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EMBLEMS OF POWER: IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY
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In loving memory of my grandparents, Fahire and Sedat Topçuođlu

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Abstract

As markers of identity, social status, and administrative rank, seals and their designs functioned as one of the most important non-verbal identifiers for their owners in the ancient Near East. Consequently, the selection of seal imagery was a carefully made decision (either by the seal owner or a central institution), that turned seals into a means of communication.

This dissertation studies the imagery of early second millennium glyptic in northern Mesopotamia to understand the political mechanisms and ideologies underlying the choice of motifs in seal design, and the effects of political change on material culture. Rather than a traditional text-oriented viewpoint, this project adopts an interdisciplinary approach to study identity from a visual perspective. By integrating methods and evidence from archaeology, art history, and textual studies, it seeks to provide insights into the socio-political aspects of northern Mesopotamia in this period and understand their reflection on the glyptic traditions of the region.

The study focuses specifically on a period of ca. 75 years, covering the reign of Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1847-1776 B.C.) and ending with the destruction of Šeḫna by Samsu-iluna in 1728 B.C. The dataset consists of seals and seal impressions from official contexts at Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari, which were important administrative centers of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, as well as Acmhöyük in Anatolia, which had close diplomatic and economic ties with this polity.

Textual evidence shows that Šamši-Adad successfully created a politically unified entity across Upper Mesopotamia by combining the preexisting political and ideological infrastructures of the region with the cultural memory and traditions of the Akkadian, Ur III, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian worlds. The visual manifestation of this unifying ideology is the standardized

iconography and inscriptions of the seals held by royal servants, the ownership of which embodied a close affiliation with the king and state. The “figure-with-mace” motif featured on these seals was an important part of Šamši-Adad’s strategically crafted visual program of representation. The motif was not an original product of this program and had been a rather common element in the iconography of both private and official seals in southern Mesopotamia since the Isin-Larsa period. What makes the use of this motif significant for the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and the independent kingdoms following it, however, is the new and distinct meaning that was attached to it as a visual symbol of a successful expansionist polity.

The broad appeal of the figure-with-mace motif on the seals of kings, queens, and royal servants even half a century after the fall of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia bespeaks the success of Šamši-Adad’s strategic program of representation of ideology and power, which is seen by many scholars as the ideological forerunner of the later Assyrian empires.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the context of largely illiterate societies, arts and imagery functioned as essential media of communication and had a much greater impact and larger diffusion than texts could ever achieve. This was certainly the case in the ancient Near East, where imagery was employed to convey messages regarding power, authority, and identity. Representation of political power in various forms was necessary at all times in all complex urban societies. It served not only to legitimize and strengthen power, but to construct it as well. Political power can be created in many ways that include retaining preexisting systems that are modified to the needs of the new ruler, introducing new traditions, or radically changing the entire structure (Heinz and Feldman 2007: 1). Although they involve different strategies, all of these approaches to political domination have a common starting point: the formation of a group identity. In his study of Achaemenid iconography, Mark Garrison argues that a particular social function of art is the expression of identity, as bound to membership in particular social, administrative, and political bodies (Garrison 2000: 154). This approach to art and imagery is evident in the visual culture of the ancient Near East, especially in the expression of political ideologies, as demonstrated by the monumental reliefs of the Neo-Assyrian palaces in Nimrud and Khorsabad, or in the Achaemenid palatial complex at Persepolis. However, political agendas and state purpose can be reflected not only on large-scale objects, like stelae and reliefs, but also on small-scale works, such as seals (Winter 2001: 8).

As markers of identity, social status, and administrative rank, seals and their designs played critical roles in the lives of individuals in the ancient Near East as they negotiated social interaction. Given that seals had strong apotropaic qualities, and that the seal was in many ways a

personal extension of the individual, these small objects functioned as one of the most important non-verbal identifiers for their owners. As a result, the selection of seal imagery was a carefully made decision (either by the seal owner or a central institution), that turned seals into a means of communication. As Winter argues, seals, worn and displayed as tokens, and proliferated through their sealings, probably constituted the primary visual medium of their age (Winter 2000: 82). As a result, they played an essential role in the dissemination of information to wide audiences.

The purpose of this work is to study the imagery of early second millennium glyptic in northern Mesopotamia in an attempt to understand the political mechanisms and ideologies underlying the choice of motifs in seal design, and the effects of political change on material culture. The main research question that this study deals with is “How does a polity construct, express, and affirm its identity in the visual realm?” Rather than a traditional text-oriented viewpoint, this project adopts an interdisciplinary approach to study institutional identity from a visual perspective. The study focuses specifically on a period of ca. 75 years, covering the reign of Šamši-Adad I (ca. 1847-1776 B.C.) and ending with the destruction of Šeḫna by Samsu-iluna in 1728 B.C.¹ Scholars of this period are mostly interested in the rich textual record, which provides invaluable insights into politics and economy. Visual culture is rarely part of these studies, as the number of excavated sites with clear archaeological context is quite few, three-dimensional sculpture is not preserved, and stelae are rare.²

¹ Absolute dates used in this dissertation follow Middle Chronology and the Revised Eponym List (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012).

² Whether or not the fragmentary stela commonly known as the “Šamši-Adad victory stela” really represents Šamši-Adad himself is debated. See Eppihimer 2009: 228 for an evaluation. Otto argues for the presence of a Šamši-Adad stela, similar to the stela of Ḫammurabi, as the iconographic basis of the audience scene on the seals of Šamši-Adad and some of his officials (Otto 2000: 153 and 222). Although plausible, there is no empirical evidence to verify this theory.

In the absence of monumental art, such as palace reliefs, victory stelae, and statues, which were successfully employed by Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian, and Achaemenid kings among others, the study of visual culture as a means to convey a particular vision of kingship and political ideology during and after the reign of Šamši-Adad rests on glyptic evidence. The glyptic of this period has long been perceived as a “provincial” offshoot of Babylonian glyptic (Frankfort 1939), and most studies focused on placing it in a chronological framework, and understanding its stylistic development and relationship to the Old Babylonian and Syrian glyptic traditions. It is clear that seal carvers in northern Mesopotamia did not need to create a symbolic repertoire from scratch and borrowed heavily from the already existing traditions of the south for millennia. Nonetheless, the compositions in which these adopted iconographic elements appeared were new and distinctive. By integrating methods and evidence from archaeology, art history, and textual studies, this study seeks to provide insights into the socio-political aspects of northern Mesopotamia in this period and understand their reflection on the glyptic traditions of the region.

The material investigated in this study consists of seals and seal impressions excavated in official contexts (i.e. palaces and temples) at Tell Bi’a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari in Syria, and Achemhöyük in Anatolia. During the late nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C., these sites were important administrative centers of Šamši-Adad’s kingdom, and in the case of Achemhöyük, had close diplomatic and economic ties with this polity. Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil/Šehna) functioned as Šamši-Adad’s royal capital, Tell Bi’a (ancient Tuttul) had a palace where his son and vice-regent, Yasmaḥ-Adad, often stayed, Tell al-Rimah (ancient Karana) housed a palace and temple built by Šamši-Adad, and Mari was the administrative seat and permanent residence of Yasmaḥ-Adad. Unfortunately, the site of Ekallatum, where Šamši-

Adad's older son and vice-regent Išme-Dagan was installed has not yet been located.

Acemhöyük constitutes a special case, as it lay outside the territories of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, but it yielded a large number of bullae, bearing the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and his servants, which were previously unknown.

Šamši-Adad's kingdom fell apart shortly after his death and he was perceived as a usurper and illegitimate ruler even in antiquity. On a stone tablet from Assur, Puzur-Sin, who claims to have gained the throne of Assur by deposing a successor of Šamši-Adad, scornfully emphasizes the foreign, i.e. non-Assyrian, origin of the king and boasts about restoring a native dynasty and customs to Assur (Grayson 1987: 77). However, Šamši-Adad appears to have left behind a lasting memory. His death was commemorated in a year name of Ibal-pi-El II of Ešnunna, several later rulers of Assyria adopted his name, and he was later included in the Akkadian King List (Ziegler 2008: 635). A close reading of textual and visual evidence from this period also shows that he was a brilliant strategist in terms of establishing a unifying ideology expressed through text and image. The Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia can be considered one of the earliest examples of a territorial state, which differs from the traditional political organization of the second millennium B.C. in the Near East, centered around individual city-states (Garfinkle 2013: 116). Although his kingdom is perceived by modern scholars as an “ephemeral and loose system of dependencies” (Barjamovic 2013: 125), Šamši-Adad successfully created a politically unified entity across Upper Mesopotamia by combining the preexisting political and ideological infrastructures of the region with the cultural memory of Akkadian kings and Babylonian symbols. In the absence of evidence from non-official contexts, it is impossible to determine whether a cultural unification was also in place, but the presence of a unified administrative culture is clear.

The success of larger territorial states that emerged in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. was dependent upon the ability of rulers to take proper care of the various urban centers within their states and to formulate an ideology that could appeal to their subjects *en masse*. The new state needed, above all, to appeal to the personal loyalty of its elite to the new king (McMahon 2012: 664, Garfinkle 2013: 116). Šamši-Adad achieved this by crafting a particular identity and traditions. The way he represented himself and his ideology of kingship can be inferred from his royal inscriptions, formulae, and titles in the absence of royal statuary and palace decorations. These sources show that he adopted and adapted traditions from a variety of sources, including the Akkadian, Ur III, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian worlds, to authenticate himself as the legitimate inheritor of the lands he conquered and to claim ancestry from Akkadian kings, who were remembered as epitomes of kingship in the ancient Near East. To maintain order in his newly acquired lands, and to deter local uprisings, he acted as a patron of local deities, restoring their temples and statues. Ultimately, he created a strong and positive image of himself as the keeper of order, tradition, and culture, while at the same time crafting a new identity for his kingdom, which Nele Ziegler sees as the ideological forerunner of the later Assyrian empires (Ziegler 2009: 181).

In the visual realm, this strategy is illustrated by the use of the presentation scene on Šamši-Adad's own seal, inspired by the royal and official iconography of Ur III and Old Assyrian seals, but most of all, in the adoption of the "figure-with-mace" motif (Fig. 2.8) as part of a strategically crafted visual program of representation. As will be further elaborated in the following chapters, the motif was not an original product of this program and had been a rather common element in the iconography of both private and official seals in southern Mesopotamia since the Isin-Larsa period. What makes the use of this motif significant for the Kingdom of

Upper Mesopotamia and the independent kingdoms following it, however, is the new and distinct meaning that was attached to it as a visual symbol of a successful expansionist polity.

The evaluation of glyptic imagery and sealing practices in their social and administrative context presented in this dissertation shows that the figure-with-mace motif functioned as the visual embodiment of the institutional bureaucracy of Šamši-Adad's kingdom. A combined study of individuals who owned seals bearing this motif and their administrative function and status in textual documentation revealed that the use of this motif was limited to the highest-ranking officials in the service of the king. In the following period, when the motif continued to be employed on official seals, owners of these seals also included kings and female members of the royal families in the newly independent kingdoms of Upper Mesopotamia.

Although the identity of the figure with mace is disputed, similarities between his physical attributes, posture, and garments, and those of the Akkadian king Narām-Sin on his famous victory stele (Fig. 3.2) suggest that the strong, manly, and victorious image of the Akkadian king was the inspiration behind the figure. However, one should remember that the motif probably made its way to the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia from Babylonia by way of Mari, the conquest of which constituted an ideological turning point for Šamši-Adad. As mentioned above, the figure-with-mace motif was popular in the south from the late nineteenth century until the reign of Samsu-iluna (Collon 1986: 100-101) and it was attested in Mari already in the *šakkanakku* period (Otto 1992a: 168) as part of the strong Babylonian influence in the city. The conquest of Mari and the expansion of Šamši-Adad's territories on the Euphrates can be seen as a crucial moment in the birth of a new royal ideology based on expansion, which prompted the king to adopt the titles of "king of the universe" (*šar kiššatim*) and "pacifier of the land between the Tigris and Euphrates" (*muštemki mātīm birit ÌD.IDIGNA ù ÌD.BURANUN.NA*)

(Grayson 1987: 48 and 59). If Šamši-Adad did indeed endorse the use of the figure-with-mace motif as the standard imagery on the seals of his royal servants, and hence as a symbol of officialdom and affiliation with royal administration following the conquest of Mari and the Middle Euphrates region, then this too can be interpreted as a reflection of his changing ideology of kingship (Charpin 1984: 53; Otto 1992a: 159).

The following are the major research questions that are addressed in this study regarding the visual representation of political ideology and affiliation in northern Mesopotamia during and shortly after the reign of Šamši-Adad.

1. How can seal design function as part of a visual system of administrative, social, and cultural communication and identity formation?
2. To what extent does political change influence visual culture and how does visual culture relate to the information presented in historical documents?
3. What role does cultural memory play in shaping, preserving or changing iconographic traditions in periods of transition?
4. What/who dictates the selection of a particular motif in seal design within the context of standardized official seals? What is the significance of this motif on a personal and institutional level?
5. Who is the targeted audience for the imagery (and inscriptions) on official seals regarding the expression of the seal owner's identity in its various aspects (e.g. officialdom, authority, affiliation with king and state etc.)?
6. What aspects, if any, of the seal owner's identity are expressed in seal imagery in particular contexts (e.g. official vs. private)?

With these questions in mind, Chapter 2 provides a detailed account of the history of research regarding the visual culture and especially the glyptic traditions of northern Mesopotamia during the 19th and 18th centuries B.C. Studies on Old Assyrian glyptic from the Central Anatolian sites of Kültepe and Achemhöyük are also included here, as these sites yielded the seal impressions of both Šamši-Adad himself and the Old Assyrian kings of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty, whose seals may have functioned as prototypes for the audience scene on Šamši-Adad seal. The second part of this chapter advocates the need for a holistic approach combining archaeological, textual, and glyptic evidence. The discussion focuses on the integrative methodology used for this study, which incorporates data and analyses from a variety of related fields, such as archaeology, art history, and philology. The process of data collection and the structure of the resulting relational database are presented in detail. The final section in this chapter details the issues and shortcomings of the material used for this study. Problems arising from relying on previously published material and data collected by other scholars are explained. Finally, a brief standardized terminology is provided at the end of Chapter 2 to avoid confusion in the absence of a widely accepted, accurate, and comprehensive terminology of second millennium B.C. glyptic.

Chapter 3 focuses on the history and archaeology of northern Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C., with special emphasis on the late Old Assyrian period. Socio-political and cultural developments of the late third and early second millennium are outlined to provide a framework for the formation of the new political and visual identity of Šamši-Adad's kingdom. The reasoning behind the selection of Middle Chronology and the historical designation of "late Old Assyrian" are also explained here. This chapter provides as detailed an account as possible

of the origins, political career, and ideological development of Šamši-Adad on the basis of textual, archaeological, and art historical evidence.

Chapters 4-7 are devoted to the iconographic and chronological analyses of the seals and seal impressions from Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari. The spatial and functional analysis of the buildings and rooms in which this material was found allows a fuller understanding of seal ownership and sealing practices in official contexts. Each chapter presents the archaeological context and the nature of the glyptic material from a specific site, and focuses on the iconographic and chronological analyses of the glyptic material. Chapter 8 is organized in a similar fashion, focusing on the sealed bullae from the palatial contexts at Achemhöyük. In addition to the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad, king Aplaḥanda of Carchemish, Yaḥdun-Lim's daughter Nagiḥanum, and their servants, this dataset also includes dozens of bullae sealed by Assyrian and Anatolian merchants operating within the vast Old Assyrian trade network in this period.

Chapter 9 is devoted to a detailed interpretation of the contextual, iconographic, and chronological analyses presented in Chapter 4-8. Its focus is the representation of official identity and political ideology in visual culture, through the study of seal design and sealing practices. It examines the development of official seal iconography during the reign of Šamši-Adad, and the possible origins and significance of the figure-with-mace motif, which appears to have expressed a political and cultural ideology intimately associated with the king and the state. The meaning of the motif both as an emblem of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and a visual trope associated with official identity in the following period are interpreted in light of glyptic and textual evidence. The section on official seals and imagery also introduces a number of royal servants, their functions and status within administration, through the imagery and inscriptions

on their seals as well as their sealing practices within and outside of their immediate areas of authority. Textual documentation, especially from the Mari palace archives, is used in conjunction with glyptic to reveal the various aspects of these individuals' identity. A special section is devoted to royal women as seal owners, the iconography of their seals, and how they contribute to our understanding of seal imagery and sealing practices in this period.

The concluding chapter (Chapter 10) pulls together the results of iconographic analyses and interpretation of the glyptic material presented in this study. It explains how socio-political and cultural developments during the early second millennium B.C. in both southern and northern Mesopotamia as well as the evolution of dominant political ideologies in the region influenced glyptic traditions and representations of official identity in visual culture. The strong sense of continuity in seal imagery and sealing practices that can be observed from the Ur III period until the conquest of Šeḫna by Samsu-iluna of Babylon is also emphasized.

Subsequent to the text are appendices including a chronological table of northern Mesopotamian rulers; the catalog of seals and seal impressions analyzed in this study; a concordance list equating catalog numbers with provenance, excavation numbers, and publication information; a list of all identified seal owners with their personal names, patronyms, titles, and the type of sealing (door/tablet/container etc.) associated with them; and tables on the distribution of identifiable scene types by site and period.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The material used in this dissertation is derived from sites in Syria and Anatolia dating to the first quarter of the second millennium B.C., and focusing specifically on an approximately 70-year period during and after the reign of king Šamši-Adad I. The seals and seal impressions studied here are assembled from previously published works. A short review of these site-based publications as well as broader studies on the glyptic of the second millennium B.C. is presented here to understand the history of research. This chapter also provides a detailed account of the methodological approaches employed in this study to demonstrate the benefits of a multi-disciplinary, integrative approach.

Both the Syrian and Anatolian glyptic corpora of this period have been studied extensively, but most studies concentrate on material from individual sites and generally adopt an art historical approach. The chronology and stylistic development of Syrian glyptic of the second millennium B.C. has been debated by various scholars since Frankfort's initial study in 1938, where he argues that independent Syrian glyptic did not exist before the Old Babylonian period and nothing original was produced in Syria during the early second millennium. Consequently, he classifies this glyptic tradition as a "peripheral style of the First Dynasty of Babylon," which was a "provincial or even barbaric imitation" of Mesopotamian designs (Frankfort 1939: 225ff). He explains that the rich repertoire of Old Babylonian glyptic greatly influenced the styles of surrounding regions, resulting in peripheral styles, where the distinction between the true and peripheral Mesopotamian seals became increasingly blurred. He suggests that the best example of the use of true and peripheral Old Babylonian seals together can be seen

in “Assyria,” especially in the seals of Šamši-Adad’s servants (Frankfort 1939: 235-236). The scholarly discussion that followed focused mainly on refining or refuting Frankfort’s dating and classification of Syrian glyptic.¹ Although Frankfort’s dating and classification went out of use in the late 1970s (Samman 1997: 109), the notion of Syrian glyptic of the early second millennium as a minor phenomenon based on the persistent traditions of southern Mesopotamia continued to influence studies, the scope of which remained limited to comparisons with Old Babylonian style and iconography.

With the publication of the Mari archives following World War II (Amiet 2001: 85) attention shifted to a text-based study of early second millennium Mesopotamia, and the reconstruction of historical events and socio-political developments was built upon the extremely rich and detailed information provided by these documents. Due to the very limited number of visual material and the overwhelming number of textual sources that provided information on almost all aspects of the period, objects of visual culture, including seals and seal impressions, were not part of socio-political studies of this period. As a result, studies and interpretation of glyptic material remained confined to stylistic and iconographic analysis, and rarely extended over other aspects of society and politics.

In keeping with Frankfort’s argument on peripheral seals, the glyptic of Syria and northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Šamši-Adad is often considered as a provincial offshoot of Old Babylonian glyptic with local Syrian elements added to typical southern Mesopotamian themes. Starting with a series of articles in the 1990s, Adelheid Otto altered this trend and began to study the seals and seal impressions of Šamši-Adad’s servants as a coherent

¹ See Porada 1950, 1957, and 1985; Moortgat-Correns 1955; Kantor 1956; Buchanan 1957 and 1966 for the various arguments on the “Syrian problem.”

group, reflecting the socio-political traditions of their period (Otto 1992, 1992a, 1995). Based on glyptic material excavated at Šamši-Adad's palace at Tell Bi'a, she associated seal owners with the style of their seals establishing a social hierarchy. Accordingly, she suggested that the simple seals made of clay with geometric designs belonged to local palace employees of lower social rank, while the seals bearing inscriptions identifying them as servants of Šamši-Adad were products of an official iconography reflecting a political agenda, the use of which was restricted to high-ranking officials of the king's administration (Otto 1999: 353).

Otto's analysis and interpretation rests mainly on systematically excavated seals and seal impressions from Tell Bi'a and includes only a small number of contemporaneous examples from other centers of Šamši-Adad kingdom as well as unprovenanced examples from museum collections. Studies of material from other centers of the kingdom consist of individual, site-based analyses of seals and seal impressions. Despite the relatively short period of time in which Šamši-Adad's administrative network controlled these cities, and a flow of goods, ideas, and people between these centers was customary, the glyptic finds have not yet been studied together as a comprehensive corpus. The newly published glyptic from the Central Anatolian site of Acemhöyük (Özgüç 2015), which includes two previously unknown seals of Šamši-Adad himself, are also crucial in understanding the imagery and use of seals in this period and should be analyzed together with the northern Mesopotamian material.

2.2.1. Recent studies on Syrian and Anatolian glyptic of the early 2nd millennium

One of the most comprehensive studies that bring together glyptic material from the vast area covering Syria and parts of Anatolia is Otto's "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik" (Otto 2000a). The book focuses on the so-called "Classic Syrian"

corpus, defined by Porada (1985) as dating to 1800-1600 B.C. The corpus consists of 479 seals and sealings from systematic excavations and museum collections, dated to the period between 1800 (the earliest datable example) and 1728 B.C. (the destruction of ancient Šeḫna by Samsuiluna of Babylon according to the Middle Chronology). Based on motif, iconography, and style, Otto organized the material in six main geographical groups and three chronological divisions, early (ca. 1830-1790 B.C.), high (1795-1760 B.C.), and late classical (1760-1730 B.C.). In addition, a discussion of the iconography of various groups is used to assign a geographical origin to the unprovenanced material. Approximately one third of the material covered by Otto is systematically excavated and comes primarily from Mari, Tell Leilan, Kültepe, and Tell Bi'a. As a result of the fact that the great majority of the corpus was unprovenienced, her attempt to tie stylistic and iconographic groups to specific geographical locations was met with criticism. Collon also notes that some of Otto's groups are more coherent and have more basis for geographical location than others (Collon 2001a: 737; Porter 2003: 305). Nonetheless, Otto's treatment of this extremely large but well-organized corpus is a very important contribution to the field of Syrian glyptic studies, especially due to her work on differentiating between official and private seals, and her attempt to identify several important figures in seal imagery on the basis of textual information. The book includes several seals and seal impressions analyzed in this dissertation, and the information provided by Otto is utilized in this work with a critical eye when necessary.

A similarly comprehensive study on the "popular" Syrian style was conducted by Barbara Porter as a Ph.D. dissertation in 2001. The corpus, comprising 396 seals and sealings from Syria and Anatolia, dates to ca. 2000-1600 B.C. Porter identifies this material as belonging to a non-elite clientele and coins the term "popular style" on the basis of regional characteristics and the

clear differences this material displays in comparison to contemporary elite seals (Porter 2001: 5). Since this study pertains to private non-elite seals the iconography of which was not centrally controlled, it is not included in this dissertation, but it was appreciated as a means to understand the breadth of Syrian glyptic traditions in the second millennium B.C.

Also essential for this dissertation are individual site-based studies of Syrian glyptic. Seals and sealings from Tell Bi'a dating to the reign of Šamši-Adad have been studied in great detail by Adelheid Otto (2004). Over 100 different seals and seal impressions found in Palace A are analyzed to show the cultural diversity evident in the corpus consisting of both locally made and foreign styles. Otto concludes that the wide range of seal designs and styles observed at Tell Bi'a is the result of extensive trade relations with surrounding regions as well as political contacts with other centers of Šamši-Adad's kingdom. Based on textual material excavated in palace A, Otto also provides additional information regarding the administrative role and status of several seal owners whose names are known through their seal legends. Though not as extensive, similar iconographic studies on Syrian glyptic material were conducted by Dominique Parayre for Tell Leilan (Parayre 1987, 1990, 1991 and 1993), Barbara Parker for Tell al-Rimah (Parker 1975), and André Parrot (1959) and Dominique Beyer (1985, 1985a, 1997) for Mari. These studies are concerned mostly with the iconographic features of the material and give little information about the archaeological context or social implications of seal styles and seal use, which can pave the way for wider, regional analyses. The material presented in the abovementioned studies concerning Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari form the basis of the dataset used in this dissertation.

Although Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna) functioned as the seat of Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, no seals or seal impressions belonging to Šamši-Adad himself

were found here. Instead, the Central Anatolian site of Acemhöyük, which had diplomatic and commercial relations with polities in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, yielded a number of bullae bearing impressions of four different seals of Šamši-Adad. The site was first excavated by Nimet Özgüç, who was already studying the contemporaneous glyptic material from Kültepe. As a result, analysis and interpretation of the sealed bullae from Acemhöyük was based on the relatively well-established chronology and classification of the so-called “Cappadocian” glyptic from Kültepe.

Studies of Cappadocian glyptic in the early 20th century based on a number of sealed tablets that reached Europe² were followed by an extensive analysis and classification of the available material by Benno Landsberger and Edward Bowen Reilly at Ankara University in the late 1930s. Details of the five style groups (Old Assyrian, Provincial Assyrian, Old Babylonian, Syro-Anatolian, and local Anatolian) identified in this unpublished study greatly influenced later work on this material. A very important contribution of this analysis was the identification of several seal owners by comparing the seal impressions with personal names found on clay tablets and envelopes. Landsberger and Reilly’s classification was further elaborated by Porada (1947) who utilized the seal impressions of the Old Assyrian king Sargon I found at Kültepe to characterize the Old Assyrian style group.

Following Porada, Nimet Özgüç clearly defined, on the basis of systematically excavated examples from Kültepe, what she termed the Old Assyrian and native Anatolian style groups, and how they differed from the Old Babylonian and Old Syrian examples known from Mesopotamia (Özgüç 1953: Chapter VI). In her later studies of the material, she also followed the development of these distinct styles over time during the earlier and later parts of the Old

² See Contenau 1922 and Moortgat 1932.

Assyrian period (Özgüç 1968). It is this classification that guided Özgüç's later studies of sealed bullae excavated at Achemhöyük, which are dated to the later part of the Old Assyrian period contemporaneous with *kārum* Kanesh Level Ib and the reign of Šamši-Adad in northern Mesopotamia. The final treatment of the Achemhöyük material was published in 2015 and presents a large number of previously unknown seal impressions, including two that belonged to Šamši-Adad himself.

Although Özgüç's dating and internal classification for Cappadocian glyptic was widely accepted, several issues, including the disconnect between the study of seal impressions and associated tablets, and the direct correlation of stylistic groups with a geographical location as a place of origin, required a critical re-evaluation of the material. Beatrice Teissier's 1994 study of seal impressions in conjunction with sealed texts from *kārum* Kanesh Level II provided a much better understanding of sealing practice in Anatolia in this period, while Melissa Eppihimer's Ph.D. dissertation and resulting article presented an iconographic analysis of Old Assyrian royal seals, in which Eppihimer convincingly argues that the iconography of these seals was a direct development from the Ur III prototype of the presentation scene (Eppihimer 2009 and 2013). Finally, the long-awaited re-evaluation of Özgüç's *worā* was recently undertaken by Agnete Wisti-Lassen in an attempt to refine and redefine the previously-established style groups (Lassen 2012). The study brings together previously unpublished glyptic material from a secure archaeological context covering a limited period of time, which answers a number of long-standing questions when studied in conjunction with textual documentation. Based on sealed tablets from the archive of a wealthy Assyrian merchant family in Anatolia from the early part of the Old Assyrian period, Lassen clearly identifies local Anatolian and Mesopotamian influences in seal style and iconography. By matching seal impressions on tablets to the new relative

chronology of the Old Assyrian period she provides a much more accurate dating of individual seal impressions, and is thus able to follow the chronological development of styles and designs in great detail. Finally, she identifies an exceptionally large number of individual seal owners by comparing seal impressions with personal names on the tablets. This identification allows her to further refine her style groups, by assigning them to different generations of merchants, and to differentiate between Assyrian and Anatolian seal owners. Lassen's methodology and results proved essential for the study of Syrian and northern Mesopotamian glyptic in this dissertation, and were used extensively in the analysis of Achemhöyük seal impressions.

2.2. METHODOLOGY

2.2.1. An Integrative Approach

This study focuses on an evaluation of the late Old Assyrian glyptic corpus in its social and political context during a period of ca. 70 years. An integrative, interdisciplinary approach is taken here to study this material, aiming to cut across boundaries imposed by strict disciplinary limits of the early twentieth century. With this in mind, this dissertation includes theories and analyses from neighboring disciplines of archaeology, art history, and Assyriology, which allow the evidence to be viewed from a variety of perspectives. One of the biggest problems encountered in the study of glyptic is “the tendency to isolate the study of the seals from the study of the tablets” (Larsen 1977: p. 93). For decades, Assyriologists who published collections of Old Assyrian tablets in museums ignored the fact that many of these documents were sealed. Therefore, for most of these publications, information regarding the seal impressions is not available. Likewise, early publications of seal impressions provide photos of a large number of

sealings but information on texts associated with these impressions is not given. Until recently there have been only a few attempts to combine the study of seals with textual documentation regarding the Old Assyrian period and only within the last two decades have studies merging texts and seal impressions come out (Teissier 1994, Lassen 2012 among others).

It is becoming increasingly clear that the integration of various datasets allow us a more holistic understanding of the material and opens up possibilities to ask new questions. When we look at the interplay between written and pictorial information we see that texts can complement, replicate or even identify relevant imagery.³ Although inscriptions conveying power, authority, and officialdom in the ancient Near East were accessible in their entirety only to a small group of literate people, visual elements were recognizable by the illiterate majority as well. As a result, generic and widely comprehensible messages in imagery that would appeal both to the well-educated and culturally informed viewers and the illiterate members of society played an important role in the dissemination of knowledge. Based on this notion of word and image informing and enriching the understanding of one another, this dissertation puts particular emphasis on integrating visual analysis with textual information.

Another important step that needs to be taken toward a fully integrative approach is the recognition of inscribed and sealed objects as excavated artifacts with a provenience and archaeological context.⁴ Modern archaeology makes it clear that without context an artifact loses much of its archaeological value (Renfrew and Bahn 2010: 41), and the amount of information that can be extracted from it is greatly reduced as a result. Nonetheless, in most studies of glyptic, the material has often been divorced from this context. One of the main reasons for this is the large number of unprovenanced seals that appeared in the art market and museums in the

³ See Winter 1986 and 1991, White 1993, Eppihimer 2009, Lassen 2012, and Verhulst 2015 for studies combining text and image.

⁴ See, for example, Gibson 1972 and Zettler 1996 on how cuneiform tablets can be used in archaeological contexts.

early twentieth century. Devoid of context, their study focused on iconography and style, which in turn also determined their dating.⁵ In addition, the clear disciplinary boundaries strictly enforced by early scholars of ancient Near Eastern material, in which seals and seal impressions were the field of the art historian, tablets belonged to philologists, and architecture and pottery constituted the domain of the archaeologist, kept a collaborative and interdisciplinary approach at bay. As recent studies of glyptic increasingly focus on an integrative approach and seals and seal impressions are no longer confined to the aesthetic realm but are studied in conjunction with other lines of evidence such as texts, it is important to remember that, like every artifact, they too should be placed in their archaeological context. Information on the exact find-spot of a glyptic find and its association with other remains in the same context can greatly enhance our understanding of its function and meaning.

The interaction of contextual information and glyptic is twofold. As Clemens Reichel explains in his study of the Mari palace archives from a “text archaeology” point of view, “the analysis of texts (and in our case, glyptic finds) as archaeological objects in their microenvironment” can, on the one hand, provide a relative dating of the material, and on the other hand, information such as personal names, professions/affiliations, and what was sealed can affect our understanding of the context itself. The function of a room, circulation patterns within a space, and the internal and external workings of a building or institution can only be clarified if objects are analyzed in their contexts (Reichel 1994: 3ff). Nevertheless, a major problem remains. Detailed recording, or at least publication, of find-spots was not considered a top priority by excavators, especially in the early part of the 20th century, as will become apparent in the analysis of the dataset in the following chapters. As a result, the extent of what

⁵ See, for example, Frankfort 1939.

can be accomplished in terms of contextual analysis at the sites studied here varies greatly depending on the level of information provided in publications. It should be remembered that contextual information is mostly on the building or room level and not available for all examples, limiting the possibility of spatial distribution analysis. Nonetheless, the archaeological context of the glyptic material in this dissertation constitutes an essential part of this study.

To sum up, the integrative methodology employed in this dissertation allows a multipronged approach that views seals and seal impressions as:

1. Archaeological objects in a specific datable context with a specific function (e.g. container vs. door sealings)
2. Works of art with a distinct style and iconography
3. Narratives to be read and deciphered through the study of iconographic syntax and the meaning of various combinations of figures and scenes
4. Markers of various aspects of an individual's identity (e.g. private/institutional, gender, profession, socio-political status, ethnicity, religious beliefs)
5. Administrative tools providing information about sealing practices
6. Symbols of political power and ideology represented by a standardized and centrally controlled iconography

2.2.2. Dataset and Analysis

The dataset that forms the basis of this study consists of 371 seals and seal impressions (Table 2.1) systematically excavated at Tell Bi'a, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Leilan, and Mari in Syria as well as Achemhöyük in Anatolia.

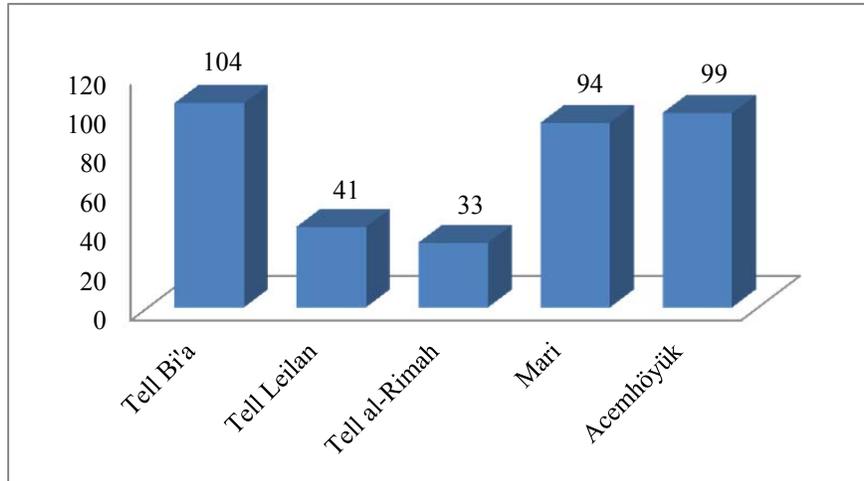


Table 2.1: Distribution of glyptic material by site

All relevant material in publications is assembled in a relational database. Only seals and impressions in the Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Syrian styles are included here. The Anatolian style stamp and cylinder seals and impressions from Achemhöyük were left out, as this style is distinctive to Anatolia and thus has no counterpart in northern Mesopotamia.

The database is organized under three main tabs: Identification, iconography, and textual context. A fourth tab is reserved for additional images (Fig. 2.1). As part of the identification process, each distinct seal impression was given a catalog number that was used in the analysis to identify the impressions (e.g. Cat. #234). The seals and seal impressions were first grouped by site, and then divided into subgroups by major scene type (e.g. presentation, offering etc.), and assigned a catalog number accordingly. The most fragmentary impressions, where the scene type could not be identified, are placed at the end of each site. In the identification tab, the catalog number is followed by provenience on the site level, find-spot, field number, and museum number (if available). The type of object (seal vs. sealing), the material (for seal stones only), the

type of sealing (tablet/door/container/jar etc.), and the level of preservation (complete vs. partial) are also marked.

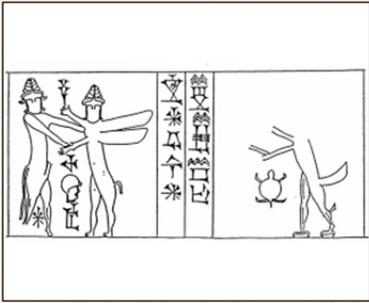
IDENTIFICATION	ICONOGRAPHY	TEXTUAL CONTEXT	IMAGES
Catalog No. <input type="text" value="126"/> Provenience <input type="text" value="Tell Leilan"/> Findspot <input type="text" value="Acropolis, 55D13 and Lower Town"/> Field No. <input type="text" value="L85-115, L87-1470, 1473"/> <input type="text" value="Charpin 2014: 142 -> L87-1480 and"/> Museum No. <input type="text"/> Date <input type="text" value="1771 B.C."/> Reign <input type="text" value="Šamši-Adad"/> Owner <input type="text" value="Liter-šarrusu"/> Title <input type="text" value="servant of Šamsi-Adad"/> Applications <input type="text"/> Publication <input type="text" value="Parayre 1990: 560, No. 12"/> <input type="text" value="Parayre 1987: 132, fig. 14"/> <input type="text" value="Otto 1992: No. 7"/> <input type="text" value="Otto 2000: 419"/> <input type="text" value="Tunca 1989: 483, Pl. 137, 9-10"/> Remarks <input type="text" value="same as Ac.i 1079"/> <input type="text" value="Whiting 1990: 576; Otto 2000: 102 -> limmu Ikun-pi-Hštar=REL 202=1771 B.C. -> text dated to post-S.A. -> new owner Bunuma-ili must have acquired the seal around this time"/>	Sealing <input type="text" value="Sealing"/> Material <input type="text"/> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tablet / Envelope <input type="checkbox"/> Bag Sealing <input type="checkbox"/> Other... <input type="checkbox"/> Door Sealing <input type="checkbox"/> Tag <input type="checkbox"/> Container Sealing <input type="checkbox"/> Bulla <input type="checkbox"/> Jar stopper <input type="checkbox"/> N/A		

Fig. 2.1: Identification tab

This basic identification is followed by chronological information, i.e. approximate date and reign. Only a very small number of seal impressions on tablets/envelopes can be accurately dated on the basis of the eponyms mentioned in the associated text. For examples that cannot be dated in this manner several different strategies are used to provide an approximate date:

1. For impressions that were not found on dated tablets, the general date of the archaeological level in which they were found and the dates of the corresponding king's reign are used. For example, Cat. #148 was found in Room XVI of the Tell al-Rimah palace. The same context also yielded jar sealings sealed by Bēlī-ašarid, servant of Ḫatnu-rapi, who was a contemporary of Zimri-Lim. As a result, all finds in

this context are dated to the reign of Ḫatnu-rapi,⁶ which falls approximately between 1776 and 1765 B.C.

2. If a seal impression bears an inscription identifying its owner as the servant of a king (servant of RN), then the reign of that ruler is used for dating purposes.⁷ For example, Cat. #107 belongs to Šuri-Adad, servant of Šamši-Adad. In the absence of accurate chronological information, this impression is dated to “before 1776 B.C.,” which marks Šamši-Adad’s death and the end of his reign.
3. In cases where no relevant chronological information is available, the impression is dated to the period preceding the destruction of the site. For example, Cat. #131 from Tell Leilan is dated to “before 1728 B.C.,” which marks the date the site was destroyed by Samsu-iluna of Babylon.

The identification tab also includes information regarding the identity of the seal owner, in the form of the individual’s name, title, and patronym. The term “seal owner” is preferred here over “seal user” since it is almost impossible to determine who used the seal, but in cases where there is a seal legend the original owner for whom the seal was made can be identified.

The “applications” field on this tab refers to the total number of attestations of a particular seal impression. This information is not available for all examples and in some cases it only refers to the number of known sealings extracted from field records (e.g. bullae, tablets, fragments etc.) rather than the exact number of times the seal was impressed on the clay.

Finally, all publications regarding the seal or seal impression are given. One photo and/or line drawing of the object is also included on this first tab for quick reference. In cases where

⁶ See Appendix I for a chronological list of kings between 1800-1728 B.C.

⁷ The author is aware that this dating may not be accurate in all cases, since officials are known to have continued to use their old seals even after the death of the king they served under. This appears to be the case for Cat. #130, whose owner is identified as a servant of Šamši-Adad but the seal impression was found on a document dated to the limmu Puššānum, which, according to REL, corresponds to 1772 B.C., four years after Šamši-Adad’s death.

there are multiple photos of the same impression, the one with most detail is chosen. All additional photos, including those of the backs of the sealings, are added to the final “Images” tab. Some impressions are only published in line drawings, hence no photos are available in the database.⁸ Others have no published images (photo or drawing) and are known only through descriptions of seal imagery in the publications.⁹

The second tab includes all available information regarding the imagery of the seal (Fig. 2.2). When information on seal style is entered, it is based on the initial assessment of the scholar who published the object, since the present author did not have a chance to observe any one of the pieces first-hand. Adjustments are made only when the available photographs allow for a revision. If the seal/impression is covered by Otto in her treatment of classic Syrian glyptic (Otto 2000a), her group number is also added (e.g. Otto group 6a: Northern Mesopotamian rich style). This is followed by information on the main scene type, main figure(s), and other compositional elements. A detailed description of the imagery and any remarks on style and iconography are also presented here.

⁸ This is often the case for the Tell al-Rimah sealings.

⁹ There are several entries of this type for Mari, where the description provided by Parrot (1959) is used to determine the type of scene.

IDENTIFICATION	ICONOGRAPHY	TEXTUAL CONTEXT	IMAGES
Style: <input type="text" value="Old Babylonian"/> Otto group: <input type="text" value="Sa: N Mes rich style"/>			
Main Scene Type <input type="checkbox"/> Presentation <input type="checkbox"/> Banquet <input type="checkbox"/> Animal File <input type="checkbox"/> Figure with mace <input type="checkbox"/> Drinking scene <input type="checkbox"/> N/A <input type="checkbox"/> Worship <input type="checkbox"/> Offering scene <input type="checkbox"/> Other... <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Contest <input type="checkbox"/> Procession		Compositional Elements <input type="checkbox"/> weapon <input type="checkbox"/> offering table <input type="checkbox"/> monkey(s) <input type="checkbox"/> sphinx(es) <input type="checkbox"/> axe <input type="checkbox"/> table <input type="checkbox"/> hedgehog <input type="checkbox"/> dragon(s) <input type="checkbox"/> mace <input type="checkbox"/> bull altar <input type="checkbox"/> scorpion(s) <input type="checkbox"/> kusarikkus(s) <input type="checkbox"/> staff <input type="checkbox"/> wagon/chariot <input type="checkbox"/> snake(s) <input type="checkbox"/> crescent disk <input type="checkbox"/> curved staff/scimitar <input type="checkbox"/> boat <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> turtle(s) <input type="checkbox"/> crescent <input type="checkbox"/> spear/javelin <input type="checkbox"/> animal(s) <input type="checkbox"/> bear(s) <input type="checkbox"/> sun disk <input type="checkbox"/> dagger/point <input type="checkbox"/> bull(s) <input type="checkbox"/> lizard(s) <input type="checkbox"/> star <input type="checkbox"/> sickle-sword <input type="checkbox"/> bull with cone <input type="checkbox"/> frog(s) <input type="checkbox"/> standard <input type="checkbox"/> saw/knife <input type="checkbox"/> cow <input type="checkbox"/> dog(s) <input type="checkbox"/> plant/tree/vegetation <input type="checkbox"/> thunderbolt <input type="checkbox"/> gazelle(s) <input type="checkbox"/> fly <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> human head(s) <input type="checkbox"/> rod and ring <input type="checkbox"/> stag <input type="checkbox"/> little men <input type="checkbox"/> animal head(s) <input type="checkbox"/> ball staff <input type="checkbox"/> goat(s) <input type="checkbox"/> little women <input type="checkbox"/> mask <input type="checkbox"/> drinking bowl <input type="checkbox"/> equid(s) <input type="checkbox"/> small human <input type="checkbox"/> geometric shape <input type="checkbox"/> vase <input type="checkbox"/> lion(s) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> bull-man <input type="checkbox"/> dots <input type="checkbox"/> flowing vase <input type="checkbox"/> bird(s) <input type="checkbox"/> hero <input type="checkbox"/> gulloche <input type="checkbox"/> cup <input type="checkbox"/> eagle <input type="checkbox"/> dwarf <input type="checkbox"/> architectural element(s) <input type="checkbox"/> vessel stand <input type="checkbox"/> fish <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> mixed being <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> inscription <input type="checkbox"/> stool/chair <input type="checkbox"/> hare(s) <input type="checkbox"/> griffin(s) <input type="checkbox"/> Other...	
Main Figure(s) <input type="checkbox"/> seated god <input type="checkbox"/> attendant <input type="checkbox"/> nude female <input type="checkbox"/> seated king <input type="checkbox"/> demon(s) <input type="checkbox"/> naked goddess <input type="checkbox"/> standing god <input type="checkbox"/> Šamaš <input type="checkbox"/> female figure(s) <input type="checkbox"/> standing king <input type="checkbox"/> Adad <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other... <input type="checkbox"/> seated figure <input type="checkbox"/> Usmu <input type="checkbox"/> standing figure(s) <input type="checkbox"/> Istar <input type="checkbox"/> figure with mace <input type="checkbox"/> Nergal <input type="checkbox"/> kneeling man <input type="checkbox"/> moon-god <input type="checkbox"/> worshipper(s) <input type="checkbox"/> weather-god <input type="checkbox"/> offering bearer <input type="checkbox"/> Ea <input type="checkbox"/> interceding goddess <input type="checkbox"/> nude hero <input type="checkbox"/> goddess <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> bull-man			
Description Contest scene with divine bull-man (horned crown) on the left and divine winged being on the right. One line of inscription running vertically between them, a small human head placed before the last sign of the inscription. Two lines of inscription in enclosed panel to the right of the contesting pair. On the other side of the inscription traces of the lower body of a (winged?) mixed being in combat pose. Small turtle before it (i.e. between the contesting pair in the lower field).		Remarks Parayre 561: The impression is unusual in that the single contesting pair is the main motif of the scene, and not a subsidiary one.	
Parallels <input type="text" value="Porada 1948, pl. LI"/>			

Fig. 2.2: Iconography tab

The “textual context” tab (Fig. 2.3) is reserved for those examples which were found on or associated with textual documentation. Text number (by excavation/publication), type (letter, administrative text etc.), and the text itself are included when available. The seal inscription and any remarks regarding its contents (e.g. other attestations of the same name, possible reconstruction of breaks etc.) are also given here.

IDENTIFICATION	ICONOGRAPHY	TEXTUAL CONTEXT	IMAGES
Text No.	<input type="text"/>		Text type <input type="text"/>
Seal Inscription	<p>Na-gi-ha-[num?] - Nagihanum (?) DUMU.MUNUS la-ah-du-[i-im] - daughter of Yahdun-Lim LUGAL Ma-ri[k] - king of Mari ù ma-at DUMU Si-im-[a-al] - and of the land of the Sim'alites</p>		
Associated Text	<input type="text"/>		<p>Remarks For the inscription see Veenhof in MARI 4, p. 194, n. 13, and Durand and Charpin in RA 80, p. 152.</p> <p>The restoration of the name is based on an interpretation by Gelb regarding an Amorite PN from Tell Asmar (Na-gi4-a-nu-um = Nagih-an-um)</p> <p>Other daughters of Yahdun-Lim are known from Mari texts: Istar-Tappi (ARM 8, 48:3), Inib-sina (ARMT 21, p. 569 and ARMT 16/1 for other references), Yamama (MARI 4, p. 456).</p>

Fig. 2.3: Textual context tab

This comprehensive database format allows detailed queries by:

- archaeological context
- date
- publication
- iconographic elements
- textual context including associated tablet/envelope, personal name (PN) of the owner and seal inscription, if available

Once the database was compiled, the analysis for the material from each site, first on a site-based and then on a regional scale was conducted on three levels: (1) archaeological, (2) iconographic, and (3) chronological. No stylistic analysis was conducted on the individual seals and seal impressions, since the present author depended solely on published material and did not have the opportunity to observe the objects first-hand. For the majority of the examples analyzed in this work, photographic evidence is either of low-quality or non-existent (e.g. most seal impressions from Tell Leilan and Tell al-Rimah are published only as line drawings), which also restricts the possibility of stylistic analysis.

1. Archaeological analysis

All examples used in this study come from systematically excavated contexts in Syria and Anatolia, and have a known archaeological provenience, at least at the site level, but information on exact context or find-spot is not always available. As a result, they can be securely dated based on associated material cultural objects in these contexts. This is essential for establishing a relative chronology of glyptic material, especially in cases where seals are uninscribed or seal impressions are not associated with datable textual finds. Furthermore, seal impressions found on dated tablets can also be used to corroborate or refine the dating of the archaeological context.¹⁰

In addition, when available, archaeological context and associated material culture provide further evidence concerning the social, political, and cultural milieu in which these objects were made and used. In our case, the context in which glyptic artifacts were found

¹⁰ For example, Building Level 4 of the Eastern Lower Town Palace at Tell Leilan was dated by the excavators to the reign of Šamši-Adad based on the seal impressions of his servant, Liter-šarrusu (Cat. #126) (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXII). However, a closer examination of the impressions revealed that the seal was recut and reused by a new user. Moreover, the sealed tablet was dated to the year Ikūn-pī-Ištar (Whiting 1990: 576), which corresponds to ca. 1771 B.C., approximately five years after Šamši-Adad's death.

presents a clear indication of distinct socio-cultural groups who owned and/or used the seals studied here. The glyptic material excavated in official structures at the four Syrian sites and at Acemhöyük in Anatolia represents the administrative elite of Šamši-Adad's kingdom. This identification allows us to determine whether or not significant patterns emerge from the types of owners and the imagery or the style of their seals.

Another important contribution of clear find-spots and archaeological context to the study of sealings is the possibility of conducting spatial and functional analysis, which in turn can help understand sealing practices and administrative procedures as well as the function of particular rooms or units.¹¹ This was done successfully by Adelheid Otto for the seals and sealings from the Tell Bi'a palace (Otto 2004). By placing the seal impressions back into their archaeological context, Otto demonstrated that some officials functioned only in particular sections of the palace and sealed particular doors.¹² She was also able to determine the function of certain rooms on the basis of the sealings and tablets found in them. For example, Room M in the northeastern corner of the palace appears to have functioned as a storeroom for important goods, since both access points to the room were strictly controlled (door sealings were found in both doorways) and the room contained the highest concentration of sealings in any room in the palace. The contents of Room M were supervised mainly by two officials of Šamši-Adad, Ḫazip-Aranziḫ and Adad-luti, whose seal impressions were found on the large majority of sealings in the room (Otto 2004: 128-131).

Finally, having access to contextual information plants glyptic finds more firmly within their cultural and historical contexts by building correlations with associated artifacts at a given site or region. Such correlations, in turn, help scholars identify contacts between geographically

¹¹ See Ferioli and Fiandra 1983, Zettler 1987, and Reichel 2001 for pioneering studies in this regard.

¹² See, for example, the case of Mutu-Dagan (Cat. #20 and #26) in Chapter 9.

and/or spatially distinct cultures, as exchange of materials, ideas, and styles are evident in many aspects of material culture at a site or region, of which glyptic forms only a small part. In this context, archaeological remains and material culture at northern Mesopotamian sites under Šamši-Adad's rule present clear influences from the south, while at Achemhöyük they are essential in understanding the extent and the nature of contacts with Mesopotamia in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C.

It is for these reasons that, despite their large number, late Old Assyrian seals and seal impressions in museums and collections devoid of archaeological context are not included in the core of this dissertation, although they may be used occasionally to fortify the arguments presented here by providing iconographic and/or stylistic parallels.

2. Iconographic analysis

The iconographic part of this study provides a complete descriptive analysis of the glyptic corpus covered here. As Donald Matthews argues, design elements are not freely combined to produce a variety of different scenes, but are arranged in ways that convey meaning, in the same way as the grammar of a language. The main organizing principle of the seals is the interaction of roles between the various figures, in that a scene conveys not only the identities of these figures but their interactions and relationship as well (Matthews 1990: 28). Therefore, an evaluation of the principles of composition can help scholars arrive at a more accurate reading of seal imagery and understand the principles governing seal design.

Iconographic analysis of the dataset studied here began with coding the iconography of each seal and seal impression, where each object was sorted by its basic scenes and motifs, i.e. by the design elements it is composed of and where each element occurs in the composition. As

multiple scenes and registers are typical in the glyptic art of Syria and Anatolia in this period, the composition was first divided into the main and subsidiary scenes. The main scene types¹³ are categorized under:

- a. Presentation
- b. Figure with mace
- c. Worship
- d. Contest
- e. Banquet
- f. Drinking scene
- g. Offering scene
- h. Procession
- i. Animal file

The small number of scenes that do not fit into these categories (e.g. the victorious-king motif on Cat. #250 from Mari) were classified as “Other.” In cases where the seal impression is too fragmentary to determine the main scene type, only the best preserved and identifiable design elements were described.

The design elements forming these scenes were then separated into categories as main figure (human or divine), animals, fantastic creatures, weaponry, furniture and cult paraphernalia, symbols, objects, and other filling motifs. The seal legend, if available, was also included here as part of the overall seal design.

¹³ Detailed descriptions of particular scene types are given in the “Terminology” section at the end of this chapter.

The descriptive analysis is presented by site in the relevant chapters (Chapter 4-8). Once all seals and impressions were grouped by main scene type, a selected number was subjected to a detailed analysis. This sample includes both the most typical and the most unusual examples of each scene type. The main scene(s) and the design elements forming them are described and an identification is provided when possible. A main figure is a full or medium-sized figure that comprises the primary scene or scenes. The identification of main figures is based on typical attributes, such as the horned crown of deities, markers of divinity such as attribute animals and symbols, as well as items of clothing and posture that distinguish divine and human figures. Main figures can be deities, humans, animals or mixed beings. As the center of each composition, the main figure is described on the basis of (1) posture (seated or standing), (2) costume, and (3) gesture (position of arms and hands, holding an object etc.). In cases where a previous identification for the main figure was established (e.g. interceding goddess, Šamaš etc.), this identification was retained, unless the results of the analysis required a re-evaluation of the previous label. Figures in subsidiary scenes, if present, were subjected to the same analysis. It should be noted that not all compositional elements were analyzed to the same degree. Whereas the identity and significance of the figure with mace received particular attention, the interceding goddess and the nude female were not afforded a similar treatment, since they functioned as standard elements in Near Eastern glyptic for centuries and were not central to the message conveyed by the official iconography of the period under study. Finally, filling motifs, which are smaller in size compared to the main figures and appear in the background of the scenes, were identified and their position within the scene was interpreted. Fillers can be animals, objects, astral symbols, plants, geometric shapes, etc. Although they have been referred to as fillers since Frankfort's classic publication on Near Eastern cylinder seals (Frankfort 1939), the term has

been debated, for it overlooks the specific meaning or purpose these motifs have in the seal designs. Collon explains that “it has long been accepted that the so-called ‘filling-motifs’ were not arbitrarily chosen to balance a design but certainly had meaning when used in the art of the ancient Near East” (Collon 1988: 69).

Each seal or impression that has been provided with a detailed description was also compared to parallels from the Old Babylonian glyptic of southern Mesopotamia and the local glyptic of Syria in order to understand patterns of adoption and change in iconography, and to identify compositional assemblages that are distinctive to geographical areas or socio-political groups (e.g. state officials vs. private individuals). This allowed us to establish a clear typology of scenes and compositional elements that reflect the tradition of official glyptic of northern Mesopotamia, which in turn represents a strategically crafted visual program. Finally, the glyptic corpus from each site was compared to that of the other sites in terms of similarities and differences to ascertain synchronic variations between different regions of the geographical area covered in this study.

The descriptive analysis is followed by a quantitative analysis of compositions, design elements, and patterns identifiable throughout the dataset. The frequency of each scene type’s occurrence was measured to determine the relative importance of particular scenes in the late Old Assyrian glyptic repertoire. The more frequently occurring motifs are considered characteristic of particular regions and/or the different socio-economic groups represented by the glyptic. Following this, the frequency of contexts of particular compositional elements, i.e. an element’s relationship with other elements surrounding it, was studied. The most important contribution of the quantitative analysis of both individual scene types and their arrangements is to reveal the preferences of the seal owners under Šamši-Adad’s rule in Syria and in the Assyrian commercial

settlements in Anatolia with regard to the designs on the seals of officials and private individuals as markers of identity and ownership.

3. Chronological arrangement

With the help of systematic excavations in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, combined with the evidence of texts, the Old Assyrian period is firmly placed within the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. Nevertheless, as will be further elaborated in Chapter 3, the internal chronology of this period is still shaky. Although the initial years of Šamši-Adad's reign remain largely unknown, it is clear that his ascension to the throne and the expansion of his territories in northern Mesopotamia mark significant changes in the political, social, and economic climate of the region. Glyptic evidence with known provenience and originating from securely excavated contexts is used in conjunction with textual and archaeological evidence in this dissertation to determine whether and how these political and cultural traditions and changes were reflected in seal design, ownership, and sealing practices in both official and private contexts.

The glyptic material studied here has already been dated with the help of texts and associated archaeological finds within the larger corpus of ancient Near Eastern glyptic. Therefore, no attempt is made to re-date the material from an iconographic and/or stylistic point of view. Chronological information, when available, is used to refine these datings and our understanding of sealing practices. However, one should keep in mind that the majority of seal impressions covered in this study have been published separate from their textual context and accessing associated textual information was possible only in a small number of cases. As a

result, further dating of the material on the basis of year eponyms was limited to these examples. Nonetheless, one contribution of this study was the re-evaluation of a set of previously established dates based on the newly reconstructed Revised Eponym List (REL), as will be explained below. Since the dated texts can now be precisely ordered chronologically with reference to a specific year, associated personal names and seal impressions can also be synchronized accordingly. Once impressions that can be associated with known individuals are dated, they are used as reference points to provide further chronological identifications for other seals that present iconographic similarities. As a result, a synchronic approach reveals the iconographic elements of glyptic and the internal iconographic development of the corpus studied here, while a diachronic approach further elaborates changes between the earlier and later parts of the Old Assyrian period as well as the period following the fall of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.

I have created a chronological table (Appendix I) covering the REL and the reigns of all known kings who ruled at Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari as well as Babylon to show synchronisms¹⁴ between sites and to facilitate dating of the glyptic material based on year eponyms.¹⁵

The strategies used here for dating individual seal impressions are as follows:

1. In cases where it was possible to link an impression to a datable tablet/envelope, the eponym date on the table was used to provide a date for the impression.

¹⁴ Chronological associations between the glyptic corpora of Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari are also presented in Table 3.1.

¹⁵ A similar table was published in Otto 2000: 22-23. The table presented here is a re-evaluation of Otto's table on the basis of new chronological information provided in Charpin and Ziegler 2003; Charpin, Edzard, and Stol 2004; Miglus and Strommenger 2007; Eidem 2011; Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012; Charpin 2014; and Charpin 2014a.

2. For officials' seals that are not otherwise datable but the seal owner is presented as "servant of RN," the approximate dates for the reign of that king were used for dating purposes. These dates can be found in the chronological table in Appendix I.¹⁶
3. In cases where only the name of the seal owner is known, this name was traced within the contemporaneous textual corpus of northern Mesopotamia. Individuals mentioned in these texts are often state officials and members of the royal family. As they are contemporaries, the chronological placement of even one individual in a written source can be sufficient to establish an approximate date for the text and for the other parties involved.

Although it was only possible to provide precise dates in a small number of cases, these dates helped clarify several important points. For Tell Leilan and Tell al-Rimah, where several local kings with relatively short reigns followed Šamši-Adad, the dating of textual and glyptic material helped place these reigns in order. Moreover, the chronological ordering and iconographic analysis of the seals and seal impressions of these kings, members of the royal families, and royal servants revealed a clear continuity of iconographic traditions and sealing practices from the reign of Šamši-Adad for several decades following the dissolution of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.

Several cases were attested at Tell Leilan, where officials continued to use their old seals even after the death of the original ruler under whom they served. Seal impressions of servants of Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan (e.g. Cat. #130 and #127) were found on tablets dated within a

¹⁶ The following are the most commonly used dates: before 1776 B.C. for Šamši-Adad, ca. 1787-1776 B.C. for Yasmaḥ-Adad (he appears in the textual documentation at Tell Bi'a in 1787 B.C.), 1775-1761 B.C. for Zimri-Lim at Mari, before 1761 B.C. (the site's destruction) for finds from the Zimri-Lim Palace that cannot be dated to a particular reign, before 1728 B.C. (the site's destruction) for finds from Tell Leilan that cannot be dated to a particular reign.

period of 5 years following Šamši-Adad's death and the fall of his kingdom. A re-evaluation of the tablets bearing the seal impression of Šamši-Adad's servant Samiya revealed that the seal was in use for a period of ca. 50 years, raising questions regarding reuse.¹⁷

A relative dating of seal legends in several cases showed that certain individuals acquired new seals following important events. The royal epithets used on the seals of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #188 and #189) and Šamši-Adad (Cat. #273-276) were matched directly to the conquests of Assur and Mari, suggesting that these achievements and the resulting change in status of the conquering king were communicated to wider audiences via seal legends. A similar situation was also observed for king Aqba-ḥammu of Karana, who commissioned a new seal (Cat. #177) announcing his submission to Ḥammurabi of Babylon. Finally, we were able to show that Zimri-Lim's servant Yasīm-Sumū acquired his second seal between years 1 and 2 of Zimri-Lim's reign, when he received a promotion detailed in the textual documentation of Mari.¹⁸

For Acemhöyük, where no textual documentation has yet been found to provide dates, iconographic parallels with datable examples from Kültepe, Tell Bi'a, and Mari were used to place several sealed bullae within a chronological framework that matches the dendrochronological dates provided for the Sarıkaya Palace where the bullae were recovered. Although only one personal name attested on a bulla could be traced within the Old Assyrian textual corpus, the precise dating of the Kültepe text in which the same individual was mentioned matches the lifespan of the palatial structure established through dendrochronological analysis. Finally, the dates established for the deaths of Šamši-Adad (1776 B.C.) and Aplaḥanda (1766 B.C.) whose seal impressions were found at Acemhöyük show that the palace must have had a

¹⁷ The impression was found on a tablet at Tell Leilan dated to 1772 B.C. and at Sippar dated to the 30th year of Samsu-iluna's reign (ca. 1720 B.C.). See Chapter 5 for more on Samiya's seal impression.

¹⁸ See Chapter 9: 56-57 for more.

relatively short lifespan, as opposed to the 300 years argued by Özgüç (2015: 16-17), and must have been destroyed shortly after these dates, since it is unlikely that the bullae bearing these seal impressions would have been kept in the storerooms for more than a few decades.¹⁹

2.3. LIMITATIONS OF THE MATERIAL

Among the advantages which the glyptic corpus studied here has to offer are the accessibility of published material and the securely documented context of the seal impressions thanks to systematic excavations. Nevertheless, the corpus has important limitations that should be recognized before an analysis is presented.

2.3.1. Using Other People's Data

The material studied in this dissertation is based primarily on published sources, as research permits and political upheavals in Syria at the time this dissertation was written did not allow direct access to the seals and sealings kept in local museums. Although relying on previously published material solves questions of accessibility, it also presents several challenges that influence the research outcomes.

One of the greatest challenges one has to face when working with material collected by other researchers is limited access to primary data. Following the long process of collecting and examining a dataset, researchers typically publish results based on their interpretation of the material, i.e. secondary data. This is a limitation of print publication which normally does not provide space for a listing of the full dataset with all the relevant details. Only a select group of data consisting of the most representative examples is presented to the reader, and the primary

¹⁹ See Chapter 8 for more on the dating of the Sarıkaya Palace and its contents.

dataset and related information on which the interpretive results are based are left behind (Atici et al. 2013: 665-666). As a result, it becomes impossible for future researchers to go back to the original dataset to confirm or reject prior interpretations, or ask new questions. It is clear that no two researcher will conduct an analysis in the exact same way, and diverse interpretive outcomes will emerge when they study the same dataset independently of each other (see Atici et al. 2013 for a test case). This is due to the fact that outcomes are heavily influenced by the research questions asked and the individual researcher's background. Questions and approaches put forth by archaeologists, art historians, philologists etc. can be markedly different (but mostly complementary) even when they work with the exact same dataset.

For the material presented here, consistency in data recording and the amount of contextual detail presented in the publications present two of the biggest hurdles. Especially for the earlier publications, relevant information provided in the reports is sparse, and sometimes very hard to patch together. For seal impressions found on tablets and envelopes, the textual context is not provided, so the impressions and the textual data are divorced from one another. The majority of the associated texts are not yet published, which makes it impossible to place the seal impression in a firm contextual setting. This also limits our chances of dating the impressions more securely within the chronology of the period, since no correlation can be made with people and events they were associated with. In addition, precise find-spots for the majority of these finds were either not recorded at the time of excavation, or the information in the records, when they exist, has not been made public. The information that has been provided is usually limited to the part of the site or the building where the objects were found. For this reason, a detailed spatial distribution analysis based on findspots, and a functional analysis of the spaces, the sealed objects that were found in them, and the seal users becomes impossible on the

large scale. Contrarily, for certain corpora of glyptic material, such as Tell Bi'a, the archaeological context of the finds as well as other details pertaining to them have been recorded and published in great detail, making further analyses possible. As a result, the chances of conducting a comparative spatial, functional, and contextual analysis between the different institutional contexts of seals and seal impressions in Syria and Anatolia are still limited due to marked differences in data recording and publishing.

These challenges multiply when material from multiple projects without a shared vocabulary are used together. In material culture studies it is a frequent problem that the commonly used and formally described systems of classification, vocabularies, and terminologies are minimal even within the same groups of material. As an example, identification of attributes related to types, shapes, and decorations of pottery assemblages that belong to the same cultural horizon can vary greatly from one site to another based on the researchers' preference of vocabularies. A good example is the Red-Black Burnished Ware, a particular ceramic type that appeared in the Near East ca. 2500 B.C. It is found in a vast geographical area from Transcaucasia and eastern Turkey in the north to the Amuq Valley and the Levant in the south. Despite the consistent nature of the assemblage, it is referred to by scholars as Red-Black Burnished Ware, Khirbet Kerak Ware, Karaz Ware, Kura-Araxes Ware, and Transcaucasian Ware. In glyptic studies, the same problem occurs with identification of scenes and motifs as well as with the designation of style groups. To illustrate this point we can refer to a filling motif that occurs frequently in all glyptic styles of the second millennium B.C. It is a vase in the form of a tall cylinder with a bulge in the middle, which appears in Mesopotamian glyptic as early as the Ur III period (Porada 1948: 228).



Fig. 2.4: Cat. #3 from Tell Bi'a and Cat. #344 from Achemhöyük showing a ball-staff

It has been termed alternatively as an “arm of the balance” (Frankfort 1939: 244), “scales” (Moortgat 1940: 113), “ball staff” (Porada 1948: 41), and “elixir vase” (Özgüç 1968: 68). To avoid such complications, a standard terminology was devised in this dissertation for the essential motifs, figures, and compositions commonly attested in the glyptic corpus under study. A discussion of this terminology and its variations that appear in previous publications is given at the end of this chapter.

In the end, it is clear that the choice of methods and research perspectives used in a study shape the results of the analysis, no matter how well documented the dataset may be. It is for this reason that the primary data and related contextual information should be made available for future researchers. Unfortunately, this was not the case for most of the data collected for this study. However, the amount of detail included in the database assembled for this dissertation (see Figs. 2.1-2.3) aims to make this dataset as transparent and reusable as possible for others, so that the results obtained in this study can be confirmed or rejected in the future, and new questions can be asked of the material. One should remember that the strength of the arguments presented here depends on the availability of glyptic and textual material as well as relevant textual information. As a result, they will have to be re-evaluated as new material becomes available.

2.3.2. Questions of Representation

In addition to the consistency and reliability of records, using only published material also raises question of representation. As only a small number of important sites with meaningful concentrations of glyptic material have been excavated and published for the late Old Assyrian period, the dataset assembled here represents only a small portion of the entire corpus. The amount of material recovered from each site differs greatly as well. For instance, the monumental architecture of the temple and palace at Tell el-Rimah clearly indicate that the site was an important administrative center of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, a fact that is supported by textual evidence as well. However, the number of published seals and seal impressions from the site is limited to 44, as opposed to the hundreds of seals and sealings recovered from Tell Bi'a. This discrepancy in numbers (Table 2.1) affects the outcome of this comparative study to a certain degree.

Furthermore, the complete lack of textual or glyptic material from the early years of Šamši-Adad's reign make it impossible to reconstruct the chronological development of his political ideology and its reflection on the material culture of the period. As will be further elaborated in Chapter 3, recent studies on Old Assyrian chronology show that Šamši-Adad was born in 1847 B.C. and inherited his father's throne in Ekallatum in 1833 B.C. (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 25). Following an exile of ca. 10 years, he returned to his capital Ekallatum in 1811 B.C. However, the earliest datable glyptic material from his reign comes from ca. 1800 B.C., after his conquest of Assur. As a result, the first 35 years of his reign are only sparsely documented. This large gap in our knowledge prevents us from gaining a clearer view of the transition from the firmly established institutional bureaucracy of the Ur III state, which

appears to have influenced Šamši-Adad's political organization, to the administrative traditions of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.

2.3.3. Documentation: Photos vs. line drawings

The dataset analyzed here is composed of all publicly available images of this glyptic corpus, in both photographic and line-drawing format. Photographs are essential for a proper understanding of seal imagery in detail. In addition to the seal impression, they also reveal important details regarding the textual context, in cases where the seal is impressed on a tablet or envelope. Therefore, it is crucial to know how the impression relates to its associated textual context, e.g. whether the impression is overrun by the text or if the impression is intended to be full or partial, to understand ancient sealing practices. This is only possible through photographs of seal impressions in full detail, as line drawings are concerned only with the seal design itself. All available photographs regarding the impressions studied here are provided in the database. Their quality varies greatly as a result of the original publications they were drawn from. Moreover, photographs derived from earlier publications are lower in quality and resolution as a result of technologies available at the time, which may hamper a detailed analysis of the impressions at times.

Another issue regarding documentation of seal impressions is that many of them are published only as drawings. Despite being virtually indestructible, clay is a fragile material and as a result, tablets, envelopes, and bullae chip and break easily. This is clearly detrimental to seal impressions borne by these objects, as the integrity of the impressions is disturbed. The same problem also arises when the seal itself is chipped or broken, resulting in a partial impressions. In such instances, a line drawing of the seal design is preferred for clarity, as it has the potential to

reveal the composition in its entirety, especially in cases where a composite drawing can be obtained from multiple impressions of the same seal. However, a complete reliance on line drawings for purposes of clarity and practicality can be misleading. As Dominique Collon accurately states, “a drawing is essentially a personal interpretation of the work of another in much the same way that a performance of music is an interpretation of another’s composition” (Collon 1975: xxii). As a result, there may be multiple line drawings of the same seal impression done by different hands with varying degrees of detail and accuracy, showing the illustrator’s personal understanding of the iconography (Figs. 2.5 and 2.6). Finally, many of these drawings are not fully reliable since in many cases no attention was paid to minor details such as facial features or details of garments. Nonetheless, line drawings provide an essential tool for iconographic study where photographs are not available.

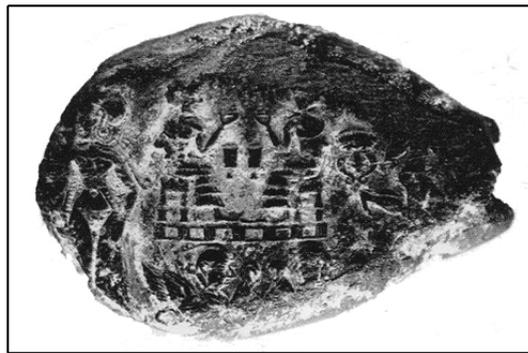


Fig. 2.5: Cat. #339 (Özgüç 1980: Fig. III-14)



Fig. 2.6: Published drawings of Cat. #339. Left to right: Erkanal 1993: Levha 14, II₂-C/04, Otto 2000a: Tafel 13: 151, Özgüç 2015: Fig. 97.

2.4. TERMINOLOGY

As mentioned in the previous section, there isn't a widely accepted, accurate, and comprehensive terminology which can describe motifs, designs, and compositions within the vast corpus of ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals. Nevertheless, it is clear that having such a tool facilitates discussions of iconography and style, and leads into more accurate readings of glyptic design. One of the main reasons for this lack of standardized terminology is the almost complete lack of ancient texts to guide interpretations of designs and motifs. This, in turn, leads to a plethora of identifications and interpretations, especially for the not-so-readily identifiable design components, such as minor deities that do not figure prominently in textual sources. Also in instances where a seal impression is only partially preserved, the identifying elements of figures may be lacking. In such cases, only a generic identification is possible, which cannot go beyond basic designations such as human, divine, or animal. So it is clear that not every compositional element in glyptic is clearly identifiable, and a comprehensive and unambiguous terminology may not be achieved for the entirety of the ancient Near Eastern glyptic corpus, as was attempted by Janice L. Crowley for Aegean seals (Crowley 2013: Chapter 2). It should be stressed here that the aim of this dissertation is not to provide a standard vocabulary for ancient Near Eastern glyptic, but to provide standard terms and definitions for the material covered by the dataset. Because same design elements can be referred to differently by different scholars, it is necessary for the purpose of consistency to regularize the vocabulary used across this dissertation.

What is given below is a list and short descriptions of design elements that occur most commonly in the corpus studied here, and that have been referred to in multiple ways in previous scholarship, resulting in inconsistencies. Other figures and motifs are identified with terms

generally used in the literature, adhering to the descriptions provided by Porada and Collon (Porada 1948, Collon 1986). It should also be noted that fields in the database hosting the corpus of study are set up accordingly to make queries as comprehensive and accurate as possible. More detailed descriptions, research histories, and interpretations of these scenes and figures are given in the relevant iconographic analysis chapters.

The Corpus

The historical period and the associated dataset studied in this dissertation are referred to broadly as “late Old Assyrian,” following the historical designation attributed to the period by Veenhof (2008: 26).²⁰ However, the present author refrains from using the anachronistic term “Assyria” for the political entity ruled by Šamši-Adad, since “Assyria” as a territorial state did not yet exist in this period, although, Ziegler argues that the kingdom built by Šamši-Adad was the ideological forerunner of the later Assyrian empires. She also explains that avoiding the designation “Assyria,” also allows us to move away from the geographic notion of an Assyrian heartland around the cities of Assur and Nineveh (Ziegler 2009: 181). Instead, the term “Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia” is preferred here, following Durand and Charpin, who opted for this designation on the basis of textual evidence from the reign of Šamši-Adad, referring to the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates (i.e. what we refer to as Upper Mesopotamia today) as a single entity. They even argue that Šamši-Adad was “a man of the region of the two rivers” rather than an “Assyrian” king (Durand and Charpin 1985: 299).

The glyptic corpus excavated at various sites in Central Anatolia dating to the Middle Bronze Age is commonly referred to as *Cappadocian*, due to the geographical area it originated from. It is also called *Old Assyrian*, attributing it to both the particular historical period covering

²⁰ See a detailed discussion on the use of this term under the section “Historical Terminology” in Chapter 3.

the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. in Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia and the Assyrian merchant community permanently settled in Anatolia in this period. This dissertation studies material dating to the later phase of this particular period, starting with the destruction and rebuilding of Level Ib at Kültepe, and continuing with the reign of Šamši-Adad in northern Mesopotamia. When earlier glyptic material from Kültepe is mentioned for comparison, it is addressed as “early Old Assyrian,” referring historically to the period when Assur was a small but prosperous city-state as opposed to the territorial kingdom established under Šamši-Adad. Archaeologically this phase corresponds to Level II at Kültepe.

The following is a short list of descriptions concerning the scene types, figures, and motifs within late Old Assyrian glyptic, some of which are often ambiguously or inconsistently described in the literature.

Main Scene Types

a. Presentation: This is one of the most popular scenes in second millennium glyptic, the origin of which can be traced back to the Akkadian period. It depicts a deity seated on a padded stool receiving a human worshipper presented by an interceding goddess standing before or behind the human figure (Fig. 2.7). This scene type is also known as “introduction.” In the “audience scene,” on the other hand, the worshipper faces the seated deity directly, without an intermediary.

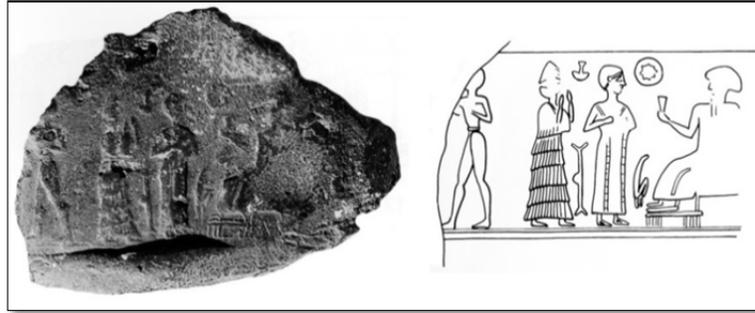


Fig. 2.7: Cat. #3 (after Otto 2000a: Tafel 41)

b. Figure with mace: This is one of the most commonly attested scenes in the glyptic of second millennium B.C., especially in Babylonia. It depicts a standing male figure, commonly identified as a king or god,²¹ holding a mace in his left hand. He is most commonly accompanied by an interceding goddess with her hands raised in prayer. The male figure can also appear standing opposite major deities, such as Ištar, and also in combination with other figures in more elaborate scenes (Fig. 2.8). Although most scholars of glyptic prefer the term “king,” the precise identity of the principal figure holding the mace is uncertain. Therefore, he is referred to as the “figure with mace” throughout this study.



Fig. 2.8: Cat. #19 (after Otto 2004: Tafel 50 3a, Tafel 51c)

²¹ The identity of this figure is discussed further in Chapter 9.

c. Worship: Porada describes the presentation scene as “worship of an enthroned king or god” (Porada 1948: 41). However, the term used in this dissertation refers to a scene in which a worshipper, identified by his hand raised before the face in a gesture of pious greeting,²² stands directly before a standing deity or divine symbol (e.g. the bull altar) (Fig. 2.9).



Fig. 2.9: Cat. #164 (after Parker 1975: No. 9)

d. Offering scene: This term refers to scenes in which a human figure holds an animal offering (often a kid) in the presence of a seated or standing deity. In the majority of cases studied here the deity receiving the offering is Šamaš (Fig. 2.10).

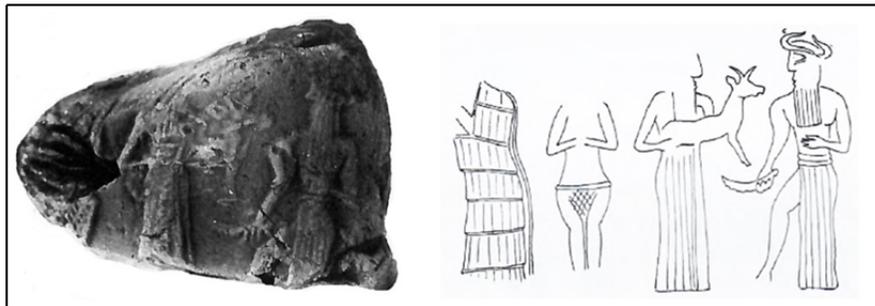


Fig. 2.10: Cat. #306 (after Özgüç 2015: Fig. 63)

e. Procession: A file of standing human and/or divine figures. This category also covers scenes in which human and divine figures stand before major deities, but are not depicted in a gesture of supplication or greeting (Fig. 2.11).

²² This particular gesture is known from presentation scenes and corresponds directly to the Sumerian verb “to greet,” *kiri₄ šu-gal₂*, literally “to let the hand be at the nose.” (Winter 1987: 192).



Fig. 2.11: Cat. #350 (after Özgüç 1980: Fig. III-16)

Human and divine figures

In most cases studied here, when clear identifiers, such as divine or royal symbols are present, the figures are distinguished as king, deity, worshipper, offering bearer, etc. Where a clear identification is not possible, the designation is limited to standing or seated figure, male or female.

a. The nude female and the naked goddess:

Female figures, besides the clearly identifiable deities such as Ištar or the interceding goddess, are rare in this corpus. However, two female figures need to be better defined, since a clear distinction between them does not appear in the literature. They are alternatively called “the naked goddess” and “the nude female,” as they both appear naked in frontal view. Because they are both attested in scenes together with a figure or group of figures, their identity and role are difficult to establish.

The figure that is referred to in this dissertation as the “nude female” appears frequently in Old Babylonian seals, both as a minor (i.e. smaller in size) and major (i.e. same size as other main figures) figure in the field. She is represented in frontal view, although sometimes her head is turned to the side. Her hands are either clasped at the waist or depicted holding her breasts.

Her hair falls in a curl over her shoulders. In a few instances she stands on a dais or platform, and is depicted as being worshipped, which led Porada to suggest that she may be a deity (Porada 1948: 56). However, Collon notes that her clasped hands may indicate that she is not a deity, but a worshipper (Collon 1986: 132). In her treatment of Old Babylonian seals, al-Gailani Werr mentions two almost life-size heads of clay statuettes housed in the Iraq Museum, which she suggests may have belonged to statues of nude females set up in temples, as their hairstyle is identical to that of the nude female figure on Old Babylonian seals (al-Gailani Werr 1988a: 20). As can be seen from these varying identifications, the identity of this figure is not easy to determine. To avoid confusion, she is referred to as the “nude female” throughout this work (Fig. 2.12 and 2.13).



Fig. 2.12: Cat. #28 and #344 showing the nude female (after Otto 2004: Tafel 56 1c; Özgüç 2015: Fig. 95)

The second female figure to be considered here is that of the woman wearing a long veil and often lifting its ends displaying her nudity. She appears frequently in cylinder seals of Syrian style, which sets her apart from the nude female. However, similar to the nude female, her role in scenes varies. Porada remarks that she must be a goddess, as she appears to be worshipped in several scenes, is shown standing on a bull, and also appears framed by a winged canopy (Porada 1948: 124). Based on this, she will be addressed as the “naked goddess” in this dissertation.

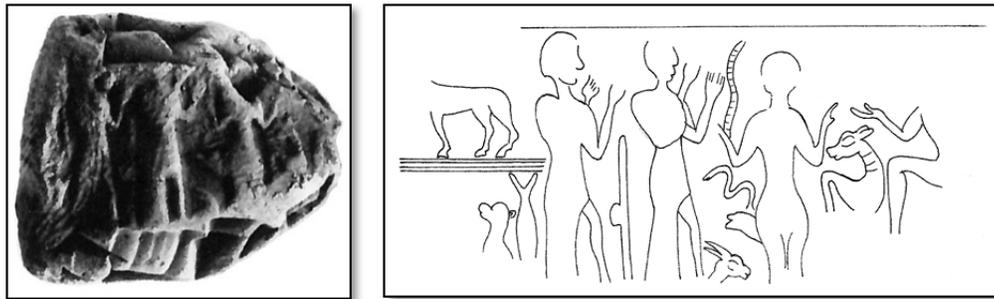


Fig. 2.13: Cat. #325 showing the naked goddess (Özgüç 2015: Fig. 115)

Other motifs

Minor motifs and fillers that occur in the dataset are mostly straightforward. Animals and mixed-beings are clearly identified when possible. Pottery is classified under cup (usually held by a seated deity), vase (used for generic pottery types), flowing vase (associated with deities and mixed-beings), and drinking bowl (which appears in banquet scenes with long straws coming out of it). Weapons and astral symbols are clearly distinguished when detailed identifications are possible

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter focuses on the history and archaeology of the early second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia with special emphasis on the late Old Assyrian period. The aim is to put the official glyptic of this period in a chronological and spatial context, in order to understand how the new identity of Šamši-Adad's vast territorial state was fashioned and reflected in the material record.

3.1. Chronology

As the following historical analysis will make apparent, the chronology of the early years of Šamši-Adad's reign as well as the previous period of transition from the classic Old Assyrian dynasty of Puzur-Aššur to the Amorite Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia are poorly known. In contrast, the period after Šamši-Adad's conquest of Assur, which is the focus of this work, is better documented textually. A virtual absence of written records from the major centers of Upper Mesopotamia, which witnessed major political transformations and large-scale abandonment following the fall of the Akkadian Empire, is one of the major factors of this gap. Moreover, the small number of texts and inscribed objects unearthed in the Old Assyrian levels at Assur¹ fail to provide enough evidence for the reconstruction of a reliable chronology.

The chronological framework adopted in this dissertation rests on a recent attempt to establish an almost complete chronology of Upper Mesopotamia during the first quarter of the second millennium B.C., based on the Assyrian dating system of year eponyms (*limmu*). The various fragments of the "Kültepe Eponym List (KEL)" excavated at the Assyrian commercial

¹ The Old Assyrian remains in the city are buried under Middle and Neo-Assyrian occupational layers and only small areas dating to this period have been excavated so far, yielding a limited number of finds. See Michel 2003: 121-123 for a list of Old Assyrian texts and inscribed objects found at Ashur.

settlement of Kanesh in Central Anatolia as well as the “Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC)” are combined with archaeological data from Old Assyrian settlements in Anatolia and the refined dendrochronological sequence for the Eastern Mediterranean (Newton and Kuniholm 2004) to locate more precisely the political and social history of the period. The resulting sequence of eponyms, called the “Revised Eponym List (REL),” can best be aligned with dates proposed by the Middle Chronology (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 4).² The use of REL is essential for this dissertation as it allows some of the eponyms attested at the northern Syrian towns of Tell al-Rimah, Tell Leilan, Chagar Bazar, Tell Bi’a, and Mari³ during Šamši-Adad’s reign to be fixed within the chronology of the late Old Assyrian period (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 16). As a consequence, the textual and the associated glyptic material from these sites can be firmly dated, and connections both within Upper Mesopotamia and between Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia can be established (Appendix I).

3.2. Historical Terminology

Information that has been recently emerging from a vast geographic area in the Near East from Iran to Mycenae is providing us with new insights regarding palatial contexts and administration in the second millennium. This dissertation only focuses on Mesopotamia and Anatolia in the late Old Assyrian period, when excellent textual and administrative sources from a short period of time are available from distinct geographical areas. It is even possible to trace officials of the same administration from different centers of the Kingdom of Upper

² The reconstruction proposed by Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen and its alignment with Middle Chronology have been questioned by many scholars. See, for example, Roaf 2012; de Jong 2013; Nahm 2013; Bloch 2014; Kolinski 2014; Charpin and Ziegler 2014.

³ See Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: Fig. 7 for a list of eponyms attested at these sites.

Mesopotamia under Šamši-Adad. This material, reflecting a short period of time that has been securely dated through year eponyms, makes the late Old Assyrian period ideal for this task.

Šamši-Adad's reign and the material culture associated with it are often referred to as "Assyrian" in the literature. The designation "later Old Assyrian," referring to the phase contemporary with Kanesh Level Ib in Anatolia, was already used by Gelb and Sollberger in their edition of legal documents from this period and was later proposed by Porada for the contemporary Old Assyrian seals (Veenhof 2008: 27). However, Veenhof disputed this definition, as it was based on "a mixture of linguistic, political, and art historical arguments, ... [which] do not provide a clear chronological definition" (Veenhof 1985: 192). Due to an almost complete lack of textual documentation from the city of Assur, our understanding of the Old Assyrian period rests mainly on the information provided by the archaeological and textual remains from Kültepe, which appears to have gone through two severe destructions that have long defined its history. As a result, the second phase of this period, starting with the resettlement of the site after the destruction of *kārum* Level II and ending with the cessation of textual documentation regarding Assyrian traders from Anatolia at the end of Level Ib, is often referred to as the "Later" Old Assyrian period. However, it has become clear that the destruction of both levels of the *kārum* Kanesh were results of internal conflict in Anatolia, which do not coincide with major events or political changes in the city of Assur. Recent research shows that the community at Kanesh recovered from the destruction of *kārum* Level II in a relatively short period of time (i.e. 2-3 years between 1835-1832 B.C.) during which Assyrian commercial activity in the region does not appear to have ceased (Günbatti 2008: 117; Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 29). This suggests that the destruction that defined a clear break between the earlier and later phases of the Old Assyrian period in Anatolia did not affect the city of Assur. A

much more significant event in the city's history is its conquest by the foreigner and usurper, Šamši-Adad (Veenhof 1985: 192), in ca. 1808 B.C., as it dramatically altered the political landscape of northern Mesopotamia. In his most recent study of the Old Assyrian Period, Veenhof takes Šamši-Adad's conquest of Assur and his involvement in Assyrian trade with Anatolia as the starting point of the "Later Old Assyrian Period" (Veenhof 2008: 140). This designation is retained in this dissertation, in order to emphasize the different nature of the period when compared to the earlier stage dominated by the prosperous trade network between the Old Assyrian city-state of Assur and the independent kingdoms in Anatolia. The term "Assyrian" is frequently used, especially by German scholars,⁴ to characterize all aspects of Šamši-Adad's reign. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that this designation is not entirely suitable for Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Northern Mesopotamia, as there are both similarities and clear differences between the political and cultural organization and traditions of the original Old Assyrian dynasty established by Puzur-Aššur and the following period under Šamši-Adad. Consequently, "late Old Assyrian" is used here loosely and for a lack of a better designation. Nevertheless, as this dissertation attempts to show, an umbrella term is still necessary for the period in question, as various political and cultural traditions appear alongside the pre-existing structures over the vast territories covered by Šamši-Adad's kingdom and continue unaltered after his death and the disintegration of his kingdom. Consequently, the term "late Old Assyrian" as used in this dissertation begins with the appearance of Šamši-Adad at Assur and extends over the period following his death, in which the administrative and iconographic trends that form the basis of this dissertation continue unaltered. The end of the period covered here varies by site, since textual and glyptic documentation from Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, Mari, and Acemhöyük cease at different times, ending with the destruction of Tell Leilan in ca. 1728 B.C.

⁴ See for example Otto 2004, Miglus and Strommenger 2007.

Finally, the period in question is one of the earliest cases of “globalization” with comparable phenomena attested over a large geographical area. It is this characteristic that allows material from distant areas and different contexts, that are contemporaneous and in direct contact, to be studied together. Therefore, despite the problems in nomenclature, “late Old Assyrian” appears to be the most suitable designation. It should be remembered that the same period is referred to as the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) in the archaeological literature of Anatolia.

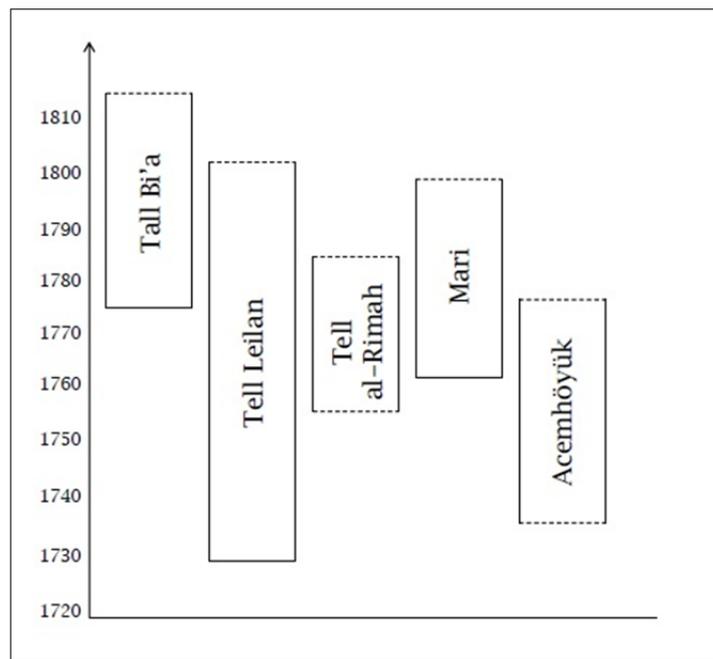


Table 3.1: Chronological placement of the glyptic material covered in this study

3.3. HISTORY OF THE PERIOD

3.3.1. The Third Millennium B.C.: Emergence of City-States and Palatial Administrations

Concepts of kingship, administration, and bureaucracy emerged in Mesopotamia as early as the Uruk period following the emergence of urban centers. A system of recordkeeping using writing and seals as markers of authority allowed the ruling elite to exercise control over the

people and resources, leaving behind a large number of administrative texts and sealings, which attest to the presence of organized administration.

But political centralization with a wide-ranging administrative apparatus appeared in the region only in the third millennium B.C. during the Akkadian period, reaching its peak under the Ur III state. Both of these entities pursued policies of centralization in political, administrative, and ideological terms, uniting large geographical areas. These policies were supplemented by extensive military campaigns, especially by the Akkadian kings, reaching as far as modern Lebanon, Turkey, and the Persian Gulf (van de Mieroop 2007: 67), and resulting in close contacts with these lands.

Despite the vast numbers of written records originating in Mesopotamia during the Akkadian and Ur III periods (ca. 2300-2000 B.C.), evidence regarding contacts with neighboring areas is scant. Although their historicity is disputed, several Mesopotamian texts concerning the reigns of Akkadian kings Sargon and Narām-Sin provide glimpses into these primarily commercial contacts. The text known as *šar tamḫari* (King of Battle) narrates the exploits of king Sargon and his campaign against the Anatolian city of Puruṣhanda to rescue Akkadian merchants from the oppressive king of the city (Westenholz 1997:102-103). Two similar texts exist about Sargon's grandson, Narām-Sin, and his battles against a long list of opponents, including [...] *-ha-AN, man of Kanesh (LÚ Ka-ni-šum.KI)* (Westenholz 1997: 251), and the kings of Hatti, Kanesh, and Hahhum in Anatolia (Westenholz 1997: 294-295; van de Mieroop 2007: 138-139). Scholars who suggest that these stories emerged as a result of the actual incursion of Akkadian rulers into Anatolia also rely on material evidence in the form of the so-called Nasiriya stele depicting Akkadian warriors marching in file (McKeon 1970: 228), and based on the booty carried by the soldiers, it has been suggested that it represents an Akkadian campaign to Cilicia.

The two-handled vessel carried by one of the warriors is completely foreign to Mesopotamia but resembles the Anatolian two-handled drinking vessels typical of late Early Bronze Age (EBA). This vessel type is contemporary with Narām-Sin's reign, and in conjunction with the textual evidence which mentions the king being faced with a revolt of Anatolian kings, some scholars suggest that the Nasiriyah stele may be proof of an Akkadian intervention in the region (McKeon 1970: 239).

In contrast to the extensive amount of written documents providing information concerning the political, economic, and social life of third millennium B.C. Mesopotamia, archaeological evidence regarding central authority and organized administration in the form of extensive palatial complexes is fragmentary for the Akkadian and Ur III periods. Nevertheless, it is clear that the palace as an independent institution and monumental complex separate from the temple was well-established in the late Early Dynastic-early Akkadian period (ca. 2350-2250 B.C.) as an indicator of secular administration. Examples such as the A Palace at Kish, the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar, the Early Dynastic Palace at Mari, and Narām-Sin's palace at Tell Brak show the extent of this centralized system. In addition, the extensive corpus of Akkadian and Ur III seals and sealings, as well as the standardized nature of official seal imagery also attest to the presence of a large-scale and centralized administrative system.

3.3.2. The Second Millennium B.C.: The Age of Territorial States

As is the case with many transitional periods in early history, the transition from the late third into the second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia remains unclear. The region experienced

a period of distress following the Akkadian withdrawal⁵ from Syria ca. 2200 B.C. Although its causes are still debated and contemporary written documentation is minimal, this process is visible especially in the archaeological record of the north in the form of settlement abandonments and site-size reduction in the Habur plains (Weiss 2012: 4-5). As a consequence, the northern Mesopotamian region reverted to a system of independent city-states. As mentioned above, a revival of centralized state control over a large geographic area reappeared under the Ur III state through extensive administration and control of resources. The end of Ur III hegemony was also sudden and the main causes are unclear. The region was once again shaken by a period of fragmentation of power and independent city-states ruled by local dynasties dotted the Mesopotamian landscape (van de Mieroop 2007: 82-83). The history of Upper Mesopotamia after the collapse of the Ur III state at the turn of the 3rd millennium B.C. is unfortunately little known, although several major actors emerge in this period who play a significant role in the political landscape of the region.

As mentioned above, the majority of our information for the first two centuries of the 3rd millennium B.C. derives from the private archives of Assyrian merchants settled in Kültepe Level II (ca. 1950-1720 B.C.). On the other side of the trade network, however, we are faced with an almost complete lack of documentation for this phase because Old Assyrian remains in the city of Assur are buried under Middle and Neo-Assyrian occupational layers, and other northern Mesopotamian centers involved in Old Assyrian trade have not yielded any written evidence for this period. Although this has long been explained as an accident of discovery,

⁵ Contrary to Weiss's view of an immediate Akkadian collapse that affected the entire Mesopotamian region, the withdrawal of the Akkadian state from the north seems to have happened over a period of years. Archaeological evidence from Tell Brak (Oates, Oates, and McDonald 2001: 393; Colantoni 2012: 59) and Hamoukar shows that life continued at these towns after the Akkadians left, and they were abandoned only after a certain period of time. The lack of a stratigraphic break or disruption in pottery styles between the Akkadian and Ur III periods in southern Mesopotamian centers such as Nippur and Ur also contradict the idea of a sudden and wide-ranging collapse.

recent archaeological work in the region may provide an alternative explanation. Excavations and surveys in the Habur region show a wide occupational hiatus during ca. 2200-1900 B.C. following the Akkadian withdrawal. The causes of this hiatus have long been disputed, but the consequences are clearly visible in the form of abandonment at a large number of sites in the area, such as Tell Leilan, Tell Brak, Tell Mohammed Diyab, Chagar Bazar, Hamoukar, and Tell Mozan, resulting in depopulation and loss of political complexity in northern Mesopotamia (Ristvet and Weiss 2013: 260-262).

