



McDONALD INSTITUTE CONVERSATIONS

Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep

Animal encounters
in the ancient Near East

Edited by Laerke Recht & Christina Tsouparopoulou



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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

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eaj31@cam.ac.uk
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CONTENTS

Contributors	vii
Figures	ix
Tables	xi
Abbreviations and sigla	xiii
Preface by Augusta McMahon	xvii
<i>Chapter 1</i> Introduction: encountering animals in the ancient Near East	1
LAERKE RECHT & CHRISTINA TSOUPAROPOULOU	
Animal agency and human-animal interactions	2
Animals in ritual and cult	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	7
Companions and working animals: equids and dogs	8
Avenues for future research	9
Part I Animal agency and human–animal interactions	
<i>Chapter 2</i> Animal agents in Sumerian literature	15
LORENZO VERDERAME	
The Fox in <i>Enki and Ninhursag</i>	15
Dumuzi and the Fly	16
Lugalbanda and Anzu	17
Ninurta and the Anzu’s chick	18
Inanna, Šukaletuda, and the Raven	18
Conclusions: magical helpers and the metamorphosis human-animal	19
<i>Chapter 3</i> Canines from inside and outside the city: of dogs, foxes and wolves in conceptual spaces 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
<i>Chapter 4</i> A human–animal studies approach to cats and dogs in ancient Egypt: evidence from mummies, iconography and epigraphy	31
MARINA FADUM & CARINA GRUBER	
Human–cat relationships in ancient Egypt: the cat as an animal mummy	31
Human–canine relationships in ancient Egypt: the dog as companion animal	33
Conclusion	34
Part II Animals in ritual and cult	
<i>Chapter 5</i> Encountered animals and embedded meaning: the ritual and roadside fauna of second millennium Anatolia	39
NEIL ERSKINE	
Deleuze, Guattari, and reconstructing ancient understanding	39
Landscape, religion, and putting meaning in place	40
Creatures, cult, and creating meaning	41
Folding animals in ritual	41
Bulls, boars, birds	42
Folding animals on the road	44
Human–animal interactions	46
Conclusion	49

<i>Chapter 6</i>	The dogs of the healing goddess Gula in the archaeological and textual record of ancient Mesopotamia	55
	SERAINA NETT	
	The dogs of Gula in Mesopotamian art	55
	The Isin dog cemetery	56
	The dogs of Gula in Ur III documentary sources	59
	Conclusion	60
<i>Chapter 7</i>	Between sacred and profane: human–animal relationships at Abu Tbeirah (southern Iraq) in the third millennium BC	63
	FRANCESCA ALHAIQUE, LICIA ROMANO & FRANCO D’AGOSTINO	
	Materials and methods	63
	Faunal assemblage from Area 1	63
	The faunal assemblage from Grave 100 Area 2	66
	Discussion on dog findings	68
	Discussion on equid findings	69
	Discussion on aquatic taxa	70
	General conclusions	72
Part III	Blurred lines: humans as animals, animals as humans	
<i>Chapter 8</i>	Dog-men, bear-men, and the others: men acting as animals in Hittite festival texts	79
	ALICE MOUTON	
	What did the animal-men look like?	79
	The social status of the animal-men	81
	The animal-men’s actions	83
	Men impersonating animals in rituals	87
	Conclusions	87
<i>Chapter 9</i>	The fox in ancient Mesopotamia: from physical characteristics to anthropomorphized literary figure	95
	SZILVIA SÖVEGJÁRTÓ	
	Descriptions of physical and behavioural characteristics of the fox	95
	The fox as anthropomorphized literary figure	97
	The fox in the animal world	97
	The fox and the divine sphere	99
	The character of the fox as a reflection of human nature	100
<i>Chapter 10</i>	Animal names in Semitic toponyms	103
	HEKMAT DIRBAS	
	Cuneiform sources	103
	Ugaritic	105
	Biblical Hebrew	105
	Arabic	106
	Concluding remarks	109
<i>Chapter 11</i>	The king as a fierce lion and a lion hunter: the ambivalent relationship between the king and the lion in Mesopotamia	113
	CHIKAKO E. WATANABE	
	The association between the king and the lion	113
	Royal lion hunt	115
	Symbolic mechanism	118

Part IV Managing animals

Chapter 12	An abstract Agent-Based Model (ABM) for herd movement in the Khabur Basin, the Jazira	125
	TUNA KALAYCI & JOHN WAINWRIGHT	
	Herd animals as geo-agents of landscape transformation	128
	Methodology	130
	Results	134
	Conclusions	135
Chapter 13	An ox by any other name: castration, control, and male cattle terminology in the Neo-Babylonian period	139
	MICHAEL KOZUH	
	Anthropology and terminology	139
	Cattle castration and Babylonian terminology	140
	An ox by any other name	141
	Terminology and ritual purity	142
Chapter 14	What was eating the harvest? Ancient Egyptian crop pests and their control	147
	MALWINA BRACHMAŃSKA	
	Ancient Egyptian crop pests	147
	Ancient 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	
	Background	161
	Textual sources of evidence for peasant household economy and diet	163
	Zooarchaeological data on commoner households from Tušhan	164
	Model building: assumptions about the status of food sources	166
	Datasets: faunal consumption and disposal patterns	167
	Body portions of domesticated sheep/goat (<i>Ovis/Capra</i>) and status	171
	The distribution of wild resources	172
	Discussion: elite and commoner diets	174
Chapter 16	A new look at eels and their use in Mesopotamian medicine	179
	TROELS PANK ARBØLL	
	<i>Kuppû</i> in cuneiform sources	179
	Medical uses of the <i>kuppû</i> -eel	180
	Identifying the <i>kuppû</i> -eel	182
	Conclusion	184
	Appendix 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	193
	ANNE DEVILLERS	
	Introduction	193
	The iconographic corpus	193
	The archaeozoological record	199
	A hypothetical potential fauna constructed through predictive niche evaluation	200
	Conclusions	201

Part VI Symbols of power: birds

Chapter 18	Waterfowl imagery in the material culture of the late second millennium BC Southern Levant	207
	BEN GREET	
	The material	207
	Religious symbols	214
	Elite markers	216
	Conclusion	217

