Hasanlu Special Studies III

EMBLEMS OF IDENTITY AND PRESTIGE: THE SEALS AND SEALINGS FROM HASANLU, IRAN

Commentary and Catalog

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Robert H. Dyson, General Editor

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Michelle I. Marcus

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For my parents

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Plate 35a Musée Iran Bastan (HAS 60-950).

Plate 36 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1931 (31.72.3). Nimrud

Plate 37 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 1931 (32.143.3). Nimrud

Plate 38a The Brooklyn Museum 55.145 (detail), Gift of Mr Hagop Kevorkian. Nimrud

Plate 38b The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1963 (63.109.9) (HAS 62-1013).

Plate 39a Ankara Museum 9666 + British Museum 117909. Carchemesh

Plate 39b Musée Iran Bastan (HAS 65-20). Marlik

Plate 40b The Oriental Institute Museum of The University of Chicago A 34436. Fakhariyah

Plate 40c Musée du Louvre Susa. (S^B 5038).

Plate 41a Musée du Louvre Susa. (S15367).

Plate 41b Musée du Louvre Susa. (S^B 3353).

Plate 42 Musée Iran Bastan 14708/7708. Marlik

Plate 43a The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1957 (57.27.19). Balawat

Plate 43b The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.163.13) (HAS 64-1064).

Plate 43c Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem J820. Beth Shan

Plate 44 Musée Iran Bastan (HAS 59-385).

Plate 45a Vorderasiatisches Museum 4244. Assur

Plate 45b Vorderasiatisches Museum 4212. Assur

Plate 45c Vorderasiatisches Museum 7951. Assur

Plate 45d Vorderasiatisches Museum 2047.

Plate 46a The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965 (65.163.9) (HAS 64-769).

Plate 46c The Oriental Institute Museum of The University of Chicago A 34450. Fakhariyah

Plate 47a Damascus Museum S 1269. Mari

Plate 47b New York City Police Dept. (Enlarged photograph of Cat. no. 11).

Plate 48 The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.20.5) (HAS 59-83).

Abbreviations

Collections

AI	American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, New York
Ash	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
BB	Burned Building
BH	Bead House
Bklyn	The Brooklyn Museum, New York
BM	British Museum, London
DM	Damascus Museum
Dresden	Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden
I of A	Institute of Archaeology, University of London
IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad
Jerusalem	Department of Antiquities and Museums, Jerusalem
Louvre	Musée du Louvre, Paris
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
OIM	The Oriental Institute Museum of The University of Chicago
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
TM	Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran
UM	The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VA Ass	Assur collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum
VAT	Tablet collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum

Acknowledgments

The present study is based upon my doctoral dissertation, submitted in 1988 to the Department of Art History of the University of Pennsylvania. Except for occasional notes and references added during the editing process, the writing of the monograph was completed later that same year. It is thanks to the generosity of Robert Dyson, Director of the Hasanlu Project, that I had the privilege of working on the Hasanlu glyptic, with access to all of the field records and to the Director's thoughtful advice. It is a pleasure, as well, to thank the other members of my dissertation committee for their encouragement and criticisms: Edith Porada, Richard Zettler, and most especially Irene Winter for her continual guidance, free exchange of ideas, and cherished friendship.

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Denise L. Hoffman drew all of the illustrations in the Catalog and most of those in the text. I wish to extend my thanks for her enormous contribution in this and other aspects of the manuscript. Sources for any other line drawings are cited in the captions.

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At the end, it is a pleasure to thank my husband, David, for his sense of humor and support; and the rest of my family for their ongoing encouragement and assistance.

Preface

The 105 seals and seal impressions presented in this Catalog greatly expand the known corpus of glyptic remains from northwestern Iran. The collection is especially important in that it comes from a documented context, namely, Tepe Hasanlu in southwestern Azerbaijan, Iran, from a tightly stratified context.

This circumstance of controlled provenance provides a special opportunity to see the variety of seal types and styles extant in a single occupation level at one time. The co-occurrence of items from Assyria and the Levant with locally made seals raises the question of the extent and nature of borrowing, adapting, and imitation of themes originating in politically prestigious areas—with the exception of Urartu which appears to be unrepresented. The study of these interactions allows the author to explore the concept of "center" and "periphery" in glyptic terms.

The comparison of the iconography of the collection shows its close relationship to the Neo-Assyrian glyptic of the ninth century B.C.—the geographically closest and best-dated comparative material available. The total absence of significant linkages with the iconography of Assyrian seals of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C., (as seen, for example, in Suzanne Herbordt's *Neuassyriches Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr.*, 1992), is striking and constitutes an important element in the problem of documenting the terminal date for Hasanlu IVB. This date is thought to be around 800 B.C. on the basis of historical events in the area documented by Urartian inscriptions, a large body of Assyrian-related artifacts of ninth century type, and radio-carbon dates (a full list of which are provided in *Iran* XXVII, 1989: Table 1, recalculated from the original list published in 1972). Among the dates are ten derived from short-lived samples (charred barley, grain, grapes, reeds and fine ash) which do not involve the question of the reuse of building timber. These dates indicate a destruction date no later than 795 B.C. Obviously, this is only one line of evidence which must be combined with other categories of analysis, but it provides important support for the discussion of glyptic relationships.

The distribution pattern of the seals and sealings in the rooms of different buildings, and their stratigraphic occurrence at both ground floor level and in second-storey collapse provide the author with a unique opportunity to look at functional aspects of the glyptic system which reflect administrative practices at the site.

Michelle Marcus has done us all a great service in undertaking this study of the Hasanlu glyptic. Her Catalog is detailed and precise and her numerous insights and wide knowledge of iconography enrich her comments in the text. The work as a whole provides an important building block in our on-going effort to understand and date the remains of Iron Age Hasanlu.

Robert H. Dyson, Jr.
The University of Pennsylvania Museum
November 1994

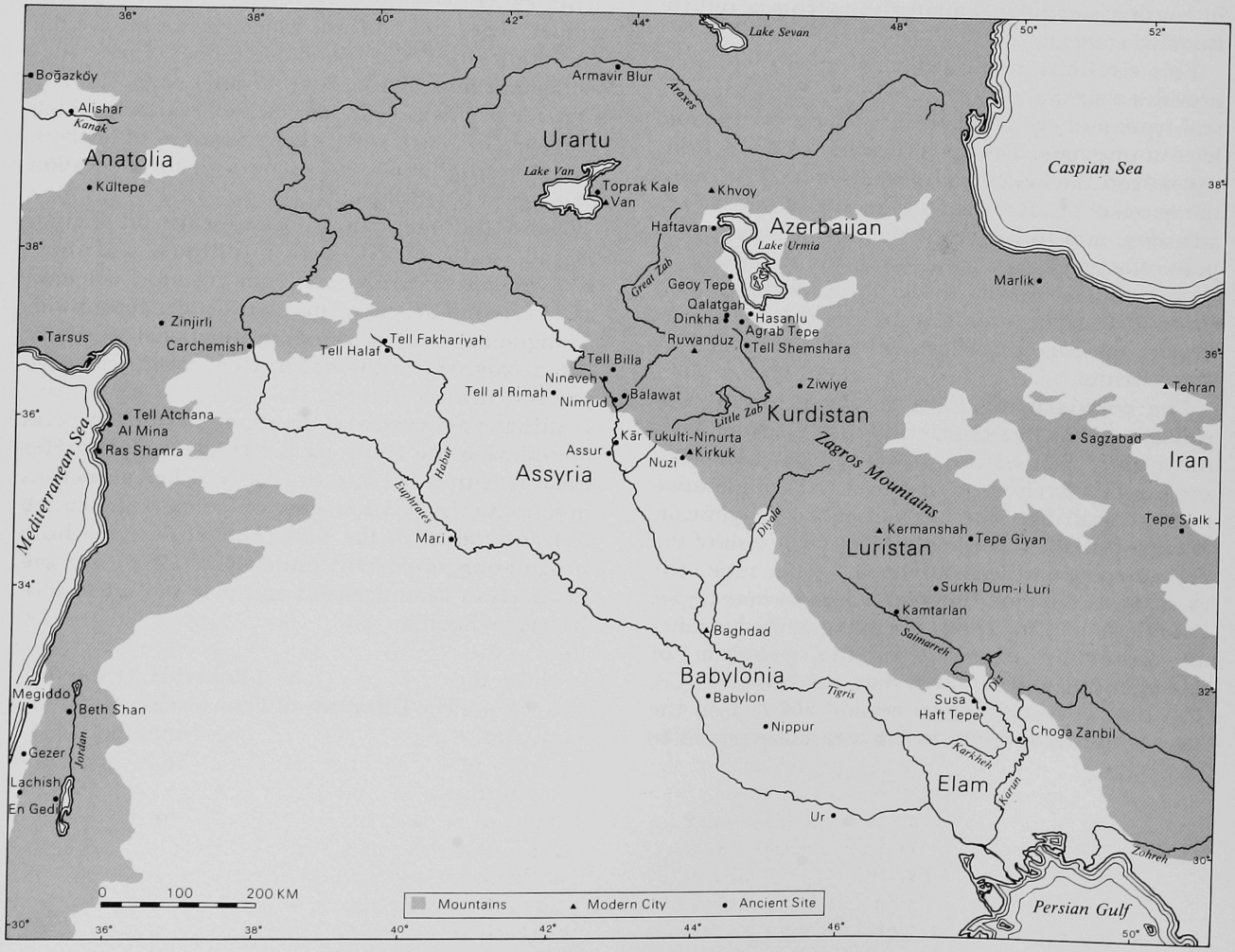

Figure 1. Conic projection map of the ancient Near East, showing sites mentioned in the text.

Introduction

This volume presents the largely unpublished assemblage of glyptic artifacts discovered at the Iron II period settlement of Hasanlu IVB in Northwest Iran (ca. 1100–800 B.C.).[1] The study provides a stylistic classification of the seal designs for the purposes of a catalog, as well as an analysis of sealing function and artifact distribution. Seals from contexts other than period IVB are discussed in Appendices at the end.

The major site of Hasanlu lies a short distance south of the southwestern shore of Lake Urmia in the Solduz Valley of Iranian Azerbaijan (Fig. 1). Most of the glyptic finds were discovered in the course of scientific excavations from 1956 to 1977, conducted under the auspices of The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (from 1959), and the Archaeological Service of Iran, under the general direction of Robert H. Dyson, Jr.[2] Although the archaeological mound at Hasanlu was occupied from roughly 6000 to around 275 B.C., the majority of the finds reported here were uncovered in a single burned level resulting from a major destruction of the settlement at the end of period IVB (ca. 800 B.C.; Fig. 2). In addition, a number of objects belonging to the same period were recovered in soundings made at the site in 1936 by Sir Aurel Stein,[3] as well as in commercial explorations by Mr. Farhadi in 1934 and by Mahmud Rad in 1947, and in 1949 by Ali Hakemi and Mahmud Rad.[4]

The glyptic assemblage of Hasanlu IVB consists of 105 objects, including cylinder and stamp seals, and clay sealings and tabs. The sealings are lumps of clay that were pressed when moist upon doors and containers, as the marks on the underside indicate. The exposed surface was then impressed with a seal and allowed to dry. Presumably, the impressed sealings served to identify ownership or authority, as well as to control access to certain rooms and goods. The tabs are flattened, ovoid-shaped tags of clay that likewise preserve seal impressions. Unlike the sealings, however, the undersides of the tabs are smooth, showing no signs of having been pressed against another surface, leaving their function uncertain.

In earlier studies, seals have primarily held an artistic interest for the designs incised on their surfaces. While this visual information is important, scholars have recently begun to recognize the further value of seals and especially sealings as documents of economic and social issues.[5] This new level of analysis is particularly important at Hasanlu since although the site has yielded virtually no written texts,[6] it does provide good stratigraphic and hence contextual information. Unfortunately, most of the seals in public and private collections today are without an archaeological provenience. Hasanlu affords a unique opportunity, then, to study a corpus of seals and sealings found within a controlled stratigraphic context, providing them with a precise archaeological and cultural setting.

The following study, therefore, incorporates methods and questions drawn primarily from the discipline of art history and the available archaeological, functional, and historical evidence. A descriptive data base serves as a foundation for the stylistic analysis of the seal designs and for a functional analysis of the sealings. Catalog entries are intended to make available as much data as possible on the archaeological context and physical characteristics of the objects, and on the style and iconography of the seal designs so that these may further serve as source material for future research on related material. Similarly, it is hoped that a working typology of the sealings based on the markings on their undersides may contribute to the growing corpus of sealing function studies in the ancient Near East and Aegean,[7] bringing us somewhat closer to a better understanding of the range of types and uses of these important artifacts.

Art history provides the tools for a systematic stylistic and iconographic analysis of the seal designs, as well as useful theoretical models, such as the

notion of a local art style,[8] the distinction between regional and individual styles,[9] and the paradigm of center and periphery.[10] At the same time, the present study draws on anthropological and archaeological theories of exchange[11] and stylistic diffusion[12] in order to better understand the cultural processes operating at Hasanlu. Equally helpful in this regard are a number of recent studies by social anthropologists, archaeologists, sociologists, social historians, and art historians alike on the affective properties of art and particularly the role of prestige goods in actively constructing and maintaing social hierarchies.[13] For instance, Martin Wobst has discussed the aspects of dress and headgear that symbolize rank and status in contemporary Yugoslavia.[14] Similarly, Jeffrey Hantman and Stephen Plog have interpreted certain ceramic styles in the prehistoric American Southwest as status-related innovations.[15] One of the questions asked here is whether glyptic style can function to signal social status in a similar manner.

Underlying the methods and issues discussed above is the assumption that there is a functional relationship between art and culture. Art objects are viewed here as integrated cultural manifestations, reflecting and reinforcing the basic values of the culture in which they function.[16] Similarly, the study holds that art *styles* are related to social conditions and can therefore serve as media of information exchange.[17] It should be articulated further that by style is meant "the formal similarities among artifacts that can be related to factors other than raw material availability or mechanical efficiency";[18] and that it is considered to be peculiar to time and place.[19] In addition, as is commonly assumed in art history and archaeology, the similarities between works of art from historically related contexts are seen as being directly related to the degree of social interaction among individuals or groups.[20]

With the above assumptions in mind, an art historical analysis of the seal designs allows the classification of the Hasanlu corpus into six basic stylistic groups: two categories of locally produced works; three foreign styles; and one problematic group (discussed individually in Chapters 2–7). This level of analysis endeavors to define stylistic criteria for distinguishing imports from locally produced seals, with an eye toward determining foreign contact and trade. Further, the study pursues an analysis of the processes of cultural change in light of the complex network of interconnections existing between Hasanlu and the major centers of Assyria, Syria, and Syro-Palestine to the west, and Elam and Luristan to the south in the early first millennium B.C.

In terms of locally produced glyptic, it is possible (Chapter 2) to support the notion of a "local" art style at Hasanlu on the basis of comparisons between certain seal designs and other "local" works in different media, especially in metalwork and ivory. A study of the comparative visual materials from regions outside Hasanlu further serves to establish the sources for the "local style" in Neo-Assyrian, North Syrian, Middle Assyrian, and other Iranian art. The relationship with Neo-Assyrian art is especially important in trying to clarify cultural attitudes of Northwest Iran towards the major imperial power of Assyria in northern Mesopotamia.

Having analyzed the shared characteristics of the *general* art style of the site, it is then possible to address the question of *individual* or personal artistic styles in the hope that such an analysis will contribute to a better understanding of craft specialization and other aspects of the social organization of Hasanlu IVB.

The analysis of a group of Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals addresses more theoretical issues, in addition to pointing to direct exchange between Hasanlu and the Assyrian capitals to the west (Chapter 5). Drawing on the art historical concept of center and periphery, the discussion raises the notion of a "marginal" or "provincial" place of manufacture somewhere between Hasanlu and Assyria to explain a group of Neo-Assyrian-style seals having stylistic traits in common with the art of Iran. This concept introduces, then, a third category into the standard paradigm of center and periphery: that of the outlying province that exists between major centers and their peripheries.

At the same time, the analysis draws on recent theories of information exchange to explain the presence of Assyrian-style seals that cannot be explained by commodity exchange alone. Specifically, it is suggested that Assyrian-style seals were acquired by the Hasanlu elite as prestige goods, in the same way that Assyrian themes were incorporated into the "local style" artwork presumably to match the cultural status of the Assyrian "center." In this way, it is argued, the Assyrian-style seals served to mark, maintain, and further social differentiation at the site.

In order to explain the presence of Assyrian goods and ideas in Northwest Iran, it is necessary to account for possible modes of transmission across the Zagros. Although the full extent of Assyrian control in the Hasanlu region remains uncertain as yet, the Assyrian royal annals do indicate military activity in the northern Zagros areas around Hasanlu during the early ninth century B.C.[21] and certainly by 843, when Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) claims to have conquered the region.[22] It is thus important for the purposes of the study to determine not only how Assyrian goods and ideas reached Hasanlu, but also how the visual record of the Hasanlu glyptic corresponds to the historical records of the Assyrian kings. In particular, we need to determine the extent

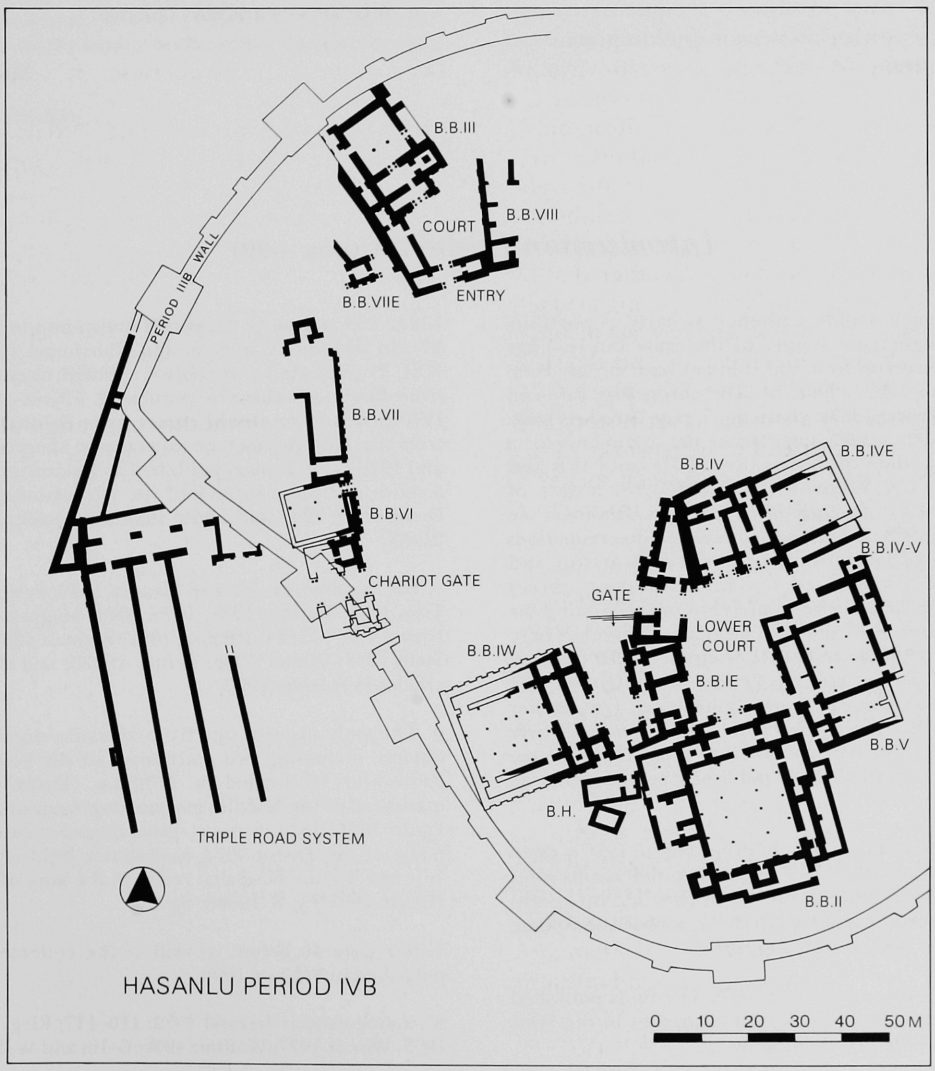

Figure 2. Provisional plan of the structures of Hasanlu IVB within the period IIIB fortification wall.

of Assyrian political control in the northern Zagros in the ninth century B.C., and whether or not it reached all the way to Hasanlu.

While the visual information in the seal designs is important and forms the basis of much of the following study, equally important is the functional information held in the markings on the backs of the sealings, as well as the distribution of the objects throughout the site. It is this level of information that contributes to a better understanding of the range of social and economic uses of seals and sealings at the settlement, such as their possible role in controlling access to certain rooms and goods. Such an analysis highlights our good fortune in being able to put the Hasanlu glyptic finds back into their original context: in graves or buildings, on first or second floors of buildings, and with skeletons or other objects. These data will help to determine how seals were worn by individuals and what kinds of commodities were being sealed. By analyzing sealing function and distribution it is even possible to reconstruct sealed second-story "treasuries" in certain building areas on the Citadel Mound.

It is the major premise of this study that only such a multi-faceted approach as described above, incorporating methods of art history with archaeological, functional, and historical evidence, can adequately deal with the complexities both of the local cultural history of Hasanlu IVB, and of the interrelations between Northwest Iran and the major centers of the Near East in the early first millennium B.C.

The conclusions are not intended, however, as hard and fast interpretations of the evidence. Rather, they represent one of many ways of thinking about the Hasanlu glyptic. Of broader interest will be the use of the data for future research in ancient Near Eastern studies, and any contribution some of the theoretical ideas may make to the field of art history in general. It is hoped that in the end the study demonstrates the fruitfulness of an interlocking approach based on artistic, functional, distributional, and historical evidence for grappling with the complexities of ancient culture.

Michelle Marcus
May 1994

Introduction Endnotes (nos. 1-22)

1. In order to reach a wide audience as early as possible, summary and single-issue studies of the seals and sealings (including some excerpts from this volume) have already been published (Marcus 1989, 1990a, b). The chronology followed here is based on Dyson 1989a: chart, fig. 5, p. 6. See also Dyson and Muscarella 1989, which summarizes the arguments for a ninth-century B.C. date of destruction of Hasanlu IVB and refutes those by I.N. Medvedskaya (1988) for a date of destruction in 714 B.C. by Sargon II of Assyria. However, see also Medveskaya (1988, 1991).The radiocarbon determinations for the periods of Hasanlu as published by Dyson and Muscarella (1989) are based on the calibration curves published after the Trondheim Conference, incorporating the European oak series. All calibrated BC dates presented here were obtained through the computer program CALIB (revision 1.3) written by M. Stuiver and P.J. Reimer of the Quarternary Isotope Lab of the University of Washington. (An earlier version of CALIB has been published in *Radiocarbon* [Stuiver and Reimer 1986].) The data employed by CALIB for the time range under discussion are those published by Pearson et al. (1986).

2. A full bibliography of the Hasanlu Project up to 1976 is given in Levine and Young 1977: 399–405. For publications after 1976 see Dyson and Muscarella 1989: n. 1. Now add the recent collection of articles in *Expedition* 31 (2/3), a two-issue volume devoted to Hasanlu (Dyson and Voigt 1989).

3. Stein 1940: 390–404, especially p. 400. The finds published in Stein's report are largely preserved at present in the West Asiatic collection of the British Museum.

4. Finds from 1934 have been published in Ghirshman 1939: 78–79, and pl. C. These include one cylinder seal of grey stone (ibid.: 253 and pl. C, 23, poorly drawn impression) (= our No. 87). In addition, Contenau and Ghirshman (1935: 87 and pl. XXI, 2) published a grey-black spouted pitcher said to come from Ruwanduz (Louvre, purchase). This is a classic Hasanlu IVB form and no doubt comes from Solduz, most probably from the 1934 commercial excavations. Material from the 1947 and 1949 excavations is published in Hakimi and Rad 1950. For a more complete history of the excavations, see especially Dyson 1967: 2951 with notes; 1983: xxv–xxviii; and Young 1963: 21–33.

5. For example: Ferioli and Fiandra 1979; Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979; Fiandra 1968, 1975, 1981; Magness-Gardiner 1987; Nissen 1977: 15, 21; Palaima 1987; Pittman 1989; Renger 1977; Stein 1987; Winter 1986; Zettler 1987b; and the collection of articles in Palaima 1990.

6. The only inscriptions from Hasanlu occur on imported objects, including: two maceheads of the king of Susa, Tan-Ruhurater, who ruled ca. 2100 B.C. (Dyson 1989b: 123); a macehead of the Middle Assyrian king Assur-uballiṭ (Dyson and Pigott 1975: 183); a stone vessel fragment inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil (Pigott 1989: fig. 16); and a stone bowl that refers to the king of the land of Idi (Dyson 1965: fig. 8; 1989b: fig. 21).

7. See note 40 below, as well as the collected articles now published in Palaima 1990.

8. Among others: Brendel 1979: 116–117; Riegl 1893; Schapiro 1953; Winter 1977; Wölfflin 1950: 6–10; and Wollheim 1979.

9. For instance: Berenson 1927: 1–71; Brendel 1979: 125–126; Wollheim 1979; and Wölfflin 1950: 1–6.

10. For instance: Brendel 1979: 84–84; Castelnuovo and Ginzburg 1979; and *Le rayonnement des civilisations . . .* 1965. More recently, the center-periphery model has been adopted by social scientists and historians seeking to describe integrated regional social and economic systems. See the collected essays in Champion 1989; Green and Perlman 1985; Trinkaus 1987; and Rowlands, Larsen, and Kristiansen 1987. The trends in center-periphery studies are reviewed in Marcus 1990a.

11. For instance: Adams 1974; Earle 1982; Flannery 1968; Hodder 1982; Kohl 1975; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1974; Renfrew 1975, 1977; and Wheatley 1975.

12. Davis 1983; Hantman and Plog 1982; Plog 1978; Trigger 1968: 26–42; Wells 1980.

13. Especially: Appadurai 1986; Braudel 1979: 24, 31, 266–333; Davis 1983; Douglas and Isherwood 1979: 56–59; Fischer 1971; Hantman and Plog 1982; Johnson 1986; Kavolis 1968; McCracken 1990; Rathje 1977; Renfrew 1986; Schapiro 1969; Sieber 1971; Wiessner 1983; Winter 1977, 1981: 21–22; and Wobst 1977. In addition, Green and Perlman (1985) have compiled a worthwhile collection of recent works by anthropologists using the issue of frontiers and boundaries as a focus for studying social process and change; particularly useful for the present study have been the introductory chapter by the editors, as well as the essays by Hodder, McGovern, and Paynter.

14. Wobst 1977: 330–335.

15. Hantman and Plog 1982.

16. Sieber 1971: 204. See also Otten 1971: xi and Winter 1977: especially 383.

17. Especially Wobst 1977: 321–322. See also Conkey 1978; Fischer 1971: 159; Otten 1971: xi; Pollock 1983; Sackett 1977; Wiessner 1983; and most recently Conkey and Hastorf 1990, a valuable collection of essays on the communicative role of style in archaeology.

18. Davis 1983: 55. There is a vast body of literature on the concept of style. In art history, see especially Ackerman 1963; Gombrich 1968; Lang 1979: parts I and II; Schapiro 1953. In archaeology, see Davis 1983; Jelinek 1976; Sackett 1973, 1977; Summers 1981; with additional references cited in each of the above.

19. Sackett 1977: 370.

20. E.g., Ackerman 1963: 164; Davis 1983: 55; Sackett 1977: 371, 377.

21. Grayson 1976: ¶¶ 551, 565.

22. Year 16 = Cameron 1950: col. III, ll. 58-60 (IM 54699); Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 637 (Assur annals). For further discussion and references see p. 22 and note 109 below.

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Part 1

Commentary

I

Typology and Stylistic Classification

As used here, "classification" is a broad term referring to the general process of ordering materials by attributes of decoration, manufacture, or material.[23] The stylistic classification of the Hasanlu IVB glyptic is a way of organizing the artistic information in the seal designs, based on sets of shared attributes of content and composition. By "typology" is meant a more specific process by which types of artifacts are established based on selected criteria of form and material.[24]

Typology

The corpus includes 52 cylinders (39 cylinders, 10 cylinder seal-beads, 3 unengraved cylinders), 19 stamps, 31 sealings, and 3 tabs from Hasanlu IVB. (See Index of Artifact Types at the end of the volume.)

Cylinders

The cylinders have been divided into three types:

1. *Cylinder seal:* This type is a cylinder made from stone or a quartz composite material (frit or faience),[25] the surface of which has been decorated with an incised figural design that will create a continuous impression when rolled across a wet clay surface. All of the cylinders from Hasanlu IVB (39) are perforated longitudinally. At least 44% (17) were fitted originally with metal caps and/or suspension pins with a looped end (now often partially or totally unpreserved). (Thirty-nine cylinders: Nos. 1–4, 57–80, 82–92; pp. 69–71, 100–117.)
2. *Cylindrical seal-bead:* This type is a cylinder incised with a geometric design. It is distinguished from a simple bead by its straight sides, the care of execution of the carving, and its height, which ranges from 2.73 cm. (No. 35) to 5.06 cm. (No. 38); the average height is 3.52 cm.[26] The seal-beads from Hasanlu IVB are made of a white glazed or unglazed composite material (fused quartz) or the compound Egyptian blue. They are perforated longitudinally and have no metal attachments. (Ten examples: Nos. 33–42; pp. 93–95.)
3. *Unengraved cylinder:* These cylinders bear no decorative incisions. They are distinguished from beads, however, by the use of special stones or a glazed composite material, as well as by the addition of metal caps and suspension pins with a looped end. Unfortunately, none of the unengraved cylinders from Hasanlu, all in

Tehran, have been available for scientific analysis. According to preliminary field identifications, however, they are made of unusually colorful or precious materials, such as a red and white stone with gold end caps (No. 43); and a dark blue composition with a glaze now colored white (No. 44). In general, the unengraved cylinders are larger than the seal-beads, averaging 4.07 cm. in height. (Three examples: Nos. 43–45; pp. 95–96.)

Stamp Seals

There are five types of stamp seals, including one or two types of scarabs, in the assemblage from Hasanlu IVB. The following classification is based in part on Briggs Buchanan's description of the stamps in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[27] The scarab typology is based on William Ward's classification of pre-Twelfth Dynasty scarabs from Egypt.[28] In addition, it was necessary to invent two new terms: lion stamp and conoid-knob stamp (see below).

As the diagram in Fig. 3 illustrates, a stamp seal has a *back* by means of which it can be handled, and a seal *face* engraved with a design that will make an impression. In most cases the descriptive names of the stamp types derive from the design of the back, which consists of a *base* and, in the case of conoid-knobs, an attached *handle* which is composed of a *stem* and *knob*. The *edge* refers to the junction between the back and the seal face.

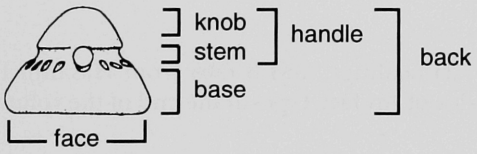


Figure 3. Diagram of a stamp seal.

Among the five stamp forms of Hasanlu IVB, Types 1–3 have no attached handle. In these cases the back consists of a single mass, which is perforated. Types 4 and 5 have an attached, perforated handle. The five stamp seal types are as follows (Fig. 4):

1. *Loaf-shaped hemispheroid* (Fig. 4.1): This type has a low, domed back and an ovoid base with blunt ends; it is perforated longitudinally at the base. (No. 93; p. 117.)

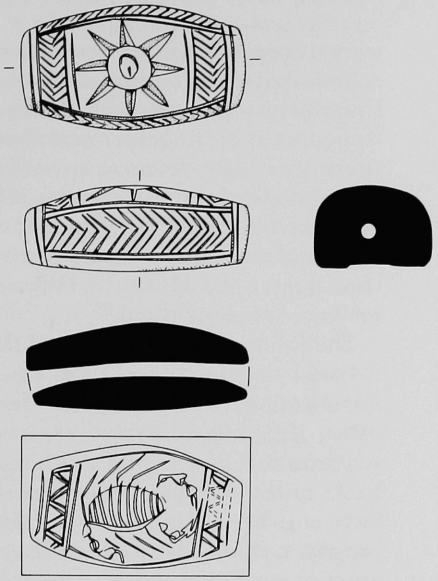
2. *Lion stamp* (Fig. 4.2): This type is in the form of a recumbent lion. It is perforated longitudinally just above the base line. Incisions on the back indicate the features of the lion's face, mane, and body hair. The seal face is a rectangle with one convex short side. (Seven examples: Nos. 46–52; pp. 96–98.)

3. *Scarab* (Fig. 4.3): Only one type of scarab is well preserved in Hasanlu IVB, although a second type may be represented by a fragmentary example. Analysis of scarab type is based on details of the head, back, and side forms. Description of the back type is based on the number of lines (sutures) dividing the wings (elytra) (see Fig. 4.4).[29] The side type refers to the manner in which the legs are carved, and whether the scarab is solid or pierced.[30] The side type together with details of stamp length and the design on the seal face form the basic indicators of date and place of production. Such details are important in trying to distinguish between Egyptian scarabs and "Egyptianizing" stamps produced in the Levant, although a dearth of Iron Age seals from well-published controlled excavations in the Levant and Egypt makes any such interpretations far from certain.

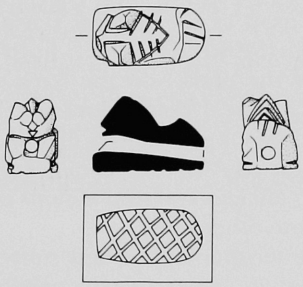
   In the best-preserved scarab from Hasanlu IVB (No. 53), the *head* is a lunate with the eyes shown by a single line (Ward's type A3);[31] the *back* has one line dividing the elytra, with a second line between the elytra and pronotum (Ward's type I);[32] and the *side* is a simple grooved form, with the legs not shown and with the head only slightly defined (Ward's type a1).[33] A second scarab (No. 54), known only from an early field sketch, probably belongs to the same type, while a third fragmentary example (No. 55) may have chip-carved legs (Ward's side type b1).[34] All three scarabs are perforated longitudinally, and have an ovoid seal face. (Three examples: Nos. 53–55; pp. 98–99.)

4. *Hammer-head stamp* (Fig. 4.5): This type has a handle consisting of a conical body and a perforated hammer-shaped head at the top. It has a short indented stem, cylindrical base, and a circular seal face. (No. 56A; pp. 99–100.)

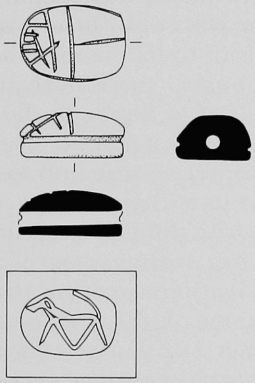
5. *Conoid-knob stamp* (Fig. 4.6): This type has a truncated conical base, short indented stem, and short conoid knob. The stem is perforated. The back is often decorated, with either hatching or petal-like incisions along the top of the base (just below the stem) and/or around the knob. The seal face is circular. This type is related to Buchanan's stud stamp, but generally has a taller, more conical handle and conoid base. (Seven examples: Nos. 23–29; pp. 88–91.)



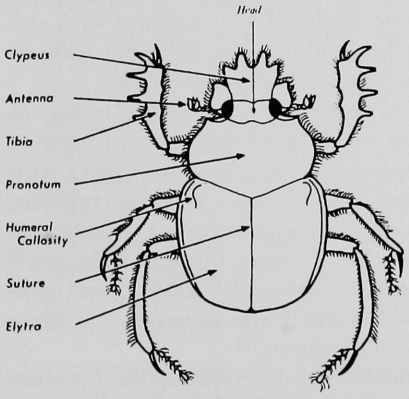
4.1. Loaf-shaped hemispheroid (No. 93)



4.2. Lion stamp (No. 52)

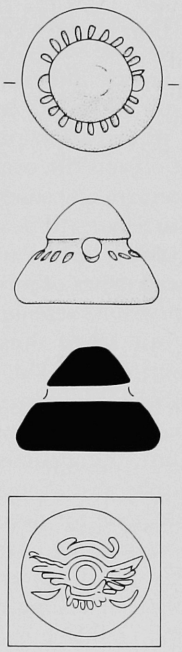


4.3. Scarab (No. 53)



4.4. *Scarabaeus sacer* L. After G.J. Arrow in Ward 1978: frontispiece.

4.5. Hammer-head stamp (No. 56A)



4.6. Conoid-knob stamp (No. 26)

Figure 4. Types of stamp seals.

Sealings

There are two ways of considering the term "sealing." Either it can refer to an ancient impression of a seal, including "sealings" on tablets;[35] or it can refer to a lump of clay that was pressed when moist upon a door or container actually to seal it shut.[36] Often the exposed surface of these "commodity sealings" was then secondarily impressed with a seal, presumably to indicate ownership or authority and for purposes of further security. In this study "sealing" is used in the second sense, which takes into account the whole object: both its function, indicated by the marks on the back or underside, and any ancient seal impressions on the front. The phrase "ancient impression" will substitute for the first common use of the term "sealing"; hence, references to ancient seal impressions on sealings (or on tablets from other sites).

The above terminology is best suited to the goals and theoretical bases of the present study. As described in the Introduction, one of the major aims is to learn more about the cultural processes operating at Hasanlu IVB by studying the glyptic art in its full archaeological and typological context; to go beyond a descriptive analysis of the seal designs alone. When the artistic information is attached to a clay sealing, we are fortunate in being able also to integrate it with information on function, inferred from the kinds of objects the original seals were used to secure. By systematically studying both the fronts and backs of the Hasanlu sealings (design and function), the study hopes to get at important economic and social issues otherwise missed.

The corpus includes 31 sealings from Hasanlu IVB. Unfortunately, only 12 of these objects could be examined firsthand (11 at The University Museum and one at the British Museum). For the remaining 19 sealings (17 in Tehran and two unlocated at The University Museum), the analysis has had to depend on field photographs and sketches, which generally proved to be inadequate for determining function. It is clear that the preliminary interpretations made in the field of sealing functions are incorrect. Hence, the following analysis of sealing type is based on only the 12 sealings that could be examined firsthand, as well as four Tehran sealings having adequate section drawings and field photographs of the back (Nos. 5C, 5I, 16, 56B).

Of the 31 sealings, 26 preserve impressions of cylinder seals, 4 preserve impressions of stamp seals, 1 example (No. 94–95) seems to bear impressions of both a cylinder and stamp, judging from the available field sketch and photograph.[37] In general, a single seal was impressed several times on the same sealing, with the impressions usually overlapping. The cylinders were rolled only partially in most examples. In many instances, the edges of a sealing were repressed upon a container after a seal was rolled across the sealing surface, leaving accidental fingerprints over parts of the seal impression (see Appendix B on fingerprint analysis). In other words, there was little attempt to make clear, complete impressions of the seal designs. The color and fabric of the sealing edges indicate that most of the sealings were broken, in most cases before the fire took place that destroyed Hasanlu IVB and preserved the sealings by baking them.[38]

The following classification of the Hasanlu sealings is based on the type of object to which the sealing seems to have been attached.[39] Such determinations, often difficult to arrive at, have been made by studying the profile and markings on the sides and backs of the sealings. Unfortunately, previous studies have not been especially helpful for the present purposes, since only recently have scholars begun to analyze sealing function and to publish adequate photographs and/or drawings of the backs and sections.[40] Moreover, only a small number of the sealing types in past studies coincides with the material from Hasanlu (doors and jars). It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between sealings of doors and boxes, since both types may bear impressions of pegs or knobs on the underside. For the present purposes it will be assumed that door pegs and knobs were larger and longer than pegs and knobs used to anchor cords to secure boxes or chests. It is likewise difficult to distinguish between some jar and bag sealings, since jars were often closed with a leather covering that might leave similar impressions on the back of a sealing as the folds of a leather bag. For our purposes it will be assumed that bags had smaller neck diameters than jars. In addition, since our clear jar sealings preserve part of the rim of the vessel (and sometimes the shoulder), it will be assumed that sealings with the impression of leather folds on the back but without the imprint of a jar rim were attached to bags.

The problem of determining sealing usage at Hasanlu becomes even more difficult in view of cuneiform references from Mesopotamia and Anatolia indicating that, at least in these regions, almost anything could be sealed: from containers of all kinds, including jars,[41] bags, bundles,[42] boxes,[43] storerooms,[44] kitchens, houses,[45] doors, and windows,[46] to strings of beads,[47] logs of wood, quantities of grain, and piles of garments.[48]

Despite the difficulties in determining the function of certain sealings, it has nevertheless been possible to divide the Hasanlu group into five working types (Figs. 5 and 6):

1. *Jar sealing* (Fig. 5.1): This type bears the imprint of the jar profile from near the rim to a point on

the shoulder, as well as impressions of cord, originally wrapped around the neck of the vessel to hold a piece of cloth or leather in place over the jar opening.[49] Although nearly all of the Hasanlu sealings were identified in the field records as jar sealings, only four of the 16 sealings that could be examined firsthand or from adequate field photographs and sketches can be identified securely as jar sealings (Nos. 5F, 9, 17, 56B). They were each attached to a jar with a leather covering, indicated by the texture and folds impressed on the back. The thickness of the cord around the neck of the jar ranges from approximately 0.3 (No. 56B) to 0.7 cm. (No. 5F). In one instance (No. 5F) the jar seems to have been secured with both cord and wire.[50] All four sealings were attached originally to jars having a similar profile, to judge from the imprint of the rim and shoulder on the backs of the sealings. The exterior diameter of the jar rims ranges from roughly 16 (No. 5F) to 20 cm. (No. 17). It should be possible to match this particular jar type with actual vessels found at Hasanlu IVB once the full publication of the ceramic assemblage is available. (Four examples: nos. 5F, 9, 17, 56B; pp. 74, 80, 84, 99–100.)

2. *Bag sealing* (Fig. 5.2): This type preserves the impression of folds of leather and multiple, uneven wrappings of heavy cord (Nos. 5C and 19) or a leather thong (No. 11) presumably originally tied around the "neck" of the bag.[51] No. 11 was applied over a knot in the leather thong. The thickness of the cord ranges from roughly 0.3 (No. 5C) to 0.8 cm. (No. 19); the leather thong measured approximately 1.5 cm. in width and 0.5 cm. in thickness. (Three examples: nos. 5C, 11, 19; pp. 72–73, 81, 85.)

3. *Basket sealing* (Fig. 5.3): No. 5E probably sealed the flat lid of a reed basket (or a bundle of reed matting) that was secured with string tied in criss-crossing directions.[52] The back shows the impression of uniform coils of woven reed matting, with the grain lines of the reed visible. The coils are stitched close together, with no gap between stitches; each coil is approximately 0.84 cm. in diameter.[53] A string groove runs along two perpendicular, broken edges of the sealing fragment; the strings originally ran parallel to the sides of the basket. (One example: no. 5E; pp. 73–74.)

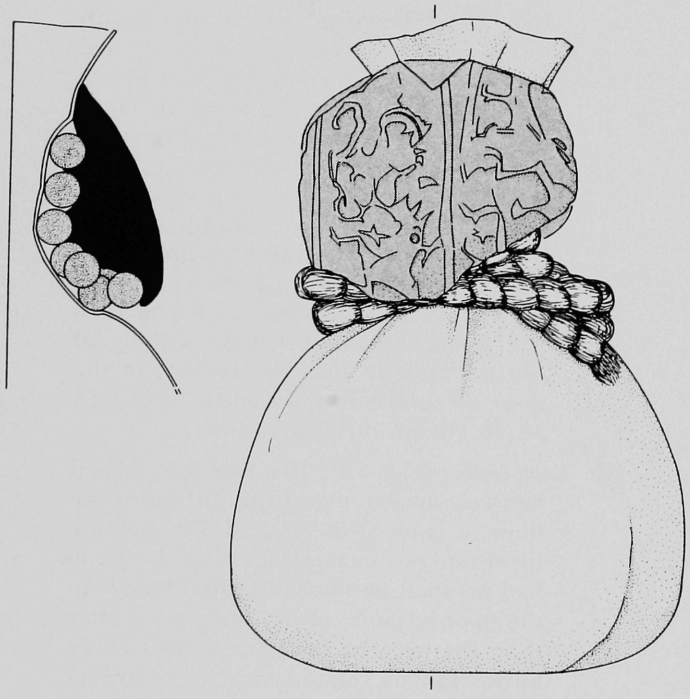
4. *Box sealing* (Fig. 6.1): No. 5D bears the imprint of a small round knob with wood grain lines (reconstructed diameter 2.1 cm.) and the end of a dowel (diameter 0.68 cm.) impressed with a string groove; string holes near the knob; and traces of electrum preserved on the back (see Appendix A on materials). All of this information suggests that the sealing was attached originally to a gilded wooden box constructed with dowels, having a small wooden knob, and wrapped with string before the sealing was applied.[54] (One example: no. 5D; p. 73.)

5. *Door sealing* (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3): This type was attached to a peg or knob that projected at a right angle from the surface being sealed and was wrapped with a heavy cord.[55] Presumably, in order to hold the door closed, a cord affixed to the door was wound around a peg or knob set into the door jamb. A sealing was then pressed over the cord and around part of the peg to secure the room from unauthorized access.[56] There are at least six door sealings from Hasanlu IVB, which can be divided into two types:

   a. *Peg sealing* (Fig. 6.2): These sealings were attached to cylindrical pegs, each probably about 2.0 cm. in diameter (No. 20) and from 5.0 (No. 16) to 6.0 cm. in length (No. 20). The pegs were wrapped with heavy twine before the sealing was attached (approximately 0.5 [No. 5I?] to 0.7 cm. [Nos. 10 and 20] in diameter).[57] As mentioned above, for the purpose of this working typology, the length of the pegs and the thickness of the cord tie these sealings to doors rather than to boxes or chests. What distinguishes them from the second type of door sealing, (b) below, is that the sealing was attached to a peg, not a knob; and that the sealing did not necessarily abut the surface of the door or jamb. (Four examples: nos. 5I?, 10, 16, 20; pp. 75, 80–81, 83–86.)

   b. *Knob sealing* (Fig. 6.3): This type was wedged between the knob and the surface of the door or jamb (Nos. 5A and 6A). Judging from our two examples, either the knob had no shaft and was attached directly to the door or jamb, or the shaft was shorter than the pegs in Type (a) above. These knobs can be related to actual (larger) knobbed terracotta wall nails and plaques from Hasanlu and other sites in the ancient Near East, some discovered actually *in situ* near doorways.[58] However, the two Hasanlu sealings probably sealed wooden knobs on a wooden surface (either a plate on the door jamb[59] or the door itself), judging from impressed wood grains on the flat back surface of both sealings and the imprint of a wooden knob on No. 5A.[60] While No. 6A preserves the

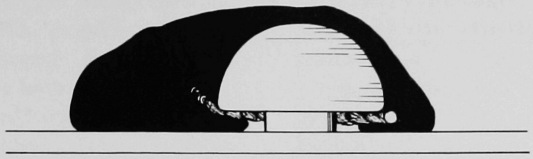
5.1. Jar sealing (based on composite of Nos. 5F and 9)



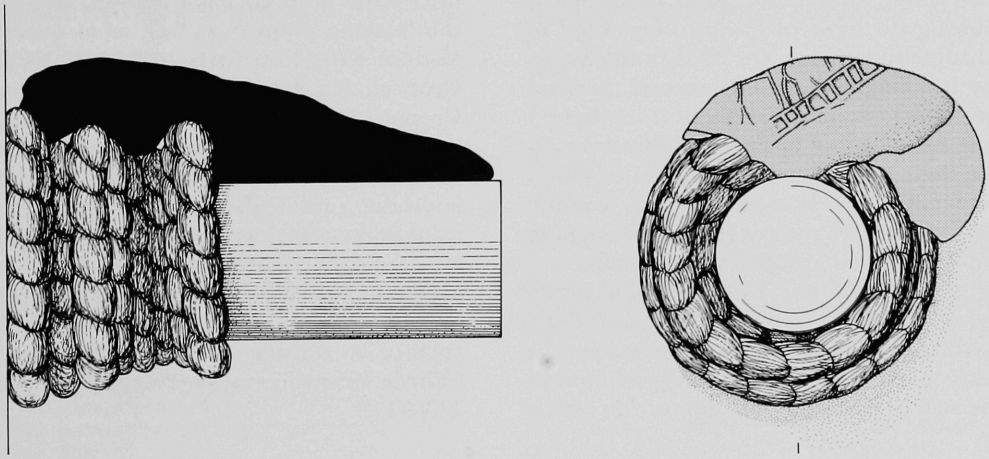
5.2. Bag sealing (based on No. 19)

5.3. Basket sealing (based on No. 5E)

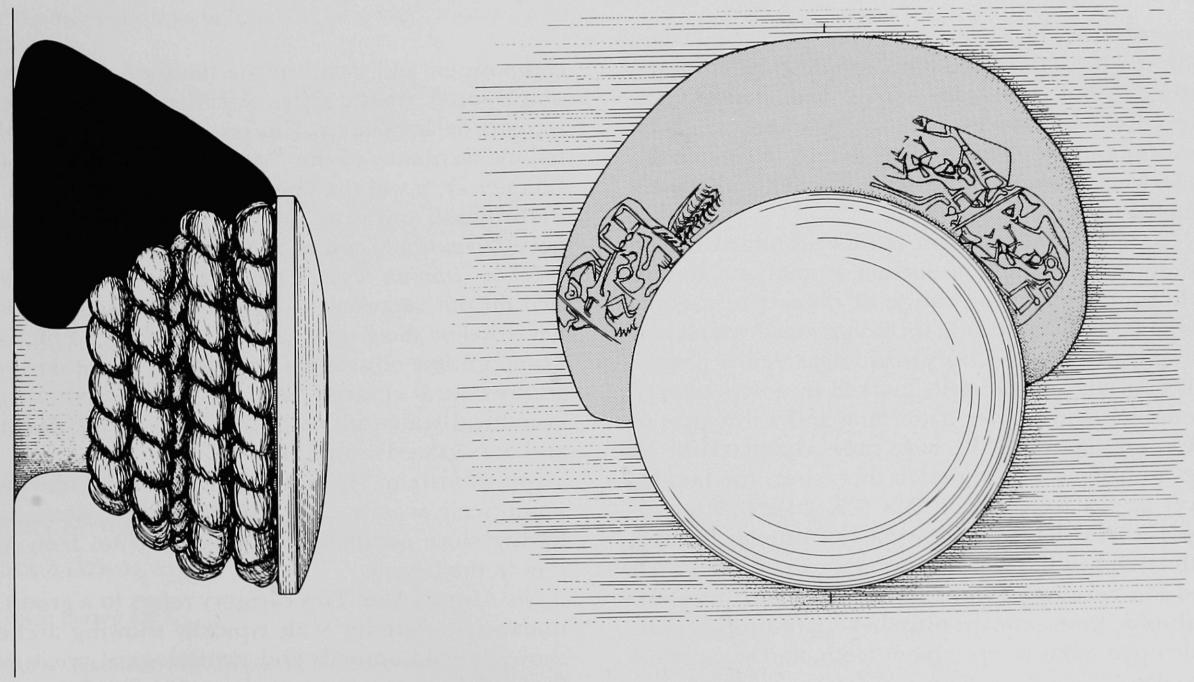
Figure 5. Types of sealings, illustrated by reconstructed sections and head-on views of sealed objects.



6.1. Box sealing (No. 5D)



6.2. Door (peg) sealing (based on No. 20)



6.3. Door (knob) sealing (based on No. 6A)

Figure 6. Types of sealings, illustrated by reconstructed sections and head-on views of sealed objects.

impression of rope originally wrapped around the knob, as might be expected, traces of copper/bronze on No. 5A suggest that this knob was secured with wire.[61] (Two examples: nos. 5A, 6A; pp. 72, 77.)

Tabs

The tabs are flattened, ovoid-shaped tags of clay (Nos. 21, 22(?), 81). In general, their underside is smooth, showing no signs of having been used to actually seal something shut. No. 22 is problematic, first, because it is fragmentary and, second, because the back preserves the impression of a leather(?) surface and a string groove at one end. However, its generally flat, thin, ovoid shape has more in common with the other "tabs" from Hasanlu IVB than with the sealings. Hence, for the purposes of our working typology, No. 22 has been grouped with the tabs.

In general, the front of the tabs is impressed with a single rolling of a cylinder seal. Unlike the multiple, overlapping rollings on the sealings, care was taken in these cases to create a clearer, more complete rolling of the seal design. The function of the tabs is as yet uncertain. Similar objects have been discovered at Susa, Tall-i Malyan, and other sites in the Susiana plain,[62] as well as at some of the late Middle Kingdom forts in Lower Nubia, such as Uronarti and Askut.[63] George Reisner has called the Uronarti tabs "sample-sealings," suggesting that they served to authenticate seal impressions on sealings.[64] Another possible explanation is that they served to authorize a particular individual to conduct a sealing transaction. But even more intriguing, perhaps, is their possible connection to magical practices in Mesopotamia that called for making clay tongues of one's enemy and rolling a cylinder seal across the surface to render any evil influences harmless[65] (Three examples: nos. 21, 22(?), 81; pp. 87–88, 113–114.)

Stylistic Classification

Although a full explanation and description of the attributes and criteria for each stylistic category are given in the introduction of each style chapter (2–7), the brief outline below is intended to introduce the underlying thought processes and system ultimately adopted here.

"Local Style": This term is now standard in the literature to describe a distinct animal and figural style found in a wide range of objects in various media from Hasanlu IVB, including metal vessels and lion pins, and carved ivory plaques, as well as glyptic. It is basically a linear style, marked by a dependence on outline and surface patterning and a liveliness of the representations. Perhaps most characteristic of the "local style" is the design incised on the famous silver beaker from period IVB (Pls. 28–29),[66] but all these works share similar types of human figures, with large heads, prominent noses, exaggerated eyes, and low receding foreheads. Horses and lions are featured. Lions consistently have large heads with wide open mouths, prominent teeth, and squared-off muzzles.

The present study of the glyptic art substantiates the notion of a "local" style at Hasanlu IVB. At the same time, it has been possible to subdivide the group through an analysis of idiosyncracies of composition and detail into a number of individual or personal artistic styles attributable to different artisans or workshops. Having once established the stylistic attributes of the "local" Hasanlu artwork (in Chapter 2), it will then be possible (in Chapter 5) to distinguish between imports from Assyria and possible marginal copies of Assyrian goods.

"Other Iranian Styles": This term refers to objects that do not represent the Hasanlu "local style," but nevertheless show signs of possible local production. Three groups of artifacts are included: conoid-knob stamps and related impressions on sealings; cylindrical seal-beads with simple geometric designs; and unengraved cylinders.

Syro-Palestinian Style: This category includes lion stamp seals, scarabs, and a hammer-head stamp seal having close parallels with material from Iron Age sites in the Levant.

Neo-Assyrian Style: This category refers to a group of linear-style cylinder seals typically showing archers shooting wild animals and mythological creatures. Seals of this type are most characteristic of the early Neo-Assyrian period at Assur and Nimrud in northern Mesopotamia. The present study attempts to distinguish between a "central" and "provincial" Assyrian glyptic style at Hasanlu IVB on the basis of

comparisons with excavated seals from sites in Assyria proper. Various hypotheses will be suggested to explain where and by whom the "provincial" seal group may have been produced. Particularly interesting are certain similarities between these seals and works of "Iranian" and "local" style that suggest possible production in the northern Zagros region between Hasanlu and Assyria.

Middle Assyrian Stylistic Legacy: This classification refers to seal designs that preserve elements from Middle Assyrian glyptic art, while at the same time displaying certain Neo-Assyrian features. Although they cannot with certainty be identified as imports or heirlooms, these items point to ties between Iron Age Iran and late second-millennium B.C. artistic traditions in northern Mesopotamia.

Uncertain Stylistic Legacy: It has not been possible to provide a precise stylistic classification for the seal designs in this final category because of poor preservation, inadequate sketches or photographs, or insufficient parallels. Nevertheless, some of these seals can be seen to be slightly closer to one stylistic group than any other, as indicated under the Catalog heading "Closest stylistic affiliation."

Chapter I Endnotes (nos. 23-66)

23. Rouse 1971: 108–111; Watson, LeBlanc, and Redman 1971: 126.

24. Rouse 1971: 112–115.

25. Following Moorey 1985: 133–135, the term "composite material" is used here instead of faience (glazed) and frit (unglazed), which are often confused in the literature. Faience, especially, is commonly confused with Egyptian blue and frit. George Wheeler (Dept. of Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), who examined the Hasanlu seals, perfers the term ceramic. See further p. 81 and Catalogue Endnotes 367–368, p. 133 on terminology, and Appendix A on seal materials.

26. This figure does not include Nos. 40 and 42, both of which are broken.

27. Buchanan 1984: xii–xviii, which is based on Hogarth's earlier typology (1920). The present classification further draws on unpublished notes from a seminar led by Edith Porada at the Morgan Library.

28. Ward 1978. See also Tufnell 1984. Although these studies deal with Egyptian material from the early second millennium B.C and earlier, they provide the best classification schemes available to date.

29. Ward 1978: 28.

30. Ward 1978: 30.

31. Ward 1978: 27, fig. 4.

32. Ward 1978: 28, fig. 5.

33. Ward 1978: 31, fig. 6.

34. Ward 1978: 31, fig. 6.

35. As in Larsen 1977.

36. As in Fiandra 1975; Heath 1958; Reisner 1955; Wiencke 1969; Zettler 1987a: 62.

37. Examples of sealings impressed with two different seals have been discovered, for instance, at the third millennium B.C. site of Shahr-i Sokhta in Iranian Sistan (Tosi 1969: 376, figs. 281–282; Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979: 23, fig. 8).

38. Broken sealings are common at many sites. They also occur, for example, at Mari (Magness-Gardiner 1987: 136) and Nippur (Zettler 1987b: 210). In fact, all of the sealings from the temple building of level IV at Nippur (ibid.) were found in either a storage bin or refuse pit in courtyards, where they were evidently discarded after having been broken away from what they had sealed.

39. I owe much of this analysis to the insights of Denise Hoffman, Holly Pittman, and Richard Zettler, each of whom has kindly examined with me the sealings held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The University Museum. In the end, however, we are left with only a working typology that is likely to change as the literature and exchange of ideas on sealing usage continues to grow.

40. Among the most useful prior studies of sealing functions are: Ferioli and Fiandra 1979 (Shahr-i Sokhta); Fiandra 1968, 1975 (Phaistos, Crete); and Zettler 1987b (Nippur). In addition, see Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979; Fiandra 1981; Heath 1958; and Reisner 1955.

41. Magness-Gardiner 1987: 143–151.

42. Larsen 1977: 93; Magness-Gardiner 1987: 140–143.

43. Oppenheim 1967: 182.

44. Larsen 1977: 95 and 102, n. 29 (maṣṣartum); Oppenheim 1967: 147; Magness-Gardiner 1987: 129–138.

45. Guillot 1983: 17, l. 8 (ekallum).

46. Magness-Gardiner 1987: 129–138; Larsen 1977: 95 and n. 32.

47. Oppenheim 1967: 87.

48. Oppenheim 1967: 147.

49. Cf. Frankfort 1939: 2 and text-fig. 1; Zettler 1987b: 223.

50. Unfortunately, only the end of the wire is now extant, but a slide taken in September, 1986 shows a bit of the wire extending beyond the edge of the sealing.

51. Compare with a leather bag sealing from Nippur, in Zettler 1987b: 223 and fig. 12. See also Newberry 1906: fig. 10 for a

drawing of a sealed bag on an Egyptian tomb painting at Medum.

52. Cf. Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979: fig. 2a-b (a sealing from Shahr-i Sokhta from a lid made of woven swamp grass). Similar forms are known, as well, from Arslan Tepe, Ebla, and Phaistos, Crete (Fiandra and Ferioli: personal communication).

53. Evidence of similar coiled basketry was found inside the side walls and bases of ceramic vessels from the Neolithic settlement of Hajji Firuz Tepe near Hasanlu (Voigt 1983: 264–267, pl. 25a-e). See ibid.: 266 for a review of additional parallels from Iran and Mesopotamia, to which add samples of actual matting from coiled baskets preserved at Shahr-i Sohkta (Biscione et al. 1974: 17 and 18, fig. 2).

54. See Zettler 1987b: 225, n. 43 for references to similar wooden boxes from Egypt.

55. Cf. Ferioli and Fiandra 1979; Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979: 13–21 and figs. 3–6; Fiandra 1968, 1975: 9–17; 1981: pls. XII–XIV; Zettler 1987b: 210–221.

56. Zettler 1987b: 210–213. Such a sealing system is preserved on ancient Egyptian doors and chests, where wooden knobs have survived with the cord and sealing still attached (Fiandra 1968); see further note 60 below.

57. Cf. Fiandra 1975: figs. 10d and e.

58. The best examples of pegs and plaques found near doorways come from Choga Zanbil (Fiandra 1982); Nippur (Hansen 1963: 146–147, pl. I, and Gibson, Zettler, and Armstrong 1983: 187, fig. 30); Isin (Hrouda 1981: 57, pl. 20, 2–3); and Mari (Beyer 1985: 383, also mentioned in Hansen 1963: 153). At Shahr-i Sokhta, holes were discovered in the wall beside a doorway which Ferioli and Fiandra believe were meant to hold a peg; a few pegs were even preserved (Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979: pls. 7, 8, fig. 6, and p. 15). See further Heim 1989 on glazed architectural elements in Elam. None of the wall nails and plaques from Hasanlu are clearly connected to doorways. One of the Hasanlu wall plaques is published in Winter 1977: ill. 18. Other examples are held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (e.g., 65.163.88 = HAS 64–857; 65.163.89a-b = HAS 64-849; 65.163.87 = HAS 64-796).

59. Cf. Zettler 1987b: 230.

60. Cf. a wooden knob on a door-frame from the time of Ramesses II (1304–1237 B.C.) in the Egyptian Museum of Turin (Ferioli, Fiandra, and Tusa 1979: pl. 6); see also note 56 above.

61. A ceramic wall cone from Dinkha Tepe was discovered with copper wire wrapped between the knob and flange (unstratified, UM 69-33-18).

62. Amiet 1972: nos. 1676, 1743; Pittman: personal communication; Wright and Johnson 1975: 271. Unlike the Hasanlu tabs, however, those from Susa preserve a thick layer of heavily chaffed plaster on the back, which has led Pittman (1988) to call them "wall labels."

63. For the Uronarti material see Reisner 1955: 28–29. The Askut sealings are currently under analysis by Stuart Smith, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles (see Smith 1990). Cf. also Weingarten 1986 for similar objects, called nodules, from Crete.

64. Reisner 1955: 28–29. See also Wright and Johnson 1975: 271, who suggest that similar tabs from the Susiana plain were likewise used for comparison with incoming sealed packages. On the other hand, Fiandra and Ferioli (personal communication) believe that such tabs may have sat originally on the top, flat surface of a jar covering.

65. See further Marcus 1994 on two possible magical/supernatural functions of some of the Hasanlu glyptic.

66. The best illustrations of the silver beaker are published in Porada 1967: pls. 1488A–D and fig. 1044.

II

"Local Style"

The concept of a native or local style at Hasanlu IVB was first introduced in 1962 by Edith Porada with special reference to the designs incised on the famous gold bowl and silver beaker from the settlement.[67] More recently, Oscar Muscarella has identified a "local" style in the majority of the carved ivory plaques from the site.[68] And a more specialized study by Irene Winter has dealt specifically with the relationship between the "local" Hasanlu style and Assyrian art.[69]

By now the label "local style" has been assigned to a wide range of artifacts in various media, including several cylinder seals and ancient impressions on sealings.[70] Characteristic of all these works is a tendency toward surface patterning and geometrization and a liveliness of the representations. Human figures are rendered with large heads, prominent noses, low receding foreheads, and exaggerated eyes. Animals are featured, especially horses and lions. The latter are consistently shown with large heads, often turned in reverse, open mouths, prominent teeth, and squared-off muzzles. The major themes represented include battle and hunt scenes, chariot scenes, drinking scenes, animal processions, and opposing animals.

The present study of the glyptic evidence supports the notion of a Hasanlu "local style." As defined above, it can now be tied to four cylinder seals and 18 of the 26 different seal designs impressed on 25 sealings and 2 tabs.[71] The sealings are especially important because they offer kinds of information that other "local" products do not; namely, about their use at the site in actual transactions and the function of the buildings in which they were found. The sealings, then, point more securely than most other artifacts to local production and usage of the present stylistic group.

As Winter points out, in addition to being associated with a variety of objects in different media from a single place, a "local style" must, by definition, also be recognizable in objects by different artistic hands.[72] It is significant therefore that we can distinguish within the Hasanlu glyptic a number of individual styles within the general or collective style of the region on the basis of idiosyncracies of composition and detail (labelled A, B, C, etc. in the Catalog; see pp. 27–29 below).[73]

Before turning to the question of individual styles, however, it is important to establish first the shared characteristics of the full corpus of "local style" glyptic: specifically, the relationship of this material to works in other media in the "local style"; and its potential contribution to current notions about the production, usage, meaning, and sources of the "local style" in general. Given the need to document such shared characteristics as may exist, the following discussion is divided into five sections:

1. General characteristics of the "local style" glyptic
2. Sources of the "local style" in Neo-Assyrian, North Syrian, Middle Assyrian, Mitannian, and other Iranian art
3. Individual "local" styles
4. Distribution and function
5. Summary

General Characteristic of the "Local Style" Glyptic

Since an understanding of the "local style" glyptic at Hasanlu depends mainly on ancient impressions on sealings, information on seal materials is slim, especially since the few actual "local" cylinder seals discovered are now in Tehran and could not be analyzed scientifically. Preliminary field observations have identified them as Egyptian blue (No. 4), terracotta (No. 2), or bone (Nos. 1 and 3) (see Appendix A).

The dimensions of the actual seals and the reconstructed dimensions of those impressed on sealings are relatively large: an average of 4.27 cm. in height and 1.48 cm. in diameter for the former; 3.41 cm. in height for the latter. The edges of the excavated cylinders are dentated, which produces a hatched border when impressed on wet clay. Most of the ancient seal impressions preserve traces of a hatched border, presumably produced by seals with similar dentated edges.

The designs on three of the "local style" cylinder seals and most of the ancient impressions are arranged in two even registers, divided by a horizontal line. In the fourth seal (No. 4) the composition is organized into decorated "zones" (without dividing lines)[74] with a series of inde-pendent elements set above and to the side of a larger, central design. In one seal design on two sealings (Nos. 6A and B) the upper register is narrower (see composite drawing, Fig. 31). In another instance (No. 11) there is only a single register.

As to subject matter, the major themes shared by both the seals and seal impressions include: scenes with chariots led by horses or leonine creatures (Nos. 1, 2, 7, 9); animal processions (Nos. 1, 7, 11–15, 21); walking or rampant animals opposing each other (Nos. 2, 4, 18); and men leading animals (Nos. 3, 22). Winged and unwinged lions and bulls, and horses are featured. Scorpions and vertical snakes occur as fill elements (Nos. 4, 21; 5, 9, 13). In addition, the sealings present hunting scenes with men on horseback or kneeling, with a spear or bow, attacking a lion or stag (Nos. 5, 6, 8); and scenes of seated figures with attendants (Nos. 5 and 6, Figs. 20 and 31).

The Catalog lists some of the iconographic and stylistic features the seal designs have in common with other "local style" artwork in different media (see individual entries for complete comparanda and references). In general, the glyptic art consistently displays a liveliness in the representations and a tendency towards geometrization and decorative patterning that is typical of "local" products in metal and ivory (see, for instance, the design on the silver beaker, Pls. 28–29).

