

## 4

# WOMEN'S POWER AND WORK IN ANCIENT URKESH

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### **Introduction: the uniqueness of Urkesh glyptics**

Urkesh, modern Tell Mozan in northeastern Syria, was founded in the fourth millennium and reached its political apogee in the late third millennium BCE. The inscriptional and prosopographic evidence indicate that the population was predominately Hurrian. The royal family maintained close political and marital connections with the Semitic-speaking populations to the south, especially as allies of the Akkadian Empire.

The visual corpus from the Urkesh excavations stems mainly from the large number of seal impressions found broken on the floors of several rooms and a courtyard of the administrative portion of the Akkadian period palace (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6, 1996, 1998, 2002; Kelly-Buccellati 2009, 2015).<sup>1</sup> We have interpreted this area of the palace as belonging to the administrative sector under the control of the queen, Uqnitum, based on the fact that the largest number of sealings is connected with her and her servants (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6: 29). All the inscribed seal impressions had been used to seal containers, including baskets, jars, boxes, and sacks. These containers were opened in this area of the palace by breaking the sealings, so that they were scattered over the floors. While no original seal design was preserved intact, painstaking work on the reconstruction of the designs allowed us to recover inscribed seal designs of the royal family and their servants. The reconstructions were even more difficult because of the unique iconography of these inscribed Urkesh seals. The seal designs have a unique mix of cultural expressions which are both authentic and authoritative. The secular scenes belonging to the queen, Uqnitum, and the king, Tupkish, have a tangible immediacy with scenes rendered in a vivid and realistic manner, and just as important, are personally specific to these monarchs. Seals of two other important women in the court have these same characteristics: Zamena, the wet-nurse of Uqnitum, and Tuli, the cook of Uqnitum. No other Mesopotamian corpus of seal designs, from any time period, have such a personal specificity as well as a detailed expression of the culture. Urkesh artists succeed in representing everyday events without trivializing them. Part of this is because each scene is unique in iconography. Each scene contains multiple registers of information which can be “read” in various ways by different groups (Kelly-Buccellati 2009, 2015). The distinctiveness of the iconography and its employment by a number of individuals in the Urkesh royal court points to the existence

of an independent artistic tradition which had the freedom to create new designs that served the Urkesh patrons and were at the same time independent of the iconographic traditions in the south. In the case of Uqnitum, she has an Akkadian name, not a Hurrian one; if she did indeed come from the Akkadian court in the south, she did not bring with her southern iconographic design schemes, at least in the corpus of her seals and those connected with her. Additionally, the seal inscriptions contain more information about the seal owners and their relationships. In Urkesh, the vehicle for transmitting the messages of both Uqnitum and Tupkish was the seals belonging to them personally, as seen from the seal inscriptions. As we have reconstructed her seal use, it is not that Uqnitum herself used all the seals belonging to her, sealing herself the numerous containers attested in the palace, but she had a number of personal servants who could seal the containers in her name. Since these visual and textual messages were transmitted on seals which were used for the queen's administration, there was a constant exhibition and reminder of these messages through the continuous stream of repeated images provided by the use of these seals by her officials.

The context of these sealings is clear in that the inscribed royal sealings came for the most part from rooms associated with a working courtyard in palace sectors E and F (Figure 4.1). They were not grouped, but rather were scattered over successive floors in sector B, in the kitchen (sector D), and in the working courtyard itself (sectors E and F). But the vast majority came from the large room in sector B. We have interpreted this room as functioning as an entry point for goods in containers arriving in the palace, probably from outlying villages and farms, sealed by her servants with her seals. The sealings found in the kitchen would probably