<i>Chapter 19</i>	Ducks, geese and swans: <i>Anatidae</i> in Mesopotamian iconography and texts	221
	LAURA BATTINI	
	Difficulties of the research	221
	<i>Anatidae</i> in the natural world	224
	<i>Anatidae</i> in the human world	226
	<i>Anatidae</i> in the divine world	228
	Conclusions	229
<i>Chapter 20</i>	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	
<i>Chapter 21</i>	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	253
	The role of person-to-person dissemination	254
	Short-distance transportation	254
	Transforming women's lives?	257
	And finally, ploughing	258
	Summing up	259
<i>Chapter 22</i>	Sacred and the profane: donkey burial and consumption at Early Bronze Tell eṣ-Şâfi/Gath	263
	HASKEL J. GREENFIELD, JON ROSS, TINA L. GREENFIELD & AREN M. MAEIR	
	Tell eṣ-Şâfi/Gath	263
	The Early Bronze occupation at Area E	264
	The sacred asses of Tell eṣ-Şâfi/Gath	267
	The profane asses of Tell eṣ-Şâfi/Gath	269
	Conclusions	274
<i>Chapter 23</i>	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

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

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

23.6	<i>Tell Madhhur Tomb 5G plan.</i>	283
23.7	<i>Tell Brak Area FS 'Caravanserai', Akkadian period, Level 5.</i>	284
23.8	<i>Sargon stele.</i>	285

Tables

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

Abbreviations and sigla

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

	in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, Part 1.) New York: Privately printed.	HSS 14	Lacheman, E.R., 1950. <i>Excavations at Nuzi V. Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi, Part 2, The Palace and Temple Archives.</i> (Harvard Semitic Studies 14.) Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard Univ. Press.
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.</i> Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010.	HW ²	Friedrich, J. & A. Kammenhuber (eds.), 1975–. <i>Hethitisches Wörterbuch. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte.</i> Heidelberg: Winter.
CBS	Siglum for objects in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section).	IB	Siglum for finds from Isin (Isan Bahriyat).
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative, https://cdli.ucla.edu	IM	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 Institute.	ITT 5	de Genouillac, H., 1921. <i>Inventaire des Tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Imperial Ottoman. Tome V. Époque présargonique, Époque d'Agadé, Époque d'Ur III.</i> Paris: Édition Ernest Leroux.
CM 26	Sharlach, T.M., 2004. <i>Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State.</i> (Cuneiform Monographs 26.) Leiden: Brill.	KAH 2	Schroeder, O. 1922. <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts, Heft II.</i> (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 37.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
CT 22	Campbell Thompson, R., 1906. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum</i> , vol. 22. London: British Museum.	KBo	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i> (Bd. 1-22 in Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft) Leipzig/Berlin, 1916 ff.
CT 32	King, L.W., 1912. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in British Museum</i> , vol. 32. London: British Museum.	KRI	Kitchen, K.A., 1969–1990. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> , 8 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
CT 55	Pinches, T.G. 1982. <i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum Part 55. Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Economic Texts.</i> London: British Museum Publications.	KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> , Berlin 1921 ff.
CTH	Laroche, E. 1971. <i>Catalogue des Textes Hittites.</i> Paris: Klincksieck.	LAPO 16	Durand, J.-M., 1997. <i>Les Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome I.</i> (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 16.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
DAS	Lafont, B., 1985. <i>Documents Administratifs Sumériens, provenant du site de Tello et conservés au Musée du Louvre.</i> Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.	LAPO 18	Durand, J.-M., 2000. <i>Les Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari, tome III.</i> (Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 18.) Paris: Éditions du cerf.
DMMA	Siglum for objects in the Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France.	LD	Lepsius, C.R., 1849–59. <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen</i> (plates), 6 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.
DUL	Del Olmo Lete, G. & J. Sanmartín, 2015. <i>A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition.</i> Translated and edited by W.G.E. Watson. Third revised edition. 2 vols. (Handbuch der Orientalistik 112.) Leiden: Brill.	LKU	Falkenstein, A., 1931. <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk.</i> Berlin: Berlin Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Vorderasiatische Abteilung.
EA	Siglum for the Tell El-Amarna Letters, following the edition of Knudtzon, J. A., 1915. <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln.</i> Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.	M	Siglum for texts from Mari.
ePSD	Electronic version of <i>The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary</i> , http://psd.museum.upenn.edu	Moore, Mich. Coll.	Moore, E., 1939. <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection.</i> Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
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.ox.ac.uk/	MSL VIII/I	Landsberger, B., 1960. <i>The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia. First Part: Tablet XIII.</i> (Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon VIII/1.) Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum. [with the assistance of A. Draffkorn Kilmer & E.I. Gordon].
FM 2	Charpin, D. & J.-M. Durand (ed.), 1994. <i>Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice Birot.</i> (Florilegium Marianum II.) Paris: Société pour l'étude du Proche-Orient ancien.	MVN 8	Calvot, D., G. Pettinato, S.A. Picchioni & F. Reschid, 1979. <i>Textes économiques du Selluš-Dagan du Musée du Louvre et du Collège de France (D. Calvot). Testi economici dell'Iraq Museum Baghdad.</i> (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 8.) Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.
Hh	<i>The Series HAR-ra='hubullu'</i> , Materials for the Sumerian lexicon (MSL), 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 & 11. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1957–.	MVN 11	Owen, D.I., 1982. <i>Selected Ur III Texts from the Harvard Semitic Museum.</i> (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico 11.) Rome: Multigrafica Editrice.
		MZ	Siglum for finds from Tell Mozan.
		NBC	Siglum for tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection 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. <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 11.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 99	Biggs, R.D., 1974. <i>Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 99.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.	SAA 12	Kataja, K. & R. Whiting, 1995. <i>Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 12.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 115	Hilgert, M., 1998. <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, Vol. 1: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Šulgi</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 115.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute.	SAA 13	Cole, S.W. & P. Machinist, 1998. <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 13.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
OIP 121	Hilgert, M., 1998. <i>Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute, Volume 2: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena</i> . (Oriental Institute Publications 121.) Chicago: The Oriental Institute.	SAA 17	Dietrich, M., 2003. <i>The Neo-Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 17.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
P	CDLI (Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative) number.	SAA 19	Luukko, M. 2012. <i>The Correspondence of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 19.) Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
PDT 1	Çig, M., H. Kizilyay & A. Salonen, 1956. <i>Die Puzris-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen Teil 1: Texts Nrr. 1-725</i> . (Academia Scientiarum Fennica Annales, série B, tome 92.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.	SAA 20	Parpola, S. 2017. <i>Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic Texts</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 20.) Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
PKG 18	Orthmann, W., 1985. <i>Der alte Orient</i> . (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 18.) Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.	SAT 2	Sigrist, M., 2000. <i>Sumerian Archival Texts. Texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection 2</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press.
PTS	Siglum for unpublished texts in the Princeton Theological Seminary.	SF	Deimel, A., 1923. <i>Schultexte aus Fara</i> . (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft 43.) Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
RGTC	<i>Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes</i> . (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B.) Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1974–.	SP	Alster, B., 1997. <i>Proverbs of Ancient Sumer</i> . Bethesda: CDL Press.
RIMA 2	Grayson, A.K., 1991. <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods Vol. 2.) Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press.	TCL 12	Conteneau, G., 1927. <i>Contrats Néo-Babyloniens I, de Téglaṭh-Phalasar III à Nabonide</i> . (Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre 12.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RIME 1	Frayne, D., 2008. <i>Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Vol. 1.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.	TCL 13	Contenau, G., 1929. <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens II. Achéménides et Séleucides</i> . (Textes cunéiformes, Musées du Louvre 13.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RIME 4	Frayne, D., 1990. <i>Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)</i> . (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Vol. 4.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press.	TRU	Legrain, L., 1912. <i>Le temps des rois d'Ur: recherches sur la société antique d'après des textes nouveaux</i> . (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 199.) Paris: H. Champion.
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period; Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus, available at http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/index.html	TU	Thureau-Dangin, F., 1922. <i>Tablettes d'Uruk à l'usage des prêtres du Temple d'Anu au temps des Séleucides</i> . (Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Textes cunéiformes.) Paris: P. Geuthner.
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> .	U.	Siglum for finds from Ur.
RS	Siglum for documents from Ras Shamra (Ugarit).	UCP 9/1,I	Lutz, H.F., 1927. <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech: Part I</i> . (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology Vol. 9 no. 1/I.) Berkeley (CA): University of California Press.
SAA 2	Parpola, S. & K. Watanabe, 1988. <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 2.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	UCP 9/1,II	Lutz, H.F., 1927. <i>Neo-Babylonian Administrative Documents from Erech: Part II</i> . (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology Vol. 9 no. 1/II.) Berkeley (CA): University of California Press.
SAA 7	Fales, F.M. & J.N. Postgate, 1992. <i>Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 7.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.	UDT	Nies, J.B., 1920. <i>Ur Dynasty Tablets: Texts Chiefly from Tello and Drehem Written during the Reigns of Dungi, Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin and Ibi-Sin</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
SAA 10	Parpola, S. 1993. <i>Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars</i> . (State Archives of Assyria 10.) Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.		

