The Ninevite 5 Sequence of Glyptic at Tell Leilan

Dominique Parayre*

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 "fossilite directeur" of this mysterious period. What can glyptic bring to our research? From which perspectives must we study it? We shall try to answer these 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. Mallon 1964: 150), or was used as one of the rare tokens of southern influence (Schwartz 1985: 62; Roof 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 Syriac glyptic (Amiet 1965; Collon 1987). The Leilan material is north-mesopotamian; the term "Syrian" must be set apart for the areas West of the Euphrates. Excepting Tell Moran, 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 Chueria 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. Some of them are rather well preserved, the others are broken in multiple liose 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 IIIa 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 IIIa (strata 17-15). The transition phase between Level III and Level II, when the Acropolis fortification wall was built. More precisely, the majority of the fragments were discovered in the "black ash system" (15C), which lie immediately beneath this wall, and may have been the destruction level of a workshop, in either a public or private building.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Square</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>44 W 13 A</th>
<th>44 W 11 C</th>
<th>44 X 12</th>
<th>44 W 12</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a (2250-2230)</td>
<td>Stratum 14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14; No. 3+13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) IIIa (2250-2200)</td>
<td>Strata 12-15</td>
<td>8 (6 seals)</td>
<td>81 (4 seals)</td>
<td>89 (10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15D: No. 6+8</td>
<td>17; 15G: No. 2</td>
<td>17; No. 13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 10 (9 1/2)</td>
<td>No. 11+12</td>
<td>78 (6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>17; No. 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b (2200-2250)</td>
<td>Strata 21-27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24-21: No. 7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25-26: No. 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39 (6)</td>
<td>83 (6)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) The same seal in 44 X 12?

- Table 1: Topographic and chronological division of the sealings

Stylistic division (Tables 2 and 3)

The sealings involved are approximately equally distributed between the 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 (Lebanon IIIa-IIa).
- The figurative styles appear both on cylinder and on stamp seals. They are attested from Level III onwards. They were chiefly in use in levels IIIa and IIIb; 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 full sketches, which were done in the Museum of Delos or Zea (Syria). Size: millimeters (height, length, thickness of the sealing; height and length of the impression). As to the legends of the plates, N# means "not satisfactorily".

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The Origins of North Mesopotamian Civilization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Styles</th>
<th>Geometric styles (CS)</th>
<th>Figurative styles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data</td>
<td>CS SS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seals used</td>
<td>8 5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seal impressions</td>
<td>10 (78 “bars” x3)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CS = cylinder seal, SS = stamp Seal. “Bar” = Linear seal symbol.

- Table 2: Stylistic division of the sealings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Squares</th>
<th>Perish 4</th>
<th>44 W 11 A</th>
<th>44 W 11 C</th>
<th>44 X 2</th>
<th>44 W 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IIa</td>
<td>300-2350</td>
<td>No. 3 G</td>
<td>No. 13 G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strata 14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIb-2</td>
<td>2750-2500</td>
<td>No. 6 G</td>
<td>No. 13 G</td>
<td>No. 12 F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strata 20-15</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 4 G</td>
<td>No. 10.15 F</td>
<td>No. 2 G (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIb</td>
<td>2000-2750</td>
<td>No. 7 G</td>
<td>No. 14 F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strata 16-21</td>
<td></td>
<td>No. 9 F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIIa-2</td>
<td>2000-2900</td>
<td>No. 1 G</td>
<td>No. 5 G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strata 39-37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 chronology, scholars believe that the hills country along the Zagros is the visual 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 hills areas, apart from the land of Sumer.

With respect to chronology, geometric styles originated on cylinders in the late Jemdet Nasr period (Diyaifa Protoliterate c). The actual tendency of most scholars is to lower the state of the majority of these seals and date them to early ED II (Mann 1985: 38, n. 36, Malka 1964: 150, Fadl 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 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.

- Interpreted in various ways: chevrons; “reed mating”; “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 accounts suggest a large chronological range (from Jemdet Nasr down to ED III) and geographical range the Assyrologia areas, but also southern and eastern Mesopotamia, Syria. The interest of the Leilan sealings is twofold. On the one hand, according to the proposed early date for Leilan III, it suggests that at least a part of these patterns antedates the Jemdet Nasr period, an idea already suggested by some scholars (n. 1; e.g., Buchanan 1981: 54, n. 159). On the other hand, the fact that nos. 2 and 3 came 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 Gwara as late as level VII (Assyrologia SS: 31 ff.). In this case, the proposed back dating of some geometric cylinders still must be proved.