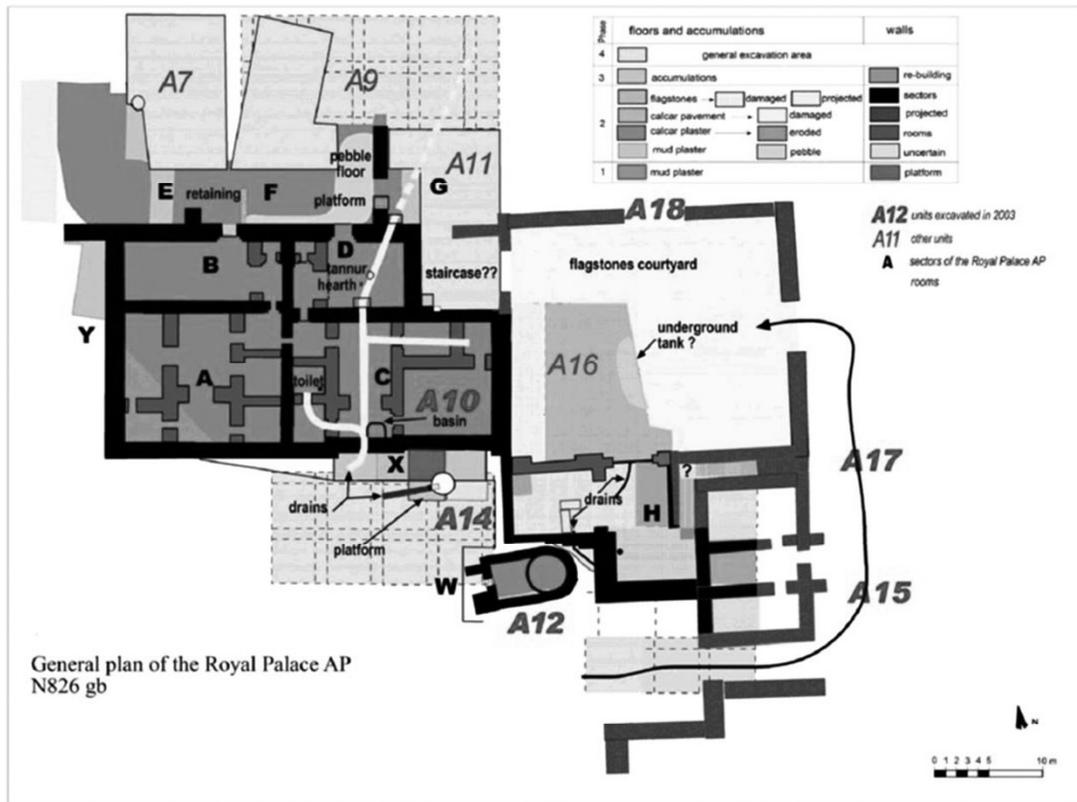


Figure 4.1 Urkesh palace plan, c.2250 bc.

have been on containers needed there. A group of the same sealings of royal individuals came from a different context and had a different depositional history in that they were found in a group in a restricted area of A7, probably because they were stored in a bag of which we had no traces. From evidence of administrative practices elsewhere, it appears that they had been collected for registration.

While the role of these women in the palace is clear, it is not clear from the part of the excavations already completed where these women would have lived. We know from the texts connected with the Mari palace, dated to c.1800 BCE, that the royal household did live within the palace (Margueron 1982 vol. I: 367; Durand 1987: 44 and especially fn 19). From the Urkesh evidence, the number of high royal officials who were women would not have been very high, so the palace sector for their living quarters probably was small. It is also not clear whether other women, such as singers and musicians, would have lived in the palace. In the later palace of Mari, under the reign of Yasmah-Addu, Durand indicates based on oil distribution lists that there were approximately 44 women living there. In the reign of Zimri-Lim, the archives indicate a much larger number, approximately 232 women (Durand 1987: 84–87).<sup>2</sup>

### **Representations of women in Urkesh from cultic settings**

Before discussing the “real women” of Urkesh, three important objects from the Urkesh excavations representing women should be mentioned. Two are clay objects fashioned in the image of a nude woman. One was excavated in a deep pit (A12f194) which we have reconstructed as a favissa, which is a pit where ritual objects, no longer in use, were interred; this one in Urkesh is dated to the fourth quarter of the third millennium (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2000: 156–161). The second image of a nude female is one of the rare ritual vessels found inside the deep underground structure identified as an *abi*, the Hurrian word for the necromantic pit used in Hurrian but not Mesopotamian rituals (Kelly-Buccellati 2002). Even though these two examples are not of actual women, they do have in common with the women discussed below the fact that they are shown “working.” And both the statuette and the vessel in the shape of a nude woman were both excavated in ritual contexts. Neither one is shown to be a divinity, but both are physically connected to the objects associated with their work: the bowl shape on top of the head of the female statuette and the small jar carried on the head of the nude female in the shape of a jar.

#### ***A small ceramic statuette of a woman (A12.30)***

This nude woman (Figure 4.2) is a little more than 29 cm tall and has a hollow base and a deep bowl-like depression at the top of her head. The exact context of her original placement cannot now be determined, but it is clear that she was placed upright as the base is wide enough to firmly hold the solid upper part of her body and head. The bowl-like depression on the top of her head clearly must have held either an object or some material. The fact that she is using her head to carry or at least to support something, connects her with the small vessel in the shape of a nude woman.