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

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Chapter 5

Encountered animals and embedded meaning: the ritual and roadside fauna of second millennium Anatolia

Neil Erskine

The interactive importance of religion and landscape in people's learned understandings of their world is a common theme in social theory (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979; Munn 1986; 1990; Pandya 1990; Ingold 1993). Belief systems are fundamental to perceptions of the world and direct our attention, thought-processes, and decision-making (Klauer *et al.* 2000; Colzato *et al.* 2008; Fry & Debats 2011). Exposure to religious symbols has significant impacts on social psychological processes (Bilewicz & Klebaniuk 2013; Ysseldyk *et al.* 2016) and immediately and emotively reinforces complex concepts (Jung 1964; Ortner 1973; Freud 2000 [1938]; Butz 2009). Meanwhile, landscapes and places, which frequently enjoy intimate, reflexive relationships with religion (Mazumdar & Mazumdar 2004, 387), actively influence how individuals experience, understand, and appropriate sociocultural rules and beliefs (Bourdieu 1977; Tuan 1977, 35; Giddens 1979, 218–19; Proshansky *et al.* 1983; Harris & Lipman 1984; Lefebvre 1991, 191; Ingold 2000, Chapter 10; Ottosson & Grahn 2008). The interaction of religion and landscape therefore represents a reflexive process in which the sociocultural meaning and perception of supernature and place(s) both shape and are shaped by each other (Bourdieu 1977; Munn 1986; Pandya 1990). Consequently, their intersection represents a lucrative avenue for studies of ancient perceptions of the world.

It is unsurprising then, that these topics have seen attention in interpretative archaeological approaches (e.g. Hastorf 2007; Casey 2008; Biehl 2011; Laneri 2015). Where landscape and religion's interaction is considered in archaeological contexts, however, studies most often foreground either anthropomorphic interventions in the landscape or natural topography. Less common is the consideration of how the animals present in a landscape might inform religiously loaded understandings of place(s). This is a shame, as animal interactions carry significant social power (Stone-Miller

2004; Kockelman 2011), especially those with dangerous species (Ghosal *et al.* 2015) or in rural landscapes (Neihardt 1932: Chapter 4).¹ In the already emotive and powerful intersection of religion and landscape, then, faunal encounters present an interesting and potentially lucrative dataset.

Here, a Deleuzo-Guattarian framework is applied to a second millennium Anatolian case study to explore how the animal experiences of Assyrian traders painted the landscape with emotive meaning. By considering how religious ideas associated with representations of animals encountered in cultic contexts informed later experiences with real animals, I suggest a reconstruction of how these traders came to understand the landscapes they passed through as they moved between Kültepe and Aššur. Over time, their cumulative experiences of ritual and real animals reinforced one another and implanted feelings of safety, danger, security, and disquiet in the landscapes in which they were encountered.

Deleuze, Guattari, and reconstructing ancient understanding

Archaeological research seeking to illumine landscape experience tends to be dominated by phenomenological frameworks. These, I believe, are poorly suited to archaeological analysis and should be replaced. Phenomenology, most indebted in archaeological use to Tilley (1994), drawing upon Merleau-Ponty (1964; 2014 [1945]), believes that because bodies are essentially alike, different bodies' experiences of similar phenomena are also alike. It follows, Tilley argues, that modern interpreters can therefore extrapolate ancient experience by exposing themselves to similar contexts. The underlying assumptions about the fundamental similarity of bodies and their perceptions of the material world have seen sustained criticism (e.g. Feher *et al.* 1989; Featherstone

et al. 1991; Shilling 1993; Douglas 1996; Meskell 1996; Brück 1998; Fowler 2002, 59; Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, 9), whilst the ability of modern researchers to situate themselves in the context of persons in the deep past simply by inhabiting the same geography has received scathing rebuttal (e.g. Bintliff 2009, 30). Phenomenological landscape studies of the ancient past simply cannot overcome their cultural and chronological distance. I believe the work of Deleuze and Guattari presents an avenue down which we might cross this gap seek to understand ancient experience by reconstructing the perceptions of ancient people themselves.

Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy has only recently begun to find explicit use in the archaeological literature (e.g. Wright 2016; Hamilakis & Jones 2017; Harris 2017; 2018),² but presents a suite of concepts that help the interpreter develop contextual reconstructions of ancient individuals' understandings of their world. Here (see also Erskine *forthcoming*), I draw on Hamilakis' (2017) work on Deleuzian *assemblages* (hereafter *arrangements*³) and Wright's (2016) on Deleuzian *fold-ing*, and add two further Deleuzian concepts, *plateaus* and *rhizomes*, to access ancient landscape experience. The *arrangement* (Deleuze & Guattari 1980; 1991), is the combination of a material object(s) and its non-material components. Meanwhile, the *fold* (Deleuze 1988), describes the internalization of external experiences and the consequent altering of understanding. Interactions with *arrangements* are *folded* in and all participants, be they persons, objects, ideas or anything else are changed. Consequently, if we can draw out how an individual understood the sociocultural ideas embedded in specific *arrangements*, we can make nuanced inferences about how an individual understood their interactions with that *arrangement* and the consequences it had for their perceptions of other related things and ideas.

To develop how the ancient individual understood related concepts, we can turn to two more Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts. The *rhizome* (Deleuze & Guattari 1980) stresses relational interpretations of social phenomena by presenting those phenomena as being in continual interaction with one another and therefore in perpetual development: they have no beginning, end, or defined directionality, and instead lie in a web of constantly accumulating *folded* interactions. In archaeological applications, this means that every identifiable experience we can assign to individuals allows us to further develop how they understood other interactions.

The *rhizome*, containing all interactions between all things, is too massive to deal with fully. It is made more manageable, however, by *plateaus* (Deleuze & Guattari 1980). These are groups of distinguishable,

though fluid and intertwining, experiential planes that can be experienced repeatedly and in any order and inform how we perceive other *plateaus*.

Consider, for example, Anatolian beak-spouted pitchers (for an artistic representation, see Gates 2017, fig. 6; and for a generic example, see Özgüç 1986a, pl. 94–1). These vessels are commonplace in domestic contexts and graves as well as appearing in the glyptic repertoire as cultic paraphernalia employed in libations (Heffron 2011, 179–80). They are *arrangements* of material components including clay, temper, and whatever liquids might be held inside; sensory components such as texture, weight, and smells imparted by their contents; and sociocultural components like perceptions of tableware, funerary practice, ritual, and art. The experience of these vessels emerges from the complex relations between the individual, the vessel, and these components. Every previously *folded* experience that the individual has had of the components involved reside in *plateaus* that inform their understanding of the vessel. Consequently, the more we can learn about that individual's experiences of tableware, funerals, libation practices, or glyptic depictions of vessels, the more nuanced our interpretations of their new experience of beak-spouted pitchers can be.

In sum, by analysing human interactions with specific *arrangements* it is possible to extrapolate individuals *folded* experiences with them, and thereafter how plateaus of folded experiences shaped how individuals perceived other things and ideas. In this study, this allows us to consider Assyrian traders' interactions with animal-motif ritual objects and the impact this had on understandings of landscape when those traders later encountered real-world versions of those animals within them.

Landscape, religion, and putting meaning in place

Through most of the Middle Bronze Age (see Table 5.1), Assyrian traders maintained extensive business operations in Anatolia. Throughout late-March to late-November (Stratford 2015, 303), Assyrian caravans brought tin and textiles into Anatolia, participated in redistributive trade around the region's kingdoms (Michel 2011a), and sent gold and silver back to their capital, Aššur, on the Tigris. Heads of mercantile families generally remained in Aššur and sent representatives to administer their Anatolian operations in a *kārum*⁴ adjoining an Anatolian city (Bryce 1998, 30). Many of those sent to Anatolia married local women, raised families, and incorporated Anatolian linguistic and religious traditions into their lives, creating hybridized communities and long-lasting inter-regional familial and trade links (Michel 2008; 2010, 9–10; 2014, 77–8).

Table 5.1. *Anatolian Middle Bronze Age Chronology (after Barjamovic et al. 2012, 34; Gates 2017, 189). For the comparative merits of different chronologies see Barjamovic et al. (2012, 3–40).*

Middle Chronology	Low Chronology	Ultra-Low Chronology	Archaeological Period	Historical Period	Kültepe Lower Town Levels
c. 1970–1840	c. 1920–1790	c. 1870–1740	MBA I	Old Assyrian	II
c. 1840–1700	c. 1790–1650	c. 1740–1610	MBA IIa		Ib
Ahistorical			MBA IIb	Hittite Old Kingdom	Ia

Each *kārum* was relatively autonomous on a local level, but Aššur retained supreme authority, administering economic and foreign policy via the *kārum* at Kültepe, the hub of Assyrian mercantile operations (Bryce 1998, 25–6; Barjamovic 2011, 5–6). It is this centre of Assyrian operations that provides the bulk of the data utilized here.

Kültepe, situated on the Kayseri plain in southern central Anatolia, has been under continuous excavation since 1948 and provides considerable textual and archaeological data. Over 23,000 cuneiform tablets have been discovered in the private archives of Assyrian and Anatolian businesspersons (Veenhof 2008, 41–2; Michel 2011a, 319). Supplemented by smaller collections from Boğazköy (ancient Hattuş), and Alişar Höyük, these texts provide great detail on economic matters, including trade journeys, as well as accounts of religious practices and practitioners that, alongside MBA cult spaces (e.g. Heffron 2016), cultic paraphernalia (e.g. Özgüç & Özgüç 1953, 131–3, pls. 265–77; Özgüç 1986a, 58–67; 1986b, 176, 8), and glyptics (e.g. Özgüç 1965; White 1993; Lassen 2014; Topçuoğlu 2016), grant access to *folded* experiences of cult.

