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ANCIENT  
NEAR EASTERN  
CYLINDER SEALS  
FROM THE MARCOPOLI COLLECTION

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BEATRICE TEISSIER





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# ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CYLINDER SEALS

FROM THE MARCOPOLI COLLECTION

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BEATRICE TEISSIER

The cylinder seals catalogued and described in this volume are part of an exceptional collection of seals amassed by the Marcopoli family in Aleppo. The collection constitutes one of the most comprehensive groupings of cylinder seals discovered so far and significantly enhances our knowledge of ancient Near Eastern glyptic art.

Cylindrically-shaped seals first appeared in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C., gradually replacing the more traditional stamp seals. Cylinder seals are interesting not only for their past functional uses and for what they reveal about ancient Near Eastern culture and society—but the representations rendered by the seals are considered by many to be an art form worthy of great aesthetic appreciation.

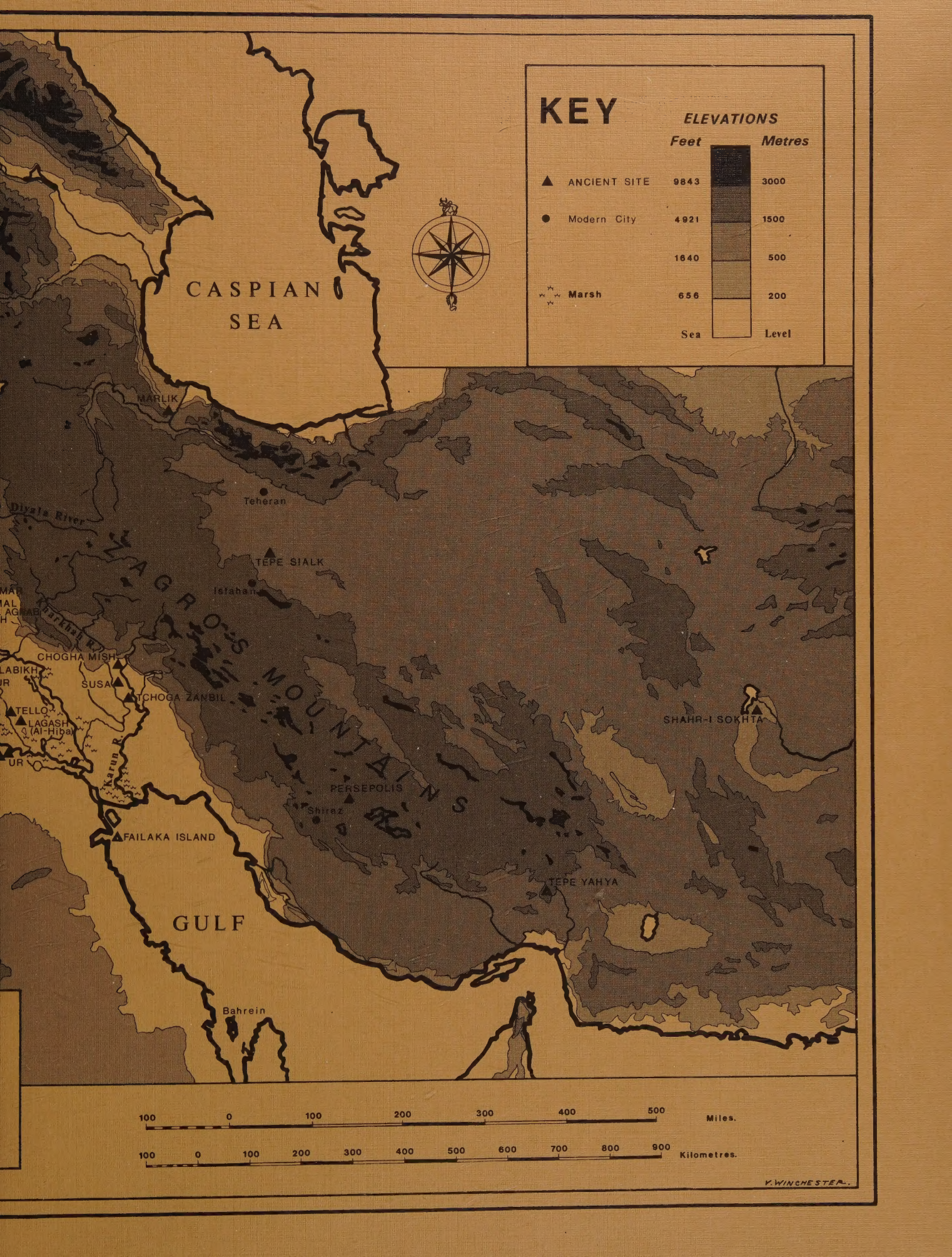
Some 720 cylinder seals of the Marcopoli collection are discussed and described. Of particular interest are the large number of Syrian seals. Many are of high quality and exceptional beauty and several are from little known periods in the history of Syrian glyptic art.

*(continued on back flap)*



## MAP OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST











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**CYLINDER SEALS**  
FROM THE MARCOPOLI COLLECTION

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BEATRICE TEISSIER



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## ABBREVIATIONS

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AAA	<i>Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i> . Liverpool.
AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes et syriennes</i> .
AASOR	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> .
ADAIKM	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo. Mitteilungen.
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> .
AION	<i>Annali Instituto Superiore Orientali di Napoli</i> .
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> .
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> .
Alp, Karaböyük	Alp, S. <i>Zylinder- und Stempelsiegel aus Karaböyük bei Konya</i> . Türk Tarih Kurumu, 5 Seri., Sa. 26. Ankara, 1968.
AM	<i>Athenische Mitteilung</i> .
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> .
Amiet, GMA	Amiet, P. <i>La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque</i> . 2d ed. Paris, 1980.
Amiet, GS	Amiet, P. <i>La glyptique susienne des origines à l'époque des Perses-Acheménides</i> . Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran 43. Paris, 1972.



Andrae, *Sendschirli* 5

AOAT

AOS

*Ar. An.*

*Ar. Or.*

BAR

BASOR

BCH

*Belletén*

Bib. Mes.

*Bi. Or.*

Bittel et al., eds.

*Vorderasiatische  
Archäologie*

Boehmer, *Entwicklung*

Braidwood and Braidwood,  
*Antioch* 1

Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*

Buchanan, *Ashmolean*

Andrae, W. *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, vol. 5: *Die Kleinfunde*. Edited by F. von Lauschen. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 15. Berlin, 1943.

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*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*

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- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*.
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- CCT *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*.
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- IEJ* Hrozný, B., ed. *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kültepe*, vol. 1. Prague, 1952.
- Ist. Mitt.* *Israel Exploration Journal*.
- JCS* *Istanbul Mitteilungen*.
- JEA* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*.
- JHS* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- Jitta, *Hague* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.
- JNES* Jitta, A. N., and Zadocks, J. *Catalogue sommaire des cylindres orientaux au Cabinet des Médailles à la Haye*. La Haye, 1952.
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- JWAG* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
- JWCI* *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*.
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- OLZ* *Orientalisches Literaturzeitung*.
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 Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung.
- SIMA  
 Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology.



SMS

Speiser, *Tepe Gawra* 1Speleers, *Brussels*Speleers, *Brussels Supp.*Thureau-Dangin, *RTC*Tobler, *Tepe Gawra* 2Tunca, *Adana*

UF

UVB

Van Buren, *Symbols*von der Osten, *Alishar Hüyük* 2von der Osten, *Aulock*

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Speiser, E. A. *The Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, vol. 1: *Levels I–VIII*. Philadelphia, 1935.Speleers, L. *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*. Brussels, 1917.Speleers, L. *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire: Supplément*. Brussels, 1943.Thureau-Dangin, F. *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*. Paris, 1903.Tobler, A. J. *The Excavations at Tepe Gawra*. Vol. 2: *Levels IX–XX*. Philadelphia, 1950.Tunca, O. *Catalogue des sceaux-cylindres du Musée Régional d'Adana*. SMS 3, no. 1. Malibu, 1979.*Ugarit-Forschungen*.*Uruk vorläufige Berichte* (title varies). Published in series *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse* (1929–1940) and *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (1956—). Berlin.Van Buren, E. D. *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*. *Analecta Orientalia* 25. Rome, 1945.von der Osten, H. H. *The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930–1932*, part 2. OIP 29. Chicago, 1937.von der Osten, H. H. *Altorientalische Siegelsteine der Sammlung Hans Silvius von Aulock*. *Studia ethnographica Upsaliensia* 13. Uppsala, 1957.

- von der Osten, *Brett*
- von der Osten, *Newell*
- WAAF
- Watelin, *Kish* 4
- Weber, *Siegelbilder*
- Williams Forte, *Moore*
- Wiseman, *BMCS* 1
- Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals*
- Woolley, *Alalakh*
- Woolley, *Carchemish* 2
- Woolley, *UE* 2
- WVDOG
- Yadin et al., *Hazor* 3–4
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## PREFACE

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The Marcopoli collection of ancient Near Eastern cylinder and stamp seals was established toward the end of the nineteenth century by the Marcopoli family, residents and hereditary Italian consuls in Aleppo since the early eighteenth century. Like all educated families in Syria in that period, the Marcopolis were fascinated by archaeology and were naturally keen to acquire relics of the past. That the late Paolo Marcopoli was particularly interested in seals was generally known in Aleppo and throughout Syria; as a result he was able to double the size of the collection during his lifetime. Since he had no direct heirs, Marcopoli decided to dispose of the collection on the condition that it not be broken up.

In this catalogue the major part of the collection, the cylinder seals, will be described and discussed. A further catalogue will be devoted to the stamp seals.

The immense value of this collection lies in the fact that the majority of the seals are Syrian. Of prime interest are the Syrian seals from the third and early second millennia which significantly enhance our knowledge of a little-known period in the history of Syrian glyptic art and the Syrian seals from the later second millennium which are of exceptional beauty and add hitherto unknown iconographical data to the already lively and extensive Syrian iconographical canon. The overall quality of the southern Mesopotamian seals, the number of rare pieces from north Mesopotamia, and the seals of probable Iranian origin complement the richness of the Syrian seals.

The seals have been classified according to style or, in some cases, iconography, as is the convention in such large catalogues as *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in . . . the Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*, vol. 1, by Edith Porada or *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean* by Briggs Buchanan.

The terminology for figures and objects established by Edith Porada in *Corpus* has been followed in this catalogue; the reader is referred to the comprehensive glossary on pp. xxiv-xxv there. We follow Porada's example in describing the seal impressions from left to right or from the usually central, principal element. The terms *the field*, *the sky*, and *terminal* are frequently used in the catalogue entries: *field* refers to the middle and lower ground of the seal; *sky* refers to the upper ground and includes but does not imply astronomical elements only; and *terminal* refers to figures, objects, or secondary scenes which mark the termination of a scene.

Within the catalogue entries, parallels are cited to seals of known provenance, to seals which might have come from the same workshop, or to seals which have significant iconographical affinity.

Under each catalogue number are the identification of the material of the seal, the height, then the diameter of the cylinder in millimeters; measurements of details, such as the height of handles, are given separately. Peculiarities of shape and functional details are briefly indicated where necessary, directly preceding the description of the iconography.

The chronology used for the Mesopotamian seals in this catalogue is based on that of the revised edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and on J. A. Brinkman's "Mesopotamian Chronology of the Historical Period" in *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* by A. Leo Oppenheim. The use of specialized studies, such as Lamia al-Gailani Werr's dissertation "Studies in the Chronology and Regional Styles of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals," is indicated in the notes. The sources for the dates of Syrian, Anatolian, and Mitannian seals are also indicated in the text or in the footnotes. *Astronomical Dating of Babylon I and Ur III* by Peter J. Huber et al. (Occasional Papers on the Near East 1, issue 4 [Malibu, 1982]) was published just as this manuscript went to press, thus the argument presented there for the long chronology is not reflected in the absolute dates used in this catalogue.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## INTRODUCTION

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*The aim of this catalogue is to bring to the attention of scholars and the general public an exceptional collection of cylinder seals. This introduction has been written for members of the public not familiar with the field of ancient Near Eastern glyptic art in the hope that it will answer some of the questions the subject may arouse.*

The appearance of cylindrically shaped seals in the second half of the fourth millennium B.C. in southern Iraq and southwestern Iran revolutionized the seal cutter's art in the Near East. Until then seals, like conventional seals in more modern times, were stamped to make an impression (stamp seals). The cylindrical shape was not only better suited than that of the stamp to the functional role of covering surfaces with a continuous design, since it might be rolled along the surface to be sealed, but it offered greater surface space on which a frieze of figures or a pattern might be developed.

By the beginning of the third millennium in Mesopotamia, the cylinder seal had virtually replaced the stamp seal; it was to remain the dominant shape there until the later part of the Neo-Assyrian period in the middle of the first millennium when the stamp seal came back into common use. In other regions of the Near East, notably Syria and western Iran, cylinder seals were adopted, but in Anatolia the stamp seal persisted, often in very individual shapes. In the Levant, the stamp seal reappeared in the late second millennium, perhaps influenced by Egyptian scarab seals and Anatolian stamp seals.

### ORIGIN AND INITIAL DEVELOPMENT

No decisive evidence exists at present to explain the change to a cylindrical form; even though the earliest impressions found thus far demonstrate

functional usage, it is not yet clear whether the form was purposefully developed for functional reasons<sup>1</sup> or whether it arose as a by-product of another tradition.

Even though the craft of cutting in reverse, known as *intaglio*, had been developed by stamp seal cutters, the discrepancy both in style and iconography between the scenes on stamp seals and the scenes on the first cylinder seals from Iraq and Iran suggests that the latter rose out of a different cutting tradition, perhaps akin to stone vessel making or sculpture in relief. The appearance of the cylinder seal was roughly contemporary with a renewed fashion for stone vessels. The use of the drill, which is apparent on the earliest cylinder seal impressions found to date as well as in the manufacture of these stone vessels, is indicative of the same technological tradition.<sup>2</sup> Even if, alternatively, stone cores drilled from stone vessels during their manufacture were used as cylinder seal blanks, the link between cylinder seal carving and the tradition of stoneworking remains.<sup>3</sup>

Certainly the sophisticated designs of the first impressions suggest a prior development. One problem is that no cylinders of the type which produced the first impressions have yet been found. The stones may have been recut and reused, or the first cylinders may have been made of perishable materials such as wood.<sup>4</sup>

## USAGE

The first cylinder seal impressions from Uruk in modern Iraq and Susa in Iran are found on bullae, clay cases that contained counting devices; clay jar stoppers; and clay tablets prior to inscription. Clay covering the ropes used for securing doors to storage areas may also have been sealed.

Sealing ensured the security of goods and authenticated documents. This legal aspect of sealing became one of its primary uses; in conjunction with the owner's name, the impression identified the user of the seal and thus acquired the value of a signature. Sealing practices changed with time and occasionally varied within regions at one time.<sup>5</sup> From the end of the third millennium, letters and administrative and legal texts were the most common sealed documents, thus tablets and their envelopes are one of the largest groups of clay objects which bear seal impressions.

## SEAL TYPES

Seal types can be broadly divided into three categories: personal seals, official or state seals, and votive or temple seals. Of these by far the largest group are personal seals.



## PERSONAL

In the Ur III period there appear to have been no restrictions regarding the ownership of a seal: anyone who could afford one could own one, or more if so desired.<sup>6</sup> This probably applies to other periods as well. Seals belonging to women exist, but are comparatively rare.<sup>7</sup> Seals of high quality could be personally commissioned and were occasionally given as a present from a ruler to his subject.<sup>8</sup> The loss of a seal was taken seriously. Texts from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, for example, record the name of the owner, the year, month, and day when the loss was thought to have been incurred.<sup>9</sup> This procedure protected the owner from subsequent illegal usage of the seal. Losing a seal was also considered to be a bad omen; this added dimension of the significance of a seal will be referred to below.

## OFFICIAL

Official and state seals, including personal royal seals, naturally had a more formal and wider range of uses than a commoner's personal seal. Early and rare examples of official seals are the collective seals from Ur and Jamdat Nasr, on which some of the pictographs standing for various Sumerian cities repeatedly occur in pairs along with scenes of human activity and symbols.<sup>10</sup> Although the economic and political significance of these seals is still not fully understood, they are thought to provide tangible evidence for a close commercial relationship or alliance between various Sumerian cities.<sup>11</sup>

In the second millennium, royal seals, described in texts as "inimitable" and "incontestable," were invested with special authority and put questions of ownership and of legality beyond dispute.<sup>12</sup> In Syria, at Ugarit and at Alalakh for example, dynastic seals, that is seals which sometimes carried the genealogy of the ruler and which were handed down from generation to generation, confirmed the lineage of the ruler and his right to the throne.<sup>13</sup> One example of the degree to which a royal seal was valued is demonstrated by a Neo-Assyrian text in which Sennacherib describes how he found a seal belonging to Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244–1208 B.C.) in the treasurehouse of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon in the late eighth or early seventh century B.C.<sup>14</sup> This particular seal had thus been preserved for over five hundred years.

## TEMPLE

The finer votive seals, or seals that were offered by a king to a god in the temple, were considered property of the temple or, more specifically, of

the deity. As with all votive offerings, the gift was intended to help bring health and prosperity to the king and his family. As gifts they were also objects of beauty and ornamentation and were usually intended to be hung around the statue's neck. A number of these seals are not only very large—the seal given to Marduk by Esarhaddon, for example, was 12 cm high and 4 cm in diameter—but were carved in relief as opposed to intaglio.<sup>15</sup> These were still termed *kunukku* (seal) in Akkadian, although the carving technique places the object in the realm of relief. There is also evidence that such seals could be used in transactions: documents bear impressions of seals belonging to divinities, but these are rare, and in temple transactions a temple official usually used his seal.<sup>16</sup>

### THE SEAL CUTTER

Disappointingly few details are known about the seal cutter's status or the running of his workshop. The Akkadian term for seal cutter is *purkullu*, although this was a comparatively late, Old Babylonian, term. *Purkullu*, derived from the Sumerian *bur-gul*, is equated or associated with *zadim* in lexical lists.<sup>17</sup> The *zadim* was a lapidary or stoneworker, an artisan who was part of a professional group. A text from the Ur III period records the activities of certain craftsmen, including the *zadim*, during one year. All existed within one establishment that specialized in the production of luxury goods. The section dealing with the *zadim* lists stones supplied to the workshop and implies that the *zadim* may have been involved in work other than cutting, shaping, and polishing them, for instance, the making of composition materials, such as frit.<sup>18</sup>

At Alalakh there is evidence to suggest that, in the second half of the second millennium, the seal cutter belonged to a particular social class which consisted of high-ranking private citizens often employed by the palace.<sup>19</sup> A very much later reference to a seal cutter, dating from the Achaemenid period, states that a slave was apprenticed for four years to learn the craft of the *purkullu*.<sup>20</sup> There is also a reference to the seal cutter's house at Alalakh, suggesting that he was resident and not itinerant.<sup>21</sup>

At other times the seal cutter appears to have had a particularly close relationship with the palace. For example, Akkadian seals showing mostly presentation and combat scenes are thought to belong to a specifically court tradition.<sup>22</sup> In earlier periods, however, and for most of the Early Dynastic period, artistic craftsmanship seems to have been associated with the temple.<sup>23</sup>



## TECHNOLOGY

Stone tools, hafted micro- and macroliths and drills,<sup>24</sup> were probably used in the earlier periods by the engraver, later to be replaced by copper ones such as have been found in a private house at Tell Asmar dating to the Akkadian period.<sup>25</sup> An Egyptian wall painting from the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2500 B.C.) shows a craftsman drilling a seal with a hand drill.<sup>26</sup> The bow drill (a drill propelled by a bow), shown on a wall painting from Dynasty VI in the hands of a craftsman making a stone vessel and on a later Dynasty XVIII wall painting for bead making, is, however, thought to have been one of the standard tools of the seal cutter.<sup>27</sup>

The hand drill may have been used in the early stages of manufacture (e.g., to make the bore hole) with the help of an abrasive, such as sand or emery, to create a cavity into which the bow drill would fit.<sup>28</sup> The examination by scanning electron microscope of silicone rubber impressions of the bore holes of cylinder seals shows that wooden drills could also have been used in Mesopotamia.<sup>29</sup> The bore holes of both cylinders and beads are usually biconical, thus were drilled from both ends.<sup>30</sup>

Examinations of silicone rubber impressions of the engraved surface of Jamdat Nasr and Proto-Elamite seals have revealed symmetrical tool marks that are characteristic of a rotating disc, probably driven by a horizontal spindle.<sup>31</sup> The cutting disc again became popular in the second millennium, toward the end of the Old Babylonian period, and remained so. A hollow, tubular drill, used for making circular incisions, was a tool favored by the Mitannian and Syro-Mitannian seal cutters.

The method of polishing seals and beads has still not been established. For beads, tumbling has been suggested.<sup>32</sup>

Some interesting limestone fragments found with other objects belonging to a seal cutter at Ur appear to be trial pieces. On these the seal cutter sketched and engraved figures before beginning work on the actual seal.<sup>33</sup>

A study of the stones of a large assemblage of cylinder seals has shown that softer stones such as marble, limestone, and steatite (1 to 3 on the Mohs scale) were more common in the earlier periods, and that hard stones such as hematite were less common until the Old Babylonian period. A valuable material such as lapis lazuli was always relatively rare, and ivory was extremely rare. From the Kassite and Middle Assyrian periods until the Sassanian period, hard stones (7 on the Mohs scale) such as quartz and cryptocrystalline materials became more frequently used.<sup>34</sup> A glance at the chart of materials (Appendix B) in this collection substantiates this finding. The survey did not include seals made from composition materials.

Composition materials with a glazed surface were frequently used for seals of the Mitannian Common style; they were also used more spo-

radically for Neo-Assyrian seals in the first millennium. Glass seals were characteristic of Middle Elamite glyptic workshops.

### MOUNTING AND WEARING

The manner in which seals adorned the statues of deities has been mentioned above. A person usually carried his seal strung as the central bead of a necklace or mounted in gold with a little loop, attached to a necklace. It could also be mounted on a pin. Figures on an Early Dynastic mosaic panel and other small figures originally from an inlay from Mari wear their seals hanging from a small chain attached to a pin.<sup>35</sup> The mountings of seals, often of gold, varied from simple to elaborate caps decorated with the granulation distinctive of the Kassite period.<sup>36</sup>

### INSCRIPTIONS

A significant number of seals are inscribed. Although a preliminary typology of these inscriptions<sup>37</sup> distinguishes thirty-one main types, only the most common will be mentioned here.

Probably the most frequently found type of inscription includes the owner's name often followed by his father's name. Personal names first appear on seals in the Early Dynastic period, and the custom became widespread in the Akkadian period. At this period inscriptions with a personal name and the owner's profession or title were equally common. Another type of inscription common in the Old Babylonian period was one in which the owner was described as being the servant (Akk. *arād*[m.], *gemē*[f.]) of a given deity (see, e.g., seals 126 and 127) or of another professional person or ruler.

Inscriptions that gave only the name or names of a deity (e.g., seals 107 and 121) are also fairly common. Seals with short prayer inscriptions, a late Old Babylonian and Kassite feature, are unusual. Similarly, extracts of incantations occur only on Kassite seals.<sup>38</sup> More exceptional are those inscriptions on seals such as the dynastic seals mentioned above which sometimes give genealogy, and those on special votive seals which are unusually lengthy and varied.

The relationship between inscription and iconographical representation will be referred to below.



## SEALS AS AMULETS

There are indications in medical, ritual, and omen texts that seals sometimes had an amuletic value. It is not known whether these seals, also referred to as *kunukku*, should be regarded as a particular type. An incantation text against slander describes how a seal was rolled on clay tongues (to silence them) which were then enclosed and sealed in a clay boat which was then thrown into the river.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, in an incantation text from the *maqlû* series which deals with warding off enemies, a seal is rolled across a clay figurine to seal its lips.<sup>40</sup>

In a medical text pertaining to childbirth, seals are placed on parts of the body to prevent the woman from losing her baby.<sup>41</sup>

The type of stone used for the seals in these rituals is often specified: the *baltu* stone (ZA.SUH, translated as vitriol-stained stone),<sup>42</sup> the *šubu* stone (agate?),<sup>43</sup> and the *šadanu* stone (hematite)<sup>44</sup> appear to have been favored. A medical text and an omen text pertaining to dreams list the different portents of different stones.<sup>45</sup> A seal of marble portended favors, a seal of *dušu* stone<sup>46</sup> (a precious stone of a yellow-orange color) portended profits.

The predictions of the different texts occasionally contradict each other; in one text a seal of marble brings favors, in the other the person “will not attain his heart’s desire.”<sup>47</sup> The propitious nature of lapis lazuli, however, appears to have been universally accepted.

Omens concerning inscribed seals also exist, but unfortunately most of the essential passages are broken.<sup>48</sup> The same text also lists, for example, the portent of a seal with figures on it, which would bring the person sons or peace of mind, or of a royal seal, which signified divine protection.<sup>49</sup>

Although it appears that some seals could be used as amulets and some were inscribed with incantations, the evidence for usage in magic is comparatively slender and does not allow one to conclude that all seals had an amuletic as well as a more practical significance for the owner.

This view is contested by some scholars, notably Edith Porada, who believes that cylinder seals were as much amuletic as “an integral part of their owners’ persons.”<sup>50</sup>

## ICONOGRAPHY

As will become apparent in the following chapters, ironclad interpretation of the various scenes represented on the seals and identification of the various figures are often not possible. The identification of deities by their

particular iconography, although standard practice, is not always accepted.<sup>51</sup> There is enough general uniformity, particularly in the representation of major deities, to suggest that the seal cutters worked with a standard iconography.<sup>52</sup> Different workshops naturally had idiosyncracies, but these are generally stylistic. The identification of various figures is complicated in some iconographical repertoires, such as the Syrian one, by the eclecticism of the iconography. It has also been suggested that some seals that show originality of representation may have been made by non-professionals for specific rituals.<sup>53</sup> Seals that show unusual scenes, such as scenes of exorcism, for example, 232, may also have been made to be used in certain medicinal or magical rites.<sup>54</sup>

Inscriptions on seals by no means guarantee the identification of figures: on a great number of seals one deity is named in the inscription and another is depicted on the seal (e.g., 121). On certain commissioned seals (e.g., the seal of Daguna, a wet nurse, which shows a figure being introduced to a female deity, probably Ninhursag, whose milk legitimized princes)<sup>55</sup> and on certain official seals (the seal of Sennacherib, which shows Ashur and his consort Ninlil with the figure of a king between them),<sup>56</sup> a relationship between the inscription and the figures depicted can nevertheless be found.

The use of mythological and ritual texts for the interpretation of scenes on seals, notably from the Akkadian period, was pioneered by Henri Frankfort. He believed that certain myths found pictorial expression in differing renditions on a number of seals, and found various parallels from late texts to substantiate this claim (see chapter three).<sup>57</sup>

The interpretation of the intrinsic meaning of a scene (iconology) has occasionally been attempted. Amiet, for example, sees in the Akkadian repertoire an illustration of universal mythological concepts.<sup>58</sup> This is an intuitive approach which does not suit all scholars.<sup>59</sup>

Cylinder seals may be thought to belong to a minor art form. However, "if one considers only the size of an art object, such as a cylinder seal, it may seem appropriate to call it minor, but size is not a criterion of aesthetic value. A piece of jewelry or a cylinder seal can be more beautiful than a monumental sculpture. Aesthetically a seal is unique. It can be beautiful in itself, as a stone; and it can be beautiful in the pictorial impression it makes. In those civilizations where it is the primary source of images it becomes a major pictorial art form, the equivalent of frescoes and paintings in another culture. Nevertheless, the scope for pictorial development in a seal is not comparable with that of a painting; but what the seal lacks in scope, it may gain in intensity, impact, clarity of design and coherence."<sup>60</sup>

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MESOPOTAMIAN,  
ASSYRIAN, AND  
IRANIAN SEALS

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# I

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## THE LATE URUK AND JAMDAT NASR PERIODS

### *Mesopotamia and Elam*

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The last centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. were of major significance in the history of ancient Near Eastern civilization. Of several innovations produced during this time, the most important was signs on clay tablets, signs which clearly are writing, ancestors of the later cuneiform script of Mesopotamia. These tablets first appear in southern Mesopotamia at ancient Uruk, in levels dated to about 3200 B.C.

The archaeological record for this period in southern Mesopotamia is still largely incomplete, owing principally to the superimposition of buildings on earlier levels. The size and richness of the sites that have been excavated nevertheless suggest that it was the most advanced region of its time. By c. 3200 B.C. the Uruk culture had expanded beyond the borders of Mesopotamia.

The Uruk period was also significant for the history of glyptic art in the Near East. As was mentioned in the Introduction, clay balls from Uruk,<sup>1</sup> which are approximately contemporary with the emergence of writing as such, have yielded the first evidence of the use of a spool or a cylindrically shaped seal stone.

At the site of Susa in southwest Iran (later the capital of ancient Elam), cylinder seal impressions also appear on clay balls rather than tablets, jar sealings, or the like, and are roughly contemporary with the Mesopotamian impressions.<sup>2</sup> The glyptic art of this period from both areas shares a number of iconographic and stylistic affinities.

The earliest cylinder seals that have yet been found at Uruk are made of limestone,<sup>3</sup> although these are not the cylinders which produced the first impressions. By the Late Uruk period a number of materials including marble, lapis lazuli, chalcedony, agate, serpentine, and travertine were being used.

Early seals come in a number of shapes and sizes, ranging from short and squat to long and thin. The cylinders may be straight or have concave or convex sides; sometimes the face of the cylinder is divided into panels by deeply cut grooves (e.g., 4 below). When not perforated they occasionally have a small pierced handle in the form of an animal or a cavity into which a suspension or attachment device was inlaid. (The technical characteristics of early seals from Syria are described in chapter ten.)

Stylistic development in the Late Uruk period is shown by the seals and sealings from Susa and Uruk where cylinders with large, deeply cut forms appear to have preceded those with more subtly engraved forms.<sup>4</sup> The earliest cylinder seal so far found at Uruk shows the use of both drill and graver.<sup>5</sup> A group of seals characterized by the predominant use of a drill (e.g., 4–6) which results in a schematic style has been found to be contemporary with the finer, more modeled Uruk styles.

Outside Mesopotamia, seals of this drilled style have been found in northern Syria, at Habuba Kabira South,<sup>6</sup> at Susa,<sup>7</sup> and at Chogha Mish.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, a group of seals with simple patterns cut with a graver or the cutting disc (e.g., 7) appear first in the Late Uruk period;<sup>9</sup> they occur as far away as Nagada in Egypt<sup>10</sup> as well as at Susa.<sup>11</sup>

The duration of the drilled style and of the naturalistic Uruk styles is not known; depending on their distribution they may have had different life spans in different regions.

With the exception of numbers 4–6 the seals below are stylistically miscellaneous. Parallels for the bull and the boar on seal number 1 can be found in both Mesopotamian and Susian glyptic art from the Late Uruk period, although the Susian examples are cut in a slightly heavier style than shown on the seal below. The delicate modeling of the legs of the animals is reminiscent of the Proto-Elamite style,<sup>12</sup> although the cutting of the rest of their bodies is quite different. Numbers 2–3 are probably provincial and are distinguished by their loop bore perforations. This is a feature characteristic thus far of Syria rather than Mesopotamia or Elam.

#### *ANIMAL ROWS (1–3)*

Naturalistic rows of animals were one of the characteristic subjects of early seals from Uruk and Susa. The types of animals represented in the Uruk period were more varied than at any other time in Mesopotamian or Elamite glyptic art, and include boars, panthers, and hares as well as the more usual bulls, goats, and antelopes.

#### *PIGTAILED FIGURES (4–6)*

The figures that are characterized by their pigtails on most of the seals of this style are shown here squatting on mats or benches and occupied with,



or possibly making, the pots before them. Other seals of this type show figures engaged in other activities, which are often not clear because of the summary execution of the subject. Some of these activities have nevertheless been interpreted as the preparation of dairy products or spinning.<sup>13</sup> The context in which these activities take place is not clear, although contemporary seals in more naturalistic styles show similar figures at work beside shrines or temple herds.<sup>14</sup> In the Diyala, seals such as 5 and 6 were found exclusively in private houses.<sup>15</sup>

The transition from the Late Uruk to the Jamdat Nasr period (c. 3100–2900 B.C.) is not as clear-cut as it was once thought to be. It was marked by expansion and the development of new settlements, and thus was an extension of a trend already existing in the Late Uruk period.<sup>16</sup>

The development of glyptic art during this period is unclear, since the life span of certain Uruk IV styles is not known, nor is the starting point of other styles, such as the cut style below. This style is probably related to the schematic style of seals such as number 7 above.<sup>17</sup> At Susa, seals dated c. 3000–2850 B.C. show the classical Proto-Elamite style, as well as others more closely related to Mesopotamian styles.<sup>18</sup>

Characteristic of the Jamdat Nasr period are seals on which groups or rows of animals are represented, and seals with patterns. The seals that show animals are cut in a variety of styles ranging from a modeled style through a style in which the use of drill and graver is combined to one which favors the drill (e.g., 8), the graver, or possibly the cutting disc.<sup>19</sup> The last two may have been used together on seals such as 9–13 to form the schematic cut style.

#### *ANIMAL ROWS (8–16)*

The variety of animals characteristic of the Late Uruk period is no longer evident on the seals below, where horned animals, which are particularly suitable subjects for seals of the cut style, prevail. Contemporary seals in other styles show similar animals standing beside shrines and are thus thought to represent temple herds.<sup>20</sup> Seal 14 is derivative of seals such as 9–13 but because of its crude style and unusual animal forms is probably provincial. Seals 15 and 16 are very crude but can nevertheless be assigned to this period.

#### *PATTERNS (17–51)*

Seals with patterns can be divided into two principal groups. One group consists of simple linear patterns, such as cross-hatching, zigzags, rhombs, and herringbones cut on a variety of stones. These patterns can be associated with contemporary designs on pottery or perhaps basketry. Seals of this type have been found distributed on most Mesopotamian sites of the period and at Susa.<sup>21</sup>

The other group consists of elaborate geometrical patterns deeply cut on seals of glazed steatite. This style appears to have been a regional one, and was common in the Diyala region and on impressions at Nineveh;<sup>22</sup> it also occurs at Susa.<sup>23</sup> Relatively few examples of it have been found in southern Mesopotamia, but it is well represented at Kish.<sup>24</sup> The place of origin of this distinctive style is still not clear, and has been variously put somewhere on the periphery of Mesopotamia, in the Diyala,<sup>25</sup> or on the western borders of Elam.<sup>26</sup> It first occurs in the Diyala at Khafajah in Level II of the Sin Temple, and becomes common and more elaborate by the time of Level IV there;<sup>27</sup> in Iran it is found at Susa and at Shahr-i Sokhta<sup>28</sup> in the Proto-Elamite period (c. 3000 B.C.).

Most of the seals below are characteristic of the first patterned group, although certain motifs such as the Maltese cross, the rectangle with concave sides, and the circle with a dot (e.g., 17), and patterns such as the reversed cones on seal 51 have been derived or copied from the second, geometrically patterned group. The Maltese cross on seal 17 is an ancient motif which in Mesopotamia can be traced back to the Ubaid period.<sup>29</sup>

The date of seals 40–44, which show simple patterns, may be later than the Jamdat Nasr period. Elements of these patterns, particularly a more sophisticated version of the type of pattern on number 40, occur in properly stratified contexts as late as the Early Dynastic III period.<sup>30</sup>

Seals 45–50 probably have a provincial origin and may have been manufactured as late as the Early Dynastic period, because of the tendency to retain older characteristics found in some provincial seals. Scratched linear designs such as on seals 45–47 occur on seals from Elam and the Levant, and to a lesser extent from the Diyala.<sup>31</sup> Seal 46 has a loop bore which strengthens the probability of its provincial origin. The debased style of seal 51 suggests a late Jamdat Nasr or Early Dynastic I date (see catalogue entry for parallels from Susa).

## II

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### THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

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Sumerian civilization and history became more clearly definable in the long Early Dynastic period (2900–2334 B.C.) which followed the Jamdat Nasr period. The culture of this age is called Sumerian because the written language was Sumerian. Sumerian was spoken in the south (Sumer), although Akkadian was apparently spoken in the area around Kish. By the end of the Early Dynastic period, scribes at Tell Abu Salabikh wrote in Sumerian but some bore Akkadian names.<sup>1</sup>

The period is divided into three phases: Early Dynastic I, II, and III. This last phase is in turn subdivided into Early Dynastic IIIA and IIIB.

Sumer was composed of various city-states, each with its own ruler and its own city god, with the temple the focal point of the city. Hegemony over Sumer was constantly being vied for by these city-states: a later legend records one such struggle between the famous Gilgamesh of Uruk, now accepted as a historical figure, and Agga, the last king of the First Dynasty of Kish. Sumerian influence was widespread at this time and included Mari, the northern Euphrates valley, and north Syria.

The principal feature of glyptic art of the Early Dynastic period is its diversity and individualism. A number of styles appear to have existed more or less contemporaneously<sup>2</sup> in different areas and to some extent in individual sites, although affinities between the glyptic art of different sites was a feature, especially in the earlier part of the Early Dynastic period.

The Early Dynastic I period (c. 2900–2750 B.C.), previously thought to be only transitional, has now been shown to be important in its own right.<sup>3</sup> Its glyptic art not only has connections with the Uruk period but iconographically and stylistically anticipates the Early Dynastic II and III periods.

In the Diyala, two stylistic groups were dominant during this period. One



group, the "Brocade" style,<sup>4</sup> is characterized by tall decorative seals, and the other style, centered around Tell Agrab, is characterized by naturalistic and delicate representations of animals (e.g., 52 below).<sup>5</sup> This latter style is thought to be descended either from that of the Uruk period in Mesopotamia<sup>6</sup> or from the Proto-Elamite style.<sup>7</sup>

Sealings from Nippur<sup>8</sup> and Kish<sup>9</sup> show similarities with Early Dynastic I impressions from Ur; stylistic elements, for example the patterned mane and curving neck of a lion which are the precursors of the Early Dynastic II style from Fara,<sup>10</sup> also occur. Similarly at Fara, Early Dynastic sealings with impressions of very large seals with abstract patterns<sup>11</sup> resemble those found at Ur and Uruk,<sup>12</sup> and a connection with Nippur is shown by some of the later Early Dynastic I sealings.<sup>13</sup> At Lagash a seal from this period shows links with one of the Uruk IV styles which used a fine drill.<sup>14</sup> At Ur, seals with large abstract designs, which sometimes incorporate human and animal forms and pictograms and naturalistic scenes showing mostly animal or combat scenes, are characteristic of this period.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Early Dynastic II period (c. 2750–2600 B.C.) seems comparatively short and elusive in certain areas such as the Diyala and Kish,<sup>16</sup> it can nevertheless be distinguished by some important glyptic art, notably from Fara. From this period onward the brief survey of styles given below will mostly cover seals which represent combat scenes; these were not only the most numerous but stylistically show the greatest variety and development. The high quality of some of these seals can be attributed to the fact that they belonged to an aulic tradition, as evidenced by the names of the rulers they carry.<sup>17</sup>

Seals from the Diyala cut in linear styles have been dated to the Early Dynastic II period<sup>18</sup> despite the apparent brevity of the period there; they may in fact date from the beginning of the Early Dynastic IIIA period.<sup>19</sup>

At Fara, the site that has so far produced the largest number of Early Dynastic II seals and sealings, an early and a late Early Dynastic II style can be distinguished.<sup>20</sup> The former is characterized by linear cutting with slim figures loosely grouped in the field, whereas the latter shows denser compositions in more modeled forms. The influence of the Fara style can be detected in the Diyala,<sup>21</sup> at Kish,<sup>22</sup> and at Abu Salabikh.<sup>23</sup>

Seals with inscriptions bearing the owner's name first appear at this period.<sup>24</sup>

An overall "Mesopotamian" chronological or a narrowly based regional classification is no longer satisfactory for seals of the Early Dynastic III period,<sup>25</sup> since varied and sometimes numerous styles existed contemporaneously at individual sites.

Early Dynastic IIIA (c. 2600–2500 B.C.) glyptic art in the Diyala is represented by a modeled relief style which also appears at Kish<sup>26</sup> and by a local group characterized by flat cutting.<sup>27</sup> At Fara, a local style characterized by elongated animals<sup>28</sup> also existed apart from the more sophisticated mod-

eled style, known as the Anzu-Sud (formerly read Imdugud-Sukurru) style, from the impression carrying that name.<sup>29</sup> A flat, broad cutting style from Abu Salabikh represents another local style;<sup>30</sup> otherwise glyptic art from this site shows links with Kish and Fara.<sup>31</sup>

The site which so far has shown the greatest diversity both in styles and iconography is al-Hiba, ancient Lagash.<sup>32</sup> Only a few of these sealings have been published to date, but they include a fully modeled style on sealings which may have been made by royal seals<sup>33</sup> and an abstract style.<sup>34</sup>

At Ur the Early Dynastic III period is represented by the seals from the Royal Tombs; these seals have been related both in style and composition to the Fara impressions.<sup>35</sup>

The Early Dynastic IIIB period (c. 2500–2334 B.C.) is not well represented in the Diyala,<sup>36</sup> and at Kish only a few seals may belong to this period.<sup>37</sup> At Abu Salabikh it is also not well represented among the few sealings that have been published; one sealing has a close parallel at Kish.<sup>38</sup> In the south this period is characterized by the seals of the First Dynasty of Ur<sup>39</sup> and of the rulers of Lagash from Eannatum to Lugalanda.<sup>40</sup> These seals are mostly finely cut in a heavily modeled style which is formal and lacks the vivacity of the Early Dynastic IIIA seals from Ur and Fara.

Other styles, such as a cut style (e.g., 62) and a linear style used principally for two-tiered banquet scenes (e.g., 63) and geometric patterns,<sup>41</sup> have been found widely dispersed from the Diyala to central and southern Mesopotamia in Early Dynastic IIIA and IIIB contexts.

The materials used for cylinders during the whole of the Early Dynastic period were varied and reflect the richness of the period. Soft materials such as limestone, marble, calcite, and shell were the most common, although more precious materials such as alabaster, lapis lazuli, and gold were also used.<sup>42</sup>

#### *ANIMAL ROW (52); FIGURES WITH ANIMAL (53)*

Both these subjects have antecedents in the Uruk period.<sup>43</sup> Figures herding animals were especially popular in the Early Dynastic I repertoire from Ur.<sup>44</sup> However, the carving style of seal 53 is not Mesopotamian, and this seal probably has a provincial or Elamite origin. The pigtailed figure, possibly recut, provides a link with the Jamdat Nasr period.

#### *COMBATS (54–59)*

Combat scenes between various real and mythological beasts and heroes (a subject which originally stemmed from the theme of defense of flocks and herds against beasts of prey) were ubiquitous in the Early Dynastic period, and from then until the end of the Achaemenid period combats remained one of the most popular subjects in ancient Near Eastern glyptic art.

In the Early Dynastic I period, armed heroes attacking large animals fighting each other were popular. The animals were rarely upright, and frequently were larger than the heroes. From the Early Dynastic II period onward these combats were turned into a frieze, the interlacing figures becoming more upright and more in proportion with each other. A great many variations exist in the iconography of the principal figures and the subsidiary motifs in the field, often particular to individual sites,<sup>45</sup> as this subject developed from the Early Dynastic II to the Early Dynastic III period. The seals below are generally characteristic of Early Dynastic II–IIIA glyptic art.

Of the large number of different types of heroes represented on seals of the Early Dynastic period, only two types appear below: a hero in a kilt (56) and a hero naked except for a triple belt (57). The hero on seal 58 also seems to be naked. Naked heroes, especially beardless ones with a curly mop of hair, have sometimes been identified with Dumuzi, a mythological figure, one of whose functions was to protect animals from predators.<sup>46</sup> The variety of heroes and the inconsistencies in detail in their representation suggest no positive identifications of any of these figures, although it is possible that figures of the Dumuzi type were an inspiration for this subject. A bull-man appears on seals 54, 55, and 58. He first occurs in the Early Dynastic I period,<sup>47</sup> but became especially popular in the Early Dynastic II period.<sup>48</sup>

#### *THE EAGLE (60–62)*

Two types of eagle commonly occur on Early Dynastic seals: a lion-headed eagle and a naturalistic eagle. The eagle on seals 60 and 61 is of the former kind, and on 62 of the latter kind. The role of both eagles on these seals is derived from scenes of hunting and grazing on seals from the Early Dynastic I period at Ur and on seals of the “Brocade” style, where the eagle is shown hovering over animals in a manner which can be interpreted as either menacing or protective, but which is always dominating.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the lion-headed eagle has the power to subjugate lions and may have had a prophylactic function. This creature has been identified as Anzu or Imdugud, a personification of storms.<sup>50</sup>

#### *RITUAL BANQUET (63)*

This subject, the origins of which go back to the Early Dynastic I period, and even perhaps to the Uruk period,<sup>51</sup> became popular on glyptic art in the Early Dynastic III period and remained one of the standard themes of Near Eastern glyptic iconography until the end of the Neo-Assyrian empire. Banquets were one of the favorite subjects represented on votive plaques in temples from the Early Dynastic I period onward, and this would confirm the ritual nature of the ceremony.

Although the scene is often reduced to its basic elements—two or more seated persons drinking through tubes from a vessel placed be-



tween them, or holding cups with perhaps an attendant standing by—the ceremony was also depicted more fully. It appears to have taken place in several contexts: in the open air, indicated by the proximity of trees or animals (seal 63); indoors or beside a building or shrine; in a boat; in a military context; and in association with a sacred marriage. Musicians often form part of the retinue attending the principal figures who usually appear to be ordinary mortals; deities are rarely represented in this context.<sup>52</sup>

#### *DECORATIVE ANIMAL MOTIFS (64, 65)*

Although traditionally associated with fertility and the underworld on Early Dynastic seals, naturalistic scorpions are often shown in association with astral bodies (e.g., 64).<sup>53</sup> Anthropomorphic scorpions also occur on Early Dynastic seals in similar contexts. The rounded grid motif on 65 is a schematic representation of a coiled serpent. This motif, sometimes formed with two entwined snakes, can be traced back to the Uruk IV period<sup>54</sup> and is a symbol of fertility based on the configuration of coupling serpents. It appears with a scorpion, as here, or birds, heroes, and other mythological creatures.

### III

## THE AKKADIAN PERIOD.

The Akkadian period, initiated by Sargon of Akkad (c. 2334–2279 B.C.) when he defeated Lugalzagesi of Uruk, marked a turning point in the history of Mesopotamia. Political power moved away from the classical cities of Sumer to Akkad, the still unidentified city which Sargon founded; it now gave its name to middle Mesopotamia, and Akkadian became the official language.

During the reign of Sargon's grandson, Naram-Sin (c. 2254–2218 B.C.), Akkad reached its political and artistic peak. The title "King of the Four Quarters (of the World)" which Naram-Sin formulated for himself was somewhat justified by his extensive military expeditions, which included Magan (modern Oman), Simurru, modern Kurdistan and southern Turkey, Armanum, and parts of modern Syria. Sway over such a large area of the Near East was maintained for a while by his son, Shar-Kali-Sharri (c. 2217–2193 B.C.), although the combined threats of the Amorites from the west, the Elamites from the east, and the Lullubi from the northeast weakened the king's resources. The onslaught of the Gutti, a mountain people probably living in the Zagros, dealt the final blow to Akkad's hegemony. Shar-Kali-Sharri's two successors ruled over an Akkad much reduced to the city and a small area to the north of it.

On the basis of impressions and seals that can be assigned to the reigns of specific rulers from Sargon to the last Akkadian king, Shu-Durul (2168–2154 B.C.), Akkadian glyptic art can be broadly divided into an Early and a Mature phase.<sup>1</sup> The Early phase covers most of Sargon's reign,<sup>2</sup> while the Mature phase begins with the generation of Sargon's sons.

These seals and impressions, however, show the development of only a certain type of seal with a limited repertoire of mostly combat and presentation scenes, used by royal personages, officials, and professional people. Such seals may have constituted a royal seal type made in special work-

shops;<sup>3</sup> thus, Naram-Sin's cook had a seal of quality equal to that of Lugal-Ushumgal, *ensi* (governor) of Lagash under Naram-Sin.<sup>4</sup>

The dating of a large number of Akkadian seals which are not of this type and which do not show an overall stylistic development must be based on specific points of iconography, such as the rendition of the heads of lions, details of dress, hairstyles, and headdresses, and the like. Thus on earlier seals, lions' heads are shown both in profile and from above, while on later seals the head is usually in profile.<sup>5</sup> The converging as opposed to widely set horns on deities' headdresses (cf. the headdresses on 80 and 86), and the stylization and sometimes delicate rendering of dress folds (e.g., 86) are characteristic of Mature Akkadian seals.<sup>6</sup> Other features, such as the hems of garments or the shapes of thrones, are not reliable dating criteria.<sup>7</sup>

Boehmer divided the post-Lugalanda-Urukagina and pre-Sargonid seals into an Akkadian as opposed to a Sumerian iconographic group,<sup>8</sup> but this has not proven to be completely satisfactory since both groups share features which are supposed to make them distinct. For example, the hero with outstretched, angular arm positions—supposedly an Akkadian feature—occurs in the Sumerian group.<sup>9</sup> The origin of the new, Akkadian style may eventually be better detected by the study of regional styles. The presence of Akkadians in Mesopotamia since at least the Early Dynastic II period has been noted above.

There is as yet little but nevertheless sufficient evidence to show the existence of regional styles at this period. A particularly distinctive style, characterized by flat linear cutting and scenes divided into two levels by decorative bands, appears to have been characteristic of the central Tigris area.<sup>10</sup> Local styles also appear to have existed at Brak<sup>11</sup> and Tepe Gawra.<sup>12</sup> A schematic style (e.g., 66–68) appears more frequently in the Diyala<sup>13</sup> and at Kish<sup>14</sup> than elsewhere, and an unusual flat, linear style depicting large figures also appears to be peculiar to this region.<sup>15</sup>

The development of the conceivably aulic glyptic art already mentioned will be outlined below under the theme of combats.

Certain seals in the Diyala which are dated to the Post-Akkad/Early Neo-Sumerian phase at Tell Asmar show that there was a degeneration in glyptic art here. Seals became scarce, small, crudely cut, and limited in repertoire.<sup>16</sup> In the south the craftsmanship of the Akkadian period was maintained,<sup>17</sup> although seals of the crude type also occur here.

The most common materials used for Akkadian seals were marble, serpentine, and limestone.

In contrast to the Early Dynastic period, a large number of Akkadian seals depict subjects that seem to be of an episodic as opposed to a ritual nature (e.g., 80, 83, 84). The interpretation of these subjects has led to much



discussion, from which several theories have emerged: one is that some of these scenes can be interpreted with the help of later mythological texts, but were inspired by contemporary oral tradition;<sup>18</sup> another is that these scenes illustrate unwritten mythological concepts of a more universal kind and that their inspiration came from the seal cutters themselves.<sup>19</sup> Yet other theories suppose that the inspiration for these scenes came from contemporary religious monumental art, such as reliefs, or were privately commissioned.<sup>20</sup> No examples of monumental art with such scenes have yet been found, and these theories remain hypothetical.

The fact that some of the scenes illustrated on these seals make sense when taken in conjunction with later texts cannot be disregarded simply because others remain inexplicable, so the first theory remains the most plausible. The scenes that are obscure may have originated in different city-states<sup>21</sup> and may be based on as yet unknown myths.

The origin of a number of such Akkadian subjects can be traced back to the Early Dynastic period, as can the representation of certain deities. However, a number of new subjects and iconographies appeared in the Akkadian period, some of which had a lasting influence on the iconography of Near Eastern glyptic art.

#### *COMBATS (66–79)*

Seals 66–73 show a relationship to the Early Dynastic tradition by their joined combat friezes. This and the zigzag effect of the bodies of the animals are considered features of early Sargonid seals,<sup>22</sup> which in provinces such as the Diyala may have had a longer life span than elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> The aulic seals dated to the time of Enheduenna, Sargon's daughter, show a considerable development away from the joined frieze. On a seal belonging to Adda, Enheduenna's overseer, the figures are stocky, clearly defined, and divided into close but separate and rather static groups (see 74).<sup>24</sup> Another seal, however, belonging to a scribe of Enheduenna shows the naturalistic modeling which is characteristic of Mature Akkadian glyptic art.<sup>25</sup>

Sealings from the time of Naram-Sin onward show increasingly modeled figures combating as separate pairs in varied and adventurous stances. The arm position of Akkadian heroes, extended with elbow uppermost, had become standard by this period. A workshop of the Mature period, attributed specifically to the reign of Shar-Kali-Sharri which produced seals characterized by carefully balanced compositions arranged around an inscription, the contorted positions of the combatants, and details such as the representation of the underside of the lions' forepaws, has recently been isolated.<sup>26</sup>

Inscriptions set in well-defined panels were now frequently incorporated into the composition. The recutting of inscriptions, as on seal 79, was common practice during the Akkadian period.<sup>27</sup>

In contrast to the Early Dynastic period, heroes on Akkadian seals wore a number of headdresses: the flat cap (70), the conical cap (74, 75), the featherlike crown (78), and other, varied crowns. It has been suggested that the conical cap and the kilt (74), also new at this period, were two of the earliest distinguishing marks of the Akkadians.<sup>28</sup> The beardless, bare-headed hero (72, 73) and the bearded nude hero with curls (75) remained from the previous period. The latter, shown in combat with a water buffalo, and the bull-man in combat with a lion, were the most frequent pairs of combatants on Mature Akkadian seals. The bearded hero was also particularly associated with the water god,<sup>29</sup> and the bull-man with the sun god.<sup>30</sup> Bulls or bull-men shown urinating (66) is a naturalistic feature that appears to have been introduced in the Akkadian period. Diminutive secondary figures, usually animals, appear most frequently in the field in Mature Akkadian combat scenes. The representation of humans, possibly supplicants (78), occasionally deities, in this guise is rarer, but occurs from an early period onward.<sup>31</sup>

*SCENES WITH THE SUN GOD AND THE WATER GOD:  
"MYTHOLOGICAL" SCENES (80–84)*

Seal 80 shows a group of six gods in combat, a subject that occurs in the Early Dynastic III repertoire.<sup>32</sup> The gods are not always shown in combat with one another; sometimes they attack bull-men, eagles, or demons. Battling gods also appear in more complex scenes.

On Early Akkadian seals the gods are sometimes dressed in longish gowns, but by the time of Sargon's son Manishtushu (2269–2255 B.C.), they are usually shown naked or wearing short kilts,<sup>33</sup> as on 80. The deities usually carry no attributes and thus cannot be identified, except for the deity with rays issuing from his shoulders; this was probably the sun god or an associate of his. The figure is frequently shown victorious, as here. These scenes cannot at present be interpreted by the use of later mythological texts, so the meaning of such battles is still obscure, although suggested interpretations include the notion of a cosmic battle between the forces of order and chaos.<sup>34</sup>

The appearance on several Akkadian seals of more than one figure of a deity with rays issuing from its shoulders implies that in all probability there was more than one sun god, or that the sun god was represented with an associate at this period.<sup>35</sup> The combination of the ascending position, the rays, and the *saššaru*, or saw, held in the hand (81) originated at this period and became the standard iconography for Shamash, the sun god par excellence. The rays and the saw were attributes already given to the sun god in the Early Dynastic period when he appears in a boat,<sup>36</sup> as on some Akkadian seals.

On seal 81, Shamash<sup>37</sup> is shown scaling a peak behind a portal which another deity is opening; this scene illustrates the sun rising and emerging from the "portals of the sky."<sup>38</sup> Other representations of the sun god at this period show him enthroned and receiving supplicants or other de-

ities. The representation of this deity sitting opposite an ordinary mortal as on seal 82 is unusual.

Although the period of Shamash's greatest popularity as the dispenser of justice was the Old Babylonian period, he was invoked by Akkadian kings to verify their statements.<sup>39</sup> The saw or saššaru was an implement referred to in texts which enabled Shamash, in his role as supreme judge, to "cut decisions."<sup>40</sup>

The seated water god on seal 83 is Ea, the Akkadian equivalent of the Sumerian Enki. Only one possible representation of Ea so far exists from the Early Dynastic period,<sup>41</sup> although he was then a popular deity whose holy city was Eridu. As god of water he was considered the third deity in the major triad of which the other two were Anu (sky god) and Enlil (god of air, earth, and wind). Ea was endowed with wisdom and cunning and gave advice to both men and gods. He was also the patron deity of crafts and magic. In the Akkadian period Ea was worshiped as a nature deity in several cities.<sup>42</sup> On seals he is normally represented seated with streams of water issuing from his shoulders, as here, and is frequently associated with Usmu, a double-faced figure who acts as Ea's intermediary, and the nude bearded hero mentioned above.

On this seal, a half-man, half-bird creature is being led to Ea. A bird-man appears in different contexts on several Akkadian seals that appear to illustrate a mythological cycle. Scenes such as on 83 have been related to the myth of Zu.<sup>43</sup> In this myth, which may be of Akkadian origin, the bird Zu stole the insignia of power and "tablets of destiny" from Enlil in order to gain supremacy over the gods; this scene would illustrate the judgment of Zu.

Seal 84 shows a seated deity and a bull that supports a winged edifice on its back. An attendant or another deity holds down the other side of the edifice, which is taken to be a celestial temple. The earliest representation of a winged temple associated with a bull has been dated to the Early Akkadian period, although a bull carrying an edifice on its back is a motif that goes back to the Uruk period.<sup>44</sup> So far no parallels for this scene have been found in mythological or religious literature. Its interpretation remains hypothetical and ranges from the representation of a sacrifice and the conquest of the skies by the deity,<sup>45</sup> to the restraint of the Bull of Heaven by Ishtar/Inanna.<sup>46</sup>

#### *INTRODUCTION AND WORSHIP SCENES, BANQUETS (85-90)*

On seal 85 a worshiper is led by the wrist and introduced to a seated deity. This subject was derived from the Early Dynastic worship scenes,<sup>47</sup> achieved this form in the Early Akkadian period, and became quite popular in the Ur III period. Seal 86 shows such a scene, with a row of worshipers and a deity standing before a seated god. The male figure carrying an animal offering and the female figure with a distinctive hairstyle carrying a pail (90; also 87 for the hairstyle) became especially common in



scenes of this type from the Mature Akkadian period.<sup>48</sup> The theme of worshipers is taken up again on seal 90, which shows a row of worshipers and priestesses without an object of worship.

The god on seal 86 cannot be identified since he has no attributes at all; the deity on seal 85 also has no personal attributes, although the stalks of grain in the field suggest that this was a vegetation deity. Female and male vegetation deities (of which the female appears to have been the more important)<sup>49</sup> frequently occur on Akkadian seals. Vegetation deities occur in the Early Dynastic repertoire, and in the Akkadian period their attributes became more numerous and elaborate.<sup>50</sup>

In the Akkadian period banquet scenes were reduced to their principal elements, as on seals 87 or 88. The participants in Akkadian banquet scenes include more deities than in the Early Dynastic period, although these often cannot be identified. The lack of style and the awkward representation of the subject on 89 suggest a provincial origin for this seal.

Isolated processions (90) were not common in Akkadian iconography; they occur on possibly regional seals<sup>51</sup> characterized by scenes in two registers, mostly of an early date. The style of seal 90, the pails the figures carry, and their open as opposed to folded arm positions suggest a late Akkadian or possibly post-Akkadian date for this seal.

#### *POST-AKKAD/EARLY NEO-SUMERIAN SEALS (91-96)*

The classification of seals that belong to the time between the end of the Akkadian period and the beginning of the Ur III period is not clear yet, although an attempt has been made at dividing the seals into three styles.<sup>52</sup> Different terms, such as "Post-Akkad," "Guti," and "Early Neo-Sumerian" have also been used.<sup>53</sup> The term Post-Akkad/Early Neo-Sumerian best describes the seals below, because they contain iconographic links with both the Akkadian period (worship of the sun god, seal 91) and with the Ur III period (bald worshiper figure, seals 92, 95).

With the exception of 92, the seals in this group display a variety of the crude styles mentioned above.

## IV

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### THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

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During the century or so which followed the collapse of the Akkadian empire, the country lapsed into a system of petty states, of which Lagash under its ensi Gudea (c. 2141–2122 B.C.) was the most stable and prosperous. The sovereignty of Sumer was not regained until Utu-Hegal of Uruk (c. 2123–2113 B.C.) routed the Gutians, and Ur-Nammu, the governor of Ur (2112–2095 B.C.), asserted the independence of his city and founded the Third Dynasty of Ur, commonly known as the Ur III dynasty. Under Ur-Nammu and Shulgi (2094–2047 B.C.), Sumerian was reinstated as the official language in Sumer, and vast religious building programs were initiated.

The downfall of this dynasty was brought about by a combination of repeated Amorite and Elamite attacks. Ur was finally sacked and its last king, Ib-bi-Sin (2028–2004 B.C.), taken captive by the Elamites about 2004 B.C.

The numerous seals and sealings which can be largely attributed to the reigns of the rulers of Lagash, Ur, and Eshnunna from Gudea<sup>1</sup> to Ib-bi-Sin and slightly later<sup>2</sup> show that by the time of Gudea the iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the glyptic art of this period had been firmly established. The term *Neo-Sumerian* used here is a convenient one which covers the entire period spanned by these seals and sealings, although historically it is somewhat misleading.

The cutting of the seals of this period is precise, delicate, and detailed. This is characteristic of some late Akkadian seals<sup>3</sup> and may have been due to the introduction of more sophisticated cutting instruments.<sup>4</sup> The iconographic repertoire was now virtually reduced to three types of scenes: combat scenes, usually consisting of groups of three figures;<sup>5</sup> presentation scenes to deities or deified kings;<sup>6</sup> and a few libation scenes.<sup>7</sup>

A link between Akkadian glyptic and monumental art is again shown by the survival of several iconographic details, for example, the representation of Ea and Ishtar,<sup>8</sup> the theme of the conquering deity stepping on victims,<sup>9</sup> and animals placed under inscription panels.<sup>10</sup>

The static and formal quality characteristic of the presentation scenes of this period was evident on some Akkadian seals as early as the time of Naram-Sin.<sup>11</sup> Almost all Neo-Sumerian seals are individualized by inscriptions. The only decorative feature, found on the more elaborate seals, consists of various symbols and emblems such as lion and eagle standards, dragons, scorpions, and occasionally small figures placed in the field.

The common materials for the seals of this period were serpentine and steatite, although marble, lapis lazuli, and hematite were also used.

#### *PRESENTATION TO A DEITY (97, 98)*

This theme is derived from the Akkadian repertoire. Except for more elaborate seals, deities are shown without attributes, as here, and thus cannot be identified except for their gender. They are invariably shown wearing a horned headdress and are seated on a throne in the shape of a temple facade. A bald worshiper figure (97, 98, and above, 92, 95) and an intermediary goddess with one hand raised in a suppliant gesture are commonly found on seals from the time of Gudea. Antecedents for both these figures occur in the Akkadian period; the bald figure is found on seals<sup>12</sup> and the goddess on reliefs from Susa.<sup>13</sup>

#### *PRESENTATION TO A KING (99)*

Scenes of presentations to kings became especially popular during the Ur III period because the status of kingship reached a new peak at this time. Although Gudea called himself "god of Lagash,"<sup>14</sup> kings of the Ur III dynasty from Shulgi onward not only assumed divine titles but instituted their own cults during their lifetimes. Shulgi, for example, had temples erected to himself at Lagash, Umma, and Drehera.<sup>15</sup>

The king is distinguished from deities by his round cap and the covered stool on which he sits. He also holds a cup, a tradition that goes back to the Early Dynastic period. The inscriptions on seals with this subject suggest that the majority of dedicants were scribes.<sup>16</sup>



## V

### THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

After the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Ishbi-Erra, the governor of Isin (2017–1985 B.C.), founded a dynasty that dominated the country for the next century. This hegemony was challenged by the dynasty of Larsa which had been founded in c. 2025 by an Amorite, Naplanum. The struggle that ensued between these two states gradually involved various emerging petty states ruled by Amorite kings: Kish, Eshnunna, and Babylon, of which eventually Babylon under Hammurabi proved the strongest. The city of Babylon was in existence in the Ur III period; it now became the capital of a small city-state and the seat of a dynasty founded by Sumu-Abum in c. 1894 B.C. Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.) was the sixth king of this dynasty and his greatest political achievement was to unite the lands of Sumer and Akkad, which henceforward formed Babylonia.

This unification, however, was brief, for Hammurabi's successors had to contend with new forces rising in the south under the dynasty of the Sealand and in the middle Euphrates in the kingdom of Terqa. Eventually both the north and the south broke away, leaving the empire reduced to Babylon and its surrounding provinces. The final blow to Babylon and its dynasty came from farther afield, however, in the reign of Samsuditana (1625–1595 B.C.) when the Hittite king Muršili marched down the Euphrates and sacked Babylon.

“Old Babylonian style” is a blanket term for the glyptic art that was current and characteristic of the three principal regions of Mesopotamia—the north, the middle (Akkad), and the south (Sumer)—from c. 2000 B.C. to the end of Hammurabi's dynasty in 1595 B.C. Glyptic art from c. 2000–1900 B.C. is called “Early Old Babylonian” or “Isin-Larsa.”

The transition from the style of the Ur III period appears to have oc-

curred early in the Larsa period in different regions. The Old Babylonian style existed in Sumer during the time of Gungunum of Larsa (1932–1906 B.C.);<sup>1</sup> at Sippar in Akkad the earliest impressions are dated to a local ruler, Buntahtun-ila,<sup>2</sup> who was a contemporary of Sumu-la-el of Babylon (1880–1845 B.C.); in the north at Tell Harmal in the Diyala region, seals in the Old Babylonian style were in use by Level IV (c. 1900 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> By the time of Sin-iddinam of Larsa (1849–1843 B.C.) the style was fully developed,<sup>4</sup> and the best examples come from the time of Sin-muballit (1812–1793 B.C.), Hammurabi's father.<sup>5</sup>

A study soon to be published has shown that notable differences of style, and sometimes iconography, existed contemporaneously within the three principal regions of Mesopotamia,<sup>6</sup> although certain iconographic trends appear to have been common to all areas at about the same time.

The most complete picture of stylistic development within one region comes from Sippar in Akkad. The standard of workmanship here appears to have been high from the very beginning, perhaps because of a tradition inherited from the glyptic schools of the Ur III and Akkadian periods.<sup>7</sup> The overall characteristic of this style was modeling and an attention to detail. By the time of Sin-muballit two workshops can clearly be distinguished. Characteristic of seals from Workshop I are the wavy lines in deities' dresses and the crowded field. Seal 128 probably comes from this workshop. Seals from Workshop II are characterized by straight lines and a simpler field.<sup>8</sup>

By the end of Hammurabi's reign and during that of Samsu-iluna (1749–1712 B.C.), a change in cutting technique had occurred; there was an increase in the use of the drill. By the time of Ammiditana (1683–1647 B.C.) and Ammišaduqa (1646–1626 B.C.), there was a definite deterioration in the style as a result of the overuse of the drill.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately neither the origin or reason for this change in technique nor the exact distribution of this drilled style are yet known. Other stylistic features of the post-Hammurabi period are the heavy use of a cutting disc, which often leaves a distinctive wedge on the bodies of the figures<sup>10</sup> as on seal 127, and seals with long inscriptions and elongated figures.<sup>11</sup>

The seals from Larsa and Ur in the south also showed a fairly high standard of engraving from the beginning, again presumably inherited from previous traditions. These seals also show a uniform style.<sup>12</sup> After the defeat of Larsa by Hammurabi there was a decline in the standard of cutting there.<sup>13</sup> Small seals cut in a sharply incised style may have been characteristic of one workshop at Ur.<sup>14</sup> In the Diyala, seals were of two types. At Tell Harmal, which lacked its own workshop, seals of good quality were imported from various parts.<sup>15</sup> At Tell Dhiba'i some seals were the same as at Tell Harmal, but others were made locally. Interestingly, they did not copy the repertoire from the imported seals, but remained within the local Di-

yala tradition known from sites such as Tell Asmar, Khafajah, and Ishchali, which was characterized by crudely cut seals principally of presentation scenes.<sup>16</sup>

The iconographic repertoire of this period consisted mainly of devotional scenes involving one or more deities and worshipers or supplicants, combat scenes and, to a lesser extent, ritual scenes. The introduction of new figures such as the "figure with a mace," the "god Amurru," or the "nude figure," and the development of old ones such as the sun god provide the overriding interest of Old Babylonian glyptic art. Inscriptions often flank the simpler devotional scenes or are sometimes placed in the field. Secondary motifs in the form of small figures (e.g., bowlegged dwarfs, nude figure, etc.), animals, and symbols (e.g., ball staff), or drill holes often appear interspersed in the field. These had both a decorative and an individualizing function, despite their random placement. Even the most beautifully worked seals of this period, including the combat scenes, are rather formal.

The stones used during the Old Babylonian period were mostly hard stones such as hematite, limonite, and serpentine; brightly colored stones such as agate or jasper were used for the later Old Babylonian seals with long inscriptions.

#### *PRESENTATION SCENES (100–106)*

These presentation scenes are derived from those of the Neo-Sumerian period. On seals 101 and 102 the figures sit on temple thrones in the manner hitherto reserved for deities, even though they do not wear the traditional horned headdress of divine figures. The coarse cutting indicates that these seals came from areas that had only local seal cutting traditions and that the omission of a horned headdress might be owing to negligence rather than to a change in ideology.<sup>17</sup> This suggestion is supported by inscriptions naming a deity which seem to occur mostly on other seals of this type which clearly represent a deity.<sup>18</sup> Seal 100 is too roughly cut for a clear interpretation; the figure could be either a king or a deity.

Seals 103–105 show a figure enthroned on a covered stool erected on a small platform on the right, in the manner of the deified king of the Ur III period. In contrast to most seals of that period, however, the supplicant is not led by the hand; instead a deity stands behind him in a posture of entreaty. The figure on 106 sits on the left. This is a feature that occurs more commonly on non-Mesopotamian seals,<sup>19</sup> and this seal may have a provincial origin. Unfortunately the surface of the seal is so worn that stylistic details are not clear. Official deification of kings disappeared by the Old Babylonian period, although it appears to have been accepted to



some degree by the early kings of Larsa and the kings of Isin who wrote their names with the divine determinative.<sup>20</sup> Presentation scenes were universally popular in Mesopotamia in the Early Old Babylonian period down to the time of Sin-muballit in Babylonia and Ibalpiel II of Hama (c. 1785 B.C.).<sup>21</sup>

*THE SUN GOD AND THE GOD WITH A SCIMITAR*  
(107–116)

Shamash, the sun god, was perhaps the most universally and consistently popular deity of the Old Babylonian period. He was the god of justice and law who in his role as arbiter gave protection to the poor and wronged. He was also the god of soothsayers.<sup>22</sup> His importance had begun to increase with the rise of the Larsa dynasty; it was in Larsa that he was worshiped until it was sacked by Hammurabi. Sippar then became the center of Shamash worship.<sup>23</sup> At Tell Hama, in the north, his popularity seems to have suffered a decline after c. 1800 B.C.

Shamash is normally shown in an ascending position with his foot resting on a small stool or, in the late Old Babylonian seals of the drilled style, a mountain. Rays no longer issue from his shoulders as they did in previous periods but he still carries a small saw or *saššaru*. Judicial texts of this period record that oaths were taken in front of the *saššaru* of Shamash.<sup>24</sup> His name appears frequently alone or with that of his consort Aya on early seals of this period. The saw held vertically (e.g., 109, 110) rather than horizontally or obliquely was a feature characteristic of sealings dated to king Sin-iddinam of Larsa (c. 1849–1843 B.C.).<sup>25</sup>

The god on 114 and 115, whose only attribute is a scimitar, appears frequently in worship scenes with Shamash. At this period this god was probably still known by his epithet “Nergal” which means “Lord of the Underworld”; later Nergal became his name.<sup>26</sup> Of his diverse attributes, the scimitar is the most important; his principal aspects were war, pestilence, and retribution.<sup>27</sup> In his law code Hammurabi invokes Nergal to punish whoever breaks the code. The association of Nergal with Shamash is borne out in other texts.<sup>28</sup>

The deity on seal 116 stands in the pose that is characteristic of the god with the scimitar, although he cannot definitely be identified as such since he does not carry this attribute.

A figure holding a pail and sprinkler or just a sprinkler occurs frequently at this period in association with both these deities. The figure is either naked and standing on a plinth (112–114) or dressed in a kilt and taking part in the worshiping rite before him (113, 115, 116). The heads of these figures are usually shaven except for a forelock, a configuration that is thought to have been ultimately inspired by the Egyptian uraeus diadem.<sup>29</sup> For this reason it was once thought the forelock was part of a headdress.<sup>30</sup>

Seal 113 is interesting for it shows both nude and kilted figures. These figures are thought to represent priests, the one on a plinth being a votive

statue. Statues of kings, supplicants, deities, and priests placed in temples as votive offerings were a standard part of Babylonian worship, and at Khafajah copper statuettes of naked priests have been found.<sup>31</sup> A priest also frequently appears with the god holding a scimitar (114, 115), but less frequently with other deities.

#### THE FIGURE WITH A MACE (117–122)

This figure first appears on seals from this period in Mesopotamia whence he passed into the Syrian repertoire. On seals 117–119 the figure is bearded and wears a round cap with a brim; on 120–122 the figure wears a cap that is pointed, its hair is in a bun, and it is beardless. Otherwise both figures wear a short mantle or kilt and carry a mace held to the waist.

The figure on seals 117–119 can be identified as a ruler or king figure on the basis of his iconography, which conforms to that of a king or mortal rather than to that of a deity: he wears a round cap rather than a horned headdress and usually stands on the left, not the right as is the prerogative of deities.<sup>32</sup> The figure who wears the pointed cap has sometimes been treated as a separate entity, and as a god.<sup>33</sup>

Although the differences between these two figures should be qualified, their similarities (i.e., stance, dress, mace at the waist, appearance in similar contexts) also suggest that they perhaps represent different aspects of the same figure. This might be a result of regional iconographic trends. The identification of the figure with the mace as a king figure does not exclude the possibility that this figure achieved the status of a deity in some cases, as is borne out by representations of the figure in the rounded cap who occasionally seems to be treated as a deity.<sup>34</sup>

The figure in the round cap appears far more frequently on seals than the figure in the pointed cap. Although not often represented in the Early Old Babylonian period, by the time of Rim-Sin of Larsa (c. 1822 B.C.) the former had become one of the most popular figures of the repertoire in both the north and the south.<sup>35</sup> This figure is traditionally shown standing alone and facing the suppliant goddess. Inscriptions flanking this pair became popular in the north during the reign of Ibalpiel II of Eshnunna (c. 1785 B.C.);<sup>36</sup> by the time of Samsu-iluna (c. 1749 B.C.) this had become the most common subject at Larsa.<sup>37</sup>

The figure in the pointed cap appears to have been especially popular in the north at the time of Naram-Sin of Eshnunna (c. 1840 B.C.).<sup>38</sup> Later, in the south, it was frequently represented on seals from Workshop II at Sippar.<sup>39</sup> Seal 122 is probably an imitation of a piece from a Sippar workshop; the flowing vase held away from the body was characteristic of seals from this area.<sup>40</sup>

See below under *Unidentified Deities* and seal 128 for the god standing before the figure with a mace as on seal 120.

*THE WATER GOD (123)*

Representations of Ea during this period are fairly rare and limited mainly to the period of Hammurabi in Sippar, where the god had a sanctuary. Seals from other sites which show Ea are thought to have been made to order.<sup>41</sup> The style of seal 123 is incompatible with the Sippar workshops, as is the iconography, for at Sippar the god was usually shown enthroned on a goatfish and not standing on one, as here. This seal was therefore probably made in a small workshop, perhaps in the south. The goatfish, which was to remain Ea's particular animal attribute and symbol until the end of the Neo-Babylonian period, appears to have been first associated with Ea in the Neo-Sumerian period.<sup>42</sup>

*THE GOD WITH A CROOK (124)*

The representation of a god holding a crook or in very close association with a crook (as here) is limited to the Old Babylonian period in Mesopotamia and contemporary seals in Syria. Apart from the crook, his iconography is not always constant. He frequently appears with his foot on a gazelle, but sometimes on a small pedestal; he wears either a long robe or a kilt and on his head a horned headdress or a tall cylindrical hat. He has been identified as the god Amurru,<sup>43</sup> and although his representation was limited to this period, his cult was attested in the Neo-Sumerian period.<sup>44</sup> In texts and cylinder seal impressions his name is written <sup>d</sup>AN.MAR.TU or <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU, i.e., *Amurru(m)*, "god of the West" in Akkadian. He is often loosely called the god of the Amorites because of his association in texts with the desert and steppe. In the Neo-Sumerian period Amurru was associated with the circle of Enki.<sup>45</sup> In the Old Babylonian period his position in the pantheon appears to have been strengthened and elevated: he became the son of Anu the sky god and was frequently associated with Sin the moon god.<sup>46</sup> His character also gained a new aspect at this period and he was now often referred to as a warrior god.<sup>47</sup>

*THE SUPPLIANT GODDESS (117–122, 125–128)*

This figure first appears in the Neo-Sumerian period; it has been identified as the goddess Lama whose principal roles were that of an intermediary between a major deity and a supplicant and that of a protector of the king.<sup>48</sup> Characteristically, the figure stands with forearms raised in a gesture of entreaty. By c. 1800 B.C. it appears frequently on seals, both from the north and the south, which show the king with a mace (117–122).<sup>49</sup> On seal 125 this goddess is shown facing a figure that has been mostly obliterated by a chip on the seal face. The cap of the figure indicates that it was probably a deity.

In the later Old Babylonian period the goddess appears more and more often alone beside an inscription. From the time of Samsu-iluna,



texts usually refer to the “goddesses Lama”<sup>50</sup> instead of the “goddess Lama,” and frequently a pair of goddesses flanking an inscription (as 126 and 127) appear on seals. After the First Dynasty of Babylon, the figure disappears almost entirely from the glyptic repertoire of Mesopotamia.

#### *THE NUDE FEMALE (118, 123, 130)*

A nude female figure facing front, its hands clasped under its breasts, was a popular new subject during the Old Babylonian period. It appears mostly in a passive, subsidiary role standing beside several deities, or sometimes on a plinth (130), or in diminutive form (118). It is almost never shown with a horned headdress, which suggests that it is not a deity, although it sometimes appears to receive worship.<sup>51</sup>

A clue to the identity of this figure can be given by a group of very similar contemporary terra-cotta figurines which became popular in Mesopotamia during the Ur III period.<sup>52</sup> These figurines have been found in various archaeological contexts (i.e., temple, burial, and secular) and may have served a variety of functions. Because of the emphasis given to the sexuality of the figure (nudity, accentuated hips, and pubic triangle, etc.), the following functions have been suggested: (1) that the figurines were used as amulets in sympathetic magic to ensure the fulfillment of some desired objective such as fertility and fecundity, or (2) that they were votive objects placed in temples and shrines in the hope of gaining special favors also of a procreative or curative nature. A third, apotropaic function, ensuring good luck and fortune, may also be possible.<sup>53</sup> If the identification of these figurines with the nude figure on the seals is accepted, then the same functions can be attributed to the latter. However, one cannot speak of this figure as a deity in the full sense of the word, although it seems imbued with religious or magical powers.

#### *UNIDENTIFIED DEITIES (128–132)*

Two further deities peculiar to this period appear on 128. One stands with an arm slightly extended and the other with both arms clasped. The latter is a goddess who frequently stands beside other deities,<sup>54</sup> but who does not appear to have had an attribute of its own. Its identity is unknown.<sup>55</sup> The figure may have been a stock image used to represent a deity's attendant or consort.

The figure of a deity with one arm extended beside the first or alone (120) sometimes touches various symbols or is very rarely shown holding an emblem.<sup>56</sup> Its identity is also unknown, although its association with different symbols suggests that this was another stock image used to represent different, possibly local, deities. A pictorial field filled with standing deities was one of the hallmarks of the Sippar workshops from the time of Sin-muballit onward.<sup>57</sup> This tradition was passed on to the Mature Old Babylonian seals of the drilled style.

One of the characteristics of the late drilled style is the representation

of deities holding new or rare symbols, the most common of which is the staff with seven globes (129, 131). Less common are the star staff (130) and the scepter with a forked end (132). The god with the staff with seven globes has been tentatively identified with Shamash since he is shown in a similar ascending position and sometimes rests his foot on a bull-man (the animal attribute of Shamash). The staff is also held by a bull-man or bull-men; on one seal Shamash is shown holding both the small saw and the globe staff.<sup>58</sup> However, the globe staff is also held by a deity seated on a ram.<sup>59</sup> This emblem can be traced back to the Ur III period.<sup>60</sup>

The star staff is held both by ordinary figures and by various deities, sometimes in an ascending position.<sup>61</sup> The exact significance of this emblem, as that of the scepter with the forked end, is not known. The star staff was transmitted to the Mitannian repertoire.<sup>62</sup>

### *COMBAT (133)*

At this period combats were usually depicted as fought by close pairs in a full field. New figures, such as the lion-griffin, a seated goat, and a nude hero with pointed beard and round cap, as here, were added to the repertoire.

## VI

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# THE KASSITE PERIOD

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Following the Hittite raid on Babylon in c. 1595 B.C., the history of Babylonia becomes obscure owing to a paucity of written sources. The thread is taken up once more with a late copy of a royal inscription written in the name of a new king of Babylon, Agum-Kakrime. This king was probably the ninth in a line of thirty-six Kassite kings who reigned in Babylon after the Hittites withdrew, until c. 1155 B.C. The original home of the Kassites has still not been fully determined. Before the fall of Babylon they appear as princes ruling the area around Hana in the middle Euphrates and sporadically around Sippar and in Dilbat.<sup>1</sup>

By the mid-fifteenth century B.C., the Kassites had won control of lower Mesopotamia and were becoming an international power, having direct contacts first with Egypt, later with Hatti and Assyria. Assyrian and Elamite hostilities eventually brought down Kassite rule in the twelfth century B.C., and Babylonia was then governed mostly by native kings until Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria gained control in c. 729 B.C.

Kassite glyptic art has been divided into two groups on the basis of iconography. Two carving styles, one very linear with elongated forms and the other more modeled and naturalistic, are found in both these groups. The linear style appears on the earlier seals of both groups.<sup>2</sup>

The first group, of which the two seals here are examples, is characterized by large seals with lengthy inscriptions beside one or two figures and a variety of symbols. Of the examples of this style which can be dated to the reigns of Kassite kings, the most numerous published to date come from the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> Prior to these, a seal belonging to the son of Karaindash (c. 1415 B.C.) is typical of a different style.<sup>4</sup> Antecedents for the style are, however, known from a group of late Old Babylonian seals.<sup>5</sup> Sealings from Hana, which are dated to the period of this kingdom's inde-



pendence, that is, from about the middle of the eighteenth century B.C. to the expansion of Mitanni in the fifteenth century B.C., also show stylistic and iconographic affinities with the first Kassite group.<sup>6</sup> This style appears to have lasted into the twelfth century B.C.<sup>7</sup>

The second Kassite group, of which the earliest published examples also date from the fourteenth century B.C.,<sup>8</sup> is far more decorative and iconographically varied than the first group, and includes contests, scenes with mythical beasts and other animals, and scenes with deities or genii holding flowing vessels. Egyptian influence is discernible on some of these seals.<sup>9</sup>

The existence of a third, "late" or "post-Kassite," group of seals dating from the thirteenth to the tenth century B.C. is still being debated.<sup>10</sup>

Kassite seals are made of hard and often bright stones such as agate, jasper, and chalcedony as well as marble, chert, and lapis lazuli; they were often set in gold caps decorated with triangles of gold granulation. This is a feature that is found in the Old Babylonian period as early as Hammurabi.<sup>11</sup>

#### *FIGURES AND INSCRIPTIONS (134, 135)*

On seal 134 a suppliant stands beside an inscription and on 135 a worshiper kneels beside a deity. The details necessary for differentiating between humans and deities are sometimes lacking or unclear on Kassite seals.<sup>12</sup> The symbols on seal 135, the rhomb and the ear of grain, are among the most popular on Kassite seals; equally popular were the fly, the grasshopper, the rosette, the dog, and the goat. Individual workshops may have specialized in particular symbols.<sup>13</sup>

The most common inscriptions on Kassite seals of this group are prayers, although incantations and short formulas taken from prayers also occur.<sup>14</sup> The principal innovation of the Kassite glyptic scribes, who wrote both in Akkadian and Sumerian, was their emphasis on the prayer as a suitable inscription for seals. Antecedents for prayer inscriptions are rare in the Old Babylonian period;<sup>15</sup> again in contrast to seal impressions of that period, Kassite prayers on seals were often not personalized.<sup>16</sup>

## VII

### THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

With the waning of Mitannian power in the middle of the fourteenth century B.C., Assyria began to emerge as an independent kingdom. Ashur-Uballit I (1365–1330 B.C.) transformed Ashur from a merchant city-state to the capital of the land of Ashur and formed new boundaries which remained Assyrian. The three kings who followed a generation after Ashur-Uballit's death fought on three fronts, to the northwest, to the northeast, and to the east of the Tigris down to Babylon, much as their successors did in the first millennium. After the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1244–1208 B.C.), Assyria suffered a recession, broken briefly by Tiglath-Pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.), until the ninth century B.C. when it became the greatest power of its time.

The emergence of a new glyptic style in the fourteenth century B.C. in Assyria appears to have coincided with the emergence of Assyria as a power. Middle Assyrian glyptic art has three phases: an early phase in the fourteenth century B.C.; a middle phase in the thirteenth century; and a late phase from the twelfth to the tenth century, which are dated on the basis of tablets from Assur,<sup>1</sup> Tell al-Rimah,<sup>2</sup> and Tell Fakhariyah,<sup>3</sup> bearing the eponyms of Middle Assyrian officials. Mitannian influence is discernible in much of the iconography of early Middle Assyrian glyptic art, which is otherwise characterized by symmetrical and formal compositions.<sup>4</sup> In the latter part of the fourteenth century B.C., elements of the naturalism and modeling characteristic of the thirteenth-century Middle Assyrian glyptic art began to emerge.<sup>5</sup> Where the impetus for this new thirteenth-century style originated, to which most of the seals in this group belong, is a subject that has only tentatively been broached.<sup>6</sup>

One of the principal characteristics of this new style, contrasting that of the fourteenth century B.C., was an uncrowded field with one or two sub-

jects depicted in lively poses, often beside naturalistic vegetation. More formal ritual scenes also occur at this period.<sup>7</sup>

Variations from the modeled styles of Ashur and Tell al-Rimah occur, with provincial centers such as Tell Fakhariyah producing seals in a more linear style.<sup>8</sup> The later phase of Middle Assyrian glyptic is characterized by an enlarged iconographic repertoire, which includes more scenes with human figures, cultic scenes before temples, and chariot scenes.<sup>9</sup>

The materials used for the seals of this period were similar to those used by the Kassites: agate, marble, quartz, and carnelian. They also include soft materials such as talc.

#### *COMBAT SCENES (136, 137)*

Combat scenes between an armed hero and a real or imaginary animal were one of the standard subjects of this period. Heroes were either naked or, as on seal 136, dressed in a kilt, often with two long tassels hanging down the back. Such tassels appeared in dress sometime in the middle of the second millennium and are found on Mitannian seals.<sup>10</sup> The large size of seal 137, of which the lower half is missing, is compatible with certain Middle Assyrian seals from the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., some of which appear to have been quite large,<sup>11</sup> although the disproportionate composition is unusual. Additional linear strokes around the figure's nose and the animal's body appear tentative; this may have been an ancient practice piece.

