

1 Introduction

The results of the 1999 Summer's excavations in the area of the royal palace of Urkesh were little short of extraordinary. We had started out with a view towards determining whether the structure was indeed the palace. The result was **gratifying** because sufficient evidence was found to give a positive answer to our question. And in the process we were led to **identify** an even more complex architectural history than we had imagined. In addition, we found seal impressions of a new queen, Tar'am-Agade, who was the daughter of Naram-Sin, the king of Akkad. The complexity and the quantity of the evidence was such that, at the end of the season, we decided to return to **Mozan** for the **full** month of October to complete our documentation, aided by a special grant that was most graciously made available by the Samuel H. **Kress** Foundation. In the intervening months, Peter and Heike Pfalmer continued their excavation in Area C2, and our visit in October overlapped with the final days of their season, so that we were able to be present for the close of the official season of excavations. (We do not report here on their activities.)

An earlier version of this *Bulletin* was written in August, but we decided to revise it before general distribution, hence the delay. It is still, of course, in the nature of a preliminary report, as would be expected for the style of our Bulletins. We are currently reworking the text to derive **from** it two articles that will be submitted to the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (concentrating on the stratigraphy) and the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (concentrating on the seal impressions).

We wish to thank in a special way our colleagues and friends Professors **Alfonso Archi**, **Lucio Milano**, **Joan** and **David Oates**, **Paolo Emilio Pecorella**, **Piotr Steinkeller** and **Gernot Wilhelm** for their answers to questions that arose during the excavations and that we asked them via FAX, receiving in each case an immediate answer that helped us considerably in assessing the nature of the evidence as we first confronted it.

2 The seal of Tar'am-Agade, the daughter of Naram-Sin (ARc1)

The most important single discovery came on what was to be the last day of excavations: a sealing on which appeared the name of Naram-Sin (Fig. 1). Given the significance of the find, we decided to continue excavations in order to retrieve as many **sealings** as possible from the same **area**. In four days we had almost 200 fragments, which allowed us to reconstruct the full legend of the seal in question, and to get a glimpse of several more, very beautiful Akkadian seal impressions.

The reconstruction of the seal bearing the name of Naram-Sin is based on the match of 22 fragments. The seal from which the impressions were derived was not very large, about 3 cm high and 2 cm in diameter. The **sealings** were all affixed to a door, hence the seal was used locally and not on imported goods. The seal bore the name of the daughter of Naram-Sin, and reads in the usual Syro-Mesopotamian style: **"(Of)Naram-Sin, the king of Akkad, Tar'am-Agade, his daughter"** (the reading *Tar-àm* was **first** suggested by Piotr Steinkeller, for whose generous assistance we are very **grateful**).

The scene is less well preserved than the cuneiform legend, but this presents little difficulty as we have here a classic Akkadian contest scene, fully consonant with analogous scenes known **from** Tell **Brak**¹ and from Southern **Mesopotamia**.²

We assume that Tar'am-Agade was a queen of Urkesh. Her filiation alone indicates that she was of extremely high rank, as the daughter of the most important king in Syro-Mesopotamia at the time. She could not have come to Urkesh except under the most favorable conditions, hence as the main wife of the **endan**. Such interdynastic marriages are well known **from** **Ebla**³ and Naram-Sin himself had named the daughter of the king

¹Donald M. Mathews, *The Early Glyptic of Tell Brak. Cylinder Seals of Third Millennium Syria*. Göttingen 1997, e.g. #305, 308, 310-321

²Rainer M. Boehmer, *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin 1965, #230.

³M. G. Biga, "Femmes de la famille royale d'Ebla," J.-M. Durand et al. (Eds.), *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique*,

of Elam.⁴ Tar'am-Agade may have survived as the queen mother, or be the wife of the ruling *endan*, but in any case she was likely to be the most important person in the palace next to the *endan* (see presently for some remarks on her possible connection with the other known queen of Urkesh, Uqnitum). In any case, the historical implications are momentous. Knowing of the links that Ebla had with **Nagar**,⁵ it appears that Naram-Sin forged an alliance with Urkesh, which emerges then more clearly in the light of history as the other major power in the **Khabur** plains. Whether this was before or after his conquest of **Nagar** (about which we know from his stamped bricks at Tell Brak), it certainly strengthened his position, politically and militarily, in the North.

The possibility should be kept open that Tar'am-Agade might have been active in Urkesh not as queen, but as a priestess in the service of a local Akkadian administrator. This hypothesis is supported mainly by the fact that she does not use the title of queen nor of wife of a given *endan*. Also, three other daughters of **Naram-Sin** are known to have served as priestesses in Ur, Nippur and **Kish**.⁶ It seems on the other hand unlikely for three reasons. (1) She does not use any priestly title, either, and this would have been important had her position as priestess been designed to serve a political agenda (as it well would have). (2) Her seal impressions were found within the palace and were all on door **sealings** (though in a destroyed part of the building, where they were discarded, see presently): hence she is more likely connected with the palace than with the temple. (3) Other door **sealings** discarded together with those of Tar'am-Agade (hence presumably used for the same original **function**) belong to a certain **Ewrim-Atal**, an individual with a **Hurrian** name (see presently), who is unlikely to have belonged to an Akkadian garrison.

The personal name Tar'am-Agade, which means "She loves **Akkad**,"⁷ proclaims a political program and as such may or may not have been given at **b i**. If not at birth, but at the time of her presumed enthronement in Urkesh, then one wonders if this, plus the lack of an Urkesh related title, was conceived as proceeding from the deliberate intent to remind the Urkesh court of what may well have been the predominant role of Akkad in the alliance.

With the addition of this Tar'am-Agade seal known from its impressions excavated at Urkesh, we have now forty seals⁸ connected with the royal family of Akkad. Included among these seals are **thirty-two** persons of whom we have their names or titles or both⁹. Only one previously known seal is royal in that it belonged to a brother of Tar'am-Agade, **Ukin-Ulmash**.¹⁰ His seal was not found in excavations and therefore we do not know if it was his personal seal or how it was **used**.¹¹ The Akkadian inscribed seals connected with Naram-Sin or members of his family, for which a context is known, come mostly from **Tello** (12 examples), one came from Ur, one from Adab, one from Nippur while two were excavated in Brak. Therefore most of our evidence from these seals has no context or when they have been found in excavations, for the most part come from the south.

The seal of Tar'am-Agade documented in its impressions from Urkesh is the first time ever that a **seal** belonging directly to a member of the royal family has been discovered in use in a specific city. All the other inscribed royal seals from the entire Akkadian period, except for the seal of Ukin-Ulmash, while naming a member of the royal family, indicate that the seal is owned by (or was presented to) a servant of that family member. The Urkesh seal, while being directly attributed to Tar'am-Agade, was not used by her personally to seal a door in the royal palace, since a large number of these rollings is attested in the cache. A repeated

Paris 1987, 44-47; "Donne alla ~~vite~~ di Ebla," *Memoria di Ebla*, in *La Parola del Passato* 46 (1991) 298-99. See also her "The Marriage of the Eblaite Princess **Tagrish-Damu** with the Son of Nagar's King," *Subartu* IV,2 (1998), pp. 17-22.

⁴W. Hinz, *ZA* 58 (1967) 85 ff.

⁵See A. Archi, in press. For interdynastic marriages, see Biga, "Femmes" (1987) 46.

⁶See D. R. Frayne, *The Sargonic and Guti Period*. RIME 2 (1993)

⁷Cf. **Taram-Uram**, daughter of **Apil-Kin** and daughter-in-law of **Ur-Nammu**, M. Civil *RA* 66 (1962) 213.

⁸We either have the seals themselves or impressions of these seals. See *Excursus* 3.

⁹With the exception of **Ukin-Ulmash**, the remaining inscriptions are too fragmentary to determine the relationship of the seal owner to the royal person named. See R. L. Zettler, 1977 pp. 33-39 for an interpretation of the **function** of the seals with inscriptions of the type RN, PN servant.

¹⁰Boehmer 1964, No. 15; see also Boehmer 1965, Abb. 256.

¹¹We also do not know if he was a brother or half-brother of Tar'am-Agade. In this article "brother" or "sister" can also mean half-brother or half-sister.

administrative activity of this nature would not be suited for a figure of her rank; therefore it can safely be excluded that Tar'am-Agade herself would have been sealing these doors. However her seal must have been used by an official closely connected to her, so closely connected that they could seal in her name. Administratively then, the use of this seal belonging to the queen (her position in the court of Urkesh is less likely that of a priestess, see above) can be connected with sealing practices well documented in Urkesh from the time of Tupkish and Uqnitum. During their reigns, multiple seals were employed by members of the royal household to seal containers that were delivered to the storehouse section of the royal palace.

In all the inscribed **sealings** contained in this cache, the figurative scene is less well preserved than the seal legend. This is typical for preserved **rollings** of inscribed Akkadian seals and the reason why it is thought that in the Akkadian period, for the first time, the inscriptions were considered more important than the seal design. In the case of Tar'am-Agade and **Ewrim-Atal** the reconstruction of the seal design presents no difficulty since both have a standard Akkadian contest scene for their design with two antithetical pairs flanking a full length inscription box. The reconstruction of the Tar'am-Agade seal shows a **full-face** bull-man fighting a lion carved with his head in profile. The second pair is a nude hero shown full-face fighting a rampant water buffalo. The seal is carved in a classic Akkadian style with special attention placed on the depiction of the musculature of all the figures, on the harmony of the proportions of the various parts of the bodies and where appropriate on the edges of the relief. The contest scene was the most popular design for officials directly connected, through their seal inscriptions, to members of the royal family. The two royal seals of Tar'am-Agade and her brother **Ukin-Ulmash** both have a standard contest scene.

We do know, through *seal* inscriptions, of two sisters (Enmenanna and Tutanapshum) and two brothers (**Binkalisharri** and **Ukin-Ulmash**) of **Tar'am-Agade**.¹² The seals of the servants of both her sisters, for whom we have seals or seal impressions, Enmenanna and Tutanapshum do not have contest scenes. The choice of their scenes may be connected with their position as priestesses: Enmenanna in Ur and Tutanapshum in Nippur. One of the servant seals of Enmenanna shows a banquet scene and the second a divine presentation scene. The single seal connected with Tutanapshum shows a seated woman with a pointed crown; in front of her stands a woman holding a musical instrument. A tree may indicate an outdoor setting. It is always possible that this unusual scene may be associated with unknown cultic practices. However there is a very distinct probability that the figure seated here is Tutanapshum **herself** depicted in a setting which also would identify the figure as Tutanapshum. This latter interpretation would then link her seal with the representation of the seal owners on earlier Urkesh royal seals, specifically Tupkish, Uqnitum, and the nurse Zamena. So for instance, in one of the seals of Tupkish we see him seated with a lion at his feet. The lion may be a living lion as opposed to a statue of a lion since the very finely carved figure in **front** of the lion holds an overflowing bowl and in front of the lion a tall jar is placed. The identity of the figure with the bowl is unclear. The finely rendered profile combined with the fact that the bull beneath the inscription is not facing Tupkish but rather this figure may indicate that it is a divine figure, or even a statue of one. However the headcovering of this figure, while not clear on the Urkesh **sealings**, seems to exclude a horned crown. This scene has been interpreted by us as a depiction of Tupkish and the crown prince in the throne room or some other important room in the palace. Uqnitum too has herself depicted in her part of the palace surrounded by women attendants. The distinctive setting includes musical entertainment by a singer and lyre player and in some seals a table that has legs in the shape of two birds facing each other. This table must have been important in the palace setting since it is seen on other contemporary seals and in one Post-Akkadian *seal*. Into this group of Akkadian seals representing specific persons in specific settings can be placed the seal of a servant of Tutasharlibbish, the wife of Sharkalisharri. In it a woman is seated outdoors with a smaller female attendant standing behind her and another in front. It may be that the seal owner, Dada, her majordomo, can be

¹² Other known daughters of Naram-Sin are **Shumshani**, an *entu* priestess of the god **Shamash** in **Sippar**, and ME-Ulmash. These two daughters are known from inscriptions on two bronze bowls found in Mari. This does not necessarily mean that they were themselves in **Mari** but would have sent the bowls as offerings. Other sons of Naram-Sin, in addition to **Shar-kalisharri** his heir, include **Nabi-Ulmash**, governor of Tutub (we know also of his daughter Lipush-ia'um), **Lipit-ili**, and **Rigmush-alshu**, D. Frayne, *The Sargonic and Gutu Period. RIME 2* (1993), p. 84ff. Earlier in the reign, the name of the wife of **Sargon**, **TasLULtum**, and two sons, **Shu-Enlil** and **Ilaba'is-takal**, are known., see Frayne, (1993) pp. 36-37.

identified as the figure greeting **her**.¹³ Also the seal found in an Old Babylonian drain at Nippur of a servant of the crown-prince Sharkalisharri probably depicts this prince in a presentation **scene**.¹⁴

In the seal impressions **from** Urkesh both the text of the seal inscriptions and the iconography of the inscribed royal seals are loaded with the same political meaning. That is the text and the icon are combined to **carry** the same political message, a message that is both unified and **specific**. It is the only excavated body of evidence **from** a context within which these seals were actually employed and therefore the only example of how the message was **specifically promulgated**.¹⁵

The seals of the servants of **Binkalisharri**, like that owned by **Ukin-Ulmash**, show contest scenes. Both these brothers may have had administrative-political positions within the dynasty because we know **from** inscriptions that one other brother, **Nabi-Ulmash** was governor of **Tutub**. Although we have no seal for a third brother, the crown prince, **Sharkalisharri**, may have been the governor of **Nippur** before he succeeded his **father**.¹⁶ It appears then that the seal designs connected with the royal family are closely linked to their individual political position within the dynasty. The standard contest scene, **exemplifying** the monumental struggle of the most powerful wild beasts with each other or with supernatural creatures would be considered an appropriate image of their dynastic power, especially during the period of **Naram-Sin** when the image of a strong secular government was at its height. In this regard it is also interesting that the water buffalo, an animal found mainly in seals of the Akkadian **period**,¹⁷ is usually connected with contest scenes although in Urkesh one is shown beneath the inscription of **Ishar-Beli** (see below). With regard to the importance of the contest scene during the reign of **Naram-Sin** we may conclude that this scene did indeed represent the power of the dynasty and as such was employed to project a specific political **message**.¹⁸ If so then it is not surprising that it had all but disappeared by the **Ur III** period when the new dynasty wanted to project a more theo-centric image. The fact that the presentation scene becomes more prominent in the late Akkadian period may reflect a certain dissatisfaction with the dynasty, a feeling which resulted in serious political disturbances during the reign of **Naram-Sin**.

