

The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK

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It is a singular distinction of the rulers of Urkesh that they employ a title found nowhere else in Near Eastern royal titulature: *endan*.² We first learned about this royal title from the text of the inscriptions of Tish-Atal.³ We now have a second, presumably earlier, attestation, used by an individual named Tupkish.⁴ The evidence comes from the legend on three different seals, whose impressions have been found⁵ on sealings contained in a single

¹ The section on the legends is by G.B., the sections on iconography and on style by M.K.-B., the section on historical analysis is joint. The Excursus on the onomastic analysis of the name Tupkiš is by MIRJO SALVINI. The final publication of these royal sealings and the large corpus of uninscribed sealings will appear in the Expedition reports. Preliminary publications can be found in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996(a), (b) and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996; in preparation are articles on the queen's seals and the stratigraphy and distribution of the sealings.

² The title clearly refers to the ruler, see WILHELM 1982, p. 16, for a suggested Hurrian etymology.

³ Three versions exist. The only complete one is the one on the tablet preserved in the Louvre, see PARROT and NOUGAYROL 1948; for the versions on the bronze plaques of both the Louvre and the Metropolitan lions see O. MUSCARELLA and R. ZETTLER in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988.

⁴ For a Hurrian interpretation of the name, see below, Excursus, by M. SALVINI.

⁵ During our excavations in the years 1990, 1992, and 1993. The excavations were made possible through grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities (RO-21543-87), the Ambassador International Cultural Foundation, The Ahmanson Foundation, The Neutrogena Corporation and other donors. The project was sponsored by IIMAS — The International Institute for

floor deposit⁶ from a Storehouse which we have labeled AK.⁷ It is also from these royal seals that we have been able to propose the identification of Urkesh with modern Tell Mozan.⁸ In this article we will present in some detail the pertinent evidence, and will draw certain conclusions pointing to its significance.

When we were first thinking about a topic for an article to offer to our good friend and colleague, HANS HIRSCH, we had intended to touch on some aspect of the Old Akkadian period, so as to tie together one of his long standing fields of research with our current work in that period. Little did we know that such a conjunction of interests would turn out to be as auspicious as any diviner might have portended ! For it was while serving as Visiting Professors at the *Orientalisches Institut* of the University of Vienna that we were able to develop the argument on which our Urkesh interpretation is based. We thus find ourselves in the pleasant predicament of having to offer him what his very hospitality made possible: the edition of these non-Akkadian royal seals of the Old Akkadian period. However short in length, their legends provide historical information of great significance, while the figurative evidence attests to the presence of very distinctive iconographic and stylistic traditions. We hope that the preliminary analysis we are offering here may serve as a fitting tribute for a scholar who has contributed so much to the documentation and the understanding of this period.

Mesopotamian Area Studies with the participation of faculty and students from the University of California, Los Angeles; California State University, Los Angeles; Harvard University; Ambassador College; Università degli Studi "La Sapienza", Rome; the Facoltà di Teologia di Lugano.

⁶ The major part of this floor deposit, comprised in what we have called stratum B12, is labeled Alf113. For a preliminary stratigraphic description see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a).

⁷ See a site plan of Tell Mozan/Urkesh on Fig. 1 and a ground plan of building AK on Fig. 2. We have published a brief preliminary description of the building and its seal assemblage in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1995 (b). A fuller overall presentation has been given in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a). For a general description of the site see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1995 (b).

⁸ A brief preliminary description of the data is found in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1995 (b). A more complete overall presentation is given in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a). See also SALVINI *forthc.*

1. *The legends of the endan seals* (G.B.)

There is a distributional peculiarity with regard to the *endan* seals, namely the relative disproportion between number of seals and number of rollings. Five distinct seals can be reconstructed from a corpus of 11 rollings,⁹ representing a ratio of .45. In contrast, for the queen, eight seals can be reconstructed from a corpus of 72 rollings, for a ratio of .11, and for members of the queen's household four seals can be reconstructed from a corpus of 81 rollings with at least a portion of the legend preserved; the discrepancy would be even higher if we were to include the rollings which seem to render the same seals, but do not preserve traces of the inscription). In diagrammatic form, these figures may be rendered as follows:

	Seals	Rollings	Ratio
King	5	11	.45
Queen	8	72	.11
Queen's household	4	81	.05

These figures mean that few objects had been sealed with one of the king's seals, at least in terms of the present corpus. It would appear as though it was by accident that these sealings were discarded in this part of the building, whether or not the objects that had been so sealed were in fact stored there. For our good fortune, this limited corpus is sufficiently diversified to allow an insight in the richness of the thematic and stylistic repertoire of the royal workshop. Considering how small and fragile these pieces are, we must further marvel at the fact that we were able to recover them in the first place, and that they turned out to be sufficiently well preserved to allow a conclusion with regard to the identification of the site. Only three fragments, from only two of the seals, contain the fragmentary evidence for the reading of the ancient name of the site, while the title itself (or portions thereof) is found on five seals.

While the individual words of the legends on royal seals are the same in each of the seals, there is a difference in word order

⁹ An additional rolling of one of the king's seals has no trace left of the legend. A sixth exemplar may or may not be the rolling of a seal, see presently.

between k1 on the one hand and the other seals on the other. Some of the individual signs in k1 are also flipped vertically in the rollings, by reading the mirror image of these rollings, the vertical flip is eliminated, and we obtain a word order that is identical to that of the other rollings (and of the Tish-atal inscriptions):

k1	original	<i>Urkeš iendan iṭupkiš</i> ¹⁰
	mirror image	~ <i>Tupkiš endan Urkeš</i>
k2-k6	original	<i>Tupkiš endan Urkeš</i>

The vertical flipping and the mirror image reading of the rollings (which implies that the seal was carved in the positive) are features that are characteristic of other Urkesh seals, though not otherwise of third millennium glyptics. Accordingly, this particular interpretation of the royal seal k1 does not present any particular problem.

In Table 1 can be found a concordance of all the relevant legends, sorted by sequential and field numbers,¹¹ and with a full

¹⁰ It is possible that the sequence with the constructive in front of the construent ("the city's ruler" instead of "the ruler of the city") may reflect Hurrian word order. If so, the original seal impression would read in Hurrian, while its mirror image would read in Sumerian or Akkadian. This is particularly likely in the case of the seals of Zamena, the nurse of the queen, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b), note 12. Such a dual reading, on the other hand, is less probable in the case of the royal seal k1, on account of the vertical flip of the signs (which disappears in the mirror image reading), and on account of the fact that the word order in the Tish-atal inscription is that of construent-constructive (*Tiṣ-atal endan Urkeš*). Given the relatively high incidence of mirror image reading in Urkesh glyptic, and the special case of the Zamena seals just mentioned, it may well be that the peculiarity of carving seals in the positive may have originated with a scribal double entendre, which envisaged the possibility of a dual Hurrian and/or Sumerian/Akkadian reading, and that it may then have been used whether or not the double entendre was contemplated.

¹¹ These sequential number of the seals from which the seal impressions are derived is the same as the one given in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a). We have added here a secondary sequential number to identify the individual rollings corresponding to each individual seal. The rolling A5.163 (k1.1) is currently on display in the new Museum of Der ez-Zor.

transliteration and transcription.¹² An autograph copy of each legend is given in Figs. 3a-b; Fig. 4 gives the normalized rendering of the inscription as may be reconstructed from the various fragments, and Figs. 6-7 give a rendering of the composites for each seal. One will notice from the autograph copies that the writing in k6 is appreciably larger than in the other seals: all seals which were used to produce the seal impressions in the AK building measure approximately 2 cms in height, whereas in k6 the proportions are approximately double. The writing in k6, however, is definitely in relief, so that it is the result of an impression of some sort. The alignment of the signs across lines is slightly off, if one compares k6 with k1-k5, but this may be attributed to the rolling; note in this respect how the oblique arrangement of the lines might suggest a fan-like rolling of the seal. The only other possibility is that this may be a fragment of an envelope instead of a sealing. However, the back, while smooth and relatively flat, shows no traces of writing (see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 13, ill. 8) and does not look like a blank portion of the outer surface of an envelope.

