

INSIGHT THROUGH IMAGES

Therapy and research in the area of insight through images
of the experiential approach and its applications in
the laboratory to the field of the experiential approach

Edited by David G. White

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INSIGHT THROUGH IMAGES

Studies in Honor of Edith Porada

EDITED BY

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

IN COLLABORATION WITH

Paolo Matthiae and Maurits Van Loon

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Collected in this volume in honor of Edith Porada are thirty contributions from scholars from the United States, Europe, and the Near East. The subjects represented reflect the wide-ranging interests Professor Porada herself has shown in both research papers and publications. Many of the articles center around the study of seals and sealings (cylinder seals, stamp seals, and scarabs), a field in which she has made fundamental contributions. Other articles deal with art history focusing on important artistic monuments. Some contributions publish newly excavated material, reflecting in this too Edith Porada's continuing concern with the context of ancient Near Eastern Art.

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INTRODUCTION

As a celebration of Edith Porada's achievements, a number of her colleagues and friends have come together to honor her with the fruits of their research.

Her academic contribution has become a cornerstone in our present understanding of ancient Near Eastern art. Especially in the study of cylinder seals, she brought early in her career a highly perceptive insight and rigorous scholarly methodology to an infant field, setting it on a firm foundation stylistically and chronologically—a foundation on which we all rely today. Her sensitivity to ancient art and especially to its historical, chronological, and archaeological context has been unparalleled in developing a new appreciation for ancient Near Eastern culture. Through her help, the ancient world of images has become a world of insight for us.

Outstanding as they are, her academic accomplishments have been paralleled by her human qualities of warmth and encouragement. Teaching, to Edith Porada, is not just a matter of imparting information, scientifically; it is a total devotion of interest, time, and energy. Through her enthusiasm for the ancient Near East, she is able to thrust the individual student onto a higher plane of involvement in the field. It is not without reason that her students call each other members of her "Porada family." For Edith there is no dividing line between private life and professional life. To the friend of the ancient Near East, the door of her home is open at all hours, as several of us have personally experienced. It is the advance of science over this whole broad field that she has made her personal concern. Her encouragement of young scholars throughout the world is an example for all.

Reflecting the wide ranging interests and contacts that she maintains and the high regard for her around the world, the editors and contributors to this volume come from her former students and from her colleagues in America, Europe, and the Near east.

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KASSITES OU ELAMITES?

Pierre Amiet

Avec une extrême finesse, servie par une érudition sans faille, Edith Porada s'est attachée à montrer la part respective de la Babylonie kassite et de l'Elam sur les sceaux de Tchoga Zanbil.¹ Qu'il me soit permis de joindre à la gerbe impressionnante de ses observations le modeste bouquet que voici, à partir de quelques inédits.

Un premier groupe de sceaux-cylindres, appelé *pseudo-kassite* peut être distingué d'emblée, grâce au matériau utilisé par les seuls Elamites: un verre bleu foncé, et par certains détails, à part quoi ils sont très proches des modèles babyloniens.² De même, le deuxième groupe, de style *élamite-élaboré* a été façonné aussi en verre, ce qui a permis d'identifier comme une importation élamite un sceau-cylindre découvert à Assur.³ Tout récemment, la mission allemande⁴ qui a exploré le tell Subeidi, dans la région du Hamrin, a mis au jour une série de sceaux: cylindres et empreintes, manifestement apparentés, de sorte que la question peut se poser de savoir s'il s'agit d'une production locale ayant subi tantôt l'influence mitannienne, tantôt celle de l'Elam, ou s'il s'agit éventuellement d'importations. La même question se pose à propos de trois sceaux-cylindres provenant apparemment d'Iraq, acquis par le Musée de Bagdad, mais dont la provenance précise est inconnue.⁵ Ils sont tous trois en verre bleu-vert, dont la corrosion est si semblable que l'on est en droit de supposer qu'ils ont été trouvés ensemble, dans un même gisement.⁶ *A priori*, puisqu'ils sont en verre, ils peuvent être tenus pour originaires d'Elam d'où ils auront pu être exportés, comme celui d'Assur.

1. IM 10.991. Verre. Haut.: 0,038 m; Diam.: 0,015 m (Ill. 1a-b)

Le décor est réparti en trois registres. 1) En bas: deux animaux presque effacés, de part et d'autre d'un arbuste sèchement stylisé, à 2 paires de branches rigides, obliques. 2) Au milieu, sujet principal: défilé de 3 personnages semblables, vêtus de robes à frange tombant en oblique sur le haut des jambes. Un bras est plié sous ce vêtement; l'autre est nu et tombe verticalement. Ces personnages sont barbus; ils semblent nu-tête, sauf peut-être celui du milieu (?). Dans ces conditions, il n'est guère possible de préciser s'il s'agit de

¹ Porada, (1970).

² Porada, (1970), p. 7.

³ Porada, (1970), p. 22 et Pl. XIV, fig. 10. Moortgat, (1940), Pl. 66, n° 555.

⁴ Boehmer, (1981).

⁵ Dayton, (1978), p. 192; Pl. II(2), les a publiés non déroulés comme provenant d'Assur.

⁶ Je remercie vivement M. Muayad Said Damerji, Directeur Général des Antiquités d'Iraq, de m'avoir fait transmettre les photographies de ces sceaux-cylindres en m'autorisant à les publier. Mes vifs remerciements s'adressent aussi à Melle Christine Kepinsky, grâce à qui ces documents ont été acheminés. Je remercie très particulièrement M. Jean-Marie Durand qui a bien voulu traduire les inscriptions.

dieux, éventuellement guerriers. Entre eux: une tête d'antilope de face et un losange, et, à hauteur des têtes, un disque radié et un insecte. 3) En haut: deux oiseaux posés au sol et tournant la tête en arrière, de part et d'autre d'une figure effacée: arbre à volutes ou aigle dont les serres seraient pliées en angle aigu. Losange dans le champ. Il reste 3 colonnes de l'inscription, endommagée:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| kar lú ^d [utu ?] | Sauver est (le rôle) de Šamaš(?) |
| kar lú ^d m[es] | Délivrer est (le rôle) de Marduk |
| ki du ₁₀ ka eme | Combien bonnes sont ta bouche et ta langue! |

Quoique beaucoup de signes soient peu lisibles, l'inscription apparaît comme identique à celle de BM 89182, pour laquelle nous avons adopté la traduction de Henri Limet.⁷ Le décor de ce sceau est très proche de celui qui est connu par des empreintes de Nippur⁸ et, à un degré moindre, de celui d'un sceau-cylindre de Berlin⁹ où 2 personnages semblablement vêtus sont tournés vers un troisième et associés aux mêmes petites figures de remplissage. Une empreinte de Tell Subeidi¹⁰ porte un sujet semblable et, au registre supérieur, un arbuste semblable à celui que nous avons observé au registre inférieur du sceau-cylindre que nous publions. Son décor apparaît donc comme essentiellement kassite: le thème des personnages passant, que Edith Porada a rapproché du décor peint de Dur Kurigalzu, se retrouve sur des empreintes de Nuzi¹¹ et pourrait dériver plus lointainement des groupes de petits personnages marchant vivement, observés sur nombre de cylindres syriens des XVIIIe et XVIIe siècles.¹²

2. IM 10.993. Verre. Haut.: 0,040 m; diam.: 0.017 m (Ill. 2a-b)

Un personnage barbu, aux formes anguleuses, est assis sur un siège cubique, quadrillé. Il porte une robe longue dans laquelle est plié le bras gauche. Le bras droit tient un petit vase à panse globuleuse. Un orant lui fait face, vêtu comme lui et tenant un éventail en forme de drapeau, carré et quadrillé. Entre les deux personnages: une petite table sur laquelle est posé un objet quadrillé. Sous le bras du personnage principal: un gros insecte; au dessus: un quadrupède fortement stylisé. De part et d'autre de l'orant, trois têtes d'antilopes de face. Au dessus de l'inscription, une frise d'oiseaux posés au sol. Inscription:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| ^d mes umun [gal] | O Marduk, grand seigneur, |
| til-til an-n[a ?] | qui vis dans le ciel |
| [? igi-bar ?]-bar!-zu | sous ton regard (??) |

Les deux premières lignes correspondent à H. Limet¹³ n° 8.12. La dernière ligne est reconstituée de façon incertaine.

Ce sceau-cylindre est très semblable à celui qui a été trouvé à Assur et qui est classé par Edith Porada dans la série *élamite élaborée*. Il en diffère par la robe à bandes striées en

⁷ Limet, (1971), p. 106, n° 8. 12.

⁸ Legrain, (1925), n° 561. Porada, (1972), p. 172, fig. 7.

⁹ Moortgat, (1940), n° 552.

¹⁰ Boehmer, (1981), Pl. 4, n° 6.

¹¹ Porada, (1947), n° 352-408 et 454-466; 550-557.

¹² Par ex.: Frankfort, (1939), Pl. XLII f; XLIV c; f.

¹³ Limet, (1971), p. 69, n° 4.7, corrigé d'après n° 8.2. Cf. Lambert, (1975), p. 222 (4.7).

oblique, et par les oiseaux alignés au dessus de l'inscription, un peu différents, plus simplifiés. Ils ressemblent davantage à ceux qui déchirent une proie, sur un sceau-cylindre kassite.¹⁴ Quant à l'insecte vraiment énorme, exceptionnel à cet égard, il appartient au répertoire kassite aussi bien qu'élamite¹⁵ quoique en Elam, il soit généralement stylisé un peu autrement.

3. IM 10.992. Verre. Haut.: 0,040 m; diam.: 0;015 m (Ill. 3a-b)

Le champ est divisé en deux panneaux verticaux, de largeur inégale, par de larges bandes quadrillées en oblique. 1) Le panneau le plus étroit est divisé en deux par une bande horizontale. En haut: deux capridés accroupis l'un au dessus de l'autre, au corps composé de 3 globules. En bas: un fruit (?) globuleux disposé en oblique et d'où sortent 3 appendices terminés chacun par un globule. 2) Dans le panneau le plus large, un archer agenouillé bande son arc vers la droite; 2 cercles cernés dans le champ. Au dessous, une inscription de trois lignes, aux signes tracés par un graveur qui manifestement ne les comprenait pas:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>at-kal-ku</i> | J'ai eu confiance en toi; |
| <i>a-a-ba-aš</i> | Puissè-je ne pas connaître le déshonneur! |
| <i>arhuš tuk-a</i> | Aie pitié! |

Cette inscription est identique à celle du n° 20 de Tchoga Zanbil, dont elle permet de compléter la lecture.¹⁶ Or ce dernier cylindre est composé de la même manière que celui que nous publions, et un archer agenouillé figure dans un des panneaux déterminés par deux bandes quadrillées en oblique. Il appartient à la série *élamite élaborée*¹⁷ à laquelle doit donc être rattaché notre n° 3, tout comme un sceau-cylindre trouvé dans une tombe de Marlik¹⁸ et qui a donc, lui aussi, été exporté d'Elam.

Si l'on admet que nos trois sceaux-cylindres de verre constituent bien une série homogène, on peut tenir pour vraisemblable qu'ils ont tous trois une provenance élamite. On devrait donc admettre que le thème des trois marcheurs illustré par le n° 1, attesté seulement en Babylonie kassite jusqu'à présent, a été adopté aussi en Elam.

Or ce thème a été adopté aussi par les artistes d'Iran du nord, comme une fois de plus l'a montré Edith Porada¹⁹ en publiant une plaque d'argent estampée provenant de cette région. Les guerriers qui y sont représentés ont été justement rapprochés des trois personnages qui défilent sur une empreinte de Nippur à laquelle nous nous sommes référés plus haut. Or ce défilé apparaît comme le modèle de celui qui décore un vase en verre découvert au niveau IV de Hasanlu.²⁰

Le même thème décore un vase d'or provenant d'Iran du nord et appartenant à une collection particulière. Ne disposant pas de bonne photographie, nous donnons le dessin

¹⁴ Porada, (1972), p. 173, fig. 10: Ermitage.

¹⁵ Porada, (1970), n° 26; 27; 30; 55; 80; 81 avec un style assez différent.

¹⁶ Reiner, (1970), p. 136, n° 20. Cf. Limet, (1971), p. 111, n° 9.6.

¹⁷ Porada, (1970), pp. 21-25. Cf. Amiet, (1972), n° 2068; 2071; 2078-2085. Moortgat-Correns, (1969), pp. 295-298.

¹⁸ Negahban, (1979), p. 118, figs. 11-12. *Id.*, p. 123, fig. 17 donne la photographie d'un sceau-cylindre non déroulé, très semblable à Porada, (1970), n° 4, à ceci près qu'une frise d'oiseaux est disposée au dessus de l'inscription.

¹⁹ Porada, (1972).

²⁰ Porada, (1972), p. 172, fig. 8.

de son décor, gravé et repoussé en faible relief (Fig. 1). Il s'agit d'un gobelet cylindrique légèrement cintré, à base débordante dont le fond porte une rosace gravée. Le décor de la panse groupe trois hommes semblables, passant de gauche à droite et entre lesquels trois rosaces de deux modules différents, aux pétales arrondis au sommet, sont superposées et comparables aux fleurs plus simples, à quatre pétales, qui sont réparties dans le champ du vase en verre de Hasanlu. Les personnages sont traités avec plus d'élégance que sur ce dernier. Leur vêtement couvert de gros points circulaires, est constitué par une pièce de tissu drapée comme une toge, de manière à laisser libres l'épaule et le bras droits. L'attitude des bras est la même que sur le vase en verre et les sceaux-cylindres précédemment décrits: le gauche est plié sous le vêtement, mais il tient une arme légèrement sinueuse, ressemblant à un bois de jet, dépourvue de lame. Cette arme n'est pas tenue en main: l'avant bras la serre contre le corps. Le bras droit tombe sans rien tenir. Le vêtement est entrouvert sur un pagne tombant juste au dessus du genou et qui doit être maintenu avec une ceinture dont les extrémités tombent entre les jambes. Les pieds sont chaussés de sandales légèrement recourbées en avant.

Ces personnages aux cheveux longs, tombant dans le dos, portent un mince bandeau serre-tête au-dessus duquel, par devant, une grosse mèche forme comme un toupet rabattu jusqu'au sommet de la tête. Cette mèche est donc assez différente du toupet du libateur qui figure sur le grand vase d'or de Hasanlu,²¹ et de celui d'un personnage représenté sur un fragment de carreau émaillé médio-élamite de Suse.²² Une seconde mèche, très petite, tombe sur le bandeau, en avant de l'oreille. Le front est comme rentrant, fortement bombé comme celui des personnages représentés sur le fragment de plaque d'argent de l'University Columbia²³ et sur les "situles" du Luristan.²⁴ L'extrémité de la barbe est ligaturée, comme pour éviter qu'elle ne s'étale.

Le décor de ce vase est plus proche de celui des sceaux kassites et médio-élamites que du vase en verre plus tardif, trouvé à Hasanlu. Il illustre une interprétation originale du thème des trois personnages, présentés franchement comme des guerriers. Connaissant maintenant que ce thème a pu avoir été adopté en Elam, il est possible qu'il en ait été exporté en même temps que les sceaux-cylindres, vers l'Iran du nord. Mais en réalité, la civilisation qui s'épanouit au cours des derniers siècles du II^e millénaire dans cette région dut avoir la possibilité de s'intégrer à la communauté culturelle particulièrement complexe qui unissait alors l'Iran aux civilisations de la plaine mésopotamienne. Il n'est donc guère possible de distinguer si l'orfèvre iranien s'est inspiré d'un modèle kassite plutôt qu'élamite, ou inversement.

²¹ Porada, (1965), Pl. 24 en haut, au milieu.

²² Amiet, (1966), fig. 394.

²³ Porada, (1972), p. 164, fig. 1.

²⁴ Calmeyer, (1973), p. 19,s.

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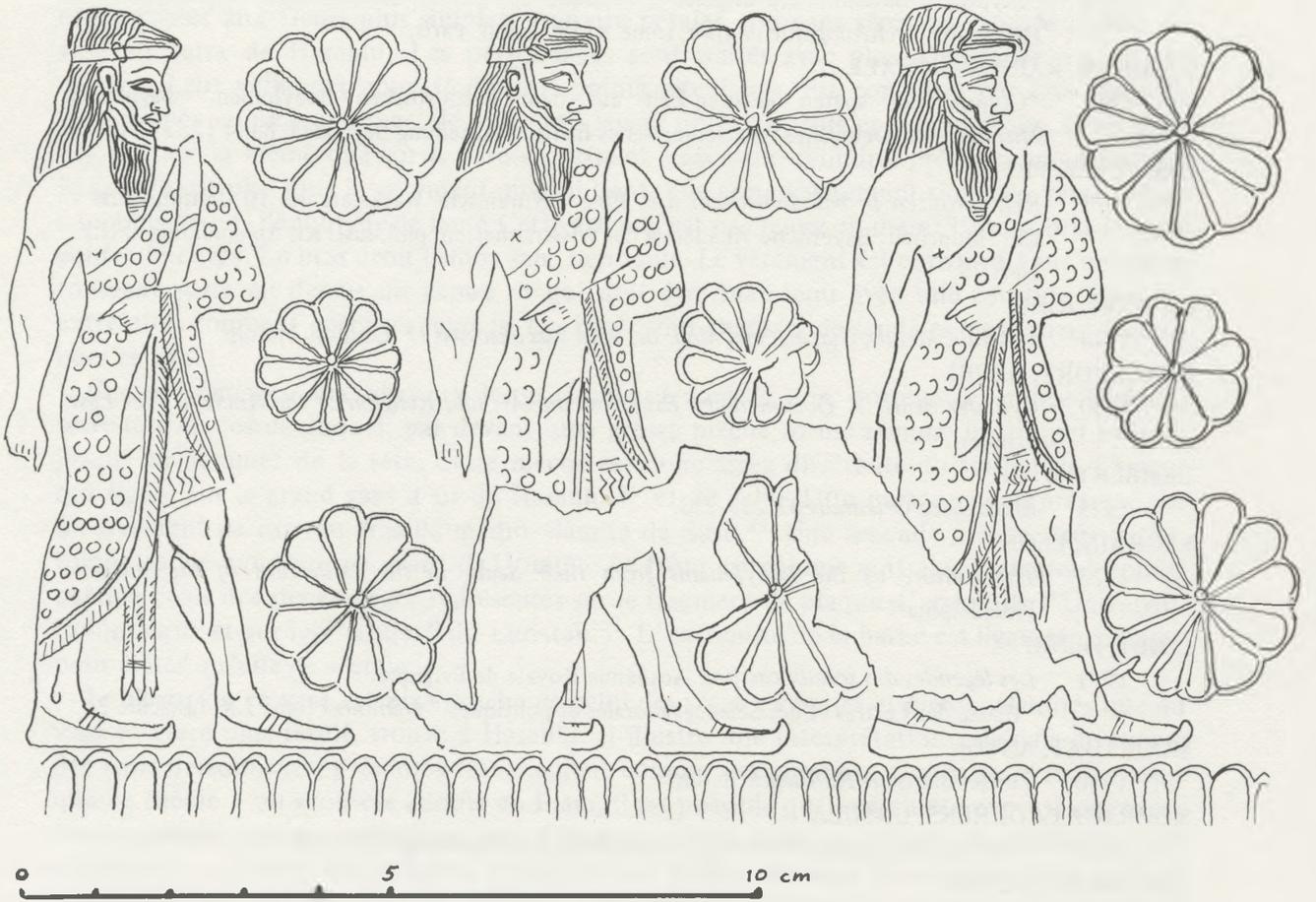


Figure 1.

SOME CULT-AND-ART OBJECTS OF THE EB I PERIOD

Ruth Amiran

All five objects presented in the following lines originate in the antiquities market. They could, however, be traced back to their respective areas of origin, three with considerable measure of probability, two with a somewhat lesser possibility.

The definition 'cult-and-art' (or 'art-and-cult') was suggested recently by the writer¹ as a roof-conception to encompass all varieties of objects of this very broad realm of the higher culture. The present paper does not aim at a full corpus of the objects of this class in the Early Bronze I period (3200/3150-3000/2950 B.C.), nor does it pretend to touch upon all the problems involved.

TWO KERNOI (Fig. 1-2, Ills. 1-6).² These two kernoi, identical in style and workmanship, except for the number of cups, belong without any doubt to one assemblage, most logically a tomb-group. Their origin is betrayed by one peculiar feature, the delicate beaded-like rope (sometimes designated as 'necklace'). This is a diagnostic feature of the Bab edh-Dhra potter's craft in the EB I period.³

This type of kernos, represented here in two variants, three and four cups respectively, shows elegant proportions between the thickness of the hollow ring and the size of the cups. The cups are sitting straight on the ring communicating with its hollowness by a well-finished hole in the center of the cup. This very feature constitutes the main difference between our type and the one known for a long time from Bab edh-Dhra,⁴ which is characterized by four high hollow stems carrying the cups and joining the hollow ring. The high-stemmed cups are smaller and lack the beaded-like rope. This type also lacks the beautiful red burnished slip, which embellishes our type.

The function of this vessel in its two types is difficult to ascertain. The hollow ring does indeed associate this vessel with the kernos of later periods. We have here, however, only the filling devices and no pouring-out facilities, i.e. a spout of any shape. The cups as filling device are morphologically suitable, and the assumption that a variety of liquids would be poured-in through these cups in order to produce the needed mixture is as logical in these early types as in the later ones. But, without a spout the vessel could not function in any

¹ "Art-and-Cult Objects from Arad: Two Stone Animal Statuettes," *The Israel Museum News* 16 (1980), pp. 65 ff.

² In the collections of the Pottery Museum, Haaretz Museum, Tel Aviv, Nos. MHP 1165 and 1565. The drawings are the work of Mrs. Rachel Graff.

³ As may be discerned in the published material: S. Saller, "Bab Edh-Dhra," *Studi Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus*, XV (1964-65), pp. 137 ff. P. W. Lapp, Bab edh-Dhra Tomb A 76 and Early Bronze I in Palestine, *BASOR* 189 (1968), pp. 12 ff. R. Th. Schaub, Ceramic Sequences in the Tomb Groups at Bab edh-Dhra, *AASOR* 46 (1981), e.g. Tomb A 78 SW.

⁴ Saller, previous note, pp. 186 ff., Figs. 24-25.

libation performance. There are two interpretations to consider: either the mixed liquid was intended to give fragrance only, not to be poured out at all; or that some ritual required the act of sipping the liquid out by means of a piece of straw, bearing in mind the well-known banquet-scenes making use of long drinking-pipes.⁵ We thus have in this vessel some sort of a pseudo-kernos, functioning at any rate not among everyday kitchen wares.

We are justified, it seems, to suggest that these kernoi are the prototype of such Naqada II vessels as represented by Petrie in his Fancy Class, Nos. F46 A, G, K and also D84 of his Decorated Class.⁶ Mention should be made here of a hollow-ring fragment found in Stratum IX at Tepe Gawra,⁷ though the excavator left some doubts about its stratigraphical position. It is too tempting not to include here a photograph of a five-cups kernos from Cyprus (Ill. 7),⁸ which also lacks the pouring-out device.

A BOWL WITH A PAIR OF YOKED OXEN (BULLS) (Fig. 3, Ill. 8,9).⁹ Also in the case of this vessel/object the area of origin could be detected: the vicinity of Tell el-Farah (N), excavated between 1946 and 1960 by Père R. De Vaux.¹⁰ In Tomb 14 there, dated to the EB I period¹¹ was discovered an amazingly similar bowl: the same flat, sharply finished base, the same rounded incurving rim, and dense burnishing. We may safely assume that our bowl originates also in a tomb-furnishing looted somewhere in that area. The Tomb 14 bowl has a figure of one ox/bull standing in its center, while our bowl contains paired oxen¹² together by a yoke, a part of which *luckily* was preserved on the neck of one of the oxen, while upon the other neck is the negative trace of the lost part of the yoke. The importance of finding a yoked pair of animals in representational art at this early period cannot be over-estimated, being the first evidence of oxen in traction work found in Israel, to be applied either to the plough or to the cart.¹³ This seems also to be one of the earliest specimens of its kind in the Ancient Near East. The two animals are well modelled in all their details, body, head and tail are made with an expert hand. One tiny difference between the two animals should be noted, even if interpretation eludes me. It is the ears of one of the animals which show a horizontal incision while the ears of the other animal lack it. This incision, as is shown clearly in the drawing (Fig. 3) gives the impression of a 'tiny animal-head.' One element, however, is difficult to interpret: the heavy and very thick 'wrapping-like' feature stuck all around the necks of both oxen, and decorated with prickings (to denote color?). It is more than hair, and the pricking decoration only enhances its enigmatic nature.¹⁴ A bowl

⁵ Cf. e.g. P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*. (OIP LXIII), Chicago 1952, Pls. 62 and 138.

⁶ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, London, 1921.

⁷ A. J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, II, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 159, Pl. LXXXb.

⁸ Published by permission of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum.

⁹ In the collections of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, No. 56.1. I am most grateful to the director for the permission to publish it here. The drawing is the work of Mrs. Rachel Graff.

¹⁰ Père De Vaux noticed the similarity of this object to the one he excavated there.

¹¹ Le quatrième campagne de fouilles a Tell el-Farah, pres Naplouse, *RB* 59 (1952), pp. 577 ff., Pl. XIV, Fig. 14:6.

¹² I owe the identification of the animals to Prof. E. Tschernov of the Hebrew University and to Dr. Maria Hopf, Mainz.

¹³ A. Sherratt, Plough and Pastoralism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution, in: *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*, eds. I. Hodder, G. Isaac and N. Hammond, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 261 ff. The socio-economic implications of this yoked-oxen are being dealt with in a separate paper (to be published in *IEJ*).

¹⁴ This feature is also enigmatic to Prof. Tschernov, the zoologist.

with five small animal figurines found in Stratum IX at Tepe Gawran,¹⁵ may be thought of as analogy in a broad sense. As for the role of such a meaningful bowl in a tomb-furnishing: should we interpret it as a cult object embodying a metaphor connected with fertility and yield, of animals and fields?

TWO SMALL ANIMAL FIGURINES MADE OF COPPER (Figs. 4 and 5, Ill. 10-12).¹⁶ This is indeed a unique find, allegedly from the same area around Tell el-Farah (N). The larger one seems to represent a ram, while the smaller one a calf. The movement of the calf is most interesting and we should use the description of a somewhat analogous movement given by Van Buren:¹⁷ "body outstretched to fullest extent as it springs upon its prey." The calf indeed would not be expected to "spring upon its prey," and its head is not as stretched, but the general springing-movement is similar to those small figurines/amulets dealt with by Van Buren and recently by Behm-Blancke.¹⁸ The ram figurine shows a more common attitude, but its over-long body should be pointed out. Both the drawing and the photographs show that the small figurine, the calf, has two uneven elongated protuberances on its back, perhaps remnants of some feature that broke off. Assigning these two copper figurines to the EB I period is based both on the alleged provenance and on the similarity just mentioned to Behm-Blancke Style-Broup II A. Their definition as amulets does add justification to include them in the realm of 'cult-and-art' objects, functioning in both sanctuaries, dwellings and tombs.

¹⁵ A. J. Tobler, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, II, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 155, Pl. LXXXc.

¹⁶ In the collection of Mr. Rafi Brown—I am grateful to him for the permission to publish them here. The drawings are the work of Mrs. Margrit Eichelberg.

¹⁷ E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia as Represented in Art*, Rome, 1939, p. 11.

¹⁸ M. R. Behm-Blancke, *Das Tierbild in der Altmesopotamischen Rundplastik*, Mainz, 1979, esp. pp. 21 and 28, and respective illustrations.

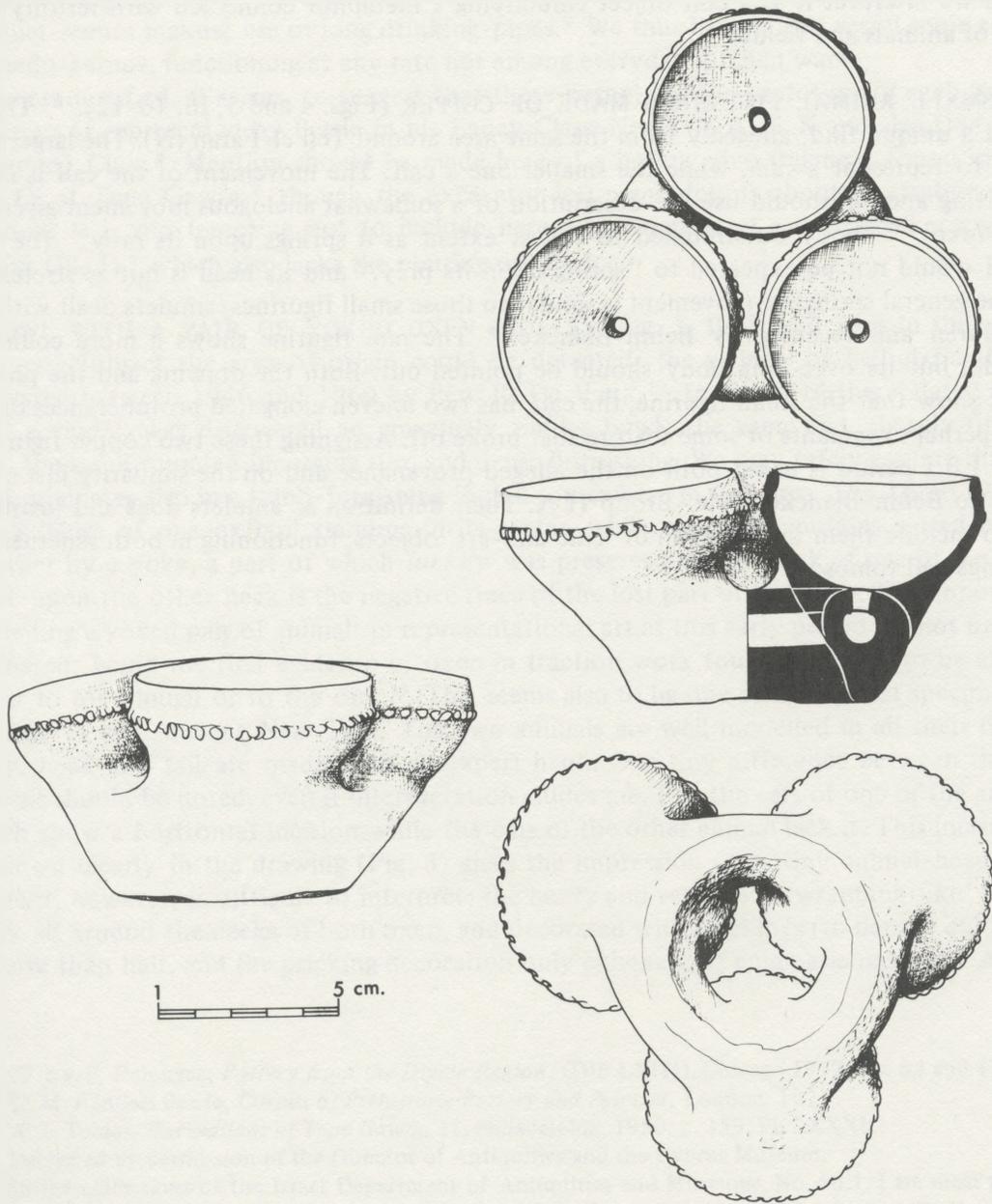


Figure 1.

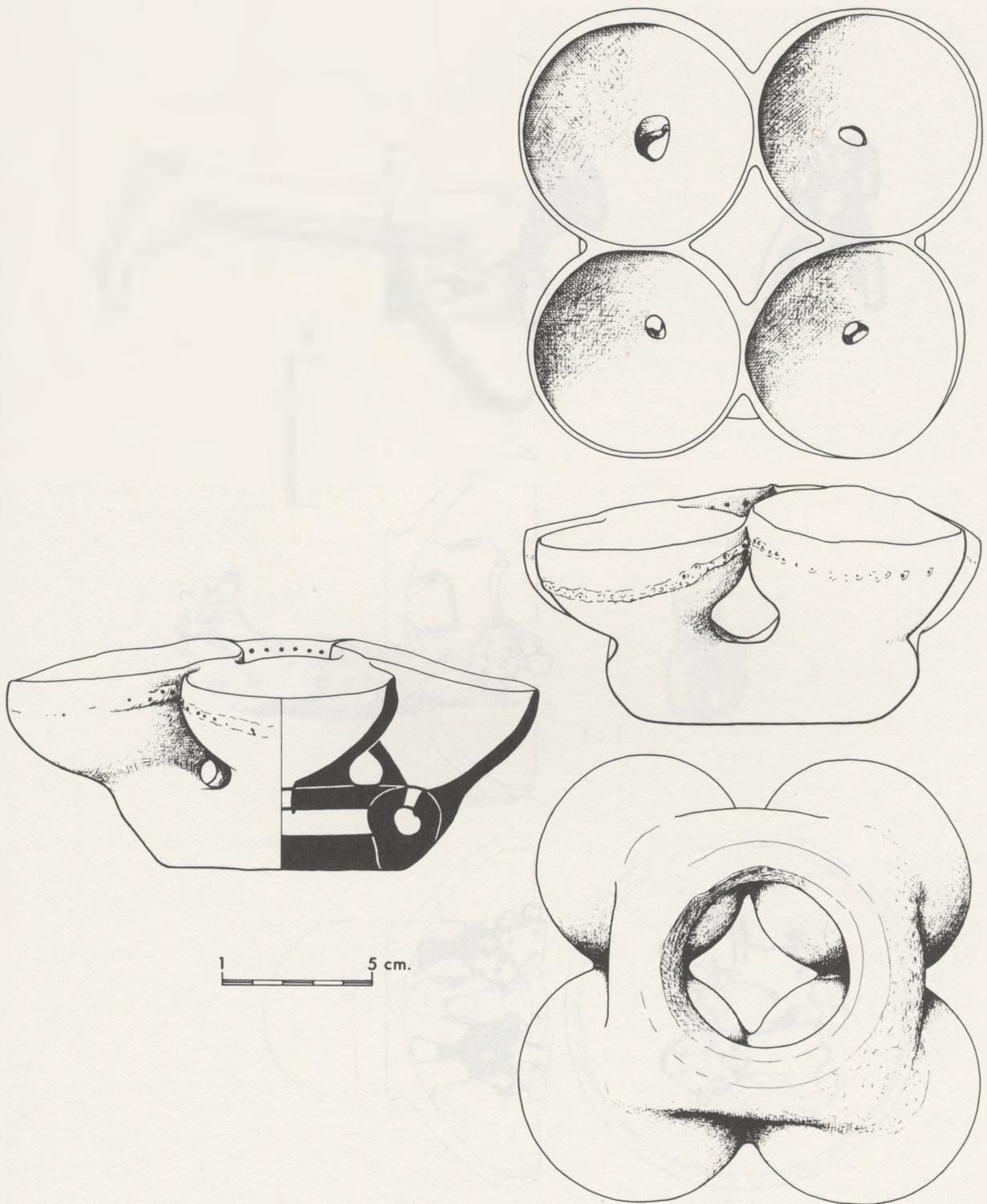


Figure 2.

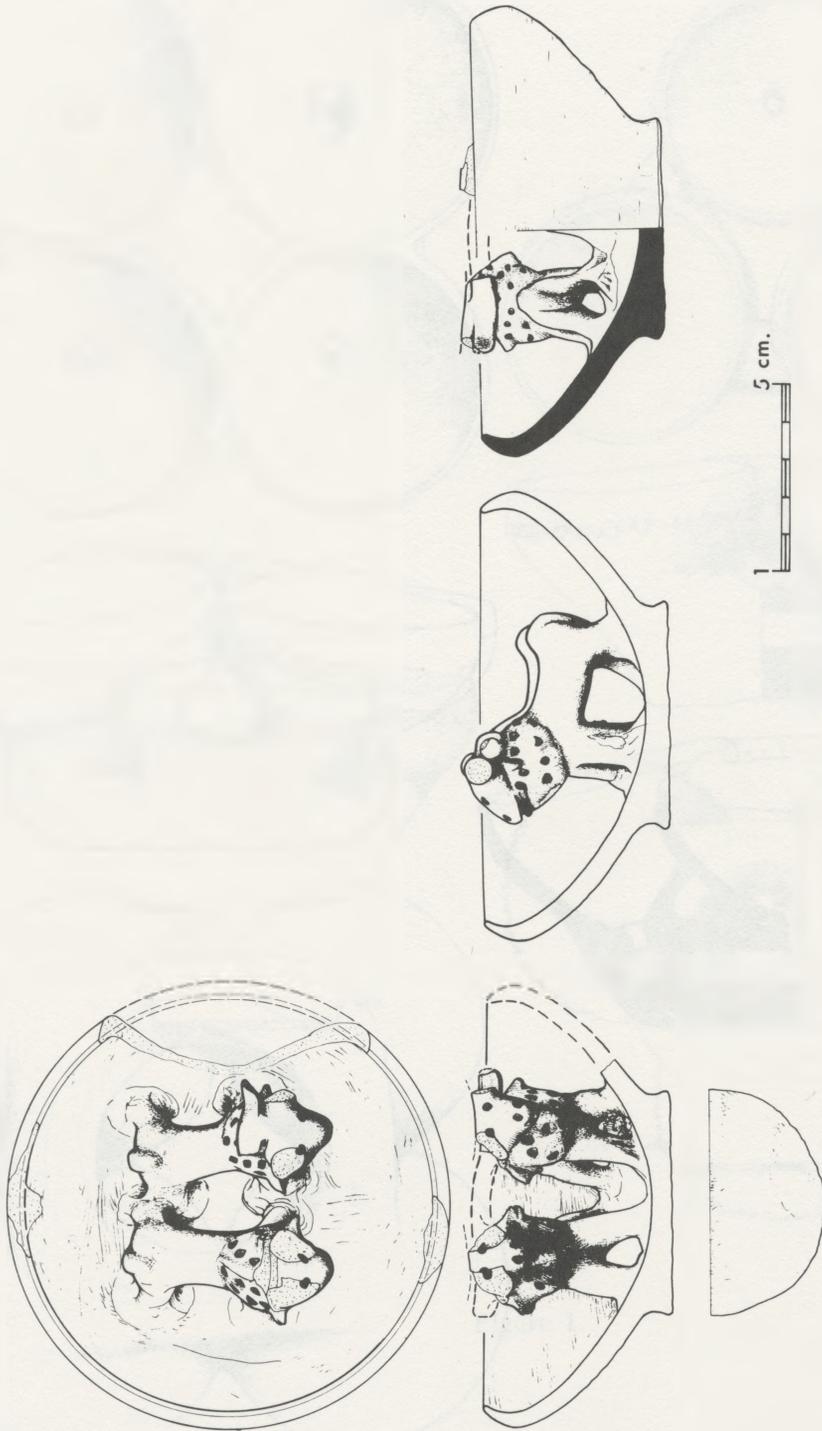


Figure 3.

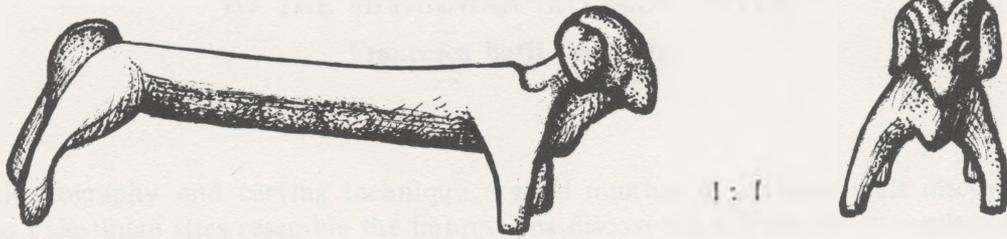


Figure 4.

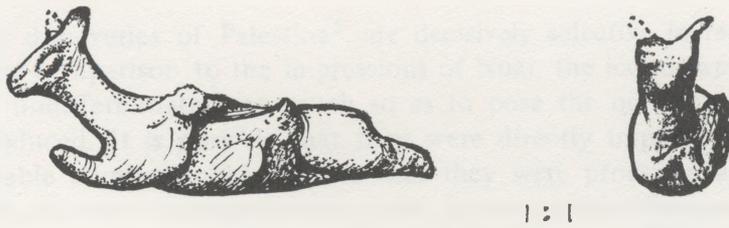


Figure 5.

ICONOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF PALESTINIAN GLYPTIC TO THE MITANNIAN 'COMMON STYLE'

Francesca Baffi Guardata

In iconography and carving technique a good number of cylinder seals discovered at various Palestinian sites resemble the impressions discovered at Nuzi and the seals preserved in the main private collection that go together under the name of Mitannian glyptic. This leads us to certain considerations regarding the relationship between the peripheral production and that of the north Mesopotamian city of Nuzi.

The numerous impressions discovered at Nuzi¹ are relative to the period that witnessed four generations of royal scribes, the second of which was contemporary to Šauššatar, king of Mitanni during the period of the major political growth of that north Mesopotamian state. Such impressions testify to a relatively rich production which availed itself of a well-defined iconographic repertory without any relevant evolution over the course of time.

The glyptic discoveries of Palestine² are decisively selective in regard to the subjects represented. In comparison to the impressions of Nuzi, the iconography and carving technique appear undifferentiated, so much so as to pose the question at which center the seals were produced. It is possible that they were directly imported. On the other hand, their considerable number could indicate that they were produced at the several sites of their discovery or even at a single discovery site. If one considers Nuzi as the production site of the Nuzi seals and one compares them with those of Palestine, the two do not correspond. In the latter, western provincial elements give evidence of the presence of local seal-carvers who were subject to a strong oriental influence. There arises, therefore, the problem of the similarity of motifs and techniques in the two areas, the western and the northern Mesopotamian. It remains to be established whether or not the strong diffusion of these glyptics coincides with the age of maximum splendor of the kingdom of Mitanni, from which would have begun the great expansion toward the west, or whether peaceful infiltration had begun some time before.

The diffusion of Mitannian seals took place over a vast area including sites in northern Palestine (Hazor,³ Megiddo,⁴ Beth Shan⁵), central Palestine (Gezer,⁶ Tell Zakariya,⁷

¹ E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, AASOR 24 (1944-45).

² B. Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Palestine" *Iraq* 11 (1949), pp. 1-43.

³ Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV*, Jerusalem 1962, Pls. CCCXX-CCCXXII.

⁴ Parker, *Iraq* 11, pp. 13-29, Pls. V, XIV-XVII, XIX.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-32, Pls. V-XV, XVII-XVIII, XXI-XXIII.

⁶ G. Contenau, *La glyptique syro-hittite*, Paris 1926, pp. 163-164, Pls. XXX, XXXVI; L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1910, pp. 266-267, Pl. XXXI, nos. 471-472; Parker, *Iraq* XI, pp. 14, 18, 23, 27, 41, Pls. V, IX, XV, XVIII, XXVI, XXVII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21, Pl. XIV, n. 86.

Tell Duweir⁸), and southern Palestine (Tell el Hesy,⁹ Tell Fara¹⁰). A higher percentage of discoveries has been registered in the northern zone of the region, with considerable documentation at Beth Shan, Hazor and Megiddo, among which the first site mentioned stands out preponderantly. It is this relatively high number of seals discovered which leads one to consider the alternative hypothesis: rather than an oriental importation there were in such cities local work shops which produced these seals.

Also to be considered is the chronology of the levels in relation to which the cylinder seals have been discovered; at Beth Shan, in particular, the discovery is associated with level X (two seals), IX (thirteen seals), VIII (six seals), VII (thirty seals) and VI (three seals), through a chronological arc of about four centuries and with therefore a notable extension with respect to that of the area of major production. The greatest quantity of seals comes from level VII, the level, that is, following upon the period of major expansion of Mitanni.¹¹ Also consistent is the discovery pertaining to levels X and IX which appear to partially precede and partially coincide with the expansion of the Mitannian state toward the west. It is therefore particularly interesting to examine the seals discovered in these levels, comparing them with the successive production from the same site and with that of Nuzi.

Among the iconographical motifs of the "Mitannian" glyptic of Palestine certain subjects emerge frequently which, even though appearing also in the impressions of Nuzi, are without doubt numerically inferior in percentage when compared to other motifs at Nuzi. Another peculiarity of the seals of the western area is the preference for the representation of elements repeated more than once which form the only subject matter of a scene in the registers and are often accompanied by separating motifs. Included in the subject matter of this type of composition are stylized animals that, by the technique in which they were made, give uniformity to the scene represented. The result is a series of superposed bands in which the animal element has lost all narrative value. As stated above, all the animal elements of the Palestinian seals appear in the impressions from Nuzi and of these the most frequently represented are the fish arranged in a continuous line, the recumbent goats, also shown longitudinally, and the series of birds; at Beth Shan, in one of the seals from level Xb,¹² and therefore pre-Mitannian, the scene is divided into three superposed registers. This is the usual scheme of Mitannian glyptic, and most probably has its origins in the Old-Syrian repertory.¹³

Four more documents from the same site come instead from level VII: in Beth Shan no. 63¹⁴ there are two series of fish, surmounted by a band filled by a net design, while in no. 64¹⁵ the fish, in a single line, swim over a series of guilloches. Very similar to the seal of level Xb¹⁶ is Beth Shan no. 70,¹⁷ still from level VII, in which, however, the series of

⁸ Ibid., pp. 22, 24-26, 40, Pls. XIV, XVI-XVII, XXVI.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 25-26, Pl. XVII.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹ E. A. Speiser, "The Hurrian Participation in the Civilization of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine," *CHM* 1 (1953-54), pp. 311-327; M. Liverani, *Introduzione alla storia dell'Asia anteriore antica*, Roma 1963. For the dates of the levels at Beth Shan see G. E. Wright in *AJA* 45 (1941), pp. 483-485.

¹² Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 13, Pl. V, no. 31; here the fish are in two horizontal bands divided by a third band filled with globes.

¹³ E. Bleibtreu, *Rollsiegel aus dem Vorderen Orient*, Wien 1981, pp. 80-81, no. 80.

¹⁴ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 18, Pl. IX.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ See note 12.

¹⁷ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 19, Pl. X.

globes is not included between the two rows of fish but alongside them. This is also the case for no. 82,¹⁸ in which the lower part of the field is occupied by human heads; in a fifth seal¹⁹ of level VII from Beth Shan the fish serve as a division between the two lines of birds. The motif just illustrated is also present in Hazor, where it occurs alongside various types of guilloches²⁰ and a herringbone line,²¹ in a seal from level VII of Megiddo²² and in three from Gezer.²³ The same representative scheme is maintained in all of them: the fish have enlarged bodies with the final bifurcation of the tail, to which a major plasticity is given to differentiate it from the fins. At Nuzi the motif is present in two impressions of the time of Tehip-tilla²⁴ and in one of the time of Enna-mati²⁵ and belonging therefore to the second and third generation of royal scribes, and in four seals from the fourth generation, that of Tarmi-tilla;²⁶ the impressions are very fragmentary but clearly all demonstrate the divisions into registers of the figurative field.

One can therefore see that the Palestinian production presents the fish motif with a good number of examples. This western production is chronologically anterior to the evidence from Nuzi where, in any case, it is scarcely represented. The hypothesis that the origin of this motif is to be found in Palestinian glyptic can consequently be held justified. It is conceivable that seals saved from the Jemdet Nasr period²⁷ or from the Akkadian period²⁸ which present similar iconographical motifs could have served as models.

In another composition a similar arrangement of birds occurs. Their typology is essentially of two types: standing or flying, with long bills and legs more or less clear. From level IX at Beth Shan²⁹ comes a seal in which the birds are separated in the field by a squared motif which delimits the upper part of the scene, a task which in Beth Shan no. 56 is left to a guilloche. In a different context are the large footed birds of Beth Shan no. 69, from level VII,³⁰ which occupy the total height of the seal; from Gezer³¹ and Shechem³² come two seals in which the scene, divided into two registers, again contains walking birds alongside the squared motif and the guilloche. The birds of another document³³ from level VII from Beth Shan are shown in two different attitudes, in the upper register flying and in the lower standing. The birds flying from Gezer 33³⁴ are in all ways similar to Nuzi 72,³⁵ with long bills and wings opened parallel to the rather elongated body. The different rendering of the birds' spread wings in a seal from level IX at Beth Shan³⁶ renders the iconography less

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 21, Pl. XIII.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 19, Pl. XI, no. 72.

²⁰ Yadin, *Hazor* III-IV, Pl. CCCXXII, nos. 1-3.

²¹ Ibid., no. 4.

²² Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 23, Pl. XV, no. 97.

²³ Ibid., p. 41, Pls. XXVI-XXVII, nos. 185-187.

²⁴ *AASOR* 24, Pl. V, nos. 78, 84.

²⁵ Ibid., no. 81.

²⁶ Ibid., nos. 79-80, 82-83.

²⁷ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, Pl. VIIc.

²⁸ Ibid., Pl. XXf.

²⁹ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 16, Pl. VII, no. 46.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 19, Pl. X.

³¹ Ibid., p. 27, Pl. XVIII, no. 118; Contenau, op. cit., p. 163, Pl. XXXVI, no. 265.

³² Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 26, Pl. XVII, no. 111.

³³ Ibid., p. 19, Pl. XI, no. 72.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 14, Pl. V.

³⁵ *AASOR* 24, Pl. V.

³⁶ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 31, Pl. XXI, no. 137.

homogeneous, but comes very close to that of a seal from Alalakh,³⁷ unfortunately not found in situ. The parallels from Nuzi are iconographically very near those of Palestine, both the ones that present the same division of registers in the figurative field, in which they form the only subject matter,³⁸ and the ones in which the animal element is inserted into the scene along with the others.³⁹ As already noted in the case of the fish, that of the birds is not an innovative motif of the Mitannian glyptic but has a much more distant origin.⁴⁰ This origin does not seem to have produced a widely distributed typology but one which is very homogenous. It occurs in the glyptic of Nuzi, is decisively well documented in Palestine and is also known at Alalakh, thus placing the taste for such types of representation in the west.

The goat, so frequently documented in the glyptic of Nuzi, and in general in all the seals defined as "Mitannian," very often also appears in the documents of Palestine in accordance with the usual representative rule. In most cases the goat is placed with the body in the same axis as the longitudinal development of the seal. At Beth Shan the seals with this subject matter come from levels IX, VIII and VII and show small variations in composition. The following variations occur: at times we see the simple representation of the animal as the only subject,⁴¹ at times it is shown beside a stylized motif either animal⁴² or geometric,⁴³ at others it is shown as a complementary element next to a nude hero⁴⁴ or to the winged sphinx.⁴⁵ This type also has parallels in discoveries from other Palestinian sites such as Hazor,⁴⁶ Megiddo,⁴⁷ Lachish⁴⁸ and Tell Abu Hawam,⁴⁹ in which the flowing style is maintained as well as the simplicity of the scene; a simplicity which is missing in examples from Alalakh.⁵⁰ There the animal motif is inserted as an element in a more complex narrative representation, as can be seen in a document of the Ashmolean Museum.⁵¹ The simple type is present in some of the Nuzi impressions,⁵² where the presence of goats as the only subject matter in the figurative field is found only once in a document of Tēhip-tilla's time.⁵³ One finds oneself therefore once again up against a case in which the typology is witnessed in the western area, and in particular in Palestine, more often than in the center of the major production of Mitannian glyptic. This once again poses the problem of the origins of such

³⁷ Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 264, Pl. XIV, no. 89.

³⁸ *AASOR* 24, Pl. V, nos. 71-76.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. VIII, no. 132, Pl. IX, no. 141.

⁴⁰ It is found, in fact, since the period of Jemdet Nasr, even if exceptionally (Frankfort, *CS*, Pl. VIIk), opposite the schematic picture of the temple, and towards the end of same period it appears in continuous drawing (*CS*, p. 36, 1). In more and more cases the stylized birds are one element, even unusual, of the Brocade Style of Early Dynastic I (*CS*, Pl. IXb).

⁴¹ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 20, Pl. XI, no. 73.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 15, Pl. VI, no. 42.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 16, Pl. VII, no. 50; p. 17, Pl. VIII, no. 53; p. 19, Pl. XI, no. 71; p. 20, Pl. XII, no. 76.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17, Pl. VIII, no. 58.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20, Pl. XI, no. 75.

⁴⁶ Yadin, *op. cit.*, Pl. CCXXI, no. 6-7.

⁴⁷ Parker, *Iraq* 11, p. 22, Pl. XV, no. 92.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22, Pl. XIV, no. 89.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23, Pl. XV, no. 98.

⁵⁰ Woolley, *Alalakh*, p. 263, Pl. LXIII, no. 58; p. 264, Pl. LXIV, nos. 85 and 90.

⁵¹ B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1966, p. 179-180, Pl. 58, no. 937.

⁵² *AASOR* 24, Pl. XIV, no. 247; Pl. XVII, nos. 318, 320-321; Pl. XVIII, nos. 330, 333, 341.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Pl. V, no. 87.

iconography: the uncertain chronology of the archaeological levels of some sites in Palestine and, unfortunately, especially that of level IX at Beth Shan,⁵⁴ prevents the reliable attribution of some of the seals to a period preceding that of the impressions of Nuzi. The hypothesis of a Palestinian, or at least western, origin of the elements of north Mesopotamian glyptic of the XV-XIV centuries B.C. is therefore not confirmed.⁵⁵

In the Palestinian area we thus lack archaeological data that could confirm the hypothesis of the origin in this zone of the iconographical motifs examined above, which also are found in the impressions of Nuzi. One can, however, assert that elements of Mitannian Style in very simple contexts are numerically superior in Palestine in comparison to Nuzi. This numerous appearance in the western area must be related to the taste of the inland market. That taste would have caused a major production different from that in Nuzi. The choice of subjects at Nuzi produced a more complex and articular glyptic class, which exploited only partially the repertory that has come to light in the discoveries of Palestine.

⁵⁴ K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, London 1960, p. 218.

⁵⁵ On this whole question now see Pirhiya Beck, *Problems in the Glyptic Art in Palestine* (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1967); also E. Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 11-12.

THE BURGON LEBES AND THE IRANIAN WINGED HORNED LION

Richard D. Barnett

In 1842 the Department of Antiquities of the British Museum—there was at that time until the reforms of 1856 only one general department for antiquities—acquired the collection of Thomas Burgon.¹ This gentleman was a ‘Turkey merchant’ (as one who did business with Turkey was then called) who had formed a fine collection of antiquities from Greece, the Greek islands and Asia Minor, partly from purchases or gifts, partly from his own excavations.² Little seems to be known about most of these operations but one certainly took place in May 1813 when 45 tombs were excavated in Athens in the area of the ancient Acharnian Gate, north of the Acropolis.³ Possibly it was from one of these tombs or from one in the same area that Burgon obtained the very unusual vase which forms the subject of this study: but a note in the Register of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquity describes it as ‘Found in Athens—1826?’ and it seems more likely that it was then newly discovered at a spot unknown.

Description

The vase⁴ (BM G&R C12, height 16 inches) is an exceptionally ornate clay sepulchral urn in a good state of preservation (Ill. 1); its contents were fortunately preserved intact

¹For a brief note on his life see biographical notes in [Sir] Sidney Lee (ed.) *Dictionary of National Biography*, Suppl. 1 (London, 1901) pp. 335-336, included under the life of his son John William Burgon, Dean of Chichester. Thomas Burgon, a prominent member of the Levant Company, resided in Smyrna but moved to London in 1814. In 1826 the Company lost its legal monopoly of trade with the East and his business fell on hard times. In 1841 he went bankrupt and sold his collection to the British Museum, where he found employment in the Department of Coins and Medals.

²The Ashmolean Museum possesses a large portfolio of drawings of Burgon’s finds or acquisitions in Melos and elsewhere. This portfolio was acquired as a gift from Dean J. W. Burgon. I am obliged to Mr. Michael Vickers (Ashmolean Museum) for kindly helping me with these drawings.

³These excavations took place in May-July 1813, on waste ground outside the ancient wall of Athens, close to the Acharnian Gate about 160 yards northeast of the so-called ‘Gribos Kapesi’ (or Gate of Egripo (= Euripos) between the Thebes road and a *charadra*. They are shown in W. M. Leake’s ‘Plan of the Antiquities of Athens’, *Topography of Athens* (London, 1821). Forty-five tombs were excavated, one of which yielded an important Panathenaic amphora. A summary account is given in a letter of November 6th, 1831, from Burgon to P. O. Bronsted, published in full in Bronsted’s *On Panathenaic Vases and on the Holy Oil contained in them* (London, 1832), pp. 109 ff. n. 18. See also on this excavation, P. E. Corbett, ‘The Burgon and Blacas tombs’ *JHS* 80, 1960, pp. 52 ff.

⁴The vase is registered as 1848-7-28-842. I am permitted to publish it here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I wish to acknowledge with thanks the kind help of Mr. Brian Cook, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and Mr. Donald Bailey.

within it and have mostly remained so. It is described by Walters in his *Catalogue*⁵ (to his description I have added a few words in brackets by way of completion) as 'a sepulchral urn in the form of a *lebes* with conical cover surmounted by a large knob in the form of a *prochöos* without a handle. . . . The vase is covered with a white slip⁶ and round it[s shoulder] is [painted] a blue and purple myrtle [sic: actually olive] wreath [now faded]; from the edge project the foreparts of three monsters with recurved wings. These are in the form of Chimaeras with horns of a goat and face of a lion and mane, ears—only one [pair] of which survives—and legs of a horse [sic: actually a lion]; the foreparts of the bodies have been gilt and the fore-legs are doubled under; the eyes have been painted black, the rest white' (Ills. 1-3, 8). Two fine watercolor sketches of the vase made in 1826 in Athens and signed "from HTB to TB" are preserved in the Burgon portfolio at Oxford (Ills. 1-3).⁷ I cannot identify this artist; perhaps he or she was one of Burgon's family. The inscription 'Athens' suggests that the vase had remained in Athens until 1826, though Burgon had moved from Smyrna to London in 1814.

The vase contained:

- (a) human remains including teeth, belonging to an elderly adult and a juvenile.⁸
- (b) two fragments of linen 14.0 x 12.2 cm and 1.5 x 1.3 cm.⁹
- (c) small fragments of bronze and fused iron, apparently remains of objects included in the cremation. The bronze has stained some of the bones green.
- (d) a terracotta figure of a kneeling winged Siren, height 75 cm (Ill. 4a-c), kneeling on rocky ground, right hand on breast, left raised, gilded over white slip, but wings and tail blue.¹⁰

⁵H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London, 1903), C. 12 p. 186; for earlier bibliographical references, see Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery* I (2 vols., London, 1905) p. 146.

⁶The white slip seems to be traditional in Athens for funerary vases.

⁷See above, note 2. The underside of the lid of the *lebes* bears the words "From ATHENS 1826. HTB to TB. No. 282," and in another hand the number "842." This is the registration number of the vase in the British Museum Register of the Burgon Collection.

HTB's annotations on plate III read as follows:

- (a) "This funeral urn is full of bones, attached to one of which is an obolus. Among the bones are also small fragments of linen cloth. It is of the usual red earth, thinly covered with white paint."
- (b) "The wreath of olive leaves encircles the urn, coloured precisely as here represented."

Those on plate IV read:

- (a) "This is the most perfect of the three beasts which were evidently attached at equidistant intervals around the edge of the urn. All 3 animals differ although in immaterial particulars. There has obviously been attention paid to economy in the way they are coloured. First white was superadded then a kind of flesh-tint was added to the face, chest and legs and these parts were gilded, the gay colours were then painted on the wings and black dots made for the eye-ball. The backs of the horns are left white.

"It is a very curious circumstance, that in the fabrication of the lions (and Syren) in terracotta the indications of the feathers were made (as below)—also dots around the mouth—wrinkles in the flesh etc. etc., though all these details were destined of necessity to be concealed by the paint."

- (b) "All the wings were broken off the lions, and were anciently made separate and then attached in apparently in a very cursory manner."

⁸A report on the bone fragments was prepared by Dr. T. Molleson and Mr. M. Bowmer, of the British Museum (Natural History) for the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. I am obliged to Dr. Molleson for permission to quote it.

⁹One of these linen fragments was recently submitted to the B. M. Research Laboratory for a C¹⁴ dating test. The result is not yet available.

¹⁰Walters, *Cat.* C.13. (Not included for chronological reasons, in R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas*.)

(e) two Athenian silver obols, inscribed AOE, (so Walters) probable date 300-250 B.C.¹¹ which were found adhering to a fragment of the jawbone, and as Walters says, must represent the 'money placed in the corpse's mouth as a fee to Charon'.¹² The burial thus appears to be that of a rich person, sex undetermined, who died around the date 250 B.C.,¹³ and whose remains were placed in a specially designed urn of unusual shape with plastic additions of Oriental, indeed (as I hope can be shown) more specifically Iranian inspiration. Possibly the deceased (like Burgon himself!) had some connection with the Near East: he or she, however, could not have been a Persian, who would have abhorred the cremation rite. That much is certain. But why this form of winged horned lion protomes?

Persian fashions

This monster can perhaps be shown to have some appropriateness to burials and to be connected with symbolism of the moon and its cult, perhaps thus with light and darkness, death and the underworld. It is a symbolism which has roots going far back in the Ancient Near East. Did a wave of Persian influence strike Athens about this time? Not very surprising, perhaps, *after* the conquest of the Achaemenid Empire by Alexander and its incorporation into his conception of a unified world. Previous to that, however, it seems a little unexpected in an independent Greece,¹⁴ though easily exemplified in Asia Minor and other areas ruled or influenced by the Great King and his Satraps. But this Persian intrusion into mainland Greek art seems to be a phase which, as far as I am aware, has attracted comparatively little attention.¹⁵ To the same phase, perhaps, belongs the remarkable marble *stele*

¹¹ "On the reverse of the smaller coin are visible the figure of an owl and the inscription AOE" (Walters, loc. cit.). Note that HTB (above, n. 7) mentions only one coin. The second must have been found later. The late Sir E. S. G. Robinson commented on Walters' report as follows: "Obols with AOE (never AOH!) are fairly common from the end of the sixth century to the third quarter of the fifth when they begin to get scarce. They continue getting scarcer till the beginning of the third century B.C., the latest being apparently struck under Lachares [300-297 B.C.] . After that the obol was a bronze coin. It is a reasonable, though not necessary assumption that the Charon's obol was from currency actually in circulation, which could include coins up to fifty years old or so. The first half of the third century date seems also to fit the Siren found inside the urn." (Note, however, that this dating by the coins rests only on the interpretation of the evidence of Walters.) Three Athenian obols from the Burgon Collection are preserved in the Department of Coins and Medals (Dept. of C&M, nos. 98, 101, and 102: I am obliged to Mr. Ian Jenkins of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities for drawing my attention to them). Nos. 98 and 102 are assigned to the end of the 5th century B.C.; No. 101 is dated about 430 B.C. (information by kindness of Dr. R. Jenkins). None of these corresponds clearly with those described by Walters which must, I fear, be considered lost.

¹² *Cat. loc. cit.* Walters here is simply quoting the Burgon MS catalogue.

¹³ J. D. Beazley, *The Development of the Black Figure* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1951), pl. 49:4 illustrates a Panathenaic 2nd century B.C. amphora in Berlin with a lid with knob handle similar to that on the Burgon lebes which thereby might be dated from the shape of the lid to about 150 B.C. However, I feel this dating to be at most a *terminus ante quem*. Higgins notes (25 IX 61): "As the unguentarium on top of the lid cannot be earlier than 350 B.C., the obol must be a Lachares one. Allowing for a survival period for the coin, we can safely put this vase in the 3rd century B.C." See, however, n. 11 above.

¹⁴ We have, however, the Persian curtains criticized by Aristophanes (below, p. 23) on the one hand, and on the other the implied criticism in the story of Alkisthenes of Sybaris, who wore a Persian dress 15 ells long bearing representations of Sybaris, Susa, Persepolis, the principal Greek gods and himself. But after all Alkisthenes was a Sybarite and in any case there is much uncertainty over his date. (P. Jacobsthal, "A Sybarite Himation," *JHS*, 58 (1938) pp. 205-214).

¹⁵ For a study of the political and economic climate of contacts with Persia, see Chester G. Starr, "Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century B.C.," *Iranica Antiqua*, 11 (1975), pp. 39-99.

found at Kamini in Athens on the 'Hill of the Muses' in 1879 or before. Though long known, it has recently been republished by A. D. H. Bivar (Ill. 6).¹⁶ Somewhat tentatively dated to the fourth century B.C., (and I think this is on the early side) it shows a typically Persian group, consisting of a very Greek-looking *male* bearded figure (with cap reminiscent of the traditional figure of the Great King) head turned to left, but with body facing front,¹⁷ wearing a strange garment resembling the Greek *female* Ionic *chiton* with sleeves, his arms extended upwards towards (but not grasping!) the long, curved horns of a *pair* of rampant winged horned lions with heads reversed, and gently curling wings. The horns, like those on the *lebes*, are those of a wild goat. Below this group is a panel showing a lion devouring a stag. The type of 'Master of Animals' is of course common enough on Achaemenid cylinder seals;¹⁸ but is here visibly substituted for the figure of the 'Mistress of Animals', which we meet commonly enough in Asia Minor. It is, however, in Lydia that this substitution or ambiguity of sex seems to have been regularly at home and is represented in its art.¹⁹ The myth of the transvestite Herakles who served the Lydian Queen Omphale may indeed well reflect this topic and show its antiquity.

We may also notice in relation to the Burgon vase the squat lekythos from Kertch, now in Leningrad, with a remarkable frieze with figures in gilt relief painted and signed by Xenophantos 'the Athenian', evidently also a work of the first half of the fourth century B.C. (Ill. 5).²⁰ It shows round the shoulders a frieze with a complicated scene in two levels drawn partly from the field of fantasy, partly from garbled Oriental legends. Perhaps it illustrated some late version of Aristeas' lost poem, the *Arimaspeia*²¹ or some lost Attic satyric drama. 'Darius'—most of the figures are named—on horseback is spearing a stag beside a palm tree—suggesting a Babylonian setting—while below him a Persian ('Habrokomas')²² in a two-horse chariot spears a boar. To his left 'Cyrus' also holding an axe and aided by a beckoning Scythian, holding an axe, is about to seize one of a pair of tripods evidently the prime target of the enterprise which stands at the top of a pair of silphium—trees, suggestive not of Babylonia but of Lybia; opposite him a Persian restrains a hound; to the right another Persian with a hound (Euryalos) and a Scythian boy ('Kautios') are killing another boar; in the register below (left) a Persian (Atramis) restrained by another Scythian boy (or, it may be, an Amazon) is attacking a griffin while to the right, a similar (or the same) Persian aided by a Scythian ('Seisames') and another Scythian boy, or perhaps an Amazon are

¹⁶ Athens National Museum 148. G. Perrot, "Dalle de marbre de style asiatique trouvé en Attique" *BCH* 5 (1881), pl. I. A. D. H. Bivar, "A Persian monument at Athens and its Connections with the Achaemenid State Seals" in Mary Boyce and I. Gershevitch, *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1970). Bivar suggests that the stele was a proxeny-monument. I prefer Mylonas' view (quoted by Bivar) that it was a gravestone, the name of the deceased being painted on the plain central band.

¹⁷ It is certainly not the standard Achaemenid royal robe. See Pirhiya Beck, "A note on the Reconstruction of the Achaemenid Robe," *Iranica Antiqua* 9 (1972), pp. 116-112.

¹⁸ E.g., E. Porada, et al., *The Art of Ancient Iran* (Baden-Baden, 1967) (English edition, 1965).

¹⁹ G. Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec* (Paris, 1892). T. L. Shear, *Sardis*, X (Cambridge, Mass., 1926); *Architectural Terracottas* pl. III; H. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Tübingen, 1951), fig. 185.

²⁰ Xenophantos vase: E. A. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), p. 343, fig. 249; *Compte-Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique 1866 IV* = S. Reinach, *Bibliothèque des monuments figurés* (Paris, 1892), p. 98; idem, *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien* (Paris, 1892), pp. 97-101; idem, *Repertoire des vases peints I*, p. 23; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red Figure Vase-Painters* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1963), Vol. 2, p. 1407 "(Fourth century Pot Painters) . . . Put here because of a resemblance the earlier works of the Meleager painter."

²¹ Herodotus IV, 13-14.

²² This is the name of a son of Darius: Herodotus VIII, 224.

fighting a winged horned lion with large curving goats' horns. The chief point for us in this painting is that this weird creature was now clearly imagined by Athenians as a clearly defined, but fabulous monster of far distant, probably Oriental climes: and if (as I have elsewhere shown)²³ the griffin is the creature of Apollo and the emblem of the Sun, so the winged horned lion could well be that of Artemis and of the Moon.

The mixed monster in Greek art

The *mixture* or mixed monster was in itself nothing new to the world of Greek art. Such inhabitants of the world of Oriental demonology had already by Xenophantos' time been popular in Greece for two and a half centuries since their first invasion in the 'Orientalising period' of the seventh century B.C.—human-headed birds, sphinxes, griffins, winged horses, *et hoc genus omne*.

Such good-natured reaction against them is perceptible in that late 5th century. Aristophanes (*Frogs* 935) makes fun of the cock-horses and goat-stags woven into Persian curtains; and Plato (*Phaedrus* 229 D, E) calls these creatures—hippocentaurs, gorgons, pegasoi—a set of bogies. Some of these creatures might and did install themselves from the East from an early date in explanation of Greek myths; and others found acceptance without any special meaning, only as exotica. The winged horned lion, however, is not one of the usual categories. It does not (as far as I am aware) occur in Greek lands much before the fourth century B.C.²⁴ Of course, it originates in the general area of Mesopotamia. During the period of the Achaemenid Empire it is encountered mainly in Asia Minor, Syria and Phoenicia—i.e., in areas directly dominated by the Great King and his satraps. Examples are plentiful in Lydian seals of the late sixth-fifth century B.C.²⁵ where it was probably associated with the cult of Lydo-Phrygian moon god Men, or Manes, whose relation to the Greek Artemis, however, is none too clear. It occurs on coins of Lycia, Panticapaeum (Kertch) and Cyzicus, all of the fourth century B.C.²⁶ It may also have in Asia Minor and Phoenicia strong funerary associations. A large pair of such figures are carved in the facade of a fine rock-cut tomb at Kalekapi near Suleymanköy (northeast Turkey) in Paphlagonia;²⁷ heads of the monster form the gargoyles or waterspouts on the cyma of the Alexander sarcophagus,²⁸ a fine seated example in marble, carved in the round, formed part of a funerary monument excavated by Maurice Dunand at Sidon²⁹ (Ill. 7) and may belong

²³ See R. D. Barnett, "The gods of Zincirli," *Compte-rendu de l'onzième Rencontre Assyriologique* (Leyden, 1962).

²⁴ For the rather sketchy winged horned lion (or are they griffins?) on Melian gems, see J. Boardman, *Island gems* (London, 1963), pp. 58-59.

²⁵ J. Boardman, "Pyramid seals of the Persian Empire," *Iran* 8 (1970), p. 35 and pl. I, figs. 4, 8; pl. 4, figs. 93, 98, 99, 115, 123, 146, 151-153, 162, 166.

²⁶ G. F. Hill, *B. M. Catalogue of Coins*, Lycia, pl. IV 5; V 2-3; Cyzicus: Regling, *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, 41 (1931), pl. 1.23.

²⁷ H. von Gall, *Die paphlagonischen Felsgräber (Istanbuler Mitteilungen 1, Tübingen, 1966)*, pp. 21-29; "Der achämenidische Löwengreif."

²⁸ The winged horned lion is well discussed by O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*³ (London, 1964), p. 12.

²⁹ M. Dunand, "Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Sidon 1963-64" *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* XIX pl. V, 2.

to this type of creature, but unfortunately its horns are largely missing; and there are other examples, e.g., at Belevi.³⁰ In the Hellenistic-Roman era it had an even wider vogue, evidently in particular from its now close association with the worship of Artemis at Ephesus. It can be only regarded as very significant that it occurs (as a protome) several times in the Hellenistic-Roman period in the syncretistic representations of her cult-figure,³¹ which certainly incorporated much older traditional material (Ill. 8). There are variations in the various surviving copies in the form, arrangement and number of the animal protomes around her head or covering her body. But common to most is an arrangement of two or more winged horned lions on either side of the goddess' ears, with a moon disc as background, in protome form, as on the Burgon lebes. A variety with straight horns occurs in the series of usually five bands of symbolic animals which cover the body of the Ephesian cult-figure. (This variety of winged horned lion is [I think] to be identified with the sacred animal of another important Anatolian deity, Sandon or Tarsus.³²) In the remaining bands we see also, in triplicate, protomes of lions (representing Cybele), griffins (the creature of Apollo), leopards (representing Bacchus), and wild bulls (probably borrowed from Zeus-Hadad or Jupiter-Heliopolitanus).

In this representation of the winged horned lion of Ephesus the connection with the moon is firmly proclaimed. As the winged horned lion with curved wild goat horns is a very common shape of Hellenistic earrings and necklaces,³³ we may make a fair guess that this particular motif was spread by the women. The type is evidently closely related to two similar, but not identical, monsters and is often confused with them:

- (i) the winged horned lion with forward-pointing, slightly curling horns of wild bull or aurochs and hind legs of a vulture who belongs to the god Sin or Harran³⁴ (Fig. 1), but is also shared with the god Asshur.³⁵
- (ii) a similar creature with gazelle's horns, who is also lunar.

Gazelle's horns were deemed most appropriate to symbolize the horns of the growing and are apparently derived from Assyro-Babylonian thought. Thus the Cultic Calendar of Nineveh prescribed the sacrifice of a gazelle on the appearance of the new moon;³⁶ and a small ivory head of a winged horned lion—more probably neo-Babylonian than Assyrian, perhaps even Achaemenid—is in the British Museum (Ill. 9). Unfortunately, its exact prov-

³⁰ At Belevi, 15 miles northeast of Ephesus, a fine 3rd century B.C. mausoleum possessed a row of winged horned lions carved in the round on its roof (J. Keil, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Arch. Inst.* 29 (1934), pp. 104-151.

³¹ H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia I, Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1935) (*Abh. des Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, 3tte Folge no. 12) especially pls. III, V, VI, VIII, IX; E. Akurgal and H. Hirmer, *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander* (Berlin, 1961), pls. 108-109.

³² At Tarsus, Miss Hetty Goldman ("The Sandon Monument at Tarsus," *JAOS*, 1940) excavated a deposit of terracotta plaques (2nd century B.C.) apparently depicting the temple of Sandon, who is shown in the pediment in the guise of a deity of Assyrian type, standing on a winged horned lion with straight horns of a goat. The type was still preserved almost unchanged on coins of Tarsus of the Roman period (2nd century A.D.); G. F. Hill, *B. M. Catalogue of Coins* (Cilicia).

³³ R. A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (London, 1963), pl. 51.

³⁴ Stele, Ankara Museum 11057 from Anas-Urfa.

³⁵ A winged horned lion but with the hindlegs of a raptor supports the third deity (Sin?) at Maltai: Bachmann, *Die Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (Leipzig, 1927; reprinted Berlin, 1969), pp. 23-27, 38, pl. 30a; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Les sculptures rupestres de Maltai," *RA* 21 (1924). Cf. W. Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur* (Munich, 1977), pl. 57 (limestone relief, Berlin VA 8750).

³⁶ B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalendar der Babylonier und Assyrer* (1915), pp. 106-107.

enance is not known.³⁷ It may be noticed, incidentally, that it has not horse's but bat's ears, appropriate enough to nightflight and we may guess that the horses' ears which replace them in the Iranian examples may be a misunderstanding or perhaps a later substitution under the influence of the horse's ears of the griffin—the monster's close relative.

The winged horned lion as a whole, however, clearly has a long pedigree and a considerable progeny. Into its wider dispersion, especially into Scythian art and beyond we need not enter here, but a beautiful example is in the Oxus Treasure³⁸ and will suffice (Ill. 11).

A final suggestion. Could this monster originally represent the monster who in popular belief devours the moon each month? It seems not impossible. Popular thought in the countryside in Turkey still holds that an eclipse is caused by a monster devouring the moon or sun and when it takes place the villagers, seizing tins, trays, or anything to bang, make a fearful clatter and noise by every conceivable means to frighten him away. This idea would perhaps explain the circular gold openwork figure on the winged horned lion seen as if framed in the moon, which decorates the dust cover of Miss Porada's book, *The Art of Ancient Iran*, and on her Pl. 52.

I offer this excursion into classical and Iranian archaeology in profoundest admiration of Professor Edith Porada who has done so much with her gracious learning to illuminate the darkness in that and many other fields.

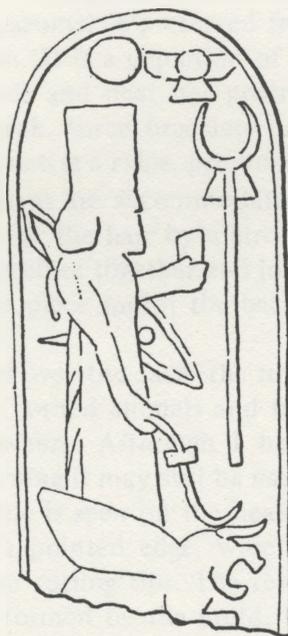


Fig. 1. Stele at Ankara Museum:
No. 11507 from Anas-Urfa (basalt).

³⁷R. D. Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London, 1957), V.11 (118259), pl. CXXVI. Presented by Wm. Burges, 1864.

³⁸O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, pp. 11-22 and pl. I.

A NEW TYPE OF FEMALE FIGURINE

Pirhiya Beck

During the 1978 season of excavations at Aphek, Israel, a fragment of a clay figurine was found in Locus 2735, in the destruction level of Building 1104 (the residence of the Egyptian governor), Stratum XII of Area X. A date in the mid-13th century is attested by the cuneiform letter from this stratum (Kochavi 1978; Owen 1981). It was not possible to understand the curious design on the fragment (Ill. 1) until, in the autumn of 1980, Mr. Nathan Eidleen of Kibbutz Revadim (38 kilometers south of Aphek) showed us a fragmentary female figurine (Ill. 2) that had been found in the vicinity of his kibbutz and is no. 82-219 in the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem, Israel. The Aphek fragment is the central part of an identical figure, probably which is a most unusual type. Because of their uncommon features they are here published separately before the final report of Area X.

As the figurines are identical the description of one will suffice. Fig. No. 82-219 (of the Department of Antiquities and Museums) is preserved from above the knees. Its height is 11 cm the Aphek fragment: 5.5 cm. It is a depiction of a nude female with long locks of hair, curling outwards at their ends and near her protruding navel. She wears a closed, crescent shaped pendant on her neck, three bracelets on each wrist and her hands hold open the deeply cut vagina above which is a ridge, presumably representing the pubic hair.

Two nude babies with uplifted arms are accommodated in the area between the breasts, hair and arms, attached to the tips of the hair by a stroke. A tree and horned animals are modelled on each thigh. The legs are close together and joined.

The figurine was made in a one piece mold; the back scraped flat with a sharp instrument.

Each of the features described above—the face, the unusually long hair, the two babies, the position of the hands, and the horned animals and trees on the thighs—make it a most unusual figurine unparalleled elsewhere. Although I have been unable to find a similar figurine, several observations concerning it may still be usefully made.

Although a deeply cut parting line is seen on the head, the two locks of hair stem only from its fore-part. They issue in a pointed edge, widening while forming a frame to the head, and thinning out towards the curling tips. The rest of the hair on either side of the parting line blends into the frame formed by the mold, thereby giving the impression of a veil falling over the shoulders. The unusual length of hair is unparalleled in any figurine. On those with the Hathor hairstyle the locks do not reach below the breasts.

The face is oval shaped with a short forehead, a long fleshy nose is joined to the eyebrows that meet above it, which are of unusual length and slant. The eyes consist of two round pellets without any of the details commonly visible on figurines of the period (Pritchard, *ANEP*, Nos. 467, 469). The wide mouth is represented by two bands and the cheeks are emphasized by furrows beside the nose. The chin is quite pronounced.

A crescent shaped pendant is attached to the lower of the two short bands below the chin. The crescent is more closed than in similar pendants (except perhaps for the one in

Tell el Ajjul, Petrie, 1934:Pl. XXXIV:532), possibly due to the narrow space available between the locks of hair. Crescent shaped pendants are well established in the jewelry repertoire of second-millennium Palestinian sites. Maxwell-Hyslop has distinguished two types: one is a crescent moon and the other more like a pair of animal horns (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971:149-141). The present pendant does not exactly fit into one of these categories. In addition, it has a double band which may either be part of the object itself or indicate a double collar worn by the figure.

The crescent shaped pendants, worn by female as well as male figures, may sometimes serve as a symbol of a deity with whom they were associated. It is difficult to establish whether they are themselves deities, such as in the case of the basalt seated statue from Hazor (see Yadin 1972:71-73 and Galling 1959:5). Some nude female figures identified as deities also wear crescent shaped pendants, as in the figure standing on two rams on the Hasanlu gold bowl of the first millennium (Porada 1965:99 and Fig. 63). For references to the figurines with this type of pendant, see Boehmer 1972:30-34, and Figs. 18-19.

The arms are rendered plastically together with the shoulders forming a suitable rounded frame that balances the curve of the hair. The three bracelets worn on each wrist are known from other figurines of the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age (Albright 1939:111, Pl. A; according to Albright all those figurines are from Stratum B; Pritchard, *ANEP*, No. 469, upper left). The hands of the probably pregnant figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim, Stratum B, are "joined before the abdomen as if supporting it" (Pritchard 1943:55).

The babies are more clearly observed on the Apeh fragment. Their hands are rounded, legs slightly parted, and one arm reaches the breast of the figurines. The baby on the left is clearly seen holding an object that emanates from the lock of hair. This appendage does not seem to be part of the hair, whose edge is clearly noticeable. The interpretation of the position of the babies is rather baffling. Are they suckling or are they not yet born?

On Mesopotamian figurines where a mother is fully dressed and suckles a baby, he is supported by her arms. No figurine is represented suckling two babies (Van Buren 1930: Figs. 55-59; in Pritchard 1943:56, Nos. 187-188, from Beth Shan, are nude female figures with a child standing beside them). A limestone statue of the mid-sixth century B.C., from Megara Heblaea in Sicily, represents a seated figure suckling two babies (Boardman 1980: Fig. 216).^{*} On terracotta plaques of the Ur III or Old Babylonian period, two small figures are attached to the bust covered with jewelry of a goddess (Barrelet 1968:286-289; Nos. 509-514). These have been interpreted as the sons of the goddess Baba (op. cit.:287); they are, however, not shown suckling. On an Old Babylonian plaque (Porada 1964:163-164, Fig. 9) a 'goddess of birth' supports with one hand a baby suckling at her breast. The head of yet another baby protrudes above her shoulder. The double-loop symbols on either side of the goddess, interpreted as those of the goddess of birth, remotely recall the hair of our figurine (Frankfort 1944:198-200; Frankfort identified her as 'Nintu, the Lady of Birth', op. cit.:198, n. 2).

[In conjunction with this discussion one should mention some of the rather schematic marble idols from Kültepe from the end of the third millennium, where two small figures are shown attached to the discoid body of the mother figurine (Bossert 1942, No. 340 and see Ozgüç 1957). See also the 'eye idol' with two smaller figures of children from Tell Brak, Mallowan 1965:Fig 99, of the Jemdet Nasr period.]

^{*}I owe this reference to Tally Ornan. Seated 'mother goddess' pipe-clay figurines holding an infant at each breast are also known from the Roman period as, for example, in London, Wheeler 1930:48, Pl. XXI:5.

Judging by the analogies mentioned, a 'suckling scene' seems an unlikely interpretation. From the position of the hands it may be inferred that the female is opening herself up for giving birth. Such an interpretation, however, would find no parallels elsewhere. Scenes depicting women giving birth are rare, and in those the women are seen in a squatting position, as on the bronze pin heads of the first millennium from Luristan (Godard 1962, Figs. 77 and particularly 78) where the head of the newborn emerges from between her thighs and her hands support her breasts. The squatting position after giving birth is seen in the woman with two babies whom she holds by their legs, on a Late Bronze Age Cypriot cylinder seal from Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule 1974, Fig. 56; the seal itself is explained as a charm worn by a woman for that particular occasion. I owe this reference to Professor Porada).

An additional difficulty stems from the visual concept of an "X-ray" view of the woman's body, for this is not encountered elsewhere. (Animals giving birth are represented in Near Eastern and especially Egyptian monuments; see Amiran 1956; Smith 1946, Figs. 226a and 226c. The head and forepart of the animal are visible but none of the hindpart that remains in the womb.) Moreover, the two babies are not represented in an embryonic attitude as, for instance, on the plaque of the 'goddess of birth' (Frankfort 1944:198; Porada 1964:164-165 associates them with the fetus as demon of death). The appendages connecting the babies with the lock of hair are not attached to the correct part for them to be the umbilical cord.

The aforementioned reservations make an unequivocal explanation of the scene rather difficult. A certain ambiguity seems to characterize the scene, as though it was intended to depict the stages before and after birth, and this may well have been intentional.

At this point we may mention some references from Ugarit. The two adolescents suckled by the winged goddess with Hathor hair style on an ivory from that site (Schaeffer 1954: 54-56; Pritchard, No. 829) were identified by the excavator as divine beings; whereas Dussaud, cited by Schaeffer, considered them to be a young king and his double. Schaeffer also suggests that the duplication of the figures might have been for the sake of symmetrical design. Du Mesnil du Buisson, however, identified them as the twins, Shahar and Shalim (Dawn and Dusk) (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1973:186). According to the text of the Ba'al epic they were the offsprings of El, born to two wives (Gordon 1949:text 10), and therefore do not seem to explain the iconography of our figurine. According to Ward (1969), the unusual representation of two suckling figures was a result of misinterpretation of the Egyptian suckling king and his *ka*. Thus, the duplication of babies on our figurine may link it with the ivory and thereby with the Egyptianized aspect of Canaanite art.

The depictions of trees and animals on the thighs are not identical: the hindquarters of the right-side animal is missing. The animal on the left is more vertically placed along the tree, so that a larger part of it is preserved. It is plausible that the artist had intended to represent the age-old motif of horned animals flanking a tree, but considerations of space caused him to resort to the present solution. On the other hand, this symmetrical composition of one tree and one animal conforms to, and accentuates, the symmetrical composition so strongly implied by the twin babies.

The motif of animals and tree is frequently represented in Late Bronze Age cylinder seals of the Mitannian style, as well as on pottery of the period. It is, in fact, the most common motif appearing on contemporary Palestinian pottery, and therefore may have had a significance (see Porada 1947:113-114 for explanation of the frequent use of the motif on Mitannian seals). The meaning of the motif has been discussed by many scholars (see, for example, Moortgat 1949, who saw in the motif the representation of the idea of

the Tammuz; Danthine 1937; Van Buren 1945:22-29; and Barnett 1957:87). The motif is interpreted as representing the life generating cycle of nature (the relief found in the well at Assur with the god feeding the two goats serves as one of the major sources for this interpretation, Moortgat 1969:Pl. 236). The tree alone occurs in association with a nude goddess on the alabaster vase from Assur, Tomb 45 (Moortgat 1969: Figs. 81-82, and see also Fig. 83, the goddess and the date palm on a comb from the same tomb). Goats are associated with the squatting figures on the Luristan pin heads (Godard 1962:Fig. 78); they also appear on the pin head (Porada 1965:89, Fig. 60) depicting a goddess between two trees with branches; the servants of the deity seem to hold horned animals.

Although the pin heads are later in date, they establish an iconographic association with the trees, goats and female giving birth, that seem valid for the understanding of the iconography of our figurine. The position of the motif on the thighs strongly emphasizes the aspect of fertility already expressed in the delivery or nursing of the two babies.

The decoration of the thighs recalls the possible custom of tattoo represented by the painting on the thighs of the Neolithic figurines from Tell es-Sawwan, Oates and Oates 1976:65, or Egypt, Petrie 1920:Pl. V:1. The association of the horned animal and the 'mother goddess' figurine also recalls the incised goats on the chin of the Neolithic figurine from Tel Aviv, Anati 1963:265, top, or the Egyptian figurine, op. cit. See also the stag carved on the 'eye-idol' from Tell Brak, Mallowan 1965:Fig. 39.

The reinforced emphasis on the idea of fertility may justify the assumption that this unique figurine is associated with a deity of fertility and birth or may even represent such a deity, whose exact identification is as yet uncertain. The figurine may have been used as a charm by women in childbirth (as suggested by Pritchard 1943:56).

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THE YUNUS CEMETERY GROUP: HAEMATITE SCARABS

John Boardman and Roger Mooney

Classification of Near Eastern seals into close stylistic groups which may indicate the work of a single workshop or even hand is rarely practiced, given the extreme variety and quantity of the material to be studied. Our honorand made a signal advance in such classification with her study of the Lyre-Player Group in *The Aegean and the Near East* (Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, 1956) 185-211, and she has passing remarks on some seals of the group presented here in *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20 (1963) 181. One of the present writers (J. B.) started assembling examples of the group many years ago, in a rather desultory way but with Edith Porada's encouragement (cf. his *Archaic Greek Gems* [1968] 24 n. 5). He has written the introductory matter here and the Catalogue: R. M. has written the archaeological commentary which follows the Catalogue. Both offer this paper as a humble contribution to a study which has profited so much from Edith Porada's skill and perception, and in friendly gratitude.

As with all such studies there can be nothing definitive here, but we hope to present an important and unusual group which might form a starting point for deeper consideration of comparable material of related origin and date. Its most unusual feature is the combination of shape and material—most are scarabs and all, as we have chosen to present them, are of haematite. The decision to confine the group to examples in haematite is not wholly arbitrary, although there are many seals in related styles and with related motifs, but in other materials. The distinction between the haematite seals and these others blurs when it comes to the simpler animal motifs, but the finer haematite specimens have a distinction of their own, in style and subject, and we have allowed them to carry with them their humbler kin executed in the same material.

Most are scarabs, but there is a scaraboid (no. 23; cf. no. 21), three examples of a highly unusual and revealing shape—the scarab-pendant—(nos. 1-3), and we have added a stamp seal of very closely related style and subject (no. 30). The scarab backs are generally not well cut and there is some variety in treatment suggesting, we think, variety of models from the south rather than a multiplicity of hands or range in date. There is, nevertheless, some degree of comparability between scarab backs on the finest examples. Recurrent features are the single (once double, no. 4) corner lines on elytra (as on nos. 5, 6, 7, 11, 14, 17, 22, 24). Nos. 9 and 29 have V-winglets (cf. no. 27). Intaglios are often given a line border.

The prime examples of the group are nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 14, 20, 22, 30. The scarab backs, where known, are very alike, though no. 14 is rather elaborate. The animal bodies in intaglio are well modelled, with crisp but not excessive linear detail and good emphatic curves to, for example, griffin or vulture heads and moderate drill work. Hatching is common for feathering, hair, beards, manes. With these a single hand or inspiration is surely at work.

Several others are clearly comparable—nos. 2, 3, 8, 9, 13, 23, 26—but on them the

incision is rougher and often it patterns bodies rather than defines them, there are more drilled details and animal proportions are less plausible. On nos. 5, 12, 16 and perhaps 18 the animal bodies are fuller and flatter, and the incision is applied to them in a more decorative manner. Nos. 15, 17, 19 (oddly composed, perhaps imitative) and 21 are more summary; and nos. 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 rely heavily on the drill with little detailing. Scarabs other than those of the finest series are generally flatter and less plausibly proportioned on their backs, but this is not the place for a full typological and comparative study of the scarab backs.

Catalogue

Not all details of all stones have been ascertained. Animal descriptions—antelope, etc.—are to some degree conventional. Measurements are of intaglio face, adding the height of the stone, where known.

Scarab-pendants

In each example the scarab lacks the usual lengthwise perforation, and its tail is replaced by an angular, ribbed tube, pierced so that the scarab hangs head down. The back bears a cross, with no elytra or thorax defined, and the legs are summary; the head is variously detailed.

1. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1920.20, bought by Woolley in Aleppo. 15 x 13 x 6 mm. The head is broad and blunt. A double cross on the back.
Published: D. G. Hogarth, *JEA* 8 (1922) 214, no. 13, pl. 24.16; D. B. Harden, *The Phoenicians* (1962) pl. 108a.
A vulture, head lowered, stands on the back of a crouching antelope which throws its head back and raises one foreleg. Line border.
2. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. 22 x 15 x 12 mm. The head is broad, triangular.
A four-winged, bearded figure with hands extended (unless these are filling motifs like the linear elements beside the head and legs). Line border.
3. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum 459. 14 x 9 x 7 mm. No detail visible in the published photograph of the head.
Published: A. Procopé-Walter, *AA* 1928, 522-523, figs. 1, 2; A. Dessenne, *Le Sphinx: étude iconographique* (1957) 94-96, no. 224, pl. 18.
A sphinx with a lion's head at the chest. Above, a crescent; before it a three-leaved plant (?), a disc with two pendant attachments, a detached bird's head (?). Line border.

Scarabs and a Scaraboid (no. 23)

4. Brussels, Musées Royaux, 0.468, from Baghdad. 21 x 16 mm. Scarab with simple back, double lines at the elytra corners.

Published: L. Speleers, *Cat. des intailles et empruntes orientales* (Mus. Roy. du Cinquante-naire, Bruxelles, 1917) 227-228, no. 468; *Ann. Soc. d'arch. Bruxelles* 29 (1920) pl. 18.

A goddess in a long dress with horizontal, hatched panels, stands in profile. Much of her head is missing but the hair is cut short, horizontally striated. A flower springs from either shoulder. She holds two griffins upside down by a hind leg. Two lines of dots beneath her feet (pebbles?).

5. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ancient Near Eastern Art, 56.42.3, Rogers Fund. 21 x 14 mm. Scarab with broad simple back. The head is broad, single lines at the elytra corners.

A man with short hair, and wearing a short skirt, crouches before an antelope. In one raised hand he holds a flower (or knife?)—compare the objects possibly held on our no. 2. His other hand is raised to the creature's head. The beast has hatched neck and rump. On its back we see the rear body and claw of a vulture, to which the vulture head, center top, presumably belongs, although the relative scale is awkward, and the motif behind the antelope's horns is obscure (the surface is missing in this corner). A snake curls over the vulture's head, across the man's body to between the antelope's legs. Behind the man a detached animal or bird head.

6. Berlin, Staatliche Museen (west) FG 98, from Asia Minor. 13 x 9 x 8 mm. Scarab with simple back, broad head, single lines at the elytra corners. Not illustrated.

Published: A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (1896) no. 98, pl. 3; E. Zwielerlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen II*, Berlin, no. 147, pl. 34 ('Archaisch Varia. 6.Jh.v.Chr.?').

Two facing male, bearded heads, set antithetically, with protruding ears. Beside them two griffin or vulture heads. Line border.

7. St.-Germaine-en-Laye, the late Professor Schaeffer. 21 x 18 x 12 mm. Scarab with simple back and legs, oval head, single lines at the elytra corners.

At the center a facing bearded head. Above and below a profile bearded head, the lower inverted. On these the hair is dressed with a short tuft at the neck. To left, a facing head, earless, with pointed chin (or tongue?) and knobbed tendrils (buds, or snakes?) springing from either side of the chin; and a profile lion with open jaws. To right, three detached heads (vulture or griffin; bird?; antelope?) and a profile lion head inverted. Behind the profile heads crescents, and bottom left a star in an angle (angular disc and crescent?). Line border.

8. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 42.492. Length 21 mm. Scarab.

Published: *Iraq* 6 (1944), pl. 7, no. 56; Dessenne, op. cit., 94-96, no. 226, pl. 18; J. V. Canby, *The Ancient Near East in the W.A.G.* (1974), no. 22 (as c. 1400-1200 B.C.).

Antithetic sphinxes with lion heads at their chests, wearing pointed horned headgear and aprons. Above, a crescent; below, a stag head; above each sphinx a pellet; between them a short ground line. Line border.

9. London, British Museum, Western Asiatic Department 125335, from Carchemish. 19 x 14 mm. Scarab with detailed back, double line between elytra and V-winglets, a high plain plinth with no legs.

- Published: R. D. Barnett, *BMQ* 8 (1933-34) 141-142, pl. 45, no. 11 (the center figure 'probably . . . a lizard').
- A lion seen from above, at either side griffins, and above, inverted, recumbent antelopes with heads turned back. Line border.
10. Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum) Lands of the Bible Archaeology Foundation 1106. 21 x 15 x 10 mm. Scarab with very simple legs and worn back.
- Two lions, their bodies crossing. The composition is ambitious and not properly realized. Each lion lays one forepaw along the back of his companion while the other forelegs, on the near side, cross. Above, a facing horned animal head; top right, a crescent; top left, a flower; below, a disc with radiate pattern; below right, wave pattern. Line border.
11. Paris, Louvre AO 7210 (A 1082). 24 x 18 x 13 mm. Scarab with simple, flat back, large semicircular thorax, simple head, single lines at elytra corners.
- Published: L. Delaporte, *Cat. des Cylindres . . . , Musées du Louvre* (1920-23) II, pl. 103, 19 (A 1082).
- Antithetic composition of two facing bovid heads with recurved horns, flanked by the heads of a griffin (forehead knob and spiral ear-lock) and a lion with open jaws. Longitudinally, the head of a snake (?) and the head of a long-eared animal on a bar terminating at the border in three leaves. At the opposite side a locust or grasshopper. Line border.
12. Unknown whereabouts (Istanbul ?); impression in London, British Museum, Western Asiatic Department, from Carchemish, Yunus Cemetery YC 58. 22 x 19 mm. Scarab with light double ridge between the elytra.
- Published: C. L. Woolley, *LAAA* 26 (1939) 32, pl. 20a; D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (1920) 84, fig. 99.
- A lion leaps onto the back of a bull, brought down to its knees. Above, a leaping griffin, one wing spread before it. Below it, a five-dot cross; below its hind leg, a crescent; above and below the lion a three-leaved flower. (The photograph is a copy of the intaglio, not impression, but reversed.)
13. Private Collection. 20 x 10 x 9 mm. Scarab with angular outline to base. Not illustrated.
- At one corner a spread-winged creature, perhaps a vulture or griffin (there are legs?). Three leaping lions, two with crossing bodies. A bird(?).
14. London, British Museum, Western Asiatic Department, 103292. 30 x 23 x 11mm. Scarab with careful back, triple ridge between elytra and behind thorax; detailed legs, flat profile.
- Published: Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder* (1889) pl. 20.58.
- A winged sun disc, radiate above and below. Below it two vultures, then a lion leaping diagonally across the field over a bull whose head and neck are twisted back between its forelegs. Line border.
15. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1889.401, from Damascus. 15 x 10 x 6. Very simple scarab with legs and back markings barely incised.

- A lion leaps onto the forepart of a bull, its head bowed. Below it a bull's head; behind and above it, a snake. Line border.
16. Once Newell Collection 538. 18 x 14 x 12 mm. Scarab. Not illustrated.
Published: H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals . . . Mr. Edward T. Newell* (OIP 22, 1934) pl. 33, no. 538.
A leaping lion and bull, their bodies crossing. Before the lion a flower or snake. Line border.
17. Paris, Louvre, Egyptian Department, de Clercq Collection 2498. 16 x 12 x 8 mm. Scarab with double line between elytra and behind large thorax, semicircular head, simple deep-cut legs.
Published: *de Clercq* VII.2, pl. 16, no. 2498.
Two lions attack an antelope. One leaps from above and behind it, turning its head to bite it in the neck, its forepaw extended. The other crouches beneath the beast, and turns its head to bite its rump. Above, a crescent, wavy line and pair of horns (?). Line border.
18. Unknown whereabouts, once Talbot-Ready Collection. Not illustrated.
Published: Hotel Drouot, 26/7.i.1920, pl. 4, no. 283. Height 16 mm.
Four bulls and a bird. Line border.
19. Paris, Louvre, Egyptian Department E 25922, de Clercq Collection 2495. 21 x 14.5 x 11 mm. Scarab with long body, elytra barely divided but for ridge towards the tail, a hatched band behind the thorax, small head, roughly cut legs.
Published: *de Clercq* VII.2, pl. 16, no. 2495.
Above, a griffin with one wing spread before it, followed by a leaping lion. Below, a goat with a vulture behind it.
20. Paris, Louvre (A 1081). 16 x 14 x 8 mm. Scarab with simple back and legs, and single lines at elytra corners. Not illustrated.
Published: Delaporte, op. cit., pl. 103, 18b and 34a.
A seated griffin on a short ground line, with a bird above. Before it a rearing lion with head turned back. Disc and crescent at top. Line border.
21. New York, American Numismatic Society 165. 11 x 7.5 mm. Scarab with a high plain plinth and the back roughly bisected, the head barely detailed.
A griffin with a foreleg raised. Before it, upright in the field, a recumbent lion with the head turned back. Line border.
22. Bonn, Professor Müller, from Sidon. 15 x 9 mm. Scarab with two lines between elytra and behind thorax, single lines at elytra corners, small semicircular head.
A griffin walking. Before and behind it three-leaved flowers, above it a two-leaved. A dot below.
23. Copenhagen, National Museum 9079, from Ankara. 13 x 11 x 10 mm. Scaraboid with high walls, large stringhole.
A recumbent lion, a horned animal above, two below, and a claw(?).

24. New York, Derek Content, I-76BUE. 13 x 9 x 7 mm. Scarab with simply cut head and legs.

The composition is obscure. Perhaps a frontal animal head (bold nose and brow line in Y form; cf. our no. 25), animal centre part with bristles (inverted) and animal hind-quarters with legs and tail; crescent.

25. London, British Museum, Greek and Roman Department, from Cyprus. 15 x 12 mm. Scarab. Not illustrated.

Published: H. B. Walters, *Cat. of Engraved Gems* (1926) pl. 6, no. 340.

Facing heads of four animals, two with recurved horns. Line border.

26. Paris, Louvre, Egyptian Department E 25886, de Clercq Collection 2791. 9 x 8 x 4.2 mm. Tiny scarab, nearly circular, with high plain plinth and flat back, bisected, and small head.

Published: *de Clercq* VII.2, pl. 19, no. 2791.

A recumbent griffin with crescent above, branch before.

27. Paris, Louvre, Egyptian Department E 25902, de Clercq Collection 2462. 14 x 10 x 7.5 mm. Simple scarab with barely detailed back and legs. Line winglets.

Published: *de Clercq* VII.2, pl. 16, no. 2462.

An antelope leaping over the body of another animal (?). Pellet above. Line border.

28. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Chandon de Briailles Collection (167). 18 x 13 mm. Scarab with long back, double lines between elytra and behind thorax, triangular head.

A leaping lion with head turned back. Over its back a horned animal head (?), and before it a cross. Below, two scorpions and an inverted disc and crescent. Line border.

29. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Chandon de Briailles Collection. 18 x 13 mm. Broad scarab with two lines between elytra and behind thorax (very curved). V-winglets. Large head, simple legs.

A lion leaps over two bulls, their heads bowed. Line border.

Stamp seal

30. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles (?), de Clercq Collection. 15 x 15 x 15 mm. Circular stamp with flat pierced handle.

Published: *de Clercq* II, 14, pl. 1, no. 10.

Winged sun disc with heavily hatched outline. Kneeling man with short skirt, his arms raised holding (?). Behind and beneath him a snake with hatched body. At either side a facing bovid head with recurved horns.

Date and Source

The only seal of this group so far published from an archaeological context is the large haematite scaraboid, with an animal design (no. 12 here), from grave YC 58 in the Yunus Cemetery at Djerablus (Carchemish) in Turkey.¹

The dating of the Iron Age cremation cemeteries in the Carchemish area is still imprecise. They begin relatively early in the Iron Age, but whether they end in the last quarter of the eighth century or persist in regular use until the Neo-Babylonian conquest a century later is an open question.² Professor Porada³ associated the haematite seals of this category with a ninth-century date for these graves; but this is probably too early. Woolley believed that the graves of the cemetery he was able to dig were from the end of its use and that the earlier nucleus of burials was in an area closed to him by the presence of a recent Muslim cemetery. Grave YC 50, one of the most richly equipped of those excavated, contained a haematite "stud seal" engraved above and below with animal and bird subjects⁴ stylistically akin to the scarabs in the group defined here. In the same grave were the "fragments of a painted handled bowl of Anatolian fabric,"⁵ now in Istanbul. It was republished by Akurgal in his standard survey of Phrygian art in 1955 as "Reifphrygischer Stil (Erste Phase)" and dated c. 730-676 B.C.⁶ In the absence of a full publication of the pottery from recent excavations at Gordion, any closer dating is not possible. On the slender evidence of this vessel these haematite seals may be broadly set in a generation or two on either side of 700 B.C. Such a dating does not conflict with the art-historical evidence discussed below.

The following discussion will support the view that the haematite stamp-seals from the Yunus Cemetery are a reliable guide to the area in which they were made; both material and iconography are at home there. From Suppiluliuma's reign (c. 1380-1346 B.C.) Carchemish had been part of the Hittite Empire, though its inhabitants were no more "Hittite" than were those of such major contemporary cities in Syria as Alalakh (Tell Atshana) or Ugarit (Ras Shamra). The "Neo-Hittite" rulers of Carchemish arrived sometime after 1200 B.C. from a region in Anatolia where Luwian was the main dialect. Modern scholars refer to them and their culture as "Hittite," since the Assyrians called their land Hatti, and they used a hieroglyphic writing system and an iconography that were legacies from the Imperial Hittite tradition. Even so Carchemish was but one of a number of city-states in North Syria and southeast Anatolia that shared this legacy, the others being Gurgum (Marash), Melid (Malatya), Kummuh (Kommagene) and Unqi (Amuq Plain).⁷ For what it is worth, where some information exists on the region in which the seals listed here were acquired, it falls in the modern equivalent of this broad area.

¹ D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920; hereafter *Hittite Seals*), fig. 99; C. L. Woolley, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XXVI (1939), p. 32, pl. XXa.

² P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük* (BAR [Oxford] International Series, no. 87), pp. 5ff.; P. Bienkowski, *Levant* XIV (1982), p. 80ff.

³ *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 20 (1963), p. 181.

⁴ Cf. Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 31, pl. XXc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XIc.

⁶ E. Akurgal, *Phrygische Kunst* (Ankara, 1955), p. 47, pl. 13.

⁷ J. D. Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 67ff.

Material and Shapes

“Neo-Hittite” stamp-seals were predominantly cut in two shapes, either as scarabs or as plainer versions of the hammer-handled seals of second millennium Anatolia.⁸ The scarabs had developed from the Egyptian scarab in the Levant during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The shape became one of the most popular for seals in the Iron Age in the Near East, and beyond to the west. Scarabs were moulded in faience or frit, and cut in a wide variety of colored stones, but not usually in haematite. The large size of some of the scarabs in this group is also distinctive. Hammer-handled seals had first become popular in Hittite glyptic about the seventeenth century B.C.⁹ Impressions of “Neo-Hittite” hieroglyphic seals,¹⁰ found in the Assyrian palaces of Nimrud and Khorsabad, in contexts of the later eighth and seventh centuries B.C., suggest that the two main shapes were current at the same time. These impressions are either ovoid or rounded rectangular, the former probably made with scarabs, the latter with seals in the hammer tradition.

A close association is further suggested by a typological trait of some members of this group (nos. 1-3 here). Instead of a boring through the body of the scarab for suspension, they are cut with an elongated loop at one end, ribbed like the heads of seals in the hammer shape. It is usually assumed that scarabs, pierced lengthwise, were mounted either in ring bezels or in swivel fittings.¹¹ Hammer seals, by contrast, always had a horizontal boring through the ribbed cylindrical head, presumably for suspension from a necklace or similar piece of jewelry. Although the relationship to hammer-headed seals is the first to come to mind in trying to explain this anomalous feature, there is an earlier jewelry fitting more directly comparable. During the Late Bronze Age a series of gold pendants were current in the Levant on which a very similar elongated loop fitting was used to attach crescentic pendants to the string of a necklace.¹² The curving ends do not ever seem to have been used to secure a seal (as well they might); but in appearance these earlier suspension loops are very like the system adopted to suit some of these haematite scarabs for suspension, rather than for setting in a ring-bezel or similar swivel frame.

A group of haematite stamp-seals would be conspicuous in any ancient Near Eastern context, for this stone was rarely used in the region for stamp-seals. In the particular group of forty seals in Oxford with which Buchanan classified no. 1 here, calling them “‘Common’ Neo-Imperial, mainly seventh century,” all, save one of faience, were of limestone, serpentine and related stones.¹³ In cylinder seal production the role of haematite is unusually well defined. They were made predominantly in southeast Anatolia and Syria during the local Middle Bronze Age. In collections of “Cappadocian” cylinder seals, and the finely cut cylinders made in Syria between about 1850 and 1650 B.C., it is much the most popular stone, with a minority cut in marble, chert and serpentine. The widely distributed cylinders in the “Mitannian” style, current in the Late Bronze Age, were, in its ‘elaborate’ form, cut on a similar range of stones, haematite and chert remaining popular, though without the marked predominance of the former, but with the addition of agate,

⁸ *Hittite Seals*, fig. 14, 20, C-D.

⁹ R. L. Alexander, *Anatolica* V (1973-76), pp. 141ff.

¹⁰ Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), nos. 975-982.