3 The seal of **Ewrim-atal** (ARc2)

The only other **seals** which recur frequently in the Tar'am-Agade cache are those that belong to two individuals whose name is given, without title, in the legend of the seals. They are very significant in different respects.

The first (Fig. 2) has the very distinctive **Hurrian name Ewrim-Atal** but an equally distinctive Akkadian contest scene, very similar to that of Tar'am-Agade (see above, nn. 1-2). The reading of the name is **IB-ri-im-a-**

¹³ The seal of a servant of **Ubil-Eshtar**, "brother of the **king**" had already been interpreted in a similar sense by Frankfort, 1939, Pl. XXIVc and p. 140; see also Collon, 1982, No. 141.

¹⁴ **Mc.Gibson**, 1977, p. 30-32. In this seal the god **Ea** stands with his hand forward in a gesture of greeting while the standing man in front of him has his hand up in a gesture of homage; the **vizir Usmu** stands between **them**. In Akkadian presentation and adoration scenes it is rare for the deity to be standing which gives the impression of a more equal relationship between the god and the worshipper. Also the greeting gesture of the god toward **his** obviously human subject is rare in this **period**, for one example see **See Boehmer** 1965, Fig. 650.

¹⁵ The Akkadian monumental stele also did convey a **specific** political message but we have none of them in their original context, so we don't know the setting within which this message was conveyed. For a reconstruction of one of these monuments see **G. Buccellati**, "Through a Tablet Darkly. A Reconstruction of Old Akkadian Monuments Described in Old Babylonian Copies," *The Tablet and the Scroll Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, (1993), pp. 58-71.

¹⁶ See **Mc.Gibson**, Archaeology 1977, p. 32 and **P. Michalowski** RA 2 1981, p. 175.

¹⁷ **Boehmer**, 1975; water-buffaloes are prominently found in a scene belonging to a servant of **Enheduanna** showing two crossed buffaloes with a third under the inscription box. This scene is not a contest scene but obviously connected to this **type** of image.

¹⁸ With a different message but just as prominently displayed within the city of Urkesh, is that of the **Urkesh** dynastic program.

tal, and the **first** sign looks in some impressions more like a LA, but this may be attributed to a poor rolling of the seal. We owe to the kindness and promptness of Gernot **Wilhelm** the following remarks on the interpretation of the name:

There is a Hurrian name *ew_x/eb-ri-ba-tal* (evri=b=adal) attested twice at **Umma** (TCL 5, 6039; DV 5, 329) I am not yet sure how we should interpret the element *b~m* in this case, but this is a long grammatical story. *-b* and *-m* are **suffixes** of verbal forms [discussed by the author in *BiMes* 26.....]. But they should not interchange in a verbal form before a vowel, and apart from that we presumably do not deal with a verbal form but with a noun (ewi, **Nuzi** *ervi/e* "lord").

Ew(PI)-ri-a-tal "The Lord is strong" or "The Strong One is lord" (both are possible in Hurrian names of different areas, the distribution pattern is not yet fully understood) is attested in the Tigunanu Prism I 4 (Late Old Babylonian period), also in **Nuzi** (with the typical metathesis) *er-wi-a-tal*, *e-er-[wi-a-tal]*, also with a pronominal element of 3rd ps. sg. -n: *er-wi-na-tal* (erve/I=n=adal).

A LA would cause some trouble. Though **Urkeš** apparently does not know the phonological rule which does not allow /l/ in initial position, or at least does not apply it as strictly as other Hurrian **areas** (to judge from Lubadag-, elsewhere Nubadig), a root **lar-* should appear as **nar-* elsewhere. There is **Naraya** and **Naria** at **Nuzi**, but apparently phrase names of the type **narib-...* or **narim-...* are not attested.

The contest scene on the seal of **Ewrim-Atal** has a composition known in other Akkadian contest scenes from the Naram-Sin period but not frequently found in them. In our *seal* there are two pairs of contestants with a full-face nude hero fighting a bull placed in a mirror image composition on either side of the inscription. This type of organization of the contest scene is found in the *seal* of the son of Naram-Sin, **Ukin-Ulmash**.¹⁹ Both these seals are characterized by their very fine **carving** and the large amount of space between the figures. In Urkesh for the first time we have a person with a Hurrian name obviously connected in some official capacity with prominent figures of the royal house of **Akkad**. In addition it is striking that he chose a scene so closely connected with the Akkadian dynasty, and specifically with the type of contest scene characteristic of the period of Naram-Sin. If, as has been discussed above, this type of scene reflects an emphasis within the period of Naram-Sin on the secular power of the dynasty, then the use of this scene by **Ewrim-Atal** is even more striking. If his *seal* was employed to *seal* the same door or doors in the Urkesh palace, as did the seal of Tar'am-Agade then it appears that he was on the same high administrative level as the official who sealed Urkesh palace doors in the name of Tar'am-Agade. Urkesh is the only certainly identified third millennium Hurrian city and as yet we know little of its administration. The interconnection within the palace setting of high Akkadian royal figures with presumably local administrative figures on what appears to be an equal footing may be indicative of the interrelationship of the two powers in the northern portion of Syro-Mesopotamia.

4 The seal of Ishar-beli (ARc3)

The second seal of which impressions have been found together with those of Tar'am-Agade has an Akkadian name (*Išar-bēlī*) but a scene which offers some remarkable peculiarities (Fig. 3). While the style is Akkadian, the subject is **unknown** in the South and is instead characteristic for the Northern regions of the Khabur plains, namely an **equid** in a position of prominence within the framework of a divine presentation scene.

The figurative representation is of extreme interest, on account of both style and iconography. The seal of Ishar-Beli has the most unusual scene in all the inscribed and **uninscribed sealings** from the cache. His is a divine presentation scene showing a bearded god leading another bearded god before a seated god facing **left**. The

¹⁹ His seal has different figures in the contest. In it the two pairs are a lion fighting a water-buffalo. For a seal with the same participants as that of Tar'am-Agade but in a different arrangement since the inscription is here a terminal element see the seal of Ishtar-alsu, M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* 1990, p. 73.

unique aspects of the scene do not center around its general subject. The composition of the scene with the water-buffalo under the inscription but with its head and body extending beyond the inscription into the scene and looking up at the small equid being brought as an offering gives the feeling of a harmonious continuity within the design. This linkage between the scene and the inscription is found in other Akkadian seals, especially those dating to the reigns of Nararn-Sin and Sharkalisharri, but is usually carried out in a manner which stresses the symmetry of the design and not **as** much the continuous flow of the **figures**.²⁰ Unique to this seal is its iconography, and specifically the fact that in front of the seated god is a prominently placed equid. This animal is in a prancing position as if expecting something pleasurable from the seated deity. Another possibility is that he is engaged in some kind of performance before the deity. The seated deity is holding a three-pronged object in his right hand and a staff with an unclear terminal portion over his left shoulder. He wears a flounced robe typical for divinities in this period. The other two gods are dressed differently; the god in the center of the composition wears a long pleated garment while the god holding the offering wears the **fringed** garment often connected with the human worshipper in presentation scenes. This god holds a small animal over his right shoulder. While this scene from Urkesh has no direct parallels, there are seals in the Akkadian corpus which show **caprids** at the level of the knees of a seated **deity**.²¹ Boehrer considers them gods feeding animals. This is still a possible interpretation but it is put in doubt by the scribe's seal from Brak and now the Urkesh seal of Ishar-Beli. The Brak seal shows a seated god facing a seated bearded **man**,²² both have what appear to be young **equids** at their knees and both extend one hand toward the mouth of the equid. While the bearded man is associated with a horned animal indicated with a clearly long hair pattern, the god has at his knees a differently shaped animal without horns, now interpreted as an **equid**.²³ On the Ishar-Beli seal an equid, probably an **onagre** or hybrid is clearly **shown**.²⁴ He is short in stature and has the typical tail and mane of these animals.

Evidence for the breeding of expensive hybrids comes from the Ebla and the Beydar **texts**.²⁵ These animals were bought from Nagar by merchants from Ebla and cost more than the normal price of an ass. Onagres have the advantage of being sturdy and fast animals but untameable. They could not therefore be used in agricultural activities or in pulling vehicles. They were important however in breeding and their hides were sold. Also at Brak in Area FS there is a temple interpreted by the excavators as being dedicated to Shakkan the god of **steppe animals**.²⁶

At first the animal on the Ishar-Beli seal was identified **as** an early **form** of a horse. Since **Sandor Bokonyi** identified both wild donkey bones and horse bones from **Mozan** this seemed possible. In the large corpus of figurines from the AK sector of the palace there are a number of specimens that appear to be horses, some with bridles attached. The fact that one god in the Ishar-Beli seal is presenting a young animal seems to stress the reproductive aspect, as do the texts. Therefore we have now interpreted the Ishar-Beli animal as either an or one of these hybrids. From the Ebla texts it appears that Nagar was the principal provider not only of these hybrids, probably some type of mules, but also equestrian **specialists**.²⁷ Since the term for these specialists is connected with the word for jumping, HUB, it may be that this is the activity actually being represented by our **animal**

²⁰ See for instance in the chart below in Excursus 3 the seal of Ibni-sharrum (No. 32), a servant of Sharkalisharri. Frankfort in discussing this seal points out its symmetry but also the static nature of the composition (1939, pp. 84-5). Seals with this type of composition are not suited to a medium where the continuous flow of the design is important. The seal of Ishar-Beli instead does have an integrated design, conceived to produce a continuous pattern

²¹ Boehmer 1965, Abb. 561-564

²² C. Felli in Brak 2

²³ D. Oates and J. Oates, Brak 2

²⁴ Quote Strommenger articles

²⁵ Karel Van Lerberghe, "The Livestock," in *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar, Subartu II* 1996, especially pp. 112-116.

²⁶ David and Joan Oates, "Excavations at Tell Brak 1992-93," *Iraq LV* (1993), especially pp. 161-7.

²⁷ Alfonso Archi, "The Regional State of Nagar According to the Texts of Ebla," *Subartu IV,2* (1998), pp. 1-16, especially pp. 8-12. In this article he quotes the evidence for horse-riding in the region during the early second millennium and concludes that "It is likely that, in these regions, riding was already in use during the third millennium." (p. 11).

before the seated **god**.²⁸

That a high official in the Urkesh court would have such an unusual scene is very interesting. He has an Akkadian name so may be an Akkadian official who came north with Tar'am-Agade. However his seal has what can only be characterized as a northern motif. At the same time it is clear that the seal cutter either came from the south or was a northerner who was well trained in the south. If he comes **from** the south would this be a new seal he had cut on assuming his new role in Urkesh? Or did he have the opportunity of having a seal carved by a **seal carver** trained in the south when Tar'am-Agade came north with her retinue? **Hopefully** some of these very tantalizing questions and more will be answered by **future** excavations.

The name written *I-šar-be-li* occurs in two southern contexts which are potentially of considerable **significance**:²⁹ first, as a recipient of goods along with other members of the royal house of **Akkad**,³⁰ and, second, as a steward of the estate (**ŠABRA.E2**) of queen **Tutaššar-libbiš**³¹, wife of **Šar-kali-šarri**. While the name is not infrequent (it occurs also in Gasur), it is generally assumed that the name mentioned along with members of the royal house refers to the same individual. If so, it is tempting to assume in **turn** that our **Išar-beli** may also be the same individual: in this case, he would have followed Tar'am-Agade in her new northern residence, presumably **before**³² having served as the steward of the estate of her sister-in-law **Tuta-šar-libbiš**. In support of considering that a name linked with the royal house of Akkad may refer to the same individual in spite of the far-flung geographical horizon (Umma, Akkad and **Urkesh**)³³ reflected in the texts mentioning him, one may refer to the case of Tuta-napšum, who is mentioned in texts from **Girsu**, **Umma**, **Nippur** and **Eshnunna**.