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• *ladder or herring-bone pattern* (n. 4).

These are very frequent on Jemdet Nasr cylinder seals, especially as filling hatches between animals in a single field. 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 at level IIId, 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.

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

This pattern is typically Susaian (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 Proto-Elamite period onwards (Susa II and sites of the Iranian plateau). Variations on this basic model are frequent in the Proto-Elamite phase of the Diyala.

At Leilan, this pattern is attested on a cylinder seal impression of level IIId. Such a high chronology could strengthen the idea of back dating 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 at 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 Hamah). In other directions, the specific western version of the zigzag pattern, where dots replace triangles and which is attested in the Amuq and in Chersi, has not been discovered as far east as Leilan (Amuq G IV B, Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: fig. 381, n. 4; Chersi, Jemdet Nasr or later, IE 1974: 58, fig. 21).

- *Proto-Elamite Style* (nos. 7-8)

Two similar impressions, made by tall cylinder seals, belong to the so-called "Proto-Elamite Style". The pure "Proto-Elamite 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 hills lands along the Tigre, from Susa to Assur. 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 Proto-Elamite 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 "Proto-Elamite Style" was discovered in Leilan in 1898, in a Stratum 20 Operation i grave (Pl. 4). The engraver associated several elements which are typical of the "Proto-Elamite 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 IIIb), 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 quadraped 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 "skulking" 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 GHIOU with animals outside; in Mousian with ani-
mals inside. For the meaner (n. 8), the best parallels come from Susa, Gubba and Ninevah. 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 in Ninevite sites properly so-called (Ninevite, Mohammed 'Arab).
The glazed steatite cylinder seal of Mousian, in the Deh Luran, combines both an ibex and a human
silhouette between hatched triangles: as if the seal was at the junction of the two studied variants.
If we consider the Habur basin as a whole, the pure "Piedmont Style" appear 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 "oasus" of the
cultural area of the Piedmonts.
The chronology of these finds is the following: the sealing n. 7 comes from level IIIb, stratum 28:25; it
can be dated to ED I. The sealing n. 8 comes from level IIIa, stratum 15D: it can be dated to ED IIIa. So
the "Piedmont Style" could survive longer in northern areas than we usually expect (Ross 1984: 133); but
we must notice that a few examples of the Diyala come from late contexts (ED II-II, 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
data from ED II levels; a few Brocade Style cylinders of the Diyala were discovered in ED III find-spots.
The Leilan example comes from level IIIa, 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 is the second component originating in the Diyala. On the contrary, this style is quite sporadic west-
wards 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 peri-
od (nos. I, 5). It is certain that many patterns do not come from Jemdet Nasr, but from "ED" levels (nos.
2, 4: ED II-IIa; 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 exam-
ple: with figurative elements (n. 7: ED I) and without (I,39-8); and it suggests the late 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 Susa I-Sokhta to Mohammed 'Arab, which in particular sets the problem of the role played by Susa
during the first centuries of the Ninevah 5 period. Even during the Late Uruk times, the exact position of
Nineveh cannot yet be precisely defined. This cultural blend included regional variants. Leilan, like
Nineveh and Gubba, confirms that hatched circles filled with rosettes are characteristic of the Piedmont
Neolithic 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 particularities, each urban center is
strongly idio-
syncratic, 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 istiaste
cylinder seal of Leilan presents original peculiarities (Addendum, Pt. 4), and that the "skulking" box of the
sealing n. 7 has no exact parallel.
As to the degree of development, the functional style of the pieces of sealings allows us to distinguish lump of clay poured on case baskets and possible door sealings (PL. 12). This certainly implies some kind of more or less sophisticated organization, maybe on the model of Protosamite Susa (Petrie 1988). The actual data do not allow us to say more about the exact nature (private or public) and the exact function of the sealings at hand.

The second component is borrowed from the repository of the Diyala (n. 6). It is attested in the same context in the Ramesside period; for instance in Gubba. Seals and sealings discovered in Leilan before 1997 allow us to date back the Brocdale Style there to the ED I period.