¹¹ See K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000-612 B.C.* (London, 1971), pls. 76, 216; W. Culican, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* V (1977), pp. 1ff.

¹² Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, pls. 110, 115.

¹³ B. W. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, II: Stamp Seals* (unpublished manuscript), nos. 521-561.

chalcedony and carnelian. In its 'common' form they are most often in faience. In the centuries of declining cylinder seal production in the Levant, as the Late Bronze gave way to the Iron Age, no style was dominant and production appears limited and much more localized, with often crudely conceived and executed designs.

That stamp-seals of quality cut in haematite appeared in parts of North Syria in the mature Iron Age is but one of the more obvious signs in material culture of a resurgent Hittite tradition. Some of the finest Hittite hammer-shaped seals had been made of it centuries earlier. Its source or sources probably lay in close proximity to the Upper Euphrates, down which it had been shipped in the earlier second millennium to serve cylinder seal cutters in Syria and Babylonia. As they had shown, a good craftsman was able to get unusually fine detail in cutting this very hard stone.

The Repertory of Motifs

Anthropomorphic themes

Even the most casual glance at plates will reveal that animals and monsters predominate in the designs of these seals. Figures, whether human, divine or demonic, are rare, as indeed they are on the much earlier stamp-seal glyptic of the 'Colony' and 'Old Hittite' periods in Anatolia, to which the iconography of these seals constantly refers back. This is in marked contrast to the contemporary Phoenician seals and their closest relatives, on which there is a rich and varied repertory of divine and semi-divine figures with an elaborate iconography.¹⁴ The same is true of the stamp-seal glyptic most typical of the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid styles.¹⁵ The general absence of anthropomorphic designs is most nearly matched among contemporary inscribed stamp-seals to the south in Israel and its neighbors, where personal names, and sometimes titles, are flanked by zoomorphic motifs.¹⁶ But general statements about the Iron Age stamp-seals of the Syrian cities must still be made with extreme caution, as no study has yet been devoted to them and such important groups as those from the American excavations in the Amuq Plain remain unpublished.¹⁷

Four-winged figures, reminiscent of that on no. 2 here, were current in a number of regions of the Near East in the Iron Age, distinguished by the costume of their cultural tradition. What Culican has called the 'four-winged Phoenician seraph,' familiar from seals, is distinguished by his egyptianizing costume and triple 'Atef' crown.¹⁸ In this costume he was known also on monumental sculpture in Syria.¹⁹ In Neo-Assyrian art the four-winged genius appeared in local costume.²⁰ In both cases there is no reason to think it is one and the same genius or deity who is always represented; indeed the variety of features often suggest otherwise. The figure on seal no. 2 has no distinctive features and it is thus impossible

¹⁴ Compare, for example, the seals assembled in K. Galling, *ZDPV* 64 (1941), pp. 121ff.

¹⁵ Cf. L. Jakob-Rost, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum* (Berlin, 1975), nos. 190ff.

¹⁶ See note 14.

¹⁷ For the architecture see R. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch II* (OIP XCV, Chicago, 1971).

¹⁸ *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 5 (1977), p. 3, pl. IIIa, b.

¹⁹ R. D. Barnett, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 45 (1969), pp. 411ff., pl. VIIA.

²⁰ T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London, 1970), pl. XLII; LX. 3; LXIV. 1.

to classify him; but the prevalence of four-winged creatures in Syro-Anatolian art of the Iron Age²¹ makes his appearance here no surprise. It is unfortunate that the head of the "mistress of animals" on no. 4 is broken off, as this permits no more than a general association with the draped female figures, holding flowers or animals, current in North Syria from the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., both in monumental and minor art.²² The griffins she holds inverted are those represented on other seals in this group.

The kneeling (*Knielauf*) man, combined with a snake, goat and predatory bird on no. 5, is again a familiar figure in the monumental art of Syro-Anatolian cities in the Iron Age, though commonly set at the center of a symmetrical design flanked either by animals, as if a "master-of-animals,"²³ or by monsters, as an "Atlas figure,"²⁴ or as the victim of human assailants, when he is taken to be Humbaba or a related demon about to be killed.²⁵ From an early appearance in Mesopotamia this posture had moved westwards to become very popular in Hittite art and in North Syria, before passing into Greek and Etruscan art as that appropriate for the Gorgon.²⁶ The same figure, as shown on no. 5, appears as the central motif on a stamp-seal in the de Clercq collection (no. 29 here); his identity is obscure for, as with the four-winged figure on no. 2, he has no distinguishing features. But his hair and beard are dressed exactly like those of the profile detached heads on no. 7. They, and the full-face male heads of nos. 6 and 7, are the only other anthropomorphic motifs in this group.

The detached male head had been a recurrent motif, usually as a filler, in the glyptic of Anatolia and Syria in the second millennium B.C., though even then there are cases when they provide the main design.²⁷ In the Iron Age detached profile male heads appear on an orthostat at Carchemish.²⁸ Akurgal²⁹ has argued that the hairstyles on such heads are a significant indicator of date: ". . . concentric curls caught in a tuft at the nape of the neck. Each curl consists of a strand of hair whose ends are rolled to form a ringlet . . . this curl is nowhere to be found in the Near East outside the Syro-Hittite domain . . . it remains the dominant fashion until the middle of the eighth century and in the second half of this century is replaced by the Assyrian-Aramaean ringlet." Fine detail is not apparent on the scale of these seals, but the "tuft at the nape of the neck" is there. Grotesque detached full-face heads, both in Mesopotamia and in Phoenicia, served to represent a variety of apotropaic demons, Humbaba conspicuous amongst them³⁰ and profile heads may also have been an aspect of this symbolism. But in a society where the common script was hieroglyphic the use on these seals of profile detached heads, both human and animal, may not be so easily explained. Though they do not constitute inscriptions in any explicit sense, for

²¹ Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), pl. 8b; 12f (Tell Halaf); 15d (Karatepe); at Sakgegözü the griffin demons have four wings, *ibid.*, pl. 49a, rt., 50c, left.

²² Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (British Museum, 1957), pp. 81-83.

²³ H. Kantor, *JNES* 16 (1957), pp. 145ff.; Orthmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 15a (Karatepe), 26a (Carchemish), 32d, 32e (griffin-headed) 62e (Sinjirli); I. Winter, *A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran* (Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 11ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. 12b (Tell Halaf).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 28a (Carchemish); P. Calmeyer, *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* I (1970), 81ff.

²⁶ B. Goldman, *Berytus* 14 (1961), pp. 1ff.; C. Hopkins, *ibid.*, pp. 25ff.

²⁷ Cf. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), fig. 69, nos. 152, 154.

²⁸ Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (London, 1962), pl. 117.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

³⁰ M-Th. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique* I (Paris, 1968), pp. 196-198; Culican, *JNES* 35 (1976), pp. 21ff.

seals so inscribed are quite distinct,³¹ they were a vital constituent of the Hittite hieroglyphic system.³² Thus here they may have conveyed more specific information than did the casual filling motifs they are often assumed to be in other contexts.

Zoomorphic Themes

The predatory birds, be they vultures or eagles, on a number of these seals had been a favorite subject with seal cutters in Anatolia, usually threatening a hare, as early as the "Colony Period" in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.³³ By the Imperial Hittite Period a heraldic device of a double-headed eagle, with symmetrical crouching hares beneath its extended claws, sculpted for instance on the side of a monumental sphinx at Alaça Hüyük, emphasizes the now elusive symbolic significance of this theme.³⁴ Significantly, once the motif migrated into Syrian glyptic it lost much of its coherence and impact.³⁵ It appears only sporadically in Mesopotamian art before the Kassite period, when it became more popular on seals, with a gazelle or a fawn, rather than a hare, as the victim. Such was also the case when it was used in northwest Iran in the Iron Age.³⁶ In Syro-Anatolia, as for example on the reliefs at Karatepe, the hare continued to appear.³⁷ In most of the other animal scenes on these seals conflict is implied, if not explicit; the powerful, whether lion or monster, preying upon the weaker (or domesticated) species. This traditional Near Eastern theme of animal combat has been variously interpreted. It was current in the major and minor arts of North Syria in the Iron Age and Barnett³⁸ has reviewed some of the possible mythological and astronomical interpretations for none of which, as he makes clear, is there any conclusive evidence.

Two monsters are recurrent in this group: the griffin and the sphinx. The eagle-headed griffin of this series is well illustrated on seal no. 22, with its lion's body, legs and tail, its bird-of-prey head, wings and upcurling lock on its head. The detached griffin heads of no. 11 have the distinctive forehead knob and spiral earlock. This creature, like so many of the motifs upon which the carvers of these seals drew for their designs, had a long history. It had appeared in the art of Egypt by at least the third millennium B.C., perhaps under Syrian inspiration. It was later adopted by seal cutters working in the Mitannian and Middle Assyrian styles and thence passed into the glyptic of Iron Age Syria with the characteristic traits seen here. The key feature is a beak closed or, at most, slightly agape. The distended beak, so familiar from metal griffin heads, is a late feature, probably produced by a cross with the lion-headed griffin.³⁹ The griffins of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian glyptic

³¹ Cf. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), nos. 304-306.

³² E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes Hittites I* (Paris, 1960), nos. 10ff. for human heads; nos. 99ff. for animal heads.

³³ N. Özgüç, *Kanis Karumu Ib Kati Mühürleri ve Mühür Baskilari* (Ankara, 1968), pl. 23B, 32: 1b, 2b, 3b.

³⁴ Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, pl. 88.

³⁵ J. Canby, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 225ff.

³⁶ E. Porada in *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* (Teheran, 1972), pp. 163ff.

³⁷ Orthmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 15a.

³⁸ *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pp. 69ff.

³⁹ B. Goldman, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 64 (1960), pp. 319ff.

do not scream, neither do those shown in the reliefs at Carchemish and Tell Halaf, nor on the carved ivories in the "Syrian Style" from Nimrud.⁴⁰

The sphinx, as on no. 8, is distinctive, for it is the breed with a secondary head projecting from its chest. This monster had appeared in Imperial Hittite art both in Turkey, where the gold ring from Konya, now in Oxford, provides a good glyptic illustration⁴¹ and in Syro-Palestine, notably on an ivory of Hittite manufacture found at Megiddo.⁴² It was to become particularly popular with sculptors of the Neo-Hittite period in Syria, where it is to be found on the reliefs at Carchemish, Tell Halaf and Sinjirli.⁴³ In every respect, save one, the sphinx on no. 8 is like that at Carchemish, with its horned helmet and back lock of hair; the discrepancy may be significant. The sphinx on the seal has the pectoral or uraeus bib taken to be characteristic of "Phoenician" rather than "Syrian" sphinxes.⁴⁴ Comparable sphinxes, without the bib, appear on Neo-Hittite scarabs cut in stones other than haematite, in one case inscribed "gift (of the moongod) of Harran."⁴⁵

One of the most individual designs here is that on no. 11 with its symmetrical balance of detached lion and griffin heads. Here again are devices with a long history in Anatolian glyptic, for such animal heads abound both as fillers on seals of the "Colony Period" and, with long necks, as the constituents of rotating or radiate designs,⁴⁶ whilst surviving on into the later glyptic styles of both Anatolia and Syria.⁴⁷ Distinct from this use of detached animal-heads as primary motifs is their small scale role as random fillers (when they are more reminiscent of the corresponding hieroglyphs) or, with stylized necks, as separators between the main elements of a design. Sometimes they are varied, as on no. 7, at others the same one is repeated, as on no. 24. The lion and griffin protomes of no. 11 immediately recall the famous metal cauldron fittings of this form so popular in the later eighth and earlier seventh centuries B.C., though, as has been noticed, it is not the characteristically screaming griffin head of the cauldron series that appears here.⁴⁸ The full-faced horned head, be it ram or bull, as on no. 11, is used on a remarkable cylinder seal from Al Mina, of the ninth or eighth century B.C. decorated with an unusually complex series of cult scenes and symbols,⁴⁹ and on other Neo-Hittite stamp seals. It is also a characteristic feature of certain inscribed seals, from both Israel and Ammon, dated to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.⁵⁰ In view of this connection, the locust set at one end of the design on no. 11 is of particular interest. This insect appears sporadically on Mesopotamian seals, though it is not always easy to distinguish it from the grasshopper.⁵¹ On an inscribed seventh-century Hebrew scaraboid a single locust appears with a family name incorporating the Hebrew for this insect;⁵² perhaps suggesting that in this case it might be a personal or family blazon.

⁴⁰ In general see A. M. Bisi, *Il Grifone*, Rome, 1965; for comments on its significance see Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pp. 72ff.

⁴¹ Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites*, pl. 52, top.

⁴² G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), pl. 11g.

⁴³ Orthmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 11g, 27b, 61c; in general A. Dessenne, *Le Sphinx* (Paris, 1957).

⁴⁴ Winter, *Iraq* 38 (1976), p. 7, pl. III for this contrast.

⁴⁵ P. Meriggi and M. Poetto in O. W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven* (McClelland and Stewart, 1981), nos. 239, 241, pp. 272-273.

⁴⁶ T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boghazköy I* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 56-58.

⁴⁷ Kantor, *JNES* XVI (1957), pp. 149ff.

⁴⁸ H.-V. Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit* (Berlin, 1966).

⁴⁹ Woolley, *JHS* 58 (1938), p. 161, pl. XV; Barnett, *Iraq* VI (1939), pp. 1ff.

⁵⁰ P. Bordreuil and A. Lemaire, *Semitica* 24 (1974), pp. 27ff.

⁵¹ Van Buren, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Rome, 1939), pp. 109-110.

⁵² N. Avigad, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 50ff.

Apart from the animal heads and small floral filling motifs the most recurrent background device is a snake. A comprehensive study of this creature in the iconography and symbolism of the ancient Near East is still awaited; in art its appearances are many and varied. Serpents figure on seals from earliest times until at least the sixth century B.C.; they also appear regularly in Babylonia coiled around boundary stones.⁵³ In the Levantine Late Bronze Age they were current on metal plaques as attributes of the nude female⁵⁴ and in Neo-Assyrian times they are brandished by the demon Lamashtu:⁵⁵ a figure who often appears in the kneeling posture of the man with the snake on no. 5 here. The snake might be propitious, denoting fertility and prosperity, or malevolent; its symbolism was both terrestrial and astrological.⁵⁶ Mrs. van Buren regarded the scorpion, who also appears on seals in this group, as second only to the snake in the frequency with which, from earliest times, it appeared in Mesopotamian art.⁵⁷ There was almost exactly the same ambivalence about its symbolic role, in one place benign, in another hostile, as with the serpent.

Astronomical and floral themes

It is with the smaller motifs in the background of the main design on these seals, as on so many ancient Near Eastern seals, that the modern observer is in danger of overlooking much of significance in ignorance of their meaning. "Fillers" they may be, but chosen with intent, even if distributed at random. Reference has already been made to the possibility of personal blazons. Such astronomical devices as crescents and stars have a long history as deity symbols or astrological signs. In view of its prevalence the crescent may be presumed to stand for the local Moon-god as it does almost universally in the area.⁵⁸ In a more extended form, fixed on a tasselled pole set on a podium, the crescent was particularly popular on stamp-seals in Syria and neighboring regions at this time as a symbol of the Moon-god.⁵⁹ Floral emblems are commonly held by the men, deities and demons shown on many products of the craftsmen of Phoenicia, Syria and Assyria in the Early Iron Age, deriving ultimately from Egyptian sources. Their precise significance, as with the detached floral ornaments, remains elusive.⁶⁰

Although there is much in this repertory of motifs that draws upon a common, Near Eastern legacy, there are enough distinctive features to indicate that the "Hittite" tradition was particularly strong in the workshops where these seals were made. So strong in some cases that it seems likely much older seals were current as models and inspiration for the men who made them. One particular find in Woolley's excavations at Carchemish serves to strengthen such a suggestion. In a seventh-century B.C. pit, dug through the floor of Room E of the latest building phase of the Northwest Fort of the Inner Town, Woolley

⁵³ Van Buren, *op. cit.*, pp. 97ff.

⁵⁴ O. Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal* (Tel Aviv, 1976), nos 1701, 1706, with plates; cf. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, pp. 96ff.

⁵⁵ For illustrations cf. G. Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylonia and Assyria* (London, 1954), pl. XXIV; W. Andrae, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V* (Leipzig, 1943), pl. 9c.

⁵⁶ Cf. in general E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* (Princeton, 1968): references indexed under 'snake'.

⁵⁷ Van Buren, *Archiv für Orientforschung* XII (1937-39), pp. 1ff.

⁵⁸ Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art* (Rome, 1945), pp. 64ff.; Laroche, *op. cit.*, pp. 102ff.

⁵⁹ A. Spycket, *Revue Biblique* 80 (1973), pp. 384ff.

⁶⁰ Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, *passim*.

found what has become known as the "Gold Tomb."⁶¹ Among the objects in it, associated with a cremated body, were a gold disk and strip decorated *à jour* with small figures and symbols, as well as thirty-nine miniature figures of lapis or steatite inlaid into gold cloisons. They are in the purest Imperial Hittite style as known from the iconography of Boghazköy and contemporary settlements. Woolley inclined to the view that these objects had been made in the Neo-Hittite period, but subsequent commentators have almost all recognized them as heirlooms from Imperial Hittite times.⁶²

It is not only in the repertory of motifs that regular reference back to the "Hittite" traditions of the second millennium are apparent. Stylistic traits point regularly in the same direction. The free grouping of animals and their lively postures recall the Anatolian or native phase of Cappadocian glyptic which Buchanan recognized as the inspiration for a distinctive group of Old Syrian seals cut with vivid animal scenes in the second quarter of the second millennium B.C.⁶³ Thereafter there was nothing quite like these animated scenes either on Mitannian or on Early Iron Age Levantine cylinder seals. But even in this interval there are occasional, very individual, stylistic traits which had clearly come to the attention of the Neo-Hittite seal cutters. The most unusual bird's-eye view of a recumbent lion on number 9 here presented a problem until a recumbent antelope, rendered in just the same way, was recently published in a survey of the evidence now emerging from a fresh study of the fifteenth-century seal impressions found at Nuzi in Iraq.⁶⁴ If it may no longer be regarded as "unparalleled in antiquity," it remains a very rare viewpoint in Near Eastern glyptic.

Further study will undoubtedly extend this cursory study of these varied seals, which introduce an aspect of Neo-Hittite art not yet fully appreciated, but rich in evidence for the origins and character of important schools of craftsmen in North Syria and southeast Anatolia in the ninth to seventh centuries B.C. still best known for their monumental sculptures.

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Museums: originals of 5, 9, 11, 14, 19, 26, 27; impressions of 10, 15. *J. Boardman:* originals of 1, 2, 17, 23, 28, 29. *D. Collon:* cast of 12. *Marion Cox:* drawing of 7. *R. L. Wilkins:* original of 24; impressions of 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 17, 21, 22, 28. After *de Clercq II pl. 1.10:* original of 30.

⁶¹ Woolley, *Carchemish III* (London, 1952), pp. 250-252, pl. 63-64.

⁶² U. Seidl, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 22 (1972), pp. 15ff.

⁶³ Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum, I: Cylinder Seals* (Oxford, 1966), p. 167, nos. 897-899.

⁶⁴ C. Gavin in the *Lacheman Festschrift* (1981), p. 143, fig. 2.

DREI SIEGEL MIT SPIRALSTABMUSTER AUS HATTUSA

Rainer Michael Boehmer

Dem Autor ist es eine besondere Freude, sich an der Festschrift für Edith Porada beteiligen zu können. Wenn sein Beitrag auch nur kurz ist—infolge äusserer Umstände war es ihm leider jetzt nicht möglich, einer grösseren Frage nachzugehen,—so sind des Verfassers gute Wünsche für die hochverehrte Jubilarin deshalb nicht minder herzlich!

Aus der Unterstadt von Hattusa stammen die drei mehr oder weniger gut erhaltenen Stempelsiegel Nr. 1-3 (Ills. 1-3).¹ Sie sind aus dem zur Zeit des Karum Hattus beliebten feingeschlammten, dichten, gelblichen, aussen ins Graue übergehenden Ton gefertigt, in den man eine Darstellung wesentlich feiner und müheloser schneiden konnte als in einen Stein.

Der Stempelblock ist, soweit erhalten, oval (Nr. 1 und 2) oder geigenförmig in der Mitte eingezogen (Nr. 3), der Griff kegelförmig und z.T. achtfach facettiert, oben endigte er in einer profilierten, hammerartigen Ose. Der ovale Stempel Nr. 1 weist an der Seitenflächen an der Stelle der Einziehung jeweils vier senkrechte Kerben auf.

Diese drei Siegel zeigen alle nahe verwandten Dekor: nach aussen, zu den Schmalseiten hin vier (Nr. 2 und 3) bzw. fünf (Nr. 1) mehr oder weniger parallel verlaufende Kerben, die in der Mitte durch eine (Nr. 3) bzw. vier Senkrechte voneinander getrennt werden (Nr. 1). Alle sind nochmals in sich und zwar schräg gekerbt, so dass der Eindruck von Spiralstäben entsteht.

Obwohl keines dieser Siegel in situ angetroffen wurde,² ist an ihrer Entstehung zur Zeit der Unterstadt 4 wegen ihrer Form und ihres Materials nicht zu zweifeln. Ihr Dekor setzt sie von bisher Bekanntem ab: es scheint sich dabei also um ein nur in Hattusa selbst hergestelltes, andernorts nicht kopiertes Muster zu handeln.

¹Nr. 1: Aus ausgeraubter Baugrube des Hauses 11 (vgl. zu diesem den Plan von P. Neve bei R. M. Boehmer, Die Kleinfunde aus der Unterstadt von Bogazköy, Bogazköy-Hattusa X, 1979, Beilage 2). Höhe, 3,2 cm; Stempelfläche 2,6 x 1,85 cm.—Im Kern gelber, aussen grauer, dichter Ton.—Bogazköy-Inventar-Nummer: 77/443.

Nr. 2: Aus Erosionsrinne im Planquadrat K/20.—H. noch 2,78 cm; Br. noch 1,85 cm.—Im Kern gelber, aussen grauer, dichter Ton.—Bogazköy-Inventar-Nummer: 77/351.

Nr. 3: Ca. 2 m unter der Oberfläche in Planquadrat J/20.—H. noch 1,5 cm; Stempelfläche 2,45 x 1,5 cm.—Im Kern gelber, aussen grauer, dichter Ton. Bogazköy-Inventar-Nummer: 757/P.—T. Beran, Die hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy, Bogazköy-Hattusa V, 1967, Nr. 27.

²Vgl. Anm. 1: Fundangaben.

COMMEMORATIVE SEALS ?

Mark A. Brandes

So oft have I invok'd thee for my Muse, . . .
W. Shakespeare, Sonnet LXXVIII

Within the flowering wreath of honor which is braided all over the world by friends in order to celebrate the jubilee of an outstanding scholar and indefatigable expert on the glyptic arts of the Ancient Near East, the following pages form but a humble leaf. It is however with great pleasure that I may express my profound gratitude and respectful admiration in submitting to her infallible eye two trifles from Uruk-Warka, hoping that they will retain her ready interest.

Both sealings of unbaked clay, hitherto unpublished, have been unearthed during the season Warka XXI (1962/63) in Ob XVI₃ in Eanna and are kept at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad. W 21 154,1 (Fig. 1), a bulla showing still the deep indentation of a cord, comes from a rubbish-pit of level III, filled with sherds, broken flint-blades, and other waste;¹ W 21 166 (Fig. 2), the fragment of a flat nondescript sealing, was found in the immediate vicinity, but in another hole in the floor of level III. It is not only the common provenance, permitting the secure dating of both sealings to the Diamdat-Nasr period, which links both pieces, but more so the similarities of their iconography.

On W 21 154,1 the remnants of two impressions are preserved, placed almost parallel below one another. The upper impression shows that the lower and upper border of the original cylinder was decorated with a horizontal row of simple lozenges, ever so slightly set off from the central frieze. This contains four animals which seem to march in a procession toward the right: first comes a he-goat, then a quadruped the disfigured head of which prevents its identification (sheep?, ram?), then there follows a lion with open mouth and typical outlines of body, and the file is closed by a young bull or calf with thin, awkward legs and no horns. The short spouts visible on the back of each animal characterize them unmistakably as zoomorphic vessels, being set up in a row. Parts of the lion and the following calf can be made out on the lower impression, which also hands down the larger gap separating these last two vessels, as in the upper impression. Possibly this interval marks the boundary of the composition, the originally intended order of the iconographic elements then being calf, he-goat, sheep/ram(?), and lion.

The question whether the original composition held more than those four vessels, must as yet remain open, though the assumption seems unlikely for reasons of proportion: the

¹For the exact finding spot see the plans *UVB XX* (1964) pl. 31, room 81; *UVB XXI* (1965) pl. 29. W 21 154,1 and W 21 166 (= IM 66 854) have the field photograph numbers W 10 287 and W 10 417 respectively. I apologize for the drawings used here.

cylinder would then have had the form of a disc. If the composition with four elements only may be considered complete, a circumference of the cylinder of ca. 7 cms can be derived from it, which in turn implies a diameter of ca. 2.2 cms. The height of the cylinder as it is preserved in the impression yields 2.3 cms. This almost cubic form fits well into the range of cylinder proportions current in the Djamdat-Nasr glyptic.

W 21 166 shows, in the remnants of two impressions, an identical division of the original cylinder and, in addition, such striking resemblances to W 21 154,1 in its iconography that one is tempted to presume that both creations are the work of the same seal-cutter. Again, the upper and lower border are decorated with a row of lozenges or diamonds; here, however, they are not massive, but formed by thin diagonal bars enclosing a central and hollow lozenge, and the triangular wedges were apparently likewise hollow. Here again, in the middle frieze zoomorphic vessels are depicted, but they face left: first, a plump and clumsy bird on thick legs, then a ram(?) with the pointed horns spread out horizontally on the background.² In the intervals between the zoomorphic vessels appear the well known emblems of the goddess Inanna, both facing left. The bit of the second impression just repeats a section of the diamond border.

Again it is doubtful whether those four iconographic elements represent the complete sequence of the original composition. If we assume this, the circumference of the cylinder was ca. 5.6 cms, its diameter consequently ca. 1.8 cms; the height of 2.9 cms can be taken from the impression.

In order to connect these two new glyptic creations of the Djamdat-Nasr period with a larger context, we can trace to other contemporary and relevant monuments on one side the ornamentation of the border, and the iconographic elements of the central frieze on the other.

Diamond patterns have been, since prehistoric times, and throughout the Uruk and Djamdat-Nasr periods down to the Early Dynastic era, a feature so current and favorite that their documentation seems here pointless. Both varieties, the massive as well as the one formed by diagonal crossing bars, appear continuously within the realms of vase painting, in the repertory of cone-mosaic decorations and their rendering on glyptic works, or of the incrustation technique. From the Djamdat-Nasr period, just a few examples may be cited, attesting their popularity in Eanna: the loose inlay-pieces³ and libation vessels of stone⁴ from the treasury of level IIIa, where such rows of lozenges occur two- or three-fold.

The iconographic subject of zoomorphic vessels, on the other hand, leads us into closest vicinity to a number of glyptic creations from the Djamdat-Nasr period which shall be discussed subsequently, and to the upper register of the celebrated alabaster vase⁵ from the treasury of level IIIa in Eanna. Thereby, our new pieces find themselves connected with a net of complex and entangled interrelations which deserves special attention.

²Cf. for instance the same rendering of the horns of the rams figuring in the third register of the alabaster vase from Uruk, found in the treasury of level IIIa in Eanna (Heinrich, *Kleinfunde* [1936] pls. 2, 3, 38; Strommenger/Hirmer, *5 Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* [1962] pls. 19-22); on the long sides of the trough in the British Museum (*BMQ* 3 [1938] pl. XXII; Strommenger/Hirmer, loc. cit. pl. 23); or on the so-called Preusser cylinder (VA 10 537: Moortgat, *VR* [1940] 87 nr. 29 pl. 5). Subsequently, the upper register of the Uruk vase will be cited by the siglum (O), the Preusser seal by (6). For obvious reasons, the bibliographical references in the notes are limited to a bare minimum.

³Cf. Heinrich, loc. cit. pl. 33c (VA 11 108: horizontal band with triangular wedges at upper and lower borders); also pl. 33a, b, i (VA 11 107, 11 109, 11 126: of these, 11 126 has been reconstructed as a horizontal band; the same could be done with the pieces of VA 11 107 and 11 109).

⁴W 14 819g in the lower horizontal frieze; W 14 722g, W 14 722h1 (Heinrich, loc. cit. pls. 26, 27a, b).

⁵See note 2.

Among the manifold objects and gifts represented on (0), we count: two emblems of Inanna, facing left; two big conical containers ("baskets"⁶) with ears of grain and fruit; two cubic objects framing them at the bottom; two slender vessels on high conical foot which appear to be representations of the alabaster vase itself,⁷ above the left basket; two flat plates or bowls on a low conical foot, with contents, being placed above the right basket; and on top of these two zoomorphic vessels facing left. First stands a ram as on W 21 166 and W 21 154,1(?), then a lion as on W 21 154,1. On two huge rams we have mounted the two-stepped platform on which two small persons are standing. Only the emblem of Inanna on the lower step of this platform, the object held by the highest standing person, the bull head facing left, and the enigmatic object resembling an oblong case with a flap, between the baskets, are given in the singular.

Whatever the exact meaning and the implications of this occurrence in pairs may have been,⁸ we find the same idea of composition applied to the friezes of W 21 166, two emblems of Inanna, two zoomorphic vessels as well as of W 21 154,1, twice two zoomorphic vessels, if indeed these compositions are complete.

Similar zoomorphic vessels can be seen on other glyptic works of the Djamdat-Nasr period: (1) The impression on a clay tablet⁹ shows in the lower register a vessel in the form of a young bull or calf as on W 21 154,1, facing right and having an emblem of Inanna in front of it (and a second one behind?); the upper, curved line and spout of a second vessel (fish?, bird?) is framed by two emblems of Inanna. The rest of the iconographic context, however, has nothing to do with (0). (2) On the cylinder in Dresden,¹⁰ two zoomorphic vessels are depicted, both facing right and representing quadrupeds. One of them, a goat (or gazelle:) is held in the lifted hands of the "priest-king"; the other, some kind of capride is placed above the pair of miniature Uruk vases. Here, the whole context of gifts, objects, and persons evokes explicitly the scene on (0). (3) Again placed above the pair of Uruk vases, we find a zoomorphic vessel on the cylinder W 15 415;¹¹ it is in the form of a bird like on W 21 166, but it faces right, and the bird has longer legs, a more elegant body, and a slim neck with raised head. As on (2), the other iconographic elements refer clearly back to (0).

With these examples the larger context, in which the isolated zoomorphic vessels on the sealings W 21 154,1 and W 21 166 must be seen and understood, becomes apparent.

By investigating in addition the occurrence of the two emblems of Inanna on W 21 166 throughout other relevant monuments, these relations gain substantially in evidence and diversification. Reaching from bottom to top as on (0), we find them on: (1) In the upper register; (2) —; (3) —; (4) Another cylinder¹² shows them in a similar context, facing left and preceding the stepped platform, mounted on a lion; (5) On a cylinder in the Newell

⁶The term is proposed by van Buren (*Afo* XIII [1939-1941] 32ff.).

⁷The existence of a second, identical vase is proved by the sculptured sherd VA 8792 (Heinrich, loc. cit. 17 pl. 4a) which duplicates a section from the upper register.

⁸Cf. van Buren, loc. cit., who proposes an appealing interpretation for the entire scene on (0). So does Moortgat, *Tammuz* (1949) 27ff.; we are, however, not concerned here with this aspect.

⁹Goff/Buchanan, *JNES* 15 (1956) 231ff. pls. XVIII-XIX (Goucher College Collection 869); Amiet, *GMA* (1961) pl. 48 bis A. Referred to subsequently as (1).

¹⁰Heidenreich, *ZA* 41 (1933) 200 ff. pl. I fig. 1; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 44 nr. 643. Subsequently (2).

¹¹Lenzen, *UVB* VII (1936) 25f. pl. 25e; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 650. Subsequently (3).

¹²Andrae, *Die Jonische Säule* (1933) pl. IVa; Schott, *UVB* V (1934) 52f. pl. 29b; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 46 nr. 654. Subsequently (4).

collection,¹³ they are facing right and placed behind the stepped platform, here mounted on a bull. (6) The Preusser cylinder¹⁴ which has again the pair of Uruk vases like on (0), shows them facing, or turning the back to, one another, a difference which may have had its special significance as it links up with antithetic and heraldic compositions.

Looking back, the allusions implied in the emblems of Inanna on W 21 166 to a broader background of contemporary compositions, have been multiplied.

The interrelations just observed reach, however, far beyond the two items which so far served as leitmotif. Presently, we shall follow up more of them, if but briefly, as an exhaustive study would unduly inflate this contribution.

The two flat plates on conical foot among the objects represented on (0) recur on a number of cylinders: (2) Next to one another. (4) One on top of the other. (7) On the cylinder Montserrat 15,¹⁵ only one is preserved, but a second one can be reconstituted with some certainty to the right beyond the break.

The two baskets are to be found on: (2) —. (3) Remnants of the foot seem to be discernible to the left of the preserved one. (7) Although one only has survived, the second can be supplemented safely to the right. They form the typical feature of a well known group of cylinders, all of which are connected with the treasury of Level IIIa in Eanna: (8) W 16 804 (IM 41 187).¹⁶ (0) W 14 819f.¹⁷ (10) W 14 772c 2.¹⁸ (11) BM 116 721.¹⁹ (12) W 14 778g.²⁰ (13) W 14 806p.²¹

Standing animal(s) bearing on their backs the stepped platform as on (0), have likewise found their way into a number of glyptic compositions: (4) Placed here on a lion facing left and half erect, the platform has three steps, is distinguished by two emblems of Inanna, and one person is standing on its top. (5) Here it is borne by a bull facing right, has two steps and two emblems of Inanna, but no person. (8) Again placed on a bull, but facing left, the platform is provided with four steps and two emblems of Inanna, but has no person. (14) W 14 772c 1²² shows the platform, two-stepped and with two emblems of Inanna, but without a person, set on a bull facing left. Here, however, it is put aboard a boat, bearing also a sort of shrine and the "priest-king" and manned by two persons. This peculiarity makes it a link to yet a different iconographic subject.

Even the isolated bull head on (0) has parallels in glyptic compositions of the former context: (2) Also showing a bull head? (4) Representing a lion's head?

Finally, the pair of representations of the Uruk vase itself can be traced from (0) into a few seal compositions of the same iconographic sphere: (2) —. (3) —. (7) —. (6) Here, and more clearly than the emblems of Inanna, they are the only iconographic element which points back to the collection of gifts and object depicted on (9). The rest of the scene is

¹³ Osten, *OIP* XXII (1934) nr. 22; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 46 nr. 653. Subsequently (5).

¹⁴ VA 10 537: Moortgat, *VR* (1940) 87 nr. 29 pl. 5; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 43 nr. 636 A-B. Subsequently (6).

¹⁵ Van Buren, loc. cit. 35 fig. 5; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 645. Subsequently (7).

¹⁶ Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 46 nr. 652. Subsequently (8).

¹⁷ Heinrich, loc. cit. 29 pl. 18c; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 647. Subsequently (9).

¹⁸ Heinrich, loc. cit. 29 pl. 18d; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 651. Subsequently (10).

¹⁹ Heinrich, loc. cit. 29 pl. 17d; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 649. Subsequently (11).

²⁰ Heinrich, loc. cit. 29 pl. 18a; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 646. Subsequently (12).

²¹ Heinrich, loc. cit. 29 pl. 18b; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 45 nr. 648. Subsequently (13).

²² VA 11 040: Heinrich, loc. cit. 28 pl. 17a; Moortgat, *VR* (1940) 87 nr. 30 pl. 6; Amiet, loc. cit. pl. 46 nr. 655. Subsequently (14).

reserved for another important iconographic subject of the Djamdat-Nasr period, the "priest-king" feeding animals, which lies beyond our consideration.

Recalling the group of cylinders and impressions just studied as a whole, there can be little doubt that they are, by inspiration as well as by composition, related to the upper register of the Uruk vase, in each case distinctly, by one or more typical features, but changing and varying in particulars, constellation, and completeness. Not one of them, though, is more furnished than the corresponding scene on (0). Speaking in terms of literature, they all contain more or less abbreviated references to the Uruk vase, they quote from it, with typical catch words. So evident is this intention, so close the artistic dependence, that there are good reasons to assume that these particular seals have been cut in full cognizance, if not on the model, of this very frieze of the Uruk vase. This by itself is a remarkable phenomenon: I know of no other instance where Mesopotamian seal cutters practically copied from another work of quite a different kind.

Moreover, this phenomenon raises the question for what exact purpose these particular seals have been made. Of course, they could—like any other cylinder—fulfill the usual functions of a seal within a given economic system, although the common denominator for goods and/or objects to be secured by them seems difficult to establish. W 21 154,1 and W 21 166, as well as (1) prove, nevertheless, that at least some of them have actually been used for sealing. They might at the same time be considered the seals of a number of "priest-kings," as he himself figures on most of them: (2), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10), (11), (12), (13), and (14). But then again, if they represent the official or personal cylinders of a person of invariably and essentially the same social rank, it is not easily intelligible why they should be so difficult in detail, in the selection of constitutional elements, and in composition, unless some kind of chronological differentiation were involved. To the various possibilities of explaining such variations within a given iconographic subject which I proposed lately,²³ I venture to add here a new one: Is it conceivable that these seals have been created for special occasions, i.e., in this case when the all-important event depicted on the upper register of the Uruk vase took place again, when the corresponding ritual was reiterated, be it annually or for instance with the advent of a new "priest-king"? Could they represent some kind of commemorative seals?

²³ *FAOS* 3 (1979) 96ff.

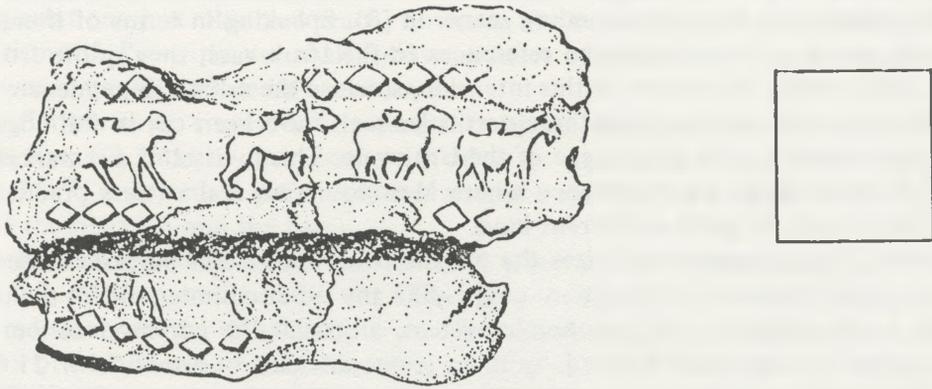


Fig. 1. W 21 154,1 (size 1:1)

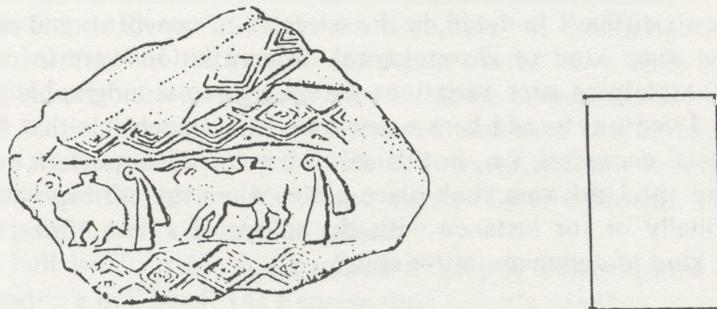


Fig. 2. W 21 166 (size 1:1)

THE GREEN JASPER CYLINDER SEAL WORKSHOP

Dominique Collon

Kunukki ašpû šūquru aban šarrūtu

“... a seal made of precious jasper, the royal stone.”¹

Edith Porada was my supervisor when I wrote my PhD dissertation on *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*.² This formed the basis for two articles I have written since, in which I have attempted to isolate the work of two different seal cutters or workshops operating in Syria in the late 18th to 17th centuries B.C.³ The present study deals with yet another workshop though this one probably did not operate in North Syria. It is with great affection that I dedicate this article to Edith Porada who did so much to stimulate my interest in the whole question of workshops.

* * *

Syrian cylinder seals of the first part of the 2nd millennium B.C. are almost invariably made of haematite. A very few, scattered throughout different collections, are made of green jasper.⁴ If, however, the green jasper seals are grouped together, it becomes evident that most of them⁵ are related not only by subject matter but by style. They probably originated in one workshop which I propose to call the Green Jasper Workshop, though not all its products were, in fact, made of that material. The following is a catalog of the seals I have been able to locate.⁶ The drawings are not to scale but the photographs are

¹ CAD “jaspu”—the quotation dates to the reign of Nabonidus.

² AOAT 27 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975).

³ “La glyptique hourrite d’Alalakh” in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XXXVI (1978), pp. 35-41; “The Aleppo Workshop—a Seal-Cutters’ Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the 18th Century B.C.” in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 13 (1982), pp. 33-43. The Middle Chronology is used throughout.

⁴ Nos. 14 and 17 have been examined by experts; for the other seals I have had to rely on the published information, but green jasper is a distinctive stone. I have been able to examine Nos. 1, 12, 14 and 19. An identical stone, used for the later Tharos scarabs in the British Museum, has been analyzed as jasper.

⁵ Two seals in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Nos. 451 and 495) are made of jasper (only one specifically described as green), and there is one green jasper seal in the Newell Collection (No. 314—poorly illustrated and not rephotographed in the Yale catalog); all three are Syrian of the 18th century B.C. but do not belong to our group. Another green jasper seal in the De Clercq Collection is Egyptianizing but is not otherwise related to our group (No. 387).

⁶ Many of these were grouped together on the basis of style by W. A. Ward, “Un cylindre syrien inscrit de la deuxième période intermédiaire” in *Syria* XLII (1965), pp. 35-44 and Pl. V.

reproduced 2:1;⁷ a black dot beside the number indicates that the seal was made of green jasper.⁸

1. University College, London: UC 11616 (Petrie Collection). Dark green jasper. 2.95 x 1.5 cms.
W. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), Pl. XIX:14; H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), p. 92 Fig. 6; idem., *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), p. 259; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:3 and p. 41 n. 4. All previously published photographs were made from a negative impression and therefore show the seal reversed.
The figure on the left is a king and the name in the cartouche can be read *h'ndy*.
2. Beirut, private collection. Green jasper. 1.5 x 0.7 cms.
W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:1 and p. 35ff.
The cartouche is inscribed *r'n'nb*. Ward suggests that he might be a prince of Byblos or of some other locality in Syria or Palestine; a similar name occurs on several scarabs.
3. Tell Beit Mirsim, Palestine. Haematite. 1.95 x 1.0 cms.
B. Parker, *Iraq* XI (1949), No. 20; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:2 and p. 41 n. 3 where references are given to other publications.
The hieroglyphs on the right can be read *hest*, may you be praised; the other hieroglyphs and the cuneiform and pseudo-cuneiform signs are filling motifs. From Stratum E (17th century B.C.).
4. De Clercq No. 389. Green jasper. 2.0 x 1.0 cms.
De Clercq, p. 219 and Pl. 35; H. Frankfort, *JEA* 12 (1926), p. 92 Fig. 7; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:4 and p. 41 n. 5.
Some of the hieroglyphs can be read as *hr*, contentment, and *rn*, a personal name.
5. Poros, Crete: HM 2347. Green jasper. 2.1 x 1.05 cms.
A. Lebessi, *Praktika* 1967, Pl. 192 α and γ , p. 208; V. E. G. Kenna, *Kretika Kronika* 21/2 (1969), pp. 351-364 esp. 358ff. and Figs. 3-6; E. Møller, "A revaluation of the Oriental Cylinder Seals found in Crete" in *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean* (Jan G. P. Best and Nanny M. W. de Vries, eds., Amsterdam, 1980), Seal No. 5, pp. 95-96 and Pls. in Vol. 2.
Found with MM IIIB pottery, c. 1600 B.C. Said to be unfinished.

⁷I am grateful to Mr. Peter Dorrell for printing photographs of Nos. 1, 4, and 13, and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce No. 23.

⁸I have personally examined Nos. 1, 12, 14, 19, 23 and the impressions of Nos. 4, 11, 20, 15, and 21 (for the last two, these are all that survive). The Assistant Curator of the Petrie Collection, Miss Rosalind Hall, kindly allowed me to make a new impression of seal No. 1 and Dr. Geoffrey Martin, the Curator, gave me permission to publish it. I wish to thank them both. I am most grateful to M. Pierre Amiet for examining No. 11 for me and for supplying me with an impression and the permission to publish it. I also wish to thank Mr. A. Rawlinson for permission to publish No. 12, Dr. Othmar Keel for allowing me to study No. 15 and the jasper seal referred to in note 10 below, Miss Beatrice Teissier for information concerning No. 17, the owner for allowing me to examine No. 19, the staff of the Greek and Roman Department in the British Museum for their help in connection with No. 23, and Miss Carole Andrews and Mr. Christopher Walker for dealing, respectively, with Egyptian motifs and hieroglyphs and with the cuneiform inscriptions.

6. Kition, Cyprus: T. 9/205. Hard black stone (jasper?). 2.47 x 1.38 cms.
V. E. G. Kenna and V. Karageorghis, "Four cylinder seals from Kition" in *Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici* 3 (1967), pp. 93-96 and Figs. 1-4 esp. Fig. 2 pp. 95-96; E. Porada, "Two cylinder seals from Tomb 9 at Kition" in V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs* (Nicosia, 1974), Appendix V, pp. 163-164, Fig. 1 and Pl. XCII (N.B. the "caption" under Fig. 1 is, in fact, the heading for the description of the second seal).
The tomb belongs to the 13th century B.C.
7. Tell el-'Ajjul, Palestine. Haematite. 1.8 x 0.8 cms.
W. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* III (London, 1933), Pl. III:37; B. Parker, *Iraq* XI (1949), No. 18; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:6 and p. 42 n. 2.
The hieroglyphs in the cartouche read *nik3r'* and this name also occurs on scarabs. In front of the figure's face is the hieroglyphic determinative for animal (part of a cow's skin with the tail hanging down).
8. Tell el-'Ajjul, Palestine. Black steatite. 2.1 x 1.0 cms.
W. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza* III (London, 1933), Pl. VIII:6 and p. 5; B. Parker, *Iraq* XI (1949), No. 28; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:9 and p. 42 n. 6.
Found in the so-called Governor's Tomb of the XVIIIth-XIXth Dynasties.
9. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum (ex Palestine Museum): J.1094. Grey stone. 2.2 x 1.0 cms.
B. Parker, *Iraq* XI (1949), No. 178; W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:8 and p. 42 n. 5.
10. Newell Collection No. 318 = Yale No. 1259. Dark green jasper with remains of a copper pin in the perforation. 2.3 x 1.3 cms.
W. A. Ward, *Syria* XLII (1965), Pl. V:7 and p. 42 n. 4.
11. Louvre: A.906. Haematite (not serpentine). 2.1 x 1.2 cms.
L. Delaporte, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux II – Acquisitions* (Paris, 1923), Pl. 96:3.
The first line of the cuneiform inscription is garbled and a small animal resembling the Seth animal on No. 6 seems to have been added at the end of it. The second line reads *na-ra-am* ^diškur, servant of the Weather god.
12. Private collection. Green jasper. Height 2.1 cms.
This seal belonged to Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, the great Assyriologist. The cuneiform inscription read:
- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| kišib ^m i ^h a-si-am-ia-pa- <i>ha-at</i> | Seal of Hasiam-iapahat, |
| <i>na-ram-ti</i> | beloved |
| ^d a-ši-ir-tum | of Aširtum. |
- The lady's name is presumably west Semitic while Aširtum is probably to be identified with Athirat, the wife of El in the Ugaritic mythological texts.
13. Bibliothèque Nationale No. 485. Green jasper. 1.5 x 0.9 cms.
14. Brett Collection No. 80 = Institut Biblique, Fribourg, Switzerland, No. 211 (ex Schmidt Collection No. 160). Green jasper. 2.3 x 1.2 cms.

The first line of the cuneiform inscription is too worn to be legible; the second reads *na-ra-am* ^diškur, servant of the Weather god. Note that the inscription is reversed on the impression.

15. Alaiakh impression No. 161. Height 1.8 cms.

D. Collon, *AOAT* 27 (1975).

The cuneiform inscription reads:

| | |
|---|--------------------|
| ^m <i>Zi-im-ra-a</i> [n] | Zimra-ilum |
| gemé <i>la-pa-aḥ</i> - ^d iškur | wife of Iapaḥ-addu |
| <i>na-ra-am-ti</i> | beloved |
| ^d nin-ē-gal | of Ninegal. |

The owner was identified by Sidney Smith as the wife of Iapaḥ-addu, a general of Iamḥad mentioned both in the Mari and the Chagar Bazar archives (*Anatolian Studies* VI, pp. 36 and 41).

16. Bibliothèque Nationale No. 418. Green jasper. 1.8 x 1.0 cms.

17. Private Collection (ex Marcopoli Collection, Aleppo). Green jasper. Not illustrated.

The seal is divided into ten vertical panels by thin incised lines. (1) Two rows of linked spirals like those on No. 15. (2) Four birds as on No. 16. (3) Four couchant antelopes with horns shown frontally. (4, 8, 10) Three quadrupeds in the attitude of the stags on No. 16; 4 and 8 are antelopes, and 10, stags. (5) Stylized plants resembling those on No. 3. (6) Two fish and a hybrid lion-fish (?). (7) Couchant antelopes with vertical horns as on No. 16. (9) A bounding feline pursuing two fleeing quadrupeds. There can be no doubt that this seal was made by the same craftsman as No. 16; however, the animals use the right edge of the panel as a base line.

18. Byblos. Lapis lazuli with gold mount. Height 2.6 cms.

M. Chéhab, "Un trésor d'orfèvrerie syro-égyptien," in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* I (1937), p. 11 No. 20 and Figs. 2-4.

The treasure is homogeneous and contains XIth Dynasty objects, including a pectoral with the name of Ammenemes III (1842-1797).

19. Private European Collection. Green jasper. 1.55 x 0.9 cms. Not illustrated.

Divided into five vertical panels by thin incised lines. (1) A running-spiral not unlike that on No. 5. (2) Two monkeys. (3) Three ducks. (4) Two antelopes. (5) Two hares. The animals are like those on No. 4.

20. Kelekian Collection No. 89. Material ? (not seen). Height 1.3 cms. Not illustrated.

Divided into four vertical panels by thin incised lines. A stylized plant resembling those on Nos. 3 and 17; three pairs of horned quadrupeds resembling those on Nos. 4 and 19 most closely.

21. Alalakh impression No. 155. Max. surviving height 1.2 cms.

D. Collon, *AOAT* 27 (1975).

22. Carthage. Hard green stone (jasper?) set in gold. 2.35 x 1.3 cms.

P. Amiet, "Cylindres-sceaux orientaux trouvés à Carthage" in *Cahiers de Byrsa* V (1955), Pl. I and No. 1, p. 11ff.

Found in a Punic tomb of the 7th-6th centuries B.C. in the Douimès necropolis.

23. Klavdia, Cyprus. Haematite. 2.5 x 1.35 cms.

H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of engraved gems and cameos Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London, 1926), No. 112; V. E. G. Kenna, *Catalogue of the Cypriote Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XX:3, Göteborg, 1971)*, No. 37.

* * *

The compositional similarities of the first nine seals hardly need stressing. All show two or three figures, generally a combination of figures wearing a short, horizontally ridged kilt, Egyptianizing figures and, more rarely, figures in a type of dress which was current in Syria from the 18th to the 15th centuries B.C., at least for royalty. Egyptianizing filling motifs and animals are scattered throughout the field and a cartouche is often included (Nos. 1, 2, 11, and 13). The terminals, ruled as for a cuneiform inscription, generally contain a vertical guilloche and a row of animals. The features of these terminals are also found on Nos. 22 and 23 and, as the exclusive design, on Nos. 16-21. In the case of No. 13, a cartouche fills the inscription panel and, exceptionally, a seated figure appears, while in No. 10, one of the vertical panels has been replaced by an additional figure. In the case of Nos. 11 and 12, cuneiform inscriptions fill the vertical panels but they are no longer the terminals of the scene, while on Nos. 14 and 15 the design which accompanies the cuneiform inscription is non-figurative.

Another stylistic feature which links most of these seals is the way the animals are depicted: the neck and body form one line, extending into the tail and curving over the haunch which is a separate drill-hole. In the case of birds, the neck line curves under the wing and body. This is so distinctive of this group that when it occurs, the seal is likely to be made of green jasper and conversely, green jasper seals generally have birds and animals shown in this "segmented" way. One other group of seals shows this feature: the foremost representative of it is Newell No. 348 (= Yale 1256) and other stylistic features are present on both groups of seals (e.g. the sphinx on the Newell seal and on other seals in that group resemble the sphinx on No. 4 and, to a lesser degree, on No. 22). Some of these seals have been grouped together by Schaeffer and attributed to a North Syrian workshop.⁹ However all these seals, with but one exception, are made of haematite; the one exception is made of green jasper and provides the link between the two workshops.¹⁰

The techniques developed in the Green Jasper Workshop seem to have enabled craftsmen to produce effective designs relatively easily. The work was carried out on a small scale since seventeen of the seals are between 1.8 and 2.6 cms high with an average height of 2.15 cms. One is rather larger (No. 1 at 2.95 cms) and five are only 1.3 to 1.55 cms high (Nos. 2, 13, and 19-21). One fluid, undulating line would produce the frame for an animal or bird and when these were arranged in a row, the design acquired a certain rhythm. The guilloche is particularly skillfully executed around central dots (see Nos. 2, 4, 18, and 21-23). No. 1 is differentiated not only by its large size but also by the excessive linearity of the style and the elongated guilloche (see Pls. 22-3 and compare No. 1 with Nos. 4 and 23). Monkeys are a frequent filling motif (Nos. 3, 4-7, 11-13, 19, 22, and 23—these last two are particularly close in style), and ankhs are often shown (Nos. 1-6, 11, 13, 21(?), 22, and

⁹"Le cylindre A 357 de Chagar Bazar" in *Iraq XXXVI* (1974), pp. 223-228.

¹⁰Institut Biblique, Fribourg, Switzerland, No. 129, ex Schmidt Collection No. 156.

23—note particularly the “outline” type—Nos. 2, 4, and 11). Sphinxes occur on Nos. 4, 18, 21, and 22, and that on No. 4 is, as mentioned above, particularly close to some from the North Syrian Workshop.

Few of the seals come from datable contexts. The earliest is No. 18, c. 1800 B.C. No. 15 belongs to the first half of the 18th century B.C., No. 21 is 18th to 17th century, No. 3 is 17th century, No. 5, c. 1600 B.C., Nos. 6 and 8, 13th century, and No. 22, 7th to 6th century B.C. The seals are therefore spread over a period of more than a millennium. If we examine the earliest dated seals it becomes apparent that they differ from the main body of seals. Nos. 14 and 15 bear linked spirals related to those on Nos. 5, 10, 16, 17, and 19, but are otherwise unlike the other seals; Nos. 18 and 21 are probably contemporary. However, neither they, nor Nos. 16 and 17, show the distinctive “segmented” animals which appear on the closely related seals, Nos. 19 and 20, though the birds on Nos. 16 and 17 are “segmented,” and the animals on Nos. 22 and 23 are closely comparable in attitude and are “segmented.” We would suggest, therefore, a progression, within the Green Jasper Workshop, from seals of the 18th century B.C. with rows of animals alternating with guilloches, cut in green jasper and lapis lazuli, to more elaborate but less ordered compositions such as Nos. 1-13 in the 17th century B.C. The “segmented” style of carving, already used for birds on Nos. 16 and 17 was probably developed for animals during the 18th century and seals such as Nos. 19, 20, 22, and 23 probably illustrate this stage in development.

The seals found in later contexts are probably survivals from the 18th and 17th centuries B.C. Amiet has already argued for an 18th century date for No. 22 and has used as evidence some of the seals cataloged here. No. 8 is extremely worn and was probably an old seal when it was buried. No. 6 is likely also to have been a survival. The Set animal was particularly popular under the Hyksos in the 17th century B.C.,¹¹ the multiple guilloche is a more elaborate version of that on No. 16, and the monkeys can be paralleled on a decorated EB IV fenestrated bronze axe from Byblos and on an Old Babylonian cylinder seal.¹² The differences in technique listed above might indicate that No. 1 is the latest in the series.¹³

The products of the Green Jasper Workshop deserve attention for yet another reason: a remarkable number of them are provenanced. The map indicates the sites where the cataloged seals were found. In addition, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, and 17 come from collections which were built up in Syria and Palestine. The distribution and the subject matter of the seals would seem to indicate that the workshop was situated in a coastal site in close touch with Egypt: perhaps Byblos. Byblos would not only explain the strong Egyptian element in the seal designs, but would also account for the dissemination of the Cypriote, Cretan, and Carthaginian examples. The green jasper may even have been imported from Egypt. Its rarity as a material for ancient Near Eastern artifacts makes it improbable that it was easily

¹¹P. E. Newberry, “The pig and the cult animal of Set” in *JEA* 14 (1928), pp. 211-225, esp. 217ff., identifies the animal as a feral swine. Cf. his Fig. 5—a Middle Kingdom monument from Lisht with an animal in a similar posture, with the same tail. See also A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (London, 1957), Sign List No. E 20.

¹²M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II* (Paris, 1950ff.), No. 10823, p. 391 Fig. 422 and Pl. LXXVIII; H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), Pl. XXVIIIb.

¹³Some seals have not been included in this catalogue because I do not consider that they were the products of the Green Jasper Workshop even though they are related as regards subject matter. They may be later and may well have been inspired by our seals. A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940), Nos. 547 and 548; G. A. Eisen, *Ancient oriental and other seals with a description of the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore* (*OIP* XLVII, Chicago, 1940), No. 180; B. Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1966), No. 905; H. Frankfort, op. cit., Pl. XLIVu.

available locally.¹⁴ This would be an additional reason for locating the Green Jasper Workshop in Byblos. The south Palestinian examples, none of which is made of jasper and none of which has a guilloche (but see No. 7 for an apology for one), might be the work of a seal cutter who moved from the Green Jasper Workshop and settled in the south. The North Syrian Workshop referred to above may have been a similar offshoot, but that is another story.¹⁵

Abbreviations

Bibliothèque Nationale = L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910).

Brett Collection = H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett* (*OIP* XXXVII, Chicago, 1936).

De Clercq Collection = L. De Clercq and J. Ménant, *Catalogue raisonné des antiquités assyriennes I – Cylindres orientaux* (Paris, 1888).

Newell Collection = H. H. von der Osten, *Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell* (*OIP* XXII, Chicago, 1934).

Yale = B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New Haven and London, 1981).

Addendum

24. Jonathan P. Rosen Collection, New York. Obsidian. 2.4 cms.
The cuneiform inscription is reversed on the impression (cf. No. 14). It is probably to be read:

kišib ia-uš-^diškur
lugal bu-zu-?-ra-an

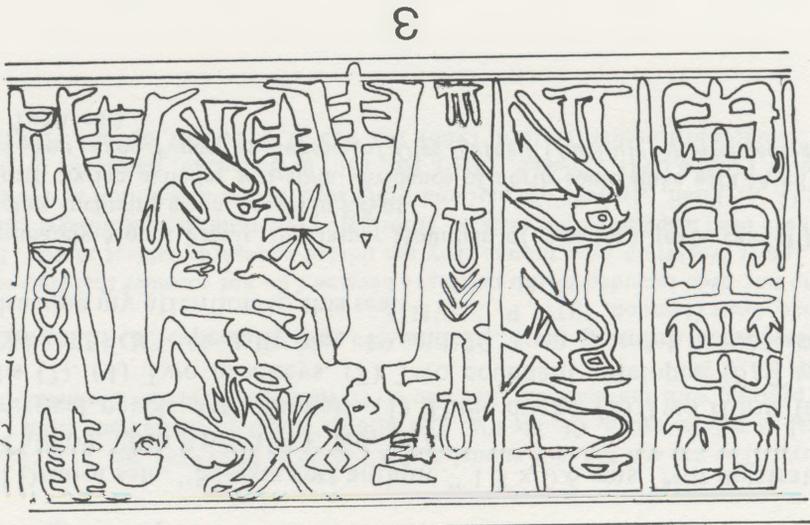
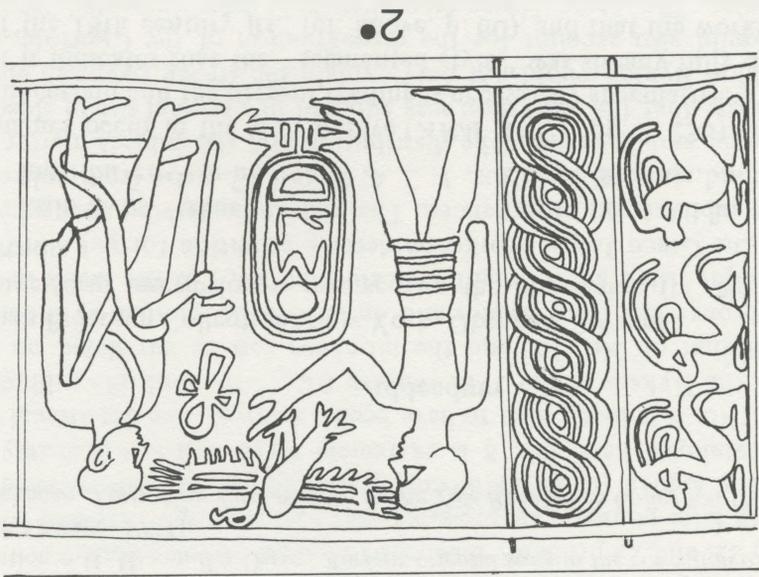
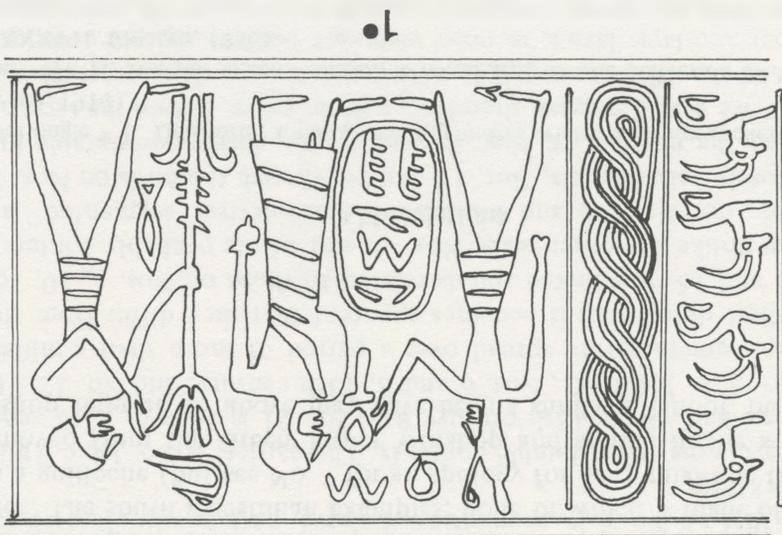
Seal of Ia'uš-Addu,
king of Buzuran.

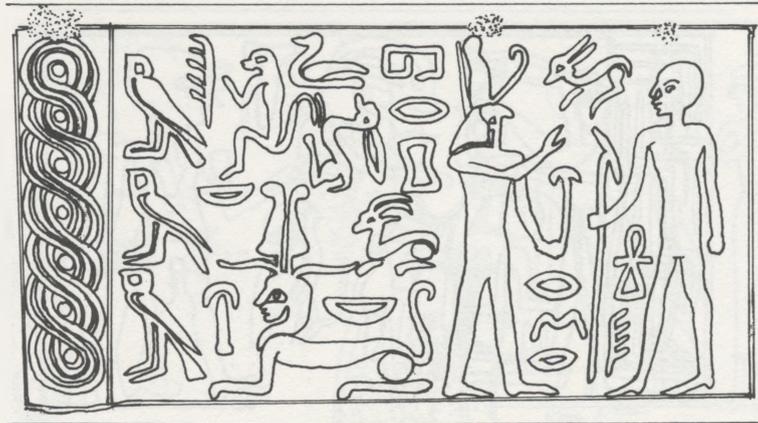
Both names occur in the Mari archive (*ARM* XVI/1 pp. 9, 236); the location of Buzuran is uncertain and the present reading is necessarily speculative. This seal is important in that it indicates that the “segmented style” was already fully developed in the first half of the 18th century B.C. (cf. above, p. 60), and that the workshop specialized not only in jasper but in other unusual materials. I am extremely grateful to Mr. Rosen for allowing me to publish this seal.

25. Hôtel Drouot sale. “Schiste vert antique.” 1.3 x 0.6 cms. Not illustrated.
Sale Catalog, 20th April 1964, No. 107.
Six vertical panels with animals. (1) Three ducks. (2) Two Horus falcons. (3) Hieroglyphs (?). (4) Two monkeys. (5) Two couchant antelopes. (6) Two couchant hares and an ankh. Cf. especially Nos. 19 and 20. I am grateful to Professor W. G. Lambert for drawing my attention to this seal.

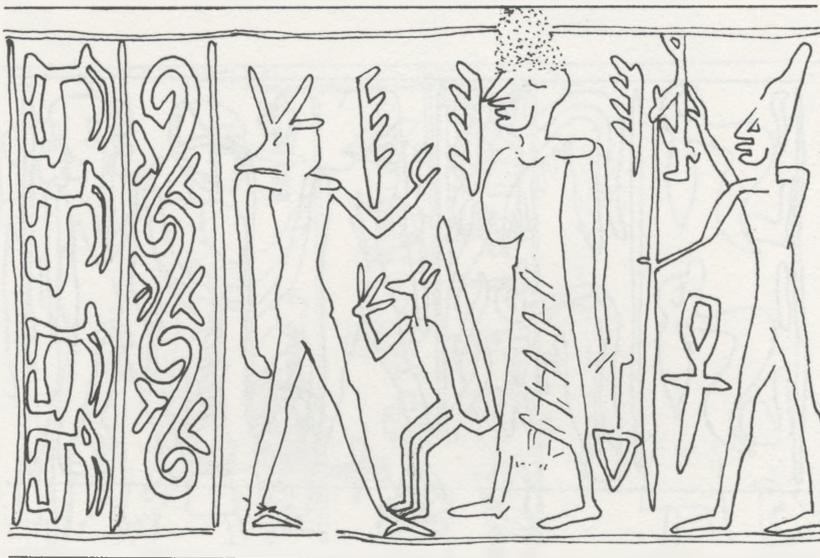
¹⁴ Unfortunately Mount Zimur, the Jasper Mountain of cuneiform texts, cannot be located. Jasper of several varieties, including green, occurs in Egypt.

¹⁵ “A North Syrian cylinder seal style: Evidence of north-south links with ‘Ajjul’ in *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Ages—Papers in honour of Olga Tufnell* (*Institute of Archaeology Occasional Papers* 1985, J. N. Tubb, ed.).

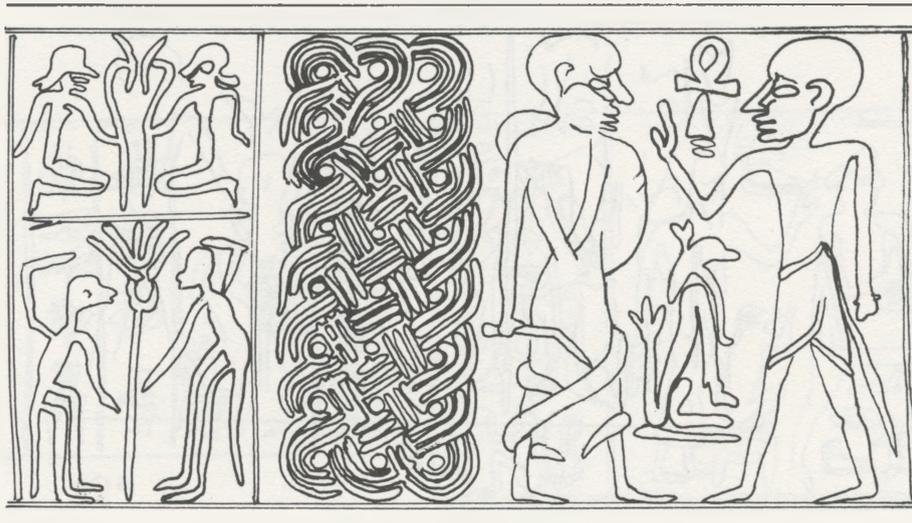




4•

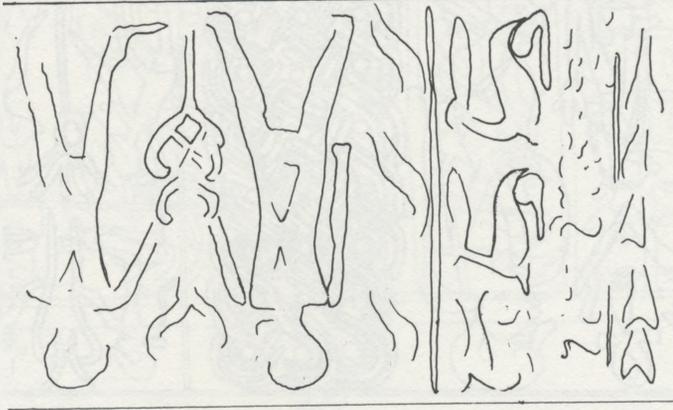


5•

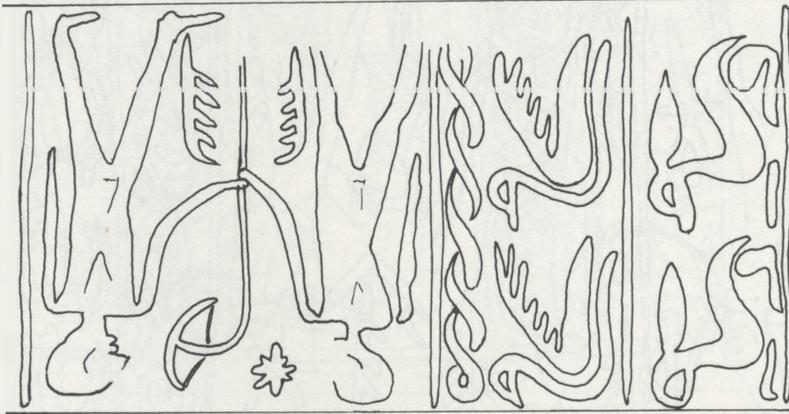


6•?

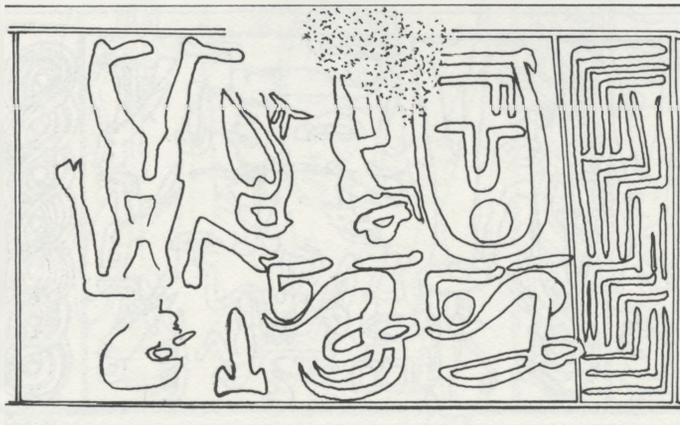
6

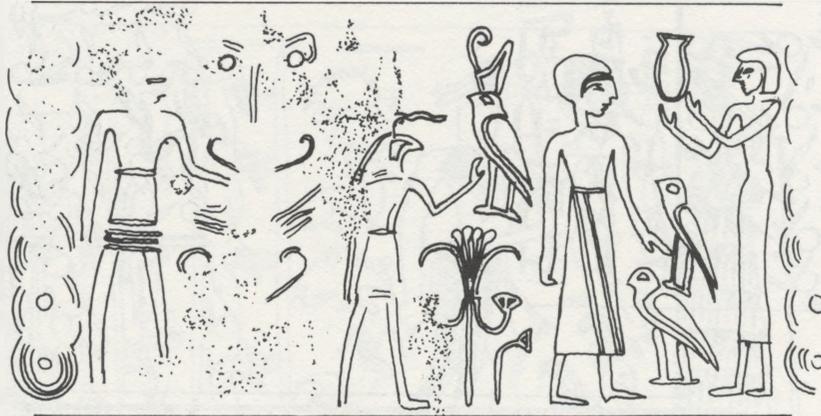


8

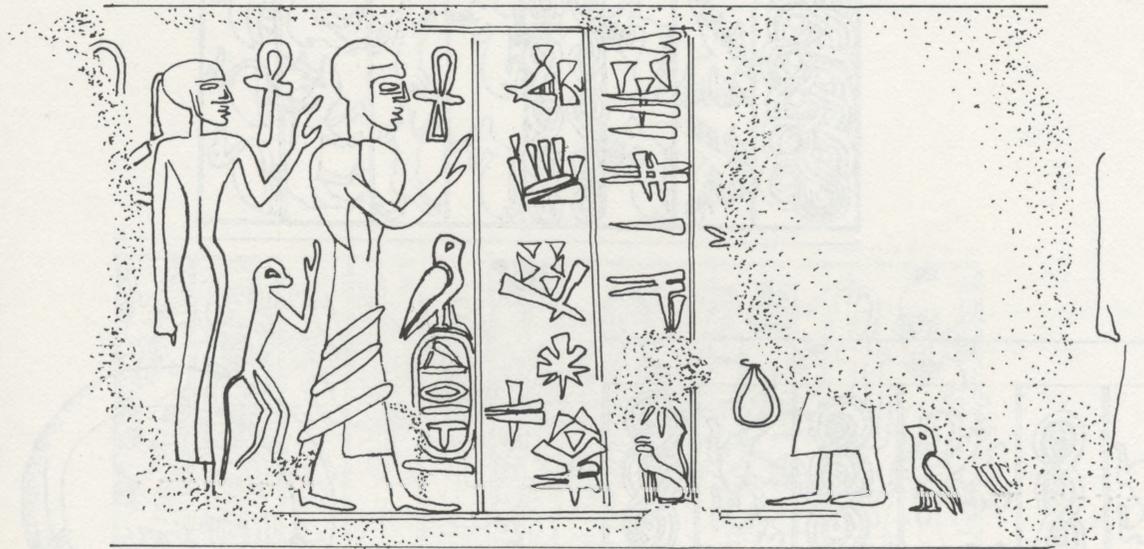


7

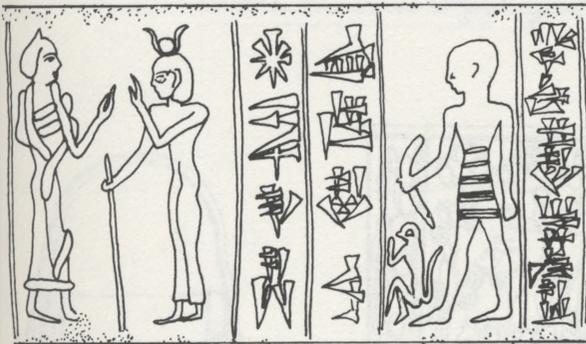




10°



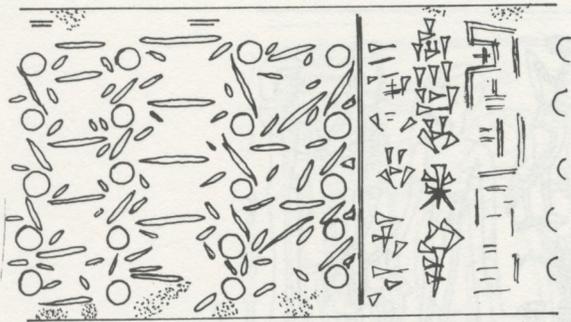
11



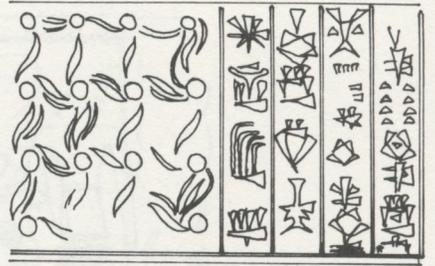
12°



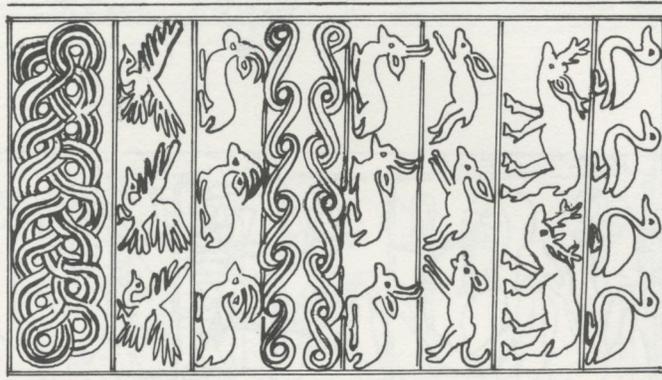
13°



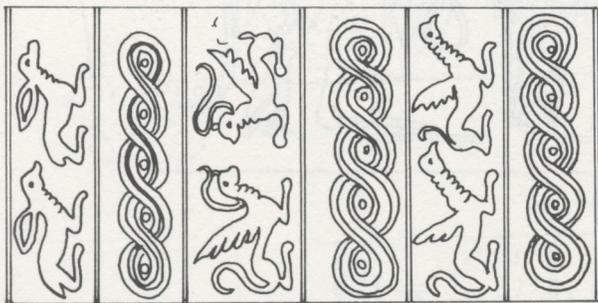
14•



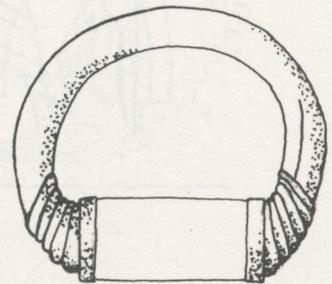
15



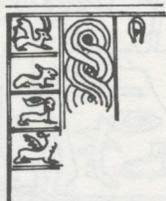
16•



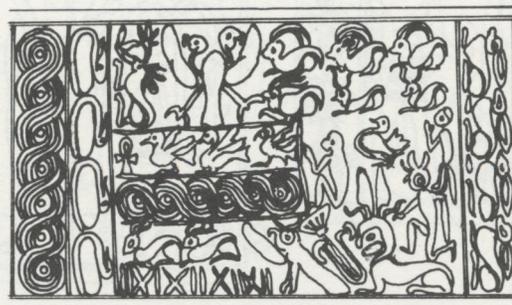
18



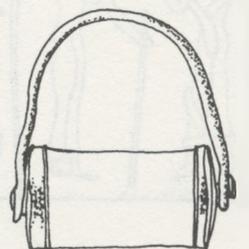
18



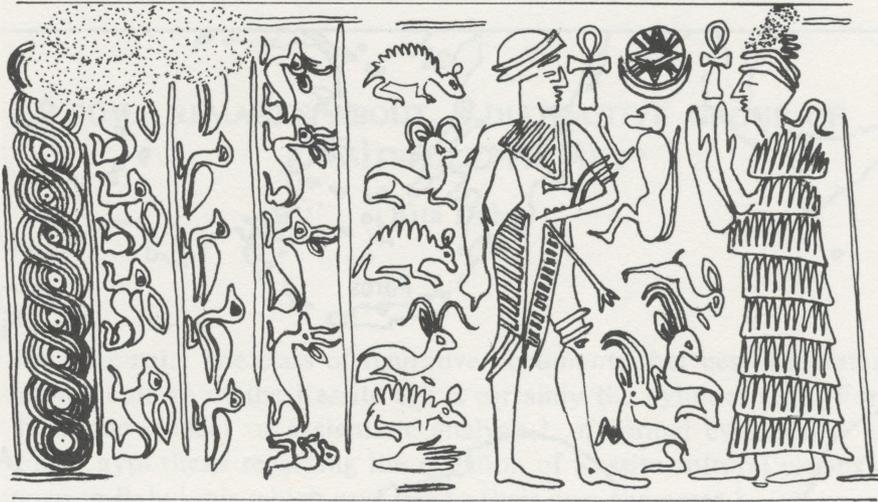
21



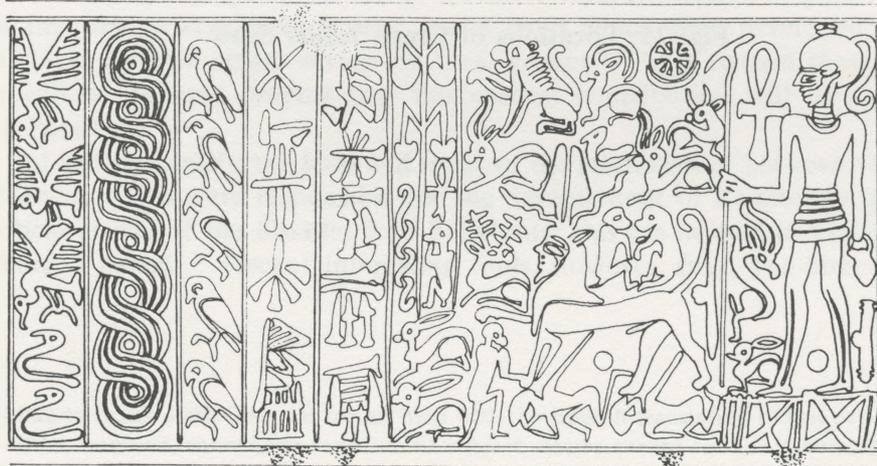
22•



22



23



24



Fig. 25. Locations of Green Jasper Seals.

SOME REMARKS ABOUT A DISTINCTIVE GROUP OF KASSITE GLYPTIC ART*

Rita Dolce

Besides the kudurru,¹ the class of figurative documents that best illustrates the distinctive and complex culture of the Kassite age is certainly the cylinder seals. For a long time they have been the subject of systematic analysis,² of formal evaluation³ and more recently, of a new hypothesis regarding the question of Kassite cultural origins and of those features foreign to Babylonia which gave rise to their own character.⁴

However, there are many Kassite cylinder seals which still remain unclear as to their relationship to Old Babylonian glyptic, and consequently, to their own place as a group of "early" or "proto-Kassite" cylinder seals.⁵ The position of Kassite glyptic in the cultural development of Mesopotamia is to be seen in connection with new external powers such as the Hurrians and Hittites, and especially with the cultural heritage of first the Mitanni and later the Assyrian Periods.⁶

In order to discover the true position of Kassite formal expression in their cylinder seals, we should first try to verify the artistic stages from which they developed, and then to verify the single stylistic stages shown by "seal groups":⁷ it is toward these matters that this paper will be directed, hoping that this modest contribution will be appreciated by Prof. Edith Porada.

We are not able to clarify the level and range of the relationships between the various external influences which were responsible for the development of Kassite glyptic before the actual political arrival of the Kassites into Babylonia; this can be seen in a recent statement by Prof. Porada herself.⁸ Recent interesting finds, however, from Tell Subeidi, northeast

*I would like to thank Mark Chavalas for his help with the English translation of this paper.

¹These works, however, show little variation of subject matter except for the increasing abstraction of divine symbols.

²Herzfeld, *AMI* 8 (1937), pp. 103-170; Herzfeld, *AMI* 9 (1938), pp. 1-79; Beran, *AfO* 18 (1958), pp. 255-278.

³Van Buren, *Or* 23 (1954), pp. 1-39; Porada, *Archaeologica Orientalia*, pp. 179-187.

⁴Moortgat/Moortgat-Correns, *AfO* 23 (1970), pp. 101-103; Malecka, *Berytus* 26 (1978), pp. 27-35; Trokay, *Akkadica* 21 (1981), pp. 14-47.

⁵This was noted quite a while ago by Moortgat, *Rollsiegel*, p. 54.

⁶In this regard the most precise observations seem to be those of Porada, *Archaeologica Orientalia*, pp. 181-182, and Beran, *AfO* 18 (1958), p. 268.

⁷Even if Beran has noted the flexibility of such a classification (*AfO* 18 [1958], p. 260), many Kassite seals and seal impressions, because of their different styles and subject matter, cannot be ranged in the proposed three groups. This leads us to verify the extent of stylistic change in such groups of works.

⁸Porada, *Ancient Art*, p. 12.

of the Diyala, have shown some Kassite style seal impressions which certainly allow for new evaluations.⁹

The most important and pertinent aspects that show us the different trend in glyptic art have come from our research on cylinder seals and seal impressions. Some of these works certainly belong to the Kassite age, while others are only assumed to belong to this age.¹⁰ In this work, we will concentrate our study on some items coming from private collections¹¹ and from excavations,¹² attempting to distinguish them by their inner attributes and to ascribe them to a homogeneous group.¹³

The cylinder seals treated here will allow us to see a distinctive group within Kassite glyptic production, and to verify the existence of a specific mode of expression which has previously been remarked on (Ills. 1-9).¹⁴

Cylinder Seals and Seal Impressions¹⁵

1. De Clercq, *Catalogue*, no. 251.

Cylinder seal; hematite. There are three human figures. The one on the right is to be identified as a god. Cuneiform inscription on two columns. The typical introduction scene is only superficially like the Sumero-Babylonian models. It shows simple relations between the figures, each alone in an empty space. The anatomical proportions, which have been shortened, give a strong alteration of image and face profile.

2. De Clercq, *Catalogue*, no. 252.

Cylinder seal; hematite. There are three human figures. The one on the right is to be identified as a god, probably Sin, because of the crescent above. Standing quadruped (dog?) and a pole with four balls arranged symmetrically at the sides. Cuneiform inscription in two columns. The meeting of a believer with his god is held in front of another deity, with the quadruped obstructing the view.¹⁶ This "dissolves" the primary ideological and figurative closeness. The form and proportional relationships reflect the aim of the carver to show an unnatural reduction of body parts, as well as an evident "sharpness" of all outlines.

⁹Boehmer, *BaM* 12'(1981), pp. 71-81.

¹⁰The provenience mostly from museum collections, except no. 9, could indeed make us question the pertinence of these seals to the Kassite age, since they differ from traditional examples already known.

¹¹Cylinder seals, nos. 1-8.

¹²Seal impression no. 9.

¹³We have shown elsewhere some distinctive pieces of this group. Dolce, *Some Remarks*, passim, figs. 1-6. The following seals and seal impressions are better in type and quality than the ones already indicated.

¹⁴Dolce, *Some Remarks*, passim.

¹⁵The order used here for listing and commentary on the seals is one of chronological appearance in the bibliography. For specific data regarding every seal or seal impression, see the relative bibliography.

¹⁶The identification of this element is not certain. The stylization here does not indeed correspond either to the "mace" with balls, nor to the tree of Nuzi glyptic, nor to the Kirkuk style standard. The combination with the dog shows, anyway, a Kassite interpretation of a foreign symbol. We recall that on a Nuzi seal impression (Nuzi 736) there is a standing quadruped similar to the one of our seal, but the bad condition of the piece does not allow us to know if it was combined with a similar pole. Porada, *XX RAI*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 12.

3. De Clercq, *Catalogue*, no. 259.
Cylinder seal; green jasper. A praying or greeting human figure is evident. Cuneiform inscription on six columns. The typical setting of the "first group" of cylinder seals¹⁷ is again seen according to the spatial characters and tendencies already remarked for other cylinder seals^{17a} and for nos. 1-2.
4. Delaporte, *Catalogue*, no. 296; Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, no. 514.
Cylinder seal; striped sardonyx. A human figure, praying or greeting, with a maltese cross above. Cuneiform inscription in nine columns. The owner identifies himself as *sakkanaku, son of Kurigalzu*. The formal and composite pattern, similar to the one of no. 3 and others,¹⁸ is connected with a peculiar rendering of figure and symbol. In no. 3 the features of the figure are shortened, while in no. 4 the figure is out of proportion, so there appears to be an obvious imbalance between the figure and the inscription. This can be explained as a "course" simplification of the Kassite pattern. The figures are modeled in the same way by means of hard broken lines. It is interesting to compare this one with the Philadelphia seal impression ascribed to Kurigalzu (perhaps the first): Legrain, *Cultures*, pl. XXVIII, no. 531, since the changing of aulic and severe language is evident. Another piece from the same collection whose inscription speaks about a "Nippur storehouse" is instead surely to be indicated with this group (Legrain, *Cultures*, pl. XXIX, no. 566, p. 297).
5. Lambert, *Iraq* 28 (1966), no. 56.
Cylinder seal: agate. There are two large male figures, with the one on the left a deity. In between there is a naked female, smaller in size, and above is a bird. Cuneiform inscription on four columns. The meeting between the god and believer is stressed by foreign elements which are outside of the original unity of the subject, and go back to the Hurrian-Mitannian culture. These elements were later received and maintained by the Kassites in their own particular expression,¹⁹ which is much different from the Birmingham seal. This piece is an example of a peculiar interpretation of subjects elaborated by Kassite culture in accordance with a different and yet persistent tendency. The formal and stylistic characters are, instead, clearly related to those of two cylinder seals examined before from a similar series.
6. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), no. 57.
Cylinder seal; hematite. There are three human figures, with the one on the left, holding a scimitar, being a god. The surrounding space is completely filled by secondary themes: a perching bird, a vessel, a wheel, a ball-staff, a reclining goat, and a feline (lion?) in the upper area. The traditional scheme in the Sumero-Babylonian procession of minor figures toward a deity has again been changed by *horror vacui*. This sets off the composition from the canonical settings, which are free of such confusion. The prevailing influence of Mitannian culture is to be seen only as secondary to this composition, in

¹⁷Beran, *AfO* 18 (1958), pp. 256-266, figs. 1-3. Many pieces of the De Clercq Collection reproduced on plates XXV-XXVI can be referred, in my opinion, to the Kassite style of Middle Elamite glyptic.

^{17a}See note 13 above.

¹⁸Dolce, *Some Remarks*, figs. 3-4.

¹⁹As on a well preserved seal representation in the Louvre Collection. Delaporte, *Louvre*, pl. 85,5 (AO.604).

which the primary elements reproduce all of the features of previous cylinder seals (nos. 1-5).²⁰

7. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), no. 58.

Cylinder seal; marble. There are three human figures; the one in the middle, holding a scimitar, is a god. Cuneiform inscription. The composition, formal rendering, and stylistic features reproduce the most important characteristics of no. 5, no. 6, and some others,²¹ and the stressed spatial relation between figures recalls no. 1.

8. Lambert, *Iraq* 41 (1979), no. 61.

Cylinder seal; chalcedony. There are two male figures; the one on the left, perhaps holding a scimitar, is a god. In the center there is a naked female, smaller than the god, and above is a small rosette. Cuneiform inscription in four columns. The composition and rendering, as well as the stylized features, recall the cylinder seal no. 6 and mark the same degree of variation from traditional illustrations of this subject matter.

9. Boehmer, *BaM* 12 (1981), no. 1.

Seal impression; clay. Tell Subeidi. There is one human figure and a reclining goat. The upper border has a net of triangles. Cuneiform inscription is found in three columns. This fragment, very small and worn, shows, besides the common features of production of this period (triangles and isolated figures side by side with the inscription), clear relations with similar works just discussed (nos. 1, 3, 7). If we consider this seal impression as a Kassite Babylonian import together with goods,²² it may therefore be an interesting example of the spread and the use of this type in the state rather than only in private currency.²³

These seals and seal impressions are only a few examples of a wider and more complex tendency in Kassite glyptic which point towards a more common or popular artistic trend.²⁴ The common features that characterize this glyptic group can be summarized as follows: (1) on a technical level, it is characterized by the choice of mostly hard or semi-precious stones; (2) in workmanship, by sharp and clear engraving which is adequate for its aims (it is coarse only in appearance); (3) from a formal level, by the constant use of distorted proportions for the figures;²⁵ and finally, (4) from the stylistic level, by the taste for sharpened and stylized *silhouettes* and head outlines. While it occurs often in the middle and late

²⁰ Dolce, *Some Remarks*, figs. 1, 5, respectively, from Megiddo and from the Pierpont Morgan Library Collection.

²¹ For example, Dolce, *Some Remarks*, fig. 5.

²² As Boehmer states in *BaM* 12 (1981), p. 72.

²³ A new methodological approach comes from a recent study by Brandes, concerning archaic glyptic in Uruk (Brandes, *Siegellabrollungen aus den archaischen Bauschichten in Uruk-Warka*, Wiesbaden, 1979). They are analyzed in homogeneous groups from Eanna buildings for their function rather than only for their subject matter. The small amount of Kassite glyptic does not allow, of course, for an application of this method. The likely possibility of an established use for these seal impressions has already been emphasized by the author. Dolce, *Some Remarks*, passim.

²⁴ There are other seals with formal and stylistic peculiarities, similar in their different inner tendencies, which can be referred to the same common language distinct from traditional trends. These other series of glyptics are actually the topic of my next paper.

²⁵ It is noteworthy that similar remarks have been expressed by Porada for the particular build of the human body in an "elaborate style" in Middle Elamite glyptic. Porada, *MDAI* 42 (1970), p. 28.

Elamite glyptic from Susa and Tchoga-Zanbil²⁶ this is an unusual feature in traditional Kassite glyptic;²⁷ it gives rise to a question on the direction of the influences between South West Iran and Babylonia.

The subject matter used in these seals is typical of the Sumero-Babylonian tradition; however, it is realized here with a less formal expression than in the established Sumero-Babylonian tradition; the original form became extinct. This variant may be considered a positive trend and a natural outcome of sharing the "extra-Mesopotamian" (Hurrian-Mitanni) tradition, already established in the culture of North Syria (which the Kassites were surely acquainted with at the time of their settlement). This aspect can certainly be traced back to a wider and more general phenomenon of a "popular" glyptic, which became important in the figurative culture of the Ancient Near East from the 18th century B.C.

In analyzing these trends it is necessary to point out the historical *milieu* of the common tradition in Kassite glyptic and its subsequent spread. Two statements can be made about this: first, new social unrest came from the arrival of different cultural groups which penetrated into the traditional Old Syrian and Old Babylonian framework;²⁸ second, these different cultural groups may have influenced Kassite glyptic before the political emergence of Kassite power in Babylonia.^{28a} The seal documentation from the Kadmos Palace²⁹ can elucidate these statements. From preliminary reports we have already been able to discern a peculiar feature. It seems likely that some of the cylinder seals found in the Palace were not from Babylonia but from "Syro-Hurrian" workshops where copies were reproduced from originals.³⁰ This preliminary suggestion is not the only possible explanation for the relationship between Syria and Kassite Babylonia. The cultural and figurative features of the Old Syrian tradition can indeed be recognized in Kassite glyptic. First, in an observation noted many years ago by Porada,³¹ the sure influence of Old Babylonian culture upon Syria earlier than Hammurapi led to close relations between the two areas at least before the 18th century.³² Second, Boehmer³³ has expressed the thought that Kassite and Mitannian

²⁶Porada, *MDAI* 42 (1970), pl. II no. 10, pl. III nos. 22, 26, 27, pl. IV no. 29; Amiet, *MDAI* 43 (1972), pl. 178 nos. 2041-2045, pl. 179 nos. 2055-2056; Amiet, *AA* 26 (1973), pp. 3-45. This inclination is clearly shown by the present group of seals (nos. 1-4); the same "sharpness" in features is visible on a great number of seals wrongly attributed to traditional Kassite glyptic. They are, instead, probably Elamite. See note 39 below.

²⁷See, for example, Beran, *Afo* 18 (1958), figs. 1, 3, 8; Moortgat, *Rollsiegel*, pl. 66, nos. 552-554.

²⁸Matthiae, *EUA*, p. 40.

^{28a}See note 8, above.

²⁹For a preliminary picture of discoveries and results, see Platon, Touloupa, *ILN* 28 Nov. 1964, pp. 859-861; Platon, Touloupa, *ILN* 5 Dec. 1964, pp. 896-897; Touloupa, *Kadmos* 3 (1964), pp. 25-27; Falkenstein, *Kadmos* 3 (1964), pp. 108-109; Nougayrol (Daux), *BCH* 88 (1964), pp. 775-779; Nougayrol (Daux), *BCH* 90 (1966), pp. 848-950; Porada, *AJA* 69 (1965), p. 173. Finally, in Porada's exposé about finds from Thebes during the *XXVII RAI* at Paris and, recently, the complete publication of cylinder seals from the Kadmos Palace in *Afo* 28 (1981-82), pp. 1-70.

³⁰This remark has been reported by Astour, *Ugarit and the Aegean*, p. 26; furthermore, Porada, in a first evaluation about some seal impressions of Mitannian style from the Palace, indicated their origin directly from Northern Syria: *ILN* 28 Nov. 1964, p. 860, figs. 7-8, p. 861, fig. 9; Porada, *AJA* 69 (1965), p. 173. The last study by the same scholar about the rich glyptic material from the Kadmos Palace has led us to recognize that the eleven cylinder seals of Kassite style are examples of the high level reached by Kassite workshops; they could have been gifts sent from Babylonia to the king of this western city. See Porada, *Afo* 28 (1981-82), pp. 68-70.

³¹Porada, *JNES* 16 (1957), p. 196.

³²We must, of course, restrict our consideration of the relations between these two areas to the period

elements in late Old Babylonian glyptic testify to the osmosis previous to the political crisis between these cultural groups, in which Syria hardly remained distant. Third, a seal impression on a document of "Hammurapi lord of Hana"³⁴ evidences the autonomy of this area in the Second Millennium B.C. This shows that at the beginning of the Nuzi Period, before the rise of Mitanni and the Kassites, pre-Kassite and not Old Babylonian themes were being used for subject matter.³⁵

These indications should not be considered as single facts but as a unit signifying the beginning of a popular language of Kassite glyptic, a language derived from two traditions. The Kassite rests partly upon the Syrian tradition, which was in turn derived from the figurative schemes of Isin-Larsa/Babylonia, and on the peculiar heritage of extra-Mesopotamian cultures.

The large cultural area of Kassite glyptic, as pointed out by archaeological finds in Palestine,³⁶ Northern Mesopotamia,³⁷ Syria,³⁸ and probably Elam,³⁹ certainly widens the geographical range of this artistic genre that was once thought small.⁴⁰ It also indicates the possibility of a new interpretation concerning the distinct function of cylinder seals outside of Sumer.⁴¹ Therefore, the common language of Kassite glyptic is not reserved only to certain areas and levels of aulic and official fashion but takes its place in the life and development of Kassite society.

As we can see from the new elaboration in Assyrian seals,⁴² the traditional language⁴³ remained influential, while the popular language of this particular Kassite glyptic style is the expression of a cultural substratum, common to a wide sphere of peoples, which was not only alien to the official Mesopotamian tradition, but firmly resisted it.

in which this question arises. The new perspective opened by archaeological discoveries in Northern Syria, at Gebel Aruda, Tell Kannas, and Habuba Kabira, on the one hand, and at Ebla on the other, show indeed a close relationship since the beginning of the Third Millennium B.C.

³³Boehmer, *PKG* 14, p. 338.

³⁴Goetze, *JCS* 11 (1957), p. 63; Buchanan, *JCS* 11 (1957), p. 47.

³⁵Porada, *Selected Texts*, pp. 36-38, pl. 14. Further evidence in this direction comes from the *Yale Collection* glyptic, recently published: Buchanan, *Yale*, p. 366, no. 1030 a-b. Cf. also Dolce, *Some Remarks*, footnote 27.

³⁶Megiddo: Dolce, *Some Remarks*, fig. 1.

³⁷Tell Subeidi: Boehmer, *BaM* 12 (1981) fig. 1 = here fig. 9; Tell Brak: Dolce, *Some Remarks*, fig. 6. Brak-type seals occur also over a wide geographical area, from Gezer and Megiddo up to Ugarit and Alalakh, and over a wide chronological range, from the middle of the Second Millennium B.C. to the arrival of the "Sea Peoples": Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947), pp. 137-139.

³⁸See notes 34 and 35, above.

³⁹The appearance and *floruit* of this common style alongside the "elaborate style" in the glyptic from Tchoga Zanbil may well be paralleled in Kassite glyptic: Porada, *MDAI* 42 (1970); relations between Elam and Kassite Babylonia appear clear. They result from the mutual connection before and during the period of the Kassite *floruit*. These two cultures were in contact as early as the second half of the Second Millennium B.C. and point to potential Kassite origins from that area. For the initial impetus of its style and the following exchange of traditions, some new evidence has been given by the Mazda Collection, from Teheran. The cylinder seals, recently published, are not easily put into the "first Kassite group," but rather to be put into Middle Elamite glyptic. Limet, *Afo* 26 (1978/79), pp. 96-98, figs. 1-4.

⁴⁰Boehmer, *PKG* 14, pp. 339-340.

⁴¹See p. 72, and note 23, above.

⁴²Beran, *ZANF* 18 (1957), pp. 142-145; Moortgat, *ZANF* 13 (1942), pp. 50-88; Moortgat-Correns, *Vorderasiatische Archaeologie*, pp. 165-171, figs. 4, 9, 11.

⁴³Porada, *Archaeological Orientalia*, pp. 180 ff.; pl. XXIX; Beran, *Afo* 18 (1958), figs. 9-13, 25.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF CYLINDER SEALS
EXCAVATED ON THE IRANIAN PLATEAU

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and
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One of the outstanding aspects of the work of Edith Porada as an historian of art has been her interest in and attention to the archaeological associations of the objects which she has studied. Cultural setting has been as important as stricter stylistic meaning and development. Dr. Porada's particular *forte* has, of course, been the cylinder seal. Since she has been a frequent visitor to Iran and has, in fact, herself actually excavated one of the Hasanlu cylinders, it occurred to us that a survey of the archaeological contexts of such seals found on the Iranian plateau might form an interesting first step toward a more developed corpus of material for that area. Of course, any complete study of this subject should contain the evidence for seal impressions as well. That has not been possible here, and that material must eventually be added to the developing corpus which this paper initiates. A most significant body of data in this regard will be included in Holly Pitman's study of the Malyan sealings.

Prior to about 1960 most excavators in Iran tended to treat cylinder seals and sealings as isolated objects, and dated them on strictly comparative stylistic grounds. Often the context in which they had been found was then itself dated by the seals. Very little material was published describing the exact nature of such contexts or giving the precise relationship of the recovered seal to other artifacts or associated features. Yet many of these seals were found in stratified situations, often in definable buildings or rooms in association with independently datable material. Such contexts, when properly described, are capable of indicating how seals were being used and often can show that such small portable objects have been valued for centuries after their manufacture and initial use. The full description of such archaeological contexts, therefore, is essential to an understanding of the rich and complex history of cylinder seals both as originally used and as their significance to society changed from generation to generation.

Unfortunately, even elementary documentation such as catalogue or registry numbers, or exact find spots, is rarely available in reports published before the 1960s. Even in Edith Porada's *The Art of Ancient Iran*, published in 1962, where she discusses twenty important seals, many are of "unknown origin" or from a general region (e.g. "in Luristan"). Only seven seals "from Susa" and six "from Tchoga Zanbil" have some excavated context in original reports. In other words, half of the available items had little or no context—a comment not on Dr. Porada's scholarship but on the sad state of Iranian archaeology at the time.

This situation changed after 1960, however, and the recovery of properly documented cylinder seals on the Iranian plateau has been more extensive than may be at first realized.

The following presentation aims to bring the data from the plateau together as a basis for further study and to make a few generalizations which it is hoped may serve as a stimulus to such a study.

Location of Seals

Major groups of seals have been excavated at only eight sites on the plateau although isolated finds have been made at a number of others: Hasanlu (55), Giyan (10), Sialk (29), Surkh Dum (over 200; 14 only published), Marlik (23), Malyan (25), Yahya (9), and Persepolis (23). In the Proto-Elamite period seals occur along the northern route at Giyan (1), Godin (3), Sialk (7), and Hissar (1); and along the southern route at Malyan (4), Site 10 I 3 (1), Yahya (2 or 3), and Shahr-i Sokhta (1). During the Bronze Age of the third and early second millennium B.C., cylinder seals occur at Malyan (16), Yahya (6), Shahdad (4), and Shahr-i Sokhta (1?); in west central Iran they occur in Luristan at Bani Surmah (2), Kalleh Nisar (2), Kamterlan I (2), Djamshidi (2), Giyan (7) and, at the eastern end of the route, Hissar (3). Actual seals are unreported further north although a clay seal impression of Old Babylonian style was found in Dinkha IV in the Ushnu Valley at the southwest corner of Lake Urmia.

Periods of Finds

Although the paper is limited to the Iranian plateau, we may mention as a matter of general interest the earliest instance of a cylinder-like seal and accompanying seal impression from the site of Tepe Sabz in Deh Luran (Hole, 1969, Fig. 103:o). This object is a cylindrical but flat-sided seal dated to the Bayat Phase, c. 4100-3700 B.C. It bears a geometric pattern which appears impressed on the associated bullae. The object appears to mark a transition from the older flat stamp seals to the roller or cylinder type seal of later times. The evidence suggests that the concept of the cylinder developed very early in the lowlands and only later arrived on the plateau.

Although individual seals were reported from about the same period at Tepe Giyan in Luristan (at -10 and -9 m), the widespread appearance of such seals occurred in what is broadly referred to as the Proto-Elamite period at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. The seals occur with certain pottery types, tokens, sealings and tablets at sites scattered along both the northern and southern trade routes leading across the plateau to the east. There has been much speculation on the nature of the exchange relationships giving rise to this distribution pattern. Suggestions range from colonial settlement to merchant networks to the introduction of the cutting disc leading to mass production of seals (Alden, 1979; Kohl, 1974; Lamberg-Karlovsky, 1972; Nissen, 1977; Potts, 1975) but there is still little consensus on the subject. From this period on, however, cylinder seals remained in use on the plateau, especially in its western half, until replaced in the early historic period again by stamp seals.

In the second half of the second millennium B.C., cylinder seals appear in excavated context for the first time in northwestern Iran at Agha Evlar (3), Hassan-Zamini (2), Marlik (some of the 23 found), Dinkha (1), Hasanlu (1), and Sialk (3) in central Iran. They also occur at Saqzabad south of Qazvin, but are found in disturbed context of second and first millennium B.C. date (E. Negahban, personal communication). In the first half of the first millennium they appear in Iron Age context at Marlik (some of the 23 found), Haftavan (1),

Hasanlu (54), and Bastam (4). Further south in this period they occur at Sialk (6), Nishijan (1), Cheka Sabz (7), Surkh Dum (over 200: 14 published), and Mauyilbak (5). Finally, in the Achaeminid period they occur in the southwest at Pasargadae (1, surface find), and Persepolis (23). Altogether we can account for 237 seals in the accompanying catalog, to which must be added another 185+ from Surkh Dum and 10 from Saqzabad, making a total of 432 known from specific sites. Others have been found in excavations carried out by the Iranian government, but information on these finds is presently unavailable.

Archaeological Contexts

Cylinder seals are found in three situations on the Iranian plateau: in architectural context, either with associated sealings in small rooms or as items in the "treasuries" of sanctuaries and palaces; as ornaments worn by individuals buried in graves or trapped unexpectedly in destruction levels; and as loose objects in trash pits or general occupational debris.

The seals recovered from architectural contexts fall easily into two time horizons—the Proto-Elamite and the Iron Age. Those of the former are associated with sealings in large numbers and were seemingly used in some functional way with exchange activities occurring along the major east-west trade routes of the plateau. Such activities were perhaps accompanied by the establishment of military or political outposts functioning as local trade emporia as discussed elsewhere (Alden, 1979; Kohl, 1974; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, 1972; Potts, 1975; Weiss and Young, 1975). The seals of the second Iron Age horizon were associated with major political and religious centers—e.g. Hasanlu, Persepolis. Seals from these latter sites appear to be largely collections of a talismanic or prestige nature, rather than as objects used for actual "sealing," given their often "heirloom" quality and the virtual absence of sealings associated with them. They occur in elaborate formal buildings, often in the context of other "treasury" type materials. In this context they appear as special items collected or deposited as tribute in special locations. This is certainly true both at Hasanlu and Persepolis. In contrast, in the Proto-Elamite horizon at Godin, Sialk, Malyan, and Yahya, the seals are associated with clay tablets, labels, tags, and jar stoppers, all of which indicate an immediate and practical use.

In the category of objects found in "treasuries" we may mention a seal from Cheka Sabz found "in a pile of effigy vessels and pots" but not otherwise published in detail (CN* 16), and over 200 seals reputedly found on the floor of the room adjacent to the main room of the seventh century sanctuary at Surkh Dum. The final publication of Surkh Dum is being prepared by Mauritz van Loon for the Oriental Institute of Chicago. Some of this material has recently been published elsewhere and is included in our catalog with accession numbers: ten seals in the Metropolitan Museum (MET), three in the University Museum (UM), and two from available Schmidt folios in the University Museum Library (courtesy of Jean Adelman). However, according to Schmidt (1938:210), "more than 200 cylinder seals . . ." were found at the site. These were attributed to the sanctuary and most probably belong to that context, although it should be noted that there were in fact levels above and below that structure which yielded material (personal communication from Mauritz van Loon). An additional group of seals which may be considered as seals in a repository are those reported from the rooms of the Treasury at Persepolis.

