

## Mortals, Deities and Divine Symbols





ARCHAEOPRESS ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGY 12

# **MORTALS, DEITIES AND DIVINE SYMBOLS**

## **RETHINKING ANCIENT IMAGERY FROM THE LEVANT TO MESOPOTAMIA**

*Studies offered to Tallay Ornan*

Edited by

Benjamin Sass and Laura Battini

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD  
13-14 Market Square  
Bicester  
Oxfordshire  
OX26 6AD  
United Kingdom  
[www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com)

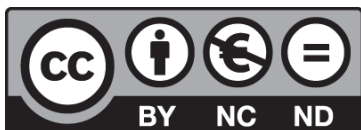
SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE FOR THIS VOLUME:

Vanessa Boschloos  
Eckart Frahm  
Holly Pittman  
Ursula Seidl  
Diana Stein  
Chikako Watanabe

ISBN 978-1-80327-293-1  
ISBN 978-1-80327-294-8(e-Pdf)

© the individual authors and Archaeopress 2025

Front cover: Hazor, enthroned Ba'al. Photo Gabi Laron.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website [www.archaeopress.com](http://www.archaeopress.com).



2013. Eye to eye with Hammurabi at the Louvre.



# Contents

List of Figures .....	v
List of Tables.....	xix
Preface .....	xxi
Acknowledgments .....	xxiii
Introduction .....	xxv
Photographic Souvenirs of Tali's Career .....	xxxix
Tallay Ornan's Publications through May 2024 .....	xxxvii

## FIRST PART: NEW MATERIALS AND APPROACHES

Chapter 1: Closed case: An Iron Age trove of jewellery from the Israel Museum collection and the identification of its provenance at Tel 'Ira (Israel) .....	1
<i>Eran Arie</i>	
Chapter 2: Articulating foundation myths in Milesian festivals: A diachronic perspective .....	17
<i>Mary R. Bachvarova</i>	
Chapter 3: Ancient images in Mesopotamia: Ancient gaze and present observation between visual sources and textual sources. Questions and limitations .....	29
<i>Rita Dolce</i>	
Chapter 4: Naturalism, photography, and empire in the Old Akkadian period.....	39
<i>Marian H. Feldman</i>	
Chapter 5: A reassessment: Is the cone-shaped object held by the genii in Aššurnāširpal II's palace at Kalḫu a citron? .....	49
<i>Norma Franklin</i>	
Chapter 6: The reception of the Law Code stele of Hammurabi in Spain: From a treatise on ophthalmology to a white plaster cast.....	61
<i>Agnès Garcia-Ventura</i>	
Chapter 7: New gleanings at the Temples of Sidon, Tyre and Jerusalem (Decoding Phoenician Art – II).....	71
<i>Eric Gubel</i>	
Chapter 8: The imagery of the Neo-Assyrian seals belonging to the palace. An interpretation of the scene on a stamp seal formerly kept in the Southesk Collection.....	87
<i>Zoltán Niederreiter</i>	
Chapter 9: Gods, rulers, and death. Nonverbal expressions and group identity in Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian monumental art .....	111
<i>Ludovico Portuese</i>	
Chapter 10: Inscribed bullae from the Samaria excavations forgotten for ninety years .....	127
<i>Benjamin Sass and Eythan Levy</i>	
Chapter 11: The impact of models and prototypes in carving and sculpturing. How craftspeople referred to prototypes and conventions. Two various examples .....	135
<i>Silvia Schroer</i>	
Chapter 12: How meaning evolves. Proto-cuneiform signs: considerations on their origins at the intersection of visual and oral communication .....	147
<i>Gebhard J. Selz</i>	

## SECOND PART: THE HUMAN WORLD

<b>Chapter 13: The threat of the women warriors: From the Arab women to the Amazons .....</b>	<b>167</b>
<i>Déborá V. Ben-Ami</i>	
<b>Chapter 14: Ideological differences between representations of the pharaoh during the 18th and 19th Dynasties reflected on scarabs and stamp-seals.....</b>	<b>177</b>
<i>Daphna Ben-Tor and Othmar Keel</i>	
<b>Chapter 15: In a masked world: On the physiognomy of Assyrian faces.....</b>	<b>189</b>
<i>Dominik Bonatz</i>	
<b>Chapter 16: The “Lady at the Window” from Arslan Tash.....</b>	<b>199</b>
<i>Annie Caubet</i>	
<b>Chapter 17: Revisiting the seated figure on wall painting no. 9 from Kuntillet Ajrud ... Once again.....</b>	<b>213</b>
<i>Izak Cornelius</i>	
<b>Chapter 18: Sennacherib’s open-air sanctuary at Khinis/Bavian: Quarries, quarry workers, recarved panels, and polyolithic bulls.....</b>	<b>221</b>
<i>Stephanie Dalley</i>	
<b>Chapter 19: Akhenaten’s divine crop .....</b>	<b>239</b>
<i>Arlette David</i>	
<b>Chapter 20: Two Iron Age female figurines from Tel Rekhesh.....</b>	<b>249</b>
<i>Shuichi Hasegawa and Shizuka Mito</i>	
<b>Chapter 21: In the sign of the scorpion: The administrative seals of the Neo-Assyrian queen and the queen’s household.....</b>	<b>257</b>
<i>Suzanne Herbordt</i>	
<b>Chapter 22: The image of the city as a symbol and scene in Assyrian representation .....</b>	<b>273</b>
<i>Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault</i>	
<b>Chapter 23: Whose head is hanging from the tree?.....</b>	<b>313</b>
<i>Natalie Naomi May</i>	
<b>Chapter 24: Back to life. On a lifelike female statue head from Assur .....</b>	<b>331</b>
<i>Astrid Nunn, Heinrich Piening, and Becca Saladin Segovia</i>	
<b>Chapter 25: On goats, mountains and the elusive Babylonian royal seal .....</b>	<b>339</b>
<i>Rocío Da Riva</i>	
<b>Chapter 26: A preliminary survey of the documentation from Dilbat and several other places in Central and Northern Babylonia chiefly during the long 6th century BCE.....</b>	<b>349</b>
<i>Ran Zadok</i>	

## THIRD PART:THE DIVINE WORLD

<b>Chapter 27: The meaning and sense of the Ugaritic Baal–Mot conflict narrative .....</b>	<b>401</b>
<i>Tzvi Abusch and David P. Wright</i>	
<b>Chapter 28: A confidential message: Divine combat and death in a forgotten Akkadian seal from Ur .....</b>	<b>407</b>
<i>Laura Battini</i>	
<b>Chapter 29: Three Kassite seals in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem .....</b>	<b>419</b>
<i>Yigal Bloch</i>	
<b>Chapter 30: “I have set My bow in the cloud”: Symbolism and myth .....</b>	<b>425</b>
<i>Ruhama Bonfil and Robert Bonfil</i>	
<b>Chapter 31: The symbol of the triumph .....</b>	<b>433</b>
<i>Baruch Brandl</i>	

<b>Chapter 32: The soldier and the exorcist: A cylinder seal in the Ashmolean Museum</b> .....	439
<i>Paul Collins</i>	
<b>Chapter 33: Birds and gods in ancient Mesopotamia</b> .....	451
<i>Uri Gabbay</i>	
<b>Chapter 34: For whom the bell tolls: Horse harnesses at Megiddo and beyond</b> .....	465
<i>Yosef Garfinkel</i>	
<b>Chapter 35: The Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis</b> .....	477
<i>Mark B. Garrison</i>	
<b>Chapter 36: A new look at the Hittite silver vessel in the shape of a fist</b> .....	537
<i>Clement Hazan</i>	
<b>Chapter 37: The tale of “Nergal and Ereškigal” revisited</b> .....	551
<i>Dina Katz</i>	
<b>Chapter 38: In his image: God or ruler? A stone relief from the Iron IIA cultic precinct at Tel Moza</b> .....	563
<i>Shua Kisilevitz, Amotz Agnon, Nuphar Gedulter, and Oded Lipschits</i>	
<b>Chapter 39: The Sanctuary of Ataroth and its inscriptions</b> .....	575
<i>Nadav Na’aman</i>	
<b>Chapter 40: Beyond the visible. Feeling the divine presence in ancient Mesopotamia</b> .....	583
<i>Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel</i>	
<b>Chapter 41: The Hunters’ Palette. A guide to weapons used in Egypt in the late Predynastic Period</b> .....	593
<i>Michael Sebbane</i>	
<b>Chapter 42: The repertoire of motifs and their composition on ivory furniture from Samaria. An updated inventory and reflections on Egyptianizing trends in ancient Israel</b> .....	611
<i>Claudia E. Suter</i>	
<b>Chapter 43: An unprovenanced inscribed stone macehead</b> .....	625
<i>Nathan Wasserman</i>	
<b>Chapter 44: Topographic imagery in pictorial art</b> .....	631
<i>Irit Ziffer</i>	
<b>Index</b> .....	656



# List of Figures

2013. Eye to eye with Hammurabi at the Louvre .....	E
---	---

## Photographic Souvenirs of Tali’s Career

1991. Discussing seal impressions with graphic artist Noga Z’evi in Jerusalem.....	xxxii
1994. Dwarfed beside a <i>lahmu</i> from Khorsabad at the Louvre .....	xxxiii
2007. At Karatepe North Gate .....	xxxiv
2007. River Euphrates, Kenk Gorge.....	xxxv
2008. Teaching at the Hebrew University about the enthroned Ba’al from Hazor .....	xxxvi
2008. With Nadav Na’aman and friends at his anniversary celebrations in Ramat Rahel.....	xxxvii

## Chapter 1: Closed case: An Iron Age trove of jewellery from the Israel Museum collection and the identification of its provenance at Tel ‘Ira (Israel)

Figure 1.	Low resolution working photo of most of the beads on arrival at the museum. Bottom left: barrel-shaped silver beads of Group 3; top left: Segment 6 of Group 2; top right: four beads that were cleaned in the museum prior to taking this photo (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ruhi Baharad) .....	2
Figure 2.	Low resolution working photo of almost all of the beads of Group 1, on arrival at the museum. From bottom to top: Segment 1, Segment 2, Segment 3 (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ruhi Baharad) .....	2
Figure 3.	Necklace Segment 1 of Beads Group 1, consisting of eleven beads, in its present state. Each bead is numbered according to its classification (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin).....	3
Figure 4.	The 64 cleaned beads strung on a modern thread in their present state. Each bead is numbered according to its classification (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin) .....	3
Figure 5.	Selected beads: (1) Composite granule silver bead; (2) Granulated cylinder silver bead; (3) Barrel-shaped silver bead; (4) Short truncated biconical carnelian bead; (5) Gray glass bead with a white central band. Drawing © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Michael Smelansky .....	4
Figure 6.	Necklace segment found in Tel ‘Ira after Kertesz 1999: Fig. 14.33; no scale was provided. The photo is reproduced here in spite of its low quality, due to its central importance for this article .....	5
Figure 7.	Low resolution working photo of three of the earrings on arrival at the museum: on left is 85.5.46, the two others are unidentifiable (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Ruhi Baharad) .....	7
Figure 8.	The silver earrings: (1) 85.5.46; (2) 85.5.47; (3) 85.5.48; (4) 85.5.49. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin.....	7
Figure 9.	The silver finger-rings: (1) 85.5.43; (2) 85.5.44. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin .....	8
Figure 10.	The bone pendant 85.5.50 (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin).....	9
Figure 11.	Shallow alabaster bowl 85.5.32 (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin) .....	9
Figure 12.	Squat alabaster jar 85.5.33/1 (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin).....	10
Figure 13.	Squat alabaster jar stopper 85.5.33/2 (Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin).....	10
Figure 14.	Pottery and alabaster vessels and cowrie shell: (1) Bowl 85.5.35; (2) Jug 85.5.38; (3) Jug 85.5.41; (4) Jug 85.5.42; (5) Jug 85.5.39; (6) Jug 85.5.40; (7) Juglet 85.5.37; (8) Juglet 85.5.36; (9) Squat alabaster jar 85.5.33/1 and its stopper 85.5.33/2; (10) Shallow alabaster bowl 85.5.32; (11) Cowrie shell 85.5.34. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Vladimir Naikhin.....	11

## Chapter 3: Ancient images in Mesopotamia: Ancient gaze and present observation between visual sources and textual sources. Questions and limitations

Figure 1.	Cylinder seal impression with yoked prisoners. Uruk. Boehmer 2003: fig. 1.....	32
Figure 2.	Akkadian stele with yoked prisoners. Nasiriya. Moortgat 1969: pl. 136 .....	32
Figure 3.	Obelisk (ASS 18616) with a parade of prisoners. Assur. Orlamünde 2011: taf. 2.....	32
Figure 4.	Clay plaque with childbirth scene. Eshnunna. Suter 2017: fig. 6 .....	33
Figure 5.	Female prisoners feeding newborns at their breast. North Palace, Nineveh. Photo by the Author. (BP exhibition “I am Ashurbanipal king of the world, king of Assyria” at the British Museum, 8 November 2018 – 24 February 2019) .....	33
Figure 6.	“Family plaques” of <i>ensi</i> Ur-Nanshe of Lagash, Girsu. Moortgat 1969: pls. 109–112.....	33
Figure 7.	Inlay work panel with prisoners escorted by victors, Mari. Muller 2016: fig. 2.13.....	34
Figure 8.	Victory panel with exhibition of severed heads of the defeated enemies. Royal Palace G, Ebla. Dolce 2014: fig. 8 a, b .....	34
Figure 9.	Royal statue of an anonymous ruler (Sb48). Susa. Tallon 1993: figs. 1–3.....	35
Figure 10.	Beheading of Tammartu before Teumman. South-West Palace, Nineveh. Watanabe 2008: fig. 8.....	35
Figure 11.	Clay plaque. Kish. Moorey 1975: pl. XXIII, a.....	36

## Chapter 4: Naturalism, photography, and empire in the Old Akkadian period

Figure 1.	Photograph of cylinder seal impression with inscription of Bin-kali-sharri, son of Naram-Sin, after Menant 1883: pl. I, top .....	40
Figure 2.	Photograph of Naram-Sin stele found at Pir Hüseyin, after Maspero 1893 .....	41
Figure 3.	Photograph of Naram-Sin stele found at Susa, after Morgan <i>et al.</i> 1900: pl. X .....	41
Figure 4.	Line drawing of profile heads of the defeated enemy from Naram-Sin's Susa stele, after Morgan <i>et al.</i> 1900: 153, figs. 374–378 .....	45

## Chapter 5: A reassessment: Is the cone-shaped object held by the genii in Aššurnāṣirpal II's palace at Kalḫu a citron?