Creatures, cult, and creating meaning

Given the interactive socializing power of landscape and religion, it is profitable to address landscape-meaning by considering how religious *plateaus* informed Assyrian traders' perceptions of landscape. The landscape therefore represents our *initial arrangement*, and we must select appropriate religious *plateaus* that allow us to reconstruct how Assyrian traders understood it. The data available makes this a relatively straightforward exercise. Explicit archaeological manifestations of the religious life of second millennium Anatolia are surprisingly rare, and those that can be confidently connected to the landscape extremely so. However, one common element of the landscape, the fauna that lived amongst it, were also an important cultic motif and so *plateaus* of animal experiences provide a potential source of evidence that links religious and landscape experiences.

Animals were abundant in the landscape, and their prominent role in cultic activity is well-attested

both archaeologically and textually, presenting a lucrative dataset. Furthermore, species can be associated with their preferred habitats and so placed in the landscape, allowing the reconstruction of traders' experiences on the road. The focus of this study therefore lies in *plateaus* of animal experience, and the *initial arrangement* upon which the analyses will begin is a group of enigmatic animal representations from Kültepe. By developing the experiences of Assyrian traders with these artefacts, it will then be possible to consider how they informed later engagements with animals on the road, and therefore with the landscape in which they resided.

Folding animals in ritual

Animal motif vessels are amongst the most numerous cultic items discovered at Kültepe (Fig. 5.1). Amongst these vessels, lion- and antelope-shaped examples are particularly common (e.g. Özgüç & Özgüç 1953, pls. 265–77), but dogs, boars, eagles, partridges, cattle, rabbits, water buffalos, sheep and fish are also represented (e.g. Özgüç 1986a, 63–7). Such vessels are rare in Mesopotamia but near-ubiquitous for several millennia in Anatolia (Yener 2007, 218–20), and so it seems likely that they were not a feature in Assyrian traders' religious lives before they left home. Their presence in houses associated with Assyrians as well as Anatolians (Özgüç & Özgüç 1953, 131–3, 218–21)⁵ is best explained as part of the hybridization process that took place as Assyrians settled into Anatolian contexts and began to incorporate Anatolian deities and locally produced ritual paraphernalia into their cultic lives (Michel 2011b, 104; 2014, 78). Alternatively, it is possible that distinct Anatolian and Assyrian traditions were practiced in the same households without crossover, but in either case, Assyrian traders would still be exposed to, and therefore *fold-in*, animal-shaped vessels in explicitly cultic contexts, even if as an outsider.

Though we cannot identify the precise practices in which these vessels were employed, that they served explicitly cultic functions, most likely in drinking/pouring rituals, is strongly supported by multiple

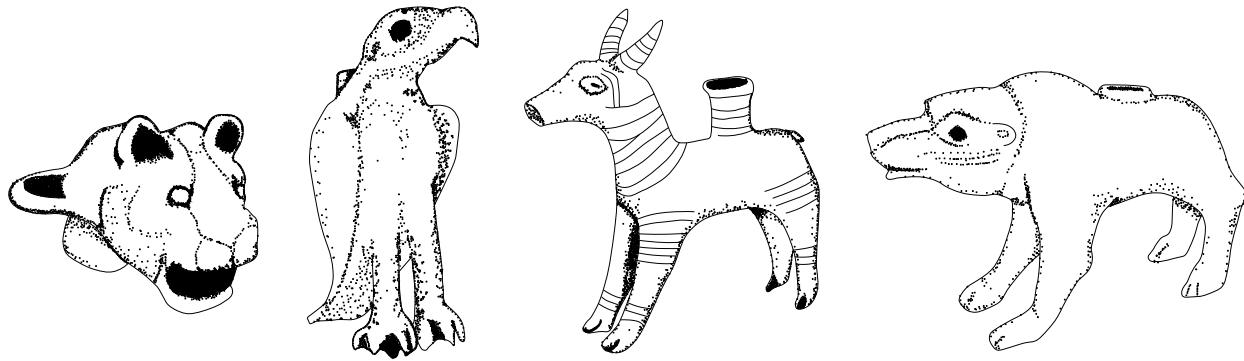


Figure 5.1. Animal-shaped vessels from Kültepe. L-R: Kt.00/k. 025; Kt.86/k. 147; Kt.92/k. 784; Kt.92/k. 724 (redrawn from Kulakoğlu & Kangal 2010, figs. 195, 206, 211, 201 by the author).

strands of evidence. Some are found in domestic spaces with cultic installations and paraphernalia and in assemblages associated with libations (Özgüç 1994; Kulakoğlu & Kangal 2010, fig. 232; Heffron 2016, 30). Meanwhile, a later tradition of ‘god-drinking’, known from Hittite texts, has been convincingly linked to the animal-shaped vessels of Kültepe (Heffron 2014). Though the specifics of god-drinking are disputed, it was a cultic drinking or libation practice performed in a broad variety of contexts and closely associated with animal-shaped vessels (see Kahya 2017 for a survey). Old Assyrian texts also refer to drinking vessels belonging to gods and several seals depict divinities holding drinking vessels (Kahya 2017, 48). Whilst specific forms are not detailed in the Old Assyrian texts, lion, deer, antelope, boar, ram, and bird-shaped vessels noted in Hittite texts are all paralleled by vessels excavated at Kültepe (White 1993, 279–82). It is reasonable therefore to conclude that the animal-shaped vessels of early second millennium Kültepe were employed in ritual interactions with divine actors, either as representatives of deities, containers of their essence and power, or as utensils for pouring libations to them.

When these vessels were employed in cultic activities, participants were engaging not only with an object, but with an *arrangement* of object and associated ideas. Consequently, users or onlookers *folded* in a wealth of physical and cognitive components and formed *rhizomatic* links with other experiences. when an individual exposed to ritual pouring or drinking from a bovine-shaped vessel, for instance, this was not an abstract act that happened to employ a vessel coincidentally shaped like a bovine, but a direct interaction with a supernatural actor embodied by and embedded in an object along with their associated attributes and responsibilities. *Arrangements* are immeasurably complex, but, fortunately, the textual corpus and glyptic repertoire allow us to make relatively confident

inferences about the associations carried by these animals in cultic contexts, and therefore imbued in these vessels. By illustrating some of these associations, it is possible to outline how ritualistic engagements with the animal world informed later engagements with animals in the wild and, consequently, the role this played in developing understanding of the landscape.