*Catalog Number(s): sequential entries in the Catalog at the end of this article.

The seals found in graves occur as personal ornaments strung on necklaces (e.g., five at Mauyilbak) or attached to headdresses or belts. The seals often show traces of a copper shaft placed through the perforation and fixed in position with one end splayed and the other ending in an attachment loop. The ends of the seal itself are often protected and ornamented by the addition of metal caps (e.g., copper/bronze Hasanlu [CN 43, 62]; gold at Hasanlu and Marlik; CN 48 and 145). Three seals are reported as "beneath" the skull of a burial, one each at Haftavan, Hasanlu, and Mauyilbak (CN 33, 34, 146)—all Iron Age in date.

Unfortunately the many seals found in tombs at Sialk are unlocated as to position in the final publication. In fact, of the sixty-four seals in our catalog that are from grave contexts, only seven are reported in sufficient detail to determine the precise location in relation to the skeleton. Of these seven, three were placed at the waist and appear to have been attached to the belt (one in Hissar III C, and two in Hasanlu IV; CN 89, 40, 84). One seal in an Iron I grave at Hasanlu (CN 42) had been placed in the mouth of the deceased. The value of some of the Iron Age seals as talismans rather than as objects utilized for sealing is suggested by the fact that in two instances the broken halves of seals were considered important enough to be placed in tombs at Sialk (CN 195, 198).

Seals on persons caught in the destruction level at Hasanlu indicated their use in daily life at the site by those living and working on the citadel. Three of the cylinders found in Burned Building II at Hasanlu were clearly associated with the skeletons (CN 52, 53, 54). None of the seals had suspension loops or evidence for method of attachment. It must be assumed that they were suspended on a cord which has disintegrated. One cylinder was on a body found in the antechamber of Burned Building II (CN 50). Three others were with bodies found clustered in the north end of the columned hall. Each body was associated with other "high status" ornaments, including bronze lion pins, copper/bronze bracelets, and rings and many beads and buttons, some with gold overlay. These Hasanlu seals are being prepared for publication by Michele Marcus under the direction of Professor Irene Winter of the History of Art Department at the University of Pennsylvania.

Of the seals reported from loose contexts in occupational debris, little can be said except that numbers of them (especially as seen in the Kaftari pits and trash levels at Malyan) appear to have been discarded during the Bronze Age when they were common and apparently not considered particularly important to preserve.

Materials

A wide variety of materials was used for seal making in different areas and periods. The materials occur as follows:

"Stone" (chlorite, steatite, marble, chalcedony, serpentine, calcite, hematite, etc.):
137

Faience ("frit" and "glass paste"): 43

Pottery: 11

Egyptian Blue (not "lapis paste" as often stated; cf. Matson, 1957): 7

Bone: 6

Metal: 4

White Shell: 2

Ivory, bitumen, "plaster": 1 each

Of the four metal seals:

- one is gold (Marlik; CN 143)
- one is silver (Shahdad; CN 179)
- two are copper/bronze (Hasanlu; CN 47, 84)

The "stone" seals have usually not been identified technically, and attributions are confused and inconsistent (e.g., calcite, gypsum, alabaster, limestone, etc.). Of the "stone" group:

- eight are called "steatite" (CN 11, 55, 56, 60, 73, 83, 157, 167)
- five are designated "burned" or "glazed" chlorite (CN 91, 225-227, 229)

Only one seal is of lapis lazuli (Shahr-i Sokhta; CN 182).

A majority of the unusual materials are from the northwest in the Iron Age:

- Ivory (Bastam; CN 9)
- Gold and bitumen (Marlik; CN 128)
- Bone (Bastam and Hasanlu; CN 6, 40, 46)
- Egyptian Blue (Hasanlu; CN 57-59, 61, 65, 79, 81)
- Copper/bronze (Hasanlu; CN 47, 84)

Other materials come from further south:

- Hematite (Djamshidi, Kalleh Nisar, Surkh Dum, Sialk, and Marlik; CN 20, 93, 220, 211, 145)
- Shell (Kamterlan and Surkh Dum; CN 97, 219)
- Crystal (Cheka Sabz; CN 12)
- Silver (Shahdad; CN 179)
- "Plaster" (Malyan; CN 103)
- Lapis lazuli (Shahr-i Sokhta; CN 182)

The "chlorite" seals come from Shahr-i Sokhta (CN 181) and Yahya (CN 230, 231, 233-237) with "burned" or "glazed" chlorite from Yahya (CN 229), Surkh Dum (CN 225-227), and Hissar (CN 91). One seal from Cheka Sabz (CN 11), two from Persepolis (CN 157, 167), and five from Hasanlu (CN 55, 56, 60, 73, 83) are thought to be steatite or chlorite.

Faience seals appear to be concentrated in the north at Agha Evlar (CN 1-3), Hasan Zamini (CN 86, 87), Haftavan (CN 33), Hasanlu (CN 34, 38, 39, 41-44, 49, 51, 54, 63, 66, 70, 72, 74, 76, 80), Marlik (CN 126-127?, 129?, 130, 132, 136, 137, 138-142?), and Sialk (CN 187, 190, 193-196, 198, 199, 201, 203) in the Iron Age. None is reported from Persepolis and they are rare otherwise in the south (one at Yahya, CN 228, and one at Malyan, CN 119).

Subjects Represented

Inscribed seals are common finds in Mesopotamia but not on the Iranian plateau. Of the 242 cataloged seals presented here which cover nearly four millennia, only four bear inscriptions. Two of these come from Tomb IX D at Marlik (CN 129, 130). One bears an inscription dated "not later than the 11th-to-10th century B.C.," according to the late George Cameron, and the other is illegible. A third seal from the Iron Age sanctuary at Surkh Dum (CN 220) is an inscribed Old Babylonian presentation scene. The fourth, which bears an Elamite inscription, was found at Cheka Sabz in the "upper level" attributed to the Achaemenid period by the excavator (CN 15). It is perhaps not an accident that all of the sites

producing inscribed seals lie along routes linking Mesopotamia and Elam to the Caspian Sea via the Sefid Rud as such routes were of particular importance in the late Assyrian and Achaemenid periods. It is evident from the inscriptions and style that these inscribed seals were imported from the lowlands. Their rarity suggests that they may have been official gifts or personal ornaments rather than seals in active use as such for marking ownership. In any event, present evidence indicates, not surprisingly, that seals with inscriptions played a minor role as an element in the symbolic system represented by the general corpus of seals in use on the (essentially) non-literate plateau in pre-Achaemenid times.

If inscriptions played little role in the symbolism used, we may ask, without going into detailed iconography, what the relative abundance was of groups of seals using animal, anthropomorphic (human or deity), or geometric motifs. Of the 242 excavated seals cataloged, seventy-three bore animal motifs, one hundred two had anthropomorphic figures, and thirty-seven used geometric designs. Twenty-three were blank or unintelligible due to poor preservation. The category of geometric seals is ambiguous due to the existence of cylindrical beads with deeply cut designs which may or may not have been used as seals. In this paper we have accepted the excavator's classification of these objects where they have been called seals (for example, CN 139). A systematic study of this category of "seal beads" in actual collections might prove valuable in determining their real purpose.

Seals as Indicators of Cultural Contact

The distribution of seals of broadly similar types provides evidence pointing to areas and periods of influence. The Bronze Age seals of Bani Surmah and Kalleh Nisar in Luristan are unmistakably connected to third millennium B.C. Mesopotamia. The Malyan seals of the late third and second millennium represent a wide variety of local themes with little duplication. Shahdad and Yahya in the later third millennium share the so-called "vegetation goddess" who appears to be a regional figure. Mitannian type seals with stick figures appear in the northwest in the late second millennium at Agha Evlar, Dinkha, Hassan Zamini, and Marlik. The early first millennium seals found at Hasanlu are characterized by a large number of Neo-Assyrian archer scenes, which also occur at Mauyilbak in Luristan and at Marlik in the same period. The appearances of seals on the plateau showing mounted horsemen or chariot-eers is also notable—the earliest being at Hissar in the Bronze Age (CN 89), with other examples at Hasanlu, Sialk and Malyan in the Iron Age (CN 69, 85, 185, 120). Many seals decorated with worshipers, banquet scenes, or seated figures are Bronze Age seals occurring as "heirlooms" in Iron Age context, as at Sialk, Surkh Dum, Haftavan, and Marlik. Seals with winged figures from Bastam are generally found at sites associated with the political territory of Iron Age Urartu.

As a broad generalization one may venture that the anthropomorphic motifs on seals originating in the Bronze and Iron I periods derive largely from Mesopotamia and Elam and represent versions of long-standing themes and ritual scenes (master-of-animals, sacred tree and figures, etc.). Not unexpectedly, such seals occur most commonly in Luristan and Fars, areas immediately adjacent to the location of their most common use in the lowlands. The archer seals of Iron Age date occur most commonly in the districts most open to Assyrian penetration.

“Heirloom” Seals and Archaeological Context

The dating of seals by both stylistic attribution and archaeological context provides important information on the history of seals due to the fact that many seals originating in early periods made their way into contexts of later date as personal ornaments in graves or as valued items in official treasuries.

The “heirloom” nature of the seals can easily be documented by such occurrences as the Mitanni style of a second millennium type seal found in an Iron Age grave at Haftavan (CN 33); the Akkadian, Old Babylonian, Middle Elamite and Middle Assyrian type seals found in the sanctuary deposit at Surkh Dum of Iron Age date (CN 219-227); or the Old Babylonian and Late Assyrian style seals found in the Persepolis Treasury (CN 157, 159). Such evidence shows conclusively that seals found alone in graves or other contexts, in the absence of other confirmatory evidence, must be held totally suspect as the basis for definitive dating of the context. In view of the fact that these “heirloom” seals occur both as personal ornaments in graves and as objects in the official treasuries of temples and palaces, it may be concluded that items of antiquity with religious connotations based on the material or the symbolic decoration were highly valued and preserved over long periods of time. There is no reason to believe that this principle was exclusive to cylinder seals. The evidence at Hasanlu shows convincingly that metal and stone vessels, among other objects, enjoyed comparable longevity. Thus, while it is the first duty of the excavator to fix the date and context of the final resting place of the various objects found, a further stylistic or typological examination must be made to ascertain whether or not they are original to that context. For this purpose, the excavation context itself must first be firmly established and assessed. Otherwise the true history of the objects in question may be obscured.

Reassessment of Context

It may be possible in some instances, by judicious field study and archival review, to establish a firmer archaeological context for seals excavated at an earlier date.

As an example, the excavated location and date of the three known cylinder seals from Tepe Hissar in northeastern Iran can now be more firmly established as the result of a re-study of the 1931-32 Schmidt excavations undertaken in 1976 (Dyson and Remsen, 1980). The reconstructed stratigraphic context places seal H 116 (CN 88) at the base of the walls of Building 2₁ on the Main Mound. These walls stand at -1.80 to -2.50 m below datum. The fill of this zone was called “level 2” as excavated on July 27-28, 1931. At -2.20 m was found a stemmed light grey bowl (H 2352) assigned to “IIIA” in the field catalog; a round-based cup (H 56) at -2.25 m with a border of painted vertical lines above a horizontal line, was a type assigned elsewhere by Schmidt to “IIIA.” These vessels, as shown by our new work, are more appropriately assigned to Schmidt’s assemblage “IIB,” an assessment supported by Schmidt’s field notes which assigned the sherds of level 2 to “IIB.” The cylinder seal lay at -2.45 m with other objects at the floor level of the walls of structure 2₁ (which represents a reconstruction of Building 2 at a higher level; cf. Schmidt, 1937: fig. 86). The ceramics at this floor level can be assigned on the basis of new radiocarbon dates to around 3200 B.C. (Thus, a comparison would be appropriate to Proto-Elamite and Jemdet Nasr style glyptic at other sites.) It is of some interest to note that the quadruped clay figurines and clay counters also occur in the fill of Structure 2₁, representing other elements appropriate to the Proto-Elamite horizon of that date as seen elsewhere.

The second Hissar cylinder seal, H 892 (CN 89), shows a chariot, rider, and standing figure (Schmidt, 1937: 199, fig. 118). The seal was recorded as part of an unpublished burial (DF 19, x-60) with the comment that it was not certain that it belonged to that burial but that it clearly belonged to the group of burials in the area at that level. Burial DF 19, x-60 was found in the extreme southwest corner of square DF 19 in the Main Mound at a depth of -90 cm over walls stratigraphically equivalent to Building 2₁ in DG 10. The burial was thus well after 3160 B.C., the radiocarbon date of the decay of Building 2₁. The burial was, in fact, dug into what Schmidt called "level 1" which overlay the Building 2₁ deposit. "Level 1" corresponds to Phase B/C of the new stratigraphic sequence for the Main Mound (Howard, 1980). The seal cannot, therefore, on the basis of the available radiocarbon dates and stratified sequence, be older than the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. and, if correctly associated with the burials of the area, should be associated at the end of the millennium with the "IIIC" assemblage of ceramics. The seal was found near the pelvis of the skeleton of an adult male lying in a supine position with the right arm flexed over the chest. Conceivably, the seal could have been suspended from the belt. Such a use would parallel that of later seals found with skeletons in Iron Age Hasanlu.

A third cylinder seal, H 3710 (CN 90), decorated with animals and birds, was found on Treasure Hill in CH 96 in what Schmidt refers to as a "doubtful fill of IIIB date" (*ibid.*, 199, fig. 118). The seal was cataloged by Schmidt on October 12 without benefit of detailed location, depth, or context. Objects were, however, cataloged systematically by groups by date of excavation. Items in his catalog for October 8 and 15 show that in CH 96 excavation that week was in the upper part of "level 3" which Schmidt assigned to his period "IIB" (*ibid.*, 174). The seal should be associated, therefore, either with the terminal II or beginning III ceramic assemblage; that is, sometime before the middle of the third millennium B.C.

Limited and uncertain as much of the available foregoing evidence is, an outline of it opens up a series of questions worthy of further study in relation to the cultural significance of cylinder seals in their varying contexts in space and time. Each seal must be assessed as to date of origin and date of terminal use. Each seal must be documented precisely as to associations and context when excavated. Each seal must be technically identified as to material. Each seal must be adequately described in drawings and photographs. Then, and only then, can the seals be studied collectively to reconstruct routes of exchange, areas of shared influence, chronological variations in patterns of use, the development of methods of manufacture, and other aspects of their history that can shed light on their cultural significance. The present paper is intended only as a first step in pointing to the need for further systematic study of some of these subjects in a controlled archaeological framework.

The Catalog

The catalog which follows contains seals from many sites for which final reports have not yet been published. Therefore, the material has been collected insofar as possible from preliminary reports published in various journals and reports given at conferences. Additional information was received for the sites of Godin, Malyan, Marlik, and Yahya from their excavators: T. Cuyler Young, Jr.; William M. Sumner; Ezat O. Negahban; and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky. We are deeply grateful to these scholars.

In the catalog, the materials and measurements are those given by the excavators. Descriptions of motifs on seals are intended only for broad identification and not as technical

statements. The abbreviations used throughout are: UM Neg. plus a number, the photographic negatives on file at the University Museum. The abbreviation "Neg." elsewhere refers to photographic negatives as such. Abbreviations used for sites in the Ushnu-Solduz Valley include: stratum, area, and object number. Abbreviations used for Persepolis indicate the field seasons: PT3: 1935; PT4: 1936; PT5: 1937; PT6: 1938; PT7: 1939. T.M. indicates Tehran Museum (Muze Iran Bastan). BRSP indicates a bridge-spouted pot.

Cylinder Seals Excavated on the Iranian Plateau

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|-------------|---------------|--|--|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Agha-Evlar | M.A.N. 4117 | Faience L. 2.7 cm | Dolmen No. 2 | Late second millennium BC | Stylized stick-like figures, arm raised, and two horned deer (?) forming a cross (cf. Giyan tomb 68 cylinder) | DeMorgan 1905: 321; 1927: 275, Fig. 257:3; Schaeffer 1948: 407, Fig. 30:2 |
| 2 | Agha-Evlar | M.A.N. 58,000 | Faience L. 2.3 cm | Dolmen No. 2 | Late second millennium BC | Birds, ducks (?) in a file | Schaeffer 1948: 407, Fig. 30:3 |
| 3 | Agha-Evlar | M.A.N. | Faience | Dolmen No. 1 | Late second millennium BC | A ladder (?) | DeMorgan 1905: 315, Fig. 568 |
| 4 | Bani Surmah | | Calcite | 'Family' tombs | Third millennium BC | Cf. early dynastic III period of Meso. ca. 25th century BC: Porada Two animals in combat and a figure | Vanden Berghe 1968:56-7; Porada 1969:62 |
| 5 | Bani Surmah | | Serpentine (?) | 'Family' tombs | Third millennium BC | Two horned gazelles (?) drinking, plus a tree | Vanden Berghe 1968:56-7 |
| 6 | Bastam | | Bone L. 2.6 cm D. 1.8 cm Suspension Loop adds 0.8 cm | Building S.W. of S. Tower in small room | Uartian period | Four stylized lions and a standing winged figure | Kleiss 1973: 186-7, A |
| 7 | Bastam | | Black stone L. 1.8 cm D. 1.1 cm Suspension Loop adds 0.6 cm | Building S.W. of S. Tower in small room | Uartian period | Winged figure, four arms (?) attendant; star, crescent | Ibid.: B |
| 8 | Bastam | | Alabaster L. 2.0 cm (est) D. 1.1 cm Suspension Loop adds 0.6 cm | Building S.W. of S. Tower in small room with clay Uartian style containers | Uartian period | Indistinct | Ibid.: C |
| 9 | Bastam | | Ivory L. 1.8 cm (est) D. 1.0 cm Suspension Loop | Found 'on the berg' | | Hero facing a winged lion (?) and holding a bent arrow (?) | Ibid.: D |
| 10 | Cheka Sabz | CS 380 | Red marble L. 2.5 cm D. 1.0 cm | I 7, p.r. 2; D. 2.60 cm | | Kneeling bowman shooting ibex (?) | Schmidt 1934; UM 43-25-280 & UM Neg. L.98 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|------------|-----------|--|--|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 11 | Cheka Sabz | CS 422 | Steatite (?) L. 2.9 cm D. 1.2 cm | I 7, refuse, N.W. quarter; D. 3.70 m | | Two ibex prancing; crescent over heads | Schmidt 1934; UM 43-25-281 & UM Neg. 99 |
| 12 | Cheka Sabz | CS 445 | Crystal L. 2.5 cm D. 1.2 cm | H 11, refuse, D. 10.40 m | | Two marching fowl and a star | Schmidt 1934; UM 43-25-282 & UM Neg. 97 |
| 13 | Cheka Sabz | CS 461 | Frit L. 2.1 + cm D. 1.0 cm | H 6, p.r. 3; D. 1.55 m | | Crude ibex and gazelle (upper series missing) | UM 43-25-283 & UM Neg. 100 |
| 14 | Cheka Sabz | CS 469 | White frit green glaze L. 2.6 cm D. 1.1 cm | H 6, p.r. 3; D. 1.45 m | | Two men ploughing (?) | UM 43-25-284 & UM Neg. 100 |
| 15 | Cheka Sabz | CS ? | | 'From upper squares' | Achaemenid | Kneeling figure facing prancing horse; with Elamite inscription | Schmidt 1934: 19; (inc. un- marked photo- graph) |
| 16 | Cheka Sabz | CS ? | | 'in a pile of effigy vessels and pots' | | Mounted hunter with lance facing an animal | Schmidt 1934: 19; (in. photo- graph: first in second row of unmarked photograph) |
| 17 | Dinkha | DI 66-637 | Glazed faience L. 3.0 cm D. 1.4 cm Beveled ends with caps missing | B9a (8) B23 / 140 Loose in fill of grave | Dinkha III (Iron I) | Mitanni style; stylized deer with exaggerated antlers and a tree | Muscarella 1975: 42-43; Fig. 6 Personal com- munication: E. Porada TM |
| 18 | Dinkha | DI 68-132 | Pottery L. 2.7 cm D. 1.3 cm | G9b (3) 1 / 5 Fill between walls B, B1, B2 | Dinkha III or IV (Iron I or II) | Mitanni style (?) horned animal supports a building (?); behind are two figures, one seated, one standing | Dinkha registry card TM |
| 19 | Djamshidi | | Terracotta- glazed | Tomb 3 | Djamshidi III | Geometric | Contenau 1935: 99, Pl. 74:11 |
| 20 | Djamshidi | | Hematite | Tomb 3; found beside foregoing cylinder | Djamshidi III | Called Syro-Hittite; early third millennium | Ibid.: 74:12 |
| 21 | Giyan | | Terracotta- glazed | Structure I, at -3.50 m | Giyan I | Cf. Kirkouk types; tree and animals; line and drill style; middle 15th century | Contenau 1935: 49, Pl. 38:1 |
| 22 | Giyan | | Grey stone | Structure I, level outside tomb; -3.50 m general refuse | Giyan I | Fish | Ibid.: Pl. 38:2 |
| 23 | Giyan | | Serpentine (?) | Tomb 52 at -3.60 m cut into Structure I level | Giyan I | Winged beasts | Ibid.: Pl. 38:3 |
| 24 | Giyan | | Stone | Tomb 68 at -4.10 m | Giyan II | Ca. 1450 BC; animal figure; 'eye' symbol; cf. Agha Evlar 4117 | Ibid.: Pl. 38:4 |
| 25 | Giyan | | Stone | Structure II, at -6 m in room | Giyan II | Animals and figures | Ibid.: 49; Pl. 38:5 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|----------|-----------|--|---|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| 26 | Giyan | | Terracotta | -6 m general refuse | Giyan II | Panels of lines and dots | Ibid.: Pl. 38:6 |
| 27 | Giyan | | Stone | Tomb 102; either -7.50 m or (p. 49) -6.80 m | Giyan III | Two standing figures, animal and symbols | Ibid.: Pl. 38:9 |
| 28 | Giyan | | Stone | -7 m | Giyan III | Proto-Elamite type: ladder patterns | Ibid.: Pl. 38:10 |
| 29 | Giyan | | Stone | -9.0 m general refuse | Giyan IV | Row of lozenges | Ibid.: Pl. 38:16 |
| 30 | Giyan | | Stone | -10 m general refuse | Giyan IV/V | Animal row | Ibid.: Pl. 38:21 |
| 31 | Godin | Gd 73-260 | Stone-black + Cu pin in boring L. 1.4 cm D. 1.1 cm | 'Within oval enclosure' | Period V courtyard | Horned animals | Weiss & Young 1975:10, Fig. 5:7 |
| 32 | Godin | Gd 73-210 | Stone-grey/green L. 1.6 cm D. 1.4 cm | 'Within oval enclosure'; found inside a Period IV mud brick | Period IV | Period V style; stars + horned caprid (?) | Ibid.: Fig. 5:8 and p. 11 |
| 33 | Haftavan | | Frit L. 2.0 cm D. 0.85 cm | P1 Burial 3 beneath head of skeleton | Iron II period | Mitanni style (?) three figures in a file (?) | Burney 1969: 127-142 |
| 34 | Hasanlu | (1936) | Frit | Section XII test trench from below skull; with the skeleton: Fe maceheads; BRSP container with 'pearls' at carination; many beads | Iron II period | Simple bands around the cylinder with lines | Stein 1940:400. Pl. XXV:30 |
| 35 | Hasanlu | (1947,49) | Stone | 'At Hasanlu' | Iron II period | Archer in fringed robe with drawn bow shooting horned animal; cuneiform letters (?) and a tree | Hakemi & Rad 1950:96, Fig. 50:3 |
| 36 | Hasanlu | (1947,49) | Stone, black | 'At Hasanlu' | | Stylized human, crescent moon, bird in flight and star (?) | Ibid.: Fig. 50:4 |
| 37 | Hasanlu | (1947,49) | Stone, black | 'At Hasanlu' | | Running deer, crescent moon, tree, sun (?) rays (?) Hakemi: 'primitive work' | Ibid., Fig. 50:5 |
| 38 | Hasanlu | | Frit a bead (?) | 'At Hasanlu' | | Geometric: slashes | Ibid.: 98, Fig. 9 |
| 39 | Hasanlu | | Frit a bead (?) | 'At Hasanlu' | | Geometric: slashes | Ibid. |
| 40 | Hasanlu | HAS 57-50 | Bone L. 4.4 cm D. 1.3 cm | F 38/39 (OP VI) (3) B8 below waist over pelvis with BRSP, container; 15 bone hemispheres; 8 Cu/br rings; Fe blade | HAS IV (Iron II) | Lines which could be figures dancing or stylized animals | Hasanlu Project Archives TM 10487 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|---------|------------|---|--|--------------------------|--|--|
| 41 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-4 | Frit L. 3.0 cm D. 1.5 cm | U 28 (OP I); dump 'above Level VI' | HAS V-IV; (Iron I-II) | Geometric | HPA cf. HAS 60-812a; 952 |
| 42 | Hasanlu | HAS 59-83 | Frit L. 5.7 cm D. 1.6 cm | E 38 (?) (OP VIA) (6) 1 B8/83; in mouth of skeleton; in grave; Cu/br ring; frit beads; pottery | HAS V, (Iron I) | Bird (?) container (?) Xs and Vs in a pattern; writing (?) | HPA MET 60-20-5 |
| 43 | Hasanlu | HAS 59-251 | Frit + Cu/br L. 3.0 cm D. 1.0 cm End caps of Cu/br | Lie (5) B4 / 16 In fill of burial with Fe bracelet and knife; Cu/br omphalos bowl; BRSP container | HAS IV (Iron II) | Badly worn; no design | HPA UM 60-20-104 |
| 44 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-344 | Frit A bead (?) L. 3.3 cm D. 0.9 cm | Z 27 (3) 2 / 69; burned building I W, room 1 (fore- court), bricky ash | HAS IV (Iron II) | Diagonal slashes | HPA TM 10647 |
| 45 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-432 | Stone + Cu/br L. 2.2 cm D. 0.9 cm Suspension pin in place and part of cap | Z 26 (3) 1 / 1; burned building I W, room 2 (entrance), in bricky collapse | HAS IV (Iron II) | Two winged horses (?) | HPA UM 59-4-76 |
| 46 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-424 | Bone L. 3.3 cm D. 0.8 cm | Z 26 (3) 1 / 16; burned building I W room 2 (en- trance) in bricky ash | HAS IV (Iron II) | Ibex (?) | HPA UM 59-4-67 |
| 47 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-405 | Cu/br L. 2.9 cm D. 1.2 cm | Z 26 (3/5) 5 / 47; burned building I W, room 5 (Col. hall), in fill of drain | HAS IV (Iron II) | Design obscure; cf. HAS 70-733 | HPA TM 10590 |
| 48 | Hasanlu | HAS 58-470 | Stone + Au L. 4.5 cm D. 1.8 cm Gold caps on uncut cylinder | AA 27 (3) 2 B2 / 11; burned build- ing I W, room 9 (stairwell?), associated with the gold bowl | HAS IV (Iron II) | Blank | HPA; see registry card notes TM 10600 |
| 49 | Hasanlu | HAS 59-466 | Frit A bead (?) L. 2.8 cm D. 0.9 cm | Z 28 (3) - / 5; burned build- ing I E, room 1 (portico) in fill | HAS IV (Iron II) | Incised bands and cross hatching | HPA MET 60-20-32 |
| 50 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-903 | Stone L. 3.0 cm D. 1.0 cm | AA 30 (4) 1 B32 / 214; burned build- ing II, room 2 (antechamber), on floor | HAS IV (Iron II) | Tree (?) offering stands (?) flying birds (?) | HPA TM |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|---------|-----------------------|---|---|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 51 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-516a 60-516 | Frit Beads (?) L. 3.7 cm D. 1.0 cm | AA 30 (4) 1 / 79; burned building II, room 2 (ante- chamber), in brickly collapse with three other frit beads | HAS IV (Iron II) | Cf. HAS 60-288 slashes; cf. HAS 60-952 cross- hatching | HPA MET 61-5-86 |
| 52 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-901 | Stone + Cu/br L. 4.3 cm D. 1.6 cm | AA 30 (4) 3 B 16 / 157 burned building II, room 5, (Col. hall), skeleton on floor, wore nine lion pins; many Cu/br rings; four Cu/br bracelets; and a multitude of beads | HAS IV (Iron II) | Animal-headed winged horse (?) contending | HPA TM |
| 53 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-902 | Stone L. 3.4 cm D. 1.3 cm | AA 30 (4) 3 B 22 / 172; burned build- ing II, room 5 (Col. hall); skeleton on floor; wore 17 Cu/br brace- lets; many beads; many Cu/br buttons, some with gold over- lay and had a Cu/br container | HAS IV (Iron II) | Winged animal facing man with drawn bow; star cf. HAS 60-1021 | HPA MET 61-100-81 |
| 54 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-952 | Frit Bead (?) L. 3.7 cm D. 1.1 cm | BB 30 (5) 3 B4 / 9a; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), skeleton on floor; wore two Cu/br brace- lets; Egyptian blue ring; 37 Cu/br rings | HAS IV (Iron II) | Horizontal grooves on ends; crosshatching in center | HPA MET 61-100- 115 |
| 55 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1021 | Steatite + Cu L. 6.0 cm D. 1.6 cm inc. Cu/br ends with suspen- sion loop in place | BB 30 (5) 5 / 75; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall in S.W. area), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Winged animal facing man with drawn bow; star; cf. HAS 60-902 | HPA TM |
| 56 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1022 | Steatite L. 3.5 cm D. 1.2 | BB 30 (5) 5 / 76; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall); on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Winged genie and palm | HPA TM |

| Cat. No. | Hasanlu Site | HA Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|--------------|--------------|--|---|-----------------------|---|----------------------|
| 57 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1023 | Egyptian blue L. 2.5 cm D. 1.4 cm | BB 30 (5) 5 / 77; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Winged animal: ostrich (?) | HPA MET 61-100-82 |
| 58 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1024 | Egyptian blue L. 3.3 cm D. 1.2 cm | BB 30 (5) 5 / 78; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS (Iron II) | Archer with drawn bow and ibex | HPA TM |
| 59 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1025 | Egyptian blue L. 3.0 cm D. 1.2 cm | BB 30 (5) 5 / 79; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Ibex, tree (?) and crescent moon; birds (?) signs (?) | HPA TM |
| 60 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1026 | Steatite (?) + Cu L. 3.5 cm D. 1.3 cm Cu/br loop in place | BB 30 (5) 5 / 80; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Criffin and ibex | HPA MET 61-100-80 |
| 61 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1027 | Egyptian blue L. 2.7 cm D. 1.4 cm | BB 30 (5) 5 / 81; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Ibex plus palm | HPA UM 61-5-21 |
| 62 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1028 | Bone + Cu/br L. 4.0 cm D. 1.5 cm cap of Cu/br | BB 30 (5) 5 / 82; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Man + ibex | HPA |
| 63 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-1029 | Frit (?) + Cu/br L. 4.0 cm D. 1.5 cm cap of Cu/br | BB 30 (5) 5 / 83; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor with nine other cylinders | HAS IV (Iron II) | Seated figure before a table holding a cup (?) | HPA UM 61-5-22 |
| 64 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-510 | Stone + Cu/br L. 3.5 cm inc. caps 5.9 cm D. 1.5 cm (est.) | AA 31 (4) 1 / 95; burned building II, room 5 (Col. hall), on floor near second col. base on E. side of hall | HAS IV (Iron II) | Archer with bow shooting winged animal with raised forepaw edged with chevrons on borders | HPA TM unique object |

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| 65 | Hasanlu | HAS 64-828 | Egyptian blue L. 2.9 cm D. 1.3 cm | CC 31 (4) 2 / 307; burned building II, room 7: 'bead room' in S.E. corner of building, in burnt fill | HAS IV (Iron II) | Goats flanking a palmette (?) | HPA MET 65-163-41 |
| 66 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-812a or 813a | Frit L. 3.3 cm D. 1.8 cm | BB 29 (5) 6 / 147; burned building II, room 14 (store-room), on floor with many beads and discs | HAS IV (Iron II) | Slashes or criss cross lines. A bead (?) | HPA; records confused Met 61-100-98a (?) |
| 67 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-220 | Stone + Cu/br L. 4.0 cm D. 1.8 cm Cu/br pin in place | R 24 (3A) 1 / 19; burned building III, room 4 (store-room), in collapse | HAS IV (Iron II) | (Design obliterated) | HPA UM 63-5-29 |
| 68 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-255 | Stone L. 3.5 cm D. 1.3 cm | R 24 (3A) 1 / 54; burned building III, room 4 (store-room), in charcoal collapse | HAS IV (Iron II) | (Design obliterated) | HPA TM |
| 69 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-841 | Clay (?) L. 4.6 cm D. 1.4 cm | Q 24 (3) 3 / 16; burned building III, room 6 (N. portico), in burned collapse at E. end of portico from higher level | HAS IV (Iron II) | Two registers: horses and chariot and horned animals | HPA TM |
| 70 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-902 | Frit + Cu/br L. 4.5 cm D. 1.7 cm Caps and part of pin in place | Q 24 (3) 3 / 77; burned building III, room 6 (N. portico), in burned collapse | HAS IV (Iron II) | No design recorded | HPA TM |
| 71 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-917 | Stone L. 2.5 cm est. D. 1.2 cm est. | Q 24 (3) 3 / 92; burned building III, room 6 (N. portico), in burned collapse one side flattened | HAS IV (Iron II) | One surface a star; one a crab (?) and one with chevrons | HPA MET 63-109-20 |
| 72 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-1091 | Frit L. 1.9 cm est. D. 0.8 cm est. | P 24 (3) 3 / 11; burned building III, room 9 (Col. hall) | HAS IV (Iron II) | Figure in long robe with drawn bow aiming at mountain goat; winged flying bird; crescent | HPA UM 63-5-294 |
| 73 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-765 | Steatite (?) L. 3.4 cm D. 1.2 cm | Q 23 (3) 7 / 106; burned building III, room 11 (store-room), loose in fill | HAS IV (Iron II) | Scorpion and bird | HPA TM |

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| 74 | Hasanlu | HAS 70-519 | Frit L. 2.4 cm D. 1.1 cm | W 30 (3) 6 / 92; burned building IV, room 1A (W. portico), above the floor | HAS IV (Iron II) | Cross hatching design | HPA UM 71-23-287 |
| 75 | Hasanlu | HAS 72-129 | Stone + Cu/br L. 3.2 cm D. 1.5 cm Cu/br loop and splayed ends | W 31 E (5) 1 / 150; burned building IV-V, room 1 (main room), above floor with cylinder; HAS 72-150 | HAS IV (Iron II) see next entry | Blank | HPA TM |
| 76 | Hasanlu | HAS 72-150 | Glazed pottery (?) L. 3.4 cm D. 1.5 cm pin fragment in boring | W 31 E (5) 1 / 201; burned building IV-V, room 1 (main room), above floor with cylinder; HAS 72-129 | HAS IV (Iron II) see above entry | Crushed and corroded | HPA UM 73-5-209 |
| 77 | Hasanlu | HAS 72-156 | Stone + Cu/br L. 2.7 cm D. 0.9 cm cap, loop + splayed ends | W 31 E (5) 1 / 197; burned building IV-V, room 1 (main room), near floor and burial 6 with a lion pin; HAS 72-160 | HAS IV (Iron II) | Stylized trees and plants | HPA TM |
| 78 | Hasanlu | HAS 72-157 | Stone + Cu/br L. 4.8 cm D. 1.4 cm end cap and loop | W 31 E (5) 1 / 199; burned building IV-V, room 1 (main room), above floor; with lion pin; HAS 72-160 | HAS IV (Iron II) | Kneeling man with drawn bow facing winged crested rampant animal; quiver (?) | HPA TM |
| 79 | Hasanlu | HAS 74-281 | Egyptian blue + Cu/br L. 3.2 cm D. 1.3 cm loop and splayed ends | V 22 W (3) 16/24 / 110; burned building VI, room 1 (single room), below N. bench of room filled with weapons and horses | HAS IV (Iron II) | Archer with winged horse | HPA TM |
| 80 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-135 | Frit L. 2.0 cm D. 1.+ cm | T 23 (4) - / 21; burned building VII, in W. baulk, possibly outside the building in street (?) | HAS IV (Iron II) | Two animals contending | HPA TM 13395 |
| 81 | Hasanlu | HAS 59-742 | Egyptian blue L. 5.1 cm D. 1.6 cm | AA 29 (3) 5 / 30; S. street, in a stone lined drain | HAS IV (Iron II) | Two aggressive animals fighting, separated by a scorpion | Dyson 1960:128 TM |

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|----------|---------------|-------------|--|---|---|--|--|
| 82 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-13 | Stone + Cu/br L. 4.5 cm D. 1.6 cm Remnants of bitumen on one end; fragment of pin in boring | X 28 (3) 2 / 13; gate to lower court, on stone paving of column base in front of wall A | HAS IV (Iron II) | Porada: not later than 9th century BC; hero and griffin contending for kneeling hooved animal | TM |
| 83 | Hasanlu | HAS 60-108 | Steatite + Cu/br L. 3.2 cm D. 1.1 cm Loop fragment and wire in boring with ends showing | X 28 (3) 2 / 107; gate to lower court, on stone paving | HAS IV (Iron II) | Assyrian linear, early 9th-8th century BC, archer aiming at a stag | HPA UM 61-5-20 |
| 84 | Hasanlu | HAS 70-733 | Cu/br L. 3.45 cm D. 1.25 cm | W 20 (5) B8 / 15; E. end of area outside wall to W., beside pelvis | HAS IV (?) | (No design visible) cf. HAS 54-405 | HPA TM |
| 85 | Hasanlu | HAS 62-198 | Bone L. 3.8 cm D. 1.5 cm | T 24 (3) pit 1 / 2; E. of burned building VII in test trench | HAS IIIB (?) | Two registers: upper: chariot with driver holding reins; horse; lower: winged animal, one horn | HPA TM |
| 86 | Hassan-Zamini | M.A.N. 4295 | Faience L. 2.7 cm | Dolmen 20, burial II | Late second millennium BC | Two figures on either side of a tree and horned animals with crossed tails | Schaeffer 1948: 408-415; Fig. 30:1; Pl. LVIII; de Morgan 1905: 299, Fig. 567 |
| 87 | Hassan-Zamini | M.A.N. | Faience | Dolmen 20, burial II | Late second millennium BC | Birds, man and panel of XXs along base | Ibid.: 1927: 275, Fig. 257:1 and de Morgan 1905: 299, Fig. 566 |
| 88 | Hissar | H 116 | Serpentine L. 2.7 cm D. 1.3 cm | DG 10 refuse; top wall building 2, main mound | Hissar 'IIIB' | Bovine with lance-end tail | Schmidt 1937: Fig. 118; 1933: Pl. CXXXB |
| 89 | Hissar | H 892 | Alabaster L. 2.8 cm D. 1.3 cm | DF19, x-60; grave at depth: -.90 m; near pelvis of male adult | Hissar 'IIIC' | Horse, chariot and men | Ibid.: Fig. 118 |
| 90 | Hissar | H 3710 | Limestone L. 1.9 cm D. 1.3 cm | Ch 96 | Terminal 'II' or beginning 'III', ca. 2500 BC | Animals and birds | Ibid.: Fig. 118 |
| 91 | Hissar | H 693 | Burnt chlorite L. 1.6 cm D. 1.25 cm (½ seal) | ED 79-2.20 to -2.65 m | Sassanian fill | Proto-Elamite geometric | UM 33-15-648 |
| 92 | Kalleh Nisar | | Calcite L. 3.0 cm D. 1.7 cm | Tomb area A | | Akkadian; Gilgamesh type; master-of-animals | Vanden Berghe 1970:71, and 1971:171 |
| 93 | Kalleh Nisar | | Hematite L. 2.5 cm D. 1.1 cm | Tomb area A | | Old Babylonian; bull, lion and hero | Ibid. |

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|----------|--------------|------------------|--|--|-----------------------|--|---|
| 94 | Kalleh Nisar | | (?) L. 3.0 cm | Collective tombs | | Mythological scene caprids in combat before a hero | Vanden Berghe 1970:71; 1971:171 |
| 95 | Kamterlan | KI 109 | Grey white frit L. 2.7 cm D. 1.8 cm (Fragment 2/3 only) | IM p.r. 3; D. 2.60 m | | Human headed winged monster; curved swastika | UM L 116-177 UM Neg. L 158 |
| 96 | Kamterlan | KI 151 | Limestone L. 2.0 cm D. 1.8 cm | IP p.r. 6; D. 5.50 m | | Three panels, two filled with horizontal ovals, one with herringbone | UM L 116-178 |
| 97 | Kamterlan | KI 146 | White shell | IP, refuse of low level; D. of excavation 5.10 m | | Geometric with four ovals and lozenges | Schmidt 1934 UM L 116-179 UM Neg. L. 159 |
| 98 | Malyan | Mf 1290 (M 1187) | Stone L. 0.9 cm D. 0.4 cm | TUV, V 166; Upper strata block | Banesh period | Geometric triangles | Sumner 1976: Fig. 5j; Nicholas 1980, Fig. 49d |
| 99 | Malyan | Mf 1902 (M 1189) | Stone L. 1.7 cm D. 1.3 cm | TUV, V 166 L; building Level II | Banesh period | Two fighting bulls | Sumner 1976; Fig. 5k; Nicholas 1980; 306 Fig. 49c |
| 100 | Malyan | Mf 5056 (M 1523) | Stone L. 2.0 cm D. 1.9 cm | TUV, U 166; building Level II | Banesh period | Two horned animals | Nicholas 1980: 306, Fig. 49a |
| 101 | Malyan | Mf 5057 (M 1524) | Stone L. 2.7 cm D. 1.1 cm | TUV surface N 168; eroded out of a baulk (?) | Banesh period | Nested diamonds and equilateral triangles | Ibid.: 49b |
| 102 | Malyan | Mf 1901 (M 1188) | Stone L. 2.0 cm D. 1.0 cm | ABC/S, Level IV, building Level IV | Banesh period | File of animals and plants; off-center loop at top | Sumner 1976: 109, Fig. 5m |
| 103 | Malyan | Mf 1903 (M 1190) | Plaster L. 2.3 cm D. 1.4 cm | ABC/N Level IV, building Level IV | Banesh period | File of horned animals | Ibid.: 109, Fig. 5:1 |
| 104 | Malyan | Mf 0335 | Stone L. 1.8 cm D. 0.6 cm | ABC, C; trash level | Kaftari period | Rampant animal followed by a human (?) | Sumner personal communication |
| 105 | Malyan | Mf 0389 | Stone L. 1.6 cm D. 0.8 cm | ABC, A1; trash level | Kaftari period | Leaping animals | Ibid. |
| 106 | Malyan | Mf 0185 | Stone L. 1.9 cm D. 1.0 cm | ABC | Kaftari period | (Design unknown) | Ibid. |
| 107 | Malyan | Mf 8397 (M 1720) | Stone L. 2.3 cm D. 1.3 cm | CGX 98, Pit 52; brick-making evidence | Kaftari period | Antlered stag, nude man running with hound, snake (?) figures standing on head, snake (?), crescent moon | Sumner 1980:9 and frontis drawing; personal communication |
| 108 | Malyan | Mf 0031 | Stone L. 2.35 cm D. 1.2 cm | ABC, Pit 41; Level I pit | Kaftari period | Presentation scene with snakes | Sumner 1972:Pl. IX b; 1974:170, Fig. 12a |
| 109 | Malyan | Mf 0088 | Stone L. 1.9 cm D. 0.4 cm | ABC Level I; Level I trash | Kaftari period | File of animals | Ibid.: 1972:Pl. IXc; 1974, Fig. 12c |

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| 110 | Malyan | Mf 0159 | Stone L. 2.5 cm D. 1.3 cm | ABC Level I; Level I trash | Kaftari period | Presentation scene with table and three containers | Ibid.: 1972: Pl. IXa; 1974, Fig. 12c |
| 111 | Malyan | Mf 0143 | Stone L. 2.0 cm D. 0.9 cm | ABC, Pit 23 Level I pit | Kaftari period | Seated figure and tree | Ibid.: 1974; Fig. 12e |
| 112 | Malyan | Mf 0275 | Stone L. 2.5 cm D. 1.4 cm | ABC Level I; Level I trash | Kaftari period | Skirted figure facing a figure with arms raised | Ibid.: 1974: Fig. 12f |
| 113 | Malyan | Mf 0509 | Stone L. 2.7 cm D. 1.4 cm | ABC, Pit 152 Level I pit | Kaftari period | Man and hound attacking a rampant lion; goat eating in a tree | Ibid.: 1974; Fig. 12g (reversed in article) |
| 114 | Malyan | Mf 0087 | Stone L. 1.4 cm D. 0.4 cm | ABC, Level I trash | Kaftari period | Horned animals, skirted figure, eight point star | Ibid.: 1974: Fig. 12h |
| 115 | Malyan | Mf 0586 | Stone L. 1.1 cm D. 1.3 cm | ABC, Pit 152 Level I pit | Kaftari period | Trees, man with spear (?) | Ibid.: 1974: Fig. 12i |
| 116 | Malyan | Mf 0585 | Stone L. 2.1 cm D. 1.0 cm | EE 39 Building level I | Kaftari period | Feet of two confronting long skirted humans (fragment) | Ibid.: 1974: Fig. 12k |
| 117 | Malyan | Mf 0241 | Stone L. 2.0 cm D. 1.1 cm | EE 16 | Kaftari period | (Design unknown) | Sumner personal communication |
| 118 | Malyan | Mf 0304 | Stone L. 2.4 cm D. 1.3 cm | EE 16 | Kaftari period | (Design unknown) | Ibid. |
| 119 | Malyan | Mf 1021 (M 0674) | Frit L. 3.3 cm D. 0.9 cm | DD 43 Building level and possible association with a burial | Late Elamite (?) | Man leading a horse (?): possibly man wears a sword low on hips | Ibid., and Field register of objects |
| 120 | Malyan | Mf 5037 (M 1522) | Stone L. 4.3 cm D. 1.0 cm | FF 41. Room | Middle Elamite period | Man leading an animal ridden by a man with raised arm; overhead birds in flight | Sumner personal communication |
| 121 | Malyan | Mf 9568 (M 1759) | Stone L. 2.2 cm D. 1.1 cm | G 7 | Kaftari period | Ibex and mountain goat in file with odd horned altar overhead (?) | Ibid. |
| 122 | Malyan | Mf 0385 | Stone L. 1.1 cm D. 0.6 cm | Surface | Surface | Stick figure (?) | Ibid. |
| 123 | Marlik | 1091 M (2380) | Gypsum/lime-stone L. 3.1 cm D. 1.4 cm | Tomb III D+ | Iron I-II | Neo-Babylonian style (?) (Scene runs vertically) Three marching men and a panel of stars (?) triangles (?) at feet | Negahban, 1977 (a): 88-89, Fig. 5 and 1964: 24, Fig. 90 |
| 124 | Marlik | 1096 M (2388) | Stone-green L. 4.3 cm D. 1.5 cm | Tomb VI A | Iron I-II | Two registers (?) god or king seated before a table | Negahban, 1977 (a): 92-94, Fig. 8 |
| 125 | Marlik | 1094 M (2389) | Frit (?) Gypsum (?) L. 2.0 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb VI B+ | Iron I-II | Mitanni style (?) mountain goats either side a tree (cf. Tepe Giyan glazed terracotta seal) | Negahban, 1977 (a): 82, Fig. 1 |

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| 126 | Marlik | 1093 M (2385) | Frit (?) Gypsum (?) L. 2.8 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb VI B+ | Iron I-II | Mitanni style (?) recumbant mountain goat and band of flowers | Ibid.: 86, Fig. 3 |
| 127 | Marlik | 1089 M (2382) | Gypsum (?) Limestone (?) L. 3.0 cm D. 1.3 cm | Tomb VIII A+ | Iron I-II | Mitanni style (?) recumbant mountain goats as on 1093 M and on a seal impression from Haft Tepe (unpublished) | Ibid.: 85, Fig. 2 |
| 128 | Marlik | 1166 M (2378) | Bitumen + gold sheath L. 2.2 cm D. 0.7 cm | Tomb VIII D+ | Iron I-II | Too crushed for design to be seen | Ibid.: 95, Fig. 10 |
| 129 | Marlik | 1167 M (2390) | Frit (?) Gypsum (?) L. 2.5 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb IX D | Iron I-II | Cuneiform inscription on seal; G. Cameron: 'not later than 11th or 10th century BC' | Ibid.: 1964: 24: 1977 (a); 94 No. 9 |
| 130 | Marlik | 1168 M (2391) | Frit L. 3.1 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb IX D | Iron I-II | Inscribed but illegible | Ibid.: 1964:24 1977 (a) 94, No. 10 |
| 131 | Marlik | 1198 M (2387) | Stone – greenish L. 2.2 cm D. 0.8 cm | Tomb XI A | Iron I-II | Too worn to distinguish | Ibid.: 1977 (a) 98, No. 22 |
| 132 | Marlik | 1092 M (2386) | Frit L. 3.0 cm D. 1.1 cm | Tomb XI B | Iron I-II | Mitanni style (?) winged four legged animals with upright tails and top knots (?) | Ibid.: 87, Fig. 4 |
| 133 | Marlik | 1097 M (2384) | Stone L. 2.8 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XI B | Iron I-II | Too worn to distinguish | Ibid.: 98, No. 21 |
| 134 | Marlik | 1099 M (2379) | Stone – pinkish L. 3.0 cm D. 0.9 cm | Tomb XIII B | Iron I-II | Too worn to distinguish | Ibid.: 99, No. 23 |
| 135 | Marlik | 1169 M (2392) | Gypsum L. 3.2 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Two bands of chevrons separated by slashes | Ibid.: 95-96, Fig. 11 |
| 136 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Frit L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Parallel zigzag lines | Ibid.: 96, Fig. 12 |
| 137 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Frit L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Two rows of cross hatched bands | Ibid.: 97, Fig. 13 |
| 138 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Frit (?) L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Chevrons in a band | Ibid.: 97, Fig. 15 |
| 139 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Frit (?) Gypsum (?) L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Slashes or zigzag bands | Ibid.: 98, Fig. 16 |
| 140 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Gypsum (?) Frit (?) L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | No design but molded protruding bands; a bead (?) | Ibid.: 97, Fig. 14 |

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| 141 | Marlik | 130 M (2396) | Frit (?) L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Parallel grooves at ends | Ibid.: 98, Fig. 17 |
| 142 | Marlik | 130 M | Frit (?) L. 4.0 cm (Av.) D. 1.0 cm | Tomb XVII E | Iron I-II | Chevrons and slashes | Ibid.: 98, Fig. 18 |
| 143 | Marlik | 1165 M (2377) | Gold L. 1.1 cm D. 0.7 cm | Tomb XVIII C | Iron I-II | File of animals including a large bird standing; a four-legged animal and a snake with triangular head | Ibid.: 94, Fig. 9; Negahban manuscript in press describing complete list of objects from this tomb |
| 144 | Marlik | 1090 M (2383) | Stone – greenish L. 4.0 cm D. 1.4 cm | Test trench, XX F | Iron I-II | Two panels divided by narrow panel of Xs, each panel in two sections: kneeling archer with quiver and wearing helmet with earflaps | Negahban 1977 (a) 89, 90-91, Fig. 6 |
| 145 | Marlik | 1095 M (2381) | Hematite with gold caps L. 3.0 cm D. 1.1 cm | Test trench, XX F | Iron I-II | Kneeling archer with bow aims at a lion rampant; two flying birds; crescent and many pointed star | Negahban, 1964: 24, Fig. 89; 1977 (1) 91-92, Fig. 7 |
| 146 | Mauiyilbak | | Alabaster | Burial a, section ii below head (?) | Iron II burial | Kassite (?) Plain; a bead (?) | Stein 1940: 296, Pl. XVIII:24 and p. 298 |
| 147 | Mauiyilbak | | White frit (?) | Burial a, section ii containing a necklace on Cu wire | Iron II | Lattice design: a bead (?) | Ibid.: Pl. XVIII:22 |
| 148 | Mauiyilbak | | Alabaster | Burial a, section ii as above | Iron II | Incised, badly preserved | Ibid.: Pl. XVIII:29 |
| 149 | Mauiyilbak | | Frit with glaze L. 1 inch | Burial a, section ii as above | Iron II | Bearded archer kneeling to discharge arrow at horned beast; six rayed sun; crescent | Ibid.: Pl. XVIII:28 |
| 150 | Mauiyilbak | | Frit with glaze | Burial a, section ii On Cu wire with coiled wire at top | Iron II | C. J. Gadd: 9th-8th century BC; Assyrian origin; archer with bow as above | Ibid.: 297; Pl. XVIII:30 |
| 151 | Nusijan | | | | | 7th century BC Phoenician; standing archer | Dyson personal notes on Stronach report at VI (1977) Teheran Symposium |
| 152 | Pasargadae | | Stone L. 2.6 cm | S.W. edge, Tall-i Takht | Surface | Achaemenid; 5th century BC; hero in combat with lion; four-winged figure above eight spoke wheel | Stronach 1978: 178-179, Pl. 162a, b; 1963: 41, Pl. VI a, b |
| 153 | Persepolis | PT 5 266 | Stone (calcareous) 'average' size | Plot HG 10, S.E., treasury hall 38, on floor | Achaemenid | Two goats Probably Achaemenid | Schmidt 1957: 44, Pl. 15 |

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| 154 | Persepolis | PT 5 413 | Stone 'average' size | Treasury hall 38 | Achaemenid | Porada: 'late peripheral Assyrian'; hero holding two winged monsters | Ibid.: 44, Pl. 15; footnote 134, p. 42 |
| 155 | Persepolis | PT 5 415 | Chalcedony 'extra large' | Plot HF 29 Treasury hall 38 | Achaemenid | Porada: Assyrian, 9th-8th century BC; hero combatting winged monster | Ibid.: 44-45, Pl. 16; footnote 136, p. 42 |
| 156 | Persepolis | PT 4 1096 | Bone 'average' size | Plot HG 22; 40 cm above floor; treasury hall 38 | Achaemenid | Two running ibexes; Probably Jamdat Nasr | Ibid.: 46, Pl. 16 |
| 157 | Persepolis | PT 5 238 | Steatite 'average' size | Plot HF 49; Treasury, loose dirt from hall 38 or room 39 | Achaemenid | Old Babylonian style; seated and standing deity and worshiper | Ibid.: 45, Pl. 16 |
| 158 | Persepolis | PT 6 51 | Stone 'average' size | Plot HG 10; Treasury (note PT5 266 above) | Achaemenid | Lion attacking stag; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: 44-45, Pl. 16 |
| 159 | Persepolis | PT 4 484 | Stone 'average' size | Treasury, E. end room 32 refuse | Achaemenid | Late Assyrian; person and winged ibex | Ibid.: 45, Pl. 16 |
| 160 | Persepolis | PT 4 873 | Stone (calcareous) 'extra large' | Treasury room 33 at center N. wall on floor | Achaemenid | Two persons flanking altar and stand; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: 43, Pl. 15 |
| 161 | Persepolis | PT 4 908 | Chalcedony 'average' size | Treasury room 33 center N. wall on floor | Achaemenid | Porada: Neo-Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian style; two winged genii | Ibid.: 45, Pl. 16 |
| 162 | Persepolis | PT 4 939 | Stone (upper half) 'average' size | Plot HG 41; Treasury room 34 or 35 in loose dirt | Achaemenid | Achaemenid (?) or slightly earlier; winged disk flanked by two worshipers | Ibid.: 43, Pl. 15 |
| 163 | Persepolis | PT 4 191 | Baked clay 'average' size | Plot HG 72; Treasury room 22 | Achaemenid | Lion attacking ibex; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid. 44, Pl. 16 |
| 164 | Persepolis | PT 5 743 | Baked clay 'average' size | Treasury room 43, near center W. wall on floor | Achaemenid | Two lions attacking mouflon; Achaemenid | Ibid.: 44, Pl. 15 |
| 165 | Persepolis | PT 6 673 | Limestone (?) 'average' size | Treasury room 83 N.W., 1 cm above floor | Achaemenid | Lion attacking winged man-ibex; Achaemenid | Ibid.: 43, Pl. 15 |
| 166 | Persepolis | PT 6 699 | Light brown baked clay 'average' size | Treasury plot IG 34; surface layer | Achaemenid | Horseman at altar; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: p. 43, Pl. 15 |
| 167 | Persepolis | PT 6 1 | Black steatite 'extra large' | Treasure hall 41 Plot HG 70 or HF 69 loose dirt | Achaemenid | Seated person and standing attendant flanking table; Porada, Assyrian 9th-8th century BC | Ibid.: p. 45, Pl. 16, footnote 136 |
| 168 | Persepolis | PT 6 268 | Dark brown Hematite 'average' | Plot HG 02; outside N.E. corner of treasury | Achaemenid | Old Babylonian style; two standing persons, seated deity | Ibid.: 45-46, Pl. 16 |
| 169 | Persepolis | PT 5 527 | Brown stone 'average' size | Plot GE 89; W. of throne hall | Achaemenid | Lion attacking stag; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: 44, Pl. 16 |
| 170 | Persepolis | PT 5 36 | Black stone 'average' size | Plot GF 23 Throne hall portico debris, S.E. corner | Achaemenid | Rare design: animal sacrifice; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: 43, Pl. 15; special discussion, pl. 42 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|----------------|-----------|---|---|-----------------------|--|--|
| 171 | Persepolis | PT 5 351 | Purplish-red brown stone 'average' size | Plot HF 43; Harem, service quarters, room 4 on floor | Achaemenid | Porada: 'late peripheral Assyrian'; winged lion-stag, winged man-bull (?) | Ibid.: 44, Pl. 15; footnote 134 |
| 172 | Persepolis | PT 7 204 | Greenish green serpentine 'average' size | Plot IE 59; Harem, W. wing, room 2, W. part | Achaemenid | File of three animals; Probably Jamdat Nasr | Ibid.: 46, Pl. 16; special discussion, p. 43 |
| 173 | Persepolis | PT 7 33 | Baked clay 'average' size | Apadana, S.E. tower, passage 9 | Achaemenid | Lion striking ibex; Probably Achaemenid | Ibid.: 44, Pl. 15 |
| 174 | Persepolis | PT 3 111 | Red-brown stone 'average' size | Plot HG 78; Eastern fortification surface layer above moat, N.E. corner | Achaemenid | Porada: 'late peripheral Assyrian'; winged monster chasing ibex | Ibid.: and footnote 134 |
| 175 | Persepolis | PT 5 791 | Baked clay, red paste, brown slip 'average' size | Plot HG 12; 'Garrison street' | Achaemenid | Late Assyrian style; deity seated at altar, lion striking animal | Ibid.: 45, Pl. 16; discussed p. 43 |
| 176 | Shahdad | F 370/49 | Marble L. 2.7 cm | Area AT 2, burials | Third millennium BC | Goddess and three worshipers | Hakemi 1972: No. 303 |
| 177 | Shahdad | F 488/50 | Marble L. 3.8 cm D. 2.3 cm | Area AT 2, burials | Third millennium BC | Goddess of vegetation and goddess of animals confronting | Ibid.: No. 323; Pl. XXVI; 1973a: Pl. Xc |
| 178 | Shahdad | F 489/50 | Calcaire L. 21.6 cm D. 1.5 cm | Area AT 2, | Third millennium BC | Same as Cat. No. 177 | Ibid.: No. 324 |
| 179 | Shahdad | F 316/50 | Silver L. 2.2 cm D. 2.0 cm | Area AT 2, burials | Third millennium BC | Two seated women flanking a palm tree | Ibid.: No. 325 |
| 180 | Shahr-i Sokhta | #23 | Serpentine L. 1.8 cm D. 1.2 cm | XVD 11 S., Phase 10 | Period I | Upright animal, dog (?), horse (?), short ears; backed by snake (?) or lightning | Amiet and Tosi 1978: 28, Fig. 35 (Neg. no. Dep. CS 12687/14a) |
| 181 | Shahr-i Sokhta | | Chlorite | Collapsed 'house of jars': Phase VI | Period I | | Dyson personal notes from Salvatori report at VI (1977) Teheran Symposium |
| 182 | Shahr-i Sokhta | (1967) | Lapis lazuli (?) L. 2.5 cm or L. 2.7 cm under Tosi Fig. 109 | Surface | Period I | Geometric: two triangles side by side outlined by a band of slashes | Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973:26 Tucci 1978:259; Tosi 1968: 61-62, Fig. 109 a, b |
| 183 | Sialk | S 148 | Grey stone L. 2.0 cm D. 0.8 cm (not pierced) | | Necropole B (1) | Cylinder bead (?) | Ghirshman 1939: Pl. XCVII |
| 184 | Sialk | S 737 | Green stone L. 2.4 cm | Tomb 24 | Necropole B (1) | Horses and squares | Ibid.: Pl. XXX:3 |
| 185 | Sialk | S 810 | Green stone L. 2.7 cm | Tomb 15 | Necropole B (1) | Horsemen | Ibid.: Pl. XXX:5 and Pl. LVI |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|-------|-----------|---|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| 186 | Sialk | S 1301 | Baked clay L. 4.0 cm D. 1.1 cm | | Necropole B (1) | Shrine (?), horses and animals | Ibid.: Pl. XXX:8 |
| 187 | Sialk | S 1312 | Glass paste L. 2.6 cm | | Necropole B (1) | Tree + man + animal: ostrich (?) | Ibid.: Pl. XXX:6 |
| 188 | Sialk | S 1318 | Black stone L. 3.0 cm D. 0.6 cm | Tomb 131 | Necropole B (1) | Geometric | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:6 and XCVII |
| 189 | Sialk | S 1327 | Blue-green stone L. 3.8 cm D. 1.7 cm | | Necropole B (1) | Seated man, jar and drinking tube + animals and horses | Ibid.; Pl. XXX:7, Fig. 8, p. 63 |
| 190 | Sialk | S 1338 | Glass paste L. 3.5 cm | Tomb 146 | Necropole B (1) | Ibexes | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:4 and XCVII |
| 191 | Sialk | S 1348 | Baked clay | S. hill; building Level VI | Sialk VI | Ladder, animals | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:5 and XCVII |
| 192 | Sialk | S 1386 | Grey stone L. 3.6 cm D. 1.4 cm | Tomb 133 | Necropole B (1) | Hunt scene | Ibid.: Pls. XXX:4 and XCVI |
| 193 | Sialk | S 1458 | Glass paste L. 1.8 cm + D. 1.0 cm | Tomb 165 | Necropole B (1) | Animals | Ibid.: XCVII |
| 194 | Sialk | S 1571 | Glass paste L. 3.0 cm D. 0.8 cm | | Necropole B (2) | Banquet scene, seated figure, libation jar; crescent moon and stars | Ibid.: Pls. XXX:1 and XCVI |
| 195 | Sialk | S 1572 | Glass paste L. 1.7 cm D. 1.0 cm (fragment) | | Necropole B (2) | Lower half of seal only; animals | Ibid.: Pl. XCVII |
| 196 | Sialk | S 1573 | White glass L. 2.2 cm | | Necropole B (2) | Slashes (Cylinder bead ?) | Ibid.: Pl. XCVII |
| 197 | Sialk | S 1574 | Baked clay – yellow L. 2.5 cm D. 1.3 cm | | Necropole B (2) | Animals | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:3 and XCVII |
| 198 | Sialk | S 1664 | Glass paste L. 2.0 + cm (fragment) | | Necropole B (2) | Lower half of seal only; animals | Ibid.: Pl. XCVII |
| 199 | Sialk | S 1712 | Glass paste L. 3.2 cm | Tomb 208 | Necropole B (2) | Animals and figures, stars and circles | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:1 and XCVII |
| 200 | Sialk | S 1714 | Green stone L. 1.5 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb 193 | Necropole B (2) | File of animals | Ibid.: Pl. XCVI |
| 201 | Sialk | S 1725 | Glass paste L. 2.8 cm D. 1.0 cm | Tomb 213 | Necropole B (2) | Tree of life (palm), fish, standards, crescent moon | Ibid.: Pls. XXXI:2 and XCVI |
| 202 | Sialk | S 1726 | Grey stone L. 2.2 cm D. 1.1 cm (unpierced) | Tomb 213 | Necropole B (2) | Sledge and animals (?) | Ibid.: Pls. XXX:9 and XCVI |
| 203 | Sialk | S 1795 | Glass paste L. 2.5 cm D. 0.4 cm | Tomb 199 | Necropole B (2) | Seated and standing figure and animal, star and snake | Ibid.: Pls. XXX:2 and XCVI |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|----------------|-----------|--|---|-------------------------|--|---|
| 204 | Sialk | S 54 | Black stone L. 2.5 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | Animal and tree | Ibid.: 1938: 146; Pl. XCIV |
| 205 | Sialk | S 25 | Grey stone: 'fonce' L. 2.7 cm D. 2.0 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | Birds and circles around a circle | Ibid. |
| 206 | Sialk | S 42 | Black stone L. 2.2 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | 'Eye' motif, ovates with lines | Ibid. |
| 207 | Sialk | S 79 | Grey stone L. 2.0 cm D. 2.5 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | Figure with pot and two handles and animal | Ibid. |
| 208 | Sialk | S 48 | Grey stone L. 2.5 cm | S. hill, building Level IV 1 | Period IV | Animals and circles around a circle | Ibid. |
| 209 | Sialk | S 89 | Black stone L. 2.0 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | Seated figure and tree or bird or vase | Ibid. |
| 210 | Sialk | S 506 | Green stone L. 2.0 cm | S. hill; building Level IV 1 | Period IV | 'Eye' motif separated by parallel lines | Ibid. |
| 211 | Sialk | S 469a | Hematite L. 2.2 cm | Tomb V | Necropole A | 1st dynasty Babylonian type; two standing figures | Ibid.: 1939, Pls. XL and V:6 |
| 212 | Sialk | S 661 | Grey stone | Tomb XIV | Necropole A | Seated figure holding spears (?) in each hand; horned quadrupeds; birds | Ibid.: 1939, Pl. XLVI |
| 213 | Site 10 I 3 | | Calcite L. 2.5 cm | Site 10 I 3, area to S.W. Kur River near Kuh-i Sabz, surface | (Banesh Period site) | EDII/III style (?); (reminiscent of bird and stick element) | Alden 1979:127, Fig. 18 |
| 214 | Surkh Dum | SOR 1428 | | | | Seated kingly figure | UM Neg. 78209 |
| 215 | Surkh Dum | SOR 923 | | | | Long necked animal walking on hind legs | UM Neg. 78210 |
| 216 | Surkh Dum | SOR 200 | | | | Seated figure in tiered feathered skirt with hand before face | UM Neg. 78211 |
| 217 | Surkh Dum | SOR (?) | | SQ 11 R 5 PR 24 (?); sanctuary with mud brick walls on stone foundation on 'floor of room adjacent to main room' | Iron II | Winged horses (?) and tree | Schmidt 1934 (Photo only) and 1957:43 |
| 218 | Surkh Dum | SOR (?) | | Same as Cat. No. 217 | Iron II | Chariot and archer and caparisoned horse fighting horned animal | Ibid. |
| 219 | Surkh Dum | SOR 1124 | Shell C L. 2.8 cm D. 1.45 cm | | | Akkadian; battling gods | Muscarella 1981: No. 32 MET 43-102-34 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|-----------|-----------|--|--|-----------------------------|---|--|
| 220 | Surkh Dum | SOR 786 | Hematite L. 2.3 cm D. 1.28 cm | | | Old Babylonian; inscribed; presentation scene | Ibid.: No. 33 MET 43-102-35 |
| 221 | Surkh Dum | SOR 1317 | Serpentine L. 2.56 cm D. 1.15 cm | | | Middle Elamite; worship scene | Ibid.: No. 34 MET 43-102-39 |
| 222 | Surkh Dum | SOR 528 | Chalcedony (?) L. 2.72 cm D. 1.18 cm | | | Middle Assyrian; Hero holding animal by hind leg | Ibid.: No. 35 MET 43-102-37 |
| 223 | Surkh Dum | SOR 1461 | Unglazed, yellowish faience (?) L. 3.3 cm D. 0.92 cm | | | Late Middle Elamite (?) Seated banqueter (?); ladder borders (cf. Giyan Pl. 38:36) | Ibid.: No. 36 MET 43-102-37 |
| 224 | Surkh Dum | SOR 131 | Chalcedony + Fe L. 3.38 cm D. 1.34 cm | | | Late Middle Elamite (?) Crosses and figures | Ibid.: No. 37 MET 43-102-32 |
| 225 | Surkh Dum | SOR 103 | Burned chlorite (?) L. 2.58 cm D. 1.17 cm | | | Early Neo-Elamite (?) Rampant griffin and winged bull | Ibid.: No. 38 MET 43-102-40 |
| 226 | Surkh Dum | SOR 807 | Burned chlorite (?) L. 4.0 cm D. 1.13 cm | | | Early Neo-Elamite (?) Animal and sacred tree | Ibid.: No. 39 MET 43-102-30 |
| 227 | Surkh Dum | SOR 1299 | Burned chlorite L. 4.31 cm D. 1.28 cm | | | Neo-Elamite Porada: 1000-900 BC Two rampant horned animals flanking a tree | Ibid.: No. 40 Porada 1964: 13-14; MET 43-102-33 |
| 228 | Yahya | TY 16 | Faience L. 3.3 cm D. 1.6+ cm | BW-CW TT3 2; Period IV C Building IV C, rear room 1a | | Lozenges | Lamberg-Karlovsky personal communication from unpublished report P372, Fig. 61d; Lamberg-Karlovsky & Tosi 1973:33,37 |
| 229 | Yahya | TY 17 | Glazed chlorite L. 3.4 cm D. 1.7 cm | BW-CW 8-1 (1971); outside room 1a | Period IV C | Stylized leaves | Ibid.: 373, Fig. 61b; 1973:33 |
| 230 | Yahya | TY 32 | Chlorite L. 3.5 cm D. 1.3 cm | B-BW, TT 4, 7-1 (1970); from floor of Persian Gulf room | Period IV B 5 | Seated deities | Ibid.: 367, 373 Fig. 65a; 1971: Pl. VI |
| 231 | Yahya | TY 33 | Chlorite L. 3.1 cm D. 1.7 cm | CW S 1 (1971) | Period IV C 1/IV B 6 (?) | Seated winged goddess | Ibid.: 375, Fig. 65c |
| 232 | Yahya | TY 34 | Glazed serpentine | BW TT5-7 (1969); found under miniature Cu/br ring; chisel and shaft hole axe | Period IV B | Two horned gods | Ibid.: Fig. 65d; 1970:22, Fig. 33 |

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|-------|-----------|---|---|-----------------------|---|---|
| 233 | Yahya | TY 38 | Chlorite L. 2.7 cm D. 1.0 cm | B 2-6 (1973); Pit dug from Persian Gulf room | Period IV B 5 | Goddess (?) and palm tree | Ibid.: 377, Fig. 67 |
| 234 | Yahya | TY 43 | Chlorite L. 2.5 cm D. 1.0 cm | B 6 (1970) | Period IV B 4 | Poorly preserved; human (?) stick figure (?) | Ibid.: 378, Fig. 65e; 1970: Fig. 2:B |
| 235 | Yahya | TY 44 | Chlorite L. 1.3 cm D. (?) (fragment) | XBE TT1 3b-3 (1971) | Period IV A 1 | Unclear | Ibid.: Fig. 65b |
| 236 | Yahya | TY 45 | Chlorite L. 3.5 cm D. 1.4 cm | XB TT1, 7a 34 (1970) | Period IV B | This is not a cylinder but four sided: stars, fish; palm tree | Ibid.: Fig. 121 |
| 237 | Yahya | TY 46 | Chlorite | Surface (1970) | | Palm trees | Lamberg- Karlovsky 1970:61, 66 and Fig. 21 |

Addendum: M. Marcus

| Cat. No. | Site | Field No. | Material and Measurement | Specific Provenience | Archaeological Period | Subject and/or Stylistic Attribution | Reference |
|----------|---------|-----------------|--|--|-----------------------|--|--|
| | Hasanlu | (1934) | Stone | Outer town area from commercial digging. | Period V or IV | Bearded centaur? with mace? confronting a leaping, horned animal | Ghirshman, <i>Sialk</i> II:78, pl. C, 28 |
| | Hasanlu | Has 60- 288 | Frit bead? L. 2.1 cm D 1.0 cm (half only) | CC 30 (5) 1 /12 BB II room 5 | Period IV | Geometric: diagonal and horizontal lines | MET 61-100- 114 |
| | Hasanlu | Has 64- 363 | Stone L. 2.5 cm D. 1.2 cm | VI J (4) /5 B3 Outer town burial, N.W. edge next to jube (under skull) | Period V or IV | Galloping ibex before a tree | UM 61-31-390 |
| | Hasanlu | Has 64- 826 | Eg. blue bead? L. 3.3 cm D. 1.0 cm | CC 31 (4) 2 /305 BB II room 7 from second story collapse | Period IV | Incised geometric lines | UM 65-31-2534 |
| | Hasanlu | Has 64- 1084 | Frit L. 2.4 cm D. 1.0 cm | ? | Period IV | Archer in long mantle shooting arrow at large horned serpent; bush between them; crescent above. (Assyrian style?) | UM 56-31- 402 |

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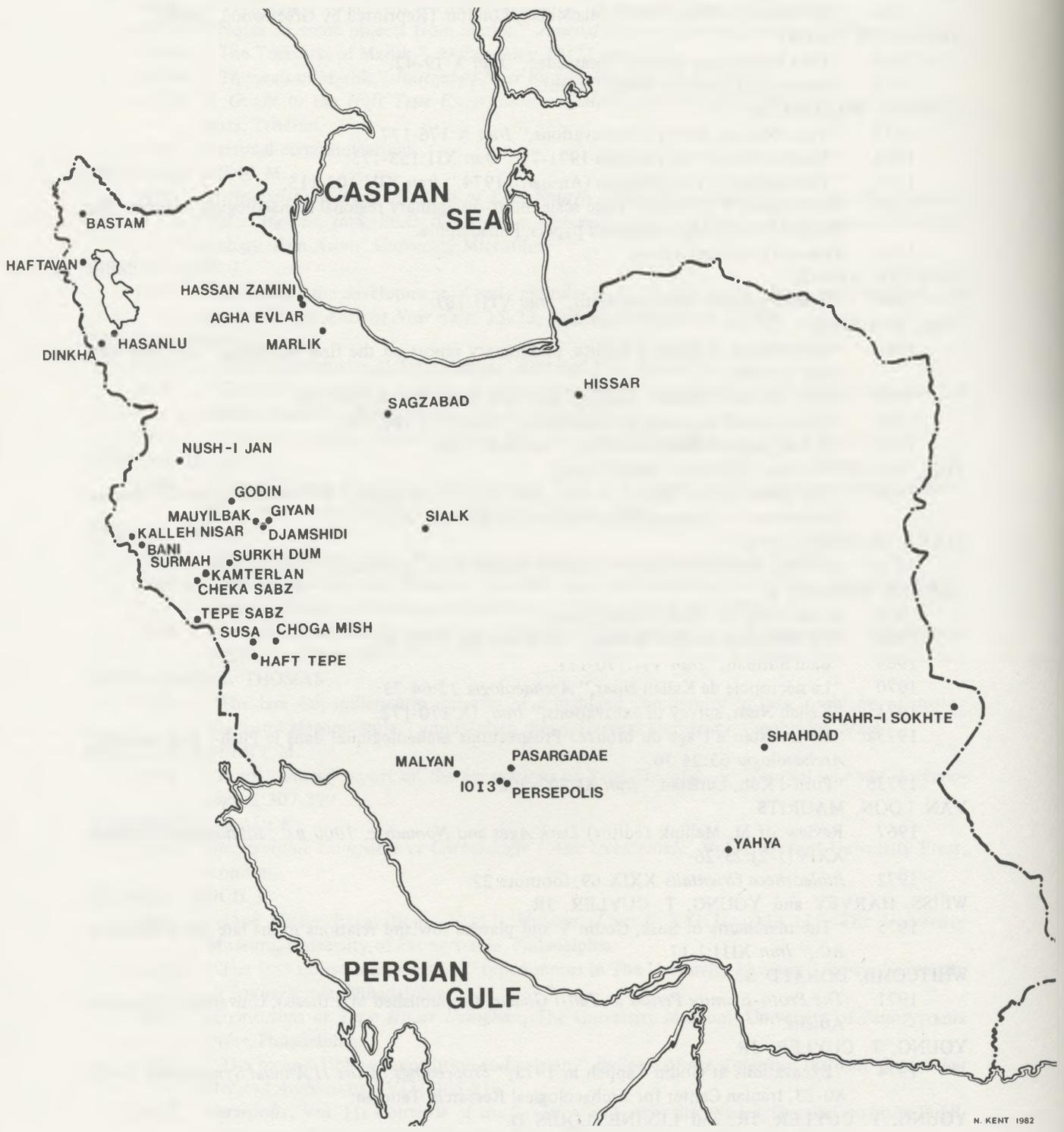
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Iranian Sites Recording Excavated Cylinder Seals.

COQUILLAGES ET GLYPTIQUE ARAMEENNE

Denyse Homès-Fredericq

Nous sommes heureuse de présenter ici une petite énigme, annexe à l'étude de la glyptique du 1^{er} millénaire avant J.C., en hommage au Professeur Edith Porada, qui a tant étudié, analysé et enseigné cette matière, et qui, plus qu'une autre a enrichi et élargi nos connaissances des sceaux du Proche-Orient.

Parmi les tablettes araméennes conservées aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles), trois ont été légalisées par des empreintes incompréhensibles qui ne proviennent ni de cylindres ou de cachets, ni d'impressions d'ongles ou de franges de vêtements, types d'authentification qui se retrouvent fréquemment sur les tablettes cunéiformes.¹ Elles datent du 7^e s. avant J.C. et ont été acquises en 1972² avec 21 autres, de formes triangulaires ou rectangulaires, toutes en écriture araméenne. D'après les dires des vendeurs, elles provenaient de la région de Harran, sans qu'ils puissent préciser s'il s'agissait du nord de la Syrie ou du sud-est de la Turquie actuelle. Cette origine est d'ailleurs confirmée par les données philologiques, trouvées sur les tablettes³ et par les motifs iconographiques de leur glyptique.⁴

Cet ensemble de textes araméens a été acheté en deux lots séparés,⁵ à quelques mois d'intervalle, à deux antiquaires différents. Pourtant les objets devaient provenir d'une même source, comme l'attestent les noms cités dans ces contrats: les riches propriétaires Shihar-nuri et Huday,⁶ l'emprunteur Amman et ses témoins sont nommés dans les deux lots. Quelques empreintes y sont identiques et il est donc vraisemblable qu'un seul et même groupe d'archives ait été vendu séparément par ces deux antiquaires amis.

Les 24 tablettes conservées à Bruxelles complètent une vingtaine de textes analogues,

¹ A. Finet, "Les symboles du cheveu, du bord du vêtement et de l'ongle en Mésopotamie," dans *Annales du Centre d'Etudes des religions, III, Eschatologie et cosmologie*, Bruxelles, s.d. pp. 101-130; J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," dans McGuire Gibson and R. D. Biggs (eds.) *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* (= *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 6) Malibu, 1977, pp. 75-88; W. Leemans, "La fonction des sceaux, apposés à des contrats vieux-babyloniens," dans (G. van Driel et al., eds.) *Zikir Sumim, Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. Kraus on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden, 1982, pp. 219-244.

² D. Homès-Fredericq, "Glyptique sur les tablettes araméennes aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles)," communication tenue à la RAI de Göttingen, dans *RA*, 70 (1976) pp. 57-70, 4 figs. (= Homès, 1976), idem. *Sceaux-cylindres de Syrie*, Bruxelles 1982, p. 67, no. 114-116.

³ Renseignement aimablement fourni par E. Lipiński que nous tenons à remercier d'avoir accepté de se charger de l'étude philologique de ces tablettes.

⁴ Homès, 1976, pp. 57-70.

⁵ Le premier lot est constitué des tablettes O.3645-O. 3673 écrites en araméen et en cunéiforme, le second des tablettes araméennes O.3713-O.3717.

⁶ Shihar-nuri: O.3647, O.3656, O.3671, O.3715-O.3716; Huday: O.3650, O.3670, O.3713-O.3714; Amman et ses témoins: O.3656, O.3716.

de la même époque: six proviennent d'Assur,⁷ cinq de Ninive,⁸ cinq autres de Halaf,⁹ quatre de Nimrud¹⁰ et deux, sans origine précise, ont été acquises par le Musée du Louvre.¹¹ Elles portent rarement des empreintes des sceaux, qui n'ont d'ailleurs été que peu étudiées ou même photographiées. Seuls les textes de Nimrud,¹² de Halaf¹³ et une tablette appartenant au Louvre¹⁴ montrent de la glyptique.

La plupart des textes de Bruxelles concernent des prêts (argent, orge, paille et bétail) qui ont été validés, soit par l'apposition de cachets,¹⁵ le déroulement de cylindres¹⁶ et des impressions d'ongles.¹⁷ Les trois tablettes que nous étudions ici, toutes triangulaires, (d'après une forme normale pour les actes juridiques de la fin de l'époque néo-assyrienne ou néo-babylonienne), comportent des marques inhabituelles, imprimées sur la base supérieure et ovale de ces objets. Ces impressions semblent correspondre à un mode de légalisation nouveau, peut-être introduit à cette époque, dont nous ne connaissons pas d'autres exemples.

Empreinte 1 (Ill. 1a-b)

Renseignements techniques sur la tablette: tablette triangulaire écrite sur les deux faces, trous de suspension aux extrémités supérieures de la tablette, argile noircie (brûlée) à l'origine, brun beige après cuisson et restauration au British Museum (Londres);¹⁸ h. 43 mm, larg. max. 38 mm; épais. 23 mm, M.R.A.H. no. inventaire O.3650.

Renseignements techniques sur l'empreinte: empreinte apposée au milieu de la surface plane ou base de la tablette, partiellement endommagée à l'une des extrémités, long. 11 mm large. 7 mm, prof. ± 2 mm, No. de la photo: ACL 113930 M; Dessin N. Gandhour-De Coster; Bibl.: D. Homès, 1976, p. 69, fig. 7b.

Description.

Le texte de la tablette O.3650 se rapporte à un prêt d'argent à 50%. Il ne mentionne pas

⁷M. Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Leipzig, 1921 (= WVDOG 38), 20 p. 2 pl.

⁸L. Delaporte, *Epigraphes araméennes*, Paris 1912, nos. 21-26, pp. 39-46.

⁹J. Friedrich, "Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf," dans *AfO*, Beiheft 6 (1940), pp. 70-78, pls. 30-31; R. Degen, "Die aramäische Tontafeln vom Tell Halaf," dans *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, Wiesbaden, I (1972), pp. 49-58, pls. III 6, IV-VII.

¹⁰A. R. Millard, "Some aramaic epigraphs," dans *Iraq*, XXXIV, 2 (1972), pp. 131-137, 7 fig., pls. LIII-LIV.

¹¹J. Starcky, "Une tablette araméenne de l'an 34 de Nabuchodonosor (AO 21063)" dans *Syria*, XXXVII (1960), pp. 99-115, fig. 1-2; P. Bordreuil, "Une tablette araméenne inédite de 635 av. J.-C. dans *Semitica*, XXIII (1973), pp. 95-102, pl. I-V.

¹²Millard, op. cit., pl. LIII a, c, d.

¹³Degen, op. cit., pls. III 6, IV 10, VI 17. Nous remercions R. Degen qui nous a permis d'examiner les négatifs des photos des tablettes araméennes disparues de Halaf.

¹⁴Bordreuil, op. cit., pls. I, III F., IV (photo de la tablette avec empreinte non étudiée).

¹⁵O.3646, O.3649, O.3653-O.3654, O.3656, O.3713, O.3715-O.3717.

¹⁶O.3652, O.3655, O.3670.

¹⁷O.3658, O.3659, O.3671.

¹⁸Nous tenons à remercier R. D. Barnett et E. Sollberger, Conservateurs en chef du Western Asiatic Department au British Museum, qui ont permis que nos tablettes soient restaurées par les soins de C. Bateman à qui va également notre reconnaissance.

l'objet employé pour le scellement de l'acte, ni le nom de son propriétaire. Il appartenait peut-être à l'emprunteur ou au débiteur, comme il était de coutume à l'époque.¹⁹

La tablette peut être datée par analogie aux environs de 665 av. J.C.; effectivement, le nom du témoin "Huday" apparaît aussi sur le contrat O.3655, daté de 665 par l'éponyme Mannu-ki-Sharri.²⁰ La base du contrat est ovale et relativement large; elle est délimitée aux deux extrémités par les traces des cordelettes que l'argile encerclait.²¹

L'empreinte est placée au milieu de l'espace libre; elle est partiellement endommagée et semble décorée d'un scorpion. En réalité, sa forme ovale, peu profondément imprimée dans l'argile, est surhaussée au centre d'une courbe qui présente quelques traits irréguliers. Des égratignures en arcs sont visibles au binoculaire, mais semblent indépendantes de l'empreinte, qui peut se comparer à celle de la tablette O.3659, quoiqu'elle ne soit pas identique.

Empreinte 2 (Ill. 2a-b)

Renseignements techniques sur la tablette: tablette triangulaire écrite sur les deux faces, 2 petits trous de suspension aux extrémités supérieures de la tablette, argile noircie (brûlée) à l'origine, brun beige clair après cuisson et restauration au British Museum (Londres), h. 38 mm, larg. 36 mm, ép. 19 mm, M.R.A.H. no. inv. O.3659.

Renseignements techniques sur l'empreinte: empreinte apposée à l'une des extrémités de la surface plane ou base de la tablette, bon état de conservation, long. 11 mm, large. 8 mm, prof. ± 2 mm, Photo ACL 113934M, Dessin: N. Gandhour-De Coster; Bibl.: D. Homès, 1976, p. 69, fig. 4c.

Description.

Un prêt d'orge, effectué par Harranay au profit de Shamshili, est légalisé par l'empreinte d'un objet à l'une des extrémités de la base de la tablette O.3659. L'empreinte est ovale, à découpe courbe centrale en relief, dont partent des rainures fines et irrégulières. Quelques égratignures fortuites apparaissent au binoculaire, ainsi que deux impuretés noires mêlées à l'argile, l'une sur la partie en relief, l'autre sur celle en creux de l'empreinte.

Empreinte 3 (Ill. 3a-b)

Renseignements techniques sur la tablette: tablette triangulaire écrite sur les deux faces (lisible sur une face seulement), trous de suspension aux extrémités supérieures de la tablette, argile noircie (brûlée) à l'origine, brun foncé après cuisson et restauration au British Museum (Londres), h. 49 mm, larg. 45 mm, ép. 25 mm, M.R.A.H. no. inv. O.3658.

Renseignements techniques sur l'empreinte: empreinte apposée à l'une des extrémités de la surface plane de la tablette, bon état de conservation, long. 12 mm, larg. 6 mm, prof.

¹⁹ J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-assyrian Legal Documents*, Warminster, 1976, p. 7.

²⁰ M. Falkner, "Die Eponymen der spätassyrischen Zeit," dans *AfO*, XVII (1954-55), pp. 100-121.

²¹ Les empreintes peuvent également être apposées de part et d'autre du noeud central, comme sur la tablette O.3671 non étudiée ici.

+ 2 mm, Photo: ACL 117405 M; Dessin: N. Gandhour—De Coster; Bibl. D. Homès, 1976, p. 69, fig. 4a.

Description.

Une seconde tablette mentionne Harranay prêteur d'orge, cette fois à Bitiy. Deux empreintes distinctes décorent la base de ce texte O.3658. La première, près du centre, a probablement été exécutée à l'aide d'une bague, comme cela se produit parfois à l'époque néo-assyrienne. La seconde, qui nous intéresse, a été imprimée à l'extrémité de la surface; elle présente la forme d'un rectangle de 12 mm x 6 mm à bords arrondis. L'empreinte est exécutée avec un objet presque entièrement strié de traits peu profonds, rapprochés et irréguliers, dont une partie est gardée lisse et non travaillée. L'argile de la tablette, à impuretés blanches, est impeccable à l'endroit de l'empreinte. Aucune égratignure n'apparaît au binoculaire.

* * *

Si nous comparons ces empreintes entre elles, nous constatons qu'elles ont à peu près les mêmes dimensions. Elles ont toutes été apposées sur la base ovale, parfois appelée "le haut"²² de la tablette, mais leur emplacement peut varier, soit au milieu (empreinte 1), soit à l'une de ses extrémités (empreintes 2-3), suivant une coutume de l'époque.²³ Les textes qu'elles légalisent ne donnent aucun renseignement sur leur forme ou leur origine, ce qui n'étonne pas. Enfin, la première et la seconde empreintes ont été faites par un même type d'objet, à découpe ovale, qui apparaît légèrement en relief sur l'argile, tandis que la troisième présente un décor à rainures, égales et serrées, très différent.

La comparaison de ces trois empreintes avec celles trouvées sur les tablettes araméennes de Halaf, de Nimrud et du Louvre ne donne aucun résultat. De même la glyptique proche-orientale de cette époque, qu'elle soit assyro-babylonienne, syrienne ou palestinienne, néo-hittite ou égyptienne, ne révèle aucun parallèle. Seules les légalisations "traditionnelles" (cylindres, cachets, ongles) authentifient les textes contemporains.

Plusieurs collègues que nous avons consultés nous ont certifié n'avoir rien remarqué d'analogue sur les tablettes qu'ils avaient examinées. Nous nous sommes alors demandé s'il ne pouvait s'agir d'empreintes de coquilles?

Effectivement, dès les époques protohistoriques en Mésopotamie, les coquillages ont été considérés pour diverses raisons comme des objets de grande valeur; que ce soit pour leur forme, leur taille, leur couleur, leur brillant ou leur rareté. Ils étaient portés en colliers comme amulettes et donnés aux dieux et aux morts comme offrandes. Fouilles et textes ont révélé leur importance dans l'Antiquité proche-orientale.

Grâce à des recherches effectuées avec l'aide efficace de Messieurs J. Van Goethem et J. de Wilde,²⁴ à l'Institut royal des Sciences Naturelles, cette hypothèse de travail s'est vue confirmée.

Plusieurs essais ont été faits dans de la plasticine avec des coquillages marins. Seuls ceux

²² Postgate, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁴ Nous remercions Messieurs J. Van Goethem, Chef du Département des Invertébrés et J. de Wilde, collaborateur scientifique à la section des Invertébrés récents, de nous avoir permis de consulter les collections de coquillages de l'Institut royal des Sciences Naturelles et de nous avoir aidé si obligeamment dans notre travail de recherches.

du type "cowries *Cypraea*"²⁵ et "Trivia,"²⁶ provenant des régions méditerranéennes, de la Mer Rouge, du golfe d'Aden et du golfe Persique²⁷ laissent des marques qui y ressemblent. Ceux de la famille des Cypraeidés s'en rapprochent le plus, compte tenu du fait que nous ne possédons pas l'exemplaire original qui seul peut être identique.

Les empreintes 1-2 ont probablement été exécutées par un coquillage marin de la famille des Cypraeidés. L'une des extrémités de l'ouverture de la coquille (vraisemblablement d'extrémité postérieure) a été imprimée dans l'argile.

L'empreinte 3 provient plus que probablement d'un autre coquillage marin dont on a appliqué la lèvre interne ou externe sur l'argile fraîche, de sorte que ses dents labiales ou columellaires se sont marquées dans la tablette. Ainsi s'explique également le fait que seule une partie de l'empreinte porte des stries (correspondant aux dents de l'ouverture), tandis qu'un plus petit espace est gardé lisse (correspondant à la base non striée du gastéropode).

Il est difficile de définir avec certitude quelle espèce de Cypraeidés a été employée; ces "Cyprées," aussi communément appelées "porcelaines," si populaires chez les collectionneurs modernes à cause de leurs couleurs et de leur brillant, étaient aussi recherchées dans l'Antiquité, comme l'attestent les textes.²⁸ Vivant dans les mers tropicales ou semi-tropicales, elles se rencontrent dans les récifs coralliens et les eaux peu profondes²⁹ de sorte qu'elles pouvaient être facilement récoltées. Plusieurs espèces de Cypraeidés peuvent être retenues, provenant soit de la Mer Rouge, du golfe d'Aden ou du golfe Persique, soit de la Mer Méditerranée.³⁰ Mais les espèces et les variétés sont si nombreuses qu'il est difficile de définir avec certitude à laquelle ils appartiennent. En effet, on peut avoir employé, soit un grand exemplaire d'une espèce relativement petite, soit un petit exemplaire d'une espèce relativement grande, soit un exemplaire avec malformations ("monstruosité"), ce qui indiquerait l'utilisation d'un coquillage rare ou unique, spécialement retenu pour son originalité.

De plus, il est difficile de définir l'origine des coquillages: on peut avoir retenu un région spécialement lointaine à cause de sa rareté, on peut le conserver à cause de son vernis ou de ses couleurs et des facteurs psychologiques incompris peuvent également avoir joué pour que le propriétaire ait gardé ce coquillage-là plus spécialement.

Plusieurs chantiers de fouilles du Proche-Orient ont révélé l'emploi de coquillages aux époques les plus diverses: J. M. Aynard, lors de son excellente étude sur le "*Murex Ramosus* Linné" gravé au nom de Rimush,³¹ donne une liste exhaustive de sites mésopotamiens où ces carapaces d'animaux ont été retrouvées, tant au nord qu'au sud du pays: ainsi Assur, Babylone, Bismaya, Fara, Khafadjé, Kish, Lachish, Mari, Nimrud, Nuzi, Obeid, Suse, Tell Rimah, Tell Lahm, Tello, Ur, Uruk en ont importés.³²

Il serait trop long de mentionner tous les sites archéologiques du Proche-Orient où des coquillages ont été découverts. Signalons simplement parmi les dernières trouvailles, les treize sceaux de la fin du 3e-début du 2e millénaire, exécutés dans les circonvolutes

²⁵ J. Marcy-J. Bot, *Les coquillages, Les gastéropodes marins*, Bruxelles, 1969, pp. 156-169; C. M. Burgess, *The living cowries*, New York-London, 1970; A. P. H. Olivier, *Les coquillages marins du monde en couleur*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1975, pp. 90-123.

²⁶ Marcy-Bot, op. cit., pp. 166-167, pl. 42 N-S; Olivier, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

²⁷ Burgess, op. cit., p. 21.

²⁸ A. L. Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian Conchology," dans *Orientalia*, 32 (1963), pp. 407-412.

²⁹ Olivier, op. cit., p. 90.

³⁰ Burgess, op. cit., pp. 21 ff.; Olivier, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.

³¹ J. M. Aynard, "Coquillages mésopotamiens," dans *Syria*, 43 (1966), pp. 21-37, 7 fig.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 23-30.

naturelles de coquillage, coupés transversalement et découverts à Sar el Jisr (Bahrain) entre 1977 et 1979,³³ ainsi qu'une sorte de coquillage de noix en argile, dont les infractuosités ont été imitées par des empreintes de "Cypraea" au néolithique et mis à jour lors des fouilles récentes à Ain Ghazal-Amman (Jordanie) en 1981.³⁴ Pour la région du Harran, dont proviennent nos tablettes, nous ne connaissons malheureusement aucune étude sur la conchyliologie.

Employés dès l'époque protohistorique, les coquilles semblent être toujours prisées aux périodes assyrienne et néo-babylonienne. Les découvertes d'Assur, de Babylone, de Lachish, de Nimrud, de Suse, d'Ur et d'Uruk témoignent de leur faveur.³⁵

Ces coquillages n'appartiennent pas tous à la même famille: rien que pour la Mésopotamie des exemplaires de cérithes, triton, chank, cône, murex, bénitier (tridacna), cardium et dentalium ont été découverts.³⁶ Les porcelaines ou cowries *Cypraea*, employés sur nos tablettes, y sont également bien représentées.³⁷

De formes, de dimensions, de coloris très différents, les coquillages ont été utilisés de diverses manières, ils sont souvent gardés à l'état brut, mais dans d'autres cas, ils ont été artistiquement travaillés, complétés parfois d'inscriptions pour leur donner plus de valeur encore. Certains étaient taillés en forme de lampe³⁸ ou servaient de récipients à fard,³⁹ d'autres étaient cousus sur les vêtements⁴⁰ ou avaient peut-être la fonction de calculi scolaires.⁴¹ Des gastéropodes marins avaient été insérés dans les murs d'Assur lors de la construction de l'enceinte, comme le signale un texte de Salmanasar III:⁴² "A l'intérieur de ses fondations, de l'argent, de l'or, du lapis... *des coquilles*, je plaçai," indiquant l'importance que l'on attachait à l'époque néo-assyrienne à ces mollusques importés de régions lointaines.

Généralement transformés en objets utilitaires, à fonctions diverses, les coquillages ont parfois été spécialement réservés pour la glyptique. S'ils ne semblent pas représentés dans le répertoire iconomographique des sceaux, ils ont pourtant souvent servi de matière pour les façonner. Les treize cachets de Sar el Jisr-Bahrain proviennent de coquilles coupées transversalement. Divers cylindres proche-orientaux sont exécutés en "coquille" (shell); l'artiste a travaillé la "columelle" ou colonne spiralee qui forme l'axe sur lequel s'enroule la coquille du mollusque gastéropode pour y façonner son cylindre.

Nous ne connaissons qu'un exemple de coquillage non retravaillé, qui d'après nous, aurait pu être employé comme cachet. Une bague en bronze, trouvée parmi les offrandes

³³ Mentionné lors de la communication de M. Ibrahim "Seals from Sar-Bahrain" à la Rencontre Assyriologique de Londres (1982). Nous remercions M. Ibrahim de nous avoir permis de citer ces cachets non encore publiés, qui paraîtront dans M. Ibrahim, *The Excavations of the Arab Expedition at Sar-Bahrain*, Bahrain Government Press.

³⁴ Nous sommes reconnaissants à G. Rollefson, Directeur des fouilles de Ain Ghazal, de nous avoir signalé et montré cette trouvaille exceptionnelle et d'avoir accepté que nous la mentionnions ici.

³⁵ Aynard, op. cit., pp. 24, 26.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 25, fig. 3.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 27-29.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 34.

⁴² Ibid., p. 32 d'après F. Safar, "A further Text of Shalmaneser III," dans *Sumer* VII, (1951), p. 20, pl. III.

de fondation du temple de Shushinak à Suse, est ornée d'un coquillage allongé.⁴³ Malheureusement le dessin est assez indistinct, de sorte qu'il est difficile de définir avec quelle variété de gastéropode le chaton a été fait.

Si nous consultons les sources philologiques se rapportant aux sceaux ou au scellement des tablettes en général, et aux coquillages en particulier, les renseignements sont peu nombreux. Nous ne connaissons aucun texte qui mentionne l'authentification d'un acte juridique par un coquillage. Pourtant le mot existe sous le vocable "ajartu, jartu, ajaštu"⁴⁴ et pourrait même définir plus particulièrement le "cowrie" d'après l'étude sur la conchyliologie mésopotamienne de L. Oppenheim.⁴⁵

Les textes que cet auteur cite démontrent que ces coquillages avaient une valeur essentiellement religieuse, magique et apotropaïque.⁴⁶ La carapace de ces animaux marins était appréciée par les divinités, puisque d'après les tablettes administratives *UET* 5 546, 678 et 795, la déesse Ningal d'Ur reçoit à l'époque paléobabylonienne pour dîme du cuivre, de l'ivoire et des "coquillages" importés, au poids, de l'île de Dilmun.⁴⁷

Les Mésopotamiens les employaient également dans certains rituels à cause de leur pouvoir magique et il était recommandé de choisir l'espèce "ajartu" pourvue de "7 DAR/GUN" (interprétés comme les taches colorées aux nuances variées, propres à certains grands cowries) pour des cérémonies bien définies.⁴⁸

Ce pouvoir magique des cowries était probablement inspiré par la forme de ces coquillages caractérisés par leur ouverture ventrale. Celle-ci a d'ailleurs influencé les conchyliologistes modernes lorsqu'ils lui donnèrent le nom de "Cypraea" (de la déesse de Chypre, Vénus). Actuellement encore cette forme spéciale explique le pouvoir surnaturel que lui attribue certains peuples lors de la fécondation et des naissances.⁴⁹

Les coquillages possédaient, d'après les textes anciens, une propriété de charme puisqu'ils protégeaient leur propriétaire qui les portaient en bijoux. Percés pour être suspendus à un lien, ils devenaient alors des talismans, d'après une superstition que nous retrouvons actuellement encore dans certaines civilisations.⁵⁰

Peut-être les mots tels "handabillu, išqillatu" et "šikinnu" définis comme "galet" dans le *CAD*, s'appliquent aux coquillages en général comme le propose L. Oppenheim.⁵¹

Quoiqu'il en soit, ils ne nous donnent aucune indication sur les Cypraeidés, qui nous intéressent plus particulièrement.

Les trois tablettes araméennes, à empreinte énigmatique, conservées aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Bruxelles) ont été légalisées par des coquillages de la famille des Cypraeidés, montés en bague⁵² ou non et employés comme sceaux-cachets. Ni les textes anciens, ni les fouilles archéologiques ne nous ont révélé cet usage qui ne doit pas étonner outre

⁴³ R. de Mecquenem, "Offrandes de fondation du Temple de Chouchinak," dans *MDP* VII (1905), p. 88, fig. 315 et p. 90.

⁴⁴ Ajartu: *CAD*, 1964, A-I., pp. 228-230.

⁴⁵ Oppenheim, op. cit. Nous remercions J. R. Kupper qui nous a signalé cet article, qui confirmait par les textes les constatations faites au préalable à l'Institut royal de Sciences naturelles.

⁴⁶ Oppenheim, op. cit., pp. 407, 409.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 408.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 409.

⁴⁹ J. Taylor-J. G. Walls, *Cowries*, 1975, T. F. H. Publications Inc. Ltd., p. 39; Burgess, op. cit., p. 12.

⁵⁰ Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 407; Taylor et Walls, op. cit., p. 39.

⁵¹ Oppenheim, op. cit., p. 410.

⁵² Nous connaissons un exemple de cachet royal monté en bague à l'époque néo-assyrienne (Renger, op. cit., p. 78).

mesure. Effectivement, vers le 8e-7e siècle avant J.-C., les cachets remplacent progressivement les cylindres, car ils sont plus pratique et plus économiques.⁵³ Le cachet-coquillage, non travaillé, devait l'être plus encore car il ne demandait ni l'intervention du "bur-gul" (le graveur de sceaux en sumérien) ni celle du "dub-sar" (le graveur du texte).

Ainsi son prix devait être plus modique que celui d'un sceau traditionnel. Il devait être plus accessible pour un marchand de la région de Harran. Par contre, il avait la propriété de venir de loin et d'être, de par ce fait, exceptionnel.

Fouilles archéologiques et sources philologiques confirment l'importance indéniable que les hommes attachaient dans l'Antiquité proche-orientale à ces gastéropodes marins, qui non seulement servaient à des buts religieux magiques et prophylactiques, mais pouvaient également être transformés en parure ou en objets utilitaires, que l'on offrait aux dieux ou aux défunts. A côté de ces diverses fonctions déjà connues, nos tablettes araméennes révèlent qu'ils pouvaient en outre être choisis pour légaliser et authentifier des actes juridiques à la fin de l'époque néo-assyrienne dans la région de Harran.

Espérons que d'autres trouvailles permettront, dans le futur, de mieux définir la variété de "Cypraea" employée à cet usage et d'établir de quelle région bien précise ces coquillages ont été importés, confirmant ainsi les contacts avec les régions éloignées, déjà attestés par la glyptique si bien étudiée par le professeur Edith Porada.

⁵³E. Porada, *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library (CANES I)*, Washington, 1948, p. 72; H. H. Von Der Osten, *The Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. Edward T. Newell*, Chicago, 1934, p. 9; Postgate, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

ZUR THRONRAUMFASSADE DER SÜDBURG IN BABYLON

B. Hrouda

Es ist für mich eine grosse Ehre, in der Festschrift für Frau Edith Porada schreiben zu dürfen, die sich so hervorragende Verdienste um die Erforschung des Alten Orient erworben hat.

Ich möchte ihr zu ihrem 70. Geburtstag einen kleinen Beitrag widmen, der sich mit der Frage nach dem Sinn oder Zweck des Fassadenschmucks an der Hofwand des Thronraumes Nebukadnezars II. befasst. Natürlich sei er nur als eine Anregung und nicht als das letzte Wort in dieser Sache verstanden.

Beginnen wir mit einem Rückblick zur Wiederherstellung dieser Fassade. Neben den Ausführungen in dem von R. Koldewey mit F. Wetzel verfassten Ausgrabungsbericht in *WVDOG* 54 (1931) und seinen Darlegungen in "Das Wiedererstehende Babylon" (Leipzig 1925⁴), das demnächst im Beck-Verlag-München in einer revidierten und erweiterten Fassung erscheinen soll,¹ bietet der Artikel von A. Moortgat in *MDOG* 69 (1931) auf den S. 1-13 einen guten Überblick über die Südburg.

Was nun die Fassade des Thronsaales betrifft, so hatte sie zum Hof hin nach Koldewey folgendes Aussehen (Fig. 1): Im unteren Abschnitt saß ein breites, farbiges Schmuckband aus glasierten Ziegeln, darüber eine hohe aufsteigende, glatte, unverzierte Wand, die nur oben ein pflanzliches Ornament als Verzierung trug und dann durch eine Zinnenbekrönung abgeschlossen wurde.

Drei Eingänge führten in den Thronraum, der wie üblich in Südmesopotamien nach Norden ausgerichtet war, um nicht übermässig der starken Sonnenbestrahlung und Erhitzung von Süden her ausgesetzt gewesen zu sein.² Die mittlere, die Haupttür, war im Grundriss breiter als die beiden seitlichen Eingänge und wohl demzufolge auch höher. Diese Türanordnung erinnert in gewisser Weise an die des späteren Skene-Gebäudes im griechischen Theater.

Die hohe, schildförmige Wand über dem farbigen Fries, die dem oberen Abschnitt des Wüstenschlosses von Ohēdir,³ aber auch der entsprechenden Partie am Dogen-Palast in Venedig ähnelt, benötigte Koldewey in seiner Rekonstruktion für die Unterbringung des von ihm als Bedeckung des Thronsaales angenommenen grossen Tonnengewölbes. E. Heinrich hat in einem 1968 erschienenen Aufsatz diese Art der Eindeckung für die spätbabylonische Zeit abgelehnt.⁴

Da er eine Flachdecke aus Balken für wahrscheinlicher hält, entfällt bei ihm auch folgerichtig die "hohle, kahle" Fläche. Zinnenkranz und Ziegelgemälde rücken enger zusammen

¹ Vorgesehen für 1985.

² Vgl. dazu die Grundrisse in *MDOG* 99 (1968) S. 15 u. 20.

³ O. Reuther, *WVDOG* 20 (1912) Taf. XXV.

⁴ Siehe den oben zitierten Aufsatz: E. Heinrich/U. Seidl, "Maß und Übermaß," *MDOG* 99 (1968) 36. Zur Abdeckung auch E. Heinrich, *Noch einmal: Überdachung des Thronsaals in Babylon*, St. Or. 46 (1975) S. 81 ff.

(Fig. 2), wie bereits von W. Andrae beim Wiederaufbau der Fassade im Berliner Museum ausgeführt; dort jedoch nicht anders möglich gewesen, weil die Höhe durch das Museumsgebäude vorgegeben war.⁵

Wir kommen nun zum Fries aus glasierten Ziegeln. Den Hauptbestandteil bilden Volutenbäume über schreitende Löwen mit hochgereckten Schwänzen (Fig. 2). In der Prozessionsstraße tragen dagegen die Löwen die Schwänze bekanntlich gesenkt.⁶ Zu der Darstellung auf der Thronsaalfassade gehörten neben den Rosettenbändern und Rechteckmustern auch reiche Blütengirlanden, Antithemien, die nach der Meinung von Andrae die Volutenbäume zu einer Gruppe von je vier zusammengefaßt haben, sie auch senkrecht begrenzten.⁷ In der Rekonstruktion von R. Koldewey (Fig. 1) wie auch in der neuen von E. Heinrich (Fig. 2) fehlen diese seitlichen Begrenzungen, die Volutenbäume bilden eine durchgehende Reihe. Wir halten diese Anordnung für richtiger als die von W. Andrae vorgenommene. Wir sind darüberhinaus der Ansicht, daß das Antithemion, welches die Bäume von den Löwen trennt, ursprünglich an dieser Stelle nicht gesessen hat, weil es den Zusammenhang bzw. die Verbindung von Baum und Löwe unterbricht. Die erhaltenen Ziegel mit entsprechender Darstellung lassen sich ohne weiteres im oberen Abschnitt unter den Zinnen auf die 52 m breite Fassade verteilen.

Unsere Anschauung wird begründet mit dem Hinweis auf die bekannte Reliefdarstellung aus Ninive, in der vor einem bedeutenden Gebäude auf der Zitadelle einer assyrischen Stadt (wohl Arbela oder Ninive selbst⁸) Säulen oder Halbsäulen auf Löwenbasen stehen. Die Löwen sind paarweise antithetisch angeordnet (in Babylon schreitet eine Gruppe von Löwen nach rechts, eine andere jeweils nach links, auf die einzelnen Türen bezugnehmend) und tragen ihren Schwanz wie auf der Thronsaalfassade aufrecht.

