ORIENTAL INFLUENCES IN WESTERN ART
BY THE SAME AUTHOR:

Foreign Influence in Ancient India
Art and Cities of Islam
An Outline of Islamic Architecture (In Press)
Oriental Influences in Western Art

R. A. Jairazbhoy

ASIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • NEW DELHI • MADRAS • LUCKNOW
BANGALORE • LONDON • NEW YORK
PREFACE

THE WORLD OWES much to those twin sources of civilization Egypt and Babylonia. Through the fertile imaginations of their thinkers and craftsmen came inventions which were to lay the foundations of civilized life in antiquity and to serve thereafter as a permanent inheritance for mankind. Some of the myths, motifs and techniques created in these lands were to have repercussions far removed from their place of origin, long after these places had been dead and forgotten.

The thread connecting the present with the past can often be traced by careful observation and by diligent questing. This is the task we have taken upon ourselves in the work at hand. Sometimes we have been unable to find the connecting links which may yet lie buried beneath the soil waiting their turn to be discovered. Sometimes our sources have been deficient and have not yielded the true implication of a picture or a symbol. The right procedure, we have assumed, is to attempt to interpret the symbol by bringing to bear contemporary ideas relating to it, and if that is not available then to juxtapose the object with later ones of the same genera which could conceivably bear a similar connotation. Text and artifact should, in conjunction, help yield the full meaning, and we have thus pored over the literatures of the past for explanations and hints that may serve toward this end. We have had to cast our net widely in Asia and in Europe over a span of many millennia so as not to leave any important aspect out of our survey. But we have not thought it necessary to multiply examples ad infinitum and have stopped short where they would not yield any fresh result. The emphasis is on detail and close footnoting which, it is hoped, will enable this book to be useful to a wide variety of art historians, and will at the same time enable them to see their particular interest in the context of the whole. Finally we have not hesitated to explore some general ideas connected in a family way with the special themes, because the humanist cannot resist reaching into outlying areas in his search for significant values. Besides, he is acutely aware that having passed this way once he may not pass again.
I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Professor C. J. Gadd; he has brought to my attention facts and ideas which I may never have had access to, and he has steered me clear of many of the errors of pioneering works relating to Mesopotamia. To Dr. G. Bing I am beholden for her encouragement, and also to Mr. Alec Clifton-Taylor whose lectures on art were a source of much pleasure.

R. A. Jairazbhoy
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Chapter I

Western Awakening to the Orient

It is common knowledge that the great religions of the world originated in the East, and in recent years archaeology has done much to reveal that the civilizations of the Orient antedated those of the Occident by many centuries. It has been shown in limited instances how certain leading motifs in structure and decoration migrated to the West at various intervals. How and when this occurred and what elements were involved are still matters of conjecture, and much time will elapse before the whole story can be told. The present work is a provisional contribution towards that end.

One of the most astonishing attributes of cultural phenomena is the ability to endure through generations of time with little modification of content, although the stylistic rendering might vary from age to age, for certainly the personalities of peoples colour the temper of their arts. No less astonishing is the ability of some motifs to capture the imagination of cultures far removed from their places of origin. Underlying the success of these is their universal validity and their inherent fascination—that is, they are able to arouse and renew interest because they are the conveyors of ideas fundamental to the life of Nature and of Man. It is not enough to claim that similar processes in the human mentality guarantee a corresponding similarity in man's handiwork. Experience has proved that if there is cultural contact, it inevitably implies a gain on one side, and this is usually from the more mature society to the less. This, of course, entails the belief that the recurrence of identical ideas over wide areas and at long intervals is seldom a case of coincidence. In any creative society craftsmen are keenly aware of products entering their immediate horizon from native or alien sources, and are consequently ready to adapt these to their own purposes. In the course of this re-interpretation

1 As H. Frankfort expresses it: "Survival is never mere continuity, but continuity in change". The problem of similarity in Ancient Near-Eastern Religions, 1951, p. 23.
the idea coalesces with others already familiar to them in their own tradition and takes even deeper roots if allied to a concept stemming from a lore already familiar to them. However, before the new ideas prevail over long standing biases and become fashionable, they must overcome latent resistance by means of their own persuasive powers. Superior ideas do not necessarily gain acceptance on their own merit unless they are conveyed dramatically or with telling simplicity.

Among the most universal of themes in art, literature and lore, are expressions of power and conflict, and the drama of heroic deeds. The pursuit of beasts for the sport of man, the sport of man against deadly risk, beasts as mementos of the power of man, savagery subdued by the strength of man—such are the themes that have enticed artists everywhere. It is but natural that in time the force of the symbol would wane leaving a decorative form shorn of inward content, or at best, in a chivalrous age, become a heraldic emblem—a fashionable visual sign of pride of ownership.2

With all the coincidence of ideas, there is nevertheless a basic dissimilarity in representing natural objects in East and West. As Oscar Wilde has said, "The whole history of art in Europe is the record of the struggle between Orientalism with its frank rejection of imitation ... and our own imitative spirit". In this he is emphasizing the transmutation of visible objects into artistic conventions by the former, as opposed to an almost too strict adhesion to nature by the latter. As far as art is concerned the Oriental attitude is of a higher order if you concede Plotinus's contention that "artistic representation imitates not merely sensible objects, but in its highest development, the ideas themselves, of which sensible objects are images".3 Islamic writers admit the supremacy of Chinese artists in their very ability to abstract from nature but nevertheless sufficiently dependant on nature for as Abu

2 Heraldry undoubtedly had a practical origin in that it served as distinguishing insignia. In this it was comparable with the ancient cylinder seals which the owner sent (as a label of identification) with the goods he was exporting. In Muslim times the blazon became a prerogative of royalty, and was figured on all manner of household objects made for the prince. cf. L.A. Mayer: Saracenic Heraldry, 1933, pp. 1-4.
Zaid of Siraf says the painting of a bird perched on ear of corn must show the plant bending under its weight if it was to pass censure of Chinese critics.⁴ Al Jahiz of Basra while praising the Chinese as “founders and forgers and moulders, and smelters, and dyers in wondrous wise, and joiners, and scribes and skilled handicraftsmen in every line they undertake and practice” can only give credit to the Greeks for theoretical science.⁵ Marvazi too (c. 1120) while admitting the high proficiency of the Greeks, refers to them as being “one-eyed, that is to say, they know only half the business.”⁶ But he was hardly to know that, many centuries before the classical age, Greek geometric art was not only indebted to the Orient for its severe stylizations but for the rendering of its solar symbolism.⁷ Islamic art having inherited the Oriental propensity for representing the essential aspect of form as opposed to rendering the immediately visible in all fidelity, would naturally exalt the approach that expressed the general universal idea.

Notwithstanding the difference in technique, the beginnings of all art in Europe drew heavily on the legacy transmitted from the Orient. The type of iconography that appealed to the West lay in the realm of the legendary, the grotesque, and the fanciful. Particularly frequent among the motifs in Romanesque church art are composite beasts, savage animals in couchant, rampant, confronted and supporting postures, hunting with the hawk, leopard, and hound; jousting, legendary heroes overcoming the powers of evil or ascending to paradise. It was not as if Greek civilization was lacking in compound creatures such as sirens, centaurs, gorgons, harpies, nereides, tritons, minotaurs, satyrs,

⁴ According to him the paintings would be left on exhibition at the palace gate for the space of a year and “if during that time no person finds a fault in it, the artificer is rewarded and admitted into the artists guild”. (E. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, 1733, pp. 50-51). Masudi similarly while admiring the “extraordinary skill in plastic and other arts of the Chinese” says that “the court awards prizes for well made works in order to promote them; and the king orders them to be shown in a public exhibition in his palace”. (*Muruj al Dhahab*, tr. A. Sprenger, I, 1841, p. 340).


fauns and sphinxes; the fabulous legends attached to these reveal
the underlying irrational element in the Greek mind. Nor is it the
fact of being mythical that indicates the Oriental origin of the use
of these fantastical creatures in Romanesque art as has been
observed, but their heraldic and symmetrical treatment to produce
a purely decorative effect.

The entry of the more fantastical motifs did not go unnoticed
nor uncriticized by the clergy. St. Bernard's expostulation deserves
to be recalled:

"What is the use of those absurd monstrosities displayed in
the cloisters before the reading monks? See what deformed
beauty and beautiful deformity. Why are unclean monkeys and
savage lions, and monstrous centaurs, and semi-men, and spotted
tigers, and fighting soldiers, and pipe-playing hunters repre-
sented? You may see their many bodies with one head and one
body with many heads. Here are quadrupeds with the tail of a
serpent, there a fish with the head of a quadruped. Here a
beast half-horse and half-goat, there another with horns and a
horse's body. The variety of form is so great everywhere that
marbles are more pleasant reading than manuscripts, and the
whole day is spent in looking at them instead of meditating upon
the law of God."¹

It is apparent that these beasts were extraneous to the Christian
tradition and that the condemnation of them by the Saint was fully
justified. How alien and from what ultimate source these motifs
stemmed, is apparent when we juxtapose a description of the
temple of Bel by the Mardukian priest Berossus who lived in Babylon
during 281-262 B.C. He relates having seen pictures representing
pre-human monsters from the Age of Chaos, such as:

"Men with two and sometimes four wings and two heads,
some male and some female, and some with both male and
female organs; also others—men with goat's legs and horns,

¹ J. Brondsted, Early English Ornament, p. 313.
² Cited by C. C. Perkins, Italian Sculptors, 1868, II, p. 11. For the
extraordinary monsters conceived by Gothic artists see now J. Bal-
others with horses feet, and again others with the hind parts of a horse and the fore parts of a man, like centaurs therefore. Also bulls with the head of a man, and dogs with four bodies ending in a fish-tail, and horses with dog's heads, men and beasts with heads and bodies of horses and fish-tails, and other animals with mixed bodies of beasts".  

One of the important factors in the migration of influence is receptivity, and it has been pointed out that Crete, "the first European reaction to oriental expansion," was receptive to the earliest civilization overseas precisely because it had already taken part in the development of neolithic village cultures in pre-dynastic Egypt and Western Asia, as is evident from the remains below Cretan towns. It was, therefore, ripe to adopt such facets of civilization as organized agriculture and irrigation, domestication of plants and animals, pottery, weaving and metal work. Contact with these techniques rapidly stimulated parallel usages over a wide area. This stimulus remained a constant factor waxing and waning at various intervals. A large number of specific architectural elements composing the palaces of Minoan Crete are claimed to have been derived from overseas—those in the earliest periods from Syria, and after the period Middle Minoan III, from Egypt. Moreover, other Egyptian evidences apart from architecture are manifest in Cretan art. The artistic contact of Mycenae with the Near East is certainly proved by the Mycenaean pottery found there. Further, the roofed dromos and narrow pointed chamber of the tholos at Mycenae are only paralleled by the built tombs of Syria, Palestine and Cyprus. The Temple Tomb at Knossos on

13 Marinatos in ibid., XLVI, 1951, pp. 102-116.
15 At Enkomi in Cyprus one has been dated c. 1600 B.C., and one at Ras Shamra before 1500. (E. T. Vermeule in American Journal of Archaeology, 62, 1958, p. 117).
the other hand has been shown to be influenced by an Egyptian Middle Kingdom structure such as Kakemet's tomb at Assuan, and in one Cretan tomb there were actually found seal stones copied from Egyptian scarabs. The technique of true fresco (as against the tempera on dry plaster of Egypt) was anticipated at Alalakh in Syria in the eighteenth century B.C., while the introduction of the naturalistic style is held to be influenced by eighteenth dynasty Egypt together with some of the subject matter including a monkey and hunting cat. In principle we may agree with the somewhat exaggerated statement of the historian Josephus, writing in the first century A.D., that "in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern, and dating, so to speak from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws".

It is not always possible to establish the precise manner of the transmission of specific motifs from the East, but we may assume that there was always a steady drift which was strengthened at times by migration, trade and conquest. Since Greece constitutes one of the two streams of ideals on which Western civilization is founded, we would do well to enquire what light recent research has thrown on the debts of Greece to the Orient. As for commerce, we now have a considerable body of evidence for the North Syrian, Phoenician and Egyptian trade relations with Greece, and can specify the type of objects exchanged through these sources. In the Iliad (23, 740f.) Homer admires a Phoenician silver bowl and describes it as "far the finest in the world," and in the Odyssey refers to a gold-lipped silver bowl given to Menelaus by the King of Sidon. Again from Sidon Paris acquires weavers as handmaidens

16 A. Evans, Palace of Minos, IV, p. 962 f.
18 L. Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom, p. 76 f.
19 T. B. L. Webster, From Homer to Mycenae, 1958, 29-30.
for Helen (Iliad, 6, 289f.). Repoussé bronze bowls of Phoenician workmanship have been found at Olympia, Delphi, etc., not to mention eighth century North Syrian cylinder seals found at Delos, a Phoenician amulet in a grave at Athens, and an Assyrian bronze tympanon at the Idaean Cave in Crete.224 Another body of artifacts which had a vogue in the West was Eastern ivories: those portraying lions with their victims of the early 7th Century B.C. from Central Italy are regarded as the work of Oriental craftsmen, and further a specifically Phoenician influence in Etruscan art has also been distinguished.23 The influence of trade may be recognized in Greek words derived from Phoenician, such as the word for the garment chiton (from the Aramaic kittana=tunic of linen), the words for fine linen and flax, for the weight or money mna=mina, for gold and for copper, for meteoric stone (baitylos) and for things appealing to the higher faculties such as nabla, a 10 or 12 stringed musical instrument, and byblos or book from which we inherit the word Bible.24 And to testify to the seafaring that all this involved, there is the word gaylos which was a kind of ship.25 Indeed, the very alphabet of the Phoenicians was borrowed by the Greeks by about the end of the 8th Century B.C.26 Even the art of mining is reputed to have been brought to Greece by a Phoenician prince named Cadmos (from Qedem, meaning "easterner"). Gradually the vapours are lifting from the early beginnings of science in Greece, and it is becoming possible to point to the specific elements borrowed from Egypt and Chaldea in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, astrology27 and medicine.28 Aristotle attributes

24 cf. Glotz, The Aegean Civilization, p. 386. See also R. Weill, Phoenicia and Western Asia to the Macedonian Conquest, 1940.
25 Another kind of ship ket in Ugarit and skb in Egyptian is claimed to be of Minoan origin. C. H. Gordon ("Homer and the Bible," in Hebrew Union College Annual, XXVI, 1955, pp. 60-2) traces other Greek and Minoan words in Ugaritic and Hebrew.
26 W. F. Albright, Archaeology of Palestine, 1949, p. 194 f.
28 G. Sarton, A History of Science, 1953, pp. 113-23, 170f. It is not, however, clear how on the one hand the sexagesimal system could have been inherited from the Sumerians, and on the other hand, how Chaldean
the foundation of the mathematical arts to the leisured Egyptian priests. Thales learnt in Egypt some rules of land measurement, and his cosmogony, it is asserted, can be paralleled from earlier Egyptian documents. He is also regarded as having learnt, directly or indirectly from Babylon, of the cycle of lunations which enabled him to predict an eclipse of the sun.  

Herodotus (II. 109) contends that the Greeks learnt from Babylon the twelve parts of the day, the use of the sun clock (polos) and of the dial (gnomon). Aristotle commissioned his pupil Callisthenes to investigate Chaldean astronomy in 331 B.C.  

Egyptian ideas began to affect Greece after the establishment of a Greek settlement at Naucratis in the Nile delta, toward the middle of the seventh century B.C.; thereafter the cults of some Egyptian gods spread to the Greek islands, while for the Eleusinian mysteries an Egyptian origin has been upheld.  

The relationship between Orphic and Pythagorean thought and the Persian religion also has been the subject of much controversy and the position has been only recently summarized.  

The influence of the Medes appears to be more definitely attested since at about the time of the Median wars a book with spells, divinations and invocations attributed to the Magus (the word ‘magic’ derives from Magi) Osthanes was circulated in Greece, and, it is claimed, henceforth displaced the crude and ancient rites of Goetia.  

The very word in Greek for the divination cup, Lekanē, is considered to be of Babylonian derivation (from lahanū), and further the Greek Phiale commonly used for libations is similarly regarded as having been introduced from Assyria in the seventh century B.C.  

It is more difficult to conjecture what elements Greek religion mathematics continued to influence Greek authors as late as the second century B.C. ibid., pp. 117-18; O. Neugebauer, The Exact Sciences in Antiquity, 1951, p. 20. See also Ch. vi, “Origin and Transmission of Hellenistic Science”.

32 J. Duchesne-Guillemin, The Western Response to Zoroaster, 1958, Ch. 5, “Iran and Greece”.
34 T. J. Dunbabin in Annual of the British School at Athens, 1951, XLVI, pp. 70-1, and Luschey, Die Phiale, p. 31.
borrowed from North Syria in pre-Homeric times, but it would not be unlikely that Ishtar or Astarte had some influence on Aphrodite, who is deemed to have risen from the sea near Cythera. Her birth from the seed of Ouranos (heaven) falling into the sea and causing the foam (aphros) from which she arises is reminiscent of the manhood of the Hurrian Anu (sky) falling upon the Earth, impregnating it, and giving birth to a girl. Aphrodite thus obtained her epithet “heavenly” from her father.\textsuperscript{35} It is said that the rites of Aphrodite Ourania were introduced by King Porphyrior. He may be regarded as the personification of Phoenician commerce, since his name means “the purple king”,\textsuperscript{36} purple being one of the principal exports from Phoenicia. The oldest sanctuary of Ourania, according to Herodotus, was at Ascalon, and Pausanias tells us that the Assyrians were the first to institute the worship of “the heavenly” Ourania. (The Mittanian Uruwnash and Vedic Varuna, “the all-embracing sky”? ) At Cythera, where Aphrodite’s worship was introduced (according to Herodotus [I, 105] by Phoenicians from Syria) her temple continued to preserve the name of Ourania down to the days of Pausanias.\textsuperscript{37}

The figure of the Cretan goddess commonly described as the mistress of animals occurring on Middle-Minoan seal impressions from Hagia Triada and Knossos,\textsuperscript{38} is paralleled by the Mitannian goddess holding lions by their heels.\textsuperscript{39} In one instance a Minoan goddess actually presses her breasts in the Ishtar manner.\textsuperscript{40} This is probably a gesture of proffering her divine nourishment, for on an ivory panel on a fourteenth century couch from Ugarit the king is shown drinking from the breast of the goddess.\textsuperscript{41} In Sumer the ruler Lugalzaggesi’s epithet was “son born of Nisaba, fed by the holy milk of Ninhursaga.”\textsuperscript{42} The Astarte plaques, found in Greece,

\textsuperscript{36} L. R. Farnell, \textit{The Cult of the Greek States}, 1896, II, p. 620.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 630-1. Egyptian and Accadian inscribed objects have been found in Cythera (C. H. Gordon in \textit{Journal of Near Eastern Studies}, XVII, October 1958, No. 4, p. 245.)
\textsuperscript{39} H. Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, Pl. XLIIa.
\textsuperscript{40} H. Kühn, \textit{Die Kunst Alt Europas}, 1958, Taf. 46.
\textsuperscript{41} C. H. Gordon, \textit{Homer and the Bible}, sect. 42.
of the naked female holding her hands to her breast are mould-made figures which are both technically and artistically believed to be influenced from Syria.\textsuperscript{43}

At any rate, in the myth of Persephone, we have a clear reminiscence of the descent of Ishtar into the underworld. Or for that matter of the Ugaritic Aleyan Baal who would have forfeited the possibility of returning from the underworld had he been persuaded to eat its food, just as Persephone had been induced by Pluto to eat the pomegranate seed with that very intention in view.\textsuperscript{44} It does not matter that unlike Aleyan Baal, Adonis, Attis, Osiris or Tammuz, Persephone is a woman; what does matter is that she is the beloved child of the Great Mother (Demeter), and her temporary absence from the earth results in seasonal infertility of crops. A significant Oriental feature of Demeter’s festival of Descent and Uprising was that the pit into which the women celebrants went down was called \textit{megara}, not referring here to palace or temple but, as has been suggested, to its old Semitic meaning of cave, of which the Hebrew is Meghara and the Arabic Mughâra.\textsuperscript{45} The parallels can be extended further to the classical myths which connect Persephone and Adonis, for it has been observed that the contest between Persephone and Aphrodite for the possession of Adonis reflects the struggle for Tammuz between Ishtar and Allatu in the land of the dead. Moreover, Zeus’s decision that Adonis should divide his time between earth and underworld has been held to be “merely a Greek version of the annual disappearance and reappearance of Tammuz.”\textsuperscript{46} Certainly Adonis was of Oriental descent for his name derives from the Phoenician “Adon” meaning Lord. The fact that Pausanias attributed to him Assyrian descent,\textsuperscript{47} makes it likely that he is in fact Tammuz, whose title has become his appellation. Neither Tammuz nor Adonis were gods in their own right, for neither had temples of his own: Adonis was worshipped in the Phoenician shrine of Astarte at Byblos,\textsuperscript{48} and Tammuz may

\textsuperscript{43} P. J. Riis: “The Syrian Astarte Plaques and Their Western Connections”, in \textit{Berytus, IX}, 1949, p. 69f.
\textsuperscript{44} J. H. Gaster in \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society}, 1944, pp. 37-42.
\textsuperscript{45} G. R. Levy, \textit{The Gate of Horn}, 1948, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{47} Apollod, \textit{Bibliothec}, III, 144.
\textsuperscript{48} W. W. Baudissin, \textit{Adonis und Esmun}, 1911, p. 177.
have had his shrine in the Inanna-Ishtar temple at Erech. As in the case of Tammuz, mourning was an essential feature of the cult of Adonis—a feature to which Sappho already alludes in c.600 B.C. The fifteenth idyll of Theocritus consists of a Nuptial Hymn for the resurrection of Adonis and his reunion with Aphrodite. The Egyptian Osiris is not easily brought into the comparisons since it has been noted that there are some fundamental differences in his status and character, such as the fact that he was not a dying but a dead god, that he was never liberated nor returned among the living; but here, too, one remarkable resemblance has to be conceded and that is that the enemies of Osiris and Tammuz were personified as boars, a boar being sacrificed at the release of the god from the underworld in the Babylonian New Year Festival, while it was once again a wild boar that slew Adonis, and pigs were drawn into the chasm with flower-gathering Persephone. While we do not know of any Babylonian counterpart to the Gardens of Adonis, mentioned as early as in Plato’s *Phaedrus*, there certainly are parallels in the germinated seeds placed in Osiris sepulchral beds connected with the revival of the god in the temple, (the god, though revived, remained Judge and Ruler of the dead). In the case of Adonis, the ritual may have been popular rather than priestly for we know that flower pots were tended for eight days by women, and when the flowers wilted the pots were carried with images of the dead Adonis and flung into the seas or springs. Just as the cult of Tammuz survived a considerable time in the midst of monotheistic centres—being referred to by Ezekiel (viii. 14) in Jerusalem, and surviving into the medieval period in Harran—so also the cult of Adonis spread to Athens, Antioch and Alexandria. Indeed Jerome records the worship of Adonis at Bethlehem, and this had led an eminent mythologist to surmise that “the Easter celebration of the dead and risen Christ was drafted on a similar celebration of the dead and risen Adonis.” But at this

49 S. Langdon, *The Epic of Creation*, 1923, I.44.
54 Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 224f.
time the cult of the closely related Attis of Phrygia must have been the more potent for it was imported into Rome where annually on March 22 he was mourned by priests who slashed and danced round the pine tree on which his image was tied. Cybele, served by Phrygian priests, was given a special temple on the Palatine in 191 B.C., but the Romans were forbidden to worship her with orgiastic Phrygian rites. Not only did the ancients identify Attis the lover of Cybele with Adonis the lover of Aphrodite, but it seems that the cults of Adonis, Attis and Osiris were fused during the early Christian times. Already under Ptolemy II (after 283 B.C.), Adonis had been worshipped as another form of Osiris in the royal palace at Alexandria, and we have an amusing description by Theocritus of the Adonis cult at Alexandria.

It was, no doubt, under the powerful influence of the Ptolemies that the cults of the Alexandrine divinities spread to the West. Their own invented deity Serapis cast in a Hellenized mould had an astonishing success. Even before the death of Ptolemy Soter (283 B.C.), a Serapeum was built in Athens against the Acropolis itself. In Sicily, Agathocles introduced the Egyptian deities at the time of his marriage with the daughter-in-law of Ptolemy I (298 B.C.) and by about 80 B.C., a temple to Serapis was introduced into Italy at Puteoli. Meanwhile, the cult of Isis had also gained entrance at Pompeii by about 150 B.C. Previously at Antioch, Seleucus Callinicus had built a sanctuary for the statue of Isis which had been sent to him from Memphis by Ptolemy Euergetes. At the Serapeum at Delos where the three Egyptian deities Isis, Serapis and Anubis had been worshipped, one of the three temples in use for the purpose was made the official Serapeum of the city in the year 166. It may seem curious that the jackal-headed

17 Frazer, op. cit., IV. p. 263.
19 Theocritus, Idyll, XV.
21 F. Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, 1911, p. 79.
22 Lafaye, Culte des Divinites d'Alexandrie, 1884, p. 53.
23 Ibid., pp. 118-19.
Anubis conductor of souls in the underworld, could have found a following outside Egypt, but that, in fact, was the case. It is known that the wife of Antiochus I joined a club at Smyrna where this god was worshipped, and much later the Roman Emperor Commodus, who was an Isis worshipper and shaved his head, used to carry about a statue of Anubis.

The spread of the Egyptian cults in Greek lands has been accurately plotted. When the Egyptian cults first began to take a hold on Rome, it must have been a matter of some alarm for the Senate and afterwards the emperors, for we are aware that they took measures to curb their spread. Repeatedly in the years 59, 58, 53 and 48 B.C. the Senate ordered that the altars and statues of the Alexandrine gods were to be torn down, and again in 28, 21 and 19 B.C. there was renewed persecution. Isis worship was only revived and authorized in A.D. 38 when Caligula erected an Isis temple; much later Caracalla erected one in c. 215. Meanwhile, with the spread of the Empire, the cult went deep into Europe along the Danube and even into Spain.

It is well known that the Roman soldiers took the cult of the Persian Mithras to the far reaches of their empire. It will be profitable to consider instead some other deities of Syria whose worship wandered far from their homeland. First Melkart as Melikertes had a minor worship on the Isthmus of Corinth. Then Baal, in the local form of Baal-Tabor, spread to Rhodes and Sicily under the name of Zeus Atabyrios. There was moreover a temple of Baal of Damascus at Pozzuoli. Hadad, in turn, found his way to Italy and a temple dedicated to Hadad of Lebanon was excavated

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67a T. A. Brady, "The reception of the Egyptian cults by the Greeks", in *The University of Missouri Studies*, X, no. 1, 1935, pp. 5-49.
71 For example, as many as 15 Mithraea have been found at Ostia alone. (R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 1960, pp. 354-77).
72 L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 39-47.
74 Cumont, *op.cit.*, p. III.
at the foot of the Janiculum. Finally Atargatis began to gain adherents after the wife of Antiochus I rebuilt her temple at Hierapolis. Atargatis is stated to have had a club at Athens which she shared with the Anatolian Mother. The cult of Atargatis certainly had spread to the extreme limits of the West, since an inscription in honour of the goddess of Hierapolis has been found as far away as the wall of Hadrian in northern England, while two other inscriptions referring to Melkart and Astarte were found at Corbridge in Newcastle. No wonder, with this great tide of Oriental religion pouring into Europe, Juvenal (Satire. iii. 62) was led to describe it as the Orontes emptying itself into the Tiber. His objection in the main was to the language, manners and music introduced through Greek mediation.

In the far older records of the Greeks evidences of borrowing are much more vague, and we must base our proofs on exact correspondences and on comparisons of myths.

Recently for instance, it has become quite clear that Homer's successor Hesiod depended for his myth of Ouranos, Kronos and Zeus on the Oriental Kumarbi text. Features common to the Hurrian and Greek story have been summarized as "the forcible separation of Heaven and Earth, the conflict of divine generations, the old god's attempt to destroy his children, and the castration motif," also "the fertilization of the earth by the severed genitals of an old god, the introduction of a stone-baby, and the figure of Upelluri, a Hurrian Atlas who supports sky and earth." It is naturally to be expected that the Greeks would inherit some ideas from their nearest Oriental neighbours, the Anatolian Hittites. An Achaean prince is stated to have visited the Hittite Court in about the fourteenth century B.C., in order to study the training of horses and the handling of chariots, this, of course, subject to the

75 Ibid., p. 242, no. 10.
76 Lucian, De Dea Syria, 17, 19.
77 W. W. Tarn, op. cit., 342.
81 G. Contenau, La Civilization des Hittites et des Mitanniens, 1934, p. 142.
confirmation that the Ahhiyawa of the Hittite texts are indeed the Achaeans or Mycenaean Greeks. We shall note in due course the Oriental prototypes of Atlas and Hercules, but here we may point to two or three specific Anatolian elements absorbed into Greek religion: the cult of Cybele derived from the Hurrian goddess Kubabas, referred to in hieroglyphic texts; and the bee of the Hittite Mother Goddess which makes the young god of fertility, Telipinus, emerge from his sleep by its sting. The bee cult begins then to have a considerable prominence in Greece. Further, the late arriver in Greece, Dionysus has been traced to the Phrygian Diounsis together with his parents Dios and Zemelo, the Greek Zeus and Semele. The figure of Zeus Horkios with the double thunderbolt is alleged to have been based on eastern models, while the Carian Zeus is described as almost identical with the weather god Teshub-Hadad. The cult of Teshub survived even into the Roman epoch in the form of Jupiter Dolichenus (from Doliche in Commagene), while the Anatolian god son left his mark on the archaic form of the Apollo with the lion. In a bilingual inscription Resep, “the burning one,” is identified with Apollo. In a hymn found at Susa Apollo Panoptes is “simply the oriental sun god”. Apollo’s mother, Leto, who bore him in Lycia is herself suspected to have been originally the Asianic mother goddess, for her name derives from the Lycian lada, meaning Lady, Queen. Again, in a

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86 H. J. Rose, Ancient Greek Religion, 1948, pp. 59-60. The Phrygians believed that Dionysus was bound or slept in the winter and was free or awake in the summer. This characterizes his role as a vegetation god and in the early years he was connected with corn, trees, figs, and ivy as much as with wine. (Cf. W. M. Calder in Classical Review, XLI, 1927, p. 160f.
87 H. L. Lorimer, in Annual of the British School at Athens, XXXVII, 1936-7, pp. 172-86.
89 Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, 1881, I, 89f.
91 J. H. Gaster in Orientalia, II, 1942, p. 56.
bilingual inscription in Phoenician and Greek, Melkart the Baal of Tyre, is identified with Heracles. This suggests that the legend about the death by fire of Heracles on Mt. Oeta was derived from the yearly pyres built for Melkart at Tyre. In Cilicia, moreover, Heracles seems to have been associated with Sandas.

This by no means exhausts the assimilations and identifications between Greek and Oriental gods, but our concern here is only to show that the influence from the East went far deeper than the artistic level. The examples we have cited we hope will dispel the credo: "A culture will rarely assimilate more than certain ornamental details, since further commitment would entail coming to terms with exotic religious creeds."

In the realm of art such features as the hypostyle hall, the Ionic order of capital, and floor mosaic were inheritances transmitted to Greece from the Orient. Portable objects have found their way to Greece and even to Etruria from Urartu, situated beyond the Hittite lands. These consist in the main of bronzes in the shape of animal protomes which have been detached from cauldrons. Not only did the Aegean craftsmen copy these objects in the medium of clay, but it has been shown that the Greek potters copied patterns from textiles sent from far away Elam, the ancestor of Persia. Later still when the Athenians seized the Persian spoils at Plataea, they are suspected to have used the tent of Xerxes as the theatre dressing room, and thereafter the building which served this purpose retained its original name.

It would seem that in antiquity, as in our own times, craftsmen not only admired the products of other lands, but their patrons,
the monarchs, too were attracted by the prospect of having edifices built by foreign architects. Homer, for instance, includes builders among the foreigners invited from abroad (Odyssey, 17: 381-6), just as in the Mari letters there is a request for masons to repair the city walls and for a chariot builder.\textsuperscript{100} We know, moreover, of Syrian captives making cloth in the Temple of Amun for Thothmes III,\textsuperscript{101} Hebrews building for the Egyptians before the Exodus (Exodus, I, 11), and also of the building of Solomon's temple by the Phoenicians.\textsuperscript{102} Solomon also used Phoenicians to build and man his ships in the Red Sea (I. Kings, IX, 26f.) just as later Sennacherib used Phoenician carpenters to build 'Hittite' ships for him in the Persian Gulf.\textsuperscript{103} Ahab admired and had a copy made of the altar of the Great Temple of Damascus (2. Kings, XVI, 19). Subsequently, Esarhaddon had the Kings of Hatti and of the coast build a capital for him in 676 B.C. and populated it with the captives.\textsuperscript{104} Tiglath-Pileser III says that he built a palace of cedar and a portico patterned after a Hittite palace for his enjoyment in Calah,\textsuperscript{105} and he admits that he was constrained to employ on the building of the temple of Etemenanki, 'all the peoples of many nations'.\textsuperscript{106} Nebuchadnezzar (604-562 B.C.) took a thousand craftsmen and smiths back to Babylon from Judah (2. Kings, 24, 14-15). A Greek slave by the name of Agisala was employed to build Kaniska's stupa at Peshwari in the first century A.D.\textsuperscript{107} In Persia the traditional use of tributary craftsmen became established at an early date, as witness the heterogeneous elements at Achaemenid Persepolis. A striking testimony comes from Susa where Darius I records on a foundation tablet that his stone carvers were Ionians and Egyptians (6. 13, 31). The stone masons were the democrats, even among the servants of the temple of the验证码。
Sardinians, the workmen in baked bricks Babylonians and Ionians, while Egyptians were employed on the ivory, the goldwork and wall decoration, and in these three media they were assisted by the Sardinians in the first case and by Medes in the next two. The Sassanids, reverting to their Persian legacy, continued the tradition when Shapur I captured Antioch in A.D. 260 and carried off a large number of the inhabitants to Susiana. Tabari says that Shapur I had ordered the Emperor Valerian to send Roman engineers to built Shuster and other cities. Firdausi (tr. Mohl. V, p. 392) specifies that the water works of this town were built by Beranous, a Roman engineer, at Shapur’s orders. According to the Sassanian religious compilation, the Denkart, this same King Shapur I incorporated a variety of Greek and Indian literary works into the Avesta. Khusru I Anoshirwan repeated the process in A.D. 538 when his captives helped build a suburb south of Ctesiphon. The city was called Rumiya and was a replica of the plan of Antioch, being also settled by inhabitants of that city. According to Procopius (after 565) Chosroes had some splendid marbles taken up from the church at Antioch for the purpose of taking them back to Persia. The Byzantine historian, Theophylaktos Simokatta in the first half of the seventh century, says that the Emperor Justinian sent Greek stone as well as architects, who were expert in building and experienced in vaulting, to Chosroes, the son of Kavāt. And they built the royal palace not far from Ctesiphon in the Byzantine manner. Khusru Parvez II (591-628), once guest of Emperor Maurice at Hierapolis (who helped him reconquer the Persian throne, and gave him the Christian princess Shirin in marriage), likewise carried away thousands of Greek and Syrian captives on his Palestinian campaign (614), whom he later employed on his works. One wonders whether the Byzantines did not at the same

111 Noldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, pp. 165, 239.
112 History of the Wars, II, IX, 12-17.
time import Eastern architects, since the barrel vault of the narthex at the great palace of the Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople was erected in the Eastern manner without use of centering, i.e., the brick rings are sloped back against an end wall. 115

It was at about this time (A.D. 553-4) that the Byzantines discovered sericulture when two monks smuggled silk-worms out of Chinese territory (Serinda) or the Oxus valley where the secret of silk-production was jealously guarded. 116 Hitherto the only type of silk known in the West was the wild "bombyx" scraped from the cocoon and manufactured, for instance, in Cos in the third century B.C. But the silk referred to as "Median" was known already in the time of Herodotus and Xenophon and later Alexander is stated to have adopted the Mede dress from the Medes. A silk route was established between China and Parthia after the visit of Chinese embassies in 128 and 115 B.C., though the cultivation of true silk, "serica," did not become established in Persia until some time after A.D. 419 at which date it had been introduced into Khotan. 117

Before this time silk production must have been dependant on imported silk yarns and rough silk. Byzantine textiles imitated some Sassanian motifs. Sassanian objects may have been acquired by them in campaigns. Thus the Barbarini ivory of the fifth century at the Louvre represents the Byzantine Emperor celebrating his triumph over the Persians who are depicted bearing tributary offerings such as ivory tusks, lions, tigers and elephants, 118 just as on the celebrated black obelisk of Shalmaneser III (852 B.C.) conquered subjects of the Assyrians are bringing horned animals and an elephant. 119 In the Middle Ages Saracenic textiles found

115 A. Choisy, L'Art de batir chez les Byzantins, 1933, p. 34, fig. 32. In Egypt the leaning barrel vault dates from the end of the First Dynasty (W. B. Emery, Great Tombs of the First Dynasty, III, 1958, p. 102, pl. 116.) Pitched brick vaults have been traced in the Roman period at Karanis in Egypt, and in the Middle East at Assur, Hatra, Dura, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon. (D. Talbot Rice, Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, 1958, II, pp. 90-5.)
118 J. Pijoan, Summa Artis, VII, Fig. 412.
favour in Byzantium, Nasir-i-Khusrau (c. 1050) informs us for instance that a Greek Emperor offered a hundred of his towns in exchange for the Egyptian city of Tinnis, which was noted for its rare and unique fabrics. It was some time before the eleventh century that zoomorphic Oriental designs began to appear on the costumes of personages in Byzantine paintings—though according to the Book of Ceremonies, the Iranian dress had already been in general use in the Macedonian court since diplomatic relationship had been established with Abbasid Baghdad in the ninth century.

One consequence at least of the earlier contact was the adoption of the use of inscriptions on Byzantine silks by the ninth century, stating the name of the prince under whom they were made and his religious affiliation, in the manner of Islamic textiles. By the tenth century, precious Persian carpets were being spread for solemn receptions at the Great Palace in Constantinople.

Although the Byzantines were employed to decorate Muslim monuments, such as the Great Mosque of Damascus (706-715), and a Byzantine ambassador named Tarasius designed and supervised the building of a water mill at Baghdad in the reign of al-Mahdi (775-85), a reciprocal influence on Byzantine Constantinople began to be felt very soon. Under Leo III, (A.D. 717-41) an Arabic speaking Syrian ex-soldier who was described by a Greek chronicler as being "Saracen-inclined" since he was an iconoclast, and had issued an edict in 726 ordering the destruction of all images in Christian churches (seemingly following Yazid II's identical decree in 723), a mosque was built in Constantinople.

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100 C. Sherif, Sefer Namah, 1881, p. 416.
102 Ibid., p. 36.
103 Ibid., p. 36.
104 J. Ebertsolt, Les Arts somitaires de Byzance, 1923, p. 11.
105 The long-standing view that the Byzantine Emperor sent on demand "workmen, mosaics and marble," has been refuted recently on the grounds that the events resemble a recorded pre-Islamic one relating to the building of a church at San'a by the Abyssinian King... (K. A. C. Creswell in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Parts 3 and 4, 1956, pp. 142-5.) But could not history have been repeating itself in this instance?
107 A. Vasiliev, in Byzantium, ed. N. H. Baynes and H. Moss, 1948, pp. 311, 317; Ibn Hamdun (1167) says that peace was concluded with
It is notable that the Iconoclastic Council of 754 anathemizes Mansur or John, Patriarch of Damascus (d. 749), for defending the use of images in religious art.\textsuperscript{127} The fact that he is described as being “Saracen-minded”\textsuperscript{128} for precisely the opposite reason as Leo III, suggests that the Byzantines were confused regarding the Muslim attitude toward figurative arts. John at any rate has nothing to say about Muslim antagonism to images.

If the Oriental source can be trusted,\textsuperscript{129} the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-11) was himself of Mesopotamian-Arab origin. This would help explain the yearning for Oriental opulence of Theophilus (829-42) less than a generation later. This Emperor passed an edict protecting citizens who married Persians and gave his own sister Helena to Theophobus, a distinguished Persian leader claiming descent from the Sassanids.\textsuperscript{130} Theophilus’s ambassador, John of Syncelle, on returning from his mission to Baghdad in 835, gave an enthusiastic description of the Caliph’s palace to the Emperor, who was so impressed by its marvels that he at once made a replica of its every feature, and according to one contemporary,\textsuperscript{131} the suburban palace of Bryas, which was on the Asiatic side, “exactly reproduced without alteration, the Saracen Palace both in plan and in decoration.” On the basis of some small resemblance in plan with Abbasid palaces a ruined building at Kuçukyali has recently been identified as this palace of Bryas.\textsuperscript{132} Buildings the Byzantines in 715 on condition that a big mosque would be constructed there. The Mosque was built by Maslama the commander who was brother of Caliph Sulaiman (715-17.)


\textsuperscript{129} A. Vasiliev, \textit{op. cit.,} p. 311.

\textsuperscript{130} G. Finlay, \textit{History of the Byzantine Empire,} 1913, p. 141.


\textsuperscript{132} G. Finlay, \textit{History of the Byzantine Empire,} p. 139.

erected in the Imperial Palace in Constantinople were similarly inspired by those of Baghdad. The audience hall is said to have had trichonos apses possibly in the Mshatta style, while polychrome marble, intarsia work, and mosaics constituted the decorations. Among the furnishings was a “throne of Solomon” flanked by gilt lions mechanically contrived to rise from their couchant position and roar. There were also golden trees shading the throne, with automata consisting of gilt birds which sang when an embassy was being received. The sounds were apparently generated by golden organs of which Theophilus had ordered two, and later Constantine (911-59) had ordered another with similar birds as terminals of the pipes. In Islamic tradition the throne from which Solomon used to dispense justice had this very quality of being “exquisite...yet likely to induce terror.” Ad Damiri (d. 1405) conceives of this throne as being of ivory inlaid with precious stones, flanked by lions and surrounded by four date-palms of gold. Represented also on the throne were paired, fronted peacocks and eagles, and vine-creepers with clusters of grapes. This description may have been purely imaginary, but at least as early as the Achaemenids there were such symbolic trees in gold for enhancing the splendour of the monarch. Herodotus (vii. 27.) describes the tree that stood in the citadel of Susa until 316 B.C., as a golden plane, but according to another Greek writer it was not large enough to shade a grass-hopper. The Islamic Caliphs inherited this love of pomp in their court ceremonial and it is known that there was a jewelled peacock throne in the palæ of Harun at Baghdad, and in Fatimid Egypt.

Fortunately an Arab historian has recorded what later By-
zantine Ambassadors saw when they visited Baghdad in 917. On passing through a double rank cavalry guard of a hundred and sixty thousand horses they came to the Palace, and entered a vaulted underground passage which led to the Throne Room of al-Muqtadir. The Palace walls were adorned with thirty eight thousand hangings, many of them of brocade embroidered with gold, as were the twelve thousand five hundred curtains "all magnificently figured with representations of drinking vessels, and with elephants and horses, camels, lions, and birds". The carpets and mats laid in the courts and corridors at the feet of the nobles numbered twenty two thousand pieces, not including those in the assembly hall. The Ambassadors were taken round on a tour of inspection. Among the sights they saw were the household cavalry of a thousand mares, caparisoned with gold or silver saddles, with brocade saddle-cloths and long head covers. They went past the Park of the Wild Beasts, saw four elephants adorned with peacock silk brocade, each mounted by eight men of Sind together with javelin men with fire, and a hundred chained lions held by keepers. In the Palace of Paradise (Qasr al Firdaus) they saw ten thousand gilded breast plates hung round the hall, and an armoury with ten thousand other pieces including bucklers, helmets, casques, cuirasses, coats of mail with ornamented quivers and bows. Finally they saw the Palace of the Tree (Dar-ash-Shajara) where a tree weighing fifty thousand ounces, with eighteen branches and numerous twigs of silver and gold, bearing leaves of divers colours, grew out of the centre of a great circular tank filled with clear water. On the tree were gold and silver birds of various sizes that piped and sang as the wind blew. Contemporary silver vessels of the ninth or tenth century from Bulgaria, showing definite traces of Islamic influence, enable us to imagine the skill of the smiths who executed the tree. The embassy of 917, with the

140 G. Le Strange, "A Greek embassy to Baghdad in 917 A.D." in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1897, pp. 38-42. According to Abul Feda this tree with singing birds was already there in the time of Mamun, c. 827. From the above description it is evident that the tree could not have been an automaton of the type described by Heron which operated by means of water forcing air out of a narrow pipe culminating in a bird’s beak. (cf. G. Brett, in Speculum, XXIX, 1954, pp. 477-87.)

spectacular reception held in honour of the ambassadors of Empress Zoe, was by no means the last of such missions, for Romanus sent one in 924 in order to arrange a truce and an exchange of prisoners. From the recent discovery and publication of a work by al-Qadi-al-Rashid (c. 1052-70), we now know of nearly 20 exchanges between Byzantine and Muslim rulers. He gives an inventory and description of the precious gifts, and occasionally even cites inscriptions on them. Among the more important of these objects from the point of view of art history (to say nothing of the textiles whose colours and motifs are given, and objects of precious stones) were the 100 different sorts of pots covered with gold enamel which Constantine gave to the Fatimid ruler al-Mustansir in 1045, the 100 silver candlesticks and 150 apricot-coloured porcelain plates which the Seljuk ruler Tughril Beg gave to Michael Stratietitkos in 1056, and the 55 damascened dishes decorated in glass of five colours, which Michael gave to the mother of Mustansir.

That there was a liaison between Abbasid and Byzantine architecture is apparent from the church of Gastria, now known as Sanjakdar Mesjedi in Constantinople, which is believed to have been founded by Euphrosyne, step-mother of Emperor Theophilus, or possibly by his mother-in-law, Theoctista. Though this church may have been rebuilt in the fourteenth century it resembles in plan the Qubbat-as-Sulaibiya in Samarra, built as a tomb for an Abbasid Caliph in the middle of the ninth century by his Greek mother. Both are octagonal on the exterior with arched openings in the centre of each side, while the interior is a domed square with short arms leading off from the four sides resulting in a cruciform plan. Shortly afterward, under Michael III (847-61), the Baghdad type of bent entrance appeared for the first time in Byzantine architecture in the citadel of Angora, which had been damaged by Caliph Mutasim in 838.

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144 Van Millingen, Byzantine Churches in Constantinople, pp. 268, 271, fig. 92.
have been a considerable amount of intermingling on the frontiers since the Byzantine hero, Digenes Akritas, was himself the son of an ex-Muslim of Arabic-Greek descent. He became a staunch defender of the frontier forts against Saracen attacks, was killed in battle in 788, and an epic celebrating his exploits was written later in 1042-54.\textsuperscript{146} The prototype of this hero is believed to have been the Arab warrior Abdallah al-Battal, who probably fell in battle in 740.\textsuperscript{147} Masudi (\textit{Murudj}, VIII. 74) claims that the Byzantines had hung the portrait of this illustrious Muslim in their churches.

Almost from the very inception of Islam there had been recurrent hostilities between Byzantium and the Arab world, but despite this it appears that a Muslim population had entrenched itself in Constantinople. This is testified by the Islamic buildings referred to by Hassan Ali al Harawy, in his “Guide to Pilgrimages,” written in the twelfth century. He refers to a large mosque erected by Maslama, son of Abdal Malik, and to a tomb of the venerated Husain, nephew of the Prophet, both within the city, and to a tomb of one of the Companions of the Prophet outside the city limits.\textsuperscript{148} Constantine Porphyrogenitus attributes the building of the mosque in the Praetorium near Forum of Constantine to the reign of Michael III Balbus, who, he says, erected it as a favour to Maslama.\textsuperscript{149} One commentator doubts whether the defeated Maslama could have been in a position to ask favours, and proposes that the mosque dated from the Saracen embassy of 860.\textsuperscript{150} At any rate it is very likely that when this mosque was restored in 1027, a muezzin was installed to call the Faithful to prayer. This was the result of a friendly gesture between Constantine and the Fatimid al-Zahir, made in return for permission to re-build the Holy Sepulchre, lately destroyed by the mad King Hakim.\textsuperscript{151}

When this mosque was sacked by the Crusaders in 1203, it started

\textsuperscript{146} C. Sathas and E. Legrand, \textit{Les exploits de Digenis Akritas}, 1875.
\textsuperscript{147} The Turkish Romance of Sidi Battal (not earlier than the fourteenth century) is now recognized as incorporating the substance of a tenth century lay of the Emir Omar of Melite. (J. Mavrogordato, \textit{Digenes Akrites}, 1956, p. LXXII.\textsuperscript{f})
\textsuperscript{149} De Adm. Imp. XXI (p. 101 B.)
\textsuperscript{150} F. W. Hasluck, \textit{Christianity and Islam under the Sultans}, II, p. 720.
\textsuperscript{151} G. Schlumberger, \textit{L’Epopee Byzantine}, III, p. 23.
an immense conflagration that burned down the whole quarter; despite the sympathetic intervention by the Greek population.\footnote{152} There is reason to doubt that the mosque was entirely destroyed since Mühaldin says that in 1261 Baibars' ambassador to Michael Paleológos was shown the mosque in Constantinople.\footnote{153} Moreover, from the recent reading of a fragmentary Kufic inscription we learn that there was a medieval mosque in Athens in the second half of the tenth or the first half of the eleventh century.\footnote{154} During Clavijo's visit to Constantinople between 1403-6, we know that there was a vaulted cistern carried on 490 pillars, called the Cistern of Muhammad,\footnote{155} though this appears to have been the Cistern of Philoxenus and had obtained its other appellation since Muslim captives were kept close by.\footnote{156} Even if this structure was not erected by the Muslims the so-called "Persian House" may have survived the debacle. This was a copy of the Palace of the Seljuks of Konia, erected by the Greeks who had lately worked for the Sultan.\footnote{157}

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Byzantines had to contend with a new Muslim power, the Seljuks, who seriously reduced the extent of their domain. But here again all was not hostility. For example John, the brother of the Emperor Andronicus Comnenus (1180-85) fled to Konia became a Muslim, and married the daughter of Kilij Arslan.\footnote{158} This ruler Kilij Arslan II (1155-92) had made a friendly visit to the Court of Manuel Comnenus I (1143-80) at Constantinople\footnote{159} probably in 1161. The result

\footnote{152} W. Metcalfe, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, 1893, p. 33.
\footnote{153} S. F. Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, 1956, pp. 148-9; Saladin had sent a minbar to his mosque in 1189. (C. M. Brand, in *Speculum*, April 1962, p. 174.)
\footnote{155} C. R. Markham, *Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timur*, p. 46.
\footnote{159} J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*, 1923, p. 86.
of this visit was that on the one side Manuel "induced the church to remove the anathema on the God of Islam" at the risk of heresy, and on the other, it is known that the Seljuk took back such presents as silver vases and gold cups among which there may have been some enamel pieces. Somewhat earlier Byzantine enamelled metalwork had served as a model for the Ortokid dish (1144-44), now in the Innsbruck Museum. The fact of this dish being cast in Amidā can perhaps be explained by the presence of the Byzantine Ambassador there, for the technique of enamelling did not appear to have been prevalent in Islamic metalwork, whereas it did flourish to some extent in Byzantine art. To be sure al-Maqrizi in his Khitāt describes Fatimid enamels before their burning in 1062, but these may equally well have been of coloured glass paste, for which there was a long oriental tradition. For example, blue paste is inlaid in a gold bracelet from the Kassite palace at Aqar Quf, and indeed the reference to the making of figures of esmaru might well be to this technique and the word itself connected with our word "enamel" through the Spanish esmalte and French émail as it has been suggested. The Arabic for enamel is `aman màna'. Moreover apart from these "gold plates covered with màna," referred to by Maqrizi, (Khitāt I, 414, 31. Bulaq ed., 1270 A.H.) which could have been of local manufacture, he clearly states that twenty-eight màna trays covered with gold in cubes had been sent to Aziz Billah by the King of Rûm, (ibid., p. 415, 8) that is Byzantium. Indeed, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus declares, in his treatise on court ceremonies, his preference for sending enamel objects as presents to foreign rulers, and we know, fortunately, from Arab sources that the gift of this Emperor to Abdal Rahman III of Cordova consisted of a letter enclosed in "an ornamented silver case covered with gold, with the image of King Constantine.

160 S. Runciman, Byzantine civilisation, p. 131, citing Nicetas Choniates, pp. 278-84.
161 Strzygowsky & van Berchem, Amīdā, 1910, pp. 348 ff., pl. XXI, 1 and fig. 295.
162 G. Migeon, Manuel d'art, Musulman, II, p. 21. It has even been argued that the Moors learned the enamelling technique from the Fatimids and passed it on to Europe. But see W. L. Hildburgh, Medieval Spanish Enamels, 1936, Ch. 4.
163 Iraq, VIII, 1946, p. 91, pl. XV.
executed in admirable variegated glass." Makkari, who furnishes this information, says that there was an object executed in the same Byzantine technique among the treasures of the Great Mosque of Cordova. Now although the aforementioned Ortokid dish is dependant on Byzantium for its technique and for the portrayal of its leading theme, which is the ascent of Alexander, reciprocal influence is not to be ruled out since one of its subjects is characteristically Islamic and that is the female dancer with rear kick-step, a theme which is found among the ninth century frescoes of Samarra and among some of the earliest Byzantine enamels—specifically among the gold enamelled plaques constituting the crown of the Emperor Constantine XI Monomachus (1042-50), now in the Museum of Budapest. Islamic influence in enamelled metalwork appears to have gone even further west to Limoges in the thirteenth century where the enamelled gemelions, or copper hand-washing basins follow Islamic prototypes, while the (vermiculated) stylized rinceaux serving as the background of these Limoges enamels also derive from Muslim models. Finally we may note that Byzantine polychrome ceramics and sgraffito ware owe a debt to Islamic pottery, not in paste, technique, or colours, but largely in motifs. We conclude by observing that scholars have recognized for some considerable time how pervasively middle Byzantine art felt the pressure of Muslim artistic ideals.

We shall now examine the amicable relationships between the Islamic world and those bordering upon its western limits, and note some of the consequences for the history of art resulting

168 M. de Vassélot, "Les émaux limousins à fond vermiculé," in Revue Archéologique, VI, p. 42; W. L. Hildburgh (Medieval Spanish Enamels, 1936) contends that apart from cloisonné, the copper champlevé enamels reveal the influence of Andalusia.
from these commercial and diplomatic exchanges. Presumably, the Islamic conquest of Syria led to the emigration of influential Syrian Christians to Italy and elsewhere. This is substantiated by the five Syrians who are known to have ascended the Papal chair in Rome between 686-731, and also by the appointment of Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop of Canterbury in 668.\textsuperscript{171} At about the same time, between the sixth and seventh centuries, we learn from Gregory of Tours that colonies of Syrian merchants had established themselves in Gaul.\textsuperscript{172} Further, we know that the Fair at Chappes near Troyes was visited in the ninth century by Syrian merchants bringing rich fabrics, and gems from Tyre, and leather from Antioch.\textsuperscript{173} We hear also of commercial ties between France and Egypt during the same century.\textsuperscript{174} But the contacts at this stage were still occasional, and we are fortunate in that we are left with such a stray piece of information as the visit of Charlemagne’s embassy to Kairouan in Tunisia in the ninth century, which had been sent to claim the body of Saint Cyprien. During their visit the embassies are known to have entered the Abbasiya Palace.\textsuperscript{175} The ambassadors must have entered with great respect, for at this time the whole Mediterranean basin was virtually under Muslim control, and in fact in 870 Lewis the German described Naples as “a second Palermo, an outpost of Islam and a depot for its booty”.\textsuperscript{176}

Already in 722 a Muslim ship from Egypt had been seen in the port of Naples by Willibrord.\textsuperscript{177} By about 800 Istria paid its tribute in Arabian gold. It may be recalled that Muslim invaders held Calabria between 837-80, Taranto between 840-80, and Trajetto between 878-915.

Despite intermittent wars and invasions between the ninth and eleventh centuries, religious and commercial contacts between North Africa and the Mediterranean Christian ports did not

\textsuperscript{171} J. Brondsted, op. cit., p. 31.
\textsuperscript{172} L. Brehier, in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 1903, pp. 1f. Also L’Art Chrétien, p. 168 f.
\textsuperscript{173} W. G. East, An Historical Geography of Europe, 1948, p. 118.
\textsuperscript{174} Heyd, Histoire du Commerce du Levant, I, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{175} G. Marçais, Manuel d’art Musulman, I, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{176} C. R. Beazley, The Dawn of Modern Geography, I, p. 204.
Oriental influences in Western art.

The volume of trade appears to have been augmented by the twelfth century. Thus Benjamin of Tudela saw swarms of foreign merchants in Egypt in 1171, among them 3000 Frankish merchants in Alexandria. He also says that among the traders from the big commercial entrepots who came to Montpellier were many Muslimadans from Egypt, Palestine and Spain. One of the earliest ports where they found a ready market was Arles. According to Theodolphus (788-821) they imported there cloths of various colours, crystals, pearls, leather from Cordova, incense, Indian ivory, statues of griffins from Asia and balm from Syria. An Arab traveller passing through this city in 973 found there many Indian spices, such as pepper, ginger, cloves, nard, etc. Islamic textiles came into the market indirectly too, as for instance, through Amalfitan merchants who carried on a flourishing trade with Muslim states and are known to have occupied a whole road in Naples. As for the fairs, others were to be found at Bar-sur-Aube, Chalons, Lagny on the Marne, Troyes on the Seine and Provins, where woollen and silk fabrics from Levantine and Italian ports were sold. It is no wonder then that Greek and Arabian travellers are mentioned by Robert of Torigni as visitors to the Norman monastery of Bec early in the twelfth century.

Oriental textiles were prized in the West in very early times. For instance a Greek text refers to a mantle with Persian borders which an inhabitant of Sybaris consecrated in the Temple of Hera Lakinia.

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178 Mas Lattrie, Relations des Chretiens avec Arabes, 1866.
180 M. Komroff (ed.), Contemporaries of Marco Polo, pp. 254-5.
182 Cantu, Histoire des Italiens, VI, p. 2.
185 A. Roes in Bulletin Correspondence Hellenique, 1935, vol. 59, p. 324. This garment was 15 ells long and covered with figures including representations of the cities of Persepolis and Susa, presumably as on the skirts worn by the Achaemenid bodyguard on the façade revetment at Susa itself. (cf. P. Jacobsthal in Journal of Hellenic Studies, 58, 1938, pp. 205-14).
Jupiter Olympius was of wool adorned with Assyrian weaving and the purple of the Phoenicians. It was dedicated by King Antiochus, Josephus (Bell. v. 5, 4) similarly claims that the veil of the Temple of Solomon was of Babylonian manufacture. In Rome in the second century B.C. Babylonian embroidered coverlets for sofas fetched the equivalent of £700.\textsuperscript{186} Pliny says that by the importation of Chinese garments into Rome the Seres extracted an enormous annual revenue. (Nat. Hist., XII, 2, 84; XXXIV, 145). King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths, who was educated in Constantinople in 461-71, had his banqueting tables covered with cloth from Babylon.\textsuperscript{187} One of the means by which Muslim textiles came into the hands of Christians in Europe was through the Oriental practice of giving costly gifts of robes. This custom goes back to ancient times, and, to cite only one example, there is a reference to Hammurabi presenting robes to ambassadors in the Mari letters (II. no. 76). Xenophon says (Cyrop. i. 4. 26) that Cyrus took off his splendid Median cloak and gave it to one of his comrades as a gift. The Quran itself seems to have set a parallel to this practice in the verse (lxxvi): "God hath rewarded their constancy with Paradise and silken robes . . .". The Quranic conception of Paradise, with its "couches and linings of brocade," (lv, 54) must have closely resembled those in the Palaces of the Caliphs.\textsuperscript{188} The Prophet Muhammad is known to have distributed silk tunics among his wives, relations and close followers. He himself wore purple mantles trimmed with gold, and on solemn occasions a great red robe which cost him 50 dinars.\textsuperscript{189} The Prophet also set the precedent of accepting stuffs as tribute. Thus the tax of Nadjran was paid in robes and cuirasses, and this practice continued down

\textsuperscript{186} L. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire, 1908-13, II, p. 203.


\textsuperscript{188} Luxurious couches are held to have appeared first in Greece under Persian influence (G. Richter, Ancient Furniture, p. 56) though, of course, such couches are anciently attested in Egypt and Assyria. Herodotus (IX. 82) claims that the Greeks had taken couches and tables of gold and silver from the Persians.

\textsuperscript{189} H. Lammens, Fatima et les filles de Mahomet, 1912, pp. 34, 63, 69-72.
to the time of Harun al Rashid. The Caliphs not only rewarded their Governors and courtiers with robes, but also made a practice of sending such articles as gifts to other rulers. As early as 747 an Arab Caliph is stated to have sent presents to Pepin le Bref, and an eighth century Persian-inspired shroud, believed to have been presented by Pepin to the Abbey of Mozac (Puy de Dôme), is still preserved at the Textile Museum at Lyons. Pepin is known for certain to have sent an embassy to al-Mansur in Baghdad in 763 which returned three years later accompanied by the Caliph's ambassadors bearing many presents. Regarding the relationship between Harun al Rashid and Charlemagne however, there is far less dependable information. Apart from the fact that the elephant known as Abul Abbas, sent by the Abbasid died at Lippenheim in 810, scholars are chary of any further admissions particularly on account of the silence of Muslim historians. Earlier writers have it that Charlemagne received silks and perfumes from Harun, and that these silks with "lemon-yellow and apple-green" threads were proudly displayed at the abbey of Saint Denis in the suburb of Paris. It is at any rate known that the deputation to Cordova in 866 returned with camels heaped likewise with silks and perfumes. The Caliph of Baghdad received from a European princess some presents in 906 including 20 pieces of cloth woven with gold, seven falcons, seven hawks, a silk tent with all its accessories; etc.

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194 The usual account is that two Frenchmen accompanied by the Jew Isaac were sent as ambassadors in 797, while Charles received Harun's envoys as well as those of the African amir Ibrahim ibn-al-Aglaba in 801, Isaac returned bearing magnificent presents. Abdallah, another envoy of Harun in 807 brought a number of listed items, (H. Leclercq in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, 1936, XII, 2, col. 2656).
197 J. Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
198 Reinaud, *op. cit.*, p. 150.
199 V. V. Barthold, in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, II, 1928, pp. 85-9, contended that the Embassy came from Theodora wife of Theophilactus.
Meanwhile oriental wall-hangings and vestments were already fulfilling the wants of ecclesiastics in Rome in the ninth century. The appears to have been primarily Alexandrian, though they included some Syrian silks. The chronicles list the subjects depicted on the cloths which various Popes donated to the churches in Rome at this period. Thus under Leo III (795-816) they were patterned with birds in circles, elephants, tigers, griffins, while under his successors for the next half century, were introduced peacocks, lions, horses, roses in circles, snakes coiled round trees, and men carrying crowns or riding on peacocks. A century later in 962 when Ordoño IV, King of Galicia, visited Hakam II at Cordova he received a decorated silk robe as well as a gold belt ornamented with rubies and pearls. The commander, Almanzor (980-1002), rewarded his Christian warriors with 2285 pieces of tiraz of various colours and patterns. With all his enmity for the Spanish princes of the North, Almanzor had enough reverence for the Virgin, to present the church of Leon with a dozen copes of cloth and a hanging flaunting his insignia, after having invested the city. The Christian princess he had married may have been ruler of Rome under the pontificate of Sergius III. C. J. Lamm (Oriental Glass, 1947, p. 41) believed the donor was Theodoranda, probably a daughter of Autran II Count of Troyes in c. 882-3 and married to Odo (Eudes) Count of Paris who was King of France from 888-98 and that therefore the Caliph was not Muktafi (902-08) but Mutamid (870-92). However a new manuscript has confirmed that it was Muktafi and the embassy was from Bertha daughter of Lothair in 906. (M. Hamidullah, in Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, I, Pt. 4. 1953, pp. 272ff).

103 Makkari, History of the Mohammedan Dynasties, tr. Gayangos, II, pp. 159-165.
104 Defined as a brocade or brocade border (Dozy, Dictionnaire des noms des vetements ches les Arabes, pp. 355ff.) The first mention of the term among the Christians is the "panno tiraz" sent as a gift to a Gallician monastery in A.D. 934. (Espana Sagrada, vol. XL, p. 400).
105 Makkari, Op: Cit II, pp. 194-6, 480-1.
106 Whishaw, Arabic Spain, p. 170.
instrumental in his sending presents to Christian shrines.\textsuperscript{207} He is also known to have abandoned the destruction of Santiago de Compostella when he was reminded that St. James was a disciple of the Son of Mary. Even if this account is difficult to believe, especially as he is known to have sacked this city on two separate occasions, in 988 and 994, it is nevertheless true that in Jerusalem, according to Bocardus, there were Saracens who "devoutly worshipped" the Tomb of the Virgin.\textsuperscript{208} The Syrian Muslims were no doubt following the practice of the first Omayyad Caliph Muawiya, who had prayed at the tomb of the Virgin in the Garden of Gethsemane in Jerusalem in 658-9.\textsuperscript{209} Finally in Spain itself a church in Murcia was venerated for its associations with Mary, and in the Cathedral at Seville the mural of the Virgin was retained throughout its tenure as a mosque.\textsuperscript{210}

The Christians of Spain were not altogether unfamiliar with the technique of silk-weaving at the time of these presentations by Almanzor, as a colony of weavers had set up their looms at Valdesaz in Leon in the tenth century,\textsuperscript{211} but these refugees from Andalusia by no means succeeded in setting up an industry that could compete with that of the Moors. Invariably the vestments in which ecclesiastics sought to be buried were of Islamic manufacture. These include for instance, the silk veil covering the body of Saint Ferdinand's daughter, and the crimson Baghdad robe adorned with Kufic lettering and confronted animals and sphinxes in which San Pedro de Osma was laid to rest in 1109.\textsuperscript{212} Then there is the veil of Hisham (976-1013) with an inscription praying for blessings on the Caliph which was found under the altar of the Church of St. Stephen de Gormaz in Soria.\textsuperscript{213} There is also the 	extit{pallia} of purple silk brocade interwoven with gold thread which was wrapped round the body of St. Cuthbert in 1104.\textsuperscript{214} A Kufic inscription woven on it proclaims the first article of the Islamic faith: "There is no god but

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{207} Dozy, \textit{History of the Moors}, Chap. 10.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Pierotti, \textit{Jerusalem explored}, I, p. 309.
\item \textsuperscript{209} Clermont-Genneau, \textit{Recueil d'archéologie orientale}, II, p. 406.
\item \textsuperscript{210} Whishaw, \textit{op cit.}, pp. 385-7.
\item \textsuperscript{211} Diaz Jimenez, \textit{Imigracion mozarabe}, pp. 127-8.
\item \textsuperscript{212} B. Bevan, \textit{History of Spanish Architecture}, p. 47
\item \textsuperscript{213} W. G. Thompson, \textit{A History of Tapestry}, 1930, p. 40.
\item \textsuperscript{214} F. W. Buckler "The Pallium of St. Cuthbert" in \textit{Archaeologia}, 1925, pp. 199-214.
\end{itemize}
God." In one case a Muslim ruler, Mutadid, himself covered the sarcophagus of a Christian saint, that of Isidore, with an arabesque brocade. This was in 1063 when the relics were being taken to Seville. Finally there is the large collection of thirteenth century Moorish textiles—many of them with borders and roundels with rigid and cursive Arabic inscriptions—which served as the repository for the remains of the Royal Family of Castile. These were found recently when the tombs at the Cistercian Convent of Las Huelgas at Burgos, founded by Alphonso VIII in A.D. 1199, were opened. In Italy the practice had a long tenure for as late as 1356 Rudolph of Hapsburg who died in Milan was buried in a Persian robe bearing an inscription.

Muslim silks continued to serve as materials for liturgical vestments and are to be found in many church treasuries. In France, for example, they are to be found in the Cathedral of Sens, and in remote country churches. In medieval Greece, at Thebes and Athens, the weavers are stated to have used Islamic textiles as models and it is likely that textiles elsewhere which came into the possession of church treasuries served a similar purpose. At any rate the practice of converting a Caliph’s robe of honour into a church vestment is evident from the cope at St. Mary’s church in Danzig, for this is a brocade of the early fourteenth century from Mamluk Egypt and the inscription reads in Arabic, “the learned Sultan.” Earlier, copes were specifically known to have been made from Mauresque brocades, as stated in an inventory of 1257 from the monastery of San Juan de la Abadessas. And again a rich embroidery of gold thread on blue silk executed according to the inscription at Almeria in A.D. 1116 and later cut up to fashion a

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216 M. Gomez-Moreno, El Panteon Real de las Huelgas de Burgos, 1946.
218 Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Sens, VI, Pl. vii, VII, Pl vi. Also L. Begule, La Cathedrale de Sens, 1929, figs. 99 & Pl. xxiv. 1, 2, 3, 4, and Chartre, Inventaire du Tresor de Sens, 1897.
219 Le. Brehier, Le Style Roman, 1941, p. 80.
221 R. Ettinghausen in Near Eastern Culture & Society, ed. T. C. Young, 1951, pp. ix, 18, pl. I.
222 Puigy Cadafalch, Els Banyos de Gerona, p. 728, n. 1.
chasuble (it is held for St. Thomas of Canterbury), is preserved at Fermo in Italy.\textsuperscript{223}

One of the ways in which church treasuries obtained these Oriental silks was through cavaliers returning from the victorious Crusades. Thus the Prince Courté-Heuse presented Oriental silk robes to the Trinity at Caen.\textsuperscript{224} A silk in the treasury of the Church of Apt (Provence) dates from El-Mostali, the reigning Caliph at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099.\textsuperscript{225} The turbans, kafiehs and burnouses worn by the Crusaders in the Holy Land\textsuperscript{226} were probably Arab stuffs bought in the local market when trade resumed with the Infidels during times of peace. In Spain too Alfonso the Wise, who employed Muslim jewellers,\textsuperscript{227} is said to have worn "a Muslim turban and a flowing robe," judging from a portrait on an ancient banner.\textsuperscript{228} Many of the musicians at his court were Moors as the miniature paintings in his manuscript on the History of Chess reveal, and the canticles of his court music also manifest a marked Arabic form.\textsuperscript{229}

The Rahab, or rebec (three-stringed instrument played with a bow,\textsuperscript{230} ancestor of the modern violin) had, of course, long since\textsuperscript{231} been introduced into Europe by the Moors, and by the Gothic period it had passed from the hands of long-bearded Moors to those of goats represented on capitals of churches and in manuscripts. This was only one part of the invasion of Europe on all fronts by Islamic civilization. Such basic features as numerals and even paper were introduced from that source, though the

\textsuperscript{223} D. S. Rice in \textit{Illustrated London News}, October 3, 1959, pp. 356-8
\textsuperscript{224} Emile Mâle, \textit{L’Art religieux du 12 ième Siecle}, p. 343.
\textsuperscript{225} \textit{Bulletin archéologique du Comité}, 1904, p. 333f.
\textsuperscript{227} A. B. Beretta, in \textit{Al-Andalus}, VII, 1942, pp. 475f.
\textsuperscript{228} Whishaw, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 341.
\textsuperscript{230} H. G. Farmer, "The Origin of the Arabian Lute and rebec," in \textit{Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society}, 1930, pp. 777-9, contends that the Arabs received the bow from the East and transmitted it to Europe.
\textsuperscript{231} An Arab rahab is represented on an 8th or 9th century Byzantine casket at the Carrand collection at Florence, and on a Carolingian manuscript from the 3rd quarter of the 9th century (A. Boinet, \textit{La miniature Carolingienne}, Pl. LVII.)
first was of Hindu and the second of Chinese origin. The earliest document actually written on paper in Europe is a deed of Roger II, Norman king of Sicily, which is a bi-lingual one in Arabic and Latin dating from A.D. 1109. Roger's Sicily was also the source for the adoption of Arabic numerals, where they first appeared on a coin dated A.D. 1138 accompanied by an Arabic inscription. By collating numerous early dated examples it becomes possible to see how the clumsy Roman numerals were abandoned in Europe during the Middle Ages and were replaced, beginning in the late twelfth century and continuing up to the fifteenth, by the numerals which the Arabs themselves had obtained from India by the ninth century.

Muslim civilization began to flow into Europe mainly after the re-conquest of Spain from the Moors. In this the Mudejars, Muslim slaves who worked for Christian masters, were in part instrumental. Their workmanship on Christian churches, palaces and monasteries in Burgos, Saragossa, Seville, Teruel, Toledo and elsewhere is now well-known. It seems fairly certain that Moorish slaves were employed on the cloister capitals of Santo Domingo de Silos, which is one of the finest examples of Romanesque carving in Spain. It is known that 30 male and 20 female slaves were given as part of the dowry by Ferdinand, Count of Castile, when he gave his daughter to the Abbey of Covarrubias. Even the church of Santiago de Compostella received 30 slaves donated by Ordoño II (913-23). Later in 1041 the Abbot of Sant Cugat del Valles was promised a third of the Muslims captured in the vicinity, and in 1104 Ramon Berenguer III gave captives and booty from Muslim ships to the Church of Sant Andria de Besós. Indeed, slaves had become so numerous that in the middle of the twelfth century, a slave market had to be set up in Barcelona to handle them. The churches of France too received some of the captives.

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234 A. W. Clapham, Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe, 1936, pp. 31-32. He considers this improbable on the basis of stylistic comparisons.
235 D. M. Ferotin, Histoire de l'Abbaye de Silos, 1897, p. 45.
236 W. W. S. Cook in Art Studies, 1924, p. 70, n. 1.
For example, twenty Moorish captives were sent to the Abbey of Conques in 1020, and later Dom Sancho Ramirez, King of Aragon, after the siege of Barbastro in 1101-04, sent back materials from a Muslim mosque (meschitam) for use in building a church in honour of Ste. Foy at Conques.\footnote{Rupin, L'oeuvres de Limoges, p. 48, n. 3.} To this Abbey was donated the booty captured by Raymond III, Count of Rouergue, consisting of twenty-one engraved and gilded silver vases together with a silver saddle. From these the monks made a great cross while retaining the richly engraved Saracenic ornaments.\footnote{Rupin, op. cit., p. 47, n. 2.} A pair of Muslim candlesticks are also listed in an inventory at Limoges,\footnote{Ibid., p. 48, n. 5.} and here again it is known that in A.D. 1019 twenty Saracenic slaves were sent to the Abbey of Saint Martial at Limoges,\footnote{Reinaud, Les Invasions des Saracins, p. 220:} the region which later produced the wonderful enamels whose blue is so reminiscent of the Mediterranean. It was from another church of Limoges, St. Leonard, that one of the pilgrimage routes to Compostella in Spain started.\footnote{G. G. King, The Way of St. James, I, pp. 60ff.} Finally we may cite one more example, that of the Bishop of Narbonne who loaned his Saracen slaves to the Bishop of Beziers in 1149.\footnote{Reinaud, op. cit., p. 267.}

Once the Muslim towns had been re-conquered by the Catholic powers the Muslim inhabitants were dispossessed of their property. Makkari has left us a vivid description of this transfer of ownership:

‘‘...the Christian occupying the part of the house where its late Muslim proprietor usually sat, reclining on his very couch, and clothed in his most valuable robes. The room, however, with its carpets, cushions and hangings, was in the same state as when its owners left it on the fatal day; nothing had been changed or touched of its painting and decoration. His female slaves, with their hair tied, all standing by his bedside, were ready to obey his will.’’

This seems to indicate the unique ability of the Spaniard to adapt himself to the oriental way of life. He must have been surrounded
by luxurious domestic articles of Moorish origin, as in fact the Bishop of Cuenca’s inventory of 1273 indicates. These included cushions, carpets, light rugs and mats of Murcia, striped table covers of Tlemcen, striped covers of Toledo, samites of silk, wooden Moorish writing-desks, chess-men of ebony and ivory and Syrian stuffs. The most interesting of these references is to chess, since at the time, the first European description of the game had yet to be written. This was the treatise written by the order of Alphonso the Wise in 1283 in which the miniatures show Arabs playing the game with musicians and cupbearers at their side. There can be no doubt that it was through the Moors that this game passed to Europe, though it may well have originated in India. Firdausi says in the Shah Nama that this game shatranj (from Sanskrit chaturanga—4 members of an army) was introduced into Persia in the reign of Khusru I Anoshurwan, and was brought together with chessboard and men by Indian ambassadors. The role played by Persia in developing the game is indicated by the word shah-mat, “the King is dead,” after which the European checkmate has been named. At any rate, Masudi (c. 950) confirms that chess existed long before his time. In Cairo it may have been a popular game since the Caliph Hakim gave orders in 1011

243 G. G. King, Mudehar, p. 206.
244 J. G. White, The Spanish Treatise of Chess-Play written by the order of King Alphonso the Sage in the year 1283, Leipzig, 1913.
245 C. J. Gadd has some ingenious suggestions for a possible Babylonian origin of chess in Iraq, VIII, 1946, p. 66 f.
246 H. J. R. Murray, A history of Chess, 1911, p. 169 f. The Greek Palamados is sometimes held to have invented the game, while its Indian origin is regarded as apocryphal. However, the earliest chessmen known appear to be a set excavated at Brahminabad probably of the 8th century A.D. (W. Maskell, Ivories, Ancient and Medieval, 1875, p. 78.) particularly as the pieces of St. Denis, erroneously held to be a gift of Charlemagne, are now assigned to 15th century Gujerat (D. Barrett in Oriental Art, I, no. 2, 1955, p 51). Indian chess, on the other hand, was played with dice as testified by al Biruni and by a comparatively late Hindu text, the Bhavishya Purana. Since Indian chess was a game of chance, Masudi must be mistaken in his statement that the inventor of the game, King Balhut, recommended the play in preference to backgammon for the reason that the clever man and not the idiot could win in it. (Muruji al Dhahab, tr. A. Sprenger, I, 1841, pp. 171-2.)
for the burning of chessboards. Some of these may have escaped their fate by being sold to traders, for the first mention of chessmen in Europe occur at this time in the wills of Barcelona Counts in 1008 and 1017. It is difficult to say what the half-demented Hakim could have had against the game, but the ground on which a Cardinal Bishop of Ostia chides a prelate in about 1067 for indulging in the game is because he regards it as a time-consuming vanity. It was about this time that Alphonso V admired the chess set of Ibn Ammar, the Prime Minister of Mutamid, King of Seville. Later Louis IX received a crystal and gold chess set from the grand master of Assasins of Alamut (in 1255?) and shortly afterwards in 1266 a Saracen named Buzecca showed at the Bargello in Florence how he could play three games of chess simultaneously. It soon became apparent that the church could not stem the rulers of Europe from engaging in such Saracenic pastimes as chess and playing cards. It was occasionally held that the latter were invented in Europe, though it is far more likely to have originated in China, together with the printing of wood cuts on paper.