More specifically, lions are regularly shown with gaping mouths, prominent teeth, and squared-off muzzles (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 21), as on the silver beaker (Pl. 29), gold bowl,[75] numerous ivory carvings (e.g., Pl. 30a and b),[76] and iron pins with cast bronze lion finials (e.g., Pl. 31a and b).[77] They may have large circular or ovoid eyes (Nos. 2, 3, 17, 20), and their heads are often turned in reverse (Nos. 2, 5, 6, 8). The lion in No. 1 has upraised hair along his back, recalling the hatched outline on the backs of lion pins (Pl. 31a and b) and of animals on ivories.[78] Similarly, the shaggy manes of the lions in Nos. 5, 6, and 8 may relate to the tufts of hair incised on the manes of lions on the silver vessel, ivories (Pl. 30a), and lion pins (Pl. 31a and b).[79] Animals often have wings protruding diagonally or vertically from the neck or back (Nos. 11 and 21). The animal bodies in Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are striated, similar to the bull on the gold bowl (Pls. 32–33).[80]

Human figures have large heads, low receding foreheads, prominent noses, and exaggerated eyes (Nos. 1, 5, 6, 21) like figures on the silver beaker, gold bowl, and numerous ivory fragments (e.g., Pl. 34a).[81] Several different hair styles are represented: rising in a point in the back, above the neck (Nos. 1 and 5, Fig. 20); extending out in back, just above the neck (No. 5) or shoulder (No. 21); arranged in a clump in the back, resting on the shoulder (No. 6, Fig. 31); or shaggy, with vertical lines radiating from the back and top of the head (Nos. 3 and 9). Each of these hair styles has parallels in other "local" products.[82]

The form of the chariots (Nos. 1, 2, and 7) is basically the same as on the ivories, iron plaques, and silver beaker, but with some exceptions. They have the same narrow cabs; and horses are shown similarly with all four feet on the ground, with the reins linked directly to their neck (cf. Pl. 34b).[83] But chariots in the glyptic art have four or five-spoked wheels, as opposed to the six spokes of those on the silver beaker and most of the ivories. Further, there is a single horse and rider in Nos. 1 and 7 instead of two of each, as is more common in other "local style" artworks.

As for composition, the division into even registers on three of the four seals and most of the ancient impressions is matched by a similar arrangement on the silver beaker, while the organization into less formal zones in No. 4 is similar to the plan of the gold bowl. Even the dentated borders on the seals recall the decorated borders and rows of hatching between registers on the silver beaker. Again, as on the silver vessel, the figures and animals in the seal designs exist in relatively isolated space, with little overlapping and a minimum of filling or landscape elements.[84]

Last, the range of subject matter—especially

chariot and hunt scenes, scenes with seated figures, opposing animals, and lions with open mouths—has parallels on the silver beaker, bronze lion pins, and ivory carvings (Pls. 28–35A).[85]

The above discussion has demonstrated that the present group of seals and seal impressions on sealings and tabs belongs to the same general stylistic group as a host of other products in different media from the site, all identified with a native style. Specifically, when compared with so-called local-style products in ivory and metal, the glyptic art shows a similar dependence on outline, liveliness of the representations, tendency towards surface patterning, and range of animal and figural styles.[86] There is clearly sufficient qualitative and quantitative evidence, especially now with the large assemblage of sealings, to substantiate the notion of a collective art style at Hasanlu.

Sources of the "Local Style"

Neo-Assyrian Sources

Scholars have rightly recognized the debt owed to ninth-century Assyria in many of the themes depicted in the Hasanlu "local style."[87] Comparisons have been widely drawn, for instance, between battle, chariot, and hunt scenes in "local" metalwork and ivories, and the large-scale wall reliefs from the Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) and the decorated bronze doors of Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III from Balawat (Imgur-Enlil).[88] The glyptic art likewise illustrates a debt to Assyrian themes—not in battle scenes, but in chariot and hunt scenes, animal processions, and scenes of seated figures with attendants.

Of particular interest in terms of how Assyrian themes were adapted by the "local" Hasanlu artisans are the glyptic scenes with seated figures and attendants. Two examples are known from impressions of two different seals on at least twelve sealings. Other than these instances, the subject is represented at Hasanlu on only small fragments of ivory carvings (e.g., Pl. 34c).[89]

One of these seal designs has been reconstructed from partial, overlapping impressions of the same seal on ten different sealings (Nos. 5A-J; see composite drawing, Fig. 20). Except for one example, these sealings were attached originally to small containers from the upper-story collapse of Burned Buildings II and V, including the gilded box (No. 5D) discussed in chapter I; the exception is a door sealing discovered by Stein in a test trench at the northern edge of the Citadel Mound (No. 5A). (See pp. 29–30 for the reconstruction of second-story treasuries in Burned Buildings II and V.)

The upper register shows a hunter on horseback, facing left, throwing a spear at a stag whose head is turned in reverse; two opposing snakes are carved vertically at one end. The hunter has a large head and prominent nose, characteristic of the "local style." The horse wears a bell or tassle suspended below his neck, as on several "local" ivory plaques (cf. Pl. 35a).[90] The neck ornament in the seal design is closest in form to a bell; it has a conical shape, straight fenestrated(?) sides, and a small point projecting in the middle of the lower edge, probably indicating a clapper. A large number of copper/bronze bells have been discovered together with other horse trappings in the second-story collapse of Burned Building IV-V.[91] Although the majority of the Hasanlu bells are closed at the base and have rattles inside instead of clappers, two bells match the "open" form with visible clapper that seems to be represented in the seal design.[92]

It is the theme of the lower register, however, that pertains to the immediate concern with Neo-Assyrian visual sources. A standing figure is seen facing right, before a seated figure. The former, wearing a knee-length tunic, holds a towel(?) in his lowered hand and a vessel in his raised hand. The vessel is tall, tapered toward the base, and divided into horizontal registers, much like the form and decoration of the silver beaker (Pl. 28). The seated figure wears an ankle-length garment and holds a bow before him. Both figures have large heads and prominent noses, with their hair arranged either in a clump at the back or rising in a point above the neck in standard "local style" fashion. The seated figure has an additional prominent cluster of vertical striations of hair or a cap on top of his head. His chair has a high slanted back, a type matched on several "local style" ivory fragments (Pl. 34c).[93] Behind the seated figure is a lion striding to the left, with a typically large head, turned in reverse, open mouth with prominent teeth, and upcurled tail with a brush-like tuft. There is a diagonally hatched border.

The particular *form* of the human figures, animals, and even horse bell and vessel in the above seal design are clearly consistent with what is known about the "local style," so far restricted to Hasanlu.

Nevertheless, the main *subject* of the lower register—a seated figure with a bow, receiving a standing attendant with a vessel and towel—is perhaps best known from the throneroom and other palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II from Nimrud (cf. Pl. 35b).[94] In the reliefs, however, the king is either seated on a stool with his feet on a footrest, holding a shallow Assyrian-style bowl and with his bow held by an attendant behind him; or standing, holding a bowl and his bow before him. He is regularly flanked by several attendants: fan-bearers holding a towel and/or shallow cup, or the royal bow.

The second seal design showing a seated figure has been reconstructed from partial impressions on two sealings: No. 6A, a door sealing from the floor of Room 5 in Burned Building V; and No. 6B, of unknown function, from the second-story collapse in Room 6 of Burned Building II (see composite drawing, Fig. 31). Although executed in a more elegant, delicate hand than the first example discussed, there is little question as to the local production of the original seal.

The upper (and in this case, narrower) register shows a kneeling archer shooting his bow at a recumbent quadruped, with a lion and second recumbent animal behind the archer. As in No. 5, the scene of the seated figure is again carved in the lower register. Similarly, the figure is shown seated on a high-backed chair, but with his feet resting on a square footstool. He wears a long robe, and holds a bowl and an unidentifiable object in either hand. He receives a standing attendant carrying in one hand a bowl and in the other hand a spouted jar with a basket handle. Both figures have typically large heads and prominent noses. They have standard hair styles, either arranged in a clump at the back, resting on the shoulder, or extending out in back just above the neck. Unlike the previous seal design, the present scene includes a winged eagle-headed genie kneeling behind the seated figure. The genie holds in his raised hand a fan, and in his lowered hand a spouted jar with a basket handle like that held by the attendant; he wears a long mantle with incisions at the hem, indicating fringes. A tree with a chevron-decorated trunk and thin curling branches along its entire length is carved behind the genie.

It has already been seen that the theme of a seated figure with cup-bearers and fan-bearers is featured in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II. Likewise, eagle-headed genies are prominent subjects on the orthostats from the throneroom and other rooms of the Northwest Palace (e.g., Pls. 36 and 37).[95] They are represented with or without the king, standing or kneeling beside images of the many-branched "sacred tree."[96] What is found in the seal design, then, is an amalgam of two discrete Assyrian subjects, but both part of the original decorative program of the palace: king with cup and attendants; and eagle-headed genies beside the "sacred tree." Moreover, instead of the standard square bucket (or situla) held by genies in Assyrian art (detail, Pl. 38a), the Hasanlu creature (as well as the attending figure) holds a long-spouted jar with a basket handle—a form characteristic of Iron II pottery from Hasanlu and other sites in western Iran (Pl. 38b).[97] This jar type, like the silver beaker-type vessel held by the attendant in No. 5, discussed above, points to the local production of the original seal, which had nonetheless been inspired by themes in royal Assyrian art.

In her discussion of the relationship between the "local" Hasanlu art style and Assyrian art, Winter has argued convincingly for a model of emulation by which the Hasanlu elite attempted to absorb some of the status of the Assyrian empire.[98] Related to this notion is the selection by the local residents of elements of authority and power associated with Assyrian monuments: as Winter points out, motifs dealing with military activity and the hunt, courtly activity in the processions, and the embellishment of elite public buildings with glazed wall tiles.[99] The sealings support this analysis and add another courtly theme to the list: attendance of a seated figure.

At this point we might even speculate as to the social rank of the seated figure in the two seal designs discussed just above (Nos. 5 and 6, Figs. 20 and 31). Specifically, the association with Assyrian royal iconography;[100] the seated position of the figures; the footstool in No. 6; the special hair style of the figure in No. 5; their service by human and semi-divine attendants with vessels, towel, and fan; and the association of the actual sealings with luxury goods and treasuries in Burned Buildings II and V (see below) all suggest that the seated figure represents a highly important individual in the settlement.[101]

Certain questions immediately arise. Are we dealing with two seals of the same individual,[102] or of two individuals? Were they the *personal* seal(s) of the leader at Hasanlu, with which he secured and identified his personal treasuries? Or, were they the *official* seals of the administrator of the royal or temple stores? Lastly, is there any connection between the attendance scenes on the Hasanlu seals and the "presentation scenes" that had a long history of marking official seals in Mesopotamia?[103] That we are probably dealing with temple stores is suggested by Dyson's recent interpretation of Burned Buildings II and V as religious structures.[104] It is especially compelling that the same seals were used to impress goods in two structures both now identified as temples. On the one hand, it may indicate that certain temple officials held positions in two sanctuaries (as at Nippur, for instance, where the chief administrator of the temple of Inanna also held a position in the temple of Enlil).[105] On the other hand, since it is only the ruler-type seals that cross

"temple" boundaries at Hasanlu, they may bear witness to state control over cultic properties, or royal gift-giving for the temples.[106] Nevertheless, with so little written documentation regarding the nature of administrative hierarchy in Iran in this period, it cannot be known for certain who controlled the stores (royal or temple) at Hasanlu.[107] We do not even know if the state and the temple were felt to be separate institutions in the region in this period.[108]

It remains to be considered how the Assyrian themes were transmitted to Northwest Iran. At least five possible explanations, which are not mutually exclusive, come to mind:

1. The royal annals indicate Assyrian military activity in the Zagros regions around Hasanlu by the early ninth century B.C., and certainly by mid-century with the frequent campaigns of Shalmaneser III.[109] Although we cannot rule out the possibility of Assyrian political control in Northwest Iran in this period, there is no direct evidence for it.[110] Nevertheless, verbal descriptions of the Assyrian palace decorations could have accompanied the Assyrian army on its campaigns, and inspired the residents at Hasanlu.[111]

2. At the same time, actual small-scale objects and/or textiles from Assyria bearing designs similar to those carved on the reliefs could have been brought to Hasanlu as diplomatic gifts or items of a mutual exchange, and used as visual models by the local artisans.[112] It is known, for instance, that the Hasanlu residents were acquiring Assyrian-style cylinder seals and ivory plaques (see Chapter 5 below). Although none of the Assyrian objects excavated at Hasanlu provides a direct prototype for scenes in the "local style" glyptic, the Assyrian-style ivories do contain images of genies, attendants, and "sacred trees."[113] Other possible sources include: terracotta plaques like examples from Assur and Nimrud carved with genies;[114] situlae similar to those carried by attendants in Assurnasirpal's reliefs, likewise incised with scenes of eagle-headed genies and "sacred trees" (see Pl. 38a);[115] and/or textiles matching the garment decorations on the Nimrud reliefs, which contain hunting and ceremonial scenes.[116]

   Evidence pointing to the high level of the exchange between Assyria and Hasanlu is in the discovery in Burned Building V of an inscribed macehead reading "Palace of Assur-uballiṭ," king of Assyria from 1365–1330 B.C.[117]—either an heirloom from period V (ca. 1450–1250 B.C.)[118] or, as Winter suggests, an heirloom held in Assyria and later distributed from Neo-Assyrian royal stores.[119]

3. The palace reliefs could have been seen firsthand by visitors to Assyria from Iran. Assurnasirpal II records that he imported laborers from Zamua in the northwestern Zagros to work on his new palace at Nimrud around 878 B.C.,[120] and that he later invited guests from western Iran to the dedication ceremonies.[121]

4. Assyrian reliefs and/or paintings could have been seen in provinces closer to Hasanlu. For instance, Assurnasirpal claims that he built a palace in Zamua which he "decorated more splendidly than ever before."[122] Such language implies the presence there of some sort of architectural decoration that may have repeated iconographic themes known from Nimrud.

5. Finally, informal contacts along the trade routes through the northern Zagros could also have brought Assyrian goods and ideas to Iran.[123]

North Syrian Sources

Ample opportunities were thus available for the transmission of Assyrian royal iconography to Hasanlu, where it was then incorporated into the style of the region.

Other themes in the "local style" glyptic point to North Syria. In particular, as Muscarella has already noted with reference to the ivories,[124] the Hasanlu lions with gaping mouths, prominent teeth, and hatched borders along the back are closest in form to representions on contemporary stone monuments from Carchemish, Zincirli, and Tell Halaf (Pl. 39a).[125] Similarly, chariot horses are shown with all four feet on the ground in action scenes on carved orthostats from Carchemish and Zincirli, a convention *not* followed in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs, but one which is standard at Hasanlu.[126] Further, a throne with a high, curved back, as in Nos. 5 and 6 (Figs. 20 and 31), is represented on an eighth-century B.C. relief from Zincirli and a ninth/eighth-century pendant from the same site.[127]

It is known that residents of Hasanlu had firsthand knowledge of North Syrian lions from the discovery at the site of imported lion bowls in black marble and Egyptian blue (Pl. 39b).[128] Hence, at least in the case of the lion parallels, it is not necessary to account for residents of Hasanlu actually visiting

North Syria. In addition to lion bowls, other North Syrian goods discovered at the site include ivory pyxides, sculptures in the round, and boxes.[129] As yet, it is unclear whether these items reached Northwest Iran directly from North Syria, or whether they were transmitted through an intermediary site by what Colin Renfrew calls a "down-the-line" exchange.[130] As similar North Syrian ivory products have been discovered at Nimrud, they could very well have been passed on from there to regions farther east.[131]

Middle Assyrian Sources

To date, Middle Assyrian sources have rarely been considered in discussions of the Hasanlu "local style."[132] To be sure, the modelled forms of Middle Assyrian glyptic contrast with the linear style of the Hasanlu material.[133] Yet certain details in the "local" seal designs are best paralleled in the seal impressions on thirteenth- and twelfth-century B.C. tablets from Assur,[134] as well as on thirteenth-century sealings from Tell Fakhariyah, in the Habur River basin in northeastern Syria,[135] and from Tell al Rimah, west of Nimrud in the northern plain of Iraq.[136]

For example impressions from Middle Assyrian contexts commonly feature animals with brush-tipped tails, as in our Nos. 2, 5, and 21 (cf. Pl. 40a),[137] as well as lions with wide open mouths and exposed teeth.[138] Scenes of seated figures in high-backed chairs, as in Nos. 5 and 6, are also found in seal impressions from Fakhariyah and Assur.[139] One of the examples from Assur, preserved on a tablet of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), even shows a footstool, as in No. 6 (Fig. 31).[140] Last, winged eagle-headed genies (or griffin-demons), as in No. 6, are likewise featured in Middle Assyrian seal designs (Pl. 40a and b).[141]

It is difficult to explain this presence of Middle Assyrian elements in the Hasanlu "local style." Although there was clearly a wide sphere of cultural interaction in the early second millennium B.C. that stretched from North Syria across North Mesopotamia to Northwest Iran, documented both in texts and by the wide distribution of Habur ware, the situation is not as clear for the late second millennium.[142] It is not unreasonable, however, to assume that these same trade routes were open in the Middle Assyrian period, over which people, goods, and ideas could have continued to travel.[143] The complicated issue of the tin trade comes into play here.[144] Specifically, scholars have raised the question of a tin route from Northwest Iran to Mesopotamia.[145] The most commonly cited piece of evidence is a letter dated to the eighteenth century B.C. excavated at Tell Shemshara in northern Mesopotamia near the Zagros; the letter was sent in request for tin from the local ruler.[146] But more interesting for the present purposes is a Middle Assyrian text from Tell al Rimah that cites Nairi in the northern Zagros as a source of tin.[147] Nairi continued to be a source of tin in the ninth century judging from a text of Assurnasirpal II.[148]

Whether or not a northern tin route in fact existed from Iran across northern Mesopotamia (and the evidence is incomplete), the glyptic parallels noted above suggest that some cultural contacts were maintained between the Solduz Valley and the west between the end of the Old Assyrian period and the ninth century B.C. From this perspective, the macehead of Assuruballiṭ, discussed above, takes on new meaning; if it turns out to be an heirloom from Hasanlu V (rather than an object from Neo-Assyrian royal stores), it could be among the best available evidence to date of cultural exchange between Northwest Iran and Middle Assyrian centers.[149] Further, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, several linear-style cylinder seals and one impression on a clay tab from Hasanlu also reflect ties with Middle Assyrian glyptic, even if they cannot with certainty be identified as imports.

For the present, then, the Middle Assyrian elements noted in the Hasanlu "local style" seal designs may best be explained as the legacy of artistic traditions first introduced in the late second millennium B.C. through interactions between northern Iran and areas to the west. This argument is consistent with architectural and ceramic evidence for continuity from the Iron I settlement of Hasanlu V through Hasanlu IVB.[150]

Mitannian Sources

It is important to consider the possibility of Mitannian sources for the "local style" glyptic, even if only to deemphasize it in the end. The question of Mitannian (Hurrian) influence at Hasanlu has been a major theme in discussions of the iconography of the gold bowl and, from there, of the ethnicity of the Hasanlu population.[151]

Seals from the eastern Hurrian sphere of the Mitannian kingdom, specifically from Nuzi (modern Yorgan Tepe) and Arrapha (modern Kirkuk) in northeastern Iraq (fifteenth–fourteenth century B.C.),[152] provide some parallels for individual elements in the "local" seal designs. Among these are kneeling winged eagle-headed genies, as in No. 6 (Fig. 31);[153] hair styles that rise to a point in the back, above the neck, as in Nos. 1 and 5 (Fig. 20);[154] wide open mouths and exposed, pointed teeth of lions, as in Nos. 2, 5, 18, and 21;[155] as well as sharply bent lion paws with delineated claws, as in No. 6.[156] While these parallels suggest that some elements characteristic of the Nuzi/Arrapha material survived in Northwest Iran through the ninth century B.C., the parallels are relatively slim and add little to notions of a Mitannian influence or a Hurrian presence at Hasanlu IVB. More significant among stylistic legacies from the second millennium are elements from Middle Assyrian glyptic, as already mentioned, and traditions within Iran itself, discussed below.

Other Iranian Sources

While sources in the west, especially Neo-Assyrian art, clearly played an important role in the choice of certain themes in the "local" artwork, we have yet to consider how the Hasanlu style fits into contemporary and slightly earlier traditions closer to home, within Iran.

Porada has pointed out the possible connection of lion pins and glazed wall tiles from Hasanlu to artwork from Elam and Luristan of about the same period.[157] Similarly, Winter has noted general ties between a decorated breastplate from period IVB and material from Elam and Luristan, as well as from other sites in northwestern Iran.[158] In general, these works share a similar interest in surface patterning and geometrization, as well as a liveliness of the representations.

Likewise, the glyptic art relates to seals and other artifacts from late second–early first millennium B.C. sites in Iran. The major points of reference are to Susa and Choga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) in Khuzistan Province in southwestern Iran, Surkh Dum-i-Luri in the Kuh-i Dasht plain in Luristan, Sialk period B on the Iranian plateau, Ziwiye in Kurdistan, and Marlik Tepe in the Gohar Rud Valley in Gilan, just south of the Caspian Sea in northwestern Iran (see Fig. 1).

The seals from Choga Zanbil probably belong to the latter part of the Middle Elamite period, when King Untash Napirisha (ca. 1260–1235 B.C.) built the sanctuary in which they were found.[159] The comparative finds from Susa may be dated to the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods (ca. thirteenth–eighth centuries B.C.). Comparative material discovered by the Hasanlu Project in surface surveys at nearby Ziwiye probably follows Hasanlu IVB in time.[160] The Ziwiye chronology is based on comparison between the pottery found there, at the Zendan-i Suleiman, and the assemblage from Hasanlu.[161] The finds from Surkh Dum-i-Luri were excavated by Erich Schmidt during his expeditions in the 1930s to Luristan, and have only recently been published with full analysis by Maurits van Loon and Hans Curvers.[162] The related seals were found in both first and second alteration phases of the main building complex (called a "sanctuary" by Schmidt), levels 2B and 2A respectively.[163] The original sanctury has now been dated by van Loon and Curvers to the first half of the eighth century B.C. on the basis of fibula types, and the alteration levels to the second half of the eighth (level 2B) and the early seventh centuries (level 2A) judging from glyptic, copper/bronze pins, and other finds.[164]

The materials from Marlik Tepe and Sialk B are from cemetery contexts which, unfortunately, cannot be securely dated. Current theories on their chronology range from the late second to early first millennium B.C., and perhaps as late as the seventh century for Sialk B.[165] In addition to the inherent dating problems of the sites themselves, it must also be kept in mind that seals are sometimes kept as heirlooms.[166] Hence, despite the fact that some of the comparative material may be dated, at present, later or earlier than Hasanlu IVB, the uncertainty of the chronology and the tendency for seals to be inherited justifies their consideration in the present discussion.

As already mentioned, characteristic of works from western Iran, including Hasanlu, is a liveliness of the representations and a tendency toward decorative patterning. For example, striations and other surface incisions on animal bodies, as in Nos. 1, 2, and 4, are

seen on seals from Choga Zanbil (Pl. 40c-d),[167] Surkh Dum-i-Luri,[168] Susa (Pl. 41a),[169] and Sialk B;[170] as well as on a glazed tile from Susa (Pl. 41b),[171] painted pottery from Sialk,[172] and decorated gold and silver vessels from Marlik (e.g., Pl. 42).[173]

Further, lions with wide open mouths are featured on seals from Surkh Dum-i-Luri and Choga Zanbil.[174] The vertical placement of the wings on animals in Nos. 1, 2, and 12 has parallels on painted pottery and a clay relief from Sialk B.[175] Likewise, rampant animals, as in No. 4, are seen on seals from Choga Zanbil, Surkh Dum-i-Luri, and Sialk B.[176] In addition, figures with prominent noses and large circular eyes are represented on seals from Surkh Dum-i-Luri; but in the Luristan examples the noses are pointed, the eyes are even larger than those at Hasanlu, and the shape of the head and hair styles are different.[177] A seal from Sialk B displays a hunter on horseback, as in No. 5 (Fig. 20).[178] Similarly, the hunter wears his hair rising to a point in the back, above his neck, but lacks the prominent nose and large eyes typical of the Hasanlu figural style; a bell or tassle is suspended below the neck of the horse, as in the Hasanlu seal design. A hunter on horseback is likewise seen on a fragment of a decorated copper belt from the excavations at Ziwiye.[179]

Still further, seals from Choga Zanbil show a similar division of the field into undelineated zones as in No. 4, as well as arrangements of uneven registers with the narrower band above, as in No. 6 (Fig. 31).[180] However, the more standard composition of the Hasanlu glyptic with two even registers is not common elsewhere in Iran. Finally, the large dimensions of the "local" Hasanlu seals are matched at Choga Zanbil.[181]

In sum, although the specific *combination* of elements in the "native" glyptic and the dependence on Neo-Assyrian themes are so far restricted to Hasanlu IVB, the above parallels suggest that the "local style" should nevertheless be viewed within the context of artistic traditions of the late second to early first millennium B.C. in western Iran.

Contact between Hasanlu IVB and regions to the south is supported by the discovery at the site of an inscribed stone bowl that refers to "the land of Idi."[182] Idi is mentioned in two campaigns of Shalmaneser III in Zamua,[183] which Louis Levine has convincingly located in Iraqi Kurdistan on the basis of the historical geography (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5).[184] Further, a number of shells discovered in a small structure between Burned Buildings I and II have been identified as local to the Persian Gulf, substantiating open routes to the south.[185]

Last, a cylinder seal from a period V burial at Hasanlu points to earlier ties with the south.[186] As discussed in detail in Appendix C (No. C1, Fig. 115), it is a large seal, divided into a number of decorated panels, the largest unit showing a bird perched over a tree, flanked by several fish. The smaller panels are decorated with linear patterns that probably imitate cuneiform writing, while the borders feature a series of fish and a row of triangles filled with cross-hatching. Although the seal was probably carved at Hasanlu, the dimensions, composition, fish, hatched-triangle border, and pseudo-inscription have parallels on seals from Choga Zanbil and Susa.[187]

There is, then, sufficient evidence of long-standing cross-cultural ties between Hasanlu and other sites in western Iran to account for the broad stylistic parallels discussed above—most notably, lively representations, geometrization, and decorative patterning.

Discussion

The above discussion of the visual sources of the "local style" glyptic of Hasanlu IVB has demonstrated that the artisans drew on a wide range of artistic traditions. First, the analysis indicated a major debt owed to Neo-Assyrian palace art for many of the themes depicted in the "local" seal designs. Second, North Syria may have been a direct or indirect source for other elements, such as snarling lions. Third, certain details bespeak a legacy from late second-millennium cultural contacts between Northwest Iran and Middle Assyrian centers; and less of Mitannian influences. Finally, the investigation substantiated ties between the "local" glyptic and long-standing traditions in western Iran.[188]

In the end, however, the combined product at Hasanlu—the size of the seals, the dentated borders, the division into two even registers, the decorative patterning and liveliness, the human and animal forms, and the adoption of potent Neo-Assyrian and North Syrian themes—is as yet unique.

Individual "Local" Styles

So far the present chapter has dealt with the general characteristics of the "local style" seals and sealings from period IVB and their major visual source materials. The discussion will now turn to the question of individual or personal artistic styles—what Jon Muller calls "microstyles."[189] The underlying assumption here is that it is possible to differentiate between the forms in the glyptic art that are determined by collective habits of the region, and those that constitute personal elements of style.[190] It is believed that this level of analysis may help to better understand craft specialization and other aspects of the social organization of Hasanlu IVB.

Table 1 presents a tentative subdivision of the "local style" glyptic into eight different individual styles (A-H) on the basis of idiosyncracies of composition and detail. The analysis includes only well-preserved designs that could be examined personally on ancient sealings or modern seal impressions (12 of 22 designs). It is not possible at this time to determine whether these subgroupings represent different workshops, different artisans, or simply different styles of a single artisan.[191] For the present purposes, however, recognition of differences between one artist and another may not be as important as the recognition of the high intensity of social interactions.[192]

Nos. 17 and 22 in Group A are sufficiently alike in an adequate number of specific details and overall composition to argue for manufacture by a single individual. Specifically, in each case a crescent with unusually long pendant triangles is placed above the back of a bull; the form and angle of the bulls' horns are nearly identical; the animals are similarly portrayed with well-defined thick hooves; and the compositions are compact, with little space between elements.

Similarly, Nos. 1, 5, and 21 in Group B may be attributed to a single artistic hand. Specifically, the heads of the lions in Nos. 5 (Fig. 20) and 21 are nearly identical, with a similar shape and placement of the eye and ear, angle of the open jaws and teeth, and brush-tipped tail. In Nos. 1 and 5 the backs of the lions are jagged to indicate hair. The other quadrupeds in Nos. 1 and 5 each have a distinctive thick snout with a flat front end, and the horses each have a bell or tassel below their neck. Further, the human figures in all three designs have unusually long noses and make similar gestures. Last, the size of the three (original) seals is similar (3.8, 3.7, and 4.1 cm. in height).

While Groups A and B may represent works by two independent craftsmen, all five works display a number of idiosyncracies of detail and composition in common: the unusual crescent with serrated lower edge in Nos. 17, 21, and 22; the placement of animal wings in Nos. 1 and 21 at the juncture of the neck and back; the thick well-defined hooves and compact compositions of Nos. 1 and 5; and the large size of all five works. These shared details suggest that Groups A and B may be products of two individuals working in a single workshop, or even of the same craftsman, allowing for variations over time in the style of a single individual.

Similarly, Subgroup C (No. 2) has certain details in common with Groups A and B, and may also come from the same workshop. In particular, the substantial animal bodies and compact composition are related to the two former microstyles. Further, the thick square snout of the bull, brush-tipped animal tails, and vertical snake are seen, as well, in the designs in Group B. However, the position of the wing along the back of the bull, the thin sharp jaws of most of the animals, the slender legs with human-like feet, and the five-spoked chariot wheel are unlike the items in Groups A or B, suggesting a different artisan.

Among the non-glyptic "local style" work from Hasanlu, Groups A, B, and C compare best with the designs on the silver beaker, lion pins, and a number of ivory plaques (cf. Pls. 29–31 and 34).[193] Although little is known, as yet, about the organization of craft production in the ancient Near East,[194] the above analysis of Groups A through C suggests that there was at least one major workshop of seal-carving at the site with one to three artisans. Further, the evidence points to a close relationship between craftsmen working on seals, ivories, and metalwork. Did artists skilled in different media, then, work side by side in a single workshop?[195]

In contrast, the five remaining individual "local" styles each consist of one or two seal designs that do not seem to belong to a larger seal-cutting workshop at the site, judging from the sample studied. Among these, Group D (No. 3) is idiosyncratic in the representation of a human figure with shaggy hair and a short A-line skirt, and in the awkward rendering of the bull's body with short stubby legs. However, the large size of the seal (4.0 cm.) *is* related to Groups A-C, and the shaggy hair style is found on at least two "local style" ivory carvings.[196] This evidence suggests, perhaps, the work of an independent artisan or apprentice at the site.

Compared to the substantial animal and figural forms of Groups A-C, the designs in Group E (Nos. 6 [Fig. 31] and 9) show a more slender and delicate style. Animals have thin legs and hooves; the manes of the eagle-headed genie in No. 6 and the horse in No. 9 are marked by tiny serrations; and the recon-

Table 1: Characteristics of Individual "Local" Styles

A: Nos. 17, 22
* careful execution
* crescent with pendant triangles along lower edge, set above animal's back
* substantial forms of animals, with thick, clearly defined hooves
* angular shape of bulls' horns, with sharp angle at lower edge
* wide snout with thick flat end
* wings grow out from lower neck/upper back
* height: 3.5 cm.; 4.15 cm.

B: Nos. 1, 5 (Fig. 20), 21
* substantial forms of animals, with thick, clearly defined hooves (Nos. 1, 5)
* jagged edge along lion's neck indicating hair
* lions with brush-tipped tails (Nos. 5, 21)
* angular thrust of lion's muzzle and pointed teeth (especially similar in Nos. 5 and 21)
* wings grow out from lower neck/upper back
* bell or tassle below horse's neck (Nos. 1, 5)
* four-spoked chariot wheel (No. 1)
* human figures with unusually long nose, and large eye set in middle of face
* tunics of human figures blend into legs, creating a continuous silhouette (Nos. 1, 5)
* height: 3.8 cm.; 3.7 cm.; 4.1 cm.

C: No. 2
* substantial animal bodies
* slender animal legs with human-like feet
* sharp thin lines of open animal mouths
* wings grow out from mid-back of animal
* animals with long, curving, brush-tipped tails
* vertical snake in field
* five-spoked chariot wheel
* height: 4.4 cm.

D: No. 3
* human figure with shaggy hair style
* short A-line skirt
* elongated animal body, with awkward rendering of body and tail
* bull with elongated muzzle
* short, stubby animal legs
* height: 4.0 cm.

E: Nos. 6 (Fig. 31), 9
* thin, delicate lines and forms
* tiny serrations indicating manes of eagle-headed genie (No. 6) and horse (No. 9)
* small size: height 2.83 cm.; 3.0 cm.

F: No. 11
* angular carving style
* up-bent tails with sharp angles
* wide gaping mouths of animals; no teeth shown
* long thin animal legs
* wings grow out from neck of animal
* thick animal body and necks
* small circular eyes
* abundant use of filler: triangles, stars, lozenges
* single register
* small size: height 3.0 cm.

G: No. 4
* animals standing upright
* bull with rounded muzzle
* long, straight, stick-like animal legs
* elongated forms
* abundant use of filler; variety of filler motifs
* single register composition, but with zones of independent elements arranged around central theme
* height: 4.8 cm.

H: Nos. 7, 8
* long incisions indicating animal manes
* tiny human heads
* small size: height 3.0 cm.

structed size of the original seals is smaller than usual (2.83 and 3.0 cm. in height). Further, the division of the design in No. 6 into two uneven registers is unique among the "local style" glyptic. The microstyle of Group E may be related, as well, to a small number of delicately carved ivory fragments and wood sculpture from Hasanlu IVB.[197]

It is unclear whether the differences in style between Groups A-C and E are due simply to different artisans or to different dates of manufacture. With regard to chronology, one might argue that while the compact, substantial forms of Groups A-C best recall the powerful, monumental images on the large-scale reliefs of Assurnasirpal II, the more slender, delicate forms of Group E are perhaps closer in style to some of the small-scale art of Shalmaneser III—for example, his decorated bronze bands from Balawat and certain ivory carvings from Fort Shalmaneser and the Nabu Temple at Nimrud.[198] Although there are a few small-scale works of art attributable to Assurnasirpal II, such as his bronze strips from Balawat, ivories from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, and incised garment decorations on the palace reliefs, even these works exhibit a sense of monumentality similar to that of his large relief sculptures.[199] Such a monumental quality can be seen, for instance, in the modelling and musculature of human and animal forms, thick-waisted figures, and the way in which figures fill up the entire available space. The above comparisons raise the possibility that Styles A-C might belong to the time of Assurnasirpal II or the first half of the ninth century B.C.; and Style E to the time of Shalmaneser III or the latter part of the century, closer to the end of Hasanlu period IVB;[200] or that contemporary artisans were simply using different models, the art of Assurnasirpal and Shalmaneser both being available in the mid to late ninth century.

Among our last three individual styles, Group F (No. 11) is unusual because of its single-register composition and angular carving style, showing animals with sharply bent tails and long thin legs. Group G (No. 4) is unique in the upright stance of the animals; their long, straight, stick-like legs; elongated forms; and single-register composition. Last, Group H (No. 7–8) shows unusually long hair on the horse's mane, and a small human head.

While the idiosyncracies in Groups F-H may be explained by different artisans (as suggested for Groups A-C) or by different dates of production (as suggested for Group E), the fact that they pertain to matters of composition (number of registers) and facial features (size of head)—elements that are standard in the rest of the "local style" glyptic—suggests a third possible explanation: production at other sites near Hasanlu. In the latter case, the sealings (Nos. 11 and 7–8) would have arrived at Hasanlu on incoming packages. This possibility raises the notion that the so-called local style of Hasanlu IVB may have extended beyond our one site to other sites in the Solduz Valley region; with sealed goods perhaps moving back and forth between Hasanlu and nearby towns. Future excavations at contemporary sites around Lake Urmia might serve to test this hypothesis.

Distribution and Function

Although a full locational analysis of the seals, sealings, and tabs from Hasanlu IVB will be presented in Chapter 8 (along with distribution plans), it is worthwhile to highlight here some of the more important distribution patterns of the "local style" material. Of greatest interest is the location of the sealings. They were found predominately in Burned Buildings II and V, both of which Dyson now identifies as religious structures on the basis of certain architectural features and the nature of the small finds.[201] They were discovered in three major areas within the buildings, specifically in collapsed debris that presumably fell from a second story: in the northeast and southeast sections of Burned Building II, and in the southeastern corner of Burned Building V. These findspots are significant because they coincide with the major discoveries of ivory carvings at the site,[202] as well as other luxury goods in precious materials, such as gold plaques and jewelry, and vessels of gold, silver, and inlaid glass.[203] This evidence clearly suggests that stores of valuables or treasuries were originally located on the second floors of Burned Buildings II and V, a conclusion now also reached by Dyson on the basis of the distribution of the ornamental finds, not the sealings.[204] The latter, however, particularly since they can be shown to have originally secured doors and small containers, perhaps best confirm the notion of second-story treasuries at Hasanlu.

Specifically, by studying the markings on the sealing backs and sides, it has been possible to identify at least one basket (No. 5E), bag (No. 5C), and box sealing (No. 5D), as well as two jar (Nos. 5F and 9) and door sealings (Nos. 5I? and 20) from the second-story collapse in the southeast corner of Burned Building II. A third door sealing (No. 16)

was recovered from the collapse in the northeast corner of the same building. This varied usage is important since the field notes simply differentiate actual seals from jar sealings.

The box sealing (No. 5D) is especially interesting. As already discussed in Chapter 1, the back preserves the impression of a round knob (originally about 2.1 cms. in diameter) with concentric wood grain lines; the head of a dowel, over which is impressed a string groove; string holes; and bits of electrum adhering to the surface (see Fig. 24 and Pl. 5a). This information has already served to reconstruct a gilded wooden or ivory box that was constructed with dowels and had a wooden knob (see Fig. 6.1). It is tempting to speculate further that the original gilded box was decorated with some of the carved ivory plaques found with it, for a number of ivory fragments show traces of gilding on the back as well as holes for dowels for their attachment to wooden surfaces.[205]

There is sufficient evidence, then, to expand the reconstruction of treasuries on the second stories of Burned Buildings II and V, now seen as sealed rooms in which were stored precious goods in a variety of sealed containers. Moreover, judging from the gilded example just mentioned (No. 5D), some containers may themselves have been luxury goods.

Summary

A stylistic analysis of the seal designs has served to substantiate the notion of a Hasanlu "local style." Specifically, the glyptic art presents the same general stylistic features that characterize other works in ivory, wood sculpture, metal vessels, and lion pins, in this way satisfying one of two essential criteria of a "local style"—that it be recognized in objects of different media. The second criterion, that it be recognized in works by different craftsmen, has likewise been met (see below).

A review of the comparative visual material has suggested: (1) that the Neo-Assyrian royal reliefs were a major source for many of the themes in the "local style" glyptic, especially chariot scenes, processions, and scenes with seated figures and attendants; (2) that there is a North Syrian component as well, especially in the representation of lions. It is more limited than the Assyrian element, however, and may have been transmitted through designs on imported goods, such as lion bowls; (3) that Middle Assyrian traditions of the late second millennium left a legacy to Iran that lasted at least through the ninth century; (4) that Mitannian visual sources seem to have had less of an impact on the development of the "local style"; and last, (5) that the Hasanlu style has proved to be very much a product of Iran, having a relationship with long-standing traditions in Elam, Luristan, and Northwest Iran.

The study has tentatively identified at least eight individual styles within the general style of the region, attributable to different artisans, workshops, sources, and/or dates. This level of analysis raises the possibility of there being at least one major seal-cutting workshop at Hasanlu IVB and a high degree of interaction between artisans working in various media.

Last, a locational and functional analysis of the clay sealings has suggested that the sealings originally secured primarily doors and small containers of luxury goods from treasuries on the second floors of Burned Buildings II and V.

Chapter II Endnotes (nos. 67-205)

67. Porada 1965: 114–116; 1967: 2971–2977. For the best illustrations of the gold bowl now see Winter 1989: figs. 4, 5, 12–14, 16, 19, 20 and drawing, fig. 6 (= details, our Pls. 32–33). For the silver beaker see Porada 1967: pl. 1488A-D and drawing, fig. 1044 (= our Pls. 28–29).

68. Muscarella 1980: 1 and nos. 1–213.

69. Winter 1977. See also Winter 1980: 28–29.

70. Our Nos. 2, 4, 11, 13, 17, 18 (Winter 1977: 374).

71. The discrepancy between the number of seal designs and number of objects is due to the fact that some sealings were impressed with the same original seal, while others were impressed with two different seals.

72. Winter 1977: 372.

73. The study of individual style and attribution has been a long-standing concern of art historians. See, for instance, Berenson 1927: 21; Brendel 1979: 125; Wölfflin 1950: 2, 6; and Wollheim 1979. In addition, a number of recent studies by archaeologists have used individual variability to isolate artifacts made by prehistoric individuals in order to better understand prehistoric social organization; see especially the

collection of articles in Hill and Gunn 1977, particularly those by Hill and Gunn, Muller, and Plog.

74. Winter (1989: 96) similarly uses the term "zone" to describe the arrangement of elements on the gold bowl.

75. Especially Winter 1989: fig. 19.

76. Muscarella 1980: nos. 162 (= our Pl. 30b), 163–164, 165 (= our Pl. 30a), and 172–175.

77. Muscarella 1988: no. 42 (= our Pl. 31a); Porada 1965: pl. 29 (below = our Pl. 31b). Perhaps a better parallel among the Hasanlu lion pins for the shape of the lions' heads is HAS 62-415 (MMA 63.109.5 = Muscarella 1988: no. 48) where the protruding tongue is not as evident. Pigott (1981: 210–211; 1989) argues for the local production of the bimetallic lion pins from a technological point of view.

78. For instance, Muscarella 1980: nos. 144–146 and 175. Compare with Winter 1977: 374 and Muscarella 1980: 183. An art historical analysis of the lion pins and other personal ornaments from Hasanlu is in progress by the author; see preliminary reports in Marcus 1993, 1994.

79. Muscarella 1980: nos. 163, 164, 165 (= our Pl. 30a), 166, 171, 172; Porada 1965: pl. 29 (below = our Pl. 31b).

80. Porada 1965: detail, pl. 23 above = Winter 1989: fig. 12.

81. Muscarella 1980: nos. 62, 63, 75 (= our Pl. 34a), and 83.

82. For examples in ivory see Muscarella 1980: nos. 62, 63, 75 (= our Pl. 34a), 83, 121, 122.

83. Muscarella 1980: nos. 1 (= our Pl. 34b), 5, 14–16.

84. As Winter 1977: 374.

85. For instance, Muscarella 1980: nos. 1 (= our Pl. 34b), 5, 13–16 (chariot scenes); 170, 175 (hunts); 116 (= our Pl. 34c), 117–118 (seated figures, probably originally with attendants); 162 (= our Pl. 30b), 185 (opposing animals); 163, 164, 165 (= our Pl. 30a), 172–175 (lions); Porada 1965: pl. 29 (below = our Pl. 31b = lion pins).

86. As previously described in Muscarella 1966: especially 127–130; 1980; Porada 1959, 1965: 114–120; 1967; and Winter 1977: 372–374.

87. Muscarella 1966: 129; 1980: 166–168, 174, 210–211; Porada 1965: 114; 1967: 2974–2977; Winter 1977: 375–383.

88. Compare especially the design in the upper register of the silver beaker (Pl. 29) with the lion hunt relief from the throneroom of Assurnasirpal II (BM 124534; Winter 1981: fig. 4). For illustrations of the Assyrian reliefs, see Barnett 1975 and Winter 1981 for the reign of Assurnasirpal II; and Barnett 1973 and King 1915 for the reign of Shalmaneser III.

89. Muscarella 1980: nos. 116 (= our Pl. 34c), 117–118.

90. Especially Muscarella 1980: no. 34 (= our Pl. 35a), as well as nos. 6, 29, and 30. Cf. ibid.: 162, and Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 17.

91. De Schauensee and Dyson 1983: 71–72.

92. De Schauensee and Dyson 1983: fig. 19d and p. 72. The "open" type of bell with visible clapper is likewise worn by Assyrian horses as depicted on reliefs of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; they are worn either singly under the jaw of the horse, or in a series on a strap around the horse's neck (cf. Winter 1980: 4 and fig. 14, and 4, n. 12 for further references). But the Assyrian bells are neither fenestrated nor suspended by straps below the horse's neck as on the Hasanlu ivory mentioned above (note 90 above and Pl. 35a) and on sealing No. 5 (Fig. 20).

93. Muscarella 1980: nos. 116 (= our Pl. 34c), 117, and 118; see also discussion, ibid.: 177.

94. Throneroom (standing king) = BM 124535 (Winter 1981: fig. 5). Room G (seated king) = BM 124564-6 (Barnett 1975: pl. 8 [wrongly identified by Barnett as from the throneroom] = Layard's drawing, 1849: pl. 5 = our Pl. 35b). The same subject is also represented on the bronze bands of Shalmaneser III from Balawat (e.g., King 1915: pl. XX).

95. For instance, from the throneroom (Bklyn 98064 = Paley 1976: pl. 20); Room S (MMA 31.72.3 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 16 = our Pl. 36); and Room I (MMA 32.143.3 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 15 = our Pl. 37; Bklyn 55.146 = Paley 1976: pl. 8).

96. I have accepted the advice of Barbara N. Porter (personal communication) in not using the phrase "tree of life" to describe the many-branched trees carved on the Assyrian reliefs, thus avoiding a very specialized reference to the tree in the Garden of Eden (see now Porter 1993). See further Reade 1983: 27.

97. Hasanlu: HAS 62-1013 = MMA 63.109.9 (Dyson 1964b: text-fig. 4, no. 8 = our Pl. 38b); Dyson 1968: fig. 118; Young 1965: drawing, fig. 7: no. 6; HAS 62-852 = UM 63-5-251 (unpublished). Tepe Giyan: Contenau and Ghirshman 1935: pl. XVII.

98. Winter 1977: 379–383.

99. Winter 1977: 380.

100. Cf. Winter's discussion (1986) of the symbolic meaning of the "cup" as royal attribute in "presentation scenes" on official seals of the Ur III period in Mesopotamia. As for the notion that seal imagery may be related to the identity of the seal-owner, corroborating evidence is to be found on inscribed seals of the Ur III period (Winter 1987).

101. Cf. Muscarella's suggestion (1980: 173) that the seated figures on ivories represent a king or deity; he identifies one figure, who rests his feet on an animal base (ibid.: no. 118), as a deity.

102. Evidence that kings and high-ranking individuals could have more than one seal is seen, for instance, by the many seals of Zimrilim from Mari (Parrot 1959: 162–167), and by the sealing practices at Nuzi (see Stein 1989: 45, with reference to her Ph.D. dissertation).

103. See Winter 1987 on *royal* presentation scenes, in particular, and their regular association with individuals within the *state* bureaucracy in the Ur III period (ca. 2112–2004 B.C.). An interesting exception for our purposes is the occurrence of this scene on the inscribed official seal of the chief administrator of the temple of Inanna at Nippur, found impressed on door and commodity sealings from the level IV temple (Zettler 1987b: 222, 225; 1987c; Winter 1987: 78).

104. Dyson 1989b: especially 120–126.

105. Zettler 1987b: 201.

106. Cf. Kraus 1990: 6, 8, 11.

107. It is not known, for instance, whether we are dealing with a royal hierarchy or a chiefdom in this period. Sargon II records that in 715 B.C., he collected tribute from 22 Median *chiefs* (Luckenbill 1927: ¶¶ 11, 15). On this see Brown 1986: 107, n. 3, and 112–117; and Helm 1981: 86. For a general discussion of chiefdoms, see Service 1975: 15–16 and 74; Carneiro 1981; and Earle 1987.

108. Cf. Kraus 1990: 12. See also Oppenheim 1977: 99–100, 108–109, and Winter 1987: 70.

109. Assurnasirpal II: Grayson 1976: ¶¶ 551, 565. The publications of Shalmaneser's major campaigns in the Zagros are cited in Levine 1977: 176, n. 3. For easy reference see Luckenbill 1926: ¶¶ 588, 607, 637; and Cameron 1950: col. III, ll. 58–60. For further discussion see Levine 1972: 39–40; 1974: 114; 1977: 176. On the geographical setting and the major east-west routes across the northern Zagros, see Levine 1974: 3–14, 99–104; 1977: 173. For a discussion of the importance of Shalmaneser's eastern campaigns in art, see Marcus 1987: especially 81 and 87–89.

110. Levine 1974: 21, n. 90.

111. As Winter 1977: 377–378.

112. For discussions of the various possible forms of exchange, especially trade, see, for example, Kohl 1975; Renfrew 1975; and Wheatley 1975. Further references are cited in note 11 above.

113. Muscarella 1980: nos. 280–282 and 284.

114. Mallowan 1983: figs. 3–5.

115. For instance, Paley 1976: pl. 28a and b (= our Pl. 38a).

116. For instance, Canby 1971: pls. X, b-d and XIII, a-e; and Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 21 (from Room G). Especially relevant here is a Middle Assyrian inventory text from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta that describes a *mardutu* carpet with multi-colored images of men, animals, towns, towers, and kings (Köcher 1957–1958: 306–307, col. III, ll. 32–38).

117. Dyson and Pigott 1975: 183.

118. The dating is based on Dyson and Muscarella 1989: especially 8; see also note 1 above. Other objects are tied securely to period V, such as a fragment of a stone bowl inscribed with the name of the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil (Pigott 1989: fig. 16).

119. Winter 1977: 378.

120. Grayson 1976: ¶ 565. On the location of Zamua see Levine 1974: 16–22 and 15, fig. 3 and below, p. 41 and Fig. 7. On the mobility of craftsmen and other laborers in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Brown 1986: 111 and Zaccagnini 1983: 260–261.

121. Grayson 1976: ¶ 682.

122. Grayson 1976: ¶ 566.

123. Barbara N. Porter originally pointed out this possibility to me. See Renger 1984: 79–84 for a general discussion of informal or non-institutional exchange. On the geography of the northern Zagros, see Levine 1974: 5–14 and 99–104.

124. Muscarella 1980: 183 and 211.

125. Bossert 1942: fig. 856 (= our Pl. 39a); 1951: 451; Frankfort 1970: fig. 341. On the dating of the North Syrian monuments, see Hawkins 1972; Ussishkin 1967: 128–129; 1969; Winter 1973: 158–257; 1979: 150; 1982: 365.

126. Bossert 1942: 862, 863; Orthmann 1971: pls. 24, 37a and b, 57a.

127. As already pointed out by Muscarella (1980: 177). For the monuments see Bossert 1942: 953; Vieyra 1955: fig. 122.

128. Muscarella 1965b: figs. 1–3, 10; 1974b; 1980: 192–193; van Loon 1962: fig., p. 15 = our Pl. 39b.

129. Muscarella 1980: nos. 222–279 and pp. 193–199.

130. Renfrew 1975: 41. Cf. Dyson 1965: 199; Winter 1977: 375; 1980: 22; Young 1966: 61, n. 2. A good example of "down-the-line" exchange occurs in the royal correspondence of Sargon II of Assyria: an Assyrian official in the eastern province of Kumme reports that Assyrian luxury goods were bought at Calah (Kalhu) and Nineveh by inhabitants of Bususu, sold by them to Kummeans, and then brought from there to Urartu (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990: no. 100, ll. 12–20).

131. See, for example, the North Syrian pyxis from Nimrud in Barnett 1957: pl. XIX, S.13. Muscarella (1980: 210) even suggests that the Egyptian blue lion bowl from Hasanlu may have been made in Assyria on the basis of the material and the style of the sphinxes carved on the sides.

132. See, however, the remarks by Heim (1984: 272–273) and Moorey (1983: 230) regarding the Hasanlu ivory carvings.

133. Cf. Moortgat 1941: figs. 20 and 21; Kantor 1958: design XII (pl. 75, 46 = our Pl. 40b). Cf. p. 55 below.

134. Beran 1957; Moortgat 1943, 1944.

135. Kantor 1958; dated (p. 69) on the basis of associated tablets inscribed with the names of *limmu* officials of Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.).

136. Parker 1977.

137. Kantor 1958: designs X (= our Pl. 40a) and XVI; Moortgat 1941: figs. 2, 3, and 32.

138. Parker 1977: pls. XXX, 38 and XXIX, 35.

139. Kantor 1958: design II; Moortgat 1941: fig. 70; 1944: fig. 38.

140. Moortgat 1944: fig. 38.

141. Kantor 1958: designs X and XII = our Pl. 40a and b; Moortgat 1941: fig. 55; 1944: fig. 31; Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 7. Kantor (1958: 74, design XII) and Porada (1949: xxiv, 70–71, nos. 608–609; 1979: 3, 5) call these creatures on seals "griffin-demons," although they do not have the leonine traits normally associated with griffins. The present use of the term "eagle-headed genie" follows the terminology commonly used to describe the same creatures represented on the Assyrian palace reliefs (cf. Reade 1983: 27; see also p. 93 below).

142. See especially Hamlin 1974 and C. Kramer 1977: 91–98, 104–105. Habur ware was discovered at Hasanlu VI and Dinkha IV.

143. As Muscarella 1980: 215.

144. Muscarella (1980: 215–217) presents a useful overview of the problem.

145. See, for example, Leemans 1968: 209–210; Muhly 1973a: 292–294, 302–304, 317, 325, and 337–338; 1973b: 407 and 409.

146. First published in Læssøe 1959: 85–94. See also Larsen 1967: 4; Leemans 1968: 207; and Muscarella 1980: 215.

147. Wiseman 1968: 175 and 183. See also Leemans 1968: 209; Muhly 1973b: 409; Muscarella 1980: 216; and for the location of Nairi, Levine 1974: 21.

148. Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 501. Excavations at Metsamor in the Caucasus suggest that tin was plentiful there in the late second millennium B.C. (Burney and Lang 1971: 73, 90; Muscarella 1980: 216).

149. Marcus 1991 reviews the evidence for second millennium contact between Mesopotamia (north and south) and Iran.

150. Dyson 1977a: 166; Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 8–11.

151. Barrelet 1984; Muscarella 1987a; Porada 1965: 99–101; Winter n.d.; and, most recently, Winter 1989. Barrelet, Muscarella, and Winter each point out the difficulties involved in trying to connect artistic styles with particular ethnic groups. On this issue see also C. Kramer 1977.

152. See Stein 1989 on the chronology.

153. Porada 1947a: nos. 803 and 805. See also Porada 1979.

154. E.g., Stein 1989: central figure, fig. 1 = drawing of the design on the famous seal of Shaushtatar.

155. E.g, Stein 1989: fig. 2 = seal of Shuttarna.

156. E.g., Stein 1987: nos. 35 and 42.

157. Porada 1965: 116.

158. Winter 1980: 16–21.

159. The royal name and dates used here follow Carter and Stolper 1984: 37 and 160. See also Porada 1970: 128; and 1965: 48.

160. Dyson 1963b: 35, and Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 8.

161. Dyson: personal communication.

162. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989; the Iron Age seals are discussed on pp. 413–474. I am grateful to Maurits van Loon and Hans Curvers for providing me with a copy of their chapter on the Iron Age seals before their manuscript of the Holmes Expedition to Luristan went to press; and to Edith Porada for sharing with me her copies of photographs of the Surkh Dum glyptic. Some of the earlier seals from Surkh Dum are in the collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and have been published by Elizabeth Williams-Forte (in Muscarella 1981).

163. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: 50–55.

164. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: 487–490.

165. For Marlik see Negahban 1964: 37 and Muscarella 1984: 415–417, who pushes Tomb 36 down into the eighth-seventh century B.C. on the basis of the form of a bronze elbow fibula. For Sialk B see Dyson 1965: 207–208, where he posits that the main occupation belongs to the eighth century with perhaps some overlap with the end of Hasanlu IVB and the beginning of Hasanlu IIIB.

166. See p. 56 below, with references. See also Dyson and Harris 1986: 85.

167. Porada 1970: nos. 49 and 50 (= our Pl. 40c-d).

168. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142.

169. Amiet 1972: no. 937. Another seal from Susa (Amiet 1972: no. 941) presents hatching along the upper back edge of an animal, as on ivory carvings and lion pins from Hasanlu IVB (cf. Muscarella 1980: nos. 144 and 146).

170. Ghirshman 1939: pl. XCVI, S. 737 and S. 810.

171. Porada 1965: pl. 14 above.

172. Ghirshman 1939: pls. IX, 3 and LXXXI (S. 584).

173. Negahban 1964: figs. 107, 109, 111–114 (fig. 114 = our Pl. 42).

174. For example, Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 91 and pl. 238, no. 96 (Surkh Dum-i-Luri) and Porada 1970: no. 52 (Choga Zanbil).

175. Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX (S. 202), and XXI, 5 and XCVIII (S. 134).

176. Porada 1970: nos. 52, 46, 45 (Choga Zanbil); Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 91 and pl. 238, no. 96 (Surkh Dum-i-Luri); Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 3 and XCVI (S. 737; Sialk).

177. Cf. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 235, no. 72 and pl. 236, nos. 75, 76, and 77.

178. Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 5 and LVI (S. 810).

179. Dyson 1963b: fig., p. 36.

180. Porada 1970: nos. 27, 65, 114; 88, 104.

181. Porada 1970: e.g., nos. 70, 71, and 66.

182. Dyson 1965: fig. 8. The most recent translation of the text is published in Pecorella and Salvini 1984: 55.

183. Cameron 1950: col. II, l. 11; Michel 1955: 148, l. 51.

184. Levine 1974: 16–24 and 15, fig. 3.

185. Reese 1989: 80.

186. HAS 59-83 = MMA 60.20.5. As discussed in Appendix C (pp. 143–144), the seal was discovered along with period V pottery in a burial at the northeast edge of the Outer Town; see further on this seal Marcus 1994.

187. See the Catalog entry for specific comparanda, and the accompanying discussion for possible Kassite connections as well.

188. One has yet to adequately investigate the possible influence of art from the Talysh in the Caucasus on the Hasanlu "local style." This material, largely published in

Russian, has been inaccessible to me, and deserves a separate study (now planned by Karen Rubinson). A preliminary review of the material available in European languages, however, suggests that the glyptic connections are minimal. See the bibliographical references in Pigott 1977 and Schaeffer 1948.

189. Muller 1977: 26.

190. Brendel 1979: 116–118 and 125.

191. See Brendel 1979: 123 and 126.

192. Muller 1977: 25.

193. For example, Porada 1965: pl. 29 (below = our Pl. 31b); Muscarella 1980: nos. 14–16, 116 (= our Pl. 34c), 163–167 (no. 165 = our Pl. 30a), and 171–172.

194. See especially Porada 1977, with a correction in Lambert 1979; on p. 7 Porada refers to tablets from Tell Atchana/Alalakh that mention a seal-cutting workshop. See also Collon 1975: 177; Frankfort 1939: 5; Porada 1976: 110–111; and Renger 1984: 89. At Hasanlu, no workshop areas have been identified to date in any of the excavated structures—no tools, raw maerials, or manufacturing debris that would confirm seal-cutting activities. It is clear, however, that some craft production was occurring at the site from the discovery of stone molds, crucibles, ingots, and production debris associated with bronze working (Pigott 1989: 71).

195. As Muscarella 1980: 184. There is also the possibility that a single craftsman may have worked in various media. Textual evidence from Mesopotamia and North Syria indicates that the same individuals who cut seals also did engraving work on stone, wood, and metal (Porada 1977: 7; Magness-Gardiner 1987: 65–70 and 84–85). Similarly, in Iran today signet makers also do the deep cutting of silver objects for niello work or glazed enamel (Wulff 1966: 38).

196. Muscarella 1980: nos. 121 and 122.

197. Muscarella 1980: e.g., nos. 19, 21–22, 93, 127.

198. E.g., Barnett 1975: pls. 40–44; Mallowan and Davies 1970: especially nos. 184, 198–202, and pp. 2–3.

199. Bronze Gates: Barnett 1973: BM 124698, 124697. Ivories: Mallowan and Davies 1970: nos. 64, 92–97, 103–109, 5, 9, 55; Barnett 1957: pl. XII, F4. Garment decoration: Canby 1971: pls. XIc, Xb, XIIIe, XIVa-e.

200. At the same time, however, one might argue that certain elements of composition and style of Group E reflect a legacy from second millennium Mitannian art, and should perhaps be dated slightly earlier than Groups A-C—for instance: the small proportions of figures (cf. Stein 1987: especially no. 81); the representation of supernatural creatures (see Porada 1979); and the uneven division of registers (cf. Stein 1987: no. 76) and sharply bent lion's paw with delineated claws in No. 6 (cf. Stein 1987: no. 35).

201. Dyson 1989b: especially 120–126. Earlier remarks on building functions may be found in Young 1966; Dyson 1972a: 86–88; 1977b, 1980; and Dyson and Pigott 1975: 183.

202. Muscarella 1980: 2, 5.

203. HAS 64-512, -606, -137, -508, -507, -671, -532, and -656. On the inlaid glass vessels see Marcus 1991 and von Saldern 1966. See now the distribution plans of ornamental finds from Burned Building II in Dyson 1989b: figs. 18–19.

204. Dyson 1989b: 124. Cf, however, Muscarella 1980: 209, where it is suggested that these rooms were living quarters of the local dignitaries.

205. Muscarella 1980: 207 and, for example, nos. 55A, 89, 120, and 195. Gold foil overlay on ivory plaques is common all over the Near East; see, for instance, Barnett 1957: 155–156. It is also known from textual references (e.g., I Kings 10: 18; Grayson 1976: ¶¶ 574, 641; see further Barnett 1957: 114).

III

"Other Iranian Styles"

This second stylistic category includes three groups of objects that may have been made at or near Hasanlu, even though they do not represent the so-called local style discussed in the previous chapter. They include: (1) conoid-knob stamp seals and related impressions on sealings; (2) geometric-style cylindrical seal-beads; and (3) unengraved cylinders. The following discussion will define the characteristics of each group and present evidence for their possible place of production in the Zagros region. But it should be stated from the onset that the conoid-knob stamps are particularly difficult to classify, and are only tentatively assigned to production facilites in modern-day western Iran (see below).

Conoid-Knob Stamp Seals and Related Impressions on Sealings

Seals

Seven stamp seals from Hasanlu IVB have a truncated conical base, short indented stem with a perforation, and short conoid knob. No. 29, now in Tehran, seems to have a larger perforation and shorter knob in relation to the diameter of the seal face than the other stamps, judging from the available field photograph and sketches.

The back of these conoid-knob stamps is consistently decorated at the top of the base, either with incised petals (Nos. 23, 25, 26), crosshatching (No. 29), or short vertical (No. 27) or diagonal lines (No. 28). Incised petals radiate around the knob as well as the base of No. 23.

In general, the height of the stamps ranges from 1.40 (Nos. 25 and 28) to 1.86 cm. (No. 27). No. 29 is larger: 2.4 cm. in height according to the field notes. In all cases, the seal face is circular, with a diameter ranging from 1.85 (No. 26) to 2.13 cm. (No. 25).

Only two of the seals have undergone material analysis, the remainder being in Tehran. No. 25 is made of an unglazed composite material; No. 26 is made of a glazed composition.[206] According to the field records, most of the other examples are likewise made of composite materials. The seal designs include a single bird (Nos. 23, 24?), an insect (No. 25), a winged sun disk (Nos. 26, 27), and geometric patterns (Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32).

The conoid-knob seals were found widely distributed on the Citadel Mound. The discovery of three of the stamps together with a quantity of beads—in a metal vessel in Burned Building II (Nos. 23 and 26) and beside a skeleton in Burned Building IV (No. 28)—suggests that at least in some cases they were originally strung on beaded necklaces and probably worn as personal ornaments.

Sealings

Three sealings (from Burned Buildings V, I West, and VII East) preserve impressions that could have been made by conoid-knob stamp seals like those above (Nos. 30–32). At least, the shape and size of the seal face and some of the designs correspond. The sealings each preserve impressions from stamp seals carved with radiating lines on the seal face. In Nos. 30 and 31, lines radiate from a central dot, as in the seal design on stamp No. 29.

Discussion

It is difficult to pinpoint the place of production of the conoid-knob seals. While their general form has antecedents in second millennium Anatolia,[207] the latter examples are usually made of stone (not composite materials) and are perforated through the knob (not the stem). Moreover, the seal designs at Hasanlu do not have Anatolian precedents. As for contemporary parallels in material, shape, and seal design, only a handful of examples are known to me from excavated contexts outside Hasanlu. The shape and material are matched by one or two examples each from Assur, Nimrud, and Balawat (Pl. 43a) in northern Mesopotamia, Tell Halaf in North Syria, Surkh Dum-i-Luri in Iranian Luristan, and Sakzabad in the Caspian Plain in northern Iran.[208] Examples from Halaf and Surkh Dum-i-Luri present the same type of winged sun disk as in No. 26, with the same distinctive wavy line above the histame.[209] This particular type of winged disk, however, is most at home in Assyria to judge from parallels on the wall reliefs from the Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud.[210] In constrast, the bird in No. 23 recalls those carved on two "local style" ivory plaques from Hasanlu, each with short legs, a large beak, and feathered tail (cf. Pl. 43b).[211] Last, the squatter proportions and geometric seal design (radiating lines) of No. 29 finds a parallel at Tell Billa in northern Mesopotamia.[212]

Although one cannot determine by *numbers* of extant parallels where a given artifact was produced, there are hints that these stamp seals may have been made at or near Hasanlu; except perhaps for No. 26 with its Assyrian-type winged disk. First, since it is well known that stamp seals virtually disappeared from general use in Mesopotamia between 3000 and the late eighth century B.C.,[213] the few conoid-knob stamps from sites in Assyria (cited above) are probably either imports or later examples of the form found at Hasanlu. Second, there are the parallels noted above between the bird in No. 23 and designs on "local" ivories. Third and last, there are the impressions on three sealings (Nos. 30–32) that, as discussed above, could have been made by similar seals, pointing to possible local use and production.

As stated earlier, however, the evidence for Iranian production of the conoid-knob stamps from Hasanlu is far from conclusive. In fact, the Assyrian-style winged sun disk on No. 26 and the similar types of stamps from Halaf and Assyrian sites may point to production in the opposite direction, perhaps in North Syria, where stamp seals (including related stud stamps) continued in general use.[214] In that case, the related sealings from Hasanlu would have come in on incoming goods presumably directly from North Syria. Although there is no other certain evidence for direct exchange in this period between North Syria and Northwest Iran, there is a wide range of objects from Hasanlu that derive ultimately from this region[215]; hence the potential importance of the conoid-knob stamps (and related sealings) for better understanding of the nature of the exchange between east and west. However, until we have more stamp seals from stratified contexts in Iran and North Syria from this period, it remains uncertain whether we are dealing with a number of widely scattered workshops of stamp production or more centralized production in the east or west.

Geometric-Style Cylindrical Seal-Beads

This group includes 10 cylinders made of a white glazed or unglazed composite material, or Egyptian blue. They are carved with geometric designs that include one or two bands of diagonal crosshatching

(Nos. 33–36); vertical rows of horizontal and/or diagonal lines (Nos. 38–41); vertical rows of chevrons (No. 37); and X's scattered in the field (No. 42). The designs are consistently framed by one, two, or three horizontal lines at top and bottom.

The seal-beads are distinguished from simple beads by their straight sides, the care of execution of the carving, and their height, which ranges from 2.73 (No. 35) to 5.06 cm. (No. 38). The average height is 3.52 cm.[216]

These cylinders have parallels from all over the ancient Near East. In Iran parallels occur, for instance, at Marlik Tepe near the Caspian Sea, Sialk on the Iranian plateau, and Choga Zanbil and Susa in the southwest.[217] There seems no reason, then, to look outside of northwestern Iran for the place of production of the simple seal-beads from Hasanlu IVB.

It is unclear whether these geometric-style cylinders were used actually to seal goods at Hasanlu, or were simply worn as beads. Although ancient impressions of seals with similar designs have been preserved on sealings from earlier sites in southern Mesopotamia and Iran,[218] none have been discovered at Hasanlu. Instead, most of the geometric cylinders were found in groups with other beads. For instance, No. 39 was discovered in Burned Building I West, designated by the excavators as the "Bead House" because of the quantity of beads discovered inside. Likewise, No. 41 was found together with a number of beads, under the skull of a skeleton in a burial in the Outer Town area, where it was clearly originally part of a beaded necklace. Last, Nos. 34, 36, 37, and 40 were each recovered along with two or more beads. The available evidence suggests, then, that the geometric cylinders from period IVB were worn as beads and were probably not used for actually sealing goods.