Wenn auch nicht eine direkte Übertragung aus Assyrien möglich erscheint, und die Fassade in Babylon nicht unmittelbar eine Umsetzung jener Architektur in ein Flachbild wiedergibt, so widerspricht doch andererseits das horizontal angeordnete Antithemion dem ursprünglichen inhaltlichen Zusammenhang, nämlich der Verbindung von Volutenbäumen und Löwen.

Die direkte Übertragung ist schon deshalb nicht möglich, weil die eigentlichen Basen auf den Rücken der Löwen in Babylon fehlen und weil nicht unter jedem Baum = Säule ein Löwe an- bzw. untergebracht werden kann. Der Abstand zwischen den einzelnen "Stämmen"—vorgegeben durch die Breite der Zwischen-Ranken, die die Voluten⁹ untereinander verbinden, ist dafür zu klein.

⁵Vgl. G. R. Meyer, *Altoriental. Denkmäler im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (Leipzig 1965) Abb. 174.

⁶G. R. Meyer d.O. Abb. 171-173.

⁷Über den Voluten sass dagegen wohl zurecht ein weiterer Fries aus Palmetten-(Ranken). Vgl. Anm. 9.

⁸R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Niniveh (668-627 B.C.)* (London 1976) 41, Taf. XXIII.

⁹Die Anzahl der Voluten, erst zwei, dann drei in der Berliner Rekonstruktion interessiert hier nicht weiter (vgl. dazu W. Andrae, *MDOG* 13 (1902) S. 1 ff.; *MDOG* 66 (1928) S. 19 ff. G. Meyer a.O. Abb. 174. Besonders aus dem 1. Bericht in *MDOG* 13 S. 5 f. wird deutlich, wie verstreut die einzelnen Fragmente der drei Gruppen 1. Kapitell, 2. Rankenfries, 3. Blütenfries gelegen haben, einige auch im Thronsaal selbst, dessen weiteren Wände bestimmt ebenfalls reich verziert waren. Die ursprüngliche Zugehörigkeit des Blütenfrieses zu der Ausschmückung der Hoffassaden wird hier noch in Frage gestellt. Übrigens hat es in der Südburg auch reliefierte Löwen gegeben a.O. S. 1. Die Ausbildung bzw. die Form der Voluten entspricht nicht der von assyrischen Bekrönungen (*BaM* 3, 1964, S. 51), sondern dem Aussehen palästinischer und zyprischer Antenkaptelle (Y. Shiloh, *Qedem* 11, 1980).

Wir haben in unserer Rekonstruktion (Fig. 3) diesen Sachverhalt berücksichtigt, und es zeigte sich, daß immerhin noch unter jedem zweiten Baum ein Löwe "stehen" konnte.¹⁰ Wenn es sich auch nicht um die Nachbildung einer Säulenfassade handelt, so entsteht doch immerhin der Eindruck eines "Waldes" von Heiligen Bäumen über oder hinter stehenden oder laufenden Löwen. Es anzunehmen, daß sich diese Darstellung auch auf die anderen Wände des Hofes ausgedehnt hat, wodurch der Eindruck eines "Waldes" noch verstärkt wurde. Dabei wird man zum einen an die Bepflanzung im Festhaus von Assur (Fig. 4), zum anderen aber auch an eine Szene auf einem assyrischen Relief,¹¹ wiederum aus Ninive, erinnert, auf dem Menschen, Musikanten, zusammen mit einem Löwen friedlich unter "echten" Bäumen wandeln.¹²

J. N. Postgate hat in einer Untersuchung nachzuweisen versucht, daß in bestimmten Räumen eines Nabü-Tempels das akītu-Fest gefeiert worden ist.¹³ Das würde also bedeuten, daß es zwei akītu-Häuser gegeben hat, eines in der Stadt und ein weiteres, welches wie in Assur oder Uruk ausserhalb der Stadt in der Steppe gelegen war. In Babylon muß dieses "akītu seri" nördlich der Hauptburg, also ausserhalb der inneren Stadt gesucht werden.¹⁴

Nach den Beobachtungen von Postgate¹⁵ gehörte zu einem Festhaus im Bereich des Nabü-Tempels 1. ein Eingangsraum vom äusseren zum inneren Hof, 2. dieser innere Hof mit Thronraum und Nebenzimmern, 3. Schreine für Nabü und Tasmetum¹⁶ und 4. schliesslich ein Küchenbereich.

Wenn man nun diese Kriterien auf die Südburg in Babylon überträgt, so wird man erstaunlicherweise entsprechendes dort ebenfalls vorfinden oder zumindest bestimmte Räume und Höfe in diesem Sinne interpretieren können (Fig. 5): zunächst einen besonderen Eingang vom Mittelhof zum Haupthof und den Thronraum, der mit seiner Nische in Babylon auch als Zella gedeutet werden kann—im übrigen ähnelt er durch seine drei Türen und seine breite Form dem Hauptraum des akītu seri in Assur (Fig. 4).

Auch lassen sich in gewisser Weise die besonderen Nebenzimmer des Thronraumes von Nimrud¹⁷ in dem Komplex hinter dem Thronsaal der Südburg wiederfinden (Nr. 34-36). Eine Küche befand sich nebenan, südlich des Westhofes, in dem als Wohnbereich des Königs bezeichneten Trakt.

Eine gewisse Bestätigung unserer Annahme, daß die Südburg nicht nur profanen Zwecken, sondern auch religiösen Festen gedient haben könnte, findet sich in der Anlage des meist in Fundamenten erhalten gebliebenen nördlichen Festhaus von Uruk-Warka (Fig. 6). Wenn man sich beispielsweise den südwestlichen Trakt ansieht, so zeigen sich deutliche Übereinstimmungen einmal in dem hinteren Teil der verschachtelten Räume 58-90 und in dem Breitraum davor, Nr. 47, mit dem südlichen Teil des Westhofes der Südburg, der bisher als königliche Wohnsuite angesprochen worden ist (Fig. 7).

¹⁰ Auch schon Koldewey hat unter jeden zweiten Stamm einen Löwen postiert (Abb. 1). Nach ihm befanden sich an der Hauptfassade jeweils nur eine Gruppe von drei nach links bzw. nach rechts laufenden Löwen. Weshalb bei E. Heinrich in seiner Rekonstruktion (Abb. 2) in jeder Gruppe vier erscheinen, ist uns unverständlich. Vgl. *MDOG* 13 (1902) S. 1. Die Zeichnungen der Rekonstruktion sowie der Detailplan in Abb. 6 wurden von Frau Cornelia Wolff angefertigt. K. Karstens-München schlägt eine andere Aufgliederung der Fassade vor. Demnächst in Festschrift für Prof. J. Brandmüller (1986).

¹¹ R. D. Barnett a.O. Taf. XIV.

¹² Auch schon von A. Moortgat in seinem Aufsatz *MDOG* 69 (1931) S. 10 zum Vergleich herangezogen.

¹³ *Sumer* 30 (1974) 51 ff.

¹⁴ Ausgrabungen fanden hier durch J. Schmidt vom DAI-Baghdad statt.

¹⁵ *Sumer* 30, S. 56.

¹⁶ Zusätzlich neben dem Hauptheiligtum.

¹⁷ *Sumer* 30, S. 53.

Wenn wir zurückkehren zu dem Fassadenschmuck des Thronsaales in Babylon, so erhebt sich bei dem Anblick einer solchen Reihung von Volutenbäumen auch die Frage, inwieweit diese auf die Planung ostionischer Tempel eingewirkt haben könnte, nachdem man immer die Form der Voluten in der zyprisch-palashnischen Ausbildung als Vorbild für das ionische Kapitell angesehen hat ohne jedoch die direkten Übergänge bisher gefunden zu haben. Bemerkenswert ist, daß gerade in Ostionien, schon im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr., also zur gleichen Zeit wie in Babylon des Nebukadnezar, die Vorliebe für den "Säulenwald" bestand, in dem sich das eigentliche Gebäude des Tempels verbergen konnte (Fig. 7). Berücksichtigt man auf der anderen Seite, daß eine Komponente der mesopotamischen Architektur, bedingt durch das Baumaterial, den Lehmziegel oder den Stampflehm, die "Masse" bzw die "Massigkeit" war,¹⁸ so findet man in der griechischen Architektur genau das Gegenteil von dem; als ob man sich bewußt davon lösen wollte, von der Schwere der altorientalischen Bauwerke. Aber auf eine solche Idee konnte man wohl erst kommen, wenn man zuvor eine Fassade wie die in Babylon oder ein "Festhaus in der Steppe" mit seinem, die Architektur fest verdeckenden Bewuchs gesehen hatte.

Abbildungsverzeichnis

- Fig. 1 R. Koldewey-F. Wetzel, *WVDOG* 54 (1931) Abb. 4.
 Fig. 2 E. Heinrich-U. Seidl, *MDOG* 99 (1968) Klapptafel.
 Fig. 3 Neue Rekonstruktion gez. von C. Wolff.
 Fig. 4 W. Andrae, *Das Wiedererstandene Assur* (Leipzig 1938) Abb. 18.
 Fig. 5 R. Koldewey-F. Wetzel a.O. Taf. 2.
 Fig. 6 H. Lenzen, *MDOG* 87 (1955) Taf. 2. Umgezeichnet von C. Wolff.
 Fig. 7 A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture* (1957) Artemis-Tempel, Ephesos.

Abkürzung Liste

- BaM* *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, Berlin
MDOG *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Berlin
St. Or. *Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, Leipzig/Berlin

¹⁸G. Kaschnitz von Weinberg, *Ausgewählte Schriften* III (1965) S. 75.

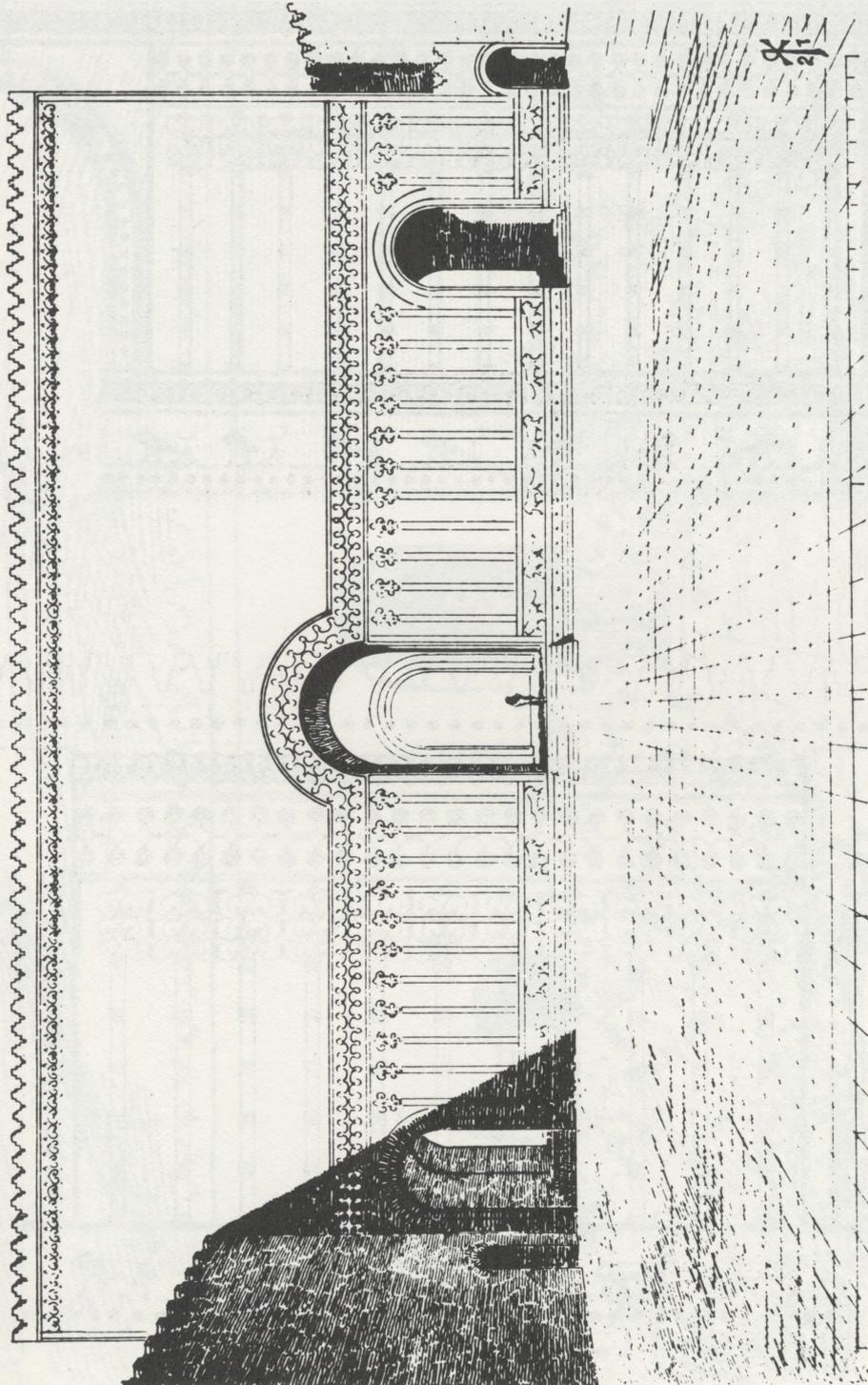


Figure 1.

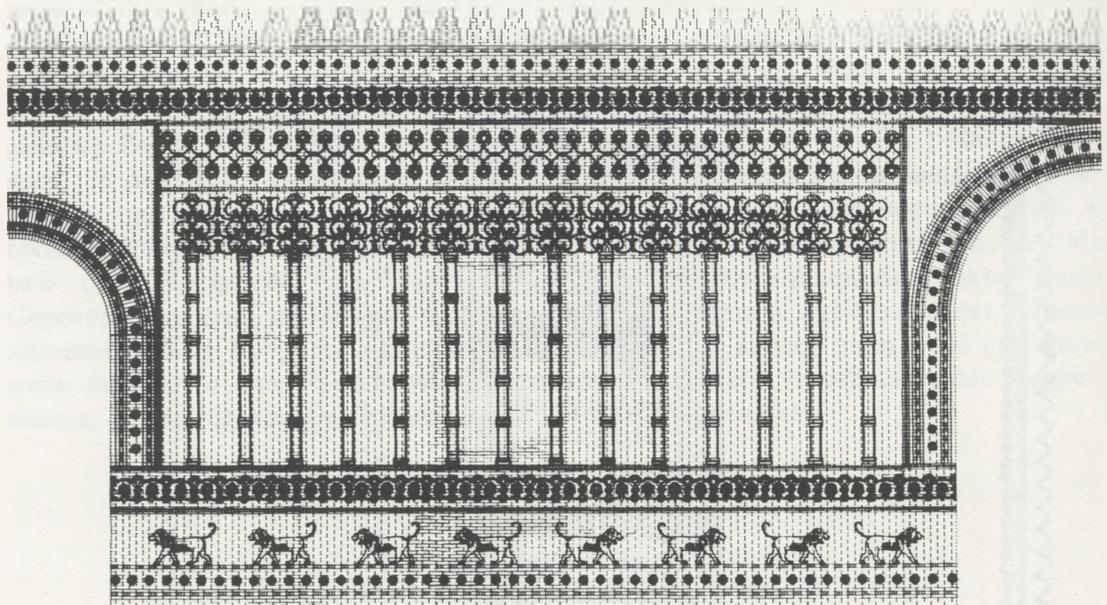


Figure 2.

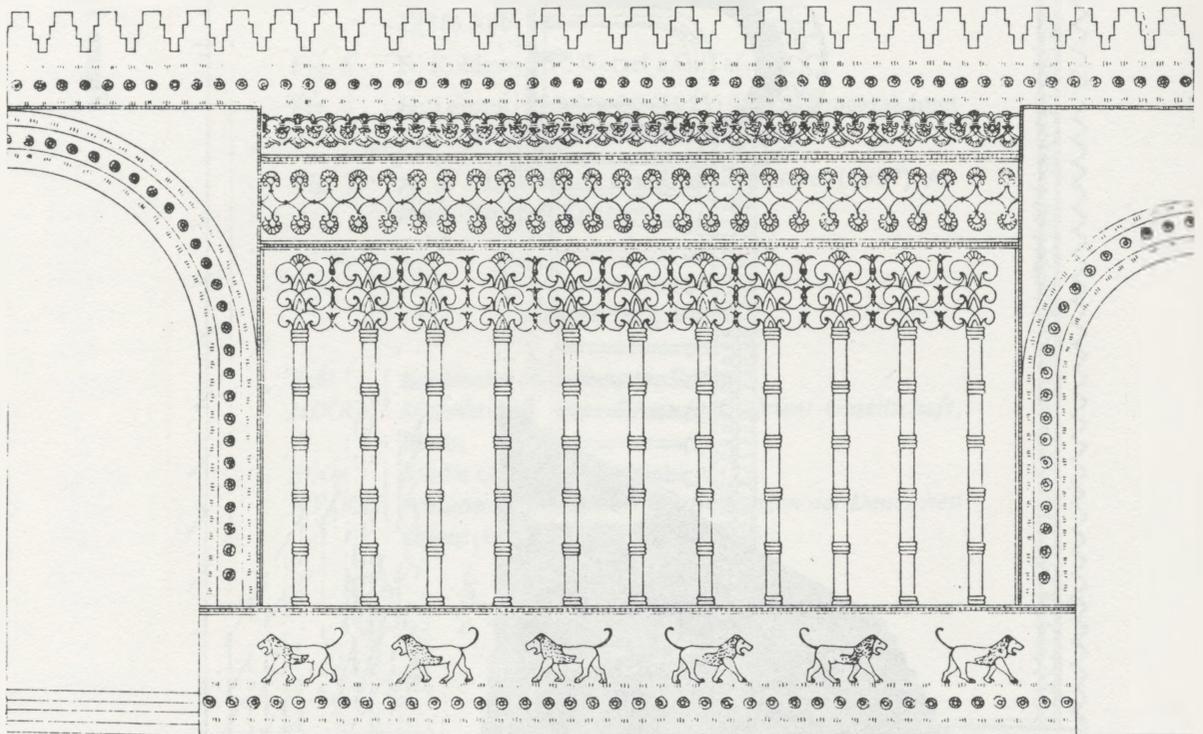


Figure 3.

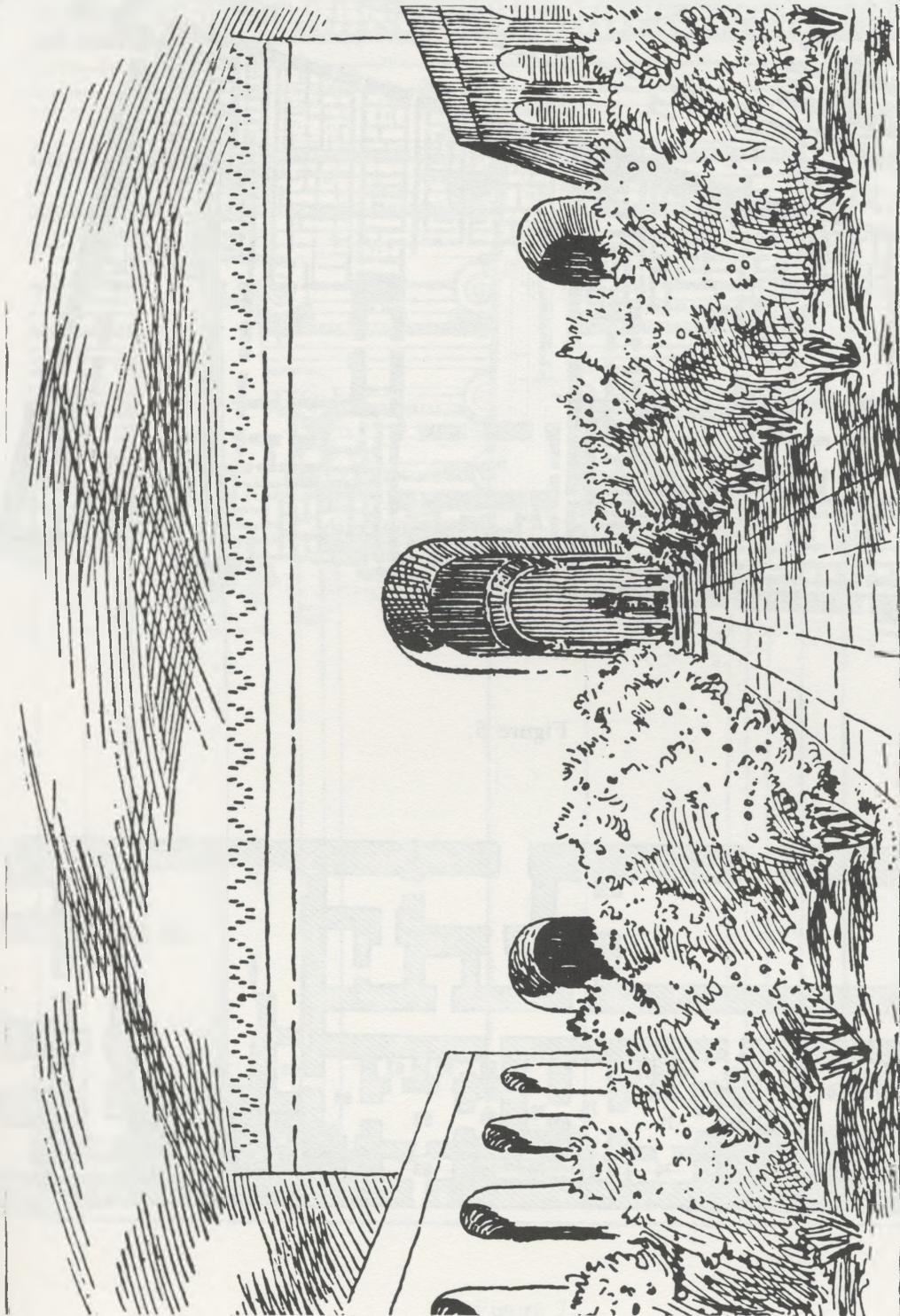


Figure 4.

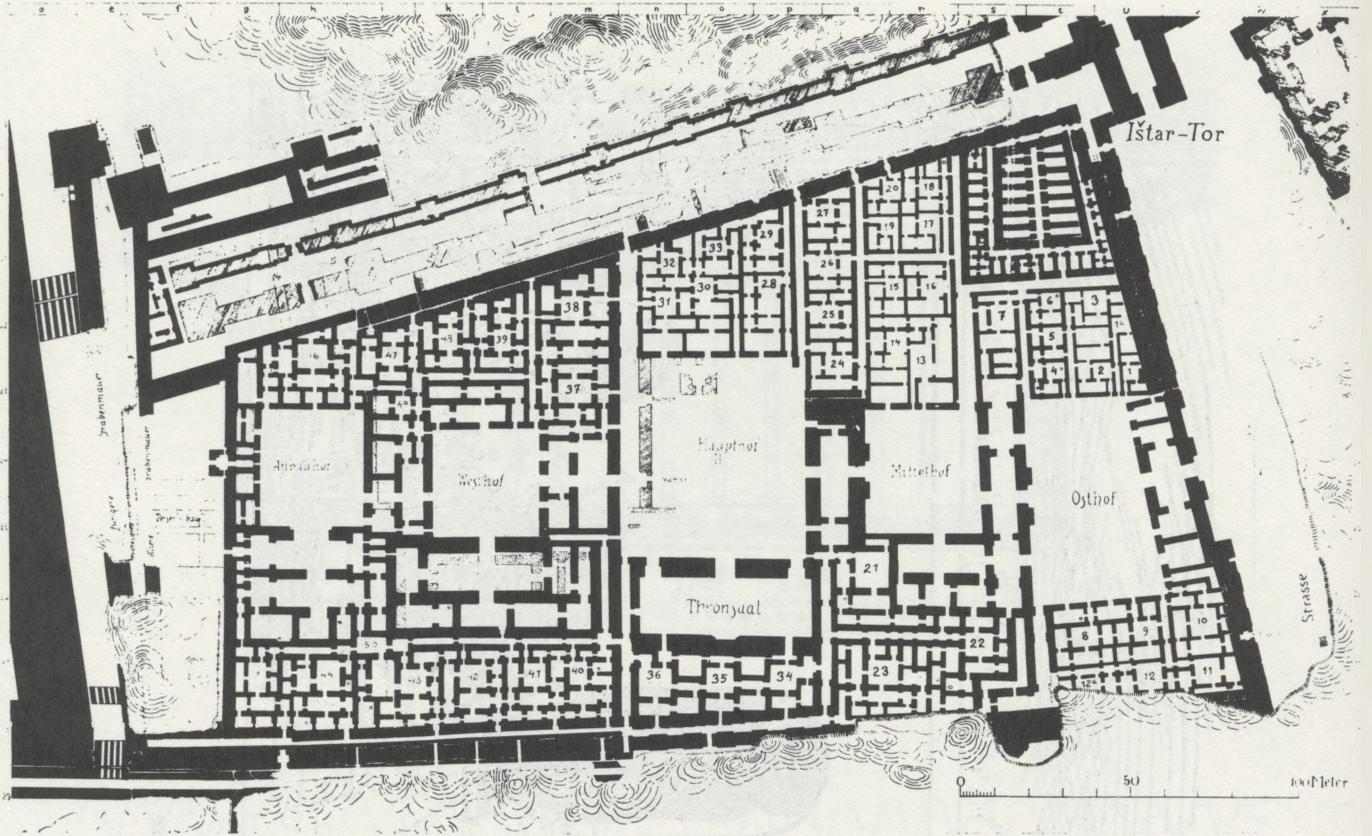


Figure 5.

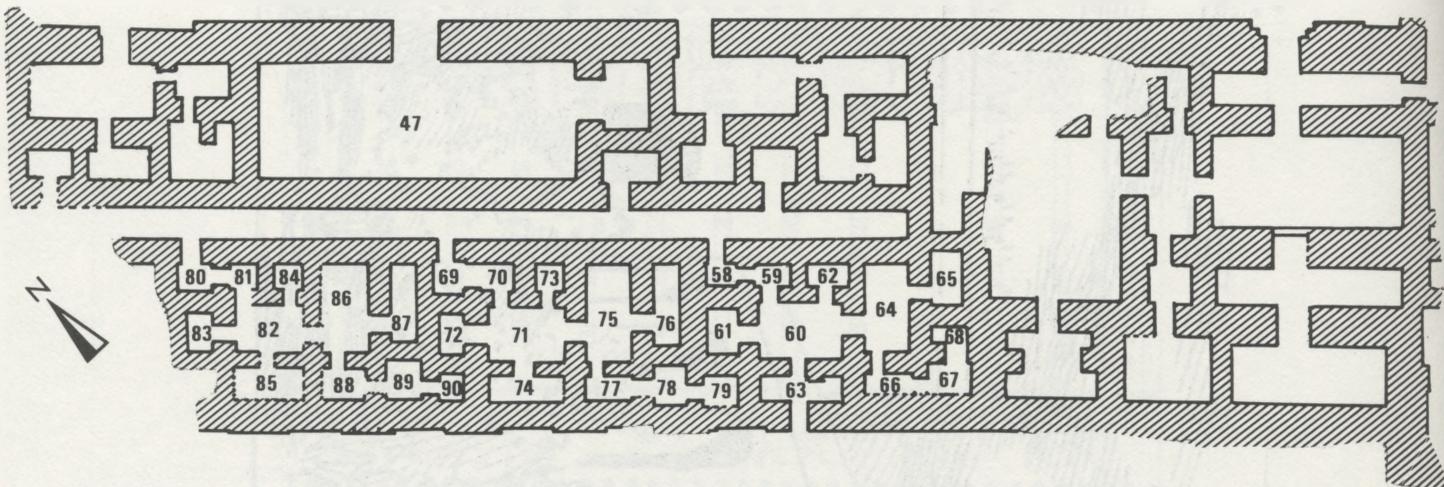


Figure 6.

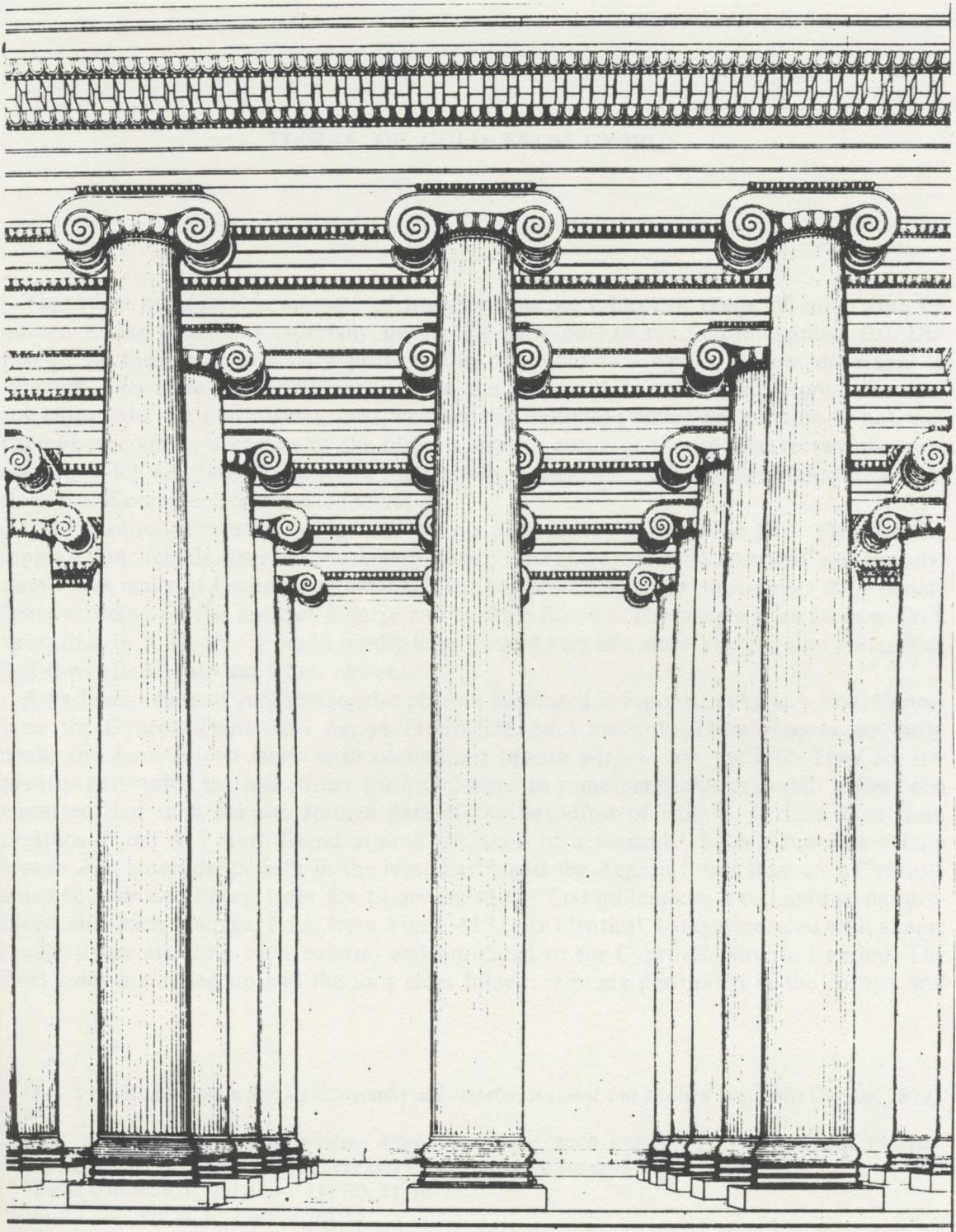


Figure 7.

TIARAE OF GOLD FROM CYPRUS

V. Karageorghis

There is a considerable amount of literature on the subject of *tiarae* of gold, worn by women in the Near East especially during the early part of the first millennium B.C. Discussion of them was originally provoked by the gold rectangular plaques decorated in repoussé with nude female figures, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.¹ We shall not enter into the controversy over whether the Baltimore *tiarae* are genuine or not, nor attempt to compile a *corpus* of the hitherto known *tiarae* or the isolated rectangular gold plaques which are part of them. We shall briefly present here a few newly discovered gold plaques and comment on their iconography.

Gold plaques decorated in repoussé have a long history in the Near East. They usually depict a nude female figure of the Astarte type.² The most recent discovery of a rectangular plaque was made at Lachish and dates to the Late Bronze Age.³ It represents a nude female figure standing on the back of a horse and holding flowers. The plaque is an isolated find, measuring 19 x 11 cm. It could hardly have formed part of a *tiara*; there are no indications that it was fixed onto any other object.

A particular class of gold rectangular plaques decorated in repoussé is known from Cyprus from the Cypro-Geometric I period (1050-950 B.C.) onwards. These plaques are fairly small, and have folded edges with or without bronze wire within the fold. They are frequently perforated in each corner for attachment to some perishable material. It has been suggested that such plaques formed part of the headdress of women. In fact those from Lapithos Tomb 417 were found around the skull of a woman.⁴ Such plaques have Late Bronze Age antecedents both in the Near East⁵ and the Aegean,⁶ but they are a Cypriote ornament *par excellence* from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Lapithos has produced nine such plaques. Four from Tomb 417⁷ are identical, being decorated with a nude female figure standing on a rosette, and are dated to the Cypro-Geometric I period. The short sides are rolled up and the long sides folded; they are perforated in the corners and

¹ For a recent discussion and a bibliography see *Jewelry, Ancient and Modern* (ed. Anne Garside, 1979), 14 f.

² E.g., K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000-612 B.C.* (1971), 138 ff., pls. 102-107. Such plaques may have been used as pendants at childbirth and for prophylactic purposes.

³ David Ussishkin, in *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978), 21, pl. 8.

⁴ SCE I, 227 and pl. LI:2 nos. 1, 13-15.

⁵ See Miriam Tadmor and Osmat Mish-Brandl, in *The Israel Museum News* 1980, 71-82, fig. 9 (1.9 x 2.1 cm).

⁶ There is only one example from Naxos and it dates to the Myc. IIIC period (*Praktika* 1960, 329-340, pl. 273b).

⁷ SCE I, pl. LI:2 nos. 1, 13-15.

are 6 cm in length. The other five were found in Tomb 403⁸ and are dated to the Cypro-Geometric III period (c. 850-750 B.C.). Of these, two (nos. 40 and 92) are identical and form one group: the short sides are rolled up and are pierced at the top corners with a length of 4.7 cm. They are decorated with a nude female figure with uplifted arms. The other three (nos. 1, 3, 41) form a second group. They have rolled-up or folded edges for bronze pins to fit into, are pierced in each corner, and are 4.3 cm long. These are decorated with a female head resembling Hathor. The bronze wire which fits into the rolled-up edges obviously strengthened the plaques which are of very thin gold sheeting. The plaques were sewn onto cloth or leather, hence the perforations in their corners, and thus formed a *tiara* or headdress which was worn by women, as we shall see below.

Recent discoveries have considerably increased the known number of such gold plaques. We shall mention the most significant. Perhaps the largest and most important of the recently discovered plaques are those from Tomb 67 in the necropolis of Palaepaphos-Skales,⁹ dating to the early Cypro-Geometric II period (950-850 B.C.). They are five in number, with rolled-up edges and bronze wire fitted into them. Four of them are more or less identical, measuring 9.4 x 5.5 cm, the fifth being slightly smaller, 8 x 4.8 cm. They are all decorated with a draped female figure in profile, holding a leafy branch in both hands and wearing a low headdress consisting of small rectangular plaques, obviously a *tiara* (Ill. 1). Such *tiarae* are worn by female figures depicted in Near Eastern works of art¹⁰ particularly on ivory plaques¹¹ and bronze bowls.¹² The closest parallels to the plaques from Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 67 are the representations on gold plaques from Amathus (Cypro-Geometric III period) recently described and commented upon by Kaperá.¹³ The plaques are divided into two registers, the upper being decorated with two female figures like the plaques from Palaepaphos, the lower depicting a chariot scene.

Chariot scenes are represented on several other plaques from Palaepaphos-Skales Tombs 74 and 79, which date to the Cypro-Geometric III period. These plaques, c. 5.2 x 3.2 cm, have plain edges, but are perforated at all four corners. They are crudely decorated with a chariot scene; at the top right corner is a rectangular panel on which there is a standing figure of a goddess with uplifted arms, or Astarte (Ill. 2). On the plaques from Tomb 74 there are two figures in the chariot, the charioteer and a figure *en face*, which has been interpreted as an idol of Astarte (Ill. 3). The closest parallel is a plaque from Kourion, now in Berlin, where the figure *en face* is clearly shown holding her breasts.¹⁴ At the top right corner there is a rectangular window with two images of the goddess with uplifted arms. Chariot scenes are also known on other gold plaques from Cyprus.¹⁵

We have already mentioned the representations of the head of Hathor on the three

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV:1 upper row.

⁹ For a preliminary report see V. Karageorghis in *CRAI* 1980, 122-136; idem, *Palaepaphos-Skales, an Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (1983), 174, pl. CXII.

¹⁰ Madame E. Lagarce has collected numerous references to such figures in *Fouilles de Kition II* (1976), 256 f., n. 103; 259, n. 114; 260, n. 116.

¹¹ For such examples cf. R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum* (2nd ed. 1975), pls. LXX-LXXV.

¹² E.g., E. Gjerstad, in *Opuscula Archaeologica* IV (1946), pls. I-II.

¹³ Z. Kaperá in *RDAC* 1981, 106 f., no. 7 and pls. XIV:3 and XV:1-2.

¹⁴ See A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, Bd. I, Fundgruppen* (1970), 31, pl. 11:1.

¹⁵ E.g., V. Karageorghis, in *BCH* 91 (1967), 208, 243, and fig. 22: idem, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Saïamis I* (1967), 67, pls. LX-LXI.

plaques from Lapithos Tomb 403. Gold plaques decorated with similar heads have been found in Palaepaphos-Skales Tomb 79. They have folded edges and measure c. 4.5 x 3.5 cm (Ill. 4).

Recent excavations in a Cypro-Geometric III necropolis at Ayios Tychonas (near Amathus) have brought to light four small rectangular plaques (3 x 2.5 cm) which are also decorated with a Hathor head. The representation is not very clear but the identification is doubtless correct (Ill. 5). They come from the same matrix as the two plaques from Amathus which Kapera has described as representing 'the torso of a nude male figure'.¹⁶

We have already seen that the gold plaques with embossed decoration were particularly favored at Amathus. Apart from those already mentioned by Kapera, the Amathus necropolis has produced several other plaques during recent years. Two of these bear a nude female figure with uplifted arms; both plaques (4.6 x 2.6 cm) are perforated in each corner and one has rolled-up edges.¹⁷

Another type of embossed plaque from Amathus is that with a standing nude female figure with arms stretched downwards and with two small tree or floral motifs on either side near the feet.¹⁸ Recent excavations in the necropolis of Amathus have brought to light two similar types: the first (4.1 x 2.7 cm) is represented by five examples which are decorated with a nude female figure *en face* within a frame, with both arms bent upwards and holding a flower in each hand; a stemmed flower springs from the ground on either side reaching just above knee height (Ill. 6). All four corners are perforated. The second group consists of two plaques measuring 4.8 x 3.7 cm. Decoration consists of a similar nude female figure within a frame, but with arms stretched downwards and holding what looks like a stemmed flower in each hand (Ill. 7).

A rather rare type of gold plaque is that depicting a nude female figure *en face*, with both arms bent to touch the breasts. There are two such examples.¹⁹

Finally we mention two plaques where the female figure is draped. One was found near Paphos²⁰ (Ill. 8). She is represented *en face* wearing a low *tiara*, with both arms bent below the breasts. She stands on the backs of two lions who have their backs turned to each other. All four edges of the plaque are rolled up and there are berries hanging loosely from below the lower side of the plaque (6.5 x 3.5 cm). The other plaque, now in the Louvre, represents a draped female figure with her arms stretched downwards. She stands on the back of a lion which is depicted *en face*. Above her head is a winged solar disc (8.9 x 4.94 cm).

The various types of representations may be summarized as follows:

1. Standing nude female figure, *en face*, with uplifted arms or arms bent upwards. This type appears already in the 11th century B.C., at the same time when the goddess with uplifted arms, who was identified with the fertility goddess, was introduced to Cyprus from Crete.²¹
2. Standing nude female figure, *en face*, with the arms either stretched downwards or bent upwards to hold flowers. This type has Late Bronze Age Near Eastern antecedents.²²

¹⁶ Kapera, *op. cit.*, 112 f., pl. XIV:2.

¹⁷ They compare well with Lapithos T.403/40 (*SCE I*, pl. XLIV) and with three other plaques from Amathus (*SCE II*, pls. XIV:1 nos. 130, 142 and XXIX:4 no. 1. For other examples see J. Karageorghis, *La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte* 153-155.

¹⁸ Kapera, *op. cit.*, 111 f., nos. 8-9, pls. XIV:7, XV:4; J. Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, 157.

¹⁹ J. Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, 156.

²⁰ V. Karageorghis, in *Rivista di Studi Fenici* III (1975), 31, pl. VII:1.

²¹ V. Karageorghis, "The Goddess with uplifted arms in Cyprus," in *Scripta Minora* 1977, 5-31.

²² Maxwell Hyslop, *op. cit.*, 139, pls. 106-107; see also n. 3 above.

3. Same as 2 above, but with arms bent to touch the breasts. This attitude of Astarte is well known in Cyprus and the Near East from the Late Bronze Age onwards.²³
4. Draped female figure in profile, wearing a low *tiara* and holding flowers in both hands. Some of these examples are related to chariot scenes, which would suggest the identification of the female figure with Astarte or Ishtar of the horses.²⁴ Several representations of this goddess appear on horse ornaments, e.g., front bands, blinkers, breastplates, etc., from Salamis c. 700 B.C.²⁵
5. Draped female figure *en face*, standing on the back of one or two lions. There are also Late Bronze Age antecedents for this type.²⁶ The lion is known to be the chosen animal of the goddess of fertility and power.²⁷
6. Hathor's head. This is often associated with Astarte and in fact several of the Late Bronze Age plaques described above depict Astarte with her hair in a Hathor style.²⁸ This trait also continues in later periods.²⁹

The iconography of the above plaques is Near Eastern in origin³⁰ except for type (1) which is a Cypriote adaptation of the Cretan goddess. The notion of a low *tiara* composed of rectangular plaques is also Near Eastern and, as seen above, dates from the Late Bronze Age. The single example from Naxos may well be considered an import from the Near East or a local imitation.³¹

It is noteworthy that the iconography of these plaques is associated with the goddess of fertility—Astarte. The fact that several representations depict figures wearing a low *tiara* may suggest that this crown was worn in connection with a ceremony in honor of Astarte, or by priestesses or worshipers of Astarte, or by Astarte herself.³² It is not surprising that this form of head ornament with plaques decorated with Astarte themes gained such popularity in Cyprus, at a time when this goddess was the principal divinity of the island. Their popularity at Amathus is also indicative of the importance of the cult of Astarte in this city during the early part of the first millennium B.C., when Phoenician influence was predominant over Amathusian culture.

Sources of Illustrations

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|--------|---|
| Ill. 1 | Palaepaphos-Skales, T.67:7 | Ill. 6 | Amathus, T.334:57c |
| Ill. 2 | Idem, T.79:1 | Ill. 7 | Idem, T.334:57a |
| Ill. 3 | Idem, T.74:35 | Ill. 8 | Koloni (Paphos), Cyprus Museum, Inv. no. 1973/IX-19/1 |
| Ill. 4 | Idem, T.79:6 | | |
| Ill. 5 | Ayios Tychonas, T.2:20 | | |

²³ J. Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, pls. 18-19.

²⁴ See R. D. Barnett in *Vorderasiatische Archäologie* (Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat, 1964), 22 f.; J. Leclant, in *Syria* 37 (1960), 1 ff.

²⁵ V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III* (1973), 75 ff.

²⁶ Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, 139, pl. 106.

²⁷ H. Kantor, in *JNES* 21 (1962), 100.

²⁸ E.g., Maxwell-Hyslop, *op. cit.*, figs. 102, 105-107.

²⁹ Cf. V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis III*, p. 272, where a winged head of Hathor appears above the head of a nude Astarte.

³⁰ See J. Karageorghis, *op. cit.*, 159 f.

³¹ See footnote 6 above.

³² In Homer, Aphrodite is often referred to as χρυσση (golden) (e.g., *The Odyssey*, δ.14, θ.337, 342, etc.); in the *Homeric Hymn VI*, Aphrodite is referred to as χρυσοστεφανος, 'wearing a golden crown.'

SEALING PRACTICES AT TERQA

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

Evidence for sealing practices at Terqa comes from excavated tablets, bullae, and tags as well as from the tablets found at the site before excavations began. Of the excavated material the greater part came from the room which contained the archive of Puzurum (STCA1) while others were found in the courtyard of Puzurum's house (STCA4); in addition some evidence was found in the temple of Ninkarrak (in rooms STCD4 and STCD10). The excavated tablets and their envelopes are dated on internal evidence as well as from the ceramics associated with them to the Khana period. Subsequent to these finds the excavation has yielded a small number of sealed documents from the Mari period; this material will shed light on changes in sealing practices at Terqa under the domination of Mari to the period of Terqa's independence as the most important city, most likely the capital, of the Khana kingdom. (For the most recent review and bibliography of the Terqa excavations, see G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Terqa: The First Eight Seasons," *AAAS* XXXIII (1983), pp. 47-67.

This article will discuss three aspects of Terqa sealing practices during the Khana period: (I) the nature of the evidence, (II) the role of the individuals sealing the documents, and (III) the placement of the sealings on the documents. The last section (IV) brings out the evidence for kinship relations during the Khana period at Terqa on the basis of these documents. It is fitting that the publication of this new, excavated evidence from Terqa is published in honor of Edith Porada since she has dedicated so much of her scholarly activity to integrating new evidence on seals within a framework which she herself contributed immensely to establish and continues to refine.

I

While information on sealing practices can be seen in a number of Khana tablets the largest single excavated body of sealed tablets is derived from the archive of Puzurum. (For the publication of this house see G. Buccellati, *Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 10: The Fourth Season: Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 10, Malibu, 1979, pp. 35-40.) The majority of these tablets are contracts belonging to Puzurum in which he bought houses and fields in and around Terqa. (Publication of these tablets is by Olivier Rouault, *Terqa Final Report No. 1: L'Archive de Puzurum*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 16 [1984] quoted hereafter as *TFR* 1. The present article on the sealing practices at Terqa is part of a larger study on Terqa sphragistics which will be published by the author as a forthcoming volume in the series of *Terqa Final Reports*.) In addition to the contracts, there is one loan tablet which, however, is not sealed (*TFR* 1 7), although it is known from other sites that loan tablets could also be sealed. Together with the tablets, two other types

of objects from Puzurum's archive were sealed: tags and bullae. The tags are flat, rectangular objects with the rolling on one side. Bullae usually have a somewhat conical shape with seals rolled over any part of the exterior surface. Many of them still have the impression of a string on the inside. Because of the shape of these bullae the impressions are not as long nor as well preserved as on the tags. The bullae sometimes have inscribed seals rolled on them but neither tags nor bullae bear any trace of cuneiform writing directly on their surfaces. The types of seals rolled on these tags and bullae will be discussed below.

The date formula on the tablets of Puzurum indicate that they are to be dated to the reign of Yadiḥ-Abu, a king of Khana, who is most likely the same king mentioned in the year date of the 28th year of Samsuiluna (1721 B.C. according to the middle chronology, see *TFR* 1, pp. 4-5). While the majority of the sealed documents are dated to Yadiḥ-Abu we do have evidence in the archive from the reign of another king of Khana, Kashtiliashu, who ruled around 1700 (*TFR* 1, pp. 4-5, and see the Introduction by G. Buccellati in the same volume). Also we have evidence of sealing practices during the reigns of two other Khana kings: Yapaḥ-Sum[u-X] and Iṣi-Sumu-abu, both of whom ruled before Yadiḥ-Abu. Evidence from their reigns will be brought in as documentation allows, but this article will mainly concentrate on the sealing practices evidenced from the reigns of Yadiḥ-Abu and Kashtiliashu, leaving for another occasion the discussion of sealing practices from the period of Mari.

At Terqa we are fortunate in having a large number of seals rolled on the contracts, not only on the tablets themselves but also on their envelopes. On both the tablets and envelopes the seals could be rolled in various places: the left margin, the left edge, and both the upper and lower edges (Ills. 1-3). In the case of the tablets the right edge never received seal impressions but the envelopes could be sealed on all edges as well as the left margin. In most cases also the tablets had the blank obverse rolled with a cylinder seal before the writing; this could occur on the reverse although not as frequently. Envelopes could be sealed on the obverse and reverse with long rollings, in two cases criss-crossed to form a large X (*TFR* 1 3E and 5EE). On the envelopes too, the text, where present, is written over the seal impressions. Many of the rollings, both on the tablets and on the envelopes have their owners identified by means of by-scripts. This congruence of three elements (a large number of witnesses to the documents, rollings of several witnesses on both tablets and envelopes, and the identification of specific impressions through the use of by-scripts) makes the excavated Khana corpus from Terqa a unique resource in studying Khana sealing practices.¹

Within the general context of Old Babylonian sealing practices on legal documents, the Khana texts from Terqa show some distinctive features.

(1) Legal documents from this period were usually sealed on their envelopes only; at Terqa it was customary to roll the seals on the tablets as well. For a general overview of sealing practices in Mesopotamia there are a number of excellent articles in McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 6 1977, especially J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," pp. 75-81; M. T. Larsen, "Seal Use in the Old Assyrian Period," pp. 89-105; R. M. Whiting, "Sealing Practices on House and Land Sale Documents at Eshnunna in the Isin-Larsa Period," pp. 67-74, and P. Steinkeller, "Seal Practices in the Ur III Period," pp. 41-53. There are

¹ In this article *seal* is used in the sense of both the cylinder seal as an object and as a negative design; *sealing* is the positive of a seal; *impression* indicates a single physical impression on an object; *rolling* is the impression of one and the same seal as found on one or more objects (i.e., a tablet, envelope, etc.).

only three cases of tablets being sealed in Alalakh VII; normally the envelope contained seal impressions of the witnesses as well as a short summary of the text, see D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, *AOAT* 27 (1975), pp. 154-156. Sealing practices at Sippar/Der, Tell al-Dhiba'i and Tell Harmal are discussed by L. al-Gailani Werr, *Studies in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals*, forthcoming in *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica*. For sealing practices on recently published sealed tablets from Babylon, see E. Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen auf Altbabylonischen Tontafeln aus Babylon," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 10 (1983), pp. 102-105; also see her article in this volume. The practice used at Terqa in the Khana period of sealing both the tablet and its envelope recurs later at Nuzi, see Renger 1977, pp. 77-78.

(2) In Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period seals could be rolled on the left margin of the obverse and reverse as well as on the left edge, and the upper and lower edges; contracts were not usually sealed on the face of the obverse and/or reverse as at Terqa (Renger 1977, pp. 76-77; on p. 82 fn. 20 the author mentions that in Sippar documents could be sealed under the text).

(3) The fact that so many individuals sealed the Terqa documents on both the tablets themselves and on the envelopes is paralleled by the participation of a large number of witnesses in the transactions (*TFR* 1).

(4) The use of by-scripts as on the Terqa tablets can also be found, according to Renger, at Nippur and in northern Babylonia, especially at Sippar (1977, pp. 76-77). The by-scripts at Terqa and elsewhere were written in a small script on the edge of the text next to the impressions to which they refer; these are usually written at a right angle to the text and can cover part of the impression itself; they can also be placed parallel to the text. However, not all the Terqa seal impressions are identified through by-scripts.

(5) If a party to the contract did not have a seal they could impress their garment hem on the tablet (in the Alalakh VII tablets this was usually the fringe of the garment, Collon 1975, pp. 142-143). An example of an garment hem impression was found on a tablet in the Puzurum archive (*TFR* 1 9). The two parties to this contract were Addu-rapi, the buyer, and Hazibum, the seller. On the upper edge of the tablet there is a clear garment impression (Ill. 2) accompanied by a by-script stating that this is the garment hem of Hazibum (*sissikti Hazibu*; another garment impression of this type was found on an un-inscribed fragment, TQ4-73. It is interesting to note that the topmost positions of the left margin, in which the seller would usually impress his seal, is left empty on the Hazibum tablet). This practice is attested in the Old Babylonian period also at Nippur and Sippar, where however by-scripts read "Seal of PN" (Renger 1977, p. 77). Middle Babylonian legal texts could also contain garment hem impressions but the text says "the hem of his garment instead of his seal" (*ibid.*). In neither case do we find the Khana practice of simply stating that this is the hem of the garment of PN. It appears, then, that in this period at Terqa the garment hem had the same legal validity in contracts as the seal impression. We do not have fingernail impressions on the Puzurum tablets but they occur on bullae from Puzurum's house (TQ4-T71 and from other areas of the excavation). Renger mentions that these fingernail impressions can be found on several Old Babylonian tablets from Dilbat as well one from Ur; this custom is common on contemporary tablets from Susa (1977, p. 77).

II

Of the twenty-seven names found in the by-scripts from the Puzurum archive, three belong to the seller, three belong to indemnified witnesses, and fourteen to other witnesses (Chart 1). Other cases each present a different situation. In tablet *TFR 1 1* the seller is Ili-Dumqi, a woman; women in the Old Babylonian contracts usually did not seal them even when they were principal parties (Renger 1977, p. 77). This is probably the reason why Ili-Dumqi did not seal either the tablet or the envelope in which she sold property to Puzurum. However this tablet is sealed by a man named Qīstum, an innkeeper; he is not otherwise mentioned in the text of either the tablet or envelope. It is possible that his seal might have been used in place of Ili-Dumqi but this is not stated in the by-script. Usually when the seller does seal the document his seal is the topmost seal on the left margin or edge. The fact that Qīstum's seal is placed second, below another seal may mean that he was not using his seal for Ili-Dumqi or alternatively that since his seal was a substitute it was not to be placed where the seller usually sealed the tablet. In this case a witness, Warad-Kūbi, had his seal impressed on the upper left edge (the question of patterns of placement of the rollings on tablets and envelopes at Terqa will be discussed below). Other exceptional cases of this type include a buyer, Binniqum, who borrowed the seal of Yašub-Dagan, his father (*TFR 1 8E*). This is only known from the seal inscription. An individual, Šilliyan, sealed both a contract and its envelope (*TFR 1 2/2E*) but does not otherwise appear in the text of either the tablet or envelope. Aḥum in *TFR 1 4E* also is not mentioned but this text is partially broken. Sin-nadin-šumu, the scribe in *TFR 1 6*, also sealed the document. Scribes are mentioned in six documents from Puzurum's archive but this is the only case in which he also sealed the contract (the scribe Bazzi is mentioned concerning *TFR 1 2/2E* and *5/5E*; *TFR 1 3* was written by Ipqatum; *TFR 1 4* by . . . IB-BI-tum; *TFR 1 9* by Tarīm-Šakim). Three names in the by-scripts of *TFR 1 4E* are unreadable.

The persons sealing the document do not seem to have placed their seal on the document in any particular order except that the seller, as mentioned above, in the three cases where the seller is identified as such through the by-script, had his seal rolled on the top left margin or top edge. After the uppermost rolling we may have rollings of witnesses, indemnified witnesses, or even names not otherwise mentioned in the text, in no special order. Since we can tell, in some instances at least, that the sealings were rolled from the bottom up, e.g., *TFR 1 5*, it may be that there was in effect little care taken as to the placement of the rollings on the tablets. It is interesting to note that in the choice of who would seal the contracts the indemnified witnesses were not given preference over other witnesses; most of the indemnified witnesses, as well as other witnesses, did not seal the document at all. This situation, whereby only a small percentage of the witnesses mentioned in the document were able to impress their seal on the document itself, may be specific to Terqa since here we have such a large number of witnesses mentioned in the documents.

In the case of the rollings on the envelopes, they do not have to be in the same order as those on the tablets. However, the rollings on the envelopes usually are the same people as those who have sealed the tablets, but not invariably. For instance, the envelope *TFR 1 5E* has the rolling of Abih-el and Idin-Dagan who are mentioned in the contract itself as witnesses but who only sealed the envelope.

CHART 1

WITNESSES, SEALS AND BY-SCRIPTS ON CONTRACTS
FROM THE ARCHIVE OF PUZURUM

| TABLET/ ENVELOPE NO. | PARTIES MENTIONED IN TEXT ¹ | NUMBER OF SEALS ROLLED | NUMBER OF BY-SCRIPTS |
|-----------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>TFR</i> 1 | 16 | 4 | 2 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 1E | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 2 | 18 | 4 | 4 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 2E | 17 ² | 3 | 4 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 3 ³ | 21 | 3 | 0 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 4 ⁴ | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 4E | 18 | 1+ ⁵ | 6 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 5 | 32 | 6 | 5 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 5E | 29 ⁶ | 6 | 5 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 6 | 21 | 5 | 3 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 8 | 19 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 8E | 15 ⁷ | 2 ⁸ | 2 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 9 | 13 | 3 ⁹ | 3 |
| <i>TFR</i> 1 10 | 6 ¹⁰ | 0 | 0 ¹¹ |

¹ This category includes buyer, seller, indemnified witnesses, other witnesses, and the scribe where mentioned. It also includes names which are partially complete or are inferred from the text by Rouault in *TFR* 1.

² A part of this envelope is missing; the preserved portion of the envelope has the same text as *TFR* 1 2 and the same seal impressions. The impressions, however, are not in the same order in *TFR* 1 2E as on *TFR* 1 2.

³ The text of the envelope *TFR* 1 3E is very short and does not mention names of the parties; it does have rollings of one seal.

⁴ Several lines of this text are missing or partially missing; at least one fragment of the tablet (F18) contains part of an impression with a by-script.

⁵ This envelope is too fragmentary to determine the type and number of seals rolled on it.

⁶ The names and the arrangement are slightly different on *TFR* 1 5 and *TFR* 1 5E.

⁷ The text is broken at the list of witnesses but parts of some names are visible.

⁸ This envelope has most of its left edge broken.

⁹ This includes the garment hem impression of Hazibum.

¹⁰ This contract is only fragmentary; the names of the buyer and seller are not preserved.

¹¹ There are 34 citations here but because of overlapping only 27 different persons are actually included.

III

In the Terqa contracts discovered thus far the seals could be rolled in any direction on the left margin once it was established whether they were to be placed parallel to the text or at right angles to it. (Even this tendency could be sometimes ignored, e.g., *TFR* 1 9, see Ill. 1; in this tablet all the extant rollings are parallel to the text but the bottom-most is at right angles to it!) For instance the rollings on Ili-Dumqi's tablet (*TFR* 1 1) are at right angles to the text with the top of the seal placed so that it was away from the text of the obverse, in the case of the topmost seal belonging to Warad-Kūbi (Ill. 3). The bottom-most seal, however, is rolled so that the heads of the figures in the design are next to the text of the obverse (i.e., in the opposite direction). In the contract *TFR* 1 5 the sealings are rolled parallel to the text but the third one from the top is reversed with respect to the others. It also did not seem to matter if some rollings cut off others having the effect of almost obliterating them, or indeed that some rollings, because of insufficient room, could not have the whole height of the design showing (e.g., the uppermost rolling on the envelope *TFR* 1 5E). In the rolling of the seal there seems to have been more attention placed on rolling the inscription portion of the seal rather than that of the design in those cases where we have evidence of an inscription; this is common in Old Babylonian sealing practice in general.

One of the interesting questions which could not be answered on the basis of this corpus is the identity of the owners of the seals rolled under the text. These rollings always occur under the text of the obverse and sometimes the reverse. Since they are under the cuneiform it is at times difficult to determine which seal has been used. In those cases when the design of the seal can be identified it is a design already known from the rollings on the margin or edge. However, unfortunately we do not have any of these rollings identified as to the seal owner. At first it appeared that some of the tablets and envelopes were sealed with the same seal under the text and because of that the seal belonged to Puzurum. This occurred because one sealing was repeated on the tablet *TFR* 1 5 and many envelope fragments. It was first thought that these sealed but unscribed fragments belonged to a number of envelopes and were thus all sealed by the same person. As it happened this seal impression was preserved on so many envelope fragments because *TFR* 1 5 actually had two envelopes, both with seal impressions! This was discovered by Olivier Rouault on piecing together the tablets and envelopes. It is now clear that it was neither Puzurum, the buyer, nor the seller who sealed under the text. It could not be Puzurum since the rollings under the text of the various tablets involving Puzurum as the buyer differ one from the other. On the other hand they do not belong to the seller either. In the contract *TFR* 1 5 we do have a by-script which identifies the rolling of the seller; the design of this rolling, however, is different than the one rolled under the text. In the Eshnunna texts Whiting has noted that the seal rolled under the text is that of a palace official (1977, p. 68). This is probably not the case for the Terqa texts since palace officials are not parties to the contract and are not mentioned in them. It is possible that the rollings under the text belonged to the scribe but in the only case in the archive of Puzurum where we have the scribe sealing the document (*TFR* 1 6) it is impossible to determine whether or not this same seal had been rolled under the text. (In *GC* 1 5 a scribe, Aknanu, also sealed the document; see Giorgio Buccellati, Amanda Podany, Olivier Rouault, *Terqa Data Bases 1: Old Babylonian and Khana Texts through the Fourth Season. Graphemic Categorization 1* (hereafter *GC* 1), forthcoming.)

IV

The cuneiform texts containing seal inscriptions and by-scripts excavated at Terqa are providing us with a wealth of information concerning another important aspect of Terqa society—that of its kinship system. Both the excavated texts and those found previous to our excavations are for the most part to be dated to three to six generations during the Khana period. (For a correlation of some of these families with known Khana kings see Buccellati in *TFR* 1, p. xiv; a further correlation between Khana kings and Terqa families is also part of the dissertation of Amanda Podany on the Terqa texts). Through the names and short genealogies found in these texts we are now beginning to build up lists of families living in Terqa during this time period (see Chart 2).¹ At present we can reconstruct with a fair amount of certainty seven families (or rather parts of families, since most of the women and children are missing from the record) for three generations, one family for four generations, and one family for possibly six generations.

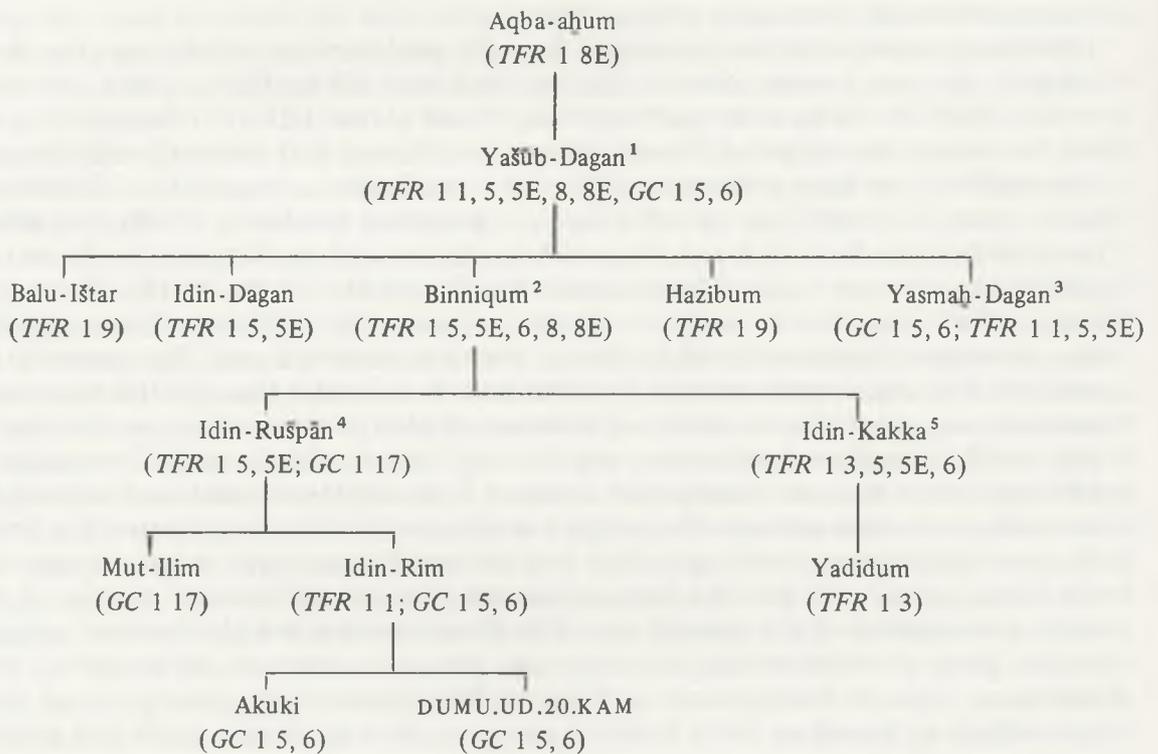
Interestingly enough the texts recovered from the site before our excavations often refer to some of the same persons found in the excavated texts. All our Khana tablets have been excavated from the southeastern portion of the mound (Area C). It is in this area where we think the French excavations of Thureau Dangin and Dhorme took place although this cannot be verified from their publication (“Cinq Jours de fouilles a Asharah [7-11 Septembre 1923].” *Syria* 5 [1924], pp. 265-293; Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, “Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 1: General Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record of the First Two Seasons,” *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*; 1/3 [1977] pp. 15-18). This is also the area of the mound most destroyed by river erosion. The texts from Terqa acquired before our excavations came, in all likelihood, from this disturbed area. This appears to be corroborated by the internal evidence from the texts. It is possible that a limited number of families, among which was the family of Puzurum, lived in this area of the ancient city. It is also possible that these families were related at an extended family level. These kinds of residence patterns based on kinship were common in ancient Mesopotamia and continue to occur today in modern Asharah. One of the research questions now being pursued in Terqa is the possibility of reconstructing kinship data and residence patterns at least through the entire Khana period and into the Mari period—and over the southeastern portion of the mound. A correlation of this material, as well as the architecture and distributional patterns of other types of evidence such as pottery and objects, is presently the subject of two dissertations: those of Mark Chavalas and Daniela Buia Quinn. Terqa appears to be an ideal site in which to investigate these types of problems given its intense habitation pattern within a relatively short period of time.

¹ I wish to thank Amanda Podany for reading this article and making some useful suggestions pertaining to Chart 2.

CHART 2

PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF SOME KHANA FAMILIES FROM TERQA

FAMILY A



¹ A number of persons mentioned in *GC* 1 5 also are mentioned in *GC* 1 6.

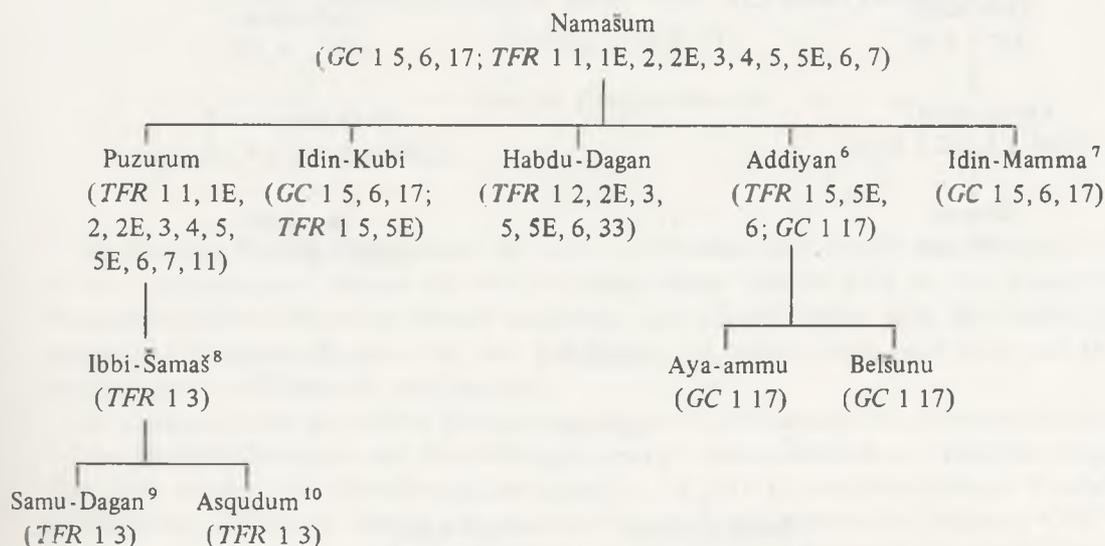
² Probably there is only one Binniqum in our texts, son of Yašub-Dagan.

³ A Yasmah-Dagan is mentioned in *GC* 1 18 and *TFR* 1 2, 2E but without a patronym.

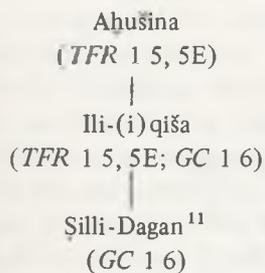
⁴ There are certainly two persons by this name in our texts: the son of Binniqum (*TFR* 1 5, 5E) and the son of Yansibu (*TFR* 1 5, 5E). Therefore it is unclear whether or not Idin-Rim and Mut-Ilim are the grandsons of Binniqum. An Idin-Ruspān is mentioned as a witness in *GC* 1 6 but his father is Ša-u₂-mi. The father of Akuki and DUMU.UD.20.KAM is Idin-Rim but spelled with a divine determinative before the Rim so he is unlikely to be the grandson of Binniqum (see *GC* 1 5, 6).

⁵ This Idin-Kakka, father of Yadidum, is probably the person of that name who is the son of Binniqum. However, there is another person by this name who is called father of king Isar-Lim (*GC* 1 1). In *TPR* 7 4 there is another Idin-Kakka UGULA MAR.TU.

FAMILY B



FAMILY C



FAMILY D



⁶ In TFR 1 2 and 2E, a person named Addiyan is mentioned without a patronym.

⁷ This name appears without a patronym in GC 1 10.

⁸ He is called innkeeper in the text.

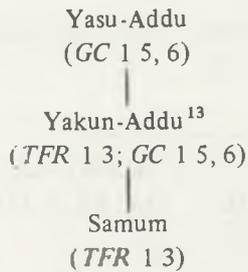
⁹ It is not entirely clear whether or not Samu-Dagan and Asqudum are related to Puzurum, they may be his grandsons or alternatively they might not be related at all. At the same time it is also not clear if they are related to each other; they both serve as witnesses in a contract in which Puzurum is the buyer (TFR 1 3) with Samu-Dagan owning a field bordering on the one being bought and serving as an indemnified witness. A Samu-Dagan is mentioned in TFR 1 8 without a patronym; this text is, however, dated much earlier than the Puzurum text.

¹⁰ There is another Asqudum, son of Ammi-Samu in TFR 1 9.

¹¹ A Šilli-Dagan is mentioned as a witness in GC 1 12 but without a patronym; two Šilli-Dagans are witnesses in GC 1 18. Mar-Ištar is the father of a Šilli-Dagan in TFR 1 2, 2E, 5, 5E.

¹² While there is no evidence connecting Aqbu-Dādi, son of Sin-ḥazir, with Yaškurum, it is a possibility.

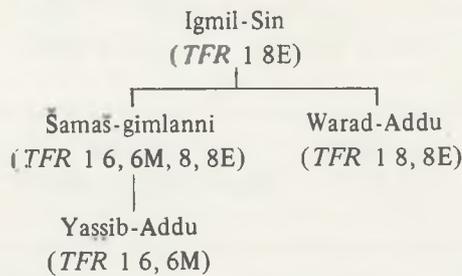
FAMILY E



FAMILY F



FAMILY G



Concordance of GC 1 Text Numbers (see p. 138)

| | | | | |
|---------|---|--|---|-----------|
| GC 1 1 | = | RA 4 (1897) 85 | = | TCL 1 237 |
| GC 1 5 | = | <i>Journal Asiatique</i> 1909, p. 149ff. | = | TCL 1 238 |
| GC 1 6 | = | <i>Babyloniaca</i> 3 (1910) 266ff. | | |
| GC 1 9 | = | <i>Syria</i> 5 (1924) 269ff. | | |
| GC 1 10 | = | <i>Syria</i> 5 (1924) 269, 274ff. | | |
| GC 1 12 | = | <i>Syria</i> 5 (1924) 269, 271 | | |
| GC 1 13 | = | <i>Syria</i> 5 (1924) 269, 272f. | | |
| GC 1 17 | = | <i>MAOG</i> 4 (1928-29) 1-6 | | |
| GC 1 18 | = | RA 34 (1937) 184 | | |

¹³There are certainly two persons with the name of Yakun-Addu in the Terqa texts; the other one is the son of Yašub-Addu (GC 1 17).

¹⁴In GC 1 17 his name is spelled Igmil-Ninkarrak. This must be the same person but with a different spelling since the son's name is the same in both cases.

SIEGELABROLLUNGEN AUF DER ALTBABYLONISCHEN TAFEL VAT 712

Evelyn Klengel-Brandt

Als Beispiel für die Siegelpraxis der altbabylonischen Zeit wurde die Urkunde VAT 712 in der Vergangenheit bereits des öfteren abgebildet;¹ sie ist auch in der Ausstellung des Vorderasiatischen Museums Berlin ausgelegt. Der Grund dafür sind die zahlreichen gut erhaltenen Siegelabrollungen auf der Tafelhülle, die bisher aber noch nicht im Detail betrachtet und veröffentlicht worden sind.

Im Rahmen einer geplanten Bearbeitung der im Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin befindlichen Siegelabrollungen auf Tontafeln wurde mit altbabylonischen Urkunden begonnen.² Zur Zeit werden die Abrollungen auf den in *VS* VII-IX veröffentlichten Tontafeln zur Publikation vorbereitet. Die in den Rahmen dieser Arbeit gehörende Urkunde VAT 712 soll hier vorweggenommen und als bemerkenswertes Beispiel der verehrten Jubilarin in einer kleinen Vorlage dediziert werden.

Die Tontafel wurde zusammen mit einer großen Sammlung altbabylonischer Urkunden aus der Sammlung Homsy erworben und stammt—wie der Inhalt des Textes erkennen läßt—sicher aus Sippar.³ Auf Grund der Eidesformel kann sie in die Zeit des Sin-muballit von Babylon datiert werden. Es handelt sich um eine vollständig erhaltene ungesiegelte Innentafel und eine nur wenig beschädigte Hülle mit Siegelabrollungen (Ill. 1). Im Texte wird die Verteilung eines größeren Vermögens, das aus Feldern, Silber und Sklaven besteht, unter mehrere Erben beurkundet. Die abgerollten Siegel gehören in erster Linie den zahlreichen Zeugen sowie einigen unmittelbar als Erben beteiligten Personen.

Die Siegelabrollungen befinden sich auf dem unbeschrifteten linken Seitenrand bzw. der linken Vorderseite der Hülle sowie auf dem oberen und unteren Rand. Zwei allerdings schwer erkennbare Abrollungen wurden auf dem beschrifteten rechten Seitenrand und der Vorderseite angebracht. Bei den meisten Siegeln ist der Name ihres Besitzers in einer Beischrift aufgeführt, in wenigen Fällen kann man aus der Siegellegende den Namen entnehmen. Die Siegel werden in Zeichnungen vorgelegt, für die ich Heidrun Homa zu danken habe.

¹Vgl. O. Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, *Der Alte Orient*, Bd. 17/18, Leipzig 1920, Abb. 6; E. Unger, *Babylonisches Schrifttum*, Leipzig 1921, Abb. 18; *Die Welt des Alten Orients, Ausstellungskatalog Göttingen* 1975, Nr. 259; H. Klengel, *Hammurabi von Babylon und seine Zeit*, Berlin 1976, Abb. 16.

²Kopien von altbabylonischen Urkunden aus Babylon hat H. Klengel als *VS* Bd. 22, Berlin herausgegeben. Die auf diesen Tafeln befindlichen Siegelabrollungen hat die Verf. in einem Artikel für *AOF* 10 1983, 65 ff. zusammengefaßt und bearbeitet.

³Die Kopie von VAT 712 ist in *VS* VIII, Leipzig 1908, Nr. 52/53 enthalten. Bearbeitungen und Auswertungen des Textes vgl. J. Kohler-A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Bd. IV, Leipzig 1910, S. 5, Nr. 787; E. Lindl, *Das Priester- und Beamtentum der altbabylonischen Kontrakte*, Paderborn 1913, S. 92; M. San Nicolo, *Die Schlußklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge*, München 1922, S. 58, Anm. 41; R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, Istanbul 1975, p. 16, n. 16, 162, n. 40, 181, 286, no. 123.

Siegel Nr. 1, Rand links, 1. Reihe. H: 2,2 cm.

Beischrift: Nabi-Šamaš. Er wird Z. 30 der Innentafel als Zeuge genannt. Sechslotziger Held greift in den Kampf zwischen einem aufgerichteten Löwen und einem gehörnten Tier, vermutlich einem Stier, ein. Letzterer wendet sich in einer komplizierten Drehung nach rechts.⁴

Siegel Nr. 2, Vorderseite links, 1. Reihe. H: 2,1 cm.

Beischrift: Rīs-Šamaš. Er wird auf Z. 31 der Innentafel als Zeuge und als Diener der Göttin Anunitum genannt. In Z. 46 der Innentafel ist ein Schreiber gleichen Namens erwähnt. In Z. 47 der Hülle ist ein Rīs-Šamaš, Sohn des Ubargamal überliefert. Die Darstellung ist unvollständig erhalten. Nach links sitzende Gottheit auf einem mit Lehne versehenen Thronessel, der mit Bergmotiv geschmückt ist. Hinter ihr steht auf hohem Stab eine Doppellöwenstandarte.⁵ Nach rechts Mann mit Keule, vor ihm auf kleinem Postament Hund mit Krummstab auf dem Kopf,⁶ im Feld menschlicher Kopf.

Siegel Nr. 3, Rand links, 2. Reihe. H: 2,4 cm. Ohne abbildungen.

In der Siegellegende⁷ wird als Name des Besitzers Kašanunu, Sohn des Nanna-iddinam, Diener des Gottes Enki genannt; er tritt auf Z. 34 der Innentafel als Zeuge auf. Von der Darstellung ist nur noch eine wahrscheinlich mit dem Oberkörper frontal wiedergegebene Göttin teilweise erhalten (nicht abgebildet).

Siegel Nr. 4, Vorderseite links, 2. Reihe. H: 2,4 cm.

Beischrift: Ris-Samas. Es dürfte sich um einen der unter Nr. 2 erwähnten Männer dieses Namens handeln, deren Filiation oder Berufsbezeichnung in der Beischrift nicht angegeben ist. Nach links schreitende Göttin mit frontal gedrehtem Oberkörper, die auf dem Kopf eine hohe gerade Krone trägt. Nach rechts Gott mit Keule, vor ihm Mondsichel und Sonnenscheibe sowie anbetende Göttin. Von der folgenden Figur sind nur noch Spuren sichtbar.

Siegel Nr. 5, Rand links, 3. Reihe. H: 2,5 cm. Ohne abbildungen.

Die Siegellegende⁸ ist stark abgerieben, so daß keine Namensangaben zu sichern sind. Ohne erhaltene bildliche Darstellung.

Siegel Nr. 6, Vorderseite links, 3. Reihe. H: 2,5 cm.

Beischrift: Aham-kallim; tritt Z. 42 der Innentafel als Zeuge auf. Ringkampf zwischen sechslotzigem Helden und Stiermenschen. Nach rechts auf hohem Sockel Gott mit Keule, vor ihm auf niedrigerem Podest kleine Dienerfigur, über ihr im Feld menschlicher Kopf.

Siegel Nr. 7, Rand links, 4. Reihe. H: 2,4 cm.

Beischrift: Šamaš-liwwir, wird Z. 33 der Innentafel als Zeuge genannt. Mann mit Keule, vor ihm kleine Diener- oder Priesterfigur mit Stab in der Hand; weitere Person ist nur noch undeutlich sichtbar, wahrscheinlich schreitender Priester in langem Gewand.⁹

⁴Vgl. sehr ähnliche Darstellungen bei E. Porada, in: M. Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the time of Hammurabi*, Copenhagen 1962, p. 121, Seal XX, p. 131, Seal XXXVII (als E. Porada, Sippar abgekürzt).

⁵Die Doppellöwenkeule kann mit verschiedenen Gottheiten verbunden werden, vgl. dazu *RLA* III/7, Berlin 1969, S. 488. Als Waffe gehört sie zu Ištar, Nergal oder Ninurta (vgl. E. Porada, *Sumer* VII, 1951, p. 66; E. v. Weiher, *Der Babylonische Gott Nergal*, AOAT 11, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971, p. 45). Auf der Abrollung aus Sippar ist sie als Standarte gebildet, und ihre Zugehörigkeit zum sitzenden Gott ist unklar. Zu ihrer Verwendung als Füllmotiv vgl. T. Solyman, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Götterwaffen im alten Mesopotamien und ihre Bedeutung*, Beirut 1968, S. 87 ff.

⁶Vgl. eine sehr ähnliche Darstellung der Hundes in einer Abrollung aus Sippar bei E. Porada, *Sippar*, p. 113, Seal II.

⁷Die Siegellegende ist in *VS* VIII 52/53 kopiert.

⁸Vgl. Anm. 7.

⁹Eine mögliche Ergänzung für die Figur bietet z. B. A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin 1940, Tf. 38, Nr. 285-295.

Siegel Nr. 8, Vorderseite links, 4. Reihe. H: 2,3 cm. Ohne abbildungen.

Die Siegellegende nennt Šallum, den Kaufmann, Sohn des Ipiq-Ištar. Ein Mann namens Šallum¹⁰ ist nur in Z. 35 der Innentafel als Vater eines Aššur-iddinam genannt. Vielleicht benutzte der Sohn das väterliche Siegel. Von der Siegeldarstellung sind nur noch Spuren eines Mannes mit Keule sichtbar (nicht abgebildet).

Siegel Nr. 9, Rand links, 5. Reihe. H: 2,2 cm.

Beischrift: Ilušubani. Er tritt Z. 37 der Innentafel als Zeuge auf. Mann mit Keule auf Sockel stehend, vor ihm anbetende Göttin, beide wenden sich einer schlecht erhaltenen Gotterfigur, wahrscheinlich der kriegerischen Ištar, der Waffen aus den Schultern wachsen, zu.

Siegel Nr. 10, Vorderseite links, 5. Reihe. H: 2,2 cm.

Beischrift: Šin-iddinam, ist als Zeuge Z. 36 der Innentafel genannt. Wahrscheinlich unbekleidete Figur nach links gewendet, wohl als sechslockiger Held zu ergänzen. Vielleicht stehen die hinter ihm sichtbaren Wasserstrahlen direkt mit ihm in Verbindung oder gehören zu einer Libation, wie sie auf einer anderen Abrollung aus Sippar ausgeführt ist.¹¹ Es folgt eine Gottheit, vor der am oberen Rand ein Ziegenfisch sichtbar ist.¹² Von der folgenden Person ist nur der Umriß der hinteren Körperpartie erhalten.

Siegel Nr. 11, oberer Rand. H: 1,7 cm.

Beischrift: Abum-waqar; er ist im Text als einer der Erben aufgeführt. Stiermensch mit Zicklein auf dem Arm als Opferbringer vor Gott mit Säge, als Šamaš zu deuten.¹³ Zwischen ihnen Sonnenscheibe und Mondsichel.

Siegel Nr. 12, oberer Rand. H: 2 cm.

Beischrift: Šin-rēmeni; er gehört zum Kreis der Erben. Darstellung z.T. schlecht erhalten. Göttin, Beter,¹⁴ Opferbringer mit Zicklein vor Gott, der ein Bein unter dem Gewand vorstellt, vermutlich Šamaš, zwischen ihnen Mondsichel.

Siegel Nr. 13, oberer Rand. H: 2,4 cm.

Beischrift: Būr-Šin, ebenfalls als Erbe im Text genannt. Die Darstellung ist beschädigt. Fürbittende Göttin, vor ihr im Feld vielleicht liegendes Tier, kleiner Beter mit runder Kappe auf Sockel vor kriegerischer Ištar, die das Sichelschwert hält und der Waffen aus den Schultern hervorstehen. Ihr Fuß ruht auf einem Löwen.

Siegel Nr. 14, unterer Rand. H: 2,4 cm.

Beischrift: Ilušu-ellassu. Er ist Z. 37 der Innentafel als Zeuge aufgeführt. Wahrscheinlich ist das im Text auf dem rechten Rand abgerollte Siegel identisch und trägt die gleiche Beischrift. Gott mit Ring, als Šamaš zu deuten, vor ihm Sonnenscheibe. Nach rechts schreitender sechslockiger Held, aus dessen Schultern Wasserstrahlen in kleine, auf der Erde stehende Gefäße rinnen. Vor ihm nur noch bruchstückhaft erhaltene Göttin. Auf dem Siegel am rechten Rand ist der Gott mit vorgestelltem Bein und einem vor ihm stehenden Beter zu erkennen (nicht abgebildet).

¹⁰ Vgl. die Kopie der Siegellegende in *VS VIII* 52/53. Die gleiche Person auch in *CT VIII* 1a, 7.22 und 4a, 7.23.

¹¹ Vgl. L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres Cachets et Pierres Gravées de Style Oriental. Musée du Louvre*, Vol. II, Paris 1920, pl. 114, fig. 1.

¹² Der Ziegenfisch gilt allgemein als Symboltier des Ea; eine Kombination mit anderen Göttern wird nicht ausgeschlossen, vgl. *RLA III/7*, Berlin 1969, S. 489.

¹³ Es wurde darauf verzichtet, die in der bisherigen Siegelliteratur ständig auftretenden Göttertypen und ihre Deutung ausführlich darzulegen. Vgl. dazu E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections. The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, The Bollingen Series XIV, Washington 1948. Neuere Literatur s. in *AOF* 10 1983, 65 ff. Ausführliche Darlegungen dazu sind auch bei L. al-Gailani (Anm. 16) enthalten.

¹⁴ Der Beter darf vielleicht ähnlich wie bei einer anderen aus Sippar stammenden Abrollung ergänzt werden, vgl. H. Figulla, *CT* 47, London 1967, pl. 8, no. 12.

Siegel Nr. 15, Rand rechts im Text. H: ca. 2,2 cm.

Beischrift: Ilurabi; er tritt Z. 40 der Innentafel als Zeuge auf. Kampfszene zwischen einem sechslockigen Helden, einem aufgerichteten Löwen und einem Stiermenschen.

Von den insgesamt 15 Siegelabrollungen auf der Tafelhülle VAT 712 sind 12 Szenen gut oder teilweise erhalten. Ihre Darstellungen fügen sich thematisch und stilistisch ohne Schwierigkeiten in das bisher bekannte Repertoire der Glyptik aus Sippar ein. Man darf annehmen, daß die an der Erteilung direkt oder als Zeuge beteiligten Personen in Sippar oder seiner unmittelbaren Umgebung ansässig waren. Vermutlich haben sie auch ihre Siegel in einer der Werkstätten von Sippar anfertigen lassen. Die technische Ausführung der Siegel ist allgemein als sorgfältig und qualitativ zu bezeichnen; der Drillbohrer fand noch keine Verwendung. Die Figuren sind gut proportioniert, plastisch durchgestaltet und mit Liebe zum Detail ausgeführt. Sie können als beispielhaft für die Blüte der Glyptik zur Zeit Sinmuballit₂ und Hammurapis von Babylon angesehen werden. Ihre Beziehungen zur Plastik und Reliefkunst der Zeit sind recht deutlich zu erkennen, auch wenn bisher nicht von allen auf den Siegeln dargestellten Typen die Vorlagen in der großen Kunst bekannt sind.

Bereits vor Jahren hat E. Porada auf das Vorhandensein einer vorzüglich arbeitenden Siegelwerkstatt in Sippar hingewiesen.¹⁵ L. al-Gailani, die sich auf Grund eines umfangreichen Materials in ihrer noch unveröffentlichten Dissertation mit dieser Theorie weiterbeschäftigte,¹⁶ unterschied zwei Werkstätten, deren Erzeugnisse nur in einigen Details voneinander abweichen. Ihrer Meinung nach nahm die als Workshop I bezeichnete Produktionsstätte ihre Arbeit gegen Ende der Regierungszeit des Sinmuballit₂ von Babylon auf; sie wäre schon auf Grund dieser Tatsache kaum als Herstellungsort für die auf VAT 712 abgerollten Siegel anzunehmen. Die von ihr aufgeführten Charakteristika in der Darstellung auf den Siegeln sprechen vielmehr für eine Anfertigung in Workshop II.

Die Abrollungen auf VAT 712 stellen sich bei näherer Betrachtung als fast identisch heraus. Die einzelnen Personen sind sich in der Durchgestaltung der Körper, der Ausführung der Gewänder und der zahlreichen Details so ähnlich, daß man zumindest an die Herstellung aller Siegel in einer Werkstatt, wenn nicht von einer Hand denken möchte. Nur durch die unterschiedliche Anordnung der Personen oder die Zufügung von Nebenszenen oder kleinen Objekten im Bildfeld können die Siegel voneinander unterschieden werden. Offensichtlich hat die Werkstatt nur einen sehr begrenzten Typenkatalog zur Verfügung gehabt, der variiert, aber kaum erweitert werden konnte.

Dieselbe Beobachtung läßt sich auch bei der Zahl der dargestellten Götter machen, die sich im wesentlichen auf den Gott mit Keule, Šamaš und die kriegerische Ištar beschränken. In den Nebenszenen bevorzugt man den sechslockigen Helden, gewöhnlich im Kampf mit einem Stiermenschen oder in Kombination mit Tieren. Die auf VAT 712 vertretenen Siegel sind sehr sparsam in der Zufügung von einzelnen Objekten oder von Nebenfiguren. Am häufigsten sind der kleine Beter oder die Symbole von Sonnenscheibe und Mondsichel vertreten.

Der größte Teil der Siegel von VAT 712 zeigt nur eine bildliche Darstellung, die durch Beischrift mit einer der im Text vertretenen Personen verbunden ist. In drei Fällen hingegen

¹⁵E. Porada, *Sippar*, 109 ff.

¹⁶L. al-Gailani, *Studies in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old-Babylonian Cylinder Seals*, Thesis University of London 1977. Für die Genehmigung, diese Arbeit zu benutzen, sowie die vorzeitige Übersendung des Kapitels Akkad, das für die Publikation vorbereitet wurde, möchte ich Frau al-Gailani herzlich danken. Ihre Ergebnisse wurden verwertet, auch wenn sie nicht mit Seitenangaben zitiert werden konnten.

wurde die Siegellegende in den Mittelpunkt gestellt und kaum etwas vom ebenfalls vorhandenen Bild abgerollt. Diese Tatsache zeigt, daß offensichtlich nur wenige Personen sich ein Siegel mit eigener Legende, das auch ihren Namen enthielt, anfertigen ließen. Normalerweise wählte der Käufer sein Siegel im Typenkatalog der Werkstatt und mußte sich dann bei Gebrauch—wenn mit ihm viele Siegel auf einer Urkunde verwendet wurden—vom Schreiber seinen Namen als Besitzer eintragen lassen.¹⁷

Es ist versucht worden, eine Regel zu finden, nach der die an einem Rechtsakt beteiligten Personen ihre Siegel auf einer Tafel abrollten. Bei VAT 712 ist es recht klar unterschieden, da ein Teil der Zeugen die Abrollung auf dem linken Rand und der linken freibleibenden Vorderseite der Hülle sowie auf dem unteren Rand hinterließen. Auf dem oberen Rand hatten einige der Erben ihre Anwesenheit mit dem Siegel bekundet. Diese strenge Trennung scheint jedoch nicht durchgängig zu sein und ist abhängig von der Art des im Text beurkundeten Rechtsgeschäftes.¹⁸

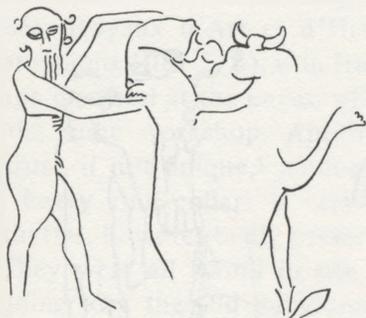


Figure 1.

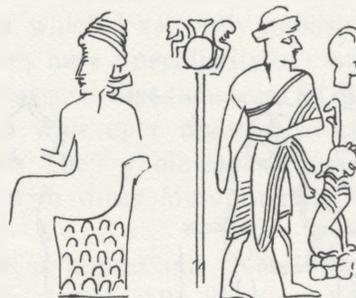


Figure 2.



Figure 4.

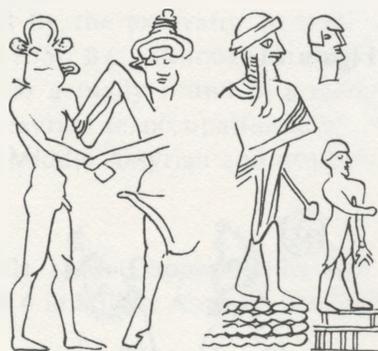


Figure 6.

¹⁷Nach den Beobachtungen von J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* VI, Malibu 1977, p. 76 f. sind Beschriften auf Siegelabrollungen typisch für Nordbabylonien. Sie wurden selten in Südbabylonien und im Dijala-Gebiet eingesetzt.

¹⁸Vgl. dazu J. Renger, op. cit., p. 76 mit weiterer Literatur. Ill. 1 photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

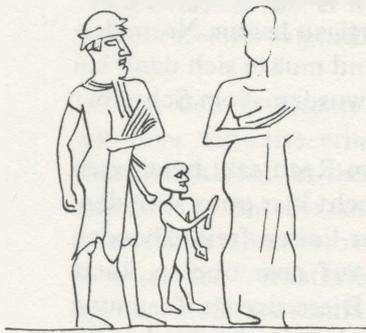


Figure 7.

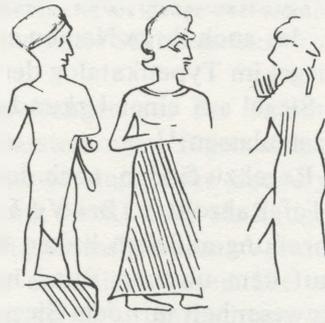


Figure 9.

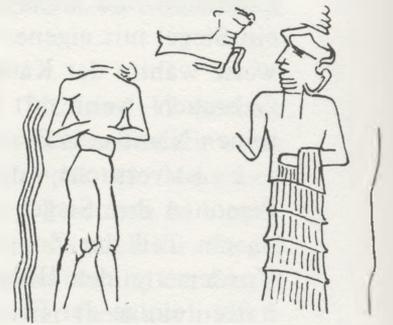


Figure 10.



Figure 11.

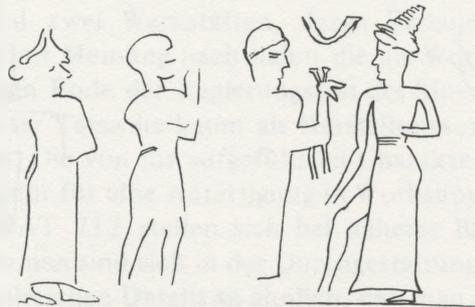


Figure 12.

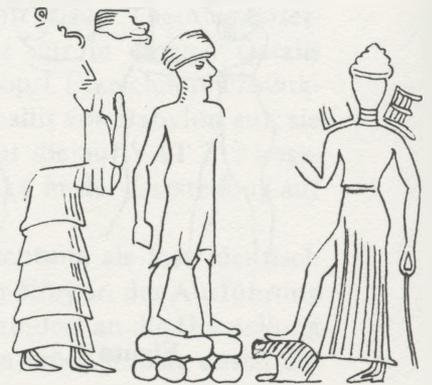


Figure 13.

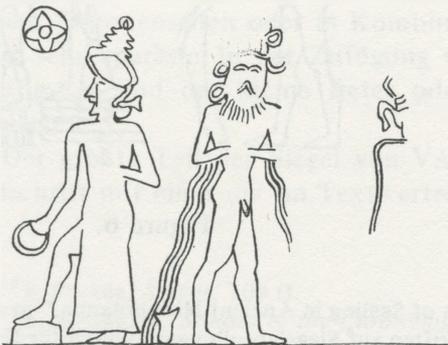


Figure 14.



Figure 15.

**THREE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN BRONZE/COPPER DOGS
FROM TELL AL RIMAH**

Barbara Mallowan

As Edith Porada has so wide a knowledge of the art and crafts of the Ancient Near East, I hope she will not consider an article about dogs inappropriate in a volume dedicated to her.

These three dog figurines were all found during the 1967 and 1968 seasons at Tell al Rimah, in the same area and in more or less the same context. The most curious (Ills. 1, 2) is in the Institute of Archaeology of the University of London; the second (Ills. 3, 4) is in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels; the third, of which I can only publish dig photographs (Ills. 5, 6), is in Iraq in the Mosul Museum.* They have a peculiarity of casting, lumps of metal at the knees, which links them together and suggests that they were all made in the same workshop. Another distinctive feature is their wide open mouths, which is unusual, if not unique,† amongst Mesopotamian dog figurines. Their whole appearance with the heavy ring collars is very unsophisticated compared with other Mesopotamian dog statuettes, however badly preserved.

They were all found in site C, the area of Middle Assyrian houses and "Nuzi" period building over the Old Babylonian palace of Aškur-Addu. Stratigraphically there can be no question that all three examples date to the late second millennium, more precisely before 1200 B.C. since the occupation of Tell al Rimah came to an end about that time. None was found in a significant context, for instance a burial or foundation deposit. Two (TR.5312 and TR.5338) came to light in fill underneath level 3, ascribed on other evidence to the Middle Assyrian period, and therefore provisionally assigned by the excavator to level 4 from which they might have derived, giving a date ca. 1400-1350 B.C., although an earlier dating cannot be excluded. The third figurine (TR.4518) was actually found in a rather later context, in the Middle Assyrian fill below the Late Assyrian re-occupation level of very much later date. Even this piece must be, at the latest, Middle Assyrian and not Late Assyrian in date.

TR.5312 Institute of Archaeology, University of London (Ills. 1, 2). Copper dog figurine. Total length 9.0 cms, max. height 5.8 cms, from site C, level 4 in Middle Assyrian levelling fill.

The dog has large upstanding ears, wide open mouth, a long neck encircled by a heavy ring, which is damaged. The eyes have been inlaid with one eye still showing the remains of ivory

*I am indebted to Mme Homès-Fredericq and the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* for the photographs of TR.4518. The dog in the Mosul Museum TR.5338 will be published properly by Teresa Howard Carter in her catalogue of objects from Tell al Rimah. I am indebted to Mr. Paul Craddock and Mr. John Curtis of the British Museum for inspecting and commenting on TR.5312.

†The mouth of the Suma-ilum dog is open. See note 1, below.

inlay. The nose has been made very square so that it looks porcine, but the open mouth and the collar make it certain that it must be a dog. A length of bronze wire was found under the figurine and could have been the leash but the point at which it was attached to the collar is no longer apparent. The front legs show lumps of copper at the knees. The hind legs of the dog have been replaced by a metal strip which goes over the hindquarters and is pinched to make two shapeless legs. The hindquarters show signs of reworking and the tail is only a stump. The explanation is probably that the copper casting went wrong at this point and the damage was repaired by this simple solution. X-ray fluorescence analysis reveals that the figurine is virtually pure copper, with no tin or lead and very small amounts of iron and nickel. As it is difficult to make a good casting in pure copper, this would explain why the casting went wrong. The ring collar, on the other hand, contains a small amount of tin and can reasonably be described as bronze.

TR.5338 Mosul Museum IM.72615 (Ils. 5, 6). Bronze dog.

Total length 8.0 cms, max. height 6.5 cms, from site C below level 3 wall, level 4.

The dog has large ears extending horizontally, a long neck, wide open mouth showing teeth and tongue, and curly tail. The front legs have lumps of metal at the knees.

TR.4518 Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 0.3532 (Ils. 3, 4). Bronze dog.

Total length 5.8 cms, max. height 3.7 cms, from site C, in fill above rooms 80-81, level 2b.

The dog has an open mouth, showing the tongue, and a double ring round its neck, the tail is broken but the stump indicates that it turned up. One of the back legs has a lump of metal at the knee, as also inside the front left knee.

It is not until the Old Babylonian period that representations of dogs appear as votive objects in the cult of Nin-Isina/Gula, the divine doctress. The finest example is the steatite dog found at Tello, dedicated to Nin-Isina for the life of Suma-ilum, king of Larsa (ca. 1894 B.C.) by an ecstatic.¹ This dog, a kind of mastiff, is the subject of a number of terracottas.² These depict the dog seated, lead by a keeper, or in a dog fight still on a lead with keepers. Another type of scene shows a bitch with puppies,³ a type which was also found amongst a number of figurines discovered by chance in the vicinity of Agar Quf on a pavement with an inscribed brick of Nazimaruttash.⁴ There were lionesses and bitches with suckling puppies; and a damaged figurine of a dog was inscribed with a dedication to the goddess Gula.⁵ A number of dog figurines and plaques have been found during the excavations of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft at Isin, the city of the goddess Nin-Isina.⁶ Included amongst these finds, which date between the 14th-6th centuries B.C., was a damaged terracotta dog with a dedication to Gula, "the great doctor, who gives the breath of life."⁷ The goddess with her dog seated at her feet is depicted on a number of *kudurru*

¹ A. Spyket, *La statuaire du proche orient ancien*, Leiden, 1981, p. 286, pl. 190; Sollberger and Kupper, *IRSA*, p. 187, 1VB7c.

² R. Opificius, *Das Altbabylonische TerrakottarelieF*, Berlin 1961, pp. 171, 179, 237, tf. 21-22.

³ R. Opificius, op. cit., p. 180, no. 661, tf. 22.

⁴ M. A. Mustapha, *Sumer III* (1947), pp. 19-22, fig. 2.

⁵ *Idem.*, fig. 4.

⁶ B. Hrouda, *Isin-Ishan Bahriyat I*, München 1977, pp. 52 f., tf. 11-12; E. A. Braun-Holzinger, *Isin-Ishan Bahriyat II*, München 1981, pp. 65 f., tf. 25, 27.

⁷ Op. cit., I, tf. 9, IB 18, p. 90 (3) *a-z[u-g]al-la-at . . . qa-i-ša-at na-ap-ša-at ba-la-ṭi*.

of Kassite and Second Dynasty of Isin date,⁸ and on two of them the goddess' name is written above.⁹ It has been pointed out that from the Kassite period a different type of dog is shown, with pointed muzzle, upstanding ears, and a curly tail.¹⁰

A seal impression on an Assur tablet dating to Tiglath Pileser I shows an Assyrian king in an attitude of worship beside a temple in which is seated a dog on a dais or throne.¹¹ According to the 7th century recension of the "god's address book" Gula had her own temple at Assur,¹² and Assurnasirpal II built a temple for her in Kalhu (Nimrud).¹³ The goddess Gula and her other names, Nin-Isina, Nintinugga, Nin-Nibru^{ki}, is not the only deity connected with a dog: Enlil, Marduk and Ea all had fierce hounds.¹⁴ A text probably dating to Amar-Sin is an incantation for treating a redness disease *samana*,¹⁵ which is likened to the furious dog of Enlil, the dog with bloody mouth of Nin-Isin, the furious dog (dog with open mouth) of the gods. A text dating to Artaxerxes contains a list of *merdītu* offerings to gods and their divine retinue.¹⁶ The enumeration of the deities in the temple Ē-seš-šag-ga at the right hand of the god Ninurta concludes with five dogs (without divine determinative) white, black, red, spotted, and yellow, and the same in Ē-gal-mah, to the left of Nin-Isin Nintinugga.

In the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, 8th-6th centuries B.C., dog figurines in bronze and terracotta are found buried under palaces and occasionally temples.¹⁷ The apotropaic purpose of this is explained by a late Assyrian text found at Assur in the incantation priests' house (KAR.298)¹⁸ giving instructions for making and burying various types of magical figurines in a house to expel or ward off evil. A section relates to the making of clay dogs, two of each color, white, black, red, yellow, and spotted, each to have its name written upon it, to be buried in the outer gate, "recite over them you 'white' dogs." Five clay dogs retaining some traces of the colors¹⁹ and inscribed with names identical to the text, (except that being only five dogs there were half the names), were found at Nineveh by Loftus. They were discovered in a box at the entrance into room S at the S.W. corner of Assurbanipal's northern palace on Kuyunjik.²⁰ Two squatting clay dogs, one with traces of green color and inscribed, were found in the "bibliothèque" building at Kish, and thought to be probably belonging to a set of five.²¹ At Ur, Woolley found a set of five clay squatting dogs, apparently uninscribed, in a box under the floor of the palace of Nabonidus' daughter, Ēnum-erišti-Nanna, one with traces of red paint. Another set of four squatting

⁸ E.g., A. Parrot, *Sumer*, Thames and Hudson 1960, p. 312, pl. 387.

⁹ U. Seidl, *BaM* 4 (1968), pp. 143 f., Nos. 50 and 59.

¹⁰ B. Hrouda, op. cit., p. 52. Both types of dog are present in the 11th century B.C. dogs cemetery; Boessneck, *Isin* I, p. 101.

¹¹ A. Moortgat, *ZANF* 14 (1944), abb. 46.

¹² R. Frankena, *Takultu de Sacrale Maaltijd in Het Assyrische Ritueel*, Leiden 1954, p. 124:100-109.

¹³ D. Wiseman, "A New Stele of Assurnasirpal II," *Iraq* XIV (1952), p. 33:56.

¹⁴ *CAD* s.v. *kalbu*, pp. 71 f.

¹⁵ J. Nougayrol, *Ar. Or.* XVII, 2 (1949), pp. 213 ff. (20) . . . *ur.huš En.lil.la* (22) *ka.mūd.du* ₈ *du.8* *Nin.in.si.na.ka* (23) *ur.da.du.8 a.dingir.re.ne*.

¹⁶ J. Nougayrol, *RA* 41 (1947), pp. 32-38; AO.17662.

¹⁷ D. Rittig, *Assyrisch-babylonische Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 13-6 jh. v. Chr.* München, 1977, pp. 116 ff.

¹⁸ D. Rittig, op. cit., p. 159:17-22. See also E. Leichty, *Expedition* 13,22. for protection against the visitations of Lamaštu.

¹⁹ C. J. Gadd, *RA* XIX (1922), p. 159. *British Museum Guide*, 3rd edition, pp. 221, 239.

²⁰ C. J. Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, London, 1936, Appendix, p. 8.

²¹ S. Langdon, *Kish* I (1924), p. 91, pl. 28, 1.

dogs, one with traces of red paint, another with blue paint, and a third with green paint, were found in the same building.²² Four single bronze dogs, one with a gold face, were found under the pavement of the Neo Babylonian *giparu*.²³ The bronze dogs from Nimrud were found in a well.²⁴

In the second tablet of the incantation series *bīt mēširi* for the expulsion of demons from a house of sickness,²⁵ Lugalgirra, who is in charge of operations, summons various gods and appoints them to guard different parts of the house. The constellation Ur-gula (Leo) with his dog is to sit at the outer gate *bāb kamū* while the goddess Gula herself sits on the threshold *askuppātu* (KUN₄). The image of Lugalgirra is drawn on the wall as also those of the seven winged ones, while other deities are represented by *urigallu* standards.²⁶ How the gods in lines 110-130 are shown is not clear from the text and the goddess may well have been represented by her dog, as she is on several *kudurru* and in the oath in three Old Babylonian contracts.²⁷

There was, in the area where TR.4518 was found, a small shrine or chapel amongst the Middle Assyrian houses, and an earlier one nearby of the "Nuzi" period.²⁸ None of the dogs was found *in situ*, so it is not possible to say whether they were votive or apotropaic. Dog figurines were also used to counteract the danger posed by unfavorable omens involving dogs, but these were of a more perishable material, usually clay.²⁹ Relevant to the question of whether they could be votive, the name of the goddess Gula does not occur in any text from Tell al Rimah, Old Babylonian, or Middle Assyrian. It has been thought, from a study of greetings formulae, that the principal goddess of Tell al Rimah in the Old Babylonian period was Gestinanna. Another deity called Ištar-bēlit-tarbašim also seems to have been important.³⁰

²² C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations* VIII, p. 94, pl. 32. U.16159, U.16160.

²³ C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations* IX, p. 16, pl. 25.

²⁴ M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* I, p. 146.

²⁵ G. Meier, "Die Zweite Tafel der Serie *bīt mēširi*," *AfO* 14 (1941), p. 146:112-114.

²⁶ *Idem.*, p. 144:60, p. 146:132, p. 148:184.

²⁷ H. Heimpel, *RLA* IV, s.v. Hund., p. 496, para. 7.

²⁸ D. Oates, *Iraq* XXXII (1970), p. 2; and *Iraq* XXX (1968), p. 134.

²⁹ R. Caplice, *Orientalia* 36 (1967), pp. 1 ff.