#### ***The nude woman from the abi (A12.108)***

A small jar, found inside the *abi*, was made in the shape of a nude woman carrying a smaller jar-shaped vessel on her head (Figure 4.3). The access to the contents of the vessel is through this small jar. I have interpreted this vessel as possibly a perfume container, since perfume is



*Figure 4.2* Nude female statuette from the favissa in A12f194.



*Figure 4.3* Small jar in the shape of a nude woman (A12.108).

one of the offerings cited in the Hurrian texts found in Hittite archives used in the necromantic rituals held in the *abi* (Kelly-Buccellati 2002: 135).

### ***Woman in the sacrifice scene***

Women at work in ritual scenes carved on cylinder seals are rare, but in Urkesh we have excavated a seal of a sacrificial ritual as it is taking place (Figure 4.4). In it, two priests stand on either side of a newly sacrificed bull whose severed head has been placed at the base of a palm column with a jar positioned on top (Kelly-Buccellati 2005; Recht 2015: 25–27). While the sacrificing priests are male, seated next to the priest holding the sacrificial knife is most probably a woman; she is wearing a pleated robe and has her hair tied up. This is not the typical garment and hair style of priestesses in Mesopotamia, perhaps indicating here that she is a royal wife, who, in Ebla (an advanced urban center in third-millennium Syria) and the south, did have cultic duties (Archi 2002: 4–7; Suter 2007: 317–333). The woman in the Urkesh sacrifice seal is stirring something contained in a tall cylindrical vessel with what appears to be a hoof still attached to part of the animal's leg. It should be noted that this vessel has a different shape from the one placed on the top of the palm column. The representation of two different vessels emphasizes the action of the woman; her role in mixing the contents of the vessel is a different contribution to the ritual than that of the priests, a fact which is highlighted by the symbolic nature of the palm column. While the goddess Ishtar is connected in seal imagery with the palm tree, this woman is not the deity as she has no horned crown, and she is actively participating in the ritual with an activity that is co-joined with that of the two priests but not subservient to it. Therefore, we see her working, as the two nude women discussed above.

### ***Cultic scenes and women at work***

From these examples, we gain an initial perspective of women in the Urkesh society. In all three examples, women play an important role in the cult, not a passive role, but rather an active role, working, as it were, in cultic activities. They are not the subjects of divine worship,



Figure 4.4 Cylinder seal with the representation of a sacrifice (A15.270).

but rather human participants in the ritual. We shall see that this is also the case with other human women of Urkesh; they participated actively in the socioeconomic interactions within the palace and by extension the city.

### **Images of active, working women**

#### ***Queen Uqnitum***

For the queen of Urkesh, Uqnitum, we have attested from our excavations eight different seals, all reconstructed from the large amount of fragments found in the palace. In her own seal iconography, Uqnitum presents herself as queen by calling herself *NIN* (“Queen/Lady”) and “*DAM Tupkish*” (“Wife of [King] Tupish”) in her seal legends. Perhaps more importantly, she depicts herself in her own seals; this combination of image and text does not occur in the Akkadian imagery of seals in southern Mesopotamia or western Syria (Pinnock 2008). Additionally, in one of her seals, she is shown as equal to the king. This seal, which we have called the “family scene,” shows both Uqnitum and Tupkish with two children (Figure 4.5). This power is again demonstrated, in a different way, in the scenes where her daughter touches her lap with the same gesture as the son touching the lap of his father in the “family scene.”

We have preserved only one other image of Tupkish, very similar to the “family scene.” In this seal (k2), we have again the lap-touching scene, but without the queen (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6). Tupkish is presumably also depicted as seated on the left in his seal where the scene is the presentation of what appears to be a skein of thread (k1) and may have been depicted on the other four seals belonging to him (*idem*). One male figure, Innin-shadu appears to be important from the evidence of the number of his container sealings excavated on the same floors as those of Uqnitum and servants connected with her. The only other male figure on the container sealings in the Tupkish palace is the bearded figure of a butcher on



*Figure 4.5* Urkesh “family scene” (q2).

the seals of Tuli, the cook of Uqnitum (see “Tuli, the cook of Uqnitum,” Figures 4.9 and 4.10 below). In the seals owed by Uqnitum, she is shown as wearing a tiered garment draped over one shoulder, long hair braided into one braid shown prominently going down her back with a large braid ornament. Her daughter, where she appears, has the same hairstyle and braid ornament. No other women in the court have this hair style. In her own scenes, Uqnitum sits on a stool with a patterned top, but in the “family scene” she sits on the same stool with vertical rectangular compartments as the king.