An analogous case may possibly be made for **Innin-shadu**. We listed **already**³⁴ the references to an individual by that name occurring as a witness from **Girtab** in the Obelisk of Manishtushu (add also C xvi, where the son of an individual by that name is mentioned as a witness **from** Marda), and as the recipient of an additional payment in the **Sippar** Stone. In the case of the Obelisk of Manishtushu, the link with the Royal House is much more tenuous than in the case of **Išar-beli**, but the possible correlation bears mentioning (as we in fact did already, *ibid*). The suggestion then would be that **Innin-shadu** is to **Uqnitum** (about whom, however, we do not know of any links with the royal house of Akkad) as **Išar-beli** is to Tar'am-Agade. The stratigraphic sequence (see presently) of the two pairs fits with the chronological sequence of the written sources.

5 General remarks on the two glyptic corpora **from** AK and AR

There is a certain symmetry in the distribution of key figures in the two periods of occupation of the royal palace. It is summarized graphically in the chart that follows. The queen (assuming that **Tar'am-Agade** is such)

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ The important role has been pointed out by P. Michalowski in "Tudanapšum, Naram-Sin and Nippur," *RA* 75 (1981) pp. 173 and 176.

³⁰ Along with the LUGAL, the NIN, and a **ŠABRA.E2** in *CT* 50 172 and *ITT* 1 1472. In *RA* 9, p. 82, an unnamed **SABRA E2** is mentioned along with the LUGAL, the princes **Šar-kali-šarri** and **Bin-kali-Sarri**, and the princess **Tuta-napšum**.

³¹ This is from the inscription on his seal, *Boehmer* N. 560, as corrected by R. Whiting in R. L. Zettler, "The Sargonic Seal. A Consideration of Sealing in Mesopotamia," in M. Gibson and R. D. Biggs (eds.), *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 6, Malibu 1977, p. 38, n.5. See also Michalowski, *loc. cit.*. The name of the queen is read **Tutaššar-īnēš** in *AHW*. For the reading of the name as **Tuta-šar-libbiš(a)** see D. Frayne.....

³² This is inferred on the basis of three considerations (all admittedly quite hypothetical). First, the accession of **Šar-kali-šarri** to the throne must follow the time when Tar'am-Agade appears in Urkesh with the qualification of "daughter of Naram-Sin." Second, being steward of the queen of Akkad would presumably represent a step forward in the career of a wurt official. Third, since the information about **Išar-beli** being a steward of the queen of Akkad comes from his seal, and since this may presumably have come from his grave, it would follow that this was the latest stage in his career.

³³ The **mu.iti** texts come presumably from Umma, his seal with the qualification as steward of the estate of the queen of Akkad may possibly come from Akkad, and our seal obviously is found in Urkesh.

³⁴ In *AJO* 42-43 (1995-96) p. 24.

has an Akkadian name and so does an **important**³⁵ male individual, whose name is given without title. There is another important individual whose name is Hurrian – the nurse **Zamena** and **Ewrim-atal**. Only for the corpus from AK do we have an **endan** mentioned, whose name is Hurrian, Tupkish. We do not have a male counterpart for Tar'am-Agade. If she is a queen of Urkesh, then we would expect another **endan**, presumably also with a Hurrian name. If instead she is a priestess representing her father next to an Akkadian governor, we would expect a male individual with an Akkadian name and a title such as EN.SI.

The symmetry is broken when it comes to the figurative component of the seals. This need not be necessarily a result of the temporal sequence. It may well be due to the functional difference between the service wing (AK), where Urkesh style and motifs predominate, and the residential wing (AR) where Southern style and motifs predominate instead.

	name (and title)	seal	
		subject	style
seal impressions from AR (later)	(endan)?	?	?
	Tar'am-Agade	Southern	Southern
	Ewrim-atal	Southern	Southern
	Ishar-beli	Urkesh	Southern
seal impressions from AK (earlier)	Tupkish endan	Urkesh	Urkesh
	Uqnitum NIN	Urkesh	Urkesh
	Zamena UM.ME.DA	Urkesh	Urkesh
	Innin-shadu	Southern	Southern

6 The residential wing of the palace (Sector H)

That building AK, as excavated in earlier seasons, was a royal building, was beyond doubt. It was also certain that its purpose was to **function** as a service sector, and the question remained open whether or not it was linked with a residential and ceremonial wing, with which it might properly be considered a royal palace. To determine this, our strategy in 1999 was to excavate mostly along the eastern side of AK to look for a definition of the AK building itself, and for possible connections with other structures to the east.

The **first** priority was the definition of the southeastern corner of AK, in room C1 (Fig. 7). Assuming that C1 might have proportions similar to those of A1, we had projected the corner to be closer to the center of the building than it turned out to be. We eventually discovered this corner further to the east than we had expected, and this corner also showed us that an equally massive wall had been built right against the wall of AK, and that the lower stone courses were founded at the same elevation for both buildings. This suggested that we had here evidence for the residential wing of the royal palace we had been searching, and found ourselves committed to expand the excavations in this zone. The scale of the building is such that we could not achieve an adequate architectural definition of the new structure, but the results were impressive.

The new wing (which we call **AR**³⁶) is raised by about 2 m above the level of the main floor in AK (Figs.

³⁵“Importance” is gauged in terms of both the iconography of the **seal** and the large amount of seal impressions that was found bearing the impression of their seal.

³⁶The letter A in the labels stands for the topographical wne A. The letter K in AK stands for the **Sumerian word** KIŠIB, which means "seal": an É.KIŠIB was a house which was sealed and in which sealed goods were kept, an appropriate

13-15). This difference in elevation between the two buildings is demonstrated convincingly by a thick packing (some 2 m in height) which underlies a well laid calcareous floor surface (itself some 25 cm thick) in room **H1** (the packing is exposed through an ancient pit that cut wall, floor and packing down to the stone foundations).

That the two buildings AR and AK are linked is shown by the fact that they share the wall between sectors **C** and H, and by the presence of a doorway between rooms H3 and **C4**. (For a more detailed analysis of elements pertaining to our overall stratigraphic interpretation see below, **Excursus 2**.) An element of doubt remains with regard to this doorway. There is a clear break in the brickwork, but this might be explained as a later intrusion, although we could not properly define the contours of a pit. What supports the possibility that this might be a door (as shown on the floor plan in Fig. 7) is the fact that the stone substructure is interrupted just below the break in the brickwork, and that this opening in the wall is in the right position for a doorway. However, we have not reached the level of the floor itself, and so we do not have as yet evidence for a threshold. Further excavation will certainly **clarify** this point beyond doubt. **If there** is indeed a doorway, then there must be a stairway that bridges the difference in elevation between H3 and **C4**. Against the possibility that this might be a doorway it must be noted that the width and general disposition of room **C4** seems **ill** suited for a normal stairway, which would have to be contained in the eastern portion of the room.

We still do not know where the entrance to the palace might have been. An entrance **from** the West, through Sector E, may still be possible, but it seems more plausible to envisage Sector H as the main entrance. It would have opened onto the main street that would have passed along platform X2 and the U-shaped structure in area W (see presently). The buttresses or projections in the southern wall of H1 suggest that they may flank a monumental entrance, but the wall is poorly preserved, and of course we have not yet excavated the area to the east, which would show, if present, the counterpart one would expect (projected on the plan in Fig. 7 and the sketch **rendering** on Fig. 9). The small room H2, though not clearly **defined** because both floor surfaces and walls have been damaged, made use of a stone drain. There is no evidence for a toilet, and the drain is rather small, though it is built with great care. A possible interpretation is that this small room was linked with the access to the palace, from the south, so that as people entered, they had a chance to wash up, before entering what seems to have been a large, stone paved courtyard, H3. But this remains a speculation that should easily be confirmed or dispelled by **future** excavations.

7 Phases in the occupation of the palace

The floor surfaces in **H1**, H2 and H3 were badly damaged, and non-palace accumulations, including two **tannurs**, were laying right on top. There is some evidence of a fire, although we cannot identify any trace of warfare (in other words, the fire may have been accidental and localized). Similar evidence for an immediate re-use of a palace floor with a non-palace **function** is to be found in the courtyard **F1**, where the low retaining wall at the western end contains ash that accumulated in that part of the courtyard: the notion of such an accumulation and the poor nature of the construction are at variance with everything else we know about the palace, so that we may reasonably conclude that these areas were no longer used as a part of the palace, even though they had not been abandoned.

Accordingly, we may distinguish five major occupational phases in the history of area AA (Figs. 10-11).

- (1) **Pre-palace structures** in AO. — The platform X2 immediately pre-dates AK because the foundations of AK overlay it and the outlet of the drain coming from Sector **C** is at a higher elevation.
- (2) Palace **occupation** of AK. — This corresponds to the first **40/50 cms.** of deposit within the walls and is the period documented for king Tupkish and queen Uqnitum. Sector AR is in use at the same time.
- (2a) Fire in **portions** of AR (including **H**) **and perhaps** in rooms **C1** and **C4** of AK. — The fire is documented

designation for the royal storehouse. The letter R in AR refers to the "residential" function of this wing as we understand it at present. The letter H in AH stands for "Houses," i.e. for the private residential quarters which were built on the hill that resulted from the collapse of the royal building. Analogously, AP stands for the Palace complex as a whole, and AO for the palace related strata outside the perimeter of the palace. The label AA stands for the overall area regardless of period or function.

only indirectly, and may have been localized, but of sufficient intensity to affect the use of the complex. An immediate re-occupation with different **functions** took place in Sectors H and F, as just mentioned. The **sealings** of Tar'am-Agade and **Išar-beli** belong here: they were discarded, presumably **from** the other sectors of AR, which continued to remain in use.

(3) **Non-palace occupation of AK.** — This corresponds to the mid to high floors within AK, and no evidence is available at this point for what happened to AR during this period. The accumulations within AK are very considerable, up to 2 m in height. None of the features known for the early floors (baked brick floors and **platform** in F, central **tannur** and hearth in D, toilet, drain and basin in C) remain in use.

(4-5) Post-palace settlement above the palace. — Very little is in evidence for AK, partly because of erosion, partly because it seems that the settlement preferred higher grounds, and placed various retaining walls along the edge facing AK and the courtyard. Hence the houses of the Bitumen Use Tradition and Khabur period are arranged in an L-shaped configuration around the lower grounds corresponding to sectors **E,F,G** and to the AK building.

In terms of chronology, this suggests the following approximate correlations with the southern Mesopotamian sequence (Figs. 10-11):

- (1) **AO** structures (pre-palace) – Sargon
- (2) **Tupkish/Uqnitum** material in AK – (Rimush)/ Manishtushu (Maram-Sin)
- (2a) Tar'am-Agade material in AR – Naram-Sin / (**Shar-kali-sharri**)
- (3) Mid to high floors in AK (with correlations to **F1**) – **Shar-kali-sharri**
- (4) Early post-palace settlement AH (Bitumen Use Tradition) – **Dudu/Shu-Durul** / (Guti ?) / **Ur III** / **Isin-Larsa**
- (5) Later post-palace settlement AH (Khabur ware) – Old Babylonian

This combined evidence of a **connection** with the court of Akkad and the early date for the initial building of the Royal Palace should dispel the prevailing notion of Urkesh being a petty kingdom that came to a position of power only as a result of the collapse of the Sargonic dynasty.

8 Historical implications

Whether Tar'am-Agade is a queen or Urkesh married to an *endan*, or a priestess representing her father alongside an Akkadian governor, the discovery of the door **sealings** with the impression of her seal is of great consequence. Here we will make briefly to three points.

(1) With regard to **chronology**, the sequence just outlined suggests two important considerations. The first is that the extensive AK accumulations belong at the very latest in the early Naram-Sin period, but may possibly be earlier as well, reaching into the period of Manishtushu or even Rimush. This provides us with one of the best stratified sequences for the central portion of the Akkadian period not only in the Khabur region, but in the whole of Syro-Mesopotamian.

A second consideration is that the palace and post-palace sequence stretches over a period of time that is of considerable significance, in that it goes **from** Naram-Sin to the Khabur period with a deposit that is in places 6 m thick. Even though there is a major functional change (**from** palace to settlement), there seems to be a gradual change without any long period of abandonment. Not that there was no abandonment altogether: we have in fact so labeled stratum 13 (see Fig. 11) But indications are that the period was not long, on account of both typology (ceramic sequences show considerable continuity, if with some limited degree of change) and stratigraphy (there is no indication of a hard compaction layer above the abandoned palace).

Indications are mounting that the Guti period was of more limited duration than it was generally assumed, so that Gudea of **Lagash** and Ur-Nammu of Ur would follow shortly after the end of the dynasty of **Akkad**.³⁷ Four radiocarbon determinations that we have obtained for the AK accumulations of phase 2 give as a mean date 2175 B.C. Since we **can** now attribute this phase to the period of Manishtushu or early Naram-Sin, we may have in our C14 determinations a confirmation of a lower date for that same period. If so, the stratigraphic sequence

³⁷See R. Dittmann, "Glyptikgruppen am Übergang von der Akkad- zur Ur III-Zeit," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 25 (1994) 75-117, Pl. 1-3

of phases 2-6 would span a period of some four centuries, **from** about 2200 to about 1800 B.C.

