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- Pl. VII: Catalogue of Early Dynastic seal impressions with wagon and chariot scenes.

The Courtiers of the Queen of Urkesh

Glyptic Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK

Giorgio Buccellati & Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

The corpus

The identification of Urkesh¹ with Tell Mozan² rests on the cumulative evidence of a large corpus of seal impressions found in a well defined stratigraphic and functional setting.³ The majority of the seal impressions belong to the queen, whose name is written ZA:KUR.NI-tum/KUR:ZA.NI-tum, which we interpret as Akkadian *Uqn̄itum*.⁴ At least eight different seals can be reconstructed⁵ from 72 rollings, belonging to the queen. Her titles are given as NIN "queen" (1 seal with 3 rollings), DAM *Tupkiš* "the wife of Tupkish" (1 seal with 5 rollings), or simply DAM "the wife" (6 seals with 64 rollings). The use of the word "wife" in an unbound syntactical context, i.e., without the name of the husband following it, suggests that this stood as a title, possibly implying a known determinative connotation. The referential value of the determination may have been to "the wife" as the primary wife and mother of the crown prince. Thus, it should be noted that *Uqn̄itum* does not bear the formal title of "queen of Urkesh," a pattern which is in fact not typical of regular royal titulary.

There are many fewer rollings of the king's seals: only eleven, which account, however, for a surprisingly high number of seals, five in total. The text of the cuneiform legend is the same on all seals: *Tupkiš endan Urkeš* "Tupkish, king of Urkesh," though there are significant variations in both

¹ The initial report on this identification was given at the annual meeting of ASOR in Philadelphia on November 20, 1995, and a brief preliminary report has appeared in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995 (b). A fuller overall report is in press in *Archiv für Orientforschung*. The present article is one of a series dealing with individual segments of the corpus which are scheduled to appear in various journals, most recently see Kelly-Buccellati 1996. A final report is in preparation in book form for the publication series of the Expedition. The excavation of the Royal Storehouse AK was carried out during the sixth through the eighth season of the Mozan/Urkesh Archaeological Project, and it was 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 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; the Facoltà di Teologia di Lugano. We are grateful to all the officials of the Directorate of Antiquities who have made our work in Syria possible, in particular the Director General, Dr. Sultan Muhesen and, in the earlier seasons, Dr. Ali Abu-Assaf; the Director of Excavations, Dr. Adnan Bounni; the Director of Antiquities for the Hassaka region, Mr. Jean Lazar; and the Representative of the Directorate, Mr. Ali Ali. Cecily J. Hilsdale collaborated very closely in the analysis of the seal impressions in the field, and is responsible for all the drawings published here. Lily Tsai helped in preparing the drawings for publication. The photographs published here were taken in the field by Federico A. Buccellati, Marie-Louise Eagleton, Anwar Abd el-Ghafour and Samer Abd el-Ghafour.

² See Pl. I. For an introduction to the site and our earlier excavations see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1988 and 1995 (b).

³ See Fig. 2. For a preliminary description of the stratigraphy of the Storehouse AK, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, *forthc.* (a).

⁴ A degree of uncertainty remains in the reading of this name, but the Akkadian interpretation we are using seems the most likely. A philological presentation of the argument will appear elsewhere.

⁵ It must be stressed that we only have rollings, and no actual seals. Also, the frequency counts given below refer only to fragments on which the inscription, or part of the inscription, appears. This yields more conservative results than if fragments were included exhibiting the same figurative elements, but not the pertinent inscription, since in this case some of the attributions would remain uncertain. Proportionally, counts with and without inscriptions appear to be relatively equivalent, except for the rollings of Innin-šadū, where the incidence of rollings without inscription is higher (possibly on account of the fact that the space taken up by the inscription is smaller).

palaeography and the way in which the legends are carved. Both the name of the king and the royal title used are Hurrian.

Three other individuals are mentioned in the inscribed seals: the nurse of the queen (who uses two different seals), the (female) cook of the queen, and a man whom we know only by the name of Innin-šadū, since no title is given for him in the legend. A high number of rollings is attested for each of these seals: 28 for the nurse (17 for one seal and 11 for the other), 27 for the cook, and 26 for Innin-šadū. While the nurse and the cook are explicitly linked with the queen's household, Innin-šadū can be so linked only inferentially, as we will argue presently.

The pertinent figures are tabulated below. It should be stressed that they refer to fragments with portions of the inscribed legend; more fragments are to be added to the count on the basis of iconography, but, as indicated above in n. 5, we retain here the more conservative counts based only on epigraphy. A few additional fragments of inscribed legends are found in our corpus, but they are not considered in this study. In particular, there is possible evidence of one additional seal belonging to the king.

	Totals of		Rollings of individual seals							
	<u>Seals</u>	<u>Rollings</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
King	5	11	4	3	1	2	1			
Queen	8	72	3	5	8	35	3	13	2	3
Queen's household	4	<u>81</u>	17	11	27	26				
	17	164								

As shown clearly in the above tabulation, the corpus of inscribed seals belonging to the queen's household is the one for which we have the highest number of rollings, if not the highest number of seals. And it is this corpus that we are presenting here. Its interest derives not only from the higher incidence of occurrences, and from the some specific considerations pertaining to sphragistic typology, but also from the nature of the stratigraphic setting and what it allows us to say about the functional aspects of the assemblage and the bureaucratic nature of the organization from which they stem. Here, however, we can only describe the courtiers' seals from a typological point of view. It is also impossible to discuss in full the reasons for our chronological attribution of this corpus, which we assign to the late Akkadian period; one will only find a few comparative remarks as they pertain to the style and iconography of some of the seal impressions presented in this article.

Seal design and seal owners

Attempts have been made in the past to correlate seal designs with the professions (or administrative positions) of the seal owners. In most cases, these investigations arrived at a negative conclusion,⁶ or at best a limited one,⁷ even when based on quantitative analysis.⁸ In contrast, this new material from Urkesh of two women who are part of the Urkesh royal court, the nurse Zamena and a female cook whose name is no longer extant on our rollings, have very clear depictions of their specific professions, which are named in their seal inscriptions. Their inscriptions, too, clearly link them not only with their professions but also with the queen, so that they are certainly part of a system of administration controlled by her; in fact, the seals of the nurse not only describe the profession as such, but offer as well a representation of the larger system within which the profession is seen to function, through the portrait-like representation of the relationship in which the nurse stands vis-à-vis the royal child and the queen herself.

⁶ J. Franke 1977, p. 61, came to the conclusion that this is one of the "most unrewarding aspects of the study of cylinder seals."

⁷ Winter 1987, p. 81: "I suggest that the glimmer of a rational system is there, pairing individuals with imagery appropriate to his or her position."

⁸ Kelly-Buccellati 1977, p. 47: "it is possible to see a trend in connecting the gods named in the inscription with the figure shown pictorially on the seals."

The novelty of this peculiarity of Urkesh glyptic can best be appreciated when considered together with the iconography and style of the royal seals, which are discussed elsewhere.⁹ Suffice to say here that they all have the following features in common.

(1) They contain the careful delineation of a setting which is emblematic of the "profession." In the case of the king and queen, this implies a dynastic program. The various scenes highlight visually the delicate balance of power which obtains among the various members of the royal family: the queen as primary wife and as mother of the crown prince, the crown prince himself, the other royal children. Both the royal seals and the seals of the nurse and the cook thus depict concrete situations which are ultimately derived from daily life, even though they transcend the level of a simple vignette, and become symbolic statements with an ambitious functional valence.

(2) The main compositional elements represented by the principal scene are carefully coordinated not only with the inscriptional content of the legend, but also with the location of the legend box itself and with the secondary motifs which are placed beneath the box. The Urkesh seal carvers show a real delight in the alternations that occur in the arrangement of these elements and the nature of the substantive themes chosen. We will describe below this situation for the seals of the nurse and the cook, but it must be borne in mind that a fuller understanding can only emerge from the combined study of all the seals in our corpus.

(3) It may finally be noted that, whatever other aesthetic and technical goals the Urkesh seal carvers may have pursued, their style was perfectly suited for the expression of the complex functional relationships among the seal owners; this style combined naturalistic features (seen here in the details of the churning jars in a basket) with expressionistic details such as the emphasis on the large eyes (which take up most of the space within the profile view of the heads) and on unusual hand gestures.