### *Her role as queen*

The most prominent and clearest expression of Uqnitum as queen occurs on what we have called the “family scene” where she is shown seated opposite the king wearing the very important tiered garment (Figure 4.5). She is holding a small child on her lap while observing another child touching the lap of the king. We have interpreted this as a gesture of filiation and an expression of the will of Uqnitum to have her son seen as the heir apparent. This same lap-touching gesture is reflected in a seal of Tupkish, without the queen (k2) and in the scenes of Uqnitum and her daughter (q4–7 and probably also q8). In the “family scene,” her status vis-à-vis the king is stressed by the fact that she is the same height and seated on the same type of compartmented stool. In this and all her own seals she wears the all-important tiered garment draped over one shoulder.<sup>3</sup> Also very significant is q1 (Figure 4.6) where her seal inscription is positioned as if being held on the backs of two bent figures who are working, but in unclear activities. This is the only time she calls herself NIN (Buccellati and Kelly/Buccellati 1995/6).

Uqnitum is the most important woman in the court, as we have no inscribed seals with names of other women except those who are directly connected to her. From the sealings, we

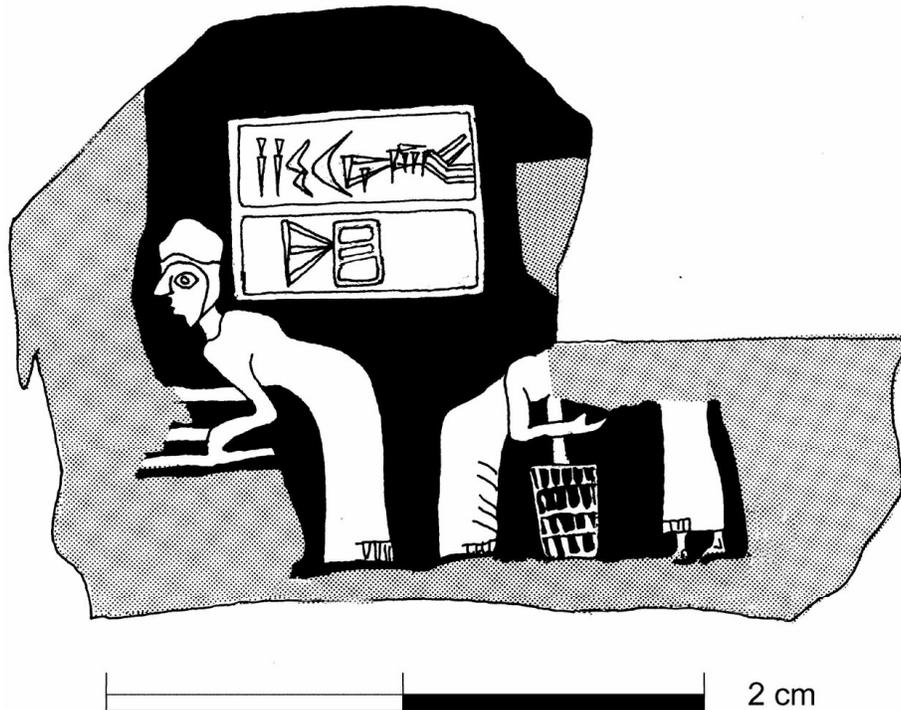


Figure 4.6 Uqnitum inscription held on backs of two servants (q1).

get a glimpse of the social order: Uqnitum is the pinnacle at the highest social level; just below her are female servants connected with her followed by unnamed servants, usually women, who are shown working in the seal iconography. Her status is also reflected in the evidence for her administration in the palace as discussed below, but it should be mentioned here that the joint role of king and queen in Ebla (Biga 1987, 1991) is clearly demonstrated in both the texts excavated there and in the placement of statues of both in the contexts of monumental entrances in the Ebla palace (Pinnock 2008: 22–23).

### *Her role as mother*

Uqnitum presents herself as a queen, but one who is intimately connected to her children, both male and female. If we consider all the images of her with her children, then she probably had three children, a son, a daughter, and a very young child, possibly another son. Her visual identity and her proclamation of her status is closely connected with her role as mother (for the theme of women holding children, see Pinnock 2008: 21–23; Budin 2011: 186–188; Nadali 2014). In the past, I have stressed the political nature of this role (Kelly-Buccellati 2015 with previous references). And surely this is clearly the case. For her son, she wanted the position of heir apparent while Tupkish was living and then to secure the throne for him after Tupkish. This message was communicated through the lap-touching gesture in the “family scene” in the most direct and powerful manner, but in other scenes as well (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6; Kelly-Buccellati 2009). She may have been a younger queen and therefore had to maneuver within the palace circles to have this position for her son—though this may have been enhanced by her possible status as a member of the royal family of Akkad. A similar situation is documented in the Ebla texts. Dusigu, a late arrival in the harem of King Irkab-Damu, succeeded in having her son, Ishar-Damu, become the next king even though he was one of many sons and probably the youngest (Biga 2000: 62, 70).