³⁰ S. Dalley, *JCS* XXV, 2 (1973), pp. 79 ff. and S. Dalley, C. B. F. Walker, J. D. Hawkins, *The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell al-Rimah*, London (1976), p. 27, 16:8:12; Wiseman and Saggs, *Iraq*, XXX, 2 (1968), pp. 154-175.

UNE CORNE SCULPTEE A EMAR

Jean-Claude Margueron

En 1976, l'un des objectifs fixés à la sixième et dernière campagne de fouille de Meskéné-Emar a été d'étendre vers l'ouest le dégagement du chantier M dont l'étude, amorcée au printemps 1974 avec le dégagement du Temple du Devin, s'était poursuivie durant les quatrième et cinquième campagnes. En effet, on y avait mis au jour quelques éléments d'un quartier qui donnait des indications intéressantes sur les relations entre la voirie et l'habitat: ainsi la fouille avait été arrêtée en 1975 sur une petite place entourée, sur deux côtés au moins, de maisons de taille différente. L'extension vers l'ouest était donc destinée à parfaire notre connaissance de l'urbanisme d'Emar.¹

C'est un temple qui fut trouvé sur le côté occidental de la petite place. Il était malheureusement dans un état tellement dégradé que les difficultés ont été grandes lorsque l'on a cherché à déterminer son tracé exact. Toutefois la fouille a permis d'établir que, sans être une exacte réplique des temples de Baal et d'Ashtarté installés sur le point culminant du site (chantier E) ou du Panthéon du Devin dont il n'était éloigné que de quelques dizaines de mètres, il appartenait à la même famille de sanctuaires, c'est-à-dire à la série en forme de *mégaron*, même si les antes sont cette fois moins marquées. Cependant aucun document écrit n'a permis de connaître la divinité qui était adorée dans ce temple; on peut le regretter d'autant plus que si la destruction et l'incendie ont fait rage ici comme dans les autres sanctuaires, le mobilier semble y avoir été particulièrement riche.

Parmi les débris de céramiques à glaçure, de vases en gypse, de pendentifs, de terre-cuites à glaçure, d'os incisés, d'oeufs d'autruche, de perles en grand nombre . . . , furent ramassés dans la partie sud-est du sol du temple les restes de cette corne sculptée.² Elle avait été brisée dans l'antiquité et les différents fragments réunis n'ont pas permis de redonner à l'objet son intégralité première. Il manque définitivement la base de la corne ainsi que sa pointe supérieure; de plus, au tiers inférieur on remarque une petite lacune. Les cassures ne sont pas toujours bien jointives, sans doute à cause du long séjour dans la terre du tell et de l'action du feu. Le séjour en terre a provoqué, en effet, un dépôt de calcite qu'un nettoyage a fait en grande partie disparaître; quant au feu, il est responsable

¹ Cf. J. Margueron, "Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, 5e et 6e campagnes de fouille à Meskéné-Emar" à paraître dans les *Annales Archéologiques Syriennes*. On trouvera un état de la bibliographie sur les découvertes d'Emar dans *Le Moyen Euphrate, zone de contacts et d'échanges*, Actes du colloque de Strasbourg du 10-12 mars 1977, éd. par J. Cl. Margueron, Brill 1980, pp. 234-312 et pour la fouille elle-même p. 285 n. 1.

² Découverte dans le carré M XIV SE; numéro de fouille M XVI SE 24; numéro d'inventaire pour le musée d'Alep où l'objet a été déposé: MSK 76211. La première analyse sur le chantier a été réalisée par D. Beyer, qui a eu en charge cette année-là l'essentiel de la conduite du chantier.

de craquelures assez nombreuses ainsi que d'une plage devenue, à cause d'un début de calcination, blanche et très friable: les motifs de la gravure n'y sont plus visibles avec la netteté que l'on désirerait (voir Ills. 1-3).

Dans sa forme actuelle la corne mesure, de haut en bas, 24,2 cm au maximum; son diamètre à la base est de 3 à 3,2 cm, alors que vers l'extrémité supérieure au niveau subsistant il ne dépasse pas 1,65 cm. La corne se présente sous la forme d'un arc assez régulier, mais dont le profil montre quelques irrégularités. La base ne possède plus sa matière spongieuse (ce qui permet d'évaluer l'épaisseur de la matière cornée extérieure entre 2 et 5 mm); celle-ci a cependant été conservée vers l'intérieur de la corne.

Sans l'avis autorisé d'un paléozoologue, et aucun n'a encore étudié cet objet, je n'oserais affirmer l'espèce animale à laquelle cette corne a appartenu; il me semble toutefois qu'une chèvre ou une gazelle pourrait convenir.

Cette corne est ornée de scènes figuratives disposées en registres superposés au nombre de 6; il ne semble pas que les lacunes déjà mentionnées aient entraîné la disparition d'un registre complet, pas plus qu'elles n'ont oblitéré une partie essentielle des motifs gravés: seules des dégradations, entraînant une lecture plus difficile de certains détails, peuvent être décelées.

Le dessin qu'O. Callot en a donné a voulu rendre compte des différents motifs en leur rendant une certaine unité; on n'a donc pas cherché à dérouler de façon continue la corne, opération qui aurait été de toutes façons très artificielle, mais plutôt à réunir les différents registres à partir d'une génératrice continue de haut en bas qui forme le lien vertical de tous les registres, tout en déroulant ceux-ci en fonction de leur propre scène. Il ressort de cette méthode que le centre d'aucune scène se ne trouve exactement au-dessus ou au-dessous du centre d'une autre scène, sauf si l'on recompose les trois premières scènes d'une manière différente de celle qu'a préférée O. Callot.

On constate d'autre part des variations importantes dans la hauteur des registres, une fois ces derniers déroulés. Si le registre supérieur reste constamment autour de 2,9 cm de haut, le suivant passe de 4 à 2,5 cm, le troisième de 3,5 à 2,7 cm, le quatrième de 3,7 à 2,7 cm; le cinquième reste de façon assez constante à 2,8 cm, alors que le registre inférieur évolue entre 2,5 et 2 cm. La raison essentielle de ces différences est à rechercher dans la forme même de la corne; mais il n'est pas impossible qu'une certaine maladresse de la part du sculpteur en soit aussi responsable.

La séparation entre chaque registre est réalisée par un listel dont le diamètre extérieur pourrait marquer la surface d'origine de la corne, à partir de laquelle la gravure a été réalisée. On remarquera qu'un listel double, et non simple comme ailleurs, sépare les deux derniers registres de la base: il me paraît difficile de déterminer pour le moment les raisons de ce traitement différencié. On notera encore que la plage non gravée, au haut de la corne, n'a pas été creusée et que la barre supérieure du listel n'a été qu'incisée.

La technique de gravure utilisée est celle du relief (pour les motifs) en meplat. On constate, à l'occasion, la recherche d'un léger modelé pour les reliefs, mais c'est surtout par la gravure que l'artiste a voulu rendre certains détails. Comme en témoigne le contour de la corne visible sur les photographies, le relief n'a guère plus d'un millimètre d'épaisseur.

* * *

Les six registres sont en quelque sorte encadrés: en haut par une plage libre, dont la hauteur est incertaine, du fait de la cassure, en bas par une bande large d'un cm environ, occupée par une torsade incisée. Il semble bien que cette dernière bande forme la base réelle des motifs décoratifs de la corne. On notera que dans la partie conservée une

erreur de gravure manifeste, à cause d'un chevauchement du thème, peut être décelée: s'agirait-il d'un mauvais calcul de l'artiste concernant l'emplacement du raccordement du motif? Cette erreur indiquerait-elle que, contrairement à l'habitude, le décor n'aurait pas été mis en place par une très légère incision avant la gravure elle-même?

Au registre supérieur,³ on trouve une scène de rencontre: un personnage, sans doute masculin, de profil, marchant vers la gauche, apparemment vêtu d'un pagne, bras gauche ramené à la hauteur de la poitrine, s'avance, la main droite tendue à hauteur du visage vers la gueule entrouverte d'un lion ou d'une lionne,⁴ qui passe à droite et dont l'extrémité de la queue est enroulée sur elle-même; toutefois, si le train avant de l'animal donne l'impression d'une progression, le train arrière paraît à l'arrêt. Entre le lion et le personnage un motif assez informe pourrait représenter un élément végétal du type arbuste. On peut s'interroger cependant sur le rôle et le sens de ce motif dans la scène, en raison à la fois de sa petitesse et du fait que le personnage, qui est en quelque sorte confronté au lion, présente sa main ouverte (?) devant sa gueule.

Le registre qui se trouve sous le premier est déjà plus compliqué et sa composition peut-être plus difficile à saisir. On y voit en effet successivement, un motif de forme allongée couronné d'excroissances que l'on peut assimiler à un végétal; ensuite un personnage passant à gauche, sans doute masculin, vêtu d'un pagne, bras droit tendu à l'horizontale, mais placé un peu bas sur le dessin par rapport à l'épaule, et la main arrivant au sommet du motif végétal, sans le toucher toutefois, tandis que le bras gauche est ramené devant le torse jusqu'au niveau du visage, avec apparemment le poing fermé. Derrière ce premier personnage on trouve un motif qui rappelle celui du registre supérieur et qui pourrait être de nature végétale, mais qui n'occupe que la moitié du registre. C'est ensuite une figure assez difficile à lire, en raison des dégradations subies en ce point par le document, où l'on peut reconnaître un personnage à double paire d'ailes, aux bras pliés et écartés de part et d'autre du torse; les jambes sont ramenées comme dans une gaine torsadée, dont il paraît difficile de préciser la signification; la poitrine est-elle nue? Les restes ne permettent guère de le préciser, pas plus que ne peuvent être précisés les détails du visage tourné vers la droite ou de la coiffure. Vient ensuite un personnage passant à droite et qui tourne le dos à cette figure ailée; vêtu d'un pagne, il a la même posture que le premier avec la même position générale des bras, mais inversée, puisque le bras gauche prend la place du bras droit et vice versa; il se pourrait qu'il tienne un objet peu définissable dans chaque main. Devant lui se trouve le motif végétal déjà décrit.

Le troisième registre est occupé par une scène d'un genre différent, car les quatre personnages qui la composent y tiennent des armes. Après un motif qui pourrait symboliser, comme dans les deux premiers registres, un élément végétal, un homme passant à gauche, vêtu d'un pagne, et peut-être coiffé d'un chignon, tient à l'aide de ses deux mains à la hauteur du bassin une lance horizontale dont la pointe est en contact, vers la gauche, avec le sommet du motif végétal. On trouve ensuite un personnage, vêtu lui aussi d'un pagne, de beaucoup plus petite taille et dont la conversation n'est pas excellente, passant à droite et tirant à l'arc, la main tenant la flèche apparemment à la hauteur de la poitrine; une sorte de petit récipient semble accroché derrière lui au niveau du bassin. Devant lui, un personnage qui occupe toute la hauteur du registre, passant à droite, cheveux ramenés

³ La description est donnée en partant du dessin de la Figure 1; elle progresse du registre supérieur vers la base et de la gauche vers la droite.

⁴ Cf. ci-dessous p. 157.

en chignon derrière la tête, vêtu d'un pagne, tient dans sa main droite levée derrière lui horizontalement un objet allongé en forme de croix dont l'extrémité se trouve au-dessus de l'archer qui le suit: il pourrait s'agir d'une hache à double tranchant; devant lui il tient verticalement un autre objet: hache à long manche? lance? . . . Cet individu est précédé d'un quatrième personnage tirant à l'arc, mais cette fois la main qui tient la corde est placée à hauteur de la tête, dans une position peu vraisemblable; la pointe de la flèche passe juste au-dessus du motif végétal déjà mentionné; un carquois assez allongé a été placé dans son dos.

Le quatrième registre présente un char à une paire de roues à quatre rayons; il passe vers la gauche et est tiré par un cheval dont l'étirement, en dépit du train avant qui repose à même le sol, cherche vraisemblablement à rendre la marche, ou même le galop; debout sur le char, un homme tire à l'arc en tenant le bois à main gauche, tandis que la droite tire la corde, tout en tenant la flèche; à l'arrière du char est fixé un carquois et l'on peut noter en outre que les rênes passent à la base de l'arc, mais que l'on ne sait pas comment elles sont tenues: y aurait-il un conducteur au char, masqué par le personnage tirant à l'arc? Devant ce groupe, un animal à corne, en partie lacunaire, passant à gauche et qui s'apparente à un taureau sauvage, la queue levée, est touché par un trait planté dans son garrot et paraît prêt à s'effondrer.

Le cinquième registre est occupé par deux animaux passant à droite: tout d'abord un lion ou une lionne devant un arbre qui occupe toute la hauteur du registre. Le précédant, un quadrupède à corne, marchant l'amble, pourrait, quoique de facture maladroite, représenter une antilope ou une gazelle; sous son museau se trouve un élément végétal de faible hauteur que la queue enroulée du lion vient toucher.

Le dernier registre met en scène un personnage peut-être masculin, un genou à terre, de profil à gauche, tenant dans chaque main un appendice qui semble sortir de l'arrière-train d'animaux fabuleux qui s'éloignent de lui de façon symétrique. À gauche il s'agit d'un sphinx ailé, peut-être à tête féminine, dont la queue est relevée à l'extrémité, avec la patte droite de l'avant-train levée; à droite, l'autre animal fabuleux, dont la tête pourrait être celle d'un rapace, serait un griffon, mais les lacunes sont si grandes cette fois qu'il est difficile d'être plus précis; on ne sait pas non plus si un motif, végétal ou autre, prenait place entre les têtes des monstres, comme pourrait y faire songer la patte levée du sphinx de gauche. Notons encore que l'appendice tenu par chacune des mains du personnage central peut être une seconde queue aussi bien qu'une laisse attachée aux animaux; on peut même se demander si dans sa main gauche le personnage ne tient pas un autre objet que la queue ou la laisse du monstre, éventuellement une arme ou un élément floral.

* * *

Je ne chercherai pas, dans ce bref article, à faire une étude développée des thèmes iconographiques qui apparaissent sur ce document. Au demeurant, s'ils méritent une analyse détaillée,⁵ ils font partie de séries suffisamment connues pour que dans une première publication on cherche à définir avec précision plutôt qu'à expliquer.

Malgré tout l'intérêt qu'offre cette corne, et je pense qu'il faut se garder de la sous-estimer, il faut bien reconnaître qu'on ne peut y voir, sur le plan de la qualité artistique, une oeuvre maîtresse. C'est même plutôt une certaine maladresse, au moins pour le rendu de certains détails, qui frappe au premier abord. On peut certes attribuer quelques

⁵ Je compte donner cette étude dans la publication définitive en préparation.

imperfections à la surface détériorée de la corne. Mais son séjour prolongé dans la terre, après les souffrances subies du fait de l'incendie, ne peut expliquer toutes les malfaçons, qui relèvent aussi d'un artiste, soit peu familier de la technique qu'il a employée, soit tout simplement peu habile.

Sans faire de ces maladresses un inventaire qui serait de peu d'intérêt, notons-en quelques-unes parmi les plus significatives, comme le déroulement irrégulier des hauteurs des registres, qui entraîne des variations notables dans la taille des personnages d'un même registre, comme il est bien visible sur le second, où la hauteur des hommes passe de 3 à 4 cm. Au même chapitre de l'organisation du décor, de la "mise en page" pourrait-on dire, il faut rappeler la torsade du dernier registre, qui se termine fort mal. Mais c'est parfois la mise en scène elle-même qui paraît rendre compte aussi d'une difficulté à inscrire de façon régulière le motif voulu dans l'espace préalablement délimité: ainsi au 3ème registre, la taille moindre de l'un des archers introduit une anomalie dans le principe bien classique de l'isocéphalie qu'appelle d'ailleurs naturellement le type d'organisation de cet objet. Le rapport des différentes parties du corps n'est pas toujours bien saisi non plus: ainsi la longueur des bras des deux personnages du second registre est beaucoup trop importante et si les bras tendus à l'horizontale étaient ramenés à la verticale, ils traîneraient au sol en donnant une allure simiesque à leur possesseur, plus particulièrement d'ailleurs à celui de droite. Enfin, la tête du cheval qui tire le char du 4ème registre paraît avoir été rendue de manière très maladroite, de même d'ailleurs que l'archer qui le monte; on n'osera pas non plus qualifier l'allure du cheval, qui imite de manière bien triste les galops superbes que l'on connaît pour la même époque.

Il ne faudrait toutefois pas trop charger de critiques le graveur. Au milieu des erreurs et des maladresses, on trouve quelques réussites ou, du moins, quelques traits non dépourvus d'intérêt; il me semble que le taureau blessé, quoique incomplet, ne manque pas d'une certaine allure. Mais c'est surtout le traitement différent des lions des registres 1 et 5 qui peut retenir notre attention. S'il est difficile en effet, à la seule vue de l'un de ces animaux, de définir son sexe, la comparaison des deux conduit à voir une lionne dans le registre supérieur, en raison d'une plus grande finesse du corps et de son encolure, et un lion au 5ème registre, pour son aspect plus ramassé, pour la massivité de son arrière-train et la puissance de son encolure. Ces quelques points positifs ne rachètent peut-être pas les insuffisances générales, elles permettent néanmoins de ne pas condamner sans appel le graveur de cette pièce.

* * *

Deux caractéristiques de l'iconographie méritent d'être signalées, même si on ne peut les expliquer de façon entièrement satisfaisante.

La première concerne la différence de traitement des motifs où je crois reconnaître des végétaux; si des affinités de forme et aussi de dimensions existent entre les représentations qui s'élèvent à mi-hauteur des registres 1, 2, 3 et 5, si celle qui est placée entre le lion et le cervidé du 5ème registre diffère des précédentes peut-être seulement d'ailleurs en raison de ses dimensions, il n'y a plus rien qui rapproche ces représentations de celle du second végétal du 2ème registre. Faut-il chercher une raison profonde à ce graphisme différent? Ce n'est peut-être pas impossible, si l'on remarque que ce dernier "végétal" joue peut-être un rôle entre les deux personnages aux bras tendus; faut-il alors proposer une autre explication pour ce motif? Pourrait-on y voir un pyrée?

C'est dans les personnages qu'il faut rechercher le second trait intéressant. Représentés avec les conventions habituelles, c'est-à-dire torse de face, jambes et tête de profil, ils sont tous vêtus de façon identique, aucun détail ne confère à l'un d'eux une quelconque particularité; peut-être pourrait-on déceler dans la coiffure de petites différences, mais je me demande si elles ne proviennent pas plutôt d'irrégularités de la gravure ou d'une usure postérieure; peut être aussi le personnage du dernier registre présente-t-il quelques différences, mais elles sont assez mineures pour qu'on ne les tienne pas pour significatives. Aurait-on alors affaire à un seul et même personnage dans diverses activités ou bien doit-on envisager une indifférenciation volontaire d'hommes placés tous au même niveau par ce moyen? Il est bien difficile de le savoir, mais l'absence d'attribut caractéristique me paraît devoir empêcher toute tentative d'identification précise de la ou des fonctions des êtres représentés.

* * *

Je ne veux pas plus apporter de matériaux de comparaisons que je n'ai voulu faire une véritable étude iconographique, pour des raisons évidentes de place.⁶ Je veux pourtant signaler pour terminer que les thèmes gravés sur cette corne sont pour une grande part les mêmes que ceux que l'on trouve sur la patère et la coupe en or de Ras Shamra⁷: chasseur sur un char tirant à l'arc sur des bovidés (coupe), lions, cervidés, sphinx et griffons (patère), arbre de vie ou motifs végétaux qui foisonnent, toutes ces similitudes montrent que, si la maîtrise artistique n'est pas comparable, l'univers iconographique, et donc peut-être mythologique et religieux, est le même.

C'est là que réside l'intérêt de cette corne, puisqu'elle permet de préciser le jeu complexe d'influences qui s'est exercé dans cette cité de la boucle de l'Euphrate entre le XIVe et le début du XIIe siècle.

⁶ Cf. ci dessus, n. 5, p. 157.

⁷ Claude F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* II, pp. 1 à 48, pl. I-VIII.

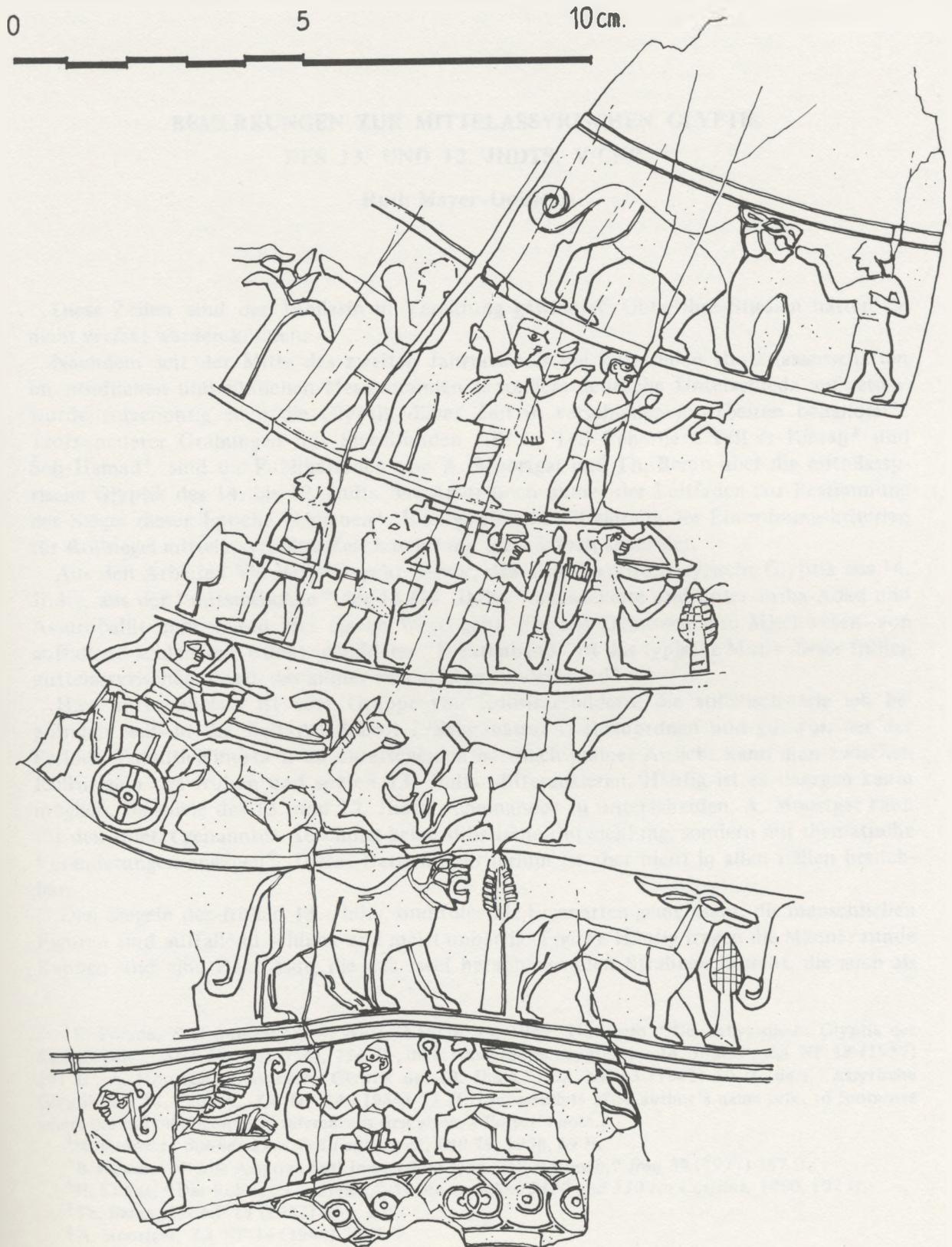


Fig. 1. Dessin de la corne réalisé par O. Callot.

**BEMERKUNGEN ZUR MITTELASSYRISCHEN GLYPTIK
DES 13. UND 12. JHDTS. V.CHR.**

Ruth Mayer-Opificius

Diese Zeilen sind der Jubilarin in Verehrung gewidmet. Ohne ihre Studien hätten sie nicht verfaßt werden können.

Nachdem seit der Mitte des zweiten Jahrtausends die kulturellen Hinterlassenschaften im nördlichen und südlichen Mesopotamien besonders deutliche Unterschiede aufweisen, wurde folgerichtig auch die Glyptik dieser Zeit in verschiedenen Arbeiten behandelt¹. Trotz neuerer Grabungen mit Siegelfunden z.B. in Tell Feherije², Tell er-Rimah³ und Šeh-Hamad⁴ sind die Publikationen von A. Moortgat und Th. Beran über die mittelassyrische Glyptik des 14. bis 12. Jhdts. aus Assur noch immer der Leitfaden zur Bestimmung der Siegel dieser Epoche geblieben¹. Eine gewisse Modifizierung der Einordnungskriterien für Rollsiegel mittelassyrischer Zeit scheint mir jetzt jedoch angezeigt.

Aus den Arbeiten Th. Berans¹ geht hervor, daß sich die mittelassyrische Glyptik des 14. Jhdts. aus der "mitannischen" des 15./14. Jhdts.¹ entwickelte und unter Eriba-Adad und Assurballit zum ersten Mal eigene Wege geht. Ein aus Dämonen und Mischwesen—von auffallend schlankem Wuchs—gebildetes "Figurenband" ist das typische Motiv dieser frühen mittelassyrischen Siegel, das immer wieder abgewandelt wird⁵.

Hier anzuschließen ist eine Gruppe von Rollsiegelbildern, die stilistisch—wie ich begründen will—in die Zeit Adadnirari I./Salmanassar I. einzuordnen und gut von der der Periode Tukulti-Ninurta I. zu unterscheiden ist. Nach meiner Ansicht kann man zwischen Rollsiegeln des frühen und späten 13. Jhdts. differenzieren. Häufig ist es dagegen kaum möglich, Beispiele des 13. und 12. Jhdts. voneinander zu unterscheiden. A. Moortgat kann für den zuletzt genannten Abschnitt keine stilistische Entwicklung, sondern nur thematische Veränderungen angeben⁶. Dieses Datierungskriterium ist aber nicht in allen Fällen brauchbar.

Den Siegeln des frühen 13. Jhdts. sind folgende Eigenarten gemeinsam: die menschlichen Figuren sind auffallend schlank und meist unbärtig (Fig. 1). Häufig tragen die Männer runde Kappen und eine Haarfrisur, die aus zwei herabhängenden Strähnen besteht, die auch als

¹E. Porada, *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*, AASOR 24, 1949; Th. Beran, "Die babylonische Glyptik der Kassitenzeit", *AfO* 18 (1957/58), 256 ff.; ders. "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jhdts.", *ZA NF* 18 (1957) 141 ff.; A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jhdts.", *ZA NF* 13 (1942) 50 ff.; ders. "Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jhdts.", *ZA NF* 14 (1944) 23 ff. [Superscripts after author's name refer to footnotes where the full bibliographical reference is first given. —Editor's note.]

²H. Kantor in *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, OIP 79, 1958, 69 ff.

³B. Parker, "Middle Assyrian Seal Impressions from Tell al Rimah," *Iraq* 39 (1977) 257 ff.

⁴H. Kühne, "Das Rollsiegel in Syrien," *Syrien zwischen 3300 und 330 vor Christus*. 1980, 102 ff.

⁵Th. Beran, *ZA NF* 18 (1957) Abb. 2 ff.

⁶A. Moortgat, *ZA NF* 14 (1944) 23 ff.

Bänder zur Kopfbedeckung gehörig beschrieben wurden⁷. Auf Fig. 2 ist daneben noch eine schlaufenartige Haarfrisur belegt, die gewiß auf ältere "mitannische" Vorbilder zurückgeht⁸. Ein hüttenartiges Symbol auf Fig. 1 unter der Baumkrone sichtbar, ist typisch für die Siegel der Salmanassar-Zeit⁹. Löckchen an Kniegelenken und Körper z.B. von Rindern (Fig. 3)—auch von geflügelten (vgl. Ill. 1, Fig. 10)—könnten auf "archaische" Vorbilder zurückgehen, wären aber auch auf churrisch-mitannische Zeit zurückzuführen, wie man auf einem Siegel des Ithi-tešup von Nuzi erkennen kann. Hier tragen Mischwesen mit Vogelbeinen ähnliche Löckchen an den Beinen, vor allem am Kniegelenk¹⁰. Da die Greifen zur Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. eine Reihe von Federn zeigen, die vom Kopf bis in den Nacken reichen¹¹, im 14. Jhdt. die Vogelköpfe dieser Mischwesen aber eine Federkrone und eine Greifenlocke im Nacken tragen, möchte man das Siegel auf Fig. 4—auf einer Tafel der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I.—entweder in das frühe 13. Jhdt. unter Salmanassar I. oder gar als noch älter datieren. Von fünf Beispielen des von Th. Beran¹² behandelten Archivs Ass. 14446, möchte ich eines in die Zeit Adadnirari I. oder Salmanassar I. datieren (Fig. 5), wie es A. Moortgat aufgrund einer Mitteilung Weidners bereits getan hat¹³. Die vier anderen¹⁴ gehören wohl schon in das spätere 13. Jhdt. Bei allen ist der Jahreseponym nicht genau zu bestimmen¹⁵. Man muß also—wie schon A. Moortgat annahm—die Stücke des Archivs Ass. 14446 in das 14. und 13. Jhdt. datieren.

Obwohl Reste des alten "Figurenbandschemas" der Erība-Adad- und Assuruballit-Zeit noch im 13. Jhdt. nachweisbar sind, ist die Komposition in der Adadnirari- und Salmanassar-Stufe meist freier: einzeln dahinschreitende Tiere (Fig. 3) und "Dreiecksfigurationen" (Fig. 6) zeigen den neuen Weg, den die Bildschneider im 13. Jhdt. gehen.

Wenn auch die Komposition der Stücke des frühen und späteren 13. Jhdts. häufig sehr ähnlich ist, so sind doch die Einzelheiten meist gut zu unterscheiden: auffallend ist es, daß Wesen mit menschlichen Köpfen seit der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. sehr viel häufiger bärtig dargestellt werden als früher (Fig. 7). Trugen Helden und Priester in der Zeit Salmanassar I. in der Regel runde Kappen (Figs. 1, 2)—ein Siegel der Sammlung Borowski¹⁶ macht hier eine Ausnahme, die Pothnia Theron trägt eine spitze Kappe—so ändert sich das vollends in der Periode Tukulti-Ninurta I. Babylonischer Einfluß wird sich hier geltend machen. Bereits in der späten (?) altbabylonischen Periode sind in Isin einfache spitze

⁷B. Parker, *Iraq* 29 (1977) 258 zu Siegel Nr. 2A.

⁸Vgl. z.B. das Tušratta Siegel. Gute Abb. in *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte* 14, 1975, Abb. 270a.

⁹In ähnlicher Weise wird ein Symbol auf einem Sockel mit Pferdekopf bekrönt, der auf einem kudurru Nabu-kudurri-ušur I abgebildet ist. Da der kudurru aber wesentlich später als unsere Siegel ist, ist ein babylonischer Ursprung des Hüttensymbols nicht nachweisbar. Man könnte umgekehrt an assyrischen Einfluß in Babylonien zur Zeit der 2. Dynastie von Isin denken.

¹⁰Locken an den Kniegelenken von Rindern und Stiermenschen kennen wir in frühdynastischer Zeit. Die ältesten Belege kennen wir aus Uruk, hier wurden Frieseinlagen von Schafen und Rindern in der ältesten frühdynastischen Schicht gefunden, vgl. A. Nöldeke/H. Lenzen, *UVB* 11, 1940, 22 Tf. 34 a-e. Nach der Zeit der 1. Dynastie von Ur verschwinden die Knielocken. Vgl. E. Porada, *Akkadica* 13 (1979) Abb. 1 (neu rekonstruierte Umzeichnung des Siegelabdruckes des Ithi-tešup) für ein Beispiel aus dem 2. Jhdt.

¹¹A. Moortgat, *ZA* NF 13 (1942) Abb. 20.

¹²Th. Beran⁵.

¹³A. Moortgat¹¹ Abb. 15.

¹⁴Th. Beran⁵ Abb. 33, 38, 42, 43.

¹⁵So A. Moortgat¹¹ nach E. Weidner.

¹⁶Katalog: *Archäologie zur Bibel*, 1981, Abb. 81 und Tf. XIV. Das Stück zeigt in seiner Komposition deutlich syrischen Einfluß. Die Tiere, vor allem die großen Capriden, haben die für die Salmanassar-Zeit typischen großen Augen.

Götterkappen nachweisbar¹⁷. Dieser Brauch setzt sich in der kassitischen Periode fort und nun ist die Kappe oben gelegentlich abgerundet¹⁸, wie wir es seit der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. in Assyrien finden. So ist sie auch auf einem in Assur gefundenen Siegelabdruck des Archivs Ass. 14446 zu sehen, den A. Moortgat für kassitisch hält. Die Tafel wird in die Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. zu datieren sein (Fig. 8). Zu dem kahlköpfigen Beter gibt es jetzt aus Isin eine gute rundplastische Parallele¹⁹. Seit der Zeit Adadnirari I./Salmanassar I. kommt die "sechslöckige" Haarfrisur in zunehmendem Maße vor²⁰. Vergleichsweise häufiger ist sie aber zur Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. nachzuweisen²¹. Nicht beachtet wurde bisher, daß die manieristisch nach hinten ausgestreckten Hinterbeine von Tieren und Mischwesen erst seit der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. vorkommen (Fig. 9). Vorbilder für diese eigenartige Tierdarstellung darf man wohl in Syrien suchen: auf einer mittelsyrischen Schale aus Ugarit²² – vermutlich älter als unsere Siegel – ist ein zusammengebrochener Cervide mit hochgerissenem Bein dargestellt. Eine derart bizarre Bewegungsstudie dürfte wohl nicht zweimal erfunden worden sein. Sie wird von nun an zum typisch mittelassyrischen Erscheinungsbild für Tiere und Mischwesen verschiedener Art²³.

Nach diesen hier aufgezeigten Datierungskriterien sind wir imstande, genauere Klassifizierungen einiger Stücke aus neueren Grabungen und verschiedenen Sammlungen vorzunehmen. Aus Feherije stammen einige Siegelabdrücke mit einer männlichen Sphinx, die einen Stier angreift (Ill. 1, Fig. 10). Die Fotografie zeigt die schlanke Gestalt der Sphinx und auf der Umzeichnung werden die Löckchen am Körper des geflügelten Rindes deutlich²⁴. Nicht erst seit Tukulti-Ninurta I. gibt es also die männliche Sphinx, wie A. Moortgat annahm²⁵, sondern schon vorher, da man die Siegel aufgrund der Rinderdarstellung datieren kann (vgl. Fig. 3). Das Berliner Siegel VR Nr. 630 (Ill. 2) – von A. Moortgat einst in das erste Jahrtausend datiert – ist aufgrund des "Hüttensymbols" (vgl. Fig. 1) und der kugelförmig gebildeten Sonne (vgl. Fig. 1 passim) in die Periode Adadnirari I./Salmanassar I. einzuordnen. Das "Kassitenkreuz" deutet auf babylonischen Einfluß, der im 13. Jhd. in der ersten und zweiten Hälfte nachweisbar ist. Typisch für das frühe 13. Jhd. ist auch das Siegel der Pierpont Morgan Library Nr. 600 (Ill. 3)²⁶. Die "Zöpfchenfrisur" des Helden (vgl. Fig. 2) und die kugelförmige Sonne (vgl. Fig. 1 passim) sind die Einordnungskriterien. Man beachte hier die betonten Augen der Capriden, die besonders charakteristisch für die Siegel dieser Zeit sind.

¹⁷ B. Hrouda, *Isin-Isān Bahriyāt* II, 1981, Tf. 30, 48 S. 79.

¹⁸ E. Porada, *CANES* Nr. 584.

¹⁹ E. Braun-Holzinger in *Isin-Isān Bahriyāt* II, 1981, 62 ff.

²⁰ E. Porada, *CANES* Nr. 597.

²¹ Zum sechslöckigen Helden vgl. R. Mayer-Opificius, *Ugarit F* 14 (1982) 143 ff.

²² Goldschale aus Ras Schamra aus dem 14. Jhd. Detailaufnahme Katalog der Ausstellung *Land des Baal*, Berlin 1982, Nr. 146 Abb. S. 118 rechts oben.

²³ Eine in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta gefundene Karamikscherbe von U. Moortgat-Correns plausibel ergänzt, vgl. U. Moortgat-Correns, *Festschrift Moortgat* 1964, 172 Abb. 6 bestätigt unter anderem diese Datierung.

²⁴ Aus diesem Grund werden hier beide Abbildungen der Originalpublikation gezeigt. Die Umzeichnung gibt den Körper des Mischwesens nicht schlank genug wider – ein wesentliches Datierungsmerkmal würde sonst hier fehlen.

²⁵ A. Moortgat⁶ 31.

²⁶ Weitere Siegel dieser Periode in derselben Sammlung: vgl. E. Porada, *CANES* Nr. 594 = Rind mit Locken; 595 = vgl. die Greifenkrone mit solchen aus dem 13. Jhd. s.u.S. 00; 598 = Zopffrisur des Beters, kugelförmige Sonne; 596, 697 = besonders betonte Augen der Tiere. Erstes Auftreten des sechslöckigen Helden in mittelassyrischer Zeit, später dann öfter. 599 = großes Auge des Tieres, Baumkrone ähnelt der kugelförmigen Sonne, Held besonders schlank.

Schließlich möchte ich hier noch ein Siegel der Sammlung Erlenmeyer behandeln (Ill. 4), dessen Veröffentlichungserlaubnis ich der Freundlichkeit Frau Erlenmeyers verdanke. Ob neben dem Lebensbaum stehend der König symmetrisch verdoppelt dargestellt wurde, oder ob hier eine andere Person gemeint ist, läßt sich nicht entscheiden, da ein Königsornat vor Tukulti-Ninurta I. anscheinend nicht geschaffen wurde²⁷. Charakteristische für die erste Hälfte des 13. Jhdts. scheinen mir die "schlanken Gestalten" neben dem Baum und die Schlaufenfrisuren zu sein, die sie tragen. Ein dem Siegel der Sammlung Erlenmeyer sehr ähnliches fand sich in Tell er-Rimah (Fig. 11). Man wird es aufgrund des Vergleiches—nicht wie B. Parker es tut—in das 14. Jhd. datieren wollen, auch nehme ich nicht an, daß hier Frauen abgebildet sind, da in dieser Zeit fast alle Männer unbärtig dargestellt werden (s.u. S. 166). Eine große Anzahl von Siegeln aus Tell er-Rimah sind in die Salmanassar-Zeit zu datieren, nur eines von ihnen soll hier noch vorgeführt werden (Fig. 12): der Held mit der Zopffrisur und das Hüttensymbol kommen hier vereint vor.

Nur wenige Siegel der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I., die interessante Einzelheiten aufzuweisen haben, sollen an dieser Stelle vorgelegt werden. Das im Britischen Museum befindliche Stück (Ill. 5), dessen Veröffentlichungserlaubnis in Fotografie ich den Trustees des Britischen Museums verdanke, dürfte noch in den ersten Jahren der Regierungszeit Tukulti-Ninurta I.²⁸ entstanden sein, da der Gott und der Priester noch die Zopffrisur älterer Zeit tragen, dagegen haben beide eine Kappe auf dem Kopf, die erst typisch für die Mitte und zweite Hälfte des 13. Jhdts. ist. Nach älterer Tradition dürfte vielleicht auch der Priester noch unbärtig auftreten²⁹. Als letztes, ungewöhnliches Siegel möchte ich ein Stück der Salmanassar I./Tukulti-Ninurta-Zeit behandeln (Ill. 6), das von E. Porada als kassitisch bezeichnet wurde. In der Tat sind die im Tempel abgebildeten Göttersymbole typisch kassitisch: der Pferdekopf könnte den Sonnengott symbolisieren³⁰, der Vogel auf der Stange dürfte das kassitische Götterpaar Šuqamuna und Šumališa repräsentieren³¹. Daß es sich hier um ein in Assyrien hergestelltes Siegel handelt, geht m.E. aus der stilistischen Ähnlichkeit dieses Stückes mit einigen aus Tell Feherije hervor (Ill. 7). Als datierendes Merkmal wäre die spitze Priesterkappe zu nennen, die der Kopfbedeckung der Pothnia Theron auf dem Siegel der Sammlung Borowski (s.o. S. 162) gleicht und in Babylonien so nicht belegt ist. Der Kerbschnittstil, wie er in Feherije vorkommt und das Motiv des Symbol verehrenden Priesters, ebenso wie der Tempel, scheinen mir typisch assyrisch zu sein. Vielleicht gehörte dieses Siegel einem nach Assyrien ausgewanderten Kassiten.

Wenden wir uns nun einigen Siegeln des 12. Jhdts. und hier vor allem den beiden datierten des in Assur gefundenen Ninurta-Tukul-Assur Archivs zu³². Das eine der beiden (Fig. 13) zeigt die für die mittlassyrische Zeit so typischen Vogelgenien. Es erscheint auf

²⁷ Mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ist auf den beiden im Istar-Tempel von Assur gefundenen Symbolsockeln (gute Abb. bei A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien*, 1967, Abb. 246, 247) der König Tukulti-Ninurta I dargestellt, obwohl dieses nicht durch eine Beischrift gesichert wird—vgl. dazu E. Strommenger, *RIA* s.v. "Herrscher" Sp. 349 a.

²⁸ Erste Veröffentlichung bei W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910, 721.

²⁹ Ein Siegel, das man ebenfalls als ein solches "Übergangsstück" der frühen Tukulti-Ninurta-Zeit ansprechen muß, gehört der ehem. Sammlung Borowski an, vgl. Katalog *Land der Bibel*, 1981, Abb. 81. Die Tiere mit ihren betont großen Augen gleichen noch der Salmanassar-Zeit, die Pothnia Theron trägt eine spitze Kappe. Daß daneben auch noch die runde Kappe vorkommt, ist an dem Siegel aus Tyros, E. Porada¹⁰ Abb. 14 zu sehen, wo sie von einer Priesterin getragen wird.

³⁰ U. Seidl, *RIA*, s.v. "Göttersymbol" Sp. 487 a.

³¹ U. Seidl²⁶, Sp. 487 b.

³² Letzte Veröffentlichung V. Donbaz, "Ninurta Tukulti Assur" *TTKY* VI, 1976. Vgl. ferner D. Opitz, *Afo* 10 (1935-36) 48 ff.

der Tafel A 295, auf der der *mašmaššu*-Priester *Riš-Marduk* den Empfang von 4 Schafen und einer Ziege für einen Reinigungsritus quittiert. Wir dürfen daher vermuten, daß es sich bei der Abrollung um die des Siegels des Empfängers, also des Priesters *Riš-Marduk*, handelt.

Seit der Erfindung dieses Genius, der aus einem Menschen mit Flügeln und Vogelkopf besteht, und dem wir die Bezeichnung "Vogelgenius" gegeben haben, kennen wir ihn als Träger der Sonne. So ist er zum ersten Mal auf altsyrischen Siegeln belegt³³. In mittelassyrischer Zeit erscheinen Vogelgenien auch mit Eimer und Zweig in den Händen³⁴. Der Bildgedanke, diese Genien einen Lebensbaum flankieren zu lassen, wie wir ihn zum ersten Mal in Nuzi nachweisen können³⁵, liegt nahe, da der Baum häufig mit der geflügelten Sonne kombiniert gleichsam ebenfalls als Sonnenträger auftreten kann³⁶. Auf unserem Beispiel (Fig. 13) gleicht die Form der Vogelköpfe mit den auf Kopf und Nacken entlanglaufenden Federn der Art der Greifenbilder des 13. Jhdts., die sich demnach im 12. Jhd. nicht geändert hat. Es ist möglich, daß wir bereits in mittelassyrischer Zeit diese Darstellung mit dem Königskult in Verbindung bringen dürfen.

Das zweite Siegel zeigt eine Jagdszene (Fig. 14). Es ist auf drei Tafeln—A 113, A 297 und A 2615—abgerollt und ist am besten auf einem Gegenstand zu erkennen, den man als Bulle, d.h. als Verschuß, vielleicht aber auch als Probeabrollung betrachten kann³⁷. Dargestellt sind zwei Männer, die zu Wagen drei über einen Berg springende, bzw. fallende Capriden jagen. Das Motiv ist auf mittelassyrischen Siegelbildern bisher einmalig. Es hat jedoch—genau wie der Vogelgenius—Vorbilder in Syrien, wo wir auf einem altsyrischen Siegel zum ersten Mal eine Wagenjagdszene nachweisen können³⁸. Die Jagd zu Wagen ist realiter und als Bildmotiv gewiß durch churrische Vermittlung von den Assyrern übernommen worden³⁹. Auf einem mittelsyrischen Siegel aus Ras Schamra (Ill. 8) ist Jagd- und Kampfbild kombiniert, wie das häufiger geschah, da man beide Motive in der Antike als austauschbar verstand. Hier sind ägyptisierende Züge an Einzelfiguren und Komposition zu bemerken: die Kopfbedeckung des Jägers ist der ägyptischen weißen Königskrone vergleichbar, ebenso sind der Falke und Geier ägyptisch, schließlich ist der etwas ungeschickt gezeichnete Wagen als der "offene ägyptische" zu erkennen. Deutlicher noch ist der offene ägyptische Wagen auf einer Goldschale aus Ras Schamra zu sehen⁴⁰. Aus diesen Vergleichen wird deutlich, daß der auf dem mittelassyrischen Siegel (Fig. 14) abgebildete Wagen ägyptischen Vorbildern nachempfunden ist, ebenso wie die Komposition der sich vor den Wagen aufstürzenden "Dämonen", wie man sie am deutlichsten auf einer Truhe des Tut-anch-Amun-Schatzes sieht⁴¹. Es läge

³³ E. Porada¹, *CANES* Nr. 941. Vgl. zu dem Gesamtkomplex "Flügelsonne" R. Mayer-Opificius, *Ugarit F* 16 (1984) 189 ff.

³⁴ R. Opificius, *Ugarit F* 1 (1969) 95 ff. Nr. 71 Abb. 17.

³⁵ E. Porada¹, Nr. 795, 825.

³⁶ Ein Bildgedanke, der wohl ursprünglich in Syrien zu Hause ist, vgl. E. Porada, *CANES* Nr. 955, und dann zum Repertoire der neuassyrischen Glyptik gehört, E. Porada, *CANES* Nr. 649. In mittelassyrischer Zeit scheint er nicht belegt zu sein. R. Mayer-Opificius³³.

³⁷ Antike Probeabrollungen von Rollsiegeln hat es zu allen Zeiten gegeben, vgl. etwa die gesiegelte Tonplatte aus Tell Bi'a, E. Strommenger, *MDOG* 113 (1981) Abb. 5.

³⁸ Die Erfindung des schnellen syrischen Jagdwagens mit Speichenrädern scheint mir nach der inzwischen verbesserten Übersetzung des Anitta-Textes durch E. Neu, *STBoH*.18, 1974, Z. 72. entgegen der Annahme W. Nagels, die sich noch auf die alte Übersetzung stützen mußte, sehr plausibel. Vgl. W. Nagel, *Der mesopotamische Streitwagen*, 1966, 23 ff.

³⁹ "Mitannische" Vorbilder von Wagenjagdszenen bei E. Porada¹ Nr. 910, 912.

⁴⁰ Umzeichnung des Wagens bei W. Nagel³⁸ Abb. 27. Abbildung der gesamten Schale bei A. Moortgat²⁷ Abb. 234. Umzeichnung eines ägyptischen Wagens W. Nagel³⁸.

⁴¹ Vgl. K. Lange/W. Hirmer, *Ägypten*, 1967, Tf. XXXIV.

nahe, auch die Bartlosigkeit des Jägers des Siegels n. 7 (Fig. 14) ägyptischen Vorbildern zuzuschreiben, doch ist dies kaum möglich.

Bisher wurde das Siegel als Eigentum des Königs Ninurta-Tukulti-Assur angesprochen⁴². Wie ich oben ausführte, wird der König seit der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurtas jedoch bestimmt bärtig dargestellt. Daraus muß zwangsläufig folgen, daß hier kein Königssiegel vorliegt, wenn wir annehmen, daß sich der König auf dem Siegel selbst darstellen ließ, wie stets vermutet wurde. Andere Königssiegel zeigen in der Tat meist den Herrscher persönlich⁴³ abgebildet.

Als Besitzer aufgrund der oben genannten drei Tafeln kämen der *ša-rēši* Beamte Mutta oder der *ša-rēši* Buza in Frage. Muttas Zuständigkeitsbereich liegt in der Verteilung und Verwahrung von Haustieren, während das Aufgabengebiet Buzas etwas schwieriger zu fassen ist. Der Text A 113 legt in Verbindung mit den anderen Tafeln, auf denen Buza erwähnt wird⁴⁴, die Vermutung nahe, daß der Eunuch Buza, der Vorgesetzte des Mutta und somit der oberste für die Viehhaltung des Hofes zuständige Beamte war. Man könnte daher annehmen, daß unser "Jagdsiegel" dem höher gestellten Beamten Buza gehörte. Sicher ist auf jeden Fall, daß beide auf der Tafel genannten Männer *ša-rēši* Beamte waren, die wohl seit der Zeit Adadnirari I. in Assyrien Eunuchen waren⁴⁵. Den Brauch, derartige Beamte in der Umgebung des Königs zu verwenden, dürfen wir gewiß auch in den bildlichen Darstellungen durch die Unterscheidung bärtiger und unbärtiger Personen erkennen. Dies wird besonders auf neuassyrischen Reliefs deutlich⁴⁶.

Nimmt man an, daß die Siegeldarstellung in direkter Beziehung zum Besitzer steht—und dies dürfen wir gewiß in den meisten Fällen postulieren—so könnte die Unbärtigkeit des Jägers in der Tatsache ihre Erklärung finden, daß er zu den hohen Beamten des Königs gehörte, die als *ša-rēši* bezeichnet wurden und Eunuchen waren.

Es wäre abschließend zu bemerken, daß in der frühen mittellassyrischen Kunst der Zeit Adadnirari I. bzw. Salmanassar I. der Unterschied zwischen bärtigen und unbärtigen Männern noch nicht in der für das Buza-Siegel vorgeschlagenen Weise zu deuten ist, da man in dieser Periode noch vielfach der hethitisch-mitannischen Tradition verhaftet ist, die neben anderen Eigentümlichkeiten älterer Zeit (s.o.) die bartlose Männertracht bevorzugt. Seit Tukulti-Ninurta I. werden jedoch fast alle männlichen Wesen mit Menschenkopf bärtig abgebildet. Die Unbärtigkeit bei Männern muß demnach einen besonderen Status—wie ich annehme den des Eunuchen—kennzeichnen. Man darf daher gewiß behaupten, daß der

⁴² D. Opitz³², R. M. Boehmer, *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* 14, 1975, zu Abb. 105 f.

⁴³ Vgl. R. M. Boehmer⁴² zu Abb. 106 a, dort weitere Literatur.

⁴⁴ Die Hinweise zu diesen und dem *Riṣ*-Marduk-Siegel verdanke ich W. Mayer.

⁴⁵ Den Hinweise auf den gesamten Komplex der *ša-rēši* Beamten verdanke ich der freundlichen Mitteilung K. Dellers. Vgl. außerdem dazu W. von Soden, *AHW* 974,9, der an der Deutung *ša rēši* = Eunuch zweifelt. Möglicherweise hat vom ersten Auftreten dieser Bezeichnung in altbabylonischer Zeit bis zur mittellassyrischen Zeit ein Bedeutungswandel von "Leibwächter" zu "Eunuch" stattgefunden. Der als *šar rēš šarri* = Eunuch von E. Weidner übersetzte Beamte kommt in mittellassyrischer Zeit in den Hof- und Haremserlassen assyrischer Könige in der Satzung 3, Zeit Adadnirari I., zum ersten Mal in mittellassyrischer Zeit vor, vgl. E. Weidner, *AfO* 17 (1956) 272 Satzung 3, 26. Als *saris* spielt er im Alten Testament noch eine Rolle. Vgl. dazu U. Rütterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit*, Diss. Bochum 1981, 139 ff. Trotz einiger Zweifel, die er hinsichtlich der Übersetzung *ša rēši* = Eunuch hegt, nimmt er doch an, daß die Übersetzung Weidners in den Hof- und Haremserlassen korrekt ist. Da der "saris" in Jesaja 56,4 ganz ohne Zweifel als Eunuch zu verstehen ist, wird man die Zweifel von Rütterswörden hinsichtlich anderer Erwähnungen des *ša rēši* und *saris* nicht in jedem Falle teilen wollen.

⁴⁶ Die meisten Beamten in der Umgebung des Königs auf dem "Weissen Obelisk" sind bärtig, nicht so der Wedelträger auf dem vierten Streifen der Schmalseite vgl. zu diesem Monument H. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen*, 1982, 60 ff. Tf. 132 d. Weitere Darstellungen unbärtiger Beamter auf Reliefs seit der Zeit Assurnasirpal II vgl. R. D. Barnett, *Assyrische Palastreliefs*, Tf. 28 passim.

Jagdherr unseres Siegels keinesfalls den König darstellen kann, sondern daß anzunehmen ist, daß vielmehr der reiche ša-rēši Beamte Buza sich selbst mit seinem "Würdezeichen", dem Wagen, abbilden läßt, der es ihm ermöglicht—dem König gleich—diese besondere Form der Jagd auszuüben. Bezeichnenderweise ist das von ihm gejagte Wild jedoch kein Löwe, wie wir dies auf dem Siegel aus Ras Schamra erkennen (vgl. Ill. 8). Dieses Tier und die Tracht des dargestellten Mannes zeigen, daß wir es bei dem Beispiel aus Ras Schamra im Gegensatz zu dem assyrischen Buza-Siegel in der Tat mit der Darstellung eines Oberherrn und nicht eines Beamten zu tun haben⁴⁷.

Zusammenfassend darf man nun wohl behaupten, daß nach tastenden Versuchen der Assyrer im 15. und 14. Jhdt. auch in der Kunst eigene Wege zu gehen, die Siegelkunst seit der Zeit Tukulti-Ninurta I. deutlich macht, daß die Lösung von älteren Vorbildern nunmehr vollends gelungen ist und in Stil und Motiven eine unverwechselbar eigentümliche assyrische Kunst geschaffen wurde.

Abbildungsverzeichnis

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- Ill. 1 nach *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, OIP 79, Abb. 96
 Ill. 2 nach A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, VR 630
 Ill. 3 nach E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, No. 600
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 Ill. 5 Siegel im Britischen Museum, Umzeichnung in W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 721
 Ill. 6 nach E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals*, No. 588
 Ill. 7 nach *Soundings at Tell Fakhariyah*, Tf. 74, F 197
 Ill. 8 nach H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Tf. XLV m

⁴⁷Nicht nur aus zahlreichen Darstellungen geht hervor, daß der Löwe allein vom König gejagt werden darf, in einem Brief aus Mari *ARM* 2,106 wird dies auch schriftlich bestätigt: der von Privatleuten gefangene Löwe darf nur vom König getötet werden.



Figure 1.

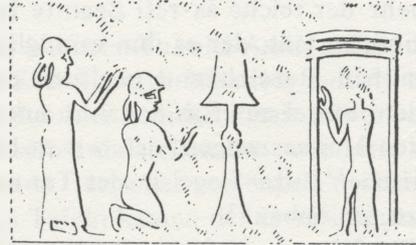


Figure 2.



Figure 3.

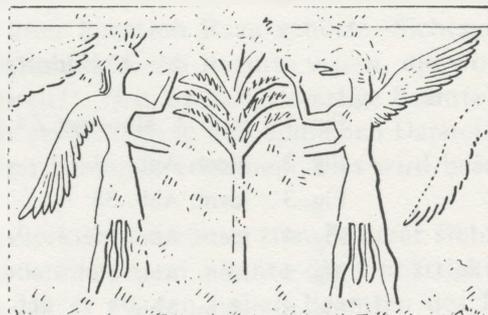


Figure 4.

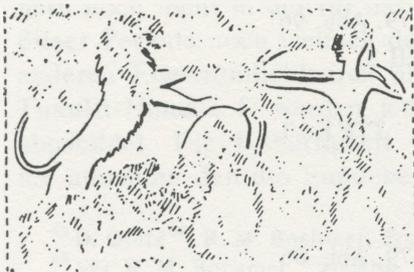


Figure 5.



Figure 6.

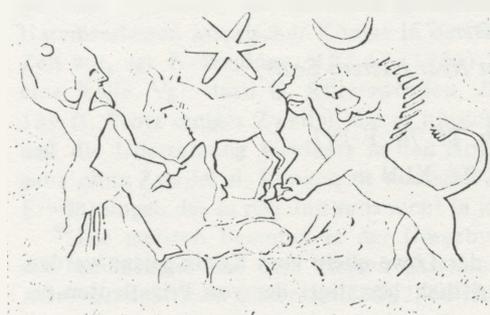


Figure 7.

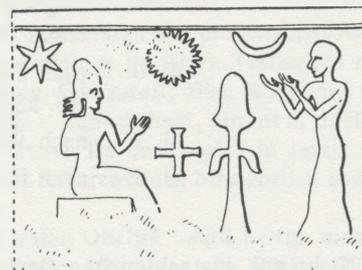


Figure 8.

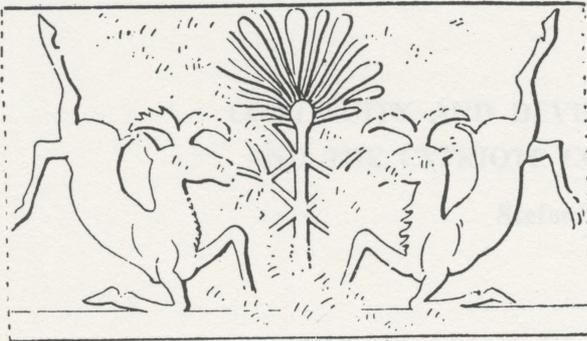


Figure 9.



Figure 10.



Figure 11.



Figure 12.



uk. sk. oy.



k. sag k.

Figure 13.

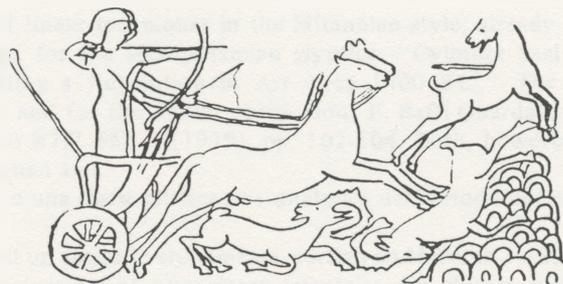


Figure 14.

CONTINUITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE SYRIAN AND THE CYPRIOTE COMMON GLYPTIC STYLES

Stefania Mazzoni

The classification and the historical and chronological setting of the western Late Bronze glyptics are due entirely to Edith Porada. The most sincere homage to her is thus to start from her basic conclusions on this subject. The contribution of new data, and the wider knowledge of the cultural and art historical phenomena of the second millennium Syria allow us to propose now new hypotheses concerning the development of some common styles in the Syrian glyptics of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, and, as a consequence, in the Cypriote glyptics of the Late Bronze Age. The best analysis of the latter was presented by Prof. Porada in an article published in 1948.¹ A judgment of hers about the Mitannian glyptics will be our guide: "The common style of Mitanni in Nuzi appears to be based on these provincial glyptic groups (principally the Syro-Cappadocian) which had formerly been produced in the area of its distribution."² This statement³ can be referred to a large part of the western common glyptic style of Late Bronze.⁴

Some seals from Tell Mardikh-Ebla can perhaps offer evidence for the passage and change from the Old Syrian to the Middle Syrian tradition. Formerly we believed that the Syro-Anatolian class in the cursive style developed within the whole of the Larsa period, i.e., in the 20th-19th centuries.⁵ Yet, some seals of the same class (Ill. 1)—in particular TM.78.Q.273—have recently led us to think this class is also spread over the first half of the 18th century.⁶ Now we can add other evidence to the list already presented: one from the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire of Bruxelles,⁷ two from the Yale Babylonian Collection,⁸

¹ E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age," *AJA* 52 (1948), pp. 178-198.

² E. Porada, *Nuzi*, p. 106.

³ This statement has been unfairly criticized by C. H. Gordon in the review article of the volume: *JNES* 7 (1948), p. 265.

⁴ In favor of the priority of linear techniques in the Mitannian style, already in the repertoires of the 17th century, see B. Buchanan, for the Mesopotamian glyptics: "Cylinder Seal Impressions in the Yale Babylonian Collection Illustrating a Revolution in Art circa 1700 B.C.," *The Yale University Library Gazette* 45 (1970), pp. 62-65; and for the Syrian production: F. Baffi Guardata, "Un'impronta di sigillo paleosiriano tardo dal Santuario B2," *SEb* 1 (1979), pp. 102-104. Both, however, attribute the origin of the technique to the Mesopotamian area.

⁵ S. Mazzoni, "Tell Mardikh e una classe glittica siro-anatolica del periodo di Larsa," *AIUON* 35 (1975), pp. 21-43.

⁶ S. Mazzoni, "A proposito di un sigillo in stile lineare-corsivo da Mardikh IIIB," *SEb* 1 (1979), p. 55.

⁷ L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, Bruxelles 1917, p. 211, no. 42.

⁸ B. Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven 1981, p. 409, nos. 1166-1167, which he defines Levantine, as already in "The End of the Assyrian Colonies in Anatolian: The Evidence of the Seals," *JAOS* 89 (1969), p. 761.

and three other specimens from Tell Mardikh, TM.70.B.62, TM.70.B.618, and TM.80.Q.40 (Ills. 2-4).⁹

TM.70.B.618 comes from a Middle Bronze II context, from the floor of a private house in Area B; it certainly belongs to the horizon of the destruction of Mardikh IIIB, i.e., to the middle or the end of the 17th century. It is a late specimen of this class, as is proved by the attitude of the figure, and by the deformation of the head. The body is strangely deep, but—as can be noticed on the seal—it originally had five incisions to represent the usual open dress; perhaps it was cancelled or changed later on.¹⁰

On the other hand, TM.80.Q.40 (Ill. 4) comes from a disturbed context in the Palace Q Area, but it can be related to TM.78.Q.273 (Ill. 1) which was found near by in the destruction level of Palace Q.

Three more seals from Tell Mardikh—TM.67.A.189, TM.70.B.826, and TM.76.G.8¹¹ (Ills. 5-7)—must be considered in relation to the same class. This is clear for TM.67.A.189, which can be connected with TM.80.Q.40 (Ill. 4). It was found in the area of the City Gate A, in a disturbed context of the Middle Bronze. It might represent the last transformation by the end of the Middle Bronze Age of the motive of the older class in an Egyptianizing (?) fashion.

TM.70.B.826 (Ill. 6) comes from Area B, from a level on top of the collapse of Middle Bronze II walls of private houses. It could be a still later interpretation, in this common and linear style, even if it does not belong to the same class. Certainly, TM.76.G.8 (Ill. 7) is the last example to be considered in relation to our class, even if in a less direct way. It is in fact an example of a large group of cylinder seals of the Late Bronze Age, which we will take into consideration later on.

Another line of development from the Syro-Anatolian cursive style to the Late Bronze Age common styles can be traced in some other seals. In fact, the seal 190 of the Moore collection (Ill. 9),¹² is only an interpretation of seals in our catalogue, nos. 8, 16, 17 from Kanish, 19 from Byblos; 21 from Alalakh, and 22 in Geneva (Ill. 9).¹³ Here we find again the standard of obscure interpretation. Moreover, in Moore 190, there is the same kind of moon crescent with a disk, which is also found over the figurative field in TM.70.B.826.

This symbol with two of the animals also appearing in Moore 190 is found in a peculiar seal in the National Museum of Damascus (Ill. 10).¹⁴ It has been interpreted as belonging to a “syrischer flüchtiger Stil,” and it can be compared, according to us, with a seal from Carchemish, now in the Ashmolean Museum (Ill. 11),¹⁵ where we find again the same pattern, the same style, and the same peculiar deformation of the faces. The last appears

⁹ TM.70.B.62: mat. dark brown clay; h. 2.1 cm, diam. 0.9 cm; prov. Area B, Square DhIV9ii/DhIV8i, lev. 1 — TM.80.B.618: mat. dark brown-blackish clay; h. 2.05 cm, diam. 0.7 cm, diam. hole 0.3 cm; prov. Area B, Square DiIV8ii, lev. 4, L.1145 — TM.80.Q.40: mat. stone; h. 1.9 cm, diam. 0.9 cm; prov. Area Q, square DdV1i, lev. 2.

¹⁰ This characteristic would prove that the seal was in a secondary use on the pavement of the room, and that it could be a little older.

¹¹ TM.67.A.189: mat. stone; h. 2.1 cm, diam. 0.7 cm, diam. hole 0.2 cm; prov. Area A, Square CbII4iv — TM.70.B.826: mat. dark brown-blackish clay; h. 1.9 cm, diam. 1.1 cm, diam. hole 0.3 cm; inscription engraved vertically on the seal; prov. Area B, Square DiIV9iv, lev. 4, L.1575 — TM.76.G.8: mat. dark green stone with grey veins; h. 3.6 cm, diam. 1.5 cm, diam. hole 0.5 cm; prov. Area G, Square D1V3iii, lev. 2.

¹² Eisen, *Moore*, no. 190, p. 66, Pl. XVII.

¹³ Mazzoni, “Classe siro-anatolica,” pp. 24-25, Pl. III:8; Pl. IV:16-17, 19, 21-22.

¹⁴ Kühne, “Rollsiegel,” no. 78, pp. 130-131, no. 1870, Damascus Museum.

¹⁵ Buchanan, *Catalogue*, no. 1015A, p. 201, Pl. 62.

again in a seal from the region of Gaziantep (Tell Beshar), now in the Ashmolean Museum (Ill. 12),¹⁶ where the moon symbol with the disk is used reversed as a dais. This specimen reveals clearly its Cappadocian origin.¹⁷ These seals must be tentatively dated to the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Seals in a similar style, and with the same stylizations descend from them, for instance a seal from Tell Abu Hawam,¹⁸ a seal of the von Aulock Collection,¹⁹ and a seal of the De Clercq Collection.²⁰ We can include in this same group the seal 32/37 of the Jantzen Collection of Hamburg.²¹ This seal is possibly later, however it has the same pattern, i.e., a hunt scene with human and animal figures as well as plants.

This class is totally Syrian and can be identified with a local common production probably from the Euphrates region, as is proved by the specimens from Carchemish and Tell Beshar. Therefore this can justify the dependance on common Cappadocian models, which is quite clear in some of these seals.

Also with the supersedence of the Mitannian taste, particularly in the North-Syrian coastal region, this tendency to oversimplify and deform the faces and dresses in a peculiar way does not disappear. Therefore we can single out the production of one workshop only in the seals where the faces are represented with two vertical incisions, the dresses with oblique parallel lines, and the human figures alternate with schematic plants. To this group belong several seals: a seal from Hala Sultan Tekke (Ill. 13),²² and a seal from Ugarit (Ill. 14),²³ both of which date back to the 15th-14th centuries; a similar seal from Nippur,²⁴ and a fourth seal from Beth Shan (Ill. 15) resembling the first one,²⁵ date back to the beginning of the 14th century. A further simplification in the theme, and in the representation of the figures—which must be attributed to the same workshop—is found in two Ugaritic seals,²⁶ and in a seal from Idalion.²⁷

The production of another workshop can be recognized in some seals where the faces are peculiarly represented as wedges deeply set in the arch of the shoulders. Four faience seals at least belong to this group: one from the Ashmolean Collection,²⁸ one from Ugarit,²⁹ one in the National Museum of Damascus,³⁰ and a seal from Abu Hawam.³¹ We can

¹⁶ Ibid., no. 841, p. 162, Pl. 54.

¹⁷ Which in fact justifies the attribution by Buchanan, *ibid.*, pp. 160-161, to a Syrian group of Cappadocian origin; for a comparison see a seal from Kültepe: K. Bittel, "Bemerkungen über einige in Kleinasien gefundene Siegel," *AfO* 13 (1939-41), pp. 300-302, fig. 4.

¹⁸ Parker, "Seals," no. 156, p. 34, Pl. XXIII.

¹⁹ Osten, *Aulock*, no. 313, p. 118.

²⁰ Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, p. 362, Pl. XXVIII:8 = *De Clercq*, Pl. II:18.

²¹ Th. Beran, "Die Altorientalischen Rollsiegel der ehemaligen Sammlung J. Jantzen in Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg," *AA* 83 (1968), no. 32/37, p. 119, fig. 11.

²² Kenna, *Catalogue*, no. 112, p. 34, Pl. XXX.

²³ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, no. 19.188, pp. 119-120, fig. 84.

²⁴ Legrain, *Culture*, no. 631, p. 311, CBS 3793, Pl. XXXII, Nippur 1891.

²⁵ Parker, "Seals," no. 146, p. 32, Pl. XXII.

²⁶ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, no. RS.19.191, pp. 99, 101, fig. 62K; Kühne, "Rollsiegel," no. RS.61/24.46, no. 47, pp. 99-100.

²⁷ O. Masson, "Cylindres et cachets chypriotes portant des caractères Chypro-Minoens," *BCH* 81 (1957), no. 13, pp. 18-19, fig. 12, no. 1294.

²⁸ Buchanan, *Catalogue*, no. 938, p. 190, Pl. 58.

²⁹ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* IV, no. 18.126, pp. 117-118, fig. 179.

³⁰ Kühne, "Rollsiegel," no. 46, pp. 99-100.

³¹ Parker, "Seals," no. 157, p. 34, Pl. XXIII.

point out that the seals from Ugarit and Abu Hawam come from tombs which can be dated to the 14th-13th centuries.

Different seals characterized by a popular linear style were collected in several sites. Among them we can point out some seals with scenes of reeds and an ibex chase from Nuzi,³² Emar,³³ Hama,³⁴ Homs,³⁵ Ugarit³⁶ and Byblos.³⁷ Certainly, however, these are not the production of one workshop, nor do they constitute one class; they are only the products of a widespread stylistic tendency.

On the basis of these considerations we can draw the following conclusions. The Syro-Anatolian class in the linear-cursive style which is characterized by passing figures alternating with symbolism, plants, and different animals, had its origins in the Larsa period, probably in the 19th century or at its end. It spreads over the 18th century and during the 17th century it still produces individual, slightly different specimens. They still keep, however, the somatic deformation peculiar of this class, and they are still produced in the same workshops. During the 16th-15th centuries, the production goes on with the same subjects and the same style. The face deformations are still present, but they change slightly in the typical large geometric faces of several seals made by the same workshops. As we have already said, the region of production is possibly the North-Syrian area.

At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, popular and linear styles are still found in different sites. These types of seals are now far from the older tradition. Yet, even with the influence of the Mitannian taste, some workshop—probably at Ugarit itself—kept the same peculiarities in the deformation of the faces and dresses. On the other hand, they apparently operate on a thematic repertory of Old Syrian, or Syro-Cappadocian tradition, as Prof. Porada pointed out for the Mitannian seals showing a series of figures.³⁸

* * *

From the same evolutionary trend descends the seal TM.76.G.8 (Ill. 7); it, however, belongs definitely to a new glyptic class—not Syrian any more, but Cypriote. This is a group characterized by a series of figures with one or both arms raised, alternating with plants, swords, and animals. We collected the following seals of this unified group, which we shall call F (Ills. 16-30), as it is directly linked with the other classes, A-E (Ills. 31-92).

- F1 = Salamis:/Ashmolean 980: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 191, Pl. 60 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:20.
 F2 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 415, Pl. LXXIX = *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:21.
 F3 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4350: *Atlas*, Pl. CXX:1 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:45.
 F4 = BN 500: Delaporte, *Bibliothèque*, p. 284, Pl. XXXIII (Cyprus). Not illustrated.
 F5-10 = T. el'Ajjul 8, 22-24, 5, 2: Nougayrol, *Cylindres*, nos. CXLV, CXVI, CXVII, XLII, CXV, CXIV, Pl. VIII-IX = Parker, "Seals," nos. 134, 141, pp. 30, 32, Pl. XX-XXI (T.A.5 = City Level II).
 F11 = Megiddo: *Ibid.*, no. 148, Pl. XXII, p. 33, Tomb 1100, LBI, 1500-1350 B.C.
 F12 = Lachish: *Ibid.*, no. 148, p. 33, Pl. XXII, Tomb 4004, 1550-1250 B.C.
 F13 = Balata: *Ibid.* no. 158, p. 35, Pl. XXIII.

³² Starr, *Nuzi*, Pl. 119:F.

³³ D. Beyer, "Notes préliminaires sur les empreintes de sceaux de Méskené, in J. Cl. Margueron (ed.), *Le Moyen Euphrate*, Strasbourg 1980, pp. 274-275, Pl. II:13.

³⁴ O. E. Ravn, *A Catalogue of Oriental Cylinder Seals and Impressions in the Danish National Museum*, København 1960, no. 107, p. 92.

³⁵ A. Kuschke, "Ein Rollsiegel aus dem Oberen Orontes-Teil," *BM 7* (1974), pp. 111-117, Pl. 15:1.

³⁶ Schaeffer, *Ugaritica IV*, pp. 146-147, fig. 85, no. RS.29.195.

³⁷ Dunand, *Byblos II*, no. 14158, p. 669, Pl. CXCIII.

³⁸ Porada, *Nuzi*, nos. 352-374, p. 28, Pl. XIX-XX.

- F14 = Adana 1605: Ö. Tunça, "Catalogue des sceaux-cylindres du Musée régional d'Adana" *SMS* 3 (1979), no. 41, p. 13, Pl. V.
- F15 = Ras Shamra 51/15.269: Kühne, "Rollsiegel," no. 76, pp. 128-129, *Ugarit Récent* 1, 1550-1450 B.C.
- F16 = T. Sukas: P. J. Riis: *AAS* 10 (1960), p. 128, fig. 19, top. Not illustrated.
- F17 = T. Jidle: M. E. L. Mallowan: *Iraq* 8 (1946), pp. 157-158, Pl. XXIV.

Undoubtedly the seals constitute one class. They all represent the same subject in the same style; the objects in the field are the same: one or two animals standing on their hind legs near the human figures in 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 14; swords in 1, 2, 6, 8-10, 12, 14-16; trees in 1, 2, 6, 8, 15. Regarding the trees, they are of a well known Cypriote type in seals 1, 2, 6, and 15. The stylization of the figures, too, seems to be of a Cypriote type more than of a Syro-Palestinian one; in fact, it also occurs in some classes of seals which we will take into consideration later.

Only four of these seals come from a true Cypriote milieu; the others were found in Palestine, and in coastal Syria; only two come from inland Syria—one from Tell Mardikh and one from Tell Jidle. Therefore there may be some doubt about the true center of their production.³⁹ Noticeably, however, the distribution of the sites where these seals were found corresponds quite well to the wide diffusion of the Cypriote ceramic ware, which reached inland Syria almost to Qatna and Tell Mardikh, but in small quantities. On the other hand, this ware appears in large quantities in Palestine and coastal Syria.⁴⁰ Thus the presence of these seals in these regions can be justified by the commercial links between Syria-Palestine and Cyprus.⁴¹

Now, if we compare these seals with some later seals of the cursive-linear style of M.B. II—like TM.67.A.189 and TM.80.Q.40—we can single out some relations as far as the style and the pattern are concerned. This relation is more evident with the Ugarit seals where human figures have their faces represented as a vertical incision, and their arms are raised (as a sign of devotion?), and are alternated with plants. This happens also with the Ugarit seal 19.195 (see note 36).

In conclusion, this class of seals can be considered as a Cypriote interpretation of some common North-Syrian coastal cylinder seals, characterized by the pattern of the human figures alternated with plants and animals. This class may in some way be related to the mostly Levantine distribution of the class itself. It is, however, difficult to ascertain which event provoked the other.

* * *

This Cypriote class is not isolated in the Cypriote glyptic art. In fact, human figures in the same postures and the same trees appear also in other groups of seals with different scenes. Therefore, we can consider this as a common Cypriote characteristic defined by linear interpretation, a limited number of iconographic motives, and the same peculiar stylizations of the human and animal bodies. These stylistic and iconographic similarities allow us to single out—albeit in a hypothetical way—some subgroups in this class. They

³⁹ B. Buchanan considered Ashmolean 980 (no. 1 of our list) more Levantine than Cypriote, *Catalogue*, p. 187; but contra E. Porada, *BiOr.* 27 (1970), p. 13, who maintained its Cypriote origin.

⁴⁰ E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition), Stockholm 1940, pp. 151-183.

⁴¹ Y. Lynn Holmes, "The Foreign Trade of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age," in N. Robertson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus. Recent Developments*. Park Ridge, N.J. 1975, pp. 90-110.

correspond largely to the groups VIII-XII of Porada's classification,⁴² on which we still widely depend. This is also partially true for Kenna's "Provisional Classification,"⁴³ particularly regarding his groups III-IV, VIII, X.

The more recognizable class includes some seals with facing standing figures (Ills. 31-53). They have their torsos squared, and their limbs are clearly separated, giving them the aspect of mannequins. Among the filling motives there are stylized palm-like plants, ingots, and circles with a central drill hole. We can single out many subgroups in this class: (1) A1-11, characterized by human (?) figures with a palm tree; (2) A12-13, similar to the previous one, with a tree with branches along its entire height; (3) A14-25, with the human figure alternated with symbols (A14-15) or with ibexes and snakes. We can point out that the tree of A16 is the same as that of the second subgroup, but the scene itself belongs in the third one; and that the trees of the first subgroup are identical to those previously considered in group F.⁴⁴

- A1 = Hala Sultan Tekke: E. Porada: P. Åstrom, D. M. Bailey, V. Karageorghis, *Hala Sultan Tekke* 1 (SMA XLV:1), Göteborg 1976, no. 3, pp. 101-102, fig. 80, Tomb 1.41, LC IIB-C, 1320-1200.
- A2 = Abu Hawam 152: Parker, "Seals," p. 33, Pl. XXIII, lev. V, 13th century.
- A3-5 = Ashmolean 975-977: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, pp. 190-191, Pl. 60. 976 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:18; 977 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XII:16 (?).
- A6 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4340: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:8 = Porada, "Seals," no. 50, Pl. XI.
- A7 = Enkomi, BM: Kenna, *Catalogue*, no. 114, p. 34, Pl. XXX.
- A8 = Geneva 180: Vollenweider, *Catalogue*, pp. 135-136, Pl. 71:5-6.
- A9 = Ayia Paraskevi: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 29, fig. 2. Not illustrated.
- A10 = Salamis: Cesnola, *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:24.
- A11 = Salamis: *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII:17.
- A12 = Geneva 179: Vollenweider, *Catalogue*, p. 135, Pl. 71:3-4.
- A13 = Louvre A.1179: Delaporte, *Louvre* II, p. 210, Pl. 105:27.
- A14-15 = Ashmolean 974, 973: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 190, Pl. 60.
- A16 = Guimet 134: Delaporte, *Guimet*, p. 109, Pl. IX.
- A17 = Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 455, Pl. CLI:12. Not illustrated.
- A18 = *Ibid.*, p. 455, Pl. CLI:30.
- A19 = Guimet 132: Delaporte, *Guimet*, p. 108, Pl. IX.
- A20 = Louvre A.1181 = Delaporte, *Louvre*, II, p. 211, Pl. 105:29.
- A21-23 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4347-4349: *Atlas*, Pl. CXVIII:2; CXXI:2,1 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:47-49.
- A24 = Salamis: Cesnola, *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:31.
- A25 = Salamis: *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII:27 = Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 365, Pl. XXXI:7.

Seals A16-25 are related to class B based on the style and, moreover, on the presence of animals and filling motives. On the other hand, A25 and A11 are the link between classes A and D, because of the presence of the theme of the sitting figure;⁴⁵

⁴² Porada, "Seals," pp. 191-194, Pl. X:39-42; XI:43-54.

⁴³ V. E. G. Kenna, "Glyptic," in L. Alstrom, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV 1D*, Lund 1972, pp. 633-636.

⁴⁴ We wish to thank E. Porada for her kind suggestions concerning the whole article and particularly the classification of group A, and for bringing our attention to the Hala Sultan Tekke seal.

⁴⁵ Probably also the seal from Byblos: Dunand, *Byblos* II, no. 6836, p. 15, Pl. CXCII, could be inserted in the same class, together with A11; in fact the seated figure is similar to the seated figure of this seal, and the standing one to the standing ones of class A.

Class B (Ills. 54-61) can be singled out as a unit for the peculiar style of figures and for the presence of human figures alternating with ibexes and dogs. The latter are usually represented one above the other. The most usual filling motives are the snakes and drilling holes. Thus the group appears to be a unified one, although we can point out that nos. B1-5 have identical figures with "ingot"-like bodies and without arms, nos. B6-9 have more slender figures with a double belt. Nos. B10-11 belong to the latter subgroup; in no. 10 we find the animals represented as in B7, and in no. B11 those of no. B9. Therefore we can single out two subgroups: B1-5 and B6-11.

- B1 = Pierpont 1075: Porada, *Corpus*, p. 150, Pl. CLXIII.
 B2-3 = Kourion/MMA.74.51.4339-38: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:11, 5. Not illustrated.
 B4-5 = Ashmolean 971-972: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 190, Pl. 60; 972: *Salaminia*, Pl. XIII:30.
 B6 = Ashmolean 970: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 190, Pl. 60.
 B7 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4337: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:14 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:51.
 B8 = Layard 11: E. D. van Buren: *Or.* 23 (1954), pp. 107-108, Pl. XXII. Not illustrated.
 B9 = Enkomi, BM: Kenna, *Catalogue*, no. 32, p. 21, Pl. VII, Tomb 67, LCIB, IIA-C.
 B10 = Ashmolean 968: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 190, Pl. 59.
 B11 = Amathus, MMA.74.51.4352: *Atlas*, Pl. CXIX:2 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. X:41.

The third class, C (Ills. 62-76), is related to Class B. Here again human figures alternate with ibexes which, on the other hand, are always shown standing on their hind legs on either side of a plant; the style is always linear, while the pattern of the plant with double volutes allows us to put in this class also patterns bearing only this scheme. Lastly, through C7, we can relate these seals with a series of seals where a chase or only animals are represented. A typical convention here is the representation of faces and muzzles in the shapes of empty triangles. In fact, C7 has the iconographic pattern of the first subgroup, and the somatic convention of the second. Other relations can be established with other classes: C1 has the slender figures with double belt of the second subgroup of B, while C6 is related to Class D. Thus, we can distinguish C1-7 from C8-19. The latter corresponds completely to Porada's group IX, which is characterized by the angular cutting and the quite prominent heads. The last element leads us to include here C16-19, which has been considered by Porada as belonging to this class because of this characteristic.

- C1 = Myrtou-Pighades, Ashmolean 969: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 190, Pl. 59.
 C2 = Ajia Irini 1550: Gjerstad, *Swedish Expedition II*, pp. 730, 797, Pl. CCXLIII:20.
 C3 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:17 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XIV:33.
 C4 = De Clercq: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, Pl. XXVIII:6 = *De Clercq*, Pl. IV:29.
 C5 = Ashmolean 984: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 192, Pl. 60.
 C6 = Guimet 135: Delaporte, *Guimet*, p. 109, Pl. IX.
 C7-8 = Louvre A.1172, 1188: Delaporte, *Louvre II*, pp. 210-211, Pls. 105:25, 106:15.
 C9 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4334: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:3 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:44.
 C10 = De Clercq: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 365, Pl. XXVIII:9 = *De Clercq*, Pl. IV:32. Not illustrated.
 C11 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, Pl. LXXIX:2, p. 415 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XII:11.
 C12 = Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:21. Not illustrated.
 C13 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:22 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XII:10.
 C14 = Kythraea, Ashmolean 965: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 189, Pl. 59.
 C15 = Pierpont 1099: Porada, *Corpus*, p. 155, Pl. CLXVII = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:43.
 C16 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:25 = *Salaminia*, Pl. XIV:45 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. X:42.

- C17 = De Clercq: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:24 = *De Clercq*, Pl. IV:31.
 C18 = Guimet 139: Delaporte, *Guimet*, Pl. X, p. 110. Not Illustrated.
 C19 = Enkomi 1333: E. Porada: P. Dikaio, *Enkomi, Excavations 1948-58.II*. Not illustrated.
 Pls. 181:11, 186:11, 179:11; pp. 795-796. Liv.IIB-III A: 1230-1200 B.C.

The seals of class C are related to class D (Ils. 77-87). In fact, the sitting figure in C6 recalls class D, as we have already said. Also A11 and A25 have the same iconographic pattern as this class, that is, a sitting figure holding a spear in his hand alternating with a standing figure. In this class the differences are quite few, and are limited to the changes in the filling motives; the style and the schematization of the figures are always the same.

- D1 = Aianana, Geneva 178: Vollenweider, *Catalogue*, pp. 134-135, Pl. 71:1-2.
 D2 = Amathus, MMA.74.51.4343 = *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:7.
 D3 = De Clercq: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 363, Pl. XXVIII:20 = *De Clercq*, Pl. IV:30.
 D4 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4344: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:12.
 D5-6 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 435, Pl. CXXI:7,6 = *Salamina*, Pl. XIII:23, 25. D6 not illustrated.
 D7 = Ajia Irini 2752: Gjerstad, *Swedish Expedition II*, pp. 773, 797, Pl. CCXLIII:21. Not illustrated.
 D8 = Myrtou Pighades 65: Buchanan, J. Du Plat Taylor, *Myrtou Pighades*, Oxford 1957, p. 93, Pl. V. Not illustrated.
 D9 = Ashmolean 981: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 191, Pl. 60.
 D10 = Pierpont 1076: Porada, *Corpus*, p. 150, Pl. CLXIII.
 D11-12 = Louvre: A.1183-1184: Delaporte, *Louvre II*, p. 211, Pls. 105:30, 106:11; A.1183: Castroulla (Karpas).
 D13-14 = Salamis: Cesnola, *Salamina*, Pl. XIII:22, 26.

Some seals, having a similar linear style, can be related to the previous class; they constitute our class E (Ils. 88-92). Here the figures have always a filiform body, while the head is represented by a mere drill hole. The relation between the two classes is suggested by the iconography of the first two seals of the following list.

- E1 = Ashmolean 982: Buchanan, *Catalogue*, p. 192, Pl. 60.
 E2 = Salamis, Rigg III: Pinches, *PSBA* 25 (1903), fig. III, p. 73 = *Salamina*, Pl. XI:13.
 E3 = Salamis: Cesnola, *Salamina*, Pl. XII:12.
 E4 = Kourion, MMA.74.51.4341: *Atlas*, Pl. CXXI:15 = Porada, "Seals," Pl. XI:53.
 E5 = Salamis: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 412, Pl. LXXIV:2 = *Salamina*, Pl. XIII:19.
 E6 = Ayia Paraskevi: Ohnefalsch, *Kypros*, p. 29, fig. 1. Not illustrated.

* * *

These classes can be reduced to one common glyptic horizon. In fact, there are many contacts among them. Regarding their style, we can single out classes A, C, and the first one considered which we called F (geometric and schematic), classes D and E (linear), and class B (where the bodies of the figures are more rounded). Regarding their iconography, as we have already pointed out, the classes are characterized by the relation of a standing figure with different symbols—mainly plants, bucrania, ingots, swords—or animals, like ibexes and dogs; in class D, the same (?) figures alternate with sitting figures holding spears.

The stylization of the figures is apparently common to all the classes; e.g., the squared figures of A appear again in D, as happens also with the animals. Moreover, concerning

the subjects, the same connection of ibexes, figures, and snakes of the subtype A17-25 appears again in class B; C1—as we have already seen—has the same figures with double belt as B7-9; C6 has the same subject as class D; C8-13 portray a dog over an ibex or related to it as in B3-8, 10-11. So the subject of these classes could be explained as a chase, as it is clear at least in the scenes of chase with a chariot in class C.

Concerning the provenance of these seals, most of them come from the antique market. However, taking the data with a clear provenance into consideration, we can obtain the following results: class A, with the exception of the two seals from Ayia Paraskevi and Hala Sultan Tekke, comes from Kourion, Salamis and Enkomi; the specimen from Abu Hawam points to a limited diffusion also on the Levantine coast. Class B has the same provenances, with one coming from Amathus. On the other hand, class C has pieces coming from Salamis, Kourion, Ajia Irini, Myrtou-Pighades, and Kythraea; class D comes from Castroulla (Karpas), Amathus, Ajia Irini, Salamis; class E has some seals from Kourion and some from Salamis. As we have said, class F has three seals from Salamis and Kourion and the others must be considered Cypriote exportations into the Levant.

Regarding the chronology, only a few seals come from an established archaeological context, and allow us to trace a broad time frame. A1 and A2 date back to the 13th century, A1 only from the end of the 14th to the end of the 13th. B9 comes from a 14th-13th century milieu; F11, 15 and 17 come from contexts of 15th-16th centuries.

We can now draw some conclusions from our survey of this data. We see that only in class C a large part of the evidence has a northern and inland provenance (C2: Ajia Irini; C1: Myrtou-Pighades; C14: Kythraea). The other classes—with rare exceptions—(A9, E6: Ajia Paraskevi; D7: Ajia Irini; D8: Myrtou Pighades) were all found in the eastern coastal region of the island. They all spread within the end of the 14th century and more probably the 13th century, with the exception of class F, which could be somewhat older than the other classes.

However, we have also said that class F, and the others too, constitute a Cypriote version of the correspondent schematic Late Bronze Syrian, mostly Ugaritic, seals. There seems, therefore, to be a connection between their prevalent oriental provenance in Cyprus and their relation with some Levantine common styles, even if this cannot be ascertained and explained in more detail. Consequently, it is appropriate to consider these works within the framework of trade relations between the eastern coastal region of Cyprus and the nearby Near Eastern coast during the Late Bronze period. It is not unreasonable to propose that this took place in connection with the exploration and the distribution of the Cypriote copper.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ For a differentiation of the political and historical conditions existing between the eastern and western coasts of Cyprus, and for the priority of the oriental influence on the East Cypriote Coast, see E. Masson, "A la recherche des vestiges proche-orientaux à Chypre," *AA* 91 (1976), pp. 141-143, 162-165. For the relations with the Near East, see Lynn Holmes, "Foreign Trade," *op. cit.*, pp. 90-110.

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Pl. III:A6 = MMA 4340

Pl. IV: A21-23 = MMA 4347-49; B7,11 = MMA 4337, 4352

Pl. V: C9 = MMA 4334

Pl. VI: E4 = MMA 4341; D2, 4 = MMA 4343-44

Pl. VII: F3 = MMA 4350

The Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, University of Rome: Pl. I: 1-7

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Pl. II:5, 7 = Pls. 62:1015, 54:841. — Pl. III:A3-5, 14-15 = Pls. 60:975-977, 973-974. — Pl. IV:B4-6 = Pl. 60:970-972. — Pl. V:C1, 14 = Pl. 59:969, 965. — Pl. VI:D9, E1 = Pl. 60:981-982. — Pl. VII:F1 = Pl. 60:980.

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Pl. V:C4 = Pl. IV:29. — Pl. VI:D3 = Pl. IV:30.

DELAPORTE, *GUIMET*

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DELAPORTE, *LOUVRE II*

Pl. III:A13 = Pl. 105:27. — Pl. IV:A20 = Pl. 105:29. — Pl. V:C7 = Pl. 105:25. — Pl. V:C8 = Pl. 106:15. — Pl. VI:D11-12 = Pl. 105:30, 106:11.

EISEN, *MOORE*

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Pl. II:6 = p. 130:78. — Pl. VII:F15 = pl. 128:76.

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Pl. VII:F17 = Pl. XXIV:3.

NOUGAYROL, *CYLINDRES*

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Pl. II:8 = fig. 84:RS.19.188.

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Pl. VII:F14 = Pl. V:41.

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EINIGE BEMERKUNGEN ZUR "STATUE CABANE"*

Ursula Moortgat-Correns

I

Der männliche TORSO im Aleppiner Museum, der seit seiner Auffindung 1933 in Mari den Namen seines Entdeckers, des Leutnant Cabane trägt, wird seit seiner ersten Vorlage durch Thureau-Dangin¹ auf Grund seiner 25-zeiligen Inschrift für ein Bild des Sonnengottes Schamasch gehalten. Laut Inschrift hat es Jasmach-Adad, der Sohn Schamsi-Adads I. während seiner Herrschaft über Mari für seinen Herrn, den Sonnengott, anfertigen lassen.

Dazu ist zu sagen: was uns vorliegt, ist der kopflose Torso eines bärtigen Mannes mit ineinandergelegten Händen, dessen Oberkörper nackt und dessen Unterkörper bekleidet ist mit einem Rock, der von einem breiten Gürtel gehalten wird (Ill. 1). Der Rock ist zudem unterhalb des Gürtels rundherum mit 4 Reihen Bergschuppen besetzt, unter denen sich vorn in der Mitte die Inschrift des Jasmach-Adad befindet. Der anschließende Teil des Rockes ist—soweit erhalten—glatt.

Ein Bild des Sonnengottes also?

Man hat bei diesem Bild auf der Suche nach Vergleichen stets auf die Darstellungen des Schamasch in der akkadischen Glyptik hingewiesen. Das liegt nahe, nur steigt dort SCHAMASCH mit der Säge in der Hand zwischen zwei Bergen empor, auf die er tritt² (Ill. 2) oder sich auf sie stützt.³ Doch ist er nirgends, weder hier noch auf Darstellungen späterer Zeit mit einem geschuppten Rock bekleidet!

Würde es die Inschrift nicht geben, so hätte man ganz selbstverständlich auf das Bild eines Berggottes geschlossen, und zwar eines Berggottes niederen Ranges⁴ allein schon wegen der Haltung seiner Hände. Einen der höchsten Götter des babylonischen Pantheons, wie Schamasch es ist, der für gewöhnlich sein Attribut, die Säge, oder in der altbabylonischen Zeit auch die Herrschaftsinsignien Stab und Ring hält, wird man nicht gut in einer derart devoten Haltung darstellen, wie sie nur einem dienenden Gott angemessen wäre, vornehmlich aber die vielen Beter-Statuetten auszeichnet, die als Substitute ihrer Besitzer in den Tempeln aufgestellt waren.

Ein Berggott also, Diener des Schamasch, der zum Unterschied zu den akkadischen Siegel-darstellungen hier personifiziert erscheint und, da sich die Inschrift deutlich auf Schamasch

*Die 4 Aufnahmen von der "Statue Cabane" wurden auf meine Bitte eigens für diesen Aufsatz angefertigt. Ich verdanke sie dem Photographen Herrn Anwar Abdel Ghafur und die Erlaubnis, sie zu veröffentlichen, dem Direktor des National Museums Aleppo, Herrn Wahid Khayata M.A.

¹F. Thureau-Dangin, "La Statue Cabane," in *Mélanges Syriens* I offert à M. R. Dussaud (1939), S. 157 ff.

²L. Delaporte, *Louvre* II, Tf. 71, 7 (A.139).

³Zu den verschiedenen Haltungen, die der Sonnengott einnehmen kann vgl. R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin 1965, Tf. XXXIII ff.

⁴Es gibt auch ranghohe Berggötter, die Herren eines Gebirges sind, wie z.B. der Gott auf dem Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Assur-Tempels in Assur. W. Andrae, *WDOG* 53 (1931).

bezieht, dürfte ein Bild des Sonnengottes ursprünglich in unmittelbarer Nähe gestanden haben. Eine ähnliche Missdeutung wie die "Statue Cabane" erfuhren übrigens lange Zeit die beiden neuassyrischen sogenannten "NABU"-Statuen aus Nimrud (Ill. 3), die paarweise in EZIDA rechts und links des Eingangs zum Heiligtum des Nabu aufgestellt waren.⁵ Auch sie zeichnen sich durch eine demütige Haltung aus, die sie als untergeordnete Götter ausweist, und auch sie tragen eine Inschrift vorn unterhalb des Gürtels⁶ auf der zu lesen ist, dass der Gouverneur von Kalach dem Gott Nabu dieses Bild hat anfertigen lassen, was zusammen mit der Fundstelle lange Zeit zu ihrer Fehldeutung führte.

Auch bei der "Statue Cabane" dürfte es sich wohl um einen von ursprünglich zwei Berggöttern handeln—untergeordnete, dienende Götter treten meist paarweise auf—doch ist es fraglich, ob auch sie (analog zu den beiden "NABU"-Statuen) den Eingang zum Schamasch-Tempel flankiert haben, in dessen Bereich der Torso ja gefunden wurde.⁷ Denkbar wäre bei der engen Verbindung zwischen Schamasch und den beiden Bergen auch eine Aufstellung rechts und links vom Kultbild—und einen Hinweis hierzu liefert der Torso denn auch selbst.

Schaut man ihn sich nämlich einmal genau auf seine Haltung hin an, vornehmlich von der Seite (Ill. 4-6), so fällt zweierlei auf: einmal die sehr merkwürdige Schwingung des Körpers, so als ob die Knie leicht eingeknickt wären, zweitens die hochgezogenen Schultern sowie der stark herausgearbeitete Nacken, einem Buckel nicht unähnlich—dies alles zusammen erweckt den Eindruck, als trüge der Gott eine schwere Last.

Nun haben es Berggötter so an sich, dass sie häufig etwas auf ihren Schultern tragen, man denke z.B. nur an die Darstellungen hethitischer Berggötter auf den Ugarit-Abrollungen (Fig. 1) sowie auf dem Felsrelief von Yazilikaya No. 42 (Fig. 2), wo sie—ebenfalls zu zweit—dem Wettergott als Stütze dienen, der mit jeweils einem Fuss auf ihren stark herausgearbeiteten Nacken steht.⁸

Und damit ist auch schon angedeutet, dass sich auf den Mari-Berggott eine ähnliche Funktion ohne Schwierigkeiten übertragen lässt. Am Original ist nämlich deutlich zu erkennen, daß die gesamte Nackenpartie zwischen den Schultern abgearbeitet ist—doch wohl um für irgendetwas als Auflage zu dienen. Denkbar wären—immer analog zu den akkadischen Siegeldarstellungen—Türen,⁹ wahrscheinlicher aber noch der Sonnengott selbst.

Einen Hinweis darauf, wie man sich den Mari-Berggott im Zusammenhang mit seinem Herrn, dem Sonnengott, etwa vorstellen könnte, liefert die übert 7 m hohe Reliefstele von Fasillar¹⁰ (Ill. 7), die mit ihren sehr stark plastisch herausgearbeiteten Figuren fast wie ein Rundbild wirkt.

Es handelt sich bei ihr um eine Gruppe von Figuren, die alle en face dargestellt sind: einen Wettergott, der in Schrittstellung auf einem Berggott steht, der seinerseits flankiert wird von zwei Löwen. Die Haltung des Berggottes mit dem geduckten Kopf zwischen den

⁵Vgl. C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, London 1936, S. 150 f. gute Ansicht bei A. Parrot, *Assur*, München 1972, Abb. 24.

⁶ Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (1926), S. 264.

⁷A. Parrot, *Syria* 30 (1954), S. 199.

⁸K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, (München 1976), Abb. 183: Rollsiegel-Abrollung auf Tontafel aus Ugarit; Abb. 239: Felsrelief von Yazilikaya.

⁹R. M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin 1965, Abb. 408.

¹⁰K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, Abb. 264. Dass es mehrere Denkmäler dieser Art gegeben haben muss, legen zwei grosse unfertige reliefierte Blöcke aus Yesemek nahe, mit der en face-Darstellung von 2 bzw. 3 Berggöttern in der gleichen Haltung. Sie dürften als Sockel für ein grosses Götterbild vorgesehen gewesen sein. U. B. Alkim, *Anatolia* I (1968), Tf. 155/156.

hochgezogenen Schultern und den ineinandergelegten Händen ist dem Mari-Berggott sehr verwandt.

Wo das Monument von Fasillar aus dem 13. Jh. v. Chr. ursprünglich aufgestellt war, ist nicht bekannt, doch dürfte es sich auf Grund seiner Frontal-Ansicht mit direktem Bezug auf den Beschauer um ein Kultbild¹¹ handeln, dessen Aufstellung man sich im Zentrum eines Heiligtums welcher Art auch immer—geschlossen oder offen—vorzustellen hat.

Doch nicht nur aus späterer Zeit sind derartige Kultbilder bekannt, schon aus der Akkad-Zeit ist uns ein kleines—teils rundplastisch, teils im Hochrelief gearbeitetes Kultbildchen aus Alabaster überliefert. Es wurde in der Kapelle eines der Privathäuser von Tell Asmar gefunden¹² und stellt eine fünf-Personen-Gruppe dar: einen ranghohen Berggott, Herrn eines Gebirges, inmitten seines Gefolges, zweier Göttinnen und zweier weiterer untergeordneter Berggötter.

Diese Gruppenbilder bilden thematisch eine Erweiterung gegenüber einer einzelnen Götterstatue, können sie doch zugleich eine Episode aus dem Mythos des betreffenden Haupt-Gottes erzählen.

So liegt der Schluss also nahe, auch für den Schamasch-Tempel in Mari eine solche Figuren-Gruppen in der Cella des Heiligtums zu vermuten, die in Abwandlung des Fasillar-Monumentes den Gott Schamasch mit der Säge in der Hand auf den Schultern zweier Berggötter stehend zeigt, eine Umsetzung sozusagen der akkadischen Siegel-Darstellung (III. 2) vom Relief in das Rundbild.

II

Auch die Datierung der "Statue Cabane" in die Zeit des Jasmach-Adad ist bisher meines Wissens nicht in Zweifel gezogen worden. Aber nicht nur der archaisierend gebildete Oberkörper mit den relativ spitz ausgezogenen Ellenbogen, die Händehaltung und die tiefe Kerbe, die das Rückgrat markiert, erinnern noch an frühdynastische Rundbilder,¹³ auch Form und Stilisierung seines Bartes lassen einen zeitlichen Ansatz in die altbabylonische Zeit als unmöglich erscheinen. Wie die Bärte der Westsemiten z.Zt. von Schamschi-Adad über Jasmach-Adad bis Zimrilim ausgesehen haben, wissen wir,¹⁴ der Bart des Mari-Torsos jedoch ähnelt den Bärten der Statuen des Idi-ilum, eines Puzur-Ischtar und Laasgan,¹⁵ die, wenn man sie bisher auch noch nicht genauer datieren kann, zumindest in die Zeit der sumerisch-akkadischen Restauration gehören, deren Ende sprachlich wie kunsthistorisch etwa mit dem Beginn der I. Dynastie von Babylon gleichzusetzen ist.

Da die "Statue Cabane" also einerseits noch stark archaisierend Züge aufweist, wie sie sich zu Beginn der III. Dynastie von Ur im Rückgriff auf die altsumerische Tradition an

¹¹ Vgl. dazu A. Moortgat, *Die Bildende Kunst des Alten Orient und die Bergvölker*, Berlin 1932, S. 62 ff.

¹² H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region*, OIP 60, Tf. 70A (No. 331).

¹³ Vgl. z.B. (a) die Statuette des Lugalkisalsi auch in Bezug auf die Händehaltung, A. Moortgat, *Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien*, 1967, Tf.—Abb. 83; (b) Sitzbild aus dem "Sanctuaire Inférieure III" in Mari, A. Parrot in *Syria* 21 (1940), Tf. VI Nos. 1-2; (c) Auffallend ist an einem Sitzbild (ohne Kopf) aus Tell Mardich/Ebla, dass es ebenfalls noch stark der frühdynastischen Tradition verpflichtet ist, zugleich aber dieselbe Bartform aufweist, wie der Mari-Torso s. Paolo Matthiae, *PKG* 14, Tf. 395 u. S. 476 f.

¹⁴ Vgl. U. Moortgat-Correns, "Westsemitisches in der Bildkunst Mesopotamiens," *Afo* 16 (1952-53), S. 288 ff.

¹⁵ A. Parrot, *MAM II: le Palais*, Vol. 3, *Documents et Monuments*, Tf. IX; Tf. XII und Fig. 12 auf S. 16; Bart und Händehaltung des Laasgan haben mit der "Statue Cabane" die grösste Ähnlichkeit.

zahlreichen Denkmälern wiederfinden, andererseits aber, vom Motiv her, akkadisches Gedankengut widerspiegelt, das seit Schulgi bewusst gepflegt wird, so käme für den Torso ein Ansatz in diese Spanne wohl in Frage; das wäre zugleich die Zeit in Mari, in der die Tempel des Dagan, der Ninhursag und des Schamasch sowie der Palast, nach den akkadischen Zerstörungen, durch die Schakkanakki Ischme-Dagan und Ischtup-ilum, Niwar-Mer und Apil-kin wieder neu begründet wurden, was einherging mit ihrer Erweiterung und völligen Umgestaltung gegenüber ihrem früheren Zustand.

Aus all dem ergibt sich zwangsläufig, dass sich die von Jasmach-Adad angebrachte Inschrift auf der "Statue Cabane" als sekundär erweist—doch stellt dies durchaus nichts Ungewöhnliches dar. Am Original in Aleppo liess sich leider in dieser Hinsicht nichts mehr feststellen. Nur soviel: eine ältere Inschrift, die von Jasmach-Adad möglicherweise wegge-meisselt und durch seine eigene ersetzt wurde, hat es nicht gegeben. Von einer Abarbeitung war nichts zu bemerken.

III. Nachtrag

Parrots Berichte über seine Grabungen am Schamasch-Tempel in den Jahren 1952-1954 sind nicht allzu ergiebig,¹⁶ um sich eine richtige, klare Vorstellung von dem verschiedenen Bau-Zuständen des Heiligtums von der altbabylonischen bis in die frühdynastische Zeit zu machen. Über die "Statue Cabane" spricht er nur einmal kurz, sie war der Anlass für seine Entscheidung 1952 in P 25 mit der Freilegung zu beginnen, in dessen Bereich der Torso 1933 gefunden wurde. Doch eine Stelle in seinem Bericht, *Syria* XXXI S. 163 f., dürfte im Hinblick auf meine obigen Ausführungen von einigem Interesse sein. Parrot spricht dort von einem "petit monument rectangulaire,"¹⁷ dass sich—ganz isoliert gelegen—zwischen dem Ninhursag-Tempel und dem im Jahr zuvor freigelegten grossen Hof des Schamasch-Tempels befand und fährt dann fort:

Cette installation allait nous placer devant une énigme. En effet, le sol de cet édifice avait été partiellement défoncé par une large fosse (3m. 80 x 1 m. 80), remplie d'une terre étonnamment meuble mélangée de gravier. Le fond de la fosse (pl. XX, 1) fut atteint à 5 m. 90. Nous n'y avons recueilli que quelques briques cassées et quelques tessons de céramique commune, où rien ne semble plus ancien que le début du II^e millénaire. Ce trou aurait donc, d'après ces constatations, été comblé au temps des rois de Mari (dynastie du Palais). A-t-il été creusé à la même époque? Nous ne le saurions dire. Avec quelle intention? Nous nous trouvons ici devant le mystère.

Dann versucht Parrot eine Erklärung für diese sehr merkwürdige und aussergewöhnliche Anlage zu geben und stellt drei Hypothesen zur Diskussion, von denen die dritte folgendermassen lautet:

Puisque nous sommes ici à l'emplacement certain du temple de Shamash, cette fosse ne représenteraitelle pas symboliquement soit le gouffre d'où le dieu surgit chaque matin, quand au-dessus de l'horizon on le voit apparaître, pour commencer sa fulgurante course diurne, soit celui où il s'enfonce, chaque soir, pour disparaître temporairement?

¹⁶ *Syria* XXX, S. 198 ff; XXXI, S. 159 ff; XXXII, S. 206 ff.

¹⁷ Eingetragen auf dem Plan *Syria* XXXI, Fig. 8 auf S. 168 nordöstlich des grossen Hofes; ein anderes Mal in seinem Buch *Mari, Capitale fabuleuse*, (Paris 1974), S. 71, bezeichnet Parrot dieses "petit monument" als eine "Cella, qui était creusée en son centre, d'une fosse mystérieuse."

Natürlich hatte ich diesen Bericht schon früher in der Hand gehabt, doch über diese Stelle wohl jedesmal mehr oder weniger hinweggelesen oder auch die Parrot'sche Deutung dieser mysteriösen Angelegenheit als reine Spekulation abgetan. Jetzt aber erschienen mir seine Gedankengänge in ganz anderem Licht. Ich konnte sie plötzlich nachvollziehen:

Dieser Schacht-Symbol für die Unterwelt-muss in der Tat diejenige Stelle gewesen sein, an dessen Rand die "Statue Cabane" (und vermutlich auch sein Pendant, ein zweiter Berggott) ursprünglich gestanden hat, und aus dessen Tiefe allmorgendlich im Beisein der versammelten Priesterschaft der Sonnengott (bzw. seine Kultstatue) mit der Säge in der Hand emportauchte (mit Hilfe einer technischen Vorrichtung), so wie es uns in ganz ähnlicher Weise die Darstellung auf dem Adda-Siegel vorführt¹⁸ (Ill. 8). Ersetzt man nämlich die beiden rechteckigen Bergklötze durch zwei Berggötter in der Art der "Statue Cabane," so kann man sich dieselbe Szene-einem Bühnenauftritt nicht unähnlich-auch in der Cella des Schamasch-Tempels zu Mari vorstellen, wie sie sich allmorgendlich abspielte. Und des abends, wenn der Gott seine Fahrt durch die Gewässer der Unterwelt wieder antreten musste, liess man das Kultbild im Dunkel des Schachtes wieder verschwinden.