The nurse Zamena

The two seals owned by Zamena (Pl. III),¹⁰ the nurse of the queen Uqnitum, show the same scene, which can only be distinguished by a slight difference in the size of the figures. The major distinguishing traits come in the inscription. The impression of both seals yields a negative, i.e., in order to read it we need to look at a mirror image of the impression (Pl. IV). The resulting sequence can be read as "Seal¹¹ of Zamena, the nurse of Uqnitum." Curiously, the signs on seal h1 are flipped vertically when read as a mirror image, as if one were in fact supposed to read the original impression, rather than its specular, or reversed, equivalent.¹² Another variation is to be found in the writing of the queen's name, which is given as GIN₃.ZA-ni-tum in h1, and as ZA.GIN₃.ni₁-tum in h2, an alternation that is also found in the seals of the queen herself.¹³

The name Zamena has been interpreted as a feminine Hurrian name by Gernot Wilhelm, who has most kindly provided the following commentary. "*Za-me-na* is a feminine name, as all Hurrian names with the second element *-mennil-mena*.¹⁴ It is evident that the name *Za-me-na* is identical with Nuzi *'Za-am-mi-in-*

⁹ See for now Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995 (b) and forthc. (a).

¹⁰ The lower case letter "h" in the label stands for "household." The sequence is the same as the one given in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati forthc. (a).

¹¹ The use of the word KIŠIB "seal" in first position occurs in Old Assyrian, Teissier 1994, p. 262. This use of KIŠIB in first position, as well as the use of seal reversals, is a feature that interestingly links Urkesh with Old Assyrian glyptic, some 400 years later.

¹² Several other rollings in the Urkesh corpus have to be read in their mirror image, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati, forthc. (a). In the case of h1, however, one wonders if the vertical flipping reflects an intentional scribal (or seal cutter's?) "pun," whereby this particular seal would evince a Hurrian word order, possibly supported by grammatical notations not rendered in the writing. If so, h1 would represent a Hurrian version of the seal, the rolling to be read as is, and translated roughly "Uqnitum's nurse's seal"; h2, instead would represent the Sumero-Akkadian version, the rolling to be read in mirror image, and translated "seal of the nurse of Uqnitum."

¹³ We use the symbol $\bar{\cdot}$ to indicate a vertical flip in the writing of the sign, and the symbol ~ to indicate the transliteration of a mirror image.

¹⁴ See Wilhelm 1996.

ni (AASOR 16, 39: 2, 4, 10, 20); ¹⁵*Za-am-mi-ni* (AASOR 16, 39:13); ¹⁶*Za-am-mi-en-ni* (HSS 13, 165: 28). It is noteworthy that this name, together with the name *Unap-šena*,¹⁵ tend to form an early pattern of Hurrian onomastics in *-a* (*Unap-šena*, *Zam-mena*), whereas in later texts from Mari, Nuzi and elsewhere only *ni*-forms appear (*Unap-šenni*, *Zam-menni*). (For a remarkable exception cf. the *a*-form in *Pendi-šena* "Bentešina.") The element *-menal-menni* may be interpreted as a kinship term, for which the meaning "twin, twin sister" has been suggested.¹⁶

Iconographically, both seals depict a woman seated on the left wearing a fringed dress; she has long hair with an ornament near the end. This same figure is depicted a number of times on the seals owned by the queen and can be identified as the figure of the queen herself. Behind the queen stands an attendant also in a fringed garment but with her hair in a bun. Her arm is raised with perhaps a filler motif between her head and the queen's (this however may also be the hand of the attendant which is not well preserved in any of our rollings). The queen has a small child on her lap who is dressed in a long fringed garment with hair depicted with striations (this is best seen in h2).¹⁷ This child sits firmly on the lap of the mother and confidently faces outward. The most striking feature of the design is the standing woman facing this child; she is shown holding onto the child. Hand touching gestures are prominent aspects of the communication in the Urkesh seals and signify direct, intimate relationships. Here the woman touching the child can be identified as the nurse Zamena herself. She wears the same fringed garment and has her hair in a bun as the attending figure standing behind the queen. Under the inscription is a reclining human headed bearded bull with one leg raised. A statue of a similar reclining bull with his right leg bent was recently excavated at Brak.¹⁸

While this is not a specific portrait of Zamena¹⁹ in the modern sense of portraying physical and psychological aspects of the personality of the individual, the placement of the figure facing the child with her head at the same height as the child's, and the fact that she holds onto the child with both hands, indicate to us that she is the nurse Zamena cited in the inscription as the seal owner. If we can speak of a "portrait," then, it is in the sense of a portrayal that communicates the nurses's intimate connection with the royal family, so much so that she can even have the queen and her child accompanying her both pictorially and, in the case of the queen, also in the inscription. In other words the scene and the inscription confirm her importance to, and dependence on, the queen and her child. This mutual relationship is powerfully symbolized by the hand gestures; with one hand Zamena holds onto the wrist of the child, while the other hand appears to be held by the child, an appropriate example of the duality of familiarity and dependence. Beyond her importance to the royal family, this scene confirms the high status of Zamena within the royal court.²⁰ This status is reinforced by the fact that she has two seals in the corpus (whereas the other two courtiers discussed here only have one each) which are rolled on containers a number of times.²¹

There are seven seals with scenes showing children in the standard catalog of Akkadian seals by Boehmer. Only one child, in a seal from Susa, is being presented to a seated god.²² All the rest show the child on the lap of a figure usually seated on the right wearing a tiered garment.²³ The seated figure can be male or female and in one case (no. 560) is a goddess with long braided hair (without a braid ornament). In another seal (no. 556) Boehmer identifies the standing figure in front of the child as a nurse since she is

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3. The name is also attested in a text from Urkesh, slightly later in date than our seal impressions, in the writing *U₂-na-ap-še-ni*, Milano 1991, M2 1 obv. ? i 4'.

¹⁶ Ch. Girbal, *SMEA* 29 (1992) p. 162 f.

¹⁷ The children in Boehmer 1965 nos. 557 and 560 appear to be dressed.

¹⁸ Oates and Oates 1994. We had the privilege of being shown this statue by the Oates in Brak shortly after it had been excavated.

¹⁹ For portraits in seals, see J. Franke 1977, p. 65.

²⁰ On the role of the nurse in the third millennium, see Steinkeller 1981, 88-90.

²¹ The types of containers she is connected with and the distribution of her rollings in the Royal Storehouse will be discussed in a later article where these questions will be addressed for all the royal seals.

²² Boehmer 1965, no. 483; this is the same gesture of presentation of the child found in the Kumarbi myth although there Ullikummi is placed on his father's knees by the Fate Goddess and the Mother Goddess (Hoffner 1990, p. 53).

²³ Boehmer 1965, nos. 555-560.

bare breasted and is gesturing toward the child to others behind her.²⁴ While all the other adult figures in the scene are women wearing fringed robes, a second child in a fringed garment stands behind the seated woman holding the first child.²⁵ There is no indication that the woman holding the child is a goddess. It is possible that this seal did belong to a wet nurse who is shown within a setting of other women and the mother of the child (a queen?) together with both children shown in lively poses. The fact that the nurse is standing directly in front of the mother and child and interacting through her gestures both with this pair and the other women in the scene is indicative of a characteristic of the Zamena seals, that is that the scene itself communicates the connection of the nurse with the mother and child and at the same time with other persons surrounding this mother. At the opposite pole is the inscribed seal of the nurse Daguna who has a standard presentation scene on her seal.²⁶ Two other seals (Boehmer 1965, nos. 558-9) also appear to show women (not goddesses) associated with the children, both holding them. Most of the children on Akkadian seals are turning and looking at the figure holding them, but in Boehmer 1965, no. 560, the child is facing a worshipper standing beyond an altar; it is not clear whether or not this child wears a long garment.²⁷ Two other sculptures from the excavations at Tell Chuera and Halawa depict small children. The Chuera example, dated by the excavators to between "Mesilim und Akkad-Zeit" shows the children held by seated goddesses with tall conical hats and long braids hanging down on either side of their faces.²⁸ A fragmentary stela from Halawa shows one figure in a line of women carrying a small child; the stela is dated by the excavator to the Akkadian period.²⁹ Neither the Chuera nor the Halawa reliefs can be connected with the style of the Urkesh/Mozan royal seal impressions; nor is it clear why the children are being held, who they are, or what role they play in the scenes. What is clear is that children, for a number of different reasons, are important in the iconography of the Akkadian period in the northern portion of Syro-Mesopotamia.³⁰

The details of the carving style of the Zamena seals associates them with the same workshop where the queen's seals were carved.³¹ All the figures have an over large oval eye and a large nose with their hand gestures clearly articulated; the relative size of the individual figures is also important. Zamena is shown as approximately the same height as the head of the child and therefore smaller than the queen and the female attendant standing behind her. In the queen's seals, too, the relationships are expressed through hand gestures and size differentiation among the figures. The shape of the inscription box has been arranged so that the head of the reclining human headed bull has a greater amount of space; on one of the queen's seals two bending figures under the inscription box appear to be integrated with the rest of the composition. While this is not exactly parallel to the arrangement of the Zamena inscription boxes, it does exhibit a similar flexibility in the shape of the inscription and its integration with the shapes in the seal design. This point is also pertinent to the discussion of the cook's seal below.