The sign *kēš* presents an alternation in the sequence of the components, which reflects a fluidity evidenced already in the archaic attestations of the sign. For ease of reference, I will identify here the three components¹³ as A, B and C, as one goes from left to right in what may be regarded as the normative sequence; a graphic rendering of this sequence, and of the various sign forms discussed here, will be found in the chart given as Fig. 5.¹⁴ Already in the Jemdat Nasr period there is an alternation between the sequence BCA of the city seal from Jemdat Nasr¹⁵ and a sequence with C in

¹² In the transliteration an upside down exclamation mark (!) indicates that the sign is flipped vertically. In the transcription, a tilde (~) indicates that the reading is that of the mirror image of the original.

¹³ They are labelled as šU₂, AN and DUG₃ + DU₃ in R. MATTHEWS 1993, e.g., on p. 62, number 5.

¹⁴ The data tabulated in Fig. 5 are crossreferenced to the footnotes that follow, for bibliographical citations. The correlation of pictographs to cuneiform signs given in R. MATTHEWS 1993 has benefitted from the collaboration of R. ENGLUND, see R. MATTHEWS 1993, p. 9.

¹⁵ R. MATTHEWS 1993, Fig. 10a and p. 37. The identification of the

final position from Uruk.¹⁶ In ED I, the normative form is found in the city seal impressions from Ur;¹⁷ but in the same corpus we have the sequence BC over A.¹⁸ In ED III, the normative form is found, e.g., in Abu Salabikh,¹⁹ but the sequence BAC is found in a pre-Sargonic text of unknown provenience.²⁰ In Urkesh, the normative form of the sign (sequence ABC) is found in our seal impression k2 (and possibly in k6), as well as in the Tish-atal inscription;²¹ the alternative sequence BAC is found instead in k1. In the light of these data it appears that the alternation of the two writings in our seal impressions makes the identification of the city name all the more plausible, since the sign is so distinctive. It further suggests an earlier date as being more likely for the time when the seal legends were written and carved, since such a fluidity of sign components progressively diminishes in favor of a more stable internal arrangement.

The writing of the name Urkesh²² is also subject to considerable alternations over time, of which I record here only the major ones from the earlier periods. In general, it seems that the earliest form of the name was written with the sign *kèš*, followed in the Ur III period by a writing with the sign *kiš*, and then by various writings of the CV-VC type, which became prevalent by the Old Babylonian period. Here are some key references. (A) The form *Ur-kèš.KI* is attested in our seals, in the inscriptions of Tish-atal,²³ and in an Old

components is not fully certain; a sequence ACB might also be envisaged.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Fig. 10b and p. 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, N. 5 and 6 on Fig. 12 and p. 62; cfr. perhaps also N. 117 on Fig. 24 ?

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, N. 7 on Fig. 12; interpreted as two different names on p. 62: ?UR₂ and AN DUG₃ + DU₃.

¹⁹ BIGGS 1974, Pl. 10, N. 21 i 5, in a lexical text, without the determinative KI.

²⁰ STEINKELLER 1992, N. 10, on pp. 36-37 and Pl. 8; note that this is the personal name Ur-Keš, not the homonymous geographical name Urkeš. I am grateful to P. STEINKELLER for calling this reference to my attention.

²¹ PARROT and NOUGAYROL 1948, p. 6, Fig. 4, line 3.

²² Our reasons for preferring a transcription *Urkeš* over *Urkiš* are mentioned in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a).

²³ PARROT and NOUGAYROL 1948, p. 6, Fig. 4, line 3; RICHARD ZETTLER in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988, p. 94; see GELB and KIENAST 1990, p. 382, *Varia* 15.

Babylonian text from Chaghar Bazar.²⁴ (B) The form *Ur-kiš.KI* is found in the inscription of Atal-shen,²⁵ and commonly in Ur III texts.²⁶ (C) In an Old Akkadian inscription we find a possible rendering of the name as *Ur-k[i-iš.KI]*,²⁷ in Ur III *Ur-gi₄-iš.KI*,²⁸ and then in Old Babylonian commonly *Ur-gi-iš.KI*²⁹ and once *Ur-ge-eš* in the Urbana itinerary.³⁰

2. Notes on the iconography (M. K.-B.)

While, to some extent, the Urkesh royal seals are influenced by Akkadian art, they primarily give us evidence, for the first time in the third millennium, of fundamental innovations which antecede by several centuries the interests of rulers to project visually their self-image of authority and legitimacy, and to emphasize dynastic continuity as the mechanism for the transmission of power. This typically Urkesh artistic production centers around a dynastic program which is pervasive in the court art carved for Tupkish and Uqnitum and one of the royal courtiers, the nurse of Uqnitum, Zamena.³¹

Seal k1: Attendants with globular object (see photograph in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 9, ill. 4). — One interpretation of the head of the figure on the left is that the figure is wearing a cap with a chin piece. This seems likely because the ear of this figure is not indicated (as it is in the second figure) and because there is a line on the sealing which appears to go under the chin. Another possibility however is that the figure has one of the

²⁴ AOAT 3/1 69:4, as read by STEINKELLER 1992, p. 37.

²⁵ THUREAU-DANGIN 1912, Pl. 1, line 7. See HIRSCH 1963, p. 32. GELB and KIENAST 1990, p. 383:7, and KIENAST 1994, p. 107, read *Ur-kèš.KI*.

²⁶ BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988, pp. 33f.

²⁷ MICHALOWSKI 1986, p. 6, Text A, ii 9'; GELB and KIENAST 1990, p. 285: 29; KIENAST 1994, p. 107. The restoration has been proposed verbally by P. STEINKELLER. See also the gentilic formation [*su ul'-ki-ši-im* in MAD 1 4 ii' 2' (see RGTC 1, p. 179).

²⁸ CIVIL 1967, 37 6'; see MICHALOWSKI 1986, p. 141.

²⁹ RGTC 3, p. 247; see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988, p. 34 and GUICHARD 1994, p. 254f., 125:3 LU₂-MEŠ ŠU.GI *Ur-gi-iš.KI*; see also 125:5-7 LU₂ *wa-bi-il tup-pi-im an-ni-im* LU₂ *Ur-gi-ša-a-yi.KI*.

³⁰ GOETZE 1953, p. 53f.: iii 22; HALLO 1964, p. 72, 83.

³¹ BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b).

typical Akkadian men's hair styles which is close to the head, and comes down in the back to the nape of the neck; sometimes it is patterned with parallel lines as in our example.³² If this is the case in Urkesh then our figure, even without a beard, should represent a male figure; perhaps the second figure holding the large object is also a male on the basis of the large soft hat which is also found worn by two bearded men in an uninscribed banquet scene.³³ The globular object may be a ball of wool or an oversize ostrich egg.³⁴

Seal k2: Reclining lion (see also photograph in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 12, ill. 5). — The figure on the left is shown in profile with an air of great calmness and stability. The container which the figure is holding is not clearly identifiable,³⁵ nor is its headdress; it might not be inappropriate to consider the figure as a deity or the statue of a deity. The eight pointed star is also found on another seal which we interpret as representing the royal family (q2)³⁶ and a seal of Zamena, the nurse of the queen (h2).³⁷ It is present in other Akkadian seals.³⁸ The same type of star occurs on top of the star topped spade standard. While in the Akkadian seal repertoire the star is connected with a variety of scenes, in the Urkesh inscribed seals it is associated with the royal family and especially with the crown prince and the smaller royal child shown in the Zamena seal; it may in fact be that both are images of the same royal child.

On the k2 seal the reclining lion plays a prominent role in both

³² See BOEHMER 1965, 112 (Akk. I), 260, 504 (with a curl in front ?; Akk. III); this hair style can also be seen on the birdman with the part at the nape of the neck slightly turned up, e.g., BOEHMER 1965, 510 (Akk. III).

³³ These figures were identified as female in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a) pp. 9-10; the banquet scene mentioned above is published there, pp. 24-5, Abb. 27 and Fig. 9d.

