

The Ninevite 5 Sequence of Glyptic at Tell Leilan

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Introduction

The period called "Ninevite 5" according to pottery is one of the most obscure phases in the evolution of Upper Mesopotamia, a "terra incognita", about which everything is still in dispute: the chronological range, the state of development (is it a mere transition or not?); the development (exogenous or endogenous factors?); the geographical area (cultural unity or local facies?).

This period is all the more difficult to appreciate as we generally lack well excavated material. However, in the last few years, the recent digging undertaken in the Habur and the Tigris areas yielded well stratified data: among them, the glyptic material, often ignored in favor of the pottery which is the traditional "fossile directeur" of this mysterious period. What can glyptic bring to our research? From which perspectives must we study it? We shall try to answer those questions with the sealings excavated in Leilan in 1987 and with those retrieved in the Operation I sounding during previous Leilan excavations.

Preliminary reflections

Previously the glyptic material was rather disregarded. Either it was used to date ceramics (cf. Mallowan 1964: 150), or was used as one of the rare tokens of southern influence (Schwartz 1985: 62; Roaf 1987: 224-225), to prove the singularity of Ninevite 5 culture.

We must first emphasize a few points about this material, even if they may seem evident:

- We cannot speak of *Ninevite 5 glyptic*, since it is a pottery designation; it is better to speak of the different styles used at the same time as Ninevite 5 pottery. In Leilan, at least according to the stratigraphy of the Acropolis North-West, this ware appears in level IIIa and disappears in level IIa. The data here presented cover the whole period; more precisely, from stratum 39 down to stratum 14, which is the first post-Ninevite 5 layer.
- We cannot speak of *Syrian glyptic* (Amiet 1963; Collon 1987). The Leilan material is north-mesopotamian; the term "Syrian" must be set apart for the areas West of the Euphrates. Excepting Tell Mozan, Leilan is the north mesopotamian site where most 4th and 3rd millennium sealings have been found until now.
- Glyptic is not a very reliable dating criterion, to date a level. The controversy about Chuera is exemplary on that point. But the very precise stratigraphy of the Acropolis North-West allows us to present at least a reliable sequence of sealings. The problem is both to describe this sequence precisely (in particular the transition phases IIIa and IIIb) and to define it in terms of absolute chronology. The lack of well stratified material from other northern sites makes this difficult; along with the inadequacy of the usual southern chronological divisions (even if we use them here). Lastly, the northern situation of Leilan may be a trap: some models may survive later and others appear later than elsewhere. If the glyptic of Leilan is a "touchstone", it must be used rather cautiously.

With these preliminary cautions in mind, we shall present the Acropolis glyptic material according to stylistic criteria: the *geometric* and the *figurative* styles. In each case, we shall focus on three main points: chronology, geography, chiefly the problem of distinct regions in a presupposed cultural unity, and specificity, chiefly the level of development and the part played by the South, which involves a functional study of our data.

This analysis will enable us to understand how and when Leilan's cultural sphere shifted, while always retaining its strong idiosyncrasy; which is one of the main contributions of the 1987 season of excavations.

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General division of the Acropolis sealings

The 1987 glyptic material consists of more than 200 pieces of sealings.¹ Some of them are rather well preserved; the others are broken in multiple little fragments, sometimes burnt. They were impressed by 15 different seals: 13 cylinders and 2 stamp seals.

Topographical and chronological division (Table 1)

As we noted above, these sealings were found in the strata 39-14 (periods III and IIa). They were discovered in 4 squares, in several small rooms the exact function of which is still unknown.

The bulk of them come from 2 squares: 44 W 12 and 44 X 12, and are dated to the end of the Ninevite 5 period, that is to say level IIIc (strata 17-15): the transition phase between Leilan III and Leilan II, when the Acropolis fortification wall was built. More precisely, the majority of the fragments were discovered in the "black ash stratum" (15C), which lies immediately beneath this wall, and may have been the destruction level of a warehouse, in either a public or private building.

Squares Periods	44 W 11 A	44 W 11 C	44 X 12	44 W 12	TOTAL
IIa (2500-2350 ?) <i>Stratum 14</i>				2 14: No. 3+13	2
(2) IIIc-d (2750-2500) <i>Strata 20-15</i>			8 (6 seals) 15D: No. 6+8 17-15G: No. 2 17: No. 4 No. 10 (3 fr.) No. 15	81 (4 seals) (1) 15C: No. 2 (2 fr.) No. 11+12 (78 fr.) 17: No. 14	89 (10)
IIIb (2900-2750) <i>Strata 36-21</i>	2 28-25: No. 7 24-21: No. 9				2
IIIa (3000-2900) <i>Strata 39-37</i>		2 39 early No. 1+5			2
TOTAL	2	2	8 (6)	83 (6)	95

(1) The same seal as in 44 X 12 ?

(2) IIIc (strata 20-18): beginning between 2800 and 2700 BC. IIIc: strata 17-15.

- Table 1: Topographic and chronological division of the sealings

Stylistic division (Tables 2 and 3)

The seals involved are approximately equally distributed between geometric patterns and figurative themes.

- the *geometric patterns* seem to appear only on cylinder seals. They are attested in all the levels, from stratum 39 down to stratum 14 (Leilan IIIa-IIa).
- the *figurative styles* appear both on cylinder and on stamp seals. They are attested from Leilan IIIb onwards. They were chiefly in use in levels IIIc and IIa; the cylinders carved with a banquet scene were then the most frequently used (4 cylinders for 82 pieces of sealings).

¹ The tables of this article are based on the precise study of ca. 100 fragments. The drawings are first sketches, which need more work in the Museum of Deir ez-Zor (Syria). Size: millimetres (height, length, thickness of the sealing; height and length of the impression). As to the legends of the plates, NS means "not stratified".

The Origins of North Mesopotamian Civilization

Styles Data	Geometric styles (CS)	Figurative styles	
		CS	SS
Seals used	8	5	2
Seal impressions	10	Ca 83 (78 "bas"+5).	2

CS = cylinder seal. SS = stamp seal. "bas" = black ash stratum.

- Table 2: Stylistic division of the sealings

Squares Periods	44 W 11 A	44 W 11 C	44 X 12	44 W 12
IIa (2500-2350 ?) <i>Stratum 14</i>				No. 3 G No. 13 G
IIIc-d (2750-2500) <i>Strata 20-15</i>			No. 6,8 G No. 2 G No. 4 G No. 10,15 F	No. 2 G (?) No. 11-12 F No. 14 F
IIIb (2900-2750) <i>Strata 36-21</i>	No. 7 G No. 9 F			
IIIa (3000-2900) <i>Strata 39-37</i>		No. 1 G No. 5 G		

G = geometric. F = figurative

- Table 3: Stylistic division of the sealings according to squares and strata.

The geometric styles

Art historians have characterized the Ninevite 5 period by cylinder seals covered with various geometric patterns, and called by different and rather misleading names (Collon 1987: 20-21). These seals are chiefly made from soft materials, especially "glazed steatite".

With respect to geography, scholars believe that the hilly country along the Zagros is the usual zone of utilization for these geometric seals, from which they derive one of their names, "the Piedmont Style". They would document intense trade relations between the South and the North of these hilly areas, apart from the land of Sumer.

With respect to chronology, geometric styles originated on cylinders in the late Jemdet Nasr period (Diyala Protoliterate c). The actual tendency of most scholars is to lower the date of the majority of these seals and date them to early ED times (Schwartz 1985: 58, n. 36; Mallowan 1964: 150; Roaf 1987: 227, n. 116. Contra: Lebeau 1988). Supposedly, they disappear from ED III and later levels, due to the new southern Mesopotamian influence (Collon 1987: 20-22).

What does Leilan bring to that general picture? We suppose that we are dealing with local manufacture. This "international" geometric style involves both a general "stock" of patterns and regional or local variants. The uses of these two different groups of motifs do not allow us to draw the same kind of inferences.

"A stock group of images"

We can make the following inferences about the chronology of this group.

- hatches set out in various ways: chevrons; "reed matting"; "basket work"; grid patterns ...

In Leilan, these appear on 3 sealings: nos. 1-3. Two hypotheses are plausible, depending on whether cylinder or stamp seals made impressions nos. 1-2.

First hypothesis: nos. 1-2 are cylinder impressions, which seems possible. In this case, the stratified parallels for our 3 documents suggest a large chronological range (from Jemdet Nasr down to ED III) and geographical range (the Piedmont areas, but also southern and northern Mesopotamia, Syria). The interest of the Leilan sealings is twofold. On the one hand, according to the proposed early date for Leilan IIIa, it suggests that at least a part of these patterns antedates the Jemdet Nasr period, an idea already suggested by some scholars (n. 1; cf. Buchanan 1981: 54, n. 159). On the other hand, the fact that nos. 2 and 3 come from "ED" levels confirms the survival of abstract designs late in the 3rd millennium; in the Diyala for instance, two-thirds of the so-called "Jemdet Nasr style" cylinder seals come from ED levels and even later.

Second hypothesis: nos. 1-2 are stamp seal impressions. Such seals are attested in Gawra as late as level VII (*Ashmolean SS*: 31 ff). In this case, the proposed back dating of some geometric cylinders still must be proved.

- *ladder or herring-bone patterns* (n. 4).

These are very frequent on Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals, especially as filling hatches between animals in a single file. But they can also cover the entire field of the object. The Leilan example, akin to ED II material from the Diyala, appears on a sealing of level IIIc, stratum 17 (maybe late ED II). It also confirms the survival of abstract patterns (often rather crude) during the 3rd millennium.

Specific variants

We can make the following cultural inferences about this group.

- *zigzags and triangles as filling motifs* (n. 5).

This pattern is typically *Susian* (MDP 12, 1911: 90 ff; MDP 13, 1912: pl. 19, n. 3). It appears on stamp seals as soon as the 1st half of the 4th millennium, and on small cylinders from the Protoelamite period onwards (Susa itself and sites of the Iranian plateau). Variations on this basic model are frequent in the Protoliterate d phase of the Diyala.