Iconographically, Zamena's seals also reflect those of the queen. All the women in the scene wear a fringed garment,³² even the queen who usually wears on her own seals the more important tiered garment. The fact that all the adult figures shown are women is also typical of the queen's seals. The women attendants wear their hair in a bun but the queen has long hair with a hair ornament toward the end (on her

²⁴ There are apparently other bare breasted female figures in Akkadian seals, e.g., Frankfort 1939, Pl. XXI:C, which shows a goddess standing in front of Ea, accompanied by his vizier. The figure presumably to be identified with Daguna on her seal (see presently) is a woman but not indicated through her pose or clothing as a nurse.

²⁵ For a new drawing of this seal see Collon 1982, Pl. XX, N. 142.

²⁶ Nougayrol 1960, p. 213. Nougayrol indicates that this seal may also come from Urkesh, hence from Mozan.

²⁷ Another unpublished seal showing a goddess holding a child is in the collection of the Biblical Institute of the University of Freiburg, Switzerland; I am very grateful to H. Keel-Leu for showing it to me (M. K.-B.).

²⁸ Moortgat and Moortgat-Correns 1976, pp. 51-57.

²⁹ Orthmann 1985.

³⁰ See Canby 1986 for an in-depth presentation of Hittite and other children in art.

³¹ The queen's seals are presented in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati forthc. (a). A longer discussion on the style of these seals, and the question of children, both royal and non-royal, will be taken up again in another article devoted specifically to the queen's seals.

³² Usually the fringe is depicted down the front of the dress and across the lower border. The part down the front of the dress was never preserved in the figure of the nurse, but this may be due to the poor preservation of most of her rollings.

own seals her hair is braided which is probably also the case here although none of our rollings were sufficiently preserved to determine this detail). Above the upturned hand of the child is an eight-pointed star, also depicted on a queen's seal showing the royal family.

Zamena's seals clearly follow the dynastic program already indicated by seals of the king, Tupkish, and the queen, Uqnitum. Zamena must have been important in this regard since she was close to the queen and needed two seals. Her seals were rolled a sufficient number of times to clearly indicate that she held an administrative and bureaucratic position for which she needed these seals, and did not simply act as a nurse to the children in the royal household. The role of a wet nurse reflected her high status, as indicated for the Ur III period by the example of Kubatum who became the main wife of Shu-Sin but had been a wet nurse under Amar-Suen. Since she became the principal wife of Shu-Sin, it is thought that the first children she had were fathered by Amar-Suen.³³

The cook

The seal belonging to the female cook of the queen (Pl. Va) also clearly shows the profession of the seal owner in its iconography. It is, however, of a different type than that of Zamena in that the scene depicted is one of working at tasks associated with cooking and in this sense can be called a daily life scene. The woman on the left is bending over holding two sticks in two jars placed side by side in a basket. She is probably churning in a manner which involves pulling up one stick (on the bottom of which is probably attached a flat disk) at a time. This is indicated by the slight difference in the position of the two hands, one being clearly higher than the other.³⁴ Above and around her head hang two legs of meat. On the other side of the inscription stands a bearded man holding a knife in one hand and holding onto a lamb (?) with the other. In front of him is a crescent, while below is a pedestal with an unclear object on it.³⁵ The bending woman and the butcher are both facing a long inscription box, while well worn traces of a shorter inscription box can still be seen above the back of both the animal and the bending woman. In this case the bending woman is not the seal owner. In other words, the seal owner is not portrayed in the iconography of the seal as the nurse Zamena is in her seals. Rather, the cook is represented on the seal by the legend box, which is split in two. The first half (completely abraded except for the frame) was placed above the rear portion of the lamb (?), while the second half (giving her title and her association with the queen) occupies the full height of the seal: both the bending woman and the butcher face the legend box as if in a relationship of dependence from it. Thus the "cook" is not so much the person involved in the actual task of menial kitchen duties, but rather the "chef" who is in charge of the entire kitchen organization, from the procurement of supplies and the choice of menus to the preservation of food-stuff and the actual preparation of meals.

This seal, too, has characteristics which connect it, stylistically, to those of Zamena and especially of the queen. The eyes of the two figures are large and the woman wears the fringed dress, her bun and hair pattern reflect the attendants in the queen's seals. Two women are depicted in one of the queen's seals as working so that they are bending over with the inscription box placed above them. In both these instances the figures under the inscription are not balanced since one is farther away from the box than the other. This then is similar to the bending woman and the animal here. The inscription in the tall box is worn while the cases where her personal name probably appeared are obliterated. The scene however is clear and may have been recut. Thus far, there are no other inscribed seals from the Royal Storehouse showing work situations.

In the only case of a sealing on which the rollings of two different seals were impressed (A1.469, Pl. Vc), the cook (or her agent) and an official of the queen sealed the same container. The cook sealed first and then an administrative agent of the queen sealed the same container by rolling her seal with the figures in the design at right angles to that of the cook but over the cook's rolling in such a way that only a part of the cook's design is clear. In other words the two designs are physically contiguous on the object

³³ Sigrist 1986; Van de Mierop 1989, p. 62.

³⁴ For a traditional representation of the use of such a churn see Pl. Vb. We are grateful to V. Gerald Scordan for providing this illustration.

³⁵ This object may be a cut of meat, a fish or even a vessel turned on its side; Buchanan 1966, no. 780 may depict a similar object which he interprets as an altar with an animal head (?) above. This Brak drawing was made from an object with two rollings excavated by Mallowan. We wish to thank Lily Tsai for this reference.

and made to be expressly so, it appears. It may be that the cook sealed first because the container sealed was directly under her control but was of such a nature that it had to be counter-sealed by a representative of the queen. In the corpus of rollings excavated from the Royal Storehouse there are eight seals belonging to the queen; three of these exhibit the specific iconography shown in this rolling.³⁶ In the portion of the queen's seal shown on this object, the queen is seated in a tiered garment on the left; in front of her is a small figure whom we are interpreting as her daughter and therefore a royal princess. Behind this girl two legs of a table can be seen. The rest of the seal is not preserved on this object but is known from many other rollings in this corpus; it shows an attendant standing behind the queen with another one standing beyond the table, her arm extended over the table toward the girl and the queen. The secondary motif under the inscription is a lyre player seated opposite a figure who may be identified as a singer.

In this instance the cook was sealing the container at the same time as one of the queen's authorized officials who could seal in her name. In this single instance we therefore have clear evidence of the physical presence of these two officials at the moment the container was sealed. From the evidence on the reverse of this object we know that the container was a jar as we have traces of a jar rim, the string, part of the shoulder of the jar and traces of the leather used to cover the jar.

Innin-Šadū

This seal is a typical Akkadian contest scene with two groups of three contestants (Pl. Vd). In the first one a nude hero holds the tail of a rampant lion who is attacking a rampant antelope or goat; the second group is composed of the nude hero who is holding the hoof and the horn of a horned animal being attacked by a rampant lion.³⁷ A rampant human headed bull stands next to this lion and may be touching his down turned tail. Between this bull and the first nude hero the name of Innin-šadū (written *I-nin-SA.TU*, with a peculiar dislocation of the two components of the sign *TU*) is written without an inscription box.

In late ED III and early Akkadian both the human headed bull and the bull man appear in contest friezes. The bull man plays a role similar to that of the nude hero and stands in an active position with one arm raised and the lower arm holding the tail of the attacking lion³⁸ or the lower back of the horned victim³⁹, similar to the arm position of our nude hero holding the horned animal. In our example of the human headed bull, while the lower arm may be holding the tail of the lion, the upper arm shows a characteristic bend or almost a twist, similar to the position of the leg of the human headed bull on the two Zamena seals, and the Brak statue cited above. While our figure is clearly a human headed bull, he is shown in a pose similar to one given to the bull man.

Our seal should be dated to the early Akkadian period based on the wide, even spacing of the figures across the design, the view of the lion heads in profile, and the fact that in the placement of all the figures the vertical element is stressed. The rendering of the dotted-eye-heads and the depiction of the human headed bull, except for his characteristically bent right leg, are close to ED III seals and indicate a continued dependence, in the early Akkadian period, on this earlier style. The beardless nude hero is more common in the ED III period but is also found on early Akkadian seals.⁴⁰ The possibility should be considered that the human headed bull and the inscription were added in Urkesh to a seal which had been carved in the south. However this conclusion does not seem probable for two reasons: (1) there existed in Urkesh a lively seal cutting tradition with seal carvers who would have been skilled enough to imitate a

³⁶ See Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati forthc. (a) where these three seals are labelled as q 6-8.