Following this period of abandonment, the area was resettled by Amorite tribes starting in ca. 1900 B.C., who introduced a new type of polity, -the tribal kingdom-, with new political, economic, and cultural strategies (Ristvet 2012: 37). These new strategies are reflected in the settlement patterns as well. Excavations in the second millennium levels of major sites in the region (e.g. Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, Tell al-Hawa, Mari) revealed elaborate administrative palace complexes and temples, but almost no domestic quarters. In contrast, smaller settlements with densely packed domestic populations were excavated at Tell Mohammed Diyab, Chagar Bazar, Tell Arbid, and Tell Mozan (Ristvet and Weiss 2013: 267). Aptly named “hollow cities” by Ristvet and Weiss, these urban centers with large administrative quarters only yielded textual and glyptic documentation from official contexts. This is why the early and late phases of the Old Assyrian period are not equally well-represented in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia. This situation also explains why available glyptic material for the Old Assyrian period is derived from exclusively official contexts in northern Mesopotamia.

3.3.3. Šamši-Adad and the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia

The change in the political landscape of Mesopotamia at the turn of the third millennium B.C. is also visible in the history of the period. During this period of political fragmentation Assur establishes itself as an independent city-state in the north. In the absence of contemporary documentation from the city itself, indirect evidence from the ancient city of Kanesh in Central Anatolia sheds light upon the political and economic history of the period, as the administrative center of the network of Assyrian commercial settlements in Anatolia. Textual and iconographic sources show that, as limited as its control on Assur may have been, the effects of Ur III administration are clearly visible on the Old Assyrian state and the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia in the following period. The infrastructure and elements of political, economic, and legal administration left behind by the Ur III state clearly influenced the organization of Old Assyrian commerce. In addition, the intellectual traditions of the Ur III state seem to have fostered the development of Old Assyrian writing and accounting, which became essential elements of long-distance trade (Barjamovic 2011: 5). Finally, the influence of Ur III glyptic is clearly visible on the seals of the early Old Assyrian period and especially on the official seals of the early kings (Eppihimer 2013).

Sources show that following the fall of the Ur III state, Amorite officials installed themselves further south at Isin, Larsa, and Babylon (Charpin 2012: 23). In the Diyala, kings of Ešnunna become the dominant political power after consolidating their rule in the region (Yuhong 1994: 73-74; Charpin 2004: 129-131). Further north in the Middle Euphrates area, Mari, which provided one of the major sources of historical information for the period following ca. 1800 B.C., rises as a regional power under Yagid-Lim (ca. 1850 B.C.) and his successor, Yaḥdun-Lim. Yaḥdun-Lim gains control of the Middle Euphrates valley from Mari all the way to

Tuttul toward the end of the 19th century B.C., which stands until Šamši-Adad's conquest of the area (Yuhong 1994: 103-105; Charpin 2004: 138).

Šamši-Adad, appears in the historical record of northern Mesopotamia, more specifically in the Akkadian King List (AKL) following Erišum II of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty. Other than his Amorite roots, not much is known about the early life and career of Šamši-Adad. His royal inscriptions, found at Assur, Nineveh, and Mari, are scarce. Letters and administrative records from his reign come mostly from Mari, but the large majority of them date to the period after Šamši-Adad's son, Yasmaḥ-Adad, was installed as the ruler of the city. Finally, the administrative documents from other major centers of his kingdom, such as Tell Shemshara, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Leilan, Chagar Bazar, and Tell Bi'a, are too few to fill in the gaps (Villard 1995: 875).

Recent studies on Old Assyrian chronology show that Šamši-Adad was born in 1847 B.C. (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 25). His genealogy, which he appended to the AKL after his conquest of Assur, shows that he belonged to the Amorite Numha tribe (Ristvet 2012: 45), Yادkur-El, a contemporary of Sumu-la-El of the First Dynasty of Babylon was his grandfather, and Ila-kabkabū was his father (Yuhong 1994: 62). The seal impression on Kültepe Level II tablets of a servant of Yagid-Lim of Mari, who fought Ila-kabkabū for control over the Middle Euphrates region, also shows that Ila-kabkabū was a contemporary of Šarru-kēn II and Puzur-Aššur II of the Old Assyrian dynasty (Yuhong 1994: 70). Finally the AKL also mentions Aminum as the first born son of Ila-kabkabū, hence Šamši-Adad's older brother⁶ (Yuhong 1994: 63). Despite the genealogical information provided by the AKL, the origins of Šamši-Adad's lineage are debated. The Mari Eponym Chronicle (MEC) declares that Šamši-Adad "ascended

⁶ See T. Jansen, 2015, "Aminum in AKL, MEC und auf den Siegeln seiner Diener," *NABU* 2015-2: 41-45 for an alternative discussion on the identity of Aminum.

the throne of his fathers” in the year Šarrum-Adad (ca. 1833 B.C.), but circumstances surrounding this event are unknown. Yuhong proposes that his grandfather, Yadkur-El, originated from the city of Zaralulu in the Lower Diyala valley, between Ešnunna and the Tigris confluence (Yuhong 1994: 62-63). Charpin, on the other hand, suggests that Šamši-Adad was from the land of Akkad, based on a royal inscription,⁷ in which he carries the epithet “Šamši-Adad, strong king, king of Akkad” (Charpin 2004: 149-150; Grayson 1987: 58). Despite a small geographical difference, both theories point to the Diyala region as the origin of Šamši-Adad’s lineage.

Ila-kabkabū probably ruled his large kingdom between the Trans-Tigris and Middle Euphrates regions together with his two sons, Aminum, and Šamši-Adad, until Šamši-Adad inherited his father’s throne in 1833 B.C. (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 25). The kingdom’s capital was the as-yet-undiscovered city of Ekallatum, on the banks of the Tigris River, not far from Assur. Possible identifications of the ancient city include Tulul al Haikal on the eastern bank of the Tigris to the north of Assur, and Akra, also on the eastern bank of the river to the east of Assur. Charpin and Durand claim that Ekallatum should be sought on the western bank of the Tigris, but no alternative site has been suggested (Eidem 2002: 22).

The AKL informs us that after ruling Ekallatum for about a decade, Šamši-Adad “went south.” In the eighteenth year of his rule, Ekallatum was conquered by Narām-Sin of Ešnunna, which forced Šamši-Adad to take refuge in Babylon, which was ruled by Sîn-Muballit (Yuhong 1994: 83). The common ancestry claimed by both the Šamši-Adad dynasty and the First Dynasty of Babylon can explain the choice of this location (Villard 1995: 873). The possible effects of

⁷ RIMA I A.0.39.6

Šamši-Adad's extended stay in southern Mesopotamia on the politics and culture of his kingdom are explained in a separate section below.

Following the death of Narām-Sin of Ešnunna, Šamši-Adad returned to take back Ekallatum in 1811 B.C., and his reign reached its peak with the conquest of Assur in 1808 B.C. (*limmu* Dadaya), where he ruled for 33 years after deposing Erišum II of the Old Assyrian dynasty (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 25). In an effort to legitimize his rule over Assur as a non-Assyrian king, he inserted himself and his ancestors into the AKL, called himself “governor of divine Assur,” and cared for its cult, although he never made the city the capital of his “Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia.” Instead he established his seat at Šeḫna, which he renamed Šubat-Enlil (modern Tell Leilan). Eidem (1992: 22) suggests that Šamši-Adad chose “the possibly still deserted mound of Leilan” as his residence instead of a local capital in an effort to bypass the strong urban elites who would make these towns potential centers of resistance and rebellion. This westward expansion into the eastern Habur region was probably also motivated by economic concerns, as the region lay close to the main trade routes of the Near East connecting the Tigris valley to western Syria and Anatolia (Villard 1995: 874).

Textual evidence shows that Assyrian traders and caravans crossed the Habur headwaters before moving into Anatolia. During the earlier phase (i.e. Kültepe Level II) they passed through a town named Apum in the vicinity of modern Tell Leilan, while during the following “later Old Assyrian period” (i.e. Kültepe Level Ib), Leilan functioned as the capital of “the land of Apum” and played an important role as a relay station for merchants, probably as a result of Šamši-Adad's intervention (Eidem 2008: 267). Administrative texts from Leilan mention a mid-18th century B.C. *kārum* in the city and the 1991-excavations at the site tested the possibility of the *kārum* in the southern part of the Lower Town. However, only a Mitanni-period cemetery was

found directly on top of third millennium remains (Weiss 1991). Being the closest *kārum* to Assur, and the last stop before the Taurus Mountains in Anatolia, the city of Šeḫna was the focus of both regional and interregional networks of trade. Following Šamši-Adad's conquest, Šubat-Enlil, as the city was now known, became also the transit point for the renewed Assyrian trade with Anatolia (Eidem 2008: 271).

The eastern Habur region was also coveted by Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari for the same reasons. However, Mari sources inform us that after being defeated by Šamši-Adad, Yaḥdun-Lim was killed in a palace conspiracy and his successor Sumu-Yamam was ousted after a brief rule,⁸ leading to the conquest of the city by Šamši-Adad in ca. 1791 B.C. (*limmu* Ḫaya-malik), just as Ḫammurabi ascended the throne of Babylon (Villard 1995: 874). Unfortunately, the period between the city's conquest and the ascension of Šamši-Adad's son, Yasmaḥ-Adad to the throne of Mari as vice-regent in ca. 1788 B.C. (*limmu* Res-Šamaš) are poorly documented (Charpin 2004: 156-157). Not only did the conquest of Mari unite the northern lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers under one ruler, it also won Šamši-Adad the allegiance of the major Anatolian kingdoms of Ḫaššum, Uršum, and Carchemish that were former allies of Yaḥdun-Lim (Yuhong 1994: 110). Mari texts and a seal impression of Nagiḫanum, daughter of Yaḥdun-Lim, found at Acmhöyük in Anatolia (Cat. #349) attest to relatively intense commercial contacts between Anatolia and the Euphrates region already during Yaḥdun-Lim's reign. We also learn from texts that the wine sent by Aplahaḫanda, king of Carchemish, whose seal impressions were also found on bullae at Acmhöyük (Cat. #278 and 284), was very much liked by the rulers of Mari and Upper Mesopotamia (Yuhong 1994: 131). It is clear that having these Anatolian kingdoms as allies must have given Šamši-Adad a distinct advantage in reviving trade with this

⁸ Yuhong 1994: 108 claims that Sumu-Yamam drove Yaḥdun-Lim out of Mari, and after a brief rule he was killed by his officials, who surrendered the city to Šamši-Adad. See also Charpin, Edzard, and Stol 2004: 146.

region during his reign. Clay sealings excavated at Acemhöyük palaces with impressions of Šamši-Adad's own seals (Cat. #273-276) and of his high official Līter-šarrūssu (Cat. #329) also point in this direction. These commercial relations with Anatolia and in particular with Acemhöyük will be further analyzed below.

Following his campaigns to the east of the Tigris around 1781 B.C. (*limmu* Aššur-Malik) Šamši-Adad's rule over Upper Mesopotamia was consolidated. His kingdom, now at the height of its power, controlled the area from the Zagros foothills in the east to the Euphrates bend in the west.

The administration of Šamši-Adad's vast territorial empire stretching from Assur in the east to Tuttul (Tell Bi'a) in the west, and from Urkeš (Tell Mozan) in the north to Rapiqum in the south, was divided between him and his two sons, Išme-Dagan installed at Ekallatum, and Yasmaḥ-Adad assigned to the throne of Mari. Šamši-Adad, who stayed most of the time at Šubat-Enlil, assumed the title of "Great King" (*LUGAL GAL*), and "King of the Universe" (*šar kiššatim*) in the tradition of Akkadian kings. However, his sons were only higher dignitaries (*wēdû*) in relation to their father, even though they were considered kings by their subjects and foreign kings addressed them as their "brothers" in their correspondence (Villard 1995: 874).⁹

⁹ Charpin notes that Išme-Dagan and Yasmaḥ-Adad are referred to as "viceroys" of Ekallatum and Mari only in modern literature. This designation coined by modern historians does not reflect the titles they held (e.g. šakin Enlil, šakin Dagan, dannum narām Ištar etc.), since they never referred to themselves as "king" while Šamši-Adad was on the throne (Charpin 1984: 58-58).

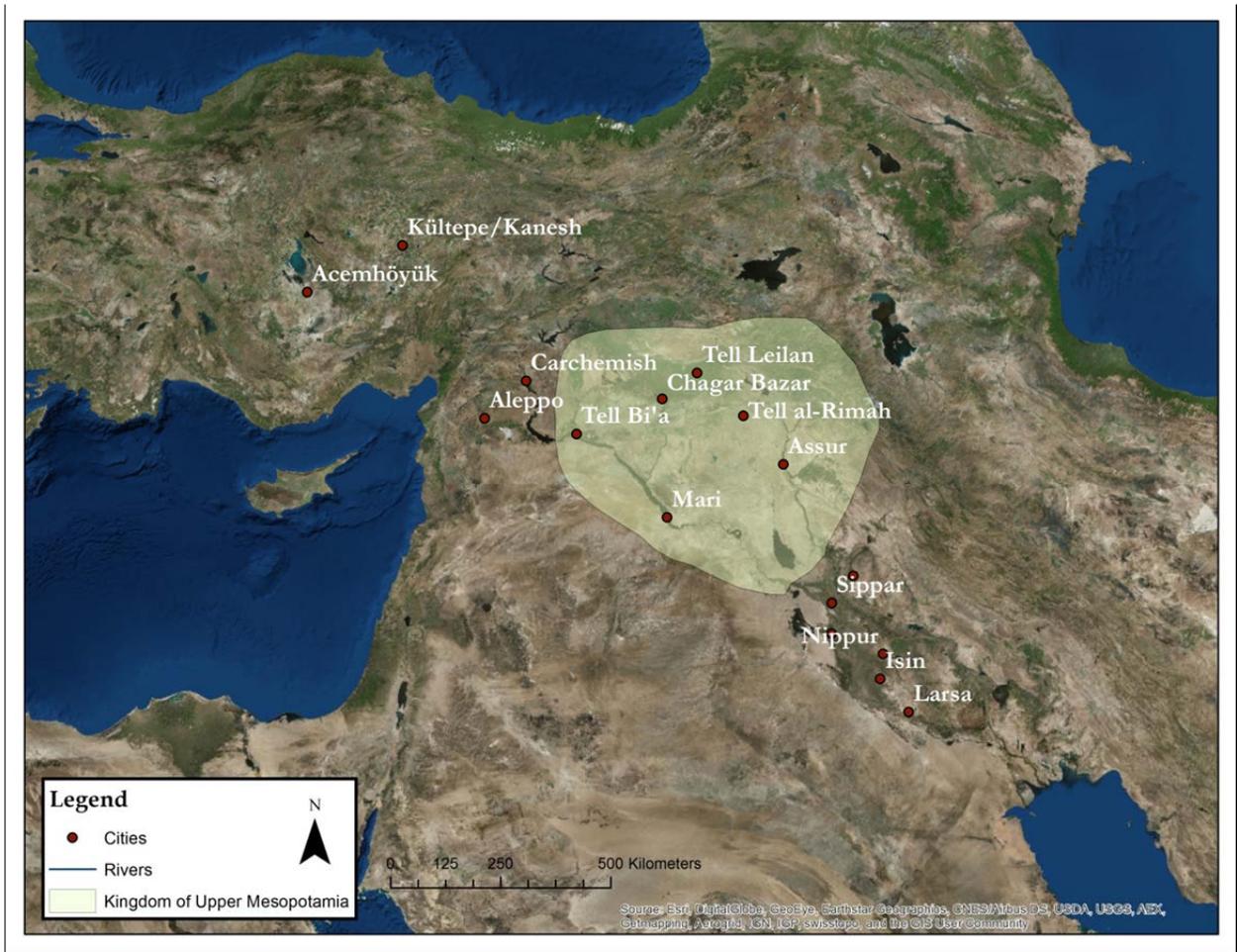


Fig. 3.1: Map showing the extent of Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia

Šamši-Adad's territorial expansion didn't depend solely on military conquests, in that he often built alliances with the other major powers in the region. In the eponymy of Ašqūdum, Šamši-Adad allied with king Daduša of Ešnunna, who had threatened the region of Mari a few years earlier. Once peace was restored and a treaty was signed, Šamši-Adad conquered Arba'il and Qabra with the help of Daduša's troops (Villard 1995: 881). Letters inform us that in the eponymy of Awīliya, he left Šubat-Enlil to go first to Mari, and then to Babylonia, possibly to meet with his ally Hammurabi (Yuhong 1994: 336). The close ties between Šamši-Adad and the First Dynasty of Babylon based on their shared lineage were mentioned above.

In keeping with his title of “King of the Universe” (*šar kiššatim*), Šamši-Adad’s reach extended beyond the Mesopotamian region. In a text from Assur (Grayson 1987: 50), the king mentions that he has set up a monumental inscription with his name in the land of Lebanon (*māt Laban^{KI}*) on the shore of the Great Sea. Yuhong suggests that Lebanon may have been reached during campaigns undertaken by Yasmaḥ-Adad in the Levant (1994: 336-337). We are also informed through administrative texts and letters that about two years before his death, during the eponymy of Adad-bāni, Šamši-Adad established diplomatic relations with the distant land of Tilmun (modern Bahrain and the coast of Arabia) in the Persian Gulf. Contacts began toward the end of winter with a shipment of gifts and messengers to Tilmun. In the fall, at the beginning of the eponymy of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, the messengers came back accompanied by Tilmunites bearing prestigious gifts for the king. However, while the second Mesopotamian expedition was on its way to Tilmun, Šamši-Adad died, in the twelfth month of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur (Charpin and Ziegler 2003: 140-141), which corresponds to 1776 B.C. in the Middle Chronology (Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012: 24).

The king’s death came at a moment of trouble for the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Texts show that revolts were afflicting the kingdom already during Šamši-Adad’s reign. Nomads in the vicinity of Šubat-Enlil and attacks by the Turukkean tribes, who had often plagued Upper Mesopotamia with their raids, had weakened the king’s rule. Uprisings in the Khabur basin reached Šubat-Enlil in the latter half of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, and Mari was threatened from the west, most likely by Yaḥdun-Lim’s successor, Zimri-Lim. To the south, relations with Ešnunna deteriorated after the accession of king Ibal-pi-El II (Villard 1995: 881). As for the western front, excavations at Tuttul (modern Tell Bi’a) show that Yasmaḥ-Adad’s palace in the city was violently destroyed, and no dated texts have been found that were later than the seventh month of

Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur. A tablet from the site mentions the year name “the year when Zimri-Lim entered Tuttul.” It is possible that the alliance that brought Zimri-Lim to the throne of Mari was formed here. Unable to resist much longer, Yasmaḥ-Adad left Mari and Zimri-Lim conquered the city (Charpin and Ziegler 2012: 138-140). Only Išme-Dagan managed to hold on to parts of his father’s kingdom and ruled over Ekallatum and Šubat-Enlil, renewing the alliance his father made with Hammurabi of Babylon, until he had to flee Ekallatum and take refuge in Babylon with Hammurabi, just as his father did with Sîn-muballit (Charpin and Ziegler 2012: 142).

Once the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia disappeared from the political scene, the region was once again fragmented into small independent states. In several cases, such as Turum-natki’s return to Šeḥna/Šubat-Enlil, descendants of the local rulers ousted by Šamši-Adad came back to claim the thrones of their ancestors (Eidem 2008: 272). Individual histories of Šubat-Enlil, Karana, Tuttul, and Mari following the dissolution of Šamši-Adad’s kingdom are given in Chapters 4-7.

3.3.4. The Legacy of Akkad and the Babylonian Effect

As mentioned earlier, the Amorite resettlement of northern Mesopotamia starting in ca. 1900 B.C. introduced new political, economic, and cultural strategies into the region. As part of this new system, Šamši-Adad crafted a distinct ideology and image as king, drawing upon a variety of traditions, to legitimize his creation of a united northern Mesopotamia as a foreign, non-Assyrian king. His strategy was based on adopting and exploiting local ideologies and already-existing socio-political traditions of Upper Mesopotamia to establish authority over a large territory in a relatively short period of time. This is evident in his continuation of local

traditions at Assur and Mari as described by his royal inscriptions, as well as in his adoption of Akkadian symbols and titles.¹⁰ A royal inscription found on stone tablets at Assur details renovations made to the Aššur temple and refers to Šamši-Adad as “builder of the temple of the god Aššur” (Grayson 1987: 47-49). Another text found in the Mari palace describes the dedication of a throne by Šamši-Adad to the god of Mari, Itur-Mer, after his conquest of the city (Grayson 1987: 56). Even some of Yaḥdun-Lim’s administrative staff was maintained once Yasmaḥ-Adad ascended the throne of Mari (Villard 2001: 17-18). While using his tribal heritage to legitimize his rule over the nomadic segment of northern Mesopotamian society, Šamši-Adad also inserted his Amorite genealogy into the Akkadian King List. He cast himself as the heir of legendary Akkadian kings, by stressing the concepts of universal kingship and cultural unity, and assuming the titles of “King of the Universe” and “King of Agade” (Grayson 1987: 48 and 58). This Akkadianizing trend is also visible in Šamši-Adad’s victory stele, where the standing figure striking the brow of an enemy with an axe and pressing him down to the ground with his left foot has traditionally been identified as the king. The depiction of the ruler’s figure, in terms of his costume and pose stepping onto the fallen enemy, are almost identical to that of the Akkadian king Narām-Sin on the famous Narām-Sin stele found in Susa (Eppihimer 2009: 228). Political history of Upper Mesopotamia shows that the adoption of pre-existing political and ideological traditions of the region by Šamši-Adad’s administration expedited the reappearance of small local kingdoms such as Šeḥna and Karana following the fall of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. However, the continued use of the glyptic tradition in the form of the “figure-with-mace” motif on official seals as introduced by Šamši-Adad suggests that not all aspects of his administrative organization disappeared after his death. A more detailed analysis of this topic is presented in Chapter 9.

¹⁰ See Eppihimer 2009 for a detailed analysis of the iconographic legacy of Akkadian kings in later periods.



Fig. 3.2: Šamši-Adad's victory stele
(after Charpin 2012: Fig. 8)



Fig. 3.3: Detail from the Narām-Sin stele
(Moortgat 1969: P. 155)

On the other hand, Šamši-Adad also incorporated into his ideology distinct aspects of southern Mesopotamian culture, which he must have become familiar with during his short exile in Babylonia, a characteristic that sets him apart from his predecessors in the Old Assyrian period. His adoption of southern Mesopotamian architectural styles is visible in the rebuilding of the Aššur temple at Assur “on the Babylonian rather than the traditional Assyrian plan” (Oates 1982: 93). While some of his royal inscriptions follow an established form known from previous kings, others show Babylonian influence in form and content, and in their use of the Babylonian dialect (Grayson 1987: 47). In the realm of urban planning, he “recreated the urban political geography of a southern Mesopotamian city” (Ristvet 2012: 43) at his capital Šubat-Enlil, by incorporating southern building techniques and architectural decorations. The elaborate spiral and palm-tree columns¹¹ adorning the façade of his Acropolis Northeast Temple (Fig. 3.6), the temple at Tell al-Rimah which was probably commissioned by Šamši-Adad, and the walls of the

¹¹ The earliest known examples of these columns are attested in southern Mesopotamia at the Warad-Sin Bastion and the temple at Larsa, and are associated with the arrival of Amorites in the region. The columns in the Narām-Sin Audience Hall at Tell Asmar are contemporary with the temples in the north. I would like to thank Prof. McGuire Gibson for pointing out that the presence of more examples in the north may be due to environmental factors, including less salinization, which allow for better preservation of mudbrick.

inner courtyards at the temple at Tell Haddad,¹² are foreign to this region, as palm trees cannot grow in the cold climate of northern Syria and they are rarely found further north than Mari (Weiss 1985: 10), but they are at home in southern Iraq, where they symbolized agricultural fertility. The use of palm trees for the decoration of public building façades is known as early as the Uruk period, as the columns of the Uruk temples adorned with cone mosaic designs imitating palm trunks illustrate (Brandes 1968).



Fig. 3.4: Distribution of temples with spiral and palm-tree columns.

Further north in the Mari palace, the artificial palm tree and depictions of palms in the “Investiture” wall painting in Court 106, also known as the “Court of Palms,” show trees trimmed in a fashion reminiscent of the columns at Tell Leilan and Ur (Parrot 1958: Plates 10-13). In northern Mesopotamia, where timber was not readily available, the use of mudbrick columns in the shape of palm trees as decorative elements may also reflect the actual use of palm

¹² Information on the Old Babylonian temple at Tell Haddad is only available in Arabic. See Sulaiman 2004: 89-143.

timbers in construction. A letter (ARM I 7, Dossin 1950: 35) written by Šamši-Adad to his son, Yasmaḥ-Adad, in Mari describes how this precious building material was obtained:

The palms, cypresses, and myrtles that have been brought from the town of Qatanum lie at present in the town of Subrum Send one-third of the palms, cypresses, and myrtles to Ekallatum, one-third to Nineveh, and one-third to Šubat-Enlil That which you send to Šubat-Enlil is to be transported by ship to the town of Saggaratum, then from Saggaratum to Qattunan. From Qattunan let the men of Qattunan take it in wagons, and let them bring it to Šubat-Enlil.

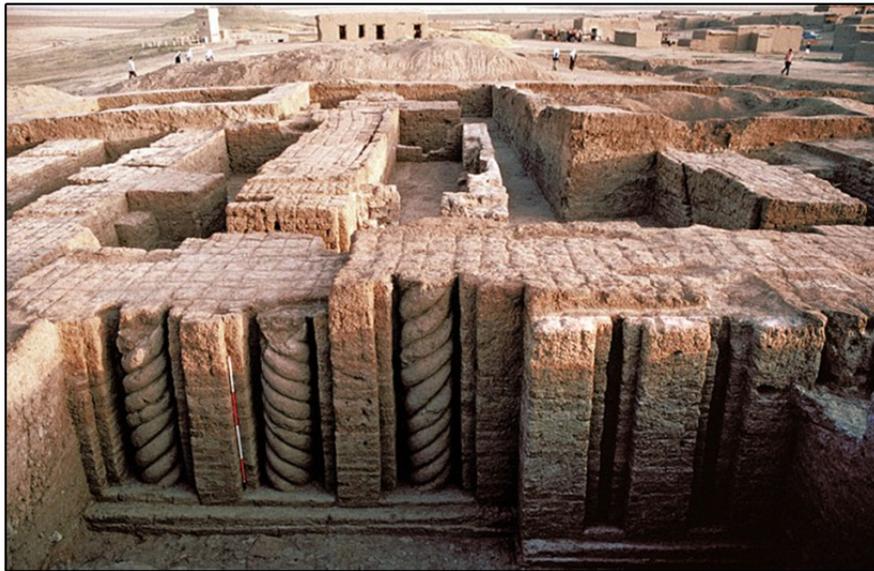


Fig. 3.5: The northern façade of the Acropolis Northeast Temple at Tell Leilan (courtesy of Yale University Tell Leilan Project)

A final southern Mesopotamian symbol adopted by Šamši-Adad is the iconographic motif of the “figure with mace.” A more detailed analysis of this motif and its use is given in the following chapters. Therefore, it is sufficient to note here that the “figure with mace” was one of the standard themes of Old Babylonian glyptic in the south, where it appeared in the early 19th

century B.C. (Collon 1986: 100), and became the official symbol of Šamši-Adad's administration through its widespread use on the seals of his servants.

3.3.5. Šamši-Adad and Assyrian Trade

The section above shows that Šamši-Adad relied on pre-existing traditions and infrastructure as part of his political strategy to expand authority over a vast geographical area in a relatively short amount of time. In addition to maintaining the many existing ideological and political structures in the lands he conquered, he also took over the network of trade with Anatolia that reached its peak under the rulers Sargon I, Puzur-Aššur II, and Narām-Sin in Assur. This complex commercial organization based on a network of Assyrian commercial settlements spread over northern Syria and Central Anatolia (Barjamovic 2011: 5; Larsen 1976: 237-240), was a lucrative operation that benefited the lands it crossed. Hence Šamši-Adad's involvement should be seen as a logical step in the rapid expansion of his power in Upper Mesopotamia.

We are faced with an almost complete lack of direct documentation for this period, except for a small number of Old Assyrian royal inscriptions, since Old Assyrian remains in the city of Assur are buried under Middle and Neo-Assyrian occupational layers,¹³ and other northern Mesopotamian centers involved in this trade network have not yielded any written evidence for this period. As a result, the ancient site of Kanesh (modern Kültepe) in Central Anatolia, which acted as the administrative center of Assyrian commercial settlements in this region, is the primary source of information for the Old Assyrian period.

¹³ See Michel 2003: 121-123 for a list of Old Assyrian texts and inscribed objects found at Assur, and Grayson 1987: 14-47 for the royal inscriptions of Old Assyrian kings.

Known in archaeological literature since 1881 and systematically excavated by an Ankara University team since 1948, the site yielded an extensive corpus of ca 23,000 texts in the form of personal archives of Assyrian merchants who operated in the area. The extremely rich records, which are still being slowly and carefully analyzed by scholars, sheds light on the political, economic, and social life of both Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia.

Treaties between Assyrian authorities and local Anatolian rulers, which have been recovered at the site, suggest that Assyrian merchants were granted the right to establish trading settlements adjacent to the already existing Anatolian cities, and were allowed to operate their judicial and financial institutions independent of the local community in which they settled. The major actors in this commercial network were family firms with headquarters in Assur and branches in the Assyrian commercial settlements in Anatolia, usually headed by the sons of wealthy merchants residing in the mother city. Documents show that rulers of the Old Assyrian dynasty were personally involved in the trade as well, as in the case of Šarru-ken's letters mentioning his father and predecessor Ikunum's activities. The merchandise consisted of tin and textiles that came from the east and south respectively. The texts from Kanesh provide no information regarding how and from where the tin came to Assur, but Afghanistan has long been accepted as a possible source. Barjamovic also suggests a route from Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan via Babylonia (Barjamovic 2011: 9). Despite the lack of information regarding the acquisition of tin on the foreign market, it is clear that Assur was connected to a wide network of exchange with various regions, and overland trade with Anatolia was only a part of this wide web of connections, extending from Central Asia and the Near East to the Aegean during the second millennium B.C. As for textiles, some of them were produced in Assur itself by the women of the merchant houses, but the majority came from Babylonia. These goods were

transported on donkey caravans to Anatolia to be sold in exchange for silver, gold and copper that was taken back to Assur to sponsor the next trip (Larsen 1976: 89-90). As evidenced by individual treaties signed between the Assyrian authorities and the rulers of the city-states Assyrian caravans passed through, every part of the route and the transactions were strictly regulated by tolls and taxes paid in return for protection along the trade roads.

The change in the political landscape of northern Mesopotamia brought about by Šamši-Adad's conquest of Assur and the expansion of his kingdom appear to have had a significant impact on Assyrian commercial involvement in Anatolia. Textual sources from the site point toward several noticeable changes in the region during the later phase of the period (a.k.a. Kanesh Ib, ca. 1832-1725 B.C.) that can be explained by both external and local causes. Although Assyrian trade was once thought to have ceased after the destruction of Kanesh in ca. 1835 B.C., it has now become clear that commercial contacts continued uninterrupted after Assur was conquered by Šamši-Adad's (Veenhof 2008: 140). Records mention Syrian cities shipping textiles to the region, perhaps in competition with Assyrian textiles. Tablets from Tell al-Rimah in Syria, and bullae from Achemhöyük in Central Anatolia show that Karana, Yamhad, Mari, Carchemish, Uršu, and Šubat-Enlil in northern Mesopotamia were now engaged in commercial activity with Anatolia (Barjamovic 2011: 9). The increase in the number of Syrian-style seals in Anatolian contexts (Özgüç 1968: 53) also shows that the focus of trade shifted from Assur to Šamši-Adad's power base in Syria at the beginning of the 18th century B.C.



Fig. 3.6: Trade routes in the Old Assyrian Period (map courtesy of G. Barjamovic)

The earliest direct textual evidence regarding trade between Assur and Anatolia dates back to the early years of king Ikunum (Barjamovic 2011:1, footnote 2; Hertel 2007: 14, footnote 31). An envelope with the seal impression of his predecessor, Erišum I, excavated in the lower town of Kanesh (Özkan 1993: 501) is the earliest Old Assyrian royal seal found in the city and has been taken by many as an indication that settled Assyrian presence in Anatolia began under Erišum's reign (Veenhof 2008: 32), although commercial relations with the region may have started even earlier as venture trade by itinerant merchants and visiting caravans during the reign of Ilušuma (Barjamovic 2011: 10).

THE CLASSICAL OLD ASSYRIAN DYNASTY		
(Puzur-Aššur I, Šalim-aḫum, Ilušumma)		
Erišum I	ca. 1973-1933 B.C.	REL 1-40
Ikunum	ca. 1932-1918 B.C.	REL 41-55
Šarru-ken	ca. 1917-1878 B.C.	REL 56-95
Puzur-Aššur II	ca. 1877-1870 B.C.	REL 96-103
Narām-Suen	ca. 1869-1836+x B.C.	REL 104-137+
Narām-Suen/Erišum II	ca. 1835-1816 B.C.	REL 138-157
Erišum II	ca. x+1815-1809 B.C.	+REL 158-164
THE AMORITE OLD ASSYRIAN DYNASTY		
Šamši-Adad I (capital Ekallatum)	ca. 1811-1809 B.C.	REL 162-164
Šamši-Adad I (capital Assur)	ca. 1808-1776 B.C.	REL 165-197

Table 3.2: The Old Assyrian dynasty of rulers (adapted from Barjamovic, Larsen, and Hertel 2012, Figure 10 and Hertel 2007: Fig. 2)

Šamši-Adad inherited an established trading system when he took control of the city of Assur and the territories crossed by merchant caravans on their way to Anatolia. The increased mention of goods shipped to Anatolia from cities in Upper Mesopotamia and the growing number of Syrian-style seals attested in Anatolian contexts are a clear indication that trade with this region became an essential aspect of the economy of Šamši-Adad's kingdom. Unlike the

earlier phase of the Old Assyrian period under the Puzur-Aššur dynasty, the site of Kültepe, which continued to be the hub of Assyrian trade in Anatolia, did not yield material evidence¹⁴ to tie it directly to the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Instead, information is provided by the modern site of Achemhöyük¹⁵ in the same region. Bullae found at this site that were sealed with his seals show that Šamši-Adad was once again following the conventions established by Old Assyrian rulers before him and getting personally involved in Anatolian trade, although the nature of his involvement is not clear, since no written records were recovered at the site (Veenhof 2008: 140). As the analysis of the glyptic material from Achemhöyük in Chapter 8 suggests, it is not clear whether these bullae were attached to commercial goods shipped for sale in Anatolia or to letters or diplomatic gifts sent to the local ruler by Šamši-Adad. Nonetheless, the presence of seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and his officials at Achemhöyük provides evidence for close contacts between the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and the local kingdoms in Anatolia. The fact that bullae bearing his seal impressions were found together with those sealed by Assyrian traders and the ‘City of Assur’ suggests that Šamši-Adad “must have secured the status of Assyrian traders at Kanesh and Anatolia through new commercial treaties” (Veenhof 2008: 140).

¹⁴ This does not include the textual records from the site mentioning commercial contacts with Syrian cities.

¹⁵ Detailed information on the site and the glyptic finds is provided in Chapter 8.



Fig. 3.7: Map showing the main centers of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and the Assyrian trade network

CHAPTER 4

UPPER MESOPOTAMIA

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter, and the following three, present the glyptic material from four major sites at the core of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, namely Tell Bi'a (ancient Tuttul), Tell Leilan (ancient Šubat-Enlil), Tell al-Rimah (ancient Karana), and Mari (modern Tell Hariri). As mentioned in the previous chapters, the time frame for this study is limited to the "late Old Assyrian period," which corresponds to an approximately 75-year period between ca. 1800-1725 B.C. and extends beyond Šamši-Adad's rule. A chronological table organized by *limmu* date and ruler is provided in Appendix I to show synchronisms.

The aim of these chapters is to present a detailed view of the iconographic characteristics as well as the chronological development of late Old Assyrian glyptic in Northern Mesopotamia. The four sites that yielded the glyptic material studied here were major centers of Šamši-Adad's kingdom and hence reflected the political and cultural traditions that were prevalent during his reign along with a variety of local traditions and foreign influences in their respective geographic regions. Their strategic locations along trade and communication routes made them both primary targets for Šamši-Adad's conquests and a melting pot of local and foreign influences as a result of intensive contacts with Babylonia, western Syria, Anatolia, and the Levant. Consequently, the sites of Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari present the largest and most representative glyptic corpora for the time period and geographic region in question.

The analysis presented in these four chapters shows that glyptic styles and iconographic repertoires at these four sites coincide to a considerable extent. Seals of Old Babylonian style are largely predominant in all corpora, followed by the Old Syrian style group, and in particular the

“mixed Syrian” sub-group (Parayre 1993: 511-512), where classic Old Babylonian themes are combined with local Syrian elements. Seal designs identified as “pure Syrian” are also present at all sites, although they are much more frequent at Tell Leilan, where they became especially popular during the second half of the 18th century B.C. This mixed material culture of the area brought under a single rule by Šamši-Adad is clearly reflected in the glyptic, which incorporates elements of various cultural horizons.

In addition to common iconographic traditions, significant patterns also emerge from the social and professional identities of the seal owners and the imagery or style reflected on their seals. An integrative approach combining glyptic, philological, and archaeological analyses of the finds makes it clear that certain motifs, such as the figure with mace and presentation to a seated deity, appear as official motifs of Šamši-Adad’s kingdom, as illustrated by the seals and seal impressions of both royals and royal officials. The restricted use of these designs within court circles continued even after Šamši-Adad’s death and the dissolution of his kingdom, showing how deeply embedded these traditions were in the general political and social fabric of this vast geographical area.

The dataset analyzed from the four sites comprises 272 systematically excavated seals and seal impressions from securely dated archaeological contexts. All material studied in this chapter originates from official contexts, i.e. monumental structures identified as palaces and temples. Supporting Ristvet and Weiss’s idea of “hollow capitals” (2013: 267), the landscape at Tell Bi’a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari is dominated by elaborate palatial and temple complexes, and private social contexts are virtually absent. As a result, all seals and seal impressions belong to officials, who operated within the palace and temple administration. A minor exception can be made for sealings attached to containers and goods (basket, jar, bag, and

box sealings as well as tags and labels) which were brought from the outside and deposited in palace and temple storerooms, as they were likely sealed by private individuals involved in trade with these institutions. However, without accompanying textual evidence, it is virtually impossible to identify these seal owners.

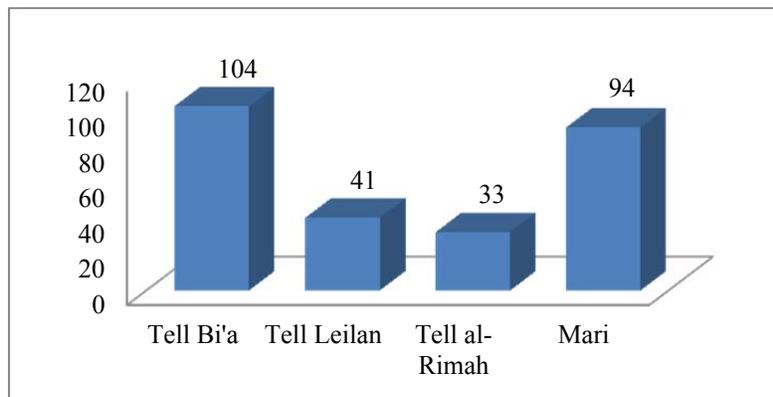


Table 4.1: Distribution of glyptic material by site

4.2. TELL BI'A/TUTTUL

4.2.1. Archaeological Context

Located at the westernmost point of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, Tell Bi'a (ancient Tuttul) was excavated by Eva Strommenger from the early 1980s into the early 1990s. Glyptic finds dating to the late Old Assyrian period were found only in one monumental building named Palace A on Mound E (Otto 2004: 24). This monumental building (Fig. 4.1), from which Šamši-Adad and his son Yasmaḥ-Adad ruled, was probably built at the time of the *šakkanakus* in the early 2nd millennium B.C. and was destroyed during Yasmaḥ-Adad's reign (Otto 2004: 45; Miglus and Strommenger 2007: 14).

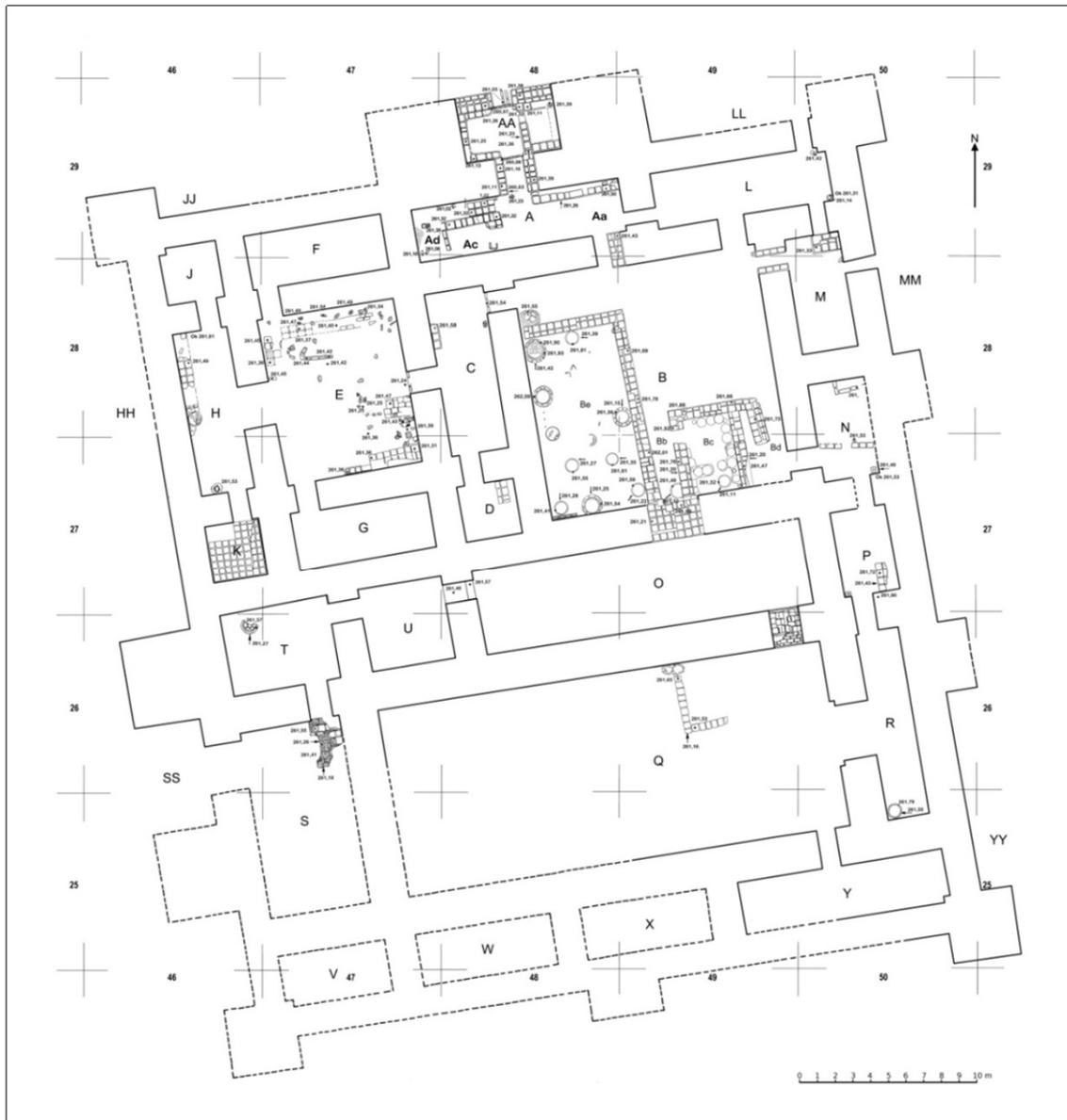


Fig. 4.1: Palace A – Level 3 (after Otto 2004: Plan 5)

Two occupational levels were detected in the palace: the Old Building (*Urbau*), which ended with a violent destruction that may be related to Yaḥdun-Lim's conquest of the city during the reign of Ba'lu-kullim, and the Younger Rebuilding (*jüngere Nachnutzung*), which provided all the glyptic and epigraphic finds for the late Old Assyrian period. However, it is not clear whether this rebuilding of the palace should be attributed to the last years of Yasmaḥ-Adad or to

Zimri-Lim, who conquered the city following Šamši-Adad's death (Otto 2004: 24). Based on texts, the history of use of the building can be divided into 4 levels: Levels 1 and 2 dating back to the *šakkanaku* period, Level 3 dating to the reign of Yasmaḥ-Adad, and Level 4 defining the end of "Assyrian" rule and Zimri-Lim's control over the city (Miglus and Strommenger 2007: 15). As dated texts stop with the final destruction of the palace, the excavators assume that the building must have lost its administrative function (Otto 2004: 137).

Thanks to what can be interpreted as the abandonment of Palace A in its final phase, the inventory and archives survived from Level 3 and the very short-lived Level 4, yielding over 200 tablets and hundreds of clay sealings (Krebern timer 2001; Otto 2004). Both tablets and sealings represent a short period of time of about 15 years, as the earliest eponym found on tablets is that of Ibni-Adad (REL 186, ca. 1787 B.C.) and the latest is that of Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur (REL 197, ca. 1776 B.C.) (Miglus and Strommenger 2007: 15). "The year Zimri-Lim entered Tuttul" is also attested in texts from this period and it may correspond to the year after Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur, the time when Zimri-Lim began to take back the Middle Euphrates region, which may be connected to the destruction of Palace A. If the same event is mentioned in Zimri-Lim's year named "shore of the Euphrates," then the destruction may be dated to the 2nd year of his reign (ca. 1774 B.C.) (Otto 2000a: 19).

Built on a very regular plan, Palace A consists of 23 rooms clustered around central chambers or courtyards (Otto 2000a: 24). According to Otto, only door sealings by the doorways and container sealings in specific locations were found in situ, but the majority of glyptic finds were discovered in secondary contexts where they were discarded, including inside walls and doorways built during reconstructions.

Room	Function	Finds	Room	Function	Finds
LL	open area	15	N	room	7
L	room	17	U	room	1
L/La	room	41	R	room	1
La	recess	13	Q	pit	211
M	room	412	A-C	doorway	21
M-MM	doorway	57	F	room	6
MM	open area	7	D	room	2
M-B	doorway	23	H	room	1
B	courtyard	4			

Table 4.2: Distribution of glyptic material by room. The rooms with the highest frequency of glyptic finds are shaded.

Based on the location and frequency of glyptic finds, the eastern wing of the palace appears to be the center of administration. The northeastern section located near the main entrance housed the archives. Especially the narrow rooms L (including La, the recess in the eastern wall) and M, which could be entered from the outside, have the highest frequency of epigraphic and glyptic finds. The importance of these rooms is also supported by the fact that their doors were sealed by palace officials (Otto 2004: 126). Room L located close to the entrance was probably used for receiving goods and for storing the relevant documentation. Room M seems to have functioned as a storage room for important goods. It has the highest concentration of sealings (412 in total) in any room in the palace. Fifty seven sealings were found in the doorway connecting Room M to the open area MM, and 23 sealings in the doorway opening to courtyard B to the West. Both of these access points were strictly controlled, since impressions on door sealings found in M-MM and M-B belonged to a few specific officials (Otto 2004: 130-131). This suggests that access to Room M was closely guarded on both sides, probably because it contained goods of considerable importance. According to Otto's analysis, its contents were supervised mainly by two officials of Šamši-Adad, Ḫazip-Aranziḫ and Adad-

luti, whose seal impressions were found on the large majority of sealings in the room (Otto 2004: 128-129). The large courtyard B, which could be accessed directly from Rooms L and M, was used for the reception of imported goods, mainly from Babylonia, as shown by the predominantly foreign style and iconography of the seal impressions retrieved here (Otto 2004: 134). The large garbage pit dug in Room Q contained discarded tablets, pottery, skeletal remains from the royal grave it was dug into, layers of ash from the nearby ovens, and impressions of 26 different seals along with 3 cylinder seals. This material spans the entire period of use of Palace A, as dated tablets and seal impressions from the reigns of Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḥ-Adad, and Zimri-Lim were found together. Only a small part of the seal impressions found in this pit belonged to inscribed seals of palace officials. The majority seems to either have belonged to uninscribed seals of local low-level functionaries or to have arrived with imported goods, as the wide range of subjects and styles suggests (Otto 2004: 135-136). This led excavators to conclude that the rooms in the southeastern section of the palace, located around the large pit, mainly served to store goods under the supervision of local officials, in contrast to the rooms in the northeastern section where documents and rooms were sealed by high-ranking officials of the palace. A spatial distribution of glyptic finds within the palace shows that officials of Šamši-Adad and Yasmaḥ-Adad functioned together within the complex, and their areas of operation does not point towards a clear separation of the two households, i.e. the House Šamši-Adad and the House of Yasmaḥ-Adad.

4.2.2. Nature of Glyptic Finds

Within Levels 3 and 4 of Palace A only a few actual seals and ca. 847 seal impressions from 108 different seals were unearthed. These consist mostly of official seals of Šamši-Adad's

and Yasmaḥ-Adad’s servants, simple uninscribed seals of low-level palace employees, and foreign seals associated with imported goods. A small number of examples dating to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period as well to the reign of the last local king, Ba’lu-kullim, were also found in the palace. With the exception of inscribed seal impressions and impressions found on dated tablets/envelopes, the glyptic material was dated by Adelheid Otto based on stylistic comparisons. In this dissertation, 2 cylinder seals and impressions of 102 different seals (104 in total) are analyzed.

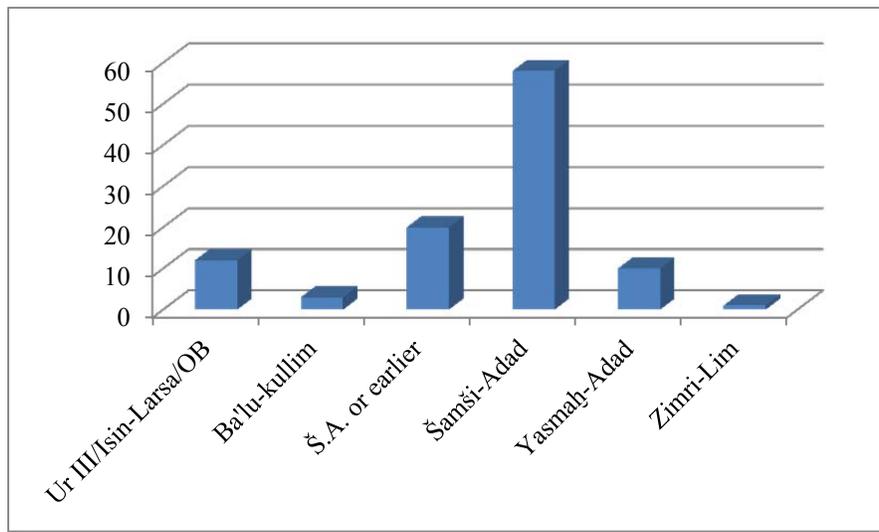


Table 4.3: The distribution of glyptic material by time

The overwhelming majority (ca.43%) of these impressions occur on tags. This is followed by peg and bolt sealings (19%), which include both doors and large chests. Container and bag sealings comprise ca.12 % of the material, while tablets and envelopes remain at ca.3%.¹ This means that, with the exception of door sealings, the seal impressions from Palace A belong

¹ Numbers of each sealing type are taken from Otto 2000: 103, Abb. 8.

to the seals of both local officials employed in Tell Bi'a's administration and those of outsiders involved in commercial transactions with the palace through incoming merchandise.

4.2.3. Iconographic Analysis of the Material

The iconographic repertoire of Tell Bi'a is rich, covering all the major scenes encountered in the 2nd millennium B.C. glyptic of Mesopotamia, although certain scenes seem to be favored over others (Table 4.4). Of the 104 impressions that are analyzed here, 26 (marked N/A) were too fragmentary to identify the main scene. As a result, the analysis presented below is based on a sample of 78 seal impressions.

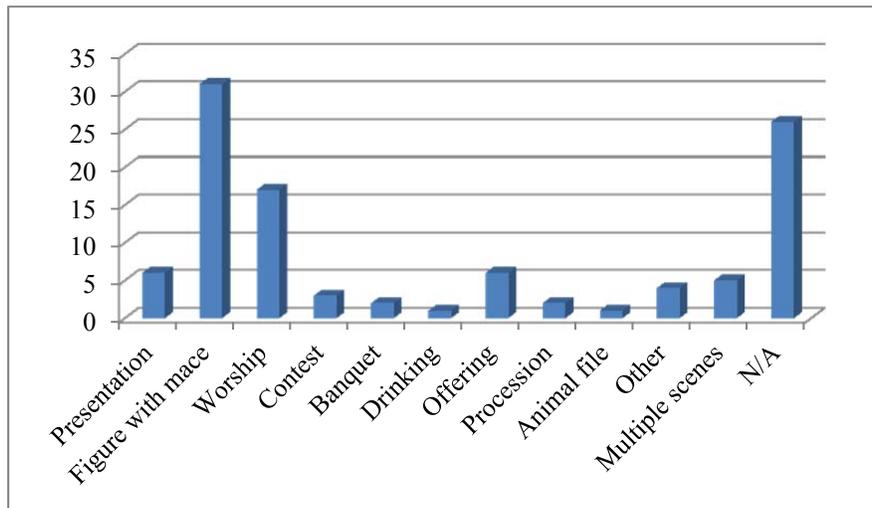


Table 4.4: Distribution of main scene types in the Bi'a corpus

The Presentation Scene

The presentation scene, where a worshipper accompanied by the interceding deity appears in the presence of a seated god, appears as the main scene on 9% of the examples. This

scene is first attested in Mesopotamian glyptic during the Akkadian period, reaches its peak as the standard motif on officials' seals in the Ur III period, and continues its popularity during the 2nd millennium B.C. both in southern and northern Mesopotamian glyptic.² At Tell Bi'a, the presentation scene is most common during the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period, while only two examples are attested during the reign of Šamši-Adad.

Catalog #1 (Cat. # from here on)³ is dated by Otto to the 19th century B.C. on stylistic grounds and identified as an "Old Assyrian/Cappadocian" style impression (Otto 2004: 29). An inscription panel is visible behind the seated deity but the impression is too worn to identify any signs. The scene shows three figures approaching a seated figure wearing a long, flounced garment and a round headdress with wide brim. His left hand is extended holding an object, probably a cup. Before him is a crescent and disk. The figures facing the seated figure are not well-preserved. The first figure wearing a long garment may be the interceding goddess. Her placement directly before the seated figure rather than behind the worshipper as on Old Babylonian examples places this impression firmly within the Ur III period. Behind the interceding goddess is a male figure who, based on parallels, can be identified as the worshipper in a short garment holding a fork-like hand before his face. Only the bare legs of the last figure are preserved, which suggest that it may be an attendant or the naked hero. A ball staff is placed between the first and second figures, while a long, staff-like object appears between the second and third figures. The thick brim of the seated figure's headdress, the angular bodies of the standing figures, and the fork-like hand of the worshipper place this impression within the "Old Assyrian" style of glyptic known from Kültepe Level II in Central Anatolia. Based on the

² See Frankfort 1939, Porada 1948, Winter 1986, Haussperger 1991, and Mayr 2011 for discussions of the presentation scene.

³ All impressions are referred to with their catalog number in the database in order to avoid confusion, as each site's field numbering system is different. A concordance of catalog numbers and field numbers is given in the appendix.

impressions on the back of the clay sealing, this example is identified as a door sealing, which indicates that the seal which produced this impression belonged to a local official at Bi'a operating inside the palace. The clay sealing bearing the same impression twice was found in Room L. Since virtually no examples of Old Assyrian glyptic dating to the period contemporary with Kültepe *kārum* Level II are attested in northern Mesopotamia, the use of this seal by a local palace official at Bi'a is very interesting. Nevertheless, the lack of other examples at the site and the level of preservation of the impression prevent us from reaching further conclusions.

The second presentation scene dated to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period (Cat. #2) appears together with a contest scene, and as such is categorized in the database under seals with “multiple scenes.” Impressions with more than one main scene are relatively common in the glyptic of northern Mesopotamia in this period. Fifteen examples are attested in a total of 207 identifiable scenes in the database. Although the repertoire of main scenes that appear on multiple-scene impressions is limited to presentation, figure-with-mace, worship, contest, and offering scenes, the combinations vary from site to site.⁴ Going back to Cat. #2, the impression depicts a seated figure wearing a round turban and a simple, long, fringed robe wrapped around the body leaving his right shoulder bare. He holds a small cup in his right hand. Before him is the crescent and disk. Unlike the previous example, the seated figure is faced directly by the worshipper clad in a half-circle hat and a long, fringed robe. His right shoulder is bare and his hands are clasped over his waist. Behind him are a ball staff and a small vessel, a combination typical of the Isin-Larsa period, which persists up to the end of the Old Babylonian period (Porada 1948: 38). The worshipper is followed by the interceding goddess in a flounced robe and horned crown, raising both hands in a gesture of worship. Behind her is the bull-man struggling

⁴ See Appendix V for a list of multiple-scene combinations from each site

with a rearing lion. The impression does not bear an inscription, but 17 clay bullae bearing this impression found in Rooms Q and L were identified by Otto as peg sealings, which belonged either to a door or a large chest. This suggests that the seal bearing this impression also belonged to an active local official employed within the palace.

Catalog #3, which is also dated to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period by Otto, bears a presentation scene similar to Cat. #2, where the seated figure is faced directly by the worshipper who appears to be bald. Instead of the crescent disk before the seated figure, here we have a sun disk with a pointed star inside it, and a small, crouching monkey is placed before the knees of the seated figure. A naked male figure facing right can be seen behind the interceding goddess, who on the original seal was probably placed behind the seated figure. All these attributes place this impression within the Ur III-early Old Babylonian range. The seal does not appear to be inscribed, and based on the impression of wood on the back of the sealing, Otto suggests that it was an import attached to incoming merchandise and identifies the place of origin as Babylonia (Otto 2004: 32-33).

Catalog #5 is also worth mentioning here both for its unusual composition and for the large number of applications found in Room Q of the palace. The impression depicts a worshipper in a half-circle hat and long robe with a herringbone pattern being led by an interceding goddess, which is a typical component of the Ur III presentation scene. However, rather than a seated figure in whose presence this pair normally appears, the focal point of the scene is two small men in a gesture of worship superposed *tête à tête* on either side of a short horizontal line. Finally, the worshipper is followed by a male attendant in a half-circle hat and short kilt holding a standard with a three-pronged bottom. The meaning of the composition is difficult to explain as it is unusual and no parallels are known. However, it is clear that the seal,

which left this impression, belonged to an important palace employee, as 68 impressions of this seal were attested on door and container sealings. Unfortunately the findspot of these sealings offers no further clues, as they were all found discarded in the large pit in Room Q.

The only presentation scene at Tell Bi'a which dates to the early 18th century B.C. belongs to Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, a servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #6). Very finely cut, the impression depicts an unusual presentation scene, where a bearded figure, identified as the king, clad in a round turban and elaborately decorated robe, stands in a gesture of worship facing a seated bearded deity. Unlike the earlier examples mentioned above, where the identity of the seated figure is not always clear, the figure here can be clearly identified as a god through his horned crown. He is seated on a throne-like stool placed on a platform rather than one draped in a flounced fabric, and is clad in a long flounced robe, which leaves his right shoulder bare. In his right hand he holds the rod and ring, symbols of authority, which he extends toward the king. A large blank space can be seen behind the god. The scene is accompanied by a 3-line inscription panel, in which the middle line is occupied by a squatting monkey, a lizard, a detached human head, and a bird placed one above the other. Presentation scenes on officials' seals are rare during the reign of Šamši-Adad and his successors.⁵ Only 4 examples which belonged to officials of Šamši-Adad, Išme-Dagan, and Zimri-Lim are attested in the database. The impression of this seal was found on ca. 350 container and jar sealings in Room M inside the northeastern gate of the palace, where important goods were stored. Despite his Hurrian name which might indicate a northern Mesopotamian origin, Ḫazip-Aranziḫ seems to be a local official

⁵ See Chapter 9 for more on the iconography of officials' seals.

employed at the palace at Bi'a.⁶ The backs of all sealings bearing his seal impression show that he was responsible exclusively for the receiving and sealing of containers and vessels.

Otto suggests that, based on the similarity of the composition with the Hammurabi stele and one of Šamši-Adad's seals (Cat. #237 and 273), the king in the presence of a seated deity may have been the official motif for royal and servants' seals prior to the expansion of Šamši-Adad's kingdom to the Middle Euphrates (Otto 1995a: 348),⁷ when the motif was replaced by the figure with mace accompanied by the interceding deity. As details concerning the early years of Šamši-Adad's reign in northern Mesopotamia are unclear and no glyptic parallels belonging to royal servants are known, this suggestion remains difficult to prove.

To sum up, the typical presentation scene with a worshipper accompanied by the interceding goddess in the presence of a seated figure appears to be popular at Bi'a during the late 20th and early 19th centuries prior to the reign of Šamši-Adad. It is attested on the seals of local officials employed in the palace, who were responsible for the recording and safe-keeping of rooms and merchandise. It appears to have declined in popularity during Šamši-Adad's reign, as can also be observed at Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari.

The Figure with Mace

The motif often referred to as the "king with mace," "god with mace," or "figure with mace" appears in Mesopotamian glyptic in the early 19th century B.C. and remains as one of the standard themes of Old Babylonian glyptic through the reign of Samsu-iluna (Collon 1986: 100-

⁶ An individual bearing the same name appears in the Mari texts as the leader of a group from Idamaraš, which covered the area from the Habur triangle up to the Taurus mountains (Otto 1995a: 348-348). If the owner of Cat. #6 is indeed the same person, his northern origin would be confirmed.

⁷ See Chapter 9 for a detailed discussion of officials' seals.

101). In its simplest form the scene depicts a male figure holding a mace before the interceding goddess. The identity of this figure has always been a point of debate and suggestions include the king and various deities (Collon 1986: 22-23). Possible identifications and the significance of this motif are discussed in Chapter 9.

The figure is shown wearing a round cap and a short tunic wrapped around the body and draped over the right shoulder, with rolled edges and a fringed end hanging down in front. His long beard fans over his chest. He holds a mace in his left hand with the head pointing downward. His right arm hangs down at his side, sometimes holding a sickle-sword (Cat. #15, #37, and #202). The figure with mace is almost always accompanied by the interceding goddess facing him with both hands raised in a gesture of supplication.

Studies have shown that the figure with the mace was used as the standard motif on royal seals and the seals of administrative officials in both southern and northern Mesopotamia (Otto 1992; 1995, 2000 among others). As an extension of the official palace and temple contexts within Šamši-Adad's kingdom that yielded the glyptic material studied here, royal and officials' seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif constitute the largest group in this corpus. This indicates an administrative tradition that was employed throughout the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and persisted in the same territories following Šamši-Adad's death. It should be noted, however, that although the figure with the mace and the interceding goddess appear in all examples as the main components of this motif, both the details of their depiction and the accompanying iconographic elements that appear in the compositions vary widely from site to site, showing the strong impact of different local traditions in the area. The wide range of compositional elements, filling motifs, and secondary scenes that are distinctive to each site and region is illustrated in the analysis section of each site.

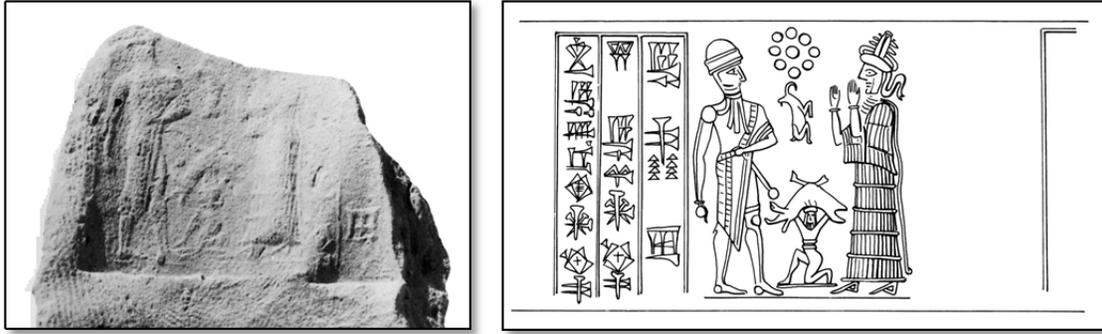


Fig. 4.2: Seal impression of Yašilu, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad (Cat. #19, Otto 2004: Abb. 50, 3)

At Tell Bi'a, impressions with the figure-with-mace motif constitute 42% of the identifiable scenes. The motif appears both as the single main scene and as part of multiple-scene compositions, especially in association with contest and worship scenes involving major deities. There are no examples of the figure-with-mace motif dating to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa periods in Palace A, as the motif first appears in the early Old Babylonian period. It is most frequent on officials' seals during the reign of Šamši-Adad and Yasmaḥ-Adad. Twenty-two out of the 33 examples are clearly identified as servants' seals through their inscriptions, although 3 seal owners (Cat. #26, 27, 28) are identified as "servant of DN"⁸ rather than "servant of RN," which is typical of royal officials' seals. Eight examples do not have an inscription, but the impressions are partial, so no conclusions can be made.

Catalog #8, found on two clay envelopes in area MM just outside the northeastern entrance of the palace, may in fact be the earliest attested example of this motif at Tell Bi'a, as it is dated to the reign of Ba'lu-kullim on stylistic grounds. One of the envelopes has a fabric impression on one side, which suggests that the envelope was placed in a fabric bag before the clay dried completely. Based on this and the presence of two envelopes with the same seal impression in the same room, Otto believes that the letters may have been written on the spot,

⁸ The potential meaning of this title is discussed in Chapter 9.

placed in fabric bags, but never sent (Otto 2004: 27). The seal belongs to a certain Ḫamunabiḫ, but the two-line inscription carved with large, thick wedges does not provide any information as to the occupation or position of the owner. Nevertheless, the quality of the engraving and the fine lines of the figures together with the possibility that the letters were probably written at Tell Bi'a suggest that the owner was a local with a high social status, possibly a palace official. The impression depicts a standing male figure wearing a round hat and calf-length robe draped over the left shoulder and open at the front. His left arm is bent at the elbow. On the right is the interceding deity facing him in a gesture of supplication. The simple 2-figure composition with a male figure and interceding goddess is reminiscent of the typical figure-with-mace scenes, but the garment of the male figure is unusual and it is impossible to say if he's holding an object in his right hand, as this part of the impression is very worn. As a result, we cannot conclusively say whether or not the seal impressions of Ḫamunabiḫ represent the earliest attested example of the figure-with-mace motif at Tell Bi'a prior to its establishment as part of Šamši-Adad's official iconography.

The examples from Tell Bi'a that are identified as having the figure-with-mace motif indicate that the typical Old Babylonian arrangement of the scene with the male figure holding a mace facing the interceding goddess is maintained in the majority of the cases. In all but four impressions the male figure stands on the left directly facing the goddess on the right. Only on Cat. #26 and #39 does he appear on the right hand side. Catalog #26 belongs to Mutu-Dagan, whom the seal legend identifies as “son of Idin-^d[], servant of ^dU[TU?].” Seals with the figure-with-mace motif, where the inscription describes the owner as the servant of a particular god (servant of DN), are popular in this period in northern Mesopotamia. Eleven examples from Tell Bi'a, Tell al-Rimah, and Tell Leilan are attested in the database. Of these, four have a

recognizable figure-with-mace motif (Cat. #26, #27, #28, #109), one is a presentation scene (Cat. #66), and two are scenes of worship, where a male worshipper stands facing a deity, which in most cases is either Ištar (Cat.#44) or Šamaš (Cat.#47). Charpin suggests that the deities mentioned in the seal inscriptions are personal or family gods of the seal owners. In Mari, seal impressions with the “servant of DN” inscription appear either on judicial texts and belong to private individuals, who are not part of palace administration, or on administrative texts found in the palace that concern inhabitants of the kingdom residing outside of Mari (Charpin 1992: 63).⁹ However, at Bi’a, impressions of such seals were found on door and container sealings, which indicate that they were used by local officials employed in the palace. In addition, the use of the figure-with-mace motif, which in northern Mesopotamia is limited to people associated with the official administration in various capacities, reinforces the position of these seal owners as palace officials. A final point that should be mentioned is the fact that the deities mentioned in the seal legend are rarely portrayed in the seal imagery. Only in one example at Tell Bi’a (Cat. #47), can Šamaš be seen clearly, wearing a horned crown, holding a dagger in his right hand, with his right foot stepping forward, and the only preserved part of the inscription reads “^dUTU ^d[Aya].” In contrast, on Cat. #44, which has the identical inscription “^dUTU ^dAya,” a male worshipper followed by an interceding goddess appears in the presence of the warrior Ištar holding in one hand a sickle-sword and in the other a three-pronged staff or a pitchfork along with the reins of a small animal she steps on. Since we either don’t know the names of the individuals who owned and used these seals or the known owners don’t appear in other media, it is impossible to identify with certainty who they were and why they chose to identify themselves as servants of a particular god instead of a king. Nonetheless, it is clear from the evidence that they were local officials of the Tell Bi’a palace.

⁹ See Chapter 9 for more on “servant of DN” seals.

The situation becomes more complex when we go back to the seal of Mutu-Dagan, since glyptic evidence from Palace A informs us that Cat. #26 was Mutu-Dagan's second seal. As his other seal, Cat. #20, this one also identifies him as "Mutu-Dagan, son of Idin-^d[], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad" and bears the figure-with-mace motif, where the placement of the figures is regular, with the male figure on the left and the interceding goddess on the right. The seal appears to be of high quality, with finely cut, well-proportioned figures, which fits well within the corpus of official seals. The impressions were found on door and container sealings inside the palace. This shows that Mutu-Dagan was using both of his seals simultaneously for similar purposes. Impressions of his first and higher-quality seal (Cat. #20) were found in the doorway between Rooms A and C, Court B and Room M, and inside Room M, while his second seal appears to be used only to seal a door in Room M, where important goods coming from outside the palace were stored. Unfortunately it remains a mystery why Mutu-Dagan used two seals with a similar iconography, which identify him differently, one as the servant of king Yasmaḥ-Adad and the other as the servant of god Šamaš, during his time as a palace official. However, the differences in the quality and the iconographic composition of his two seals are still noteworthy.

Similar to Mutu-Dagan's second seal, the seal of Baḥli-Eraḥ, servant of Šamši-Adad, (Cat. #39) also depicts the figure holding a mace on the right hand side of the scene. This seal is particularly interesting in its composition as it is the only example of a typically Syrian seal within the Tell Bi'a corpus where the main motif of the figure with mace is accompanied by a small secondary motif divided into two superposed registers by a thick guilloche. Above and below the guilloche are a pair of sphinxes and a pair of griffins facing one another. The main scene is also unusual. Besides the fact that the figure with mace appears on the right, the inscription is placed between him and the interceding goddess, where the cuneiform signs are

scattered in the field without dividing lines or an inscription panel. This gives the impression that the seal was recut to add the inscription. Also unusual is the use of the sun disk instead of the more typical crescent-and-disk motif. Only 3 examples of the sun disk are attested within the database, and this one is unique in its depiction reminiscent of a spoked wheel, where the short lines represent the rays of the sun. Finally, the addition of a male worshipper in a knee-length tunic raising one hand in a gesture of supplication behind the interceding goddess sets this seal apart from the rest. Based on parallels, Otto suggests that the seal was originally cut in Qatna (Otto 2004: 83). Its impression was found on jar sealings in Rooms M and R inside the palace. Consequently, it can be suggested that the owner of the seal, Baḥli-Eraḥ had acquired his seal elsewhere before arriving at Tuttul or had a seal recut with his name on it.

In terms of the position of the figure with mace in the composition, another arrangement is worth mentioning here. Catalog #38 depicts a scene with three figures, where the figure with mace appears in the middle facing the warrior Ištar holding the double-lion-headed sceptre and is followed by the interceding goddess. Seals where the figure with mace is directly facing Ištar (Porada 1948: Figs. 371-374; Collon 1986: Figs. 296, al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Figs. 267c and 271c) or Šamaš (Porada 1948: Figs. 424, 463E; Collon 1986: Figs. 292-294) and is followed by the interceding deity are common in Old Babylonian glyptic. Based on the fine cutting, elegantly proportioned bodies, and delicately rounded details, Otto also assigns this seal to the Old Babylonian style and suggests southern Mesopotamia as the place of production (Otto 2004: 76-77), although the impressions of a number of expertly cut Old Babylonian-style seals analyzed in this work, including the seals of Šamši-Adad himself (Cat. #273 and 274), show that glyptic style cannot be directly associated with the place of origin of a seal. The impression is partial and no inscription is preserved, although the empty space behind the interceding goddess may have been

reserved for this purpose. As a result, the identity of the owner is unknown. Seven impressions of this seal were found on bag sealings in Rooms M and L, which suggests that the goods the sealings were attached to may have come from outside the palace. This suggests that the anonymous owner of this typical Old Babylonian seal may have operated outside the palace, or even outside the immediate region around Tell Bi'a.

Finally, Cat. #36 will be mentioned here as an unusual case for the figure-with-mace motif. The two attestations of the impression are too small and fragmentary and the back of the clay lump does not allow an identification of what was sealed. No inscription was preserved; hence the identity of the owner is unknown. The impression depicts a scene of worship, where a worshipper stands in the presence of Šamaš and the figure with mace appears as an accompanying element behind the worshipper. This impression is unusual in that it lacks the typical pair of the figure with mace and the interceding deity, and instead focuses on Šamaš. Lamia al-Gailani Werr notes that in most of the early impressions from the Diyala, and especially from Tell Harmal, the figure with mace plays a minor role, standing at the end of the scene (al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Figs. 42.a, 4.b, 20.b). This may suggest, although inconclusively, that Cat. #36 may also be an early example of this motif. Although not many, other examples of this kind, where the figure with mace is not the focus of the composition, are known from museum collections,¹⁰ but because they don't come from systematic excavations with clear archaeological contexts and hence are only stylistically dated, they don't constitute reliable evidence to support this theory.

As for the compositional elements of seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif, Tell Bi'a appears to be rather conservative. In all but one (Cat. #36) examples, where the composition can

¹⁰ See al-Gailani Werr 1988: p. 18, footnote 107 for parallels.

be reconstructed almost entirely, the figure with mace is accompanied by the interceding goddess, as is typically the case in Old Babylonian glyptic. Of these 24, 9 show only this pair along with an inscription. Except for the seal of Baḥli-Eraḥ (Cat. #39) mentioned above, where a secondary scene divided by a guilloche accompanies the main scene, only one impression depicts a secondary scene along with the figure with mace. On Cat. #31 a contest scene with the bull-man and the naked hero appears on the left hand side of the impression. In all other cases the classic pair of the figure with mace and interceding goddess remains the focus, but a variety of accompanying elements are added. Warrior Ištar appears in two examples (Cat. #38 and #52) directly facing the figure with mace, who is placed in the middle. She has quivers slung over her shoulders, and holds a sickle-sword in her left hand and a lionclub with a twisted handle (a.k.a. the double lion-headed sceptre) in her right hand along with the reins of the small feline she steps on. The same object also appears on its own as a standard representing the goddess on Cat. #36 before the figure with mace, and on Cat. #37 between him and the interceding goddess. Interestingly, on both of these impressions Šamaš is also depicted. Although the impression is fragmentary, the placement of Šamaš behind the figure with mace facing the opposite direction on Cat. #37 suggests that he may be part of a secondary scene of worship or offering. But as mentioned above, secondary scenes accompanying the figure-with-mace motif are rare at Tell Bi'a. Šamaš also appears on Cat. #30 behind the interceding deity facing the figure with mace. His position behind a minor deity rather than as the recipient of worship or offering is unusual.¹¹ Only one parallel was encountered in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library, where he appears not in his usual ascending pose but behind a deity facing a male worshipper (Porada 1948: Fig. 426). The nude female placed between the figure with mace and the interceding

¹¹ See al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Fig. 182.b for an example where Ištar appears behind the interceding goddess in the presence of a seated deity.

goddess is also common at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #28, #30, #31). She is depicted smaller than the two main figures flanking her and always stands on or above the ground line, but never on a pedestal or base as is sometimes attested in southern Mesopotamia (Porada 1948: Figs. 434E, 442-444; Collon 1986: Pl. XI 109, Pl. XXII 305 and 315). Another common compositional element that occurs between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess is the small naked hero. On Cat. #19 he is shown kneeling and holding an upside down animal above his head, while on Cat. #27 he struggles with an upside down animal. The hero struggling with an upside down animal as a side motif is also attested at Tell al-Rimah (Cat. #155) as part of a figure-with-mace scene, and at Tell Leilan (Cat. #122) standing over a bull or mixed creature. This motif is very rarely attested in the glyptic of southern Mesopotamia (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVIII h; al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Figs. 33.a and 236.f) and appears to be more popular in the north. The last subsidiary motif associated with the figure-with-mace scenes at Tell Bi'a that should be mentioned here is a pair of crossed bulls standing on their hind legs flanking a standard with a crescent and disk on top (Cat. #11). This motif is not to be confused with the classic pair of crossed animals in contest scenes. A similar minor motif with a pair of crossed bulls can also be seen at Tell Leilan (Cat. #115), accompanying a figure-with-mace motif on the seal of an official of Šamši-Adad. Although rare in the glyptic of southern Mesopotamia, this motif appears to be popular in Sippar in this period (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 237.c, 218.a, 245.b). However, in none of these examples are the bulls are shown flanking a standard.

The Worship Scene

The worship scene, in which figures appear in a gesture of supplication in the presence of a standing deity, makes up the second largest group at Tell Bi'a with 17 examples (23%). This

motif too has its origin in the Ur III period (Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXV c, f) but becomes a popular motif during the early 2nd millennium B.C. (Porada 1948: Fig. 371ff). The basic motif is composed of a worshipper facing a standing deity (Porada 1948: Figs. 387, 388; Collon 1986: Figs. 361, 363), but details vary, such as the addition of multiple worshippers, the interceding goddess, attendants, the bull-man, and the nude female. Divine symbols representing various deities also appear in the compositions. Within the glyptic corpus of Tell Bi'a both complete scenes showing a worshipper facing a deity and fragmentary scenes, in which only a major deity such as Šamaš or Ištar are preserved, are all coded as worship scenes, although in the latter case it is impossible to distinguish worship and offering scenes, where a worshipper approaches a standing deity bearing an animal offering.



Fig. 4.3: Worship scene (Cat. #54)

At Tell Bi'a the large majority of seal impressions with worship scenes are uninscribed. These impressions appear mostly on door, container, and bag sealings, while a small number can also be found on clay envelopes.

The earliest example of the worship scene as main motif appears at Tell Bi'a during the reign of Ba'lu-kullim (Cat. #40), but the scene is most frequent under Šamši-Adad and Yasmaḥ-Adad. Catalog #40 is a very fragmentary impression and the design is hard to make out. It

probably depicts three standing figures, one on the left hand side, clad in a robe leaving one shoulder bare, with one arm bent at the shoulder. He is approached by two figures in long garments. Between these two figures a tall ball staff and a star in a crescent are visible. A tall vertical object, which Otto describes as a plant (Otto 2004: 28), also appears behind the standing figure on the left. As mentioned before, the surface of the sealing is very worn for a more thorough analysis. The clay lump was identified as a tag by Otto and was found in area MM just outside the northeastern entrance to the palace. This area is connected through the entryway to Room M, where incoming goods were received, which suggests that the tag may have been attached to incoming merchandise and the seal may not have belonged to a palace employee.

Catalog #44 was found on a door sealing in the small recess La in the eastern wall of Room L, where incoming goods were received. The frequency of glyptic and epigraphic finds in this room is among the highest in the palace, and door sealings recovered here indicate that, along with Room M to the east, access to this room was controlled by palace officials (Otto 2004: 126). This indicates that Cat. #44 also belonged to a local palace official. The partially preserved inscription reads “^dUTU ^dAya.” The cuneiform wedges in the inscription are unusual in their shape, resembling pegs with round heads. A very fragmentary impression on a container sealing (Cat. #82) found in several rooms of the palace, where only the interceding goddess is preserved, has an identical inscription with peg-like wedges.¹² However, the rendering of the interceding goddess on these two examples is completely different, cancelling out the possibility that they were cut by the same hand. Other impressions bearing the same ^dUTU ^dAya inscription carved with peg-like wedges are known in museum collections and are attributed to northern Mesopotamian glyptic based on stylistic grounds (Porada 1948: Figs. 862, 868, 874, 878, 880,

¹² See also Porada 1948: Figs. 868, 874, 878, and 880 for inscribed seals in the Provincial Babylonian style with similarly carved wedges.

885; Delaporte 1910: Fig. 149). The impression on Cat. #44 depicts a male worshipper wearing a round turban and a long garment with a rolled hem, raising his right hand in a gesture of worship. He is followed by the interceding goddess clad in a horned crown and long, flounced garment raising both hands in supplication. Between them are a ball staff and a vessel. This pair stands in the presence of Ištar depicted in her war-goddess attire, holding a sickle-sword in her left hand and a three-pronged staff or a double-lion club in her right hand. Her right foot rest on the back of a small lion, which is controlled by a rope she holds in her right hand. The design is stylistically very crude and angular with lots of striations. The hands of the worshipper and interceding goddess look like three-pronged forks and their faces are made of a large nose triangle with a large eye in the middle, and two short horizontal lines representing the mouth, which are characteristic for the Old Assyrian style. The rendering of Ištar, with her face shown in profile rather than from the front also sets this impression apart from its southern Mesopotamian counterparts. Finally, in Old Babylonian scenes of worship or offering known from the south, Ištar is rarely the main deity at the center of the motif. These peculiarities place this impression within Porada's Provincial Babylonian style, which she defines as impressions presenting Babylonian themes and figures executed in a distinctive non-Babylonian style (Porada 1947: 99-100). The majority of examples of Provincial Babylonian style are known from museum collections and do not have a clear archaeological provenience (e.g. Porada 1948: Figs. 862E-898E). Therefore it is very important that this example from Tell Bi'a was found in a systematically excavated context dated to the early 18th century B.C.

Another impression that bears the same ^dUTU ^d[Aya] inscription, found on a bag sealing in the doorway between Room M and Courtyard B (Cat. #47), completely differs from #44 in its iconography and style. Although only part of the inscription is preserved, it's clear that the signs

are cut more regularly. The scene shows the sun-god Šamaš to the left of the inscription panel, wearing a horned crown and a long garment open in the middle, leaving his right leg bare. He holds a dagger in his right hand and his left arm is bent at the elbow. The figure facing him is not preserved but for the outer edges of the front of his/her garment. On the other side of the inscription panel the back side of a standing male figure clad in a short robe is visible. Unfortunately his identity is unclear, as no other attributes are preserved. Although extremely fragmentary, this impression is important in that it differs completely from the other examples at Tell Bi'a mentioning Šamaš and Aya in the inscription. It is also noteworthy that the god depicted on the seal matches the one mentioned in the seal inscription unlike other "servant of DN" seals in the corpus studied here.

At Tell Bi'a, as in southern Mesopotamia, Šamaš appears most frequently as the focal point in worship scenes. Of the 17 scenes of worship attested here, 7 depict Šamaš, including Cat. #47 described above. The seal of Yantin-Araḥ, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad (Cat. #41), is the only other inscribed seal with a worship scene. The impression is badly disturbed by the cuneiform writing in the middle, but the preserved part shows the sun-god on the right with a crescent-and-disk symbol before his head. Only small traces of the figure facing him are preserved. It is not clear whether it is a worshipper, an offering bearer, or the figure with mace, characteristic of officials' seals, although the figure with mace facing Šamaš is rarely attested (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 309 and 316). With him is the interceding goddess in her usual posture. The three-line inscription panel behind her reads "Yantin-Araḥ, son of ^d[], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad." The impression was found on a clay envelope (KTT 327) in Room M, recording 1 *pān* of barley (Krebernik 2001: 142). The surface of the envelope is extremely worn and it is not possible to determine whether Yantin-Araḥ was responsible for receiving or sending the

barley. As a consequence, it cannot be determined whether he was an official within or outside the Tell Bi'a palace. Several attestations of the name Yantin-Araḥ are known in Mari throughout Zimri-Lim's reign, but it is not clear whether they refer to the same individual who owned Cat. #41 (Otto 2004: 148; <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/listestextes13.htm?WebUniqueID=413308175>).

A worship scene with Šamaš as the focal point can also be seen on Cat. #54, which depicts the sun-god flanked by a worshipper in a round, turban and long garment, and an attendant in a knee-length robe holding a small cup or vessel in his right hand. Between the worshipper and Šamaš is a crescent, while a ball staff is visible between him and the attendant. Behind the attendant is the naked hero clasping his hands over his waist. The composition is simple with empty spaces between the figures. The seal is not inscribed. However, the impression was found on four door sealings in Area LL just outside the main entrance that leads to Room L, where incoming goods and documents are received. This shows that, although uninscribed and bearing a worship scene, the seal belonged to a local official responsible for sealing the door between LL and L.

Besides Šamaš and Ištar, the moon-god (Cat. #42) and storm-god (Cat. #45) can be identified in two worship scenes from Tell Bi'a. Catalog #42 depicts the moon-god, who is recognized by the tall staff with a crescent-shaped top that he is holding in his right hand. He stands in the middle of the scene, clad in a long garment decorated with herringbone design, with a V-shaped top and the bottom open in the middle, revealing one leg in ascending pose. He wears a horned crown. Flanking him are two interceding goddesses in horned crowns and long, flounced garments. A subsidiary scene divided in two superposed registers by a horizontal line accompanies this one. In the upper register two small men in short robes and round hats are

facing each other and raising one arm, while a similar small man holding a rearing caprid by the neck appears below. Between the moon-god and the interceding goddess on the right an eight-pointed star is depicted up high, and two long vertical objects made of chevrons, which are likely fish or fish bones, are placed on either side of the sun-god. The cutting style is angular, the figures' bodies are simple and sharply angled. Their faces are made of a large nose triangle with a large eye and two short horizontal lines for the mouth, their garments are decorated with cross-hatchings. The rendering of the figures in the subsidiary scene is more natural. This style is reminiscent of "Old Assyrian" seals, which was popular in Central Anatolia in this period, and resembles Porada's "Provincial Babylonian" that can be seen also on Cat. #44 above. Nineteen lumps of clay identified as door and container sealings and tags bearing this impression were found in Rooms Q, M, and L/La in the palace. Their location, wide-spread distribution in the palace and the presence of door sealings indicate that the seal was used by a local palace employee, just like Cat. #44, and that Porada's "Provincial Babylonian" style was at home at Tell Bi'a.

This point is also supported by Cat. #43, which depicts a deity, possibly Šamaš, being approached by a worshipper and an attendant holding a cup. The deity is shown in the typical attire and ascending posture of the sun-god but appears to be holding a cup-like object in his right hand, which Otto describes as a scepter with a conical cup (Otto 2004: 64), rather than the typical dagger. The depiction is similar to Cat #42 above, in that the upper bodies of the figures are sharply angled and triangular, and their faces consist of a large nose triangle with a large eye and two horizontal lines indicating the mouth. Stylistically this impression too clearly belongs to the Provincial Babylonian group and the door sealings it was found on in Room L/La attest to a local owner within the palace administration.

Contest Scenes

The contest scene depicting a bull-man or the naked hero struggling with a lion, bull, or other horned animal was introduced into the glyptic of Mesopotamia during the Early Dynastic Period. The standard pairs of contestants on Akkadian seals were replaced by three-figure contests during the Ur III period, where two heroes were shown struggling with one lion. After disappearing from the Mesopotamian glyptic repertoire for two centuries, the contest scene became the focus of cylinder seal design once again in the Old Babylonian period, where it remained popular until the reign of Samsu-iluna (Collon 1986: 87-89).

At Tell Bi'a the contest scene makes up only 6% of the corpus where the main scene can be identified. Of the five examples, two (Cat. #59, and #61) occur as the main motif in the composition, while two appear as subsidiary scenes (Cat. #2, #31, and #60). All five attestations of the contest scene at Tell Bi'a display different iconographic and stylistic characteristics, which attest to the multiplicity of traditions and artistic influences in this region. All examples, except Cat. #2 which belongs to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa tradition, are dated to the early 2nd millennium B.C. on stylistic grounds. None of the seals bearing the contest scene found at Bi'a are inscribed. They appear predominantly on door and bag sealings, but never on clay envelopes.

Catalog #59 is the only standard contest scene within the Tell Bi'a corpus. It depicts two identical pairs of contestants, a bull-man and a rearing lion. Between the two pairs an 8-pointed star is visible. Between the lion and the bull-man in the pair on the right a tall, thin object appears on the ground line and was identified by Otto as a possible ball staff (Otto 2004: 69). Contest scenes made of identical pairs is an Old Babylonian variation of the theme, since on Akkadian seals the contesting figures generally vary (Porada 1948: 43). On Cat. #59 the bodies

of the contesting figures are stiff and the stick-like arms of the bull-men look unnaturalistic. However, similar examples are known from the Old Babylonian corpus (Porada 1948: Fig. 358; Collon 1986: Fig. 114, 347). Otto notes that seals with two pairs of identical contestants occur in the Old Assyrian glyptic of Kültepe (Otto 2004: 69-70), but in addition to their style, the individual figures and the compositions on these seals differ greatly from the examples at Tell Bi'a. This impression was found on both door and container sealings in Room M inside the palace, and in Area LL immediately outside the Room L by the northern entrance. This shows that it belonged to a local official within the Tell Bi'a palace and that seals with local variations of standard southern Mesopotamian themes were common in this region. Unfortunately the lack of an inscription on the seal prevents us from identifying this palace official and his position within the administration to understand the distribution of different motifs among officials of different status.

The second impression that displays an almost standard contest scene is Cat. #61. As on standard examples it depicts 3 pairs of contestants: a human figure struggling with a rearing lion, a rearing lion attacking an upside-down bull, and a lion-griffin fighting a caprid. The figures are very vertical and the animals struggling with each other are hardly touching, which is typical of Old Babylonian contest scenes (Porada 1948: Pls LII-LIII). The appearance of the lion-griffin also sets this impression apart from its standard Akkadian counterparts. The motif of the lion-griffin about to devour either the head of a kneeling male figure or a seated/rampant goat is typical in the glyptic corpus of southern Mesopotamia (Porada 1948: Figs. 355-357, Collon 1986: 88, Figs. 128-137, al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 27.c, 114.c, 48.a). Although rare, parallels from Sippar, the British Museum, and the Morgan Collection also depict three different pairs of

contestants including the lion-griffin (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 202.c; Collon 1986: Fig.133; Porada 1948: Fig. 359).

In all other examples at Tell Bi'a the contest scene appears as a subsidiary motif. On Cat. #2, a single pair of contestants, a bull-man and a rampant lion, accompanies a standard presentation scene (see section 2.1. above). The pair is identical to the ones on Cat. #59, although the impression has been dated to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period on stylistic grounds (Otto 2004: 32). However, the naturalistic rendering of the figures and their physical attributes as well as their close proximity and the angle at which the bull-man's arm bends differentiates Cat. #2 from its later counterparts. On Cat. #31 the contesting bull-man and naked hero, where only traces of the hero's hair are preserved, appear next to a figure-with-mace motif. The body of the bull-man is finely cut and the details, such as the head of the shoulder and the arm, are similar to the figure with mace to his right. The use of the drill on the tops of the shoulders and the detailing of the musculature of the arms is similar to Akkadian seals (Porada 1948: Fig. 144E), and attest to the high quality of the carving. In addition, the bull-man's right arm is bent at an awkward angle, which is also typical of Akkadian seals (Porada 1948: Figs. 159-167), and can still be seen in later examples such as this. Finally, Cat. #60 also depicts a similar contest scene with a bull-man and the naked hero, accompanying a very worn motif, where several deities are visible. Although the style of carving is completely different, there are striking similarities both with Cat. #31 and #51. The bodies of the contesting figures are not rounded, the musculature is not pronounced and as a result the bodies appear very angular. al-Gailani Werr identified similar seals where a contesting pair of bull-man and hero appear next to main motifs of worship and offering at Sippar and assigned them to her Sippar Workshop II (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Pl. XXX).

Offering scene

What has been termed “the offering scene” in this dissertation is usually categorized under ritual scenes or scenes of worship, with which they present many similarities. The motif is essentially a cross between the presentation and the worship scene, where a male figure holding an animal offering followed by the interceding goddess approaches a seated or standing deity.

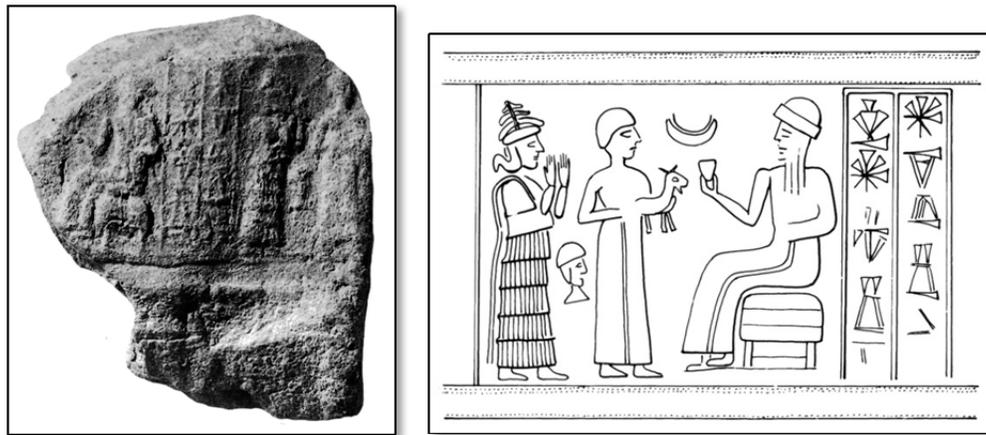


Fig. 4.4: Seal of Annebabdu, servant of Nergal (Cat. #66)

This particular motif seems to have become popular in Mesopotamian glyptic in the early 2nd millennium B.C., as it is not widely attested in the preceding Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods. The offering bearer, wearing a round turban and a long robe which falls open in the middle, carries an animal offering, when he approaches the deity, usually Šamaš (Collon 1986: Pl. XXV, XXVI), and often when he approaches Ištar (Collon 1986: Figs. 376, 393-395). In most cases he holds the offering with both hands.

Seven impressions with the offering scene were found at the Tell Bi’a palace, making up ca. 9% of all identified scenes. In all cases the motif appears as the focal point of the composition, never as a secondary motif or in combination with another scene. The impressions

are evenly distributed across periods and reigns, suggesting that, although it was not a very popular motif, the offering scene was used at Tell Bi'a throughout the early 2nd millennium. Three seals are inscribed and can thus be assigned to servants of Yasmaḥ-Adad (Cat. #41) and Zimri-Lim (Cat. #67) as well as to a servant of the god Nergal (Cat. #66). The only identifiable deity on the impressions is Šamaš and he appears on 4 of the 7 examples, all of which date to the reign of Šamši-Adad.

Catalog #66 is the earliest example of the offering scene at Tell Bi'a stylistically dated by Otto to the Ur III/Isin-Larsa period (Otto 2004: 31). However, as no parallels are attested in Ur III and Isin-Larsa glyptic, this example from Tell Bi'a may be more accurately dated to the early Old Babylonian period. The composition shows a clean shaven male figure in a long robe holding a kid in the presence of a seated deity. The seated deity is identical to his counterparts in presentation scenes mentioned above. He is seated on a padded stool, wears a long robe and a round turban, and holds a cup in his outstretched right hand. Before his head are the crescent and disk. Behind the offering bearer is the interceding goddess in her typical horned crown and flounced robe. Between them a detached human head can be seen in the field. The inscription panel behind the seated deity reads "Annebabdu, servant of Nergal." Otto suggests that the Sumerian personal name indicates a southern Mesopotamian/Babylonian origin (Otto 2004: 31). The impression is found on two bag sealings in Room F in the northeastern quadrant of the palace. This room only yielded 6 glyptic finds, all of which are container sealings dating to the reign of Šamši-Adad. According to Otto, all sealings in this room must be remains of old deliveries either taken to this room upon arrival or stored here. The main entrance to the palace was relocated during the reign of Yasmaḥ-Adad and, although no evidence for a former entrance was found in this part of the palace, Otto suggests that Room F may have been intended for the

reception of goods or at least for the storage of sealings attached to them prior to Šamši-Adad's conquest of the city. She also suggests that the fact that the only stone cylinder seal dated to the Middle Bronze Age (Cat. #63) and found in the palace came from this room may attest to an earlier use of the space (Otto 2004: 133). The rest of the finds from Room F (Cat. #7, #51, #97) date to Šamši-Adad and earlier.

Catalog #67 depicts a partially preserved offering scene, where, in contrast to the more typical examples, the offering bearer stands on the right facing Šamaš on the left. Only the offering bearer and the god's upper body are preserved. The 3-line inscription behind the offering bearer informs us that the seal belonged to Ila-x, son of Šamaš-na[šir], servant of Zi[mri-Lim?] (Krebernik 2001: 163). The reading of the inscription is unclear as only the signs *IR* and *zi* are clearly visible, but the remaining signs in the third line do not seem to correspond to *ri* and *lim* (Otto 2004: 58). The impression was found on a discarded door sealing in the large pit in Room Q. Although this is not the sealing's primary context, if the king in the inscription is indeed Zimri-Lim of Mari, this seal impression must be dated to the latest phase of Palace A. Textual evidence informs us that Zimri-Lim conquered Tuttul in ca. 1774 B.C., within the first few years of his reign. Therefore, if a door in the palace was sealed by one of his officials, the event must have occurred after his conquest of the city, at which time Palace A went out of use. What complicates the situation is the fact that this impression was found on the same clay lump as the seal impression of one of Šamši-Adad's officials, Šikip-wari (Cat. #16) (Otto 2004: 58). In the palace there were only two examples of counter-sealing, where impressions of two different seals are found on the same clay lump. This practice appears to be limited to door sealings at Bi'a and indicates a high degree of control. In the case of Cat. #67, Otto suggests that, if Šikip-wari continued to use his seal identifying him as the servant of the previous ruler of Tuttul (i.e.