Unengraved Cylinders

Three unengraved cylinders were discovered at the site: in Burned Buildings I West (together with a dagger hilt [HAS 58-446] and a disintegrated ivory figurine [HAS 58-477] inside the well-known gold bowl), III, and IV-V. According to the field notes, they are made of unusual materials: a highly polished grey and white mottled stone (No. 45); a red and white stone (No. 43); and a dark blue composite material with a glaze now colored white (No. 44). They range in height from 3.2 to 4.5 cm., similar in size to the "local style" seals (cf. Nos. 1–4).

Although unengraved, the cylinders were already fitted with copper/bronze (No. 44) or gold (No. 43) end caps and a copper/bronze suspension pin with a looped end (No. 45). Since one would expect metal attachments to be added after seal designs were incised, these three cylinders may represent finished products; that is, polished beads not intended for incision work. That the beads were highly valued is suggested by the fact that one example (No. 43) was discovered inside the gold bowl, which was evidently being carried from the second story of Burned Building I West by one of a group of three men when they fell to their death as the building was being gutted by fire.[219]

Unengraved cylinders, but without metal caps, have been discovered at Choga Zanbil.[220] As argued above in the case of the seal-beads, there is no reason to believe that the unengraved cylinders from Hasanlu were produced outside Iran.

Chapter III Endnotes (nos. 206-220)

206. On the terminology for materials, see p. 81 below. Marcus 1989: 58 contains an erratum regarding the conoid-knob stamps: their composite material refers to frit or faience, not Egyptian blue; there are no Egyptian blue conoid-knob stamps from Hasanlu.

207. For example, at Tarsus (Late Bronze I-II context; Goldman 1956: fig. 394, 32); and Alishar (von der Osten 1937: fig. 479). Dyson (1964a: 374) has noted that the general shape of Nos. 23 and 26 goes back to the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia. Since then, but without substantiating evidence, Johnson (1974: 37, n. 63) has referred to these particular seals as "clearly Urartian." She compares them to an unstratified seal from Qalatgah, near Hasanlu (published by Muscarella 1971a: fig., p. 47) and then uses this evidence to support her theory of an Urartian presence at Hasanlu IVB. However, the Qalatgah stamp is in the form of a concave cylinder with remnants of a suspension lug at the top, a form well known from Urartian sites of the eighth and seventh century B.C. and *not* related to the conoid-knob stamps from Hasanlu. Moreover, there are far too few Urartian artifacts datable to the late ninth-early eighth century B.C. to confidently identify any products found at Hasanlu IVB as Urartian. The situation changes in period IIIB, however, which yielded two conoid stamps having good

parallels at contemporary Urartian sites near Lake Van (see Appendix D, Nos. D1 and D2).

208. Assur: Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385. Balawat: MMA 57.27.16; unpublished (= our Pl. 43a). Nimrud: Parker 1962: pl. X, 5 (= Mallowan 1966: fig. 236). Halaf: Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71; two additional conoid-knob stamps (ibid.: pl. 28, 72 and 73) may come from Halaf, as well. Surkh Dum-i-Luri: Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, no. xviii and pl. 250, no. xix. Sakzabad: unpublished (Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

209. Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: no. xix.

210. Cf. Barnett 1975: pl. 13 (throneroom = BM 124531); Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 24 (garment decoration, Room G = MMA 32.143.4); and Paley 1976: pl. 28a (decoration on situla, Room T; Dresden).

211. Muscarella 1980: nos. 160 and 161 (= our Pl. 43b = MMA 65.163.13, not 65.163.65 as originally published).

212. UM 33-4-29; unpublished.

213. Cf. Buchanan and Moorey 1988: xi and 53.

214. Cf. Buchanan 1984: xvii and Porada: Morgan Library seminar notes (see note 27 above).

215. See pp. 23–24 and notes 128–129 above.

216. This figure does not include Nos. 40 and 42, both of which are broken.

217. Negahban 1977: fig. 13 (Marlik); Ghirshman 1939: pl. XCVII (Sialk B); Porada 1970: nos. 128, 144, 153 (Choga Zanbil); Amiet 1972: nos. 2097, 2115 (Susa). See Catalog for more specific details.

218. For example, at Susa (Amiet 1972: nos. 1273 and 1331) and Tall-i Malyan (Pittman: personal communication).

219. Dyson 1960d: 250; Winter 1989: 88.

220. Porada 1970: nos. 158 and 160, and p. 121.

IV

Syro-Palestinian Style

Among the foreign-style seals from Hasanlu IVB, the most unexpected group has ties with Iron Age sites in the Levant. This category includes: (1) lion stamp seals; (2) scarab stamp seals; and (3) a hammer-head stamp seal with related impressions on a clay sealing.

There are serious difficulties in dealing with the Syro-Palestinian and related Egyptian stamp seals of the Iron Age. No systematic classification of stamp forms and designs at this time in Egypt or the Levant is available, due largely to a paucity of firmly dated seals from well-published controlled excavations and to an overabundance of unprovenienced seals in collections.[221] Moreover, previous scholarship has concentrated primarily on inscribed seals, which are not as relevant to the Hasanlu material as are stamps with simple designs of people and animals. It is particularly difficult to distinguish between Egyptian products and "Egyptianizing" seals manufactured in the Levant. The seals from Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish) provide an especially useful and well-stratified sequence of scarabs from the southern Levant.[222] This material, together with the seals from Megiddo[223] and Beth Shan,[224] comprises the primary comparative data for the following analysis of the Hasanlu stamps. Although the stratigraphy and chronology of the Megiddo and Beth Shan material is sometimes open to question,[225] the finds are nevertheless useful in trying to determine the general origin of the Hasanlu material.

Lion Stamp Seals

Seven small stamp seals are carved in the form of a recumbent lion. Incisions on the back of the stamp indicate the facial features, mane, and body hair of the lion. The seal face is in the form of a rectangle with one curved short side (below the lion's head). The average size of the stamps is 1.03 cm. in height, 1.49 cm. in length, and 0.75 cm. in width.

Scientific analysis of three of the lion stamps indicates that they are made of steatite. The four untested seals, now in Tehran, are probably of the same material, although the preliminary field notes identify them as bone.

The lion stamp seals were found widely distributed around the site. No. 48 was discovered together with numerous carnelian beads in Room 4 of Burned Building III, probably originally forming the center bead of a carnelian necklace (see Pl. 44). Nos. 47 and 52 were found in separate locations in Burned Building II: on the floor in Room 14, together with miscellaneous beads (No. 47); and in Room 7 (No. 52). Of the remaining lion stamps, one was found in Burned Building IX (No. 49), one between Buildings IX and X (No. 50), and one at the northern edge of the Outer Town area (No. 51).

One of three different designs are incised on the seal face: (1) a single quadruped striding to the right (= left in the seal impression; Nos. 46–49); (2) a standing human figure (Nos. 50, 51); or (3) diagonal crosshatching (No. 52). The lion stamp seals have general parallels in size, shape, material, and seal design at early Iron Age sites in the Palestinian Levant—for example, at Megiddo,[226] Lachish,[227] and Beth Shan (Pl. 43c).[228] Although the material analyses are tricky (the seals are said to be faience at Megiddo,[229] paste and bone at Lachish),[230] new analyses indicate that the Levantine examples, like

the ones from Hasanlu, are steatite.

As for the related Egyptian material, the simple human and animal designs on the Hasanlu lion stamps do have general parallels on Egyptian scarabs,[231] and at least one lion stamp is known from the first millennium B.C. cemetery at Matmar in Middle Egypt.[232] However, the Matmar example differs considerably from both the Hasanlu and excavated Palestinian stamps: the lion wears an Egyptian royal headdress; the seal face is wider at one end, unlike the rectangular form of the Hasanlu and Levantine examples; and it presents a standard Egyptian seal design. Nevertheless, until more detailed work is available on excavated Egyptian stamp seals of this period, it remains impossible to distinguish with any certainty between Egyptian and "Egyptianizing" products. For the present purposes, however, this determination is less important than explaining how goods reached Hasanlu from the far west (see below). Even if our stamps ultimately derive from Egypt, in the absence of any documented evidence of direct exchange between Egypt and Northwest Iran in the early Iron Age, we must assume that they were transmitted through the Levant to points farther east (given little doubt that Egyptian products reached the Levant regularly in this period).[233]

Scarab Stamp Seals

Three scarab seals were found at Hasanlu IVB. Nos. 53 and 54 both have a lunate head with eyes shown by single lines; a single line dividing the elytra, with a second line between the elytra and the pronotum; and a simple, grooved side type with legs not shown and with the head only slightly defined. No. 53, made of steatite, was found in Room 4 of Burned Building III; No. 54 was discovered by Hakemi and Rad in the Cemetery area at the northern edge of the Outer Town. The seal design on both Nos. 53 and 54 shows a quadruped walking left, as on some of the lion stamps above (design 1). The scarab type, materials, and seal design are best matched at Iron Age sites in the southern Levant—for instance, at Lachish[234] and Gezer[235]—rather than at sites in Egypt. In general, excavated Egyptian scarabs show greater detailing of the legs and often standard Egyptian designs on the seal face, although the available publications are too limited for any certain determination.[236]

No. 55 is fragmentary. Unlike Nos. 53 and 54, the legs of this scarab seal (found in the second-story collapse of Burned Building II) may be chip-carved (Ward's side type b1),[237] but the extant fragment is too small to be certain. The seal design originally showed a sun disk flanked by uraeus-serpents, set above a cartouche(?) flanked by *ma'at* feathers. Although the seal could have been made in Egypt, there are insufficient comparative data to be certain.[238]

Hammer-Head Stamp Seal and Related Impressions on a Sealing

No. 56A, now in Tehran, has a handle consisting of a conical body and a perforated hammer head at the top. It has a short indented stem, cylindrical base, and circular seal face. Although this form of stamp is most characteristic of the Old Hittite period in Anatolia,[239] the seal design and carving style are more clearly tied to the Iron Age glyptic of North Syria.[240] Similar scenes of birds flanking animal combats are found, for example, on roughly contemporary hematite scarabs from the Yunus cemetery at Carchemish.[241]

No. 56A was found adhering to a dagger near a skeleton in Room 5 of Burned Building II. Either the stamp was accidentally melted to the dagger by the heat of the burning building, or it was originally suspended from the weapon. Interestingly, the latter possibility is supported by a reference in the Sumerian poem "The Death of Ur-Nammu" to a lapis lazuli seal hanging from a dagger.[242]

Of equal interest here are the seal impressions on a jar sealing from Burned Building IV-V (No. 56B), which seem to match the seal design on the hammer-head stamp (No. 56A), judging from a modern impression of the seal and a field photograph and sketch of the sealing. Likewise, the sizes of the seal faces are the same according to the available information. If stamp No. 56A was used to impress sealing No. 56B, as the evidence suggests, it is one of

the few instances known to me in which both a seal and its ancient impression were discovered at the same site.[243] Were jar and seal imported together to verify a transaction? Did a North Syrian merchant settle at Hasanlu?

Discussion

Among the three types of stamp seals discussed above, only the hammer-head stamp has its closest stylistic ties with North Syria. In contrast, the lion and scarab stamp seals are best related to seals from the Palestinian Levant (and perhaps Egypt) to judge from the limited comparative material published from controlled excavations. Such ties with the southern Levant are generally rare among the finds from Hasanlu IVB.[244] Instead, as already discussed, stronger connections exist with North Syria—in sources for some of the themes in the "local style" artwork, and in the discovery at the site of North Syrian lion bowls and pyxides.[245] Unfortunately, most published excavations in northern Syria have not been directed at recovering small finds, such as seals.[246] It is not known for certain, then, whether the production and use of lion stamps and scarabs with simple linear designs of humans and animals were *limited* to the southern Levant, as the available evidence suggests, or whether their distribution may have extended farther north into Syria. Nevertheless, evidence that at least some goods were reaching Hasanlu from as far west as the Mediterranean coast is provided by the discovery at the site of shells identified as local to the Mediterranean Sea.[247]

The same question raised earlier (p. 24) about the means of transmission of North Syrian goods to Hasanlu pertains, as well, to the Syro-Palestinian stamp seals. Specifically, were they imported directly from the far west; or indirectly through Assyria, where similar items have been found: for example, at Tell Billa, north of Nimrud,[248] and in graves at Assur?[249] Although this issue cannot be resolved at present, it is an important one, for it has a bearing on the question of whether Assyria controlled the trade routes to Northwest Iran in the ninth century B.C., or whether there was independent access from east to west (as the jar sealing No. 56B suggests).

Chapter IV Endnotes (nos. 221-249)

221. Cf. Buchanan and Moorey 1988: xiv and 14, and Moorey 1988: 29. Othmar Keel (personal communication) is currently preparing a corpus of stamp seals from controlled excavations in Palestine/Israel (most recently, Keel, Keel-Leu, and Schroer 1989). I owe thanks to Professor Keel for providing me with several parallels for the Hasanlu lion stamps.

222. Tufnell 1953.

223. Lamon 1935; Lamon and Shipton 1939.

224. Rowe 1936; Oren 1973.

225. See Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 16, and Yadin 1977.

226. M 2796 (Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5), from the vertical shaft in the water system at Megiddo. Although originally dated by the early American excavators to the twelfth century B.C. (ibid.: 36), the water system is now dated at least two hundred years later on the basis of the 1960–67 Israeli excavations (Yadin 1977: 854–855). It is now put in "the period of the Israelite Monarchy—definitely post-Solomonic but probably no later than the Omrid dynasty" (ibid.: 855); that is, somewhere between the late tenth and mid-ninth centuries B.C. The second parallel listed in the Catalog comes from level IV at Megiddo, now dated between the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. (Yadin 1977: 855).

227. Lachish 492B (Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25), discovered in Tomb 218 in level IV-III and dated ca. 925–800 B.C. (ibid.: 46).

228. From Tomb 107 in the northern cemetery coffin group (Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c). The tomb yielded early as well as late pottery types ranging in date from the late thirteenth to eleventh centuries B.C. (Oren 1973: 101, 129–130), so it may extend into the early Iron Age. A new, well-dated, example was recently found in a sealed tomb context at Achziv (Baruch Brandl: personal communication).

229. M 2796 (Lamon and Shipton 1939: opposite pl. 70).

230. Tufnell 1953: 366.

231. For instance, from Matmar (Brunton 1948: nos. 114, 116, and 119).

232. Brunton 1948: e.g., pl. LXIV, 173, from Tomb 1063. On the dating see ibid.: 78–85.

233. See Buchanan and Moorey 1988.

234. Lachish 374 (Tufnell 1953: pl. 45, no. 129), discovered in Tomb 106 in level II and dated after 700 B.C. (ibid.: chart, p. 72 and Ussishkin 1977: 744–745).

235. Macalister 1912: pls. ccvi, 6 and ccv a, 16.

236. In general, see Newberry 1906, 1907; Tufnell 1984; and Ward 1978. See also Boardman 1968: 13.

237. Ward 1978: fig. 6, p. 31.

238. See further the discussion in Buchanan and Moorey (1988: 37–42) on "Egyptianizing" scarabs in the Levant.

239. For example, Boehmer 1986: pl. 20, illus. 1a-b (from Boğazköy).

240. Unfortunately, it is primarily purchased hammer-head stamps that suggest that the form continued to be produced through the Iron Age in North Syria. See Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 33–34 and nos. 250–255; Hogarth 1920: 21–22 and nos. 254–255, figs. 20C-D. Also see Boardman and Moorey 1986: 42.

241. For instance, Boardman and Moorey 1986: pl. 16, ill. 12 and pl. 17, ill. 14c. On the dating of the Iron Age cremation cemeteries in the Carchemish area, see ibid.: 41. I owe the present classification of No. 56A to Edith Porada, and thank her for directing me to the Syrian parallels.

242. Kramer 1967: l. 119, with further discussion in Hallo 1983: 10.

243. Other instances are known from the Ubaid period levels at the now-flooded mound of Değirmentepe on the Euphrates in the Turkish province of Malatya (Esin 1988); and from the Middle Bronze Age complex at Hammam al Turkman on the Balikh River in northern Syria (Meijer 1989: figs. 6–7; my thanks to Barbara A. Porter for this reference, who first brought it to my attention in a talk she gave at the Metropolitan Museum [Porter 1990]).

244. It is interesting that although there are a number of Syro-Palestinian-style goods from Hasanlu IVB, nothing on the objects belongs to the iconographic repertoire that is identifiably Phoenician in metalwork, glyptic, ivories, etc. (cf., for example, Barnett 1957: pls. I-VI, VIII-IX, XIV-XV). There is still no evidence, then, for the production of Phoenician works before the eighth century B.C. in the Near East (as discussed by Winter 1976: 17).

245. See pp. 23–24 above.

246. See Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 25–26, 29, 33–34, and 48.

247. Reese 1989: 80.

248. For example, Billa nos. 3-317 (IM; field drawing in the Archives of The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania); 3-219 (UM 33-4-102); 3-191 (UM 33-4-88); 3-194 (IM; field drawing in the University Museum Archives). The seals from Tell Billa are reviewed in Jewel 1978.

249. Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 384 (Assur 10169 = VA Ass 1652).

V

Neo-Assyrian Style

The presence of objects in Neo-Assyrian style has long been recognized among the finds from Hasanlu IVB. They include ivory carvings;[250] painted wall tiles;[251] glazed pottery sherds;[252] helmets;[253] and, among the glyptic assemblage, a group of at least 21 so-called linear-style cylinder seals. As early as 1949, Edith Porada assigned a group of linear-style seals in the collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library to the first half of the Neo-Assyrian period or the ninth century B.C.,[254] a chronology now confirmed by the discoveries from Hasanlu IVB.

At Hasanlu, as at contemporary sites in Assyria proper, particularly Assur and Nimrud,[255] the linear-style seals are made of soft stones (marble, chert, steatite, chlorite, limestone), glazed and unglazed composite materials, or Egyptian blue. Most of the seals were originally fitted with metal caps and suspension pins with a looped end (see Appendix A). The carving style is characterized by a dependence on outline, with finely incised designs arranged in a single register. The main themes represented include: contests between archers and wild animals or mythological creatures (Nos. 57–60, 63–71),[256] between winged creatures and smaller ruminants (Nos. 61, 73), or between two winged creatures (No. 72); processions of birds or other animals (Nos. 74–76); genies flanking a palmette (No. 62); and a banquet scene (No. 77).

To date, the Neo-Assyrian style finds from Hasanlu IVB have generally been regarded as direct imports from the imperial *centers* to the west.[257] However, that assumption can now partially be challenged on the basis of an analysis of the seals. Specifically, the following discussion intends to demonstrate the existence of both a *"central"* and a *"provincial"* Assyrian glyptic style at Hasanlu, which itself will be designated as at the *periphery* of the Assyrian empire. After presenting the primary visual evidence in the first two sections below, the study will consider four possible ways to explain where and by whom the "provincial style" seals may have been produced. But it should be noted from the beginning of the discussion that the analysis aims to introduce a third category into the standard art historical paradigm of center and periphery: the outlying province that exists *between* major centers and their peripheries.[258]

"Central Assyrian Style"

Surprisingly, when compared to excavated seals from sites in Assyria proper, only a handful (6) of the seals from Hasanlu IVB can be confirmed as typical products of central Assyria. Among these is No. 57, showing a kneeling bearded archer, facing right, shooting his bow at a rampant winged horse—a composition matched on excavated seals from Assur (e.g., Pl. 45a).[259] Also characteristic are the short, fringed kilt and long, belted mantle of the archer; the eight-pointed star, composed of triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle; the drill holes in the sky; the cuneiform-like wedges in the field; and the simple border of horizontal lines above and below the scene (see Catalog entry for the specific comparanda). The large size of the seal (4.66 cm. in height) may be indicative of a date in the early part of the ninth century, since only seals attributable to the time of Assurnasirpal II have similar dimensions.[260]

No. 58 is probably likewise a central Assyrian product. The subject and composition are standard: a kneeling bearded archer shoots his bow at a

rampant winged griffin, with a palmette set between them.[261] Also typical of the imperial seals is the fringed, belted garment of the archer; his scabbard, decorated with applied metal strips; and his quiver, having three arrows protruding from the top and two tassles hanging from the bottom. The form of the griffin is likewise characteristic of central Assyrian forms, shown with a five-part crest, upcurled tail, and belt around his body. Last, also featured in standard Assyrian seals are the modelling and musculature of the human and animal forms, the carefully defined facial features, the precision of the carving, and the simple border of horizontal lines (cf. Pl. 45b).

Similarly, No. 60 has numerous parallels in material, size, and seal design among the seals from Assur (Pl. 45c) and Nimrud.[262] It is made of an unglazed composite material and shows a standing bearded archer, facing left, shooting his bow at a clef-shaped serpent. Between the opponents is a small bush, composed of a short stem and tiny radiating branches. Also typically Assyrian is the simple border of horizontal lines above and below the scene, and the crescent moon just below the upper border.

No. 61 is likewise characteristic of excavated central Assyrian seals in theme, composition, and care in execution: a winged griffin attacks a kneeling wild ram, whose head is turned in reverse; a palmette is set between them.[263] Also typical are the indications of the muscles and rib cage of the animals; the well-defined facial features; the kneeling pose of the ram; the raised forearm of the griffin; the form of the palmette, comprised of three volutes resting on a base of three horizontal lines; the eight-pointed star, composed of eight lines radiating from a central point; the crescent moon; and last, the chevron border pattern.[264]

Further, No. 62, showing two kneeling genies flanking a palmette, with a winged sun disk above, has almost identical counterparts from Assur, as well as other Mesopotamian sites (cf. Pl. 45d).[265] The particular form of the palmette is standard, composed of radiating volutes resting on a base of horizontal lines, as is the form of the sun disk with a wavy line above the histame. This theme is probably best known from the large-scale architectural reliefs that decorated the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud (cf. Pl. 37).[266] However, the reliefs show less-abbreviated versions of the glyptic scenes, with human or eagle-headed genies holding cones and buckets, kneeling or standing on either side of a many-branched "sacred tree." The tree commonly has a palmette on top of the trunk and an outer trellis of smaller palmettes—a form used singly to symbolize the entire tree in the glyptic versions.

No. 59 seems to have been incised with a rotating cutting disk. Porada has called similar seals in the collection of the Morgan Library "Neo-Babylonian cut style" since all of the known excavated parallels have been found at Babylon.[267] However, it is certainly possible that similar seals were carved in Assyria, as well. Since virtually all of the ties between Hasanlu IVB and Mesopotamia are with Assyria and not Babylon, No. 59 has been included in the Assyrian group.[268]

It is not surprising to find Assyrian imports at Hasanlu, there having been ample opportunities for interaction. As already discussed in Chapter 2, it is known that the Assyrians were campaigning in the region by the mid-ninth century B.C.[269] and that dignitaries from the northern Zagros areas were among the guests at the dedication ceremonies of Assurnasirpal's new capital at Nimrud (Kalhu) in 860 B.C.[270] As for references to the actual exchange of goods, the royal annals indicate that Assyria regularly received horses and other products from the Hasanlu area.[271] And, as previously noted, depending on how one interprets the discovery in Burned Building V of the macehead of the Middle Assyrian king Assur-uballiṭ (i.e., either as an heirloom from period V or as a later gift from Neo-Assyrian royal stores), it could point to the high level of exchange between Assyria and Hasanlu in the ninth century.[272]

In view of the above evidence, the Assyrian seals from Hasanlu IVB may be explained as diplomatic gifts or as products of a commercial exchange.[273] They may have been brought there directly by Assyrians on campaign, or indirectly by way of some intermediary site on the Assyrian campaign trail; or they may have been brought back by Iranian visitors to Assyria.

"Provincial Assyrian Style"

In contrast to the small number of linear-style seals from Hasanlu that can be confirmed as legitimate central Assyrian imports (6 in all), the majority (15 of the 21) consistently exhibit certain non-Assyrian features (outlined in Table 2). These disparities suggest that this larger seal group represents a *provincial*, as opposed to a *central* Assyrian style.

Most notably, the "provincial style" seal group shows a marked tendency towards surface patterning and a liveliness of the representations—features absent from the excavated central-Assyrian products and held in common with seals of "Iranian" and

Table 2: Non-Assyrian Elements in the "Provincial Assyrian Style" Seals

No. 63
* segmentation of animal parts
* horizontal and vertical striations on animal body, including serrations along neck and band of hatching along belly
* outlined animal eye
* human facial features defined by horizontal lines
* sloppy bleeding of elements from main scene into borders
* no feet on human figure
* misunderstanding of archer's anatomy, with his arms unrelated to his bow
* border of oblique hatching
* liveliness of representation

No. 64
* rubbery arm of archer
* vertical striations on hair or cap
* hunched back of archer
* high, ridged horns of ram
* bird in field
* liveliness of representation

No. 65
* asymmetrical composition
* misunderstanding of bow and upper arm of archer
* hunched back of archer
* palmette-tree
* bird in field

No. 66
* proportions of figures
* tree with curving stem and branches ending in clusters

No. 67
* geometric, even division of animal legs
* segmentation of animal body
* horizontal and vertical striations on animal body
* human facial features defined by horizontal incisions
* five-pointed star
* misunderstanding of fringe on archer's hem, shown extending vertically down his leg
* brush-tipped tail
* awkward pose of archer
* liveliness of representation

No. 68
* form of tree
* archer's feet are omitted
* careless execution

No. 69
* forms defined by short, overlapping incisions
* palmette with brush-tipped branches
* misunderstanding of animal's tail, shown growing out from upper leg
* brush-tipped tail
* crescent with serrated lower edge
* crowded, dense composition
* liveliness of representation

No. 70
* animal body hair indicated by tiny serrations
* tree with brush-tipped branches
* irregular six-pointed star
* liveliness of representation

No. 71
* schematic figures

No. 72
* striations over face of winged bull
* brush-like pattern at end of hair curl
* horizontal and vertical incisions on body of human-headed creature
* awkward paws of creatures
* crescent with jagged edges
* nine-pointed star

No. 73
* border pattern of oblique hatching(?)
* outlined animal eye
* six-pointed star
* bird in sky

No. 74
* overall patterning in animal bodies, unrelated to the anatomy of the animal.
* body hair indicated by triangular serrations
* pendant triangles below upper border
* liveliness of representation

No. 75
* palmette grows from border
* slender tree on horizontally striated base
* liveliness of representation

No. 76
* overall patterning within birds' bodies
* form of scorpion
* large and small wedges fill the field
* crowded composition
* liveliness of representation

No. 77
* lower border of oblique lines, in sets in alternating directions
* high-backed chair
* proportions of figures
* shape and decoration of table

"local" style. For example, human faces are often defined by horizontal incisions (Nos. 63, 67, 72); animal bodies are divided into segmented parts, marked by overall surface patterns, especially horizontal and vertical striations (Nos. 63, 67, 70, 74, 76); and the animal legs in some cases are arranged in an even, geometric format (Nos. 64, 67). These are all patterns that do not conform to the natural anatomy of the animal.

In contrast, when Assyrian seals show incisions on animal bodies, as they often do, they carefully follow the natural forms of the animal to indicate the muscles or rib cage (cf. Pl. 45b).[274] In general, the seals from Assur do not present the same degree of elaborate overall patterning that marks the Hasanlu group.

The attention to decorative incision is perhaps best seen in No. 74, showing a procession of winged horses. This composition is an enlivened version of a central Assyrian theme, which usually features ostriches in procession.[275] Here, the bodies of the winged horses are filled in with horizontal and vertical incisions, and their hair is indicated by an unusual vertical series of tiny serrations (also seen in No. 70, although the surface is worn). Also un-Assyrian about No. 74 are the pendant triangles below the upper border line, which, together with the curved back legs of the horses, creates an unbalanced, lively composition. This contrasts with the symmetry displayed in most of the central Assyrian seal designs.

In addition to a marked tendency towards surface patterning, some of the seals in our "provincial" group feature non-Assyrian border patterns, such as oblique hatching in Nos. 63 and 77. In the latter case, a band of hatching is displayed below the scene, while only a single horizontal line is shown above—once again, an asymmetrical, un-Assyrian arrangement.

Further, the "provincial" seal group shows unusual iconographic details, such as: irregular five or nine-pointed stars (Nos. 67, 70, 72), as opposed to the standard eight points in Assyrian glyptic[276]; a crescent with a serrated lower edge (No. 69); a slender tree set above a platform of horizontal lines (No. 75); a palmette-tree (No. 65); a high-backed chair in the banquet scene (No. 77); and birds in the field in contest scenes (Nos. 64 and 65).

Last, there is a carelessness in the carving of some of these seals that is not typical of central Assyrian glyptic. For instance, the pose and garment of the kneeling archer in No. 67 are awkwardly rendered, with the fringes of the tunic even extending beyond the hem line and down the leg. A similar carelessness may be noted in No. 63 in the intrusion of elements from the main scene into the borders and in the omission of the archer's feet for lack of space.

No. 66 is difficult to classify because only a field sketch is available. Nevertheless, the proportions of the figures, especially the large size of the bull, his brush-tipped tail, and the unusually large bush with branches ending in clusters (typical of Middle Assyrian glyptic)[277] suggest that the seal was not produced in a Neo-Assyrian center.

It should be noted that the characteristics described above cluster around certain "provincial" seals and not others. Despite such stylistic variation within the group (for instance, in the degree of surface patterning) and the poor nature of the data base (these small-scale, lightly incised, and often worn cylinders), I believe that a legitimate distinction can be made between a "central" and "provincial" Assyrian style. What then accounts for these stylistic differences?

We may first reasonably dismiss a difference in date as the cause of stylistic variation. For although seals were often kept as heirlooms, when our two groups are compared with sealings from the preceding Middle Assyrian period, the earlier designs show a high degree of modelling and musculature in human and animal bodies, and deep incisions.[278] These features contrast dramatically with the dependence on outline and linear style characteristic of both the "central" and "provincial" seals from Hasanlu. These stylistic differences suggest that both groups cannot be dated much earlier than the date of the level in which they were found, that is, not much before the ninth century, when the settlement of Hasanlu IVB was destroyed. Moreover, both seal groups present the same range in size (often indicative of contemporaneity)[279] and the same kinds of materials, which are usually soft stones that are fitted with metal caps and suspension pins with a looped end.

If not *when*, then *where* were the "provincial" Assyrian seals produced that might account for their stylistic differences from "central" Assyrian products? At least four possible explanations may be considered:

Hypothesis #1: production at an Assyrian province near the capital. Yet when the Hasanlu seals are compared to those from the sites of Tell Billa to the north of Nimrud[280] and Tell al Rimah to the west,[281] the latter generally do not display the same attention to incised decoration that marks the Hasanlu group. Instead, these other seals seem to be simply sloppier, poorly crafted replicas of products from the Assyrian capital.

More important, the tendency towards surface patterning is most at home in Iran. In fact, as already discussed in Chapter 2, it is one of the hallmarks of the "local" art style of Hasanlu itself, as seen in glyptic, ivory carvings, and metalwork. It is perhaps best represented in the design on the silver beaker (Pl. 29).[282] Here are seen patterned garments on the human figures; animal bodies marked by rows of

half-circles, herringbone bands, and horizontal and vertical striations; joints indicated by several parallel lines; and bands of oblique hatching between registers. While the particular human and animal forms of the "local style" are so far restricted to Hasanlu, the marked tendency towards surface patterning is found all over western Iran.[283] Among the more spectacular examples are the decorated gold and silver vessels from the site of Marlik, just south of the Caspian Sea (e.g., Pl. 42).[284] But it is also featured in earlier seals from southern Iran. Seals from Susa (Pl. 41a)[285] and Choga Zanbil (Pl. 40c-d),[286] for instance, show the same segmentation of animal bodies and geometric placement of legs already seen in the Hasanlu glyptic.

Even in specific details, the "provincial Assyrian style" seals find parallels in Iran. For example, the rendering of animal hair by a vertical series of tiny serrations in Nos. 70 and 74, mentioned above, is similar to the treatment of the horse's hair on several "local style" ivory carvings from the site (cf. Pl. 46a).[287] Likewise, the striated hair or cap of the archer in No. 64 has parallels in "local" ivories (Pl. 46b),[288] as does the double outline around the stag's eye and the band of hatching along his belly in No. 63.[289] Still further, the crescent with a serrated lower edge in No. 69 recalls the crescents with longer pendant triangles in several "local style" seal impressions (Nos. 17, 20, 21). Last, the high-backed chair in No. 77 is matched on "local" sealings (Nos. 5, 6; Figs. 20, 31) and ivory plaques.[290]

Both in their tendency towards decorative patterning and in specific iconographic details, the "provincial Assyrian style" seals are thus tied to works of "Iranian" and "local" style. This evidence suggests a place of production close to or even in Iran.

Hence, *hypothesis #2*: production at or near Hasanlu by local artisans using central Assyrian seals as models. This view could be supported by recent studies of other groups of objects from Hasanlu IVB. Specifically, in a review of the bronze artifacts from the site, Maude de Schauensee has demonstrated that while the assemblage has much in common with Assyrian material, there are sufficient variations—for example, in the proportions of lustration pails, the shallow lunate form of some of the horse breastplates, and the use of tiny punched dots to decorate animal bodies on certain belts—to suggest local production.[291] Similarly, on the basis of her ongoing analysis of the ware and decoration of the glazed wall tiles from Hasanlu, Suzanne Heim has posited that they, too, represent local copies of Assyrian products.[292]

In terms of the seals, however, there is another side to the argument. Specifically, given the very rudimentary and clumsy character of the "local" Hasanlu art style, it seems unlikely that the same artists were responsible for the finely engraved, linear-style seals. Although we should heed the warning by Otto Brendel, in his study on Roman art, that a single artist may work in different styles with equal facility,[293] the extent to which our "provincial" Assyrian cylinders are similar to "central" Assyrian products in the use of soft stones (instead of the bone or terracotta that is typical of "local" seals) and the application of metal caps and suspension loops (also missing in the "local" material) suggests that we are dealing in this case with center-trained artists.

Thus, *hypothesis #3*: production by Assyrian artists settled either at Hasanlu or elsewhere in the Zagros region. Since there is no historical evidence to date of actual Assyrian occupation in the Zagros as far north as Hasanlu in this period, production by Assyrians at Hasanlu itself seems unlikely. However, there is evidence of an Assyrian settlement further south in the central Zagros area of Iraqi Kurdistan. On the basis of a convincing analysis by Levine of the historical geography, this was the location of the ancient region of Zamua (Fig. 7).[294] And it was here that Assurnasirpal II claims to have built a "palace for [his] royal residence," which he "decorated more spendidly than ever before" and named Dur-Assur, or fortress of Assur.[295] From this information, we may assume the presence of Assyrian artisans to decorate the palace (and, perhaps, Assyrian seal cutters to furnish seals for the local administration).

References to Zamua continue to occur in the records of Shalmaneser III, however under the names of Mazamua and Zamua *ša bītāni* (which lies inside).[296] As Levine has demonstrated, these are probably simply alternate names for the same region.[297] One of the more important references for the present purposes is in the Assyrian Chronicle, which lists the provincial governor of Mazamua as the eponym official for 830 B.C. (the twenty-ninth year of Shalmaneser's rule).[298] Although Zamua is not referred to as a province in royal annals until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.),[299] the evidence from the Assyrian Chronicle suggests that the region may have been incorporated into the empire as a province by the end of Shalmaneser's reign (that is, still within the occupation period of Hasanlu IVB).

As Zamua was one of the areas in the western Zagros closest to Assyria and a major population center from which radiated important routes to the north, south, and east, it is tempting to envisage center-trained artists coming into contact here with local styles or producing seals for customers who had acquired local tastes—a setting ripe for the production of some of the "provincial Assyrian style" seals from Hasanlu.

Especially intriguing is the discovery at Hasanlu of an inscribed stone bowl that refers to the king of "the land of Idi,"[300] a place-name mentioned in two accounts of Shalmaneser's campaigns in Zamua.[301]

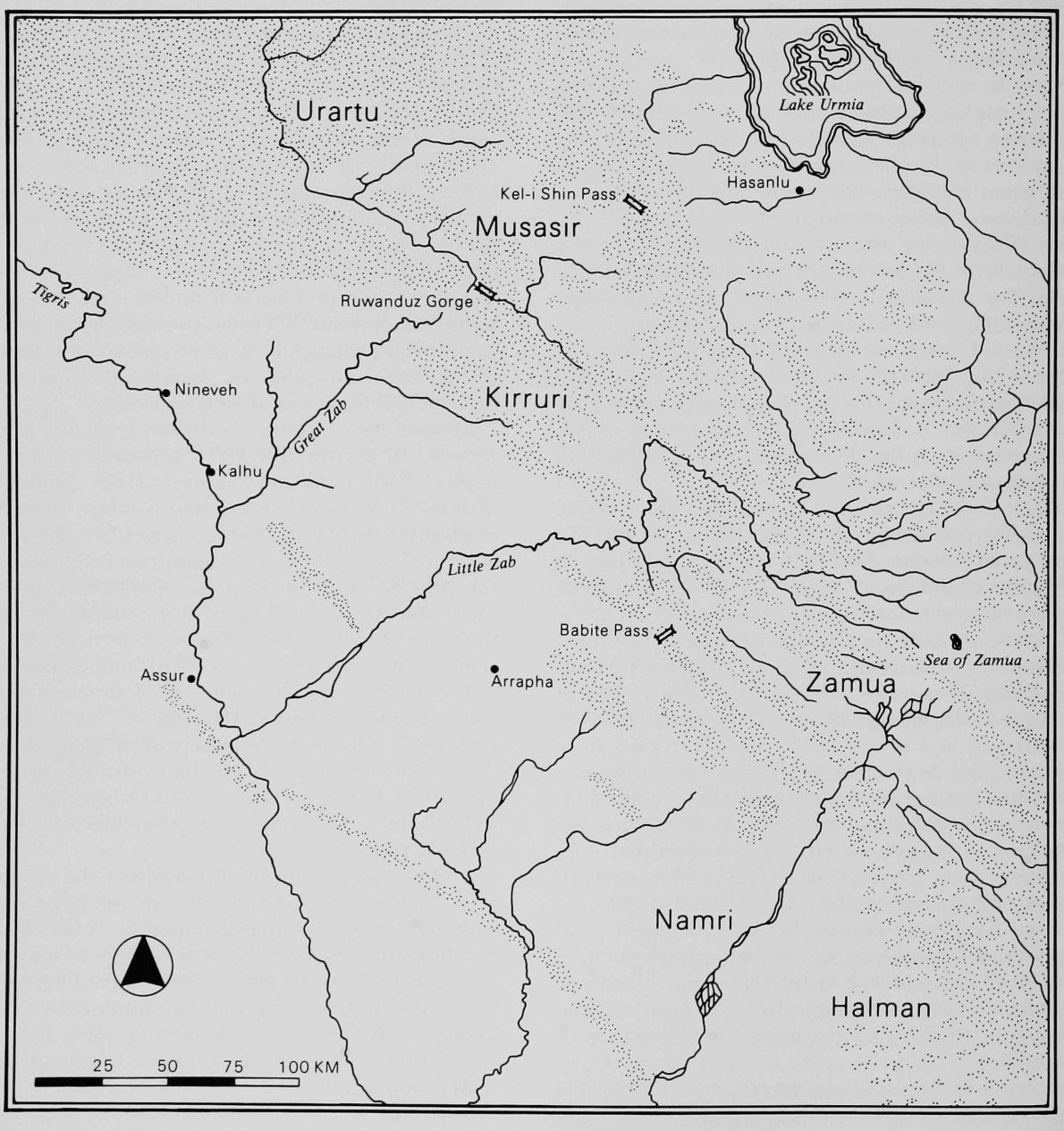


Figure 7. Map of Iraqi Kurdistan showing the reconstructed location of Neo-Assyrian place-names.

Although it is not certain that the "Idi" on the bowl is the same place mentioned in the royal annals, this object may document the actual transmission of goods from Zamua to Hasanlu and may indicate the high level of that exchange.

At the same time, turning to the south, there are among the discoveries at Surkh Dum-i-Luri in modern Luristan linear-style seals showing the same attention to surface patterning as the "provincial" group from Hasanlu.[302] This evidence raises the possibility that similar goods may have been moving both north and south from a single source on the same trade route.[303] Geographically, a town in Zamua would fit into the proposed reconstruction.[304]

What is suggested here, then, is the notion of a *provincial* Assyrian *center* in the Zagros, perhaps in Zamua, where center-trained artists produced and distributed Assyrian-type seals that had nonetheless been affected by aesthetic predispositions native to the periphery.[305] This view accords with Redfield and Singer's notion of a "colonial city," which carried the "core culture" to other peoples and "where the imperial great tradition was not only bound to be very dilute but would also have to meet the challenge of conflicting local traditions."[306]

The above discussion has attempted to distinguish between the location of the site at Hasanlu as the *periphery,* and the style of a proposed workshop in the Zagros as *provincial.* This terminology has been used to describe two different relationships: (1) *peripheral,* or two stages removed from the center (that is, artists from the center [in this case, Assyria] working in the provinces [perhaps Zamua] and sending their goods to the periphery [Hasanlu]); and (2) *provincial,* one more directly tied to the political and cultural center in Assyria. In this case, it is our provincial Assyrian workshop, with *provincial* used here loosely in the political sense of the word; for although the Assyrians claim to have had political control in the western Zagros, there is no real evidence for it, nor for anything like a Roman province in this period.[307]

However tempting the above theory (*#3*) is regarding the manufacture of the "provincial Assyrian style" seals from Hasanlu IVB, there remains one final hypothesis, *#4,* to consider: production by artists from Iran living in Assyria, or trained in Assyria and then resettled in Iran. As mentioned earlier, Assurnasirpal II states that in addition to building a palace in Zamua, he also imported laborers from there to work in his capital at Nimrud.[308] However, as the percentage of evidence of aesthetic influence is not enough to suggest that our seals were carved by local Hasanlu artists, this theory may be put at the bottom of our list. Nevertheless, until far more rigorous criteria are developed in art history for attributing styles to particular ethnic groups, we will be unable to know for certain whether the seal cutters were Assyrians absorbing stylistic elements from Iran, or local craftsmen absorbing elements from Assyria.[309]

It is important to note that the four theories of production discussed above are not mutually exclusive. To be sure, there is sufficient stylistic variation among the "provincial style" seals to allow for more than one place of manufacture. In fact, once one allows for a single provincial site of production, it opens the possibility for multiple provinces. While this issue cannot be resolved at present, it has a bearing on so-called "provincial" seals that do not fit into the Zamua hypothesis.

By now the discussion has considered *where, when,* and *by whom* the "provincial Assyrian style" seals may have been produced. We have yet to ask *why* Assyrian-type seals in general (whether central or provincial products) were so desired at Hasanlu? They comprise about one-quarter of the entire glyptic assemblage from the site. Thus, if we entertain the notion of an Assyrian workshop in the Zagros, the demand must have been sufficiently high to support such an enterprise.

Related to this issue are the chosen themes in the "local style" artwork. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, here are encountered subjects best known from the large-scale reliefs that decorated the palaces of the Neo-Assyrian kings: for instance, chariot scenes;[310] and more ceremonial images of the king enthroned with attendants (cf. Nos. 5 and 6, Figs. 20 and 31, lower registers, with Pl. 35b).[311] As already noted, Winter has described this relationship as a process of *emulation,* by which the Hasanlu elite attempted to absorb some of the prestige of the imperial center.[312]

Similarly, the acquisition of Assyrian-style objects, including the linear-style cylinder seals, suggests a desire to match the cultural status of the center. As Winter has observed, in a system of exchange between a less centralized community and a more centralized group, foreign goods will appear prestigious within the "less-highly-developed" sphere, thus conferring status upon those individuals who control the supply.[313]

Were the Assyrian-type cylinders actually used as seals at Hasanlu or were they collected solely as personal ornaments for their prestige value?[314] The latter possibility is supported by the *absence* of Assyrian-style seal impressions on any of the 31 clay sealings from the site. Instead, as discussed earlier, the evidence suggests that virtually only "local style" seals were used for actual transactions, presumably for the protection of containers or storerooms from unauthorized access.

Although a full locational analysis of all the Hasanlu glyptic will be presented in Chapter 8, several points concerning the distribution of the Assyrian-style seals in the Burned Buildings on the Citadel Mound are worth mentioning here in

connection with their possible use and value at the site. In general, they were found lying directly on building floors. In several instances (Nos. 67, 69, 72) they were discovered beside skeletons of individuals caught in the burning buildings at the time of the destruction of the settlement.[315] In some cases they were found lying near or behind the necks of individuals, where they were probably originally worn as parts of necklaces. In other cases (Nos. 69, 72) they may even have been suspended by their metal loops from cast bronze lion pins (e.g., Pl. 31a),[316] much in the same way, perhaps, that beads and cylinders are shown suspended from cloak pins on much earlier inlaid plaques from the mid-third millennium site of Mari on the middle Euphrates (Pl. 47a).[317]

However they were worn, the Assyrian seals clearly belonged to elite individuals, as shown by the quantity of high-status goods found with them beside skeletons; such as: 17 bracelets and copper/bronze buttons with gold overlay in one case (with No. 67); three bimetallic lion pins in another (No. 69); and as many as nine lion pins in a third instance (No. 72).[318] While it is not certain that the skeletons represent local citizens, as opposed to foreign attackers, the abundance of jewelry indicates a non-military status, which strongly suggests local inhabitants (discussed further in Chapter 8).

As neck and dress ornaments, the Assyrian-style seals would have been readily distinguishable over small distances from "local style" cylinders by their size (generally smaller than "local" seals); material (stone, as opposed to terracotta, bone, and Egyptian blue); metal caps and suspension loops (in contrast to the simple, dentated edges on the "local" seals); and upon closer viewing, the single register composition and elegant linear style. The imperial-type seals, then, would have conveyed what Wobst calls "stylistic messages," which, at "close distance visibility," identify the bearer's wealth or status.[319] At this level, the seals become more than simply exotic acquisitions. They help to mark, maintain, and further social differentiation at the site.[320]

In sum, there is evidence to suggest that the Assyrian-style seals from Hasanlu were valued and worn as personal ornaments, presumably as signs of status, and were probably *not* intended to actually seal goods—hence, the premium placed on imported objects in general, whether from the center or Assyrian-controlled provinces.[321]

The above interpretation is supported by an ethnographic analogy from present-day Iran, described in Paul English's 1966 study of the Kirman Basin in the southeastern part of the country.[322] English observed that members of the resident upper and middle classes of Mahan and Juper (regional subcenters in the area) have adopted the trappings, manners, and attitudes of the urban elite of Kirman City, the cultural, economic, and administrative capital of the region. What is similar to the situation at Hasanlu is the adoption in frontier towns of status-related stylistic innovations from the center.

In the above discussion, the Neo-Assyrian style seals from Hasanlu have been examined with the art historical question of center and periphery in mind. In so doing, the analysis has raised the concept of a "provincial" imperial center in the Zagros, perhaps in Zamua, as intermediary between the center and its periphery. In this regard, the discussion raised the question of the meaning of provincial, as opposed to peripheral; and within that the possible relationship between portability of artifacts (for example, our small-scale seals) and patterns of production. Finally, the study has tried to understand better the relationship between the central power of Assyria and the lesser states of northwestern Iran in the early Iron Age through the consumption of Assyrian goods, particularly carved cylinder seals. In this context, Wobst's information-exchange model has provided a useful framework for explaining the presence of Assyrian-style seals at Hasanlu that cannot adequately be explained by commodity exchange alone; that is, as signals of status and prestige.

Chapter V Endnotes (nos. 250-322)

250. Muscarella 1980: nos. 280–293 and discussion, pp. 200–202.

251. Dyson 1959: 14.

252. Dyson 1967: 2961.

253. Dyson 1961: fig. 14; Muscarella 1971b: 264; Winter 1980: 24 and fig. 60.

254. Porada 1949: 71–83, nos. 610–689.

255. For Assur see Moortgat 1940: 66–76, nos. 595–795. Unfortunately, most of the material from Assur comes from unstratified burial contexts, and is thus useful only in determining *where* the seals were produced and not *when* within the early Neo-Assyrian period. See Muscarella 1984: 417–419 for a redating of *Gruft* 30 at Assur to the eighth century B.C. on the basis of the form of a fibula. For Nimrud see Parker 1955, 1962. The Nimrud material has its particular set of problems, as well. Specifically, one group of seals found in the sanctuary of the Ninurta Temple includes foreign imports, perhaps even from Iran (Parker 1962: 27). The unstratified seals from Nimrud in the British Museum, listed in the Catalog, are from

Layard's excavations. Some Neo-Assyrian seals have been found, as well, at Tell al Rimah (Parker 1975).

The limited nature of the sample of linear-style seals from Assyria proper should be stressed. They come mainly from Assur and are not tightly dated. This dependence on comparative seals from Assur brings to mind Peter Machinist's term "Assurian" to perhaps best describe the glpytic style considered here to be typical of central Assyria (Machinist 1988). In addition, there is a range of variation within the base sample that makes conclusions based on comparative studies speculative. See now Herbordt 1992 on Neo-Assyrian glyptic of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.

256. It seems possible to identify certain horned animals by their genus, species, sex, and maturity on the basis of the form of the horns and tail, as well as the modern-day distribution of animals in the region. For instance, only the adults have horns and, in general, females have no horns, or smaller horns than the males (Harrison 1968: 330–342). The rams in Nos. 61 and 64 are probably *Ovis orientalis*, a wild sheep with horns extended laterally, instead of coiled spirally around the ears as in the domesticates; and with a short tail instead of the long, heavy tail of domesticates. Cf. the representation of domesticated sheep brought in as tribute on a relief of Tiglath-pileser III from Nimrud (Barnett and Falkner 1962: pls. XXIX-XXX, at right) and on the gold bowl from Hasanlu (Barrelet 1984: pl. VII). See also Harrison 1968: 340–342; Hatt 1959: 76–77; and Van Buren 1939: 61–69. The goat in No. 65 is probably also a wild species (either *Capra aegagrus* or *C. ibex*). He has a ridged long horn curved backwards like a scimitar, instead of the twisted vertical horns of domesticates. Cf. again Barnett and Falkner 1962: pls. XXIX-XXX; see also Harrison 1968: 330–339; Hatt 1959: 73–74; and Van Buren 1939: 49–61. Last, the stag in No. 63, with large antlers, is probably a red deer (*Cervus elaphus*; see Harrison 1968: 365–368 and Van Buren 1939: 32–40).

In general, an attempt has been made when describing the seal designs in the Catalog to specify whether a particular animal is wild, adult, male, etc., especially since the seal-cutters often went out of their way to provide that level of information. Although it is probably safe to assume that hunting scenes involve only wild species, this kind of description seems justified nevertheless by the fact that the Akkadian language differentiates between wild and domesticated animals of the same genus (e.g., *gizzu* for domesticated adult male goat and *dūdu* for wild ram)—hence a description more closely matched perhaps to that which an Assyrian might have given.

257. Dyson 1972a: 44–45; Levine 1977: 175; Muscarella 1971b: 264; 1980: 200; Winter 1977: 375–376; 1980: 22. There have been brief references in the past to the possibility that some of the Assyrian-style objects may be local copies: Dyson 1965: 199; Mallowan and Herrmann 1974: 53; Muscarella 1980: 210; Porada 1965: 120; Winter 1977: 376–377.

258. The model suggested here is more fully developed in Marcus 1990a.

259. For example, Moortgat 1940: no. 640.

260. Moortgat 1940: nos. 637 and 638(?). See Porada 1949: 73.

261. Cf. Parker 1955: pl. X, 4.

262. For example, Moortgat 1940: nos. 691 (= our Pl. 45c) and 689; Parker 1955: pl. XV, 1.

263. Cf. Moortgat 1940: no. 647.

264. For chevron borders cf. Moortgat 1940: nos. 672 and 668.

265. Moortgat 1940: nos. 676 (Baghdad; = our Pl. 45d) and 677 (Assur); Layard 1849: pl. 69, 45 (Nimrud).

266. For example: Room I (Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 15 = our Pl. 37; Paley 1976: pl. 8); Room Z (Barnett 1975: pl. 18); and incised garment decoration, Room G (drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 8 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 21). For a general discussion of this theme, see Reade 1983: 27–28.

267. Porada 1947b: 157–163; 1949: 88–90. For an illustrated example see Moortgat 1940: no. 616.

268. Cf. Marcus 1991.

269. See note 109 above.

270. Grayson 1976: ¶ 682. See also Postgate and Reade 1980: 322 and Reade 1983: 26.

271. Luckenbill 1926: ¶¶ 588, 607. See further Brown 1986: 112 and n. 14; Fales 1974; Levine 1977: 183–184; Postgate 1974a: 7–18; and Reade 1979b.

272. Dyson and Pigott 1975: 183; Winter 1977: 378; and pp. 17–18 above.

273. On the various possible forms of exchange, particularly trade, see Kohl 1975; Renfrew 1975; and Wheatley 1975. Further references are cited in note 11 above.

274. Moortgat 1940: no. 639.

275. For example, Moortgat 1940: no. 712.

276. Cf. Moortgat 1940: nos. 640, 654, 655, 660, 671, 672, 681.

277. Cf. Moortgat 1941: fig. 32 (Middle Assyrian seal impression, Assur); Kantor 1958: design XXXII (Tell Fakhariyah).

278. For example, Moortgat 1941: figs. 20 and 21; Kantor 1958: design XII (pl. 75, 46 = our Pl. 40b).

279. Porada 1949: 73.

280. For example, Billa 32-2279 = UM 32-20-290; unpublished. See also Jewel 1978.

281. Parker 1977: pl. XVI, 53 (TR.6301 = IM 74727) and 51 (TR.4776 = IM 70495).

282. Winter 1977: fig. 1; cf. ibid.: 372.

283. See Winter 1980: 16–21.

284. Negahban 1964: pl. V (= fig. 114 and our Pl. 42), figs. 107, 111, and 113.

285. Amiet 1972: no. 937 = our Pl. 41a; Winter 1980: fig. 46.

286. Porada 1970: nos. 49 and 50 (= our Pl. 40c-d).

287. Muscarella 1980: nos. 2, 9, 33 (= our Pl. 46a).

288. Muscarella 1980: especially nos. 102 (= our Pl. 46b), 62, 63, and 75. The striations probably represent hair rather than a cap, based on similarities with what is clearly hair on the silver beaker and gold bowl (cf. our Pls. 27 and 30).

289. Muscarella 1980: e.g., nos. 172, 165 (= our Pl. 30a), 163, 175.

290. Muscarella 1980: nos. 116 (= our Pl. 34c), 117, and 118.

291. De Schauensee 1988. I am grateful to Ms. de Schauensee for permission to read her manuscript prior to publication.

292. Personal communication.

293. Brendel 1979: 122–126. See also Muscarella 1987b: 119 and especially Schapiro 1953: 294.

294. Levine 1974: 16–22, and 15, fig. 3.

295. Grayson 1976: ¶ 566.

296. Mazamua: Monolith Inscription, year 4 (Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 609); Assyrian Chronicle, year 29 (Olmstead 1914: 361). Zamua *ša bītāni*: Black Obelisk, year 4 (Michel 1955: 148, l. 51 = Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 561); IM 54669, year 4 (Cameron 1950: col. II, l. 11 = Michel 1952: 462, l. 12); IM 54669, year 16 (Cameron 1950: col. III, l. 59).

297. Levine 1974: 16–20.

298. Olmstead 1914: 361.

299. Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 764. For a complete list of Assyrian references to Zamua, see Parpola 1970: 381.

300. Dyson 1965: fig. 8; Pecorella and Salvini 1984: 55.

301. (1) Black Obelisk (Michel 1955: 148, l. 51); (2) Baghdad annals = IM 54669 (Cameron 1950: col. II, ll. 11–12 = Michel 1952: 462, l. 12). See also the reference to "Ida" in the inscription on the throne base of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud, in Hulin 1963: 53–54, l. 42. See further Levine 1974: 18–19; Michel 1952: 463, n. 12; and Pecorella and Salvini 1984: 55.

302. Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: especially pl. 233, no. 42, a banquet scene showing decorated garments on human figures, with facial features defined by horizontal incisions; and no. 43, a chariot hunt scene showing vertically striated hair on the human figure, horse hair indicated by a row of tiny serrations, and a brush-tipped tail on the bull.

303. There is evidence that the trade routes were open even further to the south. For instance, a quantity of shells found at Hasanlu have been identified as local to the Persian Gulf (Winter 1980: 24 and Reese 1989: 80). For further links to the south, see Porada 1965: 116 and Winter 1980: 16–18 and 24.

304. Zamua is suggested here as only one of any number of possible intermediary places of production. As Louis Levine has pointed out to me (personal communication), equally likely is ancient Kirruri, situated just north of Zamua and directly on the trade route from Assyria to Hasanlu (see Levine 1974: map, fig. 3, p. 15 = our Fig. 7, and his discussion, pp. 14–16).

305. As in Roman Gaul, for instance, where local craftsmen produced imperial-style objects for export to Britain (see Toynbee 1964: especially 3–7 and Lambrechts 1965).

306. Redfield and Singer 1954: 62. See also the anthropological studies of frontiers and boundaries in Green and Perlman 1985, particularly the introductory chapter by the editors and the essays by McGovern (especially p. 309) and Paynter. See further references to center-periphery studies in note 10 above and Marcus 1990a. Add to these recent literature on the early American suburb, which likewise deal with borderland issues: e.g., Stilgoe 1988.

307. On the nature of Assyrian provincial rule in this period, see Brinkman 1984: 16–17 and Brown 1986: 113–117. I owe thanks to Pamela Girardi for alerting me to the problem of using the term "province" in the early Neo-Assyrian period.

308. Grayson 1976: ¶ 565. On the mobility of craftsmen and other laborers in the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Brown 1986: 111 and Zaccagnini 1983: 260–261.

309. Several recent studies have addressed the problem of attributing styles to particular ethnic groups. In particular, see C. Kramer (1977) on Habur ware and Hurrians; Muscarella (1987a: 137) and Winter (1989, n.d.) on the Hasanlu gold bowl; and Muscarella (1987b: 127) on Median art. For a more general review of the problem, see Bartel 1989: 173–177 and Kamp and Yoffee 1980.

310. Compare our Pl. 29 with Winter 1981: fig. 4.

311. Barnett 1975: pl. 8.

312. Winter 1977: 379–383.

313. Winter 1977: 380, after Flannery 1968: 105; Renfrew 1975: 32–33; Wheatley 1975: 242.

314. Appadurai (1986: 38–41) provides an interesting and useful definition of prestige or luxury goods. See also Renfrew's remarks (1986: 143–144, 157–160) on the concepts of value and prestige, and Braudel's discussion (1979: 184, 324, 328) of luxury and fashion.

315. Over 60 bodies were discovered in Burned Building II (Dyson 1968: 88).

316. The particular lion pins found with Nos. 69 and 72 are not illustrated here, but are nearly identical to the example in Pl. 31a. See the Catalog entries for Nos. 69 and 72 for the HAS numbers of the associated pins. For further published examples see Dyson 1965: fig. 6B and Marcus 1993.

317. Weiss 1985: no. 50 (p. 151); Parrot 1962: pls. XI, XII, 3. In addition, J. H. Humphries found that the Early Dynastic III seals from the burials at Ur usually occur with stick pins close to the skeleton's right shoulder (from an unpublished paper discussed in Rathje 1977: 26), supporting the evidence from Hasanlu that seals may have sometimes been worn suspended from lion cloak pins. Further, Muscarella (1987b: 122) refers to fibulae with chains and seals from Nimrud; and Harvey Weiss (1989) discovered a seal associated with a pin in a burial at Tell Leilan, Syria.

318. These metal items are considered to be high-status goods because of the relatively high (and new) technology involved in their production. See Pigott's study (1981) of the iron artifacts from Hasanlu, especially pp. 210–211 on lion pins and the high status of bimetallic artifacts in general; see now Pigott 1989.

319. Wobst 1977: 323, 335.

320. Wobst 1977: 328. See also Renfrew (1986: 144) on the active role of gold and copper at Varna in prehistoric Europe in bringing about the high status of the people using them (i.e., not simply *reflecting* that high status). In a comprehensive study of material life in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe, Braudel (1979: 324) speaks of fashions as distinctive signs invented by the privileged to distinguish themselves from the masses; to set up a barrier. What I am suggesting here is that seal *style* held a social function, actively constructing and reinforcing boundaries between social groups. A complementary discussion of the social role of seal *material*,

particularly the hardness of the stone, may be found in Gorelick and Gwinnett 1990.

321. Unless, perhaps, they only sealed *outgoing* goods to Assyrian receivers. If this were the case, however, we would expect to find at Assyrian sites commodity sealings bearing impressions of linear-style seals—which are not known to date. And, as Louis Levine has pointed out to me (personal communication), finished goods are generally brought *into* (not out of) centers from hinterlands. It is interesting that few seal impressions were found at Tepe Hissar in northeastern Iran, but that many seals formed part of necklaces at Hissar I, suggesting that they were valued for reasons other than practical, administrative use (Dyson: personal communication).

322. English 1966: 80.

VI

Middle Assyrian Stylistic Legacy

This section includes three cylinder seals and one seal impression on a clay tab. The seal designs each have significant ties in theme, composition, and individual details to Middle Assyrian seal impressions on tablets and sealings from Assur, Tell Fakhariyah, and Tell al Rimah, dated to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. At the same time, however, they are carved in a linear style most closely associated with seals of the Neo-Assyrian period, in contrast to the modelled carving style of most Middle Assyrian glyptic.[323] Among the issues to be discussed below is whether the items in this category represent local products or imports, carved at the end of Hasanlu IVB or earlier.

Two of the three seals were found in Burned Building II; they are made of Egyptian blue (No. 78) and a composite material (No. 79). The third seal (No. 80), from Hakemi and Rad's early excavations in the Outer Town area, is identified in their preliminary field records only as a black stone (No. 80). The average seal height is 2.9 cm.

The seals are carved in a shallow, linear style. Nos. 78 and 79 may have even been made with a mold, since the incisions are so light.[324] The three seals show similar compositions, with Nos. 78 and 79 being nearly identical: a ruminant stands before a tree, with a star, and drill holes or a crescent in the sky; Nos. 78 and 79 differ virtually only in the placement of the star and drill holes.

The subject of an animal in a landscape setting is characteristic of Middle Assyrian seal impressions from Assur and Tell Fakhariyah (Pl. 46d).[325] The forms of the trees are likewise Middle Assyrian, both the palm-like trees of Nos. 78 and 79,[326] and the tree with a twisted trunk and pine needle-like branches of No. 80 (cf. Pl. 46c-d).[327] Although there is evidence that twisted trees may also occur in Babylonian glyptic,[328] the way it is combined in No. 80 with a single animal before it and with a star and crescent above the animal is especially characteristic of Middle Assyrian glyptic (cf. Pl. 46d).[329] If, as I believe, elements of composition (or syntax) should take precedence over individual form elements in establishing relationships between works of art,[330] then the present group of Hasanlu seals remains best tied to Middle Assyrian stylistic traditions.

An even more intriguing mixture of Middle and Neo-Assyrian elements is in the seal impression on a clay tab discovered in the second-story collapse in Room 5 of Burned Building II (No. 81). The impression preserves a finely incised design, probably made with a cutting disk, arranged in a single register, approximately 3.7 cm. in height. The seal design consists of two bearded genies flanking a tree, with a winged sun disk above.

This general subject and composition are characteristic of Neo-Assyrian artwork of the ninth century B.C., as seen in the palace reliefs of Assurnasirpal II from Nimrud and on roughly contemporary seals from Assur (cf. Pl. 37).[331] The large size of the original seal is likewise typical of the ninth century.[332] However, instead of the standard long robes and rounded horned headdress of the Neo-Assyrian genies, the Hasanlu figures are shown nude, with eagle legs, scorpion tails, and rectangular horned caps. They carry imperial-style buckets (or situlae), but non-Assyrian-type rounded fruits (instead of cones). Similarly, instead of the many-branched "sacred tree" characteristic of the Neo-Assyrian scenes, these genies flank a slender tree with a cluster of pine needle-like branches and a twisted trunk, growing on top of a hill with a mountain-like pattern—all features matched directly on Middle Assyrian impressions from Assur, Tell Fakhariyah, and Tell al Rimah (cf. Pl. 46c-d).[333]

It is difficult to determine the date and place of

production of the items in the present stylistic group. As for the tab impression, the fine incision work, height of the original seal, and unusual blend of a Neo-Assyrian subject with Middle Assyrian details suggest that the original seal may have been carved in northern Mesopotamia during the transition between the late Middle and early Neo-Assyrian periods, around 1000 B.C. (the early part of Hasanlu IVB).

The cruder carving style of the three cylinder seals, however, suggests possible production at or near Hasanlu—either at the end of period IVB (ca. 800 B.C.), but nevertheless influenced by earlier artistic traditions; or earlier in the period (period IVC beginning around 1250 B.C.) or even earlier in period V, and retained as heirlooms in the ninth century. Among the best-known evidence that seals were kept as heirlooms is on the Vassal Treaty of the Neo-Assyrian King Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) from Nimrud, impressed with the seal of his father and predecessor Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), as well as with two additional seals from the Middle and Old Assyrian periods.[334] The stratigraphic context of No. 80 is uncertain since it was found in the course of commercial explorations in the 1940s in the Outer Town area, and therefore could actually have come from a period V grave (ca. 1450–1250 B.C.).[335]

Whatever their proper date and place of manufacture, the seals and seal impression in this group point to the survival of Middle Assyrian artistic traditions in the ninth century B.C. Similar conclusions were suggested in Chapter 2 regarding certain features of the "local" Hasanlu style. It is well to remember that according to the latest estimated dates of the Hasanlu periods there are four centuries (ca. 1250–800 B.C.) to be covered between Hasanlu V/Middle Assyrian times and the destruction of period IVB.[336] Even assuming that the seals of the destruction level belong mainly to the ninth century, there is still a gap of three centuries—time for there to have been a link to Middle Assyrian traditions, but about which we seem to know nothing at Hasanlu except for the architectural development (unless of course some of the destruction-level material belonged originally to this gap).

Part of the problem in determining the date and place of production of this seal group is the lack of dated Assyrian seals between the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), or between the late Middle and early Neo-Assyrian periods.[337] Little is known about the material culture of Assur immediately before Assurnasirpal II moved his palace to Nimrud (Kalhu) in 878 B.C. Until this gap in the sequence of dateable glyptic art is filled, for instance through scientific excavations at late Middle Assyrian sites, the relationship between Middle and Neo-Assyrian artistic traditions will remain unclear.

Chapter VI Endnotes (nos. 323-337)

323. Cf. Moortgat 1941: figs. 20 and 21 (from Assur); and Kantor 1958: pl. 75, 46 (design XII = our Pl. 40b; from Tell Fakhariyah). See also p. 43 above.

324. This observation was made by Edith Porada in a discussion with me at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

325. Cf. Moortgat 1941: fig. 42 (Assur); Kantor 1958: designs XXI, XXII (= our Pl. 46c-d) and XXIII (Tell Fakhariyah). See also the discussion in Kantor 1958: 76.

326. Cf. Moortgat 1941: fig. 55, from Assur.

327. Cf. Moortgat 1941: figs. 53 and 47 (from Assur); and Kantor 1958: design XXII = our Pl. 46c-d (from Tell Fakhariyah).

328. According to Donald Matthews (personal communication) this form occurs in a seal impression on a Babylonian tablet from Nippur in The University Museum. Now see Matthews 1990: 62 and no. 130 (an inscribed Kassite seal from Thebes), among other uninscribed, unprovenienced glyptic examples he assigns to the Second Kassite style.

329. Kantor 1958: design XXII (= our Pl. 46d), from Tell Fakhariyah. The vertical arrangement of star and crescent in No. 80 occurs, as well, in other Middle Assyrian compositions—for instance, Kantor 1958: design II.

330. As Schapiro 1953: 289; see also Marcus 1991 and Winter 1989: 96–97.

331. Reliefs: Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 15 (MMA 32.143.3 = our Pl. 37); Reade 1983: no. 30 and pp. 27–28. Seals: Moortgat 1940: nos. 675 and 677.

332. Cf. Moortgat 1940: nos. 637 and 638(?). See also Porada 1949: 73.

333. For example: Moortgat 1941: figs. 32 and 53 (Assur); Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 2A and 3 (Tell al Rimah); and Kantor 1958: design XXII (Tell Fakhariyah = our Pl. 46c-d).