The daughter of Uqnitum is singled out as important with the same lap-touching gesture in the queen’s seals (Figure 4.7) (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6). Royal daughters were often married to other rulers for important political reasons; for example in the Ebla texts, a number of royal daughters are given in inter-dynastic marriages (Biga 1998, 2014 with previous bibliography). Here in the Urkesh seals we see the same gesture of lap touching on the part of her daughter as that seen with the father and son in the “family scene” and in one king’s seal (k2). Additionally, the fact that the young daughter wears her hair in a long braid with the same type of braid ornament as Uqnitum, emphasizes the intimate connection between them as daughter and mother as well as the political importance of Uqnitum and her daughter (Budin 2011: 186–188). That this is a mother–daughter connection is highlighted in the setting of these four seals of mother and daughter found within the palace sector connected with Uqnitum. We can deduce this from the fact that in them, they are surrounded by women, including a singer and lyre player, seem prominently in other seals connected with Uqnitum. Here, however, is a single important variation (q6, q7), the addition of a tall table decorated with bird legs (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6). The height of this table emphasizes the fact that her daughter is young as she is barely taller than the table.

### *Her role as administrator*

It appears in all likelihood that sectors B and D and possibly also A and C were centers of activity in the palace, probably controlled by Uqnitum’s administration (Figure 4.1). This



Figure 4.7 Uqnitum and her daughter (q4).

complex of rooms is an area of the palace that has limited access through a working courtyard (F. Buccellati forthcoming). While we have no texts from this area of the palace, the very fact that there is such a large number of seal impressions found there and linked directly or indirectly with Uqnitum is impressive: linked directly through her seal inscriptions and indirectly through seal inscriptions of her servants mentioning clearly that they are her servants. Buttressing this interpretation is the fact that there were only a few seal impressions of the King, six but with few actual seal impressions in the context.<sup>4</sup> It is not that we think the administration of the king was smaller or nonexistent, but rather it may have been located in another part of the palace, possibly connected with sector H and the associated flagstone courtyard.<sup>5</sup> This to some extent corresponds to the later evidence we have from the distribution of tablets in the Old Babylonian palace of Mari (a royal city and second-millennium rival of Old Babylon in Syria), c.1800 BCE (Durand 1987: 80–89).

Uqnitum had a number of seals in this corpus; eight in all have been reconstructed. Many have very similar designs. This was an administrative device whereby high level administrators closely connected with Uqnitum had the authority to use a seal belonging to her, indicated both by the inscription and the seal design showing her as the central figure (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6: 28). This unique administrative device assures that the power of these high level administrators and the details of the administrative process are directly under her personal control. Texts from both Ebla and Mari indicate the various activities the queen is involved with in the palace administration, supported by other men and women. But in Ebla there is no concept of entitlement, only of ownership (Durand 2000: 259–504; Archi 2002; Pinnock 2008: 22–23).

### Zamena, the wet-nurse of Uqnitum

Through her seal inscriptions, Zamena identifies herself as the wet-nurse of Uqnitum.<sup>6</sup> In this way, she is directly connected with Uqnitum through her function in the queen's household. This connection is also emphasized visually in her seal iconography where Zamena



Figure 4.8 Seal of Zamena, the wet-nurse of Uqnitum (h2).

