SEALING PRACTICES AT TERQA

Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

Evidence for sealing practices at Terqa comes from excavated tablets, bullae, and tags as well as from the tablets found at the site before excavations began. Of the excavated material the greater part came from the room which contained the archive of Puzurum (STCA1) while others were found in the courtyard of Puzurum's house (STCA4); in addition some evidence was found in the temple of Ninkarrak (in rooms STCD4 and STCD10). The excavated tablets and their envelopes are dated on internal evidence as well as from the ceramics associated with them to the Khana period. Subsequent to these finds the excavation has yielded a small number of sealed documents from the Mari period; this material will shed light on changes in sealing practices at Terqa under the domination of Mari to the period of Terqa's independence as the most important city, most likely the capital, of the Khana kingdom. (For the most recent review and bibliography of the Terqa excavations, see G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "Terqa: The First Eight Seasons," AAAS XXXIII (1983), pp. 47-67.

This article will discuss three aspects of Terqa sealing practices during the Khana period: (I) the nature of the evidence, (II) the role of the individuals sealing the documents, and (III) the placement of the sealings on the documents. The last section (IV) brings out the evidence for kinship relations during the Khana period at Terqa on the basis of these documents. It is fitting that the publication of this new, excavated evidence from Terqa is published in honor of Edith Porada since she has dedicated so much of her scholarly activity to integrating new evidence on seals within a framework which she herself contributed immensely to establish and continues to refine.

I

While information on sealing practices can be seen in a number of Khana tablets the largest single excavated body of sealed tablets is derived from the archive of Puzurum. (For the publication of this house see G. Buccellati, Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 10: The Fourth Season: Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 10, Malibu, 1979, pp. 35-40.) The majority of these tablets are contracts belonging to Puzurum in which he bought houses and fields in and around Terqa. (Publication of these tablets is by Olivier Rouault, Terqa Final Report No. 1: L'Archive de Puzurum, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 16 [1984] quoted hereafter as TFR 1. The present article on the sealing practices at Terqa is part of a larger study on Terqa sphragistics which will be published by the author as a forthcoming volume in the series of Terqa Final Reports.) In addition to the contracts, there is one loan tablet which, however, is not sealed (TFR 1 7), although it is known from other sites that loan tablets could also be sealed. Together with the tablets, two other types

of objects from Puzurum's archive were sealed: tags and bullae. The tags are flat, rectangular objects with the rolling on one side. Bullae usually have a somewhat conical shape with seals rolled over any part of the exterior surface. Many of them still have the impression of a string on the inside. Because of the shape of these bullae the impressions are not as long nor as well preserved as on the tags. The bullae sometimes have inscribed seals rolled on them but neither tags nor bullae bear any trace of cuneiform writing directly on their surfaces. The types of seals rolled on these tags and bullae will be discussed below.

The date formula on the tablets of Puzurum indicate that they are to be dated to the reign of Yadih-Abu, a king of Khana, who is most likely the same king mentioned in the year date of the 28th year of Samsuiluna (1721 B.C. according to the middle chronology, see TFR 1, pp. 4-5). While the majority of the sealed documents are dated to Yadih-Abu we do have evidence in the archive from the reign of another king of Khana, Kashtiliashu, who ruled around 1700 (TFR 1, pp. 4-5, and see the Introduction by G. Buccellati in the same volume). Also we have evidence of sealing practices during the reigns of two other Khana kings: Yapah-Sum[u-X] and Iṣi-Sumu-abu, both of whom ruled before Yadih-Abu. Evidence from their reigns will be brought in as documentation allows, but this article will mainly concentrate on the sealing practices evidenced from the reigns of Yadih-Abu and Kashtiliashu, leaving for another occasion the discussion of sealing practices from the period of Mari.

At Terqa we are fortunate in having a large number of seals rolled on the contracts, not only on the tablets themselves but also on their envelopes. On both the tablets and envelopes the seals could be rolled in various places: the left margin, the left edge, and both the upper and lower edges (Ills. 1-3). In the case of the tablets the right edge never received seal impressions but the envelopes could be sealed on all edges as well as the left margin. In most cases also the tablets had the blank obverse rolled with a cylinder seal before the writing; this could occur on the reverse although not as frequently. Envelopes could be sealed on the obverse and reverse with long rollings, in two cases criss-crossed to form a large X (TFR 1 3E and 5EE). On the envelopes too, the text, where present, is written over the seal impressions. Many of the rollings, both on the tablets and on the envelopes have their owners identified by means of by-scripts. This congruence of three elements (a large number of witnesses to the documents, rollings of several witnesses on both tablets and envelopes, and the identification of specific impressions through the use of by-scripts) makes the excavated Khana corpus from Terqa a unique resource in studying Khana sealing practices.¹

Within the general context of Old Babylonian sealing practices on legal documents, the Khana texts from Terqa show some distinctive features.

