

Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep

Animal encounters in the ancient Near East

Edited by Laerke Recht & Christina Tsouparopoulou



Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep Animal encounters in the ancient Near East

Edited by Laerke Recht & Christina Tsouparopoulou

with contributions from

Francesca Alhaique, Troels Pank Arbøll, Laura Battini, Malwina Brachmańska, Franco D'Agostino, Anne Devillers, Hekmat Dirbas, Neil Erskine, Marina Fadum, Jill Goulder, Haskel J. Greenfield, Tina L. Greenfield, Ben Greet, Carina Gruber, Tuna Kalaycı, Michael Kozuh, Aren M. Maeir, Timothy Matney, Alice Mouton, Seraina Nett, Olga V. Popova, Louise Quillien, Laerke Recht, Licia Romano, Jon Ross, Szilvia Sövegjártó, Christina Tsouparopoulou, Lorenzo Verderame, Andréa Vilela, John Wainwright & Chikako E. Watanabe

Published by:
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
University of Cambridge
Downing Street
Cambridge, UK
CB2 3ER
(0)(1223) 339327
eaj31@cam.ac.uk
www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk



McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2021

© 2021 McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. *Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep* is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 (International) Licence: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

ISBN: 978-1-913344-05-4

On the cover: Shepherd with sheep, palace ruins in background, photograph taken by Gertrude Bell at Mashetta, Jordan in March 1900; A_232 , The Gertrude Bell archive, Newcastle University.

Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge. Typesetting and layout by Ben Plumridge.

Edited for the Institute by Cyprian Broodbank (Acting Series Editor).

CONTENTS

		vi ix x xii xvi
Chapter	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1
	Laerke Recht & Christina Tsouparopoulou	2
	Animal agency and human-animal interactions Animals in ritual and cult	2 3
	Blurred lines: humans as animal, animals as humans	4
	Managing animals	5
	Animals in society and as a resource	5
	Symbols of power: birds Companions and working animals: equids and dogs	7 8
	Avenues for future research	9
Part I	Animal agency and human-animal interactions	
Chapter		15
Chapte	Lorenzo Verderame	10
-	The Fox in Enki and Ninhursaĝa	15
	Dumuzi and the Fly	16
	Lugalbanda and Anzu	17 18
	Ninurta and the Anzu's chick Inanna, Šukaletuda, and the Raven	18
	Conclusions: magical helpers and the metamorphosis human-animal	19
Chapter	in Sumero-Akkadian texts	23
,	Andréa Vilela Canines from the 'inside': dogs	23
	Canines from the 'in-between': stray dogs	25
	Canines from the outside: wolves and foxes	26
(Conclusion	28
Chapter	mummies, iconography and epigraphy	31
,	Marina Fadum & Carina Gruber	01
	Human–cat relationships in ancient Egypt: the cat as an animal mummy Human–canine relationships in ancient Egypt: the dog as companion animal	31 33
	Conclusion	34
Part II	Animals in ritual and cult	
Chapter	Encountered animals and embedded meaning: the ritual and roadside fauna of second	
	millennium Anatolia	39
1	Neil Erskine	20
	Deleuze, Guattari, and reconstructing ancient understanding Landscape, religion, and putting meaning in place	39 40
	Creatures, cult, and creating meaning	41
]	Folding animals in ritual	41
	Bulls, boars, birds	42 44
	Folding animals on the road Human–animal interactions	
	Conclusion	46 49

The The	The dogs of the healing goddess Gula in the archaeological and textual record of ancient Mesopotamia Seraina Nett dogs of Gula in Mesopotamian art Isin dog cemetery dogs of Gula in Ur III documentary sources iclusion	55 56 59 60
Fau The Disc Disc Disc	Between sacred and profane: human–animal relationships at Abu Tbeirah (southern Iraq) in the third millennium BC Francesca Alhaique, Licia Romano & Franco D'Agostino erials and methods nal assemblage from Area 1 faunal assemblage from Grave 100 Area 2 cussion on dog findings cussion on equid findings cussion on aquatic taxa eral conclusions	63 63 66 68 69 70 72
Part III	Blurred lines: humans as animals, animals as humans	
The The Mer	Dog-men, bear-men, and the others: men acting as animals in Hittite festival texts ALICE MOUTON at did the animal-men look like? social status of the animal-men animal-men's actions in impersonating animals in rituals acclusions	79 79 81 83 87 87
Chapter 9	The fox in ancient Mesopotamia: from physical characteristics to anthropomorphized literary figure	95
The The The	SZILVIA SÖVEGJÁRTÓ criptions of physical and behavioural characteristics of the fox fox as anthropomorphized literary figure fox in the animal world fox and the divine sphere character of the fox as a reflection of human nature	95 97 97 99 100
Cun Uga Bibl Aral	Animal names in Semitic toponyms Hekmat Dirbas Heiform sources Initic Ical Hebrew Bic Ical Hebrew Ical Hebrew Ical Hebrew Ical Hebrew	103 105 105 106 109
	The king as a fierce lion and a lion hunter: the ambivalent relationship between the king and the lion in Mesopotamia	113
Roy	Снікако E. Watanabe association between the king and the lion al lion hunt abolic mechanism	113 115 118

Part IV	Managing animals	
Chapter 12	An abstract Agent-Based Model (ABM) for herd movement in the Khabur Basin, the Jazira Tuna Kalayci & John Wainwright	125
Herd	animals as geo-agents of landscape transformation	128
	nodology	130
Resu		134
Conc	clusions	135
Chapter 13	An ox by any other name: castration, control, and male cattle terminology in the	
,	Neo-Babylonian period	139
	Michael Kozuh	
Anth	ropology and terminology	139
	e castration and Babylonian terminology	140
An o	x by any other name	141
Term	inology and ritual purity	142
Chapter 14	What was eating the harvest? Ancient Egyptian crop pests and their control	147
,	Malwina Brachmańska	
Anci	ent Egyptian crop pests	147
Anci	ent Egyptian pest control	151
Part V	Animals in society and as a resource	
Chapter 15	Stews, ewes, and social cues: commoner diets at Neo-Assyrian Tušhan	161
	Tina L. Greenfield & Timothy Matney	4.4
	ground	161
	al sources of evidence for peasant household economy and diet	163 164
	rchaeological data on commoner households from Tušhan el building: assumptions about the status of food sources	166
	sets: faunal consumption and disposal patterns	167
	portions of domesticated sheep/goat (<i>Ovis/Capra</i>) and status	171
	distribution of wild resources	172
	ussion: elite and commoner diets	174
Chapter 16	A new look at eels and their use in Mesopotamian medicine	179
	Troels Pank Arbøll	
	\hat{u} in cuneiform sources	179
	ical uses of the <i>kuppû-</i> eel	180
	tifying the <i>kuppû-</i> eel	182
	clusion	184
Appe	endix 1: Editions of prescriptions utilizing the <i>kuppû</i> -eel	184
Chapter 17	Wild fauna in Upper Mesopotamia in the fourth and third millennia BC Anne Devillers	193
Intro	duction	193
The i	conographic corpus	193
	archaeozoological record	199
	pothetical potential fauna constructed through predictive niche evaluation	200
Conc	lusions	201
Part VI	Symbols of power: birds	
,	Waterfowl imagery in the material culture of the late second millennium BC Southern Levant Ben Greet	207
	material	207
	rious symbols	214
	markers	216
Conc	lusion	217

Chapter 19 Ducks, geese and swans: Anatidae in Mesopotamian iconography and texts Laura Battini	221
Difficulties of the research	221
Anatidae in the natural world	224
Anatidae in the human world	226
Anatidae in the divine world	228
Conclusions	229
Chapter 20 Wild ostriches: a valuable animal in ancient Mesopotamia	235
Olga V. Popova & Louise Quillien	
Ostriches and royal ideology	236
The use of the animal and its by-products at royal courts	241
Conclusion	243
Part VII Companions and working animals: equids and dogs	
Chapter 21 Face to face with working donkeys in Mesopotamia: insights from modern development	
studies	249
Jill Goulder	
Donkey-mindedness	249
Modern studies	250
Breeding and supply	252
Hiring and lending The role of person-to-person dissemination	253 254
Short-distance transportation	254
Transforming women's lives?	257
And finally, ploughing	258
Summing up	259
Chapter 22 Sacred and the profane: donkey burial and consumption at Early Bronze Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath	263
Haskel J. Greenfield, Jon Ross, Tina L. Greenfield & Aren M. Maeir	
Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath	263
The Early Bronze occupation at Area E	264
The sacred asses of Tell es-Sâfi/Gath	267
The profane asses of Tell es-Şâfi/Gath	269
Conclusions	274
Chapter 23 Dogs and equids in war in third millennium BC Mesopotamia	279
Christina Tsouparopoulou & Laerke Recht	
Symmetrical relation: companionship	279
Asymmetrical relation: dog eat equid	284
Conclusion	287

CONTRIBUTORS

Francesca Alhaique

Servizio di Bioarcheologia, Museo delle Civiltà, Piazza G. Marconi 14, 00144 Rome, Italy Email: francesca.alhaique@beniculturali.it

Troels Pank Arbøll

Linacre College, University of Oxford, St Cross Road, Oxford OX1 3JA

Email: troels.arboell@gmail.com

Laura Battini

UMR 7192, CNRS-Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 Paris, France Email: laura.battini@college-de-france.fr

Malwina Brachmańska

Department of Archaeology, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, 61-614, Poland Email: malwina.brachmanska@gmail.com

Franco D'Agostino

Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali, 'Sapienza' Università di Roma, Circonvallazione Tiburtina, 4, 00185 Rome, Italy

Email: franco.dagostino@uniroma1.it

Anne Devillers

Royal Belgian Institute of Natural Sciences, Rue Vautier 29, 1000 Brussels, Belgium Email: as.devillers@gmail.com

HEKMAT DIRBAS

Ohio State University, 314 Hagerty Hall, 1775 College Rd, 43210 Columbus, OH, USA Email: dirbas.hek@hotmail.com

Neil Erskine

School of Humanities, University of Glasgow, 1 University Gardens, Glasgow G12 8QQ Email: Neil.Erskine@glasgow.ac.uk

Marina Fadum Independent researcher Email: fadum@gmx.at

IILL GOULDER

UCL Institute of Archaeology, 31–34 Gordon Square, Bloomsbury, London WC1H 0PY Email: j.goulder@alumni.ucl.ac.uk

HASKEL J. GREENFIELD

Near Eastern and Biblical Archaeology Laboratory, St. Paul's College, University of Manitoba, 144-70 Dysart Road, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2M6, Canada Email: haskel.greenfield@umanitoba.ca