334. Wiseman 1958: 14–22, pls. I, III, IV, figs. 2, 4, 6. In addition, there is an Old Assyrian testament from Kültepe (Kanesh) in which the dying man wills his own seal to one of his sons (Larsen 1977: 98). See also Dyson and Harris 1986: 85.

335. Hakemi and Rad 1950: 96.

336. See Dyson 1989a: chart, fig. 5, p. 6, and note 1 above.

337. See Porada 1980: 13–14.

VII

Stylistic Legacy Uncertain

It has been difficult to fit the seals and sealings in the present category into discrete stylistic groups. In some cases, there are inadequate parallels for both subject and form of the seal designs for convincing stylistic classifications. In other instances, the seal design is known only from imprecise and unclear field sketches. Finally, some of the designs are too poorly preserved for any sort of stylistic analysis. Despite these difficulties, some of the designs can nevertheless be seen to be slightly closer to one stylistic group than any other, as indicated under the Catalog heading "Closest stylistic affiliation."

Nos. 82-84 have parallels in individual details with seals from various second millennium sites, including Nuzi, Choga Zanbil, and Surkh Dum-i-Luri.[338] On the basis of these early parallels (however incomplete), these three seals may be explained either as heirlooms in period IVB or as ninth-century products that nevertheless held onto second millennium artistic traditions of Mesopotamia and Iran.

Nos. 85 and 86 have too few adequate parallels for a proper stylistic classification.

No. 87, discovered in the course of commercial explorations in 1934 in a burial in the Outer Town area, is known from only a rough field sketch showing a human-headed quadruped attacking a smaller animal. This subject is common in Middle Assyrian impressions on tablets from Assur and Tell al Rimah,[339] and may indicate a period V date for both the seal and the grave in which it was found. However, the presence of drill holes along the lower edge of the design, elements normally carved in the sky on other seals, suggests that the drawing may be inverted and inadequate.

Only faint traces of a star are preserved in No. 89. Nevertheless, it seems to be a type characteristic of seals from Susa, Choga Zanbil and Surkh Dum-i-Luri,[340] and may point to manufacture in Iran.

Similarly, No. 90 may be assigned to Iran, if not Hasanlu itself. Although only a fragment of the seal now survives, the recorded material (bone) and the division of the scene into registers (barely visible) are best related to the "local style" glyptic, as discussed in Chapter 2.[341]

Nos. 88, 91, and 92 are too poorly preserved for a proper stylistic analysis.

No. 93 is a loaf-shaped hemispheriod stamp seal. The back is decorated with a star, composed of eight triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle, with bands of chevrons on all four sides. On the seal face is carved a scorpion with horizontal incisions on its back, and borders of zig-zag lines above and below. The designs have been gouged rather than drilled. Although the star type and chevron borders on the back of the stamp are characteristic of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals,[342] the stamp seal did not seem to return to general use in Assyria until the late eighth century B.C. Instead, the type is best matched by late prehistoric stamps from sites in Mesopotamia, such as Kish and Jemdet Nasr.[343] It remains uncertain, then, whether No. 93 is a foreign import or local product at Hasanlu; a ninth-century product inspired by an early Mesopotamian stamp shape; or perhaps even a re-engraved prehistoric seal.[344]

No. 94-95 refers to two different seal designs impressed on a single sealing. Judging from the field sketch, there seem to be impressions of both a stamp and cylinder seal. The stamp impression is ovoid, and was probably made by a scarab seal. Unfortunately, little else can be determined about the style of the original seals or the function of the sealing.

Similarly, No. 96 is known only from a rough field sketch and photograph that yield little stylistic or functional information.

Chapter VII Endnotes

338. See the Catalog for individual references.

339. Moortgat 1944: figs. 19 and 20 (Assur); Parker 1977: pl. XXIX, 28 (Tell al Rimah).

340. Amiet 1972: no. 2182 (Susa); Porada 1970: no. 24 (Choga Zanbil); Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, nos. 86 and 95 (Surkh Dum-i-Luri).

341. P. 20 above; see also Appendix A below on materials.

342. Moortgat 1940: nos. 668, 672 (star and chevrons), 654 (star); Parker 1955: pl. XII, 4 (star).

343. Buchanan 1984: nos. 199 (Kish) and 200-201 (Jemdet Nasr).

344. I owe this last suggestion to Edith Porada. It should be added, however, that the basic form, size, and gouged carving style of the Hasanlu stamp are related, as well, to what are said to be Syrian ovoids of Iron Age date; see Buchanan and Moorey 1988: nos. 172 and 173 (purchased seals) and discussion, pp. 25-26.

VIII

A Locational Analysis of the Finds

Although much data and some analysis of the findspots of the seals and sealings from Hasanlu IVB are available in the Catalog and throughout the discussions of Chapters 2 through 7, it is worthwhile to devote this next chapter to pulling this evidence together in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the distribution of the entire corpus. The well-stratified archaeological context of the Hasanlu finds provides a unique opportunity to conduct such a systematic analysis of their spatial distribution, in the expectation that significant patterns concerning their usage will emerge.

The following discussion refers to distribution plans in Figs. 8–14, divided into architectural and non-architectural finds and by building floor level, when known.[345] Objects discovered high in collapsed building debris are presumed to have fallen from the second story (Figs. 9 and 12). The site and building plans are based on those drawn up for use in the current stage of analysis in the Hasanlu excavations by Robert H. Dyson, Jr., Project Director, and may be subject to revision upon the final publication of the architecture of period IVB. Each plan differentiates between seals, sealings, and tabs by the use of closed circles, closed triangles, and open triangles, respectively.

Among the most significant findings of the distribution analysis is that, generally, the seals and sealings were discovered in separate locations at the site, in some cases, in separate buildings. For instance, the finds from Burned Building V include sealings, but no seals; conversely, seals comprise 83% of the glyptic material discovered in Burned Building III. In other instances, the seals and sealings were separated from each other by their position in the fill within a building (cf. Figs. 8–9 and 11–12). In Burned Building II, for example, 90% of the glyptic finds from the floor level are seals (100% in Room 5), while 72% of those from the second-story collapse are sealings (100% in Room 6). Last, excavations in the Outer Town area yielded seals, but no sealings, a finding due to the recovery of seals from burial rather than architectural contexts.

Following are more specific results of the analysis: first regarding the distribution of the cylinder and stamp seals (including seal-beads and unengraved cylinders); second, the sealings; and last, the tabs.

Seals

1. Fifty-seven percent of all the seals from the Citadel area (35 of 61) were discovered in either Burned Building II (25 seals) or III (10 seals). In contrast, most of the surrounding buildings contained from only one to three seals.

2. At least 18% of the seals (13 of 71) were found with skeletons either in (a) one of the Burned Buildings, where the individuals were presumably trapped by the fire that destroyed the major structures at the end of period IVB (8 seals); or in (b) graves in the Outer Town area (9 seals). These finds are especially important for understanding how

seals were worn as personal ornaments, while the associated goods provide clues as to the possible status of the seal-bearers.

At least eight seals were found together with skeletons in Burned Buildings II, IV, and IV-V, presumably originally worn by those individuals (Figs. 8–10). Six of the seals come from Burned Building II, now identified by Dyson as a temple, and where excavations uncovered over 60 human skeletons, including adults and children, to judge from the height of the individuals and the number of molars present.[346] Unfortunately, the condition of the crushed and burned skeletons found with seals on the Mound is generally so poor that little determination as to age or sex could be made from the skeletal evidence alone.[347]

Three main styles are represented among these seals: (1) two "other Iranian style" seals (one conoid-knob stamp [No. 28] and one geometric cylindrical seal-bead [No. 33]); (2) one Syro-Palestinian-style hammer-head stamp (No. 56A); and (3) three "provincial Assyrian style" cylinders (Nos. 67, 69, 72). The remaining two seals are of uncertain stylistic attribution (Nos. 85, 86).

Table 3 lists the associated finds discovered with seals beside skeletons in the Burned Buildings. What is most significant here is the large percentage of high status goods: metal weapons, jewelry, cast bronze lion pins, and other metal and luxury items.[348] For instance, one individual (a child, with seal No. 33) was also adorned with as many as 37 copper/bronze ring-ornaments, one Egyptian blue finger-ring, and two bronze armlets; another individual (with No. 67) originally wore over 20 bronze bracelets and many copper/bronze buttons with gold overlay; and still another (with No. 72) was associated with many copper/bronze ring-ornaments, six or seven bronze bracelets, and perhaps as many as nine lion pins. In addition to elaborate personal ornaments, five of the eight skeletons were found together with weapons, including iron daggers, spears, and shield bosses; and four individuals carried containers of metal, ceramic, or bone.

While it cannot always be determined from age or sex whether the individuals with seals were local residents or perhaps foreign intruders, the abundance of jewelry found with them (bracelets, rings, lion pins, etc.) suggests that they represent elite local residents—either temple or palace elite trapped in the burning building with some of their own possessions and/or temple goods.

Four of the cylinder seals discovered directly beside skeletons (Nos. 69, 72, 85, 86) were also found together with cast bronze lion pins. Of these, Nos. 69 and 72 are "provincial Assyrian style" seals; the remaining two are of uncertain attribution. At least three of the seals found with lion pins originally had metal caps and suspension pins with a looped end.[349] Already mentioned in this context (in Chapter 5) are the third millennium inlaid plaques from Mari showing women wearing robes fastened by long shoulder pins from which are suspended beads and cylinders on a string or chain (Pl. 47a).[350] As noted, this earlier evidence suggests that the Hasanlu seals may have been worn similarly on outer garments, possibly suspended by their metal loops from the lion pins found with them.

Another four seals (Nos. 28, 67, 69, 72) were found along with beads beside skeletons, suggesting that they may have been worn originally on beaded necklaces.[351] No. 67 even has traces of string preserved in the perforation, as well as stains from what seem to have been copper/bronze end caps. That seals were, in fact, worn around the neck in the ancient Near East is confirmed by references in cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia. For instance, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) claims that after having defeated Sarduri of Urartu he carried away the king's "seal-cylinder (held) about his neck."[352] Although not found with other beads, seal-bead No. 33 was found near the head of a skeleton in Room 5 of Burned Building II, suggesting that it, too, was worn around the neck originally.

In addition to their possible suspension by metal loops from lion pins and by strings from beaded necklaces, still another possible way that seals may have been worn is suggested by the hammer-head stamp seal (No. 56A) found adhering to a dagger near a skeleton in Room 5 of Burned Building II, discussed in Chapter 4. It has already been suggested (p.40) that the seal either was melted to the dagger by the heat of the burning building, or was originally suspended from the weapon. As noted, the latter possibility is supported by a reference in the Sumerian poem "The Death of Ur-Nammu" to a lapis lazuli seal hanging on a dagger.[353]

It is interesting that only nine seals were discovered in graves in the Outer Town cemetery (Fig. 14), where at least 83 burials of period IV date were uncovered. Six of the seals were discovered during early explorations in 1934 (No. 87), 1936 (No. 41), and 1947–49 (Nos. 51, 54, 66, 80), and three during excavations by the Hasanlu Project (Nos. 83, 88, 91). They include: a Syro-Palestinian lion stamp (No. 51) and scarab (No. 54); a geometric-style seal-bead (No. 41); one "provincial Assyrian style" seal (No. 66); one seal of Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy (No. 80); and four poorly preserved cylinders of uncertain stylistic affiliation (Nos. 83, 87, 88, 91). Among the latter, Nos. 83 and 87 are most closely affiliated with seals of Middle Assyrian style.

Unfortunately, since many of these seals were discovered in the course of early commercial excavations at the site, little has been recorded about the age and sex of the skeletons or about the placement of the seals within burials. Among those with a

Table 3: Finds Associated with Skeletons Bearing Seals in the Burned Buildings (BB) on the Citadel Mound

CATALOG NO.	HAS. NO.	STYLISTIC GROUP	MATERIAL	FINDSPOT	SKELETAL INFORMATION*	WEAPONS	METALWORK	POTTERY	PERSONAL ORNAMENTS	BEADS	OTHER
28	70-518	"other Iranian" conoid-knob stamp	composite	BBIV:1a	Skel. 284 (nearby)	spearhead	Cu/br vessel	buff bowls		yes	bone "cosmetic" box, shell bosses
33	60-952	"other Iranian" seal-bead	composite	BBII:5	Skel. 122 near head, child				2 bronze armlets, Egyptian blue finger-ring, 37 Cu/br ring-ornaments		
56A	62-606	Syro-Palestinian hammer-head stamp	composite	BBII:5	Skel. 263 adhering to nearby dagger, young adult female (?) (see below, No. 69)	Fe dagger nearby		glazed jars	3 lion pins , bronze straight pin	yes	
67	60-902	"provincial Assyrian" cylinder	limestone, Cu/br cap, string	BBII:5	Skel. 147	Fe weapon	Cu/br vessel		over 20 bronze bracelets, bronze pin	yes	Cu/br buttons, some with gold overlay
69	62-510	"provincial Assyrian" cylinder	black stone, Cu/br looped pin, cap	BBII:5	Skel. 263 young adult female (?) (see above, No. 56A)	Fe dagger nearby		glazed jars	3 lion pins, bronze pin	yes	
72	60-901	"provincial Assyrian" cylinder	limestone, Cu/br looped pin, cap	BBII:5	Skel. 141				Cu/br. ring-ornaments, 6–7 bronze bracelets, 9 (?) lion pins	yes	
85	72-156	uncertain cylinder	white stone, Cu/br looped pin, cap	BBIV-V:1	Skel. 334				lion pin		
86	60-903	uncertain cylinder	limestone	BBII:2	Skel. 157 adult male	Fe spear-point			Cu/br rings, lion pin (?)		

* See Appendix E for the specific field context of the Skeleton Numbers. See Endnote no. 348.

recorded context, No. 91 was found in the fill of an adult male(?) burial; No. 83 was found together with a small metal bead under the skull of an adolescent; No. 41 (from Stein's sounding along the northern base of the Mound) was found in an adult female(?) burial, also under the skull; and No. 88 was discovered lying on the front of the pelvis of an adult male, perhaps originally suspended from a belt, or fallen from strings of beads found at the neck and hand of the skeleton.

Table 4 lists the funerary goods found with five of the seals having a recorded context. Each individual wore copper/bronze finger-rings; two (with seal Nos. 87 and 91) had iron bracelets. Four of them were buried with metal weapons, including iron blades and spikes. Each burial also contained plain or slightly decorated pottery: grey, buff, and red ware; spouted jars; pitchers; tripods. One red ware jug held lamb/goat bones (with No. 88). No. 91 was buried with a copper/bronze bowl. Copper/bronze buttons and a copper nail were found with No. 88. Nos. 41, 83, and 88 were found together with beads either singly or on strings, either originally worn around the neck or held in one hand (see above).

The quantity of non-jewelry metal artifacts among the grave goods is significant, since such items are generally rare in the burials at Hasanlu and indicate high status.[354] However, on the basis of a preliminary study by Mary Voigt of the Iron Age cemetery, the burials with seals probably do not represent the wealthiest social group at the site,[355] for the graves at Hasanlu show a wide range of variation from very poor (no or one pot, a bead or two) to very rich (copper, bronze, and gold items). The graves with seals would seem to fall in the upper middle bracket of this range. That so few seals were found in graves suggests that they were more often passed on from generation to generation. It suggests that we are dealing at Hasanlu less with personal seals of identity (which one would expect to be buried with the individual owner) and more with administrative/official seals, in the case of the "local style" cylinders, and elite/prestige items, in the case of the Assyrian-style seals.

The discovery of any seals in burials also raises the issue of their function as amulets, in addition to actual sealing devices and personal ornaments.[356] The most important ancient references to the amuletic role of seals are in Mesopotamian incantation texts, which refer to their power to ward off enemies and to protect against illness.[357] The loss of a seal was considered to be an omen of death;[358] even the color and material of the stone and the suspension pin (*pulukku*) held an important amuletic role.[359] Presumably the Hasanlu seals also functioned on this apotropaic level—for the living as well as the dead.

Although not found with skeletons, at least four of the seven lion stamps (Nos. 46, 48, 49, 50) were found with beads, suggesting that they were each originally strung on beaded necklaces. Most telling is No. 48, found *in situ* as the center bead of a carnelian necklace (see Pl. 44). No. 49 was even found in what has been termed the "Bead House" (Burned Building IX) because of the many beads found within it. Similarly, No. 28, a conoid-knob stamp, was found together with a quantity of beads.

At least six of the 10 seal-beads were found in groups with other, plainer beads (Nos. 34, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41). As already discussed in Chapter 3, this association suggests that the seal-beads (like certain stamp and cylinder seals) were also originally part of beaded necklaces.

Eighty-three percent of the Neo-Assyrian-style seals whose original floor level is known (15 of 18) were found directly on building *floors* (Figs. 8 and 11). The greatest concentration occurs in Burned Building II (50%), associated with the only large number of adorned skeletons found in the citadel. Although there is not always a direct association between skeletons and seals, there is reason to believe that many of the seals found on the floor fell from individuals fleeing the burning building. This concentration of Assyrian-style seals in Burned Building II, together with Dyson's identification of the structure as a temple,[360] the alleged treasuries on the second floor (Chapter 2 and below), and the fancily adorned individuals trapped on the first floor (see above) all support our earlier interpretation that these seals were worn as prestige items by the local Hasanlu elite.

Two of the four "local style" seals were discovered on the western side of the Citadel Mound, where relatively few seals were found: in second-story collapse in Room 6 of Burned Building III (No. 2, Fig. 12) and outside Burned Building VII East (No. 1, Fig. 13).

Seals from various stylistic groups regularly occur together in the same room or even in discrete groups. For instance, a cache of nine cylinders found on the floor in the southwest area of Room 5 in Burned Building II (Fig. 8) includes seals of "local style" (No. 3); "central Assyrian style" (Nos. 57, 61, 62); "provincial Assyrian style" (Nos. 64, 75, 77); Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy (No. 78); and uncertain attribution (No. 84).

Table 4: Finds Discovered with Seals in Graves in the Outer Town Area

CATALOG NO.	HAS NO.	STYLISTIC GROUP	MATERIAL	FINDSPOT	SKELETAL INFORMATION*	WEAPONS	METALWORK	POTTERY	PERSONAL ORNAMENTS	BEADS	OTHER
41	36-1	"other Iranian" seal-bead	unavailable	test trench, north base of Citadel Mound	adult female (?), under skull	2 Fe spikes		large grey-black decorated spouted jar	Cu/br finger-rings, 2 copper bracelets	yes	incised ivory disc, child urn burial
83	64-363	uncertain cylinder	bementite	NE edge	Skel. 502 stone-lined grave, adolescent, under skull			small orange buff-colored jar	2 Cu/br finger-rings	yes	
87	34-1	uncertain cylinder	grey stone	N end	stone tomb	Cu/br weapons		grey-black ware, red ware tripod	Cu/br jewelry, Fe bracelet		
88	57-50	uncertain cylinder	bone (?)	NE edge	Skel. 18 *pisé*-lined grave, on front of pelvis	Fe blade		large grey-black ware pitcher, red ware jug with sheep/goat bones	8 Cu/br finger-rings, bronze straight pins	yes	Cu/br buttons, bone "cosmetic" box
91	59-251	uncertain cylinder	unable to be determined, Cu/br pin, cap	N end	Skel. 106 stone tomb, adult male (?)	Fe blade	Cu/br bowl	small red-slipped dish; 2 grey ware spouted pitchers	Cu/br finger-ring, Fe bracelets or anklets		

*See Appendix E for the specific field context of the Skeleton Numbers

Sealings

Seventy-five percent of the sealings whose original floor level is known (21 of 28) were found in second-story collapse (Figs. 9 and 12). As already discussed in Chapter 2, they were discovered in three main building areas. Two groups were found in Burned Building II: in rooms at the southeastern (Rooms 6 and 7) and northeastern (Room 8 and the adjacent corner of Room 5) parts of the building. The third major sealing group was found in the southeastern corner of Burned Building V (in Room 8 and the adjacent corner of Room 3).

As noted, these three sealing clusters coincide with the major discoveries of ivory carvings and most other precious goods in exotic materials. The sealings were found, for instance, together with gold plaques, jewelry, buttons, and beads; vessels of gold, silver, and inlaid glass; and items of Egyptian blue, including Nos. 34 (a cylindrical seal-bead) and 79 (a cylinder seal of Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy).[361] By studying the profiles and undersides of the upper-story sealings, it has been possible to identify door, bag, box, basket, and jar sealings (see working typology, Chapter 1); they evidently did not seal large storage jars. On the basis of these data on sealing context and type, it has been suggested that sealed "treasuries" were originally located on the second stories at the southeast and northeast sides of Burned Building II and the southeast end of Burned Building V, in which were stored precious goods in sealed containers.[362] Further, some of the containers may have been luxury goods in themselves, to judge from traces of electrum adhering to the back of one box sealing (No. 5D).

At least 7 of the 13 sealings discovered in second-story collapse in Burned Building II (Nos. 5B-G, I) were impressed with the same original "local style" seal (Fig. 9). Nos. 16 and 96 (from the same context) may also bear impressions of the same seal, although only rough field sketches have been available for study. Five of these sealings (six, if No. 96 is included) were found in the collapse at the southeast side of the building; two (or three, including No. 16) were discovered at the northeast end. This same seal was also impressed on two sealings from secondary collapse in Burned Building V (Nos. 5H and J, from Rooms 8 and 3, respectively).[363]

The seal design, reconstructed from the multiple partial rollings available, has been discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (see composite drawing, Fig. 20). Particular attention has been paid to the scene in the lower register of a seated figure holding a bow before an attendant with a vessel and towel(?). A related design (but with the seated figure flanked by two attendants, including a winged eagle-headed genie with a fan) was impressed on an additional sealing from the collapse at the southern end of Burned Building II (No. 6B), as well as on a sealing from the first floor of Room 5 in Burned Building V (No. 6A; see composite drawing, Fig. 31).

On the basis of comparison with Assyrian royal iconography, it has been suggested (pp. 22–23) that the seated figures in the two seal designs mentioned just above represent an important (perhaps ruling) male individual at Hasanlu. This possibility, together with the discovery of impressions from these seals on the majority of commodity and door sealings from the "treasuries" in Burned Buildings II and V has raised several intriguing questions. In particular, are we dealing with the personal seals of one or two male dignitaries at Hasanlu, used to mark his (their) private stores; or with official seals used to secure the royal or temple stores? The latter scenario seems most likely in view of Dyson's recent interpretation of both Burned Buildings II and V as religious structures.[364] To what extent, then, did secular and religious institutions overlap?

While the majority of the sealings were found in second-story collapse in Burned Buildings II and V, seven sealings were discovered directly on building floors: in Room 5, Burned Building I West (Nos. 13, 31); Room 14, Burned Building II (Nos. 17, 19); Rooms 4b (No. 7–8) and 5 (No. 6A), Burned Building V; and Room 2b, Burned Building IV-V (No. 56B). All of these rooms contained large storage jars, botanical samples from which have been identified as cereal fodder.[365] Unfortunately, it was only possible to determine the original function of four of the seven sealings from these contexts. While two of these are jar sealings (Nos. 17 and 56B), neither of them would have sealed such large storage vessels. The remaining sealings were probably originally attached to a leather bag (No. 19) and a door knob (No. 6A).

The door sealings present an interesting correlation between the type of sealing and the original floor level in which it was found, known in four of our six examples. Specifically, the door sealings from a clear second-story context (Nos. 5I, 16, and 20) are our Type (a) sealing (from a cylindrical peg); while the one example from a clear first-floor context (No. 6A) is our Type (b) sealing (from a knobbed peg, which was originally wedged between the knob and the surface of the door or jamb; compare Fig. 6.5a with b, Chapter 1). Despite this small sample, it is tempting to correlate these two types of sealings with different types of doors: Type (a) with light-weight doors that have cylindrical peg-closings upstairs; and Type (b) with heavier, knobbed doors down-stairs.

Tabs

The assemblage includes three tabs. Two examples are impressed with "local style" seal designs: No. 21 from Room 1, Burned Building IV-V (Fig. 10); and No. 22 from the second-story collapse in Room 8, Burned Building II (Fig. 9). The third tab (No. 81), impressed with a seal of Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy, was found in second-story collapse in the southeast corner of Room 5 in Burned Building II, presumably having fallen from the same "treasuries" that yielded many of the sealings and luxury goods discussed above (Fig. 9).

In sum, the good fortune of knowing the precise archaeological context of the seals and sealings from Hasanlu IVB has added considerably to an understanding of their uses at the site. As for the seals, their discovery with skeletons (either on floors in the Burned Buildings or in graves in the Outer Town cemetery) has provided information on the possible status of the seal-owners and on the way seals may have been worn. Specifically, the abundance of jewelry and other high-status items found with the seal-bearers has suggested that they represent elite local residents (and not foreign intruders wearing Assyrian-style seals). Additional evidence has indicated at least four possible ways that seals were worn: (1) suspended by their metal loops from cast bronze lion pins, presumably once attached to outer garments; (2) suspended by string from beaded necklaces; (3) suspended from a belt; or (4) suspended from a dagger. The analysis has further suggested that seals found in graves may have served as amulets, in addition to sealing devices and personal ornaments.

While most of the seals were discovered in primary building collapse, it has been observed that the sealings were found primarily in second-story collapse in three main building areas: the southeast and northeast corners of Burned Building II, and the southeast end of Burned Building V. On the basis of this distribution of the sealings and their discovery together with abundant luxury goods of precious materials, the study has posited that sealed treasuries were originally located on the second stories in Burned Buildings II and V, where valuables were stored in sealed containers.

Chapter VIII Endnotes (nos. 345-365)

345. Three seals (Nos. 27, 55, and 71) have been omitted from the distribution plans because their findspots are not altogether certain (see Catalog entries). Earlier presentations separating first and second floor distributions based on stratigraphic evidence were given by Dyson at the Recontre Assyriolique in Vienna (1981) and in his Lukonin Memorial Lecture at The British Museum in 1990.

346. Dyson 1989b: 118; and p. 22 above. The number of skeletons in Burned Building II is based on the registry notes by Mary Virginia Harris, available in the Hasanlu Project Archives. Because of the burned and crushed nature of the skeletal material, there was often no precision as to the location of items in relation to skeletons in the burned buildings. Consequently, such vague descriptions as *found together with* or *near a skeleton* cannot be avoided here. Oscar Muscarella first raised this issue with me at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and I regret that little more can be done with the available data.

347. By studying the type of goods found with sexed skeletons in the Cemetery area, it should be possible to assign tentative sex identifications to the poorly preserved skeletons on the Mound on the basis of their associated artifacts—a task I am currently undertaking as part of a study of the personal ornaments from the site. See now Marcus 1993 on the possible gender identification of bodies associated with some of the individual lion pins at Hasanlu.

348. This information is based on the original field notes and burial sheets, available in the Hasanlu Project Archives. It is subject to change following a more comprehensive study of the personal ornaments from the site. Furthermore, Dyson points out (personal communication) the difficulty of determining truely associated items as opposed to scattered debris given the mixture of materials which cannot be in original context (before looting began) and which clearly do not belong together, e.g. pots, helmets, personal ornaments, furniture fragments, etc. The problem of the terminal distribution of these items forms part of current research for the final report on which Dyson is working.

349. Dyson and Harris (1986: 82) incorrectly state that No. 72 (their Catalog Number/CN 52) had no suspension loop.

350. Parrot 1962: pls. XI, 1–4 and XII, 3; Weiss 1985: no. 50 (p. 151).

351. No. 72 was found with both lion pins and beads.

352. Luckenbill 1926: ¶ 769. Additional sources refer to seals worn around the neck of cult-statues of deities; see, for instance, a reference on a Neo-Babylonian tablet (AO. 7078) to the necklace of Uṣur-amassu (Thureau-Dangin 1919: 123). See further Hallo 1983: 12 and n. 11.

353. Kramer 1967: l. 119.

354. Mary Voigt: personal communication. Dr. Voigt has further informed me that metal non-jewelry goods are equally rare among the 70 burials at Dinkha Tepe near Hasanlu. On interpreting grave goods in general, see Ucko 1969: especially 266–268 and O'Shea 1984.

355. Voigt: personal communication. The burials will be further explored in the course of an ongoing study by the author of the personal ornaments from Hasanlu; details about the grave goods presented above should be considered preliminary.

356. Dyson and Harris (1986: 82) likewise refer to the use of seals as talismans, pointing to two instances in which the broken halves of seals were considered important enough to be placed in tombs at Sialk. See now Marcus, (1994) on seals as protection against the evil mouth in Hasanlu V.

357. The literature on amulets is collected in Goff 1956: especially 23–37; see also van Buren 1945.

358. Hallo 1977: 58.

359. See Gelb 1977: 109–110; Goff 1956: 27; Hallo 1983: 11.

360. Dyson 1989b: 118.

361. For example, HAS 64-512, -606, -137, -508, -507, -671, -532, and -656. See now the distribution plans of ornamental finds from Burned Building II in Dyson 1989b: figs. 18–19.

362. Dyson (1989b: 124) has now also reconstructed second-story storerooms in Burned Buildings II and V, however on the basis of the distribution of luxury goods, not sealings.

363. A tenth sealing (a door sealing) impressed with the same seal (No. 5A) was discovered by Stein in Section v of a test trench on the northern slope of the Citadel Mound (Fig. 14; Stein 1940: 396). Presumably, it was discarded in antiquity after the door it sealed was opened.

364. Dyson 1989b: 120–126.

365. This is based on the results of flotation analyses undertaken by M. Tosi (1975) and Lorenzo Costantini (now see Costantini and Dyson 1991).

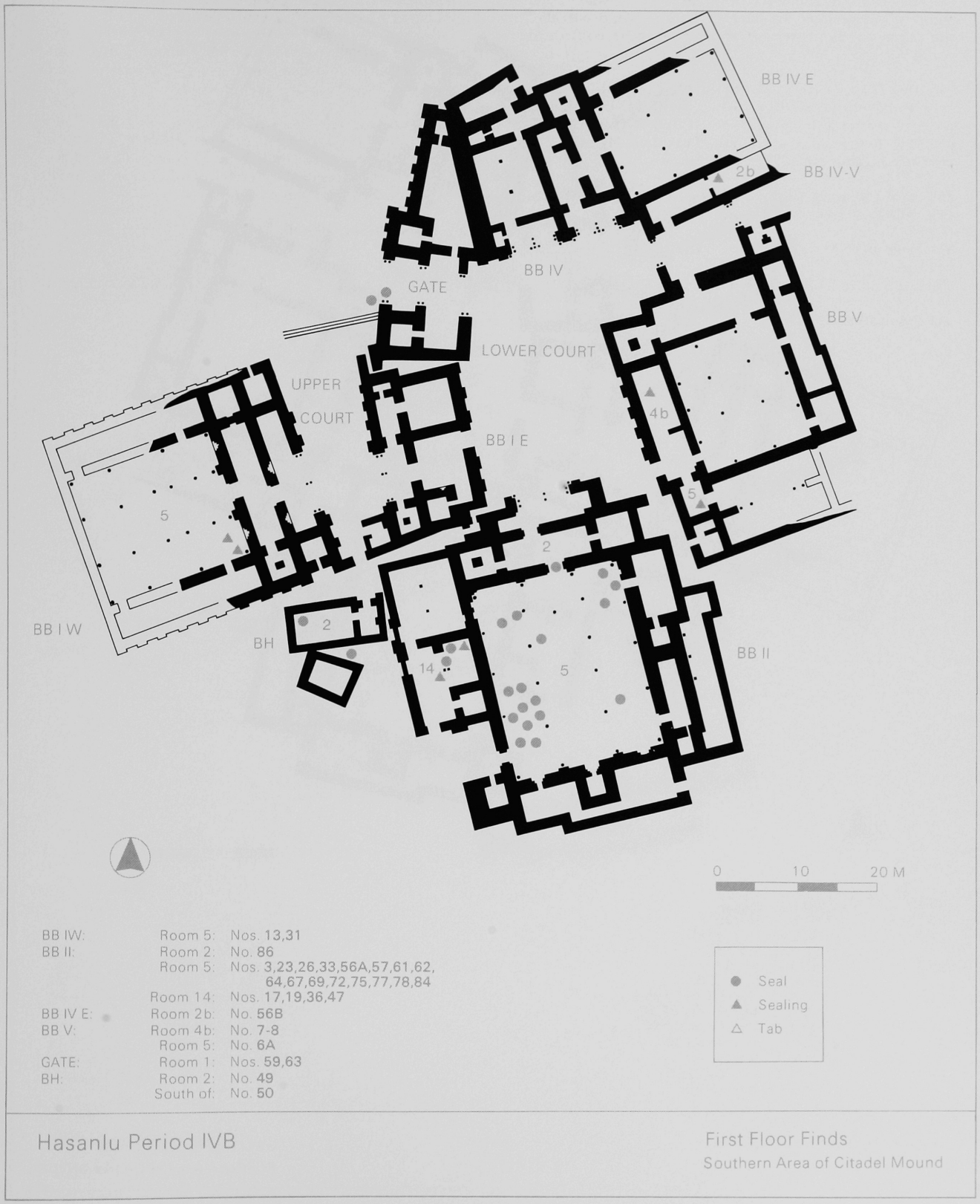


Figure 8. Distribution of first-floor finds, southern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

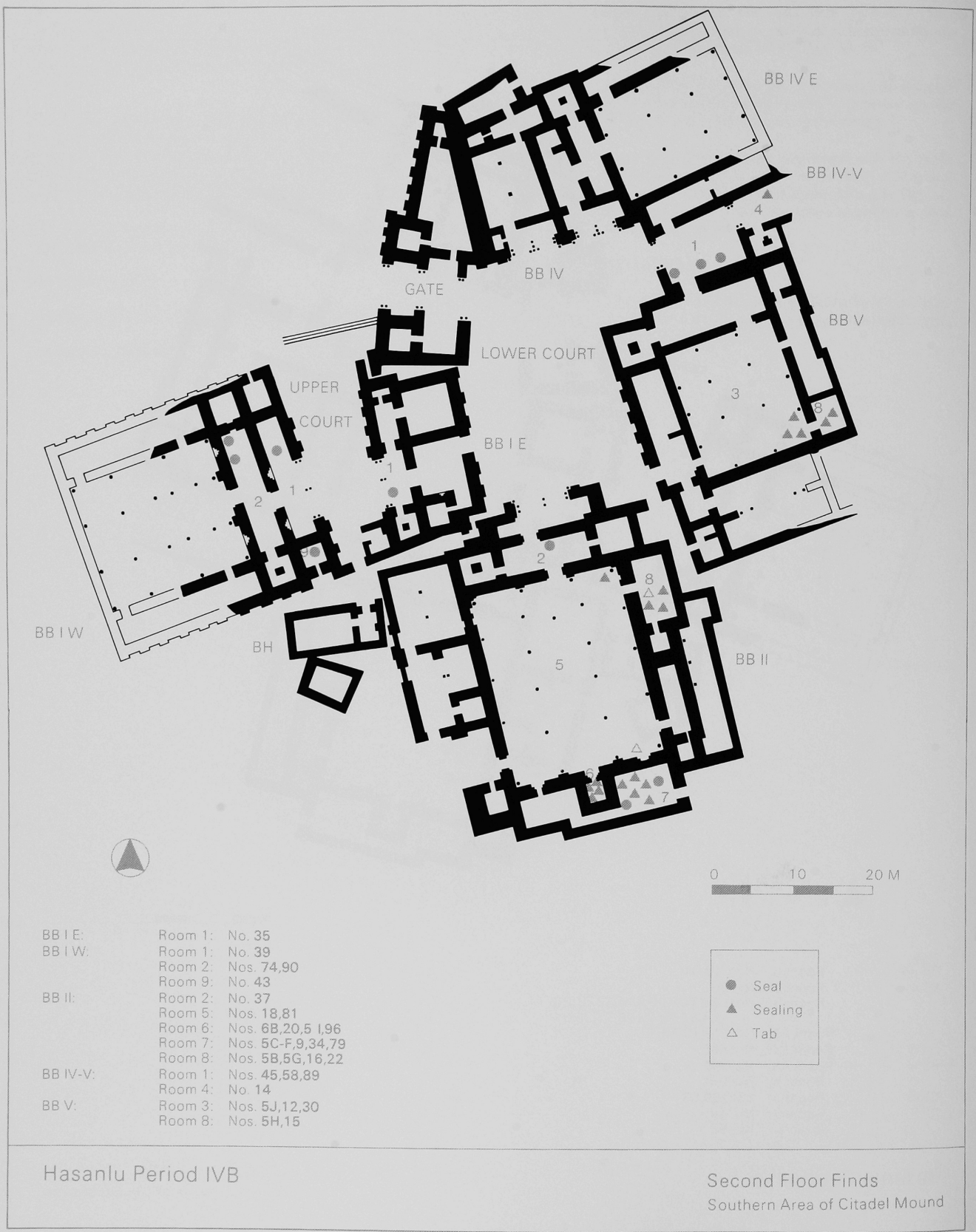


Figure 9. Distribution of second-floor finds, southern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

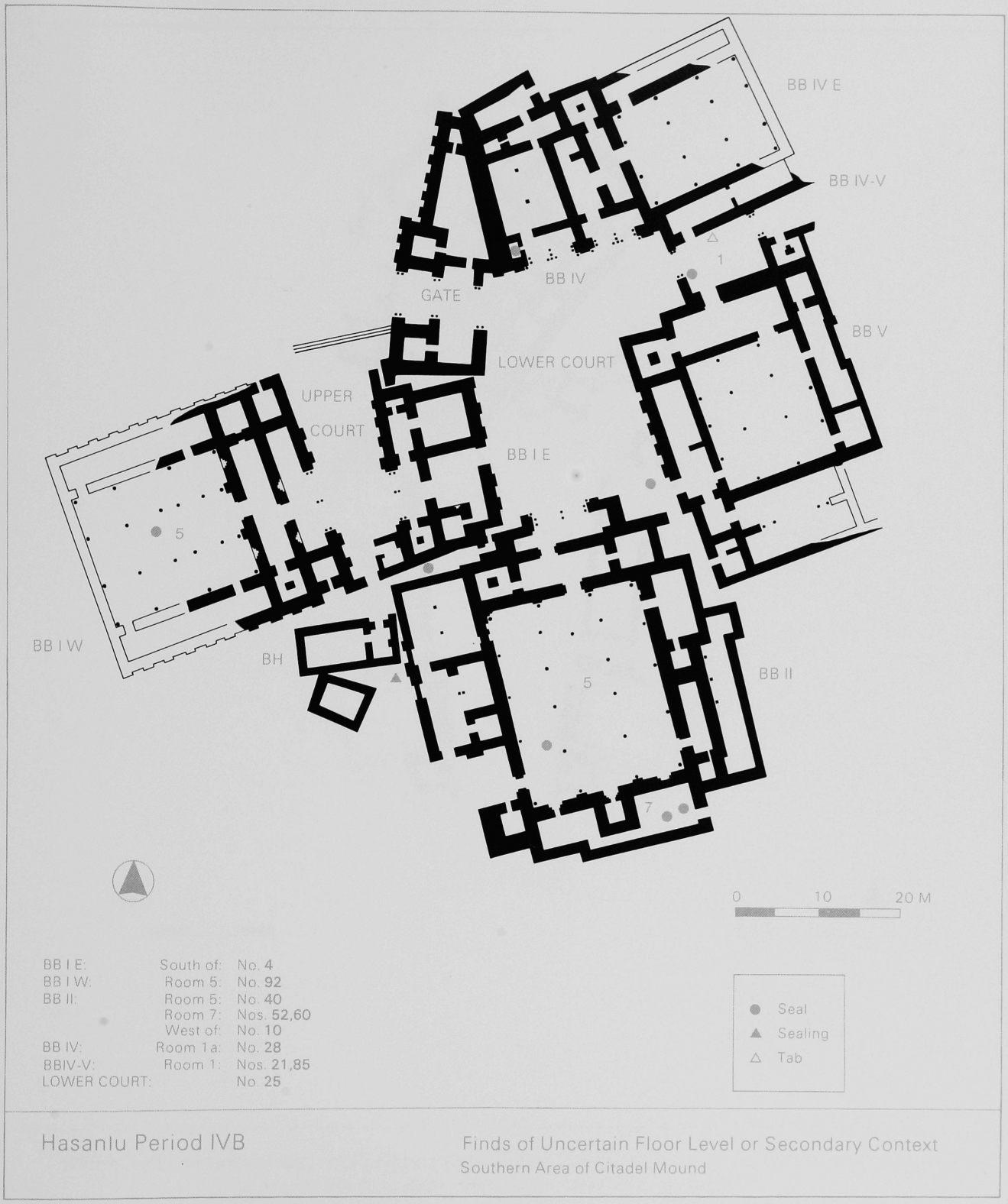


Figure 10. Distribution of finds of uncertain floor level or secondary context, southern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

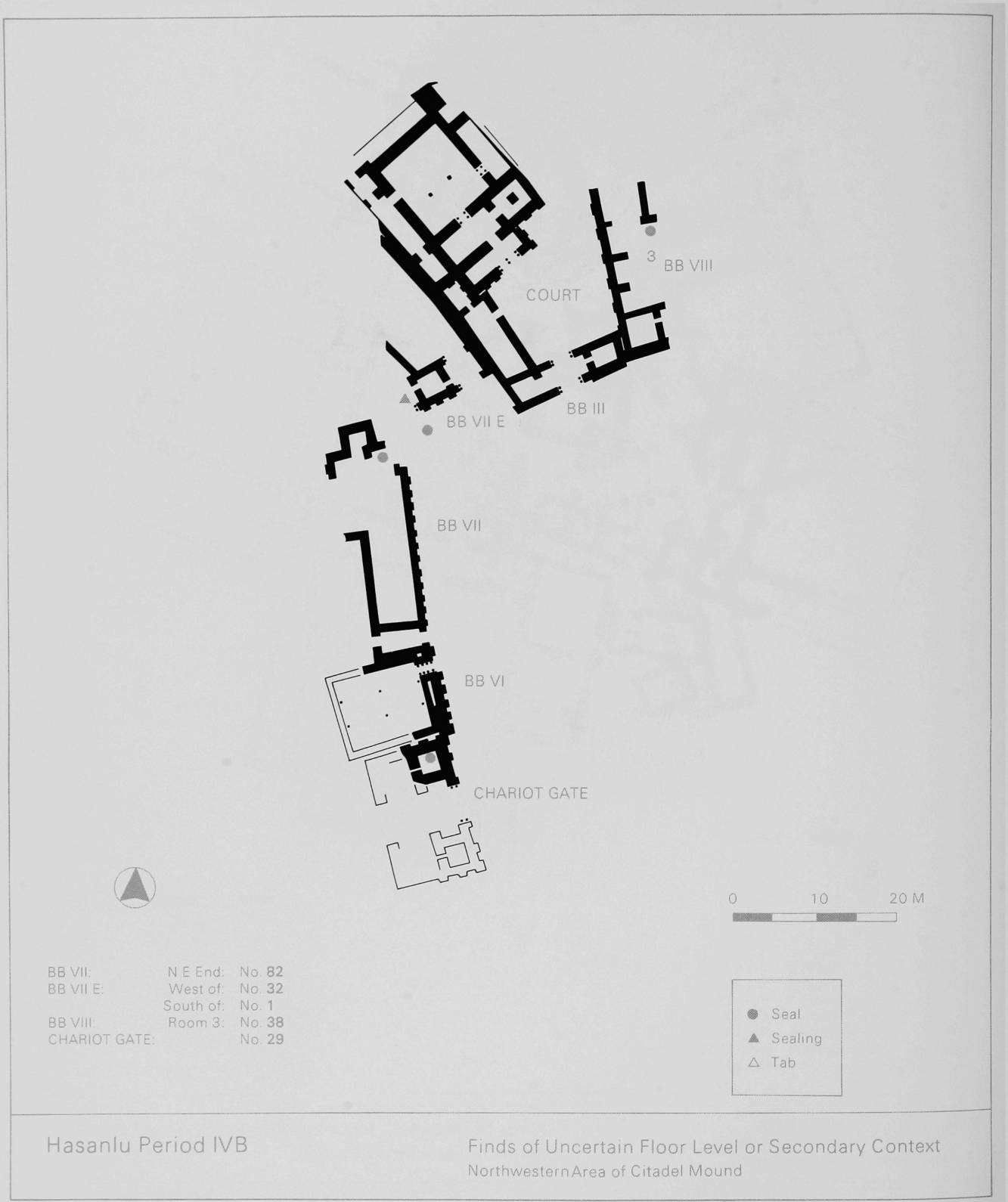


Figure 11. Distribution of first-floor finds, northwestern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

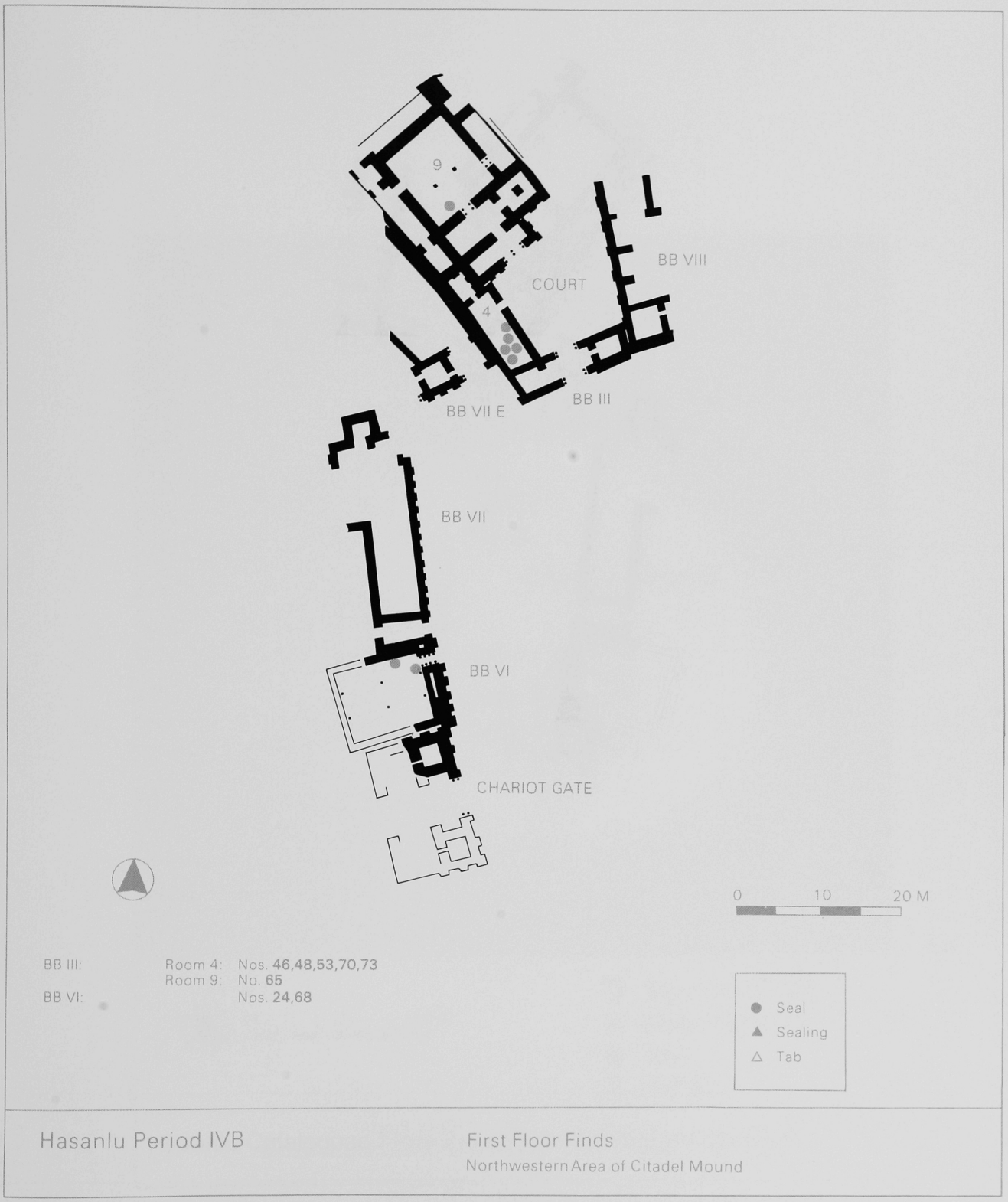


Figure 12. Distribution of second-floor finds, northwestern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

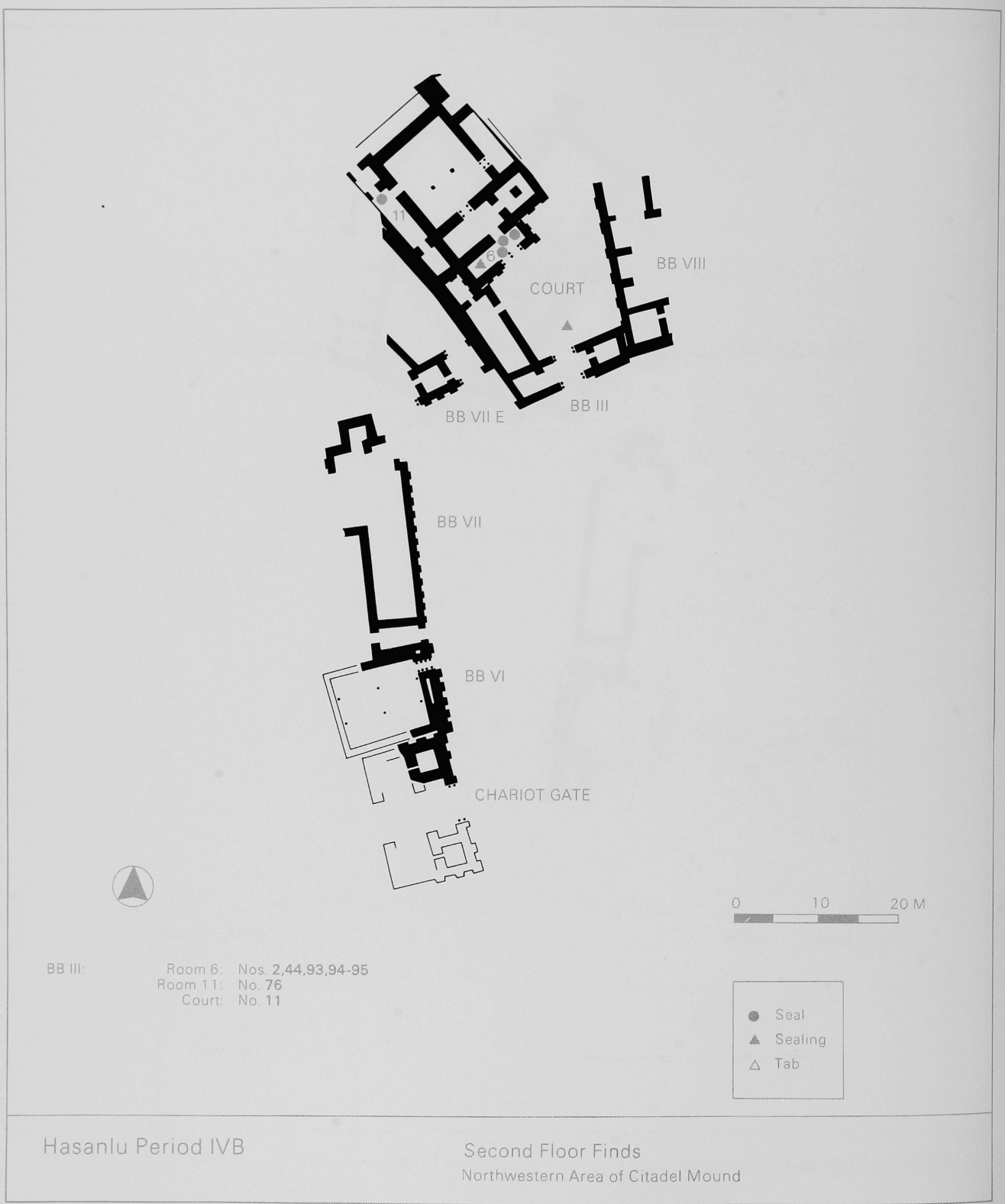


Figure 13. Distribution of finds of uncertain floor level or secondary context, northwestern area of Citadel Mound, Hasanlu IVB.

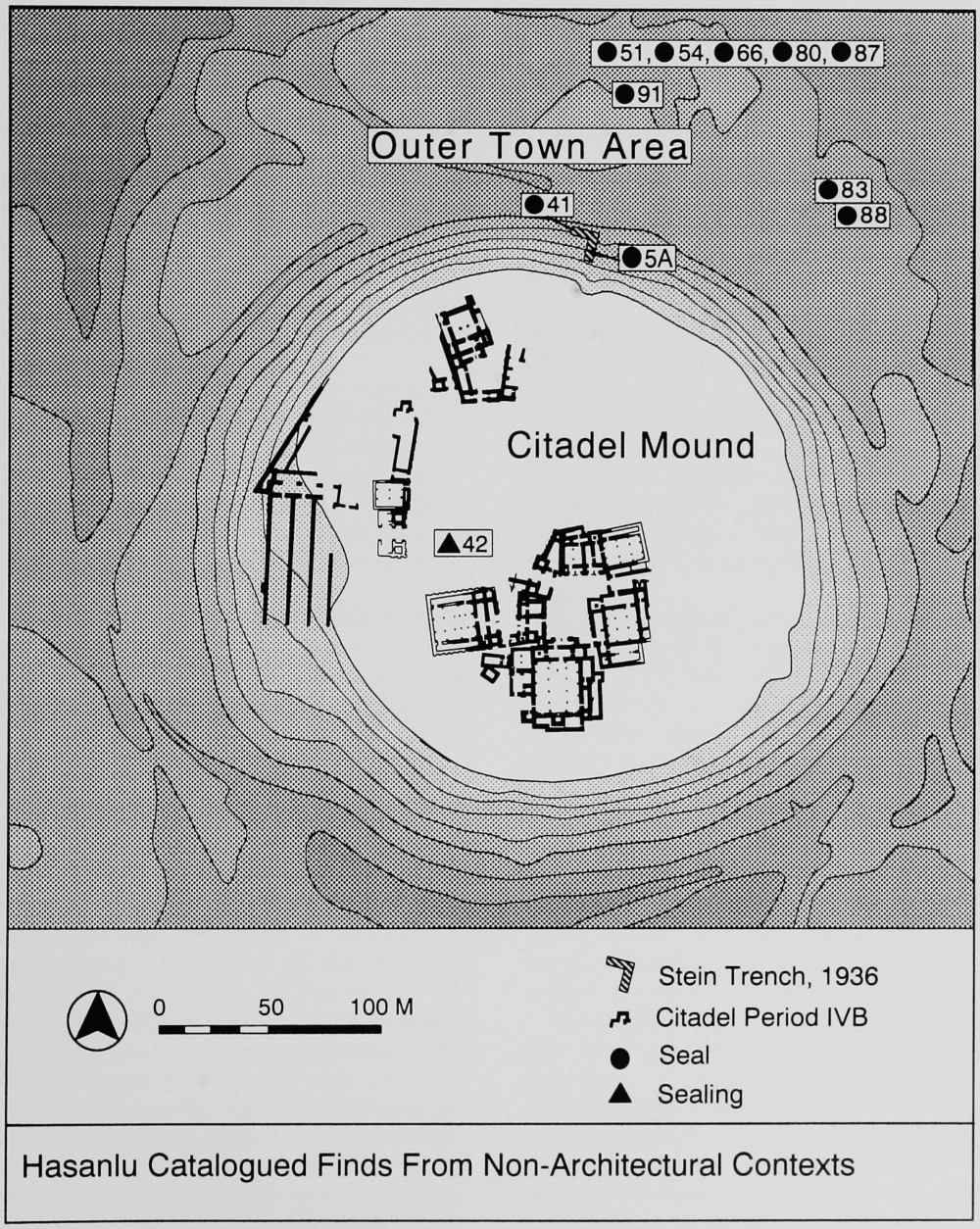


Figure 14. Distribution of finds from non-architectural contexts, Hasanlu IVB.

IX

Conclusions

The preceding study has analyzed the style and iconography of the seal designs from the Iron II period settlement of Hasanlu IVB in Northwest Iran, as well as the distribution and function of the actual seals and sealings. It should be stressed that this investigation was possible only given the well-excavated, stratified context of the material from Hasanlu, which provides the glyptic with a secure archaeological and cultural setting.

A multidisciplinary approach was selected, incorporating methods and questions primarily of art history with the available archaeological, functional, and historical evidence. It has been the major premise of this study that only such a multi-faceted approach could deal with the complexities both of the local cultural history of Hasanlu in the early first millennium B.C. and of the network of interconnections existing between Northwest Iran and the major centers of the Near East in this period.

A descriptive data base was established in the form of a comprehensive, heavily illustrated catalog that served as the foundation for a stylistic analysis of the seal designs and a functional analysis of the sealings. Art history then provided the basic tools for a thorough stylistic and iconographic analysis of the designs, as well as useful theoretical constructs, such as the notion of a local art style, the distinction between regional and individual styles, and the paradigm of center and periphery. In addition to these basic art historical issues, the analysis drew on anthropological and archaeological theories of exchange and stylistic diffusion in order to understand better the cultural *processes* operating at Hasanlu. The study likewise incorporated recent work by social anthropologists, sociologists, and art historians on the social role of style, particularly to signal prestige. One of the questions asked here (and answered in the affirmative) was whether glyptic style could have functioned to mark social group affiliation at the settlement. Underlying the above ideas and methods is the assumption that there is a functional relationship between art and culture, and that art styles can construct as well as reflect basic cultural values.

An art-historical analysis of the style and iconography of the seal designs led to the classification of the glyptic forms and motifs into six basic stylistic groups: two categories of locally produced works; three foreign styles; and one problematic group. This differentiation between local products and imports then generated conclusions about foreign contact and exchange between Northwest Iran and regions to the west and south. It led ultimately to the more theoretical concept of a marginal place of production somewhere between Hasanlu and Assyria to explain a group of Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals having stylistic elements in common with the art of Iran.

In terms of locally produced glyptic, evidence presented in Chapter 2 supported the notion of a "local" art style at Hasanlu IVB, a concept best known in the literature in connection with the designs on the gold bowl, silver beaker, and the majority of carved ivory plaques from the site. When the designs on several cylinder seals and most of the sealings were compared with "local" products in other media, there was noted a similar dependence on outline, liveliness of representations, tendency toward surface patterning, and range of animal and figural styles. The sealings pointed more securely than most other artifacts to local production and usage, since they were actually used at the site to seal doors and containers.

Although the specific combination of elements in the "local style" glyptic is so far restricted to Hasanlu, a review of the visual comparative materials demonstrated a major debt owed to courtly themes in Neo-Assyrian palace art, especially chariot scenes, processions, and scenes with seated figures and attendants. This evidence reinforces recent scholarly opinions based largely on non-glyptic art that the Hasanlu elite attempted to absorb some of the status of the imperial center by incorporating Assyrian

emblems of power into their "local" art works.

At the same time, North Syrian art may have been a direct or indirect source for certain other elements in the "local style," such as snarling lions. Still other details in the "local" seal designs are best explained as the legacy of Middle Assyrian artistic traditions first introduced in the late second millennium B.C. through interactions between northern Iran and areas to the west. Last, a relationship was shown to exist between the Hasanlu "local style" and long-standing artistic traditions in western Iran. It was this level of stylistic and iconographic analysis of the "local style" seal designs, then, that helped to clarify the nature of cultural relations between Hasanlu and the major centers of Assyria and Syria to the west, and Elam to the south.

After establishing the shared characteristics of the full corpus of the "local style" glyptic and the major visual source materials, the question of individual artistic styles was addressed. It was possible to subdivide the assemblage into eight different "micro-styles" on the basis of idiosyncracies of composition and detail, attributable to different craftmen, workshops, visual sources, and/or date. This level of analysis suggested the possibility of at least one major workshop of seal-carving at Hasanlu IVB with one to three artisans. The evidence pointed further to a close relationship between craftsmen working in various media.

By the stylistic designation "other Iranian style" (Chapter 3), the notion was raised that at least three groups of objects may have been made at or near Hasanlu, even though they do not represent the so-called local style. Among these, a group of conoid-knob stamps was considered to be of local production on the basis of parallels between certain seal designs and designs on other "local" art works; and on the basis of the discovery at the site of commodity sealings bearing impressions that could have been made by similar stamps. As for the remaining two "other Iranian styles," geometric seal-beads and unengraved cylinders, parallels were noted from all over the Near East, and no reason was seen to look for their place of production outside Northwest Iran.

Among the foreign seals from Hasanlu IVB, the most unexpected group includes the lion stamps, scarabs, and hammer-head stamp of Syro-Palestinian style (Chapter 4). While there is little doubt that these goods were manufactured in the Levant (judging from excavated parallels), it remains uncertain whether they reached Hasanlu directly from the far west or indirectly through Assyria, where similar goods have been found.

The interpretation of the Neo-Assyrian-style seals in Chapter 5 was largely inspired by the theoretical paradigm of center and periphery. On the basis of stylistic evidence, it was possible to distinguish between a "central" and "provincial" Assyrian style among the linear-style seals from Hasanlu IVB. Specifically, when compared with excavated seals from sites in Assyria proper, only a handful of the Hasanlu seals could be confirmed as legitimate imports from the imperial centers in Mesopotamia. In contrast, the majority of the linear-style seals from the site were shown to exhibit certain non-Assyrian features that are held in common with seals and other objects of "Iranian" and "local" style—for example, a tendency towards overall surface patterning and a liveliness of the representations.

Among four possible hypotheses generated to explain where and by whom the "provincial Assyrian style" seals may have been produced, the most intriguing one suggests production by Assyrians in or near Iran, perhaps even in Zamua in the western Zagros, where Assurnasirpal II claims to have built a palace. This hypothesis raises the notion of a *provincial* Assyrian *center* in the Zagros as intermediary between the imperial center and its periphery; as well as questions the meaning of provincial, as opposed to peripheral. It was suggested that the term "peripheral" be used to describe a relationship two stages removed from the political center (that is, artists from the center [in this case, Assyria] working in the provinces [perhaps Zamua] and sending their goods to the periphery [Hasanlu]); and that the term "provincial" be employed to describe a relationship more directly tied to the political center. In addition to raising the testable hypothesis of a marginal production center in the Zagros, this concept thus introduces a third category into the standard art historical paradigm of center and periphery: the outlying province that exists between major centers and their hinterlands. While such a concept is useful in determining where some of the Assyrian-type seals from Hasanlu may have been produced, it does not tell us whether they were cut by Assyrian craftsmen absorbing stylistic elements from Iran, or local artisans absorbing elements from Assyria. The latter question must remain open until we develop far more rigorous criteria in art history for attributing style to ethnicity.

Chapter 5 also dealt with the question of why Assyrian-style seals in general (whether from the center or from Assyrian-controlled provinces) were so desired at Hasanlu. The available evidence suggested that they were not actually used to seal goods at Hasanlu, but, rather, were acquired as personal ornaments for their prestige value—in the same way that Assyrian themes were incorporated into the "local style" artwork presumably to identify with the cultural status of the imperial center. At this level, it was argued, the Assyrian seals would have served to identify the owner's social group affiliation at the site. Drawing on recent studies by art historians and anthropologists on the "social role of things," glyptic style becomes, then, a dynamic variable, serving in

the processes of information exchange and boundary maintenance; as signals of status and prestige.

Although there is historical evidence for an Assyrian settlement in Zamua in Iraqi Kurdistan, the extent of Assyrian control in Northwest Iran is not yet fully understood. The Assyrian annals record military activities in the region at least by 843 B.C., with the campaigns of Shalmaneser III. However, there is no direct evidence of Assyrian suzerainty in the ninth century. While Assyrian goods (and visual themes) are clearly part of the material culture of Hasanlu IVB, they do not necessarily indicate political control by Assyria—especially in view of the fact that most of the Assyrian-style seals could not be confirmed stylistically as imports from central Assyria.

In addition to the adoption of themes from contemporary ninth-century Neo-Assyrian art, evidence was presented in Chapter 6 of the survival of second-millennium Middle Assyrian artistic traditions. Specifically, several seal designs were shown to present compositions and/or details best known from Middle Assyrian seal impressions on tablets and sealings. At the same time, however, they exhibit Neo-Assyrian carving styles and/or themes. The discussion noted the problems involved in determining whether these works represent foreign imports or local products, carved in the ninth century B.C. or earlier. What is needed but not currently available for comparative purposes are dated Assyrian seals between the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I and Assurnasirpal II (that is, from the tenth century B.C.).

As important as the stylistic information in the seal designs is to any study of glyptic artifacts, equally important is the functional information contained in the markings on the backs of sealings and in the distribution of the objects, when such precious data are available. For the Hasanlu glyptic, this level of analysis led to conclusions about the economic and social use of seals and sealings at the site, contributing to a better understanding both of the local cultural history in this period and of ancient seal use in general.

A working typology in Chapter 1 established the range of sealing types and functions at Hasanlu. Judging from the imprints on the undersides of the sealings, it was possible to distinguish between jar, bag, box, basket, and two types of door sealings from period IVB.

A full analysis in Chapter 8 of the distribution of the glyptic finds throughout the site highlighted the good fortune of being able to put a majority of the objects back into their original context: in graves or buildings, on first or second floor levels, and with skeletons or other items. Among the most important observations was that, in general, the seals and sealings were discovered in separate locations at the site. More specifically, it was noted that while most of the seals were found in first-floor contexts in the major Burned Buildings, the sealings were found primarily in second-story collapse in Burned Buildings II and V.

As for the seals, a number were found with skeletons either in the Burned Buildings or in graves in the Outer Town area. These findings prove to be important for understanding how seals may have been worn as personal ornaments: on outer garments, possibly suspended by their metal loops from lion pins found with them; on beaded necklaces; on belts; or even suspended from a weapon. In addition, an abundance of jewelry and other high-status goods found with seals beside skeletons in the Burned Buildings suggests that the seal-bearers were elite local residents, reinforcing conclusions in Chapter 5 regarding the prestige value of the Assyrian-style seals. Last, the analysis posits that seals found in graves may have functioned as amulets, in addition to being used as actual sealing devices and personal ornaments.

As for the sealings, their distribution and function suggests that they sealed primarily doors and containers of luxury goods in ivory, gold, and silver from the second stories in the northeast and southeast areas of Burned Building II, and the southeast corner of Burned Building V. This level of analysis serves to reconstruct sealed "treasuries" in these particular building areas on the Citadel Mound, in which were stored precious goods in sealed cotainers; and then raises questions about who controlled the stores at Hasanlu.

The Hasanlu glyptic, then, has provided a unique opportunity to apply primarily art historical methods to a group of seals and sealings having a well-stratified, archaeological context. On one level, the analysis has suggested a methodology for studying seals and sealings based on the integration of visual, functional, locational, and historical evidence. It has further provided a descriptive data base that can be used for future comparative studies. In particular, it is hoped that the working typology of the sealings will contribute to the growing data bank of functional studies of sealings in the ancient Near East and Aegean, and thus bring us closer to a better understanding of the range of types and uses of these important artifacts.

On another level, it is hoped that the analysis has contributed to a reconstruction of the local cultural history of Hasanlu in the early Iron Age. In this regard, stylistic evidence for a number of individual "local" styles served to generate hypotheses about craft production and workshops at the site. In addition, a functional and distributional analysis provides a wider understanding of the range of value of seals and sealings—from their social use as amulets and symbols of prestige to their economic use in controlling access to valuables.

On a broader level, the stylistic analysis leads to

conclusions about foreign relations in the Near East in the early first millennium B.C. It serves to reconstruct patterns of exchange between Hasanlu and the major centers of Assyria and Syro-Palestine to the west, and Elam and Luristan to the south. It further attempts to understand better cultural attitudes of Northwest Iran towards the Assyrian empire through the consumption of Assyrian goods, particularly carved cylinder seals, and the incorporation of Assyrian motifs into the "local" art style.

Last, the analysis raises more theoretical issues. It introduces the concepts of *center, province,* and *periphery* to allow for a possible intermediary place of production in the Zagros for a group of Neo-Assyrian linear-style seals from Hasanlu having stylistic affinities with the art of Iran. The traditional center-periphery dichotomy proved inadequate to deal with certain stylistic innovations in this frontier region, and with the interplay of native elements with intrusive ones. By introducing a new paradigm to account for the style of this particular group of Hasanlu seals, the discussion highlights the importance of style and iconography in reconstructing center-periphery relations, as well as the need in art history for more explicit, flexible models based on individual case studies.