(1) Legal documents from this period were usually sealed on their envelopes only; at Terqa it was customary to roll the seals on the tablets as well. For a general overview of sealing practices in Mesopotamia there are a number of excellent articles in McG. Gibson and R. D. Biggs, eds., Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6 1977, especially J. Renger, "Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia," pp. 75-81; M. T. Larsen, "Seal Use in the Old Assyrian Period," pp. 89-105; R. M. Whiting, "Sealing Practices on House and Land Sale Documents at Eshnunna in the Isin-Larsa Period," pp. 67-74, and P. Steinkeller, "Seal Practices in the Ur III Period," pp. 41-53. There are

¹ In this article *seal* is used in the sense of both the cylinder seal as an object and as a negative design; *sealing* is the positive of a seal; *impression* indicates a single physical impression on an object; *rolling* is the impression of one and the same seal as found on one or more objects (i.e., a tablet, envelope, etc.).

only three cases of tablets being sealed in Alalakh VII; normally the envelope contained seal impressions of the witnesses as well as a short summary of the text, see D. Collon, *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh*, AOAT 27 (1975), pp. 154-156. Sealing practices at Sippar/Der, Tell al-Dhiba'i and Tell Harmal are discussed by L. al-Gailani Werr, Studies in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals, forthcoming in Bibliotheca Mesopotamica. For sealing practices on recently published sealed tablets from Babylon, see E. Klengel-Brandt, "Siegelabrollungen auf Altbabylonischen Tontafeln aus Babylon," Altorientalische Forschungen 10 (1983), pp. 102-105; also see her article in this volume. The practice used at Terqa in the Khana period of sealing both the tablet and its envelope recurs later at Nuzi, see Renger 1977, pp. 77-78.

- (2) In Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian period seals could be rolled on the left margin of the obverse and reverse as well as on the left edge, and the upper and lower edges; contracts were not usually sealed on the face of the obverse and/or reverse as at Terqa (Renger 1977, pp. 76-77; on p. 82 fn. 20 the author mentions that in Sippar documents could be sealed under the text).
- (3) The fact that so many individuals sealed the Terqa documents on both the tablets themselves and on the envelopes is paralleled by the participation of a large number of witnesses in the transactions (TFR 1).
- (4) The use of by-scripts as on the Terqa tablets can also be found, according to Renger, at Nippur and in northern Babylonia, especially at Sippar (1977, pp. 76-77). The by-scripts at Terqa and elsewhere were written in a small script on the edge of the text next to the impressions to which they refer; these are usually written at a right angle to the text and can cover part of the impression itself; they can also be placed parallel to the text. However, not all the Terqa seal impressions are identified through by-scripts.
- (5) If a party to the contract did not have a seal they could impress their garment hem on the tablet (in the Alalakh VII tablets this was usually the fringe of the garment, Collon 1975, pp. 142-143). An example of an garment hem impression was found on a tablet in the Puzurum archive (TFR 1 9). The two parties to this contract were Addu-rapi, the buyer, and Hazibum, the seller. On the upper edge of the tablet there is a clear garment impression (Ill. 2) accompanied by a by-script stating that this is the garment hem of Hazibum (sissikti Hazibu; another garment impression of this type was found on an uninscribed fragment, TQ4-73. It is interesting to note that the topmost positions of the left margin, in which the seller would usually impress his seal, is left empty on the Hazibum tablet). This practice is attested in the Old Babylonian period also at Nippur and Sippar, where however by-scripts read "Seal of PN" (Renger 1977, p. 77). Middle Babylonian legal texts could also contain garment hem impressions but the text says "the hem of his garment instead of his seal" (ibid.). In neither case do we find the Khana practice of simply stating that this is the hem of the garment of PN. It appears, then, that in this period at Terqa the garment hem had the same legal validity in contracts as the seal impression. We do not have fingernail impressions on the Puzurum tablets but they occur on bullae from Puzurum's house (TQ4-T71 and from other areas of the excavation). Renger mentions that these fingernail impressions can be found on several Old Babylonian tablets from Dilbat as well one from Ur; this custom is common on contemporary tablets from Susa (1977, p. 77).