If we consider the HABUR area and northern Mesopotamia as a whole, Leilan presents a very early outlook; the geometric styles of the more western cities (Iruk, Chagha Bazar, Cherana...) rather belong to the general "saxe:" defined above or at least a convergence between western and eastern variants. Leilan, beyond the Jezir Sinjar, not far from Aramana and from the Tigris, may well have been a North-West outpost of the valley range; from the perspective of the gypfic people, at least, the cultural "collapse" at the beginning of the Novevite period remains to be observed.

According to the common hypothesis, the ED II period saw a shift of power from this valley range to the east of Sumer. Lapidaries usually seized southern figurative themes, although older local traditions remained strong in northern towns like Leilan, as the lex of sealing n. 1 clearly demonstrates.

The figurative styles

The stamp seal impressions (Nos. 14-15)

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

The zoomorphic them of L87-1506 was carved in a tabloid or a gabled stamp seal. It has parallels in particular in Gawa XI A, XI B and VIII. The figures have an Urak-Jemdet Nara look, although such silhouettes survive later, for instance at Susa. This sealing comes from stratum 17 (ED I Latest phase). The stamp used may have been an antelope.

The animals of L87-1132 were also carved in a tabloid or a gabled stamp seal. Northern prehistoric stamps only 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 the animal's very long tail. The comparative position of the animals suggest a cow sucking in its young. Such stamps are attested in Gawa until levels VIII VIII; 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 bull** (n. 9)

A faint impression on a very fragmentary sealing presents a human killing a snake-headed hydra with a spear. Snakes are often represented on prehistoric stamp seals as well as on Urak cylinder seals; they are often associated with human figures. The theme of heroes hunting multi-headed monsters appears elsewhere in the ED B Akkadian period; an ED II sealing from Kish depicts a man struggling against a monster with multiple lionine heads, while an ED II sealing from Fasa and an ED III Akkadian sealing from the Diyala feature hydres with snake heads. The Leilan sealing comes from stratum 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 forerunner of the borrowing of south Mesopotamian images in the following centuries.

- **Banquet scene** (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 heavy-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.

- **Definition of a local manufacture**

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

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Choice and setting of the figurative elements. The drinking scene is very similar to its southern counter-
parts, and the setting of the music scene is quite original. Usually, music is part of a
general banquet representation, and the player is often shown standing. Here, the musician is disoci-
ated from his ordinary context and becomes the main element of the picture; up to now this has only
been attested at Chnura. Secondly, he is seated (Ami t 1963: 77), which is rare on southern seals.
Thirdly, the banquet is symbolized by 2 sealings (nos. 11 and 13), by means of its disconnected ele-
ments: 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 ele-
ments in very original ways (redécritism).

Additionally, these drinking or music scenes are systematically correlated with horned animals (ibex-
ex). Indeed, it is not uncommon to see side by side banquetts and animals. They figure either in the same
register or not; superposed, fighting, or in a single ill. But a systematic association with horned
quadrupeds in this manner is not typical of southern areas, even though the Doublets in the Diyala on the con-
trary, is quite frequent in northern workshops, especially in Chnura.

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

Architecture. Ami t already emphasized this point in his purely stylistic studies: the so-called "peripher-
al" styles not only mingle elements from different idioms, but also mingle old and new features (Ami t

b. Proposed chronology

Sealing n.10 comes from level IIIb, stratum 17. From a stratigraphic point of view, it can be ED II, lat-
est 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 (Chnura, Brak,
Hamman). In general, banquetters drinking through tubes seem to appear in Upper Mesopotamia in the ED
II period, as in the Diyala (Seltz 1983: ED I, which is rather dubious). In Chnura and Chagar Bazar, they
are found and used until EB IIIb; in Brak, till Akkad, though these scenes feature different styles than the exam-
ple from Leilan and its parallels.

The two impressions nos. 11-12 were made by tall cylinders from the same workshop. The extraordi-
nary stylized character of the rendering is remarkable, in particular: the irregular 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 IIIb, stratum 15C, the "black ash stratum", just beneath the
Acropolis fortification; this layer is quite plausibly ED IIIa. The best parallels come from Assur, Brak and
Chnura; most of them are attributed to ED IIIb IIIa periods.