Bulls, boars, birds

Cattle, often as bulls, represented the chief deities of both the Anatolian and Assyrian pantheons. They were the dominant species featured in early second millennium Anatolian art where they were associated with the Storm God(s) (Kryszat 2006, 121; Schwemer 2008, 19). Of these artistic depictions, a bovine glyptic present in both Anatolian and Assyrian styles has been convincingly interpreted as originating as a representation of the god Aššur (Lassen 2017). The glyptic motif includes a rectangular body frequently draped in fabric denoting royal or divine status, more naturalistic limbs, and in all but two cases, a cone or triangle upon its back, possibly representing Aššur as a mountain (Lassen 2017). The divine drapery, and the contrast with other bovine depictions, which are more naturalistic, has led to the symbol being understood as representing a real-world cult image (Gunter 2002, 90; Lassen 2017, 178–9), though no artefactual confirmation of this hypothesis has ever been presented.⁶ Consequently, cattle and bovine-shaped vessels (Fig. 5.2) were associated with the heads of divine pantheons in both Anatolian and Assyrian traditions, associations that were frequently reinforced by art and possibly other ritual objects.

Boar-shaped vessels have been linked to the cult of Usmû (Özgüç 1998, 256), servant of Ea (Özgüç 1988, 25; Black & Green 1992, 75), whilst piglets were associated with Pannunta (Ertem 1965, 77), vizier to

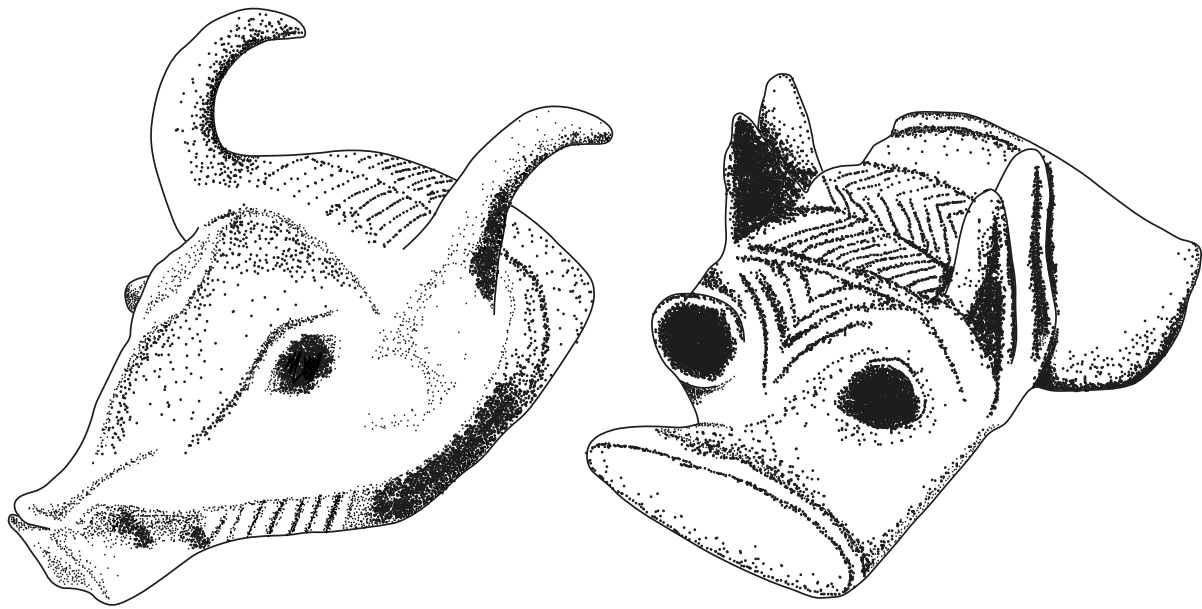


Figure 5.2. Bull- (Kt. f/k. 299) and Boar-vessels (Kt.01/k. 167) from Kültepe (redrawn from Kulakoğlu & Kangal 2010, figs. 196 and 200 by the author).

Šamaš (Krebernik 2003–2005): in both cases connecting porcine animals to divine intercessors. Fertility was a prominent porcine association and, given their use in healing rituals and exorcisms, as offerings to chthonic divinities, and their ability to taint humans through contact even in dreams, they were strongly linked to the netherworld, impurity, and liminality (Ünal 1996; Collins 2002b; 2006, 165, 8, 73–6). Meanwhile, eagles, and therefore eagle-shaped vessels (Fig. 5.3), were associated with the Protective Deity (Ertem 1965, 124). In Hittite cult, eagles functioned both as interlocutors, opening channels to communicate with the gods or carrying messages to them directly, and purifying forces, cleansing both places and people (Collins 2002a, 326).

Individuals' interactions with cultic representations of cattle, boars, and eagles were therefore experiences of *arrangements* of practice, object, animal, deity, and a range of associated concepts. Engagements with bovine vessels were engagements with the Storm God and therefore drew on experiences of weather and issues of land affordance and fears of environmental threats and may have been performed in association with an altar of sufficient importance to be pervasive in the artistic repertoire. Interactions with boar-vessels involved the *folding* in of the ritual mediation of dangerous liminality and impurity in association with servile deities working on behalf of Ea or Šamaš, who themselves have been associated with cleansing and destroying evil (Læssøe 1956, 66; Black & Green 1992, 184). They were also folded in

with experiences of a foodstuff, with both boar and their domesticated cousins featuring in urban faunal assemblages, comprising 26.8 per cent of all faunal remains at Lidiar Höyük (Kussinger 1988, 11–2), and being the fourth most frequent species attested by bone fragments at Kültepe (Atici 2014, 203). Finally, eagle-vessels *arrangements* carried with them experiences of communication, of appeals to the gods, and of the purification of both place and person.

Furthermore, these vessels may have served to reinforce their own *arrangements* through self-referential messaging. A spouted bowl found at Kültepe in a house in grid-square LXI/130 (Kulakoğlu & Kangal 2010, fig. 232) depicts a human pouring a libation from

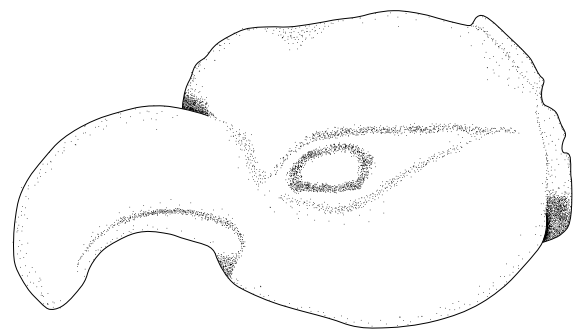


Figure 5.3. Eagle-shaped vessel (Kt. j/k. 058) from Kültepe (redrawn from Kulakoğlu & Kangal 2010, fig. 213 by the author).