³⁷ A number of ED III seal impressions of animal combat scenes were excavated just outside the city wall, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1988, pp. 67-81; see also the animal herd depicted on a double-sided stone stela found near Temple BA, Kelly-Buccellati 1990.

³⁸ Porada 1948, no. 76; Boehmer 1965, no. 13.

³⁹ Porada 1948, no. 75. In ED III his tail is shown as hanging down between his legs, e.g., Porada 1948, no. 75, 84; Boehmer 1965, 6, 10a.

⁴⁰ Boehmer 1965, nos. 28, 29.

southern style if the buyer so desired and (2) among the uninscribed seals connected with this Royal Storehouse are a number of variations of the same style.⁴¹

In every respect this seal differs from those of Zamena and the cook: it does not depict a scene from every day life or indicate the profession of the seal owner; it shows therefore no overt connection between seal design and the seal owner; the animal combat theme has close associations with the South (even if it was carved locally); the legend has no frame around it; and the inscription gives only a personal name, without any title. There is, therefore, no conclusive argument for assuming that Innin-šadū belonged to the queen's household. We do so only inferentially, and we are the first to stress the hypothetical nature of this interpretation. The initial reason for our assumption is the stratigraphic homogeneity of the corpus. While we cannot describe here any of the details,⁴² it will suffice to say that all of our seals come from a well defined floor deposit, no more than 15 cms thick, contained within a single, large room of a storehouse presumably located next to a city gate. It is clear that this deposit was accumulated over a relatively short period of time, so that the material contained within it is all truly contemporary and stems from a single set of operational functions and procedures. In other words, the seals of Innin-šadū can hardly be explained without reference to the other seals, all of which relate, as far as they are inscribed, to the royal couple and their household. Accordingly, Innin-šadū, too, is likely to have been associated in some ways with the same type of organization.⁴³

A second reason for the assumption that Innin-šadū may be associated with the queen's household is the nature of the personal name he bears. It is an Akkadian name, which is otherwise attested twice in early Old Akkadian inscriptions, the obelisk of Maništušu⁴⁴ and the Sippar kudurru.⁴⁵ In both instances, therefore, Innin-šadū occurs as the name of an important individual, in one case associated at least indirectly with the royal house of Akkad. Since the queen of Urkesh also bears the Akkadian name Uqnitum,⁴⁶ it is tempting to assume that Innin-šadū was associated with her father's family, whether or not this was the royal house of Akkad itself. If so, it would be natural for him to have his goods administered by the same organization which took care of those of Uqnitum.⁴⁷

Conclusions

A proper assessment of the system within which the seals of the queen's household were utilized cannot be done without taking into consideration the remainder of the corpus already excavated. In addition, new excavations in the eastern wing of the Storehouse (Pl. II) should produce an equivalent

⁴¹ This question will be taken up again in the publication of the uninscribed seals from the same floor of the Royal Storehouse.

⁴² A preliminary statement will be found in Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati forthc. (a).

⁴³ This organization might well be that E₂.MI₂ which is otherwise known to us only from written evidence, see Van de Mierop 1989. If so, the Urkesh storehouse would provide the archaeological evidence for one particular physical embodiment of that administrative system.

⁴⁴ Where it refers to one of thirty witnesses of the sale of the large field of Girtab, Gelb et al. 1991, p. 128, #40 B xiv 5.

⁴⁵ Where it refers to the recipient of an additional payment, *ibid.*, p. 150: 41 l.e. 10). It also occurs once as the name of an individual in an administrative text from Eshnunna (Gelb 1961², 163 ii 33).

⁴⁶ But see above, fn. 4.

⁴⁷ In an even more speculative vein, and with all due caution, we venture to propose the following. Considering the general compositional interest, evident in Urkesh glyptic, in integrating the various levels of seal design, one may wonder if the human headed bull in Zamena's seals may not have been chosen as the symbol that gave her special prominence – which could well have been the symbol of the special baby entrusted to her, a prince of the royal house. Could it then be that the human headed bull had in and of itself such a generic symbolic valence? If so, could it further be assumed that the human headed bull in Innin-šadū's seal, who is only loosely connected to the two juxtaposed animal combat scenes, and is compositionally more closely linked with the inscription, may be a symbol indicating that Innin-šadū, too, is a royal prince, i.e., an Akkadian prince accompanying as a relative the Akkadian queen Uqnitum? The possibility that the seal may have been carved in Urkesh, though utilizing southern motifs, would then intimate that the seal carver blended southern iconographic motifs (to refer to an individual of southern origins) with Urkesh stylistic preferences (to integrate the same individual as a local resident at the Urkesh court).

amount of material to that already available, since it appears that we have here a mirror image of the western wing. It is clear that the Urkesh corpus holds extreme interest not only because of the obvious significance of the identification that it has made possible, but also because of a number of other factors, of which only a few may be mentioned here.

(1) The peculiarities of the iconography extend beyond the level of themes and motifs, and invest the very nature of the message imparted through this glyptic medium, by developing narrative programs which are unknown elsewhere, and which extend beyond the sphere of dynastic concerns to include the court dignitaries as well.

(2) The stylistic integration of form and content, the attention paid to the smallest figurative details, the delight with which alternations are proposed in the use of scenes and legend boxes present us with a strong new seal carving tradition which is not limited to seals cut for royalty, but includes the courtiers as well.

(3) The high incidence of what we have called "multiple entitlement", used especially by the king and queen, but taken over even by the nurse Zamena, provide us with a first in glyptic studies: while multiple seals were known before for single individuals, what we have here is the practice of synchronic utilization of different, though similar, seals, clearly by individuals other than the seal owners; in other words, other individuals were entitled to use seals that bore the name of the king, the queen and, at least in the case of Zamena, a court dignitary.

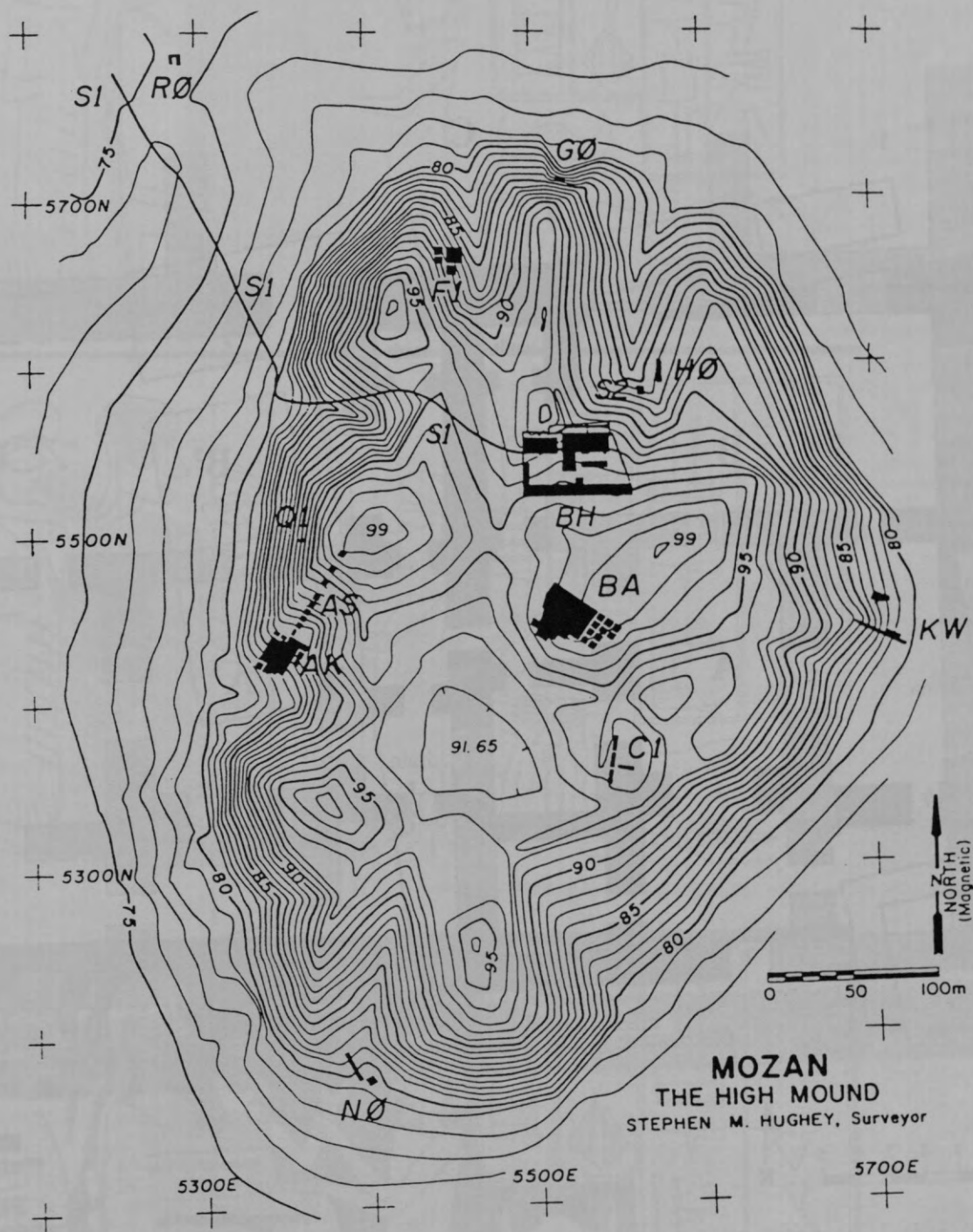
(4) The sealings indicate how this multiple entitlement operated in practice within the bureaucratic system. They give a window on relationships between courtiers and the queen not just in an ideal setting but in the day-to-day world of the operational administration of the court.