Šamši-Adad) following the city's conquest by Zimri-Lim, his authority may have had to be validated by an official of the new ruler, hence the counter-sealing by Zimri-Lim's official Ila-x. Otto also notes that the door bolt on which the clay lump was originally placed is by far the largest in the Bi'a palace, where bolted doors are rare. This shows that the door sealed by Šikip-wari and Ila-x was not an ordinary door, but must have been one of the most important ones in the building, such as the main entrance, which would also explain the need for counter-sealing (Otto 2004: 148).

A similar case is encountered for Cat. #68. The impression shows an offering scene, where a male offering bearer holding a kid appears in the presence of the interceding deity. Behind him is a badly preserved figure, which could be identified with some degree of doubt as the figure with mace. This impression was found on the same door sealing as Cat. #32 bearing the standard figure-with-mace motif (Otto 2004: 148). These two impressions are not known from other contexts in the palace and their owners cannot be determined as they are both uninscribed. It is not clear why a counter-sealing was necessary in this case, but Otto suggests that both seal owners may have been little-known in the palace, requiring a higher degree of control over their activities, or that the owner of Cat. #32, which bears the official figure with mace-interceding goddess pair was a higher ranking official who oversaw the sealing of the door by the owner of the lesser known seal, Cat. #68 (Otto 2004: 148).

The final example of the worship scene that is worth mentioning here is Cat. #69. The impression depicts a classic offering scene, where the offering bearer followed by the interceding deity stands in the presence of Šamaš. A crouching monkey and a bow-legged dwarf are placed between the offering bearer and the goddess. What makes this impression noteworthy is that it was attested 10 times on door and bag sealings as well as tags. All of these sealings were found

discarded in the large pit in Room Q and the seal is uninscribed, which prevents us from identifying its owner and his position in the palace. What is clear, however, is that the seal belonged to a local official employed in the palace as shown by the presence of door sealings bearing this impression. Together with the other examples mentioned above, this suggests that the offering scene was popular among officials of a certain rank in the palace who had several doors and rooms under their authority.

Filling motifs

The large majority of compositions in the Tell Bi'a glyptic corpus are simple, consisting only of a main scene with 2 or 3 principal figures. Subsidiary scenes and multiple registers are rare. As a result, the scenes are not crowded, with ample space between the various compositional elements. The repertoire of filling motifs encountered at the site is varied, although a few motifs are particularly favored, confirming the site's close ties with the southern Mesopotamian tradition of Old Babylonian glyptic.

The ball staff, which appears in Mesopotamian glyptic as early as the Ur III period (van Buren 1945: 139-140), is common at Tell Bi'a, where it occurs in presentation scenes from the late 20th and early 19th century B.C. (Cat. #1, #2, #3) and in scenes of worship predominantly from the reign of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #44-46 and #54). A small vessel with a round, sharply carinated body and triangular neck appears high up in the field, most often above the ball staff, between the heads of figures in both presentation and worship scenes from the late 20th through the mid-18th century B.C. (Cat. #1, 2, 43, 44).

In terms of animals, a wide variety is seen, but each animal is usually limited to a few examples. These include bulls in contest scenes and heraldic pairs, the kid in offering scenes, lions either in contest scenes or in association with the goddess Ištar as well as birds, monkeys, fish, hares, scorpions, turtles, and lizards mostly in scenes of worship and offering.

The bull-man appears only in contesting pairs together with the naked hero on both Ur III/Isin-Larsa and Šamši-Adad period seals, while the naked hero is also encountered on its own as an accompanying figure next to presentation (Cat. #3) and worship (Cat. #54) scenes. To continue with mythological creatures, griffins and sphinxes can be seen in subsidiary scenes with two superposed registers (Cat. #39 and #76), which is typical of Syrian style seals. In addition, the lion-griffin also occurs on a contest scene mentioned above (#61) setting this example apart from its standard Akkadian counterparts.

As for celestial symbols, the crescent-and-disk motif is by far the most common, occurring on 13 of the 78 identified scenes. It is evenly distributed between presentation scenes of the Ur III/Isin-Larsa and Šamši-Adad periods, the figure with mace and worship scenes on the seals of Šamši-Adad's and Yasmaḥ-Adad's officials, and on a small number of schematic seals (Cat. #72, #73, and #91), displaying very simple stick-like human figures. There are no Middle Bronze Age parallels in Syria, but clay seals with similar figures have been excavated at Tell al-Dhiba'i, Tell Harmal, and Susa (al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Figs. 86-88). Otto suggests that these simple seals, originating in different regions independently of one another, must have been made on the spot for specific purposes (Otto 2004: 90). The fact that similar designs are found on clay seals in Iraq supports this idea. Although the crescent-and-disk motif appears to be the most popular, both the crescent and the sun disk also occur on their own mostly on seals with worship scenes both preceding and during the reign of Šamši-Adad. Finally, the star motif shows up in

various forms on 8 impressions, including scenes of presentation, worship, and figure with mace from the late 20th through the mid-18th century B.C.

Besides the clear southern Mesopotamian influence, the glyptic repertoire of Tell Bi'a also includes Syrian style seals. However, this style is more visible in small details, such as the garments of figures, than in iconographic elements. The presence of only two examples with the guilloche motif (Cat. #39 and #102), which is distinctive to Syrian style, attests to this fact.

A final filling motif that should be mentioned is the detached human head. It appears in a variety of forms including the head with cap, clean-shaven head, the Humbaba head, and head of bull-man (Collon 1986: 39-40). It has been identified as an abbreviation for a worshipper or a priest, depending on the composition. It appears as a common filling motif in the Old Babylonian glyptic of southern Mesopotamia, most frequently on seals with worship and offering scenes, but also alongside presentations and figure with mace scenes. al-Gailani Werr identified several examples coming exclusively from Sippar (1988: Figs. 216.d, 221.e, 237.c, 195.a, 216.c, 228.g, 221.f), while the Morgan Collection also contains examples without a known provenance (Porada 1948: Figs. 326, 346E, 402421, 434E). Within the Tell Bi'a repertoire the detached human head is not very popular, and it only appears twice within the compositional field (Cat. #66, 103). But it can also be found on Cat. #6, the seal of Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, inside the inscription panel. The middle panel of the seal legend contains only images: a crouching monkey, a lizard, a detached human head, and a bird all placed one above the other. Such inscriptions, where figures are inserted in between the lines or between individual cuneiform signs, are very rare in Old Babylonian glyptic. Two unprovenanced examples exist in the British Museum (Collon 1986: Figs. 363, 461), while only one example is known from Sippar (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 251.c), where a pair of crossed bulls similar to Cat. #11 mentioned above is inserted inside the

inscription panel. In contrast to the south, filling motifs inside inscription panels appear to be more common in northern Mesopotamian glyptic. Six examples dated to the period during and after the reign of Šamši-Adad are attested in the database from Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari (Cat. #6, 102, 115, 194, and 202). The small figures include both human heads and a variety of animals. On Cat. #155 from Tell al-Rimah, a thick horizontal guilloche cuts through the 3-line inscription in the middle. The examples from the British Museum are unprovenanced, so they cannot be securely dated within the Old Babylonian period. However, the tablet from Sippar is dated to the 6th year of Ammiditana's reign (a-Gailani Werr 1988: 99). Although not conclusive, the available evidence from northern Mesopotamia paired with the Sippar tablet suggests that small figures inserted within inscriptions may be a northern custom implemented during Šamši-Adad's reign.

Summary

When studied as a whole, the glyptic material from Tell Bi'a appears to be quite homogeneous. The strong influence of southern Mesopotamian glyptic, especially of the early Old Babylonian period, is represented by the iconography in the choice of main scenes and the arrangement of compositions. A common iconographic repertoire with southern Mesopotamia is represented by figure with mace, presentation, worship, offering, and contest scenes, which are typical of this period. Servants' seals with the standard figure-with-mace iconography make up the majority of this group. Within this corpus, Babylonian compositional elements that are more commonly attested in the north are few in number. Only on Cat. #11 a pair of antithetical bulls flanking a standard topped with the crescent and disk is visible. This motif of a standard or pole

between two antithetical figures is very common at Tell Leilan and Tell al-Rimah as is explained in the following chapters.

Contrary to the wide representation of Old Babylonian iconography, typical Syrian elements, such as the guilloche, mixed creatures, and subsidiary scenes divided in two registers are rarely attested at Tell Bi'a. Griffins and sphinxes in superposed registers occur only in two examples, Cat. #39 and #72. Similarly, the guilloche, which can be considered the trademark of Old Syrian seals, is represented only twice. Catalog #39 shows a typical double-register subsidiary motif divided by a horizontal double guilloche and Cat. #102 has vertical guilloches alternating between rows of cuneiform signs in the inscription panel.

The strong southern Mesopotamian influence at Tell Bi'a can be explained by the short timespan that the glyptic material represents. The overwhelming majority of the seals and seal impressions from Palace A belong to an approximately 15-year period during Šamši-Adad's reign, when official glyptic in the northern territories under his control was mostly standardized. As will become clear in the following chapters, local glyptic traditions of Syria become much more pronounced in the period following Šamši-Adad's death. Although independent local rulers, who took control of Šubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan) and Karana (Tell al-Rimah), retained many glyptic traditions that had taken root in the region under Šamši-Adad (e.g. the figure with mace on royal and official seals), more and more distinctive elements of the local Syrian iconographic repertoire found their way into northern Mesopotamian glyptic in this period.

Another point that should be made here about the glyptic corpus of Tell Bi'a is the surprising number of impressions that belong to the Provincial Babylonian style. Characterized by Old Babylonian compositional elements rendered in a crude, "provincial" style, this group is

best known through unprovenanced examples in museum collections. Therefore its attestation at Tell Bi'a in securely dated contexts is extremely important. The four examples unearthed at the site (Cat. #42, 43, 44, and 45) also provide connections to Central Anatolia during the first quarter of the 18th century B.C. The use of large nose triangles, angular bodies, and striations on garments provide a link between this small group and Old Assyrian style seals best known from Kültepe. Catalog #42 best illustrates this association, as a hematite seal excavated on a Level Ib street at Kültepe displays an almost identical composition to it (Kt 95/k 4, Özgüç 1998: Fig. 4). The iconography and carving style of the two seals are so similar that they may have indeed been cut by the same hand.

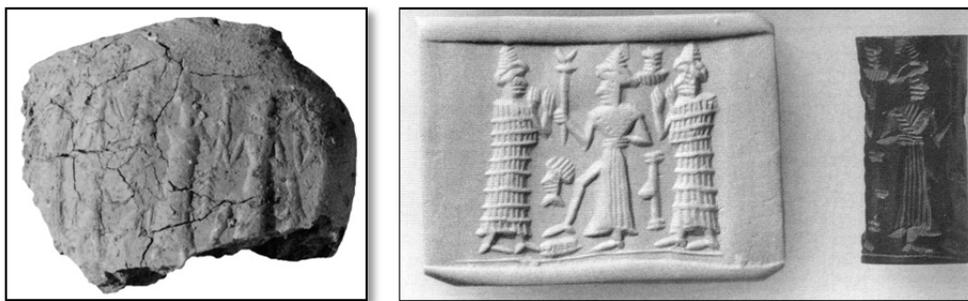


Fig. 4.5a: Cat. #42 from Tell Bi'a; b: Kt 95/k 4 from Kültepe (Özgüç 1998: Fig. 5)

Finally, simple seals used by palace employees constitute a group that is distinctive to Tell Bi'a. Their impressions were found in large numbers on door sealings in the palace (Otto 2004: 89ff). The compositions consist of simple stick-figures rendered with simple lines and circles. A large elongated oval depicts the schematic bodies, with a simple circle for the head placed on an overly long neck, and a long nose protruding vertically from the head (Cat. #72, #73, #90, #91). Otto notes that the simple designs on these seals relate directly to Early Bronze Age seals from Syria and parallels are known also from the Late Bronze Age in the same region, attesting to the continuity of local glyptic traditions in Syria (Otto 1992: 338-340). It is interesting that no contemporaneous Middle Bronze Age parallels are known, but similar seals

showing very stylized figures are known from Tell Atchana, Ebla, Karahöyük, and Kültepe.¹³ This geographic distribution in western Syria and Central Anatolia points towards a common place of origin for the iconography, although it is clear that the seals themselves were produced locally. Catalog #91, which is a clay cylinder seal found in the doorway between Rooms H and E of the Tell Bi'a palace, is proof of this fact, suggesting that simple seals bearing these stylized designs were made on the spot when needed.

This detailed look at the seals and seal impressions of Tell Bi'a shows that the cultural diversity attested at the site in the early 2nd millennium B.C. due to its strategic location between northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, and its political status as an important center of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, is clearly reflected in the glyptic. This diversity, which results in a blending of various iconographic elements and styles on both official and private seals, is a common phenomenon in the territories that remained within Šamši-Adad's kingdom, and is further illustrated by the analyses of glyptic material from Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari in the following chapters.

¹³ Stefania Mazzoni calls this group the "Syro-Anatolian cursive style." See Mazzoni 1975 for details.

CHAPTER 5

TELL LEILAN

5.1. Archaeological Context

Identified through texts as ancient Šubat-Enlil, which functioned as Šamši-Adad's main residence in northern Mesopotamia, the modern site of Tell Leilan was excavated by a Yale University team for 13 seasons, starting in 1979. Earliest occupation at the site dates back to the 5th millennium B.C. It was sacked by Samsu-iluna of Babylon ca. 1728 B.C. and was subsequently abandoned.

The 90 ha. site consists of a 15 ha. Acropolis and a 65 ha. Lower Town surrounded by a city wall dating back to the mid-3rd millennium. The second millennium B.C. remains corresponding to Leilan Phase I are concentrated on the Acropolis mound and around the two temple structures in the Lower Town. Except for a few domestic buildings probably pre-dating Šamši-Adad in the residential neighborhood along the Eastern city wall (Ristvet and Weiss 2005: 7; Stein 1990: 554-555), Leilan yielded only official administrative contexts from this period. The existence of an Old Assyrian *kārum* within the boundaries of Šubat-Enlil is documented in the Tell Leilan and Mari archives (Eidem 1991; Charpin 1987), which mention the site as a stop-over point on the route from Assur to Kanesh. However, excavations conducted in 1991 in the southwestern quadrant of the Lower Town, where the topography suggested the presence of a round *kārum* settlement, failed to locate any major architectural features (Pulhan 2000: 2-3).

Glyptic material analyzed in this dissertation comes from the Acropolis Northeast Temple and the Eastern Lower Town Palace. Material from the Northern Lower Town Palace is not dealt with here. This palace was used as residence by Qarni-Lim, the king of the neighboring

city of Andariq, who controlled Leilan briefly, not long after the death of Šamši-Adad. He was a contemporary of the local king, Ḫaya-abum, who ruled the city simultaneously from the Eastern Lower Town Palace between 1775-1760 B.C. (Pulhan 2000: abstract). In this palace only one Old Babylonian seal belonging to a servant of the god Šakkan and four seal impressions were found (Pulhan 2000: Appendix 4, 479-484). As this extremely small corpus is not statistically significant, it is not included in this work.

Acropolis Northeast Temple

Excavations in the northeastern section of the Acropolis revealed a large 2nd millennium temple that was probably built by Šamši-Adad after he made Šubat-Enlil his main residence. The northern and southern façades of the building are decorated with elaborate spiral and palm-tree columns (Fig. 3.3).

Four building levels were attested in the temple structure. Level I is a squatter occupation dating to shortly after the final destruction of the main temple (Weiss 1985: 7). No epigraphic or glyptic finds were unearthed in this level.

The Building Level II temple, planned around a central courtyard, was accessed from the south through Room 10, which functioned as the antecella and opened upon Room 12, the central cella (Weiss 1985: 16; Weiss 1985a: 278). The majority of the epigraphic and glyptic material in this building comes from Level II, although some were found embedded in the structure and as a result may have originally belonged to Level III, which is also ascribed to Šamši-Adad (Otto 2000a: 47). Cuneiform tablets and seal impressions associated with the receipt of commodities were retrieved from several rooms.

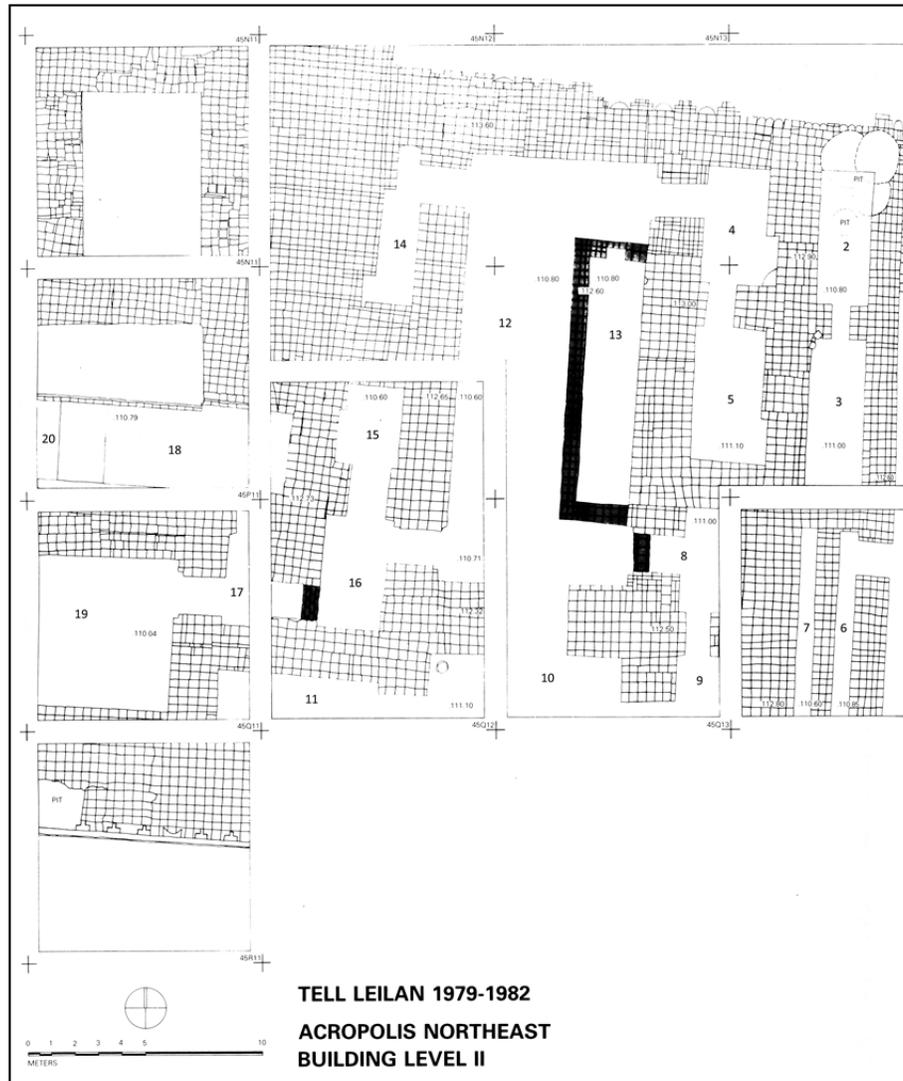


Fig. 5.1: Acropolis Northeast Temple – Building Level II (after Weiss 1985a: Fig. 7)

Seal impressions were attested on administrative texts, jar stoppers, tags, and bag sealings (Parayre 1993: 510). Inscribed seal impressions belonging to administrative officials were found in Room 8, 12, and 13, and in the doorway connecting Rooms 17 and 19 (Weiss 1985a: 281-283). Room 8 also contained 10 jar stoppers and jar stopper fragments, 78 rope-impressed clay sealings without impressions, 2 sealing fragments with unscribed impressions of Apil-ilišu, servant of Turum-natki, and 227 sealing fragments with impressions of the seal of Bēli-emūqi, servant of Haya-abum (Weiss 1985a: 283). Based on this inventory it appears that Room 8

functioned as a storage area. *Limmus* attested in this level include Sin-muballit, son of Aššur-iddinam (REL 184, also attested at Kanesh and Mari), Adad-bāni, son of Puḫzalia (REL 212, also attested at Ališar and Boğazköy), and Puṣṣānum (REL 201, also attested at Mari) (Weiss 1985a: 281). Prior to the publication of the Revised Eponym List (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012), the building Level II temple was dated to the reign of Šamši-Adad or immediately after his death. However, the recent reordering of Old Assyrian eponyms shows that this building level may have stayed in use for over a decade following Šamši-Adad's death (REL 197). Seal impressions of servants of Šamši-Adad as well as of Turum-natki and Ḫaya-abum, who ruled the city after Šamši-Adad, were retrieved in this level, supporting a later end date for the Level II building.

The Building Level X temple was either the southern extension of the Building Level II temple making it one of the largest temples known from Mesopotamia in the second millennium B.C. or another temple contemporary with the Building Level II temple (http://leilan.yale.edu/about/dig_sites/acropolis_northeast/index.html). Portions of an archive containing 80 administrative documents dated to the reign of Šamši-Adad and immediately after were found among the debris. The sealings found within the Level X temple also belong to servants of Šamši-Adad and the successive kings of Leilan.

The Building Level III temple is located immediately to the south of the Building Level II temple and just to the north of the Building Level X temple. It appears to be the earliest 2nd millennium B.C. temple in this precinct. Weiss suggests that architecturally the Building Level II temple was a rebuilding of this earlier structure. The northern face of the main East-West wall of the Building Level III temple was decorated with niches and columns including both spiral and

palm-tree columns like its successor in Level II (http://leilan.yale.edu/about/dig_sites/acropolis_northeast/index.html). No glyptic finds were reported from this level.

To conclude, based on attested *limmus* (Sin-muballiṭ=REL 184 through Puḫzalia=REL 212), it can be said that the Acropolis Northeast Temple was built during the latter half of Šamši-Adad's reign and remained in use during the reign of Ḫaya-abum, who ruled Leilan until ca. 1767 B.C. Glyptic finds belonging to the servants of Šamši-Adad, Turum-natki, and Ḫaya-abum confirm this dating.

Eastern Lower Town Palace

Built in the center of the Lower Town, the Eastern Lower Town Palace, also known as the Šamši-Adad Palace, functioned as the main residence of Leilan kings for nearly a century during the early second millennium B.C. (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXII). Excavations between 1985 and 1987 exposed only a 1000m² part of the northeastern quadrant, which is likely less than 10% of the whole building (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XIX).

Four building levels were attested, Level 4 being the earliest, i.e. the initial construction of the palace, and Level 1 being the most recent, consisting of scant architectural remains following the abandonment of the palace and the destruction of Šubat-Enlil.

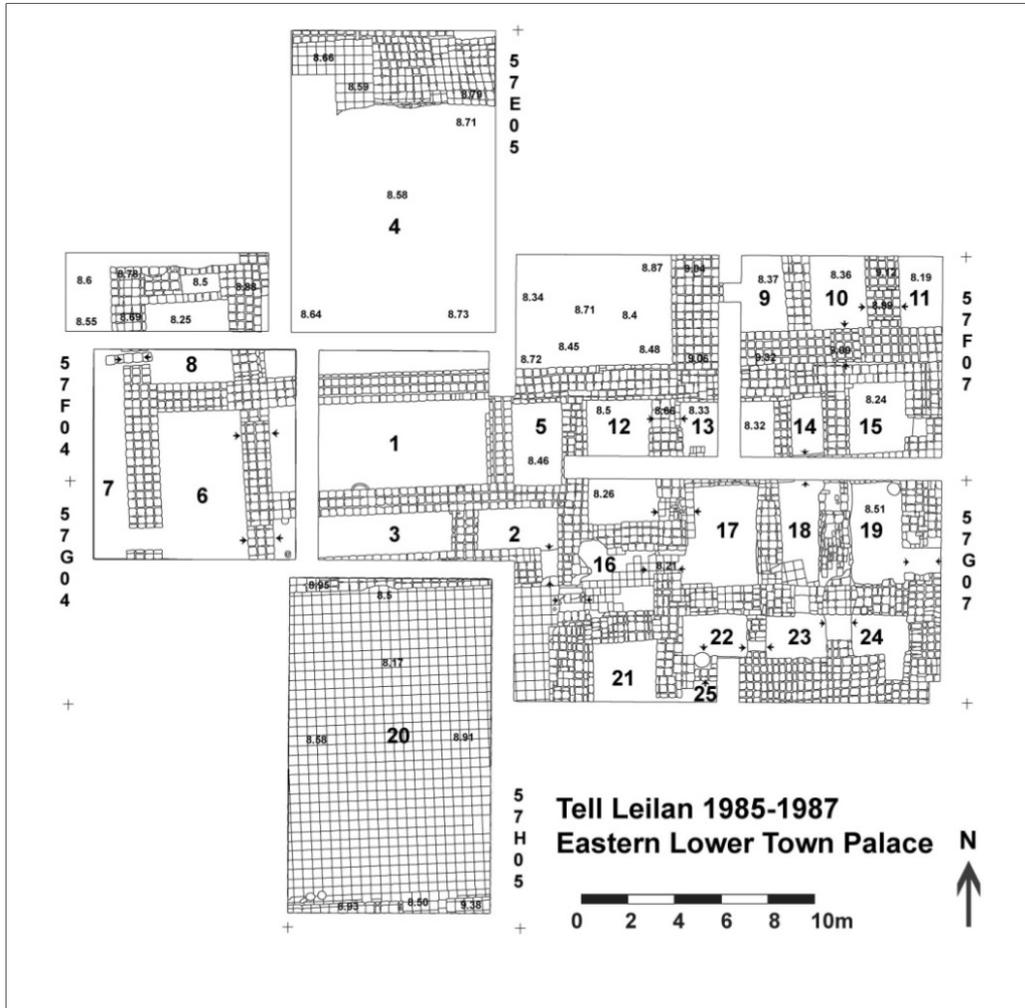


Fig. 5.2: Eastern Lower Town Palace – Level II (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: Fig. 3)

Levels 4 and 3 are interpreted as the initial building level of the palace and a subsequent reconstruction, both of which are attributed to Šamši-Adad based on the large number of inscribed items dated to his reign, especially in the northeastern section of the palace (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXXI). According to the excavators, seal impressions of Līter-šarrūssu, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #126), which were found in the doorway of Room 10 of the palace as well as on the Acropolis, show that Building Level 4 of the Eastern Lower Town Palace was contemporary with the Acropolis Northeast Temple’s Building Level X. The sealing of Kaniwe,

servant of Išme-Dagan (L87-1281, unpublished), found in Room 9, is also mentioned in support of this dating (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXII), although Kaniwe may have continued to serve Išme-Dagan for some time after Šamši-Adad's death. Charpin recently expressed doubts about the dating of this level on the basis of the seal impressions, since the impression of the seal that originally belonged to Līter-šarrūssu (Cat. #126) also bears a second personal name, Bunuma-ili, which suggests that the seal was recut and reused by another individual whose identity and affiliation are unknown (Charpin 2014: 142-143). Furthermore, the impression was found on a tablet dated to the year Ikūn-pī-Ištar (Whiting 1990: 576), which corresponds to ca. 1771 B.C., approximately 5 years after the death of Šamši-Adad (Appendix I).

During the reconstruction that resulted in Building Level 3, the palace was expanded horizontally. Room 1 was the largest interior space recovered in this level. Together with Rooms 2/3, 5, 6 and courtyards 4 and 20 it seems to have formed a reception area. This interpretation is supported by “the general cleanliness, symmetry, careful construction, and placement of the rooms” within the structure (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXII). Room 8 was interpreted as either a kitchen or bath, based on its sloping floor, drain, and baked brick platform. Rooms 12, 13/14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 probably functioned as a food preparation area as suggested by the finds. Rooms 12, 13/14, and 17 contained large amounts of ash, animal bones and pottery, and the doorways were equipped with a drain and mudbrick sill. A fragmented oven and a baked brick platform were found in Room 13/14. Finally, the group of rooms (21, 22, 23, 24, and 25) in the southern section appear to be a set of storage rooms and kitchens equipped with an oven surrounded by burnt bones and sherds, and storage jars sunk into the floor (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXV-XXVI). The dating of Level 3 is based on epigraphic and glyptic finds. Sealing L87-1279 (Cat. #106), which belonged to a servant of Šamši-Adad found in Room 15, and a

letter (L85-129) from Samiya, servant of Šamši-Adad, who controlled the city after his death, found in a foundation trench in Room 4 show that this level was built and used during and shortly after Šamši-Adad's reign. On the other hand, seal impressions (L87-1474, 1475; also L82-76=Cat. #109) of Bēli-emūqī, servant of Ḫaya-abum in the fill above Level 3 floors in Room 13/14 provide a *terminus ante quem*, which suggests that Level 3 was in use during the reigns of Šamši-Adad, Turum-natki, Zuzu, and Ḫaya-abum (ca. 1789-1767 B.C.). Ashy deposits and burnt floors in almost every Level 3 context indicate that this building level ended in a violent destruction (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXXI-XXXII).

Level 2 dates to the latest occupation of the palace and was built either during or immediately after the reign of Ḫaya-abum's successor Ḫimdiya. Sealing L85-128 (Cat. #122), belonging to a servant of Ḫimdiya found in a Level 2 wall in Room 2, reinforces this dating. The Level 2 palace functioned as the primary residence of the last independent rulers of Tell Leilan, Ḫimdiya, Mutiya, Till-abnū, and Yakūn-ašar, who ruled the city from ca. 1764 until its destruction by Samsu-iluna in 1728 B.C. Architecturally only minor changes were made in the overall plan of the building in this level and the function of most rooms remained the same. The majority of the textual and glyptic material found in the Eastern Lower Town Palace comes from this level. Seal impressions dated to the end of the occupation are concentrated in the southwestern section. Room 2 on the eastern side contained ca. 60 tablets and 40 sealings, mostly from the archives of Yakūn-ašar's wine steward as well as labels and door sealings sealed by the servants of Ḫimdiya, Mutiya, Till-abnū, and Yakūn-ašar. Room 5 fell out of use during or after the reign of Till-abnū as seals impressions of his servants show (L87-894, L87-901, unpublished). Subsequently a dead archive of 19 tablets and ca. 100 sealings was discarded here. Court 20 probably continued to be used as a reception area. The location of the wine archives in

Room 2 and the food preparation facilities nearby support the identification of this space as a reception area since wine was received, served, and distributed here. In the southeastern corner of Room 23 ca. 50 inscribed sealings belonging to the servants of Mutiya, Till-abnū, and Yakūn-ašar were found. The most numerous among them bore the impression (L87-818 etc.= Cat. #121) of Sin-iddin, the baker, servant of Yakūn-ašar. This should come as no surprise since this section of the palace functioned as a food preparation and storage area during the preceding Level 3 as well. Finally, Room 22 contained the majority of tablets found in this building, as more than 600 tablets dated to the reigns of Ḫaya-abum, Ḫimdiya, Mutiya, and Till-abnū were found here. The ca. 40 tablets unearthed in Room 17 are believed to be part of the same archive as in Room 22, which includes letters and treaties as well as administrative texts from the reigns of Mutiya and Till-abnū (Ristvet and Weiss 2011: XXVII-XXXI).

5.2. Nature of Glyptic Finds

It should be noted here that only a fraction of the actual glyptic material from Tell Leilan is publicly available.¹ As a result, the analysis presented below is based on an incomplete sample and is subject to change as more examples are published.

Glyptic finds excavated in the Acropolis Northeast Temple and the Eastern Lower Town Palace are numerous and cover the entire period of use of the palace, from the reign of Šamši-Adad until the destruction of Šubat-Enlil under Yakūn-Ašar. Parayre informs us that the material from the Acropolis Temple makes up 45% of all excavated material. Approximately 30 different

¹ Several hundred images of cylinder seals, tablets, and sealed envelopes excavated at Tell Leilan between 1978-1985 were recently made available on the Tell Leilan website at <http://leilan.yale.edu/resources/image-gallery/sealings-and-tablets/image-gallery-sealings-and-tablets-178-and-179>. The high-resolution photographs are invaluable, especially in terms of seal impressions, which up until now were only available as line drawings. However, one should note that the object descriptions provided on the website are not always accurate.

seals, which represent 1/3 of all seals attested at the site, were identified. As for the Lower Town Palace, the glyptic material represents 55% of all excavated seals and seal impressions. Among these, more than 60 different seals (i.e., 2/3 of the total number) were identified (Parayre 1993: 510). Of this corpus, only a few dozen examples have been published so far. As a result, a total of 41 seals and seal impressions from Tell Leilan is used in this dissertation: 16 from the Acropolis, 19 from the Lower Town, and 6 without published findspots.

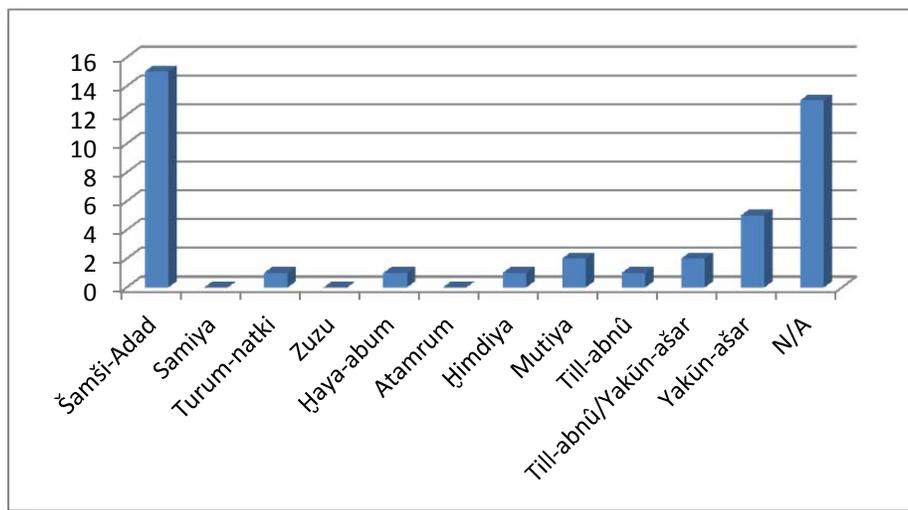


Table 5.1: The distribution of glyptic material by period

As can be seen from the table above, the large majority of seals and seal impressions at Tell Leilan date to the reign of Šamši-Adad (14/41 examples). This is not surprising since the ancient city of Šubat-Enlil was resettled by Šamši-Adad and functioned as his seat until his death in 1776 B.C. The fact that material from Yakūn-Ašar's reign is the second largest in the corpus is also natural as he was the last independent king of the city and records from his current administration were left behind when the city was destroyed. Historical evidence from Tell Leilan shows that kings between Šamši-Adad and Yakūn-Ašar reigned for relatively short periods of time (Appendix I) leaving many fewer records.

As no complete catalog has yet been published and the majority of published articles are focused on an art historical and iconographic analysis, very little information regarding the types of materials that were sealed is available from Tell Leilan. Of the 41 sealings included here, 13 were found on tablets and envelopes, while only 4 were identified as door sealings and one as a container sealing. Considering the large number of epigraphic finds excavated in the Eastern Lower Town Palace and the Acropolis Northeast Temple, which include both administrative records and correspondence, a large number of sealed tablets and envelopes is to be expected. These would allow the seal impressions to be dated securely on the basis of texts. However, lack of information regarding sealed doors and containers in these buildings prevents us from creating a detailed picture regarding officials and their duties within the palace and temple administration. 20 out of the 41 impressions studied here bear an inscription identifying the seal owner as a king or royal servant. However, only a small number of objects on which these impressions are found have been clearly identified or published. As a result, it is impossible to determine which of these officials are local to Tell Leilan, and hence which iconographic traditions are distinctive to the area and which ones are foreign. Moreover, as we have seen at Tell Bi'a, many seal owners can be identified as local palace employees based on what they sealed (e.g. door sealings), even though their seals were uninscribed or did not bear the official motif of the figure with mace. This identification is not possible at Tell Leilan, as information regarding seal types and exact findspots is lacking in many cases.

5.3. Iconographic Analysis of the Material

Like Tell Bi'a, the iconographic repertoire of Tell Leilan is also considerably rich, covering a similar range of scenes and motifs that are typical of 2nd millennium B.C. glyptic. Of

the 41 impressions studied here, I can identify 29 clearly in terms of the main themes and compositional elements they displayed. The remaining 12 were too fragmentary, but individual design elements that are preserved on them are used for the iconographic analysis conducted below. Compared to the Tell Bi'a corpus, the material from Tell Leilan appears to be much less homogeneous. However, based on the small number of impressions made available through publications, it cannot be securely determined whether this is really the case or a result of the examples selected for publication.

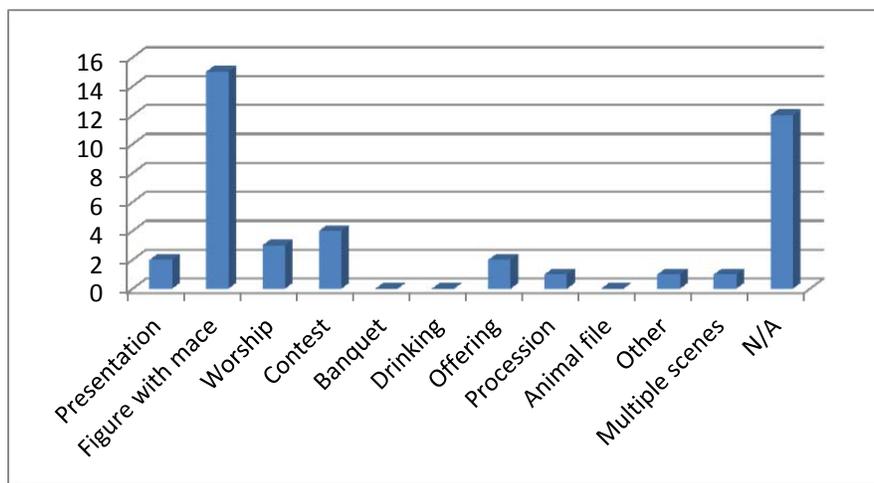


Table 5.2: Distribution of main scene types in the Leilan corpus

The Presentation Scene

Only two examples of the presentation scene, both of which date to the reign of Šamši-Adad, are attested within the Leilan glyptic corpus. This motif appears to have lost its popularity at the site following Šamši-Adad's reign, as it does not appear on seals dated to the period after 1776 B.C. Catalog #105 is only partially preserved, but two figures are recognizable in the field. On the left is a bearded male worshipper wearing a long robe draped over his left shoulder. His right hand is raised in a gesture of worship and his left hand rests over his waist. Facing him are traces of the upper body of a figure. His headgear and other attributes are not preserved. But the

height at which the figure is placed suggests that this is a seated deity. The traces on his head may be interpreted as a horned crown and his right hand is extended forward, probably holding a small cup, as is typical of presentation scenes in this period (e.g. Frankfort 1939: Pl. XXVII b). Behind the seated deity at about head-height is a thick guilloche bordered by two horizontal lines, which is a characteristic motif of Syrian style seals. Guilloches usually function as dividers in subsidiary scenes with two superposed registers. However, because the actual height of the seal cannot be estimated, it is not clear whether or not this is the case here. Between the worshipper and the deity is a large empty space. In typical 2nd millennium B.C. presentation scenes derived from Ur III prototypes, the worshipper is either introduced into the presence of the enthroned deity by the interceding goddess (Collon 1986: Figs. 1-23) or is followed by her (Collon 1986: Figs. 36-56). In the case of Cat. #105, it is possible that the interceding deity was placed between the two preserved figures, along with filling motifs, such as the ball staff and the crouching monkey, which are also typical compositional elements of presentation scenes. The inscription behind the worshipper informs us that the seal belonged to Puzur-Ištar, servant of Išme-Dagan. It is interesting but not unusual that the seal of a royal official bears a presentation scene instead of a figure with mace scene, as is also illustrated by the seal of Šamši-Adad's official Ḫazip-Aranziḫ (Cat.#6) found at Tell Bi'a. The impression was found on a clay envelope on the Acropolis, which probably enclosed a letter sent by Puzur-Ištar to Šamši-Adad's court at Šubat-Enlil.

Catalog #106 is also very fragmentary, but it shows the upper bodies of a bearded male worshipper followed by the interceding goddess. The pair is clearly in the presence of a seated deity whose hand, holding the rod and ring, is the only preserved element. Behind the interceding goddess, traces of an inscription panel can be seen but the legend itself is not preserved. The

impression was found in Room 15 of the Eastern Lower Town Palace, which was part of the kitchen and food preparation area. However, the function of the clay sealing has not been identified and hence it is impossible to say anything about the owner of this seal.

Figure with mace

As was the case at Tell Bi'a, seal impressions bearing the figure-with-mace motif are also the largest group at Tell Leilan. With 16 examples out of a total of 29 identifiable scenes, the figure-with-mace seals constitute 55% of the entire glyptic corpus. The motif shows up in all reigns documented by glyptic, and appears on the king's personal seals as well as their officials'. 13 of the 15 impressions have a preserved inscription identifying the seal owner as the servant of a king or god, and in the case of Cat. #116 and 118 as the reigning king of Šubat-Enlil, i.e. Yakūn-Ašar and Mutu-abih/Mutiya. The figure with mace appears as the focal point of the composition in all but one example (Cat. #120), where it is part of a two-register composition made of several small scenes. Unfortunately information on sealing types is not recorded for each object, but several examples bearing the figure-with-mace motif are identified as tablets and door sealings, indicating that the motif was used by local administrative officials at Tell Leilan.

The majority of compositions with the figure-with-mace motif at Leilan are very simple, consisting of the typical pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess accompanied by an inscription panel (Cat. #107, #108, #121). On Cat. #121 the crescent and disk are added to the composition, while on Cat. #114 the crescent and disk appear on top of a tall standard placed between the two figures. The bow-legged dwarf below the crescent and disk shows up twice between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess (Cat. #113 and #116). In addition, the pair of figures is accompanied by two large Humbaba masks placed behind the interceding

goddess on Cat. #119, a crouching monkey between the pair and a rampant lion-griffin behind the goddess on Cat. #109, and finally by a pair of crossed bulls, an upside down Humbaba mask, and a contesting pair of bull-man and griffin on Cat. # 115. When compared with Tell Bi'a, the figure with mace standing in the presence of Šamaš or Ištar, and the nude female accompanying the standard pair appear to be missing within the Tell Leilan corpus.

Catalog #120 is an interesting example of northern Mesopotamian glyptic of this period, as it bears a busy composition with multiple scenes, which is unusual for the corpora studied here. The impression was found in Room 5 of the Eastern Lower Town Palace. This room was part of the palace kitchens in Level 3 during the reign of Šamši-Adad, but fell out of use in the following Level 2, which dates to the latest occupation of the palace before Samsu-iluna's destruction of the city in 1728 B.C. Unfortunately, information regarding the level in which Cat. #120 was found is not available, and hence a more accurate dating for the impression cannot be provided. Despite the impression's fragmentary nature, it can be seen that the field is divided into two superposed registers by a large horizontal guilloche. Parayre suggests that this may be a northern Mesopotamian tradition (Parayre 1991: 518). Within the Leilan corpus, the same design also appears on the seal of Šamši-Adad's official Samiya (Cat. #128), which is discussed in further detail below. Among seals of the same period studied in this dissertation Cat. #351 from Acemhöyük in Central Anatolia and Cat. #248 from Mari, both of which belong to the Syrian style group, also display a horizontal guilloche dividing the entire surface of the seal into two registers, supporting Parayre's theory. In the upper register of Cat. #120, two winged creatures (griffins?) stand raising one front leg on either side of a triangular motif made of 4 rows of dots. Parayre, besides suggesting that it is a mountain, also sees a palm trunk, reminiscent of the engaged columns decorating the façades of temples at Tell Leilan and Tell al-Rimah. Superposed

rows of dots representing mountains are known from Akkadian glyptic as well as from Old Babylonian terracottas and wall paintings, but they are not attested on Old Babylonian cylinder seals. Parayre argues that the specific motif found on Cat. #120 may be distinctive to Tell Leilan. The only other seal impression with a similar motif also comes from Leilan (Cat. #135), where it is flanked by two bull-men standing on the backs of two antithetical human-headed bulls (*kusarikkus*) (Parayre 1993: 517). The lower register of Cat #120 is divided into two sections by a vertical column which may have borne either an inscription or another guilloche. To the right of this divider are traces of the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess. This is the only example in the northern Mesopotamian corpora² studied in this dissertation in which the classic figure with mace scene appears as a minor motif in combination with others. To the left of the vertical divider two sphinxes are seen flanking what may be a small table. An unidentified figure, whose head is the only preserved element, holds a flowing vase right below the sphinx on the left. Finally, to the left of these figures is a seated water god facing left holding another flowing vase. It is not clear whether he is part of a presentation scene with him as a seated deity. Despite its fragmentary nature, it can be seen from the discussion above that Cat. #120 is a rare example within the northern Mesopotamian glyptic corpus. The combination of multiple scenes and the use of specific compositional elements, such as the guilloche divider and the mountain/palm trunk, firmly place this impression within the distinctive northern Syrian glyptic tradition.

² A few examples of this type of composition are also attested at Achemhöyük in Central Anatolia. They are covered in Chapter 8.

Worship Scene

The worship scene is represented on 4 impressions at Tell Leilan, only one of which (Cat. #123) can be identified as a classic example. The impression is only partially preserved, but the placement, postures, and attire of the individual figures allow them to be identified with some clarity. A deity is placed on the right hand side of the composition, as is typical of worship scenes. Parayre identifies this figure as Adad (Parayre 1993: 516), but an alternative identification is also possible. The long robe with a triangular top made of two bands that join in a belt at the waist is attested both on Adad (Collon 1986: Fig. 440) and on the goddess Ištar (Porada 1948: Figs. 373-379), although Adad is more often depicted wearing a solid top decorated with vertical lines (Collon 1986: Figs. 439, 443, 447 etc.). It is difficult to tell if the long object the deity holds in the right hand is Ištar's lionclub or Adad's lightning fork. Finally, only traces of the deity's right leg stepping forward are visible. In Old Babylonian glyptic, Adad appears both on the back of a bull (e.g. Porada 1948: Figs. 508-509) and stepping on the back of a crouching animal with one foot (Collon 1986: Fig. 442). As a consequence, the identity of this deity as the object of worship remains ambiguous. Facing the deity is a male figure clad in a long robe decorated with horizontal stripes, followed by the interceding goddess in her flounced robe with her hands raised in supplication. Behind the goddess is another figure in a long robe with hands clasped at the waist. The style of the engraving is hard to discern, as only a hand drawing is published, but all figures appear to be crude and angular. Based on the horizontal lines decorating the worshipper's robe, Parayre places this impression within the Old Assyrian style group (Parayre 1993: 516). The serpentine cylinder seal, Kt j/k 94, found in Level II in the Lower Town of Kültepe, depicts a similar scene of worship, where 3 male figures clad in robes decorated with short horizontal lines appear in the presence of Adad (Özgüç 1959: 50, Pl. 5c).

Unprovenanced examples of Cappadocian glyptic from the Morgan Collection also display worshippers in similarly decorated attire (Porada 1948: Figs. 855E-857, 880, 891E).

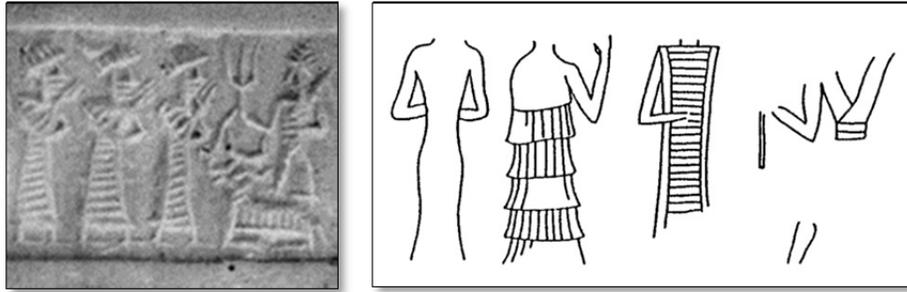


Fig. 5.3a: Kt j/k 94 (Özgüç 1959: Pl. 5c) Fig. 5.3b: L87-154 from Tell Leilan (Cat. #123)

Unfortunately no other details and filling motifs are preserved. Despite its fragmentary state, Cat. #123 is important, in that it is the only typical worship scene attested at Tell Leilan and it is one of the rare impressions excavated at the site that can be assigned to Old Assyrian glyptic of Kültepe Level II. Unfortunately it was found out of context (Parayre 1993: 516) and its owner remains unknown, making it impossible to speculate on the origin of the seal.

Catalog #122 is another unusual impression with a multiple-scene composition including what appears to be a worship scene. Several impressions of the same seal were found in the Eastern Lower Town Palace in Rooms 2, 5, and 22. Rooms 5 and 22 are part of the kitchen area, while Room 2, located on the eastern side of the building yielded ca. 60 tablets and 40 sealings from the archives of king Yakūn-ašar's wine steward as well as labels and door sealings of the servants of Ḫimdiya, Mutiya, Till-abnū, and Yakūn-ašar. The seal legend informs us that this seal belonged to Šamaš-ilum-dannum,³ servant of Ḫimdiya, who took control of the city in ca. 1764 B.C. The impression is based on a composite drawing from various pieces (Otto 2000a: Fig. 422) and the arrangement of the figures is not clear as is explained below. The main figure is

³ The name of the seal owner is alternatively read as Šamaš-lamassašu (^dUTU-^dLAMA.BI) by Charpin (2014: 70).

a standing male figure on the left, clad in a long robe with decorated edges revealing a short kilt underneath. He wears a tall conical turban with a thick brim and his hand is raised in worship. Before him is a crescent-and disk-motif. The published drawing does not leave enough room for a similarly sized figure, which could have acted as the object of worship facing the worshipper. The rest of the field is occupied by what appears to be two separate scenes, where the figures are placed on various levels giving the impression of a two-register composition without a divider. At the top, is a deity, possibly the moon-god as the crescent crown suggests. He is seated facing the worshipper (the king according to Otto 2000a: 103) and he appears to hold an object in his right hand. Behind him is the interceding goddess. Although the bottom part is not preserved, the two deities appear to be placed atop one of the two bulls facing one another. On top of the bull on the right is a kneeling naked hero lifting an upside down lion above his head. This motif is also attested on officials' seals, Cat. #19 and #27 from Tell Bi'a and Cat. #155 from Tell al-Rimah, between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. Otto suggests that the moon-god is seated on a throne placed on the back of the bull on the left and is the object of the king's worship. Unfortunately there are no published photos of this impression to clarify the original composition. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the overall composition as it is depicted in the composite drawing is very unusual, especially within the context of officials' seals in northern Mesopotamia. However, this is not surprising for the Tell Leilan corpus, which often breaks away from the traditional Šamši-Adad-period glyptic with its distinctive motifs and compositions.

Finally, Cat. #124 and #125 should also be mentioned here in the context of worship scenes, although they are significantly different from the traditional Old Babylonian examples. Found in the Lower Town, both impressions depict a pair of identical figures flanking a

table/altar in a gesture of supplication. On Cat. #124 two females in simple long robes are placed facing each other on either side of a tall table laden with offerings. Behind the female on the left is a naked male figure holding a vessel in his left hand. The scene also includes an 8-pointed star above the offering table and a large guilloche in the panel on the right. On Cat. #125 the same motif is repeated with two naked male figures flanking a tall altar. The figure on the left holds a tall vessel, while a branch/plant is placed in the hand of the figure on the right. An unusually thin ball staff and the legs of what appear to be another naked male figure follow this figure. This worship scene is accompanied by a simple subsidiary scene divided into two superposed registers by 3 vertical guilloches placed between 2 thin lines. A bird and a hare can be seen above, and traces of a crouching bull appear below. Seals and impressions with almost identical compositions are known both from museum collections and systematic excavations in Syria (Otto 2000a: Taf. 20-21), suggesting that this motif called “simple worship” by Otto (2000: 129-131) is distinctive to the region. Stylistically Cat. #124 and #125 can be dated to the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon based on systematically excavated parallels from Kültepe Level Ib (Özgüç 1968: Pl. XX C). This places these impressions within the reigns of the last two kings of Tell Leilan, Till-abnū and Yakūn-ašar in the latter half of 18th century B.C.

This analysis shows that the classic Old Babylonian worship scene was not popular at Tell Leilan and the motif appears for the first time in the reign of Ḫimdiya after ca. 1764 B.C. The few examples depicting scenes of worship attested after this date represent both outside influences, as in the case of Cat. #123 assigned to Cappadocian glyptic, and local interpretations of the motif, as shown by Cat. #124 and 125. Unfortunately, no information is available as to the types of sealings bearing worship scenes, so an interpretation of the seal owners and their position at Tell Leilan cannot be attempted at this point.

Contest Scenes

Impressions with contest scenes represent 10% of the material from Leilan (4 of 29 identified scenes). They are all dated to the reign of Šamši-Adad or shortly thereafter⁴ and the 3 inscribed examples indicate that they belong to the king's officials (Cat. #126 and #128) and Išme-Dagan (Cat. #127).

Catalog #126, which originally belonged to Šamši-Adad's servant Līter-šarrūssu, was found on several envelopes on the Acropolis and in the Lower Town as well as on a bulla (Cat. #329⁵) at Achemhöyük in Central Anatolia (Tunca 1989: 483, Pl. 137 9-10), illustrating commercial contacts between Šamši-Adad's kingdom in northern Mesopotamia and independent Anatolian polities. Līter-šarrūssu is a well-known figure within Šamši-Adad's administration. He first appears as the administrator of the Mari palace under Yaḥdun-Lim (Tunca 1989: 483) and continues to function as a dignitary following the conquest of the city by Šamši-Adad. He is later transferred to Ekallatum, probably when Yasmaḥ-Adad was installed on the throne of Mari, and following this he appears at the court of Šamši-Adad at Šubat-Enlil (Villard 1995: 877). The impression is composed of two almost identical contest scenes and a two-line inscription panel. On the left is a bull-man wearing a horned crown struggling with a winged being also wearing a horned crown. Only traces of the second contesting pair are preserved, showing the lower body of a (winged?) being on its hind legs. A turtle appears before it. Although the composition with two contesting pairs is typical, the choice of divine bull-man and winged beings is curious. The contesting pair as the main motif is also unusual since this motif almost always appears as a subsidiary scene in northern Mesopotamian glyptic. Between the two figures in the left panel appear a detached human head and a secondarily added one-line cuneiform inscription, which

⁴ See the discussion on the dating of Cat. #126 on pp. 6-7 above.

⁵ This impression is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

reads Bunuma-ili.⁶ As was discussed above in the case of Ḫazip-Aranziḫ's seal (Cat. #6) among others, small filling motifs inserted in inscriptions is common in northern Mesopotamia. The name Bunuma-ili appears only on the seal impression retrieved at Tell Leilan, but not on the examples found at Achemhöyük. This suggests that the seal was recut and the name was added later, probably when the new user acquired the seal. No information is available on the identity of Bunuma-ili, his connection to Līter-šarrūssu, and how he came to acquire this seal.

Nonetheless, the fact that his newly acquired seal was used on a beer expenditure tablet found in the Tell Leilan palace suggests that he may have also been a member of administration. It is also worth noting that when the new personal name was added to the seal, the original inscription was not altered or erased, leaving the name and professional affiliation of the original seal owner intact. One wonders whether Bunuma-ili was somehow associated with Līter-šarrūssu to retain the name and title, or whether it was simply a matter of prestige for him to use the old seal of a well-known official. Whiting informs us that one of the envelopes from Tell Leilan bearing Līter-šarrūssu's seal impression is dated to the eponym of Ikūn-pī-Ištar (Whiting 1990: 576), which corresponds to ca. 1771 B.C., five years after Šamši-Adad's death. This suggests that Bunuma-ili may have come into possession of this seal when the administration of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia began to fall apart following the death of the Great King.

Catalog #128 should also be mentioned here in the context of contest scenes. This is another example of Syrian style seals, where the entire seal surface is divided into two superposed registers by a large horizontal guilloche. Similar to Cat. #120 mentioned above, the seal design here is also very busy with several different scenes combined into one composition. Each register appears to focus on distinct groups of figures. The lower register depicts 6 pairs of contesting creatures: the winged griffin and a rearing goat, and two pairs of two bull-men placed

⁶ Özgüç 2015: 49 reads the name as Bunum-Adad.

between 3 alternating pairs of naked heroes and upended lions. A large Humbaba mask, a frog, a cow with a suckling calf, a monkey, and cuneiform signs appear as filling motifs between the figures. The arrangement of the top register is much less homogeneous: 2 crouching goats with heads turned toward one another; a cow and a suckling calf above another crouching cow or bull; Šamaš raising a dagger in his right hand and holding in his left hand the reins of a crouching bull carrying on its back a winged gate with a standing figure inside it; a standing male figure (deity?) in the same pose as Šamaš with one hand raised in the air (maybe holding something?), the other hand holding the horn of a bull; bottom half of a contesting pair above the bull, with a small human head in between; another standing figure (maybe a hero) holding the tail of the same bull. Various small animals and a large Humbaba mask are scattered between the figures. The seal appears to be of high quality and the composition brings together typical elements of both Old Babylonian and Syrian glyptic styles. Parayre notes similar products, which she identifies as palace production for royal officials, at various Anatolian sites including Carchemish (Parayre 1990: 564). A similar arrangement in two busy registers but without a divider is also known from a hematite seal found at Tell al-Rimah (Cat. #165), which is discussed in Chapter 6. An Old Assyrian seal impression on an envelope dated to the reign of Sîn-muballit (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 189) and an Old Babylonian cylinder at the British Museum (Collon 1986: Fig. 7) also display similar, double-register scenes. This division of the seal surface into two registers is unusual in southern Mesopotamia and Lamia al-Gailani Werr suggests a northern origin for this tradition, which is supported by the examples mentioned here from Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari. The same impression as on Cat. #128 is also known from Sippar (HSM 109) and Mari (ME 2=Cat. #248), and the owner is identified as “Samiya, son of Ḫaya-malik, servant of Šamši-Adad.” The Leilan impression, the earliest of the three, dates to the reign of Šamši-Adad. The

impression from Mari is dated to the reign of Zimri-Lim, while the Sippar impression comes from Samsu-iluna's 30th year (Parayre 1990: 565). This suggests that Samiya continued to function as an administrative official during the reigns of the independent kings of Leilan. The tablet dated to Samsu-iluna 30 bearing this seal impression suggests that Samiya was in office for a period of almost 50 years. Samiya is known to have stayed in control of Šubat-Enlil for four years following Šamši-Adad's death. He was in conflict with Turum-natki, who was supported by the inhabitants of the city and controlled it briefly before Haya-abum took the throne. He disappears from historical records during Zimri-Lim's fourth year (Eidem 2008: 271; Sasson 1973: footnote 57). This raises several questions: Is it possible that Samiya may have stayed in office for almost half a century? Or, assuming that the tablets bearing his seal impression are dated correctly, was someone other than Samiya using this seal during Samsu-iluna's reign? Unfortunately, available information does not allow us to answer these questions. It is clear from the fact that Samiya took over Leilan after Šamši-Adad died that he was a high official at the king's court. It is surprising, then, that his seal does not bear the figure-with-mace motif, which appears on seals of several high officials and even kings in this period. However, as can be seen from several examples (e.g. seal of Mukannišum from Mari, Cat. # 247 and #248) in the corpora studied here that it is not uncommon for high palace officials to have seal motifs other than the figure with mace. Who really used or was allowed to use this motif on their official seals is discussed in detail in Chapter 9.

Subsidiary motifs and fillers

Similar to Tell Bi'a, the majority of seal impressions from Tell Leilan also bear simple scenes with 2 or 3 main figures and few filling motifs. Especially the impressions with the

figure-with-mace motif, which make up 55% of all identifiable scenes, appear to be simple compositions. However, in contrast to what we have seen at Tell Bi'a, subsidiary scenes composed of two superposed registers divided either by a guilloche or a simple line are very common in this corpus. This and the use of crossed bulls, griffins and sphinxes show Tell Leilan's strong connections with the local glyptic traditions of Syria.

It is surprising that the ball staff, which is characteristic of Old Babylonian glyptic, appears only on one example at Leilan. Catalog #125 depicts a simple scene of worship rendered in a schematic style distinctive to Syria. The ball staff, placed between two naked male figures, has an unusually thin body with pointed ends.

Animals figure prominently in the Tell Leilan corpus, where bulls appear to be especially popular. In addition to classic contest scenes (Cat. #127, #128, #129), bulls also appear in a heraldic pose as a subsidiary motif accompanying the figure with mace on Šalim-bēlī's seal (Cat. #115). Lions appear in a variety of compositions, ranging from what may be called a "master of animals" scene (Cat. #145) to an unusual contest scene where the kneeling naked hero lifts the animal above his head (Cat. #122). Gazelles, cows, birds, hares, hedgehogs, frogs, monkeys, and turtles can also be seen as fillers on Tell Leilan seal impressions.

The bull-man appears mostly in contest scenes, but on Cat. #138 traces of a bull-man's head can be seen below Ištar's lionclub. An identical motif also appears on two impressions from Tell al-Rimah (Cat. #153 and #154), where two bull-men flanking a standard are placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. Based on this, one can speculate that Cat. #138, which is only partially preserved, may also be a figure-with-mace scene, where a standard flanked by bull-men stands between the figure with mace and the goddess. The naked hero, who typically accompanies the bull-man in Old Babylonian contest scenes, is almost entirely absent

from the repertoire at Tell Leilan. He appears only once on Cat. #128 fighting an upside down animal, and on Cat. #122 lifting a lion above his head. As discussed above, this motif seems to be distinctive to the north. At Tell Leilan the dwarf shows up exclusively in figure with mace scenes between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, once on the seal of an official of king Mutiya (Cat. #113) and once on the personal seal of Šubat-Enlil's last known king, Yakūn-ašar (Cat. #116). Griffins and sphinxes are common in subsidiary scenes and as filling motifs, placing Tell Leilan within the sphere of Syrian glyptic. This is also confirmed by the use of the guilloche motif both as a horizontal divider and a vertical filling motif on 10 out of the 41 impressions from the site.

Detached human heads and large Humbaba masks are common as fillers, mostly in contest and figure with mace scenes, but small human heads are also placed between cuneiform signs inside inscription panels on two impressions belonging to officials of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #115 and 126).

Summary

As mentioned at the beginning of this analysis, the glyptic corpus of Tell Leilan is much more diverse compared to Tell Bi'a. This can be explained in two steps. First, the material from Leilan covers a much longer period of ca. 70 years. Chronological studies of Mesopotamian glyptic show that this is a sufficient length of time for iconographic and stylistic changes to become visible.⁷ Second, the period covered by the Tell Bi'a corpus falls almost exclusively within the reign of Šamši-Adad, where a standardization of official iconography seems to have been implemented. Tell Leilan functioned as Šamši-Adad's royal seat for most of his reign and the city continued to play an important role as the center of the land of Apum under independent

⁷ See, for example, R. Zettler's 1979 study on the transition from Neo-Babylonian to Achaemenid glyptic.

local kings until its destruction in 1728 B.C. As can be seen from the large number of officials' seals dated to this later period, the figure-with-mace motif introduced to northern Mesopotamia during Šamši-Adad's reign was maintained as the official design. However, distinctive elements of Syrian glyptic were also incorporated with increasing frequency into compositions of this time period.

This diversity at Tell Leilan is visible both at the level of iconography and style, and in terms of the diversity of groups of seal bearers. Parayre notes that seals of the Old Babylonian group are by far the most numerous in the corpus. They make up 90% of all seal impressions and 75% of all different seals attested at the site (Parayre 1993: 511). They display a common iconographic repertoire with southern Mesopotamia, where all typical scenes of 2nd millennium glyptic are represented: the figure with mace, presentation, worship, offering, and contest. They also show Babylonian elements that are more commonly attested in the north, such as two figures flanking a standard (Cat. #135 and #138) and the Humbaba mask (Cat. #115, #119, and #128). Finally, traits that are distinctive to northern Mesopotamia that are rendered in the Old Babylonian style are also visible within the corpus, such as the snake-goddess with a twisted body (Cat. #137). As for Old Syrian seals, they constitute 10% of all impressions and 25% of all individual seals. The majority of impressions in this group is later than the Old Babylonian examples at Tell Leilan, and date predominantly to the reigns of Mutiya, Till-abnū, and Yakūn-ašar (ca. 1760-1728 B.C.). This chronological difference between the two groups shows that, while during the reign of Šamši-Adad and his immediate successors seals derived from Old Babylonian style were more common, under the independent kings of Tell Leilan they were slowly replaced by products of local Syrian glyptic tradition. The origin of these last three kings of Leilan is unclear, although texts tell us that they were all members of the same family. Till-

abnū and Yakūn-ašar were brothers and Mutiya was probably their uncle (Eidem 2011: 6-9). As a result, it is difficult to explain whether this shift in glyptic styles was a result of this dynasty's origin or simply an outcome of the long period of time that had passed since the reign of Šamši-Adad, distancing the region from its southern connections. Parayre divides the Old Syrian group in two: the mixed style, which corresponds to Porada's "First Syrian" and presents a combination of Babylonian and Syrian traits, and the pure style, which displays predominantly Syrian characteristics (Parayre 1993: 511-512). Both the spatial distribution and the patterns of usage of these two sub-groups are noteworthy. Seals of the mixed style appear to be high-quality products associated with royal administration and are attested mostly on administrative documents and door sealings, indicating that they were reserved for palace and temple officials. The classic themes of Babylonian glyptic are used on these seals alongside distinctively northern and Syrian elements, such as the palm tree/mountain flanked by two animals/mixed creatures (Cat #135), and subsidiary scenes divided in two registers by a horizontal guilloche (e.g. Cat. #105, #128, #135). It is interesting to note that seals of the pure Syrian style were only found in the Lower Town, and exclusively on envelopes and various types of sealings. They also make up the majority of the unscribed seals in the Tell Leilan corpus (Parayre 1993: 521). When considered together, these two facts may indicate that at least some of these seals were personal seals that belonged to private individuals, who interacted with the Lower Town Palace through letters and incoming merchandise. Iconographically they differ from the mixed style seals through the common use of animals or mixed creatures arranged in two superposed registers (Cat. #143), subsidiary scenes divided by horizontal guilloches, and the appearance of the naked goddess lifting her veil (Cat. #142).

As can be gathered from this short summary, the complex cultural interactions of Tell Leilan are clearly visible in its glyptic. The site's strategic location along the major trade route to Anatolia, its political position as the seat of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, and the local traditions of northern Mesopotamia resulted in a unique combination of Babylonian and Syrian cultural traditions that were expressed at Tell Leilan over a period of almost 70 years.

CHAPTER 6

TELL AL-RIMAH

6.1. Archaeological Context

Identified through Old Assyrian sources as the ancient site of Karana, Tell al-Rimah was located on the major route that ran from Assur to the trading colonies in Central Anatolia. The site was excavated by David Oates between 1964 and 1971 and it consists of a high central mound surrounded by a wall and a lower town. The earliest occupation identified within the walls dates to the reign of Šamši-Adad (Oates 1982: 86-88). Early 2nd millennium remains were found in Area C in the Lower Town and in Area A on the central mound.

Palace of the Rulers

Excavations in the lower mound yielded massive remains of a public building in the lowest level (Level 6) identified through tablets as the palace of the rulers of the city in the Old Assyrian period. Three phases of occupation were attested in the palace, the earliest one (Phase 1) dating back to the Šamši-Adad period. The palace of the rulers was found 6m below the surface and therefore only a 1000m² section was excavated, leaving the entire northern section of the building completely unknown (Oates 1982: 88). As a result, textual and glyptic material found in the palace is small in number considering the political importance of the city in the early 2nd millennium B.C. (Parker 1975: 21). Nevertheless, this material revealed the names of 5 rulers spanning from Šamši-Adad to Hammurabi, which suggests that the period covered cannot be longer than 50 years (Oates 1982: 89).

Phase 1 is represented by a small, three-room suite to the southeast of the later and more grandiose Phase 3 building. The main room contained a low dais at the south end, identifying the room as a formal reception chamber with a bent-axis approach. According to Oates, it seems likely that this suite was used by Šamu-Adad, who was a client prince of Šamši-Adad, and perhaps by other representatives of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia during Šamši-Adad's reign. Phase 2 is marked only by additions made in the north and the east sides of the Phase 1 suite, but Phase 3 represents the monumental palace that was built by razing the suite and adding an ante-chamber, a throne room, and two large courtyards. Oates also notes that the new throne room was laid on a direct axis, which was characteristic of southern Mesopotamia, as opposed to the bent-axis approach of the older Phase 1 suite. Based on the tablets found in the palace, Phase 3 is dated to the period of independent rulers of Karana following Šamši-Adad's death in 1776 B.C. (Oates 1982: 89).

However, seal impressions belonging to servants of Šamši-Adad¹ found below the latest floor of Room XIII challenges Oates's dating of Phase 3. Accessed through Room XIV and identified by Oates as the throne room,² Room XIII yielded seal impressions of Lu-Ninsiana (Cat. #150) and Zimri-ḥammu (Cat. #151), both servants of Šamši-Adad (Hawkins 1976: 247). The only other published glyptic find in this room is an uninscribed jar sealing (Cat. #168), which does not help the dating. Hawkins suggests that "it is possible but by no means provable" that Lu-Ninsiana, whose sealing was found in the throne room, was the same individual mentioned in a letter (ARM IV 22:16) from Išme-Dagan to his brother Yasmaḥ-Adad.

¹ Oates suggests that the tablets concerning the wine archives of the king and the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad's servants found in Room XIII were part of a dead archive and were found in a secondary context.

² See Battini 2001 for a reevaluation of the functional arrangement of the palace in its final phase. She argues, based on room size and location that, Room VIII, which was originally identified by D. Oates as an open courtyard, was indeed the throne room accessed through the reception hall in Room XIV (2001: 124). This reinterpretation does not affect the functional analysis of the glyptic material found in these rooms.

Unfortunately Zimri-ḥammu is a common name in this period and although a certain Zimri-ḥammu is attested in Mari and Chagar Bazar (ARM II 72:30; AOAT 3/1, 39:12) it is impossible to link the owner of the seal impression at the Tell al-Rimah palace with this individual (Hawkins 1976: 249-250).

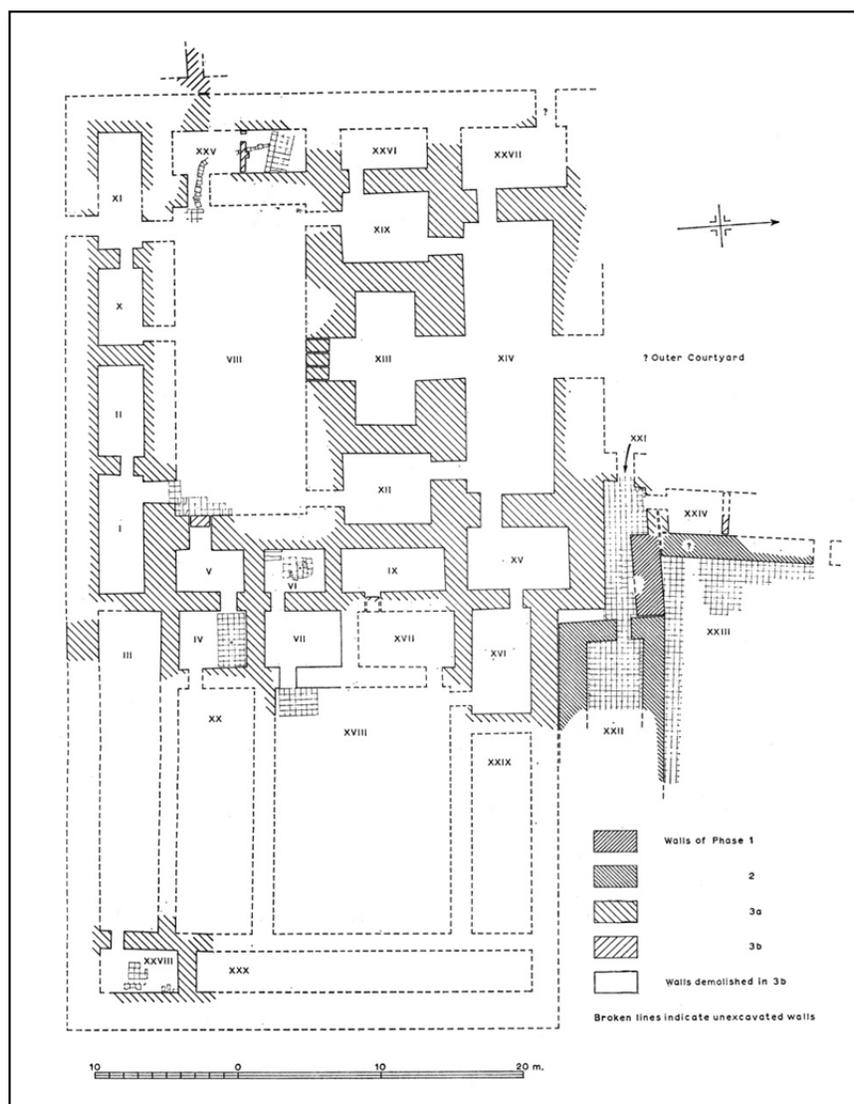


Fig.6.1: Palace – Phase 3 (Oates 1972: pl. XXV)

Nevertheless, if Lu-Ninsiana is indeed the same official mentioned in the letter ARM IV 22, then Room XIII, and as a result Phase 3, must be dated at least to the end of Šamši-Adad's reign, as Yasmaḥ-Adad was dethroned by Zimri-Lim shortly after the death of his father and could not

have been involved in a correspondence from his seat in Mari with his brother Išme-Dagan after this date. However, if we are dealing with a different Lu-Ninsiana, then it is possible that the two servants of Šamši-Adad may have continued to serve under the new king of Karana, still using their old seals. This was a common practice as shown by several cases from Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan mentioned in the chapters above. Both interpretations become tenable if we accept Battini's re-dating of Phase 3. Contrary to D. Oates, who assigned Phase 3a to the reign of Aškur-Adad and 3b to the reign of Aqba-ḥammu (Oates 1976: xiii), Battini claims, based on the historical reinterpretation by Charpin and Durand (1987: 136-145), and Eidem (1989: 75-78), that Phase 3a should date back to Ḥatnu-rapi (Battini 2001: 138). Ḥatnu-rapi ascended the throne of Karana immediately following the death of Šamši-Adad. Then, it is possible that the level in which the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad's officials Lu-ninsiana and Zimri-ḥammu were found may date to the transitional period between the reigns of Šamši-Adad's governor Šamu-Adad and Ḥatnu-rapi, or the two officials may have indeed served under the new king using their old seals as suggested above.

Beneath the original floor of the adjacent Room XII were found seal impressions of servants of the first two independent rulers of Karana, Ḥatnu-rapi and Aškur-Adad as well as the impression of Aškur-Adad's own seal (Hawkins 1976: 248). Room XVI, which could be accessed through Room XV opening to the ante-chamber XIV, contained tablets from a wine archive, and seal impressions dated to the reigns of Ḥatnu-rapi and Aqba-ḥammu, the last known independent ruler of Karana in this period. The majority of texts from the wine archive are dated to the eponymy of Šabrum (REL 218, ca. 1755 B.C.), which corresponds to the last documented years of Aqba-ḥammu's reign. In the southern section of the palace that was accessed through

the main courtyard VIII,³ two separate archives are noteworthy. Room II yielded a group of 18 tablets and 2 inscribed seal impressions belonging to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari (Cat. #152), and to Nubur-šarri (Cat. #153), who remains unidentified because of the broken seal inscription, but may be an official, as the iconography on his seal suggests. This collection of texts referred to as the “Ḥatnu-rapi archive” (Hawkins 1976: 248) contains 16 letters sent to Ḥatnu-rapi by a number of people including Zimri-Lim of Mari, and 2 economic texts. The events mentioned in the letters are dated to soon after Šamši-Adad’s death, which places them early within the reign of Zimri-Lim (Dalley 1976: 1-2). Finally, a group of texts belonging to the archive of Iltāni, daughter of Šamu-Adad, governor of Karana under Šamši-Adad, and wife of Aqba-ḥammu, the last known ruler of the city, was found scattered in Rooms VI and XIV. This archive, consisting of more than 200 texts, is particularly important, in that it is one of the few archives known to have belonged to a woman and the largest group of Old Babylonian texts from northern Mesopotamia, which dates to the period following Hammurabi’s destruction of Mari (Eidem 1989: 67). Texts from the archive contain the eponyms of Ayaya (REL 215 or 221), Azzubiya (REL 216), and Šabrum (REL 218), which places the archive in the period 1758-1752 B.C. This period falls within the last decade of Ḥammurabi’s reign, of whom Aqba-ḥammu was a vassal. The findspots of the tablets suggest that they were not found in their primary contexts, but discarded in the bathroom (Room VI) and the ante-chamber (Room XIV) located inside the main entrance of the palace. Documents inform us that Iltāni held considerable power organizing the administration of Aqba-ḥammu’s household and lands in his absence (Oates 1982: 91). This archive yielded seal impressions of Iltāni (Cat.# 158) and Aqba-ḥammu (Cat/# 159) themselves as well as those of Aqba-ḥammu’s servants (Cat. #160 and 161), an unidentified Pazu-[. . .] servant of Šamaš (Cat.

³ Battini identifies this area as the throne room, based on its size and its relation to contemporaneous structures in Upper Mesopotamia (Battini 2001: 124).

#178), and Mutu-ḥadkim (Cat. #162) with whom Iltāni corresponded extensively (Hawkins 1976: 248). The palace of the rulers at Tell al-Rimah was destroyed and razed probably shortly after the Iltāni archive, as datable evidence in the building ceased after this point. Eidem notes that the last two months of the eponym year Ṣabrum are not attested in the archive. Based on this, he suggests that the destruction of the palace may have occurred towards the end of this year (ca. 1755 B.C.). Although no information is available as to who may have been responsible for this destruction, it is possible to speculate that it happened at the hands of Hammurabi of Babylon, as he consolidated his rule over northern Mesopotamia (Eidem 1989: 68-69).

The Temple

Excavations on the central mound of Tell al-Rimah focused on a religious complex (Area A) designed around a monumental temple of classic Babylonian type with a bent-axis approach. The outer façade and the walls of the internal courtyard were decorated with engaged columns in the form of palm trunks and spirals, also known from Tell Leilan in this period (Oates 1982: 95).



Fig. 6.2: The western façade of the temple courtyard (Oates 1982: Fig. 71)

As the remains show, the complex was originally planned to incorporate a lower terrace surrounded by a wall, a free-standing arcaded stair leading up from the main entrance to a second terrace on which stood a large temple, and a third high terrace. Excavators detected two distinct stages of construction, but the original plan was never completed (Oates 1982: 91). Early 2nd millennium remains are attested in Phase 3, which was not cleared completely due to later structures built on top (Parker 1975: 21). Although no written evidence was found, the original phase of construction is ascribed to Šamši-Adad based on the architectural plan and decorations typical of southern Mesopotamia, which appear in several centers of his kingdom. The fact that the earliest texts from the temple stairway mention a governor ruling the city instead of a king also support the hypothesis that the first phase of construction of the temple should have occurred during Šamši-Adad's reign when Karana was ruled by the governor Šamu-Adad responding to the Great King rather than by an independent ruler (Oates 1976: xv). Based on this, Oates concludes that the second and more modest stage of construction must have been undertaken with restricted resources by the later, independent rulers of the city, Ḫatnu-rapi and Aškur-Adad (Hawkins 1976: 195; Oates 1982: 93). This dating of the two distinct stages of construction of the temple also matches the building phases of the palace securely dated through textual and glyptic evidence.

Within the religious complex in Area A only the great stairway approaching the temple terrace yielded tablets and sealings. The building of the stairway and the terrace cannot be linked with the stratigraphy of the temple itself, as the intervening area is destroyed by erosion (Hawkins 1976: 195). However, the 58 tablets and tablet fragments, which include letters and economic documents, can be dated internally.

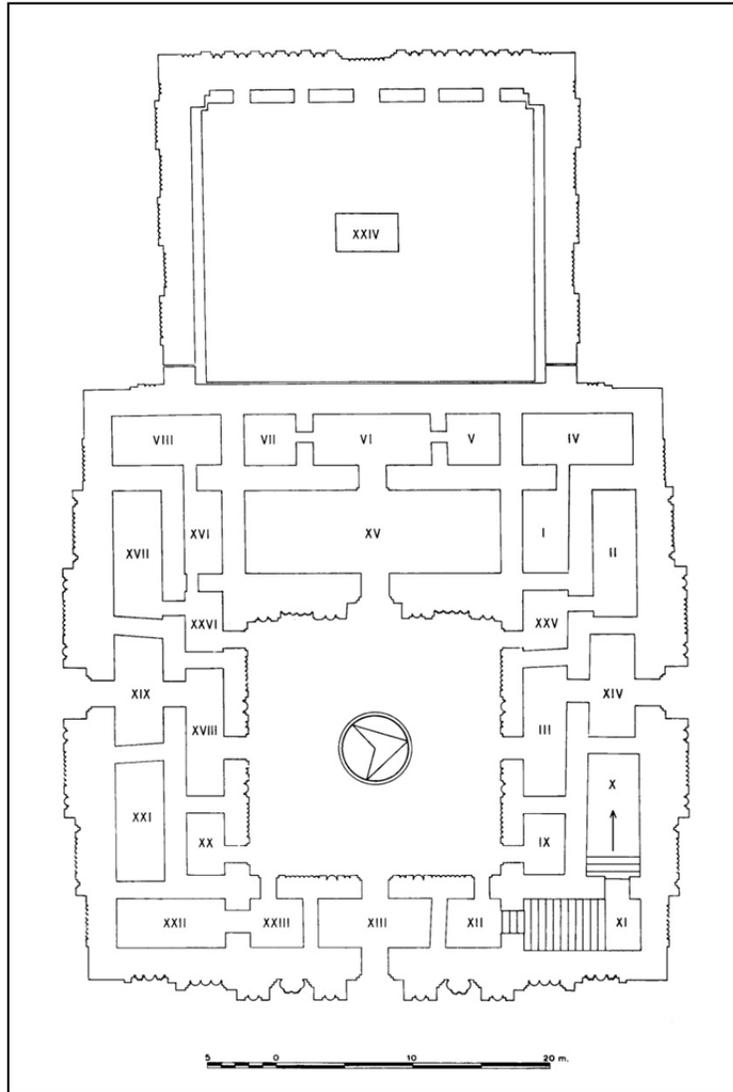


Fig. 6.3: Reconstructed plan of the temple (Oates 1968: p. XXVIII)

The eponyms attested in the archive are Aḫiyaya (REL 227-235), Tuttaya (REL 227-235), Aššur-taklāku (REL 241), and Ušur-ša-Aššur (REL 243), which date the tablets to the period 1746-1730 B.C. at the earliest and 1738-1730 B.C. at the latest.⁴ However, based on a combination of epigraphic and archaeological data, Hawkins claims that this group of tablets is

⁴ Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 15ff: Nine eponyms attested in texts from Tell al-Rimah, Tell Leilan, Boğazköy, and Kültepe appear as candidates for the break in KEL G (Kültepe Eponym List) between numbers 117 and 125, which correspond to REL 227-235. However, it is not possible to place these nine eponyms in a chronological order based on available evidence. Therefore, they are referred to by the interval REL 227-235 where they were fitted.

not likely to date later than the death of Šamši-Adad, and assigns them “perhaps to early in the reign of Šamši-Adad, [...] or perhaps even to a period actually prior to his reign” (Hawkins 1976: 202). Subsequently, he claims that the tablets antedate the building of the Temple Stairway and the temple terrace wall, and that they probably came from a building disturbed by the construction of these structures (Hawkins 1976: 195). However, the REL shows that this group of tablets should be placed in the period following Šamši-Adad’s death, by at least 30 years if not more. Although there was a major attempt to reinforce the temple building around 1700 B.C., it seems to have decayed slowly after this date and, Mitanni and Middle-Assyrian period structures were built upon it (Oates 1982: 93).

As for the glyptic finds from Area A, the Temple Stairway yielded seal impressions of IIṛ-Šamaš servant of X (Cat. #174), and Niḫmatum, the female servant of IIṛ-Šamaš (Cat. #149) as well as two uninscribed hematite cylinder seals, Cat. #163 found in a secondary context in Phase 1 of the Temple dated to the Mitanni period, and Cat. #147 found on the Phase 3 floor of Room XXI of the Temple (Hawkins 1976: 247; Parker 1975: 25, Nos. 7 and 8).

6.2. Nature of Glyptic Finds

In this dissertation, 5 cylinder seals and 28 seal impressions from Tell al-Rimah are analyzed. The table below shows the distribution of this material by location.

Building	Room	Finds
Temple	XXI	1
Temple	Stairway	2
Temple	N/A	1
Palace	II	2
Palace	VI	7
Palace	XII	10
Palace	XIII	3
Palace	XVI	4
Palace	N/A	3

Table 6.1: Distribution of glyptic material by location

The treatment of the archaeological context above shows that only a small percentage of the official buildings at the site have been excavated. As a result, the number of seals and seal impressions is very small. With the exception of the last known king, Aqba-ḥammu, the independent rulers of the city reigned for short periods of time (see Appendix I), which resulted in an almost equal distribution of glyptic material from each reign. In certain cases, it is not possible to assign an impression to the reign of a specific king, so an approximate period combining two subsequent reigns is assigned based on epigraphic material found in the same context (e.g. Ḥatnu-rapi/Aškur-Adad).

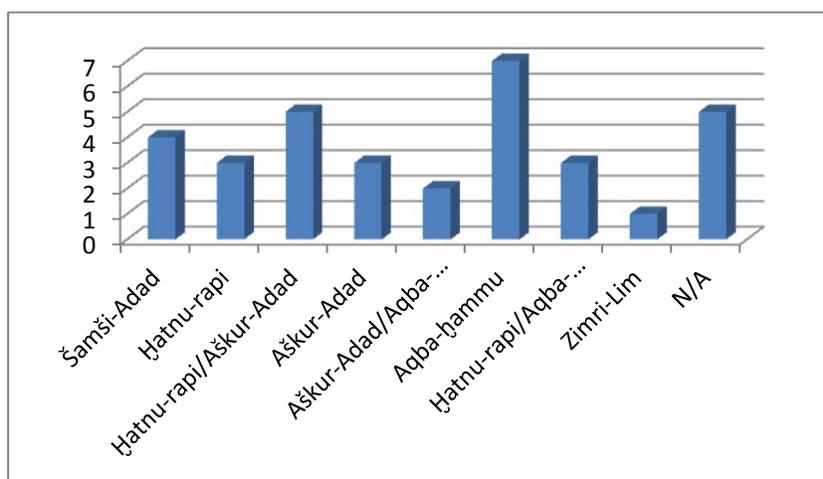


Table 6.2: The distribution of glyptic material by period

None of the actual seals found at Tell al- Rimah are inscribed and all but one (Cat. #147) were found out of context. More than half of the impressions belong to servants' seals (16/33) and royal seals (5/33). In total, 12 seal owners remain unidentified, as their seals are either uninscribed or the impressions do not contain a legend. Among the royals, kings Aškur-Adad and Aqba-ḥammu (2 different seals), Aqba-ḥammu's queen Iltāni, and Zimri-Lim of Mari are known through their seal impressions.

The overwhelming majority (ca. 45%) of the impressions found at Tell al-Rimah occur on tablets or envelopes. This is followed by jar sealings (21%). Only one clay lump is identified as a door sealing (Cat. #148), and 5 are published only as clay sealings. No bag and chest sealings, and tags were found. This picture suggests that the Tell al- Rimah corpus consists of seals belonging to the local ruling elite, both local and foreign officials and foreign kings. And based on the extremely small number of container sealings, one can speculate that the main storage areas of the palace were not recovered.

6.3. Iconographic Analysis of the Material

In terms of iconography, Tell al-Rimah's repertoire is much more limited compared to Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan. This may of course be a result of the small number of available examples from restricted contexts. Of the 33 examples, 11 are too fragmentary for the main scene to be identified. As a result, the following iconographic analysis is based on 22 seals and seal impressions.

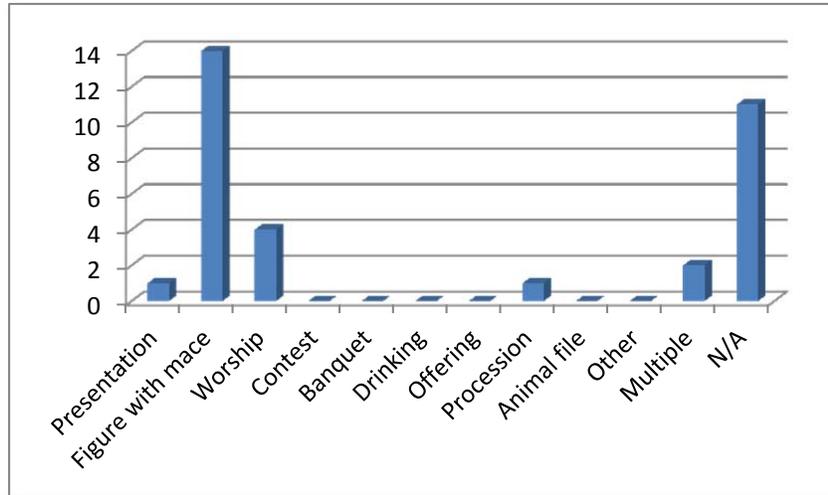


Table 6.3: Distribution of main scene types in the Rimah corpus

The Presentation Scene

The presentation scene is represented by a single, fragmentary example in the Tell al-Rimah corpus. Catalog #146 shows the lower body of a seated figure. His right hand, extended forward, is probably holding a small cup as is typical in presentation scenes. Facing him, traces of the lower body of a standing figure clad in a long robe are preserved. He is probably the worshipper raising his hands in a gesture of supplication. The impression was found on an envelope fragment in Room XII of the palace. Despite its fragmentary nature, it can be dated approximately to the period covered by the reigns of Ḫatnu-rapi and Aškur-Adad, as it was found together with epigraphic material and seal impressions of servants of these kings (Cat. #155 and 156) as well as an impression of Aškur-Adad's own seal (Cat. #154). Unfortunately, nothing can be said concerning the owner of Cat. #146, but based on similar examples seen at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #6) and Tell Leilan (Cat. #105), it is possible that he may be a royal servant.

The Figure with Mace

Although impressions with the figure-with-mace motif make up 68% of all identified main scenes, Catalog #147 and #163 are the only actual cylinder seals in the northern Mesopotamian glyptic corpus analyzed in this study that bear a figure-with-mace motif. Unfortunately neither of them is inscribed and they do not match any of the impressions excavated at the site. As a result, their owners cannot be identified.

There are five sealings excavated at Tell al-Rimah (Cat. #174-178), where only the inscription is preserved. To these we could also add Cat. #151, where only traces of the figure with mace can be seen, while the seal legend behind him is fully preserved. Although it may just be an accident of preservation, it is also possible that only the seal legend was rolled on the clay, as it is the part of the seal that identifies the owner in most detail. Partial rolling was a common practice in Babylonia for inscribed seals during the early 2nd millennium B.C. (e.g. al-Gailani Werr 1988: Pls. XL and XLI). Complete rollings were rare and only occurred if the seal was uninscribed. In all 5 cases at Tell al-Rimah, the seal owner is identified as a servant. It is possible that these seals may have also borne the figure-with-mace motif. It is clear that within an administrative system, where large numbers of officials owned and used seals adhering to an almost standardized iconographic repertoire (i.e. the figure-with-mace motif), the seal legend is the only element that differentiates seal owners from one another once the seal is rolled on clay.

Going back to Tell al-Rimah, the motif of the figure with mace is the focal point in 12 examples, while it appears in combination with an offering scene on an impression (Cat. #150) dated to Šamši-Adad and with a contest scene on an impression (Cat. #148) dated to Ḫatnu-rapi. Figure-with-mace seals appear under all kings of Karana, but more examples are preserved from the reign of Aqba-ḫammu, as he was the last ruling king of the city when it was destroyed. Of the

14 examples, only 2 are uninscribed. The original design on Cat. #147 contained an inscription panel, but it appears to have been obliterated by two new figures inserted during a re-cutting. The rest of the seals are inscribed, and they belong to both royals and officials. Two of these seal owners are women: Iltāni, wife of king Aqba-ḥammu (Cat. #158), whose seal is analyzed below, and Niḥmatum, female servant/secondary wife of Ilī-Šamaš (Cat. #149). Niḥmatum's seal is also the only example of a figure-with-mace scene at Tell al-Rimah Rimah, in which there is a major deity represented. Although the scene is fragmentary, the line drawing shows what may be the interceding goddess to the right of the inscription panel, while a deity in ascending pose holding a downward sickle-sword in the left hand and possibly another object in the right is visible on the left. Based on parallels (e.g. Cat. #38 and #52), it can be suggested that the deity is Ištar, and the figure with mace is placed between her and the interceding goddess. Similar examples of women's seals with the figure-with-mace scene are also known from Tell Leilan (Cat. #119) and Mari (Cat. #185, #191, #195, #218). The appearance of this motif on women's seals brings up, once again, the question of who was authorized to use this motif on their seals, and these two cases suggest that the motif was not exclusive to officials of the palace and temple administrations in this period. This issue is discussed in further detail in Chapter 9.

Simple compositions do not seem to be popular on seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif at Tell al-Rimah. Only four examples (Cat. #156, #158, #159, and #162) show the typical pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess without filling motifs. Only on Cat. #156 the crescent-and-disk symbol is placed between the heads of the two figures. Seals of Iltāni and Mutu-ḥadkim belong to this group. Iltāni's seal (Cat. #158) is worth mentioning here both because it depicts the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess and also because it is the most frequently represented seal within the Tell al-Rimah corpus. Its impressions were found in

Room VI of the palace on 2 envelope fragments and 7 economic texts dated to the eponymy of Šabrum (REL 218 = 1755 B.C.) towards the end of Aqba-ḥammu's rule (Hawkins 1976: 253). The seal legend identifies Iltāni as the daughter of Šamu-Adad and the wife of Aqba-ḥammu, the last known king of Karana. Mari texts show that Šamu-Adad was the local governor of Karana during Šamši-Adad's reign, so Iltāni was a princess before she married Aqba-ḥammu (Dalley 1976: 33). Iltāni held considerable power organizing the administration of Aqba-ḥammu's household and lands in his absence (Oates 1982: 91), which is illustrated by her archive found in Rooms VI and XIV.

Iltāni's correspondence indicates that she was in close contact with a man named Mutu-ḥadkim, whose seal impression (Cat. #162) was found on the envelope of a letter addressed to Iltāni herself (Hawkins 1976: 255). The seal legend on the envelope is only partially preserved, obliterating Mutu-ḥadkim's patronym and occupation. Nevertheless, the iconography of his seal, displaying a classic figure-with-mace motif in true Babylonian fashion, suggests that he was a royal official. The composition is very simple and consists only of the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess and the seal legend behind him. According to Charpin and Durand, Mutu-ḥadkim was initially an official of Išme-Dagan at Ekallatum, but was driven from his post following the return of Zimri-Lim to Mari, and thus entered the service of Ḥammurabi of Babylon during Zimri-Lim's second year (Charpin and Durand 1986: 171). He functioned as Ḥammurabi's agent in the north and became Aqba-ḥammu's immediate superior in Karana after Aqba-ḥammu declared himself a servant of the Babylonian king (Eidem 1989: 70, footnote 15).

Glyptic material from Tell al-Rimah shows that Aqba-ḥammu had at least two seals.⁵ His first seal (Cat. #159), usually referred to as seal 1, consists of a simple figure-with-mace-and-interceding-goddess motif along with an inscription, which identifies the seal owner as "Aqba-

⁵ See Eidem 1989: 75 for the possibility of a third seal that identified Aqba-ḥammu as king (*LUGAL*).

ḥammu, the diviner, son of Ḥimdi-Šamaš” (Hawkins 1976: 253). The impression was found on an intact envelope in Room VI of the palace. Aqba-ḥammu is known from the Mari texts to be a highly placed official under Aškur-Adad, king of Karana towards the end of Zimri-Lim’s reign (Eidem 1989: 67). The relative dating of this impression is based on Aqba-ḥammu’s second seal (Cat. #177), the impression of which was found on several economic texts found in the same room of the palace. The impression consists only of the seal legend. As mentioned above, it is highly possible that the partial rolling of the seal was intentional, as the inscription clearly identified the seal owner. Based on other examples of royal seals treated here, one can speculate that Aqba-ḥammu’s second seal may have also borne a figure-with-mace motif. What differentiates these two seals is the addition of a fourth line in the inscription panel of the second seal. Here, in addition to “the diviner, son of Ḥimdi-Šamaš,” Aqba-ḥammu is also identified as “the servant of Ḥammurabi” (Hawkins 1976: 253-254). This status is also corroborated by textual evidence mentioning Aqba-ḥammu’s bringing tribute to Babylon (Eidem 1989: 67). Consequently, it has been suggested that Aqba-ḥammu used Cat. #159 before he submitted to Ḥammurabi, possibly even before he became king of Karana. When the king of Babylon consolidated his control over the north, Aqba-ḥammu must have commissioned a new seal for himself declaring his new role as Ḥammurabi’s vassal (Dalley 1976: 32; Eidem 1989: 68-69). This new status acquired by Aqba-ḥammu strengthens the possibility that his second seal may have adhered to the official iconographic tradition and displayed a figure-with-mace scene.

As mentioned earlier, the majority of the figure-with-mace seals at Rimah have relatively busy compositions, where the classic pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess is accompanied by additional figures or filling motifs. The hematite seal, Cat. #147, is an interesting example of this group. It is the only Old Babylonian cylinder seal found within an

early 2nd millennium context at Tell al-Rimah. Excavated on the Phase 3 floor of Room XXI of the temple, the seal depicts the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, with a crescent-and-disk motif and the nude female in between. Behind the figure with mace is a blank 3-line inscription panel. Instead of a cuneiform inscription, a male figure⁶ clad in a short tunic holding a boomerang-like object in his left hand is inserted into the last line, while an upside down goddess in a flounced garment covers the first line. It is clear that the seal was recut either before the seal legend was carved or after it was erased. Parker notes that the two figures inserted later were cut by a less experienced hand, as the bodies are less naturalistic and more angular compared to the figures in the original design. Although the iconography of the seal is typical of this period, it is significant that it is the only actual seal found in its proper phase, if not context, inside the temple.