Figure 1.	Cone-shaped objects held by genii from Aššurnāṣirpal II's palace.....	50
Figure 2.	Assyrian Bucket on display in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. AN1951.352 .....	50
Figure 3.	An <i>apkallū</i> holding a cone-shaped object. On display in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.....	50
Figure 4.	Cedar Cones; upper right, growing on the tree; lower right, freshly picked; upper left, the now moldy cedar cone after soaking in water for a week; lower left, a dry and opened cedar cone 4 weeks after being picked. This simple experiment proves that the cone-shaped object could not be a fir-cone. See Appendix on page 57.....	51
Figure 5.	Citrons; left, citron tree growing wild in Neot Kedumim nature reserve; a citron picked from the tree after soaking in water for 2 weeks. Note the Citron's engorged cells after soaking .....	53
Figure 6.	Two genii holding cone-shaped objects over the father and grandfather of Aššurnāṣirpal II on Throne room Relief B-23. On display British Museum. BM124531 .....	56
Figure 7.	A variety of ripe Etrogs for sale, Succot market 2022 .....	57

## Chapter 6: The reception of the Law Code stele of Hammurabi in Spain: From a treatise on ophthalmology to a white plaster cast

Figure 1.	Plaster cast of the Hammurabi stele at the Museo de Reproducciones de Bilbao (Inventory number: MRB 156). Picture courtesy of the Museo .....	65
-----------	---	----

## Chapter 7: New gleanings at the Temples of Sidon, Tyre and Jerusalem (Decoding Phoenician Art – II)

Figure 1a–d.	a) Nimrud: copper alloy bowl no. 9 (BM 115505), c. 800 BCE (© The British Museum); b) Nimrud copper alloy bowl no. 9 (BM 115505) after G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, <i>Album des photographies chypriotes</i> , MSS (ca. 1872?); c) Nimrud copper alloy bowl no. 52. After Perrot and Chipiez 1884: 738-9, fig. 399; d) Nimrud: fragmentary copper alloy bowl no. 52 F. (© F. Onnis/The British Museum).....	72
Figure 2a–b.	a) Nimrud bowl (BM 91420) drawing after X-ray (after Barnett 1974: 21 fig. 2); b) Bowl from the Idaean Cave, <i>ibidem</i> : pl. 2), Heraklion, Archaeological Museum, ca. 800–750 BCE .....	73
Figure 3a–b.	a) Festoons on palmettes on a bronze bowl from Nimrud, ca. 900 BCE, after Layard 1853: pl. 57a; b). Frieze of palmettes bordering the net medallion of a bronze bowl from Francavilla Marittima, Calabria, ca. 850 BCE, Reggio Calabria Archaeological Museum (detail after Markoe 1985: 232).....	74
Figure 4.	Bronze bowl from Olympia, National Museum Athens NM 7941, ca. 800 BCE (after Frankfort 1970: 328 fig. 391) ....	74
Figure 5.	Engraved bronze bowl, unknown provenance, Private US collection (courtesy of the present owner) .....	75
Figure 6.	The “Marriage vessel of Niqmaddu II”, Ugarit, later 14th century BCE (after Collon 2011: 37 :3.2).....	76
Figure 7.	Drawing of the shrine on bowl no. 9 (after Wagner 1980: pl. 4:1). Note the marsh pattern-like upper half of the capitals emerging from the lower ones which had evolved into a palmette capital.....	77
Figure 8.	Column base, Sidon, ninth–eighth century BCE, Louvre Museum, Paris AO 29406. © Réunion des Musées Nationaux .....	77
Figure 9.	Drawing by C. Florimont of a limestone <i>naiskos</i> from Sidon, Paris, Louvre AO 2060.....	78
Figure 10.	Red speckled green jasper scaraboid seal of ḥny, Saida, eighth century BCE, US collection (after Avigad and Sass 1997: no. 1128 CAD reconstruction) .....	79
Figure 11 a–c.	a) Seal of <i>dml' bn pqḥyw</i> (after Deutsch and Lemaire 2000: no. 4); b) ivory panel from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, ninth–eighth century BCE, Baghdad, Iraq Museum (after Mallowan 1966: 549 no. 482); c) ivory aegis, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, ninth–eighth century BCE, Rogers Fund, 1962. 62.269.10. Public Domain.....	80
Figure 12.	Elaborate portable shrine from Khirbet Qeiyafa, tenth century BCE (from Garfinkel and Mumcuoglu in Garfinkel, Ganor and Hansel 2018: 85, fig.5.7).....	80
Figure 13.	Ivory Panel from North Syria (Zincirli or thereabouts), late ninth–early eighth century BCE, Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, SW 37, NM59.3 Nicholson Collection, Chau Chak Wing Museum, The University of Sydney ....	80
Figure 14.	Terracotta shrine model, Akhziv, late eighth–seventh century(?) BCE (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority) .....	83
Figure 15.	Terracotta shrine from Tyre al-Bass, late seventh–sixth century BCE, National Museum, Beirut (after Metzger 2004: 421, drawings readapted).....	83

## Chapter 8: The imagery of the Neo-Assyrian seals belonging to the palace. An interpretation of the scene on a stamp seal formerly kept in the Southesk Collection

Figure 1.	I: seal impression (Carnegie 1908: vol. I, pl. XVII: O 32); II–III: photo and drawing of the seal impression; IV: section drawing (scale 1:1) made of the dome-shaped stamp seal with convex base (BM WA 2002–05–15, 1; height: 15.0 mm, diameter: 18.3 mm). The photograph (Figure 1: II) is published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum .....	88
Figure 2.	I: “panneau B”, one of the four Maltoi rock carvings (Thureau-Dangin 1924: 187); II: main depicted field of the Zincirli stele (von Luschan 1893: pl. 1) .....	89
Figure 3.	I: detail of inverted drawing made from stamp seal BM WA 2002–05–15, 1; II: detail from “panneau B”, one of the four Maltoi rock carvings (Thureau-Dangin 1924: 187, and note 7); III: detail of the Zincirli stele (VS I, pl. 7) .....	89
Figure 4.	BM WA 84671 sealing (see footnote 12: a). I: photograph and its details (II) versus details (III) of BM WA 2002–05–15, 1 stamp seal (see Figure 1). The photographs are published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.....	90
Figure 5.	BM WA 84553 sealing (see footnote 12: d): I (Layard 1853a: pl. 69: 6) and II (photographs). The photographs.....	91
Figure 6.	K 348 + Ki 1904–10–9, 246 (BM WA 99214) textile docket (see footnote 12: f): I: obverse and II: reverse (photographs). The photographs are published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.....	91
Figure 7.	I: modern impression made of Ash. 1932.319 cylinder seal (see footnote 21: c) (based on Niederreiter 2015: 140 no. 6); II: modern impression made of ND 1989.332 (IM 115642) cylinder seal (see footnote 23). The photograph.....	93
Figure 8.	ND 1989.334 (IM 115644) gold stamp seal ring (see footnote 37) (based on Lassen 2020: 36 fig. 3.23/ Photography by Ssgt Noreen L. Feeney, 318th Public Affairs Operation Center (PAOC), US Army, Baghdad, 2003) ...	94
Figure 9.	Two sealings, ND 807 (IM 56873) (I) and ND 1106(a) (II), from Room HH of the North-West Palace (based on Postgate 1973: pl. 97 k and j). The photographs are published here by courtesy of the British Institute for the Study of Iraq (Gertrude Bell Memorial).....	94
Figure 10.	Wall painting in the K-residence (Room 12) at Dūr-Šarrukīn: I: “recovery” [above] and “restoration” [below] (based on Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 88); II: “Existing Remains of the Heroid-sized Triad” (based on Loud and Altman 1938: 85 fig. 12).....	95
Figure 11.	Fragmented fossil claystone relief from Assur (based on Moortgat 1967: pl. 281) .....	97
Figure 12.	Composite drawing based on the three seal impressions on the ND 808 sealing .....	99
Figure 13.	Tabloid seal amulet ND 4158 (1957–02–09, 8 – BM WA 132161) (“grey stone”, length: 19.6, width: 13.3, thickness: 8.4 mm) (I) and its modern impressions (II). The photographs are published here by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.....	100
Figure 14.	I: Drawing of the seal impression on docket 82–05–22, 40 dated to 658 (Nineveh); II: Tabloid seal amulet ND 1992.451 –IM 127988 (“stone, brown”, height: 9 mm, length: 20mm, width: 14 mm). Hussein and Abdul-Razaq 1997/98: 172 no. 27, 178: 27, 183 (photo) and 188 (drawing); Hussein, Altaweel and Gibson 2016: 53, 184 and pl. 202k. The photographs (Figure 14: II) are published here by permission of late Dr Lamia al-Gailani Werr .....	101
Figure 15.	I: half-barrel-shaped bead or seal amulet HAS 62–917 (MMA 63.109.20, Rogers Fund 1963) (steatite, height 10.7, length 28.5, width 16.3 mm) and its impression (II). The photographs are published here by courtesy of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art (Metropolitan Museum of Art).....	102
Figure 16.	Silver pendant from Ekron (Tel Miqne). The photograph is published here by permission of Seymour Gitin (Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem).....	103
Figure 17.	Glazed terracotta (I–III) and lead (IV–V) scorpions from the temple of Assyrian Ištar (“Die jüngeren Ischtar-Tempel”) (based on Andrae 1935: pl. 37: h, i, k and pl. 44: a, b, d).....	104

## Chapter 9: Gods, rulers, and death. Nonverbal expressions and group identity in Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian monumental art

Figure 1.	Tribute-bearers (slab 7), from the throne room’s façade of the Northwest Palace at Kalhu (© British Museum 124562) .....	114
Figure 2.	Taita, king of Palistin, in front of the Storm-God of Aleppo (reliefs ALEPPO 5 and ALEPPO 6), from the Temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo, Aleppo citadel ( <a href="https://www.wmf.org/project/temple-storm-god-citadel-aleppo">https://www.wmf.org/project/temple-storm-god-citadel-aleppo</a> ).....	115
Figure 3.	Audience scene (reliefs 3s–5s), from the North Gate, Right Room, of Karatepe-Aslantaş (courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin).....	117
Figure 4.	Stele of king Laramas, from Maraş (courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin) .....	118
Figure 5.	Funerary stele from Maraş (courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin).....	118
Figure 6.	Banquet scene from Arslantepe (courtesy of Tayfun Bilgin).....	119
Figure 7.	Katumuwa stele from Zincirli-Sam’al. ( <a href="https://warehouse-13-artifact-database.fandom.com/wiki/Kuttamuwa's_Stele">https://warehouse-13-artifact-database.fandom.com/wiki/Kuttamuwa's_Stele</a> ).....	119
Figure 8.	Banquet scene from room 2 (slab 17) of Sargon II’s royal palace at Dur-Sharrukin (Botta and Flandin 1849: pl. 64) .....	120

Figure 9.	Detail of an Assyrian ivory plaque showing a royal banquet scene (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 59.107.22) .....	121
-----------	---	-----