(5) What we have found in the Royal Storehouse is one of the best stratified assemblages of seal impressions anywhere in the third millennium. Whether we can associate it with a Hurrian equivalent of the E₂.MI₃ organization or not, the socio-economic implications of a system that gives so much prominence to the queen is highly significant.

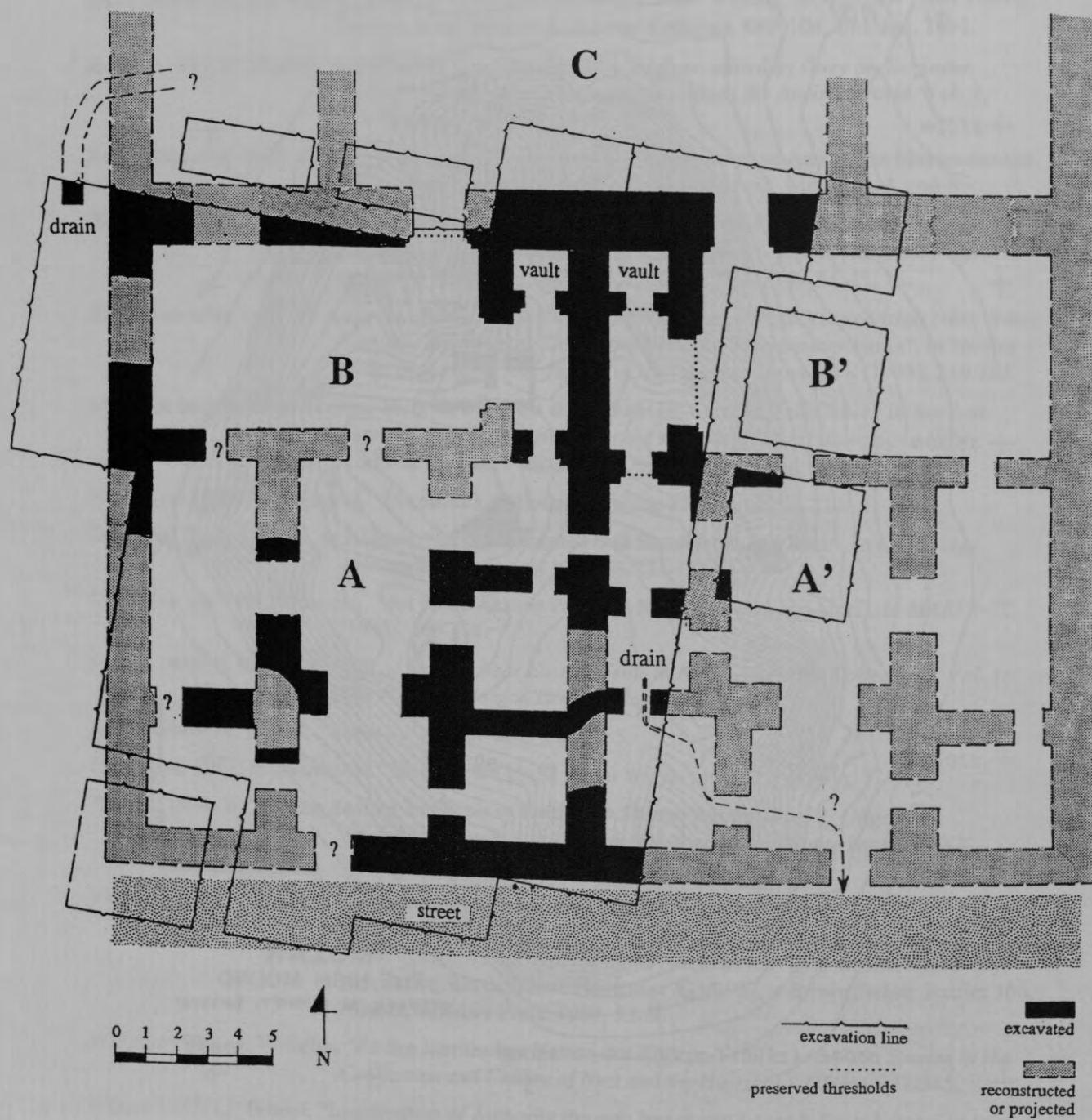
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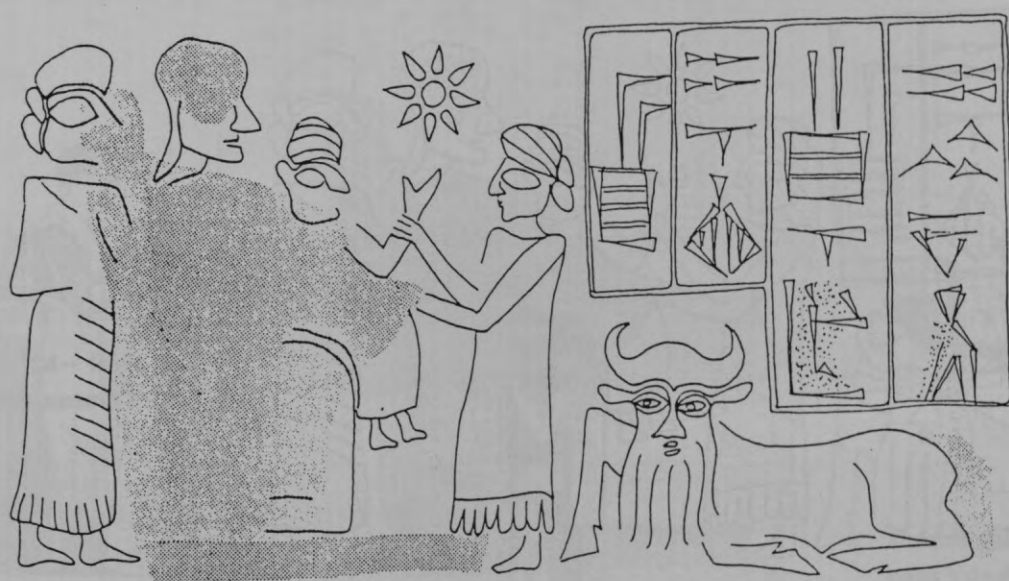
- Pl. I: Tell Mozan/Urkesh: site plan.