A common motif accompanying the figure with mace scenes at Tell al-Rimah is the double-lion headed mace as a standard. On Cat. #148, where the scene is combined with a pair of naked heroes or wrestlers, an elaborately depicted double lion-headed sceptre with a spiral shaft and topped with a crescent-and-disk is placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. On either side of the shaft are a hedgehog and a crouching monkey. On Cat. #153 and #154 the double lion-headed sceptre topped with the crescent-and-disk is flanked by a pair of bull-men holding the shaft. The mace is the attribute of the warrior deities and is a very popular

⁶ Parker 1975: 25 argues, based on the similarity of the boomerang-like object to the crook of the figure she identifies as Amurru on TR. 6307 (Cat. #167), that the same deity may be represented here. The god with the crook identified as Amurru is often shown wearing a short kilt and in ascending posture resting his foot on a crouching gazelle. However, examples where he is not in ascending posture and the attribute animal is not depicted are also known (Collon 1986: 28). Although crudely cut, the figure on TR. 6307 holding a boomerang-like object fits this description. This suggests that Parker's identification of the male figure on Cat. #147 may be correct. Nevertheless, the boomerang-like object leaves this identification uncertain, as even on the most crudely cut seals of this period, the crook is always depicted with a tall handle and a curved top (Porada 1948: Pl. LXXI). Examples with male figures holding similar objects are known from the Diyala (al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Fig. 76.a) and from the Morgan (Porada 1948: 493) and British Museum (Collon 1986: 370-371) collections. In all these cases the figures are referred to as holding "a curved object," and only in the BM examples they have been identified as the sun-god and a goddess, both of whom are in ascending posture. I suggest that the seal was left unfinished after the recutting, thus it is not possible to identify this male figure securely, and his association with Amurru is not convincing.

compositional element in Old Babylonian glyptic. It is attested most frequently with Ištar, but when it is not held by the war-goddess, it appears as a divine symbol in the field. It is used in virtually all types of compositions, but it is most popular in contests scenes between two contesting pairs (Porada 1948: Figs. 348-349, 351, 353 etc.), and in figure-with-mace scenes (Collon 1986: Figs. 128, 148, 220-222 etc.) as at Tell Bia' (Cat. #37) and Tell-Rimah. However, only at Tell al-Rimah and Tell Leilan (Cat. #138) it is flanked by a pair of bull-men. In all other cases it stands in the field by itself.

A single bull-man or naked hero holding an emblem is a common motif in the glyptic repertoire of the 2nd millennium B.C. (e.g. Cat. #184, #265). But these are always composed of a tall standard topped with a crescent and disk. Although evidence is limited, one can speculate that the double lion-headed sceptre flanked by a pair of bull-men may be distinctive to the north and particularly popular at Tell al-Rimah, such that it was depicted also on the seal of Aškur-Adad, king of Karana, who ruled briefly towards the end of Zimri-Lim's reign (Cat. #154).

Additional motifs placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess at Tell al-Rimah also include the hero struggling with an upside down animal (Cat. #155), which is also attested in a similar composition at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #27); what appears to be the ball staff (Cat. #157), and the lightning fork (Cat. #160). Associated with the weather-god and used as a filling motif, the lightning fork is often found on seals with the figure-with-mace motif in Old Babylonian glyptic (Collon 1986: 53; Figs. 238, 243, 247, 582). Despite this, it is only attested on two more examples in the corpus studied here, once at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #97) and once at Tell Leilan (Cat. #108), in association with another figure-with-mace scene.

An interesting feature encountered in figure-with-mace scenes at Tell al-Rimah is a single-line inscription inserted between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. On the

seal of Lù-Ninsianna (Cat. #150), the composition is divided into two sections by the inscription panel. The dividing line between the two lines of inscription is preserved and separates the seal surface into two sections. But the inscription panel is not enclosed on either side of the two line inscription. The scene to the left of the panel depicts an offering bearer approaching a deity in ascending posture. Hawkins identifies the deity as Ištar holding a saw (Hawkins 1976: 249), but this identification is incorrect as the war-goddess is never attested holding a saw. Otto identifies this deity correctly as Šamaš (Otto 2000a: 106), who is almost always depicted holding a saw or dagger. Behind him is the last line of the seal legend, identifying the seal owner as the servant of Šamši-Adad. The scene to the right consists of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, with a crescent-and-disk between their heads and the first line of the inscription containing the seal owner's name running vertically between them. The patronym of the seal owner, which is only partly preserved, is placed behind the figure with mace. Only a line drawing of the impression is published, but it is clear from the placement of the figures and the inscription panel that the seal has been recut. The inscription panel appears to be part of the original design, which suggests that Šamaš and the figure with mace were inserted into the composition later, covering parts of the inscription panel. The inscription itself must have been carved later as well, as the remaining space was not enough and the personal name of the seal owner was inserted outside of the panel, between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. A man with the same name is attested on a letter from Mari (ARM IV 22:6) written by Išme-Dagan to his brother Yasmaḥ-Adad. Although the timeframe matches, it is impossible to prove that the owner of Cat. #150 and his namesake mentioned by Išme-Dagan were the same person. Nevertheless, it is interesting, but by no means unusual, that a royal official owned and used a recut seal. A similar case of recutting is attested on a lapis lazuli seal in the British Museum (Collon 1986: Fig. 174). The seal

depicts the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, but Collon notes that “the figures have been reworked, . . . , the original inscription was erased and a new one was cut, perhaps with the first line replacing the last line of the original inscription and the new second line inserted between king¹ and goddess” (Collon 1986: 106). The final composition also includes a male figure wearing a short kilt and a cap behind the goddess and an inscription in a Cypro-Minoan script⁷ between the figure with mace and the kilted figure. The cuneiform inscription identifies the owner as Teḫeš-taḫe, son of Qeštiya. Both names occur in the Nuzi archives in the 15th century B.C., which provides clues as to when the re-cutting may have taken place.⁸ A final case, where parts of the inscription are placed inside the compositional field, is the seal of Zimri-Lim of Mari (Cat. #152) found on an envelope fragment in Room II of the palace. Epigraphic material from Tell al-Rimah contains several letters sent by Zimri-Lim to Ḫatnu-rapi, king of Karana (Dalley 1976: 1) and the envelope bearing this seal impression was no doubt part of this group. Zimri-Lim is known to have used at least 2 different seals during his reign (Cat. #152/188, and Cat. #189), both of which have a similar figure with mace scene but differ in terms of their inscriptions. The impression of the seal treated here (Cat. #152) is fragmentary, but the figure with mace and the interceding goddess are clearly visible. Between them is a one-line inscription bound by two thin lines on either side, and the rest of the seal legend is placed in a panel behind the figure with mace. The line between the figures contains Zimri-Lim’s filiation, *DUMU Yaḫdun-Lim* and its placement in the middle of the seal design seems odd. It is probable that the seal cutter may have run out of space due to the unusual length of the seal legend and placed the final line in the only part of the seal surface that was available.

⁷ See Collon 1986: 106 for details of the inscription.

⁸ See also Chapters 5 and 8 for the seal of Šamši-Adad’s servant, Līter-šarrusu. The impression of the original seal was found on a bulla at Achemhöyük (Cat. #329), while the re-cut seal bearing the name of the seal’s new owner was impressed on a tablet found at Tell Leilan (Cat. #126).

Worship Scenes

With three examples, the worship scenes makes up the second largest group within the Tell al-Rimah corpus. Two out of the three examples are onyx (Cat. #164) and hematite (Cat. #165) cylinder seals. Although found out of context, in the Mitannian and Middle Assyrian levels of the palace and the temple, it is clear that these seals belonged to locals.

Catalog #164 shows a typical Old Babylonian worship scene with roundly carved and naturalistic figures. At the center of the motif is a bearded deity in ascending pose with his right foot resting on a small podium. He holds a mace in his left hand and the rod-and-ring in his right. Parker identifies him as Šamaš, who is usually depicted as stepping on a mountain (Parker 1975: 26). Although he typically holds a dagger/saw, examples of the sun god holding a rod and/or ring are also common in Old Babylonian glyptic (Collon 1986: Figs. 324, 372-383). This identification is also supported by the appearance of the sun god holding the same symbol on the Code of Hammurabi (Collon 1986: 30). Behind him is another male deity, possibly a divine attendant, with right hand raised in prayer. He wears a flounced robe similar to that of the interceding goddess. Facing the main god is a worshipper clad in a long robe with one hand raised in supplication. He is followed by the interceding goddess in her typical pose with both hands raised before her. Parker suggests that the seal is unfinished, as a large blank space is left behind the divine attendant (Parker 1975: 25-26). It is possible that an inscription panel was planned for this space.

Catalog #165 is an interesting seal, in that it is the only example of a two-register seal at Tell al-Rimah, but ties in nicely to the glyptic of Tell Leilan, as its arrangement is similar to the seal of Samiya, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat #128). The composition is arranged in a double-register centered on two main groups of figures without a dividing line. The upper register shows

Šamaš facing left in ascending pose holding a dagger. Before him is an offering bearer carrying a small animal and the interceding goddess follows him. Behind Šamaš is an unidentified deity wearing a short kilt and pointed cap, and holding an object resembling a sickle-sword or a crook. The second group in the upper register centers on a deity clad in a short robe with fringed edge and holding a crescentic ax. Facing him is a bearded worshipper with one hand raised in prayer and followed by the interceding goddess. The lower register is made up of a master-of-animals motif with two rampant lions flanking a man, while a second man holds the tail of the lion on the left. In the second group are two rampant goats on either side of a tree. A monkey and a fly are placed on either side of this group. Although the individual iconographic elements on this seal are familiar, their arrangement and the style of engraving of the human and divine figures is foreign to the glyptic of northern Mesopotamia. Based on “the intricate linear detail of the engraving,” Parker relates this seal to the Old Assyrian style (Parker 1975: 27). In addition to the herringbone pattern on the interceding goddess’s robe and the pointed shape of the minor deity on the upper register, which were brought up by Parker, the large nose triangle, the massive eyes, the schematic treatment of the human and divine bodies with triangular torsos, unnaturally thin waists and stick-figure limbs also tie this seal to the Old Assyrian tradition found at Kültepe⁹. Although Old Assyrian and Anatolian seals of this period are characterized by busy compositions where figures are placed without much regard to the ground line, examples where the entire seal surface is divided into two superposed registers are rare. An almost identical seal to Cat. #165 is found in the Morgan Collection (Porada 1948: Fig. 884 E). On this seal, the second group on the upper register, where a deity in a short kilt is approached by a bearded worshipper, is replaced by a presentation scene, while the master of animals motif in the lower registers is centered upon a kneeling hero. Otherwise, both the composition and the style of

⁹ For a detailed treatment of the Old Assyrian style at Kültepe, see Lassen 2012: Chapter 3.

engraving are almost identical, suggesting that both seals were carved by the same hand. Unfortunately, the companion seal is unprovenanced, and it is assigned to the Old Assyrian style group solely on stylistic grounds. Double-register scenes on Old Assyrian style seals within the Kültepe corpus are surprisingly numerous. The majority of designs consist of animal friezes in two superposed registers separated by a dividing line (Özgüç 2006: CS 262, 285, 298, 301, 316 etc.). Compositions arranged in two registers focusing on two or more groups of figures in presentation, worship, and contest scenes are also known, but in the majority of cases a dividing line separates the registers (Özgüç 2001: CS 20 and 203; Özgüç 2006: CS 317, 395, 686 etc.). The seal impression, Kt n/k 1793A (CS 518, Özgüç 2006: Pl. 42), found on an unopened envelope in the Uşur-ša-Ištar archive, also has a divider between the two registers, which consist of presentation, worship, and contest scenes, but it is closer in composition to Cat. #165 from Tell al-Rimah, in that it shows a similar pair of rampant goats flanking a tree. An even more similar composition can be seen on Kt d/k 8C (CS 259, Özgüç 2006: Pls. 2 and 90). The impression was found on an unopened envelope in the Peruwa archive. Unlike the other examples from Kültepe, this double-register seal does not have a divider in the middle. The composition consists of groups of male worshippers approaching a bull altar and the weather-god, and includes a pair of rampant goats flanking a tree in the upper register. The details of the faces and garments of the figures on the Kültepe example are similar to the Tell al-Rimah seal, and support its classification as Old Assyrian. What is interesting, however, is that all the above mentioned examples from Kültepe come from Level II, and especially from the period between REL 80 and 110 (ca. 1890-1860 B.C.).¹⁰ Although the Tell al-Rimah seal was found out of context in the palace, it is clear that it cannot be dated to earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century B.C., as the construction of the palace started under Šamši-Adad. This ca. 100 year difference between

¹⁰ The dating of the envelopes is based on the Old Assyrian Text Project (OATP) website, oatp.net.

the Kültepe examples and the Rimah seal can be explained in two ways. If the Tell al-Rimah seal was indeed carved in the mid-19th century along with its counterparts at Kültepe, it must have been kept as an heirloom and re-used for almost a century. Alternatively, I would like to suggest that the seal is a product of provincial workmanship based on an iconographic tradition maintained in northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Šamši-Adad and later. When compared to the Kültepe examples, its style of engraving is much coarser and the figures are much more unnaturalistic, despite the typical Old Assyrian way in which faces and garments are rendered. Together with its counterpart in the Morgan Collection (Porada 1948: Fig. 884E), Cat. #165 may very well be a local product of northern Mesopotamia. Moreover, it is also very important, in that it links this region with Central Anatolia, with which extensive contacts continued during the 18th century B.C.

Filling motifs

The Tell al-Rimah glyptic corpus is surprisingly simple when it comes to filling motifs. The simplicity of the compositions may also be a result of the very fragmentary state of a large part of the impressions, but even in cases where the entire impression is preserved, the scenes appear to be uncomplicated.

As mentioned in section 2.2. above, compositions with the figure-with-mace motif usually only consist of the standard pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess (e.g. Cat. #158 and 159), sometimes accompanied by the crescent-and-disk symbol between their heads (e.g. Cat. #156). Other fillers occur only in two examples: Cat. #148 has a hedgehog and a crouching monkey on either side of the double lion-headed sceptre; Cat. #157 shows what appears to be a ball staff and a bird between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess;

Cat. #160 has a biforked thunderbolt, a 5-pointed star, and the crescent-and-disk placed one above the other between the pair of figures. The worship scenes are even simpler, in that in none of the impressions filling motifs are used. A lion-headed monster with a human's body (Cat. #169) and a lion-headed winged griffin (Cat. #170) are the only other filling motifs encountered in the corpus.

Summary

The small number of glyptic finds and the fact that the palace of the rulers has not been fully excavated prevents us from reaching overarching conclusions regarding the glyptic traditions of ancient Karana. Nevertheless, several patterns emerge from the analysis of the material. Among the northern Mesopotamian sites studied here, Tell al-Rimah emerges as a singular case. In contrast to Tell Leilan, located farther north, where the glyptic incorporates aspects of both Old Babylonian and local Syrian traditions, Tell al-Rimah is closely related to southern Babylonia both in terms of the style of engraving and the design repertoire. It lacks the typical characteristics of the Old Syrian style that are prominent at other sites in the region. The designs are clean, with ample space left around the main figures, guilloches, sphinxes, and griffins, which are typical of Syrian seals, are absent from the compositions. The overwhelming percentage of seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif, and the absence of other typical scenes such as presentation and contest make the Tell al-Rimah corpus appear rather uniform. However, one should remember that this is a result of the fact that only parts of the palace were excavated. No storerooms inside the palace and temple structures were located, limiting the number of container sealings attached to imports and preventing us from understanding the various glyptic traditions that flourished outside of the administrative context.

Catalog #165 is the only example in the corpus that does not fit into this general picture. Although its place of production and the identity of its owner are unclear, it clearly connects Tell al-Rimah with Central Anatolia and the Old Assyrian colonies. A similar connection is also provided by a lead plaque found in an unstratified fill in the palace (Howard-Carter 1998: 109). It is dated to the Old Assyrian period based on the large quantity of comparative material from Central Anatolian sites such as Kültepe, Alişar, Boğazköy, and Alacahöyük. Although molded lead plaques are ubiquitous in Anatolia during the Old Assyrian period (Emre 1971), the Tell al-Rimah example is unique, in that it is the only one found in northern Mesopotamia. Texts inform us that the major trade route from Assur to Anatolia ran through the territory of Karana during the early part of the Old Assyrian period, and trade relations between the two regions continued during the 18th century B.C. Therefore, it is not surprising to find related material at Rimah. However, nothing further can be said concerning Tell al-Rimah's local glyptic traditions and the site's relationship with other regions unless more material is unearthed.

CHAPTER 7

MARI

7.1. Archaeological Context

The ancient site of Mari is located toward the southern end of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, at the head of the route that connected Upper Mesopotamia to Syria and the Levant. It also functioned as a river port between Lower Mesopotamia and Syria, a strategic position that allowed close contacts with the Mediterranean coast to the west and Anatolia to the north (Dalley 1984: 12). The Mari archives show that the city had close relations with Crete, Anatolia, Phoenicia, Syria, Palestine, Babylonia, and Iran. As a result, the conquest of Mari was a turning point in the reign of Šamši-Adad, both from a political and cultural point of view, as it played an important role in spreading elements of Mesopotamian civilization to the West (Amiet 1960: 232). The site has been excavated by a French team since 1933, which uncovered continuous occupation going back to the 5th millennium, but the city reached its peak in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C.

The great majority of sources for the early 2nd millennium come from the Great Palace, also known as the Zimri-Lim Palace. Covering ca. 2.3ha in area, the palace is almost entirely excavated except for the southwestern section, which is heavily destroyed by erosion (Margueron 1997: 459). A pivot stone found at the entrance to the north naming Enim-Dagan, a predecessor of Yagid-Lim, shows that the structure was built at the junction of 21st and 20th centuries B.C. The final phase of occupation corresponds to ca. 1810-1760 B.C., including the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim, Sumu-Yamam, Yasmaḥ-Adad, and Zimri-Lim. The city was conquered by Hammurabi of Babylon and the palace was pillaged probably by Babylonian soldiers before being destroyed in 1760 B.C. (Margueron 2004: 459). Nevertheless, ca. 15.000 cuneiform tablets

were preserved from this phase, making the Mari archives one of the richest epigraphic sources in the ancient Near East. These texts not only give an exceptionally detailed view of the palace and the city itself, but also provide important insights into the larger Mesopotamian sphere of politics and culture (Margueron 1997: 416).

Consisting of nearly 300 rooms at the ground level, the Great Palace at Mari was not only the residence of the royal family, but also the center of the local government, and a center of production. The structure is organized as functionally coherent units with rooms arranged around open courtyards or covered central spaces.

Although scholars disagree on the function of certain rooms or units within the palace (Margueron 2004; Reichel 1994), an accurate view of the different palace sectors and their functions can be gathered from available evidence.

Unit A is organized around the entrance hall 154 inside the main gate to the north. It provides access to Unit C to the east, which functioned as the suite of the palace steward with its bathroom and kitchen as well as the large number of tablets discovered here. Unit A also gives access to Main Court 131 at the center of Unit B. A four-room apartment is located on the southeastern side of the court and small rooms are found on the northwest, southwest, and northeast corners. A large number of jar stoppers and door sealings were also found here (Margueron 2004: 462). This court appears to be the center of the eastern wing of the palace as well as the crossing point of economic activity (Reichel 1994: 8), and provides the only access point to the more private western sector through Room 114.



Fig. 7.1: The Mari Palace (Margueron 2004: Fig. 437)

Unit D in the southeastern corner of the building and accessed only through narrow steps at the southeastern corner of Court 131 is identified as a sacred quarter with a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Ištar. To the west of the sanctuary and separated by a wide corridor (120) is Unit F, arranged as a series of long narrow rooms, which functioned as the main storage area of the palace. Rooms 216-218 were equipped with mudbrick benches with depressions which may have

served to store containers. The furnace in 215 was used to heat bitumen probably to seal incoming or outgoing packages, and the podiums in Room 122 may have served to store 'precious items'. The elaborate wall paintings in Room 220 suggest that initially it had a different function, but at the time of the destruction of the palace it too was full of storage jars like the other rooms in this Unit (Reichel 1994: 9-10). Finally, although only partially recovered due to the erosion that destroyed its western half, Unit R, at the southern tip of the palace structure inside the heavy outer wall and the protective corridor, is identified as the economic sector of the palace due to the presence of a large number of long and narrow storerooms (Margueron 2004: 463).

The western section of the Palace appears to be the more private and residential sector, not only because of the finds but also because of its layout, as it can be accessed only through a doorway in the northwestern corner of the Main Court 131. Of the three long and narrow rooms acting as a passageway between the public and private sectors of the palace, Room 115 yielded a large diplomatic archive dating back to the reign of Zimri-Lim, while 116 served as storage for oil jars placed on benches along the walls (Margueron 2004: 463-464). The center of this entire sector as well as of Unit M is Court 106, also known as the Court of Palms due to the artificial palm tree placed at its center, and famous for its wall paintings including the Investiture Scene (Parrot 1958). To the south of Court 106 is Room 64 equipped with a throne dais against the southern wall, leading into the Throne Room (65) and connecting it with the other units in the Western wing as well as the central part of the palace. The Throne Room is entered through two doors on the northern wall and the throne is located on a platform by the western wall providing a bent axis approach. It is clearly the largest and the most imposing room in the whole structure (Margueron 2004: 464).

From the king's quarters in Unit M one can access Unit O through a narrow doorway to the west. Court 70 at the center of this unit is identified as the bakery, due to the large number of bread molds found here (Reichel 1994: 13). The smaller rooms surrounding this court are equipped with ovens suggesting that this entire unit functioned as a food preparation area for the king's quarters. It is clear that Unit O was essential for the life of this sector of the palace, as it is connected through doorways to both units to its north and south. The long and narrow Unit G to the south, made of small rectangular rooms on both sides of a long corridor, is interpreted both as a storage area (Reichel 1994: 10) and quarters for the king's servants (Margueron 2004: 467). The function of Room 1 at the eastern end of Unit P is also a point of disagreement among scholars. Accessible both through the kitchen area to the south (Unit O) and the ante-room (Room 64) to the east, this room is identified as the Administrative Hall by Margueron. He argues that Room 1 is similar to the Throne Room with the exception that it does not have a platform, but a stone base for a throne along the western wall. In addition, the collection of tablets found in Room 1 itself, and the hundreds of tablets unearthed in Rooms 4 and 5 to the west suggest that the Unit P was the administrative quarter (2004: 467). However Reichel argues, based on its location and its connection to the bakery in Court 70, the storage jars found in Room 4, and the dishes in Room 6, that Room 1 may have functioned as a banquet hall (Reichel 1994: 13).

Margueron assigns the remaining units L, K, J, I, and H in the western wing of the palace to the House of Women. Unit L, organized around Room 15, is identified as bathrooms due to its many water installations, although previously it was called alternatively the living area of the majordomo and the palace officials (Parrot 1958: 192), and the administrative quarter (Heinrich 1984: 77). However, as Reichel shows, these identifications are not supported by the finds

(Reichel 1994: 14). The small Unit K to the north, consisting of only two rooms (24 and 25), yielded mudbrick benches and tablets, which led the original excavator to identify it as the palace school. However, Reichel disagrees again, since the distance between the benches is uncomfortably small and the only finds recorded from both rooms are a large number of flat plates. Instead he suggests, on the basis of limited access to these rooms, that Unit K was probably the treasury or the warehouse of the palace (Reichel 1994: 14). Margueron argues a similar point, in that he identifies this unit as a storage area for the items consumed in the women's quarters. Unit J in the northwestern corner of the building, also known as the Blue Unit, appears to have been a major residential unit centered around the large court 31 decorated with blue wall paintings (Margueron 2004: 468). The court leads into the Reception Room 34, which is similar in arrangement to Court 106 and Room 64 in the king's quarters. A large number of jars was found in the adjoining Rooms 35 and 36, while Room 38 functioned as the bathroom. Room 37 contains a staircase leading to the upper floor. The unusual thickness of the palace walls to the west and north of Units I and J led the excavators to argue for an upper floor that could be accessed through these units, which could have functioned as an open terrace for the women (Margueron 2004: 468). The presence of the staircase in Room 37 also supports this argument. In addition, stairs leading to an upper floor were unearthed in other parts of the palace as well, such as in Units C, E, and O. Unit J in the western corner also appears to be a second residential unit with wall paintings and relief decorations adorning the central room 46. Finally Unit H directly to the north of the king's quarters (Unit M) and adjacent to the residential Unit J causes confusion as it has water installations in every room. While Margueron refers to it as the quarters of the women's servants (Margueron 2004: 468), Reichel argues that it was a former residential unit turned into a bathhouse that may have served visitors (Reichel 1994: 15).

As can be seen from the above discussion, the sheer size of the Mari Palace with its almost 300 rooms and their pillaged contents makes it hard to create a clear spatial distribution pattern for archaeological finds. The nature of the published data regarding these finds also contributes to the problem. Unfortunately only a very small number of seals and seal impressions found in the palace are accompanied by information on their findspots in the final publications. Although information regarding tablet findspots is usually more detailed, the majority of the published glyptic material consists of door and container sealings, and cannot be correlated with tablets. As a result, a functional analysis of palace rooms based on a spatial distribution of glyptic items is currently impossible. For this reason, information regarding glyptic and epigraphic finds will be given together. It should be noted, however, that the known findspots for glyptic finds correlate well with the major tablet collections. Based on the data compiled by Clemens Reichel and information published in site reports the following picture emerges.

Unit	Room	Function	Finds	Reign
A	156	room	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad
	152	room	tablets + glyptic	Zimri-Lim
B	153	room	tablets	Yaḥdun-Lim+Yasmaḥ-Adad
	131	courtyard	glyptic	N/A
	132	room	tablets	all 4 kings
	196	room	tablets + glyptic	all 4 kings
C	160	courtyard	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
E	133-134-135	room	tablets	all 4 kings
	136	courtyard	tablets	Sumu-Yamam
F	140	stairway (discard?)	tablets	Sumu-Yamam
	118	storage?	tablets	Zimri-Lim
	119	storage?	tablets	Sumu-Yamam
	215	storage	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim

Table 7.1: Distribution of epigraphic and glyptic material by location

M	216	storage	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	217	storage	glyptic	Zimri-Lim
	106	courtyard	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad
	54	passageway	glyptic	N/A
	107	storage	glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	108	storage	tablets+glyptic	all 4 kings
	115	room	tablets+glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	79	storage	tablets+glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
O	116	storage	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad
	69	room	tablets+glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	71	room	tablets	N/A
	74	room	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad
	75	room	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
P	5	room	tablets+glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
K	24	storage/treasury	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
I	29	passageway	glyptic	N/A
	40	room	tablets	Zimri-Lim
	50	corridor	glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad/Zimri-Lim
	110	room	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
H	51	courtyard?	tablets	Zimri-Lim
	52	room	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	111	bathroom (discard?)	tablets+glyptic	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim
	176	courtyard/room?	tablets	Yasmaḥ-Adad + Zimri-Lim

Table 7.1, continued

This table shows how scattered the glyptic and textual material is throughout the palace. Both sealings and tablets from the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim and Sumu-Yamam are very few in number and are found in specific locations where they must have been discarded. Material dating to Yaḥdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim is more numerous and usually found together. It appears from these findspots that the function of most rooms did not change as the palace changed hands. The shaded rows indicate glyptic finds. It should be noted that published information in the original site reports on where seals and sealings were found in the palace is very scant. The difficulties of

reconstructing the locations of the archives and the function of the different sections of the palace are also noted by Margueron (1986: 145ff).

7.2. Nature of Glyptic Finds

In this dissertation 94 examples of Mari glyptic are analyzed. Of these, 91 were found within the Zimri-Lim palace, but only 19 have published findspots. This lack of data makes a spatial and functional analysis of these spaces and the associated finds impossible at the moment. However, Margueron informs us that the Main Court 131 yielded only jar stoppers and door sealings; Rooms 29 and 54 appear to have been passageways with locked doors, since they contained only door sealings; and Rooms 107 and 108 must have functioned as storage rooms, as the jar and door sealings, and administrative texts found in them reveal (Margueron 2004: 482).

Another issue that arises here is the nature of the sealings unearthed in the palace. Information on the back of a sealing and what it sealed are rarely recorded, and the majority is identified as jar stoppers. However, we learn, through Margueron again, that for a long time all clay fragments that bore seal impressions were recorded as jar stoppers, but now it is clear that some of them are in fact door sealings (Margueron 2004: 482). A 1985 study by D. Beyer based on a re-examination of all sealings found during Parrot's excavations presents new identifications of this material (Beyer 1985a), and all information in my study regarding the types of sealings from the Mari palace is based on Beyer's work. The distribution of different sealing types in the palace is as follows:

- door sealings: ca. 52%
- container sealings (mostly bags): ca. 38%

- tablets and envelopes: ca. 9%

In terms of chronological distribution, the majority of glyptic material at Mari dates to the reigns of Yasmaḥ-Adad and Zimri-Lim, while only 2 impressions (Cat. #186 and #231) belonging to servants of Yaḥdun-Lim are known. The short reign of Sumu-Yamam yielded no seals and seal impressions.

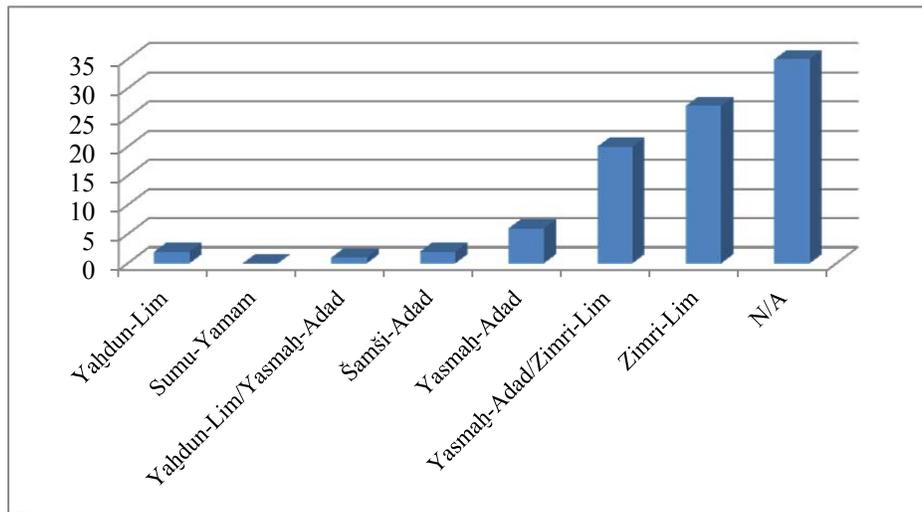


Table 7.2: Distribution of glyptic material by period

7.3. Iconographic Analysis of the Material

Of a total of 94 impressions taken into consideration here, 77 have a clearly identifiable main scene. All typical main scenes of early 2nd millennium glyptic (i.e. presentation, figure with mace, worship, offering, and contest) are represented in this corpus. To these we can also add the animal frieze, which is known at Tell Bi'a, but absent at Tell Leilan and Tell al-Rimah. Finally, impressions bearing multiple main scenes are also numerous. As can be seen from the chart below, the figure-with-mace motif is once again the largest group in the corpus, since a large part of the impressions retrieved in the palace belongs to royal servants.

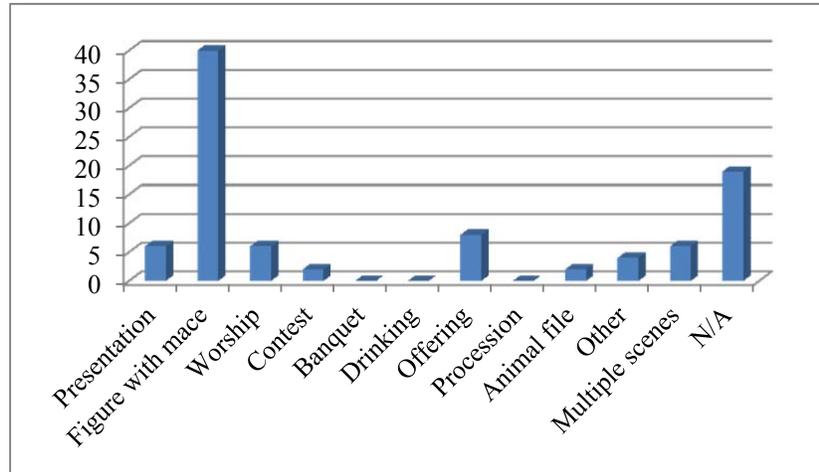


Table 7.3: Distribution of main scene types at Mari

Presentation Scene

With 6 examples, the presentation scene makes up the third largest group in the Mari corpus. All impressions are fragmentary and only 2 can be dated: Cat. #179, which belongs to a servant of Zimri-Lim, and Cat. #184, which is dated to the period covered by the reigns of Yasmaḥ-Adad and Zimri-Lim based on the epigraphic finds from the same context (i.e. Palace Room 69).

Catalog #179 shows a typical presentation scene with a seated deity on the right, holding the rod-and-ring. Traces of the body of a male worshipper approaching the deity are preserved on the left. Behind the seated deity is the interceding goddess with her hands raised in supplication. A 3-line inscription panel is placed before the goddess, identifying the seal owner as Dāriš-lībur, son of Lībur-nadinšu, servant of Zimri-Lim. Close to fifty impressions of this seal were found on door sealings and tags in the kitchen area in Room 69 of the palace (Parrot 1959: 198). Sealings from the palace show that Dāriš-lībur had at least one more seal (Cat. #201) with a figure-with-mace scene, which he used to seal doors in the building. However, no findspot or context is

published for these door sealings, preventing us from understanding whether or not he used both seals simultaneously. Mari archives inform us that Dāriš-lībur was a very active royal official in the Zimri-Lim palace throughout the king's reign and served as the majordomo¹ of the House of the King (Lafont 2002: 376). It is not unusual for officials to own and use multiple seals. Moreover, both the figure-with-mace motif and the presentation scene are typical for high-ranking officials, as we have seen at Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan (e.g. Cat. #6, #105, and #106). However, it is worth noting that on the seals bearing a presentation scene used by important royal officials, the seated deity holds the rod-and-ring in his outstretched hand rather than the small cup characteristic of Ur III/Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian compositions. Both the seal of Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #6) and Dāriš-lībur's seal presented here are good examples of this. Other examples belonging to royal servants and servants of gods are also known from museum collections (Collon 1986: Figs. 101, 104, 105; Porada 1948: 346E), and from the Diyala region (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 76.a, 211.a). Otto notes that apart from Cat. #179 presented here, all other dated examples bearing this motif belong to servants of Šamši-Adad. Based on this, she suggests that this may have indeed been the official motif in Šamši-Adad's kingdom before his conquest of Mari and the Middle Euphrates, after which it was replaced by the figure-with-mace motif (Otto 1992a: 159; Otto 2000a: 153). A similar scene may have been originally carved on Cat. #181. The impression is very fragmentary, but a seated deity holding the rod and ring is preserved, along with a very damaged inscription behind him. Large sections of the inscription are gone, but if the last line can be reconstructed as *[ĪR] Ša-[am]-ši-^dIM*, servant of Šamši-Adad, the impression can be counted among the seals of royal officials bearing a presentation scene where the seated god holds the rod-and-ring.

¹ Sasson argues that Dāriš-lībur was in fact the personal valet of the king, who traveled with him and secured his personal needs (Sasson 2015: 9 and 178).

Finally, Cat. #182 also bears a very fragmentary presentation scene with a seated god accompanied by the interceding goddess and the inscription panel behind him. The impression is significant for two reasons. First, typical presentation scenes where the interceding goddess is placed behind the seated deity are extremely rare. Only a small number of examples are known from Tell al-Dhiba'i and Sipper in this period (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 190.g, 210.b and c). In almost all examples of Old Babylonian presentation scenes this spot is occupied by the seal legend (e.g. Collon 1986: Figs. 36-56). Second, the impression was found on a door sealing at the palace. This indicates that it too belonged to a royal servant or palace employee.

Figure-with-mace scenes

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, impressions bearing the figure-with-mace motif are by far the largest group within the Mari glyptic corpus. They make up %57 (44/77) of the impressions with a clearly identified main scene. The same motif also occurs on 4 examples in combination with contest, worship, and offering scenes (Cat. #219, #223, #225, and #216). The large majority of the sealings (21/44) was found on clay envelopes, suggesting that the owners of these seals were involved in official correspondence. Nine sealings are published as door sealings, 3 as jar stoppers, 3 as bag sealings, 13 as tags, and 1 as a container sealing. Of the 44 impressions, 25 are inscribed, identifying the seal owners as servants, while no inscription is preserved on the rest. The majority of impressions with the figure-with-mace motif belong to servants of Zimri-Lim, while a few examples are dated to the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim and Yasmaḥ-Adad. In addition to two different seals used simultaneously by Zimri-Lim himself (Cat. #188 and #189), there are four seals bearing figure-with-mace motifs in the Mari corpus that

belong to women. A similar situation was also encountered at Tell Leilan (Cat. #199) and Tell al-Rimah (Cat. #158), where seals belonging to wives of local rulers bore figure-with-mace scenes. The function of this motif, its use by various groups, and how it reflects the different identities of the seal owners is further elaborated in Chapter 9.

Although a large part of the impressions are poorly preserved, the Mari material exhibits the largest variety in the northern Mesopotamian glyptic corpus studied here in terms of secondary elements and filling motifs accompanying the figure-with-mace scene. In addition to the typical pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, the impressions include the nude female, the crescent-and-disk, Ištar, small humans, griffins, mixed beings bearing standards, small interceding goddesses, the Humbaba mask, and guilloches dividing subsidiary scenes as well as guilloches placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess.

Catalog #189 is the impression of Zimri-Lim's second seal, which differs from the first one (Cat. #152/188) only in terms of the seal legend. The two seals are iconographically identical (figure with mace facing the interceding goddess), but this second seal is considered to be older than the first one, since the line "gāmir aḥ^{id} puratti (the one who controls the bank of the Euphrates)" is missing here, suggesting that the king must have had this seal carved prior to establishing control over the Euphrates region (Charpin 1992: 70). Although both seals were used simultaneously, Charpin argues that Cat. #188 was used exclusively on administrative documents (Charpin 1992: 71). However, in her re-evaluation of the sealing types from the Mari palace, Beyer identifies two clay lumps (ME 53 and 54) bearing the impression of Cat. #189 as a tag and possibly a door sealing (Beyer 1985a: 378). Whether this is a consequence of the poor level of preservation of the sealings or whether it means that someone other than Zimri-Lim

himself was authorized to use the king's personal seal to seal containers and doors in the palace remains a question.²

Catalog #195 is another simple figure-with-mace seal showing traces of the standard pair. What sets this example apart, however, is the fact that the seal belonged to a female, Adad-dūrī, female servant of Ḫadni-Adad. She appears mostly in economic documents from the first half of Zimri-Lim's reign³ and a text from the king's 6th year (M.7116) regarding the disbursement of silver for Adad-dūrī's tomb indicates that she died before this date. Although it is clear from these attestations that Adad-dūrī was an important member of the palace and the royal family, her identity, as well as the identity of Ḫadni-Adad, mentioned on her seal, remain unclear. In any case, the important role she played at Mari is evident in the textual record. Her correspondence shows that she served in some official capacity in Mari in matters concerning the palace and the temple (Batto 1974: 64ff). Consequently, it is not surprising that she used a seal bearing the figure-with-mace motif, despite the fact that she was a woman.

We observe a similar case with Cat. #218 as well. The impression found on an envelope inside the palace, belongs to another female, Ištarat-[x], female servant of Ḫabni-Adad. Although no published photo of the impression is available, Parrot informs us that the fragmentary composition consists of the figure with mace facing what must be the interceding goddess to his right (Parrot 1959: 233). Based on Charpin's interpretation of the epithet "female servant," we can speculate that Ištarat-[x] was the secondary wife of Ḫabni-Adad, and must have occupied a role similar to Adad-dūrī, which provided her with a figure-with-mace seal. Unfortunately

² See Chapter 9 for rulers holding multiple seals and what this practice may signify.

³ Information gathered from ARCHIBAB <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche3.htm>.

nothing more is known regarding the identities and roles of either Ištara-[x] or her husband Ḫabni-Adad.

Queen Šiptu's seal (Cat. #191) is another interesting case in terms of its iconography. Similar to Adad-dūrī's seal, the seal of this royal woman also bears a figure-with-mace motif. The inscription placed behind the figure with mace identifies the seal owner as Šiptu, daughter of Yarim-Lim of Yamḥad, wife of Zimri-Lim. The impression, found on door sealings and tags in the Zimri-Lim palace as well as the Eastern Palace in Mari, is very fragmentary but the standard pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess is clearly visible. The figures are well carved with intricate detailing on the garments, indicating a high-quality seal fit for a person of high status. What's unusual in the composition is the thick vertical guilloche that separates the two figures. A distinctive element of Syrian glyptic, the guilloche appears as a popular motif in Mari, where it is almost exclusively used as a divider separating subsidiary scenes in superposed registers (e.g. Cat. #226, #229, #248). Only in one other case (Cat #206), does it appear between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, but this time it is placed horizontally. Examples of this composition, where the guilloche appears between the main figures, are extremely rare, although other compositional elements often appear between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess on officials' seals. An unprovenanced hematite seal in the Morgan Collection (Porada 1948: Fig. 925E) has a similar thick vertical guilloche between two male figures facing each other. Stylistically, Otto places the Morgan seal within the Carchemish court style (Otto 2000a: 119-122, Fig. 149). The inscription on Šiptu's seal identifies her as the daughter of the powerful king of Yamḥad, Yarim-Lim. It is clear from official documentation that she played an important role both within and beyond Mari,⁴ and assumed many of the king's

⁴ See Batto 1974: 8-21 for a detailed look into the activities and role of queen Šiptu.

roles in both domestic and foreign affairs in his absence. We also know through her correspondence that she maintained contact with her family back in Yamhad upon her arrival in Mari (Batto 1974: 8-9). It is through these points that we can try to read the iconography on Šiptu's seal, which appears to reflect different aspects of her identity. First of all, as the reigning queen of Mari she had the privilege to use the official figure-with-mace motif, as we have seen with other minor queens and palace women in northern Mesopotamia. Secondly, one can speculate that the prominently placed guilloche motif on her seal is a testament to her Aleppan origin, as the stylistic affinities between the glyptic of Carchemish and Yamhad are noted by Otto (Otto 2000a: 121) and illustrated by the Morgan Collection seal mentioned above (Porada 1948: Fig. 925E). Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that the stylistic and iconographic association is based on a limited number of examples and thus the conclusions presented here are only speculative. Finally, Charpin notes that Šiptu had at least two different seals. In a letter (ARM X 119) to his queen, Zimri-Lim orders Šiptu to use "your seal that identifies you as Šiptu, daughter of Yarim-Lim, wife of Zimri-Lim" (i.e. Cat. #191), suggesting that the queen owned multiple seals. Charpin rightly adds that she could have brought an older seal with her from Aleppo that identifies her solely as the daughter of Yarim-Lim (Charpin 1999: 77). It is unfortunate that this seal or its impressions are unknown to us, since it could provide a better reading of the iconography of Cat. #191.

Compared to Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, and Tell al-Rimah, the figure with mace appears very rarely in the presence of a major deity within the Mari corpus. On an extremely fragmentary impression (Cat. # 215) found on an envelope in the palace, traces of the figure with mace can be seen opposite the lower body of a probably male deity in ascending pose with his right hand extended forward. He appears to be holding an unidentified object, which based on parallels may

be Šamaš's dagger or the rod-and-ring, which can be associated with various deities. On Cat. #203 the figure with mace is placed between the interceding goddess and Ištar in ascending pose with one foot placed on a crouching lion and holding the rod-and-ring and the reins of the lion in her right hand. The war-goddess also appears on Cat. #225 holding the double lion-headed sceptre and facing the figure with mace holding a sickle-sword in his right hand.

As stated above, the variety of figures and compositional elements accompanying the figure with mace and interceding goddess in the Mari corpus is greater than the other corpora studied here. One element that has parallels at Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, and Tell al-Rimah (e.g. Cat. #11, #138, #153) is the tall standard flanked by two small figures facing each other. A standard topped with the crescent-and-disk is placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess on Cat. #197. The impression was found on an envelope in the palace, but the inscription is badly preserved and identifies the owner only as "Yabni-[], son of [], servant of []." Small standards supported by a single figure are also common in the repertoire. On the seal of Šubnalû (Cat. #202), servant of Zimri-Lim, who is known to have used two different seals bearing slightly different inscriptions (Charpin 1992: 66; Charpin 1999: 77), a small lion-griffin holding a standard with a circular top appears below a small human figure between the standard pair. The figure with mace is shown holding a sickle-sword in his right hand. Although not very common, this additional weapon appears on two more seals with the figure-with-mace motif at Mari (Cat. #205 and #225), just as occurs on a Šamši-Adad period impression from Tell Bi'a (Cat. #37). Cat. #202 displays affinities with seals found at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #6, #102), Tell Leilan (Cat. #115), and Tell al-Rimah also in terms of its inscription panel. Šubnalû's name and title are inscribed inside the first and third rows of the inscription, while the middle row is occupied by a male figure clad in a short kilt, an upside down animal, and an upside down nude female figure,

all separated by short horizontal lines. As mentioned before, this tradition of inserting small figures inside the inscription panel is not popular in the Old Babylonian glyptic of the south and thus appears to be distinctive to the northern region. The last composition including a standard supported by a single figure can be found on Cat. #211. The impression was found on a bag sealing, so it may have come from outside the palace or even outside the city. The sealing is fragmentary and no inscription is preserved. However, it is dated stylistically to the last period of occupation of the palace during the reigns of Yaḥdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim (Otto 2000a: 106). Although fragmentary, the figure with mace and the interceding goddess facing him are clearly visible. Between them at eye level is a rosette made of dots, representing the sun-disk. Below the rosette is a small but very well executed lion-griffin holding a standard. Parrot notes that this is the first time when this mixed creature appears accompanying the figure with mace (Parrot 1959: 221). The lion-griffin is typically seen in contest scenes attacking a kneeling human or a rearing caprid, and it is common in both southern and northern Mesopotamia (Collon 1986: 44). Only in one provenanced example from Sippar does he appear holding a standard (the double lion-headed sceptre of Ištar) and facing a deity (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 183). Collon also notes that a cylinder seal in the British Museum collection also displays a lion-griffin holding a trident probably symbolizing the god Tišpak (Collon 1986: p. 44, Fig. 15). She suggests that both the appearance of this mixed creature and the style of the engraving⁵ of the seal place it in the Diyala region, where lion-griffins are popular in the glyptic (Collon 1988: 64). However, none of these examples bear a figure-with-mace scene. If the winged lion holding a standard on the seal of Šubnalû (Cat. #202) is also a lion-griffin, these two impressions from Mari may be the only examples of this composition.

⁵ It should be noted that the style of this seal, especially the angular upper bodies and the large triangular faces of the figures are also reminiscent of Old Assyrian seals from Central Anatolia.

In addition to standards, small human figures and detached human heads are also common elements accompanying the figure-with-mace scene at Mari. On Cat. #190, which belonged to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu, a small bearded figure wearing a tall square headdress is placed between the standard pair. He holds a curved staff in his right hand. According to Parrot, the addition of this male figure with the curved staff to a figure-with-mace scene is unusual (Parrot 1959: 167). A god wearing the same headdress can be observed on several Old Babylonian seals in the British Museum collection. On three of these examples he is shown holding the crook of Amurru (Collon 1986: Figs. 236, 314, and 447). The same figure holding a curved staff appears on an impression from Tell Harmal (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 111). In none of these attestations he is the main focus of the scene, which suggests that he must be a secondary figure, maybe a minor deity, although al-Gailani Werr identifies him as Amurru (al-Gailani Werr 1988: 79). Another peculiarity of this seal is the inscription. Initially, the seal was believed to have belonged to king Zimri-Lim of Mari, as the fragmentary inscription had the king's name and epithet, *LUGAL KAL.GA*, strong king, at the beginning. After Durand's collation it became clear that the last line of the inscription reads "Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu, his servant." Mari archives inform us that Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu acted as Zimri-Lim's personal secretary (Charpin 1992: 66), a position that wielded immense importance in royal administration. As part of his duties, Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu read the king's correspondence and received copies of letters addressed to him (Durand 2002: 148; Sasson 2015: 166). Charpin notes that there are a number of seals belonging to officials of Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḫ-Adad, and especially Zimri-Lim that have the royal name in the first line, and the name and title of the seal owner at the end (Charpin 1992: 64-67), as opposed to the more standard PN-patronym-epithet order. Seal inscriptions of this kind are known from the period of the *šakkanakku* in Mari, but it is nonetheless interesting that the tradition was

maintained during the 18th century as well. The issue becomes more interesting especially in Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu's case, since a second seal belonging to him is also known. Catalog #253 was found on a door sealing in the Mari palace. Unfortunately the impression is badly preserved, making it impossible to fully reconstruct the composition. In addition to the interceding goddess raising her hands in supplication, Parrot reports a female figure, clad in a long robe open in the middle revealing her left leg, belly, and genitals, whom he identifies as Ištar based on a similar depiction of the goddess featured on Ana-Sîn-taklāku's seal (Cat. #231) (Parrot 1959: 194). Otto calls this figure the "lady in half-cloak (*Frau im Halbmantel*)" and defines it as one of the most popular compositional elements in northern and northwest Syrian glyptic. It also occurs on Yamhad seals, though not as frequently. Interestingly, only at Mari is she depicted as a goddess wearing a tall horned crown. Because of her close connection with the king on north Syrian and especially Carchemish seals, Otto identifies her as Kubaba (Otto 2000a: 202-204). Although the impression is very fragmentary and the identity of this goddess is difficult to determine, two aspects make Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu's second seal noteworthy. First, the appearance of the goddess in a half-cloak ties this seal in with northern and northwestern Syria, in a way similar to queen Šiptu's seal. Second, the seal bears a standard inscription, PN-epithet, as opposed to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu's first seal. As impressions of both seals were found on door sealings, it is clear that they were both used for the same purpose. However, it is impossible to determine whether they were used simultaneously and/or to seal doors of different importance, since no findspot is published for either one of them.

Another common motif accompanying the figure-with-mace scenes is the nude female. On Cat. #216 she appears between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. A second main scene has an offering bearer carrying an animal. A rosette before his head and a hedgehog before his legs are also visible. It is safe to assume that a major deity was originally placed

before the offering bearer. The impression, found on a tag inside the palace, belongs to Kirbaya, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad. What sets it apart is that the legend is not contained in an inscription panel and the cuneiform signs are scattered in the field. This is unusual for the seal of a royal servant, which usually presents a well-organized composition, in which the inscription panel is placed behind the figure with mace. The scattered cuneiform signs suggest that the inscription was added later. However, it is not possible to determine whether this was the result of recutting, since the impression is fragmentary. One wonders if Kirbaya was an official at the Mari court prior to Šamši-Adad's conquest of the city and continued to occupy his position under Yasmaḥ-Adad, which could have required the inscription to be added.

The nude female also appears on two almost identical seals that belonged to Zimri-Lim's official, Yasīm-Sumū. Both impressions were found on envelopes at the Mari palace, and show the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess accompanied by the nude female, placed behind the figure with mace on Cat. #198 and behind the goddess on Cat. #199. On both seals the crescent-and-disk and the crook of Amurru are visible between the standard pair, although the orientation of the crook changes. Yasīm-Sumū's seals have what can be considered an ordinary composition, as the association of the nude female with the figure-with-mace scene is typical of both southern and northern Mesopotamian glyptic. What is interesting, however, is the use of an almost identical imagery on both seals. To explain this, we need to look at both the tablets on which the impressions are found and the individual inscriptions on the seals. Catalog #198 was found on M.5879 dated to year 1 of Zimri-Lim. Its inscription describes Yasīm-Sumū as "scribe (*DUB.SAR*), son of Abī-erah, servant of Zimri-Lim." According to Beyer and Charpin, the epithet does not indicate a regular scribe, but an individual of high office, as every high official owns a seal with the title *DUB.SAR* during his career (Beyer and Charpin 1990: 622-

623). Sasson also adds that Yasīm-Sumū functioned as the majordomo in the Mari palace in this period and married one of Zimri-Lim's daughters, Duḫšatum (Sasson 2015: 133 and 150 footnote 82). Catalog #199, on the other hand, was found on ARM 24 121 dated to year 2 of Zimri-Lim's reign. The inscription on this seal describes Yasīm-Sumū as “*ŠA.DUB.BA* (*šandabakkum*).” The CAD translates this title as a high ranking official in palace or temple administration, while Beyer and Charpin specify his role as “chief accountant” (Beyer and Charpin 1990: 622). It is clear from the details presented here that Yasīm-Sumū was promoted to the office of *šandabakkum* sometime within the first two years of Zimri-Lim's reign, and following this he commissioned a new seal reflecting his newly acquired position. But why did he choose to have a new seal with an almost identical imagery instead of getting his old seal recut with a new inscription or getting a completely new seal with a different composition? Beyer and Charpin suggest that the old seal may have been damaged during the recutting or that the new seal may have been cut in a more precious material in keeping with Yasīm-Sumū's elevated position (Beyer and Charpin 1990: 623). Either way, this is a unique case in the corpus studied in this dissertation where we can explain the presence of two different seals that belong to a single royal official. As mentioned before, officials with multiple seals⁶ are common especially in Mari, but it is difficult to explain the different functions of these seals since contextual information is lacking. We should also remember examples where the official of a certain king continued to use his old seal bearing his old title under a new king as he continued to serve in administration. The only case in Mari, where this can be observed, is the seal of a certain Yašūb-Dagan. Charpin informs us that the seal legend identifies the owner as a servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad. However, close to a dozen impressions of his seal, bearing a figure-with-mace

⁶ See Chapter 9 for a more detailed discussion of multiple seal ownership.

motif, were found in an archive in the Eastern Palace⁷ dated to the initial years of Zimri-Lim's reign. This suggests that Yašūb-Dagan had not yet obtained a new seal or had his old seal recut, although he continued to serve under the new king Zimri-Lim (Charpin 1992: 67-68). Seal impressions of a certain Yašūb-Dagan, son of Paki-[], servant of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #224) are also known from 9 texts⁸ excavated in Room 79 of the Zimri-Lim palace, all dated to Zimri-Lim's first year, but it is not possible to determine whether this is the same official as above, who appears to be using a new seal identifying him as an official of the new king at the same time as he was using his old one, since Charpin does not report a patronym.

Catalog #217, whose owner is unknown, presents us with a different nude female figure associated with the figure with mace. The fragmentary impression found on an envelope shows the figure with mace on the left facing a nude female under a serrated arch. The interceding goddess, who almost always accompanies the figure with mace, is absent here. A rearing caprid and hares are visible in the subsidiary scene on the right. The peculiar composition that sets this seal apart from other figure-with-mace seals in the corpus raises the question of who its owner was and where the seal was originally cut. Did the seal belong to a low-level official under Yasmaḥ-Adad or Zimri-Lim whose position did not allow a standard figure with mace scene or was the owner a correspondent of the Mari palace in the area of Carchemish and Yamhad, as Otto's stylistic grouping suggests (Otto 2000a: 117-119), resulting in a composition that is unusual in northern Mesopotamia? The depiction of the nude female at the center of the scene has affinities with both the typical nude female and the naked goddess lifting her veil. She is

⁷ The Eastern Palace (a.k.a. the *šakkanaku* palace) was occupied from the conquest of the city by Šamši-Adad through the end of Zimri-Lim's reign and was destroyed in a fire. The archive excavated here shows that the building was a residence, which functioned like a palace on a smaller scale. Its last occupant was Asqudum, the diviner, who was Zimri-Lim's brother-in-law and one of the highest ranking dignitaries at his court (Margueron 2004: 446-450).

⁸ FM 3 26, 27, 33, 83, 87, 94, 106, 114, 123.

depicted with her hands clasped on her chest, but she is wearing a turban-like headdress as opposed to having her hair fall down on her shoulders. Moreover, her waist is smaller and hips more pronounced than the typical nude female (cf. Cat. #28, #31, #199, #221 etc.). This female figure appears to be distinctive to Syria, as she does not appear in the glyptic of southern Mesopotamia. A small number of examples are known mostly from museum collections (Otto 2000a: Figs. 51, 93, 95) with no clear provenance, making it difficult to determine the origin of the figure. However, all examples are assigned to the Syrian glyptic tradition on stylistic grounds. Finally the Morgan Collection includes a cylinder seal showing two kneeling male figures under a similar canopy in a subsidiary scene (Porada 1948: Fig. 946E). This seal is also assigned to the Syrian style group. Otto suggests that, because in some cases the arches under which the nude female appears have wings, they may symbolize the rainbow, and that the majority of Syrian decorative bands, such as guilloches and ropes, symbolize water and fertility (Otto 2000a: 209). The information presented above makes it clear that Cat. #217 is heavily influenced by local Syrian traditions, but is still related to the standard official iconography of northern Mesopotamia in the 18th century B.C. through the use of the figure with mace. However, the question of whether it belonged to a royal official at one of the courts in the region remains open.

A heavy Syrian influence can also be seen on Cat #226. The impression was found on tablets in the Zimri-Lim palace and on a clay tag in the Eastern Palace. The inscription informs us that the seal belonged to Kapi-Adad, son of Asqudum, servant of Zimri-Lim. The main scene consists of the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, as is typical of officials' seals. A large blank space is left between the two figures, but it is not clear whether any small figures (e.g. the crescent-and-disk, the small nude female etc.) were inserted here, as the composition is

reconstructed from several impressions and the top part is damaged (Beyer 1984: 255-256). This central motif is surrounded on both sides by subsidiary scenes divided by thick guilloches and consisting of antithetical pairs of figures: on the left, two small interceding goddesses above a pair of small men in short kilts holding a bucket with one hand while raising the other; on the right, two winged men facing each other above a pair of crouching sphinxes. The 3-line inscription panel is placed behind the subsidiary scene on the left. As such, the seal of Kapi-Adad is a typical example of Syrian glyptic of the early 18th century B.C., where classic Mesopotamian themes used as central motifs are supplemented with secondary scenes consisting of pairs of antithetical figures (often mixed creatures such as griffins and sphinxes) divided in superposed registers with spirals or guilloches. Although compositions with subsidiary scenes with guilloche dividers are common in the glyptic corpora studied here, the majority has Syrian-type main scenes (e.g. Cat. #142, #229, #239, #271). The only close parallel comes from Tell Bi'a (Cat. #39) where the seal of Baḥli-erah, an official of Šamši-Adad, bears a main motif of Mesopotamian origin, i.e. the figure with mace, accompanied by two superposed pairs of mixed creatures separated by a double guilloche. The exquisite rendering of the figures on both seals suggests that they belonged to high-level royal officials. Information regarding the owner of Cat. #39 from Tel Bi'a is limited to his title as servant of Zimri-Lim, but Kapi-Adad and his family are well known through the archive excavated at the Eastern Palace. The inhabitants of this residence are identified through seal impressions on tablets as Asqudum, the diviner, who functioned as a high official under both Yaḥdun-Lim and Zimri-Lim (Finet 1966: 2); his son Kapi-Adad, who was a royal official under Zimri-Lim; and Asqudum's wife Yamama, who was one of Yaḥdun-Lim's daughters (Charpin 1992: 61-62). The connection of Asqudum's family with the king of Mari explains the high status the members of his family held within the Mari

court, which in turn justifies the extremely high quality of his son Kapi-Adad's seal. The use of classic Syrian motifs on his seal should be taken as an indication of his local origin.

Another seal bearing a peculiar composition enriched with Syrian elements whose owner had close ties to the royal family at Mari is Cat. #185. The seal owner is introduced in the legend as Yataraya, female servant of Zimri-Lim. Based on Charpin's interpretation of the title "female servant" we can assume that Yataraya was one of Zimri-Lim's secondary wives. The impression of her seal was found on a bag sealing in the palace. The sealing is badly preserved, allowing only parts of the imagery to be reconstructed. The composition is not what one would expect based on the seals of several other royal women that were analyzed above. Instead of a standard figure-with-mace motif as the central theme, the seal surface is divided into several registers by thick guilloches and the entire composition is framed by a similar guilloche at the top and the bottom. The inscription panel appears in the middle of the composition, but it is not clear if it divides the seal surface in two parts with two subsidiary scenes on either side or if it is placed to one side of the composition. The upper register on the left side includes a cow nursing its calf, followed by a standing male figure whose posture is identical to that of the figure with mace, and a kneeling griffin-man. In the lower register on the left are a lion attacking a prostrate figure and an interceding goddess facing the inscription panel. To the right of the inscription panel only a kneeling griffin-man, also referred to as a winged genie (Amiet 1961: 4), can be seen. This suggests either that the two sides of the inscription are symmetrically arranged or that they form a continuous frieze that stops at the inscription. The overall composition is complex and the arrangement of the figures is unusual. If the standing figure in the upper register on the left is indeed the figure with mace, it is difficult to explain why he was placed between an animal and a mixed being and separated from the interceding goddess that is inserted in the register below.

Based on iconographic parallels, Otto places Cat. #185 in the Yamhad/Aleppo area (Otto 2000a: 134-136). A similar impression from Lidar Höyük in southeastern Turkey, in which the composition is framed by a thick guilloche and the seal surface is divided into a main and a subsidiary scene by several guilloches, suggests that the origin of this tradition may extend to the area around Carchemish. The high quality of the seal is evident from the delicate modeling of the small figures and the richness of detail, which is in keeping with the status of its owner as a secondary wife of Zimri-Lim. However, the composition that is entirely foreign to both southern and northern Mesopotamian repertoires of officials' seals raises questions regarding the origin of Yataraya. Could this be another case, similar to that of queen Šiptu, where the compositional elements on the seal reflect the origin of the seal owner?

The contest motif is another popular element on figure-with-mace seals. On Catalog #194, which belonged to Ilu-kanum, the food taster at Zimri-Lim's palace, who was also responsible for receiving food items (Biro 1979: 124; Reichel 1994: 45), a pair of struggling bull-men and a pair of struggling naked heroes are placed one above the other between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. Ilu-kanum's seal is important, in that the inscription panel contains two naked male figures arranged *tête bêche* inside the middle row, reflecting a northern Mesopotamian custom often encountered in the corpora studied here. A similar inscription panel is also visible on Cat. #268, where the iconography is not preserved but a turtle, a hedgehog, and a detached human head or mask can be seen inside the panel.

Finally, one last figure-with-mace seal should be mentioned here not because of its iconography but because of what its use at the Mari palace may signify. Catalog # 200 and #228 belong to a servant of Hammurabi, whose name was initially published by Dossin as Nūr(?) - Marduk (Parrot 1959: 256). However, a more recent reading by Durand revealed that two

separate seals were rolled on the same lump of clay. The seal owners are Marduk-mušallim, scribe, son of Siyatum, servant of Hammurabi; and Etel-pī-Marduk, son of Siyatum, servant of [] respectively (Charpin 1987: 661). No findspot is published for either one of the impressions to provide an accurate dating, but both lumps of clay have been identified by Beyer as door sealings (Beyer 1985a: 380). How and when did servants of Hammurabi end up sealing doors at the Mari palace? If Hammurabi mentioned in the seal legends is indeed Hammurabi of Babylon, we know that he ascended the throne around the time that Šamši-Adad conquered Mari. The close ties and alliance between the two kings is evident in historical documents, but officials of Hammurabi controlling access to rooms in Yasmaḥ-Adad's palace does not sound likely. It is also possible that the two sealings may date to a much later period, towards the end of or shortly after the reign of Zimri-Lim, since Mari was destroyed by Hammurabi in 1760 B.C. Hammurabi's year names inform us that Mari was defeated during his 32nd year and destroyed during his 34th. However, nothing is known regarding the events that took place in between (Charpin, Edzard, and Stol 2004: 327-329). Is it possible that Hammurabi may have held control of the Mari palace for a short period of time to collect the spoils before ransacking the building, while his officials controlled access to its rooms? Another issue here is the possibility of counter-sealing. Unfortunately only one photo is published for Cat. #200 and #228, so the iconography of the second seal impression is unknown. However, it is clear that impressions of two different seals were found on the same door sealing. Two similar cases are known from Palace A at Tell Bi'a, where door sealings bore impressions of two different seals, those of Šikip-wari (Cat. #16) and Ila-x (Cat. #67), and Cat. #32 and #68. Instances of counter-sealing indicate a high degree of control, suggesting that the authority of a single official was not sufficient and had to be reinforced by a second official, usually of higher status. In the case of the Mari door sealings, it

is not possible to determine the circumstances that led to the sealing of doors by officials of Hammurabi, as no information is available regarding the officials themselves and the events that took place in the palace in this period. Nonetheless, a possible case of countersealing is noteworthy, since it is rarely encountered in this corpus.

Worship scenes

The worship scene, consisting of figures standing before a deity with their hands raised in a gesture of supplication, is represented at Mari with 7 examples, making up the second largest group in the corpus after the figure-with-mace scenes. Of these, 6 are simple worship scenes, while 1 has a figure-with-mace scene (Cat. #225) accompanying the scene of worship.

In this group, only Cat. #232 can be considered a typical Old Babylonian scene of worship. Although the impression is fragmentary and the composition incomplete, a deity in ascending pose with one foot stepping on a small mountain or stool is visible on the left. Both the pose and the long dagger-like object that he holds in his extended hand suggest that he may be Šamaš. Behind him the interceding goddess appears in her typical gesture with raised hands. The 2-line inscription, []-ma-AN, servant of Yaḥdun-Lim, is placed behind the goddess, and the nude female with her hands clasped over her chest can be seen on the other side of the inscription panel. Unfortunately, the figure facing Šamaš is not preserved, but Old Babylonian parallels (Collon 1986: Figs. 331, 352, 356 etc.) suggest that a male worshipper (or offering-bearer) clad in a long robe and round turban must have been placed here. The impression was originally published by Parrot as Zimri-Lim's 3th seal (Parrot 1959: 166). However, a closer reading of the last line of the inscription reveals that the seal owner was not "son of

([*DUMU*])Yaḥdun-Lim” but “servant of ([*I*]R) Yaḥdun-Lim” and the personal name can be partially reconstructed as []-ma-AN. The impression was found on a door sealing in the palace, which indicates that the owner must have been a royal official, rather than the king himself.

Unlike Cat. #232, Cat. #237 is indeed a seal bearing a worship scene that belongs to a royal. The impression was originally known from bullae found in the Sarıkaya Palace at Achemhöyük in Central Anatolia (Cat. #273; Özgüç 1977: 363; Özgüç 1980: 64-65). The majority of impressions consisted only of the seal legend and 9 bullae that also contained traces of a single human figure. Newly published photos of envelope fragments found in Room 115 of the Mari palace allow the imagery of to be presented in its entirety for the first time. The composition consists of a 5-line inscription identifying the seal owner as Šamši-Adad I, followed by a standing bearded male figure clad in a long robe and turban with his right hand raised in adoration in the presence of a seated deity holding the rod and ring. Behind him is the interceding goddess in her standard gesture of supplication (Fig. 9.1). Now that the composition is complete and the presence of the enthroned deity, as suggested by Otto (1992: 161), is confirmed, this seal of Šamši-Adad appears to be strikingly similar in iconography and style to that of his official Ḫazip-Aranziḫ (Cat. #6), whose seal impression was found on a container sealing at Tell Bi’a. The standing figure on both seals is almost identical in posture and costume, and faces a seated deity. Although the identity of this royal official is not clear, the similarities in the composition on his seal and that of the king whom he served suggest that he must have enjoyed a high status in administration. Based on the affinities between this figure and the figure of the king on the Ḫammurabi stele, Özgüç claims that the bearded human figure must be Šamši-Adad himself (Özgüç 1980: 65). Charpin uses the titulary in the seal legend to suggest that the

seal must have been carved shortly after Šamši-Adad's conquest of Assur. As mentioned also in Chapter 3, Šamši-Adad never adopts the title of "king (*LUGAL*) of Assur" but presents himself as the "vice-regent of the god Aššur (*ENSI₂^dAššur*)" and "beloved of the god Aššur (*narām^dAššur*)." This last epithet "beloved of the god Aššur" does not appear on his royal inscriptions, but is reminiscent of the epithet "beloved of Aššur and Ištar," which was used by the Old Assyrian kings of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty, Ilušuma and Erišum I.⁹ According to Charpin, this choice of epithet presents Šamši-Adad as "an Old Assyrian king respectful of tradition" and reflects a change of ideology in Assyria at the time of the conquest of Assur (Charpin 1992: 69-70). This suggests that the presentation scene with a male worshipper appearing before a seated deity was used as the official motif in the early phases of Šamši-Adad's reign until it was replaced by the figure-with-mace motif following his conquest of the Middle Euphrates and Mari. A number of seal impressions with similar presentation scenes belonging to officials of Šamši-Adad and Išme-Dagan from Tell Leilan (Cat. #105 and #106) and Mari (Cat. # 179) that are covered in this dissertation also support this thesis. As for Šamši-Adad himself, Cat. #237 discussed here is one of the four seals attributed to him.¹⁰ The absence of another, later seal commissioned by the king bearing a figure-with-mace motif is interesting, but may just be an accident of discovery. Nevertheless, the ideological change following his conquest of the Middle-Euphrates region, which manifests itself in the introduction of the figure with mace as the new official motif, is also reflected in the increasingly glorious epithets, such as "king of the universe (*LUGAL KIS*)" describing the king in his royal inscriptions (Grayson 1987: 48ff).

⁹ A detailed discussion on the relationship between the iconography of early Old Assyrian royal seals and the seals of Šamši-Adad is presented in Chapter 9.

¹⁰ The remaining seals, impressions of which were found at Acemhöyük, are covered in Chapter 8.

Catalog #231 is a unique case among seals bearing worship scenes at Mari, since both the seal itself and its impression on door sealings and tags are known. Originally the seal belonged to Ana-Sîn-taklāku, son of Dāriš-libūr, servant of Zimri-Lim. The seal owner's father, who was a high official at the Mari palace, is also known through impressions of his two seals, Cat. #179 and #201. However, Cat. #231 shows that the original inscription was erased without damaging the composition and replaced by a "larger and more crudely carved" (Porada 1985: 95) inscription identifying the new seal owner as Adad-šarrum, son of Šamayatum, servant of ^dNinšubur. It is not clear when the seal was modified, but it is interesting to note that the original design was maintained. The modeling of the figures is deep and round, and the rendering of the details, such as the hands, is extremely delicate, indicating a high quality of craftsmanship. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the new owner of the seal would have chosen not to alter the original design. Little is known about the original owner, Ana-Sîn-taklāku, but considering his father's position at Zimri-Lim's court and the quality of his seal, it is safe to assume that he must have enjoyed a high status as well. As for Adad-šarrum, 3 individuals bearing that name are attested in the Mari archives: a *šuhārum* official, who was sent by Zimri-Lim to his daughter Inbātum in Andariq as a cook but was detained by Inbātum's husband Ḫimdiya, a gardener, and a Babylonian residing at Sagaratum (Birot 1979: 51; Sasson 1973: 63). It is impossible to determine which, if any, of these individuals used Ana-Sîn-taklāku's old seal, as none of the attestations of this name is accompanied by a patronym. However, one could speculate that only another official of relatively high status could have had access to such a high-quality seal, which makes the *šuhārum* official in Andariq a suitable candidate.¹¹ The composition on the seal consists of a standing male figure clad in a long robe and a turban with one hand raised in

¹¹ See also the case of Līter-šarrusu's seal (Cat.#126, Chapter 5), which was recarved to add the name of its new owner, Bunuma-ili, but the iconography was left intact.

adoration and the other holding a caprid by the neck, in the presence of 3 standing deities. Facing this male figure is a bearded god in warrior attire with a short kilt under a short robe draped over one shoulder. He holds a sickle-sword in his right hand and the whirling-mace in his left, while he steps with one foot on a naked human figure on the ground. Collon notes that the god holding the whirling mace, who appears in either the ascending or smiting pose, is identified as Ninurta (Collon 1986: 53). A crouching caprid and a bird are placed between the god and the human figure. Following the god is the interceding goddess in her typical flounced robe raising her hands in supplication. A rosette made of 8 dots is visible in the upper field between the two deities. Finally, at the end of the scene and behind the interceding goddess is another goddess, generally identified as Ištar. She wears a long robe open in the middle revealing her naked body. Her hands are raised in adoration in a similar fashion to the interceding goddess. A round object, described as a mirror by Otto (2000: 104) and a drum by Parrot (1959: 169) hangs from her elbow. The depiction of this female figure is identical to that on the seal of an official of Yasmaḥ-Adad (Cat. #29) found at Tell Bi'a, where she stands behind the figure with mace, and on the seal of Zimri-Lim's personal secretary, Šunuḥraḥalu (Cat. #252) found at Mari. As mentioned above for Šunuḥraḥalu's seal, Otto refers to this figure, whom she identifies as Kubaba, as the "lady in half-cloak (*Frau im Halbmantel*)," who appears only at Mari as a goddess wearing a horned crown (Otto 2000a: 202-204). This identification also explains the description of the round object as a mirror by Otto, since the mirror is an important attribute of the goddess Kubaba in later depictions, especially in the 1st millennium B.C. If this is indeed Kubaba, Otto suggests that she may have been introduced to the glyptic repertoire of Mari through Šamši-Adad's close relationship with king Aplaḥanda of Carchemish,¹² a city in which Kubaba was worshipped as the main deity. Due to the stylistic similarities in the depiction of this

¹² See more on Aplaḥanda and his relationship with Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia in Chapter 8.

female figure, Otto suggests that all 3 seals bearing this motif (Cat. #29, #231, and #253), which she classifies under Mari court style, were products of the same seal carver working at Mari (Otto 2000a: 204). It is interesting that Cat. #29 belongs to an official of Yasmaḥ-Adad and was found on a door sealing in Palace A at Bi'a. This shows that the owner of the seal was located at Yasmaḥ-Adad's palace in Tuttul, but may have been sent there from Mari, if Otto's assumption on the place of origin of these seals is correct. Since the other two examples belong to officials of Zimri-Lim, one can speculate that the seal carver at Mari served under both kings and that the motif of the "goddess in half-cloak" remained popular for several decades.

Another seal with regional Syrian elements foreign to Mari is Cat. #230. The impression was found on door sealings and what may be an envelope or tag discarded in a pit in the throne room (Room 16) of the Eastern Palace (Beyer 1997: 468-469). The composition, reconstructed from several small fragments, shows a scene of worship and a subsidiary scene in two superposed registers. The worship scene consists of 3 standing figures. On the left is a male figure in a long robe and tall ovoid hat with one hand raised before his face in a gesture of supplication and the other holding a curved staff. Beyer argues that the figure is without a doubt the king, as suggested by the curved staff, which is the symbol of kingship and authority held by humans and gods alike in both Syria and Anatolia (Beyer 1997: 469). Facing "the king" are two figures. The first one is clad in a long flounced robe and a tall hat that is too damaged on the impressions to be fully reconstructed, but the overall costume and pose suggest divinity. He is depicted in ascending pose with one foot over a small podium or stool and holds a sickle-sword in his right hand, while a curious object is raised in his left hand. The object resembles a long staff that ends in a flower-like top, or a lotus flower, turned toward the worshipping king. Similar staffs with a trident tip can be found on Syrian seals of the early 2nd millennium B.C. that display

Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements (e.g. Teissier 1996: Figs. 11, 17, 20). Figures holding these are derived from Egyptian flower-holding or offering scenes (Teissier 1996: 108). The second figure, identified by Beyer as a deity (Beyer 1997: 471), is placed directly behind the first and wears a short kilt with a thick edge that is open in the middle, and his upper body appears naked. He also wears a large ovoid hat with two sets of large horns that come out horizontally. The headdress is foreign to both Syria and southern Mesopotamia, but Beyer likens it to the Egyptian *atef* crown (Beyer 1997: 471). The figure holds in his left hand a sickle-sword and in his right hand a tall staff with a flower-like end, which is identified as the papyrus plant commonly represented on Egyptian seals (Teissier 1996: 108). A fish lies before his knee. Based on numerous parallels in Syrian glyptic of this period, this figure can be clearly identified as the pharaoh. The horned *atef* crown is by far his most common attribute on Syrian seals and provides clues regarding the status of this figure in Syrian glyptic. Teissier notes that in Egypt this crown was characteristic of Osiris and was worn by the king on occasions when the ruler was assimilated to the deity, which gives the crown a divine status. However, the role of the pharaoh also depends on his relationship with the other figures in the scene. In rare cases where he appears in association with Egyptian deities, he occurs as the secular Egyptian ruler. But more often he is possibly divine but also a secular ruler, when he is accompanied by Syrian and Mesopotamian deities and rulers, including the figure with mace (Teissier 1996: 62). In these instances he assumes a secondary role behind these figures (e.g. Teissier 1996: Figs. 45, 46, 49, 51), as is the case on Cat. #230. The pharaoh holding a plant is also a popular motif on Syrian seals of this period (e.g. Teissier 1996: Fig. 26). This scene of worship as the focal point of the composition is supplemented by a subsidiary scene divided by a thick guilloche in two superposed registers of unequal height. The upper register is occupied by a crouching sphinx

with large wings and a long tail, lifting its right paw as if playing with the leaf-like object in front of it. The lower register consists of a single bull in a charging pose. Catalog #230 is a unique example in the glyptic repertoire of Mari for two reasons. First of all, it is one of the two seal impressions of “pure Syrian style” that were attested at the site.¹³ Until the discovery of these two examples in the Eastern Palace, it was generally agreed that seals of the “pure Syrian” style, displaying “predominantly Syrian traits” (Özgüç 1968: 54; Parayre 1993: 512), were not attested at Mari, since the site was destroyed in 1760 B.C. before “pure Syrian” style became popular (Parayre 1993: 523). Second, Cat. #230 is the only example from the site, in which Syro-Mesopotamian and Egyptian iconographic elements are integrated in a primarily Syrian composition. The arrangement of the composition as one main scene accompanied by a smaller subsidiary scene divided by a guilloche is typical of Syrian glyptic in this period, as numerous examples studied here show. The same is valid for the pose and attributes of the royal figure (see also Cat. #134 and #135 from Tell Leilan), while the deity in ascending pose and flounced robe is characteristic of both southern and northern Mesopotamia. The Egyptian pharaoh and the plant staff are inserted into a mainly Syrian/northern Mesopotamian composition, showing how Egyptian influence was integrated and developed in the Syrian glyptic repertoire. This is not surprising considering that Egyptian and Egyptianizing scenes and figures constitute more than 10% of the total iconographic repertoire of published classic Syrian seals (Teissier 1996: 47). Archaeological evidence of Syrian-Egyptian relations in early 2nd millennium B.C. contexts in Syria is sporadic and consist mostly of statuary and scarabs. Textual references to these relations are lacking, which suggests that contact between the two regions may have been indirect through trade focusing on Ugarit and Qatna, whose importance as trading centers is attested in Mari texts (Teissier 1996: 1-2). This may point to western Syria as the place of origin of Cat. #230. Otto’s

¹³ The other is Cat. #272 analyzed below.

stylistic classification also supports this view, since she places this seal within the Qatna court style (Otto 2000a: 145-146). Finally, a few things should be said regarding the owner of Cat. #230. Unfortunately the seal was not inscribed, but the fact that its impressions were found on door sealings in the Eastern Palace indicates that it was used by a local official. However, it is impossible to determine the period when this royal official served because all impressions were found in a trash pit.¹⁴

The last example of a worship scene from Mari is a steatite seal (Cat. #236) found in the Zimri-Lim palace. The seal surface is well preserved and the composition consists of 3 figures in the presence of a male deity. The bearded deity, facing left, wears a horned crown and a long robe that is open in the middle, revealing his right leg. He holds a sickle-sword in his left hand and a lion-scimitar in his right. The lion-scimitar is generally associated with Nergal, but the depiction of the deity holding this weapon is not standardized (Collon 1986: 29; Figs. 239, 462, 577). Before him is a male worshipper in his typical long robe and round hat, with one arm raised in a gesture of worship and the other bent at the waist. Another male figure in a short robe draped over his left shoulder, holding a bucket in one hand and a cup in the other is placed behind the worshipper. A small protrusion resembling an ornament or a lock of hair is visible on his forehead. This figure is usually interpreted as a priest. He appears either behind the main deity or facing the deity at the end of the scene (e.g. Collon 1986: Figs. 145, 266-267, 332). Collon notes that the priest appears early in Old Babylonian iconography (Collon 1986: 33-34). At the end of the scene, behind the priest, is another male figure wearing a long robe and a round cap, with his hands clasped over his waist. His headdress is identical to that of the worshipper, which suggests that he must be another human figure rather than a deity. In classic Old

¹⁴ See Beyer 1997: 472-473 for a possible dating of the phases of the pit and of the impression.

Babylonian glyptic, this figure typically appears in presentation scenes (Collon 1986: Figs. 63-67; al-Gailani Werr 1988: Figs. 4.b and 164). Behind him a large crescent-and-disk motif is visible in the upper field. Otto assigns this seal to her “Middle-Euphrates simple style” group, which is characterized by scenes and motifs adopted from the Babylonian repertoire, but differ from it stylistically (Otto 2000a: 159), in that the forms are not as rounded and naturalistic. Most compositions of this group consist of scenes of worship focused on 3 or 4 figures, usually including the priest holding the bucket and cup/vessel, and the nude female (Otto 2000a: Pl. 40). Seals of this group also differ from typical Syrian examples of this period with their lack of subsidiary scenes, guilloches, and mixed creatures. All provenanced examples come from Tell Bi’a and Mari (Cat. #53, #54, #55, #236, #246, #252) and span several decades from the reign of Šamši-Adad to that of Zimri-Lim. Only 2 of these finds (Cat. #54 door sealing, Cat.#236 seal) can be securely tied to a local person at Tell Bi’a or Mari, but the rest are found on tablets and container sealings, which suggest that the owners may have lived elsewhere. Even then, the limited geographical area in which they were found points toward the Middle Euphrates region as point of origin. Finally, it is safe to assume that the steatite seal Cat. #236 belonged to a local palace employee at Mari, probably not of high status, as the seal does not bear the official figure-with-mace motif.

Contest scene

Seals bearing contest scenes are surprisingly small in number within the Mari repertoire. The contest motif appears as the main scene only on 2 examples, Cat. # 238 and 239, while on 4 examples it occurs in combination with other motifs (Cat. #219, 223, 233, 249). Neither one of

the impressions bears a preserved inscription. Only Cat. #233 can be assigned to a person, i.e. Šamši-Adad's servant Samiya, based on its multiple attestations (e.g. Cat. 128 from Tell Leilan). Four impressions of it are found on clay envelopes and one on a jar sealing. As a result, it is not possible to determine who the other seals belonged to and whether or not they were locals.

The jar stopper bearing the impression Cat. #238 is badly preserved, making it hard to reconstruct the composition in its entirety. Parrot notes a nude hero struggling with a rampant winged creature (griffin?) in the middle of the composition (Parrot 1959: 232) and a bull-man struggling with what may be a rampant lion is clearly visible on the right. Due to the fragmentary nature of the impression, it is difficult to make a stylistic assessment, but what is preserved from the composition fits well with standard contest scenes of southern Mesopotamian type.

Catalog #239 is equally fragmentary, but the envelope fragment bearing the seal impression is tentatively dated to the period covering the reigns of Yasmaḥ-Adad and Zimri-Lim, based on other epigraphic finds recovered from Room 69 of the Zimri-Lim palace. The preserved part of the composition consists of a nude hero holding the hind legs of an upside down animal. Traces of an inscription are visible to the left of the nude hero. As in the case of Cat. #238, the impression is too fragmentary to establish links to a style group, but Parrot suggests that the style of the engraving is crude in contrast to the fine style of Zimri-Lim's reign (Parrot 1959: 242).

Catalog #249 appears to be the only example of the contest frieze rendered in the classic Syrian style. The impression is found on an envelope fragment, and due to the level of preservation it is not possible to determine whether the composition consists solely of a contest frieze or is part of a more complex design. The preserved part of the impression shows two superposed registers divided by a thick guilloche framed by two horizontal lines above and below it. The upper register consists of a rampant lion attacking a rearing caprid, and what

appears to be the nude hero or a pair of intertwined human figures. In the lower register a pair of rampant caprids with their heads turned back towards each other is visible next to a contesting pair of animals where only the lion is preserved. The animal contest depicted on this seal is typical of Old Babylonian contest scenes, but the partition of the entire seal surface into two superposed registers with rich designs is distinctive of the north. The busy composition is reminiscent of the seal of Samiya (Cat. #128 and 233), which is also arranged as two richly decorated registers with a guilloche divider. Catalog #165 from Tell al-Rimah can also be included in this group, although the double-register design does not include a divider. Contesting pairs of animals are characteristic of this group of seals.

Offering scene

Seals with offering scenes make up the second largest group (9 examples, 12% of all identified scenes) within the Mari corpus after the figure-with-mace seals. The motif is the focal point of the composition in all but two examples (Cat. #216 and #235), where it is combined with a figure-with-mace scene and a worship scene. The majority of the impressions are found on envelope fragments and tags, while Cat. #242 is the only impression on a door sealing, and Cat. #240 is a steatite seal. For the most part, offering scenes in Mari appear to follow a standard composition with Šamaš being approached by the offering bearer followed by the interceding goddess (e.g. Porada 1948: Figs. 394-399).

Catalog #235, found on an envelope fragment in the Zimri-Lim palace, displays a double scene consisting of scenes of worship and offering. On the left, a standing deity facing left in a long flounced robe holding a small flowing vase is approached by a human figure also in a

flounced robe.¹⁵ To the right is the offering scene, consisting of 3 figures: Šamaš at the right in ascending pose in a long robe faces left, holding a dagger in his hand; facing him, a man also clad in a long robe, holds a sacrificial animal; behind the man is the interceding goddess in her typical pose and gesture of supplication. As mentioned above, the composition fits well with the typical offering scenes of southern Mesopotamian glyptic. The level of preservation of the impression does not allow for a comprehensive stylistic assessment, but the rounded bodies of the figures and the level of detail in the engraving conforms with the characteristics of Old Babylonian seals.

Although very fragmentary, Cat. #242 and 243 also display typical offering scenes consisting of the offering bearer followed by the interceding goddess in the presence of the sun-god. On Cat. #243 a fish is also placed between the offering bearer and the goddess. Šamaš appears as the recipient of the offering on Cat. #241 as well, but this time his foot rests on the back of a crouching human-headed bulls (*kusarikku*), which rarely occurs on the glyptic of this period. Catalog #135 from Tell Leilan is the only other attestation of this creature in the northern Mesopotamian corpus studied here. The composition on Cat. #241 further differs from the typical offering scenes mentioned here in the unusual placement of the interceding goddess. On the impression she appears behind the offering bearer but faces the opposite direction. This suggests that in the original composition she may have been placed behind the sun-god or she may have been facing another figure in the composition that is not preserved. Finally on Cat. #246, which displays another typical offering scene in the Old Babylonian fashion, the

¹⁵ The seated water god accompanied by his two-faced attendant, Usmu, in the Akkadian glyptic tradition, is replaced here by a standing deity holding the flowing vase, examples of which are also known in Old Babylonian glyptic of southern Mesopotamia (e.g. Collon 1986: Fig 146; al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 235.b). Deities and other figures associated with water are common in the general iconographic repertoire of Mari, as exemplified not only by glyptic (e.g. Cat. #251), but also by statuary and wall paintings. See for instance, the statue of the water goddess with the flowing vase (Parrot 1959: 5ff, Pl. IV-VI) and the famous Investiture Scene in Court 106 in the palace (Parrot 1958: Pls. IX and XI).

interceding goddess is excluded from the composition, where the offering bearer in the presence of Šamaš is followed by an attendant in a long robe and round cap with one hand raised in adoration, and the nude female behind him. Although offering scenes without the interceding goddess are rare in Old Babylonian glyptic, there are parallels for the offering bearer being accompanied by other figures, including the human attendant, the figure with mace, and the priest (e.g. Collon 1986: Figs. 93 and 353).

Catalog #245 also differs from the standard offering scenes in its composition. The offering bearer followed by a standing figure, who may be the interceding goddess, stands before a seated deity who holds the rod and ring. The deity's feet rest on a pedestal and a bird is placed before his knees. Although rarely attested, similar compositions exist in Old Babylonian glyptic of the south (e.g. Porada 1948: 346E, god holds rod) but the majority of examples show the seated deity holding the emblem facing a worshipper rather than an offering bearer (e.g. Porada 1948: 391E).

Catalog #244 should also be mentioned here in the context of seals bearing offering scenes because of its unusual subsidiary scene separated by a divider made of short slanting lines framed by a horizontal line above and below. In the main scene, the interceding goddess and the offering bearer are preserved. The 2-register subsidiary scene has in the upper register two nude figures kneeling on either side of a standard. The lower register, upside-down, has two figures in plain robes flanking a standard.¹⁶

Although the iconography is difficult to understand, the steatite seal, Cat. #240, found in Corridor 50 of the Mari palace may be one of the most interesting examples of an offering scene. The composition consists of a main scene and a subsidiary scene, both of which include unusual

¹⁶ The extremely fragmentary door sealing, Cat. #257, has two kneeling nude figures also placed on either side of a standard.

elements. The offering scene, which is the focal point of the composition, consists of a male figure approaching a winged deity. Otto describes the human figure as “*Mann mit Haarschopf* (man with a tuft of hair)” and explains that it is difficult to clearly identify this figure, since human figures, rulers, and gods can all be represented in Syrian glyptic as having hair, in contrast to Old Babylonian glyptic where deities are identified by their horned crowns and kings by their turbans (Otto 2000a: 226-227). In the case of Cat. #240, this male figure is clad in a long robe with a heavy fringe. He holds a large animal in his right hand and a long stick-like object leaning on his left shoulder in his right hand. The animal can be interpreted as an offering for the winged goddess in a long robe in whose presence the offering bearer stands. This winged goddess clearly symbolizes Ištar in her manifestation as the goddess of war. She appears in the glyptic of southern Mesopotamia in the same attire and holding a sickle-sword in ascending pose, although she has quivers coming out of her shoulders instead of wings (e.g. Collon 1986: Pl. XXIX). Her depiction as a winged goddess is clearly a northern Mesopotamian, or specifically Syrian trait, as this depiction is only attested on seals of Syrian style (Porada 1948: Figs. 960-962, Otto 2000a: Figs. 105, 294, 318, 387-388). Between the two figures is the crescent-and-disk symbol. The subsidiary scene on the right consists of two superposed registers separated by a thick guilloche. A lion/dog is visible above, while a crouching monkey and an Anzu-bird with spread wings are placed in the lower register. Seals with similar compositional and stylistic elements in the Morgan Library Collection are classified by Porada as belonging to the First Syrian Group (Porada 1948: 926-934E). Common elements in this group are the use of figures derived from the Old Babylonian repertoire, such as the interceding goddess, the sun-god, and the figure with mace. Large sacrificial animal held by the neck (cf. Cat. #231), deeply carved figures made of round drill holes, and the use of vertical and slanting lines on the garments are

also typical of these seals. Catalog #240 is a unique example in the Mari repertoire. Although the surface is slightly damaged, it is clear that the seal is a product of high craftsmanship and thus must have belonged to a person of high status. The fact that it was found in a corridor in the western wing of the palace, in an area assigned to the House of Women by Margueron, suggests that it was used by a palace employee, who had access to the private sector of the Zimri-Lim palace. Epigraphic and glyptic finds from Corridor 50 are dated to the reigns of Yasmaḥ-Adad and Zimri-Lim, but without an identifying inscription it is impossible to determine under which ruler the owner of Cat. #240 may have served.

Miscellaneous scenes

The Mari glyptic corpus includes several examples in which figures are combined in unusual ways to create themes that do not fit with the typical repertoire of main motifs referred to in this work, although the compositional elements used in these seal designs are well-known in the general Mesopotamian repertoire.

The designs on the seals of Mukannišum, son of Ḫabdu-baḫlati and servant of Zimri-Lim, illustrate this point. A high official, probably the majordomo, in the Mari palace, responsible for the storage and distribution of craft products (Kupper 1995: 410), Mukannišum owned two seals that are known to us today. Catalog #248 was attested only once on a bag sealing in the palace. The impression is fragmentary, but the preserved part shows that the seal surface is divided into two registers by a double horizontal wavy line, and the two registers above and below the divider are, in turn, divided by single horizontal lines into two additional registers. The lower part of the impression is not preserved, but the two main registers on either side of the double-divider appear to be similarly arranged. The upper part of the top register consists of a thick guilloche

with cuneiform signs placed inside the loops and two griffins facing each other on the right. The lower part also consists of a similar thick guilloche decorated with cuneiform signs and two mermen facing each other on the right. A bird is also visible above the tail of the merman on the left. The association of the wavy dividers and the water creatures suggests that the dividers symbolize water. Only rows of dots on either side of a thick guilloche with cuneiform signs in the middle are preserved in the lower register. The dots are reminiscent of Cat. #120 from Tell Leilan, where a similar element is flanked by two sphinxes or griffins. However, it is not clear that they represent mountains, as is often the case in Mesopotamian glyptic. Otto identifies this seal's place of origin in the Yamhad-Aleppo region, where whirly designs associated with water and water creatures were typical elements of the glyptic. As Zimri-Lim's queen, Šiptu, was from Yamhad herself, Otto claims that this glyptic tradition may have been brought to Mari with her arrival (Otto 2000a: 137). Šiptu's own seal, Cat. #191, which was analyzed above, bears influences from the glyptic traditions of Yamhad and Carchemish, although the associations are based on a small number of examples excavated at Mari (Otto 2000a: Taf. 38). From this Otto concludes that it is not possible for Mukannišum's seal, Cat. #248, to have been cut in Mari, as its design is foreign to the glyptic repertoire of the city, which leads her to suggest that it must have originated in Yamhad (Otto 2000a: 138).

Mukannišum's second seal, Cat. #250, also bears an unusual composition, although both the composition and the style of engraving are much more at home in Mari. The main motif can be referred to as a "victory scene" or "the victorious king motif." The king is shown in a tall ovoid hat with wide brim, and a long robe with a thick edge that opens in the middle to reveal the short kilt underneath. Based on the association with the Investiture Scene, Parrot concludes that the figure of the king must be identified "without a doubt" as Zimri-Lim himself (Parrot 1959:

189). The king stands on top of a heap of naked men symbolizing the fallen enemy, while he holds one by the wrist and prepares to smite him with the sickle-sword in his right hand. Behind him is the winged warrior-goddess Ištar, wearing a horned crown and a long robe, in the same manifestation as the winged goddess on Cat. #240 above. She too stands on top of the naked men on the ground and holds a sickle-sword in her right hand, while her left hand is placed on the shoulder of the king before her in a protective manner. Finally, the interceding goddess in her typical gesture of supplication is placed on the right facing the victorious king. Between them is the crescent-and-disk symbol. The principal figures in this composition parallel those in the Investiture Scene (Parrot 1958: Pl. IX), where the king, followed by the interceding goddess, approaches the goddess of war, who hands him the rod-and-ring as symbol of authority. This victory motif is also attested on the seal of Ana-Sîn-taklāku (Cat. #231), where the principal figure, holding a sickle-sword and stepping upon a fallen enemy, is a god instead of the king, who is similarly followed by the interceding goddess and the semi-naked goddess in a half cloak, who is often associated with Ištar. The depiction of the victorious king/god is reminiscent of the Akkadian king Narām-Sin, who is shown in an ascending pose above the fallen enemy, which differs from the Mari seals mentioned here only that Narām-Sin is portrayed wearing the horned crown. Despite the unusual character of the main motif of the victorious king, Mukannišum's second seal fits well with the glyptic repertoire of Mari. Based on this and the fact that impressions of this seal are attested 30 times on letters and administrative documents in the palace (Charpin 1999: 77), Otto suggests that Cat. #250 was Mukannišum's principal seal during his service at the Mari palace, while Cat. #248 was the seal he used in Yamhad, as only a single impression of this seal is attested on a bag sealing in Mari, indicating that it was attached to an import (Otto 2000a: 138). Royal officials who possessed multiple seals¹⁷ that were

¹⁷ See Chapter 9 for a detailed discussion of multiple seal ownership in this period.

simultaneously in use are a common occurrence at Mari, as the seals of Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu (Cat. #190 and 253) and Šubnalû (Cat. #202) illustrate. However, I suggest that it would be more appropriate to group Mukannišum with Zimri-Lim and queen Šiptu, who appear to have had multiple seals that were carved at different times, even though they were used simultaneously. If Otto's assumption is correct, then Mukannišum too must have commissioned different seals in keeping with his geographic location and position within the administrative hierarchy of the Mari kingdom.