### Chapter 10: Inscribed bullae from the Samaria excavations forgotten for ninety years

Figure 1.	Uninscribed Samaria bulla Qk 2339, IAA 1933.3148 (by B. Sass, courtesy IAA) .....	128
Figure 2.	Uninscribed Samaria bulla Qk 2343, IAA 1933.3145 (by B. Sass, courtesy IAA) .....	128
Figure 3a–f.	Inscribed Samaria bulla Qk 2346, IAA 1933.3146 (courtesy IAA): a) obverse in the 1930s by unnamed Department of Antiquities photographer; b) ditto drawn in 2022 by Noga Z’evi; c) obverse in 2022 by B. Sass; d) ditto by Ivgeni Ostrovski; e) reverse in 2022 by B. Sass; f) ditto by Ivgeni Ostrovski .....	129
Figure 4.	Unprovenanced seal of <i>ʾy’dh</i> , modern impression (WSS 62) .....	130
Figure 5.	Unprovenanced seal of <i>ʾspn</i> , modern impression (WSS 337) .....	130
Figure 6.	Jar handle from Tel Dan impressed with the seal of <i>ʾmdyw</i> (WSS 692C) .....	130
Figure 7.	Bulla from Tell Judeideh impressed with the seal of <i>kbrh</i> (WSS 536) .....	130
Figure 8.	Jar handle from Tel Dan impressed with the seal of <i>zkryw</i> (WSS 669A) .....	130
Figure 9.	Jar handle from Lachish impressed with the seal of <i>ʾbdy</i> (WSS 690) .....	130
Figure 10.	<i>Alep</i> parallel. Unprovenanced seal of <i>ʾbyw ʾbd ʾzyw</i> , Abiyau, an official of king Uzziah of Judah (769–733) (WSS 4). Known since 1858, the seal is likely genuine .....	131
Figure 11.	<i>Samek</i> parallel. Ajrud inscription 3.6 (courtesy Shmuel Ahituv; similar to Ahituv, Eshel and Meshel 2012: 97, fig. 5.39) .....	131
Figure 12a–f.	Inscribed(?) Samaria bulla Qk 2337, PEF AO.3331 (courtesy PEF): a) obverse by Felicity Cobbing; b) obverse by Ben Greet; c) obverse from excavation register; d) reverse by Ben Greet; e, f) side views by Ben Greet .....	132

### Chapter 11: The impact of models and prototypes in carving and sculpturing. How craftspeople referred to prototypes and conventions. Two various examples

Figure 1a–b.	Fragmentary cosmetic spoon from Beth-zur, Rockefeller Museum © Israel Antiquities Authority .....	136
Figure 2a–b.	Ivory plaque from Nimrud, London, British Museum, BM 118147. © Trustees of the British Museum .....	137
Figure 3a–c.	Ceramic plaque from Tall Zira‘a. © Biblisch Archäologisches Institut Wuppertal/DEI Jerusalem und Amman; Zeichnung Ernst Brückelmann .....	139
Figure 4.	Limestone orthostat from the citadel temple in Aleppo. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	140
Figure 5.	Broken basalt relief from Karkemisch. London, British Museum, BM 118998. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag... ..	141
Figure 6.	Basalt stele from Tel Ashara. Aleppo, National Museum, 3065. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	141
Figure 7.	Basalt stele from Arsuz. Hatay, Archaeology Museum. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	141
Figure 8.	Basalt stele from Tell Aḥmar/Til Barsip. Aleppo, National Museum, M 11611. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag ..	141
Figure 9.	Basalt stele from Gözlühüyük. Gaziantep, Museum of Archaeology. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	142
Figure 10.	Basalt relief from Tell Halaf. Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum, TH B 1487. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag ..	142
Figure 11.	Limestone stele from Malatya. Ankara, Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, 10304. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	142
Figure 12.	Basalt relief from Tell Halaf. British Museum, BM 117103. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	143
Figure 13.	Polychrome faience tile. Paris, Louvre, E 7691. © S. Schroer and Schwabe Verlag .....	143

### Chapter 12: How meaning evolves. Proto-cuneiform signs: considerations on their origins at the intersection of visual and oral communication

Figure 1.	Outline of the intersection of iconic, indexical and symbolic use of signs; the author .....	148
Figure 2.	Pouring Vessel of Gudea, after Moortgat 1967: taf. 187 .....	149
Figure 3.	Cluster of pistaciae; from Wikipedia, NAEINSUN own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27280686">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=27280686</a> .....	151
Figure 4.	Modern fermentation vat; source: Untitled, Steve Bennett, Flickr .....	152
Figure 5.	Unprovenanced seal (Akkadian period) with astro-mythological scene (?); Aruz 2003: 217 .....	154
Figure 6.	Gateposts at the entrance of a stable-like structure, framed by a dairy scene; inlaid freeze from Ubaid (Ninhursaġa-temple) (Hall and Woolley 1927: xi, 91–94, pl. XXXI) .....	155
Figure 7.	The sun-god appearing situated between a <i>Bügel</i> schaft and a door-leaf; from Jerusalem. Schroer and Keel 2005: 349 no. 251 .....	155
Figure 8.	Early Dynastic cylinder seal Amiet 1980: pl 103. 1361; for the structure between these “gateposts” cp, also the seal Amiet 1980: pl. 88 no.1158 .....	155
Figure 9.	Deity appearing at the entrance building with a “Bügelschaft” on either side; unprovenanced seal: Amiet 1980: pl. 103 no.1361 .....	156
Figure 10.	Enki/Ea in his bathroom and double-faced Isimud at the entrance; Porada 1948: 26, pl. XXXI no. 202; Boehmer 1965: 42, 92, 93, 132, 133, 177, taf. XLIV nos. 518 and 1210 .....	157
Figure 11.	A variant depiction of a ritual bath/basin; Old Akkadian. Collon 2005: 164; see also Boehmer 1965: 82, 89, 176, taf. XLII no. 501 .....	157

### Chapter 13: The threat of the women warriors: From the Arab women to the Amazons

Figure 1.	Plan of Assurbanipal's North Palace at Nineveh. Rooms L, M and N are in grey (re-drawn by Ruhama Bunfil, after Barnett 1976: fig. 7).....	168
Figure 2.	Slab no. 9: The brutal violence against the Arab women. BM 124927, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.....	169
Figure 3.	Slab no. 9: Close-up of the middle register .....	170

### Chapter 14: Ideological differences between representations of the pharaoh during the 18th and 19th Dynasties reflected on scarabs and stamp-seals

Figure 1.	Representation of the king enthroned in the solar barque on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 1997a: Tell el-'Ağul, no. 226) .....	177
Figure 2.	Representation of the king enthroned in the solar barque on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 1997a: Anafa, no.3).....	177
Figure 3.	Representation of the king standing beside the epithet <i>tit imn</i> on a plaque of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 1997a: Tell el-'Ağul, no. 492 side B).....	178
Figure 4.	Representation of the king as a bull on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 2016: 54, fig. 13. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Elie Posner).....	178
Figure 5.	Representation of the king as a horse on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 1989: 48, no. 5. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 76.31.2147. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Sara Kopelman).....	178
Figure 6.	Representation of the king as a griffin on a plaque of the 18th Dynasty (after Tufnell 1958: pls. 37/38, no. 317 side A) .....	178
Figure 7.	Representation of the king as a sphinx on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 2016: 54, fig. 12. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Elie Posner).....	178
Figure 8.	Representation of the king as a reclining sphinx on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 76.31.2000. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Sara Kopelman) .....	178
Figure 9.	Representation of the king as a reclining sphinx on a plaque of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 2013: Geser, no. 609, side A).....	178
Figure 10.	Representation of the king in the form of his classifying hieroglyph on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Matouk 1971: 210, no. 306).....	179
Figure 11.	Representation of the king in the company of gods on a plaque of the 18th Dynasty (after Tufnell 1958: pls. 37/38, no. 317 side B).....	179
Figure 12.	Representation of the standing king facing his throne name with royal regalia on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 76.30.1763. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Sara Kopelman).....	179
Figure 13.	Representation of the standing king facing his throne name with royal regalia on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 2013: Geser, no. 635).....	179
Figure 14.	Representation of the standing king as a victorious warrior on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 470) .....	179
Figure 15.	Representation of the enthroned king as a victorious hunter on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 473) .....	179
Figure 16.	Representation of the seated king as a victorious warrior on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 1997a: Tell el-'Ağul, no. 430) .....	179
Figure 17.	Representation of the kneeling king on a plaque of the 18th Dynasty (after Keel 2013: Geser, no. 606, side A) ....	180
Figure 18.	Representation of the kneeling king on a scarab of the 18th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 1989: 48, no. 8. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 76.31.1984. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Nir Orlev)...	180
Figure 19.	Representation of the king striking an enemy with a scimitar on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift 1926: 26.7.230) .....	181
Figure 20.	Representation of the king striking an enemy with a scimitar on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010a: Bet-Schean, no. 23).....	181
Figure 21.	Representation of the enthroned king facing trumpet blowers on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Schroer 2011: no. 606 = Matouk 1977: 400, no. 1568).....	181
Figure 22.	Representation of the king in his chariot on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 2016: 68, fig. 15. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Elie Posner) .....	181
Figure 23.	Representation of the king in his chariot on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 712).....	181
Figure 24.	Representation of the king smiting a bound enemy on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 1989: 48, no. 2. Collection of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 76.31.4175. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Sara Kopelman).....	182
Figure 25.	Representation of the king smiting an enemy on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, nos. 566) .....	182
Figure 26.	Representation of the king smiting a bound enemy on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010a: Bet-Schean, no. 47).....	182

Figure 27.	Representation of the enthroned king with officials bowing before him in reverence on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 1989: 48, no. 6. Collection of The Israel Museum Jerusalem, 76.31.1969. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Sara Kopelman).....	182
Figure 28.	Representation of the king in the company of the gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Tufnell 1958: pls. 39–40, no. 365) .....	182
Figure 29.	Representation of the king in the company of the gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 475).....	182
Figure 30.	Representation of the king in the company of the gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 567).....	182
Figure 31.	Representation of the king in the company of the gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 467).....	182
Figure 32.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 564).....	183
Figure 33.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 565).....	183
Figure 34.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Ben-Tor 2016: 68, fig. 16. Photo © The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, by Elie Posner).....	183
Figure 35.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Edward S. Harkness Gift 1926: 26.7.221).....	183
Figure 36.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010a: Der el-Balah, no. 25).....	183
Figure 37.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010a: Der el-Balah, no.135).....	183
Figure 38.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 487).....	183
Figure 39.	Representation of the king in cultic interactions with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 489).....	183
Figure 40.	Representation of the king in cultic interaction with a god and his consort on a plaque of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2013: Geser, no. 100, side A).....	184
Figure 41.	Representation of the king in cultic interaction with a god on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2020: no. 496).....	184
Figure 42.	Representation of the king as a sphinx on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 571).....	184
Figure 43.	Representation of the king as a sphinx on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 572).....	184
Figure 44.	Representation of the god Amun-Re as a ram-headed sphinx on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 574).....	184
Figure 45.	Representation of the god Amun-Re as a ram-headed sphinx on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 576).....	184
Figure 46.	Representation of the god Amun-Re between two falcon-headed gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010a: Bet-Schean, no. 112).....	184
Figure 47.	Representation of the god Amun-Re between two falcon-headed gods on a scarab of the 19th Dynasty (after Keel 2010b: Tell el-Far'a Süd, no. 568).....	184

### **Chapter 15: In a masked world: On the physiognomy of Assyrian faces**

Figure 1.	Assyrian “faces”, all from Nimrud/Kalhu, Northwest-Palace, ca. 865–860 BCE. From top left: a) king (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124549; b) crown prince (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124549; c) royal attendant (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 118928; d) royal attendant (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 118927; e) winged genius / <i>apkallu</i> (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from ANE 118876; f) king (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 118928. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	191
Figure 2.	Prisoners from a conquered city. From the Northwest-Palace in Nimrud/Kalhu, ca. 865–860 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124539. ©Trustees of the British Museum .....	192
Figure 3.	Two prisoners from Babylon are led by Assyrian soldiers. Detail from a carved wall panel from Nineveh, Southwest Palace, ca. 640–620 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124825. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	193
Figure 4.	Dispute between Gambulean prisoners. Detail from a carved wall panel belonging to the Teumman cycle from the Southwest Palace in Nineveh, after 653 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124802. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	194
Figure 5.	Detail from the “Garden Scene”. Three female attendants behind the queen. In the tree hangs the severed head of the Elamite king Teumman. North Palace in Nineveh, ca. 645–640 BCE (photo: Sebastian Hageneuer), British Museum, detail from WA 124920. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	195

Figure 6.	Head of an attendant. Detail from a carved wall panel belonging to the lion hunt cycle from the North Palace in Nineveh, ca. 640–620 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 124893. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	195
Figure 7.	Head of a statue of Ashurnasirpal II (883–858 BCE), from the temple of Ishtar-belit-mati in Nimrud/Kalhu (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, detail from WA 118871. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	196
Figure 8.	Head of winged lion <i>lamassu</i> , from the Northwest Palace in Nimrud/Kalhu, ca. 865–860 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, ME 118801. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	196
Figure 9.	Ashurbanipal and his crew in chariot. Detail from a carved wall panel belonging to the lion hunt cycle from the North Palace in Nineveh, ca. 640–620 BCE (photo: Simone Haack), British Museum, from WA 124854. ©Trustees of the British Museum.....	197

### Chapter 16: The “Lady at the Window” from Arslan Tash

Figure 1.	Lady at the Window, type 1. Arslan Tash. Ivory. 9th–8th centuries BCE. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Photo © A. Caubet.....	200
Figure 2.	Demonstration by F. Poplin (2005) of the original position of two Arslan Tash panels in the tusk. The relief of the head does not exceed that of the plaque. Ivory. 9th–8th centuries BC. Louvre, Paris. Photo © A. Caubet.....	200
Figure 3.	Lady at the Window, type 2; box-like frame. Arslan Tash. Ivory. 9th–8th centuries BCE National Museum, Aleppo. Photo © A. Caubet.....	201
Figure 4.	Lady in the window, type 3. Arslan Tash. Ivory. 9th–8th centuries BCE. National museum, Aleppo. Photo © A. Caubet.....	202
Figure 5.	Row of papyrus. Arslan Tash. Ivory. 9th–8th centuries BCE. Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Photo © A. Caubet.....	203
Figure 6.	Window with papyrus. Nimrud. Ivory. 8th BCE, after Herrmann 1986: pl. 51, n° 239.....	203
Figure 7.	Banquet scene of Assurbanipal at Nineveh. Gypsum. 639–631 BCE. Original The British Museum, London. Drawing by Caroline Florimont, Louvre.....	204
Figure 8.	Architectural model. Emar. Terracotta. Ca. 1200 BCE. Louvre AO 27905. Photo © A. Caubet.....	204
Figure 9.	Stand. Bronze. Enkomi. Ca. 1200 BCE. Original British Museum, London. Drawing after Matthäus 1985.....	205
Figure 10.	Anthropomorphic stele. Kition. Stone. Ca. 500 BCE. Musée du Louvre AM 93. Photo © A. Caubet.....	205