³⁴ In PORADA 1948, 245, one of the female attendants holds a smaller rounded object on the palm of her hand.

³⁵ It is not the kind of jar from which water flows, as shown in some seals connected with the god Ea, for which see, e.g., BOEHMER 1965, 502 (Akk. II) and 523 (Akk. III), but rather a bowl from which liquid may be overflowing (into the vessel placed in front of the lion ?).

³⁶ See BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 10.

³⁷ See *ibid.*, pp. 21-23 and BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b).

³⁸ E.g., BOEHMER 1965, 380, 383, 583 (Akk. III); COLLON 1982, 99, 168, 187.

the design and its meaning. A large majority of lions depicted in Akkadian seals appear as participants in the animal combat scenes. In other Akkadian seals the lion is the animal associated with the goddess Ishtar and as such is shown crossed under her chair,³⁹ under her raised foot,⁴⁰ or under her feet.⁴¹ In some cases a lion may be placed under the inscription box.⁴² In all of these instances the lion is depicted in a manner which conveys only the symbol of Ishtar and her power; the artist did not attempt to render realistically the lion either in size or in the details. To this end, lions connected with her appear diminutive in size and emphasize set patterns, for instance by showing the curvature of the tail. In the lions carved on two of the seals belonging to Tupkish, instead, the immediacy of a lion is strongly present and exhibited by his large size and the realism in such details as his mane and the rendering of his tail.⁴³ His position, reclining at the foot of what we think is the throne of Tupkish, is very striking since the lion is presented as both powerful and yet docile in the presence of the king, it is also integrated into the larger scene taking place in the throne room. The second appearance of a lion reclining at the foot of a figure presumably seated on a different patterned stool in k4 indicates that this motif is well established in the art of Urkesh.

Connected to the lion is a small figure who is shown in the design as standing on the neck of the lion but within the spacial view of the seal cutter may be standing directly in front of the seated figure while the lion reclines on his far side.⁴⁴ The extraordinary gesture of this small figure is fundamentally

³⁹ BOEHMER 1965, 384, 389 (Akk. III).

⁴⁰ BOEHMER 1965, 382 (Akk. III).

⁴¹ BOEHMER 1965, 387 (Akk. III).

⁴² BOEHMER 1965, 377 (Akk. II).

⁴³ Considering how realistically the animal is rendered, and the fact that the feet of the seated figure are clearly shown in front of the lion's body, it seems certain that the lion is not a figurative element decorating the throne, but a live animal reclining at the feet of the king. On the concept of a "lion throne" in Ur III see WINTER 1986, p. 260.

⁴⁴ Later in Hittite art deities can be depicted as standing on the back of a lion, see a relief from Carchemish with the Sun and the Moon gods both standing on the same lion, WOOLLEY 1952, Pl. B 33.

significant for the interpretation of this scene; this will be discussed below. Here I will only point out the very limited iconographic parallels there are for this figure and his gesture. The best parallel is the depiction of this same child on a seal belonging to the queen (q2) which also includes the same star.⁴⁵ The exaggerated gesture of his left hand with the elongation of his arm and his upturned elbow is shown in many of the arm positions in the animal combat scenes dating to the Akkadian period.⁴⁶ A few previously known Akkadian cylinder seals emphasize the lap of a seated deity because animals are shown at the knees or the lap.⁴⁷ A beautiful seal recently excavated at Brak shows two seated gods presumably feeding animals at their lap.⁴⁸ In the bilingual text of the Hittite king Hattushili I he states that he was taken onto the lap of the deity and thereby received powers to defeat his enemies.⁴⁹ In the Kumarbi myth the god takes up the child Ullikummi as a sign of acceptance.⁵⁰ In our Urkesh seal, on the other hand, the child touches the lap of a seated figure, whom we interpret to be king Tupkish. In none of the fragments is the head of the figure preserved, hence we do not know what the attributes associated with the headdress might be. But we think it is justified to assume that the seated figure is the king rather than a deity, on two counts. (A) The inscription of the legend gives the name of the king, and, from what we know about Urkesh glyptics, it would be surprising if the king were not represented on the seal in a prominent position. (B) Most of the queen's seals,⁵¹ as identified by the legend, show a human figure seated in a position similar to that in seal k2, by analogy, it seems logical that this figure corresponds to the one mentioned in the legend. We assume, accordingly, that the touching

⁴⁵ BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), pp. 16-17.

⁴⁶ Among the many examples see BOEHMER 1965, 92, 96 (Akk. I), 134 (Akk. II), 160, 176, 195 (Akk. III).

⁴⁷ As in BOEHMER 1965, 561-4; BOEHMER dates this group of seals to Akk. I-III. See also a cylinder seal from Susa dated to ED III, HARPER et al. 1992, pp. 108-110, No. 70.

⁴⁸ OATES and OATES 1991, pp. 135-6.

⁴⁹ The Hittite references to the lap are discussed in CANBY 1986.

⁵⁰ HOFFNER 1990, p. 53.

⁵¹ Published in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a).

of the lap signifies at the same time filial closeness and respectful submission, and thus serves to identify the crown prince.

In the k2 seal, a mace is held by the seated figure on the right who is presumably to be identified with Tupkish himself; a similar mace in our corpus is held by a god in an uninscribed seal in which there is also a figure of the Double-Faced God.⁵² The mace often appears in the battles between gods as it is their main weapon along with the dagger;⁵³ in addition individual seated deities may hold them as well.⁵⁴ If our seated figure is indeed the king, rather than a god, this may add weight to the speculation that the Hurrian kings might have adopted divine status, as suggested by a possible etymology of the title *endan* as being from the Hurrian word *eni* "god".⁵⁵

Seal k3: Warrior with helmet (see photograph in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 13, ill. 6). — The pointed helmet worn by a bearded warrior who is bare chested and presumably wears a short skirt is not found in Akkadian cylinder seals.⁵⁶ However this type of warrior is clearly seen in the Akkadian stelas showing battle scenes as in the Tello example⁵⁷ and the Naram-Sin stela.⁵⁸ A

⁵² BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a) p. 126, Fig. 9e and Abb. 28.

⁵³ BOEHMER 1965, 334 (Akk. II), 339, 341 (Akk. III).

⁵⁴ See BOEHMER 1965, 648 (Akk. III). See also BOEHMER 1965, 683 (AKK. III) and especially 376 (Akk. I) for a large example of a mace held by a god.

⁵⁵ WILHELM 1982, p. 16. Given the earlier date of our seals, it would follow that a Hurrian custom to attribute divine attributes to their kings would not imitate, but rather antecede Shulgi. What, if any, relationship there might be with Naram-Sin's analogous policy is best left aside until more evidence is obtained and a firmer chronological framework is secured.

⁵⁶ The rectangular object with open interior spaces in front of our figure is vaguely similar to an object on a stamp seal from the British Museum shown in BOEHMER 1965, 661 (Akk. III) which also has a seated figure holding what may be to a long handle blade as in our k4; strikingly, in this design the standing figure has his arm and elbow bent awkwardly up over the rectangular object to touch the outstretched hand of the seated figure. This may be an accident of the somewhat awkward carving.

⁵⁷ MOORTGAT 1969, Pl. 134; BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982 No. 21; FOSTER 1985.

⁵⁸ MOORTGAT 1969 Pl. 155-156, BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982 No. 26; while the soldiers wear this cap, Naram-Sin himself has on the same shape hat with a more articulated portion extending down his neck but with the addition of a

soldier in the alabaster sela from the Baghdad Museum wears the same shape helmet but with a horizontal pattern.⁵⁹

Seal k4: God with raised foot. — The god shown on the left wears a horned headdress which is similar to examples worn by Akkadian deities.⁶⁰ A similar headdress is worn by a god in an uninscribed sealing from the same deposit.⁶¹ The god on the seal of Tupkish, is dressed in a skirt which is tucked up in front as is clear from his leg resting on an object which is not preserved. A similar skirt is worn by a god holding a bow⁶² and at times by Shamash,⁶³ although this type of dress is rare in Akkadian glyptic. A god holding a mace appears on recently excavated sealings from Brak; this god wears his skirt tucked in front.⁶⁴ The god's weapon on our sealing is curved at the upper end and may have had a blade hafted to the exterior edge. If this is the case it can be compared to the weapons carried by the soldiers in the stela of Sargon found at Susa,⁶⁵ in the Naram-Sin stela⁶⁶ and in the recently excavated stela

pair of horns. Our example shows the portion hanging down behind the shoulder and also seems to have part in front; it is possible that the portion in front forms part of his beard.