At Leilan, this pattern is attested on a cylinder seal impression of level IIIa. Such a high chronology could strengthen the idea of dating back some of the geometric cylinders. Whatever it may be, such a motif is one of the tokens of the part played by Leilan in an eastern cultural area which was largely influenced by Susa as early as the end of the 4th millennium. Leilan is actually the most western site where this eastern model was found (if we except later sherds from Tarsus and Hama). In the other direction, the specific western version of the zigzag pattern, where dots replace triangles and which is attested in the Amuq and in Chuera, has not been discovered as far East as Leilan (Amuq G or H, Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: fig. 381, n. 4; Chuera, Jemdet Nasr or later, *TC* 1974: 58, fig. 21).

- *Piedmont Style (nos. 7-8)*

Two similar impressions, made by tall cylinder seals, belong to the so-called "Piedmont Style".

The *pure "Piedmont Style"* is chiefly based on ladder pattern disposed in chevrons, lozenges, arches, meanders, etc. It appears on tall and thin cylinder seals, usually made of "burnt steatite". This style characterizes the hilly lands along the Tigris, from Susa to Anatolia. It spreads far East on the Iranian plateau. On the contrary, it is not at home in the West: we only noticed a few Habur examples. The actual tendency is to change the date of this style from Jemdet Nasr to the ED I period (cf. the controversy about Diyala Protoliterate d). Later on, beginning at 2600 B.C., these cylinders are replaced by harder stones and complicated patterns, often divided in registers, as in the Royal Cemetery of Ur.

One original example of this "Piedmont Style" was discovered in Leilan in 1980, in a Stratum 20 Operation 1 grave (Pl. 4). The engraver associated several elements which are typical of the "Piedmont Style": the division of the field in two registers; the rosette in a hatched circle (lower register); the "quartered circle" borrowed from prehistoric stamp-seals (upper register). The possible use of a drill to make this rosette is quite uncommon. The parallels are dated from Jemdet Nasr down to ED II. If we take into account the find-spot (a grave from stratum 20, beginning of Leilan IIIc), the Leilan cylinder seal may be dated to ca. 2750 B.C. at the latest.

The correlation of such geometric motifs with figurative elements is unusual (Pittman 1988). Indeed, it is rather a later phenomenon: on ED III cylinder seals, arches and meanders are often combined with spread eagles, banquet or boat scenes. But such correlation already occurs in the beginning of the 3rd millennium, and in that respect, the material of Leilan is especially interesting. This particular group includes 2 variants:

The first variant associates a horned quadruped with an hatched pattern. The background of such a composition is Elamite and Iranian. This is strengthened by the very special look of the Leilan animals,

chiefly on the sealing n. 7: the upturned head with long horns, the concave outline of the back and the "skidding" posture evoke Iranian prehistoric pottery as well as northern prehistoric stamp seals. This first variant is attested from Malyan to Leilan. Each region is characterized by its own figurative idiom. An arch or a triangle (n. 7) appears in Susa and Tepe Giyan with animals outside; in Moussian with animals inside. For the meander (n. 8), the best parallels come from Susa, Gubba and Nineveh. For the ring, Nineveh yielded the most significant examples. Meanwhile, the bulk of the data come from the hilly range West of Susa, chiefly from sites North of the Diyala, perhaps the home of this first series.

The second variant associates a human silhouette with a hatched pattern. It is until now exceptional, and seems to be a specific motif used at Ninevite sites properly so-called (Nineveh, Mohammed 'Arab).

The glazed steatite cylinder seal of Moussian, in the Deh Luran, combines both an ibex and a human silhouette between hatched triangles: as if the site was at the junction of the two studied variants.

If we consider the Habur basin as a whole, the pure "Piedmont Style" appears sporadically in Upper Mesopotamia, from Leilan to the Euphrates. On the contrary, Leilan is the only site in the Habur area where the particular variants involving silhouettes are found: it can be considered a western "outpost" of the cultural area of the Piedmonts.

The chronology of these finds is the following: the sealing n. 7 comes from level IIIb, strata 28-25: it can be dated to ED I. The sealing n. 8 comes from level IIIc, stratum 15D: it can be dated to ED IIIa. So the "Piedmont Style" could survive longer in northern areas than we usually expect (Roaf 1984: 153); but we must notice that a few examples of the Diyala come from late contexts (ED II-III, even Akkad).

• *debased Brocade Style (n. 6)*

The sealing n. 6 combines geometric patterns of the Jemdet Nasr period and a stylized version of a horned quadruped, which evokes the Brocade Style of the Diyala. The stratified parallels of this sealing date from ED I/II levels; a few Brocade Style cylinders of the Diyala were discovered in ED III find-spots. The Leilan example comes from level IIIc, stratum 15D, which is very probably ED IIIa; so, this document also confirms that the style survived late in the 3rd millennium.

On the other hand, the presence of Brocade Style in Leilan confirms the Eastern orientation of the site, as this is the second component originating in the Diyala. On the contrary, this style is quite sporadic westwards in the Habur basin.

Preliminary conclusions

Chronology

It is plausible that at least some geometric patterns date back to before the so-called Jemdet Nasr period (nos. 1, 5). It is certain that many patterns do not come from Jemdet Nasr, but from "ED" levels (nos. 2, 4: ED II/IIIa; n.3: ED IIIb). Which confirms the data of many other sites. So, on both sides, to speak of Jemdet Nasr (or Transitional) styles is rather unreliable.

For the so-called "Piedmont Style", the Acropolis stratigraphy suggests lowering its date from Jemdet Nasr down to the ED period. More precisely, it suggests the beginning of ED for the most ancient examples: with figurative elements (n. 7: ED I) and without (L80-8); and it suggests the last phase of ED for the most recent example (n. 8: ED IIIa). This may signify a longer survival in northern than in southern areas.

Leilan in its archaeological context: East and West

The geometric styles discovered on the Acropolis attest the intensity of the relations between Leilan and the Piedmont zone, from the end of the 4th millennium down to the ED period; with all the power and trade connections that such a situation involves. We can distinguish two components.

The *first component* is Elamite and Iranian (n. 5; the "Piedmont Style" of nos. 7 and 8), with parallels from Shar i-Sokhta to Mohammed 'Arab, which in particular sets the problem of the role played by Susa during the first centuries of the Ninevite 5 period. Even during the Late Uruk times, the exact position of Nineveh cannot yet be precisely defined. This cultural *koinè* included regional variants. Leilan, like Nineveh and Gubba, confirms that hatched circles filled with rosettes are characteristic of the Piedmont North of the Diyala, and that the special series which combines hatched elements and silhouettes is rather typical of the so-called Ninevite 5 sites. Inside these regional repertoires, each urban center is strongly idiosyncratic, which corroborates the hypothesis of local chiefdoms in the hilly range alongside the Tigris West of the Protoelamite unity, after the return of the Urukians (Forest, this volume): we saw that the steatite cylinder seal of Leilan presents original peculiarities (addendum, Pl. 4), and that the "skidding" ibex of the sealing n. 7 has no exact parallel.

As to the degree of development, the functional study of the pieces of sealings allows us to distinguish lumps of clay pressed on cane baskets and possibly door sealings (Pl. 12). This certainly implies some kind of more or less sophisticated organization, maybe on the model of Protoelamite Susa (Pittman 1988). The actual data do not allow us to say more about the exact nature (private or public) and the exact function of the excavated buildings.

The *second component* is borrowed from the repertory of the Diyala (n. 6): it is attested in the same context in the Hamrin basin, for instance in Gubba. Seals and sealings discovered in Leilan before 1987 allow us to date back the Brocade Style there to the ED I period.

If we consider the Habur area and Northern Mesopotamia as a whole, Leilan presents a very eastern outlook; the geometric styles of the more western cities (Brak, Chagar Bazar, Chuera...) rather belong to the general "stock" defined above or attest a convergence between western and eastern variants. Leilan, beyond the Jebel Sinjar, not far from Anatolia and from the Tigris, may well have been a North-West outpost of the hilly range: from the perspective of the glyptic at least, the cultural "collapse" at the beginning of the Ninevite 5 period remains to be observed.

According to the common hypothesis, the ED II period saw a shift of power from this hilly range to the land of Sumer. Lapidaries eagerly seized southern figurative themes, although older local traditions remained strong in northern towns like Leilan, as the ibex of sealing n. 13 clearly demonstrates.

The figurative styles

The stamp seal impressions (Nos. 14-15)

Two impressions of stamp seals were found in the latest Ninevite 5 levels of the Acropolis (Leilan IIIId). This demonstrates that stamp seals were still in use in the 3rd millennium, although we are probably in the presence of heirlooms.

The erotic theme of L87-1506 was carved in a tabloid or a gabled stamp-seal. It has parallels in particular in Gawra XI A, XI and VIII. The figures have an Uruk-Jemdet Nasr look, although such silhouettes survive later, for instance at Susa. This sealing comes from stratum 17 (ED II, latest phase). The stamp used may have been an antique.

The animals of L87-1132 were also carved in a tabloid or a gabled stamp seal. Northern prehistoric stamps often exhibit this type of composition, chiefly using horned animals and depicting a scene where the smaller figures share the basic outline of the central quadrupeds, with the exception of this animal's very long tail. The comparative position of the animals suggests a cow suckling its young. Such stamps are attested in Gawra until levels VIII-VII; the main animal can be characteristic also of ED I-ED II periods. So the Leilan sealing, found in stratum 17 (late ED II), may have been made either by an earlier or by a contemporary stamp seal.