II

Of the twenty-seven names found in the by-scripts from the Puzurum archive, three belong to the seller, three belong to indemnified witnesses, and fourteen to other witnesses (Chart 1). Other cases each present a different situation. In tablet TFR 1 1 the seller is Ili-Dumqi, a woman; women in the Old Babylonian contracts usually did not seal them even when they were principal parties (Renger 1977, p. 77). This is probably the reason why Ili-Dumqi did not seal either the tablet or the envelope in which she sold property to Puzurum. However this tablet is sealed by a man named Oistum, an innkeeper; he is not otherwise mentioned in the text of either the tablet or envelope. It is possible that his seal might have been used in place of Ili-Dumqi but this is not stated in the by-script. Usually when the seller does seal the document his seal is the topmost seal on the left margin or edge. The fact that Qîštum's seal is placed second, below another seal may mean that he was not using his seal for Ili-Dumqi or alternatively that since his seal was a substitute it was not to be placed where the seller usually sealed the tablet. In this case a witness, Warad-Kūbi, had his seal impressed on the upper left edge (the question of patterns of placement of the rollings on tablets and envelopes at Terqa will be discussed below). Other exceptional cases of this type include a buyer, Binniqum, who borrowed the seal of Yašub-Dagan, his father (TFR 1 8E). This is only known from the seal inscription. An individual, Silliyan, sealed both a contract and its envelope (TFR = 1 = 2/2E) but does not otherwise appear in the text of either the tablet or envelope. Ahum in TFR 1 4E also is not mentioned but this text is partially broken. Sin-nadin-sumu, the scribe in TFR 1 6, also sealed the document. Scribes are mentioned in six documents from Puzurum's archive but this is the only case in which he also sealed the contract (the scribe Bazzi is mentioned concerning TFR 1 2/2E and 5/5E; TFR 1 3 was written by Ipqatum; TFR 1 4 by ... IB-BI-tum; TFR 1 9 by Tarim-Sakim). Three names in the by-scripts of TFR 1 4E are unreadable.

The persons sealing the document do not seem to have placed their seal on the document in any particular order except that the seller, as mentioned above, in the three cases where the seller is identified as such through the by-script, had his seal rolled on the top left margin or top edge. After the uppermost rolling we may have rollings of witnesses, indemnified witnesses, or even names not otherwise mentioned in the text, in no special order. Since we can tell, in some instances at least, that the sealings were rolled from the bottom up, e.g., TFR 1 5, it may be that there was in effect little care taken as to the placement of the rollings on the tablets. It is interesting to note that in the choice of who would seal the contracts the indemnified witnesses were not given preference over other witnesses; most of the indemnified witnesses, as well as other witnesses, did not seal the document at all. This situation, whereby only a small percentage of the witnesses mentioned in the document were able to impress their seal on the document itself, may be specific to Terqa since here we have such a large number of witnesses mentioned in the documents.

In the case of the rollings on the envelopes, they do not have to be in the same order as those on the tablets. However, the rollings on the envelopes usually are the same people as those who have sealed the tablets, but not invariably. For instance, the envelope *TFR* 1 5E has the rolling of Abih-el and Idin-Dagan who are mentioned in the contract itself as witnesses but who only sealed the envelope.

WITNESSES, SEALS AND BY-SCRIPTS ON CONTRACTS
FROM THE ARCHIVE OF PUZURUM

CHART 1

TABLET/	PARTIES MENTIONED	NUMBER OF	NUMBER OF	
ENVELOPE NO.	IN TEXT ¹	SEALS ROLLED	BY - SCRIPTS	
TFR 1	16	4	2	
<i>TFR</i> 1 1E	2	1	0	
<i>TFR</i> 1 2	18	4	4	
<i>TFR</i> 1 2E	17 ²	3	4	
TFR 1 3 ³	21	3	0	
TFR 1 4 ⁴	14	0	0	
<i>TFR</i> 1 4E	18	1+ 5	6	
<i>TFR</i> 1 5	32	6	5	
<i>TFR</i> 1 5E	296	6	5	
<i>TFR</i> 1 6	21	5	3	
<i>TFR</i> 1 8	19	0	0	
<i>TFR</i> 1 8E	15 ⁷	28	2	
TFR 1 9	13	3 °	3	
TFR 1 10	6 ¹⁰	0	011	

¹This category includes buyer, seller, indemnified witnesses, other witnesses, and the scribe where mentioned. It also includes names which are partially complete or are inferred from the text by Rouault in *TFR* 1.

