of a herd.
- 24 In this cylinder seal, the bundled-reed poles flanking each hut represent the gateposts to the goddess Inanna's sanctuary. Representations of the sacred herds and flocks are discussed in Frankfort 1965, pp. 17–21, 78, and Winter 2010, p. 204. Examples of their occurrence on cylinder seals include the Yale Babylonian Collection (YPM BC 037566); Morgan Library and Museum (seal no. 5); and Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 10537). Instances of their occurrence on other types of objects include the Uruk Trough (British Museum, 120000) and a bowl fragment (Louvre, AO 8842).
- 25 Sidney Babcock, email message to author, March 23, 2019. If it were possible to prove that the sheep are males, the significance of the bull as primogenitor would be even greater, as every aspect of the object would clearly refer to the active male potentialities of reproduction and production. This object and others representing animals in ancient Near Eastern art are discussed in Babcock 2017. For observations on the bull as primogenitor, see Hansen 2003a, pp. 27–28.
- 26 The fertility of the female goat represented here is not emphasized in the ways commonly seen in works of art from the Uruk and Early Dynastic periods. Female livestock are often depicted being milked, giving birth, or in the company of their offspring; see references in note 12 above. In the vessel supported by two sheep, the artist has chosen to represent the moment in which the male's role is more active than the female's.
- 27 MMA 41.160.201. Versions of this image commonly occur in relief on vessels and also appear on cylinder seals. Similar iconography is seen on a bowl with bulls and grain from Ur (Iraq Museum, 11989); see Winter 2010, fig. 4. An example of a cylinder seal pairing images of bulls and wheat stalks is in the Louvre (MNB 1906, A25).
- 28 Iraq Museum, 19606.
- 29 For identification of the plants, see Bahrani 2002, p. 16, and Winter 2010, p. 207.
- 30 Winter 2010, especially pp. 205-10.
- 31 Ibid., pp. 199–212. The ways in which this circularity and the repetition of images expanded time and pointed toward the infinite (in the present cases, of endless abundance) are

- discussed in Bahrani 2014, especially chap. 4 and pp. 131–32. For an analysis of the performative function of the Uruk Vase, see Bahrani 2002, especially pp. 15–21.
- 32 A comparable image depicting the cycles of dedicating and storing offerings is in Frankfort 1965, p. 18 and pl. V, fig. c.
- 33 MMA 62.70.5. Several such vessels with known contexts are in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (A31055, A12408, and A12405).
- 34 Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (A31469).
- 35 MMA 62.70.3. The Oriental Institute's four-part vessel is not well preserved, and it is difficult to say with certainty whether the four supporting animals are calves or adult cows.
- 36 Mirror images and duality are discussed in Bahrani 2014, chap. 4, especially pp. 120–22. Mirror images as known today did not exist in antiquity; ancient mirrors were made of polished metals and produced hazy reflections at best. However, viewers in ancient times would have been able to note the symmetry of the Metropolitan Museum's vessel and sense its effect of constant doubling. Importantly, they would have regarded the sameness and symmetry of precise doubles as the achievements of a skilled stone sculptor. Ibid., pp. 137–38.
- 37 Examples include fig. 6 in this article and the Morgan Library and Museum (cylinder) seal no. 5.
- 38 The Uruk Trough (British Museum, 120000) shows a similar compositional arrangement: two procreant pairs flank their centrally placed offspring. The mirror-image effect produced by this is comparable to the one found in the Metropolitan Museum's vessel supported by two sheep.

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