is herself shown (Figure 4.8). She is depicted as a short figure standing in front of Uqnitum who is holding a small child. Zamena is not touching the queen, but rather has one hand on the child's lap, perhaps touching the hand, and one hand holding the child's wrist. Zamena is dressed as the other palace servants, even those not named in the seal inscriptions, with a fringed garment and hair tied in a chignon. It is interesting to note that Zamena is depicted on these seals belonging to her as shorter than either Uqnitum or the other servant standing behind the queen. There are various possible interpretations of this discrepancy in height. One is that Zamena herself was short in stature and this characterized her, so much so she had it represented in her seal. But another more nuanced interpretation could be possible. Her duties in the palace are closely connected with the child, as seen in the inscription and the seal design. Her head is at the same height as that of the child, in this way emphasizing her role.<sup>7</sup> The space between her head and that of the child contains a star, perhaps indicating a divine presence and possibly approval. There are several other unusual features of Zamena's iconography. While Zamena is wearing the usual fringed garment in her seals, Uqnitum wears this same type of garment. Uqnitum, on all the seals belonging to her wears the more prestigious tiered garment; this is the only case in which she wears the fringed garment. This may denote a more informal setting within her household emphasized by the fact that the servant behind Uqnitum in both the Zamena seals is braiding Uqnitum's hair. From the number of container sealings rolled with Zamena's seals in the palace, we see that she had an important role in the queen's administration. From small divergent details in Zamena's seal designs, we have evidence that she had more than one seal with very similar designs; this is also the case for Uqnitum but not the case for Tuli, see below. We can conclude from this that the role of Zamena in the queen's administration was one of control over the details, but was always connected with the overall administration of Uqnitum. We know from the Ebla texts that wet-nurses are important members of the court and are documented as living in the palace long after the lactation period, some until their death (Biga 2000: 65).

Additionally, they can be part of the retinue an Ebla princess brings on her marriage to a foreign prince (Biga 1997: 37).

### Tuli, the cook of Uqnitum

Tuli, like Zamena, was a very important administrator in the palace connected with Uqnitum. In her seal inscriptions she is defined as the cook of Uqnitum and her iconography deals with scenes connected with meal preparation, so in a sense a scene from daily life (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). But, unlike Zamena, she is not herself depicted on her seals, probably indicating an association through the administration but not a close personal connection with the queen, even though she is called the female cook of the queen. In other words, her function is more what defines her than a personal connection, but she was important enough to have Uqnitum named in her inscription. The functions she was in control of are depicted clearly and in detail on her seals. In what we assume is the earliest of her two seals, a woman is bending over two jars placed in one basket, probably churning butter (Figure 4.9). Above her, as if hanging, are two legs of meat. The other figure is a bearded male holding in one hand a knife and in the other a small animal, probably a lamb. In front of this figure is a pedestal with a necked jar placed on its side; it is likely that the pedestal was used during the slaughter of the animal and the jar used to collect the blood (Recht 2015). It is no accident that Tuli chose these figures and their activities. We know this because her original seal was abraded so much so that her name was no longer legible. She had a second seal made for herself and this too contained two figures, a bearded butcher and a woman bending over performing some activity (Figure 4.10). In this later seal, the iconography is not preserved above her except for an incomplete shape, the same shape as the lower portion of the leg of meat in her first seal.

Tuli and Zamena had a consistent iconography in all the seals that connected them with Uqnitum and explicitly referred to their profession in the palace administrative structure.



Figure 4.9 Earliest seal of Tuli, cook of Uqnitum (h3).