In addition, an information-exchange model provides a useful framework for explaining the presence of Assyrian-style seals at Hasanlu that could not be explained adequately by commodity exchange alone. In this view, the seals are regarded as signals of status and prestige, serving to mark, maintain, and further social differentiation at the site.

By means of this many-faceted approach, the well-stratified, style-rich seals and sealings from Hasanlu IVB prove to be vital artistic, social, and economic documents, reflecting and reinforcing basic cultural values of Northwest Iran in the early first millennium B.C. That it has been possible to extract this level of information from a group of glyptic finds from Hasanlu is especially important in the virtual absence of written documents from the site. Nevertheless, the conclusions reached represent only one way of interpreting the Hasanlu glyptic. They are hypotheses that remain to be tested against the still unstudied material from the site and any new discoveries in the field. Of broader interest, however, is the use of the data for future research in ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology, and the possible contribution of some of the more theoretical ideas to the field of art history in general. Above all, it is hoped that the analysis has highlighted the benefits of combining art historical, functional, and distributional studies to reconstruct the ancient past.

Part 2

Catalog of the Glyptic from Hasanlu IVB

Introduction to the Catalog

The Catalog is arranged by style of the seal designs, following the classification scheme explained briefly in Chapter 1 (pp. 16–17) and more fully in the introductions of Chapters 2 through 7.[366] Each seal design is given a *Catalog number.* These run serially from 1 through 96. When impressions of the same seal occur on more than one sealing, each of the sealings is listed in a separate section under the same Catalog number (as in Nos. 5A, 5B, 5C, etc.). When impressions of more than one seal occur on a single sealing, each design is given its own Catalog number (as in Nos. 7–8 and 94–95).

Within the broad *Stylistic groupings* of Local Style, Other Iranian Styles, Syro-Palestinian Style, Neo-Assyrian Style, Middle Assyrian Stylistic Legacy, and Stylistic Legacy Uncertain, the objects are initially grouped by *type of artifact* (cylinder seals, stamp seals, sealings, and tabs) and then by *subject* of the seal design, with similar themes grouped together.

Each Catalog entry begins with the *Catalog number,* the *type of artifact,* and the *reference to the text illustration*(s). This information is then followed by the *Hasanlu Field Number* in which the year of the season of excavation is followed by the Field Register number of the object (e.g. HAS 62-212 where 62 stands for 1962). For discoveries made prior to the work of the Hasanlu Project, the numbers HAS 34-1, HAS 36-1 and 2, and 1947[49]-1 through 5 are used. The objects were originally divided between the collections of The University Museum (UM) of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), The Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York), and the Musée Iran Bastan (TM) (Tehran), with two objects from an early sounding by Stein (Nos. 5A and 41) held in the British Museum (BM) (London). Since the objects in Tehran could not be examined personally, the study has had to rely for this information on available photographs, modern impressions of the seals, casts of the ancient impressions on sealings (some held at the Pierpont Morgan Library [PML] in New York), as well as on field reports, object cards, and sketches.

Next comes the *Provenance of the object* (available also on distribution plans in Chapter 8) which is given in terms of final publication loci designations (but note that access to original field information in the Hasanlu archives is most easily obtained through the HAS number). Specific field contexts for associated numbered skeletons (Skel. no.) are listed separately in Appendix E.

Dimensions of the object are given as Ht. (height), L. (length), W. (width), Th. (thickness), Diam. (diameter), and Perf. (diameter of perforation). Dimensions are given in centimeters, and whenever possible, to the nearest 1/100 of a centimeter. Unless otherwise noted, maximum dimensions are given. For objects in Tehran, the dimensions are based on measurements taken of available modern seal impressions or on field notes and photographs. Diameters of the cylinder seals in Tehran are based on calculations of the circumference (or the length of a single, complete rolling) divided by pi (3.14159). The accuracy of the seal dimensions taken from modern impressions is subject to the quality of the available rolling and the evenness of the seal edge.

The dimensions of the sealings were taken, whenever possible, from their proper original stance, known from the direction of string grooves or impressed jar rims on the back. Unfortunately, photographs of the backs of many of the Tehran sealings were unavailable, so their proper orientation could not be determined. In these cases, dimensions had to be based on the field measurements, which were taken for basic identification of the object and not with function in mind. For this reason, the dimensions given here are sometimes different from those on the field cards.

Finally, the *Material of the object* and, if relevant, its *Condition* is given.

For those objects in the collections in New York and Philadelphia, identification of materials is based on scientific analysis (x-ray diffraction and/or electron dispersive spectroscopy) undertaken by George Wheeler of the Objects Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum. For those objects now in Tehran, information on the materials is based on casual identifications made in the field. (See Appendix A for an overview of seal materials.)

The term "faience" has been avoided because of the prevailing confusion in the literature with frit and Egyptian blue. Following P.R.S. Moorey, less ambiguous terms have been chosen: "glazed composite material" for faience (having a sintered quartz body and glaze); and "unglazed composite material" for the frits (also having a sintered quartz body, but no glaze).[367] Egyptian blue refers to an artificial compound, a calcium-copper-tetrasilicate with the formula $CaO.CuO.4Si0_2$, that can be identified by x-ray diffraction analysis.[368] In those cases where the field records identify a seal in Tehran as faience or frit (often used interchangeably), "composite material" has been substituted in the Catalog. The present *Condition* of the artifact is described only if it is particularly worn or broken.

Added materials include metal caps and looped suspension pins on seals. On the basis of spectrographic analysis by Chris Blair of the Objects Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum of the metal attachments on objects in New York and Philadelphia, it has been possible to

distinguish between copper and bronze, and to determine the tin content of the bronzes (see Appendix A).

This set of data is then followed by further descriptive information for seals under the headings of *Seal design, Stylistic group, Parallels in Glyptic Art, Parallels in non-Glyptic Art,* and *Previous Publications.* In the case of stamp seals *Shape* (based on the working typology in Chapter 1, p. 9 and fig. 4) is indicated.

The description of the *Seal design* (or *Reconstructed seal design*) refers to the ancient or modern *impression* of the seal. Attention is given to matters of composition (*where* items are placed), as well as subject matter (*what* is represented). Right and left refer to the direction a figure is facing from the viewer's point of view.

As stated above, criteria for attributions to a *Stylistic group* are explained briefly in Chapter 1 and more fully in the introduction of each style chapter (2–7).

As explained in Chapter 2, the "local style" glyptic has been further divided into a number of personal or individual artistic styles on the basis of idiosyncracies of composition and detail. These "micro-styles" are labelled A through H in the Catalog.

Only objects from controlled excavations are used as *Parallels* because they are the only ones whose context is sufficiently fixed to provide helpful data on chronology and place of production. The parallels are organized according to main theme (subject matter), composition, and specific details of iconography and design, with the closest parallels listed first. They are collected from glyptic art from other sites in the ancient Near East, as well as non-glyptic art from Hasanlu and other sites. Excavation numbers, present locations, and museum accession numbers are cited when available. Selected comparanda are illustrated in plates at the end of the volume, following photographic plates of the Hasanlu glyptic.

For sealings *Description of back, Function,* and *Description of front* are given.

Description of back refers to markings on the underside; determinations of *Function* are explained in the working typology in Chapter 1 (pp. 23–26 and Fig. 6).

Description of front includes information on how many times, how completely, and in which direction the original seal was rolled on a sealing; individual rollings are labelled a, b, c, etc. When a seal design is particularly difficult to read owing to multiple, overlapping impressions (as in Nos. 9, 18, and 19), each rolling is described individually under this heading, with a description of the *Reconstructed seal design* given separately.

(*Reconstructed*) *dimensions of original seal* are based on measurements taken of the ancient seal impressions.

An attempt has been made to illustrate the objects with both photographs (arranged in plates at the back of the volume) and drawings (distributed throughout the Catalog); as well as to establish a set of graphic conventions for seals and sealings, not yet standardized in the literature (Fig. 15).

In general, each seal is illustrated by a photograph of the object with its modern impression, and a drawing of the impression (with a side and top view of the seal, when available). Both photographs and drawings are reproduced at actual size (1:1). Perforation holes have been left open in top views of seals, except to indicate remnants of metal pins. Reconstructed lines are dashed (see Fig. 15), with blank areas indicating regions that could not be reconstructed.

As the sealings are particularly difficult to understand from photographs alone, drawings are provided, whenever possible, of the front, back, and cross-section(s) (in black). The illustrations of the sealings are oriented to show their original stance (when known), giving priority to function over seal design. The front and back views are generally shown side by side. For one three-sided sealing (No. 6A), the two side views are placed on the corresponding left and right sides of the impressed front view (Fig. 32; Pl. 8). Stippling has been used to show the form of the sealings, and hatching to indicate broken areas (see Fig. 15). Long dashes indicate where sealing sections have been taken. When impressions of the same seal occur on more than one sealing, a composite drawing is included (Nos. 5 and 6, Figs. 20 and 31).

Certain conventions have been adopted to distinguish graphically between those drawings based on the author's examination of the actual objects, modern casts, or adequate photographs, and those drawings based solely on field sketches or field photos. For the latter, cylinder seal impressions have been drawn without side borders, and sealings without stippling and section lines. Drawings of stamp seal impressions have been regularly set within a box to distinguish them from those few cases when it was not clear from the source material whether we were seeing a seal impression or the actual seal face.

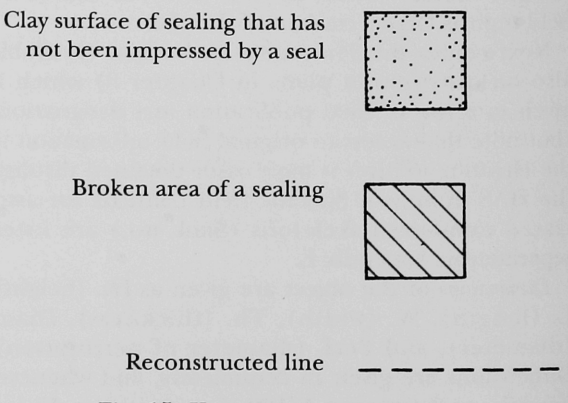


Fig. 15. Key to graphic conventions.

"Local Style"

Seals

1 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 16, Pl. 1)

HAS 62-198. TM; modern impression at UM.

In pit 1 of central test trench in square T24, south of Burned Building VII East and east of Burned Building VII; cut into debris of period IV; disturbed context.[369]

Ht. 3.8; Diam. 1.24

Bone(?). Perf. misshapen.

Seal design:

Upper register: A standing figure raises one arm before an approaching horse-drawn chariot. The figure has a large head, prominent nose and eye, and hair rising to a point in the back, above the neck. The chariot has a four-spoked wheel and is guided by a driver with facial features matching those of the standing figure. A bell or tassle hangs from a strap below the neck of the horse, whose body is marked by vertical hatching. A triangular wedge is below the elbow of the standing figure.

Lower register: A winged bull and winged lion, both with upraised tails and hatched bodies, stride in procession to the left. The lion is differentiated from the bull by an open jaw and angular thrust of the muzzle, tufted tail, and upraised hair along his back; a drill hole is between his legs. There is a wedge in the field before the bull, and a spear(?) before the lion.

Border: Band of diagonal hatching.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (B).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Striations on animal bodies: Choga Zanbil TZ 469.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 45); TZ 490.1952 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 49); TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970: no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1162 (TM 1469; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142).

Placement and form of bull's wing: Sialk B, S. 737, Tomb 24 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pl. XXX, 3 and XCVI).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Chariot scene: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-890 (TM 25849; Muscarella 1980: no. 5); HAS 64-757 (MMA 65.163.19; Muscarella 1980: no. 1 = our Pl. 34b); HAS 64-947 (TM 25851; Muscarella 1980: no. 13); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-574; Muscarella 1980: no. 16).

Horse wearing bell or tassle at neck: Ivory carvings: HAS 60-950 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 34 = our Pl. 35a); HAS 64-919 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 6); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-561; Muscarella 1980: no. 29); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-568; Muscarella 1980: no. 30).

Human facial features: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 58-431 (UM 59-4-147; Muscarella 1980: nos. 62–63); HAS 64-920 (MMA 65.163.16; Muscarella 1980: no. 75 = our Pl. 34a); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-613; Muscarella 1980: no. 83).

Winged lion and head type: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.613.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163); HAS 64-915 (UM 65-31-367; Muscarella 1980: no. 164); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a); HAS 64-1064, fragment without wings (MMA 65.163.11; Muscarella 1980: no. 162 = our Pl. 30b).

Striations on animal bodies: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: figs. 12 and 6 = details, our Pls. 32–33); silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29); glazed tile, Susa (Louvre SB 3353; Porada 1965: pl. 14 above = our Pl. 41b); painted pottery, Sialk B, S. 584 (Ghirshman 1939: pl. LXXXI).

Placement and form of animal wings: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX). Fragmentary clay relief, Sialk B, S. 134 (Ghirshman 1939: pl. XCVIII).

Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig. 5; 1990a: pl. 9; 1990b: pl. XXVIC.

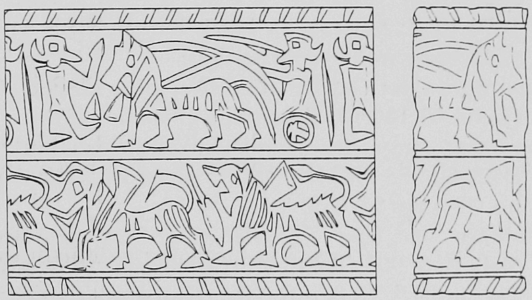


Fig. 16. No. 1. From modern impression.

2 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 17, Pl. 1)

HAS 62-841. TM; modern impression at UM.

Second-story collapse, east end of Room 6, Burned Building III.

Ht. 4.4; Diam. 1.43

Terracotta(?).

Seal design:

Upper register: An opposing lion and winged bull. The lion, walking to the right with his head turned in reverse, has a wide open jaw and prominent teeth. The wing of the bull is erect, growing from the middle of his back. Both animals have prominent eyes, curled tails with a brush-like tip, and light incisions on their bodies. A cross is in the field above the lion's back. A vertical snake is at the terminus.

Lower register: A chariot with a five-spoked wheel and carrying two riders(?) is pulled to the right by two quadrupeds, shown in procession. The animals each have a leonine head with an open jaw and prominent teeth, and an equine body with a plain, long, hanging tail. The body of the larger creature is striated. A triangular wedge is between the legs of the leading quadruped.

Border: Band of vertical hatching.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (C).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Brush-tipped tail: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X [= our Pl. 40a] and XVI); Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32); Assur 14327h, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8997; Moortgat 1941: fig. 1).

Placement and form of animal wing: Sialk B, S. 737, Tomb 24 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 3 and XCVI).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Chariot scene: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-757 (MMA 65.163.19; Muscarella 1980: no. 1 = our Pl. 34b); HAS 64-1076 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 4); HAS 64-788 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 14).

Lion head type: Cast bronze lion pin, HAS 60-980 (MMA 61.100.11; Muscarella 1988: no. 43).

Prominent, sharp teeth of animals: Cast bronze lion pin, HAS 60-983 (MMA 61.100.10; Muscarella 1988: no. 42 = our Pl. 31a).

Placement and form of animal wing: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX).

Previous publications: None.

3 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 18; Pl. 2)

HAS 60-1028. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 57, 61, 62, 64, 75, 77, 78, 84).

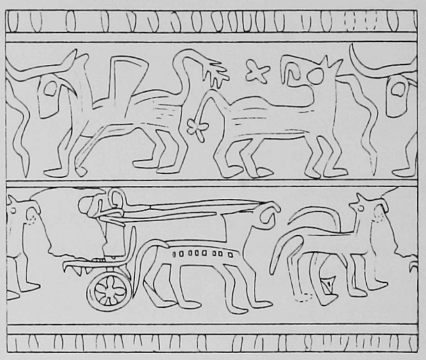


Fig. 17. No. 2. From modern impression.

Ht. approx. 4.0; Diam. 1.43

Bone(?). Copper/bronze end cap preserved on top. Design in lower register worn.

Seal design:

Upper register: A standing figure, facing right, confronts a bull, striding to the left with his head reversed. The human figure, wearing a short tunic, has a large head, prominent nose, large circular eye, and shaggy hair. His arms are upraised; with his left hand he wields a weapon(?) against the bull. The latter has a long snout and upcurled tail. There is a star on either side of the human figure, and a third above the back of the bull. A crescent(?) is above the star at left. Height of register 1.9 cm.

Lower register: Traces of a human head with shaggy hair(?), and a winged lion with wide open mouth(?).

Border: Above, traces of vertical hatching. Lower border not preserved.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (D).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Short legs of quadruped: Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1162 (TM 1469; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Shaggy-haired man: Ivory carvings: HAS 64- (UM 65-31-478; Muscarella 1980: no. 121); HAS 64-1069 (UM 65-31-346; Muscarella 1980: no. 122).

Previous publications: None.

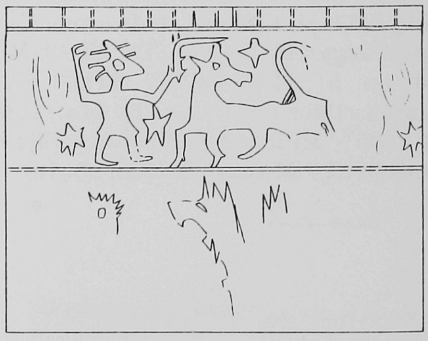


Fig. 18. No. 3. From modern impression.

4 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 19; Pl. 2)

HAS 59-742. TM; modern impression at UM.

On stone paving near stone-lined drain in South Street, under fill from collapse of Burned Buildings I and II into the street.

Ht. 4.87; Diam. 1.81

Egyptian blue(?).

Seal design: The field is organized into one main scene and two series of minor elements, arranged in zones above and at the side. The major scene shows an opposing bull and lion standing vertically on their hind legs, with the forelegs of the bull extended before him and those of the lion upraised on either side of his head. The lion has an open jaw, squared-off muzzle, and horizontal striations along the length of his body. A scorpion and three cuneiform-like wedges are in the lower field between the opponents; five wedges radiating in the form of a star are between the heads of the quadrupeds, slightly closer to the bull. The tail of the lion is upcurled, enclosing three radiating wedges. The tail of the bull, also upcurled but longer than that of the lion, encloses a large star, composed of fifteen short triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle. In the zone above the antagonists, from left to right, are an inverted quadruped(?), a bird facing right, and crossed snakes. In the zone at the terminus, from top to bottom, are a crescent, an inscribed circle, an inverted crescent, and a vertical snake.

Border: Diagonal hatching.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (G).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Composition/organization into zones: Choga Zanbil TZ 474.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 27); TZ 485.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 65); TZ 650.1956 (Louvre SB 5063; Porada 1970: no. 114).

Rampant animals: Choga Zanbil TZ 293.1953 (?; Porada 1970: no. 52); TZ 592.1952 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 46); TZ 469.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 45); Sialk B, S. 737, Tomb 24 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 3 and XCVI); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1000 (AI; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 91); Sor 923 (UM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 238, no. 96).

Lion head type: Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1000 (AI; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 91); Sor 923 (UM?; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 238, no. 96).

Striations on lion's body: Choga Zanbil TZ 469.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 45); TZ 490.1952 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 49); TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970: no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1162 (TM 1469; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142).

Star: Choga Zanbil TZ 580.1956 (Louvre SB 5027; Porada 1970: no. 24).

Inscribed circle: Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 750 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 93); Choga Zanbil TZ 481.1956 (Louvre SB 5033; Porada 1970: no. 85); TZ 611.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 83); TZ 487.1956 (Louvre SB 5048; Porada 1970: no. 42); Sialk B, S. 737, Tomb 24 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 3 and XCVI).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Division of field into uneven zones: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; drawing, Winter 1989: fig. 6 = detail, our Pl. 33).

Opposing rampant animals: Ivory carving, HAS 64-1064 (MMA 65.163.11; Muscarella 1980: no. 162 = our Pl. 30b).

Striations on animal body: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: figs. 12 and 6 = details, our Pls. 32–33); silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29); glazed tile, Susa (Louvre SB 3353; Porada 1965: pl. 14 above = our Pl. 41b); painted pottery, Sialk B, S. 584 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. IX, 3 and LXXXI).

Previous publications: Dyson 1960c: fig., p. 128; Porada 1970: pl. XIV, fig. 14; Winter 1977: ill. 9.

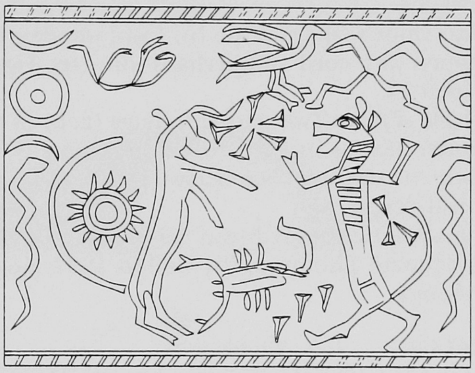


Fig. 19. No. 4. From modern impression.

Sealings

5 (A–J). (See composite drawing, Fig. 20)

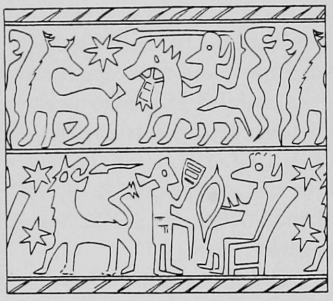


Fig. 20. Composite drawing of No. 5 (A-J) (description, p. 90).

5A SEALING (Fig. 21; Pl. 3)

HAS 36-2. BM 129993 (Stein's Hasanlu object no. 30).

Test trench, base of northern edge of Citadel Mound, section v at -13 feet (Stein 1940: 395–396).

Ht. 7.2; W. 6.6; Th. 4.0

Clay.

Description of back: Impression of knob (reconstructed diam. of shank approx. 4.0 cm.); cord grooves; and wood grains on shank and flat surface of sealing; other side of sealing broken. Three specks of copper/bronze residue visible on underside.

Function: Door sealing (Type b), from wooden knob wrapped with cord and perhaps wire (see Fig. 6.3, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5B-J; rolled horizontally, with rolling "a" inverted. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: Stein 1940: pl. XXVI, 17 (inadequate photograph); Collon 1987: no. 415 (drawing).

5B SEALING (Fig. 22; Pl. 4)

HAS 64-414. TM; latex impression at UM; gypsum cast at PML.

Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 8, Burned Building II.

L. 8.0; W. 7.2; Th. 2.5

Clay.

Description of back: Unavailable.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Two rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A and C-J, with impressions partly overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

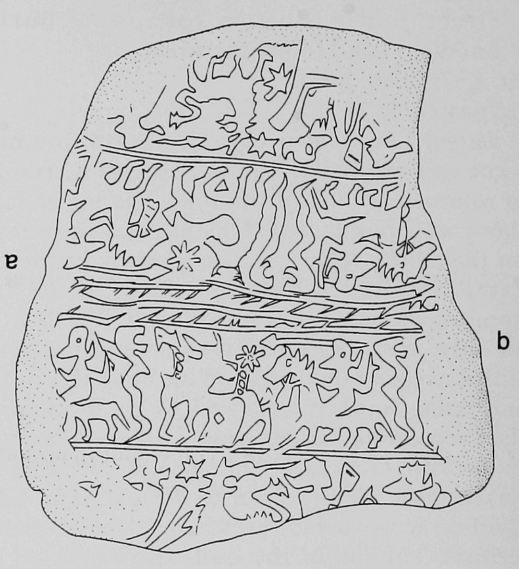


Fig. 21. No. 5A. From photographs.

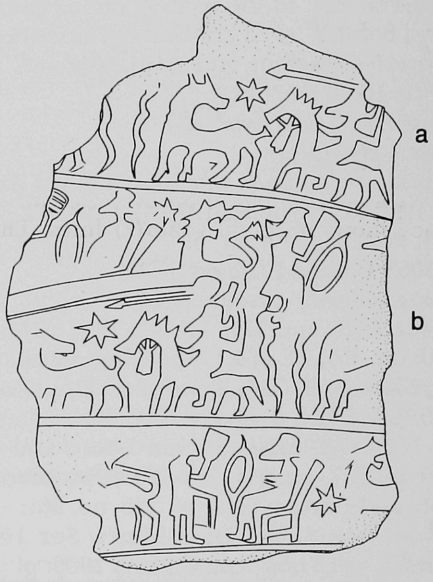


Fig. 22. No. 5B. From modern impression.

5C SEALING (Fig. 23; Pl. 4)

HAS 64-612. TM; latex impression at UM; gypsum cast at PML.

Second-story collapse, Room 7, Burned Building II.

Ht. 4.0; W. 4.6; Th. 2.2

Clay.

Description of back: Folds of leather and string groves (diam. of string approx. 0.3 cm.), judging from

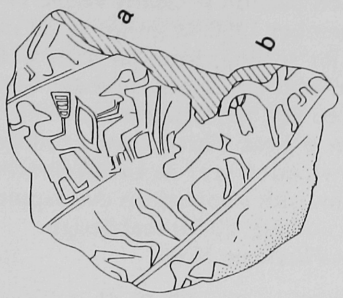


Fig. 23. No. 5C. From photographs and modern impression.

field photograph.

Function: Bag sealing, from leather bag secured with cord at the neck (see Fig. 5.2, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-B and D-J; rolled diagonally, with impressions partly overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

5D SEALING (Fig. 24; Pl. 5)

HAS 64-658. MMA 65.163.64 (Rogers Fund, 1965).
Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 7, Burned Building II.
Ht. 1.7; L. 4.9; W. 4.39
Clay. Broken along two edges.

Description of back: Impression of knob (reconstructed diam. 2.1 cm., h. 1.4 cm.) marked with concentric wood grain lines. The remainder of the back is flat. Near the knob imprint is the impression of the head of a dowel (diam. 0.68 cm.) crossed by a string groove; the surrounding surface shows irregular grain(?) lines. There are two string holes along broken edge of sealing, near knob (diam. of string approx. 0.2 cm.). Flecks of electrum adhere to flat surface (blackened in drawing).

Function: Box sealing, from wooden or ivory box overlaid with electrum, constructed with dowels, and having a wooden knob; string tied around box before sealing applied (see Fig. 6.1, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-C and E-J, with impressions partly overlapping; fingerprints over surface. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig.6; 1990a: pl. 10; 1990b: pl. XXVIIa.

5E SEALING (Fig. 25; Pl. 5)

HAS 64-499. UM 65-31-392.
Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 7, Burned Building II.
Ht. 1.83; L. 4.38; W. 3.45
Clay. Broken along two edges.

Description of back: Flat surface. Impression of uniform coils of woven reeds across entire surface. The coils are set close together, with no gap between stitches (diam. of coils approx. 0.84 cm.). String grooves (diam. 0.3 cm.) along two perpendicular, broken edges of sealing; the strings were originally aligned with the horizontal and vertical edges of the basket.

Function: Basket sealing, from lid(?) of coiled reed basket, secured with string tied in criss-crossing directions (see Fig. 5.3, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Partial rolling (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-D and F-J; rolled parallel to edge of container, with impressions partly overlapping; impression smudged and distorted by

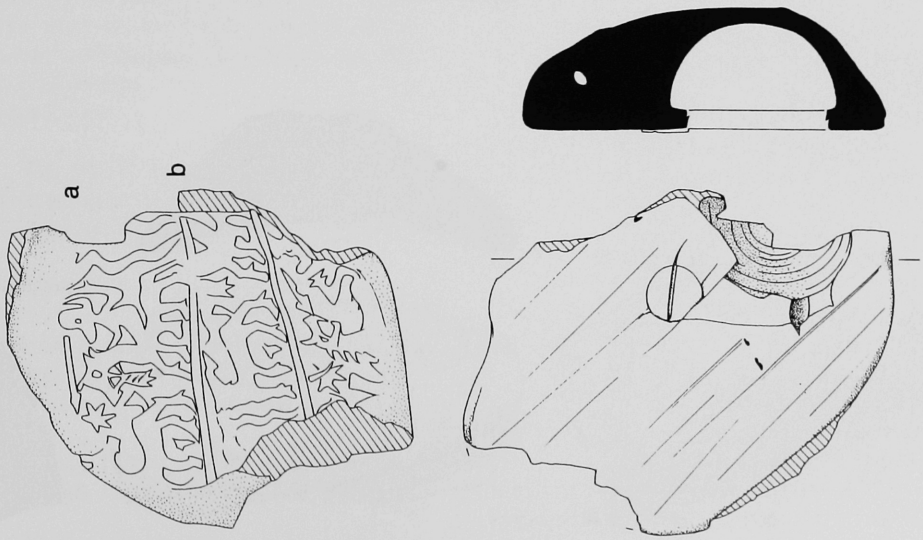


Fig. 24. No. 5D

fingerprint when wet. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

5F SEALING (Fig. 26; Pl. 6)

HAS 64-500. UM 65-31-394.

Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 7, Burned Building II.

Ht. 2.90; W. 5.1; Th. 2.94

Clay. Broken along one edge.

Description of back: Impression of jar rim and folds of leather hide (reconstructed exterior diam. of jar rim 16 cm.); impressions of string along lower edge (diam. approx. 0.7 cm.). Groove of twisted wire(?) fragment, originally imbedded into back of sealing at one end and extending beyond edge (only end of wire now extant, although the extended portion is clearly visible in a slide taken in September 1986, as shown at left in drawing).

Function: Jar sealing, from jar with leather covering secured with string and perhaps wire around the neck (see Fig. 5.1, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Three partial rollings (a, b, c) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-E and G-J; rolled vertically, with impressions overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

5G SEALING (Fig. 27; Pl. 6)

HAS 64-416. TM; latex impression at UM; gysum cast at PML.

Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 8, Burned Building II.

L. 5.5; W. 2.4; Th. 1.5

Clay.

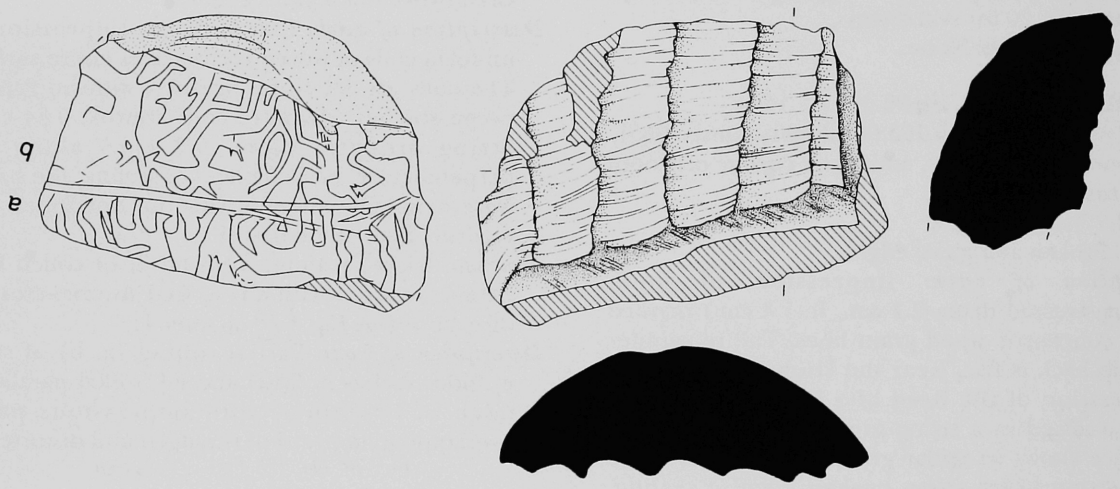


Fig. 25. No. 5E

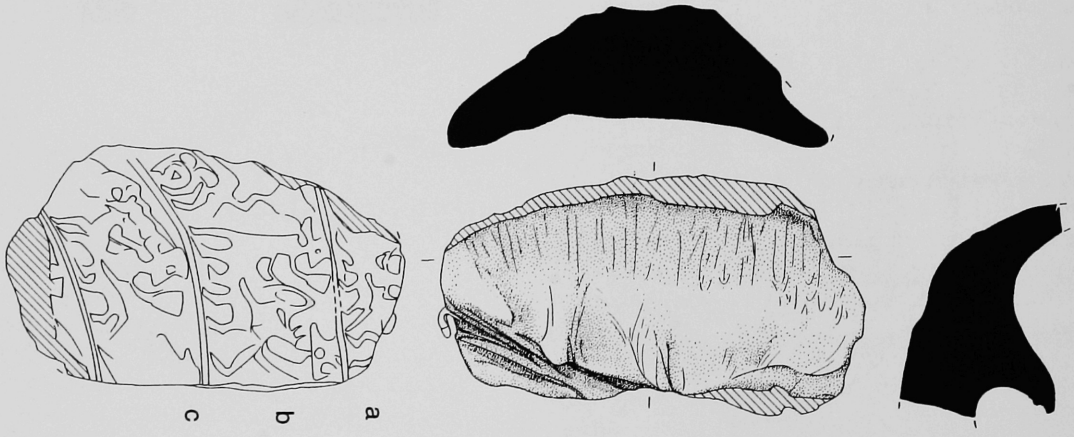


Fig. 26. No. 5F

Description of back: Unavailable.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-F and H-J, with impressions partly overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.
Previous publications: None.

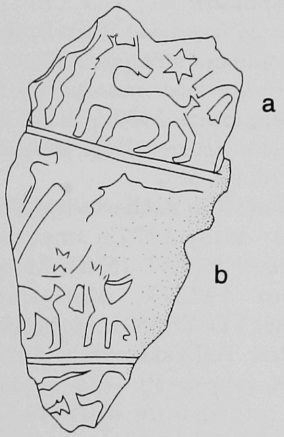


Fig. 27. No. 5G. From modern impression.

5H SEALING (Fig. 28; Pl. 6)
HAS 74-373. TM.
Second-story collapse, southwest corner (near doorway) of Room 8, Burned Building V.
L. 6.3; W. 4.2
Clay.
Description of back: String impressions.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Three partial rollings (a, b, c) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-G and I-J, with impressions partly overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.
Previous publications: None.

5I SEALING (Fig. 29; Pl. 6)
HAS 64-488. TM; gypsum cast at PML.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building II.
Dimensions unavailable
Clay.
Description of back: Impression of cylindrical peg(?) and three windings of rope (diam. of rope approx. 0.5 cm.); dimensions of peg cannot be determined.
Function: Door sealing (Type a), from cylindrical peg(?) wrapped with rope (see Fig. 6.2, Chapter 1).
Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 5A-H and J; rolled horizontally, with impressions partly overlapping. See below (p. 90) and Fig. 20 for seal design.
Previous publications: None.

5J SEALING (Fig. 30; Pl. 6)
HAS 74-304. TM.
Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 3, Burned Building V.
L. 3.8; W. 2.4
Clay.
Description of back: Impression of string and "small round depression made by sharp object," according to object card.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same

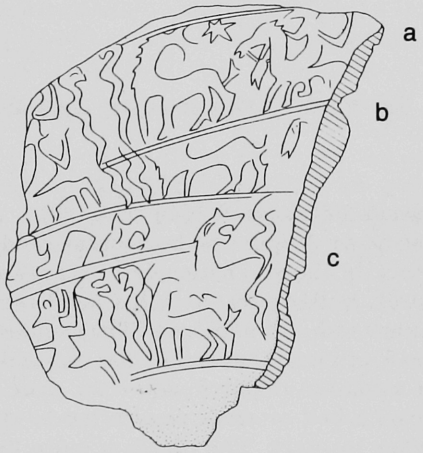


Fig. 28. No. 5H. From photograph.

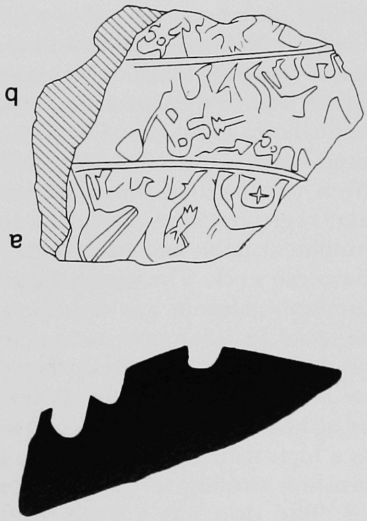


Fig. 29. No. 5I. From modern impression and field sketch.

cylinder seal as in 5A-I, with impressions partly overlapping. Upper register obscured by fingerprint and imprint of cloth(?). See below and Fig. 20 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

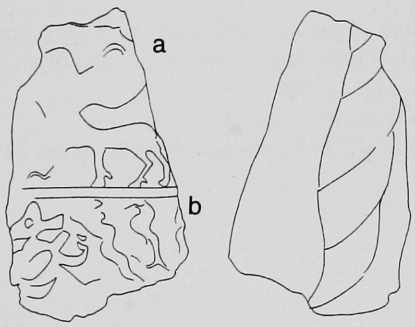


Fig. 30. No. 5J. From photograph and field sketch.

* * * *

Composite Seal design No. 5A-J: (Fig. 20)

Upper register: A figure on horseback, wielding a spear above his head, charges left towards a stag. The latter, walking left with his head reversed, has antlers with two tines each. The hunter has a large head, prominent nose, circular eye, and hair rising in a point in the back, above the neck. The horse wears a bell or tassle suspended by three straps below his neck. The object is more likely a bell, having a conical shape, straight fenestrated(?) sides, and small point projecting in the middle of the lower edge, probably indicating a clapper. An irregularly shaped six-rayed star is in the sky above the back of the stag; a wedge is between his legs. The terminal design consists of two confronting vertical snakes with large open mouths.

Lower register: A standing figure faces right, before a seated figure. The former, wearing a striated knee-length tunic, holds in his raised hand a cup and in his lowered hand a towel(?). The surface of the cup, which widens at the top, is divided into horizontal registers. The attendant has a large head, prominent nose, and hair extending out in back, above the neck. The seated figure, wearing an ankle-length garment and holding a bow, has the same facial features as his attendant. But his hair rises in a point in the back, above the neck, and there is an extra prominent cluster of vertical striations of hair or a cap on top of his head. His chair has a high slanted back. Flanking the figural group is a lion striding to the left with his head reversed. The lion has a wide open mouth, prominent teeth, and squared-off muzzle, thrust at an angle. His tail is upcurled and brush-tipped; his mane is shaggy, indicated by an uneven outline along the neck and back. There is an arrow(?) in the field before the lion's mouth. (The arrow is probably related to the bow held by the seated figure, although he is not shown shooting it.) The terminal design consists of two irregularly shaped, six-pointed stars set one above the other.

Border: Band of diagonal hatching.

Dimensions of original seal: Ht. 3.7 cm.; Diam. 1.1 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (B).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Hunting scene on horseback: Sialk B, S. 810, Tomb 15 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 5 and LVI).

Horse wearing bell or tassle at neck: Sialk B, S. 810, Tomb 15 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 5 and LVI).

Scene with seated figure: Choga Zanbil TZ 624 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 58).

High-backed chair: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design II); Assur 19773, impression, reign of Tiglath-pileser I (VAT 15581; Moortgat 1944: fig. 38); Assur 14327k, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8801; Moortgat 1941: fig. 70).

Brush-tipped tail: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X [= our Pl. 40a], and XVI); Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Hunting scene on horseback: Ivory carving, HAS 64-899 (UM 65-31-350; Muscarella 1980: no. 170); copper belt, Ziwiye excavations (Dyson 1963b: fig., p. 36).

Human facial features: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 58-431 (UM 59-4-147; Muscarella 1980: nos. 62–63); HAS 64-920 (MMA 65.163.16; Muscarella 1980: no. 75 = our Pl. 34a); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-613; Muscarella 1980: no. 83).

Horse wearing bell or tassle at neck: Ivory carvings: HAS 60-950 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 34 = our Pl. 35a); HAS 64-919 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 6); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-561; Muscarella 1980: no. 29); HAS 64- (UM 65-31-568; Muscarella 1980: no. 30). Relief, North Palace of Assurbanipal, Nineveh (BM 124858-59; Winter 1980: fig. 14).

Copper/bronze horse bell of similar form: HAS 74-327 (TM; de Schauensee and Dyson 1983: fig. 19d).

Position of spear, above head: Ivory carving, HAS 64-895 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 59).

Scene of seated figure with attendant: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-1068 (MMA 65.163.14; Muscarella 1980: no. 116 = our Pl. 34c); HAS 64-706 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 117); HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118). Relief from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (BM 124564-6; Barnett 1975: pl. 8; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 5 = our Pl. 35b).

Chair with high slanted back: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-1068 (MMA 65.163.14; Muscarella 1980: no. 116 =

our Pl. 34c); HAS 64-706 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 117); HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118).

Form and decorative banding of cup: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29).

Lion head type: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: fig. 12). Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-770 (TM 25853; Muscarella 1980: no. 172); HAS 64-1076 (TM 25868; Muscarella 1980: no. 173); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a). Cast bronze lion pin, HAS 62-415 (MMA 63.109.5; Muscarella 1988: no. 48).

Figure holding towel: Decorated knife handle, HAS 60-1005 (TM; Porada 1965: pl. 31).

6 (A–B). (See composite drawing, Fig. 31.)

Fig. 31. No. 6. Composite drawing of No. 6 (A-B) .

6A SEALING (Fig. 32; Pl. 7)
HAS 70-475. UM 71-23-102.
Floor, Room 5, Burned Building V.
Ht. 7.95; W. 3.85; Th. 3.17
Clay.

Description of back: Impression of knob (diam. cannot be determined). Impressions of three windings of rope (diam. 0.56 cm.) originally wrapped around knob (actual hairs of twine visible under high power microscope at 0.7x magnification). Impressions of wood grains on flat underside.

Function: Door sealing (Type b), from wooden(?) knob wrapped with rope (see Fig. 6.3, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Four partial rollings (a, b, c, d) of same cylinder seal as in 6B; rolled horizontally, with impressions overlapping. See below and Fig. 31 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

6B SEALING (Fig. 33; Pl. 7)
HAS 64-684. TM; latex impression at UM; gypsum cast at PML.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building II.
L. 4.6; W. 4.0; Th. 1.2
Clay.

Description of back: Unavailable.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of same cylinder seal as in 6A, with impressions partly overlapping. See below and Fig. 31 for seal design.

Previous publications: None.

* * * *

Composite Seal design No. 6A-B: (Fig. 31)

Upper register: A kneeling archer, facing left, aims his bow at a recumbent quadruped, whose body faces left while his head is turned in reverse. Behind the hunt scene is a lion crouching to the left with his head reversed, facing a second recumbent quadruped. The lion has a shaggy mane, large open jaw, prominent teeth, and upcurled tail. Ht. of register approx. 0.80 cm.

Lower register: A winged eagle-headed genie kneels, facing right, behind a seated figure who receives a standing attendant. The genie has the head of an eagle, with a large beak and a crest at the back of his head, and a human body. He wears a long mantle with incisions at the hem, indicating fringes. He holds in his raised hand a fan and in his lowered hand a spouted jar with a basket handle. The seated figure wears a long, belted robe with fringes at the hem. He has a prominent nose, and hair arranged in a clump in the back, resting on his shoulder. He raises a bowl towards his mouth with one hand, while with the other, extended hand he holds an unidentifiable object. He sits on a chair with a high slanted back and with legs consisting of two or three knobs with a central cross-bar; his feet rest on a square footstool. The attendant, also with a prominent nose, but with his hair extending out in back above the neck, wears a long, belted tunic with horizontal striations. He carries in one raised hand a bowl and in the other lowered hand a spouted jar with a basket handle, like that held by the eagle-headed genie. At the end of the register is a tree with a thick trunk filled in with chevrons and with curling branches and a square base. Ht. of register 1.65 cm.

Border: Below, band of diagonal hatching. Upper border not preserved.

Dimensions of original seal: Ht. 2.83; Diam. 1.08

Stylistic group: "Local style" (E).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Division of field into uneven registers, with smaller register above: Choga Zanbil TZ 599.1956 (Louvre SB 5024; Porada 1970: no. 88); TZ 489.1956 (Louvre SB 5047; Porada 1970: no. 104).

Scene with seated figure: Choga Zanbil TZ 624 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 58).

Winged eagle-headed genie (standing or kneeling): Nuzi (Porada 1947a: nos. 803, 805, 793, 795, 825); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X and XII

Fig. 32. No. 6A.

Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X and XII = our Pl. 40a and b); Assur 14886, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8740; Moortgat 1941: fig. 55); Assur 18773bc, impression, reign of Tiglath-pileser I (VAT 15482; Moortgat 1944: fig. 31).

High-backed chair: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design II); Assur 19773, impression, reign of Tiglath-pileser I (VAT 15581; Moortgat 1944: fig. 38); Assur 14327k, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8801; Moortgat 1941: fig. 70).

Footstool: Assur 18773, impression, reign of Tiglath-pileser I (VAT 15581; Moortgat 1944: fig. 38).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Division of field into uneven zones: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; drawing, Winter 1989: fig. 6 = detail, our Pl. 33).

Lion head type: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-770 (TM 25853; Muscarella 1980: no. 172); HAS 64-761 (MMA 65.123.20; Muscarella 1980: no. 171).

Scene of seated figure with attendants: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118); HAS 64-1068 (MMA 65.163.14; Muscarella 1980: no. 116 = our Pl. 34c); HAS 64-706 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 117). Relief from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (BM 124564-6; Barnett 1975: pl. 8; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 5 = our Pl. 35b).

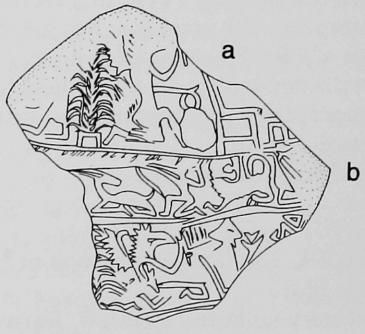


Fig. 33. No. 6B. From modern impression.

Winged eagle-headed genie: Reliefs, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud: throneroom (Bklyn 98064; Paley 1976: pl. 20); Room G (BM 124567; Barnett 1975: pl. 9); Room S (MMA 31.72.3; Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 16 = our Pl. 36); incised garment decoration, Room G (MMA 32.143.14; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 8 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 21). Terracotta plaques, Nimrud and Assur (Mallowan 1983: figs. 4, 5).

Attendant with fan: Relief from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (BM 124564-6; Barnett 1975: pl. 8; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 5 = our Pl. 35b).

Spouted jar with basket handle: Ceramic vessels: HAS 62-1013 (MMA 63.109.9; Dyson 1964b: text-fig. 4, no. 8 = our Pl. 38b); Dyson 1968: fig. 118; drawings, Young 1965: fig. 7, nos. 4 and 6; Tepe Giyan (Louvre; Contenau and Ghirshman 1935: pl. XVII). Metal vessel, HAS 62-852 (UM 63-5-251; unpublished).

Chair with high slanted back: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-1068 (MMA 65.163.14; Muscarella 1980: no. 116 = our Pl. 34c); HAS 64-766 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 117); HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118).

Footstool: Relief from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (BM 124565-6; Barnett 1975: pl. 8; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 5 = our Pl. 35b).

7–8 SEALING (Fig. 34; Pl. 7)

HAS 70-715. TM; latex impression at UM (71-23-190).

Floor, Room 4b, Burned Building V (between two storage jars).

L. 5.7; W. 3.3; Th. 2.0

Clay.

Description of back: String grooves.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Partial rollings of two(?) cylinder seals (= Nos. 7 and 8), with impressions partly overlapping; fingerprints. See below for seal designs.

Previous publications: None.

(7).

Seal design:

Upper register: Two horses(?) stride in procession to the left (only forelegs of rear animal preserved). The leading animal has a shaggy mane and back, a large circular eye, and a short upcurled tail.

Lower register: (only upper half preserved): A horse with a shaggy mane and large circular eye draws a chariot to the left; the chariot is guided by a figure with a prominent, pointed nose. A weapon(?) is in the field.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.0 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (H).

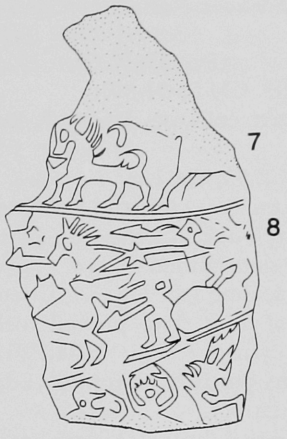


Fig. 34. No. 7-8. From modern impression.

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Chariot scene: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29); ivory carving, HAS 64-890 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 5).

Position of reins: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29); ivory carving, HAS 64-890 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 5).

Human facial features: Ivory carving, HAS 58-431 (UM 59-4-147; Muscarella 1980: nos. 62–63).

Previous publications: None.

(8).

Seal design:

Upper register (only lower two thirds preserved): A human figure with spear attacks a winged(?) quadruped with upcurled tail (perhaps a lion).

Lower register (only upper half preserved): Two(?) human figures and a lion. The middle figure, with shaggy hair and a large circular eye, faces right, raising his arms above his head. The lion has a large head, turned in reverse, with shaggy mane, prominent eye, gaping mouth, and squared-off muzzle, thrust at an angle.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.0 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (H).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Position of spear: Ivory carving, HAS 64-791 + 789 (MMA 65.163.8 + 65.123.18; Muscarella 1980: nos. 55A + 55B).

Lion head type: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: fig. 12). Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-770 (TM 25853; Muscarella 1980: no. 172); HAS 64-1076 (TM 25868; Muscarella 1980: no. 173); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a). Cast bronze lion pin: HAS 62-415 (MMA 63.109.5; Muscarella 1988: no. 48).

Previous publications: None.

9 SEALING (Fig. 35; Pl. 7)
HAS 64-501. UM 65-31-391.
Second-story collapse, Room 7, Burned Building II.
Ht. 3.0; W. 2.35; Th. 1.0
Clay. Broken along top and side edges.

Description of back: Impression of jar rim (diam. cannot be determined).

Function: Jar sealing (see Fig. 5.1, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of inverted cylinder seal; rolled diagonally, with impressions partly overlapping. Edge flattened by fingers when wet.

a) *Upper register:* A horse(?), with secondary impression rolled across body.
Lower register: From left, head of a shaggy-haired man with prominent eye, facing left; uncertain vertical form; head and serrated mane of a horse(?) facing left; head and striated neck of a serpent with wide open mouth, facing left; two rays of a star.

b) *Upper register:* From left, back hoof of a horse(?) facing left; five-spoked wheel; forelegs of a second quadruped.
Lower register: From left, traces of serrated mane of horse; serpent with open mouth; irregularly shaped seven-pointed star; head of a shaggy-haired man with large eye, facing right(?).

Reconstructed seal design:
Upper register: A chariot with a five-spoked wheel is pulled to the left by two(?) horses, shown in procession.
Lower register: Two shaggy-haired men(?) with large eyes confront each other, with uncertain vertical form behind them. A horse with a serrated mane is shown partly below and to the left of a vertical serpent, both facing left. The serpent has a wide open mouth, and horizontal incisions along his neck. The terminal design is a seven-pointed star.

Reconstructed height of original seal: 3.0 cm.
Stylistic group: "Local style" (E).
Parallels in non-glyptic art:
Chariot scene: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64-782 (MMA 65.31.363; Muscarella 1980: no. 18); HAS 64-947 (TM 25851; Muscarella 1980: no. 13); HAS 64-757 (MMA 65.163.19; Muscarella 1980: no. 1 = our Pl. 34b).
Shaggy-haired man: Ivory carvings: HAS 64- (UM 65-31-478; Muscarella 1980: no. 121); HAS 64-1069 (UM 65-31-346; Muscarella 1980: no. 122).
Previous publications: None.

10 SEALING (Fig. 36; Pl. 8)
Sealing, HAS 60-256. UM 61-5-324.
Between Burned Building II and Bead House.
Ht. 3.14; L. 4.84; Th. 2.0
Clay. Front surface worn; broken on long sides.

Description of back: Impression of three windings of thick rope (diam. approx. 0.7 cm.) and hanging end of rope.

Function: Door sealing (Type a), from cylindrical peg wrapped with rope (see Fig. 6.2, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Partial rolling of cylinder seal; rolled vertically.

Seal design:
Upper register: A horse, facing right, carries a rider with upraised arm(?). Ht. of register 1.34 cm.
Lower register: Unclear.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 2.7 cm.
Stylistic group: "Local style."
Parallels in glyptic art:
Figure on horseback: Sialk B, S. 810, Tomb 15 (TM; Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXX, 5 and LVI).
Parallels in non-glyptic art:
Figure on horseback: Ivory carving, HAS 64-769 (MMA

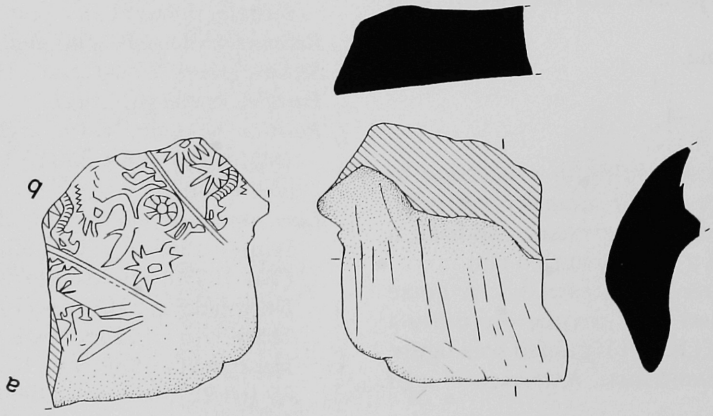


Fig. 35. No. 9

65.163.9; Muscarella 1980: no. 33); wood carving, HAS 60-1007 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 38).

Previous publications: None.

11 SEALING (Fig. 37; Pl. 8)

HAS 62-622. UM 63-5-57.

Second-story collapse, forecourt, Burned Building III.

Ht. 5.76; W. 5.29; Th. 2.22

Clay. Broken along two sides on front, and across back surface.

Description of back: Impression of leather folds and thong (w. of thong approx. 1.5 cm.; th. approx. 0.5 cm.); sealing originally applied over a knot in the thong.

Function: Bag sealing, from leather bag wrapped with a leather thong (see Fig. 5.2, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of cylinder seal; rolled diagonally, with impressions partly overlapping; fingerprints.

Seal design: A winged lion and winged horse stride in procession to the left. They are both shown with exaggerated eyes and with wings growing vertically from the junction between the neck and back. The lion has a large, wide open mouth, squared-off muzzle, and long tail, curling up over his back and then down behind him. The tail of the horse is bent up at sharp angles over his back. An irregularly shaped five-pointed star is between the legs of the horse. Two large wedges are between the creatures; a small triangular wedge is over each of their backs.

Reconstructed height of original seal: 3.0 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (F).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Winged lion and head type: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.613.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a); HAS 64-1064, fragment without wings (MMA 65.163.11; Muscarella 1980: no. 162 = our Pl. 30b).

Placement and form of animal wings: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX). Fragmentary clay relief, Sialk B, S. 134 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXI, 5 and XCVIII).

Previous publications: None.

12 SEALING (Fig. 38; Pl. 9)

HAS 74-316. TM.

Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 3, Burned Building V.

Ht. 5.3; W. 6.0; Th. 4.0

Clay. Broken along one edge.

Description of back: String groove and impression of wood(?) and fingerprints, according to object card.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Nearly complete rolling of cylinder seal.

Seal design:

Upper register: Procession of a lion with up-bent tail and a second quadruped (foreparts preserved at right end of rolling, hindquarters at left). A large star, composed of nine triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle, terminates the register. There is a wedge between the legs of the lion, and a dot between the legs of the second quadruped.

Lower register: A standing figure, facing left, with a prominent nose and hair extending out in back, above the neck, wields a weapon behind a winged lion with open mouth (hindquarters preserved at left end of rolling, foreparts at right). In procession before the lion is a bull with a long,

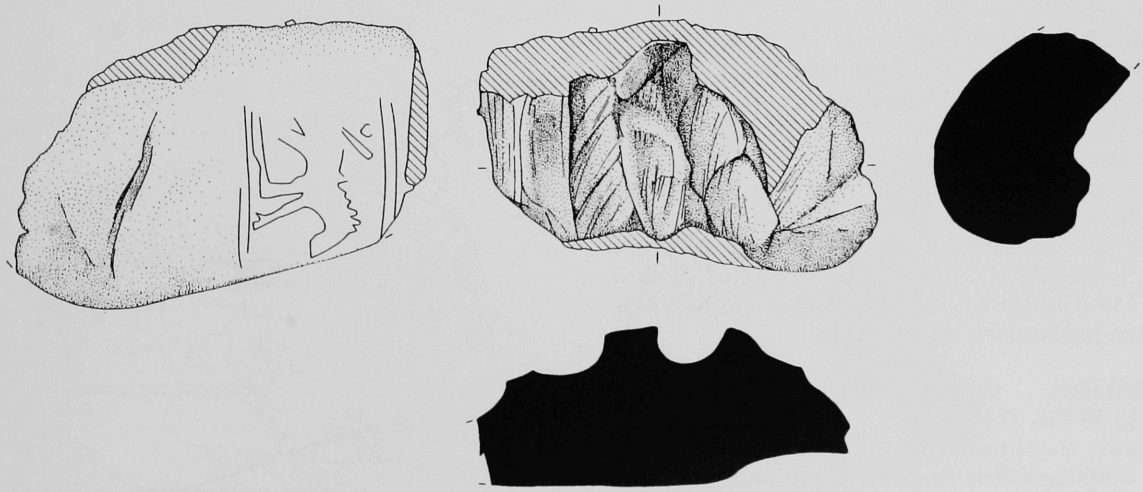


Fig. 36. No. 10

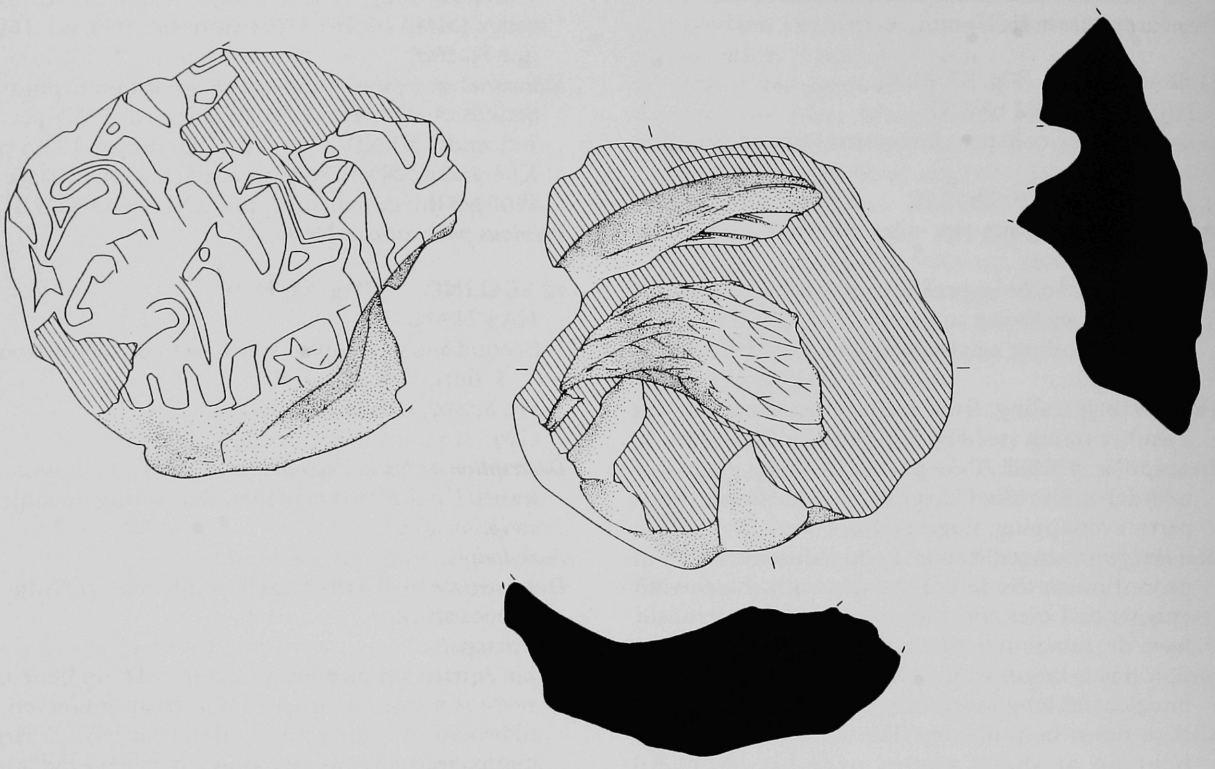


Fig. 37. No. 11

upcurled tail; the horns are shown frontally. There is a wedge between the two animals, and another between the legs of the bull.

Border: Below, band of vertical hatching. Upper border not preserved.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 4.0 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Form of star: Choga Zanbil TZ 580.1956 (Louvre SB 5027; Porada 1970: no. 24); TZ 501.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 118).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Winged lion and head type: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.613.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a).

Placement and form of animal wing: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX). Fragmentary clay relief, Sialk B, S. 134 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXI, 5 and XCVIII).

Previous publications: None.

13 SEALING (Fig. 39; no Pl.)

HAS 58-498. TM 10645.

Floor, southeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building I West (in front of east wall bench with large storage jars).

L. 3.5; W. 3.5

Clay. Fragmentary.

Description of back: Unavailable.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Partial rolling of cylinder seal.

Seal design:

Upper register: Two quadrupeds stride in procession to the left (only foreleg of second animal preserved, at right). Between them is a wedge set above an irregularly shaped seven-pointed(?) star. The left-most quadruped has a short, upturned tail.

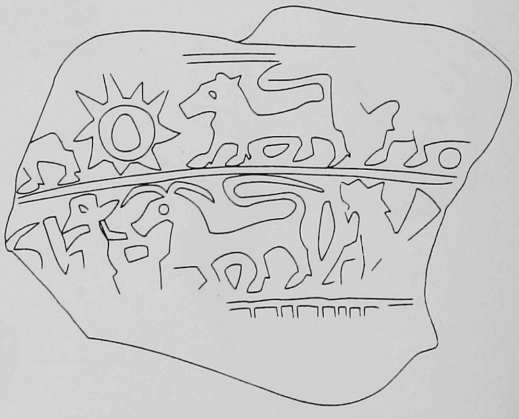


Fig. 38. No. 12. From photograph.

Lower register: Two quadrupeds stride in procession to the left. One animal (a lion?) has an open mouth (preserved at right end of rolling) and a short upturned tail (at left end of register); the second animal (a stag?) has large antlers. The terminal design is a vertical snake with a prominent head and large eye.
Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.0 cm.
Stylistic group: "Local style."
Previous publications: None.

14 SEALING (Fig. 40; Pl. 9 = back view only)
HAS 74-223. TM.
Second-story collapse, north end of Room 4, Burned Building IV-V; found together with many textile fragments and horse trappings, including breastplate HAS 74-241 (Winter 1980).
L. 7.6; W. 4.35; Th. 1.0
Burnt clay.
Description of back: Impression of smooth, sharp-edged flat bands, according to object card; the field drawing of a cross-section shows a curved profile.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Partial rolling of cylinder seal, perhaps same seal as in Nos. 5A-J. Cloth impression or fingerprints on surface.
Seal design:
Upper register (only lower half preserved): Two quadrupeds stride in procession to the left. The animal at left may wear a bell and carry a rider (traces of leg? visible).
Lower register: Not preserved.
Height of original seal: Unable to be determined.
Stylistic group: "Local style."
Previous publications: None.

15 SEALING (Fig. 41; Pl. 9)
HAS 74-432. TM.
Second-story collapse, southwest corner of Room 8, Burned Building V.
Ht. approx. 2.5; W. approx. 2.2; Th. 0.7
Clay.
Description of back: Unavailable.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Partial rolling of cylinder seal.
Seal design:
Upper register (only lower half preserved): Two quadrupeds stride in procession to the left.
Lower register: A quadruped with upcurled tail (only hindquarters preserved) faces left. There are three wedges behind him and three triangles(?) above his back.
Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.5 cm.
Stylistic group: "Local style"(?).
Previous publications: None.

16 SEALING (Fig. 42; no Pl.)
HAS 64-415. TM.
Second-story collapse, Room 8, Burned Building II.
L. 5.0; W. 4.2; Th. 3.0
Clay. Front surface worn.
Description of back: Impression of cylindrical peg at least 5.0 cm. in length (diam. cannot be determined), four or five windings of rope, and a string hole.
Function: Door sealing (Type a), from cylindrical peg

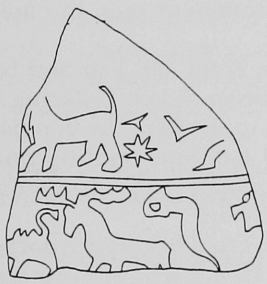


Fig. 39. No. 13. After field sketch.

Fig. 40. No. 14. After field sketch.

Fig. 41. No. 15. After field sketch.

wrapped with rope (see Fig. 6.2, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Partial impression of cylinder seal, perhaps same seal as in Nos. 5A-J; rolled horizontally.

Seal design:

Upper register: A quadruped(?).

Lower register: A quadruped, perhaps a horse wearing a bell and carrying a rider(?).

Height of original seal: Unable to be determined.

Stylistic group: "Local style"(?).

Previous publications: None.

17 SEALING (Fig. 43; Pl. 9)

HAS 60-944. UM 61-5-24.

Floor, north corner of Room 14, Burned Building II (near storage jars).

Ht. 2.45; W. 2.59; Th. 1.54

Burnt clay. Broken along edges.

Description of back: Impression of jar rim. Imprint of leather and windings of string (diam. of string approx. 0.6 cm.). Reconstructed exterior diam. of jar rim 20 cm.

Function: Jar sealing, from jar with leather covering secured with string around the neck (see Fig. 5.1, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Partial rolling of inverted cylinder seal; rolled diagonally.

Seal design:

Upper register: A winged quadruped faces left (head missing), with wing growing from his upper back.

Lower register: An opposing lion and bull (only part of their heads preserved). The lion has an open jaw and circular eye. Above the back of the bull is a crescent with long pendant triangles along the lower edge.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.5 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (A).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Lion head type: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29).

Previous publications: None.

18 SEALING (Fig. 44; no Pl.)

HAS 60-478. UM 61-5-23, unlocated.

Second-story collapse, northeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building II.

Ht. 3.5; W. 5.0

Burnt clay.

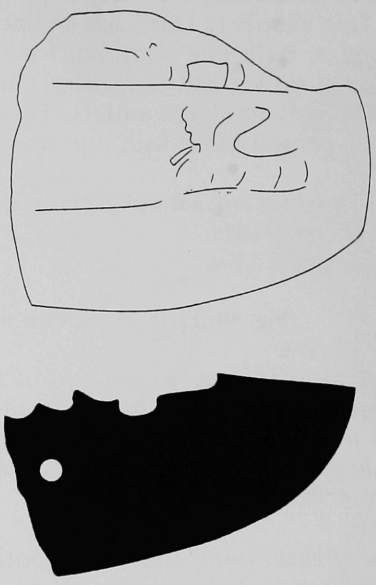


Fig. 42. No. 16. After field sketch.

Description of back: Impression of thick, twisted rope.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Three partial rollings (a, b, c) of cylinder seal, with impressions partly overlapping and flattened by fingers when wet.

a) Heads and forelegs of opposing lion and bull, both with prominent eyes; the lion has an open mouth.

b) *Upper register:* From left, hair and back leg(?) of a standing human figure(?) facing left; a winged lion striding to the left. The lion has a large head, exaggerated eye, open mouth, prominent teeth, squared-off muzzle, and upcurled tail; his wing is notched at the tip.

Lower register: From left, upper portion of a winged quadruped, facing left, with upraised tail ending in a brush-like tip; heads of confronting lion and bull (as in rolling "a").

c) Lower portion of winged quadruped(?), facing left, with upraised tail ending in a brush-like tip.

Reconstructed seal design:

Upper register: A standing human figure(?) and a winged lion are in procession to the left. The lion has a large head, prominent elliptical eye, open mouth, prominent teeth, squared-off muzzle, and upcurled tail; his wing is notched at the tip.

Lower register: An opposing lion and bull, both with large eyes; the lion has an open mouth. Flanking the pair is a winged quadruped, facing left, with upraised tail ending in a brush-like tip.

Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 3.5 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style."