On the contrary, a very squat cylinder formed sealing n. 13. The schematism, the triangular filling ele-
ments 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 IIIa, stratum 14, on a floor closely associated
with the Acropolis fortification. Both the stratigraphy, which proves a continuity in the architecture
between Leilan IIIa and IIIb, and the iconography, which proves a continuity between the lapidaries' tra-
ditions of the two periods, allow us to propose an ED III date, either late ED IIIa or early ED IIIb.

Preliminary conclusions

Chronology

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

Leilan in its archaeological context: South and North.

According to the glyptic material, Leilan IIIb 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
Assyrian city-states (figurative styles). The Acropolis circling 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 more imitation of imported models. As with the "Piedmont Style", the figurative style from Leilan presents a local face. The best parallels come from northern Mesopotamia (Brak and Chorra) 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 culmination and the Lower Town extension; whereas sites like Brak, Chagar Bazar and Chorra in the West, and the Hamrin centers at 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. "But 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 (Ps. 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 overlapping); a few jar sealings and stoppers; a lot of labels for various containers, in particular, for cane baskets (LBT–1353). Lastly, we noticed a few tabs, well known from Brak and Chorra, where they are thought to be "visiting cards" (n. 3; Oates 1982: 199, pl. 14; Oates 1985: 173, pl. 25c). 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 IIIA warehouses; 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 warehouse, boran and levared in stratum 15C; a greater variety of sealings; 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 chieftain.

What is certain is that as early as Leilan IIIA, sophisticated administrative practices were already in use in Leilan, at least for commodities. In the site, when it was included in the Piedmont cultural stream, may already have been an important northern center, like Nineveh. This situation surely occurred when it shifted its focus towards southern Mesopotamia and became a large city, like Brak and Chorra, although Leilan no doubt inherited administrative procedures — 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 "babyalization" of Shamsi-Adad's kingdom repeated once millennium later the cultural history of the Ninevite city-states. Local trends and borrowings are not at all incompatible: everything is a question of function. The no less 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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Plate 1: Stratigraphical division of the sealings.
Plate 2: Geometric styles, "a stock group of images", Nos. 1-4.
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Geometric styles

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

   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:
- protohistoric stamp seals: GARRA, the so-called "quatrefoil circles"; XIII-IX, chiefly XII-XI (Toledor 1950: particularly nos. 27, 39, 43).
- TEPE TEPE, Burial 1, level 1, layer context (Gibson 1981: pl. 101, n. 1).
- TEPE GIVAN, dome, 10 m. depth, level V or VI (Cemmar 1935: pl. 38, n. 20).
- cylinder seals:
  - UR, SIS 4, ED II (LII I: nos. 149-150).
  - DIYALA: Khafaje 154, Sin IV, Protoliterate d; Khafaje 217, Sin V, Protoliterate d; Agrab NS, Shara Temple, ED II.
  - BRAK, NS (Ashmolean GS 738).

Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: General GS: PMG, 33-34; Marcopoli 26-27, 47, 311: Table 203...

a. L87-1030. 44 X 12, lot 45; room 6, Floor 2. Period IIId, stratum 17.
   - L87-1514, 1516b: 44 W 12, lot 23. Period IIIrd, stratum 15C, "black ash stratum".
   Very fragmentary sealings; 1516b: 16x11.6.
   Incomplete seal impressions: maybe chevron(s), with sealt chips in the filling process. Same problem as for n. 1.

a. 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, 16x2. "Basket work" pattern. This pattern, based on lozenges, displays many variants, according to the way the spaces are filled (larger concentric lozenges, or crossed lines, or parallel oblique lines as here).

Parallels:
- UR, SIS 4 (LII I: nos. 143-147).
- FARA (QF 61).
- SUSAN: Protooteumani (Amiet GS: nos. 1224, 1232; Littled 1981: pl. 14, n. 12 (S.37)).
- DIYALA: Agrab 850, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot.
- HAM4-K.3, ca. 2650-2500 (Cumberrages 117 = Amiet 1965: fig. 2).
- MOHAMMED & ARAB, Late Urn (Rosd 1994: 155; pl. 13, j.4).
- BRAK, rubbish from the E4 Temple Platform (Mallowan 1947: pl. 21, nos. 1-4, variant).
- TEL ATIH, room 514, 3rd millennium pottery context (Fortin 1988: 150, fig. 10).

Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: Marcopoli 77-30; LII 52...

a. L87-1032. 44 X 12, lot 59; room 6, floor 3. Period IIId, 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: UR 69 (elaborate version; Marcopoli 36 (simple one); PMG 41...)
- ladder pattern (r hatches) between crudely animals made with a cutting disk:
  - DIATLA, Agrab 834-835, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot.
  - Collections, so-called Jemdet Nasr: Marcopoli 11-13, chiefly 14; PMG 28...

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Plate 3: Geometric style, specific variants, Nos. 5-6.
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Specific variants (PL 3: Nos. 5-6, PL 4, addendum; PL 5: Nos. 7-8; PL 14: No. 7)

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 835, 873 ...).
Išānum, used in 2 registers (Lauer 1: pl. 15: n. 4 (S.49)).
Išānum, used as a border (Amiet GS 1245-1247, 1249).
TALA-I-MALAYAN, Banesh mound, TUV Operation, levels III and II, Protoelamite (Summer 1976: fig. 5, 7).
SHAR ISOKHTA, Period I (Tosi ed. 1980: pl. 71, n. 70; 3 registers).
DIYALA: Khafaje 7, Sin II, Protoelamite c (in 2 registers).
Khafaje 99, 105, 209, Sin IV, Protoelamite d (as a border).
Khafaje 212, Sin IV, Protoelamite d (as a middle register).
MOHAMMED ARAB, Ninevite 5 grave 54 V: 23 (Roof 1983a: figs. 17 and 19).
TARSUS, pot sherd, ED III (Goldman 1956: 240, fig. 397, nos. 7-8).

b. L87-193. 44 X 12, lot 36; room 8. Period IIIb, stratum 15D.
Incomplete cylinder seal impression, 16x30. This inscribes 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 #92, Earlier Northern Palace, ED III find-spot.
  Khafaje 16, Sin II, Protoelamite c.
  GAWRA VI (Speiser 1935: n. 48).
- Brocade Style:
  Agrab 809, 822, Shara Temple, ED II find-spot; Agrab 898, NS.
  SUSA, Protoelamite? (Lauer 1: pl. 19: n. 7 (S.149)).
  Kheit QASIM, T.17, loc. 4, ED I (Lebeau 1984: 116, n. 2).
  GERMAYR, GG 24, early spot: ED I? (Mallowa 1937: pl. 12, n. 2).

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

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Very well preserved cylinder seal, "plastered strata", 47x11.
Lower register: rosette in a hatched circle; petal grooved with a drill (7). 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:
- MOHAMMED 'ARAB, MA 23 (Boad 1983b: 91, pl. 1, fig. 23).
- NINEVEH, cf. Collon, this volume, p. 29.
- DIYALA: Khafaje 297, Houses 4, ED II find-spot (complicated version).
- rosettes in hatched circles, and petals grooved with a drill (7); uncommon.
- SUSA, Protoelamite (Amiet GG 1213).

The more usual type are rosettes with naturistic 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 7, 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, Ashmulsan 52 (rossete + cross + box).
- rosettes + circles in 2 registers: unique.
- small rings in the filling space: very frequent in the "Piedmont Style".

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Plate 5: Geometric styles, specific varieties, Nos. 7-8.
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Broken sealing. 27 x 27.3 x 13.
Cylinder seal impression, 25 x 21. 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 (?).

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

* animal inside:
MOUSSIAN: M.2, cylinder of "glazed strata" (Louvre I: pl. 37, n. 11 = MDP 8, 1905: fig. 130
= Amiet GM 872).
FARA, ED II (Heinrich 1931: pl. 66 = Amiet GM 801. Used as one of the motifs in a complicated scene; cf. also PM 102, ED III).

* animal outside:
SUSA, Proto-Akkadian (Amiet GM 558A).
TEPE GITYAN (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.