TINA L. GREENFIELD

Department of Religion and Culture, St. Thomas More College, University of Saskatchewan, 1437 College Dr, Saskatoon SK S7N 0W6, Canada Email: tlgreenfield@gmail.com

BEN GREET

Department of Religious Studies, University of Zurich, Kantonsschulstrasse 1, 8001 Zürich, Switzerland

Email: benjamin.greet@gmail.com

CARINA GRUBER

Independent researcher Email: carina.gruber1991@gmail.com

Tuna Kalayci

Faculteit Archeologie, Leiden University, Einsteinweg 2, 2333 CC Leiden, The Netherlands Email: t.kalayci@arch.leidenuniv.nl

Michael Kozuh

Department of History, Auburn University, 331 Thach Hall, Auburn, AL 36849-4360, USA Email: mgk0001@auburn.edu

Aren M. Maeir

The Institute of Archaeology, The Martin (Szusz) Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 5290002, Israel

Email: arenmaeir@gmail.com

TIMOTHY MATNEY

Department of Anthropology, University of Akron, Olin Hall 237, Akron, OH 44325-1910, USA Email: matney@uakron.edu

ALICE MOUTON

UMR 8167, CNRS Paris, 27 rue Paul Bert, 94204 Ivrysur-Seine Cedex, France Email: alice.mouton@cnrs.fr

Seraina Nett

Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Engelska parken, Thunbergsvägen 3H, Sweden

Email: seraina.nett@lingfil.uu.se

Olga V. Popova

Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Rozhdestvenska st., 12, Moscow, Russian Federation

Email: olga.v.popova@gmail.com

Louise Quillien

CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), ArScAn laboratory (Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité), Nanterre, 92000, France Email: louise.quillien@cnrs.fr

Laerke Recht

Department of Early Eastern Mediterranean Civilisation, Institut für Antike, University of Graz, Universitätsplatz 3/II, 8010 Graz, Austria Email: laerke.recht@uni-graz.at

Licia Romano

Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali, 'Sapienza' Università di Roma, Circonvallazione Tiburtina, 4, 00185 Rome, Italy

Email: licia.romano@uniroma1.it

Jon M. Ross

Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, MB R3T 2N2, Canada Email: rossj313@myumanitoba.ca Szilvia Sövegjártó

University of Hamburg, Hauptstrasse 67, 69214 Eppelheim, Germany

Email: ssoveg@gmail.com

CHRISTINA TSOUPAROPOULOU

Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, 72 Nowy Świat St., 00-330 Warsaw, Poland & McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge CB2 3ER

Email: ct272@cam.ac.uk

Lorenzo Verderame

Istituto Italiano di Studi Orientali, 'Sapienza' Università di Roma, Circonvallazione Tiburtina, 4, 00185 Rome, Italy

Email: lorenzo.verderame@uniroma1.it

Andréa Vilela

Laboratoire Archéorient, Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 7 rue Raulin, F-69365 Lyon cedex 07, France

Email: andrea.vilela@univ-lyon2.fr

JOHN WAINWRIGHT

Department of Geography, Durham University, Lower Mountjoy, South Road, Durham DH1 3LE, UK

Email: john.wainwright@durham.ac.uk

CHIKAKO E. WATANABE

Faculty of International Studies, Osaka Gakuin University, 2-36-1 Kishibe-Minami, Suita-shi, Osaka 564-8511 Japan

Email: chikako@ogu.ac.jp

Figures

1.1	Fat-tailed sheep at the site of Nığde-Kınık Höyük, Nığde Province, Turkey.	2
1.2	Carved ivory lion (probably furniture element) from Nimrud, 9th–8th centuries BC.	5
1.3	Two faience jerboa figurines, Egypt, possibly from the Memphite Region (с. 1850–1640 вс).	6
1.4	Ivory blinker carved with a sphinx. From Nimrud, 8th century BC.	7
1.5	Ostrich eggshell converted to vessel. From Ur, Mesopotamia, Early Dynastic III (c. 2550–2400 вс).	8
5.1	Animal-shaped vessels from Kültepe.	42
5.2	Bull- and boar-vessels from Kültepe.	43
5.3	Eagle-shaped vessel from Kültepe.	43
5.4	Animal vessels rhizome.	44
5.5	Hypothesized early second millennium Assyrian trade networks.	45
5.6	Hypothesized early second millennium routes between Kültepe and the Lower Euphrates.	45
5.7	Likely animal presence within the corridor of hypothesized routes.	47
5.8	Landscape rhizome.	48
6.1	Middle Babylonian kudurru showing the dog as a symbol for the goddess Gula.	56
6.2	Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal: Gula seated on a throne with a dog at her feet.	57
6.3	Impression of a Late Babylonian stamp seal: Gula seated on her throne with a dog at her feet.	57
6.4	The overall height distribution of the dog skeletons from the Isin dog cemetery.	58
6.5	The mastiffs of Ashurbanipal. Relief from the North Palace in Nineveh.	59
7.1	Plan of the site with excavation areas and canals.	64
7.2	Plan of Area 1 Cemetery and latest activities.	65
7.3	Plan of Area 1 Building A with location of sub-pavement graves.	66
7.4	Plan of Area 2 with location of Grave 100, the equid burial, the dog burial, and other graves.	67
7.5	Dog burial in Room 22 – Building A (Area 1).	68
7.6	Equid burial in Area 2.	70
7.7	Fish specimens.	71
11.1	Metaphor explained by the 'primary' and 'secondary' subjects.	114
11.2	Lion with flashing eyes.	114
11.3	Lion-hunt stele from Uruk, Eanna III.	115
11.4	Lion-hunt relief of Ashurnasirpal II, from Room B, Northwest Palace, Nimrud, c. 865 BC.	115
11.5	Narrative scheme of the lion-hunt reliefs of Ashurbanipal in Room C, North Palace at Nineveh.	116
11.6	Drawing of relief representing the god Ninurta pursuing Anzû, entrance to the Ninurta Temple, Nimrud.	117
11.7	Clay sealing bearing the stamp of the Assyrian royal seal, Nineveh, 715 BC.	118
11.8	Assyrian royal seal.	119
12.1	Upper Mesopotamia and the Khabur Basin.	126
12.2	The Khabur Basin with a dense network of hollow ways, location of Tell Brak marked.	128
12.3	A CORONA historical satellite image preserves details of the radial route system around Tell Brak.	129
12.4	Variable herd movement strategies differentially alter landscapes.	129
12.5	Hollow ways visible on the TanDEM-X Digital Elevation Model.	132
12.6	Variations in profiles may indicate differential traffic, hydrological systems, and/or preservation conditions.	132
12.7	TanDEM-X DEM around Tell Brak; the DEM after Gaussian Filtering and Sink Filling.	133
12.8	The ABM gives herd animals an equal chance of picking any given hollow way.	133
12.9	The results of the ABM from four main scenarios.	135
12.10	Close-up views of one of the hollow ways around Tell Brak.	136
14.1	Capturing common quails, Tomb of Mereruka, Saqqara, VI dynasty.	151
14.2	Ostracon from Deir el-Medina, Ramesside period.	153
14.3	Mouse trap, el-Lahun, XII dynasty.	154
15.1	Location of Ziyaret Tepe.	162
15.2	Topographic plan of Ziyaret Tepe.	162
15.3	Photograph of the obverse of cuneiform text ZTT14, docket for receipt of grain by bakers.	163
15.4	Plan of the Late Assyrian architectural remains from Operation K, later level of occupation.	165
15.5	Histograms of relative percentage frequencies of wild taxa.	168
15.6	Relative frequencies of domestic and wild taxa from individual buildings.	169

15.7	Stacked histogram of the combined domestic taxonomic frequencies for each Operation.	170
15.8	Stacked bar graph of portions for Ovis/Capra by building.	171
15.9	Relative percentage frequencies of wild taxa within corrected wild populations of each building.	173
15.10	Stacked histogram of percentage frequencies of good, bad, and ugly wild species within each Operation.	174
16.1	A Mesopotamian spiny eel.	182
16.2	Neo-Assyrian relief displaying an eel.	183
17.1	Sites of provenance of the iconographic material and regional clusters.	194
17.2	Localization of the sites in relation to potential vegetation zones.	195
17.3	Wild ungulates appearing most frequently in early Near Eastern glyptic.	196
17.4	Relative frequency of wild ungulates representations by region.	197
17.5	Number of lion representations in each region.	198
17.6	Absolute number of representations of carnivores other than the lion.	199
17.7	Historic range of the cheetah.	201
18.1	Scarab/Plaque No. 8. Enstatite scarab seal from Hebron.	210
18.2	Waterfowl-shaped scaraboid No. 7. Found at Gezer.	210
18.3	Painted ceramic duck head found at Beth Shean.	211
18.4	Three waterfowl-shaped ceramic bowls atop perforated cylindrical stands found at Tell Qasile.	212
18.5	Ivory cosmetic box in the form of a waterfowl found at Megiddo.	213
18.6	Drawings of two of the ivory panels found at Megiddo.	214
18.7	Ivory panels found at Tell el-Far'a (South).	215
19.1	Modern birds.	222
19.2	Different breeds of birds represented on different media.	223
19.3	A miniature chair representing geese in natural 'milieu'. Old Babylonian period, from Diqdiqqah.	225
19.4	Cylinder seals with geese.	226
19.5	Toys in the shape of a goose.	227
19.6	Personal ornaments from Ur.	227
19.7	Culinary text.	228
19.8	The Goose Goddess.	229
19.9	Incised and painted vase from Larsa.	230
20.1	Modern impression of a cylinder seal, Tello, Early Dynastic period.	236
20.1	Modern impression of a cylinder seal, Nesopotamia, Middle Assyrian period.	237
20.2	Cylinder seal and its modern impression, Mesopotamia, Neo-Assyrian period.	238
20.3	Cylinder seal and its modern impression, Mesopotamia, Middle Assyrian period.	239
20.4	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	239
	Cylinder seal and its modern impression, Mesopotamia, Neo-Babylonian period, 1000–539 вс. Cylinder seal, Northern Mesopotamia, с. 1600–1000 вс.	240
20.6		
21.1	Interviewing farmers in western Ethiopia.	251
21.2	Thrice-weekly donkey market in western Ethiopia.	253 255
21.3	Carrying bricks in India.	
21.4	Donkeys with 100 kg grain-sacks at Yehil Berenda market, Addis Ababa.	256
21.5	Kenyan woman with seven children carrying food home from market.	257
21.6	Woman ploughing with a donkey in central Burkina Faso.	258
22.1	Map showing location of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath.	264
22.2	Map of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath archaeological site with the location of the various excavation areas.	265
22.3	Plan of the E5c Stratum, Area E, Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath, with location of donkey burial pits.	266
22.4	Photograph of sacrificial donkey.	267
22.5	Photographs of the three donkey burials beneath Building 17E82D09.	268
22.6	Histogram of Equus asinus osteological element frequency.	272
22.7	Plantar face of Equus asinus third phalange bone with butchery slicing marks.	272
22.8	SEM photograph of butchery slicing marks on the donkey (Equus asinus) first phalange.	273
23.1	Detail of the War side of the Standard of Ur.	280
23.2	Clay door peg sealing.	280
23.3	Digital reproduction of cylinder seal VA 2952.	281
23.4	Seal impression from Tell Mozan.	282
23.5	Sites with equid, dog and equid-dog depositions in the third millennium BC.	282