The cylinder seal impressions

- *Struggle against a hydra* (n. 9)

A faint impression on a very fragmentary sealing presents a hero killing a snake-headed hydra with a spear. Snakes are often represented on prehistoric stamp seals as well as on Uruk cylinder seals; they are often associated with human figures. The theme of heroes battling multi-headed monsters appears elsewhere in the ED II-Akkad periods: an ED II sealing from Kish depicts a man struggling against a monster with multiple leonine heads, while an ED II sealing from Fara and an ED III/Akkad sealing from the Diyala feature hydras with snake heads. The Leilan sealing comes from level IIIb, strata 24-21: a late ED I or early ED II date is quite plausible. This suggests that this may be one of the most ancient examples of the theme, and a harbinger of the borrowing of south Mesopotamian images in the following centuries.

- *Banquet scenes* (nos. 10-13)

Together with the contest scenes, banquet iconography is considered one of the hallmarks of south Mesopotamian influence from ca. ED II onwards. In general, scenes illustrating drinking through tubes or with cups are typically southern, while eating scenes with heavily-laden tables are typically northern.

The 1987 excavations on the Leilan Acropolis retrieved many sealings impressed by 4 different seals. The earliest (n. 10) shows drinking through tubes; the three others (nos. 11-13), show a music scene reduced to a seated harp or lyre player. They are extremely interesting from multiple perspectives.

a. Definition of a local manufacture

All these sealings present iconographic peculiarities which allow us to attribute the cylinders which made them to local workshops.

Choice and setting of the figurative elements. The drinking scene is very similar to its southern counterparts. On the contrary, the lay-out of the music scenes is quite original. Usually, music is part of a general banquet representation, and the player is often shown standing. Here, the musician is dissociated from his ordinary context and becomes the main element of the picture; up to now this has only been attested at Chuera. Secondly, he is seated (Amiet 1963: 77), which is rare on southern seals. Thirdly, the banquet is symbolized on 2 sealings (nos. 11 and 13), by means of its disconnected elements: a vessel stand and a dresser. Lastly, in one case (n. 12), the general music theme seems to be combined with a struggle against a monster, a scene which is quite unusual and seems to be without parallels. So, the lapidaries did not hesitate to dissociate the southern models and to mingle their elements in very original ways (eclecticism).

Additionally, these drinking or music scenes are systematically correlated with horned animals (ibexes). Indeed, it is not uncommon to see side by side banquets and animals. They figure either in the same register or not; superposed, fighting, or in a single file. But a systematic association with horned quadrupeds in this manner is not typical of southern areas, even though attested in the Diyala: on the contrary, it is quite frequent in northern workshops, especially in Chuera.

Style of engraving. The stylization of the forms is evident. Banqueters and musicians are reduced to silhouettes. The bodies are triangular or spidery. The heads are either in outline or reduced to a quadrangular form, but in all cases geometric. Such a schematic rendering is also peculiar to northern Syria and Mesopotamia. The best parallels come from Brak, Chuera and Assur; only one example appears in the Diyala (Asmar 465). The same stylization is applied to the horned animals and the accessories of the banquet.

Archaisms. Amiet already emphasized this point in his purely stylistic studies: the so-called "peripheral" styles not only mingle elements from different idioms, but also mingle old and new features (Amiet 1963: 68-69, n. 34).

b. Proposed chronology

Sealing n.10 comes from level III_d, stratum 17. From a stratigraphic point of view, it can be ED II, latest phase. This suits both the proposed date for the geometric cylinder n. 4, found in the same room, on the floor above, and the dates of the parallels from the Diyala and from northern Mesopotamia (Chuera, Brak, Hammam). In general, banqueters drinking through tubes seem to appear in Upper Mesopotamia in the ED II period, as in the Diyala (Selz 1983: ED I, which is rather dubious). In Chuera and Chagar Bazar, they are attested until ED III_b; in Brak, till Akkad, though these scenes feature different styles than the example from Leilan and its parallels.

The two impressions nos. 11-12 were made by tall cylinders from the same workshop. The extraordinary stylized character of the rendering is remarkable, in particular: the angular outline of the figures; the rectangular form of the head; the notched arms and horns on one of the documents (n. 11); and the notched borders. These sealings were found in level III_d, stratum 15C, the «black ash stratum», just beneath the Acropolis fortification; this layer is quite plausibly ED III_a. The best parallels come from Assur, Brak and Chuera; most of them are attributed to ED II/III_a periods.

On the contrary, a very squat cylinder formed sealing n. 13. The schematism, the triangular filling elements and the "skidding" ibex are evident heirlooms of the older workshops. But the small size of the seal and the rendering of the isolated elements symbolic of a banquet scene seem to be typically ED III (vessel stand, dresser, chair...). This piece was discovered in level II_a, stratum 14, on a floor clearly associated with the Acropolis fortification. Both the stratigraphy, which proves a continuity in the architecture between Leilan III_d and II_a, and the iconography, which proves a continuity between the lapidaries' traditions of the two periods, allow us to propose an ED III date, either late ED III_a or early ED III_b.

Preliminary conclusions

Chronology

This glyptic material allows us to suggest a precise span of time for Leilan III_d-II_a: between the end of ED II and the beginning of ED III_b. The Acropolis fortification probably dates back to the 26th century.

Leilan in its archaeological context: South and North.

According to the glyptic material, Leilan III_d is a key-period which saw the final shift from a phase clearly linked with the eastern hilly areas and Susa (geometric styles) to a phase clearly linked to southern Sumerian city-states (figurative styles). The Acropolis circumvallation marks the outcome of this transition period and the emergence of a large city. From a methodological view-point, a bipartite division for the ED glyptic material could be convenient for some North Mesopotamian areas.

This apparent conformity to traditional theory needs some corrections. First, southern influence does not mean uniformity and mere imitation of imported models. As with the "Piedmont Style", the figurative styles from Leilan present a local facies. The best parallels come from northern Mesopotamia (Brak and Chuera) rather than from the eastern Tigris hills. Certainly, Upper Mesopotamia remained strongly idiosyncratic during the transition phase evoked above; future excavations will help us to better define local peculiarities within this coherent glyptic landscape.

Secondly, this strong idiosyncrasy continues at Leilan in the ED III period (cf. n. 13), after the Acropolis circumvallation and the Lower Town extension: whereas sites like Brak, Chagar Bazar and Chuera in the West, and the Hamrin centers and Gawra in the East, welcome more southern elements to their repertory. This impression may be due to the present state of excavations, or the explanation may be geographical: the far North-East situation of Leilan, beyond the Jebel Sinjar, may be sufficient to account for such an individuality. This hypothesis must also be tested by further excavations.

Thirdly, was the introduction of southern iconographic elements in the repertory of Leilan correlated to changes in administrative and economic practices or not? Answering this question forces us to make a functional study of the material. We shall just present here some generalizations (Pl. 12). Among the 1987 data, we can distinguish different kinds of sealings: several door sealings (usually, the seal was unrolled many times on the clay, perpendicular to the base of the sealing, and with overlaps); a few jar sealings and stoppers; a lot of labels for various containers, in particular, for cane baskets (L87-1033). Lastly, we noticed a few tabs, well known from Brak and Chuera, where they are thought to be "visiting cards" (n. 3; Oates 1982: 199, pl. 14d; Oates 1985: 173, pl. 26c). One of these tabs is specially interesting, since it bears the impression of two seals clearly made by the same workshop (nos. 11 and 12), which were largely used in the level IIIId warehouse; for the moment, we cannot say if these seals belonged to the same owner or to two different owners, nor if these owners were officials or private persons.

Compared to the previous periods, the main differences are the following: the construction of warehouses, burnt and levelled in stratum 15C; a greater variety of sealings; one and the same seal used on multiple sealings and sometimes for different functions (two facts which may be considered as a supplementary proof of these seals' local origin). This preliminary analysis must be carried further, but it is clear that a large city implies administrative proceedings at a much more complicated level than a local chiefdom.

What is certain is that as early as Leilan IIIa, sophisticated administrative practices were already in use in Leilan, at least for commodities. The site, when it was included in the Piedmont cultural stream, may already have been an important northern center, like Nineveh. This situation surely recurred when it shifted its focus towards southern Mesopotamia and became a large city, like Brak and Chuera, although Leilan no doubt instituted administrative proceedings — and was subject to socio-economic processes — that differed greatly from those of the previous period.

Finally, we must discuss the role of the South in northern developments. Parallels between the Ninevite 5 period and the Habur ware period are quite interesting on this point. In both cases, there is a geographical discrepancy between a northern pottery diffusion and a glyptic borrowed from southern centers (iconography and function): as if the "babylonization" of Shamshi-Adad's kingdom repeated one millennium later the cultural history of the Ninevite 5 city-states. Local trends and borrowings are not at all incompatible: everything is a question of function. The so much discussed problem of southern influences on northern Mesopotamia must not be analyzed from an overly systematic perspective, but requires a more subtle inquiry.