### Chapter 17: Revisiting the seated figure on wall painting no. 9 from Kuntillet Ajrud ... Once again

Figure 1.	Reconstruction of seated figure from Kuntillet Ajrud with lotus (Beck 1982: fig. 21).....	214
Figure 2.	Chain of lotus flowers from Kuntillet Ajrud (Beck 1982: fig. 22).....	214
Figure 3.	Seated figure on Samaria ivory (Keel and Uehlinger 2012: Abb. 239). Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Freiburg.....	215
Figure 4.	Seated figure on Megiddo ivory (Keel 1980: Abb. 233). Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Freiburg.....	216
Figure 5.	Seated queen Labbali-sharrat (Keel 1986: Abb. 83). Stiftung BIBEL+ORIENT, Freiburg.....	217
Figure 6.	Reconstruction of seated figure from Kuntillet Ajrud with cup (drawing by R. van Dijk-Coombes based on Beck 1982: fig. 21): a) with crown; b) without crown.....	217

### Chapter 18: Sennacherib’s open-air sanctuary at Khinis/Bavian: Quarries, quarry workers, recarved panels, and polyolithic bulls

Figure 1.	The cubic Monolith at Bavian showing the king in company with the great gods (from Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935: fig.12).....	222
Figure 2.	Plan of Khinis sculptures on the monolith (from Jacobsen and Lloyd 1935: fig.10).....	222
Figure 3.	Two damaged pairs of lions’ paws located on top of the framed rock panel, from the photo taken in 2013 from across the gorge, by kind permission of Zainab Bahrani.....	223
Figure 4.	Map showing the two areas of white limestone quarries at Khinis and Balada (extract from Parpola and Porter 2001: no.4, p.28).....	224
Figure 5.	Plan of Sargon’s palace buildings at Khorsabad (from Loud and Altman 1938: pl.1 with Monument X highlighted).....	225
Figure 6a–b.	a) Drawing of slab 64 from Court VI (from Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl.113, Or. Dr. I 57); b) Detail from Slab 64, photo plate 111 top right, bollards marked with Xs, thanks to Ian Cartwright, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford University.....	228
Figure 7.	Slab 62 from Court VI (from Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl.110, Or. Dr. IV 51).....	229
Figure 8.	Polyolithic white limestone bull colossus for the Armory on Nebi Yunus citadel.....	230
Figure 9.	Slab 58 showing abrupt change from trees to reeds in the landscape (from Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl.106).....	231
Figure 10.	Slab 60 showing inappropriate landscape of reeds, Baladaya epigraph, king in his chariot overseeing movement of monolith (from Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl.108–109).....	232
Figure 11.	Plan of Court VI with location of relief slabs, adapted using Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl.79 and part of pl.77.....	235

### Chapter 19: Akhenaten’s divine crop

Figure 1.	Karnak <i>talatat</i> , Assemblage A0075 after Vergnienx (1999: 128, pl. 17b) © photographs CNRS-CFEETK / R. Vergnienx-A. Bellod.....	240
-----------	---	-----

Figure 2.	Reconstruction of the motif of Assemblage A0075, Zhenxiao Zhao's graphics © Arlette David.....	241
Figure 3.	Amarna <i>talatat</i> Richmond VMFA 61.4 © Virginia Museum of Fine Arts .....	242
Figure 4.	Ramses III in Medinet Habu after Nelson (1940: pl. 205), courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.....	242
Figure 5.	Amarna <i>talatat</i> , courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 60.197.2 (Photo: Brooklyn Museum, CUR.60.197.2_wwg7.jpg) Copyright © 2004–2009 the Brooklyn Museum .....	243
Figure 6.	Amarna <i>talatat</i> MMA 1985.328.24, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.....	243
Figure 7.	Amarna column fragment after Petrie (1894: pl. 7 No. 4), courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.....	244
Figure 8.	Amarna block after EES card 023/97, courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society .....	244
Figure 9.	Ramses III in Medinet Habu after Hughes (1963: pl. 469), courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.....	245

## Chapter 20: Two Iron Age female figurines from Tel Rekhesh

Figure 1.	Map of Tel Rekhesh (© S. Hasegawa) .....	250
Figure 2.	Location of Tel Rekhesh (© S. Hasegawa).....	251
Figure 3.	Fragment of a terracotta female figurine from Tel Rekhesh (R1) (courtesy of Tel Rekhesh Project) .....	251
Figure 4.	Room 2358 (courtesy of Tel Rekhesh Project) .....	252
Figure 5.	Fragment of a terracotta figurine from Tel Rekhesh (R2) (courtesy of Tel Rekhesh Project) .....	252
Figure 6.	Distribution map of plaque figurines (© S. Hasegawa) .....	254
Figure 7.	Quantitative analysis of plaque figurines (© S. Hasegawa).....	255

## Chapter 21: In the sign of the scorpion: The administrative seals of the Neo-Assyrian queen and the queen's household

Figure 1.	Twelve seal impressions from Nineveh with scorpion motif (figures 1–4, 8, and 10–12 after Mitchell and Searight 2008: 105 f. cat. 230 a and b. 232 a–e. 233. Courtesy of Ann Searight. Figures 5 and 7 by S. Herboldt. Figures 6 and 9 after Herboldt 1992: pl. 20, 5 and 6) .....	258
Figure 2.	Border decorations of scorpion seals (Diagram by S. Herboldt).....	259
Figure 3.	Diagram of sealed objects - carriers (by S. Herboldt) .....	260
Figure 4.	Box sealing reconstruction (after Herboldt 1992: 62, fig. 11, 1).....	260
Figure 5.1-8.	Clay sealings from Nineveh with scorpion and dagger motif (after Herboldt 1992: pl. 33, 1-8) .....	261

## Chapter 22: The image of the city as a symbol and scene in Assyrian representation

Figure 1a.	Urban walls in Assur (after Andrae 1913: taf. III).....	275
Figure 1b.	Urban walls in Dur Sharrukin (after Place 1867: pl.8).....	276
Figure 2.	Planification of the capital urban spaces in Neo-Assyrian time at approximately the same scale: a) Nimrud; b) Dur Sharrukin; c) Nineveh (composition of the author).....	278
Figure 3.	Palace of Sargon II: bas relief of maquettes in the shape of “crown” representing foreign cities (after Albenda 1984: fig.29) .....	278
Figure 4.	Assur, 13th-12th century, cylinder seal VA 05362 (Credit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Olaf M. Teßmer, CC BY-SA 4.0).....	279
Figure 5.	Detail of enemy cities in the White Obelisk (after Wikimedia, CC-BY-2.0) .....	280
Figure 6.	The <i>bit-nathi</i> of the temple of Ishtar, detail of Scene 8, frame A3 (after Sollberger 1974: 237–238, fig.1).....	280
Figure 7a–b.	Imgur-Enlil I in the Balawat Gates, a) drawing; b) photo (after Curtis, Davies, Tallis and Walker 2008: figs 73–74) .....	281
Figure 8.	The city walls of Nineveh, possibly showing the palace (after Matthiae 1998: fig. on p.90).....	282
Figure 9.	Dadusha stele (after Suter 2018: fig.1) .....	282
Figure 10.	Palace of Sennacherib, Room XXXVIII, besieged city in Armenia (?) (after Barnett and Bleibtreu 1998: pl.359 n.448).....	283
Figure 11.	Palace of Sennacherib, Room XXXVI, mobile camps of the king and his army in the Lachish siege (from Barnett and Bleibtreu 1998: pl. 348).....	284
Figure 12.	Besieged city in a mountainous region (after Smith 1938: pl.13) .....	285
Figure 13.	Palace of Sennacherib, Room XIV, enemy city settled on top of a hill (after Barnett and Bleibtreu 1998: pl. 168, n.240) .....	286
Figure 14.	Palace of Sennacherib, Room XIV, analysis of the siege stages (after Battini 2022: fig. 7) .....	287
Figure 15.	Evolution of the Assur's defense system (after Miglus 1982: fig. p. 278) .....	290
Figure 16.	Stone pedestal of Tukulti-Ninurta I (after Battini 2016, fig. 4.2a and b).....	295
Figure 17.	The Broken Obelisk (after Battini 2016: fig. 4.5).....	296
Figure 18a.	White Obelisk, BM 118807 (after Pittman 1996: figs. 4-5).....	297
Figure 18b.	White Obelisk, reconstruction of its narrative scenes (after Pittman 1996: fig 12) .....	298
Figure 19.	Glazed bricks from Assur (after Gries and Fügert 2019: fig. 5) .....	299
Figure 20.	Palace of Sennacherib, Room VII, slabs 12-13 representing the besieged city, the massacre of enemies, pile of severed heads and deportees (after Battini 2022: fig.13) .....	302

### Chapter 23: Whose head is hanging from the tree?

Figure 1.	The “Garden Scene.” Detail. Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. After Barnett 1976: 65. BM 124920. © The Trustees of the British Museum .....	314
Figure 2.	Triumphs at Madaktu and Arbela. Room XXXIII of the South-West Palace. Detail: Dunānu of Gambulu and his brother Samgunu with the heads of Te’umman and Ištar-nandi (Šutur-Nahūndi) hanging around their necks. After Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl. 305. © The Trustees of the British Museum .....	315
Figure 3.	Ashurbanipal’s lion hunt and offering of the hunt prey. Detail. The libation over the heads of killed lions is performed in front of an incense burner and an offering table loaded with other offerings. Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. © The Trustees of the British Museum .....	317
Figure 4.	The libation over Te’umman’s head at the gates of the citadel of Arbela. Room I of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. Detail. © Natalie Naomi May .....	318
Figure 5.	The 645 BCE triumph (Elamite and Babylonian campaigns). Surrender of Ummanaldašu III (?). Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. After Barnett 1976: pl. 60. Pictorial Repertory of Room S <sup>1</sup> . © The Trustees of the British Museum.....	320
Figure 6.	Ashurbanipal’s royal lion hunt. Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. BM 124886 and BM 124887. After Barnett 1976: pl. 59. Pictorial Repertory of Room S <sup>1</sup> . © The Trustees of the British Museum .....	321
Figure 7.	Ashurbanipal’s “Garden Scene.” The entire relief. Room S <sup>1</sup> of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal. After Barnett 1976: pl. 63. Pictorial Repertory of Room S <sup>1</sup> . © The Trustees of the British Museum .....	321
Figure 8a.	Bearded Te’umman (battle of the Ulai river). Room XXXIII. South-West Palace. Detail. After Barnett <i>et al.</i> 1998: pl. 291 .....	323
Figure 8b.	Severed head hanging down the tree in the “Garden Scene”. BM 124920. © The Trustees of the British Museum.....	324
Figure 8c.	Severed head hanging down the tree in the “Garden Scene.” Barnett 1975: pl. 171.....	324
Figure 9.	Suicide-by-proxy of Nabû-bêl-šumāti. Room M (the throne room of Ashurbanipal’s North Palace) Berlin VA 210. Photograph: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum; photography: Olaf M. Teßmer.....	326
Figure 10.	BM 124945–6. The triumph over Babylonia and Elam in Room M (the throne room of Ashurbanipal’s North Palace). The row of supplicants is brought before Ashurbanipal with severed heads hanging from their necks. One of them is the head of Nabû-bêl-šumāti hanging down from the neck of Nabû-qātī-šabat. © The Trustees of the British Museum.....	327

### Chapter 24: Back to life. On a lifelike female statue head from Assur

Figure 1.	Analytical results (© Heinrich Piening).....	332
Figure 2.	Head with scaling lines. a: Chin to eyebrow; b: Chin to top of the head; c: Total height; d: Face width (© Heinrich Piening).....	332
Figure 3.	Screenshot (© Heinrich Piening).....	333
Figure 4.	From original to 3D copy. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Vorderasiatisches Museum. Photo: Olaf Teßmer (© Heinrich Piening).....	334
Figure 5.	From 3D copy to reconstruction (© Heinrich Piening).....	334
Figure 6.	Different interpretations (© Heinrich Piening) .....	335
Figure 7.	Results of textile dyeing based on antique recipes (© Heinrich Piening) .....	336
Figure 8.	Digital reconstruction (© Becca Saladin Segovia, Royalty Now).....	337
Figure 9.	Back to life (© Becca Saladin Segovia, Royalty Now) .....	337