(2) A second important implication of historical significance has to do with the **political role of Urkesh**. It must be remembered that the communis opinio has, until now, understood the growth of Urkesh (as it was thought to be evidenced by the inscriptions of Tish-atal) as a direct consequence of the collapse of the Akkadian empire: Having first ruled the Khabur plains, and having then retreated, the Akkadian gave way for the occasional flourishing of petty, peripheral kingdoms such as Urkesh. Certainly the finds of 1999 change this picture. First, the royal palace was built before Naram-Sin (or at the very latest, at the beginning of his reign). And, second, the presence of the daughter of Naram-Sin acting in an administrative capacity (palace doors were sealed in her name), marks Urkesh as a place held in great esteem by the Akkadians. Even if Tar'am-Agade is in Urkesh as a priestess alongside an occupying Akkadian garrison, the role of Urkesh cannot be considered **as** petty or provincial – for the other three known daughters of Naram-Sin who acted as priestesses resided in Ur (En-man-ma), Nippur (Tuta-napshum) and **Sippar (Shum-shani)**.³⁸ These were obviously important cities, and it would not fit this pattern **if Urkesh** were a petty, provincial residence.

If, as may be more likely, Tar'am-Agade was in Urkesh as a queen married to an **endan**, then the conclusion is that **Naram-Sin** had chosen to ally himself with Urkesh instead of fighting against it – according to a pattern of dynastic marriages which we have mentioned above. A possible reason for this pragmatic choice may be the difficulty to control effectively the mountain areas of the Tur-Abdin, which we presume are identified by the name Nawar in the royal titulary of **Atal-Shen**.³⁹ As one of us has **argued**,⁴⁰ the hinterland of Urkesh reached most probably the northern reaches of the Tur-Abdin, and held control over the mountain territories more through the recognition of a common ethnic bond than through organized administrative mechanisms. This would have made it difficult for an outsider, such as Naram-Sin, to replace with his own the control of the Urkesh **endans**, and thus an alliance would have been a wiser political choice. We have **often** referred to a Hurrian urban ledge, i. e., a narrow arc in the piedmont area just south of the Tur-Abdin where, and where only, there would have been important urban centers in the third millennium, **from** the site of Chuera to Nineve, and with Urkesh in the center (see Fig. 4). This geo-political distinctiveness of the northern Khabur plains explains, *inter alia*, the relative lack of Hurrian names in Nagar and Beydar and the lack of references to Urkesh in Ebla. This second point entails that Urkesh was outside the direct range of contacts available to Ebla, not because of distance (Urkesh is only some 60 kms north of Nagar), nor because of geographical barriers (there are neither mountains nor rivers between Urkesh and Nagar), but solely on account of the geo-political situation: Urkesh was Hurrian, and was possibly in the sphere of **influence** of **Akkad** since the beginning of its dynasty.

9 An early masterpiece of "Hurrian" **art** (A12.30)

One of the unique finds from the period immediately following the presumed destruction of AR is an important clay statue found in a pit that cuts down through the outer wall of AK on its Southern side (see Fig. 12). It comes from feature 194, the fill contained within this pit. In it, there were also a number of broken vessels dating to the fourth quarter of the third millennium, in a style we call the Bitumen Use Tradition (see presently). Toward the bottom of this pit came an almost intact clay statue of a nude woman.

The pit filling has certain aspects of a **favissa**, a pit dug so that ritual objects **could** be discarded in it.⁴¹ A number of these pits were excavated in Ebla near the area sacred to Ishtar. At this point no sacred structure is known in this immediate **area** in Urkesh. However just to the north of this pit we have excavated a large hearth

³⁸For a **convenient** summary of the evidence see D. R. Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC)*, RIME 2, Toronto 1993, p.87.

³⁹See D. R. Frayne, *Neo-Sumerian Period, Part 2: Third Dynasty of Ur*, RIME 312, 1997, pp. 458 and 461.

⁴⁰G. Buccellati, "Urkesh and the Question of Early Hurrian Urbanism," *Economic Aspects of Urbanization and Land Use in the Ancient Near East*, in press.

⁴¹N. Marchetti and L. Nigro, "Cultic Activities in the Sacred Area of Ishtar at Ebla During the Old Syrian Period: The *Favissae* F.5327 and F. 5238," JCS 49 (1997), pp. 1-44.

decorated with what appear to be religious symbols on the exterior. The hearth was an installation in a Khabur period building, the nature of which is not presently clear due to the fact that we have just begun to excavate it but the decorations on the exterior of the hearth point to a religious activity in this area. It is possible that this statue, dating to the Post-Akkadian period, and the pottery and sealed docket found with it had come from a religious structure under the Khabur period building, that they were found in the construction of the Khabur building and discarded together in the nearby pit.

The figure is 29 cm tall with the final portion of the base broken; although we **sifted** the deposit we did not find the base. The breaking of the base may have contributed its discard since it would not have stood up as found. The statue was meant to stand upright because the lower half is cylindrical and probably flared at the lowest portion of the base. The woman is nude with the pubic triangle expressed; the buttocks are one of the modeled areas of the body. Her navel is indicated by a small hole while her very schematic breasts are applied pellets in sharp contrast to the modeling of the buttocks. She is wearing a double strand necklace which may have a counterweight; on the other hand it may be her long hair extending down her back. Fortunately her head is intact except that most of the applied eyes were broken away. The face is striking for the emphasis on the bulging cheeks, the small mouth, and the circular pellet (half only of which remains) for the eye; her other eye is completely gone. On the very top of her head she had a deep depression which may have held something or may have been an anchor for a wig made out of another material. Indications of this latter are two raised ridges of clay going down the back of her head.

The expressionism of the style, in the emphasis of certain characteristics of the body and the face, offset by some quite schematic elements, makes her, in our opinion, one of the most important third **millennium** figures ever found in this region. It should also contribute to the knowledge of what we may address with greater certainty as "Human" art.

10 Structures on the exterior of the palace (Sectors W and X)

In two respects the building of AK and AR seems to have been conditioned by the layout of two preexistent structures which are outside the Palace complex, and which must have held a considerable symbolic significance if they could so affect the footprint of a very carefully laid out structural complex.

The first is a platform (**X2** in Fig. 7; see also Fig. 13), which was built originally in stone. The wall of AK is so designed as to encase this platform by means of two setbacks, which **affect** the size of the rooms inside Sector C and cause a niche-like effect on the outside. The platform continued in use after the building of AK, except that it was now only partly in stone, while the remainder consisted of both bricks and vegetal fibers which were laid longitudinally (reeds? bark strips? samples are being analyzed for a botanical definition).

Second, the southernmost portion of sector H is slightly skewed in relationship to the general orientation of AK, in correspondence with the axis of a U-shaped stone structure which is very well preserved (see Figs. 7 and 14-15). We have reached the level of the threshold of the doorway between **W1** and **W2** (which is only 50 cm wide), but only in a small sounding, and the absolute elevation is roughly level with that of the early phase of platform **X2**. At the eastern end of the U-shaped structure, a well marked circle (**W3**) is in evidence, delimited by a slight indentation in the stone walls (which might have supported a vaulted roof) and especially by a clear differentiation in the accumulation. The general appearance of the structure would have been that of a *tholos* with a square entrance. We have no plausible explanation for this structure. The best hypothesis is that it may encase an early well, which might then be found below the accumulation that would have matched its original circular shape; it may also be a tomb. Since most of the lower accumulations remain undug, future excavations will give an obvious answer to this question.

What seems certain is that these preexistent structures held a strong symbolic value, whether religious or otherwise, such that the new building had to respect it, even if it was the royal palace. Might we have here evidence of a processional way, with a platform for the display of some relevant image, and an early well that had acquired cultic significance, as the mention of the "waters of Urkesh" in later texts implies? Might such a processional way pass by the entrance to the palace on its way to the temple (**BA**), which would have towered some 20 m higher at the center of the city? Parallels with Chuera immediately come to **mind**. But these are mere

speculations at this point. It is however stimulating to think that the answer ought to be found rather explicitly in the ground as excavations continue next season.

11 The courtyard (Sector F)

Several surprises expected us in this area. A good pebble floor hugs the walls and the main doorways in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard. It is well made, but clearly less well made than a baked brick pavement which is about 30 **cms** lower than the pebble floor. The baked brick pavement may cover the same approximate surface as the pebble pavement but is for now documented only through two small soundings. The baked brick pavement belongs clearly to the first phase of the palace occupation, and the pebble floor is probably still associated with the palace (its is less likely that it may mark the beginning of the non-palace occupation of **AK**).

A beautiful baked brick platform (with alternating red and yellow bricks, an alternation which may or may not be accidental) causes a narrowing in the doorway between **F1** and **G1**. **As** preserved, it belongs only with the pebble floor, but it is possible that a narrower version of the same platform may eventually be found to match the baked brick pavement.

Facing this platform to the north is the stone substructure of a curtain wall that separates **G1** from **F1**. The top of this stone substructure is lower by about 50 cm than the stone substructure in the walls between sectors **F** and **D/B**, and for this reason we had missed it in the previous season (our excavation had stopped just below the level of the stone substructure in the walls to the south, assuming a similar elevation in both).

The sounding to the north of the eastern wall in **F1** was aimed at identifying the northeastern corner of the courtyard **F1**. We assumed that, true to the symmetry that is so prevalent in the palace, there would be a doorway of some 3 m and then a wall projecting out from the northern wall of the courtyard. But this did not turn out to be the case. It might still be that the doorway is wider and that the matching wall is further to the north.

We had also assumed that there would be a similar matching wall to the east, with a stone substructure low enough to have escaped our earlier attempts. But there was no trace of such a wall; we even looked for possible traces of stones that might have been quarried, leaving what we have termed elsewhere a negative wall, but this, too, did not prove correct. It seems that the western end of the courtyard was open, and if so, it would be rather unlikely that Sector **E** could have served as an entrance to the palace, since the entire courtyard would have been visible from the outside. It is true that we did not find any evidence for a wall on the western side, but it could be that the wall was further out west, on top of the old city wall, and that it has been completely eroded. This area, too, may become clearer as further excavations clarify the **configuration** of the architecture to the north of Sector **E** (in what might be a separate sector **I**).

12 A scribal quarter in Sector C?

The Tablet A10.163 (GB)

The tablet fragment A10.163 is the upper **left** corner of the obverse of an administrative text; the reverse is uninscribed. It reads as follows:

- 1 2/3 URUDU 4 []
- 2 Zi-x[]
- 3 30 [1
- 4 x [1

While its content is obviously of minimal significance, this find is otherwise of greater interest for the following three reasons. (1) Being well stratified, **palaeographical** considerations are of consequence in helping to date the Royal Building. The text clearly belongs to the Akkadian period. (2) It is very likely that the tablet comes from a scribal installation, which I will describe presently. If so, the tablet may be linked very specifically to an administrative functional setting. (3) This is the first epigraphic find in Sector **C** of the Royal Building. Since we

are just now coming down to the top of the earliest accumulations within the building, more such finds are possible. In particular it is possible, purely considering the nature of the building's footprint, that Room C1 might have housed the administrative archive.

The hypothesis advanced below with regard to the functional interpretation of this sector of the building is naturally tentative. It serves primarily to guide our excavation strategy; however, the facts on which it rests seem of sufficient interest to justify presenting them as a guide towards an appreciation of this cuneiform *frustulum*.

Sector C within the Royal Building AK

The floor plan of the building is shown in Fig. 7. Sector C is one of four very distinctive sectors within the Royal Building AK. It mirrors almost exactly Sector A in terms of the articulation of space and the arrangement of the rooms (which are however larger in the eastern end of Sector C). In turn, Sectors C-D mirror sectors A-B, and all together they exhibit a well planned footprint, which is no doubt due to organic planning and coordination. We have clear evidence that the structure was built all at once, and that we have the original first floors.

We interpret Sector B as the storehouse, on account of the large number of container **sealings** found therein. And we interpret Sector D as the kitchen, on account of the large tannur and small oven found at the center of D1. In Sector A we had hardly any floor accumulation (due to erosion), hence we cannot propose any interpretation as to its function. And Sector C we interpret now as the administrative quarter where tablets were written and possibly archived. It is also possible that new **sealings** might be **affixed** to the containers, presumably after the original **sealings** were broken to inspect their content. If so, it must be stressed that only small containers were brought to Sector C, on account of the narrow aperture of the doorways.

Like Sector A, Sector C is accessed through a **nodal room (C7)**. This room, with three doors, was too small to allow for any activity other than possibly housing a controller. Two of the doors within Sector C were narrowed by one full brick, which heightens the control on traffic within the sector.

Room C5 must have been a **courtyard**. This is based so far on circulation considerations alone, though the nature of the floor accumulation seems to confirm this as well.

To the south, one had access to the **iwān C2**, which exhibits a large opening that would not have allowed the presence of door panels.

From the **iwān**, one could access a **toilet (C6)** through an **antechamber (C3)**. Both toilet and antechamber are badly eroded, but what shows very clearly is a deep quadrangular shaft lined with baked bricks in the south-eastern corner of C6, and a drain that flows from the doorway between C6 and C3 towards the outside of the building (we have found the top of the drainage cistern outside the building to the south).