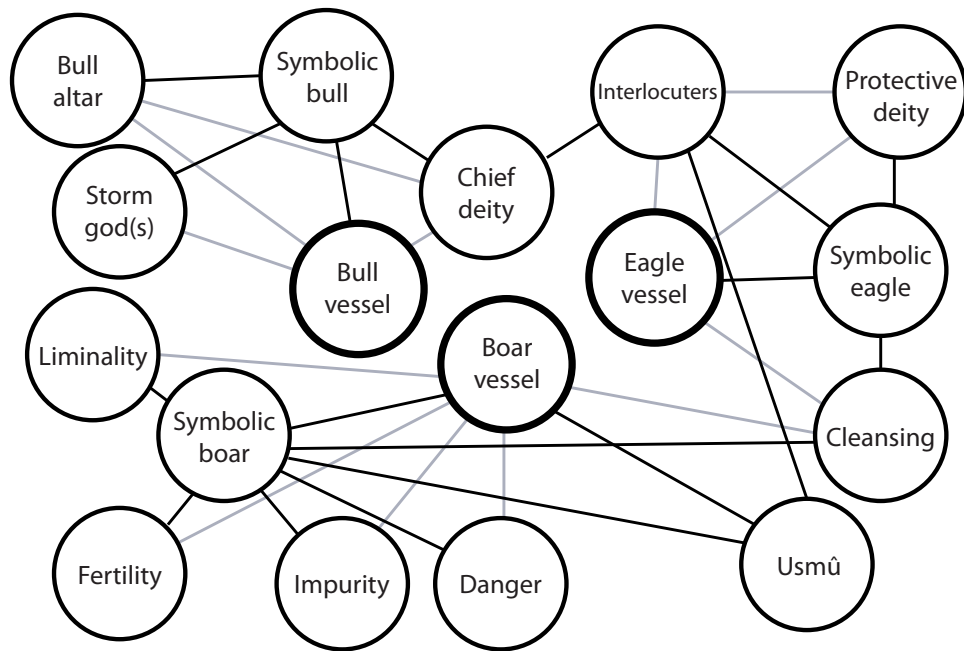


Figure 5.4. *Animal vessels rhizome. Black lines depict those connections that are attested in texts or suggested by the iconographic corpus. Grey lines illustrate further extrapolated experiential connections.*

a spout emerging from a bovine protome, mirroring the vessel's own bovine spout for use in cult practice (Heffron 2016, 30). Similar self-reinforcing may have been present in the practices using the vessels. It is possible, for instance, that ritual prayers or appeals to the divine utilizing boar-vessels or eagle-vessels represented multiple layers of channels to the gods: through the ritual itself, through supernatural interlocutors, and through the animal depicted. The domestic cultic experiences of individuals utilizing bovine, boar, and eagle-shaped vessels therefore embedded the vessels, practices, and the animals represented with overlapping and interconnected understandings of ritual objects; fauna; specific deities; fertility; danger, impurity, and protection against both; and communication with gods either directly or via another divinity (Fig. 5.4).

Folding animals on the road

Having illustrated some important *plateaus* of experiences associated with animal-shaped vessel *arrangements* in cultic contexts, it is possible to use the interconnectivity of the *rhizome* to explore how subsequent *folded* interactions with living animals in the landscape embedded meaning in the world. This provides an avenue down which archaeologists can begin to tackle the creation of *place*. By considering the landscapes in which these species were most

frequently encountered, it is possible to draw out how *folded* interactions with them contributed to the sacralization of those landscape forms and played a role in the creation and/or maintenance of socioculturally meaningful landscapes. The first step then, is to situate both Assyrian travellers and animals in the landscapes between Kaneš and Aššur.

Reconstructions of the Assyrian trading sphere's historical geography and the trade routes themselves (e.g. Bilgiç 1945–1951; Özgüç & Özgüç 1949; Garelli 1963; Hallo 1964; Orlin 1970; Beitzel 1992; Yakar 2000; Michel 2002; Forlanini 2006; 2008; Barjamovic 2008; 2011) are yet to find consensus, though considerable overlap is apparent in certain regions, most strongly from Kültepe, through the Elbistan plain, and on to Lower Euphrates basin, a potential thoroughfare also highlighted by Palmisano's (2013; 2017) Kaneš-Aššur cumulative cost path modelling studies (Fig. 5.5).

Space does not allow a comprehensive survey of these hypothesized routes here, and so I take no position on the most likely route(s). However, for the purposes of this study, the focus will be placed on that NW-SE trunk of south-central Anatolia between Kültepe and the Lower Euphrates region where proposed routes exhibit the most consistency, and where all proposed routes cross similar landscape forms (Fig. 5.6). These routes begin at Kültepe, situated *c.* 1050 m above sea level in the Sarımsak river valley amidst rich alluvial soils encompassed by