Similar to Cat. #250, the figure of the king also appears on a small stone seal, Cat. #272, discovered in a pit at the edge of the residential area to the west of the Zimri-Lim palace. However, both the iconography and the style of the engraving are dramatically different when compared to Mukannišum's second seal. Beyer notes that the seal is badly carved, suggesting that it was the product of an inexperienced seal cutter (Beyer 1997: 466). The figures are compressed and roughly carved with sharp grooves. The proportions are also off, as the heads and the feet are too large for the bodies. Consequently, the "awkwardness of the engraving does not allow for the main theme to be immediately understood" (Beyer 1997: 464). The design is composed of a main scene, where two figures are shown embracing, and a subsidiary scene divided into two registers by a horizontal guilloche in typical Syrian fashion. The figure on the left is identified as a goddess based on her hair gathered in a chignon on the nape of her neck, her long robe split in the middle baring one leg, and her horned crown. In the parallels mentioned below, she is depicted as the "goddess in the half-cloak," found in the Mari corpus (Cat. #231), and at Tell Bi'a (Cat. #29). She is embracing the king before her, who is clad in a turban and a shorter robe with rolled edges, both typical elements of kings in Syrian glyptic. Both figures have large feet with curled toes suggesting shoes. The subsidiary scene accompanying the couple

is divided into superposed registers by a squarely cut guilloche. Two hares are placed in the top register, while two griffins are visible in the bottom one. Both pairs are depicted upside down, which may be associated with the inexperience of the seal cutter, although upside-down figures are also attested on seals of better quality (e.g. Cat. #5, #202, #244, #284). Scenes where the king is in the presence of a goddess are extremely common in both southern and northern Mesopotamian glyptic, but parallels to Cat. #272 where the two figures embrace are rare. Several unprovenanced cylinders are found in museums and collections (Beyer 1997: 465, Figs. 3b-e), and only two contemporary examples are known from systematically excavated contexts: an Old Babylonian impression from Tell Harmal in the Diyala (al-Gailani Werr 1988: Fig. 47.a), where the king and the goddess are accompanied by the interceding goddess, and an impression from Alalakh Level VII (Collon 1975: Fig. 147) showing an Egyptian goddess embracing the king in the presence of two interceding goddesses. The Alalakh example is interesting, in that it ties the motif with Egyptian iconography, where the pharaoh embraced by the Egyptian goddess symbolizes the transmission of life and strength during rituals (Teissier 1996: 50). Based on this, Teissier suggests that the motif of the ruler embracing the nude goddess in Syrian glyptic is derived from Egyptian embraces between the pharaoh and various deities. However, she also notes that “unlike Egyptian embraces, where the figures are close to each other, the figures on Syrian seals are far apart, with rigid and symmetrical arms,” which she interprets as a local development (Teissier 1996: 116). Stylistically, Otto places Cat. #272 within her “north Syrian simple group.” Parallels with two-figure main scenes and multi-register subsidiary motifs are known from Alişar and Konya-Karahöyük in Turkey, and Terqa in Syria as well as from museums and collections (Otto 2000a: Taf. 15). Otto claims that, despite the awkwardness of the representations, one can assume from the iconography that at least some of these seals, including

Cat. #272, belonged to officials. This argument is based on the appearance of the king in the presence of a goddess on seals belonging to the daughter and an official of Aplaḥanda, the king of Carchemish (Otto 2000a: Figs. 117 and 118), which suggests that this was the official motif of the kingdom of Carchemish (Otto 2000a: 120). Furthermore, since the elements are a mixture of Anatolian and northern Syrian glyptic with strong ties to Carchemish and Yamhad, the seals must have belonged to functionaries of small kingdoms around Carchemish and Aleppo, such as Uršum or Ḥaḥḥum (Otto 2000a: 125). Although convincing, Otto's argument is difficult to prove based on Cat. #272, since the seal was found out of context in a trash pit, leaving no clues as to who its owner may be. Like Cat. #272, none of the known parallels are inscribed and because the majority are unprovenanced, identifying the owners is impossible without further evidence. Nonetheless, the use of this not-so-common embracement motif accompanied by a typically Syrian subsidiary scene shows the complexity of the glyptic repertoire of Mari, where various iconographic influences blended together during the 18th century B.C.

The final impression (Cat. #251) that should be mentioned when discussing the iconographic variety that characterizes the Mari glyptic corpus, belongs to Iluna-Kirišu, servant of Zimri-Lim. The impression was found on several door sealings in the palace and two individuals with the name Iluna-Kirišu are attested in the Mari documents: one is a servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad and the other is a servant of Zimri-Lim (Birot 1979: 124). It is not clear whether these were the same person. Nonetheless, it is a strong possibility, as it was common for royal officials to continue serving in the administration under two consecutive kings. Iluna-Kirišu's seal is unique in its composition, although various elements that are combined here are well-known in Mesopotamian glyptic. The composition is centered upon a seated deity holding a flowing vase, which identifies him as the water god. His feet rest on a goat-fish, while the legs of

his throne are supported by two nude heroes. Two pairs of winged genies are placed on either side of the god's head, water flowing from them into the flowing vase held by the god, and joining the water flowing from his shoulders. The throne rests on a boat the ends of which are formed by two reclining water goddesses holding flowing vases collecting the water coming out of the god's shoulder and the vase held by the nude hero facing the enthroned god. Behind the water god and outside the boat is a goddess holding what appears to be a plant with multiple branches and a long stem, which identifies her as a vegetation goddess. The complexity of the composition and the level of detail employed in the engraving indicate the work of a master craftsman and are fit for a royal official, although the use of the water god motif instead of the figure with mace is noteworthy. There are no exact parallels to Cat. #251. However, several compositional elements can be identified on both contemporary and later seals. Two small deities whose lower bodies join in water or in the form of a boat carrying a major god are known from a cylinder from Susa where the water god stands on top of a goat-fish (Amiet 1960: 216), and from the hematite seal belonging to a certain Warad-Nabium, son of Sin-imaguranni (?), servant of the goddess Ninsianna (Collon 1986: Fig. 378). Unfortunately the latter example is unprovenanced, but since the majority of evidence regarding Ninsianna comes from the Old Babylonian period and the iconography of the seal fits well with Old Babylonian glyptic tradition, it can be safely placed within the early 2nd millennium. Similar to Cat. #251, Warad-Nabium's seal also depicts a seated god, this time holding the rod-and-ring, whose throne is placed on the backs of two crouching human-headed bulls (*kusarikkus*) inside a boat where the two ends merge into deities. Finally, Ištar is shown in ascending pose holding the double-lion-headed sceptre and standing in a boat with what appears to be human figures at both ends on a Cappadocian hematite cylinder from the same period (Porada 1948: Fig. 895). The water god and his attendants belong to a

glyptic tradition attested in a wide geographic area from southern Mesopotamia to Susa up to Anatolia, but it appears to be particularly popular at Mari as Cat. #235 discussed above as well as the wall painting with the Investiture Scene and the statue of the goddess with the flowing vase also suggest. This analysis shows that, despite its unique iconography within the Mari corpus, Iluna-Kirišu's seal fits well with the glyptic traditions of the kingdom, but it remains as a curious example of a palace official's seal.

Summary

The detailed analysis presented above shows that Mari offers an especially eclectic glyptic corpus in terms of iconographic elements and foreign influences incorporated into the local tradition. This is a result of the geographic location of Mari and the extent of its relations with neighboring regions as a major kingdom. The complex cultural interactions resulting from Mari's position along major routes of trade and communication between southern and northern Mesopotamia are clearly reflected in its glyptic.

The majority of the impressions are dated to the reigns of Yasmaḥ-Adad and Zimri-Lim, during the latest phase of occupation of the palace. It is safe to say that the glyptic traditions of Mari do not exhibit considerable changes between these two reigns. Very little is known in terms of glyptic regarding the period when Zimri-Lim's predecessor, Yaḥdun-Lim, was on the throne, but Cat. #186, which belongs to Yaḥdun-Lim's servant Ilī-epuḥ shows that the figure-with-mace scene was already the official motif at the Mari court in this period as a result of early interactions with Babylonia.

Similar to Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan, the Mari corpus studied here includes all typical main scenes of Mesopotamian glyptic during the 2nd millennium B.C. Of the 77 impression with a fully identifiable main scene, 68 exhibit classic Old Babylonian motifs. The rest consists of two animal files (Cat. #248 and #249), a victorious king motif (Cat.#250), a water-god theme (Cat. #251), and a libation scene (Cat. #252), which are distinctive to the region. Presentation, worship, and offering scenes are very popular within the corpus, although they are superseded by the overwhelming number of figure-with-mace scenes, as the large majority of impressions recovered in the palace belong to royal officials. In addition to the figure-with-mace motif, presentation scenes are also notable on officials' seals (e.g. Cat. #179, #182, #183), as was the case at Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan.

The large number of iconographic and stylistic affinities with Old Babylonian glyptic confirms Mari's active role in the expansion of southern Mesopotamian civilization toward the West. Despite this, seals of pure Old Babylonian style are rare at Mari. Instead, classic Mesopotamian themes supplemented with original local elements reflecting the culture of the Middle Euphrates region in particular and Syria in general are the majority. The most typical of these traits is the use of subsidiary scenes consisting of pairs of antithetical figures divided into two superposed registers by a horizontal guilloche (e.g. Cat. #226 and #240). To this we can add the motifs of the "lady in half cloak" (Otto's *Frau im Halbmantel*) (e.g. Cat. #231 and #253), the king in the same pose and attire as he appears in in the Investiture Scene (e.g. Cat. #250) and small figures inserted within inscriptions (e.g. Cat. #194 and #202), which are all distinctive to Syria. The combination of these themes and motifs coincides with Parayre's "mixed Syrian style" (Parayre 1993: 1993: 511-512), traditionally referred to as the First Syrian Group by Frankfort and Porada. Seals of this group are also observed at Tell Bi'a and Tell Leilan, as

illustrated in previous chapters. However, Mari differs from Tell Leilan, in that Parayre's pure Syrian style is rarely attested at the site. Initially Parayre claimed that seals of this style group did not exist in Mari, since the site was destroyed before they became popular at Tell Leilan during the second half of the 18th century B.C. and that the production centers for this style were located farther north (Parayre 1993: 566). However, Beyer illustrates that the pure Syrian style was already known in Mari prior to its destruction, as Cat. #230 and #272 show (Beyer 1997). Unfortunately it is not possible to determine when and how this style entered the Mari repertoire, as both examples were found out of context in trash pits. However, the identification of the clay lump bearing Cat. #230 as a door sealing suggests that the seal was used locally.

The foreign glyptic influence that reached Mari is not limited to southern Mesopotamia. The kingdom's close relations with Yamhad and the Aleppo region, especially during the reign of Zimri-Lim, introduced elements of western Syrian glyptic into its repertoire, as can be observed on the seals of queen Šiptu (Cat. #191) and Mukannišum (Cat. #248). It is through Aleppo and Alalakh that Egyptian elements characteristic of the Second Syrian Group also entered Mari (e.g. Cat. #230), spreading foreign influences incorporated into the kingdom's glyptic tradition over a vast geographic area.

CHAPTER 8

ACEMHÖYÜK

This chapter presents the archaeological context, and the iconographic and chronological analysis of cylinder seal impressions recovered at the Central Anatolian site of Acemhöyük in an attempt to better understand the iconographic and chronological reach of northern Mesopotamian glyptic during the 18th century B.C., and the long-distance contacts of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia at its height. This analysis will also help shed further light upon the iconography of official seals and practices of seal use with the help of three newly published seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and one of his servants.¹

As already mentioned in Chapter 3, Acemhöyük is the only site outside of Upper Mesopotamia where direct evidence of Šamši-Adad and his kingdom has been found, indicating the continuation of contacts with this region during his reign. Acemhöyük is also one of the few excavated settlements in Anatolia, that provided remains dating to the Middle Bronze Age and the late Old Assyrian period (i.e. Kanesh Ib level) in the form of pottery and sealed bullae that link the site directly to the center of the Assyrian trade network at Kültepe.

The site is located in a fertile valley to the southeast of the Salt Lake, at a strategic point near the intersection of East-West and North-South routes of transportation. The three monumental buildings and the rich inventory of luxury materials, such as ivory and hippopotamus tusks, indicate that it was both the capital of a local kingdom and an important trade center with contacts over a vast region. The massive mound measuring 700x650m and the surrounding lower town, the extent of which is yet to be determined, make Acemhöyük one of

¹ These seal impressions have been covered by Özgüç (1977 and 1980) and Tunca (1989 and 1993) previously, but Özgüç 2015 presents photographs and contextual information for the first time, which allow a closer analysis and identification of the iconography.

the largest settlements of the second millennium B.C. in Anatolia (Özgüç 1966: 31; Öztan 2012: 59).

The site was introduced to the scholarly world as “Acemköy” by Hrozny in 1935. It was also visited by I. J. Gelb and James Mellaart. However, scientific excavations began only in 1962 under the direction of Nimet Özgüç of Ankara University, who had already been working at the site of Kültepe for over a decade. Current work at the site has been conducted by Özgüç’s student Aliye Öztan since 1989.

As she states in her first report of the excavations, Nimet Özgüç’s interest in Acemhöyük rests on a proposed association of the settlement with ancient Puruṣhattum (Özgüç 1966: 30). The Anatolian city of Puruṣhanda is known from the *šar tamhari* (King of Battle) text, which narrates the exploits of king Sargon and his campaign against the city of Puruṣhanda to rescue Akkadian merchants from its oppressive king (Westenholz 1997:102-103). Puruṣhattum also appears as the most frequently attested place name after Kanesh in Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe. These texts inform us that Puruṣhattum was the center of a large kingdom ruled by a Great King with a *kārum* and a palace, and played an important role as a prominent market city due to its geographical position between Western and Central Anatolia (Veenhof 2008: 154-156; Barjamovic 2011: 372). Geographically, Old Assyrian and Hittite texts place the city in the “lower country,” to the south of the Salt Lake. Combined with material from the site dating to the Old Assyrian period, a number of scholars, including Lewy, Garelli, and Tahsin Özgüç, identified Acemhöyük as ancient Puruṣhattum (Özgüç 2015: 20-21). This identification is still maintained by many, including Nimet Özgüç herself, although Barjamovic convincingly argued, as recently as 2011, that Puruṣhattum should be sought farther west (Barjamovic 2011: 359ff). In addition to a detailed study of the historical geography of Anatolia in the early second

millennium B.C. on the basis of Old Assyrian texts, Barjamovic's theory also takes into consideration the inconsistencies between the textual and archaeological record regarding Puruṣhattum and Acemhöyük. In the period following the destruction of the Assyrian commercial settlement at Kanesh around 1835 B.C., a smaller number of such settlements are mentioned in the textual record and Puruṣhattum disappears from the Assyrian trade network in Anatolia. However, the rich archaeological record of Acemhöyük dating to the late Old Assyrian period contradicts this. Moreover, although Acemhöyük is destroyed and abandoned at the end of the Old Assyrian period in Anatolia, the town of Puruṣhanda/Parṣuhanda continues to appear in Hittite texts into the 14th century B.C. (Barjamovic 2011: 364).

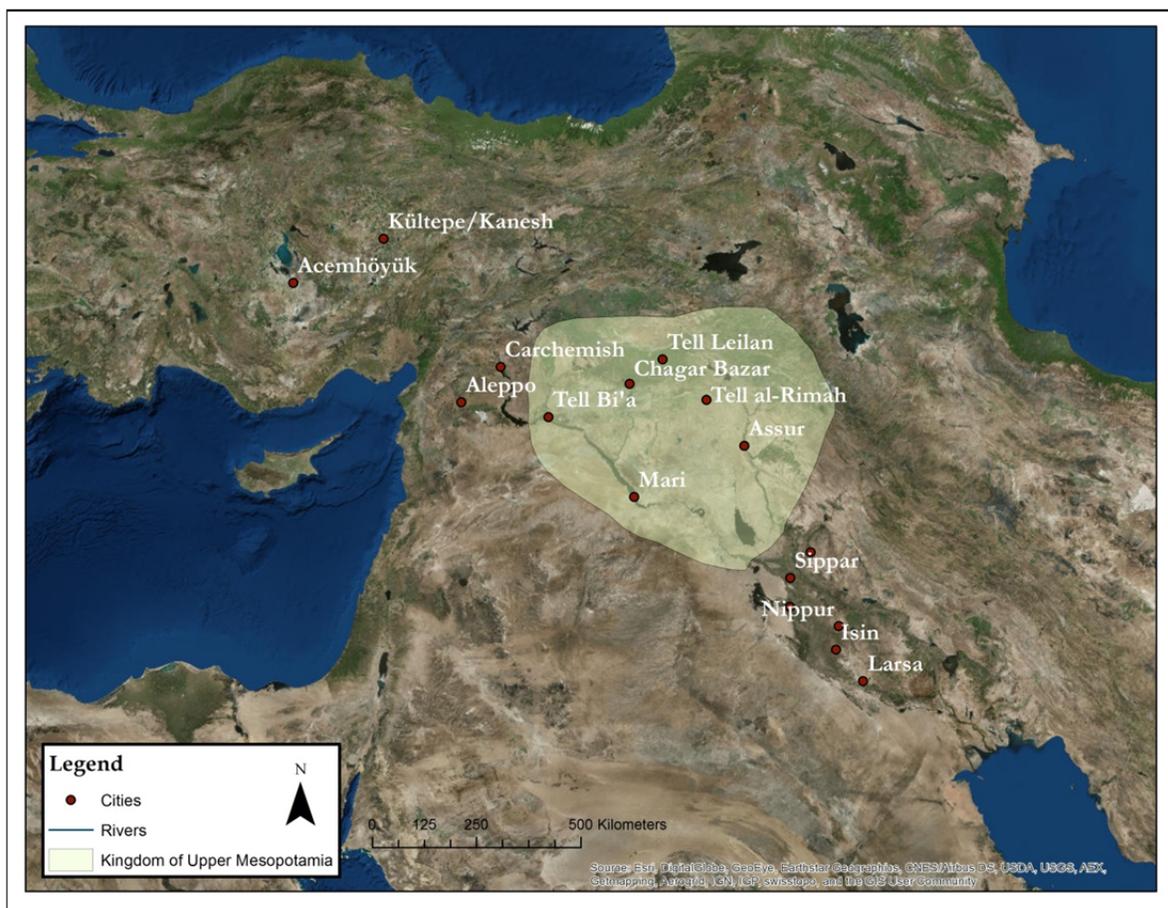


Fig. 8.1: Map showing the contours of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and the location of Anatolian sites mentioned in this chapter.

Nimet Özgüç reports that, when systematic excavations began, the south side of the mound was partly covered by a modern village and a modern cemetery was located north of the center of the mound (Özgüç 1966: 31). Despite relatively large areas of exposure on the mound, no lower town and no cuneiform tablets have been found to identify the site and place it in a secure historical context. As a result, the chronological and historical framework for Achemhöyük relies heavily on archaeological evidence, in the form of pottery and inscribed bullae, and dendrochronological data that allow it to be linked with later Old Assyrian contexts both in Anatolia and Upper Mesopotamia based on the chronology and history of Kanesh.

8.1. Archaeological Context and Chronology

Although virgin soil was not reached in all excavated areas of the mound, settlement at Achemhöyük goes back at least to the Early Bronze Age. Of the 12 occupational levels identified so far, Levels V-I are dated to the Middle Bronze Age/Old Assyrian Period, when the settlement was at its largest. The lower town appears to have been inhabited only in this period, suggesting that it may have been established as an Assyrian trading post much like the lower town at Kültepe. Both the mound and the lower town were abandoned after a large conflagration at the end of this period and the mound was not resettled until the 7th century B.C. (Özgüç 1966: 31; Öztan 2012: 59).

Several monumental structures excavated on the mound and the densely settled residential areas consisting of groups of spacious houses separated by narrow irregular streets in the lower town (Özgüç 1966: 35) point toward the capital of a prosperous local kingdom. The monumental buildings on the mound consist of the Hatipler Palace to the northwest, Sarıkaya

palace to the south, a complex of 12 ovens to the west of Hatipler, which have been interpreted as the palace kitchens, a multi-roomed “Service Building” between the two palaces, and another monumental building to the left that was severely damaged by later construction (Öztan 2012: 61).

Glyptic material in the form of sealed bullae that links Acemhöyük directly with Šamši-Adad’s Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia was excavated only in palatial contexts at Hatipler and Sarıkaya (Fig. 8.2). Revised dates provided by analysis of tree-ring samples from the site indicate that both palaces were built at the same time in ca. 1777-1774 B.C.² Repair timbers at Sarıkaya cut in 1767-1766 indicate that the building had a lifespan of at least 8 years before being destroyed (Newton and Kuniholm 2014). Finally, the wider 95.4% confidence interval of +6/-8 years discussed by Manning et al. provides an even more reliable dating for Sarıkaya that matches the archaeological material found in the building (Manning et al. 2010).³

Little information has been provided about the Hatipler Palace due to poor preservation, which makes it difficult to understand its layout and the context of the sealings found here. The rooms on the south, west, and east sides are badly damaged, but remains suggest that the building consisted of at least 72 rooms, which were used for storage, indicated by the large storage vessels discovered in almost every room (Öztan 2012: 61). Veenhof reports, based on Nimet Özgüç’s observations, that bullae were found in almost every room on the ground floor of the palace and the seal impressions on these bullae were in part identical to those excavated at the Sarıkaya palace (Veenhof 1993: 654).

² Nimet Özgüç claims that the palace was built directly on top of Level IV houses dated to the late EBA/early MBA transition on the basis of their contemporaneity with Levels IV and III of the Kültepe lower town, and that calibrated C14 dates indicate ca. 2130-2080 B.C. for the construction of the palace (Özgüç 2015: 13). In this dissertation, the 18th century B.C. date provided by dendrochronology is used, since no material evidence dating to an earlier period has been published.

³ Implications of this dating for the glyptic material will be discussed in the following pages.



Fig. 8.2: Aerial photo of the mound of Acemhöyük showing the location of two palaces, Hatipler to the NW and Sarıkaya to the S (after Özgüç 2015: Figure 1).

Sarıkaya and its inventory are much better documented, which allows us to place both the building and the archaeological material it yielded in a clearer context. The southern edge of the palace is poorly preserved due to illegal excavations, erosion on the southern slope of the mound and later Hellenistic foundations. As a result, the southern wing of the building is heavily reconstructed and the true extent of the palace is unknown (Özgüç 1982: 989). Nonetheless, as of 2012, a 80mx90m area of the palace has been exposed (Fig. 8.3), revealing a colonnaded courtyard in the middle with staircases leading to an upper story on either side, and at least 50 rooms of different shapes and sizes on the ground floor. Rows of long and narrow rooms surrounded the northern and western sides (Özgüç 2015: 5; Öztan 2012: 61). All rooms on the ground floor appear to have functioned as storage areas, since no evidence for residential activity

was found here. It is interesting to note that almost all of the rooms are interconnected and easily accessible, suggesting temporary storage, as opposed to medium and long-term storage areas that are often located in the back parts of buildings with lockable doors and limited access.⁴

Consequently, Özgüç believes that the living quarters of the royal family and the throne room must have been located in the upper story (Özgüç 2015: 5-6), although no evidence was reported for this in the debris fallen from upstairs.

The main entrance to the palace is located along the northern wall, although a second entrance was also found to the northeast, leading into Room 3, which opens onto the columned portico around the courtyard. This second entrance through a room containing inscribed bullae is akin to the side entrance at Palace A at Tell Bi'a (Fig. 4.1), where a large number of sealings were found both in Room M to the inside and in the open area MM to the outside of the doorway.⁵ In both cases, these secondary entrances may have been used for the delivery of certain types of goods that were stored in the adjoining room. At Bi'a, the fact that access to Room M was strictly controlled and that the doors on either side were sealed by two high-officials of Šamši-Adad shows that the room functioned as a storage area for important goods. Unfortunately, a similar interpretation is not possible for Sarıkaya, since no door sealings have been published from the palace and the contents of Room 3 are unknown.

⁴ This feature sets the Sarıkaya Palace apart from the northern Mesopotamian palaces studied in this dissertation. Floor plans of Palace A at Tell Bi'a (Fig. 4.1), the Eastern Lower Town Palace at Tell Leilan (Fig. 5.2), the Palace of the Rulers at Tell al-Rimah (Fig. 6.1), and the Zimri-Lim Palace at Mari (Fig. 7.1), where access to storage areas appears to have been limited and strictly controlled.

⁵ See Chapter 4, p. 7ff for details.

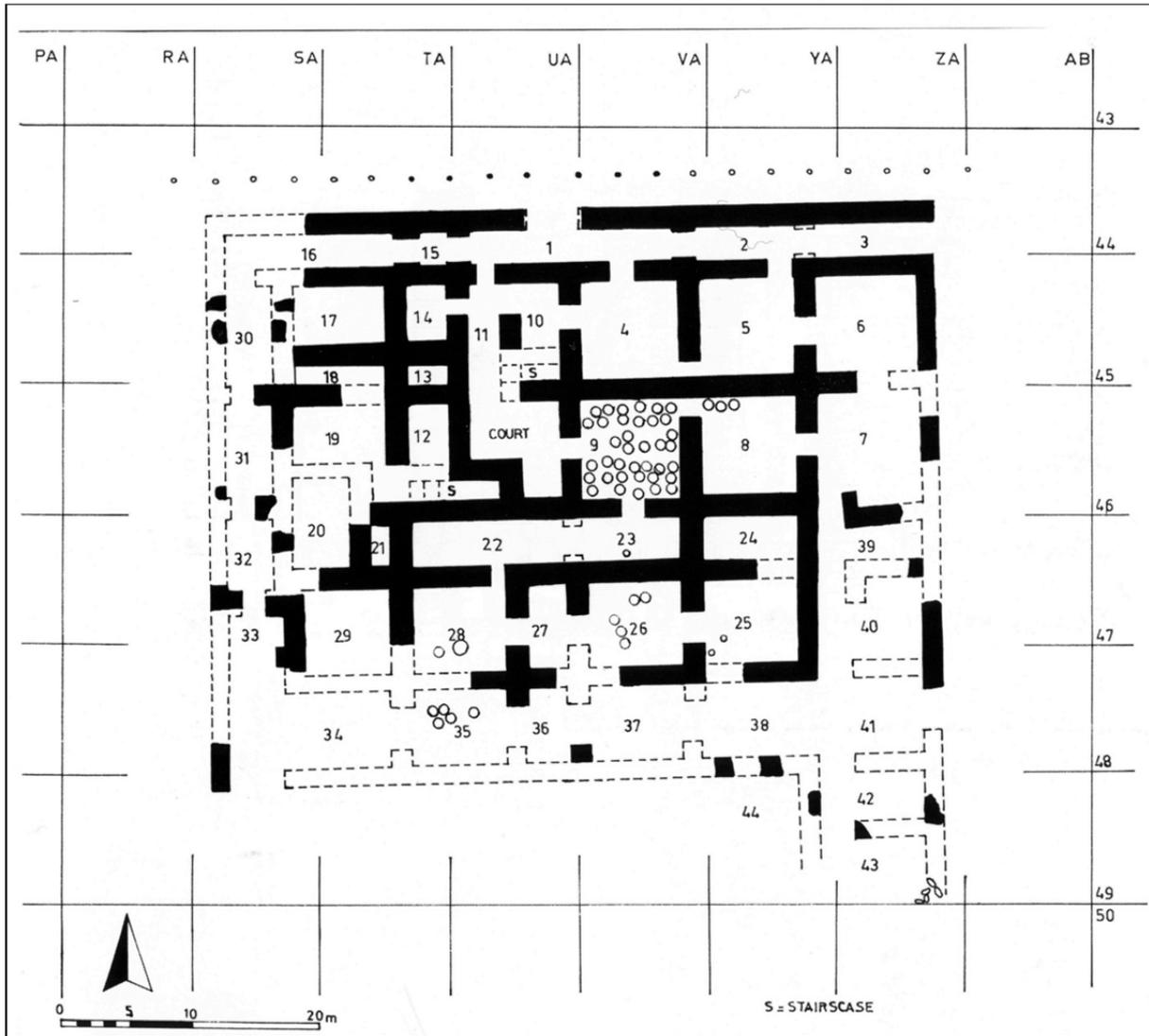


Fig. 8.3: Floor plan of Sarıkaya palace (after Özgüç 2015: Plan 1)

A right turn at the main entrance to the north leads to the long and narrow Corridor 11 and the adjoining courtyard through a bent-axis approach. Over one half of the copper ingots excavated in the palace were found here in Corridor 11 as well as in Rooms 12 and 14 to the west. The large rectangular Room 4 to the left is reached both through a similar bent-axis approach from the main entrance and through the doorway with Room 10. Sixty-eight pieces of ivory of various sizes, most of which were cracked and deformed by fire, were found in this

room, suggesting that it was used as ivory storage⁶. Next door, Room 5 yielded only the two spoked wheels of a small cart, the rest of which was recovered in Room 2 to the north. Özgüç believes that the cart was stored in the upper story and ended up here when the ceiling collapsed.

Room 6 in the northeast corner of the building, easily accessible from several locations, is referred to as the “bulla room,” on the basis of 900 bullae and 43 tags that must have been attached to goods delivered to the palace (Özgüç 2015: 12). It appears that once the goods were received and opened, the bullae and tags identifying the contents, their senders, and receivers were collected and stored here, probably on wooden shelves along the walls, since they were found 1 to 2m higher than the floor level and one bulla was severely burned and stuck to the mudbrick wall (Özgüç 1977: 358-359), although this could also be explained by debris fallen in from the upper floor. Along with Room 42 further south, where a cache of 390 bullae was excavated, Room 6 emerges as the most important location in the Sarıkaya palace for the study of late Old Assyrian glyptic. Almost all seal impressions attested on bullae in the remaining rooms of the palace were also encountered in Rooms 6 and 42, suggesting that once containers of merchandise were delivered to the palace, they were brought to a particular storeroom, opened and processed there before the attached bullae were collected and taken to Room 6 or 42. In other words, Rooms 6 and 42 contained the bullae collected from earlier shipments from the individuals whose bullae attached to later deliveries were found in the other storerooms (Veenhof 1993: 654; Özgüç 2015: 9). Among the most significant finds in Room 6 are the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and one his servants, king Aplaḥanda of Carchemish, Yarim-Lim’s

⁶ Özgüç 2015: 9 calls Room 4 an “ivory workshop,” although no evidence of ivory carving, in the form of tools or unfinished artifacts, was reported.

daughter Nagiḫanum, and the City of Assur, which not only indicate close contacts⁷ between these entities in northern Mesopotamia and Acemhöyük, but also allow a more-or-less reliable dating of the structure, matching the dendrochronological dating provided by Newton and Kuniholm. Moreover, close parallels between seal impressions of Assyrian merchants found in Room 6 in Sarıkaya, and the extensive textual and glyptic record of Kültepe Level Ib also justify this dating. It should be noted that the attestation of seal impressions of Šamši-Adad, Aplaḫanda, and Nagiḫanum does not necessarily provide a secure dating for their context, since they may have come from a secondary deposit. Nonetheless, Šamši-Adad's death in ca. 1776 B.C. and Aplaḫanda's death in the 11th year of Zimri-Lim's reign (ca. 1765 B.C.) fall within the dendrochronological dates provided for the construction of the palace, i.e. 1777-1774 B.C. with an interval of +6/-8 years (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 32; Manning et al. 2010). Finally, the fact that the palace was destroyed in a fire at the end of the late Old Assyrian period in Anatolia (i.e. Kanesh Level Ib) shows that the bullae are evidence of the final moments of the building and that they must have been deposited here shortly before its destruction, which should date to the very end of Šamši-Adad's death or shortly thereafter.⁸ An iconographic and chronological analysis of individual seal impressions is provided later in this chapter.

Going back to the floor plan and the function of the various rooms in the Sarıkaya palace, we observe that a small group of 8 bullae, which may have slid down from Room 6, the “bulla room,” was found in Room 7. This room led both to Room 39 to the south, stocked with

⁷ It should be noted that the nature of these contacts is not clear, since nothing is known regarding the items the sealed bullae were attached to. They could have been commercial merchandise, but also diplomatic gifts and letters sent to the local king of Acemhöyük, which does not necessarily indicate that Šamši-Adad, Aplaḫanda, and Nagiḫanum were personally involved in trade with Anatolia.

⁸ Identifying Acemhöyük as ancient Puruḫanda, Özgüç claims that the palace was destroyed by the Hittite king, Ḫattušili I, whose deeds are mentioned in the Proclamation of Telipinu (Özgüç 2015: 17). This section in the historical prologue of the Proclamation of Telipinu is now attributed to his predecessor Labarna (Beckman et al. 2006: 229-230).

valuables, including gold, ivory, and bronze objects, and to Rooms 8 and 9 to the west, which functioned as storage for rows of large jars and lidded vases as well as 38 large pithoi set in deep holes in the floor, two of which contained dried figs.

The next set of rectangular narrow rooms to the south, Rooms 22-23-24, yielded more pottery and 48 out of the 78 bullae found in the palace bearing the impression of the same stamp seal.⁹ Since stamp seals belonged to the local Anatolian tradition and were used exclusively by locals, we can presume that the seal belonged to an Anatolian merchant, who delivered goods to the palace. Directly to the south, large vases with lids and bullae bearing stamp seal impressions of another local merchant, which appear to have been attached to the necks of these vases, were excavated in the row of interconnected Rooms 25-28.

As mentioned above, the contours of the southern edge of the palace are heavily reconstructed due to poor preservation of its remains. As a result, the layout of this section and the function of individual rooms are unclear. Nonetheless, copper ingots, and other metal objects and weapons recovered in Room 38 point toward a specialized metal storage area.

Finally, the western section of the palace, consisting of a group of small rectangular rooms the layout of which is mostly reconstructed, appears to have been used for the storage of luxury goods. Typical “Old Hittite” pottery (Özgüç 2015: 11) as well as an obsidian plate and a red stone dish in the debris fallen from upstairs were found in Room 17. To the south and west, the series of Rooms 19-20 and 30-31 yielded a group of luxury items that point toward Acemhöyük’s role in wide-ranging international trade networks and the resulting accumulation of wealth. The inventory from these rooms includes furniture fittings, gaming boards, boxes, and

⁹ Bullae with stamp seal impressions that were recovered at Acemhöyük are not included in this study, since they do not relate to the northern Mesopotamian glyptic tradition due to their strictly local nature. Nonetheless, their importance in shedding light on commercial relations within Anatolia should be recognized.

figurines made of elephant and hippo tusk; cups, plates, vases, and animal-shaped drinking vessels made of semi-precious stones such as quartz and obsidian; fragments of linen textiles decorated with faience beads sewn with gold thread, and a gold-plated silver torque. Raw materials and waste products found at the site indicate that at least the ivory objects and stone vessels were locally produced (Öztan 2012: 62; Özgüç 2015: 10-11).

This summary of the inventory of the Sarıkaya palace suggests that at least the ground floor of the building was used exclusively for storage and dispersal, and groups of rooms were designated for the storage of specific types of goods as well as deliveries sent by or addressed to specific individuals. This is suggested by the fact that bullae bearing impressions of the same seal were grouped in the same room, indicating that individual rooms were set aside for specific firms or merchants. A good example is the case of a local Anatolian merchant, who delivered goods to the palace regularly, whose seal impression was found on several bullae in Rooms 10 and 27 as well as on 132 bullae stored in Room 6 (Özgüç 2015: 9). Veenhof rightly asks whether this shows a grouping of specific people's merchandise or specific types of merchandise in these rooms (Veenhof 1993: 655). This question is almost impossible to answer with certainty, since the backs of the bullae were not analyzed to reveal the kinds of containers or merchandise they were attached to. Nonetheless, the distribution of material among the various rooms of the palace suggests that rooms may have been allotted based on material, as the storage of luxury items in the western wing or the concentration of storage vessels in the central section of the building indicate. Finally, the fact that all seal impressions attested in the storerooms were also found in Rooms 6 and 42, where bullae attached to merchandise received by the palace appear to have been filed, points to a strict control of deliveries and inventory, although the rationale behind the

apparently methodical collection and filing of bullae is unclear. We will return to this point after the analysis of individual seal impressions.

8.2. Nature of Glyptic Finds

Overall, we encounter a much more different data-set here than the northern Mesopotamian one studied in previous chapters. It comprises 99 examples in total, 95 of which were found on bullae and the remaining 4 are cylinder seals (Cat. #290, 316, 332, and 362). Bullae can be described as clay labels of various shapes, often bearing seal impressions, attached to jars, boxes, baskets, packets etc. containing goods or tablets to identify and protect their contents. Impressions on the backs of bullae show that they could be attached to containers tied with strings, pressed on the necks and openings of baskets and vessels, inserted in the mouths of jars as stoppers, or tied with a string to the handles of vessels (Özgüç and Tunca 2001: 133-134). They often carry short inscriptions that identify the contents of the container or summarize the tablet they were attached to as well as the names of the sealers (Veenhof 2008: 55). This is especially useful in cases where the seal itself is uninscribed, making it harder to identify its owner. The fact that they were found in large numbers in the houses and private archives of merchants at Kültepe (Özgüç and Tunca 2001: 131) and in specific rooms of the Sarıkaya palace at Acemhöyük shows that they may have been collected and preserved for archival purposes or that those merchants had specific offices and stores in the building.

The seal impressions at Acemhöyük are attested exclusively on bullae. No door sealings or sealed tablets/envelopes have been recovered. Unfortunately, an accurate spatial distribution of individual seal impressions and the total number of bullae found in each room of the palace

cannot be provided, since several impressions have been published without a clear findspot within the palace and information on the total number of bullae from Sarıkaya is not available.

Room	Contents
3	bullae scattered from Room 6, jars, plates
6	bullae
7	bullae scattered from Room 6, copper ingots
10	bullae with stamp seal impressions
22-23-24	bullae with stamp seal impressions, pottery
26	vessels with lids and bullae attached
27	bullae with stamp seal impressions
42-43	bullae

Table 8.1: Rooms of Sarıkaya palace reported to contain bullae. The two main repositories with the highest concentration of glyptic finds are shaded.

8.3. Iconographic Analysis of the Material

The glyptic corpus of Achemhöyük is much more varied in terms of iconography and style compared to the northern Mesopotamian corpus analyzed in the previous chapters. This is due to a number of factors. First of all, the Achemhöyük corpus includes iconographic, stylistic, and compositional features that are distinctive to Anatolia and hence absent from contemporary Mesopotamian corpora. Among these features are the depiction of figures at varying levels all over the field as opposed to their arrangement along the base line in Mesopotamian examples, the distinctive rendering of the animal and human bodies with herringbone striations and linear engravings, the use of indigenous forms of various deities, and the predominance of animals in the compositions.¹⁰ Second, the majority of seal impressions in the corpus belong to private

¹⁰ See primarily Özgüç 1965, Alexander 1979, Teissier 1994, and Lassen 2012 for detailed treatments of the Anatolian cylinder seal tradition.

individuals (i.e. merchants operating in Anatolia), even though the impressions were found in an official context at Sarıkaya palace. This should not be surprising since the primary function of the palace building appears to have been the storage of raw materials and merchandise that were sent to Achemhöyük, rather than housing the administrative apparatus of the local kingdom, as was the case in all Mesopotamian palatial contexts studied in this dissertation. Moreover, seal impressions of royals and local officials of this kingdom are also absent from the corpus analyzed here. Contemporaneous sites such as Kültepe (Özgüç 1996) have shown that the local Anatolian tradition of uninscribed stamp seals was prevalent among the administrative cadres in the region,¹¹ and since this distinctive group of seals have no parallels in Mesopotamia they are excluded from this study.

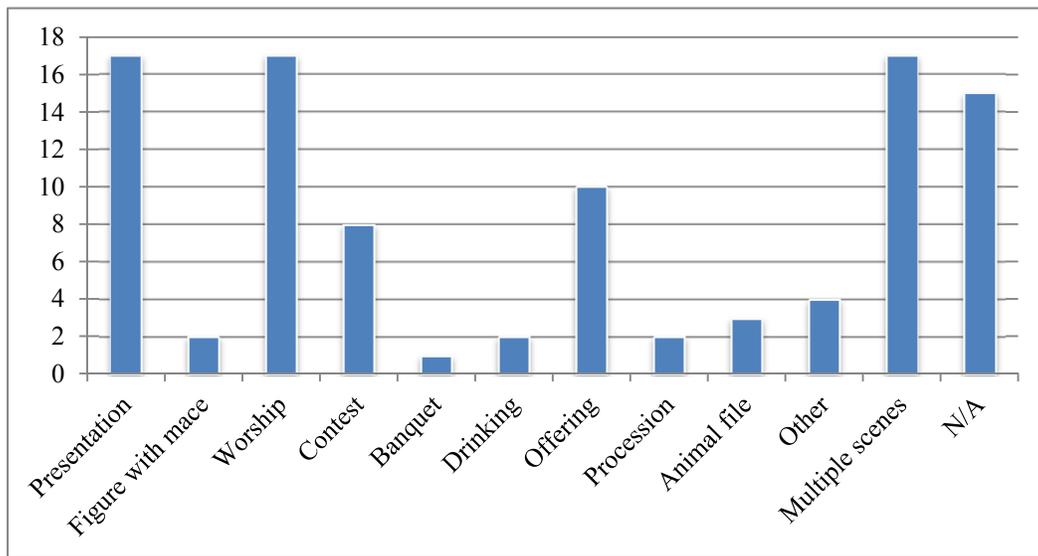


Table 8.2: Distribution of main scene types in the Achemhöyük corpus

The corpus covers all major scene types that are typical of Mesopotamian glyptic in this period as well as the characteristic Anatolian scenes comprising a variety of deities and

¹¹ It should be noted that, in the absence of textual documentation from the site, it is impossible to identify local rulers and their officials through glyptic evidence, although a number of stamp seal impressions have been recovered from the palace.

animals.¹² Compositions including multiple scenes are just as common as presentation and worship scenes. This is mostly due to the presence of local Anatolian group of seals, where the most popular subject matters are mythological scenes with presentations and processions of deities, and scenes of worship of local and Babylonian deities shown side by side. Özgüç defines the Anatolian group of seal impressions as “a confrontation of peoples and cultures” (N. Özgüç 1965:47), a local style developed from the interaction of Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian and Old Syrian styles, resulting in a richness of subject matter and repertoire of motifs. The few attestations of the figure-with-mace motif in the corpus attests to contacts with Mesopotamia, since this figure is absent from the local glyptic of Anatolia. Of the 99 seals and bullae studied here, 15 were either only preserved as seal legend, are too fragmentary or the impression is too faded to identify the main scene. These are classified as N/A in Table 8.2 above.

Seals of Šamši-Adad and his officials (Cat. #273-277 and 329)

It was mentioned within the context of the Mari glyptic corpus covered in Chapter 7 that initially only 2 seals, impressions of which were found at Achemhöyük and Mari, were attributed to Šamši-Adad. However, both the seal inscriptions and imagery, albeit fragmentary, on several bullae from the Sarıkaya palace show that the king owned at least 4 different seals.

His best known seal, Cat. #273, was found impressed on 13 bullae in Room 6 of Sarıkaya palace as well as on envelope fragments at the Mari palace (Cat. #237). Until recently, the seal’s composition could only be partially reconstructed, but new photos published by Patrier (2015:3) show that the imagery is a standard audience scene, with a worshipper standing before a seated

¹² These scenes have been categorized as “Other” as they do not fit any of the typical Mesopotamian scene types.

deity holding the rod and ring, and the interceding goddess standing behind the enthroned god. Özgüç notes that the composition is similar to the iconography of the earlier Old Assyrian royal seals,¹³ but it is cut in Old Babylonian style, echoing the effects of Šamši-Adad's exile in Babylonia (Özgüç 2015: 42). The examples at Sarıkaya consist of partial rollings impressed multiple times on a single bulla, in keeping with the tradition of partial rolling in both southern and northern Mesopotamia in this period (Özgüç 2015: 38ff). The 5-line inscription accompanying the composition reads:

Šamši-Adad, beloved of the god Aššur, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ilakabkabū

As already mentioned in Chapter 7, the inclusion of the god Aššur in the king's titulary prompted Charpin to suggest that the seal was carved after Šamši-Adad's conquest of the city of Assur in ca. 1808 B.C. (Charpin 1992: 69-70).



Fig. 8.4: Seal I of Šamši-Adad. Bulla from Acemhöyük (Cat. #273; Özgüç 2015: 38) on the left, composite line drawing of the impression on Mari tablets (Cat. #237; after Patrier 2015: 3) on the right.

The second seal attributed to Šamši-Adad is Cat. #274, also attested on 13 bullae in Room 6 of the Sarıkaya palace. Newly published photos of several bullae show that the still-incomplete composition includes an interceding deity on the left and a pair of large crossed lions

¹³ See Chapter 9 for a more detailed discussion.

before her. Unfortunately, the main figure of the composition is absent and it makes one wonder whether it was a figure with mace,¹⁴ although this figure appears almost exclusively on the left side of the composition in standard figure-with-mace scenes in this period.¹⁵ Tunca reports after first-hand examination of the bullae that the short 2-line inscription behind the interceding goddess appears to be complete (Tunca 1989: 482). It reads:

Šamši-Adad, appointee of the god Enlil

The absence of ^d*Aššur* from the king's epithet raises the question of whether this seal is older than Cat. #237 and 273, as suggested by Charpin (1992: 69) and was carved before Assur was conquered by Šamši-Adad.

Although the partial rolling does not include the seal's imagery, the legend on Cat. #275 shows that we are dealing with yet another seal of Šamši-Adad. The inscription on a single bulla found in Room 6 of the palace refers to its owner as:

Šamši-Adad, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Aššur

¹⁴ Heraldic animals often accompany the standard pair on northern Mesopotamian seals (e.g. Cat. #11 and 115), and large compositional elements placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess are common (e.g. Cat. #19, 27, 148, and 194).

¹⁵ Catalog #26 is the only exceptional case in the corpus studied here in terms of the reversed placement of its main figures.

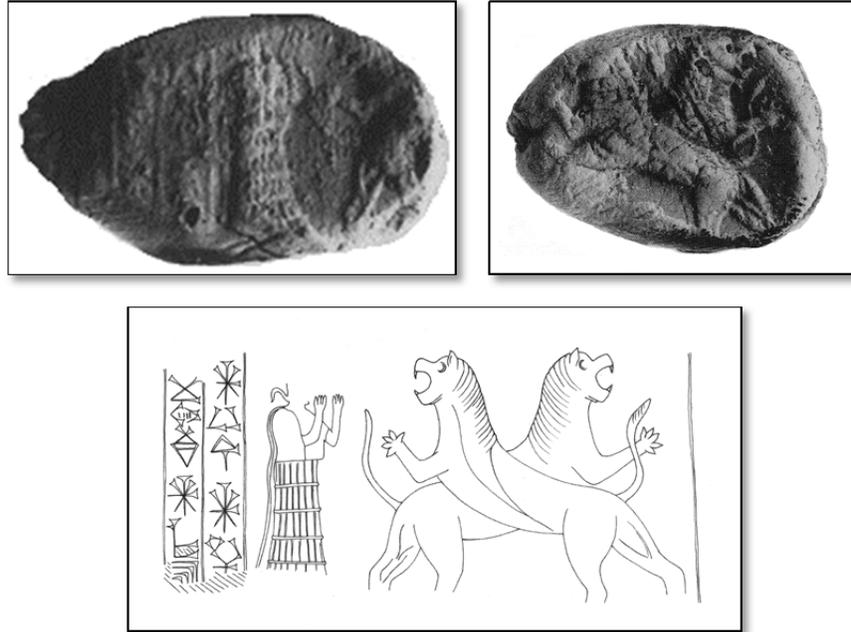


Fig. 8.5: Seal II of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #274; Özgüç 2015: 43-46)

If we follow Charpin and Özgüç in taking the king's epithets on these seals as a chronological indication of when the seals were carved, we can propose that Cat. #275 must date to the period following the conquest of Assur, when Šamši-Adad includes both Enlil and Aššur in his royal titulary. This places Cat. #275 in approximately the same time period as Cat. #273, and makes the previous example, Cat. #274 the oldest known seal of Šamši-Adad.

Finally, we will look at Cat. #276, attested on 2 bullae at Acemhöyük, and, although no findspot is published, one can safely assume that these examples were also found in the bulla room of the Sarıkaya palace. Özgüç reports¹⁶ that both bullae only contained a 3-line inscription, which reads:

Šamši-Adad, son of Ilakabkabū, vice-regent of the god Aššur

¹⁶No photographs have been published for these impressions.

Although the impressions can be only partially reconstructed and no evidence of the imagery is preserved on either bulla, the length and composition of the seal legend, the presence or absence of certain royal epithets, and the order in which these epithets are presented indicate that we are dealing with 4 different seals that belonged to Šamši-Adad. This raises several questions: Why did the king have or need several different seals? If they can be dated to different time periods, then why are their impressions found together in the same room? Why were 29 bullae impressed with these seals found in one room of the palace? Not all of these questions can be readily answered with the available data, but several interpretations are possible.

As to the dating of the individual seals, even if the seal legends suggest that the seals were cut during different phases of Šamši-Adad's reign, their impressions were found together in a single room. Scholars agree that archaeological finds from both Room 6 and the other storage rooms in the palace are evidence of the final moments of the building (Veenhof 1993: 656). This suggests that the bullae found in these rooms should either date to a brief period when shipments they accompanied reached the palace or were archived here over time. If these bullae were indeed collected and kept for archival purposes, then why did they keep all 13 examples of Cat. #273 or #274 instead of just one? One can assume that partial rollings on bullae made it harder to recognize all components of a composition and therefore several bullae bearing impressions of different parts of the seal surface were kept so that different partial rollings could be authenticated. But, then again, why keep 3 bullae showing only the interceding goddess and 6 bullae showing the worshipper (Özgüç 2015: 38) on Cat. #273?¹⁷

If, on the other hand, all bullae bearing impressions of Šamši-Adad's seals date to the same period, then we can suggest that different seals could have been used for different

¹⁷ See, p. 43ff in this chapter for a discussion on the function of the bulla rooms and the “archiving” of bullae.

purposes. A similar case was mentioned in Chapter 7 for the two seals belonging to Zimri-Lim, one dated earlier than the other on the basis of their inscriptions, but both used at the same time, on administrative documents and letters respectively. Could this also be the case for Šamši-Adad's seals? Was each seal designated to be used on shipments of different types of merchandise? This question is unfortunately impossible to answer, since the types of containers bearing these bullae and their contents are unknown. The only information available points to the presence of string impression on the backs of the bullae (Özgüç 2015: 39-47), suggesting that they were tied around the necks of jars or wrapped around packages. Another possible explanation for the simultaneous use of different seals belonging to Šamši-Adad concerns the possible use of seals by individuals other than the seal owner himself. Borrowing someone else's seal in the absence of one's own or the use of one's seal by his associates/representatives who are authorized by the seal's owner¹⁸ are common practices in this period. As a result, it is not hard to imagine that a king could have authorized his officials to use his seals to sign or authenticate documents, merchandise etc. on his behalf. Hence, it is possible that the bullae under question could have also been sealed by different royal officials holding one of Šamši-Adad's 4 seals and maybe even residing in different parts of his kingdom.

In addition to the four examples presented above, Özgüç attributes one more seal to Šamši-Adad, although this identification appears to be incorrect. The seal in question (Cat. #277) is known through 4 partial impressions on one bulla found in the Sarıkaya palace. Only the seal legend and traces of the arm of a figure are preserved, and although a 5-line inscription is reported in the catalog, only four lines are mentioned by Özgüç (2015: 47). They read:

¹⁸ See, for example, the case of the Middle Assyrian official, Babu-aḫa-iddina, who instructs his associates to use one of his two seals (Chapter 9: 44-45).

Šamši-Adad, appointee of the god Enlil, beloved of the god Aššur, vice-regent of the god Aššur

Consequently, Özgüç identifies this as the fifth seal of Šamši-Adad. However, the same bulla and its inscription were previously studied and published with photographs by Tunca, who reads the fifth line as [J] *SUKKAL.M[AH]*,¹⁹ and expresses his doubts as to the owner of the seal being Šamši-Adad. He asks whether the final line of the inscription contains the name of the seal owner or another epithet of Šamši-Adad (1989: 483, Pl. 137 7-8). It is not hard to agree with Tunca, as the sign *SUKKAL* is clearly visible in the published photo and the restoration of the next sign as *MAH* is acceptable, but none of the presently known textual sources associated with Šamši-Adad (i.e. royal inscriptions, inscribed objects, and his own seals as well as those of his servants) use this originally 3rd-millennium title when referring to a king. If we omit the reconstruction of the next sign as *MAH* and focus only on *SUKKAL*, *sukkallu* in Akkadian, we see that, in addition to being the title of a court official and of the ruler of Elam from the Old Akkadian period onward, the word was also used as a personal name in the Old Assyrian period. The CAD lists the phonetic spelling *Sú-kà-lúm* in BIN 6 177:8 and ICK 2 344:13, where the name is mentioned. This could lead us to propose that the fifth line of the inscription on Cat. #277 refers indeed to the actual owner of the seal, whose name was Sukallum and the name was spelled logographically to fit it in the limited space allotted to the seal legend. However, both the photographs of the bullae and Tunca's transliteration of the inscription include enough space to the left of the *SUKKAL* sign for two if not three more signs. One could interpret this as the rest of the personal name of the seal owner, but *SUKKAL* is not encountered as a component of composite personal names. Since the reading and possible reconstruction of this line does not seem to solve the problem of the seal's ownership, I would like to turn to the inscription itself as

¹⁹ I would like to thank Prof. Walter Farber of the University of Chicago for helping me confirm this reading.

a whole, to see if it can lead us anywhere. The majority of the seal inscriptions studied in this dissertation are built around the common formula of PN and patronym of the seal owner followed by his affiliation/occupation (e.g. Cat. #9: Adad-luti, son of Ḫaziya, servant of Šamši-Adad). However, as we saw in Chapter 7, the alternative formula of RN-royal epithet-PN of the seal owner-‘his servant’ is also frequently attested on the seals belonging to officials of Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḥ-Adad, and especially Zimri-Lim. A good example is the seal of Yamatti-El from Mari bearing the inscription (Charpin 1992: 64):

Šamši-Adad, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Aššur, Yamatti-El, his servant

This alternative composition of the seal legend of a servant of Šamši-Adad, which parallels the inscription on Cat. #277 confirms that this seal could have indeed belonged to a royal official serving under the Great King. However, the question of who exactly this person was remains unanswered, since his name cannot be accurately reconstructed.

Another impression that clearly belongs to an official of Šamši-Adad is that of Līter-šarrūssu (Cat. #329). The identity and position as well as the compositional details of the seal impression of Liter-šarrusu (Cat. #126) were already discussed in Chapter 5 as part of the Tell Leilan glyptic corpus. However, the impressions on the two bullae recovered at Acemhöyük deserve another look, since they differ significantly from their counterparts at Tell Leilan. Although both impressions of the seal are quite fragmentary, the pair of contesting bull-men and the detached human head between their legs are clearly visible. What sets these impressions apart from Cat. #126 is the absence of the second personal name carved between the two figures on the Tell Leilan impression, which helps us attribute the seal and its impression to a secondary user named Bunuma-ili. It is clear, in this case, that the bullae stored in the Sarıkaya palace were

sealed by Liter- šarrusu himself, before his seal changed hands. Unfortunately, it is impossible to date these bullae accurately and speculate on when the seal was recut for its second owner, as no textual evidence was found at Acemhöyük to securely date the latest phase of the palace and its contents. However, based on the dating of one of the Tell Leilan impressions (Cat. #126) to *limmu* Ikün-pī-Ištar (Whiting 1990: 576), we can hypothesize that the seal was acquired by Bunuma-ili in or shortly before 1771 B.C.²⁰

Other royal and official seals (Cat.# 278, #283, #284, #349)

In addition to the seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and his official(s), a number of other impressions belonging to royals and their servants from northern Mesopotamia were stored in the Sarıkaya palace, illustrating the wide-ranging commercial and diplomatic contacts of the city with its distant neighbors.

Most noteworthy among these, are the seals of Aplaḫanda, king of Carchemish, and contemporary of Šamši-Adad and Zimri-Lim (Cat. #284 and #278). Aplaḫanda is a well-known figure in the Mari archives, corresponding both with Yasmaḫ-Adad and Zimri-Lim after him, and referring to himself as their “brother” in these letters. His name also appears in economic documents regarding shipments of wine, ice, and textiles from Carchemish to various kingdoms in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia, including Mari²¹ and Acemhöyük. The strategic location occupied by Carchemish at the crossroads of two major trade routes, running North-South along the Euphrates, and East-West along the foothills of the Taurus provided the kingdom with the

²⁰ See Appendix I for a list of eponyms and associated chronology.

²¹ See, for example, ARM V 5 and 6, FM 11 48 etc. on ARCHIBAB
<http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche3.htm>.

role of intermediary between the Middle and Upper Euphrates regions, which becomes evident in a letter (M.10743) sent by Zimri-Lim to Aplaḥanda, asking him to get in touch with the kings of Yamḥad and Qatna for a military alliance (Charpin 2012a: 16). Aplaḥanda disappears from the Mari archives during Zimri-Lim's 10th year and is succeeded by his son Yatar-Ami, who continues to correspond with the king of Mari, but now refers to him as his "father" instead of "brother" (Collon 2001b: 49; Dossin 1983: 298).

Aplaḥanda's name is attested on a small number of seals and seal impressions, including his own seal(s), those of his daughter Matrunna, and 3 of his officials (Collon 2001b). Only 4 of these are provenanced, and all but one (the seal of Matrunna) originate from Achemhöyük. Cat. #284 and #278 place Aplaḥanda in the small group of rulers and officials²² in Upper Mesopotamia, who have been attested to own and use more than one seal simultaneously. Impressions of both of Aplaḥanda's seals are found on a number of bullae stored in Room 6 of the Sarıkaya palace, suggesting that they were used at the same time.

Found on 6 bullae in the palace, Cat. #278 is one of the four examples of the figure-with-mace motif attested at Achemhöyük. Thanks to the use of this motif accompanied by the interceding goddess, the seal fits perfectly within the group of royal and official seals that are characteristic of northern Mesopotamia in this period, although the identification of the seal owner as the king of Carchemish is questionable, due to the fragmentary state of the impressions and the highly reconstructed nature of the inscription (Tunca 1993: 630; Collon 2001b: 50). As opposed to the traditional practice of partial rollings attested for official seals, one of the bullae bears an almost complete impression of the seal, showing the standard pair with a crescent-disk motif between their heads along with a 3-line inscription, which reads [Ap-l]i-ḥa-an-[da/u], son

²² See, for example, Šamši-Adad, Zimri-Lim, Mutu-Dagan, and Mukannišum in Chapters 4-8.

of [], king (?) of Karkami[š], (Tunca 1993: 630). These bullae are especially important, in that they are further proof of Carchemish's role in textile trade, evidenced by the Mari texts. On the backs of the 5 bullae sealed with Cat. #278, the words *TÚG saqum*, *TÚG ḫarumburi*, and *TÚG ḫalamtakudu* can be seen along with string impressions (Özgüç 2015: 55-57). This suggests that the bullae may have been attached to textile packets tied with strings that were shipped from Carchemish to Acemhöyük.

The second seal that belonged to Aplaḫanda²³ (Cat. #284), differs significantly from its counterpart in terms of iconography. Impressions of the seal were found on 9 bullae, some of which had string holes (Özgüç 2015: 52-54), suggesting that they were attached to packets tied with strings. The imagery of the seal can be best described as religious or mythological. The inscription panel, which contains the name, Ap-li-ḫ[a-du?] (Tunca 1993: 629), is unusually placed between two main figures to the left of the scene. To the left of the inscription, and facing right, is a bearded figure clad in a long fringed robe associated with the elite and the turban characteristic of Mesopotamian kings, which leads Collon to suggest that he must be a person of importance, maybe even Aplaḫanda himself (Collon 2001b: 55). He holds with both hands the ends of a stick that rests across his shoulders. Collon notes that figures holding sticks across their shoulders are rare in Mesopotamian iconography. The closest parallels are a seal from Alalakh, where the figure is depicted without the turban (Collon 1982, No. 18), and an unpublished seal from the British Museum (BM 103340), which was identified as a potential product of a well-known Sippar workshop. The example from Sippar is dedicated to Šakkan, the god of animal husbandry, suggesting that the stick held by the standing figure may be a yoke (Collon 1982: 52-53). On the other side of the inscription panel on Cat. #284 is the interceding

²³ This seal is often referred to as Aplaḫanda's first seal (Collon 2001b: 49-50; Özgüç 2015: 51), since the reading of the name on Cat. #278 and the seal's attribution to Aplaḫanda are believed to be problematic.

goddess in her typical flounced robe with both hands raised in supplication. Behind her stands yet another figure, wearing a long fringed robe and a turban, and holding an animal offering in his hands. Between him and the interceding goddess are a crescent-disk and a small bearded kneeling hero with curls framing his face, and his hands clasped in front. This main scene is accompanied by a subsidiary scene composed of two superposed registers, divided horizontally by the joined upper bodies of two male figures, wearing wide-rimmed caps and raising their right hands. The upper register consists of three small figures in long fringed robes, facing each other, with the middle figure depicted upside-down. In the lower register is a gazelle on its hindlegs between two rampant lions, one of which is upside-down. In addition to its unusual iconography of three main figures separated by the inscription panel, Cat. #284 is also noteworthy due to the inverted placement of its main figures. Collon reminds us that the position of the main figures in the glyptic of Mesopotamia has been firmly established in the Ur III period. According to this pattern, the most important figure stands on the right, facing left, and the interceding goddess is placed facing this figure, except where she accompanies a human figure in the presence of a major deity (e.g. Ur III presentation scenes) (Collon 2001b: 54). On Aplaḥanda's seal the figure holding the stick stands on the left and the interceding goddess is facing him on the right, but the offering bearer in royal attire is also facing left, although he normally approaches Šamaš or Ištar from the left.²⁴ Collon sees this as a deliberate choice on the part of the seal cutter as a distinctive trait of Carchemish glyptic, to differentiate the imagery from the official imagery of other kingdoms, rather than the mistake of an inexperienced or "provincial" craftsman (Collon 2001b: 57).

²⁴ See, for example, Cat. #69, 131, 235, and 281.

We can summarize this analysis of the two seals of Aplaḥanda by stating that a strong Babylonian influence is visible in the royal iconography of this Upper Mesopotamian kingdom. The appearance of the figure-with-mace motif on Cat. #278, the two main figures depicted in the typical attire of Babylonian kings on Cat. #284, and the typical depiction of the interceding goddess in her flounced robe and gesture of supplication are all indicative of the wide-ranging appeal of this iconographic tradition. Nonetheless, a distinctive court style also appears to have developed at Carchemish at this time, as the deliberately reversed placement of the main figures and the rolled hem of the long robe worn by the male figures (often referred to as ‘the king’) show. As a result, Otto places Cat. #284, along with a number of examples in museum and private collections, in a separate category called “Carchemish court style” (Otto 2000a: 162, Taf. 10-12). However, one question still remains. If the positions of the main figure and the interceding goddess were deliberately inverted at Carchemish as a distinctive trait of royal glyptic, where do we place Aplaḥanda’s other seal, Cat. #278, where the imagery and the placement of the figures are identical to other royal and official seals of Upper Mesopotamian origin bearing the figure-with-mace motif? Should we question the reconstruction of the legend, which attributes the seal to Aplaḥanda, or should we speculate that the seal belonged indeed to the king of Carchemish, who owned and used two different seals bearing different motifs, employed on different media or intended for different audiences? Could this be a case comparable to that of Zimri-Lim of Mari, who owned two seals with identical imagery but differing inscriptions, one used on external correspondence and the other on administrative documents?

As opposed to the strong Babylonian influence visible on the seals of king Aplaḥanda of Carchemish, the seal impression of one of his servants (Cat. #352), whose exact name is

unknown, fits well within the local Syrian glyptic tradition. Impressed on 3 bullae preserved at the Sarıkaya palace, the seal's imagery consists of at least 8 partly preserved horizontal rows of figures alternating between short-haired human heads, lion heads, and bull heads, characteristic of Old Syrian glyptic. An inscribed example with similar imagery from Konya-Karahöyük is dated to the early 18th century B.C. on the basis of iconographic parallels from Kültepe (Alp 1972: 120, No. 22, Pl. 44/105). Another provenanced parallel comes from Alalakh Level VII (i.e. the Middle Bronze Age), depicting vertically arranged rows of human and animal heads²⁵ (Collon 1975: 84-85, No. 154). Erkanal also reports that the unprovenanced examples housed at Gaziantep Museum in southeastern Turkey were purchased in the area, suggesting that they, along with the seals and impressions from Konya-Karahöyük and Acemhöyük, may have been products of the same workshop in the environs of modern Gaziantep (Erkanal 1993: 100). Otto, on the other hand, presents Cat. #352 as part of her Group 1c (Pl. 5 58), consisting of seals depicting crouching animals, human and animal heads, birds, and hands organized in vertical columns, often separated by a single or double line or guilloche (2000a: 113-114, Taf. 5: 58), even though the figures on Cat. #352 are clearly organized in horizontal rows. Based on this, the seal seems to better fit Groups 1a or 1b, in which horizontal rows of animals, and human and animal heads are separated by lines or guilloches (Otto 2000a: Taf. 1-3). Regardless of the subgroup, however, the area of distribution defined by Otto for this group of mostly unprovenanced examples, including Cat. #352, extends from southeastern Anatolia and northern Syria down to the Mediterranean coast, covering both Carchemish and the area around Gaziantep as suggested by Erkanal (Otto 2000a: 110, Fig. 4). The fragmentary inscription accompanying the imagery has been reconstructed in dramatically different ways by Frayne and Tunca. Frayne reads []BI[], [female servant] of Aplaḥand[a], [w]ife of the ki[ng], and omits the fourth line

²⁵ See Collon 2001b: 56 for more on the possible significance of the head motifs.

(Frayne 1990: 776). As Collon rightly points out, this type of inscription is unknown (Collon 2001b: 53). When we look at the seals of women covered in this dissertation, we see that “female servant” and “wife” are never used together. Also, “wife of the king” is not a designation found on the seals of queens. Instead we see inscriptions of the type PN₁, (daughter of PN₂), wife of RN (e.g. Cat. #119, 158, and 191) or PN₁, female servant of PN₂ (e.g. Cat. #185, 195, and 218). Tunca, on the other hand, is unsure of his reading *[x].UD.DUG.[x] [Ī]R? Ap-li-ha-du [š]a? TÚG.TÚG.BAR.[x] [x].NU.[x]*, and prefers to translate only the second line, “servant of Aplihad[u]” (Tunca 1993: 630). From this we can only deduce that the bullae found at Acemhöyük were sealed by an official of Aplaḥanda. Moreover, the words *TÚG saqum* inscribed on the edge of one of the bullae suggests that the bullae were attached to packets of textiles of the same type that were sent to the Sarıkaya palace under the seal of Aplaḥanda himself (Cat. #278).

The final royal seal that we will cover here is that Nagiḥanum (Cat. #349), daughter of Yaḥdun-Lim of Mari. All of the bullae found in Room 6 of the palace bear partial rollings of the impression. As a result, only a standing worshipper figure in a long fringed robe that leaves his right shoulder bare and with his hands clasped at the waist along with the upper body of a smaller male worshipper before him wearing a round cap are visible, suggesting that the complete scene is one of standard worship before a seated or standing deity. The correct reading of the 4-line inscription accompanying the worship scene has been debated, since the original reading *Du₁₀-ge-du₁₀* reported by Özgüç (1980: 64) is questionable. Instead, Veenhof reads the name as *[N]a-gi-ḥa-[]*, “from the root *ngh* attested in Amorite names” (Veenhof 1985: 194, footnote 13). The rest of the seal legend identifies her as “daughter of Yaḥdun-Lim, king of Mari and the land of Simalites,” referring to the tribe to which Yaḥdun-Lim and his lineage belonged

(Charpin and Durand 1986: 150-152). According to Batto, little is preserved concerning the daughters of the Mari kings other than Zimri-Lim (Batto 1974: 51). The names of 3 daughters of Yaḥdun-Lim, Iṣtar-Tappi, Inib-šina, and Yamama, are attested in the Mari texts, and the correspondence between Šamši-Adad and his son Yasmaḥ-Adad mentions 18 daughters of the king, who, despite their royal origin, were given away to lesser officials as “slaves”²⁶ (Batto 1974: 51-52). Although no information is available regarding Nagiḥanum, it is difficult to assume that she was one of these royal women treated as slaves at the hands of their conquerors, since her seal inscription suggests that she was still a revered princess and member of the royal family of Yaḥdun-Lim at the time her seal was cut. Her independent status is also confirmed by her ability to send letters or goods to the Acmhöyük palace. This suggests that she may have left the Mari palace prior to her father’s death and the conquest of the city by Šamši-Adad in ca. 1791 B.C., possibly by means of a dynastic marriage, which was a common practice throughout the history of Mesopotamia. A similar case, also documented by seal impressions, is the marriage of Yaḥdun-Lim’s son and Nagiḥanum’s brother, Zimri-Lim, to Šiptu, who is referred to as the “daughter of Yarim-Lim of Aleppo” on her seal (Cat. #191). A final point that should be made here is the dating of the bullae bearing Nagiḥanum’s seal impressions. Özgüç claims that they were sealed with the seal which Nagiḥanum used before 1790 B.C. while her father Yaḥdun-Lim was still king of Mari (Özgüç 2015: 59). No argument is provided for this dating, other than the fact that Yaḥdun-Lim is known to have died around 1790 B.C. (1791 B.C. according to REL). However, if Nagiḥanum was indeed married to a foreign king and was living outside of Mari at the time of her father’s death and the conquest of her native city, there is no reason to assume that she would have stopped using the seal that identifies her as Yaḥdun-Lim’s

²⁶ We should interpret Batto’s use of the word “slave” here as “wife” on the basis of Charpin’s suggestion that the term “female servant” (*GEME*₂) was used to refer to secondary wives in palace contexts (Charpin 1992: 73).

daughter. Since an absolute dating for the period of use of the Sarıkaya palace and its contents cannot be provided due to a lack of datable textual evidence, an approximate period based on the contemporaneity of the reigns of Šamši-Adad, Aplaḥanda, and Yaḥdun-Lim attested on bullae should be used until further evidence becomes available. As a result, it is best to dismiss Yaḥdun-Lim's death as a *terminus ante quem* for Nagiḥanum's use of her seal.

Despite the large number of official seals covered in this dissertation, no institutional seals were found in the palace and temple contexts in northern Mesopotamia, with the exception of Cat. #283, which was recovered on 10 bullae in Room 6 of the Sarıkaya palace at Acemhöyük. The seal's imagery, which was reconstructed from several partial impressions, consists of a worship scene with an interceding goddess standing in her typical gesture of supplication before a tall rounded structure with a tiered surface, from which protrude a bull's head and four legs. A bearded male figure clad in a long robe and turban standing to the right of the inscription panel raising his right hand has recently been reported by Özgüç. Traces of the back of a standing figure in that position are visible in two published photographs (Özgüç 2015: 62 and Figure 42: CS 11b and 11d). When the impressions were first published, Özgüç identified the tall rounded structure as the bull altar, which is a common element in the glyptic of Anatolia, but completely absent from that of Mesopotamia, leading her to suggest that the seal must have been produced "in a region close to Anatolia" (Özgüç 1980: 65-66). In her recent monograph on Acemhöyük bullae, in which more photographs of the material are made available, Özgüç provides a slightly different definition of this figure, moving away from the idea of a locally produced seal and describing the structure as "a bull [with a] body in the shape of a ziggurat or a mountain, [reminiscent of] the wild bull of the lands, the god Aššur, mentioned in the royal

inscription of Šamši-Adad²⁷ (Özgüç 2015: 62). Unfortunately, no good parallels for this structure or object are known from contemporary glyptic. There is only one similar depiction on an Anatolian stamp seal, also from Acemhöyük, provided by Leinwand within the context of her study on Anatolian weather-gods in the Old Assyrian period (Leinwand 1984: 183). The seal depicts a tall pointed structure placed between what appears to be the interceding goddess and a seated figure, with two bull heads and a leg protruding from its front. Recently, Lassen has also drawn attention, based on Larsen's suggestion, to an Old Babylonian figurine from Isin, in the shape of a rounded cone with vertical and horizontal lines etched into the surface, and a bearded human head wearing a horned headdress as well as two legs protruding from the front (Lassen 2012: 225-226; Hrouda 1981: 68, Pls. 25 and 28).

In light of so few examples, it is difficult to identify what this figure represents. Nonetheless, the god Aššur has been suggested by some, on the basis of the seal inscription, which reads “of the god Aššur,²⁸ of the excise, of the City Office” (Veenhof 1993: 651). Unlike other major deities, such as Šamaš or Ištar, who had well-established visual markers that identify them clearly as early as the Akkadian period (e.g. the dagger/saw for Šamaš or the double-lion-headed sceptre for Ištar), Aššur remains a visually elusive figure due to a lack of specific attributes associated with him. Nonetheless, the few characteristics of Aššur known from textual references suggest that the tall rounded figure on Cat. #283 may indeed be one of the visual

²⁷ See Grayson 1987: 49 for the inscription.

²⁸ A second seal of the god Aššur, cut in a similar style and bearing the same inscription as Cat. #283, is found on the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (Wiseman 1958: 17-18). The seal depicts the interceding goddess behind a male figure wearing a long robe and turban, and raising his right hand in worship. A large open space is visible between the worshipper and the inscription, which reads “of the god Aššur, of the City Office.” It is not clear whether this space was intentionally left blank or whether the figure here was erased, but Özgüç completes the scene with a bull figure, similar to what is found on Cat. #283 (Özgüç 2015: 62). A seated deity is also possible, as was customary in presentation scenes. The seal is dated to the Old Assyrian period on the basis of orthography, but no impressions have been found on contemporary Kültepe texts so far. As a result, the question of who may have used this seal of the City Office of Assur remains unanswered.

representations of this deity.²⁹ Both Larsen and Veenhof note that Aššur was originally probably the deified local mountain range Ebiḫ or Abeḫ, on which the temple of Aššur was built (Larsen 1976: 29; Veenhof 2008: 22). Royal inscriptions of Old Assyrian kings Erišum I and Šamši-Adad also refer to the temple of Aššur in the city of Assur as “the wild bull” (Grayson 1987: 20 and 49). Based on these descriptions, the association of the god Aššur with objects/figures featuring a bull’s head and a tiered surface often used to depict mountains in the visual art of Mesopotamia,³⁰ as represented on the seal of the City Office and the Isin figurine, appears plausible.

In addition to its unusual iconography, the bullae bearing the seal impression Cat. #283 also present an administrative challenge, since a short text inscribed on them, “(addressed) to the *kārum* Kanesh, seal of the *nibum*,” indicates that the shipments to which they were attached were originally sent to the Assyrian commercial settlement in Kanesh. Veenhof suggests that the packets that originated in Assur were first sent to the *kārum* Kanesh, from where they were forwarded to Acemhöyük without being opened and hence with their original sealings intact. Once received at the Sarıkaya palace, they were opened and their sealed bullae collected in Room 6 (Veenhof 1993: 651). The inscription on the bullae indicates that the sender of these shipments was the *nibum*, known only from a few texts, but identified by Larsen and Veenhof as “the official spokesmen” for *kārum* Kanesh in Assur (Larsen 1976: 128 and 163ff; Veenhof 1993: 651ff). On the basis of a 1st person plural verb in TC 1 1 used in reference to the *nibum*, Veenhof proves that this was in fact an official body consisting of several individuals, looking after the financial interests of the *kārum* Kanesh (Veenhof 1993: 652). However, the seal legend itself identifies the actual owner of the seal as the god Aššur, and by extension the City of Assur,

²⁹ See Chapter 9, p. 9 for another possible representation of Aššur on Old Assyrian royal seals.

³⁰ See, for example, Cat. #120 and #135 from Tell Leilan.

as the concepts of the god and the city had merged in the Old Assyrian period (Larsen 1976: 117). The City Office, which appears to have owned and used this seal, was also called “the office of the *limmum* (year-eponym)” and was in charge of commercial and monetary matters, including levying and collecting taxes. Texts from Kültepe mention merchandise exported from Assur to Anatolia arriving to Kanesh with/under the seal of the City. This suggests that the seal in question was the official seal of this institution, used on merchandise entering or leaving the city to keep track of commercial activity (Veenhof 1993: 652-653). The presence of 10 bullae bearing the impression of this seal in the Sarıkaya palace is evidence of a regular traffic of goods between Assur and Achemhöyük in the late Old Assyrian period, confirming the continuation of commercial activity between these regions after Šamši-Adad’s conquest of Assur. The only question that remains unanswered is how the *nibum* was related to the City Office to be able to use its official seal on shipments that ended up in Achemhöyük.

Another intriguing seal impression found on two bullae in Rooms 3 and 6 of the palace is Cat. #312. The composition consists of an offering bearer followed by two worshippers in the presence of the sun-god Šamaš. Between the deity and the offering bearer a vase/cup can be seen. The imagery on Cat. #312 is not unusual, as three worshippers/offering bearers in the presence of a seated/standing deity or bull-altar is a frequently attested motif in Old Assyrian glyptic.³¹ What makes this seal impression noteworthy is the inscription placed on the edge of the bullae which identifies the seal as that of “*kārum* Kanesh” (Özgüç 2015: 112). As the administrative center of Assyrian commercial settlements in Anatolia, *kārum* Kanesh played a crucial role in the administration of these settlements and the trade network. This complex system was run by the *bīt kārim*, often translated as “the house of the colony” or “the Colony

³¹ See Özgüç and Tunca 2001 for sealed bullae from Kültepe with this motif.

Office.” Although a comprehensive description of the functions of this office is yet to be provided, Larsen notes that this was “an institution which presumably existed in all Assyrian colonies.” It functioned as the administrative center of the colony, organized collective trading operations, and collected certain taxes. The office acted as an intermediary between individual Assyrian merchants and the Anatolian palace administration, and played a role in the administration of justice in the colonies (Larsen 1976: 194). In this respect, the “Colony Office” appears to be the equivalent of the “City Office” in Assur, whose seal was presented above. No official seal of the “Colony Office” has been found, and Lassen notes that this institution did not have its own seal, since resident Assyrians were in charge of local administration in the colonies, representing the community in legal and political matters, and hence used their own personal seals when needed (Lassen 2012: 209). As a result, Cat. #312 and countless other examples used for the affairs of the Colony Office in Kanesh (Hertel 2013) belonged to Assyrian merchants representing the community at the time. Tablets recording the verdicts of the *kārum* Kanesh and bullae bearing the inscription “seal of the *kārum* Kanesh” that were found at Kültepe prove that this was the case. A study of seal impressions on the *kārum* verdicts shows that these documents were sealed by a group of representatives whose personal names were not given in the text itself (Lassen 2012: 230). Six bullae from Kültepe bearing 12 impressions of 11 different seals cut in a variety of styles, also supports this point, since they were sealed by more than one individual (Özgüç and Tunca 2001: 140-141). It is unfortunate that no information is preserved regarding the texts or goods to which the bullae sealed with Cat. #312 were attached. However, the fact that the bullae were preserved in two different rooms of the palace shows that *kārum* Kanesh and the palace of Achemhöyük communicated on a regular basis.

The Figure-with-Mace Motif in Anatolia

As opposed to the large number of figure-with-mace seals attested in official contexts in northern Mesopotamia in the 18th century B.C., contemporaneous glyptic corpora excavated at Anatolian sites yielded very few examples of this motif.

Besides the seal impression of Aplaḥanda (Cat. #278), only 3 examples bearing this motif are known from Achemhöyük. Cat. #280, found on a single bulla in Room 6, depicts two pairs of figures on either side of a one-line inscription: the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess on the left, and an offering bearer facing the god Šamaš on the right. The inscription on the edges of the bulla and the seal legend identify the seal owner as Aššur-balātī, son of Šib-Ištar. Unfortunately, this individual is not attested elsewhere. However, the presence of a bulla bearing his seal impression in the bulla room of the Sarıkaya suggests that he may have been a merchant sending goods to the local palace.

Cat. #281, found on 3 bullae in the palace, bears an almost identical composition consisting of an offering bearer facing Šamaš on the left, and the standard pair with the figure with mace and the interceding goddess on the right. The seal owner is identified by Özgüç as a certain Iziḥam, who is not attested in the textual record of the period in Anatolia. Nonetheless, a similar speculation can be made as to his identity as a merchant operating in the region.

A different composition including what appears to be the figure with mace is attested on Cat. #301. The scene consists of a standing male depicted in the typical pose and garments of the figure with mace standing before the double-lion-headed sceptre of the goddess Ištar. To the right of the standard, the interceding goddess is shown facing a standing figure clad in a long robe and carrying an object in his right hand, who is often identified as the “priest with the pail” in Old Babylonian glyptic (Collon 1986: 34). Between them are placed a crescent-and-disk and a

small nude female holding her breasts. Neither the seal impression nor the bulla carries an inscription to help identify the seal's owner.

The small number of known examples of this motif from other Anatolian sites of the late Old Assyrian period show that, unlike the case in southern and northern Mesopotamia, the figure with mace was not a popular compositional element in this region. The impressions of a single seal on jar sealings, depicting the figure with mace and the interceding goddess along with an offering bearer before Šamaš, were recovered at Konya-Karahöyük (Alp 1972: Pls. 32-33 80-86), while only two examples are known from envelope fragments excavated in the Lower Town at Boğazköy/Hattusha (Otten 1957: XI, Nos. 31 and 34; Beran 1964: Pl. 7 5-6). Level Ib documents from *kārum* Kanesh provided impressions of only 6 seals³² featuring the figure with mace.³³ In all of these examples the figure with mace and the interceding goddess appear as part of a larger composition including other main motifs, such as a worshipper before a seated deity or an offering bearer before Šamaš/Ištar. A crescent-and-disk motif as well as the nude female on a pedestal are also common compositional elements of these seals. All impressions are found on clay envelopes of tablets recording purchase/sale contracts (Kt k/k 18, Kt n/k 33), sworn agreements (e.g. Kt n/k 32), suggesting that the parties involved in these transactions were private individuals in Anatolia, rather than officials of an administration.

All this shows that, although the figure-with-mace motif made its way into Anatolia through the seals of Mesopotamian merchants, it did not gain much popularity within seal owners in this region. In the few instances where it's attested, the standard pair, which by itself

³² Kt k/k 13 (seal of Aššur-[], son of Sin-išmeanni); Kt k/k 16; Kt k/k 18 (seal of Aššur-taklāku, son of Enlil-nada); Kt n/k 29, Kt n/k 32, Kt n/k 33 (seal of Ennam-Aššur, son of Aššur-taklāku) (See Özgüç 1968: Pls. II 2, XI B, XII 1, XIV 2B, XVIII E, XIX B respectively for photographs. The seal owners have been identified by Lassen 2012).

³³ Of the 748 seals and seal impressions from Kültepe studied by Lassen (2012), only these 6 contain this motif. A single example (Kt d/k 8) is also known from Level II, but the figure depicted here wears a horned crown and hence should be identified as the "god with mace," which is attested on a very small number of examples from southern Babylonia in this period. See Chapter 9, p. 12 and al-Gailani Werr 1988a: 17 and 39.

signaled officialdom in northern Mesopotamian contexts, is used here alongside other main motifs, such as presentation or offering scenes. Thus, it becomes clear that the motif was used on private seals and hence had no official connotations. Rather, it was just one of the motifs, albeit not a very popular one, in a wide range of options from which private seal owners could choose.

Private Seals

The analysis presented above shows that bullae found at Achemhöyük bear seal impressions of 11 official and royal seals belonging to 5 individuals and one institution. On the basis of their iconography and the identity of the seal owners, the remaining 88 seals and seal impressions can be classified as “private” seals, i.e. seals that belonged to private individuals who did not hold an office. The owner of Cat. #334 is identified as Aššur-emūqī, son of Abu-šalim, while the inscription on the edge of 5 bullae sealed by him reads “To king [], your servant Aššur-emūqī’s seal” (Özgüç 2015: 74). It is unfortunate that the name of the ruler to whom this shipment was address is not preserved. In the absence of cuneiform tablets and information concerning the ancient kingdom located at Achemhöyük, this royal name could have provided us with invaluable information regarding the local ruler, which could have led to the ancient name of this major kingdom, and even provided a chronological indication as to when Aššur-emūqī’s shipments were received by the palace. The title “your servant” is similar to the titles on officials’ seals from northern Mesopotamia, where the seal owner is defined as “servant” of a king. However, in the Anatolian context this may not necessarily point to a “servant” as royal official, but may simply be a sign of reverence, indicating the seal owner’s recognition of the higher status of the Anatolian ruler. Furthermore, debt slavery was common

within the textually attested Assyrian and Anatolian communities in the region. Thus, a private individual could also be referred to as another person's servant.³⁴

Özgüç identified the owners of 26 different seals (Appendix IV), on the basis of seal legends and inscriptions on bullae. Of these, only 16 occur with their patronyms. The remaining 10 without the names of their fathers cannot be identified. As opposed to the large number of inscribed royal and official seals from Upper Mesopotamia, seals of private individuals are rarely inscribed in this period.³⁵ As a result, Özgüç's identification rests on "sealer's notations," i.e. inscriptions on sealed bullae, which often read "seal of PN." In the presence of such an inscription, it is only logical to assign the person whose name is on the bulla as the seal owner. However, the case of Cat. #289 makes it clear that this identification may not be reliable in all cases, i.e. that the seal user may not always be the seal owner. The impression Cat.# 289 was found on 3 bullae in Room 6, two of which bore the inscription "seal of Awaliya," and the third "seal of Amuni, son of Awaliya" (Özgüç 2015: 83-84). The two different inscriptions attached to the same seal impression suggest that this particular seal was used simultaneously by a father and son on different shipments that were clearly assigned to each individual through the inscriptions on the bullae. Cases of seal borrowing, when an individual either does not possess a seal or does not have it at their disposal at the time of a transaction, are common occurrences in the Old Assyrian period.³⁶ Lassen notes that sealing practices among Anatolians³⁷ were particularly erratic, and in many cases family members used the same seal (Lassen 2012: 201, footnote 537). Since the seal itself is not inscribed, it is not possible to determine whether Awaliya or Amuni was the real "owner" of the seal. Therefore, it is better to speak of seal "users" in this case, rather

³⁴ See, for example, AKT 4 10: 3-4, "seal of Imlikilim, servant of Iddin-Kubim" (Albayrak 2006: 8).

³⁵ Of the 88 private seals found at Acemhöyük, only 7, i.e. 8% (Cat. #280, 292, 293, 322, 330, 336, and 363), bear inscriptions or identifiable inscription panels where the signs cannot be read clearly.

³⁶ See Teissier 1994: 46 and Lassen 2012: Chapter 7 for examples of seal borrowing in the Old Assyrian period.

³⁷ Amuni and Awaliya are personal names of Anatolian origin.

than owners. Although the case of Cat . #289 is unique within the Acemhöyük corpus, it is sufficient to question the use of the term seal “owner” in many of the cases, since almost all identifications of seal ownership by Özgüç rest on inscriptions on bullae. The case of a father and son using the same seal on different shipments sent to the Acemhöyük palace indicates that, at least in this case, the inscription on the bullae were proof of ownership of the goods and not necessarily of the seal.

Only one of the 26 identified individuals, Iddin-Suen, son of Iddin-Aššur, who appears to be the owner of both Cat. #333 and Cat. #358,³⁸ is attested in the textual record of Kültepe.³⁹ Nonetheless, this attestation is crucial in understanding both the chronology and the trade relations of the Acemhöyük palace. The unpublished text, Kt n/k 10, is dated to the *limmu* Aḫ-waqar, which according to the REL corresponds to ca. 1765 B.C., which shows that this merchant was active in the period that corresponds to the lifespan of the Sarıkaya palace established by dendrochronological analysis.⁴⁰ This text also records that Iddin-Suen sent lapis lazuli to his father, Iddin-Aššur,⁴¹ from Mama, an Anatolian kingdom known to have been located to the east of Kanesh. In the absence of an almost complete lack of information regarding the goods that were received by the Sarıkaya palace and the places where these shipments originated, bullae sealed by an individual with trade connections in Mama can be taken as potential evidence of commercial relations between this kingdom and Acemhöyük.

³⁸ It is also possible that the two seal impressions belong to two different individuals with the same name and patronym.

³⁹ The search was conducted in various databases for all personal names published by Özgüç, both with the spellings provided by her and their known variants (e.g. Iddin-Suen, son of Iddin-Aššur, is recorded in Kültepe texts as Iddin-Suen, son of Iddin-Aššur). One should remember, however, that both names are extremely common and the individual mentioned in Kültepe texts may be a namesake.

⁴⁰ Newton and Kuniholm 2004 suggest a period of at least 8 years between ca. 1774 B.C.-1766 B.C. for the lifespan of the palace.

⁴¹ Information on the dating and content of this unpublished text is taken from The Old Assyrian Text Project's online database at oatp.net.

In addition to the large number of sealed bullae, the “bulla room” (Room 6) at the Sarıkaya palace also yielded 24 inscribed but unsealed bullae (Karaduman 2008). Veenhof noted recently that “these short texts show no Old Assyrian features in sign forms, spelling, and language, and they feature names and qualifications of textiles and personal names, that are not used in Old Assyrian. They clearly are from Northern Mesopotamia/Syria, from the 18th century BC.”⁴² This observation also explains why only a few individuals identified through bullae at Acemhöyük are attested in Old Assyrian documents from Kültepe. It may very well be that the merchant community and the palace at Acemhöyük were directly involved in trade with northern Mesopotamia and Syria, rather than the city of Assur, with which the *kārum* and the local palace at Kanesh continued to trade in this period. If this was indeed the case, then the presence of 29 bullae sealed by Šamši-Adad as well as 15 bullae bearing the seal impressions of Aplaḫanda of Carchemish can also be used as evidence for the intensification of trade relations with this region during the 18th century B.C. This shift in the direction of trade is evident in the material record of Acemhöyük, in the form of a noticeable increase in the number of Old Syrian and Old Babylonian style seal impressions and a decrease in examples of “Old Assyrian” style (Özgüç 1980: 78).

It is important to note, however, that the fact that the individuals attested at Acemhöyük do not occur in the textual record of Kültepe does not mean that the merchant communities within these kingdoms were not in communication. The presence in the Sarıkaya palace of bullae sealed by the City Office at Assur (Cat. #283) and attached to shipments addressed to *kārum Kanesh* is confirmation of these relations. Moreover, the impression of the seal of merchant

⁴² I am grateful to Gojko Barjamvic for sharing this yet-unpublished observation with me.

Šumi-Aššur, son of Aššur-ṭāb,⁴³ which was found on 33 bullae in Room 6 of the palace (Cat. #331; Özgüç 2015: 68-69), is also known from a clay envelope from Kültepe (Kt n/k 70; Özgüç 1968: Pl. XXVI 2).⁴⁴ The inscription on the bullae indicates that the shipments to which they were attached were addressed to Šumi-Aššur's representative(s) in Acemhöyük. Veenhof notes that incoming merchandise had to be inspected and cleared in the palace, where the packets were opened and bullae left behind, before the merchandise was available to the addressee, who in this case was Šumi-Aššur's representative (Veenhof 1993: 650). Although the contents of these shipments and the function and status of Šumi-Aššur are unknown, the presence of these bullae in the Sarıkaya palace is evidence of regular commercial contacts between Kanesh and Acemhöyük. Moreover, the fact that the addressee is simply referred to as "my representative" shows that members of Assyrian family firms who operated between these cities were locally known.

Similar inscriptions on a number of bullae found in the building are useful in understanding the role of the palace regarding storage. As explained at the beginning of this chapter, all the excavated rooms of the Sarıkaya palace appear to have been used for storage. No evidence was found either in the rooms on the ground floor or in the debris fallen from the upper story to indicate the presence of living quarters or offices in the building, which suggests that another structure at the site may have fulfilled these functions. Similar to the goods sent by Šumi-Aššur to his representative, which were stored in the palace, the bullae that bear the

⁴³ The name and patronym of the seal owner were originally published as Ibieš and Idin-Aššur (Özgüç 1986: 48). The reading of the inscription was emended by Veenhof (1993: 650).

⁴⁴ Özgüç claims that "since seals in the Old Babylonian style were used in Assyria and North Syria in the 18th century B.C. [...] it seems likely that [the Acemhöyük] bullae as well as the envelope from Kültepe originated in those lands" (Özgüç 1986: 48). This assumption cannot be proven, since no information is available concerning the location and function of the seal owner, Šumi-Aššur. One should also remember that seal styles cannot be correlated with geographical locations and attributed to a particular provenience without comparative material. Šumi-Aššur could have very well been living and operating in Anatolia while using an Old Babylonian-style cylinder seal.

inscriptions “seal of Šalim-Aššur, to my brother Ṭāb-Aššur” (Cat. #288; Özgüç 2015: 80) and “from Aššur-idi to my brother Bašu” (Cat. #360; Özgüç 2015: 105), indicate that the so-called palace building functioned as a storage facility, not only for shipments addressed to it, but also for wares sent from one private individual to another. As Veenhof suggests, the containers must have been opened upon arrival and stored in the building once the “palace” took out its share as import duty (Veenhof 1993: 655).

From an iconographic and stylistic point of view, the glyptic corpus at Acemhöyük is closely related to that of *kārum* Kanesh Level Ib,⁴⁵ with which it is shown to have been in close contact. Stylistically, “Old Babylonian” seals and seal impressions constitute the largest group (41/88 examples, 47%). This is followed by impressions of Old Syrian style (23/88 examples, 26%). Seals and impressions of local Anatolian style are the third largest group with 14 examples (16%). The owners of only two Anatolian-style cylinder seals have been identified thanks to the inscriptions on the bullae: Aššur-malik, son of Alaḫum (Cat. #325), and Atâ (Cat. #324). Since this style of seal carving is distinctive to Anatolia and has no parallels outside of this region, we can say that, although they are not attested in the textual documentation of Kültepe, these two individuals must have at least operated, if not permanently resided, in Anatolia, where they would have acquired their seals. The stylistic group represented with the smallest number of examples at Acemhöyük is the “Old Assyrian style” (9/88, 10%). Similar to *kārum* Kanesh (Özgüç 1968: 47), this style appears to have gone out of fashion in the later Old Assyrian period, and replaced by seals of Old Babylonian and Old Syrian style in popularity. Based on an analysis of the Kültepe glyptic corpus, Özgüç explains this change as a result of Anatolia’s commercial

⁴⁵ See Özgüç 1968 for a detailed treatment of the Kültepe corpus.

interests shifting from Assur to northern Syria in the early 18th century B.C., culminating in the appearance of more Syrian seals and seal impressions in the region (Özgüç 1968: 53).

Iconographically, the Achemhöyük glyptic corpus closely mirrors that of Kültepe, while also incorporating typical motifs and compositional elements of Mesopotamian glyptic (Table 8.2). Presentation and worship scenes appear to be most popular, followed by a smaller number of offering and contest scenes.⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that seal designs consisting of multiple main scenes (e.g. a scene of worship accompanied by a context scene) make up close to 20% of the corpus (17/84 examples). Besides the Anatolian style group, which includes elements native to the region (e.g. local deities standing on animals), the principal elements of composition in all main motifs closely parallel their Mesopotamian counterparts.

Iconographic similarities between a number of private seal impressions from Achemhöyük and examples from Upper Mesopotamia not only are further proof of close connections between the two regions, but also aid in the dating of the Achemhöyük material.

Cat. #339 and #340 resemble Cat. #120 from Tell Leilan in terms of the use of the banquet scene and the depiction of the winged sphinxes. Otto places seals featuring similar banquet scenes in northwestern Syria in the area covering Yamhad and Carchemish, based on provenanced examples from Til Barsip and Oylumhöyük near modern Gaziantep (Otto 2000a: 122-124). Similar mixed-beings with the lower body of a bull also occur on Cat. #122 from Tell Leilan. The seal belonged to a servant of Himdiya, who ruled the city briefly after 1760 B.C. (Appendix I). The bulla sealed with Cat. #339 also bears the impression of a scarab seal with a geometric motif, dated by Özgüç to the second quarter of the 19th century B.C. on the basis of an

⁴⁶ It should be noted that 15 of the seal impressions in the database are either too fragmentary or too faint to identify the imagery. As a result, the analysis was conducted on 84 examples.

almost identical scarab from a grave context in Megiddo. Özgüç uses it not only to claim that the sealed bullae arrived at Acemhöyük in the first half of the 19th century B.C., but also to date all seal impressions of Old Syrian style at the site on the basis of the association between the scarab impression and Cat. #339 (Özgüç 2015: 127). In her typology of scarabs found in late Middle Kingdom contexts in Egypt and Nubia, Daphna Ben-Tor⁴⁷ informs us that cross patterns, especially ones ending in spirals or concentric circles, are first attested in the early Middle Kingdom period. Petals forming a rosette-like design, such as the one depicted on this scarab seal, are the most common form of cross pattern that is characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom, but is absent in the early part of the period (Ben-Tor 2007: 23, Pl. 12 32 and 38). This dating matches the one proposed by Özgüç. However, Ben-Tor warns us that many designs and features of glyptic in this period were long lived, and scarabs could be kept as heirlooms for a long time (Ben-Tor 2007: 1). This shows that the dating of the bulla and of the palace suggested by Özgüç on the basis of this scarab impression is not reliable.⁴⁸ There is no evidence to suggest that the scarab was not in fact an heirloom kept by its owner for several decades before it was used to seal the two bullae found in Room 22, which were attached to goods shipped to the Acemhöyük palace. It is also hard to believe that such bullae would have been kept in the palace for almost 100 years. Even if we believe this to be the case, would one not expect to find these “old” bullae stored in the “bulla room” (Room 6) as opposed to Room 22, where goods (probably textiles) burned in the fire were found along with other bullae and pottery vessels? The question that remains is who used this scarab and what were the contents of the shipment that

⁴⁷ I would like to thank Prof. Nadine Moeller of the University of Chicago for recommending this book and helping me understand the use of seals in Middle Kingdom Egypt.

⁴⁸ Ben-Tor warns us of the difficulties of establishing absolute dates for Middle Kingdom contexts due to the common reuse of tombs and the frequent occurrence of mixed deposits (Ben-Tor 2007: 5). This observation clearly discredits the Megiddo grave used as a chronological parallel by Özgüç.

was sent to Anatolia by what was presumably two business partners using seals of Old Syrian and Egyptian style.

Catalog #371 shows a smiting deity with a tall pointed hat and long hair ending in a curve as well as a pair of kneeling figures on either side of a crescent-disk standard over a pair of winged sphinxes. A figure in the same pose and costume as the deity also appears on a seal impression from level Ib of Kültepe (Özgüç 1968: Pl. XXII 2). The debt note (Kt n/k 38) that bears this impression is dated to the eponym of Şabrum (REL 218), which corresponds to ca. 1755 B.C. (Appendix I).

