

Offprint From:

*La famille dans le
Proche-Orient ancien:
réalités, symbolismes, et images*

Proceedings of the 55th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
at Paris
6–9 July 2009

edited by
LIONEL MARTI

Winona Lake, Indiana
EISENBRAUNS
2014

© 2014 by Eisenbrauns Inc.
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

www.eisenbrauns.com

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Rencontre assyriologique internationale (55th : 2009 : Paris, France)

La famille dans le Proche-Orient ancien : réalités, symbolismes, et images :
proceedings of the 55th Rencontre assyriologique internationale at Paris, 6–9
July 2009 / edited by Lionel Marti.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-57506-254-9 (hardback : alkaline paper)

1. Middle East—Antiquities—Congresses. 2. Middle East—Civilization—
To 622—Congresses. 3. Families—Middle East—History—To 1500—
Congresses. 4. Middle East—Social life and customs—Congresses. 5. Social
archaeology—Middle East—Congresses. I. Marti, Lionel. II. Title.

DS56.R46 2009

306.850935--dc23

2014014916

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48–1984. ©™

Contents

Avant-propos	ix
Programme	xi

Conception de la famille, réalités humaines et divines : les mots et les choses

Famille élargie ou famille nucléaire? Problèmes de démographie antique	3
LAURA BATTINI	
Belief in Family Reunion in the Afterlife in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean	27
NIKITA ARTEMOV	
The Old-Babylonian Family Cult and Its Projection on the Ground: A Cross-Disciplinary Investigation	43
SARA TRICOLI	
The Social Family Unit in the Light of Bronze Age Burial Customs in the Near East: An Intertextual Approach.	69
MONICA BOUSO	
Les termes sémitiques de parenté dans les sources cunéiformes : L'apport de l'étymologie	87
LEONID KOGAN	
Les Relations Parents – Enfants dans la Mythologie Mésopotamienne	113
AURÉLIEN LE MAILLOT	
Fathers and Sons in Syro-Mesopotamian Pantheons: Problems of Identity and Succession in Cuneiform Traditions	133
MARIA GRAZIA MASETTI-ROUAULT	
Die Familie des Gottes Aššur	141
WIEBKE MEINHOLD	
The Astral Family in Kassite Kudurrus Reliefs: Iconographical and Iconological Study of Šîn, Šamaš and Ištar Astral Representations	151
SARA PIZZIMENTI	
“Semence ignée”: <i>pahhursis</i> et <i>warwalan</i> en hittite	163
JAAN PUHVEL	

IIIe millénaire

Cherchez la femme: The SAL Sign in Proto-Cuneiform Writing 169
PETR CHARVÁT

Urnanshe's Family and the Evolution of Its Inside Relationships as Shown by Images	183
LICIA ROMANO	
The Ebla Families	193
RITA DOLCE	
<i>Muliebris imago</i> : reines, princesses et prêtresses à Ebla	207
PAOLO MATTHIAE	
Family Portraits: Some Considerations on the Iconographical Motif of the "Woman with Child" in the art of the Third Millennium B.C.E.	227
DAVIDE NADALI	

Ier moitié du IIe millenaire

Family Daily Life at Tell Mardikh-Ebla (Syria) during the Middle Bronze Age: A Functional Analysis of Three Houses in the Southern Lower Town (Area B East)	243
ENRICO ASCALONE, LUCA PEYRONEL, GILBERTA SPREAFICO	
To Dedicate or Marry a <i>Naditu</i> -Woman of Marduk in Old Babylonian Society	267
LUCILE BARBERON	
Why Are Two Royal Female Members Given to the Same Man?	275
DANIEL BODI	
<i>Awilum</i> and <i>Mušḫēnum</i> in the Age of Hammurabi	291
EVA VON DASSOW	
Les activités de Gimillum, frère de Balmunamḫe. Une gestion familiale des ressources agricoles et animales à Larsa au temps de Rīm-Sîn	309
MICHÈLE MAGGIO	
Famille et transmission du patrimoine à Larsa : Une approche anthropologique	317
MARCELO REDE	
Families of Old Assyrian Traders	341
KLAAS R. VEENHOF	

Deuxième moitié du IIe millenaire

The Scribes of Amarna: A Family Affair?	375
JANA MYNÁŘOVÁ	
Family in Crisis in Late Bronze Age Syria: Protection of Family Ties in the Legal Texts from Emar	383
LENA FIJAŁKOWSKA	
Modèle familial et solidarités sociales à Émar	397
SOPHIE DÉMARE-LAFONT	
La famille hittite : ce que les lois nous apprennent	413
ISABELLE KLOCK-FONTANILLE	
La naissance d'après la documentation archéologique d'Ougarit	429
VALÉRIE MATOÏAN	

The Families in the Middle Assyrian Administrative Texts from the “Big Silos” of Assur (Assur M 8)	443
JAUME LLOP	
nam-dub-sar-ra a-na mu-e-pad ₃ -da-zu . . . De l'apprentissage et l'éducation des scribes médio-assyriens	457
KLAUS WAGENSONNER	
Astuwatamanzas 0 and the Family of Suhis in Karkemiš	481
FREDERICO GIUSFREDI	