#### *ANIMAL SCENES (138–142)*

Many of the mythical beasts such as lion-griffins, centaurs, and bird-men found in these scenes occur in previous repertoires, but the horse, both ordinary (142) and winged, appears for the first time in this period.<sup>12</sup> The winged bull (139) is also characteristic of this period.<sup>13</sup> A number of these animals (the winged horse, the winged bull, the griffin) reappear in Neo-Assyrian glyptic art. The tree with the crooked trunk (139) was another iconographic feature characteristic of the thirteenth century.

The linear style of seals 139 and 140 suggests that these may have been made in a provincial center.

#### *RITUAL SCENE (143)*

There are two principal types of ritual scenes on Middle Assyrian seals: one depicts the worship of symbols and deities and the other the ceremonial attendance of a seated figure, as here.<sup>14</sup> The style of the seal, however, is reminiscent of a seal in the British Museum showing a harpist, which has been identified as Middle Elamite.<sup>15</sup> The same open composition and long robes are found on the two seals, although the fine drill is not used on our seal and the hairstyles of the figures are different. Thus,



even though this subject is found in the Middle Assyrian repertoire, this seal and others like it cited in the catalogue entry may well be Middle Elamite.

The significance of the ceremony on this seal is unknown, but elements of it are reminiscent of certain banquet scenes on Neo-Assyrian linear style seals, for example, 203, 204, where the standing figure holds two long stoles.<sup>16</sup> Rounded objects, described as mirrors and similar to the one held up by the figure on this seal, occur in the Mitannian repertoire but in a different context.<sup>17</sup>

## VIII

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### THE NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIODS

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From the ninth through the seventh century B.C., the Assyrians were the dominant power in the Near East and created the largest empire prior to the Achaemenid empire. Key figures in the formation of this empire were Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and his son Shalmaneser III (858–824), who advanced to the Mediterranean, the latter receiving tribute from Israel and the Phoenician cities; Tiglath-Pileser III (744–722), who carried Assyrian rule into Syria and Palestine, assumed the throne of Babylonia, and reduced southeast Anatolia from Cilicia to the Halys to vassaldom; and Sargon II (721–705) and Sennacherib (704–681), who expanded and consolidated the work of their predecessors. The maximum extent of the empire was reached under Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) when it comprised Elam, Babylonia, northeast and southeast Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and for a short time, Egypt. The disintegration of this empire began toward the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.), triggered by a revolt in Babylonia. Internal strife and the rise of Nabopolassar in Babylonia c. 626 B.C. precipitated events, and in 614 B.C. the city of Ashur was taken by a coalition of Medes and Babylonians. In 612 B.C. Nineveh fell.

In southern Babylonia the Chaldeans had emerged as a powerful force by the middle of the ninth century B.C. By the end of the century they had assumed control of northern Babylonia up to Assyria. The country was subjected to Assyrian rule under Tiglath-Pileser III and from then on was ruled directly by Assyrian monarchs or through appointees, although Babylonian independence was regained twice in the late eighth century under Merodach-Baladan II. A major revolt followed by war against the Assyrians had been engineered in Babylonia by Ashurbanipal's brother in the seventh century B.C. and had left the Chaldeans in a strong position. In 625 B.C. Nabopolassar seized the throne and founded a new dynasty which lasted until 539 B.C. when Babylon fell to Cyrus II.

Four principal glyptic styles were characteristic of this period in Assyria and Babylonia: the linear, the drilled, the cut, and the modeled. These will be discussed individually below.

#### THE LINEAR STYLE (144–235)

Seals cut in a variety of linear styles were common in Assyria between the beginning of the ninth century B.C. and the end of the eighth century B.C., and still existed in the seventh and sixth centuries. The distribution of these seals, especially in the west, was greater than of any other Neo-Assyrian glyptic group.<sup>1</sup> The dates for these styles have been established first from stratified examples, mostly from Ashur and Nimrud, and second on iconographic parallels with dated relief sculpture. Antecedents for a linear style of carving exist in Kassite and thirteenth-century B.C. Elamite<sup>2</sup> glyptic art, but it is not yet clear from whom this technique was adopted by the Neo-Assyrian seal cutters.

The variety of linear styles shown by the seals here is due to a number of factors, some chronological, others regional. Contemporary linear style seals which are probably Iranian (e.g., 158, 159, 219, 235) have been included in this group. Early linear style seals can generally be distinguished by their large size, occasional chevron borders, and usually shallow cutting.<sup>3</sup> Stratified seals from Ashur show that by the beginning of the eighth century B.C. the cutting on some seals had become deeply incised (e.g., 149).<sup>4</sup> Toward the end of the eighth century B.C. a slightly modeled and delicate linear style (e.g., 161), probably influenced by the modeled style, also appeared. A group of seals made exclusively of frit and pyrophyllite which nearly always represent a standing archer and his prey (as 163–176) date from the ninth century B.C. to the end of the seventh century B.C.<sup>5</sup> The distinctive soft contours of this style may have been achieved by tracing the design on the seal when the material was still soft and unbaked.<sup>6</sup>

The materials used for other linear style seals were relatively soft ones, such as serpentine, marble, chert, and tuff.

#### CONTEST SCENES (144–176)

On most of the seals in this group the contest is between a standing or kneeling archer and a variety of animals, real or imaginary. If not armed with a bow, the hunter usually holds a scimitar. The theme of an archer and his prey is found on Middle Assyrian glyptic art,<sup>7</sup> as are a number of the same composite animals.

The scorpion-man appears early in Mesopotamian iconography, but was not winged as here. Both the scorpion-man and the bird-man had prophylactic functions.<sup>8</sup> Other figures with the same function are the human-headed winged bull, the *lamassu* (145), and the human-headed winged lion, the *šedu* (147); who appear deified in Neo-Assyrian monu-



mental sculpture.<sup>9</sup> The griffin also appeared early in Mesopotamian glyptic art in both malevolent and benevolent aspects.<sup>10</sup> On Neo-Assyrian seals the griffin is often shown as an aggressor, menacing or attacking.

A figure standing between and fending off two animals as on seals 160–162 is an iconographic feature that became common on modeled and drilled style seals and reliefs from the time of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) onward.<sup>11</sup> Seal 160, which can be dated earlier than the late eighth century on the basis of its linear style, therefore shows an unusually early representation of this subject. Another seal with an unusual subject for this style is 162: the hero stands between two “mongooses” or monkeys. Monkeys had a revival of popularity late on Neo-Assyrian seals, as the result of southern influence.<sup>12</sup>

The stylus that appears as a terminal on seals 160 and 161 was the symbol of Nabu,<sup>13</sup> the patron deity of scribes. This symbol and the spade, symbol of Nabu’s father Marduk (198), frequently appear together on Neo-Assyrian seals.

In the distinctive group of frit and pyrophyllite seals, 163 and 164 are significantly larger and better cut than the rest. Their size suggests that they might be earlier than the others. The seven dots in the sky on seal 164 are thought to represent the constellation Pleiades.<sup>14</sup> They occur very frequently on Neo-Assyrian seals arranged in the upper field or sky in the manner of the constellation, although they are sometimes placed at random.

Of the seals which have a non-Assyrian origin, 158 and 159<sup>15</sup> are probably Iranian, and 175 and 176 are probably Levantine. A first millennium date for 158 is suggested by the palmette in the field, although the figure’s kilt is closer to late second millennium examples from Iran. Seals 155–157 are probably provincial.

#### *REAL AND IMAGINARY ANIMALS (177–189)*

Some of the animals which occur as prey in the contest scenes, for example, the scorpion-man and the bull, reappear here confronting each other or walking in rows, as do other composite animals, such as bird-men (e.g., 178) and crested birds (e.g., 181). Animals walking in rows, confronting each other, and standing alone in the field beside a natural or stylized vegetal motif (188, 189) are subjects found in thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. Middle Assyrian and late Kassite glyptic art.<sup>16</sup> Large and small birds with splayed wings (187) are found in late second millennium Iranian and Middle Assyrian iconography.<sup>17</sup> Seals 186 and 187 are probably provincial.

#### *THE FIGURE WITH A BOW (190–200); OTHER HUNTING CEREMONIES (201, 202)*

A scene reminiscent of that on the seals in this group is depicted on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud.<sup>18</sup> The king holds a bow and raises a

cup, as the figure does here. A dead lion lies at his feet. An attendant fans him, as here, and courtiers, soldiers, and musicians surround him. This relief was the last in a series that depicts a royal hunt, and clearly represents a ceremony to mark the end of a successful hunt. Although none of the subsidiary details of the relief is reproduced on the seals, the essential elements of the two scenes, a figure with a bow and an attendant, suggest that a hunting ceremony may be represented here as well. The bearded figure with the bow normally wears no headdress and therefore cannot be definitely identified as a royal figure. Only on seal 201, which shows a more elaborate hunting(?) ceremony, can the principal figure, who wears a tall headdress with a pointed tip, be identified as royal.

The short pole with the triangular head decorated with tassels on seals 198 and 199 is a pointed spade or hoe, *marru*, and was the symbol of Marduk.<sup>19</sup>

The soldier on seal 201 wears a spiked shield on his back; this was a feature characteristic of the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. Another spiked shield, of the palisade type, appears on 199. In Assyria, curved palisade shields were introduced in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III.<sup>20</sup>

The angular style of seals 198 and 199 suggests a provincial origin. The figure with the bow on 198 stands on the left, which is unusual.

The unusual style of seal 200 and the presence of a winged horse in a scene such as this one, which is not a contest, suggest an origin outside Assyria for this seal.

#### BANQUET SCENES (203–209)

Banquet scenes similar to the ones represented here occur on a group of thirteenth-century B.C. linear style cylinder seals from Tchoga Zanbil.<sup>21</sup> They show a seated figure holding or drinking from a cup with another figure standing before him, holding a fan or raising one arm. A vase, a stand with pots, or a table with victuals is often placed between the figures. Such a scene also occurs on a tenth or ninth century B.C. Neo-Babylonian seal,<sup>22</sup> and it has been suggested that it was incorporated into Babylonian iconography from Elam,<sup>23</sup> but whence it reached Assyria is not clear. It has been suggested that this scene represents the *tākultu* banquet celebrated at the New Year, when the king toasted the deities of the pantheon.<sup>24</sup>

A relief of Ashurnasirpal II shows the king seated and similarly holding a cup.<sup>25</sup> He is surrounded by two attendants, one of whom holds a bow, and by two winged genii, but the occasion of the ceremony is not clear. The seals themselves give no indication of the nature of the ceremony and the identity of the principal figure is again unclear since no headdress is worn.

Seal 209 shows an unusual and interesting banquet scene with animals as the protagonists. This theme is rare in Neo-Assyrian iconography, although it is an ancient one which goes back to the Early Dynastic and

Akkadian periods.<sup>26</sup> The dog on the far right of the scene plays a stringed instrument. On Neo-Assyrian seals monkeys are the only other animals represented playing an instrument, as in this case pipes.<sup>27</sup>

*WORSHIP OF DEITIES (210–223); DEITIES IN COMBAT  
(224, 225)*

Ishtar was the principal goddess of the Assyrians and was worshiped in two of her principal aspects, as chief female astral deity and as goddess of war. At Nineveh, however, she was worshiped in a third aspect; there she was identified with Ninlil, the consort of Ashur,<sup>28</sup> who played a special role in the investiture of kings.

Ishtar as astral goddess is shown on seals 210–213, where she stands in a nimbus of stars. She was universally worshiped in Assyria as an astral goddess; the iconography of Ishtar in this aspect reached its most developed and elaborate form in the Neo-Assyrian period.

Her worship as goddess of war was principally associated with Arbela, an important cult city. On seal 214 she is shown with an assortment of weapons attached to her body, but without the other attribute usual of the war goddess, the lion.

In Neo-Assyrian iconography Ishtar usually holds a large ring or circlet, as do a number of other deities (221). Sometimes this is their only attribute (220).

The bearded, armed god on seals 215 and 216 is Adad, the storm god. The ax was one of his principal attributes, as was the lightning fork; occasionally he is represented holding both symbols.<sup>29</sup> In general Adad's iconography on Neo-Assyrian seals is varied; he sometimes stands on a bull (as 236) or a dragon (as 224).<sup>30</sup>

On seals 217–221 a number of deities are represented sitting on a throne with a studded back. This throne appears to have been a standard one used for a variety of deities, male and female, and the principal means of identifying the deities is by the animal which often supports the throne. Nevertheless, the goddess who sits on the unsupported throne on seals 217 and 219 has sometimes been identified as Ishtar of Nineveh or Ninlil.<sup>31</sup> The lower part of seal 218 is missing, and it is impossible to tell whether or not the throne was supported by an animal.

The deity on seal 220 is perhaps Gula, the goddess of healing, known as the "great lady physician" whose symbol, the dog (see also 231, 287), is shown supporting her throne. Gula was identified with Nin-insina whose cult city was Isin. She is worshiped as a dog on Middle Assyrian glyptic art and as a goddess associated with a dog on late second millennium and early first millennium boundary stones from Babylonia.<sup>32</sup>

The poor quality of seal 221 impedes a proper identification of the figures. The animal supporting the throne of the seated goddess may also be a dog. The male(?) deity standing opposite her is supported by an unidentifiable animal. The deity on seal 222 holds a rod and a ring, and his throne is supported by an animal that is possibly a dragon although its



horns are not clearly visible. The dragon, of the type known as *mušbuššu*, was the animal attribute of both Nabu and Marduk.<sup>33</sup>

Although the lower part of 223 is missing, enough remains to indicate that the seated god might be Ea. His cap is almost identical to that worn by Ea on another seal (see catalogue entry) and the horns of what could be a *kušariqu* or goatfish, Ea's animal attribute, are just visible by the deity's knees.

The male figure in the fish cloak who stands behind the god on this seal and on 220 appears with a number of deities on Neo-Assyrian seals and in association with the "sacred tree." As far as is known this figure first appears in Kassite glyptic art, and on Neo-Assyrian seals he became especially popular in the seventh century B.C.<sup>34</sup> Small statuettes clad in fish cloaks, *apkalle*, are known to have had an apotropaic function.<sup>35</sup> The thigh-length fish cloak of the figure on seal 220 suggests a date earlier than the eighth century B.C.<sup>36</sup>

The scene on seal 224 is reminiscent of an Assyrian relief that depicts a winged deity armed with lightning forks and swords attacking a monster.<sup>37</sup> The lightning forks held by the figure on the relief and on seals such as this one suggest a connection with the weather god, if not an actual representation. A number of linear style seals depict this subject<sup>38</sup> with figures sometimes armed in the manner of Adad.

The combat scene on seal 225 is unusual. Deities were not usually represented thus on Assyrian seals, and if it were not for the cutting style, which is definitely Assyrian, this seal could be said to have a non-Assyrian origin.

The division of the field into two registers, as on seal 213 (and 232), is uncommon on Assyrian seals. Rows of heads (213) and animals (232) are outside the Neo-Assyrian iconographical canon, and the animals on seal 232 are not cut in the usual Neo-Assyrian linear style. These two seals are probably not Assyrian and an Iranian, perhaps Zagros, origin is tentatively suggested here on the basis of the style of another seal of this type<sup>39</sup> which is close to that of the probably Iranian seal 233. Seal 219 is also probably Iranian.<sup>40</sup>

#### WORSHIP OF THE "SACRED TREE" AND OTHER SYMBOLS (226–230)

A stylized "sacred tree" with palm or pomegranate tips is the focal point of a ceremony frequently depicted on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and seals. The tree is usually flanked by worshipers or by genii who hold small pails and touch the ends of the tree with a cone or only their fingertips. On seals, a winged sun disc is invariably placed above the tree. Two streamers hang from the winged disc and are sometimes caught by the worshipers (this is hardly visible on seals 226 and 227, but see 239). The streamers symbolize running water.<sup>41</sup> As well as being a symbol of the sky, the winged disc was a symbol of the Assyrian national god, Ashur, in Neo-Assyrian iconography. Sometimes the figure of Ashur is depicted inside it.<sup>42</sup>

Seals 228–230 show figures standing before a variety of symbols, most of which have been previously encountered (the stylus, the goatfish, the marru or spade, a stalk of grain). This became one of the favorite subjects of the late drilled style seals (see below). The style of seal 228, the position of the worshipers' hands, and their dress are unusual and non-Assyrian, perhaps Iranian. The spot where the crescent pole stands appears to have been abraded, so this symbol may be a later addition. Otherwise the wedges and the star are compatible with linear style Neo-Assyrian iconography. The crescent pole was the symbol of the moon god Sin,<sup>43</sup> and it became very common on Assyrian seals after the eighth century.

#### *MISCELLANEOUS RITUALS (231, 232)*

A number of Neo-Assyrian seals in the linear style depict scenes that are in part similar to seal 231 and have been interpreted as depictions of rituals of healing or exorcism.<sup>44</sup> The scene on this seal substantiates this interpretation. A figure, the patient, lies on a bed inside a reed(?) hut with two figures, one male and one female, in attendance. The male figure bends over the patient with an instrument and the female figure holds a flaming bowl over the patient's head. Outside the hut a woman with raised arms appears to be dancing. A dog, the symbol of Gula, the goddess of healing, stands on the roof of the hut. Although primarily associated with the underworld, the dog may also have been associated with healing at this time, as it was in later Classical and early Christian times, because its lick was considered to be curative.<sup>45</sup>

Numerous incantation texts survive which describe rituals pertaining to the exorcism of curses, sickness, and general evil. Such rituals were either performed in the house of the patient or in a reed hut, a *šutukku*, built on pure ground.<sup>46</sup> The structure shown on this seal could be such a *šutukku*. An antecedent for this kind of scene is to be found on a twelfth-century Middle Assyrian seal impression from Tell al-Rimah.<sup>47</sup>

On seal 232 two figures stand on either side of the bedecked gate of a temple in what appears to be a religious ceremony. A similar scene with only one worshiper is found on a Middle Assyrian seal impression.<sup>48</sup>

#### *HUNTING AND WAR (233–235)*

Hunting was a favorite pastime of Assyrian kings and features prominently on palace reliefs, as do scenes of war and conquest. Seal 233 shows a bull hunt. The position of the rider, facing backward, is known as the "Parthian shot" and is thought to be a feature of riders from the Zagros area.<sup>49</sup> The rather crude and unusual linear style of this seal confirms a provincial origin.

On seal 234 a charioteer runs down a victim. The action has been isolated from the usual turbulent scenes of battle featured on palace reliefs because of the restricted pictorial field of the seal. The chariot shows

features such as the large wheel with eight spokes, the elliptical shaft, the spear rising obliquely from the chariot box, and the spiked shield at the back of the box, which conform to the iconography of the early parts of Tiglath-Pileser III's reign, or perhaps slightly earlier.<sup>50</sup>

A scene which may be symbolic of conquest is shown on the probably Iranian seal 235.<sup>51</sup> An officer stands beside a fortress with stylized merlons which is perched on a mountaintop. A ramp or ladder leads up to the fortress on one side.<sup>52</sup> The "city" was one of the favorite motifs of the Iranian glyptic repertoire.<sup>53</sup>

#### THE DRILLED STYLE (236–263)

A number of seals executed in a finely drilled style are inscribed with the names of *līmu* officials, that is, high officials or governors after whom the Assyrian year was named, and for which eponym lists survive. These seals can therefore be dated precisely. Seals of this type date from the late ninth century B.C.<sup>54</sup> to sometime in the late eighth century.<sup>55</sup> A coarser drilled style is found on cylinder seals up to the time of Ashurbanipal,<sup>56</sup> although in the seventh and sixth centuries the style occurs mostly on stamp seals.<sup>57</sup>

The bow drill was used predominantly on these seals. Although used delicately on certain types of seals mentioned above, and on others with elaborate worship scenes and no inscription, the technique lent itself to mass production, and in some cases the style becomes schematic (e.g., 259, 261). A number of drilled style seals also depict simple subjects, such as contests or the worship of symbols. Schematic and ill-cut seals, for example, 263, show the degeneration of this style in the seventh century.

The stones used for seals of this style were mostly hard semiprecious ones, such as chalcedony, agate, and carnelian, although chert, marble, and composition materials were also used.

#### WORSHIP OF DEITIES (236–238)

The scene of worship on seal 236 is characteristic of the inscribed seals mentioned above. The deity standing on the bull and holding a lightning fork on the right is Adad. The identity of the female deity on the left is not clear. She holds a vessel and stands on a cow being suckled by a calf. The latter had been a popular but secondary motif in the Old Babylonian repertoire and may ultimately have been derived from Egypt. It is rare in Neo-Assyrian iconography, but can be associated with Adad.<sup>58</sup>

The principal feature of 236, however, is its Aramaic inscription, which states that the seal belonged to one El-amar, presumably an Aramean. Aramaic inscriptions first appear on Assyrian seals in the eighth century B.C., as the result of the western expansion of the Assyrian empire. At this time Aramaic became the official diplomatic language for communicating with the west, and scribes writing on clay with a stylus and on leather or



parchment with a brush are depicted on Neo-Assyrian reliefs from the second half of the eighth century.<sup>59</sup>

The eastern or possibly western origin of seals such as this one is an interesting question that needs to be fully investigated. Parallels for 236 are found both on a seal with an Aramaic inscription found in the west and on a seal with a cuneiform inscription belonging to an Assyrian, Ashur-beli-usur (reference in catalogue entry).

The goddess who is being worshiped on seals 237 and 238 is Ishtar in her astral character. On seal 237 the animal attribute of Nabu and Marduk, the mušhuššu dragon, is clearly depicted supporting a stylus and a spade (marru).

#### *WORSHIP OF THE "SACRED TREE" (239–245); OTHER SYMBOLS (246–255)*

Seals 239–244 show figures in attitudes of worship beside the "sacred tree." The two streamers mentioned above which issue from the winged sun disc are clearly visible in the hands of the worshipers on seal 239. The half-kneeling posture of the right-hand worshiper on seal 240 is very unusual and may indicate a non-Assyrian origin for this seal. Seal 244 may also be provincial.

The influence of the cut style (see below) can be detected in the shapes of the stylized trees on seals 240 and 243. The use of a minute drill, as on 241, is also a feature that occurs on other cut style seals (e.g., 272).

Seals 245–253 show figures standing beside a number of already familiar symbols. The symbol of Sin, a moon crescent on a tasseled pole, was especially popular on seals of this type. The cult city of Sin was Harran in northern Mesopotamia; "it was conquered by the Assyrians pushing towards the west, but only became an integral part of Assyria under Sargon II," and from then on rivaled in importance the cities of Assyria proper.<sup>60</sup> This might explain the sudden and frequent appearance of this symbol in the Neo-Assyrian repertoire on later drilled style seals.

Another, more unusual symbol, which consists of a stand with nine globes on it, also appears on seals of this type, for example, 250, but its significance is obscure. The fish which frequently appears in the field among the other symbols may be the result of the influence of Neo-Babylonian cut style iconography.<sup>61</sup> Seals 254 and 255 show an array of symbols without a human figure. The winged sun disc on the stool on 254 is found in Middle Assyrian iconography, but is ultimately derived from the Mitannian repertoire.<sup>62</sup> The iconography of a figure standing before symbols was transmitted to the stamp seal repertoire where it became one of the standard subjects.

#### *CONTEST SCENES (256–261) AND ANIMALS (262, 263)*

These take two main forms, that of an archer pursuing a monster (256, 257) and that of a winged genius standing between and warding off vari-

ous real or imaginary animals. Both subjects are found in all Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian styles. The popularity of the motif of a figure warding off an animal on each side, from the time of Sargon II onward, has been mentioned above.

A rampant animal on either side of a tree (262) is a motif found in late Kassite, Middle Assyrian, and Iranian glyptic art.<sup>63</sup> There is no tree on seal 263, but the animals are in a rampant position, and the seal shows not only a degeneration of style but also of iconography.

#### THE CUT STYLE (264–283)

The cut style was adopted by Assyrian seal cutters in the late eighth century B.C. and continued to be used in the seventh century.<sup>64</sup> In the ninth and earlier parts of the eighth centuries, the cut style was peculiar to Babylonia.<sup>65</sup> Its origins, however, may go back to the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.: a damaged cylinder seal of glass from Tchoga Zambil, executed in a cut style, shows a large bird with outspread wings giving chase to a running horned animal.<sup>66</sup> A winged monster giving chase to an animal is one of the themes of the Babylonian cut style discussed below.

Archaeological evidence for the classification of ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Neo-Babylonian seals is lacking, and these are dated on the basis of iconography, which resembles the Assyrian repertoire in subject matter but not in its treatment.

In the late eighth and seventh centuries B.C., a number of cut style seals show both Babylonian and Assyrian characteristics (e.g., 266), and these seals may have been made by either group of seal cutters.<sup>67</sup> The date for one group of seals which show animal chases and which come exclusively from Babylonia has not yet been established due to lack of evidence.

The cut style was achieved by using a rotating cutting disc that produced a series of narrow, shallow, and straight incisions. There is evidence of modeling on some of these seals (e.g., 268), and a fine drill was occasionally used to mark details (e.g., 265). The materials used for these seals were similar to those used for the drilled style: chert, agate, chalcedony, and carnelian.

#### HUNTING SCENES (264, 265)

The kneeling archer and the hunter in a chariot are known from the Neo-Assyrian glyptic repertoires. The cut style was particularly effective in conveying an impression of movement and animation (e.g., 265) which contrasts with the sometimes static quality of Neo-Assyrian scenes. This sense of movement was also a feature characteristic of some modeled style seals from Babylonia.<sup>68</sup>

*BIRD-MEN (266)*

This motif has already been encountered above in the group of linear style seals, 178–180. The treatment of the subject is the same.

*WORSHIP OF THE “SACRED TREE” (267–271)*

The treatment of this subject differs from Assyrian iconography in several respects. On seals 267–269 the worshipers kneel by the “sacred tree”; this is a feature very rarely found in Neo-Assyrian iconography, where kings or genii, not ordinary worshipers, are represented kneeling by the tree. Other points of difference are the hands of the worshipers, which are held in a position not often found in Neo-Assyrian iconography, and the covered heads of the worshipers.<sup>69</sup> A bird on either side of a “sacred tree” (270) is a motif found in the Mitannian repertoire (cf. 623), as is the winged sun disc on a stool (272) mentioned above in reference to seal 254. Seals 270 and 271 are examples of the debased cut style.

*CONTEST SCENE (273)*

The date of this familiar Assyrian motif has been mentioned under contest scenes 160–162 and 257–261.

*ANIMAL CHASES (274–281), ANIMALS (282)*

Seals in this style which show animals in pursuit of one another have been found exclusively in Babylonia.<sup>70</sup> The possible origin of this subject has been mentioned above under “Cut Style.” A group of these seals is distinguished by borders of dovetailed triangles filled with linear strokes and the use of the bow and tubular drills (274).<sup>71</sup> An identical triangular border occurs on a first millennium Iranian seal from Tchoga Zanbil<sup>72</sup> and points to yet another link between this group of seals and glyptic art from Tchoga Zanbil. These borders are derived from Kassite glyptic art and occur on late second millennium Iranian seals.<sup>73</sup> The ostrich (282) is found in the Middle Assyrian repertoire,<sup>74</sup> but in the first millennium was more popular on Babylonian than on Assyrian seals.

*SYMBOLS (283)*

The symbols on this seal have all been encountered before, except for the stand(?) in the center of the field.

*THE MODELED STYLE (284–287)*

The modeled style was also common to both Assyria and Babylonia. Its first appearance in Assyria has been put as early as mid-ninth century B.C., where it lasted until the fall of Assyria.<sup>75</sup> This style may have been given an



impetus during the reign of Sargon II, when an increase in modeling became characteristic of the reliefs of the period.<sup>76</sup> Assyrian seals of this period also show pronounced modeling, for example, 284.

Another impetus, and perhaps the original one, may have come from Babylonia. As with the cut style seals, the dating of the modeled style in Babylonia is hampered by a lack of stratigraphic evidence. The origin of this style has nevertheless been attributed to Babylonia at the beginning of the first millennium on the basis of seals that show contest scenes, the iconography of which is distinct and non-Assyrian.<sup>77</sup> The style continued, with some modifications, in Babylonia until the end of the Achaemenid period.

The materials used for these seals are essentially the same as those used for the cut and drilled styles.

#### *COMBATS (284–286)*

Seals 284 and 285 show the familiar contest motif. The latter was probably made in Babylonia, as suggested by the kilt of the hero and the vase with the stylized plant, both of which are features characteristic of Neo-Babylonian iconography.<sup>78</sup> The flat, almost cut, style of this seal also occurs on a number of seals of this type, which are thought to be Neo-Babylonian.<sup>79</sup> The combat scene on 286 is closer to Neo-Babylonian iconography,<sup>80</sup> although the fringed decorated mantle of the hero and his quiver are also worn by Neo-Assyrian heroes.<sup>81</sup>

#### *SYMBOLS (287)*

Seal 287 shows two dogs, symbols of Gula, seated face to face. The dog was a favorite motif on contemporary stamp seals. The motif in the sky, a bull's head crossed with a serpent's head, is unusual and so far has not been found on any seals of this period by the present writer. This seal may have been recut, or alternatively the motif may have been copied from an ancient seal.

## IX

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### THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

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The Achaemenid empire was one of the largest of the ancient world: at its height it comprised Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, Thrace, and parts of India. It was effectively founded by Cyrus, a Persian chieftain from the family of Achaemenes and a vassal of the Medes, who first defeated the Medes in 549 B.C. and then conquered Babylon in 539 B.C. The downfall of the empire was brought about by Alexander the Great when he defeated the last Achaemenid king, Darius III, in 330 B.C.

Both stamp and cylinder seals were used concurrently by the Achaemenids. Cylinder seals appear to have been preferred for official purposes<sup>1</sup> whereas stamp seals were used privately. The use of the cylinder seal for official purposes at this late date was an archaism individual to the Achaemenids. In Babylonia and Assyria the stamp seal had largely replaced the cylinder seal for official purposes by the end of the seventh century B.C.

Although the earlier phase of Achaemenian glyptic art is less well documented than the later phase, it appears that by the reign of Darius I (521–486 B.C.) Achaemenian seals had completely replaced Neo-Babylonian seals in Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> Iconographic and stylistic links with Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian glyptic art were nevertheless maintained.

In Persia the Achaemenian style appeared earlier than in Babylonia.<sup>3</sup> The two principal sources for the history of the Achaemenian seals are the archives from the Treasury at Persepolis, which date from Darius I, Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), and Artaxerxes (464–424 B.C.),<sup>4</sup> and the Murashu archives from Nippur which date from Artaxerxes and Darius II (423–405 B.C.).<sup>5</sup> The Persepolis archive, an official archive, is far less varied iconographically than the Murashu archive, which was partly private.<sup>6</sup> The Achaemenian style was still found in the Seleucid period.<sup>7</sup>

Two major iconographic influences are discernible in Achaemenian glyptic art. One, which is evident on the seals below, is the influence of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian repertoires; the other is Greek.<sup>8</sup> Egyptian influence can also be detected in the representation of certain details.<sup>9</sup> Stylistically also some of the seals that show Near Eastern influence appear to perpetrate elements of the Neo-Babylonian cut and modeled styles (see e.g., 289, 290, and 292 for the cut style and 291, 293, and 295 for the modeled style). A third, linear style sometimes combined with the use of a drill, such as on 296 and 297, would appear to be more individually Achaemenian.

A variety of colorful materials, such as chalcedony, jasper, agate, carnelian, and marble, which counterbalance the often formal subject matter, were used for Achaemenid seals. These, besides being cylindrically shaped, are frequently barrel-shaped.

#### *KNEELING ARCHER (288)*

A kneeling archer aiming an arrow at a rampant animal is a subject that occurs in the Neo-Babylonian and Elamite repertoires.<sup>10</sup> In fully developed Achaemenian seals the cutting style is considerably more modeled than that of this seal. Since the style of this seal shows a certain affinity with some Neo-Babylonian seals<sup>11</sup> it is probably of an earlier date than the rest. Other, similar seals, have been termed Proto-Achaemenian.<sup>12</sup>

#### *ROYAL HERO (289–294); FIGURE GRASPING A BULL (295)*

The symmetrical representation of a figure holding two animals at bay (290–293) was the favorite motif of Achaemenian official seals. The motif, the type of animal such as the winged and bearded ibex, the sphinx, the lion, and the winged sun disc are all found in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian glyptic repertoires. The winged and bearded ibex is most commonly found on Neo-Babylonian seals. The central figure may be identified as the king rather than as a deity or a “Master of Animals.”<sup>13</sup> Royal figures in combat with a lion appear on official Assyrian royal stamp seals,<sup>14</sup> and on the Treasury tablets from Persepolis seals with this motif bear royal names.<sup>15</sup> On seals 290–294 the king wears the traditional Persian *candys* and a tiara or crown. The impressions from the Persepolis tablets show that a tucked *candys* with a heavy and well-defined central fold, such as on seal 293, appears to have been a later feature than the more schematic representation of the fold as on seals 290–294.<sup>16</sup> On seal 289 the figure wears Neo-Babylonian or Neo-Assyrian dress. The armed figure holding an animal by the hind leg on seals 294 and 295 is again a motif that is found on Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals, although on the latter the figures are armed with scimitars and not daggers.<sup>17</sup> The figure on seal 294 may probably be identified as the king again; on 295,



however, the figure wears a costume that is akin to but not identical with that worn by a Median soldier on the Apadana at Persepolis.<sup>18</sup>

The motif of the eagle with spread wings on seal 294 is very unusual; it appears to be the result of secondary cutting; a neck, beak, and claws were added to an original winged sun disc.

#### *SCENES WITH ANIMALS (296, 297)*

A number of Achaemenian seals and seal impressions depict subjects other than the formal motifs shown above. These include scenes of a religious character, such as the worship of the Ahuramazda symbol and worship at an altar, scenes with seated figures, hunting, and other scenes involving animals, such as 296 and 297. The date palm on seal 296 is characteristic of Achaemenian glyptic, as is the stance of the animals with a hind leg kicked forward on 297. No parallel for this stance can be found on Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian seals or reliefs.<sup>19</sup> The naturalistic winged sun disc and the stylized *ankh* in the field on seal 296 suggest Egyptian influence. Naturalistic stags with pronounced antlers, as on 296, are found on Neo-Babylonian seals.<sup>20</sup>



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ANATOLIAN, CYPRIOT,  
AND LEVANTINE SEALS

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## X

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### SYRIAN SEALS FROM C. 3200-2900 B.C.

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The modern Levant was seldom united politically in ancient times, although it can be said to form a geographical entity with natural boundaries: the Taurus and Anti-Taurus in the north, the bend of the Euphrates in the northeast, the Syrian desert in the east, and the Mediterranean in the west. Because of its position between Egypt to the south, Anatolia to the north, and Mesopotamia to the east, it was a mixture of ethnic groups and subject to many different cultural influences.

In Syria, urbanization first appeared sporadically in the second half of the fourth millennium. The sites of Tell Kannas<sup>1</sup> and Tell Habuba Kabira (S)<sup>2</sup> on the Euphrates in northeast Syria, which probably formed one complex at this period,<sup>3</sup> was the major town site of the Uruk IV period in Syria known today; it shows strong cultural affinities with Mesopotamia. At Mari there is scant evidence for the Ubaid-Uruk periods.<sup>4</sup> The sites of the Amuq are village settlements at this period.<sup>5</sup> Tell Mardikh (Ebla) was also a village,<sup>6</sup> and this appears to have been the norm for southern and central Syria at this time. By the Early Bronze II period Byblos and Hama<sup>7</sup> were town sites. At Ugarit there is a paucity of remains before the Early Bronze III period.<sup>8</sup>

The cylinder seal appears to have been introduced into northern Syria from Mesopotamia sometime in the second half of the fourth millennium. Cylinder seals from this period in Syria are principally imports from Mesopotamia, imitations of Mesopotamian and Elamite subjects, or seals, for example, 314 and 315, which show original Syrian subjects. Most of the seals below are of the second type; although they incorporate derivatives from Mesopotamian and Elamite iconography, technical, iconographic, or stylistic features characterize them as Syrian. Egyptian motifs also appear on a few Syrian seals dated to this period.<sup>9</sup> The varieties of styles which characterize Syrian seals from the third millennium on are already present at this period.

Technically, common Syrian features are small handles at the top of the cylinder, loop or v-shaped bore holes for suspension, byre-shaped seals with a transverse hole for suspension, and patterns on the base which enable the cylinder seal to be used as a stamp seal as well. The handle may have been inherited from stamp seals.<sup>10</sup>

Iconographically, the circle with a dot in the middle is frequently found on Syrian seals and appears to have been especially popular on seals from the Amuq.<sup>11</sup> This feature also occurs on Elamite seals.<sup>12</sup> Contacts between these two regions at this period has been suggested (see 312)<sup>13</sup> and is attested for the early third millennium.<sup>14</sup> Working figures and pots associated with animals are frequently found on Syrian seals from this period, but are rare in Mesopotamia. It has been suggested that this combination originated in north Syria or, again, Iran.<sup>15</sup> Crosshatching also appears to have been popular in Syria and the Levant in general. This may be another feature derived from stamp seals, on which crosshatching or net patterns are often found.<sup>16</sup> Stylistic varieties will be discussed below under subject groups.

Stratigraphic evidence indicates that the cylinder seal spread from north Syria to central and southern Syria at a slightly later date.<sup>17</sup> This explains the long duration of certain motifs and subjects on Syrian glyptic art. It also shows that local styles, at least at Tell Habuba Kabira (S), occurred contemporaneously with Mesopotamian imports from the very beginning.

The seals in this group are made from a variety of relatively soft materials: marble, serpentine, and talc, of which marble and serpentine are the most common. Seal 311 is made of "skeletal tissue, possibly cut from the cortex of a large long bone. The possibility of ivory is not totally excluded, owing to the fact that sectioning and close histological study could not be undertaken at this stage."<sup>18</sup> This seal can be compared with a number of bone seals with geometric patterns from the Levant, dated to this period or slightly later, although the carving techniques are not identical.<sup>19</sup>

#### *WORKING FIGURES (298–302); ANIMALS AND POTS (303)*

The first properly stratified cylinder seal found in Syria which shows a row of seated pigtailed figures in the drilled style has come from Habuba Kabira (S) and is dated to the Late Uruk IV period (c. 3200 B.C.). It is indistinguishable from Mesopotamian examples in this style. A seal cut in a local angular style depicting pigtailed figures and animals was found in the same level.<sup>20</sup> A seal impression showing a pigtailed figure and a reversed animal was found at Tell Chuera in a later, Uruk III (c. 3100–2900 B.C.), context and shows an angular style that is definitely not Mesopotamian.<sup>21</sup> Other seals with pigtailed figures and animals in local styles have been found in the Amuq, at Judeideh XII<sup>22</sup> in a late context (Level H but probably originally from Level G), at Chatal Hüyük,<sup>23</sup> and at Ras Shamra.<sup>24</sup>



These seals show a restrained use of the drill on only the seated figures and a flat and angular cutting style for the other figures. This same angularity and low relief is also found on a number of Syrian seals which show rows of figures working with pots or pots and animals (e.g., 303).<sup>25</sup>

Seals 298, 300, and 302 are closely based on Mesopotamian prototypes, but can be identified as Syrian by virtue of their handles or loop bores.

#### *ANIMALS (304–307)*

The tendency toward angularity and low relief mentioned above, apparently one of the characteristics of early Syrian glyptic art, appears as early as the Late Uruk IV period (c. 3200 B.C.) at Habuba Kabira (S) on a seal that shows a row of bovines walking and below, triangular and ladderlike shapes in the field.<sup>26</sup> In the Amuq, this subject occurs in two principal styles, one linear and in fairly high relief, the other flat and angular.<sup>27</sup>

The treatment of the animals on seal 305 can be related to that on a seal from the Amuq in the former style.<sup>28</sup> The animals have similarly splayed feet and only three legs. A crude seal in another linear style which shows two animals and a human figure comes from Hama.<sup>29</sup> Seals with figures turned on their axes are a Syrian feature (see 318 in next section) which also occurs in the Diyala and in Elam.<sup>30</sup>

Seal 304 is iconographically very reminiscent of Jamdat Nasr examples from Mesopotamia, but its flat angular cutting style distinguishes it as Syrian.

#### *PATTERNS (308–315)*

In northern Syria simple geometric patterns similar to Mesopotamian ones (e.g., zigzags, chevrons, lozenges, ovals) appear in Jamdat Nasr contexts on seals and sealings from Tell Chuera<sup>31</sup> and Tell Habuba Kabira (S).<sup>32</sup> In the Amuq, patterns on cylinder seals are found in Level G, when the cylinder seal first appears here. Amuq G has been divided into two phases: the earlier part is contemporary with the Early Bronze I/Jamdat Nasr periods and the later part is contemporary with the Early Bronze II period (Early Dynastic I).<sup>33</sup> It has been pointed out that the appearance of cylinder seals in this phase need not reflect their date of origin.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the Amuq patterns are similar to Mesopotamian ones, although crosshatching and the circle and dot motif mentioned above were particularly favored. Another distinctive geometric motif is a large drill hole enclosed by two circles. This motif occurs on a seal from an unclear stratigraphic context but which has nevertheless been attributed to Amuq Level G, from Chatal Hüyük.<sup>35</sup> The same motif, however, occurs on a seal from Byblos which could date as late as the second half of the third millennium,<sup>36</sup> and a related motif is characteristic of Levantine pottery from the Early Bronze III/IV periods.<sup>37</sup>

The life span of seals such as 307 and 315, where a large drilling enclosed by one or two circles is an element of the design, may therefore

have lasted well into the Early Bronze age. At Hama seal impressions with geometric patterns still occur in the Early Bronze IV period.<sup>38</sup>

Of the geometric patterns below, those on seals 310 and 311 are reminiscent of Mesopotamian patterns. Those on 313–315 are more specifically Syrian (cf. the motif on seal 314 with that on seal 306), and that on seal 312 is derived from Elam.

## XI

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### SYRIAN SEALS FROM C. 2900-2200 B.C.

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By the second half of the third millennium urban civilization on both coastal and inland sites of Syria was considered developed and substantially enriched by trade contacts with Egypt and Mesopotamia. The political system appears to have been one of petty states. The site of Tell Mardikh (ancient Ebla), possibly the most important center in Syria at that time, has produced archives dated from the late Early Dynastic period to the middle Akkadian period<sup>1</sup> which constitute the first major written sources to come from within Syria. The archives are written in Mesopotamian cuneiform in the oldest northwest Semitic language found so far.<sup>2</sup>

Glyptic art from the Early Dynastic or EBA II-early EBA IVA periods in Syria is characterized by many different styles, some quite simple and archaizing and others more sophisticated, a number of which existed simultaneously. A large number of Syrian seals from this period are unstratified and must be dated on the basis of comparison with stratified examples from Syria or Mesopotamia. Early Dynastic Syrian seals which have come from excavations will be briefly discussed first.

In northeast Syria, glyptic art from the Early Dynastic I (EBA II) period is best represented by the impressions from Tell Chuera. The impressions from this site are very important for the early history of seals in Syria because they are found on the stoppers of jars that are thought to have come from a number of different places in northern Syria.<sup>3</sup> There is also apparently evidence of contact with the south.<sup>4</sup>

The styles from Tell Chuera at this period are mostly schematic and reminiscent of Jamdat Nasr animal subjects. Gazelles or goats are represented standing alone or with birds, and triangular shapes, floral motifs, or animal parts often fill the field.<sup>5</sup> A more complex cultic scene in a provincial style has also been dated to the Early Dynastic I period.<sup>6</sup> Farther south, at

Byblos, at Hama, and at Ugarit, another schematic style is found on impressions on the shoulders of jars.<sup>7</sup> This style first appears in the Early Bronze I-II period (Late Uruk-Early Dynastic I) and lasted until the Early Bronze IVA period.<sup>8</sup>

The subject of these impressions is also reminiscent of the Jamdat Nasr animal subjects and consists of animals standing in rows or *tête-bêche*, sometimes beside a human figure.<sup>9</sup> Triangular shapes occur as space fillers, and the scene is occasionally bordered by a herringbone pattern.<sup>10</sup> The style is characterized by sharp contours and flat relief. Because no actual cylinders of this style have been found and because the flat and angular style has much in common with wood carving, it has been suggested that the seals used for these impressions were made of wood.<sup>11</sup> Similar characteristics, however, appear on stone or bone seals from this and previous periods, and it may be that seals of this style have simply not yet been found. It has also been suggested that the angular cutting technique could be inherited from stamp seal cutting.<sup>12</sup> The technique of rolling a seal directly on the shoulder or rim of a jar for decorative purposes is found both in Syria and Iraq, in the Hamrin basin.<sup>13</sup> Ivory or bone seals with herringbone borders and animal friezes dated to this period have also been found in Byblos. The cutting style of these seals is slightly deeper than that of the impressions mentioned above, and the figures have ribbed bodies.<sup>14</sup>

With the exception of the long-lived archaizing styles mentioned above, glyptic art from the Early Dynastic II and III periods (EBA III-early IVA) in Syria shows a closer degree of iconographical affinity with the contemporary Mesopotamian repertoire, although the styles remain local.

The Early Dynastic II (first half of EBA III) period is represented chiefly by the seals and sealings from Tell Chuera. The subjects are derived from the Mesopotamian repertoire of the time and consist of friezes with crossed animals and heroes,<sup>15</sup> a kneeling hero between two stags,<sup>16</sup> and various cultic scenes.<sup>17</sup> The styles tend to show a greater degree of modeling than previously.

In the north, seals and sealings from the Early Dynastic III (late EBA III-EBA IVA) period are found at Tell Selenkahiye and at Mari; farther south, sealings have been found at Tell Mardikh. At Tell Selenkahiye a local, gently modeled and naturalistic style again shows a subject derived from the Mesopotamian repertoire, a hero between two animals.<sup>18</sup> At Mari the iconography is Mesopotamian, with few exceptions. In some cases the style is provincial and characterized by the heavy use of a drill.<sup>19</sup> The few sealings from Ebla display the most originality of all stratified Early Dynastic Syrian glyptic art. The impressions come from Palace G and are dated c. 2400–2200 B.C.<sup>20</sup> Certain seals had inscriptions and apparently belonged to high functionaries.<sup>21</sup> The style of these sealings is modeled and detailed.<sup>22</sup> The scenes are dense and static; a frieze of uncrossed but touching animals



and heroes is standard.<sup>23</sup> The scenes are sometimes bordered by a heringbone pattern or animal and human heads.<sup>24</sup>

Two figures on these sealings are of particular interest: a female figure sometimes wearing a horned headdress and usually holding two lions at bay<sup>25</sup> and a kneeling Atlas figure.<sup>26</sup> Some heroes are also shown wearing a local Syrian headdress.<sup>27</sup> It has been pointed out that the frontal positions characteristic of these figures may be of Syrian origin, and that this feature may even have influenced the Early Dynastic “Fara style” seals of Mesopotamia.<sup>28</sup>

The classification of unstratified Early Dynastic seals from Syria is still very general. P. Amiet has divided them into five broad stylistic groups,<sup>29</sup> although with the emergence of new material these now need to be subdivided and new groups formed. Thus a number of styles are apparent in the archaizing group of seals below. A separate group has been formed for seals cut in a flat linear style (334–336), previously included in Amiet’s Group II. The seals that correspond to his Group III (337–341) may also have to be subdivided eventually, and new groups may emerge out of the distinctive styles of seals 342, 343, and 345, for which no provenanced parallels have yet been found by this writer. Otherwise, parallels with provenanced seals and impressions are given where possible.

#### *ARCHAIZING STYLES (316–328)*

The principal characteristics of the seals in this group are their schematic styles and iconography reminiscent of the rows of human and animal figures of the glyptic art of the Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic I periods in Mesopotamia. Seals of this type appear to have had a wide distribution from central to northeast Syria, including southeast Turkey (see notes 7 and 30 through 32 as well as the distributions noted in the catalogue entries).

A style related to that of 318, with elongated figures which have globular heads and feet, is found on a late third millennium seal from Tell Selenkahiye (see catalogue entry). The three-fingered hands of the figures on seals 318 and 319 appear to be a Syrian feature (see catalogue entries for comparisons).

The flat and angular style of seal 320 is reminiscent of the seal impressions from Hama mentioned above (note 7) and of an impression from Tell Aar.<sup>30</sup> The cutting on 321 and 322 is deeper. Seals 323 and 324 form another group with slim diminutive human figures. Seals 325–328 are distinguished by angular figures with hachured bodies. Seals of this type have been found at Tell Brak, Mari, and Byblos.<sup>31</sup> A similar but sometimes more delicate hachuring is found on Syrian seals that can be related iconographically to the Early Dynastic II repertoire of Mesopotamia (see

331, 332). The small size and angular style of seal 326 is reminiscent of the EB sealing from Ugarit mentioned above, although the figures on the Ugarit sealing do not have ribbed bodies. Other archaizing seals and sealings have been found at Mersin, Tarsus, Tell Selenkahiye, and Habuba Kabira.<sup>32</sup>

Seals 316 and 317, for which no provenanced parallels have been found by this writer, are linked iconographically and technically with late fourth millennium glyptic art. The loop bore of 316 is a feature of early Syrian seals, although the curling snake and the branch in the field occur in archaizing seals of the third millennium (e.g., 327). The ladderlike design (possibly derived from animal pens or enclosures) in the field on 317 is also found on early Syrian seals, but the cow and calf motif again occurs on third millennium seals (e.g., 321).<sup>33</sup>

The iconography of seals 318–328 is more homogeneous and, as mentioned, is reminiscent of the Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic I Mesopotamian repertoires. A human figure is depicted standing beside or herding a variety of animals, such as stags, antelopes, bulls, or cows with calves. Birds, scorpions, and branches are dispersed in the field, and a star is often placed as though in the sky. More complex subjects such as a chariot or cultic scenes are also depicted in similar schematic styles.<sup>34</sup>

The life span of these seals appears to have been very long: the seal from Tell Selenkahiye mentioned above was found in a post-Akkadian context and depicts a dagger of a type that only became popular during the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>35</sup> Archaizing seals of this type constitute Amiet's Group IV.<sup>36</sup>

#### *RIBBED STYLES (329–332)*

These seals are cut in a variety of linear styles, some flat and linear and others more modeled, which include figures with ribbed bodies. The quality of the cutting is on the whole more delicate and more naturalistic than that of the seals in the preceding group. The animal row of 329 is archaizing and reminiscent of the Late Uruk and Jamdat Nasr repertoires. Seal 330 can be dated to the Early Dynastic I period on the basis of comparison with a seal impression from Tell Chuera which shows similar animal rows, one of which is beside a floral motif, in two registers.<sup>37</sup> The association of a large floral motif with an animal composition has been attributed to this period in northern Syria.<sup>38</sup> The resemblance between the iconography of this seal and that of the late Early Dynastic seals from the Tigris area has been pointed out.<sup>39</sup>

The frieze with reversed animals (331) and the scene with animals standing beside a dagger in the field (322) are subjects found in the Mesopotamian repertoire of the Early Dynastic II and III periods and were probably derived from that repertoire.<sup>40</sup> Pronounced eyes, such as those of the figures on seal 332, are a feature of a number of Syrian seals, one of which comes from Hama,<sup>41</sup> in the third millennium (Amiet's

Group III)<sup>42</sup> and constitute another stylistic subgroup. Iconographic parallels for seal 332 come from Tell Judeideh and near Zincirli, the latter dated to c. 2500–2300 B.C.<sup>43</sup> The cutting style of these seals (Amiet's Group II)<sup>44</sup> is related to ours but is of a higher quality.

### *MODELED STYLE (333)*

Although the iconography of this seal can be loosely compared with that of seal 330 (double register, animal files), the style is subtly modeled and belongs to a distinctive group (Amiet's Group V). The animals in this group of seals are usually distinguished by raised haunches, linear markings covering the necks, and sometimes two lines on the haunches.<sup>45</sup> A seal in the same style is said to have come from Carchemish.<sup>46</sup>

### *LINEAR STYLES (334–336)*

The seals in this group are characterized by a neat, well-defined, flat linear style. The style of seal 335 shows an affinity with that of seal 336, that in turn is related to a linear style that is characteristic of a group of early second millennium seals from Syria (see 353 and 354 below).

Most of the motifs on seal 334 occur in early Mesopotamian and Susian iconography. The cross and the squatting female figure as a symbol of fertility are found on seals and sealings from Ur<sup>47</sup> and Susa,<sup>48</sup> in the Early Dynastic I and Proto-Urban periods respectively. The swastika is similarly found on seals from the Early Dynastic I period at Ur.<sup>49</sup> This motif, which was originally created with animals, goes back to the painted pottery of Samarra.<sup>50</sup> The anthropomorphic scorpion, as on 335, appears in Mesopotamian iconography in the Early Dynastic III period.<sup>51</sup> The scorpion-man is often represented supporting various astral bodies or is associated with the sun god's boat.<sup>52</sup> In the Gilgamesh epic a scorpion-man and woman are mentioned as guardians of the mountain behind which the sun descends at nightfall.<sup>53</sup>

Although 336 has both stylistic (the pronounced eyes of the lions) and iconographic (bull-man in combat with two lions, single drinking figure) features in common with the Early Dynastic period, it also has certain features that suggest it is of a later date. The affinity of the linear style of this seal with that of a group of early second millennium Syrian seals has already been mentioned. The iconography of the single seated figure drinking from a curved pipe and the plant in the field is another link with this group, although the absence here of the ball staff and vessel, which are ubiquitous in the later group, confirms the early date of this seal. It is therefore probably to be dated to the Early Dynastic III (late EBA III period) or perhaps to the Akkadian period. The single seated drinking figure was adopted in Syria during the Early Dynastic period, and it was consistently more popular here than the standard Mesopotamian pair of drinking figures.

There is a paucity of Syrian seals dated to the Akkadian period which show the influence of the Akkadian repertoire.<sup>54</sup> Elements of this repertoire were nevertheless absorbed into Syrian iconography and appear on Syrian seals from the early second millennium, as shown in chapter twelve.

#### *DRILLED STYLES (337–341)*

The seals in this group are characterized by a delicate cutting style that includes the use of the drill and a tendency toward decoration. The similarity between these features and those of Early Dynastic glyptic art from Brak and Chagar Bazar (Amiet's Group I)<sup>55</sup> has been pointed out. As with a number of sealings from Brak, the field on the seals is divided by a single or double band of chevrons (337, 338) or is filled with decorative motifs such as lions' heads, stars, and vessels.<sup>56</sup>

Stylistically, however, the resemblance between the two groups is fairly superficial. The drill is used much more profusely on the seals below than on the sealings from Brak, although it is used in the same manner to denote the eyes. The hachuring (340) and herringbone markings (341) on the animals' bodies do not appear to be characteristic of Brak. Although parallels exist for seals 340 and 341 (see catalogue entries) they are on unprovenanced seals. An origin somewhere in northeast Syria, based on the affinity with the Brak seals, is likely however.

The animal row in the upper part of the field on 337 is archaizing and reminiscent of Jamdat Nasr repertoire, as is the row of long-handled pots on 338. The wavy line on 337 is a feature that occurs as part of a pattern on seals from Diyala and Elam of the Jamdat Nasr period.<sup>57</sup> It became more common during the late Early Dynastic period, when it was frequently associated with animal motifs.<sup>58</sup>

The boat with the serpent(?) prow, which may be represented in the lower register of seal 339, can be compared to the prows with animal or deities' heads which occur on mostly northern Mesopotamian glyptic art from the Early Dynastic II period onward.<sup>59</sup> The principal motifs on seals 340 and 341 are also reminiscent of the Early Dynastic II repertoire from Mesopotamia.

An interesting and characteristically Syrian feature is the frontal lion's head on seal 341. Frontal animal heads, or sometimes masks, are represented on a number of Syrian seals of various styles, from sites as widely dispersed as Tell Mardikh, Hama, Mari, and Brak.<sup>60</sup> The parallel with Fara has been pointed out.<sup>61</sup> The division of the terminal into compartments containing decorative motifs above and below the dividing motif on the same seal is unusual for this period. The decorative motifs on the sealings from Brak and Tell Mardikh are arranged in horizontal rows or placed at right angles to one another but not in compartments. Compartments do not appear to have been characteristic of Mesopotamia, however, and may be found to be a genuinely Syrian feature.



*MISCELLANEOUS STYLES (342–349)*

The seals here are stylistically miscellaneous, but most have features that indicate a Syrian origin. The use of the drill and the ribbing on the bodies of the figures on seals 342 and 343 are characteristically Syrian. The terminal consisting of vertically and horizontally placed animals on 344 is also Syrian. This seal is iconographically and stylistically fairly close to an impression from Tell Selenkahiye referred to in the catalogue entry and dated to the Early Dynastic III period.

Unfortunately no provenanced parallel for seal 345 has been found by this writer. The original terminal, a vessel with drinking pipes above a scorpion, is to be noted. The long and pronounced pigtail of the figure on the right may be found to be another feature characteristic of Syria.<sup>62</sup>

If not specifically Syrian, seals 346–349 probably have provincial origins by virtue of their crude styles and iconography, which is derived from the standard Mesopotamian repertoire of the Early Dynastic II and III periods. Chariot scenes (347, 348) are found on a number of Syrian seals of different styles.<sup>63</sup> The chariot box on seal 347 is strangely similar to the offering table on seal 352; the former seal may have been recut. The angular arm position of the seated figure on seal 349 and the square stool with cross bars upon which he sits are reminiscent of Akkadian iconography, and the seal has been tentatively dated to this period. The crude cut style is provincial.

## XII

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### SYRIAN SEALS FROM THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM

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The incursion of seminomadic peoples into Syria during the last centuries of the third millennium severely disrupted its urban civilization, causing a hiatus that lasted into the early second millennium.

The seals below have been divided into four principal groups based on subject matter: (i) banquet scenes, (ii) seated figures drinking through a curved pipe, (iii) seated figures holding a cup, and (iv) figures with animals. The seals are cut in a number of linear styles which vary greatly in depth of cutting, degree of naturalism, and quality. Some of these are established styles; others are new. The iconography of these seals is extremely eclectic.

As with the Early Dynastic Syrian seals, it is regrettable that the provenance of these seals is not known, since such a variety of styles almost certainly indicates regional traditions. Seals 350 and 351 belong to a crude group of Syrian and provincial seals showing mostly banquet scenes derived from the Early Dynastic or Akkadian repertoires.<sup>1</sup> The style of seal 350 is distinctly reminiscent of Early Dynastic glyptic art, whereas the style of seal 351 is fairly close to that of a seal from Chatal Hüyük (see references in catalogue entries). Seals 353 and 354 are the only two seals that are cut in an identical style, and they belong to a small known group of linear style seals of the early second millennium, as noted in the catalogue entries. Seal 352 is probably related to this group (the cutting of the figures' robes is similar), but it is unusual because of its large size. The affinity between the linear style seals 353 and 354 and that of the group of third millennium linear style Syrian seals has been mentioned above. The delicate and light cutting of 356 is unusual and nothing similar to it has yet been found by this writer. Seal 378 belongs to a group of schematic seals which have been found in Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Anatolia, and Elam, and which may have originated in northern Syria or Anatolia in the nineteenth century B.C.<sup>2</sup>

The styles of 379 and 380 are very similar, and these seals together with one in the Berlin collection would seem to form a new stylistic group. The cutting of the bull's body on seal 379 can be compared to that of the bulls on 354 and 355. The cutting of the human figures on these seals and seal 381 is also close.

Otherwise, seals cut in various, fairly crude linear styles, whose iconography can be compared with that of the seals in this group as a whole, have been found widely distributed from Palestine (Gezer) and Syria (Byblos, Hama, Qatna, Alalakh, Chatal Hüyük, and Tell Judeideh) to Anatolia.<sup>3</sup>

Seals such as 350 and 351 have been dated generally to the late third or early second millennium on the basis of their iconography. Seal 350, the style of which is reminiscent of Early Dynastic glyptic art, may be slightly earlier than the rest in this group. Otherwise the dating of these seals rests primarily on the basis of certain iconographic elements, such as the bull with a structure on its back, the ball staff and vessel,<sup>4</sup> the head standard (barely visible on seal 366), the female figure with a "ponytail" (367), and the schematic bull-men terminal (381). The bull with the structure on its back belongs to the Akkadian period, the other motifs to the glyptic art of early second millennium Mesopotamia or Cappadocia, or to the general themes of Cappadocian or provincial glyptic art of the same period. Very few properly stratified seals from this period have been found in Syria (see note 2).

The principal material used for these seals is serpentine. A few seals are made of marble and hematite.

#### *BANQUETS (350, 351)*

The derivation of this subject from Early Dynastic and Akkadian iconography has been mentioned above.

#### *SEATED FIGURES DRINKING THROUGH A CURVED PIPE (352-359)*

A high proportion of Syrian seals from this period depicts this subject. Although the principal character is always engaged in the same activity, the context in which he drinks varies: he may be seated before a laden table with one or more attendants (352, 353, 359), before attendants only (358), or before a bull with a winged temple on its back (354). Many of the seals share certain iconographic details such as the plant or the stalk of grain (e.g., 354, 355), the jar with a double ridge on its shoulder (e.g., 352, 353, 354), and the ball staff and vessel (353-357).

The sources for the iconography of this group are mixed. The main subject, a single figure drinking before a shrine or table is found on Syrian seals dated to the third millennium.<sup>5</sup> Statues of bulls, however, are very

common in the repertoire of the Old Assyrian Colony styles from Cappadocia.

It has been suggested that the ancestry of cultic scenes such as represented on seals 355 and 356 can be traced back to Early Dynastic seals such as those from Mari and from Syria<sup>6</sup> which show an animal standing before a seated figure through to an early Syrian seal, tentatively dated to the Akkadian period.<sup>7</sup> The only difference between the bulls on Syrian seals and the ones on the Cappadocian seals is that the former do not usually have a cone-shaped protrusion on their rump and seem to be generally associated with a plant or a stalk of grain.

Although there are Syrian prototypes for the single figure seated and sometimes drinking before a laden table in the presence of an animal, it cannot be said at present that the statue of the bull on an altar was derived from Syrian and Mesopotamian prototypes only, and was free from the influence of the Cappadocian repertoire. For example, a seal of this type from the Montet jar found at Byblos shows a bull of the Old Assyrian Colony style type.<sup>8</sup> Again, the canopy under which the bull stands on seal 355 is paralleled on a sealing from Kültepe (reference in catalogue entry). It has been suggested that at this period in Syria the bull did not represent the weather god, as in Cappadocia, but was a symbol of fertility.<sup>9</sup> The bull with the winged temple on its back (354), an Akkadian motif, may have been assimilated into the Syrian repertoire in the late third millennium and survived longer in Syria than in Mesopotamia.<sup>10</sup>

*SEATED FIGURES HOLDING CUPS (361–364); SEATED  
FIGURES (360, 365–367)*

A number of Syrian seals from this period show this familiar Mesopotamian and Cappadocian subject. The seated figures on seals 360, 366, and 367 do not hold cups, but the general context of the scenes suggests that they are derived from this Mesopotamian tradition. The jar with the curved pipe gives the scene on 360 a definite Syrian character. Most of the seals in this group have iconographic details in common with the seals in the group described above: the jar with the double ridge on its shoulder (362), the bull with the winged temple on its back (364), the ball staff (360, 362–364). The laden table on seal 361 is reminiscent of the table depicted on a ritual basin from Tell Mardikh, dated to the early second millennium, as noted in the catalogue entry. The object behind the standing figure on seal 365 is possibly a schematic representation of a double-headed animal. Double lion headed eagles with menacing aspects are sometimes associated with animals on a number of Syrian seals of the early second millennium.<sup>11</sup> This figure was ultimately derived from Early Dynastic iconography. Some seals also have features characteristic of the Cappadocian repertoire such as the bird (364), the unattached head (363), the “mongoose” (362), the head standard (366), and the female figure with the ponytail (367).<sup>12</sup>



*HUMAN FIGURES AND ANIMALS (368–381)*

Varied representations of humans herding, paying homage to, or simply walking in procession with animals were common subjects at this period. A number of these themes are derived from the Early Dynastic repertoire. For example, the animal row (368), friezes composed of animals and figures with a dagger in the field (371), and the combating animals (369) are found in the Early Dynastic Syrian period.<sup>13</sup>

All three seals have iconographic elements compatible with a later date (the structure on the animal's back on seal 368, or the ball staff on seals 369 and 371). The iconography of 379 and 380 is also archaizing. With the exception of the bird (379, 380) and the plant (380), other iconographic details encountered above (e.g., the ball staff, the vessel, the human head, as on seal 369) are missing. Similar slender human figures, and stars, are found on other early second millennium Syrian seals, however (seal 381 and catalogue entry).<sup>14</sup>

Seal 372 shows three figures paying homage to an antelope with its head turned backward and a plant on its haunches. Similar antelopes occur on other Syrian seals from this period<sup>15</sup> (363 above) and in the repertoire of Old Assyrian seals from Cappadocia, usually without the plant,<sup>16</sup> as an object of worship or as a symbolic motif, like the bull. This subject is again found on Syrian or early Mitannian seals dated to the late seventeenth century B.C.<sup>17</sup>

The rampant antelope (370 and 376) with its head turned back occurs in a procession of figures on an early Syrian seal from Kültepe Level Ib<sup>18</sup> and on late Old Assyrian seals.<sup>19</sup> The spear in the field (366 and 373) is another feature found on Cappadocian seals of the Old Assyrian schematic style.<sup>20</sup>

The iconography of seal 377, figure(s) facing animals superimposed in the field, and a tree, can be compared with that of a seal from Alishar Hüyük.

The terminal on seal 381 is derived from the representation of two bullmen standing haunch to haunch with their heads turned backward. The same terminal is found on early Old Assyrian seals, rendered more naturalistically.<sup>21</sup>

# XIII

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## OLD ASSYRIAN COLONY STYLE SEALS

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Archaeological evidence from central Anatolia shows that at the beginning of the second millennium this region enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity<sup>1</sup> to which Assyrian trading colonies eventually contributed greatly. The seals in this group are characteristic of these colonies, whose presence in Anatolia was first established by the discovery of a large number of clay tablets at Kültepe, a site near Kaiseri in central Anatolia or Cappadocia. A smaller number of similar tablets were also found at Alishar Hüyük and at Boghazköy.<sup>2</sup> The trading settlement at Kültepe, the *kārum*, was the administrative center of a series of trading colonies which were established at various other sites in Anatolia. The bulk of this trade consisted in the shipment of tin and textiles from Ashur in return for silver and gold.

Kültepe had two main periods of activity: Level II (c. 1920–1840 B.C.), which was destroyed by fire, and Level Ib (c. 1810–1740 B.C.). The smaller Assyrian settlements at Alishar Hüyük and Boghazköy and the palaces of Karahöyük and Acemhöyük were roughly contemporary with the later, Kültepe Ib phase.<sup>3</sup>

Four principal regional styles are evident from the impressions of Kültepe and the other centers: an Assyrian, a Babylonian, a Syrian, and an Anatolian style. The seals below are characteristic of the Assyrian style, which is divided into an earlier and a later group, and of the Old Syrian Colony or Syro-Cappadocian style. The principal material used for these seals was hematite, although serpentine, marble, limestone, and lapis lazuli were also used.

### EARLY OLD ASSYRIAN STYLE (382–394)

This style was named on the basis of a few seals in a similar style which were found at Ashur.<sup>4</sup> It occurs principally in the Kültepe II period, al-

though examples of it still occur in the Ib period.<sup>5</sup> It is essentially a linear style, characterized by angularity and a certain schematization (e.g., hands are reduced to two or three vertical prongs and limbs to straight lines, the nose to a triangular form on the face) and may ultimately have been derived from the linear styles of Syria from the fourth and third millennia,<sup>6</sup> although it has no immediate precursors. The iconography of this group of seals is principally derived from a conflation of Babylonian and Anatolian subjects and motifs. The most common subjects are scenes of introduction to a seated deity, of worship of standing deities holding various attributes, and processions of supplicants toward the statue of a bull.

#### *PRESENTATION TO A SEATED DEITY (382–389)*

The worshiper here is being led by one or two deities to a seated deity holding a cup. This subject is very close to the Babylonian presentation scenes of the Ur III period and may have been derived from that repertoire.<sup>7</sup> None of the deities below has any distinctive attributes, except perhaps for the last deity in the procession on seal 387, who appears to be holding a scepter topped by a star. Small secondary subjects, such as the couchant lion, a bull with a triangular protrusion on its rump, and marching figures serve as terminals. The marching figures also appear with the bull as a main subject (see 393 and 394 below).

#### *WORSHIP OF THE WEATHER GOD (390)*

The weather god is one of the most frequently represented deities in this group of seals. He is usually shown standing on his animal attribute, the bull, as here, is frequently armed, and often holds a lightning fork. The iconography of this god is taken from the Anatolian group of seals, where several different versions of weather god were represented.<sup>8</sup> For the owners of these seals, judging by the frequency with which they occur, the weather god figures were of major importance. The Cappadocian tablets give only scant information about the attributes of deities, and the names by which the local deities were known at the time cannot be established.<sup>9</sup> Weather gods, however, held prominent places in the Hittite pantheon.<sup>10</sup> Since some Anatolian deities were assimilated into the pantheon,<sup>11</sup> they can sometimes be identified with the help of later sources. The name of the chief weather god worshiped by the earliest Hittites was Tarhunna, who is possibly to be identified with the indigenous Hattian weather god, Taru.<sup>12</sup> Toward the end of the Hittite empire, when the major gods of the Hittite pantheon had virtually been replaced by Hurrian gods, the national weather god was known as Teshub.<sup>13</sup> The representation of the Mesopotamian god Adad during the Old Babylonian period, when he appears in association with a bull instead of a lion-dragon, may have been influenced by Anatolian iconography.

*WORSHIP OF A BULL (391–394)*

Several types of worshipers, including a deity (391), render homage to the statue of a bull on the seals below. The subject is Anatolian, the most popular theme of that group of seals.<sup>14</sup> The general association of bulls with weather gods, both as an animal attribute on the Anatolian group of seals and as the zoomorphic representation of weather gods in later Hittite shrines,<sup>15</sup> suggests that the bull here was intended to represent a weather god.

The nature and significance of the triangular protrusion on the bull's rump is still obscure. It has been interpreted as a coniferous plant<sup>16</sup> or as a symbol of the mountains on which Anatolian weather gods often stand.<sup>17</sup> Sometimes a bird is perched on top of this triangular shape, or even replaces it.

The hero in combat with the lion on seal 391 is a familiar Babylonian motif.

*LATE OLD ASSYRIAN STYLE (395–414)*

By the Kültepe Ib period and the contemporary levels at Acemhöyük, the early Old Assyrian style had largely been superseded by the Late Old Assyrian style.<sup>18</sup> Iconographically this style shows much more Babylonian influence than the earlier style, and although it retains its linear character, the cutting has become more delicate and adventurous and now includes crosshatching and the juxtaposition of lines.<sup>19</sup> One especially distinguishing characteristic of this style is the representation of a certain type of cap with a border indicated by small vertical lines, which might have been intended to represent a strip of fur.<sup>20</sup>

Most of the seals in this style show worship or presentation scenes. A simplified linear style characterized by horizontal striations on the bodies of the figures, called the "schematic" Assyrian style (see 407 below), occurs on another group of seals from Level Ib.<sup>21</sup> These seals for the most part represent rows of heroes and worshipers walking or half kneeling beside various animals ("mongooses," antelopes, dragons, and lions) and scenes of homage to a bull.

*PRESENTATION TO A SEATED DEITY (395–398)*

To this familiar Early Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian theme are added figures such as the suppliant goddess (396) and animals, the goat and dragon (395), and the lion (397), which appear in Old Babylonian contest scenes.

*SCENES WITH STANDING DEITIES (399–406)*

Only two deities can be identified with any certainty in this group of seals. The water god Ea is represented on seal 399 holding a flowing vase, with his usual associate the nude bearded hero with curls. This figure, standing



facing front and either holding a flowing vase or surrounded by streams of water, is frequently found in late Old Assyrian iconography.<sup>22</sup> The deity in an ascending position on seal 400 can be identified by the saw or *saššaru* he carries, which was the emblem of the sun god Shamash.

The small figure on a plinth behind the sun god represents the statue of a priest, a very common figure in Old Babylonian scenes of worship. The figure with the mace on seal 403 and the barely visible figure of the nude female with her hands clasped under her breasts on 406 are also well known from the Babylonian repertoire. The deities on 404 and 405 have no attributes. These seals, together with 406, probably have a provincial origin. The angular style and iconography of 405 are unusual, even for provincial glyptic art, and the material from which the seal is made, fossil coral, is equally unusual.

#### *FIGURES WITH ANIMALS AND PROCESSIONS (407–414)*

Only seal 407 is truly characteristic of the Late Old Assyrian style mentioned above, and it belongs to the same tradition as 393 and 394. Seals 408–414 probably have a provincial origin. The dog with a crook on its head on 409 occurs on Old Babylonian seals from the Diyala.<sup>23</sup> Figures walking in procession as on seals 409 and 410 also occur in the Diyala,<sup>24</sup> but the styles of these seals are not characteristic there. The signs on 414 are only an imitation of a cuneiform inscription.

#### *OLD SYRIAN COLONY STYLE (415–433)*

The seals in this style occur mostly in the Kültepe II period<sup>25</sup> where they can be divided into three slightly varying styles: a purely linear style, represented by most of the seals here; a style characterized by the additional use of a drill; and a style that shows a greater degree of modeling than the others.<sup>26</sup> The examples of the Old Syrian Colony style which occur in Kültepe Ib are possibly heirlooms,<sup>27</sup> since by this period the Syrian seals at Kültepe are of the Syrian classical style.<sup>28</sup>

Although sometimes angular, the linear style is not schematic. The most important feature of the Old Syrian Colony styles is that they display iconographic elements found in the later Syrian styles, for example, the "Syrian woman," a figure with long hair dressed in a full length robe; the double-head standard; mantles with linear borders; and hares in the field. (Further motifs will be discussed below.) They also have features in common with the Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian, and Anatolian styles. Seals which show a greater degree of affinity with Syrian iconography than others in the conventional Old Syrian Colony style have been included in this group on stylistic grounds. Thus, seal 415 is of a type found in Syria in the early second millennium, but its style, which can be compared with that of 418, also has elements in common with the Late Old Assyrian style.<sup>29</sup>

The arrangement of the goods on the table on seal 427 forms another close link with early second millennium Syrian iconography (e.g., seal 359 above), although the style of the rest of the seal is Colonial Old Syrian. Both the style and the iconography of 428 are unusual. The decorative motifs in the upper register are fairly close to those on an early Syrian impression from Acemhöyük,<sup>30</sup> and the ropelike dividing motif is also paralleled on other early Syrian seals.<sup>31</sup> The figure in the ascending position, however, does not appear to be Syrian. The placing of a full-sized figure beside rows of decorative motifs is rare; a possibly recut seal in the Yale collection and another in the Gorelick collection are fairly close compositionally, as noted in the catalogue entry.

The relatively uncrowded scenes on seals 429–433 and the terminal on 433 are closer to later Syrian iconography, although stylistically they are closer to the linear Old Syrian Colony style.

#### *FIGURES WITH ANIMALS (415)*

The division of the field into an upper and a lower register, with decorative motifs in the upper register and a scene with figures in the lower register, as here, is, as has been mentioned, characteristic of Syrian seals from the early second millennium. A seal from Çatal Hüyük is a close parallel. The “rope” or denticulated dividing motif has also been mentioned. The division of the field into rows of decorative motifs and symbols on later Syrian seals is discussed below.

#### *SEATED AND STANDING DEITIES AND OTHER FIGURES (416–433)*

The principal subject of seals 416–424, 430, and 431 is a seated figure or deity usually holding a cup. On seals 416–418 the figure is seated before a table upon which are crouched two “mongooses.” This subject appears to be more common in the Old Syrian Colony style than in the other Cappadocian styles where mongooses rarely appear, either in pairs or on tables.<sup>32</sup> The vessel with a drinking pipe in it on seal 418 gives the seal an added Syrian character.

The crossed human figures on seals 416, 421, 422, and 433 appear to be another motif peculiar to the Old Syrian Colony style and to very early Syrian seals (e.g., 433). It was perhaps derived from the motif of crossed animals found on Old Assyrian and Anatolian Colony style seals.<sup>33</sup> On 421 the crossed figures hold human heads; this is a subject found on Old Babylonian and Late Old Assyrian seals.<sup>34</sup> The seven drill holes in the sky on 416 are possibly intended to represent the Pleiades.<sup>35</sup> These occur on most of the glyptic groups from Cappadocia.<sup>36</sup> The small human figures serving as terminals on 419 and 421 are derived from the Old Assyrian repertoire. The reversed figure on seal 422 and the statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump on seals 417 and 418 are taken from the Anatolian repertoire. The association of a seated figure with a bird which is found on

later Syrian seals (e.g., 457 below) may ultimately be derived from the Anatolian repertoire.<sup>37</sup>

The seated deity with bull's ears(?) facing front on 431 is reminiscent of a similarly enthroned deity with bull's ears who appears on seals of the Syrian Colony style and later Syrian seals,<sup>38</sup> and whose identity has not yet been established. In northern Old Babylonian iconography a deity with bull's ears has been identified as a god of the underworld, although he is not represented seated.<sup>39</sup>

One of the clearly identifiable standing deities in this group of seals is the weather god on 426. His iconography is a combination of Babylonian and Syrian elements. He wears a Syrian headdress and hairstyle and holds Syrian arms, yet he stands in an ascending position and wears a long robe open at the front. The rays emanating from him are derived from Akkadian iconography and were characteristic of the sun god.

Other deities in ascending positions are represented on seals 422, 425, and 428. The deity's ascending position over an animal which he holds by a leash on seal 422 is reminiscent of the iconography of weather gods on the Anatolian and the Old Assyrian group of seals,<sup>40</sup> but he cannot be definitely identified as such because he has no attributes and his mount is recognizable as neither bull nor lion. The deity on 425 has no attributes at all, and the deity(?) on seal 428 holds an unfamiliar emblem. The deity on seal 433 again cannot be identified because he has neither attributes nor a distinguishing posture.

The suppliant goddess (432) and the nude bearded hero kneeling on one knee (427) are both figures derived from the Old Babylonian and Akkadian repertoires of Mesopotamia, respectively. Both figures are found in later Syrian iconography.

Another figure found in later Syrian iconography (see e.g., 551, 552) is the small kneeling hero on seals 424 and 429. He was a popular subject of the Anatolian repertoire.<sup>41</sup>

On seals 421, 423, 425, and 429, a female figure, the "Syrian woman," is shown standing before a double-head standard, comprised of a female and a male head. The two heads are clearly visible on the terminal on seal 430. This standard, which is sometimes surmounted by a bird, occurs only on Syrian and Old Syrian Colony style seals. Its significance cannot be fully interpreted since it appears in varying contexts,<sup>42</sup> with different deities or worshipers (although the "Syrian woman" seems more often associated with it than other figures are), with animals and symbols, or by itself. It nevertheless clearly appears to have been an object of worship and may also have had an apotropaic function.<sup>43</sup> It has been connected to a cult symbol of Hierapolis mentioned in a Greek text attributed to Lucian (first century A.D.).<sup>44</sup>

## XIV

### SYRIAN SEALS FROM C. 1850-1620 B.C.

For most of the first half of the second millennium, Syria was divided into a series of independent and satellite city-states. The archives from Mari, which date chiefly from the reigns of Yasmah-Adad (1802–1781 B.C.) and Zimri-Lim (1780–1757 B.C.), are the principal source for the early history of the period.<sup>1</sup> In northern Syria the area around Aleppo was dominated by the kingdom of Iamhad. Carchemish, Emar, Urshu, Hashu, Qatna (Tell Mishrifé—the traditional rival of Iamhad), Ugarit, and Byblos are mentioned. Mari fell to Hammurabi of Babylon c. 1759 B.C.

The principal source for the period which followed is the archive from Alalakh (Tell Atchana) Level VII (c. 1720–1620 B.C.), the bulk of which probably dates from the latter part of this period.<sup>2</sup> Alalakh was a part of the kingdom of Iamhad which developed when Abban of Iamhad appointed his brother Iarim-Lim governor of the city.<sup>3</sup> The political organization of Syria at this period does not seem to have been radically different from that of the previous Mari period. Ugarit, Tunip (in central Syria), and Qatna do not appear to have been under the control of Iamhad, although Qatna was eventually subdued.<sup>4</sup> Byblos is not mentioned in the Alalakh texts.<sup>5</sup> Ebla (Tell Mardikh) was linked by marriage to the Iamhad dynasty and probably came under Iamhad's sphere of influence.<sup>6</sup> The land of Amurru is referred to in the texts and emerges as a district probably in the area around Homs.<sup>7</sup> No other centers in central and southern Syria, such as Damascus (known from the Egyptian Execration Texts), are mentioned. In the late seventeenth century B.C., Alalakh VII was destroyed by the Hittite king Hattušili I.<sup>8</sup> A second group of texts, from Alalakh IV, dated to c. 1450 B.C.,<sup>9</sup> presents a totally different political picture. Hattušili claimed to have destroyed Aleppo also, although its destruction is usually attributed to Muršili I, his successor. Ebla was also destroyed in about 1600 B.C.<sup>10</sup>

Both the Mari and Alalakh texts indicate that the rulers of these Syrian



centers at this period were mostly western Semitic Amorites, in spite of the fact that Urshu and Hashu were in fact ruled by Hurrians in the Mari period.<sup>11</sup> The Alalakh texts contain Hurrian personal names and expressions.<sup>12</sup>

As with the earlier groups of Syrian seals, the major obstacle to a comprehensive classification of the glyptic art from this period has been the lack of sufficient examples of stratified seals and sealings from more than one site belonging to the period in question. The seal impressions from the archive of Alalakh VII are the largest group which can be properly dated thus far and are the principal source for the history of the Syrian style from c. 1720–1620 B.C.<sup>13</sup> The publication of the seals from Ugarit is still awaited. The Syrian seals and impressions from the Anatolian sites Kültepe,<sup>14</sup> Acemhöyük,<sup>15</sup> Karahöyük,<sup>16</sup> and Boghazköy,<sup>17</sup> from Mari,<sup>18</sup> and the impressions on a few Old Babylonian tablets<sup>19</sup> are the main source for the period before Alalakh VII. Properly stratified seals from c. 1620–1500 B.C. are scarce, thus the history of Syrian glyptic art at this period is still obscure.

Because of the relative abundance of seals and sealings which have come from the Alalakh excavations and the dearth of seals from other contemporary Syrian sites with the exception of Ugarit, it has been suggested that northern Syria was a main seal-producing center.<sup>20</sup> This argument from silence remains unsubstantiated, however. Evidence from Alalakh suggests that the Level VII palace had a resident seal cutter,<sup>21</sup> and this may have been the practice in some of the other major centers such as Aleppo and Ugarit.

The section above on Cappadocian seals included an outline of the characteristics of the Old Syrian Colony styles when they first appear in the time of Kültepe Level II. As was mentioned above, the fully developed Syrian style is found by the time of Kültepe Ib, thus a date of c. 1850 B.C. has been taken here as the *terminus post quem* of the Syrian classical style.

The Syrian seals and sealings from Kültepe, Karahöyük, Acemhöyük, and Mari show two principal styles: linear and modeled. The term *classical* has been applied to both because they show the typical iconographic features of the Syrian style used with precision and restraint.<sup>22</sup>

The linear style is best exemplified by the seals from Karahöyük;<sup>23</sup> it is also found at Kültepe Ib<sup>24</sup> and on an impression on an Old Babylonian tablet dated to the early reign of Samsu-Iluna (1749–1712 B.C.)<sup>25</sup> It is characterized by figures with slightly long and angular limbs, often wearing robes with a splayed and fringed hem and taking part in simple Syrian ritual or banquet scenes. The cutting style is linear and sober. The best examples of the modeled style come from Mari,<sup>26</sup> although it is also found at Kültepe,<sup>27</sup> at Acemhöyük<sup>28</sup> and on the seal of Matrunna,<sup>29</sup> the daughter of Aplahanda, the king of Carchemish and contemporary of Hammurabi.

It has been suggested that the Syrian elements of the Syrian classical style were introduced into the art of Mari during the reign of Yasmah-Adad (1802–1781 B.C.),<sup>30</sup> who preceded Zimri-Lim as ruler of Mari. The iconography of some of the figures in this style is Mesopotamian (e.g., the suppliant goddess, the seated water god Ea), of others Syrian (e.g., the kneeling griffin, the seminude goddess facing front). Its principal characteristics are heavy modeling and rounded engraving, with linear borders on the figures' mantles and robes (e.g., 442 and 443). This rich modeled style, which is so different in character from the linear style, may have been more directly connected to an early north Syrian aulic tradition, as the examples from Mari and the seal of Matrunna would suggest, than was the linear style.

The sealings from Alalakh show further development of the Syrian style. Within the group of seals that can be dated chronologically, the earlier group is characterized by stocky figures wearing garments with thick, rounded borders; it has been termed *baroque*. On the later group of seals the figures tend to become taller and thinner, the rolled borders on the garments narrower, and the relief flatter.<sup>31</sup> Fragmentary cylinder seal impressions from Tell Mardikh which show similar late features have been dated to the late eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> The borders of garments are on the whole useful chronological criteria for the development of Syrian seals, but nevertheless must be used cautiously since certain seals show that linear and rolled borders were contemporaneous.<sup>33</sup>

A third style also appears at Alalakh and at Tell Mardikh, on seals that show predominantly Mesopotamian subjects.<sup>34</sup> The origin of this drilled style, which also occurs on a group of Old Babylonian seals, is still uncertain although, because of its Mesopotamian themes, it is thought to have had a non-Syrian, perhaps north Mesopotamian, origin.<sup>35</sup> The only sealing in this style from Alalakh which can be dated firmly belongs to the reign of Niqmepuh, the son of Iarim-Lim, king of Iamhad.<sup>36</sup> The example from Tell Mardikh has been dated later, toward the end of the seventeenth century B.C.<sup>37</sup>

Certain Syrian seals which can be attributed to particular workshops can sometimes be dated on the basis of their iconography. Collon, in a recent article, has tentatively identified as a stylistic group a number of seals dated to the second half of the eighteenth century. These seals are characterized by stocky figures, set in a well-balanced composition which is generally divided into two parts, either vertically or horizontally, at a variety of permutations to the axis of the seal. These seals are thought to have come from a workshop in the Aleppo area manned by craftsmen who may have been trained or greatly influenced by the Sippar workshops of the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>38</sup> Seal 557 has been mentioned as belonging to this group (see catalogue entry) and seals 457, 509, 508, 543, 544, and 556 also appear to be part of it. Similarly, seal 505 belongs to an early mid-nineteenth to mid-eighteenth century group of seals, characterized by figures with rounded forms and a "plait" or foliate-like motif in lieu of a guilloche (see

also 561) which may have ultimately been influenced by the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals.<sup>39</sup>

Other groups of Syrian seals for which there are almost no parallels from securely stratified contexts are ones that show strong Egyptian influence. A number of high quality seals showing predominantly Egyptian motifs (e.g., 513) suggest the existence of a seal-producing center where high craftsmanship was combined with strong Egyptian influence, which may have been long lasting.<sup>40</sup> One such impression has come from Alalakh Level IV, but this may have been made with an heirloom seal.<sup>41</sup>

Another group, sometimes called Syro-Palestinian,<sup>42</sup> is characterized by elongated and spindly figures, vertical guilloches and panels of superimposed animals. This group has been dated to c. 1800–1600 B.C., on the basis of the comparison of a cartouche on one of these cylinders with those on scarabs from the Second Intermediate period. One of these seals, from Tell Beit Mirsim, was found in a seventeenth-century context.<sup>43</sup> A crude linear style, often with Egyptianizing iconography, which appears mostly on small seals can be given a late date here (c. 1650–1600 B.C.) because the style combined with such iconographic details as thick hems suggest the end of a tradition (e.g., 472, 483).

Egyptianizing seals combined with Syrian and Mesopotamian elements from Alalakh VII, will be discussed below.