Catalog #323 depicts two scenes on either side of a thick horizontal divider that are very similar to Cat. #120 and #128 (same seal as Cat. #233 from Mari) from Tell Leilan. On both examples the seal surface is divided by a thick horizontal divider, and the spaces above and below are occupied by busy scenes consisting of several different motifs. The winged griffins on either side of a fallen human being on Cat. #323 are almost identical to the ones flanking a mountain/palm trunk on Cat. #120. The impression of Samiya's seal (Cat. #128), which features a similar composition, was found on a tablet at Tell Leilan dated to the limmu Puşşānum (REL 201), which corresponds roughly to 1772 B.C. If we were to assign an approximate date to Cat. #323 from Acemhöyük on the basis of its iconographic and stylistic affinities with the examples from Tell Leilan and Mari, this dating would fit in perfectly with the rest of the Acemhöyük corpus, which falls within the second quarter of the 18th century B.C. Similarly, Cat. #326 bears a subsidiary scene consisting of a row of animals on either side of a thick horizontal guilloche, which is almost identical to the seal of Šamši-Adad's servant Baḥli-Eraḥ (Cat. 39), and Cat. #230 and #240 from Mari dated approximately to the reign of Šamši-Adad's son Yasmaḥ-Adad. These

examples are further evidence of the contemporaneity of and close connections between northern Mesopotamia and the Anatolian kingdom at Achemhöyük.

In terms of deities depicted in these designs, Šamaš and Ištar appear with the same frequency (8 examples for each), in offering scenes and scenes of worship respectively. Šamaš is depicted in his standard pose, holding a saw and with one leg lifted (e.g. Cat. #281 and #306), while Ištar holds the double-lion headed standard (Cat. #286 and #288), which often appears on northern Mesopotamian examples as well.⁴⁹ The weather/storm-god holding a lightning bolt (Cat. #286, etc.) is also common at Achemhöyük, but in the majority of examples he is depicted standing on the back of a bull (e.g. Cat. #314, #319, #322, #365, etc.) in Anatolian fashion. The divine figure that is most represented in this corpus is the interceding goddess, which is an essential part of the classical Mesopotamian presentation scene (33 out of 84 examples). She appears mostly in worship, presentation, and offering scenes accompanying the principal figure. She is a common element of design on seals of “Old Babylonian” and Old Syrian style, including those of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #273 and #274), Aplaḥanda (Cat. #278 and #284), and that of the divine Aššur (Cat. #283). However, she is almost entirely absent from the repertoire of motifs of the Anatolian style group, as she is only attested on 3 examples (Cat. #341, #365, and #370). Lassen informs us that this figure is unknown in Anatolian glyptic, except for a few attestations on early examples from *kārum* Kanesh Level II. As the figure had no direct equivalent in the native mythology of Anatolia, she appears to have been gradually abandoned (Lassen 2012: 103 and 125). Another female figure that is commonly attested in the Achemhöyük corpus is the nude female. As the analysis of the material from the centers of Šamši-Adad’s kingdom shows, this figure is often found in figure-with-mace scenes, placed between the figure with mace and the

⁴⁹ See, for example, Cat. #38 from Tell Bi’a.

interceding goddess or standing next to them (e.g. Cat. #28, 31, 198, 216 etc.). Based on the common occurrence of this figure on seals of Syrian style, Otto places the origin of the nude female in the northern Syrian/southern Anatolian realm. She often appears with her hair gathered in a bun or hanging behind her back in a long ponytail, her hands holding her breasts (typical of OB glyptic), lifting her veil, standing on the back of an animal or under an arch. She is typically depicted *en face*, but a variation with the head in profile and feet turned to one side was also popular in the area around Alalakh, Carchemish, Yamhad and Aleppo (Otto 2000a: 206-208). Of the 12 seal impressions featuring the nude female at Acemhöyük, 7 show her depicted *en face*, while on 4 examples her head and feet are turned to one side (Cat. #328, 339, 340, 344). On a single example (Cat. #344), which can be traced back to the Old Syrian tradition through the appearance of the so-called “Syrian lady,” she stands on the back of a bull. Lassen’s analysis of seals and seal impressions from Level II of *kārum* Kanesh shows that female figures, such as the nude female and the “Syrian lady” were widely represented in Syrian and Anatolian style groups, but were only rarely featured on seals of “Old Assyrian” style (Lassen 2012: 83). This situation appears to have continued in the later Old Assyrian period as well, and the examples at Acemhöyük clearly illustrate the shift toward Syria and southern Anatolia in terms of glyptic influences.

8.4. Chronological Significance and Function of Bullae Stored in the Palace

One final implication of the lack of references in Kültepe texts to individuals attested at Acemhöyük concerns a more precise dating of the Sarıkaya palace and of its glyptic corpus. As already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this monumental structure is found to be

contemporary with *kārum* Ib at Kanesh and the reign of Šamši-Adad in northern Mesopotamia on the basis of pottery and glyptic finds. Although dendrochronological analysis attempts to provide a more precise dating for the structure, it appears that only a short period in the lifespan of the palace can be securely dated. Finally, the lack of any dated or datable textual documentation from the site also prevents us from establishing a clear dating. The dating of the palace and its contents has important implications regarding the function and use of the “bulla room” and the “archival” processes behind the collection and storing of the bullae. However, several important questions still need to be answered: Why were the bullae collected and filed once the shipments were opened? Many of them bear seal impressions but are uninscribed, so once detached from their containers they had limited value in terms of the information they could have provided (Veenhof 1993: 655, footnote 36). How long were the bullae stored in the palace? Were the “bulla rooms” cleaned on a regular basis and were outdated bullae discarded at the end of an “administrative cycle”? It is clear that the finds in the storerooms are evidence of the final moments of the palace before its destruction, but how far back did this “archive” reach?

The glyptic material from Achemhöyük provides only a handful of precise dates:

- The bullae sealed with the various seals of Šamši-Adad cannot have reached the palace long after Šamši-Adad’s death in 1776 B.C. and the subsequent dissolution of his kingdom.
- The same can be said for the bullae bearing Aplaḥanda’s seal impressions, since the king of Carchemish is known to have died during the 10th year of Zimri-Lim’s reign, in ca. 1766 B.C.

- The unpublished Kültepe text, Kt n/k 10, which mentions Iddin-Suen, son of Iddin-Aššur (Cat. #333 and 358), is dated to the *limmu* Aḫu-waqar, which corresponds to ca. 1765 B.C.
- The clay envelope from Kültepe (Kt n/k 70), which bears the seal impression of Šumi-Aššur, son of Aššur-tab, also attested on bullae from Acemhöyük (Cat. #331), cannot be dated with precision. Veenhof reports that the group of texts to which Kt n/k 70 belongs consists of at least two different archives comprising 16 *limmus*, covering a period of almost 50 years (REL 184 to REL 227-235 = ca. 1789 to 1746-1738 B.C.).⁵⁰ According to Veenhof it is more likely that the envelope Kt n/k 70 belongs to the earlier part of this period due to the contemporaneity of Acemhöyük with the reign of Šamši-Adad (Veenhof 1998: 441).

As these points illustrate, it is almost impossible to establish a clear chronology for the bullae found in the palace and narrow down the period of use of the bulla rooms. The few datable finds suggest that we must be dealing with a relatively short period of no more than 20 years, covering the later part of Šamši-Adad's reign and continuing into the later part of the Ib period at *kārum* Kanesh. As a result, the questions of how long a period the bullae represent in the history of the palace and how long these bullae may have been preserved as part of an administrative cycle remain unanswered. If particular dumping areas for discarded bullae can be located within the palace grounds in the future, their contents can provide a *terminus* for the preceding archival cycles. However, one should remember that such locations may no longer be available for

⁵⁰ Veenhof originally dated the older archive to the beginning of the 18th century B.C and the younger one to 30 years later, on the basis of eponyms attested in the texts (Veenhof 1998: 447-449). Now that Old Assyrian eponyms are more securely ordered thanks to the REL, the individual texts in this group should be reassigned to the “older” and “younger” archives, on the basis of REL. Veenhof's “older” archive comprises both the earliest and the latest eponyms attested on these texts, i.e. Suen-muballiṭ now REL 184 and Aššur-nīšu now REL 227-235.

excavation if they were located in the part of the palatial building destroyed by erosion and later construction. In an attempt to establish a clear chronology for the Sarıkaya palace, Özgüç relies on the stylistic dating of the seal impressions on bullae on the basis of comparable example from Kültepe, which is problematic. According to this assumption, a period of 300 years is represented by the glyptic corpus of the palace, covering the 20th through the 18th centuries and extending into the Old Hittite period. The earliest impressions dated to the 20th century B.C. are Cat. #328, 344, 308, and 338 carved in the Syrian Colony style, while the last quarter of the 18th century and the period between the reigns of Hittite kings Anitta and Ḫattušili I⁵¹ are represented by Anatolian stamp seals not included in this study (Özgüç 2015: 16-17). First of all, it should be remembered that it is very difficult to date objects of material culture based on stylistic features alone, without the aid of clearly datable contexts and textual evidence. Second, glyptic styles tend to be fairly conservative, which limits the possibility of dramatic changes over short periods of time. Finally, the tradition of using “old” seals as heirlooms for personal reasons or as items of prestige is a well-known practice in the Old Assyrian period.⁵²

Özgüç’s dating of the palace phases is also problematic from the point of view of archival practices. Almost all bullae used for dating were found in Room 6 of the palace. The few datable finds suggest that they represent a relatively short period of time and that the stored bullae must have been discarded or recycled periodically once a transaction or an administrative cycle was complete. Therefore, even if the palace itself was in use for 300 years, as Özgüç claims, it is highly unlikely that bullae attached to shipments would have been kept for that long.

⁵¹ It should be noted that according to Middle Chronology Ḫattušili I ruled between ca. 1650 and 1620 B.C., which extends the period of use of the palace to more than three centuries.

⁵² See, for example, Šilulu son of Uku, reusing the seal of Šilulu the ruler of Assur during *kārum* II period in Kanesh (Lassen 2012: 164ff) or seals of Ur III-style impressed on Old Assyrian documents at the same site (Teissier 1994: 46).

Studies show that the collection and filing of sealed and inscribed bullae was a common practice in the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean since the Chalcolithic period.⁵³ The process involved similar steps across regions and periods: containers or doors of storerooms were opened by removing the sealed lump of clay, their contents were inspected and/or removed, the sealed lumps of clay were either dropped on the floor or carefully collected in a specific part of the room/ in a container or moved to another room for filing, as it was suggested to be the case at Acemhöyük. Ideally, this method of systematic removal and collection would provide information on what was received and stored in a particular location, where it originated, who it was sent by and to whom it was addressed, how many shipments were sent/received, how many times the container or the storeroom was accessed, and how long these records were kept. As already stated at the beginning of this chapter, the bullae found in Rooms 6 and 42 at the Sarıkaya palace appear to have been systematically preserved on wooden shelves along the walls of the room. However, since many of the bullae only bore seal impressions but lacked inscriptions informing the palace administrators of the nature of the shipments they were attached to, who sent them and who they were meant for, the amount of information these bullae could have provided appears to be limited. The contents of Rooms 6 and 42 show that these rooms contained examples of almost all impressions found in the other rooms of the palace, and particular seal impressions, such as that of Šumi-Aššur (Cat. #331) or the two that belonged to Šamši-Adad (Cat. #273 and 274) were attested on dozens of bullae, while only a single bulla in Room 6 bore the impressions of Aššur-balāī's seal (Cat. #280). Does this mean that bullae collected in these locations represented the number of shipments from a particular source during a certain period of time (i.e. an administrative cycle)? Or was the information regarding these

⁵³ See, for example, Frangipane 2007 for a detailed treatment of the administrative system at Arslantepe, Turkey, in the 4th millennium B.C.; and Fiandra 2002 for administrative procedures in storehouses in Egypt and Nubia.

shipments recorded separately in a book-keeping system (Veenhof 1993: 655, footnote 36 suggests wooden tablets) before the bullae were collected and filed accordingly? Veenhof also points to the fact that bullae sealed by royals, such as Šamši-Adad and Aplaḫanda, were found in the same room as bullae sealed by merchants. If these shipments sent by these two kings were royal consignments and gifts, it is unlikely that they would be handled in the same way as the goods sent from one private individual to another. Consequently, the bullae attached to them would also have been stored and filed separately. However, it is impossible to determine whether this was indeed the case, since information regarding the exact findspots of individual bullae in Rooms 6 and 42 is not available (Veenhof 1993: 655).

Summary

Even though the identity of the ancient kingdom located here is still debated, archaeological evidence from Achemhöyük shows that it was clearly an international center with wide-reaching contacts in various regions. Inscribed and sealed bullae discovered in the two palaces provide “epigraphic and iconographic evidence” for commercial, political, and diplomatic contacts with other areas in Anatolia (e.g. Kanesh) and Syria (e.g. Mari and Carchemish) (Veenhof 1993: 645). Bullae bearing seal impressions of Šamši-Adad and his officials also reveal the existence of an ongoing relationship with the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. Even in the absence of written documents, sealed bullae linking Achemhöyük with northern Mesopotamia and the rest of Anatolia are crucial in understanding issues of seal ownership and seal use in these regions. This corpus is especially important in that it yielded impressions of previously unknown seals of Šamši-Adad, which further illustrate the practice of

multiple seal ownership among royals.⁵⁴ Finally, the presence of bullae at Acemhöyük bearing seal impressions of Šamši-Adad, Aplaḥanda, and their officials allows an approximate dating of the palaces on the basis of contemporaneity, even though datable textual evidence has not yet been found at the site.

The prevalence of Old Syrian style seal impressions, coupled with a sharp decline in the number of examples of “Old Assyrian” style in the glyptic corpus of the site provides a direct parallel to the political situation in northern Mesopotamia. While in the earlier part of the Old Assyrian period commercial contacts with the city of Assur were at their height, resulting in an influx of Old Assyrian style seals and seal impressions into Anatolia through the merchant community operating in the area, Šamši-Adad’s conquest of Assur and the transfer of his seat of power to northern Syria caused a shift in the direction of contacts. This shift is translated into the visual culture and administrative practices of Anatolia as a visible increase in Old Syrian seals and seal impressions at Central Anatolian sites, such as Kültepe, Acemhöyük, and Konya-Karahöyük. The almost complete absence of the personal names attested on Acemhöyük bullae in the textual record of Kültepe, and the presence of northern Mesopotamian sign forms, spelling, and language on some of the inscribed bullae from the site is further proof of this change of direction. It should be noted, however, that Acemhöyük was not cut off from Assur after the city’s conquest by Šamši-Adad. Shipments of goods between Acemhöyük and Kanesh show that while the site was directly connected with northern Syrian and southeastern Anatolia, indirect contact with Assur was provided through Kanesh.

Although the iconographic repertoire of the Acemhöyük glyptic corpus is comparable to that of northern Mesopotamian sites analyzed in this study, it should be remembered that both

⁵⁴ See also the seals of Zimri-Lim of Mari covered in Chapter 7.

the nature and the context of this corpus are different. The so-called Sarıkaya “palace,” which yielded the majority of the sealed bullae studied here, appears to have functioned primarily, if not exclusively, as a storage facility, rather than a royal administrative complex. As a result, no royal correspondence or administrative texts have been recovered in this structure to inform us on the sealing practices and iconographic preferences of the local administration.⁵⁵ Aside from the small number of seal impressions of royals and royal officials from northern Mesopotamia (e.g. Šamši-Adad, Aplaḫanda etc.), the seal impressions on Achemhöyük bullae belong to private seals. This results in a noticeable difference in the iconographic elements used in seal design, such as the almost complete absence of the figure-with-mace motif, which was used extensively in official contexts in Mesopotamia. Another important difference is the lower frequency of seal inscriptions in comparison to northern Mesopotamian officials’ seals. In her analysis of Level II seals and seal impressions from Kültepe, Lassen has shown that less than 30% of seals carried legends in this period (Lassen 2012: 191). Hallo suggested that uninscribed seals were intentionally left unidentifiable to allow multiple people to use the same seal (Hallo apud Buchanan 1981: 440). This is a plausible explanation, especially for the Old Assyrian period, since borrowing seals was commonplace between members of a family and amongst fellow merchants (Teissier 1994: 46). In these cases, the sealer’s notation on the sealed object enabled the sealer to be identified. This practice is evident in the Achemhöyük corpus, where short inscriptions identifying the sealer often accompany the seal impressions on the bullae.⁵⁶ As a result of the high frequency of uninscribed seals among private individuals, full rollings appear to have been more common, and the entire scene on the seal is rolled on clay, as opposed to partial rollings in official contexts in northern Mesopotamia, where only the legend and the

⁵⁵ Although a number of Anatolian stamp seal impressions were found in the palace, it is impossible to connect them with members of local administration in the absence of textual evidence.

⁵⁶ See the case of Amuni and his father Awaliya using the same seal on pp. 38-39 of this chapter.

figure with mace were emphasized. Nonetheless, due to the limited surface area of the clay bullae, most impressions at Achemhöyük are incomplete.

CHAPTER 9

REFLECTIONS OF IDENTITY IN LATE OLD ASSYRIAN GLYPTIC

9.1. Introduction

Studies of seal imagery often focus on the question of whether a seal was specifically designed for the individual seal owner and whether the imagery directly reflected the owner's identity and status within society. Along these lines, terms such as "common," "popular," and "elaborate" have been used to describe seal imagery in conjunction with the socio-economic standing of the seal owners.¹ It has now become clear that answers to this question vary within the context of ancient Near Eastern glyptic: while Irene Winter argued that seals of Ur III officials are indeed meant to "demarcate formally the place and/or authority of the seal owner within the administrative hierarchy" (Winter 1991:60), Lassen showed that the style and motifs of Cappadocian seals do not intend to convey a message regarding the social identity of the owners (Lassen 2012), in the same vein as Linda Bregstein and Erica Ehrenberg's studies on Late Babylonian seals from Nippur and Uruk (Bregstein 1993; Ehrenberg 2001), which concluded that there was no discernible relationship between the seal owner's identity and seal imagery. But Yalçın's analysis of Late Bronze Age seals from Mesopotamia and Syria exposes a direct correlation between seal imagery and certain aspects of the owner's identity such as social class, profession, and gender (Yalçın 2014). These and a number of other studies show that in the majority of cases identity and seal imagery do not correspond, and the information that the design of the seal might convey about the identity of the owner is incidental (van Koppen 2002: 157).

¹ See, for instance, Porada 1947, Nissen 1977, and Porter 2001.

This chapter presents an evaluation of the glyptic corpus analyzed in Chapters 4-8 in its social context, in an attempt to determine whether certain features of composition, iconography, and /or style are indicative of rank, status, professional or social identity of the seal owners in the late Old Assyrian period. Seal ownership and sealing practices are also analyzed along the same lines to illustrate connections with identity.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the dataset analyzed here is retrieved from clearly defined official contexts, i.e. palaces and temples at Tell Bi'a, Tell al-Rimah, Tell Leilan, Mari, and Acemhöyük. At first look, the archaeological context seems to provide us with a precise type of identity: administrative officials in the service of the king. However, a closer look at the material shows that the divide between official and private identities is, in fact, not clear-cut. For example, unscribed seal impressions on door sealings from official contexts clearly point toward individuals employed within the administrative structure of a kingdom, but restrict us from gaining further details pertaining to these individuals' status and position within the administration. Similarly, impressions of private seals on bullae attached to goods that were stored in palaces and temples blur the divide between official and private.

Another major problem that arises in trying to build connections between seal imagery and socio-political identity of seal owners is the difficulty presented by the varied iconographic and stylistic conventions attested on private seals, as the heterogeneous corpus of Acemhöyük seals and seal impressions shows. Taking into account the frequent lack of seal legends and the absence of textual information at Acemhöyük as well as issues of seal borrowing, recutting and re-use commonly encountered in the Anatolian context, finding iconographic correlates for the various social and professional groups to which private seal owners belong can be challenging. Impressions from the Acemhöyük corpus add a further challenge. A careful analysis reveals that

impressions on bullae bearing the inscription “seal of *kārum* Kanesh” actually belonged to personal seals of individual merchants (e.g. Cat. #132), who functioned as members of the Colony Office (*bīt kārim*) at Kanesh, and not to the official seal of this administrative body.² On the contrary, official seals and seal impressions present us with a clear pattern that indicates the existence of a “glyptic profile” for groups of officials within the administrative hierarchy throughout the late Old Assyrian period and over the vast geographical area covered in this work.

9.2. Official Seals

The one constant in the discussion of how seal imagery correlates with the identity of the seal owner appears to be official seals. It should be noted here that official seals are individual seals identifying the owner as a member of palace and temple administrations, as opposed to “office seals” which represent an institutional authority and are used by individuals on behalf of that office. As an example one could cite the seals of Šamši-Adad’s officials, which make up the majority of the material studied here, and the seals of the City Office of Assur (Cat. #283). Whereas, seals of Šamši-Adad’s officials identify their owners by name, patronym, and title in the form of “servant (*ĪR*) of Šamši-Adad,” seals of the City Office (*bīt ālim*), which regulated Old Assyrian trade, taxation, and credit, bear the inscription “(seal) of divine Aššur, of the excise, of the City Office (*ša^d Aššur ša niṣṣatim ša É ālim*)” and belong to no particular individual (Chapter 8; Lassen 2012: 223-224).

Official seals studied here are identified on the basis of 3 criteria:

1. Seal legend in the form of:

² See Chapter 8: 34-35 for more on this seal.

- a. Personal name (PN) of the seal owner, patronym (if available), “servant of” royal name (RN) (e.g. Zimri-ḫammu, son of Sumu-amim, servant of Šamši-Adad)
 - b. PN of the seal owner, profession, “servant of” royal name (RN) (e.g. Šamaš-māgir, scribe, servant of Šamši-Adad)
 - c. RN, royal epithet(s), PN of the seal owner, (his servant) (e.g. Zimri-Lim, strong king, Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu)³
2. Designs restricted to officials of the central administration (e.g. presentation scene or the figure-with-mace motif)
 3. Impressions on door, box, and crate sealings
 4. Royal seals (i.e. seals belonging to kings, queens, and other royal women)

In all periods of Mesopotamian history, identification of the owner or at least of the office he/she holds was the primary function of official seals. This observation is based on several facts. First of all, the majority of official seals bear inscriptions identifying the owner. Second, a standardized motif restricted to a class of officials makes the owner identifiable as a member of the administration even in the absence of a seal legend. Finally, as Winter observes in the case of Ur III officials’ seals, the inscription and the seal design complement each other to create “a combined verbal and visual message,” placing the seal owner within the administrative realm (Winter 1991:60).⁴

³ See Charpin 1992: 64-66 for more on this type of seal legend, and Gelb 1977 for a general typology of Mesopotamian seal legends.

⁴ Of the 213 seals and seal impressions with fully identifiable imagery analyzed in this study, 129 bear figure-with-mace and presentation scenes that appear to have been restricted to officials. Of these, 90 are inscribed, although this number may not be accurate due to the very fragmentary nature of some of the impressions. A total of 101 sealings have been identified as door, box, and crate closures. Of these, 50 bear inscriptions, although this number is also questionable for the same reason.

The large number of partial seal rollings encountered both in southern and northern Mesopotamia⁵ in this period bespeaks the validity of a standardized motif and the deliberate meaning conveyed by the combination of text and image. In contrast to broken and fragmentary seal impressions, these partial rollings focus specifically on the inscription and the figure immediately to the right of it, which is the most important element in the composition (i.e. the seated deity in presentation scenes and the standing male figure carrying a mace in figure-with-mace scenes, Winter 1991: 73). The message conveyed here may be targeting different audiences, yet it is simple and effective: the motif is a sign of officialdom, like a coat of arms, instantly readable even to an illiterate person, and the legend, which targets a limited literate audience, further identifies the seal owner with his name and title. Winter argues within the context of Ur III official seals that as the imagery became standardized and the number of dignitaries with official seals increased, the imagery only indicated a generic official position, while the legend provided the specifics (Winter 1991: 74), hence taking precedence over the image. This implies that it was not just the act of sealing that mattered, but the fact that the document/lump of clay was sealed by an official. As scholars have previously argued, this method of communication appears to be a strikingly effective way of disseminating a political ideology and organizing a complex administrative apparatus running a large territorial kingdom, such as Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia (Otto 1992a: 168-169). This is in stark contrast to the contemporaneous sealing practices at Kaneš in Central Anatolia, as demonstrated by Lassen, where the act of sealing appears to have taken precedence over the identity of the sealer (Lassen 2012).

⁵ See especially the seal impressions from Tell al-Rimah in the catalog.

The seals of Šamši-Adad and the presentation scene as official motif

As mentioned above, royal seals are analyzed here within the context of official seals, as the seals of kings and queens bear the same designs as the seals of their servants. Šamši-Adad's own seals (Cat. #237, #273-276) are a great example of this trend, the significance of which will be discussed below.

Thanks to Nimet Özgüç's 2015 publication of sealed bullae from Acemhöyük, we now know that the Great King owned at least 4 different seals (Cat. #237, #273-276), which appear to have been used simultaneously, but featured different iconographic compositions and inscriptions. Attested on 8 bullae, the first seal (Cat. #273) depicts a bearded male figure, wearing a round turban and a long fringed garment, with one arm raised in prayer. He stands directly in the presence of a seated deity holding the rod and ring in his right hand. Behind him is the interceding goddess in her standard gesture of supplication. The seal legend on the Acemhöyük bullae and the Mari envelopes refer to the seal owner as "Šamši-Adad, beloved of the god Aššur, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ilakabkabū."

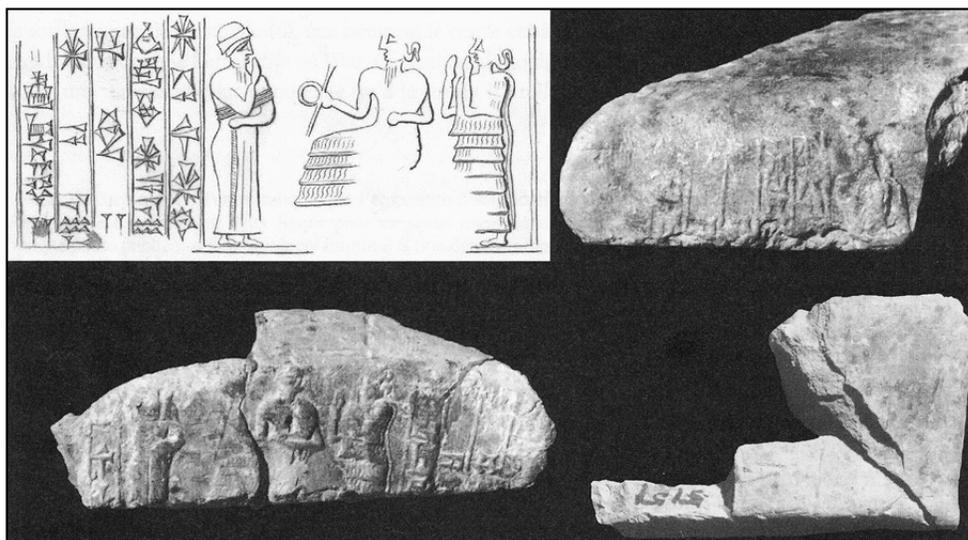


Fig. 9.1: Composite drawing and photographs of Cat. #237 (Patrier 2015: 3)

The “audience scene”⁶ is certainly at home in southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III period and appears on officials’ seals (Winter 1991), but it is a foreign motif in the north. As I tried to explain in Chapter 3, the history of northern Mesopotamia and its relationship with the south during the Ur III period are unclear, which makes tracing the adoption of the audience motif in the north difficult. Based on similar seals of Šamši-Adad’s officials, Adelheid Otto claims that the audience scene with a standing worshipper in the presence of a seated deity was the official motif of Šamši-Adad’s administration during the early phase of his reign (Otto 1992 and 1999) and suggests that the imagery must have been based on a stela of Šamši-Adad similar to the Ḫammurabi stela (Otto 2000a: 153 and 222). She also proposes that the same subject with the king wearing a tall square cap may have been distinctive to the seat of Šamši-Adad’s dynasty in Ekallatum, where he began his career (Otto 2000a: 173). However, there is no known evidence for the existence of this stela to confirm Otto’s hypothesis. On the other hand, a different argument is put forth by Eppihimer (2013), in which she identifies the iconography of Old Assyrian royal seals from the 20th century B.C. as a possible prototype for Šamši-Adad’s seal.

Old Assyrian Royal Seals

Impressions of four original seals (Figs. 9.2-4) belonging to three Old Assyrian rulers of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty are known to us today. Two impressions bearing the name of Erišum I

⁶ As opposed to a “presentation scene/introduction” where the worshipper is “presented” to a seated deity by the interceding goddess, in the “audience” scene, the worshipper faces the seated deity directly, without an intermediary (Eppihimer 2013: 41).

are found on a jar fragment in Assur and a clay envelope at Kültepe,⁷ while envelopes bearing the seal impressions of kings Sargon and Narām-Sin were excavated in Level II houses at Kültepe⁸ (Eppihimer 2013: 36). Despite stylistic differences and a timeframe of over 130 years⁹ covering the reigns of these kings, the seals bear an almost identical imagery: an introduction scene consisting of a male worshipper led by an interceding goddess towards a seated deity holding a cup, and a second interceding goddess standing behind the enthroned deity. The scene is supplemented by a vertical crescent between the worshipper and the interceding goddess (except on Erišum’s seal impression from Assur), a crescent-and-disk between the interceding goddess and the seated deity, and a carefully delineated inscription in mirror writing. The absence of filling motifs on all four seals is also noteworthy.

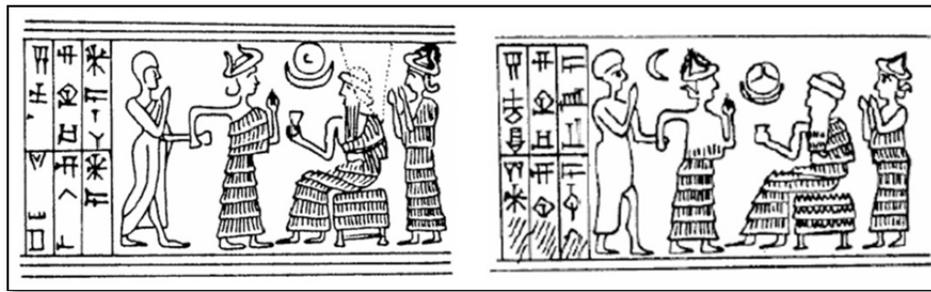


Fig. 9.2: Seal impressions of Erišum I from Assur and Kültepe (Özkan 1993, Pl. 90 3b and 1b)



Fig. 9.3: Seal impression of Sargon from Kültepe (Özgüç 2006: Pl. 32)



Fig. 9.4: Seal impression of Narām-Sin from Kültepe (Özkan 1993: Pl. 90 2b)

⁷ The addition of a crescent moon and the differences in the orthography of the word “Ashur” suggest that Erišum either had two very similar seals or that his seal was recarved at one point. See Eppihimer 2013: footnote 4 for details.

⁸ See also Meyer 1955, Özkan 1993, Grayson 1987, and N. Özgüç 2006 for detailed treatments of these seals and their inscriptions.

⁹ The REL places Erišum I’s reign in ca. 1972-1933 B.C., Sargon in ca. 1917-1878 B.C. and Narām-Sin in ca. 1869-1836+x B.C. See Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 27 for details.

The imagery of the royal seals of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty kings is clearly adopted from the Ur III official seals with a royal introduction scene, although they should be considered a distinctive variant of this theme, as there are no Ur III seals in which all the elements mentioned above are used together (Eppihimer 2013: 40). It is also interesting to note that no other seal is known from the Old Assyrian glyptic corpus with the exact same figures and details, although the introduction scene is common in Cappadocian glyptic.¹⁰ Eppihimer rightly interprets this consistent imagery on the seals of Erišum I, Sargon, and Narām-Sin as a sign of “continuity, exclusivity, and distinctiveness” reserved for kings (Eppihimer 2013: 39), although Lassen suggests that the crudely cut seals, and the lack of detail and modeling in the rendering of human figures exclude them from being intended as “visual embodiments of the ideals of kingship.” Nevertheless, she agrees that the unique configuration of the figures and the absence of other Kültepe seals with the exact same arrangement indicate that the royal seals have “iconographic exclusivity.” In other words, concepts of authority and power that are reserved for the ruler are represented by a purposeful and meaningful choice of motif on the royal seals (Lassen 2012: 216-217).

In either case, the question that remains is the identity of the figures that make up the almost-standardized composition of the Old Assyrian royal seals. Although the two interceding goddesses are immediately recognizable, the identity of the seated and standing male figures is debated. One interpretation identifies the seated figure as the Old Assyrian ruler, i.e. the seal owner, and the standing figure as an anonymous official. Another theory recently favored by N. Özgüç (2006: 30), Lassen (2012: 217), and Eppihimer (2013: 44) proposes to identify the seated figure as the god Aššur, even though his appearance does not conform to the generally accepted

¹⁰ See N. Özgüç 1965 and 1968 for examples.

image of a Mesopotamian god (e.g. he lacks the horned crown, which is considered as the primary symbol of divinity).¹¹ On the basis of this interpretation, it has been suggested that the introduction scene on Old Assyrian royal seals parallels the relationship between the Ur III official vis-à-vis the deified king as identified by Winter (1986 and 1991), and the relationship between the god Aššur, as the true king of the city of Assur, and the Old Assyrian ruler, as his vice-regent (Eppihimer 2013: 35). This relationship is also reflected in the legends of these royal seals, where the role of the Old Assyrian king is clearly defined as “governor of the god Aššur” (*RN₁ ÉNSI^dAššur DUMU RN₂ ÉNSI^dAššur*).

Going back to Šamši-Adad, the iconographic parallels between Old Assyrian royal seals and the seals of Šamši-Adad and his servants, such as Ḫazip-Aranziḫ (Cat. #6) and Ḫasidanum (Otto 1992a: Fig. 5) suggest that the origin of the audience scene in the north was indeed Old Assyrian royal imagery, although, as Eppihimer points out, the appearance of the standing figure and the overall style of the carving are Old Babylonian (Eppihimer 2013: 49). This association is further reinforced by the inscription on one of Šamši-Adad’s seals (Cat. #237 and #273), which identifies him as:

Šamši-Adad, beloved of the god Aššur, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ilakabkabū¹²

Šamši-Adad’s royal epithets change drastically over time as a reflection of his political achievements and changing ideology, but a number of his royal inscriptions along with this seal describe him as the vice-regent of the god Aššur.¹³ In this respect, it is clear that Šamši-Adad fashioned himself after the kings of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty, which in Charpin’s words

¹¹ See Eppihimer 2013: 44-45 and Lassen 2012: 218-219 for details.

¹² See Charpin 1984: 51-53; Grayson 1987: 61; Tunca 1989: 481 for the original.

¹³ 9 out of 12 royal inscriptions as well as the legends of his servants’ seals refer to him as *ÉNSI^dAššur*. See Grayson 1987: 52ff for the inscriptions.

“presents [him] as an Old Assyrian king who respects tradition” (Charpin 1984: 51). According to Charpin the use of this traditional titulary by Šamši-Adad can be best explained if we assume that, contrary to his other seal describing him as appointee of Enlil, which must be older, this seal was carved shortly after his conquest of Assur early in his reign (Charpin 1992:70). This development would have provided Šamši-Adad access to the political ideology and traditions of the Old Assyrian kings who ruled before him, and legitimized his acquisition of the title “vice-regent of Aššur” as the new ruler of the city. It is useful to repeat here that although Assur never became the capital of Šamši-Adad’s Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, it occupied a crucial position in his political ideology, as it contributed to his efforts to legitimize his rule as a non-Assyrian ruler.¹⁴ A similarly drastic change in royal ideology can also be observed following Šamši-Adad’s conquest of Mari on the Middle Euphrates. This change is visible both in the king’s titlature that became much more triumphant in this period, and in the introduction of a new iconographic motif reserved exclusively for royal and official seals, as discussed below. To sum up, if we accept Eppihimer’s identification of the figures on Old Assyrian royal seals as the god Aššur and the Old Assyrian ruler on the basis of their relationship as the true king of the city and his governor, then the combination of the imagery and titlature used on Šamši-Adad’s seal finds its precursor in the seals of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty kings. The only question that remains, then, is the removal of the interceding goddess from her position between the king and the god on Šamši-Adad’s seal, which brings the king face to face with the deity. This way, the king receives the kingly regalia, i.e. his authority as ruler, directly from the seated deity, just as the king in the presence of the sun-god on the Hammurabi stele, and the Ur III officials who received their seals from the king as indicated in the seal inscriptions, are depicted standing directly

¹⁴ See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of Šamši-Adad’s political career.

before the seated king (Mayr and Owen 2004: 147-148). Whether or not this was a reflection of Šamši-Adad's political strategy and model of kingship should be addressed separately.

9.3. Figure with Mace and the Introduction of a New Official Motif

Although the presentation scene occupies an important place within official seal iconography in this period, the motif that dominates the corpus is what is known as the “king with mace.” As with the human figures on the seals of Šamši-Adad and the rulers of the Old Assyrian dynasty, the identity of the principal figure here is also unclear. Within the realm of divine figures, interpretations range from Zababa (Moorey 1975: 83), to Nin-šubur (Landsberger 1948: 89; Lambert 1976: 12-14),¹⁵ to Amurru (Kelly-Buccellati 1977: 49), and the protective *šedu*-spirit (Wiggermann 1987: 23-27). Others, including Moortgat (1940: 37-38), Frankfort (1939: 168), and Porada (1948: 52), identify him as “god-king as warrior,” which has become the conventional term for this figure in German archaeological literature, and as “the king.”

Although the identification of this figure wearing a round cap and a short tunic, and holding a mace in his hand is doubtful, al-Gailani Werr has identified a small number of seal impressions from Tell Harmal on documents contemporary with Narām-Sin of Ešnunna and from Sippar on texts dated to Sîn-muballit and Ḥammurabi (al-Gailani Werr 1988: 17 and 39), depicting a figure with a horned crown and short tunic frequently holding a mace,¹⁶ which suggests a divine variant in addition to the human king. However, this appears to be a distinctive feature of the Babylonian glyptic corpus in this period, as no “god with mace” is encountered in the northern repertoire.

¹⁵ See Parker 1975: footnote 35 for an objection.

¹⁶ al-Gailani Werr 1988a: Figs. 8b, 25c, 50a, 51a, 54a, 54b, 56a, 62b, 64, 190, 202b, and 208b.

Eppihimer joins the discussion regarding the identity of the figure holding a mace by comparing it with the figures on the victory stela of Šamši-Adad (Fig. 3.1). This fragmentary limestone stela found in Mardin in eastern Turkey shows on the obverse a triumphant ruler placing his foot on a fallen enemy, while the reverse displays only the lower bodies of standing male figures (Moortgat 1969: 105, Pls. 204-205). Eppihimer notes that the figure with mace on the seals is similar in attire to the figure on the left on the Šamši-Adad stela, who places his foot on the conquered enemy. On the basis of similarities in costume with the Akkadian king Narām-Sin on his victory stela (Fig. 3.2), this figure has been identified as the king (Eppihimer 2009: 232). The association of the turban worn by the figure with mace with the concept of kingship also reinforces the argument that this figure represents the king in a similar fashion that standing figures on the stelae of Narām-Sin, Šamši-Adad, and Hammurabi do.

Echoing Porada's interpretation on the basis of the "general uniformity in the rendering of the figure" that the figure with mace may represent "the king" rather than a specific ruler (Porada 1948:52), Collon proposes that this figure represents "the concept of kingship, king as the leader of his people holding the mace as symbol of authority" (Collon 1986: 101). Collon also notes that the direction of scenes in Mesopotamian glyptic was firmly established around 2100 B.C. during the Ur III period. According to this arrangement, the most important figure stood on the right, facing left (Collon 2001b: 54). In typical presentation scenes this corresponds to the enthroned deity. In figure-with-mace scenes, if the composition consists only of the standard pair, then the interceding goddess appears on the right, and she is moved to the position behind the figure with mace only if a major deity (e.g. Šamaš or Ištar) is present. If we take this arrangement as the compositional rule of Mesopotamian glyptic, then we can safely assume that in figure-with-mace scenes the interceding goddess, who occupied the right-most position,

presumably due to her divine status, was the more important figure. Consequently, the identification of the figure with mace as a non-divine character becomes even more plausible.

The various interpretations presented above make it clear that the discussion on the identity of the figure with mace is not yet settled, although many favor the identification as king, resulting in the terms “king with a mace” in English (Collon 1986) and “*Sieghafter König*” (Otto 2000a) in German literature. Regardless of his precise identity, it is clear that this figure and by extension the figure-with-mace motif in the glyptic corpus, which consists of him and the interceding goddess facing him often referred to as “the standard pair,” came to acquire great significance for the political landscape of both southern and northern Mesopotamia in the 19th and 18th centuries B.C., as the discussion below attempts to illustrate.

Royal and officials’ seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif constitute the largest group within the corpus studied here. Chapters 4-7 detailed the wide distribution of the motif in northern and southern Mesopotamia as well as the wide variety of compositional elements that accompany the standard pair within Šamši-Adad’s kingdom. As a result, this section focuses on the functional significance of the motif for the seal owner, drawing mostly from Irene Winter’s work on Ur III official seals (Winter 1986 and 1991).

The oldest known seals of Šamši-Adad’s officials bearing the figure-with-mace motif are dated by Otto, on the basis of iconographic similarities, with two impressions from Sippar dated to Sabium 13 and Šîn-muballit 14, which places them in the period preceding Šamši-Adad’s exile to the south (Otto 1992a: 161, Figs. 2-3).¹⁷ The impressions show the figure with mace between two interceding deities, which is rarely attested and appears to be distinctive of the early

¹⁷ See Colbow 2010: 55-57 for a discussion of the accuracy of this dating.

Old Babylonian period. Otto concludes that this motif is the predecessor of the standard pair on official seals, but evidence from Šamši-Adad's reign is too scant to support this hypothesis. It should be noted that this motif of the figure with mace between two interceding goddesses does not occur within the northern Mesopotamian corpus studied here. Also, because the dating of the two seals of Šamši-Adad's officials cited by Otto is uncertain (Colbow 2010: 56-57), it cannot be used to conclude convincingly that the motif was used on official seals in the north in the early part of Šamši-Adad's reign.

Similar to the audience scene, it is hard to determine when and under what circumstances the figure-with-mace motif was adopted by Šamši-Adad's administration. Documents from the early part of the king's reign are scarce, and the circumstances and length of his stay in Babylonia are obscure. Otto associates this change in official iconography from the audience scene to the figure-with-mace motif with a major political change in northern Mesopotamia brought about by Šamši-Adad's conquest of Mari and the Middle Euphrates region in ca. 1796 B.C. By unifying the lands between the Tigris and the Euphrates under one rule, this conquest led to the expansion of his kingdom. According to Otto, it was this expansion that called for the adoption of a standardized motif for official seals in order to facilitate the administration of the now-vast kingdom and to disseminate Šamši-Adad's new political ideology (Otto 1992a: 168). The drastic change in the ideology of the kingdom can be observed in Šamši-Adad's royal inscriptions from this period, where he assumes titles that reflect a new idea of kingship. In these inscriptions, in addition to the standard titles of "appointee of the god Enlil" and "vice-regent of the god Aššur," he is referred to as "strong king," "pacifier of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates," "prince of Mari," and "king of the universe" (Grayson 1987: 48ff). As a clear indication of the shift in royal ideology, these titles bespeak the transformative effect of the

conquest of Mari in particular and the expansion of the kingdom in general. Eppihimer suggests that the adoption of this particular iconographic motif also reflects Šamši-Adad's "membership among the elite Amorite leaders" of the period (Eppihimer 2009: 235), as the motif gained great popularity in the south under the Amorite kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Nonetheless, one should be careful in equating identity, ethnicity, and artistic tradition, since a number of socio-political factors could have influenced the choice of visual symbols that reflected the royal ideology of the ruling elites besides their ethnic background.

Due in part to its strategic position between southern and northern Mesopotamia, Mari was exposed to strong influences from the south in the realms of politics, religion, and artistic production throughout the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. This particular characteristic makes Mari a plausible candidate for the northern origin of the figure-with-mace motif, especially since the earliest attestations of the figure with mace from Mari, often without the interceding goddess, date to the *šakkanakku* period (Otto 1992a: 168).¹⁸ However, since the exact date of the adoption of this motif in the north cannot be clearly determined, the possibility that Šamši-Adad may have encountered the motif on officials' seals during his exile in Babylonia, where it had been in use since the early 19th century B.C. (Collon 1986: 100), should not be discounted. As the form and content of a number of his royal inscriptions illustrate, Babylonian influence on the formation of Šamši-Adad's political ideology and concept of kingship is undeniable (Grayson 1987: 47; Charpin 1984: 53).

The iconography and usage of the figure-with-mace motif were standardized during Šamši-Adad's reign. In Babylonia, where the motif is attested almost a century earlier, it is only

¹⁸ See also two seal impressions from the Mari palace belonging to Yaḥdun-Lim's servants, Ilī-epuḫ (Cat. #186) and x-ma-AN (Cat. #232), included in this dissertation.

one of the motifs used on official seals and it occurs on private and official seals alike (Otto 2000a: 157). However, in the north, the iconography and the position of the main figures appear to be fixed early on and the motif is used exclusively on official seals (Otto 1992a: 168).

Although the number of non-official seals that are available from this period is regrettably small, the fact that almost all impressions of figure-with-mace seals analyzed in this dissertation were found on royal correspondence and administrative documents as well as on door sealings in palaces show that they belonged to officials of state. The composition consists of the standard pair of the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess. The male figure is depicted wearing a pointed kilt with under-kilt, and a turban. His left arm with the hand holding the mace is bent at the elbow, his other arm hangs behind him with the hand in a fist. The interceding goddess facing him is clad in a long flounced garment and wears the horned crown. Both her hands are raised before her in a gesture of supplication. The male figure stands on the left of the compositional field facing right, while the goddess is on the right facing left. Examples in which the direction of the figures is reversed¹⁹ are extremely rare and are considered to be foreign works, i.e. seals carved outside of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia (Otto 2004: 156). The imagery is often accompanied by a 3-line inscription identifying the owner as a servant, although 2 and 4 lines are also known.²⁰

When we look at neighboring regions, it becomes clear that the canonization of the figure-with-mace motif and its exclusive use on official seals is a unique case. Standardized motifs on official seals also appear in the Syrian kingdoms of Carchemish, Yamhad, and Qatna, but they differ in terms of their primary figures: in Carchemish, the king raising one hand

¹⁹ For examples see Cat. #26 and #39.

²⁰ See Cat. #11, #15-16, #24, #29, #108, #113, #115, #118-119, #154, #185-187, #194-195, #198-199, #202, #216, #218, #221. Also note that the inscriptions on the royal seals of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #237 and #273) and Zimri-Lim (Cat. #188 and 189) are exceptionally long as they contain numerous epithets for the kings.

appears standing on the right as a worshipper, in a long coat with a heavy, rolled edge reaching below his knee before a variety of figures, including the interceding goddess;²¹ in Yamhad the king is represented in the presence of various goddesses, both as a warrior holding a weapon in one hand and as a worshipper with his other hand raised before his mouth;²² in Qatna the official motif consists of three figures accompanied by an elaborate subsidiary scene, often with Egyptianizing elements and a fine guilloche²³ (Otto 2000: 1238-1239). It is also interesting to note that the figure-with-mace motif occurs in other parts of Syria in this period, but is not an official motif (Collon 1975: Figs. 122, 123, 129, 130; Otto 2000a: Figs. 92, 165, 311, 312).

The evidence from Babylonia and western Syria quoted above shows that the figure-with-mace motif was adopted and internalized as the standard motif reserved exclusively for officials only within Šamši-Adad's kingdom and as a central element of his administration. This raises two questions:

- i. If the figure-with-mace motif was such an integral part of Šamši-Adad's administration and political ideology, did Šamši-Adad himself commission a new seal bearing this motif after his conquest of Mari?
- ii. Did all officials in Šamši-Adad's service use seals bearing the standard figure-with-mace motif?

As intriguing as it may be, evidence is not yet available to answer the first question, although there are four seals known to us that belonged to Šamši-Adad. Nonetheless, one could

²¹ Otto 2000a: Pls. 10-12; Otto 2000a: Figs. 6a-b.

²² Otto 2000a: Figs. 7a-b. However, if the reconstruction of the seal legend is correct, the second seal attributed to King Aplaḥanda of Carchemish (Cat. #278) defies this rule, since it features a standard figure-with-mace scene. See Chapter 8: 24.

²³ See for example Cat. #39 from Tell Bi'a and Cat. #230 from Mari. Otto 2000a: Figs. 8a-b.

speculate on the possibility, based on Šamši-Adad's seals and on the example of Zimri-Lim of Mari.

As was briefly mentioned above, Šamši-Adad may have already replaced his seal at least once following an important event in his reign: the conquest of Assur. To restate Charpin's hypothesis, Šamši-Adad's seal (Cat. #274) describing him as "appointee of the god Enlil" must be older, since his other seal (Cat. #237 and #273), bearing the epithets "beloved of the god Aššur, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ilakabkabū" could have only been carved after the City became part of his domain.

Going back to the figure-with-mace motif and its adoption in the north following the conquest of Mari, I would like to propose here that Šamši-Adad could have indeed commissioned a new seal for himself with this motif as a symbol of his expanding power and to complement the new idea of kingship that his later epithets reflect. It is possible that one of his 2 seals (Cat. #275 and #276), where the imagery is not preserved may have featured a figure-with-mace motif, although the epithets used in the legends of these seals are quite simple compared to later ones attested in Šamši-Adad's royal inscriptions. The seals of Zimri-Lim of Mari provide an excellent parallel for this interpretation.

Documents from Mari archives show that Zimri-Lim used at least two different seals during his reign. Charpin notes that the two seals, which bear the identical motif of the standard pair, which was described in detail in Chapter 7, were used for different purposes and that they can be dated to different parts of Zimri-Lim's reign, although they were used simultaneously for a short period of time (Charpin 1992: 70).

Impressions of Zimri-Lim seal I (Cat. #188), as it is referred to by Charpin, were found on envelope fragments in the Mari palace as well as in the Tell al-Rimah palace on the envelope of a letter (Cat. #152) sent by Zimri-Lim to Ḫatnu-rapi, the king of Karana. In addition to the standard pair of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, it contains the inscription “Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, the one who unified the banks of the Euphrates, king of Mari and the land of Ḫana, son of Yaḫdun-Lim” (Hawkins 1976: 250). The seal was used to seal envelopes of letters sent out by Zimri-Lim (Charpin 1992: 70-71).

Zimri-Lim seal II (Cat. #189), on the other hand, is known from door sealings, tags, and administrative texts (Charpin 1992: 71; Beyer 1985a: 378), the majority of which were found in Room 5 in the administrative quarter of the Mari palace, which yielded more than 1000 tablets (Reichel 1994). On the seal, the standard pair is accompanied by the inscription “Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, king of Mari and the land of Ḫana, son of Yaḫdun-Lim” and its impressions are found exclusively on administrative documents.

On the basis of the two different inscriptions, Charpin argues that seal I should be dated later than seal II, which must have been carved only after Zimri-Lim established control over the banks of the Euphrates (Charpin 1992: 70). This suggests that Zimri-Lim’s seal featuring his new epithets was intended as a means of political propaganda announcing the king’s victory to the outside world through royal correspondence bearing his seal impression. In contrast, such propaganda may not have been necessary for the royal servants working within the administrative apparatus of the state, which would explain why seal I continued to be used internally on administrative documents.

If this interpretation is correct, one can speculate that Šamši-Adad too may have commissioned a new seal announcing his political achievements to the outside world both through the newly adopted iconography of the figure with mace and new epithets in the seal's legend. This newly adopted concept of kingship is illustrated by a Mari tablet referring to him as “pacifier of the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates, ruler of Mari,” in addition to his more ostentatious titles such as “king of the universe (*LUGAL KIŠ/kiššatim*),” “the strong one (*dannum*),” “conqueror of all his enemies (*kāšid kišat ajābišu*)” (Grayson 1987: 48ff).

Seal legends make it clear that the figure-with-mace motif was used exclusively on officials' seals during Šamši-Adad's reign,²⁴ and it was later adopted by the rulers of small kingdoms that gained independence following his death. Does this mean that all royal servants used seals bearing the official iconography of the kingdom? If not, which officials could use the figure-with-mace seals and why? It is clear from sealings found in northern Mesopotamian palaces and temples that the use of the motif did not, in fact, extend to all members of the administrative apparatus. Among the material analyzed for this study, there exist inscribed seals belonging to servants of Šamši-Adad that do not bear the standard motif.²⁵ The seal of Šamši-Adad's servant, Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, which has been mentioned above for its iconographic similarities with Šamši-Adad's own seal, is the first example that comes to mind. The seal of Līter-šarrūssu, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #126) shows two combat scenes separated by the legend, one between two divine bull-men and the other between a winged being and an unidentified figure. Similarly, Cat. #128 found on envelope fragments both at Tell Leilan and Mari belongs to “Samiya, son of Ḫaya-malik, servant of Šamši-Adad,” but the seal design consists of a long frieze arranged in

²⁴ This includes the coregencies of his sons, Yasmaḫ-Adad and Išme-Dagan, as the numerous seal impressions belonging to their servants show. See, for example, Cat. #19, 21, and 111.

²⁵ See, for example, Cat. #6, #41, #106, #126, #128, #130, #261.

two registers separated by a guilloche, where scenes of combat, hunting, and animals are used together. Finally, Cat. #130 presents an offering scene, where the offering bearer holding a kid approaches a standing deity followed by the interceding goddess. Although the name of the seal owner is not preserved, his title “servant of Šamši-Adad” can be reconstructed from traces of cuneiform.

However, identifying the particular group of servants who used seals featuring the official iconography is not easy. Determining an official’s role within the administration during the late Old Assyrian period is, at best, challenging. Impressions where both the imagery and the inscription are preserved in detail are small in number, making it difficult to match seals with their respective owners. It is especially the case in Mari, where the majority of impressions feature the figure with mace, that the inscription is not preserved. Unfortunately, it is not clear whether it is an accident of preservation or a conscious choice on the part of the sealer to leave a partial rolling showing only the principal figure in the composition. Furthermore, in cases where the identity of the seal owner can be established through the legend and the seal imagery is recognizable, an even smaller number of these individuals appear in textual sources to help us determine their official roles.

Despite these shortcomings, the available evidence can be interpreted on the basis of parallel studies of similar seal corpora. The study closest to ours in terms of material and research questions is Irene Winter’s work on Ur III official seals. In this study Winter concludes that “there is at present no way to reconstruct the rationale by which certain individuals had seals which showed them in audience with the seated king, and others did not” (Winter 1991: 75). This suggests that, even within as extensive a corpus of official seals and administrative documents as that of the Ur III period, identifying this group of individuals with any degree of certainty is

difficult. Nevertheless, Winter determines, on the basis of individual seal owners who are also attested in written documentation, that the seal legend, imagery, and the social status/office of the seal holder are all related, and seals bearing the standardized imagery of the royal presentation scene were restricted to the highest classes of government officials (Winter 1991: 64). The following discussion presents the results of a similar investigation conducted on the seals and seal impressions analyzed in this dissertation.

As stated above, determining the identity and role of officials who were employed in Šamši-Adad's administration is problematic due to the nature of the material. To achieve the most accurate results, two groups of seal impressions are considered here: 1. Figure-with-mace seals with known owners whose official status can be determined through textual documentation; 2. Seal impressions on door sealings retrieved from palaces and temples, which clearly identify employees of central administration who had authority over rooms and their contents in these buildings, even though their names and titles are not preserved.

The corpus studied in this dissertation contains twenty-one²⁶ impressions of seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif and a mostly complete inscription. All but one of the inscriptions (Cat. #108²⁷) identify the seal owner as a royal servant, placing him directly within the realm of royal administration. Four of these inscriptions (Cat. #11, #21, #198, and #199) also mention the specific role or position of the seal owner within the administration. Information regarding the official position of the remaining thirteen individuals is retrieved from the textual record of the

²⁶ There are two officials who own two figure-with-mace seals each, bringing the total count of individuals down to 18.

²⁷ Cat. #108 bears a different type of inscription quoting various deities, which will be analyzed separately below.

Tell Bi'a and Mari archives,²⁸ where their names are mentioned within the context of administrative documents (e.g. ration lists) and letters, and the details of their position can be gathered either directly or by association with other known individuals in the texts.²⁹ The table below shows that all individuals associated with a figure-with-mace seal occupied important positions³⁰ within the royal administration of northern Mesopotamian states under Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḥ-Adad, and Zimri-Lim.

Cat. #	PN	Title	Position
9	Adad-luti	servant of Šamši-Adad	governor of Šubat-Šamaš
11	Šamaš-māgir	servant of Šamši-Adad	scribe (high official)
15	Ušur-pī-šarri	servant of Šamši-Adad	royal messenger/envoy
16	Šikip-wari	servant of Šamši-Adad	GÌ RI official
20	Mutu-Dagan	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	high official
21	Šutlumassum-ḥaṭṭum	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	scribe (high official)
22	Sīn-rēšû-šu	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	high official
107-108	Šuri-Adad	servant of Šamši-Adad	high official
110	Ḫala-aštuk(?)	servant of Šamši-Adad	high official
121	Sīn-iddin	servant of Yakun-ašar	baker
190	Šunuḫraḫalu	servant of Zimri-Lim	Zimri-Lim's personal secretary
193	Yassi-Dagan	servant of Zimri-Lim	general and diplomat
194	Ilu-kanum	servant of Zimri-Lim	taster at the Mari palace
198	Yašim-Sumū	servant of Zimri-Lim	scribe (high official)
199	Yašim-Sumū	servant of Zimri-Lim	šandabakkum official
201	Dāriš-libūr	servant of Zimri-Lim	high official at the Mari palace
202	Šubnalû	servant of Zimri-Lim	high official at the Mari palace
221	Ḫabdu-malik	servant of Zimri-Lim	senior official of Zimri-Lim
226	Kapi-Adad	servant of Zimri-Lim	high official

Table 9.1: Officials of high rank who owned a figure with mace seal

²⁸ The information is gathered from ARCHIBAB <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche3.htm>, Otto 2004, and Birot 1979 among other sources. The specific references for each case are cited in the relevant parts of the discussion.

²⁹ For example, the owner of Cat. #226, Kapi-Adad, is mentioned in Mari texts dating to years 2 and 5 of Zimri-Lim, alongside Mukannišum, who is known to be a very high official at the Mari palace (Lafont 2002: 373-374).

³⁰ The Mari archives display a palace administration with many titles but none with a formal description of duties. It is also clear that shifts occurred readily, with personnel moving from one post to another (Sasson 2015: 119). As a result, most royal servants in this table are referred to simply as “high officials.” Even in cases where a post is defined with a specific term (e.g. *šandabakkum*), the responsibilities of the official holding this post are not always clear.

The individuals who are clearly identified as members of royal administration on the basis of seal legends, establishing them as servants of a king, provide only one line of evidence to determine whether image, text, and status are indeed related. Other officials employed in the local palace and temple administrations at ancient Tuttul, Karana, Šubat-Enlil, and Mari, who are left anonymous due to the nature of the glyptic material, should also be taken into consideration here. As briefly stated above, impressions on door sealings provide a way of identifying this group of people to a certain degree, as only royal servants could have authority over rooms and their contents in these buildings, which they protected by way of sealing the doors. One should remember that information regarding the types of sealings bearing the seal impressions studied here is mostly incomplete³¹ and relies on publications. Despite this, 59 door sealings are identified in the database, 20 of which feature inscribed figure-with-mace designs and 3 do not have a preserved inscription. The remaining 36 uninscribed impressions on door sealings display a variety of designs, proving, once again, that not all royal servants used the official imagery on their seals. An attempt to determine, with any degree of certainty, the relative status and rank of the seal holders who were in charge of securing rooms and contents returns no results, as published information regarding the findspots of these door sealings and the contents of the rooms they sealed is mostly unavailable.³² Nevertheless, the presence of a large number of door sealings bearing the official motif fits well with the claim that a direct correlation exists between the imagery and legend of a seal, and the identity of its owner within the context of northern Mesopotamian official seals, and that the figure-with-mace motif was restricted to high level

³¹ See Chapter 4 for details.

³² Judith Weingarten conducted a similar study on the hierarchical organization of the palace administrators at Konya-Karahöyük in the Middle Bronze Age based on the number of attestations of each individual's seal impression, and concluded that there was an almost bureaucratic pyramid, in which a small number of highly active individuals accounted for the majority of the sealings (Weingarten 1994: 262-268). Regrettably, a similar analysis based on frequencies cannot be attempted for the dataset studied here, since the published sealings do not account for all excavated sealings at each site and hence are not a representative sample. Especially for Tell Leilan, the material appears to be published selectively based on the level of preservation and quality of the sealings.

officials both during and after Šamši-Adad's reign. Although seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif owned by Šamši-Adad and his two sons are not known to us, material from Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah and Mari shows that local kings as well as Zimri-Lim of Mari continued to use the figure-with-mace motif on their seals along with their servants.

A similar claim can also be made for the audience scene on Šamši-Adad's and his servants' seals mentioned earlier. It is reasonable to assume that only the highest-ranking royal servants would have the privilege to share the same iconography with the Great King, as the case of Šamši-Adad and Ḫazip-Aranziḫ shows.

Officials and their seals at Tell Bi'a

Textual and glyptic evidence from Tell Bi'a covers only the short period of time between the city's annexation by Yasmaḫ-Adad and his loss of control over the region immediately after his father's death.³³ As a result, all figure-with-mace seals retrieved from Palace A belong to officials of Šamši-Adad and Yasmaḫ-Adad.³⁴

Of a total of thirty-two seals with official iconography, about 2/3 have a well preserved design, but only in seven cases can the seal owners be identified through the inscriptions. Unlike Tell Leilan, Tell al-Rimah, and Mari, where impressions of royal seals are included in the glyptic corpus, no seals belonging to a ruler (i.e. Šamši-Adad or Yasmaḫ-Adad) can be identified at Tell Bi'a. One of the most interesting examples of official seals found at the site is that of Adad-luti (Cat. #9). Textual documentation presents Adad-luti as the most powerful person at Šubat-Šamaš

³³ Yasmaḫ-Adad's name appears in Tell Bi'a texts ca. 1787 and disappears with Šamši-Adad's death in 1776 B.C. See Appendix I.

³⁴ Cat. #26, #27, and #28 are exceptions, as they bear the official motif accompanied by a "servant of DN"-type inscription.

on the Balikh, which led scholars to interpret his position as the “governor” of the city. He appears to have had, at least at the beginning of Yasmaḥ-Adad’s reign, a strong position against him. Otto believes that this may have been reflected on his seal as well, as the figure with mace and the interceding goddess are cut in an unusually deep and angular fashion, with heads that are disproportionately large for the bodies, suggesting a northern origin for the seal. Based on this, Otto wonders whether Adad-luti may have had his seal carved locally in Šubat-Šamaš in order to maintain a certain degree of independence from his overlord, Yasmaḥ-Adad, while retaining the official motif of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia (Otto 2004: 146-147).

Officials and their seals at Tell Leilan

Following Šamši-Adad’s death and the dissolution of his kingdom, Šubat-Enlil was governed by the rulers of Apum and Andarig alternatively,³⁵ each controlling the city for a short period of time. Glyptic material from this twenty-four year-period³⁶ is limited to a few seal impressions: those of Apil-ilišu, servant of Turum-natki of Apum (Cat. #145); and Beli-emūqī, servant of Ḥaya-abum of Apum (Cat. #109), which bears a classic figure-with-mace motif. The majority of our information regarding the history of Šubat-Enlil derives from the reign of its three final kings, Mutu-abih (a.k.a. Mutiya), Till-abnu (a.k.a. Tilla), and Yakun-ašar (a.k.a. Yakuya), who ruled the city until its destruction by Samsu-iluna in 1728 B.C. Glyptic material from this period includes a small number of seal impressions belonging to these local kings and their servants.

³⁵ See Eidem 2008: 271-272 for details. See also Appendix I for the position of these kings in the relative and absolute chronology of northern Mesopotamia.

³⁶ The estimated year count is based on the chronological placement of these reigns in relation to the REL.

Of a total of six seal impressions, with a clearly identifiable composition and fully preserved legend, two belong to kings Yakun-ašar (Cat. #116) and Mutu-abih (Cat. # 118), one to Yakun-ašar's wife Ummi-waqrat (Cat. #119), and the remaining three to servants of all three of the final kings of Šubat-Enlil (Cat. # 113, 114, 121). One sealing, Cat. #120, which also incorporates a figure-with-mace motif, is not included in this count, as the legend is not preserved, although the use of the official motif makes it clear that it belonged to a royal servant. Moreover, this impression breaks away from the rest also in terms of its iconography. The seal surface is divided into two superposed registers by a thick guilloche, and the standard pair placed on the right side of the lower register further separated by a horizontal divider is only one of the several motifs that make up the composite imagery of the seal. In contrast to this richly adorned example, the other six impressions bearing the figure-with-mace motif are strikingly simple in terms of their designs. The standard pair makes up the core of the composition, which is supplemented by the addition of simple details, such as a small man or a standard placed between them. A common element shared by almost all impressions is the presence of the crescent-and-disk motif placed between the principal figures. Finally, the granulated borders surrounding the seal surface in the seals of kings Yakun-ašar and Mutu-abih are worth mentioning, as these are the only examples of figure-with-mace seals in this corpus where granulation is attested. Ornamental metal caps were frequently added to seals from the Akkadian period onwards as indicators of status and wealth. In the Ur III period, some cylinder seals were also carved with stone caps to imitate metal prototypes. Extensive use of caps is documented especially in the second millennium B.C. in Syria and northern Mesopotamia as well as in the south during the late Old Babylonian and Kassite periods (Collon 2001: 23).



Fig. 9.5a: Metal seal caps and imitations. Cylinder seal from Cyprus (Courtesy of the Walters Art Museum), b: Ur III seal (Courtesy of the Walters Art Museum), c: seal of Bilalama (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), d: gold seal cap (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

Therefore, this type of adornment should not come as a surprise within the context of royal seals, but the absence of Till-abnu's seal from the records prevents us from drawing a conclusion as to whether or not this was a common trait in the royal glyptic of Šubat-Enlil during the consecutive reigns of its last kings. Deep groves above and below the compositional field on the tablets and door sealings bearing the impression of Zimri-Lim's two seals (Cat. #188 and #189) also suggest the presence of a seal cap. The impression of queen Šiptu's seal (Cat. #191) also exhibits a similarly deep groove at the bottom. However, the small size of the clay lump and the fragmentary state of the seal impression do not allow for a firm conclusion on the presence of a seal cap. As for the other royal seals analyzed in this study, photos of the impressions left by kings Aškur-Adad and Aqba-ḥammu, and their wives Iltāni and Ummī-waqrat are not available to answer the question of whether or not the practice of decorating a royal seal with a seal cap or an imitation thereof was common practice among the royals of northern Mesopotamia in this period.

Officials and their seals at Tell al-Rimah

The standard motif of the figure with mace is also attested on royal and officials seals at Tell al-Rimah in the period following Šamši-Adad's death. Seal impressions and tablets discovered in the various phases of the palace provide us with the names of four rulers, derived either from their own seals or those of their servants (Oates 1982: 89). According to these texts and the Mari archives, where these rulers are also attested, during Šamši-Adad's reign the city of Karana was ruled by Samu-Adad, who was a vassal of the Great King. Following Šamši-Adad's death and the fall of his kingdom, a usurper named Ḫatnu-rapi seized the throne of Karana, and he sent Samu-Adad's son Aškur-Adad and daughter Iltāni in exile in Ešnunna. Ḫatnu-rapi's support for Zimri-Lim against Ešnunna and what was left of Šamši-Adad's kingdom was not sufficient for him to stay on the throne for very long. He was replaced by Samu-Adad's son Aškur-Adad, who ruled Karana for much of Zimri-Lim's reign at Mari. Ešnunna's encroachment upon the area of Karana toward the end of Zimri-Lim's reign caused a change in leadership in the city, as Aškur-Adad's brother-in-law, Aqba-ḫammu, drove Aškur-Adad away and took over the throne. A large number of tablets and the impression of one of Aqba-ḫammu's seals (Cat. #177), which identify him as "servant of Ḫammurabi," attest to his allegiance to the king of Babylon, to whom he paid heavy tribute (Dalley 1984: 36-40). Our records on the history of Karana as a small independent kingdom come to an end with Ḫammurabi's conquest of northern Mesopotamia following the sack of Mari, and Aqba-ḫammu remains as the last known king of Karana in this period.

The reigns of all four of these kings are represented in the glyptic repertoire of the city. Of the twenty-six seals and seal impressions found in datable primary contexts in the palace and

the temple stairway,³⁷ seventeen can be clearly identified in terms of composition and legend. Three belong to members of the royal family of Karana and ten to their servants.³⁸ Unfortunately, in four of these cases seal imagery is not preserved and only the legend is visible. The remaining nine impressions, including both the seals of royals and their servants, bear the standard motif of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. The poorly preserved Cat. #154 belongs to Aškur-Adad, while his brother-in-law and successor, Aqba-ḥammu is represented by impressions of two different seals: Cat. #159, which identifies him as a diviner and is therefore dated to the period preceding his ascension to the throne (Dalley 1976: 32), and Cat. #177, which refers to him as servant of Ḥammurabi, but is preserved only in the form of a legend. It is clear that this second seal was cut later than the first to declare the king's allegiance to his new overlord, and although the seal design is not preserved, it should be safe to speculate that this seal too bore a figure-with-mace scene, as the design was widely popular not only in northern but in southern Mesopotamia as well.

Officials and their seals at Mari

The last kingdom that will be covered here concerning the official motif on royal and dignitaries' seals after Šamši-Adad's death is Mari. As Šamši-Adad's kingdom began to fall apart, a man named Išar-Lim, who was a military general under the Great King, briefly seized power in Mari, ousting Yasmaḥ-Adad. This event is known only through one year name: "year when Išar-Lim entered into kingship" (Dalley 1984: 48, note 9). It is at this point that Zimri-Lim,

³⁷ See Chapter 6 for a detailed analysis of these contexts.

³⁸ Catalog #148 and #153 in this group do not have fully preserved inscriptions identifying their owners as servants of a certain king, but they were dated with a certain level of accuracy based on their association with other datable tablets and seal impressions excavated in the same context.

who had been in exile in the kingdom of Yamḥad since his father Yaḥdun-Lim was deposed by Šamši-Adad, returned to reclaim his father's throne in Mari. Zimri-Lim's reign is the best documented part of the history of Mari in the early second millennium B.C., since the overwhelming majority of textual and glyptic evidence from the Mari palace dates to this final period, before Ḥammurabi of Babylon sacked the city and burned the palace (Dalley 1984: 40).

In other centers of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, such as Tuttul, Šubat-Enlil, and Karana, the motif of the standard pair was introduced into the administration of the state as the marker of officialdom and it continued to be used even after these kingdoms won their independence. In contrast, in Mari the figure with mace was already at home, appearing on seals as early as the *šakkanakku* period (Otto 1992a: 168). The earliest example of official seals with this motif in the Mari glyptic corpus covered here dates to the reign of Yaḥdun-Lim (Cat. #186), and seals of Yasmaḥ-Adad's officials (e.g. Cat. #187 and #216) show that this well-established tradition was maintained even after the local dynasty of Yaḥdun-Lim was replaced by that of Šamši-Adad. The official glyptic of Mari presents no break when we look at the subsequent reign of Zimri-Lim as well. Eighteen different seals are attested at Mari from this period, bearing an identifiable figure-with-mace design and a complete inscription identifying the seal owner: two of these belong to Zimri-Lim himself (Cat. #188-189),³⁹ one to his queen Šiptu (Cat. #191),³⁹ and fifteen to royal officials.⁴⁰ The seal that belonged to one of Zimri-Lim's secondary wives, Yataraya, (Cat. #185) is not included in this count, as it does not bear the standard motif of the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, but a composite design in which these figures are placed separately.⁴¹

³⁹ See discussion at the beginning of this chapter for Zimri-Lim's seals.

⁴⁰ See Table 9.1 above for some of these officials.

⁴¹ See Chapter 7, pp. 27-29 for more on this seal and its design.

9.4. Women's Seals

The discussion presented at the beginning of this chapter determined that the figure-with-mace motif was restricted to kings and the officials who occupied the highest ranks of administration, suggesting that the motif was a symbol of administrative office, which was reinforced by the titles communicated by the seal's legend. However, another category of seal holders, that of women, who were entitled to use this motif, but were not officials themselves, changes the meaning of this symbol.

Numerous women who owned seals are known throughout the history of the ancient Near East, although they are still few in number compared to men. Women represented through their seals and seal impressions are both royals and commoners, who were involved in commerce, owned property, acted as parties in legal transactions, and sent and received letters, which required access to a seal. It should be noted that not all women attested as sealers in written documentation owned a seal. Cases in which a woman used the seal of her husband or a male relative are numerous, especially in cases where the names in the seal inscriptions do not match the ones on the sealer's notations.⁴² The discussion here focuses specifically on women who can be identified as seal owners on the basis of their seal inscriptions. For cases in which the seal is uninscribed or the inscription is not preserved, it is almost impossible to distinguish a female owner, since there is usually no direct correlation or rule regarding the subject matter depicted on the seals and the gendered identity of the seal owner (Bahrani 2001: 134). Two male burials in the Royal Cemetery at Ur were accompanied by lapis lazuli seals depicting females as main figures, and are thought to belong to high-ranking servants of a female household, while the seal

⁴² See, for example, Gudrun Colbow's study on the seals and sealing practices of the women of the Ur-Utu family in Old Babylonian Sippar (Colbow 2002).

of Tar'am-Agade, daughter of Narām-Sin of Agade, bears a combat scene of a type that was used exclusively by members of the royal family of both sexes (Crawford 2014: 12).

A number of exceptions to the rule are known from the seals of royal women in the Akkadian period, where, in contrast to the gender-neutral combat scene on Tar'am-Agade's seal, another daughter of Narām-Sin, Tuta-napšum, and Tuta-šar-libbiš, the chief wife of Šar-kali-šarri, owned seals that depicted a royal woman receiving her servant in audience. Impressions of several seals of queen Uqnitum of Urkeš also show the queen seated on a throne with her children (Suter 2008: 13-14). Another exception seems to be the seals of royal and highly-placed women (e.g. wives of governors) in the Ur III period, who owned seals bearing the official motif of the Ur III administration, i.e. the presentation scene. The seals featured a female figure being led into the presence of a seated goddess in the case of governors' wives (Winter 1991: 69) or a female figure directly facing the seated king on the seals of royal concubines (Suter 2008: 14). The Ur III presentation scene appears to be the only case in which women of high status owned seals with the official iconography of the state, but the imagery was specifically tailored to reflect the gender of the owner.

When we look at women's seals from the late Old Assyrian period, we see that the standard imagery of official seals, i.e. the figure-with-mace motif, is employed on these seals as well, but without any modification to reflect the gender identity of the seal owner. The corpus studied in this dissertation includes impressions of seven seals dating to the period following Šamši-Adad's death, whose owners can be identified as royal or high-status women through the seal legends. The imagery on these impressions is identical to that of official seals held by kings and male dignitaries in this period, suggesting that these women would have been virtually unrecognizable in glyptic if it weren't for the seal inscriptions. Therefore, it is quite possible that

there are more unidentified women's seals among the fragmentary seal impressions in this corpus, where the legend accompanying the figure-with-mace motif is not preserved.

As the various discussions on the owners of seals featured in this study show, tracing an individual represented by a seal impression and identified by name and title in the legend, in the textual record of Mesopotamia, is often difficult if not impossible.⁴³ The same applies to the elite women dealt with here. While some of them (e.g. queen Šiptu of Mari or queen Iltāni of Karana) are very well represented in written documentation, others, such as Niḫmatum, daughter of Zikir-[], female servant of Ilī-Šamaš, are virtually absent from the record. Nevertheless, the one pattern that emerges from the available information is that all of these women held a prominent place in public affairs and some were even entrusted with the duty of representing the kings in their absence⁴⁴ (Crawford 2014: 20; Dalley 1984; Batto 1974 among others). Therefore, it should come as no surprise that they held seals bearing the official iconography of their state's administration, even though they were not officials themselves. It is this aspect of royal women's seals that alters the significance of the figure-with-mace motif, as it becomes clear that the motif was a symbol of being associated with the king in some capacity, and that high status and a significant role in administration were the determining factors for possessing a figure-with-mace seal. In the end, imagery and legend acted together to confirm the seal owner's legitimate status in association with the king (Winter 1986: 264).

⁴³ This excludes periods with extensive textual documentation, such as the Ur III, Old Assyrian, and Old Babylonian periods.

⁴⁴ Birot argues that the role of royal women involved in the politics and administration of northern Mesopotamian states in this period is associated with Amorite culture and the tradition of patriarchal monarchy. As the private and official domains of the king were not clearly separated, royal women were involved with both domestic and palace affairs (Birot 1997: 280).

Only one royal woman from Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna is known through her seal impression: Ummī-waqrāt, identified by the seal inscription as the wife of king Yakun-ašar. The imagery on the seal is simple and consists of the standard pair accompanied by two superposed Humbaba masks. These masks are attested frequently at Tell Leilan and Mari (e.g. Cat. #115, #128, and #223) and appear to be distinctive to northern Mesopotamia. This is also supported by the use of a large stone-carved Humbaba mask as part of the architectural decoration of the Tell al-Rimah temple (Oates 1965: 72 and 1967: Plate XXXI).

Two other impressions within the Rimah corpus that should be mentioned in the context of women's seals are those of Iltāni (Cat. # 158) and Niḫmatum (Cat. #149). Both the seal impression and the Karana archives inform us that Iltāni was the daughter of Šamu-Adad and the wife of the usurper king, Aqba-ḫammu (Dalley 1976: 33). Her seal, which bears a simple standard motif with the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, is striking in its simplicity, as it features no filling motifs. What makes this seal all the more interesting is that it is the most frequently attested seal on the Karana texts, the majority of which date from the reign of Iltāni's husband Aqba-ḫammu.⁴⁵ These texts inform us that Iltāni was the overseer of the textile business in the Karana palace as well as food production and the handling of precious goods (Dalley 1984: 102-104). It is clear that in her husband's absence, Iltāni acted as his representative (Oates 1982: 91). Consequently, it should not come as a surprise that she held a cylinder seal featuring the official motif of northern Mesopotamia in her role as queen and overseer of palace industries.

Compared to the extensive information we can recover from the Karana archives regarding the life and role of Iltāni, Niḫmatum, the owner of Cat. #149, is a mystery. The seal

⁴⁵ See Dalley 1976: 31ff; Dalley 1984: 41-44 and 101-104 for Iltani's archive.

impression on a letter sent by her that was found in the temple stairway identifies her as “daughter of Zikir-[], female servant of Ilī-Šamaš[aš].” The name Ilī-Šamaš and a seal legend mentioning a man of the same name are attested in letters, economic texts, and bullae in a group of fifty tablets recovered at the temple. Oates dates this archive and its archaeological context on the basis of two *limmus*: Ušur-ša-Aššur and Aḫiaya, whose name was also attested at Chagar Bazar (Oates 1968: 121-122). The Revised Eponym List (REL) places Ušur-ša-Aššur (REL 243) toward the end of Samsu-iluna’s reign and close to the destruction of Šubat-Enlil, i.e. ca. 1730 B.C. As for Oates’s Aḫiaya, there are two Aḫiyayas attested in the REL: Aḫiyaya, son of Takiki (REL 203) known from Mari and Chagar Bazar, and Aḫiyaya, son of Adunaya (REL 227-235⁴⁶) known only from Rimah (Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 21). This shows that the *limmu* attested in the temple archive must be the latter Aḫiyaya, son of Adunaya, and the archive should be dated to the interval between REL 227-235 and 243.⁴⁷ Oates informs us that the archive is mostly made up of letters concerned with agricultural matters, most of which are written and sealed by Ilī-Šamaš (Cat. #174). None of the individuals mentioned in the letters are known from other sources, but Oates suggests that Ilī-Šamaš may have been responsible for the administration of temple or royal property. His seal impression (Cat. #174) found on these letters does not help in clarifying his identity any further, as the seal legend is not fully preserved. It identifies Ilī-Šamaš as son of Iqqat-^d[], servant of [].⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The exact order of eponyms in this interval is not clear. See Chapter 6 footnote 4 and Barjamovic, Hertel, and Larsen 2012: 15ff for details.

⁴⁷ This interval falls within the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon. As Karana disappears from record during the reign of Aqba-ḫammu, it has been suggested that the city was destroyed by Ḫammurabi, of whom Aqba-ḫammu was a vassal, although the exact date of this event is unknown. However, if the order of the eponyms in REL is correct, Ilī-Šamaš’s archive mentioned above dates to Samsu-iluna’s reign in Babylon. Does this suggest that Karana may have continued to exist as a vassal of Babylon after the reign of Ḫammurabi? See Appendix I for the absolute and relative dating of these rulers based on the REL.

⁴⁸ See Hawkins 1976: 249 for possible reconstructions of the legend and the problems associated with the royal name. Lacambre and Nahm (2015) have recently argued that the broken royal name should be reconstructed as Pithana, making Ilī-Šamaš the servant of an Anatolian king in Syria.

These issues regarding the identity of Ilī-Šamaš and his chronological placement within the history of Karana also affect the identification of Niḥmatum, the owner of Cat. #149. The legend on her seal impression describes her as “female servant of Ilī-Šamaš.” As discussed in Chapter 7, Charpin concluded, on the basis of inscriptions on women’s seals, that the title “female servant (*GEME*₂)” in palace contexts points toward a wife of secondary rank (Charpin 1992: 73). If this interpretation is correct, then Niḥmatum must have been a secondary wife of Ilī-Šamaš. Although none of these figures can be identified clearly as to their exact position and role in society, the seal impression of Niḥmatum bearing a fragmentary figure-with-mace motif, places her within the higher ranks of Karana’s society. The fact that the impression was found in the temple on a letter written by Niḥmatum herself (Hawkins 1976: 249) reinforces this argument. In addition to royal wives, other women identified as “female servant of PN,” who held seals bearing the official motif of the figure with mace, are known in the corpus studied here: Cat. #195 and Cat. #218, both of which were found in the Mari palace, belong to Adad-duri, female servant of Ḫadni-Adad, and Ištaraṭ-[], female servant of Ḫabni-Adad, respectively. It is unfortunate that further information is not available concerning the men or the women mentioned on these seals to situate them in a social context, but the use of the official motif of the figure with mace is enough to place them within the upper levels of society.

The largest number of women’s seal impressions in this corpus comes from the palace of Mari. Four women, whose identities are known to various degrees from textual documentation, are attested: queen Šiptu (Cat. #191), Yataraya (Cat. #185), Adad-duri (Cat. #195), and Ištaraṭ- [] (Cat. #218). Except for Yataraya’s seal, which was analyzed in detail in Chapter 7, the remaining seals bear the traditional figure-with-mace motif, although the full imagery is often difficult to reconstruct due to the fragmentary nature of the seal impressions.

Yataraya's seal (Cat. #185) stands apart from this group, as it still incorporates the two principal figures, the figure with mace and the interceding goddess, albeit in a completely different composition. The composition is bordered by a thick guilloche both above and below, while a similar guilloche also divides it into two superposed registers, and the inscription panel runs perpendicular to these registers. In addition to the guilloche, the use of the kneeling-griffon man also bespeaks a Syrian origin. The inscription describes the seal owner as "female servant of Zimri-Lim," which, on the basis of Charpin's interpretation (Charpin 1992: 73), places Yataraya among the secondary wives of the king. Although information about her is scant, Mari archives tell us that she was the administrative head of wine and oil stockage in the palace (Sasson 2015: 11). Her importance can also be reconstructed from a ration list, where along with another secondary wife of Zimri-Lim, she receives a significantly larger ration of oil than any other women, including Zimri-Lim's sister and daughters (Batto 1974: 21). The high quality of the seal's carving, the delicate modeling of the small figures and the richness of detail in the composition also testify to the high status of the owner.

Even without the accompanying inscription, the expert carving and extraordinary detailing of the figures on Šiptu's seal (Cat. #191), communicate her high status. Textual documentation shows that when Zimri-Lim took power in Mari he already had wives and children. Nonetheless, he married the daughter of his powerful suzerain, Yarim-Lim of Yamḥad, to affirm his power. The travels of Zimri-Lim's agents, Risiya and Asqudum, to Aleppo to bring gifts to the bride and her family, and to accompany the queen to her new home in Mari are recorded in the palace correspondence (Sasson 2015: 107). Šiptu's official correspondence with Zimri-Lim and his officials in the Mari archives reveal the extraordinarily broad influence the queen wielded in both domestic and state affairs. In addition to being responsible primarily for

the functioning of the palace, her responsibilities also extended to the temples, workshops, and “even the whole city of Mari” and beyond. Mari letters show that she was widely respected both by Zimri-Lim’s officials and vassal kings (Batto 1974: 11 and 15-16). However, in her letters to Zimri-Lim she usually addressed him as “my lord” and calls herself “Šiptu, your servant” (Dalley 1984: 99). This position of the queen is directly reflected both on the official imagery on her seal and the inscription, which identifies her as “female servant” of Zimri-Lim. The composition is simple but elegantly carved, consisting of the standard pair separated by a thick vertical guilloche, which places the seal within the Syrian glyptic corpus with possible affinities to local traditions of Yamḥad and Carchemish.⁴⁹

Finally, the seal of Adad-duri (Cat. #195), impressions of which were found on tags in the Mari palace, should be mentioned here in the context of royal women. The fragmentary seal shows only the middle part of a figure-with-mace scene, but the inscription preserved on several clay lumps identifies the owner clearly, as Adad-duri, female servant of Ḫadni-Adad. As already mentioned in Chapter 7, the identities of Adad-duri and Ḫadni-Adad⁵⁰ are unclear, although Charpin’s interpretation of the title “female servant (*GEME₂*)” in palace contexts as a wife of secondary rank provides a connection between them (Charpin 1992: 73). Durand suggests that Adad-duri may have been Zimri-Lim’s sister (Charpin 1992: 73), making her husband, Ḫadni-Adad, the king’s brother-in-law, while Finet and Batto identify her as Zimri-Lim’s wife and the queen of Mari following Šiptu’s death (Birot 1979: 50). Sasson has recently argued that she was either the aunt or the mother of Zimri-Lim and that she remained as a palace figure until her death (Sasson 2015: 8). Her correspondence shows that she functioned in an official capacity and

⁴⁹ See Chapter 7, pp. 16-17 for details of the seal’s iconography.

⁵⁰ See Charpin 1992: 72-74 and Batto 1974: 71-72 for possible explanations. Charpin, Edzard, and Stol 2004: 146 suggest that Ḫadni-Adad may have been Yaḥdun-Lim’s eldest son, while Frayne 1990: 764 identifies him as a king of Upper Mesopotamia, who allied with king Atamrum of Andariq.

her jurisdiction extended over the palaces, temples, and the entire city of Mari, much like Šiptu (Batto 1974: 65). Her appearance in various economic texts from the early part of Zimri-Lim's reign, concerning topics such as sacrifices made to deities, and disbursements and receipts of materials for the ladies of the palace,⁵¹ attests to her responsibilities as administrator of supplies in the palace. The wide range of responsibilities and official duties she held may have been the reasoning behind Finet and Batto's interpretation of her role as Zimri-Lim's wife and the queen of Mari after Šiptu died, but a text (M.7116) dated to the 6th year of Zimri-Lim's reign records the disbursement of silver for Adad-duri's tomb, indicating that she died before 1770 B.C. Moreover, Šiptu frequently appears in letters and economic documents dated to Zimri-Lim 3-13,⁵² discounting the possibility that she may have been replaced by Adad-duri. Regardless of her exact position within the royal family and her administrative role within the kingdom, it is clear that Adad-duri was a woman of high-status who was assigned official duties, which called for a seal bearing the figure-with-mace motif.

The prominent use of the figure-with-mace motif on the seals of royal and high-status women, who held official positions in the administration of the palace and temple, befits the interpretation that this specific motif was an indication of the seal owner's legitimate status in association with the king. What is surprising, however, is that this usage appears to be limited to northern Mesopotamia in this period. Similar seals of royal women with the figure-with-mace motif are rarely encountered in Babylonia. The seal of Beltani, wife of Rim-Sin of Larsa, a contemporary of Šamši-Adad, emerges as the only example of this type of women's seals in the south. The cylinder seal, published by Moortgat (1940: 113 and Fig. 322), features a simple composition with the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess. The accompanying 4-line

⁵¹ ARCHIBAB <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche3.htm>.

⁵² ARCHIBAB <http://www.archibab.fr/4DCGI/recherche3.htm>.

inscription identifies the owner as “Beltani, daughter of Ḫabannum, wife of Rim-Sin, king of Larsa” (Moortgat 1940: 113; Frayne 1990: 301-302). The structure of the seal legend and the titles used for Beltani are identical to those describing Šiptu on her seal, but differ from the title “female servant of RN,” which is found on the seals of other royal women mentioned above. This difference might attest to Beltani’s position as primary wife as opposed to a wife of secondary rank, but the mediocre quality of the carving and the simplicity of the composition differ considerably from Šiptu’s seal. Beltani’s seal reminds us that the figure-with-mace motif had been common in Babylonian glyptic as early as the Isin-Larsa period, but was never restricted to official seals there unlike in the north.

9.5. “Servant of DN” Seals

One should remember that the extremely small number of women’s seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif in the Old Babylonian glyptic corpus belonged to women identified as “female servant” or “wife” of a king. The situation is very different when it comes to female seal owners who are described in the inscriptions as servants of a deity. Seals belonging to both men and women with a figure-with-mace motif and inscription identifying the owner as “servant of DN” appear to be extremely popular in Babylonia. Even a quick search in a catalog, such as Collon’s *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum* (1984) covering the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods, reveals that the overwhelming majority of seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif were accompanied by a “servant of DN” type inscription.⁵³ The imagery on these seals consists primarily of the standard pair, sometimes accompanied by other figures

⁵³ Of the 133 seals (Figs. 149-282) covered in the catalog, including several unscribed seals, 67 belonged to men and 7 belonged to women, who identified themselves as servants of one or more deities.

common in the glyptic of this period, such as the nude female. A large number of both major and minor gods are mentioned in the seal inscriptions, but Adad, Amurru, Šamaš, and Nergal appear to be the deities attested most frequently.

This raises several important questions. Who were these people? What did it mean to be the servant of a god? How should we interpret the use of the figure-with-mace motif in the context of these seals?

The meaning of the term “servant of DN” was first examined by J. Krausz, who concluded that the deity mentioned in the seal inscriptions was the personal deity of the seal owner (Krausz 1911). A different interpretation was offered by Jacobsen on the basis of inscription from Tell Asmar, whereby he argued that seals bearing the inscription “servant of DN” belonged to priests or temple officials, while seal owners identified as “servant of the ruler” were civil servants (Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen 1940). This interpretation was also favored by Gelb (1977: 113ff). This meant that the owners of seals bearing the said servant line could only be palace or temple officials, and does not take into account seals of priests where the deity mentioned in the seal impression and the deity of the temple where the priests served did not match. A study conducted by Charpin on the seal inscriptions of members of 20 families in 9 Old Babylonian cities provides a different explanation. Charpin found that in almost all cases he examined, the seal legends of all known members of a family invoked the same deity in the servant line. This prompted Charpin to conclude that devotion to a particular deity was in fact a family tradition and the choice of deities worshipped by a family was often influenced by that family’s place of residence (Charpin 1990a: 72-73). This is clearly illustrated in the case of king Yarim-Lim of Aleppo. In a letter he sent to another ruler Yarim-Lim says “I swear by Adad, the god of my city, and by Sin, my personal god.” The king’s seal, on the other hand, refers to him

as “Yarim-Lim, son of Sumu-epuh, beloved of Adad,” showing that the city god was the deity invoked on one’s seal (Charpin 1990a: 75-76).

So how does this apply to the figure-with-mace seals that feature a “servant of DN” line? In a separate study on Mari glyptic, Charpin argues that the seals bearing a “servant of DN” impression were used to seal judicial texts by individuals who were not part of palace administration, or to authenticate administrative texts concerning inhabitants of the kingdom residing outside of Mari (Charpin 1992: 63). Nevertheless, a number of examples from Tell Bi’a (Cat. #26, #27, #28, #66, #100) and Mari (Cat. #231), which were found on bag, door, and container sealings suggest otherwise. Especially the door sealings from Tell Bi’a (Cat. #26 and #27) confirm the local status of their owners as palace officials. In terms of the iconography of these seals, we know that the motif of the figure with mace was not exclusive to royals and administrative officials in southern Mesopotamia. On the contrary, it was only one of the motifs that were used on official seals as well as on personal ones (Otto 1992a: 168). On the basis of this information, one can speculate that the seals attested in the Old Babylonian corpus belonged to individual seal owners (both men and women), who were not necessarily part of an administrative apparatus, and the deities named in the seal inscriptions were the family gods of the seal owners, whose protection and assistance they sought in their affairs.

The situation is a little less confusing in the north, as the identities of the owners of such seals can be discerned from textual documentation. The northern Mesopotamian corpus analyzed here contains four seals whose owners identify themselves as “servant of DN” (Cat. # 26, #27, and #28 from Tell Bi’a, and Cat. #109 from Tell Leilan). It is interesting that the Tell al-Rimah and Mari corpora have not yielded seals of this type, but, as opposed to a regional peculiarity,

this may just be a result of the fragmentary nature of most of the seal impressions from these sites, which prevents the identification of seal owners through the inscriptions.

Two of the cases mentioned above provide us with clues to untangle the issue. Catalog #26, found on door sealings in the Tell Bi'a palace, belongs to Mutu-Dagan, identified as the servant of the god Šamaš. The use of this seal to secure doors in the palace is the first indication that the owner must be a palace employee. The impressions of yet another seal, Cat. #20, found on door and container sealings in the same palace, support this interpretation, both through the use of the official motif and through its inscription, which identifies the seal owner as none other than Mutu-Dagan himself, this time not as a servant of Šamaš but as an official serving Yasmaḥ-Adad. The short period of time represented by the glyptic corpus of Tell Bi'a suggests that the two names do, in fact, indicate the same individual, who owned two seals that were used simultaneously and for similar purposes. While one seal (Cat. #20) secured the western door of Room M, the other one (Cat. #26) was used to seal the eastern entrance to the same room (Otto 2004: 157). This means that both seals were considered official and used for administrative purposes, even though their legends contained different titles of the seal owner.

A similar situation is attested at Tell Leilan. Fourteen seal impressions (Cat. # 107 and 108) excavated in adjacent rooms (Rooms 12 and 13) in the same building level at the Acropolis Northeast Temple are identified as belonging to two different seals held by a single official, Šuri-Adad (Weiss 1985: 281-283). Both seals bear the official motif of the figure with mace, albeit with minor differences.⁵⁴ Catalog #107 shows the figure with mace and the interceding goddess facing each other, and a three-line inscription identifies the seal owner as “Šuri-Adad, son of

⁵⁴ Both impressions mentioned here are rather fragmentary. As a result only certain aspects of the overall composition are known.

Zidriya, servant of Šamši-Adad.” On the other hand, Cat. #108, showing the standard pair and a vertical thunderbolt behind a four-line inscription, describes Šuri-Adad as a servant of two deities.⁵⁵ In this example too, we encounter a palace official who identifies himself both as a servant of the king and of various gods. The fact that both seals were used simultaneously for administrative purposes shows that, regardless of their inscriptions, they were both used as official seals, as their iconography also confirms.

Finally, the seal of Beli-emūqī (Cat. #109) should also be mentioned here. Two hundred and twenty-seven impressions of this seal were found in Room 8 of the Acropolis Northeast Temple at Tell Leilan, making it the most frequently attested seal at the site (Weiss 1985: 282f). The imagery consists of the standard pair accompanied by the crescent-and-disk and a crouching monkey between them, and a winged mixed-being on its hindlegs behind the interceding goddess. The three-line inscription is placed behind the mixed-being, but only two lines are contained within the inscription panel, and the third line appears to have been carved later in the empty space between the inscription panel and the lower body of the creature. What sets this seal apart from the rest is the composition of the inscription, which refers to Beli-emūqī as servant of both king Ḫaya-abum and the god Adad, although the second title appears to have been added later. The official iconography of the figure with mace, the standard title “servant of RN,” the additional title “servant of DN,” and the frequency with which the impressions of this seal were attested in the Acropolis Temple all indicate the important role of the seal owner within the administration, proving once again that seals bearing the figure-with-mace motif and a “servant of DN” inscription were also considered official seals held by royal servants.

⁵⁵ The deities’ names are not preserved, but the *DINGIR* signs are visible. The second line of the inscription reads GÚ.GAL ^dZa[], which can be reconstructed as Zababa.

Besides these 4 examples, the glyptic corpus studied here also contains impressions of 5 seals (Cat. #66, #100, #178, #231, and #260) that identify their owners as servants of a god, but feature motifs other than the figure with mace. Cat. #100 and #178 are only preserved as seal inscriptions and their imagery is unknown. Nonetheless, the fact that Cat. #100 was found on a door sealing in Palace A at Tell Bi'a suggests that the seal, which must have belonged to a palace employee, may have indeed featured a figure-with-mace motif. The remaining impressions feature scenes of worship and offering. They are found on bag sealings and clay envelopes, preventing us from identifying their owners' professional affiliation, even though their names are preserved in the seal legends. Nonetheless, one can safely assume that they were somehow affiliated with the local palace, since the seal impressions were attested on official correspondence.

It is clear, on the basis of these examples, that at least in northern Mesopotamia seals bearing a "servant of DN" line were used by public servants in the service of a king alongside those identifying the seal owner as "servant of RN." Evidence also shows that a single individual could be referred to as both simultaneously. One wonders whether the figure-with-mace seals referring to their owners as "servant of DN" and hence invoking their family gods were designated for the personal use of the seal owner within the administrative context of the state, while the figure-with-mace seal bearing the title "servant of RN" could be used by others in the same office functioning under the seal owner himself and hence could use his seal on his behalf.

9.6. Multiple Seal Ownership

The examples presented above show that officials as well as kings (e.g. Šamši-Adad and Zimri-Lim) could hold more than one seal at a time, which they often used simultaneously and for similar purposes. Examples of multiple seal ownership have been attested as early as the Akkadian period. Excavations in Nippur revealed the grave of an individual who was buried with two cylinder seals. The smaller seal found near the shoulder showed a presentation scene, while the larger one placed near the waist bore a contest scene. Despite the different imagery, both seals bore identical inscriptions, identifying the seal owner as LUGAL.DUR, the scribe (Fig. 9.6a-b). McGuire Gibson concluded that the larger seal with the contest motif was the official seal of the owner, and the smaller seal with the presentation scene was his personal seal (Gibson 1990: 14-15; Hallo 1993: 48).