² A part of this envelope is missing; the preserved portion of the envelope has the same text as *TFR* 1 2 and the same seal impressions. The impressions, however, are not in the same order in *TFR* 1 2E as on *TFR* 1 2.

³The text of the envelope *TFR* 1 3E is very short and does not mention names of the parties; it does have rollings of one seal.

⁴ Several lines of this text are missing or partially missing; at least one fragment of the tablet (F18) contains part of an impression with a by-script.

⁵ This envelope is too fragmentary to determine the type and number of seals rolled on it.

⁶ The names and the arrangement are slightly different on TFR 1 5 and TFR 1 5E.

⁷The text is broken at the list of witnesses but parts of some names are visible.

⁸This envelope has most of its left edge broken.

⁹This includes the garment hem impression of Hazibum.

¹⁰ This contract is only fragmentary; the names of the buyer and seller are not preserved.

¹¹ There are 34 citations here but because of overlapping only 27 different persons are actually included.

III

In the Terga contracts discovered thus far the seals could be rolled in any direction on the left margin once it was established whether they were to be placed parallel to the text or at right angles to it. (Even this tendency could be sometimes ignored, e.g., TFR 1 9, see Ill. 1; in this tablet all the extant rollings are parallel to the text but the bottom-most is at right angles to it!) For instance the rollings on Ili-Dumqi's tablet (TFR 1 1) are at right angles to the text with the top of the seal placed so that it was away from the text of the obverse, in the case of the topmost seal belonging to Warad-Kübi (Ill. 3). The bottom-most seal, however, is rolled so that the heads of the figures in the design are next to the text of the obverse (i.e., in the opposite direction). In the contract TFR 1 5 the sealings are rolled parallel to the text but the third one from the top is reversed with respect to the others. It also did not seem to matter if some rollings cut off others having the effect of almost obliterating them, or indeed that some rollings, because of insufficient room, could not have the whole height of the design showing (e.g., the uppermost rolling on the envelope TFR 1 5E). In the rolling of the seal there seems to have been more attention placed on rolling the inscription portion of the seal rather than that of the design in those cases where we have evidence of an inscription; this is common in Old Babylonian sealing practice in general.

One of the interesting questions which could not be answered on the basis of this corpus is the identity of the owners of the seals rolled under the text. These rollings always occur under the text of the obverse and sometimes the reverse. Since they are under the cuneiform it is at times difficult to determine which seal has been used. In those cases when the design of the seal can be identified it is a design already known from the rollings on the margin or edge. However, unfortunately we do not have any of these rollings identified as to the seal owner. At first it appeared that some of the tablets and envelopes were sealed with the same seal under the text and because of that the seal belonged to Puzurum. This occurred because one sealing was repeated on the tablet TFR 1 5 and many envelope fragments. It was first thought that these sealed but uninscribed fragments belonged to a number of envelopes and were thus all sealed by the same person. As it happened this seal impression was preserved on so many envelope fragments because TFR 1 5 actually had two envelopes, both with seal impressions! This was discovered by Olivier Rouault on piecing together the tablets and envelopes. It is now clear that it was neither Puzurum, the buyer, nor the seller who sealed under the text. It could not be Puzurum since the rollings under the text of the various tablets involving Puzurum as the buyer differ one from the other. On the other hand they do not belong to the seller either. In the contract TFR 1 5 we do have a by-script which identifies the rolling of the seller; the design of this rolling, however, is different than the one rolled under the text. In the Eshnunna texts Whiting has noted that the seal rolled under the text is that of a palace official (1977, p. 68). This is probably not the case for the Terqa texts since palace officials are not parties to the contract and are not mentioned in them. It is possible that the rollings under the text belonged to the scribe but in the only case in the archive of Puzurum where we have the scribe sealing the document (TFR 1 6) it is impossible to determine whether or not this same seal had been rolled under the text. (In GC 1 5 a scribe, Aknanu, also sealed the document; see Giorgio Buccellati, Amanda Podany, Olivier Rouault, Terga Data Bases 1: Old Babylonian and Khana Texts through the Fourth Season. Graphemic Categorization 1 (hereafter GC 1), forthcoming.