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In rejecting the Oriental origin of playing cards A. W. Ruffy (“the origin of Playing-Cards,” Geographical Magazine, XXIV, 1951, viii, pp. 380-7.) notes the lack of resemblance in design between the early European cards and the Chinese, Japanese or Indian ones from which they are said to have been adapted. The absence of a reference to playing cards in the Arabian Nights is cited as sufficient argument that playing cards were unknown in Arab countries. Cards were known at Nurnberg in c. 1380 and in France in 1392. The alternative derivation of the Spanish name for cards “naipes” is the Arabic nabi or prophet, though this does not make sense as the Prophet of the Arabs prohibited games of chance. (W. G. Benham, Playing Cards, 1958, p. 2.).

252 Willshire: A Descriptive Catalogue of Playing and other Cards in the British Museum, 1876.
and once again there is possibility that the Arabs played the role of intermediaries. In the chronicle of Nicolas de Covelluzzo (c. 1480) it is stated that, "In the year 1379 there was introduced into Viterbo the game of cards which comes from Serasimia (the country of the Saracens?) and is called by the latter naib." Indeed, the word "naibi" was in use in Italy long after its introduction, and the word "naypes" is said to be still current in Spain. Since the words "naib" means "captain" in Arabic, once again a war game seems to be implied. The word "nave" (the jack) would at first seem to be derived from this source, were there not an Old English equivalent cnafa ("servant boy", "menial") going back prior to the twelfth century.

After the passing of Cordova and Seville into Christian hands, the kingdom of Granada continued to exert its influence, this being most fruitful in the field of ceramics. The ceramic industry which thrived in Malaga until the fourteenth century was gradually displaced by Manises in Christian territory, and subsequently by Valencia, both of whose wares were strongly dependant on Moorish ones, in glaze and decoration, while many of their potters (alleros) were until their final expulsion in 1610, actually Muslims. According to the Bishop of Valencia there were more mosques than churches in his province in 1337, and more than half the people were ignorant of the Lord's prayer and spoke only Arabic. Malaga, or its Arabic form Maliqa, after all, gives its name to Majolica and not, as it was once believed, Majorca, which was a port of call en route for the Italian coastal towns. At least it is known that silks (and latterly raw silks) were being imported into Florence from Almeria and Malaga as late as the fifteenth century. The

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254 P. Lacroix, The Arts in the Middle Ages, tr. W. Armstrong, 1886, pp. 154-5. Note the theory (ibid., p. 167) that the crescent on the earliest preserved pack, that of Charles VI, was known as Corsube, probably after Cordova.

255 S. Culin derives both chess and playing cards ultimately from the divinatory use of arrows, which it is true was almost universally practised in ancient times. (Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1896, pp. 665-942.)


257 Wallis, The Oriental Influence in Italian Ceramic Art, 1900.

258 L. Torres Balbas, Ars Hispaniae, IV, p. 214.

259 Prescott, History of the Reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 135.
early beginnings of Majolica or tin enamel in Italy were at Faenza after 1393, followed shortly after by Tuscany. Valencian tiles were ordered by Alphonso V of Aragon at Naples between 1446-58, and it is held that these influenced Italian ones. A Majolica vase with the Medici arms, made in Florence in about 1469 is held to have imitated a Hispano-Moresque vase. Goldlustre pottery (i.e. glazed with the oxide of lead and glass lustred with metallic colours) was imported under similar circumstances at Pesaro and Gubbio, and under the name of mezza-maiolica began to be practised in Italy in the latter half of the fifteenth century. These Spanish deep blue copper coloured lustre wares, described in 1442 as having "capricious lettering," were imported into Venice by the shipload, and although restrictions were placed on their importation in 1437 and again in 1474, a writer states in 1499 that Valencia faience was popular among Popes, Cardinals and Princes. It is notable that most Hispano-Moresque ware in Museum collections was obtained not in Spain but in Italy. It may be said in passing that the process of metallic lustre had found its way to Moorish Spain (the tenth century Palace of Medinat az Zahra in Cordova) possibly through ninth century Kairouan in Tunisia and Samarra in Iraq or, as it has been maintained, ultimately through Islamic Egypt. In any case it had established itself in Calatayud to the south-west of Saragossa, by 1154, since Edrisi describes it as a world-exporter of "gold-coloured pottery." Apart from Italy and Spain, this technique of ceramic painting did not find favour elsewhere in Europe. Occasionally, however, some lustre ware found its way into France, for instance, a lustre plate was acquired by the twelfth century Municipal Palace of St. Antonin (Tarn et Garonne). We even hear of a rare instance when a Moorish potter of Valencia was sent to Poitiers in 1384 to adorn the Hall of Justice with glazed lustre tiles. As for the Italians,

260 A. Lane, A Guide to the Collection of Tiles, 1939, pp. 60, 62.
261 U. Middeldorf, in Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts, XVI, no. 6, pp. 91-6.
264 Ibid., pp. 15-17.
266 Falke, Majolica, p. 25.
267 R. L. Devonshire, Quelques influences Islamiques sur les arts de
they could have obtained their wares from Almeria, where, Makkari informs us, there was a station for Christian ships from whence merchandise was exported. Moreover, the Genoese are also mentioned as having mercantile establishments in Granada. There is documentary evidence that in 1289 a Spanish ship brought pottery of 'barbaric colour' for Queen Eleanor in England, and that in 1303 dishes and jars of Malaga entered at the Port of Sandwich. In fact a large cover of Hispano-Moresque lustreware imported from Malaga was found in June 1959 in Lesnes Abbey.

While Spain was one clearing-house of Oriental influences, Sicily was another, though in a more limited way. The Norman conquerors of Muslim Sicily were particularly amenable to the seduction of Oriental art and manner of living. Here again we can imagine the household effects of the dispossessed Muslims being distributed among the conquerors as booty. Robert Guiscard was already familiar with Moorish stuffs presented to him by a Sicilian Emir, before the conquest of Muslim Palermo in 1072. After the capture of this city he presented Monte Cassino with silk drapery and other plundered articles. Later, King Roger sent gifts to the Abbey of Cluny in central France at the request of Peter the Venerable. Cluny had previously received part of the gold and silver cargo of Mojahed, king of Denia and the Isles of Balearic, when he had been defeated by Christian warriors. Again it was a grandson of William the Conqueror, who had previously lived at Cluny, who presented a Saracen carpet to an early Gothic church in England.

l'Europe, p. 10. The remnants of these titles, however, reveal not the lustered but the blue type. (L. M. E. Solon, "The Lusted Title Pavement of the Palais de Justice of Poitiers", in Burlington Magazine, XII, 1907, p. 86.)

269 Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, p. 135.
270 G. C. Dunning, in Antiquaries Journal, XLI, nos 1, 2, 1961, pp. 1-12.
271 Francisque-Michel, Recherches sur le commerce... des etoffes, 1852, I, p. 77.
272 C. Waern, Medieval Sicily, p. 30; and E. Bertaux, L'Art dans l'Italie meridionale, p. 162.
274 Reinaud, op cit., p. 222.
Another type of Oriental gift which excited the European imagination was that of foreign animals. As early as 801 Charlemagne had received an elephant and an ape from Harun through his ambassador Isaac the Jew, and also a Numidian bear and Moorish lion from an African Emir. He is moreover, known to have kept a wood full of savage animals. Then in 956 the Caliph of Cordova had sent lions, camels, monkeys, and ostriches, hitherto unknown in northern Europe, as present to Othon, King of Germany. In 1162 Ibn Mardanish, King of Valencia, sent camels, horses and Murcian silks to Henry II of England. In turn King John sent an embassy to the Almohad ruler Muhammad al Nasir in 1212. The Crusaders themselves had a unique opportunity of becoming acquainted with Oriental fauna. William of Tyre gives an impressionist account of an embassy which he accomplished with Hugh of Caesarea and Geoffrey Fulcher the Templar, having been sent by Amalric, King of Jerusalem to the court of the Sultan in Cairo in 1167. He says he saw birds of wondrous plumage and “a variety of animals such as the ingenious hand of the painter might depict, or the licence of the poet invent, or the mind of the sleeper conjure up in the visions of the night—such indeed as the regions of the East and South bring forth, but the West sees never, and scarcely hears of.” The aviary was probably inherited from Ibn Tulun’s dissolute son Khumarawaih (884-95), whose menagerie in the town that later became a suburb of Cairo further included lions, leopards, elephants and giraffes. The Fatimid Caliph of Egypt sent an elephant and giraffe to Constantinople in the 11th century at Constantinople, and a menagerie was established there. It was through Egypt that Frederick II

Friedlander, Life and Manners under the Early Empire, 1908-13, II, p. 64.

Kleinclauz, Charlemagne, pp. 293-4.

Reinaud, op. cit., p. 187.


S. Lane Poole, The Story of Cairo, 1902, pp. 87-8.

B. Laufer; The Giraffe in History and Art, 1928, p. 66. He claims that the first menagerie of rare animals and birds to be established in Europe was that of Abdal Rahman III (912-61) at Medinat az Zahra near Cordova. (Ibid., p. 70.)
of Sicily received many of "the marvellous beasts which the West had not seen or known." Already in 1232 he had emulated the Oriental practice of astonishing by sending unusual animals: in this case a white bear and a white peacock to the Sultan of Damascus. Included among the animals of his menagerie, which he had established at Palermo and Lucera, were ger-falcons, elephants, dromedaries, camels, panthers, lions, leopards, white falcons, bearded owls, monkeys and a giraffe, which, incidentally, was the first one to appear in Medieval Europe. In fact a giraffe led by Muslim retainers is painted on a twelfth century ivory box in the treasury at Capella Palatina in Palermo. Frederick is known to have brought these animals to Ravenna with him in 1231. Later in 1245 when he was passing through Verona, the monks of San Zeno presented him with an elephant, five leopards and twenty-four camels—the latter being taken over the Alps, together with monkeys and leopards to the astonishment of the German inhabitants. It was no doubt Frederick's practice of collecting and exhibiting animals which led later to the formation of zoos. We can therefore, trace the concept of the zoo back to an Oriental prototype through Lucera, a colony of Saracens deported from Sicily between 1239-45 which had the first collection of animals in Europe in a manner recalling the game enclosures of the Caliphs, for instance, that of Caliph Hisham's desert Castle of Qasr al Hair (732) in Syria and the Park of the Wild Beasts of the Abbasids at Baghdad. In the vast walled enclosures were kept gazelles, wild asses, hares and ostriches. The Muslims themselves may have inherited the idea from the Assyrians, for Assurnasirpal in 879 B.C. refers to the rebuilding of the city of Nimrud with its zoological and botanical gardens (See Appendix).

285 T. Kutschmann, Meisterwerk saracenisch-normanischer Kunst in Sicilien und Unter-Italien, fig. 12.
The animal Fables of Kalila and Dimna, originally from India, had already been translated from the Arabic into Greek by the end of the tenth century in Southern Italy, but it was again in Frederick's time that a serious interest in the zoological aspect of animals became manifest. For one thing the treatise "On Animals" by Aristotle and Avicenna was translated by Michael Scot in 1220, and further between 1244-50 Frederick produced his own book on birds, "De Arte Venandi cum Avibus," in which 900 individual birds were represented, drawn in perfectly straightforward Audubon fashion with no attempt at stylization. Naturalism was beginning to creep into Gothic art, and the Medieval architect Villard de Honnecourt takes considerable pride in stating in his Sketchbook that his picture of a lion was drawn from life. This was the beginning of the departure from Oriental stylization and corresponded with a waning in all directions of influence from the East.

It was not Romanesque art alone, which had been most susceptible to Oriental themes and motifs, and, as we have seen in our brief survey, it was either through direct contact or through the importation of Eastern products that this was largely facilitated. The most effective vehicles for the transmission of motifs proved to be such portable objects as ivories and textiles. In fact, silks were so completely identified with the East that in medieval France they were known as Sarazines. The large number of textile words of Eastern origin indicate without equivocation what a ramifying contribution the East has made to the West in wearing apparel. Thus the word damask comes from Damascus, muslin from Mosul, baldachin from Baghdad, dimity from Damietta, fustian from Fustat, taffeta from the Persian word taftah, satin from ar-zaytini, not to mention others such as cotton and tabby

289 E. Husselman, Kalilah and Dimnah, 1938, and The Art Bulletin, XXIII, 1941, pp. 103-16. It is notable that early German manuscripts of the Bidpai Fables reveal the influence of Islamic miniatures. (H. Buchthal, "Indian Fables in Islamic Art," J.R.A.S., 1941, p. 323.)

290 Venturi, Storia del 'Arte Italiana, II, nos. 277ff. III, nos. 689-98; also Haskins, op. cit., pp. 299-326; and W. F. Volbach's monograph in Pontificia Academia romana di Archaeologia, XV.


292 Reinaud, op. cit., p. 296.

293 Or from the sea-port of Zaitun in Fu-Kian province.
The latter (which is a mixture of silk and cotton in variegated colours), was derived from the Spanish *attabi* via the French and Italian equivalent *tabis*. Other Italian textiles reveal their Persian origin, such as *la seta ghella* after Gilan, *la seta masandroni* after Mazenderan, and a silk employed by the Luccans *la seta gangia* after Ganja in Georgia. A century and a half ago while Europeans were discovering the pashmina loomwork of Kashmir, a number of Hindustani words like sash, pyjama and shawl (from the Persian *shal*) passed into the English language. In the early Renaissance when cultural exchanges had been made between Venice and Constantinople, Italian courtiers even began to affect a taste for wearing Turkish costumes, as stated explicitly by Castiglione, and Lorenzo the Magnificent himself wore a coiffure *alla Turchesca* at a joust and the occasion of his wedding in 1469.

Side by side with buying of textiles from Italy, France began her own industry under Oriental inspiration. According to the trade regulations of Paris there appeared a certain privilege for Saracenic carpets in 1277, and in 1302 rules were laid down regulating the making of carpets according to the way of the Saracens. Also according to a register dating from the end of the thirteenth century, there existed a corporation of workmen specializing in "Saracenic alms purses." An act of parliament passed in Paris in 1339 refers to "Magistrii et operarii tapiciorum Sarracenorum," while in the inventory of Charles the Fifth of France in 1379 there is a mention of a fleur-de-lys large carpet from Damascus. Menagier of Tours made a large carpet "a la moresque," for the castle of Ambois. It is possible that the

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284 Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 1900, p. 138, n.1. Tabby is held to have been introduced through Spain, particularly through Almeria where it was manufactured and where Edrisi says there were 800 looms for silk-weaving in 1153.


word “tapis” refers in all these instances to tapestry woven carpets and not to knotted pile carpets which seem to have been introduced later. The evidence for this is that in the reports of the Chamber of Commerce of Paris it is stated under the year 1604 that one Jehan Fortier makes all sorts of carpets whether Turkish, Persian, Cariene, Alexandrine or Yemenite, though it is made clear that the mode of manufacturing is something new and not hitherto known.\textsuperscript{301} The influence in Europe of the technique of manufacture of Oriental carpets generally and even of the designs themselves is a matter of common knowledge. But occasionally early French tapestries too, have oriental motifs; e.g. that of Arras (1400-50), in which silk appears for the first time though combined with wool, has a hare turning back while bolting. So-called “Sarazinois,” hangings were of great value at Arras and in 1389 a maker of such “Tapis sarrazinois” was rewarded eight hundred gold francs for one of gold portraying the History of Charlemagne.\textsuperscript{302} The “millefleurs” tapestries at the Cluny Museum (1500) have the same feeling of Islamic miniatures in which the whole atmosphere is saturated with flowers and the figures are “treading on air.” Moreover the subject of a regal lady “taking a bath” in the open air\textsuperscript{303} begins to appear, just as in Persian paintings the Princess Shirin of Armenia is pictured bathing in a pool.\textsuperscript{304}

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., p. 413.
\textsuperscript{302} W. G. Thompson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{303} On a tapestry of c. 1509, probably woven in the Loire, (\textit{Masterpieces of French Tapestry}, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1948, p. 45, no. 44, and \textit{ibid.}, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1947, no. 10.)
\textsuperscript{304} Perhaps there is some substance to the legend after all, that the “Lady with the Unicorn” tapestry, represents the incident of Prince Zizim, brother of Bayazid, who is said to have fallen in love with the Lady here pictured, while he was imprisoned in the Tower of Bourganeuf. (G. W. Digby, \textit{French Tapestries}, 1951, p. 7.) Prince Djem (Zizim) was undoubtedly familiar with the story of Khusru and Shirin since he had spent much time during 1476-81 in Konya translating Persian poetry. He was seven years in France (1482-88), for instance, at Nice, Chambery and Bourganeuf (Cf. L. Thuasne, \textit{Djem-Sultan}, 1892), and during this exile he married Helene de Sassenage. (A. D. Alderson, \textit{The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty}, 1956, p. 87).
CHAPTER II

INCRUSTATION AND INLAY

If the incrusted coffer in the Treasury of the Capella Palatina in Palermo (Pl. 1) were juxtaposed with the façade of the Romanesque churches of Lucca (Pl. 2), we would at once be struck with the kinship in feeling and decorative technique underlying the two works of art. In both, stylized animal forms are cut out in silhouettes of ivory or white marble and the background filled with a brown, or as in the latter, a green serpentine ground providing a sharp though not unpleasant contrast. It is not surprising that a serious scholar has attributed the inlays on this church façade to Syrian workmen.¹

This attribution, however, cannot stand up to closer inspection as nowhere in Syria is there the exterior of a building so adorned. Nor can we admit the influence of Oriental textiles, for it was not until the passing of the "Sultan" Frederick II of Sicily that the flourishing silk industry of Palermo was transplanted to Lucca and elsewhere on the Italian mainland, whereas the Lucca churches are certainly earlier. One of the pilasters at San Michele bears the date 1143 and the name Diotsalvi, the architect of the Pisa baptistery,² while it is held by others that both the Duomo and San Michele were erected by the architect Guidetto in the late twelfth century.³ But it is not impossible that Saracens from Sicily had a hand in the former since at exactly that time they were being employed in carving and painting the ceiling of the Palace Chapel of the Norman Kings in Palermo. Pisa Cathedral, consecrated in 1118, similarly has on its four-storey arcaded façade erected by Rainaldus in mid-twelfth century, marble arabesques, flowers, and animals, encrusted in polychrome cement. Tradition has it that the capture of booty from enemy ships in Palermo harbour

¹ G. Soulier, Les influences orientales dans la peinture Toscane, 1924, pp. 74-5.
gave a stimulus to the building of the Cathedral. If there is any truth in this we may safely imagine that among the loot were rare ivories of the sort still preserved at Palermo.

While all trace of Saracenic buildings has disappeared from Sicily some hints as to their character may be derived from contemporary buildings in the Mediterranean, particularly in Byzantine Greece. Here at any rate where the technique of carved marble with darkened background is found in eleventh century Greece in the friezes of the Monastery of Daphni near Athens, at least one Saracenic motif accompanies it. At the eleventh century Monastery of St. Luke in Phocis the brick ornamentation on external walls of the Church is ingenious and pleasing. Thin bricks with their edges facing outward are embedded in the cement and are cut or slanted to form patterns ultimately based on the Arabic script. Some of these compose plugs between blocks of masonry and others form crest friezes such as are found in Islamic mosques. Again, a more complex type of debased Kufic lettering together with a meandering palmette is found above the door of the Church of Pantanassa at Mistra. Here the mastic has fallen out from the background, but that it was there originally is suggested by the roughened surface prepared for it. One example of the technique of marble incrusted in plaster in the contemporary Muslim world is that at the ruins of a Muslim castle in Algeria which was founded in 1007-8 and abandoned in 1090.

In Italy itself the earliest instance of incrusting soft or plastic materials appears to be in the capitals of 1043 from St. Mark's in Venice. Though the carving is in low relief, depth is obtained by means of the foil of dark brown cement. And again in the episcopal chair at the church of San Nicola at Bari (1098), the stylized animals in lozenges with backgrounds filled with a compound of brown wax and powdered marble resemble those on Muslim ivories and textiles. The incrustations of the parapet slabs at San Siriaco.

4 G. Millet, Le Monastère de Daphni, p. 66, fig. 36.
6 Cé Feulie, La Kalaa des Beni Hammad, 1909, p. 70.
7 J. Béguin, Les incrustations décoratives des Cathédrales de Lyons et de Vienne, 1905, figs. 79-86.
in Ancona dating from the end of the twelfth century still suggest that they have been copied from oriental silks, and the same has been held about the pavement of San Miniato al Monte (1207) in Florence. The roundels with connected loops in which the animals are contained, however, suggest ivory prototypes. At San Miniato the white marble is incrusted together with pieces in other colours in a very hard cement, a type which recurs in the pavement of the Baptistry in Florence, dating from 1209 and 1351.8

In some ways this style of polychromy is reminiscent of the red enamels applied as background of early Celtic bronzes, but ultimately it may be traced back to the niello applied to heighten contrasts on early metalwork. Such niello consisting of blackish metallic sulphides occurs on a silver bowl with gold inlay figuring bulls' heads and rosettes, found in Enkomi, Cyprus c.1400 B.C.9

Inlaying in the medium of metalwork has a substantial history. Considering the technique of inlaying of silver and gold on bronze or brass was known as early as the second millennium B.C. (e.g. Mycenaean bronze daggers inlaid with gold, silver and electrum,10 or a battle axe from Ugarit with its copper socket inlaid with gold floral designs11), and much later in Hellenistic Egypt12 and in the late Chou and Han dynasties of China,13 it was discovered very late by Islam. Nevertheless, despite the late date of the use of silver inlay in 114814 and gold inlay in 1250, the medium was so splendidly developed by the Muslims of this time that the word “damascening”—after Damascus—became, though technically incorrect,15 the European designation for inlaid metalwork.

13 M. Rostovtseff, Inlaid bronzes of the Han dynasty, 1927.
15 Damascening is strictly “the production of a watered pattern in the fabric of the steel.” (H. Maryon, Metalwork and Enamelling, 1954, p. 152.)
We began by comparing the Saracenic coffer at the Treasury of
the Capella Palatina (whose beneficent inscription enables us
to date it by its style of writing, toward the end of the twelfth
century) with the decorative façade at Lucca, since the same
technique lay at the back of both. But the true history of inlay
takes us back to the earliest days of civilized man—in fact to the
eyear Sumerian period and to the very first dynasty of Ur (2500
B.C.). Here it was a common practice to inlay shell, lapis lazuli,
and red jasper on a bitumen base for decorating such objects as
musical instruments, boxes and gaming boards. The now famous
mosaic standard from an early grave at Ur has the figures cut out
of shell and the background filled in with lapis lazuli. The inlay
is held in bitumen spread over wood. Once again a toilet box from
the tomb of Shub-ad at Ur has lapis lazuli serving as a foil for the
shell. An early dynastic ostrich egg from Ur serving as a drinking
cup has a mosaic border of mother-of-pearl and lapis lazuli. The
lozenge work in this forming borders would be technically de-
scribed as scutulatum. A wooden column from the Temple at al
Ubaíd (c.2500 B.C.), now at the British Museum, is overlaid with
triangular pieces of mosaic set in bitumen, and these are composed
of alternating mother-of-pearl, black bituminous stone, and red
limestone. Another frequent use of inlay in Sumer was in the
eyes of statues to obtain a natural verisimilitude. The Egyptians
likewise succeeded in procuring lively effects by the use of varied
materials such as "rims of metal or ebony, corneas of alabaster or
rock crystal, and irises of polished obsidian or quartz." In Egypt
too the marquetry technique dates back to the earliest times for a
small wooden box with inlay of ivory and wood was found in the
First Dynasty Tomb of Hemaka at Saqqara. Ebony (a word
deriving from the Egyptian hbnh) inlay later occurs on a carrying
chair of the 4th Dynasty, ebony and ivory on caskets of the
12th Dynasty, and on many objects from Tutankhamen’s tomb

16 L. Woolley, Ur Excavations, II, p. 279, Pl. 103. See also L. Heuzey,
"La Sculpture à incrustations dans l'antiquité Chaldéene," in Strenas
Hebignana, 1900, pp. 132-8.
20 A. C. Mace, Ancient Egypt, 1921, pp. 4-6.
in the 18th Dynasty. In contemporary Syria there is a reference in an inventory of the marriage outfit of Queen Ahatmilku (15th century B.C.) to an article of timber furniture, possibly a seat, filled with lapis lazuli and encrusted with gold. This would seem to allude to the cloisonné technique belonging more properly to the art of jewelry for the technique of filling small raised partitions with coloured paste or glass of different colours was known to Egyptian goldsmiths.

In architectural decoration the counterpart of inlay was glazed faience which is found, for example, in Amarna in the form of green tiles inlaid with white daisies and violet thistles adorning the columns of the hall. As for the inlaid jewelry it was not so much glass paste (for glass apart from beads and tiny amulets was scarcely known before c.1600 B.C.) as semi-precious stones that were used. For instance, a pectoral of the daughter of Se'n Wosret II (1898-79 B.C.) is inlaid with lapis lazuli, cornelian, garnet and turquoise, which have been ground to the shape of the cloisons. Such cell inlaying appears again in the 12th Dynasty in gold jewelry from Dashur, one example of which consists of a soul bird while another has griffins confronted trampling the enemy. The same theme of griffins addorsed but gazing skyward heralds the introduction of the technique into Assyria. This carving in ivory was from a throne in the Palace of Assurnasirpal at Nimrud and formerly the cells are believed to have been gilt and inlaid with lapis lazuli. A companion piece in the same media has the relief figure of the sacred beetle Khepera suggesting the ultimately Egyptian origin of the technique.

Solomon's Throne too, was of chryselephantine work, i.e. of ivory overlaid with gold (I Kings, x, 18), but it would not be surprising if marquetry as such was known in the Near East at that

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26 O. M. Dalton in *Archaeologia*, vol. 58, p. 238, figs. 1, 1a. Dalton contends that inlaid jewelry reached S.W. Europe directly or indirectly from Persia and was transmitted to W. Europe by the Goths.
time. The history of the technique of inlaying on wood remains incomplete because of the perishable nature of wood, and wherever burial custom did not allow the taking of provisions for life in the underworld. But excavation still has some surprises awaiting us. A case in point is the recently opened Phrygian tomb at Gordian in Asia Minor made for an old Prince of Midas's royal house about the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. In surprisingly good condition are two wooden screens whose inlays are probably of yew in boxwood. The curious fact is that neither the geometric designs nor the curvilinear ones in a medallion is oriental in character. This may mean that the technique was already known in the West, and if so, would give substance to the description by Pausanias (v.iii.) of the throne of Zeus at Olympia designed and executed by Phidias in the fifth century B.C. According to him (writing in the second century A.D.) the throne was "adorned with gold and precious stones, also with ebony and ivory." Homer also describes the couch of Penelope made by the artist Ikmalios as inlaid with ivory and silver (Odyssey, 19, 55f), and if the decipherment of the Linear B is to be accepted, Mycenaean tablets from Pylos refer to tables, chairs and footstools inlaid with ivory.

In lieu of existing remains the history of inlaying must depend on literary records, and here the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings are invaluable, although it is not always clear how the listed materials were put to use. From an inscription of Assurnasirpal I (883-59 B.C.) it is apparent that North Syria was then a flourishing centre for marquetry, as indeed it is today. He claims to have received from Sangara, King of the Hittites of Carchemish, some tables of boxwood inlaid with ivory. Next we learn from Adad-nirari III (810-783 B.C.) that he obtained from Hazael, King of Damascus, an inlaid and bejewelled couch of ivory. We know that the Hittite-style palace of Tiglath Pileser III (744-27 B.C.)

Ibid., I, §740.
had door leaves of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar and juniper and that these were obtained as tributes from Hittite, Aramaean and Chaldean rulers. Not long after this Sargon (721-705 B.C.), on sacking a capital of Urartu carried away various objects of wood and ivory which were inlaid with gold and silver. Such a use of metal inlays is recorded later in the palace of Nebuchadnessar II (604-562 B.C.) where the doors were of various woods and ivory, and these were plated with bronze and inlaid with silver and gold.

In Egypt, during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the prevalent technique was intarsia in which the figures, mostly of nudes incised on plaques, were countersunk in the surface of the wooden boxes. From the surviving Egyptian Tulunid woodwork of the ninth century we see that the only aspect of the intarsia technique which was retained was the use of large sunk areas within which the decoration was framed. But the ivory decorative schemes consisting of inscriptions, foliations, lozenge grids, bulbform capitals surmounted by wings, were cut and stuck to the wooden surface instead of being inlaid, and the interstices were filled with pieces of wood to produce a smooth surface. When toward the end of the twelfth century in the boxes which are preserved at Palermo, Leon, Tortosa and Edfu, there was a preference for such animal subjects as crowned and winged lions, unicorns, hares and hounds it may have been thought simpler and just as effective to fill the background with coloured mastic than with laboriously fitted wood. We know from Maqrizi that in the Fatimid palace treasury there were a number of boxes decorated with gold, silver, precious stones, and with ebony and ivory, aloe and sandalwood. Marquetry, or the use of variegated wood inlay in furniture, is described by Pliny (XVI, 83) as the veneering of wood slices on glue, but the technique was evidently not revived in Italy, at Siena, until 1259. Meanwhile in Muslim Spain it was to be found

32 Ibid., I. §804.
33 Ibid., II. §171.
36 Ibid., pp. 15-16, pls. XXVI, XXXVII.
37 Ibid., p. 13.
37a F. Hamilton Jackson, Intarsia and Marquetry, 1903, pp. 9-10.
in about 960 in the door of the Caliph's Hall in Medinat az Zahirā\textsuperscript{38} and also contemporaneously in the phenomenal pulpit or minbar of the Mosque of Cordova, built by Hakam II at a cost of 35,705 dinars. The latter took five years to build and in it were employed red and yellow sandalwood, ebony, ivory and wood of aloes.\textsuperscript{39}

The use of mosaic as architectural decoration stems back, once again, to Sumer where terracotta cones were set in lozenges and chevron bands with their circular ends coloured red, yellow or black, projecting from the surface of the soft mud-brick walls, which incidentally they strengthened. Thus the eight cylindrical brick columns on the raised porch of the Red Temple complex at Ereh were all encrusted with cone mosaics not to mention the engaged columns on the lateral walls and the terrace façade itself. A further development appears to have been the attaching of coloured ornamental stones by means of copper wire to the heads of the cones as in the White Temple at Ereh.\textsuperscript{40} It was no doubt partly to solidify the floor of the open courtyard that mosaic became a popular form of pavement decoration, and it is significant that the earliest examples of these are simply studded with pebbles.\textsuperscript{40a} Non-coloured pebble pavements occur already in the third millennium at Mari, a type which is also found at Crete.\textsuperscript{41} But the true beginning of mosaic may be said to have taken place when the pieces started being coloured. Such a development had come to pass by the ninth century B.C., higher up the Euphrates from Mari at Arslan Tash, for here in the courtyard of the Assyrian Palace black and white pebbles were set alternately in squares to form chequerboards,\textsuperscript{42} and this technique of forming patterns by means of coloured pebble mosaic was introduced (apparently from Gordian in Phrygia where a house recently excavated was found.

\textsuperscript{38} Al Makkari, The History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Spain, tr. Gayangos, p. 236.

\textsuperscript{39} Edrisi, Descriptions de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tr. R. Dozy and de Goeje, 1866, p. 262; and Makkari, op. cit., p. 222.


\textsuperscript{40a} We now have an isolated example of coloured geometric pavement from the 2nd millennium B.C. at Mari (A. Parrot, Mission Archéologique de Mari, II, Le Palais, Architecture, 1959, fig., 76, pl. XXXIV, pp. 105-07.).

\textsuperscript{41} A. Evans, The Palace at Minos, II, pp. 28, 336.

\textsuperscript{42} Thureau-Dangin, Arslan-Tash, 1931, p. 54.
to have red, blue and white pebble mosaic forming haphazard geometric patterns such as zigzags, meanders and swastika) into classical Greece in the sixth century B.C. at the Temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi, and later in the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. at Olynthus, Olympia, Athens, and Motye.\textsuperscript{43} The mosaic pavement of cut cubes portraying scenes appeared by the second century B.C. in the houses of Delos.\textsuperscript{44} When the Romans first adopted cube mosaic in the first century B.C., at the House of the Faun in Pompeii and in the Augustan period generally, (Pliny says that mosaic pavements of small segments were first introduced in the time of Sulla (\textit{N.H. XXXVI}, 64) or c.80 B.C.) it has been observed that the costumes, landscapes, flora, fauna, and mythological episodes portrayed all reflect Greek culture to a greater or lesser degree, and some of the mosaics are actually signed by such Greek artists as Discordes of Samos.\textsuperscript{45} The influence of Alexandrine Greece too, is evident in scenes from the Nile with their swarms of crocodiles.\textsuperscript{46}

Glass mosaic, it would seem, originates in Egypt and is found in Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, figurines and on still earlier polychrome glass vases.\textsuperscript{47} Moreover, glass paste inlays occur on some temple wall reliefs, as, for example, on that of Rameses II near Heliopolis,\textsuperscript{48} and hieroglyphic inlays of multicoloured glass on wooden coffins.\textsuperscript{49} At Pompeii in the first century A.D., we see the beginning of the use of enamelled glass instead of coloured marble cubes. These are used for revetting fountain niches, bathing pools, and portions of column. The ground is blue, and in it are embedded red pottery cubes, lava, and ferruginous stone.\textsuperscript{50} Not only was the use of sapphire blue mosaic backgrounds retained in Byzantine

\textsuperscript{44} A. W. Lawrence, \textit{Greek Architecture}, 1957, p. 247, pl. 141-2.
\textsuperscript{46} Gauckler, in \textit{Dictionnaire des Antiquites Grèques et Romaines}, III p. 2103, fig. 5243.
\textsuperscript{47} A. Lucas, \textit{op. cit.}, 1948, p. 211.
art as at the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (440) at Ravenna, but so was the practice of using glass cube revetments in the upper parts and marble in the lower anticipated in Roman times. Thus we know that at the Theatre of Scaurus in Rome the lower walls of the stage were covered with marble, whilst glass covered the intermediate zone and the upper portion was apparelled in gilt panels. It may be that the relative simplicity of painting figured scenes on glass and their greater permanence than fresco led to the extreme popularity of the medium in Christian churches. From what source Christian art inherited the technique is readily apparent in the mausoleum of Sta. Costanza on the Via Nomentana, built by the first Christian Emperor Constantine in 326-30 for his daughter Constantia. In the circumscribing tunnel vault of the rotunda are glass mosaics with scenes of vintage which have a strong flavour of Bacchanalian rites, while other compartments are covered with grids of geometrical figures such as are found in provincial Antonine pavements. The white background of these mosaics at Sta. Costanza reinforces the comparison with those of pavements.

Finally there was the practice of lining the walls with marble sheets. According to Pliny (Naturalis Historiae, Libri xxxvi, 6; xxxvii) the brick walls of the mausoleum of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor were the first to be revetted with marble, but it has been pointed out that the Proconnesian marbles referred to by Pliny are not coloured but are white with grey markings. On the other hand it is held that coloured marble slabs affixed to the wall by means of iron and bronze clamps came into use among the Romans in the time of the Flavian Emperors (A.D. 69-96), and that both geometrical incrustations and the imitation of these in frescoed dadoes appear in A.D. 63 at Pompeii. It is significant that in the contemporary wall paintings at Alexandria and in Crimea there are similar imitations of marbles in the shape of circles and lozenges contained within quadrangular panels, and we may note

51 In Ravenna gold background appears at San Appollinare Nuovo (504).
52 Leclercq, Manuel d’Archéologie Chrétienne, II, 1907, p. 195.
53 A. Venturi, Storia dell’ Arte Italiana, I, 1901, figs. 90-100.
54 Gauckler, op. cit., p. 2121.
55 E. Swift, Roman Sources of Christian Art, 1951, pp. 127-8.
56 Ibid., pp. 128-30; C. M. Dawson, Romano-Campanian Mythological Landscape Painting, 1944, pp. 55-8, 75. Painted decoration imitating
that the term for such geometrically juxtaposed mosaic pieces is *opus Alexandrinum*. This type of geometric mosaic was also adapted to Roman pavements as at the *triclinium*, or Throne Room of the Flavian Palace on the Palatine Hill.\(^{57}\) The marbles here are white with purple veins, serpentinum, porphyry, and the colour of peach. Pliny claims (XXXVI. 61) that the first diamonded (*scutulatum*) pavement at Rome was laid in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, after the commencement of the Third Punic War (i.e. after 149 B.C.), and that chequered pavements had come into general use before the Cimbric War (i.e. 113-101 B.C.). Vitruvius (Bk. VII. 1.3.) refers to pavement marbles in "diamonds or triangles or squares or hexagons," but it is not certain that the mosaics and marbles taken by Caesar on his campaigns for paving his headquarters (Suet. : *Vit. 46.*) were of this type.

Later, incrustations of variable shape and size (*opus sectile*) were fitted to form figure subjects in similar marble as on the walls of the Basilica of Junius Bassus (A.D. 317) at Rome. Two of the surviving panels represent tigresses leaping on a bull and heifer, (see Pl. 43) while another figured slab has, in addition to the coloured marbles, inlaid glass and mother of pearl.\(^{58}\) However, by far the most popular medium in Roman mosaic pavements in the second and third centuries, as at the Baths of Caracalla and Domitian and at the Basilica of Maxentius, was of the *tesselatum* variety with cubical tesserae, a type widespread over the Mediterranean, and adopted subsequently by Byzantine, early Christian, and early Muslim art. Perhaps the very success of this form of mosaic spelled the decline of the Alexandrine type.

When the art of inlaying geometrical marbles in pavements was revived in Italy in the eleventh century the impetus may have come from the East. The Abbot Amatus states distinctly that when the Abbey of Monte Cassino was paved between 1066-71, marble intarsia occurs frequently in early Christian churches in Italy, e.g. in San Lorenzo Maggiore (380-400), S. Sabina, Rome (422-30) and Baptistery of the Orthodox in Ravenna (451-73) (F. van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, 1958, figs. 192, 213, 225.)


the work was entrusted to Byzantines and Saracens. The Saracens brought to Monte Cassino are stated to have been from Alexandria. This pavement of the Church of St. Benoit at Monte Cassino exists no longer but an exact copy of it was made in the eighteenth century before its destruction, and it is evident from this that the designs are those popular in Islamic art. An example of such figures as hexagons and circles, chequerboards, chevrons and interlacing squares occurs in the brick and cement incrusted pavements of the Omayyad Palace at Medinat az Zahra near Cordova, while stars in contact resemble those in the pavement and dado of the Norman Capella Palatina in Palermo (c.1153). It is of course true that polychrome marble pavements did not become fashionable in Cairo until the thirteenth century, when they became the dominant type of decoration in the paving of courtyards and in the revetment of dadoes, but if the literary text is to be trusted there was already such a pavement in a ninth century Coptic church of Alexandria. The geometric marble mosaics from Coptic churches, such as on the pulpit of the Church of Abu Sifain at Cairo and in the apses of the chapels of Al-Mualla- kat also in Cairo, have in any case been attributed to the tenth century. Another example in an apse is at the eleventh century Byzantine monastery of Daphni. If we attach any significance to the Arabian Nights we would have to admit that the Muslims learnt the use of polychrome marble mosaic from the Byzantines, for there we have a clear description of "a fair place, built with walls and pillars of contrasting marbles, having incrustations in Greek style which is very pleasant to the eye." Although according to this source the Saracens were beholden to the Byzantines for their knowledge of the technique, it has, at the same time, been recognised that Byzantine mosaic pavements had undergone

59 E. Bertaux, op. cit., p. 176, pl. 5.
61 Now rapidly vanishing because of lack of adequate protection.
63 A. J. Butler, Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt.
64 G. Millet, Le Monastère de Daphni, 1899, p. 671. fig. 39.
65 The Thousand and One Nights, tr. Mardrus and Mathers, II; p. 563.
a progressive Saracenization at the time of their reintroduction into Italy.  

The part played by Saracen Sicily in the development of inlay must remain a matter of surmise, but it would seem that the wonderfully intricate patterns and lush colour of the inlays at the Capella Palatina (Pl. 3) have no contemporary parallels in Italy, and certainly the Cosmati brothers had yet to begin their work. In the West wall of the Chapel Islamic patterns are all too evident in the geometrical interlaces outlined in white, in the arabesque multiplications of polygons and stars, in the connected stellar borders, in the friezes of floriated crests, in the grilled marble windows, in a pavement medallion of intersecting arcs, and in a mock polyfoil arcade again in the medium of inlay. At the Cathedral of Salerno there is a clear continuity of Palermitan tradition. This is perhaps the earliest surviving and certainly the most splendid work of the kind on Italian soil. The two Salerno pulpits on which these mosaics are laid date from between 1153-1181, and the transenna from 1175. As at Palermo the sides of the parapets are adorned with star-filled borders looping unendingly around five circular medallions, while at the corners of the slab are inlaid representations of columns. (Pl. 4) As at Palermo there are borders of linked eight-pointed stars outlined in white, and there are polygonal stars circumscribing smaller stars. There are also the quite unmistakable crest of five-lobed leaves (Pl. 5) and the incrusted chevron column in the Easter candlestick of 1175. (Pl. 6). The latter was dedicated by a Chancellor of William II of Sicily and executed by workmen imported from Sicily. The effect is not unlike the Sumerian column of palm-wood (Fig. 1) revetted in

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zig-zags and chequerboards with lapis lazuli and mother-of-pearl, though in the Italian column the zig-zags are embedded with the recurrent string of stars. We may note in passing that while successions of stars are known in Romano-Syrian mosaics, as in Room I of the House of the Drinking Contest at Antioch,²¹ nowhere do they have such a vogue as in later Islamic art. Another fundamentally Islamic pattern, the six-rayed arabesque with stellar centres endures into the thirteenth century in Italy, as in the pulpit of the Cathedral at Sessa Aurunca.²² Here the polychrome effect is seen to good advantage: an eight-pointed star medallion contained within a rectangle is broken up into white geometric interlaces set on a gold ground. Pale blue roundels are inset on the periphery, and within, cobalt blue around a brown six-pointed star. The encompassing border of hexagonal interlaces consists of white, black and brown stripes with gold, blue and green insets. The effect of all this is, as may be imagined, both sumptuous and sparkling.

Reasoning backward from supposedly lost originals, it has been held²³ that polychrome incrustation on exteriors that occur in Romanesque France are derived from Saracenic lands. The lava inlays on the apses of Monreale Cathedral, founded in 1172-74, situated on the heights above Palermo, certainly recall the churches of the Auvergne—especially that of Le Puy with its blind trefoil and polyfoil arches and façade enlivened with red brick, black lava, and touches of white stone.²⁴ (Pls. 7, 8) On the West front of the Church of St. Martin d’Ainay at Lyons founded in 1107, brick ends are let into the masonry with grid connections. The lozenge diapers along the spandrels and friezes of the Church at Issoire

²¹ Doro Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements.
²² C. Ricci, Romanesque Architecture in Italy, pp. 170, 240.
²³ L. Begule, op. cit., p. 35. An isolated instance of incrustation in the form of squares, lozenges and hexagons, however, occur on a building which is stated to have retained its original Carolingian nature. This is the Torhalle at Lorsch, which was intended to serve as a gatehouse to the monastic church of 767. (F. Behn, Die Karolingisch Klosterkirche von Lorsch, 1934, p. 70 ff.)
²⁴ Since an example of the use of lava for incrustation occurs as a rosette in a hexagon on the Via Abbondanza in Pompeii (pl. 9) we are led to suspect a considerable antiquity for this technique, though it may, of course, have been a rare exception.
are reminiscent of the lustre tile revetments in the ninth century mihribā of the Mosque of Kairouan, whilst intersecting circles and eight-pointed stars set within circles are both akin to familiar Islamic motifs. This church not only has particoloured incrustations but a cornice of polyfoil corbels\(^{75}\) such as is found in the mid-twelfth century cloister at Tarragona Cathedral. More striking still is the decoration in the monolithic tympanum of St. Pierre de Reddes (Herault); below an eight rayed circular medallion of alternating colours, one of which consists of a black volcanic stone, is a lintel incrusted with stylized and angular Kufic whose verticals terminate in half-palmettes.\(^{76}\) The early use of the polychrome treatment on the exteriors of Islamic buildings is by no means based on surmise. The geometrical incrustations to be seen on the clerestory drum of the dome facing the court of the Mosque of Tunis (991), as well as in the contemporary mihrab of the Mosque al Ishabīlī\(^{77}\) at Tunis, and the brick and marble treatment of the façade of the Mosque of Cordova (Pl. 9) as extended by Hakam (961), are undoubtedly the forerunners of those in Le Puy and Vellay, as well as those in Italian Romanesque Churches, as has been maintained.\(^{78}\)

No mere words can sufficiently explain the beauty or the importance of this Mosque of Cordova. Sufficient traces of the decoration on the exterior tenth-century wall remain for us to conclude that rarely before in the history of architecture was the exterior of a building so resplendently adorned for the full length of its façade. After restorations necessitated by ten centuries of wear it is possible to see what a rich colouristic effect was obtained by the sharp contrast of red brick and white marble against the warm hue of the ashlar masonry into which the carvings and inlays were set, in the fashion of a carpet of a floor. (Pl. 10) The influence of the Caliphate architecture of Spain was disseminated all along the Mediterranean even as far as Constantinople where it is evident in the now ruined Byzantine Palace of Tekfur Serail, and it may be that the technique was taken back by the Byzantine glass

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\(^{75}\) Gieure, *Les églises romanes en France*, 1953, fig. 6 A.

\(^{76}\) L. Begule, *op. cit.* pp. 36-7.

\(^{77}\) Zbiss in *Ars Orientalis*, III, 1959, pp. 28-9, fig. 5.

\(^{78}\) Ahmed Fikry, *Le Puy et les Influences Islamiques*, Chapter "La Polychromie et les incrustations décoratives."
mosaicist who had been employed at the Mosque of Cordova. The structure which survives is a pavilion of the Palace of Boucicaut, which was incorporated into the ramparts by Nicephorus Phocas, though some claim the Palace to have been built by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-59). Not only is brick incrustated in cement in geometrical patterns in the spandrels of arches and in a frieze, but also, like the Mosque of Cordova, the voussoirs of arches are laid in alternating layers of red brick courses and white masonry. (Pl. 11) Similarly, the parti-coloured voussoirs of Pisa Cathedral consecrated in 1118 are the earliest of their kind in Italy, and are categorically stated to be of Saracenic derivation.

In Italy Pisa was the first to use polychrome incrustations (but of the pavement kind) to decorate the exterior of buildings. On the white marble spandrels and friezes of the Cathedral are plum porphyry and green serpentiniun marbles in such patterns as circular medallions alternating with six-lobed flowers girdled by meandering stems, stars, chevrons, concentric squares, diaper triangles and stepped lozenges. Earlier in Italy as on the base of the apse of the Cathedral of Parenzo (Istria) geometric marbles together with onyx and mother-of-pearl had been employed in mosaics to adorn a wall. Could its transference to the exterior have been the result of an outside influence? We have already cited the tradition that a Pisan fleet captured some Muslim ships in the harbour of Palermo, and this gave an impetus to the building of the Cathedral. Moreover, the Pisans not only brought back columns for their Cathedral when they raided the Fatimid capital of Mahdia in North Africa, but one of the capitals found in the north transept has actually been identified as being of Arab craftsmanship. On the other hand the signature of the sculptor Fath

79 J. Hamilton, Byzantine Architecture and Decoration, p. 84.
80 Gurlitt, Die Baukunst Konstantinopels, p. 7.
81 C. A. Cummings, op. cit., I, p. 280.
82 Da Morrone, Pisa Illustrata, 1812, p. 321; also E. Cresy and G. Taylor, Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy, pl. 9, 10, (in colour).
83 G. C. Crichton, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy, 1954, p. 97; cf. W. Heywood, A History of Pisa, 1921, Chapter IX.
84 Tronci, Il duomo di Pisa, 1922, p. 3, no. 4. Other fragments of sculpture at Pisa are listed by M. Salmi, Romanesque Sculpture in Italy, p. 81.
on this capital appears to suggest Moorish origin, for Fath of Cordova has signed similar works in Andalusia, dating from between 951-973. It has consequently been suggested that the capital in question was acquired by the Pisans after the sack of Almeria in 1089. The Moorish harbours had in any case become susceptible to attack after the defeat of Mojahed, King of the Balearies in 1045. Further it should be recalled that Saracens enjoyed a peculiar freedom in Pisa in the eleventh century. Gangs of traders were found wandering all over the city, and in addition to that a colony of Pisans was already established in North Africa. Just as Naples had been described in the ninth century as "an outpost of Islam," so in the twelfth century an Italian was lamenting that Pisa was delivered over to the Moors, Indians; and Turks. Like the Muslims who delighted in treating the façades of their buildings as tapestries, the Italians too were transferring pavement ideas to their walls.

Muslim influence would not have endured into the thirteenth century in Italy were it not for the transplantation by Frederick II of the surviving Muslim population of Sicily to Lucera which then became known as Saracenorum. The Saracens of Lucera continued to work for Frederick producing leather goods, arms, iron and woodwork and inlays. The slave Abdella was working on the mosaic pavement at the monarch’s Castel del Monte in 1240, and others at nearby Melfi and Canosa. It is conceivable that many of the Siculo-Arabic boxes that are now scattered far and wide, were carved and painted not only at Palermo but perhaps also at Lucera. It may be that the wooden throne at Montevergine of the thirteenth century is another evidence of their handiwork for dogs on a leash are carved on an eleventh century portal in the

86 J. W. Thompson, Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, P. 327.
87 Mas Latrie, Relations des Chretiens avec Arabes, 1866.
90 P. B. Cott, Siculo-Arabic Ivories, 1939.
91 E. Bertaux, op. cit., p. 440, fig. 180.
Muslim citadel at Harran, and on an exactly contemporary Fatimid textile dating from the year 1000.\(^2\) There are other interesting motifs on the throne such as the animal seated on its haunches on the capital, a double-bodied lion with a single head, paired birds supporting a circular arabesque cartouche, Sagittarius aiming an arrow at a unicorn, a man riding a dromedary, and another a duck, an elephant with a howdah and so on.\(^3\)

In the field of architecture the Saracenic influence of this time was even more productive. Just as the Mudejar slaves were building churches for their Christian masters in Spain, so in the Naples region it would seem, their brothers in faith were active and have left the unmistakable stamp of their style on their works. A bizarre, polychromatic style makes its debut on the façade of Amalfi Cathedral in 1204.\(^4\) (Pl. 12) Its campanile of 1276, as well as that of Gaeta\(^5\), erected in 1279, has cylindrical upper stages with miniature counter-weights on the corners, while intersecting pointed arches in brown mastic of the Monreale type engirdle them all. At about this time, i.e. between 1270-80, the Palazzo Rufolo was erected by a rich feudal family at Ravello on the heights above Amalfi.\(^6\) Here Saracenic features are rampant, such as scalloped domes, slender coupled columns giving rise to arches that intersect four times, capitals and impostes with serrated palmette profiles and superposed fleurons, etc. The last of the series in this vicinity is the octagonal lantern of Caserta Vecchia (1289) still marked with a strong oriental flavour in the white marble incrustations, particularly in the form of concentric stepped lozenges.\(^7\) (Pl. 13) In quite an unexpected manner a permanent impress was left in this region, especially in the town of Pagano, on the folk music which bears to this day a remarkable resemblance with North African and Andalusian types.\(^8\) The fate of the Lucera colony itself was shortlived—the Saracens were defeated in 1300


\(^3\) Toesca, *Storia dell’Arte Italiana*, fig. 798.

\(^4\) See Camera, *Storia di Amalfi*.

\(^5\) G. Vernazza, *Il Campanile di Gaeta*, p. 27.

\(^6\) L. Mansi, *Ravello sacra-monumentale*.


\(^8\) Alan Lomax Recordings, B.B.C., Third Programme, March, 7, 1955.
by Charles II of Anjou who either enslaved them or gave them the choice of becoming Christians.\footnote{For the Saracens at Lucera see Egidi, Archivio Storico Napolitani, xxxvi–xxxix, and M. Huillard-Breholles, Vie et corr de Pierre de la Vigne, 1865.}

Finally Europe is indebted to Muslim civilization for the technique of mosaic brick bonds which appears probably for the first time in the Court of Pilate at the Church of San Stefano in Bologna. Here the bricks are manipulated to form such patterns as chevrons, chessboards contained within lozenges in contact, and six- and eight-pointed stars inscribed in circles.\footnote{C. Ricci, L'architettura romanica in Italia, pl. 65.} While this form of ornament cannot strictly be described as inlay, it is nevertheless probable that the Muslims invented it in the ninth century as a sort of geometrical mosaic, which was economical because it needed nothing but the building materials themselves to produce a rich effect. Seldom has a people been so lavishly endowed with a gift for patterning surfaces in a delectable manner as the Muslims. Already in the twelfth century a German monk, Theophilus, expresses familiarity with Arabic \textit{repousée} or castwork, and engraved reliefs.\footnote{Theophilus, The Various Arts, tr. C. R. Dodwell, 1961, p. 4.}
CHAPTER III

THE DECORATIVE USE OF ARABIC LETTERING IN THE WEST*

Although the employment of Arabic letters in diverse works of art executed in Medieval Europe has been known to scholars for over a century, the general art student is still unaware of its manifold and varied adaptations. In this Chapter we shall cast a rather wider net than have writers hitherto, and adduce many fresh examples in the process.

The early Arabic script in its Kufic form is admitted to have played a most decisive role in the arts of Islamic lands, and indeed the art of calligraphy soon became the most highly prized of all the skills. A stranger to the Arabic language is not simply nonplussed by the angular twist and play of the letters, he is somehow held in fascination by the motive current that propels the infinite range of strokes without impairment of the over-riding unity. In the European Middle Ages artists became familiar with the Arabic script through the tiraz borders of silks, or through coins or yet by travelling in Eastern lands, and they insinuated the remembered motifs on all manner of objects. With rare exception the transposition of letters was never done so as to retain every detail of the original, for the aim was simply to capture some of the exotic staccato repeat in string courses and ornamental borders. In Islamic textiles themselves the letters are sometimes reversed or turned upside down for the sake of pattern or convenience in the loom. In the interests of form they did not disdain to turn turtle the very name of Allah—as witness the tiled inscriptions of many a Persian mosque. Form was all to the Muslims, and it would seem

the same was true in the West, for it has been proposed that Gothic script itself was affected to some extent by its Arabic counterpart.\(^3\)

The close connection of Southern Italy with the Islamic world naturally leads us to look for traces of influence in that region, and no more convincing a demonstration of this is to be found than in the Tomb of Bohemund at Canosa. This Bohemund was in fact none other than the son of Robert Guiscard, the Conqueror of Muslim Sicily. He was one of the leaders of the Crusades and became a Prince of Antioch. He died in Palestine in about the year 1110. His body was brought back by his mother Alberedain, who had him buried in a mausoleum adjacent to the church which he had helped build. The site chosen is said to have once been the turbe of a dervish,\(^4\) dating no doubt from the Muslim occupation of the city in the ninth century. It is a curious paradox that this fierce hater of the Muslims, who is stated to have roasted his prisoners and ordered that they be served for dinner,\(^5\) was himself buried in a Qubba type of domed structure entered by a door decorated in the Islamic manner. Apart from the flat border reliefs the rectangular panels of the bronze doors are ornamented with roundels of two types—one with geometrical arabesques and animal inserts woven round an eight-pointed star, (Pl. 15) and the other with a border medallion inscribed with pseudo-Kufic letters. (Pl. 16)

As is the usual case in this type of ornamentation the letters have no meaning: they consist purely of paired verticals back to back with floriated connections between each pair. The former type is paralleled in Muslim art by such medallions as that woven on the Banner of Los Navas captured by the Spaniards from the Almohades in the Battle of Tolosa (1212) and which is now preserved in the Monastery of Las Huelgas at Burgos. Palmettes and interlaces woven round a stellar centre produce the same sort of profuse complication in both. But it is the second type of ornament that concerns us here, and at first glance it seems to have been inspired by the inscription on a coin. However, it must be pointed out that it was not until 1138 that Roger II minted coins with Arabic inscriptions, although his bi-lingual deed in Arabic and Latin was


\(^4\) C. Waern, Medieval Sicily, p. 395.

\(^5\) S. Toy, Castles, 1939, p. 145, citing William of Tyre.
exactly contemporary with the door. At any rate the Christian practice of striking gold coins bearing Arabic inscriptions had already been anticipated by Berenguer Ramon, Count of Barcelona (1017-35), who had copied the dinars of the King of Malaga.

The practice was a much older one since the Mercian King Offa struck coins with his name in Latin letters and a legend in Arabic copied from an Abbasid dinar, while even the date was that of the Hegira 157 (A.D. 774). Indeed the Arab dinar became the model for currency in Western Europe until the thirteenth century and as late as 1266 Pope Clement IV had to reproach the bishop of Maguelonne in Southern France "for having money struck with Arabic characters with the form and symbols borrowed from Islam which was unworthy of a Catholic Christian."

The Canosa door was cast by an artisan named Ruggero delle Campane de Melfi. For his Arabic designs he may even have relied on a real Oriental model, for Robert Guiscard had brought iron doors and marble pillars with capitals as signs of victory from Palermo in 1073. Even so, of all the Italian entrepots, Amalfi had the closest contact with the Muslim East at the time. A number of bronze doors are known to have been imported into Italy simultaneously from Constantinople through Amalfitan merchants, but the significance of the Canosa door is that it is the earliest of the series, not imported from Constantinople, having been cast between 1111 and 1120 in Italy.

Having established the date of this door it must now be admitted that this was not the first occasion when Kufic ornament was used in Italy. It had already been employed in a Manuscript illuminated in the eleventh century at Monte Cassino where the motif is a simplified version of the same, only here pronged verticals have light foliations at their base. Such a motif is freely made use of right along a border in a twelfth century Manuscript at the Library of Mantua.

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9 C. Ricci, Romanesque Architecture in Italy, p. 170 and 240.
10 H. Jackson, The Shores of the Adriatic, 1907, pp. 147 ff.
12 Inguanz and Avery, Miniature Cassinesi, 1934, Tav. XVI.
13 E. Lavagnino, Storia dell'Arte Mediaevale Italiana, 1936, fig. 513.
Another fine adaptation of the Kufic ornament in Southern Italy is to be found at the base of the step round the main altar of San Nicola at Bari (1105-23). (Pl. 17) Here the risers have lozenge-petalled rosettes in marble on a mastic base, or pea-hens contained within stars in contact, while the tread is painted in glass mosaic with Kufic verticals paired back-to-back, alternating with stems with interwined tassels. If it is admitted that pseudo-Kufic ornament is an imitation of the 2 Arabic letters alif and lam whose vertical strokes constantly rise above the rest, then it may be that in the Bari mosaic we have the combination of the very letters that spell the name of Allah. Medieval Christians would have thought it fitting to tread on steps that flaunted the name of the Infidel's God. The mosaicist of San Nicola may have studied the Arabic inscriptions of the mosque that used to occupy the site of the present Cathedral of Bari, of which a wall was said to have survived with arabesques and lettering. He could also have had recourse to the carved fragments such as the Tomb of the Sultan dating from the Muslim occupation and now housed in the Museum across the road from San Nicola. Or it may even have been the work of a Christian Arab, as King Roger is known to have built a castle in Bari with the aid of Sicilian Arabs in 1131. The likelihood of this is enhanced by our knowledge that one Leonardus Sarcenus worked under the Normans on the Church of Sant'Eustachio of Matera—a building which has since disappeared.

Italy was by no means the only land to be seduced by Kufic ornamental lettering. It is found throughout the Byzantine territories in the eleventh century especially in the region of Thebes and Athens. One of the earliest examples is on a Byzantine pottery dish of the ninth century or later. The pseudo-Kufic ornament contained in a circular band is painted under the glaze

14 A town in Southern Italy is actually known as Alife.
15 H. Jackson, The Shores of the Adriatic, p. 52. See also Amati, Nella Terra di Bari.
16 Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, 1854-68, III, p. 397.
in blue, black and red. We may cite as the other examples, the
lion relief with Kufic border at Athens, and the Manuscript Homi-
lies of John Chrysostome. In the latter the decorative band at
the head of the page has alternatingly rigid and cursive palme-
tized Kufic. Moreover, this Manuscript (Bibl. Nat. Paris. MS.
Coislin 79) dating from the time of Niceforus III Botiante (1078-
81) and the Manuscript, now in the Vatican Library (Greg. No. 666),
dating from the time of his successor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-
1118) both indicate how favoured the Islamic decorative style was
in the apparel worn by the Byzantine Emperors: Arabic inscrip-
tional bands are to be seen on gowns, hems of robes, undersides
of capes, wrist cuffs, waist sashes, arm bands and even on shields.
In the form of brick ornament pseudo-Kufic had appeared slightly
earlier at the Church of S. Nicodemus in Athens which was built
before 1044, and earlier still at the Church of Hosias Leucas
(982-98) where palmette alifs and lams in brick bend and twist
to form the texture of the façade. Byzantine civilization being
in close contact with the Muslims in Sicily, Southern Italy, South-
eastern Anatolia, and Armenia, it would be difficult to hazard a
guess as to which of these sources proved most conclusive in the
dissemination of oriental themes.

In Spain on the other hand Moorish exchanges with the princi-
palities of the North were frequent, and the relative advancement
of the civilizations readily explains the ultimate direction of the
movement. Partly instrumental in this were the Christians living
under Muslim rule who after their exodus from Andalusia in the
ten century, carried their Mozarabic culture to the North. While
living in Cordova the Mozarabes were scarcely conversant with
Latin. It is no wonder then that a Spanish prince of the eleventh
century, Sancho I of Aragon, insisted on signing his name in Arabic
characters. However, it cannot be said that decorative Kufic
abounds in the Christian Manuscripts of this period, thus it is not

20 J. Strzygowski and Van Berchem, Amida, p. 371; also L. Brehier,
L'art chrétien, p. 123.
21 J. Ebersolt, La miniature Byzantine, pl. LIII.
22 Pijoan, Summa Artis, VII, figs. 704-709.
23 J. Hamilton, Byzantine Architecture and Decoration.
24 M. H. Bulley Art and Everyman, I, fig. 225.
found in the early MSS. of the Monastery of Silos. The motif appears comparatively late in a relief border on a silver plated cedar chest at the Camara Sancta of Oviedo Cathedral (Pl. 18). The writing here is more true to the original script, and this is perhaps explained by the fact that the work was executed in the time of Alphonso VI (i.e. before 1108), for this monarch was himself brought up and educated in Moorish Toledo which later fell into his hand.

Curiously, while the Monastery at Silos has no MSS. with decorative Arabic borders, it has in its Pharmacy a French enamel from Limoges with an inscription of palmetized mims and alifs whose similitude to the Arabic is quite pronounced. (Pl. 19) The Spaniards being wary, lest they introduced Islamic religious formulae into simulated Arabic writing, may have eschewed it deliberately, but the French who had encountered Muslim enemies in Palestine, Sicily and Spain appeared to have no such compunction. Pseudo-Kufic in the shape of friezes with vertical ligatures terminating in palmettes makes its debut in the now famous MS. known as the Apocalypse of S. Sever (Bibl. Nat. Latin 8878), executed under Abbot Gregory in Gascony as early as 1047. Toward the South of France it is found even on architectural monuments. Thus it is seen in the form of a play between alifs and lamds on the lintel of a portal at St. Pierre de Redes, on the Orb. The Arabized inscriptions on the celebrated wooden doors at Le Puy are believed to have been direct inspirers of others in the same region, notably at La Voute Chilhac in the Upper Loire, de Blesle, and Chamaliers-sur-Loire, though as at La Voute Chilhac the half-palmettes and fleur-de-lys trefoils become ascendant and displace the Kufic verticals. The doors of Le Puy, which may date from the time of

26 cf. A. M. Huntington, *Initials and Miniatures... from the MSS of Santo Domingo de Silos*, 1904.
27 R. Tyler, *Spain, a study of her life and arts*, 1909, p. 46.
30 A. Fikry, *L'Art Roman du Puy*, fig. 239; and J. Evans, *Cluny Art*, 1950, fig. 9.
31 N. Thiollier, *Portes de Blesle*.
Peter II (1050-73), are purest as they spell out the first part of the Islamic creed. The doors are believed to have been executed by Mozarabes under the supervision of a man who signed himself as Gauzfredus. An even more striking example of observation in copying Arabic inscriptions is to be seen in the bas relief at the Museum of Lyons, of the lively figure of a boy who skips lightly while tossing a ball towards the cavetto frieze above, which has a pearl fillet margin (Pl. 20). This frieze which completely encompasses the rectangular frame is incised with Kufic lettering among which other letters such as toi, not hitherto encountered, are clearly recognizable. The figure is that of a juggler playing with a ball—the letters in the frame suggesting either that he were playing with the letters of a mysterious script, or that he were, in fact, a Saracenic acrobat.

We are confronted with a similar ambiguity when we come upon the Islamic ceramics embedded in Italian Medieval monuments. Were they inset for their splendid faience colouring which could not be rivalled by the potters of Italy at the time, or were they symbols of dominion over Muslim peoples? Both theories are partially tenable: where they are prominently displayed at eye-level they may be purely decorative, where they are set up to as much as 100 feet from the ground they may be symbolic. Those on the restored round campanile of San Appolinare Nuovo may belong to the latter category for the plates are embedded above the relieving window frames. They did not appear to be of Hispano-Moresque provenance (as we might well expect on account of the early importation of ceramics from that source); at any rate they are clearly not related to those from Paterna. The gold lustre plates inset on the facade of the Church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia, may however have some resemblance with the lustre ware of Spain, but their situation at too great a height makes it difficult to pass any comment on them. The polychrome plates which are modern reproductions on the Campanile of Pom-

33 R. Rey, op cit., p. 367.
34 L. L. Pillion, L'Art Roman en France, fig. 82 B.
36 Folch i Torres, Noticia Sobre la Ceramic de Paterna, Barcelona, 1921.
posa (1063) with their ducks and sun-ray feathered birds (Pl. 21), appear rather to resemble Fatimid ware from Egypt, but then again the proud gazelle with arched neck on the "bacini" from the church of San Piero at Grado recalls the trotting gazelles of the Palermitan silks and in the later Alhambra vases. The Grado type is found once again on the Church of San Miniato Valdarno in Tuscany.

One of the favourite types found in Italy has black foliations painted on unglazed body and the whole covered with a thick siliceous glaze of a translucent sapphire blue. A thirteenth century fragment of this type from the Church of Sta. Cecelia at Pisa is now at the British Museum, while another from a Church in Cremona is in the Kunstgewerbe Museum in Berlin. Pisa is particularly fecund in "bacini"—some having been recovered from the Church of S. Sisto, and an important one at the Church of San Frediano. The latter has Arabic inscriptions in two concentric borders along the rim, and in the basin two charming paroquets added back to back. Finally the most startling use of "bacini" with inscriptions occurs on the pulpit of 1175 at the Church of San Giovanni del Toro at Ravello, which was built in 1069. The inscription which is over a background of foliage is placed upside down either in derision or in ignorance, and the letters are white against two shades of blue—ink and dark turquoise, with touches of brick and black (Pl. 22). If the practice of embedding Islamic ceramics on ecclesiastical buildings were not prevalent in Spain we should be most surprised. As it is the practice is rare though found in a limited way on the facades and towers of Teruel and Saragossa. The most splendid example is no doubt to be encountered in the octagonal Mudejar dome of the Convent of the Conception at Toledo, inset between the strips of geometrical interlacing (Pl. 23). Among such assorted motifs here as talismanic palms with 5 fingers to

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37 C. Errard, L'art Byzantin, III, Tav. 8,9.
38 J. Marryat, A history of Pottery and Porcelain, 1857.
39 G. Soulier, Les influences orientales . . ., pl. VIII.
40 C. D. E. Fortnum, Majolica, 1896, pp. 14,8r-3 ; and Archaeologia, XLII, p. 379, holds that the dishes were brought from Majorca by the Pisans in 1115, and inserted for instance over a horseshoe door of this church which was consecrated in 1107.
41 Toesca, Storia dell' Arte Italiana, 1927, I, p. 1078, fig. II. Other examples cited on p. 1137, n. 21.
avert evil and a chess piece of double-horses, are numerous hexagonal tiles painted (in lustre or blue on white against green interstices), with pseudo-Arabic lettering. In the best sense of the Islamic decorative style the whole dome shimmers like a heavenly canopy.

We have said at the outset that it was through the medium of Islamic textiles that European artists of the Middle Ages became familiar with Arabic writing. Calligraphy was the favourite mode of decoration among the Muslims, and so it was inevitable that Christian ecclesiastics who prized Islamic stuffs had to suffer wearing garments with inscriptions which, if they knew their meaning, would have seemed sacriligious to them. But if at all they faltered to use these robes in their everyday duties, they certainly did not fear to clad their bodies in the seclusion of their graves. As early as the tenth century an Abbot was buried in an oriental robe with Arabic lettering which was disinterred from a tomb at St. Germain des Pres in Paris.\textsuperscript{42} In the Gothic period in Italy Arabic inscriptions, which had by that date become cursive in style, were being copied in the medium of silks, again reminding us of the source from whence the art of silk-weaving was imported into Europe. A good example of the use of a pseudo-Arabic on an early silk tissue manufactured on the Italian mainland is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century and may have been woven in Lucca which had inherited the experience of Palermitan looms. But apart from the waving bands of inscriptive ornament the design is less Islamic than Chinese in its spiny, jagged fantasy. The style may in fact, be described as a Muslim one which has undergone a Chinese change.\textsuperscript{43} When Marco Polo had opened up the trade route to the East, the Chinese had already begun to emulate Islamic stuffs for the export market. Thus Abul Feda records that 700 Mongolian stuffs with the Sultan’s titles inwoven were brought to an-Nasir in Egypt by the Mongolian ambassador in 1323.\textsuperscript{44} Whatever the models for the Italian silks, it is at least certain that Dutch textiles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

\textsuperscript{42} L. Courajod, \textit{Lecons professes a l’ecole du Louvre}, 1899, p. 254.

\textsuperscript{43} N. A. Reath, \textit{The weaves of handloom fabrics}, 1927, p. 37.

\textsuperscript{44} Cited by A. F. Kendrick, \textit{Catalog of Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period}, V and A. Museum; 1924, p. 40.
make prolific use of Siculo-Italian floral and faunal patterns together with pseudo-Arabic inscriptive borders.\textsuperscript{45} France entered the silk industry too late to be influenced by Oriental patterns. Nevertheless when the earliest looms were set up at Lyons in the second half of the fifteenth century they were based on Italian models and may even have been manned by Italian emigrants.\textsuperscript{46} When England in turn took to silk weaving in the early part of the seventeenth century it was influenced by the weavers of France who had by this time attained a position of eminence.\textsuperscript{47} Thus in this way silk weaving, which was introduced into Europe by the Muslims, was disseminated all over the Continent.

Before England took the field of silk manufacture it would naturally have imported stuffs from abroad. In fact it is known that silks from Lucca were distributed to certain English churches in 1317, and frequently during the remainder of that century.\textsuperscript{48} The wooden Gothic coffer at the Victoria and Albert Museum could very well have been copied from one of these silks, for it dates from the late fourteenth century (Pl. 24). The inscription runs all round the lid and belly of the carved maple bowl. Again on the fourteenth century altar retable at Norwich Cathedral,\textsuperscript{49} Arabic inscriptions and floral ogival patterns are painted on the vestments of the personages depicted. This fidelity of the painter to copy the robes worn by his contemporaries is an important source of information for the history of costume. Dutch and Italian painters have left us a permanent record of the textiles of their period, and through these again and again we obtain glimpses of Islamic fabrics. The Oriental carpets that appear in the paintings of such artists as Carpaccio, Jan van Eyck, Ghirlandaio, Holbein, Memling and the Venetian School were long ago studied and illustrated in a luxurious monograph.\textsuperscript{50}

In a thirteenth century fresco in the basilica of S. Pier in

\textsuperscript{45} F. Fischbach, \textit{Die Wichtigsten Webe Ornamente}, II, Taf. 87 ff.
\textsuperscript{46} F. Michel, \textit{Recherches sur le Commerce, la Fabrication et l'usage des etoffes de soie} . . . .
\textsuperscript{47} A. S. Cole, \textit{Ornament in European silks}, 1899, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{49} A. S. Cole, \textit{op. cit.}, fig. 40.
\textsuperscript{50} J. Lessing, \textit{Ancient Oriental Carpet Patterns after pictures and originals of the 15th and 16th centuries}, 1879.
Grado\textsuperscript{51} (near Pisa) the curtain tied behind the head of a dying saint is ornamented with parallel border of mock Arabic text.\textsuperscript{52} And Giotto himself paints a fresco in the Upper Church of Assisi\textsuperscript{53} with a tent cloth whose border is inscribed with pseudo-Arabic characters. Another textile is preserved in the painting by Paolo Veneziano at the Brera Gallery in Milan:\textsuperscript{54} among its all-over pattern of stylized fruits and flowers are Kuficized borders rising and falling in suave movements everywhere. Fra Angelico, whose painting has oriental attributes on account of his flat use of gold accents and distributing of foils and robes with ornamental diaper, prominently displays an Oriental carpet in one of his paintings proving that he was acquainted at first hand with Arabic script.\textsuperscript{55} Andrea Mantegna similarly Kuficizes the Latin script, as in the triptych at the basilica of S. Zeno in Verona. The halo and the arm bands of the angels (Pl. 25) have these strange outlandish inscriptions while an Islamic rug of geometrical type hangs behind them. Similarly Giovanni Bellini, the Venetian, gives his Latin letters jagged and angular twists. He fills his borders with light foliations or alternatively with a golden sheen of nervous and tenuous strokes simulating writing. He too paints a Moorish table cover with arabesque borders and Kufic lettering, whose verticals have intricate braids.\textsuperscript{56} Jacopo Bellini is actually known to have designed silks for the Venetian textile industry in the first half of the fifteenth century, which included cartouches of Arabic inscriptions. One of his paintings in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence,\textsuperscript{57} has a border mantle and halo of the Virgin as well as the collar of Jesus the Child picked out in a tiraz of golden characters. Neither of these

\textsuperscript{51} H. K. Mann, \textit{The Lives of the Popes}, IV, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{52} Since Arabic inscriptions appear so often in conjunction with holy personages, one may well ask if their presence is intended to enhance the holiness. This is suggested by the Bishop's dalmatic of fifteenth century Moorish silk on whose central inscription is sewn an embroidered crucifixion scene—leaving half the border open to view. (M. Scheutte, \textit{Gestichte Bildteppiche des Mittelalters}, Taf. 10).
\textsuperscript{53} G. Soulier, \textit{op. cit.}, pl. XVII(b).
\textsuperscript{54} Toesca, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 1950, figs. 508, 629.
\textsuperscript{55} H. F. Schottmuller, \textit{Fra Angelico}, p. 236; see also pp. 21, 27, 33, 42, 47, 159, 203.
\textsuperscript{56} P. Hendy, \textit{Giovanni Bellini}, figs. 17, 97, 105.
\textsuperscript{57} Crowe and Cavalcasalle, \textit{A history of Painting in North Italy}, I, pl. 108b.
Bellinis should be confused with Gentile Bellini who had been invited to Constantinople in 1479, where he had painted a portrait of the Conqueror Sultan Mehmed II and had been honoured by a knighthood. In one of his later paintings—The Adoration of the Magi—he portrays personages dressed in large billowing turbans and loose-fitting gowns in the manner of the Ottoman nobility. Later, when the influence of Italian painting penetrated Spain, Fernando Yanez de la Almedina painted the figure of Sta. Catalina dressed in a robe of Moorish workmanship with braided ligatures along the arms, and a fallen fold of the hem has inscriptions in cartouches trailing on the ground (Pl. 26.) That an Islamic inscription should be writ over the heart of a Holy Catholic Saint (St. Catherine) is convincing testimony of the appeal of the Arab script on the European imagination.

88 Ibid., pls. 126 and 130.
CHAPTER IV

THE ZOOMORPHIC FRIEZE

The Bayeux tapestry is a striking testimony of the conquest of England by William of Normandy. It is of course not a tapestry at all but an embroidery since the patterns are sewn upon it, but what really entitles it to fame is that it leaves a graphic account of one of the most significant historical events of medieval times. Who then, while following the exciting adventures of mail-clad warriors portrayed with such a marvellous zest for humanistic detail, would disengage himself from the narrative to regard the prancing animals contained within the borders above and below? An examination of the animal iconography (Fig. 2) leads to interest-
suggested by an alabaster vase from Warka of the same period. It represents the New Year celebrations, and the frieze of alternating sheep and rams in the lower register probably signifies prosperity for the coming year. That the emphasis is on the plentiful abundance of the earth is suggested by a contemporary stone bowl which represents a frieze of bulls with ears of barley sprouting from their shoulders. A seal attributed to the following Jemdat Nasr period (c.3100-2900 B.C.) has a procession of bulls with this identical detail, revealing an intimate connection between the themes of carved objects and engraved cylinders. From this period too, there is a seal with a file of bulls entering and emerging from what looks like a sacred byre. The theme next occurs in historic times on a Sumerian monument at al Ubaid. On the brick façade of the Small Temple of Ninhursaga (c.2500 B.C.) there is a frieze of bulls in shell relief inlaid on a bitumen background, while another frieze consisted of limestone ducks. Both these were originally secured to the wall by means of copper hold-fasts. One theme on this façade represents a milking scene, and offers us another clue that the representation is that of the temple flocks. On one seal only from the Uruk period at Warka an entirely different conception seems to be implied for here the frieze consists of passant lions, dragons and bulls. But this idea too was monumentally exploited nearly three millennia later in enamelled brick on the façade of the neo-Babylonian (c.612-539 B.C.) Ishtar Gate at Babylon, among the zoomorphic friezes the most celebrated of all.