⁵⁹ BÖRKER-KLÄHN No. 22 and see also No. 23.4b. For an earlier representation of this helmet on the stela of Eannatum see *ibid.*, 17c-d. A possible parallel comes from a seal in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum collection, which may show a warrior wearing a patterned helmet similar to those worn in the Baghdad Museum stela (BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982, no. 22 a-b). See BLEIBTREU 1981, no. 35, p. 33 and BOEHMER 1965, 260 (Akk. III).

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the chronology of the hats worn by Akkadian deities see BOEHMER 1967. See also FURLONG 1987 for a more detailed discussion of Early Dynastic divine headdresses and some suggestions on the origins of Akkadian examples.

⁶¹ BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a) pp. 24-26, Fig. 9e.

⁶² See BOEHMER 1965, 377 (Akk. II) and 390 (Akk. I).

⁶³ BOEHMER 1965, 488 (Akk. III). Two ED III seal impressions with figures wearing a similar skirt were excavated in a burnt deposit outside the city wall, BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988, pp. 13, 18-19, Nos. M1 174 and M1 181.

⁶⁴ OATES and OATES 1991, pp. 135-6.

⁶⁵ MOORTGAT 1969, Pl. 125 and 138.

⁶⁶ BÖRKER-KLÄHN No. 26 d.

from Halawa.⁶⁷

3. *The dynastic program* (M. K.-B.)

From the number of king's and queen's seals exhibiting the theme of the royal children paying homage to their sovereigns, it is clear that for the first time in the ancient Near East a conscious effort was made to create images of power and continuity for the Urkesh rulers and their children. We refer to this as a "dynastic program". It is "dynastic" in that it highlights the place of the royal child in relationship to one or the other of his parents. (In the king's seals it is the king; in one of the queen's seals, it is the royal couple, and in the other seals of the queen, the queen.) And it is a "program" in that the dynastic theme is recurrent in a variety of different scenes, and on a number of different seals, all of them used at the same time. Thus the Urkesh dynastic program differs for instance from the Sumerian ED III "votive plaques":⁶⁸ these define a family situation, but they do not single out any specific royal child, nor do they display a variety of scenes with interrelated subjects.⁶⁹

The fact that we can discuss a dynastic program in conjunction with any ancient Near Eastern art in the third millennium is quite unexpected. But clearly the official art created for the two Urkesh dynasts reflects fundamental concerns for power and for the continuity of the hierarchical order. The program is clearly and simply set out. On the king's seals gifts are brought (k1), power indicated through the presence of a warrior (k3), the star and the figure of a god indicate the divine presence and approbation (k2,4⁷⁰), the seated figure with a couchant lion at the base of the throne indicates power as well as order and harmony (k2,4). The central aspect of the program is the gesture of respect, homage,

⁶⁷ ORTHMANN 1985, p. 470, where two crescentic axes are placed upright in the field.

⁶⁸ See, e.g. FRANKFORT 1970, p. 70, fig. 73.

⁶⁹ In fact, their repetitiveness has been noted in the literature, e.g. GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT 1951, pp. 159-160; GROENEWEGEN-FRANKFORT and ASHMOLE 1977, p. 95. In addition, it seems that the so-called votive plaques do not address political, but economic concerns, related to real estate purchases, see BUCCELLATI 1994, pp. 188-189.

⁷⁰ Also the figure on the left of k2, if it represents a deity or a statue of a deity.

submission which connects the small figure of the crown prince in k2 and is also found in q2. This same gesture is associated with a royal daughter in conjunction with the queen in many of her seals.⁷¹ Since we cannot as yet reconstruct the head of the figure seated on the right in k2 (or q2 either), interpreted here as depictions of the king, it is conceivable that these figures are deities. Even with this possibility, the dynastic message is still the same although carried out with different modalities.

The remarkable originality and inner coherence of the royal seals and the absence of precursors appears to indicate the direct intervention of the royal couple in the development of this artistic program and possibly of the individual themes themselves. The artists of the Urkesh court must have presented both the king and the queen as they themselves wanted to be seen. Thus the themes throw light on the self-perception of the dynasts: they have themselves portrayed in settings of power or (if the king himself is not sitting on the throne in the seals that bear his name) at least connected with these settings through the inscriptions. The royal concern with the transmission of their message resonates in the seals carved for one of the royal courtiers, that of the royal nurse Zamena. She is possibly the royal courtier most intimately connected with the dynastic concerns of the royal family since she is in charge of the next generation of rulers.⁷² Her remarkable depiction together with the queen who is holding a royal child and, even more startlingly, her gripping the wrist of this child while being held by the hand by this same child is totally unprecedented in third millennium art. The intimate touching gestures between the nurse and the child can only be paralleled later by the gesture of the interceding goddess who grasps the worshipper by the wrist in some seals with the presentation scene.⁷³

⁷¹ See BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a). On the role of Akkadian princesses see FOSTER 1987, pp. 53-4. Princesses were important in connection with dynastic marriages and in this sense added to the prestige and power of their parents. Concerning the situation at Ebla, see BIGA 1987.

⁷² Her association with them extends to her having goods in the same Royal Storehouse, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b).

⁷³ See, for example, BOEHMER 1965, 573-4 (Akk.I). The overall spirit of the Zamena seals is, however, quite different from the presentation scenes. The

Can we say that these motifs had no precursors and therefore are found in this mature form for the first time in Urkesh? With our present evidence this seems to be the case. While in Early Dynastic and Akkadian art dynasts are depicted, and in the case of Sargon his daughter Enheduanna is shown in a ritual relief,⁷⁴ none of these images of the rulers have embodied such a vital, coherent program which gives a clearly defined message. This type of royal message, especially centered around the question of dynastic succession, is found later in Hittite art which stresses the same concerns in both art and textual material. Hurrian influence has long been noted in Hittite art both of the Empire and in the Neo-Hittite reliefs. The Hittite reliefs of Alaca Huyuk appear to visually depict a situation in which the dynastic succession was uncertain; as CANBY has pointed out, a small nude child in these reliefs can be viewed as the heir apparent shown with other, older, royal children.⁷⁵ Another instance in Neo-Hittite art can be understood at Carchemish on the "Royal Buttress". Here Yariris promulgates the right of one of the younger sons to be king in a visually elaborate and powerful message.⁷⁶ The number of details and the subsequent impact of the

intimacy of the relationship is stressed in the Zamena seals both in the iconography and the text, while in the presentation scenes the role of the interceding deities is secondary. Also, the whole aspect of being led into the presence of a god by one of his attendants contrasts with the scene of an intimate royal circle in the Urkesh seals.

⁷⁴ The wife of the ensi was important in the economy of Early Dynastic Lagash and in the Ur III period we have two seals preserved of Ninhilia, the wife of the governor of Umma under Amar-Su'en and Shu-Su'en (see PARR 1974, MICHALOWSKI 1979, STEINKELLER 1981, WINTER 1987, VAN DE MIEROOP 1989. For a connection between Enheduanna in the office of en-priestess of Nanna/Su'en at Ur and the greater aims of Akkadian rulers see WINTER 1987, pp.200-1.). The subject of the seals of Ninhilia is the standard presentation scene but in them a goddess is shown and the worshipper is a woman who, on the basis now of the seals of Uqnitum, must be identified as Ninhilia herself. These royal women and their servants will be taken up again in an article devoted to the queen's seals.

⁷⁵ She considered the possible connection of the reliefs with the succession of the grandson of Hattushili I, Murshili, who inherited the throne when Hattushili's sons revolted against him, CANBY 1986, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁶ HOGARTH 1969, Pl. B 7-8; CANBY 1986, pp. 61-3.

combination of figures and texts reflect in spirit the royal seals from Urkesh carved more than a thousand years earlier.