The history of Syrian glyptic art during the times of Levels VI and V at Alalakh, to the beginning of Alalakh IV when a fully developed Mitannian style emerges, is obscure. Archaeologically, the period from c. 1620–1500 B.C. is confused, and many sites show a hiatus at this period. The latest Syrian impression in the baroque style yet found on a document is on an envelope dated to the seventh year of Samsuditana, that is, 1618 B.C.,<sup>44</sup> although this seal was probably preserved from an earlier period.

A number of seals and one impression from Alalakh, however, have been attributed to this period. Some emerge as a fairly distinctive group which parallels Mitannian glyptic art from the Levant and Nuzi. The rest are stylistically miscellaneous.<sup>45</sup> The few published seals from graves at Ugarit dated to c. 1550–1450 B.C. show a variety of crude linear styles.<sup>46</sup> The late dating of certain Syrian seals which show supposedly Aegean scenes or figures is, on the basis of general comparisons with Aegean art, too imprecise to be used as a meaningful chronological criterion.

The iconography of Syrian glyptic art is more eclectic than that of any other glyptic style from the ancient Near East. This is certainly due to the international contacts which Syria had at this period. Syria was crossed by two major trade routes: one leaving the Euphrates near the city of Emar (Meskene), passing through Aleppo and on to the coast and southern Syria and eventually to Palestine and Egypt; the other from the Euphrates near Mari, passing through Palmyra and joining the first trade route, probably at



Qatna.<sup>47</sup> Maritime trade to and from Egypt and Cyprus took place along the Syrian coast;<sup>48</sup> the Mari texts mention contacts with Crete.<sup>49</sup>

Given this eclecticism, however, the transformation of foreign motifs and subjects into the standard Syrian repertoire is one of the most important characteristics of Syrian glyptic.

Another characteristic of this style is the emphasis on decoration and balanced composition. The field is frequently filled with small symbols and motifs such as human heads, hares, or fish. This was also a feature of Old Syrian Colony style glyptic and was derived from the Anatolian group of seals from Cappadocia. A principal scene is often flanked by small secondary scenes, usually decorative. Various types of guilloche (intertwined bands of two or three strands) and spiral designs<sup>50</sup> were used as a device to divide the secondary decorative motifs into an upper and a lower plane, or to enclose the whole scene, thus balancing and giving proportion to the design. It has already been shown that in certain instances the guilloche and spiral motif were intended to represent flowing water.<sup>51</sup> Whether the guilloche and spiral, as decorative elements, were also intended to have the pictographic meaning "flowing water" is less certain.

The guilloche appears early in Syrian art;<sup>52</sup> and is found fully developed in the Anatolian group of seals from Kültepe II.<sup>53</sup> Both the spiral and guilloche were very popular on Old Hittite stamp seals.<sup>54</sup> The popularity of the spiral motif in the Kültepe Ib period has been attributed to an intensification of contacts with the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.<sup>55</sup>

Most of the seals below fall into two principal chronological groups, the first dated c. 1850–1720 B.C. and the second c. 1720–1620 B.C., on the basis of the evidence outlined above. The reason for the dating of certain seals outside these general limits will be given in the relevant catalogue entries or in the text under the relevant subject.

The principal material used for the seals in these groups is hematite. A few seals are made of chert and serpentine.

#### *THE FIGURE IN A ROUND CAP (434–455)*

The principal figure on the seals below wears a rounded cap with an upturned brim or a tall oval headdress. Alone, or as one of a pair, he is often the object of a formal gesture of respect or greeting and is frequently associated with the nude or suppliant goddess. This figure is probably to be identified as a ruler or a high dignitary on the basis of comparison with similar figures on the dynastic sealings from Alalakh,<sup>56</sup> and on the seals and wall paintings from Mari.<sup>57</sup> The figure who wears the high oval headdress can, however, sometimes be identified as a deity; it has been pointed out that people of high rank may have worn dress similar to that of deities.<sup>58</sup> The figures occasionally hold a scimitar (e.g., 440) which appears to have been held by gods and royal figures alike.<sup>59</sup>



On seals 442 and 455 the figure is shown grasping and smiting an enemy. The stance of the figure on seal 442 is derived from Egyptian iconography, showing the conquering pharaoh.<sup>60</sup> Variations on the trampling stance (455) occur on the glyptic art from Alalakh VII<sup>61</sup> and from Mari<sup>62</sup> where not only the ruler but a deity are engaged in this action.<sup>63</sup>

The figure on seal 442 may represent a divine royal figure,<sup>64</sup> because he wears a pointed and possibly horned helmet similar to that of the weather god. The carving style of seals 442 and 443 is characteristic of the Mari period (see catalogue entry). The partly legible inscription of 442, which reveals that this seal belonged to a servant of one Aplihanda, supports such a dating. Aplahanda was a king of Carchemish and a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad of Assyria and Yasmah-Adad and Zimri-Lim of Mari. Further, the arrangement of the figures on seal 442 is very similar to that of the figures on the seals of Matrunna, the daughter of Aplahanda, and Apelli, an official of Aplahanda's (ruler figure standing before a female deity with a small figure between them, astral symbol in the sky). This iconographic affinity perhaps confirms that these seals were part of a related group, although the comparatively more elaborate style of seal 442 should be noted. This may only be evidence of production by different workshops.<sup>65</sup> See the comments on the inscription in Appendix B, 442, below.

The embracing posture of the ruler and the seminude goddess on seal 446 may again be derived from Egyptian iconography. However, no exact parallels for it have been found in Egyptian art, although similar semi-embracing postures occur on Middle Kingdom reliefs.<sup>66</sup>

The figures on seals 437 and 449 seem to be derived from the Old Babylonian figure with a mace. The significance of the identically dressed pair of figures that stand opposite each other on seals 435, 436, and 443 is not clear. They may represent figures of equal or similar status, such as the ruler and his son, or this could be the same figure duplicated.<sup>67</sup>

The identities of the deity holding the palm frond and lion emblem on seal 437 and of the deity with a crescent headdress on 446 are not known, although the crescent on the latter's headdress suggests an astral or lunar character.

#### *SEATED FIGURES (456–466)*

The iconography of these seated figures, which usually hold a cup or an alabastron, is derived from the Mesopotamian repertoire. The figures frequently face left as from the Ur III period onward. They sometimes wear flounced robes, the traditional dress of Mesopotamian deities, and it has generally been assumed that the single figures represent deities,<sup>68</sup> although they do not wear deities' headdresses. As with similar representations of seated figures with no attributes from the Old Babylonian period, however, a certain identification is not possible.

The figure on seal 462 may be female. Groups of striding men appear before the seated figure on 461 and 462. The resemblance between such scenes and the "War and Peace" scenes which are portrayed on the Royal

Standard of Ur and on Early Dynastic seals and plaques from Mesopotamia has been noted.<sup>69</sup> The musical scene on 460 might equally well be compared to scenes of festivity on Early Dynastic plaques.<sup>70</sup> The two figures in the banquet scene on 466 are male. Other Syrian seals represent two women, or a man and a woman, in similar double banquet scenes.<sup>71</sup>

Seal 457 is a good example of the eclecticism of Syrian glyptic art. As with the seated figure, the stance of the hero with the lion is Mesopotamian and occurs in the Old Babylonian and Akkadian repertoires,<sup>72</sup> whereas the association of the seated figure with a bird on the table before it is derived from the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals.

### SCENES WITH DEITIES

Texts and personal names from Mari and Alalakh reveal that two principal groups of deities were worshiped in Syria at this period. One group consisted of major deities from the Mesopotamian pantheon, such as Adad, Ea, Shamash, Sin, and Ishtar.<sup>73</sup> Adad and Ishtar also occur in their Hurrian forms, Teshub and Hebat.<sup>74</sup> Some of these deities are represented on Syrian seals both in their Mesopotamian and their Syrian guises. The other group consisted of a number of obscure regional or local deities.<sup>75</sup> So far it has been impossible to identify these on seals.

Other, seemingly important deities, such as the "Syrian goddess" (e.g., 476) and the stellar deity (507), which appear to have had special iconographies created for them, can be identified only tentatively. The same applies to a number of seated deities. The texts from fifteenth-century Ugarit should be used cautiously in identifying the western Semitic counterparts of some of the major deities that are represented below.

A number of Egyptian deities are also depicted on Syrian seals. It is impossible to know whether these were actually worshiped as Egyptian deities or whether their iconographies served some other purpose. Similarly, a group of minor deities appears to have been assimilated from the Anatolian repertoire.

### *SEATED DEITIES (467–472)*

A bearded deity with large ears, facing front and holding a cup, reminiscent of that on seal 468, is found on Syro-Cappadocian seals.<sup>76</sup> On larger and better cut seals of the Syrian classical style, the same figure, facing front, is clearly a deified bull,<sup>77</sup> as mentioned above in connection with seal 431. The deity in the ascending position behind the seated figure is in the Mesopotamian tradition but he cannot be identified. His foot rests on a sphinx and he holds a mace or an emblem.<sup>78</sup> The style of this seal has some affinity with the Syro-Cappadocian style, consequently this seal has been given an early dating. The style and iconography of seal 467 suggest an early date for this seal as well.

The iconography of the seated deity holding an ax over his shoulder on

seal 469 may have been derived from the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals, where a similar figure which has been identified as a war god holds a shaft-hole ax.<sup>79</sup> The same deity as on seal 469 appears on other seals with a bull-man attendant.<sup>80</sup> He can also carry a curved staff.<sup>81</sup> Whether this deity is the seated deity who is represented wearing the same high, oval head-dress but holding nothing or only a cup as on seal 471 is not clear. One seal shows both these figures sitting opposite each other,<sup>82</sup> which would suggest separate identities. A bronze figurine of a seated god from Qatna is probably related to one of these deities.<sup>83</sup>

The representation of the seated deities on seals 467 and 470 gives no clue to their identities. On certain seals figures holding gazelle offerings have been identified as rulers,<sup>84</sup> although they are shown wearing a cap and are usually holding the gazelle by the throat or hind quarters. The seated deity on seal 472 might be identified as a weather god if what he holds is interpreted as two shafts of lightning. However, since the two shafts also appear to be flowing into a vase on the ground in the manner of the streams of water which are a feature of usual representations of the water god Eà, it is likely that the seal cutter confused his iconographies here, and a specific identification is not possible.

*THE WEATHER GOD, THE "SYRIAN GODDESS," THE  
DEITY WITH A BOW (473–485)*

The iconography of the weather god is quite regular on Syrian glyptic. He is normally represented striding, wearing a short kilt and a horned helmet with a spike. A long curled plait falls down his back. He brandishes a mace in one hand and holds a spear, an ax, or a curved throw-stick, and sometimes a serpent in the other hand.<sup>85</sup> He is often associated with a bull. His representation on 473, holding a lightning fork, is less usual.

The weather god's posture was originally derived from Egypt and makes its appearance in the Levant and Anatolia in the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries B.C.<sup>86</sup> The earliest datable occurrences of this posture so far found are on the seals and sealings of the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals,<sup>87</sup> and on a Syro-Cappadocian seal.<sup>88</sup> In the Anatolian group of seals the posture was adopted to represent weather gods holding a lightning fork in one hand and a weapon in the other and standing on the back of a bull.<sup>89</sup>

In early second millennium Syria the weather god was known as Adad or Hadad; however, it is possible that he had more than one name.<sup>90</sup> In the Ugaritic texts the weather god was known as Baal, although this is not in fact a proper name—it means "lord."<sup>91</sup>

On Syrian seals the weather god is very often associated with a winged and armed goddess, and a similar association of the weather god and a warlike goddess, Anat, is found in the mythological literature from Ugarit.<sup>92</sup> The weather god is also frequently represented with either a nude goddess or the "Syrian goddess."

A Syrian warrior god known as Reshef is represented in a similar guise

to that of the weather god on stelae from the second half of Dynasty XVIII (1552–1296 B.C.) in Egypt where he was worshiped by Syrians working in Upper Egypt.<sup>93</sup> His distinctive trait is the White Crown of Upper Egypt to which a small gazelle's head and long streamers were attached.<sup>94</sup> Although Egyptianized, the headdresses of the deities on seals 481 and 482 are not distinct enough to indicate whether it is this deity that is represented.

The figure standing behind the weather god on seals 474, 476, and 502 is known as the "Syrian goddess" because she appears almost exclusively in the Syrian repertoire.<sup>95</sup> She wears a long garment edged with rolled borders and a tall, usually square, headdress with horns at the front and back. A third horn or plume sometimes stands out from the front rim of her hat. This headdress is also sometimes worn by the winged goddess.<sup>96</sup> The Syrian goddess usually holds a cup, an *ankh*, or sometimes a weapon such as a multiple mace or an ax.<sup>97</sup> She is sometimes associated with a bird.<sup>98</sup> Her exact identity is not known. The fact that she appears with the ruler on a number of dynastic sealings from Alalakh<sup>99</sup> suggests a high status; she may be the senior "female deity par excellence" or the state patroness.<sup>100</sup> An early representation of this deity, probably predating the Alalakh impressions, is found on a sealing from Karahöyük.<sup>101</sup>

The identity of the deity with a bow on seal 474 who is frequently represented with the winged and armed goddess and the weather god is also not known. In the Ugaritic texts Reshef was sometimes called "lord of the arrow"<sup>102</sup> and was represented carrying a quiver on Egyptian stelae.<sup>103</sup> The identification of a similar figure with Aqhat<sup>104</sup> which has been inferred on the basis of a Ugaritic legend in which Anat covets Aqhat's bow is, in the light of our present knowledge, too conjectural. Moreover, in the Ugaritic texts Aqhat is not a deity but the son of a mortal,<sup>105</sup> whereas here the figure is clearly a deity. The same deity may be represented on the right on 475 with a barely visible bow slung over its shoulder.

A bull-man is represented walking in the procession with the weather god on seal 473. The bull-man appears fairly often on Syrian seals; he is armed and sometimes winged and is frequently associated with quarry or animals of the field.<sup>106</sup> He probably belongs to the circle of deities and figures of the field such as the griffin-demon and may be derived from the repertoire of the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals, where a bull-man is represented in various roles, including that of master of animals.<sup>107</sup>

*THE WINGED AND ARMED GODDESS, THE NUDE  
GODDESS (475, 476, 483, 486–502)*

Although the winged and armed goddess and the nude goddess appear in different guises on the seals below, it has been convincingly suggested that different aspects of the same deity, Ishtar, are being represented.<sup>108</sup>



On Syrian glyptic the winged deity has been sometimes identified with Anat,<sup>109</sup> although in the Ugaritic texts it was Athart who was identified with Ishtar.<sup>110</sup> Ishtar is mentioned in both the Alalakh and the Mari texts.

The dual nature of Ishtar as goddess of love and war, known from Mesopotamian literature, is well illustrated by the representations here. As goddess of war she is shown armed, usually with a spear, and clad in a kilt with a back panel and a square horned headdress (e.g., 486, 487, and 489). As goddess of love she is shown alluringly revealing herself, with her long fringed garment pushed to one side (e.g., 490), or lifting a veil (496). On some seals both aspects are combined (e.g., 490). In Ugaritic texts Anat, who is described as having wings,<sup>111</sup> also has a dual nature. She fights alongside Baal as an active partner but also has a major role as a goddess of fertility.<sup>112</sup>

The association of Ishtar, in both her aspects, with the king or ruler (e.g., 488, 489, 443, and 444) belongs to Mesopotamian tradition. In Mesopotamian religious and literary texts, Ishtar is the patron goddess of kings with whom she is sometimes united in a divine marriage.<sup>113</sup>

The creation of the iconography of a winged goddess is attributed to the Mesopotamians in the Akkadian period.<sup>114</sup>

The nude goddess lifting her garment (e.g., 496, 499) is first found in the Syro-Cappadocian and Anatolian glyptic groups,<sup>115</sup> and appears more commonly in the earlier Syrian group (c. 1850–1720 B.C.) than in the later. The figure does not occur at Alalakh, where even the dressed goddess partially revealing herself is rare.<sup>116</sup> The association of the nude goddess with a bull (500) goes back to Syro-Cappadocian glyptic<sup>117</sup> and was presumably connected with her role as a fertility goddess.

A third aspect of this figure, goddess of the field, is possibly represented on seals 492–494.<sup>118</sup> In Mesopotamian literature Ishtar had a role as a nature goddess.<sup>119</sup> In Ugaritic literature, Anat is referred to as “lady of the field,” and she and Athart hunt together.<sup>120</sup> On Syrian seals up to c. 1620 B.C. this figure is usually shown in profile holding only one animal; by the Syro-Mitannian period the figure usually appears facing front and holding two animals. On iconographic grounds, therefore, seals 493 and 494 are probably to be dated to c. 1620–1550 B.C.

On seals 501 and 502 a winged sun disc is represented in the sky. The winged sun disc was taken from Egyptian iconography, where it symbolized the sky and sun god, Horus.<sup>121</sup> Its symbolism in Syrian iconography is still obscure. A Mitannian seal depicts a male solar deity with the upper part of his body encased in a winged sun disc,<sup>122</sup> and the winged sun disc on Syrian seals might similarly be symbolic of a solar deity or the sky in general. There is however no evidence for this so far. An early representation of the winged sun disc appears on a seal from Karahöyük, where it is depicted with a crescent moon under it.<sup>123</sup> The winged sun disc always appears in the sky and above, or supported by, a stylized tree or decorated pole.

*MESOPOTAMIAN DEITIES (503–512)*

These scenes are mostly derived from or reminiscent of the Mesopotamian repertoire. They depict well-known deities in the Mesopotamian canon, or with slight variations from it, as well as some hitherto unencountered deities (507). The former will be briefly discussed first.

The figure on 503 can be identified by the lightning fork he carries and his ascending position on the bull as Adad, the weather god. The seal was probably originally late Old Assyrian (see catalogue entry).

The iconography of the armed deity facing front with one foot on a lion on seal 505 is standard Old Babylonian. It represents Ishtar in her aspect as war goddess.

The representation of Ea enthroned and surrounded by water as on seals 508–510 comes from Akkadian iconography. This became the standard way of representing Ea on Syrian seals. On 511 Ea may be represented in the Old Babylonian manner, that is, standing and holding a vase of flowing water, although it is not clear whether the figure on this seal is male. A seal and a sealing from Alalakh perhaps shows a comparable figure: a standing god, clearly bearded, holds a flowing vase from which vegetation sprouts.<sup>124</sup>

The deity on 504 is seated in the tradition of Ur III and Old Babylonian worship scenes, although the deity is facing right and not left, as was normal in Mesopotamia. As usual in these scenes the deity cannot be recognized since it has no attributes.

Seal 512 shows a procession of the suppliant goddesses, known as the goddess or goddesses Lama. The representation of these goddesses in procession is not part of the Mesopotamian canon; it is also fairly rare in Syrian iconography.

The deity(?) on seal 506 is in the familiar ascending position and holds a scimitar. Again, these features are not sufficient for a proper identification. The leg and kilt of what may have been the figure of the weather god are just visible on the edge of the chip opposite this figure.

The static and uncluttered arrangement of the figures on 507 is reminiscent of Old Babylonian scenes of worship from Sippar (see catalogue entry for reference), although none of the figures, except the small priest with the pail and sprinkler, is Mesopotamian. No parallel has so far been found for the figure of a deity standing on a plinth, wearing a square headdress and a ring of stars around its head. The square headdress and hairstyle suggest that the deity is Syrian and female, since they are similar to those worn by the Syrian goddess. The deity may have been holding a vase or jar from which the stars issued, but the large chip on the seal does not allow one to be certain of this. An indeterminate shape to the left of the deity's outstretched arm is also partly obliterated by the chip. The stars around the head imply that the deity is a stellar one. The only other female deity who is clearly associated with stars occurs much later, in Neo-Assyrian iconography. There, a nimbus of stars around the body indi-

cates Ishtar in her astral aspect, representing the planet Venus. This may be a clue to the identity of this deity.

In Mesopotamia the astral aspect of Ishtar-Inanna was symbolized from a very early period by a rosette or an eight-pointed star.<sup>125</sup> In the Ugaritic texts, Athart, who shared Ishtar's characteristics with Anat, is called "Athart of the skies of Baal,"<sup>126</sup> which suggests that she too may have had an astral aspect. Astral deities however are rare on Syrian seals and in Ugaritic literature. If the deity on seal 507 is a representation of a stellar deity, possibly a western Semitic aspect of Ishtar, the reason a special iconography should have been created for her at this time is unknown.

The male figure standing facing left in front of this deity wears the flounced robe normally worn by deities and is therefore probably a deity; lack of attributes prevents identification. The worshiper on the far left holds an arm-and-hand emblem. Libation vessels of clay and possibly ivory, shaped like an arm with a cup-shaped end supported by a hand, occur from Syria, Anatolia, Cyprus, and the Levant in the second millennium.<sup>127</sup> Similar vessels, as ritual objects, and open hands as symbols, are represented fairly frequently on Syrian seals from this period. The first datable occurrence of the hand symbol on Syrianizing glyptic art is Syro-Cappadocian.<sup>128</sup>

#### *EGYPTIAN DEITIES (513–523)*

It has been traditionally held that contacts between Egypt and Syria reached a peak during the Middle Kingdom (c. 2060–1786 B.C.) and almost ceased during the Hyksos period (c. 1720–1550 B.C.). A number of Egyptian works of art dating from the Middle Kingdom have been found in Syria,<sup>129</sup> whereas there appears to be a paucity of Hyksos scarabs and other Egyptian artifacts of the Hyksos period in Syria.<sup>130</sup> However, textual,<sup>131</sup> and to a certain extent archaeological,<sup>132</sup> evidence suggests that contact between Egypt and Syria and other parts of the Near East was in fact maintained during the Hyksos period as well. This point will be taken up again.

The earliest datable Egyptian motifs on Syrian seals appear on seals and sealings of the Kültepe (Karum Kanesh) Ib period (c. 1810–1740 B.C.) from Achemhöyük,<sup>133</sup> Kültepe,<sup>134</sup> and Karahöyük.<sup>135</sup> These are a small figure with the sidelock of an Egyptian youth, the ankh, the winged sun disc, the Nekhbet vulture, and the Hathor head. The Nekhbet vulture with crossed wings also appears on a seal that has been dated to the Mari period.<sup>136</sup> The first scenes on securely datable Syrian glyptic art which include Egyptian deities are from Alalakh VII. These scenes are not wholly Egyptian and usually include Syrian or Mesopotamian deities and motifs.

The seals from Alalakh support the theory that contact was maintained between northern Syria and Egypt during the Hyksos period.<sup>137</sup> It is unfortunate that there are no stratified parallels for the sealing from Alalakh IV



with predominantly Egyptian iconography. If this was indeed an heirloom, the dating of this seal and that of other seals such as 513 within the time span of c. 1850–1620 B.C. is still uncertain. If such seals were being produced at the time of Alalakh VII, then this would further support the theory that contacts between Syria and Egypt were maintained during the Hyksos period.

It could be argued, however, that established workshops familiar with Egyptian iconography could have maintained their traditions irrespective of political changes. At the moment there is no way of establishing whether such seals could have been produced before the Alalakh VII period; the exquisite cutting of seals such as 513 does suggest that these seals were produced at a time when the art of seal cutting was at its highest in Syria. At this point it should be noted that a now missing Egyptianizing seal of high quality found at Alalakh has been tentatively dated to the thirteenth century.<sup>138</sup> The group of Egyptianizing seals showing elongated figures and dated to c. 1800–1600 B.C. appear to be characteristic of another aspect of Egyptian influence on Syrian glyptic art at this period.

Attention has been drawn to the resemblance between the arrangement of some figures on Syrian seals and the arrangement of figures on Egyptian reliefs and wall paintings.<sup>139</sup> Certain iconographical details, such as the figure standing under an arch of ankhs<sup>140</sup> and the embracing postures, also appear to have been copied.

The manner in which these motifs were transmitted from Egypt to Syria is still a matter of conjecture, and the whole question of Egyptian influence on Syrian glyptic art still needs extensive research.<sup>141</sup> Papyri and small tomb plaques have been suggested as two means of transmission.<sup>142</sup> Foreign merchants, including Egyptian ones, are thought to have formed communities at certain seaports such as Ugarit,<sup>143</sup> and direct contact would have existed between Syrian craftsmen and Egyptian traders. There is also no reason that Syrian craftsmen should not have traveled to Egypt. As has been implied above, the accuracy and the extent of the representation of Egyptian motifs on Syrian seals vary greatly and suggest both direct and indirect contact.

Apart from seal 513, which shows only Egyptian figures, the rest of the seals in this group show the amalgam of Egyptian, Syrian, and Mesopotamian figures and motifs referred to above.

The Egyptian figures on 513 are among the most frequently represented Egyptian types on Syrian seals. In the center the king or ruler wearing a kilt and the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt stands facing a deity wearing a long robe and the *atef* crown. By his dress and crown this deity is probably to be identified with Osiris, originally a fertility god who, as divine king, came to symbolize immortality.<sup>144</sup> Behind Osiris stands the falcon god Horus, the son of Osiris, wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Horus was a sky god and the patron deity of the king.<sup>145</sup> He is represented frequently on the Egyptianized seals with the elongated figures and was very popular with the Hyksos under the name of Horon.<sup>146</sup>



Behind the king is the jackal-headed deity Anubis, the god of the dead,<sup>147</sup> who wears a crown with double plumes.

Another Egyptian figure who is often depicted on Syrian seals is a female deity wearing a Hathor headdress with ram's horns (e.g., 520–523) and holding an ankh in one hand and a scepter in the other. In some cases her iconography corresponds to that of Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris and mother of Horus.<sup>148</sup> She often appears with a ruler or king figure (e.g., 520, 521, and 523).

Small kneeling figures, as on 520, are commonly found on Egyptian reliefs from the Middle Kingdom and represent an attendant or worshiper.<sup>149</sup> On seal 514 the vulture holding an ankh in its talons represents the goddess Nekhbet, who was associated with royalty.<sup>150</sup>

The two symbols most frequently found in the field of Egyptianized seals are the ankh and the *djed* pillar. The ankh was the symbol of life and may have originally represented a tie or sandal strap.<sup>151</sup> The *djed* pillar symbolized stability and may originally have represented a bundle of stalks tied together.<sup>152</sup> The iconography of seals 522 and 523 can be compared to that of two sealings from Alalakh.<sup>153</sup> The small kneeling figure grasping the sacred tree on seal 517 is an antecedent of a common Mitanian subject (as on 576 below).

#### *HERO WITH ANIMALS AND DEMONS (524–534)*

The principal figure on seals 524–528 is a kneeling or standing figure wearing a loin cloth or kilt and sometimes armed with a short curved weapon. This figure often appears with a lion or griffin-demon (527, 528, 530) and in heraldic scenes (below, 551, 552). He has been identified as a tamer or charmer of animals who is not a deity but rather a hero with special powers.<sup>154</sup> A similar figure is found on the Anatolian group of seals from Cappadocia associated with the hunting god,<sup>155</sup> and it is from that repertoire that scenes such as those on 524 and 525 were derived. The same figure also appears in the repertoire of the Old Syrian Colony style.<sup>156</sup>

The griffin-demon (e.g., 529), the lion-demon (e.g., 528), and the bull-demon (534 and 473) belong to the same circle of hunting and field deities. The griffin-demon has not been found in the Anatolian repertoire, but appears in a kneeling posture on Syro-Cappadocian seals.<sup>157</sup> Staves such as the ones held by the griffin-demon on 528 are reminiscent of Egyptian representations of the stems of flowering lotuses.<sup>158</sup> The lion-demon appears in the Anatolian repertoire as a winged master of animals holding an antelope and the hind leg of a lion.<sup>159</sup>

The winged male figure on seal 532 would also appear to belong to the same circle of deities although he is not very frequently represented on Syrian seals.

Stylistically most of the seals in this group appear to belong to the period before Alalakh VII. No seals with the kneeling hero surrounded by

animals or the winged griffin have come from Alalakh VII, and it is possible that such scenes were more popular in the earlier rather than the later period. Seals 524–531 together with one from Chagar Bazar, two from Ugarit, and several from private and museum collections form a group with iconographic and stylistic affinities.<sup>160</sup> The legs and horns of animals in this group are often distinguished by a central groove, for example, 524–526, 531. This feature also occurs on seals of unrelated subject matter, for example, 549 and 554.

#### *RITUALS (535–548)*

Apart from banquet and worship rituals, the more common types of rituals depicted on Syrian seals are those connected with a palm or palm frond (535, 536, 540), and a stylized tree or a pole with a winged sun disc or another astral symbol above it (539). The significance of these rituals is not known.

On seal 537, two figures appear to be worshipping a standing nude figure. The sex of this figure is difficult to determine, although the hands lifted up to the chest are characteristic of some representations of the nude goddess. A number of unidentified figures with the same hairstyle and large ears appear in similar ritual scenes but are usually clothed and sometimes appear in groups of two or three (see seal 500).<sup>161</sup> Whether these figures are the same as the nude figure on seal 537 is not clear. The squatting nude female figure unveiling herself on the same seal occurs frequently as a secondary motif on Syrian seals,<sup>162</sup> and her posture implies a role in the fertility cult. The iconography of the figure can be traced back to the Uruk period in Mesopotamia.<sup>163</sup>

The walking ibex (539) usually appears with deities and figures of the field on Syrian seals from the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>164</sup> Unlike a number of the figures and deities of the field, this figure does not belong to the repertoire of the Anatolian group of seals from Cappadocia. A comparison with an ibex deity that was popular in north Mesopotamia and Iran at the end of the fourth millennium can tentatively be made.<sup>165</sup>

No parallel has been found by me for the two male figures who hold loaves(?) and look over their shoulders on seal 542. The two bull-men holding the pole between them on 543 is a motif derived from the Mesopotamian repertoire.

On seals 542–546 warriors wearing loincloths with frontal panels and headdresses with pennons are portrayed engaged in different actions. These figures often appear on Syrian seals similarly engaged in a ritual dance, for example, 543(?) and 544, in marching (542), or in striding behind a chariot, for example, 545 and 546. A seal in the British Museum<sup>166</sup> shows five of the principal types of warriors found on Syrian seals: one wears a headdress with a rounded pennon (as on 542–545); a second wears a round cap; a third is bareheaded; a fourth warrior wears a variation of the headdress with the rounded pennon that has a curl at the front

(546); and a fifth warrior wears a bonnet. They wear kilts, not loin cloths with frontal panels, as here.

It has been suggested that the dress and hair of warriors such as the ones represented on seals 542–545 are of Cretan or Mycenaean derivation.<sup>167</sup> Figures with long pigtails and with tassels hanging from their waist bands (548 far right) have been included in this group.<sup>168</sup> The parallel between the figures with long pigtails and waistbands on Syrian seals and those on Aegean seals is iconographically and chronologically more plausible than the parallel between the figures with headdress and pennons. The Aegean examples cited for the latter are roughly a hundred years later than the Syrian examples, and no real parallel exists between the figures themselves.<sup>169</sup> On Syrian seals the figures appear to wear head-dresses, whereas on the Aegean seals we see a hairstyle. Thus, although there are similarities between figures on Syrian and Aegean seals, the question of Aegean influence on Syrian glyptic art needs to be reviewed. Another point of ostensible Aegean influence on Syrian iconography, an animal posture known as the flying gallop, has been challenged (see below and note 190).

A figure with a topknot, but without headdress, occurs on a sealing from Acmehöyük dated to the Kültepe Ib period.<sup>170</sup> This figure's hairstyle is closest to the one worn by the figure on the far left on 547.

The chariot scenes on seals 545 and 546 are difficult to interpret. The charioteers on such seals are not usually armed and the position of the hands of the striding warriors on some seals are more suggestive of a ritual than of a war scene. The bodies which are sometimes depicted under the horses' hooves imply violence, however.<sup>171</sup> It has been suggested that at this period the chariot may have been used for charging only: this would explain the charioteers' lack of weapons.<sup>172</sup> On later Syrian seals the charioteer is usually armed with a bow and arrow in hunting and war scenes.<sup>173</sup> Figures marching behind a chariot occur schematically on late Old Assyrian seals.<sup>174</sup> Antecedents for the type of chariot shown on seal 545 appear on an Old Syrian Colony style(?) impression in the Louvre and on a seal in the Ashmolean which may originally have been in the same style.<sup>175</sup>

This square and possibly reinforced chariot box is found on seals dated to the eighteenth century.<sup>176</sup> Another type, a pyramidal box with two outward-curving edges (seal 546) appears on seals that can be dated slightly later, on the basis of style and iconography.<sup>177</sup>

Wheels with numerous spokes may also have been a late feature.<sup>178</sup> Other types of chariots, including one on which the charioteer knelt, are also represented on Syrian seals.<sup>179</sup> The two bent shafts which rise above the horses' yokes are a characteristic feature of Syrian harnessing. They may be exaggeratedly long finials of yoke saddles, a means of adapting the yoke to equine anatomy or, possibly, decorative standards.<sup>180</sup>

Seal 547 represents two pairs of figures engaged in armed and hand-to-hand combat. The pairs are dressed differently, and one of the figures has a topknot, indicating perhaps that different types of warriors fought differ-

ent types of combat. See the catalogue entries for parallels for the wrestlers' combat positions. The positions of the pair on the right are particularly unusual.

In Mesopotamia a wrestler was known as a *ša abāri* or *ša umāši*,<sup>181</sup> and a contest is thought to have proceeded through three main stages with specific postures.<sup>182</sup> One text refers to a wrestling contest that went on for nine days.<sup>183</sup> Unfortunately, no such texts have come from Syria.

That the men on 548 are about to commence a fight with daggers held by the figure in the long pigtail is suggested by two seals in the same style which show two similar men preparing to fight and actually fighting.<sup>184</sup> The scene on 548 probably depicts the preliminary ritual. A seal in the Yale collection also shows three figures engaged in a combat with knives.<sup>185</sup>

#### *DECORATIVE DESIGNS (549–557)*

The seals in this group show pleasing compositions of human and animal figures, the purpose of which was principally decorative. Several of the figures, the marching men, the small kneeling hero, the griffin, have been mentioned above.

On seals 549 and 552 two pairs of sphinxes are portrayed. The first datable appearance of the seated, winged Egyptian prototypes is found on a sealing from the Kültepe Ib period.<sup>186</sup> The sphinxes which trample on snakes on seal 552 are clearly derived from Egyptian iconography.<sup>187</sup> The double-headed eagle on seal 551 comes from the Anatolian repertoire, where single- and double-headed eagles were among the most popular motifs of the Old Hittite stamp seals.<sup>188</sup>

The quatrefoil motif consisting of four entwined heroes on seal 557 goes back to the ED I period in Mesopotamia.<sup>189</sup> In Mesopotamian iconography the hero with a flowing vase was Ea's traditional attendant. The partial resemblance between the lion's stance on this seal and the flying gallop, a feature often thought to reflect Aegean influence, has been pointed out.<sup>190</sup>

The kneeling heroes (556) and the fighting bull-men (557) also come from the Mesopotamian repertoire, although the bull-man's adversary was usually the lion. Regard for canonical rules of Mesopotamian iconography has taken second place to design here.

#### *PATTERNS AND DECORATIVE MOTIFS (558–569)*

The division of the field into horizontal lines of decorative motifs with a "rope" motif or guilloche between them was a feature of the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals,<sup>191</sup> and it has been suggested that such seals originated and were first developed in central or southeast Anatolia.<sup>192</sup> Seals which represent actual scenes and which are divided into an upper and a lower register are a feature of Old Syrian Colony style. The "rope-like" dividing motif enclosed by two parallel lines (558) is found on a



number of early Syrian seals, which occasionally show representational scenes with decorative motifs in one or two registers only.<sup>193</sup> Similarly the plaitlike dividing motif on seal 561 is found on a number of seals which can be attributed to an early workshop (cf. 505). The division of the field into panels (560) is fairly rare in Syrian glyptic art and normally a late feature. The style of seal 560 is early, however (compare the cutting of the animals to seal 377), and this unusual seal may belong to an early group of Syrian seals which show original arrangements of symbols and figures, for example, around a festoon, in the field.<sup>194</sup> Seal 562, with motifs arranged in vertical columns without dividing lines, belongs to the group of seals with parallels at Acemhöyük and Alalakh cited in the catalogue entry. The delicate and refined cutting on seal 568 is distinctive of a later, late eighteenth to late seventeenth century, Syrian workshop. Similar delicately cut birds and lotus flower motifs are found on the Egyptianizing seals with elongated figures, one of which is securely dated to the seventeenth century.<sup>195</sup>

The motifs and symbols on most of these seals are those frequently found distributed in the field of seals with representational scenes: human and animal heads, hands, hares, birds, and antelopes.

## XV

### MITANNIAN SEALS

In the course of the early sixteenth century B.C., the Mitannians or “Kings of Maitani,” who were of Indo-Aryan origin, created a small empire by merging the principally Hurrian states of northern Mesopotamia. At its height (c. 1500–1350 B.C.), this empire stretched from the Zagros to the Mediterranean. During the two hundred years or so of their power the Mitannians exercised a political influence equal to that of their contemporaries in Egypt and Anatolia. The Hittites and the Assyrians eventually brought about the downfall of the Mitannian empire in the mid-fourteenth century B.C., although the Mitannian capital Washuganni was sacked only in c. 1280 B.C. by Adad-Nirari I of Assyria.

Although a number of glyptic styles existed within the area of Mitannian hegemony, especially in northern and central Syria,<sup>1</sup> two major styles can be isolated, the Mitannian “Common” and the “Syro-Mitannian” styles.

Nuzi (Yorghana Tepe) in northeast Mesopotamia is so far the only site where a large number of sealings in both the Common and Syro-Mitannian styles has been found;<sup>2</sup> otherwise, the distribution of seals and sealings in these styles from northeast Mesopotamia to, and including, the Levant is uneven, though the Common style is the more usual and has the wider distribution, from Iran to the southern Levant.

The two principal sites which are used for dating Mitannian glyptic art are Nuzi and Alalakh in northern Syria. The tablets from Nuzi with Mitannian impressions have been dated to approximately the second half of the fifteenth century B.C., while the seals and sealings from Alalakh come from Levels VI–V (late seventeenth century–c. 1500 B.C.), IV (c. 1500–1365 B.C.), and later.<sup>3</sup>

## COMMON STYLE (570–583)

The Mitannian Common style is chiefly found on composition seals; occasionally on chert or hematite. Although fairly homogeneous and characterized by a combination of linear and gently modeled cutting, stylistic and iconographic variations exist between and among the seals and sealings from Nuzi, Alalakh, Palestine, and Iran.<sup>4</sup> So far the attribution of these peculiarities of style to specific areas has only been tentative, whereas the attribution of motifs, some of which were apparently favored in certain areas, is more certain.

The origins of this style are still obscure; at Alalakh it appears as early as Level VI and becomes fully developed only in Level IV. A fairly coherent group of early Mitannian seals on which a distinctive type of spear is featured has nevertheless been formed.<sup>5</sup> It was formerly thought that certain seals (e.g., 581) showing simplified designs were depleted examples of the style that survived in the west until the thirteenth century B.C., after the end of the Mitannian empire.<sup>6</sup> More recently, however, it has been proposed that such simplified motifs were favored in the southern Levant and can be traced there to a period earlier than the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>7</sup> Whatever the origins of the style or of certain of its motifs, it seems plausible that in the Levant this popular style should have enjoyed a long period of supremacy, given that there was no other major style to displace it there after the end of the Mitannian empire. At Alalakh a common style seal showing a composite scene demonstrates the persistence of this style in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In the north, the Middle Assyrian style gradually replaced the Mitannian style in the fourteenth century B.C.<sup>9</sup> For a while, the two styles were contemporary: at Ashur, seals of the Middle Assyrian style were in use, whereas the merchants who lived in settlements to the west of the city toward the middle Euphrates still used seals of the Mitannian style.<sup>10</sup>

The iconography of these seals is distinctive but limited, compared with that of the Syro-Mitannian style. Simple ritual scenes, the most typical of which are illustrated on seals 571–579 appear to have been among the most popular subjects. An emphasis on balance and composition is also characteristic, with a variety of motifs—guilloches, spirals, scrolls, animals, and panellike structures—serving as terminals or frames.

The fairly crude cutting style of seal 570 is comparable to that of a group of simple early Mitannian seals from Palestine.<sup>11</sup> This seal differs from others in the group below in that it is made of stone and not composition. A clear difference in style is shown between seals 572, 575, and 580; although seal 572 probably can be given an earlier dating than 575 on the basis of the type of sacred tree (see below), provenance may also be a factor here.

*RITUAL SCENES (570–579)*

On seals 570–576 a “sacred tree” is the focal point of a scene where one or more figures stand, kneel, or sit beside the tree, often touching it. The standing figures clad in long fringed robes and round caps (572–575) are thought to be simple worshipers involved in a ritual of worship or prayer.<sup>12</sup> Kneeling figures (576) are usually shown in pairs and might be dancers or figures holding the tree in position.<sup>13</sup> The seated figure on seal 571 wears a pointed hat, thus distinguishing itself from the standing or kneeling figures, and may be a deity.<sup>14</sup> The scene on seal 570 is paralleled on a second-generation sealing from Nuzi, but in a different style.<sup>15</sup> The tree in the Common style can be naturalistic but is more commonly a model, consisting of a spray with bulbous tips at the end of a pole, which often has small horizontal bars traversing it. The term *bouquet tree* has been coined for it.<sup>16</sup>

A study of the iconography of this type of tree has revealed an evolution from an early type, which had globes on branches arranged around a central stem, to a later type, which fanned out from a central point and often had a flat top (cf., e.g., 572 with 594). Chronologically these two tree types occasionally overlap.<sup>17</sup> The seals and sealings from Alalakh showing scenes with the bouquet tree have been dated to the fifteenth century.<sup>18</sup>

The rampant horned animals and the figures with uplifted hands who confront one another on seal 577 appear to be involved in a ritual which is perhaps connected with hunting. Variations of this subject at Nuzi show rows of warriors or huntsmen with antelopes or processions of alternating figures and animals.<sup>19</sup> Several types of ritual dancing or marching involving both men and women are represented on Nuzi sealings,<sup>20</sup> including naked figures placed at right angles to the field, as on seals 578 and 579. The dancers on seal 578 are, from their broad hips, recognizably female. At Alalakh the seals showing this subject have been given an early sixteenth century dating.<sup>21</sup>

Kneeling figures on Mitannian Common style seals are usually represented holding a bouquet tree (see seal 576), and not in combat with animals as on seal 580, although the subject is occasionally found on Syro-Mitannian seals.<sup>22</sup> The originality of the subject together with the unusual cutting style of this seal suggest perhaps a southern origin.

*MISCELLANEOUS MOTIFS (581–583)*

The simple subjects of these seals occur occasionally as decorative or secondary motifs in more complex scenes.<sup>23</sup> The animals standing antithetically with heads turned backward (581) have been mentioned above as a motif favored in the south. Rows of walking birds as depicted on seal 582 are found on seals from the Levant and Nuzi dated to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.<sup>24</sup> The row of human heads (583) with just one other decorative motif is more unusual, but nevertheless appears to have



been favored in Palestine. In more complex scenes, similar heads are thought to symbolize worshipers.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE SYRO-MITANNIAN STYLE (584–642)

The Syro-Mitannian style is distinguished by modeling and, in contrast to the Common style, the delicate use of a drill on a variety of hard stones (hematite, chert, chalcedony, agate, and carnelian).

A series of mass-produced seals is derivative of this style and is characterized by schematic forms rendered on the same hard stones and by the frequent use of both a drill and a cutting disc. The use of similar techniques on many seals of both the “modeled” and “schematic” styles indicates the relation of the two styles that were probably contemporary for part of their life spans.<sup>26</sup> At Alalakh, however, there are only a few examples of the “schematic” style while at Nuzi, although it existed, very few examples of it have been published.<sup>27</sup> The terms “modeled” and “schematic” are my own and are used here for convenience.

The origins of the Syro-Mitannian style have not yet been fully investigated. The drill technique used on these seals may be related to that of the Late Old Babylonian drilled style which appeared in north Mesopotamia and Syria from c. 1700 B.C. onward.<sup>28</sup> Because so few seals as opposed to sealings in this style have been found at Nuzi, it has been suggested that these seals were imported into northern Mesopotamia from some unknown north Syrian center, hence the term *Syro-Mitannian*.<sup>29</sup> It is interesting to note here that at Alalakh seals of the Common style predominate: only a handful of Syro-Mitannian seals and impressions dated to the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries have been found.<sup>30</sup>

Syro-Mitannian seals of the modeled type were apparently used by some royal personages in Syria at Ugarit and in northern Mesopotamia,<sup>31</sup> and seals of this type may have been connected to an aulic tradition.

There are good grounds for believing that the modeled style underwent a development: by the mid-fourteenth century B.C. the rounded forms of the fifteenth-century seals were replaced by forms more elongated and flattened.<sup>32</sup>

Seals 584–642 have been divided into two groups: the first, seals 584–597, is a carefully cut group in the main, with a varied iconography which incorporates modeled examples of the style (e.g., 586–588), and the later, flat linear style (596, 597). The style of seals 588 and 589 is paralleled at Nuzi by sealings from the second generation.<sup>33</sup> The styles of seals 584 and 585 are more unusual: the iconography and style of seal 585 suggest a Syrian origin, whereas the cruder style of seal 584 suggests perhaps a provincial, southwestern origin. The second group (598–642) consists of mostly schematically cut seals with a simplified iconography.

Certain subjects found in both groups, such as drinking scenes, offer-

ing scenes, and scenes with heroes and animals and certain deities, are derived from the Syrian, Cappadocian, and Mesopotamian repertoires. Various motifs from these different repertoires are often found together on one seal. The characteristic Mitannian or Syro-Mitannian sense of composition and decoration is shown on seals of both groups, although in the schematic group the principal subject and the decorative elements tend to merge in the field (cf., e.g., 591 with 610).

*RITUALS AND MISCELLANEOUS SCENES WHICH INCLUDE  
DEITIES (584–587, 589–590)*

The ritual scene around the “sacred tree” on seals 584 and 596 has been encountered above on seals of the Common style. The tree on 594, 595, 597 is not of the type encountered above but is more stylized and elaborate. The volutes on the lower part of such trees have been taken to be streamers;<sup>34</sup> on some earlier seals, however, these clearly appear to be stylized representations of the lower shoots of the tree.<sup>35</sup> The frieze with heroes holding animals on seal 596 is reminiscent of Cypriot iconography (cf. 644 below).

The seated deity on seal 585 holds a triple lightning fork, an emblem normally attributed to the weather god who is, however, hardly ever represented seated. A sealing with certain identical iconographical features which have been identified as Syrian has been found at Nuzi.

On seal 586 a figure offers a gazelle to a deity that has no attributes other than the lion on which it is standing. Evidence from the Nuzi sealings suggests that this deity is again a weather god,<sup>36</sup> although there weather gods are also represented standing on lion-dragons and armed with lightning forks, as well as standing on bulls.<sup>37</sup>

The nude deity with hands clasped under her breasts on seals 586 and 587 is a figure ultimately derived from the Old Babylonian repertoire, where she appeared in a number of contexts. The doubling or tripling of figures in the manner of seal 587 is a feature found on Elamite glyptic art,<sup>38</sup> although the division of the field into vertical sections is Syrian.<sup>39</sup>

The male figure armed with a scimitar on seal 595 is possibly to be identified as the king or ruler.<sup>40</sup> The same figure occurs frequently on sealings from Nuzi mostly associated with a suppliant or other deity and animals.<sup>41</sup>

The single figure drinking from a tube on 594 and 599 in the schematic group below is a familiar subject derived from early Syrian and Cappadocian glyptic art. Scenes with a pair of drinking figures, derived from the Mesopotamian repertoire, are also found in Mitannian iconography.<sup>42</sup>

*DEITIES AND FIGURES OF THE FIELD (588–593, 597,  
607–622)*

The various unwinged figures and deities of the field which appear surrounded by animals on seals 588–593 and 597 are familiar from the

repertoire of the Anatolian group of seals from Cappadocia and from Syrian glyptic art. The standing figure on 588 and the kneeling heroes on 592, 593, and 597 occur in both these repertoires, whereas the seated female deity on 590 holding a cup and surrounded by animals does not occur in the Syrian repertoire, but is found on Anatolian glyptic art from Kültepe and on Old Hittite seals from Acemhöyük, where she has been identified as a prototype of Artemis, a "mistress of animals."<sup>43</sup>

Winged human and animal figures surrounded by animals and symbols or as part of more complex scenes (590, 591, 597, as well as seals 607–622 below, which are included here to avoid repetition) are among the most popular subjects of Mitannian seals. When human, these figures are sometimes clearly recognizable as female from the width of their hips (e.g., 613). Both male and female winged figures occur in Syrian iconography in a variety of contexts, sometimes associated with animals. The female figure has been tentatively identified on Syrian seals as Ishtar, goddess of the field.

The representation of the four-winged female figure on seal 597 is rare for this period, but is nevertheless found on a fourteenth-century sealing from Ashur. The arrangement of figures with wings crossed on this seal is also found in fourteenth-century Middle Assyrian iconography.<sup>44</sup>

The identity of this deity and her relationship with other winged deities has not yet been determined, although her representation on seal 597 with figures usual in the entourage of deities of the field (kneeling hero, griffin, animals) would suggest that at this period at least she was part of this circle. The headdress worn by the winged figure on seal 591, a horned helmet with a top knob, was worn by a variety of deities on Mitannian seals, and prototypes of it are found on the Alalakh VII sealings.<sup>45</sup>

The winged figure appears as a griffin or a demon with the head of a lion or other, unidentifiable animal; sometimes these figures have two heads, for example, 590. The Hurrian or Mitannian predilection for demons and monsters on seals and their association with the underworld has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>46</sup> Winged demons are found in both Syrian and to a lesser degree in Cappadocian iconography.<sup>47</sup>

On seal 589 only the animals usually associated with these figures are depicted.

#### *VARIED SCENES WITH DEITIES AND HUMAN FIGURES (598–606)*

The figure seated on a lion before a bird standard on seal 598 is likely to be a deity since at Nuzi the same figure is shown wearing a high headdress.<sup>48</sup> A similar worship scene including the bird standard, the significance of which is still unknown, is found on an early Syrian seal.<sup>49</sup> The drinking scenes on seals 600 and 601 and the combat scenes on seals 602, 603, and 604 are derived from the Syrian and Mesopotamian repertoires respectively. Seal 605 may not be genuine. The quality of 606 is so poor that its subject cannot be properly made out, although it appears to be another combat scene.

*THE WINGED SUN DISC AND THE "SACRED TREE"*  
(623–629)

Seal 624 shows the winged sun disc supported by a stylized tree; on seals 628, 629, and seal 589, above, the winged disc is represented without the tree, and with animals. See chapter fourteen above for details on this symbol, which appears to have passed into Mitannian iconography from Syria. Aside from its usual representation on a pole, tree, or on its own, the winged disc also appears on a stool or baldachin on some Mitannian seals.<sup>50</sup> Animals flanking a "sacred tree" or a "bouquet" spray as on seals 623, 624, 625, and 626 was one of the most common motifs of Mitannian glyptic art and, although it was also derived from the Syrian repertoire, the motif is an ancient one that goes back to the Early Dynastic and Proto-Elamite periods.

*ANIMALS AND SYMBOLS; PATTERNS (627–642)*

The various animals that are invariably present on Mitannian seals are here arranged decoratively in symmetrical groups (627, 628) or in rows (629–632). Seals 633–637 show in addition common Mitannian motifs and symbols, such as the hand, the scorpion, the fish, the rhomb, the rosette, the scroll, the "bouquet" spray, and the star, arranged randomly in the field or as patterns (639–642). Bands of crosshatching (639) associated with animals and other motifs are found on the Nuzi sealings from the second to the fourth generation<sup>51</sup> and at Alalakh.<sup>52</sup> Bands of spirals (641) are also fairly common motifs usually associated with fish and found from the southern Levant to Nuzi.<sup>53</sup> The stylized pattern of seal 640 seems to be derived from seals such as 582 above, which show rows of walking birds. On seal 640 the heads and bodies of the birds are rendered by a drilling and the beaks, wings, and legs by linear strokes. Several of these Mitannian motifs, including the rhomb and the cluster of seven drill holes, reappear in the Neo-Assyrian repertoire.



## XVI

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### CYPRIOT SEALS FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE

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The geographical position of Cyprus and her wealth in copper were the two most important factors that contributed to her development particularly from the second half of the second millennium onward. In the Late Bronze Age, Cyprus was involved in active commerce between the Aegean and the Near East: she traded with Egypt and Syria, and the Mycenaeans used her harbors in their trade with the Near East. After c. 1200 B.C. Cyprus received a large number of Aegean immigrants who peacefully colonized the island and by the end of the twelfth century Cyprus had become part of the Hellenic world.

The periods prior to the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus have yielded very few seals, and the ones that have been found are mostly stamp seals.<sup>1</sup> By the fourteenth century, however, Cypriot cylinder seals of very high quality together with other seals of varied styles were being produced, suggesting the existence of many different workshops on the island.<sup>2</sup>

The manner in which the sophisticated glyptic art of Cyprus developed is still a question that remains to be answered fully. The principal working hypothesis that has been put forward against the traditional assumption that Mitannian glyptic art inspired cylinder seal engraving in Cyprus is that cylinder seal engraving did exist on the island prior to the Mitannian styles and that some of the Syrian seals which show a mixture of Syrian, Cretan, and Egyptian influences may have actually been made in Cyprus. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that some iconographic elements occur on Syrian and Cypriot seals but not on Mitannian seals.<sup>3</sup> An attempt has also been made to trace the history of the development of indigenous Cypriot glyptic art from the variety of seals which occur in early Late Bronze Age tombs from Agaia Paraskevi and Enkomi.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the thirteenth century B.C., stamp seals became common in Cyprus and for a while these

were used simultaneously with cylinder seals, but by the first millennium B.C. they had become the dominant seal form.

The indigenous glyptic art of Cyprus can be divided into two principal groups. One is characterized by sophisticated styles, which comprise a delicate style with slim figures dated to the late fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries and a more modeled style dated to the later fourteenth and thirteenth centuries<sup>5</sup> which had an elaborate iconography. The latter shows a mixture of influences from the Syrian, Mitannian, and Aegean<sup>6</sup> repertoires and individual Cypriot divergences from these canons, such as details in the representation of certain animals and their postures,<sup>7</sup> for example, the bull-headed demon shown in an almost three-quarter view,<sup>8</sup> and the use of the Cypro-Minoan script in the field. A number of mediocre seals characterized by figures with horizontally ridged robes and a cluttered field with large drillings is derived from this group.<sup>9</sup> The usual material used for the seals of the first group is hematite.

The second principal group of seals is characterized by an angular and schematic style, sometimes called the Common Cypriot style.<sup>10</sup> The figures, which can be male or female, have squat bodies and heads usually rendered by a dot. A frequent scene shows one or two of these figures standing among animals or various symbols, such as circles with dots inside them, ingot-shaped forms, oblique crosses, bulls' heads, snakes, and dots. A schematic palm tree is often found as a terminal.

Other scenes include figures walking in procession, hunting and animal scenes, or seated figures receiving worshipers or attendants; seal 645 belongs to this group. Related to this style is a group of seals showing similar subjects carved in a linear style with very thin figures.<sup>11</sup> The seals in this group are mostly made of serpentine.

#### *HEROES AND ANIMALS (643, 644)*

The iconography of seal 643 is particularly interesting and unusual. The two "heroes" who are subjugating the lion on this seal wear open skirts with a pointed taillike end which are reminiscent of the dorsal appendages belonging to Minoan-Mycenaean genii on Aegean seals.<sup>12</sup> On the latter the genii are zoomorphic and not anthropomorphic as here, but the theme of two genii subjugating a lion or another animal in the role of "Master of Animals" does occur in that repertoire.<sup>13</sup> No parallels for the fully frontal lion on this seal have been found by this writer. Complete frontality, with both feet turned outward, is fairly rare even on Cypriot seals.<sup>14</sup> In Syrian and Mitannian iconography partial or almost full frontality was more common than complete frontality. It is also found on Aegean seals with human figures or demons rather than animals.<sup>15</sup> The full shoulders, sculptured form, and pinched waist of the lion are, how-

ever, characteristically Aegean,<sup>16</sup> and the iconography of this lion may be an original, Cypriot, adaptation of an Aegean subject.

Seal 644 is distinguished by five and possibly more Cypro-Minoan characters in its upper field. This script, which is found on a number of Cypriot seals, occurs on clay tablets and balls from several sites in Cyprus and from Ugarit in Syria, and is thought to be derived from the Greek Linear A script.<sup>17</sup> The earliest evidence for this script comes from a clay tablet from Enkomi dated to the sixteenth century B.C., although this view has been contested.<sup>18</sup> The script is as yet undeciphered although values for some of the signs have been suggested.<sup>19</sup>

Very little work has been done on inscribed Cypriot seals,<sup>20</sup> and because so many Cypriot seals are unprovenanced or come from dated contexts that are rather general, the classification of these seals is unsatisfactory and remains primarily a stylistic one. Inscriptions occur on both the high quality hematite or lapis lazuli seals and the Common style seals. On the seals of quality, inscriptions are not limited to a group from one particular workshop, but are found on seals of varying styles of both the earlier group with slim figures<sup>21</sup> and the later modeled group.<sup>22</sup> On Common style seals, signs also appear on seals dated from the fifteenth<sup>23</sup> to the thirteenth century B.C.<sup>24</sup> The disposition of the signs within the field of the cylinder varies. On some seals, for example 644, a number of signs are arranged horizontally in the upper field and would appear to constitute a full inscription; on other seals, for example 643, one or two signs are dotted in the upper field or placed vertically between two figures, sometimes with regard to the composition of the scene.<sup>25</sup> Signs were occasionally recut, or new ones added, presumably as a mark of changing ownership.<sup>26</sup>

The subject of seal 644, heroes standing in the field and holding animals between them, is a recurring one on Cypriot seals.

## XVII

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### LEVANTINE SEALS FROM C. 1550-900 B.C.

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By mid-fourteenth century B.C., the Hittites had gained control of most of Syria, although frequent battles between the Egyptians and the Hittites were subsequently waged in the area. Palestine at this period was technically under Egyptian domination. The city-states that had existed in the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age continued as before, although most of these were now vassals of either the Hittites or the Egyptians. In about 1200 B.C. many cities of the Levant were destroyed as a result of the incursions of the Sea Peoples, and the balance of power was upset, allowing new groups such as the Arameans to establish themselves in the southern part of the Levant. In the north and in southeast Anatolia, the cities that had escaped destruction by the Sea Peoples formed the core of a new Neo-Hittite system of powerful city-states. The successful expansion of the Assyrian empire from c. 900 B.C. onward, however, led to a new political order in the Levant; by the end of the eighth century B.C., virtually all the Levant had fallen to the Assyrians.

The classification of Levantine seals that are not Mitannian but are contemporary with and succeed them is hampered by two major factors. First, by about c. 1500 B.C. glyptic craftsmanship in Syria, with the exception of the Syro-Mitannian tradition, had seriously declined. The variety of styles, the eclecticism of the iconography, and the general mediocrity of the workmanship of so many of these seals suggest that they were produced in workshops following local traditions and subject to regional influences.

The published seals from Ugarit are mostly crude with a predominately Egyptianizing iconography; a few seals are of a relatively high quality.<sup>1</sup> Until all the seals from Ugarit have been published, however, no firm conclusions on the state of glyptic development at this site can be drawn. At Alalakh, seals with new iconographic elements (Middle Assyrian and Hittite) occur, as well as seals belonging to a local tradition.<sup>2</sup> A number of



crude and stylistically miscellaneous seals dated to this period have also been found in more northerly sites of Palestine,<sup>3</sup> although scarabs and scaraboids were generally favored in this region.

Second, the number of published seals from stratigraphic contexts of this period is still too few and too miscellaneous to allow a proper classification to be made at present. Attempts at classification on iconographic or stylistic grounds have so far been very general.<sup>4</sup> Although some of the seals sometimes share certain iconographic features or cutting techniques and belong to genuine, albeit crude, stylistic groups, which can be divided into “local” and “derivative” types,<sup>5</sup> they cannot at present be said to represent any major stylistic groups.

The seals below have been arranged into three principal groups. The first group, seals 646–652, can be compared with already known and dated seals. Seals 648–652 are closely derived iconographically from the Syrian and Mitannian repertoires; these have been classified as Levantine rather than as Syrian or Mitannian because stylistically they do not belong to these mainstream traditions. These seals are earlier than seals 653–676.

The seals in the second group, numbers 653–657, reflect the influence of a wider range of foreign repertoires: Egyptian, Hittite, Kassite, and Middle Assyrian. The generally crude seals in the third group, 658–676, are less eclectic and derivative and are thus more representative of minor local traditions.

The seals in the three groups are mostly made of hematite, serpentine, and chert. One seal is made of bronze (657), and one of composition (673).

#### *FIRST GROUP: “HYKSOS” (646, 647)*

Seals 646 and 647 are representative of the so-called Hyksos style which is found on scarabs and to a lesser extent on cylinders from both Egypt and the Levant at the time of Dynasties XV and XVI in Egypt (1720–1550 B.C.). In Syria these seals may have had a longer life span.<sup>6</sup> The seals and scarabs are characterized by a strong linear style that outlines hieroglyphic and geometric motifs, and simplified human and animal forms. The geometric motifs, principally concentric circles, spirals, and rope designs, are combined with the hieroglyphs, such as the *nfr* sign signifying “beauty” or the *hm* sign signifying “majesty.” Hieroglyphs with alphabetical values also frequently appear on these scarabs, but their function appears to have been purely decorative.<sup>7</sup>

#### *FIRST GROUP: SYRIAN AND MITANNIAN DERIVATIONS (648–652)*

The iconography of seal 648, with the figures standing on either side of a pole with a winged sun disc above it and marching men in the secondary scene, the stance of the smiting god on seal 649, and the scene with the

seated figure on seal 651 are derived from the classical Syrian repertoire.<sup>8</sup> The worship scene on seal 650, the marching figures (652), including the figure holding the animal offering on seal 649, and the "bouquet" tree on seal 651 are derived from the Mitannian tradition.<sup>9</sup>

The styles of seals 649–652 are also reminiscent of the Mitannian Common style tradition. The linear style of seal 648 which includes the use of a drill is very unusual. It does not appear to be related to the north Mesopotamian and Syrian drilled style of the end of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries B.C. A tentative parallel with a seal from Cyprus has been made (see catalogue entry). The flat linear style of seal 651 may belong to the same Palestinian linear tradition as that of a thirteenth-century seal from Beth Shan,<sup>10</sup> although seal 651 is clearly earlier.

#### *SECOND GROUP: FOREIGN INFLUENCE (653–657)*

These seals have been dated on the basis of the foreign iconographic influences which they reflect.

Seal 653 shows many Egyptian features, such as the crowns worn by the two figures, the two Hathor symbols in the sky, and the throne behind the figure on the left. Similar zoomorphic seats with high backs were first introduced into Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and continued to be used in the New Kingdom,<sup>11</sup> which began c. 1550 B.C. The rosettes in the field are found in the Mitannian repertoire and on fourteenth and thirteenth century seals from Syria.<sup>12</sup> The winged sun disc with scooped wings, a feature apparently derived from Middle Assyrian iconography,<sup>13</sup> confirms the fourteenth or thirteenth century date for this seal. The two rampant animals on either side of the sacred tree on seal 654 are reminiscent of Kassite seals of the so-called third group.<sup>14</sup> The small kneeling figure in the field with the unusual arm position and the small animals in the field may be secondary additions. The linear strokes and small drillings in the field are otherwise characteristic of certain Levantine seals.

Plowing scenes with several figures are found on Middle Assyrian and Kassite seals,<sup>15</sup> and the scene on seal 655 may be a clumsy imitation of a plowing scene from the Middle Assyrian repertoire. The material, chert, suggests that the seal is of Levantine origin.

Seal 656 and probably 657 belong to a group of north Syrian seals, dated from the late fourteenth to the early twelfth century, which show strong Hittite influence compatible with the period of Hittite influence in the region.<sup>16</sup>

Seal 657 is made of bronze that has become heavily mineralized. The following short analytical report is by Dr. D. A. Scott: "The cylinder has a dull red patina, indicative of a cuprite surface with some localized pockets of corrosion products which may indicate active corrosion. The seal appears to be extensively mineralized on all outer surfaces. Preliminary analyses by X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy showed that the major component was copper with minor but significant amounts of nickel, cobalt, and iron and a trace of lead. The composition of this seal is un-

usual; nickel is known to occur in some ancient copper alloys, but it is not commonly found in the amounts in which it is present in this seal (c. 2–5%). The presence of nickel and cobalt indicate that smelted as opposed to native copper was utilized.”

Although the cylinder itself appears to have been cast, the crudity of the figures and inscription suggest that these were hand worked. This seal, together with a number of other metal cylinder seals from museum and private collections, whose iconography is similar to that of the Syro-Hittite Meskene impressions, suggest the existence of a late fourteenth- to early twelfth-century metal cylinder seal workshop (or workshops), probably located in North Syria or southwest Anatolia.<sup>17</sup> A male figure armed with a bow and wearing either a round headdress, as on seal 656, or a high pointed hat is represented on Hittite stamp and cylinder seals, where he has been identified as a deity,<sup>18</sup> and on a number of Hittite rock reliefs where he has been associated with the names of princes beside which he is represented.<sup>19</sup> The tall headdress worn by the figure on 657 is characteristic of Hittite deities. The representation of a deity holding a griffin on a leash, however, is not part of the Hittite iconographical canon. Griffins are represented fairly frequently on Hittite seals, though not in direct association with a human figure or a deity.<sup>20</sup> The upside-down inscription on this seal indicates a provincial origin.

### *THIRD GROUP: LOCAL (658–676)*

The seals in this group, with the exception of seals 658 and 659, are far less sophisticated and eclectic than those of the preceding groups and therefore can only be given a general dating.

Elements of the iconography of seals 658 and 659 probably have origins in the Mitannian and Middle Assyrian repertoires respectively. The figure standing on a bull held by a leash on 658 is found on a number of sealings from Nuzi;<sup>21</sup> the hero holding the reversed animal on the same seal is an adaptation of an ultimately Mesopotamian motif. The kneeling archer on 659 is found on Middle Assyrian and late Syro-Mitannian seals.<sup>22</sup> The linear but pronounced and assured cutting style of this seal is found on other late second millennium Levantine seals that may eventually be found to form a legitimate stylistic group.<sup>23</sup>

Seals 660–670 depict simple subjects, such as animals in rows, humans with animals, or figures seated before a table, cut in a variety of crude linear styles. Such seals appear to have been fairly common in both Syria and Palestine, and they are part of the general group of simplified and poor quality Levantine seals that had a life span lasting from c. 1450 B.C. to the end of the second millennium or even the first centuries of the first millennium.<sup>24</sup> Features such as terminals in the form of trees, zigzags or snakes, vertical panellike structures, birds, snakes, and other animals placed randomly in the field, stags with pronounced antlers, linear strokes, or drillings dotted in the field are characteristic of this group. These elements also occur on Levantine seals of better quality (e.g., 659

above). Traces of Egyptianization are also occasionally found, as in the stance of the figure on seal 663.

Certain iconographic elements such as the row of rampant animals (666) and the vertical panellike structures (667) are reminiscent of the Mitannian repertoire.<sup>25</sup> The theme of seals 669 and 670 is reminiscent of Late Uruk glyptic art, but the naturalistic shape of the animal's hooves and the plant on 669 and the large fish in the field on 670, a feature found on seals from the second half of the second millennium onward,<sup>26</sup> suggest a later date. If the animal on 669 is indeed carrying an object on its back as the two vertical traces suggest, this is a motif that can be traced back to the early second millennium in Syria and to the Akkadian period in Mesopotamia.

Obscure motifs cut in a linear style which often combines the use of the drill, such as on seals 672–674, and animal, human, and vegetal subjects cut in a crude, scored style, such as on 675 and 676, have been found on a number of Levantine seals from fourteenth and thirteenth century contexts.<sup>27</sup> Animal or human forms can at times be distinguished on seals of the former group (672). The crude and schematic style of seal 671, on which two figures sitting at a table are possibly represented, is characteristic of the late second millennium although the subject is more typical of the late third and early second millennia (cf. seals 350 and 351). The seal may have been recut.



## XVIII

### MIDDLE ELAMITE SEALS

Elam, centered in Susiana with its capital at Susa, comprised the highland and lowland provinces of south and southwest Iran. The Middle Elamite period, which spanned the thirteenth and twelfth centuries, was a time of strength and prosperity for Elam. Under a new dynasty successful military expeditions to Babylonia and farther north were mounted, and new buildings such as the sanctuary at Tchoga Zanbil (ancient Dur-Untash) and temples at Susa were begun. This period of greatness was brought to an end in the late twelfth century when the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar I seized Susa.

Middle Elamite glyptic art, which is surprisingly modest when compared with other artistic achievements of this period in Elam, is best represented by the seals from Susa<sup>1</sup> and Tchoga Zanbil. Most of the seals from Tchoga Zanbil are dated from the mid-thirteenth to the twelfth century B.C. and come from Chapels III and IV of the sanctuary.<sup>2</sup> The majority of these seals are made of composition and are of types similar to those found at Susa.

A “pseudo-Kassite” group of seals, which as its name implies emulates the Kassite style of Mesopotamia; a style called the Elaborate Elamite style, which combines Elamite and Kassite subjects; and local linear styles were characteristic of the earlier phase at Tchoga Zanbil (Chapel IV, c. 1250 B.C.).<sup>3</sup> Two glass cylinders from this period were also found at Tchoga Zanbil.<sup>4</sup> In the later period (Chapel III, c. 1200–1100 B.C.), composition or “faience” seals cut in linear styles became standard.<sup>5</sup> The most popular subjects of these styles were banquets and to a lesser extent geometric patterns, animal files, and animals beside a tree.<sup>6</sup>

#### *GEOMETRIC MOTIFS (677–679)*

At Tchoga Zanbil seals with geometric motifs, of which seals 677–679 are a type, constitute Porada’s Group XIII.<sup>7</sup> These seals were found mostly as

votive offerings in both Chapels III and IV, the earlier seals being shorter and squatter than the later ones.<sup>8</sup> Variations on chevrons, crosses, and lozenges are the most common patterns.<sup>9</sup> This type of seal may have had a longer life span than other Middle Elamite seals.<sup>10</sup>

A motif similar to that on seal 677 is found on seals from Marlik. The motif of seal 678 is also paralleled at Marlik, although the handle and decorated base of this seal are unusual. The zigzag on seal 679, which may be a debased rendition of the chevron pattern,<sup>11</sup> is paralleled at Susa and at Tchoga Zanbil (see references in catalogue). It has been suggested that the chevron pattern, a favorite Elamite motif, may have had symbolic significance and was possibly a schematic representation of vegetation.<sup>12</sup> The pattern on seal 677 is certainly reminiscent of foliage and supports this suggestion.

*Note:* This chapter would be better placed preceding chapter nine` (The Achaemenid Period). Unfortunately renumbering the collection in order to accommodate this change could not be done before the manuscript went to press.

## XIX

### MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

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The seals in this section cannot be placed with assurance into any known stylistic group. Seal 680 is discussed separately below. Seals 681–687 and 688 can be given a general provincial and Levantine classification, since they bear little relation to any of the standard Mesopotamian groups. Seal 689 may be of Mesopotamian origin, while 691 is too crude for even a general classification.

The dating of seals 681–688 is approximate and is based on iconographic and stylistic affinities with known stylistic groups which will be pointed out in the relevant catalogue entries. Thus seals 681–687 can be assigned to the second millennium, and 687–688 to the first millennium B.C. Seal 681 may not be genuine.

Seal 680 is made of bronze. The following short analytical report has been written by Dr. D. A. Scott: "The seal is made in a cast copper alloy and has a smooth, dark green patination. Preliminary analysis by X-Ray Fluorescence Spectroscopy showed major copper and minor arsenic and iron content. The seal is therefore cast, probably by the *cire perdue* method, in an arsenical bronze which is consistent with an early date of manufacture. Smelted copper was probably used to make the arsenical bronze alloy."<sup>1</sup>

Copper and arsenical copper alloys remained the basic metal industry in the Near East until the late third millennium, being replaced only gradually and sporadically by tin-copper alloys.<sup>2</sup> Casting and smelting techniques were in use early in Anatolia (fifth millennium)<sup>3</sup> and Iran (sixth to fifth millennia).<sup>4</sup> In Mesopotamia they were known by the late fifth or fourth millennium, although copper artifacts found there may have been imported already processed.<sup>5</sup> In the Levant, surveys of the western Arabah and excavations in the Timna Valley indicate that copper mining and smelting began there in the fourth millennium B.C.;<sup>6</sup> by the Early Bronze Age II

period (c. 2900 B.C.), metal production had become widespread in the Levant.

The quality of the casting, intricate pattern, and relatively large size of 680 isolate it from other early copper or bronze cylinder seals.<sup>7</sup> Equally, no parallel for the intricate pattern has been found by the author on other metal seals or early metal artifacts. A tentative parallel can however be made with an impression on clay from Gezer of a fluid linear pattern which includes an animal and a structure, dated to the end of the EB I or the beginning of EB II.<sup>8</sup> Even though analyses for early metal objects from the Levant are not comprehensive and I have found no comparable piece, a third millennium Levantine origin for this seal is tentatively suggested here on the basis of the general preference for cast stamp seals in Anatolia and Iran. The affinity of the overall design with the impression from Gezer already mentioned and of the small animal in the upper field with representations of animals on other third millennium seal impressions from the Levant should be noted.<sup>9</sup>



## XX

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### SUSPECT AND FORGED SEALS

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The seals below are divided into two groups: 692–709, which are suspect or heavily recut pieces, and 710–719, which are definite forgeries. Certain suspect seals have been included in the sections above because they are not as questionable as the seals below.

Seals 692–709 have been classified as suspect rather than forgeries because they can be more closely related to known stylistic groups although they show certain discrepancies found on forged seals. Some of these seals may therefore be genuine but unusual. They have been arranged in chronological order on the basis of their stylistic and iconographic characteristics, which are pointed out, with any discrepancies, in the catalogue entries. The Mesopotamian styles are represented by 693 (Early Dynastic) and 695 (Akadian), 704–706 (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian); the Levant by 692 and 694 (late fourth millennium and third millennium respectively) and by 701–703 (second millennium); Cappadocian by 696 (early second millennium); Syrian by 697 and 698 (early and middle second millennium); Mitannian by 699 and 700; and Iran by 707 (Achaemenian).

Seals 708 and 709 are too crude for an attempt at classification.

There are several types of forgeries, ranging from the technically very bad and obvious (e.g., 718 and 719) to the good (e.g., 711). A cautious forger will copy his seal from an original or from a book without attempting to use his imagination; thus such a piece as 711 is valuable in itself, because being either a straightforward copy or closely inspired by an original, it gives us additional information about Syrian iconography. Many forgeries, however, combine an attempt to emulate an original cutting style with some obvious mistakes in iconography which are the result of not understanding the iconographical repertoire of the style being copied. Other forgeries may have spurious inscriptions, that is, none of the cuneiform

signs is a real cuneiform sign, but simply linear strokes that are uninformed imitations of signs. Other seals have actual cuneiform signs, but the inscriptions are nonsensical because the forger has copied signs at random. In another common type of forgery the forger attempts to avoid straightforward copying, so combines elements from various pieces. The result is usually a mixture of incongruous stylistic and iconographical details.

Apart from stylistic and iconographic discrepancies, a forged piece may be recognized by several technical discrepancies. The central perforation, done from both ends in ancient times, may on a modern piece have been attempted from one end only, or where the perforation may have been begun at both ends, it might be incomplete. The perforation may also be very straight and narrow at the initiation of the boring rather than being slightly splayed. The use of modern scientific examination techniques, such as the Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM), on the bores of suspect seals has proved very effective in revealing these anomalies.<sup>1</sup> The ends of forged cylinders are sometimes uneven and roughly cut, or unnaturally straight. Other discrepancies are the use of a stone which would be unknown or never used at the period in question, for example, the use of hematite for a seal of the Early Dynastic period and the use of dull and harsh stones, as opposed to the highly polished old stones.<sup>2</sup>

The styles which the forgers copied or emulated on the seals below are recognizable on seals 710–717. Thus, the Middle Assyrian on 710, the Syrian on 711 (compare the wheel motif on seal 453), the Mitannian on 712 and 713(?), the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian on 714–716, and the Hellenistic on 717. See the catalogue entries for details on these and seals 718 and 719.

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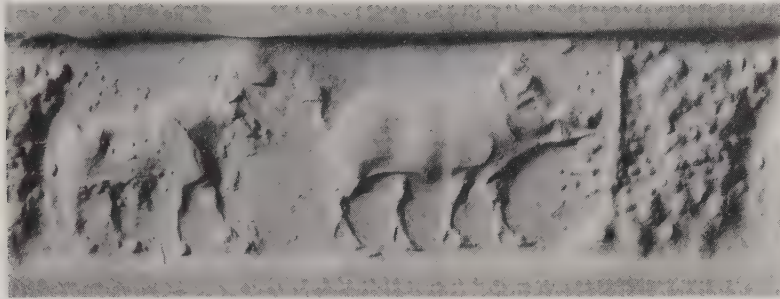
# CATALOGUE

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## LATE URUK AND JEMDET NASR SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
1	serpentine	30 × 26	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	Boar and bull in procession. Terminal: plant. Heavily pitted surface beyond plant.	Cf. Amiet, <i>GS</i> 54 (bull); <i>ibid.</i> , 550 (boar). Also <i>UVB</i> 5, Taf. 24a (bull) and Taf. 25a–b (boars). However, cf. Moortgat, <i>VARS</i> 6, dated to the Jamdat Nasr period (bull).
2	talc	25 × 21	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	Loop bore perforation and secondary central perforation. Two gazelles(?) with heads turned backward, an antelope, a recumbent antelope(?), with two smaller indistinguishable animals above. In the field: plant(?).	Cf. Amiet, <i>GS</i> 608, dated to the Proto-Urban period, for a similar treatment of the animals' bodies.
3	marble	23 × 18	c. 3200–3000(?) B.C.	Loop bore. An antelope with two panthers, one with head turned.	Cf. Amiet, <i>GS</i> 603 for the animals' tails and especially the snouts. The curved tail is also paralleled in Mesopotamian glyptic art, e.g., <i>UVB</i> 5, Taf. 24a–c.
4	marble	21 × 21	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	Surface divided into three panels. From left to right: (a) squatting figure with arms raised to pot, (b) squatting figure with arms raised to pot, second pot on ground, (c) two figures squat one behind the other with their arms raised before them.	





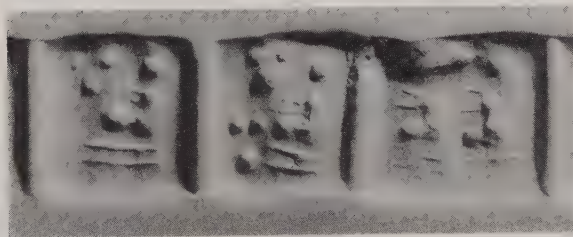
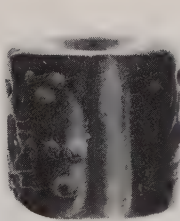
1



2



3



4

NOTE: All photographs at 1:1

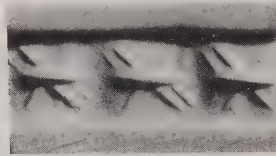
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
5	serpentine	20 × 23	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	Four pigtailed figures sit facing each other in pairs and work on pots placed between them. Terminal: three pairs of superimposed pots.	See Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> , e.g., 856–857 for similar style. The horns of the ruminant on the far left are a secondary addition.
6	marble	20 × 26	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	Two squatting pigtailed figures raise arms to four superimposed pots. Three pairs of superimposed pots behind the figure on the right.	
7	marble	12 × 11	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	A row of lozenges with raylike strokes emerging obliquely from them.	
8	marble	21 × 15	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two standing ruminants confronted by a lion.	
9	travertine	20 × 15	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes(?). In the field: two fish.	
10	travertine	22 × 15	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes. In the field: linear markings.	
11	marble	19 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two running antelopes. In the field: oblique lines.	



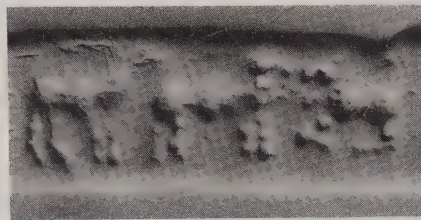
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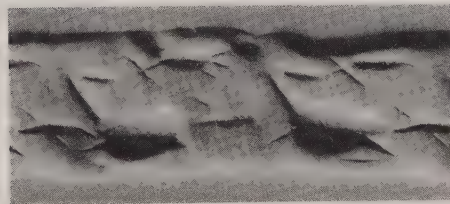
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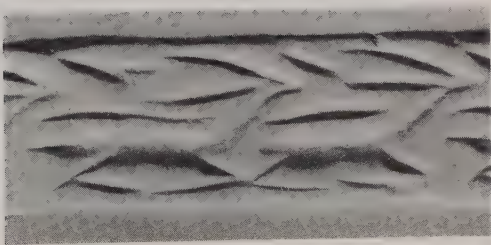
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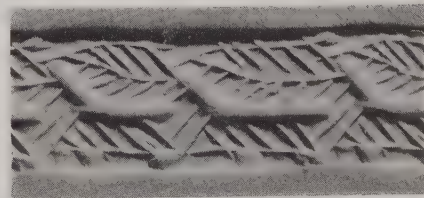
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10



11

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
12	marble	20 × 11	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two running antelopes. In the field: oblique lines.	
13	travertine	12 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two running antelopes. In the field: oblique lines.	
14	marble	35 × 20	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two running animals, one reversed. Oblique lines rising from the animals' bodies. In the field: fish.	
15	marble	12 × 8	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two standing antelopes.	
16	serpentine	10 × 3	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Standing animal beside rosette and plant. Linear borders (hereafter referred to as Lb).	
17	marble	30 × 13	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Maltese cross and a rectangle with concave sides with similar rectangles receding inside. Encircled drill hole in the center of the cross and between three arms of the cross.	
18	marble	23 × 14	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of double-lined rhombs with a lentoid shape in the center. Horizontal linear strokes along upper and lower border.	





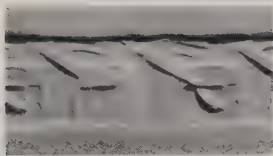
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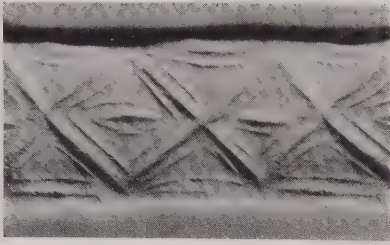


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18

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
19	marble	22 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of double-lined rhombs with a lentoid shape in the center, encased in double parallel lines.	For a closely related pattern and similar cutting style, see Parrot, <i>MAMI</i> , p1. LXVII, 586.
20	serpentine	30 × 13	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of irregular double-lined rhombs encased in double parallel lines. Encircled drilling in center of rhombs. Traces of unfinished or secondary encircled drilling in lower right-hand triangle.	
21	marble	22 × 17	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of irregular rhombs with encircled drilling in the center. Lb.	Comparison with no. 20 indicates that this seal is probably also provincial.
22	serpentine	12 × 9	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Slanted lattice design with an irregular lozenge in the center. Encircled drilling in the center of the lozenge.	
23	marble	18 × 7	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Zigzag with horizontal hatching. Three drill holes in the upper triangle, one drill hole in the lower.	See von der Osten, <i>Alishar Hüyük</i> 1: 184, fig. 86e for very similar pattern. Cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 448, and Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi, <i>East and West</i> 23, fig. 18, the latter from Shahr-i Sokhta, for related patterns.
24	marble	18 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Double triangles filled with linear strokes. Rhomb or fish shape and linear strokes inside each triangle.	
25	chert	31 × 25	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Double zigzag with inner oblique lines. Lb.	Cf. Legrain, <i>UE</i> 10, nos. 35 and 36; Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> , 827, for related pattern.
26	marble	29 × 20	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Zigzag formed with parallel lines. Horizontal lines in the field. Lb.	



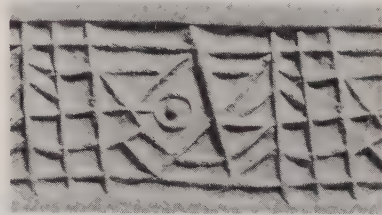
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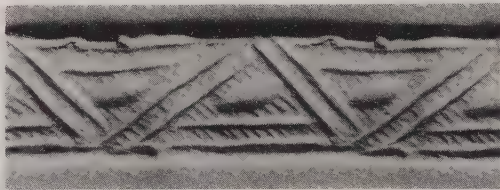
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26

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
27	marble	21 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Irregular lozenge pattern formed by parallel lines and filled with linear strokes. Lb.	Cf. Legrain, <i>UE</i> 3: 146.
28	marble	12 × 14	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of lozenges filled with oblique linear strokes. Oblique linear strokes in the field. Lb.	
29	serpentine	25 × 16	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A row of lozenges filled with oblique linear strokes. Oblique linear strokes in the field.	
30	serpentine	22 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Series of slanted crosses with oblique linear strokes in the field. Lb.	
31	chert	23 × 13	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Chevron pattern. Double lb.	Cf. Legrain, <i>UE</i> 10: 66.
32	serpentine	15 × 7	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Crosshatched design. Lb.	
33	marble	11 × 14	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Crosshatched design. Double lb.	
34	serpentine	12 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Crosshatched design. Lb.	
35	tuff	25 × 11	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Irregular crosshatched design. Lb.	See Wiseman, <i>BMCS</i> 1, p1. 12i, no provenance given, for similar motif.
36	marble	15 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Barrel-shaped cylinder. Four irregular oblique lines with small connecting strokes.	
37	serpentine	13 × 7.5	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Four stars between a plant design. Lb.	
38	marble	17 × 11	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Irregular crosses randomly placed in the field.	
39	serpentine	13 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Double line of hook motifs.	