23.6	Tell Madhhur Tomb 5G plan.	283
23.7	Tell Brak Area FS 'Caravanserai', Akkadian period, Level 5.	284
23.8	Sargon stele.	285
Tables		
1010100		
5.1	Anatolian Middle Bronze Age chronology.	41
7.1	Faunal remains from relevant contexts in Abu Tbeirah.	67
8.1	Chart summarizing the textual data about these characters interacting with animal-men.	83
8.2	Chart summarizing the textual data presented in the chapter.	88
15.1	Model of expectations for typical patterns of faunal distributions within elite and commoner residences.	166
15.2	Utility index of combined body portions and associated element categories.	167
15.3	Relative percentage frequencies of wild taxa.	168
15.4	Relative percentage frequency of domestic versus wild taxa, buildings A/N, G, K, M and U.	169
15.5	Relative frequency distributions for domestic taxa.	170
15.6	Percentage frequencies of body portion categories of good, bad, and ugly for Ovis/Capra.	171
15.7	Relative frequency distributions for wild taxa in commoner buildings and elite buildings.	173
17.1	Predicted presence of large mammals in the different vegetation belts.	200
18.1	Scarabs and plaques with waterfowl iconography.	208
18.2	Waterfowl-shaped scaraboids.	211
18.3	Fragmentary ceramic waterfowl heads.	212
18.4	Waterfowl-shaped ivory cosmetic boxes.	213
22.1	Frequency distribution of non-articulated Equus asinus bone elements.	270
22.2	Frequency distribution of non-articulated Equus asinus bone elements by age groups.	271
22.3	Frequency (NISP) of Stratum E5c Equus asinus osteological elements by depositional context.	271
23.1	Calculation of meat weight.	287

Abbreviations and sigla

ABL	Harper, R.F., 1892–1914. Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, 14 volumes. Chicago: University	ARM 30	Durand, JM., 2009. La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari. (Archives royales de Mari 30.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.
AHw	of Chicago Press. von Soden, W., 1959-1981. Akkadisches Handwör- terbuch. Wiesbaden.	AUCT 1	Sigrist, M., 1984. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum.</i> (Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 1.) Berrien Springs:
AKA I	Wallis Budge, E.A. & L.W. King, 1902. Annals	D 134 1	Andrews University Press.
	of the Kings of Assyria: The Cuneiform Texts with Translations and Transliterations from the Original Documents in the British Museum. Vol. I. London:	BabMed	Babylonian Medicine online [no year]: 'Corpora', https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/babmed/Corpora/index.html
	The Trustees of the British Museum.	BAM	Köcher, F., 1963–1980. <i>Die babylonisch-assyrische</i>
AMT	Campbell Thompson, R., 1923. <i>Assyrian Medical Texts</i> . Milford, Oxford: Oxford University Press.		<i>Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen,</i> 6 Vols. Berlin: De Gruyter.
AnOr 8	Pohl, A., 1933. Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden	BCT 1	Watson, P.J., 1986. Neo-Sumerian Texts from
	aus den Berliner staatlichen Museen. (Analecta Orientalia 8.) Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.		Drehem. (Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum I.) Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
AO	Siglum of objects in the Louvre Museum, Paris	BIN 1	Keiser, C.E., 1917. <i>Letters and Contracts from Erech</i>
	(Archéologie Orientale).		Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period. (Babylonian
ARM 2	Jean, ChF., 1950. <i>Lettres diverses</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 2.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.		Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, vol. 1.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
ARM 9	Birot, M., 1958. Textes administratifs de la Salle	BIN 3	Keiser, C.E., 1971. Neo-Sumerian Account Texts
	5 du Palais. (Archives royales de Mari 9.) Paris:		from Drehem. (Babylonian Inscriptions in the
173.540	Lib. Paul Geuthner.		Collection of B.J. Nies, vol. 3.) New Haven: Yale
ARM 10	Dossin, G., 1978. Correspondance feminine. (Archives royales de Mari 10.) Paris: Lib. Paul	BM	University Press. Siglum for objects in the British Museum,
	Geuthner.	DIVI	London.
ARM 14	Birot, M., 1974. Lettres de Yaqqim-Addu, gouverneur	BPOA	Biblioteca del Proximo Oriente Antiguo (Madrid:
	de Sagarâtum. (Archives royales de Mari 14.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.		Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006ff.)
ARM 15	Bottero, J. & A. Finet, 1954. Repertoire analytique	BPOA 6	Sigrist, M., & T. Ozaki, 2009a. Neo-Sumerian
	des tomes I à V. (Archives royales de Mari 15.)		Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian
ARM 26	Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner. Durand, JM. <i>et al.</i> , 1988. <i>Archives épistolaires de</i>		Collection. Part One (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 6.) Madrid: Consejo Superior
7111117 20	Mari. (Archives royales de Mari 26.) Paris: Lib.		de Investigaciones Científicas.
	Paul Geuthner.	BPOA 7	Sigrist, M., & T. Ozaki, 2009b. Neo-Sumerian
ARM 27	Birot, M., 1993. Correspondance des gouverneurs de		Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian
	<i>Qaṭṭunân</i> . (Archives royales de Mari 27.) Paris: Lib. Paul Geuthner.		Collection. Part Two (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 7.) Madrid: Consejo Superior
ARM 28	Kupper, JR., 1998. <i>Lettres royales du temps de</i>		de Investigaciones Científicas.
	Zimri-Lim. (Archives royales de Mari 28.) Paris:	BRM 1	Clay, A.T., 1912. Babylonian Business Transactions
	Lib. Paul Geuthner.		of the First Millennium B.C. (Babylonian Records

CAD	in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Part 1.) New York: Privately printed. The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of	HSS 14	Lacheman, E.R., 1950. Excavations at Nuzi V. Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, Part 2, The Palace and Temple Archives. (Harvard Semitic Studies
	the University of Chicago. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.	HW ²	14.) Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard Univ. Press. Friedrich, J. & A. Kammenhuber (eds.), 1975–.
CBS	Siglum for objects in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).		Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubear- beitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte. Heidelberg: Winter.
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, https://cdli.ucla.edu	IB IM	Siglum for finds from Isin (Isan Bahriyat). Siglum for objects in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
CHD	Goedegebuure, P.M., H.G. Güterbock, H.A. Hoffner & T.P.J. van den Hout (eds.), 1980–. <i>The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: The Oriental	ITT 5	de Genouillac, H., 1921. <i>Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Imperial Ottoman</i> . <i>Tome V. Époque présargonique, Époque d'Agadé, Epoque d'Ur III</i> . Paris: Édition Ernest Leroux.
CM 26	Institute. Sharlach, T.M., 2004. <i>Provincial Taxation and the</i>	KAH 2	Schroeder, O. 1922. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, Heft II. (Wissenschaftliche
	<i>Ur III State.</i> (Cuneiform Monographs 26.) Leiden: Brill.		Veroffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 37.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche
CT 22	Campbell Thompson, R., 1906. Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum, vol.	КВо	Buchhandlung. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Bd. 1-22 in Wissen-
CT 32	22. London: British Museum. King, L.W., 1912. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum</i> , vol. 32. London: British	KRI	schaftliche Veroffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft) Leipzig/Berlin, 1916 ff. Kitchen, K.A., 1969–1990. <i>Ramesside Inscrip-</i>
CT 55	Museum. Pinches, T.G. 1982. Cuneiform Texts from Baby-		tions. Historical and Biographical, 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
C1 55	lonian Tablets in the British Museum Part 55.	KUB	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi, Berlin 1921 ff.
СТН	Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts. London: British Museum Publications. Laroche, E. 1971. Catalogue des Textes Hittites.	LAPO 16	Durand, JM., 1997. Les Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome I. (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 16.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
	Paris: Klincksieck.	LAPO 18	Durand, JM., 2000. Les Documents épistolaires du
DAS	Lafont, B., 1985. Documents Administratifs Sumériens, provenant du site de Tello et conservés au		palais de Mari, tome III. (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 18.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
	<i>Musée du Louvre</i> . Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.	LD	Lepsius, C.R., 1849–59. <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen</i> (plates), 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische
DMMA	Siglum for objects in the Département des Mon- naies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.	LKU	Buchhandlung. Falkenstein, A., 1931. <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte</i> <i>aus Uruk</i> . Berlin: Berlin Staatliche Museen zu
DUL	Del Olmo Lete, G. & J. Sanmartín, 2015. A Dic-		Berlin Vorderasiatische Abteilung.
	tionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition. Translated and edited by W.G.E. Wat-	M Moore, Mi	Siglum for texts from Mari.
	son. Third revised edition. 2 vols. (Handbuch der Orientalistik 112.) Leiden: Brill.	1/10010/ 1/11	Moore, E., 1939. Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection. Ann Arbor:
EA	Siglum for the Tell El-Amarna Letters, following the edition of Knudtzon, J. A., 1915. <i>Die</i>	MSL VIII/I	University of Michigan Press. Landsberger, B., 1960. <i>The Fauna of Ancient Meso-</i>
	El-Amarna-Tafeln. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche	,	potamia. First Part: Tablet XIII. (Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon VIII/1.) Rome: Pontificium
ePSD	Buchhandlung. Electronic version of <i>The Pennsylvania Sumerian</i> Dictionary, http://psd.museum.upenn.edu		Institutum Biblicum. [with the assistance of A. Draffkorn Kilmer & E.I. Gordon].
ETCSL	Black, J.A., G. Cunningham, J. Ebeling, E. Flückiger-Hawker, E. Robson, J. Taylor & G. Zólyomi (eds.), 1998–2006. <i>The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> . Oxford, http://etcsl.orinst.	MVN 8	Calvot, D., G. Pettinato, S.A. Picchioni & F. Reschid, 1979. Textes économiques du Selluš-Dagan du Musée du Louvre et du College de France (D. Calvot). Testi economici dell'Iraq Museum Baghdad.
FM 2	ox.ac.uk/ Charpin, D. & JM. Durand (ed.), 1994. <i>Recueil</i>		(Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 8.)
1.141 7	d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot. (Florilegium Marianum II.) Paris: Société pour l'étude du	MVN 11	Rome: Multigrafica Editrice. Owen, D.I., 1982. Selected Ur III Texts from the Harvard Semitic Museum. (Materiali per il Vocabolario
Hh	Proche-Orient ancien. The Series HAR-ra='hubullu', Materials for the Sumerian lexicon (MSL), 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 & 11. Rome:	MZ NBC	Neosumerico 11.) Rome: Multigrafica Editrice. Siglum for finds from Tell Mozan. Siglum for tablets in the Nies Babylonian Col-
	Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1957		lection of the Yale Babylonian Collection.