The animal file had not altogether disappeared in Mesopotamia in the meanwhile. In the Mitannian era (c.1450-1360 B.C.) the pots excavated from the Tells Atchana and Billa have a double register

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4 Ibid., pl. 5b.
6 L'art de Mesopotamie ancienne, au Musée de Louvre, I, 200; II, 67, 12.
8 H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, 1939, pl. VI a, p. 32.
7 H. R. Hall and C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, al Ubaid, 1927, pls. XXXI-XXXIII.
of standing birds with wings half raised at different levels. The birds of Bayeux evince this same peculiarity as we shall see in due course. Related pottery from Cemetery H at Harappa in India dating possibly from 1400 B.C.,\textsuperscript{11} are painted with a frieze of flying peacocks. The theme of an ornamental band with birds has been shown to have a considerable ancestry beginning in Sialk III and in Pre-dynastic Egypt, being revived in Cyprus in the sixteenth century B.C., and as we have seen in Atchana in Syria and recurring much later in Phrygian Anatolia and in the Geometric style in the Aegean.\textsuperscript{12}

It would seem that the prototype of the Greek animal friezes on pottery is to be found not in the same medium in the Orient but in metal work. Engraved on a Phoenician plate from Nimrud are five concentric bands, the first toward the centre with racing hares, the next with passant lions, and the following three with gazelles and antelopes.\textsuperscript{13} A similar bronze dish (with hook for hanging) found at Kuyunjik has around its embossed rosette centre three concentric circles of passant animals.\textsuperscript{14} In the inner ring are gazelles, next comes a band with griffins, goats, antelopes and bulls—the two latter attacked by lions and leopards, while in the outer circle are twelve bulls facing anticlockwise. A frieze of charging bulls appears on the rim of a cauldron from Cyprus, said to be of Minoan or Mycenean workmanship,\textsuperscript{15} but at any rate bull friezes are popular later in the eighth century B.C. One such example is the bronze shield from Ida in Crete where one of the two concentric bands has bulls and the other antelopes.\textsuperscript{16} A resemblance has been noted between this “Orientalizing shield” and the recently excavated bronze shield from Urartu which fortunately bears votive inscriptions of the Urartian kings Argishtis I (c.780-60 B.C.) and Sardur II (c.760-33).\textsuperscript{17} Of its three concentric friezes

\textsuperscript{11} S. Piggott, \textit{Prehistoric India}, fig. 29; and Vats, \textit{Excavations at Harappa}.


\textsuperscript{13} Layard, \textit{Monuments of Nineveh}, 2nd series, pl. 61A.

\textsuperscript{14} Z. A. Ragozin, \textit{Chaldea}, 1886, p. 35, fig. 5.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Handbook of the Cesnola Collection}, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no 4703, dated probably c. 1300-1200 B.C.

\textsuperscript{16} P. Demargne, \textit{La Crête Dédaltique}, 1947, pl. IX.

\textsuperscript{17} M. Pallottino, “Urartu, Greece and Etruria,” in \textit{East and West}, IX, 1958, p. 35.
the outer and innermost have passant lions while in the middle one are passant bulls. Bull and lion friezes form a canopy of the Persian throne at Persepolis. In some instances various animals follow each other indiscriminately as on a bronze "Phoenician bowl" stated to be of the seventh century from Rhodes. Here are grazing antelopes, and passant lions and sphinxes.

The orientalizing animal style began to appear in Greece in about 725 B.C. particularly at Corinth, and gradually displaced the geometric style which had been popular in the previous century. Here the animal friezes were painted in silhouette with the details incized and the minor zones decorated with polychrome designs. Included among the fauna are panthers, lions, boars, hounds, goats, bulls, owls, and swans as well as such mythical animals as sphinxes, griffins, and sirens—the latter either singly with upturned wings or heraldically opposed. The animals are grazing, passant, loping, in full gallop, or are confronted between stylized trees. Birds are represented turning back, and again their spread wings are seen in elevation and their bodies in profile. A recently discovered vase fragment in the Temple ruins at Smyrna portrays this orientalizing style at its best with the animals turning back while racing and the background strewn with a diaper of dots and jagged wheels (Fig. 3).

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19 F. Paulsen, Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst, 1912, Abb. 86; see also Abb. 22, 124, 134, 148.
21 "Smyrna", in Illustrated London News, February 28, 1953, p. 328, fig. 3.
A feature which is more evident in the Greek representation of fauna than in that of the Orient at this early date is that the beasts appear to be chasing each other or fleeing from each other. In fact it has been held that the flying gallop was known in the Aegean animal style before 1300 B.C. and subsequently influenced the representation of animals in Syria and in Egypt.\(^{22}\)

Be this as it may, the idea of employing a succession of running animals to decorate a rounded object became a favourite mode in the Islamic minor arts. Thus on an inlaid brass ewer of c. 1200 at the British Museum\(^{23}\) winged sphinxes, lions, griffins and other animals dart across the undulating surface through a background filled with a dense tangle of stylized foliage (Fig. 4). On a celebrated silver inlaid bronze basin at the Louvre of about 1295,\(^{24}\) the frieze consists of a dog chasing a bolting hare, followed by a gazelle pursued by a lion, an elephant jeopardized by a unicorn, a camel followed by a gazelle with a loping goat hot on the trail, a sphinx pursued by a griffin and a gazelle by a wild boar. Even on such an ill-suited shape as an ivory oliphant, used no doubt for sounding the hunt, Islamic artists employed a procession of animals in narrow longitudinal strips. The oliphant in the Bargello Museum in Florence\(^{25}\) has an alternating succession of parrots, hares, lions,

\(^{22}\) H. J. Kantor, *The Aegean and the Orient in the 2nd Millennium B.C.*, 1947, pp. 92-7. For game turning back see Pl. XIX. This feature is already found in pre-dynastic slate palettes.


\(^{25}\) O. von Falke in *Pantheon*, IV, 1929, p. 511ff. pl. 4. A similar type in the Landes Museum in Brunswick is described as an Occidental copy. It has however an interesting Oriental motif—intertwined serpents *teeto-a-teeto*. 
goats, etc. carved in low relief upon it. The rendering in this fashion was in some ways quite ideal as it seemed to represent literally the chase issuing from the horn. This longitudinal procession of animals reappeared much later in the ivory priming flasks of the sixteenth century from Mughal India. 26 Only here the large more naturalistically treated animals grow into the flask so that it seems to have been tectonically built up of animals.

By and large, however, the Islamic tendency was to decorate by covering the surface with a bi-dimensional grid of repeating designs, and as often as not by enclosing them within borders and medallions. This principle is amply demonstrated by the ivory horns of the eleventh century at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (Pl. 27) and by its two fellows at the Historical Museum at Stockholm and at the Kaiser Frederick Museum at Berlin. 27 The circles are joined together by means of loops, and this feature of interlaced loops at the junction of two roundels is familiar in the mosaics of Antioch and is adopted early in Muslim art as in the stuccoes of Hira near Kufa dating from c. 769-83. 28 It has been suggested that the Islamic oliphants were carved in Fatimid Egypt where ivory tusks were readily accessible from African elephants. At any rate the animals carved in low relief and covering the whole ground are delightfully vivacious—a slight concession to realism being made by means of dents and incisions. This latter feature is absent in the oliphants copied in Southern Italy and Byzantium from Islamic prototypes. That Byzantine artists must have had Oriental models before them is suggested by an ivory casket of the eleventh century from one of their workshops, on which is carved a naked houri or harem girl seated cross-legged on a divan playing a lute. 29 Examples of copied oliphants are to be found in the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad, 30 Kestner Museum in Hanover which is, however, of bone and not of ivory, 31 and one in the Cluny Museum in Paris which enables the identification of the whole

26 cf. W. Born in Ars Islamica, 1942, pp. 93-111, e.g. fig. 9.
27 O. von Falke in Pantheon, IV, 1929, pp. 511-16, pls. 1 and 2.
28 Talbot Rice in Antiquity, VI, 1931, pls. V and VI.
30 Darcel, Collection Basilewski, pl. XII.
31 O. Falke, op. cit., III. 7, p. 90.
group as belonging to the eleventh century from Southern Italy since Christ's Ascension is portrayed in the middle portion between the stylized animals friezes. Another group of horns at the Cathedral of Prague, the National Museum in Copenhagen and the Museum of Jaszberenyi in Hungary, indicate a still further Byzantine influence in the human and animal scenes with a few traces of Islamic border decorations and interstitial motifs. The Byzantine oliphant at the British Museum, however, differs little from the Islamic prototype, apart from a particular type of knotted interlace and a Greek cross form between the medallions. Moreover, the animals are somewhat stiffly rendered lacking the rounded or arched backs of the Victoria and Albert Museum oliphant, as well as the enriching effect produced by the body imbrications. Variety is produced in the Islamic oliphants by breaking up the axes and staggering the circles. Most striking however, is the difference in treatment of the legs of the running animals. The legs of the Byzantine lions, griffins and birds are clumsily represented in a trotting position with sharp angles at the bends of the joints—quite contrary to the rounded composition of the surface and compartments in which they are contained. As against this the goats, parroquets, and hares of the Islamic oliphants fill their frames with easy curving sweeps, and their hind limbs unobtrusively overflow into the intermediate surrounds, freeing them from the captivity of the closed and inexorable circles.

Though this characteristic of overflowing the composition into the frames did not become a permanent feature of Islamic miniature painting until the early fourteenth century, it was anticipated in these ivories and had appeared as early as 727 in a floor fresco representing an equestrian archer at the Omayyad Castle of Qasr al Hair in Syria. Both the bird holding a leaf in its mouth and the lion turning round to snap at its own tail (thereby neutralizing its own power?) are known in Islamic art. For instance, birds holding leaves in their mouth are encountered on a cedar chest at Terracina considered to have been made in the ninth century under Oriental

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34 O. M. Dalton: *Proceeding of the Society of Antiquaries, 1913-14*, XXVI, pp. 8-12, fig. 1.
influence. The earliest origins of the lion biting its own tail are uncertain, but an instance of a pair of stylized lions biting each other’s tails is to be found on an openwork armlet of gold at the Peshawar Museum dating from the third century B.C. One such lion pursuing its tail was carved in relief between the arches of Bayeux Cathedral in c.1140, and has been regarded as reminiscent of Far Eastern art. But we need not look so far afield. As we have seen in the Orientalized pottery from Smyrna the deer and gazelles are fleeing with their heads turned back as if in dread of hunters. A tapestry medallion of the same character from Akhmim (in Coptic Egypt) portrays animals galloping and a cupid running. (Pl. 28).

Late Coptic art seems to have had a belated repercussion on Fatimid Egypt, particularly in the medium of woodwork, where a reciprocal influence is evident in the woodwork of medieval Coptic monasteries. On the carved lintels from the Fatimid Palace, begun by Aziz Billah (975-96) completed in 1058 and re-employed at the Hospital of Qalaun in Cairo, action figures are represented in headlong flight and close pursuit. There are kneeling lute players strumming to their attentive masters, racing hunters, human-headed lions and gazelles, not to mention the invariably present peacocks and parroquets. The tail of one of the courant hares is thrown forward and passes close to its mouth. On the Byzantine oliphant at the British Museum the lion’s tail is looped once before entering the mouth of the lion. In the Bayeux tapestry the tail is drawn through the hind legs and up over the thighs, curling up before the back-turned head.

Another Oriental feature of the animals in the Bayeux tapestry is the zoomorphic termination of tails. In the latter it is a beast whose tail ends in a dragon’s head, while in the Muslim oliphant at the Victoria and Albert Museum the lions and winged beasts have gazelle-headed tails. As early as 762-76 on the carved bas-

36 M. Rostovtzeff, The Animal Style in South Russia and China, 1929, pp. 84 and 109, Pl. 18, fig. 5.
37 R. Rey, L’Art Roman et ses origines, p. 415.
39 E. Pauty, Les bois sculptés jusqu’à l’Époque Ayyubid, 1931, pl. XXXVI.
40 E. Maclagan, Bayeux Tapestry, 1953, pl. 19.
relief parapet of the Baptistry of Cividale the plants develop lion-headed terminations. Coptic influence is suggested here in the birds pecking grapes—particularly as goat-headed terminations occur on Coptic textiles. The close relationship between Byzantine Greeks, Lombards, and Muslims in Southern Italy ensured that such a striking feature as the latter would be adapted to the use of each. Thus it is that the tail of a human-headed monster from an ivory panel belonging to a Byzantine casket from the tenth or eleventh century ends in the face of a lion.

It is evidently from ivory prototypes that the choir screens of S. Aspreno in Naples were derived. The slabs are divided into a grid of lozenge shaped compartments with such animals as ducks with flying ribbons, winged griffins, peacocks, cocks, wild boars, and lions in low relief within them. This work may well date from the tenth century, but in preference to the suggestion that the influence of Coptic textiles is evident here, that of a more immediate Saracenic influence is surely more feasible. The ducks and cocks represented here go back to Sassanian originals early assimilated by Islam. Saracenic influence in Italy no doubt entered through Sicily, which was at the peak of its prosperity under the rule of the Kalbite dynasty between 975-1000. Ever since the Neapolitan League with Muslim Sicily in the ninth century there had been a special quarter for Saracens in the city of Naples. It is quite likely that there were craftsmen among them as there were at Reggio and Bari, when Emir Hassan and Sultan Mofareg-ibn-Salem built their respective mosques in those cities. Later, the Normans, are known to have employed Saracen artists in Italy; thus Leonardus Saracenus was engaged in the building of a church in 1082 which unfortunately no longer exists.

Such a work as the carved marble columns of the cloister of Monreale Cathedral which are closely related to ivories was probably executed by a Christian of Saracenic origin. The probability of this is enhanced by the fact that the cloister dates from the period of that most Orientalized Norman King William the Good

41 Monneret de Villard, “Le transenne di S. Aspreno e le stoffe allemandine,” Aegyptus, IV, 1923, 64.
42 M. Amari, Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, I, pp. 454 and 371.
in 1176 or at any rate before 1189. It is with the marble shafts flanking the fountain that we are concerned. They are divided vertically and horizontally into ovulate ogee medallions by means of meandering vines, or into interconnected circles. All these are inhabited by playful or purposeful cupids or by such fauna as striding griffins and peacocks, falcons seizing their prey, eagles heraldically erect, paired birds beak to beak, paired griffins back to back with heads fused and tails joined, and so on. (Pl. 29) Many of these motifs had appeared earlier at the Church of S. Michele at Pavia, which dates from the first quarter of the twelfth century. These include running cupids, quadrupeds with arched backs turning to look back, and paired birds drinking from a vase, but also an identical type of foliage joined to the meandering stem in an exactly similar fashion as the Monreale type (Pl. 30).

The double-tailed siren on the capital at Pavia goes back to Etruscan art, and the eagle seizing a victim in each of its talons, to an Oriental motif from the third millennium B.C. The very idea of splaying jambs of an entrance portal goes back to the East once again and is exemplified, for instance, in the Temple of Kish of about 595 B.C.\(^4^4\) The vine ornament, too, originated in Egypt and Syria in the fourth century A.D. and spread westward by the seventh.\(^4^5\) On the carved triangles of the Mshatta façade (probably an Omayyad castle of c. 740 in the Jordan desert) animals were insinuated into the tangle of vines and bunches of grapes. This characteristic of placing animal forms over a fine skein of flora became a permanent aspect of Islamic art and appears for instance, in stucco on the cloister vault of the Monastery of Las Huelgas in Burgos, a work attributable to Mudejar slaves. (Pl. 31). Variety is principally attained by means of alternation and counterchange. The eagles here once again resemble those on the Bayeux tapestry in the elevation treatment of their wings and the profiled rendering of their body.

But there are other motifs of Oriental origin in the tapestry as well. These include confronted camels and griffins,\(^4^6\) birds with interlooped necks, and winged horses opposed.\(^4^7\) Further, the


\(^{46}\) E. Maclagan, *op. cit.*., pls. 5, 17.

pairing of bands containing animals is to be encountered along the fronts of fifth-sixth century tunics from Coptic Egypt. The embroiderers of the Bayeux tapestry may have been familiar with eastern stuffs of the same kinds, since William of Poitiers, the Chaplain of William the Conqueror, boasts respecting a similar work, that the Norman stuff easily rivals that of the Greeks and Arabs. The fact that the Bayeux tapestry was completed for the dedication of the new Bayeux Cathedral by Odo in c.1077 or about five years after the Norman Conquest of Palermo from the Saracens, may not be without significance.

At least this sort of influence consequent upon conquest was not unknown at a slightly later date in Northern France. It is exemplified in the Clunaeic Priory of Le Wast in the district of Boulogne, completed c.1100. It was founded by Ida (who died in A.D. 1113), the mother of Godfrey of Bouillon and of Baldwin I. The inner jamb of the portal at the priory has a stepped-serrated entrados exactly similar to that of the Bab al Futuh at Cairo, erected in 1087-91. An attempt has been made to explain this by the fact that the ambassadors of the Crusaders had spent ten months as captives in Cairo during the siege of Antioch in 1095. But there is no need to insist on this mode of transmission since it is known that the Gate was executed by an Armenian Christian from Edessa, and further that this city had fallen into the hands of the Crusaders in 1098. It is, however, more difficult to explain how the type of shield held by the Normans on the Bayeux tapestry is also found as a heraldic emblem on the same Cairo Gate built only a decade later.

The history of arms and armour must remain incomplete without the solution of such problems.

48 V. F. Volbach and E. Kuehnelt, Late Antique, Coptic, and Islamic Textiles of Egypt, pl. 27.
49 R. S. Loomis, "The Origin and Date of the Bayeux Embroidery", The Art Bulletin, September, 1923, p. 34.
51 At any rate, a shield of that shape appears already in the Rabanus Maurus MS. in Monte Cassino, illuminated in 1023, followed shortly afterward in the Commentary of Beatus on the Apocalypse executed at the Abbey of St. Sever in Gascony between 1028-1072, and in the Theodore Psalter written in 1066 in Constantinople (Br. Mus. Add. 19352).
CHAPTER V

HUNTING IN THE EAST AND WEST

Since earliest times in prehistoric caves man has represented himself hunting the beast of prey who provided him with his means of sustenance. In civilized times the focus of the representations shifted: hunting became the sport of aristocracy. The monarch was represented in his most ambitious endeavours—in subduing his enemies or extending his sway, and in pitting his strength and skill against the most powerful of the creatures of the wilderness.\(^1\) In the bas-reliefs and orthostats of Oriental palaces were pictured magnificent scenes of the monarch strangling a lion or aiming an arrow from his chariot at close quarters\(^2\) at that most powerful of creatures. And this iconography of the hunt became in post-Christian times a favourite motif in Eastern metal works, textiles and ivories, and in the floor mosaics and sarcophagi of the Mediterranean world.

Man enlisted the dog as a companion in the hunt in the remotest ages. Wolf-like canines (of which the dogs of modern times are descendants) are to be seen hunting with man in cave drawings done some 50,000 years ago. In historic times dogs are represented in the hunting scenes both in Ancient Egypt and in Crete.\(^3\) The Egyptians used both the long lank greyhound and the short-limbed terriers, and occasionally even cats for retrieving.\(^4\) The

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\(^1\) The lion hunt was exclusively reserved among the Romans for the Emperor until the year A.D. 414 (A. J. Butler, Sport in Classic Times, 1930, p. 95, citing Cod. Theodos. XV. ii. 1.). In other words no one but the King could hunt the King of the Beasts.

\(^2\) This is not simply an artistic convention for Xenophon confirms that close shooting with bow and arrow was in general use in big game hunting. (Cyn. IV. 39-56.)

\(^3\) W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, I, Pl. CCLXII; and M. Oulié, Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crète Pré-hellénique, fig. 17, pp. 46-7.

\(^4\) For other breeds of Egyptian dogs, as also for hunting cats, and the chase in general see G. Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, III, 1847, pp. 2-42.
former, which are found also in Libya, are the "sloughi" whom Strabo (xvi. 4, 10) defines as the racing variety. Next there are the dogs popular with the Greeks. They may be described as "the scent-trailing" breed, for, as Xenophon describes them, they scent out the hares (the modern greyhound has no nose for scent and depends on sight), trail them (Oppian stresses that this should be upwind), and tire them out so that they can be caught by nets. This system was prevalent with the Carians and the Cretans who appear to have been unfamiliar with the greyhound. But Plato (Laws. VII.) has no sympathy for any sort of hunting wherein unfair advantage is taken of the prey: he has no use for nets and snares or hunting by night-time and only encourages the personal encounter with horse and hound in the pursuit of wild animals. Later Arrian (A.D.100) adopts a similar attitude and admires the Libyan nomads for hunting in the open without nets, snares or clever devices. He also adds that the Celts of Western France often put aside their nets for the sheer joy of the chase, and goes so far as to say that there is a pleasure in watching the quarry escape, especially if it has made a gallant fight. This love of hunting for its own sake in Greece was long before attested by Xenophon who further encourages it on the grounds that it develops health, courage, alertness and trains men for war. This last point is elaborated by the writer al-Fakhri (1301-02) who says that hunting develops the exercise of troops in the charge, wheel, and the incline, in addition to giving practice in horsemanship and accustoming them to killing and bloodshed.

Among the hunting dogs of the Orient are the great mastiff hounds such as those being led on chase against lions by the servants of Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.). Ctesias claims (Indica I, 5.) that the dogs of India are of great size and even fight with lions. These attacking types were dispersed over a region from the Caucasus through Medea to Tibet, and may have been the sort that Herodotus says (I. 192, 4) the Persian monarch had assigned four villages of Babylonia to rear. The hound which the King of Georgia gave

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5 W. Blane, Cynegatica, 1788, p. 45ff.
7 al Fakhry, tr. C. E. J. Whitting, 1947, p. 50.
8 G. Contenau, Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale, 1931, III, fig. 818.
Alexander and which disdained to fight small game but which readily dispatched a lion and an elephant (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 61) may also have been a mastiff of this type. The Molossian mastiffs of part-Asiatic origin prized by the Romans were probably members of the same breed. But the Romans had other types as well, such as the Pomeranian wolf-dog of the Etruscans, the Melitaen lap-dog referred to by Pliny (III.152), the swift, spotted Vetrugi of the Celts, and the shaggy and ugly Segufii of the Gauls, the latter being actually capable of outrunning and capturing the hare, according to Arrian. The Gauls used hunting dogs in war. These were popular in Britain in the time of Strabo, and we know that Flavianus sent seven Scottish hounds to Rome where they were loosed upon wild beasts in the arena. In ancient Anatolian art at Alaja and Malataya dogs are actually depicted attacking a lion in the course of a hunt, and on a Mycenaean fresco from Tiryns hounds with collars are seen boldly attacking a wild boar.

When dogs first make their debut in Islamic art in the paintings of the Omayyad hunting lodge of Quseir Amra c.715 and in the ninth century frescoes and painted pottery of Samarra, they appear to be a species of greyhound. Subsequently the two main types employed by the Muslims are the *sulūqis*, which seem to have been brought from the Yemen rather than from Egypt (Saluk being a town in the Yemen), and the *braches* or *zaghāri* prevalent in the Byzantine territories. A tenth century Arab Ibn Kushajim lists and describes the points and qualities of Saluqis, and says

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13 A. Musil, *Qusejr Amra*, II, Taf. XXXI. Note the scene of men hunting within a netted game enclosure.
14 E. Herzfeld, *Die Malerien von Samarra*, p. 54, pls. 6, 12-14, 19.
15 Ibn Qutayba says that Saluqi dogs were the offspring of wolves mated with bitches. (*Uyun al-Akhbar*, ed. Bodenheimer, XII, 4.)
that "no animal is so attached to his master" as the hunting dog.\textsuperscript{16} A species of hound is represented for instance in the Islamic casket from San Isadoro of Leon.\textsuperscript{17} In the Stanza of Roger II (d.1154) in Norman Palermo, hounds are represented in the pursuit of deer.\textsuperscript{18} A relief on the South side of St. Mark's in Venice shows the sequel of this scene—the hound has leapt upon its quarry. Such a hound leaping upon the back of a deer is carved among the façade reliefs of S. Zeno at Verona (1138). In close pursuit, blowing his hunting horn rides King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths (Pl. 32). A contemporary capital from Vezelay similarly represents a rider with hunting horn, leading his hound on leash (Pl. 33). This is rather curious as the Church frowned on clerics keeping hawks and hounds, and even on witnessing scenes of the hunt. To this effect it passed a number of edicts such as the Council of Agde in 544, while at the Second Council of Chalons the warning against devoting time to "hounds, hawks and falcons" extended both to clerics and laity.\textsuperscript{19} Nevertheless, Carolingian rulers do not appear to have been daunted by these warnings. Charlemagne had a wood full of savage animals, and is said to have organized his hunts after the model of the Byzantine Emperors.\textsuperscript{20} According to the monk Saint Gall, Charlemagne once invited the Persian ambassadors to a chase of the wild ox, but when the guests saw these terrible animals, they took fright and fled.\textsuperscript{21}

As for the horse, it became of inestimable value in the hunt of later periods. The small Sumerian quadruped drawing the chariot does not appear to be related to the modern horse though this position has been occasionally maintained. According to this view the Mitannian invaders merely reintroduced the horse syste-


\textsuperscript{17} Monneret de Villard, \textit{Monumenti dell'arte Musulmana in Italia}, 1938, Tav. XXXIX ; cf. with hounds on thirteenth century Ayyubid Casket at Victoria and Albert Museum (6974-1860).

\textsuperscript{18} Cott, \textit{Siculo-Arabic Ivories}, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{19} W. Smith and S. Cheetham, \textit{A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities}, 1875, I, p. 800.

\textsuperscript{20} For details see D. de Noirmont, \textit{Histoire de la chasse en France}, 1867, I, pp. 51-2.

matically and in great numbers into the Near East in about the year 2000.\textsuperscript{22} The Semitic name for horse \textit{susa} is apparently derived from the Aryan word \textit{asua}.\textsuperscript{23} Already in the fourteenth century B.C., a Hittite named Kikkuli had written a treatise on horse training.\textsuperscript{24} It may be that it was from the progeny of these horses introduced by the Aryans that the Arabian horse descended. Skeleton remains of horses found in Arabia do not go back earlier than the year 1000, and the tradition that it was King Solomon who presented a horse by the name of \textit{Zadul Rabb} to a Yemenite Ambassador, which became the progenitor of horses in Arabia\textsuperscript{25}, is suggestive if not literally true. But because of the rigours of the desert the horse remained rare in Arabia even up to the advent of Islam, at least, according to ad-Damiri. The Assyrian King Sargon (709-705 B.C.), however, is known to have taken horses among other booty from Arabia suggesting that, if not plentiful, Arabian horses were already prized in other lands.\textsuperscript{26}

If the horse has played a brave and bloody role in war, he has played an even more courageous role in the hunting of lions. So extraordinary in this respect was the horse \textit{Raksh} of the paladin Rustum that he fought off the attack of a lion who would have pounced on his master, asleep beneath the trees. This legend would seem to derive substance from Oppian's remark that the Parthian horse was the only one undaunted by the roar of a lion (\textit{Cyn. I. 300f}). He also admires the unflinching courage of the war horse against "the dense array of armed warriors, the gleaming bronze, the flashing sword." How admirably the Arabian horse would respond to instruction! To train him for the hunt he would be brought within smell and sight of a caged lion, or he would be exposed to an automaton covered with hide which moved and

\textsuperscript{22} M. von Oppenheim, \textit{Tell Halaf}, pp. 155 ff.
\textsuperscript{24} B. Hrozny, in \textit{Archiv Orientalni}, 3, 1931, pp. 431-61.
\textsuperscript{25} L. Mercier, \textit{La Chasse et les Sports chez les Arabes}, 1927, pp. 56-7. For Lion hunt see pp. 20-4.
\textsuperscript{26} R. W. Rogers, \textit{Cuneiform Inscriptions}, p. 316. cf. Moritz, \textit{Arabien}, p. 43 ff. This would dispense with W. Ridgeway's belief (following Strabo) that the Arabs neither bred nor possessed horses until after the beginning of the Christian era. (cf. \textit{The origin and influence of the thoroughbred horse}, 1905, pp. 201 ff.)
roared by manipulation. Fleetness on the part of the horse and rapid dispatching of arrows by the rider turning back in his saddle was one of the means of hunting lion on horseback. The horse would keep the lion at a sufficient distance, as it were, while the hunter would find his mark. The pre-Islamic Persians were adept in this form of aiming arrows while turning round in the saddle. On the rim of an Etruscan bronze vase from Campania c. 500 B.C. a magnificent Scythian horseman is looking back and drawing bow,\textsuperscript{27} and again, a seal dated between 500-400 B.C. in the British Museum (89816) represents a Persian rider galloping at full tilt and unloosing an arrow at a pursuing lion behind him. Such was their skill in archery that Scythians and Parthians were often used as auxiliaries in the Greek and Roman armies;\textsuperscript{28} thus Scythian horsemen from the Caspian steppes were in the army of Antiochus III (Polybius, V. 79.3.). The Parthian terracotta relief in the Berlin Museum,\textsuperscript{29} however, represents an equestrian archer in full gallop aiming his arrow before him—an attitude exactly reminiscent of the seventh century B.C. Assyrian bas-relief of the royal archer in the Louvre,\textsuperscript{30} and of the répousée silver gilt dish of the fifth century A.D.\textsuperscript{31} on which a Sassanian King is scattering a flock of ibexes around him with superb nonchalance. Incidentally in one of his poems Sidonius Apollinaris describes a textile on which was represented the great hunts in the environs of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.\textsuperscript{32} There are many representations in metalwork of Sassanian monarchs riding forward and dispatching arrows, such as Shapur II (310-79) and Khusru I (531-79) at ibexes, and Khusru II (590-628) at boars, stags and ibexes.\textsuperscript{33} But the most redoubtable hunter was Bahram Gur (420-38). He is traditionally described as having snatched his crown from between a pair of ravenous lions whom he then speedily dispatched. On the silver engraved plate at the Hermitage Museum

\textsuperscript{27} From the Temple Colln. in the British Museum.
\textsuperscript{28} cf. Xenophon, \textit{Anabasis}, I, 2, §9; and Livvy, xiii, 35; XXXVII 40, 6.
\textsuperscript{29} Jose Pijoan, \textit{Summa Artis}, II, 1950, fig. 699.
\textsuperscript{30} E. Babelon, \textit{Manuel of Oriental Antiquities}, fig. 113.
\textsuperscript{31} M. S. Dimand, \textit{A Handbook of Muhammedan Art}, 1947, fig. 9.
in Leningrad and on the identical one at the British Museum\textsuperscript{34} in London, Bahram Gur is represented on horseback slaying a lion with a sword in his right hand while holding high the whelp of a lioness in the left.\textsuperscript{35} In Islamic times Bahram Gur continued to be eulogized as a mighty hunter, even as his famed predecessor Nimrod. Since he attains an eminent position in Islamic literature and art, one wonders if the Medieval Christian version of the equestrian attacking a lion with a sword (Pl. 34) on the Monte Vergine throne is not in fact a distant echo of the feat celebrated in the East.

Here we must take care to account for similar processes of thinking. The theme of a hero vanquishing a savage animal has a counterpart in the West. In Roman literature it had become identified with an ethical concept by the early part of the second century, that is to say, the animal stood as the irrational aspect of the soul, and the struggle was thus directed against vice.\textsuperscript{36} But as the lion was recognized as having many fine attributes, the most typical representations of hunting in Roman art has a boar for its victim, and on many a Roman sarcophagus it is Meleager who challenges the boar with Atlanta by his side in the myth of the Calydonian hunt.\textsuperscript{37} In Eastern art, on the other hand, there is no evidence that the deed of heroism is pointing out a moral end. One exception to this may be the representation on a relief from Persepolis\textsuperscript{38} where the Achaemenid king grasps the horns of a leonine monster and thrusts a dagger into its belly. It is, however, a mythical beast having the horn of a bull, head of a lion, neck of a dragon, wings and legs of a griffin and tail of a crustacean, and we suggest that it may well be the figure of Dranga, “the lie,” personified whom Darius claims in his Bisitun Inscription (table 464) was at the back

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., IV, Pls. 231 A and B.
\textsuperscript{35} Incidentally Pliny records that cub-snatching was practised in India when tigers were required to be reared. (Nat. Hist., VIII. 25).
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., I, pp. 238-40. As Homer describes it (\textit{Iliad} bk. 9, pp. 527 ff), Meleager, the hero lately returned from the Argonautic expedition, undertakes to rid his native village of the menace of the boar inflicted upon them as punishment.
\textsuperscript{38} G. Rawlinson, \textit{The Five Great Monarchies}, 1871, III, pp. 334, 355. A similar representation occurs on the Lion Tomb at Xanthos in Lycia c. 600 B.C. now in the British Museum.
of all the revolts he had to subdue. Though the figure may be a prototype of Ahriman he can by no means be identified with him since nothing of the religion of Darius and Xerxes was Zoroastrian at the time.

Such representations were no doubt intended to stress the might and prowess of the king. David is represented in the Old Testament (I Samuel, xvii. 34) as telling Saul that when he kept sheep for his father, he used to catch preying lions by their beard and smite them dead single-handed. This is singularly reminiscent of Enkidu who, in the Gilgamesh Epic, "took his weapon to chase the lions that shepherds might rest at night." David's feat of strength and courage is also paralleled by a relief from the Syro-Hittite art of the eleventh century B.C. at Tell Halaf that represents a man actually strangling a lion. The details of the Achaemenid representation mentioned earlier go back to a Hittite original, for in the relief, now at the Pennsylvania University Museum in Philadelphia, a man described as a legendary hero is sticking a blade into the groins of a lion with one hand while holding on to its head with the other (Pl. 35). The horseman carved on the slab now in the Aversa Cathedral similarly sticks a dagger into the great body of the conventionalized lion poised above him (Fig. 5).

39 The beast is very probably borrowed from the Assyrians for on an Assyrian seal we find him being put to the sword by a man. (E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, I, 1948, fig. 607.)
40 Beneveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 1929, Ch. II.
42 Von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI. B.
43 Pijoan, *op cit.*, fig. 510. cf. an Assyrian relief (*Encyclopedie Photographique de l'Art*, II, pls. 7, 8.) and a neo-Babylonian seal. (D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, 1959, pl. 65.)
44 Earlier still on an Accadian seal a bull man stabs a rampant lion in the groin. (E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, 1948, II, pl. XXIII, no. 144.)
45 W. F. Volbach in *Art Bulletin*, 1942, fig. 2.
Single combats on foot with lions were not unknown in Muslim times, but the hunter would be armed with lance and sword and carry daggers at his belt. The spear would be intended for the throat, the sword for injuring the legs and the dagger for hastening the death throes once it was in agony. On a seal now claimed to date from the middle Assyrian period where the lion hunt on foot with spears is early represented, the naked hunter aiming the blow with a spear is armed with none of the secondary weapons. As against this the man attacking three lions on a Mycenaean dagger is armed with bows and spears. However, Homer’s evidence seems to suggest that lion hunting was not a sport in Greece but a dire necessity, for he refers to lions being driven off when plundering cattle folds. (Iliad, XVIII, 577f.) Almost as an illustration of the Mycenaean dagger Homer describes how on the shield wrought for Achilles by the craftsman god Hephaistos there is depicted a scene of predatory lions attacked from a safe distance by the herdsmen and their dogs. Later at Kuyunjik the Assyrian monarch appears to have trained himself to fight lions on foot with bow and arrow; this is suggested by the lions being let out of cages for the benefit of the king who is guarded by a lance- and shield-bearer. Such caged lions were subsequently sent to Rome to be set free against human protagonists in the amphitheatres. Classical writers furnish some information on the methods employed in caging these wild beasts. Oppian (Cyn. I. p. 276-7) describes a Parthian hunting scene on the Euphrates in which the lion is driven by means of blazing torches, clanging shields and charging horsemen into a crescent-shaped net which is at once closed over it. A Roman mosaic from Hippone in North Africa represents such a scene: a line of kneeling beaters with bucklers and torches form one of the sides of a large approach corridor leading to the trap. Xenophon had described how lions could be trapped in a deep pit surrounded by a fence and with a goat bait on a column situated in the centre of the pit. Oppian adds that once trapped in these pits

46 Zaky M. Hassan, Hunting as Practiced in Arab Countries of the Middle Ages, Cairo, 1937, p. 5. (Pamphlet)
48 J. Aymard, Essai sur les Chasses Romaines, 1951, p. 393, pl. IIIa. For Roman lion hunts in sarcophagi, mosaics and coins see ibid., pls-VIIb, XX, XXVIII, XXIX, XXXIb, XLa,c.
which were dug near the watering places of the lions, the trapped lions could be made to enter cages by means of bait. Aelian (XIII.10) explains how Moors capture leopards with a rank-smelling bait kept in a built hut of stone. On entrance of the beast the door would automatically close. So much for methods of capture.

As for the antiquity of the practice of hunting lions on foot, this is attested by the pre-dynastic monuments in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Indeed there is a certain similarity of treatment between the basalt stele from Warka\(^49\) and the schist palette from Egypt\(^50\) both dating before 3000 B.C. On both, the arrows have flattened rather than pointed ends, and on both the arrows that have found their mark project from the lion's forehead. The theme of the lion hunt disappears for a long interval in both these centres, as though the monarchs who have discovered for the first time the wonderful assets of civilization have no use for pursuing beasts of prey that their forefathers once hunted. When the theme of the monarch hunting is revived it is once again simultaneously in both centres, and again there are striking similarities. The gold plate from Ras Shamra possibly dating between 1450-1365 B.C.,\(^51\) not only resembles a representation of Amenophis II (c. 1435 B.C.)\(^52\) in the fact that both hunters are standing in two wheeled chariots drawing bows while the horses are in full gallop, but in both cases the game consists of bulls and gazelles flying in front in similar fashion. Previously it would seem that the Pharoah had hunted on foot as on a relief from the time of Thothmes III, c.1475 B.C., he is seen discharging arrows through an opening in a net railing which encloses four registers of animals, such as geese, hares, gazelles, and bulls.\(^53\) There are similar representations of the Pharoahs Sahure, Senbi, Ukhote and Jehuti hotep hunting while standing outside the game enclosure.\(^54\) In Mauryan India we are

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\(^{49}\) F. Basmachi in *Sumer*, V, 1949, pp. 87-90.

\(^{50}\) British Museum, No. 20792.


\(^{52}\) W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 1923, Taf. 1, 26a, 185.

\(^{53}\) *Ibid.*, Taf. 53, a,b. cf. Taf. 215. This seems to anticipate the chase of the Persian kings in the Paradeisoi. (But see Heilig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*, 1873, pp. 278-80.)

\(^{54}\) H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement*, 1951, figs. 4, II, 12, 13.
told (Strabo. XV. i. 53-6) the king guarded by armed women would
shoot arrows from a platform at the game in the enclosures marked
off by ropes. It was probably after the victory of Thothmes III
in the battle of Kadesh in Syria (1479 B.C.) that chariots were
employed by the monarch for hunting in Egypt, for the booty
that accrued from this battle included 924 chariots and 2238
horses. At about this time lions too were included among the
prey. In his Armant stele Thothmes III (c.1490-1436 B.C.) is reputed
to have killed seven lions "by shooting in the completion of a
movement," and to make it seem authentic the text goes on to
claim that there is not a word of boast in this. On the lid of a
casket from the Tomb in Thebes, Tutankhamun (1357-49) is so
represented riddling seven lions from his chariot while one only
is making a bid to escape. As a record of fact the scene is described
as wholly mendacious by one writer who recalls that he died while
still a youth, and it may be that the representation had already
become a convention portraying the triumph of the monarch for
the inscription states "...fighting lions, and his victory came
to pass." Amenophis III had already recorded on two issues
of scarabs that he had bagged a hundred and two lions in the
first ten years of his reign, and the stele of the Great Sphinx
at Giza refers to Thothmes IV, c.1408 B.C., hunting in his chariot
in the vicinity. It was customary for the triumphal athletic
feats of the crown prince to take place about the Great Sphinx
during the coronation ceremonies. At any rate it was perhaps
because of the introduction of the chariot which enhanced the
nobility and heroic character of the monarch in his role as a hunter
that led to this type of representation having a long life. At Medini-
et Habu Rameses III (1204-1172) is depicted spearing two lions
above whom the horses of his chariot rear, while the king turns
back prepared to spear another, recalling a remarkably similar

60 N. M. Davies, Ancient Egyptian Painting, 1936, II, Pl. LXXVII,
III, p. 146.
8, 1944, p. 194f.
64 W. Wreszinski, Lowenjagd im alten Agypten, Taf. 14, Abb. 39.
relief from Nimrud. As late as about 500 B.C., a seal represents Darius in his chariot riddling a rearing lion with arrows. A different type on an Assyrian relief represents Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) on foot plunging a sword into the breast of an attacking lion whose head has already been pierced by an arrow, and on the same relief from the Palace at Nineveh he is shown galloping forward and plunging his lance into the very jaws of the beast (Pl. 36). In one of his records he claims to have bagged in the course of his career two hundred and fifty-seven wild animals from the chariot and killed three hundred and seventy with his hunting spear. This number should be compared with the four hundred and fifty lions claimed by Assurnasirpal (883-59 B.C.) and the one hundred and twenty lions which Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1093 B.C.) claims to have slain by his "bold courage and strong attack on foot," and eight hundred lions laid low from his chariot. It appears from the sculptures of Assurbanipal that on the occasions when the lions were released from cages for the royal hunter, the arena would be bounded by a human wall consisting of a double line of soldiers, while the populace would (be invited to) view from trees and from a mound having a "stand." But there must also have been game enclosures, for Xenophon says that what with the chasing, shooting and spearing in the king's game preserves, the stock of animals ran low and more had to be collected for Cyrus. The king preferred to hunt in the open country, and considered it foolish to hunt in the park. "It was no better than hunting creatures tied by a string." The park was small, and the animals seemed thin and maimed—the poor "walled-up creatures." (Cyrop, Bk. I, ch. 4, 5, 11) Nevertheless the idea of the game enclosure persisted and when the army of Julian was invading Babylonia in A.D. 363 it came across "an extensive circular space enclosed with a friezed wall

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62 Ibid., Abb. 54, cf. also the parallels in Abb. 41 and 42.
63 British Museum No. 89132. It was acquired in Egypt. The inscription gives Darius's name in three languages.
65 J. Contenau, Everyday Life in Babyloni and Assyria, 1954, p. III.
66 D. J. Wiseman in Iraq, XIV, 1952, p. 31.
(lorica) containing wild animals reserved for the King’s sport.” (Ammianus Marcellinus XXIV, 5, 2). Alexander killed a lion with a single wound in a Scythian walled park, and spurned the assistance of Lysimachus (who had already bagged one while hunting in Syria). After this the Macedonians voted that Alexander should neither hunt on foot nor be unaccompanied by select officers or friends (Quintus Curtius. VIII, I, 111.) The lion that Alexander slew was afterwards represented in bronze in a hunting scene by Kraterus at Delphi, with Alexander, his hounds and the artist himself running to help (Plutarch, Life of Alexander, XL).

Ethiopians also dared engage the lion in a personal encounter according to Oppian. (Cyn. IV. 147-211.) A company of them with helmets and shields and wearing a sheepskin dress would challenge the lions in their den by cracking whips. Then they would singly assail them with arrows until the beasts knew not which way to turn or vent their wrath. Judging purely from representations, Syrian hunters appear to have been equally intrepid with the lance. On the mosaic of Antioch of post-Christian date the un-armoured hunter on foot lunges his weapon at the breast of a lion, while his dog races by its side.69 It is related that Hadrian “used often to kill a lion with his own hand.”70 A Byzantine ivory diptych of the mid-fifth century from the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, had successive scenes of the lion combat on foot, the attack with spear perhaps beginning at the top and culminating in the fourth panel below in success which is acclaimed by the victor raising his right hand aloft.71 This is, no doubt, a hint that the scenes represent a Venatio in the Hippodrome. On another ivory of A.D. 506, spectators are actually depicted together with the enthroned Consul witnessing scantily clad Venators fighting lions with spears.72 Again on a somewhat earlier ivory diptych the consuls watch from a balustraded tribunal while a Venator spears a stag, and others stand by cage doors opening onto the arena.73 In other instances as on a fifth or sixth century Byzantine

69 Doro Levi, op. cit., pl. LXXVII.
70 Historia Augusta, Hadrian, XXVI, 3.
71 Illustrated London News, August 18, 1958, fig. 20, p. 272.
bronze inlaid with silver and copper there can be no doubt that the scene is actually a hunt, for a man is directing a dog to chase deer, while another of the men is turning back to spear a lion from horseback.\textsuperscript{74} When the theme of the lion hunt is assimilated into Coptic art as in a sixth century tapestry woven panel\textsuperscript{75} there is an added element of realism, as some of the hunters have turned tail and are fleeing before the lion. This realism persists in the Fatimid ivory panel of the tenth or eleventh centuries\textsuperscript{76} in which a lion has grasped with its mouth the spear of a hunter, (Fig. 6) and in the Muslim-style ivory panel at the Ravenna Museum where a lion is represented crouching over a fallen hunter. A Nimrud ivory of the eighth century B.C. similarly represents a lion attacking the throat of a fallen negro,\textsuperscript{77} and a fourth century A.D. Byzantine silk now at the Cathedral of Sens shows a huntsman lying prostrate on his back disarmed of his bow.\textsuperscript{78} In the Medieval bestiary it is stated that lions have sufficient compassion to spare the prostrate.\textsuperscript{79}

Side by side with this tendency to represent the more inglorious aspects of hunting, we have the growth of formal stylization: hunters with lance on horse or on foot are addorsed on either side of a spreading tree in the identical act of spearing or aiming an arrow (Fig. 7).\textsuperscript{80} One such textile now at the Musee du Tissu at Lyons which represents the Byzantine Emperor hunting a lion, may have been among those sent by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{74} Peirce and Tyler, \textit{op. cit.}, I. pl. 67.
  \item \textsuperscript{75} Victoria and Albert Museum, T. II, 1945.
  \item \textsuperscript{76} O. von Falke, in \textit{Pantheon}, IV, 1929, fig. 3, p. 513.
  \item \textsuperscript{77} J. Plenderleith, \textit{The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art}, 1956, cf. scene of lion victim on an Egyptian type silver plate found in an Etruscan tomb. (Perrot and Chipiez, \textit{Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité}, 1885, III, fig. 544.)
  \item \textsuperscript{78} L. Begule, \textit{La Cathédrale de Sens}, 1929, fig. 98.
  \item \textsuperscript{79} T. H. White, \textit{The Book of Beasts}, 1954, p. 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{80} d'Hennezel, \textit{Le Musee historique des Tissus}, 1927, p. 23. cf. Syrian or Egyptian sixth or seventh century silk tunic at the Victoria and Albert Museum (558-1893).
\end{itemize}
to Pepin the Short.81 But the pair of hunters in medallions aiming arrows at lions on another silk from Maastricht are regarded by recent experts as woven under the Omayyads in the early years of the eighth century. This is a reasonable suggestion since the Tang copy in the reign of the Japanese Emperor Shomu (724-48)82 could scarcely have been based on over a century old Sassanian model. The pattern, it is true, is pre-Omayyad for the figure of a horseman turning back in his saddle to despatch an arrow at a lion is found earlier in Sassanian metal-work most conspicuously in the partially gilt silver plate of Shapur II at the Hermitage Museum.83 In the silver-incrusted Islamic metal-work of the twelfth century at the British Museum one of the polyfoil medallions has a horseman turning back, as it were, to deal a blow at the lion that has leapt on his back. In the Sassanian plate the representation may have been purely imaginary, but in the Islamic bowl the

81 O. Von Falke, Kunstgeschichte des Seidenweberei, p. 25, pl. iv a.
82 M. Dieulafoy: Art in Spain and Portugal, 1913, fig. 52; cf. fig. 51.
scene may have been a real one from contemporary life in Syria.

That chivalrous and extremely engaging personality Usamah, who lived between 1095-1188, says he had much experience with lions (as is apparent from his acute observations) and on more than one occasion dispatched a lion with his lance. 84 Not only does he cite examples of the courage of lions but also of their occasional cowardice, and furnishes us with interesting details regarding the practice of hunting in his day. In a bilingual edict in Greek and Aramaic which has recently come to light the Indian King Asoka commands that deliberate harm should come to no living thing, and that “hunters and fishermen shall cease their activities.” 85 But this was prompted by his religious scruples which forbade the slaughtering of living creatures for food. 86 Now Usamah himself is aware of the innate cruelty of hunting but does not consider it immoral. He contends that injustice is characteristic of all souls, and that it is the way of the world that the strong must prey upon the weak. 87 His father, who made such a disciplined and organized sport of hunting, would never embark upon the enterprise before he had said a hundred texts from the Quran and his sons had followed suit. 88 Thereafter, with the dogs, leopards, and falcons, the game would be set upon with little hope of escape; for instance, if the falcons and sakers failed, the cheetah would be set on the hare 89 (a lynx once set on a hare missed its quarry). Usamah makes it clear that it is the female cheetah (fahd) and not the leopard (namir) that can be trained to hunt or become familiar with man. He distinguished the former by its round face and black eyes and the latter by a long face and blue eyes, although it is well known that the cheetah

84 Usamah, an Arab-Syrian Gentleman, tr. by P. K. Hitti, 1929, pp. 134, 136, 139.
85 East and West, IX, nos. 1-2, 1958, p. 6.
86 Asoka at first permitted peacocks and antelopes as articles of food, but in a later ordinance protected, “specified animals and birds in different degrees.” (R. K. Mookerji, Men and Thought in Ancient India, 2nd ed., 1957, p. 123.)
87 Usamah, op. cit, p. 254.
88 Xenophon (op. cit., p. 34) says the hunter should not embark on the chase before vowing a part of the spoils to Apollo and Diana the Huntress.
89 Usamah, op. cit., pp. 230-1.
is lighter bodied with long thin legs, while the leopard is heavier and statelier in bearing.

The cheetah does not have to be trained from birth, but may be trained at any age after being captured in a wild state.90 It takes as much as a year before a cheetah will pursue gazelles for a hunter. The trainer does not run with her lest she drag him down. Usamah’s favourite cheetah was combed by a maid, and slept in the courtyard of his house on a velvet quilt. (Cf. the tame lion of Caracalla (A.D. 211-17) which was his stable companion and slept in his room.)91 Though this cheetah was free to go where she willed in the house and was only tied to a staple by night, she would behave in a perfectly docile manner with the gazelles, rams, goats, and fawns inhabiting the same court.92 Another writer, Hamdallah, however, speaks of the cheetah as a bad tempered animal, very fierce and somnolent, though it is capable of being soothed by sweet sounds and is fond of wine. The reason he gives for the female being swifter than the male is that she is accustomed to hunting for the purpose of feeding her young.93 Cheetahs were eminently suited for hunting as they could be taught not to kill their prey, it being expressly enjoined by the Quran that game killed by animals was prohibited to man. Game caught by the cheetah would still have life left in them and they could then be killed in the right manner by employing a sharp implement to sever the throat. The Arab writer Muhammad al Mankali begins his treatise94 by stressing this point. The best method of training cheetahs, he says, is by keeping them from sleeping and eating until they become accustomed to the human voice, and permit the trainer to handle them. Mankali describes the regions where the different types are found, their physical and athletic characteristics including their colour and shape, and

90 Here, however, we may recall Ibn Qutayba’s advice that the fully grown cheetah caught and trained will be a better hunter than one brought up in captivity since youth. (‘Uyun al-Akhbar, tr. L. Kopf, 1949, p. 59.)
91 Dio, Epitome, LXXVII, 9-10.
92 Ibid., pp. 141, 236-7.
93 The Zoological Section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulub, tr. J. Stephenson, 1928, p. 33.
94 Sid Mohamed el Mangali, Traite de Venerie, tr. by Florion Pharaon, Paris, 1880.
whether they are noted for being patient or swift. Thus he says that despite their normally small size, the Syrian variety are almost taller than the hunter in the saddle when they are seated on the crupper of the horse. He goes on to say that the most prized leopard is that which hunts in concert with a falcon, and that while the leopard is used to prey primarily upon antelopes, it is the sandy-coloured Desert Lynx or Caracal (from the Turkish qara-qolaq), that is used against hares, bustards, wild fowl, francolin (or desert partridges) and sand grouse—particularly in Persia. The latter is successful against birds because, unlike the cheetah who courses, it creeps furtively and then pounces from the considerable distance of 15-30 feet upon the quarry while they have barely taken wing. Such lynxes were sent as presents in 1419 by Shah Rukh, the Timurid Emperor of Eastern Persia, to Dai Ming, the Chinese Emperor.  

The court historian of the Emperor Akbar, Abul Fazl, writing in 1590, does not distinguish between the two animals, but simply says that leopards set out against the direction of the wind and indicate to the hunters the direction of the prey; and that further they conceal themselves either by lying flat, by raising dust, or by jumping from ambush to ambush. We learn from him that a leopard might have the stamina to hunt a dozen deer successively, and that whereas formerly it took 2-3 months to train a leopard, Akbar's system had shortened it to 18 days. This fact does not tally with Usamah's account, though it is curious that, like the former's, Akbar's leopards were pampered by having brocaded table cloths and carpets to sit on while their chains were studded with jewels. Akbar's park was filled with a thousand leopards and they were taken to hunt in litters borne by elephants, camels, horses, and mules, or were even carried by men in doolies.  

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95 W. Jones, Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces, 1793, p. 616.
97 Similarly in Ottoman Turkey, the 800 falconers employed by Mehmed IV (1648-87) covered the heads of their birds with pearl-embroidered hoods. (E. Miller, Beyond the Sublime Porte, 1931, p. 117). Yazid son of Muawiya is said to have put gold embroidered cloths and gold bracelets on his hunting dogs. (al Fakhry, tr. C. E. J. Whitting, 1947, p. 50.)  
98 This scene is represented in a Mughal miniature of c. 1600 at the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.S. 2—1896. 24/117). The cheetah seated on the crupper of a horse is blindfolded. All the others wear collars, but only one is on leash.
writers are in agreement as to the valour of dogs. Usamah recounts the incident of a dog who attacked a lion and Abul Fazal of one who attacked a tiger. The latter describes the extraordinary practice in Mughal India of employing deer to hunt deer. The prey would engage the quarry and succeed in entangling the other with the net hung loosely over its horns. (This recalls the story in the medieval Bestiary of antelopes being caught by hunters when their horns were entangled in bush on the banks of the Euphrates.) These Mughal deer were so well trained that they would come and go of their own accord, and would even take to hunting at night. The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis (1553-6) says that hunting with tame gazelles having a noose over their antlers was in use all over India.

As this method of hunting with deer had no repercussions elsewhere it is of little consequence. Hunting with the cheetah, however, was reintroduced into the West by Frederick II of Sicily, who boasts of his leopards knowing how to ride on the crupper of a horse. A Persian prince is advised in 1082-3 not to hunt with the leopard placed behind on the horse since it is both an undignified practice for royalty and it is "imprudent to keep a wild beast at one's back." Nevertheless we know that Frederick's leopard trainers were Muslims. An ivory box, probably painted early in his reign and now in the collection of Octavio Homberg, (Fig. 8) has the figure of a horseman looking back at the slim,

99 Usamah, op. cit., p. 138. Homer also affirms (Iliad. xi, 136) that in Greece dogs were used against lions.
100 The Ain-i-Akbari, op. cit., p. 290.
101 Ibid., p. 291.
102 A. Vambéry, The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral, 1899, p. 60.
103 Kingston, Frederick II, cited by Yule, Marco Polo, 1903, I, p. 398.
104 R. Levy, A Mirror for Princes, 1951, p. 85.
sinewy figure of a cheetah on the crupper of his horse. In 1235
Frederick sent three of his leopards to King Henry of England
as present.\(^7\) In a Byzantine manuscript there is a representation
of dromedary and elephant at a fountain, and a huntsman with
leopard giving chase to gazelles.\(^8\) So also on a Byzantine carved
bone plaque of the eleventh century at the British Museum (Ivory
Catalogue, 16) representing a stag hunt with hounds, there is a
spotted leopard attacking his quarry. The Byzantine hero Digenes
Akritas (d.788), whose exploits were immortalized in an Epic in
the tenth century, is known to have received twelve each of falcons
and hunting leopards as a wedding present.\(^9\) In Muslim art
there is a fine representation of panther held on leash by a knight
wearing a Mongol type of headdress. The work on which this
occurs, however, is of a comparatively late date (i.e. 1290-1310)\(^10\),
for already 1290 the city of Florence had acquired its first cheetah,
though not without some trepidation.\(^11\) But this by itself does
not negate the Arabian origin of this form of hunting. Arab writers
attribute to Kuleib the honour of having first employed the leop-
ard in the chase.\(^12\) This Kuleib was a Himyart from Southern
Arabia who lived in the fifth century A.D. It is also held that the
first to carry a leopard on the croup of a horse was Yazid, son of
Muawiya the founder of the Omayyad dynasty. After him the
general Abu Muslim in Khorassan and Caliph al Mutasim, the
ninth century Abbasid, were extremely fond of leopards. The
Muslim accounts are undoubtedly apocryphal and the true origin
is to be sought in antiquity. On a painted bas-relief in the temple
built at Bet-al-Wali in Nubia by Rameses II (c.1270), to commemo-
rate his conquest of the country, Nubians are represented bearing
leopard skins as tribute, and also eading tame leopards on leash.
If these were not used for hunting as were cats there is at least
the suggestion that they may have been domesticated. It is claimed

\(^7\) J. Vinycomb, \textit{Fictitious and Symbolic Creatures in Art}, 1906, p. 196.
\(^8\) J. Ebersolt, \textit{La miniature Byzantine}, 1926, pls. XLII and XLIII.
\(^9\) A. Frantz in \textit{Byzantion}, XV, 1940, p. 89.
\(^10\) D. S. Rice, \textit{Le Baptisterie de St. Louis}, 1953, pl. XVII.
\(^12\) Mercier, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 72 ff, citing El Fagihy, \textit{Manahy essurur war-
richad}. Bibl. Nat. 2834, fol. 64. V. Alternatively he suggests the first
may have been Hammam, son of Wabira, the musician.
that both Rameses II and III kept lions as pets as in later times Muslim rulers trained them as companions. Although a tame lion appears beside the chariot of Rameses II and even beside him as he sits enthroned and gives audience, it is not obvious that a pet is intended, for in the inscriptions the Pharaoh is often characterized as “a fierce-eyed lion,” and the representation is therefore likely to be a symbolic attribute only. Rameses II himself is called a “strong-hearted lion,” “like a lion when he has tasted combat,” and again “great in terror, victorious lion.”

The lion fighting a bull is a common theme in art, but on a red jasper vase lid from Amarna (c.1370 B.C.) the lion with a harness probably executed under foreign inspiration might possibly have been trained for the chase, since on a representation at Beni Hassan a lion holds down an ibex while a hunter with bow approaches. An ivory relief of Ionic character from the sixth century B.C. at any rate, represents a hunting scene with man and she-panther as allies. The feline closes its jaws on the belly of a stag while a hunter goes about throttling the victim. Moreover in an Etruscan painting of the early sixth century B.C. a cheetah on leash is represented seated on the crupper of a horse behind his master. Disregarding the Egyptian evidence this would reinforce the view that when Aelian (Nat. Anim., XVII, 26) comments on the employment of lions for the chase of stags, boars and wild asses in the arena, he is in all probability referring to leopards, especially as the beasts are said to have brought their victims back to their master.

Early Muslim writers may have been wrong in their attributions

D. W. Phillips, Ancient Egyptian Animals (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1942).

They are also stated to have kept lions in zoological gardens and organized shows with them in the Roman manner. (M. F. Koprulu in Islam Ansiklopedisi, I, p. 599ff.)


Ibid., III, nos. 465, 479, 489.

H. R. Hall, in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XI, pl. XVII.


A. M. Harmon in the American Journal of Archaeology, XVI, 1912, pp. 4-5.

Martha, L'art Etrusque, p. 422.
as to the originators of certain practices and institutions, but it
must redound to their credit that they were constantly historical
in their attitude even if they were susceptible of believing too
literally the information that was passed down through traditional
channels. If they were too ready to believe it is only because the
writing of history was still in its infancy. At any rate, their naive
insistence on the origin of hunting with a hawk will not stand up to
examination. Mankali says that the first man to be diverted by
the white falcon was Constantine, the King of Amouria. Ad
Damiri adds that gerfalcons were taught to hover over the Emperor
in circles while he mounted his horse, thus shading him from the
sun. Mankali says that Dād, son of Khusr, was the first who
had iron grilles made for holding the falcons, who first fashioned
the perch of the chase with falcons, who chose the glove for carry-
ing them which was an invention of his own, who was the first
to make the falcon return when called, the first who carried the
falcon while mounted on his horse, etc.

To al Hareth (the ruler of a pre-Islamic tribe from Yemen)
he attributes the honour of being the first to hunt with the Saker.Finally, ad Damiri makes Bahram Gur the first one to use a hawk. According to a late Persian treatise on Falconry (1868), the latter was a Tughral hawk, a shortwinged yellow-eyed species—probably the crested Goshawk, which was introduced from China and given as a curiosity to Bahram Gur.

In the light of this it is not a little curious that the earliest recor-
ded instance of hawking goes back to China itself. Gifts consisting
of falcons are mentioned by texts as early as Hia dynasty which
was inaugurated in 2205 B.C. Much later in the reign of the
Emperor Wen Wang (689-675 B.C.) it is known that hawking was
much in vogue in the Province of Hunan. Ctesias (c.420 B.C.)
physician to the Royal Court in Persia whose account is not always
reliable, says the Indians kept eagles, crows, and ravens for hunting

121 Sid Mohamed el Mangali, op. cit., p. 311.
123 Ibid., p. 112.
124 Ibid., II, p. 163.
126 E. A. Harting, Essays on Sport and Natural History, 1883, p. 68,
Citing Akizato Rito, Topographie de la Province Kawatsi, 6 Vols, 1801.
127 Ibid., p. 68, and Schlegel, Traité de Fauconnerie.
haires and foxes. The Hittites with their northern-asianic connections may have introduced it into the Middle East. At any rate in the Hittite relief of about the eleventh century B.C. at Sakje-Geuz an attendant of the king holds a falcon on his right fist (a cuneiform omen tablet speaks of a hunting bird surdu auguring success to the king if in its flight after prey it should swoop across his path), and much later on a Phrygian relief it is clear that horsemen are hunting with the falcon. On a mid-archaic Greek terracotta revetment from Thasos a falcon flies behind the horseman with hounds who are hunting hares. A coin of Alexander the Great (c. 350 B.C.), represents him with a falcon on his fist. The allusions in Greek literature are, however, somewhat indefinite about falconry: Though Homer (Iliad XIV, 63; XV, 257) knew that falcons hunted birds on their own, Sophocles (Antigone : 343) does not list training hawks among his references to the taming and using of wild creatures, and Aristotle's statement (Hist. Anim., lib. I. cap. 36) is not altogether conclusive. He says that when hawks seize birds they drop them among hunters, and also that they appear when called. By the first century A.D. Pliny is more assertive (Hist. Nat., lib. X, cap. 8). According to him in a certain region of Thrace hawks accompany men in hunting and pounce on birds while men beat the woods. Martial (A.D. 80) similarly tells of a hawk trained to serve its master and prey on birds. It is therefore, rather brash of Mankali to deny that falcons were (first) trained in Greece.

It may have been through the Lombards that the French acquired the art of falconry; at any rate it found favour in Gaul in the beginning of the fifth century. It seems fairly safe to claim that it was through France that Britain in turn acquired the art. The Saxon King Ethelbert (748-60) is known to have written to the Arch-

128 A. Reinach in Daremberg and Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquites Grecques et Romaines, 1919, V, p. 693.
129 Garstang, Land of the Hittites, Pl. LXXXI.
132 G. M. A. Richter, Archaic Greek Art, 1949, p. 95, fig. 161.
133 F. Engelmann, Die Rainbregei Europas, p. 545.
135 op. cit., p. 110.
bishop of Mayence for 2 falcons to fly at the crane, and stated in the course of this letter that preying birds of this sort were rare in Kent. Further, Alfred the Great was noted for his abilities in hawking and hunting, and Athelstan too, who procured his hawks from Wales where the sport flourished in the tenth century. A falconer with hawks hunting cranes and ducks is represented on a Saxon Manuscript of the early tenth century. Again, on the Bayeux tapestry King Harold and Count Guy of Ponthieu are represented with Sparrowhawks on wrist. On a relief fragment in Lund Cathedral (c.1130) a horseman carries a falcon behind him. By the early fourteenth century hawking was so much the fashion in England that it was included, for instance, in Queen Mary’s Psalter, as one of the Occupations of the Months. In this representation the falcon was held before the rider, whereas in Islamic examples the bird perches generally behind him.

One of the earliest in the Islamic series is the Moorish ivory casket with domical cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is dated 969-70 and was made for Ziyad ibn Aflah, perfect of police at Cordova. The horseman fills the polyfoil medallion, while his dog comes leaping behind and a hare bounds away in front. A Hispano-Moresque cylindrical ivory box in the Louvre similarly has a mounted falconer within a roundel. Perhaps the next example of it is the eleventh century relief fragment from a marble basin at the Museum Stephane Gsell, where the mounted hunter is followed by a servant on whose extended left arm is a falcon. Another falconer on foot on a Persian silk is claimed to be of the tenth century. On an ivory oliphant at the Victoria and Albert Museum (76882), said to be Oriental of the eleventh or twelfth century, a stag trots unconcernedly in one roundel, a mounted falconer bearing his hawk follows, while a kilted servant with perch stick comes jogging along behind. On a wood carving from the Fatimid Palace in Cairo, the falconer is turning back in his saddle

138 W. Anderson in Art Studies, 1928, p. 70, fig. 72.
139 British Museum, Royal MS, 2B, vii, f. 75 b.
140 J. Beckwith, Caskets from Cordova, 1960, pl. 21.
141 G. Marçais, Le Musee Stephane Gsell, 1950, pl. 5.
in an identical manner, while another scene depicts the falcon attacking the neck of a fleeing hare, who is twisting round to look at his pursuer. On an excavated Fatimid ivory fragment, the falcon is fluttering on the equestrian’s hand. Painted on an ivory box at the Capella Palatina in Palermo is the figure of a falconer holding a dead bird in one hand while releasing a falcon with the other (Fig. 9). This falcon has a cord tied to its legs suggesting that its training is still incomplete. But the boldest, most decorative Fatimid example of the mounted falconer is painted in lustre on a dish made in Cairo in the twelfth century and which is now in the Freer Gallery in Washington. A Kufic benedictory inscription runs round the rim of the plate.

If an Egyptian textile at the Museum in Berlin has been correctly assigned to the sixth-seventh centuries, then the theme of the galloping falconer with a dog racing by his side long antedates the Islamic examples. Further East the mounted falconer is frequently represented among scenes of hunting, as for example, on an inlaid Persian brass vase (c. 1200) and an inlaid North Meso.

144 Aly Bahgat Bey and A. Gabriel, *Fouilles d’al Foustat*, 1921, pl. XXVIII.
147 O. Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, 1913, fig. 18.
potamian brass ewer (1232) both at the British Museum. There is even a Syrian mosque lamp in the same collection (71595) of an indeterminate date between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, on which is painted the figure of a falconer on horseback with a pair of falcons hovering high above him.

It would seem that before falconry became a well-established sport among the Muslims fowling was rather more in vogue. One stock method would be to daze the fowl by means of doped wheat rendering them incapable of flying, but a more ingenious device referred to by Ibn Qutaiba (828-89) would be to enter the stream wearing a pumpkin mask, seize the legs of the unsuspecting bird and drag it under, having first familiarized the quarry with an empty pumpkin idly floating on the water.148 Treatises on falconry such as that of Mankali describe in dreary detail the various operation, concerning the taming, training, feeding, and management of falcons on journeys. But it is to the man of the world, Usamah, that we turn for the humanistic aspects of falconry, which incidentally arise out of his own personal experiences. Wherever he goes he is the guest of kings at hunts, and he records the types of games and prey in the different lands. Thus the Atabeg Zengi, who is one of the best archers himself, employs falcons for water fowls, and mountain shahins for fowls that escape to greater heights.149 Sparrow hawks are set aside for francolins. In Hisn Kayfa sandgrouse, partridges, and francolins are the principal game, though mountain goats are also trapped by nets. In Egypt (1144-54) he sees a crane in the talons of a falcon and advises that the bill of the former be thrust in the ground. Here too, he sees sakers shadowing herons in wide circles at enormous heights. Shahins and Bahri (peregrine hawks) are popular preying birds in this land. He recounts the incident of a hunter hiding a tired partridge from a falcon, of salamander geese who came to each other’s aid and beat off the saker, of bustards who crouch on the ground and squirt excrement in the saker’s eyes. He describes how falcons are trapped with pigeon bait. He speaks with emotion of his father’s falcon who was bathed after the hunt, warmed near the brazier, combed and rubbed with oil, given a fur to sleep on, and

149 Usamah, op. cit., p. 222-3.
brought while asleep near the bed of his father in the harem. This falcon was given a burial with coffin and full procession by the Prince of Hama to whom it was sometimes loaned. Usamah's father went to considerable lengths to acquire his falcons; he sent emissaries to Constantinople with this intent in view; he sent Egyptian stuffs to the Armenians in exchange for falcons, and was on good terms with a Genoese who brought (c.1140) an excellently trained moulted falcon with him. On another occasion also Usamah goes into raptures over a Frankish falcon describing it as "the nimblest and cleverest of all birds of prey."\footnote{150}

The fact was that though the Franks may have had excellently trained birds, they were far behind the Muslims in the science of falconry. It is characteristic that it was a man brought up in close contact with Muslim civilization who at one stroke advanced the science of falconry in the West by the publication of his treatise on that subject. Emperor Frederick II of Sicily (1194-1250) was an excellent falconer himself and a shrewd observer of the habits of birds, and his treatise which was written between 1244-50 was largely based upon his own long experience together with information on zoology culled from the ancients, particularly Aristotle. Nevertheless, he learned much from the Muslims. For one thing, he brought back expert Saracen falconers and hawks from his peaceful Crusade of 1238.\footnote{151} He then edited the book De Scientia Venandi per Aves by the Arab falconer Moamyn in 1240-41.\footnote{152}

It had been translated for him by his Jacobite Christian interpreter Theodore, and was mainly concerned with the treatment of the diseases of birds—a subject on which the Emperor himself had hoped to write in subsequent years. Simultaneously he had translated for him an Arabic version written about 1200 of a Persian book by Yathrib,\footnote{153} which concerned itself mainly on hunting with the sparrow-hawk. In the course of his own treatise he cites Avicenna's Commentary on Aristotle with reference to the eyes of birds, admits that he introduces from Saracenic lands the idea of using hoods instead of the inhuman practice of sealing the eyes

\footnote{150} Ibid., p. 239. See also pp. 225-6; 228-9. 233, 235.


\footnote{152} Ibid., I, part 2, p. 649.

of hawks, and even follows Edrisi’s geographic divisions of the
world into climates. What more suitable a gesture than for him
to dedicate his book to Malik al Kamil the Sultan of Egypt (as is
suggested by the enigmatic initials in the opening phrases of his
book) at whose instigation it was written.

At this stage in the middle of the thirteenth century, the West
had drawn level with the East and was prepared to forge ahead
on its own initiative. In the East reflective experiment gave way
to opulent spectacles on a mammoth scale. When Marco Polo visited
Kublai Khan in 1290 he noted that the Mongol ruler (who inci-
dentally hunted in his park with a leopard behind him on his
horse’s croup) employed ten thousand falconers, and in his annual
hunt set 5,000 dogs to close a circle round the herded prey. Each
day a thousand head of game was supplied in season from October
to the end of March. On the hunt went 500 gerfalcons, not to
mention peregrines, sakers, and goshawks together with preying
cheetahs, lynxes, and even tigers, it is said. An area of land
20 days journey in circuit was preserved for the royal hunt.

This is no proud boast for the Mongols were the most stupendous
butchers in the history of mankind.

xxxix, xlvii, Bk. II. Ch. lxxvii. See also C. H. Haskins, “The Arte Venandi
of the Emperor Frederick II, “ English Historical Review, July 21, 1921,
pp. 334-55.
155 Ibid., p. lxxxiii, and p. iii.
156 Turcoman Mamlukes actually named themselves after these
birds. Thus Karakush meant black eagle, Tughan—falcon, Aksunkur
—Gerfalcon, Ladin—Peregrine hawk. (S. Lane-Poole, Art of the Sara-
cens in Egypt, p. 14 n.) Abdal Rahman I, who inaugurated the Omayyad
 dynasty in Spain, on the other hand, deserved his epithet, “The Falcon
of Quraysh”.
157 H. Howorth, History of the Mongols, 1876, I, p. 263. Yule’s Marco
Polo, I, pp. 353-57.
CHAPTER VI

COMBATS AND TOURNAMENTS

The drama of life is never more keen than when threatened with the encroachment of death, and the play never more alive than when the actors struggle in the grips of mortality itself. And further, the audience thrills at the success of the victor with no remorse for the fallen contestant. If this be true then we can come nearer understanding why men invented games in which death was the reward for the vanquished. The question of inhumanity simply did not arise.

The history of this type of deadly combative sport begins not with man pitted against his fellows, but with beast against beast, as instructed by man. In Middle Kingdom representations in Egypt we see fighting bulls set against each other goaded on by attendants.¹ In an Eighteenth Dynasty painting one bull is seen overthrowing another.² Strabo (507) gives us what might be the context of these scenes, for he says that in Egypt at the shrine of the bull god Apis³ bulls bred for the purpose were pitted against each other—a prize being awarded for the victorious bull. Sport and ritual seem therefore to have been united in the practice. An Umbrian rite described in the tables of Iguvium, refers to heifers being released, hunted, then sacrificed, and an Etruscan Bucccherò jug from Chiusi appears to depict this ritual chase.⁴ Finally there is evidence for the ritual hunt in Assyria. At the conclusion of the marriage of the god Nabu at Calah, he hunted bulls and lions in a park (ambassu).⁵

Of the same order is the ritual battle among men as part of

¹ J. L. Benson in The Aegean and the Near East, ed. S. S. Weinberg 1956, pp. 64-5, fig. 4 on p. 78.
² W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur Altegyptischen Kulturgeschichte, 1923, taf. 15.
³ See E. Otto, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten, 1938, pp. 11-33.
⁴ F. Altheim, A History of Roman Religion, 1938, p. 73.
⁵ S. Smith in Myth, Ritual and Kingship, ed. S. H. Hooke, 1958, p. 43.

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the celebration of festivals. We are aware of three examples in ancient times in honour of the gods Osiris, Yarris, and Ares respectively. At the Festival of Osiris of Abydos the former battles of this god were represented in which his enemies were beaten. A fist fight among priest, was a prelude to the people of the town of Pe fighting with sticks and fists the people of the town of Dep (Buto). Next Herodotus (II. 63.) refers to a battle of blows with wooden clubs as part of a rite connected with the Egyptian temple at Papremis. The combat was between the priests and the votaries of the god Ares. Finally in Hittite festivals a ceremony was enacted at the city of Gursamassa in honour of the god Yarris when men of Hatti with copper weapons fought with men of Masa carrying weapons of reed. The former won and sacrificed a captive to the god. The Babylonian New Year Festival did not seem to have had a ritual wherein the god's combat was mimed, but there was instead a footrace "before Bel and all the cult places," ostensibly symbolizing the victory of Ninurta over Zu.