### Chapter 25: On goats, mountains and the elusive Babylonian royal seal

Figure 1.	Relief in the North Palace of Nineveh, Room M, representing Assyrian soldiers holding Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s regalia. From Novotny and Watanabe 2008: 107 fig. 4.....	340
Figure 2.	Relief in the North Palace of Nineveh, Room M, representing an Assyrian soldier holding Šamaš-šuma-ukīn’s seal. From Novotny and Watanabe 2008: 116 fig. 15.....	341
Figure 3.	BM 77611+ (Credits: Zunkir, CC BY-SA 4.0 < <a href="https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/">https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/</a> >, via Wikimedia Commons; <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Confirmation_of_land_grant_by_Shamash-shum-ukim_-_BM_77611-2.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Confirmation_of_land_grant_by_Shamash-shum-ukim_-_BM_77611-2.jpg</a> ) .....	342
Figure 4.	Detail of the pseudo seal impression (Credits: Ramón Álvarez Arza).....	342
Figure 5.	Sickle Sword (Credits: <a href="https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/322443">https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/322443</a> ).....	343
Figure 6.	<i>Capra aegagrus</i> (Credits: Alexander Malkhasyan – Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=90770262">https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=90770262</a> ).....	344
Figure 7.	Babylonian Map of the World. (Credits: <a href="https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babylonische_Weltkarte#/media/Datei:Baylonianmaps.JPG">https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babylonische_Weltkarte#/media/Datei:Baylonianmaps.JPG</a> ) .....	346

### Chapter 26: A preliminary survey of the documentation from Dilbat and several other places in Central and Northern Babylonia chiefly during the long 6th century BCE

Figure 1.	MLC 523 (© Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection).....	359
Figure 2.	NBC 8388 (© Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection).....	385
Figure 3.	RBC 269 (© Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection) .....	387

Figure 4.	MLC 525 (© Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection).....	388
Figure 5.	MLC 494 (© Courtesy of the Yale Babylonian Collection).....	389

### Chapter 28: A confidential message: Divine combat and death in a forgotten Akkadian seal from Ur

Figure 1.	Seal B 16876 (courtesy of the Penn Museum, image B16876).....	408
Figure 2.	Seal published the first time (Legrain 1934: pl. 216, no. 394).....	408
Figure 3.	Composition of the seal B 16876 (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	409
Figure 4.	Construction of the winners along ascending lines (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	410
Figure 5.	Construction of the losers along descending lines (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	410
Figure 6.	Construction of the third group of the seal B 16876 according to triangles (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	411
Figure 7.	Ascending and descending lines of characters of the seal B 16876 (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	411
Figure 8.	All the geometric lines and shapes of the characters of the seal B 16876 (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	412
Figure 9.	Lines that unite all the characters without interruption (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	413
Figure 10.	Continuous line and four small empty spaces (© L. Battini, after the image B16876_02, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	413
Figure 11.	Comparisons of the rays (top left: seal B 16876, courtesy of the Penn Museum, image B16876_02; top right: Louvre A 141; bottom left: A 681; bottom right: BM 89810).....	414
Figure 12.	Comparisons of trampling enemies (top centre: Iran, Darban i-Belula; top right: Anubanini relief; bottom left: Rimuš Stele; bottom centre: Iran, Darband-i-Gawr; bottom right: Naram-Sin stele).....	415
Figure 13.	Choice of the stone's colours for the characters (© L. Battini, [from left to right] after images B16876_bt03, B16876_bt04 and B16876_bt01, courtesy of the Penn Museum).....	416

### Chapter 29: Three Kassite seals in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem

Figure 1.	The seal BLMJ 2705 (© photo: Hamutal Gabayev).....	420
Figure 2.	Modern Impression of the seal BLMJ 2705 (© photo: Sue Vukosavović).....	420
Figure 3.	The seal BLMJ 2706 (© photo: Hamutal Gabayev).....	421
Figure 4.	Modern Impression of the seal BLMJ 2706 (© photo: Sue Vukosavović).....	421
Figure 5.	The seal BLMJ 2844 (© photo: Hamutal Gabayev).....	422
Figure 6.	Modern Impression of the seal BLMJ 2844 (© photo: Sue Vukosavović).....	422

### Chapter 30: “I have set My bow in the cloud”: Symbolism and myth

Figure 1a–b.	Broken Obelisk. a) Charles Hodder or William Boucher drawing (Curtis 2007:53, © The Trustees of the British Museum); b) after Hodder or Boucher drawing and Curtis suggestion (Curtis 2007:53, 55 and fig. 4).....	427
Figure 2.	Glazed brick of Tukulti-Ninurta II, BM 115706 (after <a href="https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1922-0812-175">https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1922-0812-175</a> ).....	428
Figure 3.	Slab 3a in Throne Room (Room B) of Assurnasirpal II Palace at Nimrud (Layard 1853: pl. 13).....	428
Figure 4.	Deity in a winged disc firing a triple-tipped shape arrow, Slab 3a in Throne Room of Assurnasirpal II palace at Nimrud (after Layard 1853: pl. 13).....	428
Figure 5.	Neo-Assyrian seal presumably depicting Ninurta struggling with Anzû (after Porada 1948: no. 689E).....	429
Figure 6.	Neo-Assyrian seal depicting Ninurta struggling with Anzû (BM 89533, after Collon 2001: pl. XXIV no. 288).....	429
Figure 7.	Ninurta struggling with Anzû, Neo-Babylonian, late 8th century B.C. Collection Mossène Foroughi (after Porada 1993: 580, fig. 46).....	429
Figure 8.	Slab 5a in Throne Room (Room B) of Assurnasirpal II Palace at Nimrud (Layard 1853: pl. 21).....	430
Figure 9.	A deity in a winged disc hold unturned bow and its right hand is raised in a blessing gesture, Slab 5a in Throne Room of Assurnasirpal II palace at Nimrud (after Layard 1853: pl. 21).....	430

### Chapter 31: The symbol of the triumph

Figure 1.	Nineveh, BM WAA 89331, a. © Courtesy trustees of the British Museum, b. Wiseman 1959: 78.....	433
Figure 2.	Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938: 98 no. 87, Pl. 57: 87).....	434
Figure 3.	Omrit (a. Baruch Brandl; b. Brandl and Grossmark 2016: 167).....	434
Figure 4.	Bassetki (Puljiz 2015: 114–116).....	434
Figure 5.	Bastam (Seidl 1988: 146).....	435
Figure 6.	Toprakkale, Seal 1 (Seidl 2001: 451).....	435

### Chapter 32: The soldier and the exorcist: A cylinder seal in the Ashmolean Museum

Figure 1.	Speckled green serpentine cylinder seal (55 × 19 mm) and modern impression, Ashmolean Museum, Stevenson Loan 1, L11254.1. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.....	441
Figure 2.	“The T.C.S. Staff, June 1933” (Humble 1965: pl. II-14). Lt.-Col. Stevenson stands in the back row, second from right.....	442

Figure 3.	Obverse of bronze Lamaštu plaque (133 × 84 × 25 mm), Louvre Museum, AO 22205. Photo: de Clercq 1903: pl. XXXIV .....	443
Figure 4.	Lamaštu amulet from Babylon (24 × 48 × 12 mm), Ashmolean Museum, AN1998.19. Photo: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford .....	445
Figure 5.	Modern impression of cylinder seal (72 × 15 mm), Louvre AO 6604. Photo: Delaporte 1920: pl. 93, no. 7 .....	447
Figure 6.	Obverse and reverse of a bronze plaque, unprovenanced (137 × 87 × 3.5 mm), British Museum 108979. Photo: The Trustees of the <i>British Museum</i> .....	448

### Chapter 34: For whom the bell tolls: Horse harnesses at Megiddo and beyond

Figure 1.	The four bell types mentioned in the text .....	466
Figure 2.	Bronze bells with two small knobs in their upper part: 1. Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939: pl. 77:13), 2. Nineveh (de Saint-Martin 1863: 331) .....	466
Figure 3.	The Iron Age city of Megiddo with the stables, Silo 1414 and the find spot of the bell (based on Ussishkin 2018: fig. 18:1).....	467
Figure 4.	Bronze bells from various excavations: 1–2. Salamis (Karageorghis 1973: pl. CCLIV:142, 163); 3–6. Nineveh (Layard 1853: 150); 7–8, 13–14. Samaria (Reisner <i>et al.</i> 1924: pl. 235); 9. Yavneh Yam (Ashkenazi and Fantalkin 2019: fig. 4:e); 10. Al-Mina (Woolley 1938: 165, fig. 25:MNN34); 11–12. Beth Shean (FitzGerald 1931: pl. XXXVIII:2, 5) .....	468
Figure 5.	A foreign horseman with one large bell suspended from his horse's neck attacked by two Assyrian horsemen (Barnett and Falkner 1962: 24, pls. LXIV–LXV) .....	471
Figure 6.	The North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh: a lion hunt scene with a horse decorated with one bell on the front of the neck. The close-up emphasizes the bell < <a href="https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/Ashurbanipal%2C_detail_of_a_lion-hunt_scene_from_Nineveh%2C_7th_century_BC%2C_the_British_Museum.jpg">https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/db/Ashurbanipal%2C_detail_of_a_lion-hunt_scene_from_Nineveh%2C_7th_century_BC%2C_the_British_Museum.jpg</a> >.....	471
Figure 7.	The North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh: a lion hunt scene with a horse decorated with one large bell on the front of the neck and an additional side strap with smaller bells. The close-up emphasizes the smaller bells < <a href="https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a8/Assyrian_horses.jpg">https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a8/Assyrian_horses.jpg</a> > .....	472
Figure 8.	The North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh: a lion hunt scene with a horse decorated with one large bell on the front of the neck and two additional side straps with smaller bells. The close-up emphasizes the smaller bells < <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lion_Hunt_of_Ashurbanipal#/media/File:Assyrian_king_Ashurbanipal_on_his_horse_thrusting_a_spear_onto_a_lion%E2%80%99s_head._Alabaster_bas-relief_from_Nineveh,_dating_back_to_645-635_BCE_and_is_currently_housed_in_the_British_Museum,_London.jpg">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lion_Hunt_of_Ashurbanipal#/media/File:Assyrian_king_Ashurbanipal_on_his_horse_thrusting_a_spear_onto_a_lion%E2%80%99s_head._Alabaster_bas-relief_from_Nineveh,_dating_back_to_645-635_BCE_and_is_currently_housed_in_the_British_Museum,_London.jpg</a> > .....	472
Figure 9.	The North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh: a lion hunt scene with a horse decorated with three bells, one large and two smaller, on the front of the neck. An additional side strap holds smaller bells. The close-up emphasizes the bells < <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Assyrian_horse.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Assyrian_horse.jpg</a> >.....	473
Figure 10.	Depictions of Uartian horses with a bell suspended from their neck (Özgen 1983: figs. 10, 12) .....	474

### Chapter 35: The Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis

Figure 1.	Compositional format #1: two impressions of a stamp seal on a tablet (YBC 4022) from the Eanna temple archive at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999: no. 34). Nebuchadnezzar II year 39. Courtesy E. Ehrenberg .....	479
Figure 2.	Compositional format #2: impression of a cylinder seal on a tablet (PTS 2372) from the Eanna temple archive at Uruk (Ehrenberg 1999: no. 137). Nabonidus year 12. Courtesy E. Ehrenberg .....	479
Figure 3.	Collated line drawing of PFS 2096* (M.B. Garrison) .....	479
Figure 4.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1605s (M.B. Garrison) .....	485
Figure 5.	Collated line drawing of PFS 289*s (M.B. Garrison).....	487
Figure 6.	Collated line drawing of PFATS 656s. Courtesy E.R.M. Dusinberre .....	488
Figure 7.	Collated line drawing of PFS 958s (M.B. Garrison).....	488
Figure 8.	Collated line drawing of PFS 273s (M.B. Garrison).....	488
Figure 9.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1037s (M.B. Garrison).....	488
Figure 10.	Collated line drawing of PFATS 133s. Courtesy E.R.M. Dusinberre .....	488
Figure 11.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1370*s (M.B. Garrison) .....	489
Figure 12.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1240* (M.B. Garrison) .....	490
Figure 13.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1205*s (M.B. Garrison).....	491
Figure 14.	Collated line drawing of PFS 161*s (M.B. Garrison).....	491
Figure 15.	Collated line drawing of PFS 451*s (M.B. Garrison).....	491
Figure 16.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1216*s (M.B. Garrison).....	491
Figure 17.	Collated line drawing of PFS 813* (M.B. Garrison) .....	491
Figure 18.	Collated line drawing of PFS 2907s (M.B. Garrison).....	492
Figure 19.	Collated line drawing of PFS 186s (M.B. Garrison).....	492
Figure 20.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1559s (M.B. Garrison) .....	492
Figure 21.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1283s (M.B. Garrison).....	493
Figure 22.	Collated line drawing of PFATS 446s. Courtesy E.R.M. Dusinberre .....	493

Figure 23.	Collated line drawing of PFS 3059s (M.B. Garrison).....	493
Figure 24.	Collated line drawing of PFS 3138s (M.B. Garrison).....	493
Figure 25.	Collated line drawing of PFATS 34*s. Courtesy E.R.M. Dusinberre .....	494
Figure 26.	Collated line drawing of PFS 862s (M.B. Garrison).....	495
Figure 27.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1218*s (M.B. Garrison) .....	495
Figure 28.	Collated line drawing of PFS 518 (M.B. Garrison) .....	496
Figure 29.	Collated line drawing of PFS 3064s (M.B. Garrison).....	499
Figure 30.	Collated line drawing of PFATS 385s. Courtesy E.R.M. Dusinberre .....	500
Figure 31.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 812s (M.B. Garrison) .....	500
Figure 32.	Collated line drawing of PFS 237s (M.B. Garrison).....	500
Figure 33.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1618 (M.B. Garrison).....	501
Figure 34.	PFUTS 1618 applied three times on the obverse of PFUT 1421–251 (M.B. Garrison).....	501
Figure 35.	Collated line drawing of PFS 1052 (M.B. Garrison) .....	502
Figure 36.	Collated line drawing of PFS 12b (M.B. Garrison) .....	504
Figure 37.	Collated line drawing of PFUTS 786 (M.B. Garrison).....	505