Eigentlich vermisst man in diesem Zusammenhang noch einen Hochtempel des Sonnengottes in Mari, in dem er tagsüber seinen Sitz nimmt, sozusagen das Gegenstück zur Tiefe der Unterwelt, in der er die Nacht verbringt. Beide Phasen, seine Befreiung aus der Unterwelt des morgens und sein Aufstieg zu seinem Tempel auf der Zikkurrat, sind auf einem Rollsiegel aus Ur (Ill. 9) dargestellt.¹⁹

Nun hat Parrot noch eine weitere, unmittelbar nordwestlich an den Schamasch-Tempel angrenzende Anlage untersucht: das "Monument à Redans" oder "Massif à Redans," das er ebenfalls als eine "énigmatique construction" bezeichnet.²⁰ Parrot kann sich die Funktion dieses Gebäudes nicht erklären, betont aber mehrmals . . . "Plus que jamais d'ailleurs, nous considerons que 'massif à redans' et temple de Schamasch appartiennent au même complex sacré. . . ."

Der Bezug zwischen den beiden Heiligtümern, betrachtet man einmal den Plan in *Syria* XXXI fig. 8, steht ausser Frage, bietet sich geradezu an, doch ob es sich bei dem "Monument à redans" möglicherweise um den Hochtempel innerhalb des Schamasch-Heiligtums gehandelt haben könnte, wage ich auf Grund der vorliegenden Berichte und des nur sehr dürftigen Ausgrabungsbefundes nicht zu entscheiden, auch nicht, ob der Bestandteil AN-KI im Namen des Schamasch-Tempels E-GIR-ZA-LA-AN-KI eventuell auf eine Zikkurrat hinweisen könnte.²¹

¹⁸Bei der Behandlung dieses sowie einiger anderer akkadischer Siegel mit der Darstellung von Götterkämpfen kommt Moortgat in seiner, *Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien* (1967), S. 60 zu folgender Feststellung: es sei unwahrscheinlich, daß die episch-mythische Thematik in akkadischer Zeit auf die Kleinkunst der Glyptik beschränkt geblieben sei, denn diesen Themen wäre eine Ausführung in den monumentalen Dimensionen eines Wandgemäldes oder eines Grossreliefs zweifellos sehr viel gemässer. Ich möchte hinzufügen, daß die Vorlage zu dem Adda-Siegel ebenso gut ein grosses mehrfiguriges Kultbild gewesen sein könnte, nicht zuletzt wegen der en face-Darstellung zweier Götter.

¹⁹C. L. Woolley, *UE* II, Tf. 215 No. 364. Die Türflügel sind hier ganz naturalistisch in Form von Flügeln wiedergegeben; der Löwe, auf dem der linke Türflügel aufsitzt, dürfte dieselbe Funktion haben wie auf Ill. 2; den kleinen Gott, auf dessen Schulter der Sonnengott tritt, halte ich für seinen Diener, einen Berggott-d.h.: Türflügel, Löwe und Berggott haben dieselben Funktionen wie auf den üblichen Sonnengott-Darstellungen; und der Wassergott Ea erscheint hier, wie auf dem Adda-Siegel, wiederum in enger Verbindung mit Schamasch. Ich weiß mich dabei im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen Interpretationen dieser Darstellung, stellvertretend sei genannt E. Porada, "Notes on the Sargonid Seal, Ur 364" in *Iraq* 22 (1960), S. 116 ff.

²⁰A. Parrot, *Syria* XXXI (1954), S. 166 f; XXXII (1955), S. 205 f.

²¹Vgl. z.B. E-TEMEN-An-KI in Babylon, DUR-AN-KI in Nippur, E-DUR-An-KI in Larsa.

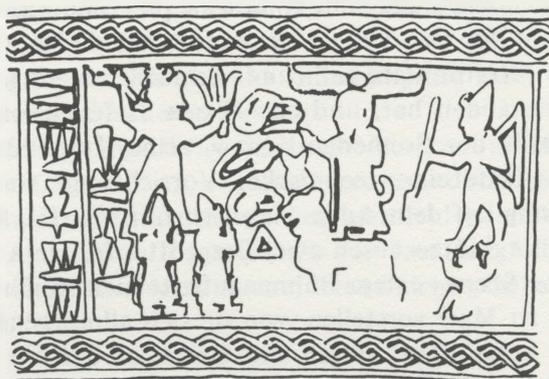


Fig. 1. Rollsiegel-abrollung auf Tontafel aus Ugarit (Umzeichnung).
 Nach C.F.A. Schaeffer (*Ugaritica* III, 1956), Fig. 68; Lg. 4,5 cm.



Fig. 2. Felsrelief von Yazili Kaya, No. 42 (Umzeichnung).
 Nach E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst der Hethiter* (1961), Abb. 19 (Ausschnitt).

‘SUMERIAN’ VS. ‘AKKADIAN’ ART:
ART AND POLITICS IN BABYLONIA OF
THE MID-THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.

Hans J. Nissen

In the development of Sumerian art before this period we have only occasionally noticed phenomena which can certainly be traced to a non-Sumerian source. Yet, they are so influenced by Sumerian culture that no one would dare label them Semitic art. . . . Where the art of the Akkadian period is concerned, there is no more room for doubt.

A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, 1969, p. 45

The number of statements could be multiplied which indicate a certain astonishment over the total change between the art of the period of the Dynasty of Akkad and that of the preceding period, to be very quickly replaced, however, by the firm conviction that this contrast simply reflects the dichotomy between prevailing groups, the Sumerians and the Akkadians, during those two periods. This is a common set of explanations whose application to the Ancient Near East seems to be entirely justified—all the more since within the short span of time we would like to consider here—a whole array of changes points in that very direction. Among those changes we may first of all underscore the fact that inscriptions of the earlier period, which we may abbreviate Early Dynastic III (or ED III), were all written in Sumerian whereas inscriptions of the period of the Dynasty of Akkad rendered the Akkadian, i.e., a Semitic language. Likewise, we note that almost without exception the rulers of the various dynasties of the ED III period bore Sumerian names; the names of the rulers of the Dynasty of Akkad belonged to the Akkadian language.

Apparently, the Sumerian and the Akkadian speakers—or, abbreviated, the Sumerians and the Akkadians—were two distinct groups living side by side in Babylonia, alternately ruling the country; this change occurred exactly at the time when we encounter this total change in art. There was also another obvious change. Whereas in the earlier period the political power was concentrated in various city states, this power was later concentrated in one city, the city of Akkad, a form of political organization we call a central state.

It thus should be assumed that there was in addition to the ethnic differences a difference along political lines, and it would probably have been considered unusual had that change not been found in art as well. Attempts to set a ‘Sumerian’ artistic feeling against an ‘Akkadian’ one found their equivalent in attempts to assign the various groups an affinity to certain forms of organization. According to some scholars, the development of the first central state was due to the group of the Akkadians gaining power, on the basis of their innate affinity to the hierarchical structures of their nomadic heritage.

I will try to offer a solution other than this *prima facie* explanation. Since the line of

argument mentioned bases itself on the interpretation of the political-historical situation, we should start with a discussion of that complex. Only then can we come back to a possible explanation of the differences in art.

It should be remembered that the periods concerning us form a late phase in the aftermath of a climatic change during the fourth millennium B.C. which caused the amount of water available for irrigation purposes in Babylonia to decrease. The results of this continuing process are felt heavily in a country dependent entirely on artificial irrigation for its cultivation. From the ED I period on it had become necessary to bring water by means of large canals to those fields which earlier had had access to natural streams of water. From this moment on it becomes increasingly apparent that the size of the cultivated and settled area depends on the capacity of the relevant irrigation system. The necessity of large settlements to keep their hinterland large, and their ability to build and enlarge such systems especially in their own surroundings, resulted in a layout of the irrigated area of Babylonia which recalls more the strings of irrigation oases than a coherently irrigated area; large settlements were the nuclei of such 'oases'. It thus becomes understandable that political power was also concentrated at those nodal points.

The necessity to create more centralistic power structures originated somewhere else. The reduction of the number of natural water courses resulted in a reduction and relocation of settlements which at the same time grew larger in size. At the periphery of the local units such growing settlements could develop without outside interference, resulting in a situation where settlements in those marginal areas of the old centers were able to attain considerable power. Thus they were able to lay claim to equal areas of influence. At the latest at this point, their spatial interests had to clash with the spatial interests of the old centers, leading to disputes over border areas which were built into the settling pattern. It is therefore not surprising that these conflicts could not find durable solutions by arrangements or treaties between the contesting parties, or by open flights—all such attempts had been made; rather, a final solution had to consist in the formation of a higher level of conflict regulation above the various local centers of power. This is the moment when in spite of the disadvantages of a centralization of power mentioned before the advantage begins to prevail, and when therefore the idea of centralization of power in Babylonia takes root.

As may be expected, this was a slow process. Indeed, we learn from our written sources of this period that there were several attempts to unite Babylonia politically before the state of Akkad; we do not apply the term of 'central states' to these attempts because they never lasted long. It is not surprising that these attempts should fall in a period not long after the phase when the territorial interests began meeting violently.

The further development in Babylonia helps us to understand the value of the concept of central state. Not only is the central state of Akkad dissolved after only a few generations, disintegrating into its former constituents, but this change recurs twice, until the overall change of the political macro-climate in the Near East bestows a different end and a different succession upon the central state of Hammurapi, thus breaking the sequence. This development shows very clearly that we should not see one of these states of aggregation as normal, the other one as a 'Zwischenzeit,' but as two interchangeable options with equal amounts of advantages and disadvantages, so that they were almost exchangeable.

This repeated change at the same time indicates that these forces, which at a given time happened to be in the opposition, were strong enough to govern whenever the pendulum turned again. We have firm evidence for such a situation during the period of the Dynasty of Akkad; every ruler had to fight coalitions of local rulers who challenged the central power.

Can this situation be shown to have existed during the preceding ED III period as well, which only saw the initial attempts to form larger political units? To be sure, we have no direct information, as we never could expect such matters to be the objects of writing. There are some points, however, which could argue for the existence of such a dichotomy already before the period of the Dynasty of Akkad.

A very general consideration is that whenever something new finds a concrete form this new idea has been thought of for quite a while already, probably having been pushed almost to the point of concretization. Obviously, all such phases before the concrete status are unknown to us. But the abortive centralization attempts during the ED III period show that the idea of central power was in existence already.

Summarizing these thoughts we see a pair of contrasts at work: on the one hand we find the necessity of the formation of a higher level of conflict regulation; on the other we see the need for as strong a local control over the irrigation systems as possible.

We have to adduce a further point. From the latest phase of the ED III period we know a number of texts from the archives of the temple of the goddess Baba of Girsu. The study of these texts reveals a political concept according to which all land of the city belonged to the city-god, only being administered by the local ruler as his mundane representative. Almost no texts are known from elsewhere, so the question must remain open whether this could have been the political concept of all Babylonia. Until now, however, historians of the Ancient Near East largely have accepted this idea, if only for lack of another idea. I would like to argue, on the contrary, for this concept having been locally and temporally restricted. One point is that I see this concept of the 'temple-city' as inflexible; I cannot perceive such a rigid system remaining in force during a period which saw as many basic changes as I posited above. Rather, I could see this rigid form as a result of a longer development, as a consequence of the contention with another concept which eludes us. An answer could become tangible if we see the concept of the gods owning the country as the ultimate emphasis of the local, anti-central aspect. If so, the antipode of this local concept should be clear—the idea of central power—both concepts originating from a more open system. Just when the concretization of the idea of central power began, the opposite idea had to develop more and more rigid forms.

From the moment when the decrease of water demands an extension of the distributing system, when changes within the settlement pattern—particularly an enormous increase of the population density—increases the potential for conflict, when the overlapping of spheres of interest of neighboring cities creates continuous border conflicts, from that moment on the contrast between the local and the central concepts becomes the most central conflict in Babylonian society. It is furthermore a conflict which is built into the political system of Babylonia.

Babylonia should be called a political vacuum, were not other societal tensions intertwined with the basic issues. Looking at our material from this viewpoint we indeed discover a number of such nodal points. I mentioned already one set of concepts linked to each other: the concept of the settlements having their local gods, the city-gods, quite obviously is attached to the idea of particularism. It is evident that in these cases the temples of the city-gods were the home of the concepts of local power.

So far, it is difficult to name the other part of the conflict, since for the ED III period as a time of particularism no traces of the extent and the home of the concept of central power can be expected in the written sources. Instead we will try to ask the same questions for the period of the Dynasty of Akkad.

Unfortunately, written information is not very plentiful for this period either, but two

basic lines can be named. On the one hand the inner structure seems to have conformed more to a federative system than a real, full-scale central state. Some of the basic structures may have been very similar to the older period; probably the most basic expression of centrality was the fact that relatives of the ruling family were instated as local governors. There were, however, other aspects of centrality, as for instance the attempt to monopolize far-reaching trade in the capital, or to sustain a contingent of troops.

Another observation concerns a point mentioned earlier: the relation of the rulers of the Dynasty of Akkad to the representatives of the gods seems to have been continuously strained. As an example we may mention that Sargon of Akkad enthroned his daughter Enheduana as high priestess of the city-god in Ur, one of the politically very active cities of the former period. That certainly was a move against the will of the local priests, as we can deduce from the fact that she was shortly thereafter deposed, and finally expelled.

There is a whole array of arguments derived from the interpretation of a literary composition dealing with the events during the reign of Naramsin, and from the observation of a seemingly formal innovation: the self-deification which we encounter for the first time with Naramsin. To start with the latter, we know of the ruler's self-deification from both pictorial evidence and written sources. On the victory stele of Naramsin, for instance, the ruler wears a horned crown, the symbol of divinity in Babylonian iconography. On the other hand we know of a number of texts where the name of the ruler is preceded by the determinative for gods, or where the ruler is called 'god of Akkad' by his officers. In addition to these inscriptions, however, several inscriptions do not give these specifications. Assuming that this distribution reflects temporal differences, we may conclude that the custom of deification of the ruler was introduced during the reign of Naramsin, probably early on, considering the historical events mentioned in the inscriptions. What does the act of (self-) deification really mean? Perhaps we find a key if on the one hand we take the title of 'god of Akkad' as evidence for Naramsin having assumed the rights of the city-god of Akkad, and if on the other hand we take a look at the possible background of the literary composition mentioned above.

If we look for a tangible reason for the assumption of the rank of a city-god of Akkad it comes to mind that in the earlier period gods, especially city-gods, were always related to landed property. Most probably the city-gods would have been one of the city's larger landlords. In our case, the interpretation should be that Naramsin, by assuming the rank of the city-god, instated himself as the owner of the city-god's property, particularly land.

If we follow this interpretation it may help us resolve some of the enigmas of the composition 'Curse over Akkad', a historizing composition of the time of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur, describing events during the reign of Naramsin. In this composition Naramsin is accused of an unnamed sin against Enlil of Nippur, the supreme god of the Babylonian pantheon. In retaliation, Enlil enthrones a rival king in Nippur, who subsequently is defeated by Naramsin. Again in retaliation for the destruction of the temple of Enlil during the campaign against the rival king, Enlil is said to have called upon the foreign people of the Gutu to punish Naramsin and his house. The poem ends with Istar of Akkad, the original city-goddess of Akkad, rejoicing over the destruction of her own city.

The text presents us with some difficulties. For instance, the excavations of the temple-district of Nippur did not reveal any destruction of that time. On the contrary, bricks inscribed with the name of Naramsin hint at building or repairing activities. We also know that Nippur never was a royal residence. And finally, why should only Enlil and Istar of Akkad be mentioned? The whole could make sense, however, if we would see the self-deification as the unnamed sin, which of course was an affront to the gods. As such, it was

up to Enlil as the supreme god to react in the name of all gods, and up to Istar of Akkad to react as the goddess affected directly. Thus one peculiarity would be explained. Furthermore, we could understand why Istar can rejoice over the destruction of her own city, as this city was no longer in her hands.

We learn two things: the supreme god is credited with so much power that he is said to be able to install a rival king; without doubt he is shown as a major political force. If the action of Naramsin was meant only to acquire land, I would think the reaction would not have been that strong. I therefore assume that the move of Naramsin was political, aiming at destroying the economic base of those who were habitually the strongest opponents to the concept of central power. Above all, the self-deification would have been a clever move of the ruler. At the same time we get a clear hint as to whom Naramsin envisaged as his main adversaries: the city-gods, i.e., their representatives, the local priesthood. This composition, then, should not be taken as illustrating the conflict between Sumerians and Akkadians as sometimes proposed, but rather the conflict between the concepts of local and central power.

In the same vein, another event comes to mind: the development at the end of the ED III period as we know it from the inscriptions of Urukagina, the last ruler of the local dynasty of Lagaš. One inscription laments over the destruction which Lugalzagesi had inflicted upon the temples of the area of Lagaš—obviously as part of Lugalzagesi's attempt to conquer all of Babylonia. This inscription ends with the somewhat cryptic statement: "Nidaba, the goddess of Lugalzagesi, shall bear this sin upon her neck." The idea seems to be that the destruction of temples is seen as an unprecedented sin, especially if committed by someone who, according to his status, should be expected to stand within the concept of the city-gods; it is only natural that his goddess should be held responsible. But what if Lugalzagesi, already aiming at conquering the entire country, did not see himself as part of that ideology, if he deliberately destroyed the temples knowing that these were the centers of opposition against his political plans? I take this as another support for the assumption of a close coalition between local power and local gods. At the same time this example shows that this conflict had surfaced already in the ED III period.

At various points we have seen the concepts of local power and of the city-gods as congruent in their goals. Just as we see pairs of contrasts at work, we should postulate that on the religious level there should be a contrast to the concept of the city-god, which of course should not be labeled 'anti-religious', but rather another kind of religious conception.

Again, as we might expect, the information is very scanty. There are, however, some hints. The inscriptions of the ED III period mention a great number of gods; their names are invariably given without further specifications as to their home city. It was obvious that Enlil belonged to Nippur, Inanna to Uruk, etc. From the Akkadian period on we find an ever increasing number of gods with specifications, like Istar of Akkad, or Istar of Zabalam. In this case, evidently the figure of Inanna/Istar had become more comprehensive, or more abstract, so that a particular local form had to be defined by adding a local specification. This agrees well with the old observation that after a period of chthonic gods, from the Akkadian period on, astral gods became more important, which are definitely on a higher level of abstraction. More arguments can be derived from the interpretation of the art, as we shall see presently.

We will turn now to a discussion of the development of the artistic expression during the periods under observation. I mentioned at the beginning that the differences between the art of the ED III period and that of the period of the Akkadian dynasty leap in the eyes of every observer. But what constitutes those differences? I will restrict myself to the

discussion of only two aspects for which there is enough material available for both periods allowing a detailed comparison: a discussion of the reliefs and of the cylinder seals.

In respect to the reliefs, I take up the long known differences between the so-called 'vulture stele' of Eannatum of Lagaš (ED III) and the so-called 'victory stele' of Naramsin. It has long been noticed that a fundamental change is visible in the treatment of the army. Whereas the older example gives the army as a bloc of shields supplemented by a number of heads and feet, the army of the later example is depicted as consisting of independent individual figures with individual gestures. This is underlined by the fact that details of the body and limbs are rendered naturalistically, even with some exaggeration. The individuality of each figure, furthermore, is stressed with the stone cutting technique; the impression is given of the figures standing in front of a background, which now is given an active part in the composition.

Just in passing I would like to point to another feature of the Naramsin stele which in my opinion should be put in the same context. If we take a close look at the row of enemies at the lower right, we see that both the deportment of the head and the gesture of the outstretched arm change from the lowest to the highest figure. The normal gesture of raising one hand before the mouth, which we see with the highest figure, constantly is 'stretched' so that with the lowest figure we observe the head turned so that the face is almost horizontal, and the left arm, unnaturally long, is almost raised to a straight position. This is a consequence of the artist trying to retain two ideas, the idea of the gesture of supplication, raising the left arm so that eyes and fingertips of the supplicant and the face of the victor lie on one line, and the other that each of the supplicants should have direct eye contact with the victor. To my mind, this is a remarkable attempt to overcome the shortages of the principle of paratactic art. By this linkage as well as by other elements of style, this work of art reaches a denseness of artistic expression which I don't see in any other piece of art in the Ancient Near East.

Summing up, the basic difference in the art is the rendering of man as part of the multitude, as the ED III literature would have it, as against the depiction of man as an individual.

Looking at the cylinder seals we reach the same conclusions, particularly if we look at the animal contest scenes. Whereas we find the ED III examples competing in interlocking the figures to ensure the impression of an interwoven band, this rapidly changes until by the early Akkadian period the figures of contestants are clearly defined against the background, each given as an individual figure.

In addition, I would like to point to two of the many new themes, the contest of gods and the introduction or presentation scenes. On a large number of seals we find seemingly human figures fighting each other, which by their horned crowns are marked as deities. Not only do we look in vain for such representations in the earlier period, but there is a strong feeling that such scenes contrast sharply with the ideology of the older period which, at least in the written sources, shows a concept of gods in which internecine fights would have no place.

In the second theme a human being is presented to a (normally) seated god by a standing god. The idea is obviously that a lesser god introduces the human being to a higher god and, on a higher level of abstraction, that it takes the help of a lesser god to be received by a higher ranking god. The motif is doubtlessly to be linked closely to the concept of a personal or tutelary god, who would serve as an intermediary between the mortals and the higher gods. From what we saw before, it is not surprising to find this concept appearing from the ED III period on.

This substantiates what I said before. As the higher gods were becoming more abstract

and more remote, a new level of gods had to be introduced as a link between gods and men. What is more important for our argument, however, is that within this new concept of gods there is no built-in need left for the notion of a god as landlord.

Since we possess nothing which could be called 'popular art', we have to conclude that the art of a given period conforms closely to the official ideology of that period. Thus in addition to the pairs of contrasts we also see in the field of art two contrasting complexes, which behave like the other pairs. The differences can be easily deduced from the basic contrast: the concept of man as part of a collective body, or of man as individual. Also here we have to postulate that the concept which is not in favor during a given period nevertheless stays alive. Thus, after the fall of the Akkadian empire we see that a new artistic concept emerges from a blending of the innovations of the Akkadian period with what could be termed a revival of older concepts. This shows us that at least during the Akkadian period both concepts were known; only the official one was able to surface. Whether this is true also for the ED III period must remain entirely open, since we have no evidence whatever. I would not be surprised, however, if one day, when we have more material, traces of a different concept of art become apparent.

The same is true for religion. The reappearance of the concept of the city-god under Gudea of Lagaš, right after the fall of the Dynasty of Akkad, again confirms that both concepts were alive side by side. But again, such a thought would have no factual basis for the ED III period. Yet, I would assume that also during the ED III period—perhaps even earlier—there grew a religious concept in opposition to the rigid concept of the city-god.

Thus, though our material would make us believe that these concepts were in force consecutively, we see that in fact they were contemporary. At least from the ED III period on I see Babylonian society as caught between several pairs of antitheses, the strongest and most vital one being that of the political system. As one can see in any society, such contrasts—even if they have nothing to do with each other, or at least are in no way organically related—tend to cluster around major issues. In our case I think we have one cluster centered around the concept of the city-god and the concept of man as part of the multitude; the other cluster centers around the concept of centralized power expanded by the concept of more abstract gods and the perception of man as individual. *A potiori*, the political system, determines which of the clusters dominates the cultural expression of that given period. It is quite easy to understand why, in our record, we hardly find traces of the dormant cluster.

We saw above that the political system may shift rather easily between the two main options—the other concepts caught in the respective cluster shift in like fashion. To return to the topic, the change of the art style at the beginning of the Akkadian period is due to the success of the concept of central power.

So far we have hardly touched upon the argument of ethnic differences allegedly being the basic contrast. Indeed, one of the great enigmas is why the coexistence of two evidently differing groups within the population did not lead to more tangible differences, or even hostilities. Just this question has been scrutinized often in the literature of our field with increasingly negative results. There is nothing in the written record which points to any outbreaks of such differences. Yet this certainly was an important contrast in Babylonian society, and it would be remarkable if this contrast did not align with the others. It may even be that within the scheme of our clusters these groups developed some affinity with either one of the clusters. This should be only a natural development as such ethnic conflicts tend to be subsumed under different conflicts existing in society. I hope I have been able to show that the contrasts in art as well as in the other aspects did not originate in ethnic

differences. It may even be that in ED III we find more Sumerian artists at work than later, but the ED III/Akkadian example should not be used to postulate the existence of ethnic art.

Even though our inadequate material sometimes seems to lend itself to easy solutions, we should not be misled. It is the very complexity of the society of that time which inhibits us from comprehending the complexity of our sources. This, however, should not hinder us from trying to reconstruct this complexity. This has been shown to us time and again by Edith Porada, to whom I dedicate this essay in deep appreciation.

TWO SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM KÜLTEPE AND THE KIRIK BAYIR RELIEF

Nimet Özgüç

Three objects constitute the topic of this paper: two tablets with seal impressions found in 1966 in Kanis-Kültepe, and a late Hittite relief brought to the Urfa Museum in 1978.

Seal Impressions

All of the cylinder seal impressions found in Level II of the Karum Kanish, with the exception of the two sealed tablets found in 1966, were impressed on envelopes and bullae. These two examples are additionally unique even in the finds from subsequent excavations. Both were found in a house, located in grid square N/10, which was destroyed by a raging fire, in an archive room containing 85 fragmentary tablets and envelopes. This structure is opposite the well preserved house where the Supi-Ahsu archives were found and is separated from it by a narrow street.

1. Inv. no. Kt s/K76. Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations. Ill. 1.

Shiny brownish gray paste, well preserved. Length 3.7, Height 2.7, Width 1.2 cm.

Inscriptions on the front side and half of the reverse. On the other half, an impression of a cylinder seal 1.4 cm high. It is a debt repayment document well known in Kanish Karum Level II (Veysel Donbaz, personal communication).

Seal Impression. It is a seal impression of the well developed Anatolian style; although partially missing, there is enough of the representation to allow us a full reconstruction. The impression portrays a deity in a presentation scene with two minor deities and several associative motifs in a mythological scene.

The main figure of the scene sits on a short backed, concave throne facing left, holding a footed goblet in his right hand. At the level of his face is a sun disc and crescent. In front of him is placed an altar-table full of offerings; in back of him a reversed fish can be seen. Since the impression is broken below the ankle of the deity, on the basis of style and subject matter of other similar impressions (*An. Gr.* 49),¹ the scene can be completed with a platform under the throne and the deity resting his feet on a fish. In back of the deity are two figures which seem to be part of his group. The first of these is a bull-man defeating a lion. The second motif, which is found on only two other examples of the entire Anatolian Group seal impressions, the master of animals is the

¹ N. Özgüç, *The Anatolian Group of Cylinder Seal Impressions from Kültepe*, Ankara 1965 (cited here as *An. Gr.*).

lion-man. In our example, the wings of the lion-man extend from his shoulders. In other examples the wings are shown extended, one upward from the neck, the other downward. In the same fashion, the lion-man is shown wearing a short skirt with the hairs of his legs carefully delineated, an antelope held by its neck in his left hand, and an upturned lion held by its leg in his right hand. In our example, he holds an antelope with its back turned to him by its neck, and in his right hand he holds a long object which in all probability is an extended snake. In spite of the different animals held by the lion-man, and the different crowns worn by the seated deity, one horned crown, the other a conical headdress, we still believe that the representations in both impressions portray the same deity group.

In the presentation scene, the deity in front holds his arms out in supplication. The deity behind him holds a footed goblet in his left hand. Both wear a horned mitre-like crown with a disk on top.

Another important aspect of the seal impression is the placement of stars in front of the standing deities and supernatural creatures. In previously published seal impressions, there were no examples where this astral symbol was so systematically associated with the deities. The star is occasionally found near some deities and god-like creatures.²

2. Inv. no. Kt 4/75. Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, III. 2.
Cream colored. W. 3.4, H. 4, D. 1.3 cm.

On one face the name of two witnesses are written. On the other, slightly convex, face is the impression of a cylinder seal. Although the representation is partially preserved, it is still adequate enough to reconstruct the subject of the scene. The impression has two scenes consisting of one principal scene and a secondary theme. The principal scene, the worshipper between two interceding deities, is presented in the impression; only the skirt of the worshipped deity is visible. Under their feet, a short-tailed animal seated to the right with its head turned to the left, and a recumbent lion facing right with its tail raised overhead parallel to its back can be seen. Separating the principal from the secondary scene is a vertically portrayed lion and an elixir vase (libra).

In the secondary scene, the bottom half of a worshipper is recognizable standing in front of an altar and bull. Separated by a thick line, the bottom register portrays four small figures of men walking to the left, one preserved completely, the next from the knees up, the third to his chest, and the fourth only the head can be seen in the impression. According to our interpretation, this is part of the Old Assyrian Group b.³ In other words, a group contemporary with the developed seals of the Old Babylonian style, but with the addition of Anatolian elements such as the bull and altar and altar-table. Characteristic of this group are small men and processions formed by more than one worshipper.⁴

² *An. Gr.*, p. 74.

³ N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum Kanish*, Ankara 1968, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

The Kırık Bayır Relief (Ills. 3 and 4)

Sculpted artifacts from nearby Hittite settlements and surrounding areas reach the Urfa museum from time to time. Among these is an orthostat from the Kabahaydar province 45 km northwest of Urfa, a statue or column base with two bulls, a fragmentary stele from the Akziyaret province, Gulpınar village 30 km to the northeast, a column base with two sculpted bulls 60 km to the northeast and 70 km to the south from Akcakale province, Haktanir (Nusratıy) area, and a relief of a deity, all of which point to the necessity of intensifying the late Hittite period research in this area.

The Kırık Bayır relief, which is the subject of this examination, was discovered in a field in the Adıyaman province and brought to the Urfa museum in 1978. I visited the site in the same year, accompanied by Dr. Hayat Erkanal and Dr. Aliye Özten. Kırık Bayır is located in the Bayırli arable fields of the Zurna township, 200 m from the Ziyaret stream and the Atatürk dam. According to the lower Euphrates dam project, this area will be flooded by the waters of the reservoir.

The structure resembles a cist grave, with some of the line of stones as well as the large stone grave cover in fragmentary condition and displaced from their original position (Ill. 4). The relief is said to be from a depth of one meter, and its relationship to the grave or whether it was in secondary use can only be clarified with an excavation. We were unable to determine these details with a surface examination.

The Kırık Bayır stele, which is made of limestone, is broken on the bottom, on the left side, and on a part of the top. On the basis of the four half preserved semi-circles of a guilloche-like band lining the bottom of the frame, it may possibly indicate that this is one relief of a two registered stele,⁵ or a two-part stone plaque similar to the Karatepe reliefs.⁶ The preserved portion is 83 cm wide at the bottom and 55 at the top, 55 cm high and 17 cm thick. The representation consists of a horse-pulled chariot, two soldiers holding spears, and a winged disk within a four-sided space bordered by a thick band. Practically the entire chariot, the horses, the bottom half of the chariot driver, and the lower part of the winged sun disk are preserved. The chariot box has lozenge-shaped decorations. The thick outer rim and thin inner rimmed wheel has eight spokes. The small size of the horses in relation to the chariot is apparent and the second horse which is behind the other can be seen with one third of its muzzle visible. The chariot tether is depicted running horizontally beneath the chariot and tied with a loop around the neck of the horse. The chariot driver holds the four reins in his hands. The horses have to be depicted at the same level as the wheel with their tails touching it due to the horizontal tether, a style not typical of late Hittite chariots. The details of the chariot driver's robe are too faint to be discerned, but it is apparently similar to the soldier's. The two soldiers walking to the right hold their spears vertically with one end touching the ground. Their hair is wavy and their beards are squared off; both have curls on the ends. Since the soldier in front is only half finished, the details of his robe are missing. Over the short skirt of the rear example is a fringed cloak. The legs and feet of both soldiers are differently depicted.

The winged disk has well defined volutes and belongs to the long-winged short-tailed group.

⁵ W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur Späthethitischen Kunst*, Bonn 1971, Pl. 7, Hama B/4; T. Fredje 1.

⁶ Orthmann, *ibid.*, Pl. 17-18.

On the basis of style, the Kırık Bayır monument belongs to the late Hittite art style with Assyrian influences. It is a piece of local art with local characteristics. It is probably contemporary with the Sakçegözü reliefs.

⁷K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter*, München 1976, p. 306; Orthmann, *ibid.*, Pl. 49, Sakçagözü A/1.

GLAZED FAIENCE OBJECTS FROM KANISH

Tahsin Özgüç

Until recently, only a few objects made of faience had been uncovered in Anatolia. But within the last few years, their number has been greatly increased. In both the lower town/Karum, and on the mound of Kanish, glazed faience pieces have been unearthed in situ in well-stratified contexts. But the faience remains of the third and second millennia B.C. from Anatolia are still far outnumbered by those from the North Syrian-Mesopotamian and Aegean regions.¹ The objects presented here are exhibited in the Ankara and Kayseri archaeological museums, but only a few have been published previously. A sizeable part of this collection is now published in this volume in honor of Professor Edith Porada, who has devoted herself to the study and understanding of the art of the North Syrian and North Mesopotamian regions.

Several of the faience pieces from the Karum area were burial gifts found in pot-graves buried under houses of levels Ia-b. Others were found in the debris of houses belonging to these same building levels. It is possible that some of the latter group were objects which had been broken and discarded by thieves who robbed the graves in which they had been originally placed.

I. Statuettes of a Female Deity

Of the four groups of faience objects distinguished in this study, that of the nude goddess statuettes and fragments comprises the largest. This group is described below.

1. Kt. I/k 56. Ill. 1a-b. From a pot-grave of level Ia. Light blue glaze. L: 5.6 cm. This figure has a large nose and ears, round eye sockets, a full chin, thick neck and rounded hips and shoulders. She supports her breasts from below with both hands. Her legs are together, and her feet have flat soles and are not rendered with any detail. A navel can be distinguished. A few particles of gold remain attached between the legs and suggest that the figurine was originally gilded. The rounded headdress is pierced from front to back, indicating that this piece was meant to be hung around the neck by a cord or suspended from a support of some type. A straight, deep groove extends from the top of the back down to the top of the legs. Unlike the other statuettes of this group, the back is not flat but conforms to the shape of the figure.

¹J. F. S. Stone, "The Use and Distribution of Faience in the Ancient East and Prehistoric Europe," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 22, 1956, pp. 37 ff.; and K. P. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age*, Yale University, 1979, pp. 22 ff.

2. Kt. f/k 18. Ill. 2a-b. From debris in square V/23 of level Ia. Dark blue glaze. H: 2.1 cm. W: 3.5 cm.

The neck and nipples are painted black. A wide groove between the breasts emphasizes the naturalistic character of this statuette. A deep vertical groove extends along the back and would have allowed the figurine to be mounted.

3. Kt. 79/21. Ill. 3a-b-c. Probably discarded from a disturbed grave. Dark blue glaze. H. 5.3 cm. W: 1.8 cm. Th: 1.1 cm.

The lower fragment of a nude female figurine broken at the waist. The legs are straight and joined together, as are the legs of all the statuettes in this group. The back is flat and the pubic area is painted black. This fragment belongs to a somewhat larger figurine at least 10 cms in height.

4. Kt. H/k 191. Ill. 4. From level Ib. Light blue glaze. H: 3.8 cm. W: 1.6 cm.

Preserved only below the knees, the legs of this figurine are also joined together. The groove between the legs is deep and rather wide. A vertical hole in the base indicates that the statuette was meant to be mounted vertically on a pedestal. This fragment also belongs to a figurine of relatively large size.

5. Kt. 74/k 19. Ill. 5. From street debris in square S/20 of level Ib. Light blue glaze. H: 1.6 cm. W 1.2 cm.

Only the feet and the lower part of the joined legs are preserved.

6. Kt. f/k 203. Ill. 6. From level Ib. Blue glaze. H: 2.9 cm. W: 1.8 cm.

Only the feet and a small section of the joined legs are preserved. The back is flat and is in the form of a wide panel.

7. Kt. r/k 113. Ill. 7a-b. From level Ib. Dark blue glaze. H: 3 cm. W: 2.5 cm.

Head of a goddess. Her hair is divided down the middle and falls behind her ears in two equal parts. She has almond-shaped eyes, a large nose, and a full chin and cheeks. The naturalism of the face makes the style of this piece somewhat different from that of Figure 1. It also belonged to a figurine of a larger size than that of Figure 1. The hair and parts of the face are painted black.

8. Kt. z/k 41. Ill. 8. From level Ib. Blue glaze. H: 2.3 cm. W: 1.7 cm. Th: 1 cm.

The head and the body below the waist of this nude goddess figurine are missing. She is holding her breasts from below with her hands. The end of a curl of hair rests on her left shoulder. The back is in the form of a flat panel. The glaze is in poor condition because the statuette was broken and discarded in ancient times.

9. Kt. 73/t 22. Ill. 9a-b. From remains of the burnt basement in square y/20 of the citadel palace which is contemporary to level Ib in the Karum. H: 1.6 cm. W: 1.2 cm.

This is the head of a faience figurine which has been reduced to slag by the heat of the violent fire which destroyed the palace. It has round eyes, a flat and large nose, and a rounded headdress which is pierced from front to back at the level of the forehead.

These faience figurines and fragments all represent the same nude goddess and are clearly the products of a well developed faience industry. The firing technique, quality of the glazes

and use of gilding all prove that these objects came from the workshops of skilled craftsmen. All were molded. It is my opinion that they were produced by a single workshop which has not yet been identified.

A blue-glazed nude female figurine with breasts and pubic area painted in black,² as well as two light blue glazed figurines with some surfaces painted black³ were found in level II at Alishar, which is contemporary to level Ia-b of the Karum at Kanish. These three figurines are of the same style as that of the Kanish Karum statuettes. The style of two small faience goddess figurines holding their breasts with their hands and found at Karahöyük in a building level contemporary to the last phase of the Kanish Karum,⁴ is also indistinguishable from the Kanish type (Ill. 1a-b). Undoubtedly, all of these contemporary figurines, which lack even the slightest difference in style among them, were made in either the same or closely situated workshops. The oldest known examples of faience production originate from North Mesopotamia and North Syria, and trade relations caused them to spread to numerous other regions of the old world.⁵ The excavators of Alishar Höyük and K. P. Foster believe that the Ishtar figurines found at Alishar were imported from Northern Mesopotamia.⁶ The style of these faience figurines is foreign to the native Anatolian style. With the exception of the bead remains,⁷ no important faience objects have been found in the large capitals of the Old Hittite Kingdom or of the Hittite Empire which followed the period of the Assyrian trading colonies. However, there are a few scanty references to the manufacture of faience objects in the Hittite texts.⁸ Glazed faience objects generally substituted for more expensive objects made of precious metals or stone. However, Anatolia is rich in both of these materials and, for this reason, the faience industry did not take hold here as it did elsewhere. But the style of faience figurines which is foreign to the local Anatolian does not have parallels in North Mesopotamia or in North Syria. The location of the workshops which produced this type of faience figurine imported into central Anatolia has not been established, and similarities with terracotta nude woman, female deity, and Ishtar figurines from North Syria-Mesopotamia are not adequate to resolve this problem. In addition, most of the faiences found in Anatolia have not been subjected to laboratory or spectrographic analysis, and therefore the chemical composition of faience objects from various capitals such as Kanish, Alaca Höyük, Acemhöyük and Yanarlar cannot be compared.

Nimet Özgüç has proven that level Ib of the Kanish Karum lasted until the tenth year of

² H. H. von der Osten and E. Schmidt, "The Alishar Höyük," *OIP* 7, p. 37, Fig. 27,2296.

³ H. H. von der Osten, "The Alishar Höyük, Seasons of 1930-32," *OIP* 29, p. 193, Fig. 230,d2971, d2966.

⁴ S. Alp, "Karahöyük Kazıları," *Belleten* 18, 1954, p. 403.

⁵ J. F. S. Stone, "Use and Distribution," p. 40; and K. P. Foster, *Aegean Faience*, pp. 22 ff.

⁶ *OIP* 7, p. 37; and K. P. Foster, *Aegean Faience*, p. 46.

⁷ E. Schmidt, "The Alishar Höyük, Seasons of 1928 and 1929," *OIP* 19, pp. 162, 179, Figs. 203, 233; H. H. von der Osten, "The Alishar Höyük," *OIP* 29, p. 284; H. Z. Koşay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük*, Ankara, 1951, p. 135, Pl. 94,1; T.-N. Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe*, Ankara, 1953, p. 201, Pl. 57,612; M. J. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, Philadelphia, 1956, p. 37 ff.; K. Emre, *Yanarlar, A Hittite Cemetery near Afyon*, Ankara, 1978, pp. 120 ff., Pls. 42-43.

⁸ A. Goetze, "Contributions to Hittite Lexicography," *JCS* I, 1947, pp. 307 ff.; E. Laroche, "Etudes de linguistique anatolienne," *RHA* 24, 1966, p. 180; A. Oppenheim, "The Cuneiform Tablets with Instructions for Glassmakers," in *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Corning, New York, 1970, p. 67.

the reign of Shamsu-Iluna, son of Hammurabi.⁹ During this period, cylinder seals,¹⁰ seal impressions, vases,¹¹ and all types of metal objects¹² were imported into Kanish from North Syria and comprise an important part of the material remains from Kanish. This period also witnesses, for the first time, an increase in the number of glazed faience objects. The finds indicate that relations established with North Syria continued into period Ib but declined during Ia. Evaluation of the imported ceramic and metal evidence confirms that the production centers for the faience figurines found at Kanish were located somewhere in the region south of the eastern Taurus range, that is, in the vast area between the Antakya plain and the Habur region.¹³

II. Joined Double-Figure Statuettes

10. Kt. e/k 161. Ill. 10a-b. From a pot-grave of level Ib. The dark blue glaze is badly eroded. H: 4.6 cm. W 2.8 cm. Th: 1.6 cm.

Composed of two figures seated side by side and joined at the sides with their heads separated. They wear ankle-length robes and their hands are resting on their knees. Both are wearing low headdresses and have faces with flat noses which are badly worn. One figure is clearly bearded while the other, in spite of the erosion, appears to have also worn a beard. It is expected, nevertheless, that one of the figures represents a woman. The back is flat.

No glazed faience parallel to this statuette has been found in Anatolia or in Northern Syria-Mesopotamia¹⁴ of this period. However, in 1981, Nimet Özgüç uncovered a seated male figurine in faience from level I at Acemhöyük, which is contemporary to Kanish Karum Ia (Ill. 11). This figure is 2.5 cm in height, 1.2 cm wide and 1 cm thick, and also wears a long tunic. Two concentric circles describe the eyes, and the legs are blunted protrusions. One arm extends down along the body, while the other crosses the breast. The headdress is pointed and in this detail differs from the Kültepe figurines. The figure is pierced with two holes—one through the headdress from front to back, the other in the bottom. Thus it could have been carried around the neck as an amulet or mounted on a base. Black paint is preserved here and there on the body. The style and technique of this piece does not differ from those of the Kanish figurines with the exception of the pointed

⁹ N. Özgüç, *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level Ib from Karum-Kanish*, Ankara, 1968, p. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 ff.; and N. Özgüç, "Die Siegel der Schicht Ib im Karum-Kanish von Kültepe," *Belleten* 85, 1958, pp. 13 ff.

¹¹ T. Özgüç, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabungen von 1950 in Kültepe ausgeführt im Auftrage des Türk Tarih Kurumu," *Belleten* 65, 1953, pp. 115 ff.; T. Özgüç, "The Art and Architecture of Ancient Kanish," *Anatolia* 8, 1964, pp. 41 ff.; K. Emre, "The Pottery of the Assyrian Colony Period," *Anatolia* 7, 1963, p. 95.

¹² T. Özgüç, *Kültepe-Kanish, New Researches at the Center of the Assyrian Trade Colonies*, Ankara, 1955, p. 110; T. Özgüç, "Excavations at Kültepe 1954, Finds of Level Ib," *Belleten* 73, 1955, pp. 70ff.

¹³ A fragmentary glazed clay female figurine was recently found at Hammam et-Turkman on the Balikh, Maurits van Loon, *Akkadica* 35, November-December 1983, p. 7, fig. 12B. This has a definite similarity to the figurines from Kültepe.

¹⁴ The seated faience figurines from Assur are late products and their style differs from that of the joined-double statuettes from the Karum at Kanish; see W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 84-85.

headdress which reflects a local south-central or southeast Anatolian characteristic. As explained below, this strengthens the argument for the existence of indigenous Anatolian workshops.

III. Zoomorphic Faience Amulets

The first faience examples of animal-form amulets in Anatolia appear during this period. One is in the form of a rabbit, another of a lion. Two are bull shaped and one is a sheep. The lion and bull amulets were found in level Ib in a pot-grave in square Y/14. The rabbit was found in another grave of level Ib and the sheep was discovered in remains of level Ib.

11. Kt. u/k 100. Ill. 12. Green glaze. L: 1.7 cm. W: 1.2 cm.

Recumbent humped bull with broad, upright horns, large ears and a wide mouth.

12. Kt. u/k 201. Ill. 13. Green glaze. H: 1.2 cm. W: .9 cm.

This is the only amulet found at Kanish which is in the form of a bull's head.

13. Kt. u/k 101. Ill. 14. Green glaze. H: 1 cm. L: 1.3 cm.

Recumbent lion with circular eyes and head oversized in proportion to the body.

14. Kt. t/k 46. Ill. 15. Bluish-green glaze. H: 1 cm. L: 1.5 cm.

From a stone cist grave in level Ib of square dd/20. A reclining rabbit with large, almond-shaped eyes and distinctly rendered ears.

15. Kt. m/k 227. Ill. 16. Light blue glaze. H: 1.2 cm. L: 1.2 cm.

Reclining sheep with pointed, upright ears and circular eyes. Each side is decorated with two horizontal rows of small bosses.

We do not know of comparable amulets dating to this period.¹⁵ These small amulets, of equal size and made in the same technique and style, were undoubtedly products of the same workshop. The fine workmanship demonstrates that they are the work of a developed faience industry. None of the faience pendants found in the cemeteries at Gordion¹⁶ and Yanarlar,¹⁷ which have parallels in North Mesopotamia, North Syria and Egypt, are similar to the faience zoomorphic amulets from Kanish. These amulets, destined as burial offerings, were made in the form of the sacred animals of the Anatolian gods.

¹⁵ The style and date of the frit animal-form figurines from Assur demonstrate that they are not similar to the zoomorphic faience amulets from Kanish; W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel*, pp. 93 ff. Parallels for our Nos. 14 and 15 can be found in the early intermediate level at Chagar Bazar; see *Iraq* 4, 1937, p. 97, p. 151, pl. XIVA, top row A 906 (sheep) and A 902 (lion). The date of the Chagar Bazar amulets is now to be correlated with that of the Karum Ib pieces. The trade route of these objects leads from the Habur area to Southeast Anatolia, it does not go via West Syria and Carchemish.

¹⁶ M. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, pp. 33 ff.

¹⁷ K. Emre, *Yanarlar, A Hittite Cemetery*, pp. 120 ff.

IV. Stamp Seals

Of the five seals presented here, three are from the Karum area and two from the mound of Kanish.

16. Kt. v/k 95. Ill. 17a-b. A stamp-seal of the button-seal type, from street fill in square dd/ee/19 of level Ib. Blue glaze. H: 1.4 cm. W: 1.1 cm.

An oval seal with convex back on which a knob, pierced horizontally through the center, is set off by a groove. The seal face bears symbols in the form of a curled loop and a tripartite exergue which are situated one above the other.

17. Kt. y/k 1. Ill. 18a-b. From debris of level Ib. Light blue glaze. H: .8 cm. W: .6 cm.

The body is divided into four sections by three deep, horizontal grooves. The upper three sections are denticulated and the top is conical. There is a horizontal perforation through the section next to the base. The design on the seal face resembles that of the above stamp (Ill. 17).

18. Kt. y/k 92. Ill. 19a-b. From a grave in square D/8 of level Ib. Light blue glaze. L: 1.3 cm. W: .7 cm.

This belongs to Hogarth's domed-back scaraboid type.¹⁸ The back has two deep grooves and is pierced longitudinally. The seal face is an irregular circle and bears the same symbols as the other stamps.

19. Kt. y/t 10. Ill. 20a-b. From square vv/21 on the mound and contemporary to Karum level Ib. Blue glaze. H: .7 cm. W: 1 cm.

Oval seal with conical top perforated through its lower part. The seal face has a similar design.

20. Kt. 1/t 13. Ill. 21a-b. From the mound in a level contemporary to Karum Ib. Blue glaze. H: 1 cm. W: .6 cm.

Conical seal pierced horizontally through the center. The oval seal face has the same symbols.

Only one of these seals was found in a grave—the others were uncovered in a residential area. They can be divided into three secondary groups according to form: a. Illustrations 17, 20, and 21; b. Illustration 18; c. Illustration 19.

Faience seals identical to these in every way have been found at Alishar,¹⁹ Acemhöyük,²⁰ Gordion,²¹ and Karahöyük.²² At Karahöyük, the impression of one such stamp has been brought to light.²³ Nimet Özgüç has also discovered an impression of a seal of this type on a bulla (Ac. K.51) from the storeroom of the palace at Acemhöyük (Ill. 22). The width of the oval seal face is 1 cm and it is 1.4 cm long. These two seal impressions prove that the

¹⁸ D. G. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, Oxford, 1920, p. 19.

¹⁹ H. H. von der Osten, "The Alishar Hüyük," *OIP* 29, p. 419, Fig. 479, c600.

²⁰ B. Tezcan, "Aksaray Çevresinden derlenen Eserler," *Belleten* 88, 1958, p. 526, Fig. 23.

²¹ M. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, p. 42, Pl. 23m-n.

²² S. Alp, *Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karahöyük bei Konya*, Ankara, 1968, p. 217, Figs. 162-163.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 217, Fig. 164.

seals were in fact actually used as stamp seals. However, the appearance of this same type of seal in a child's grave at Gordion indicates that it was also used as an amulet.²⁴ One faience seal of this type has been found in the palace at Acemhöyük (Ac.j.111). It measures .8 cm high and 1.1 cm wide. The number of known seals of this type from central Anatolia is constantly increasing and their common form and seal design are, to a surprising degree, identical.²⁵ M. Mellink has pointed out that this close resemblance indicates that these pieces were the products of a single workshop.²⁶ But where could these workshops have been located? M. Mellink writes, "the production of frit or faience is likely to have been concentrated in some of the early Hittite towns with direct oriental contacts."²⁷ J. Mellaart believes that the faience objects of the second and third millenniums B.C. in Anatolia are products of local Anatolian workshops.²⁸ The majority of these Anatolian faiences date to the last phase of the Assyrian Trade Colony Period and, although trade with Assyria saw a decline at this time, copper, silver, Amutu and Husaru were still being traded together with faience beads and amulets. Stamp seals were not utilized in northern Syria during this period; they must have been made specifically for sale to Anatolians. Also during this period the southern area of central Anatolia and southeastern Anatolia had easy access to North Syria-Mesopotamia to the south, and to Kültepe, Alishar Höyük, Acemhöyük, and Karahöyük on its various other borders. The inhabitants of this region must have developed workshops to produce faience objects to Anatolian taste. In addition to these production centers, the appearance of faiences as far to the interior of Anatolia as Gordion and Yanarlar must have been assisted by both indigenous and foreign itinerant craftsmen.²⁹ The fact that the Anatolian faience industry saw a decline at the end of the Assyrian Trading Colony Period demonstrates the influence which was exerted by foreign traders on this industry in Anatolia.

We have numerous examples of faience figurines, stamp-seals and amulets from Anatolia, but very few of faience vases. In addition to a faience vase from Alishar,³⁰ a second was found in the palace at Acemhöyük (Ill. 23, Fig. 1). According to Nimet Özgüç, the color of this vase was transformed into red by the heat of the fire which destroyed the palace. Its height is 12.5 cm and the width at the rim is 9.5 cm. The body is decorated with horizontal friezes of parallel zig-zags and geometric patterns consisting of concentric lozenges. K. P. Foster believes that the Alishar vase was probably made in Syria.³¹ Although it is difficult to determine the origin of the Acemhöyük vase, it was most likely made in the local workshop of southeastern Anatolia which produced the figurines and stamp-seals. Nimet Özgüç has shown that dresses decorated with blue faience beads sewn on with gold thread were imported from Assyria.³² It is not surprising that faience beads

²⁴M. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, p. 42; and H. G. Güterbock, "Seals and Sealings in Hittite Lands," in *From Athens to Gordion, the Papers of a Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young*, Philadelphia, 1980, p. 51.

²⁵A faience seal of this type was recently found in a child's tomb at Hammām et-Turkman on the Balikh river, M. van Loon, *Akkadica* 35, November-December 1983, p. 6, fig. 9A. This seal was part of a necklace of faience beads found in a child's grave of the M. B. II period. For the double-spiralled symbol on the Venice mold, cf. K. Emre, *Anatolian Lead Figurines and Their Stone Moulds*, 1971, p. 127.

²⁶M. Mellink, *A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion*, p. 42.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁸"Anatolia c. 4600-2300 B.C.," *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1962, p. 32.

²⁹J. V. Canby, "Early Bronze Trinket Moulds," *Iraq* 27, 1965, pp. 42ff.

³⁰E. Schmidt, "The Alishar Hüyük," *OIP* 19, p. 179, color plate III, b1868.

³¹K. P. Foster, *Aegean Faience*, p. 46.

³²N. Özgüç, "Excavations at Acemhöyük," *Anatolia* 10, 1966, p. 47, Pl. 22.

and statuettes of a foreign type were brought from North Syria-Mesopotamia in view of the rise in imports from this region which occurred during this late phase of the Assyrian Trading Colony Period in Anatolia. This is to be expected of such an important center of international trade.

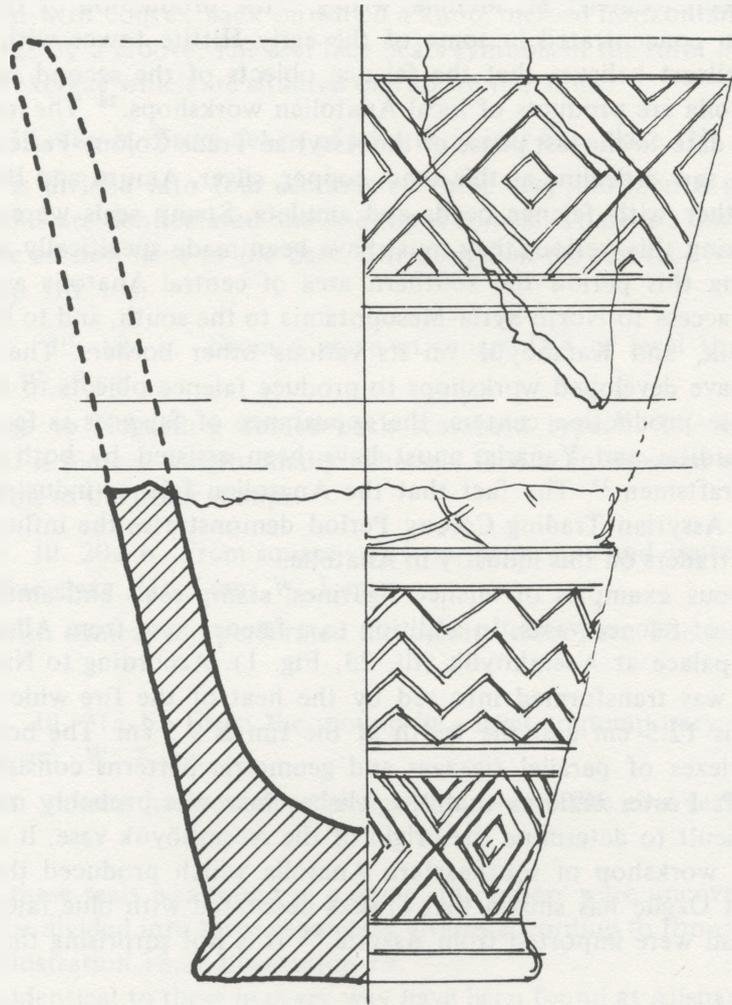


Figure 1.

INSCRIBED NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN CYLINDER SEALS AND IMPRESSIONS*

Samuel M. Paley

It is appropriate that this study be dedicated to Edith Porada, since it was her idea originally to bring together inscribed cylinder seals of the first millennium B.C. as a separate category of objects for study. Such a study, she hoped, would produce information similar to that collected by Edzard, Limet and Boehmer¹ and provide further clarification of who the cylinder seal owners were and how they used their seals, subjects that she had considered before.²

Julian Reade impressed upon me that sealed tablets might be of use in expanding the prosopographic data. Reference has been made, therefore, to cylinder seal impressions on tablets of the same period, Assyrian, Babylonian and Elamite, to broaden both the scope and the context of this study. This paper will be divided, therefore, into two parts: (I.) the practices of sealing and seal owners, and (II.) some tentative suggestions concerning the idiosyncratic preferences of certain seal owners for specific iconographic motifs. This is not intended as a corpus of inscribed seals or seal impressions of this period; that is planned for another time.

I

Inscribed seals and sealings are rare and tablets impressed with inscribed cylinder seals are even more exceptional. Tablets with uninscribed cylinder seal impressions are more

*Some of these points were discussed in a paper delivered at the Spring meeting of the American Oriental Society in San Francisco, April 15-17, 1980. The research was initially supported by a grant from the Research Foundation of the State University of New York (1978). Colleagues in the British Museum, Louvre, and Staatlich Museen were instrumental in helping me to assemble the bulk of the available source material, as did many others who are mentioned individually below. Evelyn Lord Smithson read the manuscript and offered helpful suggestions for improvement. To them all, I offer thanks. The results of the paper are my own responsibility. Neither Elamite seals, *per se*, nor Achaemenid period seals in distinctly Persian styles are discussed here.

¹Dietz Otto Edzard, "Die Inschriften der altakkadischen Rollsiegel," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 22 (1968-69), pp. 12-20 and idem., 23 (1970), p. 31; Henry Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites*, Brussels (1971); and Rainer M. Boehmer, "Datierte Glyptik der Akkade-Zeit," in Kurt Bittel et al. (editors), *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat*, Berlin (1964), pp. 42-56, pls. 10-14.

²Edith Porada (editor), *Ancient Art in Seals*, Princeton (1980), p. 5 with note 10 (p. 22). See also, therefore: McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, Malibu (1977) p. 2, and further s.v. Hans Nissen, "Aspects of Development of Early Cylinder Seals," p. 20; William L. Rathje, "New Tricks for Old Seals: A Progress Report," p. 26 f; etc.

numerous but by no means common. Materials are scanty when compared with the wealth of evidence from earlier periods, for several reasons: (1) By the neo-Assyrian period, seals were used only for specific types of cuneiform documents, primarily court recordings, transfers of goods and property by sale or lease,³ and treaty tablets;⁴ (2) Stamp seals replaced cylinders for many of these types of transactions from the second half of the 8th century B.C. on; (3) Fingernail impressions were also common; (4) The practice of impressing only the seal of responsible parties in the transaction effectively limited the number of examples of seal impressions, stamp or cylinder, for study.

The popularity of the stamp seals is probably related to the adoption of papyrus and parchment as writing surfaces for Aramaic when that language became the *lingua franca*. When rolled up for transport or storage, these documents were tied together with "string" and sealed with a small bulla impressed with stamp seals. Stamp seals were also easier to make and therefore cheaper to buy with the result that more people could afford them.⁵ Furthermore, stamp seals could be used both on bullae as well as tablets. Finally, since the names of the responsible parties and seal owners were written in the text of the documents, even cursory designs could be used on the seal stone.⁶ It is no wonder that stamp seals became so desirable. The status of owning a seal must have played a role in its rise to popularity.

A few examples of sealings on individual tablets will serve to illustrate the range of practice in this period.

Occasionally, a cylinder was used as a stamp. Kakkallanu, a highly placed, military official associated with the royal prince, leased three homer of land in the village of Bēt-abu-ilāya from Remāna-Bēl for a period of six years. Since Remāna-Bēl was responsible for leasing the property, his seal (Ill. 1) was stamped in the reserved space, as the seal-inscription formula confirms. His seal was impressed, stamp-like, with only the central figure in the design showing. The scribe may have assumed that a smaller stamp seal would be used, and when the cylinder proved too large for the narrow space, a segment of it was "stamped" as an expedient. The seal is a fine example of a "modeled style" seal of late 8th and 7th century B.C. date, befitting an individual doing business with a high ranking

³J. N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents*, Warminster (1976), pp. 3 ff., I know of only one case of a cylinder seal used on (the envelope of) a private letter (Ill. 6). This letter, which deals with the restoration of one Assur-resua as courier, is of uncertain date, but is likely to fall somewhere in the Sargonid period with the rest of the tablet collection. See Robert Francis Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, London (1896), texts numbers 382 and 383 (81-7-27, 199 and 199A—the letter and its envelope). Only one of the sealings of this seal has been published before. The sealings show a standard worship scene, figures with divine symbols and ritual vessels. The seal from which the sealings were made was carved in a manner which resembles early "drilled style" seals of the late 8th century B.C. See Leroy Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire IV*, Ann Arbor (1936), pl. X, 45a. See also Edith Porada, et al., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections: The Collection of the Pierpoint Morgan Library*, (Washington 1948) (hereafter, *Corpus-Morgan*), p. 84, pl. CIII, numbers 696 and 697. For cylinder seals used on transactions as late as the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.), see E. Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen aus dem Babylon der Spätzeit," *Oriens Antiquus VIII* (1969), pp. 329-336, pls. LX-LXIII.

⁴D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Essarhaddon," *Iraq XX* (1958), pp. 14-17, fig. 2, pls. III, IV.1, V.1-3, VI.2-7, 9, 15.

⁵Postgate, *Legal Documents*, pp. 5-6, 8.

⁶E.g., see A. Kirk Grayson in Oscar White Muscarella, *Ladders to Heaven*, Toronto (1981), pp. 126-127, item 84. If no stamp or cylinder seal impression is found on the tablet in the prescribed place, we can assume that the scribes expected seals to be used according to established practice, but that none of the parties had one.

officer of the realm. Eight individuals witnessed the transaction, which was dated to the seventh day of Ab in the *limmu*-ship of Aššur-māta-tuqqin, in the reign of King Šin-sārra-iškun (622-612 B.C.).⁷ The seal may, thus, have been an heirloom used at a time when stamp seals had become the usual form.

A careful consideration of date-formulae and lists of witnesses increases prosopographical information about seal owners and users. Tablets begin with "seal-inscription formulae" like that on the Kakkullanu–Remāna-Bēl transaction, so that where a sealing appears in the reserved space it may be assumed to belong to the individual named in the formula.⁸ The dated tablets provide crucial chronological links for the stylistic development of glyptic art. Conversely, tablets may be dated approximately by the style of sealings and the chronological range in time of the style, though caution must be exercised for seals were often reused in successive generations as seems to be the case in the seal of Remana-Bel.

A tablet from Nineveh provides a good example of a sealing of a named individual helping to date the tablet (Ill. 2). The tablet and its envelope together record Partāma's responsibility for the delivery of wine to Nineveh, the contract to be filled in four months' time. Partāma sealed the tablet before eight witnesses, proving that he was at the transaction and consented to the deal. The tablet is dated in the *limmu*-ship of Mannu-kī-Adad, either the man listed in the canon for the year 773 B.C., which was the ninth year of King Shalmaneser V, or that of 683 B.C., the fifth year of King Sennacherib. The seal, depicting a standing hunter drawing his bow against an animal, was carved in the late "cut style" of the late 8th century B.C. and following. The style, then, indicates that 683 B.C. is the preferable date.⁹

Sometimes more than one seal owner is named in the transaction recorded on the tablet, but only one sealing appears in the space provided, a circumstance that makes it impossible to identify the owner from among those named in the seal-inscription formula. An example of this is found on a tablet that tells of a male child who was dedicated to the Ninurta Temple since he was the son of a temple prostitute and without means of support or inheritance (Ill. 3). The mother's brothers signed the boy over in the presence of nineteen witnesses, including *sangū*-priests, scribes and palace officials. The seal-inscription formula indicates that four seals were to be impressed on the tablet; only one appears, its edges damaged from use. The other seals may have been impressed on the envelope,¹⁰ if it had

⁷ Postgate, *Legal Documents*, pp. 89-91, number 7 (K330); A. Ungnad, "Eponymen," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II, p. 444; Margarete Falkner, "Neue Inschriften aus der Zeit Sin-sarru-iskuns," *Archiv für Orientforschung* XVI (1952-53), p. 305; idem., "Die Eponymen der spätassyrischen Zeit," *Archiv für Orientforschung* XVII (1954-56), pp. 101, 107, 110. See also Menant, *Empreintes* (below note 21) pp. 19-20.

⁸ Postgate, *Legal Documents*, pp. 12-13; J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," in Gibson and Biggs (editors), *Seals and Sealing*, p. 78 with footnotes 61 and 62.

⁹ Postgate, *Legal Documents*, pp. 126-147, no. 36 (K361 and K361A, tablet and envelope); Ungnad, "Eponymen," p. 450; Porada, *Corpus Morgan*, pp. 89-90, pl. CX, numbers 734-737.

¹⁰ On the Aššur-rešūa envelope (see above note 3), the same seal is used more than once, giving an indication that only one seal would have been used. Another example of the same cylinder seal rolled twice on an envelope is from Nimrud; see N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive*, London (1973), p. 248, number 99 (ND 241a), pl. 94. The use of one seal repeatedly on a single tablet is abundantly attested in contemporary Elam; for example, L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux I. – Fouilles et missions*, Paris (1920), pl. 48, eighteen with numerous examples in the collection. The sealing has recently been discussed by Pierre Amiet, "La glyptique de la fin de l'Élam," *Arts asiatiques* XXVIII (1973), pp. 8-9, where it is dated to the 7th century B.C. The seal was used on more than one hundred tablets. My thanks to Helen Merrillees for calling my attention to this article.

one, or this may have been the seal for the entire family. The text is dated to the *limmu*-ship of Aššur-gimil-tirri, the great *Abarrakku*-steward at Kalḫu. His tenure as *limmu* came after 648 B.C., but is not firmly dated to any reign since the canon list of *limmu*-officials for the second half of the 7th century B.C. has not survived. A specific date for the tablet based on literary sources is impossible. The sealing, originally published by Ménant, is from a cylinder decorated with a standard contest scene: a winged hero in the role of "master of animals" who fights with his bare hands stands between two inverted birds.¹¹ Edith Porada has suggested that this type of scene was introduced during the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). Therefore, this seal may have been an heirloom from an earlier time.¹²

A final example of sealing practices is a tablet impressed with both a stamp and a cylinder seal (Ills. 4 and 5). The date formula mentions the *limmu* Aššur-danninanni, governor of Que, who appears on the canon list for the year 685 B.C. But, if following Falkner, we read the name Ildanninanni and assume him to have held one of the *limmu*-ships that fall after 648 B.C. when the canon list leaves off, a more precise date for the tablet and for the practice of impressing both a cylinder and stamp seal is not possible.¹³ The scene of the cylinder, rendered in a late "cut style," shows a man kneeling to shoot his quarry. It could have been made as early as the late 8th century B.C. The stamp, with a crescent and an unidentifiable form, cannot be dated. The tablet may be as early as the time of the governor of Que when the "cut style" was first in vogue, or later. The principals in the transaction are assumed to have fixed their seals on the document; but to whom exactly each seal belongs is not clear.¹⁴

II

The inscribed cylinder seals of the first millennium B.C. can be grouped together according to the iconographic representations depicted on them: (1) sacred tree motifs, (2) contest scenes depicting an heroic figure mastering either (one or two) animals or monsters, (3) a worshiper before divinities or divine symbols other than the sacred tree motif.¹⁵ Notably

¹¹ Postgate, *Legal Documents*, p. 109-112, number 16 (K382); Falkner, "Die Eponymen," pp. 101, 109-110 (after 648 B.C. during the reign of King Ashurbanipal II); J. Ménant, *Empreintes de cylindres assyro-chaldéens relevées sur les contrats d'intérêt privé du Musée britannique, classées et expliquées*, Paris (1880), p. 20, Number 22 (Étrait des archives des Mission scientifiques et littéraires, 3^{ème}-Tome sixième). For another sealed tablet dated to this *limmu*-ship, see B. Parker, "The Nimrud Tablets, 1952—Business Documents," *Iraq* XVI (1954), p. 34 (ND2082) and other contemporary documents which are unsealed, *idem.*, "The Nimrud Tablets, 1952," p. 40 (ND2314), p. 47 (ND2343).

¹² Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, p. 89.

¹³ Falkner, "Die Eponymen," p. 103 and n. 15 (referring to J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Assyrische Recht-surkunden*, Leipzig (1913), number 69. The tablet is British Museum catalogue number 80-7-19, 53. Cf. Ungnad, "Eponymen," pp. 443 and 448. If it were the same man as Ungnad intimates, it would make the identification of the date of the tablet easier and the style of the sealing would be appropriate.

¹⁴ See the discussion of a triangular clay document written in Aramaic and sealed in the standard practice of cuneiform documents: Edward Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* I, Leuven (1975), p. 94. The *rectangular* tablet written in Aramaic mentioned by Lipiński (p. 83) is now published by H. Freydank, "Eine aramäische Urkunde aus Assur," *Altorientalische Forschungen* II (1975), pp. 133-135. For another interpretation in which it is suggested that the seal owner had both an official cylinder and an official stamp, see Postgate, *Governor's Palace Archive*, p. 249, number 132 (ND494).

¹⁵ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, numbers 781-785, the late modeled Babylonian group (uninscribed): with inscriptions see Klengel-Brandt, above note 3.

absent from the inscribed cylinder seal repertory of this time are ritual scenes with the king and courtiers or priests before an altar or table,¹⁶ contests between animals,¹⁷ and hunting scenes where the hunter with bow and arrow stands or kneels to shoot;¹⁸ the decorations of these seals is usually executed in the "linear" or "cut" styles.

Several individuals seem to have preferred certain types of iconographic representations and inscriptions.¹⁹ The following examples may suggest some of the reasons for these preferences.

1. Sacred Tree Motifs

This group of seals may be compared with two famous reliefs from the throneroom of King Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) at Nimrud-Kalḫu. These reliefs portray the king and a winged being before the so-called "sacred tree" made of entwined tendrils and palmettes. A god, probably Aššur, hovers in his nimbus over the tree. To achieve a balanced composition, the king and the winged being are repeated, one pair on each side of the tree. One of these reliefs stood behind a throne dais at the east end of the room; the other faced the central door of the monumental entranceway built into the north wall. The two virtually are identical except for one small detail: the god in the nimbus faces to the *right* on the scene behind the throne, but to the *left* on the scene opposite the monumental entranceway.²⁰ While this slight difference may be due to artistic license, it more likely indicates that the royal figures beside the tree on each relief are the same individual as the following examples indicate (see Ills. 6a-b).

A *lapis lazuli* cylinder seal from Kish, now in the Ashmolean,²¹ in early neo-Assyrian

¹⁶ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, numbers 665 ff.

¹⁷ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, numbers 741 ff. This is a middle-Assyrian motif (see for example Cyrus Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* VI (1939), p. 27, no. 85—horse vs. sphinx, seal of "Šilliya") which does not seem to have remained popular among neo-Assyrian seal owners who owned inscribed seals.

¹⁸ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, numbers 610 ff.

¹⁹ Notwithstanding the seal-inscription formulae of the tablet texts.

²⁰ Most recently, Janusz Meuszyński, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und ihrer Anordnung in Nordwestpalast von Kalḫu (Nimrūd)*, Mainz am Rhein (1981), pl. 1. 1:2, 2:1.

²¹ Briggs Buchanan, *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum I. Cylinder Seals*, Oxford (1966), pp. 113-114, number 630, pl. 41. It seems to have been found out of context, which is fine for this interpretation; see Gibson's review in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970), p. 64. R. Opificius has assigned the seal to the reigns of Assyrian kings between Adad-nerari III (810-783 B.C.) and Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.). Part of her reasoning is Pan-Aššur-lamur's *limmu*-date. However, this seal, and the impressions on dated tablets which she has collected, do not necessarily have to be products of exactly that time. The seals could have been made earlier, though not much earlier than the reign of Adad-nerari III. See Opificius(-Mayer), *Assyrische Glyptik des 14.-8 Jahrhunderts v. Ohr.*, unpublished Habilitationsschrift, p. 135, number 260. The sealings are no. 250 (from Ashur, tablet VAT 9582, dated Bēl-ilāya, 769 B.C.—it belongs to our iconographic type 2, a combat depicting a bearded hero or divinity mastering two sphinxes; see Otto Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, Leipzig [1920], number 351) and 251 (from Nimrud, tablet ND5420, dated Pan-Aššur-lamur, 776 B.C. or 759 B.C.—the name, but perhaps not the individual, is the same as on the Kish seal; see B. Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions from Nimrud Excavations, 1955-1958," *Iraq* XXIV [1962], pp. 29-39, pl. X, 3. The seal-inscription formula has a proper name and a short prayer, probably invoking Nabū. The iconography of the seal places it in our group 3, many of which belong to the period of Adad-nerari III and following). Opificius' discussion of the style of this group (pp. 137 ff.) could rather be the identification of the hand of an individual seal cutter.

“drilled style,” is probably to be dated to the second half of the 9th or the early 8th century B.C. (Ills. 7 and 8); it is certainly pre-Sargonid.²² The king, identified by his distinctive polos and long beard, holds his arms in an attitude of prayer: the right hand raised with the index finger extended, the left hand held waist high in front of him with the palm turned upward. He faces a sacred tree with branches ending in pomegranates made of shallow drill holes and spikey incisions. A god in a nimbus hovers above the tree. The goddess Ishtar, carrying weapons, accompanies the king. She wears her feathered and crenellated, horned crown;²³ her long plait of hair rests on her shoulders. Both the god in the nimbus and the goddess raise open, right hands, the usual gestures for divinities approaching or approached by worshipers. The god carries a ring in his left hand. The divinities seem to give approval or protection to the scene.

King, god and goddess face in the direction of a beardless figure who stands on the other side of the tree: that the god in the nimbus faces away from the king is curious but perhaps relevant. The figure is bareheaded: the waves of his hair are indicated with lines extending from the brow. His hands are raised in a gesture identical with the king's. Both he and the king wear the same types of garment: robes wrapped over tunics that leave shoulders and arms free.

The seal is inscribed with four proper names. The third reads: Pan-Aššur-lāmur, son of the governor of the district of Ashur.²⁴ The names were added to the seal haphazardly between the figures, as often happens in neo-Assyrian glyptic. Perhaps the names were added thus to mass-produced seals rather than to those made to special order.²⁵ The names are inscribed so that they would have to be read in reverse, mirror image on the impression; this is the ancient tradition. With four names inscribed on the seal in this fashion, one could speculate that the names are those of the governors of the Ashur district and that the seal was passed down from generation to generation. If Pan-Aššur-lāmur were the same man as the governor of the Ashur district and *limmu* in 776 B.C., he inherited the office and this seal.²⁶ The motif has relevance, therefore, if interpreted as the representation of the bestowing of an office by the king before the gods. The seal could have been designated first as a sign of office and second, names added, as a seal for actual use. The Kish seal originally may have been a royal gift of expensive material to which names were added as officials were appointed.

A second example of the choice of this motif is the seal of Minu-epuš-ana-ili (Ill. 9), the “chief of stores.”²⁷ The seal, dated not earlier than the second half of the 8th century B.C., depicts the same human figure repeated on either side of a tree which is surmounted with a

Her sample, twelve examples, is small, perhaps too small for such fine delineations between reigns at this period. My thanks to Dr. Opificius for providing copies of her very useful manuscript which is soon slated for publication.

²² The rather tall, royal polos and slim figures are, perhaps, evidence of date. See Barthel Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes*, Bonn (1965), pp. 43-44, pl. 5.

²³ T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, London (1970), p. 78, pl. LXXIII.1.

²⁴ Buchanan, *Catalogue-Ashmolean*, p. 229.

²⁵ It may be that the blank spaces of the lineated panel on the seal of Sarru-dūrī, governor of Kalhu, could have been for additional names. See Postgate, *Governor's Palace Archive*, pp. 11, 249-250, s.v. numbers 132, 171-173, plates 95a-b, 96. The seal is our type 3.

²⁶ Ungnad, “Eponymen,” pp. 430.

²⁷ Opificius, *Assyrische Glyptik*, p. 94, number 198 (illustrated). She dates this seal to the period of Adad-nerari III. The proportions of the figures and the way the hair lays in a bunch on the shoulder suggests a later date, at least Tiglath-pileser III. See Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin (1940), pp. 66 f.

god in a nimbus who faces left.²⁸ The human figure holds a streamer that emerges from the nimbus and ends in an abbreviated flower. Ishtar, or her statue on a plinth, accompanies the central motif. The first line of the inscription is in a panel which runs from top to bottom at the end of the scene; the second line, with the seal owner's title, is jammed between the scene and the panel. The human figure is the focus of divine attention. The seal may have been chosen for this motif, which like the Kish seal may represent approval of office from a higher authority.

An uninscribed example could be interpreted in the same way. A modeled style seal of late 8th or early 7th century B.C. date now in the Buffalo Museum of Science,²⁹ shows two figures facing each other across a tree which is surmounted by a god in a nimbus (Ill. 10). Kneeling on the wings of the nimbus are two ancillary male deities, representing Anu and Adad.³⁰ The god in the nimbus faces the figure on the right who is definitely human: he wears a long Assyrian garment wrapped over one shoulder and his hands are positioned for prayer. He is an Assyrian official and not the king because he is bareheaded. Beside him is an *apkallu*, this one dressed in a fish robe. The figure on the left is divine: he wears a fillet which seems to be decorated with a flower on the front over the forehead. An indication of the date of the seal is the short ends of the fillet tied behind the head.³¹ This divinity raises his open, right hand and carries a flower, flowering branch or bucket in his lowered, left hand. Again, the human figure seems to be the focus of attention in this scene. This suggests that he is the recipient of the divine benediction. Even though the seal is uninscribed, a seal-inscription formula on a tablet may have identified the owner as an important official.³²

Other examples in the iconographic group are incised with a short prayer which would be read as usual in reverse on the impression. The motifs on the seals with prayer inscriptions belong to various modeled styles dating from the 9th century B.C. on.³³ The prayers usually invoke Nabû and/or Marduk for support, aid or good health, a natural request for any wealthy, responsible individual.

2. Contest Scenes

Cylinder seals in this group are fashioned in "modeled" styles. The subjects of the designs

²⁸ Using the interpretation of the Ashurnasirpal II monuments, above, this example shows the same figure on both sides of the tree. Thus there are two variants which may show the same idea: the same human figure on either side of a tree; or two figures, one divine, one human. Our interpretation focuses importance on the human figure.

²⁹ Catalogue number C13142; see Harald Ingholt, "World-Famous Cylinder Seals Reflect 3,000 Years of History," *Hobbies* 25 (1944), p. 10, fig. 25. My thanks to Richard Michael Gramly, Curator of Anthropology, for providing access to the collection, an impression and a new photograph.

³⁰ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, pp. 93-94, with notes to seal number 771.

³¹ This sort of fillet began to be worn by figures on the reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. The examples given by Madhloom, *Chronology*, pp. 79-80, are representative of the development of this article of dress in Assyrian art.

³² A clear interpretation is not always possible; see Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions, 1955-1958," pp. 114-115. Compare the circumstances of ND2328 and ND3423. The seals seem to be of private individuals. The motif of the "sacred tree" may have also been relevant to Urartian princes (next in line); see U. Seidl, "Die Sieglbilder," in Wolfram Kleiss, *Bastam I*, Berlin (1978), pp. 137-138.

³³ Berlin VA 255: Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pp. 67, 141, number 607 (pl. 72)—eagle-headed, winged beings attend to a tree; Louvre AO 22348, formerly DeClercq 346, see *Catalogue méthodiques et raisonnée de la Collection DeClercq I*, Paris (1890) and Pierre Amiet, *Bas-Reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien orient*, Paris (1973), number 506; and the seal impression from Susa, above, note 10, as examples.

are (1) the "single combat" and (2) the "master of animals." Often another figure accompanies the central motif. There is a long glyptic tradition behind these seals, dating back at least to the end of the middle-Assyrian period.³⁴ The tradition, which added to the popularity of this seal group, can be traced through early "modeled" neo-Babylonian seal-carving to later "modeled" styles attributed to Assyria and Babylonia. It is difficult to determine from which manufacturing centers these later examples derive; some of the seals seem to have eclectic features.³⁵ The examples given here are more easily recognizable. The inscriptions contain one or more of the following: proper names, lineage, title and a short prayer.

Comparison of two seals of the "single combat" group—one neo-Babylonian³⁶ and the other neo-Assyrian³⁷ (Ill. 11)—is illustrative. As on virtually all seals depicting the single combat, the hero holds the scimitar behind his back, its blade pointing toward the ground and its hacking edge turned outward.³⁸ The hero steadies his adversary for the mortal blow by holding it firmly with one hand and stepping down on it with one foot.³⁹ On the neo-Babylonian example,⁴⁰ the hero holds the bull by one back leg and steps on its neck. The bull is remarkably placid: the ferocity of the battle is communicated through the demonic lion rearing on its back legs to face the main scene. On the neo-Assyrian example, the struggle is shown by twisting the bull's head around: the hero grasps the knot of hair between the bull's horns and constrains its movement by stepping down on one of its haunches. The animal struggles, legs floundering in the air. The ancillary figure in the neo-Assyrian scene is a wingless divinity bearing offerings: a horned animal and flowering pomegranate branch (see Van Loon's contribution to this volume). The difference in spirit which underlies the scenes characterizes the two carving traditions: the neo-Babylonian artist had a cosmic battle in mind; the neo-Assyrian artist portrays heroism related to the

³⁴ Pierre Amiet and Georges Dossin, "Un sceau-cylindre assyrien," *Revue d'assyriologie* 62 (1968), pp. 28-31. The seal of Aššur-iddin, a royal, master scribe.

³⁵ Otherwise, "Neo-Assyrian Modeled," see Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, pp. 90 ff.

³⁶ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, loc. cit., and p. 179, pl. CXII, number 747. The seal of Nabū-nādin-šumi, with a prayer to Marduk.

³⁷ Seyriq Collection, Paris (unpublished), number 55. The inscription reads

(1) šā^(m)TUKUL-ti (!)-dPA

(2) ERĪ^(d)UTU-a-me-lu

belonging to Tukulti-Nabū, servant of Šamaš-amēlu.

I have not been able to find another attestation of the name Tukulti-Nabū and also ti (!) is written *su*. I therefore considered reading line (2) lū (!) É/KID (!)-BAR/MAS (!) (=šangū) DIB. This would require accepting a variant form of LŪ, considering the horizontal in the third vertical stroke of E/KID as a scratch on the stone because it does not cut deeper than the vertical as it should if it were incised after the vertical, and ME as MAS. For lū É/KID-BAR/MAS, see Rykle Berger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, Neukirchen-Vluyn (1978), pp. 128, 132-133, s.v. 313, 324. DIB (bā'u, etēqu, alāku, kullu) in some cultic sense as a prayer of one word in the precative would be needed. This latter consideration was dropped in favor of the first and simpler reading. Permission for the publication of the seal was given by the executor of the collection in July, 1978.

³⁸ An exception is Louvre AO 22353. See *Catalogue-DeClercq*, number 360, and Amiet, *Bas-reliefs imaginaires*, pp. 181-182, number 534. The weapon shown is an ax with a delta-shaped blade and flat cutting edge. This is not clear in the publications.

³⁹ Compare, for example, the hero on two feet holding the leg of a winged, human-headed sphinx; see AO 2187, L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux II. Acquisitions*, Paris (1923), p. 169, pl. 89, fig. 17.

⁴⁰ Following the discussion of the seal of Nabū-nādin-šumi. See Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, pp. 90-91, and idem., "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals," *Orientalia* XVI (1947), esp. pp. 150-157.

hunt and cultic offerings of the divine protectors, which are subjects on royal relief decorating the Assyrian palaces.

Also, certain details of the garments worn by the figures on these two seals differ. The neo-Babylonian hero wears a tunic decorated with squares and a flounced robe which is belted with a wide band around the waist. The inside of his robe is decorated with lozenge- and square-shaped bracteates. The ends of the flouncing, as seen from the inside of the robe, are shown by drill holes along the bottom edge of the garment. The neo-Assyrian hero wears a tunic decorated with cross-hatching and a robe which is belted at the waist. His robe is the wrap-around garment favored by the Assyrians. It is decorated inside with cross-hatching; the same motif renders the fringes along the bottom edge of the garment. A conception in the rendering shared by the two heroes is that the outer decorative elements of the robe—flouncing and fringing—continue on the skirts of the tunic.⁴¹ The garments worn by the ancillary deity on the neo-Assyrian seal are more conventional: a fringed tunic, covered by a wrap-around robe, the tie cords of which fall in front.

On the neo-Assyrian seal, both figures have conventional hairstyles, even to the short, tasseled fillets, a detail which fixes the date of the seal at least to the second half of the 8th century B.C.⁴² The neo-Babylonian hero's hairstyle is a conscious rendering of a coiffure from a previous era. The horned miter is said to be a hallmark of neo-Babylonian glyptic.⁴³ There are many examples of this miter on the "master of animals" contest scenes. Both seals are masterpieces, deserving to be owned by wealthy and important individuals. Neither of the owners, Nabū-nādin-šumi or Tukulti-Nabū, are known. It is perhaps interesting that they both have the same theophoric element in their names.

Examples of the "master of animals" group shows four-winged or wingless divinities struggling with monsters. Again, a comparison between two seals of this group which date to the second half of the 8th century B.C. exemplifies the range: one is neo-Babylonian, the other is neo-Assyrian. On the neo-Babylonian seal of Aššur-uballiṭ which was acquired in Baghdad in the last century,⁴⁴ the four-winged hero is dressed in a short tunic with a fringed edge falling between his knees. He wears the horned miter. He struggles with two types of winged, bird-headed monsters; one has a leonine body, the other resembles a bird of prey. The inscription—name, lineage and a prayer to Marduk—are in a panel at the end of the scene. The seal seems distinctively neo-Babylonian. By comparison, the neo-Assyrian seal, now in the Louvre,⁴⁵ depicts a four-winged deity dressed in a typical Assyrian costume, except for the detail of an "Assyrian rendering" of the horned miter; this hero is struggling to master a winged bull and sphinx. At the end of the scene is a frontally-disposed, nude, four-winged female divinity; she turns her head to face the main scene. This goddess appears as a "mistress of animals" on a seal impression from Ashur.⁴⁶ The inscription, probably a prayer, is preserved only in traces; its signs are distributed between the

⁴¹ Cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. Baltimore (1963), text figure 38.

⁴² See above, note 31.

⁴³ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, loc. cit.

⁴⁴ VA 2144; see Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, pp. 73-74, 150, number 732, pl. 150.

⁴⁵ AO 22343; see *Catalogue-DeClercq*, number 334.

⁴⁶ Opificius, *Assyrische Glyptique*, numbers 181, 181a; see VAT 9368 = W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur*, Leipzig (1913), pl. 108 and idem., *Das Wiedererstandene Assur*, Leipzig (1938), pl. 12c, p. 219 (same seal on another tablet); also, E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Seven Dots in Mesopotamian Art and Their Meaning," *Archiv. für Orientforschung* 13 (1939-41), p. 284, fig. 14. The seal shows a frontal, nude female deity facing to the right. She masters two winged horses. The ancillary figure is a human worshiper, which suggests that this is a scene in a sanctuary, the worshiper viewing the cult scene. See our group three, below.

figures. The differences between these two seals suggest that they come from two different traditions. Why their owners preferred to choose these motifs over other available motifs in the contemporary repertory is not evident; perhaps it was simply the traditional popularity of the ancient combat motif.

Finally, seal owners who had their seals inscribed with Aramaic and South Arabic names also preferred the combat motifs. One example is in the Walters Art Gallery⁴⁷ (Ill. 12). The heroic figures on these seals are made tall and muscular, with arched backs, yet firmly set on the foot that steps forward. The upper part of this front leg is always emphasized. The other leg, extending from under the hero's garment, is always drawn as if added later, foot slightly above the ground line. The rendition is curiously awkward, yet not displeasing. The style of the seals and the iconography suggest a neo-Babylonian workshop preferring modeled techniques. A dating for the group has not been firmly established but its contemporaneity with "modeled style" seals of the late 8th and early 7th century B.C. seems plausible; it probably persisted longer.⁴⁸ A reason for this preference on the part of Aramaean and South Arabic buyers for this motif is not immediately clear. Perhaps the popularity of the motif in Mesopotamia provided the impetus.

3. Worshipers Before Divinities and Divine Symbols

In this group of seals the motif depicts one or two worshipers standing before statues, cult reliefs or divine symbols. There are three subdivisions: (1) seals of titled individuals of neo-Assyrian manufacture in "drilled" styles, (2) royal seals of neo-Assyrian manufacture in "drilled" styles, and (3) seals of titled and untitled individuals of Babylonian manufacture in late "modelled" styles. The inscriptions mention names, titles, reasons for use (the word "seal" often occurs); and, rarely, a prayer to a god or gods. In the case of the royal seal, a short inscription, that might have been carved appropriately on a monument such as a stele, appears.

The neo-Assyrian seals of titled individuals are small masterpieces with well-planned scene which completely fills available space on the surface of the stone.⁴⁹ The carving is characterized by a number of drill holes, hence the traditional name for the seal style.

See also Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, number 690, for example. VAT 9368 is dated to the *limmu* of Mušallim-Ninurta, either that of 792 or 766 B.C. during the reigns of Adad-nerari III or Shamshi-Adad V, respectively (Unger, "Eponymen," p. 451). A panel of inscription, now virtually illegible, was on the seal. It was in the same relative position as the inscription of the seal of Ashur-uballit. The "modeled" style of the cylinder which was used to make the impression could have been in the late 9th or early 8th century B.C. Cf. the sealing on the tablet dated by ductus of script to the time of Tiglath-pileser III: Postgate, *Governor's Palace Archive*, p. 247, pl. 93a, number 44 (ND258a).

⁴⁷ See Cyrus Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals," p. 28, number 89: WAG C21, now 42.793, reading "belonging to Kapara."

⁴⁸ Hence, Buchanan's remarks, *Catalogue-Ashmolean*, p. 118.

⁴⁹ These seals have been discussed previously as a group by Barbara Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud, 1949-1953. Seal and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* XVII (1955), pp. 110-111, s.v. ND476 (pl. XXI.1) and ND494 (pl. XXI, 2-text figure 1). An uninscribed cylinder with this "official seal" motif was used on a tablet; the seal inscription formula mentions that the owner, Nabū-ka-āhi-ušer, was a *qatinnu*-official of Nabū; see Parker, "Excavations 1949-1953," p. 118, ND3463 (pl. XXV, 1-text figure 9). To the inscribed seals of this group preserved only in impressions must be added that of Bel-tarši-ilūma, the SAG of Adad-nerari III. The inscription also has a prayer to Nabū: Postgate, *Governor's Palace Archive*, pp. 177-178, 250, ND240b (plates 62 and 95a, b). This seal was fashioned in early "drilled" style as well.

Almost all of these inscribed examples seem to belong to the earlier phases of this style: that is, to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. when drill holes deepen the modeling of the musculature of the figures and pick out the details.⁵⁰ Inscriptions are usually to be found at the edge of the scene, but it is not uncommon also to find the cuneiform signs between the figured decoration.

A seal in the Walters Art Gallery is a good example of this type (Ill. 13). It belonged to Nabū-nurka-lāmur,⁵¹ an important palace official who also held the title of *nāgir-ekalli*.⁵² The worshiper is shown inside or at the door of Ishtar's sanctuary, where he faces the statue of the goddess herself. Winged beings carrying pails protect the entrance. The gestures and costumes worn by all the figures are traditional and Assyrian. Every available open space is filled with symbols. Based upon the iconography and style, the seal should date to the second half of the 9th century B.C., but certainly not later than the middle of the 8th century B.C.

These seals were popular among the highly placed officials of the army, priesthood, and royal chancellor.⁵³ It is from this group that we get the largest number of specific titles for the corpus of seal owners. The access accorded the human figure to the gods, which are represented in the motif of this group of seals, seems to be an important factor in its choice. It suggests that these owners put a stronger emphasis on their independence, personal image, and the importance of their duties than is perhaps reflected in the seal from Kish with its identifiable royal intermediary.⁵⁴ Perhaps it was the sign of the times: the growing responsibility of managing growing Assyrian interests.

The neo-Assyrian royal cylinder is a version of this "official" seal type. Here we must generalize from one example: the sealings of Sennacherib's seal (704-681 B.C.). The king approaches, as an adorant, the images of the gods of Assyria who are each mounted on his

⁵⁰ Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, p. 84.

⁵¹ A man by this name was a palace slave; see Postgate, *Governor's Palace Archive*, pp. 157-168, text 155, lines 3-4.

⁵² The inscription reads:

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| $\bar{s}a$ ^d Nabū-ZALAG ^{ka} -ŠI | belonging to Nabū-nurka-lāmur |
| GAL É $\bar{s}a$ PAP.U.ŠI | superintendent of. . . |
| ^{lū} NAGIR É.GAL | the palace "herald." |

Much has been written about the office of *nāgir ekalli*. See, for example, Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Wiesbaden (1967), p. 711. The *nāgir ekalli* was often third or fourth in line to hold the *limmu*-ship in the reign of an Assyrian king, beginning with himself, after the completion of the last *limmu* of the royal predecessor. See J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine Lists*, London (1972), p. 35.

⁵³ An example of a seal coming from a group of individuals in a military context is that of Istar-dūri, AO 3877; see Delaporte, *Catalogue II - Acquisitions*, pp. 165-166, pl. 88, 2.

⁵⁴ In some seals, the mediation of some higher official may have played a role in both motif and inscription. See AO 22708 (formerly Guimet 109), L. Delaporte, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Cylindres orientaux*, Paris (1909), pl. VII. Perhaps the inscription should be read as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ^{na4} KIŠIB | seal of |
| ^m ASSUR-ni-me-li | Assur-nimēli |
| ^{lū} GAL É-KAS (?) | superintendent of the beer house(?) |
| $\bar{s}a$ ^d EN-PA | which belongs to Bēl-lišir |

Thus Assur-nimēli was an official of the *limmu* Bēl-lišir (778 B.C.); he managed his beer storage. See also the "Schlumberger seal" in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Nergal-ētir: E. Unger, *Assyrische-Babylonische Kunst*, Breslau (1927), fig. 74 (dated by Porada, *Morgan-Corpus*, p. 86 to the reign of Ashurbanipal II; and Ashmolean 1922.61, the seal of Nabū-sar-ušur, the ^{lū} NAM! (*pāhatu*) of Adad-nerari III, *limmu* of 786 B.C.: Buchanan, *Catalogue Ashmolean*, pp. 114, 230, number 633. The "orb" on the head of the bearded figure, especially, seems extraneous. It may be a reworking of the seal; the figure seems originally to have worn a fillet.

or her particular and individual animal or monster. It is a formal scenario. Wiseman, in his publication and discussion of this so-called "seal of destinies," rightly associates this motif with the reliefs of Bavian and Maltaï.⁵⁵ The seal design reflects the "public" image in which the king wished both the gods and his subject to see him. What separated the royal from the private version of this seal type are the identifiable royal figure and the lengthy inscription which incorporates a curse upon those who erase the royal name on the seal's inscription or who seek to change the sealed document's proscription. Whether each Assyrian king had such a seal is not clear.⁵⁶ Perhaps they only were used in the case of a very special state document. The stamp seal seems to have been the usual way to sign a document from the royal chancellery.⁵⁷

The late neo-Babylonian "modeled" seal with inscriptions depict one or two worshipers before divine symbols. On some seals the worshipers are accompanied by monsters or animals in human poses. The worshiper, seemingly not a royal figure, may be bald or beardless or have a full beard and head of hair. He is drawn in a rather peculiar manner, as if he had a sway back and a paunch. These figures are shown wearing full-length fringed robes which are belted at the waist; the folded edge of the robe runs down from under the back of the waistband to the bottom edge of the garment. Figures may face to the right or to the left. The inscriptions have personal names, titles and prayers.⁵⁸ There are several examples with scribal titles, suggesting that this seal motif was popular with that profession.⁵⁹ The inscriptions are cut in the late Babylonian ductus. Based upon examples of dated tablets sealed with this type of cylinder, these seals can be dated to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., that is, to the Chaldean and Early Achaemenid periods.⁶⁰

III

This essay has tried to create a typology of inscribed seals as a separate group for discussion to explain why certain designs were preferred, as well as to describe some sealing practices. It is possible, if not likely, that interpretations will change as more collections and excavated examples are published.

⁵⁵ Wiseman, *Vassal Treaties*, pp. 16-17, pls. VII, VIII.

⁵⁶ See I. J. Gelb, "Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions" in Gibson and Biggs, *Seals and Sealing*, p. 110. Gelb has listed references to royal seal inscriptions. The idea of the text with the curse may be characteristic; see the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I, cf. also a royal seal? in Seidl, "Die Siegelbilder," p. 138.

⁵⁷ For example, Delaporte, *Catalogue I. Missions et fouilles*, pp. 86-87, pls. 10, 14, and numerous tiny bitumen bullae in various collections.

⁵⁸ For example, the seal of Nergal-zēr-ibni, in Hans Henning von der Osten, *Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mrs. Agnes Baldwin Brett*, Chicago (1936), pp. 19, 61, number 132, pl. XI; and the seal of son of Egibi (!) (his name is erased), Delaporte, *Catalogue-Bibliothèque nationale*, pp. 213-214, pl. XXV, number 382.

⁵⁹ For example, the seals preserved as sealings of Ili-bullutu-Nabû, Bêl-eriba, etc. in Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen," pp. 330 ff.; Ménant, *Empreintes*, pp. 25 ff.

⁶⁰ See above Klengel-Brandt, loc cit., pp. 329-330 and Porada, *Corpus-Morgan*, p. 95.

THE LAPIS LAZULI TRADE IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.
AND THE EVIDENCE FROM THE ROYAL PALACE G OF EBLA

Frances Pinnock

The constant progress of archaeological research, while helping to trace a more complete picture of various cultures, civilizations, and history in general, is presently leading to a deeper understanding of the trade relations among the regions, which were—with different roles and in different times—the protagonists of the urban revolution of the last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. in the ancient Near East. The exploitation of the agricultural resources of the individual territories—particularly in Lower Mesopotamia—developed, and contributed to the accumulation of surpluses, which were quite soon employed to obtain necessary or luxury goods from other regions. By the mid-third millennium B.C., this brought—just to speak of a well studied class of objects—to widespread diffusion in Mesopotamia of a type of chlorite vessels, which were produced in the Iranian plateau, and were probably exchanged for agricultural resources.¹ The same process can be traced for other luxury goods, in particular raw semi-precious stones, which are again found or obtainable quite easily in the Iranian plateau, and which were needed in Mesopotamia for the embellishment of palaces and temples and personal adornment.

We will deal in particular here with one of these stones, i.e., lapis lazuli. Our aim is to contribute to the discussion concerning the problem of the long distance trade based on new evidence offered by the finding of a large amount of raw lapis lazuli, and of several worked objects, in the destruction level of the Royal Palace G of Tell Mardikh-Ebla, dating to the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. (ca. 2400-2300/2250 B.C.).

It is quite likely—and the analyses of the materials support this hypothesis—that the greatest part, if not all, of the lapis lazuli found in ancient Mesopotamian sites was mined in Badakhshan.² From Badakhshan it reached the Sistan region. It is difficult to say if the blocks of lapis lazuli underwent some cleaning operation at the mining sites. At any rate,

¹ This specific problem has been studied by P. L. Kohl, "Carved Chlorite Vessels: A Trade in Finished Commodities in the Mid-Third Millennium," *Expedition* 18 (1975), pp. 18-31. He suggests that Adab played a relevant role in the trade of this commodity. Moreover, on the base of the evidence from Adab, he dates these vessels to the mid-third millennium B.C. In this regard, C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky thinks that the trade relations—as is quite natural—produced also an exchange of cultural patterns in a feedback mechanism: "Trade Mechanisms in Indus-Mesopotamian Interrelations," *JAOS* 92 (1972), p. 228. He discusses again the trade mechanisms of chlorite vessels and raw semi-precious stones from the Iranian plateau in "Third Millennium Modes of Exchange and Modes of Production," J. A. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds), *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, Albuquerque 1975, pp. 341-368, in particular pp. 353-356.

² A still quite valid study on lapis lazuli is G. Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade," *Iraq* 30 (1968), pp. 21-57. According to her opinion—which has not been contradicted so far—only one piece, a cylinder seal of the Early Dynastic II period, can possibly be made with a piece of lapis lazuli from the Lake Baikal region, *ibid.*, p. 28.

it is certain that the sites in the Sistan region—like Shahr-i Sokhta—played the most important role in the transport to the demand centers to the west. Thus, it was in these centers in Sistan, perhaps, that the raw blocks were submitted to those preliminary processes of working which made them more apt, and more valuable, for foreign trade.³ Afterwards, the route went probably to the north to—let us say—Tepe Hissar,⁴ whence it could be sent to the south, in the land of Sumer, or further to the north, in the Diyala region.⁵ We must also point out that west of the Assyrian region to the north, and of the lands of Sumer and Akkad to the south, some worked lapis lazuli has been found also at Mari,⁶ where we also have the westernmost evidence of chlorite vessels. It is most likely that, on this long route, also some cities in the west played a leading role in the distribution/exchange of this precious stone to other cities nearby, and to far away centers, which were not directly in contact with the main route.

The evidence of the trade of lapis lazuli is only rarely offered by the raw material itself. In the large majority of cases, worked objects were found, frequently of quite a high craftsmanship. In fact, there is good evidence of the fact that only raw blocks of lapis lazuli were traded, because the objects found in the different sites display quite clear local characteristics and reveal the hand of local or regional workshops.⁷

On the basis of the materials found so far, it could be proposed that Mari acted as a mediator, and sent the lapis lazuli to the Syrian coast, whence it reached Egypt. Now, the excavation of the Royal Palace G of Tell Mardikh-Ebla offers new and relevant evidence which will prove quite important—albeit not decisive—in clearing up some aspects of the subject (Ills. 1-10).

In the destruction levels of this palace dating to the third quarter of the third millennium B.C., and particularly in the rooms of the Administrative Quarter, a considerable amount of raw lapis lazuli was found, together with several worked objects of a very high craftsmanship.⁸ The blocks of raw lapis lazuli were found particularly in the rooms L. 2913, the central court of the Administrative Quarter, and L. 2984, one of the southern storerooms

³ For the mining and working techniques see Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 26; M. Piperno and M. Tosi, "Lithic Technology behind the Ancient Lapis Lazuli Trade," *Expedition* 16 (1973), pp. 15-23, and particularly p. 20.

⁴ See Lamberg-Karlovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-229.

⁵ The problem of the routes followed by the lapis lazuli traders has been dealt with in different contributions. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, p. 27, has studied the possible routes from the Kerano-Munjan district to the west. See also Tosi, "The Lapis Lazuli Trade across the Iranian Plateau in the 3rd Millennium B.C.," *Gururājamañjarikā* (= *Studi in Onore di Giuseppe Tucci* I), Napoli 1974, pp. 3-22, and Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya: Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau," *East and West* 23 (1973), pp. 21-57.

⁶ A. Parrot, *Mission Archeologique de Mari* (= *MAM*). I. *Le temple d'Ishtar et de Ninni-zaza*, Paris 1967, *passim*, encrusted eyes, several elements of inlays, and amulets; *MAM* IV. *Le "trésor" d'Ur*, Paris 1968.

⁷ In fact, in sites like Shahr-i Sokhta there is no evidence of "workshops integrated into urban communities," as Tosi says, *Gururājamañjarikā*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

⁸ A preliminary notice about the worked objects was given by P. Matthiae, *Ebla, An Empire Rediscovered*, New York 1981 (Italian edition, Torino 1977), pp. 79-80, and more recently, "The Mature Early Syrian Culture of Ebla and the Development of Early Bronze Civilization of Jordan," *First International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan*. Oxford 25-31 March 1980, Oxford 1982, p. 80. More detailed accounts have been given by the writer, "The Lapis Lazuli in the Royal Palace of Ebla. A Preliminary Contribution to the Discussion about the Third Millennium B.C. Long Distance Trade in the Syro-Palestinian Area," *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Palestine Antiquities*, Aleppo 19-24 September 1981, Aleppo, in press; "A New Centre of Long Distance Trade: The Lapis Lazuli in the

of the same quarter; smaller amounts were found in the rooms L. 2866, the large southern room, and L. 2875, the outer vestibule. Findings of raw fragments in the three other rooms of the Administrative Quarter were only sporadic. The distribution of the worked objects was almost alike, with the largest concentration of find spots in the central court L. 2913. The total weight of the hoard of lapis lazuli is 23.260 kg; the flakes are nearly 31 percent of the total weight, while the pieces weighing more than 500 gr are nearly 36 percent of the total weight. The biggest blocks quite often have a grey coating, probably due to the mining processes. The broken pieces are sometimes the result of the chance breaking of the blocks, but sometimes have clear tool marks, particularly the vertical grooves with square section, which were made to obtain smaller workable pieces, or to separate the purer lazurite from the limestone cortex.⁹ The result is that a large part of the lapis lazuli from Ebla is made of medium size blocks of lazurite with little or no impurities. Actually, we do not yet have the results of the analyses of the Eblaite material, but a preliminary comparison of these stones with some pieces of lapis lazuli from Sar-i Sang, in Badakhshan, makes it very likely that this material too, comes from Badakhshan.¹⁰

Based on the new evidence from Ebla we can now reconsider some facts concerning lapis during the Akkad period. The Royal Palace G of Ebla dates back to the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. Its life span stretches between ca. 2400 and 2300/2250 B.C. In terms of Mesopotamian chronology, therefore, it is a phase between the end of the Early Dynastic period and the beginning of the dynasty of Akkad.¹¹ This means that the Eblaite finds are late evidence of a trade which flourished particularly during the Early Dynastic III period, and apparently vanished during the following Akkad period. In fact, some elements can now be pointed out for discussion:

Royal Palace G of Ebla," *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Babylon, Ashur and Himerin*. Baghdad November 1981, Baghdad, in press. For a detailed report on the hoard of lapis lazuli, and on the objects found at Ebla, see by the writer, "Il lapislazuli del Palazzo Reale G," *SEb* 7 (1982), in press.

⁹ See note 3.

¹⁰ I am most grateful to Dr. G. Herrmann, who very kindly gave me some pieces of lapis lazuli from Sari-i Sang. The analyses of the pieces from Ebla and Sar-i Sang should now start. Their aim is to offer the first comparative data, while other data should be obtained at least from the other major centers of Mesopotamia of the third millennium B.C. A second phase of the project foresees the possibility of making analyses on pieces of lapis lazuli from different mines of Badakhshan. A geological study of the region has quite recently appeared: H. Kulke, "Die Lapislazuli-Lagerstätte Sare Sang (Badakhshan). Geologie, Entstehung, Kulturgeschichte und Bergbau," *Afghanistan Journal* 3 (1976), pp. 43-56. I wish to thank E. Porada who most kindly pointed out this article to me.

¹¹ The problem of the chronology of the Royal Palace G of Ebla was first dealt with in an overall study by P. Matthiae, *Ebla. An Empire Rediscovered*, op. cit., pp. 102-106, 183. See also, idem, "Le palais royal protosyrien d'Ebla: nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Tell Mardikh 1976," *CRAI* 1977, pp. 168-172; idem, "Recherches archéologiques à Ebla, 1977: le Quartier Administratif du Palais Royal G," *CRAI* 1978, pp. 233-336; idem, "Tell Mardikh: Ancient Ebla" (= *COWA*, 1976-77), *AJA* 82 (1978), pp. 540-543; idem, "The Mature Early Syrian Culture of Ebla and the Development of Early Bronze Civilization of Jordan," op. cit., pp. 87-89, for a general discussion of the question. Concerning specific evidence, see G. Scandone-Matthiae, "Vasi iscritti di Chefreden e Pepi I nel Palazzo Reale G di Ebla," *SEb* 1 (1979), pp. 33-43; E. Sollberger, "La paléographie des textes d'Ebla," *SEb* 5 (1981). According to the Italian Expedition, the proposed chronology (2400-2300/2250 B.C.) concurs quite well with the archaeological evidence from the Palace G, and does not disagree at all with the palaeography of the texts, which have some characteristics typical of the period of Sargon of Akkad. The high chronology proposed by G. Pettinato (ca. 2500 B.C. or "Fara Period": see, e.g., *MEE* 1, Napoli 1979, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII, and *Ebla. Un impero inciso nell'argilla*, Milano 1979, pp. 80-81), is based on a subjective paleographic consideration of the Eblaite texts, and on a distorted and wrong consideration of the basic datum of Pepi I's alabaster lid.