Des néo-assyriens aux parthes

Sammu-Ramat: Regent or Queen Mother?	497
LUIS ROBERT SIDDALL	
Family Affairs in the Neo-Assyrian Court	505
FRANCES PINNOCK	
La notion de famille royale à l'époque néo-assyrienne	515
PIERRE VILLARD	
The Multifunctional Israelite Family	525
BARUCH A. LEVINE	
Apprenticeship in the Neo-Babylonian Period: A Study of Bargaining Power	537
SIVAN KEDAR	
Eine ungewöhnliche Adoption und ein fataler Totschlag – Babylonische Familiengeschichten aus dem frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr.	547
SUSANNE PAULUS	
The Case of Fubartu: On Inheriting Family Debts in Late 6th-Century Uruk	563
MALGORZATA SANDOWICZ	
Tappaššar and Her Relations with Iddin-Nabû, the Adopted Son of Her Husband in the Light of a New Document	573
STEFAN ZAWADZKI	
Le rôle de la famille de Nusku-gabbê au sein de la communauté de Neirab	591
GAUTHIER TOLINI	
Von der gelehrten Schreibung zum anerkannten Standard	599
JUERGEN LORENZ	
Images of Parthian Queens	605
JOOST HUIJS	
Parenté réelle et symbolique au sein de la communauté du temple en Babylonie tardive : l'exemple de l'archive des brasseurs de Borsippa	643
JULIEN MONERIE	

Communications hors thème

Une question de rythme au pays d'Apum : Les quatre agglomérations de Tell Mohammed Diyab durant la période Khabour	665
CHRISTOPHE NICOLLE	

The Wall Slabs of the Old Palace in the City of Ashur	683
STEVEN LUNDSTRÖM	
L'évolution d'une colonie néo-assyrienne dans le bas Moyen-Euphrate syrien (9 ^e –8 ^e siècle av. J.-C.) : recherches archéologiques et historiques récentes à Tell Masaikh	689
MARIA GRAZIA MASETTI-ROUAULT	
“In Order to Make Him Completely Dead”: Annihilation of the Power of Images in Mesopotamia	701
NATALIE N. MAY	
Art Assyrien et Cubisme	727
NICOLAS GILLMAN	
Nonfinite Clauses in Gudea Cylinder B, Revisited	743
FUMI KARAHASHI	
Remarques sur la Datation des Campagnes Néo-Babyloniennes en Cilicie . . .	753
ANDRÉ LEMAIRE	
On Abbreviated Personal Names in Texts from Ugarit	761
WILFRED VAN SOLDT	
La famille multicolore des bovins dans l'Uruk archaïque	769
ROSEL PIENTKA-HINZ	



Family Portraits

Some Considerations on the Iconographical Motif of the “Woman with Child” in the art of the Third Millennium B.C.E.

Davide NADALI

SAPIENZA UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Representations of women with a child at their breast or on their lap are often seen in the regions of the Ancient Near East in nearly all historical periods. They are found on different artefacts, for example bronze and clay statuettes, cylinder seals, clay plaques, bas-reliefs and ivory panels.¹

The nature of these images has long been debated: whether they depict goddesses feeding a child, usually identified with a young king, or more generally women as mothers nourishing their child. On the one hand, the identification of the women as goddesses and the child as a young king clearly has strong religious and cultural implications on the role and meaning of kingship. The office of kingship is strictly and explicitly linked to the sphere of the divine; the king is adopted by a goddess and he is even nourished by her. Inscriptions of Mesopotamian kings usually emphasize this divine affiliation.²

On the other hand, the interpretation of the women as human nourishing a child has more than one possible meaning, generally associated with the idea of motherhood and fertility. In this case, it would appear that we are dealing with non-divine women, and one can speak either of amulets created for the protection of women and children, or of idols as an expression of popular cults related to the positive outcome of a birth.³

In the present study, the representations of women with a child on stelae and cylinder seals of Syria dated to third millennium BC are taken into consideration. The aim is to show that, in that particular cultural context, the image of the woman with the child conveys a precise message which is political rather than religious.

The Stele of Chuera was recovered by A. Moortgat in his excavations in the Syrian site of Tell Chuera (Fig. 1). The stele was unfortunately found out of place in the Mitanni-Bau, but according to stylistic and iconographical features, Moortgat suggests that it can be dated between the Mesilim and Akkadian periods. More precisely it has been linked to the latest stratum of Early Dynastic Chuera.⁴ Even

1. See Kühne 1978 and Parayre 1997.

2. See, for example, the claim of divine motherhood by Eannatum in the third millennium BC (Frayne 2008: E.1.9.3.1) and Assurbanipal in the first millennium BC (Hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh and Arbela, Livingstone 1989: 10–13). See also Parayre 1997: 76.

3. Kühne 1978: 510.

4. Moortgat–Moortgat–Correns 1976: 57.

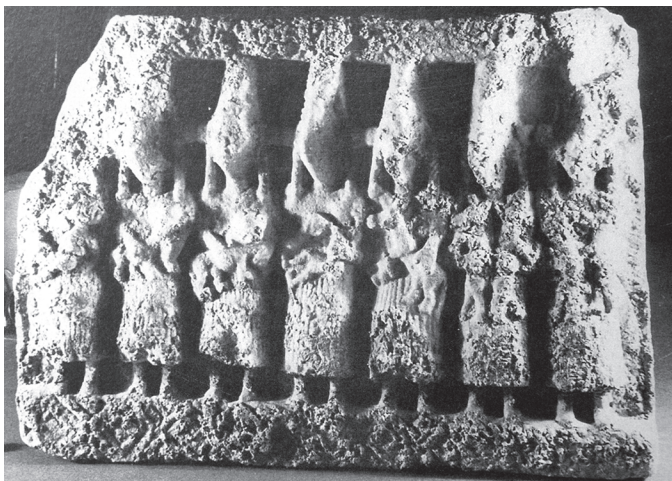


Fig. 1. Stele of Tell Chuera
(after Moortgat–Moortgat–
Correns 1976: Abb. 20a).

though the surface of the relief is much worn, seven female figures can be recognised, of whom two are carrying a child. The figures have long plaited hair and wear tall conical caps. Since there appear to be no traces of horns, it seems they could be human female figures.