### Chapter 36: A new look at the Hittite silver vessel in the shape of a fist

Figure 1.	The Hittite silver vessel in the shape of a fist. Photograph © 2023 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession number 2002.2230). Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts .....	538
Figure 2.	Drawing of the scene in relief. After Güterbock and Kendall 1995: fig. 3.7. Courtesy of T. Kendall.....	539
Figure 3.	Detail of the relief scene: the storm-god and the bull. Drawing by A. Ganor .....	541
Figure 4.	Drawing of the seal of Urḫi-Teššub. After Herbordt, Bawanyepeck and Hawkins 2011: Abb. 18, Kat. 57.1. Courtesy of S. Herbordt. Copyright Archive of the Boğazköy Expedition, DAI Berlin .....	542
Figure 5.	Aleppo temple: the storm-god and king Taita. After Hawkins 2011: fig. 3. Courtesy of K. Kohlmeyer .....	543
Figure 6.	Aleppo temple: the “god of the mace.” After Hawkins 2011: fig. 2. Courtesy of K. Kohlmeyer .....	543
Figure 7.	Fist-shaped terracotta vessel from Boğazköy. After Schachner 2018: Abb. 8. Courtesy of A. Schachner, DAI Archives of the Boğazköy Expedition, Istanbul .....	545
Figure 8.	Detail of the Hasanlu gold bowl: boxing fight. After Winter 1989: fig. 13. Hasanlu Project photograph, courtesy of R.L. Zettler, Associate Curator-in-Charge, Near East Section, Penn Museum Philadelphia.....	546

### Chapter 38: In his image: God or ruler? A stone relief from the Iron IIA cultic precinct at Tel Moza

Figure 1.	Temple 8528 of the Early Iron IIA and superseding Temple 4601 of the Late Iron IIA in which the stone relief was detected in the northern wall at the start of the 2021 season. Prepared by Y. Shmidov .....	564
Figure 2.	The stone relief, broken and upside down in situ in the core of the northern wall of Temple 4601 at the start of the 2021 season. Photo by D.R. Moulis.....	565
Figure 3.	The stone relief. Views of the faces produced from a 3-D model by Roy Albag.....	567
Figure 4.	The stone relief. Photo by S. Flit .....	568
Figure 5.	Map of the Levant and the Syro-Anatolian region illustrating key sites and the main sites mentioned in the text which yielded stone reliefs. Produced by I. Ben-Ezra.....	569

### Chapter 39: The Sanctuary of Ataroth and its inscriptions

Figure 1.	Localization of Khirbet Ataruz .....	576
Figure 2.	The altar with inscriptions (after Bean <i>et al.</i> 2018: fig. 9).....	579
Figure 3.	Inscription A (after Bean <i>et al.</i> 2018: fig. 3).....	579

### Chapter 41: The Hunters’ Palette. A guide to weapons used in Egypt in the late Predynastic Period

Figure 1a–b.	The Hunters’ Palette. a) The Hunters’ Palette, courtesy of the British Museum; b) Drawing of the Hunter’s Palette after Hendrix <i>et al.</i> 2020: fig.29 (courtesy of Merel Eyckerman) .....	594
Figure 2a–b.	Restitutions of the hunters’ palette (courtesy of Merel Eyckerman). a) after Hendrickx <i>et al.</i> 2020: fig. 33; b) after Hendrickx <i>et al.</i> 2020: fig. 34 .....	598
Figure 3.	Restitution by Sebbane after Hendrickx <i>et al.</i> 2020: fig. 29 (courtesy of Merel Eyckerman). Drawing by Noga Z’evi .....	599
Figure 4.	Simple double-curved bow, Cave of the Warrior (K.23988, 23989).....	601
Figure 5.	Carinated mace-head with tall conical outline, Gilat (IAA 75-1117) .....	602
Figure 6.	Lance-heads, the Kfar Monash hoard (IAA 62-168, 62-169, 62-170, 62-171).....	604
Figure 7.	Javelin-head, Azor Tomb 4 (IAA 73-395) .....	605

### Chapter 42: The repertoire of motifs and their composition on ivory furniture from Samaria. An updated inventory and reflections on Egyptianizing trends in ancient Israel

Figure 1.	Plaque depicting sphinx striding over defeated Asian (photo author) .....	614
Figure 2a.	Two plaque fragments, possibly of the same motif as Fig. 2b (photo author).....	615
Figure 2b.	Plaque from Nimrud depicting lioness suckling her young in a papyrus field, 11.2 cm high (after Herrmann 1986: pl. 263) .....	615
Figure 3.	Plaque depicting winged uraeus (photo author) .....	616
Figure 4a.	Curved plaque with remains of hoofs, probably part of a veneer like Fig. 4b (photo author).....	617

Figure 4b.	Cylindrical veneer from Nimrud with five bulls striding on a guilloche band, 12.2 cm in diameter (after Herrmann & Laidlaw 2009: pl. 89) .....	617
Figure 5.	Openwork plaque depicting a stylized palm (photo author).....	618

### Chapter 43: An unprovenanced inscribed stone macehead

Figure 1.	Macehead front (Arte Primitivo, New York: <a href="https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977">https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977</a> ) .....	626
Figure 2.	Macehead front (Arte Primitivo, New York: <a href="https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977">https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977</a> ) .....	626
Figure 3.	Macehead front (Arte Primitivo, New York: <a href="https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977">https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977</a> ) .....	627
Figure 4.	Macehead rear (Arte Primitivo, New York: <a href="https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977">https://www.artep primitivo.com/scripts/detail.asp?LOT_NUM=167977</a> ) .....	627

### Chapter 44: Topographic imagery in pictorial art

Figure 1a–b.	a) Depiction of scaled mountains, Akkadian cylinder seal (Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.160.192 Bequest of W. Gedney Beatty, 1941 Public Domain); b) The pictograph KUR .....	633
Figure 2.	Seven-tiered scaled structure with a peeping bull's head. Cylinder seal impression from Acmehöyük (after Veenhof 1993: pl. 124 no. 3).....	633
Figure 3.	Bull with a cone. Assyrian cylinder seal impression from Kültepe (after Lassen 2017: fig. 2).....	634
Figure 4.	The god Ashur as a mountain god between two spring goddesses. Stone relief from Ashur (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International ArchaiOptix).....	634
Figure 5.	Mountain god between two bull men. Ain Dara temple (after hittitemonuments.com Ain Dara E4).....	635
Figure 6.	Mountain gods on a statue base. Ain Dara (Tayfun Bilgin hittitemonuments.com Ain Dara).....	635
Figure 7a–b.	a) Fountain statue of a goddess with the ever-flowing vase (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic (CC BA-SA 2.0) Robsonc Gary Todd); b) Goddesses with flowing vases in the investiture scene of the palace of Mari (Wikimedia Commons Public Domain) .....	636
Figure 8.	Façade of the Kara-Indash temple at Uruk, depicting mountain gods and spring goddesses (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike Unported 3.0, CC BY-SA-3.0, Marcus Cyron) .....	637
Figure 9.	Spring goddess as a young maiden. Cylinder seal impression from Emar (after Beyer 2001: 75 no. 46) .....	637
Figure 10.	Ivory inlay from Ashur depicting a mountain god grasping a flowing vase (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International Miguel Hermoso Cuesta).....	638
Figure 11.	Old Hittite cylinder seal depicting mountain gods gesturing in reverence (after Du Mesnil du Buisson 1959: fig. 1) .....	638
Figure 12.	Storm god places one leg on two mountains, the other leg rests on the back of a bull. Anatolian cylinder seal impression from Kültepe (after Haas 1994: fig. 85).....	638
Figure 13.	The god Teshub treading on bent mountain gods in the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported, CC BY-SA 3.0, Bernard Gagnon).....	639
Figure 14a–b.	Mountain gods in the divine parade of the rock sanctuary at Yazılıkaya (after Seeher 2011: figs. 31, 36).....	640
Figure 15.	The god Sharrumma at Hanyeri (after hittitemonuments.com Hanyeri-02).....	640
Figure 16.	Three mountain gods supporting the storm god mounting his chariot. Rock relief of İmamkulu (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported, CC BY-SA 3.0, Klaus-Peter Simon).....	641
Figure 17.	Two mountain gods marching behind the Storm God's chariot. Relief vase from Boğazköy (after Seeher 2007: fig. 1).....	641
Figure 18.	Mountain gods. Hittite ivory from Megiddo (after Alexander 1991: fig. 2).....	642
Figure 19a.	Monumental relief of the spring sanctuary at Eflatun Pınar (after hittitemonuments.com Eflatun Pınar-07) ...	643
Figure 19b.	Reconstruction suggestion of the Eflatun Pınar relief topped with the Fassilar statue of the storm god (after Bittel 1976: fig. 264).....	644
Figure 20.	Unfinished orthostate depicting mountain gods in the basalt quarry of Yesemek (after Wikimedia Commons Public Domain).....	644
Figure 21.	Ivory statuette of a mountain god from Boğazköy (after Bittel <i>et al.</i> 1957: pl. 24).....	645
Figure 22.	Storm god treading on two mountains, brandishing a mace and vanquishing a snake (after Eisen 1940: no. 158) .....	646
Figure 23.	A mountain god offers a hare to the storm god (after Dijkstra 1991: pl. 1 no. 2).....	646
Figure 24.	Storm gods mounted on mountain gods. Cylinder seal impression from Emar (after Beyer 2001: 49, no. 4) .....	647
Figure 25.	From left to right: The bull Sharrumma leaping on a mountain, Teshub on mountain gods, king Ini-Teshub, and the Syrian storm god mounted on a bull and the. Cylinder seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish, impressed on tablets found at Ugarit and Emar (after Beyer 2001: 48–49 no. 3) .....	647
Figure 26.	Ba'al Şaphon on two mountains above a snake on a podium, facing a sailboat with two mariners. Cylinder seal from Tell el-Dab'a (after Porada 1984: fig. 1).....	648
Figure 27.	Tudhaliya IV godlike, trading on two mountains at Yazılıkaya (Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.5 Generic China_Crisis).....	649
2003.	Tali and friends at Carchemish station.....	664



# List of Tables

<b>Chapter 1: Closed case: An Iron Age trove of jewellery from the Israel Museum collection and the identification of its provenance at Tel 'Ira (Israel)</b>	
Table 1.	The composition of the necklace-segments of Beads Group 1..... 4
Table 2.	The composition of the necklace's segments of Beads Group 2..... 6
Table 3.	Measurements and weights of the silver earrings ..... 7
Table 4.	Measurements and weights of the silver rings..... 8
<b>Chapter 12: How meaning evolves. Proto-cuneiform signs: considerations on their origins at the intersection of visual and oral communication</b>	
Table 1.	Lexical and semantic meaning of /zabar/, /zubar/..... 159
Table 2.	List of material descriptions of /zabar/..... 159
<b>Chapter 28: A confidential message: Divine combat and death in a forgotten Akkadian seal from Ur</b>	
Table 1.	Acts represented on the seal and their temporal order ..... 409
<b>Chapter 34: For whom the bell tolls: Horse harnesses at Megiddo and beyond</b>	
Table 1.	Horses with a single bell depicted in Assyrian reliefs from the palaces of Sargon II and Sennacherib ..... 469
Table 2.	Bells depicted on horses in the royal lion hunt of Assurbanipal III (Meissner and Opitz 1940; Barnett 1976). Due to the state of preservation, the number of bells was not always clear. .... 470
<b>Chapter 35: The Late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis</b>	
Table 1.	Provenanced seals that carry <sup>d</sup> PA PAP ZI (or variants) ..... 498
Table 2.	Provenanced seals that carry <sup>d</sup> KASKAL inscription ..... 499



## Preface

This book was born out of Benjamin Sass and Tallay Ornan's half-century friendship and of desire to celebrate an exemplary research and teaching career at a time when teaching stops and research continues. Tallay contributed to recharging iconological research by giving it a new depth, firstly regarding the interconnections between Mesopotamia and the Levant and second by broadening the spectrum of meanings. She facilitated for several generations of scholars the understanding of visual language and provided effective methodologies. Her friendship is precious and free: you can discuss anything with her.

The idea of offering these writings was suggested by Yosef Garfinkel, Head of the Department in Jerusalem faculty, Yigael Yadin Chair in Archaeology of Israel, to Benjamin Sass in 2021, the year Tallay retired from the university. Benjamin proposed to Laura that they work together and the first invitations went out in September 2021 through December.

On 13 and 14 October 2021, the Hertog Center for the Archaeological Research of Jerusalem and Judah at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem organized a conference held in honour of Prof. Tallay Ornan's and Prof. Ilan Sharon's retirement. The theme of the conference was *On Artists, Masons and Authority Ploys: Power and Symbolism in Judah and the Coast*. Five people participating in this book were present: Benjamin Sass, Laura Battini, Marian Feldman Claudia Suter and Irit Ziffer. Apart from Benjamin's, the four other lectures were reworked to appear in this book. Benjamin's chapter is a new one, written with Ethan Levy.