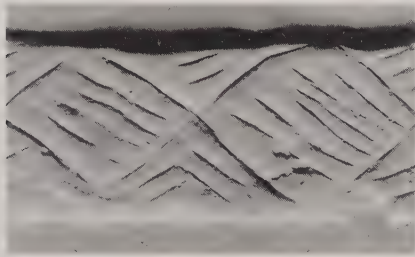




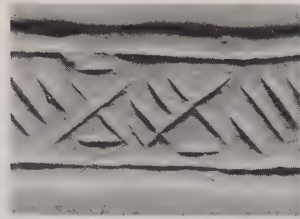
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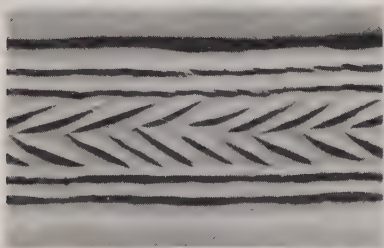
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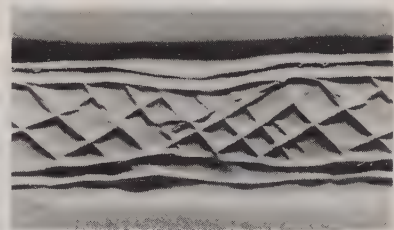
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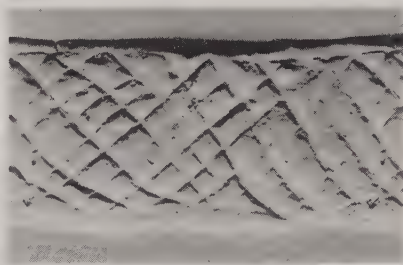
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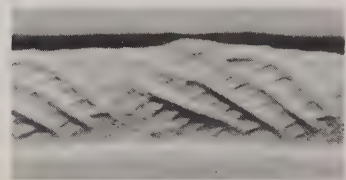
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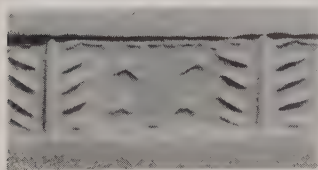
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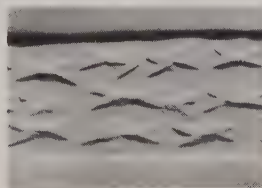
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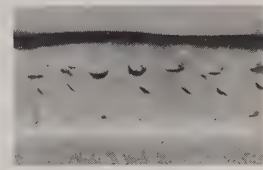
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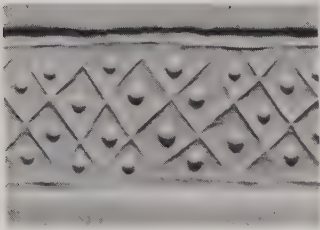


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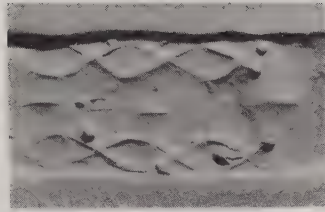


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
40	marble	22 × 11	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Crosshatched design with drillings in center. Lb.	Cf. Wiseman, <i>BMCS</i> 1, p1. 30d, from Brak; Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 734, a sealing from Brak; Mallowan, <i>AAA</i> 20, p1. LXV, 14, from Nineveh 4.
41	serpentine	21 × 15	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Intertwined wavy lines interspersed with random drill holes above and below central dividing line.	Cf. Wiseman, <i>BMCS</i> 1, p1. 9k, from Ur, for more elaborate version of a similar pattern.
42	serpentine	17 × 6	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Two bands of connected horizontal guilloches with central drillings. Lb.	Cf. M. Mallowan, <i>AAA</i> 20, p1. LXVI, 24, a sealing from Nineveh 5.
43	serpentine	12 × 14	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	One large rhomb within a circle and two smaller rhombs enclosed in vertical panel (schematic fish?). Horizontal strokes within the rhombs. In the field: angular crescent shapes. Lb.	For related pattern, cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 407 and von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 68.
44	serpentine	17.5 × 8	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Irregular vertical guilloches enclosed in vertical panels.	Cf. the better cut, related pattern on a sealing from Abu Salabikh, Postgate and Moorey, <i>Iraq</i> 39, p1. XXXIVd.
45	serpentine	21 × 10	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Oblique lines crossing each other irregularly. Double lb above and lb below.	
46	marble	21 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Cylinder with concave sides with unfinished drill holes for loop bore. Irregular linear design.	Cf Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 159 for a possibly related design.
47	marble	31 × 15	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Irregular scratched design.	
48	chert	31 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A tree with an oblique cross beside it. Star, linear strokes, rhomb in the field. Lb.	
49	serpentine	18 × 7	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Linear plant design.	See Amiet, <i>GS</i> , e.g., 865, or Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 745, for a much smaller seal with a similar plant design, the latter from Syria.



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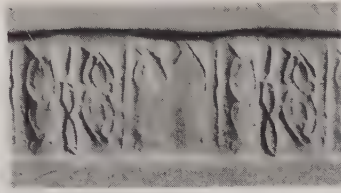
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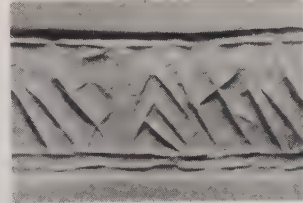
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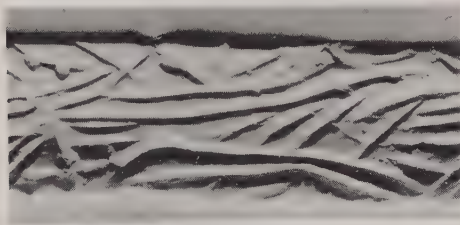
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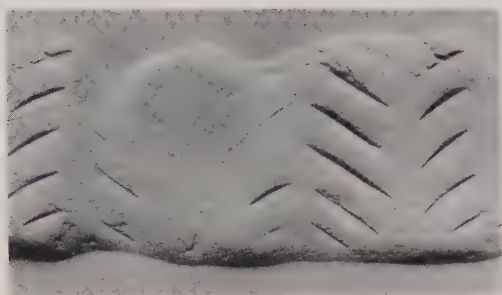
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
50	serpentine	33 × 15	c. 3100–2900(?) B.C.	Traces of zig-zag.	
51	marble	29 × 13 (base) × 11 (top)	c. 3100–2800 B.C.	Two reversed cones. Hatching within inner cone. Star and linear motifs and a rhomb to one side.	For a similar debased style and motif, Amiet, <i>GS</i> 1212, 1214. For the pattern this derives from, <i>GS</i> , e.g., 1151. See also Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> , e.g., 131–136.

## EARLY DYNASTIC SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
52	serpentine	20 × 16	c. 2900–2750 B.C.	From left to right: recumbent antelope with turned head, ibex, goat. A flower lobe in the field behind the goat.	For seals of the same style in the Diyala, see Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 462 (Tell Asmar), and 797, 824, 831, 837, 839 (Tell Agrab).
53	serpentine	20 × 17	c. 2900–2750 B.C.	An armed figure with lifted arms stands behind a cow(?). A pigtailed figure sits facing left in front of the animal. Terminal: two oblique crosses or star shapes. Drilling above upper star shape.	Cf. Amiet, <i>GS</i> , 919 for the cutting style. See also Amiet, <i>GMA</i> , note to no. 1137, which was previously assumed to be from the Jamdat Nasr period but which may in fact be from the Early Dynastic I period. For the terminal crosses or stars, see Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 762.
54	marble	19 × 11	c. 2750–2600 B.C.	Two bull-men stand beside an antelope and a crossed stag and antelope. In the field: branch between the bull-men, unintelligible forms.	
55	travertine	17 × 10	c. 2750–2600 B.C.	A bull-man grapples two bulls. Two crossed lions stand beside them. In the field: drill hole.	For drill hole(s) in the field, see Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 456.
56	marble	22 × 11	c. 2750–2600 B.C.	A kilted, bald and beardless hero grapples with a bull and an antelope. A crossed goat and antelope stand between the animals.	
57	marble	27 × 11	c. 2600–2500 B.C.	A bald and beardless hero wearing a triple belt grapples with a bull and an antelope. Two crossed lions stand between the animals.	

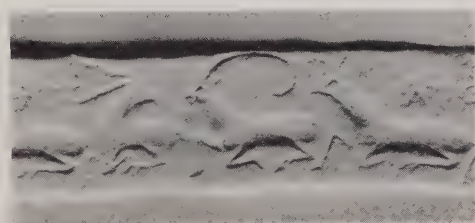




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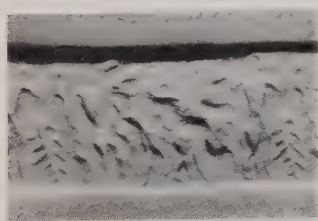
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
58	chert	24 × 12	c. 2600–2500 B.C.	Contest scene in two groups. From left to right: A bull-man and a hero grapple with an antelope. A hero stands between two bearded bulls.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 197, from Umm-el-Jerab.
59	marble	25 × 10	c. 2750–2600 B.C.	Two groups of crossed animals in contest. A lion crossed with a reversed bull attacks the neck of a bull in the second group. The lion in the second group attacks the neck of the bull in the first group.	
60	marble	15.5 × 9	c. 2750–2600 B.C.	Animal frieze: an eagle is positioned between two crossed animals and a bull-man and a bull.	Cf. Mallowan, <i>Iraq</i> 9, p1. XXII, 14, a seal from Brak, for the drillings on the figures' bodies.
61	marble	22.5 × 11	c. 2600–2334 B.C.	An eagle grasps two ibexes. In the field: fish(?), lizard(?).	
62	marble	25 × 13	c. 2600–2334 B.C.	An eagle grasps two gazelles. In the field: star, crescent.	Cf. Wiseman, <i>BMCS</i> 1, p1. 26c (Legrain <i>UE</i> 10, 125), and Parrot, <i>MAM</i> 4 p1. 19, M4444, for style.
63	chalk	31 × 29	c. 2500–2334 B.C.	Chipped surface. Banquet scene in two registers. Upper register: on the left two figures, one of which is female, drink through tubes from a vessel between them. On the right, two bald figures sit opposite each other raising cups. Lower register: a calf, a goat, and a quadruped walk toward a bush.	
64	serpentine	20 × 18	c. 2600–2334 B.C.	Two scorpions, one reversed. In the field: fish, bird, star, star disc, and crescent.	
65	marble	20 × 11	c. 2600–2334 B.C.	Serpent coil and scorpion.	



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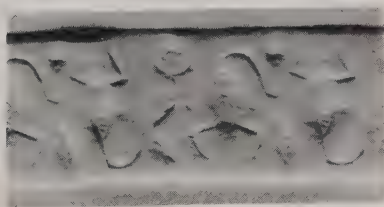
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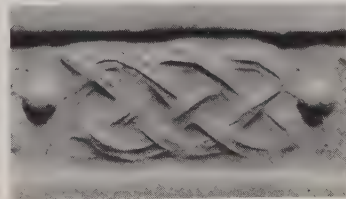
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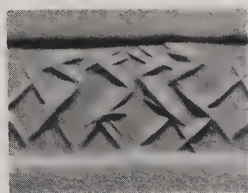
## AKKADIAN AND POST-AKKADIAN SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
66	marble	20 × 10	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two lions attack two horned animals between them.	Cf. Amiet, <i>GS</i> 1482; Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 272, from Kish.
67	serpentine	15 × 8.5	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two lions attack two horned animals between them.	
68	marble	13 × 7	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two crossed lions attack a horned animal.	
69	serpentine	21 × 10	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two crossed lions attack two antelopes. Terminal: mace.	Cf. Ravn, <i>Danish National Museum</i> 12, for the animals.
70	serpentine	18 × 9.5	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	A hero wearing a flat cap stands between two antelopes being attacked by two crossed lions.	
71	azurite	17 × 12	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	A hero(?) stands between two mountain goats(?) attacked by two lions. Two other heroes grasp the tails of the two lions, on the left and right.	Cf. Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2: A.63, p1. 66(4).
72	serpentine	21 × 12	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	A hero stands between two antelopes being attacked by two lions. A second hero grasps the tail of the lion on the right. Terminal: vertical line.	Cf. Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1: 131.
73	serpentine	26 × 15	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	A hero stands between two antelopes in combat with two lions. In the field: scorpion.	Cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 601.
74	serpentine	26 × 16	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two groups in combat. A bearded hero wearing a kilt and a conical cap wrestles with a human-headed, bearded bull. A bull-man wrestles with a lion. In the field: two maces. Terminal: tree.	See Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 1, T.83, p1. 4(1), for the tree.
75	marble	29.5 × 15	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Two heroes wearing kilts and conical caps combat with two human-headed, bearded bulls. A naked, bearded human hero holding a pole stands to one side.	

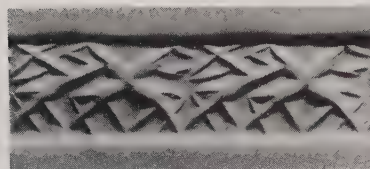




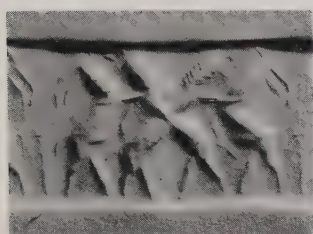
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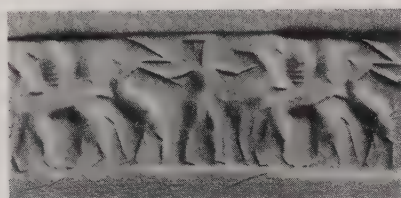
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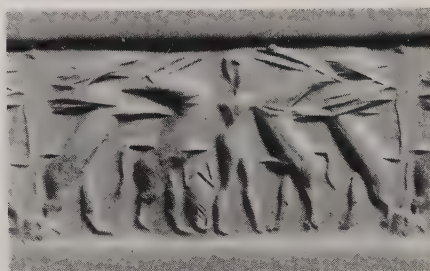
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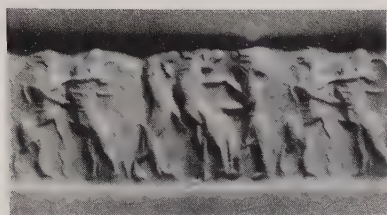


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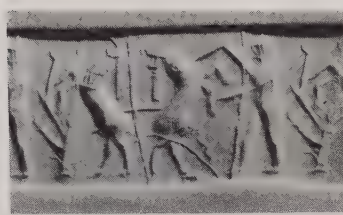


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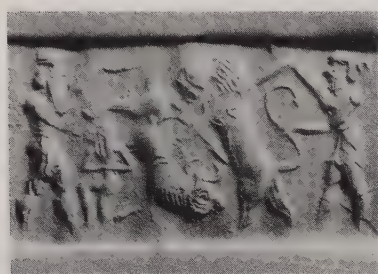
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
76	serpentine	19 × 11	c. 2334–2260 B.C.	Two groups in combat. A hero wearing a kilt and a conical cap wrestles with a lion attacking a bull. A urinating bull-man wrestles with a water-buffalo.	
77	marble	20 × 11	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	A hero in combat with a urinating, human-headed bull. A similar bull with forelegs resting on a bush stands to one side.	
78	serpentine	27 × 15	c. 2334–2220 B.C. (Early-Mature)	Two kilted heroes, one wearing a feathered crown and the other a chignon, grapple with a lion attacking a bull. In the field: a small naked bearded figure kneels facing right.	See Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.72, p1. 66(12), for small kneeling figures in the field, although their arms are not folded as here.
79	ceramic	19 × 10	c. 2254–2220 B.C. (Mature)	Two groups in combat. A naked, bearded hero wrestles with a water buffalo, and a bull-man wrestles with a lion. In the center: inscription. Inscription: unread. Appears to be re-cut.	
80	serpentine	32 × 19	c. 2334–2260 B.C. (Early)	Six deities in combat in groups of two. A deity with rays issuing from the shoulders and holding a mace subdues a kneeling deity. A third deity with a mace grapples with a deity also armed with a mace. A fifth deity with a mace clutches an unarmed deity. In the field: mountain.	
81	serpentine	18 × 10	c. 2334–2220 B.C. (Early-Mature)	A deity with rays issuing from the shoulders and holding a saw(?) and a mace ascends a mountain. A worshiper carrying a kid salutes a deity opening a portal to the ascending deity.	
82	serpentine	24 × 11	c. 2334–2154 B.C. (Mature)	A deity with rays issuing from the shoulders and a human figure sit opposite each other, each with an arm raised. An attendant stands between them, saluting the deity. In the field: mace. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: palm tree.	Cf. Legrain, <i>UE</i> 2: 342, for style of robes.



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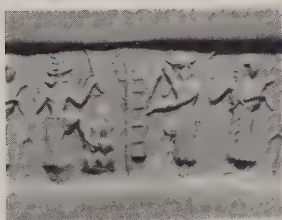
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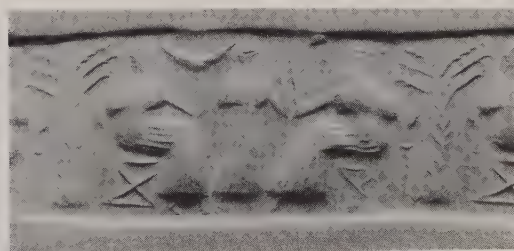
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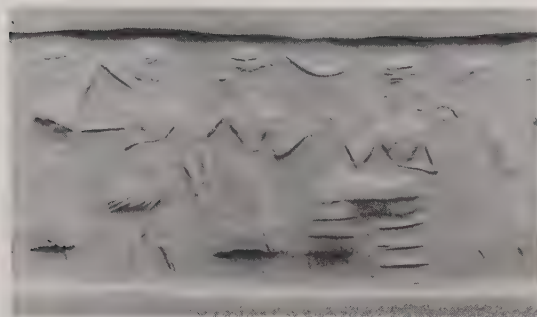
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82

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
83	serpentine	24 × 19.5	c. 2334– 2154 B.C. (Mature)	A seated deity with streams of water issuing from the shoulders receives a bird-man held and presented by secondary deities. In the sky: crescent, star. Terminal: two fish.	
84	marble	30 × 14	c. 2334– 2154 B.C. (Mature)	A seated female(?) deity touches the horns of a bull with a winged temple on its back. A bearded attendant or deity stands and holds the other side of the temple. In the sky: crescent.	
85	marble	17 × 33	c. 2334– 2260 B.C. (Early)	Intermediary figure presents a worshiper to a seated deity. In the field: stand, stalk of grain. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: two stalks of grain. Lb.	
86	serpentine	18 × 31	c. 2334– 2154 B.C. (Mature)	A deity, a worshiper carrying a kid, and a female attendant carrying a pail stand before a seated bearded deity with an arm raised. In the field: mace.	
87	serpentine	16 × 29	c. 2334– 2220 B.C. (Early- Mature)	Two figures, one female, one male, sit facing each other with an arm raised. An attendant stands between them. A second attendant stands with folded arms behind the seated figure on the right. In the field: stand. In the sky: two stars.	
88	marble	26 × 13	c. 2334– 2154 B.C. (Mature)	Two seated figures drink through tubes from a vessel placed between them. An attendant stands behind the figure on the left. In the sky: crescent.	
89	serpentine	21 × 11	c. 2334– 2154 B.C. (Mature)	Two seated figures, one male and one female, drink through tubes from a vessel placed between them. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: lizard, plant.	





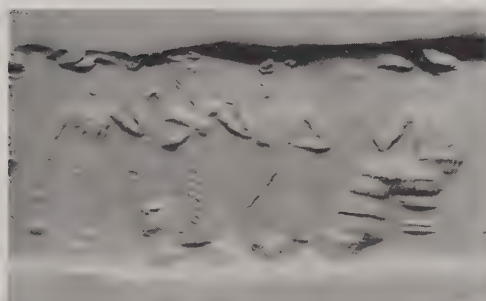
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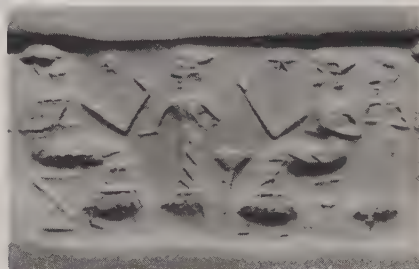
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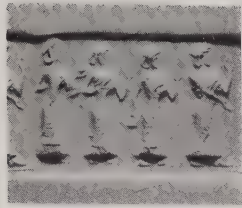


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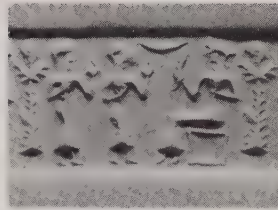
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
90	serpentine	18.5 × 9	c. 2334–2154 B.C. (Mature)	A row of four female worshipers or priestesses, each with an arm raised, walking in procession. The second one holds a pail. Lb.	Cf. Goldman, <i>Tarsus</i> 2, pl. 397, fig. 12.
91	serpentine	18.5 × 10	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	Two worshipers, each with a hand raised, approach a seated deity holding a saw. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: palm tree.	
92	quartz	22 × 11	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	Slightly chipped edges. An intermediary female figure presents a worshiper to a seated deity. A figure with a raised arm stands behind the worshiper. In the sky: crescent.	
93	serpentine	19 × 9	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	An intermediary female figure presents a worshiper to a seated figure. In the field: stand. In the sky: crescent.	
94	serpentine	20 × 8	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	Two figures stand before a seated figure. In the field: laden table before seated figure, table between the standing figures. Lb.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>VARs</i> 215.
95	marble	11 × 19	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	An intermediary figure presents a worshiper to a seated figure. In the field: a stand before the seated figure.	
96	serpentine	23 × 11	c. 2154–2112 B.C.	An intermediary figure presents a worshiper to a seated figure. In the field: indeterminate shape.	Cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 677, and Amiet, <i>GS</i> 1627.

## UR III SEALS

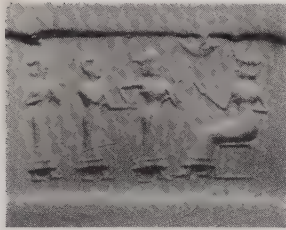
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
97	marble	28 × 15	c. 2141–2004 B.C.	An intermediary goddess leads a worshiper to a seated female deity. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: empty space, possibly left by an abraded inscription.	
98	serpentine	17 × 31	c. 2141–2004 B.C.	An intermediary goddess leads a worshiper to a seated female deity. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: inscription.  Inscription: <i>i-di-</i> Idinunish, <i>/Ki/-</i> <i>bi-nu-ni-iš</i> DUMU <i>e-x-x-ad</i> son of E . . . ad	For similar use of the cutting disc, see Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A. 207, p1. 75(16), and Legrain, <i>UE</i> 10: 332.



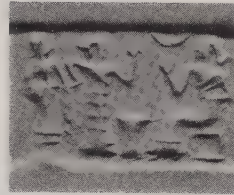
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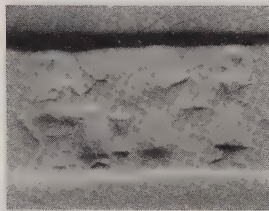
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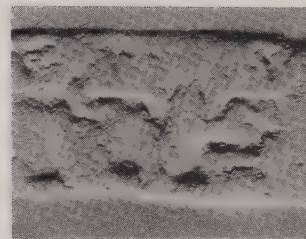
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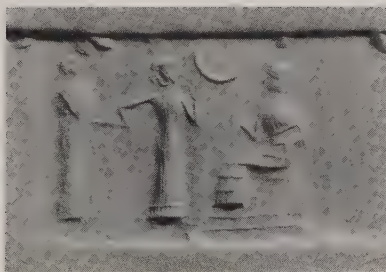
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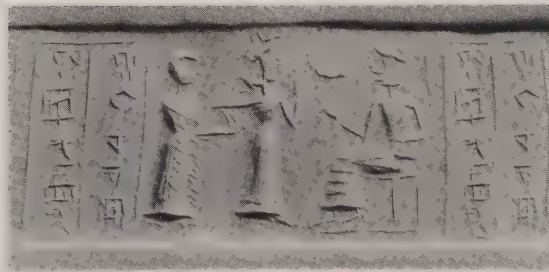
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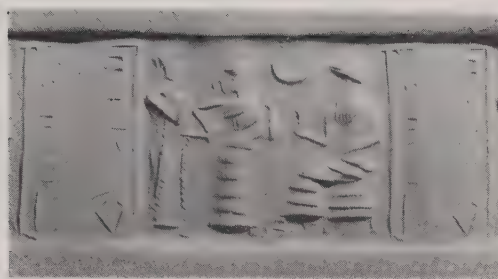
98

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
99	serpentine	22 × 14	c. 2141–2004 B.C.	An intermediary goddess leads a worshiper to a seated king holding a cup. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: too faint to be read.	Note the distinctive splaying beard of the seated king, probably the result of recutting.

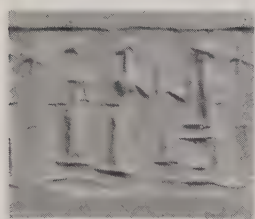
## OLD BABYLONIAN SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
100	azurite	22 × 7.5	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure receives two worshipers. Terminal: star or imitation cuneiform sign above linear mark. Lb.	Cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 731, from an early Old Babylonian context.
101	hematite	20 × 11	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A worshiper is led to a seated figure holding a cup. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> UTU (the god) Shamash	
102	hematite	15 × 7	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A worshiper is led to a seated figure. In the field: vessel. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> UTU (the god) Shamash	
103	hematite	26 × 15	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	A worshiper and the suppliant goddess stand before an enthroned figure holding a cup. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <i>pa-a-su</i> DUMU il-dalil-ba-ni Pāsu, son of Il-dalil-bani	
104	hematite	22 × 12.5	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	A worshiper and the suppliant goddess stand before an enthroned figure holding a cup. In the field: reversed bow-legged dwarf below turtle, mongoose, two drillings. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: lion scimitar, inscription, gazelle. Inscription: <i>x-am-x-a-x</i> x, ÈRI <sup>d</sup> x slave of (deity) x	The reading is uncertain due to the poor quality of the inscription. The inscription is partly obliterated by the cursory secondary cutting of the gazelle. The filling motifs in the field (lion scimitar, "mongoose," dwarf, turtle, drillings) are also secondary additions.





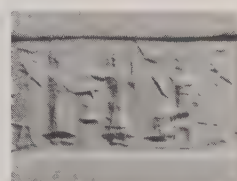
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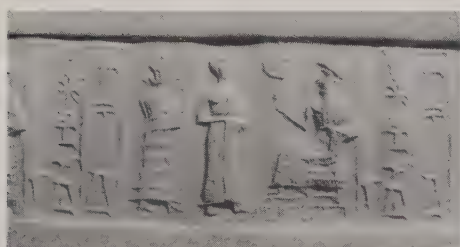
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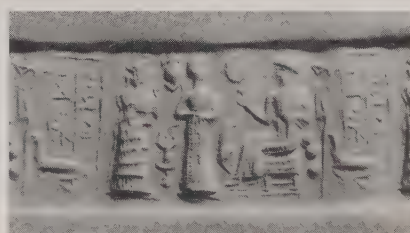
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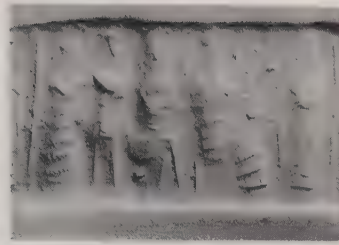


104

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
105	hematite	21 × 12	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	Worn. A worshiper and the suppliant goddess stand before an enthroned figure holding a cup(?). Lion-griffin(?) and bull(?) behind the suppliant goddess. In the sky: traces of star disc and crescent.	
106	serpentine	25 × 17	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a worshiper. Behind the seated figure, from left to right, are: a deity, a figure in a kilt raising a hand and a crouching naked hero with curls. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: vertical line, possibly part of an intended inscription panel.	The hero and the figure with the lifted hand are cut in a style different from the rest of the seal and are therefore secondary additions.
107	hematite	15 × 10	c. 1950–1800 B.C.	A worshiper and the suppliant goddess face a deity in an ascending position. An attendant stands behind the deity. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> UTU (the god) Shamash <sup>d</sup> a-a (the goddess) Aya	Note the addition of an extra figure behind the deity.
108	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1950–1800 B.C.	A worshiper and a priest with a pail and sprinkler face a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. In the sky: crescent.	
109	hematite	24 × 11	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	Intermediary goddess leads a worshiper to a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. Terminal: inscription. Lb. Inscription: <i>il-ku-ru-ub</i> Il-kurub DUMU <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU.ILLAT son of Sin-illat	The straps on the upper part of the dress of the intermediary goddess are reminiscent of Diyala dress (cf. Frankfort, SCS 717, 755, 781, 782), although here the straps are not crossed. See Frankfort, SCS 723, however.
110	hematite	21 × 11	c. 1850–1750 B.C.	Lower part of seal chipped. A worshiper offering a libation and a deity stand before a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: vessel, crescent.	Cf. Legrain, UE 10, 442 for a libation scene dated to king Sin-iddinam.
111	hematite	20 × 11	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	Upper edge of cylinder chipped. A worshiper faces a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> UTU (the god) Shamash <sup>d</sup> a-a (the goddess) Aya	



105



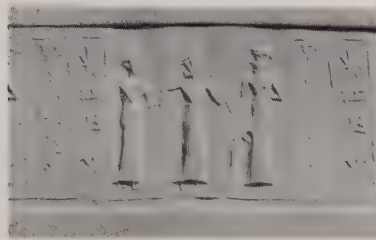
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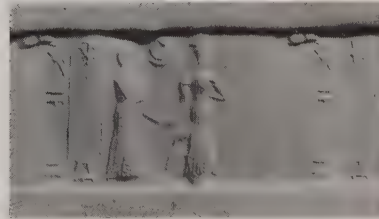
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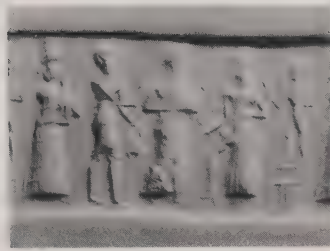
111

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
112	hematite	20 × 11	c. 1900–1750 B.C.	A worshiper and a suppliant goddess face a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. A statue of a priest on a plinth with a pail and sprinkler is behind the deity. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	See Legrain, <i>UE</i> 10, 476, 505, 509, for similar worshiper's dress.
113	hematite	24 × 12	c. 1850–1750 B.C.	A bearded worshiper carrying an animal offering, a priest with a pail and sprinkler, and a suppliant goddess stand before a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. A statue of a priest on a plinth with a pail is behind the deity.	
114	hematite	22 × 13.5	c. 1800–1750 B.C.	A worshiper carrying an animal offering and a suppliant goddess stand before a deity in an ascending position and holding a saw. Behind this deity stands a god carrying a scimitar facing a statue of a priest on a plinth with a pail and sprinkler. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	For almost identical positioning of figures, see Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 395e.
115	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	Chip on lower edge. A priest holding a pail and a sprinkler faces a deity holding a scimitar. An attendant stands behind the deity. In the sky: star.	
116	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	Chip on lower edge. A worshiper, a goddess and a priest with a pail and a sprinkler stand before a deity. In the field: stand(?). In the sky: crescent, star.	
117	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	A suppliant goddess stands before a figure with a mace. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: star.	
118	hematite	23 × 11	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	Two groups of figures, one reversed. A suppliant goddess faces a figure with a mace. In the field: nude female figure, fly. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Reversed: a worshiper faces a deity. In the field: bow-legged dwarf. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: vertical line of inscription panel which has been turned into a stalk of grain with the secondary addition.	The reversed second scene is a later addition in the place of the inscription. It shows a second cutting hand: the figures are angular and flat as opposed to being slightly modeled like the figures of the first scene. For a similar mixture of cutting hands on a seal see e.g., Ménant, <i>de Clerq</i> 230.

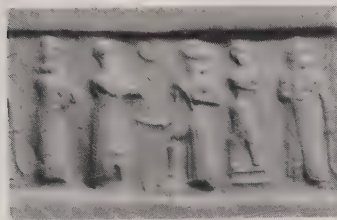




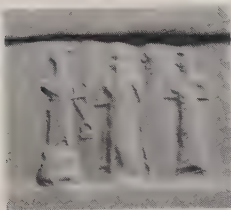
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113



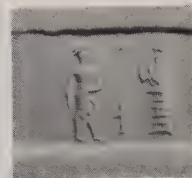
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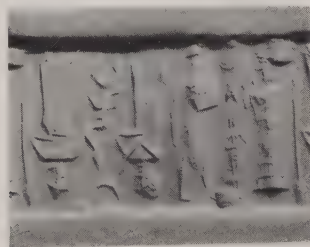
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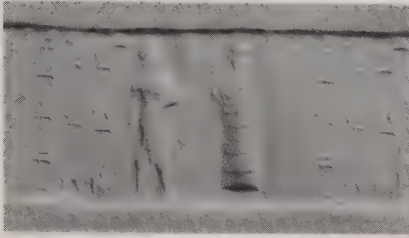


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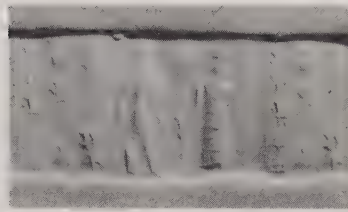


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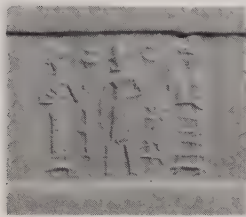
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
119	hematite	25 × 13	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	A suppliant goddess stands before a figure with a mace. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <i>ru-ba-tum</i> Rubatum, GEME <sup>d</sup> UTU slave-girl of <i>ù<sup>d</sup>a-a</i> Shamash and of Aya	
120	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	A deity with a hand placed on a stalk of grain stands before a figure with a mace. Terminal: inscription. Sumerian inscription: <sup>d</sup> ISKUR Ishkur, DUMU.AN.NA son of heaven, GÚ?.GAL. water-controller of AN.KI.A heaven and earth	
121	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	A suppliant goddess faces a figure with a mace. An attendant deity is behind the figure with a mace. In the field: ball staff, inscription. In the sky: vessel, star in crescent. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> UTU (the god) Shamash	
122	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	A suppliant goddess and a deity in an ascending position face a figure with a mace and a half-naked figure holding a flowing vessel. In the field: crook, ball staff. In the sky: vessel, fly, crescent.	
123	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	A deity holding a flowing vase stands on a goatfish behind a figure who salutes a kilted figure. A nude female figure with her arms raised to her breasts stands beside the kilted figure. In the field: two crooks, a vase to receive flowing water. In the sky: star.	
124	hematite	25 × 14	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	A worshiper faces a deity with a crook directly behind him. In the field: bow-legged dwarf. In the sky: crescent standard. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU (the god) Amurru, DUMU.AN.NA son of heaven	Cf. Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.870, p1. 94 (25) for the standard. Such standards also occur quite frequently in the Diyala: cf. Frankfort, <i>SCS</i> 713, 717, 771.



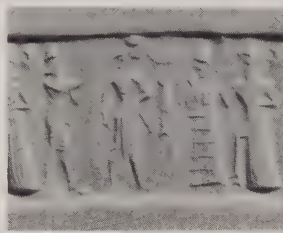
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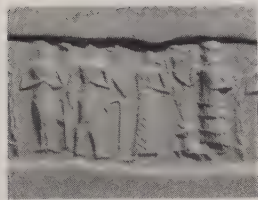
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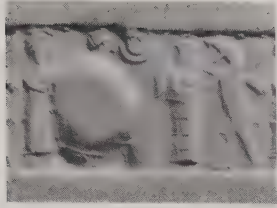
123



124

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
125	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	Large chip in center of seal. A suppliant goddess faces a figure obliterated by chip and an attendant. A rampant lion-griffin threatens the group from the right. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	
126	hematite	25 × 13	c. 1750–1700 B.C.	Two standing suppliant goddesses, one on either side of an inscription. Inscription: <i>ku-ru-um</i> Kurum, DUMU <i>ab-ni-</i> son of Abni-Sin, <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU ÈRI <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU servant of Amurru	
127	agate	29 × 15	c. 1750–1700 B.C.	Two standing suppliant goddesses, one on either side of an inscription. Inscription: <i>a-bu-um-wa-qar</i> Abum-waqar, DUMU <i>ya-ši-iḫ-il</i> son of Yasih-il, ÈRI <sup>d</sup> NIN.SUN servant of Ninsun	
128	hematite	25 × 12	c. 1800–1700 B.C.	Two deities and the suppliant goddess face a statue of a worshiper carrying an animal offering. A hero in combat with a bull-man is behind the suppliant goddess. In the field: small figure, rampant antelope, rosette(?). In the sky: recumbent bull, star disc and crescent, head-stand.	
129	hematite	17 × 8	c. 1750–1650 B.C.	Two worshipers stand before a deity in an ascending position holding a staff with seven globes on it. A nude hero with curls stands behind the worshipers.	
130	hematite	23 × 9	c. 1750–1600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a deity in an ascending position holding a star staff. A female deity in an ascending position stands before a double-faced figure. Between the two groups is the statue of a nude female figure.	Fringes on robes such as the worshiper's here first appear during the time of Samsu-iluna (Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p1. 124, 55–S2, and p. 149), although this seal is evidently of a later date.
131	hematite	20 × 8	c. 1750–1600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a deity in an ascending position holding a staff with seven globes. Two figures link hands over a pole on the left. In the field: vessel, star. In the sky: rosette. Lb.	Note the unusual headdress of the deity holding the staff. For a similar headdress, see Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 471.

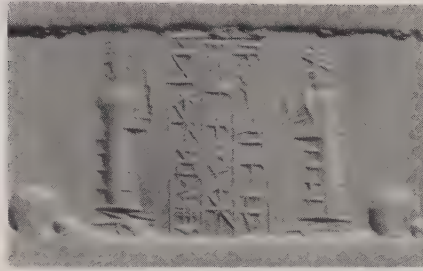




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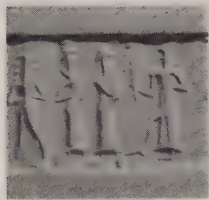
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127



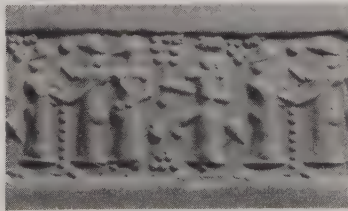
128



129



130



131

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
132	hematite	24 × 9	c. 1750–1600 B.C.	Worn Two worshipers, the first of which holds an animal(?) offering, stand before a deity holding a cross staff (traces of a leash below?) and a deity holding a scepter with a globe top and forked end. In the field: ball staff.	
133	hematite	23 × 12	c. 1850–1700 B.C.	A contest scene in three groups: i) a nude bearded hero grasps the hind leg of a lion and places his foot on the lion's nape, ii) a lion attacks a half-kneeling naked bearded hero, iii) a winged griffin attacks an antelope. In the field: lightning fork. In the sky: scorpion.	

## KASSITE SEALS

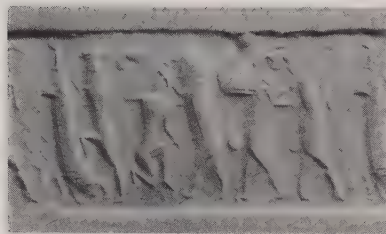
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
134	chert	36 × 12	c. 1400–1300 B.C.	A suppliant stands beside an inscription. Lb. The inscription consists of ten lines of poorly engraved signs. In line 2 the sign ME is repeated at least five times, suggesting that this is not a true inscription but a talisman.	
135	agate	31 × 12	c. 1400–1300 B.C.	The surface of the seal is scratched. A worshiper kneels before a standing deity. In the field: rhomb, ear of grain. Lb. Inscription not read.	

## MIDDLE ASSYRIAN SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
136	agate	30 × 11	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	Both ends chipped. An armed hero in combat with a lion-griffin. A bull calf stands between them.	
137	agate	35 × 11.5	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	Lower part of the cylinder missing. An armed hero grasps an antelope by a hind leg.	Note the superfluous cutting marks in the field.



132



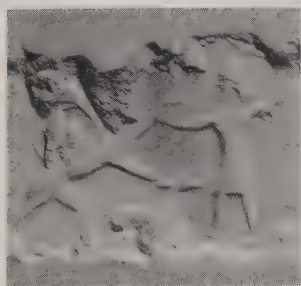
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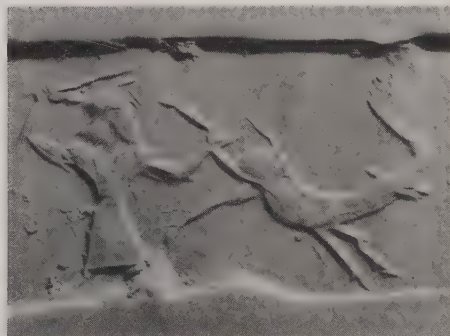
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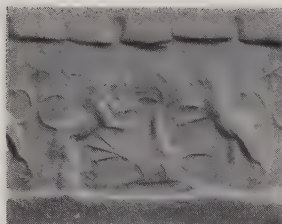
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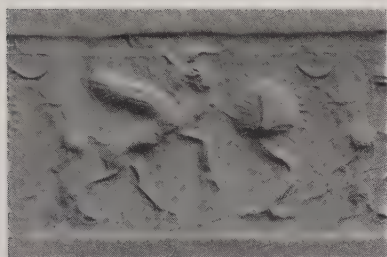
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
138	carneian	6 × 20 × 9	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	Cylinder with a loop handle. Two lions rampant on either side of a small tree on a mound with flowering plants. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>ZA</i> 47: 69, Abb. 32 and 33, for the type of tree on a stylized mound.
139	talc	28 × 11	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	A rampant winged bull beside a tree with a shoot. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	Cf. C. McEwan et al., <i>Fakbariyah</i> , pl. 78, 63, for the tree, and pl. 78, 28 and 12, for the linear body of the animal.
140	talc	24 × 10	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	Two large vertical chips on body of cylinder. A rampant bull and an ostrich on either side of a bush. In the sky: star. Lb.	
141	quartz	26 × 12	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	A horse with a decorative halter leaps in the field before a flowering bush.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>ZA</i> 47: 64, Abb. 25 (Southesk Qc 35), for a winged horse in a similar halter; the ends have been compared to pomegranates (p. 64). See Kühne, ed., <i>Damascus</i> 51, for a sealing dated to 1243–1207 B.C. showing a winged bull in an identical stance; Moortgat, <i>ZA</i> 47: 66, Abb. 27, dated to the same period for an antelope in an identical stance.
142	carneian	19.5 × 8	c. 1300–1200 B.C.	A young bull runs in the field with a plant before him. In the sky: star disc, star.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>ZA</i> 47: 81, Abb. 68, dated to Shalmaneser I (1274–1245 B.C.), for the subject and position of the animal.
143	carneian	11 × 9	c. 1300–1100 B.C.	An attendant presents two tassels(?) to a seated figure holding a "mirror." A second attendant dresses the seated figure's hair. In the sky: star.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>ZA</i> 48: 37, Abb. 38, dated to Tiglath-Pileser, for figure presenting similar tassel(?). Cf. also Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.780 and 781, pl. 90 (15,16), for similar subject. See also Tunca, <i>Adana</i> 60, and Amiet, <i>GS</i> 2065 and p. 266.

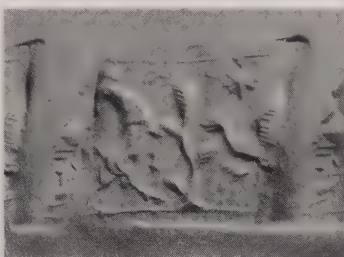




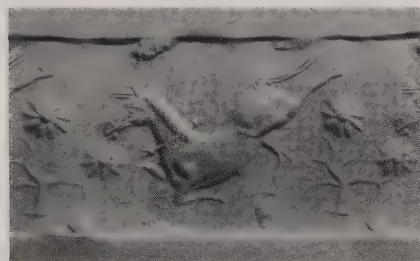
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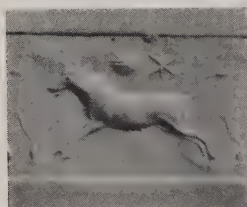
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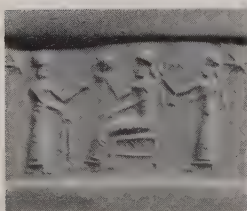
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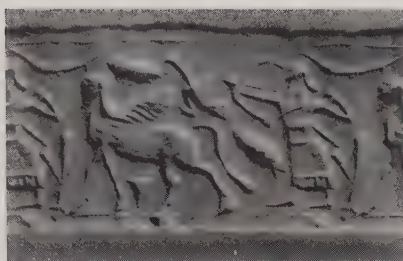
\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

## NEO-ASSYRIAN SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
144	serpentine	41 × 11	c. 900 - 800 B.C.	A winged standing archer aims at a scorpion-man. In the field: wedges, rhomb. In the sky: wedge, star, crescent. A lower and upper border of chevrons pointing in opposite directions.	
145	serpentine	27 × 10.5	c. 900-800 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a bull-man. In the field: plant, fish, wedge. In the sky: bird, rhomb, crescent. Lb.	
146	serpentine	25 × 12	c. 900-800 B.C.	Lower part of cylinder missing. An archer on one knee aims at a griffin. In the field: plant. In the sky: star. Oblique lines visible along upper border of seal.	
147	carneian	23 × 9	c. 800-700 B.C.	An archer on one knee aims at a sphinx. In the field: plant, wedges. In the sky: star, crescent, two globes. Lb.	
148	serpentine	20 × 9	c. 800-700 B.C.	A winged archer on one knee aims at a bull. In the sky: wedge, crescent. Lb.	
149	serpentine	32 × 8	c. 800-700 B.C.	A hero on one knee armed with a scimitar grasps the front leg of a rearing bull. A griffin rests its forelegs on the shoulders of the hero. In the sky: crescent, star. Lb.	The figure of the attacking griffin appears to be cut by a different hand and may be a later addition.
150	serpentine	17.5 × 9	c. 800-700 B.C.	A hero on one knee carrying a quiver and armed with a scimitar holds a rearing bull by a foreleg. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
151	marble	25 × 11	c. 800-700 B.C.	A hero on one knee carrying a quiver and armed with a scimitar grasps an ostrich by the neck. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
152	marble	26 × 12	c. 800-700 B.C.	Worn. A winged hero on one knee armed with a scimitar grapples with an animal (latter worn). In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
153	marble	17 × 9	c. 800-700 B.C.	A hero on one knee carrying a quiver and armed with a scimitar grasps a bull(?) by a foreleg. In the sky: star, crescent. Terminal: plant.	
154	serpentine	24 × 9	c. 800-700 B.C.	An archer on one knee aims at a bull. In the field: stylus. In the sky: star. Lb.	



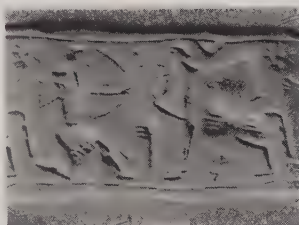
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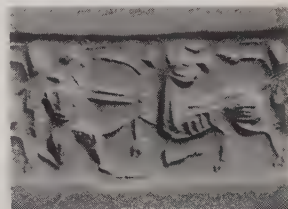
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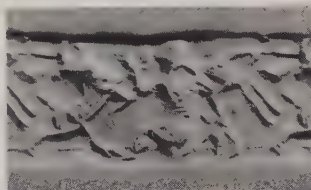
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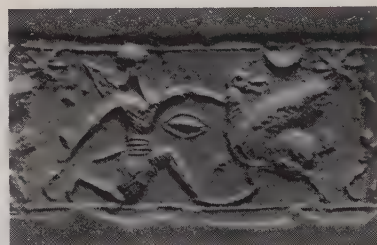
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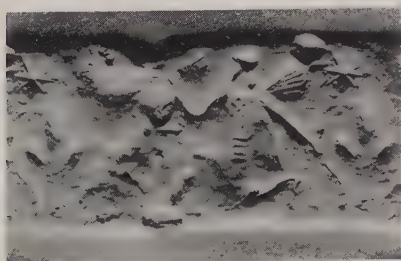
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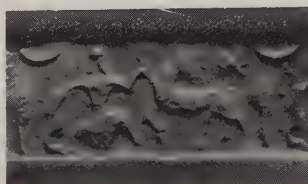
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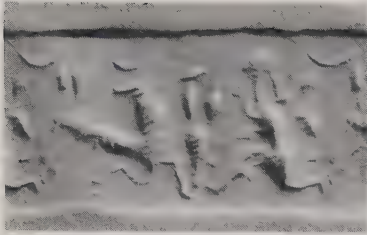
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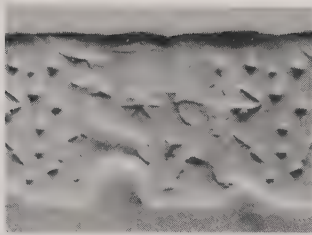
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
155	chert	24 × 10	c. 800–700 B.C.	A winged hero on one knee confronts a wounded bull(?). In the field: plant, wedges. In the sky: crescent.	
156	serpentine	24 × 8.5	c. 800–700 B.C.	A half-kneeling archer aims at a stag. In the field: nine globes, star, wedge.	
157	marble	15 × 8	c. 800–700 B.C.	A standing figure goads a horse(?). In the sky: crescent. Terminal: plant.	
158	serpentine	32 × 10	c. 900–800 B.C.	Upper and lower border of seal slightly chipped. A standing hero confronts a winged bull. In the field: palmette, star. In the sky: crescent, bird, wedges. Lb.	The kilt with a long fringe worn by the figure is very similar to those worn by hunters on thirteenth–twelfth century B.C. seals from Tchoga Zanbil: Porada, <i>Tchoga Zanbil</i> 4 pl. IV, 37; pl. V, 46. The pinched waist is also a feature here: <i>ibid.</i> , pl. IV, 39; pl. VIII, 87. Cf. Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 616.
159	serpentine	30 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	Unfinished perforation, chip along upper rim of cylinder. A centaur(?) with lifted arms confronts a winged horse. Lower border of triple-line, dovetailed triangles.	See Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 311; Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 611; Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 17, pl. XII, 4, pl. XIV, 3; Delaporte, <i>Guimet</i> 115; P. Amiet, <i>Bas reliefs</i> p. 177, 517, for similar borders of multiple-lined dovetailed triangles.
160	serpentine	29 × 13	c. 800–700 B.C.	A hero stands between two bulls and grasps their hind legs. In the sky: winged sun disc, crescent. Terminal: stylus. Lb.	
161	serpentine	31 × 14	c. 750–700 B.C.	A four-winged genius stands between two sphinxes and grasps their forelegs. In the field: bull calf, rhomb. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: stylus.	
162	chert	16 × 7	c. 750–650 B.C.	A hero stands between two monkeys(?) and grasps their forelegs. In the sky: star, crescent. Terminal: dog. Double lb.	

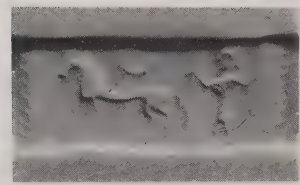




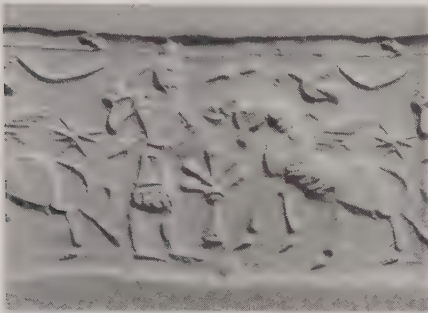
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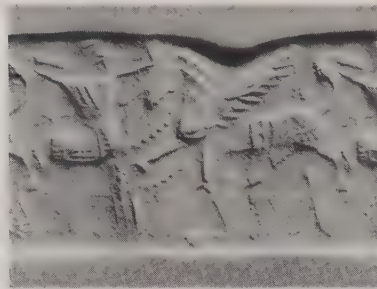
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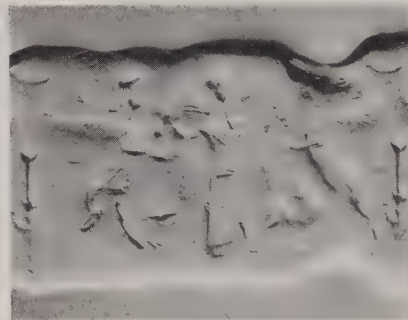
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\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

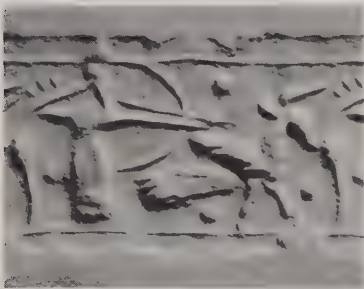
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
163	composition	40 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged bull. In the field: plant, rhomb, random globes. In the sky: seven globes arranged as a rosette, crescent, two wedges. Lb.	For a similar style, see Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 617, 618, seals that illustrate the debased linear style.
164	composition	33 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged monster with the foreparts of a horned animal and the body of an ostrich. In the field: fish, plant. In the sky: seven globes. Lb.	
165	pyrophyllite	31 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged monster with the foreparts of a bull and the body of an ostrich. In the field: plant, four globes. Lb.	
166	pyrophyllite	26 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged monster with the foreparts of a bull and the body of a scorpion. In the field: plant. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
167	composition	25 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged bull. In the field: wedges. Lb.	
168	composition	25 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a rearing bull(?). In the field: wedges. Lb.	
169	composition	23 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	Worn. An archer(?) aims at a horse. In the field: plant, rhomb.	
170	pyrophyllite	26 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a winged monster. In the field: traces of a plant. Lb.	
171	pyrophyllite	25 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a bull. In the field: globes, plant. Lb.	
172	pyrophyllite	24 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	Very worn. A standing archer aims at a crested serpent. In the field: plant. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
173	pyrophyllite	25 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a crested serpent. In the field: plant. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	



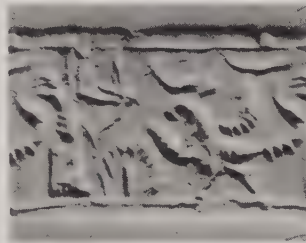
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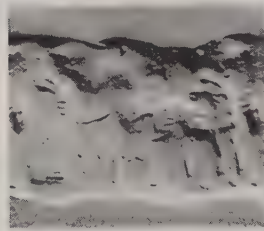
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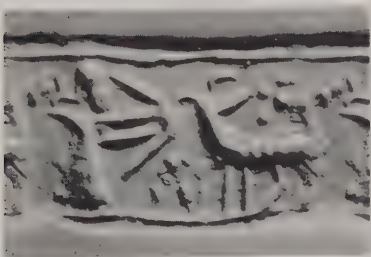
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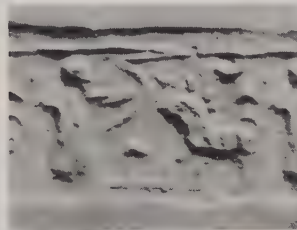
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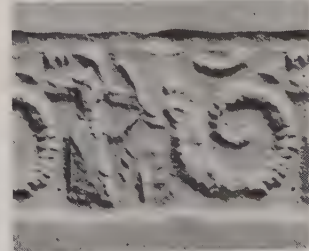
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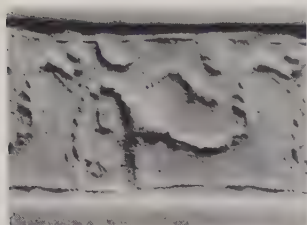
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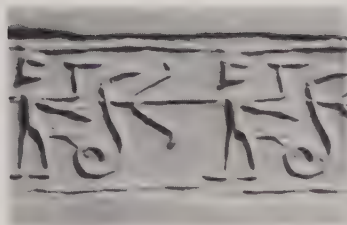
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
174	pyrophyllite	24 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	Unidentifiable tentacled monster. In the field: small circular shapes. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
175	composition	23 × 7	c. 800–700 B.C.	A standing archer aims at a snake. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 17, pl. XV, 2, possibly dated to Sargon II. See also Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 624 and 625 and p. 107, where a relationship with Egypt is suggested on the basis of <i>Ashmolean</i> 626–628.
176	composition	12 × 7	c. 800–700 B.C.	A standing archer with a stylized bow aims at a snake. In the field: star. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 24, pl. XVI, 5, for the shape of bow and the figure's stance, but not the style.
177	serpentine	27 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A griffin-headed bird and a scorpion-man walk in file. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
178	tuff	27 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	Bird-men walk in file. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
179	composition	24 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	Bird-men walk in file. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
180	composition	23 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	Bird-men walk in file. Lb.	
181	composition	29 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	Crested birds with heads turned backward walk in file. In the sky: star. Lb.	
182	tuff	31 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	Two bird-men confront each other. In the sky: star, winged sun disc. Lb.	
183	tuff	25 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	Two bird-men confront each other. In the sky: wedge, crescent. Lb.	
184	serpentine	23 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A winged scorpion-man confronts a bull. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
185	serpentine	19 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	A kneeling bull confronts a bird-man. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
186	marble	15 × 8.5	c. 900–700 B.C.	A monster with the body of a bird and the tail of a scorpion confronts a kneeling antelope. In the field: rhomb, cross with a crescent top. In the sky: crescent, seven globes. Lb.	
187	serpentine	22 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	A horse and a large bird with outspread wings. In the field: wedges. In the sky: seven globes, crescent.	Cf. Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 372, for the type of bird.

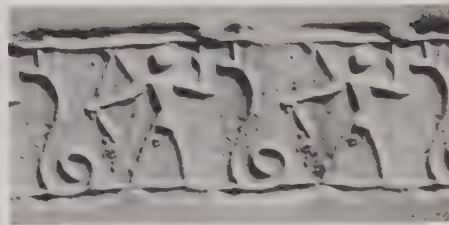




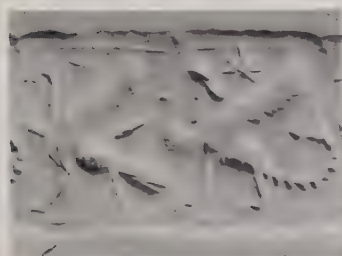
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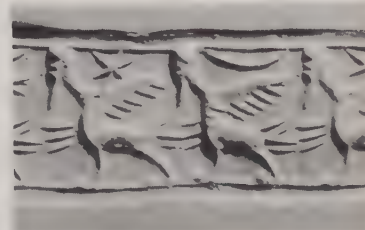
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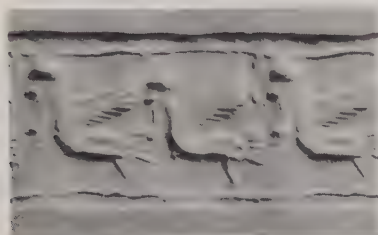
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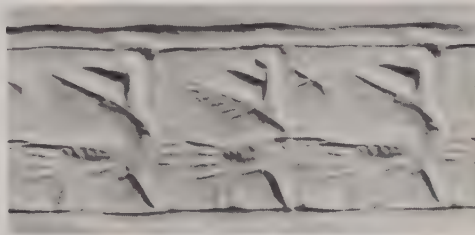
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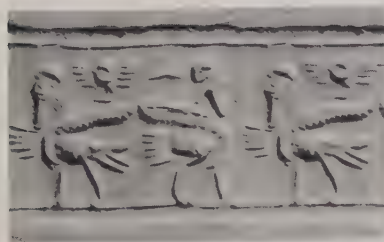
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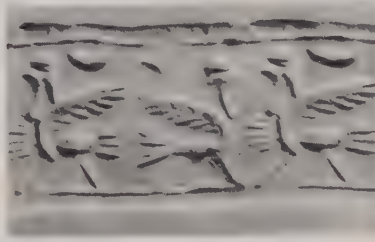
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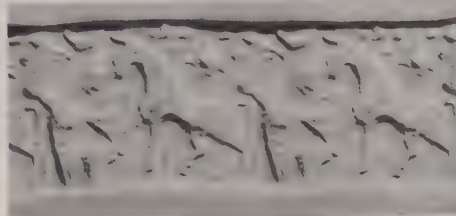
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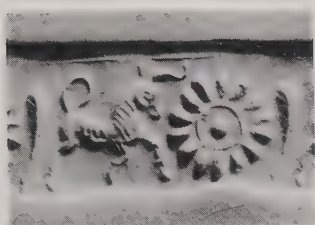


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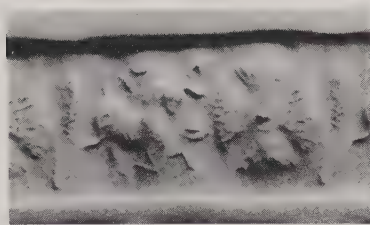


187

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
188	chert	20 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	A rosette and a bull. Terminal: plant. Lb.	Note that the bull has only three legs. The linear striations on the bull's body are reminiscent of certain seals of the late Kassite style, e.g., Moortgat, <i>VARs</i> 560.
189	chert	22 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	Worn. A rosette and a bull. In the field: rhomb. Terminal: plant.	
190	serpentine	35 × 12	c. 900–800 B.C.	Upper and lower edges chipped. A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star, cross. Lb.	
191	serpentine	29 × 11	c. 900–800 B.C.	Upper and lower edges chipped. A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. A second attendant stands behind the figure with the bow, holding a whisk and a stole. In the field: wedges, globes. Traces of oblique lines along upper and lower borders.	
192	serpentine	26 × 11	c. 900–800 B.C.	A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: three plants. Lb.	
193	serpentine	23 × 9	c. 850–700 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised and holding a bow faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant.	
194	chert	24 × 10	c. 850–700 B.C.	Extremely worn surface. A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: three plants.	
195	serpentine	17 × 8	c. 850–700 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised, holding a bow faces an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
196	serpentine	21 × 9	c. 850–700 B.C.	Worn. A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: star.	



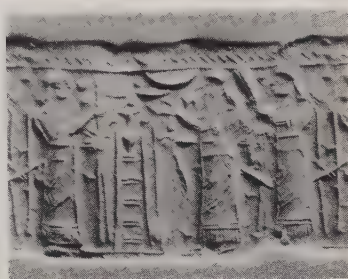
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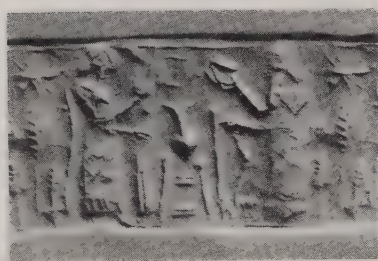
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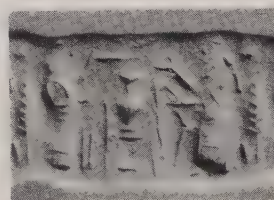
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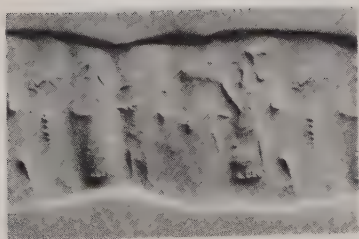
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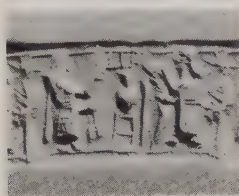
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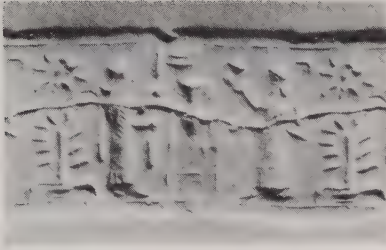
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
197	serpentine	25 × 11	c. 850–700 B.C.	A figure holding a bow and a cup faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: stylized palm. Lb.	
198	marble	27 × 11	c. 850–700 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised and holding a bow faces a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	
199	marble	21 × 12	c. 850–700 B.C.	Two bearded figures holding cups, one with a bow, face each other over a stand with a jar with a funnel in it. Beside the figure with a bow is a large spiked palisade. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	
200	marble	20 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	Mended break. An archer with one arm raised and holding a bow stands before a winged horse. In the field: wedges. In the sky: crescent, T-shape. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	
201	serpentine	21 × 15	c. 900–800 B.C.	Lower part of seal missing. A royal figure with one hand raised and holding a bow(?) faces three figures standing in a line. A fan bearer and a soldier holding a cup stand behind the royal figure. In the field: plant. In the sky: rhomb, obscure linear motif. Chevron upper border.	
202	serpentine	20 × 9	c. 850–700 B.C.	Three figures stand in line before a stand with a vessel on it. The first figure grasps a staff and holds a cup; the second figure also grasps a staff. In the field: plants. In the sky: star, ball staff. Lb.	





197



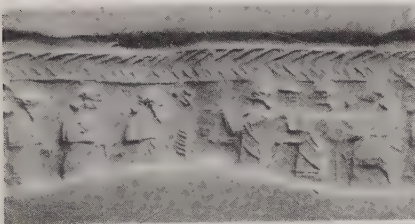
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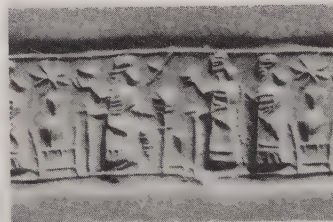
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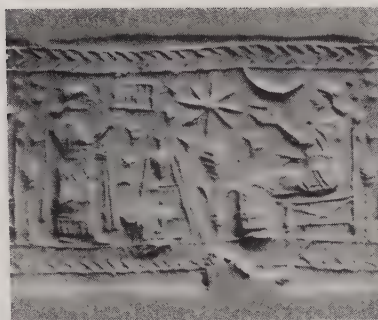


202

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
203	serpentine	37 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	Large chip along lower edge. A figure holding a cup sits before a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the sky: star, crescent. Lower and upper border of chevrons pointing in opposite directions.	
204	serpentine	35 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	Chip on lower edge. A figure holding a cup sits before a stand with two vessels upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the field: wedges, plants. In the sky: star, crescent, four globes. Lower and upper border of chevrons pointing in opposite directions.	
205	marble	32 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a figure carrying a shield and holding a whisk and a staff. In the field: wedges. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Traces of chevron upper and lower border.	
206	serpentine	31 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the field: wedges. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
207	serpentine	11 × 18	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a stand with a vessel upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the field: wedges, plant. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
208	serpentine	26 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a table with victuals upon it and an attendant holding a fan and a stole. In the field: wedges, plant. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
209	serpentine	25 × 9.5	c. 900–700 B.C.	Central perforation unfinished. Cracked surface, lower edge chipped. A seated horse drinks through a tube from a jar on a stand. A second horse and a dog holding a stringed instrument stand on their hind legs opposite. In the field: wedges, crescent, rhomb. In the sky: seven globes, star. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 24: 39, ND 7107, and pl. XXII, 5.



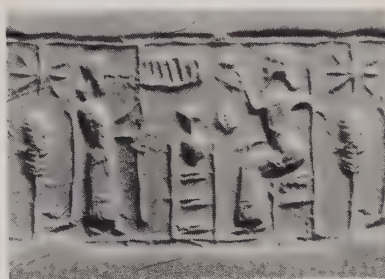
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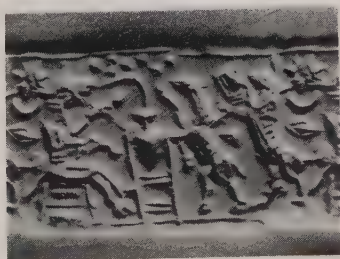
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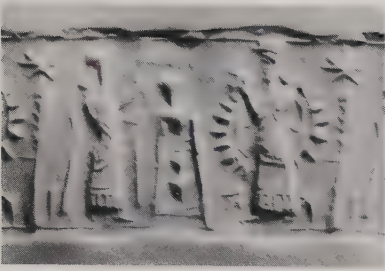


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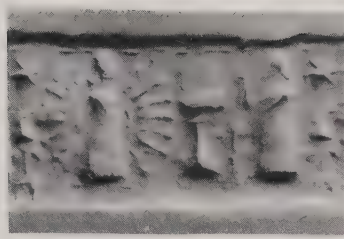
\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
210	serpentine	28 × 11	c. 900–700 B.C.	An attendant holding a fan and a stole faces a deity in a nimbus. A stand with two vessels on it is between them. In the field: wedges. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
211	chert	22 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	Worn. A worshiper, holding a stole(?), stands before a flaming(?) stand and a deity in a nimbus. In the sky: star. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	
212	marble	20 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	Worn. Two adult and two child worshipers stand before a deity in a nimbus. In the field: rhomb, cross with bulbous top. In the sky: star, crescent.	
213	travertine	24 × 8	c. 900–700 B.C.	Scene in two registers. Upper register: deity in a nimbus stands before a censer on a stand. A four-winged genius in combat with a winged bull to one side. Lower register: heads of dragon, griffin, bull, griffin, and a human. The two registers are separated by two parallel lines. Lb.	For other scenes in double registers (cf. also 232), see e.g., Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 1, K.7, pl. 57(2), and Williams-Forte in Muscarella, ed., <i>Ladders to Heaven</i> 86: 129.
214	marble	14 × 35	900–700 B.C.	Worn. A worshiper stands before a censer on a stand and an armed deity holding a circlet. In the field: stylus or plant. In the sky: crescent.	
215	serpentine	34 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	Two worshipers stand before an armed deity holding an ax. In the field: <i>marru</i> , wedges, star, rhomb, vessel. In the sky: crescent, two discs. Terminal: stylus, seven globes.	
216	serpentine	35 × 13	c. 800–700 B.C.	A worshiper with a rounded headdress faces a deity holding an ax. A winged genius with a pail and a cone(?) stands behind the deity. In the field: stylus. In the sky: star, seven globes, crescent. Terminal: palm. Lb.	





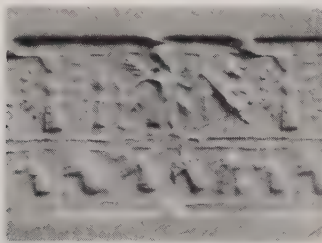
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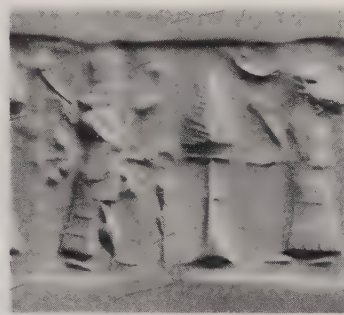
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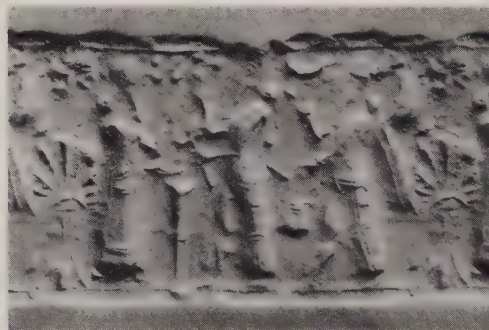
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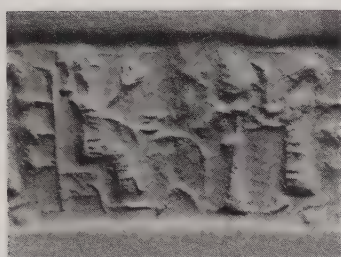
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
217	serpentine	32 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a flaming stand and a deity seated on a throne with a star-studded back holding a circlet. In the field: <i>marru</i> . In the sky: crescent, winged sun disc. Terminal: tree. Lb.	
218	serpentine	15 × 21	c. 900–700 B.C.	Lower half of seal missing. A worshiper holding a large ring stands before a flaming stand and a deity, holding a circlet, and seated on a throne with stars placed in a parallel row behind it. In the sky: star, seven globes, wedges, crescent. Terminal: <i>marru</i> , stylus, bird. Lb.	
219	serpentine	26 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	Worn. A worshiper stands before a censer on a stand and a deity seated on a throne with a studded back. A laden table stands before the deity. In the sky: traces of star. Lb.	
220	serpentine	33 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a deity seated on a throne with a studded back supported by a dog. Behind the worshiper is a second deity standing on a plinth and holding a circlet. A figure in a fish cloak stands behind the enthroned deity. In the field: stylus, rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
221	serpentine	38 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	A worshiper faces a deity seated on a throne with a studded back supported by an animal on the left. A deity standing on an animal stands before a figure on the right. In the field: wedges, small animal. In the sky: star, crescent, seven globes. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	
222	serpentine	28 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a deity enthroned on a dragon(?) and holding a rod and a ring. A censer on a stand is between them. In the field: stylus. In the sky: crescent, star. Terminal: seven globes, rhomb, fish.	



217



218



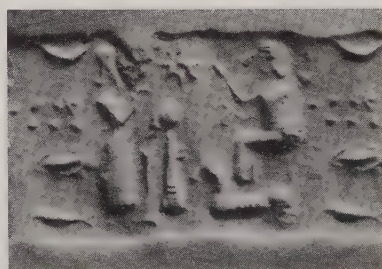
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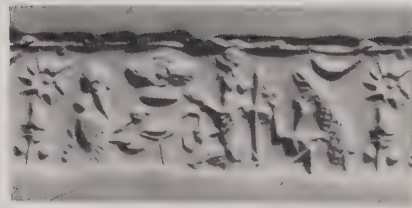
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222

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
223	serpentine	18 × 12	c. 850–700 B.C.	Lower half of seal missing. An enthroned deity holds a rod and a ring. A worshiper stands opposite. A figure in a fish robe stands behind the deity. In the field: rhomb, traces of vertical lines. In the sky: star disc, winged sun disc, crescent. Terminal: <i>marru</i> . Lb.	Cf. Eisen, <i>Moore</i> 82, or Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 39.
224	serpentine	31 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	A deity holding a lightning fork runs along the back of a dragon. In the field: wedges, rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	See note 37, chap. 8, for a list of seals in the linear style showing similar subjects.
225	serpentine	30.5 × 12	c. 900–700 B.C.	Mended chip on upper part of cylinder. A standing deity armed with a scimitar holds the hind leg of a bull. In the field: wedge, plant. Terminal: palm. Lb.	
226	serpentine	34 × 11	c. 900–800 B.C.	A worshiper stands on either side of a sacred tree holding two streamers issuing from the winged sun disc above. In the sky: crescent, star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
227	serpentine	20 × 10	c. 900–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands on either side of a sacred tree holding two streamers issuing from the winged sun disc above. In the sky: star. Terminal: plant. Lb.	
228	marble	35 × 17	c. 900–700 B.C.	Two worshipers stand before a crescent on a tasseled pole. In the field: large bird, plants, wedges, crescent. In the sky: star, wedge, cross with two globular ends.	Cf. Porada, <i>Tcboga Zanbil</i> 4, pl. VI, 54 and pl. VII, 70, for the figures' lower legs and robes respectively.
229	marble	17 × 8	c. 800–700 B.C.	Worn. A figure stands in the field with an antelope, a stylus, and a rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent.	
230	marble	19 × 10	c. 800–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a <i>marru</i> and a goatfish. In the field: plant. In the sky: stalk of grain. Lb.	

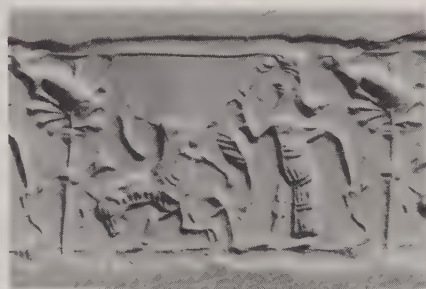




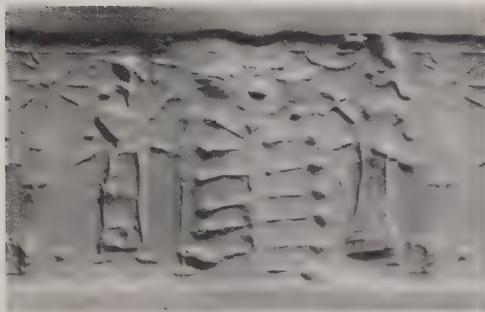
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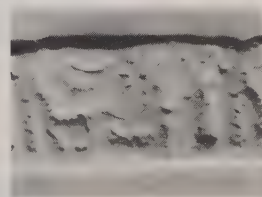
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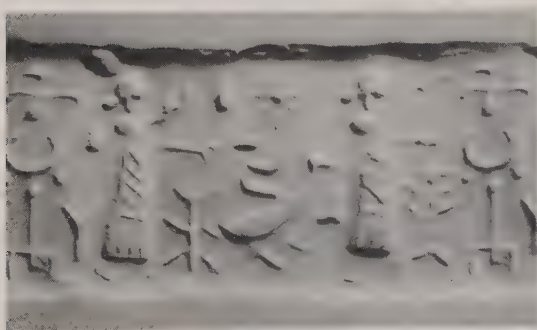
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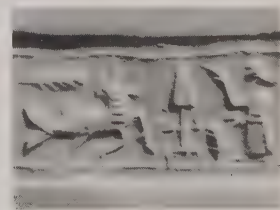
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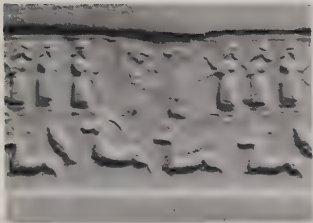


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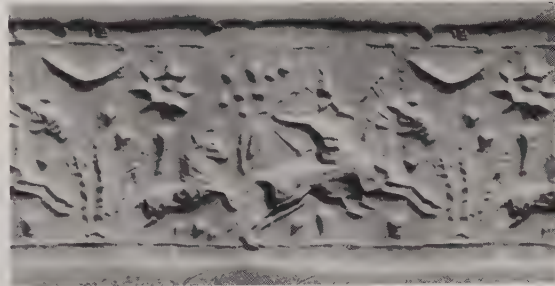
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
231	serpentine	30 × 14	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure lies on a bed inside a semicircular structure. A bearded figure leans over the patient with an instrument and a female figure kneels at the head of the bed with a flaming bowl. Outside the structure a female figure dances on the right and on the left a figure stands holding a staff. A dog walks on the roof of the structure. In the field: stylus, rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent, winged sun disc, five globes. Lb.	For figures attending persons lying on a bed inside a similar structure, cf. Oppenheim, <i>Tell Halaf</i> 4, Taf. 23, Abb. 9; von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 407. Williams-Forte in Muscarella, ed., <i>Ladders to Heaven</i> 86: 129. For a drawing of this seal see I. Führ in Hrouda et al., <i>Isin-Īšān Babriyat</i> 1: 138, Abb. 9. The reference to the Christies catalogue is incorrect.
232	serpentine	21 × 9	c. 900–700 B.C.	Scene in two registers. Upper register: two figures stand on either side of a gate. The first figure on the left holds a ring. Lower register: stag, fish, antelope, winged bull. Lb.	For a single worshiper standing beside a temple gate, see e.g., Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 652; Delaporte, <i>Guimet</i> 117; Moorey and Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 40, pl. VII, 43. Cf. Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 661 for style.
233	serpentine	34 × 13	c. 900–700 B.C.	A rider aims his bow at a bull behind him. In the field: wedges, plant, rhomb. In the sky: crescent, eight globes, star. Lb.	Cf. Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.706, pl. 89(12); Borowski, <i>Orientalis</i> NS 21, pl. XXII, 4 (Layard Coll.); Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 17, pl. XIV, 3, from Nīrūd—for style. For a rider facing backward to shoot an arrow: Weber, <i>Siegelbilder</i> 514, from Assur.
234	serpentine	38 × 16	c. 800–700 B.C.	A charioteer runs down a victim. In the field: rhomb, plant. In the sky: star, crescent, winged sun disc. Terminal: palm. Lb.	
235	marble	39 × 14	c. 900–700 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised and holding a staff stands beside a fortress on a mountain. A ramp or ladder is placed against the fortress on the right. Lb.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 610, 611; Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 1, K.7, pl. 57(2), the latter a full-fledged siege scene.



231\*



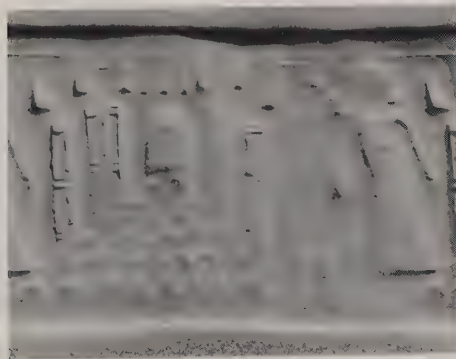
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\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
236	marble	35 × 15	c. 800–700 B.C.	<p>Chip on body of cylinder.</p> <p>A worshiper stands before a decked table and a deity holding a lightning fork on a bull. A female deity holding a vessel stands on a cow with a suckling calf behind the worshiper. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star, seven globes, crescent, winged sun disc, trident, inscription. Terminal: bull's head, <i>marru</i>. Lb.</p> <p>Aramaic inscription. Letters engraved in positive on the seal: <i>h̄tm 'l' mr</i> seal of El-amar</p>	For the style cf. H. Seyrig, <i>Syria</i> 32, pl. III, 5, pp. 42–43, a seal belonging to a non-Assyrian (Atarshamayn) (my thanks to A. R. Millard for this reference.); see also Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 354, the seal of Ashur-beli-ušur, for similar rounded forms and accentuated eyes on a larger seal.
237	carneian	19 × 11	c. 800–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a deity in a nimbus, an offering table between them. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: seven globes, crescent. Terminal: dragon supporting <i>marru</i> and stylus.	
238	sardonyx	26 × 12	c. 800–700 B.C.	<p>Both ends of cylinder chipped.</p> <p>A worshiper stands before a decked table and a deity in a nimbus. In the sky: crescent, winged sun disc. Terminal: <i>marru</i>.</p>	
239	chalcedony	16 × 13	c. 800–700 B.C.	<p>Lower half of the cylinder missing.</p> <p>A worshiper stands on either side of a sacred tree and holds streamers issuing from a winged sun disc above. In the sky: crescent, winged sun disc. Terminal: tip of <i>marru</i>. Lb.</p>	
240	chert	27 × 13	c. 800–700 B.C.	Two worshipers, one kneeling on one knee and one standing on either side of a sacred tree with a winged sun disc above. In the field: seven globes. In the sky: star, crescent.	
241	carneian	20 × 8	c. 800–700 B.C.	<p>Upper edge of cylinder slightly chipped.</p> <p>A worshiper stands on either side of a sacred tree holding streamers which issue from a winged sun disc above. In the field: seven globes, star. In the sky: double crescent.</p>	

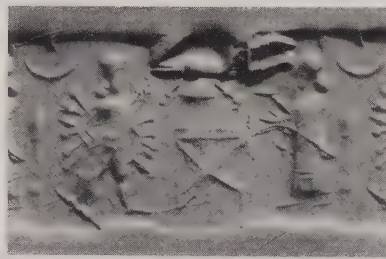




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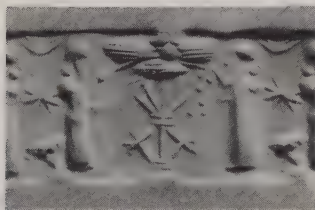
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
242	chalcedony	17 × 10	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a sacred tree with winged sun disc above. In the sky: crescent, star. Terminal: <i>marru</i> .	
243	composition	18 × 8.5	c. 800–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands on either side of a sacred tree holding streamers issuing from the winged sun disc above. Terminal: rhomb, seven globes, crescent. Lb.	
244	chert	24 × 13	c. 700–600 B.C.	A figure stands beside a tree, rearing antelope(?) on the other side of the tree. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
245	chert	25 × 13	c. 750–700 B.C.	A worshiper stands before the sacred tree, a goat, and a <i>marru</i> . In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star, winged sun disc. Lb.	
246	chert	25 × 13	c. 750–600 B.C.	Lower part of seal missing. A worshiper stands on either side of a decked table. In the field: rhomb, drill holes. In the sky: star, winged sun disc. Terminal: <i>marru</i> , stylus(?). Lb.	
247	chert	21 × 11	c. 700–600 B.C.	Large chip on body of seal. A figure stands with arms outstretched toward a sphinx under a winged sun disc. In the field: rhomb.	
248	composition	28.5 × 12	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a crescent pole. In the field: fish, bull's head, dragon's head, rhomb, star. In the sky: winged sun disc. Lb.	
249	chalcedony	19 × 9	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a crescent pole, a sacred tree, and a stylus. In the field: stool, rhomb. In the sky: winged sun disc, star. Lb.	
250	chalcedony	22 × 9	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a crescent pole and a stand with nine globes. In the field: fish. Terminal: bull's head(?), rhomb, star.	
251	chalcedony	21 × 10	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a sacred tree with a winged sun disc above, and crescent pole. In the field: seven globes, rhomb.	



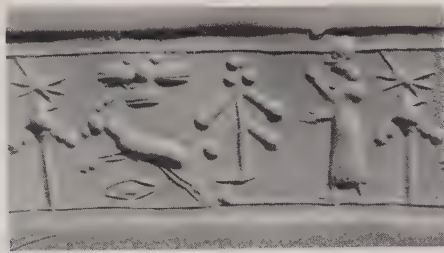
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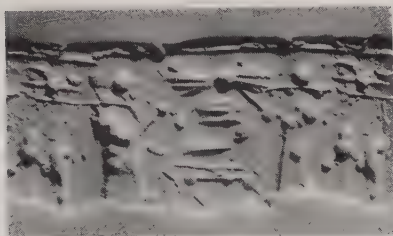
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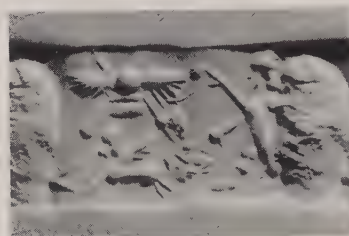
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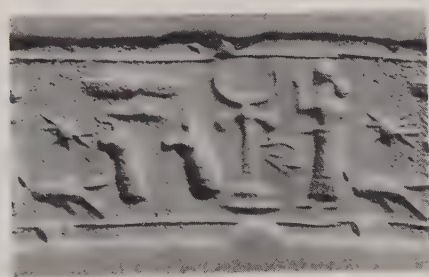
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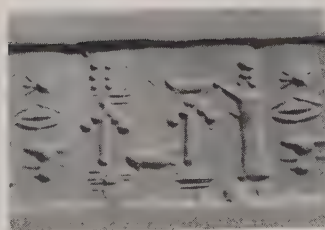
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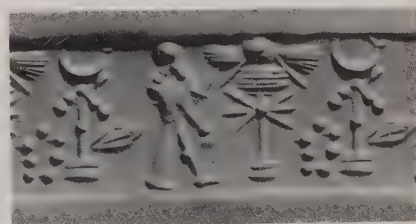
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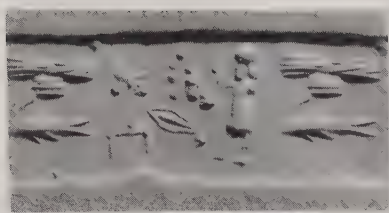
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
252	chalced-ony	19 × 10	c. 600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a crescent pole. In the field: seven globes, rhomb. Terminal: fish, winged sun disc.	
253	chalced-ony	17 × 11	c. 700–600 B.C.	A worshiper stands before a dragon supporting a <i>marru</i> and a stylus. In the field: fish, drill hole, rhomb.	
254	chalced-ony	21 × 8	c. 700–600 B.C.	A winged sun disc above a stool. In the field: goat, bull's head, fish, rhomb. In the sky: crescent, star. Lb.	
255	chalced-ony	15 × 8	c. 700–600 B.C.	Sacred tree with a winged sun disc above. In the field: bull's head(?), fish, rhomb, oval drilling. In the sky: crescent.	
256	sardonyx	13 × 9	c. 750–600 B.C.	A running archer chases a griffin. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: crescent.	
257	chert	19 × 8	c. 750–600 B.C.	A standing archer aims at an attacking griffin. In the field: ball staff, rhomb, star.	
258	carnelian	29 × 12	c. 750–600 B.C.	Two winged genii in combat. In the field: fish, rhomb, vessel(?). In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
259	agate	24 × 11	c. 750–600 B.C.	A winged genius stands between a sphinx and an antelope and grasps their forelegs. In the field: fish.	
260	carnelian	29 × 13	c. 750–600 B.C.	A winged genius stands between a sphinx and an antelope and grasps their forelegs. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star. Lb.	
261	chert	20 × 10	c. 750–600 B.C.	A winged genius stands between two sphinxes and grasps their forelegs. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: crescent.	
262	chalced-ony	18.5 × 10	c. 700–600 B.C.	A rampant bull on either side of a tree. In the field: rhomb.	
263	chalced-ony	19 × 10	c. 700–600 B.C.	Two rampant horned animals. In the field: rhomb, fish. In the sky: crescent.	For an animal in similar style, see Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 17:1. ND 3310, a seal from Nimrud dated to 630–615 B.C.