The fragmentary Stele of Halawa comes from the area of the temple (Fig. 2). It has been dated by W. Orthmann between the end of the Akkadian period and the beginning of Ur III.⁵ The left part of the central register is further divided into two registers: in the upper one, a procession of four women to the left is recognisable, one of whom carries a child. Their hairstyle is completely different from the figures of the stele of Chuera and it would appear we are definitely dealing with human female figures. All of the women have their hair tied up, a feature that distinguishes female characters such as queens, women courtiers, and servants. This is also the case in other representations of human female figures of Akkadian and later Ur III art.⁶

Impressions of the queen's seal and seals of the queen's household, found in the storehouse of the royal palace of Tell Mozan, ancient Urkeš, show representations of woman with a child sitting on her lap (Fig. 3).⁷ Here the seated woman has been identified with the queen Uqnītum, wife of Tupkiš, the endan (Hurrian word for king) of Urkeš.

This identification is unmistakable; the cuneiform caption registers both her name and title. We are here certainly dealing with a palatial context. This is further confirmed by the archaeological context which points to a palatial use of the seals bearing the image of the queen, presumably with her son on her lap (Fig. 4).⁸

5. An Akkadian date is currently considered more plausible (Orthmann 1985: 471; 1989: 76).

6. Spycket 1954: 171–172; Asher-Greve 2006: 69–72; Weiershäuser 2006: 267; Mayr 2002; Suter 2007. On the contrary, long loose hair usually identifies high-priestesses (see the considerations by Suter 2007 and 2008). As a consequence, based on this difference of hairstyle, one can wonder whether the seven women on the Stele of Tell Chuera with their long loose hair can conversely be identified with high priestesses. Lastly, see Pinnock 2008: 72.

7. Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1995–96.

8. The sealings were found in the storehouse/service wing AK of the Royal Palace AP of Mozan. On the archaeological and stratigraphic context of the sealings, see the detailed archaeological reports



Fig. 2. Drawing of the Stele of Halawa (after Orthmann 1989: Abb. 40).



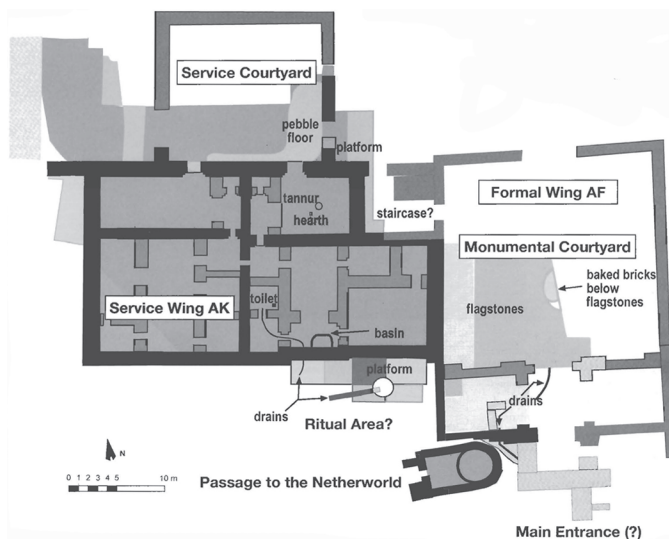
Fig. 3. Drawing of the sealing bearing the impression of the queen's seal. The inscription states: «Uqnitum, the wife of Tupkiš» (after Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 1995-96: fig. 6).

It must be stressed that both the iconographic details and the style of the artefacts detailed above are completely different. In particular, the seals of Tell Mozan are strongly characterised by a local style in the rendering of the figures, establishing the proportions and depicting the relationships among the figures. As M. Kelly-Buccellati rightly observed, the iconography of the seals, as well as of other artefacts found in Tell Mozan, has a local origin strongly influenced and imbued by the Hurrian cultural background.⁹

by G. Buccellati (1998: 20–21) and G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati (1995–96: 3–6; 2000: 136–139; 2001: 60–63; 2002a: 110–113).

9. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 1980: 77–80; 1998: 195–197; Kelly-Buccellati 1998: 41–49; 2001: 52–53.

Fig. 4. Plan of the Royal Palace of Urkeš (after Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 2003: fig. 66).



Nevertheless, even if the way of carving and the details are different, the iconography of the woman and child is a common feature which probably depends on the political role of the figure of the queen in Syrian society of the third millennium BC. The image of the woman and child appears both as part of composite in narrative monuments (like the stele of Halawa), and as the main scene carved on the palatial seals which are the tools of the administrative, economic, and political control of goods by means of a network of officials working for and on behalf of the central administration.