Room C4 is only partly excavated, and it has yielded some partly burnt logs (one is about 2 m long) within a non-burnt soil matrix. We originally assumed that the logs might have come from a wing of the building that burnt down, but subsequent analysis of the material by our paleo-botanist, **Lanfredo Castelletti**, has categorically excluded the possibility that these wood **fragments** may have been transported after burning, and that they are remnants of wood structures burnt in place (the long boards are conifer, and the small ones poplar). Given the total absence of roofing pieces and of any trace of general burning in the room, we have concluded that these may be the remnants of shelving: the long wood piece is curved, according to Castelletti, as a result of the fire, and may have flipped sideways when falling. If so, this would be a situation identical to that shown in the famous reconstruction of the Ebla archive room. The momentous consequence would then be that this room (instead of C1, see presently) is the archive room, and that, if the shelves are in place, so might be the tablets that would have fallen. Even the simple possibility that this might be the case requires very careful consideration and planning. Accordingly, we have decided not to excavate **further** in this room this season, to protect the wood with a wooden box and extra backfill, and to plan for a **careful** excavation next year with the presence of both the paleo-botanist and a conservator.

The iwān as a scribal installation

Our interpretation of the **iwān** as a scribal installation rests on the following clues.

(1) A rectangular basin was found (see Fig. 16), lined with **extremely fine** clay. It appears that its base consisted in a single row of bricks laid vertically, but the thickness of the walls is due **primarily** to the accretion of many fine layers of clay, inside and out the basin itself. Our explanation is that excess clay was rubbed and pressed along the sides.

(2) The top surface of the basin as excavated (many more surfaces are stratified below) shows the impression of short straight lines, which I interpret as fragments of a disintegrated **burlap** bag in which the clay was **kept** to maintain its plasticity as long as it retained moisture. The excavator, Rick **Hauser**, first pointed out the similarity with disintegrating burlap bags that we use on the excavations. A reading of the impressions as straw is perhaps also possible, but the **regularity** of the impressions does not make this a likely hypothesis, nor can one easily understand why straw would be found together with such pure clay. (A later analysis by our palm-botanist, **Lanfredo** Castelletti, has excluded that these are seeds, and suggested that instead of fiber fragments these may be impressions of recent root structures. If so, they differ considerably **from** other types of root structure that we have often encountered.)

(3) Next to the basin, there is another installation which may have been **a platform** on which the scribe **sat**. This platform has been partly damaged through our own excavation, which suggests that it was not uniformly hard, since the experienced workman who was digging there would not likely have missed a hard surface, especially since he had been warned about the possible presence of a platform. The top of the platform as preserved is hard and could have been a sitting place for a scribe right next to his supply of clay for tablet making.

(4) The location of the platform, or at any rate the use of the iwan as a place for a scribe to sit and **write**, would have been ideal: the iwan receives **a full** northern light, which means that the area would have always been lit very well, but would never have been in direct sunlight (which can be very blinding in the Summer).

(5) The basin is in the way of the **doorway** to Room **C1**, and it would in fact have kept a door panel from opening **fully** (the rabbeting in the doorway indicates that the door would have opened on the side of the basin). Given the concern for circulation patterns within the building, it seems hardly likely that a permanent feature like the basin might have been allowed to impede **traffic** over the protracted period of time during which it was in use (as documented by the continuous clay accretions). Rather, it seems likely that the basin would have been the focal point of activities within the whole sector.

(6) In one corner of the iwan there is the base of a **jar** set in the floor, which may have contained water for keeping the clay moist. And the presence of the toilet and the drain suggests that water was used in this Sector.

(7) Several clay pellets were found in and about the basin. One wonders if these may have been three-dimensional doodles, so to speak, **i.e.**, the result of idle **finger motion** in between shaping tablets.

(8) **The fragment** of tablet A10.163 was found next to the **platform**. A single piece does not of course prove anything, but can nonetheless be cited in support of the general hypothesis.

(9) Considering the general articulation of space, we must consider the possibility that Room **C1** may be the archive. (The difficulty in opening the door on account of the basin would add an indirect measure of control on access to this room.) Since there is no evidence of destruction in this part of the building, it is unlikely that we should be able to find the remnants of such an archive, which would have been moved to some other location. But one might reasonably expect to find more fragments like **the frustulum** reported here. (See however the additional note above.)

(10) We may expect two other clues pointing to a possible scribal presence. Both have been found **frequently** in AK, but not yet in Sector C. Blank tablets would obviously be expected, as scribes prepared to write but did not mold the clay lumps in the final characteristic pillow shape. The blank tablets we find have relatively sharp sides, without any rounding.

(11) A curious implement of which we have several exemplars (not from Sector C) may perhaps be explained as a **stylus sharpener**. They have the appearance of small ax heads, but without any means of hafting, and are made of hard stone, either green or black (though not obsidian). If used as sharpeners, they may have been held between thumb and forefinger, and passed slightly along the non rounded sides of the stylus to remove nicks and grooves.

(12) A technical analysis of the clay (Yoko Taniguchi) has shown that the clay of the bin is identical to

that of the blank tablets; it is not, however, identical to that of the tablet fragment found next to the **bin**. It must also be stressed that these blank tablets were not found near the bin.

(13) A portion of a *grinding stone and pestel* was found in the courtyard. It may have been used to grind dry clay into a powder that could be mixed with water to obtain usable **sealing/tablet** clay (Rick **Hauser**). — The possibility that the bin may be a **bin** for grinding food staples, which was briefly considered and then repropose by Heike **Dohmann-Pfälzner**, seems excluded by two considerations: no seeds were found in the bin or in its vicinity (while many have been recovered in other parts of AK, even without floatation), and no grinding stone or impression of one has been found in or near the bin.

13 Residential quarters in the time of the “Bitumen Use Tradition”

Our search for a definition of sectors G and **E/I** of building AK was hampered by an embarrassment of riches. Earlier excavations in the area above sector F had led us to believe that there was little in the way of a later occupation. But this expectation proved wrong. Considerable settlements of the post-palace period were found this year, with some very interesting architecture and important objects. It soon became apparent that the limited exposure we had **planned** would not have allowed us to do justice to these strata. This, coupled with the growing importance of sectors H, W and X, led us to a change of strategy, whereby we effectively stopped excavations in the strata overlaying sectors G and E/I, leaving it for another year to obtain the filler horizontal exposure that they deserve. However, we will report briefly on two important results from this year's excavations.

Our aim all along has been to establish a well stratified corpus of ceramics from the AK building both from the building's floors and those immediately succeeding its use as a palace. The ceramic assemblage is becoming clearer now for those strata immediately following the palace period. The ceramics change from the high quality Simple and Wet Smooth Wares of the palace (from what we call the end of the Simple Ware Tradition) to a somewhat coarser set of wares based on the same clay but with a heavy addition of **chaff**. Also a series of vessels were made from a red **firing** clay with heavy inclusions of calcite, seen both on the surface and in the sections. Most striking is the employment of bitumen in various functions: as a **waterproofing** material, to repair vessels, and for decoration. Bitumen for waterproofing and repair had occurred earlier but was not as widespread. Bitumen based paint for decoration is new in the post-palace period and took the form of solid black necks of medium necked jars and small and medium bowls, large dots found around the shoulders of small and medium pots and jars, and amorphous designs on the bodies of medium jars and pots. The shapes of the vessels made in all these wares **are** more varied than previously in the AK palace floors. For instance the standard conical cup with string cut base is supplemented by a cup with its widest diameter near the base. Pebble tempered cooking pots and storage vessels made in Rough Ware with a thick interior slip made into vat and large jar shapes continued from at least ED III. As a result of this season's work we now have a series of vessel types which characterize this period so poorly known in the region.

Another important result came from the Khabur period strata just above the palace. In Khabur period houses we had found a number of horseshoe shaped andirons associated with fire as they were frequently burnt inside. Some had the ends of the two arms preserved and they were undecorated. This season, in a building of **undetermined function** we began to excavate what appeared to be a complete but fragile example of one of these andirons. The area supervisor and his team decided to take it out of the ground whole and complete its excavation in the controlled environment of the expedition house where conservation treatment could be continually applied during excavation. As it turned out these considerable methods were well worth it! The two ends of the **arms** of the andiron are decorated with incised and punched designs. At the top there appear to be horns, below is a large X-shape with a row of small holes beneath. The two ends are joined near the bottom by a cross-piece decorated with what looks like an imitation of a door lintel. Traces of burning are found inside. While we were conserving this andiron we sent a FAX to Joan and David Oates who very graciously immediately sent us information **from** their various excavations. We are very **grateful** for their generous and prompt help.

14 Publications, lectures and other research activities

The following publications have appeared since the last *Bulletin*:

- G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Das archaologische Projekt Tall Mozan/Urkeš," *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 131 (1999) 7-16
- G. Buccellati "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh," in M. Fortin, *Syria, Land of Civilizations*, Quebec: Musée de la Civilisation, 1999, p. 170
- "Urkesh and the Question of Early Hurrian Urbanism," for the Volume *Economic Aspects of Urbanization and Land Use in the Ancient Near East*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999

Of the series *Urkesh/Mozan Studies*, the volume *Technical Reports* is in press, and will hopefully be out in the Fall, while a volume on conservation (resulting from the Round Table in Florence, about which see presently) is in preparation, edited by Sophie Bonetti.

Two volumes of the *Urkesh Typological Record* are in advanced state of preparation, in particular: M. Kelly-Buccellati's volume on the seal impressions from AK, and R. Hauser's volume on the figurines also from AK. Another volume on ceramics from AK is in preparation by M. Kelly-Buccellati.

For the *Urkesh Stratigraphic Record* G. Buccellati has been reworking the data from various field books, in order to refine the strata assignment for the overall Palace. Priority is being given to A12-A13 and to A10, which we hope to have ready for publication during the next academic year.

A Round Table on conservation at Moan/Urkesh was held at the *Opificio delle Pietre Dure* in Florence in November 1999. Besides the present writers, Sophie Bonetti and Beatrice Angeli spoke on the metals and F. Buccellati on digital photography applications to conservation. P. E. Pecorella chaired the meeting, G. Bonsanti (Director of the *Opificio*) and M. Michelucci (Director of the Archeology section and of the School of the *Opificio*) spoke on the connection between conservation and archaeology. At the end, L. Castelletti and G. Chiari (Turin) commented on the presentation.

The writers gave joint lectures and seminars at the University in Florence (November 1999), in Ascona (Switzerland), and (in March 2000) in Palermo (with a seminar on art and ethnicity), Agrigento, Rome (with seminars on stratigraphy, ceramics, glyptics and ethnicity), Como (with a seminar on a grammar of stratigraphy), and will continue in May in Venice and Trieste.

M. Kelly-Buccellati has presented a paper on the ceramics from the palace at a Seminar in Tiibingen in February 2000, at which J. Oates, A. Pruss and of course the Pfälzners participated.

R. Hauser has given a lecture at on the excavations, with particular emphasis on the figurines, at the on His documentary *Unwrapping Urkesh* has been chosen for a special showing at the *Third International Meeting of Archaeological Film of the Mediterranean Area* in Athens, Greece, in June 2000.

In October 1999, G. Buccellati was greatly honored with the award of a recognition of the first class by the President of the Syrian Arab Republic: this took place during a ceremony at a congress in Hama, during which the Minister of Culture presented the award, also given to 6 other colleagues.

Several dissertations and theses are underway. At UCLA, J. Omar and F.-X. Xu are preparing their PhD orals on seal inscriptions and functional analysis of rooms, respectively. At Tiibingen, A. Bianchi is continuing her dissertation research on comparative data for the AK ceramics. At SMU, J. Walker is planning to write an MA thesis on some aspects of the excavations.

At Mozan itself research is continuing during the Winter. Six of our local assistants are working on some aspects of the ceramics, and are also taking computer classes in Qamishli, to prepare them to better work with us next Summer.

15 Computer network and digital photography

A major step forward was taken in 1999 through the introduction of a computer network that links all

computers in the house. Federico Buccellati was in charge of the planning, installation and maintenance of the whole intranet system, which was a total success. During the **1999** season we had 7 desktop computers and 4 **laptops** connected to the main server. The cable network as currently installed links three buildings in the compound, and provisions are in place for it to extend to a fourth building which is currently under construction.

The normal use of the network system is, of course, the exchange of data among various units. While each excavation unit and major typological research group has its own computer, additional material is constantly produced by other staff members, and the exchange by means of disks, as it was used in the past, was proving to be rather cumbersome. But it is especially in the area of graphic files that the network had become indispensable. While **Autocad** files do not present particular problems of size, drawings and photos do. It has only been as a result of the intranet system that we have been able to exchange freely files among the key locations, in particular **from** the photo studio and the scanning station to the other units and research groups. In both graphic areas (scanning and digital photography) we became fully operational this year. A total of some **1400** drawings were scanned (under the supervision of Alice Bianchi) and **2300** digital photos taken (under the supervision of **Ong Kar Khalsa**).