2. L87-195. 44 X 12, lot 42; room I. Period IIIb, stratum 15D.
Broken sealing. 25 x 24 x 10.9.
Cylinder seal impression, 25 x 28.3. 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 III (Amiet GS 1420).
DIYALA, Khafaje 269, Oval II, ED III find-spot, 384 and 416, NS.
Assur 740, Akkad find-spot?
GAWRA VII (Spengel 1935: n. 44).

* an ibex: exceptional.

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

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

Cylinder seal (Pls. 6-9; Nos. 9-13, Pls. 14-16; Nos. 9, 13)

s. LR1-143 (Pl. 6: No. 9). 44 W 11A, lot 34. Period IIb, 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:

- serpent with hero (master of animals or struggling):
  * not enwined:
    UR1/K (Colton 1987: n. 859).
    BRAK, sine CH, probably Akkadian context. A kiln door stabs a serpent which attacks a toad-like creature. ED III (Ashmolean CS 764).
  * enwined:
    GAWRA XII (Tobler 1959: n. 179) and XI (Tobler 1950: n. 180): stamp seal impressions, enwined serpents and human figure.
    SUSC A, Ur period (Asmolt CS 482).
    UR, SIS 4-5, ED II (IEE III: n. 286).
    Not-stratified cylinder seal: enwined serpents mastered by a human figure. ED III (Frankfurt CS, pl. 11b).

- real hydra:
  * without snake heads:
    KISH, ED II, monster with three lions’ heads, attacked by a hero armed with a spear (Ashmolean CS 149; Boehm 1975: fig. 43); cf. also Ashmolean CS 150.
  * with snake heads:
    IRARA? ED-I-II (Heinem 1931: pl. 60b = Asmolt GM: 136, note 33).
    DIYALA/A: Asmar 497, Earlier Northern Palace, ED III find-spot; ED IIIa seal (Boehm: 1975: fig. 43c); Asmar 478, Singleoffline IV, Early Akkadian context.
Plate 7: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, No. 10.
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Banquet scene. "Boaisan au chalumeau"

as. L87-1034/356 (Pl. 7: No. 10, Pl. 14, No.10), 44 W 12, lot 61; room 6. floer 4. Period IIb, 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.

"Boaisan 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.

Parrallels:
- figures in mere silhouette, with large shoulders, and two legs visible: NINEVEH, incised plaque, F15, early date (?) (Thompson 1932: pl. 63, n. 15).
- DIYALA, Assur 465, Square Temple I, ED II find-spot (Szé 91).
- CHUERA, Anten-Tempel, West-Erwätermung, ED II? (TC 1976: 22, fig. 4a-b = 1982-1983: 15, fig. 2a-b; Szé 24).
- BAK, sealings, site ER, UR III context; ED III? (Khadafje 358, seated figure; Szé 32).
- BAK, cylinder seal, Naram-Sin Palace, room 29; ED III? (Mallowan 1947, pl. 21, n. 14, standing figure; Szé 41).
- HAMAM, near Carchemish: cylinder seal (Szé 27).

- furniture:
  * chair with vertical elements: very frequent from the beginning of the ED period.
  * TSYERA above; Szé 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 (Szé 60).
  * DIYALA, Szé 32 above.
  * association with a horned animal:
    * DIYALA, Khadafje 358, ED III find-spot.
    * CHUERA, Anten-Tempel (TC 1982-83: 15, fig. 2; Szé 24; TC 1976: 23, fig. 5 (Szé 167)).
    * BAK, NS, ED II-IIIA (Oates 1982: pl. 14a, illegible).
    * Amiet 1963, fig. 28 (Collection Brett, n. 100).
    * crouching ibex (difficult to reconstruct): DIYALA, Khadafje 358, above.
    * CHUERA, Szé 167, above.


It survives later: SUSA, ED III (Lecerre 1, pl. 29, n. 3 (S.347); Banquet scene).