The next oldest sport comparable to the Egyptian bull contest of which we have any knowledge is cock-fighting, and indeed it is a sport which still prevails in the East. But the cock made its appearance very late in the Middle East. Although a cock is represented on a cylinder seal of Sargon in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C., and a Median district is called "the land of cocks" (mat tarlugalli) by Tidgath-Pileser III (745-72 B.C.), cocks are not even mentioned in the Old Testament. On one Assyrian seal a winged priest stands in an attitude of prayer before a cock on an altar, and this scene, it is suggested, represents consultation by

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10 S. H. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, 1923, p. 47. The text states that Assur is sending a running messenger with news of the capture of Zu. W. von Soden contends that this is an Assyrian attempt to ridicule the Babylonian ritual. (In *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, New ser. 17, 155, 1, 139).
augury of which we have examples among the Romans where cocks were involved. One of the earliest monuments representing cock-fighting as such occurs in the Asiatic territory of the Greek Empire. A frieze of fighting cocks is built into the Acropolis wall at Xanthos in Lycia (Fig. 10). These reliefs, which are now

![Cock Frieze](image_url)

Fig. 10

in the British Museum, date from after the time of the Persian conquest of Xanthos by Harpagos in c. 545 B.C. Certain Persepolitan motifs such as the headdress of the horse are found in these reliefs, and unless some such Eastern connection is supposed it would be difficult to explain how it is that the species of cock represented here is the jungle fowl (gallus gallus) "native to S.E. Asia, and the ancestor of all modern domestic breeds." It is significant in this connection that fighting cocks are engraved both on Greek and on Graeco-Persian gems. A golden cock was carried in the Persian armies and it is related (Aelian, *V.H.* III. 28.) that when Themistocles was leading the Athenian army against the Persians he saw some cocks fighting and stopped to watch them. He then inspired the Athenians by observing: "These animals fight not for the gods of their country, nor the monuments of their

15 *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum*, 1928, I, Pt. I, p. 139.
17 Cocks on early fifth century coins are held to recall the gallus ferrugineus or g. bankiya of N. India. (D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, 1936, p. 36) Cock-fighting is also represented on the coins of the Dardanii, a people of Tros in Asia Minor. (Pegge in *Archaeologica*, III, 1776, p. 135.)
ancestors, not for glory nor for freedom, nor for their children, but
for the sake of victory, and that one may not yield to the other.”
The annual cockfight in Athens was instituted in memory of this
incident, and the cock placed as a symbol of battle on the head of
Athena’s statue in the acropolis at Elis (Pausanias. VI. 26. 23.) again
may have been a souvenir of the same. Aristophanes (c.448-385
B.C.) calls the cock “the Persian bird,” while the Syrians call it
“the Accadian,” suggesting that it was introduced there from
Babylonia.¹⁸ In Iran cocks occur already on a Luristan bronze
where a pair are rising from above the pressed breasts of a fertility
goddess.¹⁹ The kurku bird, which may have been a domestic fowl,
had incidentally been used for festival offerings to the goddess
Bau in the time of Gudea.²⁰ Otherwise, apart from the gems, cocks
are not represented in Persian art until the Sassanian period when
they could possibly signify the cock who, in their mythology,
crows at dawn thereby undoing the work of the dragon who has
toiled all night long in chewing through his chains. Thus, a plumed
cockerel with upswept tail is represented on a Sassanian bronze
vase,²¹ not facing an antagonist but simply a branch like the pal-
mette mediating between cocks on a black figure Greek vase (c.540
B.C.).²² The Cock of the Passion that occurs in certain Romanesque
frescoes²³ is only a reminder of the cock that crowed when Peter
denied knowing Christ (Matt. xxvi, 34, Mark xiv, 30). In a Car-
olingian Bible of 781-83 a cross on the pinnacle of a building stands
between a pair of cocks²⁴ as though signifying peace between
deadly antagonists. Under the influence of Christianity the sport
must have died out in the early Middle Ages, and examples of
cockfights on French Romanesque capitals at Autun and Saulieu

¹⁸ H. Carter, in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1923, IX, p. 3, discus-
ses isolated Egyptian examples of an early date.
¹⁹ Survey of Persian Art, ed. A. U. Pope, I, p. 264, III, pl. 46e.
²⁰ S. Smith in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, 1923, IX, p. 3f. says
that the Syrian word for Cock gallus derives from the Accadian
Tarlugallu.
²¹ Arne, La Suède et l’Orient, p. 159; and Pfister, “Coqs sassanides” in
Revue archéologique, X, 1928, p. 257.
²² A. Lane, Greek Pottery, pl. 57; also Catalogue, Fitzwilliam Museum,
Cambridge.
²³ J. Pijoan, Las Pinturas murales Romaniques de Cataluña, pl. 16.
²⁴ A. Boinet, La Miniature Carolingienne, pl. IV.
are held not to have been copied by the sculptors from life but from Roman sarcophagi, a fact which is certainly true of many other themes borrowed at that period.\textsuperscript{25} In the East cockfighting probably survived among the hill tribes, and we have an authentic notice of the sport in tenth century Iraq.\textsuperscript{26} Moreover, according to one source, cockfighting was a professional sport in India at least as early as the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{27} Archaeology has confirmed this since at Harvan in Kashmir were found moulded tiles dating from c.400-500 A.D. having among them the motif of fighting cocks,\textsuperscript{28} and there is also a representation of fighting cocks in cave XVII at Ajanta.\textsuperscript{29} Ctesias (\textit{Indica}, I,3) says that Indian cocks were of extraordinary size, and Abu Zaid of Siraf in the tenth century says the same of the fighting cocks of Ceylon. These he says are armed with blades of iron and people bet estates and money on them.\textsuperscript{30} Orthodox Muslims forbade ram contests and cock fights, yet Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (d.1329) had to admit that these sports were increasing in his time.\textsuperscript{31} As described by a Muslim writer, the marks of a fighting cock are the redness of its comb, thickness of its neck, narrowness of its eyes, sharpness of its claws and shrillness of its crowing.\textsuperscript{32} A twelfth century lustre-painted ceramic bowl at the Arab Museum in Cairo shows two men about to release game cocks in prelude to a battle just as aboard a boat on a relief from the Temple at Angkor Vat.\textsuperscript{33} On a tenth-twelfth century medieval textile a pair of cocks with scaly upswept tails face each other menacingly,\textsuperscript{34} and in another twelfth century Regensburg example the cocks wear monarchs' crowns.\textsuperscript{35} Curiously enough,

\textsuperscript{25} J. Adhémar, \textit{Influences Antiques dans l'art du Moyen Age Francais}, 1939, p. 162, Pl. IX, no. 27.
\textsuperscript{26} H. F. Ahmedroz, \textit{Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate}, V, p. 329.
\textsuperscript{27} V. Minorski, \textit{Marwazi}, 1942, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{28} R. C. Kak, in \textit{Illustrated London News}, December 12, 1925.
\textsuperscript{29} J. Griffiths, \textit{The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta} 1896-7.
\textsuperscript{30} E. Renaudot, \textit{Ancient Accounts of India and China}, 1733. pp. 84-5, cf. p. 35.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{The Maalim al-Qurba}, ed. R. Levy, 1938, p. 98.
\textsuperscript{32} \textit{The zoological section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulub Hamdullah al-Mustaufi}, ed. J. Stephenson 1928, p. 72.
\textsuperscript{33} B. Groslier, \textit{Angkor, hommes et pierres}, 1956, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{34} F. Fishbach, \textit{Die wichtigsten Webe ornamentie}, I, taf. 14, c.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, IV., taf. 175.
fighting cocks are connected with the throne in ancient Greece. In the Theatre of Dionysius at Athens the arm rest of the priests’ throne of Pentelic marble, is carved in relief with a winged genius setting off a game cock towards its wary opponent. This representation dating only from the fourth century B.C. is a comparatively late example, as the theme already occurs in a metalwork at the National Museum in Athens c.480 B.C., and is encountered frequently in Greek vases.

It is known that both cock fights and quail fights (Aristotle Hist. Anim., IX,9), were popular in Athens where once a year a contest was held at public expense. The birds were set on tables with sharp edges, their legs were armed with brass spurs, they were fed with garlic to excite them to draw blood (Xenophon, Conviv. 4, 9), and while the audience gambled on the winner, the cocks had no other option than to tear each other to shreds. Fine breeds of cocks were prized and the most powerful varieties trained at Tanagra and Rhodes, Melos and Chalcis.

Perhaps because of the close dependence on Greek culture cock-fighting appears among the Etruscans of Italy as early as it does among the Greeks. An Etruscan sarcophagus from the second half of the sixth century B.C., originally from a tomb on the Via Diroccata and now in the Museo Giulio at Rome, represents a man standing between two fighting cocks. The Romans continue to represent the theme on their sarcophagi; for instance, on one from the Villa Doria Panfili at Rome, one of the cocks is bowing before the onslaught of the other. The only difference is that as the representations are associated with funerary objects the human figures are replaced by cupids or winged genii. On a sarcophagus from Ostia (second century A.D.?) cupids are urging on the cocks with trumpets and drums and are, it seems also betting with each other. A winged cupid in a Roman sculpture from Tarsus, now

38 Perrot and Chipiez: Histoire de l’Art dans l’antiquité, IX, fig. 263.
40 Hill in Walter’s Art Gallery Bulletin, 1949, 3. XII.
in the Museum of Classical Antiquities at Istambul (Kat. 554), is holding aloft a bait or challenge while the surly cock of his opponent looks on (Pl. 37). And finally on a funerary bas-relief at the Lateran Museum a cupid leads his cock toward a table laden with crowns and palms while his crestfallen opponent carries his vanquished cock away.

For the Romans who loved great spectacles and found most satisfaction in expressing their pleasure on a gargantuan scale, cock fighting was a mere triviality. For them nothing less sufficed than witnessing the wildest creatures of the wilderness rage and tear at each other until their agonies were at an end. For all their civilized living there was a streak of gross carnality in the Romans. Whereas Frederick II, like an Oriental potentate, paraded his menagerie for the delighted curiosity of the populace, the Romans gathered together wild animals from far and near only to watch them viciously devour each other. In a way, we can understand why this was so. The might of these conquerors came from their being militant, and it was the policy of the Emperors to see to it that in times of peace the populace did not become squeamish at the sight of blood. Nevertheless, the institution of the amphitheatre was one of the most fiendish contrivances of man, albeit the edifice itself was one of his greatest glories. To thrust a victim into a ring virtually defenceless and unarmed and to have him torn limb from limb, while a roar rose from the throats of thousands, was like making method out of madness. And yet that was not all; the doctors came to see the entrails of a torn and living man! Not less pitiable was the lot of the beasts. They were set one upon another, and if they willed it or not they were compelled to vent their savagery goaded on by cracking whips and flaming brands. Now there would be a wild stampede and free for all, now a trial of strength and cunning between two beasts of different kinds, now a dire conflict to death between some well-matched pair of similar breed. These contests of animals, or *Venationes* are first heard of early in the second century B.C. In 189 B.C. the African animals exhibited in the Circus at Rome included lions and tigers (Livy: XXXIX. 22), and shortly afterward in 168 B.C., they comprised 63 African animals, including panthers, elephants and 40 bears

*Garucci, Museo Lateran, pl. XXXV, p. 59.*
ORIENTAL INFLUENCES IN WESTERN ART

(Livy: XLIV. 18). The idea of exhibiting a variety of exotic animals in great numbers comes from Ptolemaic Egypt. As part of a procession at a festival of Dionysus in 278 B.C. Ptolemy II exhibited at Alexandria 24 quadrigas drawn by elephants, others by oryxes, hegoats and antelopes, while among the other animals represented were ostriches, wild asses, spice-laden camels, 2400 hounds (including Indian ones), caged birds (including peacocks), white Indian oxen, a white bear, giraffes and rhinoceros, a python 45 feet long, and numerous leopards, panthers and lynxes. (Athenaeus, V. 198 d.) In the Venationes of 79 B.C. elephants were set upon bulls (Pliny, Nat. Hist., VIII) and in 58 B.C. among the animals exhibited were 5 crocodiles and a hippopotamus from the Nile. (Pliny, Nat. Hist., VIII. 96). At Pompey’s dedication of his theatre in 55 B.C., 17 or 18 elephants; 500-600 lions and 410 other African animals including a lynx and rare species of ape were exhibited and then made to share in their own execution (Cicero: ad. Fam. vii. 1).43 A decade later in 45 B.C., at the games in honour of Caesar’s triumph, the victims included 400 lions and 40 elephants (Pliny, Nat Hist., VIII, 53). It was on this occasion that giraffes were first seen in Italy (Dion Cassius. XLIII, 23). It was Caesar, moreover, who introduced bull fighting from Greece where it had had a limited vogue, particularly in Thessaly. Bulls were pursued by the horsemen, and when exhausted seized by the horns and killed by twisting their necks (Dion Cassius. LXI. 9). That most famous of all amphitheatres the Colosseum in Rome began its career in a blood bath, for in the 100 days festival given by Titus at its dedication in A.D. 80, 5000 wild animals were exhibited on one day and 9000 tame and wild animals were killed altogether, while in Trajan’s triumph in A.D. 107, even this staggering number was exceeded by 2000 (Dion Cassius. LXVIII, 15). At one of Gordian I’s contests were 300 ostriches, and in Gordian III’s secular games of A.D. 248, amongst hyenas, elks, onagers, and rhinoceros, etc. were 60 tame lions and 30 tame leopards (Vopisc. Gordian, 33). Bleached, gilded, or empurpled, the animals were led in procession up to the Capitol as if for sacrifice.44

43 Cicero wrote to a friend that the spectacle of the elephants being slaughtered aroused both pity and a feeling that this beast was somehow allied with man.

44 L. Friedlander, Life and Manners under the Early Empire. II 1908-
COMBATS AND TOURNAMENTS

Just as there were trained men known as bestiarii, who fought professionally against these animals for reward and high honours, there were professional prize-fighters who fought each other to death for the amusement of the blood-hungry populace. Human combats are represented on Etruscan tombs as if some cult of human sacrifice were implied. Roman gladiatorial combats are undoubtedly a substitute and late surviving vestige of this cult, since from the third to the first century B.C. such combats were held solely in connection with public funerals. (cf. Vergil, Aeneid, X, 519) Subsequently they became a purely secular sport, but were none-the-less gory for that. So popular, in fact, were they among the Romans that on the occasion of Trajan's victory over the Dacians as many as 10,000 gladiators were exhibited. The only Roman writer to attack this institution was Seneca (Ep. 7.) who demands of the spectator, "what crime have you committed to make you deserve to see such a sight?" and warns that evil consequences will befall those who provide such evil examples. It was the Christian Emperor Constantine who took the first decisive steps to abolish this barbaric form of entertainment in 325, though it survived several decades longer in the West. In order to distract the populace, Constantine completed the Hippodrome in Constantinople in 330 for the purpose of holding chariot races. However, animal combats must also have been held here, as testified by Benjamin of Tudela (1160-73) who says that here lions, bears, leopards and wild asses were trained to fight each other, and Marvazi (c.1120) independently confirms that in the Hippodrome besides wrestling, footraces and chariot races "they set dogs on foxes, cheetahs on antelopes, lions on bulls, while (the onlookers) feast, drink and dance." On a Byzantine oliphant of the tenth or eleventh century at the British Museum, there are not only hunting scenes from the Hippodrome but boxing, wrestling, and racing with chariots. From the evidence of the French


45 Cf. O. Kiefer, Sexual Life in Ancient Rome, 1934, p. 103f.
46 M. Komroff, Contemporaries of Marco Polo, p. 265.
48 Archaeologia, LXV, 1914, p. 213.
traveller Tavernier we know that in 1677 Shah Suleiman witnes-
sed from the Ali Kapu Gate lions, bulls, bears and tigers in combat-
in the Maidan-i-Shah in Isfahan, and the same eye witness has
left us a detailed account of the elephant fights in Mughal India.49

The Tournament is not much more than a medieval reformed
version of the gladiatorial combat. True, the gladiators were
prisoners, slaves, condemned criminals, or even professional fighters
and the emphasis was on gory deeds, but in the end the spectator
had the same crescendo of excitement in witnessing the drama of
victory and defeat, with death for one combatant and sudden
reprieve for the other, success for the strong and failure for the frail.
But the Tournament is regarded as a purely Western form of
entertainment which flourished side by side with medieval con-
cepts of chivalry. We shall indicate the part played by the East
in the making possible of Jousting in Western Europe.

Orientalists once held that the tradition of knightly chivalry
and also the concept of the Holy War entered the West through
Syrian Islam.50 Specifically this was through the Futuwwa move-
ment which sprang up all over Islamic lands between the twelfth
and thirteenth centuries.51 It was Caliph Nasir (1180-1225) in
Baghdad who revived and reorganized it as an order of chivalry.
But though the movement took shape in the form of voluntary
warrior guilds as early as the ninth century and their way of life
dominated the guilds extensively under the support of the Fatimids
in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,52 the theory of Islamic
influence has been opposed by recent writers.53

There can at any rate be little doubt that the Crusaders were
influenced by the luxury of Saracen arms. Contemporary histori-
rians express their astonishment at the mail coats of iron worn

49 The Persian travels of M. le Tavernier, 1684-88, pp. 89 and 219.
51 "The Futuwwa is a group of young men bound together by an
ethical and religious code of duties and an elaborate ceremonial. They
are under obligation to practice certain virtues and usually to render
military service to the cause of Islam." (Von Hammer, "Sur la chevalerie
des Arabes," Journal Asiatique, 1849, p. 5f. Gordalevski summary in
Rev. des Etudes Islamiques, 1934, pp. 79-80).
52 Massignon in Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, VII, 1932, pp. 214-6.
53 See G. Salinger, in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,
XCIV, 1950, pp. 481-93.
by Saracen horses and the weapons and helmets of gold carried by their Knights.\footnote{A. Marignan, \textit{La Tapisserie Bayeux, Etude archéologique et critique}, 1902, pp. 149-50.} It has rightly been suggested that when the use of stirrups on horses was introduced into Europe, the result was a modification in the manner of the cavalry charge.\footnote{C. H. Becker, \textit{Der Islam}, IV, 1913, p. 311.} Chain mail whose principal advantage is that it allows exceptional freedom of movement, was inherited by the Muslims through Persia,\footnote{Victoria and Albert Museum, \textit{Guide to the Bayeux Tapestry}, 1914, p. 34.} for it was known there in the times of Cyrus the Elder whose cavalry was clad in such mail\footnote{E. R. Bevan, \textit{The House of Seleucus}, 1902, II, p. 288.} (Xenophon, \textit{Cyr.} viii. 8, 22). The Persian general Macistius is stated to have worn a scaly cuirass of gold (plated iron) which resisted the iron swords of the Greeks and made them marvel (Herodotus. ix, 22). The \textit{cataphracti}, or mail-clad cavalry of the Persians, was later esteemed by the Greeks who once had 300 of them in Magnesia, while 5 times that number took part in the Daphni procession in 167 B.C.\footnote{E. W. Frohner, \textit{La Colombe Trajine}, PIs. 55, 62, 91. W. Smith, \textit{A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities}, 1890, I, p. 384.} These may have been armed with cavalry lances known as \textit{xystos} (Polybius. V. 53, 2). Subsequently the \textit{cataphracti}, or, as the Persians called them, the \textit{clibanarii}, were introduced into the Roman army, judging from the mail-clad cavalry represented on Trajan's Column.\footnote{O. M. Dalton, \textit{Byzantine Art and Archaeology}, p. 684.} But it is doubtful whether the making of chain mail was continued very long since it is known that Byzantine soldiers wore scale armour for the most part, though in rare instances chain mail was also used.\footnote{B. Dean, \textit{Catalog of European Arms and Armor}, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin Handbook, 15, p. 21.} And whilst the Norsemen may have discovered the use of chain mail through their extensive wanderings, a further impetus for its use may have been given by the Crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.\footnote{B. Dean, \textit{Catalog of European Arms and Armor}, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin Handbook, 15, p. 21.}
very effective as the force of the impact would only succeed in unhorsing the lancer. This was so because they did not have the benefit of stirrups, which of course also facilitated mounting. It is believed that the advantages of the stirrup were first realized in the fifth century among the nomads of Siberia and the Altai probably under the Yuan-Yuan tribes. The first reference to stirrups in Chinese literature occurs in 477, and since a Byzantine military manual in 580 includes a reference to iron stirrups among its cavalry furnishings patterned after the Avars, it is concluded that stirrups were brought westward by the Avars who were Turkish tribes exiled to South Russia for rebelling against the Yuan-Yuan in the middle of the sixth century.\textsuperscript{62} Northeastern Europe would seem to have received the stirrup through the Vikings, but in Southern Europe, Arabic influence is suggested, particularly as the earliest representations in Western art are in a Spanish manuscript dating from about 840, where the inspiration is undoubtedly of Moorish origin.\textsuperscript{63}

Prior to the use of stirrups the lancers must have had exceptional qualities of balance and control in the saddle, for there can be no denying that jousting was practiced long before then. A pair of knights on horseback with short tunics and conical caps are to be seen jousting with lances in a catacomb (or mortuary chamber)

\textbf{Fig. II}

painting at Kerch (Fig. II), which dates from the first-third


century A.D. Such jousters in full gallop are seen in a fresco of the third century A.D. found in a private house at Dura Europos. Pahlavi inscriptions naming Ormuzd and Ardashir confirm its Sasanian character. The Iranian rock carving dating from A.D. 225-26, of Ardashir I gives the clue as to whether these scenes are in sport or in earnest. It would appear that here the Emperor, his son, and his page are together vanquishing their enemies, and as their armour is marked with coats of arms, the scene may be construed as a symbolical tournament. The horsemen in the relief at Naksh-i-Rustum (A.D. 277-293) are charging each other with levelled lances, one of which has buckled, whereas in the niche at Tak-i-Bostan (c.620) Khusrav II's equestrian figure is frozen in immobility with lance resting on shoulder as though signifying a monarch everlastingly victorious. Is this the figure described in the tale of The Thousand and One Nights as the "motionless rider upon a high pedestal brandishing a mighty iron lance"? In Islamic times in Persia the Buyid members of the royal family continued to battle with long lances. Battling in this manner must have been practiced among the Seljuks as is evident from a carving in the Demotte Collection in New York, and from a Persian inlaid brass vase (c.1200) at the British Museum (Pl. 38). Another metalwork of a slightly later date has two figures with the same pair of feathers in their cap, turning round in their saddle to thrust back at each other as their horses gallop past. Tilting with the lance and tournaments are more than once mentioned in the tales of The Thousand and One Nights, and are also said to have taken place in Mamluke Egypt. For example in 1420 Muayyad went to the race course to see mock combats with the lance.

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64 E. H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks, 1913, p. 319.
66 E. Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, 1941, p. 310, pl. CIX.
67 F. Sarre, Die Kunst des Alten Persien, 1922, taf. 82.
69 cf. Rashid ad Din's Jami at Tawarikh at Edinburgh University Library, Arab and Pers. MS. 20, fols. 110-111, 120.
70 J. Pijoan, Summa Artis, Arte Islamico, fig. 455.
71 Mardrus and Mathers A Thousand and One Nights, II, p. 186.
72 S. Lane-Poole, Medieval Egypt, p. 250.
The tournament known as *jerid* practiced among the Ottomans in 16th century Istambul, in which mounted horsemen threw wooden darts at each other, may have been a last vestige of the older type.\(^7^4\) Since the lance game was only introduced into Egypt on a large scale by Baibars in 1267/8, (and then performed in connection with a religious procession, the Mahmil,\(^7^6\) thereby recalling the ritual combats of ancient Egypt) a possible influence through the Crusaders must not be ruled out. But in Moorish Spain we have much earlier representations of equestrians tilting with lances such as on the Pamplona ivory coffer of 1005, together with other figures including two men on elephants, and a man attacking a lion.\(^7^6\) The other early representation of the lance combat occurs on a stone fountain at the Jativa Museum, which is believed to date from the middle of the eleventh century.\(^7^7\) As on the metalwork mentioned above both combatants are unhelmeted, and here one is holding his lance in a curious way with his right hand on the left side of his body. It would almost appear as if Muslim lancers did not depend upon impact but upon light-footed guile and surprise, and of course, unerring aim. On the painted ceiling of Capella Palatina (c.1140) the addorsed horsemen are again bare-headed, and one is dealing a sword blow which is deftly parried by the other.\(^7^8\) On the portal of S. Zeno at Verona carved by Nicolaus and Wiligelmus in 1139, the horsemen are addorsed in similar fashion, only they are heavily mailed and one has broken his lance on the other’s shield (Pl. 39). The leg of the victor flexed like a ramrod in the stirrup and the lance hugged under the armpit indicate that the tournament had become full-fledged in Europe by this date.

The idea of using the purely secular theme of the joust in a church may have come to Verona from the Cathedral of Modena where, in

\(^7^4\) B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammed the Conqueror*, 1941, pp. 120-2. For engraving of this game in play, see A. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, 1819, no. 24 and pl. 17.


\(^7^8\) G. Migeon, *Manuel d’Art Musulman*, (also Photo. Mas. C.—15169) II, pl. 128.
the archivolt of the Porta della Pescheria (1099-1106) knights are seen carrying lances over their shoulders or tilting with them tacked under their arms.\(^7\)\(^9\) Contemporary with the Verona relief is the frieze at the base of the tympanum in Angoulême Cathedral (c.1140), where one of the two contestants receiving a direct thrust is on the point of toppling over.\(^8\) The falling victim on the painted ceiling of Palazzo Chiaramonte is also receiving a direct thrust with the lance on his throat but the point of the lance is blunted with a pronged knob (Pl. 40).\(^9\) This is a sign of the times. Due to the high mortality, degeneration into tumult, and extravagant displays, the Popes had set their prohibitions on this sport in 1179, 1228, and recurrently thereafter, though to no permanent avail. European monarchs forbade the sport on occasions such as during the course of a war, or limited it to certain cities, or ordered that weapons be blunted or rebated, but the tide of fashion for tournaments was not hereby stemmed. Like the gladiators, the knights sought glory and the favour of women—it would appear, of no high repute—and the monarchs grasped the opportunity of staging splendid displays. Under Edward II c. 1306, and in 1330, the King and his companions rode through the streets of London costumed like the Mongols.\(^8\)\(^2\) In France one suspects the prohibitions had by this time had some dampening effect. This is suggested by the representations on two French ivory caskets at the Liverpool Museum (1300-1350) where the knights are mounted on donkeys and are holding clubbed lances, while the ladies on the balcony are watching almost nonchalantly.

France, of course, was the home of the tournament where the rules were first laid down by Geoffrey de Preully (d. 1066), according to the Chronicle of Tours.\(^8\)\(^3\) It was not introduced into England until the reign of Stephen (1135-54), according to William of Newbury, and was described by Matthew Paris in 1259 as a French fashion. It was again through the French that the Byzantines

\(^7\) R. S. Loomis, “Modena, Bari, and Hades” in Art Bulletin, 1923-4, pp. 71-8, and R. S. and L. H. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, 1938, pp. 32-6, figs. 4-8.

\(^8\) L. Bégule, Les sculpteurs français du XII e. siècles, pl. 9.


\(^8\) J. Evans, English Art, pp. 56-7, pl. 36.A.

became familiar with it and, according to Nicetas, Manuel Comnenus unhorsed 2 French knights with a single thrust of the lance at the joust of the Greeks and Latins held at Antioch. Later in 1326 the tournament was introduced into Constantinople on the occasion of the marriage of Anne of Savoy to the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus. Early chroniclers of the Tournament believe that it originated as a form of military exercise and was devised for the training of young nobles. Joinville says that according to St. Isidore, the Goths held mock combats precisely for this reason, that is, as a training for war. An early form of this training was the quintain which consisted of tilting at a mannequin who was, more often than not, contrived in the shape of a Saracen. If the aim did not strike the figure squarely between the eyes the figure pivoted on its axis and dealt a blow to the rider as he galloped past. A Saracen effigy is still the target to this day at the biennial fiesta held at Arezzo. Long after the chivalrous hero of Islam, Saladin, had passed away, a form of tournament in Europe came to be known as Pas de Saladin, which continued to be indulged in as an interlude at feasts. On the occasion of a feast given by Charles V a shipload of Christian knights was drawn into the banqueting hall, lay seige to and captured a tower representing the Tower of Jerusalem, which was defended by knights playing the parts of Saracens. The Black Prince bequeathed in his will an Arras tapestry on which, we gather, was represented such a Pas de Saladin. In fact Saladin himself is identifiable on some surviving objects depicting this theme.

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84 Ibid., Appendix, p. iv.
85 Ibid., p. 141.
87 Cripps-Day, op. cit., p. 17.
CHAPTER VII

PREDATORS AS EXPRESSIONS OF POWER

The concept of evolution rests on the premise that it is the natural order of affairs for the strong to prevail over the weak. The ancients, who lived in closer touch with nature than we do now, recognized this truth only too well. When they sought to portray the power of their gods, they allied them with the fiercest of the beasts of the wilderness. "Might is right", is one of the oldest assumptions in the history of man, and knowing no other criterion, primitive man imputed the same impulse to the gods that presided over him.

Semi-divine heroes could be portrayed dispatching their enemies, but for the destruction of evil by the gods themselves it was at times considered more noble to convey it by means of allegory wherein the god would take no direct part but would be represented by his emblems. On the 8 foot long greenish copper relief at the British Museum (114308) the emblem of the god Ningirsu, the lion-headed eagle Imdugud, is represented frontally seizing a pair of rigid though naturalistic stags. This relief was once in the temple of the goddess Ninhursaga at al Ubaid, and dates from the early Sumerian period or c.2500 B.C. On the engraved shells from Tello, now at the Louvre, the theme of a lion clawing the neck of a bovine is accompanied by others with a different significance, such as warring asses and a hero grappling with a rampant lion. Another example of our theme occurs on a Babylonian macehead of lime-stone at the British Museum (23287). Carved in low relief on the macehead is a lion-headed spread eagle seizing with its talons the rumps of a pair of lions back to back. But the archaic Babylonian characters inscribed upon it once more record the dedication of a Temple to Ningirsu, this time by Enannadu, King of Lagash. An adorant stands before this bird symbol of Ningirsu, and its name Imdugud, meaning "the thundercloud", seems to be a reflection of the god himself who presides over the natural forces, in particular rain and thunder. Gudea in his dream

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saw Ningirsu with wings like Imdugud.¹ What is at least certain is that the emphasis is on the preying animal and not on the prey, which varies in different instances. For instance while the shell inlaid eagle is once again of the winged victory type on the Sumerian harp from Ur (c.2500 B.C.), the prey being seized by the neck are a pair of rampant goats (Pl. 41). Other panels on this harp represent paired bulls leaning on symbolic trees growing on mountains, a bull man, very likely Enkidu, holding up a pair of panthers by their heels in acrobatic pose, and finally a lion crossed with a rampant bull whose neck the lion seizes with a backward twist of its body.

On one cylinder seal a pair of lions rampant hold upside down a pair of buffaloes just as if they were "Gilgamesh" figures.² On another the hero actually holds the lions by their manes and tails while the lions in turn attack the humped bulls.³ Either he is instigating them to attack or he is expressing his own mastery of the king of the beasts who has to obey his behest. Again on an early Sumerian granite vase a lion rears up and attacks the rump of a bull, and on a steatite bowl a lion and eagle are together attacking a prostrate bull. Here there is possibly an important clue, for crops rise from the back of the triumphant lion. The suggestion is that fertility is the result of victory, and it has been held that the other scenes on the band are connected with rain making ceremonies.⁴

The god Ningirsu was well cast in the role of a lion-headed god conquering the lesser beasts. He was the god of rain, thunder and lightning and he was married to Bān, "giver of green things." Ningirsu quickened the dead and is described as fructifying the earth.⁵ As Gudea says, his wedding was celebrated on New Year's day when he came on a shining chariot from Eridu and was enthroned with his wife. Upon this event taking place new fertility was created for the starting year. Before Ninurta and Marduk successively usurped his role Ningirsu was the hero of the gods,

³ Ibid., no. 154.
⁴ S. Smith in British Museum Quarterly, XI, 1936-7, p. 116ff., pl. XXXI.
⁵ H. Radau, Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times, 1908, pp. 42-4.
and it was he who faced up to the menace of the bird god Zu and rendered it powerless. But whether Ningirsu shared the emblem Imgi or Imdugud with other gods or not this lion-headed bird grasping its prey in its claws would seem to have become a general symbol of conquest or dominion, a counterpart, for example, to the early dynastic Vulture Stele from Lagash recording the victory of Eannatum in which Ningirsu is figured capturing the enemy in his net with the eagle perching above. One writer has surmised that the Ubaid relief of Imgi might be regarded as a sign of the dominance of Lagash over Ur at the time. Images of the sort may have been made even to ensure a victory in the future.

When the predator motif penetrates westwards it is not the preying eagle but the preying lion that becomes acclimatized at first. In ancient Greece, c.1400 B.C., the decoration on a Mycenaean dagger represents a lion seizing the neck of a fleeing gazelle in full gallop. This scene is paralleled by an approximately contemporary gold cup from Ras Shamra with a hunting scene in which a lion having a solar whorl on its shoulder is seen leaping on a gazelle. Also possibly a jasper of the same period from Amarna, now in the British Museum, in which the lion is attacking a bull, may be the symbolical beast of a deity whose victory it expresses. The lion wears a harness, and it has been suggested that it is the beast of the nude goddess Kadesh or Astarte for in Egypt she is depicted in the company of a lion wearing straps. But while in one case the goddess Kadesh, with three serpents in one hand and a lotus in the other, stands on such a harnessed lion with whorl, these markings are not always present on her beast. The Amarna

7 These other gods were the various aspects of Ninurta according to Thureau-Dangin, "L'Aigle Imgi," in Revue d'Assyriologie, XXIV, 1927.
9 cf. Gomez-Moreno, Ars Hispaniae, III, p. 188f.
11 P. Demargne, La Crête Dédalique, 1947, fig. 32, cf. fig. 31.
12 R. D. Barnett, A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories, 1957, p. 73, fig. 27 a,b.
13 J. Leibovitch, in Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, XIX, 1937, fig. 6, pp. 89-90.
jasper may therefore only imply a simile, a view which we can justify by resorting to Egyptian texts. The Pharaoh Kamose who ruled up to 1570 B.C. says that he fell on the Asiatic enemy like a falcon, and that at his victory his soldiers were as lions on their spoils. A writer who shares our view has noted that on the golden funeral boat in the tomb of Kamose a lion is represented in place of the title of the King, and similarly on his successor Amosis' (c.1570-45 B.C.) ceremonial dagger a lion pursuing a bull immediately follows his cartouche. Later on a stela glorifying the victories of Thothmes III his god Ammon says, "I have made them see thy majesty as an avenger rising upon the back of his slain victim. . . . I have made them see thy majesty as a fierce-eyed lion, while thou makest them corpses in their valleys." The figure of the lion on its victim is a popular one in the Eastern Mediterranean after the fifteenth century B.C. We have already referred to the gold bowl from Ugarit on which lions are leaping on bulls and gazelles, while further examples include a late fourteenth century carved plaque from Delos on which lions attack deer and oxen, and on an engraved Mycenaean stone a lion has leapt on the back of the bull and is tearing its withers. In the latter context it has been suggested that the theme stands as a symbol of the victory of Mycenae over Crete, since the bull is an emblem of Crete and the lion of Mycenae, and as a later parallel it is recalled that a bull pouncing on a she wolf was struck on a coin in 88 B.C. to signify the insurrection of Italiotes against Rome. The argument is extended to the legend in which Heracles clad in lion's skin subdues the Cretan bull and drags it to Mycenae. The other beasts that he subdues are further identified with places in the Argive plain over which Mycenae extended her sway. All this is of course a matter for conjecture, and we can only point out that the theory does not find confirmation in Homer; on the contrary, we find that there the simile of the lion predator is applied

17 H. Frankfort, Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, fig. 68.
18 Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique, 71/2, 1946-7, p. 148f.
19 A. W. Persson, Royal Tombs at Dendra, 1931, p. 124.
20 Ibid., p. 127, fig. 85.
21 Ibid., pp. 128-9.
to quite another (Mycenaean) hero, specifically to Odysseus, who after his rout of the suitors was compared to a lion which has destroyed a bull.\textsuperscript{22}

On an Attic vase of the second half of the sixth century B.C. at the Museo Guilio in Rome, it is a spotted leopard leaping on the back of a wild ass who is turning round to view his attacker. But while in this instance it may only have been feline in its role as a hunter implied, this need not be true of a Greek coin of Akragas (c. 412-406 B.C.) where eagles poise over a hare.\textsuperscript{23} This is suggested by the fact that not long before Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) had described in one of his choruses (\textit{Agamemnon} i.114-121) how two eagles appeared before the army tearing a hare and its young—a portent of the Achaean kings Agamemnon and Menelaus destroying the Trojans. Earlier still Homer had described (\textit{Iliad}, viii, 247f.) how an eagle with a fawn in its talons sent by Zeus as a portent had served to renew the hopes and courage of the Achaeans. There is an analogy here with the bird emblem of Ningirsu clutching the prey in its talons ensuring victory to its devotees.

On Roman sarcophagi there is perhaps a revival of this older symbolism, where for example, on a sarcophagus from Via Prenestina (no. 124745) now in the Museum of the Baths of Diocletian at Rome, the narrow ends are carved with lions attacking stags in relief. A similar one at the same Museum dates from the second half of the third century A.D. These certainly antedate the tigress with lively black stripes devouring the neck of a bull in opus sectile mosaic of vari-coloured marbles now in the Museo Capitoline at Rome and originally from the fourth century Basilica of Junius Bassus (Pl. 42).\textsuperscript{24} The lion slaying a bull is a conspicuous theme at Persepolis also (Fig. 12), and has been interpreted, but on no direct evidence, in seasonal terms.\textsuperscript{25} From about the same time in the sixth century B.C., on a step riser of a throne from Cyprus a lion

\textsuperscript{22} \textit{Odyssey}, 4, 335; 22, 402.
\textsuperscript{23} G. Richter, \textit{Animals in Greek Sculpture}, 1930, pl. LIX, figs. 187-8.
\textsuperscript{24} A. Venturi, \textit{Storia dell Arte Italiana}, I, figs. 43, 44.
\textsuperscript{25} i.e. summer overcomes winter and rain, while reliefs of the monarch slaying the lion are held to be symbolic of the similar act of bringing an end to drought caused by the fierce summer sun represented by the lion. (A. U. Pope in \textit{Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists}, ed. Zeki Velidi Togan, 1957, II, p. 63.)
is carved pulling down a bull.\textsuperscript{26} According to another interpretation the lion victorious over the bull represents a solar symbolism relating to the summer solstice, and at any rate the theme is represented on coins of Byblos (c 360 B.C.), of Cyprus, and of fourth century Tarsus in connection with the local Baal.\textsuperscript{27}

It is in the medium of floor mosaic that the theme appears at its best in Syria, as for example, in the mosaics of the baths at Serdjilla dating from A.D. 473.\textsuperscript{28} This example and the Sassanian textile representing a lion with arrow protruding from its back while leaping onto an antelope,\textsuperscript{29} are at once reminiscent of the same theme represented on the grand hunting carpets of Safavid Persia. But before the carpets a long history lies at the back of this theme in other media in Islamic art.

Among the earliest instances of the motif are the floor mosaic at the Omayyad palace of Khirbat al Mafjar (724-43) near Jericho which include the figure of a lion attacking a gazelle.\textsuperscript{30} Contemporary Byzantine slabs (7th-9th century) carved with the predator theme

\textsuperscript{26} Metropolitan Museum of Art, \textit{Handbook of the Cesnola Collection}, no. 1373.
\textsuperscript{28} H. C. Butler, \textit{Architecture and Other Arts}, pp. 290-2.
\textsuperscript{29} F. Fischbach, \textit{Die wichtigsten Web-Ornamente}, I, Taf. 6. The gold and silver beads from Taxila in India representing lions leaping upon stags are said to be of Persian origin, (R.E.M. Wheeler, \textit{Five Thousand Years of Art in Pakistan}, p. 39.).
\textsuperscript{30} Hamilton in \textit{Quarterly of the Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine}, V, 1936, pp. 132-8; and VI, 1937, pp. 157-68.
are all somewhat Oriental in style. The Omayyads in Spain revived the motif in their ivory carvings. The ivory casket at the Louvre, with its Kufic inscription giving the date 968 and naming its patron Almogira, son of Abdal Rahman III and brother of al-Hakam II, has a polyfoil medallion with a pair of lions each pouncing upon the back of an ox. Carved on Almanzor’s fountain in Seville (988) are eagles clawing jackals. On the ivory box of Seifudowllah Abdalmalik, son of Almanzor, (1005) now at the Cathedral of Pamplona, the pair of lions are attacking stags. A number of ivory olifants, either Oriental in provenance or inspired by Oriental prototypes, continue the tradition. One of these is at the St. Raymond Museum in Toulouse (No. 5002). It is stated to be a hispano-moresque work of the eleventh century and was originally in the treasury of the Romanesque Church of St. Sernin. There it was mistaken for being Roland’s horn, which, it was said, the church received as a gift from Charlemagne. The carving is somewhat cruder in execution than the Moorish ivories of the tenth century with which it has marked affinities. Apart from one or two stock motifs such as paired birds drinking at a fount, and a sphinx confronted with a griffin, the figures are largely predatory in character. Among these is an antelope devouring a serpent, a lion seated on its haunches biting the rump of a quadruped, an animal seizing in carnivorous embrace a harpy with a tasselled cap, a lion attacking a camel frontally in similar fashion, an eagle seated on the back of a gazelle whose neck is seized by the predator’s beak, and finally a pair of mastiffs in pursuit of a sphinx. With minor differences an eleventh century olifant from Clartreuse de Portes (Ain) (regarded by some as Byzantine), now in the Cabinet des Médailles et des Antiques at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is virtually a replica (Pl. 43). Notable among the figures of animals are sphinxes with serpentiform tails and peacocks with interlooped necks. Another olifant at the Cathedral of Saragossa bears a remarkable

24 J. Pijoan, Historia General del Arte, VII, fig. 607.
resemblance to these, the principal difference being that zones are not successively demarcated in parallel bands along the horn, but are arranged in a continuous spiral like Trajan's Column in Rome. There is, moreover, the figure of a hero seizing the jaws of a lion while digging his knee into the beast's back—suggesting in this context, as it were, that greater than the strength of beasts is the power of man.

In a Byzantine ivory plaque at the British Museum the interstices between roundels have representations of savagery among animals—in one instance the victim being an antelope. A humpless camel with a lion astraddle its back occurs on the carved architrave of San Michele at Lucca (1143), though here it is the victim who cranes its neck to view his attacker. The camel-victim may have come to Lucca through Sicily, as the boldest and finest use of the theme occurs on the coronation robe or cope of Roger II, now at the Schatzkammer Museum in Vienna. It consists of a red silk damask embroidered with gold threads stitched everywhere with pearls (Pl. 44). The Kufic inscriptive border states that it was made in the royal workshops attached to the Palace at Palermo in 1133-34. This would appear to prove that a silk industry already flourished in the early years of the Norman rule in Sicily and very likely in the Muslim period as well, so that when Roger imported silk weavers to Palermo from Thebes in 1147 he was not starting the industry for the first time as it has been generally held, but was merely augmenting it by the employment of Greeks.

No such continuous development with the eagle as predator is to be met with in art. Few indeed are the surviving examples between the Sumerian age and its revival in the Medieval period. On a Sassanian silver bowl probably of the sixth century A.D., found in Ufa and now in the Hermitage Museum, an eagle with its head in profile with wings frontally portrayed is clutching a deer which is straining to escape. Another example emerged from the soil only

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37 e.g. a bird on a bearded bull. (H. R. Hall and L. Woolley, Al Ubaid, pl. XXXV, 1.)
38 The deer is interpreted as the personification of nature and the eagle that of the sun. (S. Fajans in Ars Orientalis II, 1957, p. 65, fig. 13.)
as late as 1939, as part of the treasure in the Sutton Hoo burial ship in Suffolk, commemorating an Anglo-Saxon king c. A.D. 650-70—a date suggested by numerous Frankish gold coins. The profiled eagle with hooked beak hunched over a bird on the purse lid, is formed in garnet held in place by a gold frame, with limbs rendered in millefiori enamels (Fig. 13). Adjacent is a figure of the lord of the beasts, and the close conjunction of these two motifs once again relates this work to its Sumerian prototype. One of the earliest representations in Islamic art also occurs on a casket—an eleventh century Moorish one of ivory, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. 828). Here the paired eagles on the lid are perched on the backs of grazing gazelles. Another, and yet more vivacious, representation occurs on a Fatimid rock crystal ewer now at the Victoria and Albert Museum (7904). The eagle bending over the headturning goat in full gallop (Pl. 45) already displays the closed composition of later times, as for instance in Ayyubid faience of the thirteenth century at the Arab Museum in Cairo, where in one case the tails and necks of the predator and prey continue the circular tendencies of their bodies. An Islamic brass shield of the fourteenth century (No. 77206), at the Victoria and Albert Museum (once damascened), has roundels with similarly disposed figures of animals—in two instances eagles poised over a duck and a pelican, and in a further two, felines over a deer and a buffalo.

We are, however, concerned with the earliest of these examples which is, as is evident, the Fatimid rock crystal. Since it is undated we should attempt to assign a tentative date for it, for this would throw other objects of a similar nature into perspective. Stylistic analysis has shown that rock crystals hitherto considered to be exclusively Fatimid, had been in production at least a century before their advent, though it was early in their rule (c.970-1000) that the craft came to its full fruition. Of the two crystals that

39 Cleves Stead, *Fantastic Fauna*, 1935, pl. 80-x.

are actually dated, the ewer at the Treasury of St. Mark's, Venice, from the time of al-Aziz (975-96) converted into a receptacle for the Holy Blood, and the harness (?) crescent at Nurnberg, from the reign of al-Zahir (1021-36), incorporated into a monstrance in the late Gothic period, it is the former that is the finer work of art, suggesting a falling off toward the latter period, not long before the craft fell out of favour in the Middle East. The rock crystal with a pair of paroquets that Roger, King of Sicily (d.1154) presented to Thibaut, Count of Champagne in 1139 or 1140, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth, and which was in turn presented to the Abbey Royal of St. Denis, may already have been executed some years earlier. At least, it is known that Oriental rock crystals were in demand in European churches (as containers for the relics of saints) much earlier, and may have been imported through Venice which had trade relations with the Levant since the ninth century. For example it is known that rock crystals were acquired by the treasuries of such Christian churches as the Munster of Essen in 973-82 and again between 1039-56, the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1014, and at San Millan de la Cogolla in 1033. The abundance of rock crystal in the East at this time is suggested by the 90 basins and ewers of pure crystal (not to mention 300 chased and inlaid silver vessels and 30,000 pieces of Sicilian embroidery) left as a legacy by a daughter of the first Fatimid Caliph Muizz, the conqueror of Egypt, before the year 1000. But to return to the motif we are here considering, it is not at all certain that it is the eagle conceived of as the lord of the air that is symbolized in Islamic art; rather, the theme implies the success of the falcon in securing its prey. This is, for instance, suggested by the victim which is a gazelle in the painted ceiling at the Capella Palatina, Palermo, and by the escaping hare with carrot-like ears on the Siculo-Arabic-style ivory casket at Bag-

41 Another at Florence has recently been assigned a date (1000-1008) by identifying the title given in the inscription with a known Fatimid commander. (D. S. Rice in Oriental Art, 1956, II, no. 3, pp. 85-93).
43 A. Michel, Histoire de l'Art, I, p. 884.
45 C. J. Lamm, Mittelalterliche Glaser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten, 1930, pp. 68, 75-6.
46 S. Lane Poole, A History of Egypt, revised ed., 1914, p. 111.
norea\textsuperscript{47}. On the incrustated parapet of the Romanesque church of S. Siriacono, Ancona (late twelfth century) the victim is once again a hare, whilst on the ambon of the church at Moscufo (1159), the victim is a non-descript quadruped. The quadrupeds on a strikingly conceived capital at the Church of St. Eutrope at Saintes, are turning back to nip their feathered attacker.\textsuperscript{48} Finally, a capital at the Romanesque Church of St. Benoit-sur-Loire (second half of the twelfth century)\textsuperscript{49} appears to portray the triumph of the monarch of the air over that of the earth aided by angelic hands (Pl. 46)—the theme in all essentials of the Babylonian macehead mentioned at the outset.

In attempting to explain the display of bestiality in art, Ruskin attributed it to a carnivorous imagination coupled with an Arabian feverishness. This interpretation, subjective as it is, should be weighed against the view presented in our dissertation wherein it is held that the artist sought to interpret the objective world of fact (the law of the jungle, the triumph of the strong), and not his own feverish desires. What, however, may be dismissed out of hand, is that this carnivorous attitude is the characteristic of any one school of art, as, for example, that of the Lombards, as it has been held, wherein: “if the animal is alone he is nipping his own tail or wings, or back or the stem of a vine; if he is in company he is either biting or being bitten, or pursuing or flying.”\textsuperscript{50} Some of these very moods are anticipated in the world of Islam as Ibn Haukal testified in the second half of the tenth century. He saw in a shop at Samarqand such confronted figures carved in cypress wood as horses, oxen, camels, and wild beasts, “as if trying to escape each other’s clutches, or advancing towards its opposite with menacing look.”\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{47} Toesca, \textit{Storia dell’Arte Italiana}, I, fig. 791.

\textsuperscript{48} J. A. Brutails, \textit{Pour comprendre les monuments de la France}, 1922, fig. 151.

\textsuperscript{49} C. Martin, \textit{L’Art Roman en France}, 1910, pl. 6.

\textsuperscript{50} C. A. Cummings, \textit{A History of Architecture in Italy}, 1901, p. 187.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KINSHIP OF HEROES

The Hero in art is but a pale reflection of the hero in mythology. It was enough to represent the hero in his characteristic pose of conquest to recreate in the minds of the viewers the whole saga connected with his name. For this reason the full illustrated histories of the heroes of the ancient East are all but unknown.

When history itself among the scribes and priests was but a bare recital of king lists and dynasties, it may be imagined what a confused and colourless view the commoner had of his nation's past. Instead of history, therefore, he preferred the more dramatic incidents of mythology, but this, of a genre, be it noted, not so far removed from reality as to appear pure legerdemain. The great myths of the past arose out of the minds of men who lived close to the procrustean earth, who felt keenly the questions of life and death and time, and for the first time in the annals of man assayed to fathom the wherewithal of existence. They sought to explain the very genesis of the universe, and they had to posit a chaos and a creator. They had to conceive the creation of man and the problems of good and evil, and their conceptions were so germane that they have lived on to our day in religious belief. They had at once to explain phenomena and to explain man, and not infrequently they explained one in terms of the other and made both projections of their gods. In Mesopotamian belief man was susceptible to evil, though it is not explicitly stated this was because he was fashioned out of the blood of the disobedient demon-god Kingu. And when, as was inevitable, man became proud and assertive (made a loud noise, as the text would have it) the gods chastised him with pestilence and deluge.

After the deluge the world, though not untainted by sin, was never again the same, for out of the waters of the deep came wisdom and the arts of civilized life. Hence the renewal was not of an existence without evil, but of one which made an end of primitive and lawless savagery.

All these events of genesis and its sequel were cast in a mould.
as on a stage, for the mind of early civilized man could not sustain abstractions; it sought concrete expressions of its belief, and all phenomena had to have their personification. Nature was endowed with deified attributes. Thus the pantheon enlarged, and earth, and air, and sky, and the ocean deeps, each had their tutelary deity. And just as the gods waxed and waned from one age to the next, and from one locale to another, the myth of the hero followed also the same pattern. But bearing the full weight of tradition and incorporating the profoundest meanings of life, it outlived the centuries in Epic form that continued to influence the imagination of every culture with which it came in contact. The heroes of one clime were the direct inheritors of traits and deeds of another. If this be proved then we owe to the first hero in history an in-calculable debt.

Like the great god Marduk, Gilgamesh the champion of the ancient East, was a *Masu* or "hero". In this respect he may be linked with the Jewish Prophet Moses, whose Hebrew name *Mosheh* might have derived from the same source, the Sumerian *mas*, meaning leader. Moses, it will be recalled, died on the summit of Mt. Nebo, and Nebo was the son of Marduk, or the patron god of literature, "the creator of the written tablet," at Borsippa. Moses was a *Nebi* or "prophet" of the Israelites. The other derivation of the name Moses, Thothmose, leads to the same result, for Thoth was the Egyptian god of writing. Moses, too, was a scribe of God in the sense that he was believed to have written the Pentateuch. According to *Exodus* II. 10, however, the Egyptian princess had already given him his name as a babe.

It was, of course, quite a different manner in which Moses and Gilgamesh were heroes. The patriarch was the saviour who led the Israelites out of bondage from Egypt, while Gilgamesh was the saviour and conqueror of the city of Erech. Gilgamesh thereafter becomes tyrannical and in answer to the prayer of the inhabitants the hirsute primitive Enkidu is created by the gods as a rival. Now the seduction of this creature by a woman (of the temple, sent by Gilgamesh, the ruler of Erech) his creation from clay and his return to clay at death, and his close touch with animals is distinctly reminiscent of the Biblical Adam (cf. Gen. ii. 20). Indeed

it had once been suggested that the Hebrew form of Eve, i.e. **Khawwa**, is dependent upon **Ukhdat**, the lady with whom Enkidu is closeted for seven days and seven nights, for she is the first woman he has seen. The etymology is now no longer held to be tenable and *U*-hat is now read *sam*-hat. There is also a different emphasis in the two versions, for while Adam is roused to a sense of shame at tasting of the forbidden fruit, Enkidu is awoken to a new sense of dignity. But the result is the same, Enkidu turns to a civilized way of life, just as Adam is forced to leave his primitive habitation, and become the ancestor of civilization on earth. Both, at any rate, became self-conscious and achieve an understanding of sin. Enkidu, lured to Erech by Gilgamesh, sees the latter about to indulge in his nocturnal orgies and intercepts him before the community house and there ensues a contest in which the king of Erech triumphs. But the contest is so even and the powers so well matched that a friendship ensues. Gilgamesh turns a new leaf and the object of the gods has been achieved: the newly civilized man redeems the man who has been corrupted by long exposure to civilization.

Following this precedent, in the Hebrew and Muslim schemes of things (perhaps additionally influenced by the concept of perennial renewal as exemplified in the myth of Tammuz) god-appointed reformers return periodically to cleanse the human race and lead it back to righteousness. When afflicted by the extremities of fate and chance, they “*the People of the Book,*” felt as if divine vengeance were at work, and renounced their shibboleths for the true faith. And even this they did as though conditionally, as if God had first to deliver them from their plight (cf. Samuel, xii. ro.). Thus terror turned them to truth. Yahweh the God of Israel takes a hand in events even as did the gods of Babylon and Greece, and the extreme result of this belief is fatalism, i.e. man is impotent before God’s continuous intervention.

But to return to Gilgamesh, we find that hereafter his adventures resemble those of Odysseus and Hercules. For one thing, Gilga-

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4 Ancient though this theme is it is suggested that Iqbal derived his understanding of the meaning of the Fall of Adam from modern Christian thought. (A. Guillaume, *Islam*, 1954, pp. 158-9).
mesh is known to have been a historical figure—a king of the first dynasty of Uruk, who, according to Sumerian king lists, ruled for 126 years. Hercules too, is believed to have been modelled on a Prince of Thebes in Mycenae, and in any case did not originally commence his career as a god. This is evident from the fact that the names of Greek gods are never derived from each other, whereas that of Hercules stems from Hera, here implying, "the glory of Hera." Like Hercules, Gilgamesh was later deified, for he became the pronouncer of judgment in the underworld. Both were initially only semi-divine: Gilgamesh's father was a high priest and his mother the goddess Ninsun, and Hercules, according to Homer, was a twin son fathered by Zeus, while his mother was a grand-daughter of Perseus. Gilgamesh is often represented on seals beside Enkidu (though they are not definitely identified by captions), and the two are exactly similar in pose and features except that the erstwhile savage has bull's horns and legs. Now though the twin of Hercules was an insignificant man, he himself is represented on some coins as double, which has been interpreted as his mortal and immortal aspects. It is not unlikely that the cylinder seals of Gilgamesh and his double holding in check lions or bulls served as amulets for the protection of their owners, for this certainly must have been the case with the gems and amulets of Hercules strangling a lion. Indeed, at Ephesus the statue of Hercules was called the 'Apotropaion," and it was erected on the spot where the plague bitch had been killed.

The reformed Gilgamesh sets out with his friends to rid mankind of the menace of ogres. While this deed had less resemblance

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7 L. R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults, 1921, pp. 99-101.
See also J. R. Harris, Cult of the Heavenly Twins, 1906.
10 Similarly the Daniel theme transposed into St. Menas become a protective talisman. It was introduced from Syria into Merovingian Gaul through silver chalices, censers, etc. (E. Salin, in Syria, 13, 1942-3, pp. 201-41.)
with those of Hercules, it would seem to recall the cutting off of the Gorgon's head by his kinsman and predecessor, Perseus. The circumstances of the birth of Perseus suggest at any rate, his Oriental origin. Perseus, as it is well known, was as a child shut in a chest and thrown into the sea whence he was rescued by the fisherman Dictys, just as King Sargon of Accad, whose father was unknown, was fished from the basket of reeds in the Euphrates by Akki, the irrigator. But while the monster whose head Gilgamesh cut off may not have resembled a Gorgon, he (Humbaba) had the same paralyzing effect on Enkidu's arm as the Gorgon, and in fact, in the Oriental version it is the monster who becomes petrified when 8 winds are made to converge upon him at the direction of Shamash.

The very next deed that the two heroes perform once again resembles that of a close friend of Hercules, although the circumstance of its origin are his own. Just as Hercules incurred the wrath of Hera because Zeus was his father through a mortal woman (whose love he obviously preferred) so Ishtar is angry that Gilgamesh has spurned her love. The divine bull that Anu sends at the request of Ishtar, though wreaking havoc on scores of inhabitants, is successfully dealt with by the two heroes: Enkidu grasps its tail while Gilgamesh thrusts his sword between its nape and horn. Theseus, the hero of Athens, who expressly set out to emulate Hercules, wrestler of the Bull of Marathon, in turn kills the Minotaur of Crete (aided by Ariadne), and thus brings human sacrifice to an end. If we admit these points of resemblance can we not go further and suggest that the famous representations of the acrobat tumbling over the Minotaur, excavated from the Palace of Minos in Crete, is a mockery of the old practice of sacrifice to the bull, for the sequel of the Oriental episode is precisely this—Enkidu taunts the goddess by hurling at her the severed right thigh of the bull.

12 The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Trustees of the British Museum, III, 4, 7.
13 Gilgamesh's rejection of the advances of the goddess of love, is, of course, also paralleled by Joseph's spurning of the love offered by Potiphar's wife, particularly as both seek vengeance for being jilted. Gilgamesh fears the consequence should he cohabit with a goddess, for the mortal lover who succumbs to a goddess must suffer as did Anchises who was paralyzed by Aphrodite. (H. J. Rose, Hand-Book of Greek Mythology, 1928, pp. 125-6.)
There is, however, a likelihood that the youthful male and female acrobats of Crete are sacrificial victims who are eluding the charge of the bull by tossing themselves over it, as they have no other means of defending themselves, being unarmed. Since it has been demonstrated that the bull "games" took place in the central court of the Minoan Palaces (the cave labyrinth being paralleled by the palace labyrinth), the act had clearly become a spectacle, whether or not the sacrifice is a reminiscence of the sport as it has been maintained, or the exact reverse as we have suggested. There is also the possibility that the Cretan practice is connected in some way with rites of fertility for in India and in Nigeria this is the implication of bull baiting and bull driving. Finally it has been conjectured that the jumping over the sacred bull was a ritual as well as an ordeal, in which there were inevitably many casualties, and the event may have been connected with the initiation of Minos by Zeus, which, according to Plato, took place every ninth year at the cave (as did the sacrifice). There is a strong possibility that the cult was accompanied by games as in the later Greek Olympics, for together with scenes of bull jumping on a rhyton from Hagia Triada there occur scenes of men boxing.

When, according to the legend, the Mycenaean Theseus brought an end to the practice of offering the youth of his land to the Cretan Minotaur, we may assume that there is implied here a general ascendancy of the mainland over the island, which toward the later stages of their existence is known to have been a historical fact. If bull jumping were indeed a national sport accompanied by a royal initiation and a sacrifice of the Mycenaean youth (the impossible feat of jumping over a charging bull is tantamount to suicide), we may be sure the invaders from the mainland put an end to the sport. After this the emphasis changed from the sacrifice of the human victims to the sacrifice of the bull itself, and on a sarcophagus from Hagia Triada in Crete (probably of the early fourteenth century), we see a bull being borne by worshippers for

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15 A. Lang in *Folklore*, XXI, 1910, p. 132f.
sacrifice, the implication would seem to be that the death of the bull releases its power for nature and for man, just as does the grain sprouting from the dying bull of Mithras. The same motive may have underlain the Greek and Roman practices of giving the blood of bulls as a sacrificial offering to the dead. One possible vestige of this different emphasis may have survived in the act of killing the Bull of Marathon at the end of the games, and another in the bringing forth of the sacrificial bulls by prominent youths at the festival of Artemis of Ephesus to which a bull fight served as prelude.

These investigations have not led us near the solution of whether the slaying of the bull by the two Babylonian heroes could have influenced the slaying of the Cretan bull by the two Mycenaean heroes (and here it may be noted that both Theseus and Hercules were involved against the Cretan bull, the latter having captured it), but in our opinion this is not at all improbable. Distinctive as it seems the Cretan bull undoubtedly has Eastern connections. The legend of the love of Pasiphae, wife of Minos, for the bull has been suggested to have an Egyptian origin.

The Eastern connection of the Cretan bull is also suggested by the legend of Europa, for the carrying off of this Phoenician princess, who was walking by the shore, by Zeus in the form of a bull, is strongly reminiscent of the mating of the Phoenician god El, the mighty bull, with Ashera-of-the-Sea. The legend that Minos was mothered by the Phoenician princess Europa, is just one connection between early Crete and the Syrian seaboard.


T. B. L. Webster: From Homer to Mycenaee, 1958, p. 56.

Picard: Ephèse et Claros, p. 344.

Picard: in Revue de Philologie, 1933, p. 344f.

C.F.A. Schaeffer, The cuneiform texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 1939, p. 60-1.

of which the recent discovery of an affinity between the Ugaritic language and "linear A" is the most conspicuous example.\textsuperscript{27}

Returning to the Babylonian Epic we find that by his rash act Enkidu seals his own fate. Gilgamesh too, is stricken with disease and grieves over the loss of his friend. It is, therefore, to cure himself, and to search for the secret of everlasting life, that Gilgamesh sets out on his Odyssey.\textsuperscript{28} Hercules who became in the end the guardian of youth, disease and old age,\textsuperscript{29} himself also undertakes three of his Labours for the very purpose of defeating the powers of death. These deeds include the overwhelming of the triple-bodied monster Geryon in the extreme west, the stealing of the infernal watch-dog from Hades, and most significant of all, the plucking of the golden apples from the dragon-guarded trees on the Atlas mountains at the world's end.\textsuperscript{30} In the course of his journey Gilgamesh passes through a kind of Hades which is described as twelve double hours of darkness through the mountains of Mashu in the West, whose gates are guarded by Scorpion men. Gilgamesh emerges out of the gloom onto a beautiful garden where trees bear jewelled fruits.\textsuperscript{31} Here dwells Siduri,\textsuperscript{32} "the divine barmaid", who, like Circe, deters him from continuing his voyage by warning him of the dangers and by advising him to live a life of pleasure. The real Circe of the Epic was, however, Ishtar, for when Gilgamesh spurned her love he stated that he did not wish to be transformed into a beast, as were her former lovers. Striking correspondences have been noted between the Gilgamesh story


\textsuperscript{28} A. Jeremias, \textit{Isdubar-Nimrod}, p. 32ff.

\textsuperscript{29} J. Harrison, \textit{Themis}, p. 378, fig. 104.


\textsuperscript{31} This tree of cornelian and lapis lazuli is borrowed on the one hand by Philostratus (\textit{Life of Apollonius}, V, 5) who has a tree of gold with emerald fruit, growing near the temple of Herakles at Gades in the extreme West, and on the other hand by Tabari (\textit{Tafsir al Koran}, Cairo, 1901-3, XXVII, 29) who says that the "lotus tree of the utmost limit," is changed by divine order into hyacinth, emerald and the like. (A. J. Wensinck, \textit{Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia}, 1921, Verhand. des Konin. Akad., XXII, p. 19.)

\textsuperscript{32} The Quran (53, 14-15) refers to" the Sidra-Tree which marks the limit in whose proximity is the garden affording refuge."
and Odysseus’s tale of Alkinoos, and the analogy even pertains to descriptive passages. For example, the description of Gilgamesh lamenting Enkidu “like a lioness deprived of her whelps,” is closely paralleled by Achilles lamenting his friend Patroclus, “like a bearded lion whose whelps have been stolen by a hunter.” (Iliad, 18, 316). Another Oriental source may be found for Odysseus’s triumph over his suitors: it is the Hittite story of the King Gurpanzah who recovers his wife from princes and barons at a banquet.

The disease Ishtar inflicted on Gilgamesh may well have shorn him of his strength (though not of his courage) and in this respect, and as a solar hero, he resembles the Hebrew champion Shimshon (variant of Shamash) popularly known as Samson, who was betrayed by Delilah, the Philistine. Just as Circe, the sorceress, enabled Odysseus eventually to leave the island of Aeaea and gave him a favourable wind to enable him to continue his voyage, so Siduri finally presents Gilgamesh to the divine boatman Ur-Shanabi who consents to guide him across the waters where no man sails. And just as Odysseus successfully steered past the treacherous rocks of Scylla and Charybdis, so after a voyage of 45 days Gilgamesh comes to the waters of death where the current runs strongly, and succeeds in poling past the danger point, letting each pole go, so as not to touch the deadly water.

At the end of this journey Gilgamesh encounters his ancestor Ut-Napishtim, the only human being who has attained immortality. This was conferred on him as a reward for being the saviour of the human race. The Story of the Deluge that the latter tells (in order to explain under what circumstances the gods favoured

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33 G. Germain, Genèse de l'Odyssée, pp. 342f, 414f. T. B. L. Webster, From Homer to Mycenae, pp. 834.
35 L. A. Stella, Il Poema di Ulisse, p. 146; Webster, op cit., p. 84.
37 In Muslim legend it is Khidr, who is Alexander’s guide to the Water of Life. (cf. I. Friedländer, Die Chadirlegend und der Alexanderroman, 1913). Moreover, the Syriac prototype of the Arab Legend of Alexander likewise derives some features from that of Gilgamesh, as, for example, Alexander’s looking to the West and finding a mountain named the great Musas, which has long since been identified with the Mashu of the Babylonian hero. (cf. B. Meissner, Alexander und Gilgamos.)
him with this gift), differs so little from the Biblical account that there can be no doubt that the Hebraic scribes were familiar with the old Oriental version. The immortality Ut-Napishtim achieved may be conceived in the sense that the new human race that he founded survived and became the source from which all civilization sprang. At any rate, when the patriarch has finished recounting the Story of the Deluge, he heals Gilgamesh’s disease and succumbs to the repeated entreaties of the hero by telling him of the youth-restoring plant at the bottom of the sea. Gilgamesh succeeds in obtaining the thorny plant (just as in his 12th Labour Hercules descends to Tartarus from where he brings back a branch of the tree of the goddess Leuce)\(^{38}\) but before he returns to Erech a demon in the form of a serpent snatches it away and achieves the gift of longevity itself (by being able to slough off its skin). Thus our hero, like Adam, forfeits the chance of tasting the fruit of the Tree of Life\(^{39}\) (cf. Gen. iii, 22-4) because of a serpent. A final analogy is that the Epic ends with the words with which it begins, as in the Hebrew Psalms and in parts of the Book of Genesis.\(^{40}\) Finally too, we may complete our comparison with Hercules by pointing out that he too failed in his quest for immortality on earth (the centaur’s poison by his own arrow is his undoing), and that his 12 Labours recall the 12 tablets upon which the Epic of Gilgamesh was written, or rather compiled\(^{41}\) though, of course, each exploit is not confined within a single tablet, and in that respect the comparison is with the books of the Homeric Epics which are in number twice twelve, and Vergil’s Epic in which they are precisely twelve.

For a long time the Gilgamesh Epic was known only through its seventh century B.C. Assyrian recension from Assurbanipal’s Library, but this has since been supplemented by the finding of the Nippur tablets of c.2000 B.C., and those from the Hittite Hattusas (Bogazkoy) of c.1500 B.C. These indicate not only the wide-
spread popularity of tales and their durability in time, but also that it was probably from the last-named source from which their effect was disseminated westward. It is only if we presuppose the prototype of an older Hercules in the East, can we satisfactorily explain how it was that the cult of Hercules as a god later achieved such pre-eminence in Parthian Hatra, as the most recent excavations have shown.

This influence can similarly be traced in art throughout the ages. A South Babylonian steatite bowl carved C. 2300 B.C., now in the British Museum, represents a person holding at bay a pair of open mouthed serpents (Pl. 47). The fact that this is no hero but a divinity is suggested by the paired felines with saluting tails on whose rumps the figure stands, as if they are her vehicles. Is this Innina or Ishtar, the goddess of the earth, not in her role as mother but as protector? The symbol of the six-pointed star (Venus) towards which she turns her head seems to imply as much. Perhaps too, she is the Ama-usumgal-anna, "the great mother-serpent of heaven," described in the texts. If this be so then is she the same person as the maiolica statuette from Knossos in Crete who likewise holds a pair of serpents at arms length (Pl. 48)? This Minoan Snake Goddess was held to be the Lady of the Underworld, but others have argued that in such a role she would not have been venerated, as in fact she was, as a special domestic goddess, and that there are indications that she was the prototype of Athena. The name Potnia, Our Lady or The Mistress, to whom offerings are made on Linear B tablets, is actually coupled with a-ta-na or Athena on a tablet from Knossos.

Athena, it seems to us, has some close affinities with the Anat of Ugarit, apart from the fact that the name of the Greek goddess written in reverse is virtually the same as her Syrian counterpart. Anat, besides being the goddess of love and fertility, is the goddess of war. She is the one who really accomplishes the victory of

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42 S. Langdon, Tammus and Ishtar, pp. 114ff.
46 J. Obermann, Ugaritic Mythology, 1948, pp. 11, 21f, 37f, 67f, 80f.
Baal and is depicted as "mowing down with her might the dwellers in the cities," and striking down the peoples of the sea coasts. Her feats were recited in the Celebrations of the New Year Festival, just as in Republican Athens in the Festival of Pan Athenaeae the Annual dress or Peplus presented to Athena had represented on it her victory over Enkeladus and the Giants.\textsuperscript{47} We shall note in the succeeding chapter how Anat threshed, winnowed and ground the dragon, but here we will only compare the Phoenician Cadmos of Greek myth who performed the similar act of sowing the dragon's teeth, and what is perhaps significant is that in some accounts it was Athena herself who sowed the teeth once Cadmos slew the monster (Paus. ix. 10 § 1). On cylinder seals the Babylonian goddess Innina is shown assisting at the slaying of the demon god Kingu.\textsuperscript{48} Both Innina and Athena gave their name to capital cities, the former to Ninua or Nineveh, and the latter to Athens. Another resemblance is that just as Innina's name was interchangeable with that of the snake,\textsuperscript{49} so too Athena was associated with serpents, for Herodotus tells how the "houseprotecting snake," which lived in Athena's temple left the Acropolis at the approach of the Persians. Moreover, under the shield of Phidias' statue of Athena was wreathed a great snake.\textsuperscript{50} The nude goddess standing on a lion with two serpents stemming from behind her thighs, which is represented in Ugarit in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries B.C.,\textsuperscript{51} may well be Anat who was the ascendant goddess at the time. The serpents would seem to represent fertility, for the Midrash Rabba (Genesis, § 20) has it that the serpent was an emblem of sexual passion. In Ugarit, however, it was Ashera who was the great fecund goddess as described in the texts, and originally perhaps the stone phalli and plaques representing the nude goddess found at Ugarit\textsuperscript{52} were dedicated to her. Be this as it may, it was not Ashera but the powerful Anat whose influence carried beyond the confines of Syria. In Egypt the goddess is again represented standing on a

\textsuperscript{47} Daremberg et Saglio, \textit{Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines}, IV, pp. 305-6.


\textsuperscript{49} A. H. Sayce, \textit{The Religion of the Babylonians}, 1887, pp. 134, 139, 284.


\textsuperscript{51} C. F. A. Schaeffer, \textit{The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit}, 1939, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 47.
lion and holding at bay a pair of serpents (Fig. 14). And though on a stele of the New Kingdom she is called Kadesh, we may not be wrong in recognizing in her a reference to Anat, not only because she is conceived warlike holding a bow or spear, but because the cult of Anat had already reached Egypt where a Hyksos name combined Anat with El, and later one of the daughters of Rameses II was named after her, Bentanath. In considering any possible connection between Anat and Athene we may bear in mind that the cult of Anat was so potent that Anat became the Anahita of Persia, and Herodotus expressly states (I, 131) that the Magi borrowed the worship of their celestial Aphrodite from the Assyrians. According to Tacitus (Annals iii, 62) Cyrus founded a temple to Anahita at Hierocasarea. Darius, however, proclaims in his Bisitun inscription that it was Ahuramazda who gave him Kingship, and it was not until Artaxerxes Mnemon that Anahita once again came to the fore, being coupled in the inscription at Susa with Ahuramazda and Mithra.

— Rameses II had fought the battle of Kadesh (on the Orontes) against the Hittite Muwattalitis in 1296 B.C. On one Egyptian stele the goddess on the lion holding a lotus and a serpent is not only given the name Qudshu or Kadesh, but Astarte and Anath as well, revealing her composite nature, (I. E. S. Edwards in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, XIV, p. 50.)
— L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great, 1907.
Returning to the theme of the goddess with serpents we may observe that not only is she connected with the fertility of the earth, but in Mesopotamia she is conceived as the deity of the underworld. On a bronze plaque representing a stricken man lying on a bed ministered by priests of the fish god, there is a lower regis-

![Fig. 15](image)

Fig. 15

ter with a demon deity named Lamashtu whose underworld connection is proven by a lion-head and eagle's feet as a reverse mani-

festation of the griffin (Fig. 15). She has a double vehicle of ass and boat, provided for her on the plaque, specifically so as to enable her to return by land and by water (the Habur river) to her abode in the underworld. The pair of scavengers (pig and hound) attacking her breast are ostensibly sapping her strength and making it impossible for her to carry out her intentions of dealing death to the afflicted patient.

Still continuing with the theme of the paired serpents of a deity we may recall that in Greek mythology it was Hera who flew into a

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68 De Clercq Collection. Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, 1931, fig. 44.
69 Recently this lion-headed monster has been identified as Ahriman, the evil principle of the Zoroastrians whose statue is represented in the Roman Mithraea as a form of Zurvan. (J. Duchesne-Guillemin in *Numen*, II, 3, 1955, pp. 190-5).
rage on the birth of Hercules (because it was at the instrumentality of her consort Zeus), and sent a pair of serpents as a visitation on the child (Pindar, *Nemeans*, I, 33f.). This would argue in favour of the identification of the Cretan snake goddess as Hera who, as we have seen, has the two snakes at her command. So long as Cretan inscriptions do not yield any mythological results we cannot now decide whether the Cretan goddess is the prototype of Athena or Hera. At any rate, there are numerous representations of the child Hercules struggling with the serpents of Hera,\(^61\) including for example a marble sculpture at the Museo Capitolino at Rome, a painting from Pompeii, and a mosaic pavement from Antioch.\(^61a\) (Pl 49).

The triumph of a precocious child over beasts has distant parallels. There is thus Rustum, the hero of the *Shahnama*, who as a youth slew a mad raging elephant, while David as a boy killed a lion, and Horus, the symbol of the Nile, threw back the crocodile. Is it this latter myth that is implied in the naked boy who is holding at arms length a pair of winged crocodiles with interlaced tails on a capital at the Civic Museum of Pavia?\(^62\) If the answer is in the affirmative then it must be admitted that its original meaning has been forgotten, for a similar representation is to be found on the façade above the right doorway of San Michele at Pavia.\(^63\) Whether the Medieval Christian renditions are corruptions of the Egyptian or of the classical versions is not always readily apparent. While on a bas-relief from Tournus the captive monsters are distinctly serpents,\(^64\) on a Modena relief they appear to be a pair of cockatoo tails held by a mermaid, while at Aulnay they are basilisks, and at Saintes they are only a pair of pheasants.\(^65\) In the case of Moissac it would be difficult to deny that the hero of classical antiquity has found his way into Church art, for the figure on the abacus of

\(^{61}\) According to Plutarch (*Cleom*. 39) the ancients believed that the snake was associated with the heroes more intimately than any other animal.


\(^{62}\) Venturi, *Storia del 'Arte Italiana*, III, fig. 192.

\(^{63}\) Cummings, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

\(^{64}\) J. Balthrusaitis, *La Stylistique ornamentale dans la sculpture Romane*, fig. 260.

\(^{65}\) *Ibid.*, figs. 261, 267, 270, 277, 281, 285. (Crocodiles are once again evident at St. Sernin, Toulouse.)
Plate 1. Intarsia coffer in Palermo, Sicily

Plate 2. Façade of San Michele at Lucca, Italy
Plate 3. Mosaic in the Palace Chapel at Palermo

Plate 4. Cosmati work on pulpit at Salerno Cathedral

Plate 5. Crest motif in mosaic, Salerno Cathedral

Plate 6. Mosaic column at Salerno Cathedral
Plate 7. Polychrome inlaid façade of Le Puy Cathedral, France

Plate 8. Inlaid medallions and diapers at Le Puy

Plate 9. Inlaid panel in brick wall of house at Pompeii (See p. 62, n. 74)
Plate 11. Façade of Palace of Tekfur Serail, Constantinople.