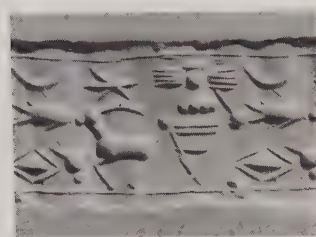




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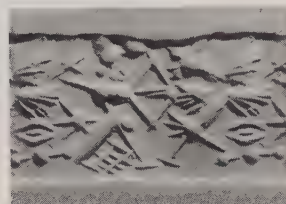
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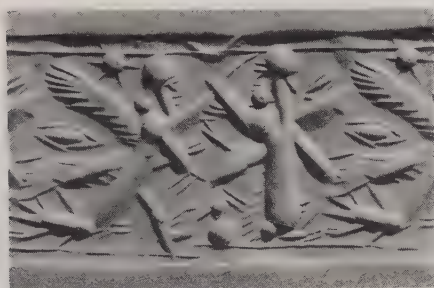
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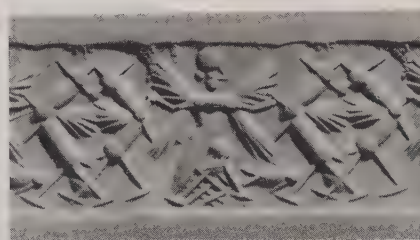
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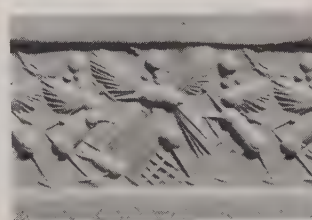
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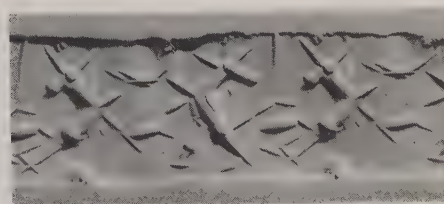
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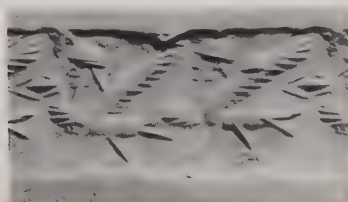
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
264	chalcedony	33 × 11	c. 900–750 B.C.	An archer on one knee aims at an attacking griffin. In the field: fish. In the sky: star. Lb.	
265	carnelian	30 × 13	c. 900–750 B.C.	An archer in a chariot aims at a rearing animal. In the field: three fish. In the sky: star. Lb.	
266	chert	19 × 10	c. 900–750 B.C.	Bird-men walk in file. In the field: rhomb.	
267	chert	25 × 12	c. 950–750 B.C.	A worshiper kneels beside a sacred tree, with a winged disc above it. Terminal: rhomb, fish. Lb.	
268	agate	28 × 10	c. 900–750 B.C.	A worshiper kneels on either side of a sacred tree with a winged sun disc above. In the field: comblike sign. Terminal: bird, rhomb, star. Lb.	
269	agate	29 × 11	c. 900–750 B.C.	A worshiper kneels on either side of a sacred tree with a winged sun disc above. Lb.	
270	marble	23 × 12	c. 600 B.C.	A winged figure stands on one side of a sacred tree facing a second figure. In the sky: a bird on either side of the tree.	
271	chalcedony	16 × 7	c. 600 B.C.	A worshiper stands beside a sacred tree with a winged sun disc above. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star.	
272	chert	19 × 8	c. 750–600 B.C.	A winged genius kneels beside a stool supporting a winged disc. In the sky: star, crescent.	
273	chalcedony	16 × 15	c. 750–600 B.C.	Lower half of cylinder missing. A winged genius stands between two other winged genii and grasps them by the forelegs.	



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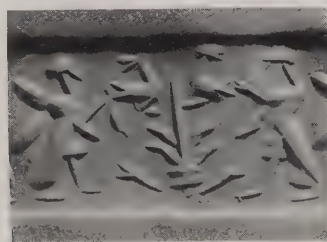
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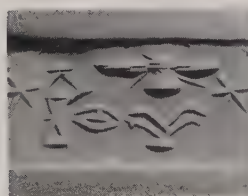
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
274	chalcedony	17 × 13	c. 750–600 B.C.	Lower half of cylinder missing. Two winged monsters chase an ostrich. Upper border of dovetailed triangles with horizontal linear strokes inside them.	CF. Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 657; Porada, <i>Tcboga Zanbil</i> 4, pl. X, 122.
275	chalcedony	22 × 9	c. 750–600 B.C.	A row of walking winged animals. In the field: rhomb, angular signs. In the sky: crescent, star, bird. Lb.	
276	chalcedony	19 × 9	c. 750–600 B.C.	A running griffin and winged monster. In the sky: star, crescent, line.	
277	chalcedony	25 × 11	c. 750–600 B.C.	Winged monsters running. In the sky: square.	
278	chalcedony	12 × 8	c. 650–600 B.C.	Winged monsters running.	
279	chert	18 × 10	c. 650–600 B.C.	A running winged monster pursues an animal. In the sky: star, crescent, drilling.	
280	chalcedony	16 × 12	c. 750–600 B.C.	Winged monsters running. In the sky: crescent, star.	
281	chalcedony	20 × 9	c. 650–600 B.C.	A winged monster pursues an ostrich. In the sky: crescent, star. Lb.	
282	agate	15 × 6	c. 650–600 B.C.	Two ostriches confront each other. In the field: rhomb. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	
283	chalcedony	10 × 10	c. 700–600 B.C.	Field full of symbols: fish, rhomb, kneeling goat, star, crescent, stand, plant, grain.	

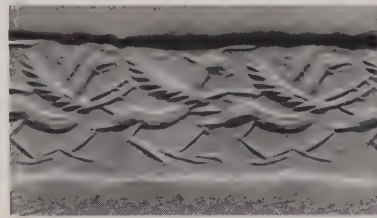




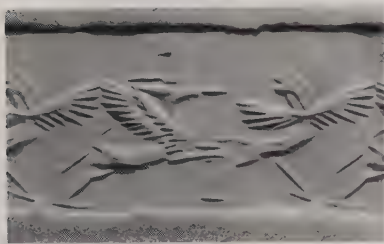
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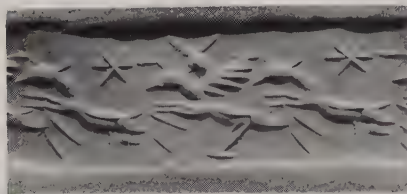
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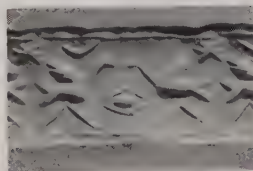
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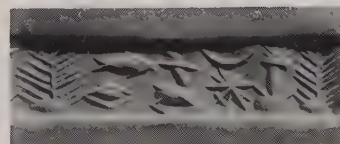
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
284	chert	28 × 13	c. 750–600 B.C.	A hero stands between two sphinxes and grasps their forelegs. In the field: rosette. In the sky: star. Ib.	
285	chalcedony	28 × 11	c. 750–600 B.C.	A hero in a short kilt stands between two ibexes and grasps their horns. In the field: plant in vase. In the sky: star, crescent.	
286	chalcedony	31 × 13	c. 750–600 B.C.	Lower edge chipped. A hero with a quiver on his back, and armed with a scimitar, holds a rearing bull by a horn. In the field: rhomb, stylus, <i>marru</i> . In the sky: ankh, star, crescent.	Cf. Moorey and Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 40, pl. VII, 49, for a similar but less well-cut scene.
287	chalcedony	25 × 11	c. 700–600 B.C.	Two dogs facing each other. In the sky: crossed heads of serpent and bull.	For a motif reminiscent of the crossed animal heads, on a Jamdat Nasr seal from Tepe Gawra, see D. Homès-Fredericq, <i>Les cachets mesopotamiens protohistoriques</i> , pl. XVI, 215.

## ACHAEMENIAN SEALS

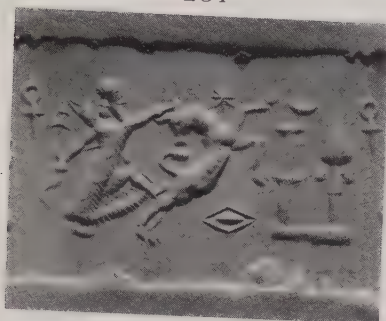
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288	agate	20 × 11	c. 650–521 B.C.	An archer kneeling on one knee aims at a rampant mouflon.	
289	agate	31 × 5	c. 521–400 B.C.	A royal figure holds two winged bulls at bay.	
290	agate	20 × 10	c. 521–400 B.C.	Slight chipping along upper and lower edge. A royal figure holds two lions at bay. In the sky: winged sun disc.	
291	agate	25 × 11	c. 521–400 B.C.	Lower half of seal broken. A royal figure holds two sphinxes at bay.	
292	agate	24 × 9	c. 521–400 B.C.	Chip on body of seal A royal figure holds two winged and bearded ibex-men at bay. Terminal: stylized date palm.	
293	agate	43 × 7	c. 521–400 B.C.	Lentoid. A royal figure holds two bearded ibexes at bay.	



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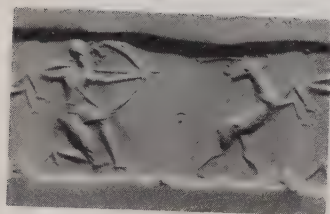
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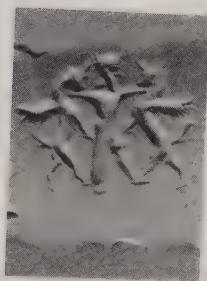
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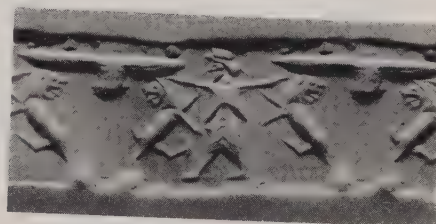
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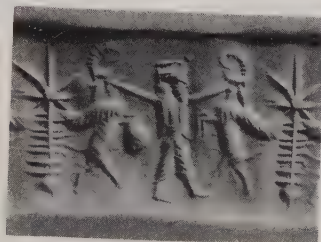
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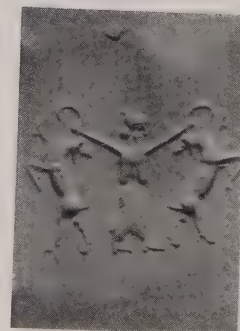
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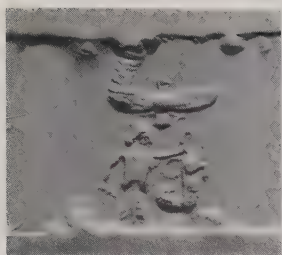
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
294	agate	27 × 10	c. 521–400 B.C.	Lower part of seal broken. A royal figure armed with dagger holds a lion by a hind leg. In the sky: "bird" (originally a winged sun disc) with spread wings.	
295	agate	27 × 6	c. 521–400 B.C.	Lentoid. A soldier holds a young bull by a hind leg.	
296	agate	22 × 11.5	c. 521–400 B.C.	Winged ibex rampant on either side of a date palm. In the field: leaping stag, bird, stylized ankh(?), forked stand. In the sky: winged sun disc.	
297	chert	16 × 9	c. 521–400 B.C.	A rampant antelope, horse, and lion on either side of a stylized date palm.	

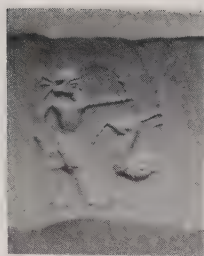
## SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 3100–2900 B.C.

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
298	marble	17 × 16	c. 3200–3000 B.C.	Loop bore. Three figures, the central one with a pigtail, squat in a row with their arms raised before them, two superimposed pots before the first figure, two scorpions facing in opposite directions behind the figure on the right.	
299	serpentine	20 × 19	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	From left to right: two superimposed groups of two seated figures face each other with pots(?) between them. A figure stands with arms lifted between two seated figures with a vase and a stand before them. In the field: unintelligible shapes.	
300	serpentine	10 × 9	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	Small perforated handle. Four figures seated in a row raise their arms. The first and third figures sit on benches.	
301	serpentine	21 × 12	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	Byre-shaped seal with three horizontal grooves at point of byre. A pigtailed figure sits before two spiderlike forms.	

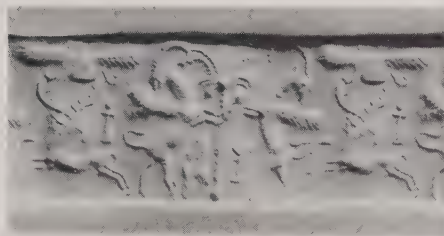




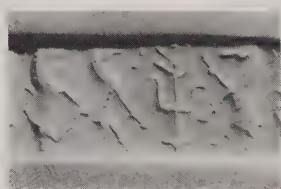
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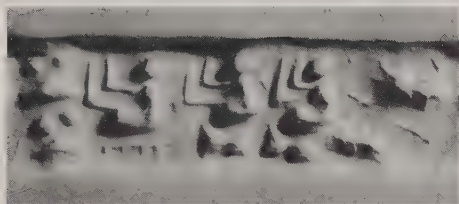
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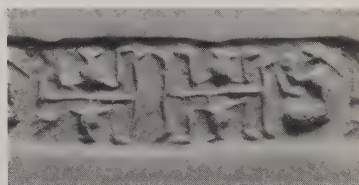
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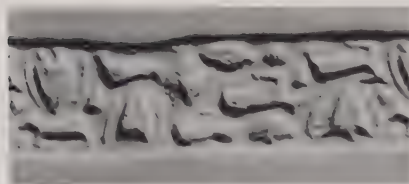


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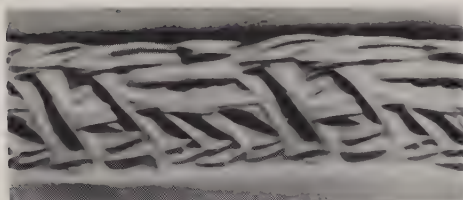
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
302	serpentine	12 × 11	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	Small perforated handle. Twelve schematic figures(?) divided into two rows of six. Terminal: decorated pole.	See Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 703 for style.
303	serpentine	15 × 15	c. 3200–2900 B.C.	Three long-handled pots, two reversed, and five couchant animals, four reversed. In the field: four triangular shapes, unintelligible shapes, two scorpions(?).	
304	chert	20 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two running antelopes. In the field: oblique lines. In the sky: fish.	
305	serpentine	20 × 8	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Row of walking antelopes. In the field: linear strokes. Lb.	
306	marble	13 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	A quadruped with its head turned back stands beside a linear motif. In the field: two wedges.	
307	serpentine	43 × 17	c. 3100–2700(?) B.C.	A horned animal stands in a field with random linear strokes and drillings. In the field: large drill hole enclosed by two concentric circles.	
308	serpentine	20 × 20	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Row of spiderlike forms. Two drillings.	
309	serpentine	14 × 13	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Row of jars with large fringed filters falling over the sides.	
					Cf. P. R. S. Moorey and O. R. Gurney, <i>Iraq</i> 40, pl. VII, 50; Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 50.



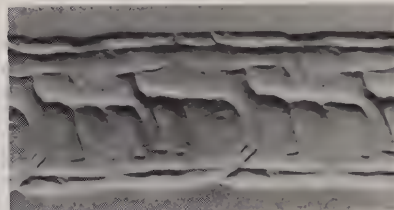
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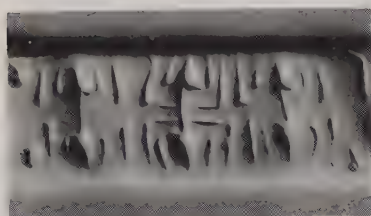
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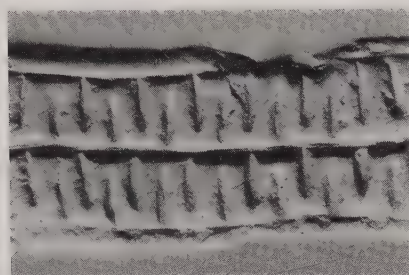
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
310	marble	18 × 11	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Small perforated handle. Herringbone pattern. Lb.	
311	bone	19 × 10	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Small perforated handle. Zigzag formed by four parallel lines. Horizontal lines in field. Lb.	See BM 125596 for similar carving style on a broken bone cylinder with no handle. See refs. in n. 19, chap. 10.
312	serpentine	26 × 20	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Loop bore. Linear denticular design. Lb.	
313	serpentine	20 × 17	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Top end converges into a squat perforated handle; pattern on stamp base of seal. Row of open double-lined lozenges with circle and dot motif in center. Circle and dot motif along upper and lower edge and on base of seal.	For an almost identical pattern see Braidwood and Braidwood, <i>Antioch</i> 1: 332 fig. 254, 3, from Judeideh XII, Phase G; Andrae, <i>Sendschirli</i> 5, Taf. 39e; Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 226 a–c; von der Osten, <i>Aulock</i> 125.
314	serpentine	12.5 × 12	c. 3100–2900 B.C.	Two stags(?) rendered schematically by denticular and geometric shapes.	See Woolley, <i>Carchemish</i> 2, pl. 25b, 1, for a similar motif.
315	serpentine	38 × 15	c. 3100–2700(?) B.C.	Convolute linear design with drillings. Vegetal motif and drilling with circle in the field.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 743 for pattern with similar encircled drillings and 741 for a more sophisticated pattern with the same elements on a seal from the Cyclades.





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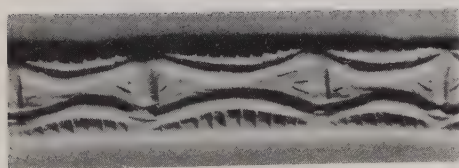
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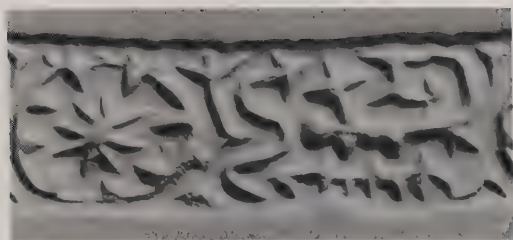
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## SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 2900–2200 B.C.

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
316	serpentine	23 × 20	c. 3000 B.C.	Loop bore. Two horned animals, coiled around a star. To their right: a small figure with outstretched arms, coiled serpent, horned animal, branch. In the field: wedges, drill holes, unintelligible linear motif.	Cf. Starr, <i>Nuzi</i> 2, pl. 41c for style.
317	marble	17 × 15	c. 2900 B.C.	Two animals with greatly enlarged feet. In the field: snake, calf with turned head, wedge, ladder markings.	
318	serpentine	45 × 25	c. 2900– 2200 B.C.	A figure with an outstretched arm stands in the field; below him a bird, a stag, two wedges, a drill hole.	See van Loon, <i>AAAS</i> 18: 31 and fig. 13 from Tell Selenkahiye Level IV, for style.
319	marble	27 × 15	c. 2900– 2200 B.C.	A figure with raised arms stands surrounded by an antelope, an ibex, a stag, and a horned animal with its head turned backward. In the field: drill holes, linear strokes.	See Braidwood and Braidwood, <i>Antioch</i> 1: 491, fig. 282, 4 (a purchased seal), and Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> 4: 104, fig. 85, for the three-fingered hand.
320	serpentine	36 × 13	c. 2900– 2200 B.C.	A standing figure raises a dagger and grasps the horn of a bull with the other hand. An antelope beside the figure. In the field: schematic bird(?), flaming(?) stand, scorpion.	
321	chalk	36 × 17	c. 2900– 2200 B.C.	Animals in a row. From left to right: quadruped, calf, antelope, bull. In the field: branch, vertical animal.	



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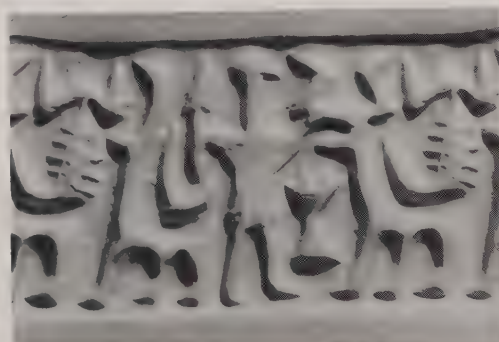
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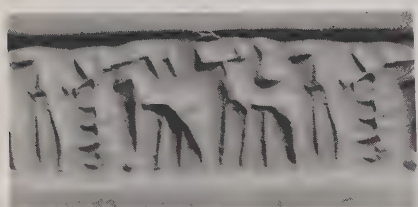
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
322	chalk	36 × 20	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	Upper edge chipped. A figure holding a stick drives a quadruped. A stag stands beside this animal. In the field: bird, drill hole. Terminal: branch.	
323	serpentine	20 × 11	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised stands beside a bull and a stag. In the field: bird. Terminal: branch.	
324	serpentine	21 × 12	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised stands beside a bull and an antelope. In the field: reversed animal, star.	
325	serpentine	27 × 15	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	A figure with both arms raised stands beside a lion attacking a bull. In the field: linear stroke.	See Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 358 for style.
326	serpentine	16 × 11	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	A figure with one arm raised stands beside a bull and a stag. In the field: scorpion, dagger, small animal.	
327	serpentine	35 × 15	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	A figure stands beside a bull and an antelope. In the field: bird, wedge, branch, four birds. Ground line: serpent, scorpion, reversed bird.	For a similar serpent, bird, and scorpion in the upper field, however, see Opificius, <i>Münzen und Medaillen</i> , no. 60. Cf. Eisen, <i>Moore</i> 188 for a row of birds above a branch in the field. For similar triangular branches and animals' haunches, see Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 363.
328	serpentine	25 × 11	c. 2900–2200 B.C.	Animal frieze. From left to right: bird with outspread wings placed at right angles to the ground line; antelope and lion. In the field: V-shape, reversed animal.	

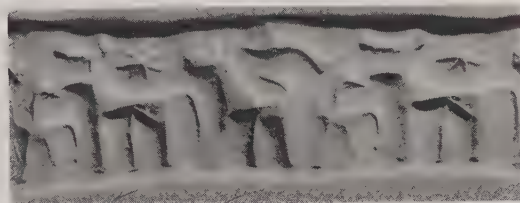




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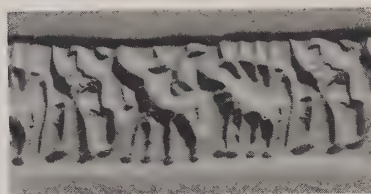
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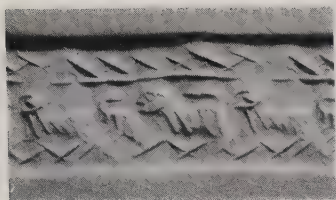


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
329	serpentine	18 × 8	c. 2900–2700 B.C.	A bull, a quadruped, and a lion walk in a row. Crosshatching along the upper border and zigzag motif along the lower border.	See Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 1080 for similar subject and style.
330	serpentine	33 × 14	c. 2900–2700 B.C.	Animals in two registers. Upper register: a recumbent lion(?) attacks an animal beside a quatrefoil. A recumbent bird(?) with its head turned backward at right angles is behind the lion. Lower register: a lion attacks an antelope with its head turned backward; scorpion. The registers are divided by two parallel lines enclosing oblique lines.	
331	serpentine	24 × 11	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	Two pairs of crossed animals. A lion attacks the left-hand pair. The right-hand pair is reversed. In the field: encircled drill hole, star.	See Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 777 for similar style.
332	serpentine	22 × 10	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	A rampant lion attacks a bull. A rampant bull(?) behind the lion. Terminal: dagger.	
333	marble	37 × 16	c. 2600–2200 B.C.	Animals in two registers. Upper register: an antelope and an ibex stand on either side of a stylized bush. Unidentifiable form behind the ibex. Lower register: row of ibexes walking to the left. The registers are divided by two parallel lines.	See Amiet, <i>Syria</i> 40, pl. VI, 5; idem, <i>Syria</i> 41: 192, fig. 4; and Weber, <i>Siegelbilder</i> 427, the latter from Carchemish, for style.
334	serpentine	27 × 10	c. 2900–2700 B.C.	Decorative motifs in two registers divided by two parallel lines. Upper register: cross, squatting female with hair flying out to one side. Lower register: comb motif, double wedge, scorpion, vertical line.	
335	serpentine	26 × 7.5	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	A scorpion-man with raised arms kneels before a table with a bird above it. A lion stands on the other side of the table. In the field: two wedges, animal limb. Lb.	For similar scorpion-man and lion see Speleers, <i>Brussels Supp.</i> 471.



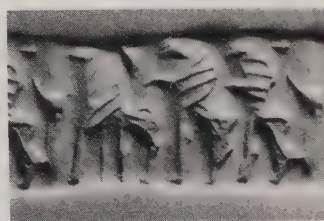
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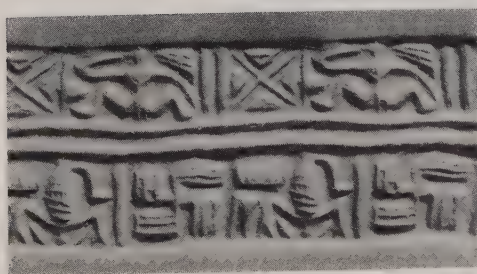
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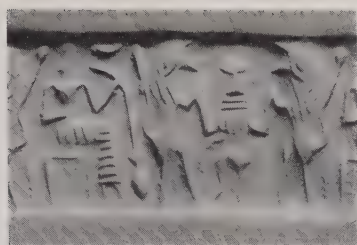
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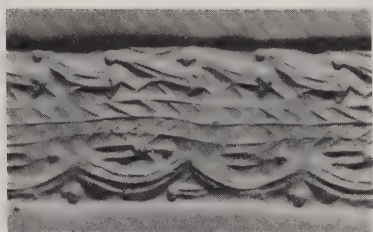
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
336	serpentine	26 × 13	c. 2300–2000 B.C.	A seated figure drinks through a pipe from a vessel on the ground. A bull-man combats two lions beside the seated figure. In the field: branch or stalk of grain, crescent.	See Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 777 and no. 332 above for the pronounced cutting of the lions' eyes. See also Williams-Forte in Muscarella, ed., <i>Ladders to Heaven</i> 181: 221, for the cutting of the bull's face.
337	marble	23 × 11.5	c. 2900–2700 B.C.	Decorative friezes in two registers. Upper register: a row of horned quadrupeds walk left; lower register: a wavy band with horizontal human figures above and drill holes below. The registers are separated by three parallel lines enclosing a herringbone pattern.	See Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 367, for a similar dividing line.
338	marble	16 × 8	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	Decorative motifs in two registers. Upper register: two long-handled pots on their sides, floral motif, schematic pots(?). Lower register: five long-handled pots on their sides, vertical semicircle. The registers are divided by two parallel lines enclosing a herringbone pattern.	
339	serpentine	18 × 7	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	Frieze in two registers. Upper register: an armed figure stands beside a lion attacking an antelope. In the field: drill holes, star. Lower register: bird's head, laden boat(?), pots(?), two animal heads.	
340	marble	19 × 8	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	Two kilted figures stand beside a lion attacking an antelope and drive spears into the hind quarter of the animals. In the field: branch, scorpion.	See Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 784, 789, for the diminutive figure and use of the drill
341	marble	22 × 12	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	Cylinder with concave sides. A bull man grasps two antelopes by the neck. Terminal: two compartments above and below dividing lines. Upper compartments contain a cross and a lion's head respectively; lower compartments contain a star and a lion's head respectively. Upper and lower compartments divided by two parallel lines enclosing a herringbone pattern. Star(?) and fish(?) between parallel lines.	





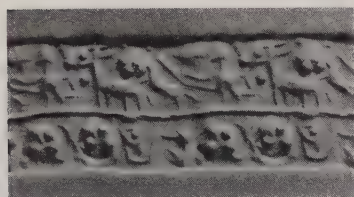
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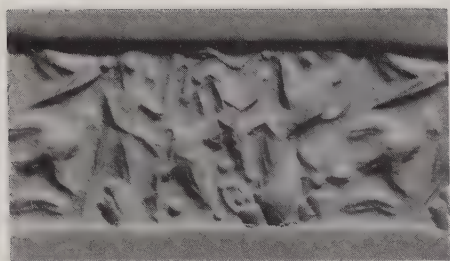
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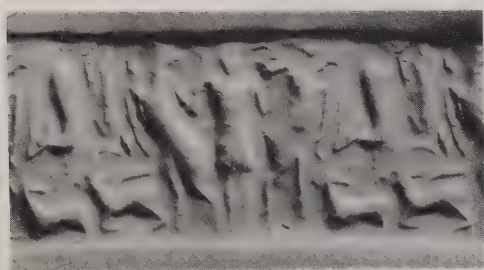
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
342	marble	25 × 14	c. 2900–2700 B.C.	A hero grapples with a lion. Reversed lion on the right. In the field: drill holes, crescent. Terminal: horizontal V-shape, bird, reversed crescent, floral shape.	
343	serpentine	26 × 12	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	A crossed lion and a bearded bull between a rampant gazelle and a bull(?). In the field: drill holes, curved shape resembling a pommel.	See Amiet, <i>Syria</i> 40: 70, fig. 15 for style.
344	marble	27 × 12	c. 2700–2200 B.C.	A figure stands holding two antelopes or goats by the neck. Terminal: vertical couchant antelope and a quadruped above a couchant antelope(?) and an ibex.	See a sealing from Selenkahiye, Level II, van Loon, <i>AASOR</i> 44: 106, fig. 16, for the iconography.
345	marble	22 × 13	c. 2600–2200 B.C.	Large chip on the lower edge of the cylinder.  Two figures wearing flounced robes sit on either side of a vessel with four drinking pipes in it. The figure on the right holds a cup. A latticed structure with a drill hole in the center and three drill holes on top stands behind the figure on the left. In the field: two birds, star. Terminal: scorpion, vessel with three drinking pipes.	Cf. Moortgat, <i>VARs</i> 148 for style.
346	travertine	21 × 12.5	c. 2600–2200 B.C.	Two seated figures drink through pipes from a vessel. An attendant stands behind the figure on the left. Terminal: paneled structure.	
347	marble	24 × 14	c. 2600–2200 B.C.	A figure sits in a chariot beside which stands another figure. In the field: bird. Terminal: two crossed animals.	
348	serpentine	13 × 8	c. 2600–2200 B.C.	A figure sits in a chariot drawn by an equid. In the field: scorpion, bird.	
349	marble	17 × 85	c. 2300–2000 B.C.	A figure sits by a laden(?) table. A second figure(?) stands on the other side of the table. In the sky: crescent.	



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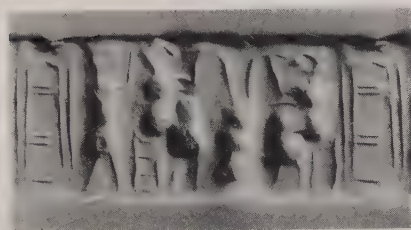
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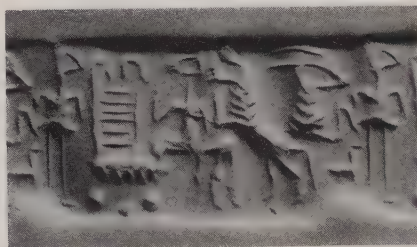
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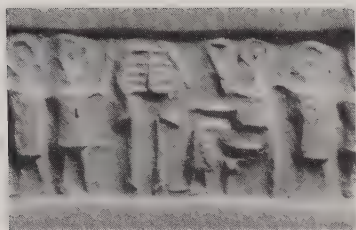
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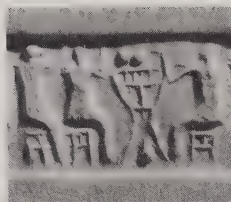
## SYRIAN SEALS FROM THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
350	marble	24 × 15	c. 2200–2000 B.C.	A figure holding a vessel sits before a laden table. An attendant stands behind the seated figure and another stands on the other side of the table.	The basic shape of the table here can be tentatively compared to that on an Early Dynastic sealing: Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 816.
351	marble	18 × 9.5	c. 2000 B.C.	Two figures sit on either side of a laden table. A third figure sits beside the figure on the left. In the field: two drill holes on the table, one drill hole below.	Cf. Frankfort, <i>CS</i> , pl. XLb, a seal from Chatal Hüyük, for style.
352	serpentine	41 × 18	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure drinks from a vessel through a drinking pipe. A laden table and an attendant stand before the figure. Behind the seated figure is a stag with a small animal between its legs. In the field: ball staff, vessel, head, four drill holes. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	
353	serpentine	18 × 9	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holds a drinking pipe in a vessel. A laden table and an attendant are before the figure. In the field: ball staff, vessel. In the sky: crescent, drill hole.	For seals with a similar subject in the same style, see Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 842; von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 279.
354	serpentine	22 × 11	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Chip along upper edge. A seated figure holds a drinking pipe in a vessel. A bull with a winged temple is before the figure. In the field: plant, ball staff, vessel. In the sky: crescent.	
355	serpentine	21 × 8	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holds a drinking pipe in vessel. Before the figure is a bull on an altar under a canopy. In the field: plant, ball staff, vessel. In the sky: crescent, vessel.	For a very similar altar and canopy on a Cappadocian sealing of the Old Assyrian style, see N. Özgüç, <i>Kültepe</i> 1949, pl. LXI, 689.
356	serpentine	23 × 10	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holds a drinking pipe in a vessel. Before the figure is a bull on an altar under a canopy. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: crescent, vessel.	





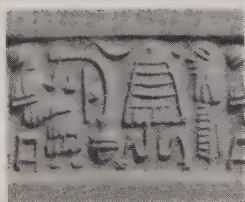
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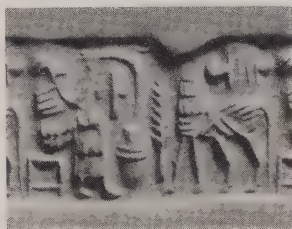
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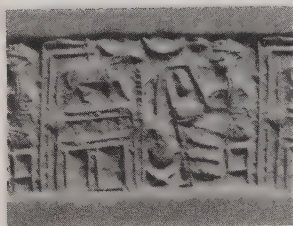
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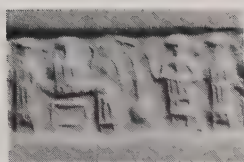
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
357	serpentine	20 × 10	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holds a drinking pipe in a vessel. In the field before the figure: ball staff, vessel, small figure, three drill holes, plant(?), indeterminate forms. In the field behind the figure: two jars, stand and vessel, unintelligible forms. In the sky: star.	
358	serpentine	14.5 × 8	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holding a drinking pipe in a vessel receives two attendants. In the field: ball staff, two drill holes. In the sky: indeterminate form.	
359	serpentine	14 × 9	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A figure seated before a laden table holds a drinking tube in a vessel placed on the far side of the table. Two attendants stand before him. In the field: head, scorpion.	
360	serpentine	29 × 17	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Five attendants stand behind a seated figure. In the field before the seated figure: vessel, ball staff, vessel with drinking pipe. In the field behind the seated figure: thirteen drill holes, two elongated wedges, denticulated dividing line after first three attendants, small denticulated object. In the sky: two star discs and crescents. Lb.	
361	serpentine	17 × 10	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a laden table. One attendant stands behind the figure and another stands on the other side of the offering table. In the field: indeterminate forms. In the sky: crescent.	For similar but better finished table, see P. Matthiae, <i>Ebla</i> , pl. 81, on the ritual basin found in the cella of Temple D (Mardikh III A–B, c. 2000–1700 B.C.).
362	serpentine	17 × 8	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives an attendant. A bull on an altar is behind the figure. In the field: ball staff, vessel, mongoose. In the sky: crescent.	
363	hematite	19 × 10	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives an attendant. A second attendant stands behind the figure. In the field: vessel, bull's head, antelope with turned head, small figure, human head, ball staff(?), vertical line.	



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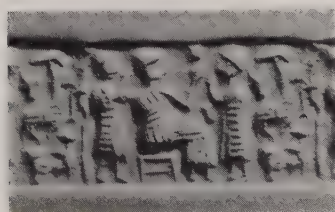
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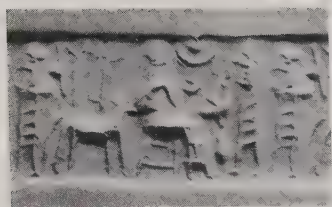
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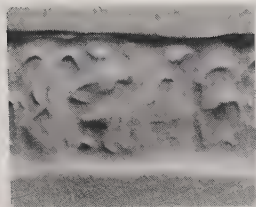
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
364	serpentine	20 × 11	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives two attendants. A bull with a winged temple on its back is behind the seated figure. In the field: bird, vessel, ball staff. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	
365	marble	18 × 7	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Very worn. A standing figure salutes a seated figure. In the field: a schematic double-headed animal, plant. Terminal: antelope. Lb.	
366	serpentine	18 × 9	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Worn. A figure holding a cup is seated before a laden table. An attendant stands behind the figure. In the field: rampant animal(?), human head. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: head standard, spear, plant.	
367	serpentine	28 × 14	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A figure sits before a nude female figure with a ponytail. In the field: indistinct animal, laden table. In the sky: linear strokes, drill hole. Terminal: snake. Lb.	
368	serpentine	13 × 10	c. 2000 B.C.	A lion and a quadruped stand facing each other. A bull(?) with a structure on its back stands behind the lion. In the sky: disc and crescent.	
369	serpentine	16 × 8	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures stand beside a lion in combat with a quadruped. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: plant or stand.	
370	hematite	15 × 7	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A figure and a rampant antelope stand before each other. A bull with a structure or a couchant animal at right angles on its back is behind the figure. In the field: human head, ball staff.	
371	serpentine	12 × 13.5	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures stand beside an antelope and a bull. In the field: serpent, dagger, ball staff. In the sky: disc and crescent.	
372	serpentine	23 × 11	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Three worshipers approach a couchant antelope with a turned head and a plant on its haunches. Lb.	See Gordon, <i>Orientalia</i> 22, pl. LXI, 14, for a seal cut in a very similar style.

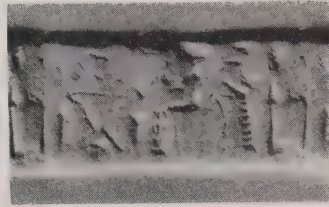




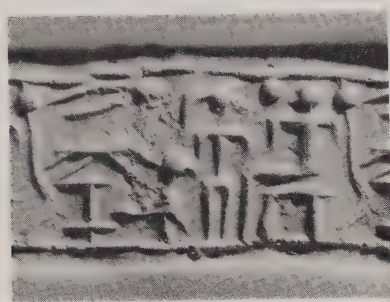
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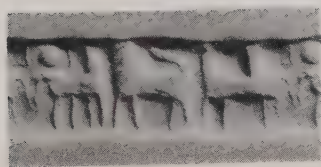
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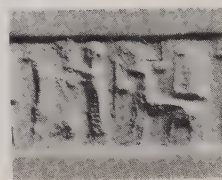
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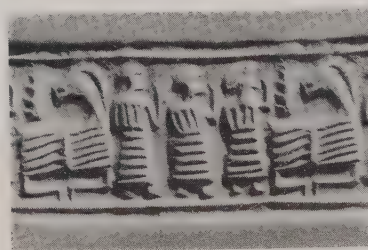
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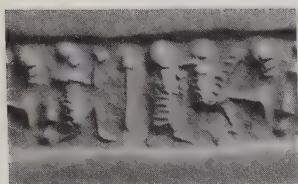


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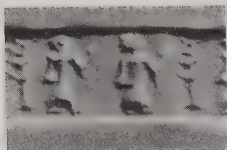


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
373	serpentine	15 × 9.5	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A standing figure salutes a bird. A figure with one arm raised kneels behind the figure. In the field: head, wedge, spear.	
374	serpentine	12 × 6	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures walk in procession, each raising one arm. Terminal: tree.	Cf. Speleers, <i>Brussels Supp.</i> 1589: 83, for style.
375	serpentine	15 × 9	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures stand beside two rampant hares. In the field: schematic plant, star.	
376	serpentine	22 × 14	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Three figures walk beside a lion attacking an antelope. In the sky: bird, plant, wedge.	
377	serpentine	22 × 11	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures stand with raised arms before three quadrupeds one above the other. Behind the standing figures are a rampant lion and a snake(?). Terminal: tree.	Cf. von der Osten, <i>Alishar Hüyük</i> 2, 209, and fig. 246, 1535; p. 207, for subject.
378	serpentine	22 × 11	c. 1900 B.C.	A figure raising an arm stands beside an antelope and a bull. Two quadrupeds stand on the haunches of the bull and the antelope. In the field: plants. Lb.	Cf. N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXVII, and V. Kenna, <i>SIMA</i> 20/3, pl. XXIX, 107, a seal from Klavdia, for the denticulation on the bodies of the figures.
379	serpentine	18 × 9	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	A figure drives a spear into a lion attacking a bull. In the sky: bird, star, crescent.	See Delaporte, <i>Guimet</i> pl. 1, 6, for similar subject and related style.
380	serpentine	20 × 10	c. 2000–1900 B.C.	Two figures, one armed with a scimitar(?), lead a bull(?) and an ibex. In the field: plant, bird, In the sky: four stars, crescent.	Moortgat, <i>VARS</i> 783, a seal said to have come from Greece, for style.
381	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1900 B.C.	Two figures stand facing each other, holding a spear between them. Terminal: two schematic bull-men, snake.	



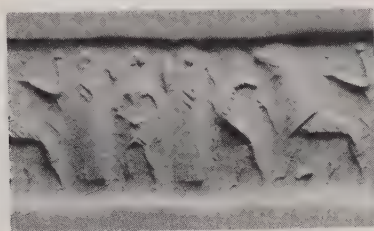
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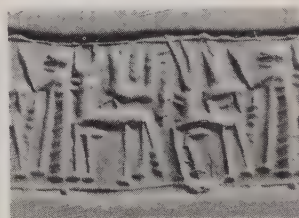
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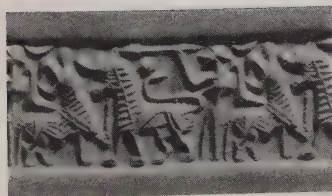
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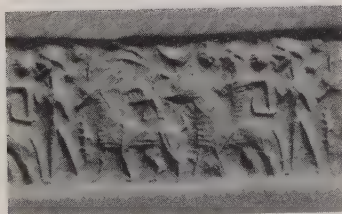
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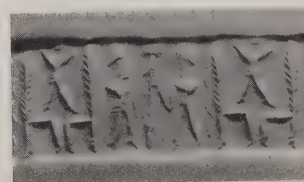
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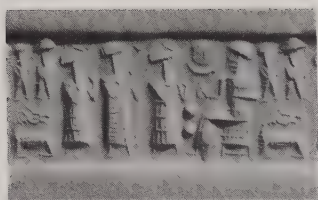
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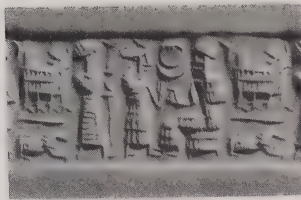
## OLD ASSYRIAN COLONY STYLE SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
382	hematite	17 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives two deities with a worshiper between them. In the field: two drillings. In the sky: star disc and crescent, V-shape (schematic bird?). Terminal: two small marching figures above a crouching horned animal with turned head.	The fringed robe of the worshiper is very typical of early Old Assyrian secular dress, see e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Kültepe 1949</i> , pl. LXI, 681, 682, 687, 688.
383	hematite	17 × 8.5	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a deity and a worshiper. In the sky: star disc and crescent, two V-shapes. Terminal: statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump above a couchant lion. Dividing line between them.	
384	hematite	21.5 × 11	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a deity and a worshiper. In the sky: star disc and crescent, V-shape. Terminal: two small marching figures above crouching lion.	
385	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a deity and a worshiper. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump above two small marching figures. Dividing line between them.	
386	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives two deities with a worshiper between them. In the sky: star disc and crescent, V-shape, vessel.	
387	hematite	13.5 × 6.5	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives two deities with a worshiper between them. The deity at the end of the procession holds a star scepter. In the sky: star disc and crescent, two crescents, V-shape. Terminal: snake topped by a small indistinct animal (turtle?).	
388	hematite	29 × 19	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Only half of the vertical face of the seal remains. A seated figure holding a cup receives a deity and a worshiper. In the field behind the worshiper: part of a chariot with seated figure. In the sky: star disc and crescent, V-shape.	

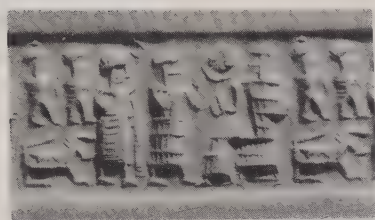




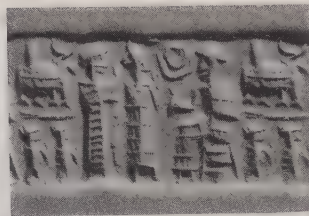
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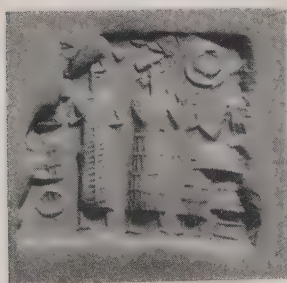
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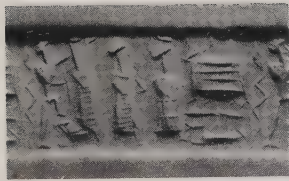
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
389	hematite	12 × 23	c. 1920–1810 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives two worshipers and a deity. In the field: fish. In the sky: star, V-shape, wedge.	This seal has a number of stylistic and iconographic points in common with a late Old Assyrian seal in the Kaiserli Museum, N. Özgüç, <i>Anadolu</i> 10, pl. XLVI, 1; cf. the angular carving style, the seat, the fish, the star, and the cup. The figures do not wear the caps normally worn by figures on late Old Assyrian seals, however (see text). This seal may be slightly later than the others in this group, but it cannot be classified as late Old Assyrian.
390	hematite	22 × 11	c. 1920–1810 B.C.	Two worshipers, the first holding an animal offering, and a deity stand before a deity holding a mace and standing on a bull. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: snake.	
391	hematite	16 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A deity and a worshiper stand before the statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump. A hero combats a lion behind the worshiper. A scorpion below the bull with a dividing line between them. Terminal: snake.	
392	hematite	16 × 7	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Three worshipers stand before the statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump. A scorpion or a fish below the bull with a dividing line between them.	
393	hematite	13 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Three worshipers stand before the statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump. A scorpion below the bull.	
394	hematite	12.5 × 9	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Three worshipers stand before the statue of a bull with a protrusion on its rump. Terminal: snake.	



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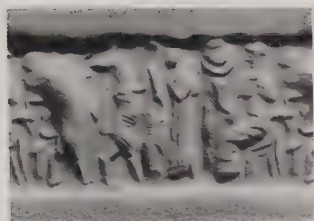
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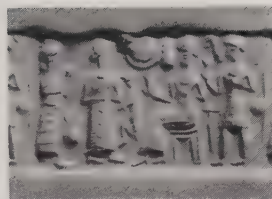
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
395	hematite	20 × 11	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a worshiper. An erect gazelle and a winged lion-dragon stand behind the worshiper. In the field: fish, "mongoose," head, bird. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	
396	hematite	18 × 10	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a worshiper and a suppliant deity. An attendant holding a cup stands behind the seated figure. In the field: ball staff, stand, "mongoose," flaming vessel. In the sky: crescent, vessel, star disc and crescent.	The ball staff, the stand, the flaming vessel, and the crescent are faint and poorly cut compared to the rest of the figures and may have been added secondarily.
397	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a suppliant deity and a worshiper. An erect lion stands behind the worshiper. In the field: fish. In the sky: bird with fish body, fly.	
398	hematite	15 × 9	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives three worshipers. In the sky: crescent, rosette(?). Terminal: ball staff, human head.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1129.
399	hematite	21 × 11	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Two nude, bearded heroes with curls stand on either side of a bearded deity holding a flowing vase.	
400	hematite	17 × 8	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Two worshipers stand before a deity in an ascending position holding a saw. The statue of a priest holding a sprinkler stands on a plinth behind the deity. In the field: stacked table before the deity; snake between two worshipers, ball staff. In the sky: vessel.	
401	hematite	13 × 7	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Lower part of seal missing. Two worshipers stand before a deity holding an eight-globed staff. A deity in headdress with a prominent frontal horn and a hero stand behind the deity. In the field: small figure. In the sky: vessel.	
402	hematite	15 × 7	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Lower part of seal missing. A worshiper stands before a deity in an ascending position(?) and holding a scepter topped by a crescent. Terminal: hero in combat with a lion.	

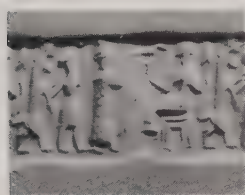




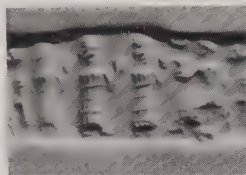
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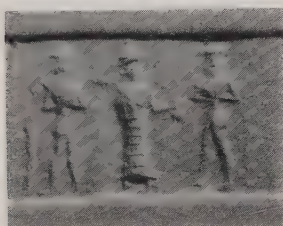
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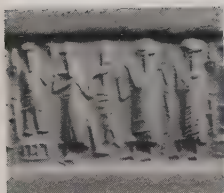
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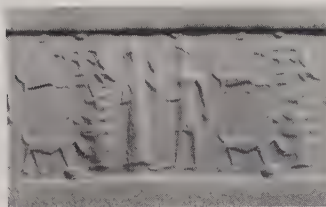


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
403	hematite	18 × 10	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A worshiper and a suppliant deity stand before a deity holding a scepter topped by a crescent. A figure with a mace stands behind the deity with the scepter.	The terminal shows traces of recutting. Cf. Frankfort, SCS 932, for another very unusual tree terminal, cut, however, in a completely different style.
404	hematite	21 × 9	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A deity salutes a figure in a kilt. A recumbent animal and a "mongoose" above face each other over an animal stand(?) and hedgehog. Terminal: stylized tree flanked by a rampant animal.	
405	fossil coral	21 × 10	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A figure in a pointed cap salutes a figure in an ascending position holding a cup and wearing a hat with spikes or feathers issuing from the top. In the field: bowlegged dwarf.	
406	serpentine	22 × 9	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Very worn. A male figure stands gesturing to another standing figure (the latter is completely worn). A nude female figure with a folded arm stands on a pedestal(?) behind the male figure. In the field: spear(?). In the sky: star.	
407	hematite	12 × 7	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Three marching figures approach a crouching "mongoose."	
408	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	A hero kneeling on one knee grapples with a rampant lion. A kilted figure stands behind the lion. In the field: fly or V-shape. Terminal: snake.	
409	hematite	15 × 8	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Three figures, one dressed in a long robe, one kilted and holding a staff, and the last naked; walk in procession toward a dog with a crook on its head.	
410	hematite	14 × 8	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Two figures with raised hands approach a third holding a ceremonial standard. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: vessel.	
411	hematite	18 × 9.5	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Five figures holding cups walk in procession.	



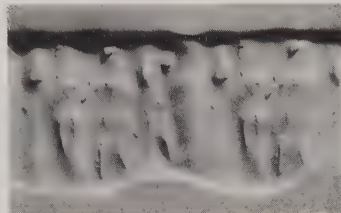
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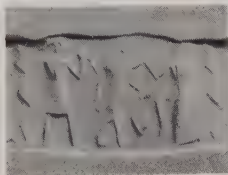
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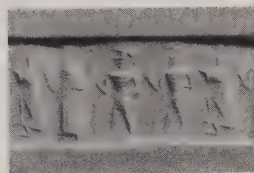
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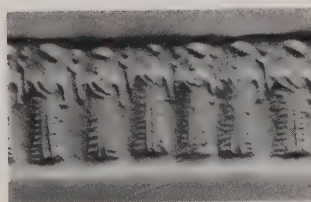
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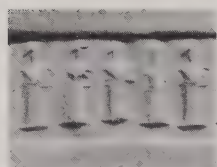
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
412	hematite	15 × 7	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Two figures with arms crossed at the waist stand beside each other. In the field: crouching "mongoose," ball staff. In the sky: vessel, star disc, and crescent.	
413	serpentine	14.5 × 7	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Procession of four figures carrying small quadrupeds in their arms.	
414	hematite	19 × 8	c. 1810–1740 B.C.	Three figures stand before deity(?) or an official. Terminal: imitation inscription.	
415	serpentine	19 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Figures and decorative motifs in two registers divided by two denticulated parallel lines. Upper register: seven human heads facing left. Lower register: three figures walk beside a "mongoose," a bird, and a couchant lion. In the field: wedge. Lb.	Cf. Frankfort, <i>CS</i> XLI d, from Chatal Hüyük.
416	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before table with two "mongooses" on it. In the sky: star disc and crescent, hare. Terminal: two crossed figures, one holding a spear; bird; seven drill holes.	For similar use of the drill on the body of "mongooses" on seals of this style, see e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Kultepe 1949/696</i> ; <i>CCT</i> 6, pl. 50, 17.
417	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A deity holding a cup sits before a table with two "mongooses" on it. In the field: worshiper holding a gazelle stands above scorpion, "mongoose," rampant animal. In the sky: star disc and crescent, hare, fly. Terminal: bull with protrusion on its rump stands on a structure. Head in the lower niche of the structure.	Cf. BM 89342 for the seated deity and "mongooses."
418	serpentine	16 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A figure holding a cup sits before a table with two "mongooses" on it. In the field: vessel with drinking pipe. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: bull with protrusion on its rump above couchant lion.	
419	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Two worshipers holding emblems(?) stand before a seated deity holding a cup. In the field: ball staff, two crossed lions above two small figures lying horizontally between the worshipers. In the sky: hare, crescent.	

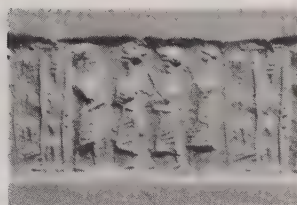




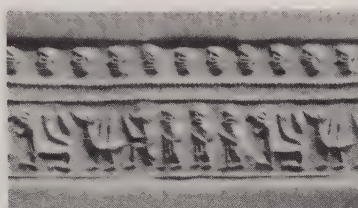
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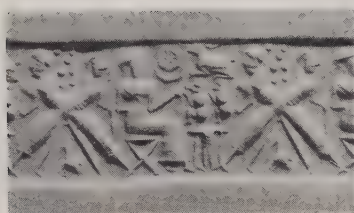
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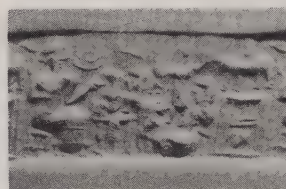
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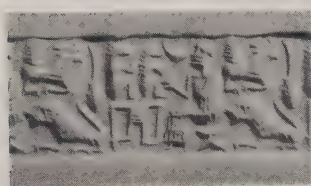
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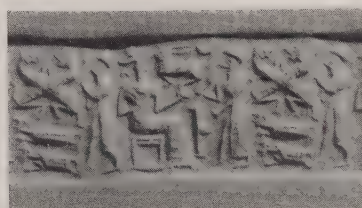
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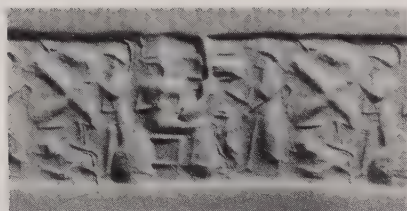


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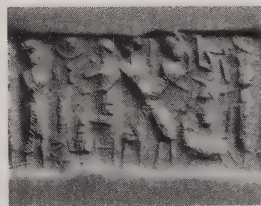
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
420	hematite	20 × 11	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	The body of the seal is chipped. Two worshipers stand before a seated deity holding a cup(?). In the field: crouching "mongoose," crossed lions above couchant lion(?) between the worshippers. In the sky: hare.	
421	hematite	18 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A seated figure holding a bird(?) and a female figure standing before a head standard face two crossed figures between them. Each of the crossed figures holds a head. Terminal: two pairs of small worshipers, one pair reversed.	
422	marble	19 × 11	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A worshiper faces a seated figure. A deity in an ascending position over a lion, which is held by a leash, behind the seated figure. Two crossed figures between them. In the field: reversed figure over lion, "mongoose," unintelligible forms. In the sky: star disc and crescent.	
423	hematite	14 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Lower edge chipped. A worshiper faces a seated deity. A female figure behind the deity stands before a head standard, a jar with a curved pipe, and two rampant antelopes between them. In the field: crouching "mongoose." In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: couchant animal on tall structure.	
424	serpentine	15 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A worshiper stands and a figure kneels before a seated figure holding a cup. A kilted figure with a staff faces a female figure on the left. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: head standard on animal stand, ball staff, stand.	
425	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A worshiper stands facing a deity in an ascending position. A female figure stands before a head standard beside them. In the field: table. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: five superimposed human heads.	



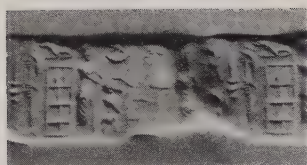
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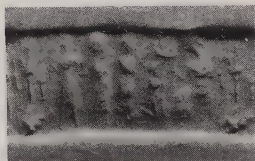
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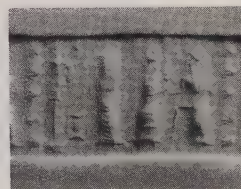
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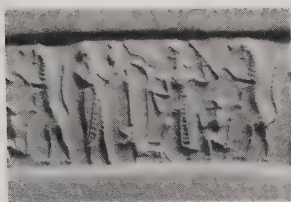
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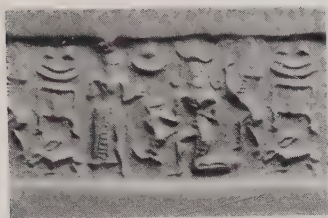
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
426	hematite	18 X 9.5	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A deity with rays issuing from his shoulders steps on a bull that he holds on a leash, brandishing a mace and grasping an ax and a throw-stick. A worshiper stands holding a jar before him. In the field: scepter, crouching "mongoose," rampant lion.	
427	hematite	20 X 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A figure stands before a naked, bearded, curly-haired hero kneeling on one knee and holding a small antelope. In the field: rampant antelope, laden table, hare.	
428	serpentine	23 X 12.5	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Worn. A deity in an ascending position holding an emblem with a triangular head stands beside decorative motifs divided in two registers. Upper register: six human heads above four antelope heads. Lower register: three couchant antelopes with their heads turned backward, a human head. The two registers are divided by a ropelike line enclosed by two parallel lines(?).	See Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1180, and Noveck, <i>Gorelick</i> 27, for a similar dividing line and arrangement of one large figure beside two registers of decorative motifs. The human heads on the Yale seal and this seal are comparable. The large human figure of the Yale seal however appears to be better cut than the other motifs; it may have been retouched at a later date.
429	hematite	13 X 7	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A female figure stands with one hand raised before a head standard with a bird perched on it and a stand with a vessel on it. Behind her are a half-kneeling naked figure holding a staff and a rampant antelope. In the field: hand or flaming stand. In the sky: triangular object.	Cf. von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 342, for style.
430	marble	17 X 11	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Two figures, the first of which holds a small indistinct object, stand before a seated figure holding a bird. In the field: elongated rhomb shape (fish?). Terminal: double-headed standard.	
431	hematite	21 X 14	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Worn. Three figures, the first of which holds an animal offering, the second of which is female, stand before a deity seated facing front and holding a cup. In the field: ball staff, animal. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: rampant antelope.	

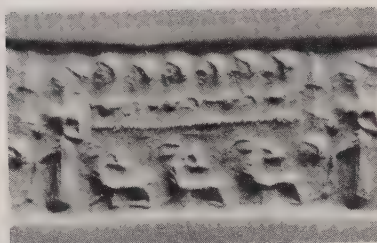




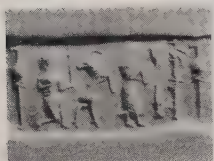
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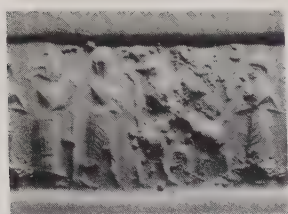


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
432	hematite	20 × 12	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	Seal surface chipped. A suppliant goddess and a figure stand before two crossed animals. A third figure, with crossed arms, stands on the other side of the crossed animals. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: human head, vessel.	
433	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1920–1840 B.C.	A deity and a figure stand on either side of two crossed figures. Terminal: two lions facing in opposite directions with a plaited pattern enclosed in two horizontal lines between them.	

## SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 1850–1620 B.C.

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
434	chert	22 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Cylinder slightly chipped at both ends. Worn. A figure in a fringed mantle grasps the wrist of a bearded figure wearing a round cap with an upturned rim and a fringed mantle. An attendant in a loincloth stands behind the bearded figure and holds a three-pronged emblem. In the field: antelope head, "mongoose." In the sky: vessel. Terminal: semi-rampant griffin facing right above dividing line. Ibex facing left below. Lb.	The three-pronged object held by the attendant has been tentatively described as a thunderbolt (Collon, <i>Alalah Impressions</i> , p. 25, no. 30; N. Özgüç, <i>Belleten</i> 43: 290, pl. II) or a stylized lion-club (Collon, <i>ibid.</i> ). The present writer thinks it probable that the emblem represents a stylized plant: compare the stylized tree on a Syrian seal from Afyonkarahisar (N. Özgüç, <i>Anadolu</i> 10, pl. XLVII).
435	serpentine	23 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two bearded figures, both wearing round caps with upturned brims, kilts, and fringed mantles, face each other, a small figure standing between them. An attendant wearing a long robe with broad fringes stands behind the figure facing right. In the field: antelope head. In the sky: star, star disc and crescent. Terminal: semi-rampant griffin facing right above guilloche enclosed in two parallel lines. Couchant lion facing left below. Lb.	For similar dress and cutting style, see Moortgat, <i>VARS</i> 525.



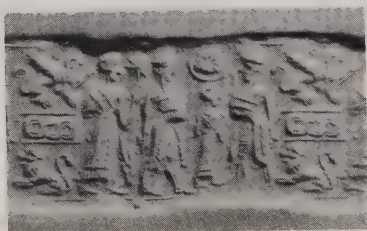
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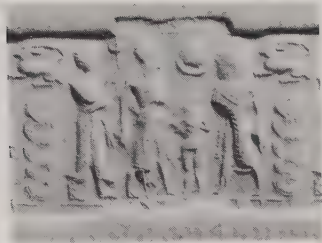
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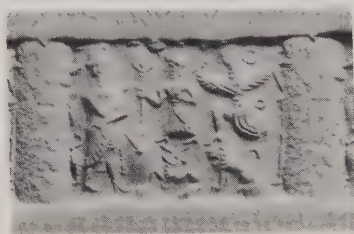
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
436	hematite	25 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two bearded figures, both wearing round caps with upturned brims, kilts, and fringed mantles, stand facing each other, a nude goddess with hands under breasts between them. An attendant wearing a long fringed robe with a tassel or flail at the waist stands behind the figure facing right. In the sky: star disc and crescent, crescent. Terminal: couchant ibex above vertical guilloche. Lb.	
437	hematite	21 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Large vertical chip; slight chipping at both ends of cylinder.  A figure wearing a round cap with an upturned brim, a kilt, a fringed mantle, stands with a mace at the waist, before a deity holding a palm frond and a lion scepter. Behind the deity is a kneeling winged griffin-demon. Below these are a semi-couchant lion and an antelope with its head turned backward. Lb.	
438	hematite	24 × 12	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures, one with a short beard, the other with a long beard, wearing round caps with upturned brims, kilts, and fringed mantles stand facing the "Syrian woman" who faces left. The figure on the far left holds a spear. In the field: crouching "mongoose," hare, ball staff, hand, rosette, and crescent, rampant lion on each side of the spear tip. Terminal: scroll and lozenge motif.	This seal shows evidence of having been cut three times. The primary cutting consisted of the three main figures, the "mongoose," the rosette, and the ball staff. The secondary cutting consisted of the small figures in the field, the hare, the hand, and the two rampant lions. The third cutting consisted of the scroll and lozenge motif, which was characteristic of some Syro-Mitannian seals, e.g., Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 921. For similar fringed mantle, cf. Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 11, the seal of Matrunna.

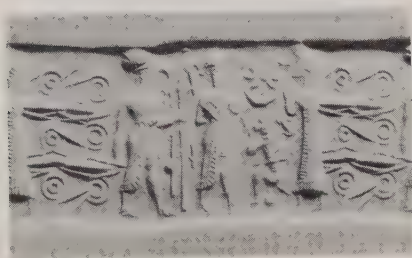




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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
439	hematite	21 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A bearded figure with a long curled plait, wearing a round cap with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle, and armed with a throw-stick, stands opposite a bareheaded, bearded figure with a short curled plait, wearing a fringed mantle and armed with a short weapon. Between the two figures is a pole with two curved ends supporting a disc and crescent. Terminal: two opposing hares above a quatrefoil guilloche, recumbent animal facing left below. Lb.	See Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> , p. 22, no. 26 for a similar figure with a round cap and scimitar, and n. 3 which gives references to other similar figures with long plaits, and possible interpretations of the identity of the figure. Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A. 929, pl. 96 (21) and H. Mode, <i>An. Or.</i> 18, Taf. I, Abb. 1, can be added to this list. Cf. the quatrefoil guilloche to those on Old Hittite stamp seals, e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXXVI, 2b, 3b.
440	hematite	20 × 12.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A bearded figure wearing a round cap with an upturned brim, a kilt, and a fringed mantle, is armed with a scimitar and stands facing left before two bearded figures in round caps with upturned brims, kilts, and fringed mantles with a suppliant goddess between them. The figure on the far left holds a spear. A small nude goddess with hands under her breasts stands facing the figure with the scimitar. In the sky: star disc and crescent, star. Terminal: two figures holding alabastra with two birds above them sit facing each other, semi-rampant lions facing left below. Lb.	Cf. the manner in which the folds of the suppliant goddess's robe are cut to those on a sealing from Kültepe, N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XIII B. Note the vertical lines on the rims of the figures' caps, reminiscent of those on late Old Assyrian seals. Cf. the carving style to Porada, <i>AJA</i> 52/pl. 8, 8, a seal found at Kourion.
441	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures in round caps with upturned brims and fringed mantles stand facing each other. A "mongoose" facing left crouches between them. In the sky: rosette. Terminal: two opposing seated griffins above a guilloche, two opposing couchant hares below.	Cf. Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 11 (seal of Matrunna) for style.
442	hematite	22 × 13	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A bearded figure armed with a mace and wearing a headdress with curved ends and central spike and a fringed mantle grasps a kneeling nude victim by the hair. A seminude goddess holding a juglet stands before him. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: inscription. Inscription: <i>x-zi-ib-ta-x(x)</i> DUMU <i>x(x)-ra-a-[an?]</i> IR <i>ap-li-ba-an-[da/du]</i> X, son of X, servant of Aplihanda	Cf. the stance and rounded form of the seminude female deity to those of the female deity on Ana-Sin-Taklaku's seal from Mari: Parrot, <i>MAM</i> 2/3, figs. 104–106, pl. XLVIII, 71–73, and 81. For other seals with the name Aplahanda, see N. Özgüç, <i>Belleten</i> 43, pl. 6, 17; idem, <i>AJA</i> 80: 266; Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 11 (seal of Matrunna); Amiet, <i>Bas Reliefs</i> 350 (seal of Tabelli).



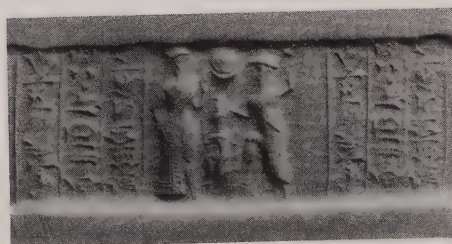
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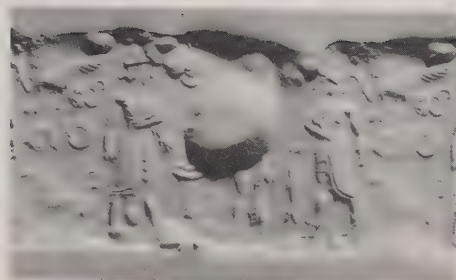


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\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
443	hematite	28 × 14	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Cylinder chipped at both ends and in the center.  Two bearded figures wearing round caps, fringed mantles with tassels, and kilts stand facing each other with a seminude goddess and a laden table between them. In the field: fish. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: semi-rampant griffin facing left above guilloche, walking lion(?) below.	Cf. the rounded forms and shoes with curled ends to those of the nude goddess on Ana-Sin-Taklaku's seal from Mari: A. Parrot, <i>MAM</i> 2/3, figs. 104–106 and pl. XLVIII, 71–73, 81. For similar fringed tassels at figures' waists, see N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XIc. The distinctive caps of the figures with a central ridge may, as in the case of the figures on seal 439 above, indicate a particular class or ethnic community.
444	chert	18.5 × 10.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure wearing a round cap with an upturned brim, a fringed mantle, and a staff at the waist stands before a seminude goddess. Terminal: two opposing semi-rampant lions below an antelope and a griffin on each side of a tree, indeterminate object or animal behind the antelope. Lb.	Curved objects hanging from the waist, probably staves, appear on early Syrian seals, see Alp, <i>Karaböyük</i> , pl. 35, 89; N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XIIIc; and no. 539 below. Alp, <i>Karaböyük</i> , pl. 12, 25, shows a figure holding a similar curved staff.
445	hematite	20.5 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle and kilt stands with a seminude goddess in an embracing posture. In the sky: rosette. Terminal: two nude goddesses stand holding a pole with a crescent and a disc top, tree behind the nude goddess on the left; guilloche above and below.	Note that the bonnetlike headdresses of the seminude and nude goddesses (the latter standing on the left) are identical.
446	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a high oval headdress and a fringed mantle stands holding a staff before a nude goddess revealing herself, and facing bearded deity in a crescent-topped headdress and a fringed mantle, holding a curved weapon(?). In the field: human head, hawk, star. In the sky: thin guilloche, snake and bird below.	For deities wearing crescent-topped headdresses of a different kind, see Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 959e; Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 871; Frankfort, <i>CS</i> , pl. XLIII o (Tyszkiewicz, cylinder).
447	hematite	26 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle holds a three-pronged flail(?) and stands facing a suppliant goddess and a figure in a round cap and long robe with a flail(?) at the waist. In the field: three vessels. Terminal: semi-rampant sphinx facing left above a guilloche, couchant ibex facing left below. Lb.	Cf. the thin linear borders of the figure's mantle to those of the standing figure on a Syrian seal from Boghazköy, Beran, in Bittel et al., eds., <i>Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> , Taf. 8, no. 4, from Büyükkale, Schicht 8a.

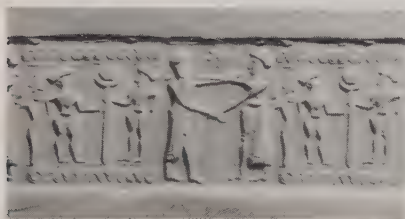




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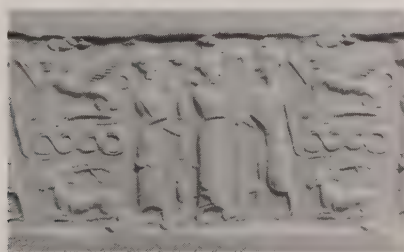
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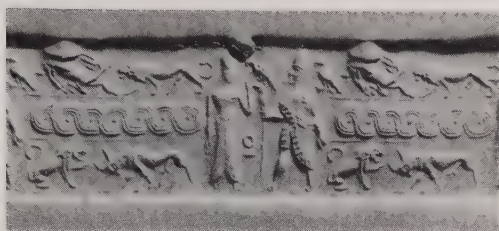


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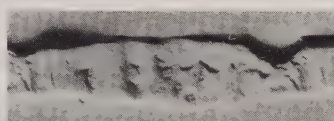
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
448	hematite	22 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a high oval headdress and a long robe stands before a figure in a similar headdress, wearing a fringed mantle and kilt, and holding a staff with a falcon on it. In the field: unfinished ankh, hawk. Terminal: lion attacking an antelope above a guilloche, lion in combat with bull below.	See BM 89122; Dunand, <i>Byblos</i> 1, pl. CXXIV, 862 and Yadin, Hazor III–IV, pl CCCXIX: 1 for similar figures with a hawk. For a bull in a similar charging attitude: von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 297. Aegean influences for the stance of this bull have been suggested (Frankfort, <i>CS</i> , pp. 267–268); however this is by no means certain. A bull in a charging attitude is found in Egyptian hunting scenes from both Old and Middle Kingdoms (J. Vandier, <i>Manuel d'égyptologie ancienne</i> 4: 796, fig. 446; p. 809, fig. 454). No parallels for the awkward stance of the gazelle have been found by this writer.
449	hematite	13 × 7	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle and kilt, with a mace at his waist, is greeted by a similarly dressed figure on the right. A third figure holding a palm frond and wearing a long robe stands to the far right. In the field: rampant antelope above seated griffin.	
450	hematite	9 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Lower half of seal missing. Two bearded figures in round caps with upturned brims stand facing each other, figure (nude goddess?) between them. In the sky: bird. Terminal: rampant lion attacking prostrate victim.	
451	hematite	19 × 11.5	c. 1800–1650 B.C.	A bearded figure in a round cap and a mantle with a rolled border stands between suppliant goddesses. In the field: ankh. In the sky: star, crescent. Terminal: two opposing seated sphinxes above a double spiral motif, lion attacking victim below.	Similar consecutive S-shaped bands with a dot in the middle, forming a double spiral, occur fairly frequently in Syrian seals in lieu of a straightforward guilloche, e.g., Eisen, <i>Moore</i> 150; Gordon, <i>Iraq</i> 6, pl. V, 37.



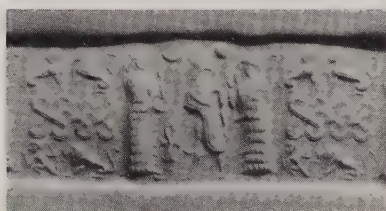
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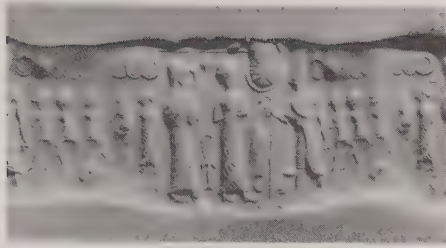
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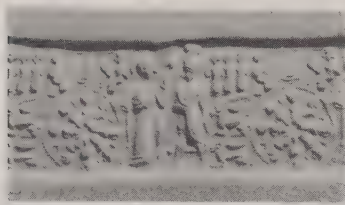
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
452	hematite	23 × 12	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A figure in a tall oval headdress holding a curved staff with a pointed end and wearing a mantle with rolled borders and a kilt stands facing left. A bearded figure in a round cap with upturned brim and a long robe, and a female figure wearing a hoodlike head covering both face right. In the field: vessel, ankh, hawk. In the sky: star, star disc and crescent. Terminal: three marching men facing left, a bearded figure in a long robe and a round cap with an upturned brim, before a nude goddess, guilloche above and below secondary scene. Lb.	The hoodlike headcover of the female on the left may always have been part of certain Syrian ladies' dress, but it only becomes apparent on seals of the second millennium where the figures have garments with rolled borders, e.g., Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 956e; Collon, <i>Alalakh impressions</i> 145; von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 321. See H. Kühne, <i>Das Rollsiegel in Syrien</i> 39, for an earlier version of this type of head covering.
453	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1750–1620 B.C.	A figure with a high oval headdress and a mantle with rolled borders and a kilt stands before a bareheaded figure in a long robe. In the field: vessel, fish(?). In the sky: star. Terminal from right to left: two figures holding cups sit with a stacked table and a vessel between them. Below them is an encircled spokelike motif consisting of eight figures joined at the feet. Three figures stand above two couchant hares to the left. Lb.	No parallels for the human spokelike motif have so far been found by this writer. See no. 711 (in chap. 20) below, however. Stamp seals with whorls formed by bird and animal heads joined at the neck occur on Old Hittite stamp seals; see e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXXVII, 1b, 2b, 3b. The motif above may have been derived from such stamp seals.
454	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1750–1620 B.C.	Two figures, one wearing a high oval headdress and a long robe with rolled borders and holding a palm frond, the other wearing a pointed headdress and a similar robe, stand facing each other with three bulls joined at the head between them. A third figure in a kilt and an Egyptianized headdress with ram's horns(?) also stands behind the figure holding the palm frond. In the field: couchant ibex, hand. In the sky: bird. Lb.	

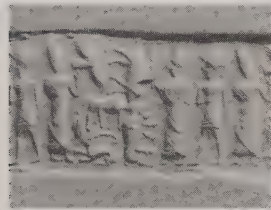




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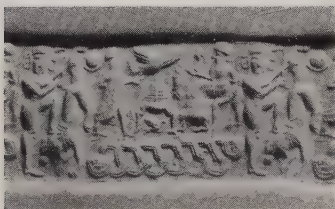
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
455	hematite	25 × 11	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A figure brandishing a throw-stick and wearing a high oval headdress, a mantle with rolled borders, and a kilt, grasps a fallen victim by one hand. Before him stand, facing left, a deity in a horned headdress and garments with rolled borders, a seminude goddess holding a spear, and a deity wearing a tapering headdress, kilt with a back panel, and holding a spear and a bow. Scroll motif along the upper edge, angular guilloche along the lower.	
456	hematite	24 × 12	c. 1850–1750 B.C.	A bearded figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a flounced robe stands before an enthroned figure holding an alabastron. A female figure holding a palm frond stands behind the seated figure. In the field: ankh, falcon with an Egyptianized headdress, vessel, head of hare. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: semi-rampant sphinx facing right above guilloche, antelope with head turned backward below. Lb.	For similar standing figure with one shoulder bare, see Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 962. For a similar throne with curved back on a dais see S. Alp, <i>Karaböyük</i> , p. 113, fig. 9 and Taf. 36, 90; T. Beran in Bittel et al., eds., <i>Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i> , Taf. 8, no. 4.
457	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	A bearded figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a flounced robe sits facing left before a laden table with a bird with outspread wings above it. A standing figure wearing a fringed mantle and a cap with an upturned brim on the other side of the table salutes the seated figure. In the field: fish, bird under the table. In the sky: fly, star disc and crescent. Terminal: hero in combat with a lion; guilloche below banquet scene. Lb.	Cf. the lion-footed throne to the throne of a deity on a sealing from Kültepe, N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XIc.
458	hematite	16 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Lower edge of seal missing. Two figures, one kneeling and one standing, face right and raise hands toward a seated figure holding a cup. A laden table stands before the seated figure. In the field: crescent. In the sky: star, star disc and crescent, throw-stick. Terminal: couchant ibex facing left above a guilloche, bird facing left below. Lb.	



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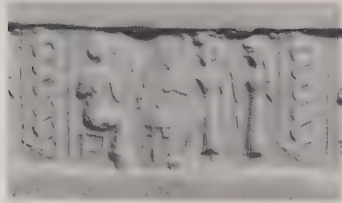


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
459	hematite	20 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in an ascending position facing left holds a stylized lion scepter before a seated figure holding an alabastron. A laden table with an alabastron beneath it stands before the seated figure. A female figure with one hand raised stands behind the figure with the scepter. In the field: head of hare. Terminal: vertical guilloche. Lb.	Cf. the laden table with the alabastron beneath it to the one on a sealing from Kültepe, N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XIII B.
460	hematite	19 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Large chip at top of seal. Two figures, one wearing a high oval headdress and a mantle with rolled borders, and the other holding a harp, stand in front of a figure seated before a laden table facing right. A female attendant stands behind the seated figure. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	For a female musician holding a similar instrument in a scene with a seated deity, see S. Alp, <i>Karaböyük</i> , pl. II, no. 23. For other musical scenes on early Syrian seals, see e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Belleten</i> 43, pl. I, no. 2; Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 832; C. Gordon, <i>Iraq</i> 6, pl. V, 36.
461	hematite	15 × 7	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A seated figure in a flounced robe and holding an alabastron receives four men striding to the left, the first of whom raises a hand in salute. In the field: jug. Terminal: bird above jug. Lb.	/
462	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Cylinder slightly chipped along lower edge, scratches on surface. A female(?) figure in a flounced robe receives three marching men, the first of whom raises one hand in salute. A laden table stands before the seated figure. In the sky: winged sun disc. Terminal: bird above scorpion. Lb.	
463	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure seated facing right dressed in a flounced robe and holding an alabastron receives two figures and a child(?) with arms raised in salute. In the field: head of antelope, head of hare, vessel. In the sky: three-pronged object, hare, bird. Lb.	
464	hematite	17.5 × 9.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Cylinder chipped at both ends. A figure seated on the right holds a scepter(?) and receives a standing figure holding a palm frond. A laden table stands between them. An attendant stands behind the seated figure. In the field: jug. Terminal: vertical scroll pattern.	

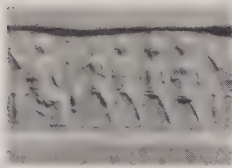




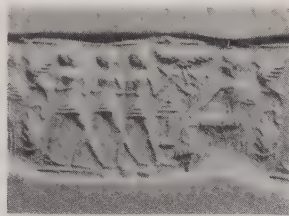
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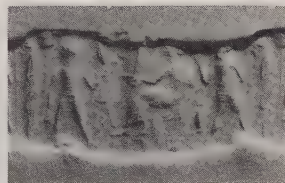
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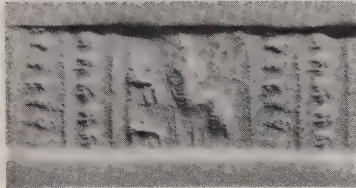
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
465	serpentine	17 × 9	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A figure seated on the left with one raised arm receives a saluting female figure. A laden table stands between them, an attendant is behind the seated figure. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: hare above ibex. Lb.	
466	hematite	17.5 × 8	c. 1720–1650 B.C.	Two figures, each holding a drinking vessel, sit facing each other. A female attendant holding a <i>w3s</i> scepter stands behind the figure on the right. In the sky: six drill holes. Lb.	
467	hematite	17 × 10	c. 1900–1800 B.C.	A deity in a flounced robe and a horned headdress sits facing right. Two superimposed animals sit looking right behind. Terminal: six bull's heads and five human heads in two columns separated by a ropelike design.	Cf. The antelope heads and ropelike divider to those on seal 428.
468	hematite	16 × 7	c. 1850–1800 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup faces front. A nude hero wearing a belt and necklaces stands holding a jug before the seated figure. Behind the seated figure is a deity holding a scepter, in an ascending position over a sphinx, and a rampant antelope. In the field: small kneeling figure before the seated figure. In the sky: couchant animal, star disc and crescent.	
469	hematite	12 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Cylinder chipped along upper edge and in center. An enthroned deity wearing a flounced robe and a tall oval headdress and holding an ax over one shoulder gestures to a standing bull figure(?) with streams of water issuing from its shoulders. A winged griffin kneels behind the seated deity. In the field: animal head, star. In the sky: star disc and crescent, winged sun disc.	For a similar kneeling winged griffin with arms and winged sun disc, see Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 941.
470	hematite	19 × 17	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	An enthroned deity wearing a flounced robe and a horned headdress raises one hand and receives an ibex as an offering from a worshiper who stands facing right. In the field: two vessels, hand. Terminal: two opposing couchant griffins above four marching men, the first of whom has one hand raised; hand pointing downward. Lb.	



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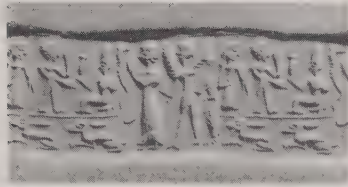
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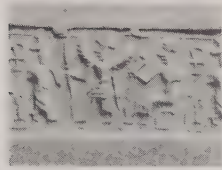
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
471	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A winged male figure and an attendant with a staff at the waist stand in the field, facing a diminutive scene which consists of a seated figure in a high oval headdress holding an alabastron and receiving a saluting male and female figure. In the field: two couchant hares below the worship scene, snake, two scorpions. Lb.	
472	hematite	14 × 12	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A winged deity armed with a spear and wearing a square horned headdress and a kilt with a back panel stands facing, on the left, a Syrian goddess who wears a similar horned headdress and a mantle with rolled borders. A deity holding two lightning bolts(?) sits behind the winged goddess. A small vessel is placed at his feet. Terminal: two ankhs, one unfinished. Lb.	
473	hematite	20 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	The weather god in his usual attire, with a dagger at his waist, faces right and holds a lightning fork in one hand and raises the other arm. A worshiper in a long mantle follows him holding a reversed branch in one hand and raising the other hand. A kilted bull-man with one hand raised walks behind the worshiper. In the field: scorpion. In the sky: star. Lb.	For a bull-man in a similar striding position and with one hand lifted, see Menant, <i>de Clercq</i> 394. For a discussion of the weather god's helmet, see Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> , pp. 184–185.
474	hematite	24 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A worshiper with an arm raised stands facing left before three deities. The first is the weather god in his usual attire, brandishing a mace and holding an ax and a throw-stick, the second is the Syrian goddess with a raised hand, and a third deity wearing a horned headdress with a plume, a kilt with a long back panel, and carrying a bow over one shoulder. In the field: a branch on a stand, a scepter with a circular head, an arm-and-hand emblem, a flaming stand with a small quadruped above. Lb.	See notes to seal 486 for the date of this seal and of seal 475 below, and for the costume of the figure with a bow. See e.g., Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> A2, A.921, pl. 96(18) for a representation of a similar figure with a bow who also holds arrows. For a full-sized arm-and-hand emblem and mace-stand, see seal 507 below. The small quadruped carved over the flaming stand is probably a secondary addition.





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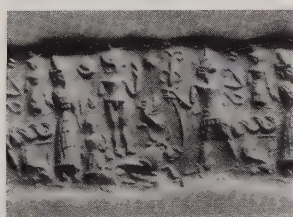
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
475	hematite	26 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A deity in a kilt with long back panel and a horned headdress with a plume carries a bow(?) over one shoulder and clutches the same spear as the weather god, brandishing a mace and standing before him. The winged goddess wearing a horned headdress with plume and a kilt with a back panel stands behind the weather god holding a spear and a flail. In the field: star, ankh, flaming stand. In the sky: branch. Terminal: scorpion, two stars.	
476	hematite	30 × 13.5	c. 1800–1620 B.C.	A winged goddess wearing a square horned headdress and a kilt with a long back panel, and a dagger at the waist, stands facing right holding a cup and a saw before the weather god armed with a dagger at his waist, a mace, an ax, and a throw-stick who stands on a mountain. The Syrian goddess in a horned headdress with plume and a mantle with rolled borders stands holding a cup behind the weather god. In the field: two couchant bulls in front of the weather god, ankh, crouching "mongoose." In the sky: star. Lb.	For the Syrian goddess with a similar plait, see Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 56; P. Matthiae, <i>Ebla</i> , p. 145, fig. 32.
477	serpentine	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	The weather god in a spiked helmet brandishes a mace and holds a double fenestrated ax and a rein attached to the nose of a bull upon which stands the nude goddess. A worshiper and the suppliant goddess stand behind the nude goddess. In the field: bird, vessel, star, star disc and crescent. Terminal: figure above guilloche, sitting lion below. Lb.	Cf. the weather god's helmet to that on Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 967.
478	hematite	28 × 12	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Three figures in tall oval headdresses and mantles with rolled borders face a deity on the left who wears a round helmet with double spikes or plumes(?) and a kilt and holds a mace and a spear. Terminal: two seated figures facing each other raise cups over a table between them. Below them two figures stand behind a seated figure holding a cup and receiving eleven marching men. The two secondary scenes are divided by a double spiral motif.	



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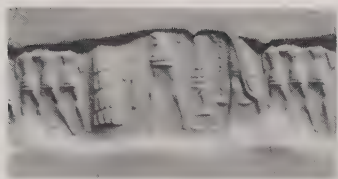
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
479	chert	15 × 10	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Upper part of seal missing. Lower part chipped. A figure facing left dressed in a mantle with rolled borders stands before the weather god(?) and the suppliant goddess(?). Three figures behind the suppliant goddess march toward the right. In the field: ankh, laden table before the weather god. Lb.	
480	hematite	20 × 7	c. 1800–1620 B.C.	A winged deity wearing a spiked helmet with two frontal plumes or horns holds a spear and a flail and stands before a deity wearing a similar helmet, a mantle, and armed with a mace and an ax. An attendant stands behind this deity. Terminal: bird facing right above a couchant ibex facing left below. Lb.	
481	hematite	17 × 9.5	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A deity in a high oval headdress with a curled tip and a kilt holds a lightning fork(?) in one hand and swings a mace with the other hand. A worshiper holding a throw-stick stands before him, "Syrian woman" behind him. In the field: two ankhs, crouching "mongoose." Terminal: bird, seated griffin, seated sphinx. Lb.	
482	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	A worshiper holding an offering stands before a deity in an Egyptianized headdress and a kilt, who holds an ax and arrows(?). In the field: ankh, table, and star. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: two opposing couchant sphinxes above three men marching left, drill hole, animal(?). Lb.	
483	hematite	20 × 7	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Upper edge chipped. A winged goddess who wears a square horned headdress and a kilt with a back panel and who holds a spear faces the weather god who brandishes a mace(?) and holds an ax and a flail; a "Syrian woman" stands behind the weather god. In the field: two ankhs, a hand, vertical line. In the sky: star, crescent. Lb.	