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Lion head type: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: fig. 12). Silver beaker, HAS 58-427

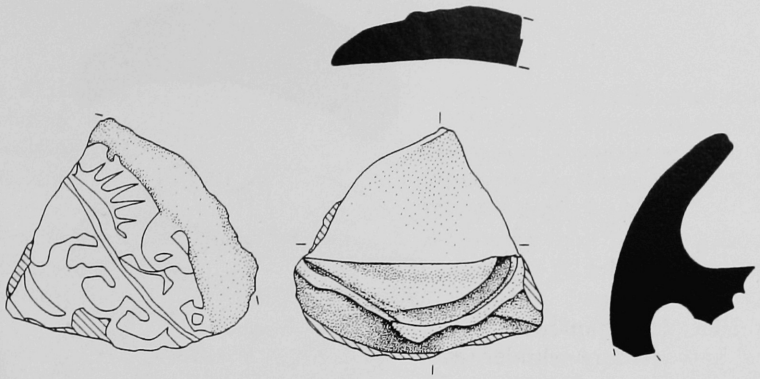


Fig. 43. No. 17

(TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29). Ivory carving, HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a).
Previous publications: Winter 1977: fig. 2.

19 SEALING (Fig. 45; Pl. 10)
HAS 60-874. UM 61-5-336.
Floor, Room 14, Burned Building II (west of two central columns, near storage jars).
Ht. 4.01; W. 4.81; Th. 1.41
Clay. Broken along lower edge.
Description of back: Slightly curved profile; impression of leather folds and three or four windings of thick twisted rope (diam. approx. 0.8 cm.).
Function: Bag sealing, from leather bag tied with heavy rope around the neck (see Fig. 5.2, Chapter 1). The reconstructed neck diam. (3.0 cm.) would be too small for a jar sealing in this working typology; it could, however, have sealed a small narrow-necked, non-ceramic vessel, such as an unguent jar.
Description of front: Two or three partial rollings (a, b, c) of cylinder seal; rolled vertically, with the impressions overlapping. Design difficult to read.
a) From left, back half of quadruped facing left; back half of second quadruped facing right(?).
b) *Upper register:* At right, lower legs of quadruped facing left(?); star.
c) (Upper and lower registers overlap.) From left, a winged quadruped facing left(?); two opposing quadrupeds(?). The opponent at left (a lion?) has a shaggy mane and prominent circular eye. There is a four-pointed star between the opponents, and a triangular wedge in the sky.
Reconstructed seal design:
Upper register: Two opposing quadrupeds. The animal at left (a lion?) has a shaggy mane and prominent circular eye. There is a four-pointed star between the opponents, and a triangular wedge in the sky.
Lower register: Winged quadruped facing left(?).
Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 4.2 cm.

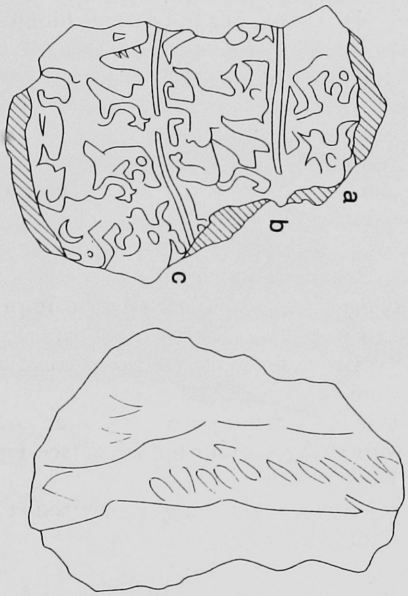


Fig. 44. No. 18. After field sketch.

Stylistic group: "Local style."
Previous publications: None.

20 SEALING (Fig. 46; Pl. 10)
HAS 64-490. UM 65-31-395.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building II.
Ht. 3.04; W. 5.81; Th. 1.69
Clay. Broken edges; seal impression worn.
Description of back: Impression of cylindrical peg (at least 6.0 cm. in length; 2.1 cm. in diam.) and three or four windings of thick rope (diam. approx. 0.7 cm.).
Function: Door sealing (Type a), from cylindrical peg wrapped with rope (see Fig. 6.2, Chapter 1).
Description of front: Impression of cylinder seal, rolled

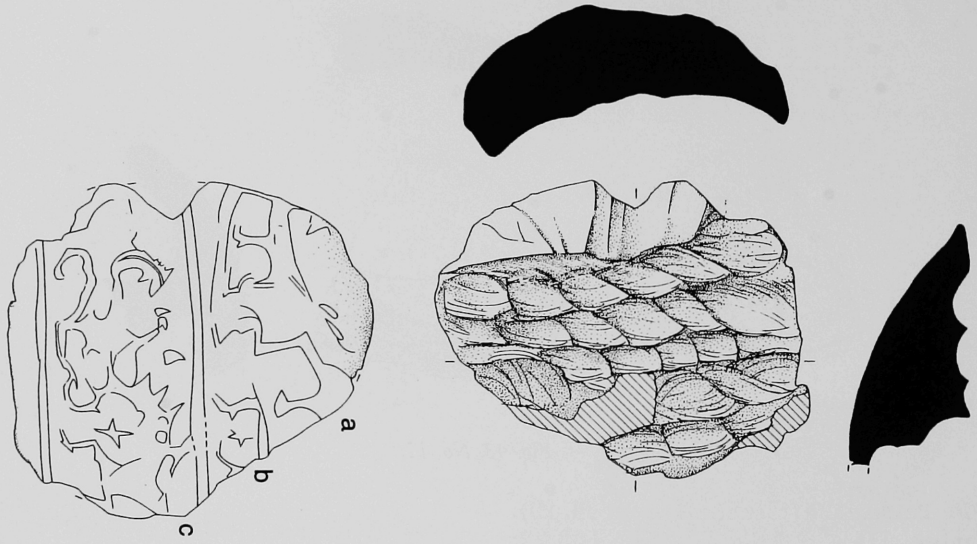


Fig. 45. No. 19

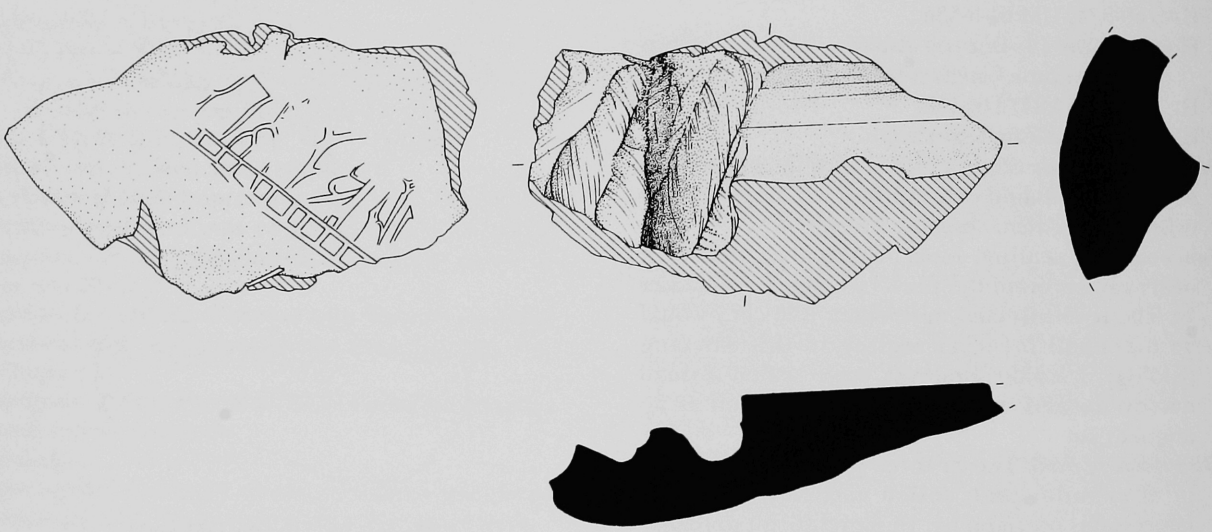


Fig. 46. No. 20

diagonally. Imprint of cloth over surface.
Seal design: Unclear, except for a band of vertical hatching, presumably from the border.
Border: Vertical hatching.

Height of original seal: Unable to be determined.
Stylistic group: "Local style."
Previous publications: None.

Tabs

21 TAB (Fig. 47; Pl. 11)
HAS 72-89. UM 73-5-216.
Room 1, Burned Building IV-V.
L. 9.02; W. 5.20; Th. 1.58
Clay.

Description of back: Smooth flat surface, pressed thinner at right end; fingerprints.

Function: Unable to be determined (see discussion of tabs in Chapter 1).

Description of front: Impression of cylinder seal, rolled continuously approximately one and one-half times.

Seal design:

Upper register: A nude male(?) figure, facing left, kneels in procession with a winged lion and a quadruped with head reversed? (most of head missing). The human figure has a large head, prominent nose, large circular eye, and hair extended out in back, above the shoulder. He (?) has one arm stretched out in front, the other bent back at the elbow. The lion has an open mouth and brush-tipped tail. A crescent with pendant triangles along the lower edge is in the sky, before the human figure; a wedge(?) is behind the figure. Ht. of register 1.91 cm.

Lower register: Two winged lions(?) stride in procession to the left. At least one of the creatures has a curling, brush-tipped tail; the tail of the second creature is not preserved. The latter has a wide open mouth, prominent teeth, and squared-off muzzle. The terminal element is a scorpion.

Dimensions of original seal: Ht. 4.0 cm.; Diam. 1.78 cm.

Stylistic group: "Local style" (B).

Parallels in glyptic art:

Brush-tipped tail: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X [= our Pl. 40a] and XVI); Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Human facial features: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29). Ivory carvings: HAS 64- (UM 65-31-613; Muscarella 1980: no. 83); HAS 64-920 (MMA 65.163.16; Muscarella 1980: no. 75 = our Pl. 34a); HAS 58-431 (UM 59-4-147; Muscarella 1980: nos. 62–63).

Winged lion and head type: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.613.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a); HAS 64-1064, fragment without wings (MMA 65.163.11; Muscarella 1980: no. 162 = our Pl. 30b).

Placement and angle of animal wings: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX). Fragmentary clay relief, Sialk B, S. 134 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXI, 5 and XCVIII).

Previous publications: None.

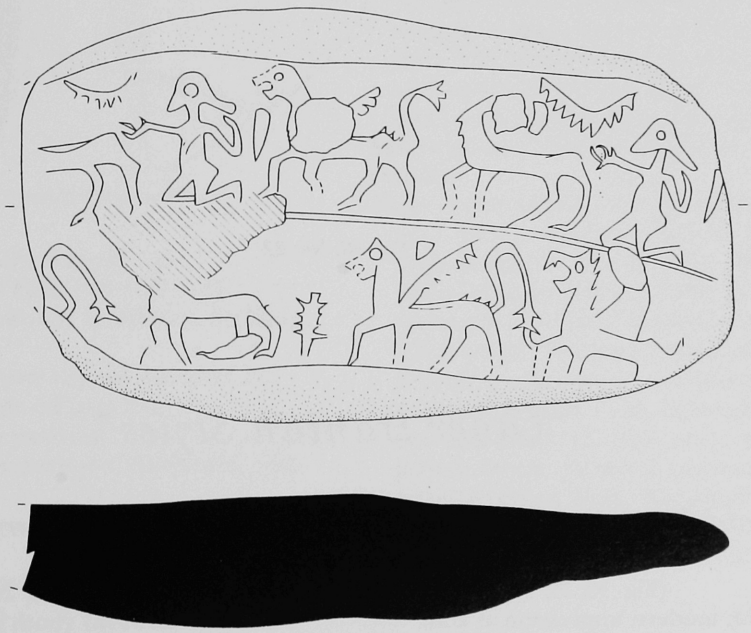


Fig. 47. No. 21

22 TAB (Fig. 48; Pl. 11)
HAS 64-444. UM 65-31-393; gypsum cast at PML.
Second-story collapse, southern end of Room 8, Burned Building II.
L. 5.15; W. 3.35; Th. 1.0
Clay.
Condition: Fragmentary; broken along left edge. Surface of front partly chipped, where only faint outlines of seal design are now visible (PML cast preserves part of impression now chipped away).
Description of back: Thin slab, with slight curve on back; light impression of leather surface(?) and string groove(?) at one end.
Function: Unable to be determined (see discussion of tabs in Chapter 1).
Description of front: Two partial rollings (a, b) of cylinder seal.
Seal design:
a) Hind leg of quadruped, serrated along back edge.
b) *Upper register:* A winged quadruped (a lion?) with a long upcurled tail, flared at the tip, faces left (tail preserved only in gypsum cast). His wing and hind leg are serrated along their back edges. At right are traces of a tree with thick curling branches along the trunk (preserved only in gypsum cast).
Lower register: A human figure (back parts of hair and extended-back arm preserved at left) grasps the muzzle of a bull(?), both facing left. Part of an unidentifiable form is between them. A crescent with pendant triangles along the lower edge fills the field over the back of the bull.
Reconstructed height of original seal: Approx. 4.15 cm.
Stylistic group: "Local style" (A).
Parallels in non-glyptic art:
Placement and angle of animal wing: Painted pottery, Sialk B: S. 902, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 1–2 and LXXXIV); S. 202 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. X, 4 and LXXX). Fragmentary clay relief, Sialk B, S. 134 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. XXI, 5 and XCVIII).
Previous publications: None.

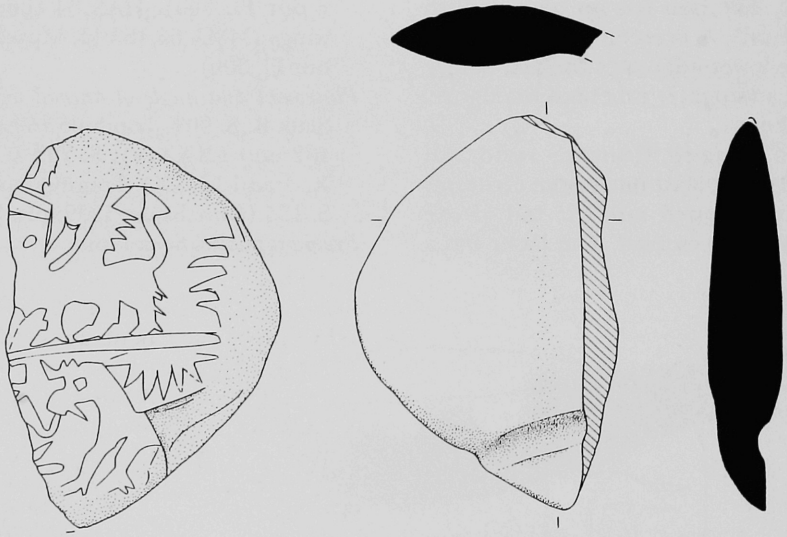


Fig. 48. No. 22

"Other Iranian Styles"

Conoid-Knob Stamp Seals and Related Impressions on Sealings

23 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 49; Pl. 12)
HAS 62-399b. TM; modern impression at UM.
Floor, Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a copper/bronze fluted bowl (HAS 62-398) along with stamp seal No. 26 and a quantity of beads (HAS 62-399a) (both stamps were probably part of beaded necklaces).
Ht. 1.6; Diam. of base 2.0

Conoid-knob stamp (see Fig. 4.6 and discussion in Chapter 1).
Composite material.

Decoration on back: Three rows of petals (two rows around base, one row around knob) radiating around a central dot, incised at top of knob.

Seal design: A bird, standing on one leg, facing left, with a large beak, outspread wings and tail feathers; dot in upper field.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Shape and seal design: Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5 = Mallowan 1966: fig. 236).[370]

Shape alone: Assur 15564 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Form of bird: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-1064 (UM 65-31-344; Muscarella 1980: no. 160); HAS 64-1064 (MMA 65.163.13; Muscarella 1980: no. 161 = our Pl. 43b).

Previous publications: Dyson 1964: fig. 6 left.

Fig. 49. No. 23. From modern impression.

24 STAMP SEAL (No Fig.; Pl. 12)

HAS 74-S90A (formerly HAS 74N-421). TM.
Floor, east doorway of Room 1, Burned Building VI.
Conoid-knob stamp(?) (see Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).
Ht. of fragment 1.0; Diam. of base 2.0
Green-glazed composite material.

Condition: Fragmentary; misshapen (melted?), with break at perf.

Decoration on back: Incisions; details unavailable.

Seal design: A bird(?).

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Previous publications: None.

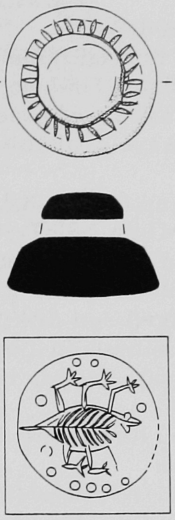


Fig. 50. No. 25

25 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 50; Pl. 12)

HAS 70-18. UM 71-23-188.
Area 31, Pit 6, cut into period IVB collapse; found lying on pavement in southeast corner of Lower Court between Burned Buildings II and V; disturbed context.
Conoid-knob stamp (see Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).
Ht. 1.40; Diam. of base 2.13; Perf. 0.26
Purplish grey composite material.

Condition: Surface of seal face chipped at one edge.

Decoration on back: Band of petals incised around top of base.

Seal design: An insect with six legs (one now damaged by chip), each bent up at the middle joint and ending in three or four radiating lines, indicating toes. The body is filled in with a chevron pattern and ends with a short straight tail. Ten(?) dots are irregularly spaced along the edge.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape: Assur 15564 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig. 12; 1990b: pl. XXXId.

26 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 51; Pl. 12)

HAS 62-399c. UM 63-5-257.

Floor, Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a copper/bronze fluted bowl along with stamp seal No. 23 and a quantity of beads (HAS 62-399a) (both stamps were probably part of beaded necklaces).

Conoid-knob stamp (see Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).

Ht. 1.42; Diam. of base 1.85; Perf. 0.28

Blue-green glazed composite material.

Decoration on back: Row of petals at top of base.

Seal design: A winged sun disk, consisting of an inscribed circle surmounted by a wavy line with upturned ends, and a five-part tail flanked by short curved streamers.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Shape and seal design: Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix).

Shape alone: Assur 15564 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246 (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Form of winged sun disk: Cylinder seals: Assur 8499 (VA 7830; Moortgat 1940: no. 677); Assur (VA 4224; Moortgat 1940: no. 675); Baghdad (VA 2047; Moortgat 1940: no. 676 = our Pl. 45d).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Form of winged sun disk: Reliefs, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud: incised garment decoration, Room G (MMA 32.143.4; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 8 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 24); incised decoration on situla, Room T (Dresden; Paley 1976: pl. 28a); throneroom (BM 124531; Barnett 1975: pl. 13 = Winter 1981: fig. 3).

Previous publications: Dyson 1964a: fig. 6 right.

27 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 52; Pl. 12)

HAS 70-847. UM 71-23-381.

Unrecorded. Possibly grid provenience DD32, according to the object card, which would be in the southeast corner of Burned Building II, either outside or inside the building walls. The find is not mentioned in the field notebook. (Object omitted from distribution plans in Chapter 8.)

Conoid-knob stamp (see Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).

Ht. 1.86; Diam. of base/seal face 2.05; Perf. 0.28

Blue-green unglazed composite material. Chipped along edge.

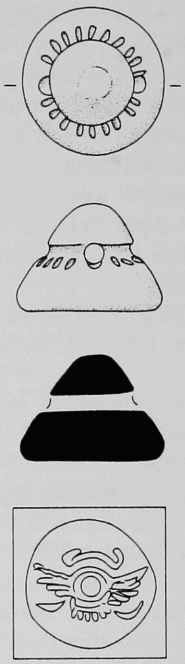


Fig. 51. No. 26

Decoration on back: Band of short vertical incisions around knob (close to apex) and around base at mid-section.

Seal design: A winged sun disk, consisting of an inscribed circle with two short vertical projections above, and a five-part tail flanked by two long thin streamers below.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix)

Shape alone: Assur 15564 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Previous publications: None.

28 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 53; Pl. 12)

HAS 70-518. TM; modern impression at UM 71-23-189.

Fill near west doorway in Room 1a (West Portico), Burned Building IV; found near body (Skel. 284), together with a quantity of beads (HAS 70-509, 620 through 622).

Conoid-knob stamp (see Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).

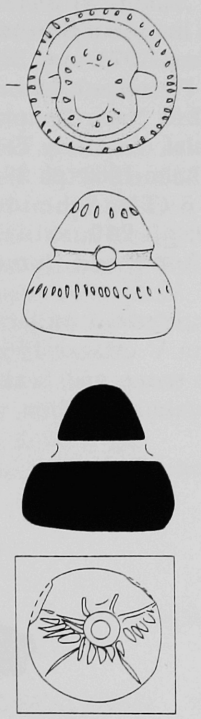


Fig. 52. No. 27

Ht. 1.4; Diam. of base/seal face 1.87
Composite material.

Decoration on back: Band of diagonal hatching at top of base.

Seal design:

Upper register: A row of three conifers(?), each in the form of an isosceles triangle with the two diagonal sides formed by a series of short diagonal incisions.

Lower register: A row of four dots.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape: Assur 15564 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Previous publications: None.

29 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 54; Pl. 12 = top view only)
HAS 74-340. TM.
Fill, Room 1, Chariot Gate at western end of Citadel Mound.
Conoid-knob stamp; possible variant type with larger perforation and shorter knob in relation to the diam. of the seal face (judging from field sketch; cf. Fig. 4.6, Chapter 1).
Ht. 2.4; Diam. of base 2.4 These measurements (from field notes) may not be accurate, since the field sketch shows a shorter height in relation to the diam. of the seal face.
White composite material.

Fig. 53. No. 28. From modern impression.

Decoration on back: Crosshatching.

Seal design: Eight lines radiating around a central dot, with a single dot between each line.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Tell Billa 3-66, level I, but without dots between rays (UM 33-4-29; unpublished).

Shape and decoration on back: Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a).

Previous publications: None.

30 SEALING (Fig. 55; Pl. 13)
HAS 74-303. TM.
Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 3, Burned Building V.
Ht. approx. 2.0; W. approx. 3.0; Th. 1.3

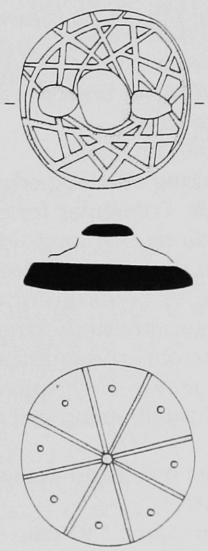


Fig. 54. No. 29. From photographs and field sketch.

Clay.

Description of back: Impression of small necked jar (bottle neck) and string, according to field notes.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Impression of approx. one-half of stamp seal with circular base.

Reconstructed seal design: A star composed of eight triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle, with a dot between each ray.

Reconstructed diam. of original seal: Approx. 2.0 cm.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape and approx. size of seal face: Assur 15554 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix); Sakzabad (unpublished; Dyson: personal communication based on a paper given by S. Malikzadeh at the Oxford Congress in 1972).

Previous publications: None.

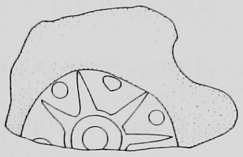


Fig. 55. No. 30. From photograph.

31 SEALING (Fig. 56; Pl. 13)

HAS 58-511. UM 59-4-96.

Floor, southeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building I West (in front of east wall bench with large storage jars).

Ht. 1.68; W. 4.60; Th. 2.43

Clay. Broken along one long edge.

Description of back: Triangular form, with impression of two strings along one long side (diam. of string approx. 0.4 cm.); surface of third side is smooth.

Function: Unable to be determined. Perhaps a jar sealing from an extremely large vessel (Fiandra and Ferioli: personal communication).

Description of front: Five partly overlapping impressions of single stamp seal with circular base; fingerprints.

Seal design: Rosette with eight petals radiating around an inscribed circle.

Diam. of original seal face: 1.91 cm.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels:

Shape and approx. size of seal face: Assur 15554 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii); Sor 1296 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xix).

Form of rosette: Impressions on jar handles, En-Gedi 94/30, Stratum V (Mazar 1966: pl. XIX, 1–2); copper/bronze stamp seal, Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1799 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 250, xx).

Previous publications: None.

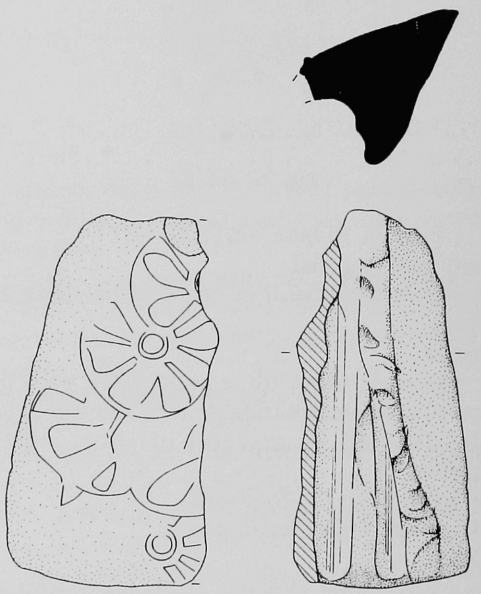


Fig. 56. No. 31

32 SEALING (Fig. 57; Pl. 13)

HAS 72-172. TM.

Outside southwest corner of Burned Building VII East from a pit that was cut down from the period IVB level.[371]

Ht. 4.3; W. 5.2; Th. 1.5

Clay. Fragment; front surface worn.

Description of back: "Rounded area as if pressed into a top," according to field notes.

Function: Unable to be determined.

Description of front: Two or three impressions of single stamp seal with circular base.

Seal design: Star composed of a small central dot and

short radiating lines. (A similar, smaller star may have been impressed by a second stamp).
Diam. of original seal: Approx. 1.5 cm.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels:
Shape and approx. size of seal face: Assur 15554 (VA Ass 1674; Jakob-Rost 1975: no. 385); Balawat BT 4 (MMA 57.27.19; unpublished = our Pl. 43a); Nimrud ND. 5246, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. X, 5); Tell Halaf (formerly Tell Halaf Museum, Berlin; Oppenheim 1962: pl. 28, 71); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 810 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 249, xviii).
Form of star: Cylinder seal, Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1299 (MMA 43.102.33; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: p. 237, no. 86).
Previous publications: None.

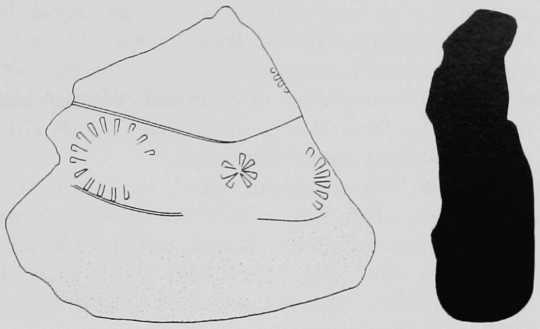


Fig. 57. No. 32. From photograph and field sketch.

Geometric-Style Cylindrical Seal-Beads

33 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 58; Pl. 14)
HAS 60-952. MMA 61.100.115 (Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).
Floor, Room 5, Burned Building II; found at head of skeleton (Skel. 122) near second western column base from north.
Ht. 3.82; Diam. 1.23; Perf. 0.40
White composite material. Traces of copper/bronze on surface; perforation off-center.
Seal design: A wide band of diagonal crosshatching, with three horizontal lines above and below.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Choga Zanbil TZ 619.1956 (Louvre SB 5088; Porada 1970: no. 153); Sialk B, S. 1573 (Ghirshman 1939: pl. XCVII).
Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig. 13.

34 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 59; Pl. 14)
HAS 64-826. UM 65-31-254.
Second-story collapse, Room 7, Burned Building II; found together with Egyptian blue beads (HAS 64-827).
Slightly convex sides.
Ht. 3.23; Diam. 1.03; Perf. 0.28
Egyptian blue.
Seal design: Two registers of diagonal crosshatching, with two horizontal lines in between, above, and below. The design was carved carelessly, with diagonal lines of the crosshatching overlapping the border lines.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Susa (TM; Amiet 1972: no. 2115); Nimrud (I of A; unpublished); Marlik 130M (TM 2396; Negahban 1977: fig. 13).
Previous publications: None.

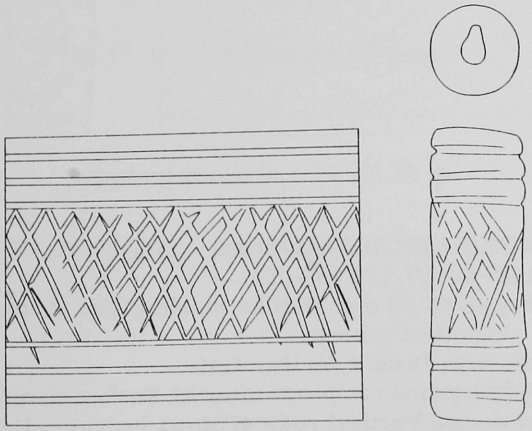


Fig. 58. No. 33. From modern impression.

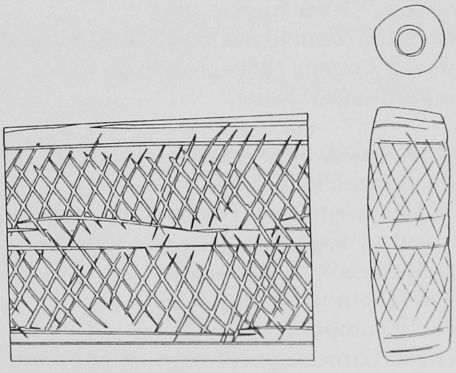


Fig. 59. No. 34. From modern impression.

35 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 60; Pl. 14)
HAS 59-466. MMA 60.20.32 (Rogers Fund, 1960).
Second-story collapse, Room 1, Burned Building I East.
Ht. 2.73; Diam. 1.01; Perf. 0.21
Egyptian blue(?).
Seal design: Two registers of diagonal crosshatching, divided by four horizontal lines, with three additional lines above and below.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Susa (TM; Amiet 1972: no. 2115); Nimrud (I of A; unpublished); Marlik 130M (TM 2396; Negahban 1977: fig. 13); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 539 (TM 732; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 248, no. 211).
Previous publications: None.

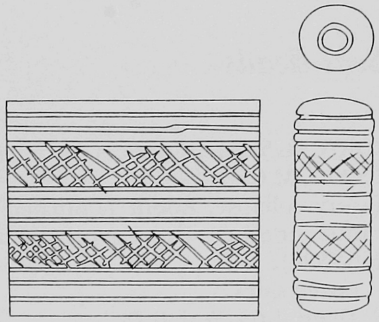


Fig. 60. No. 35. From modern impression.

36 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 61; Pl. 14)
HAS 60-812a. UM 61-5-89a.
Floor, Room 14, Burned Building II; found in a group of beads (HAS 60-180 through 814), including stamp seal No. 47 (HAS 60-808).
Ht. 3.35; Diam. 1.22; Perf. 0.51
Glazed composite material. Cylinder slightly flattened.
Seal design: Diagonal crosshatching, with horizontal line above and below.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 792 (?; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 248, no. 216).
Previous publications: None.

37 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 62; Pl. 15)
HAS 60-516a. UM 61-5-86.
Second-story collapse, Room 2, Burned Building II; found together with two spindle-shaped faience beads (HAS 60-516).
Ht. 3.67; Diam. 1.50; Perf. 0.39
Unglazed composite material.
Seal design: Three vertical rows of chevrons, with horizontal line above and below.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Choga Zanbil TZ 732.1958 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 144); TZ 644.1956 (Louvre SB 5030; Porada 1970: no. 128); Susa (TM 155B(36); Amiet 1972: no. 2097); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1665 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 247, no. 197); Sor 716 (TM; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 247, no. 198); Nimrud (I of A; unpublished).
Previous publications: None.

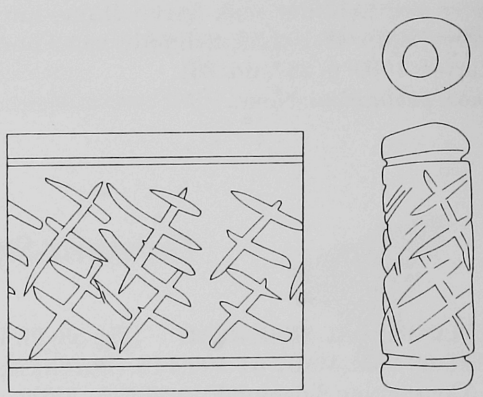


Fig. 61. No. 36. From modern impression.

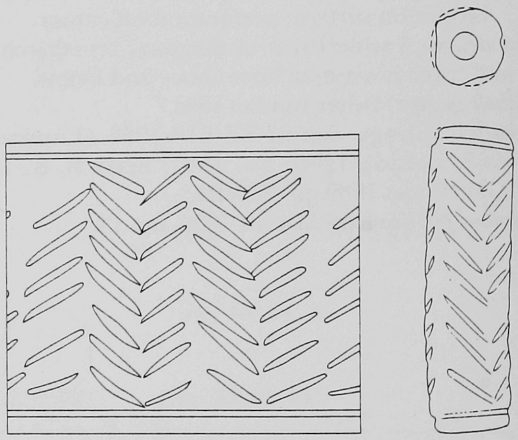


Fig. 62. No. 37. From modern impression.

38 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 63; Pl. 15)
HAS 62-607. UM 63-5-293.
Period III fill over Burned Building VIII, Room 3; disturbed context.
Ht. 5.06; Diam. 1.25; Perf. 0.49
White glazed composite material. Surface worn.
Seal design: Vertical rows of short horizontal and diagonal lines.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Previous publications: None.

39 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 64; no Pl.)
HAS 58-344. TM 10647.
Second-story collapse, Room 1, Burned Building I West; found with a quantity of glass beads (HAS 58-341, 342, 345, 346).
Ht. 3.3; Diam. 0.9
Composite material(?).
Seal design: Vertical rows of short diagonal lines.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Previous publications: None.

40 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 65; Pl. 15)
HAS 60-288. MMA 61.100.114 (Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).
Southwest corner of Room 5, Burned Building II (floor level or second-story collapse); found with many beads (HAS 60-289, 290).
Ht. 2.07; Diam. 1.18; Perf. 0.59

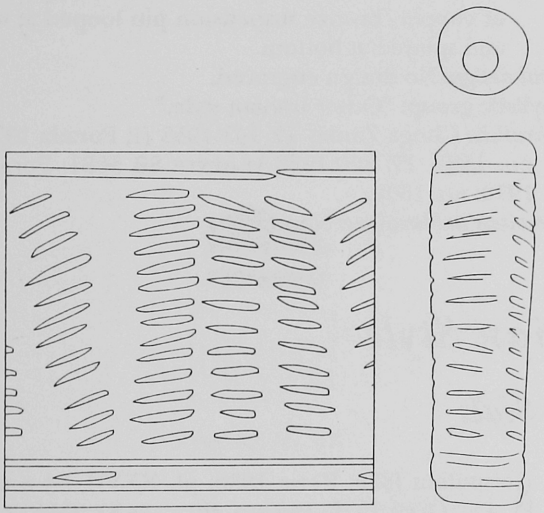


Fig. 63. No. 38. From modern impression.

Fig. 64. No. 39. After field sketch.

White composite material. Fragmentary, with only half of the original cylinder now preserved; broken edge ground smooth in antiquity.
Seal design: Vertical rows of horizontal and diagonal lines, with a border of two horizontal lines.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Previous publications: None.

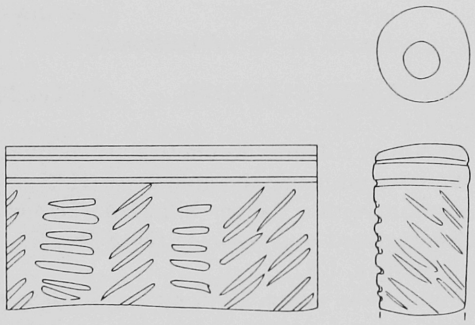


Fig. 65. No. 40. From modern impression.

41 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (No illustrations)
HAS 36-1. BM 129972.
Burial in test trench, north side of Outer Town area, near base of Citadel Mound; found under skull of skeleton, together with a quantity of carnelian, glass, and shell beads (Stein 1940: 400).
Ht. approx. 3.0
Material unavailable
Seal design: Vertical rows of horizontal lines, with a border of diagonal lines.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Previous publications: Stein 1940: pl. XXV, 30 (inadequate photograph).

42 CYLINDRICAL SEAL-BEAD (Fig. 66; no Pl.)
HAS 58-4. TM 10666.
1958 dump, center of Citadel Mound, to the north of Burned Building I West.
Ht. 3.0; Diam. 1.5
Composite material. Broken, with only half of the cylinder now preserved.
Seal design: X's scattered in field, with a border of two horizontal lines.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Previous publications: None.

UNENGRAVED CYLINDERS

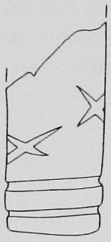


Fig. 66. No. 42. After field sketch.

43 UNENGRAVED CYLINDER (No Fig.;Pl. 15)
HAS 58-470. TM.
Second-story collapse, Room 9, Burned Building I West; found inside the gold bowl (HAS 58-469), together with a dagger hilt (HAS 58-446) and disintegrated ivory figurine (HAS 58-477).
Ht. 4.5; Diam. 1.8
Red and white stone. Gold end caps; light green stain around middle of cylinder, probably from a metal band once encircling the stone.
Seal design: No design engraved.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Choga Zanbil TZ 745.1958 (?; Porada 1970: no. 158); TZ 820.1959 (Louvre SB 5081; Porada 1970: no. 160).
Previous publications: None.

44 UNENGRAVED CYLINDER (No illustrations)
HAS 62-902. TM.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building III.
Ht. 4.5; Diam. 1.7
Dark blue composite material with glaze now colored white. Copper/bronze end caps and part of suspension pin in perforation.
Seal design: No design engraved.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Choga Zanbil TZ 745.1958 (?; Porada 1970: no. 158); TZ 820.1959 (Louvre SB 5081; Porada 1970: no. 160).
Previous publications: None.

45 UNENGRAVED CYLINDER (No illustrations)
HAS 72-129. TM.
Directly above floor level along south wall of Room 1, Burned Building IV-V (east of doorway to Burned Building V); found together with seal No. 89 (HAS 72-150) and a quantity of beads (HAS 72-153).
Ht. 3.2; Diam. 1.5
Polished stone, mottled grey and white. Fragments of copper/bronze suspension pin looped at top and splayed at bottom.
Seal design: No design engraved.
Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels: Choga Zanbil TZ 745.1958 (?; Porada 1970: no. 158); TZ 820.1959 (Louvre SB 5081; Porada 1970: no. 160).
Previous publications: None.

Syro-Palestinian Style

Lion Stamp Seals

46 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 67; Pl. 16)
HAS 62-242. UM 63-5-256.
Floor, Room 4, Burned Building III.
Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).
Ht. 0.88; Length 1.18; Width 0.64; Perf. 0.20
Steatite.
Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upturned tail, facing left, before two vertical lines, perhaps representing vegetation.
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Megiddo M 2796, water system (OIM, A18880; Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5); Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124, second fig. from top on left).
Shape alone: Lachish 492B, Tomb 218, level IV-III (BM?; Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25); Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6).
Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig. 14; 1990b: pl. XXI e.

Fig. 67. No. 46

47 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 68; Pl. 16)

HAS 60-808. MMA 61.100.83 (Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).

Floor, Room 14, Burned Building II; found in a group of beads (HAS 60-810 through 814), including cylindrical seal-bead No. 36 (HAS 60-812a).

Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).

Ht. 1.07; Length 1.57; Width 0.83; Perf. 0.25

Steatite.

Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upturned tail, facing left, before two vertical lines, perhaps representing vegetation.

Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Megiddo M 2796, water system (OIM, A18880; Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5); Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124, second fig. from top on left).

Shape alone: Lachish 492B, Tomb 218, level IV-III (BM?; Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25); Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6).

Previous publications: None.

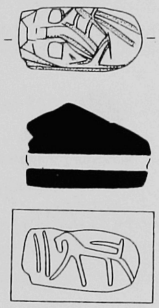


Fig. 68. No. 47

48 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 69; Pl. 16)

HAS 62-261. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, Room 4, Burned Building III; found together with 31 carnelian beads, one shell bead, and one copper/bronze bead (probably formed the center bead of a carnelian necklace [HAS 62-261]; see Pl. 44).

Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).

Length 1.45; Width 0.8

Identified in preliminary field records as bone, but it is probably steatite judging from the other stamps of this type (see above).

Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upturned tail, facing left, before two vertical lines, perhaps representing vegetation.

Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Megiddo M 2796, water system (OIM, A18880; Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5); Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124, second fig. from top on left).

Shape alone: Lachish 492B, Tomb 218, level IV-III (BM?; Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25); Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6).

Previous publications: None.

49 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 70; Pl. 16)

HAS 59-385. TM 10936(?); modern impression at UM.

Bricky collapse, Room 2, Bead House; found with a quantity of beads and small jewelry (HAS 59-364 through 390).

Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).

Ht. 1.0; L. 1.5

Identified in preliminary field records as bone, but it is probably steatite judging from the other stamps of this type (see above).

Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upcurled tail, facing left.

Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Megiddo M 2796, water system (OIM, A18880; Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5); Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124, second fig. from top on left).

Shape alone: Lachish 492B, Tomb 218, level IV-III (BM?; Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25); Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6).

Previous publications: None.

Fig. 69. No. 48. From modern impression.

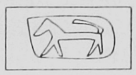


Fig. 70. No. 49. From modern impression.

50 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 71; Pl. 16)

HAS 59-666. TM; modern impression at UM.

Bricky collapse outside Bead House; found with a quantity of beads and small jewelry (HAS 59-659 through 682).

Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).

Ht. 1.2 L. 1.73; W. 0.73

Identified in preliminary field records as bone, but it is probably steatite judging from the other stamps of this type (see above).

Seal design: A standing human figure, facing left, wearing a short striated tunic(?).
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6); Alishar d593, post-Hittite level (von der Osten 1937: fig. 479).
Seal design: Scaraboid, Megiddo M 2340, surface find (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 67, no. 17).
Previous publications: None.

51 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 72; no Pl.)
HAS 47[49]-4. TM.
Northern edge of Outer Town area.
Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).
Dimensions unavailable
Identified in preliminary field records as bone, but it is probably steatite judging from the other stamps of this type (see above).
Seal design: A standing human figure, with vertical element at side.
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6); Alishar d593, post-Hittite level (von der Osten 1937: fig. 479).
Seal design: Scaraboid, Megiddo M 2340, surface find (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 67, no. 17).
Previous publications: Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 51, 1.

52. STAMP SEAL (Fig. 73; Pl. 16)
HAS 64-1083. UM 65-31-401.
Room 7, Burned Building II(?). The findspot was not recorded on the object card, but has been surmised on the basis of the sequence of field numbers and the registration system (Dyson: personal communication).
Lion stamp (see Fig. 4.2, Chapter 1).
Ht. 1.01; Length 1.49; Width 0.77; Perf. 0.25
Steatite.
Seal design: Diagonal crosshatching.
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Lachish 492B, Tomb 218, level IV-III (Tufnell 1953: pl. 34, no. 25).
Shape alone: Megiddo M 2796, water system (OIM, A18880; Lamon 1935: pl. VIII, 5); Beth Shan, Tomb 107, northern cemetery coffin group (Jerusalem J820; Rowe 1936: pl. XXVII, 54 = our Pl. 43c; Oren 1973: 125, no. 6);
Previous publications: None.

Fig. 71. No. 50. From modern impression.

Fig. 72. No. 51. After Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 51, 1.

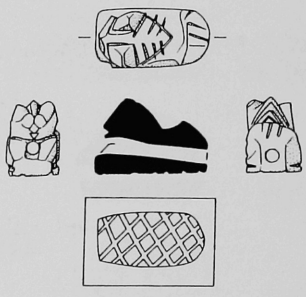


Fig. 73. No. 52

Scarab Stamp Seals

53 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 74; Pl. 17)
HAS 62-217. MMA 63.109.19 (Rogers Fund, 1963).
Floor, Room 4, Burned Building III.
Scarab (see Fig. 4.3, Chapter 1).
Ht. 0.63; L. 1.42; W. 1.03; Perf. 0.18
Steatite.
Condition: Seal face chipped at lower left.
Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upturned tail, facing left.
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Lachish 374, Tomb 106, level II (Tufnell 1953: pl. 45, no. 129); Gezer, second Semitic period (Macalister 1912: pl. ccvi, 6); Gezer, fourth Semitic period (Macalister 1912: pl. ccv a, 16).
Seal design: Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124).
Previous publications: None.

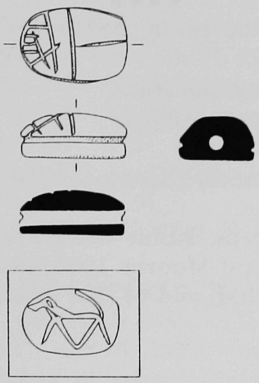


Fig. 74. No. 53

54 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 75; no Pl.)
HAS 47[49]-5. TM.
Northern edge of Outer Town area.
Scarab (see Fig. 4.3, Chapter 1).
Dimensions and material unavailable.
Seal design: A quadruped (a lion?) with upturned tail.
Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.
Parallels:
Shape and seal design: Lachish 374, Tomb 106, level II (Tufnell 1953: pl. 45, no. 129); Gezer, second Semitic period (Macalister 1912: pl. ccvi, 6); Gezer, fourth Semitic period (Macalister 1912: pl. ccv a, 16).
Seal design: Megiddo, level IV (Schumacher 1908: fig. 124).
Previous publications: Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 51, 2

55 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 76; Pl. 17)
HAS 64-1092. UM 65-31-725.
From one of two baskets filled with thousands of beads found in second-story collapse in Room 7, Burned Building II. None of these items were given individual field numbers, so the exact findspot within the room is uncertain. (Object omitted from distribution plans in Chapter VIII.)
Scarab (see discussion of type in Chapters I and IV).
Ht. 0.60; L. 1.3 cm; W. 1.11; Perf. 0.19
Bluish green composite material. Fragmentary and worn; design now too worn to discern.
Seal design: Sun disk flanked by uraeus-serpents, set above a cartouche(?) flanked by ma'at feathers. Only the left-most feather and top left edge of cartouche is preserved; inscription missing.
Stylistic group: Egyptian Dynasties 19–20 (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.; from object card, after Lanny Bell and Jim Weinstein).
Previous publications: None.

Fig. 75. No. 54. After Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 51, 2.

Fig. 76. No. 55

Hammer-Head Stamp Seal and Related Impressions on a Sealing

56A STAMP SEAL (Fig. 77; Pl. 17)
HAS 62-606. TM; modern impression at UM.
Floor near east bench, Room 5, Burned Building II; found adhering to dagger (HAS 62-512), just northeast of skeleton (Skel. 263).
Hammer-head stamp (see Fig. 4.5, Chapter 1).
Ht. approx. 1.66; Diam. of base 1.66; Perf. approx. 0.3
Composite material(?). Broken at top.
Seal design: At left is a bird on its side with outstretched wings. At right are two opposing standing animals: a horned(?) quadruped with striated body; and a lion(?) with open mouth(?), upcurled tail, and hatching along his back. An irregularly shaped four-pointed star is in the field between the heads of the quadrupeds.
Previous publications: None.

56B SEALING (Fig. 78; Pl. 17)
HAS 74-190. TM.
Floor, Room 2b, Burned Building IV-V (eight large pithoi stood along south wall of room).
Ht. 6.2; W. 7.2; Th. 2.5
Clay.
Description of back: Impression of jar rim with imprint of leather and string (approx. diam. of string 0.3 cm.), judging from field photograph of back and field drawing of vertical section. Diam. of jar rim

cannot be determined.

Function: Jar sealing, from jar with leather covering secured with string around the neck (see Fig. 5.1, Chapter 1).

Description of front: Four complete impressions of stamp seal, probably made by stamp No. 56A above, since the design and dimensions coincide (see below). The surface is covered with impressions of cloth or fingerprints.

Seal design: Same as No. 56A above(?).

Diam. of original seal: Approx. 1.7 cm.

Previous publications: None.

56 (A-B).

Seal design: See No. 56A above.

Stylistic group: Syro-Palestinian.

Parallels:

Stamp shape: Boğazköy (Boehmer 1986: pl. 20, ills. 1a-b).

Seal design: Scarabs, Yunus Cemetery, Carchemish (Boardman and Moorey 1986: nos. 12 [YC 58; impression at BM] and 14 [BM 103292]).

Fig. 77. No. 56A. From modern impression and photograph.

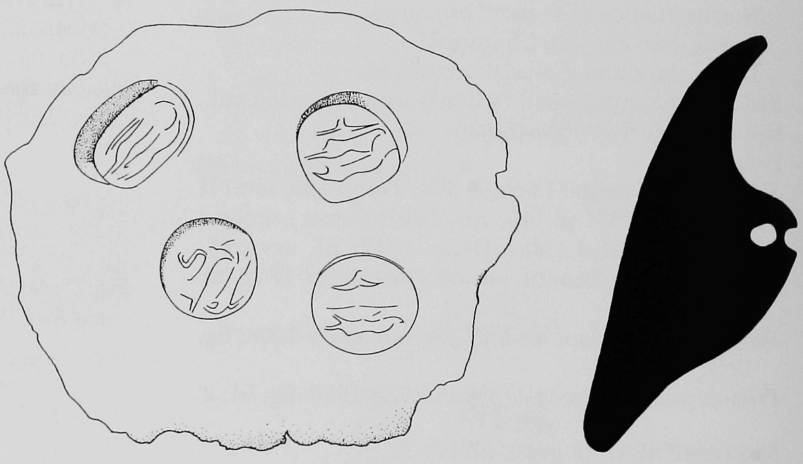


Fig. 78. No. 56B. From photograph and field sketch.

Neo-Assyrian Style

"Central Assyrian Style" Seals

57 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 79; Pl. 18)

HAS 60-1021. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 61, 62, 64, 75, 77, 78, 84).

Ht. 4.66; Diam. 1.46

Steatite(?). Copper/bronze end caps and suspension pin, looped at top and splayed at bottom.

Seal design: A kneeling bearded archer, facing right, aims his bow at a rampant winged horse(?). The archer wears a cap and a short fringed kilt below a long mantle, which is tied at the waist with a broad belt. He carries at his side a sword and over his right shoulder a quiver, from the top of which protrude two arrows. The tail of the quadruped is upraised. A branch(?) and two cuneiform-like wedges are between the middle legs of the creature; five additional wedges are dispersed below and behind him. Eight globes, a crescent, and a star, composed of eight triangular wedges radiating around a central dot, are in the sky.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 13929 (VA 4244; Moortgat 1940: no. 640 = our Pl. 45a).

Form of star: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 11354c (VA 7827; Moortgat 1940: no. 654); Nimrud ND. 2151, Burnt Palace (I of A; Parker 1955: pl. XII, 3); Carchemish (BM 116142; Woolley 1921: pl. 26. b. 5).

Style of kilt: Assur 13929 (VA 4244; Moortgat 1940: no. 640 = our Pl. 45a).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b; Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

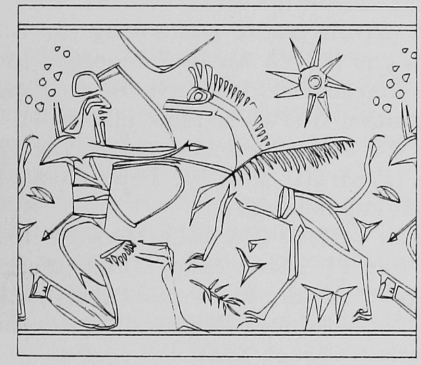


Fig. 79. No. 57. From modern impression.

58 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 80; Pl. 18)

HAS 72-157. TM; modern impression at UM.

Directly above floor level, southwest corner of Room 1, Burned Building IV-V; found near lion pin (HAS 72-160).

Ht. 3.6 (4.7 including end cap and suspension loop, according to object card); Diam. 1.15

Brown stone. Copper/bronze suspension loop at top of seal, and cap at bottom. Surface worn.

Seal design: A kneeling bearded archer, facing left, aims his bow at an opposing rampant griffin. The archer wears a fringed kilt under a long fringed mantle(?), which is tied at the waist with a broad belt. Also at his waist is a scabbard with applied decorative metal strips. At his shoulder is a quiver with three arrows protruding from the top and two tassles hanging from the bottom. The griffin, whose forepaw is raised against his opponent, has a five-part crest and upcurled tail, and wears a belt around his body. The muscles in the limbs of both the archer and griffin are carefully marked by incisions. Between the antagonists is a three-part palmette. The spacing between the figures is tight, with the elements butting against each other and against the horizontal line framing the scene above and below.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Quiver with hanging tassel(s): Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b; Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Belt around animal body: Colossal gateway figures, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (MMA 32.143.2; Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 18).

Previous publications: Marcus 1990a: pl. 2; 1990b: pl. XXXIIa.

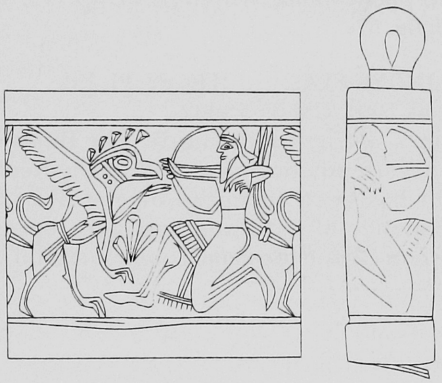


Fig. 80. No. 58. From modern impression.

59 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 81; Pl. 18)

HAS 60-13. UM 61-5-19.

On slab stone footing of southernmost column base at western entrance into Room 1, Gate into Lower Court.

Ht. 4.63; Diam. 1.80; Perf. 0.44

White chert(?). Bronze pin in perforation; purple stains at both ends from copper/bronze caps, now missing. Surface cracked.

Seal design: A kneeling bearded hero, facing right, confronts a rampant griffin, with a female deer(?) kneeling between them. The hero has a brimmed cap or headband. His hair ends in two drill holes at the shoulder; the beard is rendered similarly. He wears a short kilt under a long mantle, which is

tied at the waist with a broad belt. He grasps with one hand the forepaw of the griffin, while with the other hand he wields a dagger against the monster. A scabbard decorated with volutes at the tip is worn at the hero's waist, and a scimitar hangs from his upper arm. The griffin has a shaggy crest, and wears a pomegranate necklace indicated by four drill holes. Between the heads of the opponents is an eight-pointed star, composed of four intersecting lines and a central circle, with a cluster of seven globes below it. A crescent is behind the head of the griffin. The body joints and muscles of the hero and animals are marked by drill holes. The incisions were probably made by a cutting disc.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian (cut) style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme: Babylon 47159 (VA 7544; Moortgat 1940: no. 616).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Position of scimitar: Relief, Temple of Ninurta, Nimrud (Frankfort 1970: drawing, fig. 188).

Pomegranate necklace: Incised garment decoration on relief from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (BM 124567; Barnett 1975: pl. 11).

Previous publications: Winter 1977: ill. 16; Winter 1980: fig. 57.

60 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 82; Pl. 19)

HAS 64-1084. UM 65-31-402.

Room 7, Burned Building II. The findspot was inadvertently not recorded on the field card, but has been surmised on the basis of the sequence of field numbers and registration system (Dyson: personal communication).

Ht. 2.43; Diam. 1.99; Perf. 0.27

Beige unglazed composite material. Perforation off-center.

Seal design: A standing bearded archer, facing right, shoots his bow at a large opposing serpent. The archer wears a knee-length fringed shawl over an ankle-length fringed tunic, which is tied at the waist with a broad belt. He carries a quiver over his right shoulder, from which protrude the tips of three arrows. The serpent has a curling, clef-shaped body covered with short bristles, and a three-part crest. Between the opponents is a short bush with a central vertical stem and short radiating branches. A crescent is in the sky above the serpent.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45c); Assur 10170, private house postdating the reign of Shalmaneser III (VA Ass 1617; Moortgat 1940: no. 689); Nimrud ND. 1007, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (Parker 1955: pl. XV, 1); Tell al Rimah TR 4423, Neo-Assyrian shrine (I of A; Parker 1975: pl. XVI, 5); Tepe Giyan (MMA 56.81.27; unpublished).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

61 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 83; Pl. 19)

HAS 60-1026. MMA 61.100.80 (Purchase, Mrs.

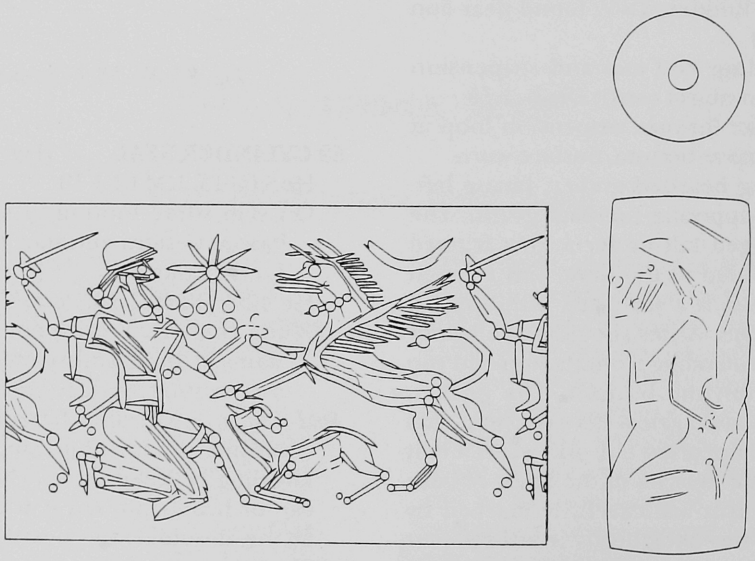


Fig. 81. No. 59. From modern impression.

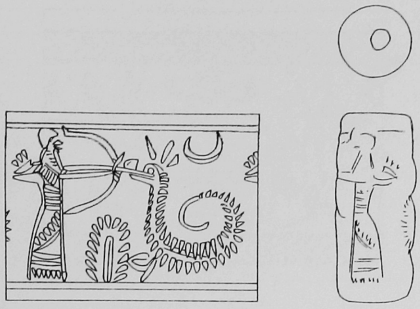


Fig. 82. No. 60. From modern impression.

Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 62, 64, 75, 77, 78, 84).

Ht. 3.53; Diam. 1.44; Perf. 0.35

Black talc/steatite. Traces of copper suspension pin with looped end (loop removed by MMA, September 1964, due to recurrence of bronze disease in the ring). Radiograph showed tip of broken tool with serrated edge lodged in perforation, possibly from tool used in manufacture of seal (Gorelick 1975: fig. 7). Surface cracked.

Seal design: A kneeling wild ram, his body facing right with his head reversed, is attacked from the right by a winged griffin with a seven-part crest. The latter, whose tail hangs down between his hindlegs, raises one forearm against his victim. Certain muscles and joints in the hindquarters of the griffin are indicated by incisions. The body of the ram is marked by a series of short horizontal striations along the inside neck and rear end, and by a band of vertical incisions at the ribcage. A palmette consisting of three branches set upon a base of three horizontal lines is between the opponents. An eight-rayed star and three globes are above the back of the ram; a fourth globe and a crescent flank the head of the griffin.

Border: Band of chevrons, pointing left in the upper register and right in the lower frieze.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian style."

Parallels:

General composition and theme: Assur 18902 (VA 7978; Moortgat 1940: no. 647); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Animal forms: Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Form of star: Nimrud ND. 4225, Nabu Temple (I of A; Parker 1962: pl. XI, 6).

Border: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 9187 (VA 5184; Moortgat 1940: no. 668); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Previous publications: Harper et al. 1971: fig., p. 320; Gorelick 1975: fig. 18; Marcus 1989: fig. 15.

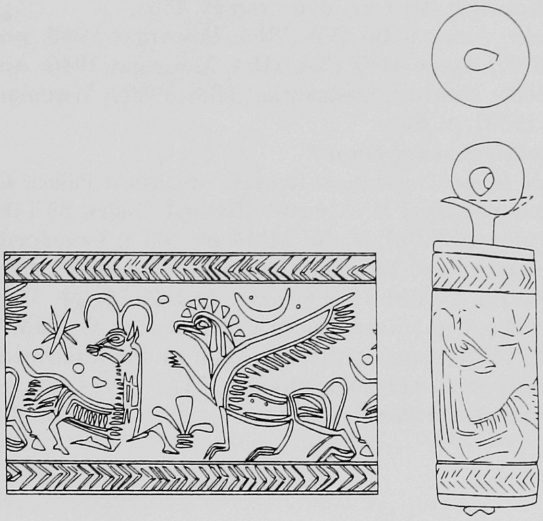


Fig. 83. No. 61. From modern impression.

62 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 84; Pl. 19)

Cylinder seal, HAS 60-1022. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 64, 75, 77, 78, 84).

Ht. 3.6; Diam. 1.20

Steatite(?).

Seal design: Two bearded genies kneel on either side of a palmette, with a winged sun disk above. Each genie has two wings, and wears a fringed shawl over a long fringed tunic, which is tied at the waist with a broad belt. They raise their hands towards the palmette, perhaps fertilizing it with cones (details unclear). The palmette has nine(?) branches set upon a stand of five horizontal lines, from the base of which emerge two small shoots. The winged sun disk is composed of an inscribed circle, surmounted by a wavy line with upturned ends, and a six-part tail. Nine drill holes are scattered across the sky. Two cuneiform-like wedges are in the field to the right of the palmette; a third wedge is at the left. The terminal element is an eight-pointed star, composed of regularly spaced radiating lines.

Border: Band of chevrons, pointing left in the upper register and right in the lower frieze.

Stylistic group: "Central Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Baghdad (VA 2047; Moortgat 1940: no. 676 = our Pl. 45d); Assur 8499 (VA 7830; Moortgat 1940: no. 677); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89347; Layard 1849: pl. 69, 45).

Form of star: Nimrud ND. 4225, Nabu Temple (I of A; Parker 1962: pl. XI, 6).

Form of winged sun disk: Assur 8499 (VA 7830;

Moortgat 1940: no. 677); Baghdad (VA 2047; Moortgat 1940: no. 676 = our Pl. 45d).

Border: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 9187 (VA 5184; Moortgat 1940: no. 668); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Reliefs, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud: Room I (Bklyn 55.146; Paley 1976: pl. 8 and MMA 32.143.3; Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 15 = our Pl. 37); Room Z (BM 124580; Barnett 1975: pl. 18); incised garment decoration, Room G (MMA 32.143.4; drawing, Layard 1849: pl. 8 = Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 21).

Previous publications: None.

Fig. 84. No. 62. From modern impression.

"Provincial Assyrian Style" Seals

63 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 85; Pl. 20)

HAS 60-108. UM 61-5-20.

On slab stone footing of southernmost column base at western entrance into Room 1, Gate into Lower Court.

Ht. 3.27; Diam. 1.14; Perf. 0.36

Black marble. Tin suspension pin in perforation, splayed at bottom, with remnants of looped end at top.

Seal design: A standing bearded archer, facing left, wearing a long fringed tunic with a broad belt, aims his bow at a stag. The stag breaks down on its forelegs. The body of the animal faces left while his head is turned in reverse towards the archer. He has large antlers, aligned horizontally with two tines projecting in front; his eye is framed by double lines at left and below. There are serrations along the back of his neck, and a band of vertical striations along his underbelly; a curved shoulder line is indicated. The archer carries at his waist a scabbard decorated with applied metal strips, and on his back a quiver, from which protrude the tips of two arrows(?). The face of the archer is marked by horizontal striations; his feet are not indicated, being cropped by the lower border pattern. Behind the archer are two cuneiform-like wedges. Two additional wedges are between the legs of the stag; six globes are before his head. A lozenge is in the lower field between the opponents.

Border: Horizontal band decorated with units of four oblique lines, each unit arranged in alternating directions. The upper border is interrupted by the antlers of the stag and the head and bow of the archer.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Striations in animal body: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs III and XXIII); Choga Zanbil TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970: no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d).

Border: Nimrud ND. 2197, with duck weight of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. XIV, 3).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Outlined eye of stag: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-770 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 172); HAS 64-912 (MMA 65.163.22; Muscarella 1980: no. 165 = our Pl. 30a).

Striations along animal underbelly: Ivory carving, HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.163.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163); decorated gold band, HAS 64-933 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 175); silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29); glazed tile, Susa (Louvre; Porada 1965: pl. 14 below).

Shoulder line of stag: Ivory carving, HAS 64-921 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 156).

Border: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427, bands between registers (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29).

Previous publications: Marcus 1989: fig. 16; 1990a: pl. 3; 1990b: pl. XXXII b

64 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 86; Pl. 20)

HAS 60-1024. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 62, 75, 77, 78, 84).

Ht. 3.3; Diam. 1.18

Egyptian blue(?).

Seal design: A standing bearded archer, facing right,

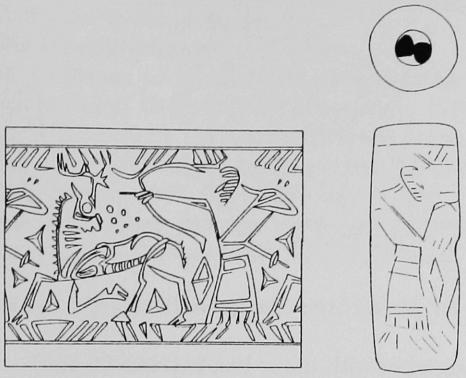


Fig. 85. No. 63. From modern impression.

aims his bow downward at a wild ram with ridged horns. Between them is a small bush with a slightly curved stem, splayed at the base, and a series of small petals on either side. Above the back of the ram is a bird with outstretched wings. The ram walks to the right with his head reversed. The archer wears an ankle-length fringed tunic under a thigh-length shawl, which is belted at the waist. His hair or cap is marked with vertical striations. Behind the archer is a tree with a vertical trunk, splayed at the base and topped by an ovoid cluster of short diagonal branches. A crescent is in the sky between the opponents.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Assur (VA 4252; Moortgat 1940: no. 700); Assur 21327 (VA 7981; Moortgat 1940: no. 698).

Representation of archer: Assur 21327 (VA 7981; Moortgat 1940: no. 698); Assur (VA 4252; Moortgat 1940: no. 700).

Bush between opponents: Assur (VA 4252; Moortgat 1940: no. 700).

Tree behind archer: Tell Billa (32) 2893 (UM 32-20-396; unpublished); Assur 8060 (VA 5189; Moortgat 1940: no. 665).

High, ridged horn of ram: Assur 14987a, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VA 8610; Moortgat 1941: fig. 7); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design IX).

Bird in field: Assur 14327, impression, reign of Adad-nirari I or Shalmaneser I (VAT 8845; Moortgat 1941: fig. 38); Assur 14327aq, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8996; Moortgat 1941: fig. 41); Tell Billa 32-2893 (UM 32-20-396; unpublished); Tell Billa 3-153 (IM; field drawing at UM; unpublished).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Cap or hair with vertical striations: Ivory carving, HAS 64-785 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 102 = our Pl. 46b); silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29); gold bowl, HAS 58-469, lower zone (TM 10712; Winter 1989: figs. 6 and 19); cast bronze stand, HAS 58-237 (UM 59-4-116; Dyson 1964d: figs. 4 and 5).

Previous publications: Dyson 1964d: fig. 14.

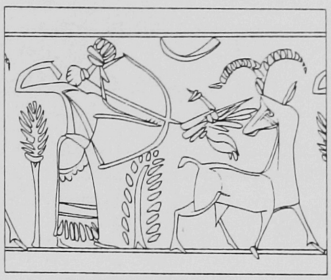


Fig. 86. No. 64. From modern impression.

65 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 87; Pl. 20)

HAS 62-1091. UM 63-5-294.

Floor, southern end of Room 9, Burned Building III.

Ht. 3.64; Diam. 1.36; Perf. 0.37

Composite material, colored pink, beige, and black. Bronze pin in perforation. Chipped at bottom.

Seal design: A standing bearded archer, facing left, wearing a long fringed and belted tunic, aims his bow upward at an opposing wild adult male goat. The archer leans forward slightly from the waist. The horn of the goat is ridged; his body is marked by a band of vertical striations. Between the opponents is a palmette-tree, composed of a vertical stem with two short horizontal lines at the top, and a five-part palmette above; the larger central branch is flanked by the four smaller ones. A similar, slightly taller, tree is behind the archer. A bird with outstretched wings, facing left, is in the sky above the goat; a crescent is above the bird.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 14716 (VA 1614; Moortgat 1940: no. 699).

Bird in field: Choga Zanbil TZ 490.1956 (Porada 1970: no. 49); TZ 346.1955 (Porada 1970: no. 51).