In June 2022, following an agreement with the publisher Archaeopress and in order to leave part of the manuscripts available to colleagues, Benjamin and Laura opened an online site dedicated to the pre-prints of Tallay Ornan's Festschrift (<https://huji.academia.edu/FestschriftTALLAYORNANPREPRINTS>). The first pre-print appeared in July 2022, the last in February 2024. In total, 12 pre-prints were edited, approved by the respective authors and published on the online site. They were only intended to save the first contributors the wait for the actual publication of the volume. The site is still active.

In 2022 and 2023, funds were obtained to help publish this book: the generosity of the Marie Becker Fund at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and the Fondation Hugot of the Collège de France, enabled George Metcalf to enrich the English of numerous papers, and enabled him and Daniela Dunoyer to improve the homogeneity of the book, and to make the Archaeopress digital offprints of the volume free of charge (Gold open access).

The book treats a panoply of aspects of ancient Western Asia and reflects above all of Tallay Ornan's central academic interests in 44 chapters written by scholars from all over the world.

Paris, 20 September 2024  
Benjamin Sass and Laura Battini



# Acknowledgments

This book could not have been published without the help of numerous people. We would like to start with the people who, by responding positively to our invitation, have enabled us to prepare this book for our dear friend Tallay. Moreover, we should like to thank those colleagues who were unable to write an article but agreed to serve on the scientific committee:

Vanessa Boschloos  
Eckart Frahm  
Holly Pittman  
Ursula Seidl  
Diana Stein  
Chikako Watanabe

A big thank you to our collaborators:

George Metcalf and  
Daniela Dunoyer,

who helped us make this book more homogeneous and beautiful. Their patience and ability to find errors was very valuable to us.

Our publishing house has always been very accommodating with all our questions and we are very happy to be able to work with them. In particular we would like to thank the older team (David Davidson and Rajka Makjanic) and the new one (Ben Heaney, Mike Schurer and Erin McGowan): the book, started under David and Rajka, and was prepared and published by Ben, Mike and Erin. Thank you so much!

Last not least, we are very grateful to the foundations that supported our project:

Mary Becker Foundation (Institute of Archaeology, Jerusalem)

Fondation Hugot (Collège de France, Paris)



## Introduction

Tallay Ornan was born and raised in Jerusalem in a secular, highly culturally and politically engaged family, for whom the long and rich history of the Hebrew language was always central. In 1983 Tallay married Shimon Bigelman, who passed away in 2016; they had two children, Naama and Nadav, and Tallay now has two grandchildren, Yael and Zohar. Tallay studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for her Bachelor and Master's degrees in archaeology, history, and Assyriology. In her academic education, Tallay combined the archaeology and imagery of Israel/Palestine alongside Western Asia, focusing on Mesopotamian history, visuals, and languages. Ornan's doctoral thesis, written in Hebrew at Tel Aviv University, was supervised by Prof. Pirhiya Beck. In her thesis Ornan addressed 1st millennium BCE Assyro-Babylonian inspiration on south-Levantine glyptic. Part of her thesis' conclusions led to her book, *The Triumph of the Symbol* (OBO 213, 2005). In this book, Tallay proposed that the biblical second commandment, banning Israel from worshiping the image of Yahweh, was likely inspired by the contemporary Mesopotamian tendency to represent human-perceived divinities in nonanthropomorphic emblems.

Ornan's work is characterized inter alia by insights on the religions of Ancient Western Asia, stemming from a 'reading' of the region's imagery. In this she was inspired by the work of Othmar Keel. Often her studies fit into a broader picture of the archaeological and iconographical discoveries in the Levant and the rest of ancient Western Asia, on their historical and biblical backgrounds. Here are examples of central aspects of her work.

- Kings. A number of specialists believe that certain kings of ancient Western Asia were deified. Against them Ornan accentuated in her work that such deification was hardly documented - neither dead kings, nor certainly living ones. A dead king could be considered an intermediary between the divine and human worlds, however.
- Anthropomorphic perception of the gods and goddesses. Whereas the deities were often represented by their emblems in Ancient Western Asian imagery, they were always anthropomorphic in the believers' perception (Ornan 2009).
- Text versus image. This complex issue is one of Ornan's chief contributions to the study of ancient Western Asian imagery. She rather

puts an emphasis on the differences. Certain aspects of the divine world find expression in images, others in texts, and only rarely in both (Ornan 2010). The evaluation of the cultural and religious characteristics of the region are typically founded on a weighting of the two, rather than on attempting to harmonize them.

- Relationships between Canaan/Israel and Ancient Western Asia. Ornan sees the imagery of Canaan/Israel in the second and first millennium as an integral part of Ancient Near Eastern imagery, rather than setting Israel apart on account of the second commandment.

From 1984 to 1992 Ornan held the position of the Curator of the Palestine Archaeological Museum in East Jerusalem (known as the Rockefeller Museum) on behalf of the Israel Museum. From 1993 to 2008, she was the Curator of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the Israel Museum. From the early 2000s, she taught at the Hebrew University, where, in 2008, she became Associate Professor with tenure in the Departments of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and Art History. Tallay retired in 2021.

This book is dedicated to Tallay Ornan, a scholar who has profoundly impacted iconographic research in ancient Western Asia. Her unfailing friendship makes life better.

The book is divided into three parts. Each contains chapters arranged in alphabetical order of the authors' names, that we feel gives greater prominence to Tallay Ornan's major themes. The first part is devoted to **New Materials and Approaches** in twelve chapters. Six consider new approaches to ancient materials (Bachvarova, Dolce, Feldman, Franklin, Portuese, Selz), and six chapters study new materials (Arie, Garcia-Ventura, Gubel, Niederreiter, Sass and Levy, Schroer).

Two of these chapters are theoretical (Dolce, Feldman). Marian Feldman focuses on the naturalism of Akkadian art ("Naturalism, photography, and empire in the Old Akkadian period"). Akkadian royal art has been celebrated for its apparent naturalism and realism since its identification by scholars in the late nineteenth century. Feldman proposes that our conceptualization of the Akkadian dynasty can be traced in part to late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century associations between imperialism, photography, and naturalism. On the other hand, Rita Dolce ("Ancient images in Mesopotamia: Ancient gaze and present observation

between visual sources and textual sources. Questions and limitations”) considers the relationships between texts and images in Ancient Western Asia. The images should not be viewed as subordinate nor as complementary to written documents, but as independent and significant as the texts. Images are a language, understood at a primary level by anyone. The other levels of understanding depend on individual knowledge.

This concept is present also in the chapter by Gebhard Selz (“How meaning evolves. Proto-cuneiform signs: considerations on their origins at the intersection of visual and oral communication”). Proto-cuneiform signs combine features of visual and oral communication. In a word, writing concerns sight - spatially oriented- and hearing - temporally oriented. Both domains are based on the same procedures and are essential factors in the process of signification, as some selected examples prove (the cases of TUN<sub>3</sub>, EZEM/EZEN, LAM, /zabar/ and the case of the “standards” MUŠ<sub>3</sub>, URI<sub>3</sub> and ŠEŠ). Another chapter has an important theoretical part based on the study of ‘etiquette’. Ludovico Portuese (“Gods, rulers, and death: Nonverbal expressions and group identity in Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian monumental art”) analyses nonverbal expressions –such as gestures, body movements, proxemic, and the like– in order to understand their political, religious, identitarian significances. He provides an examination and comparison of visual representations of submission and drinking gestures in Syro-Anatolian and Assyrian monumental art, in order to highlight the ways in which these visual motifs were rejected or were appropriated and re-instrumentalized by both parties. Lastly, Mary Bachvarova (“Articulating foundation myths in Milesian festivals: A diachronic perspective”) considers the polis history of conflict among ethnic groups at Miletus in a diachronical and multi-factor analysis using literary, archaeological, and inscriptional evidence for sanctuaries in the Milesian chora.

The six last chapters of part one present new materials or old forgotten finds considered with new approaches. Eran Arie (“Closed case: an Iron Age trove of jewellery from the Israel Museum collection and the identification of its provenance at Tel ‘Ira (Israel)”) present a jewellery group stored in the Israel Museum and tries to deduce its origin. Tracing the findspot of antiquities from the market with such precision is not very common. Moreover, this rare discovery enhances our understanding of Tel ‘Ira and its cemetery. Eric Gubel (“New gleanings at the temples of Sidon, Tyre and Jerusalem–Decoding Phoenician Art – II”) analyses a bowl from Nimrud rejecting its common interpretation (four identical Phoenician shrines), and suggesting an apparatus ensuring the fixation of textile on a rod between the capitals of the structure’s

supporting columns. Consequently, the composition featuring antithetical winged, hawk-headed, sphinxes (Phoenician and Hebrew *Kerubim*) evokes not the presence of a cult statue, but the embroidered design of temple curtains known from Biblical descriptions and documented by Canaanite and Phoenician model shrines. Agnes Garcia-Ventura (“The reception of the Law Code stele of Hammurabi in Spain: From a treatise on ophthalmology to a white plaster cast”) shows the importance of casts for the diffusion of the knowledge of the Mesopotamia in Spain. Thanks to the casts, Mesopotamia began to take its place in the imaginary of an Antiquity hitherto populated, basically, by Greek and Roman material culture and written sources. Norma Franklin (“A reassessment: is the cone-shaped object held by the genii in Assurnasirpal’s palace at Kalhu a citron?”) analyses a well-known and long-discussed conical object held by the genii in Assurnasirpal’s palace reliefs. Remembering the most common interpretation of this scene (pollination of the sacred tree by a pinecone held by genii), she proposes to identify the cone as a fruit and to connect the scene to a purification. The Assyrians called the cone-shaped object a purifier (*mullilu*), and pharmacological research has shown that the citron has important purification and medicinal properties. Silvia Schroer (“The impact of models and prototypes in carving and sculpturing. How craftspeople referred to prototypes and conventions. Two examples”) studies the craftsmen’s work taking as example an ivory spoon from Beth-zur (in Judah) and a ceramic plaque from Tall al-Zira’a (Jordan). The objects show how an apprentice learned elementary skills by imitating a model on the same material, and how a more advanced craftsman imitates monumental and large-scale art. The last two chapters are devoted to glyptic. Benjamin Sass and Eythan Levy present two inscribed bullae found at Samaria in the 1933 campaign (“Inscribed bullae from the Samaria excavations forgotten for ninety years”). One of the bullae bears an Egyptian name written in the Hebrew alphabet-variant, while the attribution of the signs on the other remains questionable. Zoltán Niederreiter (“The imagery of the Neo-Assyrian seals belonging to the palace. An interpretation of the scene on a stamp seal formerly kept in the Southesk collection”) analyses the significance of a Neo-Assyrian stamp seal. Its importance lies not only in its decorative features but also in the study of the work of the artisans, the demands of their patrons, and the role played by the Assyrian scholars in the conception of its iconography.

The second part, *The Human World*, consists of 14 chapters. One of the major topics is the figure of the king, to which six chapters are dedicated. Four of them concern first-millennium Mesopotamian kings (Dalley, Masetti-Rouault, May, Da Riva), the two others the Pharaoh (David, Ben-Tor and Keel). Stephanie Dalley (“Sennacherib’s open-air sanctuary at Khinis /

Bavian: quarries, quarry workers, recarved panels and polyolithic bulls”) focuses on this open-air sanctuary and its environs. The Bavian Inscription indicates that the sanctuary guarded against interference from Urartu, protecting the supply of water to the plain of Nineveh. Natalie Naomi May (“Whose head is hanging from the tree?”) deconstructs the identification of the head hanging from the tree in the “Garden Scene” of Ashurbanipal as the head of his enemy, the Elamite king Te’umman. The author gives a new interpretation: this head belongs to another and much more hated enemy of the Assyrian king, the traitor Nabû-bêl-šumâti, whose dead body Ashurbanipal ordered to decapitate.

Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault (“The image of the city as a symbol and scene in Assyrian representation”) focuses on the contradiction between the importance of the city in Assyrian royal inscriptions, and its near-absence in the palace bas-reliefs. The question is even more challenging when this absence is set against the presence of enemy cities in monumental contexts at the beginning of the first millennium BCE. It is suggested that the Assyrian courtisans could identify some mute and linear urban forms as a representation of their own city, and themselves in the (revolting/resisting) enemy. The reliefs show eventually that the king’s power controls and is ready to destroy not only the enemies, but whoever opposes it. Rocío Da Riva (“On the elusive Babylonian royal seal”) questions the apparent absence of Neo-Babylonian royal seals, despite the political and symbolic importance of royal seals in Mesopotamia. The only example of royal glyptic, dating from the reign of Šamaš-šuma-ukin, is surprising in its iconography: it depicts the king of Babylonia, armed with a sickle sword, fighting a wild goat. The chapter analyses the implications of the iconographic motif and its symbolic connotations with the aim of improving our understanding of Babylonian royal ideology during the first millennium BCE.