Two other cylinder seals, both dated to the Akkadian period, depict the scene of the woman with a child. One seal (U. 10757) comes from the Royal Cemetery of Ur (Fig. 5).¹⁰ It depicts a seated woman, with a child on her lap and a procession of two other women moving toward her. A third woman stands behind the seated one. A cylinder seal without provenance, now in the British Museum of London (BM 89343), also depicts a very similar scene (Fig. 6): a seated woman with a child on her lap, two women in front of her and finally a woman behind her attending to a second child.¹¹

In my opinion, these women are not goddesses since they do not wear any of the typical divine attire or attributes; their tied-up hair points to women courtiers.¹² Again, the image of the woman with the child appears in a non-religious context with human female figures approaching and attending the seated female character. Based on the comparison with the seal impressions of Tell Mozan, it might be suggested that the seated woman with a child on her lap might be identified with the main person, probably a royal wife with her son, the heir to the throne.

10. The seal was found in the tomb PG 871, a simple inhumation grave of a woman (Woolley 1934: 182–183, pl. 211:291). On the seal, see Boehmer (1965: 97–98, fig. 559), who dates the seal to his Akkadian III chronological classification and classifies it among the representation of a goddess with the child. See also Parayre 1997: 70; Asher-Greve 2006: 65.

11. On the seal, see Boehmer 1965: 97–98, fig. 556; Collon 1982: no. 142, pl. XX; Parayre 1997: 70–71. Collon is uncertain whether the seated woman is a goddess or a woman (1982: 74).

12. See Suter 2007 and 2008: 22.



Fig. 5. Modern impression of the cylinder seal U. 10757 found in the tomb PG 871, Royal Cemetery of Ur (after Woolley 1934: pl. 211:291).



Fig. 6. Modern impression of the unprovenanced cylinder seal, British Museum BM 89343 (after Collon 1982: pl. XX: no. 142).

Contemporary Akkadian seals usually depict goddesses with a child on their laps.¹³ Also in the Neo-Sumerian period, the figure holding a child is usually a deity.¹⁴ Conversely, it seems that in Syria, in the second half of the third millennium BC, the figure of the woman with the child on her lap identifies a woman courtier namely a high-rank lady, presumably the queen with her son. The Syrian evidence conveys a non-religious meaning of the image of the woman and child, even on those monuments which were intended for a temple location, as is presumably the case of the stelae found at Tell Chuera and Halawa.

In fact the seal impressions of Tell Mozan emphasize the importance of the figure of the queen as the mother of the heir. This peculiar role seems to be particularly stressed in the queen's seal: Uqnitum, wife of Tupkiš, with the child on her lap is seated in front of the king of Urkeš (Fig. 3). This family portrait has been rightly considered by M. Kelly-Buccellati as the representation and codification of the dynastic programme of the rulers of Urkeš. In particular, the presence of the queen is the necessary counterpart to guarantee a dynastic succession of the royal family.¹⁵

13. Boehmer 1965: 97–98, pl. XLVII: 555, 557, 558, 560. See also the Akkadian sealing from Nippur where a seated god holds a female deity (?) on his lap (Canby 2001: 13, pl. 13b).

14. See the seal impression on a tablet from Lagaš, now in the British Museum (BM 20995A; Fischer 1997: 155, Nr. 1), the relief on a fragment of stone vessel from Ur, now in the British Museum (BM 116432; Braun-Holzinger 1991: 193, pl. 12 G. 387), two plaques dated to Gudea—one in the Louvre Museum (AO 58; Braun-Holzinger 1991: 314, W. 24), the other in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul (no. 5552; Canby 2001: pl. 13a)—and the upper register of the Stele of Urnammu (Canby 2001: pl. 10). In all those Neo-Sumerian representations, probably with the only exception of the Stele of Urnammu, the figure seated on a god's lap is also a deity.

15. Kelly-Buccellati 2001: 52–53.

Complementary to the visual evidence from Tell Mozan are the texts of Ebla. These have been dated to the Early Bronze Age IVA, before the Akkadian period and earlier than the seal impressions of Tell Mozan, and testify to the role and importance of the queen as mother of the crown prince and future king of Ebla. Dusigu was the last wife of Irkab-damu, king of Ebla, but she never had the title of queen, although she undoubtedly became the most important woman at court.

When her son Išar-damu became king of Ebla, she acquired the title of “the king’s great mother” (*ama-gal en*). Actually, she probably acted as temporary regent queen since her son would have been too young when he became king.¹⁶ Thus the texts of Ebla show the importance of the figure and the political role of the queen in promoting her son as the only heir of the throne against other candidates, sons of other courtly ladies.¹⁷ Differently from Dusigu, Tabur-damu, wife of Išar-damu, had the title of queen of Ebla.¹⁸ Moreover, in the metal text TM.75.G.10074, the sons of the royal couple are named as “sons of the queen”.¹⁹ It has been suggested that such a definition implies that they are properly sons of the king and queen of Ebla, while the definition “sons of the king” refers to sons of the king of Ebla and other ladies at the court.²⁰ It seems that only the “sons of the queen” had the right to become the heir to the throne.²¹

Thus, the image of the queen’s seals of Tell Mozan seems to refer to the political role of the queen also described in the texts of Ebla.²²