NCBT	Siglum for tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, now Yale University, New Haven.	SAA 11	Fales, F.M. & J.N. Postgate, 1995. Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration. (State Archives of Assyria 11.)
OIP 99	Biggs, R.D., 1974. Inscriptions from Tell Abu		Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
On 77	Salabikh. (Oriental Institute Publications 99.)	SAA 12	Kataja, K. & R. Whiting, 1995. <i>Grants, Decrees and</i>
		3AA 12	
OID 115	Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.		Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period. (State Archives of
OIP 115	Hilgert, M., 1998. Cuneiform Texts from the Ur	SAA 13	Assyria 12.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
	III Period in the Oriental Institute, Vol. 1: Drehem	3AA 13	Cole, S.W. & P. Machinist, 1998. Letters from
	Administrative Documents from the Reign of Sulgi.		Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhad
	(Oriental Institute Publications 115.) Chicago:		don and Assurbanipal. (State Archives of Assyria
OID 121	The Oriental Institute.	SAA 17	13.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 121	Hilgert, M., 1998. Cuneiform Texts from the Ur	3AA 17	Dietrich, M., 2003. The Neo-Babylonian Correspond-
	III Period in the Oriental Institute, Volume 2: Dre-		ence of Sargon and Sennacherib. (State Archives of
	hem Administrative Documents from the Reign of	C A A 10	Assyria 17.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
	Amar-Suena. (Oriental Institute Publications 121.)	SAA 19	Luukko, M. 2012. The Correspondence of Tiglath-
P	Chicago: The Oriental Institute.		pileser III and Sargon II. (State Archives of Assyria
Г	CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative)		19.) Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus
DDT 1	number.	C A A 20	Project.
PDT 1	Çig, M., H. Kizilyay & A. Salonen, 1956. Die	SAA 20	Parpola, S. 2017. Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic
	Puzris-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologis-		Texts. (State Archives of Assyria 20.) Helsinki:
	chen Museen Teil 1: Texts Nrr. 1-725. (Academia	CATA	The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
	Scientiarum Fennica Annales, série B, tome	SAT 2	Sigrist, M., 2000. Sumerian Archival Texts. Texts
DVC 10	92.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.		from the Yale Babylonian Collection 2. Bethesda:
PKG 18	Orthmann, W., 1985. Der alte Orient. (Propyläen	CE	CDL Press.
DTC	Kunstgeschichte 18.) Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.	SF	Deimel, A., 1923. Schultexte aus Fara. (Wissenschaftliche Veräffentlichung der Deutschen
PTS	Siglum for unpublished texts in the Princeton		schaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen
DCTC	Theological Seminary.		Orientgesellschaft 43.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes.	CD	Buchhandlung.
	(Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen	SP	Alster, B., 1997. Proverbs of Ancient Sumer.
RIMA 2	Orients, Reihe B.) Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1974–.	TCL 12	Bethesda: CDL Press.
KIIVIA Z	Grayson, A.K., 1991. Assyrian Rulers of the Early	ICL 12	Conteneau, G., 1927. Contrats Néo-Babyloniens I,
	First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC). (The Royal		de Téglath-Phalasar III à Nabonide. (Textes cunéi-
	Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods	TCL 13	formes, Musées du Louvre 12.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
	Vol. 2.) Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.	ICL 13	Contenau, G., 1929. Contrats néo-babyloniens II.
RIME 1	Frayne, D., 2008. <i>Presargonic Period</i> (2700–2350 BC).		Achéménides et Séleucides. (Textes cunéiformes,
KIIVIL I	(The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early	TRU	Musées du Louvre 13.) Paris: P. Geuthner. Legrain, L., 1912. <i>Le temps des rois d'Ur: recherches</i>
	Periods Vol. 1.) Toronto: University of Toronto	TRU	sur la société antique d'après des textes nouveaux.
	Press.		(Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 199.)
RIME 4	Frayne, D., 1990. Old Babylonian Period (2003–		Paris: H. Champion.
KIIVIL 4	ž v	TU	Thureau-Dangin, F., 1922. <i>Tablettes d'Uruk à</i>
	1595 Bc). (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Vol. 4.) Toronto: University of	10	l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des
	Toronto Press.		Séleucides. (Musée du Louvre. Département des
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian		antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes.) Paris:
MINAI	Period; Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform		P. Geuthner.
	Corpus, available at http://oracc.museum.upenn.	U.	Siglum for finds from Ur.
	edu/rinap/index.html	UCP 9/1,I	Lutz, H.F., 1927. Neo-Babylonian Administrative
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen	OCI 7/1,1	Documents from Erech: Part I. (University of Cali-
KLA	Archaologie.		fornia Publications in Semitic Philology Vol. 9
RS	Siglum for documents from Ras Shamra (Ugarit).		no. 1/I.) Berkeley (CA): University of California
SAA 2	Parpola, S. & K. Watanabe, 1988. Neo-Assyrian		Press.
571712	Treaties and Loyalty Oaths. (State Archives of	UCP 9/1,II	
	Assyria 2.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	0 (1)/1,11	Documents from Erech: Part II. (University of
SAA 7	Fales, F.M. & J.N. Postgate, 1992. Imperial		California Publications in Semitic Philology Vol.
011117	Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple		9 no. 1/II.) Berkeley (CA): University of California
	Administration. (State Archives of Assyria 7.)		Press.
	Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	UDT	Nies, J.B., 1920. <i>Ur Dynasty Tablets: Texts Chiefly</i>
SAA 10	Parpola, S. 1993. Letters from Assyrian and Baby-	- · -	from Tello and Drehem Written during the Reigns
	lonian Scholars. (State Archives of Assyria 10.)		of Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin and Ibi-Sin. Leipzig:
	Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.		J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
	2		

Abbreviations and sigla

VA	Siglum for objects in the Vorderasiatisches		et d'Histoire in Genf. Naples: Istituto orientale di
	Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung).		Napoli.
VAT	Siglum for objects/tablets in the Vorderasiatisches	YBC	Siglum for tablets in the Yale Babylonian
	Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung.		Collection.
	Tontafeln).	YOS 7	Tremayne, A., 1925. Records from Erech, Time of
VS 1	Ungnad, A. & L. Messerschmidt, 1907. Vordera-		Cyrus and Cambyses (538-521 B.C.). (Yale Oriental
	siatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen		Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 7.) New Haven:
	zu Berlin. Vol. 1, Texts 1–115, Königliche		Yale University Press.
	Museen zu Berlin. Sammlung der Vorderasi-	YOS 8	Faust, D.E., 1941. Contracts from Larsa, dated in the
	atischen Altertümer. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche		Reign of Rim-Sin. (Yale Oriental Series, Babylo-
	Buchhandlung.		nian Texts, vol. 8.) New Haven: Yale University
VS 16	Schröder, O., 1917. Altbabylonische Briefe.		Press & London: H. Milford, Oxford University
V 2 10	(Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der		Press.
	königlichen Museen zu Berlin 16.) Leipzig: J.C.	YOS 11	van Dijk, J., A. Goetze & M.I. Hussey, 1985.
	Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.	10511	Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals. (Yale
VS 17	van Dijk, J. 1971. Nicht-kanonische Beschwörungen		Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 11.) New
V 3 17	und sonstige literarische Texte. (Vorderasiatische		Haven: Yale University Press.
		YOS 17	
	Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu	105 17	Weisberg, D.B., 1980. Texts from the Time of
TATE	Berlin 17.) Berlin: Akademie Verlag.		Nebuchadnezzar. (Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian
WB	Erman, A. & H. Grapow (eds.), 1971. Wörterbuch	1/00 10	Texts, vol. 17.) New Haven: Yale University Press.
	<i>der ägyptischen Sprache,</i> 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie	YOS 19	Beaulieu, PA., 2000. Legal and Administrative
	Verlag.		Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus. (Yale Oriental
WMAH	Sauren, H., 1969. Wirtschaftsurkunden aus der Zeit		Series, Babylonian Texts, vol. 19.) New Haven:
	der III. Dynastie von Ur im Besitz des Musée d'Art		Yale University Press.

Preface

Augusta McMahon

The chapters in this volume invert traditional approaches to past human-animal relationships, placing animals at the forefront of these interactions and celebrating the many ways in which animals enriched or complicated the lives of the inhabitants of the ancient Near East. The authors embrace insights from text, archaeology, art and landscape studies. The volume offers rich evidence for the concept that 'animals are good to think' (Levi-Strauss 1963), enabling humans in categorizing the world around us, evaluating our own behaviours, and providing analogies for supernatural powers that are beyond humans' control. However, totemism has never fit the ancient Near East well, because most animals had varied and endlessly complicated relationships with their human associates, as these chapters vividly describe. Taboos on eating or handling animals ebbed and flowed, and the same animal could have both positive and negative associations in omen texts. Animals were good (or bad) to eat, good (or bad) to think, good (or bad) to live with (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010) and good (or bad) to be. Through detailed, theoretically informed and well-supported case studies, this volume moves the study of humananimal-environment interactions forward, presenting animals as embedded actors in culture rather than simply objectified as human resources or symbols.

The chapters in the first section emphasize the agency of animals via their abilities to resolve crises for humans and deities and to shift between animal and human worlds. Animals have paradoxical affects: as metaphors for wilderness and chaos, or as valued companions, helpers, or votive sacrifices. The variety of interactions and assumptions cautions us to treat animals, as we do humans, as individuals. Reconstruction of animals in past rituals has a long history, usually focused on animals associated with the gods and/or animals used in formal religious sacrifice. But the chapters in the second section also examine

the impact of lesser-known animals and less formal encounters, e.g., in the landscape or in funeral contexts within the home. The value and meanings of animals could vary with context.

The fascination engendered by hybrid or composite figures is also well represented. The persistence of composite figures in the Near East, from fourth millennium BC human-ibex 'shamans' on northern Mesopotamian Late Chalcolithic seals to *lamassu* and *mušhuššu* of the first millennium BC, suggests that the division and recombination of animal body elements fulfilled a human need to categorize powerful forces and create a cosmological structure. The anthropomorphizing of animals is another facet of the flexibility of animal identifications in the past. The authors here also grapple with the question of whether composite images represent ideas or costumed ritual participants.