Plate 10. Façade of Great Mosque of Cordova, Spain.
Plate 12. Façade of the Cathedral of Amalfi

Plate 13. Lantern of the Cathedral of Caserta Vecchia.
Plate 14. Brick mosaic in the Court of Pilate, Bologna

Plate 15. Bronze door in Bohemund's Tomb, Canosa

Plate 16. Pseudo-Kufic roundel in same door at Canosa
Plate 17. Tread in the altar at San Nicola, Bari

Plate 18. Silver-plated chest in Oviedo Cathedral
Plate 19. Limoges enamel at the Monastery of Silos

Plate 20. Archivolt from a house in Bourges now in Lyons
Plate 21. Bacini in the Campanile at Pomposa

Plate 22. Bacini in a pulpit at Ravello

Plate 23. Cupola in a Mudejar Convent at Toledo
PLATE 24. Lid of an English Gothic coffer

PLATE 25. Painting by Andrea Mantegna, Verona
Plate 26. St. Catherine wearing Moorish robes (Prado Museum, Madrid)
PLATE 27. Islamic oliphant of ivory in London

PLATE 28. Coptic tapestry medallion in London

PLATE 29. Carved column in the cloister of Monreale Cathedral
Plate 31. Stucco revetment in soffit of cloister vault in the Monastery at Burgos

Plate 30. Jamb sculpture at San Michele, Pavia
Plate 32. King Theodoric with hunting horn, San Zeno, Verona

Plate 33. Hunting with hound on a capital at Vezelay

Plate 34. Carving on side of wooden throne at Monte Vergine
Plate 35. Hittite relief with man stabbing lion in groin

Plate 36. Assurbanipal lancing lion on a relief from Nineveh

Plate 37. Cock fighting from Roman Tarsus
Plate 38. Seljuks battling with lance on a Persian inlaid brass vase

Plate 39. Jousting at entrance of Romanesque church in Verona

Plate 40. Painting of a joust from a palace in Palermo
Plate 43. Medieval ivory oliphant with → beasts and predators

Plate 41. Sumerian ← shell inlays of predators and power symbols

Plate 42. Roman marble mosaic of predatory tiger
Plate 44. Silk coronation cope of Roger II from Palermo

Plate 45. Fatimid rock crystal with eagle seizing prey

Plate 46. Victory of good over evil portrayed in church art.
PLATE 47. Goddess with serpents on Sumerian steatite vase

PLATE 49. The child Hercules struggling with the serpents of Hera

PLATE 50. The hero theme on an abacus at Moissac

PLATE 48. Faience statuette of Minoan snake goddess
PLATE 51. Genii leading lions on base of statue of Aramaean king

PLATE 52. Seal impression with the two Sumerian masters of beasts

PLATE 53. Base of pillar with Samson at Santiago in Spain

PLATE 54. Arab grasping beasts on a Spanish textile
Plate 55. Daniel in the lion's den at Moissac

Plate 56. Daniel on a capital at Ripoll

Plate 57. Beasts attacking man on an Etruscan sarcophagus

Plate 58. Roman sculpture of Mithras slaying bull
Plate 59. Figure grappling lion on Alexandrian silk

Plate 61. Capital at St. Pierre, Moissac

Plate 60. David grasping jaws of lion at S. Isidoro, Leon
Plate 62. Archangel Michael on summit of church at Lucca

Plate 63. St. George on a medieval gate in Florence

Plate 64. Dog bird on Persian textile
Plate 65. Mosan ewer of the 13th century

Plate 66. Oceanus surrounded by Roman sea beasts

Plate 67. Sea monster on marble slab at Positano
Plate 68. Jonah swallowed by a sea creature on pulpit at Ravello

Plate 69. Harpies on Seljuk tomb in Turkey

Plate 70. Etruscan harpy as terracotta antefix
Plate 71. The sun god rising from the earth on Sumerian seal

Plate 72. Winged horses flanking tree on Persian satin

Plate 73. Aphrodite borne aloft by bird
Plate 74. Ganymede with Zeus as an eagle

Plate 76. Alexander's ascent on a Limoges enamel (at V. & A.)

Plate 75. Double-headed eagle bearing up a Persian king
Plate 77. Female sphinx guarding tomb at Xanthos

Plate 78. Sphinxes in a French Romanesque church

Plate 79. Female sphinxes in Islamic art (Louvre)
Plate 80. Islamic textile with compound creatures

Plate 81. Griffins flanking vase with vines

Plate 82. Moorish casket with griffins flanking tree
Plate 83. Griffins in a vine arbour at Florence

Plate 84. Griffins in pierced roundel at Pompousa

Plate 85. Sicilian silk with rampant griffins

Plate 86. Griffins in roundels on pavement in Florence
Plate 87. Pier at Moissac with stacked beasts

Plate 88. Crossed lions serving as column supports at Isfahan

Plate 89. Stacked beasts under the feet of Horus
Plate 90. Supporting griffin with wheel at Verona

Plate 91. Sphinx column base in an Aramaean palace

Plate 92. Lion as column base in Asia Minor
Plate 93. Gods on beasts at the entrance to a Syrian palace

Plate 94. Lions as column bases in Romanesque Italy

Plate 95. Lions flanking tree in a Seljuk school

Plate 96. Lions flanking door at Salerno Cathedral
Plate 97. Lions guarding Bishop's throne at Anagni

Plate 98. Ningirsu guarded by lions at Lagash
Plate 99. Lions on Leash on throne at Monte Vergine

Plate 100. Chained watch dogs in house at Pompeii
Plate 101. Paired lions on amphora at Florence

Plate 102. Moorish ivory casket in London

Plate 103. Orientalized lions on a 12th century textile
Plate 104. Italian painted plate of the 3rd century B.C.

Plate 105. Confronted elephants in a French Romanesque church

Plate 106. Confronted elephants on a 10th century Persian textile
Plate 107. Moorish ivory with owner enthroned on elephant

Plate 108. Exotic motifs on South Italian wood carving

Plate 109. Fertility females at the Barhut stupa
Plate 110. Prancing dwarfs at the Amaravati stupa

Plate 111. Marriage of the gods in Hittite Anatolia

Plate 112. Sennacherib enthroned with human supporters
Plate 113. Atlantes at Aulnay

Plate 114. Atlantes seated oriental fashion at Verona

Plate 115. Slaves bearing Bishop's throne at Bari
Plate 116. Corinthian jug with head-sharing harpies

Plate 117. Head-sharing beasts on a Moorish cloth

Plate 118. Double-bodied beast in a Spanish church
Plate 119. Mantle with double-headed eagle at Anagni

Plate 120. Double-headed eagles at Moissac
Plate 121. Double-headed eagle on the mosque portal at Divrik

Plate 122. Double eagle and double dragon at Erzerum
Plate 123. Moorish casket with linked peacocks

Plate 124. Intertwined beasts at Aulnay
one of the cloister capitals is clearly a child.\textsuperscript{66} Though he is strangling a pair of beasts of the air instead of serpents (Pl. 50), he is portrayed in the characteristic running pose of the Antioch Hercules—which itself, as we shall see, is borrowed from a hero of another category.

Meanwhile, to complete this aspect of the genus, we may note that the lord of reptiles makes its way into Muslim art, not for the sake of reviving memories of a myth, or for affording themes for satiating the grotesque fantasies of artists, but from a purely superstitious awe. Thus the seated hero grasping the tongues of a pair of winged dragons above the entrance portal of the now demolished Talisman Gate in Baghdad dating from 1221 had no other function than to ward off the evil eye from the city—or at least it is an alternative to the view that it depicted the Caliph triumphant over his enemies. At first glance the dragons are somewhat Chinese in character, but they can by no means be connected with the Mongol invasion as it was not until 1254 that a thousand engineers were imported by Hulagu into Persia.\textsuperscript{67} Meanwhile variants of the symbol occurred elsewhere in the Muslim world, such as at the al Khan caravanserai between Sinjar and Mosul (1233-59),\textsuperscript{68} where the figure represents Khwaja Khidr, patron saint of travellers. The mythical Gilgamesh was himself a great traveller and must have passed this way on his journey to the West, and as moreover he had built walls of unparalleled strength around Erech,\textsuperscript{69} he too may well have been invoked to ward off the evil eye. For this is what the theme implies in Muslim art. But the hero himself is frequently omitted, and the two serpents are merely pitted against each other, as if to neutralize their deadliness. An instance of such interwoven dragon heads occurs on the thirteenth century carved limestone doorway from the shrine of Imam Bahir at Mosul, now in the Abbasid Palace Museum at Baghdad. Contemporary with it is the dragon-tail archivolt at the Sultan Han caravanserai in Anatolia.

There can be little doubt that Muslim art revived ideas that

\textsuperscript{66} T. Wildridge, \textit{The Grotesque in Church Art}, 1899, pp. 50-4.
\textsuperscript{68} Sarre and Herzfeld, \textit{Archaeologische Reise}, 1911, I, p. 13, figs. 37-8.
\textsuperscript{69} Later another world traveller Alexander of the Romance was said to have built a fabulous wall against the Gogs and Magogs.
were long latent in the Middle East. Thus not only had animal guardians been placed beside the entrances of Assyrian, Hittite, and North Syrian palaces, but occasionally the master of beasts was placed between the animals to indicate that they were fully under control. Such a case in point is the pedestal of an Aramean king from Zinçirli or ancient Sam'al of the ninth century B.C.\(^70\)

Here the genii (which at Carchemish is "a griffin-demon",\(^71\)) is holding the lions by the collar and running, this being emphasized by rendering the lower part of his body in profile (Pl. 51). Thus the 12-foot statue, which may be that of King Kilamuva, or more probably the sun god, is being borne forward in a manner reminiscent of the Emperor Nero, who, in turn, is known to have ridden on a chariot drawn by lions, or of Cybele and Attis riding a lion chariot on a fourth century patera now in Milan.\(^72\)

If we are correct in identifying this Zinçirli-Carchemish motif as a vehicular one, then the presence of the genii is exposed as a charioteer, and the person probably occupies a place similar to that of Pushan in the mythology of the Vedic Aryans, who is in addition "guardian of the roads, and deliverer from danger." The Zinçirli figure may be the god Rekub-El, referred to in the contemporary inscriptions of that city, for he is known to have been the charioteer of the Assyrian sun-god. Once again on a terracotta plaque probably of the 3rd dynasty of Ur, c.2300-2150 B.C.,\(^73\) the occupant of the chariot drawn by four frontally rendered lions held in check by a charioteer, is likely to be the sun god (or his royal devotee) for flames rise from his sides.

One has to exercise considerable care in distinguishing the leading actor in the drama which, in broad essentials, is rendered everywhere in similar fashion, that is the man of steel subduing beasts to the left and right of him. Whatever his exploits and character the hero was always cast in the mould of a supernman. But the paradox is that the model of all supernmen, Gilgamesh, was after all an intensely human individual and is subject to all

\(^70\) Now in the Museum of Oriental Archaeology, Istambul.

\(^71\) R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish*, III, 1952, p. 260. Here, however, the lions belong to the god Atarluhas who bears a hammer.

\(^72\) *Enciclopedia del Arte Antica*, I, 1958, fig. 378.

\(^73\) S. Smith in *British Museum Quarterly*, VIII, no. 1, 1933, pp. 41-2, pl. Xa.
the terrors of his fellow creatures. He is, for instance, stated to have broken into tears when confronted with the presence of Humbaba, and to have cried "bitterly like a wailing woman" at the death of his friend, and to have fallen prostrate at the awful sight of the scorpion men. This very fact of his being subject to fears, therefore, makes his deeds appear all the more prodigious. Now, as for the second aspect of this common factor, it will be noted that "the master" is invariably in combat with a pair of beasts although the texts refer to only one (Pl. 52). This is a manifestation of the love of symmetry which is one of the leading characteristics of Oriental art, and this alone explains why on a cylinder seal the two Babylonian heroes are each grasping a bull, though only one of them delivers the deadly thrust. Conversely, for the same reason, one hero simultaneously strangles a pair of beasts. The long-haired patriarch grasping the wide-mouthed beasts at the Spanish shrine of Santiago de Compostella is probably Samson, for now, instead of throwing down the pillars of the Philistines, he is enlisted in holding up the pillars of the entrance to the true temple (Pl. 53). It has been observed that the Palace of Gaza where Samson was exhibited had a portico supported by two pillars on stone bases, and that it would not have been impossible to wrench away their timber shafts.

Like every other variant of the dominant hero theme in art, the frontal type with wide spread legs eventually goes back to the East. The gaily clad captain with drooping moustache and glazed ingenuous expression on a Byzantine (?) textile of St. Victor at the Treasury of the Cathedral of Sens, is probably based on a late Sassanian prototype, if we are to attach any importance to stylization and use of such secondary motifs as heart patterns and pearl bands. On this eighth century material brought to Sens by an archbishop in the year 769 the hero has his feet planted firmly on the upturned heads of lions, and is holding the lion at full stretch.

74 British Museum, No. 89,308. cf. L. W. King, Babylonian Religion and Mythology, 1899, p. 162.
75 cf. G. G. King, "Fact and Inference in Jamb Sculpture", Art Studies, 1926, figs. 56, 63.
76 Macalister cited in Palestine Exploration Quarterly, Jan-Apr. 1948, p. 27.
by the scruffs of their necks. A kindred Byzantine silk stuff of the eighth-tenth centuries from St. Waldburg-Kloster near Eichstadt, has the same secondary motifs, but the splayed-out robe and chessboard-and-lozenge-diaper apparel of the hero with earrings suggest even a Baghdad origin. The only truly Islamic example of the theme that survives however, is the twelfth century silk garment from the Tomb of St. Bernard Calvo, the Bishop of Vich, and though the beasts are nondescript quadrupeds, the hero is clearly an Arab with turban and pointed beard (Pl. 54).

Another more quiescent hero is recurrent in medieval Christian art, and that is Daniel. Like a lion-tamer in a circus he is represented pacifying the beasts. On a sarcophagus at the Museum of Bourges he stands foursquare between a pair of lions who dive in obeissance at his feet, thereby resembling the versions of Gilgamesh holding a pair of lions upside down. On the Irish Cross of Arboe Daniel stands erect with eyes closed grasping the necks of standing lions whose tongues hang onto his neck—a representation which, in turn, recalls the gilt and garnet purselid hero from the Sutton Hoo burial ship (Fig. 16). The latter however, is not Daniel for the beasts are clearly not lions, but wolves, and

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77 R. Rey, L'Art Roman et ses Origines, 1945, pl. VIII.
78 F. Fischbach, Die Wichtigsten Webeornamente, IV, taf. 167 (b).
80 R. Crozet, L'Art Roman en Berry, 1924, p. 244.
81 G. Contenou, L'épopée de Gilgamesh, p. 296.
82 F. Henry, La Sculpture Irlandaise, I, fig. 110.
recently the motif has been interpreted in Anglo-Saxon terms as "wolves swallowing the old Sky Father."\(^{83}\) In other instances we can be sure it is Daniel: the inscription on a capital from the Moissac cloister confirms that it is this Prophet here seated with his arms upraised in the surrender position (Pl. 55). Still another type of capital from the Romanesque cloister at Ripoll suggests that it is Daniel again, since he nonchalantly places his hands into the very jaws of the lions (Pl. 56).\(^{84}\) Ad Damiri following Tabari\(^{85}\) speaks of an engraved representation on a ring in which a pair of lions are in the act of licking the hand of a man who is between them, and this person he identifies as Daniel.\(^{86}\) He would have been amazed to see on an Achaemenid seal the lower jaws of a pair of rampant lions being held in much this same manner by a Persian king whose act is being approved by a god,\(^{87}\) or on another seal holding at bay a pair of winged griffins in the Gilgamesh manner (Fig. 17).\(^{88}\)

David too; is sometimes represented rescuing the lamb from the jaws of the lion. But as this occurs on an openwork engraved copper weathervane from Norway dating from the second half of the eleventh century,\(^{89}\) its position on the roof leads us to question whether or not it may have had an apotropaic function. This at least appears to be the case on the Etruscan gable of polychrome alabaster at the Florence Archaeological Museum (17068). Its sacred character is attested by the fact that it serves as the lid of a sarcophagus (Pl. 57). As a purely speculative supposition it appears that the power of the Amazons on the ends of the gable is transmitted through the palmettes, here turned sideways, to the canines who are attacking the crouching central figure with one leg outstretched like a Cossack dancer. Since the figure appears to be "blessing" his attackers instead of warding them off, some sort of sacrifice is presumably implied.

This stance of one bent knee and the other held rigid is that adopted

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\(^{84}\) Tabari, Annales, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, I, 2567.
\(^{86}\) Survey of Persian Art, ed., A. U. Pope, IV, pl. 123c.
\(^{87}\) Lajard : Le Culte de Mithra, II. pl. LVII, 6.
\(^{88}\) Swarzenski, Monuments of Romanesque Art, pl. 93, no. 216, cf. no. 184.
by Mithras in his sacrifice of the bull, which he accomplishes with the straight short Persian sword known as acinaces (Pl. 58). The posture of the attacker at first seems classical and is, for instance, found among the sculptures of the Parthenon frieze in the form of the Lapith overcoming the Centaur. But it is a mistake to believe that the image was suddenly born in Olympia at a fixed moment of time as a manifestation of the Greek genius, for the type occurs in the Orient long before. On a seal of Saushattar, king of Mitanni (c.1375 B.C.) the figure of a hero is seen breaking the back of a bull with his knee while gripping its horns from behind, in virtually the same manner as the Roman Mithras. Pliny (xxxiv. 80) records a work by the sculptor Menaiclus representing a calf on which a man is setting his knee while he bends back its neck. The type was at any rate, adopted by early Christian art, and the hero on an Alexandrian silk of the sixth-seventh century at the Victoria and Albert Museum (7036-1) has his knee pressed into the small of the back of a rampant lion while grasping its jaws (Pl. 59). A contemporary Byzantine example on a series of silver dishes (610-29) representing scenes from the life of David has David killing a bear in exactly this manner. In the Medieval period there are two variations of this subject: either the hero is seated astride the back of the lion, as on the capitals at St. Madeleine,

"cf. the sacrificing Nike from the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis at Athens. (F. Cumont, Textes et Monuments figurez, relatifs aux Mysteres de Mithras, II, pp. 180 ff.)"

"The sacrificer of a bull on a Luristan bronze presumed to be Mithras is seated rider fashion on the back of the humped bull, showing a distinct difference in treatment in Iran. (See R. Dussaud, in Syria, 1949, XXVI, p. 204, pl. 4).

"F. Saxl, Lectures, 1957, I, p. 5."

"Ancient Near East in Pictures, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 1955. No. 705. He may be Mithras himself, since the first historical mention of the god Mitra occurs on a contemporary Mitannian document of c. 1380 B.C. at Boghazkoi."

"Another feature of the Roman sculptures, the scorpion attacking the sex organ of the bull, is anticipated in a Babylonian boundary stone. (W. J. Hinke, A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar, I, 1907, fig. 32.)"

"cited by W. Oakeshott, Classical Inspiration in Medieval Art, 1959, pp. 94-5."

"O. M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, 1911, figs. 57, 62, 358."
Vezelay, and St. Isidoro, Leon (Pl. 60)\(^6\) (and here it is David in both cases as the sheep is evident in one, and the figure in the other wears a crown), or he employs one foot as a lever for prying open the jaws, as on a Limoges enamel and on a capital in the narthex of St. Pierre, Moissac (Pl. 61), (here the long hair and energetic attacker suggests Samson, whose strength lay in his hair and who was excited into action by the Spirit of the Lord). French sculptors may have depended on a Byzantine model, for on an ivory casket of the \(\text{x}^{10}-\text{thith} \) century Samson assumes this pose.\(^7\) On a Romanesque corbel now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a shorthand version of the vanquished beast appears, for only the hands of the hero remain, and the emphasis is upon the conquest, and not upon the conqueror of evil, who is after all, as we have seen, only interchangeable.

The conflict between good and evil is so basic a theme in human thought that, as we shall see, one of the oldest religious myths in the world conceives the creation of the earth as a consequence of the conflict between the son of god and the forces of chaos. The Mysteries of Mithra may be a distant survival of older elements, as certain parallels suggests. The Aryan Mitra had solar attributes, for in the Atharvaveda he is conceived as parting asunder the night and bringing light in the morning,\(^8\) while Mithras was himself worshipped by the Romans as a sol invictus. Gilgamesh was the sun-god Shamash’s protégé since this god converses with him and sends him dreams. In the Babylonian religion Apsu and Tiamat dwelt in the primeval chaos before time was;\(^9\) in Mithraism Ahuramazda and Ahriman (the principle of evil) both stemmed from Infinite Time, which was the first Principle. On the one hand in Babylonian myth the destruction of the monster Tiamat is followed by the creation of the earth and all that is upon it,

\(^6\) Another example vibrant with suggested strength, occurs on the painted ceiling of Capella Palatina in Palermo. (Pavlovski in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 1893, p. 404.) The relief of the straddled hero on the ambone at Moscufo (1159) is as motionless as at Leon. (I.C. Gavini, Storia del’Architettura in Abruzzo, fig. 225).

\(^7\) A Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, Die Byzantinischen Eisenbeinskulpturen . . . , 1931, I, nos. 8, 74-7.

\(^8\) A. B. Keith, The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanisad, 1925, p. 97.

and on the other in Iranian myth (Bundahisn, XIV, 1, 2) the slaying of the bull (the first creation of Ahuramazda) by Ahriman resulted in vegetable life on earth, for from the spinal marrow of the bull grew grain of fifty-five species and twelve species of medicinal herbs, and from its blood sprang the grapevine.\textsuperscript{100} Again in an Egyptian tale of about 1500 B.C., two trees are said to have sprung up from the blood of the bull of Apis.\textsuperscript{101} In the Gilgamesh Epic the Bull of Heaven is wreaking havoc on the countryside, and its destruction by the heroes must mean the restoration of fertility, for on a cylinder seal\textsuperscript{102} there is actually represented rain falling upon the slaying of the bull by a hero. Finally, Mithras—whose cult spread like wildfire through the soldiers of the Roman world—like Gilgamesh, not only slays a bull, but also pits his strength against an equal foe—the sun god in this case, and the upshot is friendship and alliance between the pair.\textsuperscript{103} Mithras thus lives up to his name whose literal meaning is “the friend.”

Finally the theme of combat ending in friendship survives in West Mongolian epics where the two reconciled knights then set out to conquer common enemies “mostly many-headed monsters and dragons.”\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{100} A Mithraic slab at Heddenheim seems to represent this. Mithra stands beside the slain bull and receives from the sun-god a bunch of grapes and is flanked by children holding baskets of fruit (Cumont, Textes et Monuments . . . II, Pl. viii). The steatite vase from Khafaje shows the flourishing of plants consequent upon the death of the Bull. (cf. Frankfort, The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, 1954, p. 19).
\textsuperscript{102} Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, 1939, p. 125, Pl. xxii.
\textsuperscript{103} In the Avesta (Yasht. 10) Mithras is “the eye of Ahura Mazda.” (cf. M. J. Vermaseren, Dio Mithrasdienst in Rome, 1951.) F. Saxl (Lectures, 1957, I, p. 23f.) has argued that the Mithraic cave is probably a reminiscence of Tammuz in the Underworld, and that this syncretism took place in c. 400 B.C., when Artaxerxes II coupled the name of Mithra with Anahita in emulation of Tammuz and Ishtar.
\textsuperscript{104} G. Roerich in Artibus Asiae, I, 1932, p. 113.
CHAPTER IX

PRIMEVAL DRAGON MYTHS AND THEIR LATE SURVIVAL

As life becomes more involved and its organization more complex, man is periodically tempted to abandon the added burden this has made and to return for a time to the carefree life of simple things. Very early men were becoming conscious of the evils that followed in the wake of civilization, and consequently began to imagine the years before its growth as the Golden Age. Babylonian and Assyrian texts are held to refer to such a blessed time, and certainly the Sumerians have a fragmentary text describing an ancient time of unity, peace, and security. But the credit must go to Hesiod (Works and Days, 109-201.) for giving it a concrete reality in his four progressively deteriorating ages—gold, silver, brass and iron. If the Golden Age had to be one without strife it had to be under the patronage of some other god than the too headstrong Zeus, and Hesiod conceives Kronos as the King in Heaven at the time. Like the gods themselves, men made merry, untroubled by toil or care, for the teeming earth bore abundance, and death came gently without the experience of old age. From the very commencement of the Silver Age under the rule of Zeus goodness and justice decreased and gave way to toil and strife. The belief of the Pythagoreans as presumed by Empedocles and Ovid makes it clear that the degradation of the later years is due to the departure from living on the fruits of the earth, and Aratus, the Alexandrine poet of the third century B.C., says that the men of the Golden Age were peaceful tillers of the soil with no knowledge of civil strife or vexations of the law.

3 In Phoenician Mythology this would correspond to the reign of the passive El Kronos before Baal.
There are other myths of the four deteriorating ages, the most akin to the Greek being those in Hindu religious texts incorporated only as late as the Epics and the Puranas, of which passages in the latter are regarded as relatively modern. Pessimism is the keynote of the Laws of Manu (I. 68-86.) in which the last of the four ages (yugas) ends in dissolution, and the whole cycle is endlessly repeated in this dismal sequence. In Mazdaean belief (Bundeshesh, XXXIV, XXXI) the fourth age begins with the success of Angromainyus, but the final triumph of Ormazd leads to beatitude for the just.

Be this as it may, the idealistic attitude that primitive man lived in peace and that lusts, passions, and strifes were largely the product of civilization, is true to some extent, but is on the whole a naive view. Civilization may have made the evil of man more subtle, his conspiring more carefully contrived, but there is nothing to favour the view that before man took to tools and became a dweller in cities, primordial harmony ruled the world. True, civilized man's conscious willing may have interfered with the natural processes of the world, but what is there to show that that unpolluted world was a beneficent one working always for the good? Indeed it was largely because of the challenge offered to man by a harsh and uncompromising environment that man ceased to acquiesce and took to retaliation. And again he chose nature as his mentor and learned from her that conflict lies at the root of existence. The belief of modern science that our world originated with some cosmic catastrophe, and that evolution is dependent on strife, comes close to the genesis belief of early civilized man that the world began with a contest between God and the Dragon.

In the Accadian Epic of Creation known as the Enuma Elish, Marduk "the king of the gods," "the lord who determines fate," (as he is described on boundary stones) is the contender whose victory is followed by his creation of humanity. In Egyptian legend it is the sun god Ra who contends with the dragon Apep.

* In Egypt the four ages are those of gods, demi-gods, heroes, and men, as recorded by Manetho. But though the last is far inferior to the first this first is not free from rebellion deceit and wickedness. (See Chabas, Etude sur l'antiquité historique, p. 7f; and Maspero, Dawn of Civilization, 1901, p. 160.)

* The Egyptian Book of the Dead, ch. XXXIX.
but this is a diurnal myth in which the monster Apep or Apophis is defeated in the blackest part of the eastern sky before dawn enabling Ra to re-emerge from the underworld and be reborn each sunrise as Khepri, "he who becomes." Originally, however, Egyptian myth too may have been of a cosmogonic order for in a text from the twenty-second century B.C., it is stated in one breath that the god "made heaven and earth according to their (men's) desire, and he repelled the water monster." The same attitude is adopted in an Egyptian papyrus text of c.310 B.C., but preserving older material where spells relating to the overthrowing Apophis are coupled with the Creations of Ra. Apart from these instances it would seem that in Egyptian mythology dragon slaying and creation were quite unrelated events. Among the Accadians of Mesopotamia where these events were indeed inseparably linked the Epic of Creation was recited in full on the evening of the fourth day of the New Year Festival, the intention presumably being to ensure prosperity for the coming year by remembering the victory of the reigning god.

The Semites, who usurped the civilization of Sumer after they had gained political control, wished to have their own deity duly installed as the head of the pantheon. This could only be accomplished by making him do what the other older gods had not dared. In another contest with the dragon kingship is actually the reward for Marduk delivering "the broad land." In the Sumerian Creation account as known from tablets so far published, there is no hint that the primeval sea who begot the earth-heaven Cosmos was a personification of evil, or that any sort of conflict led to the creation. But it is known that immediately upon the separation of heaven and earth Enki is compelled to combat Kur, the underworld demon who has kidnapped the sky goddess Ereshkigal. Enki is, of course, the god who survived in Semitic times as the Lord of the Deep (from the Sumerian E-a meaning "house

8 Ibid., p. 6f, and Faulkner in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XXIII, 1937, p. 172f.
9 S. Langdon, The Epic of Creation, 1923, l.34.
10 L. W. King, The Seven Tablets of Creation, 1902, p. 116f.
12 Ibid., pp. 226-8.
of water”), and in the Accadian Creation myth there is a reference to his having despatched Apsu and his envoy Mummu by the utterance of a powerful spell. He even established his dwelling on Apsu, put a rein on Mummu, and as the text says, “having displayed his glorious victory over his enemies he rested quietly within his dwelling.” This victory is recited as but a prelude to the greater triumph of Ea’s son Marduk.

It is notable that among the Sumerians themselves there was such a tendency to make the son-god a hero, though in their case it was Ninurta, son of Enlil. Because of his deed Ninurta (once mistakenly read Nin-ib) was regarded as the saviour of Babylonia from both mythical and historical foes, and as “the furious and destructive warrior and god of the powers of nature.” Sumerian texts describe Ninurta, god of the South Wind, being urged by his personified weapon to attack the demon of sickness and disease Asag, whose abode is in the Kur. Intimidated at first, Ninurta is reassured and subsequently destroys Asag. But the result is that the salt waters of Kur rise, pollute the soil and endanger the crops. But here again the resourceful Ninurta comes to the rescue by building a hill of stones against the poisoning waters, and prosperity gradually returns.

In this context Kur, the demon of the underworld, must rather be thought of as epitomizing the powers of darkness who, when ascendant, eclipse the land. Indeed the Assyrians literally interpreted what may have been originally the Ninurta dragon myth as the eclipse of the Moon god Sin, and here perhaps again there is a reverberation of the Sumerian sky goddess engulfed in the underworld. The culprit in the Assyrian myth is at any rate clearly reminiscent of Kur in his role as a demon of floods and tempests. The principle difference is that the evil spirits are described as being seven in number, and they rage from city to city as tempests of heaven in the form of black clouds and gales. At the point

16 This corresponds to the moon being devoured by the demon Rahu in the Hindu texts (e.g. Upamishads, viii, 14.1). The motif of the sun pursued or devoured during an eclipse is not uncommon in the folklore of various peoples. (See Funk and Wagnall’s *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*, 1949, I, p. 337.)
where Ea sends his son Marduk to Sin's aid the text breaks off, 
and in our opinion this is just as well since there is reason to believe 
the writer was attempting to dub the Accadian Creation hero onto 
the story of basically Sumerian origin. This substitution is evident 
in Ninurta's destruction of the bird god Zu who has stolen the 
Tablets of Destiny,\textsuperscript{17} just as does the evil god Kingu (itself a Sumerian name) in the Accadian Creation Epic.

It may be fairly asked where are the seven demons eclipsing the 
Moon god to be found in the Ninurta myth? To this the answer 
is that in the Sumerian underworld were seven demons ruling the 
successive stages, as is apparent in the myth of Ishtar's descent 
there; therefore they must be the cohorts of Kur. Moreover, 
Ninurta's weapon is in the old Babylonian period actually compared 
with the seven-headed serpent\textsuperscript{18} and such a monster is represented 
on a Sumerian macehead.\textsuperscript{19} It is true that in the Assyrian 
texts referred to above, which have been entitled "the War of the 
seven wicked spirits against the Moon," the seven are personified 
separately as hurricane, leopard, serpent, watch-dog, rebellious 
giant, and messenger of the fatal wind, but these may only be 
different manifestations which enable them (to quote the text), 
"to devise evil with their wicked heads."\textsuperscript{20} Where spells and in 
cantations are cast against these seven evil spirits\textsuperscript{21} they are 
described as "children of the Underworld, loudly roaring above, 
gibbering below." We must admit in the last analysis that the 
number seven occurs in all sorts of context in ancient times, so 
that we cannot prove conclusively that the Sumerian seven-headed 
serpent survived in the Assyrian dragon with seven manifestations.

As for Marduk he is the son and first born of Ea, the omnipotent. 
It is through the instrumentality of the Son that the world comes 
into being, for, armed with the club and bow handed to him by 
Anu, god of the heavens, he destroys the dragon of Chaos, Tiamat. 
This he accomplishes by thrusting the storm wind down its throat

\textsuperscript{17} Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. J. B. Pritchard, pp. \text{III-13}.
\textsuperscript{18} Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien, 1934, p. 60.
\textsuperscript{19} H. Frankfort in Analecta Orientalia, XII, 1935, p. 108.
\textsuperscript{20} G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, 1875, p. 398f.
\textsuperscript{21} The seven are the south wind, gaping dragon, grim leopard, terrible 
serpent, furious beast (?) rampant ..., evil storm wind. (R. C. Thompson, The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, 1903, I, pp. XLII, XLVI.
thereby bursting it asunder. (In the Apocryphal Hebrew Book "Bel and the Dragon", Daniel bursts the dragon asunder.\textsuperscript{28}) Among Marduk's weapons are a thunderbolt, a storm wind and a net. From the two halves of Tiamat he then fashions the heaven and earth.

Here then we have a cosmogonic dragon myth for which the hero is an Accadian god. And it is apparent that the Semitic composers have fused a dragon tale to a creation myth simply to give it greater authority and to heighten its dramatic character, features which were always of some importance in connection with the rituals of the New Year Festival.

Equipped with the texts of some of the oldest known dragon myths we may attempt to identify the artistic representations relative to these. An Early Dynastic seal impression, excavated near the Temple of Abu at Tell Asmar (N.E. of Baghdad)\textsuperscript{23} depicts a god, perhaps Ninurta, attacking a seven-headed underworld demon. In the lower register the scene consists of a figure decapitating a hydra while above is a frieze of scorpions. (Fig. 18)

Another seal from the same temple, but from the Sargonid level has, not an ophidian hydra as in the former case, but a quadruped from whose back rise flames\textsuperscript{24} while four of its seven heads have been rendered powerless by his attacker. (Fig. 19) It has been suggested\textsuperscript{25} that the corresponding story of Hercules stems from this source, for in the Greek version Hera sends the many-headed water snake Hydra with a great crab as ally, which the hero succeeds in smashing underfoot. There are faithful illustrations of this version including the crab at the feet of Hercules and the rampant Hydra attacked on the one side by the hero using a sickle and on the other by Iolaus using flaming

\textsuperscript{24} H. Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, p. 71, fig. 27, and \textit{Iraq}, I, 1934, p. 8, pl. I, a.
\textsuperscript{25} In Job xl, 25f., the Leviathan breathes fire.
brands. It seems to us highly improbable that it was the Sumerian version of the seven-headed dragon which was directly transmitted to Greece, and in any case it could not have been through the medium of art but through literature. We have in


However, two specific aspects of the Sumerian myth do occur in Heracles: (a) he shoots the eagle torturing Prometheus, as Ninurta does Zu; (b) he wounds the god of the underworld "in the gate among the dead," (*Iliad*, v. 397) as Enki combats Kur. (cf. G. R. Levy, op. cit., p. 46.)
mind the Leviathan of the Ras Shamra texts (to which we shall refer again) who, it seems to us, is remembered in the serpent Ladon, another opponent of Hercules.

It did not go unnoticed that there is a strong reminder of the Sumerian illustration in the version of the Vedic Aryans. In the earliest of the Hindu religious texts the god Indra has to struggle with the seven-headed watersnake, and its attendant the son of a spider (Rig Veda, VIII, 66); he is further described as having trampled one of his opponents underfoot (I. 51. 6.). As the first historical mention of Indra occurs with reference to Mitannian gods in an inscription of 1380 B.C. from Bogazkoy in Asia Minor, and the Hittite language has the root innar from which derives innara meaning "strength or vigour,"²⁸ it is by no means unlikely that the Mesopotamian legend found its way into Aryan religion through the mediation of the Mitannians. The Mitannians, it should be noted, were not an independent race but were a tribe related to the Hurrians.

Indra was conceived of as the national god of Indian Aryanism.²⁹ The achievement of Indra is, however, more faithful to the original Anatolian version, for his opponent is the demon Vṛtra or the serpent Ahi³⁰ who suspends the waters by encompassing them in the clouds.³¹ We may recall here the Hittite demon Hahhimas who dried up the waters and paralyzed vegetation.³² Life is thus suspended by the serpent,³³ and it is not a little curious that among

²⁸ Beneveniste et L. Renou, Vṛtra et Vṛvrona, 1934, pp. 84-5.
²⁹ Tritas or Traitanas is also the killer of the monster in the Rig Veda as is his counterpart Thraeton in the Avesta. The monster-slayer Feridun of Shakhnama has been traced to Thraetona through the intermediate from Phreduna. (A. de Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, 1872, i, p. 110)
³⁰ No doubt related to the Persian Azhi Dahka or to the principle of evil, Ahriman. Vritra is functionally identical with Ahi (Rig Veda VI. 20.12). Dahka also resembles the Vedic Dasa.
³³ In the Christian story of Mar Jirjis or St. George in Palestine, the water supply from a fountain in Beirut was monopolized by a dragon to the exclusion of the inhabitants. (J. E. Hanauer, Folklore of the Holy Land, 1935, p. 50). In classical myth the well of Ares was guarded by a dragon. Cadmus slew it and sowed its teeth.
the Aramaeans of one region the word for life hāsie closely resembles the word for serpent hāsidt. The Indian Indra hurls his Vajra or thunderbolt, and releases the waters, bringing an end to drought and thereby giving the parched earth-mother a new lease of life. Recently it has been denied that the Vedic account is a seasonal myth, and an attempt has been made at a purely historical interpretation. The name of the demon Vṛtra might well mean "obstacle or barrier," but Vṛtra can scarcely be identified with dams, for dams can in no way be regarded as anything but beneficent. The fact that one of Indra's opponents is Kuyava (Rig Veda I, 103,8; 104,3) literally meaning "bad barley" or "poor harvest," suggests that the opponent stands as an obstacle against fertility, or in the language of the Rig Veda (II. 17,1 ; II. 23,18) the Dasas (including Vṛtra and Ahi) hold up the waters. Indra annihilated the Dasa with his light (Ibid., III, 34,1), and here lightning is suggested since Indra is the rain god (Ibid., VII, 43,4). Another recent study of the texts has gone to the other extreme by stating that the fight with the Dasas was not against people but clouds or darkness personified, which is a surprising conclusion since this writer himself makes it clear that Dasa are also a community who live apart and are regarded by the Aryans as godless heretics. The knowledge that Dasas live in towns and iron forts (Ibid., I, 511, 11 ; II, 20, 8) is clear evidence that the reference is to the inhabitants of the Indus valley since they were the only civilized people in India at that time, and in view of that we are inevitably led to the belief that


The zoological section of the Nuzhatul Qulub, tr. J. Stephenson, p. 38.


It is a mistake to identify Vṛtra with the dams of pre-Aryan Harappa. (D. D. Kosambi, An Introduction to the Study of Indian History, 1956, ch. 4.) If so their destruction by the Vedic believers in Indra would not have ended drought (which is what the texts claim) but in fact brought it about, leading to the extermination of the civilization.

the Aryans brought the fertility dragon myth with them, and at once identified the demon of drought with the swarthy inhabitants who held the key to the prosperity of the land. Despite the identification, as so often happens, the dualistic concept persists in the texts.

In Chinese texts too the dragon is conceived as the god of water, thunder, clouds and rain, while a saying attributed to Confucius has it that Thunder (Chen) is a dragon, whereas Heaven is a horse and Earth a cow. Moreover in Canaanite myth the Ugaritic Aleyan Baal, the dragon slayer, is actually called “the rider of clouds.” He fights a seasonal contest with Mot, the god of barrenness and death, and with the aid first of his consort Anat and then of the sun goddess Shapash, he makes the demon return to the underworld, thereby restoring the earth to its fertility. This is graphically described by making Anat thresh, winnow, and grind the body of Mot.

Returning to Indra we find that later Vedic texts of about the fifth century B.C., the Sathapatha Brahmana, on the other hand recall memories of Marduk in contending that Vrtra wished to be severed in two instead of being annihilated, and also that Indra was at first terrified by his opponent. This last detail resembles the Babylonian Epic of Creation where none of the gods save Marduk dares venture to engage the fearful Tiamat; and in the Old Testament (Job. xli. 26-27) there is an exact reflection of this fear against the raging of Leviathan. Further parallels are evident, such as the feature that Rahab had a cohort (cf. Job. ix. 13) in the same way as did Tiamat, and that the weapon of Yahweh was a net (Ezekiel. xxxii. 5, 6), as was that of Marduk, as also of Ninurta and Enlil among other Mesopotamian gods. Since these features appear in the Hebrew religious texts during and after their Exile, it

40 Ibid., p. 37.
43 Indra created the moon from one half and a demoniacal belly from the other. Marduk, it will be remembered, distended the belly of Tiamat.
44 I. Scheftelowitz, Schlingen und Netzmotiv, 1912, p. 3f.
is evident that their captivity in Babylonia during 598-536 B.C. played a not inconsiderable role in the formation of their ideas on this subject. The very word in Genesis of the word “deep,” tekôm, though not immediately derivable from Tiamat—the female personification of the primeval ocean, nevertheless, goes back to the Babylonian root tâmtû, meaning the ocean, for which there is an equivalent t-h-m at Ras Shamra in North Syria.44 Damascus uses the variant Tauthe as the mother of gods,45 and even in the Hindu religion the same name is alluded to in Taimata, the evil one, which is qualified as a serpent (Atharva Veda, V, 13, 6, 8). The word survived as the sea serpent tinnîn among the Arabs (Masudi, I, 266ff.; Kazwini, I, 132ff.) The Biblical Tannin was a creature of the deep sea (Job. vii. 12).

There can be little doubt that the Biblical passage in Isaiah xxvii, 1., promising that on the day of retribution the Lord will punish with his strong sword, “Leviathan, the swift, the torturous serpent,” is directly borrowed from the Ras Shamra texts where a god (Aleyan Baal is the contender, though his ally Anat actually crushes the enemy) is proposing to smite L-t-n, the fleeing tortuous serpent; he is described as Mot’s ally, Prince Sea, “the mighty one with seven heads.”46 Even this last feature of the seven heads recurs in the Apocalypse, (Rev. xii, 3., xiii, 1.) and Psalm lixiv, 12-17, speaks of the Lord having shattered “the heads of Leviathan.” That the beast is ophidian is testified by the Arabic word liyâtu(n) meaning a snake. It is also suggested by the old Ophion, the serpent god according to Pherecydes of Syros, citing a Phoenician source, who was precipitated by the god Kronos (II) into Tartarus at the very beginning of all things.47

As against this, the rather more frequent Biblical reference to Rahab (e.g. Isaiah li, 9) seems to imply Egyptian influence. In view of the fact that the two other names of dragon have been borrowed, the Biblical name Rahab seem to us to be not merely derived from the comparatively late Hebrew word râhâb meaning “be unquiet,” “troublesome,” but to be a fusion of the god Ra

45 Zimmern, Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, III, p. 490.
47 Eusebius, Praep. Evangel, ed. Migne, I, x, 41.
and his antagonist Apopi—the result being Ra-Apop, and this fusion may have been facilitated by the coils of Apopi being in Heaven (and, therefore, close to the Sun god Ra) according to the Egyptian texts. Since the term Rahab is used specifically for Egypt (Isaiah XXX, 7; Psalms lxxxvii, 4) it would surely not be extraordinary for the name to be compounded of Egyptian elements. In Egypt itself there seems to us to have been an identification of a people with the dragon, although Egyptologists would deny any connection between the dragon Apep and the Hyksos name Apopi. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the Hyksos were hated foreign rulers who, as Queen Hathshepsut wrote, ruled in ignorance of Ra. In other words, Hyksos kings such as Apopi resembled the dragon Apep in so far as they were opponents of Ra. The resemblance between the two names and their opposition to Ra could be passed off as a coincidence but for the fact that we have numerous analogies wherein national enemies are given the name of the dragon. We have already seen this to be the case with the Dasas of the Vedas and the Rahab of the Hebrew, and now we may note that the idea had already been incipient in Sumer. While giving an account of his victory, Utu-hégal (2097-91) identifies the dragon of the mountain with Gutium, "who carried away the kingdom of Sumer into the mountains." The Gutium are counterparts of the Asiatic Hyksos (who ruled Egypt) in the respect that they in turn overthrew the dynasty of Agade and ruled Sumer for 125 years. If in justification of the name Rahab it is asked what prototype we have in Egypt itself for the fusion of a monster's name with Ra, we can point to the crocodile god Sobek which had been fused with Ra in the form Sobek-Ra.

The Egyptian legend is a nature myth connected with the daily dawning of the sun which the giant serpent hopes to frustrate. Again, as in the case of Baal, the conquest is achieved with

48 Book of Hades, Records of the Past, ed. S. Birch, 1873-81, 12, 13.
50 R. Labat, Le caractère religieux de la royauté Assyro-babylonienne, 1939, pp. 33, 77.
52 Yahweh's enemy too can darken the day. (Job. iii, 8.).
53 Buddha likewise attained perfect illumination in spite of the exertions of Mara and his demons. (E. Senart, "Essai sur la légende du Bouddha," in Journal Asiatique, 1875, IV, p. 102.)
the aid of a female deity. Isis is represented holding the chained Apopii, while the god delivers the thrust. The function of Isis may only be to steady the boat of the sun, and to prevent it turning over, but the sun’s boatmen too, participate in the struggle, for they are depicted standing on the convolutions of Apopii and stabbing it with knives and lances.54 With the aid, then, of these sun’s boatmen who invoke, clamour, and brandish their spears, Apopii sinks into the chasm of darkness.55

In Amos ix, 3 the serpent lies at the bottom of the sea, recalling the mushussu iatim, the “dragon of the sea,” in cuneiform texts. In Ezekiel xxxii, 2-8 the serpent, which still exists in the sea, awaits the slaughter of Yahweh’s sword, while there is also the threat of being made captive by a net. In the Muslim account likewise God casts the dragon into the sea,56 since it has changed from its original state of a snake. And when it begins to terrorize the sea God deals death to it, and a wind casts it into the land of Gog and Magog to be their food.57 This version appears to be an elaboration of the Psalm. (74, 13-14.): ‘Thou didst break in pieces the sea by thy strength. Thou breakest the heads of the dragons in the waters, . . . Thou gavest him (Leviathan) to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.’

We have already suggested that the Vedic Indian ideas probably stemmed from those of the Hittites (as nothing is known of the beliefs entertained by the undivided Aryans in their original homeland in the South Russian steppes). In Hittite myth, the storm and weather god being worsted by the rebellious dragon Illuyankas,58 appeals to the other members of the pantheon for help and the goddess Inaras with the assistance of a mortal, Hupsisyas, who first cohabits with her, succeeds in overcoming it.

54 W. R. Cooper, The Serpent Myths of Ancient Egypt, 1873, pp. 40-1, —figs. 70-71, 97-99.
55 Ibid., pp. 59-60.
56 The reference to the sea and dragon in this account and in Job go back to Tiamat, and in one example Apophis too, is represented in the (mystic celestial) ocean between the goddesses Isis and Nepthys. (W. R. Cooper, op. cit., fig. 37.)
57 The zoological section of the Nuzhatu-I Qulub, ed. J. Stephenson, 1928, p. 36.
This mythical event was celebrated by the Puruli, "Festival of the Earth," at the commencement of the dry season —ostensibly at this time to remind the people of the power of drought so that the final victory be appreciated all the more. The principle ideological difference between the Hittite and Babylonian versions is that the former explains a recurring natural phenomenon (and is, moreover, a less exalted version as the dragon is tricked into becoming a glutton and is slain only after being bound), while the latter belongs to a cosmic category which is of far more momentous import—nothing less in fact than the bringing of order from chaos. But there are nevertheless distinct vestiges of the Semitic in the Hittite myth as it has been observed: for example, in both the gods are powerless against the enemy; Illuyankas is inflated and bound as is Tiamat; in one the destruction is accomplished by the Storm god, and in the other by weapons of the storm; in one a house is built on a rock for the hero, as in the other the gods build Marduk's habitation after his victory. These comparisons, however, only hold true for the older version of the Hittite myth which, as its transcriber Kella, the priest of the Storm God, declares, is in his time no longer told. The current version that he also records has some entirely new elements in it, and these may be regarded as the indigenous contributions of Anatolian bards.

The Bible of the Hebrews, which borrows so much from the mythology of its more materially advanced neighbours and which

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60 But if it were a New Year Spring festival with the calendar year beginning at the vernal equinox, (O. Gurney, *The Hittites* 1954, p. 152) the main emphasis would not be the drought to come but on the renewal of the earth. King Mursilis II (1339-1306 B.C.) after all, dedicated the festival to the earth goddess Lilwani.
61 Again in the later Hittite version Teshoub resorts to a ruse when the dragon takes away his heart and eyes. He arranges a marriage between his son and Illuyankas' daughter, and when he has got back his faculties he dispatches the dragon. At this his own son gives up his life also. (Goetze in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 1953, p. 125f.) Indra similarly resorts to a trick against the Dasyu Namuci, and cuts off his head (*Rig Veda*, I, 5, 30).
at the same time purges these borrowed features of their gross unspirituality, postulates a creation arising out of chaos, but not out of conflict. That is to say this is the attitude of the Book of Genesis, though it is frequently ignored that in Psalm 74 a reference to the act of Creation does immediately follow the slaying of the dragon. Even in Genesis where Creation is not dependent on dragon slaying there is one notable parallel, for just as Marduk creates man through the inspiration of his heart so the God of the Hebrew Genesis begins the creation of the Universe through no external necessity. In the Book of Genesis the beginning is not motivated by conflict, for in the beginning He dwells alone and has no enemies. Therefore His battles and threats to engage the dragon are all events that occur long after the world is established. They are in fact promises of His intervention in the cause of reordering a world that tends to return to its original state of chaos spurred on by the principle of evil. At this point the Hebrew monotheists part company with their predecessors, since in their view God invents and permits evil to enter the world, whereas with the Semitic Babylonians the evil principle exists eternally. The weakness of the second belief is that if the evil has been overcome by god, how does evil continue to subsist in the world? For this reason the Babylonian explanation could not have satisfied the thinking men of the East, and it was for such reasons that men like Abraham left their homelands in search of a higher form of belief. It was probably also the reason why the older non-cosmogonic dragon myths of the Sumerians were revived by the Assyrians. Fragmentary inscriptions describe how mankind was menaced by the monster who was terrifying the civilized world ("the cities sighed, men uttered lamentation"), a tacit admission that evil had re-entered the world despite the original good offices of Marduk.

In these Assyrian tablets made for Assurbanipal's Library the dragon is described as fifty beru (a distance comparable to two

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64 Enuma Elish, Tablet VI, 4. A. Heidel, op. cit., p. 35.
65 It is probable that Abraham left Ur not long after Hammurabi had placed Marduk at the head of the pantheon.
66 The Dragon and Creation myths were quite separate in Sumerian times. (S. Smith, op. cit., pp. 32-3.)
hours travel) in length and one in height, who dragged himself along in the water which he lashed with his tail. However, Assyrian sculptures do not portray this type of serpent-dragon of monstrous size which is referred to in yet another Assyrian myth. The four-winged god with his two double-ended tridents pursuing a composite lion-eagle monster on a slab from Nimrud (Fig. 21)

is the god Ninurta, and the evidence that this is not merely a case of substitution of deities (as in the Enuma Elish recension from Assur where the god Ashur ineffectively usurps the role of Marduk) is that his opponent is not a female dragon of the deep as was Tiamat, but a male monster, as was Ahriman, who strides about

48 L. W. King, Legends of Babylon and Egypt, 1918, pp. 117-18. Likewise Sebek, the crocodile god whom Ra engages in combat, is over 50 feet long. (Book of the Dead, ch. CVIII.)
70 cf. W. H. Ward, "Bel and the Dragon," American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, January 1898, p. 94f. who identifies the early Babylonian dragon as a demon of pestilence and tornado.
on land with "tail, horns, claw and wings like the medieval devil." Instead of the seven-headed Sumerian dragon the Assyrians have substituted one more familiar to them.

It is a curious commentary that there is not one absolutely certain surviving representation of Marduk slaying Tiamat. The seal in the British Museum which comes closest to this description has a god of the storm wind (he carries the same symbols as Ninurta) racing with wide steps on the back of a "fleeing" dragon which has two short front legs, and the body, though snake-like,

![Fig. 22](image)

is not coiled in the act of motion (fig. 22). The "interminable" length and absolute flatness of the body suggest that Tiamat on the endless waters cannot be ruled out in this instance, especially if we can conceive the figure standing before the mouth of the dragon and trapping its jaws with his hands as the personification of the net. The attendant god who follows the warrior with weapons may thus be Anu. Apart from the three categories of representations of conflict with dragons already referred to, the hydra, the composite demon, and the immensely long biped, one other type remains, and that is the coiling dragon on the rock sculpture at Malatiya, c.1350 B.C. Here, it would seem, is the Hittite god Teshub accompanied by the mortal hero Hupasiyas, advancing with poised

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72 W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, p. 201, fig. 579.
lance toward the dragon Illuyunkas,\textsuperscript{73} on whose coiled body showers of hailstones are descending with the aid of heavenly ministrants (fig. 23). We may recall the Greek god Zeus pelting the hundred-headed snake Typhon with thunderbolts, and the Maruts helping Indra to dissipate the clouds (Rig Veda, I, 59, 6).

\textbf{Fig. 23}

The \textit{Vedic Hymns} make Vishnu the friend and companion of Indra, and (like Anu\textsuperscript{74}) Vishnu assists in battle against Vrtra when the rest of the gods forsake Indra.\textsuperscript{75} It is worth noting that Vishnu gradually acquires many characteristic attributes of Mesopotamian deities. He is thus "the wide-striding"\textsuperscript{76} which recalls the god in pursuit of the dragon to whom we have referred above and tentatively identified with Marduk. He is stated to be seated upon the serpent Śesha\textsuperscript{77} "the endless one" as are our aforementioned gods upon dragons. He is pictured as having raised the earth from water and set it upon its former seat\textsuperscript{78} (i.e. upon water) exactly as in the Babylonian Creation Myth. Moreover, Vishnu resides in the milk-ocean\textsuperscript{79} as Ea resides in the Deep,

\textsuperscript{73} Garstang, \textit{The Hittite Empire}, 1929, fig. 17, pp. 206-7.

\textsuperscript{74} Vishnu is further related to Anu, the sky-god, as the first part of the former's name derives from the Tamilian \textit{vin} meaning sky, and in Medieval Hindu painting this god is always represented blue.

\textsuperscript{75} F. Max Muller, \textit{Sacred Books of the East}, XXXII, 1891, pp. 127, 133.

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 363.

\textsuperscript{77} \textit{The Institutes of Vishnu}, \textit{Sacred Books of the East}, VII, 1880, p. 7. Vishnu is represented in this attitude in Hindu sculpture of the sixth century A.D. \textit{(Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, 1910-II, p. 15, XXIX, 6.)}

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 6.
Finally Vishnu is described as being between day and night, and if this means that he is the divider of the night from day, then he is in exactly the same position as Marduk who created the celestial bodies so as to bring about the distinction between night and day.

To return to our central theme, beyond the principal types of dragon-conflicts listed, of which there are, to be sure, few enough examples surviving, it is perfectly true to say that the dragon in ancient Mesopotamian art is not a hostile but a tame and subdued creature obeying the behests of the gods. But can we assume that there was a definite point in time when ancient Mesopotamians conceived of a dragon that had been tamed by one of the gods, just as in dim antiquity man had tamed and domesticated the animals? An early dynastic alabaster group from Tell Asmar seems to be evidence in favour of such a view, that is if our interpretation is acceptable. For here there are not only gods seated on the high arching back of the four-legged dragon, but there is also a man seated before it in a curiously twisted position, who reaches up his hand to stroke the dragon’s chin—as if to emphasize that it is entirely tame. Indeed the only positively evil dragon that the inscriptions of Gudea refer to is the *Mus-mah*, a “creature of the mountains” and therefore, of the storm clouds—the fearful seven-headed hydra. This creature is as we have seen represented on an early Sumerian macehead, but does not continue to be represented in the Accadian period. The hydra has been interpreted as the Fallen Angel among the dragons (we have seen that this is true only with regard to the early period for there were other evil dragons later) which, instead of bringing fertilizing showers, signified the death-dealing floods and tempests. The same writer has rejected the view that all Mesopotamian dragons began by being evil principles until they were vanquished, where-

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81 H. Frankfort in *Iraq*, I, 1934, pl. 1; c.
82 Landsberger, *Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, p. 53.
83 Persian miniatures after 1300 represent dragon-form clouds.
upon they became attributes of deities. In the Enuma Elish (Tablet I, 72, 75-7) at any rate, Ea has harnessed Mummu, for he holds him by his nose rope, and has his own abode on the waters of Apsu, whom he has slain. In the Ras Shamra texts likewise inn is referred to as having been muzzled. It is also well-known that the serpent robbed of his sting may be made to sway to man's command. Proof positive that the concept of taming was present in the mind of the early Mesopotamians is a lapis lazuli seal of the early dynastic period from Ur, on whose lower register the prototype of Orpheus is charming the beasts with his magic flute.

Moreover was not the good earth fashioned out of half of the body of the primeval female demon? The connection of the tamed dragon to the earth is in any case clearly evident on the seal from Tell Asmar where a dragon driven by a pair of gods draws a plough (fig. 24). The scorpion held by the leading ploughman over the dragon would appear to represent a threat like the sting of a whip, and the tame lion walking beside it, an additional threat to keep it at its task. The dragon in this context may have a double significance, providing not only the power necessary to draw the plough but fertility as well which was ensured by its association

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78 Legrain, Ur Excavations, II, p. 336, Pl. 192, no. 12.
79 Similarly in the Rig Veda (x. 135) Yama, the king of the dead "entices our elders by playing on the flute," i.e. seduces the aged to enter the abode of the underworld.
80 H. Frankfort in Iraq, I, 1934, p. 19, Pl. III. h.
with water. This association no doubt came about due to the resemblance of the serpentine shape of the dragon's body with the river which slowly uncoiled its way through the desert wastes. Gudea, at any rate, named one of his canals "Ningirsu's Dragon", and on his green steatite vase dedicated to Ningizzida their connection with water is evident. And even more clearly is it expressed in the combat of Heracles with Typhon: on fleeing Typhon furrows the earth with its claws so as to make the channel for the River Orontes and it then vanishes at the source, spouting forth as the river. A branch of the Tigris is actually known as the Shatt el Hai. River of the Serpent, recalling the Serpentine of London's Hyde Park. A list of rivers on a Babylonian boundary stone includes one by the name of "the River of the Serpent" (mār șīr).

From Gudea's inscriptions we may identify the Mesopotamian dragons with the "goodly" ophidian mus-hus which "adorned the fastening of the temple door and the god's quiver", for on the green vase the pair of winged dragons with pitted bodies are seen to be upholding the gate-posts of the sanctuary. But whatever their connotation with water, their function in the case of the vase is undoubtedly prophylactic, i.e. they guard against the terror of drought. And it is in the function of guardian that they appear, as Gudea says, "in the gateway." In Sumerian times it was a general practice to place demon effigies as foundation deposits to protect the building. and this is what Gudea may have implied. The idea of placing dragons in the proximity of entrances must

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81 cf. A. S. Palmer, Babylonian Influence on the Bible, 1897, pp. 88-98.
82 For the Syrian origin of the myth of Typhon see O. Eissfeldt: Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios, und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. 1932. Yam has seven heads; Typhon too, has a number of heads, and Apollodorus specifies that these are the heads of serpents. (P. Reymond: L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament. 1958. p. 192.)
85 D. Van Buren, op. cit., p. 17.
86 L. Heuze, Découvertes, pp. 234-6.
have been incipient for over a millennium, for it was revived on
the Ishtar Gate of Babylon. 98 Here in the well-known moulded
reliefs of glazed enamel bricks, Marduk's dragons guard the entrance
to the Sacred Way. 99 An even longer interval was to elapse before
dragons once again became associated with the gateway—this
time with the Talisman Gate of the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdad.
Finally the tamed subservient dragon of ancient Mesopotamia
serves as the vehicle or footstool of deities, or even, as on an Akka-
dian seal, 100 as the comrade of a god in his attack on a rival. Dragon
pedestals are used, for instance, by the god Adad in his beneficent
aspect as a weather god (he holds the triple lightning), 101 by the
god Nabu at Khorsabad (he is represented by his stylus), 102 and
by the god Ashur on the rock carving at Malatiya. 103 The Chinese
Emperor Hwang Ti rode on a dragon 104 for Chinese dragons were
beneficent creatures. But in Babylonia too, the (tamed) dragon
had come to have a good connotation, for Hammurabi in taking
the title of certain gods, was called Ushumgal, "the Great Dragon," an
epithet which in later years such Assyrian rulers as Shalmaneser
III adopted. 105 Now as we know that an ineffectual effort was
made in the Enuma Elish tablets from Assur to interpolate the
god Ashur for the god Marduk as hero, 106 likewise there can have
been little qualms in transferring the steeds from one god to the
other. We should be not a little surprised if there were no repre-
sentations at all of Marduk standing on a dragon as symbol of his victory against Tiamat, and therefore we are not at all averse
to accepting the old attribution of the statue of a god standing on a
dragon as actually being Marduk. (fig. 25) 107 True, Tiamat was

98 Koldewey, Das Wiedererstehende Babylon, 1925, Abb. 31
99 Curiously, Benjamin of Tudela wrote in 1173 that dragons infest
the Palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon.
100 H. Frankfort in Iraq, I, 1934, p. 22, pl. IIc.
101 H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, p. 163, pl. XXVII.
102 Loud, Khorsabad, II, pl. 50, no. 22.
103 Bachmann, Felsrelief in Assyrien, Taf. 28, and Van Buren, op. cit., p. 37.
105 Hammurabi Code, 21-55. cf. Ancient Near Eastern Texts, ed. Prit-
chard, p. 276. no. 2.
106 Heidel, op. cit., p. I.
107 F. Delitzsch, Babel and Bible, 1906, p. 159; and L. Heuzey, Les
origines Orientales de l'art, 1891-1915, fig. 5.
the substance from whose split halves earth and heaven were formed, but for purposes of representation the more convenient denotation sufficed, and moreover, the statue only shows the split upper half of the dragon, the other half presumably being submerged in the waves, and the rod and ring held by the god as tokens of dominion might possibly be those of Marduk. Is it not stated that Marduk was the lord who sat in the midst of Tiamat in the New Year’s Festival?  

The effect of the god Marduk seems to have been so persuasive

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that some of his attributes became absorbed in neighbouring religions. It is not difficult to see his figure lurking behind that of the Biblical Archangel Michael, who became "captain-general of the host of heaven, and protector of the Hebrew nation" after the Babylonian captivity. Michael is so exalted in the Old Testament that not only is he "one of the chief princes" (Dan. x. 13, xii, 1) but is actually described as being "like unto God" (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 26), which is what the name Mi-ka-el means. As the "angelic Paladin" he perpetually wages war on the powers of evil, (Book of Jubilees. I, 27; II, 1.) and guards the redeemed souls against the Prince of Hell. (Rev. xii. 6, 7) Like Marduk, he fights "the great dragon," casts it out (Rev. xii, 7) and tramples it under foot (Psalms. xci. 13). The Satan, Samael, with whom he fights is known in the Cabala as "the primitive serpent," nahash ha-kadmoni, and he is consequently invoked in enchantments to tame reptiles. Just as Marduk was "the minister of the counsels" of his father Ea, so Michael was the viceroy of God ruling over the world (Enoch, Lxix. 14ff.). Michael's residence was to be in a range of seven mountains, the highest of which was to be the seat of the Lord (Enoch xxiv-xxv. 5.),—a clear reminiscence of the seven-staged ziggurat with the chief god's shrine at the summit. The Ziggurat of Erech, for instance, is called "the house of the seven zones of heaven and earth" in the inscriptions. With such clear resemblances between God's functionaries and the gods of the heathens, it is hardly to be wondered at that a cult of angel worship sprang up and St. Paul had to warn the Colossians against their worship in the first century A.D. (Col. ii. 18). Though angel worship was stigmatized in 363 A.D. as idolatrous, "this disease" continued to inflict Phrygia and Pisidia according to Theodoret (c. 420-50). Constantine dedicated a Church to the archangel Michael 35 stadia from Constantinople, and later Justinian built one at Antioch, according to Procopius. (de Aedificiis II. xxi) Meanwhile Monte

110 A. Jameson, Sacred and Legendary Art, I, p. 84. Michael brings plagues on Egypt (Ibid., I, p. 109). He also destroys the army of Sennacherib (Ex. xviii. 5).
111 The Jewish Encyclopedia, 1925, VIII, pp. 537-8.
112 Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Trustees of the British Museum, II, 50, 55-7.
113 W. Ramsay, Church in the Roman Empire, 1893, p. 477.
Gargano in South-eastern Italy became sacred in the fifth century because of a legend that Michael had alighted there. This was copied once again in 706 at Mont St. Michel in Normandy, and in this way the sacred mountain of Babylonia found its way to the farthest West.

Even the building of early Michael churches in the East has a curiously pagan taint. Thus his church in Alexandria was built on the site of a temple of Saturn in which had been an image of brass named Michael. The image was broken up and all that was done was to transfer the pagan festival to the archangel Michael.\textsuperscript{114} The tenth century Muslim historian Tabari by an odd twist of his imagination makes out that Michael is commissioned to destroy the brazen statue in which St. George is to be burnt alive.\textsuperscript{115} One can readily understand such a confusion, as George and Michael not only had parallel developments in the Christian church, but in medieval art are often comrades in arms against a common foe, as we shall see presently.

St. George in turn appears to us to be modelled after a Babylonian hero—Tammuz. It may not be a pleasant prospect, but the view that St. George is modelled upon an historical person must be abandoned. For the John who met his death in 303 when he tore down the edict of Diocletian (Eusebius: \textit{Hist. Eccles.} viii. 5) is scarcely to be identified with the George of the Romance\textsuperscript{116} who is said to have suffered seven years of martyrdom at Tyre and must, therefore, have died in 310.\textsuperscript{117} Moreover, the martyrdom of George as recounted by his servant Pasikrates and adopted by Theodosius, Bishop of Jerusalem (c.450) and by Theodotus, Bishop of AncyrA (early fifth century) is held to be unreliable by the best authorities.\textsuperscript{118} At any rate the Coptic versions of the martyrdom

\textsuperscript{115} Zotenberg, \textit{Chronique d'Abu Djafer... Tabari.} Paris, 1867-71, I, 30, 73; II, 61; III, 213. However, in the Greek version the tortured George forces the devil inhabiting the statue of Apollo to admit he was a fallen angel. Thereafter all the statues of the gods fall before George.
\textsuperscript{117} He is already described as a holy martyr in an inscription dated 346 at the Church (converted from a temple) at Ezra in Syria. (S. Baring-Gould, \textit{Curious Myths of the Middle Ages}, 1901, p. 268.)
\textsuperscript{118} E. A. W. Budge, \textit{The Martyrdom and Miracles of St. George of Cappadocia}, 1888, pp. XXVI, XXVII.
are still more incredible, and indicate that there has been further corruption in the names and sequence of events, and that "every new version . . . contained some new wonder or miracles." All the martyrdoms that Christians ever suffered gradually attached themselves to George, and it would seem that in order to explain how he could have survived them all, they further attached to him the myth of Tammuz.

In fact Ibn Wahshiya al Kasdani (c.900), the translator of the Book of Nabatean Agriculture, identifies in so many words, "the legend of St. George that is current among the Christians," with that of Tammuz. It was natural, therefore, for the George as conceived by the Muslims to be identified with "the great Prophet," Khidr, and the festival of Khidrellez (or Khidr and Elias) to fall on April 23rd, the first day of Summer, the very date on which St. George's Day is still celebrated in England, having been first decreed in 1222 under Henry III as a festival of lesser rank. In Tabari's version Tammuz is vividly reflected in that at each moment of Djurjis's death the sky darkens and the sun reappears only after his return to life. (Tammuz's original name Dumuzi possibly means "the son who rises and goes forth.") Finally after converting the wife of his persecuter Tabari's Djurjis actually begs God that he may be allowed to die. After this the lady is herself condemned to death, just as in the Babylonian version Ishtar is condemned to death when she seeks to join Tammuz in the underworld. Another point of similarity is that the Babylonian New Year Akitu festival was held in April.

In the various versions of the martyrdom there is little consistency with regard to the locale. Thus Diocletian's edicts are known

119 Ibid., p. XXXII.
120 Chwolson, Uber Tammuz, St. Petersburg, 1860, pp. 41-56.
121 M. H. Bulley, St. George for Morris England, 1908, p. 23.
122 The Hindu counterpart of this name Djurjis or George, is Durga, also a smiter of evil. At Badami she holds her ox victim in Babylonian fashion by its tail, lifting it off the ground while spearing its skull. (F. D. K. Bosch, in Arts Asiatiques, III, fasc. 1, 1956, pp. 25, 34.) cf. a Luristan representation in Syria, XXVI, 1949, p. 210, fig. 10.
123 S. Langdon, Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms, 1919, p. 258f. See also S. Langdon, Tammuz and Ishtar, 1914, p. 14f.
to have been published in Nicomedia, while the Coptic texts claim George suffered in Tyre, and it would appear\textsuperscript{126} that pilgrims from the sixth-ninth centuries all speak of Lydda in Palestine as the seat of the veneration of St. George. Lydda is also the scene of quite another dragon myth among the Muslims. According to a \textit{hadith} attributed to Muhammad, Jesus will kill the Antichrist Dejjal, the beast of the earth, at the Gate of Lydda or its church.\textsuperscript{127} Tabari states,\textsuperscript{128} that the slayers of Dejjal, a king of the Jews and his cohort of snakes, scorpions and dragons at the end of Time, will be Jesus and the Mahdi (the guided) or Prophet Muham- mad. On the other hand, in a Persian Apocalyptic History of Daniel it is Michael and Gabriel who are to slay the false Messiah.\textsuperscript{129} It was long ago claimed that the Antichrist Legend was an anthropomorphic transformation of the Babylonian dragon myth.\textsuperscript{130}

Muslim historians, at any rate, attempt to take the St. George myth back to the East where its first roots germinated. Masudi says that Gherghis or El Khoudi was sent to Mosul to convert the king. He was there thrice executed and, at his last revival burned, and his ashes scattered in the Tigris. Thereupon God destroyed its whole community together with its King.\textsuperscript{131}

Muslim versions do not dwell on the lurid details of their Christian counterparts. These torments suffered by St. George for his faith are already referred to by St. Ambrose of Milan in the fourth century A.D.\textsuperscript{132} Soon the Christian accounts had become so fabulously gruesome that in 495 Pope Gelasius decreed that though George was to remain a true martyr, yet his passion was “not to be read because it was the work of heretics.” The Church of San Giorgio-in-Velabro was dedicated to him in 682 by Pope Leo II,\textsuperscript{133} but he appears to have lost the favour of his adherents after the official rejection of his apocryphal legend.

Indeed it is by no means accidental that there is a renascent interest in St. George in the twelfth century concurrent with the

\textsuperscript{126} Delehaye, \textit{Saints Militaires}, 1909, pp. 45-76.
\textsuperscript{127} Clermont-Ganneau in \textit{Revue Archéologique}, XXXII, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{128} Zotenberg, ed., pp. 67, 512.
\textsuperscript{129} W. Bossuet, \textit{The Antichrist Legend}, 1896, pp. 109-10.
\textsuperscript{130} See Gunkel, \textit{Schöpfung und Chaos}.
\textsuperscript{131} Von Sprenger, \textit{Mas'udi rubers}, I, p. 120.
\textsuperscript{133} Jameson, \textit{op. cit}, II, p. 404.
accession of a whole new cycle of myth. It is believed that George’s association with the dragon does not date back before the twelfth century, and the story derives mainly from the Legenda Aurea, an account of the lives of saints written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa in 1280. This phenomenon of late attributions is well attested even in the case of historical heroes; for instance, though Dieudonne de Gozon, one of the Grand Masters of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes, was certainly famed for his exploits, it was not until two centuries after his death that popular tradition made him the slayer of the dragon Malpasso. If we are to credit the poet Nizami’s statement in 1198, then in pre-Islamic Persia, it was in his own lifetime that Bahram Gur was represented in a painting in his Palace of Khwarnaq (c. 418) in the act of fighting a dragon. At any rate, it seems certain that the new George myth was once again brought from the East, this time as a product of the First Crusade during which he is reported by William of Malmsebury to have come to the assistance of the hard pressed Christians at Antioch in 1087. Later in 1191 Richard I placed himself under his protection in his Palestinian war, and brought the cult back to England.

The new version represents George as a soldier of Cappadocia born of affluent Christian parents, coming to the aid of a city besieged by a dragon. The city has been so depleted of its youth offered up to the dragon as sacrifice, that the King is compelled to surrender his own daughter, Cleolinda. George, however, arrives in the nick of time, pierces the dragon to death, and thus rescues the princess. Despite the immense lag in time, we have no hesitation in identifying the source of this legend as that of Perseus who, in like fashion rescues the King’s daughter, Andromeda, for she too had been sacrificed to avert the threat of the sea monster.

135 F. W. Hashuk, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, 1929, II, p. 649.
136 Haft Paikar, tr. C. E. Wilson, I, p. 45.
137 Jameson, op. cit., II, p. 396. It should be noted that the adoption of St. George as the patron saint of an English Order of Knighthood (the Order of the Garter, instituted in 1330) was already anticipated in Aragon in 1201, and George’s ensign, red cross on white field, in 1245 in Austria.
138 M. H. Bulley, op. cit., p. 23.
In this connection it may be significant to note that while the Jewish historian Josephus (A.D. 37-101) states that the legend of Perseus was enacted near Joppa or Jaffa, concurring with Strabo (A.D. 24) and Pliny (A.D. 79) that the skeleton of the sea monster, Ketos, was shown at Joppa, the legend of St. George is believed to have taken place at Berytus or Beirut.  

The prototypes of the St. George and dragon episode in art are, moreover, found centuries earlier in the Near East. The principal difference, as compared with the archaic Mesopotamian representations, is that the vanquisher is bestride a horse, as on the Egyptian relief at the Louvre in which the eagle-headed Horus (no longer in a boat as before) dressed as a legionario, lances a crocodile. One of the titles of Horus was "bruiser of the serpent and conqueror of the dragon." Plutarch in his "Isis and Osiris" makes Horus justify the use of horse in this particular type of combat. Horus too, had his Festival on what is now St. George's day. Once again a (sixth century?) Syrian pierced ivory panel at the British Museum (decorated with a horse-shoe openwork arcade at the crest), represents a paladin on a horse. This time it is Bellerophon bestride the winged horse Pegasus thrusting his lance into the upturned mouth of a lionlike chimera. The numerous representations of this scene on classical vases make it probable that in the steeds of George and Horus we have a distant reminiscence of Pegasus, the flying horse with the golden bridle (Hesiod, Theogony, 319f) apparently an emblem of the sun itself who enables his master to vanquish the powers of darkness. But George on his steed makes a belated appearance in Medieval art, and Michael seems to have a precedence over him. One of the earliest examples of the equestrian George spearing a dragon is

140 A. Gayet, L'Art Copte, 1902, p. 113.
143 cf. G. Poggi, Arte Medioevale Negli Abruzzi, 1914, p. 82, for the representation on the ambone or pulpit at Moscufo (1139) in Italy of a similar parapet arcade and a similar theme.
on an eleventh century Byzantine steatite where the name of the saint is actually written above his head. On the other hand on the marble throne at Monte Gargano it is certainly the archangel and not the saint as suggested by his wings. This early twelfth century throne is carried on the back of a couchant lion, while Michael is represented calmly standing on a dragon whom he is in the act of spearing. The same immobility is evident in the archangel on the pediment of the Church of St. Michele at Lucca (Pl. 62). Action is unnecessary as the figure is entirely allegorical—the globe surmounted with cross in his left hand symbolizing the victory of Faith over the powers of evil. Some earlier representations are anything but static. In the vivacious eleventh century fresco at St. Savin, Vienne, in France, the archangel with dark round Grecian eyes seated on a majestic white charger, has the steel point of his weapon at the throat of the rearing dragon, while a companion saint wields a sword above his head. The Michael spearing a winged dragon in a Norman MS.

**Fig. 26**

145 Schulz, *Denkmaler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unter-Italien*, 1860, Pl. XLI.


147 P. Gelis-Didot, *La Peinture decorative en France*, fig. 1., and H. Focillon, *Peintures Romanes des Eglises de France*, 1938, pl. 4. cf. the
from the second half of the eleventh century\textsuperscript{148} seems Oriental, not only on account of his swarthy complexion, but also because of the gold borders on his robe, cuffs, collar and breast. So too, naturally, is the St. George painted by Orientals on the ceiling of Capella Palatina at Palermo in 1144 (Fig. 26), whose long thin lance has pierced the neck of the coiling ophidian dragon. Such snake-bodied dragons, together with other Oriental motifs,\textsuperscript{149} appear next on Italian bronze doors as at the Cathedrals of Ravello (1179) and Monreale, executed by Barsiano of Trani.\textsuperscript{150} Later, in the Porta San Giorgio (1285) at Florence,\textsuperscript{151} the vanquisher with the dragon is carved above the arch of the gate, (Pl. 63) as is the

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig27}
\caption{Fig. 27}
\end{figure}

rhythmic and spontaneous representation on the tympanum of the Church of Entraigues (Charente) c. 1137. (E. Male, \textit{l'Art Religieux du \textit{XIIe. siecle}, fig. 174.)


\textsuperscript{149} e.g. confronted archers drawing bow (as among the mosaics of the Ziza Palace in Palermo (1166)), and combatants battling with staves or clubs (on a Fatimid ceramic plate at the Cairo Museum).

\textsuperscript{150} C. Ricci, \textit{Romanesque Architecture in Italy}, p. 251, 253. Monreale's West door was executed by Bonanus of Pisa (1186).

\textsuperscript{151} M. Salmi, \textit{Romanesque sculpture in Tuscany}, p. 63, pl. XXXVIII.
dragon slayer at the Talisman Gate in Baghdad. The final development is that the erstwhile hero from the East is enlisted by Westerners to represent their own victory against Orientals (Fig. 27).\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{152} George triumphing against Saracens carved in relief over the door at Fordington, Dorset. (Legacy of Islam, ed. T. W. Arnold, fig. 8).
CHAPTER X

THE DRAGON GENERA IN ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

When in the neo-Babylonian period in Mesopotamia dragons began to be represented monumentally as warders, a fearsome polymorphus creature was evolved that combined within itself the might and majesty of the lords of the earth, sky and underworld. Nebuchadnezzar I (604-561) says in an inscription that he placed on the thresholds of the gates of Babylon strong bulls of bronze and terrible serpents.¹ Excavation has revealed these mushussu in glazed relief. They stalk forward on eagle's hindlegs and lion's forelegs, and have a scaly tail and body and a horned

Fig. 28

¹ S. Langdon, Building Inscriptions of the neo-Babylonian Empire, 1905, p. 60.
serpent's head with forked protruding tongue (Fig. 28). The violently agitated Mongol dragon of the thirteenth-fourteenth century A.D. on a painted tile from Kashan is a distant descendant of this type, for it is a quadruped with scaly body and eagle's claws, though this time it is the body that has the serpentine attribute (Fig. 29). If it is true, as it has been held, that the Chinese dragon

![Fig. 29](image-url)

is an offshoot of western types, then here we have the dragon returning to its homeland after a long visitation abroad.