Upward aim of archer: Choga Zanbil TZ 366.1955 (Louvre SB 5052; Porada 1970: no. 33).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Palmette-tree: Egyptian blue vessel fragment, HAS 60-269 (TM; Porada 1965: pl. 33).

Previous publications: None.

Fig. 87. No. 65. From modern impression.

66 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 88; no Pl.)
HAS 47[49]-2. TM.
Northern edge of Outer Town area.
Stone.

Seal design: A standing bearded archer, facing right, wearing a long fringed tunic, aims his bow upward at an approaching bull. The archer carries over his shoulder a quiver, from the top of which emerge the tips of two arrows. The bull has an upcurled, brush-tipped tail. A dot and wedge are above his back. Between the opponents is a large tree with curving stem and branches ending in clusters. A similar, smaller tree and a wedge terminate the register at either end.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme: Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89419; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 89).

Composition: Nimrud ND. 887, seventh century B.C. context (Ash 1951.46; Buchanan 1966: no. 618 = Parker 1955: pl. XVI, 3); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89419; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 89).

Upward aim of archer: Choga Zanbil TZ 366.1955 (Louvre SB 5052; Porada 1970: no. 33).

Proportions of bull: Tell Billa 2851 (IM; field drawing at UM; unpublished).

Brush-tipped tail: Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32).

Type of tree: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design XXXII).

Previous publications: Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 3.

67 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 89; Pl. 21)
HAS 60-902. MMA 61.100.81 (Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).
Floor, northeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building II; found beside skeleton (Skel. 147), together with many beads (HAS 60-655).
Ht. 3.55; Diam. 1.35; Perf. 1.3
Grey clayey limestone. Green stains at both ends from copper/bronze caps, now missing; fibrous, twisted material (probably string) preserved in perforation. Perforation off-center; surface worn and chipped.

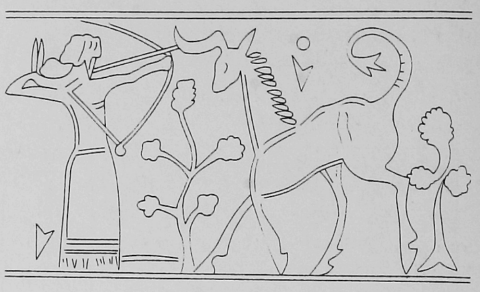


Fig. 88. No. 66. After Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 3.

Seal design: A kneeling bearded archer, facing right, aims his bow at a winged bearded human-headed bull(?). The facial features of the archer are defined by horizontal striations. He wears a belted knee-length tunic with long fringes at the hem, some shown extending down part of his lower leg. He carries a quiver with three arrows, held by three straps across his chest. The legs of the opposing creature, three of which have two short horizontal lines carved at the back of the ankle, are spaced at even, unnatural intervals. The tail ends in a brush-like tuft. A star, composed of an irregular arrangement of five rays, and a crescent are in the sky above the monster. A cuneiform-like wedge is above his tail; a second wedge is between the legs of the archer.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; modern impression at I of A; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4); Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Tell Billa 2815/6, level I (UM 32-20-287; unpublished).

Striations in animal body: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design XXIII); Choga Zanbil TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970: no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d).

Brush-tipped tail: Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32); Assur 14327h, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8997; Moortgat 1941: fig. 1); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X [= our Pl. 40a] and XVI).

Form of star: Choga Zanbil TZ 581.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 75).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud

ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Overall striations in human and animal forms: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-793 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 54); HAS 64-918 (MMA 65.163.10; Muscarella 1980: no. 163). Silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29).

Previous publications: Marcus 1990a: pl. 4; 1990b: pl. XXXIIIa.

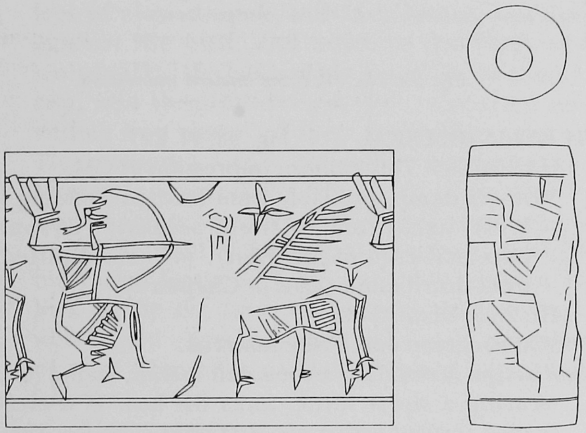


Fig. 89. No. 67. From modern impression.

68 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 90; Pl. 21)

HAS 74-281. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, Room 1, Burned Building VI (in front of north bench at east doorway).

Ht. 3.0; Diam. 1.18;

Egyptian blue(?). Copper/bronze suspension pin with looped end.

Seal design (inverted): A standing bearded archer aims his bow at a winged bull, both facing right. The archer wears a fringed shawl over a long fringed tunic. Over his shoulder he carries a quiver, from the top of which protrude two arrows. A crescent and globe are in the sky above the back of the bull; a second globe is before his face. The terminal design is a bush with a vertical stem and diagonal branches along its entire length.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 6139 (VA Ass 1604; Moortgat 1940: no. 705).

Type of bush: Tell al Rimah TR 4402, Middle Assyrian context (Ash 1970.981; Moorey and Gurney 1978: no. 69).

Previous publications: None.

69 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 91; Pl. 21)

HAS 62-510. TM; modern impression at UM.

Fig. 90. No. 68. From modern impression.

Floor, southeast area of Room 5, Burned Building II (between east wall bench and second column base from north); found beside skeleton (Skel. 263), together with three cast bronze lion pins (HAS 62-523 through 525) and a beaded necklace (HAS 60-527).

Ht. 4.35; Diam. 1.43

Black stone. Traces of copper/bronze end caps, and pin in perforation.

Seal design: A kneeling bearded archer, facing left, aims his bow at an opposing griffin. The archer wears a fringed shawl over a long fringed mantle, which is tied at the waist with a broad belt. Over his shoulder he carries a quiver, from the top of which protrude three arrows. The griffin, shown raising one foreleg against the archer, has a shaggy crest and underbody, large penis, and upraised tail with a brush-like tip. His body is marked by short overlapping incisions. Between the opponents is a small bush with three stems, each ending in a brush-like cluster of short radiating branches, and with a narrow base of five horizontal lines. A star, composed of an irregular arrangement of eight radiating lines, and a crescent with a serrated lower edge are in the sky. A lozenge is in the middle field above the back of the griffin; a cuneiform-like wedge is beneath his belly. The composition is dense, with the elements set close together and filled in with overall incisions.

Border: Band of chevrons, pointing left in the upper register and right in the lower frieze, with extra overlapping incisions between chevrons.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Composition: Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; modern impression at I of A; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Brush-tipped branches: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design XXXII).

Shaggy underbelly of monster: Assur 14327x, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8779; Moortgat 1941: fig. 3); Assur 14327cl, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8832; Moortgat 1941: fig. 36); Tell al Rimah, Middle Assyrian impressions (Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 1, 13, 43).

Brush-tipped tail: Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat

1941: fig. 32); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs X [= our Pl. 40a] and XVI).

Form of star: Choga Zanbil TZ 492.1956 (Louvre SB 5065; Porada 1970: no. 92).

Border: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 9187 (VA 5184; Moortgat 1940: no. 668); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Arrangement of fringes on archer's garment: Ivory carving, HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118).

Previous publications: None.

Fig. 91. No. 69. From modern impression.

70 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 92; Pl. 22)

HAS 62-220. UM 63-5-29.

Floor, Room 4, Burned Building III.

Ht. 3.96; Diam. 1.50; Perf. 0.32

Chlorite (possibly gonyerite). Copper pin in perforation. Surface very worn.

Seal design: Faint traces of a kneeling(?) archer aiming his bow at a rampant winged bull, both facing left. The ribs of the quadruped are indicated by horizontal incisions, one of which is further decorated with tiny triangular serrations, probably indicating body hair. Between the oppponents is a bush with a central vertical stem and short diagonal branches, several ending in a cluster of brush-like incisions. Traces of a palmette with three branches are in the field below the bull. A cuneiform-like wedge, a crescent with a jagged lower edge, a six-pointed star, and seven globes are carved in a series across the sky.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Type of star: Choga Zanbil TZ 611.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 83).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Animal hair indicated by triangular serrations: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-888 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 2); HAS 64-769 (MMA 65.163.9; Muscarella 1980: no. 33 = our Pl. 46a).

Previous publications: None.

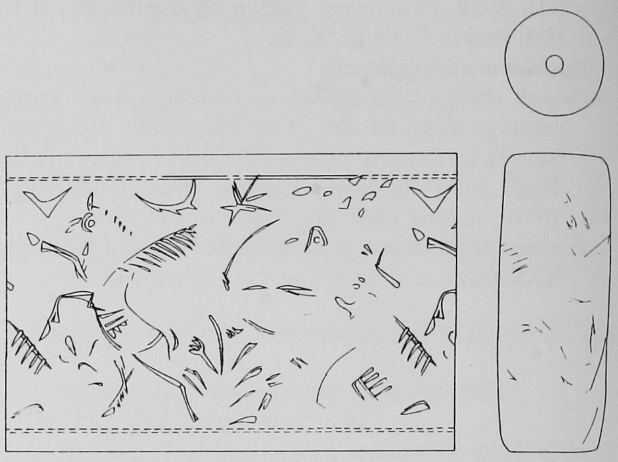


Fig. 92. No. 70. From modern impression.

71 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 93; Pl. 22)

HAS 70-366. TM; modern impression at UM.

1958–59 dump, probably from Burned Building I West, excavated in these seasons (Dyson: personal communication). (Object omitted from distribution plans in Chapter 8.)

Ht. 2.05; Diam. 0.86

Whitish green composite material.

Seal design: A standing unbearded archer, facing left, wearing a short tunic, aims his bow at a clef-shaped serpent with a two-part crest. The free arm of the archer is bent back at the elbow. The style of carving is schematic, with stick-like, unmodeled forms.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Nimrud, ND. 2153, Burnt Palace (Parker 1955: pl. XV, 2, p. 103); Al Mina MN. 191 (Ash 1937.776; Buchanan 1966: no. 624).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

72 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 94; Pl. 22)

HAS 60-901. TM; modern impression at UM.

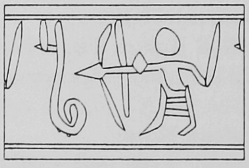


Fig. 93. No. 71. From modern impression.

Floor, northeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building II; found beside skeleton (Skel. 141), together with nine cast bronze lion pins (HAS 60-546 through 550, 561 through 564) and a quantity of beads (HAS 60-651).

Ht. 4.3; Diam. 1.62

Limestone(?). Copper/bronze end caps and suspension pin, with traces of looped end at top. Seal impression worn, making it difficult to differentiate between break lines and carved incisions.

Seal design: A rampant winged bull, facing right, confronts a winged human-headed monster. The face of the bull is striated. His opponent has the legs of a quadruped, with one foreleg upraised against the bull, and a tail in the form of a scorpion(?). He has a short beard(?), horned(?) cap, and shoulder-length hair, upcurled and ending in a cluster of short brush-like incisions. The creature's face is defined by horizontal and triangular serrations. His body is marked by vertical and horizontal incisions, and terminates in a vertical band of horizontal striations, probably indicating feathers. A lozenge(?) is between his legs. In the sky, from left to right, are a crescent with jagged edges, a wedge, and a star, composed of nine triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Human-headed quadruped: Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; modern impression at I of A; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4); Tell Billa 2815/6, level I (UM 32-20-287; unpublished); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

73 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 95; Pl. 23)

HAS 62-255. TM; modern impression at UM.

Floor, Room 4, Burned Building III.

Ht. 3.4; Diam. 1.17

Black stone. Surface very worn.

Seal design: Faint traces of two quadrupeds, perhaps a lion attacking a bull, both facing left. To the right may be traces of a standing figure wearing a belted garment. A star, composed of six small triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle, and a bird(?) are in the sky.

Border: Traces of diagonal hatching(?).

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Previous publications: None.

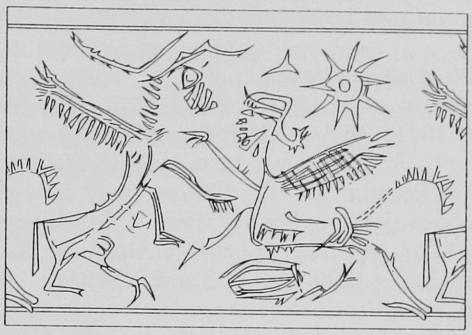


Fig. 94. No. 72. From modern impression.

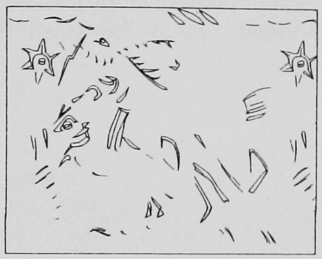


Fig. 95. No. 73. From modern impression.

74 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 96; Pl. 23)

HAS 58-432. UM 59-4-76.

Second-story collapse, northwest corner of Room 2, Burned Building I West.

Ht. 2.25; Diam. 1.05; Perf. 0.50

Black calcite/marble. Bronze pin in perforation, with traces of looped end at top.

Seal design: Two winged horses(?) with short bushy tails and long snouts walk in procession to the left. Their bodies are marked with horizontal and diagonal incisions, as well as with a diagonal series of small triangular serrations to indicate body hair. A small triangular wedge is between the legs of each animal. At one end of the register is a small bush, with a cuneiform-like wedge above it; at the other end is a branch(?), with a striated lozenge above it.

Border: Above, irregularly spaced hanging triangles of varying lengths, and a crescent. Below, horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Composition: Assur 6229, with ostriches (VA Ass 1607; Moortgat 1940: no. 712).

Striations in animal bodies: Choga Zanbil TZ 490.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 49); TZ 469.1956 (TM; Porada 1970; no. 45); TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970; no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d); Tell Fahkariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs III,

XXIII); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1162 (TM 1469; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Striations in animal bodies: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: figs. 12 and 6 = details, our Pls. 32–33); silver beaker, HAS 58-427 (TM 10770; Porada 1967: fig. 1044 = our Pl. 29); glazed tile, Susa (Louvre; Porada 1962: pl. 14 above = our Pl. 41b); painted pottery, Sialk B, S. 584 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. IX, 3 and LXXXI).

Body hair indicated by triangular serrations: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-888 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 2); HAS 64-769 (MMA 65.163.9; Muscarella 1980: no. 33 = our Pl. 46a). Painted pottery, Sialk B, S. 584 (Ghirshman 1939: pls. IX, 3 and LXXXI).

Upper border pattern: Painted pottery, Sialk B, S. 904, Tomb 98 (Ghirshman 1939: pl. XI, 3).

Previous publications: Marcus 1990a: pl. 5; 1990b: pl. XXXIII b.

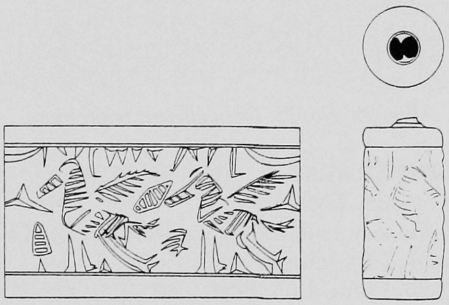


Fig. 96. No. 74. From modern impression.

75 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 97; Pl. 23)

HAS 60-1023. MMA 61.100.82 (Purchase, Mrs. Constantine Sidamon-Eristoff Gift, 1961).

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 62, 64, 77, 78, 84).

Ht. 2.5; Diam. 1.4; Perf. 0.25

Egyptian blue. Copper pin in perforation. Surface cracked.

Seal design: Two ostriches, each with two outstretched wings and tail feathers, stride to the left. Between the animals is a palmette with eight branches, all but one growing directly from the lower borderline. Above the palmette is a branch(?). Eight globes and a crescent are in the sky. The terminal design consists of a slender tree set upon a base of five horizontal lines.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 6229 (VA Ass 1607; Moortgat 1940: no. 712); Assur 7929 (VA Ass 1591; Moortgat 1940: no. 713); Nineveh (BM 89468; unpublished).

Branch(?) in field: Choga Zanbil TZ 606.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 76).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

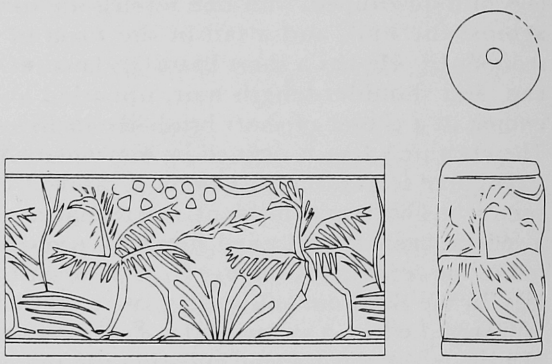


Fig. 97. No. 75. From modern impression.

76 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 98; Pl. 24)

HAS 62-765. TM; modern impression at UM.

Second-story collapse, north end of Room 11, Burned Building III.

Ht. 3.2; Diam. 1.18

Steatite(?).

Seal design: An ostrich with outstretched wings and a plain V-shaped tail stands on one leg, facing left, with a scorpion before him. The body of the ostrich is filled in with discrete units of horizontal and vertical lines. The body of the scorpion is defined by a vertical series of five horizontal lines. His legs and head are indicated by nine triangular wedges; his tail is straight and flanked on each side by two diagonal lines. The field is filled in with large and small wedges.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels:

Main theme: Assur 6229 (VA Ass 1607; Moortgat 1940: no. 712); Assur 7929 (VA Ass 1591; Moortgat 1940: no. 713); Nineveh (BM 89468; unpublished).

Border: Assur 11190ai (VA 4212; Moortgat 1940: no. 639 = our Pl. 45b); Assur 18898 (VA 7951; Moortgat 1940: no. 691 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud ND. 1015, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II (IM; Parker 1955: pl. X, 4).

Previous publications: None.

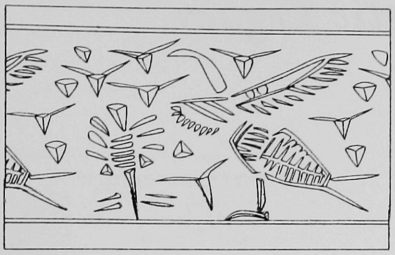


Fig. 98. No. 76. From modern impression.

77 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 99; Pl. 24)

HAS 60-1029. UM 61-5-22.

Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 62, 64, 75, 78, 84).

Ht. 4.22; Diam. 1.59; Perf. 0.37

Limestone(?) with copper/bronze casing(?). Copper cap at top, and green stain from lower cap, now missing; remains of iron(?) pin in perforation (see Appendix A). Surface of seal corroded, partly chipped off and badly burned.

Seal design: A standing figure faces right, opposite a seated figure, with a table between them. The former wears a fringed garment, and holds a flag-shaped fan (handle not preserved) and towel(?). The seated figure seems to be unbearded and may represent a male youth or female figure, although the design is too worn to be certain. He/she wears a long, flounced, fringed robe and holds a bowl in one raised hand. The base of the table is indented, with concave sides. There is a band of oblique striations along the upper edge of the table, probably marking the fringes of a tablecloth. Longer diagonal striations decorate the rest of the table. The chair has a high straight back, diagonal striations along the seat, and a diagonal cross-bar as a means of support. Three triangular wedges are between the standing attendant and the table.

Border: Above, horizontal line. Below, band of oblique lines, arranged in units of from four to seven lines, each unit set in alternating directions.

Stylistic group: "Provincial Assyrian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Nimrud ND. 5318, Nabu Temple (Parker 1962: pl. IX, 5); Assur 14063 (VA 4213; Moortgat 1940: no. 660); Assur 8060 (VA 665; Moortgat 1940: no. 665); Susa (Louvre SB 6177; Amiet 1972: no. 2063); Choga Zanbil TZ 606.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 76); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 46 (TM 1495; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 234, no. 53).

Proportions of figures: Choga Zanbil TZ 632.1956 (Louvre SB 5064; Porada 1970: no. 55); TZ 470.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 64).

Shape of table: Susa (Louvre SB 6177; Amiet 1972: no. 2063); Choga Zanbil TZ 483 (Louvre SB 5044; Porada 1970: no. 66); TZ 600 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 78).

High-backed chair: Assur 14036 (VA 4213; Moortgat 1940: no. 660).

Seat supported by diagonal cross-bars: Choga Zanbil TZ 483 (Louvre SB 5044; Porada 1970: no. 66).

Shape of fan: Susa (Louvre S^B 6177; Amiet 1972: no. 2063).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

High-backed chair: Ivory carvings: HAS 64-1068 (MMA 65.163.14; Muscarella 1980: no. 116 = our Pl. 34c); HAS 64-706 (TM; Muscarella 1980: no. 117); HAS 64-775 (UM 65-31-360; Muscarella 1980: no. 118).

Border: Silver beaker, HAS 58-427, bands between registers (TM 10770; Porada 1967: pl. 1488, fig. 1044 = our Pls. 28–29).

Previous publications: None.

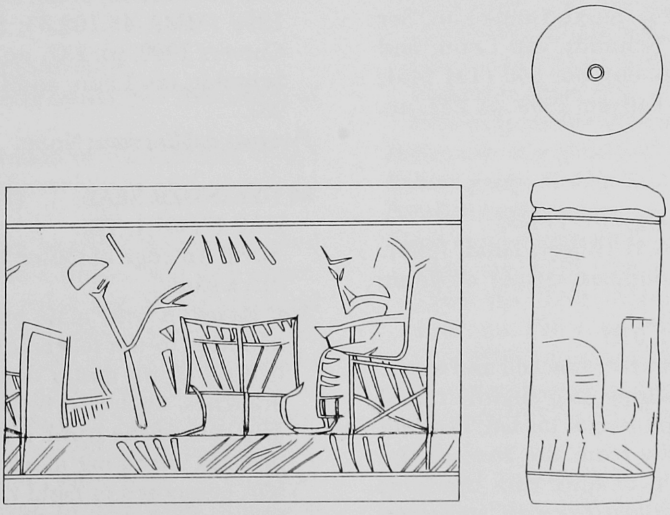


Fig. 99. No. 77. From modern impression.

Middle Assyrian Stylistic Legacy

Seals

78 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 100; Pl. 25)
HAS 60-1027. UM 61-4-21.
Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 62, 64, 75, 77, 84).
Ht. 2.77; Diam. 1.45; Perf. 0.25
Egyptian blue, colored green, blue, and brown. Copper/bronze pin in perforation. Surface worn; perforation off-center.

Seal design: A wild ram, facing left, eats a long shoot of a large palm(?) tree, from the base of which grow two additional shoots. The ribs of the ram are marked by incisions. Between his legs are three small palmettes. The left and center plants each have five branches; the plant at the right has only three. Six(?) globes and a star, composed of twelve thin lines radiating around a dotted circle, are in the sky above the back of the ram. The incisions are very shallow.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 14327ae, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8969; Moortgat 1941: fig. 42); Assur 9621 (VA Ass 1680; Moortgat 1941: fig. 44 = Moortgat 1940: no. 588); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs XXI, XXII [= our Pls. 46c-d] and XXIII).

Type of tree: Assur 14886g, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8740; Moortgat 1941: fig. 55).

Form of star: Susa (Louvre SB 6248; Amiet 1972: no. 2182); Choga Zanbil TZ 580.1956 (Louvre SB 5027; Porada 1970: no. 24); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1299 (MMA 43.102.33; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 86); Sor 850 (TM 1461; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 95).

Previous publications: None.

79 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 101; Pl. 25)
HAS 64-828. MMA 65.163.41 (Rogers Fund, 1965).
Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 7, Burned Building II.
Ht. 3.02; Diam. 1.53; Perf. 0.27
Composite material(?). Surface cracked and worn.

Seal design: A wild ram gallops with slightly raised forelegs towards a palm(?) tree at his left; two thin shoots grow horizontally from the base of the trunk. A star, composed of nine thin incisions radiating around an inscribed(?) circle, and seven globes, arranged in two vertical registers, are in the sky above the back of the ram. The incisions are very shallow.

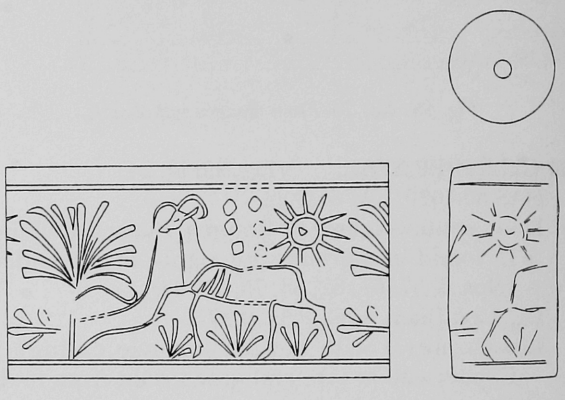


Fig. 100. No. 78. From modern impression.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Assur 14327ae, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8969; Moortgat 1941: fig. 42); Assur 9621 (VA Ass 1680; Moortgat 1941: fig. 44 = Moortgat 1940: no. 588); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs XXI, XXII [= our Pl. 46c-d] and XXIII).

Type of tree: Assur 14886g, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 8740; Moortgat 1941: fig. 55).

Form of star: Susa (Louvre SB 6248; Amiet 1972: no. 2182); Choga Zanbil TZ 580.1956 (Louvre SB 5027; Porada 1970: no. 24); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1299 (MMA 43.102.33; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 86); Sor 850 (TM 1461; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 95).

Previous publications: None.

80 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 102; no Pl.)
HAS 47[49]-1. TM.
Northern edge of Outer Town area.
Black stone.

Seal design: A wild male goat with a serrated horn advances to the left before a tree. The tree has a twisted trunk and a cluster of pine needle-like branches, encircled by a ring of petal-like forms. The base of the trunk is flanked by small mounds, perhaps indicating mountains. A crescent above a star, composed of eight rays encircling a small dot, fills the field above the back of the goat.

Stylistic group: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.

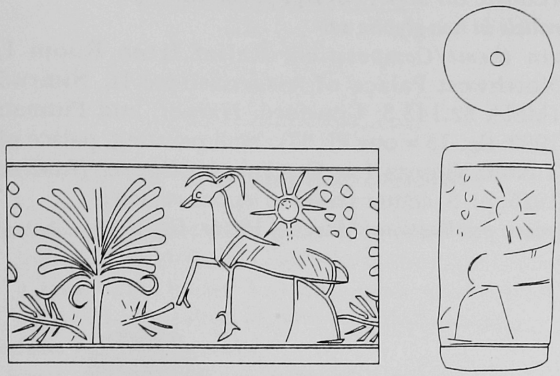


Fig. 101. No. 79. From modern impression.

Parallels in glyptic art:

Composition/Main theme: Assur 14327ae, impression, reign of Shalmaneser I (VAT 8969; Moortgat 1941: fig. 42); Assur 9621 (VA Ass 1680; Moortgat 1940: fig. 44 = Moortgat 1940: no. 588); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs XXI, XXII [= our Pl. 46c-d] and XXIII).

Tree with twisted trunk: Assur 14327m, impression, reign of Adad-nirari I (VAT 8975; Moortgat 1941: fig. 53); Assur 11018e, impression, reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (VAT 16364; Moortgat 1941: fig. 47); Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design XXII = our Pl. 46c–d); Tell al Rimah TR 106, Middle Assyrian seal impression (Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 2A); TR 122, Middle Assyrian seal impression (Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 3).

Star and crescent group: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: designs II and XXII = our Pl. 46c-d).

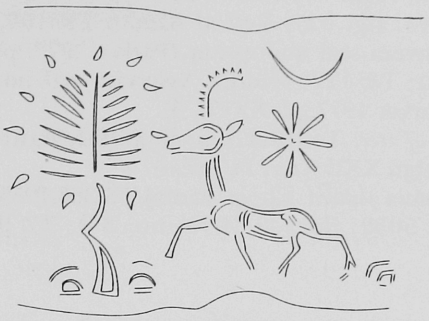


Fig. 102. No. 80. After Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 5.

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Tree with encircling petal-like forms: Gold vessel, Marlik 29M (TM 14708/7708; Negahban 1964: detail, fig. 139).

Previous publications: Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 5.

Tab

81 TAB (Fig. 103; Pl. 25)

HAS 64-324. TM; latex impression (in two pieces) at UM.

Second-story collapse, southeast corner of Room 5, Burned Building II.

L. 11.4; W. 5.2; Th. 1.8

Clay.

Description of back: Smooth surface.

Function: Unable to be determined (see discussion of tabs in Chapter 1).

Description of front: Impression of cylinder seal, rolled continuously approximately two and one-third times.

Seal design: Two standing bearded human-headed genies flank a tree, with a winged sun disk above. The tree has a twisted trunk and a hemispherical cluster of short pine needle-like branches; it grows on top of a mountain, indicated by three rows of drill holes. The genies each have the legs of an eagle with a row of three drill holes marking the feet, and the tail of a scorpion, indicated by a series of six drill holes. They wear rectangular horned caps with a band of drill holes along the upper edge, perhaps to indicate feathering. They carry in the left hand a bucket and in the right hand a round fruit(?) with which they probably fertilize the tree. The winged sun disk has an inscribed circle, with two small arcs emerging at the top, and a tail with six tines, each ending in a drill hole. The terminal design consists of an eight-pointed star, composed of four intersecting lines, set above a slender tree with a single horizontal base line, a slightly curving stem, and four diagonally radiating branches.

Dimensions of original seal: Ht. 3.7; Diam. 1.51

Stylistic group: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.

Parallels in glyptic art:

Main theme/Composition: Assur (VA 4224; Moortgat 1940: no. 675); Assur 8499 (VA 7830; Moortgat 1940: no. 677); Baghdad (VA 2047; Moortgat 1940: no. 676 = our Pl. 45d); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89347; Layard 1849: pl. 69, 45).

With winged human-headed genies with eagle feet: Nuzi (Porada 1947a: no. 726; drawing, Kantor 1958: pl. 69, I).

Tree with twisted trunk, on mountain: Assur 14446cx, impression, thirteenth century B.C. (VAT 9012; Moortgat 1941: fig. 32); Assur 14327m, impres-

sion, reign of Adad-nirari I (VAT 8975; Moortgat 1941: fig. 53); Tell al Rimah TR 106, Middle Assyrian seal impression (Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 2A); TR 122, Middle Assyrian seal impression (Parker 1977: pl. XXVII, 3).

Type of tree: Tell Fakhariyah (OIM; Kantor 1958: design XXII = our Pl. 46c-d).

Mountain pattern: Choga Zanbil TZ 366.1955 (Louvre SB 5052; Porada 1970: no. 33); TZ 966.1959 (Louvre SB 5080; Porada 1970: no. 34).

Parallels in non-glyptic art

Main theme/Composition: Relief from Room I, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud (MMA 32.143.3; Crawford, Harper, and Pittman 1980: fig. 15 = our Pl. 37). Wall painting, palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (Andrae 1925: pl. 3, center panel of upper register).

Previous publications: Marcus, 1994a: fig. 2.

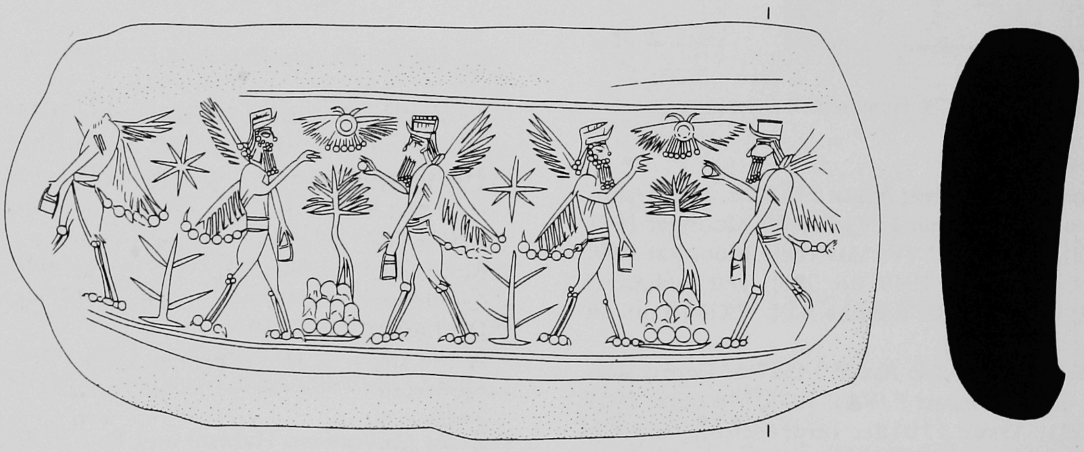


Fig. 103. No. 81. From modern impression and field sketch.

Uncertain Stylistic Legacy

Seals

82 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 104; Pl. 26)

HAS 62-135. TM; modern impression at UM.

Northeast end of Burned Building VII, disturbed area (T23), possibly from street outside building.

Ht. 1.9; Diam. 1.05

Grey-white composite material(?). Surface worn.

Seal design: A gazelle, facing right, approaches a tree(?), on the other side of which stands a human figure or animal. The body of the gazelle is filled in with diagonal lines and chevrons. The terminal element is a vertical snake.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: Uncertain.

Closest stylistic affiliation: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Striations in animal body: Choga Zanbil TZ 490.1952 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 49); TZ 469.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 45); TZ 466.1956 (Louvre SB 5038; Porada 1970: no. 50 = our Pl. 40c-d); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1162 (TM 1469; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 242, no. 142).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Striations in animal body: Gold bowl, HAS 58-469 (TM 10712; Winter 1989: figs. 12 and 6 = details, our Pls. 32–33); glazed tile, Susa (Louvre SB 3353; Porada 1965: pl. 14 above = our Pl. 41b).

Previous publications: None.

83 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 105; Pl. 26)

HAS 64-363. UM 65-31-390.

Stone-lined grave, northeast edge of Outer Town area; found under skull of adolescent skeleton (Skel. 502), together with small disk bead.

Ht. 2.5; Diam. 1.2; Perf. 0.35

Mottled black bementite. Surface very worn.

Fig. 104. No. 82. From modern impression.

Seal design: A wild male goat with eyes and muzzle indicated by drill holes gallops to the right towards a tree. The latter has a slender trunk with a splayed base and six slightly curving branches.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.
Parallels:
Schematic animal form and drill hole eyes: Nuzi (Porada 1947a: pls. II, III, XLII).
Previous publications: None.

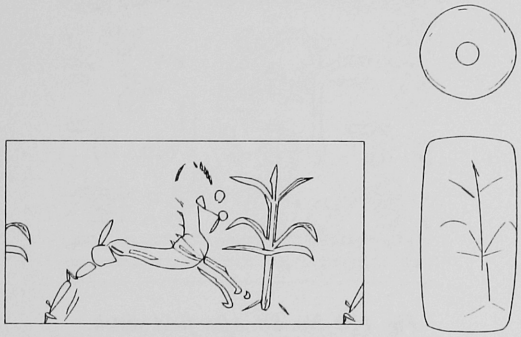


Fig. 105. No. 83. From modern impression.

84 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 106; Pl. 26)
HAS 60-1025. TM.
Floor, southwest area of Room 5, Burned Building II; found in a group with eight other cylinders (Nos. 3, 57, 61, 62, 64, 75, 77, 78).
Ht. 3.0; Diam. 1.2
Egyptian blue(?), now discolored (rust color).
Seal design: Two butting wild male goats, both with long snouts, exaggerated eyes, and notched horns. The goat at the left bends back his right foreleg, while his opponent raises his hind-quarters. Between the animals may be a plant, composed of a vertical series of three triangular wedges(?). Two cuneiform-like wedges and a crescent are above the goat at left; two additional wedges are above the goat at right.
Border: Horizontal line.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: "Other Iranian style."
Parallels:
Long snout: Nuzi (Porada 1947a: nos. 118, 422, 455, 575, 792, 926).
Previous publications: None.

Fig. 106. No. 84. From photograph and field sketch.

85 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 107; Pl. 27)
HAS 72-156. TM; modern impression at UM.
Near floor, southwest corner of Room 1, Burned Building IV-V; found near skeleton (Skel. 334), together with cast bronze lion pin (HAS 72-157).
Ht. 1.85; Diam. 0.73
White stone. Copper/bronze suspension pin in perforation, looped at top and splayed at base; copper/bronze cap preserved at top of seal. Seal damaged; design unclear.
Seal design: A bird or quadruped faces right, before a tree with a thin trunk and diagonally radiating branches. The terminal design is a large five-pointed star.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Previous publications: None.

Fig. 107. No. 85. From modern impression.

86 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 108; Pl. 27)
HAS 60-903. TM; modern impression at UM.
Floor, just north of southern doorway in Room 2, Burned Building II; found near skeleton (Skel. 157), together with cast bronze lion pin (HAS 60-552).
Ht. 3.85; Diam. 1.05
Limestone(?).
Seal design: A bird(?) with outstretched wings hovers over a row of seven trees(?). The "trees" have a straight or slightly curved trunk topped by a single mass, or two or three horizontal lines. Three vertical incisions are in the sky beside the "bird," the left-most incision terminating in a drill hole. There is an additional drill hole above the "bird"

and another below his "head."
Border: Horizontal line.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Parallels:
Main theme/Composition: Tell Billa 2120 (UM 32-20-289; unpublished); Tepe Giyan, level II? (MMA 56.81.29; unpublished).
Previous publications: None.

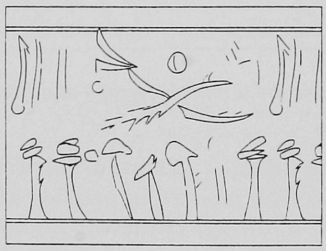


Fig. 108. No. 86. From modern impression.

87 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 109; no Pl.)
HAS 34-1. TM.
In stone tomb, northern end of Outer Town area (period V or IV).
Grey stone.
Seal design (After Ghirshman 1939: p. 78): A bearded human-headed quadruped with a tail in the form of a scorpion faces right, wielding a weapon, held above his head, against a rampant quadruped. A cluster of drill holes (number unclear) is carved below the latter animal. Ghirshman's drawing (and description) are suspect. The drawing may even be inverted, since the drill holes, which regularly occur in the sky in other seals, are in the lower field in this drawing.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: Middle Assyrian stylistic legacy.
Parallels:
Main theme: Assur, impressions, reign of Tiglath-pileser I: 18782ab (VAT 16389; Moortgat 1944: fig. 19); 18764 (VAT 15471; Moortgat 1941: fig. 20). Tell al Rimah TR 2903, Middle Assyrian seal impression (Parker 1977: pl. XXIX, 28).
Previous publications: Ghirshman 1939: drawing, pl. C, 23.

88 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 110; no Pl.)
HAS 57-50. TM 10487.
Pisé-lined grave, northeast edge of Outer Town area; found lying at pelvis of skeleton (Skel. 18), near string of beads (HAS 57-51).
Ht. 4.4; Diam. 1.3
Bone(?). Worn.
Seal design: Unclear. The field notes refer to a "stylized animal scene," but if the field sketch is

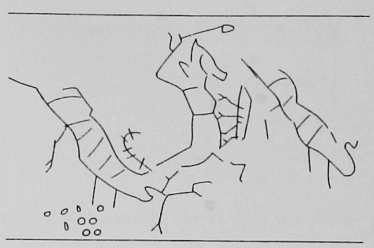


Fig. 109. No. 87. After Ghirshman 1939: pl. C, 23.

inverted, a form resembling a winged sun disc may be seen in the sky.
Border: From inside to outside, wavy and straight horizontal lines.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Previous publications: None.

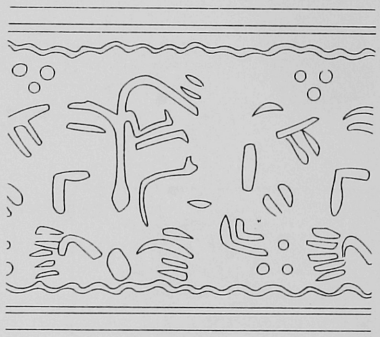


Fig. 110. No. 88. After field sketch.

89 CYLINDER SEAL (No. Fig.; Pl. 27)
HAS 72-150. UM 73-5-209.
Directly above floor level, Room 1, Burned Building IV-V (along the south wall, to the east of the south doorway); found together with unengraved cylinder No. 45 and a quantity of beads (HAS 72-153).
Ht. 3.50 (including remains of pin 3.67); Diam. 1.57; Perf. 0.23
Composite material. Copper pin in perforation. Cylinder now misshapen; surface corroded.
Seal design: In the upper field are faint traces of a star, composed of multiple short lines radiating around a circle.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliations: "Local" or "Other Iranian" style.
Parallels:
Form of star: Susa (Louvre SB 6248; Amiet 1972: no. 2182); Choga Zanbil TZ 580.1956 (Louvre SB 5027; Porada 1970: no. 24); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 1299 (MMA 43.102.33; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 86); Sor 850 (TM 1461;

Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 237, no. 95).
Previous publications: None.

90 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 111; no Pl.)
HAS 58-424. UM 59-4-67, unlocated.
Second-story collapse, northwest corner of Room 2, Burned Building I West.
Ht. 3.3; Diam. 0.8; Reconstructed diam. of original seal 1.5
Bone(?). Fragmentary; only part of vertical section of seal survives.
Seal design:
Upper register: The hindquarters and upraised tail of a winged(?) quadruped; pendant triangles in sky.
Lower register: Not preserved.
Border: Above, horizontal line. Lower border not preserved.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: "Local style."
Previous publications: None.

Fig. 111. No. 90. After field sketch.

91 CYLINDER SEAL (No Fig.; Pl. 27)
HAS 59-251. UM 60-20-104.
Fill in stone-lined tomb, northern end of Outer Town area (Skel. 106).
Ht. 2.80; Diam. at top 1.97; Diam. at center 0.56; Perf. 0.27
Material unable to be determined. Copper/bronze cap preserved at one end; greenish brown stain left by second cap, now missing, at other end; copper/bronze pin in perforation.
Condition: Cylinder pinched in at the center; surface very worn.
Seal design: No longer visible.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Previous publications: None.

92 CYLINDER SEAL (No illustrations)
HAS 58-405. TM.
Fill in drain jar sunken under paving in Room 5, Burned Building I West (just south of central column base).
Ht. 2.9; Diam. 1.2
Copper/bronze(?). Surface very worn.
Seal design: No longer visible.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Previous publications: None.

93 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 112; Pl. 27)
HAS 62-917. MMA 63.109.20 (Rogers Fund, 1963).
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building III.
Loaf-shaped hemispheroid stamp (see Fig. 4.1, Chapter 1).
Ht. 1.07; L. 2.85; W. 1.63; Perf. 0.37
Steatite.
Condition: Seal surface worn.
Decoration on back: A star, composed of eight triangular wedges radiating around an inscribed circle, with bands of chevrons on all four sides.
Seal design: A scorpion with horizontal incisions on its back.
Border: Band of double zig-zag lines.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: Neo-Assyrian carving style; late prehistoric stamp shape.
Parallels:
Shape: Kish, sixth–fifth century B.C. context (Ash 1924.154; Buchanan 1984: no. 199); Jemdet Nasr (Ash 1930.86, 1928.548; Buchanan 1984: nos. 200, 201).
Star: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 11354c (VA 7827; Moortgat 1940: no. 654); Assur 9187 (VA 5184; Moortgat 1940: no. 668); Nimrud ND. 3211, seventh century B.C. context (I of A; Parker 1955: pl. XII, 4).
Chevron borders: Assur 9186 (VA 7865; Moortgat 1940: no. 672); Assur 9187 (VA 5184; Moortgat 1940: no. 668); Nimrud, unstratified (BM 89600; Wiseman [1959]: pl. 86).
Previous publications: None.

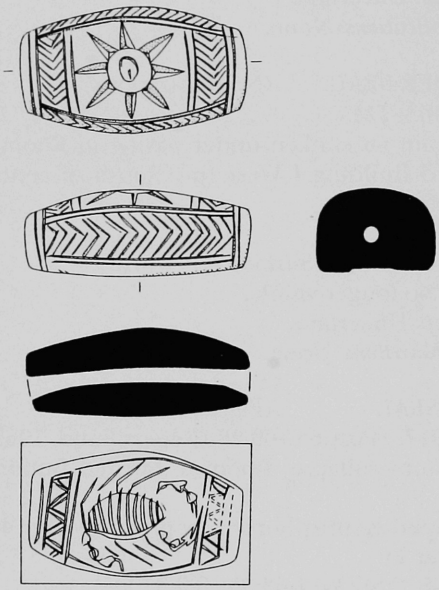


Fig. 112. No. 93

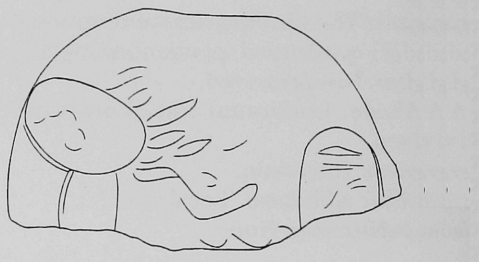


Fig. 113. No. 94–95. From photograph and field sketch.

Sealings

94–95 SEALING (Fig. 113; Pl. 27)
HAS 62-893. UM 63-5-57, unlocated.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building III.
Ht. 2.8; Width 4.8
Burnt clay. Front surface worn.
Description of back: Unavailable.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Partial rolling of cylinder seal (= No. 94) and two or three impressions of stamp seal (= No. 95). Designs unclear (see belows).
Previous publications: None.

(94)
Seal design: Unclear.
Dimensions of original cylinder seal: Unable to be determined.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.

(95)
Seal design: The shape is of a scarab stamp seal, but the design is not preserved.
Dimensions of original stamp seal: Length approx. 1.60 cm.; Width approx. 1.06 cm.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Closest stylistic affiliation: Syro-Palestinian.

96 SEALING (Fig. 114; no Pl.)
HAS 64-685. TM; gypsum cast at PML.
Second-story collapse, Room 6, Burned Building II.
Clay. Front surface worn.
Description of back: Unavailable.
Function: Unable to be determined.
Description of front: Partial impression of cylinder seal; design unclear.
Seal design: Male goat(?) facing right.
Stylistic group: Uncertain.
Previous publications: None.

Figure 114. No. 96. Sealing (HAS 64-685); uncertain attribution.

Catalog Endnotes (nos. 366-371)

366. Prior to completing the Catalog I had access to three preliminary catalogues of some of the glyptic material: (1) a working catalog by Dyson (1963c) of 66 objects, intended to identify slides and photographs in the Hasanlu Project Files, with minimal information on findspot, dimensions, seal design, present location, and publications; (2) a working catalog by van Loon (1966) of the same 66 objects with slightly expanded descriptions; and (3) a draft catalog by Dyson and Harris (now published, 1986: 89–95) of the cylinders from Hasanlu and other sites in Iran, with brief identifications. I also relied on Registry Notebooks compiled by Mary Virginia Harris, available in the Hasanlu Project Archives.

There are some discrepancies between the items in Dyson and Harris' cylinder seal catalog (1986: 89–95) and those in the present catalog. First, their catalog includes 4 cylinders that I have deliberately omitted from the present study: (1) HAS 70-519 (their Catalog Number/CN 74), whose concave profile and size makes it a bead according to the working typology in Chapter 1 above; (2 and 3) CN 38 and 39, also beads; and (4) HAS 70-733 (CN 84), a copper/bronze cylinder with no visible design. Second, according to my working typology, HAS 62-917 (their CN 71, my No. 93) is a loaf-shaped hemispheroid stamp seal (having one flat side), not a cylinder. Third, the present Catalog includes one cylinder seal (HAS 70-366, No. 71) and one seal-bead (HAS 58-344, No. 39) that I neglected to include in my Addendum to their catalog (p. 105). Last, HAS 59-83 (CN 42) and HAS 47(49)-3 (CN 37) are discussed separately in Appendix C on the Hasanlu V seals (Nos. C1 and C2).

367. Moorey 1985: 133–135. See also Forbes 1966: 112–113; Foster 1979: 1–9; Kiefer and Allibert 1971; Noble 1968; Vandiver 1982; and Wulff, Wulff, and Koch 1968.

368. Matson 1957: 133. See also Chase 1971 and Moorey 1985: 188.

369. In the area of Burned Building VII and in the building itself there were a number of pits dug from the period IIIB level in the period IV debris. These pits often contained period IVB pottery fragments and small objects in the filling. These contexts must therefore be considered "disturbed" with objects assigned to the period on typological rather than stratigraphic grounds (Dyson: personal communication).

370. The correct Nimrud field numbers for Parker 1962: pls. X, 5 and 6 were accidentally switched in her catalog (p. 30).

371. No. 32 was found in a pit that was cut down from level IVB into level IVC, which yielded a charcoal sample that produced a radiocarbon date of cal. B.C. 1375 (1294, 1279, 1262) 1116 (sample P2161) (Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 7). While the style of the seal impression is not out of place in period IVB, the association in a pit with this carbon sample is problematic.

Appendix A

Analyses of Materials and Metal from Seals and One Sealing from Hasanlu IVB

Composition of Seal Surface

The identifications of seal materials (given in the Catalog and in Table 5, below) are based either on (1) the results of scientific analysis (x-ray diffraction and/or electron dispersive spectroscopy) conducted by George Wheeler in the Objects Conservation Department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art of small samples of the seals in the Museum's permanent holdings and on loan from The University Museum (= 31 of the 71 seals in the assemblage or 44%);[372] or on (2) casual identifications in the field of the remaining seals (39 now in Tehran and 1 unlocated at The University Museum).

As Table 5 indicates, the range of materials of the seals analyzed scientifically includes: chlorite; bementite; limestone; white chert; steatite; black marble/calcite; Egyptian blue; and a composite (ceramic) material.[373] In addition, the field notes indicate that some of the seals in Tehran may be of bone, terracotta, or copper/bronze.

Altogether, seals of a composite material are most abundant in the Hasanlu IVB assemblage (up to 32%), with those of steatite and Egyptian blue being next in abundance (up to 13% and 11% repectively). There may be from two to four seals each of marble, limestone, and bone. Each of the remaining materials is represented by only one item. As for correlations between material and style, it is worth noting that: (1) the Assyrian-style seals show the greatest range in types of stones; and (2) seals of a composite material are found in nearly all stylistic groups.

Composition of Metal Elements

Chris Blair in the Objects Conservation Department of the Metropolitan Museum subjected small samples of the metal attachments on seals (and foil on one sealing) to spectrographic analysis (Table 6). This technique is used to determine the chemical elements present in an object. The elements are identified from the characteristic patterns of lines which appear in a spectrum produced by a minute quantity of the specimen to be tested. SP is used most frequently for the study of metal, glass, and pottery.

Analysis of traces of gold-colored foil on the back of a box sealing (No. 5D) indicated that it is electrum, a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver. The sample tested contained 54.64% gold and 28.18% silver, as well as 2.49% copper (see Table 6). Such additions of copper were often used in

Table 5: Composition of Seal Surface on the Basis of Scientific Analysis or Casual Field Identifications

MATERIAL	AS IDENTIFIED BY SCIENTIFIC ANALYSIS (Cat. Nos.)	AS IDENTIFIED IN THE FIELD (Cat. Nos.)
chlorite (gonyerite?)	70	
bementite	83	
limestone	67, 77(?)	72, 86
chert	59(?)	
steatite	46, 47, 52, 53, 61, 93	57, 62, 76
black marble/calcite	63, 74	
Egyptian blue	34, 35(?), 75, 78	4, 64, 68, 84
composite material (ceramic)	25, 26, 27, 33, 36, 37,	23, 24, 28, 29, 39, 42, 38, 40, 44, 56A, 71, 82, 55, 60, 65, 79(?), 89
bone		1, 3, 48(?), 49(?), 50(?), 51(?), 88, 90*
terracotta		2
copper/bronze		92
stones identified by color alone:		
red & white		43
grey & white		45
brown		58
black		69, 73, 80
grey		87
white		85
stone (color unspecified)		66
unavailable		41, 54
unable to be determined	91	

*Nos. 48-51, all lion stamps, are probably made of glazed steatite, judging from the results of scientific analysis of other similar stamps (Nos. 46, 47, 52); see p. 39 above.

Table 6: Composition of Metal Elements on the Basis of Spectrographic Analysis

Catalog No.	Elements (%)															Total (%)
	Mg	Al	Si	S	Cl	K	Ca	Ti	Fe	Cu	Pb	Au	Ag	P	Sn	
5D, reverse			5.76		1.45		5.01		2.47	2.49		54.64	28.18			99.98
59, pin			0.68	0.57					0.50	77.74	1.47				19.03	102.96
61, pin	0.33	0.98	10.98	4.59	2.19	3.81	3.93	0.19	0.84	72.16						99.37
63, pin			2.47		5.48				2.45	35.80	1.50				52.30	100.00
65, pin			1.01	2.84	0.73				0.17	74.64	6.92				13.70	100.01
70, pin			0.21		11.57				0.13	86.99	1.09					99.90
74, pin	2.32	1.35	5.80	1.41	10.32		3.76		0.89	67.85					6.30	100.00
75, pin	5.14	1.03	23.59	1.89		2.70	3.74		3.47	58.43						99.99
77, seal	1.87		4.61	0.72	2.28	1.35	1.05		79.58	7.81				0.73		100.00
77, cap		1.18	1.83	0.12	18.41	0.29	1.19		0.97	76.02						100.01
77, pin			0.72		0.44	0.22	0.25		96.28	2.09						100.00
78, pin	5.84	1.04	28.35	2.15	1.16	6.43	1.75	0.18	39.12	8.62	5.36					100.00
89, pin	1.16		7.12	0.20	9.88	0.56	0.34		0.88	72.20	4.65					96.99
91, cap	1.89	2.16	4.91	1.54	13.94	0.89	0.95	0.47	0.37	69.17	3.70					99.27
91, pin			8.10	0.99	1.06	0.65	5.43		0.16	83.62						100.01

antiquity to restore the natural color of gold to alloys lightened in color by silver existing as an impurity.[374] It is uncertain whether the copper in the Hasanlu foil occurred naturally in the alloy or was added deliberately.

Spectrographic analysis further determined whether the looped suspension pins and caps on a number of seals were made of copper, bronze, or tin, as well as the tin content of the bronzes. As Table 6 indicates, the pin in No. 74 is a standard tin bronze (67.85% copper: 6.30% tin).[375] The pins in Nos. 59 and 65 are made of a high tin bronze (19.03% and 13.70% tin, respectively). The tin content of the pin in No. 63 is so high (52.30%) that it qualifies as tin rather than a high tin bronze. The pin in No. 77 showed a high percentage of iron, probably due to corrosion on the sample. The remainder of the pins and caps tested (from Nos. 61, 70, 75, 78?, 89, and 91) are made of copper. Seven of the samples tested contained lead (from Nos. 59, 63, 65, 70, 78, 89, 91), which would have increased the fluidity of the metal.[376] The full implications of the results of the metals analysis (especially with regard to possible tin sources in the ancient Near East) remain to be better understood in the future.

Appendix A Endnotes (nos. 372-376)

372. The seals were originally analyzed in 1985 by electron dispersive spectroscopy (EDS). Nos. 47 and 53 were re-identified in 1994 by x-ray diffraction analysis (XRD). Some of the other seals are being re-analyzed as this manuscript goes to press.

373. See above, p. 81 and notes 367–368, on the use of the terms "composite material," "faience," and "Egyptian blue." As already noted, George Wheeler (personal communication) prefers the term "ceramic" for corporate material.

374. Tylecote 1976: 37, 48.

375. In the early Bronze Age in the Near East 7–10% tin is standard (see Tylecote 1976: 14–15).

376. Tylecote 1976: 29.

Appendix B

Analysis of Fingerprints on the Sealings from Hasanlu IVB

As was noted in Chapter 1, nearly all of the sealings from Hasanlu IVB have chance (or latent) fingerprints preserved on their sides or front surfaces, presumably made by the individual who originally pressed the wet clay sealing against the container or door being sealed. I had hoped that a fingerprint expert might be able to determine whether some of the prints belonged to the same individual or different individuals. This level of information would be particularly interesting in the case of multiple sealings impressed with the same original seal (as in Nos. 5 and 6), where one might expect to find a single individual responsible. Likewise, it would be significant if fingerprints of the same individual could be identified on sealings impressed by different seals. Given the potential for better understanding sealing practices at the site, it seemed worthwhile to pursue a professional fingerprint analysis. On a broader level, even if the results of such an analysis proved fruitless for the Hasanlu sealings (as in fact it did), it nevertheless seemed worthy for the purposes of future research to investigate the process and technology involved, and to present that information here.[377]

Thanks to arrangements by Dr. Prudence Harper, Curator of the Ancient Near Eastern Art Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Detective Kenneth Eng and Senior Fingerprint Technician Linda Goldenberg of the Latent Print Unit of the New York City Police Department kindly lent their time and expertise to the project. "Latent print" is a general term used by the Police Department to describe chance imprints and impressions, as opposed to patent or deliberate inked prints.[378] Fingerprint identification is based on the analysis of the minute ridge details of imprints and impressions (known as fingerprint characteristics) and their relationship to one another.[379]

Initially, Detective Eng and Senior Technician Goldenberg came to the Metropolitan Museum and examined twenty sealings that had visible prints on their surface (one Met sealing and nineteen sealings on loan from The University Museum), as well as a handful of field photographs of objects in Tehran. Using a hand-held magnifying lens, they looked for prints having a sufficient number of diagnostic ridge characteristics for comparative purposes, such as bifurcations, ending ridges, and dots. Of the material they examined, only five sealings in New York and two in photographs met these criteria. In other words, only the prints on these few sealings had even the potential of being matched with one another. The chances of a match were slim, however, not only because the sample was so small, but also because only partial prints were preserved, and a match required that the same part of the same finger be imprinted on two or more sealings.

Nevertheless, we proceeded with the next stage of the analysis. With permission from the museums in Philadelphia and New York, Stewart Edelson, Principal Technician in the Ancient Near Eastern Art Department of the Metropolitan Museum, and I brought the five sealings to the Latent Print Unit at 1 Police Plaza in New York City. There, Detective Bill Butler took special, enhanced photographs of the fingerprints, using a Polaroid MP4 camera with high contrast Polaroid Type 51 film. An enhanced Polaroid of one of the sealings is reproduced in Pl. 47b.

Detective Eng and Senior Technician Goldenberg later compared the photographs. Unfortunately, as expected, none of the prints on any two sealings matched. Nevertheless, the exercise served to demonstrate the technology involved in the analysis

of ancient fingerprints, and the potential for identifying prints of a single individual on more than one artifact (provided an adequate sample of good prints is available). It is not possible to determine if two prints belong to two different individuals unless complete prints from all five fingers are preserved, since each finger has a different set of ridge characteristics; nor is it altogether clear whether one can identify gender or age of an individual on the basis of a fingerprint.[380]

Appendix B Endnotes (nos. 377-380)

377. See Astrom and Eriksson 1980 for a review of the history and technology of fingerprint analysis, and the results of their own investigations of the fingerprints on late Bronze Age pottery from Cyprus and Linear B tablets from Mycenae. Other scholars engaged in similar fingerprint analysis include Eric Hallager (Denmark) on Cretan sealings and Rita Wright (New York University) on pottery from Harappa (personal communications).

378. Ferrara 1984: 6.

379. See Astrom and Eriksson 1980: 10–23 with references, and Ferrara 1984.

380. See, for instance, the work by Warren T.C. Barbour (State University of New York at Buffalo) on prints found on clay figurines from Teotihuácan, as reported in Ackerman 1989: 23.

Appendix C

The Seals from Hasanlu V

Discussion

Two cylinder seals can be assigned to Hasanlu V (ca. 1450–1250 B.C.) on the basis of their archaeological context and/or style[381] (see catalog below).

No. C1 (discussed briefly in Chapter 2) was discovered together with period V pottery in a burial at the northeast edge of the Outer Town area. The seal was set horizontally between the front teeth of the skeleton. It is a tall seal (5.80 cm. in height) made of an unglazed composite material. The design is divided into seven decorated panels: one large square flanked by two columns of three squares each. The largest unit presents a bird, facing right, over a tree with a thick trunk and hemispherical cluster of branches. Two fish flank the tree at the trunk; a third fish is at the upper right. The six smaller panels are each decorated with geometric designs, including X's, V's, and a set of three vertical lines, probably in imitation of cuneiform writing. In the upper border is a row of three fish, facing right. In the lower border is a row of three triangles which are filled with crosshatching.

The style of the seal clearly supports a late second millennium date of manufacture. The size, composition, fish, and hatched-triangle border all have good parallels among the late Middle Elamite seals from Choga Zanbil in southwestern Iran.[382] The organization of the field into decorated panels is further matched on Middle Elamite seal impressions from Susa,[383] as well as on roughly contemporary Middle Assyrian wall paintings from the palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 B.C.) at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta on the east bank of the Tigris River, just opposite Assur.[384] The border pattern of hatched triangles is perhaps most characteristic of Kassite seals of the late second millennium B.C.,[385] where they were probably made to imitate the design produced by the rolling of fancier seals set in gold caps decorated with triangles with gold granulation.[386] Last, the pseudo-inscription has parallels at Susa and Surkh Dum-i-Luri.[387]

Despite the above parallels from southern and central Iran and Mesopotamia for the independent stylistic features of No. C1, comparanda are lacking for the main theme of a bird perched over a tree, pointing to possible local production in the late second millennium. These widespread parallels are best explained, therefore, by large-scale cultural interactions attested throughout the Near East in the late second millennium B.C.[388]

No. C2 was recovered during the early commercial expeditions by Hakemi and Rad at the northern edge of the Outer Town area, probably from a burial. The design shows a schematic rendering of a bird in flight opposite a human figure, with a crescent and star between them. Nearly identical scenes are carved on seals from a seventeenth/sixteenth century B.C. context at Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit) in North Syria.[389] The parallels are sufficiently close to suggest that the Hasanlu seal was imported from the west. However, because the archaeological context was never fully recorded, it remains uncertain whether the seal reached Iran in period V or later in period IVB, when contacts with the west are better documented.[390]

Catalog

C1 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 115; Pl. 48)
HAS 59-83. MMA 60.20.5 (Rogers Fund, 1960).
Period V burial, northeast edge of Outer Town area; found set horizontally between front teeth of skeleton (Skel. 57).
Ht. 5.80; Diam. 1.57; Perf. 0.69
Unglazed composite material. Perforation off-center at one end.

Seal design: The main field is divided into seven decorated panels: one large square flanked by two columns of three squares each. The largest unit shows a bird, facing right, perched over a tree with a thick trunk supporting a hemispherical cluster of branches. Two fish flank the tree at the trunk; a third fish is at the upper right. The six smaller panels are each decorated with geometric designs, including X's, V's, and a set of three vertical lines, probably in imitation of cuneiform writing.

Border: Above, band of three fish facing right. Below, row of three triangles filled with crosshatching.

Stylistic group: "Other Iranian style."

Parallels in glyptic art:

Large size of seal: Choga Zanbil (Porada 1970: nos. 27 and 46).

Composition (organization into decorated panels): Choga Zanbil (Porada 1970: nos. 15–21); Susa, Middle Elamite impressions (Amiet 1972: nos. 2082–1084); Marlik 1090M (TM 2383; Negahban 1977: fig. 6).

Pseudo-inscription: Susa, period of the Sukkalmah dynasty (Louvre Sb 1373; Amiet 1972: no. 1864); Surkh Dum-i-Luri, Sor 46, unstratified (TM 1495; Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 234, no. 53).

Fish in field: Choga Zanbil TZ 485.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 65).

Border pattern of fish: Choga Zanbil TZ 638.1956 (TM; Porada 1970: no. 98, below).

Border pattern of hatched triangles: Choga Zanbil TZ 493.1956 (Louvre SB 5045; Porada 1970: no. 14); Tell Subeidi (Boehmer 1981: nos. 1 and 30); Babylon 39427 (VA 6975; Moortgat 1940: no. 563).

Parallels in non-glyptic art:

Composition (organization into decorated panels): Wall paintings, palace of Tukulti-Ninurta I at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (Andrae 1925: pls. 1–3).

Previous publications: Marcus1994a: fig. 1.

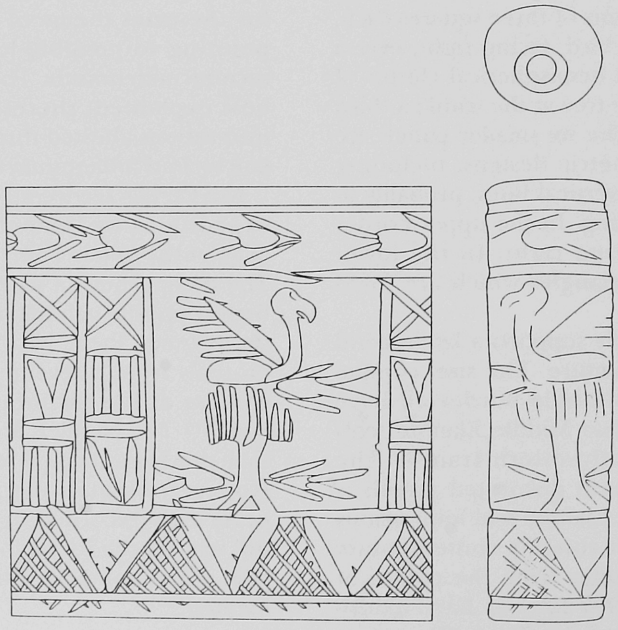


Fig. 115. No. C1. From modern impression.

C2 CYLINDER SEAL (Fig. 116; no Pl.)
HAS 47[49]-3. TM.
Northern edge of Outer Town area.
Dimensions unavailable.
Black stone.

Seal design: A bird in flight with wings outstretched and beak pointing down faces right, opposite a standing human figure with legs spread wide apart. An irregularly shaped six-pointed star is in the lower field between the bird and human figure; a crescent is in the sky between them. The style of the carving is schematic, with few interior lines.

Border: Horizontal line.

Stylistic group: North Syrian/Ugaritic.

Parallels:

Main theme/Composition: Ras Shamra R.S. 8.262, level II (DM; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: fig., p. 98); R.S. 24.362, level II (DM; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: fig., p. 142).

Previous publications: Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 4.

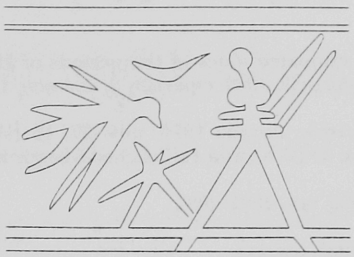


Fig. 116. No. C2. After Hakemi and Rad 1950: fig. 50, 4.

Appendix C Endnotes (nos. 381-390)

381. On the estimated dates of the periods of Hasanlu, see Dyson and Muscarella 1989: especially 8, and note 1 above.

382. For instance, Porada 1970: nos. 27, 46 (size), 15–21 (composition), 65 (fish), and 14 (hatched-triangle border).

383. Amiet 1972: nos. 2082–2084.

384. Andrae 1925: pls. 1–3.

385. For instance: Boehmer 1981: pl. 3, no. 1 and pl. 9, no. 30 (from Tell Subeidi in the Hamrin basin); and Moortgat 1940: no. 563 (from Babylon). On the chronology and glyptic of Tell Subeidi, see Boehmer and Dämmer 1985: especially 68–80.

386. Known, for instance, from seal impressions on fourteenth-century B.C. tablets from Nippur (Clay 1906: pl. XIV, nos. 39–42 and pl. XV, no. 48.11). See further examples and discussion in Trokay 1985. See also Kantor 1958: 76 and n. 75; Porada 1970: 13 and n. 4; and Trokay 1981: 14–15 and n. 3.

387. For instance, Amiet 1972: no. 1864 (Susa) and Schmidt, van Loon, and Curvers 1989: pl. 234, no. 53 (Surkh Dum-i-Luri).

388. For a general historical review see Brinkman 1972; see also Winter 1989. Especially indicative of such widespread artistic connections is the broad range of stylistic elements featured on two Kassite-style glass vessels from Hasanlu itself, found in the IVB destruction level in Burned Building II (Marcus 1991).

389. R.S. 8.262 and 24.362 = Schaeffer-Forrer 1983: figs., pp. 98 and 142. I owe thanks to Dominique Collon for pointing me in the direction of North Syria.