The systems for both scanning and digital photography were also planned and installed during the last three years by Federico Buccellati. In particular during the **1999** season he developed a fully functional system for digital macro photography, some examples for which are given in the illustrations below (see especially Fig. 6). A **useful** experiment in macro photography was also carried out by Rick **Hauser** with his video camera, but in the end the macro capabilities of the **Nikon 900** still digital camera proved to be superior. While we still took black and white photographs as a back-up, the quality of digital photography seems to us fully satisfactory, so that in the **future** we will abandon black and white negative **film**. We will still continue, however, with color slides.

16 The conservation laboratory (Sophie Bonetti)

The role of specialists

The conservation season has been extremely rich and intense for the great amount of objects found in the excavation and for the presence of an additional Conservator. In Spring 1999 I organized the participation of Dr. Beatrice Angeli, Conservator of Archaeological Materials at the Opificio Delle Pietre **Dure** in Florence. Extremely experienced for her long career spent in archaeological sites all over the Mediterranean area, Dr. Angeli was one of my best teachers during my Conservation training at the school of the Opificio. At the end of last year's season in Mozan, I suggested that she would have been the ideal person to come to treat the metal finds. After my idea had been approved, I put in touch the Expedition's Directors with the Opificio, and organized her coming for one month, three weeks after the digging season had started, so that she would have a lot of material to start working on.

Besides the presence of Dr. Angeli, I also arranged for the participation of another very skilled person, a student in chemistry, Yoko Taniguchi whom I met at the **J. Paul Getty** Conservation Institute in the fall of **1998**. She was an intern in the Museum Research Lab and she was doing research on ancient pottery. We had started together to do some research on Mozan's ceramic samples in the spring of '99, achieving very promising results, and since she was ending her internship year in March, Drs Buccellati and I, thought that we could try to involve officially the Director of the Museum Research Lab, Dr. David Scott, to continue the research started by Yoko Taniguchi. Not only were we able to find an agreement to work regularly on the analysis of the site's pottery with the involvement of two students that work in the site, Ong Kar Khalsa and John Lynch, but also we have arranged for Yoko to come spend a month in Mozan. She came in fact, and worked with great enthusiasm on the technical examination of all the Mozan wares, continuing the work made by experts in the past years. She especially focused on the different clay compositions, their color variation with the firing, and the research of local clay sources. We did together a research on the manufacturing techniques of tannurs (bread ovens) to see if the techniques **used** today could be comparable with the old ones: the site is very rich in tannurs. The study of local clay sources for the pottery and for installations such as tannurs, led us to concentrate on another area of interest: we wanted to see if there was a direct link between the local clay sources of the Mozan area and the clay

composition of tablets and seal impression from the site. The result of our first analysis and tests seem of great interest; we have sent some samples to be analyzed at the Getty Museum Research Lab for next year.

The renewed lab

The Conservation lab this year has been radically improved by some reconstruction work. The room, that was already quite large, with two tables, and very well organized for the numerous shelves, has gained an extra space. There was a little terrace adjacent to it, that was of relatively little use because it was outdoor without protection, totally exposed to wind and dust. On the other hand it was very useful for the great amount of light that it received, being open on two sides. This year the little terrace, in only five days, was transformed in a very comfortable working area by closing the two open sides with glass and, moreover, by adding an air conditioner. Also, the electricity wires have been extended to it in order to have **artificial** light and plugs for the computer. This new space has been extremely useful this year both for computer work and for practical work; the air conditioner has definitely made a big change in the lab. The conservation space has also been **enlarged** by gaining an extra room that is located right before the lab; the room was used in the past years as storage and as a study area for the figurines. This year the room has been cleared of all boxes and the space has been **left** for conservation. It has been used to store all the ceramic that we will restore next year, and to treat large pieces like the andiron. (see below). One of the two tables has been used by Yoko **Taniguchi**. As in past years, there also was a large outdoor working area for the ceramic conservation.

Organization of the Conservation activities

All the objects that were brought to the lab in need of conservation, or, if metal, of storage (all the metals are stored in the conservation lab since last year), have been registered in a paper register and in the computer. Their label, short description and state of preservation were entered at first, while the treatment description has been added later. All the metals were immediately labeled and passed on to Dr. Angeli for treatment, on another table. The clay objects and seal impressions were put on a separate shelf waiting for treatment. I cleaned and consolidated most of them, with some help from Dr. Angeli. The ceramic vessels have been generally kept outside in a selected large space with a row of tables; almost all the vessels' reconstructions require in fact a large space to spread out the sherds in order to find matching pieces. The average number of objects brought to the lab in one week was of 6-8 metal artifacts, 8-10 ceramic vessels, 5-6 sealing impressions or figurines. Dr. Angeli restored approximately 50 metal pieces, 16 of which went to the Deir-er Zor Museum. Among these are a dagger, a javelin head, 3 spearheads, an **ax** head, a few pins, a pair of tweezers and a small lead relief of a female figure.

The ceramic vessels that were selected for restoration were passed on to two local workmen from the nearby village of **Moza**, Steff Bekh and Yestefat Bekh. They have been trained in ceramic conservation since my first season here, in 1997, and turned out to be very skilled and reliable. They are able to put together a wide range of shapes and sizes, from very fine and small bowls to large and heavy jars. This year, under my supervision, they attempted the reconstruction of approximately 60 shapes.

I have been particularly involved in the cleaning and consolidation of seal impressions; during the 6 weeks of the excavation the number of finds had been relatively small, so I was also asked to treat objects from the previous years. At the end of the season though, when the excavation was in its closing phase with cleaning and leveling of the layers, a large concentration of seal impressions started to come out from the ground. The rate of pieces excavated was of 6-7 per hour, plus numerous clay lumps to be checked. While the rest of the excavation was being closed, the area from which the seal impressions were coming out has been dug until the very last days, generating a large corpus of important material. I concentrated all my time in the treatment of these pieces that suddenly became a priority. By cleaning them with brushes and **scalpel** and by consolidating them, their surface become in many cases much more readable, allowing the study and understanding of their inscriptions and iconography.

This year, beside the conservation work in the lab, I have been involved with Dr. Angeli in two cases of conservation started in the field. The first case was that of a large piece of burnt wood that was found almost intact in the ground. We have personally spent some time on the site cleaning the wood log of the soil with

dental tools and air pumps, and tried to consolidate it. Two of the most skilled workmen saw the way we were working and they were able to continue by themselves. They have been able to free all the log's surface from the soil and they found more burnt wood around it. The piece is in a key room of the AK building, therefore its preservation is very important: by being able to correctly excavate it we will understand its shape and hopefully its **function** (maybe a **shelf?**). The wood log has been left in the ground because we did not have the necessary equipment to remove it whole from the soil; it has been protected by a wooden case, plastic and dirt on top. We will attempt its removal next season

The second intervention in the field was the removal and transportation of a large clay installation shaped **as** a kitchen furnace (andiron). The piece is U shaped and its upper surface was uncovered on the ground in an apparent good condition. It was therefore decided to try to remove it all and transport it to the house in order to treat it more properly, given its supposed importance. It was unclear, at that time, whether the piece was effectively an andiron, or something else since the only visible part was the upper one. The whole piece was removed from the ground by cutting a large cube of soil around it and brought to the house, in the ceramic courtyard. The excavation of the shape was carried on by a workman under my supervision: he freed the original structure from the soil, at first outside and then inside. While he was removing the soil he was also starting a first phase of consolidation. After that, Dr. **Angeli** and I, continued the treatment by consolidating further the surface that appeared to be very **fragile** and crumbly. It was decided to move the piece indoors into the conservation lab because the clay was drying too fast outdoors and cracking. The object has been wrapped in aluminum foil, plaster bandages and gauze in order to avoid damages during the transportation. It has been carefully moved to the lab, **freed** from the wrapping, and consolidated once again. For the following five days the piece has been consolidated, the gaps between the cracks have been reduced and tinted plaster fills have been applied. The fills were done mainly for structural reasons, in order to give strength to the piece, and secondarily for an aesthetic purpose. Overall, the piece turned out to be unique, because although it shows traces of burnt as if it was an andiron, it bears a decoration that recall a ritual use; its precise function is still unknown.

17 Architectural conservation (Ali Ali)

Note. During the course of the years, Mr. **Ali Ali**, who is an architect by training and who **served** as the representative of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums for our Expedition, provided great assistance in our efforts to preserve the walls of the Royal Building **AK**. In the **1999** season, he accepted the responsibility of supervising the implementation of **our** new conservation plan, which entailed the construction of metal **frames** and of fitted **tarps**. He **performed admirably** his task, providing all the measurements that were required, making the necessary contacts with the local craftsmen who produced the intended structures, and **supervising** the final assembly (Fig. **17**). It is only through his dedication and skill that we were able to complete the work on two of the rooms of the Palace. We have asked **him** to provide a technical report on his work, which we are happy to reproduce here. (GB and **MK-B**)

A general problem of the conservation of the walls of the Royal Palace, besides the nature of the material (sun-dried **mudbrick** and undressed stone), is the irregularity of the profile: there is great unevenness in the degree of height preservation **among** the various walls. This means that a technical approach aimed at preserving the individual components from deterioration may make it difficult to perceive the original shape of the architectural whole. When I was asked to supervise the implementation of this project, I first made sure to assimilate well the purpose of our project, and at the same time to understand **fully** the actual layout of the building; in this way, I could hope to succeed in doing justice to both the architecture and the needs of conservation.

The aims of our work were as follows:

- (a) to protect the walls from natural agents such as rain and heat
- (b) to give a real perception of the walls as such and to allow a direct view of the inner movement of the building and of the interrelationship among its parts
- (c) to make it possible for the covering structure to be easily removed, and to place regular openings to allow the inspection of the walls in their original state.

We chose to begin with one room where the walls were preserved at their highest on one side, and very

low on another. The room selected was D2, the kitchen: its western side had been excavated in **1994**, and the eastern side in **1997**. The total surface area of the room is **51 m²**. I measured each wall with the specific goal in mind to divide them into segments for which distinct segments of a **uniform** iron frame might be built. The frame consists of pipes with a circular section of **3.5 cm** in diameter, which slide over an iron bar placed on the ground: this allows us to regulate the height of the structure as desired, so as to obtain a uniform level at the top. We covered two walls with an iron sheet **5.7mm** in thickness. The other frames do not have an iron sheet cover, but only horizontal struts covered with a **tarp** (see presently): **after** the Winter rains we **will** determine which of the two systems serves our needs best. The **frames** were **constructed** to my specification in the shops of Mr. Sarkis Balian in Qamishli and Mr. Sabagh Kassem in Amuda. The cost of each m² of frame is about **550** Syrian pounds.

The iron frames were then covered with tent material; we chose material that had been used but was in good state. I gave the exact measurements to a tent maker in **Qamishli**, Mr. Abdul **Baki** Ali, who produced tightly fitted covers that reproduced exactly the wall outlines. These covers are tied to the iron frames with solid laces, and they are folded outwards towards the floor: these flaps are then covered with the backfill that overlays the entire floor in the room. In several places where the wall is of particular interest, we have made it possible to raise a flap in the tent that allows visitors to inspect the wall. This flap is normally closed by means of a sturdy zipper. The cost of the material is **60** Syrian pounds per m², and the sewing about **150** Syrian pounds for each wall segment.

The installation of the entire structure is relatively easy, since it is modular and its various components are each of limited weight. It can also be dismounted without any difficulty: this is important because we hope, in the **future**, to put in place a more permanent structure that might fully protect the palace and present it as a coherent architectural whole to the visitors.

18 Acknowledgments

The twelfth season of excavations was made possible through grants from the National Geographic Society, the Catholic Biblical Association, the S. H. **Kress** Foundation, the L. J. and M. L. Skaggs Foundation, the **Ahmanson** Foundation, **Loyola-Marymount** University, Syria Shell Petroleum Development B.V., and various donors.

Excavations during the **first** half of the season were under the direction of the writers, with the participation of Alice Bianchi, Sophie Bonetti, Federico Buccellati, Rick **Hauser**, John Lynch, Carol **Noyes**, Jamal Omar, Barbara **Pritzkat**, James Walker, Claudia **Wettstein**, Fan-Xi Xu. Our representative from the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums was Ali Ali **from Qamishli**.

As always, we are very **grateful** for the assistance and support of the Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums, in particular the Director General, Dr. Sultan **Muhsen** and the Director of the Office in **Hassaka**, Mr. Abd el-Mesiah Bakdou.

Excursus 1. The structure of seal entitlement and use

The corpus of seal impressions from the Royal Palace of Urkesh is rather extraordinary not only for the wealth of typological information it contains but also for what it tells us about the use of the seals. Insights of this type emerge from the stratigraphic setting in which the seal impressions have been found, from the evidence they give us of the objects to which they were affixed, and from the distributional correlations that we can establish among the individual components of the corpus. With the insights gained from the Urkesh situation, it is **useful** to define clearly the categories to which the various cases attested belong. We list here briefly the terms and definitions we use, followed by a table with actual examples. Some considerations along these lines were anticipated already in our *AfO* article.