It would appear to be a coincidence that the Kashan dragon has three rings painted on the palm of each of its claws just as on Assurnasirpal's relief (885-860 B.C.) of the leonine dragon at the British Museum (cf. Fig. 21), were it not for the fact that the great arch-dragon of history Tamerlane also had an insignia of three rings. This seems to suggest that in each


2. His armorial bearing of three circlets is said to have stood as symbol of his lordship over the three quarters of the world. (Le Strange, *The Embassy of Clavijo*, p. 208). In Greece the three-circle symbolism has been interpreted as bearing an astral meaning. (Deonna, "Les "solaire"," in *Revue des études grecques*, 1916, p. 1f.)
case a perfect embodiment of either the three natures or the three elements was implied. In the case of the Assyrian relief this is not obvious for the creature appears to be the Usungallu or leonine dragon referred to by Gudea, and has the lion and eagle natures in approximately equal proportions. But it may be that its third aspect is represented by the horns and distended sex organ of the virile bull, and in this connection we may recall that we have already noted the association of the dragon with fertility (of the earth). Further confirmation is given to this theory by the scribe of Assurbanipal who describes in similar terms the moon god of Ur, Nannar, "strong ox, whose horn is powerful... whose member is full of virility."4

As a purely artistic representation, the Zoroastrian Saena mereyo commonly known as the dog-bird Senmurv, is a creature of the same family as the usumgallu. However, there are certain modifications—the lion's head has degenerated into a dog's head, the rear legs are omitted as the creature is a purely aerial one, and the eagle's tail has been replaced by that of a peacock which serves to characterize its role as a heavenly bird.5 Its triple nature is thus unimpaired even though the texts do not distinguish between its griffin wing and peacock tail, but simply refer to it as a bird with dog teeth whose third aspect is that it dwells in holes like musk animals (Bundahisn, XIV, 23-4). The words of the text (ibid., XIX, 18) to the effect that the Senmurv was twice created at the gate of the world, once again recall the two dragons guarding the Gate of Babylon. Moreover the lion-bird on a seal (BM. 1222125)6 is closely paralleled by the Simurgh or dog-bird.

The name Simurgh is also suggestive of the Greek fire-breathing monster Chimaera referred to as early as in Homer (Iliad: VI, 179; XVI, 328). This beast is described as having the forepart of a lion, the middle of a goat including head, and ending in a

4 Western Asiatic Inscriptions, British Museum, IV, 9. The bull was often regarded as the symbol of fertility, as for example, in the case of women exposing their genitals to the bull Apis for 40 days after its dedication. (Diodorus Siculus, I, LXXXV, 1-3; E. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period, V, p. 74; cf. also VII, p. 20.)
5 The texts state that it was not meant for this world (Bundahisn. XXIV. 11.)
6 D. Van Buren, in Iraq, I, 1934, p. 71, Pl. IX b.
serpent-headed tail. The concept is traditionally held to have originated from a volcano of the same name in Lycia in whose three zones—forests, pastures, and marshes—dwelt these three animals. Here, however, a significant discrepancy may be noted, for while the Corinthian vase painters and their subsequent emulators have a goat stemming from the body of the Chimaera, Homer says that between the lion front and dragon rear was the Chimaera itself breathing out flames, and he defines this Chimaera as "a divine being," "a goddess." It has been noted that at least one seventh century aryballos has a Chimaera with a dominant human head on its back instead of a goat, a feature once again found in some Etruscan Chimaerae. It has further been observed that this Homeric version is closer to the original conception which is proved by the discovery in excavations of some eight examples of Oriental Chimaerae in neo-Hittite reliefs from N.-W. Syria dating from the eighth century B.C. For example between the lion’s head and serpent’s tail of the Chimaera on a porphyry pyxis from Mahmudiya is a female head identifiable as a goddess since she wears a horned crown. The Chimaera of this type may well be a much older Hittite invention: two examples of the fourteenth century B.C. are known, one on a gold ring from Konia, now at Oxford, and another on a Megiddo ivory. It has been argued that the goat’s head was substituted for the goddess without a change in meaning since the hieroglyphic portraying a goat’s head signified "Divine." But as against this it must be remembered that the monster of the Greek myth dwelt in Lycia, and its flaming breath is a reference to the volcanic activity issuing from a mountain cave, so that the mountain goat may simply be a reminder of the locale.

The fire-breathing attribute of the Chimaera could have been inherited from the Sumerian Leviathan-figure through the mediation of the fire-breathing Hittite dragon Iluyunkas. Similarly the serpent tail could have had a long descent, for instance, through

8 Ibid., p. 74.
9 Ibid., pp. 77-8.
the scorpion men which occur, on an early dynastic lapis lazuli seal from Ur, and with which the Hebrews could have become familiar through such examples as the monumental guardians of the Tell Halaf citadel. The Book of Revelations (ix. 19) refers to creatures with "tails like unto serpent...and with them do they hurt."

At any rate, the Zoroastrian Çaêna mereyô resembles the Chi- maera in its triple nature as is clearly explicit in the derivation from the Pehlavi ça meaning three. But while it has been noted that Çaêna of the Avestas is a mystic bird (Yesht. xiii. 109.), the Çaêna of the Vedas is a purely naturalistic eagle, albeit the greatest and swiftest of birds. The earlier conception of the Avestas regarding the Çaêna mereyô corresponds with the Mesopotamian dragon which serves as the fertilizer of the fields and above which a bird of augury is diving. In the Zoroastrian texts the Senmurv dwells on an island amidst a lake, and here it sits on the sacred tree Hom (which is guarded by the fish Kara) and lets fall its fertilizing seeds together with rain. These seeds scattered over the earth alleviated the ills of mankind.

Just as the beneficent Mesopotamian dragon guards the threshold against the influences of evil, so the Indian Garuda (from the Tamil "kazu"="kite"?) is described by the Hindu texts as "the enemy of serpents", and the earliest existing representations of the Senmurv on a Scythian gold sword sheath, probably of the sixth century B.C. does represent a griffin-headed beast with a bird's tail flying with a serpent in its mouth. Aristotle (Hist. Anim., IX, ii, §3) explains this enmity as stemming purely from the fact that in nature the eagle preys on the serpent, though more imaginative writers would prefer to see it as a conflict between the symbols of earth and sky. The Arabian Roc, who is also an enemy

10 The scorpion men in the Legend of the King of Cutha are said to have had bat's bodies with faces of ravens. (King, Seven Tablets of Creation, p. 143, Ill. 10-11.) cf. O. R. Gurney in Anatolian Studies, V, 1955, pp. 91, 1, 31.
11 Legrain, Ur Excavations, II, p. 336, pl. 192.
of the serpent, would seem to be some fabled rook, though it is the eagle that is known as the simrukha among the Uigur Turks. The identification of Roc with rook is suggested by the texts which state that the chariot of Kaikaus was carried by the raven\(^{15}\) (a larger member of the same family as the rook). Among the Kurds a curious tale survives\(^ {16}\) describing how the bird "Simyr" served Osman as bearer over the world since he had killed its enemy, the snake.\(^ {17}\) Firdausi, the tenth century Persian poet, describes the Simurgh as "the noble bird" in just such a role as the bearer of a hero. The fabulous bird rescues the child Zál, carries him pressed against the breast (which exudes musk) to its nest in the cloud-capped Alburz mountains, and rears him\(^ {18}\) on the blood of his prey (Shahnama, VII, pp. 133-146). That the Roc is a descendant, or at least a closely related conception of the Simurgh\(^ {19}\) is suggested by the Ramayana (VII. 6.) which makes the vehicle of Vishnu, Garuda, the grandchild of Čyéna.

It would be interesting to establish how the Phoenix (see below p. 261 f.) fits into this scheme of things, but here we will only note one point of similarity. We had observed that one of the natures of the Senmurv comprised of its musk-exuding quality (said to be represented in art by the beard of a goat) whereas one of the salient aspects of the Phoenix legend is that it forms an egg of myrrh—a substance which is not only used for embalming but also as perfume. A later legend contrives the resurrection of the Phoenix in flames, and it is notable that on an early Sassanian repousse and incised silver dish which was found in the Urals,\(^ {20}\) from the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad, the bearded Senmurv has a scaly fish tail to which is attached a flame of feathers. We may recall that in Firdausi's myth Zál conjured the Simurgh by throwing its


\(^{16}\) C. Trever, op. cit., pp. 20-1.

\(^{17}\) A Nagini offering a snake to an eagle occurs on a sculpture from Sanghao, at the Delhi Museum. (A. Foucher, L'Art greco-bouddhique de Gandhara, 1922, pl. 101).

\(^{18}\) Ibn al Athir (Bulak, I. 143-5) has the disgorged Jonah suckled by a goat.

\(^{19}\) Even the name rukh, it is suggested, derives from (Sim) urgh (Casartelli in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXVIII, 1891, p. 345-6). If so we may regard the Uigur Simrukh as an intermediate form.

feather into the fire. The typical dog-bird Simurgh of Sassanian and later times is by no means a Sassanian invention; it is anticipated in relief on the belt of a Parthian commander from Hatra (c. A.D. 100) carved in Mosul marble and now in the Iraq Museum at Baghdad. Since at the Parthian Palace at Hatra a panther-headed hippocamp is carved flanking the vault opening,21 it is conceivable that the relatively later dog-bird is a derivative of it. In the time of Khusru II, toward the end of Sassanian rule, the Simurgh was carved in low relief at Tak-i-Bostan22—the secondary motifs of overlapping hearts and compartment roundels suggesting that it was copied either from textiles or silver vessels. At any rate, contemporary Sassanian textiles with Simurghs do survive in European Museums as, for example, in the Museo Nazionale in Florence23. Another fragment in the same collection24 slightly different in character has an extraneous chevron pattern on its breast, and an identical piece at the Kunstgeschichte Museum in Berlin is assigned not to the sixth but to the eleventh century. The Simurgh on the silk fragment at the Victoria and Albert Museum25 is stated to be a Sassanian silk of the sixth-seventh century, but if that is so then it anticipates an Islamic feature—the leaf design on its body26—a deliberate irrelevance intended to detract from a realistic appearance (Pl. 64). Simurghs are certainly found on authentic Islamic works, as, for instance, in relief on an early circular earthenware tablet with an Arabic inscription above,27 and later on a tenth century dish from Rayy,28 and it is from such a source no doubt that the painted representation of Semmurvs in circles on a Gregorian Church at Ani in Armenia was derived. The influence of Islamic Persia is further suggested in this church by concentric stepped diapers simulating brick bonds painted as a

22 E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, 1920, Pls. LXII-LXIII.
23 Photo Alinari, no. 30934.
26 A parcel gilt silver dish of the 7th or 8th century from Persia has engraved floral forms over the tail of the simurgh (O.M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, 1926, p. 66, pl. XL.)
27 Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*.
28 Pezard, *La ceramique archaïque de l'Islam*, II, pl. XXIV B.
lower frieze.\textsuperscript{29} Spreading westward into Byzantine territories the Senmurv is next found on a carved relief at the Osmania Museum at Istanbul.\textsuperscript{30} A final manifestation of the dog-bird occurs on an early thirteenth century Mosan bronze-gilt ewer at the Victoria and Albert Museum,\textsuperscript{31} though its tail is no longer that of a peacock either with stylized feathers or with geometricized cross hatchings. (Pl. 65).

Both the goat-aspect and the dog-aspect of the Senmurv may be sought in dim antiquity, where both appear in some way connected with Zodiac symbols. Among the earliest representations of the goat-bodied dragon is that on a cylinder seal from the time of Gudea (c.2000 B.C.). Here the God of the Deep Ea is represented standing both on a goat-fish\textsuperscript{32} (Fig. 30) [Ea's name was expressed by the ideograph signifying "wild goat") and on a man-fish\textsuperscript{33}.

The goat-fish becomes the Capricorn symbol on the \textit{Kuduru} of Melishipak II, King of Babylon (c. 1200 B.C.), from Susa.\textsuperscript{34} But by the time it appears again on a painted terracotta facing plate at Dura Europos (A.D. 224),\textsuperscript{35} it has already been anticipated by Greek gems and Roman coins. Moreover, it would seem that the goat-bearded monster had already combined with a canine type on a painted clay from Corinth,\textsuperscript{36} but it is once again clear that the dog-faced dragon Ketos is of Oriental origin, as evident from a Hittite seal of c. 2000 B.C.\textsuperscript{37} In the example from Corinth a deity with trident rides on the monster's back, as also on the backs of

\textsuperscript{29} J. Strzygowski, \textit{Altai Iran}, Abb. 128.
\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Early Medieval Art}, op. cit., pl. 21.
\textsuperscript{32} As on an Assyrian seal of the ninth century B.C. (Frankfort, \textit{Cylinder Seals}, pl. xxxiii. j.)
\textsuperscript{33} Ward, \textit{Cylinder Seals of Western Asia}, p. 214, fig. 649.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art}, I, pl. 265.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, II, pl. 127.
\textsuperscript{36} K. Shepherd, \textit{The fish-tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art}, New York, 1940, pl. VI, fig. 41.
\textsuperscript{37} Weber, in \textit{Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen}; 1916, fig. 27.
seahorses on coins of c.500 B.C. from Tarentum in Sicily, both of which recall Ea riding on his goat-fish. The seahorse, hippocamp (named after the naturalistic marine animal which it resembles), has no direct ancestors in the Orient, but since a post-fifth century coin from Tyre has the god Melkart riding a hippocamp, and Poseidon rides a quadriga of hippocamps on a coin from Beirut, a Phoenician origin is not to be ruled out. The antithetical hippocamps on the painted gables of Etruscan tombs may conceivably symbolize the passage of the dead to the future life. At any rate rampant confronted seahorses over curled waves through which sprouts a lotus trident occur on a south Etruscan cinerary urn of c.300 B.C. In Roman times, however, the symbolism, if intended, appears at least to be secondary, and a great variety of dragon-tailed monsters are depicted in order to suggest the fabulous character of the sea. Thus on a polychrome mosaic pavement at the Museo Nazionale Romano, the Old Man of the Sea, Oceanus, is encircled by a horse, lion, tiger and bull—all with dragon tails (Pl. 66). The elephant-snouted dragon on the outer rail of the Amaravati stupa (Fig. 31) in India may well be an expression of the same tendency in one of Rome's colonies overseas. So

38 British Museum Catalogue of Coins (Poole), Italy, pl. XI, 34.
40 Ibid., p. 3. cf. Weege, Etruskische Malerei, 1921, fig. 55.
41 Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, I, pt. II, 1931, fig. 55.
42 It has, however, been suggested that the animals represented by the sea monsters are normally associated with Dionysus and that in the mosaics they give the impression of a bacchanalian orgy with Poseidon presiding instead of his frequent companion Dionysus. (E. R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period, V, 1956, p. 29.)
43 J. Burgess, Amaravati Stupa, pl. XXVIII. 6.
44 This is far likelier than that the Buddhist makara or the mythical crocodile be immediately derived from the then already ancient goat-fish of Ea as had been maintained by G. E. Smith (The Evolution of the Dragon, 1919, p. 105, etc). The Buddhist beast is in the first place a ram and not a goat, and its body is joined to the tail with a loop like that of the Roman monsters. The one feature that it shares in common with Babylonia is that the Sanchi makara serves also as a vehicle. (cf. A. K. Maitra, "The River Goddess Ganga," in Rupam, April 1921.) On the other hand a glance at the ichthyocentaurs, hippocamps, tritons and winged dragons at Gandhara is sufficient to confirm the opinion
too, is the lion-headed dragon on a medallion from a Buddhist railing of c. 50 B.C. or later, now at Mathura,45 though its wings unnecessarily complicate the issue as to whether it is akin to the Parthian island-dwelling bird, or the Roman lion of the sea. (Fig. 32) A curious late survival of the lion-dragon is carved in low relief on a medieval fragment at the Sorrento Museum where companion pieces clearly reveal an Oriental influence.46 Another presumably medieval carved marble slab in the same region at Positano, once on a pulpit and now let into the wall over a doorway opposite the Cathedral, has a canine dragon of the sea,47 whose identity is further clarified by the dog and fish below (Pl. 67). The characterization of the fish, and the manner in which the dragon bites the fish, recall the fish-biting ducks carved on the ablution basin (987-8) from the Moorish Palace of Medinat az Zahra, now at the Archaeological Museum in Madrid.48 A contemporary Moorish that all these mythical sea monsters derive from Roman art. (cf. I. Lyons and H. Ingholt, Gandhara Art in Pakistan, 1957, nos. 388, 390, 394, 395, and pp. 155-6).

45 Cunningham in Archaeological Survey of India, Reports, III, 1871, pl. IX. Moreover Ketu, the descending node in astronomy represented by a dragon’s tail (J. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, 9th ed., 1957, p. 157) has a name suspiciously resembling the Roman dragon-tailed Ketos.

46 Rohalt de Fleury, La Messe, III, pl. CCLVI.

47 cf. the paired dragons at the 8th century Tomb of Theodota at Pavia (Cattaneo, Architecture in Italy, p. 153). The ineptly carved dragons on the baptismal font at Cividale (737) are confronting little fishes.

48 The Ketos as a zodiac symbol occurs early in Islamic art at the Omayyad Palace of Quseir Amra in the Jordan desert. (F. Saxl in Early Muslim Architecture, by K. A. C. Creswell, I. fig, 340).
capital at the same collection has carved on it a pair of winged dragons confronting each other, and must be called to mind when considering the pair of winged dragons on the early thirteenth century Mesopotamian Seljuk bronze door-knocker found in Tiflis and now at the Staatliche Museum in Berlin.\(^{49}\) In this deftly composed metalwork the dragons are turning round to bite their own wing while their tails terminate in griffins heads which once again turn around to bite the dragons, and meanwhile a severely stylized demon head mediates between and keeps the creatures still further in abeyance (Fig. 33). While the Cordova piece first initiates sea monsters into Islamic sculpture it is in the latter instance that they are turned into talismans, all too often associated with doors and entrances. Once again the somewhat earlier bronze doors at Ravello\(^{50}\) have reliefs of paired dragons turning round to lick their wings.

Early Christian art enlisted the hippocamp or horse-headed dragon in the representation of the Jonah legend.\(^{51}\) This is evident when we compare one of the earliest surviving versions—the Jonah fresco of the first part of the second century A.D. at the Cemetery of Callistus at Rome, with a Roman painting of a hippocamp of

\(^{49}\) Ettinghausen and Schroeder, *University Prints*, Boston, 0482.


\(^{51}\) Matthew (xii, 40), however, calls Jonah’s monster a cetos, which, as we have seen, is the dog-faced dragon.
half a century earlier. The scene represents Jonah diving toward the rearing dragon while the ship's crew man the sails. The strip pictures continue to the left where Jonah is being disgorged, and still further to the left he is reclining under a gourd arbour with legs crossed and with one hand to heart and one to head. A millennium later the Jonah narrative was still a popular subject for art in Italy, and occurs, for instance, on the ambone of 1159 at the S. Maria del Lago at Moscufo (S.E. of Teramo) where the Prophet is being held by the ankle over the side of the schooner by a truncheon-brandishing member of the crew. The subject is an apt one on pulpits, and occurs again in mosaic at Ravello (Pl. 68). While the Jonah motif was quite a favourite among the fourth century sarcophagi at Rome, it was becoming equally popular on the other end of the Mediterranean where the Biblical Jonah legend is said to have been enacted. A fourth century version from Tarsus (the port for which Jonah was sailing) is to be found at the Metropolitan Museum, and a relief fragment from Smyrna is now at Istanbul. On other media the theme appears in Antioch ivories, and on the mosaic pavement at the Church at Beit Jibrin near Jerusalem. It was, however, not until the fourteenth century that the Jonah episode was introduced into Persian miniatures by the Mongols, where it occurs in Rashid ad Din's History of the World, for example, in a Manuscript of 1306-14. In the Edinburgh copy (MS. 20, fol. 23 L) dated 1310-11, Jonah recoups under the gourd tree, and in another Tabriz miniature late in the same century the black-bearded naked Prophet is seated on his haunches in the mouth of a scaly fish, while imploring a hovering angel of God with one arm outstretched.

A very early representation of Jonah sets off a new train of

52 Wilpert, Le pitture delle catacombe, cf. pl. 11, and p. 26, and p. 338
53 G. Poggi, Arte Medievale Negli Abruzzi, 1914, p. 82.
54 A. de Waal, Der Sarkophag des Junius Basus, p. 21, and Leclercq, Manuel d'archéologie Chrétienne, II, fig. 238.
55 Crowfoot and Smirnov, Kleinasiens, 1903, fig. 143.
57 J. Pijoan, Summa Artis, VII, fig. 284.
58 Blochet, Musulman Painting, pl. II, possibly derived from Armenian sources where it occurs in a lectionary of 1288. (cf. L. A. Dournovo, Miniatures Armeniennes, 1960, pl. 93.)
thought. On an earthenware lamp at the Museum of Marseilles\textsuperscript{60} the body of the swallowed victim emerges continuously out of the
tail of the fish so that he appears as a merman (Fig. 34). Contrary to expectations the man-fish is also a motif of Oriental origin. A variant of it is the god-boat which in Early Dynastic Mesopotamian seals is pictured as having human heads and arms and fish’s tails.\textsuperscript{61} Gods like Shamash, Enki and Nannar utilized such boats to travel from one city to another.\textsuperscript{62} The idea of the zoomorphic boat migrated to the Mediterranean, and is found on a ring from Mochlos.\textsuperscript{63} We have already had occasion to mention the man-fish on a seal from the time of Gudea on which stood Ea, the God of the Deep. Bearded Oriental mermen are moreover to be found on an Elamite stele of c.1500 B.C.,\textsuperscript{64} on a relief at Tell Halaf,\textsuperscript{65} and on a relief from Sargon’s palace.\textsuperscript{66} The Assyrian figures of men with fish cloaks are probably the priests of Ea. According to the Babylonian priest Berossus, the god Oannes came out of the sea with a fish cloak over his body, and it was he who humanized the life of

\textsuperscript{60} F. X. Dolger, \textit{IXYCY, Das Fischsymbol im fruh Christlicher Zeit.} 1910, I, p. 119, Fig. 5.
\textsuperscript{61} H. Frankfort, in \textit{Iraq}, I, 1, pp. 18f. ; pl. IIIe.g.
\textsuperscript{63} M. P. Nilsson, \textit{Minoan Mycenaean Religion}, 1950, fig. 136.
\textsuperscript{64} G. Contenau, \textit{Les Antiquités orientales}, 1927, no. 52.
\textsuperscript{65} M. von Oppenheim, \textit{Der Tell Halaf}, 1931, p. 155, fig. 35b.
\textsuperscript{66} Bottai, \textit{Monuments de Ninive . . .}, 1848, I, pl. 32 ; Layard, \textit{Nineveh}, 1849, II, p. 466f.
the lawless Babylonians. It is notable that the fish-tailed man
dwelling in the sea in Muslim legend who calms the waters, is
named Insan after Insaniyyat meaning 'humanity'.

Also on Oriental seals we encounter pairs of mermen. For ex-
ample they flank a medallion on a Kassite seal dating from 1600-
1200 B.C. Another Babylonian seal represents a female fish god-
together with a male (fig. 35). When the origin of Greek mermen such
as the grouped ones painted on a terracotta statuette from Tan-
agra are sought, the aforesaid Oriental examples must be recalled.

It is through a Greek writer that we learn of the Syrian fish
goddess Derketo or Atargatis. According to Diodorus (II, 4) she
threw herself into a lake near Ascalon (as a result of her shame
at bearing the child of a youth), and on entering the water her
lower part was transformed into a fish. Lucian adds (Dea Syria,
14) that in honour of this fish-tailed goddess fish and doves were
prohibited as food, though fish could be offered to her altar by
priests. According to Lucian she was represented as a mermaid at
Ascalon.

Returning once more to the Jonah theme we must admit that
this post-exilic Biblical book betrays a skilful blending of drama
with didactic aim. But the swallowing motif which plays so cons-
picuous a role in it, was a widely disseminated one. When look-
ing at the early medieval representations of Jonah it is well to
remember its counterparts. In one instance in The Thousand and
One Nights Sindbad says he saw "a gigantic serpent holding in

67 E. R. Hodges, Cory's Ancient Fragments, 1876, p. 57; F. Lenormant,
Essai de Commentaire des Fragments cosmogoniques de Bérose; P.
Schnabel, Berossos und die Babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur, 1923.
68 The zoological section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulub, tr. J. Stephenson,
1928, p. 51.
69 Ashmolean Museum, Summary Guide to the Department of Anti-
quities, 1951, pl. XXII.
70 Munster, Babylonier (a seal in the British Museum).
71 L. Heuzey, Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musee de Louvre,
1883, pl. XVII, no. 1; cf. Payne, Neo-Corinthia, 1931, pl. 15; and Laj-
ard, Recherches sur le culte de Mithras, 1847, plls. LXII, 1, 2a.
72 Dolger, Ichthys, II, pp. 263-95.
74 Heracles was also swallowed and disgorged by the monster that
was to slay Hesione. (See further A. Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion,
1899, I, pp. 294-6.)
its mouth a man of whom it had already swallowed three-quarters.  In another instance on an Attic cup by Douris there is the representation of a dragon who has swallowed the lower half of a man (evidently Jason) while a goddess with an owl in one hand and a spear in the other watches on (fig. 36).

Fig. 36

71 Mardrus and Mathers, The Thousand and One Nights, II, p. 325.
72 Vatican Museum of Egyptian and Etruscan Antiquities, M. 6; Pfühl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Greisen, 1923, fig. 467.
73 J. D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase Painting, 1947, p. 34. Diomedes, (Jason's original name) has to win a treasure guarded by a sea monster. (R. Graves, Greek Myths, 1955, II, p. 219).
CHAPTER XI

THE ASCENSION THEME

The history of man is replete with examples of strange survivals in taboos, customs, and myths which give substance to the aphorism that "man remembers and combines but does not create." However much one may wish to interpret history as a progressive unfolding of man's creative genius, the body of evidence compels us to accept the thesis that much of what seems new and unprecedented is but a creative adaptation of something in the past. And indeed it cannot be denied that the pressure of the past acting on the present largely determines the direction of future events. But the link with the past is not solely due to hidebound tradition—often it is due to an active recognition of value implicit in the past. The idea of survival is less mysterious if viewed in this light: the theme that is potent and which has a wide appeal is thus guaranteed a chequered career of future success.

One such theme—the ascent of man into the skies, or yet to Paradise, has intrigued the fancies of peoples throughout the ages in many lands. And again the first known myth of the "Ascent" has had reverberations among other people far removed in space and time. It is to Babylonia, that cradle of civilization, which we must once again credit the first imaginative interpretation of the theme. The Legend of Etana is an expression of the earliest civilized man's urge to perpetuate a divine rule on earth. Etana, the unlucky 13th King after the Flood, who ruled a traditional 1500 years, is without a male heir. He supplicates his patron Shamash, the sun god. The latter directs him to an eagle lying in a pit stripped of its wings. The eagle has come to this pass since he has abused the oath of friendship with the snake who henceforth becomes his deadly enemy. In gratitude for being rescued, the eagle offers

1 In the Iliad (XII, 209) the eagle with the serpent was regarded as a special sign from Zeus. Cf. also the great bird "Voc" the serpent swallowower of Central America. (L. Spence, The Popol Vuh, p. 20.) The theme of the feud between the serpent and the eagle is a widespread one, but in one particular the Muslim tradition resembles the Babylonian and
to carry Etana into the skies in search of the plant of birth which is to be found in the Third Heaven of Anu. They fly off and on reaching the Gates of the Gods of the First Heaven the eagle describes what he sees. On ascending to the Gate of the Second Heaven after an interval of the earthly equivalent of three double hour’s march, the eagle describes the sea as having shrunk to the size of a garden canal. Etana trembles and wishes to return, but the eagle continues its ascent until the sea disappears from the vision altogether. Again Etana urges the eagle to descend—which it must be presumed it does precipitously and the expedition ends in disaster since the tablets refer to his wife mourning his death. Since Etana is represented in the Legend of Gilgamesh as a dweller in the domain of the Underworld, the story might well have had a didactic end. No mere mortal can presume to penetrate the fortress of the gods on high without peril to himself. It is only fair to point out, however, that there are two objections to Etana’s ascent having ended fatally—one that the son and heir which he has so desperately sought does occur in the king lists, and another that cylinder seals do not commemorate his disaster. Judging from the failure of all later aspirants of the kind we may say that generally ascension can only be through a decree of the divinity and cannot be a matter of human desire. Ganymede’s was just this desire, that is “man’s longstanding wish to be honoured by the gods.”

Etana’s flight has long since been recognized as resembling those of other legends. However, it is not always apparent that elements are borrowed and from what source. In the case of Ganymede an Egyptian prototype has been upheld, for in Egypt the descent of that is that it was God who sent the ukab to catch the serpent (on the wall of the Kaaba) which it did and then took it to one of the surrounding mountains. (Ibn Hisham, ed. Wustenfeldt, Gottingen, 1858-60, p. 125.)

1 S. H. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, 1931, pp. 166-72.
2 M. Jastrow, The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, 1898, p. 527. See also L. W. King, Legends of Babylonia and Egypt, 1918, p. 29.
the solar hawk at the Coronation of the Pharoah stood as a sign of the conferring of divine power. Ganymede too, was a prince—the beautiful son of the Trojan King, Tros. Zeus appeared disguised in eagle feathers and abducted him to Olympus where he became the immortal cup-bearer. The eagle vehicle, or Zeus disguised as an eagle, are, however, only met with in the later versions of Vergil (Aen. v. 255.) and of Ovid (Met. x, 155f.), whereas in earlier accounts Ganymede is declared to have been borne up by a storm wind. Regarding the special favour granted to Ganymede we may observe that the gods could confer immortality at their own will, as they did in the case of Ut-Napishtim, but man’s own striving was doomed to failure. That, as is too well known, was the fate of Icarus when he strove to fly too high into the face of the Sun. His father, Daedalus, “the Cunning Worker” in fashioning the wings and in seeking to escape the king’s wrath, unerringly resembles a Muslim legend recounted by Ibn al Faqih (a tenth-century Arab geographer). In the latter the marvellous architect who has erected a huge tower in Hamadan for Shapur I, son of the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, is shut up at the top to prevent him from building another such marvel for another patron. Daedalus, it will be remembered, built the labyrinth for the confinement of the Minotaur at the directive of his patron King Minos of Crete. The Sassanian architect similarly contrived wings (here with wooden boards re-employed from the hut that was to be his mausoleum) and poised on a gust of wind came down unbruised. There are echoes here too of the story that Aelian tells (Historia Animalum, xii, 21) of the legendary King Gilgamos. According to this version Sokkaros, the cruel King of Babylonia, fearing the birth of his grandson Gilgamos, locks the pregnant mother in a tower. On being born the child is thrown from the tower, but is caught by an eagle. If Aelian has confounded Etana with Gilgamesh it is because both these individuals vainly seek the plant of life and both, as we have noted, occur in the same legend. But Aelian’s Gilgamos is really the heir that Etana had sought for in vain, and the eagle is not an ill-fated bird, but the saviour of a destined king. The older tale has been modified to provide a happy ending.

In a Chinese myth of the Etana type the issue of the heavenward flight is again not unsuccessful, and for each one of the heavens that

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8 G. Smith, Chaldean Genesis, p. 38.
the Chinese statesman T’ao K’an (A.D. 209-234) dreams that he has
scaled with his wings, he subsequently receives the corresponding
number of provinces to govern.9 Thus his career on earth prospers,
but he fails in attaining his ultimate objective for he is cast out by
the warder of the ninth heaven just when it seemed within his reach.

In Muslim legend no mere mortal can approach God in his heaven
without first having borne and discharged the office of prophet-
hood. Sad is the fate of the impious who has strived notwithstand-
ing, for his efforts have been doomed to failure. Such was the end
of the rash and self-willed Nimrod or the Arabic Namrud, who is
referred to, though not mentioned by name, in the Quran (II. 260).
Namrud, like Aelian’s Sokkaros, is a tyrant, *djabbâr* in the Quran
and *gibîr* in the Hebraic text of the Bible (Gen. x.6). He is called
called *tamarrâda* in Muslim legend, that is, he who rebelled (against
God). Al-Kisai derives his name from *Namra* or tigress and states
that he was suckled by a tigress.10 Be that as it may, Namrud,
once again like Aelian’s Sokkaros, is forewarned of the birth of a
child who would smash his idols and would annihilate his kingdom.
But when he throws Abraham into a fire, the Prophet is miraculously
protected by the cooling presence of an angel.11 Namrud then
resolves to build a lofty tower to enable him to scale the heavens12
and search therein for the God of Abraham. However, at the alti-
uitude of 5000 cubits the work comes to a standstill. He then con-
ceives the idea of continuing the journey by flight. To this end
he traps two eagles and feeds them with flesh on the tower. Then
a few days before the flight he starves them. Next he attaches a
light two-storey palanquin to their feet and seats himself below,
with his huntsman in the upper room. The latter holds a long spear

9 B. Laufer, *The Prehistory of Aviation*, Field Museum of Natural
History Publications, 253, 1928, p. 17.

10 *Sirat Antar*, Cairo, 1291 AH., I., pp. 9-79; B. Heller in *Encyclo-
follow in the footsteps of Oedipus by making him kill his father and marry
his mother.

11 This version is very likely a reflection of the Biblical account (Dan.
iii. 19-27) in which the tyrant is the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar,
and the victims who escape miraculously from the fiery furnace due to
the intervention of a personage in the likeness of the Son of God, are
Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego.

12 In *Genesis*, xi, 4, the first post-deluvian people build a tower in the
land of Shinar “whose top may reach unto heaven.”
out of the window to which adheres some flesh. At once the ravenous eagles fly to reach the bait taking the palanquin up with them. On soaring skyward for the duration of a day, the mountains of the earth became as it were anthills, and the world a ship floating in a lonely sea. Namrud hears a voice cry out: "Godless man, whither goest thou?" with a warning that heaven is 500 years in width whilst another 500 years lie between one heaven and the next. Angered, he discharges an arrow into space. A moment later it topples back through the window stained with blood. Is it the blood of the demon that has been prompting him, or is it an omen of his doom? He looks down into empty space and all he sees is the earth shrunk to the size of an egg. One version has it that he grows old and grey and falls to the ground, and in this he resembles the Egyptian Sun god who rises in the sky a youth and declines toward the end of day an infirm and aged man. The other version has it that Namrud ordered the spears to be held downward and thus descended to his tower. But his triumph was shortlived for Allah caused Babel to collapse causing such a hulla-baloo that out of one Syriac tongue seventy-three others arose, an account which, apart from the details, resembles Genesis, xi, 4-5. Birs Nimrud near Babylon is traditionally held to mark the site of this tower. An aged Syrian once told Harpocratian of Alexandria during his visit to Babylon in c. A.D. 355 that one of these crumbling towns "had been built by giants who wished to climb up to heaven. For this impious folly some were struck by thunderbolts... others were hurled headlong by God into the island of Crete." Namrud's last bid to form an army against God is countered by an army of gnats, one of which enters his brain and he suffers this torture for 400 years (another phenomenal period).

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13 Kaikaus also holds a bow and arrow in a Persian miniature copied at Astarabad in 1564 in which he is represented ascending seated on his throne. (British Museum MS, Or. 12084. fol. 88.)
15 G. Weil, Biblical Legends of the Musulmans, 1846, pp. 54-5.
16 Was the Biblical Babel referred to in the Assyrian title of the Etana legend "ala isiru" or "the city they hated," the "they" referring to the gods of Heaven?
18 Malan, Book of Adam and Eve, p. 173.
It is held that Muslim literature on this theme is reminiscent of the Haggada, while the later midrash has certainly been influenced by the developed Islamic narratives. In one particular this does not hold, and that is in the episode of the flight which is said to derive from the Legend of Kaikaus.

The Muslim legends of Kaikaus in turn derive from a Pahlavi text, the Denkart, written by the Mazda high priests and completed in c.881. In it Kaikaus, said to be a contemporary of Solomon, is given the Empire of the World by the gods, but tempted by the demons of wrath, the Aeshms, he dreams of dominion over the heavens. Accompanied by the host of evil spirits he sets out and mounts to "the extreme edges of the shadows," only to be precipitated from that height. The Arab historian Dinawari (d.895-6) regrets in passing that so model a career should come to such an end, for before he erred in believing he could ascend to heaven he had merited the praise of all. The Persian Epic poet Firdausi (935-1025) in his Shah Nama ("Book of Kings") furnishes details which bear obvious affinities with those of Namrud. Kaikaus rears eaglets until they become as strong as lions and are capable of carrying off mountain sheep. He then constructs a throne of aloewood from Khmer, reinforced with plaques of gold, and affixes lances with quarters of lambs to the sides. Holding in his hand a cup of wine he is lifted to the clouds. But alas the strength of the eagles is spent; they come down and deposit him in a forest near Amul. Here he tarries in shame and grief, imploring relief from God. Al-Tha/aliibi completes the identification with Namrud (al-Biruni actually gives Kaikaus the epithet Nimrud) by making Kaikaus construct the Tower of Babel, whence he launches his skyward flight. Tabari (d.921-2) speaks of a large town constructed by the devils between heaven and earth. Here Kaikaus builds a magic machine which he controls by means of his scientific knowledge.

Tabari's town between heaven and earth is reminiscent of the

19 S. Sidersky, Les origines des legendes musulmanes, 1933, pp. 31-5.
20 The Sacred Books of the East, XXXVII, pp. 220-23.
24 Zotenberg, Chronique de Tabari ... I, 1867, p. 465.
very name of the Babylonian ziggurat Etemenanki, whose literal meaning is "House of the Foundations of Heaven and Earth." The God of Israel likewise says "The heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool." (Isaiah: 66.1.) Recently an attempt has been made to pinpoint the characters that lie behind the legends. To begin with it is quite likely that the name of Kaikauz commemorates Cambyses of Persia who is called in Babylonian documents Ga-bu-zi-ia among other variants, while Thaalibi for instance calls Kaikauz, Kabus, the Kai being merely an East Iranian title from Kavi. al-Dinawari's statement that Kaikauz was the son of the first Kayanian king Kaikobad seems once again to bear this out for Cambyses was the son of Cyrus, the first of the Achaemenid kings. It is true, as Dinawari says, that Kaikobad (Cyrus) was king of the land of Babil (among other lands having conquered it from Nabunaid), and it is a fact that, as Thaalibi says, Kaikauz resided in Iraq. (Cambyses did reside in Babylon until recalled by his father.) But it is further argued that the traits of Kaikauz stem not from his namesake, but from the last of the neo-Babylonian kings Nabunaid. When Masudi refers to Kaikauz' "rebellion against the religion of God in al-Iraq," we are reminded of Nabunaid's promotion of the stellar cults at the expense of that of the ruling divinity Marduk. Indeed, this devotion to the stellar cults and personal interest in astrology of Nabunaid tallies with Kaikauz' adoration of the celestial bodies as stated by Thaalibi. Even Firdausi's account that Kaikauz' flight to heaven was a scientific enterprise "to see the moon and the sun and to count the stars one by one," has echoes of the place where Nabunaid observed the stars and invoked the deities and where he expected to be

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25 This is exactly echoed in the New Testament (Acts, 7.49 and Matt. 5, 34-5.)
26 H. Lewy, "The Babylonian background of the Kaikauz legend" in Archiv Orientalni, Prague, XVII (Symbolae Hrozny, II), 1949, p. 33f.
27 It is argued that the blame attached to Nabunaid for his religious policy was transferred to Cambyses (judging from his recall by Cyrus) and hence the merging of the two in the popular imagination. Al Biruni identifies Kaikauz with Buhtanazzar or Nebuchadnezzar.
28 H. Lewy, op. cit., p. 78. Nabunaid thus incurred the enmity of the Mardukian priests, who in later times may have erected a legend out of his impious ambition. Cyrus was gladly received because he retrieved the status of Marduk.
visited by a dream revelation.\textsuperscript{20} This must undoubtedly have been on a temple tower or ziggurat for Diodorus Siculus (II. 9.4) confirms that the Chaldeans made their observation of stars from the top of the ziggurats, and Herodotus (I. 18\textit{f}.) adds that the uppermost platform of the ziggurat was surmounted by a chamber containing a couch and a table and here “the God comes down in person.” Among his many building activities Nabunaid is known to have rebuilt the ziggurats of Sippar, Larsa and Ur.\textsuperscript{20} Now that we have seen that the Babylonian tower was a place from whence the king could commune with the gods, it is possible to understand the origin of the later traditional view which, when expressed in Firdausi’s words, makes Kaikaus wish to establish his throne in the vault of heaven. Similarly the Assyrian king Esarhaddon must have felt he had achieved immortality when Ishtar promised that she had established his throne “in the golden chamber in the midst of heaven.”\textsuperscript{31}

What was mere imagery in the older days now began to be interpreted literally, not by the Arabs only, but by their predecessors. This is evident in the Ahikar Legend which has been traced back stage by stage from one country to the next.\textsuperscript{32} One can readily see how the Rumanian version derived from the Slavonic, and that in turn from the Medieval Greek. It is also apparent that both the Arabic (of the eighth century) and Armenian versions are dependant upon the Syriac which in turn follows Hebrew literature in its essential features, while the proverbs contained in it are held to be composite of Judeo-Babylonian origin.\textsuperscript{33} Lidbarski contends that it is part of the lost literature of the pre-Christian Aramaens and observes that in the Armenian version Ahikar prays to the Semitic god Belsamin.\textsuperscript{34} At any rate the earliest mention of “Achiachurus” occurs in the second or first century B.C. in the Book of Tobit (I.2\textit{f}; II.10; XI.18) where he is regarded as a relative of Tobit and is made the Lord Chancellor of the Assyrian Empire under

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 56, 87.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 91-2.
\textsuperscript{31} D. D. Luckenbill, \textit{Ancient Records of Assyria}, II, p. 240.
\textsuperscript{32} See Conybeare, R. Harris, and A. S. Lewis, \textit{The Story of Ah’ik’ar}, cf. pp. 16-20, 43-7, 71-4, 101-5, 120-2.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Jewish Encyclopaedia}, 1925, I, pp. 288-90.
\textsuperscript{34} Hasting’s \textit{Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics}, 1925, I, p. 232.
Sennacherib. He too pines for an heir, and this is brought home by making him 60 years of age and the husband of 60 wives. He is requested by God to adopt his sister’s son, the clever but unscrupulous Nadan. The latter succeeds in deposing his benefactor who is compelled to flee and hide underground, until the king, thinking him dead, relents and wishes him back; thereupon Ahikar returns and is reinstated. It is then that he sets about building a castle in the air at Pharoah’s request\textsuperscript{35} for the Pharoah holds the threat of tribute over the head of his patron Sennacherib. Ahikar’s method was to induce four eagles to carry each a small child in a leather bag. These carried towrels and served as masons, and if they are said to have succeeded it is only because it was really the author who built such successful “castles in the air.” It may be worth noting that Ahikar is known in Greek as Akyrios, which not only resembles Icarus, but the latter’s father served as architect to a king as did Ahikar himself. As Strabo (c.54 B.C.—A.D. 24) has it Achicharos almost receives divine honours from the inhabitants of Borsippa.\textsuperscript{36}

Where into all this fits the Alexander Legend? For Alexander’s association with the eagle is referred to in the oldest recension of the Legend,\textsuperscript{37} the Greek Romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes, originally composed by a native of Alexandria either in 200 B.C. or considerably later, though the earliest surviving version is the Latin translation by Julius Valerius of A.D. 320. It has been maintained that the eagle episode was adapted by the Jews from the Etana legend and passed on to Pseudo-Callisthenes.\textsuperscript{38} The Talmud, however, does not specify how Alexander set about the task of having

\textsuperscript{35} In the Quran (Sura XL. 38) Fir’awn gives Hāmān orders to build a palace so that he can reach the cords of heaven and climb up to the god of Musa (cf. also Sura XXVIII, 3). In traditional accounts of Muhammad’s ascension he is represented as seeing far off a castle like a white cloud which is near the throne of Allah and is destined for him. (Miguel Asin, Islam and the Divine Comedy, 1926, p. 8).

\textsuperscript{36} Geography, XVI, 2, § 39, p. 762.

\textsuperscript{37} Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Muller, Paris, 1877, Book II, chapt. 41, p. 91. The Alexander Ascent in Jewish literature (Yer. ’Ab. Zarah, iii. 42c; Num. R. xiii) is held to resemble this passage (Jewish Encyclopaedia, 1925, I, p. 343).

\textsuperscript{38} E. Herzfeld, “Der Thron des Khosro” in Jarbuch der preussichen Kunstsammlungen, XLI, 1920, p. 125.
himself lifted into the sky.\textsuperscript{39} Nor, it seems, does the Celestial Ascension of Alexander occur in literature until a mid-ninth century Latin poem\textsuperscript{40} where he is made to ascend in a basket of rushes (like Moses' cradle) borne up by griffins, and like Etana he is gripped with fear while high in the sky and craves to return. On the spot that he descends he founds a city.\textsuperscript{41} The MS. at Verona which recounts this story derives from some unknown source.\textsuperscript{42} At any rate, in the next account the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples writes in his "Historia de Proeliiis" (951-69) of Alexander fashioning an iron throne harnessed to griffins by means of chains and tempted with spits of meat. He rises so high that the earth seems a threshing floor, and the divine power casts him back to earth unharmed in a meadow at a distance of ten days journey from his army.\textsuperscript{43}

In a Medieval Jewish version of the twelfth century A.D.,\textsuperscript{44} Alexander has himself lashed to a board and on rising to the height of the clouds almost dies for the fierceness of the heat. He sees the world in the midst of waters like a cup floating in Oceanus; then he turns the pikes down and descends. In the Ethiopian Alexander Legend of the fourteenth-sixteenth century, the Macedonian reduces himself in size and flies through the air as an eagle. (A reminiscence of the flying child masons of Ahikar and of the child Gilgamos rescued by the eagle of Aelian?) On reaching the heights of heaven he sets about exploring it and describes all that he sees in a book.\textsuperscript{45} This last detail is perhaps a reflection of meticulous descriptions of the heaven, hell and purgatory by Islamic writers, but in any case the Ethiopian legend is clearly admitted to be dependant upon a Muslim original. So, for that matter, are the Alexander

\textsuperscript{39} cf. I. Levi, "Le legende d'Alexandre dans le Talmud" in Revue des Etudes Juives, 1881, pp. 293-300.
\textsuperscript{40} R. S. Loomis, "Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey," in Burlington Magazine, XXXII, 1918, p. 136.
\textsuperscript{41} This is probably a reminiscence of the numerous Alexander cities (most notably Alexandria), either named after or founded by him.
\textsuperscript{43} F. Pfister, Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyter Leo, p. 26; cited by Loomis, op. cit., p. 136.
Romances of Firdausi's *Shahnama* (completed in 1010) and of other Persian writers such as Nizami (c. 1145-c.1207) and Mirkhond dependant on Arabic summaries, for example in Yaqubi (874) and Masudi (943). The traditional view is that when in his Eastern marches Alexander thought he had come to the end of the world, and had felt that there was nothing more on earth left to conquer, he struck upon the plan of achieving mastery over the sea and air, and in pursuance of this end, on the one hand he descended by means of a diving bell to the ocean floor, and on the other flew in the air in a carriage drawn by eagles until he was intercepted by a bird with human face who bade him return to earth. The latter is obviously to be identified with a harpy, for the harpies that occur in Egyptian mummy cases served as transporters of the soul to heaven. The Seljuks who carved the pair of harpies on the Turbe or mausoleum of Khudavend (1322) at Nigde in Anatolia may have been conscious of the symbolism; orthodox Muslim theologians entertained a belief in the soul-bird, specifically in the souls of the Faithful remaining birds in Paradise until resurrection. But a direct Egyptian influence need not be pressed since the figure of the harpy was adopted elsewhere, as for example, in Etruscan Italy, as a sixth-fifth century B.C. antefix (Pl. 70), while on cylinder seals of the late Assyrian period (900-600 B.C.) birds or scorpions with bearded human heads

48 e.g. Mirkhond (*Rauzat as Safa*, I, pt. 1, p. 143) cites Tabari regarding Namrud's abandonment of his flight when he discovers he is no nearer heaven.
51 Muslim religious legends refer to angelic spirits incarnated in white birds who receive the souls of ascetics after death and lead them up to heaven (Miguel Asin, *op. cit.*, p. 210). For Soul bird see G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst*, 1902. The Nigde example is directly comparable with the harpies in the spandrels of an arch in the Armenian Gospel of T'argmantchats of 1232. (L. A. Dournovo, *Miniatures Armeniennes*, 1960, pl. 93.)
52 Ibn Madja, 37, 32; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 229; Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, 1927, p. 182.
53 Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, 41102.
occur, which give way to harpies in the Persian period.\textsuperscript{54}

Just as the fact that Alexander was turned back by a harpy led us to Egypt where, of course, the legend of Alexander initially arose, so in his search for the Earthly Paradise we may again hope to identify an Egyptian prototype. In this version Alexander is represented as sailing up the River Ganges in a boat and coming to a fortified city where he converses with an old man. The latter speaks to him from a high window in the ramparts, gives him a pebble omen as a warning against cupidity, and asks him to depart.\textsuperscript{55} In Egyptian terms the old man is the sun god who has aged on accomplishing his daily boat journey across the heavens, and Alexander is hoping to ascend to the heavens like the Pharaohs on their falcons—there to merge with the sun.\textsuperscript{56} According to Egyptian myth the sun reaches the western horizon and enters the gates of the underworld which is guarded by gate keepers (to ensure that no unauthorized persons, like Alexander, can enter). Even on rising the sun had to have help in overcoming the demon of storms and clouds. On a Sumerian cylinder seal of c.2250 B.C.\textsuperscript{57} the sun god is rising out of a gate-type pit in the earth, having cut himself through with a saw while Ishtar helps raise the disk of the sun with a sickle (Pl. 71). Anu, with his weapons stands by. A Janus-type figure simultaneously looks East and West with his double head reminding us of the old Latin sky-god Ianus, who was "keeper of the gate of Heaven". The two-faced Babyloniann god is Usumu or Isimud, the usher or porter of Ea-Enki, the god with streams.\textsuperscript{58} On the same seal Ea with his shoal of

\textsuperscript{54} British Museum Cylinder Seals, No. 89704 and No. 103035. The bird with male human head was the god Zu in Babylonia. (T. Fish, "The Zu Bird", in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. Vol. 31, 1948, p. 162f.) The female-headed bird is known later in the form of the Kinnara in Indian art. (J. Hackin, Nouvelles Recherches archéologiques a Bagram, 1954, Memoire... tom, XI, figs. 240-42; J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography, 1956, p. 351f.)

\textsuperscript{55} G. Cary, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 18-21.

\textsuperscript{56} In another version Alexander arrives at a country where the people have red faces and yellow hair and is told that the water of life lies beyond the place where the sun sinks. (E. Rehatsekk in Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1881, p. 56.)

\textsuperscript{57} British Museum Cylinder Seals, No. 89115.

\textsuperscript{58} A. Ungnad, "Der babylonische Janus," in Archiv fur Orientforschung, V, 1929, p. 185; Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, pp. 32, 57, 65.
fish sends an eagle upon the sun god’s crown.\textsuperscript{69} In Egypt too, the sun god was thought of as a falcon and represented as such or as a human-bodied figure with a falcon head.\textsuperscript{61} Eusebius cites a Zoroastrian oracle: “god is he that hath the head of a hawk.” Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt regarded the eagle as the royal bird of Zeus.\textsuperscript{62} Telipinu, the Anatolian god of fertility, returned from his hiding on the wings of an eagle.\textsuperscript{63} In Exodus xix. 4, Moses is reminded how he was brought to God on eagles’ wings. An eagle with spread wings bearing a man slung on its back is depicted in répoussé on a gold bowl found recently in Persian Azerbaijan in a brick building of about 716-714 B.C.\textsuperscript{64} At Arslan Tepe a god is represented riding an eagle-bodied chariot.\textsuperscript{65} Can he be the Hittite sun god Ištana who at Karatepe is depicted as a four-winged eagle-headed man bearing a sun disk? On an Achaemenid seal Ahuramazda was crowned by solar wings and flanked by addorsed flying eagles,\textsuperscript{66} and this emblem of eagles turning to look at the sundisk (Fig. 37) appears to have been borrowed by Armenian kings, such as Tigranes I (83-69 B.C.), who figure it on their royal crowns.\textsuperscript{67} So too, on a relief from the Palace of Hatra eagles with wreaths in the mouth flank the radiant head of the sun god;\textsuperscript{68} the bust of the sun god of Palmyra is supported by a pair of eagles,\textsuperscript{69} and on a Sassanian

\textsuperscript{67} H. Frankfort: Cylinder Seals. Pls. XXI c, XXIII d, XXX i, pp. 123, 133; and R. Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God, 1956, pp. 81-2.
\textsuperscript{68} This identification is substantiated by the text which pictures Ea thus: “When Ea rose, the fishes rose and adored him.” (T. Jacobsen in Journal of Near Eastern Studies, V, 1946, p. 120.)
\textsuperscript{69} It is notable that Achaemenid Kings carry eagles on their crowns (A. Roes, Greek Geometric Art, 1933, p. 55) and that extended wings remain as solar symbols on Sassanid crowns.

\textsuperscript{62} F. Poulsen, Glimpses of Roman Culture, 1950, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{64} Illustrated London News, Sept. 27, 1958, p. 509.
\textsuperscript{65} Von der Osten, in Chicago Oriental Institute Communication, no. 6, pp. 89-92.
\textsuperscript{66} Ward, Seal Cylinders, p. 339, no. 1134.
\textsuperscript{67} A. Roes in Revue Archéologique, ser. vi, vol. XXXVI, 1950, p. 142, fig. 9.
\textsuperscript{68} W. Andrae, Hatra, Abb. 32. \textsuperscript{69} Syria, 1929, pl. LXXXII, 1.
silver cup a king is seated on a throne supported by eagles. Xenophon (*Anabasis*, I, 10-12) confirms that the eagle was the royal standard of the Persians.

In Greek myth there are two independant origins for the sun’s journey. The connection with Egypt is suggested by Actis, one of the sons of Helios, who is stated to have fled to Egypt, there founded the City of Heliopolis and taught the Egyptians astrology. The truth is probably directly the opposite, for post-Homeric poets follow the Egyptian precedent in making Helios sail in a golden boat made by Hephaistos. So long as the cosmos was conceived of as an earth globe ringed round by water, the sun god travelled in a boat, and in Egyptian myth, changed his boat for the purpose of continuing his nocturnal underworld journey. It is among the Aryans that a chariot with horses is adopted by the sun god as his vehicle. Though they are not referred to in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, they do occur in a Homeric hymn (xxxii) on Helios, and Hesiod in *c.735* B.C. (*Theogony* 37, 1-4) describes the sun quadriga travelling daily from one splendid palace in the East to another in the West where the horses are pastured in the Blessed Isles.

Perhaps the earliest known representation of the sun chariot is that on a relief from the North West Palace of Assurnasirpal II (883-59) at Nimrud. Here on a robe is a youth with horned head-dress gripping two rampant winged horses by their manes. A Sarmatian gem from Pantikapeon probably dating from the fourth century B.C., has a frontal representation of a winged figure being carried upward on a chariot drawn by a pair of rampant horses. This frontal representation of the sun god with profile rendering of the horses occurs as early as the first half of the first century B.C. in the Surya relief at Bodh Gaya in India.  

70 R. Ghirshman in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, 1953, figs. 1, 2.  
72 According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 8; 3, 12) the Achaemenid Kings of Persia were preceded in processions by white horses sacred to the sun.  
73 Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, I, pl. 44. For other winged horses on seals see Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, figs. 48, 343.  
75 M. Bussagli, "The 'Frontal' Representation of the Divine Chariot," in *East and West*, Rome, VI, no. 1, April 1955, p. 12 fig. 3. At Ellora
cisely this type of frontal quadriga with rider is found in the first century A.D. in Roman coins from Alexandria, and later occurs on a coin struck at Madeba in Transjordania in the time of Septimus Severus (A.D. 193-211). Finally it is known that a horse drawn quadriga with Helios stood on the gable of the Sun Temple at Baalbek. There was a strong tendency among the Roman Emperors to identify themselves with the Sun God Helios, and here the case of Caracalla comes to mind. Naturally they began to imagine their souls coursing the sky with their gods. Septimus Severus for example, dreamed of four eagles bearing him heavenward in a bejewelled chariot. Phoebus announces on a papyrus from Egypt, "I have just risen with Trajan on a car drawn by white horses," and even on a funeral altar of an ordinary citizen of Rome it is written "the Sun has seized me up." The winged horses on the two ends of a Roman sarcophagus must also be conceived as psychopomps bearing the soul to heaven. Later in an East Roman diptych of the fifth century, the ascent of the Emperor is portrayed in a narrative style, first his physical image is drawn by a quadriga of elephants, then his rogus is borne up by another quadriga drawn by eagles and horses, and still further up his divus is borne to heaven by the wind gods, and there he is admitted among the celestial divi.

But to concentrate again on our ascension vehicle, the horse, we may note that the Pegasus of Greek mythology is frequently represented on black slip ware, and paired sun steeds with wings

the chariot of the Sun God is drawn by seven horses (A. Godard & J. Hackin, Les Antiquites Bouddhiques de Bamyam, 1928, pp. 97-9).

79 H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship, 1933, p. 70.
80 F. Cumont, Etudes Syrienne, p. 98. n. 3.; After Life in Roman Paganism, 1923, p. 102, and Melanges Georges Radet, 1940, pp. 410-11.
81 C. Robert, Dis antiken Sarcophag-Reliefs, 1890, II, pl. XXXVI, 87a,b.
occur rampant back to back on a Greek vase,83 while one of the earliest examples84 of the winged horse is on a Phaleron jug of c. 700. On Etruscan vases the heels of the horse sometimes have miniature wings85 to indicate, no doubt, its mercurial flight. But despite the early presence of the winged horse motif in Italy, its medieval revival once again appears to be accountable by a new wave of oriental influence. This is generally admitted to be the case with the Sorrento roundel relief of the paired winged horses stooping to drink from a trough out of which grows a spreading tree.86 Another of the slabs is carved with a ribboned duck, sure sign of a Sassanian87 or early Muslim88 influence. These reliefs now at the Museo Correale at Sorrento were brought from the local eleventh century Cathedral. The direct copy from Persian silks of this and of other Southern Italian medieval carvings has long been maintained.89 At least, silks with these motifs were familiar to the Popes in the ninth century.90 One textile of this period at the Cleveland Museum of Art, assigned to the eighth or ninth century from East Iran (and not from Byzantium as originally held) has heraldically paired horses in successive pearled roundels with paired ducks in the angular interstices.91 Muslim examples go back to Sassanian prototypes, as, for example, the winged horse in pearl roundels with astral symbol on the head and crinkled scarf fluttering from the neck.92 A piece with this pattern in plain compound twill and assign-

83 P. Jacobsthal, Grieschischer Vase, II, pl. 71d.
84 H. L. Lorimer in Annual of the British School at Athens, XXXVII, p. 184.
85 Beazley, Etruscan vase-paintings, pl. III. 1.
86 M. Tozzi, Sculpture medioevale all' antico duomo di Sorrento, 1931.
88 cf. the ducks with neck ribbons in pearl roundels on a sixth-eighth century Persian textile at the Berlin Museum (O. Falke, op. cit., I, Abb. 103), and the duck with nose encircling neck on the marble fragment at Cagliari in Sardinia. (R. Delogu, L' Architettura dell Medioevo in Sardegna, 1953, Tav. XXV.c.)
89 E. Bertaux, L'Art Byzantine dans l'Italie meridionale, I, p. 77, fig. 16.
The companion piece is at Sens, having been removed from the shrine of St. Paul (O. Falke, op. cit., I, pp. 98-102).
92 Etoffes Byzantines, Coptes, Romains etc. du IVe. au Xe. siecle, Paris, pl. 13.
ed to the third century A.D. is at the Musee Guimet in Paris. But a similar piece without the scarf and headdress is at the Museo Nazionale in Florence where it is stated to be an Oriental fragment of the sixth century, while its companion piece at the Kunstgeschichte Museum in Berlin is said to be a Byzantine silk of the eleventh century, showing Persian influence! That the solar connection of the winged horse was evident in the minds of Sassanian artists is suggested by the diminutive pair of winged horses supporting the base of the throne of a monarch on a Sassanian silver plate with relief ornament. A winged horse in gypsum, excavated from the Sassanian capital of Ctesiphon, is now at the Museum in Baghdad. The fact that Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, tore down the curtain, woven with pictures of winged horses, hung over the door of the room of his wife Ayesha, has been held to be proof of his dislike of the use of figurative art, but can it not have been prompted by his knowledge that the flying horse was associated with pagan sun-symbolism or with the attempt of the Sassanid kings to identify themselves with the sun? A precedent of this type is provided by Josiah, who destroyed the horses and chariots of the sun at the entrance to the Temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem (2 Kings, XXIII, 11).

At any rate, the flying horse was known to the Arabs as Maimoun, and an eleventh or twelfth century Seljuk Persian textile of compound satin conceivably of just such a description as Muhammad destroyed is preserved at the Cleveland Museum. On it are not only rampant winged horses reined to a paradisal tree with birds seated in the boughs, but there are feminine headed figures of the sun-disk in a parallel border, while inscription bands in Kufic invoke victory, kingdom, and prosperity to its owner (Pl. 72). It is at least certain that winged horses on textiles go back to a far older tradition than the Sassanian. This is attested by the ornament on Assyrian embroidered robes as preserved in carving, where rampant winged horses on either side of a sacred tree are confronted

93 N. A. Reith and E. B. Sachs, Persian Textiles, 1937, pl. 44.
94 Alinari. 30931.
95 J. C. Orbeli, C. Trever, Orfevrerie Sassanide, pl. 13.
96 Ibn Hanbal, Musnad, VI, p. 208f.
but are looking away from each other exactly as on the above-mentioned Seljuk textile! A flying horse of ebony operated by a switch on the left shoulder and capable of accomplishing a year's journey in a day was incorporated into the Arabian Nights.

In China a number of versions of skyward flight are told. The legendary emperor of old Huang Ti attained immortality by mounting on a horse with dragon wings. In a hymn composed under the Han Emperor Wu (140-87 B.C.) the god of Heaven is represented as riding in a flying chariot drawn by winged dragons, and such a scene, together with flying birdmen, is represented on a Han bas-relief from Shantung of A.D. 147. It is after this time that Chinese writers speak of mortals contriving flying chariots, for that is what Huan-fu Mi (A.D. 215-82) writes in his History of the Ancient Emperors, of Ki-Kung-shi, whose chariot was blown by the west wind as far as Honan. The Emperor of the time, who was founder of the Shang dynasty (1766-54 B.C.), ordered that the chariot be destroyed so that its secret would not leak out to the populace. In Budhavämin's Indian stories (eleventh century A.D.) the same excuse is resorted to, though the inventor of the mechanical cock is declared to be the clever Yavana (Greek) carpenter Viçvila, but the story of an aerial çar contrived by a Greek prisoner goes back to a Sanskrit romance by Bäna, the Harshacharita of the seventh century. Moreover, there are Hellenic echoes in the Panchatantra story (I, 5) of the weaver simulating Vishnu's mount by operating a spring-operated wooden Garuda, and by seducing the Princess who is in the 7th storey of her palace. Leda, wife of the King of Sparta, it will be remembered, was ravished by Zeus disguised as a swan. The sequel of the story when the real Vishnu routs the king's enemy from the air, recalls Bellerophon's aerial attack on the Chimera. Moreover, the magic boots that permit flight in Somadeva's Katha Sarit Sagara sound suspiciously like the winged shoes of Hermes.

In one instance at least, the close parallels between an Eastern

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99 Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, 1849, pl. 50, 6.
100 B. Laufer, op. cit., pp. 16-20; and H. A. Giles, "Traces of Aviation in Ancient China" in Adversaria Sinica, I, no. 8, 1910, pp. 229-36.
101 Ibid., p. 49. (Text translated into French by F. Lacote, 1908.)
102 Ibid., p. 50.
103 Ibid., p. 48, citing translation by C. H. Tawney.
and Western version of flight is suggestive of being the result of a similar experience based on reality. The escape of the Chinese Emperor Shun (traditionally dated 2258-2208) wearing the plumage of a bird,104 and the similar escape of the Egyptian sorcerer Nectanebus from Greece in the Alexander Legend, suggest man's primitive attempts to fly by means of eagle's feathers. One such attempt is recorded about Abul Qasim Abbas c. 875, described as "the sage of Spain," as he was the first to manufacture glass and construct clepsydras in that land,105 while he is also described as the inventor of a clock and an armillary sphere.106 The feathered sheath and mobile wings enabled him to hover for some seconds but he fell from the precipice, and as he fell on his posterior he was mocked for not having remembered to contrive a tail—just as was Oliver of Malmesbury (1020), in his ornithopter, after flying a furlong. The early attempts to fly by means of wings with eagle's feathers may have been prompted by a scientific curiosity or even by the influence of flights on the backs of birds. On Sumerian cylinder seals Etana is represented flying seated cross-wise on the eagle's breast (but seemingly on the back) with arms about its neck, while his flocks and pair of dogs gaze upward from the ground.107 This type of representation of an apotheosis on the back of an eagle survived an incredibly long time and is found for instance, on an eleventh or twelfth century Byzantine ivory box at the Cluny Museum.108 However, it should be noted that in the texts the eagle does not request Etana to mount on its back, but requests him to "place thy breast against my breast, and thy hands upon the feathers and stumps of my tail." The Aphrodite painted on a shallow Attic ceramic vessel (470-60 B.C.) found at Rhodes, and now in the British Museum, is flying seated on a swan-like bird (Pl. 73) in a pose very much resembling that of Etana on the seals. Again on a Greek gem Ganymede is represented seated on the back of an eagle.109 It would seem that prior to the fourth century B.C. in the

106 E. Levi-Provencal, La Civilization arabe en Espagne, p. 76f.
107 W. H. Ward, Cylinder Seals of Western Asia, 1910, pp. 142-8; Frankfurt, Cylinder Seals, p. 138, pl. XXIV b; G. Contenau, Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale, I, p. 237, fig. 146.
108 Westwood, Fictile ivories, 1876, p. 368; and Goldschmidt, Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII. J. I, 1930, pl. XXIII.
109 Richter, Phantasien des Altertums, Taf. VII.
earliest representations at Olympus, Zeus appeared in human form while abducting Ganymede and that it was only subsequently that he was replaced by an eagle.\textsuperscript{110} In a Greek sculpture at the Museo Nazionale at Naples (no. 6355) the youth is nonchalantly placing his arm over the shoulders of the eagle and is lightly holding a yoke (Pl. 74). Thereafter there emerged the symbolism of funerary eagles or fabulous eagles carrying men on their backs.\textsuperscript{111} Such may be the intention of representing the Emperor Titus on the Triumphant Arch at Rome, ascending on the back of an eagle.\textsuperscript{112} But we suspect a greater antiquity for the theme, for on the underside of pottery covers from Cemetery H in Harappa in the Indus Valley (destroyed c. 1600 B.C.) are painted a succession of flying peacocks amid star bursts, which have prone human figures in their bellies.\textsuperscript{113}

In the East females are sometimes associated with the eagle. A sculpture from the art of Gandhara (first century B.C.-fourth century A.D.) has a Garuda abducting what has been identified as a young Nagini,\textsuperscript{114} that is a feminine serpent worshipper, thus taking us back to the sworn enmity between the serpent and eagle.\textsuperscript{115} And once again on a Sassanian silver plate at the Hermitage Museum the figure held against the breast of the bird is a naked woman.\textsuperscript{116} On a tenth century Islamic graffito bowl from Rayy at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a lady is once again the subject of ascension, but she is modestly dressed,\textsuperscript{117} unlike that on the gold jug from the so-called treasure of Attila, which is attributed to the eighth or ninth century.\textsuperscript{118} This clumsily drawn figure offers a meat incentive

\textsuperscript{110} Picard-Schnitter, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 336. For representations of Ganymede see Drexler in Roscher's \textit{Lexicon}.
\textsuperscript{111} F. Cumont, \textit{Etudes Syriennes}, 1917, pp. 76 ff., 82-4.
\textsuperscript{112} Dussaud, \textit{Notes de mythologie Syrienne}, 1903-5, p. 15f; and Cumont \textit{in Syria}, viii, 164f.
\textsuperscript{113} S. Piggott, \textit{Prehistoric India}, 1950, fig. 29; Vats, \textit{Excavations at Harappa}; and M. Wheeler \textit{in Ancient India}, no. 3, pp. 84-6.
\textsuperscript{115} It has been suggested that the motif was possibly inspired by Leochare's "Ganymede and the Eagle." (B. P. Groslier \textit{in Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists}, ed. Zeki Velidi Togan, 1957, pp. 482-3.)
\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Ibid.}, V, pl. 58a; II, p. 1508; and Pezard, \textit{La céramique archaique de l'Islam}, 1920, p. 51, pl. XXIV.
\textsuperscript{118} R. Ghirshman, \textit{Iran}, 1954, p. 338-9, fig. 66.
to the eagle with one hand, while shading it with a branch (against
the heat of the sun at high altitudes) with the other. On the bowl
from Rayy the woman with flying hair and love curls on her cheeks
is portrayed standing against the swollen body of the formalized
eagle. On an eleventh century bowl from Zendjan a human-headed
lion overlies the eagle and the woman’s face appears in a disk in
the intersection of their cross figures. The eagle ascension theme
occurs already in Islamic art by the ninth century in the fragments
at Nishapur, and it is therefore not surprising that Sindbad
claims that he ties himself to the leg of the Roc and soars
and towers “till I thought it had reached the limits of the
firmament.”

It is too farfetched to contend that the “**wundervogel,**” or wonder-
bird, of various myths, such as the “**Bar Yuchre**” of the Rabbis,
the “**Eorosh**” of the Zend, the “**Kerkes**” of the Turks, the “**Kirni**”
of the Japanese, and the “**Roc**” of the Arabs, are all reminiscences
of gigantic pterodactyls, for the prehistoric reptile-bird was fully
developed in Dorset 170 million years ago and was extinct at some
age so remote as to be inconceivable by the mind of early civilized
man. If a parallel in the natural world is to be sought for, then it is
to some bird in relatively recent times to which we should turn,
as, for example, in the case of the Roc, to the gigantic ostrich,
the Aepyornus of Madagascar, which was alleged to have existed
up to 1867. Like Sinbad’s Roc, which laid huge crystal eggs and
fed on elephants, the ostrich egg had a capacity of 2.35 gallons and
this ostrich preyed upon the greater quadrupeds.

It is curious that the great Roc-like Muslim representations of
the ascension eagles are carrying animals of prey in their talons
as if needing no food save what they can themselves provide for
the long journey. On the painted ceiling of the Capella Palatina at
Palermo (executed c. 1153, before the death of Roger II or that of
William I in 1166) the prey are antelopes, while the hero is poised

119 A. Rozental, *Les origines des motifs de la ceramique Islamique archai-
gue*, 1948, figs. 485-6.

120 W. Hauser and C. J. Wilkinson in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan
Museum of Art*, 37, 4, 1942, pp. 101-2, fig. 32.

16-17.


with bent knees against the chest of the bird, and is holding onto ropes with flexed arms. Houri-like feminine busts with love locks occur in roundels on the upper end of each wing. Prototypes of this representation in the Palace Chapel of the Norman Kings are to be discovered in the textiles of Islamic Persia, stated to be of the Buyid period (990-1058), although the Kufic lettering on one appears to date from 1007. The benedictory inscription on the latter confers “complete favour,” a completeness which may or may not be represented by the pair of griffins in roundels in the wing tips of the eagles—the suggestion being possibly that with these reserve vehicles the ascension was assured (Pl. 75). Moreover, a pair of winged lions pay homage rampant on another side of the eagle’s fanshaped tail. A printed cotton fragment of the twelfth century or later in the Kunstgeschichte Museum at Berlin has sun-disk in the wing tips, in place of the houris or griffins. But to return to the former, which is a plain compound cloth and was found buried at Rayy, the eagle is seen to be double-headed (perhaps for symmetry’s sake rather than to express its double power) and the dapper passenger holding the reins wears an enormous crown. A very different winged person occurs on another double-headed eagle with stylized cock’s combs on a contemporary silk from the same site. But though here the appearance of the passenger is quite feminine, the inscription seems to deny this possibility in stating that: “All men of pure race act nobly.” Yet another silk from the same series suggests that the hero of the ascension is the Caliph himself, for the inscriptions (and there are some as armbands on the robe) invoke “Mercy” and add: “You remain the Emir of the Faithful and your appearance is for the epoch an event of great value.” The profusion of curls forming a halo around the youthful head, have been traced back to a type of headdress initiated in the Alexander of Lycippus and disseminated throughout Asia on coins

126 F. Day in Ars Islamica, XV-XVI, 1931, p. 234; Survey of Persian Art, III, p. 2034.
127 Picard-Schnitter, op. cit., p. 308.
129 G. Wiet, op. cit., p. 64-5; Reath and Sachs, op. cit., pl. 16; A. U. Pope, Masterpieces of Persian Art, 1945, pp. 72, 111.
130 G. Wiet, op. cit., p. 63.
and gems. A statement of Artemidorus (second century A.D.) is exactly relevant here for he says that to honour kings, men carved or painted images of them borne up on eagles. As illustration of this we have the figure of Homer being raised up on eagle back depicted on a silver goblet from Herculaneum (dating from before A.D. 79, when the city was destroyed) and later of the Emperors Hadrian, Titus and Germanicus again on the backs of eagles. Another feature on the Islamic silk which may or may not be significant is that in the wing tips are two further eagles, while the principal eagle is seizing griffins in its claws, who are in turn biting the legs of their captor. As the griffins are fabulous animals they can hardly be conceived of here as the prey. Is there then a hint of the artist’s personal contention that the eagle and not the griffin is the true vehicle of ascension to heaven?

Be this as it may the griffin too, had an early history in bearing away the aspiring heroes of this world to a place of reward, but we shall examine the griffin-symbolism in a subsequent chapter. It is sufficient to state here that long before Alexander had adopted the griffin chariot for his ascension, Ganymede was represented with one. For instance, in a fresco from the Villa of Mysteries at Pompeii (destroyed A.D. 79) Ganymede is grasping a bar held by a flying griffin. The large griffin supporting a cage containing a man in the third century A.D. mosaics of Piazza Armerina in Central Sicily, may therefore belong to the same tradition. Now although Alexander is often stated to have been carried by two huge birds, as in the Ethiopian Legend, in the Medieval period he rapidly adopts

131 H. P. L’Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture, 1947, p. 113, figs. 81-2, pl. 69, figs. 41-2; Picard-Schnitter, op. cit., pp. 326-7.
132 F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes, 1917, p. 77. See also his whole chapter “L’aigle funéraire d’Hierapolis et l’apotheose des empeureurs,” ibid, pp. 35-117.
133 Ibid., figs. 31, 32.
134 Museo Nazionale, Naples, no. 8594.
136 It is held that the young boy gripped by the eagle on a capital at Vezelay is not Alexander but Ganymede, and that the sculptor is following some verses in the Aeneid. Despair and horror are, however, portrayed on the faces of the principal enactors, as though pointing some moral. (J. Adhémar, “L’enlèvement de Ganymède,” in Bulletin Monumental, 1932, pp. 290-1.)
137 Budge, op. cit., pp. 277 ff.
the griffin as his favourite vehicle. Among the earliest and best known of these is the relief in Greek marble inset high up on the north elevation of St. Mark’s in Venice,\textsuperscript{138} for which a tenth\textsuperscript{139} or (which is more likely) eleventh century date has been maintained. In Byzantine territories one can point to numerous representations\textsuperscript{140} among which is a relief at the Monastery of Mistra of c. 1000, where, however, whole lambs are held up as bait, and the decorative arabesques on the basket cockpit reveal Muslim influence.\textsuperscript{141} The enamelled medallions of the eleventh century conserved in the Treasury of St. Mark’s must be numbered among those of the Byzantine school, for the Imperial representations on them suggest that they were intended for the royal palace and came from Constantinople.\textsuperscript{142} As for the ascension, only the head of Alexander is represented between rampant griffins. Closely associated in style and medium is the Innsbruck enamelled plate made for Mawud who reigned from 1114-44. Alexander holds in each hand a sceptre-like bait while the chariot is drawn by a pair of rampant griffins.\textsuperscript{143} On a twelfth century Limoges enamel this same scene is represented in profile but with the head of Alexander in three-quarter view. (Pl. 76)

Thereafter Alexander’s ascension becomes a commonly represented theme in Christian churches, but medieval writers are not unanimous on the signification of his journey. One group of late medieval writers is perturbed that God would favour a heathen to ascend to heaven, and, as it passes their understanding, concludes by attributing it to the inscrutable ways of God.\textsuperscript{144} Others, however, stress that the object lesson of his ascension is the frustration of his desire, a desire which was the result of his inordinate pride

\textsuperscript{138} J. Durand, “La Légende d’Alexandre le Grand,” Annales Archeologiques, XXV, 1865, pp. 141-58. Also Ongania, Basilica di S. Marco, Tav. 64, and C. Bayet, L’Art Byzantin, 1904, Fig. 61.

\textsuperscript{139} E. Bertaux, L’Art dans l’Italie Meridionale, I, p. 490.

\textsuperscript{140} The earliest of these is stated to be on a lead seal at the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad dating from 911 or 912 (Talbot Rice in The Antiquaries Journal, XXXVI, nos. 3, 4, 1956, p. 215).

\textsuperscript{141} I. Strzygowski and M. Van Berchem, Amida, p. 352.

\textsuperscript{142} A. Grabar, in Munchener Jahrbuch, 3 Folge, II, (1951) pp. 47-50. Figs. 10a-c. II a-c.