The chapters also cover the most basic of animalhuman relations, that of herd management, use in labour, and consumption, digging deeply into details of mobility, breeding and emic classifications. Economic aspects of the human-animal relationship are currently being rejuvenated through archaeological science techniques (e.g., isotopes, ZooMS), which give us unparalleled levels of detail on diet, mobility, herd management, and species. Matching these insights from science, the issues raised here include the value of individual animals versus that assigned to species, the challenges of pests, the status ascribed to and reflected by different meat cuts, animals as status and religious symbols, and animals' tertiary products or uses (e.g., transport versus traction, bile). These studies allow a more detailed reconstruction of Near Eastern economy and society, as well as emphasizing the flexibility of the relationships between animals, as well as between human and animal.

The authors implicitly advocate for a posthumanist multispecies ethnography, which incorporates

nonhumans and argues for equal care to be given to nonhumans in the realms of shared landscapes, violence, labour and especially ecology (Kirksey & Helmreich 2010; Kopnina 2017; Parathian et al. 2018). This approach advocates for nonhumans' agency in creating shared worlds, in contrast to the traditional approach to animals as symbols or resources in the service of humans. Going forward, the challenge will be to convert the acknowledgement of equal cultural contribution into support for nonhuman species to speak for themselves; this shift from passive subject of research inquiry to genuine active agency in academic writing does not have an easy or obvious path, and many nonhuman animals may be overlooked. Indeed, multispecies ethnography ideally seeks to incorporate plants, microbes, stones and more (Ogden et al. 2013; Smart 2014), many of which are ephemeral in the archaeological record and all but omitted in ancient texts. However, ancient texts do support a new approach which questions our modern boundaries between species. Our perpetual struggle to translate terms for different species of equids, to distinguish whether a word refers to rats or mice, or to link zooarchaeological remains to lexical lists, reinforces the complexity and flexibility of these concepts, and the futility of attempts at absolute categorization.

The chapters in this volume should inspire colleagues to grapple with animals, nonhumans and contexts that could not be included here. For instance, the snake has as lengthy a history of human engagement in the Near East as does the lion and had similarly unusual powers. While the lion was an icon of strength, the perfect symbol for the proximity of the emotions of awe and fear, the snake has the sneaky ability to slither

between worlds, to avoid capture, and to deliver an almost imperceptible lethal injury. Fear of the snake conquers awe. Like the fox, the presence or actions of the snake, as listed in Šumma ālu, may be positive or negative omens. The snake was present at key moments in both Mesopotamian and Biblical literature; its actions (stealing the plant of immortality, offering the fruit of the tree of knowledge) changed the fate of humans forever. Whether represented coiled and copulating on Late Chalcolithic seals, grasped by Late Uruk 'Masters of Animals' or first millennium BC lamaštu, snakes and their paradoxical nature deserve deep scrutiny. There are many other nonhuman animals deserving of similar problematization and integration, and the eclectic and exciting research stream represented by this volume shows us the way.

References

Kirksey, S.E. & S. Helmreich, 2010. The emergence of multispecies ethnography. *Cultural Anthropology* 25(4), 545–76.

Kopnina, H., 2017. Beyond multispecies ethnography: engaging with violence and animal rights in anthropology. *Critique of Anthropology* 37(3), 333–57.

Levi-Strauss, C., 1963. Totemism. Boston: Beacon Press.

Ogden, L., B. Hall & K. Tanita, 2013. Animals, plants, people and things, a review of multispecies ethnography. *Environment and Society* 4(1), 5–24.

Parathian, H., M. McLennan, C. Hill, A. Frazão-Moreira & K. Hockings, 2018. Breaking through interdisciplinary barriers: human-wildlife interactions and multispecies ethnography. *International Journal of Primatology* 39, 749–75.

Smart, A., 2014. Critical perspectives on multispecies ethnography. *Critique of Anthropology* 34(1), 3–7.

Chapter 2

Animal agents in Sumerian literature

Lorenzo Verderame

Animals play a major role in Sumerian literature¹ in the construction of metaphors and similes (Heimpel 1968; Black 1996; 1998; 2000). Bovines are recalled as a comparison for beauty and might, while rampaging bulls, spitting venom reptiles, gaping mouth felines, and other wild animals provide images of danger and fierceness.

(Sud) stood, the object of admiration, like a magnificent yellow cow.

Enlil and Sud A 8

I am (Šulgi) a dreadful-eye panther generated by the dragon ... I am a gaping-mouth panther of Utu ... I am a mule fit for the road. I am a horse, whose tail waves on the highway. I am a stallion of Šakkan, who loves to

run.

Šulgi A 3, 14, 16–18

Occasionally animals are described as part of the landscape. High quality and exotic animals are mentioned in lists of tributes, sacrifices, and banquets.

> Monkeys, mighty elephants, water buffalo, exotic beasts, Jostle each other in the broad street, Mixed with dogs, lions, mountain ibexes (var.: mountain livestock; horses), and alum sheep with long wool. *The Curse of Agade* 21–3

Apart from being protagonists of fables, proverbs, and debates (Heron and Turtle, Grain and Sheep, Bird and Fish), animals are absent or passive in Sumerian narratives, where gods and humans are the main actors and share the same space and features, even the grammatical ones. In fact, the Sumerian language distinguishes grammatically two classes instead of two genders. The Animate Class (or Class A) is used for animate beings, namely gods and humans. Animals, plants, things, etc., are marked with element of the Inanimate Class (or Class B), unless they are characters in proverbs and disputes.

In a few cases, animals act in human and divine narratives by playing a minor, though crucial, role. This chapter explores such dynamics of animal intervention in divine and human narratives, as well as the relationships between animals, humans, and deities.

The Fox in Enki and Ninhursaĝa

The text known as *Enki and Ninhursaĝa* (= ETCSL 1.1.1; Attinger 1984)² is composed of three narrative blocks: the foundation of Dilmun, the chain creation of a series of deities, and the curse of Enki by Ninhursaĝ and his final recovery. The myth begins with Enki founding and ordering Dilmun. The god gives the site to Ninsikila (Ninhursaĝa), and then copulates with her. Ninhursaĝa becomes pregnant and gives birth to NinSAR. Enki sees the new-born goddess and copulates with her. NinSAR gives birth to Ninkura. Again, Enki sees the new-born goddess and copulates with her. Finally, Ninkura gives birth to Uttu. At this point, Ninhursaĝa advises Uttu; the following passage is fragmentary. It is unclear if the text continued with Ninhursaĝa giving specific instructions to Uttu on how to act with Enki, or something else happens. After a gap of c. 13 lines, the text continues with Uttu asking Enki for fruits (cucumbers, apples, and grapes), which the god obtains from the gardener. Enki goes to the house of Uttu with the fruits and the two gods eventually copulate. However, Ninhursaĝa intervenes and removes Enki's sperm from Uttu; she then creates

eight plants. Enki sees the plants and decides to taste them and fixes their fate. Ninhursaĝa then curses Enki: 'I will never look upon him with an eye of life until he dies!' (l. 220–21). The text is not explicit, but from what follows it is clear that Enki falls ill and becomes paralysed, while Ninhursaĝa escapes and hides herself. The great gods (Anunna) are in despair and sit down on the dust.³ The situation of crisis is solved by the Fox. Ninhursaĝa returns and heals Enki, creating a god for each part of Enki's healed body.

Apart from the beginning, most of the Fox episode in *Enki and Ninhursaĝa* (ll. 223–46?) is lost. Soon after Ninhursaĝa has cursed Enki, the Fox (ka_5 -a) offers help to Enlil in exchange for a reward (ni_3 -ba). Enlil replies to the Fox that he will erect two $\hat{g}i\check{s}gana$ trees for the Fox and its name will be praised. The following lines are full of gaps. Apparently, the Fox unsuccessfully seeks divine help at the beginning, but succeeds at some point in the gap, for Ninhursaĝa returns and heals Enki.

The Fox said to Enki: '(If) I bring back Ninhursaĝa, what will be my reward?' Enlil answered the Fox: '(If) you really bring back Ninhursaĝa, I shall plant two *ĝišgana* trees in my city and make your name renown!' The Fox first anointed its body, First loosed its fur/hair, First put kohl on its eyes. (four lines fragmentary) 'I went [to Nippur(?)] and Enlil [...], I went [to Ur(?)] and Nanna [...], I went [to Larsa(?)] and Utu [...], I went [to Uruk(?)] and Inanna [...], [...] that/who is [...] my life [...]. (seven lines fragmentary)' Enki and Ninhursaĝa 223-46

The Sumerian language does not mark gender grammatically and it is unknown if the Fox is female or male. Even the acts that the Fox performs in ll. 228–30 (anointing the body, loosening the hair/fur, putting kohl over the eyes) cannot be identified as specifically male or female. In this episode, the Fox is not preceded by the divine determinative, but acts as an animate being for the grammatical elements are those of the Animate Class (or Class A).

In Sumerian literature, the fox plays a major role as a cunning and treacherous animal protagonist of proverbs and mentioned in wisdom literature (Vanstiphout 1988; Kienast 2003; Cohen 2017; Verderame 2017a, 396–400). As in other cultures, the eyes and the

tail are the relevant and symbolic parts of the animal. This fame is paralleled in iconography. The fox is often depicted on seals of different periods. Occasionally mid second millennium Babylonian boundary stones (*kudurru*) have the image of a fox or jackal among other gods symbols (Seidl 1989, 143–4) and it may be related to the homonymous Mesopotamian star (MUL.KA5.A; see Deimel 1914, 81; Kurtik 2007, 239–41), possibly to be identified with Alcor (80 *Ursae Maioris*) and also known as a learned name for the planet Mars (Reynolds 1998, 351–52).

Dumuzi and the Fly

Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld (= ETCSL 1.4.1; Sladek 1974; Kramer 1980) is another myth where an animal intervenes to solve a crisis by finding a hidden character. Here, Inanna decides to go to the Netherworld. On arriving in the court, the infernal gods address Inanna with a deadly look, an 'ill body' word, and an accusing scream. Inanna is sentenced to death and transformed into a corpse. With Enki's help, the goddess is revived but cannot leave the Netherworld unless she provides a substitute. Inanna returns from the Netherworld to choose a substitute followed by the infernal gendarmes, the galla. After having excluded the gods of her circle who have correctly observed the mourning for her 'death' (Ninšubur, Šara, Lulal), Inanna chooses her lover Dumuzi as substitute. The galla demons who go with Inanna arrest and beat Dumuzi, while Inanna addresses him with a deadly look, an 'ill internal' word, and an accusing scream. Dumuzi seeks help from the god Utu, asking him to transform his limbs into those of a reptile (muš). Utu grants his request and Dumuzi eventually escapes. In distress, Inanna seeks Dumuzi. The Fly (nim) helps the goddess to find Dumuzi, whose deadly fate is then fixed.4

The passage of the Fly's aid is described in few lines. As with the Fox, the Fly asks Inanna for a reward (ni_3-ba) . Because of the help the Fly offered to Inanna, the goddess fixes the fate of the Fly.