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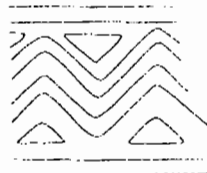
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IIIa, 39 early

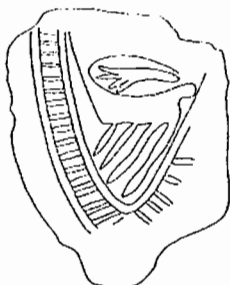


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IIIb, 28-25 and 24-21



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IIIId, 17

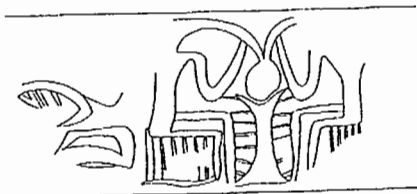


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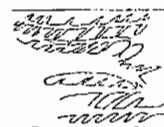
IIIId, 17-15G



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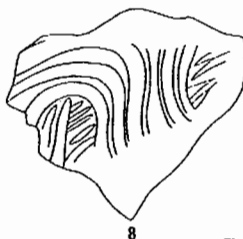


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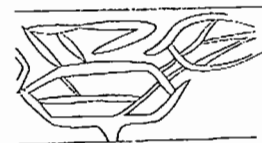


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IIIId, 15D

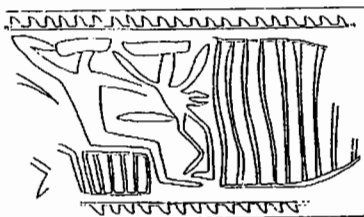


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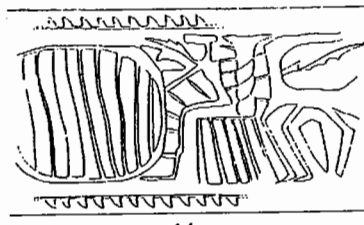


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IIIId, 15C

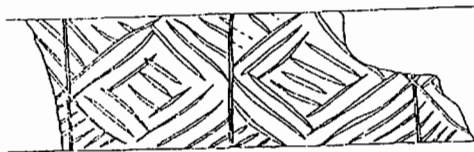


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11

IIa, 14

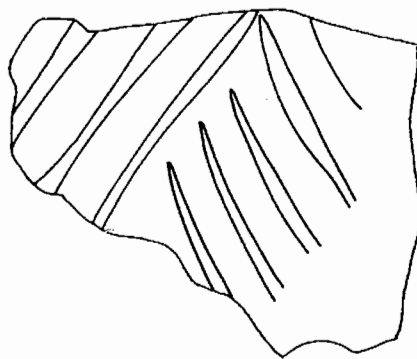


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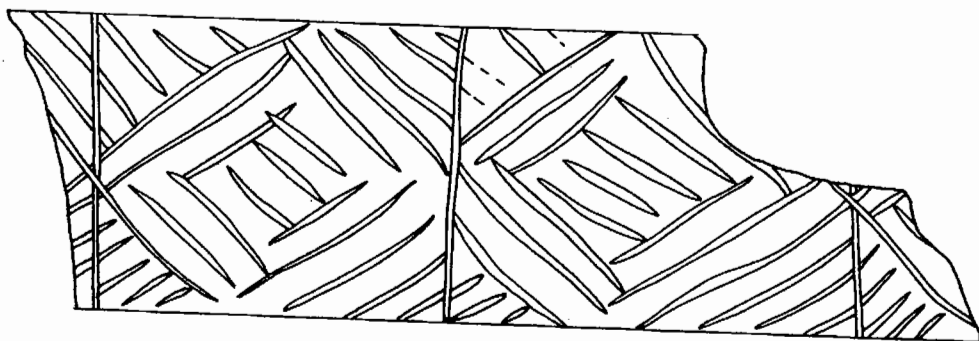
- Plate 1: Stratigraphical division of the sealings.



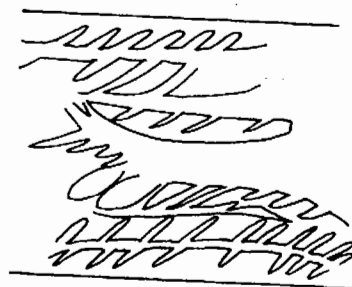
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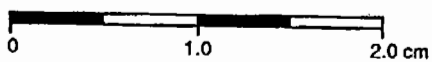
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4



- Plate 2: Geometric styles, "a stock group of images", Nos. 1-4.

Geometric styles

"A stock group of images" (Pl. 2: Nos. 1-4; Pl. 13: Nos. 3, 4)

1. L87-1124. 44 W 11C, lot 26. Period IIIa, stratum 39, early phase.

Broken sealing: 23.3x19x10.

Incomplete seal impression (cylinder rather than stamp): alternating groups of oblique hatches in triangular formation.

Simple pattern ("reed matting") or more complicated one such as "basket work".

Parallels:

- prehistoric stamp seals:
GAWRA, the so-called "quartered circles"; XIII-IX, chiefly XII-XI (Tobler 1950: particularly nos. 27, 39, 43).
UCH TEPE, Burial 1, level 1, late context (Gibson 1981: pl. 101, n. 1).
TEPE GIYAN, dome, 10 m. depth, level V or VI (Contenau 1935: pl. 38, n. 20).
- cylinder seals:
UR, SIS 4, ED II (*UE* III: nos. 149-150).
SUSE, Protoelamite (Amiet *GS*: nos. 849-851, 873, 1237-1239, 1363; *Louvre I*: pl. 14, n. 15 (S.38) and 16 (S.39)).
DIYALA: Khafaje 154, Sin IV, Protoliterate d; Khafaje 217, Sin V, Protoliterate d; Agrab 805, Shara Temple, ED II.
BRAK, NS (*Ashmolean CS* 738).
Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: *Geneva* I 5; *PML* 33-34; *Marcopoli* 26-27, 47, 311; *Yale* 203 ...

2. L87-1030. 44 X 12, lot 45; room 8, floor 2. Period IIIId, stratum 17.

+ L87-1514, 1516b? 44 W 12, lot 23. Period IIIId, stratum 15C, "black ash stratum".

Very fragmentary sealings; 1516b: 16x11.6.

Incomplete seal impressions: maybe chevron(s), with secant hatches in the filling space. Same problem as for n. 1.

3. L87-79. 44 W 12, lot 9; room 1. Period IIa, stratum 14.

Broken sealing. Flat strip of clay with a rectilinear upper edge, cf. the so-called "visiting cards": 52x38.

Cylinder seal impression, 16x52. "Basket work" pattern. This pattern, based on lozenges, displays many variants, according to the way they are filled (mere concentric lozenges, or crossed lines, or parallel oblique lines as here).

Parallels:

- UR, SIS 4 (*UE* III: nos. 145-147).
- FARA (*VR* 61).
- SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet *GS* nos. 1224, 1232; *Louvre I*: pl. 14, n. 12 (S.37)).
- DIYALA: Agrab 850, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot.
- HAMA K.3, ca. 2650-2500 (*Copenhagen* 117 = Amiet 1963: fig. 2).
- MOHAMMED 'ARAB, Late Uruk (Roaf 1984: 155, pl. 13, j-k).
- BRAK, rubbish from the Eye Temple Platform (Mallowan 1947: pl. 21, nos. 3-4; variant).
- TEL ATIJ, room 514, 3rd millennium pottery context (Fortin 1988: 150, fig. 10).
- Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: *Marcopoli* 27-30, *VR* 52 ...

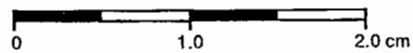
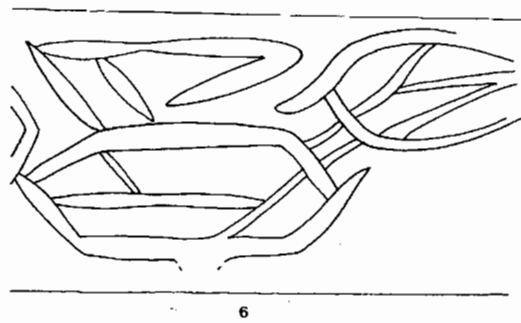
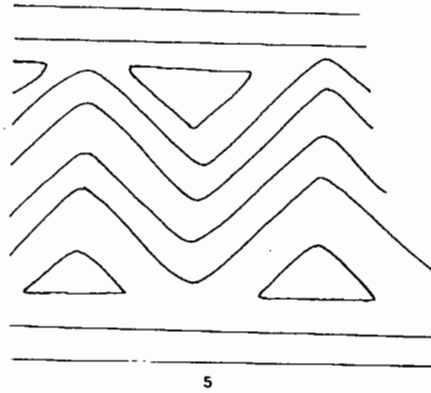
4. L87-1032. 44 X 12, lot 59; room 6, floor 3. Period IIIId, stratum 17.

Broken sealing: 51x27x18.

Cylinder seal impression, 14x19.3. Crude herring-bone pattern.

Parallels:

- rather ladder pattern:
RIMAH, so-called Jemdet Nasr (Parker 1975: pl. 10, n. 1; elaborate version).
Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: *VR* 49 (elaborate version); *Marcopoli* 36 (simple one); *PML* 41...
- ladder pattern (= hatches) between crude animals made with a cutting disk:
DIYALA, Agrab 834-835, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot.
Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: *Marcopoli* 11-13, chiefly 14; *PML* 28...



- Plate 3: Geometric styles, specific variants, Nos. 5-6.

Specific variants (Pl. 3: Nos. 5-6, Pl. 4, addendum; Pl. 5: Nos. 7-8; Pl. 14: No. 7)

s. L87-1123. 44 W 11C, lot 15. Period IIIa, stratum 39, early phase.

Broken sealing: 24x22x13.

Incomplete cylinder seal impression, 20x25. It represents 2 zigzag lines with triangular elements in between. Two plain borders.

Parallels:

SUSA: Susa A, stamp seal impression (Amiet GS 160).

Susa, Protoelamite, cylinders and cylinder seal impressions (Amiet GS 855, 873...).

ibidem, used in 2 registers (Louvre I: pl. 15; n. 4 (S.49)).

ibidem, used as a border (Amiet GS 1245-1247, 1249).

TALL I-MALYAN, Banesh mound, TUV Operation, levels III and II, Protoelamite (Sumner 1976: fig. 5, j).

SHAR I-SOKHTA, Period I (Tosi (ed.) 1980: pl. 71, n. 70; 3 registers).

DIYALA: Khafaje 7, Sin II, Protoliterate c (in 2 registers).

Khafaje 99, 105, 209, Sin IV, Protoliterate d (as a border).

Khafaje 212, Sin IV, Protoliterate d (as a middle register).

MOHAMMED 'ARAB, Ninevite 5 grave 54 V: 23 (Roaf 1983a: figs. 17 and 19).

TARSUS, pot sherd, ED III (Goldman 1956: 240, fig. 397, nos. 7-8).

6. L87-193. 44 X 12, lot 36; room 8. Period IIIId, stratum 15D.

Broken sealing, 40x38x15.

Incomplete cylinder seal impression, 16x30. This mingles geometric patterns — the frequent hexagon and "eye" of the Jemdet Nasr period — with the stylized design of a horned animal (?); which recalls the Brocade Style of the Diyala.