"referentiality"

"referent"

extraposition of name of higher ranking person, to denote dependency

individual whose name is extraposed. – Note that filiation or other qualification

	without extraposition is not considered referential, hence <i>Uqnitum DAM Tupkish</i> is non-referential, whereas <i>Tupkish Uqnitum DAM-su</i> would <i>be</i> referential
"entitlement"	full possession and control (the term stresses the legal dimension)
"ownership"	same as entitlement, emphasizing de facto situation
"owner, titular"	person having ownership or entitlement
"hereditary"	seal whose entitlement is to a dead person
"dynastic"	seal whose entitlement is to a dead king
"use"	physical holding and employment of seal
"user"	person who has seal in his or her care
"self-use"	a situation wherein owner uses the seal
"personal"	a seal used by its owner
"attribution"	a situation wherein use is attributed by owner to unnamed user
"attributive"	a seal attributed to unnamed user

In the following table, shaded areas refer to personal seals, where the owner and user is the same person. The seal of **Ukin-Ulmash** is a cylinder seal of unknown provenance, and is included here as a possible seal of a personal seal. The *Tupkish* seal impression **A1.144** is unpublished and is the only one with a member of the Urkesh royal family as referent: without knowing more about the seal owner, it is *difficult* to gauge whether it was a personal seal or not. The seal impression of **Shu-ilishu, A12.....**, from phase 3, is also unpublished, and is cited here as an example of a probable personal use of the seal.

	referent	owner	user	
referential	Naram-Sin	Tar'am-Agade	(doorkeeper)	
	Naram-Sin	Ukin-Ulmash	(?)	Boehmer 1964 N.15 attribution or self-use
		Ukin-Ulmash		
	Tupkish	x-[x-x]	(?)	A1.144 attribution or self-use
		x-[x-x]		
non-referential		Tupkish	(farm supervisor)	
		Uqnitum NIN	(farm supervisor)	
		Uqnitum DAM	(farm supervisor)	
		Uqnitum DAM Tupkish	(farm supervisor)	
		Zamena UM.ME.DA Uqnitum	(farm supervisor)	
		[x] SAL.MU Uqnitum	(farm supervisor)	
		Innin-shadu	(farm supervisor)	
		Ewrim-atal	(doorkeeper)	
		Ishar-beli	(doorkeeper)	
		Shu-ilim		A12.....

Excursus 2. Detailed stratigraphic analysis of AK and AR

Following is a list of arguments that have emerged **from** our stratigraphic analysis of the 1999 seasons with regard to a few key questions that presented themselves during the excavations. We leave these remarks in an outline form, and we plan to develop these points **further** during the coming season. They are addressed especially to staff members for their careful study and consideration in advance of our common work in the Summer 2000.

L Reasons for thinking that the accumulations within AK are "living floors":

1. **FLOORS**

facts	a	floors themselves (as different form accumulations) are well marked, often lined (white calcar) but not hard pavements
inferences	b	accumulations get easily embedded; they are not due to neglect but to regular use; in other words, they were kept clean, but embedding was inevitable
2. **ACCUMULATIONS**

facts	a	they consist of very thin and extensive layers
	b	the inclusions (especially sherds and sealings) are scattered evenly, lying flat
	c	the matrix is fine and clean, with alternating thin bands of very fine ashy and pinkish soil, and it is highly compacted
inferences	d	the accumulations are not due to neglect, but they built up as a result of normal use within a storage area
	e	they are definitely not fills

II. Reasons for thinking that first accumulations in AK correspond to its earliest occupation:

1. **RELATIONSHIP TO INSTALLATIONS**

facts	a	the installations (door sills in A1 and A6 , tannur and hearth in A6 , drain, toilet pit and basin in A10) are level with the first floor or rise only a few centimetres above (maximum is 40cms with basin), and show no sign of repair
	b	the accumulations go neatly with these installations, in some cases curling up nicely against the sides
inferences	c	the accumulations reflect the first use of these installations
2. **LACK OF TUPKISH MATERIAL IN AR AND COURTYARD**

facts	a	hard baked brick pavement in the courtyard (A9); flagstone pavement and cement-like pavement in A12
	b	there is no Tupkish material on these hard floors
inferences	c	these floors were kept clean without possibility of embedding
	d	if the Tupkish accumulation is a "dirty" accumulation coming after the earliest use of the palace, why is it restricted to areas without hard pavements?

III. Reasons for thinking that AK and AR belong together:

1. **USE OF A PARTY WALL**

facts	a	there is a party wall between AR and AK (A10 and northernmost portion of
-------	---	--

A12). This portion of the wall is a single construction

- b the wall continues south in A12: while in AK (**A10**) it is a stone substructure, the stone portion of the wall in AR (**A12**) serves as a retaining wall which contains packing for the higher floors: it is exposed to the outside, but not to the inside.
- c the stone substructure in AR (**A12**) is lower than the one for the party wall between AK and AR (A10): this is common at other corner juncture in AK
- d the wall has the same width (2 m) as the **perimetral** walls of AK
- e the wall is of the same structural make-up (stones and bricks) as all the other walls of AK
- inferences f the wall is a normal perimetral wall which is shared by the two buildings, presumably built together
- g it is hardly possible that AR leans against AK and utilizes its walls

2. COMMON EARLY FLOOR AGAINST AK AND AR CORNER WALLS

- facts a here is a clear floor surface that abuts both buildings on the outside at their **common** corner
- b this floor abuts also a **platform** which is set in a niche against the perimetral wall of AK
- c the floor is at the same level as the floor into which flows the drain that comes **from** the first floors of AK
- inferences d the two walls were **standing** and in use at the same time
- e this "time" is that of the building of AK

3. NATURE OF PACKING BELOW FLOORS

- facts a there is a 2 m thick packing below the floors of AR
- b the first floors of AK are also about 2 m below
- c this packing is very distinctive of the subfloors in AK: in the southwest portion of AK (for most of sector A, and the southern portion of sector **C**) there is a considerable amount of this same packing (hard, granular, dark red soil)
- inferences e the close similarity in **material** and its use supports the notion that the two buildings were constructed at the same time
- f presumably even higher than that amount with respect to the **roofline** of AK

4. PERSPECTIVES FOR VERIFICATION

- facts a there is a gap in the bricks and the stone substructure in the eastern wall of room **C4 (A10)**
- b this gap has been exposed for now only at the very top of the stone substructure
- c the gap is located exactly in the center of the eastern **wall** of the room
- inferences d this may be a doorway between sector C (AK) and sector H (AR)
- e if so, there must be a stairway leading **from** AR to AK: in **terms** of the layout of the building, seems does not seems likely,
- remarks f circulation between the two wings of the building (always by means of stairways) is likely to be found in the area of the courtyard between sector F and sector G (A9)
- g the 2000 excavations will answer the question about sectors **C** and **H**; we will work again in sectors F and G in 2001

IV. Reasons for thinking that Tupkish strata are earlier than Tar'am-Agade

1. NATURE OF THE DISCARD OF TAR'AM-AGADE'S SEALINGS

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| facts | <ul style="list-style-type: none">a the door sealings with the seal impression of Tar'am-Agade are clustered together in an area of about 1.5 square metersb they are embedded in a coarse, soft and granular matrixc the depth of this deposit is of about 20-30 cms.d we may not have exposed the entire amount of the deposite though fragile, several of the sealings are well preserved (large portions of several sealings were found, just as in AK)f there is very little extraneous material (essentially just few sherds), and no "dirty" type of discard (bones, charcoal, pebbles), |
| inference | <ul style="list-style-type: none">g within AK there are very few door sealingsh unlike the sealings in AK, this is a cachei this is not a secondary dump, but a primary discard, a discard found in the place where it was originally dropped (hence properly a cache) |

2. DAMAGED FLOOR SURFACES

- | | |
|------------|--|
| facts | <ul style="list-style-type: none">a in room H3 there is a good flagstone pavement, which has however been damaged in its southwestern corner (it continues under the unexcavated area to the north and the east)b in room H1 there is a thick cement-like pavement (some 20 cms thick); this, too, has been damaged except for the northwestern cornerc both floors are supported by the deep packing described above (visible through an ancient pit)d it is uncertain whether H2 is indeed a small room or not, since the remains of the presumed walls to the west and the north are very badly preserved, and the floor surface is also badly damaged; a beautiful stone drain leads out of the building to the southe the sealings of Tar'am-Agade were found in this presumed small room H2f immediately on top of the stone pavement in H3 sits a tannur with its ash layers resting directly on top of the stonesg similarly, two poorly built tannurs cut into the damaged remains of the calcareous pavement in H1h the walls reach barely above the level of the floors |
| inferences | <ul style="list-style-type: none">i the floor surfaces within AR were of a higher quality than in AK, which suggests that this may be the residential part of the palacej as mentioned above, there is hardly any accumulation associated with its first use, on account of both the residential nature of this wing of the palace (as opposed to the service wing AK) and the fact that hard floor surfaces do not allow embeddingk the tannurs are incongruous with the first (palace) use of the building; they represent a later moment and a distinct change in use; since they rest directly on top of these floor surfaces, the accumulation that we find associated with these floors is for the most part laterl material that can be associated with an early use can only be identified typologicallym since we exclude that the sealings are a secondary dump, and since they belong to an early date typologically, they must be considered as belonging to this sliver of an early accumulationn since the cache is on top of the damaged floor surfaces, it belongs at the |

earliest to the latest moment of the building, i.e., shortly after it was damaged

- o this we considered from the beginning as an argument in favor of **Tar'am-Agade** being in Urkesh as a priestess representing an occupying power rather than **as** a queen married to **an endan**; but it is equally possible that this portion of the building was abandoned after some damage occurred (possibly a fire of which there is some evidence in AK at the very beginning of the non-palace occupation), and that the residential wing of the palace was relocated but in the same general area
- p the key question is whether the cache is or is not a primary discard: if it is, then the early use of the palace must precede Tar'am-Agade

3. EPIGRAPHY

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| facts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a of the few epigraphic finds found in the first floors of AK, those that are more distinctive suggest an early date; two texts will be mentioned in particular here b a school tablet found almost complete in room B2 gives an excerpt of the Early Dynastic LU E list of professions, of which the full text is known from Abu Salabikh and Ebla c a fragment of an administrative tablet (reproduced on the cover of the handout at the bottom) has signs that have parallels in texts dated to Naram-Sin and even the Sargonic period (Archi, Milano) d no such epigraphic material has been found in higher strata |
| inference | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> e these finds are stratified in the Tupkish accumulations as described above, and can be safely assumed to add weight to an early date for Tupkish |

4. REMARK


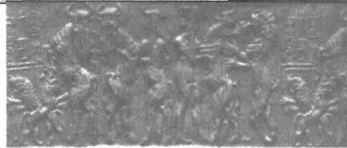
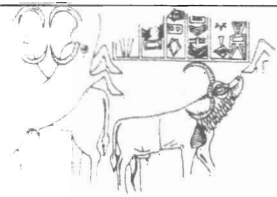
The reasons adduced in this last section are not as strong as those given for the other sections. But we need not speculate needlessly, since continued excavation should provide a clear answer.

Excursus 3. Catalog of seals and seal impressions of the Royal Family of Akkad (M. Kelly-Buccellati)


A comparison of the seal of Tar'am-Agade with those of other members of the Royal House of Akkad highlights the unique significance of our finds. Some of the conclusions that emerge from such a study are given above in Section 8, and they **will** be developed more fully in the articles that are being prepared for submission to MDOG and *JNES*. The **full** body of data is presented here in tabular form.

Seals and Seal Inscriptions from the Royal House of Akkad

Seal Inscriptions Connected with Enheduanna

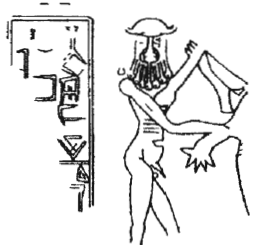
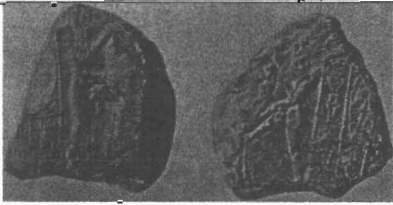
No	Reference	Additional Reference	Inscription	Type of Object	Where Found	Description of Scene	Notes	Illustration
1	Woolley 1934, Pl. 212, No. 308	Boehmer 1964 No. 2 Boehmer 1965 Abb. 56 Collon 1982, No. 64	Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon, Dingir-palil is her coiffeur	cylinder seal (partial)	Ur, U 8988, from Grave PG 1503	Contest: caprid vs hero in flat cap, two crossed human headed bulls (preserved head shown full face) being attacked by two lions (the preserved head is seen from above)		
2	Woolley 1934, No. 307	Boehmer 1964 No. 1 Boehmer 1965 Fig. 53	Adda, majordomo of Enheduanna	cylinder seal	Ur, U 9178	Contest: human headed bull, human headed bull vs bullman, hero in flat cap and kilt? protecting bull from attacking lion, inscription with crossed lions below		
3	Woolley 1934, Pl. 212, No. 309	Boehmer 1964 No. 5 Boehmer 1965 Fig. 114 Collon 1987 No. 908	Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon,-kikudu, scribe	seal impression	Ur U 11684	Contest: Two crossed buffaloes, inscription with buffalo beneath		