[The Fly] spoke to holy Inanna:
'(If) I [show] you where your man is, what will be my reward?'
[Holy Inanna] answered the Fly:
'If you show me where my man is, this will be your reward:
I will cover [...]!'
The Fly [helped] holy Inanna.
The young lady, Inanna, decreed the destiny of the Fly:
'In the beer-house, may bronze vessels to drink for you.

[You *will live*] like the sons of the wise!' The destiny (decreed by) Inanna [thus] came to be.

Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld 394-403

Contrary to the lost story of the Fox, the Fly's reward is preserved in the text. Despite the fragmentary passage, it is clear that the destiny decreed by Inanna for the Fly will be that of lord/mistress of the beer-house – as with the case of the Fox, it is not possible to determine the gender of the Fly (see above). In Sumerian literature, most references to the fly are related 'to fly like a fly' (nim-gin₇ ... dal) or to the buzzing produced by the fly (bu, nim). However, in one passage one can find the direct association of the fly with beer. In The Home of the Fish, the fish is persuaded to enter his 'house' (trap) describing an idyllic situation, clearly opposite to normal life, 'No flies buzz around in your house where beer is poured out' (e2 ki kaš de2-a-zu nim numu-un-bu-bu-bu, l. A 8). The relation of Inanna with the alehouse is well-known, as for example, in Inanna I A 16–17, where it is mentioned: 'When I sit in the alehouse, I am a woman, and I am an exuberant young man', or in the The Song of the Ploughing Oxen 146–7: 'In the alehouse, the joy Inanna a place of relaxation'. Moreover, in the Akkadian Epic of Gilgameš (X 1) the goddess Ištar appears to Gilgameš as Šiduri, the tavern-keeper (sābītu) living by the seashore.

Lugalbanda and Anzu

Lugalbanda and Anzu (= ETCSL 1.8.2.2; Wilcke 1969) is either the seguel to Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave or is part of the same composition. In Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave, after the protagonist has departed from Uruk towards Aratta, he falls ill and lies in the cave until he is finally recovered. At the beginning of Lugalbanda and Anzu, Lugalbanda is lost in the midst of the mountains. In order to reach his brothers and Uruk's army besieging Aratta, he seeks the help of Anzu, the mythical lion-headed eagle. The episode detailing the meeting of Lugalbanda and Anzu is very long; at two hundred lines, it comprises half of the entire composition, the second part of which describes the siege of Aratta and the Uruk victory. In brief, Lugalbanda finds Anzu's nest and feeds its chicks with fine food, paints their eyes with kohl, and puts eren's scent on them. Then he hides, waiting for Anzu to return to the nest.

Lugalbanda is knowledgeable and he achieves great things.

To (the preparation of) the sweet breads for the gods

He added carefulness to carefulness.
On the bread *dough* he spreads honey and he added more honey to it.
He set them before the nest of the Anzu's chick,
He gave the chick fatty meat to eat. He fed it sheep's fat.
He *placed nindaidea*-breads into its beak.
He laid down the Anzu's chick in its nest, Painted its eyes with kohl,
Placed white *eren* onto its head,
Put up a ... of salt meat onto its head. *Lugalbanda and Anzu* 50–60

When Anzu arrives, he is pleased with his chick and wants to fix a good fate for the one who did this. Lugalbanda shows himself to Anzu and the mythical bird decrees his destiny. First, Anzu offers him precious metals and piles of grain, apples, and cucumbers with which he can return to Kulaba, but Lugalbanda refuses (ll. 132–41). Second, Anzu offers him magic arrows, but Lugalbanda refuses (ll. 142–8). Third, Anzu offers him mythical weapons (helmet, breastplate, battle-net), but Lugalbanda refuses (ll. 149–54). Fourth, Anzu offers him plenty of milk and dairy products, but Lugalbanda refuses (ll. 155–59). Finally, Lugalbanda asks for the power of running instead.

Holy Lugalbanda replied to him: 'Let the (power of) running be on my shoulder and that I will never be tired! Let there be strength in my arms, Let me stretch my arms wide, let my arms never become weak! Like the sunlight, moving, like Inanna, Like the seven storms, the storms of Iškur, Let me raise like a flame, blaze like lightning! Let me go wherever I look to, Set foot wherever I raise my eyes, Reach wherever my heart desires, And in whatever place my heart has named to me let me spread my sandals!'

Lugalbanda and Anzu 167–77

In exchange for the good fate decreed by Anzu, Lugal-banda promises that he will fashion a marvellous wooden statue of Anzu and make his name renowned across Sumer.

When Utu will let me enter my city, Kulaba,

• • •

I will make the woodcarvers fashion a statue of you, and you will stay as an object of admiration,

Your name will be made manifest in Sumer

And in the temple(s) of the great gods it will stay for fitting.

Lugalbanda and Anzu 181-83

Differently from the stories of the Fox and the Fly, Anzu is marked by the Inanimate Class (or Class B) elements, although he speaks and acts as an animate being. Furthermore, the gender of Anzu can be determined by Lugalbanda assertion '"You shall be my father" he said' (za-e ad-da- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ he₂-me-en bi₂-in-du₁₁) in l. 127, paralleled by the assertion '"Your spouse shall be my mother" he said' (dam-zu ama- $\hat{g}u_{10}$ he₂-am₃ bi₂-in-du₁₁) in the previous line.

In the story of *Lugalbanda and Anzu*, Lugalbanda's first act, the care of Anzu's chick, is a kind of present that facilitates contact with the mythical bird. After four good fates offered by Anzu, all refused by Lugalbanda, the latter asks for a specific power, that of running, which is granted by Anzu. The reward of Anzu is Lugalbanda's promise to fashion a statue⁶ and make Anzu's name famous.

Ninurta and the Anzu's chick

Not Anzu, but his chick acts at the beginning of a myth known as *Ninurta and the Turtle* (= ETCSL 1.6.3; Alster 1972). The story seems to be a sequel to the Akkadian Anzu myth. It begins after the defeat of Anzu by Ninurta. Struck by the god, Anzu drops the MEs, the divine plans (ĝiš-hur), and the Tablet of destinies which return to the *abzu*. Possibly with the intent of recovering them, Anzu's chick (amaranzu^{mušen}) takes Ninurta by the hand and leads him to the *abzu* of Enki, where the rest of the composition takes place.

At [the words (of the chick?)] of Anzu Ninurta filled with treachery (or: was silent in treachery).

[Ninme]na gave out a wail:

'As for me, its divine powers (me) have not fallen into my hand. Shall I not exercise their authority?

Shall [I] not live like him *in* the shrine in the *abzu*?'

Father Enki in the *abzu* knew what had been said.

The Anzu chick took the hero Ninurta by his hand

And drew near with him to Enki to the *abzu*.

The Anzu chick returned Uta-ulu (Ninurta) to the *abzu*.

The lord rejoiced for the hero,
Father Enki rejoiced for the hero
Ninurta.

Ninurta and the Turtle B 5-14

In this composition, another animal intervenes, the turtle ($ba-al-gu_7$). Fashioned by Enki from clay, the turtle is used to ambush Ninurta. It grabs the tendon of Ninurta and draws him down in a pit that it has excavated. The turtle is a creature of Enki, obeying its master's orders, and has no active role in the development of the story.

Inanna, Šukaletuda, and the Raven

The last example of animal agents can be found in the myth known as *Inanna and Šukaletuda* (= ETCSL 1.3.3; Volk 1995). The myth is composed of two parts with different protagonists. After the description of Inanna's departure from heaven and various gaps, the text continues (l. 49) with the story of the Raven (uga^{mušen}) and the creation of the date palm (Verderame 2020). The second part contains the story of Šukaletuda, the gardener, who sexually abuses the goddess Inanna who is resting in his garden. Šukaletuda escapes the quest and the rage of the goddess thrice thanks to the help of his father, probably Enki, but Inanna eventually finds him. The goddess punishes Šukaletuda, but at the same time she decrees his future fame.

At the beginning of the story, the protagonist is the Raven, then changes to Šukaletuda. The crucial point that merges the two stories, where the protagonist changes from the Raven to Šukaletuda, is lines 91–2.

[... Šukale]tuda was his name, [Son] of Igisigsig, the [gardener(?)], Was to water [garden plots] And was to build a well [among the plants].

Inanna and Šukaletuda 91–4

It is generally assumed that Šukaletuda is a new character introduced in these very lines. Considering his activities, the word 'gardener' is usually hypothesized in the gap of l. 91 (Volk 1995, 58), being the gardener a main character in the Sumerian and Akkadian literature (Besnier 2002; Rendu Loisel 2013). Igi-sig₇-sig₇ (lit. 'very green eye/face'), which appears in the following line and who is supposed to be the father of Šukaletuda, is identified as 'the chief-gardener of An' in the gods

list An = Anum (192) $nu-\hat{g}_{18}$ kiri₆-an-na-ke₄). Furthermore, Šukaletuda has been identified with Išullānu, the gardener, lover of Ištar, transformed into a toad in the *Epic of Gilgameš* (Volk 1995, 53–64; see note 7). However, the relationship between the two stories and the change of protagonist in *Inanna and Šukaletuda* has never been properly examined and it is possible that an identification of the Raven with Šukaletuda cannot be excluded *a priori*.

For the purpose here, the story of the Raven is the relevant part of the composition. After a gap in the lines 42–8, Enki calls the Raven and instructs it as follows:

The kohl of/for the Eridu's art of exorcism, With oil/fat and water in a lapis-lazuli bowl
Placed in the room of the *agrun*You ... with the axe and chew.
Then *plant* (it in?) a watered trench (lit. swamp) for leeks in a vegetable plot;
Then you should [pull out (?) ...]. *Inanna and Šukaletuda* 51–6

The Raven follows Enki's instruction and something odd happens. From the mix of the 'watered trench for leeks' and the 'vegetable plot', a new and unknown plant grows, the date palm.

A plant growing in a plot like leeks,
An *enemy* standing up (var.: growing straight) like a leek, who had ever seen it before?

It *gathered* [...], *continued growing* ...
A bird like the Raven performing the

work of man,
Breaking upward the clod and settling it
downward,

Breaking downward the clod and raising it upward,⁷ who had ever seen it before? The Raven raised on the *enemy* And with a harness climbed up *to the sky* the date palm.

Inanna and Šukaletuda 66–73

After a fragmentary line where the Raven does something with the kohl (l. 74), follows a description of the date palm, its parts and their uses (ll. 75–84). The passage of the bird performing man's tasks is repeated (ll. 85–7). The story of the Raven ends as it began, with it entering the *abzu*, after which begins Šukaletuda narrative.