The two chapters on the figure of the pharaoh concern the New Kingdom and especially the period of the apogee of power. Daphna Ben Tor and Otmar Keel (“Ideological differences between representations of the pharaoh during the 18th and 19th dynasties reflected on scarabs and stamp-seals”) examine the 18th and 19th dynasties and how royal representations on seals changed over the course of these dynasties. During all periods of Egyptian history, representations of the pharaoh were present everywhere and influenced by ideological notions. The choice to consider their glyptic representations is explained by the fact that they are an important vector for disseminating the ideologies associated with the king. Arlette David (“Akhenaten’s divine crop”) focuses on the representation of King Amenhotep IV, better known as Akhenaten (ca. 1350 BCE). This pharaoh had reliefs carved on his monuments depicting him and his Queen bowed over sheaves of grain, possibly cutting

them. This image, probably suggested by ancient Heliopolitan beliefs and by harvest celebrations such as the Festival of Renenutet, is a new creation of Akenaten, who wanted to celebrate the abundance of natural resources under the god Aten and his own kingdom and to exalt the royal power over the enemies of Egypt. This image influences the Ramesside depictions of the king cutting a sheaf at the temple during the Min Festival or harvesting in the Field of Rushes in the Afterlife.

Another important theme in the second part is women, to which six chapters are devoted. Three concern women in the Levant (Caubet, Cornelius, and Hasegawa and Mito) and three in Mesopotamia (Nunn, Piening and Saladin Segovia, Herbordt and Ben-Ami). Annie Caubet addresses “The Lady at the window from Arslan Tash” focusing on the Lady at the window. She rejects the common interpretation of the motif as an allusion to sacred prostitution associated with the cult of Astarte. After tracing the motif back to late Bronze Age Syria and Mycenaean Cyprus, and focusing on certain texts from Ugarit that mention an “Athtart of the window”, she interprets the motif as one of many images linked to royal ideology influenced by Egypt, where the practice of displaying the royal couple was introduced in the Amarna period. The theme has been exceptionally successful, and has undergone various mutations, forms and meanings over time.

Izak Cornelius (“Revisiting the seated figure on wall painting No. 9 from Kuntillet Ajrud once again”) gives a new interpretation of the seated painted figure from building A at Kuntillet Ajrud. The figure holds something in the hands (a lotus or cup) and can be identified as an enthroned ruler (cf. banquet scenes) or an elite woman, perhaps a queen holding a cup, a lotus, or even a spindle. Another article on the Iron Age of the Southern Levant is by Shuichi Hasegawa and Shizuka Mito (“Two Iron Age female figurines from Tel Rekhesh”). The authors publish two female terracotta figurines from Tel Rekhesh, both holding a disc, a common motif in the Iron Age II southern Levant. After analysing the distribution of this theme, which transcends political borders, the authors discuss the reason for its wide circulation.

The three articles on Mesopotamian women are quite different. One is an example of experimental archaeology. Astrid Nunn, Heinrich Piening and Becca Saladin Segovia (“Back to life. On a lifelike female statue head from Assur”) had replicas of a famous female stone head from Assur in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, printed and painted, reproducing the colors, traces of which were found on the original head after examination under a microscope. This experiment is part of the project “Mesopotamian Sculpture in Colour”. The authors have also reconstructed this head using artificial intelligence and photo compositing

techniques to see what this woman probably looked like in life.

The two other chapters deal with gender issues. Suzanne Herbordt (“In the sign of the scorpion. The administrative seals of the Neo-Assyrian queen and the queen’s household”) analyses a group of official seals of Sennacherib’s Southwest Palace administration at Nineveh. Each seal bears the image of a scorpion surrounded by either a guilloche, a garland, or simply the imprint of the seal mount as sole motif. The common interpretation as the administrative seal of the Assyrian queen is therefore confirmed. Débora V. Ben-Ami (“The threat of the women warriors: From the Arab women to the Amazons”) is interested in one of the most difficult bas-reliefs by Assurbanipal. It is generally interpreted as a massacre of Arab women. The author suggests that the message conveyed by this extremely cruel act of punishment is rooted in a perception of gender. The behaviour of Arab women, who adopted active masculine behaviour during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, undermined and threatened the cultural order between the sexes. Consequently, the Assyrians’ unique and extreme cruelty towards them must be seen as an ideological statement, a warning to men against any deviation by women from the norm. This episode may well have inspired Greek literature and mythology (the myth of the Amazons).

Finally, two chapters of the second part are consecrated to mortals. Dominik Bonatz (“In a masked world: on the physiognomy of Assyrian faces”) analyses the Assyrian physiognomy, which apparently does not change for more than three centuries. The uniformity of faces carved in relief or as sculptures in the round demonstrates a constructed reality, which hides individual identities. Therefore, the relation between the face and its mask will be another central aspect to think about in Neo-Assyrian monumental art. Ran Zadok (“A preliminary survey of the documentation from Dilbat and several other places in central and northern Babylonia chiefly during the long 6th century BCE”) publishes an important corpus of 90 texts from Dilbat between 626 and 484 BCE, plus 12 texts from central and northern Babylonia. 83 of these texts have never been published. Most of the texts belong to the British Museum, 17 to the Horn Museum of Andrews University, and five to the Yale Babylonian collection. These texts shed new light on the town of Dilbat in the 1st mill. BCE.

The third and last part – *The Divine World* – consists of 18 chapters. It has two main themes: anthropomorphic deities and divine symbols. Ten chapters are devoted to the first theme and eight to the second. The theme of gods is dealt with from a textual point of view (Abusch and Wright, Katz, Na’aman, Rendu-Loisel) or from an

iconographic and textual perspective (Battini, Bloch, Garrison, Hazan, Kisilevitz, Agnon, Gedulter and Lipschits, and Ziffer).

The chapters by Na’aman, and Abusch and Wright concern the Levant, while those by Katz and Rendu-Loisel focus on Mesopotamia. After presenting the history of Ataroth’s sanctuary, from Moabite to Israelite and later from Israelite to Moabite domination and clarifying the significance of these transformations for the sanctuary and its patron gods, Nadav Na’aman (“The sanctuary of Ataroth and its inscriptions”) discusses in detail the two inscriptions incised on a cylindrical stone altar that were discovered in the Moabite sanctuary of the late 9th century BCE. He offers a new interpretation for the inscriptions, which were intended to commemorate the contributions made by five towns and a tribe in an effort to help maintain the recently restored Moabite sanctuary after a short period of abandonment.

Tzvi Abusch and David Wright (“The meaning and sense of the Ugaritic Baal–Mot conflict narrative”) provide a detailed review of the story and reflect on the meaning of the conflict between Baal and Mot. The authors try also to define the place of the existing elements in the plot and to imagine how they may connect. An excursus examines the operation of ritual motifs in the story. Another chapter on mythology is provided by Dina Katz (“The tale of “Nergal and Ereškigal” revisited”). This tale is, essentially, a succession myth clad in psychological discourse of rivalry, desire and deception, hate and love in the realm of death. The striking similarities with and differences between the two sources of the text (Middle Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian versions) leave important questions unsolved, that Dina Katz pursues here. Are the two versions based on one and the same Old Babylonian tradition or on two different ones? How did a Neo-Assyrian scribe elaborate and expand the text fourfold? What was the purpose and function of each version? What is the contribution of the intertextual relations with the myths of Inana’s descent and Ištar’s descent?

Anne-Caroline Rendu Loisel (“Beyond the visible. Feeling the divine presence in ancient Mesopotamia”) pursues the investigation on the symbolic world Tallay Ornan has embarked on. She considers the sensory effects that are created in the ritual scene thanks to various elements and substances described in Akkadian epigraphic sources of the 2nd and 1st millennium BCE. All these non-verbal communication pin down the divine.

Of the other six chapters about gods according to iconographic and textual data, three are based on Mesopotamian glyptic from the Akkadian (Battini),

Kassite (Bloch) and Neo-Babylonian periods (Garrison). The chapter by Laura Battini (“A confidential message: Divine fight and death in a forgotten Akkadian seal of Ur”) focuses on a unique seal representing a dead god carried by the god who killed him. This violent representation can be read on various levels. At the simplest level, it is a divine battle that finds echoes in Mesopotamian cosmogony. At a more complex level, it is about the advent of a new age that coincides with the death of the god and the subjugation of men and is guaranteed by Šamaš. That the seal also alludes to the birth of a new political epoch desired by the Akkadian dynasty seems a triviality. But the seal also has a clear apotropaic value, which results from the choice of the natural colours of the stone for the different subjects: for the dead god, the lapidary used the black vein of the stone, for the other subjects he used the white vein.

Yigal Bloch (“Three Kassite seals in the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem”) publishes these seals, containing prayer and incantation formulas, intended to secure the gods’ favour for the seal owners, an aspect accentuated by the inscriptions’ physical prominence versus the pictorial scenes. This can be understood as part of a general shift from official to personal religion in Kassite Babylonia. Another chapter concerning Mesopotamian glyptic is by Mark Garrison (“The late Babylonian worship scene at Persepolis”). The author analyses a group of Neo-Babylonian worship scenes found in the impressions on administrative tablets from Persepolis. They represent a worshipper before divine symbols that rest on pillared pedestals. The impressions from Persepolis raise numerous issues regarding the chronology, and the iconographic and stylistic development of the scene in the Late Babylonian archives and the cultural interaction between Iran and Babylonia in the middle of the first millennium BCE.

Seals are one of the sources of the chapter by Irit Ziffer (“Their god is a god of mountains (1 Kings 20:23). Topographic imagery in pictorial art”). The author analyses mountain gods, because of the links between mountains and the sky/heaven/divine/*ziqqurat*. The article traces the development of visual images of mountain gods, and attempts their identification. Finally, it suggests that the ancient Israelites were familiar with the visuals of the mountain god.

Two other chapters pursue the divine theme. Clement Hazan (“A new look at the Hittite silver vessel in the shape of a fist”) deals with Anatolian divine representation. He focuses on a silver vessel in the form of a fist, today at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which represents a god difficult to identify. Combining iconographic and textual data, the author proposes to identify the deity with Teššub of Aleppo. Shua Kisilevitz, Amotz Agnon, Nuphar Gedulter and Oded Lipschits (“In his image: god

or ruler? A stone relief from the iron IIA cultic precinct at Tel Moza”) examine a broken stone relief recently discovered in the precinct’s foundations of the large temple at Tel Motsa, near Jerusalem, dated to the early Iron Age. The relief was originally part of the early temple and depicted an important figure, likely a ruler or deity, and then it was deliberately broken and ritually buried to transfer the sanctity and power of the old temple to the new one. These ritual practices observed at Motsa suggest a broader mirroring of cultic patterns from the northern Levant to the Iron Age southern Levant than previously discerned.

Eight chapters are dedicated to divine symbols. Four concern Mesopotamia, one Egypt and three the Levant. Paul Collins (“Revisiting an exorcist’s seal in the Ashmolean Museum”) focuses on a cylinder seal found in 1922 and lent to the Ashmolean Museum by a British army officer. The seal is in fact a modern fake and one of a number of objects inspired by the narratives presented on ancient Lamaštu amulets. Baruch Brandl (“The symbol of the triumph”) analyses a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal representing a worshipper in front of divine symbols. He retraces its origin to a Neo-Assyrian workshop probably active under Sargon II. Uri Gabbay (“Gods and birds in ancient Mesopotamia”) addresses various types of relationships between gods and birds, considering different environments in Mesopotamia (riverbanks and marshes; remote mountains; cities). The article also discusses the ways in which birds were understood by ancient Mesopotamian scholars to represent the divine world. Lastly, Nathan Wasserman (“A ceremonial mace-head with dedicatory inscription of the Old Akkadian period”) deals with an unprovenanced mace-head with an old Akkadian inscription. The mace-head is probably genuine, of a northern Syrian origin and can be dated to the Early Old Babylonian period. The inaccurate execution of some signs is to be attributed to an inexperienced scribe. The use of separators may be explained as a “peripheral” scribal practice, for the macehead originated out of Mesopotamia.

The chapter dedicated to Egypt by Michael Sebbane (“The hunters’ palette”) presents the late Predynastic arsenal through the reliefs on this so-called cosmetic palette, in fact a monument. In these palettes, the weapons consist of simple double-curved bows, arrows with horizontal chisel-shaped heads, various types of maces, boomerangs, lances and javelins. The detailed manner of execution, showing for example a raised midrib on the lance heads, even makes it possible to deduce the material they were made of, in this particular case metal, probably copper. On a wider perspective, the two groups of hunter-warriors on the palette reflect the political and ideological messages that the palette set out to immortalize and transmit — power, authority, and government.

The last three chapters deal with the Levant. Claudia Suter (“The repertoire of motifs and their composition on ivory furniture from Samaria. An updated inventory and reflections on Egyptianizing trends in Ancient Israel”) analyses the Samaria ivories, the largest assemblage of Levantine ivory carvings of the Iron Age. Except for one small-scale object, the Samaria assemblage comprises mainly plaques and fittings that most probably decorated luxury furniture used by the kings of Israel and their entourage. Ruhama Bonfil and Robert Bonfil (“ ‘I have set My bow in the cloud’ – symbolism and myth”) examine the symbol of the bow in Western Asia and the Bible. The bow, employed

in battle and hunt, is also linked to the rainbow, representing a metaphor for the covenant between God and humans. Yosef Garfinkel (“For whom the bell tolls: Horse harnesses at Megiddo and beyond”) studies bronze bells from Megiddo, compared with those found in Cyprus, Assyria, Urartu, and northwestern Iran. These small bells should be associated with horse harnesses where bells are suspended from the horses’ necks.

May Tallay enjoy these contributions and be proud of this book!