Fig. 9.6a-b: The two seals of LUGAL.DUR, the scribe (Gibson 1990)

Similar cases can be observed in the Ur III levels at Tell Asmar. Impressions of three different seals belonging to the local ruler, Ušurawassu, have been identified in the Palace of the Rulers and the Šu-Sin Temple. Although all three seals have the same inscription, seals 1 and 2 bear presentation scenes, while seal 3 depicts a hero holding a tree on a mountain before a standing deity. Through an analysis of sealing types and archaeological context, Reichel reveals that all three seals were used at the same time, but for different purposes. Seal 1 was only found

on container sealings, seal 2 was used to seal doors, and seal 3 was only attested on a bag sealing (Reichel 2001a: 122-123).

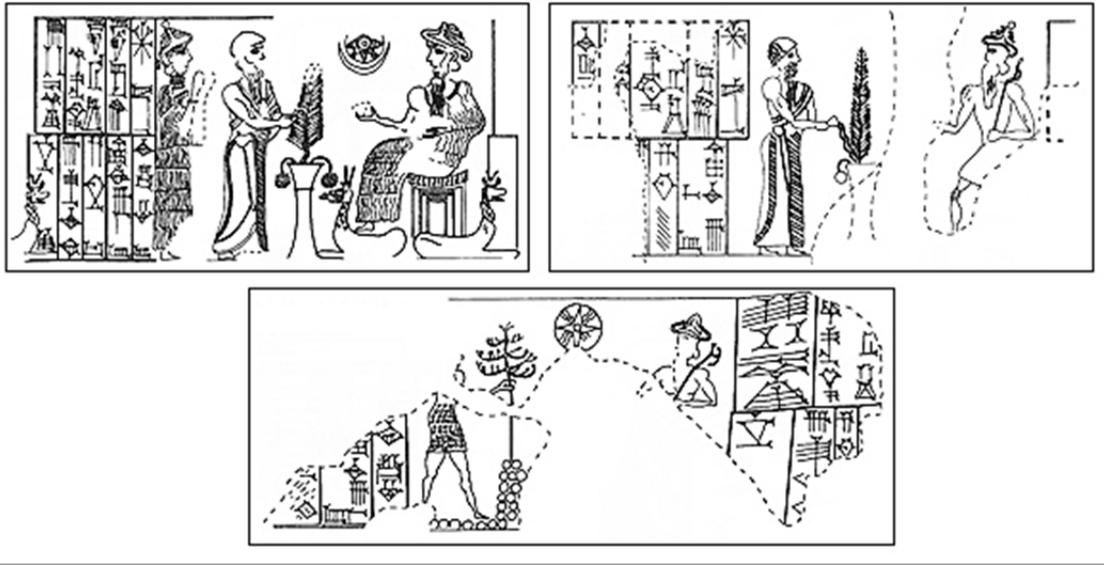


Fig. 9.7: Seals of Ušurawassu, ruler of Ešnunna (Images courtesy of Clemens Reichel)

Moreover, two different seals have been attributed to Šillum-rašub, a high-ranking official who functioned in Ušurawassu's administration. The scene on Šillum-rašub's first seal is not preserved, but the legend identifies him as a servant of Ušurawassu (Franke 1977: 66 note 23; Reichel 2001a: 123 footnote 23), while his second seal, bearing a presentation scene, refers to Šillum-rašub as scribe and servant of the god Tišpak (Reichel 2001a: 123; Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen 1940: 146), showing that the "servant of DN" title was used by royal officials as an alternative designation in the Ur III period as well.

Finally, we should also mention the practice of multiple seal ownership attested in textual documentation. KAV 98, a letter from the private archive of the Middle Assyrian official Babu-aḥa-iddina provides one of the best known examples in this regard. In this letter, Babu-aḥa-iddina, who served as a high-ranking official at the courts of Šalmeneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I

(Jakob 2003: 58), sends specific instructions to his associates regarding the use of two different seals that belong to him, one depicting a *lahmu*-creature and the other a *rīmu*-creature (Freydank and Saporetti 1989: 18-19).⁵⁶

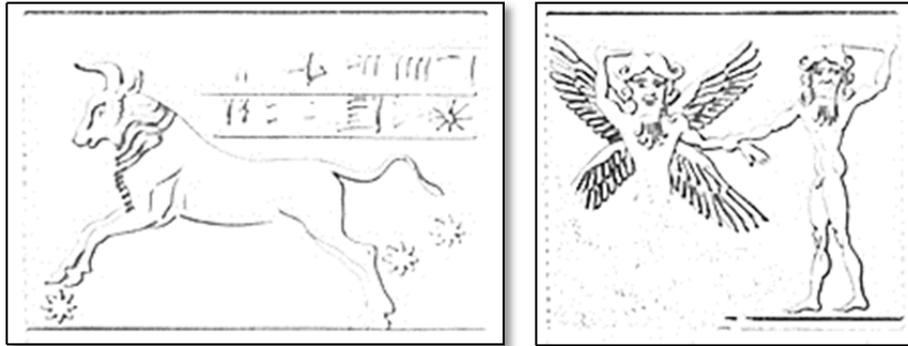


Fig. 9.8: The two seals of Babu-aḥa-iddina (after Freydank 1974)

The examples presented above suggest that ownership of multiple seals was a common phenomenon observed across different periods, especially in official contexts. This prompts several questions, both within the larger framework of seal ownership and within the more restricted context of northern Mesopotamia in the early second millennium B.C.: Why did a royal individual or an official need multiple seals to be used at the same time? Did these seals differ in any way or did they feature the same iconographic characteristics? Were they all figure-with-mace seals? If not, what other motifs were employed on them and why?

Two plausible explanations immediately come to mind when we consider the question of why a seal owner may be attested holding multiple seals: 1. loss of original seal due to wear, theft, or chance, which would necessitate the acquisition of a new seal; 2. different seals used for different purposes, e.g. official duties vs. private business or a different official position. The individual cases of multiple seal ownership attested within the glyptic corpus studied here are

⁵⁶ See Freydank 1974 for a discussion of the various seals of Babu-aḥa-iddina.

outlined below to show that the explanations provided above do not always apply, as it is clear that, in most cases, the seal owner was using both seals simultaneously and for similar purposes, unlike some of the earlier examples from the Ur III period.

Twelve individuals, whose seal impressions are analyzed in this study, have been identified as owners of multiple seals and they are attested at all 5 sites (including Acemhöyük in Anatolia) covered here, although the majority of examples comes from Mari.

Cat. #	PN	Title
20	Mutu-Dagan	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad
26	Mutu-Dagan	servant of Šamaš
107	Šuri-Adad	servant of Šamši-Adad
108	Šuri-Adad	N/A
159	Aqba-ḥammu	diviner
177	Aqba-ḥammu	diviner, servant of Hammurabi
179	Dāriš-libūr	servant of Zimri-Lim
201	Dāriš-libūr	servant of Zimri-Lim
188	Zimri-Lim	governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, controller of the Euphrates bank, king of Mari, and the land of Hana
189	Zimri-Lim	governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, who unified the banks of the Euphrates, king of Mari and the land of Hana
190	Šunuḥraḥalu	servant of Zimri-Lim
253	Šunuḥraḥalu	servant of Zimri-Lim
191	Šiptu	daughter of Yarim-Lim, wife of Zimri-Lim
N/A	Šiptu	N/A
198	Yasīm-Sumū	scribe, servant of Zimri-Lim
199	Yasīm-Sumū	chief-accountant, servant of Zimri-Lim
202	Šubnalû	servant of Zimri-Lim
N/A	Šubnalû	servant of Zimri-Lim
248	Mukannišum	servant of Zimri-Lim
250	Mukannišum	servant of Zimri-Lim
273	Šamši-Adad	beloved of Aššur, vice-regent of Aššur
274	Šamši-Adad	appointee of Enlil
275	Šamši-Adad	appointee of Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur
276	Šamši-Adad	appointee of Enlil, beloved of Assur, vice-regent of Assur
278	Aplaḥanda	N/A
284	Aplaḥanda (?)	king of Carchemish (?)

Table 9.2: Seal owners with multiple seals

Royals with multiple seals

One of the most interesting cases of multiple seal ownership in the 5 glyptic corpora analyzed in this dissertation is that of Šamši-Adad. It is fascinating that not a single impression of his seals has so far been identified at Tell Leilan, which functioned as the seat of his power, but 29 bullae bearing impressions of 4 different seals that belonged to the Great King were recovered at Acemhöyük (Cat. #273-276), in addition to clay envelope fragments at Mari. Although the inscriptions on these seals have been used by scholars to date their time of production, the fact that impressions of all 4 seals were found in the same room at Acemhöyük suggests that they were all used simultaneously. Although two of the seals (Cat. #275 and #276) are known only in terms of their legends, the different compositions attested on Cat. #273 and #274 show that, in addition to the content of the seal legends, the imagery of Šamši-Adad's seals varied as well. It is unfortunate that the contextual information regarding the bullae in the Sarıkaya palace does not allow us to determine what these small lumps of clay were attached to. Nonetheless, the fact that impressions of Cat. #273 were also found on envelope fragments at the Mari palace (Cat. #237) suggests that this seal in particular may have been used on official correspondence.⁵⁷ The typical audience scene depicted on this seal and its iconographic connections with the royal seals of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty, as discussed earlier in this chapter, support the identification of this particular seal as the official seal of Šamši-Adad. Based on this, one could speculate that the remaining seals that belonged to the king may have been used for other purposes, such as the sealing of merchandise, as evidence at Acemhöyük seems to illustrate. Alternatively, these seals could have also been used by the most trusted servants of the king on his behalf, since one cannot imagine the Great King sitting in his throne room sealing

⁵⁷ It is important to note that no textual material was recovered at Acemhöyük and the impressions of Cat. #273 were found only on bullae. Therefore, it is clear that this particular seal was not used “exclusively” on letters.

dozens of wet clay bullae himself. It is also conceivable that each of these seals was held by a different office in charge of a different aspect of administration (e.g. finished products vs. raw materials or metals vs. textiles) and was used accordingly. Although no evidence exists to prove this, these high-level officials authorized to use the king's seals could have even been scattered across the wide territories of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia in order to carry out the king's affairs, each holding one of these seals.

The Mari glyptic corpus presents us with two different cases of multiple seal ownership. The two seals of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #188 and 189), which bear an identical imagery but differ only slightly in terms of the king's epithets, were analyzed earlier in this chapter. The addition of the epithet "the one who unified the banks of the Euphrates" makes it clear that Cat. #188 should date later than Cat. #189, which refers to Zimri-Lim only as "king of Mari and the land of Ḫana." Nevertheless, presumably after Zimri-Lim established control over both sides of the Euphrates, impressions of both seals were attested simultaneously, albeit on different types of documents (Cat. #188 on letters and Cat. #189 on administrative documents). This shows that, although the need for a second seal arose as a result of a major political development, the older seal did not lose its validity and was repurposed for internal administrative functions.

As far as royal women are concerned, only one individual, queen Šiptu of Mari, is documented to have held at least two different seals. In terms of the seals themselves, we only have impressions of one, Cat. #191, bearing a simple figure-with-mace scene, which was found on door sealings and tags at the Mari palace. Nonetheless, textual documentation shows that there was at least one more seal used by the queen. In a letter (ARM X 119; Dossin 1978: 176) Zimri-Lim orders Šiptu to use "your seal that identifies you as Šiptu, daughter of Yarim-Lim, wife of Zimri-Lim," i.e. Cat. #191. This instruction on the part of the king shows that Šiptu's

identity as the queen of Mari had particular relevance for the document or transactions that required her stamp of approval, necessitating the use of a specific seal. It is also clear from this passage that Šiptu was using more than one seal simultaneously. Charpin rightly adds that Šiptu could have brought an older seal with her from Aleppo that identifies her solely as the daughter of Yarim-Lim (Charpin 1999: 77). Although we don't have any information regarding this second seal, one could speculate that it may have featured a motif other than that of the figure with mace as well as compositional elements that reflected the local glyptic traditions of Šiptu's home in Yamḥad. The questions regarding how this second seal's inscription identified Šiptu, and when and where the two different seals were used remain unanswered.

The only example from Tell al-Rimah for an individual who owned multiple seals is Aqba-ḥammu, the last attested ruler of Karana in this period. Catalog #159 bears a simple figure-with-mace motif, while for Cat. #177 only the seal legend is preserved. Catalog #159 is impressed on the intact and unopened envelope of a letter sent by Aqba-ḥammu himself, but it is not possible to date it precisely since the contents of the letter are unknown. On the other hand, several tablets regarding issues of silver, which were sealed with Cat. #177, are dated to the *limmu* Azzubiya (Dalley 1976: 146-147, 160). Dalley concludes, on the basis of the seal inscriptions that, Cat. #159 pre-dates Cat. #177, since it identifies Aqba-ḥammu only as the diviner, while the inscription on Cat. #177 describes him as servant of Ḥammurabi (Dalley 1976: 32). In this case, it is clear that Aqba-ḥammu commissioned a new seal to declare his allegiance to Ḥammurabi, which explains the presence of two different seals bearing his name in the Tell al-Rimah corpus.

Finally, the bullae discovered inside the Sarıkaya Palace at Acemhöyük show that Aplaḥanda, the king of Carchemish, may have also owned more than one seal. As discussed in

Chapter 8, the first seal attributed to him,⁵⁸ Cat. #278, fits in with the royal glyptic traditions of northern Mesopotamia and Syria in this period, since it bears a typical figure-with-mace scene. The second seal (Cat. #284), on the other hand, presents an entirely different scene that can be described as religious or mythological and is unusual in terms of the placement of the main figures. If Collon is right in identifying this as a peculiar trait of Carchemish glyptic (Collon 2001b: 57), then we can talk about a distinctive court style developed here in response to the official imagery of neighboring kingdoms. The question that we should ask here is why would the king of Carchemish also own a very typical figure-with-mace seal that is no different than any other official seal we have encountered so far if there was indeed a distinctive local tradition of royal glyptic in his kingdom. It is clear from the bullae sealed with the two seals of Aplaḥanda that both of his seals were being used at the same time, so the existence of two entirely different seals cannot be explained on the basis of a chronological difference. However, on the basis of similar cases outlined in this section, one can speculate that the two seals may have been used for different purposes (e.g. to seal different types of shipments) or that they were designed to be used by different people. If Cat. #284 is indeed an example of a distinctive Carchemish court style it would be natural for Aplaḥanda himself to have used it as a symbol of the unique identity of his kingdom. On the other hand, the second seal, Cat. #278, with a standard official iconography that was a well-known and easily recognizable symbol of authority across a vast territory could have been used by the king's most trusted servants on his behalf.

These examples show that in the case of royal seals one should keep in mind that it was probably high-level officials and not the king/queen who performed the act of sealing. Therefore,

⁵⁸ Some scholars have expressed doubts regarding the identification of the seal owner as Aplaḥanda, since the inscription on the bullae is very fragmentary and hence heavily reconstructed. See Chapter 8, pp. 24-25 for more.

it may be more appropriate to talk about “seal(s) of the royal chancery”⁵⁹ rather than personal seals of the king, even though the real owner of the seal and hence the source of authority is explicitly stated in the seal inscriptions as the king/queen. Veenhof describes the Old Babylonian royal chancery as “a scribal office whose task comprised not only the usual bookkeeping, accounting, and filing, but also the production of official compositions and the promulgation of official texts” (Veenhof 1986: 22). If the same administrative structure was also in use in northern Mesopotamia at this time, it can be used to explain the presence of multiple seals that belong to a single ruler.

A correspondence between Zimri-Lim, who appears to have been away from Mari at the time, and his wife, queen Šiptu, shows that officials did indeed use the seals of their masters on their behalf in instances where only the presence of the seal, rather than that of the individual seal owner was required. The letter, ARM X 12 (Dossin 1978: 39-41), concerns the opening of a palace storeroom in Zimri-Lim’s absence. The king asks Šiptu to send inspectors along with the official that he had sent to Mari to retrieve tablets from this room. Šiptu’s reply to Zimri-Lim shows that once tablets were taken out, the door of the storeroom was sealed with Šiptu’s seal⁶⁰ (Sasson 2015: 153 and footnote 89). This incident makes it clear that movement of documents and goods in and out of certain storage chambers of the palace required the involvement of both members of the royal family and trusted officials, who operated on their behalf by using their seals. This information is also useful in explaining the presence of door sealings bearing seal impressions of royals, since one would naturally expect officials to have sealed these doors, rather than the king or the queen themselves.

⁵⁹ See Winter 2000: 57-60 for a discussion of chancery seals in the Neo-Assyrian period.

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that the impression of queen Šiptu’s seal, which was analyzed in this dissertation (Cat. #191), was also found on a door sealing in the palace.

Officials with multiple seals

The two seals of Mutu-Dagan (Cat. #20 and #26), found on door and container sealings at the Tell Bi'a palace, were mentioned above in the context of "servant of DN" seals. Both seals bear a simple figure-with-mace design, although Cat. #26 sets itself apart with the unusual placement of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. The stylistic differences between the two seals, as observed by Otto, suggest that Cat. #26 may have been cut farther north, where the official motif was not as common. Impressions of both seals are found in a single occupational level in the palace, which spans a very short period of time, suggesting that they may have been used simultaneously. However, as none of the impressions were found on dated tablets, the exact interval in which they were used cannot be determined. Nevertheless, the spatial distribution of the impressions of the individual seals suggests that they may have served different purposes within palace administration. Door and container sealings bearing impressions of Cat. #20 were found in the doorway between Rooms A and C, the doorway between Court B and Room M, and in Room M itself (Fig. 4.2). Impressions of Cat. #26 were identified on door sealings in Room M only. According to Otto, who studied the backs of the sealings, it is not always clear whether the impressions left by pegs indicate door or chest closures (Otto 2004: 45-46). As a result, it is not possible to determine conclusively whether Mutu-Dagan employed one of his seals to seal doors and the other to seal chests. Nevertheless, the findspots of the different sealings suggest that they functioned differently. Otto also suggests that the two seals belonging to Mutu-Dagan may have been used by different people to secure rooms or containers on his behalf (Otto 2004: 49). If this interpretation is correct, we can explain the need for multiple seals on the basis of the assumption that the use of one of the seals was reserved exclusively for Mutu-Dagan himself, while the other one was used by his staff on his behalf.

The two seals of Šuri-Adad, servant of Šamši-Adad, were also mentioned above in the context of “servant of DN” seals. Suffice it to say that the 14 seal impressions found in Level II of the Acropolis Northeast Temple at Tell Leilan show once again that the same individual could own two seals with similar iconography, but different inscriptions, where he was identified both as servant of a king and servant of a deity. Unfortunately, information regarding the backs of sealings bearing impressions of these two seals is not published. As a result, it is impossible to determine whether, in addition to identifying the seal owner with different titles, they were also used for different purposes in the temple.

Going back to Mari, the two seals of Yasīm-Sumū (Cat. #198 and #199) present a case, where an important development, in this case a promotion, required the acquisition of a new seal. Both seals bear an almost identical composition showing the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, accompanied by the nude female, the crescent-and-disk symbol, and a curved staff, but differ in their inscriptions. Catalog #198, found on a tablet dated to Zimri-Lim year 1 (M.5879, Arkhipov 2012: 208), identifies Yasīm-Sumū as a scribe, which indicates a high-status official (Beyer and Charpin 1990: 622-623), while Cat. #199, found on another tablet from year 2 of Zimri-Lim (ARM 24 121, Talon 1985:71-72), identifies him as a *šandabakkum* official. Beyer and Charpin translate this title as “chief accountant” (1990: 622), making it clear that Yasīm-Sumū received a promotion between years 1 and 2 of Zimri-Lim’s reign, which called for a new seal. Damage incurred while the seal was recut to reflect Yasīm-Sumū’s new title, or his desire to own a new seal in a precious stone may have prompted him to transfer the

imagery on his earlier seal with only minor changes⁶¹ onto his new seal. Personal significance or simply the visual appeal of the composition can also explain this choice.

Dariš-libur presents us with a different picture. Identified as a high-level official employed at the Mari palace, who was responsible for the functioning of the personal household of the king (Lafont 2002: 375), he owned at least two seals (Parrot 1959: 210-211), impressions of which were found on door sealings and tags. No photos of Cat. #201 were published due to the poor quality of the impressions, but Parrot informs us that the imagery consisted of the standard official motif with the figure with mace and the interceding goddess (Parrot 1959: 210-211). Although Parrot also reports that the sealings were identified as jar stoppers, Beyer's study reveals that they were in fact door sealings.⁶² Unfortunately exact findspots for these sealings have not been published. As a result, it is not possible to determine which room(s) Dariš-libur had authority over. His second seal, Cat. #179 is known from 50 different impressions and is one of the most frequently attested seals in the palace. The impressions were found on tablets dated to years 7-12 of Zimri-Lim's reign (Arkhipov 2012: 527) as well as on door sealings and tags discovered in Room 69 in the kitchen area of the palace (Parrot 1959: 198). What sets Cat. #179 apart from the majority of officials' seals from Mari is its imagery. The seal depicts a typical presentation scene with a male worshipper approaching a seated deity holding the ring and rod, and the interceding goddess is placed behind the deity. The level of preservation of the impressions is rather poor, but it is clear that they were made by a high-quality seal with delicate carving and modeling of the figures. Presentation scenes are rarely attested within the official glyptic corpus of Mari in this period (ca. 6%), as the majority of the impressions show the standard figure-with-mace motif. Since details regarding the exact findspots of the impressions

⁶¹ See Chapter 7, pp. 22-23 for an analysis of the iconography.

⁶² See Chapter 7, p. 11 for details.

of Dariš-libur's first seal are not available, it is impossible to determine whether the two seals were used for different purposes (e.g. sealing different rooms or different kinds of documents/objects). However, one can speculate, albeit inconclusively, that Cat. #179 with the presentation scene may have been reserved for sealing administrative texts.⁶³ The question of why the two seals were needed and why they featured different imagery is yet to be answered. However, based on examples of multiple seal ownership presented in this section, it is quite possible that they were used simultaneously in the palace.

A similar situation is also attested in the case of Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu, Zimri-Lim's personal secretary (Charpin 1992: 66). His first seal, Cat. #190, features the standard motif of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess as well as a small bearded figure with a tall square headdress holding a curved staff placed between them. Five impressions of this seal were found on an administrative text (Charpin 1999: 77), on door sealings, and tags. The inscription places this seal within a small group of seven seals identified by Charpin (1992: 64-67) as belonging to officials of Šamši-Adad, Yasmaḫ-Adad, and Zimri-Lim, which feature the RN – royal epithet – PN (of the seal owner) – (title) type legends. In contrast, Cat. #253, which also belongs to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu carries a two-line inscription of the type PN – title. Only one door sealing bearing this seal's impression has been retrieved so far (Charpin 1999: 77). The imagery cannot be fully reconstructed due to the fragmentary nature of the impression. Besides the interceding goddess in her typical gesture of supplication, there is a female figure, clad in a long robe open in the middle revealing her left leg, belly, and genitals (Parrot 1959: 194).⁶⁴ It is impossible to determine whether these two seals were used for different purposes (e.g. to seal different doors in the

⁶³ Arkhipov reports that impressions of this seal were found on four tablets dealing with metals and metal objects (2012).

⁶⁴ See Chapter 7, pp. 20-22 for a detailed iconographic analysis of both seals.

palace), as information on the findspots of the door sealings is not available. As neither seal was used to seal datable tablets, it is also not possible to ascertain whether they were employed simultaneously. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that both the imagery and the arrangement of the inscriptions on the two seals that belonged to Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu are considerably different.

The combination of imagery and legend type is reversed on the two seals of Šubnalû, another servant of Zimri-Lim. Charpin reports that two different seals used by Šubnalû are known through their inscriptions (Charpin 1999: 77); Cat. #202, included in this study, bears a figure-with-mace motif facing the interceding goddess. Between them are a crescent and a small human figure above a winged lion holding a standard with a circular top. The seal legend is unusual, in that the first and third lines of the inscription panel contain the seal owner's name and affiliation, while the middle line is occupied by three small figures.⁶⁵ The inscription identifies the owner as "Šubnalû, servant of Zimri-Lim." On the other hand, Šubnalû's second seal, impressions of which were found on economic documents at Mari, bears an inscription of the type RN – royal epithet – PN (of the seal owner) (Charpin 1999: 77). Unfortunately, photos and/or information regarding the imagery on this second seal are not available. Nevertheless, one could speculate, on the basis of Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu's two seals, that this second seal may have featured a composition other than that of the figure with mace. If that were indeed the case, the combination of text and imagery on this seal was the exact opposite of that of Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu's. Simply put, Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu owned one seal with the official motif and a RN – royal epithet – PN-type inscription, and another seal with a different, albeit unidentified, motif, and a short PN-title-type inscription. On the other hand, on Šubnalû's first seal the official motif was combined with the short PN-title-type inscription, while his second seal, likely bearing a different motif,

⁶⁵ See Chapter 7, pp. 18-20 for a detailed analysis.

featured the RN – royal epithet – PN- type inscription. The clear contrast between these two cases suggests that there was no rule governing the combination of the different types of imagery and inscriptions on officials’ seals.

Finally, Mukannišum should be mentioned here, especially since his is the only case in which a high official is known to have used two seals, neither of which bore the official figure-with-mace motif. The inscriptions on his two seals (Cat. #248 and #250) identify him simply as “son of Ḫabdu-baḫlati and servant of Zimri-Lim” (Rouault 1977: 110, footnote 1) and nothing else is known about his family. He is attested consistently in the Mari textual corpus from year Zimri-Lim 1 through Zimri-Lim 12 (Reichel 1994: 49-50). Mukannišum’s position and function within the Mari palace are rather complex. The extensive textual documentation concerning his administrative role and activities reveals that he was a very high official of the Mari palace, probably the majordomo. He performed various functions within the economic, artisanal, and industrial realms of the kingdom, which can be summarized as ensuring sufficient supply of some products for internal demands, to organize export, and receive raw materials and craft products involving wool and textiles, leather goods, wood, oils, and metals (Kupper 1995: 410; Reichel 1994: 49). Sasson notes that, due to his position, Mukannišum was one the king’s trusted officials responsible for the movement of goods in and out of the storage chambers in the palace, where the wealth of kings and items needed for daily life were kept (Sasson 2015: 153).

Administrative texts from the palace describe him as *šatammum*,⁶⁶ but he also belonged to a group of officials referred to as *DUMU.MEŠ É tuppī* (“sons of the tablet house”), often translate as accountant, which suggests an important role in archive and record keeping, and explains his access to the king’s treasures (Reichel 1994: 49; Lafont 2002: 373-374; Sasson 2015: 153).

⁶⁶ CAD translates *šatammum* as “accountant” or “administrative official.” The same title is translated as “chief of stock” with reference to Mukannišum in Sasson 2015: 10.

Letters also show that when Zimri-Lim was away from Mari, Mukannišum exercised a high degree of control in the palace, subject only to the orders of queen Šiptu (Reichel 1994: 50).

Both of Mukannišum's seals feature iconographic compositions that are unusual for the Mari glyptic of this period. His first seal, Cat. #248, found only on one bag sealing (Charpin 1999: 77), shows thick guilloches containing cuneiform signs inside the loops, crouching griffins, and mermen with a bird perched on each of their tails. The seal surface is divided by thick wavy lines into two superposed registers, which, are, in turn, further divided into two superposed registers by a thin line.⁶⁷ As already mentioned in Chapter 7, Otto places this seal in the Yamhad-Aleppo region on the basis of its iconography, and adds that this glyptic tradition may have been brought to Mari by queen Šiptu, whose own seal (Cat. #191) also bears iconographic influences from this region. Consequently, she concludes that this seal must have been carved in Yamhad and used by Mukannišum while he was in Yamhad himself (Otto 2000a: 138). Based on an analysis of the administrative documents and letters concerning Mukannišum, Lafont shows that, due to the nature of his duties, Mukannišum was "truly attached" to the Mari palace throughout his 15 years of service, and unlike other royal functionaries who were sent on missions or accompanying the king on one of his expeditions, he mostly stayed in Mari. Only on one occasion does he appear to have accompanied Zimri-Lim, along with all other principal dignitaries of the court, up to Yamhad, on the king's trip to Ugarit at the end of his 8th year (Lafont 2002: 375; Villard 1986: 393). Could Mukannišum have acquired his seal during this trip?

Mukannišum's second seal may be of help in answering this question. Catalog #250, attested 30 times on letters and administrative tablets, also bears imagery that is unusual for

⁶⁷ See Chapter 7, pp. 46-47 for a detailed discussion of this seal.

officials' seals in this period, but the composition is very much at home in the Mari glyptic corpus.⁶⁸ The main motif, often referred to as a "victory scene," shows the king smiting his enemies, accompanied by Ištar behind him, displaying her support and protection by placing her hand on the king's shoulder, and by the interceding goddess facing him. The 3-line inscription includes the seal owner's name, patronym, and title. What ties this seal to Mukannišum's other seal is the fact that tablets sealed with it are dated to years 6 and 7 of Zimri-Lim's reign,⁶⁹ which immediately precede the king's journey to Ugarit. Mukannišum spent some time in Aleppo at the end of ZL 8, but it is not clear how long he remained in the city once the king and the rest of his entourage continued on their way to Ugarit. Nonetheless, it seems probable that he may have acquired Cat. #248 during this visit to the kingdom of Yamhad, which explains the local influences visible in the seal's imagery and the attestation of its impression on a bag sealing that clearly came from outside Mari. Unfortunately, we do not have texts sealed with Cat. #250 and dated later than ZL 7, to determine whether Mukannišum continued using this seal after his return to Mari. The single attestation of Cat. #248 also makes it impossible to establish whether the two seals were used simultaneously and for different purposes. Several additional questions also remain unanswered: Why did Mukannišum acquire a second seal with a foreign iconography and a shorter inscription that excludes his patronym? Did he leave his primary seal in Mari? Did he lose it during the trip and was compelled to buy a new one in Yamhad? Or did he simply have personal business to conduct there and acquired a new seal for this purpose?

It is clear that no pattern emerges from the discussion above to explain the phenomenon of multiple seal ownership in this period. Some individuals held multiple seals with similar or

⁶⁸ See Chapter 7, pp. 47-49 for a detailed analysis of the iconography.

⁶⁹ M.7196, M.12111, M.12044, A.3546, M.11819, M.15187, M.7091, M.11846 (Arkhipov 2012: 301-328); ARM 9 127 (Biro 1960: 92); ARM 24 123 and 125 (Talon 1985: 72-74)

even identical iconography that confirmed their identity as royal officials; in other cases one seal bore the official motif, while the other differed; and in the case of Mukannišum, the official motif of the figure with mace was not employed on either one of the seals. Most individuals appear to have used both of their seals simultaneously and for different functions, although this aspect is not clear in all examples. Finally, as the seals of Zimri-Lim and Yasīm-Sumū illustrate, an important event (i.e. a major conquest and a promotion, respectively) could call for a new seal.

In the absence of a clear pattern governing the cases of multiple seal ownership, the question of why certain officials held more than one seal remains unanswered. Based on the Mari evidence, Charpin suggests that prestige and aesthetics played an important part in this decision. In other words, possessing a second seal, that was “even more beautiful than the first,” could have been a sign of wealth and status (Charpin 1999: 77). This interpretation implies that in all cases of multiple seal ownership both seals must be of high quality. Regrettably, this point is hard to prove with the dataset analyzed in this dissertation, since in the majority of cases clear photographic evidence is not available and the drawings are often misleading. For the twelve cases and the total of twenty-six seals of royals and officials studied above, photographs are available only for nineteen seal impressions, and of these nineteen, only twelve are preserved or photographed well enough to infer the quality of the seal itself. In total, only two cases, those of Mutu-Dagan and Mukannišum, allow a full assessment of the situation, since only in these cases are high quality photographs of both seals’ impressions available. In the case of Mutu-Dagan, Cat. #20, which identifies him as “servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad,” is of very high-quality with a fine, elongated rendering of the figures; while Cat. #26, which refers to him as “servant of ^dŠamaš,” shows the standard pair in reverse order, and both the figures and the cuneiform signs are deeply

cut in an angular fashion. Conversely, in the case of Mukannišum, neither one of his seals bears the standard motif, they both identify him as “servant of Zimri-Lim,” and are both products of extremely fine craftsmanship. It is not clear whether, in the case of Mutu-Dagan, one of the seals bearing the “servant of DN” title was a factor in the lower quality of the seal, as there is only one other case of multiple seal ownership attested in this dataset that includes a “servant of DN” seal.⁷⁰ In short, we can say that Charpin’s theory of multiple seals being a symbol of wealth and prestige appears to hold only in the case of Mukannišum so far, which is far from concluding the issue.

Otto approaches the phenomenon of multiple seal ownership from a different perspective and ties it in with the notion of recognition of the seal owner in a given place. Looking at the two seals that belonged to Dariš-Libur, one of which bears the official motif of the figure with mace, and the other showing a presentation scene, Otto asks whether seals featuring motifs other than that of the figure with mace were secondary seals. Based on the sealing practices attested for the seals of Dariš-Libur (Cat. #179), Ana-Sîn-taklāku (Cat. #231), and Iluna-kirišu (Cat. #251), which did not bear the official motif, she concludes that the area in which these three officials functioned was confined to the palace in Mari. As a result, they were personally known within the compound and did not need to use the official motif on their seals, which provided recognition as a member of the administration in all circles (Otto 1992a: 166).

Albeit plausible, this interpretation fails to take into account important details regarding sealing practice. Otto bases her argument on the fact that the majority of impressions made by the seals of these three officials were found on door sealings, suggesting that the seal owners

⁷⁰ Šuri-Adad at Tell Leilan possessed such a seal (Cat. #108) along with a simple figure-with-mace servant-of-RN-seal (Cat. #107). Both seals appear to be of similar quality.

were locally known in the palace. As a result, they used their non-official (secondary, according to Otto) seals within the palace, and their official seals elsewhere. However, when we look at Dariš-Libur, who, in addition to an “unofficial” seal, is known to have owned and used an official seal, we see that both seals were used in a somewhat overlapping manner. While Cat. #201, which reportedly bore a figure-with-mace motif (Parrot 1959: 210-211), is attested on both door sealings and tags attached to baskets and bags, his other “unofficial” seal was also attested on tags and door sealings in addition to clay envelopes and jar stoppers (Beyer 1985a: 380-381). If Dariš-Libur were indeed known well enough within the palace not to require an additional symbol of his official identity, why did he use his “official” seal on doors and tags as well? A similar situation is also attested with the seals of two servants of Šamši-Adad, namely Līter-šarrūssu and Samiya. Impressions of Līter-šarrūssu’s seal (Cat. #126), which features an unusual double-contest motif, were found on bullae retrieved at Acemhöyük in Anatolia (Tunca 1989). Similarly, impressions of Samiya’s seal (Cat. #128), also not bearing the official motif, were found on tablets and envelopes at Sippar and Mari as well as Tell Leilan. This indicates that seals of royal officials, which did not necessarily feature the coat of arms of the state, i.e. the figure with mace, could also be used for correspondence and merchandise that was sent outside the local palace,⁷¹ where the seal owner was recognized as a royal servant even in the absence of the figure-with-mace symbol.

To summarize this discussion concerning the reasons governing multiple seal ownership, regrettably no pattern emerges from a study of all available evidence to answer the question of why certain officials owned and used more than one seal, both with and without the official

⁷¹ The same conclusion cannot be reached for Dāriš-Libūr and Mukannišum, who also own two seals with non-official motifs, since all tablets bearing their seal impressions (e.g. M.11969, M.7298, M.10980, M.7196, M.12111, ARM 24 125 etc.) belong to the internal correspondence and administration of the palace.

motif. The several patterns that can be discerned from the evidence as well as the two theories put forth to explain the reason why this phenomenon existed only apply to certain cases and not others. Nonetheless, it appears that at least in some cases, such as that of Mutu-Dagan outlined above, it is possible to talk about “official” vs. “personal” administrative seals. In such cases, the highest official in a particular office may have owned a “personal” administrative seal that only he was authorized to use for official business identifying him as a royal servant, while a similar secondary seal, sometimes with a different composition, bearing the name of the same individual as representative of this office may have been used by lesser officials working under him in said office. One should note, however, that this is not the same thing as an “office seal,” which represents an institutional authority and is used by individuals on behalf of that office.

9.7. Filling Motifs and Official Status

Departing from Otto’s theory on high status and personal recognition in palace administration, one wonders how dignitaries whose official identity was represented by a single figure-with-mace seal were recognized on an individual level. The evidence at hand shows that the majority of high officials functioning within the administrative apparatus of northern Mesopotamian kingdoms in this period used seals bearing the official motif consisting of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess. It is safe to assume that in the absence of a seal legend, or a literate individual who can read the existing seal legend and identify the seal owner by name, secondary motifs acquire a crucial role in recognizing the person who secured the contents of a room or authorized a transaction.

As Collon reminds us “it has long been accepted that the so-called ‘filling motifs’ were not arbitrarily chosen to balance a design but certainly had a meaning” (Collon 1995: 69). Especially on figure-with-mace seals, where a large blank space remained after the figure with mace and the interceding goddess were placed in the field, accompanied by the inscription panel, the addition of filling motifs appear to “fill the remainder of the space and to differentiate and individualize the seals” (Collon 1986: 104). The apotropaic function of filling motifs was pointed out by Porada (1948: 40), and divine symbols were used to represent the deities whose help and protection were sought by the seal owner. The question here is whether a discernible pattern exists between the choice of filling motifs on an official seal, and the identity and status of the seal owner. This also leads to the question of how much control, if at all, the seal owners had over the details of the imagery on their seal.

Unfortunately, a large number of sealings studied here are in fragmentary condition, preventing us from studying their imagery in their entirety. Consequently, this discussion on the use of filling motifs focuses on those impressions that are close to complete. In addition, since a correlation between the high status of the seal owner and the elaborateness of the composition is sought, seals of individuals who are known to have held important positions in administration receive special attention. These include both high level dignitaries and royals (i.e. kings and royal women).

Of a total of one hundred-and-ten seal impressions bearing the official figure-with-mace motif, only fifty-four present almost-complete compositions. Of these, twenty-nine belong to otherwise documented high-status officials⁷² and royals. It is surprising to note that 38% (11/29) of the seals that belonged to this group of individuals featured the simplest version of the official

⁷² See Table 9.1.

motif, i.e. the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess. Among the owners of these simple official seals are Zimri-Lim (Cat. #188 and 189), king Yakun-ašar (Cat. #116) and his wife Ummī-waqrāt (Cat. #119); king Aqba-ḥammu (Cat. #159) and his wife Iltāni (Cat. #158), as well as Mutu-Dagan (Cat. #20 and #26) and Šuri-Adad (Cat. #107). While both of Mutu-Dagan's seals, which refer to him as servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad and servant of Šamaš respectively, display this simple imagery, only one of Šuri-Adad's two similarly inscribed seals belongs to this group. The composition on Cat. #108, which identifies him as servant of Adad among other deities, includes a large thunderbolt as well. Finally, two officials,⁷³ whose names are known but who are not well attested textually to determine their position as royal servants, also owned seals showing only the standard pair. On a small number of examples (Cat. #121, #150, #156, #222), the standard pair is accompanied by the crescent-disk motif placed between the heads of the figures.

The majority of the official seals covered here appear to have multiple fillers accompanying the standard pair, although they can still be considered simple compositions on the basis of the arrangement of the figures and the empty spaces left in the field. Crossed bulls, bull-men, and other mixed-beings flanking a standard with a crescent-and-disk on top (Cat. #11, #114, #202, #211) or the double lion-headed sceptre associated with Ištar (Cat. #37, #148, #153, #154) appear to be popular on the seals of officials at all sites and under all kings. A hero fighting a bull placed between the figure with mace and the interceding goddess (Cat. #19, #27, #155) is attested often in the north at Tell Bi'a, Tell Leilan, and Tell al-Rimah, but not at Mari. Official seals with the standard pair flanked by a subsidiary scene often divided into two

⁷³ Yal'i-Dagan, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #10) and Apil-kūbi, servant of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #192).

superposed registers by a guilloche (Cat. #39, #212, #213, #226) are small in number and appear mostly at Mari, confirming the origin of this arrangement in Syrian glyptic.

When we look at the group of official seals belonging to known high-status dignitaries and royals, simplicity appears to be a common aspect of the compositions. Especially on the seals of kings, and dignitaries, such as Adad-luti, governor of Šubat-Šamaš (Cat. #9), Ḫabdu-malik, minister/advisor (*šukkallum*) of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #221), or even Šu-nuḫra-ḫalu, personal secretary of Zimri-Lim (Cat. #190), the imagery is strikingly simple. On the other hand, several individuals who owned official seals but whose exact administrative position is unknown, are represented by elaborately decorated seals.⁷⁴ This suggests that filling motifs served the purpose of personalizing official seals to facilitate personal recognition of the owner within a glyptic tradition where standardization of the official motif as a symbol of administrative function was the primary objective. However, they do not appear to have functioned as markers of high office or status for dignitaries. That purpose must have been achieved, for the most part, by the quality of the carving and the delicate rendering of the figures as well as the use of fine stones, such as lapis lazuli and carnelian.

9.8. Production of Official Seals

How seals were commissioned, how the compositions were created, and how much control the seal cutter and the future seal owner had over the design are difficult to answer and practices may differ between periods.⁷⁵ In the case of official seals, especially in periods such as the Ur III and late Old Assyrian periods, where the main components of the official iconography are standardized, little remains to customize in terms of the imagery. Within the highly

⁷⁴ See for example Baḫli-erah, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #39), Šalim-belī, servant of Šamši-Adad (Cat. #115), unknown official (Cat. #148), Bini-šakim, servant of Ašqur-Adad (Cat. #155), unknown official (Cat. #212).

⁷⁵ See, for example, Alexander 1979 and Topcuoglu 2014 on seal cutters in Anatolia during the Old Assyrian period.

bureaucratic structure of the Ur III state, this high level of standardization can also be observed in terms of sealing practices. In addition to the standardized official imagery, the size of the tablet/envelope and the organization of the writing surface (i.e. where the writing and the seal impressions fit on the tablet/envelope) were also firmly established. It is possible that this practice may have affected seal production, in that the seal and its imagery had to be a certain size to fit into the space allotted to them on the tablet/envelope.⁷⁶

As illustrated here, on late Old Assyrian official seals the placement of the figure with mace and the interceding goddess as well as the inscription panel are consistent in almost all examples, suggesting strict regulation. The length of the inscription (ranging between 2-4 lines), the type of inscription (PN-patronym-title or RN-royal epithet-PN-title), and the use of filling motifs were the only aspects of seal design in which any latitude was allowed. As filling motifs are considered to have personal significance for the seal owner, be it as apotropaic or divine symbols, it is reasonable to assume that the seal owner could have had the liberty to choose which fillers were used on his seal. A good example can be the second seal of Yasīm-Sumū (Cat. #199), which was likely commissioned following his promotion to *šandabakkum*-official. The imagery on this seal is almost identical to Yasīm-Sumū 's first seal (Cat. #198), except for the placement of the nude female and the direction of the curved staff. Assuming that the particular compositional elements on his seal were of personal significance to Yasīm-Sumū , one could presume that he would have asked for the same symbols to be present on his new seal as well.

This brings us to the question of where and how official seals were produced. Based on considerable stylistic and iconographic differences observed on figure-with-mace seals, Otto rightly notes that these seals could not have been made in a central palace workshop and handed

⁷⁶ I would like to thank Prof. Steven Garfinkle for these invaluable insights on Ur III sealing practices.

out to officials (Otto 2000a: 173). This implies the presence of various workshops in cities which produced official seals. Likewise, in her study of Ur III official seals, Irene Winter asks whether “a stock supply of certain types of seals might not have been cut and kept in reserve,” as seal cutters knew the particular meaning of the imagery and who the seals were intended for, so details, such as the inscription, were “added as needed” (Winter 1991: 73). This is a particularly compelling argument that might apply to official seals of the late Old Assyrian period as well. It is not unreasonable to assume that seal cutting workshops, especially in the main centers of Šamši-Adad’s Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia or Zimri-Lim’s kingdom of Mari, would have had a steady supply of seals, on which the figure with mace and the interceding goddess were carved in their typical positions with enough room left for an inscription panel and fillers to be added in order to customize the seal for a particular owner. A number of Old Babylonian cylinder seals in museum collections,⁷⁷ featuring figure-with-mace-scenes, illustrate this point, since they often display a complete motif with main figures and fillers accompanied by a large empty space set aside for the seal legend. If this was indeed the case for late Old Assyrian official seals as well, then personalized elements or the lack thereof on such seals would have been the result of personal preference on the part of the seal owner.



Fig. 9.9: Uninscribed Old Babylonian cylinder seal with a figure-with-mace scene (Courtesy of the British Museum)

⁷⁷ A number of examples can be found in the online catalogs of the British Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art etc.

9.9. The Significance of the Figure-with-Mace Motif

Although the identity of the figure with mace, which occupies the primary position in the imagery of official seals of northern Mesopotamian dignitaries, is still debated, the main function of the motif as a symbol of officialdom as well as association with the king and the royal household is clear. Through a study of iconography and sealing practice, this chapter described the function and use of figure-with-mace seals within the larger context of official seals, without attempting to pinpoint who or what this figure represents. Instead, emphasis was placed on the function and significance of the motif for the seal user.

It is possible that the widespread use and long-lasting popularity of the figure-with-mace motif in a wide area covering southern and northern Mesopotamia may suggest a distinct connection between the administrative elites of this region and what the motif signified for them. Unless the origin of this motif and the identity of the figure itself can be determined with certainty, it is unlikely that we will be able to determine how and why it first appeared in Babylonia. As seals and seal impressions dating to the early second millennium B.C. indicate, the motif was first attested on three seals dating to the reign of Ipiq-Adad of Ešnunna and Bur-Sin of Isin. Collon suggests that it may have originated even earlier, but she also acknowledges that the evidence is lacking. It is clear, however, that the motif continued to be used until the reign of Samsu-iluna of Babylon (Collon 1986: 100). How do we explain this popularity that spanned over two centuries? How did this single motif made its way into the administration and became almost a coat-of-arms not only for major polities, such as Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and Zimri-Lim's kingdom of Mari, but also for the small kingdoms of Šeḫna or Karana that gained their independence after Šamši-Adad's control over these areas faded?

The earliest known attestations of the figure-with-mace motif in the glyptic of the north suggest that it may have been imported from Babylonia, where it was already at home, either as a result of Šamši-Adad's forced exile or of his conquest of the Middle Euphrates and Mari. It is reasonable to assume that Šamši-Adad used this symbol strategically in an effort to cement his control over his territories by standardizing administrative practices and employing it as a tool to disseminate his ideology of kingship. As a result, seals bearing the standardized motif of the figure with mace, which belonged to Šamši-Adad's dignitaries, are encountered in large numbers in the palaces and temples of the major centers of his kingdom, such as Tell Leilan, Tell Bi'a, and Tell al-Rimah.

Despite the long-standing hostilities between Šamši-Adad and the dynasty of Yaḥdun-Lim at Mari, it should come as no surprise that Zimri-Lim himself, his officials, and even his wives held seals with the figure-with-mace motif, as it is only natural for Zimri-Lim to strive to revive all aspects of his father's dynasty after returning from a forced exile brought about by Šamši-Adad himself. What is striking, however, is that by maintaining this tradition Zimri-Lim ended up sharing a very important aspect of his kingdom, that of its official identity, with the man who defeated his father and ruled the lands that he was one day destined to inherit.

It is also significant that the rulers of the small kingdoms that gained independence after the collapse of Šamši-Adad's kingdom also adopted this motif as emblems of their authority. Why did they not choose to cast off all aspects of a kingdom that took both their lands and their independence and made them mere vassals? Why was the figure-with-mace motif so central to the administrative practices of northern Mesopotamia that it was maintained for half a century by the now-independent rulers of the area who no longer served under the Great King?

Otto explains the continued use of the motif following the disintegration of Šamši-Adad's kingdom either as a result of the motif having lost its importance or the increasing "loss of reality" (*Realitätsverlust*) of the rulers in the course of the Old Babylonian period (Otto 1992a: 169). Two additional interpretations can be offered here in trying to understand the significance and overarching appeal of this motif. The motif may have become deeply embedded in the political culture of northern Mesopotamia to the point that it no longer symbolized Šamši-Adad and his vast kingdom, but became a "visual trope" associated with official identity. Lassen presents a similar explanation for the identity and meaning of the individual figures on the royal seals of the Old Assyrian dynasty of Puzur-Aššur, suggesting that, after its transition from Ur III glyptic on to the Old Assyrian royal seals, the presentation scene was no longer "meant to be read in exact detail." The individual elements of the composition lost their specific meaning and the motif as a whole came to symbolize "ideals of kingship" as understood by the rulers of the Puzur-Aššur dynasty (Lassen 2012: 218). Alternatively, we could also suggest that the rulers of the now-independent kingdoms in the north had a deep connection to the whole motif or to its main figure, the standing male holding a mace, because of its relevance to Amorite identity represented by the dynasties in both southern and northern Mesopotamia. Eppihimer interprets Šamši-Adad's adoption of the motif as a reflection of his "membership among the elite Amorite rulers," attributing the motif a particular relevance for Amorite identity (Eppihimer 2009: 235). This interpretation would also explain the almost complete absence of the figure-with-mace motif in the contemporary glyptic of Anatolia, where, in addition to the concept of the cylinder seal itself, the majority of compositional elements are adopted from Mesopotamia. Although this theory has been favored by many, the political history of Šubat-Enlil/Šeḫna in the period following Šamši-Adad's rule over the area makes it problematic. The analysis of glyptic material

recovered at Tell Leilan shows that the figure-with-mace motif continued to be used on the seals of both royals and their dignitaries during the reigns of its independent kings Mutu-abih, Till-abnu, and Yakun-ašar. Eidem informs us, however, that no information is available regarding the origin of these kings, as they are not known from other sources. He suggests that the family of Mutu-abih could have been related to the dynasty that ruled Šubat-Enlil/Šeḥna prior to Šamši-Adad's conquest of the city. However, it is impossible to prove whether or not this dynasty belonged to an Amorite ethnic group, as nothing is known about this phase of Šubat-Enlil/Šeḥna's political history (Eidem 2011: 9). This could very well mean that the figure-with-mace motif was no longer strictly associated with Amorite identity, but simply represented a royal ideology.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to understand how the identity of an ancient Near Eastern polity was constructed, legitimized, and advertised in the visual realm. Another major goal was to reveal the extent to which socio-political changes were reflected in the visual culture of the region. The historical period covering the reign of Šamši-Adad and the small independent kingdoms following the fall of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia proved to be an excellent case study to answer these questions. In the absence of monumental propaganda in the form of palace reliefs or statuary, which have often been at the center of similar studies for the Akkadian, Neo-Assyrian, and Achaemenid periods among others, this dissertation focused on the iconography of cylinder seals belonging to royals and members of the state's bureaucratic apparatus. Following the argument that in largely illiterate societies, as was the case in the ancient Near East, images reached wider audiences and functioned as primary media for disseminating information, the imagery on the seals owned and/or used by the members of royal administration (i.e. the kings, queens, and state officials) was analyzed to uncover possible connections between political ideology and visual culture.

Although short-lived, Šamši-Adad's Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia was one of the earliest territorial states in the region, which was unified through a successful strategy of blending together pre-existing political traditions and practices with visual symbols of strong kingship. Textual evidence shows that Šamši-Adad built his own political ideology of kingship upon the Akkadian model of expansion and control, combined with the traditions of efficient bureaucracy established by the Ur III state. Although a case cannot yet be made for cultural unification throughout the kingdom due to a lack of evidence from non-official contexts, a unified administrative culture appears to have been firmly established. The visual manifestation

of this culture is the standardized iconography and inscriptions of the seals held by royal servants, the ownership of which embodied a close affiliation with the king and state. Similar strategies to build a new group identity and to create a loyal circle of royal servants with the help of seals and seal imagery are well known, especially in the third millennium B.C. The banquet scene in the Early Dynastic period, the animal contest in the Akkadian period, and the presentation scene in the Ur III period on the seals of high officials not only communicated the legitimacy, high status, and place of the seal owner in society, but also conveyed a political message regarding the power and authority of the state (Zettler 1977; Winter 1991; Zajdowski 2014).

The territories gathered under Šamši-Adad's rule were heterogeneous in terms of their cultural and ethnic makeup as well as political structure. Due to their location along major routes of communication and trade, they were also open to social and cultural influences, which are visible in the material culture of these areas. An effective administrative system capable of dealing with the vast territories of the state was previously put in place during the Akkadian and Ur III periods, as expanding territories necessitated a growth in the scale of administration. Within this context, visual symbols representing the king and the state not only facilitated administration, but also served to secure the loyalty of the urban elites employed in this administration by providing them with a group identity and status symbols. The use of a standardized seal motif, i.e. the figure with mace facing the interceding goddess, with symbolic connection to the king and state, throughout the higher ranks of Šamši-Adad's administration can be seen as a relatively successful strategy in this direction. As Irene Winter argues, the power, authority, and status "evoked by the seal imagery had to exist in the minds of both the seal owners associated with the institution of state and the viewer for whom the seal was the mark of

official authority, in order for the seal to do its job.” (Winter 2000: 83). Both the use of the figure-with-mace motif and the popular practice of partial seal rolling, where only those compositional elements considered to be significant in terms of conveying the identity and authority of the seal owner were rolled on clay, prove that this type of “administrative literacy”¹ was in place throughout the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. The figure with mace as the focus of seal imagery along with the title “servant of RN” appears to have functioned successfully in communicating the identity of the seal owner as a high-ranking member of royal administration and the holder of the status and authority granted by this position.

The broad appeal of the figure-with-mace motif on the seals of kings, queens, and royal servants even half a century after the fall of the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia bespeaks the success of Šamši-Adad’s strategic program of representation of ideology and power. Whether it was the message of being closely associated with the king and state or the ethnic/cultural implications of this visual trope for the royal and administrative elites of the independent kingdoms of Šeḫna, Karana, and Mari, its survival is a powerful indication of continuity and cultural memory in Mesopotamia.

This brings us to the question of why the figure with mace was selected as a symbol and why it was preserved even after Šamši-Adad’s death. Although the original meaning of the motif and the identity of the figure with mace have yet to be established, one can argue that the choice of this motif was deliberate. In other words, Šamši-Adad did not simply decide to adopt the motif due to an aesthetic preference, but because of the multiple levels of meaning that it carried. The posture and garments of the figure with mace bring to mind the powerful and victorious image of the Akkadian king Narām-Sin as depicted on his victory stele and acts as a visual complement to

¹ I would like to thank Prof. Steven Garfinkle for suggesting this term.

Šamši-Adad's ideology of kingship created upon the legacy of Akkadian kings evoked in his royal title "*šar kiššati*." The choice of motif may have also been a reference to the traditions of the powerful First Dynasty of Babylon, where the figure with mace appeared on the seals of officials and private individuals alike.

The motif, which portrays the king as a strong leader supported by the goddess in whose presence he stands, was introduced into southern Mesopotamia and actively promoted as a symbol of legitimacy and power by the Old Babylonian kings. Sumu-abum, who ascended the throne of Babylon by way of military conquest, had to create and maintain the right to rule as a legitimate king, much as Šamši-Adad did a century after him, by utilizing material culture to disseminate symbolic messages of authority. His strategy to achieve legitimization focused primarily on adopting the social practices and material culture of the lands under his control to insert himself into the line of great kings, including the symbols of the figure with mace, which addressed the higher ranks of society. In her analysis of the relationship between political and religious developments, and patterns of change in the use of iconography in the Old Babylonian period, Nijhowne argues that the symbolism of the figure with mace functioned on two levels. On the one hand, ownership of cylinder seals bearing this motif validated the seal owner's place within the existing social order and the internal hierarchy of the elite. On the other hand, it fostered the image of the king as the legitimate and strong leader, whose rule was supported by the gods. Moreover, the control exerted by the palace over the iconography of Old Babylonian seals in the form of a limited repertoire of motifs, rules governing their combination, and the standardization of iconographic symbols, also reflected the king's efforts to strengthen his position vis-à-vis the elites (Nijhowne 1999: 71-73).

Šamši-Adad's close relationship and continued alliance with this dynasty is evident in his taking refuge at the court of Ḫammurabi during his short exile, and is often explained by a shared Amorite ethnic identity (Eppihimer 2009: 235; Otto 2000a). Even when one refrains from an explanation based on ethnicity, the influence of Babylonian political and cultural traditions on Šamši-Adad's ideology is undeniable. As explained in Chapter 3, these influences are visible not only in the form and content of Šamši-Adad's royal inscriptions (Grayson 1987: 47), but also in the building techniques and architectural decorations of monumental buildings, as illustrated by the Babylonian plan of the reconstructed Aššur temple at Assur (Oates 1982: 93) and the elaborate spiral and palm-tree columns adorning the façade of his Acropolis Northeast Temple at Tell Leilan and the temple at Tell al-Rimah. Finally, two of the seals² that are known to have belonged to Šamši-Adad (Cat. #273 and #274) are cut in the Old Babylonian style.

Going back to official iconography, standardized figures or motifs showing the king in his various attributes and in the presence of various deities were popular on the seals of royals and officials in other Syrian kingdoms, such as Carchemish, Yamḥad, and Qatna, during the 19th and 18th centuries B.C. (Otto 2000a). However, the imagery on these seals suggests that the particular motif of the figure with mace did not have the same appeal in these neighboring regions as it did in the territories covered by the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia. The extremely small number of attestations of this motif on contemporaneous seals and seal impressions excavated in Anatolia also points in the same direction. When we combine this exclusive usage of the motif on the seals of Šamši-Adad's servants with the preservation of the same visual trope on the seals of kings, queens, and administrative officials of the independent kingdoms of Šeḫna, Karana, and Mari, which filled the political void left by the fall of Šamši-Adad's kingdom, it is

² There are four different seals that identify Šamši-Adad as the seal owner in their legends: Cat. #273, #274, #275, and #276, but only the imagery on two of them is preserved.

not difficult to see that the motif was not only familiar and recognizable, and hence easily adopted in northern Mesopotamia, but it also held a particular significance for these communities, be it from an ethnic or cultural perspective.

Despite the similar trajectories that the early kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon and Šamši-Adad followed in formulating and promoting a new identity through the use of material culture, their stories diverge significantly toward the end. In the south, the figure-with-mace motif lost its popularity early in the reign of Samsu-iluna. Nijhowne explains this sudden change with the king's decline in power and prestige in the years following the break up of the Old Babylonian empire and the collapse of central government. Consequently, the material symbols reflecting the social realities of southern Mesopotamia underwent considerable changes. The figure with mace disappeared from the iconographic repertoire of the region and a greater iconographic diversity was introduced, which ultimately culminated in the vibrant glyptic traditions of the Kassite period (Nijhowne 1999: 74-75). This change in the symbolic expression of the legitimacy and authority of the king following the breakdown of political power does not appear to have happened in the north after Šamši-Adad's death and the dissolution of his kingdom. Despite the emergence of small independent kingdoms in the territories formerly controlled by the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, the figure-with-mace motif and the standardized iconographic compositions that accompanied it continued to be employed on the seals of kings, queens, and royal servants. This suggests that the communities in this region did not experience a cultural decline, at least in the upper levels of society, and the symbolic association of the figure-with-mace with power and authority remained unchanged.

Due to their location along major routes of communication and trade, the territories controlled by the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia were open to cultural influences. As a result,

both local and foreign traditions are visible in the glyptic of these areas. Nonetheless, the compositional elements of local Syrian glyptic rarely make an appearance on official seals with the figure-with-mace motif and when they do they are limited to filling motifs. Seals with predominantly Syrian elements, referred to by Parayre as “pure Syrian” seals, increase in frequency at Tell Leilan’s Lower Town during the reigns of the last three independent kings of the city, Mutu-abih, Till-Abnu, and Yakun-ašar, but they are never attested on tablets or envelopes and are all uninscribed, which suggests that they did not belong to officials of the court (Parayre 1990: 565-566, 1993: 520-522). Consequently, it appears that the official seal iconography and its symbolism, which were firmly in place at Tell Leilan as well as the other main centers of Šamši-Adad’s kingdom, were not affected by the increasing popularity of local motifs and designs.

This analysis of glyptic imagery shows that continuity and memory were essential aspects of Šamši-Adad’s reign. His adoption of the existing political and cultural traditions of the land, such as visual symbols and royal titles, are part of a strategy based on cultural memory that operated through images as well as text. Similar strategies of inclusion and cultural adoption are known throughout the history of the ancient Near East from the Hittite Empire, where all deities of the conquered territories were absorbed into the Hittite pantheon, to Cyrus the Great of Persia who presented himself as a Babylonian king, writing in Babylonian cuneiform and celebrating Babylonian festivals, and consequently integrating himself into a glorious past. Cyrus’s use of tradition to legitimate a new order can be compared directly to Šamši-Adad’s actions, although the Persian Empire and the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia differed dramatically in size and the scale of their administrative apparatus. Through an ideology of power and propaganda, appealing to the existing political and cultural infrastructures of the conquered territories, Cyrus crafted a

positive image of himself as the successor of Babylonian kings. He emphasized continuity by taking care of local temples and maintaining the structure of the cities he conquered, much as Šamši-Adad had done in northern Mesopotamia (Kuhrt 2007). The political and cultural integration of the conquered lands allowed both rulers to create a new group identity, especially in the higher administrative ranks of society. This mixing of traditions is what makes it hard to define the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia and its culture as a single, monolithic entity with a precise designation. As explained at the beginning of this work, neither “Assyrian” nor “northern Mesopotamian” appear suitable, leading us to adopt a generic historical designation, i.e. “late Old Assyrian,” that covers the reigns of Šamši-Adad and the independent kings following him. Nonetheless, it is clear that Šamši-Adad succeeded in creating an administrative culture, both textually and visually, which was ingrained in the political landscape of northern Mesopotamia. His strategy focusing on the construction of a unified political community out of a rapidly expanding multilingual and multiethnic population made him “a pivotal figure in the formulation of the key metaphors of Assyrian royal ideology” in the centuries to come (Pongratz-Leisten 2015: 42). Parts of his titlature continued to be used by Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian kings as part of royal self-representation, several kings adopted his name and others referred to his reign in their *Distanzangaben*, including him in the lineage of rightful rulers who restored the temples. Most importantly, his vision to unite Upper Mesopotamia under a single administration through a unified political and cultural strategy became the foundation of Assyrian expansionist policies.

This dissertation has shown that, when analyzed together, historical records and iconography can function as invaluable sources of information regarding the socio-political dynamics of change in the ancient Near East. It has also shown that a study of seals, seal

imagery, and sealing practices in official contexts helps us interpret not only the political and administrative structure of a territorial state, but also the ideological dynamics that govern the creation and promotion of new identities. Finally, it is important to note that, despite its short-lived existence, the Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, and the political and cultural strategies introduced by Šamši-Adad proved successful enough to build the foundations of Assyrian culture. It is my hope that more material from non-official contexts within the territories of Šamši-Adad's kingdom becomes available in the future to allow scholars to determine the extent of this king's strategies of unification and to understand whether or not a cultural unification was also in place during his reign.

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APPENDIX I

YEAR	REL	LIMMU	TELL BI'A	TELL LEILAN	RIMAH	MARI	BABYLON
1800	173	Abī-šagiš		Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1799	174	Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur		Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1798	175	Iddin-Aššur		Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1797	176	Namiya		Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1796	177	Ahu-šarrī	↑?	Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1795	178	Dadaya	Balu-kullim	Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1794	179	Ennam-Aššur	↓?	Šamši-Adad		Yahdun-Lim	Sin-muballit
1793	180	Atānum		Šamši-Adad		Sumu-Yamam	Sin-muballit
1792	181	Aššur-taklāku		Šamši-Adad		Sumu-Yamam	Hammu-rabi 0/1
1791	182	Haya-malik		Šamši-Adad		Šamši-Adad	Hammu-rabi 1/2
1790	183	Šalim-Aššur		Šamši-Adad		Šamši-Adad	Hammu-rabi
1789	184	Suen-muballit		Šamši-Adad		Šamši-Adad	Hammu-rabi
1788	185	Rēš-Šamaš		Šamši-Adad		Šamši-Adad	Hammu-rabi
1787	186	Ibni-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad		Šamši-Adad	Hammu-rabi
1786	187	Aššur-imittī	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	↑?	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1785	188	Ilī-ellitī	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	↑?	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1784	189	Rigmānum	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	↑?	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1783	190	Ikūn-pīya	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	↑?	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1782	191	Asqūdum	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1781	192	Aššur-malik	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1780	193	Ahiyaya (s. Lā-qēpum)	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1779	194	Awīliya	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1778	195	Nimar-Suen	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1777	196	Adad-bāni	Yasmah Adad	Šamši-Adad	Šamu-Adad	Yasmah Adad	Hammu-rabi
1776	197	Ṭāb-šilli-Aššur	Yasmah Adad/Hardum	Šamši-Adad †	Šamu-Adad/Hatnu-rapi	Yasmah-Adad	Hammu-rabi 17/18
1775	198	Ennam-Aššur	Hardum	Samiya?	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim 0/1	Hammu-rabi
1774	199	Aššur-emūqī	Hardum	Samiya/Turum-natki?	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim 1/2	Hammu-rabi
1773	200	Abu-šalim		Turum-natki/Zuzu	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi

Table I.1: Chronological Table of Mesopotamian Rulers and Limmus

1772	201	Puṣṣānum		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1771	202	Ikūn-pī-lštar		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim 5	Hammu-rabi
1770	203	Ahiyaya (s. Takiki)		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1769	204	Bēliya		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1768	205	Ilī-bāni		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1767	206	Aššur-taklāku		Haya-abum	Hatnu-rapi	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1766	207	Sassāpum		Haya-abum/Atamrum	Hatnu-rapi/Aškur-Adad?	Zimri-Lim 10	Hammu-rabi
1765	208	Ahu-waqar		Atamrum	Hatnu-rapi/Aškur-Adad?	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1764	209	Kizurum		Atamrum	Aškur-Adad	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1763	210	Dādiya		Atamrum	Aškur-Adad	Zimri-Lim	Hammu-rabi
1762	211	l-a-am?-a-ha-a?		Atamrum	Aškur-Adad	Zimri-Lim 13	Hammu-rabi 31/32
1761	212	Adad-bāni		Himdiya	Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1760	213	Ennam-Aššur		↓?	Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1759	214	Attaya			Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1758	215	Ayā			Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1757	216	Azubiya			Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1756	217	Kurkudānum			Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1755	218	Ṣabrum			Aqba-hammu		Hammu-rabi
1754	219	Hadiu / Ha-dí-e-em			↓?		Hammu-rabi
1753	220	Dādiya		↑?			Hammu-rabi
1752	221	Ayā		Mutiya (Mutu-Abih)			Hammu-rabi
1751	222	Zizaya		Mutiya (Mutu-Abih)			Hammu-rabi
1750	223	Adad-bāni		Mutiya (Mutu-Abih)			Hammu-rabi 43
1749	224	Habil-kēnum		Mutiya (Mutu-Abih)			Samsu-iluna 1/2
1748	225	Amur-lštar		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna
1747	226	Ipiq-lštar		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[Ahiyaya (s. Adunaya)]		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[dAššur-kašid]		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[dAššur-nīšu]		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna

Table I.1, continued

1746-1738	227-235	*[Enna-Suen]		Till-Abnû			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[Išme-ilum]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	[Šu-bēlī]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[Tutaya]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna 10/11
1746-1738	227-235	*[Warad-Sîn]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1746-1738	227-235	*[Zaya]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1737	236	Puzur-D[N]		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1736	237	Šūmi-Ilabrat		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1735	238	Qīštī-ilī		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1734	239	Pilah-Suen		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1733	240	Nimar-kūbī		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1732	241	Aššur-taklāku		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1731	242	Buzua		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1730	243	Ušur-ša-Aššur		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1729	244	Ahiyaya		Yakūn-Ašar			Samsu-iluna
1728	245	Puhānum					Samsu-iluna 22
1727	246	Hahiya					Samsu-iluna

Table I.1, continued

APPENDIX II
CATALOG

Cat. # 1

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: 19th century B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 2

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms Q and L

Date: Ur III/Isin-Larsa

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing, Container sealing



Cat. # 3

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: Ur III/Isin-Larsa

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 4

Tall Bi'a

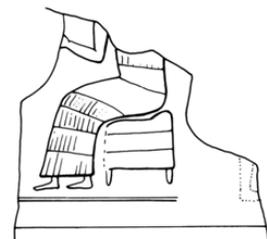
Palace A, Room L

Date: Ur III/Isin-Larsa

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 5

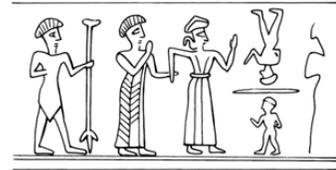
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: Ur III/Isin-Larsa/OB

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Door sealing, Container sealing

Cat. # 6

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Ḫazip-Aranziḫ, servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Container sealing

Cat. # 7

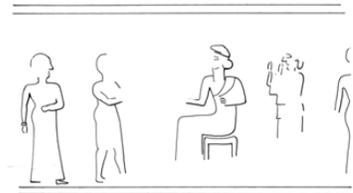
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room F

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A



Type: Container sealing

Cat. # 8

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outer area MM

Date: before ca.1787 B.C.?

Reign: Ba'lu-kullim?

Owner: Ḫamunabiḫ



Type: Tablet / Envelope

Cat. # 9

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Adad-luti, son of Ḫaziya, servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tag

Cat. # 10

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, doorway between Rooms A and C

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Yali-Dagan?, son of Anai[], servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tablet / Envelope

Cat. # 11

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, doorway between Rooms A and C

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamaš-magir, scribe, son of Balaṭanum, servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tablet / Envelope

Cat. # 12

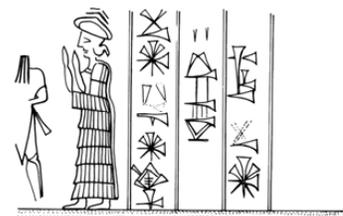
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: X-IB/UR-X, son of KA?[], servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Door sealing

Cat. # 13

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Nar-šarri, son of Ya-AK-[], servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 14

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms M and La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Iluna-kirišu, son of Yaḫ-[gi-Ištar?], servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tag



Cat. # 15

Tall Bi'a

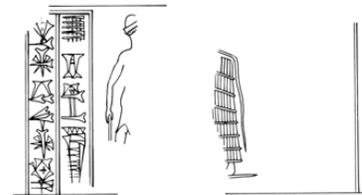
Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Ušur-pi-šarri, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 16

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms Q, M, L, L/La, LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šikib-wari, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope, Bag sealing, Container sealing, Door sealing



Cat. # 17

Tall Bi'a

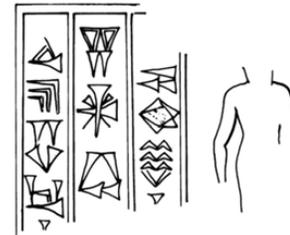
Palace A, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Yadin-x, son of Šamaš-[], servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 18

Tall Bi'a

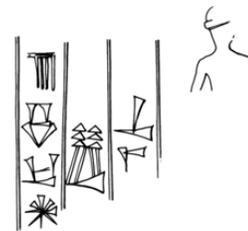
Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: [X]-al-x, [son of x]-tu-[], servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tag



Cat. # 19

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: Yašilu, son of Yawi-Adad, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 20

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, between Rooms A and C; between Court B and Room M; Room M

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: Mutu-Dagan, son of Iddin-d[], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Door sealing, Container sealing



Cat. # 21

Tall Bi'a

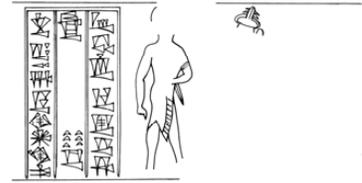
Palace A, between Rooms A and C, Room L/La

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: Šutlumassu(m)-ḫaṭṭum, scribe, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope, Bag sealing



Cat. # 22

Tall Bi'a

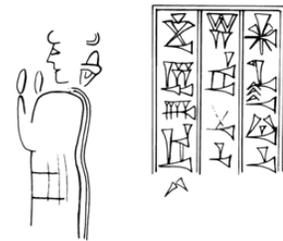
Palace A, between Rooms A and C, Room M

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: Sin-riṣu-šu, son of Ma-ta?-al/nu?-[um?], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 23

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room N

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: [], son of x-nu?, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 24

Tall Bi'a

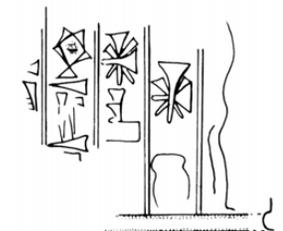
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad?

Owner: [X]-Adad, []-dEN.[ZU?], [] xx [], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: N/A



Cat. # 25

Tall Bi'a

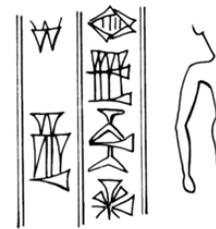
Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Qišti-x, son of AD-[], servant of X

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 26

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Mutu-Dagan, son of Iddin-d[], servant of Šamaš

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 27

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room N

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Sin-iddinam (?), servant of Nergal

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 28

Tall Bi'a

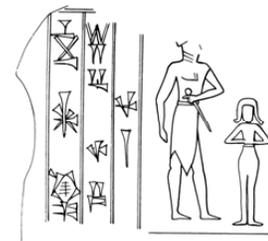
Palace A, Area Be

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: [Šamaš?]-nuri, son of Banum, servant of Adad

Type: Peg sealing for a chest?,
Container sealing



Cat. # 29

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M, doorway btw Room M and
Courtyard B, Room L/La

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: dUTU-KI?.DAM.x, servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Door sealing, Bag sealing



Cat. # 30

Tall Bi'a

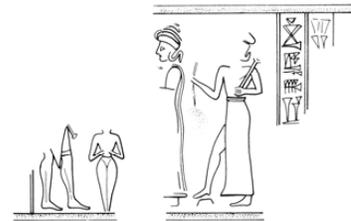
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: X, son of [], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 31

Tall Bi'a

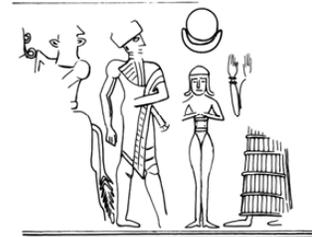
Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 32

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 33

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 34

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Area La

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 35

Tall Bi'a

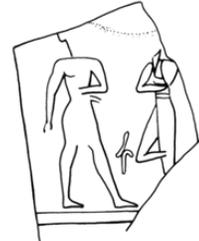
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 36

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Courtyard B

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 37

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Courtyard B

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 38

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms M, L, L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 39

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms R and M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: (Ba-aḫ-li?)-eraḫ, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tag



Cat. # 40

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outer area MM

Date: before ca.1787 B.C.?

Reign: Ba'lu-kullim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 41

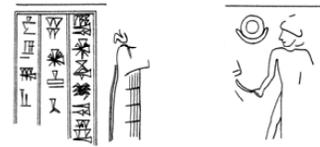
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: ca. 1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḥ-Adad

Owner: Yantin-araḥ, son of dX.X.[], servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad



Type: Tablet / Envelope

Cat. # 42

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Rooms Q, M, L, L/La, Area La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Container sealing, Door sealing, Tag

Cat. # 43

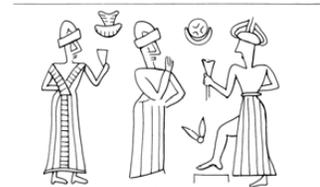
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Bag sealing, Door sealing

Cat. # 44

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Area La, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: dŠamaš dAya



Type: Door sealing, Bag sealing

Cat. # 45

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outdoor area LL, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 46

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 47

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, doorway between Room M and Courtyard B

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: dŠamaš dAya

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 48

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 49

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 50

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 51

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 52

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 53

Tall Bi'a

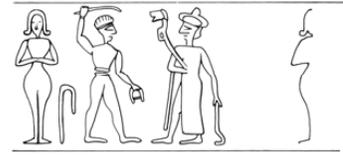
Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 54

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outer area LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 55

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 56

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outer area LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 57

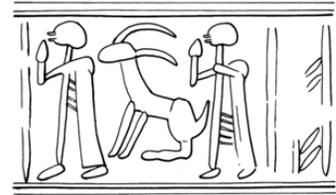
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Container sealing

Cat. # 58

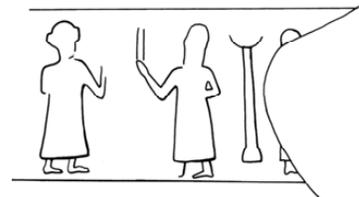
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room D, under the threshold of door to Room C

Date: ca. 1787 B.C.?

Reign: Ba'lu-kullim?/Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A



Type: Door sealing

Cat. # 59

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M, outer area LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A



Type: Door sealing, Container sealing

Cat. # 60

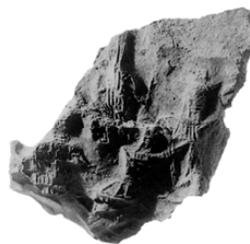
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Bag sealing

Cat. # 61

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 62

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Outer area LL

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 63

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room F

Date: 20th/19th century B.C. ?

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 64

Tall Bi'a

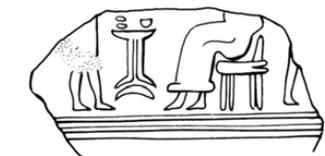
Palace A, Outer area MM

Date: before ca.1787 B.C.

Reign: Ba'lu-kullim

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 65

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: 20th/19th century B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 66

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room F

Date: Ur III/Isin-Larsa

Reign: N/A

Owner: Annebabdu, servant of Nergal

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 67

Tall Bi'a

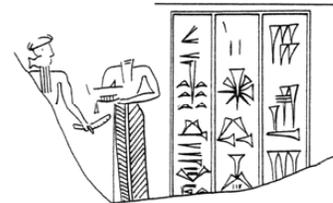
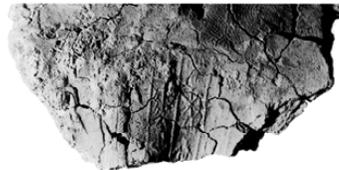
Palace A, Room Q

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.?

Reign: Zimri-Lim?

Owner: Ila-x, son of Šamaš-našir, servant of Zimri-Lim?

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 68

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Courtyard B

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 69

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing, Bag sealing, Tag



Cat. # 70

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 71

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 72

Tall Bi'a

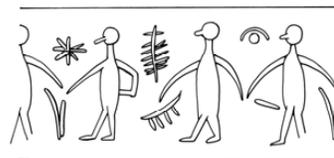
Palace A, Rooms Q and M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 73

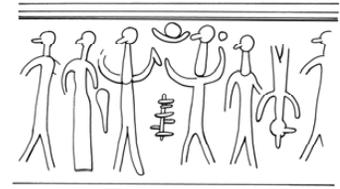
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Door sealing, Container sealing

Cat. # 74

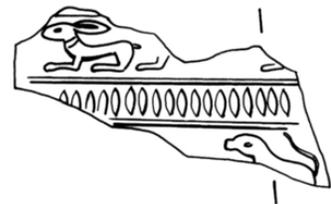
Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A



Type: N/A

Cat. # 75

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: 20th/19th century B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: N/A

Cat. # 76

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad/Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: A-x, son of x-[]



Type: N/A

Cat. # 77

Tall Bi'a

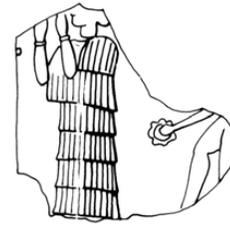
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 78

Tall Bi'a

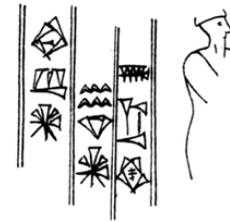
Palace A, doorway btw Rooms A and C

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Anaku-ilumma, servant of Yasmaḡ-Adad, governor of dDagan

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 79

Tall Bi'a

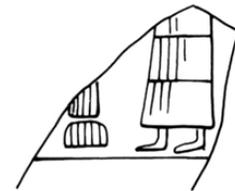
Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 80

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 81

Tall Bi'a

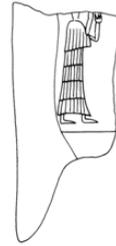
Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 82

Tall Bi'a

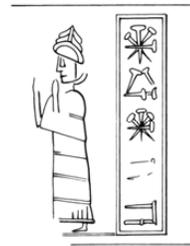
Palace A, Courtyard B; outdoor areas MM, N;
Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: dŠamaš dAya

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 83

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 84

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 85

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 86

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 87

Tall Bi'a

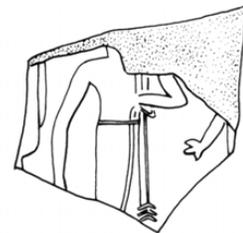
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 88

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Courtyard B

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: x, dNanna and dNingal, [x] dEnki, [x] Damgalnunna

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 89

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 90

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room U

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 91

Tall Bi'a

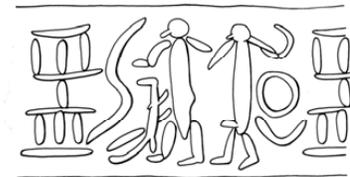
Palace A, doorway between Rooms H and E

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 92

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q (large pit)

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing, Bag sealing



Cat. # 93

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q, large pit

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing, Door sealing



Cat. # 94

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 95

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 96

Tall Bi'a

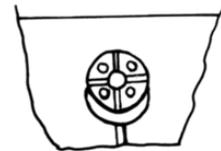
Palace A, Room L/La

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 97

Tall Bi'a

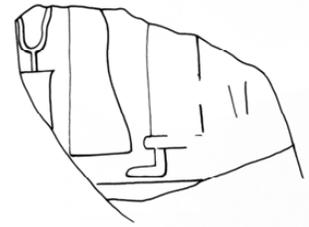
Palace A, Room F

Date: before ca. 1787 B.C.

Reign: before Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 98

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before ca. 1787 B.C.

Reign: before Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 99

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room D

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 100

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Mutu-x, son of Esi-x, servant of dNergal

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 101

Tall Bi'a

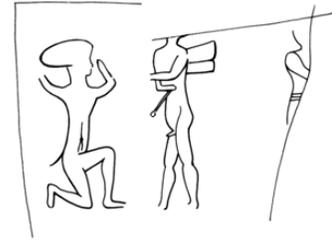
Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 102

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room M

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: [Išhi?]-Adad, strong king []

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 103

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room Q

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 104

Tall Bi'a

Palace A, Room L

Date: before ca. 1800 B.C.

Reign: early years of Šamši-Adad or earlier

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 105

Tell Leilan

Acropolis, 55E13

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Puzur-Ištar



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 106

Tell Leilan

Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 15, Phase 3

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: x, servant of Šamši-Adad?



Type: N/A

Cat. # 107

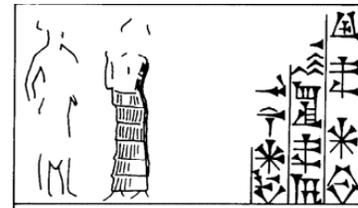
Tell Leilan

Acropolis Northeast Temple, Room 13

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šuri-Adad, son of Zidriya



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 108

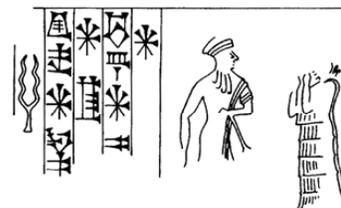
Tell Leilan

Acropolis Northeast Temple, Rooms 12 and 13,
wall between Rooms 8 and 12

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: Šuri-Adad



Type: N/A

Cat. # 109

Tell Leilan

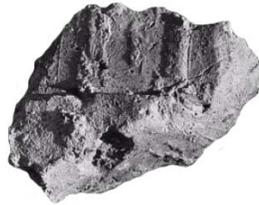
Acropolis Northeast Temple, Room 8

Date: 1772-1766 B.C.

Reign: Ḫaya-Abum

Owner: Beli-emuqi, servant of Ḫaya-abum, servant of dAdad

Type: N/A



Cat. # 110

Tell Leilan

Lower Town Palace

Date: limmu Puṣṣānum=1772 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad and after

Owner: Ḫala-aštuk (?), servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 111

Tell Leilan

Acropolis 55D13

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Ipiq-Anunitum

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 112

Tell Leilan

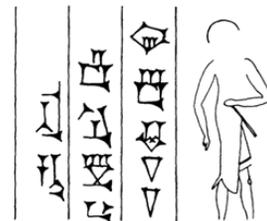
Acropolis 55E13

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: Naram-ilišu

Type: N/A



Cat. # 113

Tell Leilan

Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 12, 17, 18, 20, 22

Date: ca. 1752-1749 B.C.

Reign: Mutiya

Owner: Ḫar-ramanišu, servant of Mutiya



Type: Door sealing

Cat. # 114

Tell Leilan

Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 5

Date: 1748-1746/1738 B.C.

Reign: Till-Abnū

Owner: Bayanu



Type: N/A

Cat. # 115

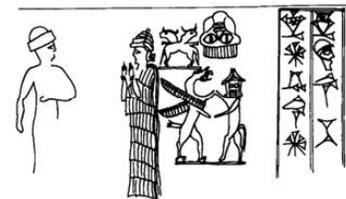
Tell Leilan

Acropolis, 55E13

Date: limmu Puṣṣānum=1772 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šalim-bēli, servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 116

Tell Leilan

Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 23, Phase 2

Date: ca. 1746/1738-1728 B.C.

Reign: Yakun-ašar

Owner: Yakun-ašar, son of Dari-epuḫ, king of the land of Apum



Type: Tablet/Envelope, Door sealing

Cat. # 117

Tell Leilan
Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 7

Date: ca. 1746/1738-1728 B.C.
Reign: Yakun-ašar
Owner: N/A

Type: N/A

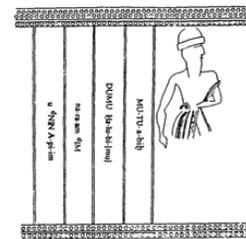


Cat. # 118

Tell Leilan
Lower Town Palace, Room 22

Date: ?-1749 B.C.
Reign: Mutiya
Owner: Mutu-abīḫ, son of Ḫalubimu, beloved of Adad and Bēlet-Apim

Type: Tablet/Envelope

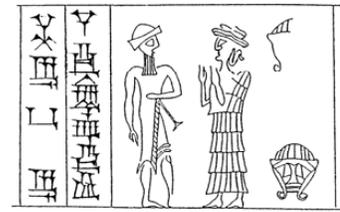


Cat. # 119

Tell Leilan
Lower Town Palace, Room 2

Date: 1746/1738-1728 B.C.
Reign: Yakun-ašar
Owner: Ummi-waqrat, female servant of Yakun-ašar

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 120

Tell Leilan
Lower Town Palace, Room 5

Date: before 1728 B.C.
Reign: N/A
Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 121

Tell Leilan

Lower Town, Rooms 2, 22, 23

Date: 1746/1738-1728 B.C.

Reign: Yakun-ašar

Owner: Sin-iddin, baker

Type: Door sealing, Container sealing



Cat. # 122

Tell Leilan

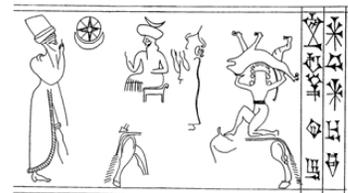
Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 18, 22

Date: 1764-? B.C.

Reign: Ḫimdiya

Owner: Šamaš-ilum-dannum servant of Ḫimdiya

Type: N/A



Cat. # 123

Tell Leilan

Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 20, Phase 2

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 124

Tell Leilan

Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 7

Date: 1749-1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A

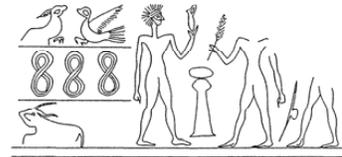


Cat. # 125

Tell Leilan
Lower Town

Date: before 1728 B.C.
Reign: N/A
Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 126

Tell Leilan
Acropolis, 55D13 and Lower Town

Date: limmu Ikūn-pī-Ištar=1771 B.C.
Reign: Ḫaya-abum?
Owner: (Līter-šarrusu) Bunuma-ili

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 127

Tell Leilan
Acropolis, 55D13 and 55E13

Date: before 1776 B.C.
Reign: Išme-Dagan
Owner: Kasap-[...]

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 128

Tell Leilan
Acropolis, 55D13

Date: before 1776 B.C.
Reign: Šamši-Adad
Owner: Samiya, son of Ḫaya-malik, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 129

Tell Leilan

N/A

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 130

Tell Leilan

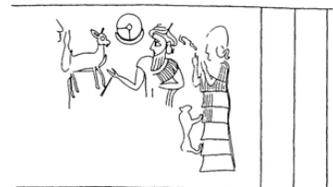
Acropolis, 55D13

Date: limmu Puššānum=1772 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: ... [ra].., servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 131

Tell Leilan

Acropolis, 55D12

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 132

Tell Leilan

Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 16

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 133

Tell Leilan

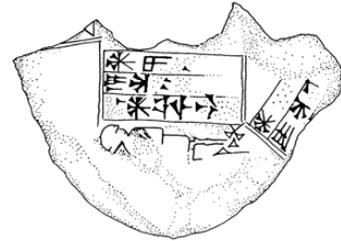
Acropolis Northeast Temple, doorway between
Rooms 17 and 19

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: Da-[gan-], son of d[]

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 134

Tell Leilan

Acropolis, 55E13

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 135

Tell Leilan

Lower Town, Operation 3B Lots 7, 11

Date: ca. 1746/1738-1728 B.C.?

Reign: Yakun-ašar?

Owner: Ilšu-rabi

Type: N/A



Cat. # 136

Tell Leilan

N/A

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 137

Tell Leilan

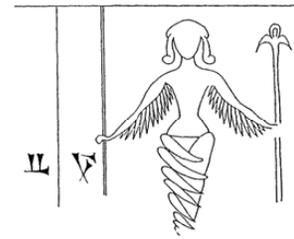
N/A

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 138

Tell Leilan

N/A

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: x, Adad x

Type: N/A



Cat. # 139

Tell Leilan

Acropolis

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 140

Tell Leilan

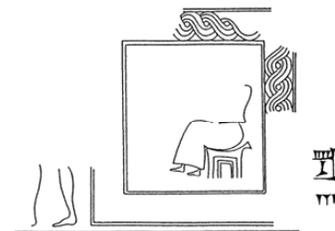
Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 9-10, Phase 4

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: Išme-Dagan?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 141

Tell Leilan

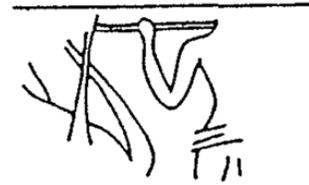
N/A

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 142

Tell Leilan

N/A

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 143

Tell Leilan

N/A

Date: before 1728 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 144

Tell Leilan

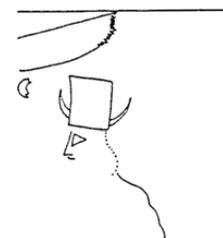
Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 22, Phase 2

Date: before ca. 1746/1738 B.C.

Reign: before Yakun-ašar

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 145

Tell Leilan

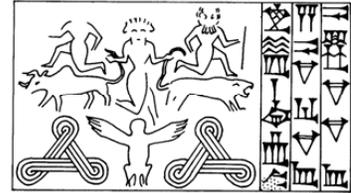
Acropolis Northeast Temple, Room 8

Date: 1774-1773 B.C.

Reign: Turum-natki

Owner: Apil-ilišu, son of Ali-banišu

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 146

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Ītānu-rāpi or Aškur-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 147

Tell al-Rimah

Area A, Phase 3 floor (Temple Room XXI)

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 148

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, north of Room XVI

Date: 1776-1765 B.C.

Reign: Ītānu-rāpi

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing, Jar sealing



Cat. # 149

Tell al-Rimah

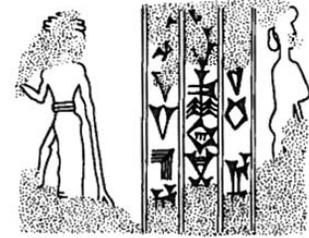
Temple Stairway

Date: 1765-? B.C.

Reign: Aškur-Adad or Aqba-ḥammu

Owner: Niḥmatum, daughter of Zikir-..., female servant of Ili-Samaš

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 150

Tell al-Rimah

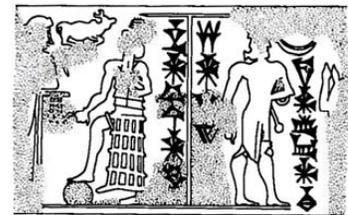
Palace Room XIII

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Lù-Ninsianna, son of X, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 151

Tell al-Rimah

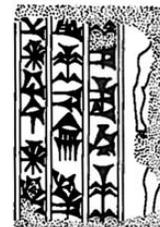
Palace Room XIII

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Zimri-ḥammu, son of Sumu-amim, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 152

Tell al-Rimah

Palace Room II

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, controller of the Euphrates bank, king of Mari, and the land of Hana, son of Yaḥdun-Lim

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 153

Tell al-Rimah

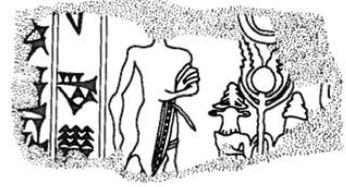
Palace Room II

Date: 1765(?) - 1762 B.C.

Reign: Aškur-Adad

Owner: Nubur-šarri?

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 154

Tell al-Rimah

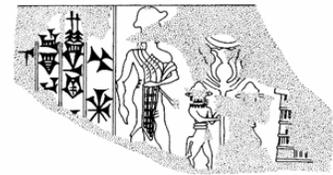
Palace Room XII

Date: 1765(?) - 1762 B.C.

Reign: Aškur-Adad

Owner: Aškur-Adad, worshipper of the god ..., (and) Lagamal, ...

Type: N/A



Cat. # 155

Tell al-Rimah

Palace Room XII

Date: 1765(?) - 1762 B.C.

Reign: Aškur-Adad

Owner: Bini-šakim, first son of the king, servant of Aškur-Adad

Type: N/A



Cat. # 156

Tell al-Rimah

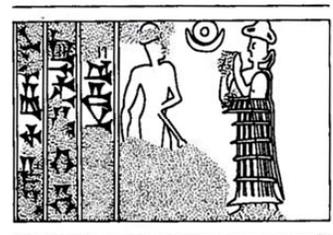
Palace Room XII

Date: 1776 - 1765(?) B.C.

Reign: Ḫatnu-rapi

Owner: Ibal-..., son of Aḫu-..., servant of Ḫatnu-rapi

Type: N/A



Cat. # 157

Tell al-Rimah

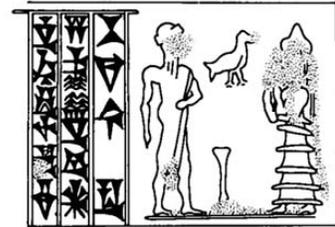
Palace Room XVI

Date: 1776-1765(?) B.C.

Reign: Ḫatnu-rapi

Owner: Beli-ašarid, son of Ziliban, servant of Ḫatnu-rapi

Type: N/A



Cat. # 158

Tell al-Rimah

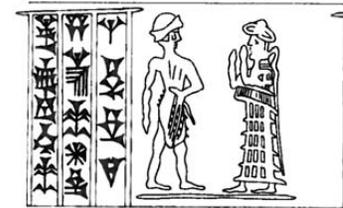
Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.

Reign: Aqba-ḫammu

Owner: Iltani, daughter of Samu-Adad, wife of Aqba-ḫammu

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 159

Tell al-Rimah

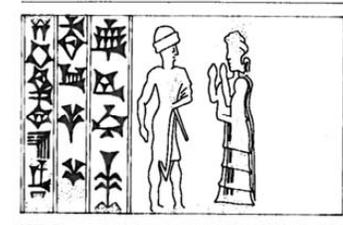
Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.

Reign: Aqba-ḫammu

Owner: Aqba-ḫammu, the diviner, son of Ḫimdi-Šamaš

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 160

Tell al-Rimah

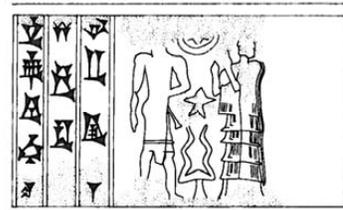
Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.?

Reign: Aqba-ḫammu

Owner: Kišsurum, son of Abdu-..., servant of Aqba-ḫammu

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 161

Tell al-Rimah

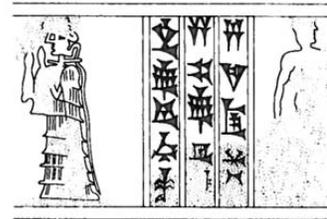
Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.?

Reign: Aqba-ḫammu

Owner: Inib-Šamaš, son of Zakku, servant of Aqba-ḫammu

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 162

Tell al-Rimah

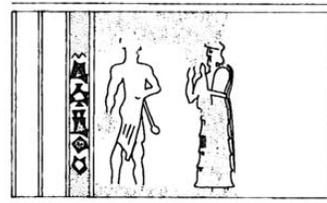
Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.

Reign: Aqba-ḫammu

Owner: Mutu-ḫadkim

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 163

Tell al-Rimah

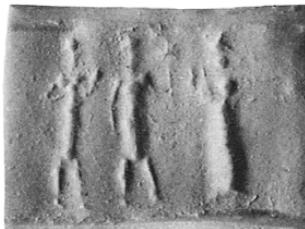
Temple, Phase 1, MA level

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 164

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Level 5, Mitanni level

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 165

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Middle Assyrian level

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 166

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, north of Room XVI

Date: 1775-? B.C.