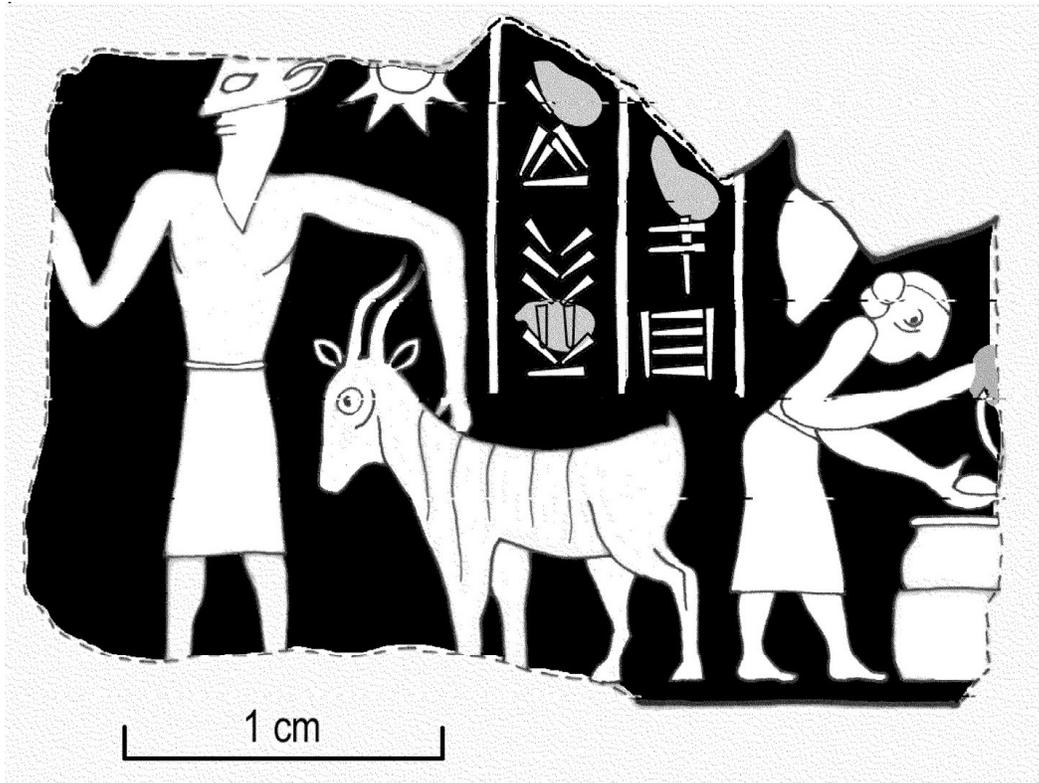


Figure 4.10 Later seal of Tuli (h5).

These two women in Uqnitum's court are connected personally and professionally with her in a very public way. From the number of sealings found on the palace floors in what we have reconstructed as her administrative sectors, clearly they were useful to her in an administrative capacity.

### **Tar'am-Agade, daughter of Naram-Sin**

The other important woman in the Urkesh court is most likely to be understood as the wife of a later king, ENDAN, of Urkesh (Figure 4.11) (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002). Her seal iconography is the standard Akkadian court image of a contest, an image controlled by the Akkadian chancery in the south. Her seal is carved by one of the most skilled seal carvers in the kingdom as opposed to the seals of the servants of other female members of the Akkadian Dynasty: Tuta-napshum, Enmenanna, and Tuta-shar-libbish (Kelly-Buccellati 2009: 188–189). As is the case for Uqnitum, she owns her seal directly and this may be a reason that a master seal carver made her seal. The evidence we have for her comes from door sealings, indicating that the seal was used in the palace and that more than likely she was there in Urkesh herself. In contrast, we have no door sealings associated with Uqnitum; it is possible that Uqnitum did have a seal with a southern seal design that she would personally have used in contrast to the ones owned by her but used by her officials. The seal iconography of Tar'am-Agade communicates in a clear way her political status, both because of the seal design and because she claims in the seal inscription to be a daughter of Naram-Sin

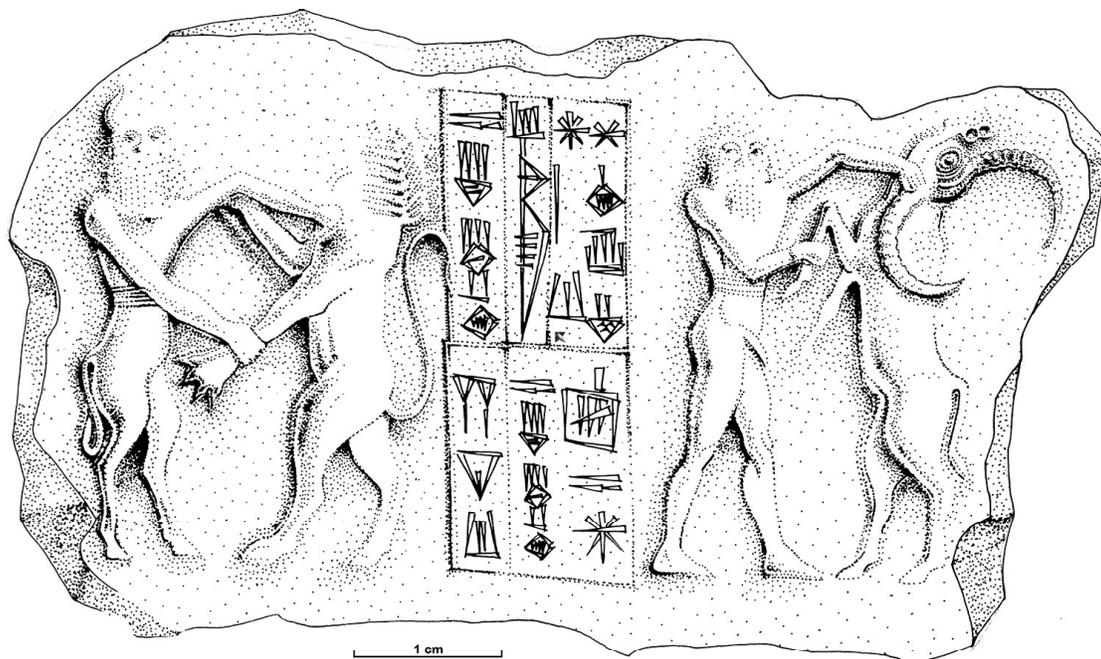


Figure 4.11 Seal of Tar'am-Agade, daughter of Naram-Sin.