At its master's command, the Raven entered the *abzu*.

Now, what did one say to another? Did [...] add a single thing? Inanna and Šukaletuda 88–90

The kohl (šembi, šem-bi-zi) deserves further attention. It appears several times in the Raven's story and it may be a link with Sukaletuda. The kohl is used for the eyes and there may be a relationship between the kohl and the episode of Sukaletuda's story when the protagonist complains that the storm wind has struck his eyes with the dust of the mountain (igi-gu₁₀ saharkur-ra im-mi-ib-ra, l. 146). Furthermore, the name of the supposed father of Šukaletuda, Igi-sig₇-sig₇, is composed of the terms 'eye' (igi) and 'green' (sig₇). Kohl is usually described as 'green' (e.g. šem-bi sig₇-sig₇-ga-bi, Lugal-e 636) and, in the lexical lists, Igi-sig₇-sig₇ is equated to amurriqānu 'jaundice' (CAD A s.v. 91–2), whose symptoms are often green/yellow (sig₇) eyes or face, and to sinnurbû (CAD S s.v. 294), possibly similar to sinlurmâ (CAD S s.v. 285), a disease of the eyes; see also $\check{s}i\check{s}\hat{u}$ (CAD \check{S}_3 s.v. 127).

In this composition, the Raven is marked with Animate Class (or Class A) grammatical morphemes and it is not possible to determine its gender. As for the fox, the uga^{mušen}, identified with the raven (Weszeli 2007), is a popular character in literature, particularly in fables and proverbs (Veldhuis 2004, 299–301; Verderame 2017a, 402–3) as well as in divination (Guinan 2018). The bird depicted on *kudurrus* may be a crow or a raven (Seidl 1989, 148–9). The Raven star (MUL.UGA^{mušen}), possibly to be identified with Corvus constellation (Deimel 1914, 47–9; Kurtik 2007, 557–61), is often used as a learned name for Mars, as the Fox star (see above; not mentioned in Reynolds 1998).

A raven makes its appearance in another Sumerian composition, *Enlil and Namzitara*. In this brief composition, Enlil appears to Namzitara disguised as a raven. Notwithstanding Enlil's disguise, Namzitara recognizes the god and receives from Enlil a good fate in reward.

Conclusions: magical helpers and the metamorphosis human-animal

Sumerian literature conveys the idea of a divinehuman connection. Civilized humans live in the city, a space ordered and protected by the divine presence in the temple (Verderame 2011); animals are almost omitted in this ideal structure. In divine and human narratives, animals may be listed as objects or, in the case of wild and exotic animals, as a mark of alterity regarding the civilized urban life. Even in Sumerian language, gods and humans are marked by the same grammatical class (Animate/A), as opposed to the others, including animals, which are marked by another class (Inanimate/B).

In a few cases, animals escape their objectification or anthropomorphizing, which is typical of wisdom literature. The animals acting in the compositions discussed here are not common animals. First, they speak and perform 'human' actions. Some are mythical beings such as Anzu, and others act in mythical time and their fate will be fixed as a consequence of their actions (fox, fly). Except for the fly, all the others (fox, raven, Anzu) are important figures in Mesopotamian culture. They either have a position in the pantheon and a role in mythical narrative (Anzu) or are popular animal protagonists in wisdom literature (fox, raven). Apart from their presence in the textual record, they are documented in iconographic sources and their fame is further demonstrated by celestial identification with astral bodies (fox, raven, Anzu⁸).

Two literary motifs can be outlined from the passages discussed above: the animal intervention and the metamorphosis. Firstly, the animal intervenes to solve at a critical moment or impasse. This is the case of the Fox in *Enki and Ninhursaga* and the Fly in Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld. Both animals help in the quest of a hidden character and ask for a reward (ni₃-ba 'share'). Thus, the god, Enlil or Inanna, fixes the animal's fate, the destiny or a feature the animal will have from that moment onward. This theme may be found in relationship to Anzu and his chick as well. In Lugalbanda and Anzu, Anzu helps Lugalbanda, who is separated from the rest of the Uruk's army and lost in the middle of the mountains. In Ninurta and the Turtle, Anzu's chick leads Ninurta to the place where the story will take place, the *abzu*.

In terms of the narrative structure, according to Propp's folktale analysis, they can be described as magical helpers or donors (Propp 1965, 6; 1977, 179–206). They help the protagonist in his quest in exchange for a gift. This is the fate rewarded to the Fox, the Fly, and Anzu. This is also true for Anzu's chick, who becomes a 'magical helper' after the hero defeats Anzu. In fact, the story of Ninurta and the Turtle begins after Ninurta's victory over Anzu. As Anzu, most of the defeated 'chaotic monsters' become the god's serfs and assistants. They are lieutenants of the god or appear as guardians of the temple gates. This is the case of Ninĝirsu/Ninurta's adversaries (Wiggermann 1992, 151-64; Heimpel 1996), as well as Marduk's in the later tradition. This can also be the case with the seven assistants of Hendursaĝa, described as animals or beings with animal features, which may be the forerunners of the Seven demons (Verderame 2017a,b). The latter are represented as animal-headed beings in first millennium iconography and are assistants of the god Nergal and help Gilgameš in his travel to the Kur (*Gilgameš and Huwawa*).

The second motif emerges from the story of the Raven in Inanna and Šukaletuda, which is different from the other stories. The Raven is the main protagonist of the first part of the story, substituted by Šukaletuda in the second part. It is difficult to determine the relationship between the Raven and Sukaletuda and, particularly, if the animal is identified or becomes human. However, we know that in later traditions, the opposite happens: Šukaletuda is transformed into an animal instead. In the famous list of Ištar's lovers in the *Epic of Gilgameš* (VI 32–79), Gilgameš holds the list of her doomed partners against the goddess. The list begins with Dumuzi, followed by two animals (the alallu-bird and the horse) and two men, Išullānu, the gardener, and the shepherd. Išullānu can be identified with Sukaletuda. The two humans are transformed into animals by the goddess: Išullānu into what is perhaps a toad, the shepherd into a wolf. Metamorphosis is well documented in Mesopotamian tradition. In Sumerian language literature, we may recall the case of Dumuzi animal transformations in order to escape the chasing demons (*Dumuzi's Dream*, Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld) or Enlil disguised as a raven in Enlil and Namzitara discussed above. The metamorphosis of human into animal bridges the apparent gap or, instead, establishes the boundaries between the two entities and opens a different perspective on the human-animal relationship.¹⁰

Notes

- For overviews and introductions to Sumerian literature see Krecher 1978, Edzard & Röllig 1987, Rubio 2009, Verderame 2016. Most of the Sumerian literature is available on the *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (= ETCSL, http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk); an updated bibliography of Sumerian literature is presented by Attinger 2019. In this article the reconstruction of the main text as well as line numbering follows ETCSL's, while translations in English from Sumerian are mine.
- For the interpretation of the myth, see Kirk 1970, 91–9; Rosengarten 1971, 7–38; Civil 1973; Alster 1978; Dickson 2007; Rodin 2014; Ceravolo 2019.
- This is an act of affliction often accompanied by interjection of woe. The expression 'the lord said "Oh!" and sat in the dust' (en-e u₈ bi₂-in-du₁₁ sahar-ra ba-anda-tuš/ba-da-an-tuš) is used for Gilgameš after the encounter with the ghost of Enkidu in *Gilgameš*, *Enkidu and the Netherworld* A 253 and for Lugalzagesi in *Sargon and Ur-Zababa* C 7. However, it is also used specifically as part of mourning. After Inanna descends

- to the Netherworld, Ninšubur, Šara, and Lulal 'sat in the dust and clothed himself in a filthy garment' (saharra im/ba-da-an-tuš tug₂-mu-dur₇-ra ba-an-mu₄, The Descent of Inanna to the Netherworld 308, 331, 341); see in general Alster 1983, and in a comparative and anthropological perspective, De Martino 1958. This interpretation fits perfectly with the state of death or non-life of Enki decreed by a negation of life meant in Ninhursaĝa's curse. Note that also the passage of Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld A 253 refers to a mourning contest as may well be the case for Sargon and Ur-Zababa C 7, but because it is fragmentary we do not know the news brought by the messenger to Lugalzagesi that cause his distress.
- 4 In the *The Dream of Dumuzi*, it is the friend who betrays Dumuzi revealing where the god hides, after the *galla* have offered him 'a river of water' and a 'field of grain' and he accepted them (ll. 142–43).
- The second, third, and fourth presents of Anzu are related to the gods Šara, Ninurta, and Dumuzi introduced in the very first line of the section: 'Like Šara, beloved son of Inanna, shoot forth with your barbed arrows like a sunbeam' (142) dšara2 dumu-ki-aĝ2-dinana-gin7 143) ti zu2-zu-a u4-gin7 e3-i3); 'May Ninurta, the son of Enlil, cover your head (lit. skull) with the helmet "Lion of Battle"' (149) dnin-urta dumu-den-lil2-la2-ke4 150) tug²saĝšu piriĝ-me3-a ugu-za he2-eb-dul); 'The plenty of Dumuzi's holy butter churn …' (149) he2-ĝal2 dugšakir ku3-dumu-zi-da-[ka-ka]).
- 6 For images of Anzu in Mesopotamian temples, see Pongratz-Leisten 1995.
- These lines have been translated differently by Volk 1995, followed by ETCSL, who hypothesizes that the 'lump' (lag) is the counterweight of a *shadouf*, thus the Raven would move upward and downward the watering tool to irrigate the date palm; see the discussion in Volk 1995, 53–64. Volk's hypothesis is suggestive and may be right, but I have preferred to give a more direct translation of the Sumerian text. Note that in the history of Išullānu (see below) the gardener is transformed into an animal, possibly the toad, 'who cannot go up ... who cannot go down ...' (*ul e-lu-ú mi-ih-ha ul a-rid da-l[u(-)* x x x x], *Epic of Gilgameš* VI 78), the same movement performed by the Raven in *Inanna and Šukaletuda*'s passage (⁷⁰⁾ lag an-še₃ sag₃-ge-da ki-še₃ tuš-u₃-da ⁷¹⁾ lag ki-še₃ sag₃-ge-da an-še₃ e₃-de₃-da).
- For the Anzu star, see Deimel 1914, 79, and Kurtik 2007, 219–21; as the Fox star and the Raven star, Anzu star is known as a learned name for Mars, see Reynolds 1998, 355.
- 9 The role played by the animal in these cases may recall that of the *deus ex machina* or ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεός of the Greek tragedy, who intervenes and solves a seemingly unsolvable situation. However, some relevant differences must be drawn between the cases here discussed and the *deus ex machina*. First, the *deus ex machina* is a scenic trick and its context is that of the tragedy. Second, the agents that intervene to solve the impasse are gods. This is the case of Homeric compositions as well, where the gods influence human events by helping their

- human protégés. I am grateful to Roberto Nicolai for his observations on this point.
- 10 For an overview of the sources, see Sonik 2012; an article on metamorphosis in Sumerian and Akkadian literature is in preparation by Andrea Rebecca Marocchi Savoi and the present writer.