- Pl. II: Floor plan of Royal Storehouse AK (Stratum B12).



a. Seal h1
Zamena (a)



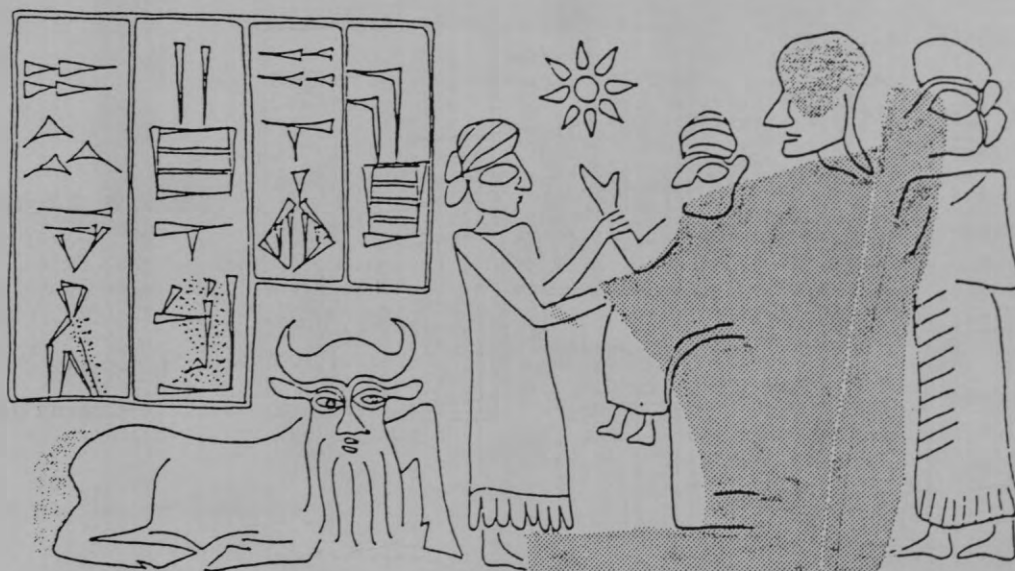
b. Seal h2
Zamena (b)



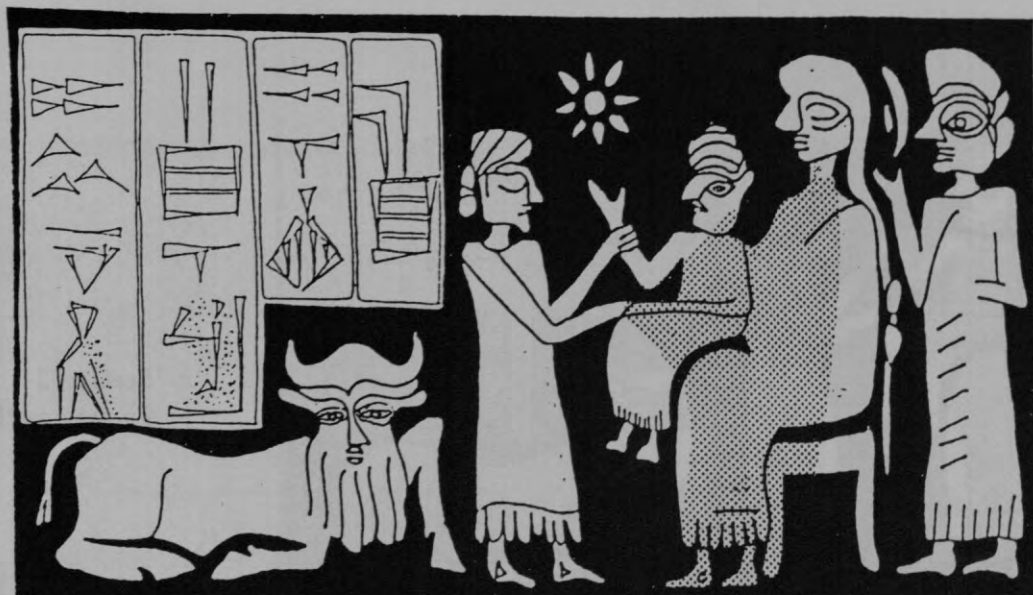
c. Seals h1-2
Zamena conflated



a. Seal ~h1
Zamena (a): reverse

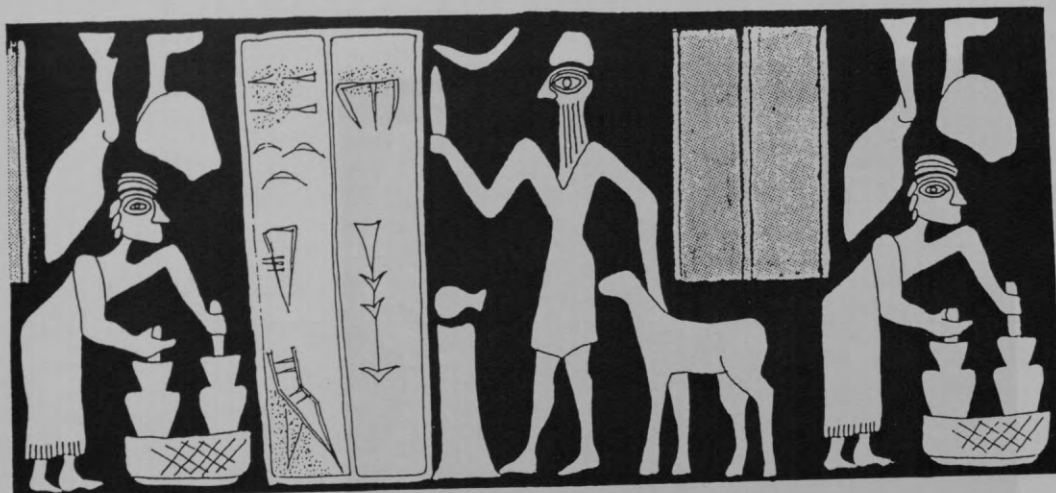


b. Seal ~h2
Zamena (b): reverse



c. Seals ~h1-2
Zamena conflated:
reverse

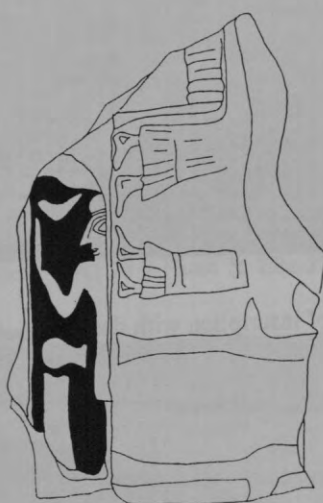
- Pl. IV: The seals of the nurse Zamena: mirror image of original rollings (Scale 3:1).



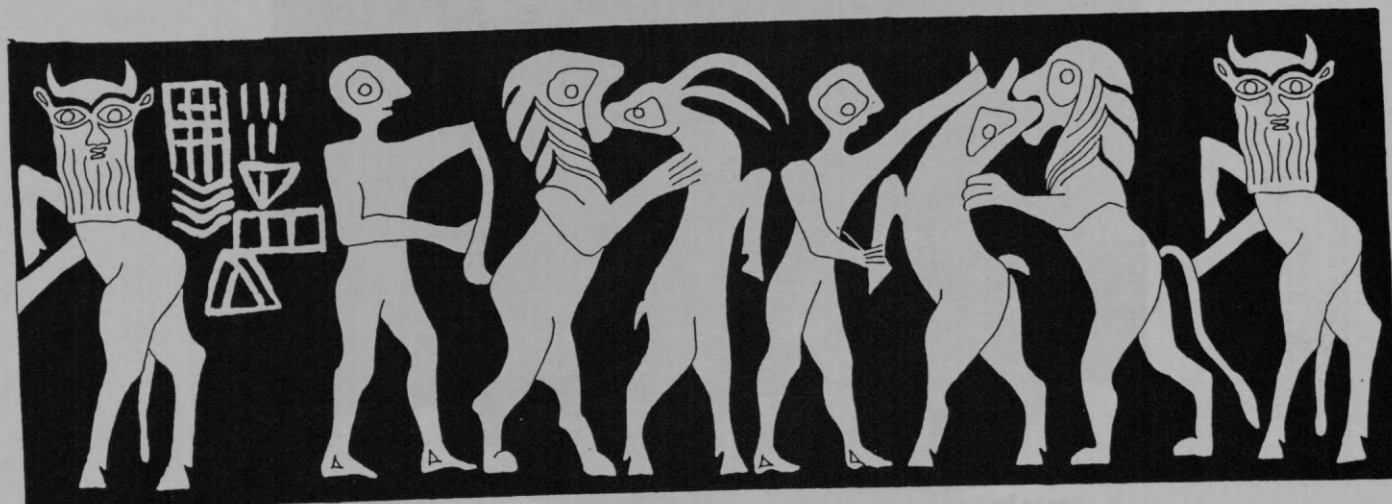
a. Seal h3
Seal of the cook



b. Traditional churn



c. Double rolling of
cook's and queen's seals



d. Seal h4
Seal of Innin-Šadû

- Pl. V: Seals of the cook and of Innin-Šadû. Scale 3:1 (a, d), 2:1 (c).



- Fig. 1: Zamena (a): lower portion of inscription with detail of bull's head and standing figure of nurse.
Object N. A1.139 v Photo N. E7-1814.