To what extent the images on the sealings mirror historical reality it is too soon to speculate. In our corpus the visual and textual evidence both confirm the historical presence of an important Hurrian king and his queen, with her strong position in the court, and the long-term aims of the dynasty. The concerns exhibited here are taken up later and expanded by other strong dynasts who conceive and project their art in function of ideas and concepts which are paramount to their reign. Thus the dynastic program created through the images and the texts of Tupkish and Uqnitum is the first in a long line of art reflecting concerns of the Hittite and Assyrian kings⁷⁷ culminating in the royal programs of the Achaemenids,⁷⁸ and Rome under Augustus,⁷⁹ to mention but a few.

4. *Historical significance.* (G. B. and M. K.-B.)

The new evidence of the royal seals from the Storehouse AK raises a number of important questions of which only a few can be mentioned here, accompanied by some preliminary answers.

(1) The identification of Tell Mozan with Urkesh rests on strong evidence, in spite of the diminutive scale and fragmentary nature of the seal impressions. In the Storehouse AK we only have the sealings of the king and his wife, plus those of the queen's household.⁸⁰ This circumscribes very narrowly the circle of the users of the storehouse, at least in terms of the seal impressions from which an inscription has been preserved. It is likely, on the one hand, that the containers were sealed outside of both the storehouse and the city, namely in farms or production centers

⁷⁷ See especially ALBENDA 1987, READE 1987, and the Esarhaddon stelae where he is depicted on the front and his two sons on the sides (THUREAU-DANGIN and DUNAND 1936, stela A. Pl. XII and stela B- Pl. XIII). I wish to thank PAULINE ALBENDA for these references and for discussions of the Urkesh material in general. On some problems of royal succession see BEN-BARAK 1987.

⁷⁸ ROOT 1979.

⁷⁹ ZANKER 1988.

⁸⁰ The only individual who is not associated by virtue of a title with the royal house of Urkesh, Innin-šadû, may possibly be associated in other ways with the queen, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b).

where goods were prepared or manufactured on behalf of the seal owners, in whose name they were then stored until needed for use.⁸¹ But it is also clear, on the other hand, that the shipments could not have originated from a number of individuals, all closely associated with each other and with the king of Urkesh, if the city of Urkesh were to be located at a site other than Mozan.

(2) The royal titulary deserves special attention. It can be assumed to be one of the clear indications of political consciousness, in that it proclaims both the ambitions of the ruler and, at the same time, the realistic limits to which ambition must yield. In our case, two observations can be made. First, the name of the kingdom is that of a city. This does not, of course, preclude the possibility that the king might have been the ruler not just of the city hinterland, but of a larger geographical region.⁸² It might in fact be that the title given on the seal legends renders an abbreviated form of a fuller official title,⁸³ particularly for seals which were used for internal administrative purposes. Second, the title of the ruler is the Hurrian term *endan*: this may be taken as having ethnic implications, since the choice of a Hurrian word, spelled syllabically, contrasts with the tradition of using Sumerograms such as LUGAL or EN. Its use as part of the royal titulary can hardly be considered accidental, but rather indicative of a deliberate policy.

(3) The adoption of a strong and independent new glyptic tradition helps to identify Urkesh as an autonomous center of cultural innovation. The sophistication of formal stylistic traits; the richness of iconographic details; the complexity and dynamism of the compositions; the ideological content of the dynastic program; the correlation between scenes and legends, the experimentation

⁸¹ See BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 29.

⁸² We prefer to think of Nawar, mentioned in the titulary of king Atal-shen, as a territory rather than a second city, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1988, p. 33.

⁸³ This is in fact the case with the seals of the queen, which often refer to her simply as DAM "wife", without even the name of the husband, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), pp. 17-21. In contrast, the seal impressions of Zimri-Lim (from OB Mari) give the full titulary of the king as in the royal inscriptions, including the name of the territory (*Ḫana* and *aḫ Purattim*) and honorific titles (*šakin Dagan, narām Enlil*), DOSSIN 1959, p. 253.

with mirror image writing and other peculiarities in the rendering of the inscription — all of this points to the existence of workshops which were forging a tradition of their own. The continuity of some of these traits within later traditions of Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia⁸⁴ suggests Urkesh as an original center of influence and point of diffusion. Of particular significance is the development of a dynastic program, which is carried out in a variety of different seals, belonging to the king, the queen and the nurse, and is in contrast with the emblematic, but repetitive, nature of the animal contest scenes used to identify royalty in the South.⁸⁵

(4) Both the material culture and the epigraphic documentation suggest the existence of a major cultural boundary between Mozan/Urkesh and Brak/Nagar⁸⁶ — thus, for instance, the lack of the title *endan* in Nagar and the distinctiveness of the glyptics, particularly as it regards the royal seals. There is no geographical boundary of any sort between them, because they are located within the same plain, without oro- or hydrographic barriers between the two, the direction of major communication routes leading in fact from one to the other. If there is a geographical distinction of sort, it might derive from the nature of the hinterland. For Brak/Nagar, it may be said that (a) the Sinjar does not offer a proper hinterland in terms of resources, but only a communication route towards Mesopotamia, and that (b) the fertility of the plain is not fully reliable, since its location on the very edge of the dry farming zone causes a certain instability in the regime of the rainfall. For Mozan/Urkesh, the reverse is true on both counts: (a) the Tur-Abdin provides entry into a mountain hinterland which is very rich in natural resources, and (b) dry farming is always at its best. Such geographical distinctiveness was significant even in the absence of natural barriers, and was consolidated by considerable cultural differences.

(5) The contrast between the two cities was further affirmed by

⁸⁴ See above, section 3, and BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), p. 21 with n. 27; KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996.

⁸⁵ See COLLON 1988, pp. 123-125. For an example of an animal contest scene in Urkesh, possibly reflecting local stylistic adaptations, and for an hypothesis that it may be linked with the royal house, see BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b).

⁸⁶ See MATTHEWS and EIDEM 1993.

political distinctions. There is no indication that Urkesh was ever conquered by the Akkadians. There is no overt presence of Akkadian administrative or military controls from the excavations.⁸⁷ There is no mention of a conquest of Urkesh in any of the Akkadian royal inscriptions known to us.⁸⁸ There is no indication of large scale destruction from the excavations (though admittedly current exposure remains quite limited). The scene of the military campaigns of the Akkadian kings seems to be rather in the eastern part of the Khabur plains and up the Tigris also coming from the East.⁸⁹ Nor is there any mention of Urkesh in the Ebla texts, in contrast with the very active connections with Nagar (which is assumed to be Brak).⁹⁰ Thus the general impression is that Urkesh and its hinterland, especially its immediate mountain hinterland in the Tur-Abdin, retained, in the third millennium, a closer link with the highlands than with the plains, and a more northerly orientation than the other urban centers of the Khabur. Knowing that Urkesh was situated at Mozan, and that it had a line of independent *endans*, allows a sharper definition of the regional interrelationships in the area. Interestingly, the closest explicit connection between Urkesh and the Akkadian political sphere is to be found in our own evidence, i.e., in the fact that the Urkesh queen attested in our seals bears the Akkadian name *Uqnitum*.⁹¹

(6) The presence of several seals of the king, used contemporaneously⁹² and in their original functional setting,⁹³ sheds new

⁸⁷ The presence, even the preponderance, of Akkadian names in the tablets from Area F in Mozan/Urkesh (Milano 1991) need not be evidence of that, and may simply be the result of onomastic fashions.

⁸⁸ With the possible exception of MICHALOWSKI 1986, p. 6, Text A, ii, 9' (see KIENAST 1994, p. 107), where *Ur-ki-iš.KI* is mentioned in a fragmentary context (the restoration has been proposed verbally by P. STEINKELLER).

⁸⁹ See, e.g., FOSTER 1990.

⁹⁰ See ARCHI *et al.* 1993, pp. 391-395.

⁹¹ In BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (b) the speculation is advanced that Uqnitum may be an Akkadian princess, and Innin-šadû a relative or retainer in residence at Urkesh.