Other "boaisan au chalumeau" from northern Mesopotamia and Syria:

- BAK, ED IIIa? (Szé 352); late ED III or Akkad (Oates 1982, pl. 14d).
- CHAGAR BAZAR, ED III (Szé 392).
- GAWRA VI (Speiser 1935: n. 66; cf. also nos. 60, 64-65, with cupids).
- RIMA, Mitannian level; ED IIIa? (Parker 1975: pl. 10, n. 5).
- AMUQ, Akkad (Bassiwood and Brainwood 1960: fig. 382, n. 6).
Plate 8: Figurative styles, cylinder seal impressions, Nos. 11-12.
Parallels for a seated musician:

- associated to a drinking scene:
  CHUEERA (Sez 24 above):
  Amiet 1964: fig. 28, ED III (x = collection Brett 100).
  Ashmolean CS 233, upper register; ED III.
- associated to an eating scene with a laden table:
  Amiet 1963: fig. 28, ED II? (x = collection Brett 100).
  Ashmolean CS 233, upper register; ED III.
- isolated, dissociated from the ordinary context:
  CHUEERA, Antoon Tempel, ED II-IIIa? (TC 1974: 99, fig. 22a-b = 1982-83: 72, fig. 31a-c; lower register, 2 seated harps). 

15.2. Same workshop:

n. L87-185d, 196-188, 191, 196a-b, 1493-1497, 1510-1511, at least. 44 W 12, lots 15, 23, 25. Period IIId, 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.

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

Many broken sealings in more or less small fragments.

Incomplete cylinder seal impressions. 23x44. A seated harpist towards the right, struggling against a monster (or with a banqueteer, 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? (Louve R. pl. 29, n. 3 (387); banquet scene).
  - ASSUR, NS, ED II? (Ur 77 = Boehner 1975: n. 130; a hero killing snakes).
  - Ashmolean CS 246 (Aleppo) = Frankfurt CE: pl. 39c.
  - * horns with notches (n. 11).
  - ASSUR (Ur 77 above: snakes).
  - BRAK, NS (Ashmolean CS 366: horns).
  - * quadrangular head (or hat?): uncommon.

DIEBELIT EL-BEDAt, bar; ED II-IIia (Moortgat-Casez 1972: 16-17, pl. 14).

CHUEERA, Antoon-Tempel, West-Erweiterung; ED II-IIia? (TC 1976: 28, fig. 11b = 1982-83: fig. 15a-b).

CHUEERA, Antoon-Tempel, West-Erweiterung; head in outline, ED II-IIia? (TC 1974: 99, fig. 22a-b = 1982-1983: 73, fig. 31a-c).

Collections: Muscogul 335, DML 1061...

- struggle against a monster (n. 12): unique.

FARA, ED II-IIia (Sez 162): a seated feastor grasping the leg of an upended antelope.

- Sez 180, ED II-IIia: a seated feastor 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. 15.

- 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).

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Subartu IX

Plate 9: Figurative styles, cylindrical seal impressions, No. 13.
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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 III (Selz 28): triangle drawn in the other sense.
• 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 IIb (Selz 357).
   GAWRA VI (Spieser 1935: n. 64).
   BRAK, Site ER, ED or Akkadian context; ED IIIb? (Achemloot CS 815, Selz 352).
   Selz 360, 363-365, ED IIIb.
   FARA, ED II-III a (Selz 184): mere vertical lines.
• triangular elements as filling motifs: very frequent at least as soon as the Ubaid period.
  MALATYA, Ubaid period (Collon 1987: n. 10).
  CHUBRA, ED II III? (J. 1982-83b: 15, fig. 2; 19, fig. 6; 22, fig. 9, for instance).
  HAMA JS (Copenhagen 121).
  TELL BASHAR, Jesdet Nair (Amiet 1963: 64, fig. 6).

st. L87-1506. 44 W 12, lot 41. Period IIIb, 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 phallic (?)

Parallels:
- Prehistoric stamp seals:
  GAWRA XI (Tell es-Sultan: nos. 86-88; impressions of circular stamp seal).
  GAWRA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 40-41; impressions of circular stamp seals).
- A carinated hemispherical of the YBC (Gate 73), same date.
- For the rendering of the body: cf. many seals of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, especially in Susa (Amiet G: pl. 3, 13-17 for instance; ibidem, 1426, ED7).