However, the seal impressions of Tell Mozan also show that the image of the queen with the child on her lap functions as a distinctive sign of officials working in the royal palace. The two seals belonging to the wet-nurse Zamena depict the queen Uqnītum with her child on her lap (Fig. 7). Zamena stands in front of the seated queen and holds both the hand and the wrist of the child. The cuneiform caption states that the seal belongs to Zamena, the nurse of Uqnītum. Again, the texts of Ebla document the importance of the role of wet-nurses at the royal court. In particular, they also show a similar intimate relationship between the queen and her nurse.²³ When Tabur-damu marries Išar-damu and becomes queen of Ebla, Agašadu, her nurse, is also present at court: she does not work as nurse of the sons of the queen, but she bears the title of “nurse of the queen”, that is the nurse that nourished the queen when she was a child.²⁴ Taking into consideration the seal of Zamena, it could be suggested that the standing woman on the British Museum seal

16. Biga 2003: 355–356.

17. Biga 1997: 38.

18. Biga 2003: 358.

19. Biga–Pomponio 1993: 110.

20. Weiershäuser 2008: 189.

21. In fact, the metal text TM.75.G.10074 does not name the new-born child of Išar-damu and Tabur-damu, but only specifies that he is the son of the queen. This peculiar definition is used to distinguish the royal son (son of the king and the queen of Ebla) from other sons of the king, as for example Ir’ag-damu, who was born from Išar-damu and an unknown woman, when the queen mother Dusigu and the minister Ibrium were still alive and at court, according to the evidence of the texts TM.75.G.10183 and ARET I 40 (see Biga–Pomponio 1990: 190–193; Biga 1996: 37–39; 1997: 41; 2000: 73–74).

22. See for example the case of Dusigu who never had the title of “queen” of Ebla (Biga 2003: 355). She was probably one of the ladies of the king of Ebla, and succeeded in putting her son as the only heir of the throne of Ebla. For that reason, later, the sons of the king and queen of Ebla were distinguished as “sons of the queen”, pointing out their legitimacy to be the heirs of the throne. See Weiershäuser 2008: 187. See also fn. 21.

23. On the role of wet-nurses at the court of Ebla, see Biga 1991; 1997; 2000.

24. Biga 1997: 40.



Fig. 7. Drawing of the sealing bearing the impression of the seal of the nurse Zamena. The inscription states: "Seal of Zamena, the nurse of Uqnitum" (after Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1995–96: fig. 8).

(Fig. 6) is a nurse since she is bare breasted.²⁵ As for the seal of Zamena, the nurse is directly linked with a court lady and her child.²⁶

Instead of recording military victories as Mesopotamian kings usually do, the rulers of Urkeš are more interested in representing the royal family, within a dynastic programme that aims at the succession of power.

The representation of the woman with a child is probably part of this political programme of establishing long-lasting dynastic power. This implication is to be found, within a secular context, in the Early Syrian texts of Ebla, with the political definition of the royal sons as "sons of the queen", and in the seals of Tell Mozan where the motif of the queen and her son becomes an iconographic coded programme on the royal seals. Even on the stele of Halawa found in the area of the temple, the woman carrying the child is a court lady, probably with the same hairstyle as the other women behind her. The fragmentary condition of the stele does not allow further hypotheses: however, the exceptional presence of a procession of women might be the representation, in front of the deities in a temple, of that female counterpart of the socio-political organization and structure of the Syrian political entities of the third millennium BC, where female individuals are essential actors within the political mechanism. Moreover, it differs from the contemporary Mesopotamian stelae where military events are usually narrated and depicted. We can speculate whether the Stele of Chuera, with the exclusive representation of female characters, two of them with a child, also had the same meaning and function.²⁷

Looking in detail at the Tell Mozan documentation, the Hurrians, whose massive presence is attested in northern Mesopotamia between 2400 BC and one generation before Naram-Sin,²⁸ largely used this iconography. In fact, the Hurrian myth of Kumarbi, handed down in Hittite language, tells of the birth of Ullikummi who is placed on Kumarbi's knees by the Fate Goddess and the Mother Goddess.²⁹ The

25. For a different interpretation, see Frayne 1999: 48–49.

26. Also the seal found in the tomb PG 871 (Fig. 5) shows the same pattern: a female figure stands in front of the seated woman with the child. The ladies have the same hairstyle, and we can suppose that the standing one is paying homage to the seated one with the child on her lap. Since there is no inscription, unlike with the seals of Mozan, it is impossible to say whether the seal belonged to the seated figure or to the one standing in front of her, and to establish their role.

27. See the discussion in Pinnock (2008: 71), where the Stele of Halawa is related to both the Stele of Chuera and the seals of Mozan. See Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1998: 199, who also stressed the common representation of children on women's lap in the seals of Mozan, the Stele of Chuera and the Stele of Halawa, but deny any possible connection of the two stelae with the glyptic evidence from Mozan.

28. See Wilhelm 1982; Barrelet (ed.) 1984: 87–88; Michalowski 1986: 135–140; Steinkeller 1998: 76, 94, 96; Akkermans–Schwartz 2003: 285.

29. Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1998: 198; Hoffner 1990: 53; 1998. E. Porada (1959) suggested that the episode of the birth of Ullikummi might be depicted on the golden bowl of Hasanlu, to be dated to the first millennium BC. In fact, she first argued a possible Hurrian origin of the imagery of the Hasanlu

Table 1: Chronological and archaeological phases of Tell Mozan.^a

Periodization		Palace phases	
Man-ištu-šu / Naram-Sin (2269–2240 BC)	EJ IIIb	Tupkiš and Uqnītum	Construction and occupation of Tupkiš Palace
Naram-Sin / Šar-kali- šarri (2240–2193 BC)	EJ IV	Tar’am-Agade	Destruction and first re- use under Tar’am-Agade

a. After Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2002a.

myth obviously refers to the divine world and involves a male deity, but one could infer that the image of the child seated on the god’s lap has been translated into the image of a child on women’s knees in mid-third millennium Syria, passing from a religious to a properly political and secular meaning and use. Not only the child, but also the woman holding the child is human.³⁰

Recently, it has been suggested that the terrace and Temple in area BA of Mozan might have been dedicated to Kumarbi, the Hurrian father of the gods.³¹ Thus, according to the Hittite text just mentioned, one can wonder whether the Hurrians in the second half of the third millennium created the iconographical motif of the woman and child transforming and adapting their religious tradition and combining it with a long-established political status of royal women as documented by the texts of Ebla. It can be supposed that the political implication of the iconographical motif was properly conceived in a period of the history of Syria, when many important centres fell under the control of Akkad in the late third millennium. In particular, the seals of Tell Mozan are unique in this sense because of their strong local Hurrian style that has no comparison with either Mesopotamian or Syrian contemporary iconographies.

Notwithstanding stylistic connotations,³² it can be observed that the iconographic theme of the woman and child increases in Northern Syria in the late Akkadian period. The nature and origin of this motif is not Akkadian, but properly Syrian, geographically speaking, and it probably originates from an elaboration that combines the past role of court ladies and queens in Syrian societies and, as suggested, Hurrian cultural features.³³

In fact, the imagery of the seals of Urkeš completely changes after the kingdom of Tupkiš and Uqnītum. According to the chronological reconstruction of Tell Mozan’s historical and archaeological phases (Table 1), the seal impressions of Tupkiš

bowl (see also Mellink 1966). In general, see the discussion in Barrelet (ed.) 1984, in particular at pages 75–83.

30. This feature also distinguishes the Syrian evidence from the Mesopotamian images of gods with (divine) children (see n. 14).

31. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2005: 42; 2009: 38, 41, 43–45.

32. I agree in fact with G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati that the seals of Mozan, the stelae of Chuera and Halawa can not be compared on a stylistic level (see fn. 27).

33. See the considerations by Mellink 1972–75: 515; Barrelet (ed.) 1984: 88, 93.

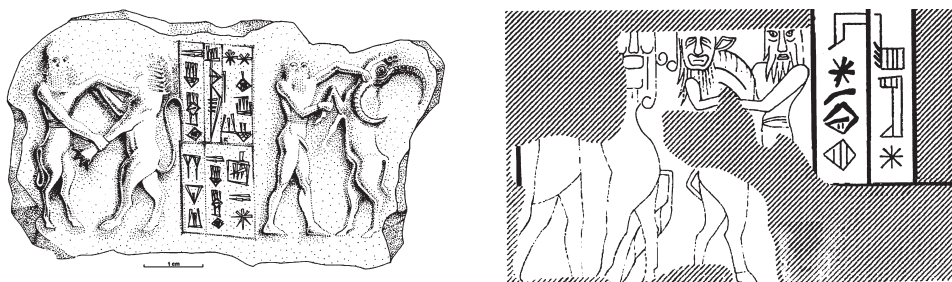


Fig. 8. a) Drawing of the seal of Tar'am-Agade, the daughter of Naram-Sin (after Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2002b: fig. 2); b) Drawing of the seal of an unknown king of Urkeš, Tar'am-Agade's husband (?) (after *ibid.*: fig. 3).

and Uqnītum should be placed in the beginning of the reign of Naram-Sin, or even earlier.³⁴

According to this reconstruction, the seal impressions of Tar'am-Agade, Naram-Sin's daughter, are later.³⁵ Tar'am-Agade's seal depicts a classical Akkadian contest scene (Fig. 8a), leading to the conclusion that she was the queen and wife of a king of Urkeš.³⁶ Although she was the queen of Urkeš, she had a typical Akkadian seal, very different, in both style and iconography, from that of Uqnītum.³⁷ Even the style of the seal of her supposed unnamed husband, endan/king of Urkeš, is Akkadian (Fig. 8b).³⁸

Three other seals of Akkadian officials of the queen Tūta-šar-libbiš, queen and wife of Šar-kali-šarrī, twice depict a classical contest scene;³⁹ the third seal shows the seated queen while she receives Dada, her estate manager.⁴⁰ The absence of the image of the woman and child might depend on the fact that all seals belonged to male officials of Tūta-šar-libbiš.⁴¹ However, also the Akkadian seal belonging to the wet-nurse Takunai shows a typical presentation scene (Fig. 9):⁴² the nurse is no longer represented in front of the court lady with the child, but she is introduced by a Lama goddess to Ninhursag.

In her analysis on the images of women from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa period, Claudia Suter recently observed that “seals suggest that the near absence of women in sculpture of the Akkad period is more likely to fall in the chance of archaeological finds”.⁴³ In any case, as far as the image of the woman and child is concerned, no representations are documented even in Akkadian glyptic.

34. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2005: 40.

35. See the considerations on the archaeological context of Tar'am-Agade's sealings, compared to the findings of the sealings of Tupkiš and Uqnītum, by Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2002b: 11–13.

36. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2000: 139.

37. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2002b: 13–16.

38. *Ibid.*: 18.