⁹² As indicated at the beginning, all of the king's seals come from a single floor deposit, which is between 10 and 15 cms thick, suggesting that it would have accumulated over a very short period of time, presumably no more than a few years. To our knowledge, no comparable situation exists for any collection

light on the administrative use of sealing procedures. Of particular interest is what we have called "multiple entitlement", i.e., the use of royal seals by several individuals other than the king. This assumption is based on the simple observation that the co-occurrence of different royal seals in a storehouse setting excludes any actual, personal involvement of the king in the act of sealing. The high stylistic quality of the seals themselves, and their proclamation of an explicit dynastic program, as well as the lack of the name of any subordinate official associated with the king, imply, on the other hand, that the king was more directly linked to both seal production and seal use than one might have expected. At the same time, we gain a better understanding of the full range of what may be called a "royal" seal. Though royal in their attribution (through the legend and the iconography) and in their political import (through the adoption of a dynastic program), these are not seals kept or used personally by the king, nor are they used in the implementation of his political functions.⁹⁴ It may be noted that, found in isolation, none of the seals used to produce the impressions in our corpus could have allowed a functional explanation of any sort. However difficult the labor of analysis, and fragmentary the reconstruction of the individual wholes, this is another good example of the significance of a minute study of a corpus of rollings in their original stratigraphic context.

5. *Excursus*:⁹⁵ *The Name Tupkiš* (MIRJO SALVINI)

The name *Tupkiš* appears to be an hapax, but is clearly linked to Hurrian personal names and Hurrian elements of personal names. It may possibly be an abbreviation from *Tupki=šenni*, as *Unapše* in relationship to *Unap=šenni* (see *Mozan* 2, p. 25). While there are no other known instances of abbreviations in -š, it is also a fact that

of seal impressions from third millennium Syro-Mesopotamia.

⁹³ See our preliminary comments in BUCCELLATI and KELLY-BUCCELLATI 1996 (a), pp. 26-29.

⁹⁴ As is for instance the case with seals used in the ratification of treaties, see BEYER 1994.

⁹⁵ We reproduce here an extensive onomastic analysis of the royal name *Tupkish*, which was very kindly communicated to us by MIRJO SALVINI, to whom we are most grateful.

the element **tupkiš* does not occur by itself as first or second element of a personal name; hence the possibility that it may be properly an abbreviation, rather than a hypocoristicon (as *Tupkiya* might be of *Tupki=Teššup*). A parallel may be found in the possible correlation between *Talpu-šarri* and *Talpuš-atili*.⁹⁶

Besides the references in GELB *et al.* 1943, 112 (see also p. 269 for assimilated forms in *tukki-* and *-tukke*) there is an Ur III ruler named *Dub-ki-še-en/ni^l lù-Gu-ma-ra-ši*.KI (TAD 67, 1; cf. RGTC 2, 174, 70, s.v. Gumaraši, and GELB 1944, p. 112. On the element *tupki*-see LAROCHE 1977, p. 272.

From Khafaja see the name *Dup-ki-a-šum* (OIM A 22027, cfr. GELB 1944, p. 54, n. 44). The second part of the name did not seem Hurrian to GELB, but see *a-šu-ma-a-ri* (KUB XXVII 42 Rev. 12). The suffix *-um* (defined as "transitive Partizipialbildung" by NEU 1988, p. 7) occurs in verbal forms within personal names in Alalakh and Nuzi (G. WILHELM, *FS. Heger*, 1992, 667-668), which can be translated as third person singular of the preterite with a singular object. It must be noted, however, that a Hurrian verbal root *aš-* is not attested, and that the position of the substantive in noun phrases of this type is inverted, e.g., *Haš=um-allai* "the lady heard".

In Mari one finds the names *Tupki=išhara* (A 3640, ARM 26 23:6) and **Atal=tupki*, which appears in a Semiticized form as *A-tal-tu-up-ku*, the name of a ruler of Burundum in the Upper Jezirah (A. FINET, *RA* 60, 1966, 19; see J.M. SASSON, *UF* 6, 1974, 358, 386, 391). In Tell Rimah there is the hypocoristicon *Tupkiya* (*Tu-up-ki-ia*, OBTR 58, 15; J.M. SASSON, *Assur* 2/2, 11; *UF* 6, 386), *Akata=Tupki* and *Kap-tupki* J.M. SASSON, *Assur* 2/2, 7). For Chaghar Bazar, see *Nawar=Tupki* (AOAT 3:23; see also *Or* 46 (1977) 142). For Shemshara, see *Du-niⁿ-tu-up-ki* (LAESSØE 1959, 37 ff., SH 887 Rev. 39, who reads *Du-x-*).

In Nuzi there is *Tupki-šenni*, *-tilla*, *tešup*, *-šarri* (see GELB *et al.* 1943, 269, s.v. *tupk*, where various Hurrian parallels are cited. See also *Tup-ki-na-* (*HSS* 16 95, 3; *RHA* 65, 1959, 176).

In Boghazköy we find, in a Hurrian context, the same name in the genitive: *Ši-i-la-al-lu-ḫi ša-a-la Tup-ki-ia-a-we* "Š., daughter of

⁹⁶ The latter occurs in the Akkadian, or slightly later, seal from Tell Brak published in MATTHEWS and EIDEM 1993, where *-atili* may be an archaic form of *-atal*.

T." (*KBo* V 2 ii 22-23 // *KUB* 45 12 Obv. ii 8).

The only lexical attestations, outside onomastics, are found in the Hurrian texts of Boghazköy. (1) The lexical element *dubki-* is found once in the singular, in a broken context: *du-up-ki-ni* (*KUB* 12 51 = *ChS* 1/5 70 Obv. ii 9'). (2) From a second occurrence, in the plural, we may assume that it is an adjective: *du-up-ki-na-a-ša* HUR.SAG^{MES}-*n[a-a-ša ...* (*ChS* 1/1 68 Obv. 6) and *du-up-ku-un-na-a-ša* HUR.SAG^{MES}-*na-a-ša* (*ChS* 1/1 68 Obv. 7). These are two dative plural forms: "to the *dupki* mountains". (3) The form *du-up-ga-e* in a ritual for Tashmisharri (*ChS* 1/1 49 ii 31) seems to be an adjective or an adverb (see DIAKONOFF 1971, 73f.).

In spite of these many occurrences, the meaning of the element *tupki-* remains unknown, also because in the only connected text where the element *du-up-ga-e* occurs as a form by itself (the last text cited) both the word that precedes and the one that follows are unclear. There is, however, an interesting structural correlation among the following forms:

<i>Tupki=Teššup</i>	~ <i>Tulpi=Teššup</i>
<i>Tupki=šenni</i>	~ <i>Tulpi=šenni</i>
<i>Tupkiya</i>	~ <i>Tulpiya</i> (GELB <i>et al.</i> 1943, 268-269)

This might suggest that the two roots are semantically close, and there is a good probability that *tulp-* is a verbal root with the meaning "to cause to prosper" (see G. WILHELM in *ZA* 82, 1992, 181, n. 13.).