Seal Inscription: Brother of the King




4	Collon, 1982, No. 141	Boehmer 1965, No. 717	... Ubil-Eshtar, brother of the king, Kalki is your servant	cylinder seal	near Babylon?	Expedition: guide carrying bow, man in tufted garment carrying short staff, central figure in tufted garment carrying an axe over his shoulder, man in fringed garment, man in tufted garment carrying an axe and a sling, inscription box with two servants carrying furniture below	Ubil-Eshtar is probably represented in the center with the seal owner, the scribe Kalki, represented behind him	
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Seal Inscriptions of Naram-Sin: Seals of Officials






Name of Naram-Sin without Divine Determinative

5	Matthews, 1997 No. 320		Naram-Sin ...	seal impression	Brak ER	Contest: Inscription, nude hero with head frontal vs lion with paw open		
6	Boehmer 1964 no. 16	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 203a,b	NS King of Agade, Shu-ilishu, judge is your servant	seal impression on bulla	Tello	Contest: unclear animal (probably reversed) vs nude hero with leg raised, full length insc box, same pair? reversed	Two examples of same pair, one pair is the reverse of the other	

Divine Determinative before Name




7	Amiet 1976, no. 70	Boehmer 1964 No. 14; Boehmer 1965, Abb. 194	dNS PN, the cup-bearer, is your servant	si on bullae frags	Tello	Contest: full length insc, lion vs hero, ½ insc box at bottom of seal, sun god, small lion who seems to be fighting – rest broken	Amiet 1976, p. 34 very elegant proportions	
8	Boehmer 1964, no. 12	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 193a,b	dNS, King of the Four River Banks..... – Asar....	Old Assyrian Tablet and Envelope		Contest: hero with head frontal vs lion with tail up and paw open, insc (UC if some motif beneath), hero with head frontal, lion with open paw	Two examples of same pair, one pair is the reverse of the other	
9	Banks, Bismaya p. 301 (lower middle photo)	Yang 1986, Sargonic Archive, p. 451	(d) NS, King of the Four River Banks, Urmes, the scribe is your servant	seal impression	Adab			
10	Boehmer 1964 No. 22	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 656	dNS, King of the Four River Banks,	si	Tello	Misc: seated bearded man facing left with one hand extended		

Seals of Officials: Epithet “God of Akkad” with or without Divine Determinative Before Name



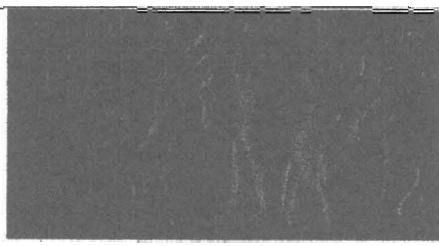

11	Matthews, Brak No. 319		d NS, god ?of Agade,PN scribe? is his servant	seal impres- sion	Brak WP/JN P	Contest: lion with open paw and tail raised vs frontally facing bullman, full insc box, frontal facing hero vs ? – not preserved	“god of” restored	
12	Amiet 1976, no. 69	Boehmer 1964, no. 11 Boehmer 1965, Abb. 172	dNS, god of Agade, Sharrish-takal, scribe, is your servant	seal impressi- on on a bulla	Tello	Contest: lion vs bullman, full length insc box, hero vs hoofed animal	from photos (both in Amiet and Boehmer impossible to tell if full faced or not. Amiet p. 34 says both hero and bullman are entirely in profile	
13	Boehmer 1964, no. 17	Boehmer 1965 Fig. 221	dNS, god of Agade,is your servant		Tello	Contest: hero with arms raised as in fighting, rest not preserved		
14	Boehmer 1964 No. 23	Boehmer 1965 No. 604	<dNS>, god of Agade, Urda, scribe is his servant	sealing on a bulla	Tello	Contest: bullman facing left fighting an unknown animal, full length inscription box, two contestants?		
15	Boehmer 1964, No. 19	Amiet 1976, no. 89 Boehmer 1965 Fig. 542	dNS, god of Agade, ...PN, the cook of the (K...,?) is your servant	sealing on a bulla	Tello	Presentation: small grain deity standing on an altar or platform (may be a statue of the goddess)	Amiet 1976, p. 34 says that is the first time that we see the	


						a statue of the goddess) grain goddess who holds a flowing vase, worshipper with one arm extended forward and other at waist, interceding goddess with one arm at waist and other raised to the level of her face	pyramid type headdress on a goddess; grain and water are symbols also important for the profession of the seal owner	
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Family Mentioned in Seals: Name of Naram-Sin has Divine Determinative and Epithet “God of Akkad”



16	Boehmer 1964 No. 13	Boehmer 1965 No. 644	dNS, god of Agade, Binkalisharri is his son, Abi-ishar, the scribe is his servant	sealing on a bulla	Tello	Contest: nude hero facing left fighting an unknown figure, full length inscription box, nude hero facing right fighting an unknown figure	Son of Naram- Sin	
17	Boehmer 1964 No. 15	Boehmer 1965 Fig. 256; Collon 1987 No. 528	dNS, god of Agade, Ukin-Ulmash, is his son	cylinder seal		Contest: bull attacked by lion, full inscription box, lion attacking a bull. Both lions have heads seen from above	Son of Naram- Sin; mirror image composition	
18	Boehmer 1964 No. 21	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 725 a-c	dNS, god of Agade, Enmenanna, the entu- priestess of Nanna is your daughter, ..., the scribe is her servant	sealing on a bulla	Tello	Banquet: full inscription box, goddess? with long hair and a long pleated garment with one hand raised, Moon god on a throne decorated with circles wearing a tufted garment and holding a flat cup, facing goddess with long hair holding a flat cup, behind her is a goddess with hand raised	Daughter of Naram-Sin	

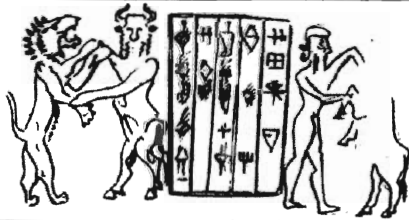
Family Mentioned in the Seals: No Name of Naram-Sin

19	Boehmer 1964 No. 20	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 548	Enmenanna, Ursi, the door keeper is your servant	cylind er seal	Ur Grave P/G 719	Adoration: seated god facing right, star, stand, god, vegetation deity, god holding plow, inscription with horned animal below	Daughter of Naram- Sin	
20	Collon 1987 no. 530		Tutanapshum, entum- priestess of Enlil, Amar-Eshdar the is your maid servant	cylind er seal		Misc: servant in fringed garment holding musical instrument? seated figure in tiered garment wearing a crown with long curled? hair. Her seat is on a platform on which also rest her feet. Behind her is a tree	Daughter of Naram- Sin; entu priestess of Enlil in Nippur	
21	Boehmer 1965 Fig. 165		Binkalisharri, the prince, Isinnum, the scribe, is his servant	seal impre ssion		Contest: inscription with horned animal beneath, buffalo vs hero with full face, bullman (facing frontally), lion in profile with paw open, tail down		
22	Collon 1982, No. 116		Binkalisharri, prince, is your servant	cylind er seal		Contest: two crossed bulls in center each being attacked by a bearded hero seen in profile wearing a short kilt and shoes with upturned toes. Under the inscription is a buffalo	PN can be read Amuqshu or Idushu	


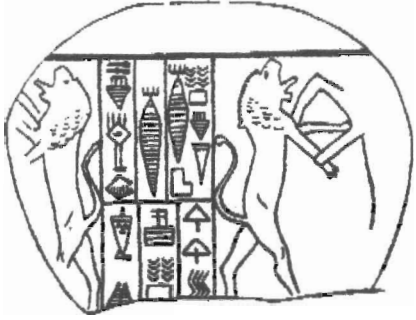

						facing right		
23	Gibson, Arch 30, 1977	Gibson, Sumer 1978	Sharkalisharri son of the king, Tab-pu-Asu, scribe, is your servant	cylind er seal	Nippur WA	Presentation: nude hero facing front with hands at waist, Ea with flowing vase in right hand and left hand extended, Usmu with hands at waist, human with right hand raised	see Frayne 1992 p. 178 for readings of the name	






Seals Connected with Lugal-ushumgal

24	Boehmer 1964, no. 18	Amiet 1976, no. 83	dNS, the mighty, God of Agade, King of the Four River Banks, Lugal-ushumgal , scribe, ensi of Lagash, is your servant		Tello	Presentation: worshipper carrying small horned animal facing forward, interceding goddess holding staff at her waist, her right hand is raised, seated Shamash, tree	
25	Amiet 1976 no. 84	Boehmer 1965 Fig. 432	Sharkalisharri, the mighty, king of Agade, Lugal-Ushumgal, ensi of Lagash, is your servant		Tello	Presentation: worshipper carrying a kid with head forward, interceding goddess carrying staff held at the waist in left hand, right hand raised, Shamash rising between two mountains with foot on one, tree on part of the mountain	



26	Amiet 1976 fig. 22	Boehmer 1965 Abb. 182	Seal of Sibanni, servant of Lugal-ushumgal, ensi of Lagash		Tello	Contest: lion in full profile with tail raised and paw open fighting a bullman with head frontal, full inscription, nude hero in profile fighting a bull		
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Seals of the Servants of Sharkalisharri

27	Boehmer 1964, No. 30	Boehmer 1965, Fig. 214	Sharkalisharri, god, hero of Agade, Lugal-gish, scribe and governor of Adab, is his servant	seal impressions on bullae	Adab			
28	Boehmer 1964, No. 27	Boehmer 1965, No. 646	Sharkalisharri, king of Agade, Kirbanum, scribe is his servant	clay sealing	Adab	Contest: lion facing left, full length inscription, lion facing right fighting an unclear figure	For the find spot see Zettler in Gibson and Biggs, Seals, p. 38	
29	Boehmer 1964 No. 29	Boehmer 1965 No. 647	Sharkalisharri, king of Agade, Adda, scribe is his servant	seal impressions on a bulla	Telloh	Contest: Lion with tail raised and lower paw open fighting a nude hero??		

30	Boehmer 1964 No. 32	Boehmer 1965, Fig. 248	Sharkalisharri, king of Agade, Lipit-ili, son of Shum-Malik, general, is his servant	seal impressio n on a bulla	Telloh	Contest: nude hero facing left fighting an unknown animal, full inscription, nude hero with head frontal and one leg raised fighting a n unclear animal		
31	Porada 1948, No. 237	Boehmer 1965, No. 954	Sharkalisharri, king	cylinder seal		Presentation: worshipper carrying a kid, interceding goddess, Ishtar	cylinder seal is poorly preserve d Seal presuma bly belonge d to a servant of Sharkali sharri	
32	Amiet 1976 no. 73		dSharkalisharri, king of Akkad, Ibnisharrum, the scribe, is your servant	Cylinder seal		Misc.: nude hero in half kneeling posture holding flowing vase, water buffalo drinking from flowing vase and partly under horizontally positioned inscription; mirror image of the same pair		




Seals of Tuta-Shar-Libbish, Queen of Sharkalisharri

33	Buchanan and Hallo, 1981, No. 429		Sharkalisharri, king of the subjects of the god Enlil, Tuta-shar-libbish, queen, Ishkun-Dagan, scribe and majordomo is her servant	seal impression on a tag				
34	Boehmer 1964, No 28	Boehmer 1965, No. 560	Sharkalisharri, king of Agade, Tuta-shar-libbish, queen, Ishar-Beli, majordomo, is her servant	seal impression on a bulla	Adab (Bismaya, Mound III)	Contest: inscription, nude hero fighting a bison		
35	Amiet 1976 fig. 23	Boehmer 1964, No. 34 Boehmer 1965, Fig. 657	Sharkalisharri, the mighty, king of Agade, Tuta-shar-libbish, royal beloved, Dada, majordomo, is your servant. CK Insc	seal impressions on a bulla	Telloh	Misc: tree, small female attendant holding cloth? in her right hand and long implement over her left shoulder, seated female facing right with both hands at her waist, standing figure facing left in long garment with one hand raised in greeting	of Sharkalisharri Amiet 1976 calls this an outdoor cult scene	

Other Seal Dating to Period of Sharkalisharri

36	Westenholz, 1987, No. 37	 of Sharkalisharri	clay sealing	Nippur		a seal of a servant of Sharkalisharri ? location unknown	
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Seals Dating to Period of Dudu and Shu-Durul

37	Boehmer 1964 No. 35	Boehmer 1965 Fig. 641a	Dudu, the mighty king of Agade, Amar-MUSH, the scribe, is his servant	sealing on a bulla	Adab	Unknown: Head of one figure facing right	
38	Boehmer 1964, No. 36	Boehmer 1965, Fig 261	Shu-durul, the mighty king of Agade ...	sealing on a bulla	Kish	Contest: inscription, nude hero facing right, wearing a belt, fighting an unknown figure	
39	Boehmer 1964, No. 37	Boehmer 1965, Fig. 262	Shu-durul, the mighty king of Agade, ... is his servant	clay sealing	Tell Asmar from "Houses Dump"	Misc: Kneeling figure with arms extended, below inscription box, two anthetical rampant bulls with front feet on mountains, tree in center	

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*Issued privately
to the supporting Foundations,
the Urkesh Founders,
staff members and friends
of the Mozan/Urkesh Archaeological Project*

The Royal Palace and the Daughter of Naram-Sin

Report on the 12th Season of Excavations
June October 1999

Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati



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