39. Buchanan–Halla 1981: fig. 429 (seal of Iškun-Dagān); Boehmer 1964: pl. 13 no. 28 (seal of Išar-bēli).

40. Buccellati–Kelly-Buccellati 2002b: 17; Bohmer 1965: fig. 657.

41. Asher-Greve 2006: 65.

42. For the inscription, see Steinkeller 1988; Westenholz 1999: 72–73.

43. Suter 2008: 24.

Fig. 9. Modern impression of the Akkadian seal of the nurse Takunai, Jerusalem Bible Lands Museum (after Asher-Greve 2006: pl. 6,2).



In fact, the only two seals with the image of the woman and child, dated to the Akkadian period and Akkadian in details like the hairstyle and the position of the child turned towards the lady (Figs. 5–6), are however so unique in the Akkadian repertory that I believe they could have a Syrian origin, if not in the style at least in the choice of the iconographic theme. Indeed, also the sculptural evidence of women with children in the Akkadian period comes from the Syrian sites of Chuera and Halawa.

Lastly, the disappearance of the image of the woman and child in the official glyptic of Urkeš is the consequent result of the political change, when Naram-Sin's daughter became queen of the city. Uqnītum herself bears an Akkadian name: although no links with the royal house of Akkad are known,⁴⁴ her seals are strictly local in style, and not Akkadian.

Moreover, the local nature of her seals is also expressed by the image of the woman and child, which refers to a properly Syrian, and more specifically, a Hurrian tradition. It might be claimed that this choice is to be understood as an expression of the political and dynastic programme of the kingdom of Tupkiš, probably aiming at a conscious contrast with Akkad, or at least, by virtue of the local imagery, serving to distinguish itself from Akkadian tradition.

44. Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1996: 83; 1998: 202. See also the typical Akkadian iconography of the seal of Innin-šadū, associated with the seal of the queen Uqnītum (Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1998: pl. V,d). Innin-šadū is an Akkadian name, probably identifying an official who followed Uqnītum and continued to work for her when she moved to Urkeš, married Tupkiš and became queen of the city (Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 1995–96: 24). A similar story can be reconstructed for Išar-beli, an Akkadian official who followed Tar'am-Agade, Naram-Sin's daughter, when she moved to Urkeš. His seal was found together with the one of Tar'am-Agade (Buccellati–Kelly–Buccellati 2002: 22–25). «The suggestion then would be that Innin-šadū is to Uqnītum (about whom, however, we know of no links with the royal house of Akkad) as Išar-beli is to Tar'am-Agade» (ibid.: 25).

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ARET = *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi*, Roma.

Akkermans, P. M. M. G.–Schwartz, G.

2003 *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16.000–300 BC)*, Cambridge.

Asher-Greve, J. M.

2006 'Golden Age' of Women? Status and Gender in Third Millennium Sumerian and Akkadian Art, in S. Schroer (ed.), *Images and Gender. Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art* (OBO 220), Göttingen: 41–81.

Barrelet, M.-T. (ed.)

1984 *Problèmes concernant les Hurrites 2*, Paris.

Biga, M. G.

1991 Donne alla corte di Ebla, *La Parola del Passato* 46: 285–303.

1996 Prosopographie et datation relative des textes d'Ébla, in J.-M. Durand (ed.), *Amurru 1. Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites. dix ans de travaux*, Paris: 29–72.

1997 Enfants et nourrices à Ebla, in B. Lion–C. Michel–P. Villard (eds.), *Enfance et éducation dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Ktema 22), Strasbourg: 35–44.

2000 Wet-nurses at Ebla: A prosopographic study, *VO* 12: 59–88.

2003 The reconstruction of a relative chronology for the Ebla texts, *Or* 72: 345–367.

Biga, M. G.–Pomponio, F.

1990 Elements for a Chronological Division of the Administrative Documentation of Ebla, *JCS* 42: 179–201.

1993 Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla, *MARI* 7: 107–128.

Boehmer, R. M.

1964 Datierte Glyptik der Akkad-Zeit, in K. Bittel et al. (eds.), *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern*, Berlin: 42–56.

1965 *Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit*, Berlin.

Braun-Holzinger, E. A.

1991 *Mesopotamische Weihgaben der frühdynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit* (HSAO 3), Heidelberg.

Buccellati, G.

1998 Urkesh as Tell Mozan: Profiles of the Ancient City, in G. Buccellati–M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians: Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen* (BiMes 26), Malibu: 11–34.

Buccellati, G.–Kelly-Buccellati, M.

1995–96 The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The Glyptik Evidence from the Southwest Wing, *AfO* 42/43: 1–32.

1996 The Seals of the King of Urkesh: Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86: 65–99.

1998 The Courtiers of the Queen of Urkesh. Glyptic Evidence from the Western Wing of the Royal Storehouse AK, in M. Lebeau (ed.), *About Subartu. Studies devoted to Upper Mesopotamia* (Subartu IV,2), Turnhout: 195–216.

2000 The Royal Palace of Urkesh. Report of the 12th Season at Tell Mozan/Urkesh: Excavation in Area AA, June–October 1999, *MDOG* 132: 133–183.

2001 Überlegungen zur funktionellen und historischen Bestimmung des Königspalast von Urkeš. Bericht über die 13. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni–August 2000, *MDOG* 133: 59–96.

2002a Die Große Schnittstelle. Bericht über die 14. Kampagne in Tall Mozan/Urkeš: Ausgrabungen im Gebiet AA, Juni–Oktober 2001, *MDOG* 134: 103–130.