st. L87-1132. 44 X 12, lot 64; room 4, floor 2. Period IIIb, 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:
- Supposed 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 (Tell es-Sultan: 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, XII-XIV); nos. 173-174 (XII-III, XIA); Speiser 1935: nos. 22-25 (VII-VIII); nos. 37-39 (VIII).
    NINEVEH, Obeid (Thompson 1933: pl. 64, nos. 2-14, 16-17).
    TELL QAL'AH AGHRA, level III (Uruk), street 31 (Abu al-Soof 1969: 35, pl. 20, at the top right).
  * Cylinder seals:
    AMIQ. Second Mixed Range, G or H (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: fig. 381, n. 1).
    BRK (Akkadian context; Jemdet Nasr or ED I (Ashmolean ii: 717).
    CHUBBA, Antioch-Tempel, ED III (EE 1982-83, pl. 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 Leitan repertoire, Nos. 7, 13, 11, 15.
Specific animals of the repertory (Pl. 11)

- L87-137, and 13: L87-135

Named 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 simous. 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;
  SUSA (Quinte 11 pl. 743, n. 11 (S. 257).
- the "skidding" posture: several
  SULAIK, level III pottery, ca. 900 (Ghezimian 1938-1939: pls. 20-21)
  GAWARA, painted sherd (Speiser 1935: pl. 76, n. 8) ...
  * Prehistoric stamp seals: GAWARA XII (Tobler 1950: n. 105); GAWARA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 29, 22); GAWARA VII (Speiser 1935: n. 1) ...
  * Jemdet Nasr stamp seals: SUSA and TELLOH (Boehmer 1975: fig. 127c-d)
  * Cylinder seals;
  SUSA, NS (Quinte II pl. 26, n. 10 (S. 402)).
  DIYALA, Ubari 42, Sin III, Protoliterate.
  NINEVEH, level 4 (Thompson 1933: pl. 65, n. 15).
  BRAK, NS (Adamolek 1971).
  CHURBA, ED II-II (RCH 1962: 15, fig. 3e-b).
- the association of these distinctive characters, with either concave or convex backs, and with a short tail:
  URUK, Jemdet Nasr (RF 24).
  FARA, ED II (RF 73).
  DIYALA, Agrab 796, Shan Temple; ED II find-spot. Asmar 49, Earlier Northern Palace,
  ED II find-spot.
  CHURBA, Antem-Tempel, West Erweiterung, ED II-IIa? (RCH 1974: 59, fig. 22 = 1982-83: 72-73, fig. 11; the little ibex behind).
  Collections: PHL 26a (Jemdet Nasr), 89 (ED II) ...

u. 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:

SULHIMEH, level III, Jemdet Nasr or later (al-Gailani-Werl 1982: 69, n. 2).
MOHAMMED ARAB, Nineveh 5 period, grave 54V/23 (Roaf 1983a: fig. 4, n. 15).
CHURBA, Aren-Tempel, West Erweiterung; ED III/I (RCH 1964: 44, fig. 31a, stamp seal; 1976: 25, fig. 9a-b; 1982-83: 20, fig. 8a-b; GB 24, banquet scene).
BRAK, site ER, Akkadian context (Adamolek 1971: 366; animal behind a seated figure; exactly the same horns).
Amiet GM 701, ED I (Brocode Style).

u. 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 bucking calf beneath).

Parallels:

- prehistoric stamp seals:
  NINEVEH, Obeid (Thompson 1935: pl. 64, n. 20).
  GAWARA, XII Well and XII (Tobler 1950: n. 107, 133).
  GAWARA VIII (Speiser 1935: nos. 22, 24 and 36).
  Scarlet Ware: Khafaje (Selz 1983: pl. 2).
  Nineveh 5: Nineveh (Thompson 1933: pl. 65, nos. 10, 12-13, 19; upturned tail or not).
  MOHAMMED ARAB (Kilic 1983: fig. 3, n. 7).
- cylinder seals:
  FARA (RF 72, ED II; null).
  SUSA, ED II (Amiet GS 1431).
  BRAK, NS, ED II (Mallowan 1947: pl. 21, n. 12).
  Collections: EB 51; Amiet GM 700 (Brocode Style).
Plate 12: The functional analysis of the material: some drawings. NB. These are just sketches drawn in 1988 (Mrs Erica Pauziot was entrusted with the functional study of the sealings).
Plate 13: Photographs of sealings Nos. 3 & 4.
Plate 14: Photographs of sealings Nos. 7, 9 & 10.
- Plate 15: Photographs of seals Nos. 11 & 12.
Plate 16: Photographs of sealings Nos. 13, 14 & 15.