(1) The lack of mention of lapis lazuli at the beginning of the Akkad dynasty may depend on the type of the inscriptions we have for this period. They celebrate military victories while, when the votive inscriptions are found again, in the time of the Ur III dynasty or at the beginning of the Isin dynasty, lapis lazuli is mentioned as appearing in important architectural works, and in votive emblems dedicated in the temples.¹²

(2) In the Sumerian poem about the curse over Akkad, which was written at the beginning of the second millennium, there is a reference to the presence of "Klumpen" of lapis lazuli in a temple,¹³ which could also be, however, a literary *topos*.

(3) In addition to the references in Sumerian literary texts of a later tradition, the indications of lapis lazuli are quite rare even in the late Early Dynastic texts.¹⁴

(4) The largely accepted assumption that the lapis lazuli trade decreased strongly during the Akkad period is mainly based on Sir Leonard Woolley's observations in the Royal Cemetery at Ur, a city which probably decayed during the Akkad period.¹⁵

(5) The impressive evidence from Ebla does not reveal a crisis at the end of the Early Dynastic IIIB period. In fact, the Eblaite evidence must belong to the final phase of the Royal Palace of Mardikh IIB1—which corresponds to the beginning of the Akkad dynasty—shortly before its destruction by Naram-Sin of Akkad, or, less probably, by Sargon of Akkad.

From the consideration of the above mentioned data, the conclusion may be drawn that the apparent decline of the trade of lapis lazuli during the Akkad period depends more on chance archaeological finds than on a historical situation, which is also difficult to define. In fact, the development of a strong central power in the newly founded capital city of Akkad would lead us to think that much emphasis was placed on obtaining precious materials, even from far away countries.¹⁶

The Eblaite evidence, moreover, is quite complete, inasmuch as it contains the raw material showing different phases of the primary working processes. In addition, several objects were found which were made in Ebla itself out of this stone. Lastly, we also have the written evidence from the texts of the Ebla state archives of the same period. In fact, although only a limited part of the Palace G has been excavated, it is the core of the administration of this Early Syrian center. In the Court of Audience west of the Administrative Quarter all the main economic activities of the city were centered: messengers left from there, tributes were delivered there, and the merchants came there to bring their goods. The most precious items were stored in the rooms of the Administrative Quarter nearby. There too, probably, the raw materials which were employed for the production of precious objects were distributed to the local craftsmen who made carved inlays, panels in low relief, figures in the round, decorated furniture, and personal jewels. It is quite natural that we look for the evidence of these operations of redistribution in the economic texts of the state archives. Apparently, however, the redistribution of lapis lazuli within the palace

¹²E. Sollberger and J.-R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, Paris 1971, pp. 147, 172, inscriptions IIIA3c and IVA2b.

¹³A. Falkenstein, "Fluch über Akkade," *ZA N.F.* 23 (1965), pp. 51, 65, 83 (vv. 25-27). The expression employed here is quite interesting as it recalls the way of keeping the lapis lazuli in the Palace G of Ebla, suggesting that this quite precious stone could be stored, at least for some time for its mere value before it was delivered to the craftsmen for working.

¹⁴See R. Biggs, "Les lapis-lazuli dans les textes sumériens archaïques," *RA* 60 (1966), pp. 175-176.

¹⁵C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH* I, 23, p. 452, but see also note 1, with a reference to Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-57.

¹⁶Similar conclusions were reached by Herrmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53.

milieu of Ebla is not registered in our texts which, on the other hand, offer some evidence for the exchange with other cities. From a preliminary examination of the Eblaite texts dealing with precious stones, it seems that they registered some exchanges, especially with Mari, of lapis lazuli and other valuable goods, particularly silver.¹⁷

Certainly it is quite strange that in the texts of the archives of Ebla there are no detailed accounts concerning the deliveries of lapis lazuli to the Palace, and no receipts concerning distribution to the Palace craftsmen. This can depend on the circumstance that the archives of the room L. 2769 do not include texts concerning the internal administration of the Palace, which is quite important, particularly for the second problem. Moreover, we have to point out that even in the main distribution sites, like Shahr-i Sokhta, the amount of this stone is notably smaller, even in the cases in which the workshops have been excavated.¹⁸ However, the difference in the amounts of lapis lazuli collected in these sites may depend on the different functions of the rooms where they were found, i.e., presumable "workshops" at Shahr-i Sokhta, and royal "storerooms" at Ebla. In fact, in the Royal Palace G of Mardikh IIB1, the rooms of the Administrative Quarter are the main "storehouse" of these precious goods. We have no trace of working in this place—no lapis lazuli powder and no tools, with the exception of two microblades which may perhaps have been employed for other uses as they are made from a quite soft stone in comparison with lapis lazuli.¹⁹ The presence of a certain number of flakes can have two explanations: (a) The most probable one is that owing to the great fire that destroyed the palace many objects still contained in it cracked and exploded; this happened, for example, with the diorite and alabaster vessels,²⁰ as well as many blocks of lapis lazuli which are altered and cracked by the fire. It is quite likely, therefore, that some pieces were disintegrated by the fire and the collapse of the structures. (b) It is possible that some pieces were cut in the rooms of the Administrative Quarter to be distributed to the craftsmen in pieces suitable to their needs, but not exceeding them too much, in order not to waste this precious material. It is obvious that some flakes could be produced by this cutting, but this hypothesis looks less plausible to me owing to the great quantity of flakes found in comparison with the possible working tools. It is also possible, of course, that a combination of the two hypotheses took place.

Concerning the types of lapis lazuli objects found at Ebla, there are several quite common date-shaped beads of different sizes and some ovoid beads as well as several hair pieces

¹⁷In TM.75.G.1299 Rev. I 5-III 4 there is a gift (nígba) of 5 Dilmun shekels of carnelian and lapis lazuli: A. Archi, "I rapporti tra Ebla e Mari," *SEb* 4 (1981), p. 138. TM.76.G.528 Rev. IV 7-11: three ribbons of gold and lapis lazuli, delivery (mu-tūm) of the king of Mari, and in Rev. V 6-8: 5 minas and 40 (shekels) of lapis lazuli: delivery (mu-tūm) of the king of Mari: *ibid.*, p. 154. In TM.75.G.1380 Obv. VI 3-11, 46 shekels of silver are the price (níg-sa₁₀) of two dresses and 33 shekels of carnelian and lapis lazuli: *ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁸In fact, it seems that only a few blocks of some weight were found, while 90 percent of the total amount was flakes or waste materials: M. Piperno and M. Tosi, *op. cit.*, *Expedition* 16 (1973), p. 18; Tosi, "Excavations at Shahr-i Sokhta, a Chalcolithic Settlement in the Iranian Sistan. Preliminary Report on the First Campaign, October-December 1967," *East and West* (1968), p. 59; Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, *op. cit.*, *East and West* 23 (1973), p. 46.

¹⁹An attempt at working some lapis lazuli fragments with the microblades found at Ebla has produced a stronger erosion in the tool than in the worked piece.

²⁰A complete report about these objects has appeared: Scandone-Matthiae, "I vasi egiziani in pietra del Palazzo Reale G," *SEb* 4 (1981), pp. 99-127, and particularly on p. 100, for the state of preservation of the pieces.

belonging either to carved panels in low relief or to small figures in the round.²¹ Moreover, pieces of inlay are represented by elements of harnesses and by tesserae of different shapes.²² Also animal figures in the round had some parts decorated with lapis lazuli, particularly their manes and beards; this occurs also at Ur in the Royal Cemetery and at Mari, while at Qatna the same objects are made of steatite.²³ Other objects are more difficult to interpret but are probably parts of rich pieces of furniture, made of wood and adorned with parts of other precious and colored materials.²⁴ Also miniature ritual tables were made either of limestone or, for special purposes, of lapis lazuli.²⁵ All these pieces recall other Mesopotamian productions of a very high level; only the hair pieces are typically Syrian, and find several parallels in other objects found in the Palace itself. In these other cases the most frequently employed material is steatite.²⁶

From the above considerations it is quite clear that it is difficult to draw final conclusions as to the trade patterns of lapis lazuli to northern Syria. Yet, some elements have to be pointed out. In the first place, the only Eblaite texts which mention incoming lapis lazuli indicate Mari as the starting point of the stone—whether it be a tribute or an exchange. In the second place, when this is the case, lapis lazuli is exchanged with silver. In the third place, the amount of raw lapis lazuli in the Royal Palace G of Ebla is so high that it is possible to imagine that it was also traded further to the west.

In conclusion, it is possible to say that the Eblaite evidence offers new important data for the definition of the pattern of the lapis lazuli trade in the ancient Near East. If we compare the evidence from Ebla with the evidence from Mari, we notice that in Mari we have both lapis lazuli and chlorite vessels, while in Ebla we find only the first. What can this mean? We can imagine that the important city on the middle Euphrates played a primary role in the trade of Iranian imported goods, thus being, for the north Syrian cities like Ebla, a central market place, where they could also trade their own goods. However, this hypothesis does not correspond completely with our evidence.²⁷ In fact, the presence of the chlorite vessels at Mari and their absence at Ebla could most probably be interpreted from a chronological point of view. These objects can be dated to the mid-third millennium,²⁸ or, to put it in another way, they are produced throughout the Early Dynastic II-III periods, with a general standardization of types during Early Dynastic III.²⁹ Therefore, it

²¹ The date-shaped beads are nine, the ovoid beads have different shapes; the hair pieces are about ten: F. Pinnock, "Il lapislazuli nel Palazzo Reale G," op. cit., *SEB* 7 (1982), Part III, "Catalogo degli oggetti lavorati," sections A.a-b, B.a-b, G.a-d.

²² *Ibid.*, sections E.a-b, ten pieces.

²³ *Ibid.*, sections C.a-d; for the comparative material see C. L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations II. The Royal Cemetery*, London 1934, U.10412, pl. 110; Parrot, *MAM* III, op. cit., M.2716, p. 266; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Le site archéologique de Mishrifé-Qatna*, Paris 1935, 39D-E, B (steatite), pls. XXII, XXV.

²⁴ Pinnock, op. cit., *SEB* 7 (1982), Part III, sections F.a and H.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, section D.

²⁶ Cf., e.g., Matthiae, op. cit., *CRAI* 1978, pp. 223-229, figs. 10-11, 19.

²⁷ Concerning the local exchange mechanisms, see G. A. Johnson, "Locational Analysis and the Investigation of Uruk Local Exchange Systems," in Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, op. cit., pp. 285-339. The local patterns may perhaps be expanded to fit the needs of a commerce over a long distance. See, moreover, what K. Polanyi thinks about the proper or improper use of the term market as related to trade in the Hammurabi period: "Traffici senza mercato ai tempi di Hammurabi," in Polanyi (ed.), *Traffici e mercati negli antichi imperi*, Torino 1978 (American Edition, Glencoe 1957), pp. 15-32.

²⁸ Kohl, op. cit., *Expedition* 18 (1975), p. 30.

²⁹ Lamberg-Karlovsky, op. cit., Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, op. cit., p. 353.

is quite clear that at the time Ebla was at the climax of its development, in the period of *Mardikh IIB1*, the chlorite vessels were no longer found on the market, or at least they were no longer fashionable. This concords quite well with the homogeneous evidence dating both the Royal Palace G and the lapis lazuli hoard found in it to the period between 2400 and 2300/2250 B.C. However, Ebla in its turn, and maybe Mari, produced and perhaps exported a kind of small, certainly less valuable, calcite bowl decorated with incised patterns on the rim; these are to be found in small amounts in several sites in northern Syria, up to Hamah in the Orontes valley.³⁰ The chronology of this kind of bowl found at Mari, Ebla, Byblos, and Hamah may suggest that this Syrian product was a later alternative to the Iranian production more suitable perhaps to the local taste and to the economic possibilities of the North Syrian/North Mesopotamian area.

The Eblaite texts so far examined are, as stated above, not rich in evidence concerning the trade of lapis lazuli. Yet the scanty evidence they offer is quite interesting, as they speak of an exchange between lapis lazuli and silver. If we consider the hypothesis that one of the major exchanges between the Mesopotamian plain and the Iranian plateau was on a luxury goods versus necessary goods basis—i.e., specifically between chlorite vessels and grains, textiles, or perishable goods³¹ then the image we have here is quite different. In fact, between Ebla and Mari the exchange takes place between two or more luxury goods. This event cannot be explained except in a tentative way. Certainly, Ebla had easier access—in comparison with Mari—to silver or gold from the Anatolian mountains.³² Thus it could obtain precious commodities through Mari at a reasonable exchange ratio. In fact, in the texts where a certain exchange is mentioned, 46 shekels of silver are the price of two dresses, whereas the same items cost 33 shekels of carnelian and lapis lazuli.³³ We would expect that in a center so distant from the mining sites, like Mari, this material would have reached a very high price—in terms, of course, of modern economics—due to the transport costs plus the costs of the primary working processes, which took place in the mining centers or nearby.³⁴ However, it is also possible to interpret this phenomenon in the light of a basic difference between the trade of chlorite vessels, and the trade of raw materials. In fact, it is likely that these vessels had a peculiar value, even in comparison with the semi-precious stones, owing to the union of an exotic material plus exotic working. Therefore, the production centers in the Iranian plateau probably controlled more strictly the distribution of chlorite vessels, in order to obtain the greatest advantages. On the other hand, the raw stones could have been simply sent to one first main center for distribution. In the following stages of the long route to the west, every great center could play a preeminent role, in acquiring lapis lazuli at given conditions,

³⁰ See Pinnock, "Coppe protosiriane in pietra dal Palazzo Reale G," *SEb* 4 (1981), pp. 61-75.

³¹ Lamberg-Karlovsky, op. cit., Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, op. cit., p. 361.

³² For the problem of the sources of silver see K. Prag, "Silver in the Levant in the Fourth Millennium B.C.," P. Moorey, P. Parr (eds.), *Archaeology in the Levant*. Essays for K. Kenyon, Warminster 1978, pp. 36-45.

³³ TM.75.G.1390 Obv. VI 3-11: Archi, "Kiš nei testi di Ebla," *SEb* 4 (1981), p. 78.

³⁴ Of course it is not too correct to apply modern economy terms and mechanisms to other patterns which, moreover, are not perfectly known, cf., e.g., concerned the concept of profit, the fixing of prices, and the use of "money," Polanyi, op. cit., Polanyi (ed.), *Traffici e mercati negli antichi imperi*, op. cit., pp. 15-32.

and in redistributing it at conditions which it could fix by itself.³⁵ This could also lead to a gradual disappearance of chlorite vessels while reaching regions more distant from the production centers (the so-called Doppler effect), while the presence of lapis lazuli or other materials would only have been due to the exchange power of the demand centers.

Lastly, two points can be brought up. The first problem will perhaps remain unsolved. How is it possible that such a large amount of highly requested material was not pillaged at the time of the destruction of the Royal Palace G, around 2300/2250 B.C., while everything was brought away with great care, and only comparatively scanty remains are left of the rich decoration and furniture of the building?³⁶ Two hypotheses may be advanced: either there was an even larger amount of lapis lazuli, which was pillaged; or, as is less probable, the precious material escaped the sack, because it was concealed in some container—made of wood or cloth—which later on was destroyed by the fire.³⁷

The second point concerns the quantity of lapis lazuli: this was so high that it is quite likely that Ebla traded it further to the west. The most probable destination was the Syrian coast; from there it could have been shipped to Egypt.³⁸ It can also be proposed that one of the exchanged goods was the Egyptian alabaster vessels, which were certainly appreciated in Ebla. The presence of inscriptions of Chefredon of the fourth dynasty and of Pepi I of the sixth dynasty could suggest that either the contacts with Egypt were direct and quite ancient, or that these goods were obtained at the same moment from one Syrian coastal city which had them available. Yet, so far in the Eblaite texts there is no mention of the important ports on the Syrian coast—Ugarit and Byblos—which were more likely to have relations with Egypt.³⁹

The finding of such a high amount of raw lapis lazuli in the Administrative Quarter of the Royal Palace G of Ebla certainly adds another important tessera in the complex mosaic of the long distance trade in the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. Many problems are as yet unsolved, but there is reason to believe that the archaeological and epigraphic data of *Mardikh IIB1*—albeit in a preliminary phase of their study—enrich and enlarge the picture of this meaningful trade carried out by the urban culture of the third millennium B.C.

³⁵ There would thus be a sequence of directional trade schemes of the kind illustrated in C. Renfrew, "Trade as Action at a Distance: Questions of Integration and Communication," Sabloff and Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, op. cit., pp. 48-49 and fig. 12.

³⁶ See for example the remains of gold leaf in Matthiae, "Campagne de fouilles à Ebla en 1979: Les tombes princières et le palais de la ville basse à l'époque amorrhéenne," *CRAI* 1980, p. 96, fig. 2.

³⁷ The relative dispersion in a comparatively small space, mostly in the court L. 2913, leads one to believe that the fragments of lapis lazuli found so far were seen, but were neglected at the time of the fire. In fact, if they had been kept in one or more cloth sacks they would have been collected in heaps.

³⁸ The presence of lapis lazuli in Egypt is well attested starting with the Fourth Dynasty: J. Crowfoot Paine, "Lapis Lazuli in Early Egypt," *Iraq* 30 (1968), pp. 58-61. Apparently the types of lapis lazuli found in Egypt are the same as the Mesopotamian ones, while the existence of Egyptian mines, albeit mentioned, is not proved so far: Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, London 1950, pp. 398-400.

³⁹ For a general discussion on the toponyms of Ugarit and Byblos in relation with the Eblaite texts see Archi, "Notes on Eblaite Geography," *SEb* II/1 (1980), pp. 2-4; Ugarit and probably also Arwad, however, are mentioned in the list of geographical names, TM.75.G.2231, nos. 5, 197, which of course is by no means necessarily meaningful in the context of the economic relations of Ebla.

EIN PFERDE - PEKTORALE

Ursula Seidl

Vier fragmentarische Bronzebleche¹ (Figs. 1-3, Ills. 1-5) mit Schlachtdarstellungen scheinen von einem einzigen Gegenstand zu stammen, obwohl zumindest die drei größeren Stücke nicht Bruch an Bruch passen. Die Bilder sind über nur flachem Relief in die Bleche gepunzt. Nur die rahmenden Wülste ragen weiter vor; sie sind hergestellt, indem das Blech von der Rückseite in einen Sicken geschlagen worden ist.²

Die Fragmente

- a. (Fig. 1, Ills. 1, 2). Das ungefähr trapezförmige Blech mit leicht gekrümmten Langseiten (ca. 15 cm hoch, 9,2-13 cm breit) ist an der Basis gebrochen. Den an drei Seiten erhaltenen Rand begleitet eine Reihe von Löchern. Zwei Wülste rahmen einen umlaufenden Streifen bzw. ein inneres Bildfeld. Zwei figürliche Darstellungen stehen um 90° zu einander gedreht: zwei Löwen-Vogelmischwesen im "Befruchtungsgestus" im äußeren Streifen sind richtig zu sehen, wenn die Bruchkante unten ist; ein nach rechts fliehender Reiter im inneren Feld dann, wenn die eine Längskante die Basis bildet. Der Reiter trägt einen Kammhelm wie die Urartäer der Bronzetafel Salmanassars III von Balawat;³ er blickt zurück und scheint einen beschädigten (?) Bogen zu schwingen. Über und unter dem Mittelbild befinden sich zwischen den Wülsten Schuppen mit herabhängenden Troddeln.⁴
- b. (Fig. 2, Ills. 3, 4). Das Bruchstück ist maximal 16 cm breit und 10,8 cm hoch. Das Bildfeld wird oben von einem nach unten durchhängenden Wulst begrenzt. Alle anderen Kanten sind wilde Brüche. Dargestellt ist ein von Pferden nach rechts gezogener Kriegswagen mit drei Mann Besatzung: einem Wagenlenker, einem Bogenschützen und einem Schildträger. Alle drei haben ziemlich kurzes, gerade herabfallendes Haar und sind unbärtig; sie tragen Spitzhelme mit vorn und hinten begleitenden Graten und Wangenschutz. Der Bogenschütze, als einziger mit einem Kettenhemd bekleidet, hält den gespannten Bogen; vom Schildträger hinter ihm sind nur noch Kopf, Teil eines gegürteten glatten Gewandes und eine waagerechte Linie vom vorgestreckten Arm erhalten, der einen runden, konvexen Schild mit Radial- und

¹ Sie befanden sich auf dem Münchener Kunstmarkt. Nur zwei Fragmente (c und d) konnte ich im Original sehen; für die Kenntnis und Überlassung der Photographien von a und b danke ich vielmals Herrn Dr. H.-J. Kellner, Prähistorische Staatssammlung München.

² Technische Beobachtungen verdanke ich Herrn H. Schäfer.

³ L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria* (1915) Pl. III, IV, IX, XII, XXXVII-XLII; die Tracht des Verwundeten auf Fragment d würde ebenfalls zu einem Urartäer auf Reliefs Salmanassars III. passen: M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen* = AOAT XXVI (1975) 253 ff. Abb. 167, 170, 171, 174.

⁴ Den aus Quasten gebildeten Fries kenne ich von Bronzen der Zeit Išpūinis (U. Seidl, *AMI* 13, 1980, 78, 80 Abb. 1. 5). Das einzelne Element dieses Dekorbandes scheint sich von der assyrischen Stilisierung von Quasten herzuleiten. Daß wir den Dekor selbst von assyrischen Werken bis jetzt nicht kannten, mag auf mangelnder Überlieferung zu beruhen.

Kreisverzierung vor den Wagenlenker halt. Dieser faßt mit jeder Hand vier Zügel, die sich paarweise gabeln, und dazu in der Linken einen Stock. Von dem Wagenkasten ist nur die vordere rechtwinklige Ecke und ein Teil des seitlich schräg angehängten Köchers erhalten. Diese Ecke ist durch einen Anker mit der Deichsel und durch das "lanzettförmige Element" scheinbar mit dem Joch, in Wirklichkeit wohl mit dem vorderen Teil der Deichsel verbunden. Weiter oberhalb, über dem Pferdekopf, ist eine fächerförmige Deichselzier sichtbar. Von den Tieren des Gespanns sind ein Körper, zwei Köpfe und eine doppelte Brustlinie gezeigt. Aufzäumung und Anschirrung sind bei dem vorderen Pferd sorgfältig angegeben. Die Riemen des Zaumzeugs sind mit kleinen Kreisen verziert; an zwei Stellen sitzen große runde Scheiben: am Kreuzungspunkt von Kopf-/Backenstück und Stirn-/Kehlrriemen und oberhalb der Halteriemen des Trensenknebels. Letzterer hat die Form eines doppelten Schwalbenschwanzes. Der Kopfaufputz besteht aus einem ebenfalls mit Kreisen verzierten, halbrund gebogenen Bügel und fächerförmig hochstehendem Haarbüschel. Den Hals umschließt eine breite Klammer mit einer Quaste, Nacken und Brust ein mit Punkten und Kreisen geschmückter Brustschild, von dem Troddeln herabhängen. Auf dem Nacken liegt ein halbkreisförmiges Element, an das sowohl der Bauchgurt als auch eine Scheibe mit Quasten angehängt sind. Ebenfalls auf dem Nacken, ungefähr in der Mitte über diesen Halbkreis geschoben, liegt ein längliches, vorn abgerundetes Gebilde mit einem ovalen Loch oder einer Öse über dem Schnittpunkt; zu diesem Oval laufen zwei schräge Linien vom Kamm her und zwei Leinen entspringen dort, von denen die eine waagrecht über den Brustschild geführt ist, die andere sich dort totläuft, also vielleicht unter diesem weitergeht. Über dem Pektore ist noch ein schräg nach oben laufender schmaler Riemen und unterhalb ein breiter, der sich mit dem Bauchgurt verbindet. Das längliche Gebilde auf dem Pferdenacken dürfte eine Jochgabel sein,⁵ die oben an dem Joch und unten an dem Bogen auf dem Nacken befestigt ist. Die Führung der Zügel ist ziemlich unklar: die Leinen aus der Hand des Lenkers laufen sich an Joch und Pferdekopf tot, eine taucht ziemlich unmotiviert am linken Rand des Brustschilds wieder auf, von wo sie zur Trense läuft (bei Fragment c, Fig. 3, kommt die entsprechende Leine aus dem Oval der Jochgabel). Unter dem Pferd ist ein Kammhelm, wie ihn der fliehende Reiter auf Fragment a trägt, zu sehen. Vor den Pferden ist noch ein Schwanzrest an der rechten Bruchkante auszumachen.

- c. (Fig. 3, Ill. 5). Das Blech ist maximal 12,4 cm breit, 8,4 cm hoch und 0,1 cm dick. Wie b wird auch dieses Bruchstück oben von einem im hängenden Bogen geführten Wulst begrenzt, von dem allerdings zumeist nur noch der untere Ansatz erhalten ist. Dargestellt ist ein Kampfwagen gleich dem auf b, der aber in entgegengesetzte Richtung fährt. Von seiner Besatzung ist noch etwas mehr erhalten; so ist zu erkennen, daß der Wagenlenker ein glattes, gegürtetes Hemd trägt, daß der Bogenschütze neben einem Armreif am linken Handgelenk ein spitzwinkliges Gebilde angebracht hat, an dem der eingelegte Pfeil vorbeilaft. Die rechtwinklig zusammen stoßenden Kanten des Wagenkastens, der schräg hängende Köcher und die Deichsel sind mit konzentrischen Kreisen verziert, die anscheinend mit demselben Komplettpunzen geschlagen worden sind wie die Kreise auf dem "lanzettförmigen Element" hier und auf b.
- d. (Fig. 3, Ill. 5). An der unteren Kante des Bleches ist von einem aufgewulsteten Rand noch ein klein wenig erhalten, sonst umgrenzen ringsum Bruchkanten. Höhe maximal 3,9, Breite maximal 4,25, Dicke 0,1 cm. Zu sehen sind oben eine waagrechte Linie von einem Pferdebauch, darüber ein Teil einer verzierten Scheibe mit nach rechts verwehten Quasten. Darunter ist ein Krieger zusammengebrochen: er ist im Rücken von einem Pfeil getroffen, der am Bauch wieder austritt und dort von Blutströmen begleitet wird. Der Verwundete faßt mit der linken Hand an die Einschußstelle (seltsamerweise ist der Pfeil zwischen Ein- und Austritt entlang des Körpers gezeichnet, wohl ein Versehen des Künstlers); er trägt ein kurzes Hemd mit Fransensaum und einen breiten Gürtel; seine Füße stecken in halbhohen Schuhen, gleich denen des fliehenden Reiters auf a; Kopf und Schultern sind weggebrochen. Das Fragment paßt an einer kleinen Stelle an der Schulterscheibe des Pferdes an Blech c an. Wenn die beiden Bruchstücke c und d so zusammengefügt sind, konvergieren der obere Rand von c und der untere von d nach links hin, also in der Bewegungsrichtung des Gespanns.

⁵ Vgl. M. A. Littauer, *Antiquity* 42, 1968, 27 ff.

Zur Rekonstruktion

Die obere Kante der beiden Bleche mit Wagendarstellungen hängt nach unten durch. Ober- und Unterkante der zusammengesetzten Fragmente c und d (Fig. 3) laufen in Richtung der Bewegung zusammen. Entsprechendes dürfen wir auch bei Fragment b annehmen, auf dem das zusammengebundene Schwanzende des vorderen, verlorenen Pferdes viel höher im Bildfeld sitzt als die gleiche Stelle der Wagenpferde, wenn erhalten, säße. In beiden Fällen wird also das Bildfeld in der Richtung, in der die Pferde galoppieren, schmaler. Nimmt man nun an, daß die beiden Wagen voneinander weg gezogen werden, so passen sich die Darstellungen gut in einen liegenden Halbmond ein, von dem der mittlere, höchste Teil fehlen würde. In den 4 Fragmenten glaube ich, Reste eines Pferdebrustschilds zu erkennen, ungefähr von der Art, wie sie die Pferde unserer Bleche tragen. In Fig. 4 habe ich versucht, die Rekonstruktion eines solchen Pferde-Pektorals zu skizzieren. Den Pferdeschwanz vor Gespann b habe ich zu einem Pferd der Angreifer ergänzt, das in der Größe zwischen den angeschirrten und dem Reittier des Fliehenden steht. Man könnte die Bleche a und b auch noch weiter auseinander ziehen und ein weiteres Pferd dort unterbringen, so daß der Größenunterschied gleitender ausgeglichen würde. In der Mitte zwischen den beiden Wagen könnte ursprünglich ein Baum gestanden haben, doch auch hier könnte der Zwischenraum größer gewesen sein und vielleicht eine Szene oder eine Burg enthalten haben.

Zuletzt hat I. J. Winter anlässlich der Publikation eines Exemplars aus Hasanlu Brustschilde für Pferde ausführlich behandelt.⁶ Sie merkt an, daß es zahlreiche Wiedergaben auf assyrischen Reliefs gibt, und zwar im 9. Jh. mit einer Ausnahme (auf einer Fliese Tukulti-Ninurtas II) ausschließlich bei Reitpferden, seit Tiglatpilesar III aber ausschließlich bei Gespannpferden, nie bei Reittieren. Dies stimmt nicht ganz. Einerseits sind Brustschilde an Gespannpferden auf einigen Werken der Kleinkunst des 9. Jahrhunderts dargestellt,⁷ andererseits kommen sie außer an einem rückständigen oder provinziell eigenartigen und einem bewußt altertümlichen Gespann⁸ seit Tiglatpilesar III in Assyrien⁹ nicht mehr vor. Es stellt sich die Frage, ob Brustschilde im 9. Jahrhundert vielleicht außer von Reitpferden auch von solchen Gespannpferden getragen wurden, die unter dem Joch liefen. Diese Tiere sind ja in Darstellungen gewöhnlich von den äußeren verdeckt. Vielleicht waren die Gurte der außen ohne Joch angeschirrten Pferde einem Brustschild hinderlich.

⁶ I. J. Winter, "A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran" (1980) 3 ff. Einen urartäischen Brustschild hat G. Gropp, *Iranica Antiqua* 16, 1981, 166 Nr. 15 Taf. III b publiziert; er deutet ihn allerdings als Teil einer Bogentasche, was schon deswegen unmöglich ist, weil Bogentaschen entsprechend den Bögen zur Längsachse asymmetrisch sind.

⁷ Außer auf unseren Blechen auf einem unpublizierten Bronzeimer aus Iran und einem Elfenbein aus Nimrud: M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* I (1966) Fig. 209.

⁸ Das erste Gespann auf einem Orthostat aus Arslan Tash der Zeit Tiglatpilesars III, wo das Zaumzeug schon die zu dieser Zeit übliche Form hat, die Pferde aber noch wie bei den vorgestellten Blechen unter Jochgabeln laufen (F. Thureau-Dangin u.a., *Arslan Tash* [1931] pl. VII), das zweite Gespann, dessen bewußte Altertümlichkeit I. J. Winter übersieht, bei der Darstellung der Eroberung von Lakhish durch Sanherib (A. Paterson, *Palace of Sinerib* [o. J.] Pl. 76; zur Altertümlichkeit des Wagens zuletzt: P. Calmeyer, *AMI N. F.* 7, 1974, 59 mit älterer Literatur in Anm. 44).

⁹ Anders als z.B. auf Zypern, wo in Salamis zahlreiche Bronzepektorale aus Gräbern des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts geborgen worden sind: V. Karageorghis, *Salamis III* (1967); V (1974) passim.

Datierung

Menschen und Tiere fügen sich in Bewegung und Stilisierung gut in die assyrische Kunst des 9. Jahrhunderts ein. Teile der Ausrüstung finden Parallelen innerhalb der gut belegten Flachbilder von Assurnasirpal II (883-859) und Salmanassar III (858-824). Eine genauere zeitliche Eingrenzung ist nicht möglich, weil für die ältere Zeit nur eine fragmentarische Gespanndarstellung von Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884) erhalten ist und weil jüngere reliefierte Szenen erst über 80 Jahre nach Salmanassars III Tod, von Tiglatpilesar III (744-727) an wieder überliefert sind, zu dessen Zeit Anschirrung und Ausrüstung von Gespannen ganz anders als auf unserem Brustschild sind,¹⁰ so daß dieser auf jeden Fall älter sein muß. Von den Reliefs Assurnasirpals II und Salmanassars III her bekannt sind sowohl das lange, gegürtete Hemd, der Kettenpanzer und der kleine Schild mit Punktdekor der Krieger, als auch das lanzettförmige Element zwischen Wagenkasten und vorderer Deichsel, das aufgebogene Joch, die fächerförmige Deichselzier, der gefächerte Kopfputz der Pferde,¹¹ die schwalbenschwanzförmigen Trensenknebel,¹² das halbkreisförmige Gebilde auf den Nacken der Pferde, die Schulterscheibe und der Bauchgurt. Allein bei Salmanassar III findet sich der Wagenkasten mit einer vorderen rechtwinkligen Ecke mit Zierstreifen und einem schräg angehängten Köcher.¹³ Abweichend von der üblichen Darstellungsart dieser Periode sind der hohe Sitz des lanzettförmigen Elements, die Anbringung der Deichselzier weit über dem Joch, die Jochgabel und die runden Scheiben beim Zaumzeug am Kopf. Die beiden ersten Eigenheiten könnten auf eine längere und vielleicht vorn aufgebogene Deichsel weisen, sie könnten aber auch bedingt sein durch das scheinbare Aufsteigen der dem Rund angepaßten Pferde. Jochgabel und Scheiben geben dagegen andersartige Realien wieder. Zur Jochgabel siehe unten. Runde Scheiben an sich kreuzenden oder verzweigenden Riemen des Zaums sind seit Tiglatpilesar III bekannt. Im Gegensatz zu dort ist aber die sonstige Gliederung unseres Zaumzeugs ganz die des 9. Jahrhunderts: ohne Nasenriemen und mit drei Halteriemen des Trensenknebels.

Fremdartig für Assyrer allgemein sind die Unbärtigkeit *aller* angreifenden Krieger, deren kurze Haare und der Spitzhelm mit einem Grat vorn und hinten und mit Wangenklappen;¹⁴ sie sind wohl keine Assyrer.

Die Abweichungen zu den Kriegswägen der Zeit von Assurnasirpal II und Salmanassar III sind nur minimal und mögen einen geringen zeitlichen Abstand oder aber eine lokale Verschiedenheit andeuten. — Ein erstrangiger assyrischer Künstler der zweiten Hälfte des 9.

¹⁰W. Nagel, *Der mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im ostmediterranen Bereich* = Berliner Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte X (1966) 56 ff.; M. A. Littauer/J. H. Crowel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* = HdOr VII 1 B 1 (1979).

¹¹B. Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (1965) Tf. 29,8.

¹²J. A. H. Potratz, *Die Pferdetransen des Alten Orient* = AnOr XLI (1966) 109 (Untergruppe zu Typus I).

¹³King³ Pl. LXXI.

¹⁴Nur auf einem einzigen Orthostaten Assurnasirpals II glaube ich, zwei Soldaten des assyrischen Heeres mit solchen Helmen erkennen zu können (R. D. Barnett, *Assyrische Skulpturen im British Museum* [1975] Taf. 30). In der Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München befindet sich die Kopie eines derartigen originalen Helms (P. Schauer, *Fundberichte aus Hessen* 19/20, 1979/80, 538 ff. Abb. 16, 17; H. J. Kellner, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 8, 1982, 210 f. Taf. X-XII). In diesen sind ein "Herr der Tiere," Tiere und Mischwesen gepunzt, die stilistisch weder assyrisch noch urartäisch sind; der Dekor mag vielleicht in einer nordwestiranischen Werkstatt entstanden sein.

Jahrhunderts mag den Brustschild für einen ausländischen Auftraggeber gearbeitet haben, dessen Soldaten – vielleicht im assyrischen Heer¹⁵ – gegen Urartäer gekämpft hatten.

Zur Anschirrung

Obwohl nur je zwei Pferdeköpfe und doppelte Brustlinien gezeichnet sind, geht aus der Anzahl der Zügel eindeutig hervor, daß wir Quadrigen vor uns haben. Das Besondere unserer Gespanne ist, daß auch das jeweils äußere Pferd unter einer Jochgabel läuft.¹⁶ Zur Zeit von Assurnasirpal II befanden sich nur die zwei Pferde nächst der Deichsel unter dem Joch, und das äußere Tier war allem Anschein nach nur über Gurte und/oder Riemen mit den inneren verbunden, seien es nun ein oder zwei äußere Pferde.¹⁷ Nur einmal, auf einem provinziellen Relief der Zeit Tiglatpilesars III aus Arslan Tash scheint ein äußeres Pferd unter einer Jochgabel zu laufen,¹⁸ während die übrige Anschirrung die der Tiglatpileser-Zeit ist (z.B. mit Nasenriemen, Zügelringen auf dem Joch usw.), seit der sonst ein breites, mehrfach aufgebogenes, den Pferdenacken angepaßtes Joch entwickelt wird, das später deutlich zu erkennen ist bei ausgeschirrten Wagen von Sargon II und Sanherib.¹⁹ Die Darstellung der Jochgabeln auf unserem Pektorale des 9. Jahrhunderts könnte dreierlei bedeuten:

1. Quadrigen waren im 9. Jahrhundert gewöhnlich mit einem breiten Joch mit vier Jochgabeln angeschirrt, und die Reliefs Assurnasirpals II und Salmanassars III zeigen Bigae mit einem Beipferd, wie mehrfach vermutet wurde.²⁰
2. Während im assyrischen Kernland bei Viergespannen nur die beiden inneren Pferde unter dem Joch liefen, überspannte dieses in anderen Gegenden alle vier Nacken (dies würde vielleicht bestärkt durch die fremdländische Mode der Wagenbesetzung und möglicherweise durch das viel spätere Relief aus Arslan Tash).
3. Das breite Joch mit den vier Jochgabeln ist eine Übergangslösung von dem schmalen mit zwei Gabeln zu dem breiten, das für die Pferdenacken mehrfach aufgebogen ist (dafür sprächen vielleicht die etwas jünger wirkende Gestaltung des Zaumzeugs am Pferdekopf und ebenfalls das viel jüngere Relief aus Arslan Tash).

Die Lösung mögen Pferdekenner herausfinden.

¹⁵ Zur Stellung von Heereskontingenten aus unterworfenen Gebieten siehe das Beispiel Guzana: E. Weidner, "Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf" = *AfO* Beih. VI (1940) 5. 14 ff.

¹⁶ Bis jetzt ist m.W. nur einmal ein Joch mit vier hölzernen Jochgabeln gefunden worden, im China der frühen Chou-Zeit (1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.): M. von Dewall, *Pferd und Wagen im frühen China* (1964) 140 f. 226 f.

¹⁷ Nagel¹⁰ 53 ff. plädiert für ein Viergespann; M. A. Littauer, *Orientalia* 45, 1976, 219. 222 f. neigt mehr einem Dreiergespann zu.

¹⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin u.a., *Arslan Tash* (1931) pl. VII. A. M. Littauer¹⁷ allerdings schlägt vor, in dem Pferd unter der Jochgabel eines der beiden bei der Deichsel in einem Dreiergespann zu sehen. Bei einigen wohl Zweiergespannen auf Reliefs aus Karkamiş des 9. Jahrhunderts sind die Jochgabeln deutlich dargestellt: Sir Leonard Woolley, *Carchemish III* (1952) Pl. B. 41. 42. 60(?).

¹⁹ Nagel¹⁰ 56 ff.

²⁰ Z. B. Hrouda¹¹ 96.

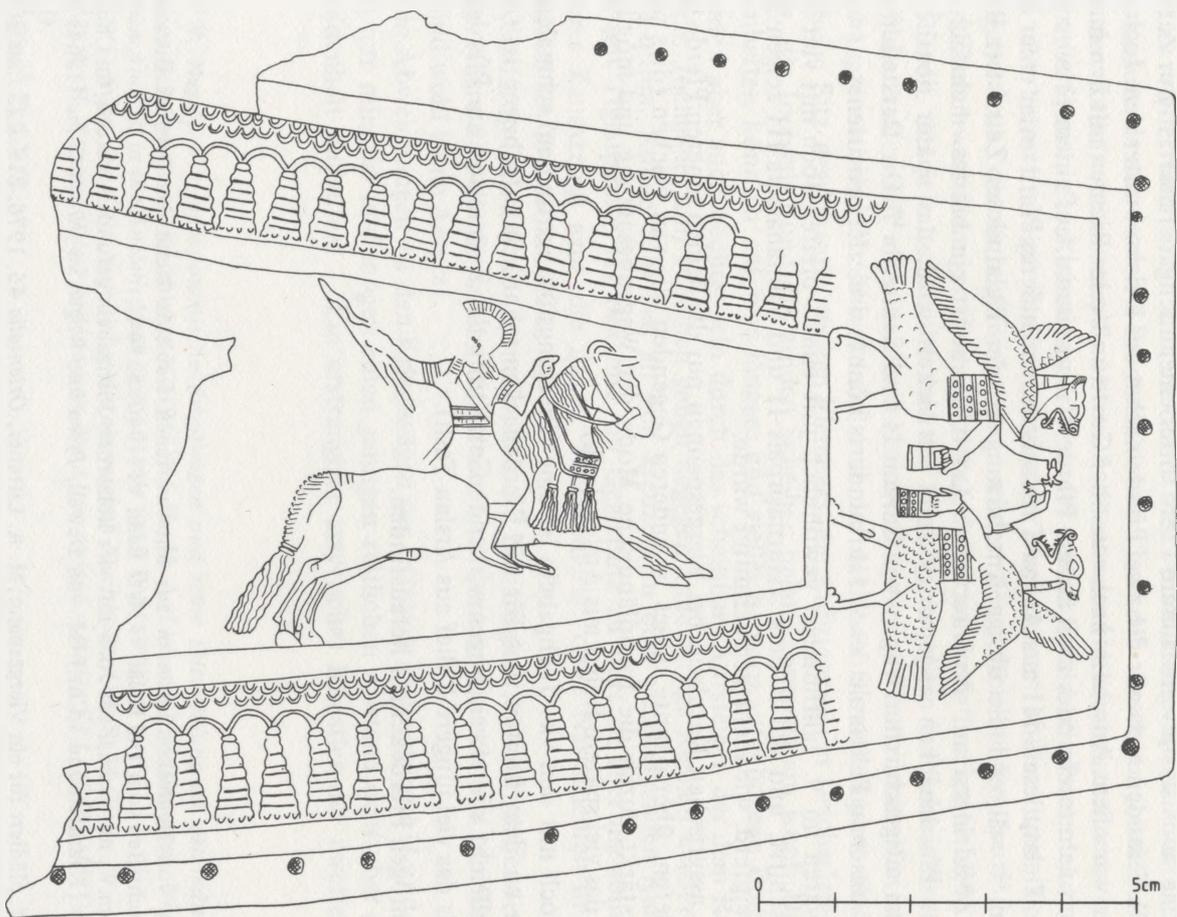


Figure 1.

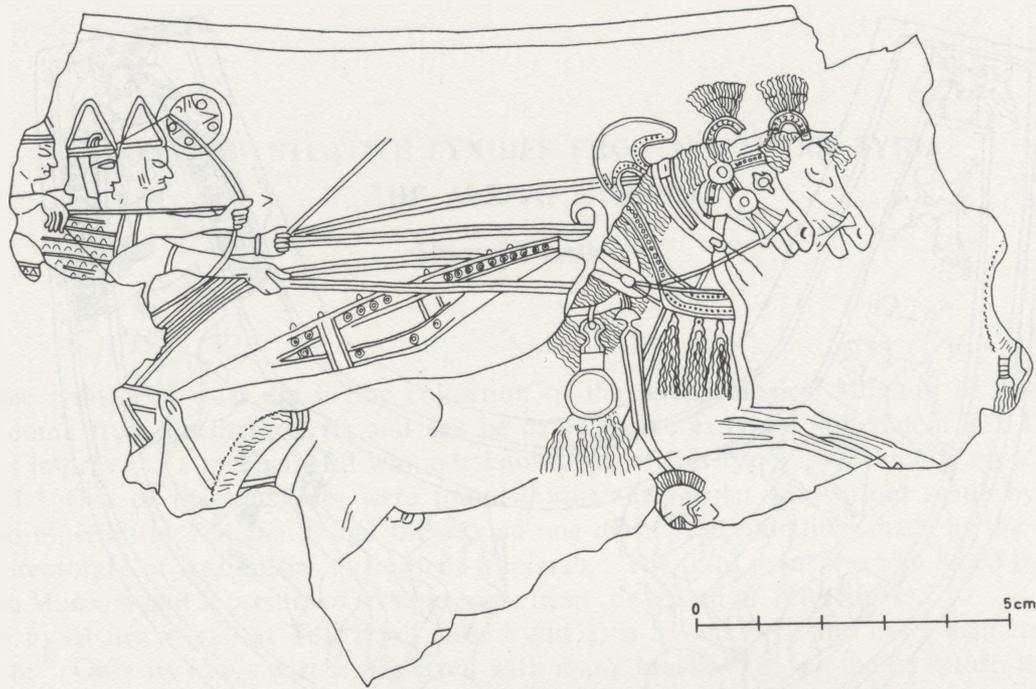


Figure 2.

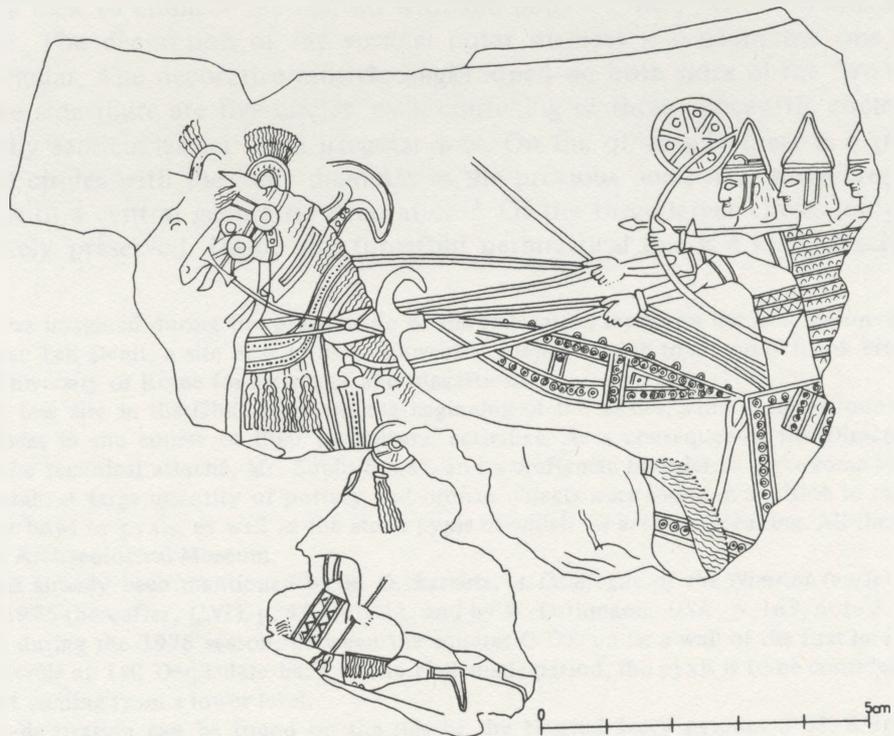


Figure 3.



Figure 4.

THREE NEW STEATITE PYXIDES FROM NORTHERN SYRIA IN THE ALEPPO MUSEUM

Shawqi Shaath

Three steatite pyxides are in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Aleppo. They come from northern Syria and can be dated to the early 1st millennium B.C. These objects improve in a meaningful way our knowledge of this typology, which is typical of Iron II.¹ One of these pyxides were found during the regular excavations made by the Aleppo Museum at Tell Denit, and the second one during the soundings made by the General Directorate of Antiquities at Rasm et-Tanjarah.² The third pyxis was purchased by the Aleppo Museum and is presumed to have come from the region of Tell Rifa'at.³

The pyxis discovered at Tell Denit (Ills. 1 and 2) is 5.3 cm high and has a diameter of 10.2 cm.⁴ Only its lower part is preserved with many breaks (Fig. 1); the lid is lost. Inside there is the usual round partition plus four divisions along its perimeter. In the correspondence with two deep vertical outer grooves, a narrow vertical hole is set in a peripheral position along one of the radial partition walls and probably hosted a stick, as is usual in the typology of the pyxides. The stick in all likelihood had one of two purposes: it was either used as a lock to connect the lost lid with the body of the pyxis, or it was used as a cosmetic tool. The decoration of the vertical outer surfaces is a geometric one, and is particularly irregular. The decorative motives are grouped on both sides of the two vertical grooves. On one side there are five circles, each consisting of three concentric circles; they are connected by semicircles set in an irregular way. On the other side there is a group of three individual circles with the same diameter as the previous ones, near three larger concentric circles with a central geometric decoration.⁵ Of the three larger circles, only one is almost completely preserved. Inside the threefold perimetrical line is a kind of schematic

¹ This article was imagined during the preparation of the excavation report on the first seasons of work, which I directed at Tell Denit, a site near Idlib, southwest of Aleppo. I wish to sincerely thank Prof. Paolo Matthiae of the University of Rome for his advice and suggestions.

² It is a small, low site in the Ghab plain. At the beginning of the sixties, some farmers found several archaeological pieces in the course of their agricultural activities. As a consequence, the Directorate of Antiquities sent the technical attaché, Mr. Subhi Sawaf, and a draftsman in order to make some soundings at Rasm et-Tanjarah. A large quantity of pottery and bronze objects were found in addition to some fragments of an ivory bowl or pyxis, as well as the stone pyxis of which we are now speaking. All these pieces are in the Aleppo Archaeological Museum.

³ This pyxis has already been mentioned by R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, second edition, London 1975 (hereafter, *CNI*), p. 45, note 11, and by W. Orthmann, *USK*, p. 163, note 3.

⁴ It was found during the 1976 season, between the squares C-D1, under a wall of the first level. As the first and second levels at Tell Denit date back to the Hellenistic period, the pyxis is to be considered as an unstratified object coming from a lower level.

⁵ This kind of decoration can be found on the lids of the Nimrud ivory pyxides S 35, S 36g, S 38: Barnett, *CNI*, p. 64.

flower with four thin petals within a rhomboid.⁶ All these elements of the decoration were made by a compass, cutting the polished surface of the stone.⁷

The pyxis from Rasm et-Tanjarah (Ills. 3 and 4) is complete, with also its lid intact.⁸ It is 4.6 cm high, and has a diameter of 7.5 cm; it is made of reddish steatite.⁹ Inside it has four divisions obtained through the intersection of two perpendicular spaced diameters. Unlike the pyxis from Tell Denit, it does not have the round division in the middle, which is frequent in the contemporary pyxides.¹⁰ Also here, in correspondence with the end of one diameter, there is the narrow peripheral hole near the two vertical grooves. The lid has an analogous hole, which is also related with two grooves, while a second similar hole is set in a symmetrical position near the opposite edge of the lid. The decoration of the body has four circles made by a compass. In three circles, four diameters are marked, which form two crosses within the circles. Of these crosses, one has no decoration, the other has a criss-cross pattern. The fourth circle has a decoration composed of curved lines creating a kind of flower similar to that on the pyxis from Tell Denit. The upper face of the lid bears five concentric circles whose center itself is the center of the lid. The circular bands limited by the engraved circles were alternatively without decoration, and with a criss-cross pattern. The smallest inner circle is divided into triangular shapes through a series of four diameter lines; these triangles are also alternatively decorated and undecorated as we have with the surrounding concentric circles; this pattern is also found on the body of the pyxis.¹¹

The third pyxis was purchased by the Aleppo Museum from a dealer in Aleppo, who said he had in turn bought it in the region of Tell Rifa'at (Ills. 5-9 and Fig. 2).¹² Only the body of the pyxis is preserved, which is 3.8 cm high, and has a larger diameter of 9.2 cm and a smaller one of 8.1 cm. Inside there is the circular central section surrounded by four radial compartments. A limited portion of the outer circumference is flattened, in correspondence with one diameter. On the line of this diameter, and in the middle of the flat base, there is the usual small and deep vertical hole, while an unusual horizontal hole opens on the top of the outer face, at the opposite end of the same spaced diameter. The body of the pyxis has a complex figurative decoration, which starts and ends against the short flat portion. The decoration includes a human figure with one hand against his breast, and the

⁶The same flower decoration appears on an ivory pyxis of the end of the 7th century B.C. from Banditella in Italy: M. Benzi, *Gli avori della Marsiliana di Albenga*, *RANL*, 21 (1960), p. 291, pl. IV, fig. 3C.

⁷The use of compasses appears on some older ivory pyxides from Lachish, Megiddo and Alalakh. It is also attested in the decoration of an ivory pyxis of Samaria of the 9th century B.C.: C. Decamp de Mertzfeld, *Inventaire commenté des ivoires phéniciens*, Paris 1954, nos. 328, 394, 476-483, 808; J. N. and G. Crowfoot, *Early Ivories from Samaria*, II, London 1938, pls. 21, 8.

⁸In 1971, H. Athanassiou, probably stimulated by the important objects he saw from Syria, asked for permission to study the Rasm et-Tanjarah materials. The General Directorate of Antiquities offered him all the possible facilities when he came, but we do not yet have any news about his study.

⁹Aleppo, Archaeological Museum, gen. no. 6700, spec. no. 839.

¹⁰Another steatite pyxis from Rasm et-Tanjarah is in the collection of M. Kofler, Lucerne, and was published by K. Galling: *ZDPV*, 86 (1970), pp. 3-4, pl. 1 A-B. It has four peripheral partitions and the fifth round central partition.

¹¹Concerning the clandestine finds at Rasm et-Tanjarah, H. Athanassiou in *AJA* 76 (1972), p. 204, speaks about "one hundred steatite objects including spoon-stoppers and lion-bowls," while "the pottery consists of highly burnished red and gray wares," and "the inscriptions consist of Middle-Babylonian, Aramaic and Neo-Assyrian texts and of a stele fragment relating to Esarhaddon." According to H. Athanassiou, "the site appears to have been submerged by the marshes of the Ghab until its discovery in 1960-1961."

¹²Aleppo, Archaeological Museum, no. 2474. The pyxis was bought by the dealer Abulsalam al-Kamili, who said it was found in Tell Rifa'at; of course, this kind of information is not completely reliable.

other one raised to hold an unidentified object (Fig. 2). On both sides of the figure there are two large rectangular spaces, each in turn divided in half and decorated with two crossed lines; these perhaps represent some features of architectural structures. The decorative pattern shows a lion, deer, and wild goat hunt, composed of several figures. At the beginning of the scene, there is a chariot pulled by two horses with two hunters inside. On the chariot a spear is fixed, while a driver and a bowman stand in it. Two eagles are behind the chariot and above the horse, while a dog is below the horse. In front of it there is a warrior holding a shield and a spear, running after a lion. In front of the lion there is an archer who faces it with an arrow ready to shoot from his bow. A second archer turns his back to the first one and is also prepared to shoot with his bow at the back of two other running animals, a deer and a wild goat.¹³

The triangular shaped chariot is particularly interesting. It has open sides, a light frame, and medium-sized four-spoked wheels. Two quivers made of leather hang on the side of the chariot, in addition to those on the back of one of the occupants. The two bands of reins, each one with two reins, run respectively from the horses' shoulders and from higher up; the yoke is not clear. The chariot type of the pyxides has important parallels in the North Syrian stone reliefs and ivory pyxides from Zincirli¹⁴ and Malatya,¹⁵ partial parallels at Carchemish¹⁶ and Tell Halaf,¹⁷ and in palatial reliefs of the 9th century B.C. from Assyria where the Syrian chariots were brought as a tribute, and influenced the equipment of the Assyrian army.¹⁸ The similarities between the chariot of the pyxis and those on the North Syrian reliefs concern the pair of horses represented as one only, the shape of the small and light chariot, the crew composed of two persons, and the spear which is generally fixed to the back of the chariot.¹⁹ The differences are mainly in the wheel, which is of medium size and has six spokes instead of four, and in the axle which is under the middle of the body of the chariot. In particular, the four-spoked wheel is an archaic feature, which already appears in the Old Syrian glyptic of the 18th-17th centuries B.C.,²⁰ in the Egyptian paintings of the 15th-14th centuries²¹—where Syrian war-chariots are represented—and in the golden bowl with hunting scene dated from the 14th-13th centuries B.C. from Ugarit.²² The four-spoked wheel is apparently typical of the Syrian area, but it is also common in Cypriot representations of the 14th-13th centuries B.C.²³ Although it certainly

¹³ It cannot be excluded, however, that the two caprides who are being pursued are of the same kind of animal with a different representation of the horns.

¹⁴ Von Luschan, *Senscirli III*, pl. XXXIX.

¹⁵ L. Delaporte, *Malatya (Arslantepe). La porte des lions*, Paris 1946, pl. XXXII, 2.

¹⁶ C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish III*, pls. B 41a-b, B 42a, B 60a-b; cf. M. E. L. Mallowan, *AnSt*, 22 (1972), pp. 68-83.

¹⁷ A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf III*, pls. 41a, 42a.

¹⁸ T. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, London 1970, p. 27; Mallowan, *AnSt* 22 (1972), p. 69.

¹⁹ On the archaic features of the North Syrian chariots of the 9th century B.C. see Madhloom, *Chronology*, pp. 26-32.

²⁰ H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939, pl. XIV; M. G. Amadasi, *L'iconografia del carro da guerra in Siria e Palestina*, Rome 1965, p. 45.

²¹ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in the Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery*, London 1963, pp. 188-189.

²² C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, II, pl. VIII.

²³ V. Karagheorghis, *The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus*, Athens 1976, pp. 164, 170, and figs. 121, 127.

is an archaic element, the four-spoked wheel is also represented at least once, on a fragmentary bronze bowl with a lion hunt from Nimrud, which must date back to the 9th-8th centuries B.C.²⁴

Other antiquarian elements of an archaic type in the pyxis from Tell Rifa'at region are the pointed headdress or helmet of the shield bearer, which reminds us of a bronze statuette from Tartus, now in the Louvre Museum,²⁵ and of some clay figurines of shield bearers of Cypriote production.²⁶ It is probable, however, that there is no real relation between the high and pointed headdress of the divine iconographies of Syria well known in glyptic and to which the Tartus god must be connected, and those of the hunters on the Tell Rifa'at pyxis. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the latter has to be related to the similar military helmet of the Assyrians in the 9th century B.C.²⁷ In the same way, some similarities in the style of the faces of the figures in the pyxis might be observed in a bronze statuette from Sidon, now in the Louvre Museum.²⁸ However, the relation which can be observed with the formal characteristics of the definition of the faces on a stele of Tukultu-Ninurta II (890-884 B.C.), found at Tell 'Asharah,²⁹ is more important.

Concerning the figure engraved on the short flat surface of the pyxis from the Tell Rifa'at region, it may remind us of the statues of gods from Zincirli³⁰ and Marash,³¹ albeit in a very general way. It is difficult to say whether or not the spear and the bunch of flowers really point to a divine figure, as the sort of dais on which the figure is standing might lead us to believe. Although crossed legs supporting a table are quite frequent in the banquet scenes of the North Syrian reliefs,³² the crossed supports of the Tell Rifa'at pyxis belong to something different, and are related to an architectural structure which cannot be identified.

The engraved geometrical motifs can be compared with some quite frequent decorations on ivory, like those from Samaria or Nimrud.³³ But the best comparison can be made with a recently published pyxis from Rasm et-Tanjarah. All its structural and decorative details are very similar to those of the Rasm et-Tanjarah pyxis in the Aleppo Museum, but it is fourfold, with the fifth circular partition in the middle.³⁴ The engraving techniques using compasses, and the trend to compose geometrical flowers with inner criss-cross decorations, lead us to believe that the production of the steatite pyxides from Rasm et-Tanjarah, Tell Denit, and the region of Tell Rifa'at, belong to the 8th century B.C. It is possible that during the 8th century—when elephants became rare—the tradition of the ivory

²⁴ Amadasi, *L'iconografia*, p. 86, fig. 22:2. In the Nimrud bowl—usually dated to the 8th century B.C.—the chariot is different from ours, as it is drawn by four horses, while in the pyxis from the region of Tell Rifa'at there are only two horses.

²⁵ P. Matthiae, *Ars Syra. Contributi alla storia dell'arte figurativa siriana nelle età del Medio e Tardo Bronzo*, (hereafter *Ars Syra.*), Rome 1962, p. 62, pl. XIX, 2.

²⁶ E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II, pls. CXCIV: 1389; CCIII: 3, 4, 7, 8; CCV: 1.

²⁷ Madhloom, *Chronology*, pl. XIX 15.

²⁸ Matthiae, *Ars Syra.*, p. 48, pl. XIII.

²⁹ S. Sawaf, P. Tournay; *AAS*, 2 (1954), p. 169-190; W. F. Albright, *North-West Mediterranean Dark Ages and the Early Iron Age of Syria: The Aegean and the Near East. Studies Presented to H. Goldman*, New York 1956, pp. 147-149; Madhloom, *Chronology*, pl. XLIV 3.

³⁰ F. von Luschan, *Sendschirli*, IV, figs. 266, 267; Orthmann, *USK*, pl. 62c-d.

³¹ Orthmann, *USK*, pl. 45h (B 116).

³² Cf., *ibid.*, pls. 47c-d (Marash C1, C2), 48i (Tell Rifa'at), 51f (Sakçagözü).

³³ J. Crowfoot, *Samaria*, II, pl. XXI 8; C. Mertzfeld, *Inventaire*, pl. XVII 201; Barnett, *CNI*, pls. XIII H1a, XV F2, XXIV S37, S35, XXX S38a-c.

³⁴ K. Gallig: *ZDPV* 86 (1970), pl. 1.

pyxides was continued by the production of steatite pyxides. The lesser accuracy in the pyxis from Tell Denit, in comparison with the two similar specimens from Rasm et-Tanjara, leads us to believe that the first one is a provincial or later work than other objects like those from Rasm et-Tanjara, which probably belonged to a major production center in the region of Hama. Within a tradition which is unitarian for its style and contexts, it is probable that the pyxides from Rasm et-Tanjara date back to the early 8th century B.C. and the one from Tell Denit is an imitation of the late 8th century B.C.

The pyxis from the region of Tell Rifa'at belongs to a more sophisticated production, to a school with a figurative taste, and to a certainly older period. The milieu and the chronological position of the pyxis from the region of Tell Rifa'at can be reconstructed mainly on the basis of some comparisons with the monumental reliefs of the palatial art of northern Syria. On the other hand, the kind of pyxis decorated with figurative patterns all over the length of the body is well attested in two fragmentary pyxides from Carchemish (now in the British Museum),³⁵ in one from Mahmudiyyah on the Euphrates (in the Iraqi Museum of Baghdad),³⁶ and in one from northern Syria (now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston).³⁷ While there are some relationships which can be established among these pyxides, the hunt scene of the decoration on the Tell Rifa'at pyxis is different from the scenes on the Mahmudiyyah and Boston pyxides. Both these decorations have two elements which are missing in that from Tell Rifa'at: the banquet scene and the imaginary animals. In the fragmentary pyxides from Carchemish, on the contrary, some elements of hunt scenes are mingled with different decorative elements, among which at least one is a sacred tree; this was probably in the axis in symmetrical patterns, as happens with the winged lions with human and lion heads in the Mahmudiyyah pyxis.³⁸

Apparently, among the stone pyxides of North Syrian production three different kinds of decoration can be identified. The first one is represented in the pyxis from the Tell Rifa'at region, with homogeneous and unitarian hunt scenes. The second one, to which the Mahmudiyyah and Boston pyxides belong, bore together the banquet theme and some imaginary animals. The third one, present at Carchemish, mingled together hunt scenes, imaginary animals, and sacred trees. It is certain that the engraving techniques and the compositional themes of the steatite pyxides are strictly related to those of the engravings on ivory, as is particularly clear in the Boston piece. It is also certain that they repeated on the pyxides some images and compositions of the monumental reliefs of northern Syria of the 9th-8th centuries B.C.

Notwithstanding the differences of themes among the three types of attested compositions, a series of common iconographic details lead us to believe that a strong unity connected the different production centers of the steatite pyxides. For example, the deer with backturned head of the pyxis from the region of Tell Rifa'at is a motif of the hunt scenes which is kept in a less coherent way in the Mahmudiyyah pyxis, where also the animal turns its head backwards towards the hunter following it. In this case, however, the animal is the central axis of a scene with two winged lions facing each other, and the backturned head is used as an element of balance in the composition, with the addition of the

³⁵C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, p. 28, n. 3 and 4; Orthmann, *USK*, p. 164.

³⁶E. Herzfeld, *AMI* 2 (1930), pp. 132-133, figs. 1-2; Orthmann, *USK*, p. 164-165, 553, pl. 70c-f.

³⁷Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, n. 61.1075: E. L. B. Terrace, *BMFA* 59, 318 (1962), p. 119; Id.: *BMFA* 62, 328 (1964), pp. 58-59, figs. 13, 14.

³⁸Cf. also the steatite pyxis found at Karmir Blur in Urartu: B. B. Piotrovskij, *Il regno di Van-Urartu*, Roma 1960, pl. XLVIII.

bird over the back of the deer. The placement of decorative elements on the bodies and the lids of the pyxides shows the existence of customs and conventions in the workshops, which are only partially inspired by similarities in the monumental reliefs. This is the case with the 'guilloche,' which appears as the lower edge of the decoration on the body of the pyxis in one of the Carchemish specimens,³⁹ and in a fragmentary pyxis from Tell Halaf.⁴⁰ In addition, it occurs as a decoration on the outer edge of the lids of the same pyxis from Tell Halaf and of the Boston piece.⁴¹ These decorations from workshops showing a high level of sophistication were copied later in the concentric circles engraved on the lids from Rasm et-Tanjarah and Tell Denit.

The archaic and traditional elements of the pyxis from the Tell Rifa'at region—namely, the four-spoked wheel, the position of the axle, the quivers on the backs of the figures, the position of the spear—correspond to the archaic style of some elements. The rendering of the long faces and the long curved noses is certainly similar to that of the same features in the sitting woman of the Mahmudiyyah pyxis, as well as in several figures on Carchemish reliefs.⁴² Some antiquarian elements—like the clothing of the shield bearers, and of the two bowmen—find parallels in the offering bearers from Carchemish.⁴³ Some parallels may also be observed between the Tell Rifa'at and the Nimrud ivory pyxides of the Loftus group, namely the chariot with two horses, the dog below the horses, and the long hairstyles of the hunters.⁴⁴ The relations between the Tell Rifa'at and the Mahmudiyyah pyxides depend quite probably on the fact that both are archaic in the North Syrian production of the 9th-8th centuries B.C., but the pyxis from Mahmudiyyah belongs to an eastern school perhaps related to the Carchemish milieu. On the other hand, the two fragmentary pyxides from Carchemish, which almost certainly date back to the 8th century B.C. and were made in the same center on the upper Euphrates, have a higher stylistic quality.

The archaic nature and the western origin of the pyxis from the Tell Rifa'at region are very clear, due to the close relationship between the figurative decoration of the pyxis and the oldest reliefs of Zincirli-Sam'al. These relations are quite evident in the chariot scenes of Zincirli, especially the position of the axle, the presence of two quivers hanging on the outer side of the chariot, and the two-man crew in the chariot pulled by two horses.⁴⁵ The close relation between the workshops which made the Tell Rifa'at pyxis and the archaic series of the monumental reliefs from Zincirli is also clear in the figure of the hunter holding a shield and a spear, which clearly descends compositionally on a monumental model, which is well attested in the reliefs from Zincirli. For example, the position of the spear with its head downturned is not too practical in the hunt context, especially considering the closeness of the lion. However, this is an indication that it has been copied from an archaic orthostat of the 9th century B.C. in Sam'al itself, or another center of the the western area of the Aramaean kingdoms in the region stretching between Carchemish to the east and Arpad and Sam'al in the west. The antiquarian, iconographic, and compositional elements of the hunters indicate certainly a great closeness to the archaic

³⁹ C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, p. 28 no. 3.

⁴⁰ A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf*, III, figs. 10-12; B. Hrouda, *Tell Halaf*, IV, pl. 43; Barnett, *CNI*, fig. 17.

⁴¹ E. L. B. Terrace: *BMFA* 62, 328 (1964), p. 59.

⁴² C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, pl. B 25.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pls. B 22b, B 23.

⁴⁴ Barnett, *CNI*, pls. XVIII S 1, XXII S 2.

⁴⁵ F. von Luschan, *Sendschirli*, III, pl. XXXIX. The same similarities can be seen in some reliefs from Tell Halaf, always of the 9th century B.C., and in some reliefs from Malatya: A. Moortgat, *Tell Halaf*, III, pl. 41a; Madhloom, *Chronology*, pls. VI, 5, XIV, 3.

monumental reliefs of Zincirli. On the other hand, the formal structure of the rendering of the faces of the figures in the Tell Rifa'at pyxis is certainly different from that of the Zincirli reliefs. The peculiar representation of faces with a flat and receding chin of the archaic school of Zincirli is substituted in the pyxis by the elongated and squared structures of the faces, where the feature composed by the mouth and the chin is quite high and full. These elements prove that the pyxis coming down the Tell Rifa'at region must date back to the 9th century B.C., and must be ascribed to a school east of Carchemish, thus far unknown in the western area of northern Syria. Therefore it is quite probable that the pyxis was made in a workshop of the kingdom of Arpad before the end of the 9th century B.C.

In conclusion, the three pyxides of northern Syria described here in order to pay homage to Edith Porada are—albeit in different ways—peculiar productions of some workshops active in the area of the Aramaean kingdoms which flourished in the region between Aleppo and Hama during the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. The oldest and most important one, from an artistic point of view, comes from the Tell Rifa'at region; it can be ascribed to the Arpad milieu of the late 9th century B.C., and is evidence of a lively art with archaic characteristics. The artistic culture of the pyxis is the same as the oldest reliefs in Zincirli, but it descends from productive centers of which nothing else has come to us, and about which precious evidence could be obtained from new excavations in Tell Rifa'at itself. The two pyxides from Rasm et-Tanjarah belong to more modest workshops in the area of the kingdom of Hama, probably dating to the early 8th century B.C., which substituted the beautiful contemporary figurative decorations of the mature style—of which an important specimen is the fragmentary pyxis in Boston—with geometric patterns. These more modest products were certainly made for non-royal, definitely provincial purchasers. Together with them we must include the other fragmentary pyxis from Tell Denit, probably dating to the late 8th century B.C., where the quality of the engraving seems to have further declined, with probably a serial repetition of simple geometric decorations.

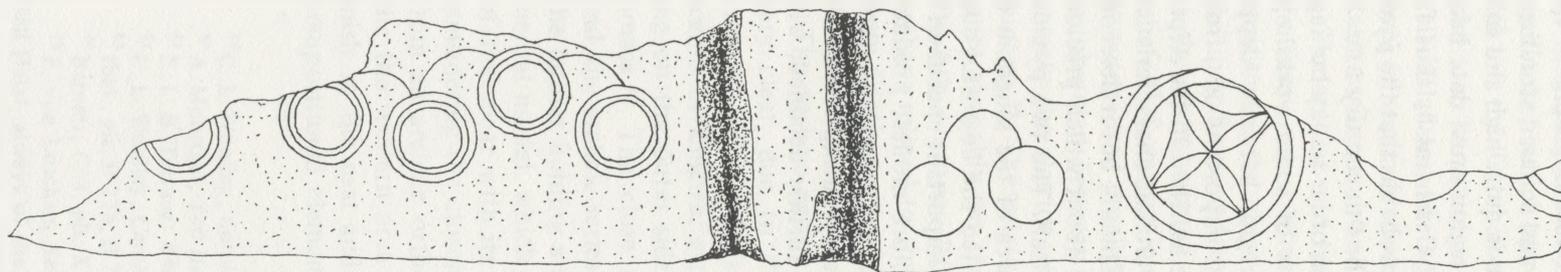


Fig. 1. Pyxis excavated at Tell Denit, 27.5 cm.

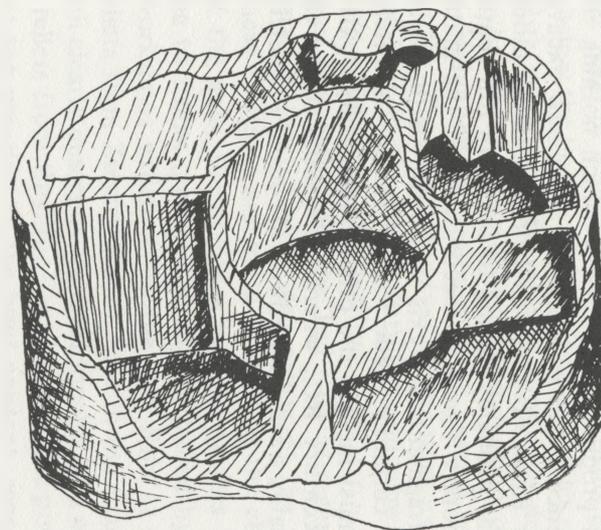


Fig. 2. Pyxis from Region of Tell Rifa'at.

THE DROOPING LOTUS FLOWER

Maurits van Loon

This article is dedicated to my teacher Edith Porada, who has solved so many a riddle of Near Eastern iconography and shown that its gestures and attributes seldom lack a specific meaning. The point of departure of the argument I will set out below is an article by Miss Porada herself on the sarcophagus of Ahiram, which she has dated about 1000 B.C.¹ In it she developed an idea first formulated by the Emir Maurice Chehab with respect to the two standing figures that face each other on the lid of the sarcophagus (Ill. 1). Whereas the figure on the left holds a living, upright flower to his nose, the figure on the right holds a drooping lotus flower in his left hand. The latter gesture is certainly a remarkable one, for one expects a person to hold a flower in such a way that he can smell its fragrance and appreciate its beauty, as in Ill. 9 and in Ill. 1 on the left. This is the position in which one normally sees the flower on earlier Syrian and Egyptian monuments.²

As the blue lotus opens and closes daily, flowering from sunrise to midday, it was a constant reminder of regeneration.³ Particularly relevant is the wooden head of Tut-ankh-Amun on the lotus, found in the entrance of his tomb.⁴ It seems to mean that the dead king is rejuvenated like the rising sun. The infant sun-god's appearance on a lotus at Hermopolis became a favorite theme under Sheshonq I (950-929 B.C.) whose renewed contact with Byblos seems to have caused an influx of new Egyptian motifs in Phoenicia.⁵

A flower shown drooping, and therefore dying or dead, would certainly be understood by the ancient Near Easterner as an ill omen, and therefore its representation would be avoided, unless one meant, on the contrary, to convey the idea of death or dying symbolically. This is exactly what M. Chehab implied.⁶ He proposed that the two standing figures that face each other on the lid of the sarcophagus portray father and son, in accordance with the inscription, which says: "A sarcophagus made by [It]oba'1, the son of Ahiram,

¹ Edith Porada, "Notes on the Sarcophagus of Ahiram," *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 5 (1973), pp. 355-372, especially p. 359.

² E.g., held by the thunder god on an 18th-century B.C. Syrian seal, Edith Porada, ed., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals . . . I: The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (Washington, 1948), no. 967. On Egyptian Middle and New Kingdom funerary stelae the lotus flower is usually directed horizontally toward the dead man's nose, even though the stem is held vertically, see, e.g., William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I* (New York, 1953), fig. 220; II (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), fig. 93.

³ G. A. D. Tait, "The Egyptian Relief Chalice," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49 (1963), pp. 93-139; H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 5)*, 1977.

⁴ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen III* (London, 1933), pl. 1.

⁵ Tait, op cit. in note 3, pp. 134-136.

⁶ Maurice Chehab, "Observations au sujet du sarcophage d'Ahiram," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 46 (1970-71), pp. 109-117, especially p. 115.

king of Byblos, for Ahiram, his father, when he laid him down for eternity.”⁷ In this interpretation, the dead king, on the right, raises his right hand in a gesture of benediction toward his son, whose right arm is hanging down and possibly holding a libation vessel. One side of the sarcophagus shows the funerary banquet, with mourners bringing food and drink to a table set before the dead king (Ill. 2). This time he sits on a throne carried by sphinxes and holds a bowl in his right hand, like the king on a 12th century B.C. Megiddo ivory illustrating a victory banquet (Ill. 9). But while the victorious Megiddo king holds an upright lotus flower in his left hand, the dead king of Byblos—or rather his ghost—holds a drooping lotus flower in his. With these strong indications as to the significance of the drooping lotus flower in mind we shall now turn to some other occurrences of this motif.

In north Syria and south Anatolia, stelae were regularly carved with banquet scenes in the 9th-8th centuries B.C. Orthmann has shown that these scenes represent the funerary banquet and that the stelae were funerary stelae, serving as the focal point for the cult of the dead, as they had done in Egypt since the old kingdom.⁹ Two sites (the Kazdağ near Islahiye and Maraş) have yielded a stele representing the thunder god along with such banquet stelae. At Tell Halaf (ancient Guzana) a seated statue of husband and wife, each holding a bowl in which offerings could have been placed, was found in the same room as a divine statue and an altar.¹⁰ These material remains illustrate what was meant by certain texts from the same region, e.g.: “May Panamuwa’s soul eat with Hadad and may Panamuwa’s soul drink with Hadad.” The latter text was inscribed by King Panamuwa I of Sam’al on a statue of the thunder god Hadad on a rock outcrop named Gercin northeast of Zincirli (ancient Sam’al).¹¹ Nearby were two more, damaged statues and a relief. The statue of Panamuwa II found at Tahtali Pinar may originally have stood here too.

On the Neo-Hittite funerary stelae mentioned above, the men regularly hold an ear of grain up or a bunch of grapes down. The lotus flower is an insignium of the ruler on 9th-8th century Neo-Hittite reliefs.¹² On three reliefs from Sam’al king Bar-Rakib (ca. 732-722 B.C.) holds an upright flower. On two of them the flower takes the shape of a palmette rather than a lotus; on the third it resembles a bunch of buds.¹³ Probably through western influence, the lotus flower as a royal insignium appears on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and wall paintings from the reign of Tiglathpileser III (745-727 B.C.) onward.¹⁴ Thus the beardless figure on a funerary stele from Sam’al must also represent a dead king or

⁷Herbert Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I* (Wiesbaden, 1966), no. 1; vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 2-4, translated by Franz Rosenthal in James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts . . .* (3rd ed., Princeton, 1969), p. 661.

⁸Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (OIP 52, Chicago, 1939), pl. 4, no. 2a-b. Kurt Galling, “Die Achiram-Inschrift im Lichte der Karatepe-Texte,” *Die Welt des Orients* 1 (1950), pp. 421 ff., and others after him, have compared the sarcophagus of Ahiram to this ivory. Edith Porada, op. cit. in note 1, showed that the relation between the two is one of subject matter, not of style.

⁹Winfried Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst* (Bonn, 1971), pp. 378-379, 388.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 378; Max von Oppenheim, ed., *Tell Halaf II: Die Bauwerke*, von Rudolf Naumann (Berlin, 1950), pp. 357-360, fig. 173, pl. 71.

¹¹Felix von Luschan et al., *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli I* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 44-54, fig. 19, pl. 6; Donner and Röllig, op. cit. in note 7, vol. I, pp. 38-39; vol. II, pp. 214-223.

¹²Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, p. 292.

¹³Felix von Luschan et al., *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli IV* (Berlin, 1911), fig. 255, pl. 60; pl. 67; Herbert Donner, “Ein Orthostaten-fragment des Königs Barrakab von Sam’al,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung* 3 (1955), pp. 73-98, figs. 1-2. Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, nos. Zincirli F/1, K/1, K/11.

¹⁴Barthel Hrouda, *Die Kulturgeschichte des assyrischen Flachbildes* (Bonn, 1965), p. 105.

prince (Ill. 5).¹⁵ He holds a lotus flower in such a way that the flower points forward, not upward. In terms of signifying a living or dead flower this position is equivocal. The stele is dated on stylistic grounds in the later part of Orthmann's *Späthethitisch* IIIb period (ca. 750-710 B.C.).¹⁶ An earlier date, in the later part of Orthmann's *Späthethitisch* IIIa period (ca. 850-750 B.C.) is indicated for another round-topped stele from Sam'al, on which two standing men face right (Ill. 4).¹⁷ Both wear the ceremonial dress of the Assyrian kings, a belted plaid displaying three tiers of fringe.¹⁸ Like the left-hand figure on the lid of Ahiram's sarcophagus (Ill. 1), the smaller, beardless and bare-headed man in Ill. 4 holds a vessel in one hand and an upright, living lotus flower in the other. The larger, bearded and crowned man raises his right hand in a gesture of benediction and lowers the lotus flower in his left hand. It is shown in a horizontal position, as on the funerary stele in Ill. 5. The parallels with the earlier sarcophagus lid from Byblos and the later funerary stele from Sam'al itself leave hardly any doubt that Ill. 4 is a funerary stele as well and represents a dead king of Sam'al blessing his son, who is about to offer him a libation. Although the dead king represented (Panamuwa I or his father?) must have reigned in the first half of the 8th century, one might adduce for comparison the inscription on a statue that Bar-Rakib erected, probably on the hill of Gercin, for his father Panamuwa II (who died before Damascus 733 B.C.):¹⁹ "My father Panamuwa died at the feet of his lord Tiglathpileser, king of Assyria in the battle of. . . . Then his lord, the king of Assyria, took. . . his soul and he set up a monument for it along the road and he shipped my father from Damascus to Assyria. . . and I have erected this statue [for] my [father] Panamuwa, son of Bar-Sur. . . and he brought. . . before the grave of my father Panamuwa. . . ."

The Sam'al stele on Ill. 4, with its Assyrian crown, dress and sandals, is unique among Neo-Hittite sculpture and paralleled only by the royal figure on an inscribed orthostat from the same site (Ill. 3).²⁰ It shows king Kilamuwa (ca. 845-815 B.C.) holding a drooping lotus flower with the stem at his knee. Here our hypothesis does not seem to work, as the accompanying inscription recounts his autobiography in the first person.²¹ It is to be noted, however, that most of the inscription is phrased in the past tense; toward the end, it addresses itself to future generations. Perhaps a curse upon evildoers, like the one with which it ends, was considered more effective if pronounced by the ghost of a dead king. If the relief had been made after Kilamuwa's death, this would explain the considerable difference in style between this work and Orthmann's immediately preceding group *Späthethitisch* II (ca. 950-850 B.C.). It would take us too far to consider the many occurrences of the lotus flower in Phoenician and Syrian art, especially on ivories and metalwork. Irene J. Winter has discussed an important group of ivories, probably made in Sam'al for Tiglathpileser III, and has dwelt upon the regeneration symbolism of lotus bud and flower.²²

¹⁵ Von Luschan et al., op. cit. in note 13, fig. 236, pl. 54; Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, p. 375, lists other features that point to this figure being male, not female.

¹⁶ Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, pp. 65, 148, 221.

¹⁷ Von Luschan et al., op. cit. in note 13, pl. 66; Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, pp. 67-68, 148, 221.

¹⁸ Hrouda, op. cit. in note 14, pp. 37-38, pl. 2, *Schalgewand* Nr. 2.

¹⁹ The torso, recovered at Tahtali Pinar between Gercin and Zincirli, may have come from Gercin, Von Luschan, op. cit. in note 11, p. 48, figs. 16-17; Donner and Röllig, op. cit. in note 7, vol. I, pp. 38-39; vol. II, pp. 223-224.

²⁰ Von Luschan et al., op. cit. in note 13, fig. 273; Orthmann, op. cit. in note 9, pp. 200-202.

²¹ Donner and Röllig, op. cit. in note 7, vol. I, pp. 4-5; vol. II, pp. 30-34, translated by Rosenthal, op. cit. in note 7, pp. 654-655.

²² Irene J. Winter, "Carved Ivory Furniture Panels from Nimrud: a Coherent Subgroup of the North Syrian Style," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11 (1976), pp. 25-54.

From the area halfway between Phoenicia and Assyria we now move to Assyria itself. No entirely satisfactory explanation has thus far been given for the Neo-Assyrian genii with rosette headbands that carry a drooping lotus or other flower in the left hand while raising the other in a gesture of benediction (Ills. 6, 7).²³ Julian Reade has identified them as anthropomorphic *apkalle* or wise ones.²⁴ These are mentioned besides fish-cloaked *apkalle* and bird-headed *apkalle* in 8th-century B.C. incantation texts.²⁵ It appears, though, as if the term "wise ones" is a generic one, the equivalent of our "genii." We would like to go beyond this identification and establish the specific meaning of the genius with headband. In some instances the genius carries a kid or other sacrificial animal on the left forearm while the drooping flower is held in his lowered right hand. Basically, these figures are characterized by two apparently contradictory features: they wear the headband decorated with rosettes that, Julian Reade has shown, was reserved for royal persons in the direct line of succession.²⁶ On the other hand they wear the kilt over which a shawl is draped in such a way as to afford the forward leg freedom of movement. This garb, which implies both readiness to fight (the kilt) and dignity (the shawl), is reserved for supernatural beings (gods, genii and heroes) in Neo-Assyrian art.²⁷ Wings, usually (but not always) added to this basic appearance emphasize the divine status of the figures under Ashurnasirpal II, but not under Sargon II (Ill. 6, 7). Now the only way to reconcile the figures' royal and at the same time divine status is to assume that they portray dead kings, deified or at least assimilated to the gods in certain respects.²⁸

If we have correctly interpreted the drooping flower, it signifies the fact that this figure with its royal headband represents not the living king or crown prince, but a dead king whose ghost receives sacrifices from and bestows blessings upon the living king. A variant of this type of genius carries not a plant but a bucket in his left hand while blessing the king with his right hand. The carrying of a "lustration" bucket indicates his function partly overlapped that of the mitered or eagle-headed genii engaged in a purification ceremony with bucket and aspergillum. On the reliefs decorating the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud (ancient Calah) 43 genii with rosette headbands occur, 31 of them in the king's living room (Room H) alone.²⁹ All of the latter belonged to the variant just mentioned. In throne room B two entrances were flanked by winged genii with rosette headbands and

²³ Austen H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh I* (London, 1849), pl. 37b, from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 883-859 B.C. = John B. Stearns, *Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II*, (*AFO Beiheft* 15, Graz, 1961), pl. 51; Pierre E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive I* (Paris, 1849), pls. 43, 74-75; Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 97; *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I* (Paris, 1936), p. 307, from the palace of Sargon II, 721-705 B.C.

²⁴ Julian E. Reade, "Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject-Matter," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 10 (1979), pp. 17-49, especially pp. 37-38.

²⁵ Oliver R. Gurney, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures and their Rituals," *AAA* 22 (1935), pp. 31-96.

²⁶ I.e., among the living, for king and crown prince, Julian E. Reade, "Two Slabs from Sennacherib's Palace," *Iraq* 29 (1967), pp. 42-48, especially p. 47. It was, apparently, the most essential part of the Assyrian royal crown. In single combat with lions, when liberty of movement is needed, Ashurbanipal wears only the rosette headband. Hunting from the chariot, in which he is protected by his attendants, he wears the full crown, Richard D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (London, n.d.) pls. 65, 89.

²⁷ Hrouda, *op. cit.* in note 14, pp. 26-30, pl. 1:6-8.

²⁸ E.g., by their regularly receiving food and drink offerings. There is ample evidence for such practices, especially among Neo-Assyrian royalty, Miranda Bayliss, "The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia," *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 115-125.

²⁹ John B. Stearns, *Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurnasirpal II* (*AFO Beiheft* 15, Graz, 1961), pp. 64-65, pls. 89-90.

plants. One pair had a bucket in its left hand and held a lotus branch up in its right hand.³⁰ The other pair had a young dappled deer on its left forearm and held a palmette branch up in its right hand.³¹ Four more winged genii with headbands were to be found flanking entrances or lining doorways in the south wing. One pair raised the right hand in blessing and held a branch with daisy-like flowers down in its left hand.³² The other carried a young wild goat on the right forearm and held an ear of grain upright in the left hand.³³ Finally, the Ninurta temple seems to have had a pair of wingless genii with rosette headbands and plants at its north entrance. Next to a doorway in the arsenal of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.) at Calah a blessing genius was painted with three pendant flowers in front of his thigh.³⁴ In the palace of Tiglathpileser III (744-727 B.C.) at least two genii with headbands must have been portrayed; one had wings, the other raised his right hand in blessing and held a drooping pomegranate branch in his left.³⁵ The original wall-paintings of the palace at Til-Barsib included a wingless genius with headband and upright lotus flower in the blessing right hand, a drooping flower (?) in the left. Another held a quadruped by a leash.³⁶ Kneeling genii holding a lotus flower up and a branch with three dates (?) down occurred in rooms which seem to have been redecorated under Ashurbanipal (668-627 B.C.)³⁷ In the palace of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) at Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin) all the genii with headbands were wingless and carried plants. Some carry drooping pomegranate branches and bless the king near doorways. They sometimes accompany genii with horned crowns near doorways or appear on a small scale near the guardian colossi on the façades. Others come in pairs, a larger one carrying a wild goat on his left forearm and a smaller one behind.³⁸ As difference in size usually indicates difference in rank on the Assyrian reliefs, one wonders whether the smaller figures might not portray the humbler Assyrian kings of the pre-Empire days.

A miniature figure with drooping pomegranate branch and wild goat is seen as part of the backrest of Sargon's throne.³⁹ Below is a table showing the various occurrences of the genius with rosette headband.⁴⁰

| | winged | wingless | bucket | kid | deer | blessing hand | drooping plant | | | upright plant | | | |
|----------------------|--------|----------|--------|-----|------|------------------|----------------|-------|-------------|---------------|-------|----------|---|
| | | | | | | | lotus | daisy | pomegranate | grain | lotus | palmette | |
| Ashurbanipal II | 37 | 6 | 35 | 2 | 2 | 37 | | 2 | | | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Tiglathpileser III * | 1 | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Sargon II | | | | 2 | | ca. 40 | 2 | | ca. 40 | | | | |

*including Til-Barsib wall paintings

³⁰ Layard, op. cit. in note 23, pl. 34a.

³¹ Ibid., pl. 35b.

³² Ibid., pl. 37b.

³³ Ibid., pl. 35a.

³⁴ David Oates, "The Excavations at Nimrud . . .," *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 6-37, especially p. 30.

³⁵ Richard D. Barnett and Margarete Falkner, *The Sculptures of . . . Tiglath-pileser III. . .* (London, 1962), pl. 104-106.

³⁶ François Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), pp. 57, 68, pls. 48, 52.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 62-63, pl. 46.

³⁸ Pierre E. Botta and E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive I* (Paris, 1849), pls. 24, 29; Gordon Loud, *Khorsabad I* (OIP 38, Chicago, 1936), fig. 35.

³⁹ Loud, *ibid.*, fig. 44.

⁴⁰ Hrouda, op. cit. in note 14, p. 172, gives a list of museum numbers with references to their publication.

It will be shown that some of the genii hold an upright plant, although they presumably represent dead kings. A more serious objection against our whole "drooping flower" hypothesis might be raised on the grounds that living Assyrian kings are sometimes shown holding the flower down. In one wall-painting from Til-Barsib the king (Tiglathpileser III?) is shown holding his staff in the right hand and a pomegranate branch, with the blossoms hanging down, in the left (Ill. 10).⁴¹ The crown prince, opposite him, has introduced a vanquished foe (?) who prostrates himself and whose fate is perhaps being decided. Could the branch held with the blossoms down signify condemnation, as Falkner has suggested with respect to the staff put to the enemy's head by Tiglathpileser on a relief from his palace?⁴² Here the king holds a lotus horizontally, and Barnett, who disagrees with Falkner, interprets this gesture as signifying, on the contrary, that the foreigner is being reprieved. With respect to another scene, however, in which a spear is held with the point down, they both agree that condemnation is implied.⁴³

In his palace at Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin), too, Sargon II had himself portrayed more than once holding a lotus or pomegranate flower down (Ill. 8).⁴⁴ It is certainly not likely that he wished to show himself after his death. Is it a sign of condemnation, this time directed at a group of Medes? Perhaps we have, all along, sought too literal a meaning in these gestures, which might, instead, refer to the receiving of life (the smelling of the lotus) on the one hand, and the bestowing of life (the proffering of the lotus) on the other.

Professor Dr. Othmar Keel has very generously allowed me to illustrate and discuss a splendid bluish chalcedony cylinder seal (height 3.1 cm, diameter 1.6 cm) now in the collection of the Biblical Institute of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland (Ill. 11). This collection will be published by Marcus Wäfler and Madame H. Keel-Leu. In 1920 the seal was offered to the British Museum by a dealer named Gejau. Its earlier history is unknown. It has been carved out of the hard stone with clearly recognizable use of the cutting disc (e.g., in the left bull's raised foreleg) and the drill (e.g., in the right-hand bull's knee joints and in the winged sun-disc). By moving these tools over the surface a certain amount of modeling has been achieved (e.g., on the bull's haunches). Other parts (e.g., the bull's ribs, wings and necks) are simply hatched. The three-dimensional effect, a hallmark of Neo-Assyrian late 8th-7th century modeled style seals,⁴⁵ has been achieved by an alternation of shallower and deeper carving. The Fribourg seal's principal scene is probably the most common motif on seals of the reign of Sargon II. In it, a four-winged genius holds two rearing winged bulls at bay. His shawl is draped in three apron-like tiers over his backward leg. The scene is closely paralleled, e.g., on a late 8th-7th century Assyrian jaspis cylinder in the British Museum.⁴⁶

It is hard to establish the meaning of such very stereotyped scenes, which come late in the millenary development of Near Eastern seals. For the 8th-7th century Assyrian or Babylonian they may have been as meaningless as our heraldic devices have become for us.⁴⁷ Certainly the association of the bull with the thunder god is no useful clue, as the latter occurs on Neo-Assyrian seals in a completely different guise.⁴⁸ On account of the crescentic

⁴¹ Thureau-Dangin and Dunand, *op. cit.* in note 36, p. 64, pl. 52.

⁴² Barnett and Falkner, *op. cit.* in note 35, pp. xvii, 35, pl. 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 42, pl. 96.

⁴⁴ Loud, *op. cit.* in note 38, figs. 28, 34, 35.

⁴⁵ Edith Porada, *op. cit.* in note 2, pp. 91-92, nos. 753-763.

⁴⁶ Donald J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London, 1959), no. 70.

⁴⁷ The earlier occurrence of comparable motifs as textile patterns may indicate this, see Layard, *op. cit.* in note 23, pls. 44:1, 3.

frontal view of his horns, however, the bull is also associated with the moon god and thus, some scholars have suggested, with night.⁴⁹ An interpretation of the genius as a genius of day would accord with the border of open lotus flowers. The Egyptian water lily hides its flower at night and opens with the first morning rays. It therefore symbolized the rising sun in Egypt.⁵⁰

The figure most relevant to the subject of this article is the wingless genius that seems to have retreated between the bull's wings. His garb, consisting of kilt and shawl, marks him as divine. He is related to the "royal ghosts" from the palace of Sargon II (Ill. 7) by the animal and plant he carries: on his right forearm a young horned animal (a wild sheep, if its horns are drawn correctly) and, held down by the left hand, a lotus flower. To make his status as a dead, divinized king even clearer, the seal-cutter has raised him on a mountain, the scaly rocks of which are indicated by cross-hatching.

Although the mountain as abode of the gods was a literary rather than an artistic theme in Mesopotamia,⁵¹ gods standing on mountains are a standard feature of Anatolian and Syrian art.⁵² In what may have been his funerary chapel, the Hittite king Tuthaliya IV (ca. 1235-1210 B.C.) is even, according to a highly plausible suggestion of Hans Güterbock's⁵³ represented after his death as standing on two mountains and therefore assimilated to the gods. This would correspond to the common Hittite euphemism "king RN became god" for "king RN died."⁵⁴ In an exceptional Akkadian text from Boğazköy, the death of king Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350-1324 B.C.) is described as follows: "When RN, my grandfather, took to the mountain."⁵⁵ The discovery of this seal would seem to clinch the points made by Maurice Chehab, Edith Porada, and myself, namely that a whole series of figures holding a drooping lotus flower represents dead kings. On account of the mountain motif, so popular in Anatolia and Syria, the seal may come from the western part of the Assyrian empire. On the other hand the filling motifs—rhomb, winged sun-disc, and, especially, the crossed horned animals—are typically Assyrian. The latter motif also occurs on a late 8th-7th century Assyrian chalcedony seal in the British Museum.⁵⁶

An interesting solution has recently been proposed for the dilemma that according to Greek sources Persian religion was strictly aniconic in the 5th century B.C.,⁵⁷ while many Persian monuments show a figure in a winged ring interpreted by most archeologists as

⁴⁸ For Adad on his bull, see Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 215-216; Porada, *op. cit.* in note 2, nos. 692, 702.

⁴⁹ René Dussaud, "Notes de mythologie syrienne," *Revue Archéologique* 5 (1904), pp. 234-236; Kurt Erdmann, review of Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 13 (1956), pp. 56-65, especially p. 65; André Parrot, *Mission Archéologique de Mari II: Le palais 2: Peintures murales* (Paris, 1958), p. 76, pl. 17.

⁵⁰ See Tait, *op. cit.* in note 3.

⁵¹ Henri Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Bloomington, 1951), pp. 54-55; same, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 6.

⁵² See, e.g., Kurt Bittel, ed., *Boğazköy-Hattusa IX: Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (Berlin, 1975), pls. 24-28; Claude F. A. Schaeffer, "La grande stèle du Baal au foudre," *Ugaritica* II (Paris, 1949), pp. 121-130, especially pp. 128-129; Edith Porada, *op. cit.* in note 2, nos. 967-968.

⁵³ Hans G. Güterbock, "Yazilikaya," *MDOG* 86 (1953), pp. 65-76, expressed more cautiously by Rudolf Naumann in Bittel, ed., *Boğazköy-Hattusa IX* (see note 52), pp. 123-124.

⁵⁴ Johannes Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1952), p. 268; Heinrich Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Berlin, 1958), pp. 119-120; Erich Neu, *Interpretation der hethitischen mediopassiven Verbalformen* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Tafeln 5, Wiesbaden, 1968), p. 95.

⁵⁵ *KBo* I 8:7.

⁵⁶ Wiseman, *op. cit.* in note 46, no. 67, cf. review by Edith Porada in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 18 (1961), pp. 250-251.

Ahuramazda.⁵⁸ On the tombs of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) and his successors, this figure appears to be invoked by the king who is standing before a fire altar (Ill. 12).⁵⁹ Calmeyer has noted that the figure in the winged ring wears a different crown in each generation, sometimes corresponding to the crown of the previous king.⁶⁰ Shahbazi adduces several Greek texts (to begin with Aeschylus' *Persians*) proving that the Persian kings consulted the spirits of their predecessors.⁶¹ Their conclusion is that not Ahuramazda, but the ghost of the king's father or ancestor is represented whenever the figure faces the king; if the figure faces the same way as the king, they interpret it as the living king's own *daimon* or *xvarnah*.⁶²

While a full treatment of this many-faceted problem is beyond the scope of this article, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the streamers hanging down from the winged figure facing the king regularly have a three-pronged ending reminiscent of the stylized lotus flower (Ill. 12). The figures facing the same way as the king have their streamers rolled into a spiral.⁶³ If one accepts the reasoning in the earlier part of this article, Calmeyer's and Shahbazi's hypotheses may receive additional support from this iconographical feature.

Postscript. Since the above article was written, I conducted a seminar on Fabulous Creatures in Mesopotamian Art and Literature at the University of Amsterdam together with Frans A. M. Wiggermann. He has convinced me that the various genii on Assyrian reliefs match the various clay figurines of *apkalle* prescribed by ritual for the purification and protection of houses, as argued in *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 27 (1981-1982), pp. 90-105, and in his forthcoming dissertation (cf., among others, Julian Reade, op. cit. in note 24, and Anthony Green in *Iraq* 45, 1983, pp. 87-96). The absence of textual evidence on the headband-wearing genii makes their identification as royal ancestors problematic. On the other hand, Neo-Assyrian kings (including dead ones) are at times called *apkalle* in the texts.

List of Abbreviations

| | | | |
|--------|--|------|--|
| AAA | <i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> | JNES | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> |
| AfO | <i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> | KBo | <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> |
| AMI NF | <i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Neue Folge</i> | MDOG | <i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient- Gesellschaft</i> |
| ANEP | <i>The Ancient Near East in Pictures</i> | MUSJ | <i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i> |
| IPP | Institute of Pre- and Protohistory, University of Amsterdam | OIP | Oriental Institute Publications |

⁵⁷ Herodotus I:131.

⁵⁸ Edith Porada has drawn attention to the paradox that Darius' inscriptions present him as gratefully dependent on the help of his god Ahuramazda, yet his reliefs show unparalleled assimilation of divine and royal images, review of Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis II* in *JNES* 20 (1961), pp. 66-71; Edith Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1965), pl.159.

⁵⁹ Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III* (OIP 70, Chicago, 1970), pp. 85, 92, 100, 106, 107, pls. 22B, 42B, 50, 58, 63, 70; a photograph clearly showing Darius' crenelated crown on the winged figure from Xerxes' tomb is now available in *AMI NF* 13 (1980), p. 28:2.

⁶⁰ Peter Calmeyer, "The Subject of the Achaemenid Tomb Reliefs," *Proceedings of the IIIrd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran, 1975), pp. 233-242. On Xerxes' tomb the figure in the winged ring wears the crown of Darius; see also Hubert von Gall, *ibid.*, pp. 219-232.

⁶¹ *The Persians*, lines 607-842; Polyainos IV:3, VII:12, 15.

⁶² Peter Calmeyer, "Fortuna-Tyche-Khvarnah," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94 (1979), pp. 347-365; A. Sh. Shahbazi, "An Achaemenid Symbol I: A Farewell to . . . Ahuramazda," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Neue Folge* 7 (1974), pp. 135-144; "II: Farnah (God-given) Fortune Symbolised," *AMI NF* 13 (1980), pp. 119-147. Note that Cyrus saw Darius' winged double in a dream, Herodotus I:209-210.

⁶³ See, e.g., the figure above the great king and his son on the eastern doorway of the Tripylon, *AMI NF* 13 (1980), pl. 29:2; further Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* (OIP 68, Chicago, 1953), pls. 75-79, 103-107.

**THE KING AND THE CUP:
ICONOGRAPHY OF THE ROYAL PRESENTATION
SCENE ON UR III SEALS**

Irene J. Winter

In the Autumn of 1959, I was permitted as an undergraduate to participate in a graduate seminar on Royal Iconography taught by Edith Porada at Columbia University. The topic I was given for this, my first class presentation, was an investigation of the Ur III seals on which the figure of a seated king was represented. In the aftermath of that presentation, I was counseled by a quote attributed to Leo Oppenheim the gist of which was that the mark of the scholar is to be able to come back time and time again to the same material with a fresh eye and an open mind. Thus, when provided with the opportunity to contribute to the present volume, it seemed appropriate to take up once again those Ur III seals with seated king. In that respect, it is hoped to be a tribute both to the teaching of Edith Porada, underscoring the important role of seminar presentations and research topics in the grooming of young students, and to the scholarly work of Edith Porada, a major portion of which has been concerned with extending our understanding of the cylinder seal as a source for and a conveyor of ancient Mesopotamian culture.

* * *

The present study, then, is an investigation of the iconography of the 'presentation scene' with seated king: its component parts and associated royal attributes, and its meaning when juxtaposed with similar scenes containing seated gods. It is argued that the king functions on a distinct, if parallel, plane from that of the gods, with the cup held by most kings as a highly charged attribute; that the realm in which the king's role most closely echoes the divine is in his role as giver and maintainer of justice; and that, in this sense, the modern distinction between "worship" and "audience," ritual and civil petition, sacred and secular should not be imposed upon the Mesopotamian situation.

It is ultimately suggested that these seals, far from being mechanically repetitive in a pejorative sense, are rather standardized much in the way of early coinage and later identity cards. By representing the king, they proclaim his ability to direct and maintain the state. And at the same time, the individual approaching the king in these 'presentation scenes'—presumably the seal owner himself, identified by name, office and patronymic in the legend on most seals—is then also established within the state system by virtue of his association with the king. For it must be remembered that not only the individuals represented, but the seals themselves, are agents of the system—artifacts of the bureaucratic and administrative network, that serve to validate transactions at many levels. Imagery on the seals, then, must be understood not as independent or randomly selected motifs, but as motifs with a context: keyed to the function of the seals within the Ur III state.

* * *

Henri Frankfort in 1939 devoted only four pages to the cylinder seals of the entire Neo-Sumerian period, lamenting the passing of the "rich variety of Akkadian themes" (1939:143). His perspective is understandable once one notes that the subtitle of *Cylinder Seals* is: A Documentay Essay on the Art and *Religion* of the Ancient Near East (emphasis mine). Interest in the relationship between the visual arts and the political and economic systems from which they derive has developed more recently, and markedly so over the past fifteen years.

It is certainly true that the Ur III repertoire marks a sharp reduction in the range of mythological subjects represented on seals. Some animal combat themes are retained from their great popularity in earlier periods (Frankfort 1939:XXVf, g; Moortgat 1940:282, 284; Porada 1948:268-273); but even there, Frankfort noted that much of the vitality in style had gone, replaced by a more elaborate decorative rendering and less physical action between antagonists (1939:144).

The majority of Ur III seals are devoted to variations on the 'presentation scene' in which a standing individual, with or without the mediation of an interceding goddess, confronts a seated deity. The subject seems to have been introduced in the Akkadian period. In some instances, the Akkadian 'presentations' had clear mythological associations, as when the Anzu-bird who stole the tablet of Fate is brought before the seated god Ea/Enki for judgment (cf. Frankfort 1939:132-137); or they had ritual aspects, as when libations are poured before the god (cf. Boehmer 1965:648 = our Ill. 1). But there are occasions in which a bareheaded (sometimes bald, sometimes bearded) male figure is simply introduced into the presence of a seated deity with no apparent mythological or ritual referent (ibid.:542, 547 = our Ill. 2). The seated god always wears the divine horned headdress, often with more tiers of horns than the headgear of the interceding deity when present; and is fairly often identifiable by personal attributes (such as the flowing streams of Ea). The garment of this seated deity is also usually distinct from that of the individual before him, falling in flounced tiers, rather than being wrapped and having only the hem and fringe patterned (e.g., ibid.:645, 646 and our Ills. 1 and 2).

The theme of presentation before a seated deity survived the fall of Akkad, and was carried into the Neo-Sumerian period in a continuous tradition. The sequence is best documented in the excavated material from Tello, ancient Girsu: from a seal dated to the Akkadian period by the dedicatory inscription to "Naram-Sin, god of Agade" to the Neo-Sumerian seal of Gudea, ensi of Lagaš, both of which show a bald figure followed by interceding deity before a seated god (although Gudea is also accompanied by his own personal deity, Ningišzida—cf. Boehmer 1965:542 = Louvre T.103; Frankfort 1939: Fig. 37 = Louvre T.108).

It is this configuration that forms the basis of the Ur III presentation scene (Frankfort 1939:XXVe; Moortgat 1940:269-271; Porada 1948:274-288; Legrain 1951:329, etc.—cf. our Ill. 3). The approaching individual usually wears a simple fringed garment draped over one shoulder, and one arm at least is bent at the elbow, the hand raised almost to the lips in what seems to be a gesture of greeting. The deity is consistently shown in horned headdress, wearing a flounced garment, generally seated at the right in impressions and facing left; the right arm is bent at the elbow, with hand outstretched at the level of the shoulder. He no longer sits on a simple box-like cube divided into squares by horizontal and vertical cross-lines, as is often the case in the Akkadian period (cf. Ills. 1, 2), nor on a mound-like structure resembling an inverted reed basket (Boehmer 1965:537, 541), but rather on a construction of vertical supports topped by a cross-piece, that in totality

has definite analogies with the way in which a temple façade had been represented earlier (compare, for example, Legrain 1951:350 with Moortgat 1940:144).¹

A significant variation on this formula of individual-before-deity also becomes prominent in the Ur III period, where a figure without divine attributes is set in the place formerly occupied by the seated god. The approaching individual and interceding goddess generally remain constant; however the seated figure is now represented wearing a round cap with horizontally-banded brim, is usually bearded, and dressed in the long fringed garment formerly worn by the approaching figures (cf. description in Porada 1948:35). He sits on a fleece-covered stool or chair, rather than on the architectural-façade throne, although he is still occasionally raised on a platform or dais, as are the gods; and he regularly holds some sort of cup, goblet or vase in his extended right hand (Moortgat 1940:252, 255-257; Porada 1948:291-294; Legrain 1951:432, 436, 439; Buchanan 1981:629, 631, 634, 644, 649—and our Ill. 4).²

Some deviations from this standard set of attributes can be observed; for example, this figure sometimes does wear the flounced garment of the gods (Frankfort 1939:XXVI; Moortgat 1940:253-254; Legrain 1951:428-430; Buchanan 1981:646a, 628, 630—and our Ill. 5), and occasionally will sit on a seat approximating the architectural façade (Buchanan 1981:640 = our Ill. 6). But the “classic” set of attributes is that described above, and it is significant that during the entire Ur III period, only one divine attribute seems to occur in any given example—*either* dress or temple-façade throne, while the headgear never varies; just as the gods never hold cups.