References

- Alster, B., 1972. 'Ninurta and the Turtle', UET 6/1 2. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 24, 120–5.
- Alster, B., 1978. Enki and Ninhursag. *Ugarit-Forschungen* 10, 15–27.
- Alster, B., 1983. The mythology of mourning. *Acta Sumerologica* 5, 1–16.
- Attinger, P., 1984. Enki et Ninhursaĝa. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 74, 1–52.
- Attinger, P., 2019. Compléments à l'article Literatur de D.O. Edzard, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 7, 1/2 (1987) 35–48 (choix). https://zenodo.org/record/2585707#.XfnxMi-2h0Wo. [accessed 12/18/19]
- Besnier, M.-F., 2002. Temptation's garden: the gardener, a mediator who plays an ambiguous part, in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July* 2–6, 2001, eds. S. Parpola & R.M. Whiting. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 59–70.
- Black, J. A., 1996. The imagery of birds in Sumerian poetry, in *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, eds. M. E. Vogelzang & H. L. J. Vanstiphout. Groningen: Styx, 23–46.
- Black, J. A., 1998. *Reading Sumerian Poetry*. London: Athlone. Black, J. A., 2000. Les bêtes qui parlent: les animaux dans les récits mythologiques sumériens. *Topoi Suppl.* 2, 367–82.
- Capomacchia, A.M.G., 1977. La mitica aquila Anzu. *Studi storico-religiosi* 1, 373–75.
- Ceravolo, M., 2019. L'ambiguità coerente di Enki e Ninhursaĝa. Historia Religionum 11, 119–37.
- Civil, M., 1973. From Enki's headaches to phonology. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32, 57–61.
- Cohen, Y., 2017. Heads or tails? The transmutations and peregrinations of a sapiential theme, in 'Now It Happened in Those Days:' Studies in Biblical, Assyrian, and Other Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Mordechai Cogan on His 75th Birthday, vol. 2, eds. A. Baruchi-Unna, T.L. Forti, Sh. Ahituv, I. Eph'al & J.H. Tigay. Winona Lake (IN): Eisenbrauns, 539–52.
- Collins, B.J. (ed.), 2002. A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East. (Handbuch der Orientalistik I/64.) Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill.
- De Martino, E., 1958. *Morte e pianto rituale nel mondo antico*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Deimel, A., 1914. Pantheon babylonicum: nomina deorum e textibus cuneiformibus excerpta et ordine alphabetico distributa. Romae: Sumptibus Pontificii instituti biblici.
- Dickson, K., 2007. Enki and Ninhursag: the trickster in paradise. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66, 1–32.
- Edzard, D.O. & W. Röllig, 1987. Literatur, in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie, VII*, ed. D.O. Edzard. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 35–66.

- Foster, B.R., 2002. Animals in Mesopotamian literature, in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, ed. B.J. Collins. Leiden Boston Köln: Brill, 271–88.
- Foster, B.R., 2005. *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*. 3rd edition. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Guinan, A.K., 2018. Crow omens in Mesopotamia, in 'The scaffolding of our thoughts': Essays on Assyriology and the History of Science in Honor of Francesca Rochberg, eds. C.J. Crisostomo, E.A. Escobar, T. Tanaka & N. Veldhuis. Leiden & Boston: Brill, 15–25.
- Heimpel, W., 1968. *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur*. (Studia Pohl 2.) Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
- Heimpel, W., 1996. The Gates of the Eninnu. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 48, 17–29.
- Kienast, B., 2003. *Iškar šēlebi: Die Serie vom Fuchs*. (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 22.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Kirk, G.S., 1970. Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramer, S.N., 1980. Sumerian literature and the British Museum: the promise of the future. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124, 295–312.
- Krecher, J., 1978. Sumerische Literatur, in *Altorientalische Literaturen*, ed. W. Röllig. Wiesbaden: Athenaion, 100–50.
- Kurtik, G.E., 2007. ЗВЕЗДНОЕ НЕБО ДРЕВНЕИ MECOПОТАМНН [The Star Heaven of Ancient Mesopotamia]. St. Petersburg: Aletheia.
- Pongratz-Leisten, B., 1995. Anzû-Vögel für das É.ḤÚL.ḤÚL in Ḥarrān, in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, eds. U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann & H. Hauptmann. Mainz: von Zabern, 549–57.
- Propp, V.J., 1965. *Morphologie du conte*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil. [Морфология сказки, Leningrad: Academia, 1928]
- Propp, V.J., 1977. Le radici storiche dei racconti di magia. Roma: Newton Compton. [Исторические корни волшебной сказки, Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo ordena Lenina universiteta, 1946]
- Rendu Loisel, A.-C., 2013. Heurs et malheurs du jardinier dans la littérature sumérienne, in *Mondes Clos: Cultures et jardins*, eds. D. Barbu, P. Borgeaud, M. Lozat & Y. Volokhine. Gollion: Infolio, 67–84.
- Reynolds, F., 1998. Unpropitious titles of Mars in Mesopotamian scholarly tradition, in *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East: Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Prague, July 1–5, 1996*, ed. J. Prosecký. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 347–58.
- Rodin, T., 2014. The World of the Sumerian Mother Goddess: An Interpretation of Her Myths. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Rosengarten, Y., 1971. Trois aspects de la pensée religieuse sumérienne. Paris: de Boccard.

- Rubio, G., 2009. Sumerian literature, in *From an Antique Land: An Introduction to Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed.
 C.S. Ehrlich. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 11–75.
- Seidl, U., 1989. Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 87.) Fribourg & Göttingen: Academic Press & Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sladek, W.R., 1974. *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld*. PhD dissertation, unpublished. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University.
- Sonik, K., 2012. Breaching the boundaries of being: metamorphoses in the Mesopotamian literary texts. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132, 385–93.
- Vanstiphout, H.L.J. 1988. The importance of 'The Tale of the Fox'. *Acta Sumerologica* 10, 191–227.
- Veldhuis, N., 2004. *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition* Nanše and the Birds. (Cuneiform Monographs 22.) Leiden: Brill.
- Verderame, L., 2009. La vestizione di Inanna, in *Abiti, corpi, identità. Significati e valenze profonde del vestire*, ed. S. Botta. Florence: Società Editrice Fiorentina, 63–73.
- Verderame, L., 2011. L'immagine della città nella letteratura sumerica, in *Città nel Vicino Oriente e nel Mediterraneo.*Linee di storie e di simboli dall'antichità ad oggi, eds. R. Dolce & A. Pellitteri. Palermo: Flaccovio, 99–126.
- Verderame, L., 2016. Letterature dell'antica Mesopotamia. Firenze / Milano: Le Monnier / Mondadori Education.
- Verderame, L., 2017a. The seven attendants of Hendursaĝa: a study of animal symbolism in Mesopotamian cultures, in *The First Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, eds. L. Feliu, F. Karahashi & G. Rubio. Boston & Berlin: De Gruyter, 389–408.
- Verderame, L., 2017b. On the early history of the Seven demons (Sebettu), in From the Four Corners of the Earth: Studies in Iconography and Cultures of the Ancient Near East in Honour of F. A. M. Wiggermann, eds. D. Kertai & O. Nieuwenhuyse. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 283–96.
- Verderame, L., 2020. «Io sostituisco i cereali!»: origine e primato della palma nelle culture dell'antica Mesopotamia. *Ocula* 21, 11–36.
- Verderame L., in press. 'Canine instincts and monkeys' features:' animal and demonic traits in the construction of 'otherness' in Sumerian literature, in *Studies in Honor of Mario Liverani*, eds. L. Milano & L. Mori. Münster: Zaphon.
- Volk, K., 1995. Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Literaturwerkes. (SANTAG 3.) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Weszeli, M., 2007. Rabe(nvögel), in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, XI, ed. M. P. Streck. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 210–13.
- Wiggermann, F.A.M., 1992. Mesopotamian Protective Spirits. The Ritual Texts. (Cuneiform Monographs 1.) Groningen: Styx & PP.
- Wilcke, C., 1969. Das Lugalbandaepos. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep

Animals have always been an integral part of human existence. In the ancient Near East, this is evident in the record of excavated assemblages of faunal remains, iconography and – for the later historical periods – texts. Animals have predominantly been examined as part of consumption and economy, and while these are important aspects of society in the ancient Near East, the relationships between humans and animals were extremely varied and complex.

Domesticated animals had great impact on social, political and economic structures – for example cattle in agriculture and diet, or donkeys and horses in transport, trade and war. Fantastic mythological beasts such as lion-headed eagles or Anzu-birds in Mesopotamia or Egyptian deities such as the falcon-headed god Horus were part of religious beliefs and myths, while exotic creatures such as lions were part of elite symbolling from the fourth millennium BC onward. In some cases, animals also intruded on human lives in unwanted ways by scavenging or entering the household; this especially applies to small or wild animals. But animals were also attributed agency with the ability to solve problems; the distinction between humans and other animals often blurs in ritual, personal and place names, fables and royal ideology. They were helpers, pets and companions in life and death, peace and war. An association with cult and mortuary practices involves sacrifice and feasting, while some animals held special symbolic significance.

This volume is a tribute to the animals of the ancient Near East (including Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Levant and Egypt), from the fourth through first millennia BC, and their complex relationship with the environment and other human and nonhuman animals. Offering faunal, textual and iconographic studies, the contributions present a fascinating array of the many ways in which animals influence human life and death, and explore new perspectives in the exciting field of human-animal studies as applied to this part of the world.

Editors:

Laerke Recht is Professor of Early Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Graz, Austria, and a former Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge. She is particularly interested in and has published on human–animal relations in the ancient Near East, Cyprus and Aegean.

Christina Tsouparopoulou is Assistant Professor in Near Eastern Archaeology at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland, Senior Research Associate and Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at the McDonald Institute of Archaeological Research and Fellow of Wolfson College, Cambridge. She specializes in the material and textual culture of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean in the third and second millennia BC.

Published by the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK.

The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research exists to further research by Cambridge archaeologists and their collaborators into all aspects of the human past, across time and space. It supports archaeological fieldwork, archaeological science, material culture studies, and archaeological theory in an interdisciplinary framework. The Institute is committed to supporting new perspectives and ground-breaking research in archaeology and publishes peer-reviewed books of the highest quality across a range of subjects in the form of fieldwork monographs and thematic edited volumes.

Cover design by Dora Kemp and Ben Plumridge.

ISBN: 978-1-913344-05-4