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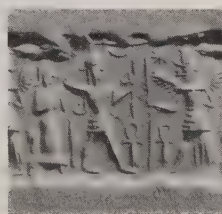
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
484	hematite	15 × 7	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Lower edge of seal missing. A worshiper stands before the weather god who brandishes a mace and holds an ax and the leash of a bull. The Syrian goddess stands behind the weather god. In the field: ankh. In the sky: star. Terminal: nude hero facing front, spear. Lb.	
485	hematite	9 × 13.5	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Lower half of seal missing. The weather god brandishing a mace and holding an ax and a throw-stick faces the Syrian goddess who holds a cup. Both figures are inside boat. Terminal: semi-rampant sphinx above guilloche and zigzag (stylized waves). Lb.	The boat, the protruding leg of the weather god, and the zigzag or stylized waves are secondary cuttings, added when the lower half of the seal was cut or broken.
486	hematite	23 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A winged deity wearing a feathered headdress and a kilt with a back panel is armed with a spear and a throw-stick and stands before two worshipers, each of whom raises a hand in salute. In the field: two branches, antelope, bird, star, ball staff. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	Both the cutting style and the iconography (ball staff, star, bird) suggest that this seal, 487 below, and 474 and 475 above can be dated to the pre-Alalakh VII period. Cf. S. Alp, <i>Karaböyük</i> , pl. II, 23; N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXIX, 1. Thus the kilt with the bow on seal 474 was not a late development in the winged goddess dress style as has been suggested by Barrelet, <i>Syria</i> 22: 242. See von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 325, for the same costume on an early seal. No parallels for the feathered headdress worn by the winged goddess here and on 487 have so far been found by the present writer. The square hat with vertical ribs worn by the deity, e.g., Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 36, may be a late version of this headdress.
487	hematite	22 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two worshipers with hands raised, one carrying a bird, stand facing left before the winged goddess wearing a feathered headdress and a kilt with a back panel, and armed with a spear and a throw-stick. In the field: antelope with head turned to the right, flaming stand, ankh. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	



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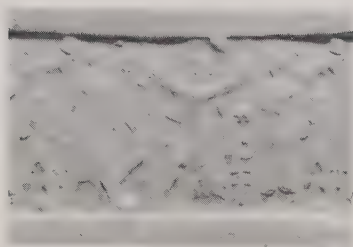
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
488	hematite	24 × 12	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a round headdress with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle faces right to stand before the winged goddess who wears a horned headdress and a long, slit, flounced robe and carries a throwstick. An attendant with a raised hand stands behind the winged goddess. A small naked hero stands facing front behind the figure in a round headdress. In the field: ankh, falcon with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, <i>djed</i> pillar, porcupine, star disc and crescent, and couchant lion.	See Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 962, for a very similar winged goddess.
489	hematite	22.5 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A winged goddess wearing a horned headdress and a long robe is armed with two short spears held point down and stands between two figures in high oval headdresses and fringed mantles. The figure on the left whom the goddess faces carries a throwstick. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: two crossed lions above a guilloche, semi-rampant lion facing left below. Lb.	For another winged deity holding two spears with the tips down, see N. Özgüç, <i>Anadolu</i> 10, pl. XLVII, 2. See Porada, <i>JNES</i> 16: 193, fig. 1, and pl. XXX, figs. 1 and 2; and Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 877, for a winged goddess holding two spears which are partially hidden by one wing.
490	hematite	23 × 13	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A winged goddess with her fringed skirt drawn to one side stands facing front between two worshipers. The worshiper on the right raises both arms. In the field: crouching "mongoose," falcon with the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt(?). Terminal: lion attacking antelope above guilloche, bird with outspread wings below.	
491	hematite	13 × 10	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Upper part of cylinder missing. Chipped. A goddess in a kilt with back panel stands between two figures. All three figures face right. Terminal: stylized sacred tree with curled end and curved protuberances at the base and top, with a bird and two human heads on each side.	

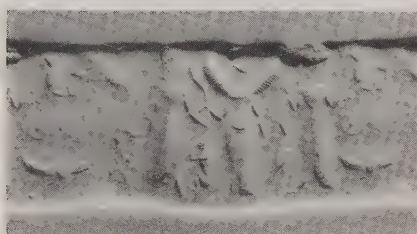




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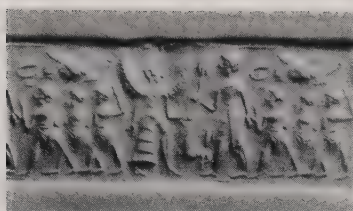
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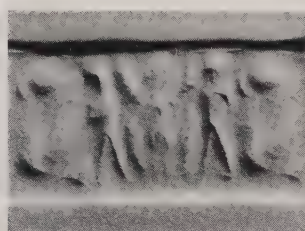
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
492	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A winged deity wearing a horned headdress and a long, slit, flounced robe holds a hare in one hand and faces a figure holding a three-pronged staff. Terminal: couchant griffin facing left above three marching men facing right. Lb.	
493	serpentine	18 × 10	c. 1650–1500 B.C.	A naked winged figure standing facing front holds an antelope in each hand. Beside her two figures facing each other hold an antelope between them. In the field: three fish. Lb.	
494	serpentine	20 × 9	c. 1650–1500 B.C.	Badly worn. A four-winged figure facing front stands between two naked(?) figures. In the field: animal shape(?). Terminal: scorpion above griffin(?).	
495	hematite	22 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A goddess wearing only a bodice stands, hands clasped under her breasts, between two worshipers who each raise a hand in salute. A winged griffin-demon with a disc-and-crescent headdress kneels to one side. In the field: ball staff, scorpion, fish, vessel. In the sky: star, fly. Lb.	No parallels for the bodice of the nude goddess have been found by the present writer.
496	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A nude goddess wearing shoes with curled toes stands lifting a schematic veil to reveal her nudity. Two worshipers, one with a hand raised in salute, stand on either side of her. In the field: hand(?), vessel. Terminal: bird above fish. Lb.	Cf. the curled shoes of the goddess on seal 443 and on Ana-Sin-Taklaku's seal from Mari (see notes to 443 for reference).
497	hematite	16 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A nude goddess lifting a schematic veil to reveal her nudity stands looking at a winged figure in an ascending position holding a stylized lion scepter, and a winged griffin-demon holding a spear. In the field: bird, fish, human head, hare. In the sky: crouching "mongoose."	
498	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A nude goddess holding two vessels stands between two seated figures each holding a curved staff. In the field: unintelligible form (fish?). Terminal: bird above figure facing left with one foot and one hand raised. Lb.	



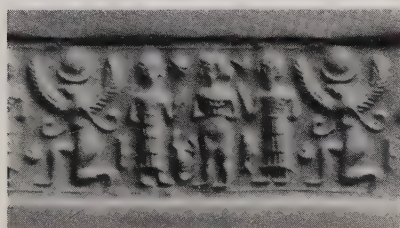
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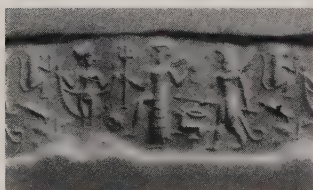
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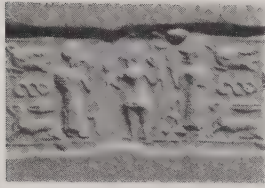
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
499	hematite	16 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A nude goddess lifting a schematic veil to reveal her nudity stands between two worshipers, each lifting a hand in salute. In the field: two ankhs. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: bird facing right above guilloche, couchant hare facing right below. Lb.	
500	hematite	19 × 3	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Seal broken in half longitudinally. A nude goddess with her hands under her breasts stands on a bull(?) under a canopy. An Egyptianized figure facing right stands on her right. On her left, two figures, one of them facing front, stand above three men marching right. In the field: hand. In the sky: ankh, winged sun disc.	
501	hematite	14 × 9	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Lower half of seal missing, upper edge chipped. A goddess with her garment drawn to one side faces a worshiper over a sacred tree with two curled tendrils at the base. In the sky: winged sun disc. Terminal: semi-rampant griffin faces crouching antelope with a tree between them. Traces of two opposing sphinxes below.	For similar winged sun disc, see Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 435.
502	hematite	23 × 10	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Lower edge of seal missing. The Syrian goddess wearing a square headdress and a mantle with rolled borders gestures to the naked goddess standing opposite her, who also raises a hand. A small sacred tree stands between them. In the sky: crescent(?) above the deities' hands, winged sun disc. Terminal: two rampant sphinxes face each other over a pyramidal spiral pattern.	For sphinxes and griffins in a similar position over a pyramidal spiral pattern, see Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 11, pl. XXV, 175; M. du Buisson, <i>Syria</i> 8, pl. XV, 1, a seal from Qatna; and D. MacKay, <i>Guide to the Archaeological Collections in the University Museum, American University of Beirut</i> , pl. VII, 3. The position of the creatures may be derived from placing two rampant animals opposite each other (e.g., Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 897, griffin on left attacking lion). Two animals standing on their hind legs opposite each other over a pyramidal shape occur also in Middle Minoan glyptic art, e.g., S. Hood, <i>Arts in Prehistoric Greece</i> , p. 215, fig. 213a. A pyramidal guilloche motif is found on Old Hittite stamp seals, e.g., N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXXVI, Ib; Idem, <i>Belleten</i> 41, pl. XX, 52.





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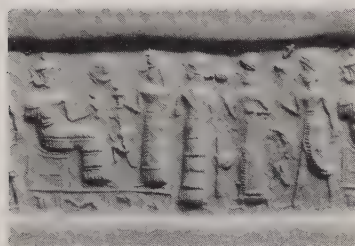


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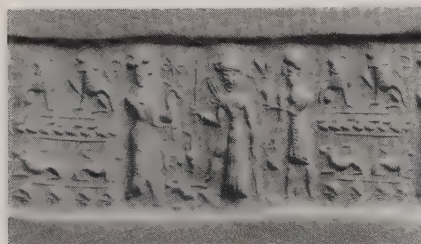
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
503	hematite	24 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A deity wearing a horned headdress and a long slit robe holds a lightning fork and steps on a bull, whose leash he holds. A worshiper in a round cap and a fringed mantle and a deity in a horned headdress and flounced robe stand before him. In the field: ankh. Terminal: rampant animal, bowlegged dwarf, human head, crescent standard, bird.	The cutting style of this seal suggests that it was originally late Old Assyrian. The bird, the ankh, the human head, and the rampant lion are Syrian, however, and are later additions.
504	hematite	23 × 13	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A "Syrian woman" holding a cup stands facing an enthroned deity wearing a horned headdress and a flounced robe, who is seated facing right and also holds a cup. Two figures in ridged round caps stand before the seated deity saluting a third deity who wears a horned headdress and a flounced robe. Both the seated deity and the Syrian woman are on a dais divided into four compartments, each containing a motif. From left to right: human head, hare, lion's head, antelope's head. In the field: crouching "mongoose," rampant antelope, ball staff. In the sky: star disc and crescent, vessel, bird(?).	Cf. the ridged round caps of the standing figures to those worn by the figures on the wall paintings from Mari in Strommenger and Hirmer, <i>Art of Mesopotamia</i> 164, and pl. XXVIII.
505	hematite	23 × 12	c. 1850–1750 B.C.	A goddess in a horned headdress and a slit robe faces front and rests one foot on a lion. She holds a spear and a throw-stick(?) and has sets of arrows in two quivers on her shoulders. The goddess is flanked by a worshiper holding an animal offering standing to the left and a priest figure with a pail and sprinkler to the right. In the field: vessel, animal head. In the sky: star, fly. Terminal: two opposing lions over a plait pattern, two couchant hares over four human heads below.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1262, probably from the same workshop. See also <i>Yale</i> 1179 and 561 below, for the same dividing motif.
506	hematite	21 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Seal broken in half longitudinally. A figure wearing a round cap and a slit robe stands in an ascending position and holds a scimitar. The leg of the figure which stood in front of him (weather god?) is just visible. In the field: bird, star. Terminal: opposing sphinx and griffin above guilloche, antelope, and lion below.	Cf. style to that in Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 934.



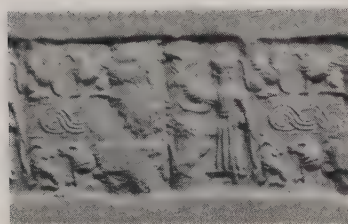
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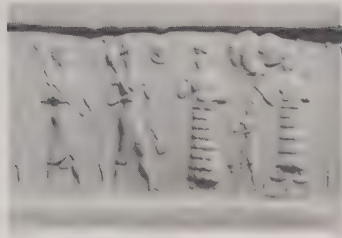
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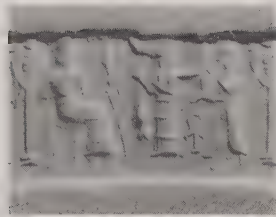
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
507	hematite	23 × 13	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	<p>Chip on body of seal.</p> <p>A bearded figure in a round cap and a fringed kilt faces right, holding a mace standard on a stand and facing a bearded figure in a square hat and a flounced robe who raises one hand. A bare-headed figure with a long flowing beard wearing a fringed mantle stands and holds an arm-and-hand emblem behind the figure in the round cap. A goddess wearing a square headdress and a flounced robe stands on a plinth behind the figure with a square headdress. She appears to hold a vessel in her right hand and a ring of stars surrounds her head. In the field: a small priest figure holding a pail and a sprinkler, two vertical spears pointing downward, star disc and crescent. Lb.</p>	<p>The "halo" around the goddess's head is reminiscent of the arch of ankhs surrounding the head and shoulders of a Syrian female figure on a sealing from Alalakh: Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 145. The arch of ankhs was an Egyptian motif: <i>ibid.</i>, 145: 79 and n. 3. For the style, <i>idem.</i>, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i>, 18: 52–53, a seal from Demir Köprü.</p>
508	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	<p>Upper edge of seal badly chipped.</p> <p>A deity(?) presents a worshiper to an enthroned deity in a flounced robe holding a vessel from which two streams of water issue. In the field: fish, ankh. In the sky: rosette. Terminal: head standard.</p>	
509	hematite	18.5 × 10	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	<p>A figure in a round cap with an upturned brim and a fringed mantle stands saluting an enthroned deity in a horned headdress and a flounced robe who holds a vessel out of which two streams of water flow into jugs on the ground. Terminal: walking griffin-demon and kneeling winged lion salute each other. Guilloche along upper and lower edge of secondary scene.</p>	
510	hematite	19 × 7	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	<p>The weather god in his usual attire, with a dagger at his waist, stands brandishing a mace and holding an ax before an enthroned deity holding a vessel from which streams of water flow. A deity in a long robe and a tall headdress stands, holding a scepter, behind the weather god. In the field: ankh. In the sky: star. Terminal: two fish. Lb.</p>	

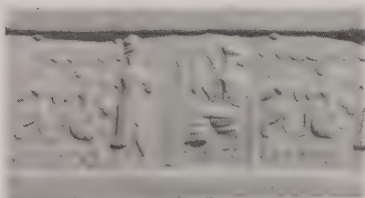




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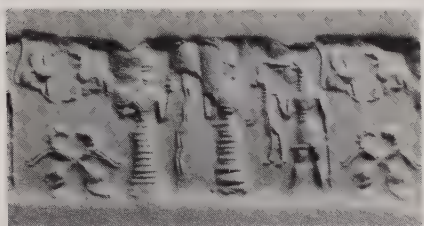
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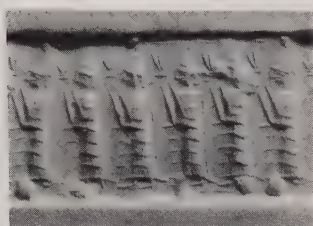
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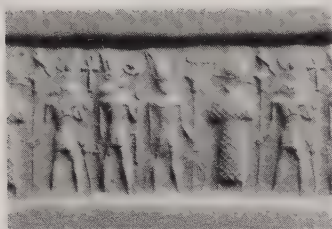
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
511	hematite	21 × 12	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Upper edge of cylinder badly chipped. Two deities face each other, one of them holding a vessel with streaming water. A lion-demon holding a staff and grasping an antelope by the neck stands behind the deity on the right. Terminal: two opposing sphinxes(?) above two crossed lions.	
512	hematite	23 × 11	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Chips on body and lower edge. Procession of five suppliant goddesses. In the sky: five three-pronged stands. Lb.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1282 and Tunca, <i>Adana</i> 29 for subject.
513	hematite	22 × 10	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A figure wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a kilt stands facing right, holding a lotus staff before a deity wearing the <i>atef</i> crown and wrapped in a mantle. A falcon-headed deity wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt and a kilt stands behind the latter holding a lotus staff with a bird perched on it. A jackal-headed deity wearing a kilt and a headdress with an uraeus and two plumes stands behind the figure to the left and holds an ankh. In the field: plant, djed pillar. In the sky: ankh, star and crescent, cartouche with dot in center.	The cartouche with the dot in the center may be the Egyptian symbol for a loaf of bread as an offering, see A. H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> , p. 532. Section X 4.
514	hematite	19 × 12	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	Chipped surface. A falcon-headed deity and a lion-headed deity wearing kilts with a tassel and armed with swords with curved tips stand facing each other. The deity on the left holds a <i>w3s</i> (?) scepter turned toward him. In the field: two human heads, an antelope with its head turned to the right, a bull. In the sky: couchant hare, an antelope with its head turned to the right, a <i>nekhbet</i> vulture with an ankh in its talons. Lb.	Cf. the stance of the bull to that of a bull on a seal in the Schmidt Collection, Seyrig, <i>Syria</i> 33: 169, text figure.



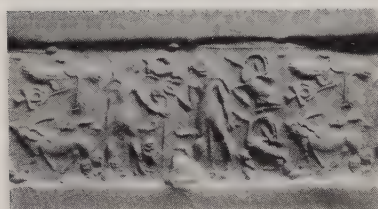
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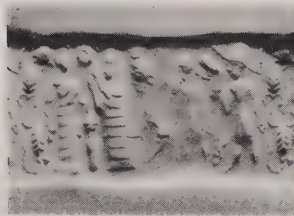
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
515	serpentine	21 × 10	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A male figure in a kilt and an Egyptianized headdress and a female deity in a Hathor headdress holding a throw-stick or plant stand before a female deity in an Egyptianized wig. In the field: ankh. In the sky: star. Terminal: bird facing right over guilloche, couchant hare facing left below. Lb.	
516	serpentine	20 × 10	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A worshiper faces the suppliant goddess over an offering stand between them. To the right stand two figures in kilts and atef-like crowns, one of whom holds a throw-stick(?). In the field: rampant antelope, bird, human head. In the sky: star. Terminal: two opposing scorpions. Lb.	
517	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A male figure in a high oval headdress and a mantle with rolled borders, and a two-faced suppliant goddess face an Egyptian female figure holding an ankh and a <i>w3s</i> (?) scepter. In the field: two ankhs, one unfinished. In the sky: star(?). Terminal: two opposing couchant hares above spiral motif, kneeling figure holding on to a sacred tree below.	
518	hematite	15 × 7	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A figure in a high oval headdress and a mantle, a figure in a kilt with one hand raised, and a bearded figure with a hand on one hip stand before a deity(?) wearing a mantle with a rolled border and holding an Egyptianized scepter. In the field: three ankhs, djed pillar.	
519	hematite	20 × 7	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Upper edge chipped. A male figure wearing an atef-like crown and a kilt faces a female figure with a floral headdress. The two figures hold a lotus plant between them. In the field: ankh, head of hare, oval-shaped emblem with globes on a stand. Terminal: two rampant ibexes with turned heads toward the central scene behind each figure. Lb.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> , 1249, possibly from the same workshop.

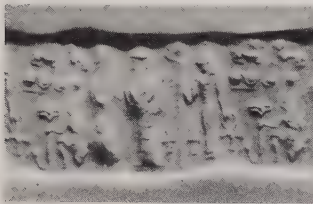




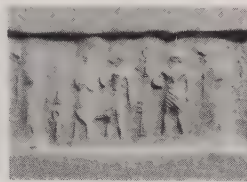
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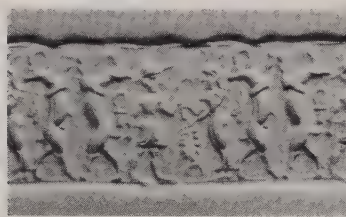
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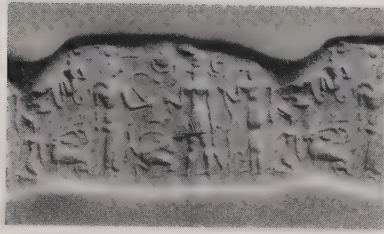


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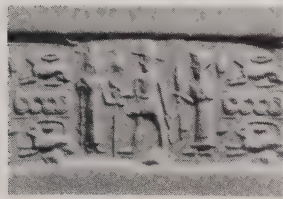


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
520	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	A male figure wearing an atef-like crown and a kilt and holding two throw-sticks stands before a female deity in an Egyptian wig who wears a Hathor headdress with ram's horns and holds a lotus plant and an unintelligible object. A figure holding a <i>w3s</i> scepter(?) stands behind the male figure. In the field: ibex with head turned to the right, vessel, bird(?), plant. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: lion and crouching "mongoose" above plinth(?), small kneeling figure in an Egyptianized headdress and ibex below.	
521	hematite	18.5 × 9.5	c. 1720–1650 B.C.	A female deity wearing an Egyptianized headdress with ram's horns and holding an ankh(?) stands before a male figure wearing an atef-like crown and a kilt and holding a throw stick. The two figures grasp a scepter between them. A female attendant with head covered holds a palm frond and stands behind the male figure. In the field: ball staff. In the sky: star, hand. Terminal: couchant hare above guilloche, couchant ibex below. Lb.	
522	hematite	21 × 10	c. 1720–1650 B.C.	A figure in a high oval headdress and a mantle with rolled borders salutes a deity who wears a square headdress with plume and a kilt with a back panel, and who is armed with an ax and a bow. A female figure in an Egyptian wig and a Hathor headdress holding a forked staff in one hand and a vessel(?) in the other hand stands behind the figure in the high oval headdress. The suppliant goddess stands behind the armed deity. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Lb.	See Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 147 and 148 for the suppliant goddess.
523	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1720–1650 B.C.	A female deity in an Egyptian wig and a Hathor headdress embraces a male figure in an atef crown and a kilt. Two suppliant goddesses stand behind this figure, and a suppliant goddess stands behind the female deity. Lb.	Cf. Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 147 for the iconography.



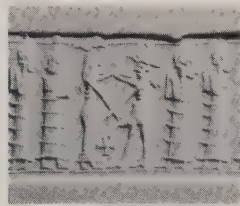
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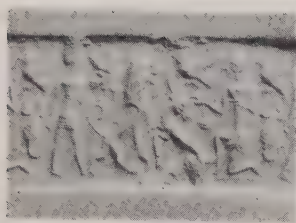
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
524	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A half-kneeling figure in a loincloth faces right and extends an arm over a gazelle attacked by a lion. A figure in a kilt stands with his hand raised in salute opposite him. In the field: snake, crouching "mongoose." In the sky: scorpion. Terminal: two scorpions. Lb.	Cf. the scorpions to those on seal from Chagar Bazar (A357): Schaeffer, <i>Iraq</i> 36, pl. XXXVIII a and b; and on a seal in the British Museum, BM 89488.
525	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two chips on lower edge. A figure in a loincloth half kneels and gestures toward a lion attacking an antelope. A figure in a kilt stands opposite. In the field: vessel. In the sky: two birds. Terminal: bird, scorpion. Lb.	Cf. the birds to those on two seals from Kültepe: N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , pl. XXIX, 1 and 2.
526	hematite	17 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Chip on lower edge. A naked male figure kneels on one knee holding a lotus plant. An antelope somersaults before him. A sphinx with one paw outstretched sits beside the antelope facing left. In the sky: two vessels. Scroll pattern with dot and foliate motif along upper border. Lb.	
527	hematite	16 × 7	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a loincloth holding a short staff with an angular tip kneels on one knee before a griffin-demon which holds two decorated staves and also kneels on one knee. In the field: palm frond(?). Terminal: two birds. Lb.	Cf. the birds to those on 525 above.
528	hematite	16 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Lower edge of cylinder worn, chip in center. A female figure stands before a kneeling lion-demon in a loincloth who holds two decorated staves. A figure in a loincloth kneels behind him. Terminal: five scorpions.	
529	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A female figure with one hand raised, a figure in a slit robe holding a spear(?), and a figure in a fringed mantle also with one hand raised stand before a kneeling griffin-demon who holds a lion scepter.	

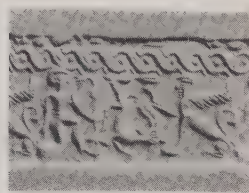




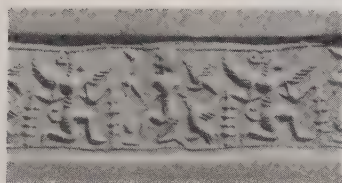
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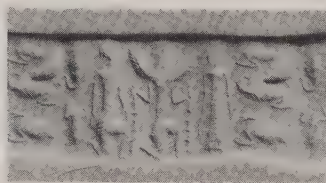
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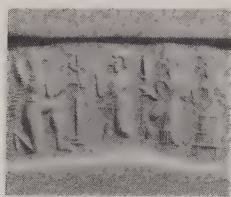
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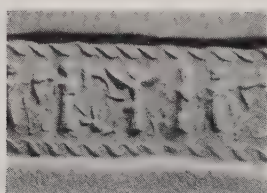
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
530	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Large chip on lower edge, surface chipped. A figure in a fringed robe and a figure in a kilt holding an antelope(?) by a hind leg stand before kneeling griffin-demon. In the sky: two birds, star and crescent. Terminal: vertical couchant antelope.	
531	hematite	16 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two lion-demons, one winged, wearing long robes open in front, kneel facing each other. Each holds a spear. In the field: semi-rampant lion with its head turned to the right, bull's head. In the sky: hand, hare, antelope's head, vessel, ibex's head. Lb.	
532	hematite	12 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A figure in a long fringed mantle holding a scimitar stands before a winged griffin-demon in an ascending position who wears a long slit robe and holds a scimitar and a throw-stick. A female figure holding a cup and a figure in a fringed mantle raising a hand stands behind the winged griffin. In the field: head of antelope, head of hare, plant(?). In the sky: palm frond. Terminal: bird, plant. Scroll pattern along upper and lower borders.	
533	hematite	16 × 9	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Central perforation of cylinder not complete. A figure in a mantle with rolled borders and holding a spear stands facing a male winged figure wearing a long slit robe. A figure in a long fringed robe open in front stands holding a <i>w3s</i> scepter behind the winged figure. In the field somersaulting antelope, hand. Terminal: hare above bird. Lb.	
534	hematite	19 × 11	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	Large chip on upper edge of cylinder, lower end missing. A figure wearing a mantle with rolled borders(?) stands between two bull-men with their arms raised. Terminal: bird with outspread wings over animal(?). Guilloche along upper border.	



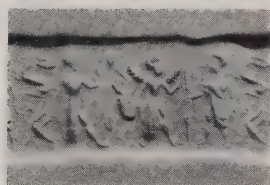
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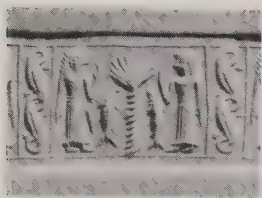
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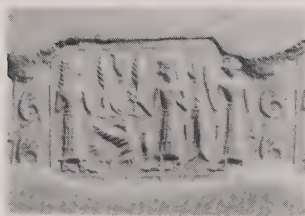
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
535	hematite	23 × 12	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two female figures salute each other over a palm tree. In the field: a fish on either side of the tree. Terminal: vertical scroll pattern with dot-and-foliate motif. Lb.	For a possible date for the triple foliate motif on the scroll, see Porada, <i>Berytus</i> 24:32.
536	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Large chip on upper edge, small chip on lower edge. Two female figures face each other holding palm fronds. A third figure with one hand raised stands behind the female figure on the right. In the field: bird, vessel, fish, two small vertical markings, hand, three-pronged object on stand. Lb.	For a similar scroll pattern on a seal in the same style, see Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.903, p1. 95 (30).
537	hematite	22 × 11	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures raise their hands in salute to a naked figure standing facing front with hands lifted up to its chest. Beside them a nude goddess squats on a pedestal lifting a schematic garment over her head, a rampant hare on either side of her. Two opposing hares lie above her head. In the field: two plants, vertical line on either side of the nude figure. Lb.	
538	hematite	19 × 8	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures in fringed robes with curved staves stand facing each other. An attendant in a kilt stands behind the figure on the left, one hand raised. In the field: vessel, head of hare. Terminal: couchant hare facing right above dividing line, seated lion facing left below. Lb.	
539	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures wearing fringed mantles and kilts face each other over a pole with curled ends supporting a disc and crescent. Beside them a female figure wearing an Egyptianized headdress with ram's horns salutes a walking ibex. In the field: two palm fronds, three vessels. In the sky: ankh, star.	Cf. style to that of BM 129584, probably from the same workshop.





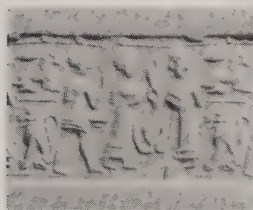
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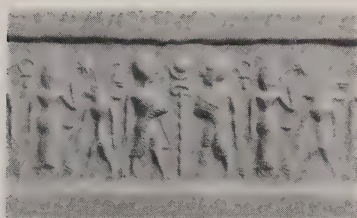
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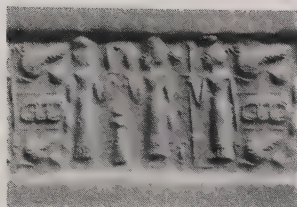
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
540	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures in fringed dresses face each other over an offering stand, holding palm fronds. A third figure holding a spear stands behind the figure on the right. In the field: vessel. In the sky: star. Terminal: bird facing left over guilloche, couchant griffin facing left below. Lb.	For similar scenes in similar style, see Tunca, <i>Adana</i> 23; Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 489; Gordon, <i>Iraq</i> 6: 45; AO 10.873. It is not clear here whether the figure on the far right holds an arm-and-hand ritual object as the corresponding figure on the Adana seal does.
541	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1750–1620 B.C.	Two supplicant goddesses face each other over a laden table. Each has an attendant with raised hands behind her. The attendant on the right holds a branch(?). In the field: indefinable animal. In the sky: crescent. Terminal: bird, hare, rampant griffin. Lb.	
542	hematite	23 × 9	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	Large chip on lower edge of cylinder. Two figures in fringed kilts and cropped hairstyles with a prominent frontal curl stand looking over their shoulders while holding flat loaves(?) between them over a laden table. In the sky: star disc and crescent. Terminal: two opposing couchant ibexes above guilloche, three marching men in loincloths with frontal panels and pennoned headdresses facing right below. Lb.	
543	hematite	21 × 8	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	Chipped upper border. Two bull-men stand holding a pole between them. Terminal: lion attacking an antelope(?) above a guilloche. Two figures wearing loincloths with frontal panels and pennoned headdresses engage in combat or ritual dance with a third figure between them, below.	
544	hematite	24 × 10	c. 1720 – 1650 B.C.	Two figures wearing loincloths with frontal panels and pennoned headdresses carry scimitars over their shoulders and stand saluting each other on either side of a sacred tree. In the field: unfinished ankh. Terminal: couchant ibex facing left over dotted linear pattern. Semi-rampant winged griffin facing left below. Dotted linear pattern along upper and lower borders.	
					Cf. stem of the "sacred tree" to that on Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 12, a seal dated to c. 1720–1620 B.C.



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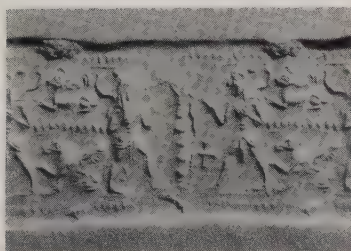
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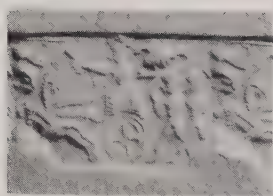
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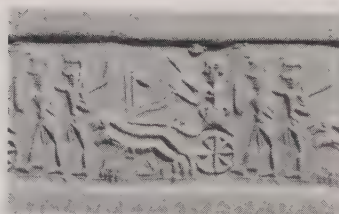
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
545	hematite	18 × 13	c. 1850–1650 B.C.	Two figures in loincloths and bonnets with pennons march behind a two-horse chariot with driver. In the sky: hare, scorpion. Lb.	Cf. Ménant, <i>de Clercq</i> 287, for a similar chariot box.
546	hematite	20 × 10	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Two figures wearing loincloths with frontal panels and pennoned headdresses, one of them holding a scimitar, march behind a two-horse chariot with driver. In the field: hand. Lb.	Cf. Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 479 and Amiet in Schaeffer, <i>Ugaritica</i> 4: 5, fig. 5, for similar chariot boxes.
547		16 × 8	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Two pairs of warriors in combat. The group on the left wear loincloths and cross their arms. The figure on the far left has a short pigtail. The group on the right wear long slit robes and cross arms in a half-kneeling position. Each holds a dagger(?). In the field: hand, ball staff.	Cf. the stance of the wrestlers on the left with that on Collon, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i> 23: 57. See also Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1198 for a stance that can be loosely compared with that of the wrestlers on the right. The figures on the Yale seal are unarmed however and do not cross arms; they appear to be involved in a ritual dance. For other scenes of wrestling, usually as subsidiary motifs, see e.g., Moortgat, <i>VARs</i> 531; Frankfort, <i>CS</i> , p1. XLIIc; Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 871; Mode, <i>Ar. Or.</i> 18, Abb. 12.
548	hematite	17.5 × 10	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two figures wearing thick waistbands stand facing each other, raising one hand over a laden table. A figure with a long pigtail wearing a loincloth with a tassel holds two daggers behind the figure on the right. In the field: ankh. In the sky: star. Terminal: semi-rampant griffin facing left above guilloche. Couchant ibex facing left below. Lb.	For the same style and figures, see Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 969 and Seyrig, <i>Syria</i> 40, p1. XXI, 5, a seal belonging to Seyrig. For related subject, see Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1238.
549	chert	17 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Two sitting sphinxes, one of them bearded, confront each other with outstretched paws. In the field: two hares above the sphinxes' crossed tails, hand. Lb.	For two opposing sphinxes, one of which is also bearded, see Canby, <i>JNES</i> 34: 226, figs. 1 and 1a, a sealing dated to the Kültepe Ib period (p. 232). For sphinx with frontal curl, see von der Osten, <i>Aulock</i> 293; Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 871.
550	hematite	10 × 6	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Two seated lions with raised paws confront each other. A rampant antelope faces right behind the lion on the right. In the field: human head, bull's head. In the sky: bird. Lb.	
551	hematite	13 × 6.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A naked figure half-kneels on each side of a double-headed eagle. Lb.	





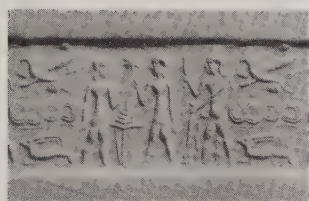
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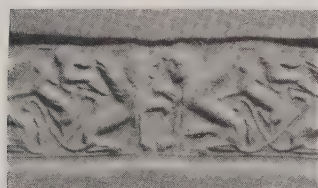
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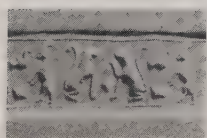
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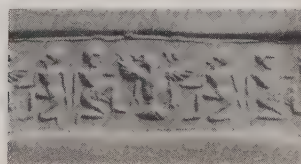
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
552	hematite	20 × 12.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	A naked figure kneels on one knee facing right before a lion. Beside him two sphinxes wearing Egyptianized headdresses with ram's horns and treading on snakes, face each other with one paw outstretched. In the field: hare. In the sky: three winged sun discs. Guilloche along upper and lower border.	Cf. sphinxes treading on snakes to those on Williams-Forte, <i>Moore</i> 10; von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 346, may be from the same workshop.
553	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Pitted surface. Two figures wearing long fringed robes stand raising one hand. Behind them are a rampant animal and an eagle with outspread wings and a seated griffin below seated animal.	
554	hematite	17 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Three marching men in kilts, the first one with a hand raised, face a seated crested griffin. In the field: jug, linear object. Terminal: vertical scroll pattern with foliate motif. Lb.	For a possible date for the triple foliate motif on the scroll, see Porada, <i>Berytus</i> 24: 32.
555	hematite	15 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Four marching kilted men at right angles to two opposing birds above two opposing seated lions with outstretched paws. Vessel between the two birds. Terminal: vertical guilloche. Lb.	
556	hematite	23 × 10	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	Two naked heroes with hands on their chests kneel facing front. In the field: hand, fly. Terminal: two couchant lions above guilloche, three figures, the first with a hand raised, face right below. Lb.	



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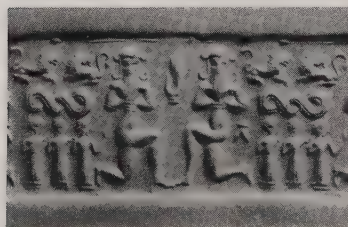
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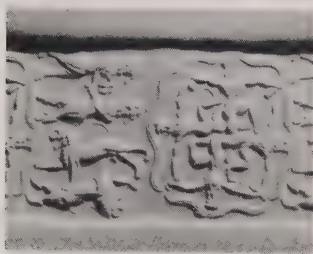


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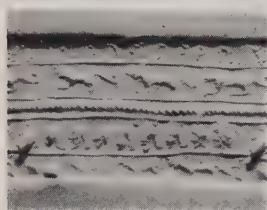
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
557	hematite	24 × 11	c. 1800–1720 B.C.	Four entwined naked heroes holding four vessels out of which a stream of water issues form a cross within a square of streaming water. Terminal: two bull-men facing front at right angles, two opposing rampant lions, one of them reversed.	Cf. the bull-men to those on a Syrian seal from Alishar Hüyük excavated with tablets dated to Hammurabi: von der Osten, <i>Alishar Hüyük</i> 2: 207, no. d 2199. For other entwined heroes in similar positions on Syrian glyptic art, see N. Özgüç, <i>Karum Kanesh Ib</i> , p1. XIc; Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 109; Newell 345; Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1263. See D. Collon, <i>UF</i> 13, fig. 7, 12 and pp. 33–35 for the date of this seal and its workshop. See also Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> , p. 159, note 4 for references of this motif on other objects. Our motif is closest to the Kültepe one. The Alalakh, Newell, and Yale examples are surrounded by a guilloche which in those cases evidently symbolizes streams of water.
558	serpentine	22 × 9	c. 1850–1800 B.C.	Four registers divided horizontally; central rope pattern. From left to right: ten human heads, three lions(?). Lower registers: eight human heads, three quadrupeds.	Parts of the animals' bodies appear to have been retouched with a small drill. For similar motifs divided into horizontal registers by the same ropelike dividing motif, see Porada, ed., <i>Ancient Art in Seals</i> , p1. III, 19 from Acemhöyük; Collon, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i> 35; Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1178; Delaporte <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.939, p1. 97 (12). For this motif on seals with narrative scenes, see references in n. 192, chap. 14.
559	serpentine	21 × 13	c. 1850–1800 B.C.	Very worn. Two horizontal registers divided by two parallel lines with a thin denticulated line between them. From left to right, upper register: three human heads, animal(?), unintelligible forms, plant or spear. Lower register: animal forms, unintelligible forms.	This seal probably belongs to the same tradition as 558.
560	serpentine	24 × 12	c. 1850–1800 B.C.	The ground is divided into four compartments by thin hachured lines. Upper compartments: two antelopes. Lower compartments; from left to right: a human and an animal(?) head, two human heads.	Cf. the human heads to Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 935. For other compartmented Syrian seals, see H. Seyrig, <i>Syria</i> 40, p1. XXI, 3; Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 906; Collon, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i> 34.





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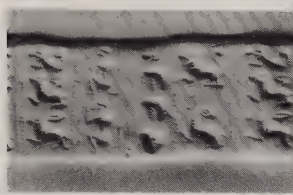
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
561	hematite	15 × 9	c. 1850–1800 B.C.	Upper scene with human figures and lower registers with decorative motifs divided by a plait motif. Upper scene: two lions attack a figure between them. A figure in a long slit robe half kneels before a rampant griffin and a seated antelope(?). Beside them in the sky: star disc and crescent. Six couchant animals above seven bull's heads below.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1179, for a similar seal probably from the same workshop.
562	hematite	20 × 7.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Five vertical rows, from left to right: three lion heads, three ibex heads, three scorpions, four bull's heads, and four human heads. Lb.	Cf. style and motifs of this seal to those on the sealing from Acemköy with the name Aplahanda on it: N. Özgüç, <i>Belleten</i> 43, p1. VI, 17, Ac.i 1052. Cf. also Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 154; Buchanan, <i>Yale</i> 1176.
563	hematite	16 × 9.5	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Four vertical registers divided by a ladder pattern from left to right: scorpion and two hares, two "mongooses," three human heads below a bull's head, lion above an ibex.	
564	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Five vertical registers divided by thin hachured lines. From left to right: three hands, two ibexes, four bull's heads, three hares, four thrones(?). Lb.	
565	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Four vertical registers divided by a ladder pattern. From left to right: three hares, a hand above two human heads, two ibexes, three birds. Lb.	
566	hematite	11 × 7	c. 1850–1720 B.C.	Three vertical registers. From left to right: two scorpions, a hare, two birds. Lb.	
567	hematite	11 × 7	c. 1850–1620 B.C.	Two horizontal rows divided by an irregular, double loop motif or guilloche. Upper register: four hares; lower register: three scorpions.	See Moortgat, <i>VARS</i> 567, from the Cesnola collection, and BM 130669, for the scorpions.



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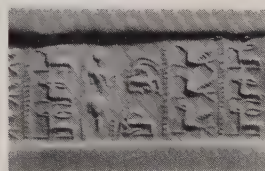
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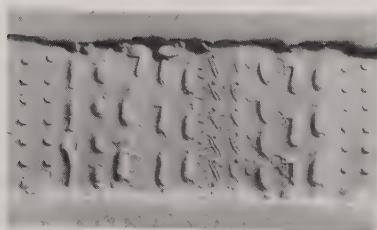
\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
568	chert	20 × 13	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Both ends chipped. Double lotus design, three mouflons, three bulls, four ducks, quadrilateral scroll motif, three stags, three hares, three antelopes, four rabbits, a crocodile(?), and two fish in ten linear vertical registers.	For very similar style see Delaporte, <i>BN</i> 418, probably from the same workshop. For very similar decorative motifs on a recut seal, see Kenna, <i>SIMA</i> 20/3, pl. IX, 37. For related quadrilateral scroll motif, see Collon, <i>Alalakh Impressions</i> 161: 89 and n. 2.
569	hematite	13 × 7	c. 1720–1620 B.C.	Animal scene consisting of an antelope, two ibexes, two hares, and a rampant lion. In the sky: star, star disc and crescent. Terminal: oblique guilloche.	

## MITANNIAN SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
570	chert	23 × 9.5	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	A seated figure grasps a tree. Terminal: antelope and bird above net pattern. Lb.	Cf. the use of the drill on the animals' bodies and the net to that on Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 11: 39 and 106. See also Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 24 for subject.
571	composition	23 × 8	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	A seated figure grasps a tree. Terminal: standing horned animal. Lb.	
572	composition	27 × 11	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Part of the top edge of this cylinder has been reconstructed with plaster and painted yellow. Two figures stand facing each other with a tree between them. Terminal: gazelle and bull with a recumbent antelope above them. Lb.	
573	composition	27 × 11	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Two figures stand facing each other grasping a tree between them. Terminal: two rampant lions with a scroll motif between them. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 11: 68, from Beth Shan Level VII, for lions with crossed paws. For a similar rendition of the lions' eyes, see Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 895 (second generation). See also references in entry to 574.
574	composition	23 × 10	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Two figures stand facing each other with a tree between them. A third figure stands behind the worshiper on the right. Terminal: two rampant lions with a bull calf between them. Lb.	For rampant lion terminals at Nuzi see Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 172, 174–179, all dated to the second generation.

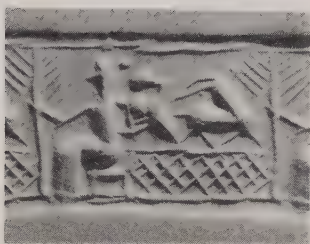




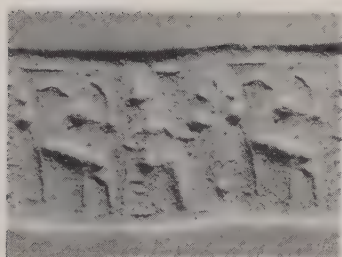
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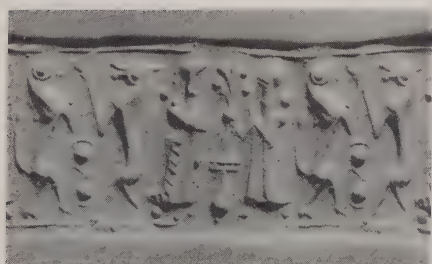
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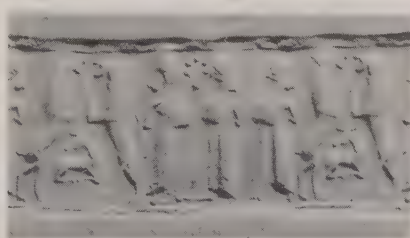
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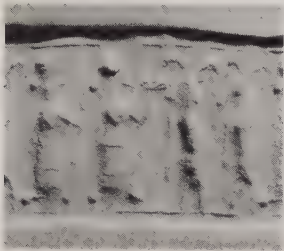
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
575	composition	23 × 12	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Two figures stand facing each other with a tree between them. Terminal: two recumbent stags with guilloche above and foliate motif below. Lb.	
576	composition	18 × 8	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	A figure on one knee grasps a tree. Terminal: two butting antelopes below a scroll motif. Lb.	
577	composition	23 × 11	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Two figures with raised arms face two rampant antelopes. Lb.	
578	composition	21 × 9	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	A row of three figures. Terminal: foliate motif. Lb.	
579	composition	21 × 9	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	A row of three figures. Terminal: rampant stag at right angles to figures. Lb.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 936.
580	pyrophyllite	20 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Body of seal is slightly damaged. A kneeling figure grasps an antelope by the hind legs. A lion attacks the antelope from behind. In the sky: fish. Lb.	
581	composition	20 × 10	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Two crossed bulls. Terminal: latticed panel. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 11, nos. 44 and 79, from Beth Shan, Levels IX and VII respectively.
582	composition	18 × 8	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Row of walking birds. Lb.	Cf. Collon, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i> 31 and p. 62, notes to no. 30.
583	composition	20 × 10	c. 1550–1350 B.C.	Row of heads with rhomb pattern above. Lb.	Cf. Collon, <i>Alalakh Cylinder Seals</i> 81; Parker <i>Iraq</i> 11: 82, 115, from Beth Shan Levels VII and VI respectively, for rows of heads with decorative motifs.



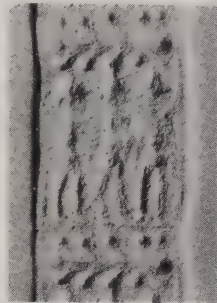
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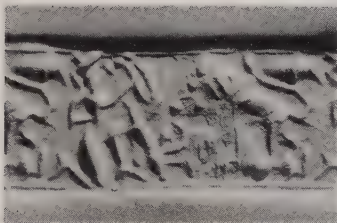
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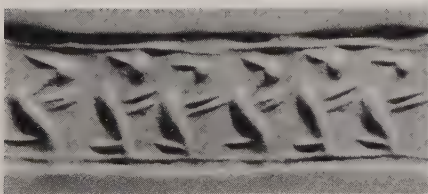
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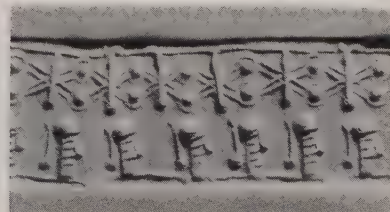
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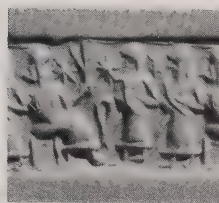
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
584	chert	19.5 × 9	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	Lower edge of cylinder chipped. A small part of the upper rim has been reconstructed with plaster and painted yellow.  Two figures stand grasping a tree between them. In the field: ball staff, drill hole. Terminal: fish, bull's head, drill hole above recumbent antelope and star. Lb.	Cf. Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 674, for the bull's head.
585	hematite	18 × 8	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	Two figures stand before a seated deity holding a triple lightning fork. In the field: incomplete ankh. In the sky: three stars. Lb.	Cf. Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> : 663 and p. 52.
586	hematite	26 × 11	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A worshiper presents an antelope to a deity standing on a lion which it holds by a leash. A nude goddess with hands clasped under her breasts stands between them. In the field: bird. In the sky: two rosettes. Terminal: inscription. Lb. Inscription: 𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠𐎢𐎺.𐎠𐎺.𐎠𐎺𐎠𐎢𐎺 Adad-sum-ušur	Note the ball staff as a decorative motif below the first sign in the first column.
587	hematite	20 × 9	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	Three nude goddesses with hands clasped under their breasts stand in a row between vertical chains of circular motifs. In the field: ball staff, vessel(?). Lb.	
588	hematite	19 × 8.5	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A figure stands surrounded by animals. Upper level: hawk attacking calf, lion attacking an antelope with a bird between them. Lower level: recumbent antelope between recumbent griffin and lion, bird. Lb.	Cf. Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> , 587 and 589, both second generation, for style.
589	hematite	14.5 × 6	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A lion attacks an antelope. Recumbent antelope above the lion. In the field: animal head, fish. In the sky: winged sun disc, drill holes. Lb.	Cf. Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 591, dated to the second generation, for style.

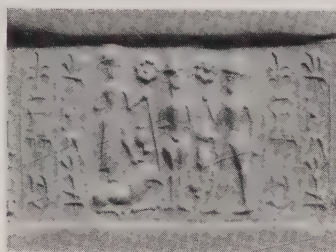




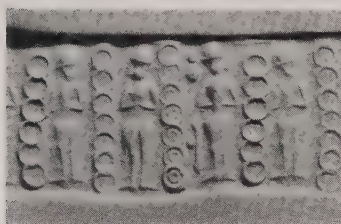
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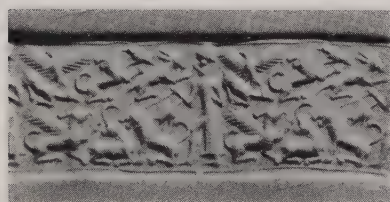
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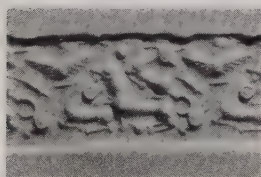
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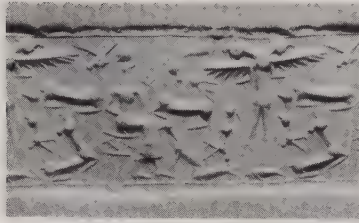


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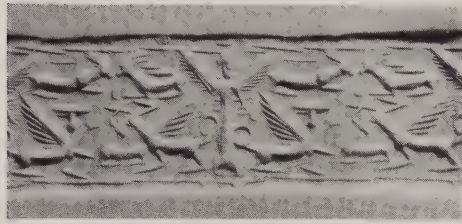


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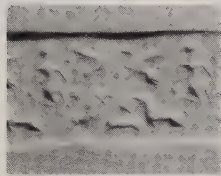
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
590	chalcedony	21 × 11	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A female deity holding a cup sits enthroned. A double-headed winged demon stands before her holding two stags by their hind legs. In the field: recumbent antelope above undefined animal, hand. In the sky: fish. On the ground line: two fish. Terminal: recumbent stag above recumbent antelope. Lb.	
591	chalcedony	21 × 11	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A winged deity stands between two recumbent antelopes above two griffins with a quadruped between them. In the field: rhomb or fish, stylized winged sun disc. Lb.	
592	chert	15 × 5	c. 1500–1300 B.C.	A hero kneels beside two rampant griffins above two lions and an undefined animal. In the field: star, drill holes.	
593	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A hero brandishing a dagger kneels beside a lion and a griffin with a bull calf between them and a recumbent antelope and a scorpion above them. In the sky: star.	
594	chert	14 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A seated figure drinks through a tube from a vessel. In the field: seven drill holes, star, fish. In the sky: two fish, star, recumbent animal. Terminal: a bull and an antelope on either side of a sacred tree, bull's head. Lb.	
595	carnelian	19 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A figure armed with a scimitar stands above an antelope. In the field: recumbent lion and a quadruped, recumbent bull, star, bird. In the sky: star, disc, scroll motif. Terminal: rampant antelope on either side of a sacred tree, recumbent antelope. Lb.	
596	hematite	14 × 22	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Upper part of seal badly chipped. Two figures stand on either side of a sacred tree. Behind the figure on the left stand two other figures facing right, one holding a horned animal by a hind leg. In the field: a lion, two birds. In the sky: bird.	



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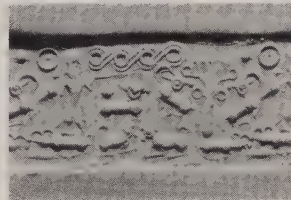
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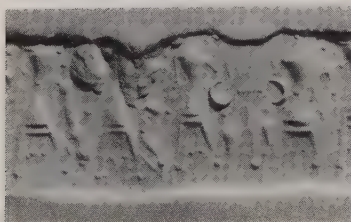
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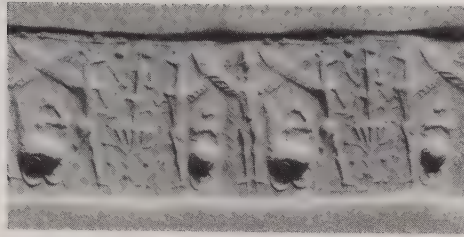


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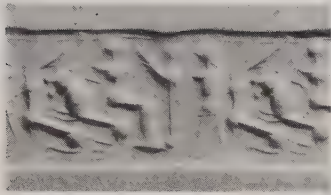
\*SEE ENLARGEMENT

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
597	hematite	24 × 11	c. 1350–1300 B.C.	Two large secondary drillings on the body of the seal. A winged griffin stands on either side of the small sacred tree with a kneeling hero above it. A four-winged female deity stands to one side. In the field: two recumbent antelopes, three circular motifs, drill holes. Lb.	Cf. Porada, <i>AfO</i> 25: 133, Abb. 1a, and von der Osten, <i>Newell</i> 361, for style.
598	hematite	17 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A figure seated on a lion attacking an antelope raises one hand and grasps a bird standard with the other hand. A figure standing opposite grasps the other side of the standard. In the sky: fish.	
599	chalcedony	15 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A seated figure drinks through a tube from a vessel. A figure stands on the other side of the vessel. In the sky: bird. Terminal: recumbent antelope, drill hole, scorpion. Lb.	
600	chert	17.5 × 12	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands before a seated figure who raises an arm. In the field: fish, drill holes, scorpion. Terminal: drill hole, circular motif, hand. Lb.	
601	chalcedony	13 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A figure sits, facing left, holding a cup, behind a griffin. In the field: star, griffin, plant, bird. In the sky: fish, hand(?).	
602	chert	18 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A hero spears a lion. In the field: recumbent antelope, winged demon, star. In the sky: fish. Lb.	
603	chert	16 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A hero spears a lion and a bull. A bird stands on the nape of the bull. Terminal: fish, scorpion. Lb.	
604	chert	20 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two figures, one with hands on hips, stand between a stag and an antelope. In the sky: rhomb. Lb.	
605	chert	14 × 6	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A figure stands spearing an antelope. Lb.	
606	hematite	19 × 10	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A hero grapples with a lion. Beside him stands a winged demon. In the field: hand, drill holes, crescents. Ground line: scorpion, quadrupeds, drill holes. Lb.	

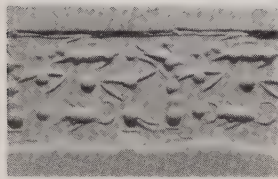




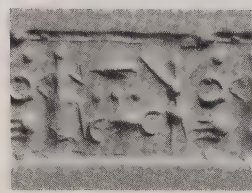
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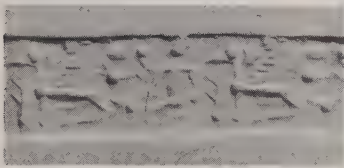
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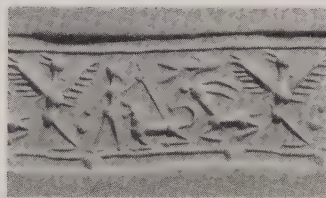
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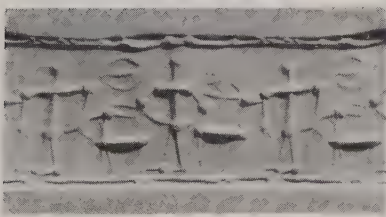
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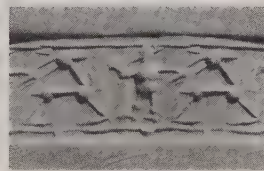
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
607	chert	19 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a rampant lion and a recumbent antelope. In the field: hand, rhomb, drill hole, circular motifs. In the sky: bird, fish. Terminal: "bouquet" tree. Lb.	
608	agate	19 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a rampant lion and an antelope. In the field: fish. In the sky: scorpion, hand. Lb.	
609	chert	19 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a recumbent lion and a recumbent antelope. In the field: fish. In the sky: recumbent griffin. Lb.	
610	hematite	19 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands beside a recumbent antelope. In the field: fish, star, hand, three circular motifs. In the sky: rhomb. Lb.	
611	agate	16 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a rampant lion attacking an antelope, and a rampant griffin above a bull(?). In the field: fish, star. In the sky: antelope. Lb.	
612	chert	16 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between two recumbent antelopes and a griffin. In the field: star(?). In the sky: scorpion. Lb.	
613	agate	17 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a recumbent antelope on one side and a recumbent griffin and lion on the other. In the field: star, hand, drill hole. In the sky: scorpion, fish.	
614	chalcedony	18 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between two recumbent antelopes. In the field: rhomb, hand, star. In the sky: scorpion. Lb.	
615	chert	12 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Upper rim of cylinder slightly chipped. A winged demon stands between a recumbent antelope and a lion. In the sky: fish. Lb.	
616	chert	20 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between a recumbent lion and an animal. In the field: star, fish. In the sky: two recumbent antelopes. Lb.	
617	marble	17 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands between two recumbent antelopes. In the field: drill holes. In the sky: fish. Lb.	



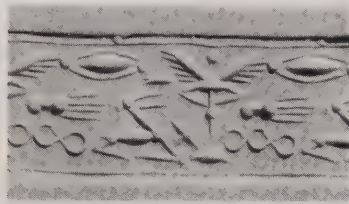
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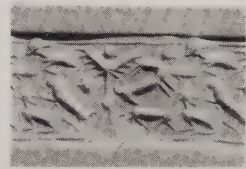
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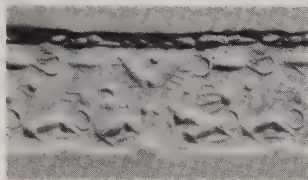
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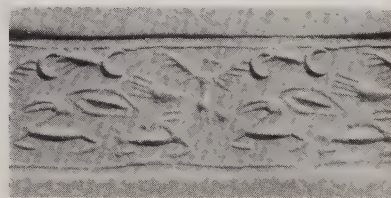
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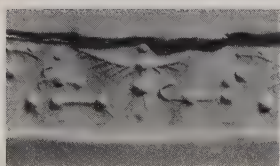
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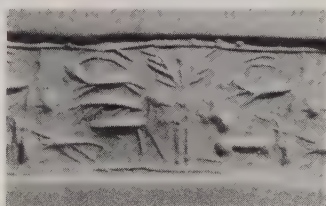
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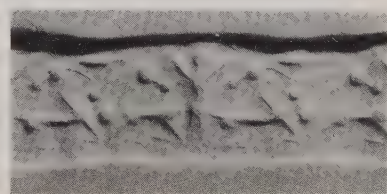
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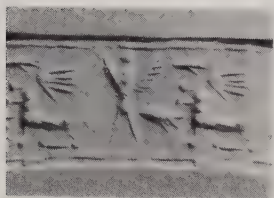
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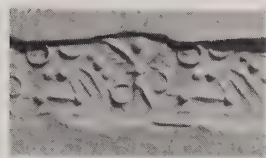
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
618	chert	17 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands beside a lion. In the field: fish, hand. In the sky: fish. Lb.	
619	hematite	12 × 5	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A winged demon stands beside a recumbent antelope. In the field: star, drill holes, crescent shape. In the sky: two circular motifs.	
620	hematite	13 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A bird-demon with a lion's body stands between a recumbent antelope and a recumbent stag. In the field: star, bird. In the sky: two stars. Lb.	
621	hematite	11 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A bird-demon stands beside a recumbent lion and an antelope. In the sky: fish, hand. Lb.	
622	chert	18 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Animals and symbols in the field: striding bird-demon, star, hand, three fish, rhomb, three stars, scorpion. Lb.	
623	hematite	18 × 7.5	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A lion lies recumbent to one side of a sacred tree. In the field: star, hand, turtle(?), two fish. In the sky: a bird on either side of the tree, crescent. Lb.	
624	hematite	21 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A recumbent antelope on either side of a stylized sacred tree with a winged sun disc above it. In the field: couchant bull, drill holes. In the sky: scorpion. Lb.	
625	serpentine	17 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes face each other over a "bouquet" spray. Terminal: tree. Lb.	
626	marble	14 × 6	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes face each other over a "bouquet" spray. Lb.	
627	hematite	17 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two griffins facing each other cross forelegs. In the sky: drill holes. Terminal: scorpion, lion, antelope. Lb.	
628	carnelian	20 × 10	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two griffins stand facing each other. In the sky: winged sun disc. Beside them: circular motif, antelope, hand. Lb.	
629	carnelian	15 × 12	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	A lion and a griffin stand in the field. In the sky: winged sun disc, fish. Lb.	
630	chert	14 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Animal row: two antelopes and a lion. In the sky: scorpion, drill hole. Lb.	

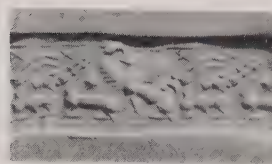




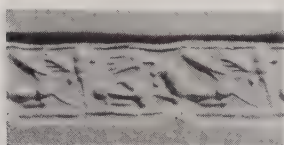
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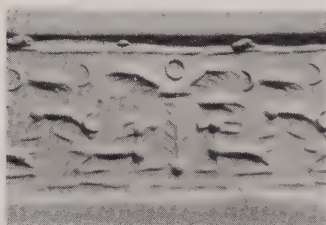
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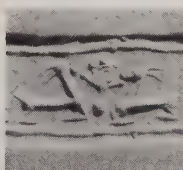
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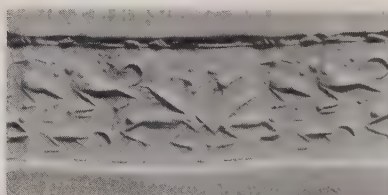
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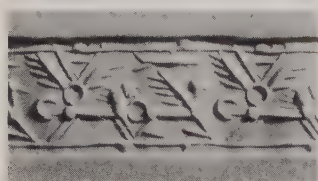
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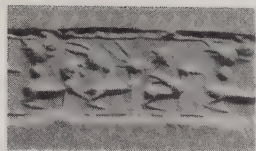


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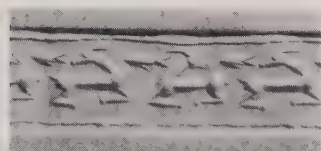


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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
631	chalcedony	12 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Animal row: griffin, antelope, and a lion. In the sky: bull, antelope heads, star. Lb.	
632	chert	13 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes with heads turned back. In the sky: two fish. Lb.	
633	hematite	18 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Scorpion, recumbent antelope, cluster of seven drillings, star, two drillings. Lb.	
634	chert	18 × 8.5	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Recumbent antelope and recumbent stag, hand, scroll motif, rosette, rhomb, scorpion. Lb.	
635	hematite	18 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two recumbent antelopes, griffin. In the field: drill hole, fish. In the sky: hand, scroll. Lb.	
636	chert	21 × 11	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Antelope and reversed quadruped. In the field: "bouquet" spray, hand, three fish, star, scorpion. Lb.	
637	hematite	15 × 9	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two recumbent griffins with a hand between them below two lions and an antelope. In the sky: rhomb, drill hole. Lb.	
638	chert	8.5 × 6	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Worn. Schematic forms in the field: winged demon, drill holes, linear strokes, scorpion.	
639	hematite	20 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Chip on upper rim of seal. Row of birds above two parallel lines with inner net pattern. Row of stars and miscellaneous drill holes and linear strokes below. Lb.	
640	serpentine	17 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Pattern of connecting lines and drill holes.	
641	carnelian	20 × 8	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two rows of rhombs with scroll motif between them.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 921 from Shehib, in N. Syria.
642	chert	13 × 7	c. 1450–1300 B.C.	Two rows of fish with rhombs between them. Lb.	Cf. Parker, <i>Iraq</i> 11: 185–187, for fish.



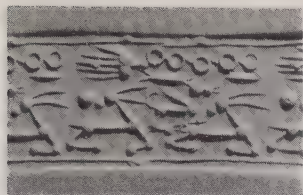
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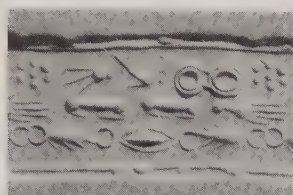
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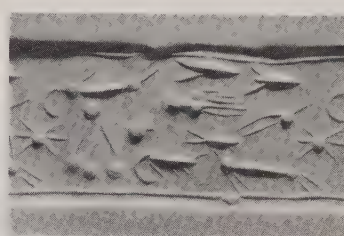
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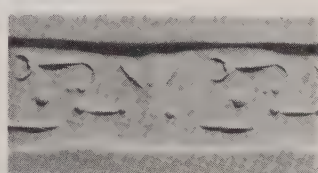
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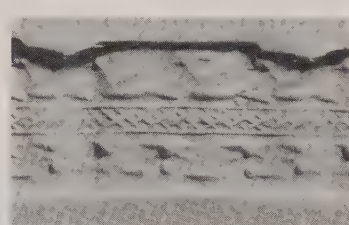
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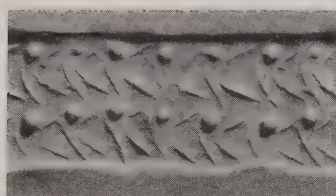
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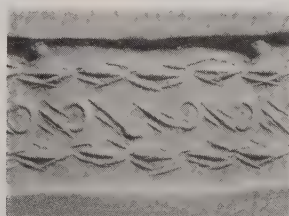
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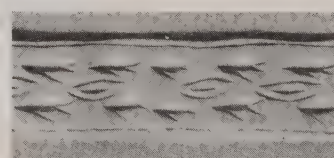
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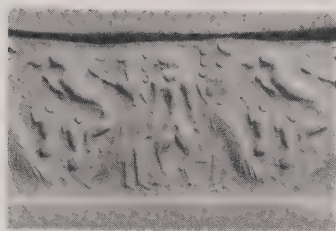
## CYPRIOT SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
643	hematite	22 × 9	c. 1400–1200 B.C.	Two figures wearing open skirts with a pointed end and flat caps, one with a streamer, subjugate a lion. The figure on the left is armed with a spear. In the field: Cypro-Minoan sign(?). In the sky: six circular drillings with a dot in the center. Terminal: a rampant lion and two leaping hares(?). Lb.	This sign does not occur in E. Masson's repertoire of signs in <i>SIMA</i> 31/2: 13–15, but is close to her types 6 and 104.
644	hematite	26 × 10	c. 1400–1200 B.C.	Three heroes hold a lion and a reversed antelope between them. In the field: rampant animal. In the upper field: five Cypro-Minoan signs. In the sky: rosette, bull's head, turtle(?). Terminal: rampant griffin. Lb.	Four of the five Cypro-Minoan scripts are found in Masson's repertoire of signs: <i>SIMA</i> 31/2: 13–15, from left to right, 6, 70, 23, 6.
645	serpentine	23 × 10	c. 1400–1200 B.C.	Reversed antelope on either side of a tree. Terminal: structure with volutes.	For identical subject in a slightly different style, see Delaporte, <i>Louvre</i> 2, A.1172, pl. 105 (25).

## LEVANTINE SEALS FROM c. 1550–900 B.C.

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
646	serpentine	17 × 7	c. 1650–1500 B.C.	Two standing figures, one in an ascending position holding a scepter. Terminal: two forms resembling the <i>bm</i> sign for "majesty," one reversed; two vertical parallel lines.	Cf. the standing figure to Cesnola, <i>Atlas</i> , pl. CXX, 8, a seal from Amathus, Cyprus.
647	chert	16 × 8	c. 1650–1500 B.C.	Hieroglyphs and decorative motifs in three vertical registers. From left to right: (1) <i>nfr</i> sign for "beauty" below a circle, possibly the sun sign, (2) <i>nfr</i> sign below oval shape, jackal holding ceremonial scepter, (3) <i>nfr</i> sign below circle. Lb.	
648	hematite	26 × 6	c. 1600–1500 B.C.	Two figures stand on either side of a pole with a winged sun disc above it. Secondary scene: three striding figures facing left between two seated griffins. Kneeling figure and three striding figures face right below. The two groups of figures are divided by three parallel lines with drill holes between them. In the field: drill holes, two scorpions.	For possibly related style, cf. Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 959, and see p. 188, nn. to 959 for tentative parallels, said to be Aegean. See also Vollenweider, <i>Genève</i> , pl. 58, no. 141.





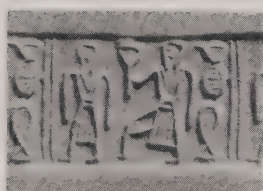
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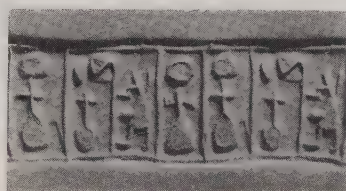
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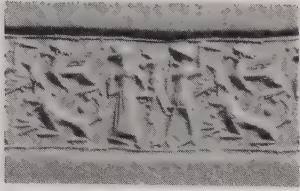
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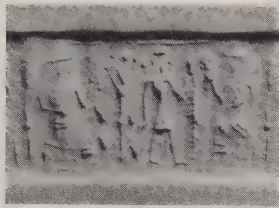
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
649	hematite	16 × 7	c. 1450–1350 B.C.	A worshiper presents an antelope to a deity brandishing a mace or dagger. Terminal: recumbent griffin above recumbent lion and bird, stylized hand, drill holes. Lb.	See e.g., Porada, <i>Nuzi</i> 645 for worshiper with animal offering.
650	serpentine	21 × 10	c. 1450–1350 B.C.	A seated deity holding a lightning fork receives a worshiper. A figure stands behind the seated deity and another crouches over a couchant antelope. In the field: three drill holes, two wedges. In the sky: fish, indeterminate shapes. Terminal: imitation guilloche. Lb.	
651	serpentine	19 × 9	c. 1450–1350 B.C.	Worn. A seated figure holding a cup(?) receives a worshiper holding a small vessel and a decorated pole(?). Behind the worshiper is a "bouquet" tree and another worshiper kneeling on one knee holding an offering. In the field: four foliate shapes. Terminal: plant. Lb.	Cf. Dunand, <i>Byblos</i> 1, pl. CXXV, 6041(b).
652	serpentine	16 × 8	c. 1450–1350 B.C.	Four figures and an antelope walk toward the left.	
653	serpentine	26 × 10	c. 1450–1200 B.C.	Two figures each wearing the White crown of Egypt raise cups and face each other over a laden table. A throne is placed behind the figure on the left and a stool behind the figure on the right. In the field: three rosettes, two Hathor symbols. In the sky: winged sun disc, scorpion(?). Lb.	
654	serpentine	29 × 11	c. 1400–1100 B.C.	Rampant antelope on either side of a sacred tree. In the field: small kneeling figure facing left, walking animal, linear strokes, indeterminate forms. In the sky: bird, drill hole, linear strokes. Lb.	See Porada, <i>Corpus</i> 1, 1095, for similar small kneeling figure.
655	chert	21 × 13	c. 1300–1100 B.C.	The cylinder has a pitted surface. Part of its upper rim has been reconstructed with plaster and painted green. Plowing scene with three figures. One figure holds a seeder plow while another figure drives the ox with a stick. A small, third figure stands behind the plow. Indeterminate shape (animal at right angles?) before the ox. In the sky: three stars, crescent.	



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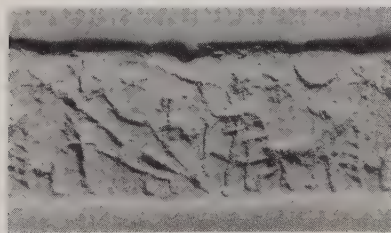
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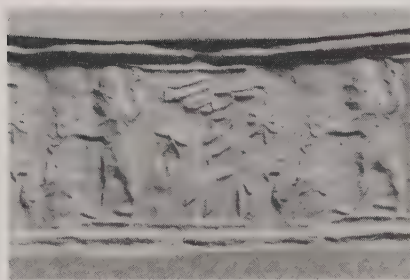
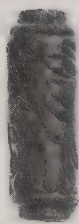
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
656	serpentine	25 × 10	c. 1350–1200 B.C.	A warrior holding a mace greets a figure holding a bow. In the field: two quadrupeds, linear form. In the sky: indeterminate form. Lb.	The inscription is upside down.
657	altered bronze	27 × 7 weight: 6.04 g.	c. 1350–1200 B.C.	Cylinder with angular narrowed ends. A deity with one arm raised holds a griffin on a leash. In the field: two stars, hieroglyphs. Lb. Hittite inscription: <i>ta-ka-na-ni(?)</i> Takanani(?)	
658	serpentine	17 × 10	c. 1450–1350 B.C.	A standing, naked, bearded hero holds an antelope by the hind legs. Beside him is a small figure standing on a bull which he holds by a leash. In the field: snake(?), two birds.	
659	serpentine	16 × 8	c. 1350–1100 B.C.	An archer kneeling on one knee aims at an equid and at a stag. In the field: star. In the sky: bird, wedge. Terminal: snake(?).	
660	serpentine	17 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup(?) receives a worshiper. A laden table stands between them. Terminal: stylized palm tree, two birds.	
661	chert	18 × 10	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	A seated figure holding a cup receives a worshiper. In the field: two quadrupeds behind the seated figure. Traces of small human and animal figures before the seated figure, snake.	Cf. Dunand, <i>Byblos</i> 1, p1. CXXVII, 11686; idem, <i>Byblos</i> 2, p1. CXCII, 13459 for style.
662	serpentine	20 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	Striding figure. In the field behind the figure: two pots, one reversed. Two vertical lines. In the field before the figure: two panellike structures with two pots, one reversed, between them. Lb.	
663	serpentine	21 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	A figure wearing a tall headdress stands holding a spear and a scimitar. Behind him are a rampant animal, a lion facing left, and a reversed quadruped. In the field: hand or foliate design.	Cf. Riis, <i>Hama</i> 2: 154, fig. 194c for style.
664	serpentine	15 × 8	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	A figure with raised arms stands between two antelopes. Two other quadrupeds above, one at right angles. In the field: plant, linear forms, bird(?). Terminal: tree. Lb.	





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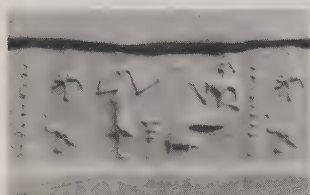
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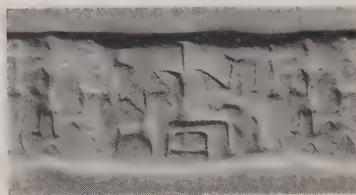
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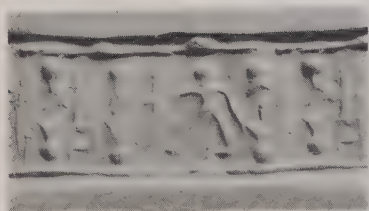
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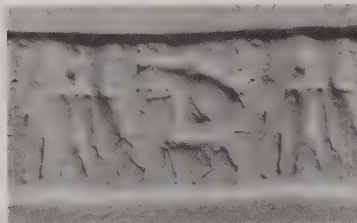
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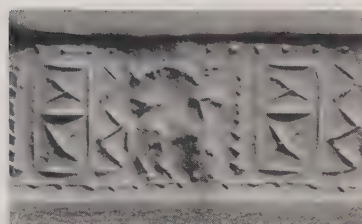
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
665	serpentine	22 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	A bull and an antelope walk beside each other. A small human figure stands on the back of the antelope, and a small quadruped stands on the back of the bull. In the field: plant, drillings, unintelligible forms. In the sky: crescent, drillings. Lb.	
666	serpentine	11.5 × 8	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	Procession of five rampant animals facing right. In the field: drill holes. In the sky: crescent with two drill holes inside it.	See Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 1023 for subject.
667	serpentine	21 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	An antelope facing right between a snake and a tree. In the field: bird(?), star. Terminal: latticed panellike structure. Dot and line borders.	The dot and line border may be a debased rendition of the type of border on, e.g., Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 1025.
668	serpentine	21 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	Very worn. Three animals, one of them a griffin(?) and unintelligible linear forms in the field.	
669	serpentine	24 × 9	c. 1450–1100 B.C.	An antelope strides to the right, a rectangular object on its back(?). Terminal: plant. Lb.	
670	serpentine	25 × 18	c. 1300–1100 B.C.	A quadruped strides to the left. In the sky: fish. Terminal: tree.	Cf. Loud, <i>Megiddo</i> 1, pl. 66, 6.
671	serpentine	20 × 12	c. 1400–1100 B.C.	Two schematic figures seated at a table (?).	
672	serpentine	18 × 9	c. 1400–1100 B.C.	Two figures with uplifted arms, rectangular structure on a base with curved ends (boat?), jar with curved pipe, animal(?). In the field: linear markings and drillings. Lb.	
673	marble	16 × 8	c. 1400–1100 B.C.	Denticular design with five drill holes beside a standard(?).	
674	composition	24 × 17	c. 1400–1100 B.C.	Linear design with drill holes divided by a central horizontal line. Four drill holes in upper register. Animal forms(?) below. Lb.	



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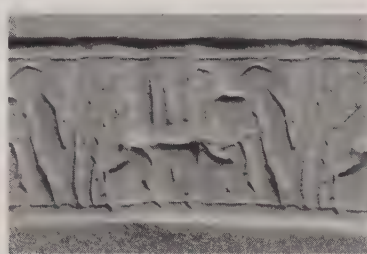
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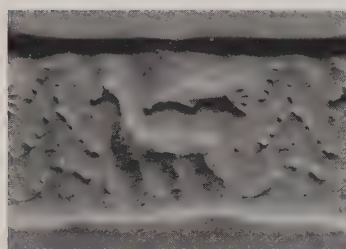
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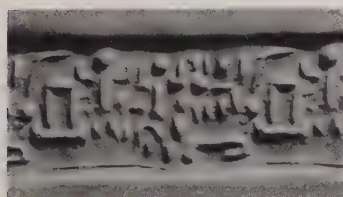
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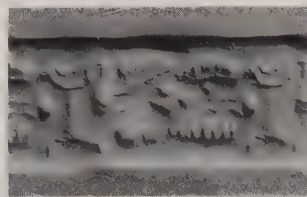
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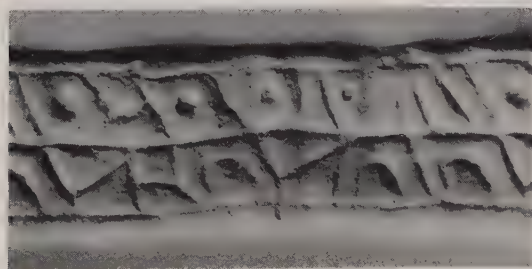
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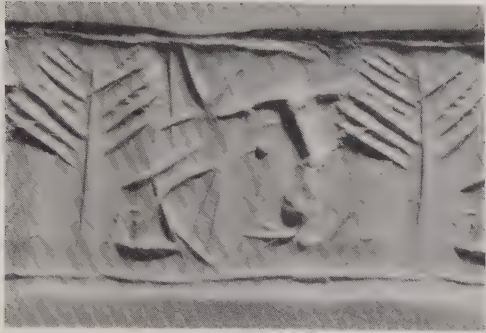
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
6 <sup>75</sup>	serpentine	35 × 11	c. 1400– 1100 B.C.	Rampant vertical animal, drill hole, and linear strokes. Terminal: tree. Lb.	
6 <sup>76</sup>	chert	18 × 9	c. 1400– 1100 B.C.	Plant and linear strokes.	

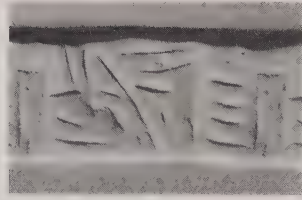
## MIDDLE ELAMITE SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
6 <sup>77</sup>	composition	34.5 × 9	c. 1300– 1000 B.C.	Zigzag motif in vertical bands. Lb.	Cf. the motif to Negahban, in <i>Akten des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie</i> , p. 125, 21, p. 126, 28, two seals from Marlik. On these seals, however, the motifs are contained in horizontal bands.
6 <sup>78</sup>	tuff	31 × 10	c. 1300– 1000 B.C.	Lateral perforation across a squat handle. Starlike design on rounded base and top of cylinder. Two horizontal bands of crosshatching separated by a gap.	Cf. crosshatching bands to those on a seal from Marlik: E. Negheban, (seal 677), p. 126, 23, and p. 134.
6 <sup>79</sup>	serpentine	29 × 14	c. 1300– 1000 B.C.	Four irregular zigzag lines running horizontally.	See Porada, <i>Tchoga Zanbil</i> 4, pl. XII, 145, and Amiet, <i>GS</i> 2009 and 2106, for the same type.





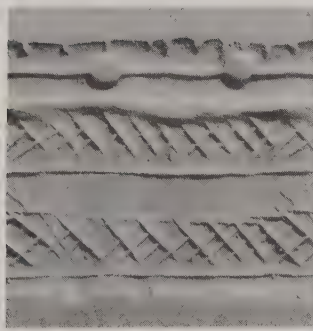
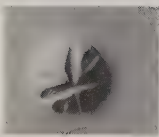
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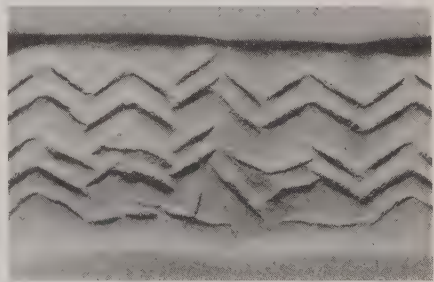
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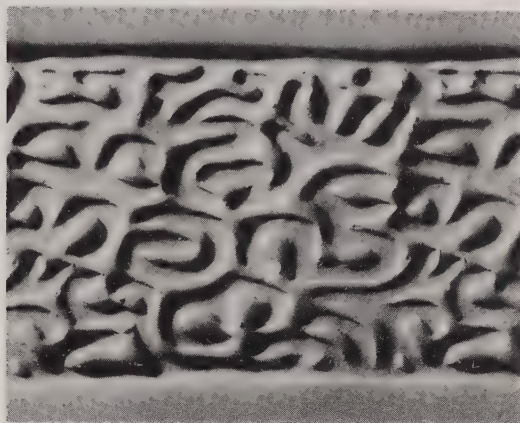
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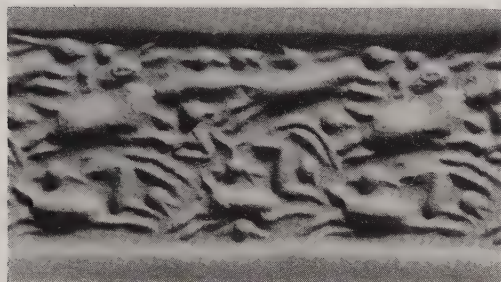
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## MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
680	cast bronze	44 × 17 weight: 48.8 g.	<i>See text for tentative dates.</i>	Connecting linear design with an animal form in the upper field.	Cf. A. Ben Tor, <i>Cylinder Seals of Third Millennium Palestine</i> , Group III A-1, fig. 9, 58.
681	serpentine	29 × 13		Leaping ibexes and hares. In the field: drill holes with linear strokes. (stars?).	See Speiser, <i>Tepe Gawra</i> 1, pl. LXI, 70, from Stratum III for the leaping antelopes. See also <i>Exposition publique, Hôtel Drouot, Avril 1964</i> (Paris, 1964), pl. 2, 33, and von der Osten, <i>Aulock</i> 310, for similar subject and style. Animals leaping in the field is a subject found in second millennium Syrian glyptic art (see Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 897, 898); the archaizing style of this seal bears no relation whatsoever to this group of seals, however.
682	hematite	16 × 7		A figure wearing a kilt and an Egyptianized wig brandishes a mace. In the field: two indeterminate forms. Lb.	The posture and Egyptianized headdress of the figure suggest a Levantine, probably Syrian, origin for this seal. This seal shows signs of having been abraded, and the indeterminate forms in the field are secondary additions.
683	serpentine	17 × 9		Large chip on the surface of the cylinder. Two pairs of animals in combat. To the right: lion and antelope(?); pair to the left partly obliterated by the chip. In the field: fish. In the sky: bird. Terminal: tree. Lb.	The pair of crossed animals are an Early Dynastic subject. However, the cutting style, the bird, and the form of tree belong to the second millennium.
684	serpentine	14 × 6		Two rows of running or swimming(?) figures, the top row facing left, the bottom row facing right.	The diminutive figures might tentatively be compared to those on a late second millennium or early first millennium seal from the Levant in the Damascus Museum: H. Kuhne, ed., <i>Damascus</i> , p. 122, 71.
685	serpentine	25 × 10		Two four-winged figures, each with an arm raised, walk in procession. A rhomb and a stand are placed between the wings of the figures.	Figures walking in procession is a subject characteristic of the second millennium, although the dress of the figures on this seal and the worship of symbols are more characteristic of the first than the second millennium. Four-winged figures are best known from the Mitannian (cf. Tunca, <i>Adana</i> pl. IV, 34) Middle and Neo-Assyrian repertoires.



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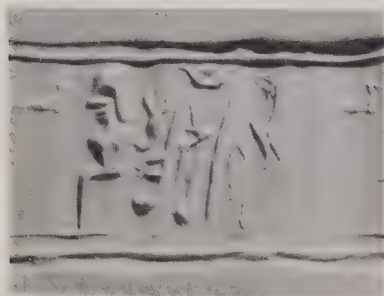
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NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
686	serpentine	30 × 12		Schematic torso and head of a man beside an imitation hieroglyphic inscription consisting of various motifs, of which a scorpion and a snake are clearly recognizable. In the sky: disc and crescent. Lb.	The imitation hieroglyphic inscription suggests a Levantine origin for the seal. No remotely comparable piece has been found by this writer.
687	serpentine	15 × 8		Lower and upper edges of cylinder uneven. Linear shapes in the field. Animal at right angles(?), circle.	This seal may belong to the group of late Levantine seals (672–674 above), although it is too crudely cut to be classified as such.
688	chalcedony	15 × 8.5		Two figures, each with an arm raised, walk in procession. Terminal: stylized tree or pole.	The material, cutting style, and the iconography of the walking figures are reminiscent of Neo-Assyrian cut style seals. The subject, a procession, and the terminal, are not, however, Neo-Assyrian.
689	agate	25 × 5		Lentoid. Tiger placed vertically in the field.	The shape and material of this seal are characteristic of Achaemenian seals, although the style is not.
690	serpentine	16 × 10		Two standing figures hold decorated staves. Terminal: two stars and a reversed crescent.	Cf. Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 1050, which is dated to the third or fourth centuries B.C. (p. 208) with the caution that the seal might be of recent manufacture.
691	serpentine	14 × 10		Upper edge of cylinder uneven. Random linear strokes in the field.	