Parallels:

- geometric patterns involved:

SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet GS 847).

DIYALA, Asmar 492, Earlier Northern Palace, ED III find-spot.

Khafaje 16, Sin II, Protoliterate c.

GAWRA VI (Speiser 1935: n. 48).

- Brocade Style:

DIYALA: Khafaje 220, Sin V, Protoliterate d.

Asmar 469, Square Temple I, ED II find-spot.

Agrab 809, 822, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot; Agrab 898, NS.

SUSA, Protoelamite? (Louvre I: pl. 19, n. 7 (S.149)).

KHEIT QASIM, T.17, loc. 4, ED I (Lebeau 1984: 116, n. 2).

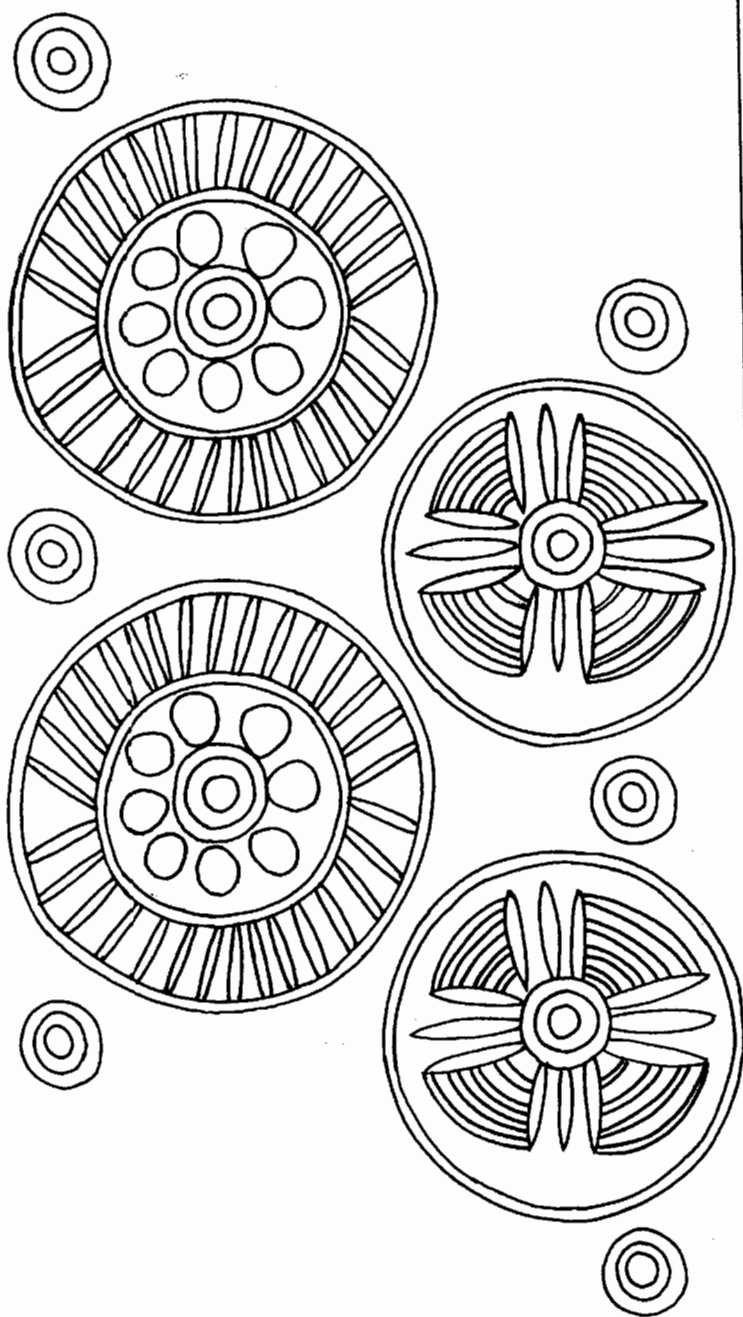
GERMAYIR, GG 24, early spot: ED I? (Mallowan 1937: pl. 12, n. 2).

Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: cf. Ashmolean CS 96, bought in Aleppo.

addendum



- Plate 4: Geometric styles, specific variants, addendum.



Addendum: L80-8. Operation 1, lot 61: grave. Period IIIc, stratum 19.

Very well preserved cylinder seal, "glazed steatite", 47x11.

Lower register: rosette in a hatched circle; petal grooved with a drill (?). Upper register: "quartered circle" in a plain ring. The 2 registers are in alternate rows. Small rings grooved with a tubular drill are set in the filling space.

Parallels:

- "quartered circles":

Prehistoric stamp seals: cf. GAWRA, strata XIA-X (Tobler 1950: nos. 28-33).

Cylinders:

SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet *GS* 1233: plain version).

MOHAMMED 'ARAB, MA 23 (Roaf 1983b: 91, pl. 1, fig. 23).

NINEVEH, cf. Collon, this volume: n. 29.

DIYALA: Khafaje 297, Houses 4, ED II find-spot (complicated version).

- rosettes in hatched circles, and petals grooved with a drill (?): uncommon.

SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet *GS* 1217).

The more usual type are rosettes with naturalistic petals attested in Susa, Tall i-Malyan, in the Diyala (Protoelamite d), in Gubba, Nineveh, Mohammed 'Arab, Brak... and in southern Mesopotamia.

- rosettes in 2 registers: uncommon.

DIYALA: Agrab 815, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot (same size: 10x46; egg-shaped petals; very much stylized version).

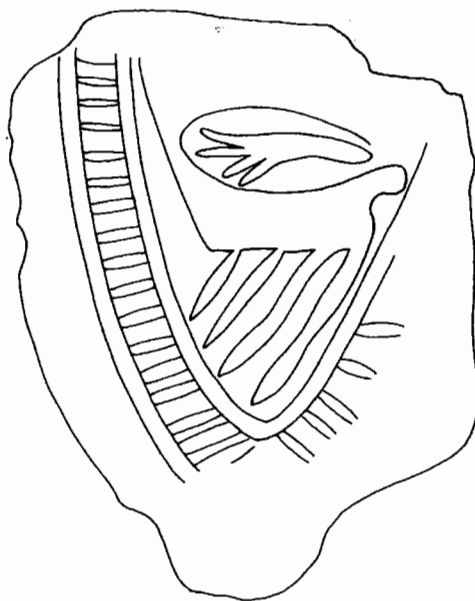
NINEVEH, level 5 (Thompson 1933: pl. 65, nos. 21 ?, 27; Collon, this volume, 25, fig. g).

- rosettes + other elements in 2 registers:

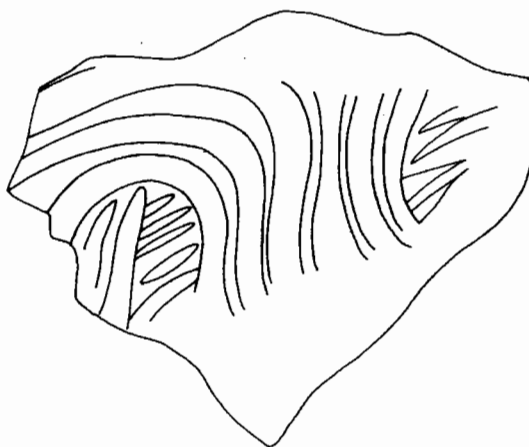
DIYALA: Khafaje 297, Houses 4, ED II find-spot (rosette + hatched arch + cross).

JEMDET NASR, *Ashmolean CS* 72 (rosette + cross + ibex).

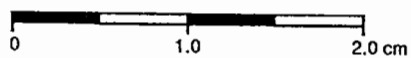
- rosettes + circles in 2 registers: unique.
- small rings in the filling space: very frequent in the "Piedmont Style".



7



8



- Plate 5: Geometric styles, specific variants, Nos. 7-8.

7. L87-137. 44 W 11A, lot 37. Period IIIb, strata 28-25.

Broken sealing, 37x27.3x13.

Cylinder seal impression, 25x21. It associates a distinctive pattern of the "Piedmont Style": an arch hatched like a ladder, with a figurative design: an ibex with upturned head, very long horns, concave back and legs in "skidding" posture. Possibly a scorpion is depicted between the horns and the body (?).

Parallels:

- hatched arch associated with geometric or floral filling patten: usual.
- hatched arch or chevron with an ibex (or a horned quadruped): uncommon.

* animal inside:

MOUSSIAN: M.2, cylinder of "glazed steatite" (*Louvre* I: pl. 37, n. 11 = MDP 8, 1905: fig. 130 = Amiet *GM* 472).

FARA, ED II (Heinrich 1931: pl. 66k = Amiet *GM* 801. Used as one of the motifs in a complicated scene; cf. also *PML* 102, ED III).

* animal outside:

SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet *GM* 558A).

TEPE GIYAN (Amiet *GM* 473; "skidding" posture).

- hatched rosette with a horned quadruped:

* animal inside:

NINEVEH, level 5 (Collon, this volume: nos. 35, 46).

* animal outside:

NINEVEH, level 5 (Collon, this volume: nos. 74-76).

- for the particular outline of the animal, cf. Pl. 11.

8. L87-195. 44 X 12, lot 42; room I. Period IIId, stratum 15D.

Broken sealing, 26x24x10.9.

Cylinder seal impression, 25x28.3. This also associates a distinctive pattern of the "Piedmont Style": a meander of multiple wavy lines, with an ibex.

Parallels:

- meander associated with geometric or floral filling patterns: usual.
- associated with an animal:

* a spread eagle: chiefly ED III material.

SUSA, ED II? (Amiet *GS* 1420).

DIYALA, Khafaje 269, Oval II, ED III find-spot, 384 and 416, NS.

Asmar 749, Akkadian find-spot?

GAWRA VII (Speiser 1935: n. 44).