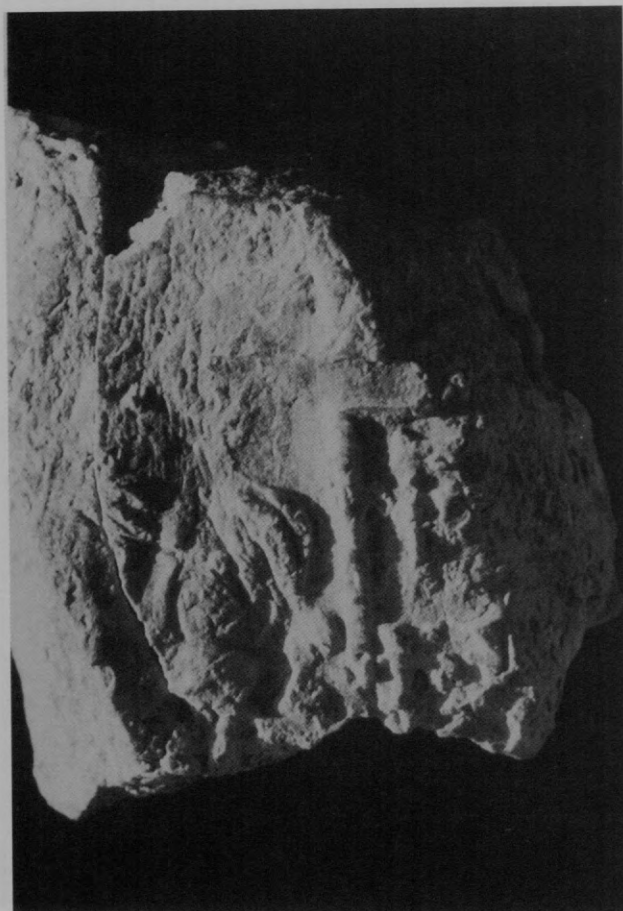
- Fig. 2: Zamena (a): top portion of inscription with detail of body of bull,
and attendant behind the seated queen.
Object N. A5.186 v Photo N. E8-5903.



- Fig. 3: Zamena (b): top portion of inscription, with detail of body of bull.
Object N. A1.78 v Photo N. E8a-2712.



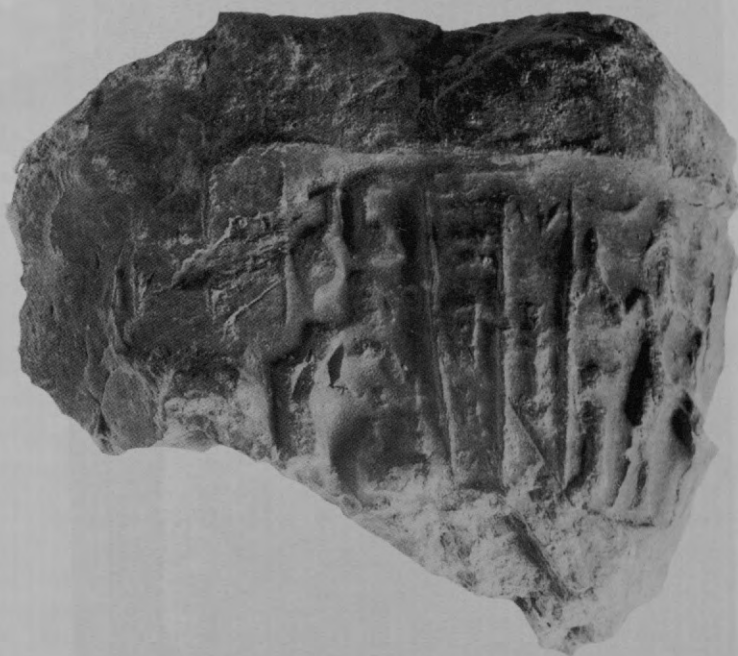
- Fig. 4: Zamena (b): lower portion of inscription, with detail of nurse
(her hand around the wrist of the child), star, and head of child.
Object N. A1.148 v Photo N. E7-1708.



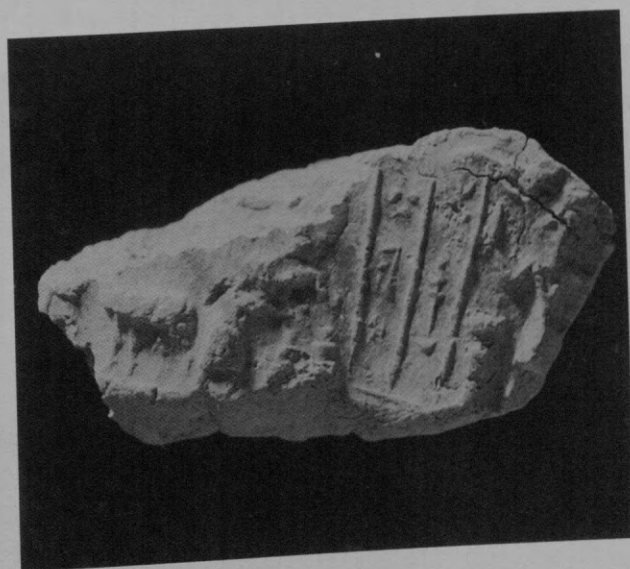
- Fig. 5: Zamena (b): detail of nurse's face.
Object N. A1.112 v Photo N. E8b-0901.



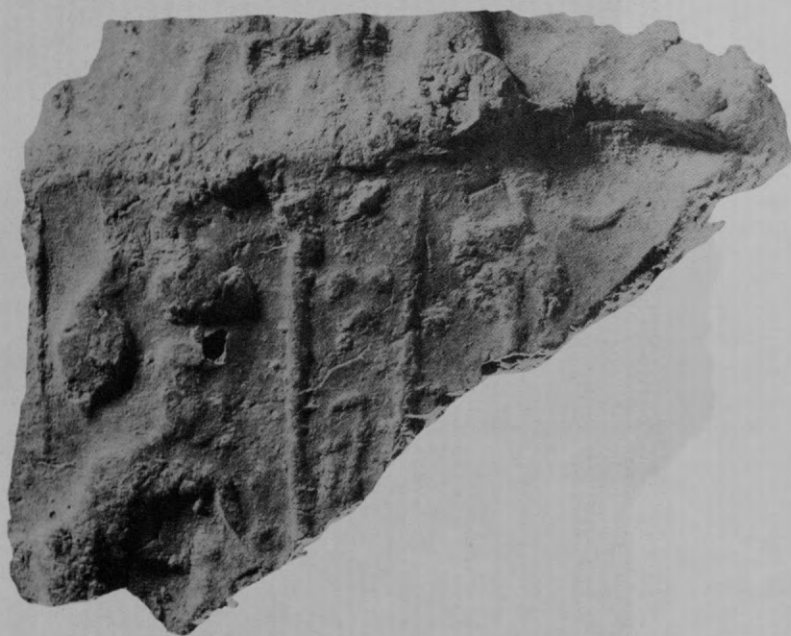
- Fig. 6: Zamena (a) or (b): detail of bull's head and bent right leg.
Object N. A1.439 v Photo N. E8-5850.



- Fig. 7: Cook: almost complete rolling: all four cases of the inscription, bending woman with churns in the center, butcher raising knife on right.
Object N. A1.213 v Photo N. E8-5504.



- Fig. 8: Cook: the two longer cases of the inscription, with detail of two churns.
Object N. A1.182 v Photo N. E8a-1810.



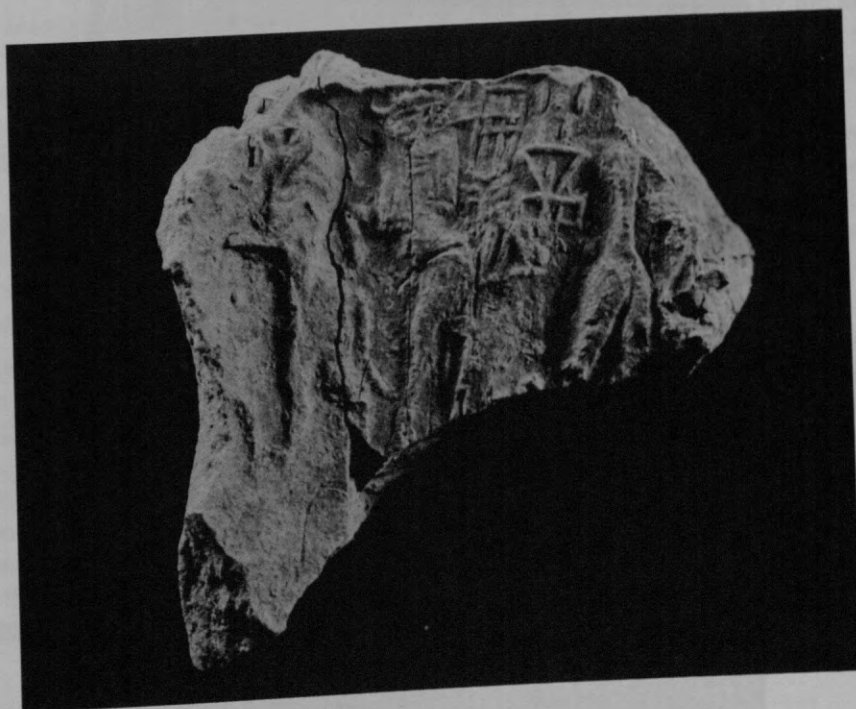
- Fig. 9: Cook: detail of woman churning and cuts of meat above her head.
Object N. A1q968.3 v Photo N. E8b-2201.