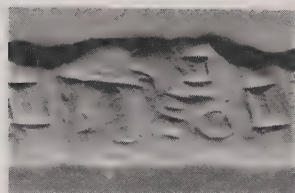
## SUSPECT AND FORGED SEALS

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
692	marble	22 × 17		Loop bore. Surface of cylinder chipped. Three horned animals stand in a row. In the field: drill hole. In the sky: fish(?).	This seal shows definite signs of having been recut.
693	marble	25 × 13		Upper edge chipped. Lion standing on two goats and two sheep.	The cutting style and large eyes of the goats and sheep appear to be genuinely Early Dynastic, but the cutting of the lion above them, especially its forelegs, is suspicious.

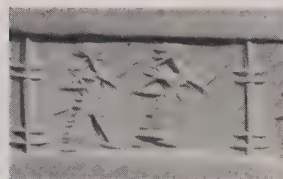




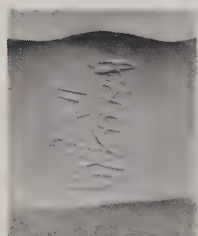
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687



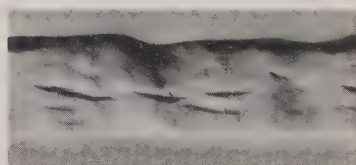
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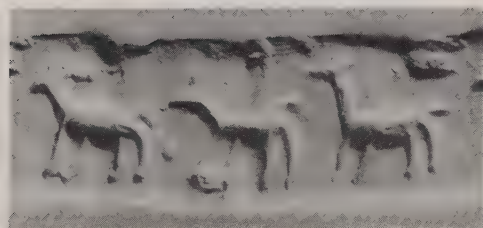
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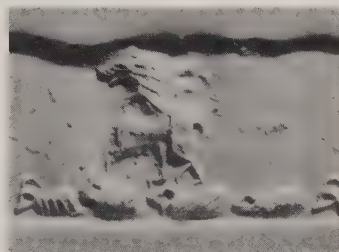
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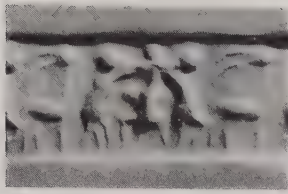


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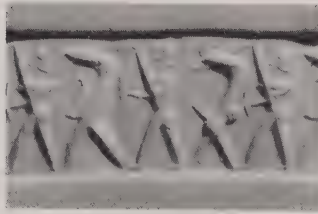


693

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
694	serpentine	16 × 8		Animal frieze, from left to right: antelope, two rampant animals with third animal between them.	The animal frieze with rampant animals was characteristic of Early Dynastic glyptic art, although an animal in the central position is not found, nor is an animal standing to the side which is in the same scale as the rampant animals.
695	serpentine	28 × 10		Two heros in combat, one with a lion, the other with an antelope.	The cutting style of this seal, including the use of the drill, is very unusual for the Akkadian seals which represent similar subjects.
696	chert	32 × 18		Very straight perforation hole. A seated figure holding a cup receives a worshiper also holding a cup. Behind the worshiper is a female figure standing before a head standard with two heads supported by an animal. In the field: laden table, two heads, vessel, crouching "mongoose," ball staff, bird. In the sky: star and crescent, bird. Terminal: imitation inscription.	This seal may be genuine, but recut. The detail on the faces of the figures and the cutting of the animal support of the head standard are, however, unusual. The laden table and the linear details above the female figure's head are secondary additions.
697	serpentine	26 × 14		Very coarse, irregular ends. Two figures, the larger one with an arm raised, stand before two schematic bearded human(?) figures which have raised arms(?). In the field: structure(?) between the two schematic figures. Oblique lines along the lower border.	This seal shows definite signs of recutting. (My thanks to C. Qualls for suggesting this to me.) The original style of the seal, just visible on the third figure from the left, may have been Syrian from the early second millennium.
698	hematite	17 × 7		A female figure in an Egyptian wig faces a male figure in a kilt who holds an ankh and a <i>w3s</i> scepter. A female attendant stands behind this figure. In the field: djed pillar, vessel(?). In the sky: ankh, crescent. Terminal: two opposing male figures, crescent, human head(?). Spiral motif above and below secondary scene.	See seals 514–523 for the type of Syrian seal this piece may be trying to emulate. The very crude cutting and the clumsy terminal suggest a modern origin.
699	carnelian	13 × 6		Tree between bird and reversed quadruped. Third animal perched on top of a tree. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	The resemblance to the Syro-Mitannian style here is fairly close, although the cutting of the bird and the position of the perched animal would not normally be found on seals of this style.



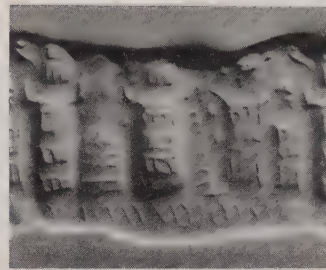
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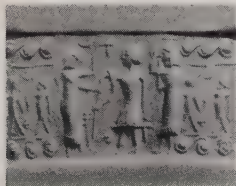
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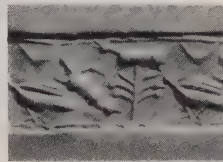
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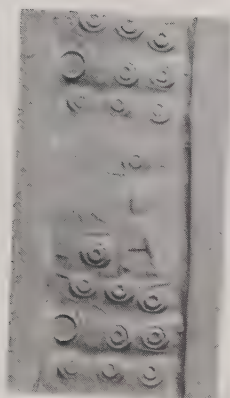
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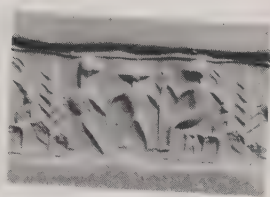
699

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
700	marble	18 × 10		Irregular left edge. Series of random circles and a schematic figure. Linear markings.	Cf. Ménant, <i>de Clercq</i> 293 for the type of Syro-Mitannian seal this piece may be trying to emulate. The use of the tubular drill for the head of the figure is suspicious, however. Alternatively, this could be an ancient trial piece.
701	serpentine	16 × 8		A seated pigtailed figure receives two figures, one being led by the hand. In the field: tree. Terminal: tree. Lb.	The standing figures of this seal might approach certain Levantine seals (e.g., Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 980), although the cutting of the seated figure is suspicious.
702	hematite	20 × 11		Two figures with raised arms stand before a tree.	As with no. 701, the subject of this seal is Levantine (e.g., Tunca, <i>Adana</i> , pl. VI, 52 and 54), although the long plaits of the figures and the cutting style are suspicious.
703	tuff	19 × 9		Three animal-headed figures with their arms raised approach a structure. In the field: unintelligible lines and an animal at a right angle.	The style of this seal is very crude and cannot be paralleled, nor can the structure which the animal approaches.
704	marble	27 × 10		Angular sides. Field full of symbols: fish, decked table, stool, rhomb, star, crescent, oval shape.	The symbols of this seal are found in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian repertoire, but the crude cutting, executed in two differing styles, is suspicious.
705	chert	16 × 9		Two semi-rampant animals with their heads turned back touch forelegs, vase between them. In the sky: star.	The style of this seal is reminiscent of certain Neo-Babylonian seals of the cut style although the animals are very crudely cut, and the material, chert, would be very unusual for this period.
706	agate	20 × 8		Upper and lower edge of cylinder chipped, angular sides. Two leaping antelopes. In the field: cluster of small linear strokes (imitation inscription?). Lb.	The linear signs in the field might be an imitation inscription. The style of this seal and its material, agate, are reminiscent of late Neo-Babylonian or early Achaemenian seals, but the cutting of the animals is unconvincing.

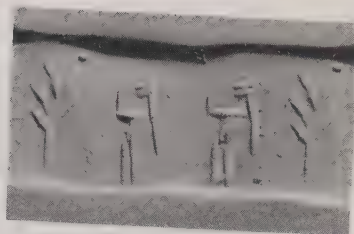




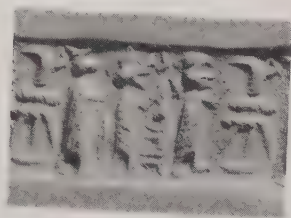
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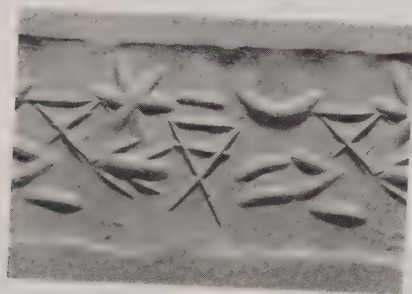
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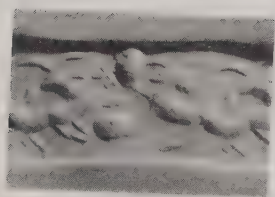
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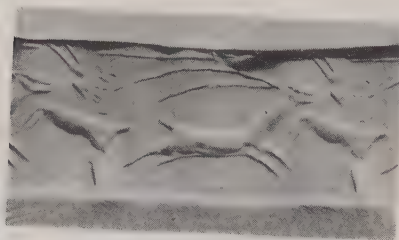
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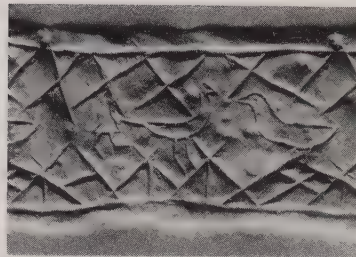


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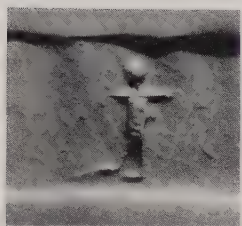
NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
707	rock crystal	28 × 12		Remains of copper tubing wedged in upper aperture. Two four-armed Bes figures, one of them wearing an crown.	Bes figures occur on Achaemenian seals (e.g., Buchanan, <i>Ashmolean</i> 675; Moortgat, <i>VARS</i> 764) but are usually more faithful to their Egyptian prototypes: they have two and not four arms and their heads, which are anthropomorphic, are not shown in profile.
708	serpentine	27 × 14		Human figure(?) and two birds in crisscross background. Lb.	
709	hematite	21 × 10		No central perforation. Schematic figure of a man with outstretched arms.	
710	serpentine	34 × 13		Figure plowing with an ox. In the field: marks of abrasion. In the sky: crescent. Lb.	The crude linear cutting style, but especially the incomplete plow, the form and stance of the "ox," and the scale of the figures on this seal would not be found on a genuine Middle Assyrian seal.
711	hematite	20 × 10		Two superimposed rows of diminutive figures facing left. Beside them are similar diminutive figures arranged in a spokelike pattern enclosed by a circle. In the sky: two birds, two leaping antelopes. On the ground line: two pairs of opposing lions. Lb.	The cutting of this seal, especially of the animals, indicates that it is a forgery. (I would like to thank E. Porada and D. Collon for their opinions on this seal.) BM 135923, 135924 and Metropolitan 1970.183.1 come from the same forger's hand.
712	chert	14 × 9		Upper and lower edge of cylinder chipped. Decorative motifs divided into two horizontal registers. Scorpions above faint horizontal line and row of dots. Striding animals below.	See Eisen, <i>Moore</i> 167, for the subject which may have served as a model for this seal.
713	hematite	12 × 8.5		Standing figure with various unintelligible shapes in the field.	
714	chalcedony	15 × 7.5		A worshiper stands on either side of a table. In the sky: crescent, star. Terminal: plant.	The cutting of this seal and that of seals 715 and 716 attempts to emulate the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cut and modeled styles. The crudity of the cutting indicates, however, that they are modern.



707



708



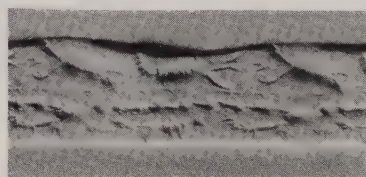
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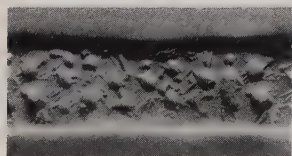
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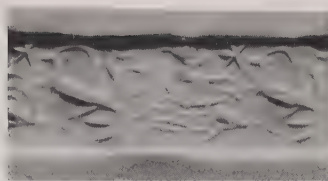
714

NO.	MATERIAL	MEAS.	DATE	DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA/REMARKS
715	hematite	13 × 7.5		A large animal stands beside a laden table. In the field: two fish, semicircular motif. Terminal: pole. Lb.	The material, hematite, of this seal is completely incongruous for late first millennium seals.
716	agate	16 × 7		An antelope stands behind a lion. In the field: bird, fish. In the sky: star, crescent.	
717	marble	30 × 16		Two standing figures lift their hands in salute to a third figure standing before them facing left. In the field: two semi-rampant griffins, bird. In the sky: two discs and crescents.	The figures on this seal were probably derived from Hellenistic seals such as Buchanan, <i>Asbmolean</i> 1045. The cutting style and proportions of this seal are, however, completely wrong.
718	tuff	31 × 8.5		Running equid. In the sky: fish.	Although the cutting of the equid (donkey?) shows a certain originality, the seal cannot be ascribed to any definite style or period.
719	serpentine	35 × 17		Dragon in combat with quadruped. In the field: plants. In the sky: two birds. Lb.	The comic crudity shown in the cutting and the representation of animals which cannot be assigned to any particular repertoire make this seal a very clumsy forgery.





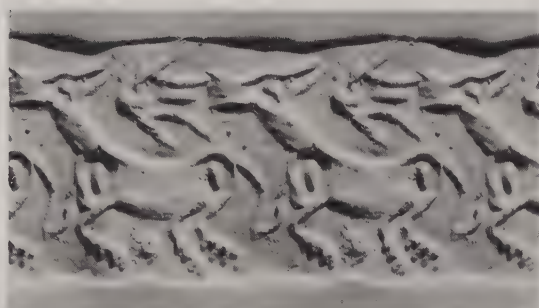
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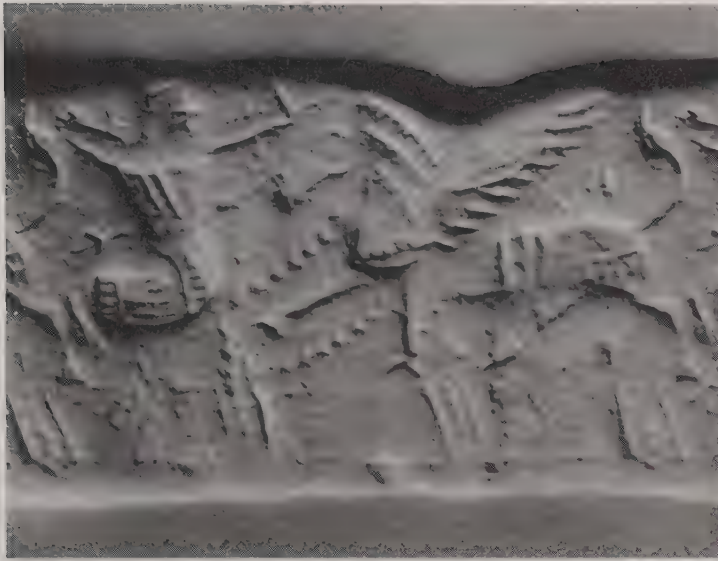
## SEAL ENLARGEMENTS\*

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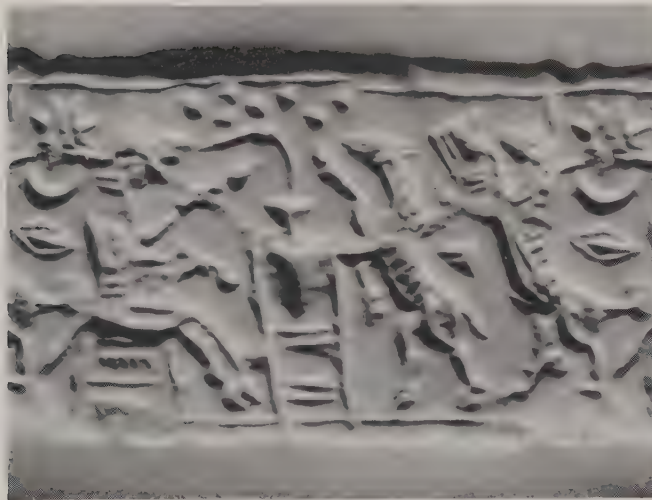


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\*2:1



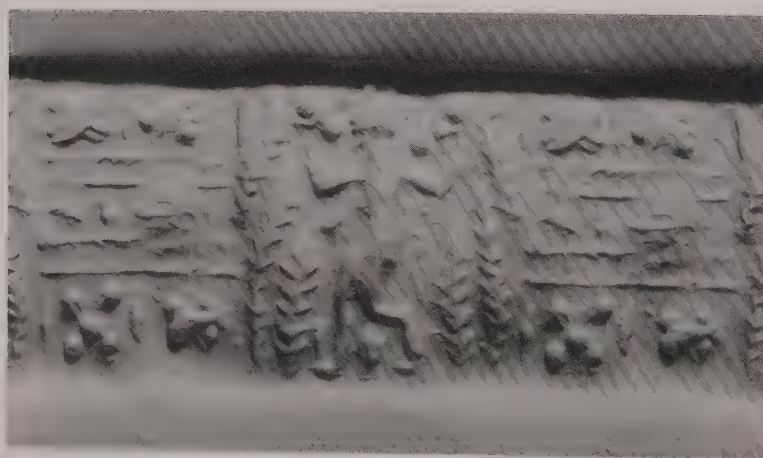
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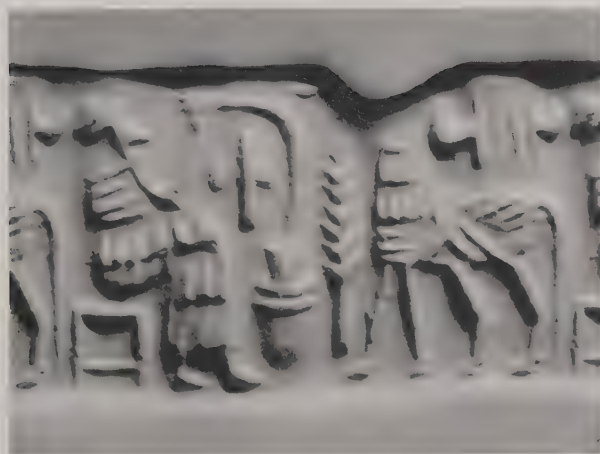


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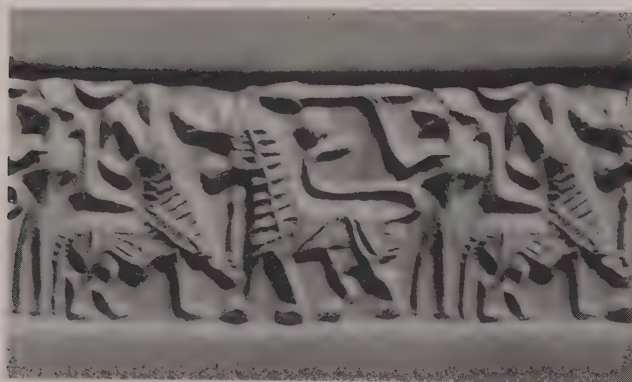
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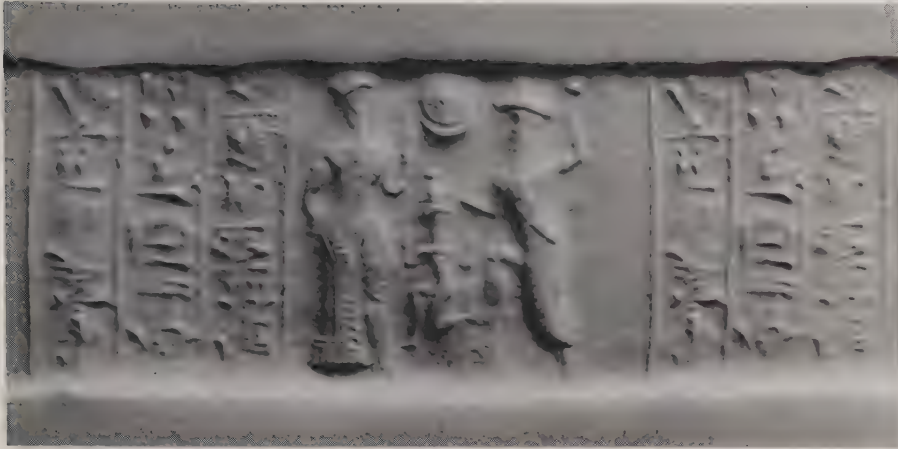
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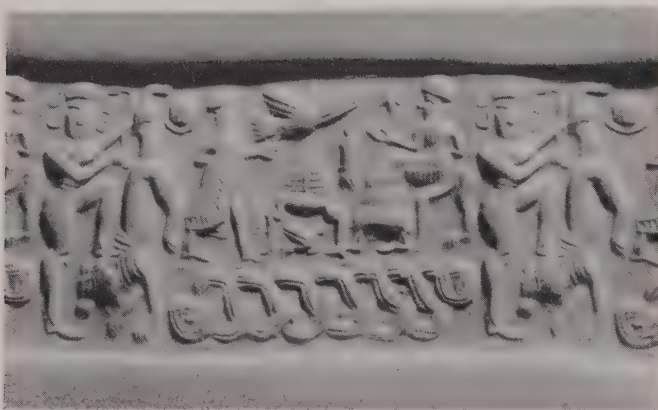
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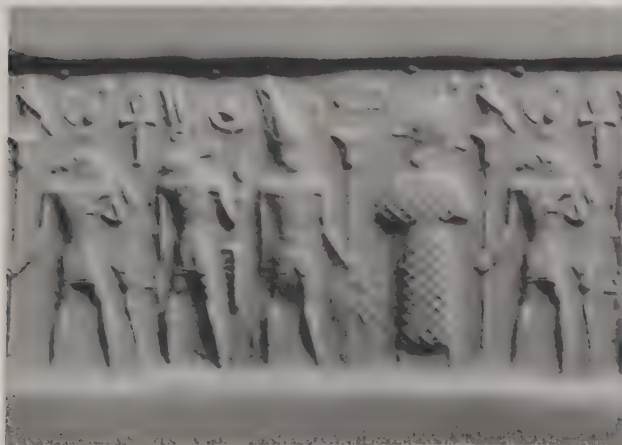




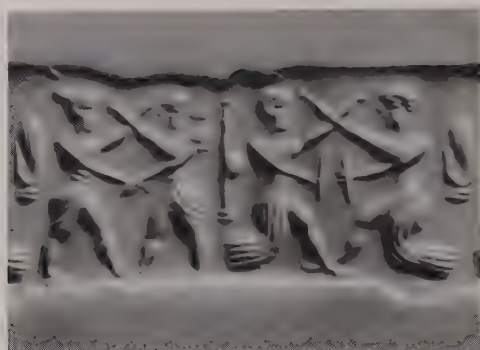
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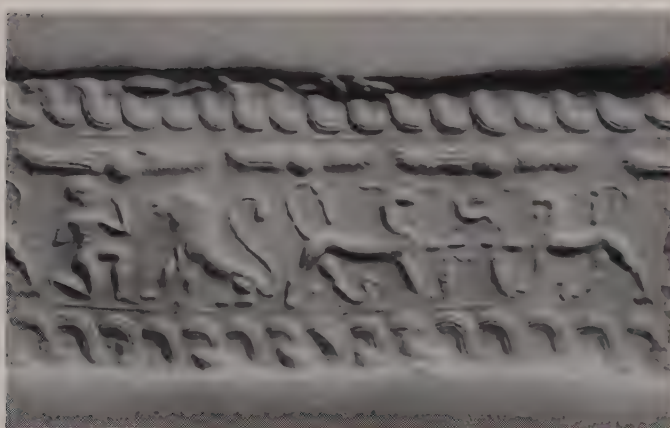
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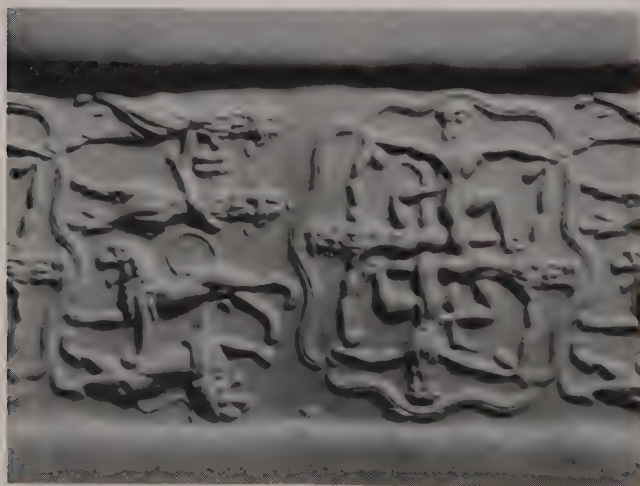
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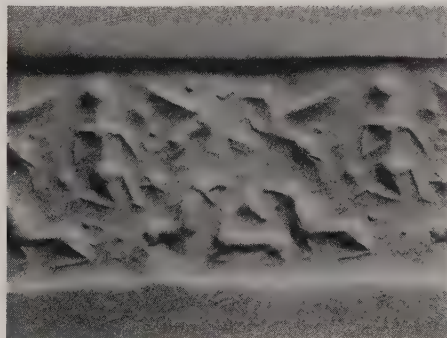
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## APPENDIXES

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# A

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## MINERALOGY AND PETROGRAPHY

by Dr. J. E. Quick and Sorena Sorenson  
The California Institute of Technology

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The majority of the pieces in this collection were identified by inspection utilizing properties such as color, density, structures (layering, fossils, etc.), luster, magnetic susceptibility, and relative hardness inferred from the sharpness of the incised emblems. This inspection was adequate to identify the mineralogy or lithology of many of the pieces. Other pieces that were not readily identified were classified into groups based on the above characteristics, and representative samples were taken to the California Institute of Technology for qualitative chemical analysis and determination of densities.

Qualitative chemical analyses were performed using a Super II ISI SEM equipped with a United Scientific Microtrace energy dispersive analyzer. The mineralogy or lithologies of the samples were determined by noting the relative intensities of the characteristic X-ray peaks for the elements present in the sample.

Most of the pieces were found to be composed of geologically common minerals or lithologies (aggregates of minerals, i.e., rocks). These were marble, limestone, chalk, various forms of cryptocrystalline silica (chalcedony, etc.), quartz, serpentinite, talc (steatite), pyrophyllite, hematite, tuff, and azurite. In addition, some pieces were found to be artificial or biogenic in origin. These were bronze, composition, and bone.

*Marbles, limestones, chalk, and travertine* are all composed primarily of  $\text{CaCO}_3$  and are characterized by a dull luster and by the usual presence of structures (layering, fossils, etc.). Color is due to impurities and is variable and not particularly diagnostic.

*Cryptocrystalline silica* and *quartz* are essentially  $\text{SiO}_2$ . These are identified by a vitreous luster, high apparent hardness, and presence of layering. Cryptocrystalline silica was subdivided into several categories on the basis of color and structures. These were: (1) carnelian, red and

structureless; (2) agate, banded brown and white; (3) chalcedony, translucent to clear and colorless; (4) sardonyx, orange layers alternating with white; and (5) chert, essentially opaque and various colors.

*Serpentinite* was positively identified by SEM analysis. Densities were measured at about 2.3–2.8, which, considering the uncertainties, are consistent with identification as serpentinite. Furthermore, many samples are magnetic, which is another property of serpentinite. It is important to understand that serpentinite is a rock or lithology composed of a collection of minerals including serpentine, a group of minerals with the formula  $(\text{Mg,Fe})_3\text{Si}_2\text{O}_5(\text{OH})_4$ , magnetite,  $\text{Fe}_3\text{O}_4$ , talc, brucite,  $\text{MgO}$ , and calcite and, therefore, may be quite variable in its properties. My understanding is that serpentinite is commonly misidentified as steatite. Properly used, the term steatite should be reserved for samples composed of only talc.

*Talc* ( $\text{Mg}_3\text{Si}_4\text{O}_{10}(\text{OH})_2$ ) was identified by its waxy feel. This material may properly be termed steatite.

*Pyrophyllite*  $\text{Al}_4[\text{Si}_8\text{O}_{20}](\text{OH})_4$  is a clay that forms extremely fine-grained aggregates. This material is very soft like talc and is, therefore, commonly misidentified as steatite.

*Hematite* ( $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ ) was identified on the basis of its high density ( $D > 4$ ) and X-ray spectrum. Furthermore, many of the pieces are weak electrical conductors, which is consistent with this identification.

*Hematite* is the principal ore of iron and is found in igneous, metamorphic, and sedimentary rocks. It has a distinctive cherry-red to reddish brown color in powdered form (streak). It is rather brittle in aggregate, and the specular variety is often steel gray in color.

*Chlorite* is the term applied to a group of platy, soft, usually greenish minerals of the general formula  $(\text{Mg, Fe}^{+2}, \text{Fe}^{+3})_6\text{Al Si}_3\text{O}_{10}(\text{OH})_8$ . Chlorite frequently occurs as massive, fine-grained aggregates which are green, brown, and black in color.

*Azure* stone is a term applied to lapis lazuli and to blue minerals such as azurite and lazulite. *Azurite*  $\text{Cu}_3(\text{OH})_2(\text{CO}_3)_2$  is a dark to violet blue mineral, an ore of copper, and a common secondary mineral in oxidized zones of copper veins.

*Tuff* is a fine-grained volcanic rock high in silica and low in magnesium and iron. It was identified by its low density and high porosity (it sticks when touched to the tongue).



*Diatomite* is a light colored, soft, silica rich sedimentary rock. It consists chiefly of opaline fossils of the diatom which is a unicellular aquatic plant related to the algae.

The term *composition* has been used for those seals for which terms such as "frit," "paste," "faience," and "Egyptian blue" have been used. It refers to manufactured material without stating explicitly the nature of the material or the process of manufacture. The samples were found to have complex X-ray spectra that had pronounced Si peaks.

B

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CHART:  
CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION  
OF MINERALS

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[illegible]

# C

## SEAL INSCRIPTIONS

In Akkadian unless otherwise stated

79	Unread	
98	<i>i-di-/ki/-</i> <i>ḫu-nu-ni-iš</i> DUMU <i>e-x-x-ad</i>	Idinunish, son of E . . . ad
99	Too faint to read	
101	<sup>d</sup> UTU	(the god) Shamash
102	<sup>d</sup> UTU	(the god) Shamash
103	<i>pa-a-su</i> DUMU <i>il-dalil-ba-ni</i>	Pāsu, son of Il-dalil-bani
104	<i>x-am-x-a-x</i> ÈRI <sup>d</sup> x	x, slave of (deity) x
107	<sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>d</sup> a-a	(the god) Shamash (the goddess) Aya
109	<i>il-ku-ru-ub</i> DUMU <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU.ILLAT	Il-kurub, son of Sin-illat
111	<sup>d</sup> UTU <sup>d</sup> a-a	(the god) Shamash, (the goddess) Aya
119	<i>ru-ba-tum</i> GÉME <sup>d</sup> UTU <i>ù<sup>d</sup> a-a</i>	Rubatum, slave-girl of Shamash and of Aya
120	Sumerian inscription: <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR DUMU.AN.NA GÚ? GAL.AN.KI.A	Ishkur, son of heaven, water-controller of heaven and earth



121	<sup>d</sup> UTU	(the god) Shamash
124	<sup>d</sup> MAR.TU DUMU.AN.NA	(the god) Amurru, son of heaven
126	<i>ku-ru-um</i> DUMU <i>ab-</i> <i>ni</i> - <sup>d</sup> EN.ZU ÈRI <sup>d</sup> MAR.TU	Kurum, son of Abni-Sin, servant of Amurru
127	<i>a-bu-um-wa-qar</i> DUMU <i>ya-ši-ih-il</i> ÈRI <sup>d</sup> NIN.SUN	Abum-waqar, son of Yasih-il, servant of Ninsun
134	The inscription consists of ten lines of poorly engraved signs. In line 2 the sign ME is repeated at least five times, suggesting this is not a true inscription but a talisman.	
135	Inscription unread.	
236	Inscription in Aramaic letters engraved in positive on the seal: <i>btm l'mr</i>	
442	<i>x-zi-ib-ta-x(x)</i> DUMU <i>x-(x)-ra-</i> <i>a-[an?]</i> ÍR <i>ap-li-ḫa-</i> <i>an-[da/du]</i>	Seal of El-amar. X, son of X, servant of Aplihanda

*Comment:* Note that the spelling of the name Aplahanda with *li* not *la* is the same as that of the Acemhöyük seal and different from the Matrunna seal. This may be explained either as a stone cutter's variant or as an indication that there were two different kings named Aplahanda whose names were more or less purposefully differentiated. There is no doubt that Aplihanda was a king from his place in the third line of the inscription following ÍR, but there is no way of verifying whether he is the king of Carchemish known from the Mari letters.

—S. D.

586	<sup>d</sup> IŠKUR.MU- <i>ú-ṣur</i>	Adad-šum-ušur
657	Inscription in Hittite hieroglyphs: <i>ta-ka-na-ni (?)</i>	Takanani (?)

# D

## CONCORDANCE

"Old number" refers to the numbers by which the seals were identified when they arrived in America.

Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
1	157	25	1170	49	208
2	1182	26	334	50	316
3	370	27	371	51	336
4	314	28	388	52	158
5	160	29	1173	53	152
6	374	30	375	54	169
7	547	31	356	55	170
8	351	32	389	56	365
9	163	33	357	57	178
10	354	34	315	58	304
11	372	35	346	59	175
12	155	36	1175	60	373
13	366	37	235	61	352
14	180	38	630	62	156
15	496	39	361	63	186
16	332	40	1185	64	307
17	363	41	324	65	1611
18	369	42	174	66	25
19	353	43	358	67	339
20	154	44	1223	68	451
21	359	45	1177	69	347
22	358	46	317	70	440
23	364	47	1180	71	299
24	1179	48	544	72	485

Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
73	313	117	267	161	422
74	322	118	268	162	327
75	1200	119	251	163	517
76	306	120	240	164	610
77	301	121	246	165	645
78	309	122	254	166	221
79	302	123	244	167	516
80	1203	124	275	168	515
81	12	125	498	169	660
82	439	126	260	170	609
83	305	127	215	171	331
84	1199	128	325	172	520
85	497	129	532	173	1229
86	443	130	534	174	204
87	495	131	597	175	231
88	149	132	507	176	468
89	303	133	462	177	407
90	245	134	402	178	619
91	308	135	458	179	397
92	255	136	211	180	239
93	487	137	405	181	414
94	345	138	551	182	1230
95	273	139	270	183	404
96	438	140	663	184	417
97	452	141	1222	185	401
98	335	142	649	186	15
99	442	143	154 bis	187	219
100	469	144	400	188	416
101	265	145	415	189	1227
102	249	146	419	190	585
103	269	147	644	191	425
104	290	148	606	192	589
105	461	149	263	193	434
106	224	150	642	194	608
107	1197	151	1226	195	406
108	276	152	637	196	220
109	288	153	216	197	433
110	264	154	399	198	410
111	272	155	225	199	395
112	291	156	541	200	646
113	242	157	614	201	582
114	274	158	595	202	195
115	292	159	222	203	408
116	297	160	226	204	421

Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
205	620	249	576	293	23
206	424	250	573	294	559
207	423	251	230	295	232
208	229	252	413	296	494
209	594	253	572	297	448
210	398	254	552	298	1188
211	652	255	575	299	171
212	426	256	Y	300	344
213	625	257	200	301	337
214	636	258	412	302	355
215	588	259	553	303	1192
216	640	260	566	304	189
217	432	261	623	305	320
218	199	262	570	306	367
219	214	263	228	307	672
220	638	264	577	308	164
221	396	265	411	309	311
222	647	266	628	310	333
223	587	267	437	311	376
224	429	268	137 (b)	312	340
225	234	269	409	313	343
226	420	270	404	314	1171
227	227	271	201	315	1183
228	165	272	403	316	150
229	624	273	205	317	382
230	634	274	197	318	637
231	252	275	210	319	168
232	605	276	203	320	1195
233	639	277	569	321	1190
234	305	278	578	322	159
235	653	279	206	323	166
236	253	280	563	324	1184
237	248	281	218	325	162
238	567	282	656	326	26
239	558	283	561	327	181
240	627	284	277	328	167
241	650	285	22	329	441
242	581	286	427	330	350
243	238	287	560	331	1196
244	658	288	564	332	183
245	622	289	571	333	165
246	236	290	233	334	1193
247	613	291	217	335	1198
248	24	292	579	336	326



Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
337	185	381	241	425	135
338	368	382	383	426	1203
339	176	383	392	427	492
340	387	384	392	428	501
341	173	385	390	429	40
342	184	386	464	430	13
343	151	387	503	431	300
344	319	388	1202	432	81
345	182	389	1976	433	148
346	483	390	384	434	100
347	500	391	190	435	93
348	489	392	381	436	58
349	626	393	378	437	44
350	161	394	386	438	916
351	360	395	328	439	39
352	187	396	394	440	32
353	445	397	379	441	108
354	447	398	490	442	76
355	493	399	289	443	641
356	348	400	385	444	86
357	478	401	1206	445	74
358	505	402	377	446	52
359	310	403	296	447	90
360	213	404	243	448	57
361	318	405	294	449	1220
362	380	406	330	450	116
363	449	407	456	451	96
364	457	408	473	452	98
365	474	409	293	453	92
366	476	410	480	454	61
367	3000	411	5046	455	16
368	338	412	342	456	47
369	393	413	482	457	48
370	502	414	250	458	4
371	1205	415	20	459	1210
372	194	416	6	460	142
373	459	417	191	461	29
374	209	418	10	462	143
375	468	419	9	463	77
376	321	420	261	464	128
377	471	421	103	465	141
378	179	422	7	466	1218
379	504	423	256	467	79
380	465	424	266	468	11

Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
469	122	513	84	557	1209
470	42	514	14	558	453
471	37	515	138	559	446
472	130	516	139	560	188
473	107	517	99	561	1216
474	64	518	124	562	137
475	115	519	119	563	38
476	91	520	41	564	50
477	72	521	105	565	117
478	87	522	46	566	53
479	28	523	66	567	127
480	131	524	94	568	1207
481	43	525	49	569	106
482	36	526	1208	570	511
483	109	527	134	571	514
484	120	528	69	572	510
485	55	529	30	573	621
486	62	530	104	574	611
487	56	531	118	575	617
488	45	532	80	576	616
489	1203	533	88	577	513
490	59	534	127	578	615
491	113	535	1214	579	518
492	65	536	67	580	430
493	1215	537	1214b	581	1225
494	655	538	1211	582	512
495	54	539	3	583	509
496	78	540	68	584	618
497	140	541	85	585	2
498	1112	542	1213	586	531
499	136	543	123	587	508
500	1217	544	51	588	147
501	133	545	71	589	601
502	132	546	17	590	560
503	60	547	110	591	556
504	101	548	144	592	114
505	82	549	89	593	529
506	129	550	121	594	539
507	111	551	18	595	548
508	73	552	19	596	466
509	97	553	34	597	70
510	126	554	33	598	537
511	102	555	112	599	633
512	271	556	145	600	526

Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.	Teissier, <i>Marcopoli</i>	Old No.
601	632	645	638	689	1224
602	540	646	635	690	481
603	602	647	635	691	1172
604	592	648	522	692	1177
605	538	649	590	693	1196
606	596	650	431	694	629
607	593	651	435	695	450
608	557	652	455	696	327
609	536	653	299	697	542
610	591	654	519	698	5
611	555	655	329	699	670
612	607	656	491	700	525
613	562	657	1221	701	631
614	565	658	484	702	657
615	600	659	472	703	467
616	528	660	470	704	662
617	546	661	486	705	668
618	654	662	349	706	212
619	665	663	479	707	428
620	661	664	436	708	1187
621	664	665	172	709	444
622	545	666	477	710	258
623	527	667	476	711	8
624	530	668	475	712	5446
625	584	669	341	713	599
626	651	670	499	714	574
627	667	671	1176	715	543
628	550	672	247	716	207
629	554	673	488	717	312
630	533	674	1186	718	648
631	669	675	463	719	362
632	603	676	1194		
633	612	677	418		
634	535	678	839		
635	598	679	1187		
636	666	680	777		
637	21	681	153		
638	524	682	259		
639	21	683	193		
640	524	684	202		
641	549	685	323		
642	75	686	223		
643	146	687	1174		
644	75	688	580		





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## NOTES

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## INTRODUCTION

1. H. J. Nissen is bolder: in "Aspects of the Development of Early Cylinder Seals," in McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, Nissen holds, rather unconvincingly, that changes in the economic system necessitated a change in seal form, i.e., from stamp to cylinder, and that there was a relation between the scene or pattern on the seals and their function (pp. 15, 19).
2. E. Porada, "Of Professional Seal Cutters and Nonprofessionally Made Seals," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, p. 7 and nn. 1-3. For a summary of the development of the first glyphic styles see E. Porada, "Sumerian Art in Miniature," *Bib. Mes.* 4, ed. D. Schmandt-Besserat (Malibu, 1976): 111.
3. Porada, "Sumerian Art," p. 111.
4. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, pp. 8-9.
5. J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 75-88.
6. P. Steinkeller, "Seal Practice in the Ur III Period," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, p. 48.
7. J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, p. 84 n. 45.
8. J. A. Franke, "Presentation Seals of the Ur III/Isin Larsa Period," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 61-66.
9. W. W. Hallo, "Seals Lost and Found," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 55-60.
10. P. R. S. Moorey, "The Late Prehistoric Administrative Building at Jamdat Nasr," *Iraq* 38 (1976): 103-104, pl. XVc; p. 103, fig. 4; for the Jamdat Nasr sealings, see also Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 9: 8. For the Ur sealings see Legrain, *UE* 3, pls. 21-24; Moorey, *Iraq* 38: 103.
11. Moorey, "Jamdat Nasr," *Iraq* 38: 104, and T. Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," *ZA* 52 (1957): 109 and n. 35.
12. A. Millard, "Konigssiegel" in *RLA* 5: 135-136.
13. D. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 11: 12, the seal of Abban; 189, p. 99, the seal of Idrimi; 220: 121-122, the seal of Niqmepa; also pp. 169-171. For Ugarit, C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 3: 66-77, the seal of Niqmadu; p. 35, fig. 46, for the dynastic seal of Amurru; and p. 69 for a definition of dynastic seals.

14. D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 21. See also E. Porada "Appendix A, The Cylinder Seal," in Patricia Maynor Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre* (London, 1978), p. 79 n. 8.
15. B. L. Goff, "The Role of Amulets in Mesopotamian Ritual Texts," *JWCI* 19 (1956): 31–33, esp. 32. See also E. D. van Buren, "Seals of the Gods," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 10 (Rome, 1934): 167–173.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 172–173.
17. *CAD Z*, p. 10, under *zadimmu*.
18. D. Loding, "Lapidaries of the Ur III Period," *Expedition* 23, no. 4 (1981): 6–14, esp. 9–12.
19. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pp. 177–178.
20. E. Porada, "Of Professional Seal Cutters," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, p. 7 and n. 8; W. G. Lambert, "The Training of the Seal Cutter," *RA* 73 (1979): 89.
21. D. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 177.
22. R. L. Zettler, "The Sargonic Royal Seal: A Consideration of Sealing in Mesopotamia," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 33–39, esp. 34.
23. E. Porada, "Gesellschaftsklassen im Werken altorientalischer Kunst" in *Gesellschaftsklassen im Alten Zweistromsland und in den Angrenzenden Gebieten*, ed. D. O. Edzard. *Compte rendu de la huitième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, NF 75 (1972): 149–151.
24. M. Piperno, "Micro-Drilling at Shahr-i Sokhta: The Making and Use of Lithic Drill Heads," *SAA* (1973): 119–131.
25. Frankfort, *CS*, p. 5; *idem*, *OIC* 16 (1933): 47, fig. 30.
26. P. E. Newberry, *PSBA* 27 (1905): 286–287.
27. C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, and A. R. Hall, eds., *History of Technology* 1 (London, 1954): 189, fig. 112; H. Hodges, *Technology in the Ancient World* (London, 1970), p. 40, fig. 39, and pp. 39–41.
28. L. Gorelick and A. J. Gwinnett, "Ancient Seals and Modern Science," *Expedition* 20, no. 2 (1978): 39; *idem*, "The Origin and Development of the Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seal," *Expedition* 23, no. 4 (1981): 25–26.
29. Gorelick and Gwinnett, "Ancient Lapidary," *Expedition* 22, no. 1 (1979): 19–23.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 20, and *idem*, "Ancient Seals and Modern Science," *Expedition* 20, no. 2 (1978): 42–43.
31. *Idem*, "Ancient Lapidary," *Expedition* 22, pp. 24–27, figs. 21A, B; p. 22.
32. Gorelick and Gwinnett, "Beadmaking in Iran in the Early Bronze Age," *Expedition* 24, no. 1 (1981): 23.
33. Some of these pieces are reproduced in Gorelick and Gwinnett, *Expedition* 23, no. 4 (1981): 27, fig. 12. I have been able to examine only the two pieces in the British Museum. BM 16927A (36mm x 43mm) shows three figures very lightly and rather carelessly sketched; BM 16927B (60mm x 27mm) shows one carefully cut figure. U. 6607 and U. 16927G are published in L. Woolley and M. Mallowan, *Ur Excavations* 7: *The Old Babylonian Period*, pl. 62, under "Gem Engravers' Trial Pieces" and on pp. 246–247.
34. Gorelick and Gwinnett, "Ancient Lapidary," *Expedition* 22: 29–30.
35. A. Parrot, "Les Fouilles de Mari," *Syria* 39 (1962), pl. XI, 1, 2; pl. XII, 3.
36. K. R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Western Asiatic Jewellery* (London, 1971), p. 165.
37. I. J. Gelb, "Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 107–126.
38. W. G. Lambert, "An Old Babylonian Letter and Two Amulets," *Iraq* 38 (1976): 60–61.
39. O. R. Gurney, "A Tablet of Incantation Against Slander," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 221–223.
40. Goff, "Amulets," *JWCI* 19: 24–27.



41. Ibid., p. 23.
42. O. R. Gurney, "Incantation Against Slander," *Iraq* 22: 223, line 4; von Soden, *AHW*, p. 314 under *ḫaltu*; *CAD H*, p. 49 under *ḫalpu*.
43. Von Soden, *AHW*, p. 1258 under *šubu*.
44. Ibid., p. 1123 under *šadanu*.
45. Goff, "Amulets," *JWCI* 19: 27, for the medical text; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, NS 46, part 3 (New Haven, 1956), p. 276, lines 12–16.
46. *CAD D*, pp. 200–201, under *dusū A*.
47. Cf. the medical text: B. L. Goff, "Amulets," *JWCI* 19: 27, line 14, and the omen text: Oppenheim, *Dreams*, p. 276, line 16.
48. Oppenheim, *Dreams*, p. 276, lines 17, 24–29, 32, 33.
49. Ibid., pp. 276–277.
50. Written communication by E. Porada. See also E. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 5. A similar view is held by E. Cassin, "Le sceau: Un fait de civilisation dans la mésopotamie ancienne," *Annales* 4 (1960): 746–748. My thanks to P. R. S. Moorey for this reference.
51. P. Amiet in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 40, assumes "types" of gods rather than "single divine personalities."
52. D. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 178, has suggested "pattern books."
53. E. Porada, "Of Professional Seal Cutters," in Gibson and Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 8–11.
54. Goff, "Amulets," *JWCI* 19: 29–30.
55. J. Nougayrol, "Documents de Ḫabur: Le sceau de Daguna," *Syria* 37 (1960): 209–214, esp. 212–213.
56. D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq* 20 (1958): 15–16, esp. 16.
57. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 93, 95–141.
58. P. Amiet in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pp. 35–47, esp. 43–47.
59. Note E. Porada's contrary view in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 9.
60. Paraphrased and summarized from D. C. Barrett, S.J., "What Is a Minor Work of Art" to appear in the *JAAC*. I am very grateful to the author for allowing me to quote from his manuscript.

## I: THE LATE URUK AND JAMDAT NASR PERIODS (MESOPOTAMIA AND ELAM)

1. M. A. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, pp. 36–40. For the chronology of this period, see E. Strommenger, "The Chronological Divisions of the Archaic Levels of Uruk-Eanna VI to III/II, Past and Present," *AJA* 84 (1980): 479–487.
2. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, p. 49; Amiet, *GS*, pp. 68–70.
3. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, p. 9; Strommenger, "Kleinfunde," *UVB* 18 (Berlin, 1962): 18–19 and Taf. 15a (W 19829).
4. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, pp. 8–9.
5. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 38; see also Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, pp. 23–24, 39, paragraph d.
6. E. Topperwein, "Kleinfunde," *MDOG* 105 (1973): 31, Abb. 9a–b.
7. Amiet, *GS*, pp. 110–111 and e.g., nos. 719–725.
8. P. Delougaz and H. Kantor, "New Evidence for the Prehistoric and Protoliterate Culture Development of Khuzestan," *The Memorial Volume, Vth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology* 1 (Teheran, 1972), pp. 27–33 and pl. Xa.

9. P. Amiet places these in a context not far removed from the time of Uruk IV: *GS*, p. 110 and nos. 771-794; cf. Frankfort, *SCS*, e.g., 2, 4-6, 14, 18, 19, from Khafajah, Sin Temple Level II; Amiet, *GMA*, p. 34.
10. H. Kantor, "Further Evidence for Early Mesopotamian Relations with Egypt," *JNES* 11 (1952): 243, fig. 1a, 1b, 1d; R. M. Boehmer, "Das Rollsiegel im prädynastischen Ägypten," *AA* (1974): 497, Abb. 1 and 2; pp. 508, 512, 513 ff.
11. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 14. At Susa these occur in a slightly later context than in Mesopotamia.
12. Amiet, *GS*, e.g., 997, 1000.
13. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 5; Goff, *Symbols*, p. 97 and n. 44.
14. E.g., Amiet, *GS*, 640-646; Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.117, pl. 69.
15. Frankfort, *SCS*, p. 16.
16. R. McC. Adams and H. J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside* (Chicago, 1972), pp. 21-22; 85-91.
17. The graver was used very early at Uruk (see nn. 3 and 5 above): a horned animal in this cut style appears on a seal, Speleers, *Brussels Supplement*, p. 274, no. 779 with other motifs which are among the earliest, such as the rhomb and the fish. See references to seals in n. 13 above.
18. Amiet, *GS*, pp. 130-133 and 142-145, especially p. 144.
19. L. Gorelick and A. J. Gwinnett, "Ancient Lapidary," *Expedition* 22, no. 1 (1979): 24-27, figs. 21A, B; 22; idem, "The Origin and Development of the Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seal," *Expedition* 23, no. 4 (1981): 28-29.
20. Frankfort, *SCS*, e.g., 30, 31, 41, 42.
21. Amiet, *GS*, pp. 110-111 and e.g., nos. 795-888.
22. Frankfort, *SCS*, pp. 17-18; Mallowan, "Nineveh," *AAA* 20 (1933), pl. LXV, e.g., 28-30; pl. LXVI, 18, 25.
23. Amiet, *GS*, pp. 142-145 and e.g., nos. 1086-1214.
24. Moorey, *Kish*, p. 156.
25. Frankfort, *SCS*, p. 18; see also E. Porada, review of *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region*, by Henri Frankfort, *JNES* 17 (1958): 64-65.
26. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 40; L. Le Breton, "The Early Period at Susa: Mesopotamian Relations," *Iraq* 19 (1957): 108.
27. Frankfort, *SCS*, 3, from Khafajah Sin Temple II, and 83-142, from Khafajah Sin Temple IV.
28. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 40, from Susa; C. Lamberg-Karlovsky and M. Tosi, "Shahr-i Sokhta and Tepe Yahya, Tracks on the Earliest History of the Iranian Plateau," *East and West* (1973), figs. 16-17; Amiet, *GMA*, p. 41.
29. Tobler, *Tepe Gawra* 2, pl. CXXII, pottery fig. 182 (Level 13).
30. J. N. Postgate, "Excavations at Salabikh 1976," *Iraq* 39 (1977): 297-298, pl. XXXIV d; idem, "Excavations at Abu Salabikh 1978-9," *Iraq* 42 (1980): 91 and Ab.S. 1571, pl. XIe. See also Amiet, *GS*, p. 173 and no. 1370; Mallowan, "Nineveh," *AAA* 20, and n. 41 in chapter 2 here.
31. Although these linear designs appear clearly as debased patterns, see e.g., Frankfort, *SCS*, 159, 309. Note number 217 however.

## II: THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

1. R. D. Biggs, "The Abū Salābīkh Tablets: A Preliminary Survey," *JCS* 20 (1966): 73-88.
2. E. Porada, D. Hansen, J. Beckerath, "Chronologies in Old World Archaeology," *AJA* 72 (1968): 303-304.
3. D. Hansen, "Some Early Dynastic I Sealings from Nippur" in *Studies Presented to G. M. A. Hanfmann*, Fogg Art Museum-Harvard University Mono-

- graphs in *Art and Archaeology II*, D. G. Mitten et al., eds. (Mainz, 1971), p. 50 ff.
4. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 39–43. A small number of seals in this style have also been found farther south: Watelin, *Kish* 4, pl. 15, V. 663 and V. 651; E. Heinrich, *Fara*, Taf. 62a; Moortgat, *VARS*, 47, from Uruk; Legrain, *UE* 10, 82 ("brought in").
  5. U. Moortgat-Correns, "Bemerkungen zur Glyptik des Diyala-Gebietes," *OLZ* 54 (1959), cols. 341–354. See also Frankfort, *SCS*, pp. 17–18.
  6. E. Porada, Introduction to *Ancient Art in Seals*, ed. E. Porada (Princeton, 1980), p. 7; and E. Porada, D. P. Hansen, and J. R. F. von Beckerath, "Chronologies in Old World Archaeology: Summary of Contributions," *AJA* 72 (1968): 303.
  7. U. Moortgat-Correns, "Bemerkungen," *OLZ* 54, cols. 348–349.
  8. D. Hansen, "ED I Sealings" in *Studies Hanfmann*, p. 53.
  9. Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, p. 23 and nos. 97–99.
  10. D. Hansen, "ED I Sealings" in *Studies Hanfmann*, pp. 52–54, pls. 19h, 21e, f.
  11. H. Martin, "The Tablets of Shuruppak" in *Le temple et le culte*, *Compte rendu de la XXème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Leiden, 1975), p. 174.
  12. Heinrich, *Kleinfunde*, Taf. 16a, b.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
  14. E. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 7.
  15. Legrain, *UE* 3, e.g., pls. 21–26.
  16. P. R. S. Moorey, "Unpublished Early Dynastic Sealings from Ur," *Iraq* 41 (1979): 117–119.
  17. E.g., the seals from the Royal Tombs, cited in n. 39 below.
  18. Frankfort, *SCS*, pp. 5, 8–9, 24–28.
  19. R. M. Boehmer, "Glyptik von der frühsumerischen bis zum Beginn der altbabylonischen Zeit," *PKG* 14: 218; P. R. S. Moorey, "ED Sealings from Ur," *Iraq* 41: 118.
  20. H. Martin, "Shuruppak," p. 181 and pl. 39c and d. Here the later ED style is sometimes found on ED IIIA seals; *ibid.*, p. 181.
  21. Frankfort, *SCS*, e.g., 464, 883.
  22. Boehmer, "Glyptik zum altbab. Zeit," *PKG* 14: 218; P. R. S. Moorey, *Kish*, pp. 56, 66, 99, 115.
  23. J. N. Postgate, "Salabikh 1976," *Iraq* 39 (1977): 297 and pl. 34e.
  24. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 55 and e.g., 956.
  25. R. M. Boehmer, "Zur Glyptik zwischen Mesilim und Akkad-Zeit," *ZA* 59 (1969): 261–294, proposed assembling ED III seals into three major regional groups: a Diyala group, a Fara group, and a southern group centered at Ur.
  26. Moorey, *Kish*, p. 66.
  27. Frankfort, *SCS*, pp. 5, 30 and nos. 320, 332, 502.
  28. H. Martin, "Shuruppak," p. 181.
  29. Heinrich, *Fara*, Taf. 42c, and H. Martin, "Shuruppak," p. 181.
  30. J. N. Postgate and P. R. S. Moorey, "Excavations at Abu Salabikh 1975," *Iraq* 38 (1976): 165.
  31. Postgate, "Salabikh 1976," *Iraq* 39: 297; *idem*, "Salabikh 1978–1979," *Iraq* 42 (1980): 91.
  32. D. Hansen, "Al-Hiba 1970–71: A Preliminary Report," *Artibus Asiae* 35 (1973): 69–70.
  33. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
  34. *Ibid.*
  35. E. Porada, review of *Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ash-*

- molean Museum*, by B. Buchanan, *Bi. Or.* 27 (1970): 9. For the seals from the Royal Tombs, see Woolley, *UE* 2, e.g., pl. 196: 55; pl. 197: 56–63.
36. Frankfort, *SCS*, p. 28.
  37. Moorey, *Kish*, p. 66; Langdon, *Kish* I, pl. XXII 1 bottom; Watelin, *Kish* 4, pl. XL bottom.
  38. J. N. Postgate, "Abu Salābīkh 1978–1979," *Iraq* 42: 91.
  39. Legrain, *UE* 3, 514, 516, 518; Woolley, *UE* 2, pl. 207, no. 216.
  40. E.g., A. de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques*, Fascicule I (Paris, 1908), pl. V, DP 11; pl. VI, DP 12; pl. VIII, DP 13; idem, *RA* 4 (1907): 105–125.
  41. For geometric seals in ED contexts see: Postgate, "Salabikh 1976," *Iraq* 39: 297, pl. XXXIVd, from an ED II context; idem, "Salabikh 1978–79," *Iraq* 42: 91, pl. XIe, from an ED III context; Frankfort, *SCS*, 327, 349, 350, from ED III contexts. For general Early Dynastic contexts, see Moorey, "ED Sealings from Ur," *Iraq* 41, fig. 2, no. 574 and pp. 109–110, from Ur; Legrain, *UE* 3, 161, from Ur; Langdon, *Kish* 1, pl. XXII 3a; MacKay, *FMNH* 2, pl. XLI, 10 and 11; Heinrich, *Fara*, Taf. 69m; and H. Martin, "Shuruppak," pl. 39d.
  42. Woolley, *UE* 2, pl. 193: 2 (gold cylinder) and Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, p. 22.
  43. E.g., Moortgat, *VARS*, 4 for herding; for recumbent animals in rows, Amiet, *GS*, e.g., 559, 561.
  44. Legrain, *UE* 3, 304–317.
  45. E.g., D. Hansen, "Al-Hiba 1970–71," *Artibus Asiae* 35: 70.
  46. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 146; W. G. Lambert, "Near Eastern Seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham," *Iraq* 41 (1979): 4, no. 2 and pl. I.
  47. Hansen, "ED I Sealings," in *Studies Hanfmann*, p. 54, pl. 20, sealing 8N 178; Frankfort, *SCS*, 801.
  48. Amiet, *GMA*, pp. 131–132.
  49. *Ibid.*
  50. *Ibid.*, pp. 142–144.
  51. D. Hansen, "New Votive Plaques from Nippur," *JNES* 22 (1963): 148 and n. 19; p. 161 re: Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.119, pl. 70(6).
  52. Beside a building or shrine, e.g., Woolley, *UE* 2, pls. 193, no. 17 and 194, no. 27; in a boat, e.g., Frankfort, *SCS*, 545; in a military context, e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1: 118; with musicians, e.g., Woolley, *UE* 2, pls. 193, no. 21 and 194, no. 22; with deities, e.g., Frankfort, *SCS*, 221.
  53. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1: 63; Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.92, pl. 68 (1); de Genouillac, *PRAK*, pl. LXXII, 1a; Amiet, *GMA*, p. 133. For a scorpion-man see Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, S. 462, p. 57.
  54. M. Brandes, *Siegelabrollung*, Taf. 23; Amiet, *GS*, 484.

### III: THE AKKADIAN PERIOD

1. R. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 193, for a list of dated Akkadian seals.
2. In Boehmer's classification, *Entwicklung*, pp. 135–136, Akkadisch Ia and Ib correspond to our Early phase. Boehmer's Akkadisch II, a short transitional period, marks the beginning of the fully Mature phase, Boehmer's Akkadisch III. Very few dated seals belong to his Akkadisch II (*ibid.*, p. 136), however, so the necessity for this phase is questionable.
3. R. Zettler, "The Sargonid Royal Seal: a Consideration of Sealing in Mesopotamia," in McG. Gibson and R. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 33–39.
4. Cf., e.g., the seal of Naram-Sin's cook in Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.103, pl. 9 (1) with T.105, pl. 9 (3), the seal of Lugal-Ushumgal.
5. For the most recent assessment of the iconography of lions, bulls, buffalo, and other animals on Akkadian seals, see Collon, *BMCS* 2: 37–65 *passim*.



6. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, e.g., pp. 55–57, 113–114. For an analysis of the headdresses of deities in the Akkadian period, see Collon, *BMCS* 2: 27–28.
7. Boehmer's use of these features as dating criteria is inconsistent: e.g., the fringed hems of garments are said to be characteristic of Akkadisch III, but both fringed and plain garments are common at this period, and the fringed hem occurs in Akk. I (ibid., e.g., Abb. 305, 494) and Akk. II (ibid., Abb. 416, 417).
8. Ibid., pp. 7–13.
9. This is acknowledged by Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 9.
10. Ibid., pp. 80–81.
11. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 292 and p. 52; Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 111 re: Abb. 630 (M. Mallowan, "Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar," *Iraq* 9 [1947], pl. 22, no. 4).
12. Speiser, *Tepe Gawra* 1, pl. LX, 61; pl. LXI, 65.
13. Frankfort, *SCS*, p. 32 and nos. 388, 424, 635, 656, 680.
14. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 265, 266, 268, 272. See also 172, of uncertain stratigraphic origin.
15. Ibid., 293, with catalogue entry and p. 53; Frankfort, *SCS*, 925.
16. These seals are taken by Frankfort to be characteristic of the Gutí period, *SCS*, p. 33 and table 11.
17. E. Porada, "True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrews University," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6 (1968): 140–143. For the crude seals, see Legrain, *UE* 10, e.g., 225, 232. Such seals also occur at Susa, e.g., Amiet, *GS*, 1624–1628.
18. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 91–94; Frankfort, "Gods and Myths on Sargonid Seals," *Iraq* 1 (1934): 2–29.
19. P. Amiet in E. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 35–37, gives a summary of his views on the subject.
20. M. T. Barrelet, "Étude de glyptique akkadienne: L'imagination figurative et le cycle d'Ea," *Orientalia* NS 39 (1970): 213–251, especially 235, 249–250. See also E. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 10.
21. Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 9; also Moorey, *Kish*, p. 37.
22. Moortgat, *VARS*, p. 21.
23. Frankfort, *SCS*, p. 32.
24. Woolley, *UE* 2, pls. 212, 307.
25. Woolley, *UE* 2, pls. 212, 309. See R. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, pp. 42–46, for his list of features which are characteristic of Mature Akkadian combat scenes. See also Collon, *BMCS* 2: 37–65 *passim*.
26. Collon, *BMCS* 2: 24–25 re: no. 114.
27. For a discussion of inscriptions on Akkadian seals, see Collon, *BMCS* 2: 21–23.
28. R. Boehmer, "Glyptik von der frühsum. bis. altbab. Zeit," *PKG* 14: 220. See Collon, *BMCS* 2: 31–32, for headdresses belonging to human figures on Akkadian seals.
29. R. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 42.
30. Ibid., p. 86.
31. Ibid., p. 55. For the representation of small human and deitylike figures in the field on Early Akkadian seals, see, e.g., Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, Abb. 62, 70, 74.
32. E.g., Amiet, *GMA*, 1364 (Ball, *PSBA* 14 [1892]: 210, fig. 6, not available to me).
33. Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, S.471, pl. 47 (3), the seal of Ishpum, ensi of Susa under Manishrushu.
34. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 131–132.
35. P. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé* (Paris, 1976), pp. 50–52; E. Porada, "Note on the Sargonid Cylinder Seal Ur 364," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 118 ff.

36. Weber, *Siegelbilder*, 406; Moortgat, *VARS*, 145.
37. The naming of deities on these seals is not always accepted: P. Amiet in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pp. 40–41.
38. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 98–99.
39. J. J. M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon* (Baltimore, 1972), p. 149.
40. W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* (Münich, 1976), p. 1198, col. I, under *saššaru*.
41. E. D. van Buren, "Fish Offerings in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Iraq* 10 (1948), pl. XVI, 9, from the Hahn collection.
42. Roberts, *Sem. Pantheon*, p. 151.
43. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 132–137.
44. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 105; see also von der Osten, *Newell*, 22; Moortgat, *VARS*, 30, dated to the Uruk IV period. See also Le grain, *UE* 3, 344.
45. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadè*, p. 59.
46. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 128–129.
47. Boehmer, "Glyptik von der frühsum. bis altbab. Zeit," *PKG* 14: 221.
48. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, e.g., Abb. 622, 623, 644, 645, 647, 648, 658. See also J. Nougayrol, "Documents du Ḫabur," *Syria* 37 (1960): 210, fig. 2.
49. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 116–117; Amiet in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 42.
50. Amiet in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 42; idem, *L'art d'Agadè*, pp. 53–54; Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 114–117.
51. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, Abb. 20, 632, 633, 635, 635a and p. 112. Of these only 635a is an isolated procession in a single register. See also Abb. 695 for a parallel for the unusual arm position of the first figure in the procession.
52. R. Boehmer, "Die Datierung des Puzur/Kutik Inšušinak und einige sich daraus ergebende Konsequenzen," *Or. NS* 35 (1966): 345–376 and pls. 43–56. For the distinguishing characteristics of Post-Akkadian seals, see Collon, *BMCS* 2: 111.
53. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 31–32 for "Post-Akkad" and n. 16 for "Frühe Neu-sumerische Zeit;" idem, "'Guti-Siegel'" in *RLA* III: 707–708. I am grateful to C. Qualls for drawing my attention to this last reference.

#### IV: THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

1. A. Parrot, *Tello*, pp. 201–202, fig. 43; pp. 207, 253, with pls. 29 and 30. Although there are tablets dated to Ur-Baba's reign (A. Parrot, *Tello*, p. 145 re: RTC 185; p. 88, *ITT* 8041, I have found none which bear seal impressions.
2. E.g., the seal of Illushuila of Eshnunna: H. Frankfort, S. Lloyd, and T. Jacobsen, *The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers of Tell Asmar*, OIP 43 (Chicago, 1940), fig. 100A and B and pp. 202–203.
3. E.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.106, pl. 9 (7–9); Parrot, *Tello*, p. 203, fig. 43a, c, f.
4. Frankfort, *CS*, p. 146.
5. E. Porada, "True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrews University," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6 (1968): 140–142.
6. E.g., Ménant, *de Clercq* 86; Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.110, pl. 10 (1–2). For a description of the dress, jewelry, headdresses, hairstyles, furniture, and symbols of the Ur III repertoire, see Collon, *BMCS* 2: 130–133.
7. E.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.108, pl. 10 (8–10).
8. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 69, and Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 434b.
9. Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen, *Gimilsin Temple*, fig. 100A and B and pp. 202–203.
10. Cf., e.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.75, pl. 66 (15a, b) and Eisen, *Moore*, 32 with *Louvre* 1, T.108, pl. 10 (8, 10) and T.129, pl. 10 (16).

11. Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.103, pl. 9 (1a–c) and T.107, pl. 9 (11a–b).
12. E.g., *ibid.*, T.103, pl. 9 (1a).
13. Amiet, *L'art d'Agadé*, p. 98, 32; p. 99, 34 and p. 129.
14. M. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967), p. 390.
15. J. Klein, "A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), p. 16.
16. E. D. van Buren, "Homage to a Deified King," *ZA* 50 (1952): 109.

## V: THE OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

1. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 250. The chronological ranges of the individual seals here are based on the criteria established by al-Gailani Werr in "Studies," as well as her "Chronological Table of Old Babylonian Seal Impressions," *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 17 (1980): 33–84.
2. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 131.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 243.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5, and E. Porada, review of *Corpus* 1, *JCS* 4 (1950): 155–162.
5. These are the seals from the Sippar Workshops I and II: al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," pp. 246 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 247 and pl. 122 for sealings dated from Sin-muballit to Samsu-ilunna.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 247 ff. and pl. 124, 72, and 74, dated to Ammiditana, and 77 SA, dated to Ammišaduqa. See also Buchanan, *Yale*, 983–1029, for sealings dated from shortly before Samsu-iluna's twentieth year to the time of Samsuditana, and D. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals* pp. 47–49:15 for a seal which may be earliest known example of this style.
10. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 222 and pl. 135b, a sealing from Ur dated to Samsu-iluna.
11. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, p. 97 and, e.g., 551b, dated to Ammišaduqa.
12. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," pp. 250–251.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 216–217.
14. E.g., Legrain, *UE* 10, 476, 479, 501, 505.
15. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 243.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 244, and Frankfort, *SCS*, pp. 9–11, 34.
17. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 37, 41, suggests that the significance of the enthroned figure may have changed after the Neo-Sumerian period.
18. See, e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 333–337, 343; however, see also *Corpus* 1, 329, 330.
19. See below, e.g., seals 416, 417, 459, 461, 465, 467, 469.
20. J. Klein, "A Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymn," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968), p. 13, 6; M.-J. Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes* (Paris, 1967), p. 107. See also J. Franke, "Presentation Seals of the Ur III/Isin-Larsa Period," in McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., *Seals and Sealing*, pp. 61–66.
21. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," pp. 15 and 134.
22. W. Römer, "The Religion of Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Historia Religionum*, vol. I: *Religions of the Past*, p. 32.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
24. Van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 180 and n. 3.
25. Porada, review of *Corpus* 1, *JCS* 4 (1950): 158.
26. W. G. Lambert, review of *Der babylonische Gott Nergal*, by E. Weiher, *Bi. Or.*

- 30 (1973): 356. For the iconography of this deity, see E. Porada, "The Iconography of Death in Mesopotamia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.," *Mesopotamia* 8 (Copenhagen, 1980): 263–267; idem, "Nergal in the Old Babylonian Period," *Sumer* 7 (1951): 66–68.
27. Lambert, review of Weiher, *Bi. Or.* 30: 356; E. Weiher, *Der Babylonische Gott Nergal*, pp. 29 ff.
28. E. Weiher, *Nergal*, p. 26.
29. P. R. S. Moorey, "Bronze Rollers and Frames from Babylonia and Western Iran: Problems of Date and Function," *RA* 71 (1977): 139–142. My thanks to Dr. P. R. S. Moorey for this reference.
30. Frankfort, *CS*, p. 158.
31. E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* (Paris, 1949), figs. 32, 33; H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region*, OIP 60 (Chicago, 1943), pp. 11–12 and pls. 55–57.
32. Moortgat, *VARs*, pp. 37–38; E. Porada and P. Lampl, "The Seal Impressions," in M. Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammurabi* (Munksgaard, 1962), p. 105. See also W. Orthmann, ed., *PKG* 14, fig. 114, the representation of a king on a relief from Darband-i Gaur; fig. 183, the representation of a king on a relief from Sar-i Pul. The figures are bearded and wear round caps and kilts. It has also been suggested that the figure with the mace was a local deity, however: al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 41, and P. R. S. Moorey, "The Terracotta Plaques from Kish and Hursag-Kalama," *Iraq* 37 (1975): 83.
33. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 36; Porada, *Corpus* 1: 52.
34. Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XXIXb: this figure receives an offering; see p. 168.
35. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," pp. 38–39, 214.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 137 and n. 21.
42. Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, p. 221.
43. J. R. Kupper, *L'iconographie du dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la Ière dynastie babylonienne* (Paris, 1966), pp. 54–55, 81–82.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 85. He is named on a seal from the Neo-Sumerian period, and a gazelle is engraved beneath the inscription panel (Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, T.214, pl. 6[17]).
45. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 88.
48. A. Spycket, "La déesse Lama," *RA* 54 (1960): 73–84. See also D. Wiseman, "The Goddess Lama at Ur," *Iraq* 22 (1960): 166–171. Wiseman notes that this goddess's distinguishing iconographic characteristic is her raised arms, p. 169.
49. See references in nn. 36 and 37 above.
50. A. Spycket, "Lama," *RA* 54: 78.
51. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 502; Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 479.
52. G. F. Dales, "Mesopotamian and Related Female Figurines: Their Chronology, Diffusion and Cultural Functions" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1960), pp. 48–50, 239, 254 and figs. 125–133.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
54. For this goddess beside Damkina, Ea's consort, see al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," pl. 101 F; beside a god holding a ring and staff, *ibid.*, pl. 97, n. 6.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 140.



56. For this deity holding a ring, see *ibid.*, pl. 22; 56.SC; otherwise see e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 494e (with the lion scimitar).
57. Al-Gailani Werr, "Studies," p. 135.
58. E. Porada and P. Lampl, "The Seal Impressions," in M. Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers in the Sippar Region at the Time of Hammurabi*, p. 104; Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 153, 161; van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 153 and n. 6; Delaporte, *BN*, 154.
59. Von der Osten, *Newell*, 195; van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 154.
60. Van Buren, *Symbols*, pp. 154–155.
61. For the star staff held by a nondeity, see, e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 486; held by a deity in an ascending position, e.g., Moortgat, *VARs*, 413; held by another deity(?), Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 551c, dated to Ammisaduqa; held by a female(?) deity with a star on her headdress, Delaporte, *BN*, 218.
62. Porada, *Nuzi*, 613 and 648.

## VI: THE KASSITE PERIOD

1. J. A. Brinkman, *Materials and Studies for Kassite History* (Chicago, 1976): I; 11–12, and *idem*, "Foreign Relations of Babylonia from 1600 to 623 B.C.: The Documentary Evidence," *AJA* 76 (1972): 274–277, 279–281.
2. T. Beran, "Die babylonische Glyptik der Kassitenzeit," *AfO* 18 (1958): 260.
3. For seals which can be assigned to the reigns of Kassite kings, see Brinkman, *Materials*, pp. 110–111, E.2.21–24; p. 136, J.2.20–21; p. 171, N.2.3; pp. 227–228, Q.2.90–93; pp. 230–232, Q.2.106–114; p. 266, U.2.23; [p. 289, V.2.8]. See also Beran, "Bab. Glyptik," *AfO* 18: 256–274.
4. Legrain, *Culture*, 530.
5. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, pp. 96–97, 101; Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 180–181.
6. E. Porada, "Seal Impressions on the Cuneiform Tablets," *Ancient Mesopotamian Art and Selected Texts* (New York, 1976), pp. 38–42; A. Goetz, "On the Chronology of the Second Millennium," *JCS* 11 (1957): 63–65.
7. Beran, "Bab. Glyptik," *AfO* 18: 260.
8. See references in n. 3 above.
9. E. Porada, "On the Problem of Kassite Art," *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1952): 184–187.
10. M. Trokay, "Glyptique cassite tardive ou postcassite?" *Akkadica* 21 (1981): 14–32; B. Malecka, "Two Notes on Kassite Glyptic Art," *Berytus* 26 (1978): 30–35.
11. Buchanan, *Yale*, 791, dated to Hammurabi; *idem*, "On the Seal Impressions on Some Old Babylonian Tablets," *JCS* 11 (1957): 47 and n. 5, an impression dated to Ammisaduqa.
12. Porada, *Mesopotamian Art and Texts*, p. 38.
13. Malecka, "Notes on Kass. Glyptic," *Berytus* 26: 27–30.
14. H. Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux cassites* (Brussels, 1971), p. 24.
15. E.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.573, pl. 117(9), dated to Samsuditana. See also *ibid.*, A.586, pl. 118(6).
16. W. G. Lambert, review of *Les légendes des sceaux cassites*, by H. Limet, *Bi.Or.* 32 (1975): 221.

## VII: THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

1. T. Beran, "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 52 (1958): 141–215; A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 47 (1942): 50–68; *idem*, "Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* (1944): 23–44.

2. B. Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Tell al-Rimah," *Iraq* 37 (1975): 35–36; idem, "Middle Assyrian Seal Impressions from Tell al-Rimah," *Iraq* 39 (1977): 257–268.
3. H. Kantor in C. McEwan et al., *Soundings at Tell Fakbariyah*, OIP 79 (Chicago, 1958), pp. 70–81.
4. Beran, "Glyptik des 14 Jhs.," ZA 52, e.g., Abb. 1–22.
5. Ibid., the tree on Abb. 23, the animals on Abb. 29, the figures on Abb. 41, all dated to Assur-Uballit I (c. 1365–1330 B.C.).
6. H. Frankfort, *GS*, p. 88, suggested that these free designs may have been derived directly or indirectly from the west, but does not develop the idea. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 68, and idem, "On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in Some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus," *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean'* (Nicosia, 1973), p. 269, draws parallels between the rendering of a bull's head on a Middle Assyrian seal (*Corpus* 1, 595) and contemporary Aegean art. M. L. Vollenweider, *Geneva*, pls. 77, 200, mentions the similarities between a thirteenth-century B.C. Minoan seal and Middle Assyrian glyptic art (Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13 Jhs.," ZA 47, Abb. 7, 27, 54), where the subject is also a leaping ibex or bull.
7. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," ZA 48: 83, Abb. 69–73. See also B. Parker, "MA Seals from Rimah," *Iraq* 39: 258 for unusual subjects at this period, and n. 13 below.
8. H. Kantor in McEwan et al., *Fakbariyah*, p. 82.
9. E. Porada, "Remarks on Mittanian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art," *Akkadica* 13 (1979): 2–10; Moortgat, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," ZA 48: 38, Abb. 39a and b; p. 43, Abb. 45a and b; and Abb. 46.
10. Parker, "MA Seals from Rimah," *Iraq* 39: 258 n. 2a, believes the tassels were an integral part of the kilt and not attached to it. For such tassels on Mitannian seals see Porada, *Nuzi*, e.g., 257, 512, 517, 728.
11. E.g., Kantor in McEwan et al., *Fakbariyah*, pl. 74, F 197 (II), pl. 71 XI.
12. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13. Jhs.," ZA 47: 57–58.
13. See Beran, "Glyptik des 14 Jhs.," ZA 52, Abb. 41, for a winged bull in the fourteenth century B.C. This animal is also characteristic of the debated "third" or "post-Kassite" group. However, Parker, "MA Seals from Rimah," *Iraq* 39: 260, points out that this feature occurs on a Middle Assyrian seal from Tell al-Rimah which might date from the fourteenth century B.C.
14. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13. Jhs.," ZA 47: 83, Abb. 69–73; idem, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," ZA 48: 36–37, Abb. 35–38.
15. Porada, "A Cylinder Seal Showing a Harpist," in T. C. Mitchell, ed., *Music and Civilization*, British Museum Yearbook 4 (London, 1980): 29–31, fig. 13 and n. 2 (BM 89359); see also Amiet, *GS*, p. 266.
16. The figure holding a square fan on other Middle Assyrian seals of this type is reminiscent also of some thirteenth-century B.C. seals from Elam, cf., e.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A780, pl. 90 (15) and Amiet, *GS*, 2065, with Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4, 54: 63. This is also a feature that appears on some Neo-Assyrian linear style seals and Achaemenian seals.
17. Porada, *Nuzi*, 736. See also Beran, "Glyptik des 14 Jhs.," ZA 52: 161, Abb. 32, for this object held in a different context on a Middle Assyrian sealing.

## VIII: THE NEO-ASSYRIAN AND NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIODS

1. Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, p. 105.
2. For late Kassite examples, see e.g., Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 563A; Moortgat, *VARS*, 560. For Iranian seals, see Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 57 ff. and 131.

- Certain provincial Middle Assyrian seals were also cut in a linear style, see chapter 7, n. 8.
3. For the size see Moortgat, *VARs*, 637, dated to Ashurnasirpal, and Porada, *Corpus* 1, 73. For the chevron borders, Porada, *Corpus* 1: 73, where it was suggested that these indicate an early ninth-century date, since a similar pattern occurs in the ornamentation of robes in the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II. On seals, however, these occur as late as Shalmaneser III, e.g., Moortgat, *VARs*, 672, from Ashur. The cutting on the seals with chevron borders is usually shallow e.g., *Corpus* 1, 610, 620, 641; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 593.
  4. E.g., Moortgat, *VARs*, 639–644 and p. 69.
  5. Moortgat, *VARs*, 689–706, p. 72; B. Parker, "Seals and Seal Impressions from the Nimrud Excavations, 1955–58," *Iraq* 24 (1962): 34, ND 6023 (pl. XVI, 5).
  6. Moortgat, *VARs*, p. 72.
  7. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13. Jhs.," *ZA* 47: 58–59, Abb. 11–18.
  8. L. Woolley, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," *JRAS* (1926): 693, 699; Text: KAR No. 298, pp. 695–701.
  9. R. D. Barnett and A. Lorenzini, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum* (Toronto, 1975), p. 24; E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Mesopotamia* (London, 1964), pl. 220.
  10. A. M. Bisi, *Il Grifone* (Rome, 1965), p. 64.
  11. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 91–92.
  12. Parker, "Seals and Impressions, Nimrud," *Iraq* 24: 36, ND 5550; R. M. Boehmer, "Glyptik von der alt-bis zur spätbabylonischen Zeit," *PKG* 14: 343.
  13. Van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 134.
  14. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–81.
  15. My thanks to Prof. Edith Porada for this suggestion.
  16. For animals in rows: A. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," *ZA* 48: 32, Abb. 24, 25. For animals beside vegetal motifs, Middle Assyrian: e.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 569; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 601e; "Third Kassite" Group: e.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.692, pl. 85(13); Moortgat, *VARs*, 560, 561.
  17. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4, 49: 55, and pl. V, 49; p. 56, no. 51; A. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13. Jhs.," *ZA* 47: 71, Abb. 38, 41, 43; p. 76, Abb. 51.
  18. Strommenger and Hirmer, *Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 202.
  19. Goff, *Symbols*, p. 14.
  20. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 80, and T. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London, 1970), pp. 57–58 and pl. XXIX 1–3. The types of palisade shield illustrated by Madhloom do not include a spiked example, however, and this supports the likelihood of a provincial origin for this seal. An early representation of the curved palisade shield comes from an ED III context at Mari: W. Orthmann, ed., *PKG* 14, pl. 95c. My thanks to C. Qualls for pointing out this example.
  21. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4, Group VII, pp. 63–74, e.g., no. 54; and p. 105.
  22. D. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 81, BM 89590.
  23. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 131.
  24. *Ibid.*
  25. Strommenger and Hirmer, *Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 194; an attendant stands behind the king with a bow.
  26. Heinrich, *Fara*, Taf. 65a; Legrain, *UE* 3, 384, pls. 20 and 51, from the Early Dynastic period; Frankfort, *SCS*, 675, dated to the Akkadian period.
  27. Delaporte, *BN*, 382; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 722.
  28. R. Dhorme, *Religions de babylonie et d'assyrie* (Paris, 1945), pp. 77, 92.
  29. Strommenger and Hirmer, *Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 217.
  30. On a bull, Porada, *Corpus* 1, 702; Delaporte, *BN*, 354. On a dragon, Porada, *Corpus* 1, 692; Delaporte, *BN*, 355. In *Corpus* 1, 694, Adad appears to be standing on a horse.

31. Moortgat, *VARs*, p. 114 re: 654.
32. I. Führ, "Der Hund als Begleittier der göttin Gula und anderer Heilgottheiten," pp. 135–139 in B. Hrouda et al., *Išīn-Išān Babrīyāt*, vol. 1: *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1973–1974* (Munich, 1977). For the Middle Assyrian impression see Moortgat, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," *ZA* 48: 43, Abb. 46. For a list of kudurrus, see I. Führ in Hrouda et al., *Isin* 1: 135, Abb. 7 and nn. 1 and 2.
33. E. D. van Buren, "The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia," *Orientalia* NS 15 (1946): 37, pl. 46.
34. Von der Osten, *Newell*, 416; B. Parker, "Excavations at Nimrud 1949–1953: Seals and Seal Impressions," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 33.
35. L. Woolley, "Bab. Prophylactic Figs.," *JRAS* (1926): 693.
36. Full-length fish cloaks appear on Assyrian reliefs from the eighth century B.C. onward: T. S. Kawami, "The Date of the Fish-Garbed Men from Assur," *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte* 16 (1965): 10.
37. Pritchard, ed., *ANEP*, p. 213, n. 651.
38. E.g., Moortgat, *VARs*, 680, 681; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 688; Weber, *Siegelbilder*, 348; Tunca, *Adana*, 77; von Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf* 4, Taf. 23, n. 10; Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Tell al Rimah," *Iraq* 37 (1975), pl. XVI, 55.
39. Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, K. 7, pl. 57(2).
40. My thanks to Prof. Edith Porada for this suggestion.
41. This interpretation has been made on the basis of von der Osten, *Newell*, 416 (Frankfort, *CS*, p. 213), which shows two distinct streams of water flowing from the winged sun disc into two vases on the ground.
42. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 210–212 and n. 1: also, e.g., *ibid.*, pl. XXXIIIa (BM 89135); Moortgat, *VARs*, 511; Delaporte, *BN*, 354.
43. Van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 64.
44. B. Meissner, *MAOG* 8 (1934): 14 ff. and idem, "Neue Siegelzylinder mit Krankheitsbeschwörungen," *AfO* 10 (1935–36): 160–162.
45. I. Führ in Hrouda et al., *Isin* 1: 137–145, esp. 142–145.
46. M.-J. Seux, *Hymnes et prières* (Paris, 1976), pp. 219, 221 and n. 11, 388.
47. Parker, "A Middle Assyrian Seal Impression," *Iraq* 36 (1974), fig. 1 and pl. XXXb. See also Parker, "MA Impressions from Rimah," *Iraq* 39: 257 n. 1.
48. Moortgat, "Glyptik des 12. Jhs.," *ZA* 48: 43, Abb. 46.
49. M. Wäfler, *Nicht-Assyrer neuassyrischer Darstellungen*, AOAT 26 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975): 266–268, n. 1356, pp. 266–267. My thanks to P. R. S. Moorey for this reference.
50. The large eight-spoked wheel is a feature which appears during and after the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (Madhloom, *Chronology of NA Art*, pp. 17–18); the elliptical shaft, the spear rising obliquely from the chariot box, and the spiked shield at the back of the chariot box continued in use for a short while only during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (*ibid.*, p. 18). A chariot box with a spiked shield first occurs on a relief of Ashurnasirpal II (*ibid.*, p. 13 and pl. I 3).
51. My thanks to Prof. Edith Porada for the suggestion that this seal might be Iranian.
52. E. Porada, "Battlements in the Military Architecture and in the Symbolism of the Ancient Near East," *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, ed. D. Fraser et al., (London, 1967), pp. 1–11, fig. 12.
53. E. Porada, "Iranian and Mesopotamian Styles of Seal Engraving from the Third to the Early First Millennium B.C.," in *Akten des VII internationalen Kongress für iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (Berlin, 1979), p. 101 n. 7.
54. Moortgat, *VARs*, 595, which bears the name of Ninurba-ašared, eponym in 812 B.C.