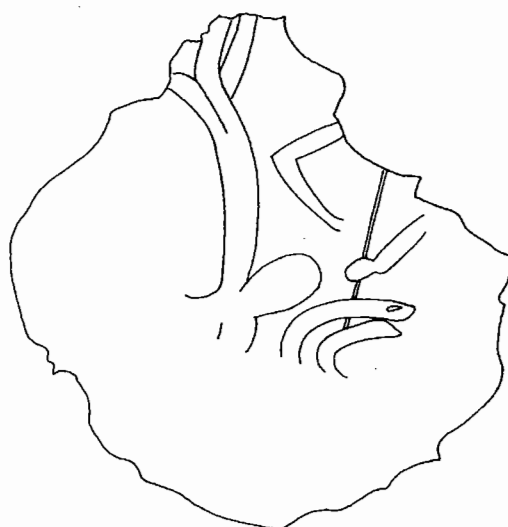
* an ibex: exceptional.

SUSA? NS (*Louvre* I: pl. 17, n. 16 (S.113)).

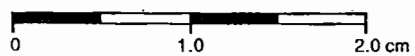
GUBBA, surface (Ii 1988: nos. 15-16).

NINEVEH, level 5 (Collon, this volume: n. 77).

- associated with a human figure in silhouette (?):
DIYALA, Agrab 814, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot.
- for the particular outline of the animal: cf. n. 7.



9



- Plate 6: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, No. 9.

Figurative styles

Cylinder seals (Pls. 6-9: Nos. 9-13, Pls. 14-16: Nos. 9, 13)

9. L87-143 (Pl. 6: No. 9). 44 W 11A, lot 34. Period IIIb, strata 24-21.

Broken sealing, 30x24x16.

Cylinder seal impression, 21x15. Very much damaged and faint. A hero is killing a hydra with a spear; the hydra has at least two snake heads. On the left, part of the body of the monster (?).

Parallels:

- serpents with hero (master of animals or struggling):

- * not entwined:

URUK (Collon 1987: n. 859).

BRÄK, site CH, probably Akkadian context. A kilted hero stabs a serpent which attacks a toad-like creature. ED II? (*Ashmolean CS* 764).

- * entwined:

GAWRA XII (Tobler 1950: n. 179) and XI (Tobler 1950: n. 180): stamp seal impressions, entwined serpents and human figure.

SUSA C, Uruk period (Amiet *GS* 482).

UR, SIS 4-5, ED II (*UE* III: n. 286).

Not-stratified cylinder seal: entwined serpents mastered by a human figure. ED II? (*Frankfort CS*, pl. 11h).

- real hydras:

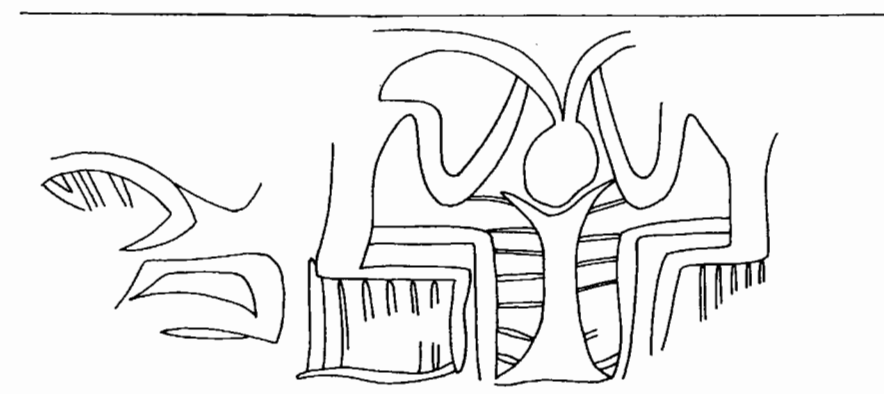
- * without snake heads:

KISH, ED II, monster with three lions' heads, attacked by a hero armed with a spear (*Ashmolean CS* 149; Boehmer 1975: fig. 41i); cf. also *Ashmolean CS* 150.

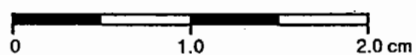
- * with snake heads:

FARA? ED I-II (Heinrich 1931: pl. 60b = Amiet *GM*: 136, note 33).

DIYALA: Asmar 497, Earlier Northern Palace, ED III find-spot; ED IIIa seal (Boehmer 1975: fig. 43e); Asmar 478, Single Shrine IV, Early Akkadian context.



10



- Plate 7: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, No. 10.

Banquet scenes - "Boisson au chalumeau"

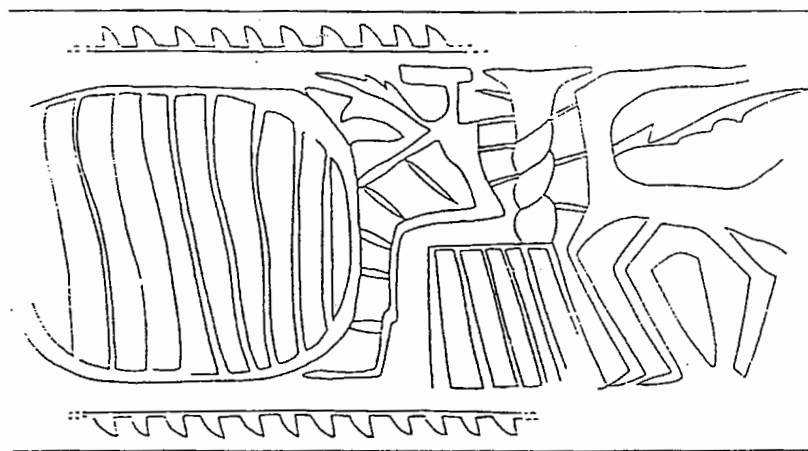
10. L87-1034/1036 (Pl. 7: No. 10, Pl. 14, No.10). 44 W 12, lot 61; room 6, floor 4. Period III_d, stratum 17. Broken sealings, the best preserved being 1036: 41x36x15.

Incomplete cylinder seal impression, at least 22x45. On 1036: incomplete, but twice repeated, with an overlap.

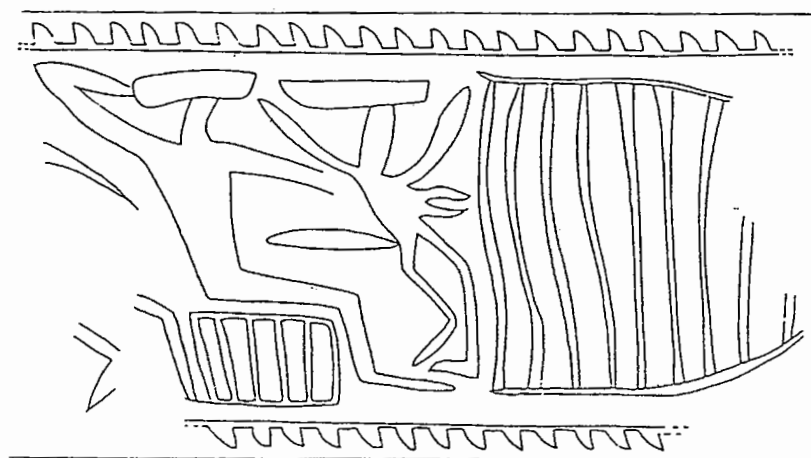
"Boisson au chalumeau": 2 seated male figures are drinking together through tubes from a round vessel placed on a stand. A crouched ibex may be featured on the left.

Parallels:

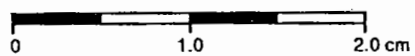
- figures in mere silhouette, with large shoulders, and two legs visible:
NINEVEH, incised plaque, F.15, early date (?) (Thompson 1932: pl. 63, n. 15).
DIYALA, Asmar 465, Square Temple I, ED II find-spot (*Selz* 91).
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West-Erweiterung, ED II? (*TC* 1976: 22, fig. 4a-b = 1982-1983: 15, fig. 2a-b; *Selz* 24).
BRAK, sealing, site ER, UR III context; ED II? (*Ashmolean CS* 755, seated figure; *Selz* 32).
BRAK, cylinder seal, Naram-Sin Palace, room 29; ED II? (Mallowan 1947, pl. 21, n. 14, standing figure; *Selz* 41).
BRAK, ED II-IIIa (Oates 1982: pl. 14a, illegible).
HAMMAM, near Carchemish: cylinder seal (*Selz* 27).
- furniture:
* chairs with vertical elements: very frequent from the beginning of the ED period.
Cf. CHUERA above; *Selz* 1983, fig. 1 and 4.
* round vessel on ceramic stand with concave sides (like a sand-glass; such ware was found in 44 W 12, stratum 17):
DIYALA: cult plaque, Agrab, Shara Temple, main level, ED II (*Selz* 60).
BRAK, *Selz* 32 above.
- association with a horned animal:
DIYALA, Khafaje 358, ED III find-spot.
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel (*TC* 1982-83: 15, fig. 2 (*Selz* 24); *TC* 1976: 23, fig. 5 (*Selz* 167)).
BRAK, NS, ED II-IIIa (Oates 1982: pl. 14a, illegible).
Amiet 1963, fig. 28 (Collection Brett, n. 100).
- crouching ibex (difficult to reconstruct):
DIYALA, Khafaje 358, above.
CHUERA, *Selz* 167, above.
- hatches in the filling space, typically Jemdet Nasr and ED I (Brocade Style): cf. Amiet *GM* 364, 695.
It survives later: SUSAN, ED II? (*Louvre* I: pl. 29, n. 3 (S.387): Banquet scene).
Other "boissons au chalumeau" from northern Mesopotamia and Syria:
BRAK, ED IIIb? (*Selz* 352); late ED III or Akkadian (Oates 1982, pl. 14d).
CHAGAR BAZAR, ED III? (*Selz* 392).
GAWRA VI (Speiser 1935: n. 66; cf. also nos. 60, 64-65, with cups).
RIMAH, Mitannian level; ED IIIa? (Parker 1975: pl. 10, n. 5).
AMUQ, Akkadian (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: fig. 382, n. 6).