(Kelly-Buccellati 2009). Thus her importance extends beyond Urkesh, as she connects Urkesh to the Akkadian south. It was a common practice to marry royal daughters to other rulers for political reasons. We know for instance from the Ebla texts that a royal daughter, Tagrish-Damu, was married to the son of the ruler of Nagar, Tell Brak, about 60 km south of Urkesh (Biga 1998).

### Conclusions

From the immediacy of the Urkesh seal iconography, combined with the seal inscriptions, we can obtain a glimpse of the life of the women at that court. This is only the case of the Urkesh women—not the Urkesh men. The seal impressions we have for Tupkish himself (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995/6: fig. 5) are realistic, but the male members of the court (Innin-shadu (idem, fig. 8), Unap-[ ] (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 2002: 25–27), and the seal of DUMU ENDAN (Hauser 2007: 240) all have heraldic scenes which do not reflect their “work.” Even though these seal impressions all came from the same contexts as those of Uqnitum and her attendants, these male retainers have chosen to represent themselves only with more conventional designs.

This is not the case of Uqnitum or her servants who show their power and profession in a very realistic and detailed manner. We see for instance within the physical surroundings of Uqnitum's sector of the palace that she is relating to her various servants in a variety of situations. One of these was the intimate setting of her encounters with the wet-nurse, Zamena, during which she would hold a child while she was having her hair braided. Even though on the surface this appears to be a casual scene, this act of hair braiding is full of significance. Her long hair braided is characteristic of her and her daughter and one of the most important symbols of their status. No other women in the court have this hair style;

the others have the usual tied up hair style which is common in this time period. The same braid ornament is worn by both mother and daughter. Other encounters within the palace with women servants can include her daughter. In the two scenes, which include the lap-touching gesture of her daughter, the iconography is the same except that in one a tall bird-legged table is included. This must have been an important piece of furniture as it appears in other, non-inscribed seals also. In Uqnitum's personal seals and those of Zamena a singer and lyre player are placed under the inscription and add not only to the prestigious image she wants to project but also appears to situate the scene in her part of the palace (Kelly-Buccellati 2009: 186).

The city of Urkesh during the Akkadian period in the third quarter of the third millennium was a strategic keystone city for trade both north–south and also east–west. If we may assume that Uqnitum was not only Akkadian (her name is Akkadian), but that she was, like Tar'am-Agade, a member of the royal family of Akkad, then we may assume that she might have had an Akkadian-style seal like the later one of Tar'am-Agade. In any case, we may distinguish between a formal seal owned by the queen, and seals with her name used by entitlement by other members of the administration. It is the iconography of these seals where it appears that the role of the women is highlighted in a most realistic fashion. It may then be that the iconography was in fact introduced not only for, but also at the initiative of the women, who would then have had a direct input on the glyptic tradition of Urkesh. Uqnitum, with presumably Tupkish and other important figures in the court, successfully created a unique system of personal identification and evidence of power. By surrounding herself with women who were probably Hurrian (both Zamena and Tuli have Hurrian names), she indicated that her sphere of influence was also multi-ethnic. The creation of this new, personal, and intimate seal iconography, and its close connection with the seal inscriptions, show her and indeed the contemporary women of the Urkesh court, as being a focal point of new ideas not found in the Mesopotamian south nor western Syria in this time period or before.

## Notes

- 1 Most of the Urkesh publications can be found in digital format on the Urkesh website ([www.urkesh.org/e-library](http://www.urkesh.org/e-library)).
- 2 For an overview of royal imagery, see Suter 2012.
- 3 This garment is also called a flounced robe in the literature, e.g. Suter 2007: 330–331.
- 4 Cf. Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1998: 196 gives relevant numbers for Uqnitum, Tupkish, and the queen's household.
- 5 Cf. Durand 1987 for a discussion of Zimri-Lim's, the king's, apartments and administration in the Mari palace.
- 6 For the most detailed discussion of all the queen's household members, see Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1998.
- 7 On another Akkadian seal of Dada, administrator of Tuta-šar-libbiš, his hierarchical position is shown as him being smaller than the seated Tuta-šar-libbiš, but taller than the female servant standing behind her (Amiet 1976, fig. 23; Suter 2008: 14).

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