\textsuperscript{143} J. Strzygowski & van Berchem; op. cit., p. 353.

\textsuperscript{144} G. Cary, op. cit., p. 240.
As in the Namrud's story, his flight is interrupted by a voice, and accompanying one illustration it is written: "Alexander, whither wilt thou? Thou hast verily no good intent. Wilt thou strive against Godhead? Thou wilt suffer for it." But while the unfavourable view of Alexander ultimately derives from the Greek Cynics, the favourable view is of Jewish origin in as much as Alexander was tolerant to the Jews in his campaigns, at the same time destroying their Persian enemy, and a tradition subsequently arose that upon entering Jerusalem the Macedonian fell upon his knees and worshipped the God of Israel.

Islamic traditions referring to the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad are dependent, to a considerable extent, on extraneous sources, particularly Hebrew, but it is only fair to state that the Hebrew scriptures themselves are not without close parallels in the lore of other peoples with whom they came into contact. Thus Elijah's assumption to heaven on a whirlwind when parted from Elisha by a chariot and horses of fire (2 Kings ii. 11) resembles the bearing up to heaven of the soul of Hercules in a chariot drawn by four horses under Zeus's direction. This was on Mt. Oeta in Thessaly when Hercules lit the flames and entered the fire. It is again a figure half man and half fire with an amber glow (Helios?) that lifts Ezekiel (Ezek. viii. 3) by the hair and transports him to Jerusalem to show him the abominations in the Temple of the Israelites. Later Habakkuk is lifted bodily by the hair of the head and taken to Babylon (Bel. 36.) Thaalibi describes King Jamshed's teak and ivory chariot which was transported through the air from Demavand to Babylon with the aid of demons in a single day. In the case of Ezekiel the flight is to the House of God, and in the case of Habakkuk and Jamshed it is to the place where the tower links earth with heaven, and where the ascension to the house of the gods was first imagined by the mind of man. Indeed the Etana version seems to have a parallel in the Hebrew text in which Isaiah is raised to the seventh Heaven where he has a vision of the Beloved, as Etana may assumed to have been raised to Ishtar, who is in the Third Heaven. It should be noted

146 In the Ethiopic version Alexander held converse with Elijah.
147 R. Charles, The Ascension of Isaiah, 1900, Chap. II. Needless to say Isaiah is permitted to return to earth.
that St. Paul speaks of a Christian he knew who was caught up to the Third Heaven, although he could not be sure whether this was in flesh or in spirit (2 Corinthians. xii. 1-2).

The Muslims have been perplexed about this very problem in the case of Muhammad, for the only relevant reference in the Quran is capable of various interpretations. In Sura xvii. 1, it is stated that the Prophet "travelled in one night with his servant\(^{148}\) from the Masjid al Haram to the Masjid al Aksa," that is, from the Holy Place to the Far Place. Western scholars have argued on the one hand that Jerusalem could not have been implied by the latter for this identification was only made after the attempt of the Omayyad Caliph Abdal Malik to increase the prestige of Jerusalem as a Holy City, and on the other hand that Aqsa was none other than a place of worship in the valley of al-Jiranah, near Mecca, the Holy Place itself, which the Prophet visited one night in the eighth year of the Hegira.\(^{149}\) If this were true then it would imply that the massive body of literature on the Prophet's Ascension\(^{150}\) was based on a misconception. Certainly it is true that many details were embroidered by the fertile imagination of the Arabs as is readily evident by comparing the earlier versions with those of a later age. Just such a process of elaboration is encountered in Hebrew Scripture. For instance, in Genesis v. 24 Enoch is simply stated to have "walked with God" and that "God took him," but in the later second century B.C. Apocalyptic Book of Enoch he is represented as having been assumed to heaven so that he might be instructed in celestial matters which he subsequently described.\(^{151}\) Similarly it has been observed that Chapter xviii of the Quran was vouchsafed to Muhammad on his return to Mecca following his ascent. The soundest explanation of the Prophet's ascension is surely that in a supreme moment between suspension and activity, his soul parted from his body and entered a continuum with a quite different conception of duration in which he came into the immediate proximity of God. Plotinus (c. A.D. 203-262) the neo-Platonist already describes in his \textit{Enneads} (vi. 9-11) such an experi-

\(^{148}\) i.e. the heavenly messenger referred to in Suras liii. 1-18 and lxxxi. 19-25, who approaches from the distance.

\(^{149}\) A. Guillaume, in \textit{Al Andalus}, XVIII. 2, pp. 323-6.


\(^{151}\) R. Charles, \textit{The Book of Enoch}, 1906, LXX, 1, LXXXVII, 3.
ence of supreme exaltation leading to a consciousness of God. Avicenna prefers to view the Prophet's journey as imaginary and taking place in less than a twinkling of an eye so that on his return the bedclothes were still warm. This is borne out by Abulfeda who cites Ayesha, wife of the Prophet, to the effect that Muhammad's body was not missed, and that his journey was one of spirit, Moreover, it was construed by the Caliph Muawiya as a true vision. Since the belief that according to Ayesha Muhammad's ascension was spiritual and not corporeal was already current in the time of Ibn Ishaq (Ibn Hisham 265, 14 ff.) there can be no justification for the present day attitude and that of later writers of conceiving the Miraj literally.

Earliest versions agree that it was Gabriel who took Muhammad up to Heaven, but do not specify the means. However, angelic functionaries serving this office are known elsewhere. In a Jewish text it is Michael who takes Abraham up in a cloud by means of angelic chariots in order to give him heaven's perspective of mankind, and in the ninth century Zoroastrian text of Denkart it is the angel Neryosang, messenger of Ahura Mazda to mankind, who flies after Kaikaus. Both of these examples probably emulate the tradition of the ancient Orient of having an usher to introduce the king to the deity. A leading feature of the Islamic Ascension tradition certainly goes back to earlier times, and that is the implication of the very term for ascent Miraj—the earlier meaning of

153 Ibid., p. 29.
154 cf. A. A. Bevan, "Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven," in Studien Julius Wellhausen Gewidmet, 1914, p. 60. The literal acceptance of the Ascension is also early and is recounted in the same source: Muhammad tells of this Night Journey, there is immediate scepticism and even apostasy among the believers until the Prophet describes in detail the topography of Jerusalem (A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, 1955, p. 183.)
155 The Testament of Abraham, ed. M. R. James, 1892.
156 The Sacred Books of the East, XXXVII, p. 222. The angelic figures preferring fruits and flowers to the Prophet in Persian paintings are descendants of the genii of victory and attendant garlanding cherubs, e.g. on a 7th century Byzantine textile, (J. Lessing, Die Gewebesamm- lungen des Kunsthgewebemuseums, pl. 11) and on the spandrels of the contemporary grotto at Taq-e-Bustan.
157 Similarly in the Book of Enoch that Prophet is led to the presence of God by a saint. (v. 18-25)
which appears to have been "ladder," and in Sura VI. 35 of the Qur'an the Prophet gauges the effect of bringing signs from heaven by means of a ladder. The ladder that Jacob dreams of (Gen. xxviii. 12) on which the angels ascend from the earth and descend from heaven is too well known, but we are further reminded of the ladder of the dead in the mysteries of Mithras, of the ladder as a means to heaven in the belief of the Mandeans, and of this very conception among early Arabic poets such as Zuhair. It only remains to add that such Muslim writers as Ibn Hisham, Tabari, and Ibn Sa'd make Muhammad's ascension possible by means of a splendid ladder. Having gone back so far it is only fair to go right back and claim that the true ancestry of these ladders lay in the ziggurats or staged towers of the ancient Orient, which were conceived of as links between heaven and earth. So too, were the pyramids conceived in this fashion for a spell written on the walls of one of the pyramids of the Fifth dynasty reads, "A staircase to heaven is laid for Pharaoh, that he may ascend to heaven thereby." And on the apex of the pyramid of Amenemhat III it was inscribed the belief that this Pharaoh had risen from the underworld and eternally beheld the glorious sun. In the Book of The Dead (ch. CX. Papyrus of Ani. Pl. 20) the god Ra promises the deceased "Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt pass over the sky, thou shalt be joined unto the starry deities...," and in another place (ch. XC VIII) the deceased is provided with a boat in which to sail over northern heavens, and a ladder by which to ascend to heaven. Moreover, it should be recalled that Etana's ascension begins by Shamash invoking him to "take the road, ascend the mountain," and also that he sees a majestic throne when the gates of the upper region are opened.

Without the preliminary discussion we have been engaged in it may have seemed odd that the traditional account of the Nocturnal Journey, or the Isra, of Muhammad which precedes the Miraj, has just this story of the Prophet being awakened by a man who leads him to the foot of a mountain which he urges him to climb. Thereupon the Prophet witnesses the tortures of hell

159 J. E. M. White, Ancient Egypt, 1952, p. 64.
161 Jastrow, op. cit., p. 520.
and the delights of Paradise and recognises among them some of his own kin, attaining finally a vision of Allah enthroned and surrounded by his Prophets. This whole episode of being awakened by an unknown guide, the ascent of a steep mountain, the visit to hell and paradise with an interpreter and the final apparition of the Divine Throne ultimately become the core upon which the greatest medieval Christian literary masterpiece is constructed—Dante’s Divine Comedy.\textsuperscript{163} Other Islamic versions reflect still other features in Dante, such as a steward who awards tortures to the damned, Jerusalem from whence the ascension begins, localization of tortures to the offending organs, and in the very description of the topographical details of the infernal and celestial abodes. An occasional feature, as for instance, the choice of Jerusalem for the ascension, may go back to a common source,\textsuperscript{163} but this might still leave a wide area in which direct Islamic influence\textsuperscript{164} on the Florentine is probable.\textsuperscript{165} However, the labyrinths through which further comparison would lead us constitute an autonomous subject for study, one which was long ago boldly explored,\textsuperscript{166} but which must today be accepted with a certain reserve and caution.\textsuperscript{167}

\textsuperscript{163} Miguel Asin Palacios, \textit{Islam and the Divine Comedy}, 1926, pp. 6-8

\textsuperscript{164} Horowitz (\textit{op cit.}, pp. 505-8) has claimed that Jesus’s footprint had been shown in the Basilica of the Ascension ever since the fourth century, just as Muhammad’s was later at the Dome of the Rock from where in some accounts his ascension originated.

\textsuperscript{165} Muslim traditional accounts of Muhammad’s experience in his ascent may have been influenced in turn by the Persian Arda Viraf, which dates after the region of Shapur II, that is after the fourth century A.D., though the latest date of its composition must first be established. (cf. J. J. Modi, \textit{Dante and Viraf}, 1892, and Blochet, \textit{L’Ascension au ciel du prophète Mohammed}.)

\textsuperscript{166} Particularly as Dante’s teacher Brunetto Latini was familiar with Arabic traditions on which he based a life of Muhammad. Latini was the Florentine ambassador to the Court of Alfonso the Wise in 1260, and it has now become apparent that it was from here that Muslim eschatological ideas became generally accessible to the West. (Cf. E. Cerulli, \textit{Il libro della scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commeda}, 1949, and review by L. Olschki “Mohammedan Eschatology and Dante’s other world,” in \textit{Comp. Lit.}, III, 1951, pp. 1-17)

\textsuperscript{167} Miguel Asin, \textit{op. cit.}, summary on pp. 67-76.

\textsuperscript{168} Recently many of the elements which Asin contended sprang from Muslim sources have been shown to have co-existed in Western tradition. (T. Silverstein, “Dante and the Legend of the Mi'raj,” in \textit{Journal of Near Eastern Studies}, XI, no. 2, 1952, pp. 89-110, and no. 3, pp. 187-97.)
CHAPTER XII

FABULOUS VEHICLES OF ASCENSION

In Rashid ad Din's History of the World (1310–11), the Prophet of Islam is for the first time represented in a painting flying through the air seated upon his steed. The tail of the beast develops into a crowned female warrior armed with sword and shield, thus making it potent at both ends, in effect like a double-ended trident. Like a trident too this winged genie has power to travel through the air as fast as lightning. Its swiftness was such that Murkhond's son Khondamir describes its each step as extending as far as the eye could reach. Again, according to Avicenna it was a night of thunder and lightning, and it was while the Prophet was in a state between sleeping and waking that Gabriel illuminated his house by descending in splendour and glory. This is held by some to have been in A.D. 621 in the twelfth year of the Prophet's mission when he was 52 years of age. The Ascension of Muhammad on Boraq is referred to in the earliest biography of the Prophet, that of Ibn Ishaq (d. 768) as preserved by Ibn Hisham (d. 833). He contends that Prophets prior to Muhammad had used Boraq as their steed, and describes it as a white winged beast, in size between a mule and an ass. This identification is stated to have been suggested by the fact that asses had been the mounts of both Abraham (Gen. XXII. 3) and Jesus (John ii. 14). But the vacillation between the two beasts suggests that some unknown fabulous creatures were implied. Ibn Sa'd (c. 800) already refers to Boraq as a female, and Tha'alibi (d. 1036) ascribes to it "the cheek like the cheek of a human being." It may or may not be significant.

1 Edinburgh University Library, Arab and Pers. MS. 20, fol. 55.
3 Ibid., pp. 30-1. Ibn Sa'd (I, p. 143) contends that it was 18 months before the Hegira.
4 A. Guillaume, The Life of Muhammad, 1955, p. 182.
that one of the meanings of the Thousand and One Nights' aerial vehicle Roc, is "cheek", in Persian, from the original Rukh. At any rate it would appear that in the attempt to ascribe an angelic beauty to the visage of Boraq they had sought for the most concrete expression of beauty known to them and therefore suggested that of woman. This tendency is evident in Avicenna's description of Gabriel's face as "beautiful and more white than snow." Be that as it may, at an early date Boraq is incorporated into the orthodox Islamic Traditions.8

Another winged creature of interest is the Biblical cherubim: As the cherubim are coupled with palm trees on the cedar panelling of the inner walls of the Temple of Solomon and on its doors (1 Kings. vi. 32-35), there might have been a possibility that cherubim are the Assyrian winged bulls, warders of the palace, who are represented frequently in the symbolic gesture fertilizing the ritual palm. For in Genesis iii, 24, cherubim stand guard East of the Garden of Eden and "keep the way of the tree of life," and in Ezekiel (xl; 18-20, 25) palm trees and cherubs alternate. The pair of cherubim of Solomon's Temple were colossal like the Assyrian bulls and were 10 cubits, or nearly 15 feet; high. They too faced the door, though in this case, of the inner sanctuary. Ezekiel's description of the cherubim who attend Yahweh's throne (Ezk. x. 14) as having the face of a man, lion, eagle, and cherubim recalls the composite Assyrian creature with its human head, lion's body, eagle's wings and legs of a bull, and in any case the correspondence of these later with the four beasts of the Apocalypse characterizing the four Evangelists, has long since been noted.10 An attempt has since been made to find the root of the Hebrew word cherubim in

8 Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, 207, V, 387. Boraq was not used for the Ascension to Heaven in the earlier account of Ibn Ishaq (Ibn Hisham, 263ff.) but for the Night Journey to Jerusalem. It is the compiler of Traditions, al Bukhari (*Sañh*, ed. Krehl, III, 271, 7 ff.; I, 99; II, 306) who claims the Ascension took place directly from Mecca on Boraq, but this omits to account for the earlier version of the Ladder: A. A. Bevan (*op. cit.*, pp. 54-6) has shown that in the earliest accounts the Night Journey and the Ascent were unrelated events.

Karuba, which in Assyrian means "mighty," but this identification is not generally admitted, although it seems to apply so well. However, the Assyrians were very down to earth and muscular so that their guardian genii, the sedu, were scarcely to be conceived of as aerial steeds, notwithstanding the description of the Shedim in the Talmud—as floating from one end of the world to the other like angels of the ministry. Recently the word cherub has been derived from the Accadian kara-bu "to intercede," as it appears in the Babylonian Epic of Creation and elsewhere, and the Biblical cherubs are consequently interpreted as interceding angels. Although their description as relating to the Temple in Jerusalem remains indistinct, the cherub has now been all but unanimously identified with the sphinx, particularly as the human-lion aspects of the cherub are mentioned by Ezekiel in another passage (xli: 18-20) than the one we had cited earlier, where the description applied to a more composite type of creature.

The throne chariot of Ezekiel brings us back to Boraq, for the cherubim too are described as swift as a flash of lightning (Ezk. x: 14), and their comparison with burning coals of fire associates them with the seraphim. The root word for seraphim means to consume with fire, and for this reason they are to be conceived of as agents of purification by fire. Purification by fire through the instrumentality of one of the spirits is at least known in the case of Isaiah (vi. 6): where celestial fire carried off from the altar purges away the sin from his lips. Moreover, Jehovah makes the flaming fire his ministers in Psalms 104, 4. This fact has once more led to an identification with an Assyrian word; this time the seraphim are associated with sharrapu meaning "the burner" (seraphim are

12 Chagigah, 16a, 18, 119.
13 S. Langdon, Epic of Creation, 1923, p. 190n. He cites an example of kara-bu on the right side of the door of a shrine in an inscription of 890-955 b.c., and of a second example where kara-bu are coupled with another type of gate guardian.
therefore, "the burning creatures"), and it has been observed that in Canaan this word was assigned to the fire god Nergal.\textsuperscript{14} It has also been admitted that the old Palestinian solar fire god Reseph, who entered the Egyptian pantheon in the form of Respu, may in early times have been called Saraph.\textsuperscript{15} The Srf or Seref is already encountered in the Pyramid texts, and is represented in a (late) Demotic papyrus and is said to "seize in his claws and take them above the top of the clouds of heaven."\textsuperscript{16} The general belief is that the griffin is referred to here, and it is notable that in Isaiah (vi. 6) seraphim act as the medium of communication between earth and heaven. The sacrificial fire was regarded in antiquity as the bearer up of man's prayers and offerings to the gods, somewhat as in Isaiah (vi, 3) the seraphim celebrate the praises of Jehovah's holiness and power. Isaiah (vi, 3, 6) describes the seraphim as having faces, hands, and feet, but if this refers to human features then it is not the sphinx but the centaur which it resembles. A quadruped with a male human face, arms, and feet is found for instance on a stamped relief sherd from Rhodes dating from about the first quarter of the seventh century B.C.\textsuperscript{17} Its features and the manner in which it is holding a branch while trotting exactly resemble a Phrygian terracotta relief found at Pazarli and dating from before c. 680 B.C. when the Phrygians lost their independence.\textsuperscript{18} Though characteristically Greek the centaur too, has an Oriental ancestry occurring on seals of the Kassite period onward but with wings and in the act of bending a bow.\textsuperscript{19} The figure of Boraq, the steed of Muhammad, figured in Muslim art, is likewise a quadruped with human arms and face, but this time that of a female.

The earliest sphinx in the history of art—that at Giza, which is held to be contemporary with the Pyramids,\textsuperscript{20} i.e. of the fourth

\textsuperscript{14} P. Jensen, \textit{Die Kosmologie der Babylonier}, 1890, p. 62.
\textsuperscript{15} T. K. Cheyne in \textit{Encyclopaedia Biblica}, 1903, IV, p. 4375.
\textsuperscript{16} Revillout in \textit{Revue egyptologique}, XI, 1904, p. 180. Sarufa, the Arabic for "to be high" or "exalted" is held to have no connection with seraphim because of there being no corresponding Hebrew cognate. (W. L. Bevan in W. Smith's \textit{Dictionary of the Bible}, 1870, IV, pp. 2926-7)
\textsuperscript{17} A. B. Cook, \textit{Zeus}, II, fig. 514; cf. P. V. C. Baur, \textit{Centaurus in Ancient Art}, 1912.
\textsuperscript{18} Hamit Zubeir Kosay, \textit{Alacahoyuk}, 1953.
\textsuperscript{19} Ward, \textit{Cylinder Seals of Western Asia}, figs. 21, 629.
\textsuperscript{20} G. Maspero, \textit{Art in Egypt}, 1912, p. 80. The plaque below only confirms that it was restored by Thothmes IV in the 15th century B.C.
Dynasty (most likely under Chephren in the 26th century B.C.)—is distinctly a male and is devoid of wings. It is a reclining lion rising to a height of 66 feet, with human head perhaps depicting the pharaoh. However in the fifth-sixth dynasty the sphinx is mentioned under the name *Ra*t with a head of the Sphinx or “the Leonine One” dwells on the far north of the Underworld and guards the magical wig, the Nemes Crown. In the Middle Empire the sphinx are described as guarding the gate of the palace of Seosiris I and are called living statues. The two sphinxes sent by Amenemhat III (1850-1800) to Ugarit were placed at the entrance of the Temple of Baal. The Greek word sphinx might derive from the Egyptian ssf or ssbf, a word used of the sphinx figure as an image of the king. Though they did not play any significant role in Egyptian mythology, sphinxes were nevertheless conceived by the sun priests of Heliopolis as guardians of the gates of the underworld. From being mere passive warders they then become destroyers of the king’s enemies. An inscription makes the sphinx claim:

"I protect the Chapel of thy tomb. I guard thy sepulchral chamber. I ward off the intruding stranger. I hurl the foes to the ground and their weapons with them. I drive away the wicked one from the Chapel of thy tomb. I destroy thine adversaries in their lurking-places, blocking it that they come forth no more."

Thus within the war chariot of Thothmes IV now in the Cairo


Museum are painted sphinxes\(^{29}\) trampling the foe, while Horus, the eagle-headed winged god with sickle and life-symbol in hand, touches their tail thus guaranteeing them unqualified success. It was this death-dealing rather than soul-liberating aspect of the sphinx that passed onto the Greeks.\(^{30}\) In fact the very theme of Thothmes IV in the form of a sphinx trampling his enemy, ornamented on the royal throne, was also carved by Phidias for ornamenting the throne of the Olympian Zeus.\(^{31}\) Aeschylus in his "Seven against Thebes," (I.539-44) describes a ravenous sphinx depicted on a shield beneath whom lies a Theban\(^{32}\) so placed that weapons aimed at the shield would stick into the man. This picture probably emanates from the Theogony (326f) of Hesiod (c. 750 B.C.) where the sphinx born of the female monster Echidna is "a destruction to the Cadmeans" or Thebans. In other authors, the sphinx is stated to have been sent from far Ethiopia by the gods Hera, Ares, Dionysius or Hades to desolate the countryside. He is described as a merciless vampire who devours all his victims be they big or small. It may have been this association of the sphinx with the mystery of sudden death that led to its later conception as an enigmatic creature, a characteristic alluded to by Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides. The older characteristic of the sphinx was not forgotten, however, for the Arabs gave it the name: Abul Hawl or "father of terror" at least as early as the eleventh century.\(^{33}\) The Arab name of the sphinx has been traced back to one of the ancient forms Hawl, which is encountered on stelae found in the neighbourhood of the Giza sphinx.\(^{33a}\)

As for artistic representation, the Greek sphinx, like that of Syria and its neighbouring regions, differed from the Egyptian (with the exception of one female example in the reign of Queen Hatshepsut

\(^{29}\) They are held to be the Pharoah himself in the shape of a sphinx. (Saxl and Wittkower, British Art and the Mediterranean, 1948, p. 9.)


\(^{32}\) Thebes, the principal city of Boeotia founded by Cadmus, it seems, had a sphinx on its ensign. (Potter, Antiquities of Greece, 1824, II, p. 79.)


by being both winged and female. The female’s head possibly represents Ishtar united to the body of her own special animal, the lion, and it is interesting to observe that the Medieval Islamic writer Dimashqi claims that the sphinx was a representation of Venus. Indeed on the seal of the Mitanni ruler Saoshitkar (c. 1450 B.C.) such a female sphinx reveals her lion attribute by holding a pair of inverted lions by their heels. Since the female sphinx occurs in Crete for the first time on woven stuffs figured in miniature frescoes it is contended that they were very likely imported from Syria for female sphinxes occur at Ugarit and Megiddo by the fourteenth century. An example, presumably contemporary, of symmetrically confronted winged female sphinxes occurs on a gold signet ring from Mycenae. They are seated on their haunches on either side of a fleur de lys pillar which is reeded in the Egyptian manner, but the curling locks which hang down over their bosoms relate them to the frontally carved seven-foot standing female sphinxes in relief, of about the fourteenth century B.C., that guard the ruined Hittite Place at Euyuk. On the ninth century B.C. ivory box from Nimrud the female winged sphinxes with curled locks have alternatively striding rear legs or are couchant with spread wings. Archaic and protoattic Greek pottery are also painted with two types of female winged sphinxes—those sitting on their haunches and confronted in pairs, and those


Persia excepting, where it is a winged male with the Assyrian beard and headdress and lion’s body, as on an Achaemenid relief at Persepolis, and on glazed bricks from the Palace in Susa.

G. Wiet, L’Egypte de Murtadi, 1953, pp. 60, 76, 89.

H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, pl. XLII a, For the later identification of Ishtar with the sphinx see Seyrig in Syria, X, 1929, p. 330f.

A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, I. p. 712, fig. 536.


W. F. Albright in Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, no. 110, April 1948, p. 10, who recalls that the male sphinx occurs at Mari in the late eighteenth century B.C.

A. Evans, Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, p. 155, fig. 33.

Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de L’art dans l’antiquité-IV, p. 665, fig. 327.

R. D. Barnett in Iraq, II, 1935, fig. 3.
striding forward in the manner of the Assyrian warders. After the pair of sphinxes on the fronton of the tomb of Arslankaia, they are found in Greek funerary monuments in Asia. Female winged guardian sphinxes occur on the limestone gable of a tomb from Xanthos (Pl. 77) in Lycia c. 480 B.C., and again on a gable end of the Sarcophagus of Lycaeus from Sidon (now in the Archaeological Museum in Isthmbul) dating from after 400 B.C., while rampant winged griffins are carved on the opposite end. It was, perhaps, through the mediation of Alexandrine Greeks that the female sphinx found its way to India, where it occurs in an isolated example on a capital in the Caitya cave at Karle whose donor is stated to be a Yavana (Greek) in the inscription.

Before the sphinx was disseminated to Greece it had had a career in Phoenicia. On an alabaster slab from Amrith the sphinx is not only couchant in the manner of the sphinxes in avenue before Pharoanic temples, the earliest being those of Semmut at Deir el-Bahi, but also wear the Egyptian double crown preceded by a uraeus diadem. Indeed the only difference is that they are winged. Another innovation found on an ivory inlay from Megiddo of the thirteenth century B.C., is that female winged sphinxes (no longer Egyptian in aspect) serve as supporters of the throne while the monarch celebrates a victory (Fig. 38). Thereafter in Phoenicia on Ahiram's sarcophagus of the thirteenth century B.C., the king continues to sit on his throne flanked by winged sphinxes who presumably take his soul up to heaven, for it is a natural corollary that

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44 Perrot and Chipiez, op. cit., IX, fig. 223, and X, fig. 69.
46 British Museum Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, I, p. 45, nos. 89, 90.
47 Hamdy Bey and Reinach, Une necropole Royale a Sidon, 1892, pl. XV.
48 Griffins as "reminders that the soul has mounted up to heaven" persist in Roman art, as for instance, in the second century A.D. Tuscan sarcophagus at the Louvre which represents the legend of Hippolytus and Phaedra. The griffins are seated on their haunches and are raising a paw onto the neck of a jar.
50 Renan, Mission de Phenie, p. 411.
51 G. Loud, Megiddo Ivories, 1939, pl. 4.
52 G. Contenau, Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale, pp. 1056ff.
if sphinxes were the guardians of heaven’s gate then to mount them would be to ascertain entry therein. This picture of the monarch seated high upon his sphinx-flanked throne may have passed through the mind of Isaiah (v. 2) when he described Jehovah seated upon His throne with the seraphim standing or hovering over him. The Jews were, at any rate, familiar with the winged sphinx which occurs together with a praying figure on a carved ivory box of the eighth century B.C., from Hazor.

That other deities too were borne by sphinxes is evident from the late Assyrian (900-600 B.C.) cylinder seal on which is a four-winged figure treading on a female sphinx with slender neck and fine coiffure. These sphinxes are distinctly reminiscent of the paired long-necked winged sphinxes wearing nightcaps on a capital at the Romanesque Church of Chauvigny, Vienne (Pl. 78) dating from before 1150. In Islamic art winged sphinxes had already occurred in Fatimid woodwork from Cairo a century earlier, and they are to be found, for instance, painted on pottery from Rayy before 1220 at which date the city was destroyed by the Mongols. In this example a succession of winged female sphinxes move in one direction around the vessel, just as do those on a Greek vase at the Athens Museum. However, paired confronted sphinxes are also found on an Islamic bas-relief carving at the Louvre. These are prototypes of Boraq, and have neck bands, side curls, are presumably in flight and are crowned (Pl. 79). Finally Islamic

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43 British Museum Cylinder Seals, no. 100674.
44 cf. with the “long-plumed crown” of the Aegean sphinxes. (A. Evans, The Palace of Minos, II, p. 778, fig. 506a; III, pp. 415-6.)
45 P. Deschamps, French Sculpture of the Romanesque Period, pl. 68, D.
46 Arnold and Guillaume, The Legacy of Islam, fig. 25. (Gilt and polychrome earthenware cup at the Louvre).
artists created a fantastic compound being which must rank as a masterpiece for the manner in which it disguises and at once reveals the mentality at work behind artistic conceptions of all fabulous beings. At first glance the roundels seem to figure pairs of rampant winged sphinxes who are turning back to gaze at each other and are separated by trees. (Pl. 80). On closer inspection, however, we have a creature which may be described as one in three and three in one; for while regarded as a whole we simply have sphinxes, examined analytically the upper part resolves itself into a harpy with bird’s legs which is perched on a lion. The latter is turning round as if to bite the harpy on the wing.

In the earliest known example of a griffin, that on a cylinder seal from Susa of c. 3000 B.C., this fusion of two different animals is again not complete so that the neck of the eagle is covered with the mane of a lion. Apart from a precocious example of the griffin on a Predynastic slate palette from Egypt, the griffin does not become a recognizably autonomous beast until the early Middle Kingdom in Egypt. At Bersheh it then comes to the assistance of the king on the field of battle enabling him to achieve victory, thereby receiving the name ṭsts meaning “crusher”. On a magic Egyptian stele the griffin named ḫḫ is attached to a chariot bearing the god Sad who is letting fly his arrows at serpents of evil. The griffin pulling a chariot on an Accadian seal is, however, a non-militant type, and it is significant that the vulture-headed griffin that becomes ascendant at the beginning of the New Empire is not noted for its warlike abilities but for its speed, thus receiving the name ḫḫḫ.

In the ancient Near East the real beginning of the griffin is not in ascribing an eagle head to a lion but to a god with human body. We had noted earlier that the Egyptian eagle-headed winged god Horus was represented touching and therefore quickening winged sphinxes, in the fifteenth century B.C., and now we may add that in Assyria on a seal of Musheš-Enurta similar deities are represented

87 Delaporte, Catalog des Cylindres Orientaux, Musée du Louvre, pls. 44, 10; 45, 2.
88 Quibell and Green, Hierakonpolis, II, pl. XXVIII.
91 J. Leibovitch, op. cit., pp. 75-88.
The figure appears to have been imported into Assyria without a clear understanding of his function. Thus on the seal of Šer-e-Adad one of the five griffins and demons figured has the double-head of an eagle and is breathing fire (most appropriate since we have seen that seraphim are "the burning creatures") while another pair is performing hand stands and is supporting its wings with their feet, and finally a neighbouring pair standing upright are supporting a winged sundisk with their raised arms (Fig. 39). Of these, it will be observed, only the double-headed creature retains a human body; the others have all acquired the characteristic lion bodies of the later griffins. Whether by changing the anatomy from human to leonine the intention was to create a monster all-powerful both on land and in the air is a matter of pure surmise, but may we dare to suppose that in the seal of Assurbanīpal (1405-1385) which figures a pair of Horus-types together killing and holding a lion upside down we have a clue as to the imminent transformation? A later attempt to couple the power of eagle with lion in the proximity of the sun is seen on a Cypro-Cypriot coin from Salamis (Fig. 40). Be that as it may, griffins are adopted in Assyrian art as early as the wall paintings of Kar Tukulti-Ninurta (c. 1380 B.C.), and survive there in the Nimrud ivories of the eighth century B.C., and in an addorsed and courant form on a lintel found

64 British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Cyprus, XXIV, 10, 11.
65 W. Andrae, Coloured Ceramics from Ashur, pl. III.
at the Palace of Sennacherib,⁴⁴ which might perhaps be of the Parthian period. On the glazed brick façade from the Achaemenid Palace at Susa of the fifth-fourth century B.C. griffins are striding forward in the style of the animals at the Ishtar Gate in Babylon. In the East paired confronted griffins are next encountered in second-third centuries at Hatra⁴⁷ here again on a door lintel.

It seems to us that the griffin is only a variant of the sphinx. In Syria an attempt had been made to connect the Egyptian sphinx with heaven by giving it an Ishtar face and wings (wings, it should be noted, were usual attributes of that deity). By changing the feminine human head for that of an eagle the aspiration for the upper reaches of the sky were more concretely indicated. The couchant griffins on the rectangular plaques of ivory from Megiddo (1350-1150 B.C.) have their heads tilted upward, while both their wings are extended to the full span,⁴⁸ as has a female sphinx from Mycenae on a similar plaque.⁴⁹ Since couchant griffins with back-turned heads are also found at Mycenae (and griffins also occur in Crete),⁷⁰ it has been argued that the Megiddo examples were either “produced by a Mycenaean resident in Asia or by a Canaanite who had absorbed the Mycenaean spirit to an almost unbelievable degree.”⁷¹ Nor should we forget the important role played by the Phoenicians as intermediaries.⁷² The crested griffin, seated like a sphinx however, occurs in Egypt already at the beginning of the 18th dynasty or c. 1550 B.C. on an axe of Aahmes where it is designated the beloved of Menthu (the Theban war god).⁷³ But this object itself is believed to have been imported, since the niello technique of inlaying gold and silver on backgrounds blackened by sulphur was unknown in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom; whereas it is encountered in

⁴⁴ G. Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, pp. 146, 308, 429.
⁴⁹ V. Muller in American Journal of Archaeology, XLIV, 1940, p. 405.
⁵² R. Dussaud, L’Art Phénicien du IIe. millenaire, pp. 93-6.
metalwork from Byblos of c. 1850 B.C. When once again the crested griffin appears in Egypt in the 19-20th dynasties it is on objects imported from Syria. Moreover, the origin of the later bronze griffins and protomes found in Greece and Etruria has (with the exception of local copies) been sought in North Syria and the Urartian Empire which was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III in 742 B.C. Griffins were at any rate still popular motifs on Near Eastern ivories, as for example, those with ram's horns on an ivory from Arslan Tash made for King Hazael of Damascus dating from the second half of the ninth century B.C. (Fig. 41)

While these griffins are confronted on either side of a severely stylized tree, similar griffins on a Greek terracotta relief from Smyrna are lifting one paw either to guard or to salute a rudimentary tree. Again on a Nimrud ivory a pair of griffins back to back with their heads raised to the sky appear to be guarding a sacred tree.

74 Montet, Biblos et l'Egypte, pp. 174ff, pls. XCIX, C, XCVIII.
75 Montet, Reliques de l'art Syrien, pp. 111-14, 172.
Frankfort, op. cit., p. 119.
77 Contenau, Manuel d'archéologie Orientale, IV, 1947, p. 2224. fig. 1253.
78 Furtwangler, Kl. Schriften, II, pl. 485.
79 H. Layard, The Monuments of Nineveh, 1853, I, pl. 90. In the Mahabharata (I, 1345) the Garuda actually carries away a branch of the Sacred Tree. The description of this Garuda as having the body
Guardianship must once again be implied by the Knossos griffin which is chained to a column, and indeed Herodotus clearly says (III, 116; IV, 13) that the griffins guard the gold against the one-eyed Arimaspes, Scythians who adored gold. According to Ctesias (Indica I, 12) red breasted, black feathered griffins guard the gold found on the mountains of India. Arimaspe however is a word of Scythian etymology and the theme of a youth fighting a griffin

(Fig. 42) is evidently an illustration of the legend related by the former author.

and limbs of a man, and head, wings, beak and talons of a bird tallies closely with the Assyrian guardian, the eagle-man. This eagle-man with his cone of seeds (for example, anointing Assurnasirpal II, 883-59 B.C.) seems once again to be preserved this time in the Eagle tree of all seeds in the Zoroastrian text of the Budehesh, cited by d'Alveilla. (The migration of symbols, p. 164.)

81 C. C. Vermeule in American Journal of Archaeology, 61, no. 3, 1957, p. 235. See, e.g. in ibid., 47, 1943, p. 269f. The representation is on an
Bas-relief carvings on stone or ivory of griffins guarding the tree of life continued to be popular in the medieval period. An early representation on a bas-relief at the Cathedral of Athens stated to be of the seventh century A.D. has confronted rampant griffins between an oversized pine cone rising from a font-like vase. A similar vase on a high pedestal giving rise to a pine cone on a stem in addition to scrolling vines, is found on a marble slab embedded outside the west entrance of the Doge’s Palace at Venice (Pl. 81). Here we have the Islamic peculiarity of the marginal overflow of forms, and the placing of the griffin’s feet on loose foliage as is encountered on a tenth Century Moorish ivory casket at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Pl. 82) (no. 20606). The rendering of the paws in the latter on the other hand, is of the character on the stone relief from the old Cathedral at Sorrento (c. 1100) now at the Museo Correale, for there the griffins with back swept wings again have straight paws which appear as if not to transmit any weight to the ground. In the case of Muslim griffins the fabulous beasts are standing foursquare and are not raising one paw in adoration of the tree. On a Mesopotamian eleventh or twelfth century ivory, from the Museo Nazionale in Florence the tree rising from a vase is treated in a luxurious manner, while great vine stems with clusters of grapes encircle the griffins as though enclosing them within a paradisal bower (Pl. 83).

When it came to a pair of griffins contained within a single medallion it was considered more convenient to make the beasts rampant and, rather than render them with rounded backs in order to fit adequately into roundels, to turn them back to back but with their heads turned in homage to the tree, a treatment which was long since anticipated by Oriental seals. This solution is very clearly manifested in the pierced marble roundel set in the ivory mirror from Enkomi in Cyprus. (Murray, Excavations in Cyprus Pl. II, no 872.) Again on the Kourian metal bowl from Cyprus, adjacent to the Egyptian slaying the crested griffin, are a pair guarding a stylized tree each with one paw resting on it. (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, the Bible and Homer, 1893, fig. 52, p. 53 ; cf. fig. 51, p. 48.)

82 R. Cattaneo, Architecture in Italy, p. 85. The Moorish ivory casket of A.D. 1005 at the Pamplona Cathedral likewise has confronted griffins.

83 Collezione Carrand (Alinari no. 30953.)

84 Even human-headed bearded bulls are represented thus on seals. (C. Zervos, L’Art de la Mesopotamie, 1935, Pl. 255.)
façade of the eleventh century narthex at S. Maria Pomposa in N.E. Italy (Pl. 84). There can be little doubt that this design was inspired by an Oriental textile where griffins rampant back to back are frequently found, as for instance on a Sicilian silk (Pl. 85) assigned to the second half of the twelfth century, and again in a Moorish textile they are turning back to regard a tree. The rampant griffins on a compound silk at the Cleveland Museum of Art attributed to tenth century Byzantium are accompanied by stellar interlaces which are quite Arabic in character. According to the Liber Pontificalis (ed. Duchesne) griffins (not to mention lions, unicorns, etc.) were represented on cloths donated by Pope Gregory III (827-44) to the churches in Rome. On the cloister vault at the Monastery of Las Huelgas near Burgos executed by Mudejar craftsmen, are stucco relief revetments consisting of linked polyfoil medallions with griffins as well as lions in such a pose. On a silk damask of the eleventh-twelfth century stated to be Byzantine, but which is far advanced in its Orientalizing character, heavy rampant griffins are placed in linked roundels with geometrical borders reminiscent of mosaics, and indeed it is notable that griffins on the ambone of the Church of S. Giovanni del Toro at Ravello are also framed by geometrical borders in mosaic, while the tails are terminated with embedded fragments of Oriental pottery. Whether or not the pavement of the Church of S. Miniato del Monte in Florence was in fact influenced by a silk fabric, the flat outlining of griffins in white against a dark background, the linked repeating roundels, and the interstitial floral motifs, all serve to suggest such a source (Pl. 86).

We may well wonder if the medieval artists were at all conscious of the griffin as a celestial bearer, for certainly they were aware of the griffin as Alexander’s vehicle. Can it have been intentional that a capital at the Church of San Michele at Pavia consecrated in 1155 was carved with a pair of griffins back to back mediated by a tree and placed on a pier at the central crossing in such a manner that as you approach along the left aisle the figure of the crucified Christ

88 G. Agnelli, Ferrara e Pomposa, 1904.
89 Encyclopaedia of Silks, pl. 32.
86 2000 Years of Silk Weaving, Exhibition at Los Angeles, 1944, pl. 7.
89 Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 8233-1863.
raised on a cross beam appears floating above. If this is purely accidental we may at least recall that there is a saying attributed to Ali contending: "I have ascended to a height which (even) the 'anqa is unable to reach," and that there was a capital in the mosque on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem carved with a winged griffin.

We have literary evidence for the appearance of a fabulous bird in Muslim art. Masudi writes in the tenth century that the legendary bird 'anga was depicted not only on carpets but also in public baths. The view of the Arabs that whoever would come under the shadow of this rare bird would become a king or queen, probably reflects the right of the griffin to be regarded monarch on both counts as a lion and as an eagle, and therefore of its right to confer it to its heir. There is a tendency among Muslim writers to confuse the Roc with the 'anqa. Thus Kazvini says that the 'anga carries off an elephant as a hawk flies off with a mouse, and the Jew Benjamin of Tudela (Travels, p. 117) heard in his visit to the East of great eagles who rescued shipwrecked sailors from the sea leading to China once they had cast themselves in it sewn up in hides. Muslim writers are by no means unanimous about the nature of the 'anqa, conceiving it either as an eagle (uqab) or a vulture (rakhama), for its quality of flying high, or a crested blackbird, while being certain only of its

81 E. Pierotti, Jerusalem Explored, 1863, II, pl. LII, fig. 11.
83 cf. Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon (Iraq) Can it be that this belief is a survival from Ancient Egypt? Thothmes IV as a prince slept in the shadow of the Giza sphinx and dreamt that if he would restore it he would inherit the double crown. Perhaps related to this legend is also the flaming dragon above King Arthur's father Uther which was interpreted by his wise men as an omen that he would become king. (P. Lum, Fabulous Beasts, 1952, p. 101.)
84 In the Mahabharata (I. 1353) and Ramayana (III, 39) the Garuda carries into the air a fighting pair of elephant and tortoise. May this not have been a mistaken identification since the word Naga applies both to a serpent and to an elephant (cf. A. de Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology, 1872, II, p. 94.)
rarity and the inaccessibility of its eggs. This last feature, it has been argued, is an indirect statement of the non-existence of this bird for the ‘anuq is a male and as such it can of course lay no eggs. Kazvini attempts to explain its rarity by stating that it has been banished by God to an inaccessible island in the Encircling Ocean as it once carried off a bride in her bridal array and was consequently cursed by Hamdallah the Prophet of those days. Zamakshari (d. 1143) says that the reason for its banishment by God, who threw it into the Ocean to the south of the Equator after which time it disappeared, was that the ‘anca used to harass birds and animals. Hamdallah Mustaфи’s belief (1339) that the ‘anca could live for 1700 years and that God burned it (so that nothing remained of it but its name), appears to be a reminiscence of the phoenix, for according to one version, the phoenix committed himself to the flames at the age of 1461 years, this being the Egyptian Sothic cycle at the end of which one year was added to the calendar in the absence of Leap Years. Graeco-Roman writers claim that the phoenix dies either by a self-inflicted wound or by attracting the heat of the sun’s rays. Its nest is thereby set alight and it perishes in the flames. In Job XXIX, 18, similarly an eagle which is the symbol of self renewal consumes itself in the ashes of its own nest.

It would seem that Herodotus (II, 73) was really culpable for the phoenix legend. The Egyptians with their flair for pictorial symbols had made, for example, in the Book of the Dead, the benu, or stork, heron or egret, the symbol of the rising sun, “the soul of Ra,” and this symbol was prominent in the Temple of Heliopolis. Herodotus, citing a vulgarized account of this belief which he himself disbelieved, had the father of the phoenix buried in the temple of the sun by its progeny, and his statement that the phoenix came from Arabia can only refer to the rising of the sun in the East. Phoenix is stated to mean the reddish colour of the sun, but the contention now is that Phoenicia and Phoenix are

95 L. Kopf, op. cit., pp. 157, 161.
96 The zoological section of the Nushtu-l-Qulub, tr. J. Stephenson 1928, pp. 79-80.
97 For Phoenix see Roscher, Lexicon, III, p. 3450 ; cf. Pliny, Naturalis Historia, X, 2.
both likely to be Greek words deriving from Phoinos "blood red," a reference to the purple dye for which the Phoenicians were noted.\textsuperscript{101} Even the Egyptians must have seen a resemblance between their word for the sun bird benu or byn-w and the name by which they sometimes knew the Phoenicians, Fnh-w. We may also point out that the Chinese phoenix fèng huáng is related to fire and is described as "the scarlet bird."\textsuperscript{102}

As for the Egyptian prototype of the phoenix a text from Licht has the sun coming forth in the East as a bn.w bird, "the Morning Star," and entering the Western mountains as a falcon.\textsuperscript{103} The germ from which the later legend grew has it that the bn.w flew from its original place on the Primaeval Hill (Isle of Fire) to introduce a new epoch in Heliopolis. This epoch was connected with the reconstitution of the sun, and this new sun brought life with its breadth.\textsuperscript{104} The long interval of 500 years for its appearance specified by Herodotus is merely the result of fabulous reporting of his informant. His description of its having golden and red plumage is the best clue as to its sun attributes,\textsuperscript{105} and Tacitus' statement (\textit{Ann.} vi. 28) that the father bird is burned in the city of the sun is merely a further indication of the same.

Kazvini's account strongly recalls the version of the Physiologus ("the Naturalist") of early Christian Alexandrine origin (condemned as heretical by Pope Gelasius in 496). In it the eagle is described

\textsuperscript{102} W. Willetts, \textit{Chinese Art}, 1958, I, p. 298. The resemblance between the names Fnh-w and fèng huáng is striking though apparently not hitherto noted. The Chinese name means male-female, and their bird must therefore be self-generating like the Graeco-Egyptian phoenix. It is also remarkable that early phoenixes of the Han dynasty (one example dated 2 b.c.) are herons or egrets (cf. Willetts, \textit{op. cit.}, I, figs. 33 and 46) like the benu bird. One of the examples is on silk, and it is notable that silk trade from China reached Parthia in 115 B.C., when the Central Asian caravan route was open up. For contacts see F. Hirth, \textit{China and the Roman Orient}, 1885; and G. F. Hudson, \textit{Europe and China}, 1931.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{105} The Garuda bird of the Hindus has borrowed this feature. (cf. N. M. Penzer, \textit{The Ocean Story}, I, 1924, p. 103f.)
as renewing its youth by sunlight and bathing in a fountain, and
the phoenix is described as reviving from fire.\textsuperscript{106} The medieval
Bestiary following this fable has the aged eagle singeing its wings
while flying up to the height of heaven. But after the dip in the
fountain on earth it is "instantly renewed with a great vigour of
plumage and splendour of vision." Because of his power to re-
surrect himself Jesus "exhibits the character of this bird."\textsuperscript{107}
The Roman Emperor of Syrian origin Heliogabalus (A.D. 218-222)
pitifully attempted to achieve immortality by eating what he tho-
ught to be this rare bird, but the traders whom he had despatched
to the Far East to bring one back\textsuperscript{108} had presumably mistaken
it for the bird of paradise.

Kazvini too, speaks of the aged ušab ascending toward the sky
until its feathers are burnt by the heat. It then descends and
plunges into a pool thereby becoming refreshed and regaining its
strength. Kazvini goes on to speak of the anqa devoting itself to
the fire death when its place is taken by its young.\textsuperscript{109} Masudi,
however, while not regarding a wondrous bird such as the anqa
incompatible with the power of God, nevertheless discards the
possibility of its existence as the evidence does not rest on any
sound authority.\textsuperscript{110} The celebrated bronze griffin once in the Cam-
po Santo at Pisa,\textsuperscript{111} probably cast in the eleventh century in Fatimid
Egypt, is incised with bands of Kufic inscriptions and medallions
inhabited with animals that seem deliberately to point to its un-
reality.\textsuperscript{112}

We had noted in the previous chapter that the medieval Alexander
legend adopted griffins as vehicles for his attempted invasion of

\textsuperscript{106} Encyclopaedia Britannica, art. "Physiologus."
\textsuperscript{107} T. H. White, The Book of Beasts, 1954, p. 105. The medieval
Bestiary also used the tale as a moral symbolising regeneration by Baptism.
(G. C. Duce in Journal of the British Archaeological Association,
XXV, 1919, p. 73.)
\textsuperscript{108} J. Vinycomb, Fictitious and Symbolic Creatures in Art, 1906, p. 178.
\textsuperscript{109} Adjaib al-Muhikat, pp. 418-20.
\textsuperscript{110} H. H. Yule, op. cit., II, pp. 416, 419.
\textsuperscript{111} de Fleury, Les monuments de Pise au Moyen Age, pl. XLVI.
\textsuperscript{112} Could the 'ankā,' reported by al-Farghani and cited by Ibn Khalli-
kan, seen among the strange animals in the zoological garden of Fatim-
id Caliphs be this or a similar representation of a griffin? (cf. Lane,
The 1001 Nights, ch. 20, n. 22.)
heaven, and now we may well query if this idea were borrowed from some older source.

At the base of a pier at the Sanchi stupa in India is a relief figure of a god standing frontally and holding by means of reins a pair of diverging wingless griffins. These are presumably Garudas who have solar traits, since epithets of this nature are given to them in the Indian texts. The same beast, but winged this time, occurs on an ivory (c. A.D. 50) from Bagram rampant and with a rider serving as a bracket support, and it has been described as a Sārdūla—an animal with a lion's body and parrot's beak. But since we have seen the high antiquity of the griffin in the Eastern Mediterranean, it is fruitless to search for its origin in the Far East. The fable recounted in the Greek Physiologus of the 4th century A.D. to the effect that the griffin lives in an eastern land near by a harbour of the Ocean river, is not to be taken literally and can be ranked in the same category as Kazvini's views. All mysterious phenomena such as griffins and anaqās and paradisal rivers for which no satisfactory explanation could be found would be conveniently consigned to the mysterious East which harboured all manner of incredible freaks and fantasies. Moreover the elaboration of the account in the Greek fable is of considerable significance in interpreting its real origin. It is stated there that when the sun rises and pours its rays on the world, the griffin opens its wings to receive them while one of its fellows accompanies it to its setting. Here indeed is the relic of a belief in the griffin as a vehicle of the sun god in his passage across the sky. A marble altar from Palmyra now at the Museo Capitolino at Rome, portrays this variant of the sun myth in graphic terms. On the first side is a naked youth

113 J. Strzygowski, Altai-Iran, 1917, Taf. IX.
114 M. Rogers, in Artibus Asiae, XV, 1/2, 1952, p. 6, Pl. I.
116 R. James, Apocrypha Aancedota, II, pp. LXIV ff., p. 88, cites as proof of this view Philostratus, Vita Apoll., III, 48.
118 A Greek inscription states, that it is dedicated by Tiberius Claudius Felix to Malak-Bel and the gods of Tadmor (Palmyra), and a Latin inscription to Sol sanctissimus, (S. H. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, 1931, pp. 58, 60)
issuing from a cypress tree; on the second a rising quadriga of griffins in profile with the sun god Malakbal in oriental costume
whip and reins in hand, in the act of being crowned by a winged Victory who holds a palm in her left hand; on the third, the sun
may be assumed to have reached the zenith, (note this is the front
of the altar) the bust of the sun god with flame halo is supported
by an eagle; while on the fourth side the aged sun appears with
beard and sickle. Finally we may note that high up on a façade
on the North side of the Forum Boarium at Rome are Roman
fragments which include a figure (Apollo?) holding two griffins.
The theme of this sculpture at once relates and explains two monu-
ments far removed in space and time on the one hand the Sanchi
relief, and on the other the St. Mark’s plaque with Alexander’s
ascent to heaven.

119 R. Dussaud in Revue Archéologique, I, pp. 376 f; and Notes de
Mythologie Syrienne, 1903, pp. 62-9; F. Cumont, Etudes Syriennes
pp. 94 f; and in Syria. IX. 1928. pp. 101f; H. Seyrig, Antiquités Syrien-
nes, 1934, p. 136, also cf. pls. II & III; E. Strong, Roman Art, pl. 96.
120 Piazza Bocca della Verita.
CHAPTER XIII

LIONS AS GUARDIANS AND BEARERS

Much of the fascination of the Romanesque Art of Europe stems from its unique power of synthesis and ready adaptation of older motifs for its own individual purposes. The extreme remoteness of the origin of some of these themes at first casts doubts as to a direct lineal descent, but the discovery of some of the intermediate stages in their migration leads to an expectation that there were still other stages which are either waiting to be unearthed or are alas lost beyond all hope of recovery. We are, at any rate, in a position to indicate how a chance find midway between two seemingly isolated monuments serves to establish the possibility of a distinct link in the migration of one such theme.

On the trumeau or pier carrying the tympanum of the porch at the Church of St. Pierre, Moissac, the work of Abbot Roger 1120-5, are carved grotesque quadrupeds with toothless grins alternately male and female superposed upon one another and with bodies crossed (Pl. 87). Here is perhaps a fusion of the ancient concepts of lions who guard the royal or holy house, and those who bear up its columns since they are renowned as pillars of strength. But in the East it is difficult to find examples of column-bearing lions in pairs with their bodies crossed.¹ A late example is to be seen

¹ However rampant quadrupeds with crossed bodies do occur on tenth century Moorish ivories (J. Ferrandis, Marfiles Arabes de Occidente, I, 1935, Lam. XXIII, XLVIII), having descended from Sasanian silverware (F. Sarre, Die Kunst Des Alten Persien, 1923, pl. 128). Another feature at Moissac is that the beast’s mouth giving rise to floral roundels has been traced to the makara of Indian art, while the kirthimukha has also been identified in Romanesque art (M. B. Rogers in Science, Washington, D.C., 1960, vol. 131, no. 3408, p. 1176). The scalloped door jambs at Moissac do not stem from Hispano-Arabic art as claimed (J.G. Beckwith, “The Influence of Islamic Art on Western Medieval Art,” in Middle East Forum, Beirut, 1960, XXXVI, 7, p. 26.), but from tenth-eleventh century altar tables (cf. P. Deschamps, Mélanges d’histoire du moyen age; and Puig y Cadafalch in Bulletin de la Société National des Antiquaires de France, 1928, pp. 149-152), which have their origin in those of pre-Islamic Syria. (cf. G. Horsfield in Sixième Congrès International d’Etudes Byzantines (Alger), 1940, pp. 160-2).
in Shah Abbas's Chihil Sutun Palace at Isfahan, of about 1600. Here at each corner of the pool covered by the porch are bases for timber columns which are carved with repugnant bas-relief lions two on each side. Their bodies are crossed and they share the head of the lion situated on the adjacent side (Pl. 88). But at Moissac, on the other hand, we have an alternating chain of quadrupeds with three couples superposed on one another. In order to find the prototype of such successively stacked fauna serving as a basal support, we have to go back to ancient Egypt. Thus on a cippus of Horus at the British Museum (no. 49737) the youthful figure of the god is represented standing on a stack consisting of a serpent and three crocodiles alternately facing left and right (Pl. 89). There are other examples of the cippi of Horus which date mostly from the Saitic age to the Roman period though the series actually begins in the nineteenth dynasty, but not all of them have a basal stack of the kind for which we are looking. That fine example at the Oriental Institute at Chicago (no. 16881) which is probably Ptolemaic has a pair of crocodiles turning back until they are mouth to mouth with the feet of the god on their heads. It is notable that if at Moissac the Prophet were carved on the front of the trumeau instead of on the side his feet would have appeared on the heads of the lions. The beasts too have a point in common since the Egyptian ones are called "grimface" in the inscriptions. It is apparent from the serpents and scorpions held in the hands of Horus, and sometimes of lions held by their tail and oryxes by their horns, that the purpose of the cippi was to heal stings and bites by means of magic.\textsuperscript{2} This is further proved by the magical words engraved over the back of the cippi. Those at the Cairo Museum which have basins attached to their front were once intended to have water poured over the statue. This water when collected in the basin was regarded as potent for its task.\textsuperscript{3} Should we imagine that these Egyptian amulets were conspicuously situated before the entrance of the house like the Moissac trumeau? They are, at any rate, presided over by

\textsuperscript{2} G. Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques (Catalogue générale, IX, 1903). Horus himself had been healed by Thoth who revitalized him and gave him the power from that time to trample such creatures under foot.

Bes the household god. It would be too optimistic to expect to discover an unbroken continuity between the cippi and the trumeau, but at least we may record that the Egyptian cult had found its way to the West at an early date for a cippus of Horus in steatite was discovered in a private domestic chapel dating from the time of Constantine on the Esquiline Hill at Rome. The next stage is the placing of Christ on the evil crocodile in place of Horus, as is seen on a Graeco-Egyptian Gnostic gem. Moreover the idea of the healing talisman too survived, for in Athens fever patients attach a wax thread to an ancient column which abuts against a small chapel of St. John the Baptist, the object being to transfer the fever to it.

In Romanesque Italy lions as supports for the columns of the entrance porch were much in favour, as for example at the church of S. Siraico in Ancona, and here the intention may have been to emphasize that the strength of the lion lay under the edifice of Christ. We shall see in a moment that the idea was once again imported from the inventive East, but meanwhile we may note a different conception implied by the griffin carrying the porch column at the Duomo at Verona. If there is any doubt that the griffin here implies an aerial steed it is set at rest by the wheel with spokes carved in relief on the side of its belly (Pl. 90). At Verona the keynote is not power but the symbol of a House which when entered ensures ascent to a celestial realm. The Hittite sphinxes flanking the gates at Alaja Huyuk and Bogazköy are perhaps manifestations of the same idea. Later in the Syro-Hittite palace in southern Anatolia at Sakje-Geuz pairs of female winged sphinxes with elaborate coiffures were employed as bases for columns, just as at the nearby Palace of the Aramean King Bar Rakab, at Zinçirli (Samal) in the eighth century B.C. (Pl. 91). Sphinx bases of columns are also known among the Assyrians, at the South-west Palace in Nimrud, where, however, they are triple horned, and are couchant like the Verona griffin.

8 S. Lloyd, *Early Anatolia*, 1956, pl. 19A.
9 Layard, *Nineveh*, 1st Series, I, p. 349, pl. 95.
In another sense too the Italian Romanesque examples derive from Eastern prototypes. The Ancona lion, for instance, turns its head in a manner recalling the column base of the Lion Tomb in Asia Minor.\(^{10}\) (Pl. 92). At Tell Tainat the megaron of about the eighth century B.C., which likewise faced eastward, had its porch carried on a pair of columns borne on double lion bases.\(^{11}\) It has been suggested that the idea of beasts carrying columns is purely Assyrian, and that Mesopotamian monks must have copied them from ruined palaces into their manuscripts, which were later seen by the sculptors of Romanesque Italy. But the proposer of this view cannot point to an example earlier than an eleventh century Greek MS. at Venice, where the three columns are respectively carried by a seated dromedary, a lion turning on a back-turned hare, and a winged centaur.\(^{12}\) We can, however, point to an earlier example in a Carolingian MS., where one of the column-bearing lions is drawn frontally but with spread-eagled hind legs, while the lateral columns are carried on the backs of bulls.\(^{13}\)

It is curious that the entrance porch of the \textit{bit hilani} Palace of Tell Halaf has the same combination of animal bases as the latter, though here a central bull is flanked by a pair of lions, and all these are carrying columnar figures of gods with high hats which bear the load of the architrave (Pl. 93).\(^ {14}\) The god on the bull is undoubtedly Hadad, god of thunder. Similarly, in Egypt heads of the cow of Hathor serve as capitals which support the edifice, an idea perhaps borrowed later by the two-way bull capitals of Persepolis (518-331 B.C.).\(^ {15}\) At any rate the feminine figure over the lion at Tell Halaf may be identified as Ishtar, for the figure of Innina-

\(^{10}\) British Museum, no. B. 299-306.

\(^{11}\) C. W. McEwan in \textit{American Journal of Archaeology}, XLI, no. 1, 1937, p. 13, figs. 6-7.


\(^{13}\) A. Boinet, \textit{La Miniature Carolingienne}, pls. LIV, LV.


\(^{15}\) Perhaps through the mediation of Assyria since the throne of Assurnasirpal from the N. W. Palace at Nimrud, (Br. Mus. 124564-6) already has bulls’ heads projecting from the plinth of the seat. The motif of the double bull with bodies joined is encountered in a Luristan bronze, (\textit{Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie}, XVII, p. 205, fig. 17) as well as in ancient Mesopotamia (\textit{Revue d’Assyriologie}, vol. 48, p. 16f.).
Ishtar, often portrayed nude, winged and carrying weapons, is usually associated with the lion, whether she is standing on the beast, or they are guarding her throne, or she is holding them by their heels or by the rein. The figure apparently migrated to the West since a goddess standing on a lion armed with bow and arrow and crowned by a star occurs on a seal from Cyprus, and again on a gold plaque from Ugarit a nude goddess is represented mounted on a lion. We may also recall the goddess Allat standing on a lion portrayed on a relief from Hatra dating before the destruction of the city in A.D. 241. Further, Lucian (§31) says that Hera of Hierapolis was seated on a lion throne, which calls to mind a fifth-fourth century Hellenic relief where a lion lies beside Cybele’s throne, and a similar description by Macrobius (Saturnalia, ch. xxiii) of the lions below the statue of Atargatis. This is an accurate description as on a relief from Dura we see Atargatis seated on a throne flanked by lions. Considering that Atargatis is only another form of Ishtar, specifically Ishtar-Atelah (the latter being the Cicilian goddess, consort of Baal) it is interesting to note Macrobius’s interpretation of the lion figures in this context as being “emblematic of the earth,” and his further observation that “for the same reason the Phrygians so represent the Mother of the gods, that is to say, the earth borne by lions.” On the fourteenth century B.C. rock relief at Yazilikaya among the procession of gods which has lately been described as Hurrian not Hittite, once again there occurs a goddess standing on a lion with three smaller divinities in her train. Finally, on the rock carving at Malatiya, probably from the time of Sennacherib in the eighth century B.C., the gods in procession may be conjectured to be Ashur on a dragon and bull follow-

17 A. Jeremias, The Old Testament in the light of the Ancient East, 1911, I, fig. 43.
19 Naji el Asil in Illustrated London News, December 25, 1954, p. 1161, fig. 2.
20 G. M. A. Richter, Ancient Furniture, 1926, fig. 40.
21 The Excavation at Dura Europos, Third Season, pl. XIV.
23 E. Laroche in Journal of Cuneiform Studies, VI, 3, pp. 115f.
24 Bachmann, Felsreliefs in Assyrien, Taf. 28.
ed by his consort on a throne borne by a lion, while she in turn is followed by a god who may be Ninurta\textsuperscript{25} on a winged bull, Enlil on a mushussu, Shamash on a horse, Hadad on a bull as well as an usum-gallu, and with Ishtar of Arbela standing on a lion\textsuperscript{26} bringing up in the rear. We are led to recall the words of the Psalms (XCI. 13) “Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot.” The words fit the picture but without the undertone of contempt. Among the reasons for associating animals with gods may have been ease of identification and vivid presentation of their individual characteristics. But unfortunately the system was not foolproof, and a favourite animal was attributed to more than one deity. At Malatiya itself Ashur is not only standing on the back of a mushussu but also that of a lion, and on a later Assyrian seal (B.M. no. 89769) the star-crowned person standing on the back of a lion with back-turned head is a male and not a female. The late survival of the theme is apparent in a bas-relief at Dura Europos (A.D. 51) which represents the sceptre-carrying god Aphlad carved frontally standing on a pair of lions.\textsuperscript{27} One has only to compare this with the fragmentary statue from a niche in the façade of the gatehouse at the Arab Palace of Khirbat al Mafjar to be convinced of the longevity of the motif. We may note in passing that the association of the star with the lion may have resulted in the conception of the constellation Leo,\textsuperscript{28} which subsequently Antiochos I of Commagene (c. 70 B.C.) had carved as his horoscope on the Western Terrace of Nimrud Dagh.\textsuperscript{29}

Association again may explain why it was that lions were sometimes employed as bases for cauldrons. For example the three

\textsuperscript{25} cf. D. Van Buren in Orientalia, XV, 1946, p.37, with E. Dhorme Les Religions de Babylone et d’Assyrie, p. 98, who has Enlil and Sin following Ashur’s consort.

\textsuperscript{26} Athargatis too is frequently represented in conjunction with lions. cf. Syria, XIV, pl. V, 4, and X, p. 317, no. 7.

\textsuperscript{27} Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities, pl. XXXIII.

\textsuperscript{28} On the other hand the concurrence of the heliacal rising of the constellation Leo with the summer solstice goes back to as far as the fourth millennium B.C. (W. Hartner in Ars Islamica, V, 2, 1928, p. 113 f., fig. 2; and R. Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God, 1956, p. 142.)

\textsuperscript{29} A. Jeremias, op. cit., II, fig. 126. cf. also the view that Regulus, the royal star (Babylonian “Sharru”), lies between the feet of the Lion. (Ibid., I, p. 41, no. 1.)
Achaemenid lions in bronze\(^{30}\) could have served some such function, as is suggested by an analogous gold bowl of the Achaemenids from Kalar Dasht,\(^{31}\) in which the bodies of the three lions seem to grow out of the container. The frothing and roaring of the cauldron under the great blaze of the fire would seem to take on a new significance if it would appear to be issuing from the throats of lions, or, for that matter, from that of bulls. If this were so, should not the 12 oxen of metal carrying the bronze cauldron built by Hiram of Tyre for Solomon’s Temple at Jerusalem (2 Chron. IV, 2, 4, 5, 17, and 1 Kings. vii, 23, 25, 26, 46.) have been bulls and not oxen? Cauldrons with protomes of bulls appear to have been shipped from the Orient to Greece.\(^{32}\) We would not lightly dispute the authority of the Bible, but we would point out that according to Sennacherib (705-681) he had erected a dozen each of bull and lion bronze colossi over great posts and cross bars of wood\(^{33}\) to decorate his Palace at Nineveh. Moreover, there may have been a deliberate attempt to emulate since at the Temple there were 2 bronze pillars 23 cubits high, while Sennacherib had built two colossal pillars with 6000 talents of copperwork.\(^{34}\) Incidentally at Khorsabad such cedar posts were actually found flanked before temple entrances, and they were banded or encased in embossed bronze.\(^{35}\) There is another reason for believing the animals supporting Solomon’s “sea” to have been bulls. This “sea”, for which the word in the Bible is a translation of the Accadian word apšu meaning the abyss or subterranean waters, is held to have stored holy water, and as it was built and conceived by the Phoenicians, the


\(^{31}\) *Mostra d’Arte Iranica*, Exhibition Catalogue, 1956, Tav. XXII.


\(^{33}\) Could these have been the wooden originals from which the stone gateways of the Buddhist stupas of India were derived? Lions on gateposts are at any rate known on cylinder seals, and in an inscription Gudea says he set up above the doors of the temple of Ningirsu a dwelling for a young lion and a young panther. (L. W. King, *A History of Babylon*, 1915, pp. 298-9, fig. 71, and pl. xvi.)


symbolism that might have been implied by them was that of the Bull El's sacred abode in the heart of the sea belēb yammim. The fact that there were twelve bulls would merely characterize El's fecundity which was one of his most notable traits. At any rate a bull basin is known at Carchemish.\textsuperscript{36}

Assyrian ideas in turn seem to have migrated elsewhere, particularly in the respect of lions serving as bearers of an entire building. This is seen on a bas-relief from the Palace façade of Assurbanipal, now at the British Museum.\textsuperscript{37} Here the passant lions carry only the bases of engaged columns, thus differing from the six felines carrying the pulpit's free-standing columns at the Duomo at Ravello (Pl. 94). Whereas Assurbanipal's lions are rendered in profile, at the stucco base of a stupa (D. 4) at Taxila in North-west India\textsuperscript{38} the lintels are carried by frontally rendered lions alternating with human bearers in varied relaxed poses. Centuries later on the other extremity of India at the Dravidian Srirangam Temple near Trichinopoly\textsuperscript{39} lions are carved not only in a rampant pose as if supporting the overhanging lintels, but, like the examples cited earlier in this chapter, bear stone columns on their heads.

Having reviewed the origins, the meanings and the disseminations of lions in their function as supporters, we may now investigate their role as guardians. Naturally the classic case that comes to mind is the tympanum relief of the Lion's Gate at Mycenae.\textsuperscript{40} The older view was that the lions here symbolized the military supremacy of those who held the citadel, and since they looked in the direction of the approach to the Gate, they stood as challengers of their foe.\textsuperscript{41} In this view the object that they guard—the column carrying an architrave and beam ends with an altar below—has been taken to stand for the Palace of the Mycenaean Kings. In favour of this view it may be said that the scheme of a pair of stand-

\textsuperscript{36} L. Woolley, \textit{Carchemish}, III, pl. B 47.

\textsuperscript{37} J. Fergusson, \textit{A History of Architecture in All Countries}, 1893, I, p. 188, fig. 74; Perrot and Chipiez, \textit{op. cit.}, II, Fig. 86.

\textsuperscript{38} J. Marshall, \textit{Taxila}, 1951, III, pl. 157 a.b.


\textsuperscript{41} Perrot and Chipiez, \textit{Grece Primitive}, p. 800-01. There was a "Gate of the Lion's Head" in Assyria c.1140 B.C. (\textit{The Annals of the Kings of Assyria}, ed. E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, I, 1902, p. 24.)
ing animals guarding the gateposts is earlier known in the East on the vase-holder of the time of Gudea from Tello, though here the compound beasts have leopard’s heads and bodies, eagle’s claws, and ram’s horns, while between the gateposts is a pair of entwined serpents. Regarding the Mycenaean monuments a later theory may be mentioned here. According to this view the lions are the companions and sacred animals of a tutelary deity, which is represented in its aniconic form as stone pillar—the pillar here referring to its “upholding spiritual power.” However, on a gem from Mycenae it is not lions but a pair of griffins thonged and with heads averted that flank an altar base carrying a spiralled column. On yet another Mycenaean gem we actually have an example of a goddess with raised arms, and not simply a pillar, keeping in obeisance a lion and lioness on either side of her. A wavering between the anthropomorphic and aniconic rendering of the goddess is to be encountered much later in a Phrygian sepulchral chamber at Arslan Kaia where the figure of Cybele flanked by heraldic lions consists of a rude columnar image. If this Phrygian Cybele is the special protectress of cities as has been held, then she is related to the Hittite mother goddess standing on a lion who wears a turretted “mural” crown, and it may be admissible that just as she supports the city on her head the equivalent of the same goddess, disguised as the altar-column of the Mycenaean Lion Gate, supports the roof beams that symbolize the Palace, the temple, or even the whole city of Mycenae.

In Egypt, where there was an almost obsessive concern with the affairs of after life, guardant lions were enlisted as symbols of past and present. Such lions seated back to back with tails tucked under and brought over the thighs occur in Egyptian necropolis

44 Furtwangler, *Antique Gemmen*, III, p. 44, fig. 18.
45 A. J. Evans, op. cit., fig. 44, pp. 66 ff.
46 W. M. Ramsay in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, V, 1884, pp. 244-5.
47 Note that the base of the altar in Sargon II’s Palace consists of lion’s feet, though here ostensibly to symbolize the strength on which it is founded.
47a Book of the Dead, ch. XVII; N. M. Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, 1936, III, p. 180, pl. LXXXV.
painting of the 21st Dynasty (c. 1000 B.C.). The survival of this practice in Christian Egypt is evident from Coptic tombstones of the fifth-seventh centuries.\(^{48}\) The pair of lions flanking an urn in the Phrygian Tomb at Kumbet\(^{49}\) undoubtedly serves the same purpose, for an identical lion-guarded urn is carved in relief on a stone casket intended to contain a funerary urn, now at the Florence Archaeological Museum,\(^{50}\) which has the statue of the deceased reclining on the lid. The pair of golden lions guarding the entrance to the burial chamber of Alexander\(^{51}\) may have been vestiges of the old Egyptian solar symbolism, but at any rate we have numerous examples of funerary lions in Roman times.\(^{52}\)

The earliest instance of guardant lions appear to be those flanking a tree on a 3rd millennium seal from Susa (Fig. 43). The tree gives way on a Corinthian vase\(^{54}\) to a three-stepped altar on which the pair of lions are placing one front foot. The pair of lions carved above the lintel of the first century Nabatean Tomb at Medain-Saleh\(^{55}\) stand in a similar posture, though they guard a six-petalled-rosette (Fig. 44). A sarcophagus in the Ravenna Museum is carved with a pair of lions raising one front leg in homage to a palm tree (Fig. 45), but it must be remembered that at this time the palm had become the symbol of Christ. Thus on a marble slab which constituted the propylæum of the second Sta. Sophia (404-15) was carved a frieze of 12 lambs representing the Apostles approaching a palm

\(^{49}\) Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.*, V, fig. 84.
\(^{50}\) No. 5509.
\(^{51}\) Diodorus Siculus, XVIII, 27; E. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period*, VII, p. 54.
\(^{52}\) F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, 1942, p. 159, no. 3.
\(^{53}\) O. Montelius, *Die alteren Kulturperioden*, 1907, fig. 1211.
\(^{54}\) Morin-Jean, *Le Dessin des Animaux en Grece*, 1911, fig. 97.
tree from either side. It is notable that the palm tree was adored by the inhabitants of Nadjran before their conversion to Christianity,

and the pre-Islamic Qoreishites had a sacred grove of palm trees around the Kaaba in Mecca. The theme of lions guarding palms became a popular one in Islamic art. The tree could have been a traveller’s palm, the harbinger of ease and security to the desert traveller, but one building on which it occurs is not a caravanserai but a Seljuk madrasa in Erzerum, of the thirteenth century (Pl. 95). We are, therefore, left with the possibility that this is intended to be the Tree of Paradise or Touba which, it is said, derived from the Persian hom, and which in turn the Persians borrowed from Chaldea and Assyria. We cannot insist that this was the conscious aim of the Seljuk artists since direct literary evidence is not forthcoming. Moreover we have a carving

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56 S. Larsen in American Journal of Archaeology, XLI, no. 1, 1937, pp. 2-4.
57 Caussin de Perceval, Histoire des Arabes avant l’islamisme, I, pp. 125, 236.
58 Tabari, Comment. sur le Coran. XIII. 86-87.
in round of a contemporary Seljuk lion at the Museum of Turkish Art in Istanbul which is seated on its haunches as if guarding a door. Lions seated thus in Muslim art serve not only to guard sacred trees but the palace gates as well. Already in 870 Ibn Tulun had built a palace gateway in a suburb of Cairo which he adorned with paired lions, and on the sheet iron gate of the Fatimid city of Mahdia (916-17) in Tunisia were repoussé animals which apparently included bronze reliefs of confronted lions. These were perhaps not far removed in date and style from a surviving example of confronted lions surrounded by Kufic borders on a slab from the Acropolis Church which was in the National Museum at Athens. A bas-relief of a pair of guardant lions with their heads turned toward the avenue of approach is to be encountered over one of the doorways at the Citadel of Aleppo, and while these are of comparatively late date, i.e. of the thirteenth century, we may rest assured that they preserve older prototypes of which those painted in a ceiling panel at the Capella Palatina in Palermo constitute an example. This leads us to suspect that the Romanesque practice of employing lion guardians beside church doors may have been influenced by prior Islamic examples. If the lions flanking the door of Salerno Cathedral are contemporary with the bronze doors installed in 1084 by a vassal of Robert Guiscard, conqueror of Muslim Sicily, then they rank as the earliest instance in Italy (Pl. 96). It may be observed that the Salerno lions sit dog-like on their haunches, just as the feline with pitted body carved on the tenth century Fatimid rock crystal ever now in the Treasury of St. Mark’s in Venice. It is the stylistic feeling and not the posture which relates the two works of art, for lions seated thus are known earlier elsewhere, for example in a red polished pottery of the Old Kingdom from Hierakonpolis in Egypt, and in Italy itself in a bronze Etru-
scan example from the sixth century B.C., which is conjectured to have been one of four attached to the corners of a stand or table.

To return to the theme of the Romanesque guardant lions, by whatever mediation they were introduced into the art of the Middle Ages, it is clear that they were in every instance anticipated by the art of the Ancient East. This is once again true of the throne flanked by lions such as is encountered in the Bishop’s throne by Vassallettus in the Cathedral of Anagni (Pl. 97). Thus the bas-relief stele of the neo-Sumerian King Gudea from the Temple of Ningirsu at Lagash or Tello (2450 B.C.), has a scene representing the adoration of the gods with a lion flanking the throne, the whole of which is incidentally raised on a pedestal (Pl. 98) as at Anagni. The lions carved in relief on the wooden throne at the monastery of Monte Vergine are leashed (Pl. 99), just as is the canine guarding a half opened door represented on a floor mosaic in a house at Pompeii—the latter probably intended to be a realistic imitation of watchdogs (Pl. 100). We know from Latin writers that dogs were employed to guard temples and basilicas, and in one instance on a mosaic at the Naples Museum there is actually inscribed below a dog with chains and collar the words, “Cave Canem.” At Anagni there is a strong suggestion that the seat is an imitation of Solomon’s Throne since its back-rest is adorned in mosaic with intersecting triangles, the familiar emblem of Solomon’s Seal. It emerges from the Bible (1 Kings. x, 18-20) that the throne of this king of the Hebrews made of ivory overlaid with gold, was round behind with lions beside the stays flanking the seat. And as it is expressly stated that “there was not the like made in any kingdom,” the reference can only be to the additional pair of lions on each of the six steps which preceded the throne. For apart from this feature the immediate antecedent of King Solomon’s throne must have been that of King Idrimi, discovered in a temple of the early twelfth Century B.C., at Alalakh where remains of lions are to be seen flanking the throne. That the beasts had become emblems of royalty is suggested by the inscription in which the monarch says: “I made my throne exactly

66 Ibid., P.C. no. 203.
like the thrones of kings." Basically the theme of the lion-flanked throne is an ancient one. Ishtar is represented on a fragmentary statue from Susa on such a throne, which recalls the description in the legend of Etana of lions crouching at the foot of her throne. The lion is represented beside the god's throne on cylinder seals of the third dynasty of Ur. Related to this motif are the lions flanking gates, e.g., a pair in copper at the great outer gate of Inanna at Larsa, and the pair in bronze with inlaid eyes guarding the temple of the ziggurat at Mari. This theme of lions at the base of thrones occurs in India in A.D. 200, at Mathura where a Bodhisattva is seated.