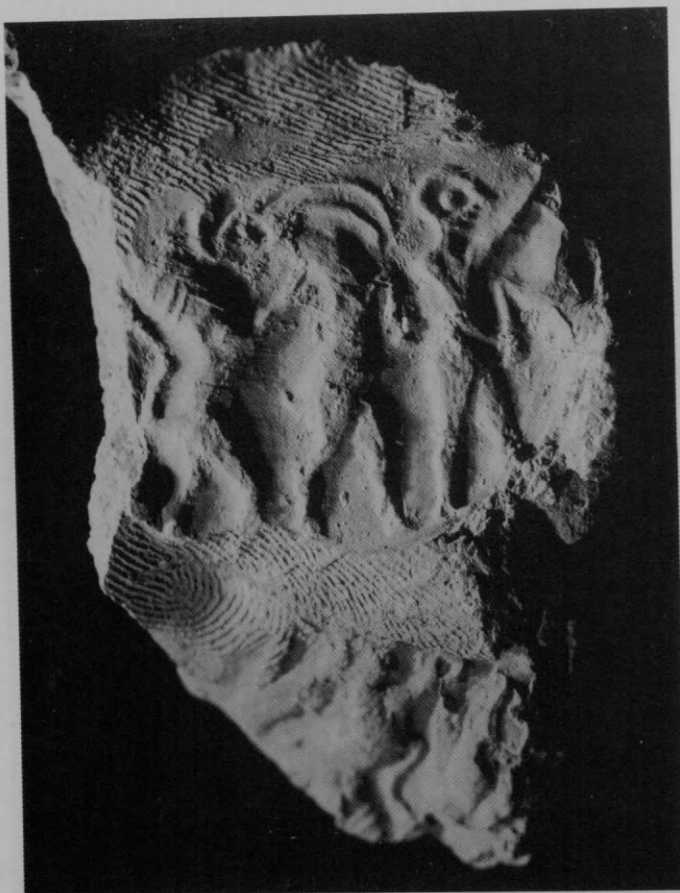
- Fig. 10: Cook and queen's seals rolled on same sealing.
Object N. A1.469 v Photo N. E8b-0307.



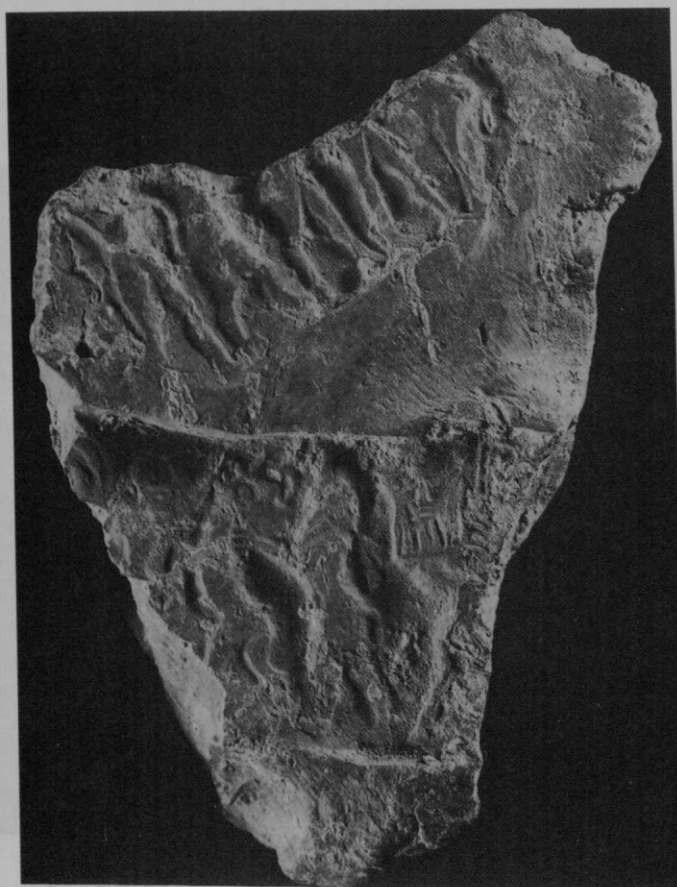
- Fig. 11: Innin-šadū: inscription with flanking figures.
Object N. A1.90 v Photo N. E7-1014.



- Fig. 12: Innin-šadū: inscription, human headed bull and rampant lion.
Object N. A5.80 v Photo N. E7-2211.



- Fig. 13: Innin-šadū: lion attacking horned animal, nude hero.
Object N. A1.98 v Photo N. E7-1108.



- Fig. 14: Innin-šadū: double rolling of the same seal.
Object N. A1.132 v Photo N. E7-2105.

Rich Man Poor Man

Two Sealings on a Tag from Hammam al Turkman

Diederik J.W. Meijer, Leiden

The object to be described here (HMM 92-Z3) is a roughly rectangular piece of red/brown unbaked clay with a slightly convex obverse and reverse (fig. 1 a, b). It measures 4.7 x 3.8 x 1.7cm. There are old breaks at both short ends (at one end possibly not more than chippings), and the corners are slightly rounded or chipped. Fingerprints and other kneading marks are visible on the obverse only, as well as impressions of some fabric with which the object was in contact when the clay had not yet entirely dried.

The find was made during the sixth season of excavations at Tell Hammam on the Balikh in Northern Syria in 1992.¹ The room fill in which the object lay must be dated to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age II, and belongs to the eastern part of a building provisionally called the Administrative Complex.

The object may have functioned as a tag fastened to a container. There is no direct evidence for its use as a door- or boltsealing, but the possibility can certainly not be ruled out. In fact the present reverse (fig. 2) shows that the original reverse is missing: the back had, as it were, been broken off, which explains the absence of kneading marks. The two indentations on one end of the present reverse would be impressions of the knot in the cord around which the tag had been fashioned. The tag must have been broken and discarded in antiquity (reverse and breaks as well as obverse have the same color), and its findspot probably represents a tertiary location; the object was brought in with fill during refurbishing activities.

The tag is interesting because of the fact that it has the rollings of two different and rather remarkable cylinder seals. The first of these, here called A, was made by a seal imitating the impression of a garment's hem, the other, B, is an elaborate sealing with vertical registers of small figures.

The Sealings

Sealing A, seemingly made in three rapid movements of the wrist, was damaged by the movements of the hand which presumably fastened the tag to its container. As a result, the length of the seal that was used cannot be ascertained, but the diameter must have been in the order of 1cm since one complete rolling measures 3.1cm. Seal A was a simple but nevertheless quite suggestive imitation of the weave of the hem of a garment. The scragged weave that is imitated works quite well. It was only after long and close scrutiny that it was decided that a cylinder seal and not an actual garment (nor wicker work) was responsible for this impression. The repetition of lines and details is visible on the photograph. In fact, the impression cannot have been made with a garment, since the "horizontal" ridges are continuous. The actual seal must have been made of a simple material like clay. One is reminded of such seals as nos. 107-114 in al-Gailani 1988, which were made of clay.

It seems quite probable that these seals imitated hems of garments. The practice of "sealing" with one's garment was well known in ancient Mesopotamia,² and a "mechanisation" of this process is feasible. The social framework in which it was used can only be guessed at, but cannot have been very lofty. In view of the other sealing on the tag, one might perhaps visualize a lowly servant rolling his seal before fastening the tag to its destination, after which a higher official rolled his own seal on the clay. In this context, the industrialisation of the motif of a hem would indicate that the first sealer could have been anyone of a group of low-ranking people sharing one seal for the repeated officiating at the same kind of occasion, i.e. the routine closing of containers or rooms. These servants were obviously overseen by the user of the more elaborate seal, who sealed afterwards.

¹ See for reports on the excavations: van Loon 1988, Meijer 1989, 1995 and 1996.

² See Renger 1977, p. 77, with his notes 33-36. There is a color photograph of a tablet from Terqa/Tell Ashara on the Middle Euphrates carrying the impression of a garment hem: *Plain Truth* (April 1984), p. 37.