IV

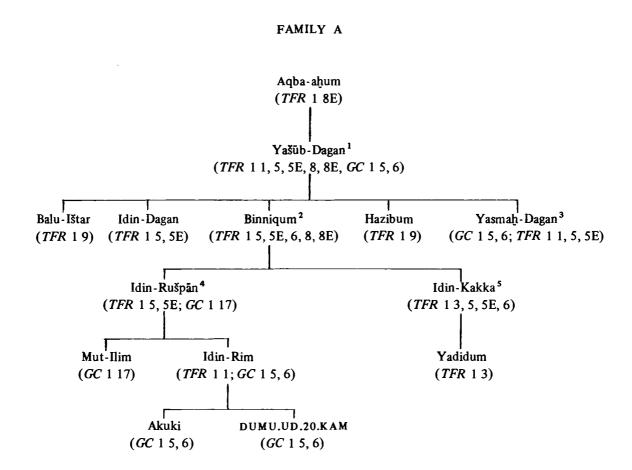
The cuneiform texts containing seal inscriptions and by-scripts excavated at Terqa are providing us with a wealth of information concerning another important aspect of Terqan society—that of its kinship system. Both the excavated texts and those found previous to our excavations are for the most part to be dated to three to six generations during the Khana period. (For a correlation of some of these families with known Khana kings see Buccellati in TFR 1, p. xiv; a further correlation between Khana kings and Terqa families is also part of the dissertation of Amanda Podany on the Terqa texts). Through the names and short genealogies found in these texts we are now beginning to build up lists of families living in Terqa during this time period (see Chart 2). At present we can reconstruct with a fair amount of certainty seven families (or rather parts of families, since most of the women and children are missing from the record) for three generations, one family for four generations, and one family for possibly six generations.

Interestingly enough the texts recovered from the site before our excavations often refer to some of the same persons found in the excavated texts. All our Khana tablets have been excavated from the southeastern portion of the mound (Area C). It is in this area where we think the French excavations of Thureau Dangin and Dhorme took place although this cannot be verified from their publication ("Cinq Jours de fouilles a Asharah [7-11 Septembre 1923]." Syria 5 [1924], pp. 265-293; Giorgio Buccellati and Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, "Terqa Preliminary Reports No. 1: General Introduction and the Stratigraphic Record of the First Two Seasons," Syro-Mesopotamian Studies; 1/3 [1977] pp. 15-18). This is also the area of the mound most destroyed by river erosion. The texts from Terga acquired before our excavations came, in all likelihood, from this disturbed area. This appears to be corroborated by the internal evidence from the texts. It is possible that a limited number of families, among which was the family of Puzurum, lived in this area of the ancient city. It is also possible that these families were related at an extended family level. These kinds of residence patterns based on kinship were common in ancient Mesopotamia and continue to occur today in modern Asharah. One of the research questions now being pursued in Terqa is the possibility of reconstructing kinship data and residence patterns at least through the entire Khana period and into the Mari period—and over the southeastern portion of the mound. A correlation of this material, as well as the architecture and distributional patterns of other types of evidence such as pottery and objects, is presently the subject of two dissertations: those of Mark Chavalas and Daniela Buia Quinn. Terga appears to be an ideal site in which to investigate these types of problems given its intense habitation pattern within a relatively short period of time.

¹ I wish to thank Amanda Podany for reading this article and making some useful suggestions pertaining to Chart 2.

CHART 2

PRELIMINARY RECONSTRUCTION OF SOME KHANA FAMILIES FROM TEROA



¹ A number of persons mentioned in GC 1 5 also are mentioned in GC 1 6.

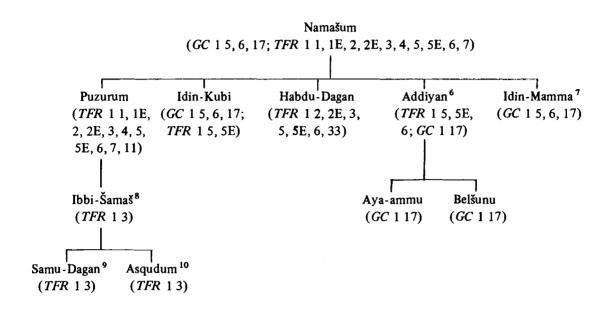
² Probably there is only one Binniqum in our texts, son of Yašūb-Dagan.

³ A Yasmab-Dagan is mentioned in GC 1 18 and TFR 1 2, 2E but without a patronym.

⁴ There are certainly two persons by this name in our texts: the son of Binniqum (*TFR* 1 5, 5E) and the son of Yansibu (*TFR* 1 5, 5E). Therefore it is unclear whether or not Idin-Rim and Mut-Ilim are the grandsons of Binniqum. An Idin-Ruspan is mentioned as a witness in *GC* 1 6 but his father is Ša-u₂-mi. The father of Akuki and DUMU.UD.20.KAM is Idin-Rim but spelled with a divine determinative before the Rim so he is unlikely to be the grandson of Binniqum (see *GC* 1 5, 6).