55. Moortgat, *VARs*, 596, with the name of Mannū-kima-assur, has been tentatively dated to the late eighth century B.C.: R. M. Boehmer, "Glyptik der bab. Zeit," *PKG* 14: 358 (g), although this style is similar to earlier examples, e.g., *VARs*, 595, from Ashur, dated to the late ninth century B.C. Boehmer's example, *PKG* 14, Abb. 274H, p. 358(h), has also been dated, on iconographic grounds, to the late eighth century B.C.
56. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 86.
57. Ibid.
58. Van Buren, *Symbols*, pp. 37–38.
59. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (London, 1970), p. 168, fig. 194, a relief dated to Tiglath-Pileser III; J. Pritchard, ed., *ANEP*, figs. 235, 236, the former a wall painting from Tell Ahmar dated to the eighth century B.C., the latter a relief dated to Sennacherib. My thanks to A. R. Millard whose paper "Assyrian and Arameans" given at the XXIX<sup>ème</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale stimulated my interest in this subject.
60. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 395.
61. The fish appears more frequently in Neo-Babylonian cut style seals (see, e.g., 264, 265, 267; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 645, and Porada, *Corpus* 1, 725, 731) than in the linear or early drilled style seals.
62. E. Porada, "Standards and Stools on Sealings of Nuzi and Other Examples of Mitannian Glyptic Art," *Compte rendu de la XX<sup>ème</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 164–171, esp. 171.
63. Late Kassite: Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 563a; Moortgat, *VARs*, 560 (heads not turned). Middle Assyrian: Moortgat, "Glyptik des 13. Jhs." *ZA* 47: 76, Abb. 49–53 (heads not turned). Iranian: *Tchoga Zanbil* 4, Group VI, nos. 41–46, pp. 53–54 (nos. 42 and 43, heads turned).
64. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 88–89; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, p. 116.
65. Porada, "Suggestions for the Classification of Neo-Babylonian Cylinder Seals," *Orientalia* NS 16 (1947): 157–160.
66. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 84, pl. X, 103.
67. Porada, "Classification of NB Seals," *Orientalia* NS 16: 161–162.
68. Ibid., p. 159.
69. Ibid., pp. 160–161.
70. Ibid., p. 162; Legrain, *UE* 10, 584, 594, 597, 599, 600, 603.
71. E.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 657.
72. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 99 and pl. X, 122. Some of these seals have no decorative borders, e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 742.
73. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 99 and pl. II, 14. Seal 159 and Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 611, which show borders of plain dovetailed triangles, have been identified as Iranian by Prof. Porada.
74. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 606.
75. Boehmer, "Glyptik der bab. Zeit," *PKG* 14: 340, quotes R. Opificius who regards a seal in the British Museum (BM 89135), *PKG* 14, Abb. 173(i) (which is dated to the reign of Shalmaneser III), as the first example of this style.
76. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 91–92.
77. Porada, "Classification of NB Seals," *Orientalia* NS 16: 146–159.
78. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 92 for the kilt and 94 for the plant.
79. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 756, 769, 778.
80. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 747.
81. For the mantle, see E. Porada, "Classification of NB Seals," *Orientalia* NS 16: 152 and *Corpus* 1: 94 re: no. 773, classified as Neo-Assyrian. For the quiver: *Corpus* 1, 773, and 151 above.

## IX: THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

1. M. Cool Root, "The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art," *Acta Iranica* 19 (1979): 118–122; A. Bivar, "A Persian Monument at Athens, and Its Connections with the Achaemenid State Seals," *Henning Memorial Volume* (London, 1971), pp. 51–52; Porada, *Corpus* 1: 101.
2. R. Zettler, "On the Chronological Range of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Seals," *JNES* 38 (1979): 257, 268–269; W. Nagel, "Datierete Glyptik aus Altvorderasien," *AfO* 20 (1963): 129–139, especially 139.
3. R. Zettler, "NB and Ach. Seals," *JNES* 38: 265–266 and 286 nn. 16 and 17.
4. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis* 2, OIP 69 (Chicago, 1957): 40–41.
5. R. Zettler, "NB and Ach. Seals," *JNES* 38: 258 and n. 7.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 258 and n. 6.
7. Porada, *Ancient Iran* (New York, 1965), p. 181.
8. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970), pp. 303–327.
9. E. Porada, review of *Persepolis II*, by E. Schmidt, *JNES* 20 (1961): 67.
10. Porada, *Corpus* 1: 102, but see *Corpus* 1, 725.
11. Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 652; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 755 and 765.
12. E. Porada, review of *Persepolis II*, *JNES* 20: 67.
13. A. Bivar, "Persian Monument at Athens," *Henning Mem. Vol.*, pp. 45–51, supports the latter view.
14. A. R. Millard, "The Assyrian Royal Seal Type Again," *Iraq* 27 (1965): 12–16.
15. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis* 2, pp. 7–8.
16. Cf. E. Schmidt, *Persepolis* 2, pl. 4, seal 5, dated to the last years of Xerxes (c. 485–465 B.C.) and the first years of Artaxerxes; and pl. 3, seal 3, dated to the reign of Darius I.
17. Moortgat, *VARS*, 731; Delaporte, *BN*, 327.
18. R. Ghirshman, *Persia* (London, 1964), pl. 232. The Mede there wears a rounded cap, and his leggings are not patterned as on this seal. For the latter see Amiet, *GS*, 2181.
19. Interestingly, this stance is frequently depicted on Akkadian seals, e.g., Delaporte, *BN*, 24, 29; Boehmer, *Entwicklung*, Abb. 118. See also a monumental relief from the palace of Darius at Persepolis, Porada, *Corpus* 1: 103, and Ghirshman, *Persia*, pls. 250–253.
20. Cf. Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.717, pl. 89(18).

## X: SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 3200–2900 B.C.

1. A. Finet, "Bilan provisoire des fouilles belges de Tell Kannas," *AASOR* 44 (1977): 86–95.
2. E. Strommenger, "Ausgrabungen der Deutsches Orient-Gesellschaft in Habuba Kabira," *AASOR* 44: 63–72.
3. A. Finet, "Tell Kannas," *AASOR* 44: 95.
4. P. Parr, "History of Syria and Palestine," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London, 1974 ed.), p. 930; M. Drower and J. Bottéro, "Syria before 2200 B.C.," *CAH* 1 (London, 1968, 3d ed.), p. 14.
5. M. Mellink, "The Prehistory of Syro-Cilicia," *Bi.Or.* 19 (1962): 220–222.
6. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 46.
7. Drower and Bottéro, "Syria before 2200 B.C.," *CAH* 1, p. 30 (Byblos), pp. 23–24 (Hama). This period has yet to be investigated at Ebla: P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 46.
8. C. Shaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4 (Paris, 1962): 146–147.
9. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 2 and 3: 34–35.
10. H. el-Safadi, "Die Entstehung der syrischen Glyptik und ihre Entwicklung in der Zeit von Zimri-Lim bis Ammitaqumma," *UF* 6 (1974): 336. Impres-

- sions from the Seal Impression Strata at Ur which are dated to Early Dynastic I are also sometimes stamped, e.g., Legrain, *UE* 3, 286, 393, 447. I thank C. Qualls for drawing these impressions to my attention.
11. P. Amiet, "La glyptique syrienne archaïque: Notes sur la diffusion de la civilisation mésopotamienne en Syrie du Nord," *Syria* 40 (1963): 64, 66; Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 332, fig. 254, 3; 489, fig. 381, 3–5; el-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6: 337.
  12. Amiet, *GS*, 1222, 1228.
  13. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 65–66.
  14. D. Collon, review of *Glyptique susienne*, by P. Amiet, *AfO* 26 (1978–79): 106, no. 1023.
  15. *Ibid.*
  16. El-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6: 336.
  17. In the north at Tell Habuba Kabira Sud and at Tell Kannas (A. Finet et al., *Lorsque la Royauté descendit du Ciel* pp. 93–95) the cylinder seal first appears in the Late Uruk period. See also P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 68 and n. 33.
  18. My thanks to D. Brothwell for this comment on this seal.
  19. Cf., for example: A. Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, *BASOR Supp.*, Series 22 (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), p. 4, IA-1 (pl. I:1) from Megiddo; IA-2 (fig. 1:2) from Jericho; IA-3 (figs. 1:3–4) from Gezer; from Byblos, Dunand, *Byblos* 1, pl. CXXVI, 1972; *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCIV, 17015, 19305, and 19306; from Mari, Parrot, *MAM* 1: *Temple d'Ishtar*, p. 195, pl. LXV, 329, pl. LXVII, 526; from Tell Brak, Mallowan, *Iraq* 9 (1947): 132, pl. XXI, 1–2. Also Frankfort, *SCS*, 946, and Buchanan, *Yale*, 208. None of these seals has a handle. For a seal with a handle and a similar geometric pattern executed in limestone, see Mallowan, *Iraq* 9, pl. XLII, 3, and p. 189, no. 3, from Chagar Bazar.
  20. For the drilled style seal see D. Sörenhagen and E. Töpperwein, "Habuba Kabira zur Zeit der frühesten Schriftkulturen: Die Kleinfunde," *MDOG* 105 (1973): 31, Abb. 9a–b. For an impression from the Byblos énéolithique which shows the use of the drill, see M. Dunand, *Byblia grammata*, pl. 2f, fig. 1j. For the local style seal, see E. Strommenger, "Habuba Kabira-Sud 1974," *AAAS* 25 (1975): 164, Abb. 14, lower.
  21. A. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1976, Schr.Opp.-Stiftung 11, p. 25, Abb. 9a–b.
  22. Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 387, fig. 297, 5; p. 490.
  23. *Ibid.*, p. 489, fig. 381, 7.
  24. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 67, fig. 12: Ras Shamra 7011 (1935 season), now Louvre AO 18557.
  25. E.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 703, 704, 705.
  26. Strommenger, "Habuba Kabira-Sud 1974," *AAAS*: 164, Abb. 14, upper.
  27. Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 491, fig. 382, 1 and 3; p. 387, fig. 382, 6. Also Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 715.
  28. Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 491, fig. 382, 3.
  29. Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 114, found in Level J but attributed to the Jamdat Nasr period.
  30. See Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 776 for an Early Dynastic Syrian seal. See also Frankfort, *SCS*, 461; Delaporte, *Louvre* 1, S.384 and S.385, pl. 28 (13 and 16).
  31. A. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1976, Schr.Opp.-Stiftung 11, p. 25, Abb. 10; *Tell Chuëra* 1960, WAAF 24, p. 11, Abb. 6.
  32. E. Strommenger, "Habuba Kabira-Sud 1974," *AASOR* 44: 70, fig. 12.
  33. M. Tadmor, "Contacts between the 'Amuq and Syria-Palestine," *IEJ* 14 (1964): 269.
  34. Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, p. 65.
  35. Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 489, fig. 381, 6, and p. 490.
  36. Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCIII, 14541; A. Ben-Tor, *Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, p. 64.

37. Ben-Tor, *Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, p. 43, IE-6 (fig. 22, p. 20); p. 43, IE-8 (fig. 24, p. 20); p. 89.
38. Ibid., p. 64. Of the impressions in this group which have been published, see Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 120, 123; and H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur la première campagne des rouilles de Hama* (Copenhagen, 1940), pl. 14, 6; pl. 15, 2.

# XI: SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 2900–2200 B.C.

1. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, pp. 160, 183.
2. Ibid., pp. 171–176.
3. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1976, Schr. Opp.-Stiftung 11, pp. 32–33.
4. Ibid., p. 33.
5. Ibid., Abb. 6a–b, 7a–b, 12a–b; Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1964, Schr. Opp.-Stiftung 6, p. 61, Abb. 29a–b, 31a–b.
6. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1974, Schr. Opp.-Stiftung 9, p. 61, Abb. 22a–b.
7. Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCv; pl. CXCVI, 11572, 11298, 14184, 12613, 10340, 11149, 14522, 11573. Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 118, 119, 121, 122, from Hama. C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4:432, H, p. 430, K. For an early cylinder of a related type from Ras Shamra, see *Ugaritica* 4:297, pl. XVIII:1.
8. A. Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, *BASOR Supp.*, Series 22 (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 64, 75. The sealing from Ugarit is on an EBA III sherd: see reference in n. 7 above to *Ugaritica* 4.
9. Animal rows: Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 122; tête-bêche: Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCv, 18016, 6861; pl. CXCVI 11572; with human: Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 119, 121.
10. Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCv, 18016, 14360.
11. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata* (Paris, 1945), p. 26.
12. H. el-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6 (1974): 336.
13. J. N. Postgate, "Excavations in Iraq 1977–78," *Iraq* 41: 160, 172, 176.
14. Dunand, *Byblos* 1, pl. CXXVI, 4995, 5182. Ben-Tor, *Third Millennium Palestinian Seals*, pp. 71–72.
15. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1963, Schr.-Opp.-Stiftung 11, Abb. 3a–b, 8a–b; idem, *Tell Chuëra* 1963, WAAF 31, Abb. 1a–b, Abb. 29a–b; idem, *Tell Chuëra* 1974, Schr.-Opp.-Stiftung 9, Abb. 19a–b. Two seals found in early Akkadian contexts show Early Dynastic subjects: Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1959, Schr.-Opp.-Stiftung 4, Abb. 14 and 15.
16. Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1976, Schr.-Opp.-Stiftung 11, Abb. 11a–b.
17. Ibid., *Tell Chuëra* 1976, Abb. 4a–b, 5a–b; idem, *Tell Chuëra* 1959, Schr.-Opp.-Stiftung 4, Abb. 23, a small clay cylinder.
18. M. van Loon, "1974 and 1975 Preliminary Results of the Excavations at Selenkahiye," *AASOR* 44 (1977): 106, fig. 16.
19. Parrot, *MAM* 1: *Temple d'Ishtar*, pls. LXV–LXVII and pp. 183 ff.; idem, *MAM* IV: *Trésor*, examples showing the heavy use of a drill: pl. 19, no. 4445; pl. 20, nos. 445C, 4451, 4452. For the exceptions: a probably imported Syrian piece, see *Temple d'Ishtar*, pl. LXV, 329; pl. LXVI, 545, 588; pl. LXVII, 368.
20. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 81.
21. Ibid., p. 83.
22. Ibid., p. 84, fig. 14, and figs. 41 and 42; P. Matthiae, "Appunti di iconografia, I," *Studi Eblaïti* 1 (1979), figs. 9a–b, 10.
23. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 84; idem, "Iconografia I," *Studi Eblaïti* 1, fig. 10.
24. Ibid.
25. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, pp. 83–84, fig. 14, upper and lower left.
26. Ibid., p. 84 fig. 14, upper right.



27. P. Matthiae, "Iconografia I," *Studi Eblaiti* 1, pp. 22–23, figs. 9a–b, 10.
28. D. Collon, review of *Ancient Art in Seals*, ed. E. Porada, *Bi. Or.* 38 (1981): 692.
29. P. Amiet, "La glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40 (1963): 57–82; idem, "Cylindres syriens présargoniques," *Syria* 41 (1964): 189–193. I intend to discuss unstratified Early Dynastic Syrian seals at greater length in a forthcoming article.
30. D. Collon, "Appendix A: The Seal Impressions," in *The River Qoueiq, Northern Syria, and its Catchment: Studies Arising from the Tell Rifa'at Survey 1977–79*, ed. John Matthers, BAR International Series 98 (London, 1981): 499 fig. 259.
31. Brak: Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 769; Parrot, *MAM 1: Temple d'Ishtar*, pl. LXVII, 368; Dunand, *Byblos* 1, pl. CXXV, 3126 (b).
32. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, fig. 150:17; Goldman et al., *Tarsus* 2 fig. 400, 34; fig. 394, 34. Van Loon, "Preliminary Results at Selenkahiye," *AASOR* 44: 106 and 103, fig. 11; see catalogue entry for references relating to seal 318, and Van Loon, *AAAS* 18: 31, for a description of jar sealings from Selenkahiye Level III (without illustration); E. Heinrich et al., "Habuba Kabira 1971–1972", *MDOG* 105 (1973): 65, Abb. 26; see also Ingholt, *Rapport Préliminaire à Hama*, p. 40 and n. 4, for a description of such a seal from Level J (without illustration).
33. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 67; see p. 75, for the cow and calf motif.
34. E.g., von der Osten, *Brett*, 100; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1081; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 775.
35. Van Loon, "Preliminary Results at Selenkahiye," *AASOR* 44: 106, 103, fig. 11. P. Amiet (*Syria* 40: 80) also believes that this group lasted until the post-Sargonid period.
36. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 74–80.
37. Moortgat and Moortgat-Correns, *Tell Chuëra 1976*, Schr. Opp.-Stiftung 11, p. 27, Abb. 12a–b.
38. P. Amiet, "A Cylinder Seal Impression Found at Umm an-Nar," *East and West* 25 (1975): 425–426, fig. 1 a–b.
39. By Prof. Porada, whose kindness in doing so is gratefully acknowledged.
40. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 71–72.
41. Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 115.
42. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 72–74, fig. 23, pl. VI, 1–3; idem, "Cylindres syriens présargoniques," *Syria* 41, pl. IX, 3 and fig. 3, p. 191. Noveck, *Gorelick*, 16: 32.
43. Judeideh: Braidwood and Braidwood, *Antioch* 1: 426, fig. 327; bought in Zincirli: Moortgat, *VARs*, 776.
44. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 71–72.
45. Amiet, "Glyptique syr. présargs.," *Syria* 41: 192, fig. 4 (AO 21420), and idem, *GMA*, p. 206.
46. Amiet, "Glyptique syr. présargs.," *Syria* 41: 192–193, fig. 4 (AO 21420).
47. Squatting woman with hair flying out to one side: Legrain, *UE* 3: 268–270; cross: *ibid.*, 31. No parallel has been found for the comblike motif on 334; it may be related to a pictographic sign such as found on Legrain, *UE* 3, e.g., 108, 432, 442.
48. Squatting woman: Amiet, *GS*, 616, 618; cross 1296.
49. With human figures: Legrain, *UE* 3: 274, 286; incomplete, 412, 461, 462.
50. E. Herzfeld, *Samarra* (Berlin, 1930), Abb. 6, no. 6; Abb. 12, no. 31.
51. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture*, p. 75, fig. 78.
52. Supporting astral bodies: Porada, *Corpus* 1, 63; Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.92, pl. 68(1); with the sun god's boat: von der Osten, *Newell*, 47.

53. Translated by E. A. Speiser in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *ANET*, Gilgamesh Tablet IX, col. ii, lines 2–6, p. 88.
54. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 79–80. For this type of Syrian seal see e.g., Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XXXIXf from Tell Judeideh; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 7: 38–39; Parrot, *Syria* 42: 6. A seal attributed by P. Amiet to the Akkadian period (*Syria* 40: 80, fig. 31) appears to have more in common stylistically with early second millennium Syrian seals.
55. P. Amiet, "Glyptique syrienne archaïque," *Syria* 40: 70–71; idem, *GMA*, p. 207.
56. Cf. the impressions from Brak, Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 787, 788, 794, 806, 807, 808, 811.
57. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 735; Frankfort, *SCS*, e.g., 117, 123, 218, 223; Amiet, *GS*, 1215, 1216.
58. E.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, pp. 41, 222–225.
59. Amiet, *GMA*, p. 177.
60. Tell Mardikh: P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 84, fig. 14 b,d. Hama: Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 115. Mari: Parrot, *MAM 1: Temple d'Ishtar*, pl. LXV, 329, pl. LXVI, 545, 588. Brak: e.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 806–808. Unprovenanced seals: Amiet, *Syria* 40: 74, fig. 22; 71, fig. 16; pl. VI, 6; idem, *Syria* 41, pl. IX 2, 3; Buchanan, *Yale*, 367; Williams-Forte in Muscarella, ed., *Ladders to Heaven*, 181 and 182, p. 221; Noveck, *Gorelick*, 16: 32.
61. Amiet, *GMA*, pp. 206–207. Amiet also suggests that these head motifs may have been the precursors of those which later appear in Mitannian glyptic art (see also n. 84).
62. Amiet, *GMA*, 1175, also probably a Syrian seal. The impression is in the Louvre but has no number.
63. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1081 (archaizing style); Amiet, *Syria* 40, pl. VI, 5 (Amiet's Group V, here "Modeled Style"); Moortgat, *Tell Chuëra* 1974, Schr.Opp.-Stiftung 9, p. 59, Abb. 22 (local Tell Chuera); see also Amiet, *Syria* 40: 73, no. 23.

## XII: SYRIAN SEALS FROM THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM

1. Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 835–837 and p. 160; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 101 (a much recut seal).
2. S. Mazzoni, "Tell Mardikh e una classe glittica siro-anatolica del periodo di Larsa," *AION* 25 (1975): 21–42; idem, "A proposito di un sigillo in stile lineare-corsivo da Mardikh III B," *Studi Eblaiti* 1 (1979): 49–73; Amiet, *GS*, 2001–2006, and the review of *GS* by D. Collon in *AfO* 36 (1978–79): 107. A related style is found on a seal from Ugarit dated to the fourteenth to thirteenth century B.C.: C. Schaeffer, *AAAS* 7 (1957), pl. V, fourth from right, top row.
3. Gezer: B. Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11 (1949), pl. XXIV, 167. Byblos: E. Porada, "Les cylindres de la jarre Montet," *Syria* 43 (1966): 243–257 (the seals in this jar have been dated to c. 2100–2000 B.C.); Dunand, *Byblos* 1, pl. CXXXIV, 2337; pl. CXXXVI, 1283; Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCII, 11389 and 7500. Hama: Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 124, from Hama J2, and 125, from Hama H4. Qatna: M. du Buisson, "Qatna," *Syria* 9 (1928): 85 and pl. XXXVI, 3. Alalakh: Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 1: 4, and n. 1; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 8–9: 39–40. Chatal Hüyük: Frankfort, *CS*, pls. XLb, XLId. Tell Judeideh: Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XLf. Kültepe: N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XXXIX, 88 and 89; K. Bittel, *AfO* 13 (1939–41): 301, fig. 4. Zincirli: Andrae, *Sendschirli* 5, Taf. 39c; Tunca, *Adana*, 10–17.

4. Porada, "Jarre Montet," *Syria* 43: 248.
5. E.g., no. 336 in this collection; von der Osten, *Brett*, 100; Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 775.
6. H. el-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6: 49–52; Abb. 46, 57, 49 (Parrot, *MAM* 1: *Temple d'Ishtar*, Taf. 47, M.593, 592, 274); and Abb. 48, a seal in the Aleppo Museum, no. 5291. Von der Osten, *Brett*, 100.
7. El-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," pp. 52–53, and Abb. 56 (Speleers, *Brussels Supplément*, 691: 141–142).
8. Porada, "Jarre Montet," *Syria* 43, pl. XVII, 81.
9. El-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6: 60–62.
10. Porada, "Jarre Montet," *Syria* 43: 245.
11. E.g., Buchanan, *Yale*, 1171, 1173; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 8–9: 39–40; Seber, *Siegelbilder*, 278a; Porada, "Jarre Montet," *Syria* 43, pl. XVIII, fig. f.
12. Özgüç, *Kültepe* 1949, pl. LXII, 693, 697.
13. For the animals in a row, cf. e.g., Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XXXIXh, from Tell Judeideh; for the frieze, cf. e.g., no. 332 in this collection.
14. For similar, but not identical, slender figures, see Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1094; Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. LXCII, 11389. For a similar star, see *Corpus* 1, 1094. See also Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 996, a seal which has been given a late second millennium date, for the two small figures and the star.
15. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1092.
16. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 846, 851, 852 (without the plant); or Moortgat, *VAR* S, 505, and *Corpus* 1, 887 (with the plant).
17. Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 933; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 69: 90–91.
18. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pl. XIV, 1.
19. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, 4.
20. *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, 2.
21. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 844 and 845.

### XIII: OLD ASSYRIAN COLONY STYLE SEALS

1. J. Mellaart, "Anatolia c. 2300–1750 B.C.," *CAH* 2 (Cambridge, 1965, 3d ed.), p. 41.
2. M. Larsen, "The Old Assyrian City State and Its Colonies," *Mesopotamia* 4 (Copenhagen, 1976); I. J. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, OIP 27 (Chicago, 1935); H. Otten, "Die Altassyrischen Texte aus Bogazköy," *MDOG* 89 (1957): 68–79.
3. N. Özgüç, "Seal Impressions from the Palaces at Acemhöyük," in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pp. 61–78, especially p. 78.
4. Moortgat, *VAR* S, 505, 508.
5. Özgüç, *Kültepe* 1949, pp. 233–234; N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pp. 47–48.
6. E. Porada, "Kaniš, Karum: Die Glyptik," in *RLA* 5: 163.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
8. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pp. 63–64.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
10. O. R. Gurney, "Some Aspects of Hittite Religion: the Pantheon," *Sweich Lectures* (London, 1976), p. 4.
11. E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (Paris, 1947), pp. 19 ff.
12. Gurney, "Hittite Religion," pp. 10–11.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
14. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, p. 65.
15. Gurney, "Hittite Religion," pp. 25–26, and E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 92, above.

16. El-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6: 347–348.
17. H. Goldman, "The Sandon Monument of Tarsus," *JAOS* 60 (1940): 549.
18. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pp. 47–48.
19. E. Porada, "Kaniš: Glyptik," *RLA* 5: 166.
20. *Ibid.*
21. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanish Ib*, pp. 48–49, pl. XXVII, 1, 2.
22. My thanks to Lamia al-Gailani Werr for pointing this out to me. See e.g., N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pls. XI, A, XVIII E; Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.884, pl. 95(11).
23. Cf. Frankfort, *SCS*, 958.
24. Cf. Frankfort, *SCS*, 774, 713, 935; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 551.
25. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, p. 53; see idem, *Kultepe 1949*, pp. 234–236, for a definition of the characteristics of this style.
26. N. Özgüç, "New Light on the Dating of the Levels of the Karum Kanish and of Acemhöyük near Aksaray," *AJA* 72 (1968): 319; Özgüç *Kultepe 1949*, pl. LXII, 690–702; N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pl. XXV, 3.
27. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, p. 54.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54; Özgüç, "Dating Karum Kanesh and Acemhöyük," *AJA* 72: 319, pl. IBA.
29. Cf. the cutting of the lions to that on the late Old Assyrian seal, Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.868, pl. 94(23).
30. N. Özgüç in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pl. III, 17.
31. See references in n. 192 in the following chapter and in the catalogue entry to seal 558.
32. See N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. 1, 1, however.
33. See BM 89774 for this motif on an early Old Assyrian seal, and N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. V, 13, pl. VIII, 22.
34. For this subject on an Old Babylonian seal, see, e.g., W. G. Lambert, "Near Eastern Seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham," *Iraq* 41 (1979), pl. III, 20; on a late Old Assyrian seal, Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.874, pl. 95 (1).
35. Van Buren, *Symbols*, p. 76.
36. E.g., Özgüç, *Kultepe 1949*, pl. LIX, 669 (Old Babylonian); pl. LXII, 693 (Syrian), pl. LXIII, 705 (Anatolian); Hrozný, *ICK* 1, pl. CV, III 464c (Old Assyrian).
37. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. X, 30; pl. XXVI, 77, 78.
38. On an Old Syrian Colony style seal, see e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 907.
39. E. Porada, "The Iconography of Death in Mesopotamia in the Early Second Millennium B.C.," *Mesopotamia* 8 (Copenhagen, 1980): 259, 265.
40. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, e.g., pl. V, 13; pl. XVIII, 55.
41. *Ibid.*, pl. X, 28; pl. XXI, 62.
42. H. Seyrig, "Les dieux de Hiérapolis," *Syria* 37 (1960): 236.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 238–241.

#### XIV: SYRIAN SEALS FROM c. 1850–1620 B.C.

1. H. Klengel, *Geschichte syriens* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 137–151.
2. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 147.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
4. Klengel, *Geschichte syriens*, p. 161; Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 151. Qatna was defeated by Iarim-Lin III of Iamhad.
5. Klengel, *Geschichte syriens*, p. 160.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 161; Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 148.



7. Klengel, *Geschichte syriens*, p. 161.
8. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 143.
9. Ibid., p. 162.
10. P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 159.
11. Klengel, *Geschichte syriens*, pp. 144 and 162.
12. Ibid., p. 162.
13. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 27 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1975), is the standard work on the impressions. The seals from this site are published by the same author, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, BAR International Series 132 (London, 1982), see p. 3 for the chronology.
14. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pp. 53–57.
15. N. Özgüç, "Les empreintes de sceaux découvertes dans les palais d'Acemhöyük," *Belleten* 41 (1977): 356–370 and pl. V, 12, 13; pl. VI, 15–17; pl VII, 19, 20, and idem, in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pp. 61–78.
16. S. Alp, Karahöyük, pp. 111–118, Taf. 11, 21–23; Taf. 12, 25.
17. T. Beran, "Fremde Rollsigel in Bogazköy," in Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, pp. 34–36, Taf. 8, 4 (seal no. 22).
18. A. Parrot, *MAM 2/3: Le Palais: Documents et monuments*, pl. XLI–LVI; P. Amiet, "Notes sur le répertoire iconographique de Mari à l'époque du Palais," *Syria* 37 (1960): 215–232; idem, "La glyptique de Mari à l'époque du Palais, note additionnelle," *Syria* 38 (1961): 1–6.
19. E. Porada, "Syrian Seal Impressions on Tablets Dated in the Time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna," *JNES* 16 (1957): 192–197; B. Buchanan, "On the Seal Impressions on Some Old Babylonian Tablets," and "Further Observations on the Syrian Glyptic Style," *JCS* 11 (1957): 45–52, pl. II, and pp. 74–76 respectively; idem, "A Snake Goddess and Her Companions, a Problem in the Iconography of the Early Second Millennium B.C.," *Iraq* 33 (1971), pl. IIc.
20. Buchanan, "Impressions on OB Tablets," *JCS* 11: 50.
21. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 177.
22. E. Porada, "A Cylinder Seal with a Camel in the Walters Art Gallery," *JWAG* 36 (1977): 1.
23. Alp, *Karahöyük*, e.g., Taf. 11, 21–23; Taf. 12, 25.
24. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pl. VIII, pl. XXIX, 1.
25. Porada, "Syrian Impressions Dated to Hammurabi," *JNES* 16, pl. XXXI, fig. 5.
26. Parrot, *MAM 2/3: Palais: Docs. et mons.*, e.g., pls. XLVI, 69, XLVIII 71–73, 81b, 43, 170. It has been suggested that the Syrian "classical" style, which is based on the early Old Babylonian style of the nineteenth century B.C., originated at Mari: Porada, "Cylinder Seal with Camel," *JWAG* 36: 1 and n. 4.
27. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, e.g., pls. XIc, XIIIb and c, XVd.
28. N. Özgüç, "Acemhöyük," *Belleten* 41, pls. V, 13; VI, 15 and 16.
29. Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 11.
30. Porada, "Cylinder Seal with Camel," *JWAG* 36: 11.
31. Porada, "Syrian Impressions Dated to Hammurabi," *JNES* 16: 195; Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 140.
32. P. Matthiae, "Empreintes d'un cylindre paléosyrien de Tell Mardikh," *Syria* 46 (1969): 34–38; idem, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* (Janvier/Mars 1980): 94–118.
33. E.g., Beran, "Fremde Rollsigel," in Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, Taf. 8, 4 (seal no. 22, dated to Büyükkale Schicht 8a, p. 38).
34. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pp. 141–142; F. Baffi Guardata, "Su un'impronta di sigillo paleosiriano tardo dal Santuario B2," *Studi Eblaiti* 1 (1979): 97–104, figs. 25, 26.

35. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 142. (See also reference to Collon 47 in n. 9, chap. 5)
36. Ibid.
37. P. Baffi Guardata, "Impronta paleosiriano," *Studi Eblaiti* 1: 102-103.
38. D. Collon, "The Aleppo Workshop, A Seal-Cutters' Workshop in Syria in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century B.C.," *UF* 13 (1981): 33-35 and figs. 1-3 on pp. 41-43.
39. There appear to be enough points of similarity between the style and to a lesser extent the iconography of the Anatolian group of Cappadocian seals and seals from this Syrian workshop to warrant this suggestion. This material will be dealt with in detail in a forthcoming article.
40. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, pp. 127-128, for the date of the Egyptianizing seal no. 117.
41. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 194: 103-104, and n. 2, p. 103; p. 185.
42. Buchanan, *Yale*, p. 430 and nos. 1258, 1259.
43. W. Ward, "Un cylindre syrien inscrit de la deuxième période intermédiaire," *Syria* 42 (1965): 35-44 and pl. V. For the seal from Tell Beit Mirsim see Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11, pl. III, 20.
44. Buchanan, "Impressions on OB Tablets," *JCS* 11, pl. II, 14, and p. 47.
45. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, pp. 8-10.
46. See n. 1 in chap. 17 below for references.
47. H. Klengel, "Condizioni ed effetti del commercio siriano nell' Età del Bronzo," *Studi Micenei ed Egei-Anatolici* 16 (1975): 205-206.
48. Ibid., p. 206.
49. G. Dossin, "Les archives économiques du Palais de Mari," *Syria* 20 (1939): 111.
50. For a comprehensive discussion of the guilloche and spiral motifs, see Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pp. 193-194 and catalogue notes to the seal impressions listed in her discussion.
51. Ibid., p. 194.
52. Ibid., pp. 193-194. In Syrian glyptic art a simple form of guilloche appears, e.g., around a kneeling hero's waist on a sealing from Tell Mardikh IIB1 (c. 2400-2250 B.C.): Matthiae, *Ebla*, p. 84, fig. 14.
53. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pls. XXX, 92, XXXI, 97.
54. Guilloche: Alp, *Karaböyük*, Abb. 76, p. 178 and Abb. 93, p. 186; N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pl. XXXVIb and d. Spiral: Alp, *Karaböyük*, Abb. 60, p. 173; Abb. 62, p. 174.
55. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, p. 42.
56. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 186.
57. Parrot, *MAM 2/3: Palais, Docs. et mons.*, pls. XLV-XLII, XLVIII; Strommenger and Hirmer, *Art of Mesopotamia*, pl. 165.
58. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 187; pp. 186-187 comprise comprehensive notes on this figure.
59. For example, the ruler on the seal of Mukannishum: Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari," *Syria* 37: 230, fig. 12; or the deity on the seal of Ana-Sin-taklaku (ibid., fig. 13).
60. E.g., C. Aldred, *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1973), pl. 73; William Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958), pl. 7.
61. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pl. XXX 11.
62. Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari," *Syria* 37: 230, figs. 12 and 13.
63. See E. Porada, review of *Corpus* 1, *JCS* 4 (1950): 157, for the identity of this figure.
64. Amiet, "Répertoire iconographique de Mari," *Syria* 37: 229-231.
65. Even though the name Aplahanda has not proven to be a common one, the use of the same name by succeeding or contemporary rulers, as with the kings of Iamhad, could be a factor here. G. Dossin, "Aplahanda, roi de

- Carchemish," *RA* 35 (1938): 115–121; J. D. Hawkins, "Karkamiš," *RLA* 5: 426–446. For the name Aplahanda, see A. Finet, J. R. Kupper, M. Birot, and O. Rouault, *Archives royales de Mari, Traductions XVI: Répertoire analytique des tomes VI à XIV* (Paris, 1979): 65, under Aplahanda.
66. K. Michalowski, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1974), pl. 92, the king embraced by Atum on a building of Sesostri I; E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seal from Tomb 66 at Ruweise," *Berytus* 24 (1975–76): 30 n. 7.
  67. For the suggestion that this could be the same figure duplicated, see Porada, *Corpus* 1: 126. For the suggestion that this could be the ruler and his son, see P. Amiet, "Jalons pour une interpretation du repertoire des sceaux cylindres Syriens au II millenaire," *Akkadica* 28 (1982): 26.
  68. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 183.
  69. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.
  70. E.g., Strommenger and Hirmer, *Art of Mesopotamia*, fig. 45.
  71. For a man and a woman: Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 78. For two women: von der Osten, *Alisbar Hüyük* 2: 207, fig. 246, 3103.
  72. Hero with lion: Porada, *Corpus* 1, 361, 364.
  73. G. Dossin, "Le panthéon de Mari" in *Studia Mariana*, ed. A. Parrot (Paris, 1950), pp. 46–47, 49; Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 179.
  74. Collon, *Alalakh*, p. 179.
  75. Dossin, "Panthéon," *Studia Mariana*, p. 48.
  76. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 907.
  77. E.g., von der Osten, *Alisbar Hüyük* 2: 207, fig. 246, d2199; Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 3; Buchanan, *Yale*, 1211.
  78. A similar figure in an ascending position occurs at Alalakh: Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pl. XXIII, 132. See also von der Osten, *Newell*, 195.
  79. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pls. XIX, 56, 57; XXII, 67; and pp. 65–66.
  80. H. Kühne, ed., *Das Rollsiegel in Syrien*, 38: 83–84; Buchanan, "Snake Goddess and Companions," *Iraq* 33, pl. Ib.
  81. H. Kühne, ed., *Rollsiegel*, 38.
  82. B. Buchanan, "Snake Goddess and Companions," *Iraq* 33, pl. Ib.
  83. O. Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal* (Tel Aviv, 1976), pl. 35, 1459, pp. 52–53; also pl. 34, 1457.
  84. E. Porada, "Cylinder Seal from Ruweise," *Berytus* 24: 30 and n. 3.
  85. For serpent, e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 967.
  86. D. Collon, "The Smiting God: A Study of a Bronze in the Pomerance Collection in New York," *Levant* 4 (1972): 128.
  87. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, e.g., pl. I, 4, pl. XVII, 52.
  88. Özgüç, *Kültepe* 1949, 694.
  89. D. Collon, "Smiting God," *Levant* 4: 128.
  90. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
  91. Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1 (Paris, 1974): 73–74.
  92. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86. For this theme on Syrian seals see P. Amiet, "Jalons," *Akkadica* 18: 30–33.
  93. In the Ugaritic texts Reshef was identified with Nergal: Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1: 51–52; Collon, "Smiting God," *Levant* 4: 131.
  94. Collon, "Smiting God," p. 131. See also J. Fulco, *The Canaanite God Rešep*, American Oriental Series, Essay 8 (New Haven, 1976).
  95. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pp. 180–181.
  96. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 910; Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 44.
  97. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pl. XV, for examples of each.
  98. *Ibid.*, 42; Mattiae, *Ebla*, p. 145, fig. 32.
  99. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, e.g., pl. V, 3–6 and 10.
  100. *Ibid.*, p. 180, for the female deity par excellence. Amiet believes the figure is a patroness of the state and perhaps a personification of monarchy: "Jalons," *Akkadica* 28: 27.
  101. Alp, *Karaböyük*, p. 116: 13.

102. Fulco, *Rešep*, pp. 49–50. But see S. Iwry, "New Evidence for Belomancy in Ancient Palestine and Phoenicia," *JAOS* 81 (1961): 27–34, for another reading.
103. J. Fulco, *Rešep*, p. 67; see also H. Seeden, *The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant* (Munich, 1980), p. 144. My thanks to C. Qualls for the latter reference.
104. Williams-Forte, *Moore*, notes to no. 63.
105. Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1: 402–409.
106. Moortgat, *VARS*, 537; Ménant, *de Clercq*, 394; Alp, *Karaböyük*, Taf. 11, 21; Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 25; M. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Phillister und Kreter, III," *Orientalia* NS 30 (1961), Taf. LIV, Abb. 21.
107. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XX, 61. The iconography of the bull-man in the Anatolian repertoire is thought to have been derived from the Old Babylonian repertoire.
108. M.-T. Barrelet, "Les déesses armées et ailées," *Syria* 33 (1955): 222–260.
109. E.g., Porada, "Cylinder Seal with Camel," *JWAG* 36: 2–3.
110. Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1: 94.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–87.
113. E. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté* (Paris, 1939), pp. 111–117. For this theme on Syrian seals see Amiet, "Jalons," *Akkadica* 18: 27–28.
114. Barrelet, "Déesses ailées," *Syria* 33: 225, 236.
115. Özgüç, *Kültepe 1949*, pl. LXII, 692; N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XXIV, 71.
116. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 183.
117. N. Özgüç, "Some Contributions to Early Anatolian Art from Acemhöyük," *Belleten* 43 (1979), pl. I, no. 2; C. Gordon, "Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6, pl. V, 36.
118. Barrelet, "Déesses ailées," *Syria* 33: 255.
119. *Ibid.*
120. Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1: 93.
121. Frankfort, *CS*, pp. 134 and 215.
122. Amiet, *Bas reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien Orient* (Paris, 1973), p. 145, fig. 413.
123. S. Alp, *Karaböyük*, Taf. II, 22.
124. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 18: 52–53; *idem*, *Alalakh Impressions*, 26: 22.
125. E. D. van Buren, *Symbols*, pp. 82–85 and p. 190, E5. I intend to discuss the iconography of seal 507 in greater detail in a forthcoming article.
126. Caquot et al., *Textes ougaritiques* 1: 93. Shapash, the solar deity at Ugarit, was also female: *ibid.*, pp. 96–97.
127. R. Amiran, "The 'Arm-Shaped' Vessel and Its Family," *JNES* 21 (1962): 161–174; see also Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 109, 1. Stands with open hands on Syrian seals have sometimes been taken for flaming stands. In certain cases flaming stands appear in the field but the difference between them and the stand with the open hand is usually fairly obvious. The latter is usually in the shape of a hand, with a clear thumb outline and four or sometimes five fingers, whereas the former has no definite shape and has a variable number of "flames" pointing straight upward (cf. seals 547 and 556 with 475 and 487, and see 474 where both a hand and a flaming stand are represented).
128. N. Özgüç, "Some Art from Acemhöyük," *Belleten* 43, pl. IIb and p. 291, 6.
129. W. C. Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt," *CAH* 1, pp. 39–44; W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 113 ff.; P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (Paris, 1938), pp. 274–279. See also P. Matthiae, "Fouilles à Tell Mardikh-Ebla 1978, le Batiment Q et la Nécropole Princièrre du Bronze Moyen II," *Akkadica* 17 (1977), fig. 19 for an Egyptian scepter found at Tell Mardikh and dated to c. 1765 B.C.



130. Predictably, a few Hyksos scarabs have been found at Byblos (e.g., Dunand, *Byblos* 1, 2443, 2444, 2835, 2852, 2954; see also C. Schaeffer, *Stratigraphie comparée* [Paris, 1948], p. 68 and n. 3) and at Ugarit (C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 1: 126–127 and fig. 113 p. 128; idem, *Ugaritica* 4: 307–309; Schaeffer points out however [p. 309] that “Hyksos” type scarabs were apparently to be found in the late Middle Kingdom). For Alalakh see Woolley, *Alalakh*, pl. LXI, 20, 29, 32, and Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 186; for Qatna, M. du Buisson, “Les ruines d’el-Mishrifé au nord-est de Homs,” *Syria* 8 (1927): 23. No Hyksos scarabs have apparently been found at Hama (Riis, *Hama* 2/3: 65–66).
131. L. Habachi, “The Second Stela of Khamose,” *ADAIKM* 8 (1972): Lines 13–15 mention ships filled with cedar and precious stones and metals captured from the “Asiatics” and said to have come from Retenu. The commodities imply the Syro-Palestinian region, which is also indicated by the ancient name for this region, Retenu. See also J. van Seters, *The Hyksos* (New Haven, 1966), pp. 61, 73–81, 108–109, 170.
132. W. Helck, “Ägyptische Statuen im Ausland—Ein Chronologisches Problem,” *UF* 8 (1976): 101–115, argues on the basis of chronological and stratigraphic discrepancies that the Egyptian Middle Kingdom statues found in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East had homes first in Egypt and were only later sent abroad as the result of trade under the Hyksos. Artifacts dated to the Hyksos king Khyan have been excavated in Crete and Boghazköy: A. Evans, *Palace of Minos I* (London, 1921): 419–420 and fig. 304b; H. Stock, “Der Hyksos Chian in Bogazköy,” *MDOG* 94 (1963): 73–80. K. Bittel, *Hattusha* (New York, 1970), pp. 116–117, suggests that the vase with Khyan’s name from Boghazköy could have been taken as booty from Syria by Hattušili I or Muršili I. See also H. Kantor, “Relative Chronology of Egypt,” in R. W. Ehrich, ed., *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, p. 22 (Chicago, 1965), for Syro-Palestinian pottery in Egypt and Nubia during the MB IIB period, implying contact between the two regions; R. S. Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt*, SIMA 18 (Goteborg, 1968): 190–193; G. S. Matthiae, “Un ogetto faraonico della XIII dinastia,” *Studi Eblaiti* 1 (1979): 120–127; idem, “Osservazioni sui Gioielli delle Tombe Principeschi di Mardikh IIIB,” *Studi Eblaiti* 4 (1981): 221–225.
133. N. Özgüç, *Acemhöyük*, *Belleten* 41, pl. V, 13, also no. 14 there, for a scaraboid with a design almost identical to a scarab from an MB II tomb at Megiddo.
134. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pls. XIIIc, XVd.
135. S. Alp, *Karaböyük*, pl. 11, 22 (winged sun disc and Nekhbet); p. 111, fig. 7 (small figure with youth’s side lock to which Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 858, and Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XL1r, from Boston, can be compared).
136. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 910; idem, “Cylinder Seal from Ruweish,” *Berytus* 24: 30.
137. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 185.
138. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 117: 127–128. It should be noted that the binding motif is found on a Syro-Palestinian seal of the earlier second millennium (*Corpus* 1000). The stylized rendition of the papyrus plants in the roundel on this seal is also anticipated on a seal impression dated to the late eighteenth century from Tell Mardikh (P. Matthiae, *Syria* 46 [1969], pl. 11:2).
139. Ibid., pp. 185–186, and R. Opificius, “Syrisch glyptischer Einfluss auf die Kunst des Zweistromlandes in Altbabylonischer Zeit” in Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, p. 218.
140. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 145: 79 and n. 3. See also e.g., von der Osten, *Brett*, 88; Eisen, *Moore*, 142.
141. R. Opificius, “Syr. glypt. Einfluss” in Bittel et al., eds., *Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, p. 218.
142. This subject is to form the core of my doctoral dissertation.

143. R. S. Merrillees, *Cypriote BA Pottery in Egypt*, SIMA 18: 180; W. Helk, "Ägyptens zur Vorderasiens" in *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zur Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Christ* (Wiesbaden, 1962), p. 72.
144. A. R. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (London, 1961), fig. 10, under Osiris, and pp. 129–130. W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 7–8.
145. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, fig. 10, under Horus, and pp. 424–427.
146. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, p. 179.
147. W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, p. 9.
148. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, fig. 10, under Isis, and pp. 8 and 10.
149. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 4: 67, nos. 71, 72; p. 74, fig. 22, nos. 116, 117, 119.
150. W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture*, p. 169.
151. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (London, 1979, reprint), section S, p. 508.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 502, section R2.
153. My thanks to Dominique Collon for pointing this out to me. See Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 147: 80–81.
154. C. Schaeffer, "Le cylindre A357 de Chagar Bazar," *Iraq* 36 (1974): 223–228, especially p. 227.
155. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pp. 66–67, and e.g., pl. XXI, 62, 63; pl. XXIII, 68.
156. N. Özgüç, "Acmhöyük," *Belleten* 41, pl. IV, 10; and see seal 426 here.
157. E.g., von der Osten, *Brett*, 85.
158. See W. H. Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus* (London, 1891), e.g., p. 51, 19; p. 55, 30; p. 56, 31; p. 57, 32; pl. IV, e.g., 11, 12, 14, 15. My thanks to D. H. Stewart of the Institute of Archaeology, London, for this reference. The fully flowering lotus on a Syrian seal is seen on, e.g., Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 10.
159. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XVI, 49.
160. Schaeffer, "Cylindre de Chagar Bazar," *Iraq* 36: 224–228 and pl. XXXVa–m.
161. E.g. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 976, 978; Buchanan, *Yale*, 1199. These figures appear deified on a ritual basin from Tell Mardikh, Matthiae, *Ebla*, fig. 87.
162. E.g., von der Osten, *Brett*, 91; Gordon, "Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6, pl. VII, 60; *Delaporte*, Louvre 2, A.931, pl. 97(3); for this figure beside the nude winged goddess see Gordon, *Iraq* 6, no. 60.
163. Brandes, *Siegelabrollungen*, Taf. 13 (W 21004.1,2,13a).
164. Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 10. See also Porada, *Corpus* 1, 910.
165. R. Barnett, "Homme masqué ou dieu-ibex?" *Syria* 43 (1966): 266.
166. BM130672. For a drawing of this seal see el-Safadi, "Die Entstehung," *UF* 6, Taf. XXIII, 158.
167. Buchanan, "Impressions on OB Tablets," *JCS* 11: 49 and nn. 10 and 11. However, Seyrig, "Cylindres Syriens," *Syria* 40: 255, thinks the pennon did not have an Aegean origin.
168. W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East, A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean and Western Asia* (New Haven and London, 1965), p. 33, fig. 55. In *Corpus* 1: 130, Porada has pointed out the similarity in costume between the figures on seal 969 and those of Cretan tribute bearers in the tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, dated to the fifteenth century B.C. See also H. Seyrig, "Cylindre representant une tauromachie," *Syria* 33 (1956): 173; idem, "Cylindres syriens," *Syria* 40: 255 re: pl. XXI, 2; nn. 2 and 3 and pp. 255–256. Seyrig compares the long flowing hair of the figures on Porada, *Corpus* 1, 969 to the hair of the figure holding a spear or a staff on the Chieftain's Cup from Ayia Triada (*Syria* 33: 174, fig. 8, dated to c. 1650–1500 B.C.).
169. The Aegean examples cited for the figures with pennons or topknots are from a late date, e.g., the signet ring from Mycenae Shaft Grave Circle A is dated to c. 1550–1400 B.C. (S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece*, p. 225, fig. 228 A); see also the figures with topknots on the bezel of the Danicourt signet ring, also dated to c. 1450 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 226, fig. 229).

170. N. Özgüç, "Acemhöyük," *Belleten* 41, pl. VI, 16 (the central figure).
171. Lambert, "Gulbenkian Collection," *Iraq* 41: 18, notes to no. 47.
172. P. Amiet, "Quelques ancêtres du chasseur royal d'Ugarit," in C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4: 5.
173. E.g., *ibid.*, p. 6, fig. 8; p. 7, fig. 9; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 119; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1100.
174. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 893.
175. For the sealing in the Louvre see Amiet, "Quelques ancêtres" in Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4: 2, figs. 1 and 2, and pp. 1–3. For the Ashmolean seal see Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 892 and p. 167.
176. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 17: 51; Amiet, "Quelques ancêtres" in Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4: 3–6.
177. Amiet, *ibid.*, pp. 5–6, and figs. 5 and 6. Our seal 546 is also stylistically later than seal 545.
178. The eight-spoked wheel (as on seal 546) is more often found on later seals: Amiet, *ibid.*, p. 6, fig. 8; p. 7, fig. 9. Most of the wheels on eighteenth-century seals have four spokes.
179. Buchanan, *Yale*, 1286.
180. M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (Cologne, 1979), p. 54; Lambert, "Gulbenkian Collection," *Iraq* 41: 18, notes to no. 47.
181. *CADA*, p. 38, under *abāru* B.
182. G. Offner, "Jeux corporels en Sumer, documents relatifs à la compétition athlétique," *RA* 56 (1962): 31 ff. especially 37–38.
183. *CADA*, p. 38: KAV 218 A ii 5 and 14.
184. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 969; Seyrig, "Cylindres syriens," *Syria* 40, pl. XXI 5.
185. Buchanan, *Yale*, 1238.
186. J. V. Canby, "The Walters Gallery Cappadocian Tablet and the Sphinx in Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.," *JNES* 34 (1975): 226, figs. 1–2a, fig. 3, and p. 232, where Canby suggests that the sphinx came to the Syrian repertoire via Anatolia.
187. A. Dessene, *Le sphinx, étude iconographique des origines à la fin du second millénaire* (Paris, 1957), pp. 27–176. A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), pl. XVII, nos. A and B.
188. N. Özgüç, *Karum Kanesh Ib*, pl. III, 2; pl. VII C; pl. XXXIII, 1b and p. 44; Alp, *Karaböyük*, Abb. 74–76.
189. E.g., Legrain, *UE* 3, 393.
190. My thanks to D. Collon for pointing out this similarity. Dr. Collon has also suggested that the rampant position of the lions on this seal appears to be intermediary to the full flying gallop, and that the flying gallop as represented on Syrian seals could therefore have developed in Syria without Aegean influence. See D. Collon, *UF* 13 (1981): 34.
191. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XXX, 92; pl. XXXI, 97; pl. XX, 60.
192. N. Özgüç, in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 78.
193. Buchanan, *Yale*, 1180; Delaporte, *BN*, 422; von der Osten, *Newell*, 342; Noveck, *Gorelick*, 27; Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.931, pl. 97(3): AD. 10861; and von der Osten, *Brett*, 92, probably belong to this tradition.
194. E.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 935e; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 847.
195. W. Ward, "Un cylindre syrien inscrit de la deuxième Période Intermédiaire," *Syria* 42 (1965), pl. V, 2, from Tell Beit Mirsim in a seventeenth-century context; pl. V, 4.

## XV: MITANNIAN SEALS

1. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, p. 166; see below chap. 17, "Levantine Seals from c. 1550–900 B.C."

2. For the Syro-Mitannian style see E. Porada, "Die siegelzylinder Abrollung auf der Amarna Tafel BM 29841 im Britischen Museum," *AfO* 25 (1974–77): 139 n. 28; for the Common style see Porada, *Nuzi*, Groups I–XIV. See n. 29 below for these styles at Alalakh.
3. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pp. 166–169, especially p. 169, and idem, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 10.
4. For Nuzi, cf., e.g., the differences in styles between Porada, *Nuzi*, 1–19 and 88–99. For Alalakh, Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 10. For Ugarit, see, e.g., Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 41, 45, 49. For Common Style seals in Palestine, P. Beck, "Problems in the Glyptic Art of Palestine" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967), p. 114; and Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11, pls. V–XIX, for the stratified seals. For these seals in Iran, e.g., E. Negahban, "Seals of Marlik," in *Atken des VII Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische und Archäologie—München, 1976* (Munich, 1979), pp. 110–119; Amiet, *GS*, 2046–2052; Porada, *Tchoga Zambil* 4, 111, 113, 123.
5. For this style in Level VI, see Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 76, nos. 49 and 50, and pp. 8–10. For the early group see *ibid.*, p. 8.
6. H. Kantor in McEwan et al., *Fakbariyah*, pp. 83–84 and nn. 123 and 127.
7. P. Beck, "Glyptic Art in Palestine," pp. 114–116. See also Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 39: 68.
8. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 112: 122–123.
9. H. Kantor in McEwan et al., *Fakbariyah*, pp. 82–83; E. Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 13.
10. H. Nissen, "Aus dem Geschäftsleben assyrische Kaufleute im 14 Jhr. v. Chr." in *Heidelberger Studien . . . Falkenstein* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 111–120, especially pp. 114 ff.
11. E.g., Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11, 35, 39, 41, 43, from Beth Shan; 100, 104, 106, 181, from Lachish; 118, from Gezer; 182, provenance unknown. Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, 935; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 91, dated to Level VI; see Collon's comments, pp. 106–107. For other early Mitannian seals at Alalakh, see *ibid.*, pp. 8–10, nos. 49, 50.
12. Porada, *Nuzi*, pp. 111–112.
13. *Ibid.*, (dancers); Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 51: 77–78.
14. Porada, *Nuzi*, p. 112.
15. *Ibid.*, 24.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 108 ff.
17. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 12.
18. *Ibid.*, 51: 77–78.
19. Porada, *Nuzi*, pls. XXI (beginning with 414), XXII, XXIII, and pp. 30–32.
20. *Ibid.*, pls. XIX, XX, XXI, nos. 409–413, and pp. 118–119.
21. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 8; nos. 76 and 77 on pp. 95–97.
22. E.g., Delaporte, *Louvre* 2, A.945, pl. 97 (10).
23. See, e.g., Porada, *Nuzi*, 62, 132 (birds); 141 (heads and birds); 88 (heads); Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 42 (heads); Porada, *Nuzi*, 163, 164 (animals placed antithetically).
24. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 30, 31; pp. 62–63.
25. Porada, *Nuzi*, p. 39.
26. The principal question which arises here is whether the two styles were the product of workshops using similar techniques at different times, or whether the seals were produced contemporaneously, one group as seals of quality and the other mass-produced for the ordinary market. The evidence from the few schematic seals which have come from dated contexts (C. Schaeffer, "Résumé des résultats de la XXIIe campagne des fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit 1959," *AAS* 10 [1960]: 136, fig. 8, from Ugarit Récent 2 [1450–1350 B.C.]; Porada, *Nuzi*, pls. XLII–XLIII, 835–880, especially 847 which dates from the last generation at Nuzi; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 94:



- 108, from Alalakh III; Riis, *Hama* 2/3: 515, fig. 189B, from G VII; Beran, "Assyrische Glyptik des 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 52 [1957], p. 198, Abb. 102, dated to the reign of Eriba-Adad [1392–1223 B.C.]; Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11, pl. XVI, 107, from Lachish, Period 3 [c. 1325–1223 B.C.]) suggests that the mass-produced schematic style may have appeared slightly later than the modeled style, but this does not preclude it from then having been contemporary with the modeled style from c. 1450 B.C. on. Other seals from Alalakh in this style (Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 95, 96: 109–110) have been dated to the fourteenth century B.C. A sealing from Tell Hadidi which is not of the mass-produced type but which does have schematic elements has been dated to the fifteenth century B.C. (R. Dorneman, "Tell Hadidi," in D. N. Freedman, ed., *Archaeological Reports from the Tabqa Dam Project Euphrates Valley, Syria*, "AASOR 44 [1977]: 147, T 5, and p. 146; see also idem, "Tell Hadidi: an Important Center," in J. Margueron, ed., *Le moyen Euphrate* [Strasbourg, 1977], pp. 220–223, and pl. II). The individual development of the modeled style excludes the possibility that the schematic style was the ultimate development of the modeled style as has previously been suggested (T. Beran, "Ass. Glyptik des 14. Jhs.," *ZA* 52:138).
27. Verbal communication from Diana Stein, who is now preparing a doctoral dissertation on the Nuzi seals and sealings. See also Carney E. S. Gavin, "The Nuzi Collection in the Harvard Semitic Museum," in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, ed. Morrison and D. I. Owen (Winona Lake, Ind., 1981), pp. 140–147.
  28. E. Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals*, p. 11; see also Baffi-Guardata, "Su un' impronta di sigillo paleosiriano tardo del Santuario B2," *Studi Eblaiti* 1 (1979): 97–104. See also references in n. 9, chap. 5.
  29. E. Porada, "Amarna Tafel BM 29841," *AfO* 25: 139–140. The same Syrian origin for seals of the schematic style has also been suggested: Porada, review of Briggs Buchanan, *Asbmolean*, *Bi.Or.* 27 (1970): 13.
  30. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, pl. LXXIV, 223, 224, 225 for the modeled Syro-Mitannian style, and see references in note 25 above for the schematic style (3 seals).
  31. C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 3 (Paris, 1956), the dynastic seal of Amurru, p. 34, figs. 44 and 45; p. 35, fig. 46; p. 36, fig. 47; and the seal of Queen Sharelli, p. 86, fig. 107 and fig. 108; A. Fadhil and K. Deller, "NIN.DINGIR.RA *entu* in Texten aus Nuzi und Kurruhanni," *Mesopotamia* 7 (1972): 202–207 and Abb. 17 and 18, the seal of a king's daughter.
  32. E. Porada, "Amarna Tafel BM 29841," *AfO* 25: 132–142, and Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 110: 121, dated to the late fourteenth century B.C.
  33. Porada, *Nuzi*, 587, 589.
  34. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
  35. See, e.g., Moortgat, *VARs*, 548, a late Syrian seal, for a naturalistic yet slightly stylized tree.
  36. Porada, *Nuzi*, 711, 712, 741, and p. 57.
  37. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57 and e.g., nos. 716, 734, 735.
  38. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4, no. 110, p. 91 and pl. X.
  39. See Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 156: 86, and 192: 102 with n. 1.
  40. Porada, *Nuzi*, pp. 112–113.
  41. *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49, 112–113.
  42. See, e.g., Porada, *Nuzi*, 18, 19.
  43. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pp. 69–70, pls. XXIII, 70, XXIV, 71–74, especially nos. 70 and 74; N. Özgüç in Porada, ed., *Ancient Art in Seals*, pp. 73–75.
  44. For the four-winged female figure see: T. Beran, "Ass. Glyptik des 14. Jhs.," *ZA* 52: 198, Abb. 101. For the figures with crossed wings, *ibid.*, Abb. 9–13, pp. 148–149. An ivory relief from Ugarit shows a four-winged female deity in a

- Hathor headdress breast-feeding two children: C. Schaeffer, "Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit, 1951, 1952, 1953," *Syria* 31 (1954): 55 and pl. VIII. Nude four-winged female figures also appear on Neo-Assyrian glyptic art, see e.g., Williams-Forte, *Moore*, 54; von der Osten, *Newell*, 432; for this figure on a Neo-Assyrian relief, see S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London, 1928), fig. 17, p. 233.
45. Sealings from Alalakh show that balls and discs existed on top of horned headdresses in the Level VII period: Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 5: 8, n. 3; 30: 25. Alalakh sealing 215 (*ibid.*, p. 118), from Level IV, shows both the spiked, horned helmet and the more rounded horned helmet with a top knob. See *ibid.*, p. 118, n. 3 for other representations of the latter headdress. Also *idem*, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 47: 74.
  46. E. Porada, "Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art," *Akkadica* 13 (1979): 2–10.
  47. N. Özgüç, *Anatolian Group*, pl. XVI, 49a and b.
  48. Porada, *Nuzi*, 16, 17.
  49. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 912.
  50. Porada, "Standards and Stools on Sealings of Nuzi and Other Examples of Mitannian Glyptic Art," in *Le temple et le culte*, *Compte rendu de la XXème Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 164–171.
  51. E.g., Porada, *Nuzi*, 72, 86, 929.
  52. Collon, *Alalakh Impressions*, 232: 132; *idem*, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 33: 63–64.
  53. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 28: 61.

#### XVI: CYPRIOT SEALS FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE

1. V. Kenna, "Catalogue of the Cypriot Seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum," *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 20, part 3 (Göteborg, 1971), pp. 7–8.
2. E. Porada, "Appendix I: Seals" in P. Dikaios, *Enkomi* 2 (Mainz, 1971): 783, 800.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 783. See also E. Porada, "On the Complexity of Style and Iconography in Some Groups of Cylinder Seals from Cyprus," in *Acts of the International Symposium "The Myceneans in the Eastern Mediterranean"* Nicosia 1972 (Nicosia, 1973), pp. 260–272; *idem*, "Cylinder Seals from Enkomi, Cyprus, and a Reappraisal of Early Glyptic Art in Cyprus," *AJA* 73 (1969): 244.
4. V. Kenna, "Cypriot BA Seals in BM," *SIMA* 20/3: 10–11.
5. E. Porada in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1972*, pp. 260–273; *idem*, "A Theban Cylinder Seal in Cypriote Style with Minoan Elements," in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1978*, pp. 113–114. Porada calls the later modeled style the "broad-shouldered" style.
6. N. Pini, "Cypro-Aegean Cylinder Seals, on the Definition and Origin of the Class," in *Acts of the International Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete c. 2000–500 B.C."*—*Nicosia 1978* (Nicosia, 1979).
7. E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age," *AJA* 52 (1948): 184.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
9. Porada, "Seals" in Dikaios, *Enkomi* 23: 791, no. 4a.
10. E. Porada, "Appendix IV: Three Cylinder Seals from Tombs 1 or 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke," in P. Åström, *Hala Sultan Tekke* I, *SIMA* 45, part 1 (Göteborg, 1976), p. 102.
11. V. Kenna, "Cypriot BA Seals in BM," *SIMA* 20/3: 9.
12. M. Gill, "The Minoan 'Genius'," *Athenische Mitteilung* 79 (1964): 1–29, Beilagen 1–7.

13. Ibid., p. 11, Beilagen 4, 6 and 7. For two genii(?) with a lion on a Cypriot seal, see E. Porada in Dikaios, *Enkomi* 2, no. 7, pp. 793–794.
14. See, however, E. Porada, "Seals of Late Cypriot BA," *AJA* 52, pl. VI, 28; pl. VIII, 10.
15. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London, 1970), e.g., fig. 113, pl. 200.
16. Ibid., pl. 53 (for the full shoulders); pls. 119, 175, 179 (for sculptured forms); pl. 148 (for the pinched waist, in the manner of heroes).
17. For the distribution and study of tablets and clay balls with this script in Cyprus and the Near East see E. Masson, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 31, part 1 (Göteborg, 1971), 31, part 2 (Göteborg, 1974), and J. Chadwick, "The Minoan Origin of the Classical Cypriote Script," in *Acts of the International Symposium, Nicosia 1978* (Nicosia, 1979), pp. 139–143.
18. L. Godart and A. Sacconi, "La plus ancienne tablette d'Enkomi et la Lineaire A," in *Acts of the International Symposium, Nicosia 1978*, pp. 128–133. See also O. Masson, "L'apparition l'écriture à Chypre: Témoignage probable des contacts entre l'île de Crète et l'île de Chypre au cours de la première moitié du deuxième millénaire" in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1978*, pp. 134–138.
19. E. Masson, "Études de vingt-six boules d'argile inscrites trouvées à Enkomi et Hala Sultan Tekke," *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 31, part 2 (Göteborg, 1974), pp. 44, 46.
20. J. F. Daniel, "Prolegomena to the Cypro-Minoan script," *AJA* 45 (1941): 268–270 (Class VI); O. Masson, "Cylindres et cachets cypriotes portant des caractères Chypro-Minoens," *BCH* 71 (1957): 6–37.
21. E.g., Porada, "Seals of the Late Cypriot BA," *AJA* 52, pl. IX, 19, 20, and p. 188; idem, in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1978*, pl. XXXII, 1.
22. E. Porada in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1978*, p. 112, fig. 1, pl. XIII, 1.
23. O. Masson, "Cylindres des caractères Chypro-Minoens," *BCH* 71: 7–8, no. L, found at Enkomi, Tomb 2:68.
24. E. Porada in Åström, *Hala Sultan Tekke* 1, SIMA 45, part 1, fig. 80, p. 102.
25. E. Porada, "Cylinder Seals of Late Cypriot BA," *AJA* 52: 188; idem, in *Acts . . . Nicosia 1978*, p. 260.
26. E. Porada in Åström, *Hala Sultan Tekke* I, SIMA 45, part 1, 78, p. 100 and p. 101.

## XVII: LEVANTINE SEALS FROM c. 1550–900 B.C.

1. Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 54, 55, 56, 57, 82; 58, 61, 83 (Ugarit récent I, c. 1550–1450 B.C.); 60, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 81 (Ugarit récent II, c. 1450–1350 B.C.); 80 (Ugarit récent III, c. 1350–1180 B.C.); Schaeffer, *Syria* 16 (1935), pl. XXXV; first column from left (3); second column (1–4); third column (1–3); 9, fig. 3; idem, *Ugaritica* 4, figs. 62k, 63i, 72, 76, 78, 112, 113; idem, *Ugaritica* 3: 151, fig. 2 (Ugarit récent II); Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XLVb, m, n; von der Osten, *Newell*, 659; Dussaud, *Babyloniaca* 9, pl. IV, 6, 7; Bossert, *Alt-syrien*, p. 243, 833a, d, h.
2. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, p. 15. For new iconographical motifs, *ibid.*, seals 102–109, 113, dated to the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries; for local traditions, *ibid.*, seals 44, 45; 97–99; 119.
3. For an assemblage of Levantine seals, see Parker, "Cylinder Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11 (1949): 1–43; Nougayrol, *Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres, trouvés en Palestine* (Paris, 1939). See also references in nn. 1, 5, 22, and 25 in this chapter.
4. Classifications of Levantine seals by R. Opifcius, "Syrische Glyptik der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends," *UF* 1 (1969): 95–105, and H. Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, pp. 87–92, are based on very general criteria and do

not take into account the variety of seals from this period. For example, consider the diversity of styles included in Opificius's "Mitannisierend-ägyptisierende Gruppe," *UF* 1: 105–106.

5. Genuine stylistic groups of local types appear to be: (1) seals cut in a gently modeled style which show a figure walking in procession with an antelope, griffin, or bull. The griffin's wing is splayed and striated. See H. Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 58, from Ugarit, c. 1450–1350 B.C.; Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11: 153 and 154, from Tell Abu Hawam, Level V, c. 1400–1200 B.C.; *ibid.*, 151, from Lachish, Tomb 4004, c. 1500–1250 B.C.; Riis, *Hama* 2/3: 154, fig. 194c; Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1004.

(2) seals cut in a crude, angular style which show one or two male figures with one or two animals placed vertically in the field. See Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11: 139, from Tell Hesay, City IV (1400–1300 B.C.); *ibid.*, 168, from Gezer Tomb 153 (c. 1000–550 B.C.); Yadin, *Hazor* 2, pl. LXXVI, no. IL, from Stratum IX, dating to the end of the tenth century B.C.; J. Nougayrol, *Cylindres . . . Palestine*, pl. IV, EG 32 XL, p. 19, from Gezer (c. 1000–550 B.C.); and pl. III, EG 23 XLIII, p. 20, from Gezer (1400–1200 B.C.); Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, p. 159, fig. 130, from Alaça Hüyük; V. Kenna, *SIMA* 20/3, 89; Delaporte, *Guimet*, 140. These seals are related in subject to a group from Cyprus, e.g., Parker, *Iraq* 11, 148, 149. For other seals of this period which are cut in an assured style but for which few parallels exist see: Parker, *Iraq* 11, XI: 30 (cf. Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1100; Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 63) and 165; Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XLVj. See also nos. 658–676 above.

(3) of the derivative type:

- a) a group of seals made of chert and showing Kassite influence: Riis, *Hama* 2/3: 151, fig. 190C, and p. 155, fig. 195D; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 992, 994, 994A. This group is included in R. Opificius's *Frittesiegelgruppe* II: R. Opificius, "Syrische Glyptik," *UF* 1: 107;
  - b) seals cut in a flat linear style usually having as a general theme two figures standing on either side of a pole with a winged sun disc above it. These seals show a mixture of Hittite and Middle Assyrian influence: D. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 106, 107: 117–119; and 108, 109: 119–120, which are related.
6. D. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 118: 129, and references in notes. For other "Hyksos" type cylinder seals in Syria, see P. Matthiae, *Ebla*, fig. 94; *Byblos* II, pl. CXCI: 12187; For these in Palestine, e.g., Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11: 21, 22; Porada, "Seals of the Late Cypriote BA," *AJA* 52: 181 and n. 23.
  7. R. Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (Göttingen, 1978), pp. 10–11.
  8. For figures standing beside a pole see e.g., Porada, *Corpus* 1, 955; Moortgat, *VARs*, 535. For the smiting god, e.g., 474–485 above. For the offering scene, e.g., 458 above.
  9. For the worship of the seated deity holding a lightning fork, e.g., 584 above; Porada, *Nuzi*, 663; for the human and animal processions, e.g., Porada, *Nuzi*, 44 and 533.
  10. B. Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11: 30.
  11. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* 4 (Paris, 1964): 74, fig. 22, no. 123; p. 88, fig. 25, third from the right; and p. 86.
  12. See, e.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 912, 913 for the Mitannian seals. For Syrian seals, e.g., Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 55; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 103–105.
  13. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, pp. 14–15.
  14. Cf. e.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 563a; Moortgat, *VARs*, 560, and see M. Trokay, "Glyptique cassite tardive ou postcassite?" *Akkadica* 21 (1981), figs. 1–35.



15. Middle Assyrian: A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts," *ZA* 47 (1942): 81, Abb. 66, 67; Kassite: W. G. Lambert, "Near Eastern Seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham," *Iraq* 41 (1979), pl. VII, 63; T. Beran, "Die babylonische Glyptik der Kassitenzeit," *AfO* 18 (1958): 269, Abb. 18.
16. Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 114: 124–125; D. Beyer, "Les empreintes de sceaux de Meskené" in J. Margueron, ed., *Le moyen Euphrate*, pp. 275–283 and no. 15. Other seals of this type: Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 993, perhaps from Tell Basher; P. Amiet, *Bas reliefs imaginaires de l'Ancien Orient* (Paris, 1973), p. 133, no. 92, AO 11234; R. Opifcius, "Syrische Glyptik," *UF* 1: 53; see also E. Laroche "Les hieroglyphes de Meskené-Emar et le style syro-hittite," *Akkadica* 22 (1981): 6–9.
17. An unpublished seal in the Moore Collection at the Metropolitan (L 55.49.214; my thanks to Ms. Diana Krumholz for showing me this seal) is the only other seal of this type I have been able to examine and it was instantly identifiable as bronze; mineralized bronze is not always recognizable as metal and a proper metallurgical analysis is usually needed. For other Hittite or Syro-Hittite metal cylinder seals, see: G. Beckman, "A Hittite Cylinder Seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection," *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981), pp. 129–135, especially p. 131.
18. H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy* 2, Beiheft, Archiv für Orientforschung 7 (Berlin, 1942), Taf. 1, 13, Taf. IV, 106, 109; Güterbock, "Hieroglyphensiegel aus dem Tempelbezirk" in Bittel, ed., *Bogazköy* 5: 60, no. 22, and 59, fig. 22; and Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 3, figs. 54, 55, and 56, the seal of Takki-Sarruma thirteenth century; figs. 67, 68, 69, the seal of Amman-masu; figs. 70, 71, 72, the seal of Hat-Kur.  
In Hittite texts a figure known as <sup>d</sup>Irra is described as "lord of the bow," E. Laroche, "Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites," *RHA* 7 (1946): 82 and KBO 1 3R 19. My thanks to D. Hawkins to whom I owe most of the references in nn. 18 and 19.
19. K. Bittel, *Die Hethiter* (Munich, 1976), Hanyeri: pl. 201; Hemite: pl. 202; Karabel: pl. 206. For the latest reading of the name on the Karabel relief, see Güterbock, "Das dritte Monument am Karabel," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 17 (1967): 63–71.
20. E.g., T. Beran, "Die Hethitische Glyptik von Bogazköy," *WVDOG* 76 (1967), Taf. 11: 127, 129, 130; Güterbock "Siegel" in Bittel, ed., *Bogazköy* 5: 87: 31 and pp. 48–52.
21. E.g., Porada, *Nuzi*, 735, 741 (on a lion); 712 (on a bull).
22. Late Mitannian glyptic art: D. Wiseman, *Seals of Western Asia*, 51; Parker, "Seals from Palestine," *Iraq* 11: 122. Middle Assyrian glyptic art: A. Moortgat, *ZA* 47: 58, Abb. 12; p. 59, Abb. 14, 16, 18.
23. See, e.g., Frankfort, *CS*, pl. XLVj.
24. The two cylinder seals from Hazor, Yadin, *Hazor* 2, pl. CLXII, 1, from Stratum IX, dating to the end of the tenth century B.C. and the beginning of the ninth century, and pl. CLXII, 2, from Level Va, dating to 740–732 B.C., are among the latest Levantine seals of the local type which show affinity with late second millennium glyptic art, but which have the advantage of coming from securely stratified contexts. See also Yadin, *Hazor* 3–4, pl. CCCXXI, 1 from Level IA. For other seals of this type from Palestine, see B. Parker, *Iraq* 11: 156, from Abu Hawam, Level IV (c. 1400–1200 B.C.); *ibid.*, 162, from Beth-Shan, Level VI–VII; *ibid.*, 165, from Abu Hawam; E. Porada, "Samm-lung des Franziskanerklosters Flagellatio im Jerusalem," *Berytus* 5 (1938), pl. II, nos. 17, 19; E. Wright, "Selected Seals from the Excavations at Balatah (Schechem)," *BASOR* 167 (1962): 9, fig. 2, from Schechem. See also references to Palestine in n. 5.

For seals of this type from Syria, see Riis, *Hama* 2: 154, fig. 194 B,C; Ravn,

*Danish National Museum*, 132; Dunand, *Byblos* 1, pl. CXXIV, 1362 and 2404b; CXXV, 3073; pl. CXXVI, 2514b; pl. CXXVII, 1168, 1966, 6456; idem, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCII, 6836, 13459, 9059; pl. CXCIII, 11475; 72, 79, 80; from Alalakh, Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 133: 123–124; 119: 129; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 1001–1007, 1015–1029; Tunca, *Adana*, 52–54; Beyer, “Meskené” in J. Margueron, ed., *Le moyen Euphrate*, pl. II, 13, pp. 274–275.

For Ugarit, see references in n. 1. See also Porada, *Corpus* 1, 1095, 1098–1100, and references in nn. 2 and 5 above.

25. For the vertical panellike structures, cf. Parker, “Seals from Palestine,” *Iraq* 11: 44, 50, and 127 above. For the row of rampant animals, cf. e.g., Parker, *ibid.*, 67, from Beth-Shan, Level VII.
26. In late second millennium glyptic art, see e.g., Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 1001; Riis, *Hama* 2: 155 E; in Neo-Assyrian glyptic art see, e.g., 164 and 252 in this catalogue.
27. H. Kühne, ed., *Damascus*, 81, from Ugarit (1450–1350 B.C.); Yadin, *Hazor* 2, pl. CLXXVII, ii, from Hazor Ib, dated to Late Bronze II. See also C. Schaeffer, *Syria* 16 (1935): 144, bottom row, third from left; Lamon and Shipton, *Megiddo* 1, pl. 66 no. 9; Andrae, *Sendschirli* 5, Taf. 39h; V. Kenna, *SIMA* 20/3, no. 113; J. Briand, *Tell Keisan*, pl. 88:2, p. 258 dated to Iron I or II however. Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCIII, 11475; Buchanan, *Ashmolean*, 1035–1039; Collon, *Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, 92, 93; 107, 108; 100, p. 113. See also Tunca, *Adana*, 116–118, Starr, *Nuzi* 2, pl. 119, H; and L. Delaporte, “Les cylindres orientaux du Musée Historique de l’Orléanais,” *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Leipzig, 1909), p. 32.

#### XVIII: MIDDLE ELAMITE SEALS

1. Amiet, *GS*, 2054–2120, and pls. 36–37.
2. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 127–129.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–130.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–113.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112.
10. Amiet, *GS*, p. 267.
11. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil* 4: 112–113.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

#### XIX: MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

1. A further and more detailed investigation into the composition of this seal will be carried out by Dr. D. A. Scott and reported separately.
2. P. R. S. Moorey and F. Schweizer, “Copper and Copper Alloys in Ancient Iraq, Syria, and Palestine: Some New Analyses,” *Archaeometry* 14 (1972): 194–195; P. R. S. Moorey, “Archaeology and Pre-Achaemenid Metalworking in Iran: A Fifteen Year Restrospective,” *Iran* 20 (1982): 86–88; P. R. S. Moorey, “The Archaeological Evidence for Metallurgy and Related Technologies in Mesopotamia, c. 550–2100 B.C.,” *Iraq* 44 (1982): 22, 31; Prentiss de Jesus, *The Development of Prehistoric Mining and Metallurgy in Anatolia*, BAR International Series 74 (London, 1980), pp. 90–95.

3. De Jesus, *ibid.*, pp. 94–95, 124–156, 145–147.
4. P. R. S. Moorey, "Archaeological Evidence for Metallurgy," *Iraq* 44: 21.
5. Moorey, "Archaeological Evidence for Metallurgy," *Iraq* 44: 21.
6. B. Rothenberg, "Excavations at Timna Site 39, Chalcolithic Copper Smelting," *Archaeometallurgy* 1 (1978): 1–8.
7. Cf., for example, Amiet, *GS*, p. 127, nos. 904, 905 (pl. 97, nos. 904, 905), p. 144, no. 1290 (pl. 124, no. 1290); Moorey, *Iraq* 40, pl. VII, 51–52, and pp. 53–54; BM 123587 and 134393 (unpublished); von der Osten, *Newell*, 33.
8. A. Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, p. 30, fig. 9, no. 58. IIIA-1; pp. 57–58, p. 90.
9. Cf. for example, *ibid.*, p. 8, IIA-4 (fig. 6, 38) from Megiddo; p. 9, 11 Ba-3 (fig. 7, 43), from Hazor; Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. CXCVI, 12613, pl. CXCIV, 18523; Ravn, *Danish National Museum*, 119, from Hama. These impressions are in very low relief and contrast sharply with the relatively high relief of the design on Marcopoli seal 680; an affinity of style exists however. The sinuous design of this seal is also compatible with third millennium glyptic art from the Levant, cf. e.g., Ben-Tor, *Cylinder Seals of Third-Millennium Palestine*, p. 10, IIC-II (fig. 8, 56) from the Lawieh enclosure; *ibid.*, p. 12, S-2 (fig. 11, 75) from Tel el-Farah (north); Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*, fig. 5c, g, i, and fig. 8c and d, from Byblos énéolithique.

## XX: SUSPECT AND FORGED SEALS

1. L. Gorelick and A. J. Gwinnett, "Ancient Seals and Modern Science," *Expedition* 20, no. 2 (1978): 40–41, 43, and figs. 7A–D.
2. E. Porada, "True or False? Genuine and False Cylinder Seals at Andrews University," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 6 (1968): 144 and n. 23.





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## CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

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DATES B.C.	ARCHAEOLOGICAL PHASES FOR SYRIA AND PALESTINE						
	IRAN	SOUTH MESOPOTAMIA	NORTH MESOPOTAMIA	ANATOLIA	SYRIA	PALESTINE	EGYPT
3500	Susa Proto-Urban periods	Uruk period 3500-3400				Proto-Urban phase	
	Proto-Elamite period 3100-2800	Jamdat Nasr 3100-2900			Amuq G	Early Bronze Age cities (Arad, Megiddo, Tell el-Farah, Jericho)	Thinite period 3100-2700 Dynasties I & II
3000		Early Dynastic I 2900-2750 II 2750-2600		EBA I  EBA II			
		III A 2600-2500 III B 2500-2334					Old Kingdom 2700-2200
2500	Awan Dyn. c.2400-2200	Dynasty of Akkad 2334-2154		EBA III	Amuq H	Break with preceding culture	
		Post-Akkad period				Amorites	First Intermediate period 2200-2060
	Puzur-in-Shushinak	Ur III 2112-2004	Old Assyrian period	EBA IV A & B	Amuq I Mardikh II B Amuq J	Urbanization Hazor, Megiddo, Tell Beit-Mirsim, Tell Duweir, Tell al Farah, Tell el Ajul	Middle Kingdom 2060-1786
2000							

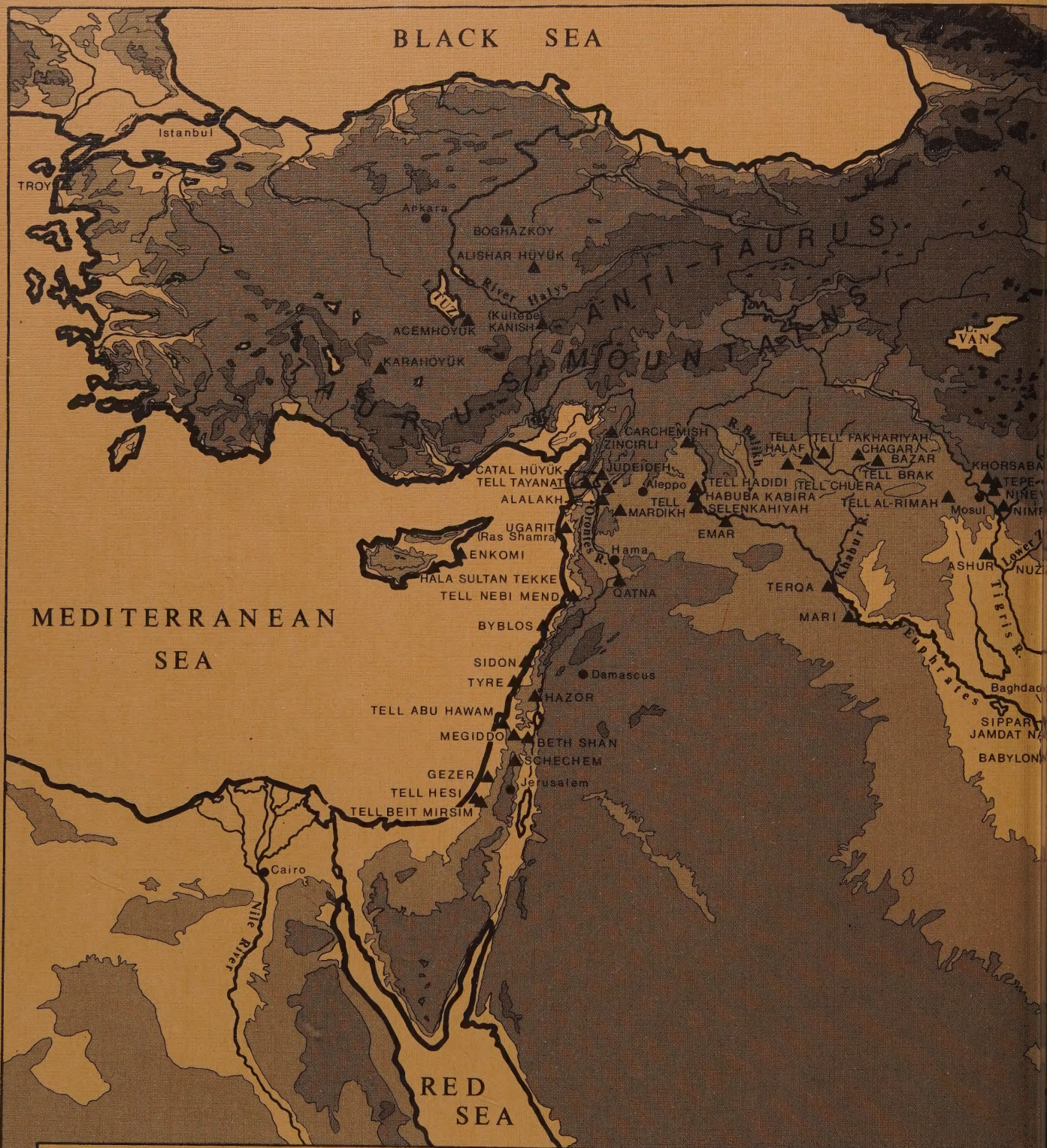
Old Elamite period 1850–1500	Early Old Babylonian (Isin-Larsa) 1st Dynasty of Babylon c.1894–1595 Hammurabi 1792–1750	Shamshi-Adad I 1813–1781	Assyrian Colony period 1920–1740 Kultepe II 1920–1840 Kultepe Ib 1840–1740 Old Hittite Kingdom 1740–1450	MBA I	Alalakh VII 1720–1620	Second Intermediate period 1786–1556
Middle Elamite period	Sack of Babylon Kassites 1400–1155 IIrd Isin Dynasty 1156–1025	Mitanni 1600–1300 Middle Assyrian period 1350–1000	Muršili I New Hittite Empire 1450–1200 Sea Peoples	MBA II LBA I LBA II	Alalakh IV 1500–1365 Sea Peoples Neo-Assyrian hegemony	New Kingdom 1550–1080 Sea Peoples Third Intermediate period 1080–713
Neo-Elamite period	Miscellaneous Dynasties	Neo-Assyrian period 1000–612	Neo-Hittite states	Iron Age I	Neo-Assyrian hegemony	
Medes	9th Dynasty of Babylon 731–626 Chaldeans 625–539	Persian hegemony	Phrygians Iron Age II & III	Persian hegemony	Persian hegemony	Alexander the Great 330–323
Achaemenid Empire 539–331	Persian hegemony					

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# MAP OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST





A general introduction on ancient Near Eastern glyptic art precedes the text. The main part of the book is divided into introductory chapters to each group of seals and the catalogue entries. The chapters include a short historical introduction, a discussion of the relevant style, and pertinent iconography, as well as commentary on individual seals of interest. Specific comparanda or specialized commentary are included in the catalogue entries. Technical analyses of material are included in the text and appendix. The latter also contains a list of seal inscriptions, a chart of the chronological distribution of materials, and a concordance. There is also a detailed bibliography and chronological chart.

The field of ancient Near Eastern glyptic art will undoubtedly be richer for the publication of this catalogue. Scholars will be greatly stimulated by the number and quality of seals that are presented for the first time and the general reader will be made aware that cylinder seals are not merely functional relics—they are also an art form.

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