11



12



- Plate 8: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, Nos. 11-12.

Banquet scenes 11-13. Seated harp and lyre players (Pl. 8: Nos. 11-12, Pl. 9: No. 13, Pl. 15: No. 11, Pl. 16: No. 13)

Parallels for a seated musician:

- associated to a drinking scene:
CHUERA (*Selz* 24 above).
Amiet 1964: fig. 20, upper register; ED III, from Carchemish.
- associated to an eating scene with a laden table:
Amiet 1963: fig. 28, ED II? (= collection Brett 100).
Ashmolean CS 233, upper register; ED III.
- isolated, dissociated from the ordinary context:
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, ED II/IIIa? (*TC* 1974: 59, fig. 22a-b = 1982-83: 72, fig. 11a-c; lower register, 2 seated harpists).
BRAK, NS, ED III (Oates 1982: pl. 14a; nearly illegible photo).

11-12. Same workshop.

11. L87-185d, 186-188, 191, 196a+b, 1493-1497, 1510-1511, at least. 44 W 12, lots 15, 23, 25. Period IIIId, stratum 15C, "black ash stratum".

Many broken sealings in more or less small fragments.

Incomplete cylinder seal impressions; 24.5x46. A seated harpist towards the left. On his chair, a twisted vessel stand. Behind him, a horned animal. Borders.

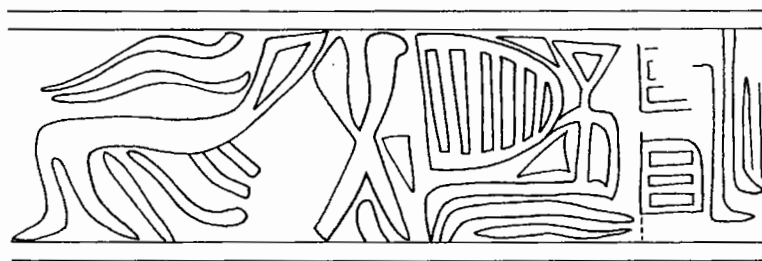
12. L87-185a-c, 192, 1498-1499, 1512-1513, at least. 44 W 12, lots 15, 23, 25. Period IIIId, stratum 15, "black ash stratum".

Many broken sealings in more or less fragments.

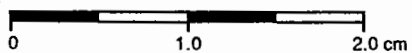
Incomplete cylinder seal impressions. 25x44. A seated harpist towards the right, struggling against a monster (or with a banqueter, a musician or an acrobat). Behind him, a horned animal? Borders.

Parallels:

- harp players:
 - * very schematic silhouettes with an angular outline: cf. n. 10.
SUSA, ED II? (*Louvre* I: pl. 29, n. 3 (S.387); banquet scene)).
ASSUR, NS, ED II? (*VR* 77 = Boehmer 1975: n. 130i; a hero killing snakes).
BRAK?, NS, ED II-III (Oates 1982: pl. 14a: illegible).
Ashmolean CS 246 (Aleppo) = *Frankfort CS*: pl. 39c.
 - * arms with notches (n. 11):
ASSUR (*VR* 77 above: snakes).
BRAK, NS (*Ashmolean CS* 366: horns).
 - * quadrangular head (or hat?): uncommon.
DJELELET EL-BEDA, hat; ED II-IIIa (Moortgat-Correns 1972: 16-17, pl. 14).
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West-Erweiterung; ED II-IIIa? (*TC* 1976: 28, fig. 11b = 1982-83: fig. 15a-b).
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West-Erweiterung; head in outline, ED II-IIIa? (*TC* 1974: 59, fig. 22a-b = 1982-1983: 73, fig. 11a-c).
Collections: *Marcopoli* 325, *PML* 1081...
- struggle against a monster (n. 12): unique.
FARA, ED II-IIIa (*Selz* 162): a seated feaster touching a rampant antelope.
Selz 180, ED II-IIIa: a seated feaster grasping the leg of an upended antelope.
- association with horned animals: cf. n. 10.
horned standing animal of n. 12: cf. pl. 11.
- furniture:
 - * for the chair with vertical elements: cf. n. 10.
 - * for the twisted vessel stand: no parallel in figurative art. Such ware was found in 44 W 12, stratum 17.
- hatches in the filling space (n. 11): cf. n. 10.
- borders: notched pattern (very frequent in Northern Mesopotamia in the ED period):
cf. BRAK, cylinder seal impressions (*Ashmolean CS*, nos. 754, 758, 813, banquet scene).



13



- Plate 9: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, No. 13.

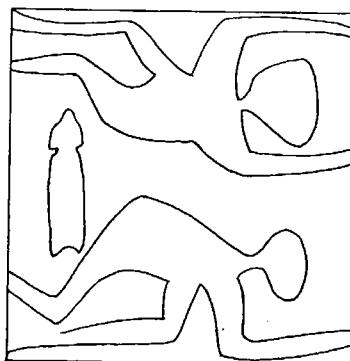
13. L87-135 44 W 12, lot 9. Period IIa, stratum 14.

Broken sealing, 40x35x21.

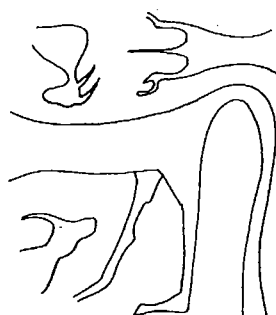
Incomplete cylinder seal impression, 14x43. A seated lyre player (or harpist) towards the left faces an ibex in "skidding" posture; in-between, an x-shape. On the right, a vertical ladder pattern and indefinite features (?).

Parallels:

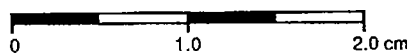
- schematic body: cf. nos. 10-12. In particular, triangular head in outline: no exact parallel.
BRAK, ED II? (*Selz* 28): triangle drawn in the other sense.
Selz 1983: 389, ED IIIb: with a drilled pupil inside.
- association with a horned animal: cf. nos. 10-12.
antelope in "skidding" posture: cf. pl. 11.
- furniture:
 - * the x-shaped element: rather a vessel stand than a table or a chair.
BRAK ED II? (*Selz* 41).
UR, Royal Cemetery, ED IIIa (*Selz* 248, 255).
MARI, ED IIIa (*Selz* 394).
CARCHEMISH, ED IIIb (*Selz* 413).
Selz 324, ED IIIa.
* the chair with horizontal elements: very frequent during the ED III period, even if it appears in more or less elaborate ways.
Cf. *Selz* 1983, fig. 7 and 10.
* the side-board: very simple, with horizontal elements (ladder pattern); usually ED III.
KISH, ED IIIb (*Selz* 357).
GAWRA VI (Speiser 1935: n. 64).
BRAK, Site ER, ED or Akkadian context; ED IIIb? (*Ashmolean CS* 815, *Selz* 352).
Selz 360, 363-365, ED IIIb.
FARA, ED II-IIIa (*Selz* 184): mere vertical lines.
- triangular elements as filling motifs: very frequent at least as soon as the Uruk period.
MALATYA, Uruk period (Collon 1987: n. 10).
CHUERA, ED II-III? (*TC* 1982-83b: 15, fig. 2; 19, fig. 6; 22, fig. 9, for instance).
HAMA J5 (*Copenhagen* 121).
TELL BASHER, Jemdet Nasr (Amiet 1963: 64, fig. 6).



14



15



- Plate 10: Figurative styles, stamp seal impressions, Nos. 14-15.

Stamp seals (Pl. 10: Nos. 14-15, Pl. 16: Nos. 14, 15)

14. L87-1506. 44 W 12, lot 41. Period III_d, stratum 17.

Broken sealing, 50x44x25.

Stamp seal impression, twice repeated, with an overlap; 20x20. Square impression made by a tabloid or a gabled seal. Erotic theme with two persons and a phallus (?).

Parallels:

- prehistoric stamp seals:
GAWRA XIA-XI (Tobler 1950: nos. 86-88; impressions of circular stamp seal).
GAWRA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 40-41; impressions of circular stamp seals).
A gabled seal in the Ashmolean, bought in Aleppo (*Ashmolean SS* 118): later prehistoric, 4th millennium.
A carinated hemispheroid of the YBC (*Yale* 73), same date.
- for the rendering of the body: cf. many seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, especially in Susa (Amiet *GS*: pl. 3, 15-17 for instance; *ibidem*, 1426, ED?).

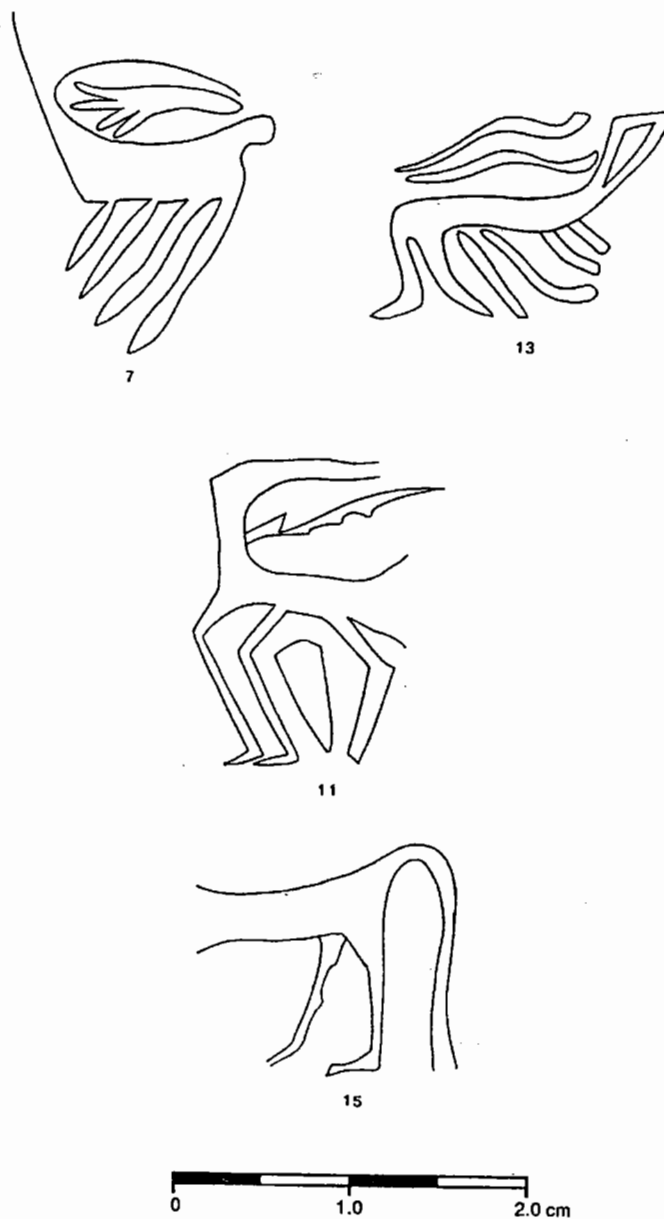
15. L87-1132. 44 X 12, lot 64; room 4, floor 2. Period III_d, stratum 17.