Reign: Ītānu-rapi or Aqba-ġammu

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 167

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Mitanni level

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 168

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Room XIII

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 169

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Ijatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 170

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Ijatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 171

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Ijatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 172

Tell al-Rimah

Palace, Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Hatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 173

Tell al-Rimah
Palace, Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.
Reign: Ḫatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad
Owner: N/A

Type: Jar sealing



Cat. # 174

Tell al-Rimah
Temple Stairway

Date: 1765-? B.C. (REL 207 or 243?)
Reign: Aškur-Adad or Aqba-ḫammu
Owner: Ili-Samaš, son of Iqqat-Šamaš/Adad, servant of X

Type: Tablet / Envelope

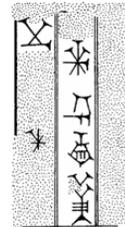


Cat. # 175

Tell al-Rimah
Palace Room XII

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.
Reign: Hatnu-rapi or Aškur-Adad
Owner: x, son of Šamaš-našir, servant of [] d[]

Type: N/A

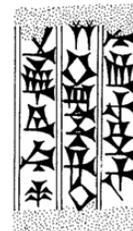


Cat. # 176

Tell al-Rimah
Palace Room XVI

Date: 1761-? B.C.?
Reign: Aqba-ḫammu
Owner: Ḫatnu-tanuha, son of Ḫidati-..., Aqba-ḫammu

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 177

Tell al-Rimah

Palace Room VI

Date: 1761-? B.C.

Reign: Aqba-ḥammu

Owner: Aqba-ḥammu, diviner, son of Ḥimdi-Šamaš, servant of Ḥammurapi

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 178

Tell al-Rimah

Palace Room VI

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad?

Owner: Pazu..., son of Sumu-ami, servant of Šamaš

Type: Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 179

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Dariš-libur, son of Libur-nadinšu, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tag, Door sealing, Jar stopper



Cat. # 180

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 181

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 182

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 183

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 184

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 185

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yatar-Aya, female servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 186

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1792 B.C.

Reign: Yahdun-Lim

Owner: Ili-epuḫ, servant of Yahdun-Lim

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 187

Mari

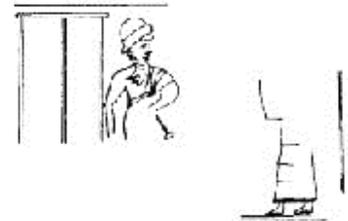
Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: Enlil-[]

Type: Tag



Cat. # 188

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, who unified the banks of the Euphrates, king of Mari and the land of Hana, son of Yahdun-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 189

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, king of Mari and the land of Hana, son of Yahdun-Lim

Type: Tag, Door sealing



Cat. # 190

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Šunuḫraḫalu, servant of Zimri-Lim, strong king

Type: Door sealing, Tag



Cat. # 191

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Šiptu, daughter of Yarim-Lim

Type: Door sealing, Tag



Cat. # 192

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Apil-Kubi, son of Šērit-Sin, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tag



Cat. # 193

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yassi-Dagan, son of Lā'ūm, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 194

Mari

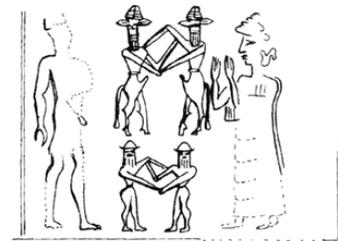
Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 111

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Ilu-kanum, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 195

Mari

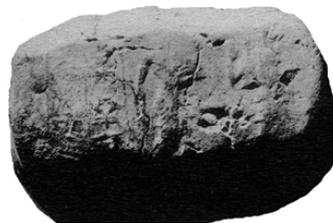
Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Adad-dūri, female servant of Ḫadni-Adad

Type: Tag



Cat. # 196

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: []-Mama, son of Aḫūwaqar, servant of []

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 197

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yabni-[]

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 198

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yasim-Sumu, scribe, son of Abi-Erah, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 199

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yasim-Sumu, šandabakkum, son of Abi-Erah, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope, Tag



Cat. # 200

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Marduk-mušallim, son of Ziyatum, servant of Hammurabi

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 201

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Dāris-Libur, son of Libur-nādinšu, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tag, Door Sealing

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 202

Mari

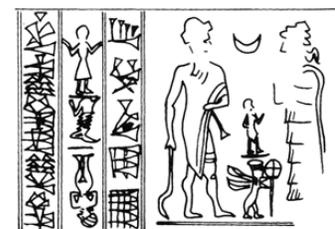
Zimri-Lim Palace, 217

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Šubnalū, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 203

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 204

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 205

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 206

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 207

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 208

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 209

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 210

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 211

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 212

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Bag sealing



Cat. # 213

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Container sealing



Cat. # 214

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 215

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 216

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: Kirbaya, servant of Yasmaḫ-Adad

Type: Tag



Cat. # 217

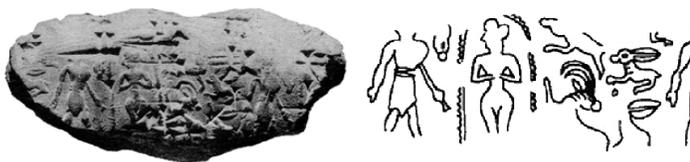
Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 218

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: Ištar-[at], female servant of Ḫabni-Adad

NO IMAGE

Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 219

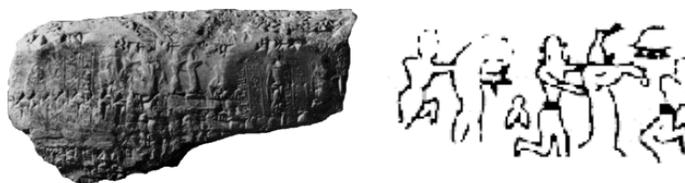
Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 220

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

NO IMAGE

Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 221

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Ḫabdu-malik, son of Idin-ili

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 222

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 223

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 224

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: Yašub-Dagan, son of Paki-[], servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 225

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 226

Mari

Eastern Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Kapi-Adad, son of Asqudum

Type: Tag

Tablet / Envelope



Cat. # 227

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: Zakirum

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 228

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Etel-pī-Marduk

Type: N/A

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 229

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: Šumšu-līter

Type: Tablet/Envelope

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 230

Mari

Eastern Palace, Room 16, pit

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing, Tag



Cat. # 231

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Ana-Sin-taklaku, son of Dariš-libur

Type: Tag, Door sealing



Cat. # 232

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1795 B.C.

Reign: Yaḫdun-Lim

Owner: x-ma-AN. servant of Yaḫdun-Lim

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 233

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Samiya, son of Ḫaya-malik, servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 234

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Door sealing

Cat. # 235

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 236

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A



Type: Seal

Cat. # 237

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 115

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamši-Adad, beloved of dAshur, vice-regent of dAshur, son of Ila-kabkabu

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 238

Mari

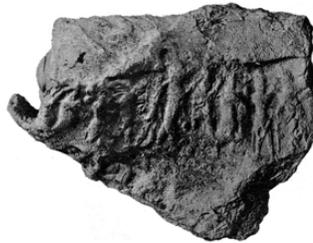
Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 239

Mari

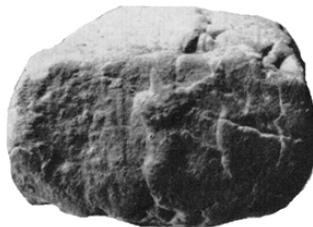
Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 240

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Corridor 50

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 241

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 242

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 243

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Jar stopper



Cat. # 244

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 245

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 246

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Yaḫdun-Lim or Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: Ḫalupuyama

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 247

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 248

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Mukannišum, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tag



Cat. # 249

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope, Jar stopper



Cat. # 250

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Mukannišum, son of Ḫabdu-baḫlati, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 251

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Iluna-Kiriš(u), servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Door sealing, Tag



Cat. # 252

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad

Owner: Yaḫad-Eraḫ/-Kušuḫ

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 253

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Šunuḫraḫalu, servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 254

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: ca.1787-1776 B.C.

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad

Owner: Sin-muballit, son of Lamasiya, servant of Yasmaḫ-Adad

Type: Tag

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 255

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Ma-[], son of [], servant of Zimri-Lim

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 256

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 257

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 258

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Tag



Cat. # 259

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Door sealing



Cat. # 260

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: Ili-sanu (?), servant of dAmurru

Type: Tablet/Envelope

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 261

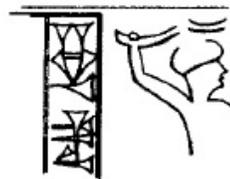
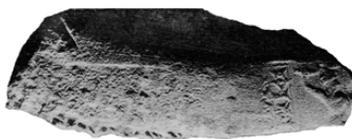
Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: 1792-1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Tarim-šākim (?), son of [], servant of Šamši-Adad



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 262

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 263

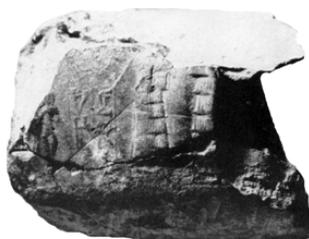
Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 264

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace

Date: before 1761 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A



Type: Tablet/Envelope

Cat. # 265

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69

Date: 1775-1761 B.C.

Reign: Zimri-Lim

Owner: Yaḥad-maraš, servant of Zimri-Lim, beloved of dDagan

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 266

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 267

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: Abum-El

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 268

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḷ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 269

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: N/A



Cat. # 270

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: dAdad

Type: N/A



Cat. # 271

Mari

Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79

Date: before 1761 B.C.?

Reign: Yasmaḫ-Adad or Zimri-Lim?

Owner: N/A

Type: Tablet/Envelope



Cat. # 272

Mari

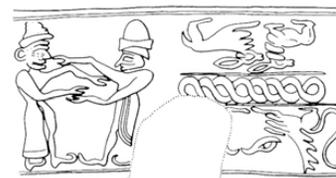
Chantier F, pit in residential area

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 273

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamši-Adad, beloved of dAššur, vice-regent of dAššur, son of Ila-kabkabu

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 274

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamši-Adad, governor of dEnlil

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 275

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamši-Adad, governor of dEnlil, vice-regent of dAššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 276

Acemhöyük

N/A

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Šamši-Adad, son of Ila-kabkabu, vice-regent of dAššur

Type: Bulla

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 277

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: SUKKAL.MAḪ [], [servant of] Šamši-Adad, governor of Enlil, beloved of dAššur, vice-regent of dAššur

Type: Bulla

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 278

Acemhöyük

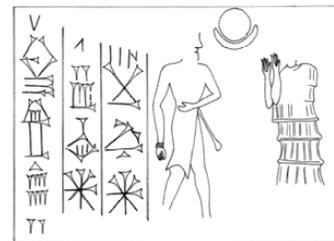
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad and Zimri-Lim

Owner: Apliḫan[da/u]. king of Carchemish, son of []

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 279

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 280

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-baladi, son of Šib-Ištar

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 281

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace?

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Iziḫam

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 282

Acemhöyük

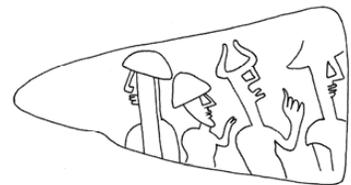
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 283

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: of divine Aššur, of the excise of the City Office

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 284

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1766 B.C.

Reign: Šamši-Adad and Zimri-Lim

Owner: Apliḫ[adu?]

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 285

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: before 1776 B.C.

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 286

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 287

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-taklaku, son of Kukkulanum

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 288

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Šalim-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 289

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Amuni, son of Awaliya

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 290

Acemhöyük

Y/29

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 291

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 292

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace?

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-taklaku, son of Ennam-Adad

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 293

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 294

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Melik-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 295

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 296

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 23

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 297

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 28

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-bel-lamassi, son of Ubḫakum

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 298

Acemhöyük

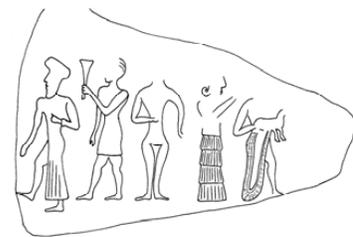
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-tab, son of Šumi-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 299

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 300

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 301

Acemhöyük

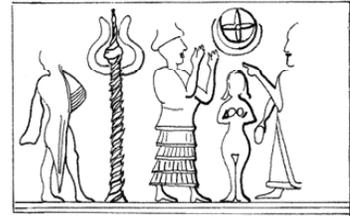
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 302

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 303

Acemhöyük

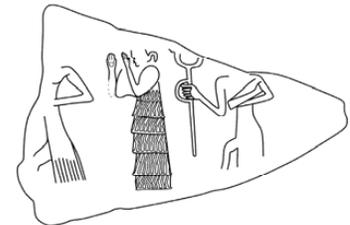
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Idi-[]

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 304

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 305

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Idi-Sin

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 306

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 6 and 40

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 307

Acemhöyük

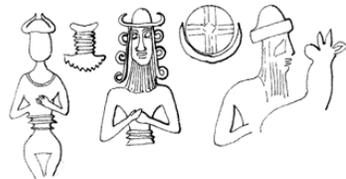
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 308

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Adad-ubanu, son of Zuzua

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 309

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 310

Acemhöyük

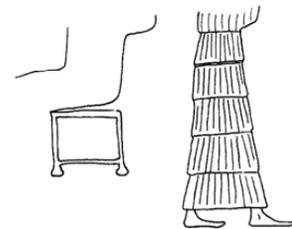
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 311

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 312

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 6 and 3

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Kārum Kaneš

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 313

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 314

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Dadaa

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 315

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 28

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-[]

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 316

Acemhöyük

A Trench, Level III

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 317

Acemhöyük

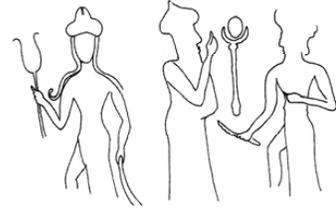
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Šamaš-nadini, son of Idi-Sin

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 318

Acemhöyük

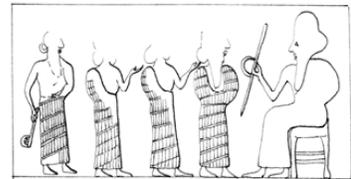
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 319

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 320

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 321

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 322

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 323

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 324

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Ataa

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 325

Acemhöyük

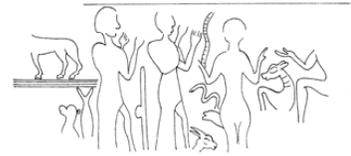
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-malik, son of Alaḫum

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 326

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 327

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Uşur-Sin

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 328

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 329

Acemhöyük

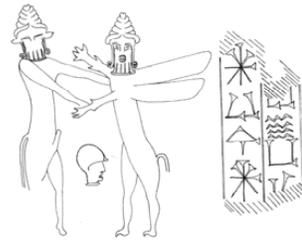
Sarıkaya Palace?

Date: before 1776 B.C.?

Reign: Šamši-Adad

Owner: Līter-šarrusu, servant of Šamši-Adad

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 330

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Sin-[]

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 331

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Šumi-Aššur, son of Aššur-tab

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 332

Acemhöyük

DB-HB/27-30 (Building Level III)

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 333

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Idi-Sin, son of Idi-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 334

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace?

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-emuqi, son of Abu-šalim

Type: N/A



Cat. # 335

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 6 and 41

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 336

Acemhöyük

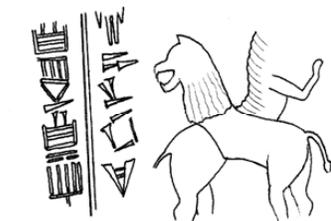
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Šauma, son of Aššur-tab

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 337

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 338

Acemhöyük

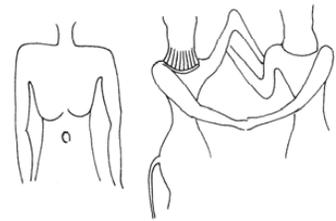
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 339

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 22

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 340

Acemhöyük

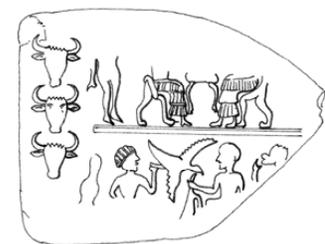
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 341

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 342

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 343

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 344

Acemhöyük

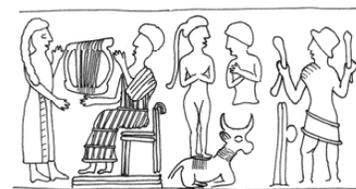
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 345

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 24

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 346

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Puzur-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 347

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 24

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 348

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 349

Acemhöyük

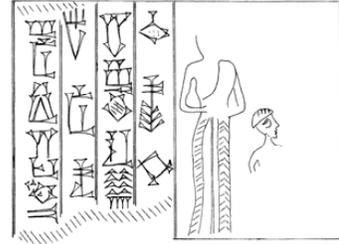
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: Yahdun-Lim

Owner: Nagiḫanum, daughter of Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari and the land of the Simalites

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 350

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 351

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 352

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: []

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 353

Acemhöyük

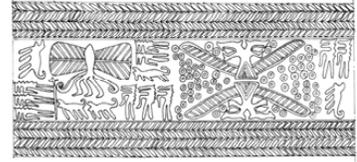
Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 3,4,6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 354

Acemhöyük

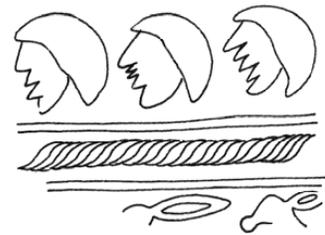
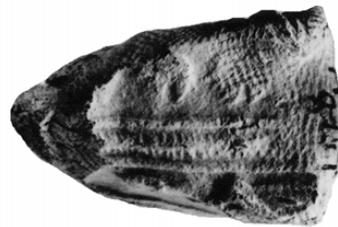
Sarıkaya Palace?

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 355

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 356

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 357

Acemhöyük

N/A

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Nanna-ibila-mansu, coppersmith, son of Nanna-liti (?)

Type: Bulla

NO IMAGE

Cat. # 358

Acemhöyük

Sarkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Idi-Sin, son of Idi-Aššur

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 359

Acemhöyük

Sarkaya Palace?

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Nab-Sin

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 360

Acemhöyük

Sarkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Aššur-idi

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 361

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 362

Acemhöyük

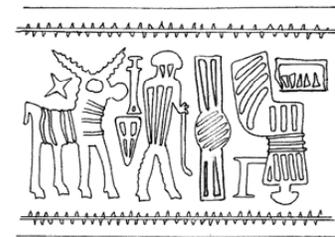
DB-HB/23-30, Level III

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Seal



Cat. # 363

Acemhöyük

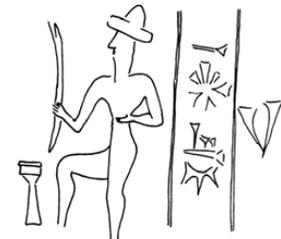
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: Šauma-[], son of Aššur-DUG-ni

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 364

Acemhöyük

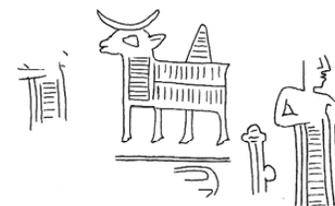
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 365

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 366

Acemhöyük

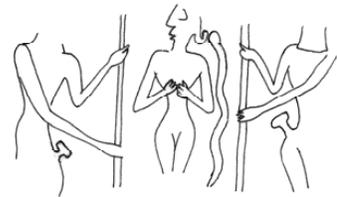
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 367

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 4

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 368

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 369

Acemhöyük

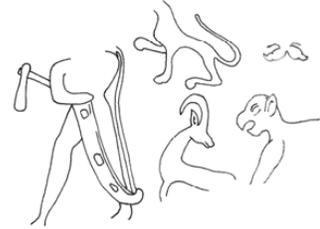
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 370

Acemhöyük

Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



Cat. # 371

Acemhöyük

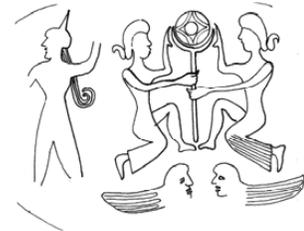
Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6

Date: N/A

Reign: N/A

Owner: N/A

Type: Bulla



APPENDIX III

Cat. #	Site	Findspot	Field No.	Publication
1	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/50:200, 2	Otto 2004: p. 29; Table 38, 1 a-d, M6
2	Tall Bi'a	Room Q, Room L	26/49:297, 4, 1-7; 26/49:298, 4, 8-15; 26/49:298, 26; 29/49:126, 19	Otto 2004: pp. 31-32; Table 40, a-i, M9 Otto 1992a: 124, 53, 72, Abb. 18. 45, Seal 7
3	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:186	Otto 2004: pp. 32-33; Table 41 a-d, M10
4	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:197	Otto 2004: p. 33; Table 41 2 a-c, M11
5	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 1, 1-22; 26/49:298, 1, 23-41	Otto 2004: pp. 33-35; Table 42 a-f, 43 a-e, M12 Otto 1992a: 124, 53, 71, Abb. 17.44, Seal 6
6	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:56; 28/50:104, 1-350	Otto 2004: pp. 53-56; Table 58 a-d; 59 a-d; 60 a-c; 61 a-c; 62 a-f; 63 a-d, M37 Otto 1995: 85ff Otto 2000: 424 Otto 1995a: 346 ff, Abb. 17
7	Tall Bi'a	Room F	29/47:92, 2	Otto 2004: pp. 61-62; Table 68, 2 a-d, M49
8	Tall Bi'a	MM, outside Palace A	29/50:151 1a, 2, 6	Otto 2004: p. 27; Table 36, 3 a-c, M3
9	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:128; 28/50:134, 2; 28/50:135, 1-28, 30-37; 28/50:152, 1-9; 28/50:153, 1-2; 28/50:160, 1-6, 8-10, 12; 28/50:168; 28/50:170, 1-6, 8-12, 14, 23-24; 28/50:181; 28/50:199, 28/50:271, 1-4; 28/50:165, 1-2	Otto 2004: pp. 36-38; Table 44 a-g, 45 a-g, M13

Table III.1: Concordance List

10	Tall Bi'a	doorway between Room A and Room C	28/48:141, 20, 25	Otto 2004: pp. 38-39; Table 45, 2a-d, M14 Otto 1995a: 342 ff, Abb. 10
11	Tall Bi'a	doorway between Room A and Room C	28/48:141, 1, 3, 22-24, 26, 28-30	Otto 2004: pp. 39-40; Table 46, 1 a-d, M15 Otto 2000: Fig. 438 Otto 1995a: 342 ff, Abb. 12
12	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 13	Otto 2004: p. 40; Table 46, 2 a-d, M16 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 71, Abb. 13, 41: Seal 2 Otto 1992a: 164 f, Seal 20
13	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 13, 1-3	Otto 2004: p. 40; Table 47, a-c, M17 Otto 1992a: 164 f, Seal 21
14	Tall Bi'a	Room M, Room La	28/50:151; 28/50:167; 28/50:170, 22; 28/50:200; 29/50:149, 1	Otto 2004: pp. 40-41; Table 47, 2 a-e, M18
15	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:172	Otto 2004: pp. 41-42; Table 48 a-e, M19
16	Tall Bi'a	Room Q, Room M, Room L, Room L/La, Room LL	26/49:298, (14+) 15; 28/50:160, 7; 28/50:170, 17; 28/50:170, 21; 28/50:178, 5; 29/49:1499, 1; 29/50:142; 29/50:182; 29/50:277, 2	Otto 2004: pp. 42-43; Table 49 a-i, M20 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 71, Abb. 14, 42, Seal 3 Otto 1992a: 164 f, Seal 22 Otto 1995a: 342 ff, Abb.11
17	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:126, 5	Otto 2004: p. 43; Table 50, 1 a-b, M21
18	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:161; 28/50:170, 7; 28/50:170, 20	Otto 2004: p. 43; Table 50, 2 a-b, M22
19	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:136, 1-18; 29/50:277, 5	Otto 2004: pp. 43-45; Table 50, 3 a-d; 51 a-c, M23 Otto 2000: Fig. 452 Otto 1995a: 342 ff, Abb. 14

Table III.1, continued

20	Tall Bi'a	between Room A and Room C; between Court B and Room M; Room M	28/48:146; 28/49:150, 2; 29/50:171; 29/50:197, 2-6; 29/50:203, 2	Otto 2004: pp. 45-46; Table 52 a-h, M24
21	Tall Bi'a	between Room A and Room C, Room L/La	28/48:141, 14, 16, 18; 29/50:140	Otto 2004: p. 46; Table 52 a-c, M25 Otto 1995a: 342 ff., Abb. 13
22	Tall Bi'a	between Room A and Room C, Room M	28/48:141, 12, 17, 19, 21, 27; 29/50:198,2	Otto 2004: pp. 46-47; Table 53, 1 a-c, M26
23	Tall Bi'a	Room N	28/50:134, 3	Otto 2004: p. 47; Table 53, 2 a-c, M27
24	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:145	Otto 2004: pp. 47-48; Table 53 a-d, M28
25	Tall Bi'a	Room M	29/50:168	Otto 2004: p. 48; Table 54, 1 a-b, M29
26	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:166, 4; 28/50:170, 15, 18; 28/50:201; 29/50:183	Otto 2004: pp. 48-49; Table 54, 3 a-f, M31
27	Tall Bi'a	Room N	28/50:120	Otto 2004: pp. 49-50; Table 55 a-f, M32 Otto 2000: Fig. 437
28	Tall Bi'a	Area Be	28/48:118	Otto 2004: pp. 50-51; Table 56, 1 a-d, M33
29	Tall Bi'a	Room M, doorway between Room M and Courtyard B, Room L/La	28/50:140,2; 29/50: 197,1 ; 29/50:273	Otto 2004: pp. 51-52; Table 56, 2 a-g, M34 Otto 2000: Fig. 430 Otto 1995a: 345 ff, Abb. 15
30	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:141	Otto 2004: p. 52; Table 57, 1 a-e, M35
31	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:178, 4 a-b	Otto 2004: pp. 58-59; Table 65, 2 a-f, M41 Otto 2000: Fig. 440

Table III.1, continued

32	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:132	Otto 2004: p. 59; Table 66, 2 a-d, M43
33	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:275, 1	Otto 2004: pp. 59-60; Table 67, 1 a-c, M44
34	Tall Bi'a	Area La	29/50:149, 3	Otto 2004: p. 60; Table 67, 2 a-c, M45
35	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:147	Otto 2004: p. 61; Table 68, 1 a-c, M48
36	Tall Bi'a	Courtyard B	28/49:90, 1	Otto 2004: pp. 72; Table 79, 1 a-c, M65
37	Tall Bi'a	Courtyard B	28/49:73	Otto 2004: pp. 75-76; Table 81, 3 a-d, M73 Otto 2000: Fig. 464
38	Tall Bi'a	Room M; Room L; Room L/La	28/50:137, 1, 2; 28/50:140,3; 28/50:166, 2; 28/50:189; 29/49:212, 2; 29/50:274?	Otto 2004: pp. 76-77; Table 81, 4 a-b; 82 a-e, M74
39	Tall Bi'a	Room R, Room M	26/50:7; 28/50:260	Otto 2004: pp. 83-84; Table 87, 3 a-b; 88 a-d; 89 a-c, M84 Otto 2000: Fig. 375 Otto 1995a: 346 ff, Abb. 16
40	Tall Bi'a	MM, outside Palace A	29/50:146	Otto 2004: p. 28; Table 37, 1 a-d, M4
41	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:160, 11+166, 3	Otto 2004: p. 57; Table 64, 2 a-b, M39
42	Tall Bi'a	Room Q, Room M, Room L, Room L/La, Area La	26/49:297, 6, 1-11; 28/50:162, 1; 28/50:263; 28/50:264; 29/49:108; 29/49:114, 2; 29/49:126, 16; 29/50:149, 4; 29/50:275, 2	Otto 2004: pp. 62-64; Table 69, 2 a-e; 70 a-g, M51 Strommenger 1989: 15 f, Abb.10 Otto 1992:124, 54 f, 73 f, Abb. 29, 50, Seal 18 Otto 1995a: 349 ff, Fig. 20
43	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:139, 1-4	Otto 2004: pp. 64-65; Table 71 a-g, M52

Table III.1, continued

44	Tall Bi'a	Area La, Room L/La	29/50:137, 1-7;29/50:272; 29/50:277, 6	Otto 2004: pp. 65-66; Table 72 a-2; 73 a-d, M53
45	Tall Bi'a	Outdoor area LL; Room L	29/49:101, 2; 29/49:108; 29/49:187	Otto 2004: pp. 67-68; Table 74, 3 a-e; 75, 1 a-b, M58
46	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:126, 16	Otto 2004: pp. 68-69; Table 75, 2 a-e, M59
47	Tall Bi'a	Doorway between Room M and Courtyard B	29/50:203, 1	Otto 2004: pp. 72-73; Table 79, 1 a-c, M66
48	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:235	Otto 2004: p. 73; Table 79, 2 a-c, M67
49	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 36	Otto 2004: p. 73; Table 79, 3 a-c, M68 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 72 Abb. 21: Seal 10
50	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:144	Otto 2004: p. 73; Table 79, 4 a-c, M69
51	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:190,5; 29/47:92, 3	Otto 2004: pp. 73-75; Table 80 a-f, M70
52	Tall Bi'a	Room LL	29/49:201	Otto 2004: p. 77; Table 83, 1 a-c, M75
53	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 5; 26/49:298, 5, 11-17	Otto 2004: pp. 80-81; Table 85 a-h, M80 Otto 1992: 124, 52 ff, 73 Abb. 9-11, 25, 48: Seal 14 Otto 2000: Fig. 477
54	Tall Bi'a	Outside area LL	29/49:157; 29/49:158; 29/49:202; 29/49:208	Otto 2004: p. 81; Table 86 a-d, M81 Otto 2000: Fig. 474
55	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:202	Otto 2004: pp. 81-82; Table 87, 1 a-e, M82 Otto 2000: Fig. 479

Table III.1, continued

56	Tall Bi'a	Outer area LL	29/49:200; 29/49: 204; 29/49: 205	Otto 2004: pp. 86-87; Table 92, 1 a-e, M88 Otto 2000: Fig. 262
57	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:133; 29/50:199	Otto 2004: pp. 88-89; Table 93, 2 a-e, M91 Otto 1995a: 340, Abb. 5
58	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room D, under the threshold of door to Room C	27/48: 27	Otto 2004: 95-96, Pl. 101, 2 a-d, M105
59	Tall Bi'a	Room M; outer area LL	28/50:162, 2-4; 28/50:178, 6; 29/49:199; 28/50:203	Otto 2004: pp. 69-70; Table 76, 1 a-e, M60
60	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 16	Otto 2004: pp. 77-78, Table 83, 2 a-e, M76 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 72, Abb. 23, 46: Seal 12 Otto 1995a: 351, Abb. 22
61	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:138	Otto 2004: pp. 79-80; Table 84, 2 a-d, M79
62	Tall Bi'a	Outer area LL	29/49:198, 1-3	Otto 2004: pp. 84-85; Table 90, 2 a-h, M86 Otto 2000: Fig. 188
63	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room F	29/47:74	Otto 2004:, p. 26; Table 36, 1 a-c, M1 Strommenger 1994: 22.26 Abb. 16
64	Tall Bi'a	MM, outside Palace A	29/50:207	Otto 2004: p. 27; Table 36, 2 a-c, M2
65	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 17	Otto 2004:, p. 30; Table 38 2 a-c, M7 Otto 1992: 124, 55, 74, Abb. 30: Seal 19
66	Tall Bi'a	Room F	29/47:92 and 103	Otto 2004: p. 31; Table 39 a-g, M8

Table III.1, continued

67	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298; 14 (+15)	Otto 2004: pp. 57-58; Table 64, 3 a-d; 65, 1 a-c, M40 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 71, Abb. 15, 43, Seal 4 Otto 1992a: 165 Seal 34
68	Tall Bi'a	Courtyard B	28/50:132	Otto 2004: p. 59; Table 66, 1 a-b; 2 b-d, M42
69	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 7, 1-6; 26/49:298, 7, 7-10	Otto 2004: pp. 70-71; Table 77 a-f, M62 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 74, Abb. 19: Seal 8
70	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 20	Otto 2004: pp. 71-72; Table 78, 2 a-c, M64 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 72, Abb. 20: Seal 9
71	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:190, 1	Otto 2004: p. 78; Table 83, 3 a-e, M77
72	Tall Bi'a	Room Q, Room M	26/49:297, 2, 1-11; 26/49:298, 2, 12-14; 28/50:178, 3	Otto 2004: pp. 89-90; Table 94 a-k, M92 Otto 1992: 124, 56, 74, Abb. 34. 52 Otto 1995a: 338 f, Abb. 2
73	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 3, 1-35	Otto 2004: pp. 90-91; Table 95 a-h, M93 Otto 1992: 124, 56, 74, Abb. 33: Seal 22 Otto 1995a: 338 f, Abb. 3
74	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 23	Otto 2004: p. 84; Table 90, 1 a-c, M85 Otto 1992: 124, 55, 74, Abb. 31: Seal 20 Otto 2000: Fig. 1 Otto 1995a: 348 ff, Abb. 18
75	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:195	Otto 2004: p. 29; Table 37 2 a-c, M5

Table III.1, continued

76	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:279, 1	Otto 2004: p. 48; Table 54, 2 a-c, M30
77	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:148	Otto 2004: pp. 52-53; Table 57, 2 a-d, M36
78	Tall Bi'a	doorway between Room A and Room C	28/48:141, 15	Otto 2004: pp. 56-57; Table 64, 1 a-b, M38
79	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 41	Otto 2004: p. 60; Table 67, 3 a-c, M46
80	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:196	Otto 2004: p. 62; Table 69, 1 a-c, M50
81	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 21	Otto 2004: p. 66; Table 73, 2 a-c, M54
82	Tall Bi'a	Courtyard B; outdoor area MM, N; Room L	28/49:150, 1; 29/50:86; 29/50:250, 1, 2	Otto 2004: pp. 66-67; Table 73, 3 a-d, M55
83	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:166, 1	Otto 2004: p. 67; Table 74, 1 a-d, M56
84	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50 143	Otto 2004: p. 67; Table 74, 2 a-c, M57
85	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/50:250, 3	Otto 2004: p. 71; Table 78, 1 a-b, M63
86	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 19	Otto 2004: p. 75; Table 81, 1 a-b, M71 Otto 1992: 124, 53, 71, Abb. 16: Seal 5
87	Tall Bi'a	Room L/La	29/50:262	Otto 2004: p. 75; Table 81, 2 a-d, M72
88	Tall Bi'a	Courtyard B	28/49:148, 1	Otto 2004: pp. 78-79; Table 84, 1 a-d, M78 Otto 1995a: 352, Abb. 24

Table III.1, continued

89	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 30	Otto 2004: p. 87; Table 92, 2 a-d, M89 Otto 1992: 124, 56 f, 74, Abb. 35, 54: Seal 24
90	Tall Bi'a	Room U	27/47:33	Otto 2004: pp. 91-92, M94
91	Tall Bi'a	Doorway between Room H and E	28/46:111	Otto 2004: p. 92; Table 96, 2 a-d, M95 Strommenger 1991: 11f, Abb. 2
92	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room Q (large pit)	26/49: 298, 22	Otto 2004: 95, Pl. 101, 1 a-d, M104 Otto 1992:, 54, 72, Fig. 24, 47: seal 13 Otto 1995a: 351f, Fig. 23
93	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room Q, large pit	26/49: 298, 31	Otto 2004: 96, Pl. 101, 3a-d, M106
94	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room L/La	29/50: 277, 3	Otto 2004: 96, Pl. 102, 1a-b, M107
95	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room M	28/50: 261	Otto 2004: 96-96, Pl. 102, 2 a-d, M108
96	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room L/La	29/50: 277, 1	Otto 2004: 97, Pl. 102, 3a-b, M109
97	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room F	29/47: 92, 4	Otto 2004: 97, Pl. 102, 4a-c, M110
98	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room M	28/50: 262	Otto 2004: 98, Pl. 103, 1a-c, M111
99	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room D	27/48: 28	Otto 2004: 98, Pl. 103, 2a-d, M112
100	Tall Bi'a	Palace A, Room L	29/49: 109	Otto 2004: 98, Pl. 104, 1a-d, M113
101	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:298, 27, 1-4	Otto 2004: p. 70; Table 76, 2 a-e, M61 Otto 1992: 124, 54, 73, Abb. 26, 49: Seal 15
102	Tall Bi'a	Room M	28/50:178, 1	Otto 2004: p. 82; Table 87, 2 a-d, M83 Otto 2000: Fig. 363

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103	Tall Bi'a	Room Q	26/49:297, 8, 1-4	Otto, 2000, pp. 85-86; Table 91 a-h, M87 Otto 1992: 124, 55f, 74 Abb. 32, 51: Seal 21 Otto 2000: Fig. 87 Otto 1995a: 349 ff, Abb. 19
104	Tall Bi'a	Room L	29/49:114, 1; 29/49:126, 18; 29/49:194	Otto 2004: pp. 87-88; Table 92, 3 a-b; 93, 1 a-c, M90 Otto 1995a: 338 f, Abb. 4
105	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55E13	L85-148/149B	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 18
106	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 15, Phase 3	L87-1279	Otto 2000: Fig. 427 Parayre 1987: 135
107	Tell Leilan	Acropolis Northeast Temple, Building Level II, S part of room 13 (45R13)	L85-125	Weiss 1985: Fig. 8 Weiss 1985a Parayre 1990: 559, No. 5 Parayre 1987: fig. 10
108	Tell Leilan	Acropolis Northeast temple, Building Level II, SW corner of room 12, S part of room 13, wall separating rooms 8 and 12	L82-118, -119, -120, -123, -126, -127; L80-176, -180, -186, -190, -191, -194, -195	Weiss 1985: Fig. 9 Weiss 1985a
109	Tell Leilan	Acropolis Northeast Temple, Building Level II, Room 8	L82-76	Weiss 1985a: 282f, Fig. 11 Otto 2000: Fig. 449
110	Tell Leilan	Lower Town Palace	L85-138a	leilan.yale.edu
111	Tell Leilan	Acropolis 55D13	L85-126	Parayre 1990: 559, No. 6

Table III.1, continued

112	Tell Leilan	Acropolis 55E13	L85-116	Parayre 1990: 559, No. 7
113	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 12, 17, 18, 20, 22	L85-118,121; L87-896, 898, 917a, 922, 1503-1504	Parayre 1990: 559, No. 8 Otto 2000: Fig. 469
114	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 5	L85-454, L87-879/894/901	Parayre 1990, No. 9 Parayre 1993: 530, fig. 5 Parayre 1987: 130, fig. 11
115	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55E13	L85-100-104, 107-109	Parayre 1990: 561, No. 16 Parayre 1993: 530, fig. 7 Otto 2000: Fig. 439
116	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 23, Phase 2	L85-80-87, 123-124, L87-263, 289, 296, 320a, 364, 370, 372	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 17 Parayre 1993: 529, fig. 2 Parayre 1987: 133, fig. 19 Otto 2000: Fig. 470
117	Tell Leilan	Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 7	L85-434	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 19
118	Tell Leilan	Lower Town Palace, Room 22	L87-234, 384, 445, 486, 488, 642, 1340a	Parayre 1993: 513, Fig. 1 Parayre 1991: 390-391
119	Tell Leilan	Lower Town Palace, Room 2	L87-263ff	Parayre 1993: 515, Fig. 8 Parayre 1987: 130, fig. 13 Otto 2000: Fig. 471
120	Tell Leilan	Lower Town Palace, Room 5	L87-899/918	Parayre 1993: 517, Fig. 15 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 22 Otto 2000: Fig. 331
121	Tell Leilan	Lower Town, Rooms 2, 22, 23	L87-818 ff	Parayre 1987: 130ff, Fig. 12 Otto 2000: Fig. 472
122	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 2, 5, 18, 22	L85-128, L87-787, 892, 893, 912, 1274-1275	Parayre 1990: 561-562, No. 15 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 18 Parayre 1991: 383, fig. 4 Otto: Fig. 422

Table III.1, continued

123	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Room 20, Phase 2	L87-154	Parayre 1993: 516, Fig. 9
124	Tell Leilan	Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 7	L85-135,150, 151, 432-435, 492	Parayre 1990: 565, No. 23 Parayre 1993: 533, fig. 19 Otto 2000: Fig. 260
125	Tell Leilan	Lower Town	L85-484; L87-282, 320a, 373-374	Parayre 1993: 521, Fig. 20 Parayre 1987: 132, fig. 23 Otto 2000: Fig. 259
126	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55D13 and Lower Town	L85-115, L87-1470, 1473 Charpin 2014: 142 --> L87-1480 and 1485	Parayre 1990: 560, No. 12 Parayre 1987: 132, fig. 14 Otto 1992: No. 7 Otto 2000: Fig. 419 Tunca 1989: 483, Pl. 137, 9-10
127	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55D13 and 55E13	L85-96, L85-445	Parayre 1990: 560, No. 13
128	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55D13	L85-112	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 22 Parayre 1993: 518, fig. 14 Otto 2000: Fig. 415
129	Tell Leilan		L87-128a-c	Parayre 1993: 519, Fig. 16 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 17
130	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55D13	L85-143, 144, 453	Parayre 1990: 560, No. 10 Otto 2000: Fig. 426 Otto 1992: No. 9
131	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55D12	L85-153	Parayre 1990: 560, No. 11 Parayre 1993: 531, fig. 10
132	Tell Leilan	Lower Town, Operation 3B Lot 16	L85-482, L87-161	Parayre 1990: 561, No. 14 Parayre 1993: fig. 3 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 15

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133	Tell Leilan	Acropolis Northeast Temple, Building Level II, doorway between rooms 17 and 19	L79-187	Weiss 1985a, Fig. 12
134	Tell Leilan	Acropolis, 55E13	L85-155	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 20 Parayre 1993: 533, fig. 18 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 20 Otto 2000: Fig. 138
135	Tell Leilan	Lower Town, Operation 3B Lots 7, 11	L85-154, 444	Parayre 1990: 563, No. 21 Parayre 1993: 533, fig. 17
136	Tell Leilan		L85-433	Otto 2000: Fig. 253
137	Tell Leilan		L87-467	Parayre 1993: Fig. 4 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 16
138	Tell Leilan		L87-882	Parayre 1993: 515, Fig. 6 Otto 2000: Fig. 468
139	Tell Leilan	Acropolis	L79-63	Parayre 1993: 516, Fig. 11
140	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 9-10, Phase 4	L87-1480, 1485-1486	Parayre 1993: 517, Fig. 13 Parayre 1987: 131, fig. 21
141	Tell Leilan		L87-353	Parayre 1993: 521, Fig. 21
142	Tell Leilan		L87-302, 372a	Parayre 1993: 521, Fig. 22 Parayre 1987: 132, fig. 24
143	Tell Leilan		L87-866	Parayre 1993: 521-522, Fig. 23 Parayre 1987: 132, fig. 25
144	Tell Leilan	Eastern Lower Town Palace, Rooms 22, Phase 2	L87-1387	Parayre 1987: 133, Fig. 26 Otto 2000: Fig. 359

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145	Tell Leilan	Acropolis Northeast Temple, Building Level II, room 8	L82-74, 75	Weiss 1985: Fig. 10 Weiss 1985a Parayre 1993: fig. 12
146	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5901	Parker 1975: No. 17
147	Tell al-Rimah	Area A, Phase 3 floor (Temple Room XXI)	TR.3402	Parker 1975: No. 8
148	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, north of room XVI	TR.5677	Parker 1975: 21-38, No. 12 Otto 2000: Fig. 465
149	Tell al-Rimah	Temple Stairway	TR.4923	Hawkins 1976: 249, Fig. 2
150	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XIII	TR.5904, TR.6109	Hawkins 1976: 249, Fig. 3 Otto 2000: Fig. 453
151	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XIII	TR.5688	Hawkins 1976: 250, Fig 4
152	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room II	TR.4332	Hawkins 1976: 250, Fig. 5
153	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room II	TR.4331	Hawkins 1976: 250, Fig. 6 Otto 2000: Fig. 466-467
154	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XII	TR.5691	Hawkins 1976: 251, Fig. 7 Oates 1970: 5f Oates 1972: 86
155	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XII	TR.5692, 5693	Hawkins 1976: 251, Fig. 8 Otto 2000: Fig. 461 Oates 1970: 5 Oates 1972: 86
156	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XII	TR.5695	Hawkins 1976: 251, Fig. 9
157	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XVI	TR.5678-80, 5683, 5686	Hawkins 1976: 252, Fig. 11 Oates 1970: p. 6 Dalley 1976: p. xi
158	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4291, 4293, 4289, 4290, 4294, 4295, 4299, 4319, 4320	Hawkins 1976: 253, Fig. 13 Page 1968: 91 Dalley 1976: 33
159	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4321, 4322	Hawkins 1976: 253, Fig. 14 Page 1968: 91

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160	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4325, 4288	Hawkins 1976: 245, Fig. 15 Page 1968: 9 Oates 1970: 137 Dalley 1976: 32
161	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR 4292	Hawkins 1976: 254, Fig. 16 Page 1968: 91 Dalley 1976: 32
162	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4324	Hawkins 1976: 255, Fig. 18
163	Tell al-Rimah	Temple, Phase 1, MA level	TR.9	Parker 1975: No. 7
164	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, Level 5, Mitannian	TR.4455	Parker 1975: No. 9
165	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, MA level	TR.6302	Parker 1975: No. 10
166	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, north of room XVI	TR.5681	Parker 1975: No. 13
167	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, Mitanni level	TR.6307	Parker 1975: No. 11
168	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XIII	TR.5689	Parker 1975, No. 14
169	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5696	Parker 1975, No. 15
170	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5697	Parker 1975, No. 16
171	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5698	Parker 1975: No. 18
172	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5900	Parker 1975: No. 19
173	Tell al-Rimah	Palace, room XII	TR.5902	Parker 1975: No. 20
174	Tell al-Rimah	Temple Stairway	TR.4980, TR.4981	Hawkins 1976: 248-249, Fig. 1
175	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XII	TR.5694	Hawkins 1976: 251-252, Fig. 10
176	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room XVI	TR.5718, 5717, 5727, 5716, 5726	Hawkins 1976: 252-253, Fig. 12
177	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4298, 4296, 4297, 5743	Hawkins 1976: 253-254, Fig. 14 Page 1968: 91 Oates 1970: 6f.
178	Tell al-Rimah	Palace Room VI	TR.4330, 4968	Hawkins 1976: 254-255, Fig. 17 Page 1968: 91 Oates 1970: 137 n. 27

Table III.1, continued

179	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 5, 19, 25-26, 130-164, 187, 202-204, 214, 223, 226, 230, 237	Parrot 1959: 198-210, figs. 112-113, Pl. 49, ME 131 Otto 2000: 103, Fig. 429
180	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 58-59	Parrot 1959: 214-215, Pl. L
181	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 291	Parrot 1959: 222, fig. 117
182	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 184	Parrot 1959: 226, Pl. LII
183	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 243	Parrot 1959: 228, Pl. L
184	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69	ME 269	Parrot 1959: 240-241, Pl. LIV, fig. 128
185	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 170	Otto 2000: 93, Fig. 314 Parrot 1959: 188, Pl. 48
186	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 199	Parrot 1959: 160, Pl. XLVII
187	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 55, 179	Parrot 1959: 160-161, Pl. XLVII Otto 1992: No.19 Otto 2000: 104, Fig. 436
188	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 3, 16a, 16b, 20, 21, 27, 29, 31, 35, 36, 40, 48-49	Parrot 1959: 162-164, Pl. XLVI, fig. 102 Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 445
189	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5	ME 53, 54, 180, 238, 280-282, 282bis	Parrot 1959: 165-166 and 243-4, Pl. XLVI, fig. 130-1
190	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 165, 220	Parrot 1959: 166-167, Pl. XLVI Charpin 1992: 66 Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 448
191	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 69, 181, 207, 216	Parrot 1959: 167-168, Pl. XLVI, fig. 103 Charpin 1992: 73 Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 458
192	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 173-176, 178, 239	Parrot 1959: 185-187, Pl. XLVII, fig. 107
193	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 41	Parrot 1959: 187, fig. 108
194	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 111	ME 32, 264, 267, 288, 289	Parrot 1959: 188-189, Pl. LVI; 233, 239, 246-247, 246, Pl. LIII, fig. 126 and 132 Otto 2000: Fig. 442

Table III.1, continued

195	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 227, 273	Parrot 1959: 191 and 242, Pl. XLVII, fig. 109 Charpin 1992: 73 Sasson 2015: 8
196	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 11	Parrot 1959: 191-192, Pl. XLVII, fig. 109
197	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 34, 232	Parrot 1959: 192, Pl. XLIX
198	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5	M.13216, ARM XXII 283	Parrot 1959: 192-193 and 243, fig. 110 Beyer-Charpin 1990: 620f, no. 1 Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 456
199	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 30, 211,212, 240, 278, M.8759, M.10547, 11626; ARM XXIV 121, 264-265	Parrot 1959: 192-193 and 243, Pl. XLVIII, fig. 110 Beyer-Charpin 1990: 620f, no. 2 Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 457
200	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 193, 225	Parrot 1959: 197-198, Pl. XLIX
201	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 185, 190, 195, 215	Parrot 1959: 210-211
202	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 217	ME 290; TH 84: 154-156	Parrot 1959: 211-212, fig. 114 Charpin 1992: 66 Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 443
203	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 188	Parrot 1959: 215, Pl. L
204	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 22	Parrot 1959: 218, fig. 116
205	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 23	Parrot 1959: 218-219, Pl. L, fig. 116
206	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 38	Parrot 1959: 219, Pl. LI, fig. 116 Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 459
207	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 52	Parrot 1959: 219, Pl. LI
208	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 65	Parrot 1959: 219-220, Pl. LI, fig. 117
209	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 177	Parrot 1959: 220-221, Pl. LI, fig. 117
210	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 219	Parrot 1959: 221, Pl. LI, fig. 118
211	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 46	Parrot 1959: 221-222, fig. 118, Pl. LI; Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 455
212	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 167, 168	Parrot 1959: 223, Pl. LI Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 447

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213	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 169	Parrot 1959: 224-225, Pl. LII Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 446
214	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 10	Parrot 1959: 225, Pl. LII
215	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 47	Parrot 1959: 226, Pl. LII
216	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 231	Parrot 1959: 161, Pl. XLVII Beyer 1985: 378; Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 454
217	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 242	Parrot 1959: 227-228, Pl. LIII; Otto 2000: 77, Fig. 94
218	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 265	Parrot 1959: 233
219	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 251a	Parrot 1959: 234, fig. 120 Otto 1992: 162, Siegel 32
220	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 253	Parrot 1959: 235, fig. 121
221	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 254	Parrot 1959: 235, fig. 121
222	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 257	Parrot 1959: 236, fig. 122
223	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 262	Parrot 1959: 238-239, fig. 125 Otto 2000: 105, Fig. 441
224	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79	ME 274	Parrot 1959: 242, Pl. LIV
225	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5	ME 287	Parrot 1959: 245-246, Pl. LVI
226	Mari	Eastern Palace	M.7027, 10455, 13230, 18523	Beyer 1983: 50-51 Beyer 1984: 255-256 Charpin 1992: 62 Otto 2000: 107, Fig. 460
227	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 251b	Parrot 1959: 234, Fig. 120 Otto 1992: 163, 171, Seal 15
228	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 225	Parrot 1959: 198 Beyer 1985: 380
229	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79	ME 275	Parrot 1959: 242
230	Mari	Eastern Palace, Room 16, pit	TH 82.245	Otto 2000: 99, Fig. 383 Beyer 1997: 467ff, Figs. 8-9

Table III.1, continued

231	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 71-131,198, 205, 206, 221, 234 Louvre AO 21988	Parrot 1959: 169-185, figs. 104-106, Pl. 48 Amiet 1960: 230, fig. 13 Collon 1990, No. 11 Otto 2000: 104, Fig. 431 Porada 1985: p. 96. Fig. 19
232	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 4, 166, 201	Parrot 1959: 166, Pl. XLVI
233	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 2; Leilan L85-112; HSM 109	Parrot 1959: 212-215, Pl. XLIII- XLIV, fig. 115 Otto 2000: 102, Fig. 415
234	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 9	Parrot 1959: 215-216, Pl. L
235	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 246	Parrot 1959: 230, Pl. LIII, fig. 119
236	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	M.788, Louvre AO 18360	Parrot 1959: 148, Pl. XXXIX; Otto 2000: 108, Fig. 475
237	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 115	M.5148, 5151, 72-132	Charpin 1984: 51ff Charpin 1992: 68f Otto 1992: No. 4; Otto 2000: 103, Fig. 425
238	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 50	Parrot 1959: 232, Pl. LVI
239	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69	ME 271	Parrot 1959: 241-242, fig. 129
240	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, corridor 50	M.783, Louvre AO 18361	Parrot 1959: 149, Pl. 39; Amiet 1985: 483f; Otto 2000: Fig. 106
241	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 61	Parrot 1959: 215, Pl. L
242	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 60	Parrot 1959: 217-218, Pl. L
243	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 63	Parrot 1959: 218, Pl. L
244	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 172	Parrot 1959: 224, Pl. LII
245	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 256	Parrot 1959: 236, fig. 122
246	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	A.2654	Charpin 1990: 261 Otto 2000: 108, Fig. 473
247	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 249	Parrot 1959: 230-231, Pl. LIII, fig. 119

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248	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 43	Parrot 1959: 190f, Pl. 48 Otto 2000: 95, Fig. 330
249	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 28	Otto 2000: p, 102, Fig. 417 Parrot 1959: 223f, Pl. 52 Amiet 1961: 3f, fig. 4
250	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69	ME 1, 266, 279, 283	Parrot 1959: 189-190, 234 and 243, Pls. XLI, XLII Amiet 1960:229f, fig. 12
251	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 6-8, 12-13, 15, 17, 24, 228, 244	Parrot 1959: 194-197, Pl. XLIX, fig. 111 Beyer 1985:380 Otto 2000: 104, Fig. 435
252	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 259	Parrot 1959: 237, fig. 123 Otto 1992: No. 33 Otto 2000: 108, Fig. 478
253	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 18	Parrot 1959: 194, Pl. 49 Charpin 1992: 66 Otto 2000: 104, Fig. 432
254	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 218	Parrot 1959: 160-161, Pl. XLVII Otto 2000: 106, Fig. 454
255	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 37,192	Parrot 1959: 187-188, Pl. XLIX, fig. 108
256	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 233	Parrot 1959: 222, Pl. LI
257	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 66	Parrot 1959: 222, Pl. LI
258	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 171	Parrot 1959: 225, Pl. LII
259	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 200	Parrot 1959: 227, Pl. LII
260	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 248	Parrot 1959: 231-232
261	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 250	Parrot 1959: 232, Pl. LVI Grayson 1987: 69
262	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 263	Parrot 1959: 233, Pl. LIII
263	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 252	Parrot 1959: 234-235, fig. 121
264	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace	ME 261	Parrot 1959: 238, fig. 124

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265	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69	ME 268	Parrot 1959: 239-240, Pl. LIV, fig. 127 Charpin 1992: 66 Otto 2000: 104, Fig. 433
266	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79	ME 270, 277	Parrot 1959: 241, Pl. LV
267	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 69	ME 272	Parrot 1959: 242, Pl. LIV, fig. 129
268	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79	ME 276	Parrot 1959: 242-243, Pl. LIV
269	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5	ME 284	Parrot 1959: 244, Pl. LV
270	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 5	ME 285, 286	Parrot 1959: 245, Pl. LV
271	Mari	Zimri-Lim Palace, Room 79	ME 288bis	Parrot 1959: 246, fig. 132
272	Mari	Chantier F, pit in residential area	TH 90.129	Otto 2000: 83, Fig. 174 Beyer 1997: 464-467, Figs. 1-2
273	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 830, 834, 837, 888, 898, 905, 918, 921, 924, 990, 1073, 1100, Ac.88 2	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 1 Özgüç 1980: III-1c Özgüç 2015: 38-42, CS 1 Tunca 1989 Otto 2000: Fig. 425
274	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 788, 795, 909, 925, 979, 987, 1006, 1012, 1056, 1062, 1105, Ac.r 7	Özgüç 2015: 43- 46, CS 2 Tunca 1989: 482, Pl. 137, 3-4
275	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 900	Tunca 1989: Pl. 137, 5-6 Özgüç 2015: 46-47, CS 3
276	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 1039, 1098	Özgüç 2015: 48, CS 5
277	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace	Ac.i 910	Tunca1989: Pl. 137, 7-8 Özgüç 2015: 47, CS 4
278	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1003, 1046, 1065, 1066, 1069, 1070	Tunca 1993: Pl. 121, 3-5 Özgüç 2015: 54-57, CS 8
279	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 847	Özgüç 2015: 98, CS 36

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280	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 981	Özgüç 2015: 94, CS 31
281	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 1001, 1021, 1040	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 5 Özgüç 2015: 94-95, CS 32
282	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 798	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 8 Özgüç 2015: 115, CS 58
283	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 797, 934, 936, 993, 994, 1018, 1041+1048, 1042, 1080	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 4 Özgüç 2015: 61-66, CS 11
284	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 996,1043, 1049, 1051, 1053, 1054, 1055,1067, Ac.r 6	Tunca 1993: Pl. 121, 1-2 Otto 2000: Fig. 150 and 175 Özgüç 2015: 50-54, CS 7 Özgüç 1977: Fig. 11 Özgüç 1980: III-11a Erkanal 1993: VIII-C/01
285	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 789	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 2 Özgüç 1980: 65, Pl. III-2 Özgüç 2015: 91, CS 27 Otto 2000: Fig. 428
286	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 807, 833, 839, 855, 858	Özgüç 2015: 84-86, CS 22
287	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace	Ac.i 792, 793, 809, 1025	Özgüç 2015: 87-88, CS 24
288	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 982, 999, 1002, 1005, 1008, 1024, 1104, 1106	Özgüç 2015: 79-82, CS 20
289	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1010, 1089, 1091	Özgüç 2015: 83-84, CS 21
290	Acemhöyük	Y/29	Ac.92-148	Öztan 1995: 287-288, Pl. 16b
291	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 851	Özgüç 2015: 86-87, CS 23
292	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 946, 1009, 1084, 1087	Özgüç 2015: 77-79, CS 19
293	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 785	Özgüç 2015: 105, CS 45
294	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1022	Özgüç 2015: 101, CS 40

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295	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 992	Özgüç 2015: 90, CS 26
296	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 23	Ac.k 91	Özgüç 2015: 103-104, CS 43
297	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 28	Ac.e 1	Özgüç 2015: 100, CS 38
298	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 970	Özgüç 2015: 96-97, CS 34
299	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 794	Özgüç 2015: 92, CS 29
300	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41	Ac.i 225	Özgüç 2015: 104, CS 44
301	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 718	Özgüç 2015: 97, CS 35
302	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 844	Özgüç 2015: 93, CS 30
303	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 7	Ac.i 1101, 1349	Özgüç 2015: 89, CS 25
304	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 800	Özgüç 2015: 102, CS 41
305	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 811, 933, 988	Özgüç 2015: 98-99, CS 37
306	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 6 and 40	Ac.i 722, 997	Özgüç 2015: 95-96, CS 33
307	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 929	Özgüç 2015: 91, CS 28
308	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 823, 1016	Özgüç 2015: 125-126, CS 66
309	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 842	Özgüç 2015: 115-116, CS 59
310	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1128	Özgüç 2015: 110, CS 53

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311	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac. i 931	Özgüç 2015: 108, CS 49
312	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 6 and 3	Ac.i 1033, 1213	Özgüç 2015: 112, CS 55
313	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.r 34	Özgüç 2015: 129, CS 70
314	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 928, 943	Özgüç 2015: 114-115, CS 57
315	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 28	Ac.e 63	Özgüç 2015: 110, CS 52
316	Acemhöyük	A Trench, Level III	Ac.a 5	Özgüç 2015: 111, CS 54
317	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1020	Özgüç 2015: 108, CS 50
318	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 791	Özgüç 2015: 161, CS 96
319	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 804	Özgüç 2015: 159, CS 94
320	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 720, 1104, 1374	Özgüç 2015: 151-152, CS 86
321	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1064	Özgüç 2015: 160, CS 95
322	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 856	Özgüç 2015: 152-153, CS 87
323	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 819	Özgüç 2015: 145-146, CS 81
324	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 964, 965	Özgüç 2015: 161-162, CS 97
325	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1102, 1175	Özgüç 2015: 149-151, CS 85

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326	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 801	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 12 Özgüç 1980: 68, Pl. III-12a, b Özgüç 2015: 139-140, CS 73 Erkanal 1993: VII3-C/07 Otto 2000: Fig. 76
327	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 859, Ac.j 3	Özgüç 1980: III-7a Özgüç 1977, Fig. 7 Özgüç 2015: 113-114, CS 56
328	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 710, 719, 732	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 10 Özgüç 1980: Fig. III a, b Özgüç 2015: 122-123, CS 64 Erkanal 1993: I-C/01
329	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 1079, 945	Tunca 1989: Pl. 137, 9-10 Özgüç 2015: 48-50, CS 6
330	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 830, 969	Özgüç 2015: 76-77, CS 18
331	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 932, 938, 939, 941, 948, 951, 952, 959, 961, 967, 971, 972, 989, 1004, 1019, 1027-1032, 1035-1038 etc.	Özgüç 1986: 48-49, 4-Ia-Id Özgüç 2015: 68-69, CS 14
332	Acemhöyük	DB-HB/27-30 (Building Level III)	Ac.a 1	Özgüç 1966: 38, Pl. XIV, 1 Özgüç 1968: Pl. XIV, 1 Özgüç 2015: 67, CS 13
333	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 786, 854, 926, 954, 975, 978, 980, 1007, 1014, Ac.j 6	Özgüç 2015: 71-74, CS 16
334	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 845, 940, 976, 1000, 1034	Özgüç 2015: 74-76, CS 17
335	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace Rooms 6 and 41	Ac.i 781, 835	Özgüç 2015: 70-71, CS 15
336	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 921, 922, 1068,	Özgüç 2015: 109, CS 51
337	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3	Ac.j 5	Özgüç 2015: 143-144, CS 79
338	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41	Ac.j 74	Özgüç 2015: 143, CS 78

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339	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 22	Ac.f 23, 24	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 13 Özgüç 1980: 68, Pl. III-14 Özgüç 2015: 126-127, CS 67 Erkanal 1993: II2-C/04 Otto 2000: Fig. 151
340	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 805	Özgüç 2015: 127-128, CS 68
341	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 843, 861	Özgüç 2015: 157-158, CS 92
342	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 853	Özgüç 2015: 158, CS 93
343	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3	Ac.j 11	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 6 Özgüç 1980: 66, Pl. III-6 Otto 2000: Fig. 68 Özgüç 2015: 103, CS 42
344	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.r 39	Özgüç 1979: 282, 290, Pl. I, Fig. 2 Özgüç 2015: 123-124, CS 65 Erkanal 1993: I-C/02
345	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 24	Ac.h 20	Özgüç 2015: 128, CS 69
346	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 984	Özgüç 2015: 120, CS 62
347	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 24	Ac.k 90	Özgüç 2015: 140, CS 74
348	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 860	Özgüç 2015: 163, CS 98
349	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 1044, 1045, 1047, 1088, 1977	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 3 Özgüç 2015: 59-61, CS 10 Tunca 1993, 631-632 Özgüç 1980, III-3b

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350	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 937	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 16 Özgüç 1980: 69, Pl. III-16 Özgüç 2015: 148, CS 84 Erkanal 1993: III1-C/01 Otto 2000: Fig. 310
351	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace	Ac.j 21	Özgüç 1980: Fig. III-18 Erkanal 1993: V2-C/02 Özgüç 1977, 369, Res. 4 Özgüç 2015: 145, CS 80
352	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace	Ac.i 1052, 1050, 1071	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 17 Özgüç 1980: 69, Pl. III-17 Özgüç 2015: 57-58, CS 9 Tunca 1993: 630, Pl. 121, 6-7 Erkanal 1993: VI-C/01 Otto 2000: Fig. 58
353	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Rooms 3,4,6	Ac.i 1203, 1205-1212, 1217-1220, Ac.j 47, 49-52 etc.	Özgüç 1968b: Pl. XXVII, 1-2 Özgüç 1983: Abb.7, Taf. 83,7 Özgüç 2015: 133-137, CS 72 Özgüç 1977: Fig. 19-20 Özgüç 1980: 69, 83, Pl. III-19 Erkanal 1993: V3-C/03 Otto 2000: Fig. 10
354	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 841	Özgüç 2015: 147-148, CS 83
355	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 3	Ac.j 48, 53, Ac.d 55	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 18 Özgüç 2015: 146-147, CS 82 Erkanal 1993: V3-C/02 Otto 2000: Fig. 11
356	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.r 33	Özgüç 1979: Pl. II Özgüç 2015: 132, CS 71 Erkanal 1993: II6-C/01
357	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 886	Tunca 1993: 632, Pl. 121, 7-8 Özgüç 2015: 66, CS 12

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358	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 927	Özgüç 2015: 106, CS 47
359	Acemhöyük		Ac.i 985	Özgüç 2015:100-101, CS 39
360	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 901	Özgüç 2015: 105, CS 46
361	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 857	Özgüç 2015: 141, CS 75
362	Acemhöyük	DB-HB/23- 30,Level III	Ac.e 11	Özgüç 2015: 116-117, CS 61 Özgüç 1968: Pl. XIV, 2
363	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 942, 944, 947, 955	Özgüç 2015: 106-107, CS 48
364	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.88-3	Özgüç 2015: 116, CS 60
365	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 717, 1346	Özgüç 2015: 153-154, CS 88
366	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 810	Özgüç 2015: 142, CS 77
367	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 4	Ac.i 784, 836	Özgüç 2015: 155-156, CS 90
368	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 803	Özgüç 2015: 156-157, CS 91
369	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 802	Özgüç 2015: 141-142, CS 76
370	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 41	Ac.i 721	Özgüç 1977: Pl. VIII, 23 Özgüç 1980: Fig. 3, 23 Özgüç 2015: 155, CS 89
371	Acemhöyük	Sarıkaya Palace, Room 6	Ac.i 709	Özgüç 1977: Fig. 15 Özgüç 1980: Pl. III-15 Özgüç 2015: 121, CS 63 Erkanal 1993: II2-C/03 Otto 2000: Fig. 89

Table III.1, continued

APPENDIX IV

Cat. #	Site	Owner	Title	Type	Seal Inscription
6	Tall Bi'a	Ḫazip-Aranziḫ	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Container Sealing	Ḫa-zi-ip-a-ra-an-zi-iḫ ÌR ^d UTU-ši- ^d IM
8	Tall Bi'a	Ḫamunabiḫ		Tablet / Envelope	Ḫa-mu-na-bi-iḫ
9	Tall Bi'a	dIM-LÚ-TI (Adad-luti)	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tag	^d IM-LÚ-TI DUMU Ḫa-zi-ia ÌR ^d UTU-ši-dIM
10	Tall Bi'a	Yal'i-Dagan?	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ia-al-i-[^d Da-gan?] DUMU A-na-i[] ÌR ^d UTU-ši-dIM
11	Tall Bi'a	Šamaš-māgir	scribe, servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	^d UTU-ma-gi-ir DUB.SAR DUMU Ba-la-tá-nu-um [ÌR] ^d UTU-ši- ^d IM
12	Tall Bi'a	X-IB/UR-X	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Door Sealing	X IB/UR X [DUM]U KA? XX ÌR ^d UTU-ši- ^d IM
13	Tall Bi'a	Nār-šarri	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Container Sealing	Na-ar-šar-ri DUMU Ia-AK-[] ÌR ^d UTU-[ši- ^d IM]
14	Tall Bi'a	Iluna-kirišu	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tag	I-lu-na-ki-ri-šu DUMU Ia-aḫ-[gi-IŠTAR?] [ÌR] ^d UTU-ši- ^d IM
15	Tall Bi'a	Ušur-pī-šarri	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Door Sealing	Ú-šur-KA-LUGAL ÌR ^d UTU-ši- ^d IM

Table IV.1: List of Identified Seal Owners

16	Tall Bi'a	Šikip-wari	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope Bag Sealing Container Sealing Door Sealing	Ši-ki-ip-wa-ri ÌR Sa-am-si- ^d IM
17	Tall Bi'a	Yadin-X	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ia-di-in-d[] DUMU ^d UTU-[] ÌR Sa-am-si- ^d [IM]
18	Tall Bi'a	X-al-x	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tag	[x.x]-al?-x-[x] [DUMU x]-tu-[] [ÌR] Sa-am-si- ^d [IM]
19	Tall Bi'a	Yašilu	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Door Sealing	Ia-ši-lu DUMU Ia-wi- ^d IM ÌR Ia-ás-ma-aḥ- ^d IM
20	Tall Bi'a	Mutu-Dagan	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Door Sealing Container Sealing	Mu-tu- ^d Dagan DUMU I-din-d[] ÌR Ia-ás-ma-aḥ- ^d [IM]
21	Tall Bi'a	Šutlumassu(m)- ḥaṭṭum	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tablet / Envelope Bag Sealing	Šu-ut-lu-ma-sú-GIŠ.PA DUB.SAR ÌR Ia-ás-ma-aḥ- ^d IM
22	Tall Bi'a	Sin-rēšû-šu	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	^d EN.ZU-re-[šú-šu] DUMU Ma-ta?-al/nu?-[um?] ÌR Ia-ás-ma-aḥ- ^d [IM]
23	Tall Bi'a	X?	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Bag Sealing	[?] [DUMU] x-nu? [ÌR Ia-ás-ma]-aḥ?- ^d IM
24	Tall Bi'a	[X]-Adad	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad?	N/A	[]- ^d IM []- ^d EN.[ZU?] [] XX [] [ÌR? Ia-ás]-ma-aḥ- ^d [IM]

Table IV.1, continued

25	Tall Bi'a	Qišti-x	servant of X	Tablet / Envelope	Qi-iš-ti-d[] DUMU AD-[] [ÌR X]
26	Tall Bi'a	Mutu-Dagan	servant of Šamaš	Door Sealing	Mu-tu- ^d Da-[gan] DUMU I-din-d[] ÌR ša ^d U[TU?]
27	Tall Bi'a	Sin-iddinam (?)	servant of Nergal	Door Sealing	^d EN.ZU?-i?-din?-[nam?] [ÌR ^d]NÈ.[IRI ₁₁ .GA]L
28	Tall Bi'a	[Šamaš?]-nūrī	servant of Adad	Peg sealing for a chest? Container Sealing	[^d UTU]-nu-r[i] DUMU Ba-nu-um ÌR ^d IM
29	Tall Bi'a	^d UTU- KI?.DAM.x	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Door Sealing Bag Sealing	^d UTU-KI?.DAM.x ÌR Ia-ás-ma-aḥ-[^d IM]
30	Tall Bi'a	X	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Door Sealing	X DUMU [] ÌR Ia-ás-ma-[aḥ- ^d IM]
39	Tall Bi'a	(Ba-aḥ-li?)-eraḥ	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tag	(Ba-aḥ-li?)-eraḥ ÌR Sa-am-si- ^d IM
41	Tall Bi'a	Yantin-araḥ	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ia-an-ti-in-a-ra-[aḥ] DUMU ^d X.X.[] ÌR Ia-ás-ma-[aḥ- ^d IM]
44	Tall Bi'a	x	^d Šamaš ^d Aya	Door Sealing Bag Sealing	^d UTU ^d A-a
47	Tall Bi'a	x	^d Šamaš ^d Aya	Bag Sealing	^d UTU ^d [A-a]
66	Tall Bi'a	Annebabdu	servant of Nergal	Bag Sealing	An-né-ba-ab-[du7?] ÌR ^d NÈ.IRI ₁₁ .GAL
67	Tall Bi'a	Ila-x	servant of Zimri-Lim?	Door Sealing	I-la-ba/ku-[] DUMU ^d UTU-na-[šir] ÌR Zi?-[im-ri-li-im?]

Table IV.1, continued

76	Tall Bi'a	A-x		N/A	A-x-[] DUMU x-[] x x (?)
78	Tall Bi'a	Anāku-ilumma	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ia-ás-ma-aḥ-[^d IM] [ša-ki]-in ^d Da-[gan] [A]-na-ku-An-ma [IR-ZU]
82	Tall Bi'a	x	^d Šamaš ^d Aya	Container Sealing	^d UTU ^d A-a
88	Tall Bi'a	x	^d Nanna ^d Ningal ^d Enki ^d Damgalnunna	Bag Sealing	[^d Nanna] ^d Nin-gal [x] ^d En-ki [x] Dam-gal-nun-na
100	Tall Bi'a	Mutu-x	son of Esi-x, servant of Nergal	Door Sealing	Mu]-tu-d[x] [DUMU] E-si-x[] [IR] ^d NE.iri ₁₁ . [GAL]
102	Tall Bi'a	Išḫi-Adad of Qatna?		Container Sealing	Impression 1: [x]-IM [-x?] [Išḫi- ^d IM] Impression 2: [x?]-LUGAL KALAG-[x]
105	Tell Leilan	Puzur-Ištar	servant of Išme-Dagan	Tablet / Envelope	
107	Tell Leilan	Šuri-Adad	son of Zidriya, servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	šú-ri- ^d IM [DUMU] zi-id-ri-ia [IR ^d U]TU-ši- ^d IM
108	Tell Leilan	Šuri-Adad	[Adad?], canal inspector ^d Zababa Šuri-Adad		[Adad?], GÚ.GAL ^d Za-[ba?-ba?] Sú-ri- ^d IM
109	Tell Leilan	Beli-emuqi	servant of Ḫaia-abum, servant of Adad	N/A	Be-li-e-mu-qí İR Ḫa-ia-a-bu-um İR ^d IM
110	Tell Leilan	Ḫala-aštuk (?)	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ha-la-áš-tu-[uk](?) IR ^d UTU-i-dIM]
111	Tell Leilan	Ipiq-Annunītum	servant of Išme-Dagan	Tablet / Envelope	i-pí-iq-an-nu-ni-tum İR i[š]-[m]e- ^d da-[gan]
112	Tell Leilan	Narām-ilišu	servant of Daduša (?)		[n]a-ra-am-i-lí [IR] da-du-[ša]

Table IV.1, continued

113	Tell Leilan	Ḫar-ramanišu	servant of Mutiya	Door Sealing	Ḫa-ar-ra-ma-ni-šu ÌR Mu-ti-ia
114	Tell Leilan	Bayanu	servant of Till-abnû		Ba-a-ia-n[u] [DUM]U ḫa-ra-mu ÌR ti-la-ab-nu-x
115	Tell Leilan	Šalim-bēlī	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ša-lim-be[lī] ÌR ^d UTU-ši -d[IM]
116	Tell Leilan	Yakun-ašar	son of Dari-epuḫ, king of the land of Apum	Tablet / Envelope Door Sealing	Ia-ku-un-a-šar DUMU Da-ri-e-pu-uh LUGAL ma-at A-pí-im
118	Tell Leilan	Mutu-abih	son of Ḫalubimu, beloved of Adad and Bēlet-Apim	Tablet / Envelope	Mu-tu-a-bi-[ih] DUMU Ḫa-lu-bi-[mu] na-ra-am ^d IM ù ^d Nin-A-pí-im
119	Tell Leilan	Ummī-waqrāt	wife of Yakun-ašar	Door Sealing	MUNUS Um-mi-wa-aq-ra-at GEMÉ Ia-ku-ia
121	Tell Leilan	Sin-iddin	baker, servant of Yakuya	Door Sealing Container Sealing	
122	Tell Leilan	Šamaš- lamassašu	servant of Ḫimdiya		^d UTU- ^d LAMA.BI ÌR Ḫi-im-di-ia
126	Tell Leilan	Līter-šarrūssu	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Li-tir-šar-r[u-sú] ÌR ^d UTU-ši- ^d [IM] Bunuma-ili
127	Tell Leilan	Kasap-[...],,,	servant of Išme-Dagan	Tablet / Envelope	
128	Tell Leilan	Samiya	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Sa-mi-ia DUMU Ḫa-ià-m[a-lik] ÌR Sa-am-s[i- ^d IM]
130	Tell Leilan	... [ra]...	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	...[ra]... [ÌR ^d UTU-ši- ^d [IM]
133	Tell Leilan	Da-[gan-]	son of d[], servant of Šamšī-Adad	Door Sealing	
135	Tell Leilan	Išū-rabi			Išū-rabi

Table IV.1, continued

138	Tell Leilan	x	x, Adad x		$\begin{matrix} x & x \\ [&]^d \text{IM} [&] \end{matrix}$
145	Tell Leilan	Apil-ilišu	son of Ali-bānišu, servant of Turum-natki	Jar Jar stopper	
149	Tell al-Rimah	Niḫmatum	daughter of Zikir-..., servant of Ilī-Samas	Tablet / Envelope	$\begin{matrix} [^n]i-iḫ-ma-[tum] \\ 'DUMU.MÍ' \text{ zi-ki-ir-}[\dots] \\ 'GEMÉ' \text{ i-lí-sa-m[a-ás]} \end{matrix}$
150	Tell al-Rimah	Lu-Ninsianna	son of X, servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	$\begin{matrix} lú-^d \text{nin-si}_4\text{-an-na} \\ DUMU DINGIR- ' ' \\ ÌR ^d \text{UTU-ši-}^d \text{IM} ' \end{matrix}$
151	Tell al-Rimah	Zimri-ḫammu	son of Sumu-amim, servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	$\begin{matrix} 'zi-im'-ri-ḫa-mu \\ [DUMU] 'su'-mu-a-mi-im \\ 'ÌR ^d \text{UTU-ši-}^d \text{IM} \end{matrix}$
152	Tell al-Rimah	Zimri-Lim	Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, controller of the Euphrates bank, king of Mari, and the land of Hana, son of Yahdun-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	$\begin{matrix} 'zi'-im-r[i-l]i-i[m] \\ [š]a-ki-in [^d \text{Dagan}] \\ [n]a-[r]a-'am' [^d \text{Enlil}] \\ [g]a-[mi-ir] \\ [aḫ]^{ID}[\text{puratti}] \\ [šar \text{ mari}^{K1}] \\ [u \text{ māt}] 'ḫa'-[na] \\ [mār \text{ iaḫdun}]-li-i[m] \end{matrix}$
153	Tell al-Rimah	Nubur-šarri?		Tablet / Envelope	$\begin{matrix} [n]u-bur-ša[r-ri] \\ 'x \ x \ x' \end{matrix}$
154	Tell al-Rimah	Aškur-Adad	worshipper of the god ... ^d Lagamal	N/A	$\begin{matrix} [aš]-kur-^d \text{IM} \\ 'pa'-li-iḫ 'd...' \\ ^d \text{la-ga-m[a-al]} \\ '...x...' \end{matrix}$
155	Tell al-Rimah	Bini-šakim	servant of Aškur-Adad	N/A	$\begin{matrix} bi-ni-ša-ki-im \\ DUMU SAG.KAL LUGAL \\ ÌR aš-kur-^d \text{IM} \end{matrix}$

Table IV.1, continued

156	Tell al-Rimah	Ibal-...	son of Ahu-..., servant of Hatnu-rapi	N/A	i ba al- DUMU a-ḥu x-x-x ÌR ḥa-at-nu-ra-pí
157	Tell al-Rimah	Bēlī-ašarid	son of Ziliban, servant of Hatnu-rapi	N/A	be-li-IGI.DU DUMU zi-li-ba-an ÌR ḥa-at-nu-ra-pí
158	Tell al-Rimah	Iltāni	daughter of Samu-Adad, wife of Aqba-hammu	Tablet / Envelope	^f il-ta-ni DUMU.MUNUS sa-mu- ^d IM DAM aq-ba-ḥa-mu
159	Tell al-Rimah	Aqba-hammu	the diviner, son of Himdi-Samas	Tablet / Envelope	aq-ba-ḥa-mu MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD DUMU ḥi-im-di-sa- ^r ma-ás ^r
160	Tell al-Rimah	Kiššurum	son of Abdu-..., servant of Aqba-hammu	Tablet / Envelope	^r ki ^r -iṣ-šú- ^r rum ^r DUMU ab-du- ^r x ^r -[. . .] ^r ÌR ^r aq-ba-ḥa- ^r mu ^r
161	Tell al-Rimah	Inib-Šamaš	son of Zakku, servant of Aqba-hammu	Tablet / Envelope	i-ni-ib- ^d UTU ^r DUMU za-ak- ^r ku ^r -[ú] ÌR aq-ba-ḥa- ^r mu ^r
162	Tell al-Rimah	Mutu-hadkim		Tablet / Envelope	[mu]- ^r tu ^r -ḥa-ad-ki-i[m] [races only] [traces only]
174	Tell al-Rimah	Ilī-Šamaš	son of Iqqat-Šamaš/Adad, servant of X	Tablet / Envelope	i-lí-sa-ma-[ás] DUMU iq-qa-at- ^d UTU/IM ^r ÌR BI/GA-ID/DA-HA-X [...]
175	Tell al-Rimah	son of Šamaš-nāšir, servant of	N/A	[.] DUMU ^d UTU-na-šir ÌR [. . .] DINGIR [. . .]
176	Tell al-Rimah	Hatnu-tanuha	son of Hidati-..., servant of Aqba-hammu	Tablet / Envelope	^r ḥa ^r -at-nu-ta-nu-[ḥa] [DU]MU ḥi-da-ti-PA-x[. . .] ^r ÌR ^r aq-ba-ḥa-m[u]

Table IV.1, continued

177	Tell al-Rimah	Aqba-hammu	the diviner, son of Himdi-Samas, servant of Hammurapi	Tablet / Envelope	ʿaqʿ-ba-ʿḥaʿ- mu MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD [DU]MU ḥi-im-di-sa-ma-ás ʿİRʿ ša ḥa-am-mu-ra-ʿpiʿ
178	Tell al-Rimah	Pazu....	son of Sumu-ami, servant of Šamaš	Tablet / Envelope	pa-zu-ʿxʿ-[. . .] DUMU su-mu-a-mi İR ša ^d UTU
179	Mari	Dāriš-libūr	son of Libūr-nādinšu, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tag Door Sealing Jar stopper Tablet / Envelope	Da-ri-iš-li-bur DUMU Li-bur-na-di-in-šu İR Zi-im-ri-li-im
185	Mari	Yataraya	female servant of Zimri-Lim	Bag Sealing	Ia-ta-ra-i[a] GEMÉ Zi-im-ri-li-im
186	Mari	Ilī-epuḥ	servant of Yaḥdun-Lim	Jar stopper	I-lí (?)-e-[pu-u]ḥ İR Ia-a[ḥ-du-li]-im
187	Mari	Enlil-...	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tag	^d En-l[il-x] İR Ia-as-ma-aḥ-d[IM]
188	Mari	Zimri-Lim	Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, controller of the Euphrates bank, king of Mari and the land of Ḥana, son of Yaḥdun-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	Zi-im-ri-lim ša-ki-in ^d Da-gan na-ra-am- ^d En-lil ga-mi-ir aḥ ^{ID} Purattim šar Ma-ri ^{KI} ù ma-a-at Ḥa-na DUMU Ia-aḥ-du-un-li-im
189	Mari	Zimri-Lim	Zimri-Lim, governor of Dagan, beloved of Enlil, king of Mari and the land of Ḥana, son of Yaḥdun-Lim	Tag Door Sealing	Zi-im-ri-lim ša-ki-in ^d Da-gan na-ra-am- ^d En-lil šar Ma-ri ^{KI} ù ma-a-at Ḥa-na DUMU Ia-aḥ-du-un-li-im

Table IV.1, continued

190	Mari	Šunuḫraḫalu	servant of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing Tag Tablet / Envelope	Zi-im-ri-li-im LUGAL KAL.GA šu-nu-uḫ-ra-ḫa-lu
191	Mari	Šiptu	daughter of Yarim-Lim, wife of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing Tag	
192	Mari	Apil-Kūbi	son of Šērit-Sin, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tag	A-pil-ku-bi DUMU še-ri-it- ^d Sin ÌR [Zi-im-ri-li-im]
193	Mari	Yassi-Dagan	son of Lā'ūm, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	[Ia]-ás-si- ^d Da[gan] [DUMU] La-i-[im] [ÌR Z]i-im-ri-l[i-im]
194	Mari	Ilu-kanum	servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	AN-k[a]-nu-um ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
195	Mari	Adad-dūrī	female servant of Ḫadni-Adad	Tag	^d IM-du-r[i] GEMÉ Ḫa-ad-ni- ^d IM
196	Mari	x-Mama	son of Aḫuwaqar, servant of y	Jar stopper	[] ^{dr} Ma-ma (?) [DUMU] A-ḫu-wa-qar [ÌR]
197	Mari	Yabni-.....		Tablet / Envelope	Ia-ab-ni-[] [DUMU] [ÌR]
198	Mari	Yasīm-Sumū	the scribe, son of Abī-Eraḫ, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	[I]a-si-im-su-mu-[ú] [D]UB.S[AR] [DUMU] A-bi-e-[ra-aḫ] ÌR Zi-im-ri-[li-im]
199	Mari	Yasīm-Sumū ZL 2	the šandabakku official, son of Abī-Eraḫ, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope Tag	Ia-si-im-su-mu-ú ŠA.DUB.BA DUMU A-bi-e-ra-aḫ ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
200	Mari	Marduk- mušallim	scribe, servant of Ḫammurapi	Door Sealing	^d Ma[rduk]-mu-ša-lim DUB.SAR ÌR Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí

Table IV.1, continued

201	Mari	Dāris-Lībūr	son of Liūbur-nādinšu, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tag Door Sealing	
202	Mari	Šubnalū	servant of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing	Šu-ub-na-lu-ú ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
216	Mari	Kirbaya	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tag	Ki-ir-[ba]-ia ÌR Ia-as-ma-aḥ- ^d IM
218	Mari	Ištar-[at]	female servant of Ḥabni-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ištar-[at] GEME Ḥabni-[^d IM]
221	Mari	Ḥabdu-malik	son of Iddin-ilī	Tablet / Envelope	Ḥa-ab-du-ma-lik DUMU I-di-in-ili
224	Mari	Yašub-Dagan	son of Paki-x, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	Yašub-Dagan DUMU Pa-ki-x ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
226	Mari	Kapi-Adad	son of Asqūdum, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tag Tablet / Envelope	Ka-bi- ^d IM DUMU Às-qú-di-im ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
227	Mari	Zākirum	servant of Yasmaḥ-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	
228	Mari	Etel-pī-Marduk	Son of Sīyatum, servant of Hammurabi	Door Sealing	[...] DUMU Sí-ia-tum ÌR Ḥa-am-mu-ra-bi
229	Mari	Šumšu-līter		Tablet / Envelope	
231	Mari	Ana-Sīn-taklāku	son of Dāriš-libūr, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tag Door Sealing	A-na- ^d EN.ZU-ták-la-ku DUMU Da-ri-iš-li-bur ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
232	Mari	x-ma-AN	servant of Yaḥdun-Lim	Door Sealing	[x]-ma-AN [Ì]R Ia-aḥ-du-un-li-im
233	Mari	Samiya	son of Ḥaya-mālik, servant of Šamšī-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Sa-mi-ia DUMU Ḥa-ià-m[a-lik] ÌR Sa-am-s[i- ^d IM]

Table IV.1, continued

237	Mari	Šamši-Adad	beloved of ^d Aššur, vice-regent of ^d Aššur	Tablet / Envelope	^d UTU-ši- ^d [IM] [n]a-ra-am ^d [A]-šu[r4] PA.TE.SI ^d A-šur4 [DUMU] I-la-kab-ka-bu-ú
246	Mari	Ḫalupuyama		Tablet / Envelope	DUB Ḫa-lu-pu-ia-ma
248	Mari	Mukannišum	servant of Zimri-Lim	Bag Sealing	[Mu-ka-an]-ni-šu-um ÌR Zi-im-ri[-li-im]
250	Mari	Mukannišum	son of Ḫabdu-baḫlati, servant of Zimri-Lim	Tablet / Envelope	Mu-ka-an-ni-šu-um DUMU Ḫa-ab-du-ba-aḫ-la-t[i] ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-im
251	Mari	Iluna-Kiriš(u)	servant of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing Tag	I-lu-na-ki-ri-[-iṣ]/[šu] [Ì]R Zi-im-ri-li-[im]
252	Mari	Yaḫad-Eraḫ/ Kušuḫ		Tablet / Envelope	KIŠIB Ia-ḫa-ad-e-ra-aḫ/-ku-šu-uḫ
253	Mari	Šunuḫraḫalu	servant of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing	[Šu-n]u-uḫ-ra-ḫa-[lu] ÌR Zi-im-ri-li-[im]
254	Mari	Sîn-muballit	son of Lamassiya, servant of Yasmaḫ-Adad	Tag	^d Sin-GAL.ZU [] [DUMU] La-ma-[si]-ia [ÌR] Ia-ás-ma-a[ḫ- ^d IM]
255	Mari	Ma-	son of y, servant of Zimri-Lim	Door Sealing	
260	Mari	Ili-sanu (?)	servant of dAmurru	Tablet / Envelope	Ì-lí-sa-nu (?)-[] ÌR ^d MARTU
261	Mari	Tarim-šākim	son of [], servant of Šamši-Adad	Tablet / Envelope	Ta-ri-[im-ša-ki-im] [DUMU] [ÌR]
265	Mari	Yaḫad-maraš	(servant of) Zimri-Lim, beloved of Dagan	Tablet / Envelope	Zi-im-ri-li-im na-ra-am ^d Da-gan Ia-ḫa-ad-ma-[ra-aš]

Table IV.1, continued

267	Mari	Abum-EI		Tablet / Envelope	A-bu-um-il
270	Mari	dAdad			^d IM
273	Acemhöyük	Šamšī-Adad	beloved of dAššur, vice-regent of dAššur, son of Ila-kabkabū	Bulla	^d UTUši- ^d I[M] na-ra-am ^d A-š[ur4] ENS[I2] ^d A-š[ur4] [DUMU] i-la-kab-k[a-bu-ú]
274	Acemhöyük	Šamšī-Adad	governor of Enlil	Bulla	^d UTUši- ^d I[M] ša-ki-in ^d En-li[1]
275	Acemhöyük	Šamšī-Adad	appointee of Enlil, vice-regent of dAššur	Bulla	[^d UTUš]i-[^d IM] ša-ki-in [^d En-li] ENSI2 ^d A-š[ur4]
276	Acemhöyük	Šamšī-Adad	son of Ila-kabkabū, vice-regent of dAššur	Bulla	^d UTUši- ^d IM DUMU i-la-kab-ka-bu-ú ENSI2 ^d A-šur4
277	Acemhöyük	SUKKAL.MAḪ []	Šamšī-Adad, governor of Enlil, beloved of dAššur, vice-regent of dAššur	Bulla	[^d UTUši]-[^d IM] [ša]-ki-in [^d En-li] [na-r]a-am ^d A-š[ur4] [ÉN]SI ^d A-š[ur4] SUKKAL.MAḪ []
278	Acemhöyük	Apliḫanda/u	king of Carchemish, son of x	Bulla	[Ap-I]i-ha-an-[da/u] [LUGA]L? Kar-ka-mi-i[s] [DUMU x]-x-na-an-[x]
280	Acemhöyük	Aššur-balāṭī	son of Šēp-Ištar	Bulla	
281	Acemhöyük	Iziḫam		Bulla	
283	Acemhöyük		of divine Aššur, of the excise of the City Office	Bulla	[š]a ^d A-šūr ša ni-is-ha-tim ša É a-lim
284	Acemhöyük	Apliḫadu		Bulla	Ap-li-h[a-du?]
287	Acemhöyük	Aššur-taklāku	son of Kukulānum	Bulla	
288	Acemhöyük	Šalim-Aššur		Bulla	

Table IV.1, continued

289	Acemhöyük	Amuni	son of Awīlia	Bulla	
292	Acemhöyük	Aššur-taklāku	son of Ennam-Adad	Bulla	
294	Acemhöyük	Melik-Aššur		Bulla	
297	Acemhöyük	Aššur-bēl-lamassi	son of Ubḫakum		
298	Acemhöyük	Aššur-ṭāb	son of Šumī-Aššur	Bulla	
303	Acemhöyük	Iddin-[]		Bulla	
305	Acemhöyük	Iddin-Suen		Bulla	
308	Acemhöyük	Adad-ubānu	son of Zuzua	Bulla	
312	Acemhöyük	Kārum Kanesh		Bulla	
314	Acemhöyük	Dadā		Bulla	
315	Acemhöyük	Aššur-[]		Bulla	
317	Acemhöyük	Šamaš-nadini	son of Iddin-Suen	Bulla	
322	Acemhöyük	[]		Bulla	
324	Acemhöyük	Atā		Bulla	
325	Acemhöyük	Aššur-mālik	son of Alaḫum	Bulla	
327	Acemhöyük	Ušur-Suen		Bulla	
329	Acemhöyük	Līter-šarrūssu	servant of Šamšī-Adad	Bulla	[Li-te]r-šar-r[u-su] [ĪR] ^d UTUši- ^d [IM]
330	Acemhöyük	Suen-[]		Bulla	
331	Acemhöyük	Šumī-Aššur	son of Aššur-ṭāb	Bulla	
333	Acemhöyük	Iddin-Suen	son of Iddin-Aššur	Bulla	
334	Acemhöyük	Aššur-emūqī	son of Abu-šalim, servant of x	Bulla	
336	Acemhöyük	Šauma	son of Aššur- ṭāb, the sergeant	Bulla	
346	Acemhöyük	Puzur-Aššur		Bulla	
349	Acemhöyük	Nagiḫanum	daughther of Yaḫdun-Lim, king of Mari and the land of the Simalites	Bulla	Na-gi-ḫa-[num?] DUMU.MUNUS Ia-aḫ-du-l[i-im] LUGAL Ma-ri[ki] ù ma-at DUMU Si-im-[a-al]
357	Acemhöyük	Nanna-ibila-mansum	coppersmith, son of Nanna-luti (?)	Bulla	^d Nanna-ibila-ma-an-[sum] tibira (URUDU.NAGAR) DUMU Nanna-lú-ti [?]

Table IV.1, continued

358	Acemhöyük	Iddin-Suen	son of Iddin-Aššur	Bulla	
359	Acemhöyük	Nab(i)-Suen		Bulla	
360	Acemhöyük	Aššur-iddin		Bulla	
363	Acemhöyük	Šauma-x	son of Aššur-DUG-ni	Bulla	

Table IV.1, continued

APPENDIX V

Table V.1: Distribution of main scene types at Tell Bi'a

Main Scene Type	Ur III/Isin-Larsa/OB	Ba'lu-kullim	Šamši-Adad or earlier	Šamši-Adad	Yasmaḥ-Adad	Zimri-Lim	Total
Presentation	4			2			6
Figure with mace		1	3	19	8		31
Worship		1	4	12			17
Contest			1	2			3
Banquet	1	1					2
Drinking	1						1
Offering	2		1	2		1	6
Procession				2			2
Animal file			1				1
N/A	3		6	16	1		26
Other			3	2			5
Contest+Presentation	1						1
Worship/offering					1		1
Figure with mace+contest				1			1
Figure with mace+worship							0
Figure with mace/worship			1				1
Figure with mace+banquet							0
Figure with mace+offering							0
Contest+worship							0
Worship+offering							0
	12	3	20	58	10	1	104

Table V.2: Distribution of main scene types at Tell Leilan

Main Scene Type	Šamši -Adad	Samiy a	Turum -natki	Zuz u	Ḫaya - abum	Atamru m	Ḫimdiy a	Mutiya	Till- abnû	Till- abnû/Yakûn -ašar	Yakûn -ašar	N/ A	Tot al
Presentation	2												2
Figure with mace	6				1			2	1	1	4		15
Worship							1			1		2	4
Contest	4												4
Banquet													0
Drinking													0
Offering	1											1	2
Procession												1	1
Animal file													0
N/A	2										1	8	11
Other			1										1
Contest+worship													0
Contest+presentation													0
Offering/worship													0
Figure with mace+contest													0
Figure with mace+worship													0
Figure with mace/worship													0
Figure with mace+banquet												1	1
Figure with mace+offering													0
Offering/worship													0
	15	0	1	0	1	0	1	2	1	2	5	13	41

Table V.3: Distribution of main scene types at Tell al-Rimah

Main Scene Type	Šamši-Adad	Ḫatnu-rapi	Ḫatnu-rapi/Aškur-Adad	Aškur-Adad	Aškur-Adad/Aqba-ḫammu	Aqba-ḫammu	Ḫatnu-rapi/Aqba-ḫammu	Zimri-Lim	N/A	Total
Presentation			1							1
Figure with mace	1	2		3	1	5		1	2	15
Worship							1		2	3
Contest										0
Banquet										0
Drinking										0
Offering										0
Procession									1	1
Animal file										0
N/A	2		4		1	2	2			11
Other										0
Contest+presentation										0
Worship/offering										0
Figure with mace+contest		1								1
Figure with mace+worship	1									1
Figure with mace/worship										0
Figure with mace+banquet										0
Figure with mace+offering										0
Contest+worship										0
Worship+offering										0
	4	3	5	3	2	7	3	1	5	33

Table V.4: Distribution of main scene types Mari

Main Scene Type	Yaḥdun-Lim	Sumu-Yamam	Yaḥdun-Lim/Yasmaḥ-Adad	Šamši-Adad	Yasmaḥ-Adad	Yasmaḥ-Adad/Zimri-Lim	Zimri-Lim	N/A	Total
Presentation						1	1	4	6
Figure with mace	1				2	7	19	12	41
Worship	1			1	1	1	1	1	6
Contest				1	1	2		1	5
Banquet									0
Drinking									0
Offering			1			1		7	9
Procession									0
Animal file						1	1		2
N/A				1	1	5	3	8	17
Other					1		2	1	4
Contest+Presentation									0
Offering/worship									0
Figure with mace+contest						1			1
Figure with mace+worship						1			1
Figure with mace/worship					1				1
Contest+worship									0
Figure with mace+offering						1			1
Figure with mace+banquet									0
Worship+offering									0
	2	0	1	3	7	21	27	34	94

Table V.5: Distribution of main scene types Acemhöyük

Main Scene Type	Total
Presentation	17
Figure with mace	2
Worship	17
Contest	8
Banquet	1
Drinking	2
Offering	10
Procession	2
Animal file	3
Other	4
Multiple scenes	17
N/A	15
	98