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Seq #	Field #	Transliteration and transcription		
k1	1	A5.163	<i>ʿiUr[r-kè]ʿš¹[]</i>	<i>ien-ida-an</i> <i>iTup-ki-iʿšʳ</i>
	2	A5.187	<i>[]ʿikʳèš¹.KI</i>	<i>[]-an</i> <i>[]</i>
	3	A5q951.4	<i>[]</i>	<i>eʳn¹-[]</i> <i>ʿiTup-ki-[]</i>
	4	A1q1036.10	<i>[]</i>	<i>[]ʿida¹-[]</i> <i>[-k]ʿiʳ-iš</i>
		<i>ʿiUrʳkeš iendan iTupkiš</i> ~ <i>Tupkiš endan ʿUrʳkeš</i> (mirror image)		
k2	1	A5.455	<i>[]</i>	<i>[]</i> <i>[Ur]-kèš.KI</i>
	2	A1.221	<i>Tu[p-ki-iš]</i>	<i>[]</i> <i>[]</i>
	3	A1q922.7	<i>[Tup-ki-i]š</i>	<i>[]</i> <i>[]</i>
k3		A1q922.6	<i>Tʳuʳp-ki-i[š]</i>	<i>ʿen¹-[]</i> <i>[]</i>
k4		A1q914.8	<i>ʿTup-ki-iš</i>	<i>ʿen¹-[]</i> <i>[]</i>
k5		A1q981.19	<i>[-i]š</i>	<i>[]ʿan¹</i> <i>[].KI</i>
k6		A5.46	<i>[]-iš²</i>	<i>[]-da²-[]</i> <i>[-k]èš²[]</i>
		<i>Tupkiš ʿendan¹ [Ur]keš</i>		

Table 1. Concordance of the legends of the king's seals

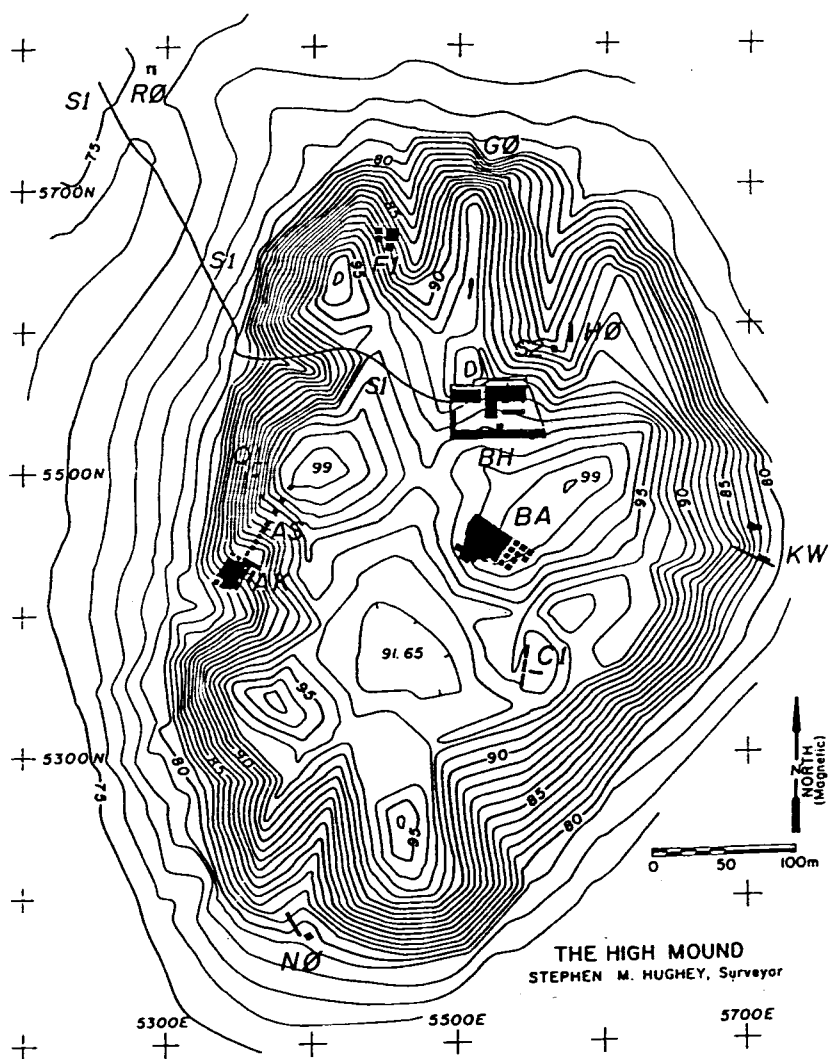


Fig. 1. Tell Mozan/Urkesh: Site Plan

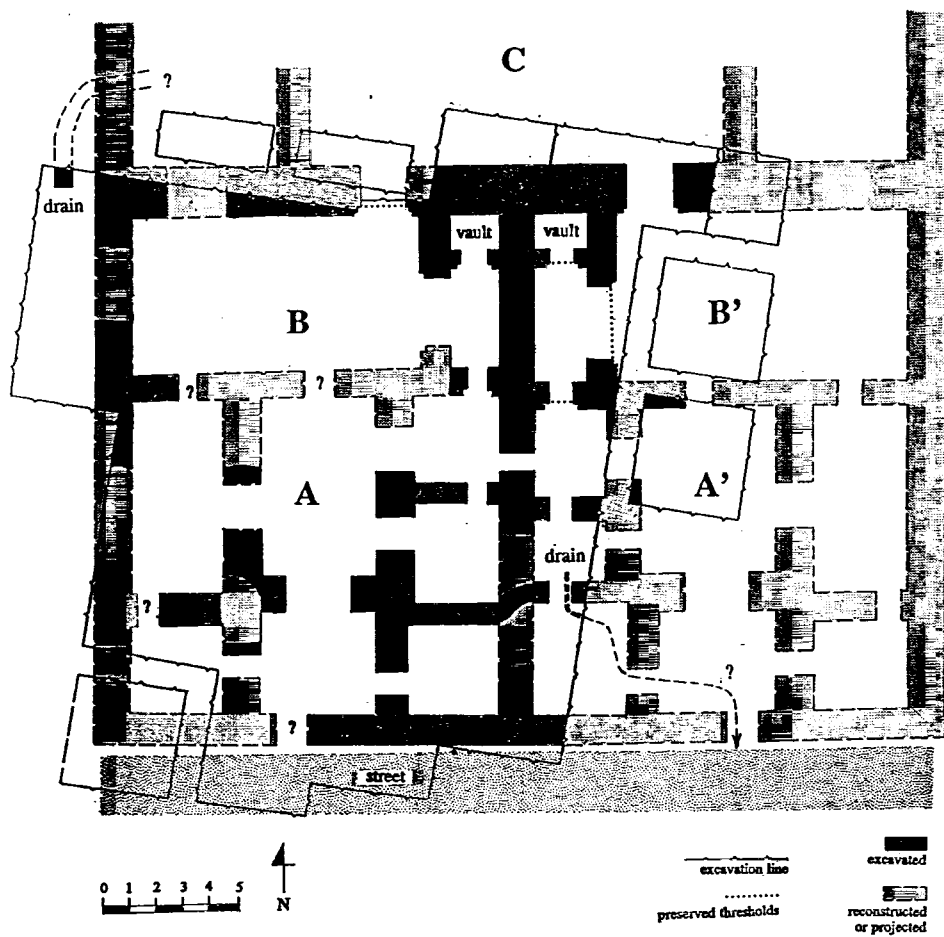


Fig. 2. Floor Plan of Royal Storehouse AK (Stratum B12)