Broken sealing, 37x25x15.

Stamp seal impression, 17.6x16. Made by a tabloid or a gabled seal. It represents a big animal with a long tail (maybe a cow and a suckling young) surrounded by little animals or parts of animals.

Parallels:

- superposed animals, +/-parts of animals: very frequent since the 5th millennium on stamp and then on cylinder seals.
* Stamp seals: chiefly the northern ones, with circular or quadrangular bases.
GAWRA in various ways, since XV down to VII (Tobler 1950: nos. 98-102 (XV, XIII-XIA); n. 107 (XII); nos. 141, 144 (XIA); nos. 145-150, 153, 156-157 (XI-X); nos. 158-167 (XIII, XI-IX); nos. 173-174 (XIII Well, XIA); Speiser 1935: nos. 22-25 (VIII-VII); nos. 37-39 (VIII)).
NINEVEH, Obeid (Thompson 1933: pl. 64, nos. 2-14, 16-17).
TELL QALINJ AGHA, level III (Uruk), street 21 (Abu al-Soof 1969: 35, pl. 20, at the top right).
BRAK (*Ashmolean SS*, 112-113, 161-162, 183, 191-195).
* Cylinder seals:
ALALAKH VI-V, Jemdet Nasr? (Collon 1987: n. 25).
AMUQ, Second Mixed Range, G or H (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: fig. 381, n. 1).
BRAK, Akkadian context; Jemdet Nasr or ED I (*Ashmolean CS* 717).
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, ED I/II? (*TC* 1982-83b: 20, fig. 7; 1976: 24, fig. 7; in each case, with a young beneath).
Amiet *GM* 697-702 (ED 1); 1644-45 (Jemdet Nasr/ED I).
- for the outline of the main quadruped: cf. Pl. 11.



- Plate 11: Specific animals of the Leilan repertory, Nos. 7, 13, 11, 15.

Specific animals of the repertory (Pl. 11)

7. L87-137, and 13: L87-135

Horned animals in "skidding" posture. Either short or long tail (ibex and antelope?). Triangular head; more or less upturned backwards; very long horns, either convex or sinuous. The outline of the back is either convex (L87-135) or concave (L87-137).

Parallels:

- the head: frequent on cylinder seals since the Jemdet Nasr period onwards:
DIYALA, Khafaje 25-27, 29, Sin II, Protoliterate c.
SUSA (*Louvre* I, pl. 243, n. 11 (S.257)).
- the "skidding" posture: idem
SIALK, level III pottery, ca. 3500 (Ghirshman 1938-1939: pls. 20-21)
GAWRA, painted sherd (Speiser 1935: pl. 76, n. 8) ...
* Prehistoric stamp seals: GAWRA XIII (Tobler 1950: n. 105); GAWRA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 20, 22); GAWRA VII (Speiser 1935: n.1) ...
* Jemdet Nasr stamp seals: SUSA and TELLOH (Boehmer 1975: fig. 127c-d)
* Cylinder seals:
SUSA, NS (*Louvre* I: pl. 26, n. 10 (S.402)).
DIYALA, Khafaje 42, Sin III, Protoliterate c.
NINEVEH, level 4 (Thompson 1933: pl. 65, n. 15).
BRAK, NS (*Ashmolean CS* 711).
CHUERA, ED II-III? (*TC* 1982: 15, fig. 3a-b).
- the association of these distinctive characters, with either concave or convex backs, and with a short tail:
URUK, Jemdet Nasr (*VR* 24).
FARA, ED II (*VR* 73).
DIYALA, Agrab 796, Shara Temple; ED II find-spot. Asmar 49, Earlier Northern Palace, ED III find-spot.
CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West Erweiterung, ED II-IIIa? (*TC* 1974: 59, fig. 22 = 1982-83: 72-73, fig. 11; the little ibex behind).
Collections: *PML* 26a (Jemdet Nasr), 89 (ED III) ...

11. L87-185d ff.

Standing horned animal. Head much damaged to be drawn. Notched horns? Bent legs, in lozenge shape; between them, a triangular element.

Parallels:

- SULEIMEH, level III, Jemdet Nasr or later (al-Gailani-Werr 1982: 69, n. 2).
- MOHAMMED 'ARAB, Ninevite 5 period, grave 54V:23 (Roaf 1983a: fig. 4, n. 15).
- CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West Erweiterung; ED I/II? (*TC* 1964: 44, fig. 31a, stamp seal; 1976: 25, fig. 9a-b; 1982-83: 20, fig. 8a-b; *Selz* 24, banquet scene).
- BRAK, site ER, Akkadian context (*Ashmolean CS* 366; animal behind a seated figure; exactly the same horns).
- Amiet *GM* 701, ED I (Brocade Style).

15. L87-1132.

Standing quadruped.

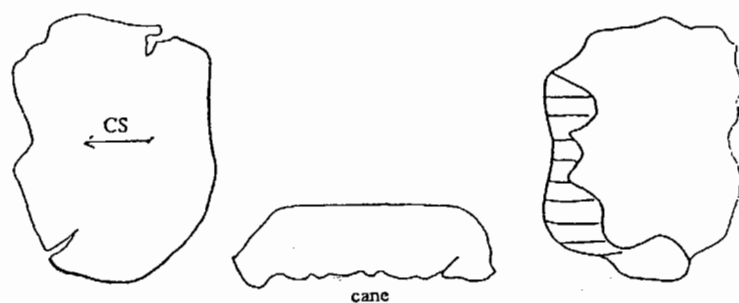
Concave outline of the back: attested on prehistoric stamp seals, but also typical of the beginning of the ED period.

Very long tail: rather a bull or an onager; maybe a cow (and a suckling calf beneath).

Parallels:

- prehistoric stamp seals:
NINEVEH, Obeid (Thompson 1933: pl. 64, n. 20).
GAWRA, XIII Well and XII (Tobler 1950: n. 107, 133).
GAWRA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 22, 24 and 36).
- Scarlet Ware: Khafaje (*Selz* 1983: pl. 2).
- Ninevite 5: Nineveh (Thompson 1933: pl. 65, nos. 10, 12-13, 19; upturned tail or not).
MOHAMMED 'ARAB (Killick 1983: fig. 3, n. 7).
- cylinder seals:
FARA (*VR* 72, ED II; bull).
SUSA, ED II? (Amiet *GS* 1431).
BRAK, NS, ED II? (Mallowan 1947: pl. 21, n. 12).
Collections: *PBS* 51; Amiet *GM* 700 (Brocade Style).

7. Cane basket
L87-137



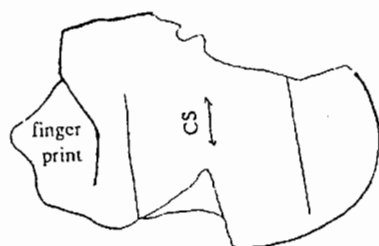
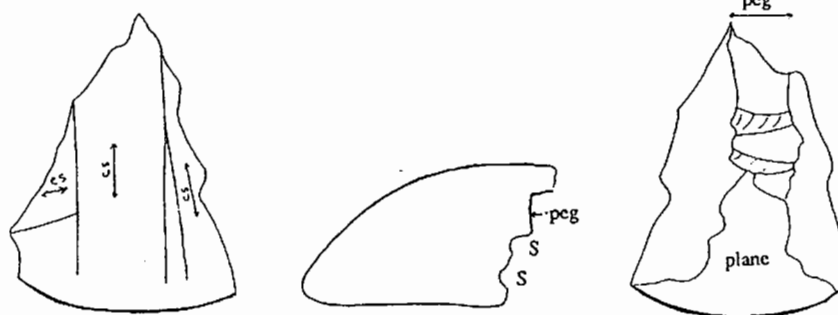
10. Bag
L87-1034



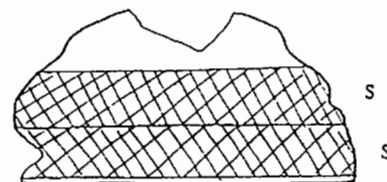
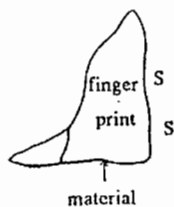
12. Door sealing or bag with peg?
L87-185a



12. Door sealing system
L87-185b



11. Jar sealing
L87-186a



Scale : 1/1 S = string CS = cylinder seal

- Plate 12: The functional analysis of the material: some drawings. NB. These are just sketches drawn in 1988 (Mrs Erica Fiandra was entrusted with the functional study of the scalings).



- Plate13: Photographs of sealings Nos. 3 & 4.



- Plate 14: Photographs of sealings Nos. 7, 9 & 10.



- Plate 15: Photographs of sealings Nos. 11 & 12.



- Plate 16: Photographs of sealings Nos. 13, 14 & 15.