A clue as to the intention of the lions in the context of the throne is provided by the fourth century Egyptian writer Horapollo who says that the picture of a lion signifies "spiritedness. . . its mane radiates from about it in imitation of the sun. Therefore they place lions under the throne of Horus." (I, 17) Another characteristic cited by Horapollo (I, 19) makes the lion pre-eminently the guardian beast for he claims that "the lion while on guard closes his eyes, but when sleeping keeps them open." In Egypt a gold amulet in the form of a lion served as a medal of courage. In the Ethiopian version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes text of Alexander the head of a lion on an omen is interpreted in a dream as an indication of "a mighty man and one terrible as a lion." Such a connotation may have been implied by the two Roman monumental chairs of the end of the first century A.D., at the Louvre where a pair of winged lions and a pair of female sphinxes serve as the front legs, whilst their wings are swept back with a flourish to serve as the arm

88 S. Smith, The Status of Idr-i-mi, 1949, p. 21, fig. 2.
89 G. Contenau, Manuel d'Archeologie Orientale, II, pp. 759-60, fig. 538.
90 S. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, V, 1931, p. 172.
92 Ibid., p. 7.
93 A. Parrot in Syria, 1938, pp. 25-6, pl. X.
94 I. Lyons and H. Ingholt, Gandhara Art in Pakistan, 1957, pp. 30-1.
95 G. Boas, The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo 1950, observes that this idea is anticipated by Adian and the Physiologus.
rests.\textsuperscript{79} We had noted elsewhere that the throne of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (829-42), which was copied after that of Bagdad, had lions in gold flanking it, that were contrived to roar artificially. We are told by al-Fakhri (1301-2) that in order to intimidate the visitors and to inspire their respect the Buyid ruler Adad ud Dowlah (d. 983) had chained lions, elephants and leopards placed along the sides of his audience chamber as he sat enthroned.\textsuperscript{80}

The lions of Theophilus, we have noted, were contrived to roar, but there were other lions who, as Makkari citing a contemporary poet said: “instead of roaring, allow the waters to fall in murmuring music from their mouths.” It is a remarkable fact that the Arabian Nights preserve a description of four red-gold water-spouting lions on a basin in the centre of a castle\textsuperscript{81}, which strongly recalls Makkari’s descriptions of the red-gold water-spouting statues which Abdal Rahman III placed in c. 950 around the imported Byzantine fountain in the harem of his eastern mansion at Medina al Zahra.\textsuperscript{82} There was, however, only one animal in the form of a lion, for the others included a dragon, an eagle, an elephant, a dove, a falcon and a peacock, a cock, a hen and a vulture. Though these animals were manufactured in the workshop of Cordova according to Makkari, they had an old prototype in Justinian’s ablution basin in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, where again spouting lions were accompanied by other beasts such as panther, deer, eagles, hares, calves and crows,\textsuperscript{83} all of which may be regarded as variations upon a theme—that of the lion, after which the place where it was situated was actually named the Leontarion. The fact that lions were not the only creatures conceived as water spouts is again attested in the poetry of Ibn Hamdis of Sicily (1055-1132), who has water flowing out of jets from the mouths of giraffes, lions, and birds, in the palace of the Hammadid King in Bougie.\textsuperscript{84} Once again the Arabian

\textsuperscript{79} P. Gusman, \textit{L’Art décoratif du Rome}, I, pl. 76-7.
\textsuperscript{80} \textit{al Fakhri}, tr. C. E. J. Whitting, 1947, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{81} R. Burton, \textit{The Thousand and One Nights}, I, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{82} Lévi-Provençal, \textit{Espagne}, II, p. 149.
\textsuperscript{84} H. Massé in \textit{Mélanges René Basset}, 1923, I. P. 241.
Nights refer to "a silver fountain basin surrounded by birds from whose mouth the water jetted."  

The bird vase with circular mouth piece found in an Early Dynastic II level at the Small Temple of Khafaje and other zoomorphic examples suggest that bronze aquamaniles derive from pottery prototypes. Such zoomorphic pots find their way westward, and occur for instance with a griffin head in a Cycladic jug (700-650 B.C.) found on Aegina. This leads to the question whether zoomorphic pottery vases suggested the gargoyle, which, we need hardly add, has a far older history than Gothic times. The connection between pottery jars and water spouts is evident from the representations of Greek women filling their containers at fountains where the water is being emitted from the mouths of lions.

Classical writers were aware that the Egyptians conceived the lion as a symbol of vigour and fertility, as in fact they did. The god Shu was represented, in the Cataract region, with a lion head, and the annual inundation was attributed to him. Similarly the other lion-headed god Arensnouphis, whose cult flourished around Philae, was likewise mentioned in texts relating to lion gargoyles. One such gargoyle of the Graeco-Roman period in Egypt has a representation of the two Niles on its base. Another lion gargoyle of the first Ptolemaic period is quite different from Classical types. Classical writers begin to interpret the lion gargoyle astrologically and Plutarch, for example, says that the lion mask represents

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86 P. Delougaz, Pottery from the Diyala Region, 1952, pl. 7.
88 British Museum, G. R. 85.
89 Rayet and Collignon, Histoire de la céramique gréce, fig. 54 also Antiquae Denkmaler, II, pl. XIX, VIII.
90 C. de Wit, Le Role et le Sens du Lion dans l'Egypte Ancienne, 1951, p. 397.
91 Ibid., p. 398.
the sign of Leo at which time in the year the Nile spreads the new waters over the Egyptian fields. (Symposiae, IV, 5, p. 670.) Elsewhere he adds (On Isis. 38. 366) that doors of Egyptian sanctuaries were adorned with gaping lion heads in honour of the lion since the overflow of the Nile-Osiris on the earth-Isis begets Horus from the intercourse. Horapollo (I. 21.) similarly states that the Nile rises when the sun enters Leo (July 20th), "wherefore the ancient engineers of the sacred works made the pipes and inlets of the sacred fountains in the shape of lions."94 That Nile-measuring well, the Nilometer of Roda built by the Tulunids in 861, had the head of a lion carved in marble at the height of 16 cubits.95

Nevertheless in Greece water had another function: it served for purification and for exorcism of evil spirits.96 Disgorged by the lion, the most powerful of beats, it automatically kept the edifice free from malign influences. In Babylonian art not infrequently a stream of water flows from a vase held by an enthroned god,97 and this is recalled in the Bible's reference to "a river of the Water of Life proceeding out of the Throne of God." (Rev. xxii, r.) It seems possible that the figure pouring water from a vase passed into Hellenistic art in the guise of the zodiac symbol Aquarius, but in any case it is certain that it was through the latter that the motif returned to the East, this time to be absorbed into Muslim astrology,98 whilst it was revived again in the West later in Romanesque art.99

Another indirect connection of the lion with water in the East is the goddess Ishtar, whose beast is the lion.100 She holds a vase from which flows the water of life at Mari in the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and her Iranian counterpart Anahita is described as a fountain descending on the saints and heroes to whom she gives

96 Maury, La Magie, p. 264.
98 F. Saxl in Creswell's Early Muslim Architecture, I, fig. 347.
99 Here it symbolized the River of Paradise flowing from a pitcher held in the lap. (H. Swarzenski in Burlington Magazine, 1953, p. 157, fig. 4.)
100 As originally it was of Shamash. (Syria, 1929, p. 338; and A. Roes: Greek Geometric Art, 1933, p. 25, fig. 17.)
strength. Further, a clear connection between water and lions themselves is implied in an Assyrian relief on the cliff face at Bavian. Here a pair of standing lions hold up an oval frame round an orifice in the cliff from which the water pours into a semi-circular fountain (Fig. 46). This work may conceivably date from the time of Sennacherib (705-681) for he is known to have built a stone canal 80 kilometers in length to bring water from Bavian in the northern foothills to Nineveh. When Assurbanipal pours a libation over slain lions on a relief from the Palace of Kouyunjik, we cannot be sure of a connection, but we may legitimately entertain a suspicion as we do in the case of the 16 foot marble lion of Amphiopolis (probably of the fifth century B.C.) which once stood on the summit of a sloping roof facing the river. If the fact of facing the river is not fortuitous, then it may be significant to note that a silver lion was affixed to the stem of Adad ud Dowlah's gondola in Baghdad. In this the Muslim ruler may have been reviving a tradition of the

101 D. M. Conway: Solomon and Solomonic Literature, p. 183.
102 A. H. Layard, Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, 1853, p. 183.
104 A. Jeremias, op. cit., II, fig. 136.
pagan Arabs, for at the Nabatean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannur, dating from the first quarter of the first century A.D., there was a water basin on the front of which in high relief was carved a water spout lion rendered quite realistically apart from its human teeth. A similar lion was discovered at the nearby Nabatean site of Qasr-edh-Dherih. Hellenistic influence on the Nabateans may conceivably account for their adoption of the gargoyle, for leonine gutter-spouts had been in use also among the Romans. Further, a succession of terracotta lion-headed gargoyles is to be encountered on a frieze from Metapontum now at the Museo Nazionale in Naples, and a similar succession of lion gargoyles from the temple of Himera at Agrigento of the fifth century B.C., now at the Palermo Museum. Be this as it may, there is little to substantiate the statement that “the association of a lion’s head with running water...was extraneous to Eastern art,” until Guillaume Boucher, the French artist, built the Magic Fountain for Mangu Khan at the Mongol capital of Karakorum. On the contrary several lion-faced gargoyles were excavated at Fustat, or Old Cairo, which probably date from the eleventh century. What function they served we may imagine from a painting executed by Saracens on the ceiling of the Capella Palatina at Palermo. Here a pair of musicians occur on either side of a lion-headed spout projecting from the wall whence the water pours. It then trickles along a sloping chevron board and empties into a curviangular pool—all of these drawn in the Oriental manner in plan rather than in perspective. Makkari has preserved the description of a huge gilt lion with jewelled eyes, spouting water into a basin at the end of Abdal Rahman III’s aqueduct, A.D. 941, at Cordova. Finally, pre-Mongol Islamic art has yet other

107 N. Glueck in American Journal of Archaeology, XLI, no. 3, 1937, fig. 12, p. 373.
108 Carloni, Roma, 1785.
110 Aly Bahgat and A. Gabriel, Fouilles d’al-Foustat, 1921, pl. XXIV.
111 Pavlovski in Byzantinishe Zeitschrift, 1893, p. 379; also Ettin-ghausen in Ars Islamica, 1937, pp. 112-25.
113 From the Mongol period itself we have an example from the Masjid Ali Shah (c. 1315) at Tabriz., Here in the midst of the court four beasts of prey spouted water into a pool from a canopied platform. (A. U. Pope, Survey of Persian Art, II, p. 1058).
examples to offer of lion-headed gutter spouts—these among the
Seljuks of Anatolia. The earliest instance appears to be at the Mos-
que of Allaedin Kaikobad at Nigde (x223),114 followed shortly by
the madrasa of his mother Khuand Khatun (x237) at Kayseri.115
The prior Sicilian and Egyptian examples cited serve to cast a doubt
as to Gothic intervention in Turkey which, we readily admit,
would otherwise have seemed feasible. Whilst we cannot conceive
of a direct link between the medieval gargoyles of East and West,
there remains the open question whether the Moorish aquamaniles
of the tenth century, such for instance as the splendid bronze
lion found in the Province of Palencia,116 could have had any
influence on the bronze cast aquamaniles of the mid-twelfth century
from Saxony and Lorraine.117

In concluding this chapter we may establish the fact that decora-
tive non-symbolic lions in art once again have their origin in the
East. On a cylinder from Warka of the Uruk period118 lions are
paired back-to-back but with their heads turned to gaze at each
other (fig. 47). When two such designs are rolled out on a clay seal,

FIG. 47

the adjacent lions between one design and the next assume a revers-
ed position, i.e. their bodies are confronted whilst their heads are
averted. It may be not without significance that on a Calcidean
amphora at the Florence Archaeological Museum (no. 3767) lions

114 A. Gabriel, Monuments Turcs d’Anatolie, I, fig. 74.
115 Ibid., I, fig. 26.
116 L. Williams, Arts and Crafts of Older Spain, I, fig. XXX.
I, 325, 347, 353.
118 G. Contenau, op. cit., IV, 1947, fig. 1068.
are coupled in both these identical fashions,\textsuperscript{119} though they are on
two registers and are seated instead of being rampant (Pl. 101).
In the tenth century, lions paired back-to-back but facing occurred
with some frequency in Moorish art, as for instance, on a Valencian
silk now at Madrid, and on an ivory casket now at the Victoria
and Albert Museum in London (Pl. 102). The casket is somewhat
reminiscent of the parapet at the Cathedral of Torcello carved in
1008, where apart from the confronted lions, lesser motifs such as
pecking birds and frightened hares are likewise squeezed into the
spaces, here made by convoluting vines. The manner in which the
lions' tails at the latter are drawn between their rumps and curled
over their thighs onto the backs distinctly recalls the silk and gilt
membrane tissue of the twelfth century at the Victoria and Albert
Museum (1236-1864) which is either of Sicilian or of Regensburg
manufacture, though here Saracenic influence is evident in the col-
lars of pseudo-Arabic inscription round the lions' necks (Pl. 103)
—just as a lion on a tenth century textile has a Kufic fragment on
its shoulder.\textsuperscript{120} Whilst we are on the topic of textiles we close
with the reminder that stuffs figured with paired animals in roundels
such as the Grand Duke Apocaucos is represented as having on his
tunic in a Byzantine miniature,\textsuperscript{121} go back at least to the ninth
century B.C. in Babylonia.\textsuperscript{122}

\textsuperscript{119} See also Kunze, \textit{Archaische Schildbänder}, pp. 54ff.
\textsuperscript{120} A. Grabar in \textit{Munchner Jahrbuch}, 3 Folge II, 1951, fig. 2, pp. 33-4.
\textsuperscript{121} J. Ebersolt, \textit{La miniature Byzantine}, 1926, pl. LVIII.
\textsuperscript{122} cf. \textit{Ars Islamica}, I, 1934, p. 181.
CHAPTER XIV

ELEPHANTS AND ATLANTES

Arab historians of the early Middle Ages were sceptical of the aptitudes and abilities of the inland tribes of Africa, principally because they had hitherto been averse to civilizing endeavours and had no history whatever to recount.\(^1\) Indeed it is doubtful that native African life (apart from that of Egypt) could have evolved to higher forms without the help of a strong impetus from outside. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the great resources of Africa remained largely untapped until in comparatively recent times when settlers from other lands came to exploit them. Thus it was that the Hellenic peoples did not discover the use of the elephant from Africa, with which they had long been in contact, but from India after the invasion of Alexander the Great. And it would seem that the Egyptians themselves, long before the Greeks, imported elephants from the East rather than from their own continent, for a fresco from the Tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes of the fifteenth century B.C. shows Syrians bringing a baby elephant, together with tusks of ivory and other gifts.\(^2\) The Egyptians may have imported the ivory they used in the handles of flint knives in pre-dynastic times from Eritrea, but there seems to be no evidence that they imported the elephant itself from that source. How the Syrians acquired them at that early date seems somewhat enigmatic at first, but it is believed that an elephant species dwelt in the marshes of the upper Euphrates (Thothmes III hunted and killed 120 in Northern Syria\(^3\) in 1464 B.C.) which was only exterminated by the Assyrians in the seventh century B.C. Elephants are mentioned in

\(^1\) Ibn Haukal specifically censures the negro race for their lack of "wisdom, ingenuity, religion, justice and regular government," though excludes the Abyssinians since they have been in the proximity of more polished countries. (Ouseley, The Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal, 1800, p. 4.)


\(^3\) J. H. Breasted, A History of Egypt, 1905, p. 304.
Assyrian records in the time of Shalmaneser III,4 (857-822 B.C.) on whose obelisk from Nimrud an elephant is depicted5 as a gift from a place called Musri. We know also that Tiglath-Pileser I killed 10 bull elephants and captured 4, which he took to Assur together with the tusks and hides of the former.6 Further we know that Assurbanipal killed thirty elephants from ambush in his hunting expeditions,7 and before him Assurnasirpal had elephants in his menagerie at Kalhu.8 It is of course questionable whether these elephants were suited for domestication, or, for that matter, if their ivory was as highly prized as that of the Indian elephants. At least, in about 950 B.C. Solomon and his ally Hiram of Tyre preferred to send to Ophir—perhaps an emporium in Arabia for goods from elsewhere,9 for their ivory, not to mention gold and sandalwood, monkeys and peacocks (1 Kings. x. 22).

At what date the elephant was domesticated in India is not known, but it is fitting that the earliest representation of that animal in civilized times should be Indian—that on engraved seal stamps from Mohenjodaro.10 After the Aryan conquest the Rig Veda not only refers to hunters following wild elephants, but also to the leader of elephants being obedient and well-disciplined, and to one of the gods proceeding like a king on his elephant11 Subsequently in the Atharva Veda (III, 22, b) the elephant is described as chief of all the pleasant beasts to ride. In the Rig Veda, the oldest of the Aryan religious texts, the elephant is referred to as a wild beast (mriga) with a hand (hastin), whereas in later texts

5 E. Babelon, Manuel of Oriental Antiquities, fig. 65.
6 D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, 1926, I, 247. See also 476, 519, 631.
7 G. Contenau, Every-day Life in Babylon and Assyria, 1954, p. 111.
10 S. Piggott, Prehistoric India, pp. 233-5.
simply the latter part of the designation survives.\textsuperscript{12} Of these later texts the Yajur Veda refers to the keeping of tame elephants.\textsuperscript{13} A very belated Aryan invasion, that of the Greeks, led to further documentation of these animals. By the time of Alexander's invasion the Indians had succeeded in training elephants for war, and the 200 elephants employed by Porus on the Hydaspes in 326 B.C., inflicted high losses on the Greeks, though the infantry of Seleucus was eventually victorious. A firm impression was made on the minds of the invaders. Their historians find it worthwhile to describe such characteristics of the elephant as its longevity, and Megasthenes for instance, not only accurately describes its method of capture, but gives an exaggerated account of its readiness to learn. Among its accomplishments he lists its ability to aim stones at a mark, to use arms, and even to sew beautifully, whilst its attachment to its driver is such that it would stand by him in the gravest hour of battle and mourn him when he was dead.\textsuperscript{14} Elephants would also come to the aid of each other, for Pliny (\textit{Nat. Hist.} VIII, cap. viii) says the one who was trapped in the ditch dug by African natives would be rescued by the herd who would attempt to fill the ditch by piling in materials. Pliny (VIII, cap. iii) goes to the extent of claiming that an elephant was once taught to write or spell out a sentence in Greek. Aelian (\textit{Nat. Anim.} II, cap. xi) in turn speaks of elephants dancing to music and following up with a banquet at a table. Moreover, the Greeks at once realized that horses could not contend against elephants unless the former were trained in advance, and began using elephants in their own army. In this respect a Muslim writer went so far as to claim that one mounted elephant was equivalent to a thousand horsemen, and he was so impressed with its intelligence that he believed that it could quite easily speak but for the physical inability of its tongue.\textsuperscript{15} Among the first elephants acquired by the Greeks were those of Porus though it should be recalled that


\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 137.

\textsuperscript{14} Megasthenes, Frag. 38 = Arr, \textit{Ind.}, 13-14, cited by E. R. Bevan, in \textit{Ibid.}, p. 405.

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{The zoological section of the Nuzhatu-l-Qulub}, tr. J. Stephenson, 1928, pp. 23-4.
Alexander had already captured the fifteen elephants of Darius in addition to a dozen which fell into his hands at Susa.\textsuperscript{16} According to a late Muslim source Alexander obtained 300 elephants from the Chinese Empress in return for withdrawing his attempts to invade her territory.\textsuperscript{17} Whether or not there is any basis for this statement, we may at least note that elephants were known to the Chinese for there is a bronze elephant with abbreviated trunk dating from 1000 B.C., at the Louvre, while it is known also that in the middle Yangtse the Ch’u kept tame elephants at their court and had keepers who drove them. At the end of the sixth century B.C., when they were attacked by the Wu they unsuccessfully used these beasts against their enemy.\textsuperscript{18} Later the Wu themselves employed elephants in the construction of a royal tomb, though this too, appears to have been an exceptional event in China.\textsuperscript{19} There is no evidence that Alexander obtained some of his elephants from China, but it is at any rate known that in countering the invasion of Asia by the Gauls, Antiochus ordered 20 Indian elephants through his general in Bactria.\textsuperscript{20} Alexander himself had acquired some from the King of Taxila in North-west India.\textsuperscript{21}

However, elephants were introduced into the Greek Empire at such a rate, particularly by his successors Eumenides and Seleucus, that soon there was a total of something like 1500, a number which was gradually decimated by war and disease, and which was finally destroyed by Octavius in 162 (particularly as communications with the East had been cut by the Parthians). Seleucus Nicator won his battles with sheer numerical superiority, as when he ranged his 400 elephants against the 75 belonging to Antigonus and Demetrius.\textsuperscript{22} The elephant became one of the Seleucid emblems on coins, and one Graeco-Bactrian type has the Emperor Demetrius (200-160 B.C.) wearing a skull-cap helmet with the elephant head, tusk,

\textsuperscript{16} Arrian, \textit{Exped. Alex.}, III, 8.
\textsuperscript{17} Ad Damiri, \textit{Hayat al Hayawan}, tr. Jayaker, II, p. 573.
\textsuperscript{18} C. W. Bishop, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 301-2.
\textsuperscript{19} It is also known that the rulers of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) had menageries of elephants which were replenished by tributes from native chiefs. (C. W. Bishop, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 303.)
\textsuperscript{20} W. W. Tarn, \textit{Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments}, 1930, pp. 96-7.
\textsuperscript{21} Arrian, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 30, V. 3.
\textsuperscript{22} F. Lenormant, \textit{La Grande Grèce}, 1881, I, pp. 186-90.
and a rearing trunk. Elephants, however, did not long remain a Seleucid monopoly. Already by 312 B.C. Ptolemy I captured all the 43 elephants of Demetrius at Gaza, and soon after 280 B.C. the Ptolemids and Carthage had begun regularly hunting and training the more rebelliously inclined African elephants. Ptolemy Philadelphus (309-247 B.C.) founded a coastal town on the Red Sea as a headquarters for his elephant hunters.

Although Polybius refers to Carthaginian elephants as *indo* this does not appear to imply the elephants but the trainers or mahouts who were invariably of Indian origin. These Indian drivers of elephants were the best experts then available and appear to have been employed by the Egyptian rulers ever since they adopted the use of the African species. The latter were hunted along the coasts until in due course they retired inland. There can be no doubt as to which of the two species was superior. The Asiatic elephant was according to Roman writers, much larger and its head proportionately stronger, while it was also more courageous, and its superior intelligence made it easier to tame. No wonder the ancients recognized its all round superiority over the African type, a belief which, it is stated, military history has proved.

Italy also became acquainted with the elephant at an early date for King Pyrrhus brought his animals over with his army in 280-76 B.C., as did Hannibal (247-183 B.C.) later. The Consul in command of Sicily employed 60 elephants in defence of the Tarentines against the Romans in the Punic wars. The main bulk of these he had obtained as a gift from Ceraunos the Ptolemid ruler of Macedonia, who had in turn taken them over from Seleucus Nicator whom he had assassinated. Whilst it would seem the earliest Greek representation of elephants is on the hearse of Alexander where the

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23 Rawlinson, *Bactria*, 1912.
mahout is Indian and the fighting men Macedonians, \(^{29}\) the earliest Italian representation is on a painted plate (Pl. 104) of the third century B.C. \(^{30}\) This has an elephant with its young hooked onto its tail, while a mahout with raised anka rides before a castellated howdah containing a pair of warriors. The turreted castle on a fighting elephant driven by an Indian mahout occurs again on a Graeco-Bactrian silver disk of the third-second century B.C. \(^{31}\) (Fig. 48).

An indirect reference to this theme of elephant and castle is suggested by the elephants stationed by Seleucus while planning Antioch, at the corners of the site where towers were to be built. \(^{32}\) The crenellated tower on the elephant is referred to by Plutarch (\textit{Eum.} 14) while the Book of Maccabees (1 Macc. vi, 37) refers to 32 fighting men borne on the wooden towers in the context of the Seleucid victory over the Maccabees (163-2 B.C.). This figure is stated to be a manifest exaggeration and 4 fighting men is considered more near the mark. \(^{33}\) This exaggeration incidentally recalls another religious text, the \textit{Mahabharata}, which speaks of an army of 200,000 men equipped with 21,870 elephants. \(^{34}\) As regards the castellated tower, it may be that it is so seldom seen in representations because

\(^{29}\) J. D. Beazley, \textit{Etruscan Vase Painting}, 1947, p. 213.


\(^{31}\) At the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. (A. L. Basham, \textit{The Wonder that was India}, 1954, pl. LXXXVa.)


\(^{34}\) P. Armandi, \textit{Histoire militaire des éléphants}, 1843, p. 33.
the Greeks had by and large abandoned the howdah, using the animal itself as a weapon of charge with armour protection across its chest and tusks tipped with sharpened steel.35 Still, there are some examples to be seen, as on a terracotta discovered at Myrina where an elephant bearing a turreted howdah with rider in front tramples under foot a Galatean.36 Another terracotta from Pompeii37 has an elephant with crenellated castle and rider, where the animal is saluting with his upraised trunk. Further, according to Polyaeus, Caesar's archers and slingsmen rode in a castle mounted on his elephant and routed the Britons from the river at the Battle of London.38

We may next raise the question whether a monumental chair such as Bishop Ursus's throne (1078-89) at Canosa Cathedral39 in Southern Italy preserves the idea of a royal seat carried on, or chariot drawn by elephants (Fig. 49). First we may observe that elephants drawing the Emperor's chariot occur among the Romans, as, for example, on an ivory of A.D. 450 which simultaneously represents the apotheosis of the Emperor borne up by a pair of male angels. Such Emperors as Caligula, Nero and Maxentius are represented in elephant-drawn chariots on coins and medals.40 But the usage of an elephant chariot for prestige and ceremony had begun much earlier when it was reserved for gods. Ptolemy Philadelphus had a great figure of Bacchus taken through the streets of Alexandria mounted on an

36 Pottier and Reinach, Nécropole de Myrina, pl. X, p. 319.
37 Museo Nazionale, Naples, no. 124845.
38 G. de Beer, op. cit., 1955, p. 76.
39 Canosa, it may be noted is near the Roman city of Cannae where Hannibal defeated the Romans in 216 B.C.
elephant, and there are actually coins of Bacchus drawn in a quadriga of four elephants.\textsuperscript{41} On coins of Ptolemy Soter and of Seleucus, chariots of this type are drawing forward Jupiter and Pallas Athene.\textsuperscript{42} Perhaps the idea was first suggested by the funeral car bearing the remains of Alexander from Babylon to Egypt which had figures of elephants represented on it. (Diodorus Siculus, Lib. XVIII.) The very magnitude of the elephant helped enhance the majesty of the sovereign, and this was no doubt why Julius Caesar was escorted by elephants bearing torches, and why Emperors alone could own elephants by Roman sporting rights.\textsuperscript{43} Moreover, just as the statues of elephants were placed in the Cathedral of Canosa, so it is known that Augustus placed statues of elephants in the Temple of Concord, though these were of obsidian (Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXVI, 67).

On the other hand, can we look East for the medieval revival of elephant bearers in art? Certainly the pair of elephants carrying columns on the apse window of the late twelfth century at Bari Cathedral recalls Indian prototypes such as the elephant bearers of the Sanchi railing. In India the theme of elephants serving as caryatides survived a considerable time and is encountered for instance in a series at eighth century Ellora.\textsuperscript{44} In Medieval Europe the elephant was appropriately enlisted on capitals, whose function it will be remembered, is strictly to support the superstructure over the column. The best known example of paired elephants on capitals is at the French Romanesque Church of St. Pierre (1199-35) at Aulnay de Saintonge, where the snouts of the animals are as stiff as storks’ beaks (Pl. 105), though another from an unknown provenance is to be found at the Poitiers Museum, which is stated to resemble that in the ambulatory of the Church of Montierneuf in that city, while yet another capital of the sort occurs at Perrecy-les-Forges at Aulnay in Burgundy. The motif travels still further afield and appears on a corner pier at the fourteenth century church of Ottery St. Mary in Devonshire. The earliest elephant

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 147.
\textsuperscript{42} S. Reinach, op. cit., p. 542; Armandi, op. cit., figs. 1, 2.
\textsuperscript{43} L. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire, II, pp. 67, 70.
\textsuperscript{44} H. Zimmer, Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization, pl. 26.
capital is very likely that which was found in Taxila in N.W. India, but it may well be that the prototype of the French capitals is an exotic one of more contemporary date. Qualifying for this position is a Moorish marble capital of the eleventh century at the Museum of Gerona which has elephant heads at the corners. Further we should take into account elephant designs on Oriental textiles where, often by reversing the loom, the animals were made to confront each other. The elephant as a motif is to be seen frequently enough on Islamic ceramics, silks, and miniatures, but there is no ground for assuming that it served as a symbolical reminder of "the Year of the Elephant" (A.D. 571) in which Muhammad was born, and in which, according to the Quran (Sura 105), the Abyssinian army with its thirteen war elephants was destroyed by disease while marching on Mecca. At any rate whenever opportunity arose medieval European rulers acquired from their Muslim counterparts, either the animals themselves or their representations on objects, particularly on textiles. It is known for example that the envoys of Charlemagne asked for and received an elephant from Harun al Rashid in 797, and this animal named Abul Abbas died in Lippenheim in 810. It is perhaps this animal that is preserved in a drawing in the Bible of Lothaire dating from the second quarter of the ninth century. It has a basket-like howdah strapped to its back, but the anatomy is not very skilfully drawn—the eyes, have a tear drop shape, mouth and head are all but absent, and the trunk is of excessive length.

Already under Pope Leo III (795-816) the Liber Pontificalis refers to elephants figured on cloths, though the earliest surviving Oriental reference to this motif on textiles is not until much later—specifically to those mentioned in connection with the visit of the Byzantine ambassador at Baghdad in 917. In pre-Islamic times elephants were represented fairly frequently in the medium of mosaic: thus at the mountain retreat of Piazza Armerina in Sicily

45 J. Marshall, Taxila, III, pl. 65e.
49 A. Boinet, La miniature Carolingienne, pl. XXXV. In a slightly later miniature, Ibid., pl. LV, there is no howdah.
(c. fourth century A.D.) the elephant is said to stand as a symbol of Roman dominion in Africa and the tiger in Arabia. At the Great Byzantine Palace at Constantinople the elephant occurs in two mosaics, one associated with the Bacchic expedition to India, and the other in a fight with a lion.50 Other mosaics with elephants occur in Syria at the Church Martyrion of Seleucia (before A.D. 526),51 and in Palestine at Beit Jibrin and Beersheba.52 Textiles however, being so much more perishable, the surviving examples, are of a correspondingly much later date. The earliest of these perhaps are the two fragments at the Museum of Berlin variously dated between the seventh and tenth centuries and attributed to Persia.53 Here the elephants are contained in pearl roundels and spiral chains, and in this sense recall the elephants in circles on a cloth represented in an eleventh century Armenian Bible. The cloth is on the throne of King Gagik of Kars (1029-64).54 We may imagine a resemblance here with the coverlet or mantle pictured with elephants in 1180 to which as-Suyuti refers.55 But the Berlin fragments could have originated in Orientalized Byzantium, and if so are closely related to the elephant roundel on the Byzantine silk fabric56 found in the Tomb of Charlemagne at Aix la Chapelle. According to the inscription this silk was woven under Petros, the superintendent of the atelier in the Treasury of the Palace at Constantinople, and it was probably deposited in the coffin of the Emperor by Otto III in about the year 1000.57 If this silk was manufactured in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas (963-69) and arrived in

50 Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, V, 1942, pls. 7a, 15.
51 Doro Levi, Antioch Mosaic pavements, Vol. II.
54 S. der Nersessian: Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, 1945, p. 118, pl. XXIII, 2.
55 R. B. Serjeant, "Materials for a history of Islamic textiles," in Ars Islamica, IX, 1942, p. 75.
56 In this the decoration of palmettes with looped terminations and sectional view of floral clusters evinces Islamic influence.
France soon afterward, then it may have been the one of which a part was used by the French Abbot Robert. He is known to have ordered in 985 a large tapestry to be made, utilizing silk figured with elephants.\textsuperscript{58} Or the silk used may have been an Islamic one such as the well-known example from Khorasan in N.E. Persia (Pl. 106) now at the Louvre.\textsuperscript{59} The latter has a string of double humped Bactrian camels in the border led in procession, and a benedictory inscription naming the Commander Abu Mansur Haidar who ruled Khorassan in the tenth century. Eventually this splendid piece manufactured in the Orient in about 961, came to be used near Calais for wrapping the relics of St. Josse, the seventh century A.D. legendary King of Brittany, when his remains were brought to the Abbey dedicated to him in 1195. The elephants of this silk, though more stylized, have trunks enchained like those of the Byzantine example—a possible suggestion that the workshops of Constantinople looked to the East for their decorative patterns. This, it is conceivable, was the case despite the familiarity of the Byzantines with the elephant and despite the fact that an Arab prisoner of war in the ninth century claimed that he saw statues of men on elephants at the Porte Dorée in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{60} An elephant had been brought from the Gulf of Aqaba to the Emperor Anastasius in 496,\textsuperscript{61} and shortly afterwards the Byzantines had encountered the war elephants of the Sassanians as when Kobad entered Amida mounted on one in the siege of 502,\textsuperscript{62} and his successor Khusru likewise employed several in his wars against them.\textsuperscript{63} The Emperor Heraclius made his entry into Constantinople drawn by a quadriga of elephants, and a large number of the elephants captured from the Persians were put through their paces and paraded in the Hippodrome,\textsuperscript{64} just as in the time of Constantine Monomachus (1041-54) an elephant was shown there as a marvel. Even

\textsuperscript{58} W. G. Thompson, \textit{A History of Tapestry}, 1930, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{59} C. Enlart, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 138; Reath and Sachs, \textit{Persian Textiles and Their Techniques}, 1937, pl. 50; J. Ebersolt, \textit{Orient et Occident avant les Croisades}, 1928, pl. XXIV.
\textsuperscript{60} J. Ebersolt, \textit{Constantinople, Byzance et les voyageurs du Levant}, 1918, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{62} Le Beau, \textit{Histoire du Bas Empire}, Bk. XXXVIII.
\textsuperscript{63} P. Armandi, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 416ff.
\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 427.
if we accept with reservation the statement of Tabari and al-Makin that Khusru possessed a thousand elephants at the siege of Dastagered, we may be sure the Sassanians had revived the practice of importing elephants from India (the 300 elephants employed by Shapur II (309-79) to raze Susa to the ground\(^{65}\) must have been Indian) and indeed the mounted elephants in pursuit of wild boars along the river banks carved in relief at Tak-i-Bostan\(^{66}\) (c. 620) have the hallmarks of the Indian style in their modelled naturalism. These may be compared with the elephant carrying a howdah on a Sassanian silver plate.\(^{67}\)

By Islamic times elephants had once again become scarce in the Middle East for it is recorded that the Caliph Muawiya ascended the roof of his palace to enjoy the sight of an elephant that had been brought to Damascus.\(^{68}\) The Abbasid Caliph Mamun (754-75), it is known, had received the gift of an immense grey elephant from an Indian Raja. This was caparisoned in green and red brocade and in many coloured silks. The creature is said to have prostrated itself before the Caliph.\(^{69}\) It was this elephant with its body painted that bore on its back the heretic Babak at Samarra in 838, leading him away to a ghastly execution accompanied by the statue of a Khorassan devil.\(^{70}\) According to Masudi, Layth the Saffarid prince was likewise paraded through Baghdad on an elephant as a prisoner of war in the year 910.\(^{71}\) In 917 the Greek Ambassador to Baghdad saw 4 elephants with 8 men of Sind and javelin men of fire on each.\(^{72}\) It would appear that Adad ud-Dowlah, the Buyid ruler of Fars, was the first to use elephants in the Muslim army according to Miskawaih (VI, 464), and in 978 he employed them for stamping down the embankment soil and demolishing the walls of


\(^{67}\) J. J. Smirnov, Oriental Silver, 1904, pl. CXX; cf. Dalton, Treasure of the Oxus, Pls., 28, 199, 200.

\(^{68}\) Ad Damiri, op. cit., II, p. 575, citing at-Turtushi.


\(^{71}\) Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Les Prairies d’Or, III. 7ff. (1861-77).

\(^{72}\) G. Le Strange, Baghdad, 1900, p. 256.
houses at Baghdad. Since, as Masudi tells us, elephants had died out in North Africa by the seventh century A.D., we may assume that any of these animals acquired by the Moors must also have been from the East. At any rate, from the ivory casket at Pamplona Cathedral having an inscription naming the son of Almanzor and dating from 1005, it is evident that the Arabs in Spain were equally familiar with the use of elephants in war. A carved marble elephant from this period was found standing on a corbel on the aqueduct at the Omayyad Palace near Cordova. Later we hear of the statue of an elephant in silver at Mutamid’s palace (1068-91) in Seville. It jetted forth water into the pool. However only after the Ghaznavid attacks on India that large numbers of elephants were re-introduced into the Middle East. The army of Subuktigin near Nishapur, we are told by al-Utbi, was preceded by nearly 200 pairs of Indian elephants “all adorned with splendid trappings and incomparable housings.” A thousand walled enclosures were erected in Ghazni for keeping the imported trained elephants. This figure does not seem excessive when we remember the large number of elephants brought back by Mahmud after his campaigns. Mahmud had employed elephants, ostensibly with Indian mahouts carrying ankas, in his campaigns in Khorassan as is represented in an early miniature, and it may have been these animals that in turn passed over to the Seljuk conquerors. For some reason or other it appears to have been a rare event for the elephant to give birth to young in Iran. A physician was called in to heal Malik Shah’s elephant at Merv in 1085. Thereafter elephants

78 Ibid. p. 237.
74 Jose Ferrandis, Marfiles Arabes de Occidente, I, pl. XXXVI.
75 R. Castejon in Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias... Cordova, 1946, p. 197f.
76 Schack, Poesie und Kunst der Araber, II, 233.
77 The Kitabi i Yamini, tr. J. Reynolds, 1858, p. 140.
78 Ibid., p. 466.
79 He is known to have acquired 280 in his campaign of A.D. 1004, and thereafter 30 in 1008, 350 in 1018, 580 in 1019 and 330 in 1022. (S. R. Sharma in Indian Historical Quarterly, IX, 1933, pp. 935ff.)
80 Rashid ad Din’s Jami at Tawarikh at Edinburgh University Library, Arab and Pers. MS. 20, fols. 115, 119.
82 V. Minorsky, Marvazi, 1942, p. 2.
are found represented on Seljukian coins and reliefs, whilst a late twelfth century Seljuk metal work has armed warriors dealing blows from a howdah carried by an elephant.

In discussing the uses to which the elephant was put at various periods in history we have hinted that its rareness and power in warfare often made it a royal prerogative. The figure enthroned on an elephant in a Hispano-Moresque ivory of 969-70 commands the respect due to a ruler (Pl. 107). But in Medieval Europe the turreted castles on the backs of elephants are sometimes uninhabited and must have some other meaning. Examples of this category are to be seen on a Norman bas-relief in the ambulatory of the Duomo at Aversa, also painted in green over a yellow ground on an ornamental band at S. Maria in Foro Claudio of the late eleventh century, and on an Italian gold brocade of the thirteenth century at the Brunswick Museum. Others evidently intended to be war elephants include an ivory draughtsman carved in the Rhine in the thirteenth Century (now in the British Museum) with four persons in its howdah, and an early thirteenth Century English Bestiary in which a stiff looking elephant bears a castellated howdah containing ten persons.

It is unlikely that real elephants served as models for medieval artists since the animal in the Bestiary we have just mentioned is drawn in an unnatural manner with cleft feet, and upward instead of downward growing tusks. A real model was to appear not long afterward when Henry III received an elephant from St. Louis in 1255. Many people flocked to see it and Matthew Paris drew it from life. Frederick II had already made the elephant a familiar figure when he took the animal presented to him by a Sultan, together with a

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83 G. Miles in *Antioch on the Orontes*, IV, p. 119.
84 H. Gluck, *Die beiden sasanidischen Drachereifien* (Grundlagen zur seldschukischen Skulptur, Konstantinopel, 1917).
86 Victoria and Albert Museum, Photo no. 56724.
87 Toesca, *Storia dell’arte Italiana*, I, 1927, fig. 780.
89 H. Sands in *Archaeological Journal*, LXIX, p. 166. The elephant carved on the misericord at Exeter is likewise surmised to have been based on this very animal of Henry III. (M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, 1938, p. 35.)
menagerie in a procession to Northern Italy. But it would appear from the elephants with inhabited howdah and domed castle in reliefs on the throne at Monte Vergine (Pl. 108) and on the base of the centre portal at the Cathedral of Sens respectively (Fig. 50) that the Orient is being directly implied, and further from the riders on ostrich and camel in both, and in the human freak at Sens the reference is to the strange outlandish earthly paradise that lies, in the imagination of the medieval mind, in the other extremity of the world, in India. Indeed according to a Latin prose Bestiary of the twelfth century when the elephant wishes to have a baby, which it can have only once in a lifetime, it goes eastward to Paradise, where there is a (fertilizing) Mandrake tree.

As against the view that the elephant and castle in medieval art refer directly back to the then ancient Book of Maccabees, we prefer to derive the theme from the then contemporary Bestiary. In the latter it is stated that in Persia and in India wooden towers were fastened on the backs of elephants with soldiers manning them who were "as favourably placed as if they were on the bastion of a high building." In Medieval Europe, however, artists were quite incapable of depicting the figures of Indians, and even in the Holy Land in a manuscript painted at Acre in c. 1285 in the scenes representing the combat of Alexander the Great and the Indian

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King Porus, the riders mounted in the elephant and castle are neither Indians nor Persians but Arabs with turbans and striped garments, or in other words the antagonists of the Crusaders themselves.94

It is in India too that we encounter the "atlantes" motif (or human bearers represented in art and named after Atlas who carried the world on his back), serving the same functions as elephants. We have such an example of elephants carrying the perrailings together with pot-bellied struggling humans at the Barhut stupa, and also at the base of a stupa (c. third century A.D.) from Hadda now at the Musee Guimet in Paris. At Sanchi the torana supports of the projecting cross beams are carved with female reliefs representing yakṣis. Both the latter and the cherubim would seem to be quite inappropriate for bearing loads, but we must remember that the yakṣis are fertility attendants of the gods (at Barhut they stand on animal vehicles while clinging to trees or pointing to lotuses over their head (Pl. 109)95) and they aksas are similarly genii of vegetation, being devotees of the god of abundance, Kubera.96 If this be true then their presence would seem to imply a house of prayer destined to thrive and flourish. Such an attitude would appear to be purely Indian in emphasis though the theme of the atlantes may well have been imported from outside. However, the fact is that not only are female caryatids found earlier elsewhere, most notably supporting a porch of the Erechtheum in Athens, but it is possible that both Indian and Greek female supporting figures go back to Near Eastern prototypes—figures who, in our opinion, represent votaries or priestesses of Ishtar. The nude female caryatids in a group of Syrian ivories from Nimrud97 have no visible relationship with the fertility goddess, but their Greek copies certainly do. In one instance on a clay vase from Rhodes98 the four supporting

94 H. Buchthal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1957, pls. 123c. cf. Pls. 127a and c. This MS. the Histoire Universelle (Br. Mus. Add. 15268) is unique in the Muslim influence it displays: not only is the frontispiece an imitation of an Arabic MS., but the first miniature also has a border with Arab musicians (ibid., pl. 83, pp. 85, 101).

95 Zimmer, Art of Indian Asia, Pl. 33,b,c.

96 A. K. Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, 1927, pl. XI, fig. 37.


98 Ibid., pp. 186-7, pl. XXVII, 3; cf. Illustrated London News, May
female figures press their breasts in the Ishtar manner; in another instance the three figures supporting a water basin from Corinth stand on lions which are normally the beast-vehicles of Ishtar. Our final evidence that the love goddess lurks behind the female caryatids comes from Pausanias (iii. 18, 7) who identifies the bronze figures supporting certain tripods as those of Aphrodite and Artemis.

The yaksa supporting a lotus vase from Amaravati is claimed to be a descendant of an Assyrian prototype of which an instance is the eighth-century B.C. male pillar statue holding an overflowing vase from Khorsabad. Here we entertain an element of doubt as to a direct descent, for it seems to us that the dwarf figures in running attitude helping a pair of heroes support a winged disk at Tell Halaf are the true progenitors of the prancing Amaravati dwarfs upholding the lotus disk (Pl. 110). We have at any rate no hesitation in admitting Hellenistic influence in the muscular and naturalistic atlantes of Indian Gandhara. The contorted human figures carrying the upper frieze of a stupa at Taxila undoubtedly belong to the same category.

At this stage we may distinguish between two types of atlantes—the willing servitors, and the captive slaves. It goes without saying that where the attitude is calm they belong to the first type, and where they are bowing under the load they belong to the second. In the art of the ancient Orient there is yet another type represented—the palanquin bearers of gods or kings. On the rock relief at Yazilkaya of the thirteenth century B.C., representing the marriage of the gods (Pl. 111) the bridegroom who is the Storm god and head of the pantheon, bearing mace and insignia and armed with a double axe, stands on the necks of two bearers with bowed heads. The figures are stated to be Namni and Hazzi, genii of the moun-

20, 1933; and Furtwangler, Olympia, IV, pl. VII, p. 74.
100 A. K. Coomaraswamy, Yaksas, 1931, II, pl. 42, fig. 1.
102 V. A. Smith, A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, 1911, pl. LXXXVIII, fig. A.
103 J. Marshall, Taxila, III, pl. 58a, cf. pl. 157 a,b.
tains, and indeed the other gods are represented standing on mountain peaks. Nor is it difficult to imagine these bearers carrying forward the statue of the god in procession on the annual celebration of the occasion. But the figures carrying the statues of gods on their shoulders on an Assyrian relief of Tiglathpileser III may only be slaves carrying away foreign gods. Such a prototype could have influenced Assyrian sculptors to include bearing figures holding up the sides of the throne. In the relief of Sargon’s throne (722-705) a pair of bearded bearers confront each other, whilst above are four figures who raise their right hand—as if in homage. A relief of Sennacherib’s throne (705-681) has three registers of bearers with four in each row (Pl. 112). Finally the Achaemenids elaborated this idea on a monumental scale. The Throne of Darius (521-485) carved on the rock face near Persepolis has two registers of bearers and fourteen in each row. They represent the tributary nations of his Empire. Kneeling bearers are found also on Achaemenid seals. In these we have the origin of the atlantes on the voussoirs of the arch in the south entrance of the Romanesque church at Aulnay (Pl. 113). For here not only do we have two registers of bearers, the upper set kneeling on one knee and with their right arm raised as on Sargon’s throne, but the figures each carry an Apostle, just as at Imam Kulu the gods are being borne by human figures.

Still other types of Romanesque atlantes have their origin in the East. For instance, the candle holder in the pulpit of Palermo Cathedral (1175) has a capital consisting of a number of humans carrying the abacus with the tips of their fingers. This attitude signifying ease of achievement we have already encountered in the dwarfs of Amaravati. It may be that the atlantes seated cross-legged in Oriental fashion above the abacus and bearing the arch

106 Botta and Flandin, Nineve et l’Assyrie, pls. 18, 19; Layard, Nineveh and Its Remains, II, p. 301.
107 Layard, A Second Series of Monuments of Nineveh, pl. 23. Now in British Museum, no. 124911.
at San Zeno, Verona (Pl. 114), go back to such examples as the load bearing corbelled head on the Golden Gate at Diocletian’s Palace at Spalato in Dalmatia,\footnote{111} or to one of the alternative types in terracotta decorating the bathing hall at Pompeii,\footnote{112} but this can scarcely be said for Bishop Elias’s throne at San Nicola, Bari (c. 1098), where the two crouched and gasping humans are probably captive slaves under a supervisor who is also lending a hand (Pl. 115). There is a venerable antecedent for prisoners enchained to a throne in a wall-painting from the Tomb of Rameses III.\footnote{113} It is not a little curious that here a lion serves as the arm rest while at Bari lions crouch to support the footstool. The Bari supporters are among the earliest in Medieval art and are regarded as prior to those of Lombardy while at the same time being closely related in style to the example on the pulpit of S. Ambrogio at Milan.\footnote{114} It is further held that the still earlier supporting figures which occur in western manuscripts are due to Byzantine influence.\footnote{115}

It is, however, questionable whether the \textit{telemons} of the Romans survived into middle Byzantine times. What they did inherit from their forebears were the figures of “Victories” serving as supports of heaven represented in domes. The four archangels who sustain the throne of God at San Vitale in Ravenna and occur in the pendentive of the dome of Sta Sophia may vaguely recall the firmament supported by four cherubim in Ezekiel x, x, and the angels of Revelations vii, x, which stand at the four corners of the earth. But as for the actual representation we have to turn to pagan monuments, most conspicuously to the winged sirens supporting the monolithic dome over the north adytum at the Bel Temple of Palmyra dating from the first century A.D. Within the slightly hollow slab enclosed by a zodiac ring are the seven planetary divinities in a hexagon with Bel Jupiter dominating the centre.\footnote{116} In the corners formed by the square enclosing the circle are four winged sirens reminiscent

\footnote{111} Hebrard and Zeiller, \textit{Spalato}, 1912, pp. 39-40.  
\footnote{112} Daremberg and Saglio, \textit{Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines}, 1873-7, p. 526.  
\footnote{113} G. M. A. Richter, \textit{Ancient Furniture}, 1926, pp. 6, 10 and fig. 11.  
\footnote{115} A ninth century Utrecht Psalter and a book cover from the end of the tenth century. (A. K. Porter, \textit{op. cit.}, I, p. 69.)  
of the music of the spheres.\textsuperscript{117} They do not, however, quite tally with Plato's description of the music of the spheres (\textit{Republic}, Bk. X, Ch. XIV), where a wheel with eight vast circles or spheres fitted one within the other, had on each a seated muse or siren singing one note, the combined notes giving rise to one loud melody. There is no question of the sirens of Plato serving as supports as they do for instance, at the Bel Temple or in the Quran: "... on that day eight angels shall bear up the throne of thy Lord." (Sura LXIX. 17.) Two, four, six or eight angels supporting Christ in a mandorla becomes a common theme in Christian art,\textsuperscript{118} but behind this lies a long development going back to the six angels supporting the corners of the hexagonal cartouche of stucco in the ceiling of the Tomb of the Anicci (second century A.D.) near Rome,\textsuperscript{119} to the winged victories in the tomb paintings of Palmyra carrying shields (clipeus) with the portrait of the man who has been elevated to heaven, and even further back to the Assyrian male genii carrying the winged disk, symbol of their god Ashur. Again in a funeral mosaic from Algeria four serpent-legged demons support a heavenly circle in which is represented the departing of the soul,\textsuperscript{120} though it is clear that this type of underworld winged demon serving as caryatid descends through Etruscan funerary art of the third century B.C.\textsuperscript{121}

So it is, we believe, that the celestial bearers of Byzantine art have nothing to do with the struggling slaves of Bari, whose resemblance in the crinkly hair and loin cloth is rather with the stucco relief of a bearing figure at the Omayyad Palace of Khirbat al Mafdjar (724-43) in Palestine, this despite the fact that the latter functioned in the Byzantine manner in supporting the pendentive of the dome—in this case situated over the entrance to the bath.\textsuperscript{122}


\textsuperscript{117} As also in a Mithraic relief Mithras holds a globe in one hand and revolves a disk with the zodiac signs in the other. (F. Saxl, \textit{Mithras}, pl. 35.)


\textsuperscript{119} Guszman, \textit{L' Art decoratif de Rome}, pl. 85.


\textsuperscript{121} G. Dennis, \textit{Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria Maratima}, 1883, p. 448.

\textsuperscript{122} O. Grabar in \textit{Archaeology}, VIII, no. 4, 1955, p. 235, fig. 9.
It is our belief that the Bari slaves belong to the category of the Persian prisoners including the figure of Mardonius which Vitruvius (I. r.) stated were to be seen on a portal at Sparta, and the figures carrying the tent roof of Alexander’s audience chamber after his conquest of Persia. Vitruvius’ explanation (I.1.5.) that the Greeks punished the Caryae for siding with the Persians, and later enslaved them and made their statues carry a burden as a reminder, is instructive. At Bari, once reconquered from the Saracens, we would perhaps not be far wrong in conceiving the chair carriers as enemies of the Christian church, at that time pre-eminently the Saracens. Spanish Christians had once staggered under the load of the great bells of Compostella which they had carried to Cordova where they were turned into mosque lamps at the end of the tenth century. Was it not just that the Moors, obviously associated with the Atlas mountains, should serve as atlantes to bear the burden of their enemies? One of the figures carrying the chair at Salerno Cathedral corroborates our suspicion since he is wearing an Oriental turban.

Finally we may conclude our study of this theme by noting that the Atlas of the Greek myths began by being patterned on that of an Oriental prototype, the Hittite Ubelluris. The latter is described as supporting on his right shoulder the mountainous diorite body of the son of Kumarbi, Father of Gods. The belief that earth and heaven had been originally built on him and then severed by a copper knife, clearly recalls the statement of Homer that Atlas (brother of Prometheus, benefactor of mankind) bears the long columns which keep the earth and heaven apart.

134 Knights pursuing Saracens later occur in Gothic manuscripts. (cf. R. S. Loomis in Art Bulletin, June 1924, p. 112.)
136 E. Bertaux: L’Art Italie... , fig. 224. At Oloron-Sainte Marie (Basses-Pyrénées) Moors bound together with chains serve as supports. (J. Cantner and M. Pobé, Romanesque Art in France, 1956, pl. 119).
137 cf. Goetze in Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament, 1955, pp. 121ff. So in Egyptian myth the sun god Ra founds a new world on the back of the sky goddess Nut in her form as a cow. She staggers with the weight and has in turn to be held up by support gods. (R. T. Rundle Clark, Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt, 1959, pp. 184-5; G. Maspero, The Dawn of Civilization, pp. 162ff.) Support genii of the sun-disk appear in Hittite art. (Frankfort, Cylinder Seals, fig. 89; and Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient, fig. 57, p. 131.)
CHAPTER XV

FUSED AND INTERLOCKED FAUNA

A number of bizarre motifs occur in art whose intentions one may conjecture, but without any measure of certainty. Assuming there were some inherent meaning at any one given stage, it would still be questionable whether the same meaning applied throughout both the earlier and later expressions of that category of design. It would be preferable, therefore, to stress the form rather than the content, at least until such time as the key to the solving of the latter is ready at hand.

Long before modern cubists exploited the technique, ancient art had discovered the simultaneous rendering of a figure, both frontally and in profile. Simply by fusing the heads of two confronted figures in profile, the two halves contrived together to produce a frontal figure. The proximity of confronted figures may have produced the illusion of frontality, and it may have been through this accident that the invention came into being. The theme of the double bodied creature with the single head cannot be held to have originated as the result of an endeavour to produce the sense of double power by means of duplication, since the earliest example known up to the present, that on a cup in bitumen found at Susa and dating from the 3rd millennium B.C.¹ has ibexes or goats and not lions as in later instances (Fig. 51). The object may have been inspired simply by the observation of two animals in collision and the resulting fusion at the moment of impact. The design was most appropriate for the object since the protruding horns served as handles to the cup. Despite the rarity of such head-sharing beasts

¹ Musée de Louvre, Antiq. de la Susiane, p. 102, no. 224.
in ancient Oriental art, it is contended that the motif which appears early in the Mediterranean has been borrowed from Iran, where beasts of that nature, for instance those paired with addorsed pro-
tomes, were popular over a considerable length of time.\textsuperscript{2} Indeed, stags in collision with fused heads survived until Sassanian times and occur on engraved stone, reappearing once again in Roman-
esque art at the Cathedral of Modena.\textsuperscript{3}

When the motif first appears in the West, it is adapted to quite other ends. On a Mycenaean gem a pair of rampant lions with fused heads rest their forelegs on an altar with incurved sides (Fig. 52)\textsuperscript{4} Another pair of creatures on a similar Mycenaean gem are unrecognizable, though it is suggested that they may be winged rams, although they could equally well be owls.\textsuperscript{5} They resemble to some extent the creatures on the Corinthian pot from Rhodes, which is at the Louvre, save that the latter have bird’s bodies (Pl. 116).\textsuperscript{6} Now another Corinthian wine jug (625-600 B.C.) from the same provenance at the British Museum\textsuperscript{7} shows an intermediate stage between lions and birds, that is, the creature has bird’s bodies with additional harpy’s wings, and their bifurcated bodies fuse into the head of a lion. Such a combination is rare in the West, although there are innumerable representations of paired sphinxes


\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 318, citing British Museum inv. no. 23, and \textit{Revue Archéologique}, 1930, I, p. 61, fig. 10, 5.


\textsuperscript{5} Furtwangler, \textit{Ibid.}, pl. III, 24; and Beazley, \textit{Catalogue of ... antique gems}, pl. I, 2.

\textsuperscript{6} Morin-Jean, \textit{Le Dessin des Animaux en Grèce}, 1911, fig. 100, cf. p. 87.

\textsuperscript{7} BM. GR/36.
with fused heads in Greek, Etruscan and Roman art. What is so striking is that this rare creature is suddenly reverted to in the tenth century A.D. on a superbly decorative frontal of scarlet Arabic cloth from San Juan de las Abadesas and now in the Episcopal Museum of Vich (Pl. 117). A thirteenth century mirror is also, to all intents and purposes, identical, although it has the face of a female horpy (Fig. 53). The question arises, are the Islamic variants descended from Western prototypes which are well known, or from Eastern ones which are rare? According to one respected authority, fantastic animal motifs of the sixth century B.C. from Ionia survived in the textile towns of Asiatic Greece and were then incorporated into Byzantine art. This explanation leaves much to be desired for it assumes that the medieval art of the Near East is entirely indebted to Hellenism, which is far from being the case. In the instance of the particular theme which we have been pursuing, Islamic art is beholden to its Oriental ancestors, as is evident from a late Assyrian seal (900-600 B.C.) in which the lions with merged heads are winged, as also on a Persian gold plaque from

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8 W. Deonna, "Etres Monstrueux a Organes Communs" in Revue Archeologique, XXXI, 1930, pp. 52-9, figs. 8, 9.
10 J. Pijoan, ibid., XII, fig. 267.
12 British Museum Cylinder Seal, 89107. cf. Achaemenid seal in Lajard, Culte de Mithra, pl. XLIX, 3.
Ziwiye near Lake Urmia of the eighth century, b.c. (Fig. 54), whereas in Western art, as in Corinthian alabasters and in Etruscan amphorae of the sixth century b.c., the wings of double-bodied lions are absent. The view that the West is indebted to Achae menid Persia for the theme is not altogether convincing, even if at a much earlier stage Persia was its inventor. In the Islamic art of Persia, moreover, the theme has a very belated revival in the column bases at the Chihil Sutun Palace (c. 1600) in Isfahan, and the same inexplicable lacuna occurs between the double-bodied lion on a capital in India from the Gupta period and in the two later examples, of which one is the relief on the Mecca Gate at Bijapur (1565) and the other is on a tile mosaic at Man Singh’s Palace at Gwalior, held to date from about 1500. Perhaps we could assume that there were intermediate examples in perishable materials, such as textiles, which may for instance have served as a model for the beautifully stylized stucco figure of a bent-backed double-bodied lion in stucco from the south wall of the governor’s palace at Termez in Turkestan, probably from the eleventh or twelfth century. (Fig. 55) A similarly stanced creature in an arched frame occurs painted on the ceiling of the Palatine Chapel at Palermo. One may well ask whether the pairs of double-bodied winged felines on the cloister capital of the Spanish Romanesque Church at Ripoll (Pl. 118) were suggested by a similar Moorish textile, for textiles had been imported early into Catalonia and are

14 E. Pottier, Vases antiques du Louvre, I, pl. 41, E. 460.
15 Ibid., pl. 26. C. 567; Beazley, Etruscan Vase Painting, pl. I, 1, and Morin-Jean. op. cit., fig. 175.
17 A. Roes, op. cit., p. 318, fig. 5; also in Cave XVII c. A.D. 470-80, (H. Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, II, pl. 176).
19 B. P. Denike, Architectural Ornament of Central Asia (in Russian) 1939, pl. 36.
20 U. Monneret de Villard, La Piture Musulmane al Soffitto della Cappella Palatina in Palermo, 1950, figs. 169, 173 (fot. 2738); and Pavlovski in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 1893, p. 408. This is mislabelled “bas relief from Cathedral of St. Demetrius at Vladimir” in Pottier, op. cit., p. 433, fig. 12; and Deonna, op. cit., fig. 6, no. 11.
mentioned in certain inventories.\textsuperscript{21}

Whatever their origin, the motif of double-bodied lions in medieval art\textsuperscript{22} soon becomes widely diffused (despite St. Bernard's

remonstrance against animals in ecclesiastical sculpture with many bodies and one head and vice versa\textsuperscript{23}), and to mention only a couple of examples, we encounter them on the pulpit of St. Ambrogio, Milan\textsuperscript{24}, and in a capital at St. Benoit sur Loire. A related motif, the four-bodied beast is again encountered in medieval art, as in a relief roundel inserted high up on the façade of St. Marks in Venice, which, it may be noted, is significantly paralleled by a pre-eleventh century textile in Hungary from Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{25} The motif is, however, of some antiquity. Berossus the Babylonian priest refers to dogs with fourfold bodies,\textsuperscript{26} and a vase of the sixth century B.C.

\textsuperscript{21} J. Gudiol, Nocions de Arqueologia sagrada Catalana, 1902, p. 409.
\textsuperscript{22} Poulsen, Der Orient und die frühgriech Kunst, 1912, p. 146, suggests direct Etruscan sources.
\textsuperscript{23} Cited in Revue Archéologique, 1877, 33, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{25} G. Migeon, Manuel d'art Musulman, p. 394.
\textsuperscript{26} Cory's Ancient Fragments, 1876, p. 58.
of the Chalcidian style has a four-bodied gazelle. An identical motif of a deer with fourfold body occurs in Cave I (c. A.D. 600-650) at Ajanta.

The reverse combination of a fabulous beast with single body and more than one head likewise enjoys a considerable history originating in the East and finding its way to the West, though at a much later date. Amongst the earliest known instances of the double-headed eagle is that on a Chaldean seal which the cuneiform inscription claims belongs to the priest Ur-dun. He is presumably the minister of the god of Tello, Ningirsu, represented on the seal. A seal from Hattusas announces the arrival of the double-headed eagle in Anatolia, but the double eagle did not achieve a significant status until it was introduced into the monumental ceremonial sculpture of the Hittites where it was used as at Yazilikaya to bear the mural crowned lesser female divinities in the train of the great goddess and her son, and at Euyuk of the fifteenth century B.C. as the footstool for a gatekeeper. At the latter it will be observed that the eagle bears a prey in each claw (Fig. 56) as does the eagle of Ningirsu, and in the Hittite context this might well imply an eagle divinity who threatens to seize all enemies whether they come from East or from West, for the eagle is equipped to watch both ways with its double-head. The same significant function is represented by the two-headed Etrusco-Roman Janus, who as an ianitor, is both the porter of heaven and guardian deity of gates. His double head symbolizes the gate that opens and shuts or alternatively the two sides of the gate, and his name Dianus derives from “dies” or day, whose opening and closing could have been the original inspiration. Janus appears to have been an old sky god like Anu, although he is also argued to have originally had a solar nature connected with beginnings. At any rate, as we have seen

27 Morin-Jean, op. cit., fig. 154.
30 Bittel and Güterbock, Bogazkoi, pl. 28, 4.
31 Perrot and Guillaume, Exploration archéologique de la Galatie ..., pl. 51; cf. the rock relief in Pteria, Cappadocia. (Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l’art ..., IV, p. 682).
33 R. Pettazzoni, The All-Knowing God. 1956, p. 170 and n. 51.
there was a two-headed god in Babylonia, Isimud, the messenger of Ea, who appears on cylinder seals.\textsuperscript{34}

The Hittite double eagle may have passed westward as is suggested by a gold fibula found in the tombs at Mycenae\textsuperscript{35} which portrays a pair of eagles with heads averted and bodies joined, though not entirely, so that they maintain their separate identities. The mystery as to how the double-headed eagle survives into the Middle Ages cannot be solved without further excavation, but the suggestion that the Byzantines might have copied it on coins and textiles from the reliefs of Bogaz Koy or some other Hittite town in the reign of Emperor Theodore Lascaris, despot of Nicodemia,\textsuperscript{36} leaves much to be desired. How, for example, would this archaising attitude account for earlier occurrences of the motif in other cultures far removed from the Hittite sphere? We might not be far wrong in imagining a Persian influence in the shrine of the double-headed

\textsuperscript{34} Weber, \textit{Alteorientalische Siegelbilder}, no. 248, cf. the double headed god on a Cypriot cylinder. (\textit{Syria}, XXXII, p. 33.)

\textsuperscript{35} Schliemann, \textit{Mykenae}, cited by Goblet d'Alviella, \textit{The Migration of Symbols}, 1894, p. 25, figs. 8, 9.

\textsuperscript{36} O. M. Dalton, \textit{Byzantine Art and Archaeology}, 1911, p. 707.
eagle at Sirkap in Northwest India (c. 50 B.C.), for a Persian intaglio attributed to Parthian times has an eagle grasping hares in its claws as at Euyuk. A fresco at Kizil in Turkestan of the seventh-ninth century A.D. has a double-headed eagle carrying off the head of its double enemy, which is stated to be none other than the old theme of the preying Garuda with the Naga, though it should be noted that another double-headed eagle at the same site serves as a heavenly vehicle. At any rate these mythical eagles are certainly earlier than the Byzantine reliefs of double-headed eagles at Daphni and at Mistra, believed to be of the tenth century. This excludes a bronze seal amulet from the bend in the Yellow River, which has been dated at twelfth-thirteenth century. The truth is probably that the ninth or tenth century Byzantine fabric at the Cathedral of Sens with double-headed eagle follows an Oriental original, a tradition to which the eleventh century Andalusian silk at the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin also belongs. In the latter, the eagle with its fan-shaped tail, chevron breast and neck markings, and a diaper motif on wings, seizes a pair of gazelles, while a pair of rampant quadrupeds appear before each curving beak. The double-headed eagles on a twelfth century Islamic silk fabric at the Musee de Tissus of Lyons flanking cone-bearing trees of life, stand on the heads of pairs of lions who are in turn

87 J. Marshall, A Guide to Taxila, pp. 78-100. The plan of the Palace at Sirkap is stated to be of Mesopotamian type. The double-headed eagle was revived by the Chalukyas in 1047, and reappears intermittently in South India thereafter (J. P. de Souza, "The double-headed eagle", Indica, The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemorative Volume, 1953, pp. 394-407).

88 Revue Archéologique, 1874, XXVII, pl. V.

89 Le Coq, Bilderstas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 1925, fig. 153.

90 R. Wittkower, "Eagle and Serpent" in Journal of the Warburg Institute, 1938-9, p. 299, pl. 49.1.

91 Le Coq, op. cit., p. 25. cf. fig. 150.

92 Millet, Daphni, p. 69, and ibid., Monuments Byzantins de Mistra, pl. XLVII.

93 P. Pelliot in Revue des Arts Asiatiques, VII, pl. 5, fig. 6.

94 J. Pijoan holds that the eleventh century Arabic textile at the Museum of Vich is an imitation of the Byzantine style (Historia Generale del arte, XII, fig. 159.)

preyed upon gazelles. Apart from the debasing of the Kufic inscriptions across the wings of the eagles which read "Praise be to the Lord," the whole design was copied on the vault of the crypt in the Cathedral of Clermont, Puy de Dome (Fig. 57). Identical double-headed eagles with axe-shaped tails, clutching antelopes (with fused heads) are painted at the twelfth century church of St. Quirace in Provence and are clearly based on silk models. This is attested also by the winged motifs in a roundel border inhabited by a passant lion, and by the thirteenth century paintings on the timber ceiling at the cloister in Fréjus, again in Provence, which include the motif of rampant lions back to back contained in a red border with debased Arabic inscriptions. The double-headed eagle occurs on the mantle of Boniface VIII at the Cathedral Museum of Anagni, (Pl. 119), and is carved in Romanesque churches, as for example, in a roundel at the portal of Ripoll, on an abacus at the cloister of Moissac (Pl. 120), and in other French Romanesque churches. Since bestiaries did not have an influence on sculpture until the Gothic period, and since

44 O. Von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberie*, 1913, I, fig. 202
48 E. Lavagnino, *Storia dell' Arte Medioevale Italiana*, 1936, fig. 505.
St. Bernard had declaimed against fabulous fauna, we cannot presume that these borrowed motifs were intended to have any symbolic meaning.

In Seljuk Turkey too, the symbolism, if any, is not readily apparent. The use of bi-cephalic eagles on portals and fortified towers may be intended as a good luck charm, but primarily they should be regarded as a decorative insignia. This would account for the fact that the earliest examples are on coins, and not on sculptures, which were minted by the Ortokids and Zengids in about 1175. The earliest monumental examples are on two towers of the Ortokid ruler Mahmud at Amida, which are named Evliya Badan and Yedi Kardash and which date from 1208-9. The eagles occupy a dominant position above the raised portion of the central inscription. Such eagles are next adopted by the Seljuk ruler Allaedin Kaikobad, whose relief from the old gate at Konia (c. 1220) has been preserved at the local museum. Shortly afterwards the double eagle becomes a royal emblem of Byzantine Nicaea. In Seljuk art, meanwhile, the double eagle attains such prestige that it is incorporated into religious art and occurs on the west portal of the Divrik mosque (Pl. 121) built by Kaikobad’s vassal, the Mengoushekid Ahmad Shah, in 1228. It may have acquired this status simply on account of this family’s love of falcons, for it has been pointed out that among the titles named in the inscription of the mausoleum of Ahmad’s grandfather at Divrik, are two birds toghrul-tekin or falcon prince, and humayun, a word derived from the Persian humay, a bird of happy augury. The Armenian double-headed eagle carved on the Church of St. Gregory at Dsegi, may be assumed to be a close cousin of the Seljuk, for not far away at Erzerum in Eastern Turkey, another Seljuk example occurs, carved in relief beside the entrance of the Tchifte Minare Madrasa (1253) here perched on a heavenly tree guarded by dragons (Pl. 122). In Islamic art, the double eagle continues to be a popular motif in Ayyubid

54 Ibid., pp. 90, 93, figs. 37, 41.
55 F. Sarre, Reise in Kleinasiens, p. 88.
57 Van Berchem, op. cit., p. 98.
58 J. Strzygowski, Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa 1918, fig. 323.
and Mamluk ceramics in Egypt, where it is treated with bold versatility, purely as a decorative pattern.\textsuperscript{69} In the West too, it assumes an importance once Louis of Bavaria adopts it as a Teutonic symbol in 1325.\textsuperscript{60} Too well is it known how this figure, once indigenous to Seljuk Turkey, centuries later flew on the flag on Don Juan of Austria when he engaged the Ottoman Turks at Lepanto.

We end by tracing briefly the course of two related motifs wherein paired animals have their bodies crossed or their necks interlaced. The first of these occurs on a cylinder seal from the Agade period (2800-2300 B.C.) on which rampant lions and oxen have their bodies crossed.\textsuperscript{61} Precisely this motif of lions with crossed bodies ventures into the Aegean where it is found on a Greek gem from Menidi,\textsuperscript{62} and recurs in renascent Eastern art engraved on a late Sassanian-silver ewer of the seventh century A.D.\textsuperscript{63} The other-theme of interlacing necks goes back earlier still and is encountered on a protoliterate seal from Mesopotamia. The long interlacing necks of these quadrupeds are held to have influenced Egyptian art.\textsuperscript{64} The serpent-necked lions on Narmer's palette, described by one authority as "serpopards",\textsuperscript{65} are however held on leash by men. Again the theme survives\textsuperscript{66} on an Assyrian

\textsuperscript{69} Cleves Stead, \textit{Fantastic Fauna}, 1935, pls. 112-115.

\textsuperscript{60} It is not surprising that the largest collection of eleventh and twelfth century Oriental textiles with this motif were to be found in German treasures such as at Sieburg, Quedlinburg etc. (F. Fishbach, \textit{Die wichtige Webe-Ornamente}, IV, Taf. 177, 180, 188, 189).

\textsuperscript{61} British Museum Cylinder seal 113869; cf. no. 104487.

\textsuperscript{62} W. Smith, \textit{A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities}, 1891, II, p. 602.

\textsuperscript{63} J. Ebersolt, \textit{Orient et Occident (avant les Criosades)}, 1928, pl. VI.

\textsuperscript{64} L. Heuzey: \textit{op. cit.}, pl. XVII; and H. Frankfort, \textit{The Birth of Civilization in the Near East}, 1931, pls. 16, 28, p. 120.


\textsuperscript{66} A rampant winged double leopard on a golbet of electrum, possibly thirteenth century B.C. Iranian, has its lower limbs entwined. (A. Parrot in \textit{Syria}, XXXV, 1958, Fasc. 3, 4, pp. 175ff. fig. 4.)
or neo-Babylonian seal, where rampant ibexes are interlaced (Fig. 58), and when it is revived in Islamic art the only difference is that the animals are replaced by peacocks. It would appear to be this last version whose effect is transmitted to the West. The peacocks with interlooped necks in Moorish art, as for example on a casket (1026-7) from the Monastery of Sta. Domingo de Silos, now at the Museum of Burgos (Pl. 123), and on a mid-eleventh century water basin from Jativa are found on an abacus in the cloister at Moissac (Fig. 59) and though here the heads of the birds are not confronted, such indeed is the case with the pair posed against a pomegranate tree on the parapet at the Church of S. Siriaco at Ancona. However, the problem is not so simple, for the column base in a tenth-eleventh century MS. consists of a pair of eagles with interlooped necks, and among the many sadistic and revolting voussoirs on the south portal at the Church of S. Pierre at Aulnay (Pl. 124) are a pair of quadrupeds with linked necks. To disentangle the skein of influences here must remain one of the problems of the future.

67 J. Ferrandis, Marfiles y Azabaches Espanoles, 1928, pl. XVIII.
68 Ars Hispaniae, III, 329, 330.
69 L. Pillion, Les sculpteurs français . . . , pl. 15.
70 L. Serra, L' Arte nelle Marche, 1929, figs. 267-9, 275-8, 280-3.
71 A. Boinet, La Miniature Carolingienne, pl. CXII.
APPENDIX

(relationing to Chapter I, p. 45)

We may outline here the history of the game preserve in antiquity since it is possible to demonstrate its passage from East to West.

At Calah in Assyria bulls and lions were kept in a park (ambassu) in connection with a ritual hunt. In 879 B.C., Nimrud had zoological and botanical gardens. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) placed animals in a great park with cypresses and palms and a tank watered by a canal.

The Achaemenids of Persia continued the tradition. Xenophon writes in 365 B.C., of a paradeisos or "park" surrounded by a wall, and of an offer by Astyages to Cyrus II of a present of all the game in his paradieses (Cyropaedia I. 4 §5, 11; I. 3 §14). Elsewhere Xenophon speaks of a large paradeisos attached to the palace of Cyrus at Kelaenae in Phrygia through which the river Meander flowed and where Cyrus used to hunt on horseback the wild animals with which the park was stocked. (Anabasis. I. 27f.) There was a royal park attached to the palace of the Persian king at Shushan according to the Book of Esther (I. 5). Sidonians of Tripoli revolting against Artaxerxes in 351 B.C. cut down and destroyed the royal park where the Persian kings were wont to take their recreation (Diodorus Siculus. XVI. 47). We are told by Pollux (IX. 13), that Paradeisos was a Persian word. The name does in fact appear first in the reign of Cyrus where a contract refers to a gardener "of the paradise" (sa par-di-su), and a Babylonian tablet of 317 B.C. refers to a place called "the land", pardesu. This is the Avestan pairi-dâcea from which paradise and the Arabic firdaus derive.

The Greeks adopted the Oriental practice after their eastern

1 S. Smith, Myth, Ritual and Kingship, ed. S. H. Hooke, 1958, p. 43.
4 See B. Meissner in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, VI, p. 290, n. 3.
5 F. Hommel, Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients, 1926, p. 166, n. 3.
conquest. Alexander laid low 4000 wild beasts in a Scythian park which was surrounded with walls and towers for hunters. (Quintus Curtius, VIII, i, 11f.) One of Alexander’s generals, Demetrius the son of Antigonus, exercised himself by hunting in the park. (Plutarch, Life of Demetrius, LII). Mithradates had a vivaria in the Pontus (Strabo. XII, 3, 30).

Leporarium (enclosures for hares) was an old institution in Italy, but the roborarium or fenced enclosure for wild animals was developed toward 50 B.C. (Cf. Varro, R. R. III, i2), probably suggested by the above-mentioned Oriental prototypes.\(^8\)

\(^8\) G. Jennison, Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome, 1937, p. 133f.
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