On the basis of these attributes, particularly the rounded cap, this figure has been associated with the king or ruler—comparable to known statues of Gudea of Lagaš from Tello, and to representations of Ur-Nammu on his large stele found in the Nanna sanctuary complex at Ur (see Moortgat 1969: Figs. 166, 170, 194, and our Ill. 7). Of this identification there is little question. There is also a long history of rulers being represented seated—for example, the kings of Mari in the Early Dynastic period (ibid.: Fig. 66). In fact, it may be demonstrated that the very act of sitting is synonymous with status in the ancient Near East; and the phrase “sitting upon the throne” (*ina kussî ittašab*) is a standard formula for rule in Akkadian (Buccellati 1964:55-61).³

¹In fact, one wonders if this is not a very conscious pun in reference to the temple, which is, after all, the “seat” of the god. Particularly as, in Akkadian at least (*CAD* ‘A’, *ašābu* Ia) the verb “to sit” also means “to dwell”—as in Hebrew (Gen. 37:1, *va’yeshev Ya’akov*, “and Jacob dwelt (sat) in the land . . . of Canaan”). It would then be, in visual terms, a highly effective and spatially economical pun, eliminating the necessity of the temple façade represented *behind* the deity as earlier (cf. Moortgat 1940:144).

²Van Buren (1952:94) cites the earliest appearance of this figure on a bulla fragment mentioning Ur-abba of Lagaš, soon after Gudea—a reference I have not been able to check. Another possible example might be a sealing fragment of Akkadian date from Tello (Boehmer 1965:656), on which a seated figure seems to be wearing a simple garment and is seated on a regular high-backed chair; however, it is impossible to make out his headgear, or to see whether anything was held in the extended hand. In any event, it is only in the Ur III period that this figure comes to be consistently represented as part of a formulaic composition.

³One of the *Šulgi* hymns extolling the king’s virtues in providing justice for the land, describes him almost literally as the king appears in presentation scenes on cylinder seals:

(*Šulgi* X:) 57 to hold high the head on the lofty dais you are suited
 58 to sit on the shining throne you are suited
 59 to a brilliant crown on your head you are suited
 60 . . . to the long fleecy garment you are suited
 61 to be dressed in the royal garb you are suited (Klein 1981b:126ff).

Why, however, the seated king now appears as part of a formulaic composition in a position previously occupied by gods is a more complex question. Frankfort had assumed a religious connotation for the presentation scene in general—seeing the temple-façade throne of the gods as an indication that the deity was confronted in his sanctuary, and hence the approaching individual as “worshiper.” For the scenes with seated king, therefore, he merely asserted that “among the deities worshipped there now appeared the ‘deified king’” (1939:146)—a perspective maintained by van Buren in her long discussion of the worship of divine kings in the Ur III period (1952), despite the distinction made by Groenewegen-Frankfort that the presentation scene is fundamentally different from a ritual act in that nothing is performed: man meets god, sometimes by means of an intermediary, in a situation that constitutes more “awareness” than “action,” the two main figures united by a “reciprocal act” of recognition (1951:166-167).

This reciprocity of recognition is important in our view of these seals as tokens of an administrative system (Winter, in press). Nevertheless, there is also a historical correlation between the appearance of the royal figure in the position of the seated god on seals engraved with ‘presentation scenes’ and the so-called “deification” of kings in this period.

Ur-Nammu, the first king of the Ur III dynasty (ca. 2112-2094 B.C.), was able to establish the sovereignty of Ur from its earlier political subordination to Uruk, and then successively establish control over most of the city-states of Mesopotamia (Hallo and Simpson 1971:77-78; Wilcke 1974:180). Some time in the second quarter of the reign of his son and heir, Šulgi (ca. 2094-2046), the *dingir*-sign, the divine determinative, was introduced preceding the writing of the king’s name, and, posthumously, that of his father (Hallo 1957:60, 125). This does not mark the first usage of the divine determinative, as it had appeared previously in the writing of the names of the Akkadian rulers Naram-Sin and his son, Šar-kalli-šarri. But the title, if such we may call it, is revived here, and used not only by all successive kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, but also by the following kings of Isin, most of the kings of Larsa, and into the Old Babylonian period (Hallo, loc. cit.; Frankfort 1948:224-226).⁴

At the same time, Šulgi is referred to as “god of his land” (*dingir kalam-ma-na*, Wilcke 1974:179)—a term used in variation by subsequent kings as well; and there are other changes in the royal titulary, most noticeably a shift from “strong/powerful male” (*nita kalag-ga*) to “strong/powerful king” (*lugal kalag-ga*)—at least by the reign of Šulgi’s son and successor, Amar-Sin—an epithet which had previously been applied only to gods (Hallo 1957:61, 95, 99; Wilcke 1974:186, notes 3, 4).

Part of the scholarly controversy surrounding this phenomenon has been whether the divine determinative does or does not confer full divine status upon the king.

There exists, both in literary sources and in the archaeological record, evidence of cults to the Ur III kings—predominantly outside of their capital city of Ur. This evidence has

The only element that is left out is the cup. However, line 62 follows with a reference to the king being suited to hold high the *mitum*-weapon—at least something is held in the hand (cf. *CAD* ‘M’, Pt. II:147-148, *mittu* = *miṭum* in Sumerian, translated as “mace,” “especially as a weapon of the gods”—for which, see our Ill. 1, an Akkadian seal in which a seated god is shown in an early presentation-type scene, holding the same type of weapon).

⁴Hallo has suggested (1971:83, but questioned by Wilcke 1974:188, n. 30) that this status was conferred upon Šulgi, rather than taken by him, by the priesthood of Nippur, in recognition of the preferential treatment given that important cult center; and he argues that the royal hymns introduced in the period represent a literary genre that also originated in Nippur.

most recently been discussed by Limet (1970) and Wilcke (1974), where tablets from the time of Šu-Sin, probably from Umma, record the offerings and monthly festivals for the deified kings Šulgi and Amar-Sin. Ur-Nammu, too, was apparently not only “deified” by his son Šulgi after death, but worshipped as well (Klein 1981b:35). This “worship” includes the care and feeding of royal statues—procedures otherwise reserved for divine statuary. Wilcke, for example, cites one text in which six gín (of butter) were set aside for the four statues of Ur-Nammu (1974:191, n. 57); and Kutscher has discussed a text referring to an offering for the statue of Šulgi (1974:55f). The problem, however, is that one cannot be certain if this necessarily implies that the statues were cult objects, as opposed to being themselves worshipping statues placed in the sanctuaries of other deities (cf. on this, Spycket 1968:63-69) or even funerary offerings to statues of dead members of the ruling family—a practice known not only for the Ur III period, but also earlier, for the family of Ur-Bau and Gudea, at a time when kings were not deified (cf. Wilhelm 1972; Perlov 1980).

Perhaps more significant is the fact that several shrines to Ur III kings are attested, particularly at Lagaš and Umma (Šulgi), Adab and Ešnunna (Šu-Sin) (cf. discussion in Klein 1981b:31). This is amply corroborated by the excavation of a temple to Šu-Sin at Ešnunna—built by the governor of the city to his overlord, and actually oriented toward Ur (Frankfort et al. 1940:95). The temple includes a formal sanctuary, and its intention is confirmed in the dedicatory inscription to: “The divine Šu-Sin, king of Ur, by his servant Ituria, ensi of Ešnunna,” found on two pivot stones in the doorway of the cella (ibid.:134-135). While these sanctuaries are all outside Ur, some evidence exists that the Ē-ḫursag in Ur was not only built by Šulgi, but also dedicated to him, since we are told in a Sumerian “Temple Hymn” that the king “takes his place upon the dais” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969:26).⁵

Thus, we do find evidence for the facts that (1) Ur III kings were “deified”; that (2) statuary of these “deified kings” existed, and were subject to ritual care and feeding; and that (3) the kings apparently were worshipped in temples devoted to their cults in selected cities within the Ur III confederation. What we still do not know is the degree to which the king was considered a god on the level of the great gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon.

It had been Frankfort’s contention that the key to the deification of kings in this period was their participation in the ritual of the sacred marriage with the goddess Inanna at Uruk (1948:297), although it is likely that the practice itself antedates the Ur III period; and this position was followed by van Buren (1952). It certainly is attested that several of the Ur III kings assumed the role of en-priest to the goddess (Hallo 1957:9), and from extant hymns it also seems clear that Šulgi at least and possibly others actually did celebrate the sacred marriage (Kramer 1970:139; Klein 1981b:33, n. 48). But whether this is the variable to be correlated either with elevation to god-head or with the assumption of the divine determinative has never been established. Barrelet, at least, would question this simplistic understanding of “deification,” when it must have represented a complex social and political as well as religious phenomenon; and she goes on to further question the fully divine status of the Ur III kings in general (1974:58, citing Jacobsen 1957).

⁵ 1. 129 House, your prince Šulgi has made it great and large.
 132 O Ēḫursag, Šulgi of Heaven (of An)
 133 Has placed the house upon your . . . , has taken his place on your dais. (Sjöberg 1974, and cf. comment, p. 8).

Barrelet's caution is relevant for our purposes, as we must return to the original problem of the appearance of the king in the place of a god on Ur III presentation-scene seals. There is clearly a concurrence of appearance and the use of the divine determinative, as well as the assumption of certain new titles in the period. What has *not* been established, however, is either that it is because the king has been "deified" that he is represented in the presentation scene, or that because we have evidence the kings were the objects of cult activity, those seals must therefore represent scenes of "worship."

We may now ask whether there is any internal evidence from the seal representations that could aid in an understanding of the status of royal figures as they appear seated in presentation scenes. One pursuit that tantalized earlier scholars had been to try to explain variations in the "classic" attributes associated with the seated kings. Thus, in pointing out the instances in which the kings are represented wearing a flounced garment rather than the fringed and wrapped robe, Moortgat suggested (1940:28, 35) that this perhaps reflected the difference between the ruler as *ensî* and one taking the full title of *lugal*, or king. Van Buren, by contrast, used the very same observations to suggest that the fringed mantle represented the king *before*, the flounced garment *after* he had participated in the sacred marriage and thus attained divine stature (1952:103). In neither case was the attempted explanation ever more than a hypothesis, and in no way were these hypotheses satisfactorily demonstrated.

In fact, when the Ur III seals are taken exclusively, without inclusion of Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian examples, variations in the "classic" royal attributes are rare and extremely limited. With the exception of some of the Ur sealings from the reigns of Šu-Sin and Ibbi-Sin noted above, the standard form of fringed mantle predominates to such an extent that one might rather conclude that a purposeful distinction between kings and gods was carefully being maintained. The same may be said for variations in the royal seat. In the Ur III period at least, the standard seat is a stool covered with fleecy material (presumably the same material as the "flounced garment," as they are rendered in identical manner—cf. Moortgat 1940:253 and our Ill. 4). One of the attested variants, a high-backed chair flanked by lions, is never used by gods; it occurs only on sealings of the highest quality from Ur, and is precisely what one would associate with appropriate royal furniture (cf. Legrain 1951:429-431 and 433 = our Ill. 5).⁶ The other variant is a temple-façade throne used by king rather than god. It occurs only once that I know of in the Ur III period (Ill. 6). Only in the later periods do variations seem to occur with fair frequency (cf. Buchanan 1981:704, 708-710; Moortgat 1940:313-314, 316-317), and one wonders if this cannot be ascribed to the seals being of rather cursory quality and/or being later in date, reflecting a loosening of the strict adherence to the canonical attributes established in Ur III.

In general, then, it would seem that with very few exceptions, the "classic" attributes that distinguish representations of gods from representations of kings in the Ur III period are quite closely adhered to. One is thus led to question the assumption that the presentation scene depicts the "worship" of deified kings; for, since the kings were apparently also worshipped in temples, why not include temple-façade thrones for the kings as well as gods, varying only the attributes of dress and especially headgear? As this is manifestly

⁶ In an Akkadian inventory text from Tello listing furniture for the royal family (Foster 1980:30-35), the seats for the queen, princes, and princesses are simply designated as "thrones" with footstools; for the king, however, it is listed as a "lion-throne of gold." One can easily imagine that this is precisely what is represented on the sealings from Ur.

not the case, one is forced to conclude that a serious attempt was being made to distinguish king from god visually, and so also that the kings *were* quite distinct from the gods. The question must therefore be revised to consider in what domain(s) other than “worship” might both king and god be approached?

The one domain in which both king and gods function, and indeed in which rulers claim their most significant roles, is the realm of rendering “just decisions” (Akk. *dīnāt mīšarim*; Sum. di niġ-si-sā)—i.e., providing and maintaining the legal system which is essentially the framework for the entire state. Thus, for example, Ur-Nammu is presented as the establisher of justice (Castellino 1959:#3, ll. 32 ff.), Sulgi as supreme judge of the land and “lover of justice” (Klein 1970:119; 1981a:D, l. 320), Ibbi-Sin as the king who “finds the (right) decision” (Sjöberg 1970-71: CBS 8526, l. 55). Among the gods, this role is most frequently attributed to the sun-god, Utu. In the Old Babylonian period as well, the sun-god Utu/Samas, is “a circumspect judge who pronounces just verdicts” (Lambert 1960:121 ff., esp. l. 101), one who “punishes . . . all forms of social injustice” (Castellino 1976:73). It is not surprising, then, that the Ur III king is often associated with the sun-god in the administration of justice: viz Šulgi as “righteous man by Utu invested with justice” (Klein 1981b: Sulgi D, l. 5), or to Amar-Sin as “the true sun-god of his land” (Wilcke 1974:179 and 188, n. 33). In addition, the moon-god, Nanna/Su'en, is also described as related to judgment and justice (Finkelstein 1968-69, ll. 41-42; Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969:#8, l. 37; Sjöberg 1970-61:ll. 12-13).⁷

From the Law Code of Ur-Nammu, and from the later Code of Hammurabi, we are told most explicitly that it is the king's role to establish justice in the land and to provide just judgments (Finkelstein 1968-69:ll. 104-113, 162-168; Finet 1973: R,XXIV.iff; and cf. Finkelstein 1961). It is evident that the kings do not *get* the laws from the gods so much as they receive the authority to rule, and thereby to promulgate laws, give verdicts and maintain justice. Strictly speaking, what the law codes represented are verdicts rather than laws, the “just decisions” issuing from individual cases—extensions of royal *mīšarum*-acts celebrated in royal rhetoric from Ur-Nammu to Ammišaduqa (Finkelstein 1961:99, 101).

Some evidence that it is in *this* role—as giver of justice and in identity with the sun-god—that the king is depicted on our seals may perhaps be gleaned from the seals themselves. In one Šulgi hymn (Šulgi A, Limet n.d.: tabl. o.122, ll. 41-42), the king states, “I am [the lion with op]en mouth of Utu” ([pirig-k]a-duḥ-a ḏUtu-me-en); and one is forced to wonder whether there is a connection to be made between this reference and representations of lions on standards behind the king or as part of the king's throne on several seals from Ur (Legrain 1951:429-431 and 433 = our Ill. 5)—particularly as the

⁷Since the majority of our Ur III sources, particularly the royal hymns, are in fact OB copies, I have been cautioned by Robt. Falkowitz (personal communication) to beware lest attributions of specific qualities related to justice be retrojections of desirable OB qualities (as per Finkelstein 1961, 1968; Lemche 1979). While this is certainly a concern, I believe there are sufficient indications of Ur III values—as, for example, mention of the moon-god, which probably should be seen as a reflection of the special relationship between Nanna/Su'en as patron god of Ur and the particular kings of Ur who extol him. What is more, I would draw attention to the astral symbols that often appear in the upper field on seals, between the seated and first-advancing figures (e.g., Ills. 3, 4 & 8). Since these symbols are not consistently represented, I have not included them in the description of these seals, above; however, as they appear in association with both gods and kings, one is tempted to see in them some reference to or evocation of the very astral deities Utu (for sundisk) or Utu + Nanna/Su'en (for sundisk within crescent) associated with justice.

same lion standard and throne-attendant is occasionally associated with seated gods (cf. Buchanan 1981:600 and 601).

It is presumably from the "lion throne" that the king would render his "just decisions." And, as the ruler would thus be seated, Barrelet, in her discussion of text references to seated royal statues mentioned but not preserved in the archaeological record, has cited the complex meaning of the Akkadian verb *wašābum* (Barrelet 1974:51 + *CAD* 'A', p. 386: *ašābu* Id). The verb not only has the literal meaning of "to sit," but is used also in the sense of "to sit down to exercise a function, to be present in an official capacity"—said of kings, judges and gods. As such, it is entirely consistent with the representation of seated gods and seated kings in Ur III presentation scenes.

One final consideration may be useful in further clarifying the role of the king as he is represented on the seals, and that is the role of the "cup" held in the hand by virtually all seated rulers in the presentation scene (and even in instances when the king is shown standing (cf. our Ills. 4, 5, 8, and Franke 1977:C5b, 6c)).⁸

It will be noticed that I have put the word "cup" in quotes, because in fact it stands for a general category of "vessel" held in the hand. Actually, there is a great deal of variation in the shape of that vessel, ranging from what indeed appears to be a cup, to what seems a flat bowl, or a small vase with two handles and a narrow or everted neck (cf. Moortgat 1940:254 and Porada 1948:292 = our Ill. 4; Moortgat 1940:296-297 and Frankfort 1955:711; Legrain 1951:428 = our Ill. 5, and Buchanan 1981:638; and see also van Buren 1952:99-100 for further references and discussion).⁹

This variation adds to the problem of interpretation, making it difficult to attribute a single function to the vessel. Both Frankfort and van Buren saw the "cup" as a reference to the banquet associated with the sacred marriage rite (1948:295; 1952:103). With this one must take issue, however—first, because it would not account for the small handled vases held by some rulers that are clearly not drinking vessels; and second, because a comparison of our seals with banqueting images show that the manner of holding the cup and the angle of the arm is quite different: on banquet seals, hand and cup are more or less at the level of the mouth or chin, and the hand actually wraps around the vessel; on Ur III presentation scene seals, the arm is extended, hand level with or just below the shoulder, the vessel held resting lightly on top of the fingertips (compare, e.g., Boehmer 1965:673 with Buchanan 1981:611, 649).¹⁰

A second interpretation put forth for the "cup" is that it represents the vessel used by the king in ritual libations of the "sacred tree," as part of his role of maintainer of

⁸One exception to this is the single seal attributed to the reign of Ur-Nammu by its inscription (Collon 1982:469). The chair, too, is anomalous here, with high, curved back, simple lines for the seat and front legs, but modelled bulls' legs behind. I find the style of this seal, as well as some of the details, very odd; and would prefer, as it was originally purchased by the British Museum, albeit quite early on, not to draw significant conclusions from it.

⁹Seals with "bowls" tend to be the most schematized, and come most frequently from the Isin-Larsa or Old Babylonian period. It is possible therefore that the "bowl" is less a function of typology than of style, but some examples are clearly flat, not deep, as are the cups. (There is also a single anomalous example on a sealing from Drehem, in which the king holds a flowing vase by its neck [Buchanan 1981:642].) The ingenious suggestion by Sollberger (1965:30) that the king might be tendering an enlarged cylinder seal to his official, parallel to citation of the king's gift in the legend on some seals, cannot be borne out when the entire sample is arrayed.

¹⁰Illustrations could similarly be found to argue against the king *offering* the vessel to the approaching individual (Sollberger 1965, cited above), as his arm would be extended farther; or against the king *receiving* the vessel from the individual, as it can be demonstrated from Uruk period seals on that when

fertility of the land (Widengren 1951). While this is a known function of the Mesopotamian king, in the known Neo-Sumerian representations of libations poured into a plant, the vessel used is very definitely a tall vase, often footed and with a long spout (i.e., the stele of Ur-Nammu = our III. 7; the seal of Ur-DUN, Frankfort 1939: Fig. 38; and another seal from the de Clerq Collection, *ibid.*: Pl. XXVj).

The only other explicit references to bowls or cups in the Mesopotamian literature are in connection with the practice of oil divination, which includes pouring drops of oil into water and water into oil, then reading the patterns on the surface (cf. Lambert 1960:319; Oppenheim 1964:212; Pettinato 1966a:97). Of the extant oil omen texts, all date from the Old Babylonian period or later (Pettinato 1966a:96); nevertheless, there do seem to be indications of earlier practice, in the Ur III period and even before (Pettinato 1966b: 18, 45).

By the time of the preserved texts, divination by oil was in the domain of the *bārūm*-priest.¹¹ Yet textual tradition is very clear that oil divination was initially handed down by the gods Šamaš and Adad, not to a priest but to an antediluvian king, Enmeduranki of Sippar (cf. Pettinato 1966b:16-17; Lambert 1967), and only then passed on to oil-omen experts, each of whom was considered to be a direct descent of Enmeduranki himself (Lambert 1967:132, ll. 22-23).

There is something very compelling in seeking in Enmeduranki an analog to the seated kings of Ur III cylinder seals. He was a king; in order to pass on the technique, the gods sat him on a throne; to read the signs he held a bowl; and to teach the technique, he had men of Nippur, Sippar, and Babylon brought before him (literally, a presentation) (*ibid.*: ll. 6-7, 11-13).

Unfortunately, several problems arise. First, those oil omens we have represent personal judgments, not political or state decisions, with a few exceptions of predictions for military campaigns (Pettinato 1966b:40, 171, 197). Second, although oil-divination was likely to have been in use in the Ur III period, we do not know its status as a predictive tool; later on, it never had the predictive prestige of liver-omens or astrological omens, which were the principal means of attaining information for the state (Oppenheim 1964: 206-215). And third, there is no firm evidence that kings after Enmeduranki ever functioned as *bārūm*-priests in the actual practice of reading omens.

Nevertheless, there is one Šulgi hymn in which the king described himself: *igi-mu-ta*—“through my ‘eye’ [in this case, ‘eye’ standing for ‘insight’ and ‘understanding’]—am I the ensu [= *ša’ilum*, or ‘questioner’] of the land of Sumer” (= Šulgi C; cited in Falkenstein 1966:52-53). Since *ša’ilum* is also a term used for *bārūm*-priests (Pettinato 1966b:

something is brought as gift or offering, the moment selected to depict is while the object is still in the hand of the approaching donor. The one text reference we have to a vessel and a cup being *offered* is when they are brought by Ur-Nammu as gifts to Gilgamesh in the underworld (Kramer 1967:ll. 94-96); however, this argues more for the identification of these vessels as appropriate kingly attributes (on which, see below), since it would be pure conjecture to speculate on how this gifting might have been visually portrayed.

¹¹ There is some evidence that oil divination was in fact the initial association of the *bārūm*-priest. The *bārūm* is called *apkal šamni*, “oil expert” by Assurbanipal (Pettinato 1966b:20), and in the *lū-amelu* series, *i-zu* = *ba-ru-u* seems to equate the *bārūm* with the oil expert again (*i* = *šamnum*, “oil”; *ibid.*: 36, and further underscored by Falkenstein 1966:51-52). In later periods, the range of the divination priest included readings from oil, smoke, liver and entrails of animals, behavior of animals and birds, dreams and astrological observations (Oppenheim 1964:212 f.).

35) and occurs in conjunction with the use of the “seer’s bowl” in an Old Babylonian hymn to Šamaš (Lambert 1960:128-129, ll. 53-54), the reference could be read to imply that Sulgi is himself a reader of signs and a questioner, in the way of a diviner.¹²

In addition, the oil omen texts provide the only contexts that account for the variation of vessel shapes held in the hands of seated rulers, as we find two terms used repeatedly: *kāsum* (“beaker, cup”) and *makūltum* (“bowl”), both in reference to divining bowls (Pettinato 1966a:98; 1966b:42).

Two later bowls help to support the association of the seated king’s vessel with divinatory meaning: one a 4th century B.C. Phoenician bronze bowl dedicated to the sanctuary of Šamaš (Avigad & Greenfield 1982:123); the other a 4-5th century A.D. silver bowl from Daghestan, the radial divisions of which were apparently marked for use in divination (Davudov 1982/3:87).

This understanding of the king’s “cup” makes most sense if we see it not as a literal reference to Ur III kings as practicing diviners, but rather as a symbolic reference in a chain that goes back to Enmeduranki (as every *bārūm*-priest was said to do) in his ability to read divine will, render right judgments, and mediate between men and the gods. It is certainly true that part of the very essence of the king, like that of the diviner, is access to the gods and their will (Oppenheim 1966:40). It cannot be mere coincidence that Enmeduranki, who was given the divination skills to see/know the will of the gods, was also called “king of justice,” (Lambert 1967:130, l. 11), and that he was the king, precisely, of Sippar, seat of the sun-god, the very god cited by all as the source of the justice and judgment exercised by the kings of Ur.¹³ In this context, then, the cup held by kings in presentation scenes would stand more as a symbol than as an instrument of practice, evoking simultaneously both tradition and the king’s mediatory status.

And finally, perhaps the strongest evidence we have that the vessel was considered appropriate to the king and was somehow connected with oil, is the reference to the “kešda-container in which oil is poured” and the “šagan-cup of perfect make” brought as gifts by Ur-Nammu to Gilgameš in the underworld (Kramer 1967:ll. 94-96), since Gilgameš was worshipped as a god, the ultimate “divine king” in this period.

How then can we characterize the role and expectations of the individual approaching the seated king or god? It is easy to call a libation, such as that depicted on the second register of the Ur-Nammu stele (Ill. 7) a “ritual act”; but what of the figure who stands with hands raised? Is this, too, a gesture of “worship”? Or is it a gesture of greeting/respect appropriate to an audience?

¹² In general, the priestly functions of Ur III kings are little known, although there is some reference to Su-Sin functioning as an *išib*-priest, a role connected to the pouring of pure water (Wilcke 1974:184 and n. 122 [one wonders if this is related to the representation of Ur-Nammu on his stele, libating before the gods]); and mention has been made above of Ur III kings serving as *en*-priests of Inanna. As Oppenheim has stated (1964:226), “Divine interest . . . for which a sign is given, is bound to center on the person of the king. In fact, it is the king’s duty and privilege to receive such signs, and to act according to their message.” The degree to which this would signify the exercise of priestly functions as opposed to being the primary recipient of signs obtained by specialist priests is the problem.

¹³ I await with interest the publication of the paper given by Abusch at Brandeis University in January of 1983: “*Alaktu* and *Halaha*.” He notes the close relationship between terms used in the divination literature and in legal proceedings—as, for example, in the Code of Hammurabi, where terms indicating that a judge judges a case and renders a verdict are the same as those used in the domain of the *bārūm*-priest for determining the meaning of an oracle—which would seem to be highly relevant here.

I would suggest that the line between audience and ritual service is one which was never drawn in Mesopotamia as we would today. Rather, the two are inexorably linked, and ideally would result in the deity's or the king's positive response to the individual.¹⁴ There are two primary ways in which this positive response may be formulated: by rendering favorable judgment or granting petition, on the one hand; and by conferring authority on the other. But in both cases, since the king's authority comes from the realm of the divine, and if, as we think likely, the cup he holds represents his access to the divine, then however "secular" the judgments he may render or the authority he may confer, he does so within an administrative system that was in no way separate from the "sacred" (as church and state are kept today; Kramer 1974), and with an attribute that in effect served as a bridge between the divine order and earthly activity.

That the rendering of judgment should be considered as at least one aspect of scenes in which a seated figure receives a standing delegation is evident from the one mythological scene for which we have the context; that of the Anzu-bird standing for judgment before Ea, so prominent on seals of the Akkadian period (see above). As judgment in Mesopotamia connotes less "punishment" than "decision," it is important to remember that it is in this period also that the standard presentation scene of an individual approaching a seated god is first introduced. Certainly it is not inconsistent with the imagery in later texts: first, in an Old Babylonian prayer where it is said of Šamaš, "You will be seated on the chair [throne?] and pronounce judgment" (Goetze 1968:l. 39); and second, in the Neo-Babylonian period, where "to seek the sanctuary of the god" is a euphemism for seeking an oracle (Abusch, n.d.: re Nebuchadrezzar 15).

Judgment and petition are closely related, as the rendering of the one and the granting of the other both necessitate the same exercise of "just decision" on the part of the presiding authority. Hallo has dealt with letters and letter-prayers of the Ur III period to gods and deified kings, which contain ceremonial petitions in stereotyped phrases (1968). A later Babylonian prayer to Marduk (Abusch, 1983) contains a long section describing the individual's meeting with and address to the god with just such a petition: the petitioner asks that protective, minor deities accompany him, to speak well of him to the god (ll. 16-19); that he be granted the ability to address the god convincingly himself (ll. 14-15 20); and that whatever he requests from the god be granted (ll. 13, 21). He then presents his petition, and at the same time declares his personal allegiance and desire to continue to serve the god faithfully (ll. 10-12, 22-24).

In his study, Abusch noted how very like the traditional representation of the presentation scene this whole descriptive sequence is. And I would suggest that when the royal figure assumes the place of the god, the same double sense of piety and petition, service and recognition would pertain. As evidence that this was indeed the case, one may cite an Ur III text, known from an Old Babylonian copy, in which a royal petition has been preserved (Michalowski 1976:12-13, re Ali 1964:ll. 9-11):

¹⁴ The mutuality implied in this relationship, in which the authority of the king is assumed by the individual, and the individual's homage-cum-petition is acknowledged by the king is most like the Hindu concept of *darśan*:—originating in the religious sphere, where the god is "manifest," one has a glimpse of the god, but it is reciprocal—a bell is placed at shrines to let the deity know one is there (one sees, and one is seen); the concept was also made operative in the political/social order as experienced in the *darbar*—the regularly-occasioned audiences of a local ruler or landlord (often seated on a chair set on a platform) with his subordinates.

My king has taken care of me,
 I am a citizen of Ur.
 As my king is divine,
 Surely he will not allow anyone to
 carry off my father's estate.

In other words, the king is approached and addressed much in the same way one would approach and address the god.

As far as the conferring of authority is concerned, the same parallelism seems to obtain. Certainly, the relief carved at the top of the Old Babylonian Code of Hammurabi (Moortgat 1969: Fig. 209) must be seen as a sort of 'presentation scene', in which the king stands alone before the seated sun-god. Equally, on certain Ur III seals where the inscription indicates that the seal has been given to the owner *by* the king, figures are often shown unaccompanied by interceding deities as they stand before the ruler (cf. Franke 1977, and our Ill. 8). On the Hammurabi relief, there is little question but that it represents the conferring by Šamaš upon the king of the authority to promulgate his laws. In this respect, a very large proportion of the Ur III presentation scene seals with seated king contain extended legends citing the ruler's name and titles, then the seal-owner's name, office and patronymic, as he identifies himself in the service of the king (on this, see Schneider 1936, 1950; Hallo 1962; and our Ills. 4, 5, e.g.). As noted above, I shall pursue the relationship between seal image and legend in the Ur III period elsewhere; but suffice to say that officials so named represent the very highest levels of administrative positions within the Ur III bureaucracy. Keeping in mind that one must *have* authority in order to delegate it, the seals at the same time attest to the authority of the king depicted and named in the legend and also indicate the authority (office) of the seal-owner, whose position depends upon the king. On the model of the Hammurabi relief, then, one may read the visual presentation scene on seals as one in which the individual before the seated king, by virtue of his very juxtaposition *to* the king, is confirmed as having the legitimate status which he claims in the legend. It is further not impossible that the image was understood in its own time to represent the very moment of the conferring of that status, with the mutual recognition that exchange implies.

* * *

An essential aspect of the identity of the Ur III king, then, would be his ability to render firm judgment and to grant petitions and offices. To the king, individuals would turn for rules and rulings (hence the law codes). To him, individual petitions would be addressed, of the sort quoted above. And from him would come the delegation of authority in the form of desirable and powerful appointments at high levels. In fact, the ability of the king to grant petitions, render good judgment, maintain justice and establish order through the offices of state officials is not only a social claim, but a political one: it is the very foundation of his right to rule, and the mark of the efficacy of that rule.

The parallel positions of seated kings and seated gods on presentation scene seals, therefore, seem best understood as parallel statements of authority and effectiveness, united by identical concepts. They neither represent two different and opposed settings, the one secular and the other sacred; nor do they both represent the same, limited sphere of the religious alone. Rather, both are manifestations, albeit on different planes, of the same, joint concepts of receipt-of-address and responsive action. In "royal" presentation scenes, the king is represented in the position of the god, and sometimes with attributes appropriate to the gods, evidence of the principles manifest within and to him. Yet he is most frequently shown, especially in the Ur III period, with his own canonical set

of attributes—royal throne, royal dress, royal headgear—to make clear that he exercises these principles in his own realm.

In terms of absolute certainty, the function of the “cup” remains elusive. But its use as an emblem of the powers of the king in his well-attested role combining divine sanction and access to divine order with the exercise of office, seems to make considerable sense, particularly as this is the very gift given by Ur-Nammu in the underworld to Gilgames, the “ideal king” in the Ur III period. Evidence from later periods that bowls were associated with the sun-god on the one hand and with divination on the other hand would serve to further support our association.

Whatever the symbolic meaning of the cup as royal attribute, the relationship between the seated king and the individual introduced into the royal presence must shift, from “worshiper” in the simple religious sense to something far more complex: a relationship in which the king is seen in the full range of his functions as described in texts of the period. His name is written with the divine determinative, but he is *king*. One is left with the feeling that if his divinity is, if not less important, then at least integrated into the larger picture of the extraordinary increase in bureaucratic organization and administrative complexity of the Ur III period, such that the development of this new visual schema—the royal presentation scene—serves to articulate the significant role of the king within the system. And the audience—of seal or stele—is led to apprehend the king’s special position through his placement in the scene. Bridging the gap between the divine and earthly systems through his divine election and his personal gifts, he is nonetheless set firmly at the top of the hierarchy that defines Mesopotamian society in the Ur III period, and is inexorably linked to the rest of that pyramid through his appointed officials (to whom these seals belong) and through the reciprocal obligations attendant upon his rule. That the “presentation scene” occurs on cylinder seals which are themselves official tokens of legitimacy and authority within the state system should be our primary clue to its meaning.

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PHOTO CREDITS

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 Fig. 2: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
 Figs. 5, 6: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
 Figs. 7, 8: Yale Babylonia Collection, Yale University.

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PLATES

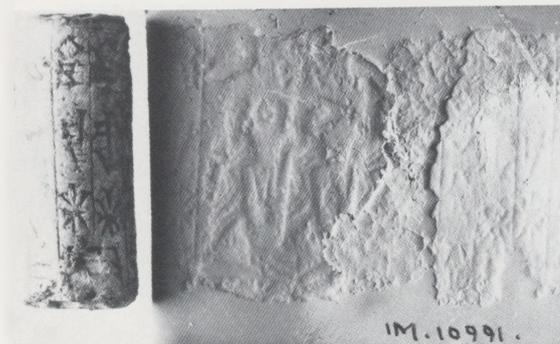


Illustration 1a



Illustration 1b



Illustration 2a

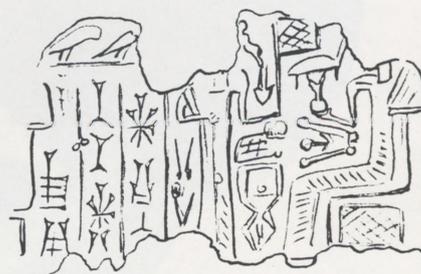


Illustration 2b



Illustration 3a

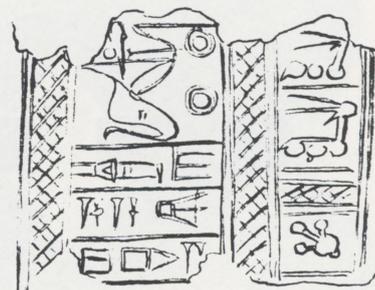


Illustration 3b

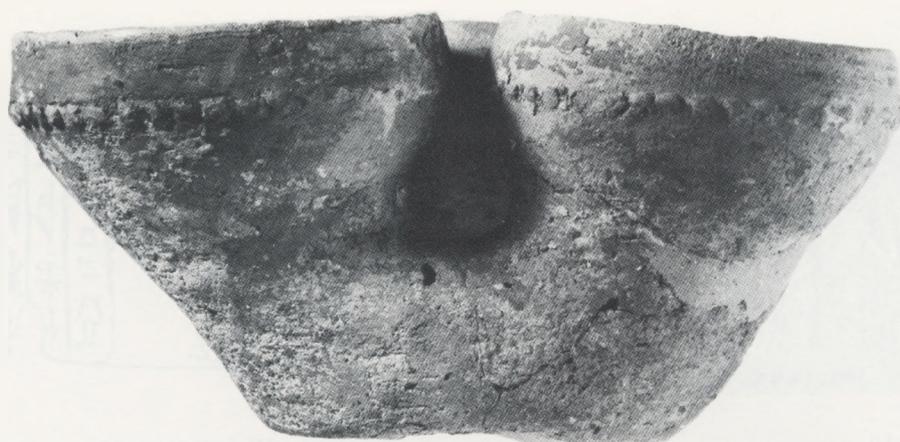


Illustration 1

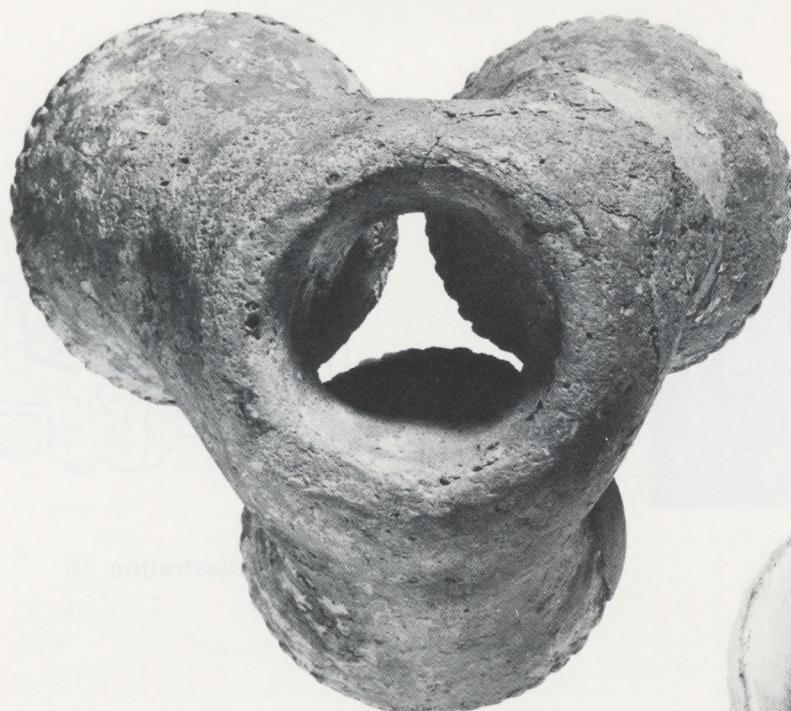


Illustration 2



Illustration 3

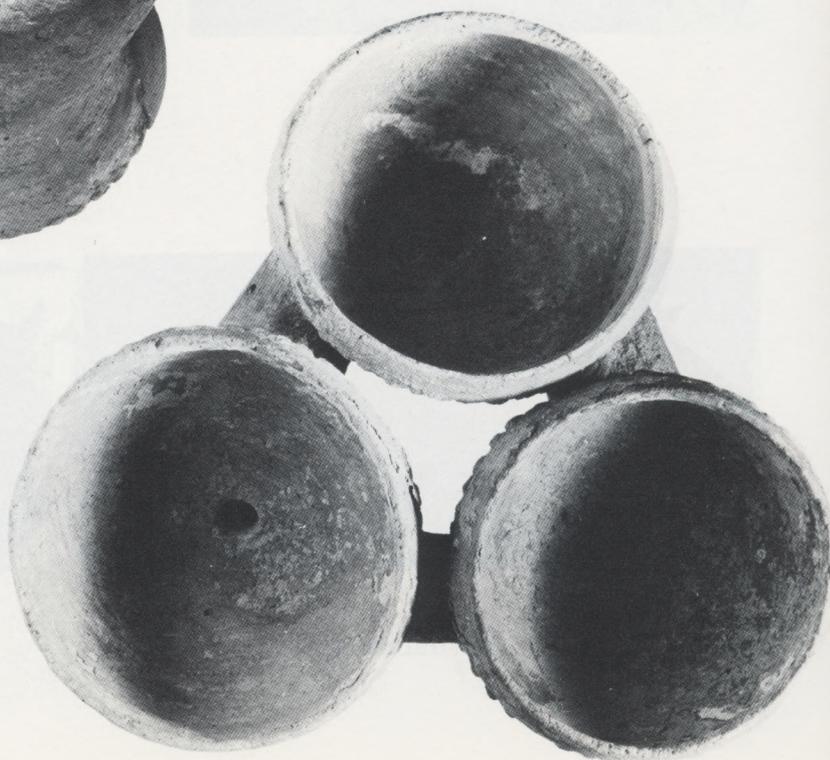




Illustration 4



Illustration 5



Illustration 6



Illustration 7



Illustration 8



Illustration 9

Illustration 10



Illustration 11



Illustration 12

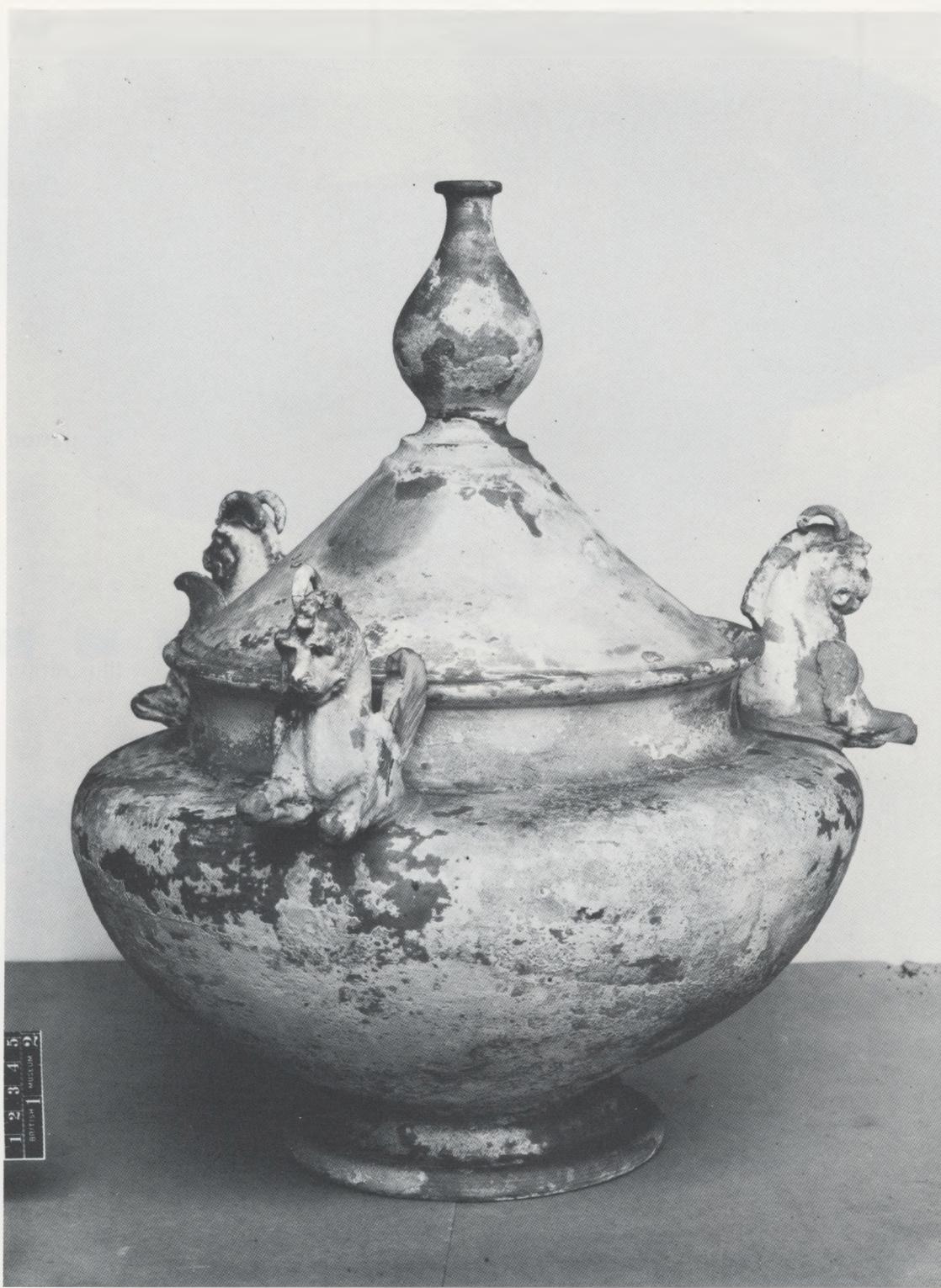
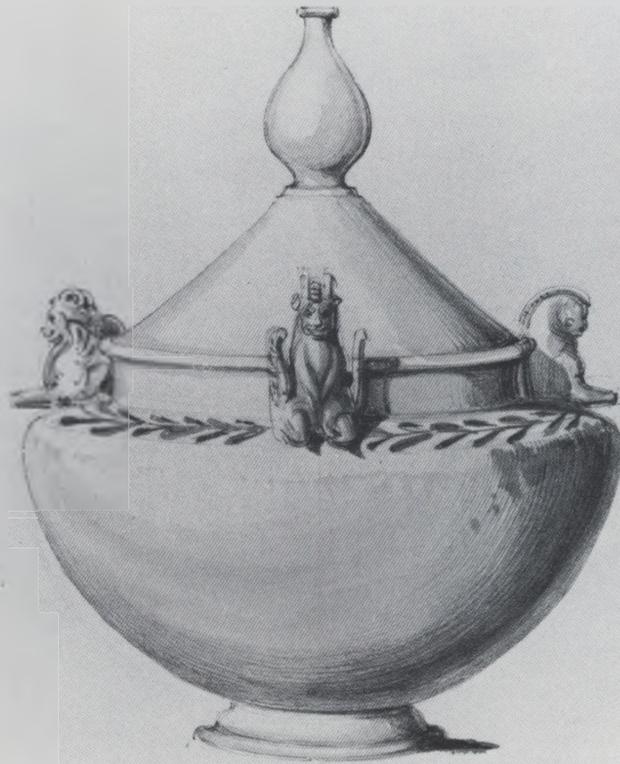
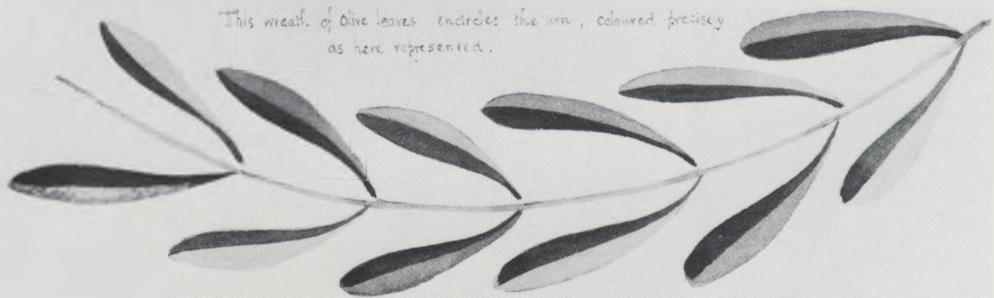


Illustration 1



This funeral urn is full of bones, retaining those of which were bones, among the bones are also small fragments of woodwork. It is of the same red earth, being covered with white paint.

From Athens - 1826.
H. P. B. to B.

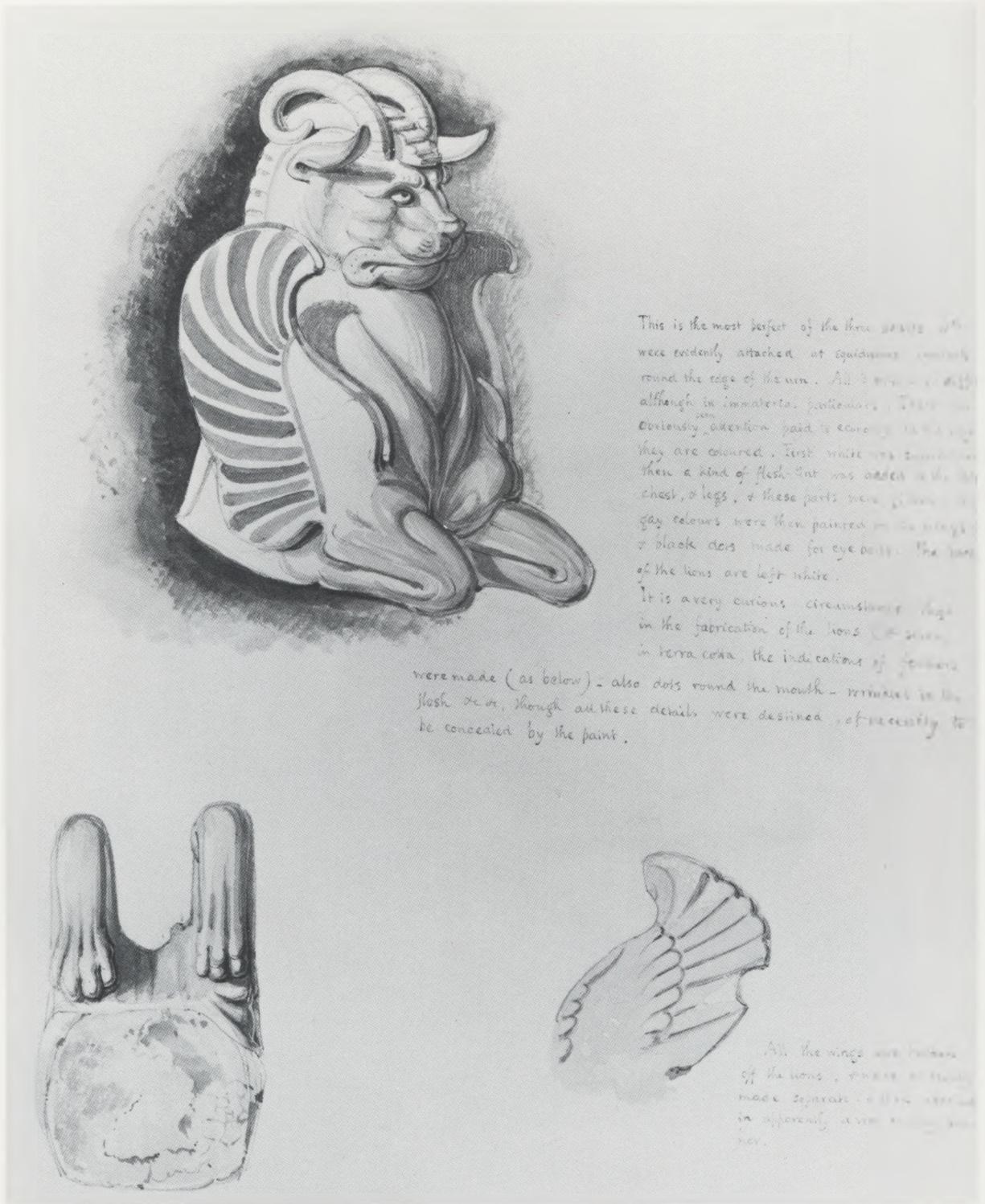


This wreath of olive leaves encircles the urn, coloured precisely as here represented.

Supra. 1826.



Illustration 2



This is the most perfect of the three heads which were evidently attached at equidistance, symmetrically round the edge of the urn. All 3 were made of clay although in immortal materials. The horns were obviously ^{very} attention paid to coloring. The wings they are coloured. First white was laid down, then a kind of flesh tint was added to the body, chest, & legs, & these parts were finished with gay colours were then painted in the wings & black dots made for eye balls. The base of the horns are left white.

It is a very curious circumstance that in the fabrication of the horns & wings in terra cotta, the indications of feathers were made (as below) - also dots round the mouth - wrinkles in the flesh etc. though all these details were destined, of necessity to be concealed by the paint.

All the wings were broken off the horns, & were originally made separate & then attached in different views to the horns.

Illustration 3



Illustration 4a, 4b, 4c



Ill. 5. Xenophantos vase, after E. A. Minns.

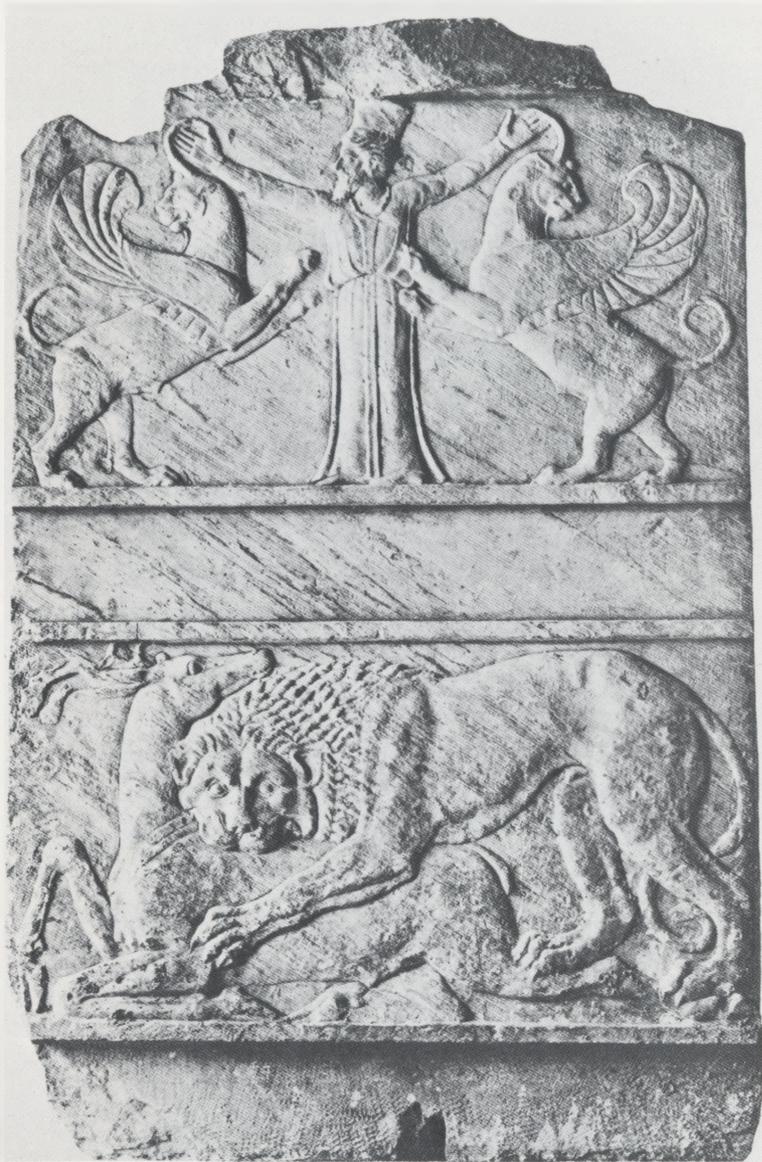


Illustration 6



Illustration 7



Illustration 8

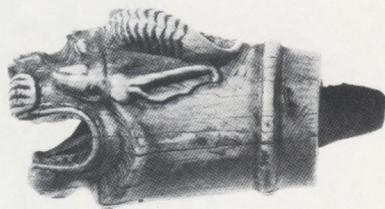


Illustration 9



Illustration 10



Illustration 1



Illustration 2



Illustration 1a



Illustration 1b

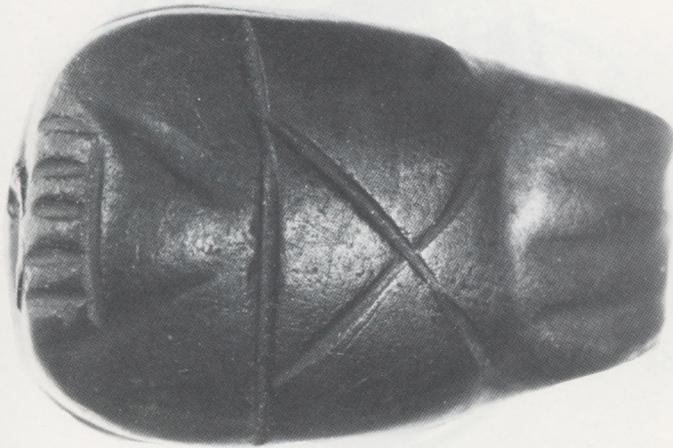


Illustration 2a



Illustration 2b



Illustration 2c



Illustration 2d



Illustration 3



Illustration 4



Illustration 5a



Illustration 5b



Illustration 7a



Illustration 7b

Illustration 8



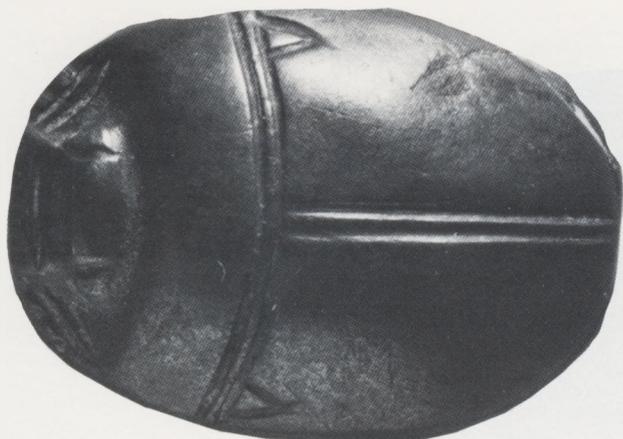


Illustration 9a



Illustration 9b



Illustration 9c



Illustration 10a

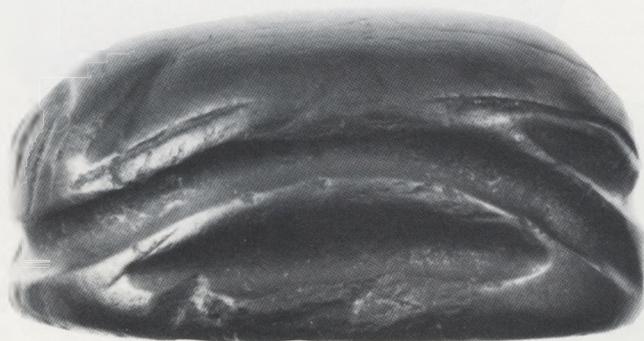


Illustration 10b



Illustration 10c



Illustration 11a



Illustration 11b



Illustration 12

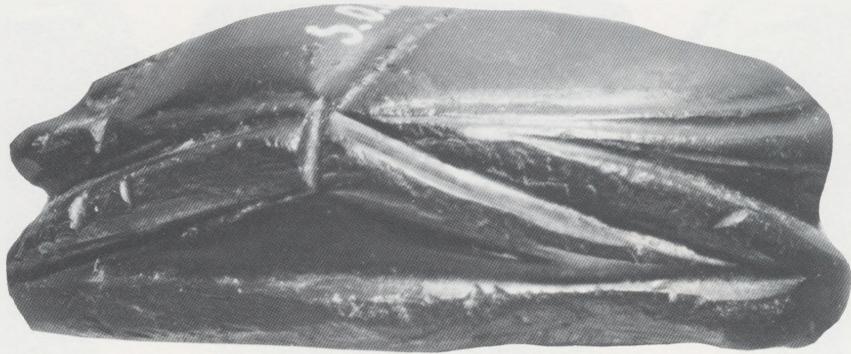


Illustration 14b



Illustration 14a



Illustration 14c



Illustration 15



Illustration 17a



Illustration 17b



Illustration 19



Illustration 21



Illustration 22



Illustration 23



Illustration 24a



Illustration 24b



Illustration 24c



Illustration 26



Illustration 27



Illustration 28a



Illustration 28b



Illustration 28c



Illustration 29a

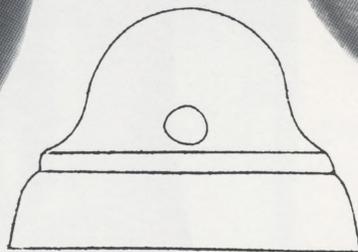


Illustration 29b



Illustration 30



Illustration 1a



Illustration 1b



Illustration 1c



Illustration 1d



Illustration 2a

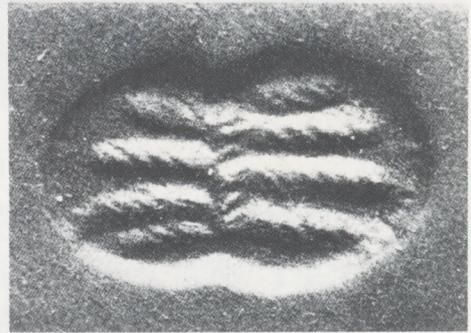


Illustration 3



Illustration 2b



Illustration 2c



Illustration 1.●



Illustration 4.●



Illustration 11.●



Illustration 12.●



Illustration 23.



Illustration 1



Illustration 2



Illustration 3



Illustration 4

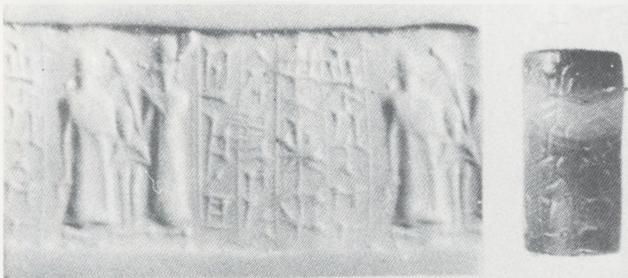


Illustration 5



Illustration 6



Illustration 7



Illustration 8

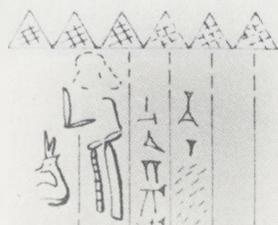


Illustration 9



Illustration 1a

03650

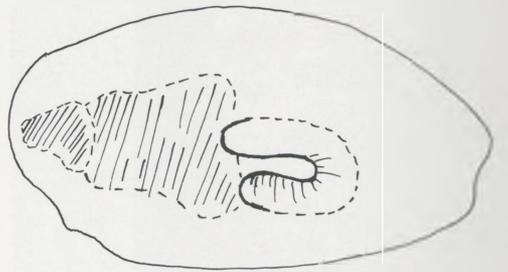


Illustration 1b



Illustration 2a

03659

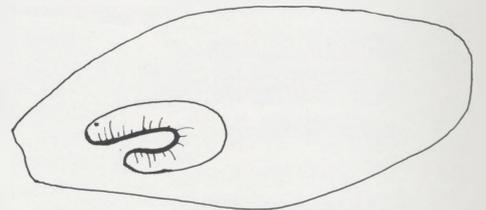


Illustration 2b



Illustration 3a

03658

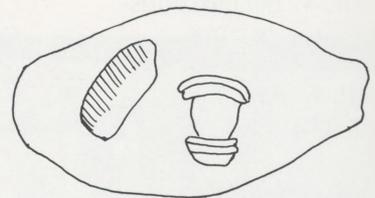


Illustration 3b



Ill. 1. Palaepaphos-skales, T.67:7.



Ill. 2. Palaepaphos-skales, T.79:1.



Ill. 3. Palaepaphos-skales, T.74: 35.



Ill. 5. Ayios Tychonas, T.2:20.



Ill. 4. Palaepaphos-skales, T.79:6.

Ill. 6. Amathus, T.334:57c.

Ill. 7. Amathus, T.334:57a.



Ill. 8. Koloni (Paphos), Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 1973/ix-19/1.



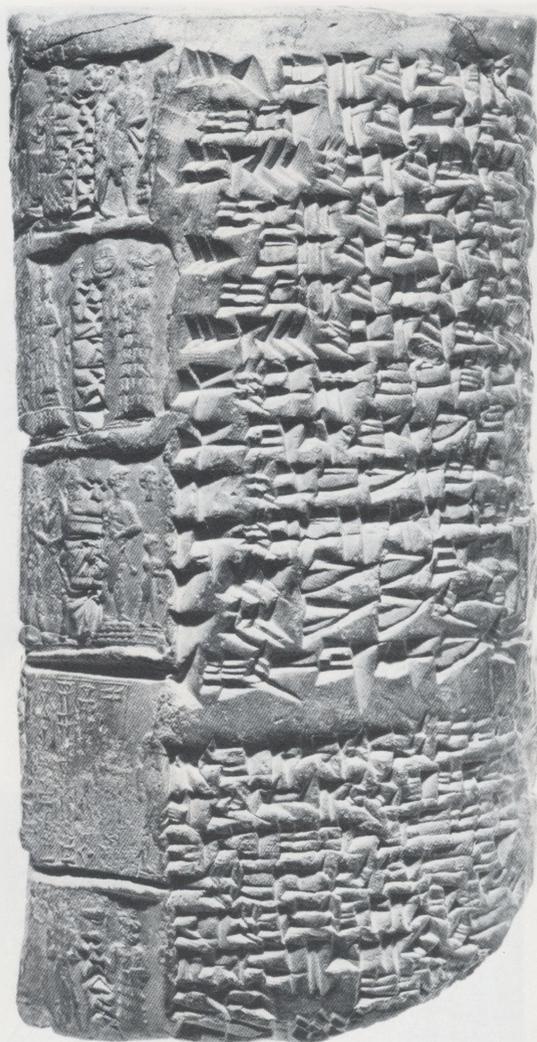
KELLY-BUCCELLATI

Ill. 1. Left edge of a Terqa contract (*TFR* 1 9) showing the seal impressions and two by-scripts. Scale 1:1.

Ill. 2. Upper edge of *TFR* 1 9 showing the garment hem impression of Hazibum, the seller. Dimensions of this edge: 4.8 x 1.4 cm.

Ill. 3. Left edge of *TFR* 1 1 showing two seal impressions and their by-scripts; in this contract Ili-Dumqi sells a field to Puzurum. Dimensions of this edge: 12.8 x 2.5 cm.

1.



KLENGEL-BRANDT

Ill. 1. Tafel VAT 712.

2.

3.

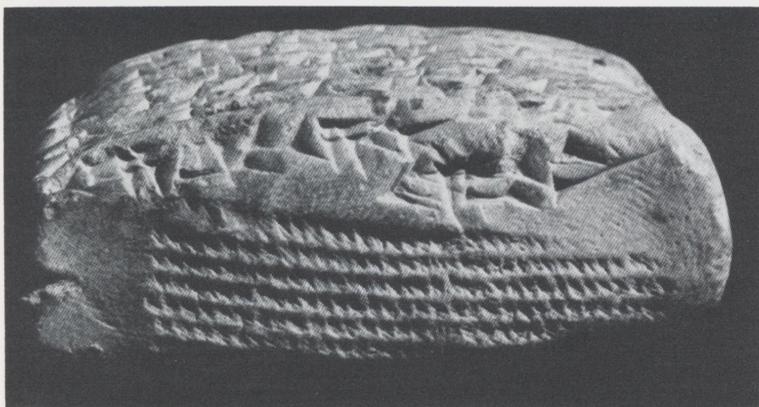




Illustration 1



Illustration 2



Illustration 3



Illustration 4

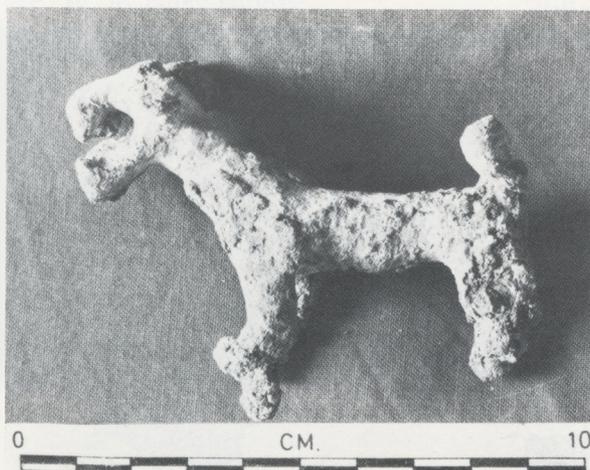
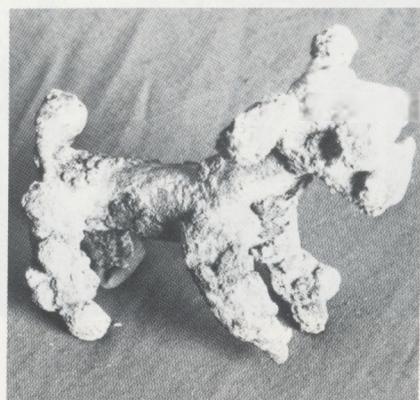


Illustration 5

Illustration 6





Ill. 1. Vue d'un côté de la corne.
Ill. 2. Vue l'autre côté de la corne.



Ill. 3. Détail des 3 registres inférieurs.



Illustration 1



Illustration 5



Illustration 2



Illustration 6



Illustration 3



Illustration 7



Illustration 4



Illustration 8



Ill. 1. TM.78.Q.273.



Ill. 2. TM.70.8.62.



Ill. 3. TM.70.B.618.



Ill. 4. TM.80.Q.40.



Ill. 5. TM.67.A.189.



Ill. 6. TM.70.B.826.



Ill. 7. TM.76.G.8.



Ill. 8. Moore 190.



Ill. 9. Geneva.



Ill. 10. Damascus 1870.



Ill. 11. Ashmolean 1015.



III. 12. Ashmolean 841.



III. 13. Hala Sultan tekké.



III. 14. RS. 19.188.



III. 15. Beth Shan.



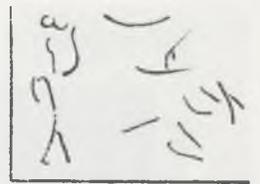
III. 16. F1.



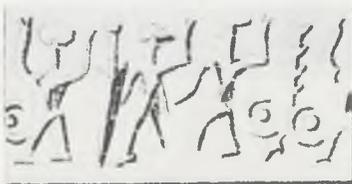
III. 17. F2.



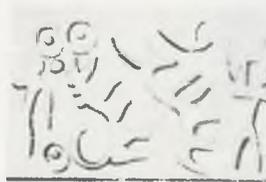
III. 18. F3.



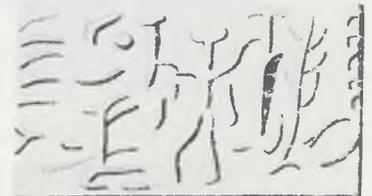
III. 19. F5.



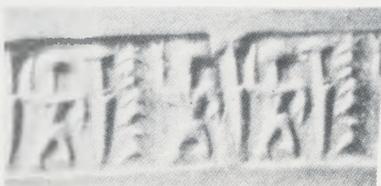
III. 20. F6.



III. 21. F7.



III. 22. F8.



III. 23. F9.



III. 24. F10.



III. 25. F11.



III. 26. F12.



III. 27. F13.



III. 28. F14.



III. 29. F15.



III. 30. F17.



III. 31. A1.



III. 32. A2.



III. 33. A3.



III. 34. A4.



III. 35. A5.



III. 36. A6.



III. 37. A7.



III. 38. A8.



III. 39. A10.



III. 40. A11.



III. 41. A12.



III. 42. A13.



III. 43. A14.



III. 44. A15.



III. 45. A16.



III. 46. A18.



III. 47. A19.



III. 48. A20.



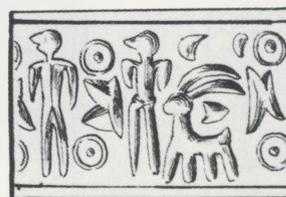
III. 49. A21.



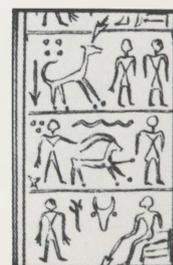
III. 50. A22.



III. 51. A23.



III. 52. A24.



III. 53. A25.



III. 54. B1.



III. 55. B4.



III. 56. B5.



III. 57. B6.



III. 58. B7.



III. 59. B9.



III. 60. B10.



III. 61. B11.



III. 62. C1.



III. 63. C2.



III. 64. C3.



III. 65. C4.



III. 66. C5.



III. 67. C6.



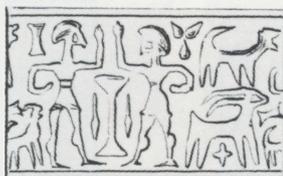
III. 68. C7.



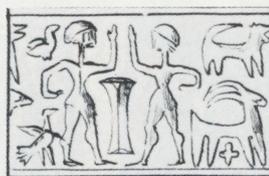
III. 69. C8.



III. 70. C9.



III. 71. C11.



III. 72. C13.



III. 73. C14.



III. 74. C15.



III. 75. C16.



III. 76. C17.



III. 77. D1.



III. 78. D2.



III. 79. D3.



III. 80. D4.



III. 81. D5.



III. 82. D9.



III. 83. D10.



III. 84. D11.



III. 85. D12.



III. 86. D13.



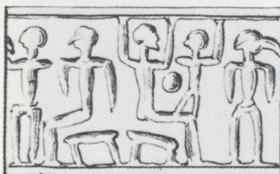
III. 87. D14.



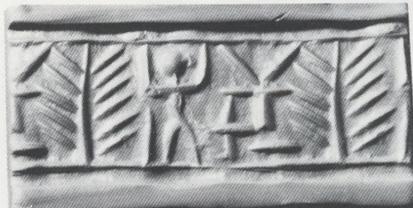
III. 88. E1.



III. 89. E2.



III. 90. E3.



III. 91. E4.



III. 92. E5.



III. 1. Statue Cabane.
(Original photo, Museum Aleppo; Kalkstein; H. 1.10 m.)



III. 3. New-Assyrische
Gottesstatue aus Nimrud.
(British Museum; nach
Parrot *Assur* (1972) Abb.
24; Kalkstein; H. 1.60 m.)



III. 2. Akk. Rollsiegel (Louvre).
(Nach *PKG* 14 (1975) Tf. 136a; Serpentin; 3.9 x 2.6 cm.)



Ills. 4, 5, 6. Statue Cabane.
(Original photo, Museum Aleppo.)



III. 7. Relief-Stele von Fusillar; nach K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (1976) Abb. 264; Kalkstein; H. 7.40 m.



III. 8. Adda-Siegel (British Museum); nach Cr. Zervos, *L'Art de la Mesopotamie* (1935) Pl. 258; Grüner Schiefer; 3.8 x 2.5 cm.



III. 9. Akk. Rollsiegel (Ur Pg. 699; Bagdad); nach *PKG* 14 (1975) Tf. 136d; Dunkelgrüner Stein; 3.6 x 2.4 cm.



Illustration 1

Illustration 2



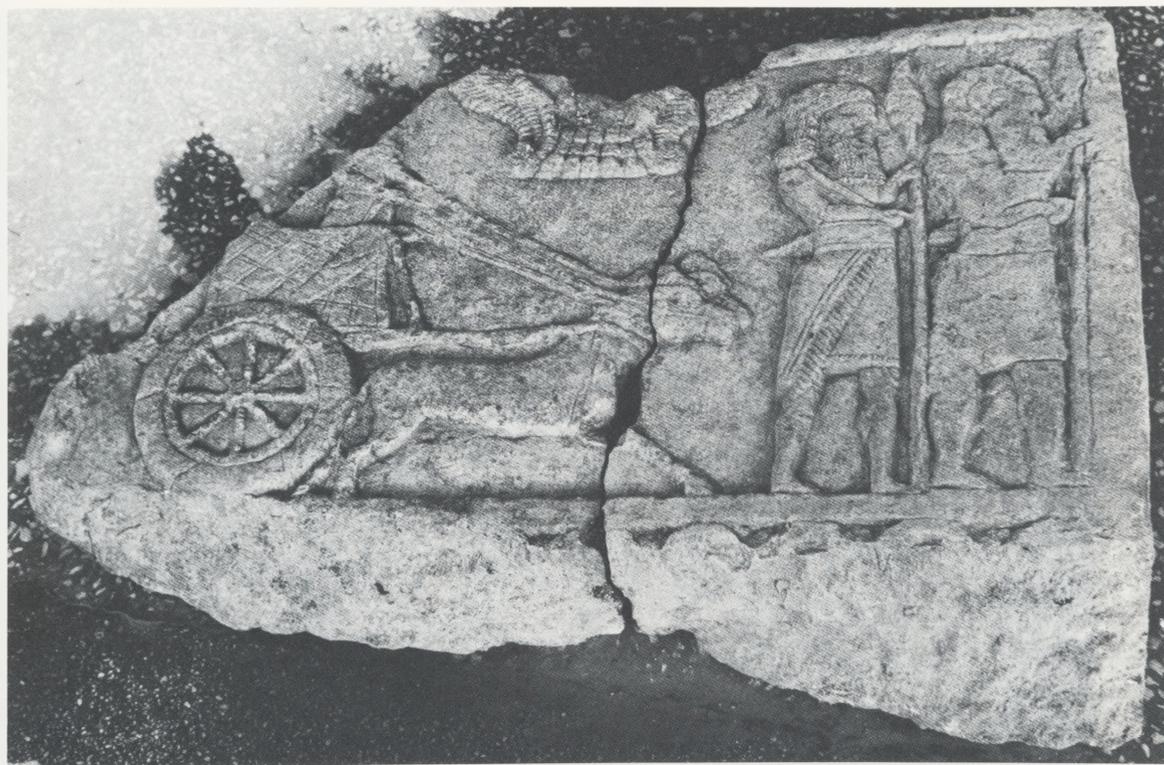


Illustration 3

Illustration 4





Illustration 1a



Illustration 1b



Illustration 2a

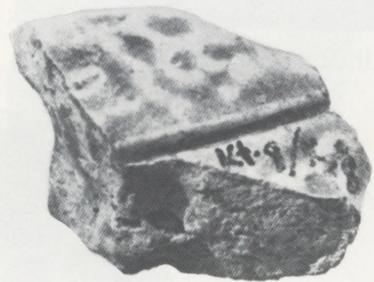


Illustration 2b

Illustration 3a

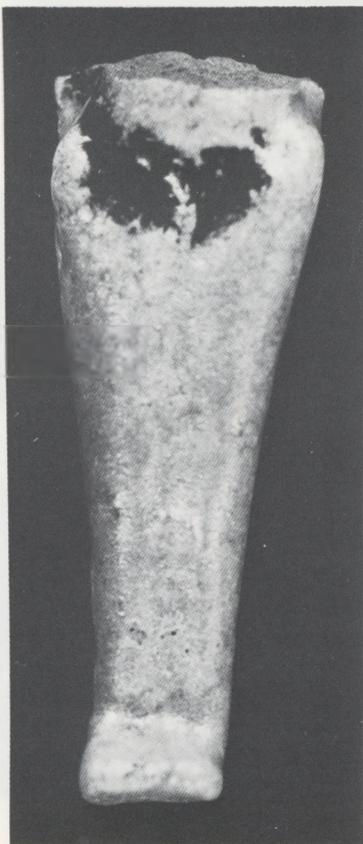


Illustration 3b

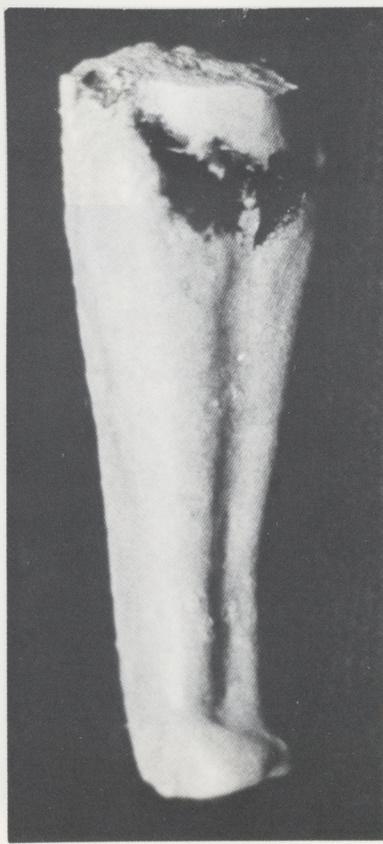


Illustration 3c



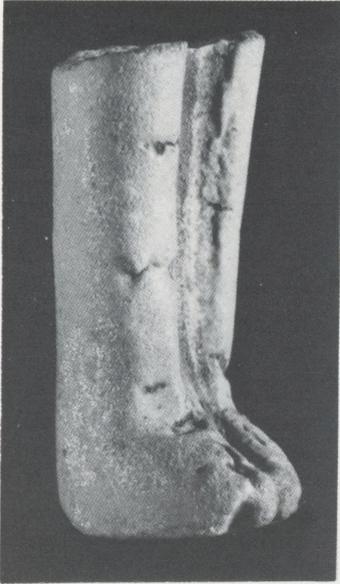


Illustration 4



Illustration 5



Illustration 6

Illustration 7a



Illustration 7b

Illustration 8



Illustration 9a



Illustration 9b

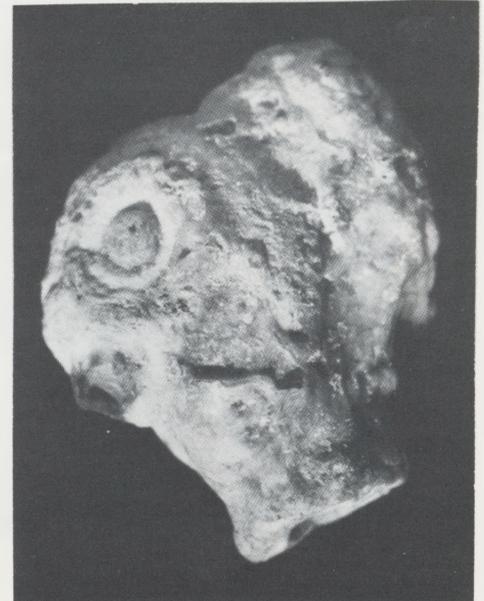




Illustration 10a



Illustration 10b

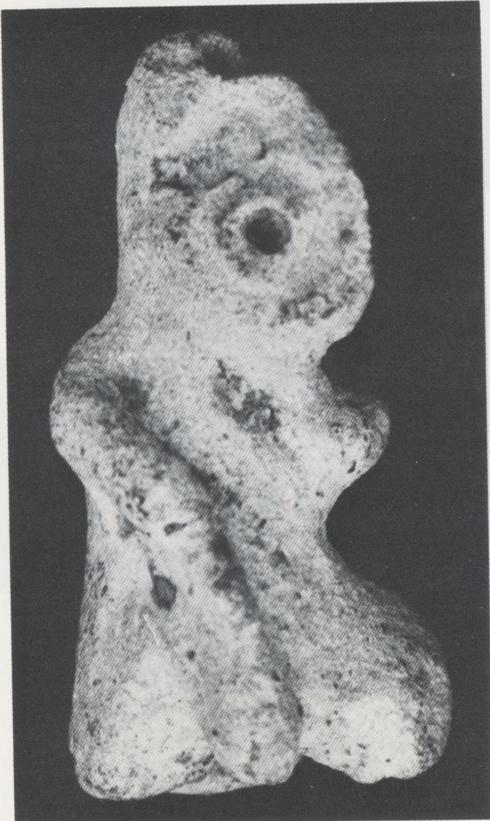


Illustration 11



Illustration 12



Illustration 13



Illustration 14



Illustration 15



Illustration 16



Illustration 17a

Illustration 17b





Illustration 18a



Illustration 18b



Illustration 19a

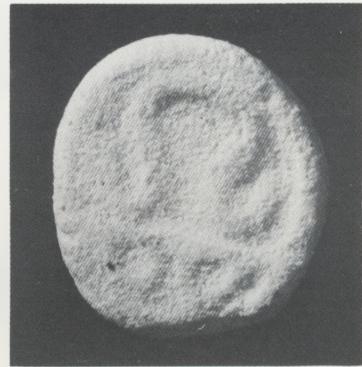


Illustration 19b



Illustration 20a



Illustration 20b



Illustration 21a



Illustration 21b



Illustration 22



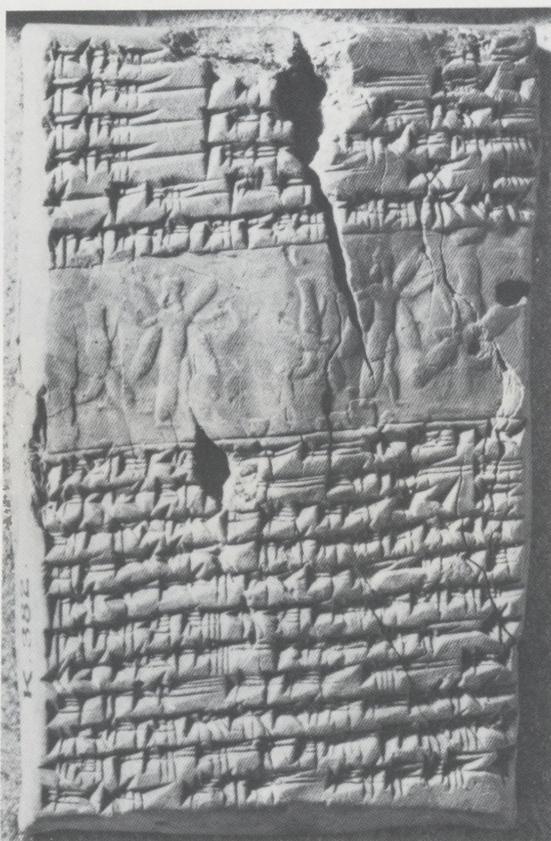
Illustration 23



Ill. 1. Impression of Kakallanu's seal (K330).



Ill. 2. Impression of Partama's seal (K361A).



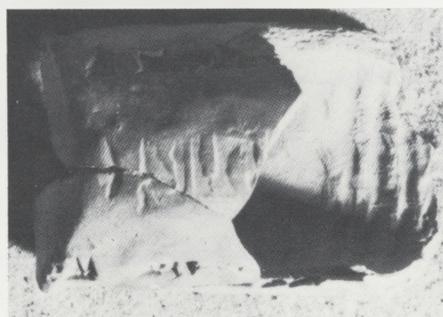
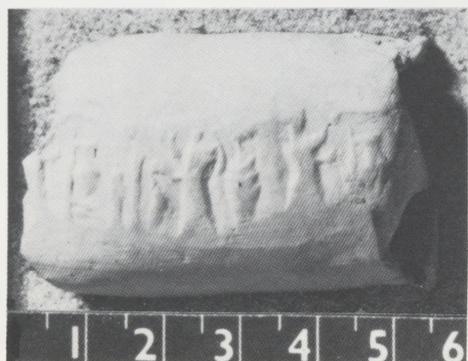
Ill. 3. Impression on a tablet dated to the *limmu*-ship of Aššur-gimil-tirri (K382).



Ill. 4. Stamp seal impression (80-7-19,53).



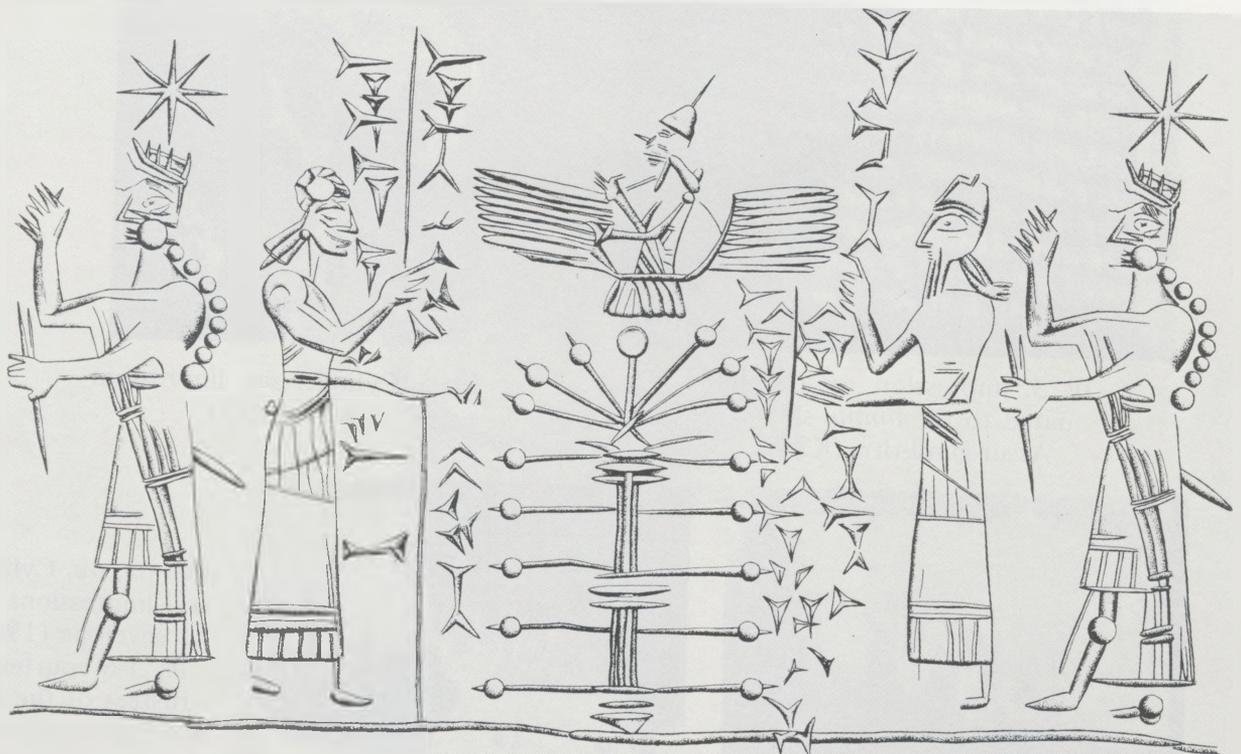
Ill. 5. Cylinder seal impression (80-7-19,53).



Ills. 6a, 6b. Cylinder seal impressions on an envelope (199A). (Ills. 1-6 courtesy Trustees of the British Museum; photos 1:1.)



Ills. 7, 8. Seal from Kish, h. 4.86 cm; drawing by Mary Fahey.
(Courtesy Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum; Ash. 1932.319.)





Ill. 9. Seal of Mīnu-epuš-ana-ili, h. 4.38 cm.
 (Courtesy Biblical Institute, University of Fribourg, Switzerland.)



Ill. 10. Uninscribed seal, h. 2.95 cm.
 (Courtesy Buffalo Museum of Science;
 C 13152.)



Ill. 12. Seal of Kapāra.
 (Courtesy Walters Art Gallery,
 Baltimore; 42.793.)



Ill. 11. Seal of Tukulti-Nabū, h. 3.6 cm.
(Courtesy Executor of the Seyrig Collection, Paris; Seyrig 55.)

Ill. 13. Seal of Nabū-nurka-lāmur, h. 4.1 cm.
(Courtesy Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; 42.1194.)





Illustration 1



Illustration 2

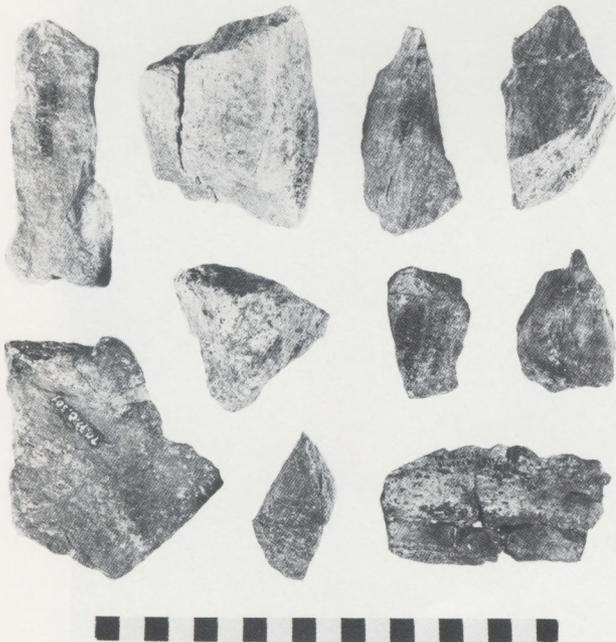


Illustration 23

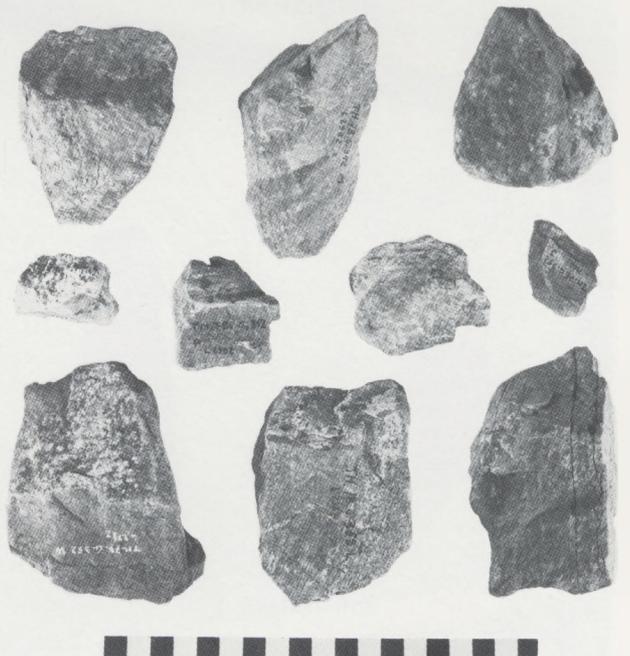


Illustration 4



Illustration 5

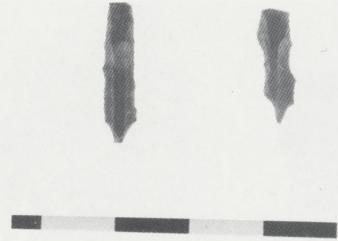


Illustration 6



Illustration 7



Illustration 8

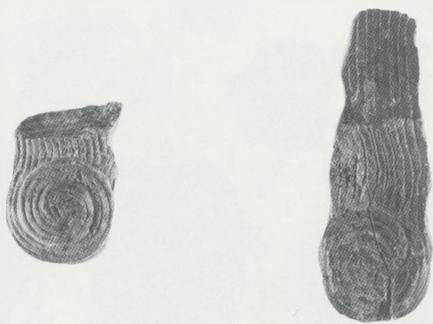


Illustration 9



Illustration 10

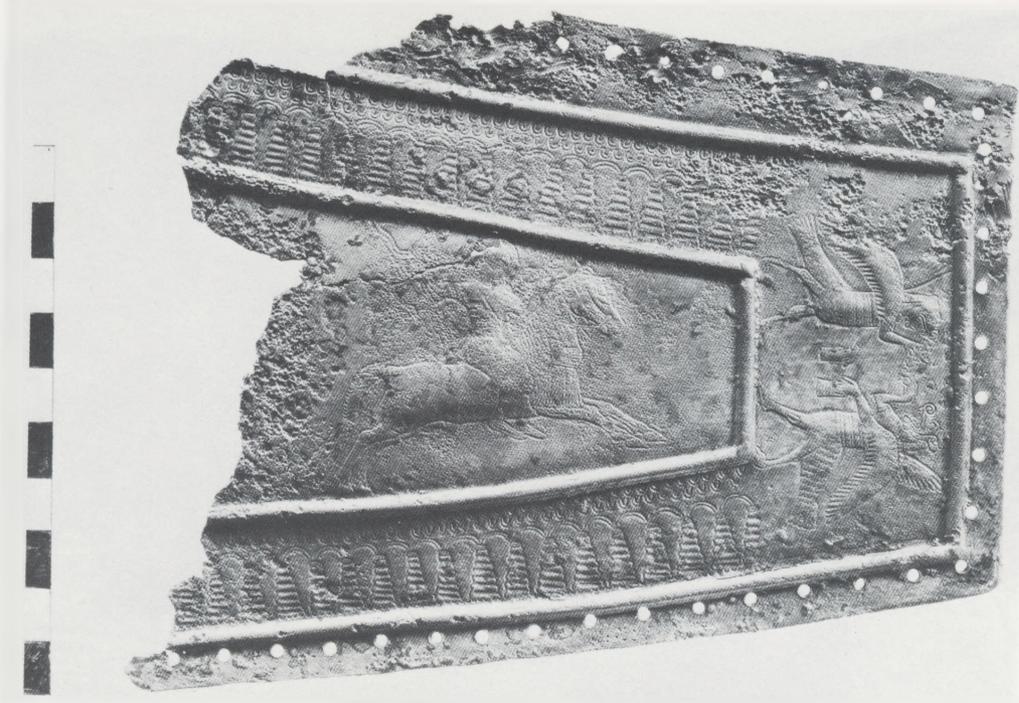


Illustration 1

Illustration 2





Illustration 3



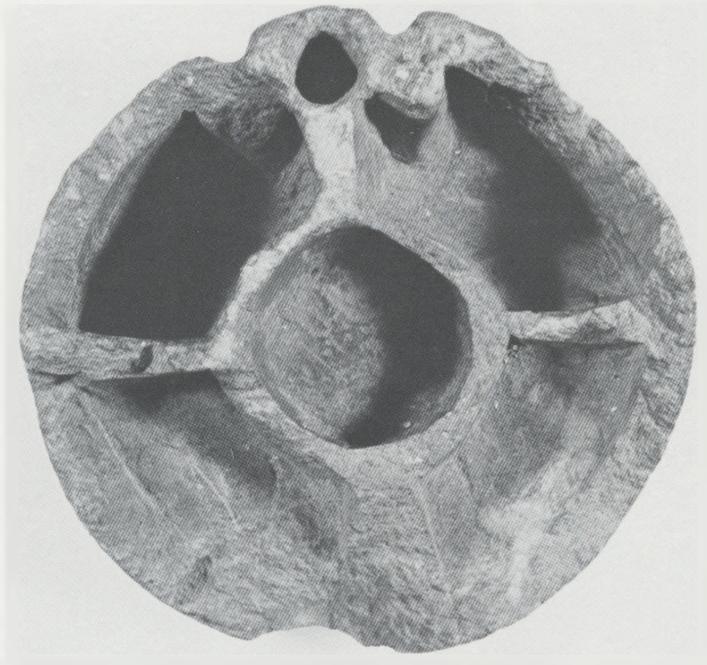
Illustration 5



Illustration 4

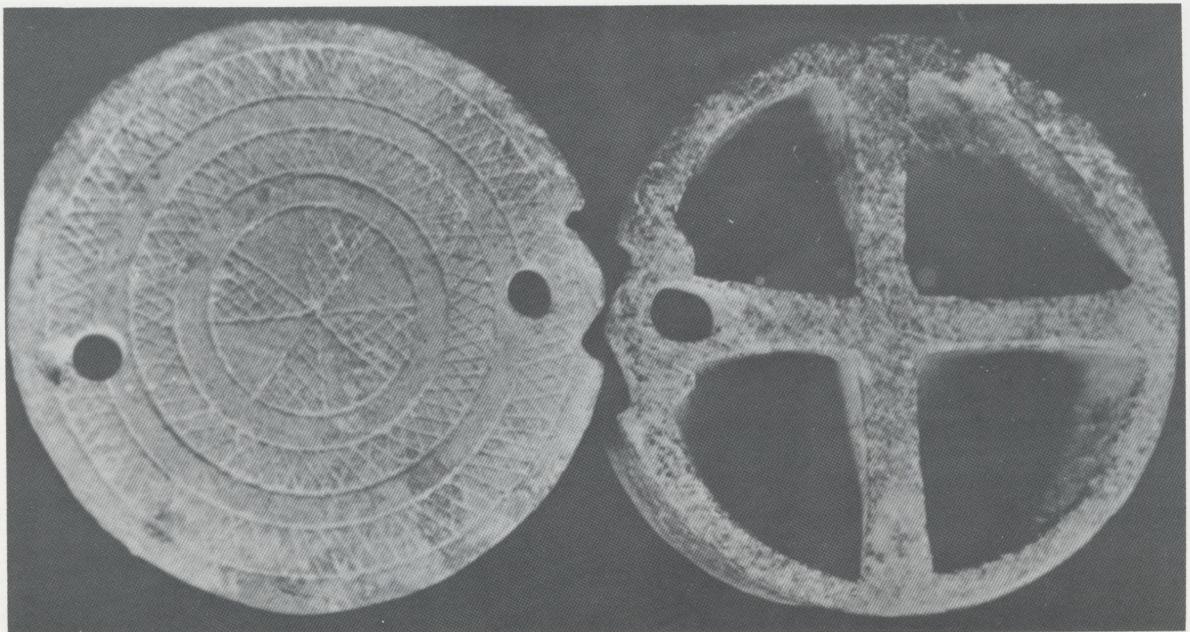


Ill. 1.
Tell Denit.

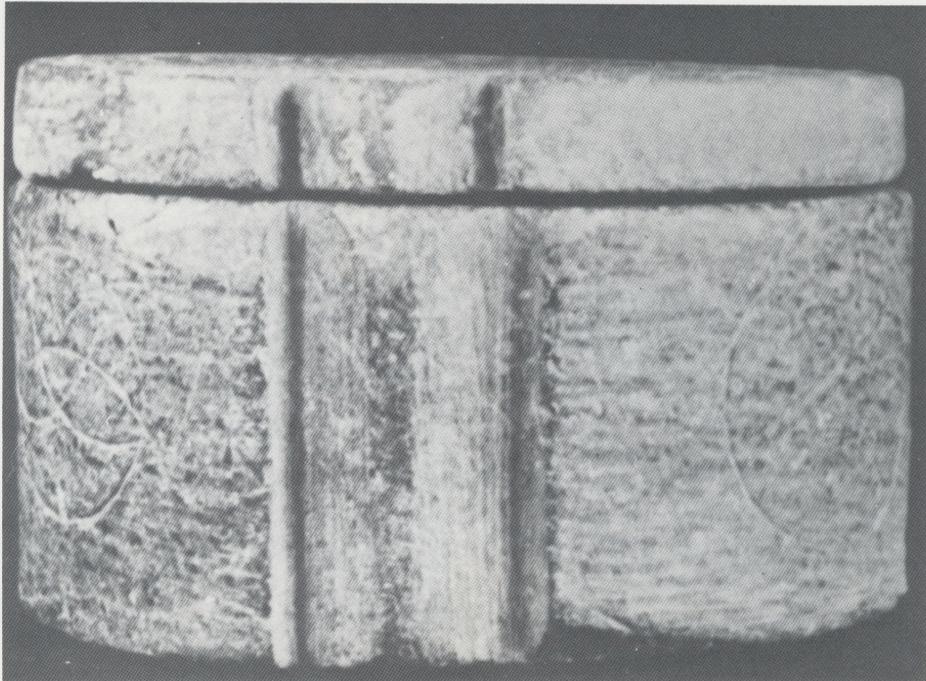


Ill. 2.
Tell Denit.

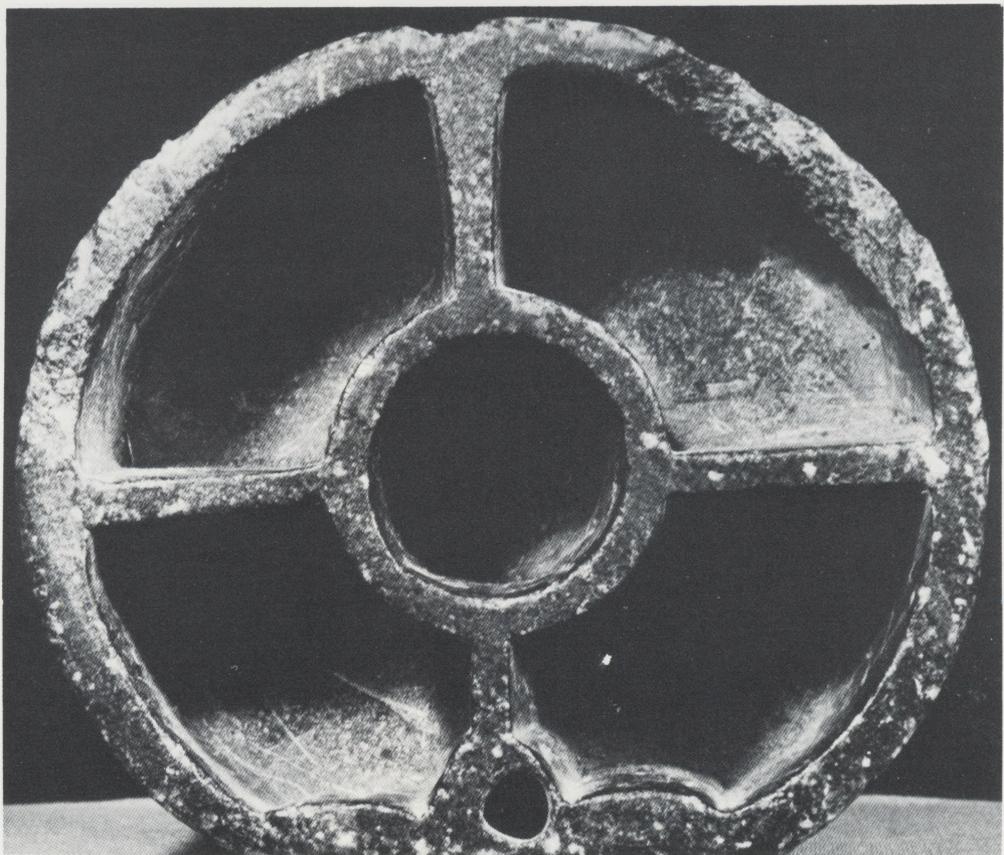
Ill. 3. Rasm
et-Tanjarah.

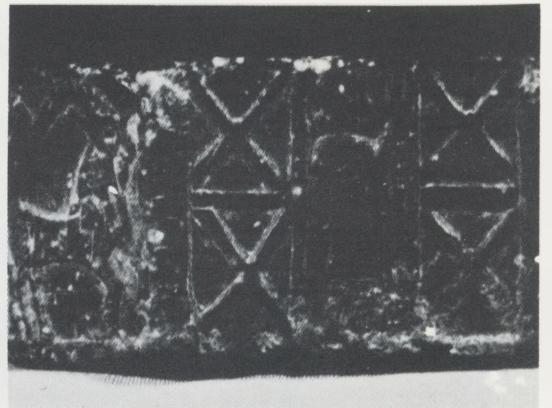


Ill. 4. Rasm
et-Tanjarah.



Ill. 5. Tell
Rifa'at.
(Aleppo
Museum.)





Ills. 6, 7, 8, 9. Tel Rifa'at. (Aleppo Museum.)



Ill. 1. Lid of King Ahiram's sarcophagus, from Byblos Tomb V, ca. 1000 B.C. (after Chehab, *MUSJ* 46).

Ill. 3. Orthostat with inscription and relief of King Kilamuwa, from Sam'al Palace J, ca. 830 B.C. (after Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler*).



Ill. 2. Side of King Ahiram's sarcophagus, from Byblos, ca. 1000 B.C. (after Pritchard, *ANEP*).

Ill. 4. Stele from Sam'al Southern Portico P, ca. 800-750 B.C. (after Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler*).





Ill. 5. Funerary stele from Sam'al, ca. 730-710 B.C. (after Meyer, *Altorientalische Denkmäler*).

Ill. 7. Relief orthostat from the palace of Sargon II, 721-705 B.C., at Dur-Sharrukin (after Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*).



Ill. 6. Relief orthostat from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 883-859 B.C., at Calah (after Stearns, *AfO Beiheft 15*).

Ill. 8. Relief orthostat from the palace of Sargon II, 721-705 B.C., at Dur-Sharrukin (after Loud, *Khorsabad I*).





III. 9. Ivory box lid from Megiddo VII, ca. 1350-1150 B.C.
(after Moorey, *Biblical Lands*).

III. 11. Chalcedony cylinder seal, ca. 725-700 B.C.,
in Biblical Institute, University of Fribourg,
Switzerland (photo IPP).



III. 10. Wall painting from the palace of Tiglathpileser III,
744-727 B.C., at Til-Barsib (after Parrot, *Assur*).

III. 12. Rock relief above tomb of Xerxes, 485-465 B.C.,
at Naqš-e Rostam (after Shahbazi in *AMI* 13).





III. 1. Akkadian. Libation before seated deity. Modern impression.
(Morgan Library; Porada 1948:245.)



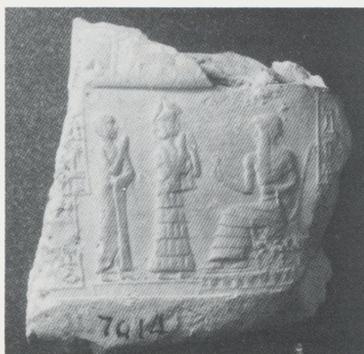
III. 2. Akkadian. Presentation to seated deity.
Modern impression. (Oriental Institute
A 11350; Frankfort 1955:557.)



III. 3. Ur III. Presentation to seated deity. Modern
impression. (Morgan Library; Porada 1948:277.)



III. 4. Ur III. Presentation to seated king. Seal of
Ur-Sakkud, citing Ibbi-Sin. Modern impression.
(Morgan Library; Porada 1948:292.)



III. 5. Ur III. Seal of Ur-kugnuna,
sukkal, citing Amar-Sin. Bulla
fragment, Ur. (University Museum,
U.7014; Legrain 1951:428.)



III. 6. Ur III. Seal of A'akalla,
scribe, son of Ur-ningar. Tablet,
Nippur. (Yale Babylonian Collection
NBC 2023; Buchanan 1981:640.)



III. 7. Ur III. Stele of Ur-Nammu, detail of obverse. Ur.
(University Museum, CBS 16676.)



III. 8. Ur III. Seal of Naša, kurušda, citing Šulgi. Bulla, Drehem.
(Yale Babylonian Collection MLC 2338; Buchanan 1981:643.)