390. See above, pp. 21–24 and Chapter 4, especially p. 44.

Appendix D

The Seals from Hasanlu IIIB

Discussion

Hasanlu IIIB represents a reoccupation of the site in the Urartian period (ca. 750–600 B.C.) following the sacking of Hasanlu IVB, a subsequent squatter's occupation (period IVA), and a period of abandonment.[391] Two seals were discovered in burials datable to period IIIB on the basis of the associated grave goods (see catalog below). They consist of two conoid stamps (Nos. D1 and D2), found together at the waist of an adolescent skeleton in a burial outside Tower 5 of the period IIIB fortification wall. Both stamps are made of a black stone; No. D1 has been identified as chlorite. The seals are each decorated with animals on the base.

These stamps have direct parallels in shape, material, and seal design with seals from contemporary Urartian sites in eastern Turkey and Armenia, particularly Toprak Kale and Armavir Blur.[392] Such findings correlate with other evidence for an Urartian presence at Hasanlu IIIB—most notably, in the masonry and system of projecting towers and buttresses in the fortification wall,[393] as well as in forms of pottery[394] and fibulae.[395] The discovery of Urartian architecture and artifacts at Hasanlu IIIB accords further with historical and other archaeological documentation of Urartian expansion into Northwest Iran beginning in the late ninth century B.C., and certainly by the mid-seventh century when Rusa II (ca. 685–645 B.C.) built a major citadel at Bastam north of Khvoy.[396]

Catalog

D1 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 117; Pl. 48)

HAS 64-9. UM 65-31-229.

Period IIIB burial outside Tower 5 (period IIIB or later); found at waist of adolescent skeleton (Skel. 239), together with seal No. D2.

Conoid stamp, with horizontal perforation one-third down from the top.

Ht. 1.91; Diam. of base 1.50; Perf. 0.26

Chlorite.

Seal design: A horned quadruped facing right, with a branch below and a cross or bird above.

Stylistic group: Urartian.

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Toprak Kale (Barnett 1963: fig. 40, 6); Armavir Blur (Barnett 1963: fig. 40, 7).

Previous publications: None.

Fig. 117. No. D1

Fig. 118. No. D2. After field sketch.

D2 STAMP SEAL (Fig. 118; no Pl.)

HAS 64-44. TM.

Period IIIB burial outside Tower 5 (period IIIB or later); found at waist of adolescent skeleton (Skel. 239), together with seal No. D1.

Conoid stamp, with horizontal perforation one-third down from the top.

Ht. 2.8; Diam. of base 2.2

Black stone.

Seal design: A horned quadruped facing right, with a bird(?) above his back and an eight-pointed star, composed of four intersecting lines, between his legs.

Stylistic group: Urartian.

Parallels:

Shape and seal design: Toprak Kale (Barnett 1963: fig. 40, 6); Armavir Blur (Barnett 1963: fig. 40, 7).

Previous publications: None.

Appendix D Endnotes (nos. 391-396)

391. Dyson 1965: 203–204; 1975: 179–189; 1977b: 550; Muscarella 1973: 71; Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 2–4. On the estimated dates of the periods of Hasanlu, see Dyson and Muscarella 1989: especially 8, and note 1 above.

392. Barnett 1963: fig. 40, nos. 6 and 7. Peter and Ursula Calmeyer kindly examined the stamps at the Metropolitan Museum and, happily, supported my original classification.

393. Dyson 1977b: 549 and Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 20. See also Dyson 1975: 179 and 182.

394. See Muscarella 1973: 56–65.

395. Dyson 1965: 204; Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 20–21 and n. 119; Muscarella 1965a.

396. The evidence for Urartian penetration into Northwest Iran in the late ninth century B.C. is now summarized in Dyson and Muscarella 1989: 19–22. Among the earliest-known historical evidence are a stone inscription set up at Qalatgah at the southwestern corner of Lake Urmia by the Urartian king Ishpuini and his son Menua (ca. 816–810 B.C.; Muscarella 1971a: 47–48; van Loon 1975); and a bilingual (Urartian-Assyrian) stele set up by the same two coregents at the Kel-i Shin pass on the modern Iraq-Iran border (Benedict 1961, with further references). Archaeologically, in addition to the major excavations at Bastam (Kleiss 1979), exposures of Urartian occupation have been made at several other sites, including Haftavan, Agrab Tepe, Qalatgah, and Qal'eh Ismael Ağa (see especially Zimansky 1985: 7, 10, 20–22, and 36–40, with full references to the various site publications).

Appendix E

Field Context of Skeleton Numbers Mentioned in the Text and Catalog

Serial Skeleton No. (Skel.)	Field Context (ß= Burial)	Excavation Season	Catalog No.	Findspot
18	VI, ß8	1957	88	Outer Town cemetery
57	VIA, ß8	1959	C1	Outer Town cemetery
106	LIE, ß4	1959	91	Outer Town cemetery
122	XXXVII, ß4 (BB30)	1960	33	Burned Building II, Room 5
141	XL, ß16 (AA30)	1960	72	Burned Building II, Room 5
147	XL, ß22 (AA30)	1960	67	Burned Building II, Room 5
157	XL, ß32	1960	86	Burned Building II, Room 2
239	W18/19, ß3	1964	D1, D2	Near Tower 5, period IIIB
263	AA31, ß9	1962	69, 56A	Burned Building II, Room 5
284	W30, ß5	1970	28	Burned Building IV, Room 1a
334	W31E, ß6	1972	85	Burned Building IV-V, Room 1
502	VIJ, ß3	1964	83	Outer Town cemetery

Some of these items are reported on in more detail in Rathbun 1972.

INDEX OF ARTIFACT TYPES

Hasanlu V

TYPE OF ARTIFACT	CATALOG NO.	# OF ITEMS
Cylinder seals	C1-C2	2
TOTAL		2

Hasanlu IVB

TYPE OF ARTIFACT	CATALOG NO.	# OF ITEMS
Cylinders:		(52)
Cylinder seal	1-4, 57-77, 78-80, 82-92	39
Cylindrical seal-bead	33-42	10
Unengraved cylinder	43-45	3
Stamp seals:		(19)
Loaf-shaped hemispheroid	93	1
Lion stamp	46-52	7
Scarab	53-55	3
Hammer-head stamp	56A	1
Conoid-knob stamp	23-29	7
Sealings		(31)
Jar sealing	5F, 9, 17, 56B	4
Bag sealing	5C, 11, 19	3
Basket sealing	5E	1
Box sealing	5D	1
Door sealing:		
(a) Peg sealing	5I(?), 10, 16, 20	4
(b) Knob sealing	5A, 6A	2
Sealings of uncertain identification:		
examined	31	1
unexamined	5B, 5G, 5H, 5J, 6B, (7-8), 12-15, 18, 30, 32, (94-95), 96	15
Tabs	21, 22, 81	3
TOTAL		105

Hasanlu IIIB

TYPE OF ARTIFACT	CATALOG NO.	# OF ITEMS
Stamp seals:		
Conoid stamp	D1-D2	2
TOTAL		2

INDEX OF PRESENT LOCATIONS

British Museum:
Nos. 5A, 41

The Metropolitan Museum of Art:
Nos. 5D, 33, 35, 40, 47, 53, 61, 67, 75, 79, 93, C1

Musée Iran Bastan, Tehran (* = modern impression or cast at The University Museum, Philadelphia, and/or the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York):
Nos. 1*, 2*, 3*, 4*, 5B*, 5C*, 5G*, 5H, 5I*, 5J, 6B*, 7-8*, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23*, 24, 28*, 29, 30, 32, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48*, 49*, 50*, 51, 54, 56A*, 56B, 57*, 58*, 62*, 64*, 66, 68*, 69*, 71*, 72*, 73*, 76*, 80, 81*, 82*, 84, 85*, 86*, 87, 88, 92, 96*, C2, D2

The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (** = unlocated):
Nos. 5E, 5F, 6A, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18**, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 31, 34, 36, 37, 38, 46, 52, 55, 59, 60, 63, 65, 70, 74, 77, 78, 83, 89, 90**, 91, 94-95**, D1

INDEX OF HASANLU FIELD NUMBERS

HAS NO.	CAT. NO.
34-1	87
36-1	41
36-2	5A
47[49]-1	80
47[49]-2	66
47[49]-3	C2
47[49]-4	51
47[49]-5	54
57-50	88
58-4	42
58-344	39
58-405	92
58-424	90
58-432	74
58-470	43
58-498	13
58-511	31
59-83	C1
59-251	91
59-385	49
59-466	35
59-666	50
59-742	4
60-13	59
60-108	63
60-256	10
60-288	40
60-478	18
60-516a	37
60-808	47
60-812a	36
60-874	19
60-901	72
60-902	67
60-903	86
60-944	17
60-952	33
60-1021	57
60-1022	62
60-1023	75
60-1024	64
60-1025	84
60-1026	61
60-1027	78
60-1028	3
60-1029	77
62-1091	65
62-135	82
62-198	1
62-217	53
62-220	70
62-242	46
62-255	73
62-261	48
62-399b	23
62-399c	26
62-510	69
62-606	56A
62-607	38
62-622	11
62-765	76
62-841	2
62-893	94-95
62-902	44
62-917	93
64-9	D1
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64-324	81
64-363	83
64-414	5B
64-415	16
64-416	5G
64-444	22
64-488	5I
64-490	20
64-499	5E
64-500	5F
64-501	9
64-612	5C
64-658	5D
64-684	6B
64-685	96
64-826	34
64-828	79
64-1083	52
64-1084	60
64-1092	55
70-18	25
70-366	71
70-475	6A
70-518	28
70-715	7-8
70-847	27
72-89	21
72-129	45
72-150	89
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72-157	58
72-172	32
74-190	56B
74-223	14
74-281	68
74-303	30
74-304	5J
74-316	12
74-340	29
74-373	5H
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مهرها و اثر مهرهای حسنلو

تلخیص و ترجمه

این کتاب بررسی و مقایسه دقیق هنر، طرز توزیع و عمل مهرها و اثر مهرهای مکشوفه در اجتماع دوران دوم آهن در تپه حسنلو طبقه چهارم ب در مغرب ایران (تاریخ تقریبی ۸۰۰-۱۱۰۰ پیش از میلاد مسیح) را معرفی و نمایش می‌دهد. بیشتر این آثار مکشوفه در ضمن حفاریهای علمی سالهای ۱۹۷۷-۱۹۵۴ که به وسیله موزه دانشگاهی دانشگاه پنسیلوانیا و موزه متروپلیتن (سال ۱۹۵۴) و اداره کل باستانشناسی ایران تحت سرپرستی کلی روبرت دایسون بدست آمده است. در این مطالعه و بررسی سعی شده است که معیار دقیق و برای تشخیص مهرهای وارد شده از خارج نسبت به مهرهای تولید گردیدهٔ در محل تعیین گردیده و در عین حال تجارت و تماس با تمدنهای خارجی و مجاور روشن گردد. علاوه بر آن سعی شده است نحوه و بافت تغییرات و روابط هنری و فرهنگی موجود در حسنلو با دیگر مراکز بزرگ تمدنی در خاور نزدیک در اوایل هزارهٔ اول پیش از میلاد مسیح و بخصوص امپراطوری آشور مورد بررسی دقیق قرار گیرد.

برای تنظیم یک فهرست، این مجموعهٔ آثار به شش گروه کلی تقسیم‌بندی شده است. دو گروه مربوط به مهرهای تولید شده در محل، سه گروه مهرهایی که از خارج به محل و منطقه وارد شده و سبک هنری خارجی دارند و یک گروه که کاملا" سبک آن مشخص نیست (که هر نمونه بطرز جداگانه در فصلهای دوم تا هفتم شرح داده شده‌اند). در بین نمونه‌های مهم مکشوفه مهرهای محلی که عوامل نقشی آن تحت تأثیر و نفوذ سبک هنری امپراطوری آشور قرار گرفته مشاهده می‌گردد و تمایل نسبت به پیروی از سبک هنری مهرهای سوریه-فلسطین و آشور نیز مورد نظر بوده است. رویهمرفته بنظر می‌رسد که یک مکتب و مرکز تولید منطقه‌ای در بین حسنلو و آشور وجود داشته که اثرات نفوذ سبک مشترکی را بین مهرهای آشورنو و هنر ایران نمایش می‌دهد.

علاوه بر تحلیل و بررسی نقوش مهرها، یک طبقه‌بندی خاص براساس علائم اطراف و زیرمهرها و آثار در فصل اول کتاب آنها را از یکدیگر مشخص می‌نماید. اطلاعات نحوهٔ کاربرد آنها توأم با محل کشف و طرز توزیع آنها در این حفاری (در فصل هشتم) نسبت به شناخت کاربرد اجتماعی و اقتصادی آنها و هم‌چنین نوع استفاده از محوطهٔ بعضی از ساختمانها که مهرها در آن بدست آمده است کمک می‌نماید.

تلفیق روش‌های تاریخ هنری با مدارک باستانشناسی، کاربردی و دلایل تاریخی اطلاعات و نتیجه‌گیریهائی را نسبت به نوع تولید و طرز استفاده از مهرها در حسنلو در قرن نهم پیش از میلاد و هم‌چنین روابط منطقه با تمدنهای همجوار و مبادلات بین منطقهٔ شمالغرب ایران و مراکز مهم آشور و سوریه در مغرب و ایلام و لرستان در جنوب پیشنهاد و در اختیار گذارده است.

عزت‌الله نگهبان

Plates

1

Cylinder seal and modern impression

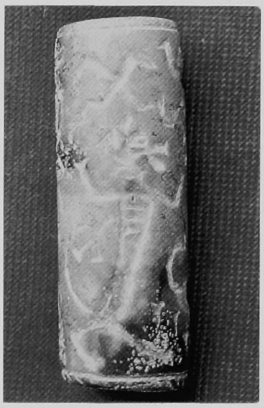
2

Cylinder seal and modern impression

1:1

3

Modern impression of cylinder seal



4

Cylinder seal and modern impression

front

back

side

5A

Door sealing

1:1

5B

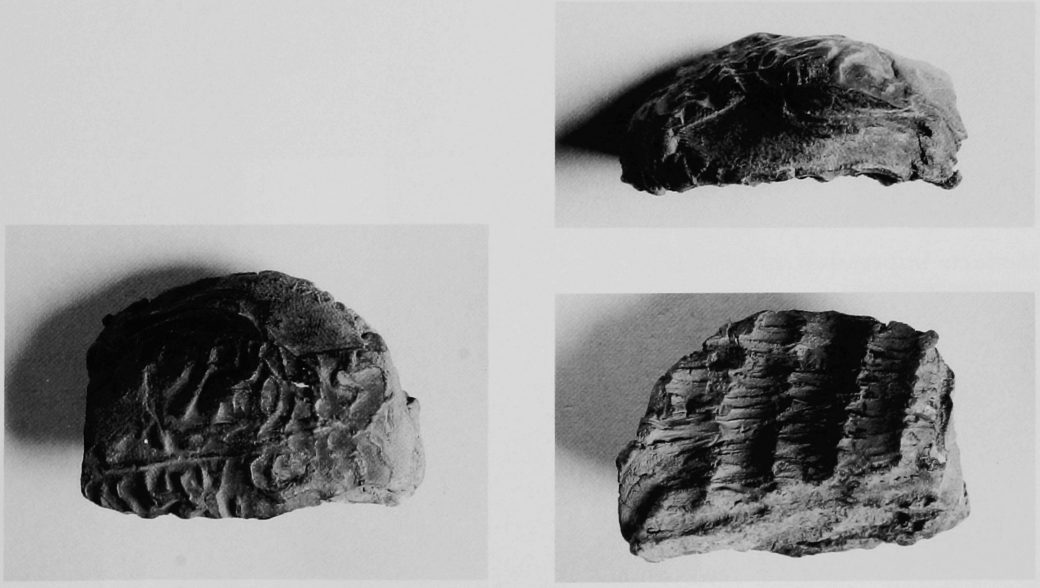
Modern impression of sealing

5C

Bag sealing

5D

Box sealing



5E

Basket sealing

5F

Jar sealing

5G

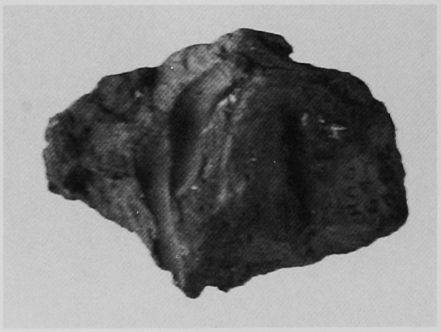
Modern impression of sealing

5H

Sealing

5I

Door(?) sealing



5J

Sealing

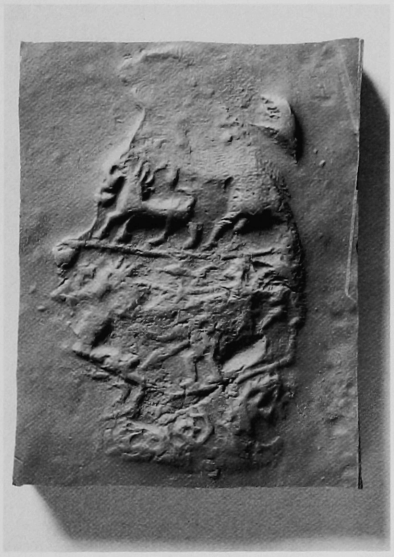
1:1

6A

Door sealing

6B

Modern impression of sealing



7–8

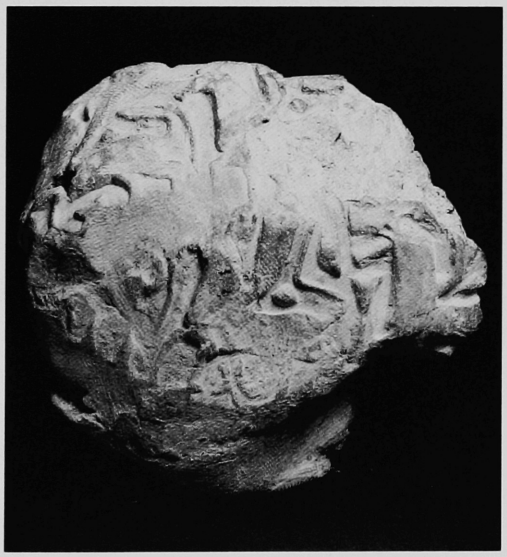
Modern impression of sealing

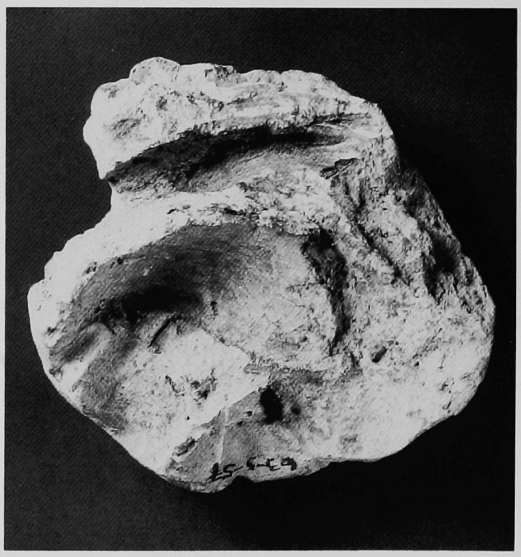
9

Jar sealing

10

Door sealing





11

Bag sealing

1:1

12
Sealing

14
Back of sealing

15
Sealing

17
Jar sealing

1:1

19

Bag sealing

20

Door sealing

21

Tab

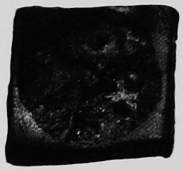
22

Tab

1:1

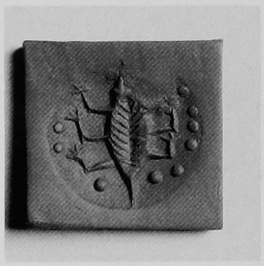
23

Modern impression of stamp seal



24

Top view and modern impression of stamp seal



25

Stamp seal and modern impression

26

Stamp seal and modern impression

27

Stamp seal and modern impression

28

Top view and modern impression of stamp seal

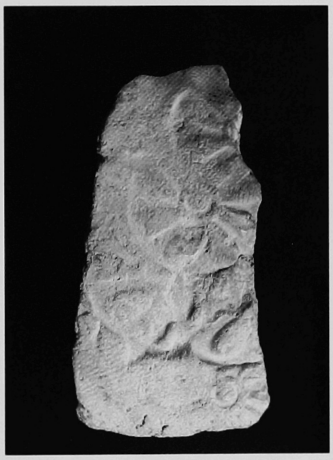
29

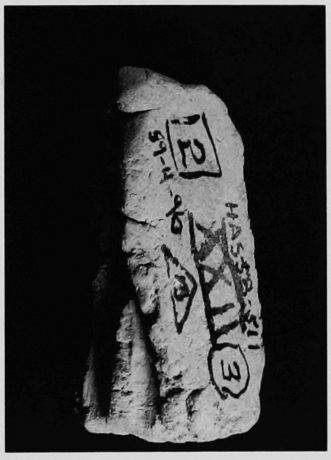
Top view of stamp seal

1:1

30

Sealing





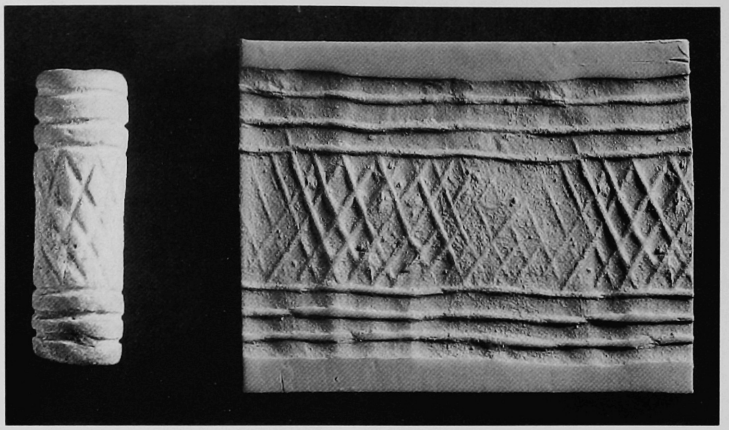
31

Sealing

32

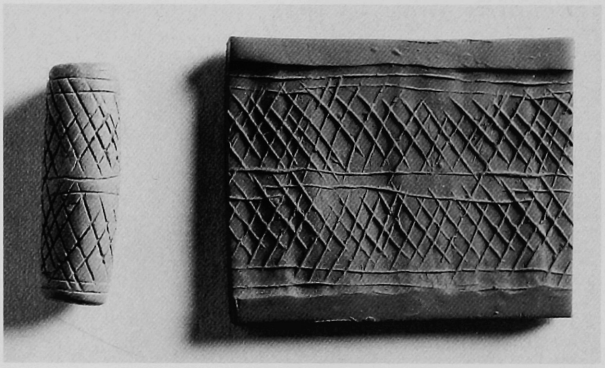
Sealing

1:1



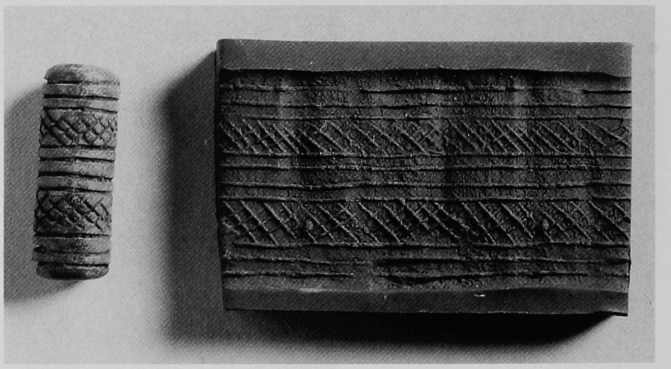
33

Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression



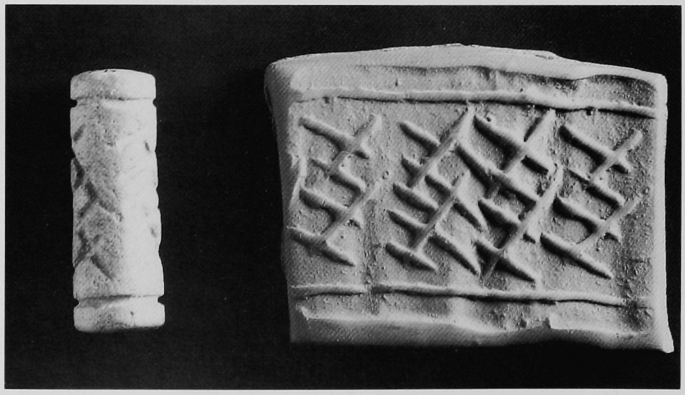
34

Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression



35

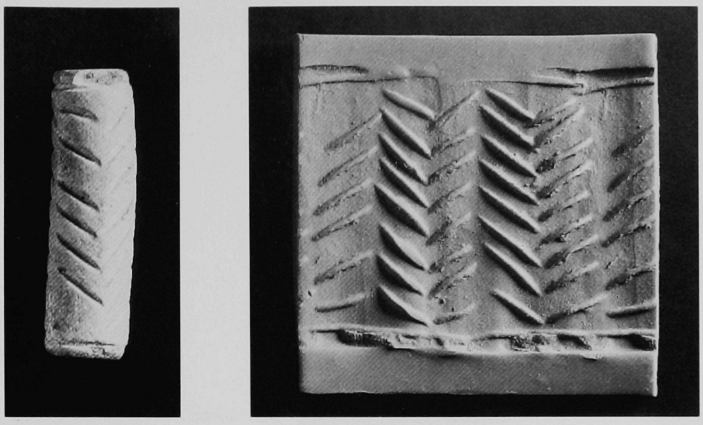
Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression



36

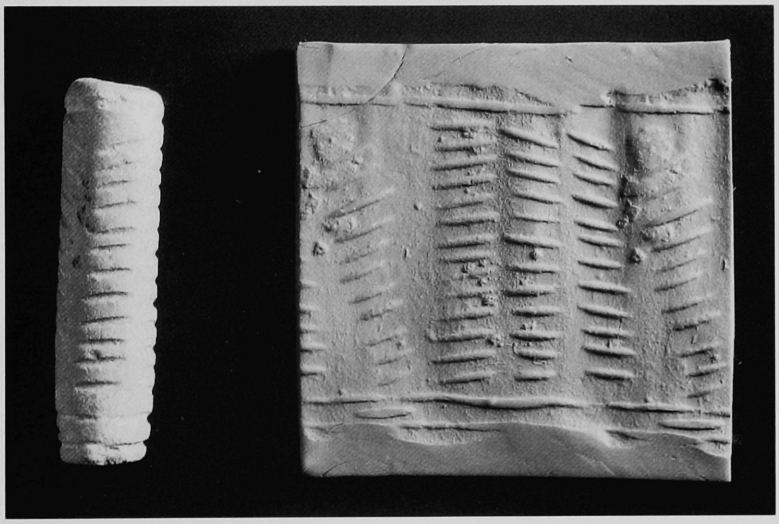
Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression

1:1



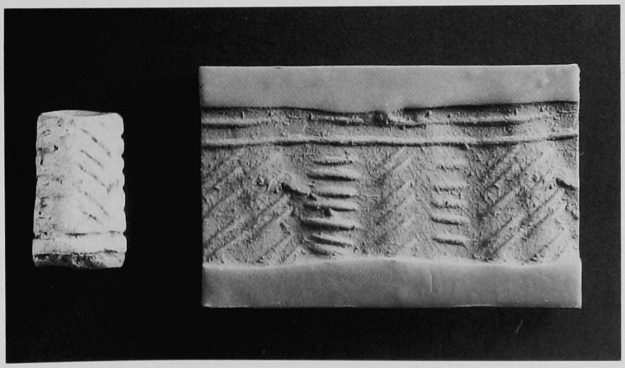
37

Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression



38

Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression



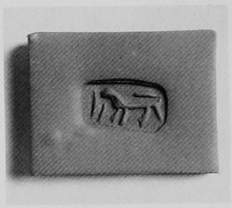
40

Cylindrical seal-bead and modern impression

43

Cylindrical seal-bead

1:1



46

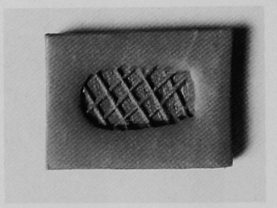
Stamp seal and modern impression

47

Stamp seal and modern impression

48

Modern impression of stamp seal



52

Stamp seal and modern impression

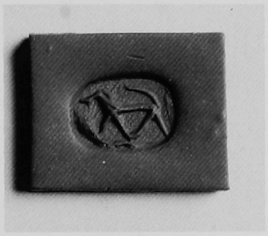
49

Stamp seal

50

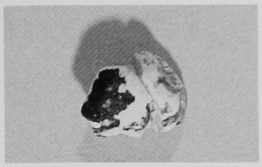
Modern impression of stamp seal

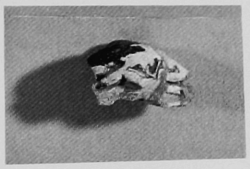
1:1

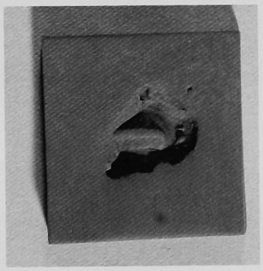


53

Scarab stamp seal and modern impression

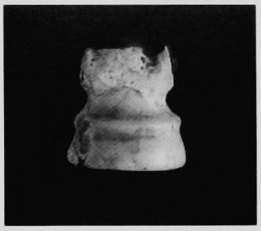






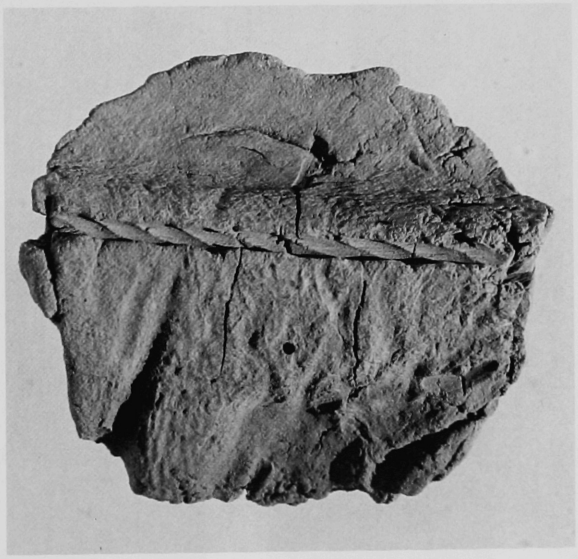
55

Scarab stamp seal and modern impression



56A

Stamp seal and modern impression



56B

Jar sealing

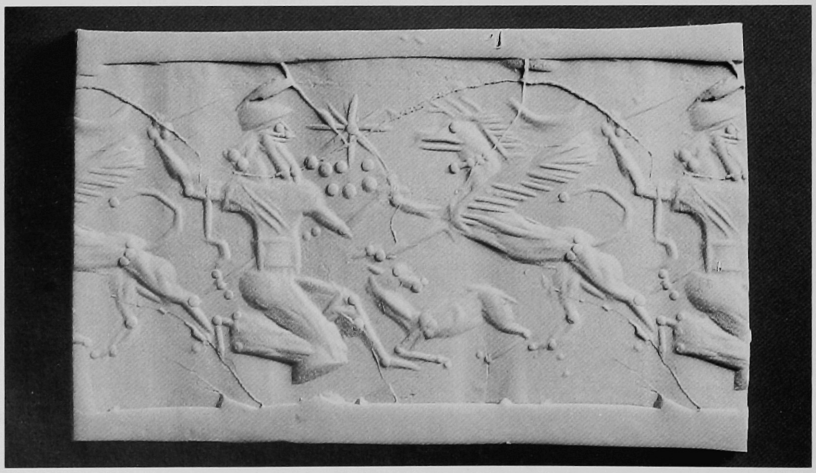
1:1

57

Cylinder seal and modern impression

58

Cylinder seal and modern impression



59

Cylinder seal and modern impression

1:1

60

Cylinder seal and modern impression

61

Cylinder seal and modern impression

62

Modern impression of cylinder seal

1:1

63

Cylinder seal and modern impression

64

Cylinder seal and modern impression

65

Cylinder seal and modern impression

67

Cylinder seal and modern impression

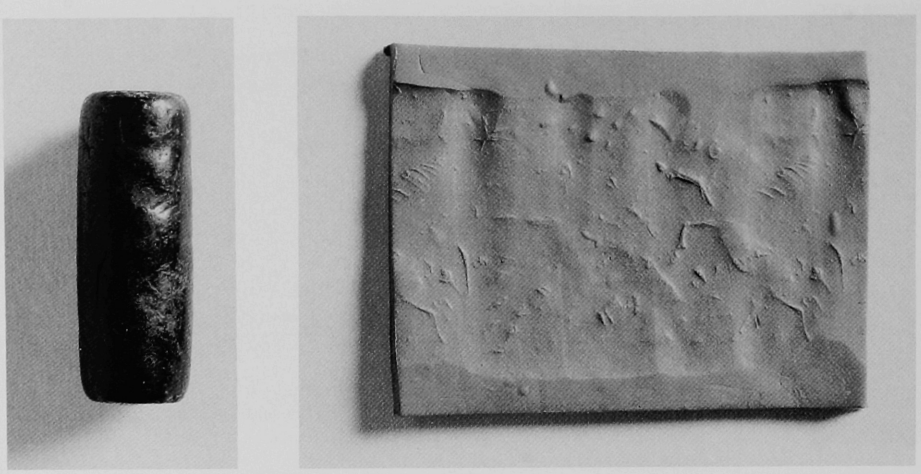
68

Cylinder seal and modern impression

69

Cylinder seal and modern impression

1:1



70

Cylinder seal and modern impression

71

Modern impression of cylinder seal

72

Modern impression of cylinder seal

1:1

73

Modern impression of cylinder seal

74

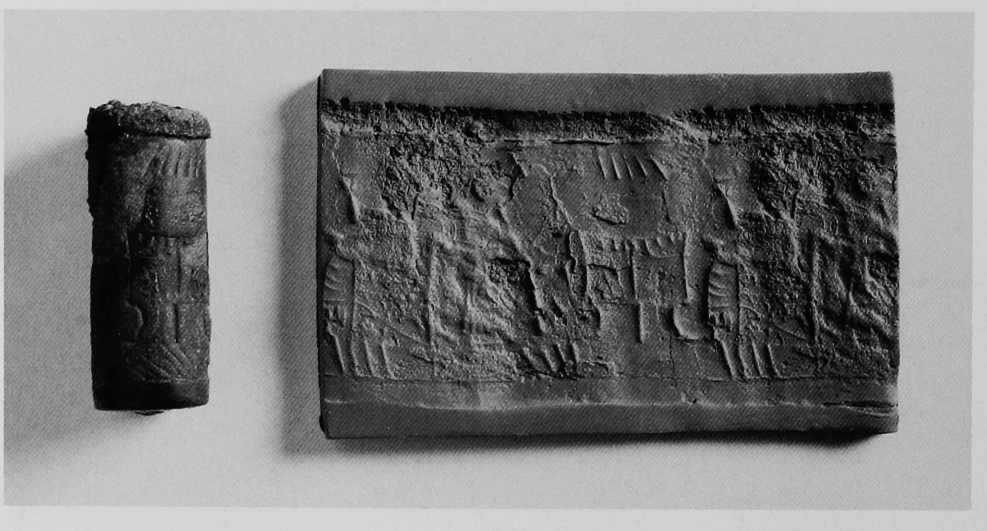
Cylinder seal and modern impression

75

Cylinder seal and modern impression

76

Cylinder seal and modern impression



77

Cylinder seal and modern impression

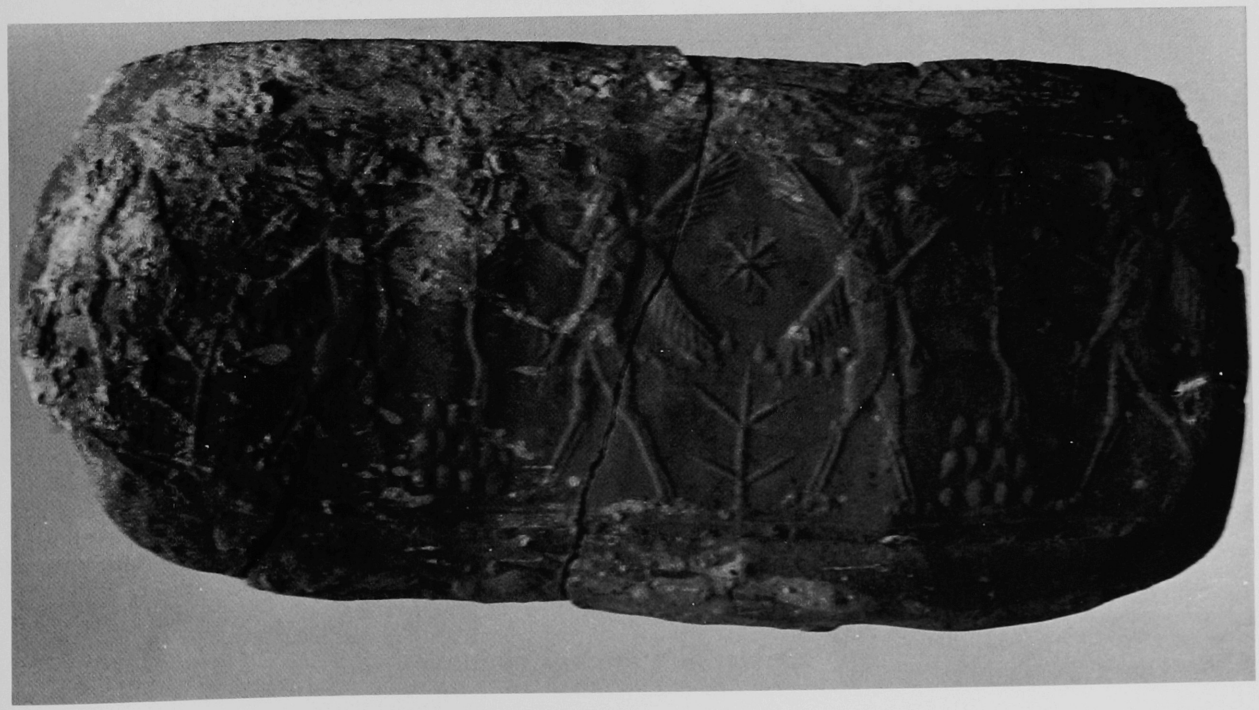
1:1

78

Cylinder seal and modern impression

79

Cylinder seal and modern impression



81

Tab

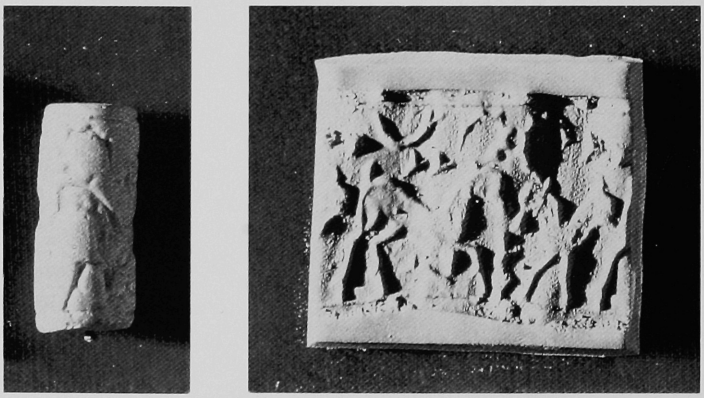
1:1

82

Cylinder seal and modern impression

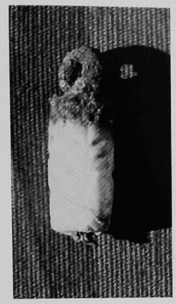
83

Cylinder seal and modern impression



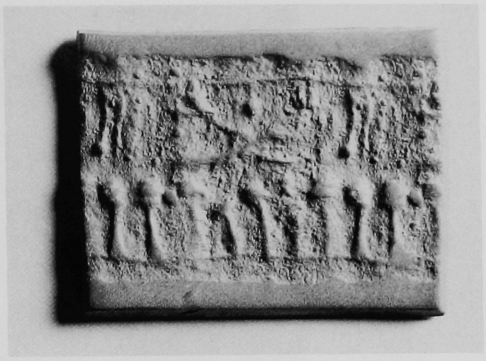
84

Cylinder seal and modern impression



85

Cylinder seal and modern impression



86

Modern impression of cylinder seal

89

Cylinder seal (misshapen)

93

Stamp seal and modern impression

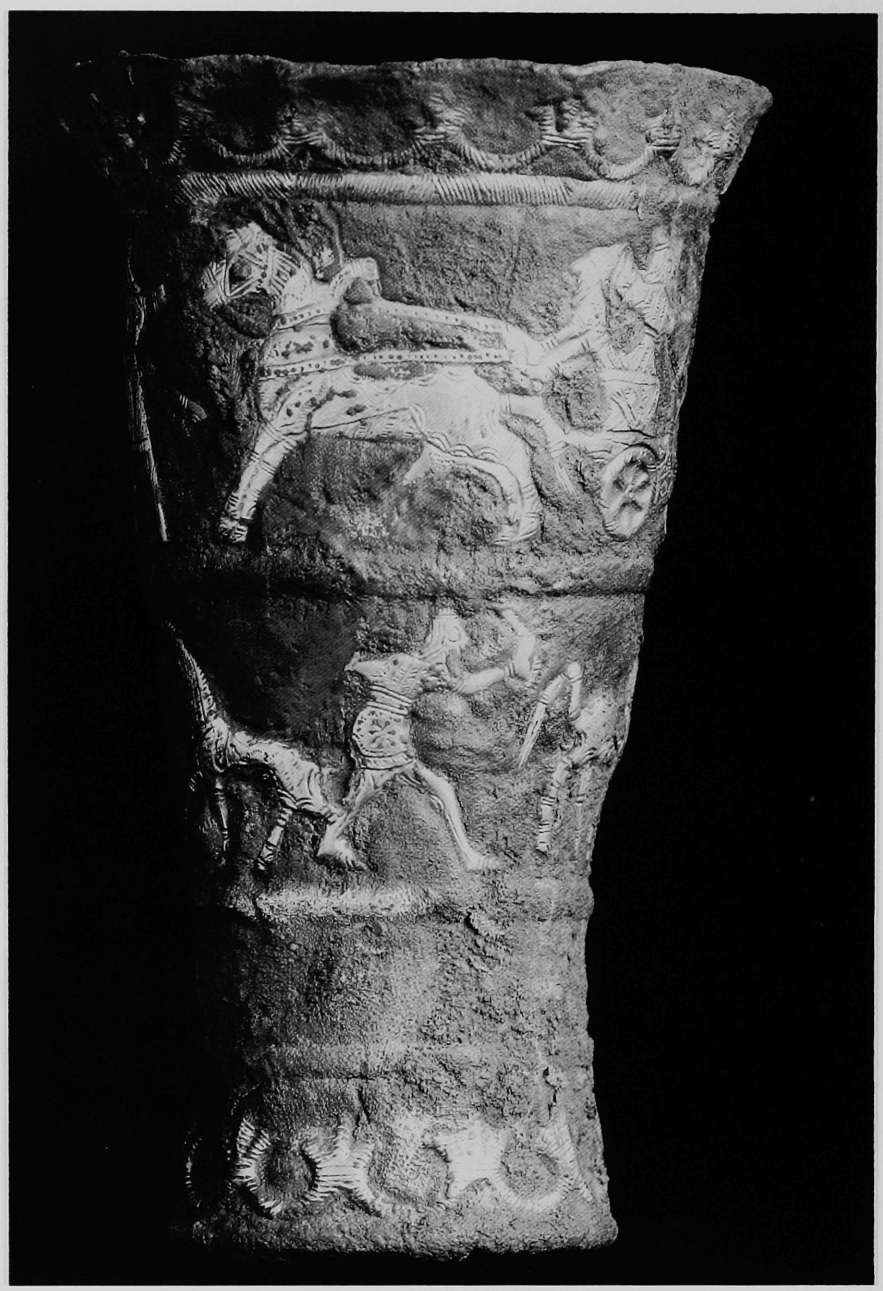
91

Cylinder seal (misshapen) and modern impression

94-95

Sealing

1:1



Silver beaker with electrum appliqué (HAS 58-427); Burned Building I. TM 10770.

Roll-out drawing of the design on the silver beaker. By Grace Freed Muscarella.

a

"Local style" ivory carving (HAS 64-912); Room 6, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.22.

b

"Local style" ivory carving showing opposing lions (HAS 64-1064); Room 8, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.11.

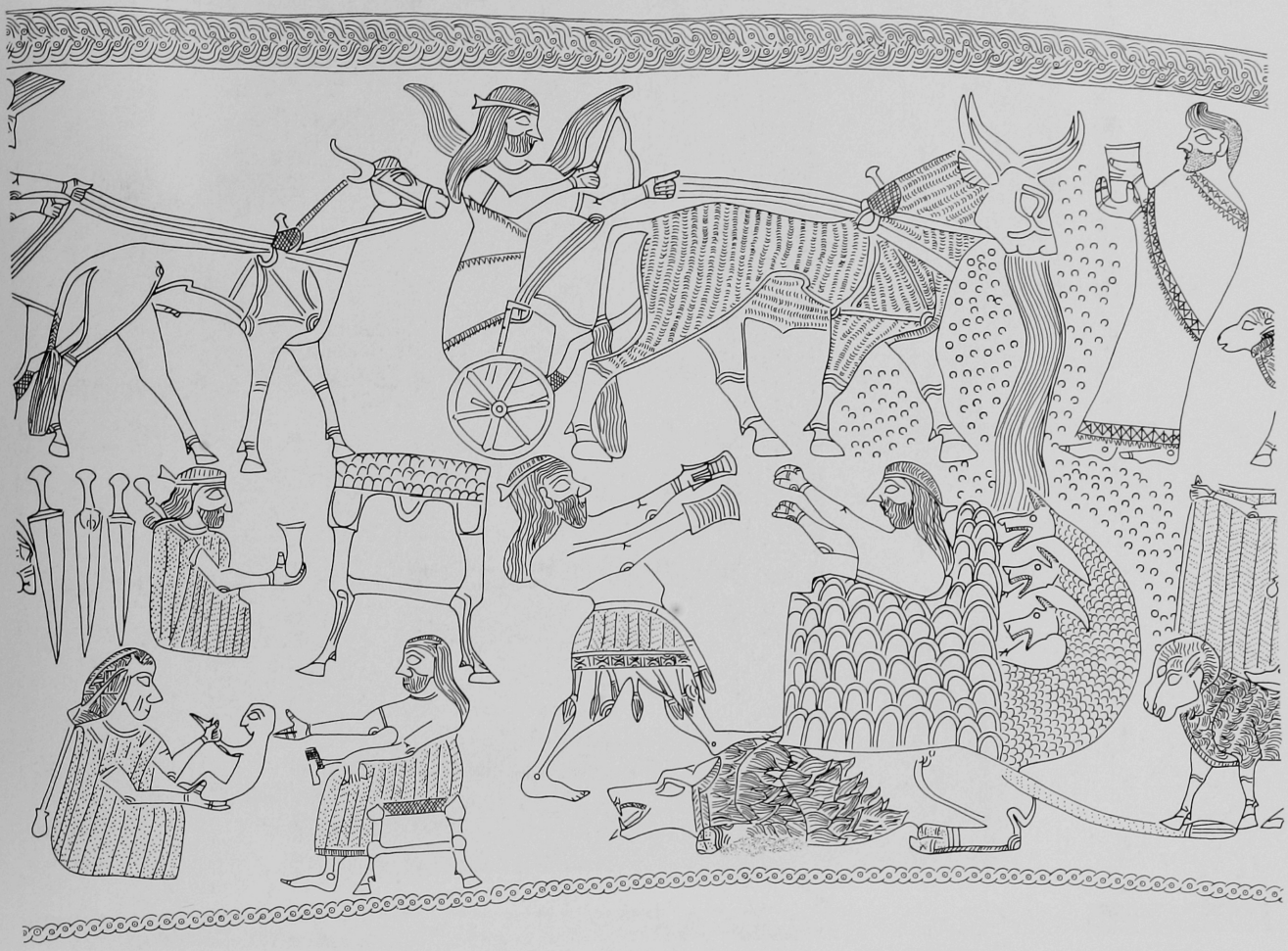
a

"Local style" iron pin with cast bronze lion finial (HAS 60-983); Burned Building II. MMA 61.100.10.

b

"Local style" cast bronze lion-pin finial (HAS 56-1); Cemetery area, purchase. UM 56.20.1.

Detail of the decorated gold bowl (HAS 58-469); Burned Building I. TM 10712.



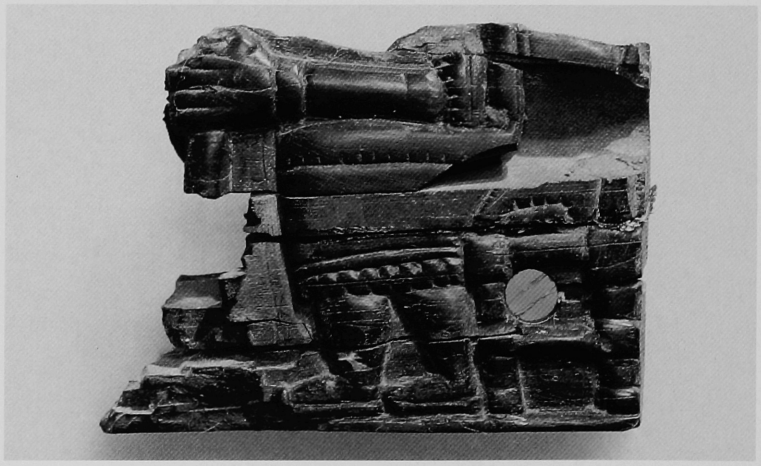
Roll-out drawing of the design on one side of the gold bowl. By Maude de Schauensee.

a

"Local style" ivory carving (HAS 64-920); Room 6, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.16.

b

"Local style" ivory carving showing part of a chariot scene (HAS 64-757); Room 8, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.19.

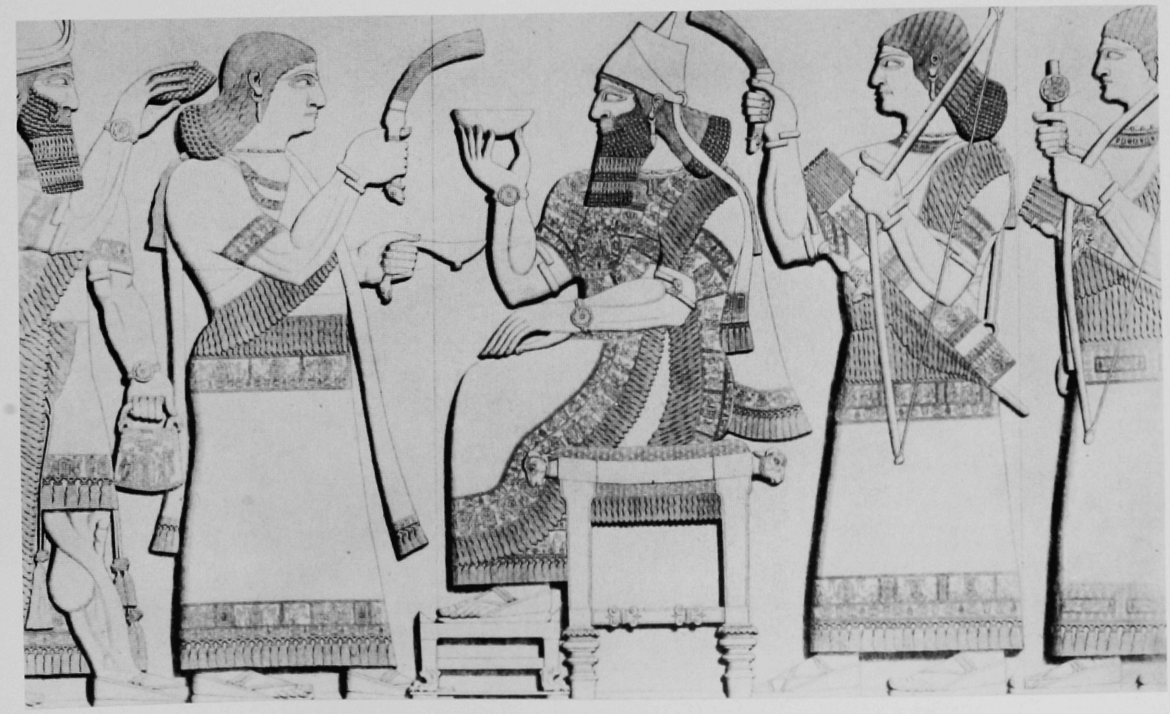


c

"Local style" ivory carving showing seated figure (HAS 64-1068); Room 8, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.14.

a

"Local style" ivory carving showing head of horse with bell suspended from collar (HAS 60-950); Room 5, Burned Building II. TM



b

Relief of seated king and attendants from Room G, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud. From Layard 1849: pl 5

Relief of winged eagle-headed genie and "sacred tree" from Room S, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud. MMA 31.72.3.

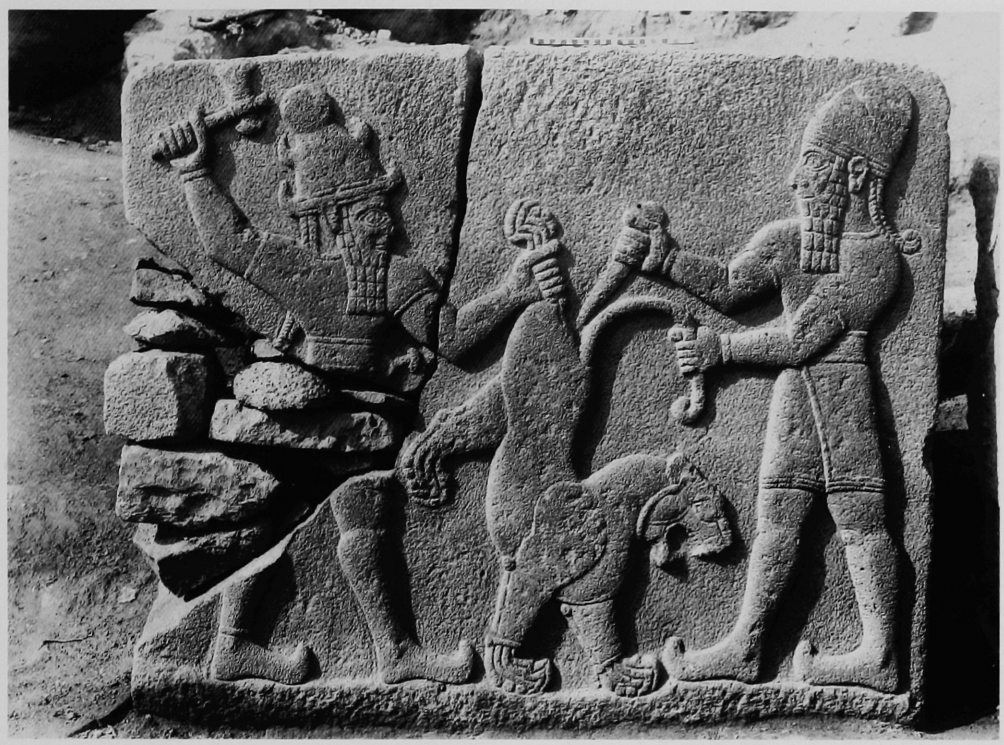
Relief of winged human and eagle-headed genies flanking "sacred trees" from Room I, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud. MMA 32.143.3.

a

Detail of a decorated situla on relief from Room Z, Northwest Palace of Assurnasirpal II, Nimrud. Bklyn 55.145.

b

Long-spouted ceramic jar with basket handle (HAS 62-1013); Room 11, Burned Building III. MMA 63.109.9.

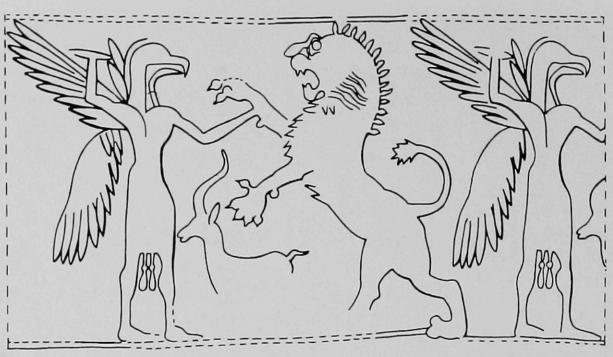


a

Relief from the Herald's Wall, Carchemish. Ankara Museum 9666 + BM 117909.

b

Egyptian blue lion bowl (HAS 65-20); Burned Building II. TM.



a

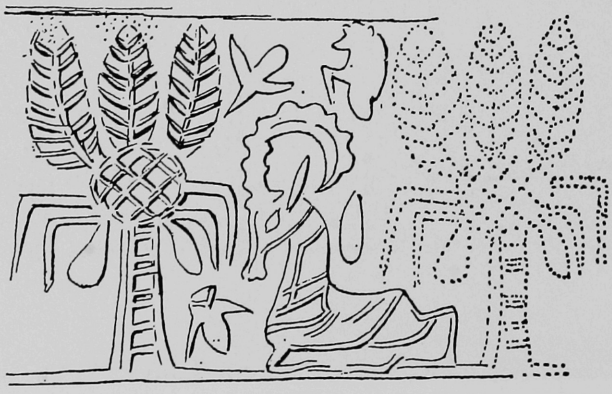
Composite drawing of Middle Assyrian seal design based on ancient impressions on tablets, Tell Fakhariyah. By Helene J. Kantor.

b

Middle Assyrian tablet with seal impression, Tell Fakhariyah (F 175). OIM A 34436.

c

Modern impression of cylinder seal, Choga Zanbil (TZ 466.1956). Louvre S^B 5038.

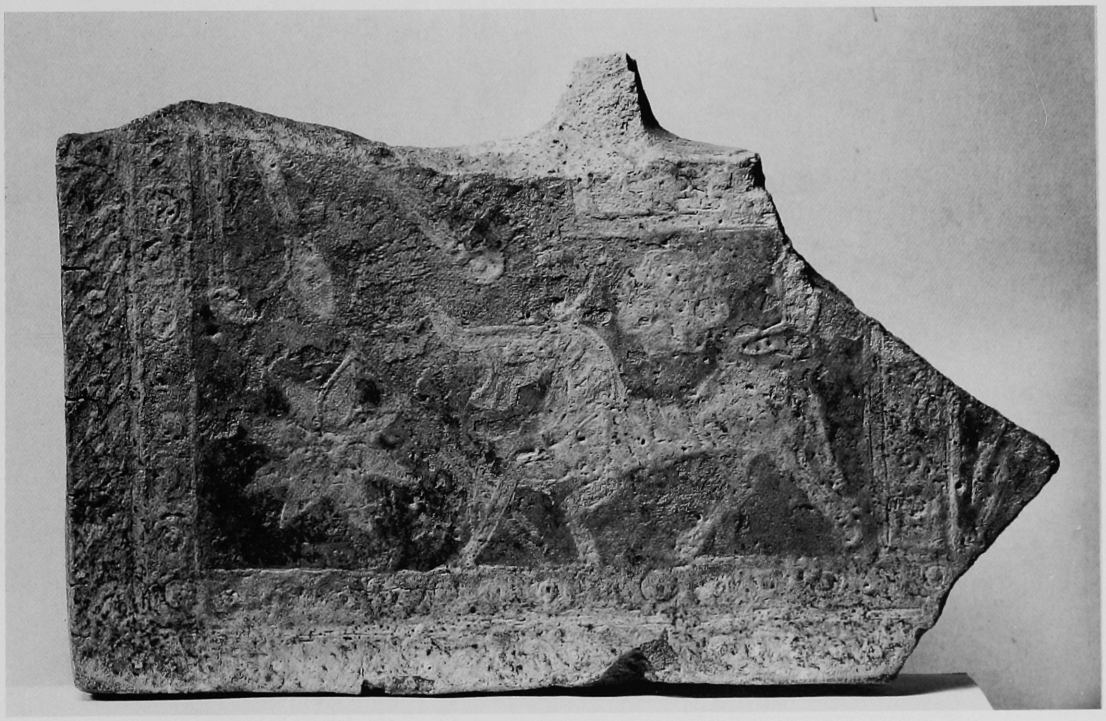


d

Drawing of impression in Pl 40c. By Edith Porada, from Porada 1970: 50.

a

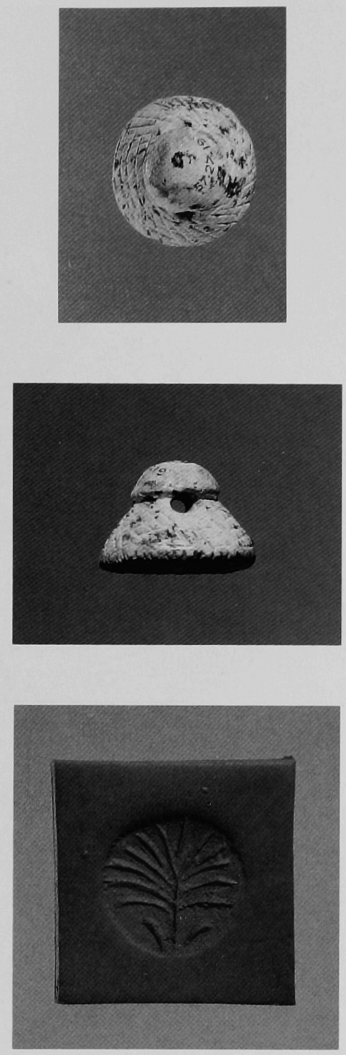
Modern impression of Proto-Elamite cylinder seal, Susa (S 15367). Louvre.



b

Neo-Elamite glazed tile, Susa. Louvre S^B 3353

Decorated gold beaker, Marlik (29M). TM 14708/7708



a

Conoid-knob stamp seal (top and side views) and modern impression, expedition at Balawat. MMA 57.27.19.

b

"Local style" ivory carving (HAS 64-1064); Room 7, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.13.

c

Lion stamp seal (views of side and seal face), Beth Shan. Jerusalem J820

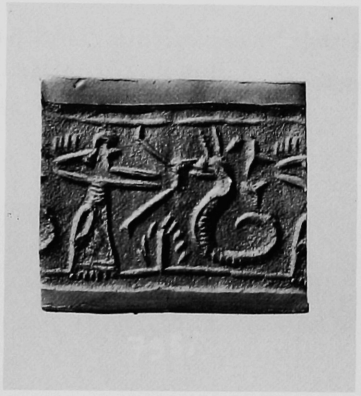
Beaded necklace (carnelian, shell, bronze) with lion stamp seal No. 48 (HAS 62-261), shown here with modern impression of stamp; Room 4, Burned Building III. TM.

a

Modern impression of Neo-Assyrian linear-style cylinder seal, Assur (13929). VA 4244.

b

Modern impression of Neo-Assyrian linear-style cylinder seal, Assur (11190ai). VA 4212.



c

Modern impression of Neo-Assyrian linear-style cylinder seal, Assur (18898). VA 7951.

d

Modern impression of Neo-Assyrian linear-style cylinder seal, German Babylonian Expedition in Baghdad, 1886/87. VA 2047.

a

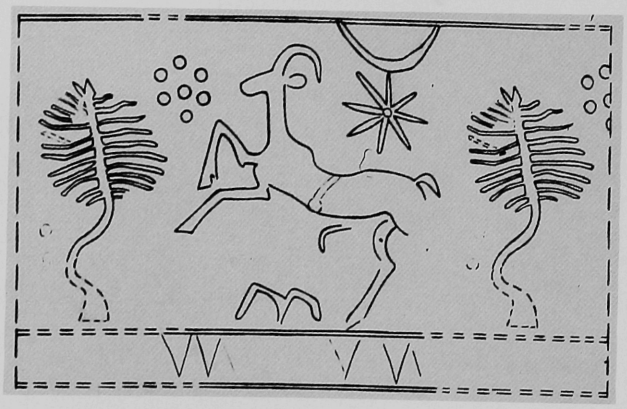
"Local style" ivory carving (HAS 64-767); Room 8, Burned Building II. MMA 65.163.9.

b

"Local style" ivory carving (HAS 64-785); Room 8, Burned Building II. TM. From Muscarella 1980: no. 102.

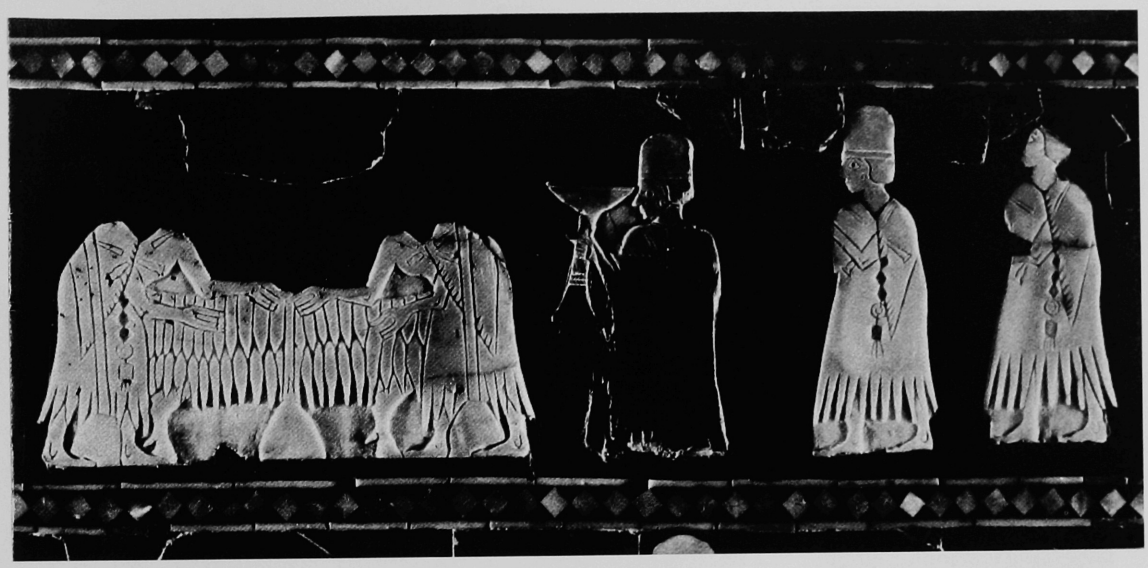
c

Middle Assyrian tablet with seal impression, Tell Fakhariyah (F 203). OIM A 34450



d

Composite drawing of Middle Assyrian seal design based on ancient impressions on tablets, Tell Fakhariyah (including the fragment in Pl 46c). By Helene J. Kantor.



a

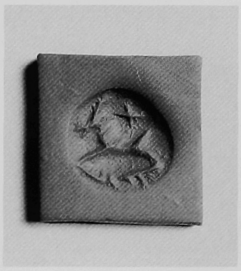
Early Dynastic inlaid plaque showing women wearing beads and cylinders suspended from cloak pins, Mari. DM S 1269. From Weiss, ed 1985: 151, no. 50.

b

Enhanced photograph of sealing No. 11 (HAS 62-622), showing fingerprint along front edge. By Detective Bill Butler.

C1

Cylinder seal and modern impression, Hasanlu V.



D1

Stamp seal and
modern impression,
Hasanlu IIIB.

Other Publications on Ancient Iran from University Museum Publications

Hasanlu Excavation Reports, Volume I
Hajji Firuz Tepe, Iran: The Neolithic Settlement
Mary M. Voigt
1983. University Museum Monograph 50. xxvii + 500 pp., 187 ills. (2 foldouts), 83 table, biblio., index. Hard. ISBN 0-934718-49-0.

Hasanlu Special Studies, Volume I
A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran
Irene J. Winter
1980. University Museum Monograph 39. xiv + 105 pp., color frontispiece, 79 ills., 1 map. Paper. ISBN 0-934718-34-2.

Hasanlu Special Studies, Volume II
The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran
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1980. University Museum Monograph 40. xi + 231 pp., 293 ills., 2 plans. Paper. ISBN 0-934718-33-4.

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V.M. Masson, translated by Henry N. Michael
1988. University Museum Monograph 55. xx + 150 pp., color frontispiece, 53 pls., 34 figs., biblio. Hard. ISBN 0-934718-54-7.

Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran
Ezat Negahban
1990. University Museum Monograph 70. xx + 156 pp., 9 color and 58 black-and-white pls., 8 figs., and 6 plans. Hard. ISBN 0-934718-89-X.

Malyan Excavation Reports Volume I
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