- 2002b Tar'am-Agade, Daughter of Naram-Sin, at Urkesh, in L. al-Gailani Werr *et al.* (eds.), *Of Pots and Plans. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates*, London: 11–31.
- 2003 Tell Mozan (Ancient Urkesh), in J. Aruz (ed.), *Art of the First Cities. The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus*, New York: 224–225.
- 2005 Urkesh as a Hurrian Religious Center, *SMEA* 47: 27–59.
- 2009 The Great Temple Terrace at Urkesh and the Lions of Tish-atal, in G. Wilhelm (ed.), *General Studies and Excavations at Nuzi 11/2 in Honor of David I. Owen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday October 28, 2005* (Studies on the Civilizations and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 18), Bethesda: 33–69.
- Buchanan, B.–Hallo, W.W.
1981 *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven and London.
- Canby, J. V.
2001 *The “Ur-Nammu” Stela*, Philadelphia.
- Collon, D.
1982 *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals II: Akkadian, Post Akkadian, Ur III Periods*, London.
- Fischer, C.
1997 Siegelabrollungen im British Museum auf Ur-III-zeitlichen Texten aus der Provinz Lagaš, *BaM* 28: 97–183.
- Frayne, D. R.
1999 The Birth of Gilgameš in Ancient Mesopotamian Art, *BCSMS* 34: 39–49.
2008 *Presargonic Period (2700–2350)* (RIME 1), Toronto.
- Hoffner, H.
1990 *Hittite Myths*, Atlanta.
1998 Hurrian Civilization from a Hittite Perspective, in G. Buccellati–M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians: Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen* (BiMes 26), Malibu: 167–200.
- Kelly-Buccellati, M.
1998 The Workshops of Urkesh, in G. Buccellati–M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians: Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen* (BiMes 26), Malibu: 35–50.
2001 L'arte di Urkesh, in S. Bonetti (ed.), *Gli Opifici di Urkesh. Conservazione e restauro a Tell Mozan. Atti della Tavola Rotonda tenuta presso l'Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Firenze 23 Novembre 1999* (BiMes 27), Malibu: 47–60.
- Kühne, H.
1978 Das Motiv der nährenden Frau oder Göttin in Vorderasien, in S. Şahin–E. Schwertheim–J. Wagner (eds.), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur in Kleinasien. Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976*, Leiden: 504–515.
- Livingstone, A.
1989 *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (SAA III), Helsinki.
- Mayr, R.
2002 The Depiction of Ordinary Men and Women on the Seals of the Ur III Kingdom, in S. Parpola–R. M. Whiting (eds.), *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001*, Helsinki: 359–366.
- Mellink, M. J.
1966 The Hasanlu Bowl in Anatolian Perspective, *Iranica Antiqua* VI: 72–87.
1972–75 Hurriter, Kunst, *RLA* IV: 514–519.
- Michalowski, P.
1986 Mental Maps and Ideology: Reflections on Subartu, in H. Weiss (ed.), *The Origins of Cities in Dry-Farming Syria and Mesopotamia in the Third Millennium B.C.*, Guilford: 129–156.
- Moortgat, A.–Moortgat-Correns, U.
1976 *Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien. Vorläufiger Bericht über die siebente Grabungskampagne 1974*, Berlin.

- Orthmann, W.
 1985 Art of Akkad in Northern Syria and Mari, *MARI* 4: 469–474.
 1989 *Halawa 1980 bis 1986. Vorläufiger Bericht über die 4./9/ Grabungskampagne*, Bonn.
- Parayre, D.
 1997 Les âges de la vie dans le répertoire figuratif oriental, in B. Lion–C. Michel–P. Villard (eds.), *Enfance et éducation dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Ktema 22), Strasbourg: 59–89.
- Pinnock, F.
 2008 The Stele of Halawa: A Reappraisal, in D. Bonatz–R. M. Czichon–F. J. Kreppner (eds.), *Fundstelle. Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Alt Vorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, Wiesbaden: 71–77.
- Porada, E.
 1959 The Hasanlu Bowl, *Expedition* 1: 19–22.
- Spycket, A.
 1954 La coiffure féminine en Mésopotamie des origines à la Ire dynastie de Babylone, *RA* 48: 169–177.
- Steinkeller, P.
 1988 Daguna's Seal, *NABU* no. 48.
 1998 The Historical Background of Urkesh and the Hurrian Beginnings in Northern Mesopotamia, in G. Buccellati–M. Kelly-Buccellati (eds.), *Urkesh and the Hurrians: Studies in Honor of Lloyd Cotsen* (BiMes 26), Malibu: 75–98.
- Suter, C. E.
 2007 Between Human and Divine. High Priestesses in Images from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa Period, in M. Feldman–J. Cheng (eds.), *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context. Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by her Students*, Leiden: 317–361.
 2008 Who Are the Women in Mesopotamian Art from ca. 2334–1763 BCE?, *KASKAL* 5: 1–55.
- Weiershäuser, F.
 2006 Die bildliche Darstellung königlicher Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur und ihre sozialpolitische Aussage, in S. Schroer (ed.), *Images and Gender. Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art* (OBO 220), Göttingen: 263–279.
 2008 *Die königlichen Frauen der III. Dynastie von Ur* (Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 1), Göttingen.
- Westenholz, A.
 1999 The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture, in P. Attinger–M. Wäfler (eds.), *Mesopotamien. Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit* (OBO 160/3), Göttingen: 17–117.
- Wilhelm, G.
 1982 *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter*, Darmstadt.
- Woolley, C. L.
 1934 *Ur Excavations, Volume II. The Royal Cemetery*, London.