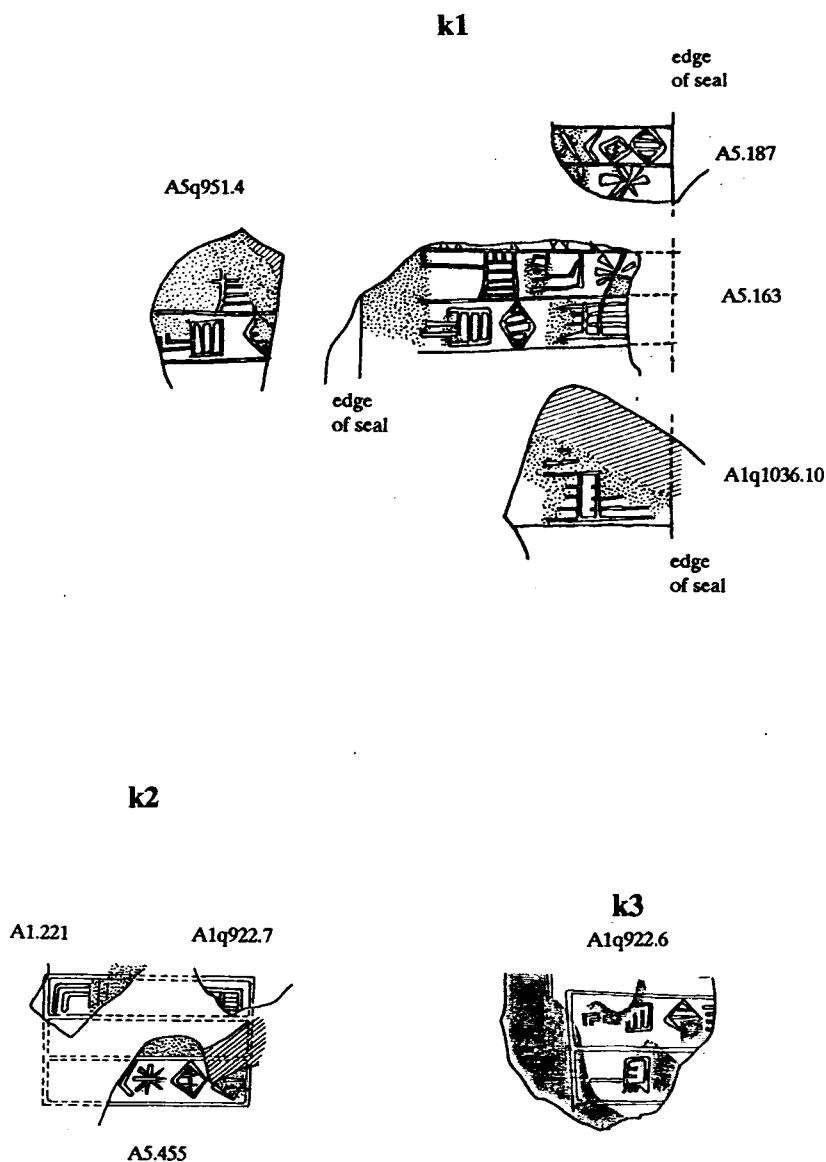


Fig.3a. The legends of the seals of king Tupkish

Scale  1 cm

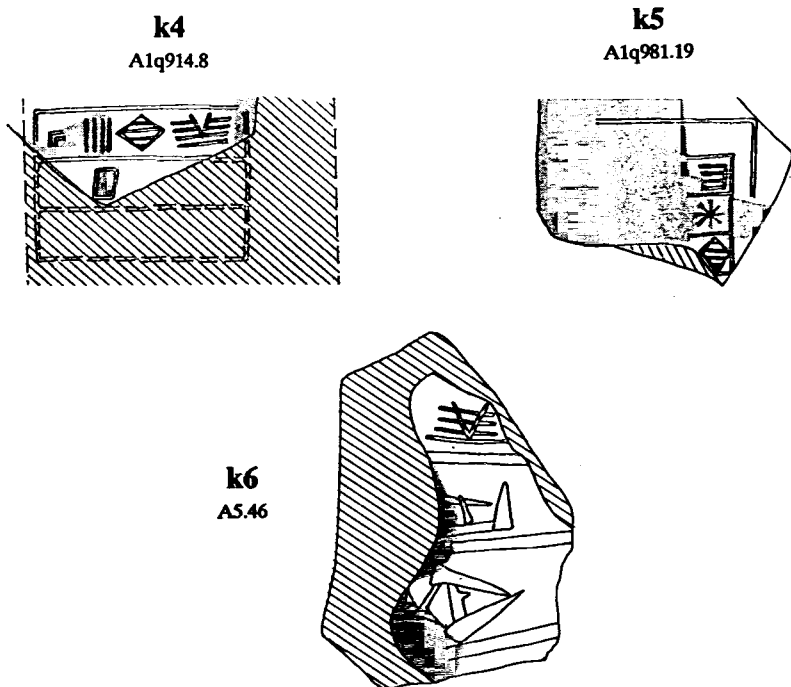
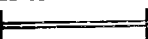


Fig.3b. The legends of the seals of king Tupkish

Scale  1 cm

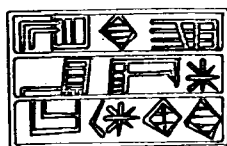


Fig.4. Normalized rendering of the legend of king Tupkish

	ABC	BCA	BAC	[]C	BC A
Jemdat Nasr ¹⁴					
Uruk IV ¹⁵					
Ur ^{16,17}					
ED III city list ¹⁸					
Pre-Sargonic ¹⁹					
Tupkiš (k2,k1)					
Tiš-ata ²⁰					
Hammurapi					

Fig.5. Alternations in the sequence of components of the sign *kēš*

Raised numbers refer to footnotes in the text.

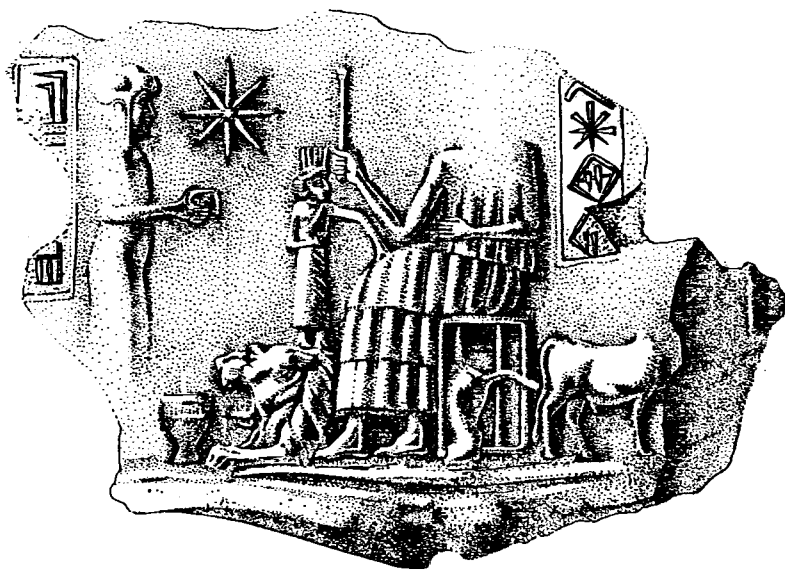


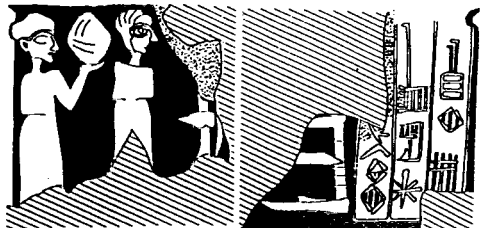
Fig.7. Stippled Style Rendering of Seal k2
Drawing by Pietro Pozzi

Scale |—————| 1 cm

Original rolling

Mirror image of original rolling

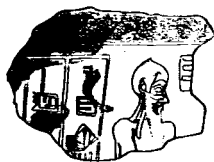
k1



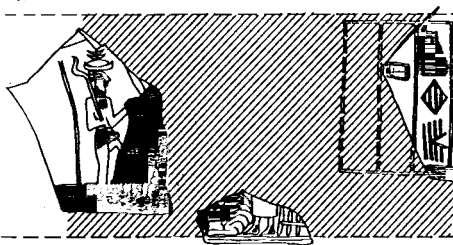
k2



k3

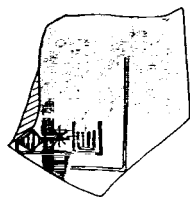


k4



Original rolling

k5



k6

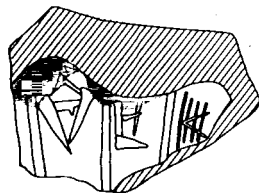



Fig. 6. Composite renderings of the seals of king Tupkish

Drawings by Cecily J. Hillsdale

Scale  1 cm



1. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k1 (2)
A5.187 (Photo E8a-6507)



2. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k2 (1)
Detail of lion
A1.455 (Photo B8b-0318)



3. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k2 (2)
A.1.221 (Photo E8a-7010)



4. Detail of Rolling from Seal k2 (2)
Faces of standing figure of left and of crown prince
A.1.221 (Photo B8b-0735)



5. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k2 (3)
A1q922.7 (Photo E8b-1902)



6. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k4
Detail of first rolling: god with raised foot and legend
A1q914.8 (Photo E8b-4107)



7. Fragment of Rolling from Seal k4
Detail of second rolling: reclining lion
A1q914.8 (Photo E8b-4109)