⁵ This Idin-Kakka, father of Yadidum, is probably the person of that name who is the son of Binniqum. However, there is another person by this name who is called father of king Isar-Lim (GC 1 1). In TPR 7 4 there is another Idin-Kakka UGULA MAR.TU.

FAMILY B





⁶ In TFR 1 2 and 2E, a person named Addiyan is mentioned without a patronym.

⁷This name appears without a patronym in GC 1 10.

⁸He is called innkeeper in the text.

⁹ It is not entirely clear whether or not Samu-Dagan and Asqudum are related to Puzurum, they may be his grandsons or alternatively they might not be related at all. At the same time it is also not clear if they are related to each other; they both serve as witnesses in a contract in which Puzurum is the buyer (*TFR* 1 3) with Samu-Dagan owning a field bordering on the one being bought and serving as an indemnified witness. A Samu-Dagan is mentioned in *TFR* 1 8 without a patronym; this text is, however, dated much earlier than the Puzurum text.

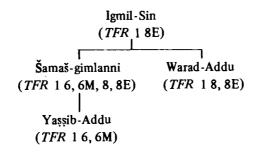
¹⁰ There is another Asqudum, son of Ammi-Samu in TFR 19.

¹¹ A Silli-Dagan is mentioned as a witness in GC 1 12 but without a patronym; two Ṣilli-Dagans are witnesses in GC 1 18. Mar-Ištar is the father of a Ṣilli-Dagan in TFR 1 2, 2E, 5, 5E.

¹²While there is no evidence connecting Aqbu-Dādi, son of Sin-hazir, with Yaškurum, it is a possibility.



FAMILY G



Concordance of GC1 Text Numbers (see p. 138)

```
RA 4 (1897) 85 =
GC 1 1
                                      TCL 1 237
GC 1 5
               Journal Asiatique 1909, p. 149ff. =
                                                      TCL 1 238
GC 1 6
               Babyloniaca 3 (1910) 266ff.
GC 1 9
               Syria 5 (1924) 269ff.
GC \ 1 \ 10 =
               Syria 5 (1924) 269, 274ff.
GC \ 1 \ 12 =
               Syria 5 (1924) 269, 271
               Syria 5 (1924) 269, 272f.
GC \ 1 \ 13 =
GC \ 1 \ 17 =
              MAOG 4 (1928-29) 1-6
GC \ 1 \ 18 =
              RA 34 (1937) 184
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¹³There are certainly two persons with the name of Yakun-Addu in the Terqa texts; the other one is the son of Yašub-Addu (GC 1 17).

¹⁴ In GC 1 17 his name is spelled Igmil-Ninkarrak. This must be the same person but with a different spelling since the son's name is the same in both cases.

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INSIGHT THROUGH IMAGES

Studies in Honor of Edith Porada

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Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati

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INTRODUCTION

As a celebration of Edith Porada's achievements, a number of her colleagues and friends have come together to honor her with the fruits of their research.

Her academic contribution has become a cornerstone in our present understanding of ancient Near Eastern art. Especially in the study of cylinder seals, she brought early in her career a highly perceptive insight and rigorous scholarly methodology to an infant field, setting it on a firm foundation stylistically and chronologically—a foundation on which we all rely today. Her sensitivity to ancient art and especially to its historical, chronological, and archaeological context has been unparalleled in developing a new appreciation for ancient Near Eastern culture. Through her help, the ancient world of images has become a world of insight for us.

Outstanding as they are, her academic accomplishments have been paralleled by her human qualities of warmth and encouragement. Teaching, to Edith Porada, is not just a matter of imparting information, scientifically; it is a total devotion of interest, time, and energy. Through her enthusiasm for the ancient Near East, she is able to thrust the individual student onto a higher plane of involvement in the field. It is not without reason that her students call each other members of her "Porada family." For Edith there is no dividing line between private life and professional life. To the friend of the ancient Near East, the door of her home is open at all hours, as several of us have personally experienced. It is the advance of science over this whole broad field that she has made her personal concern. Her encouragement of young scholars throughout the world is an example for all.

Reflecting the wide ranging interests and contacts that she maintains and the high regard for her around the world, the editors and contributors to this volume come from her former students and from her colleagues in America, Europe, and the Near east.

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