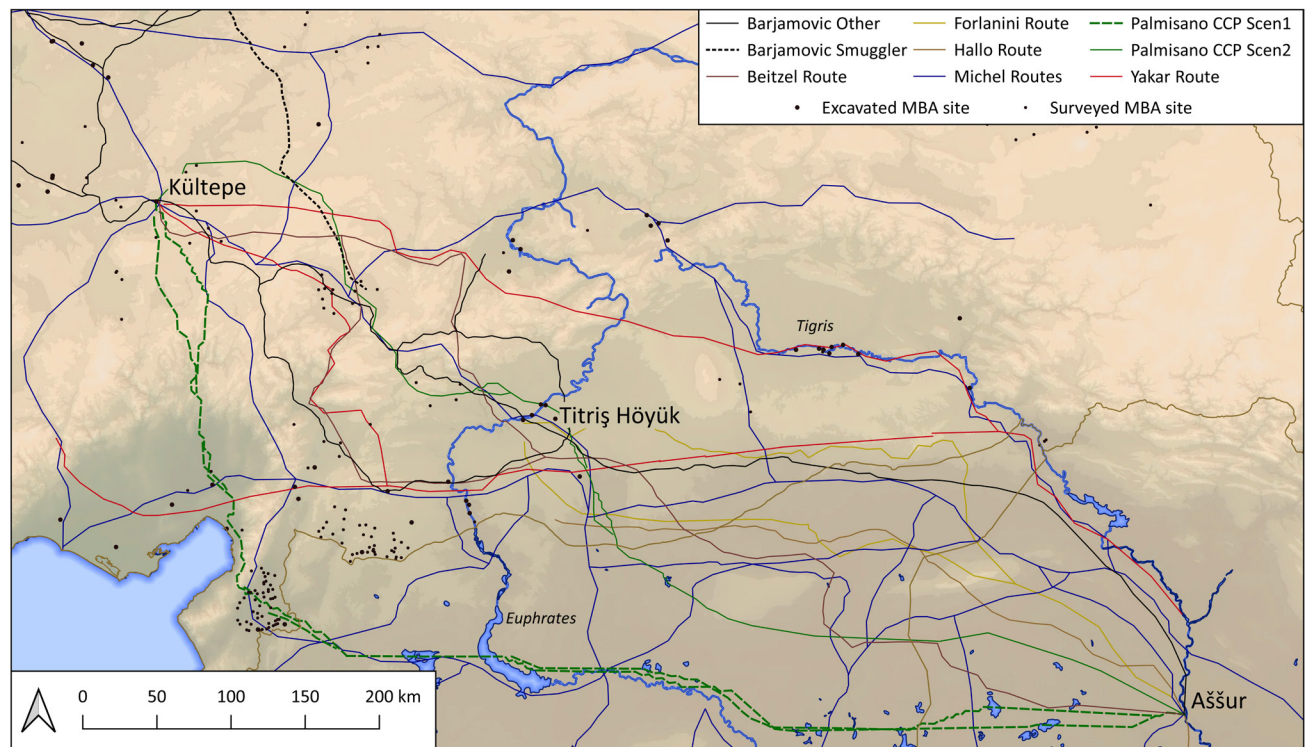


Figure 5.5. Hypothesized early second millennium Assyrian trade networks.

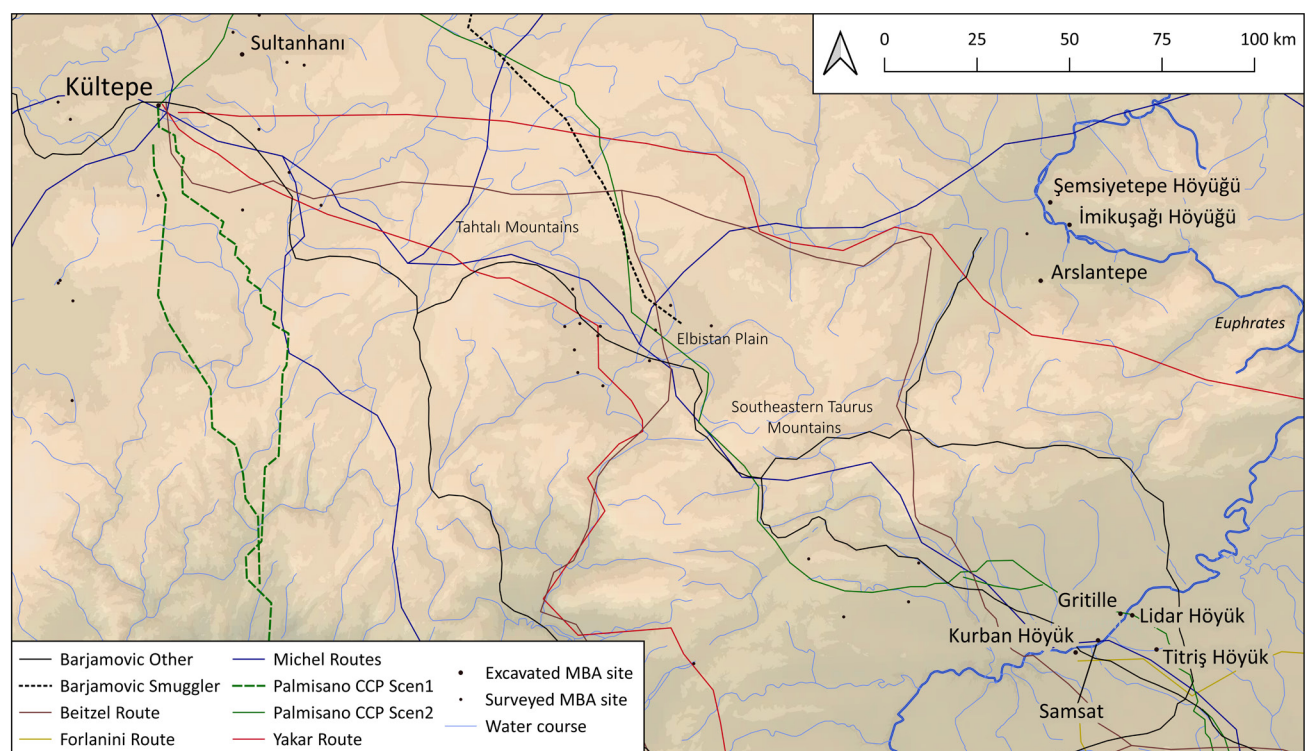


Figure 5.6. Hypothesized early second millennium routes between Kültepe and the Lower Euphrates.

barren rocky hills (Fairbairn 2014, 180–1). Whilst the alluvial soils were likely absent in the MBA, the bare hills probably retained reasonable woodland coverage (Zohary 1973, chapters 6 and 17; Roberts *et al.* 2011; Fairbairn 2014, 180–1). Moving south of Kültepe, the jagged and irregular Tahtalı Mountains rise to a peak of 2366 m ASL (Atalay & Efe 2014, 114), and descend to the flat, elevated plain (1000–1200 m ASL) of Elbistan (Konyar 2008, 131) before rising into the Southeastern Tauruses (Anti-Taurus). These mountains reach elevations of 2560 m ASL (Wilkinson 1990, 8) and are composed primarily of high, treeless limestone, with oak woodland and scrub on lower slopes and access is largely limited to high valleys and passes above 1500 m (Wilkinson 1990, 9) descending onto 900–1500 m ASL of sparse woodland with patches of exposed rock on the foothills (Wilkinson 1990, 9). Finally, the Lower Euphrates basin lies in a largely flat plain immediately south of the Anti-Taurus foothills. This c. 250 km long tract passing through the mountains and plains of south-central Anatolia represents the next arrangement for analysis.

Human–animal interactions

Having selected a conduit for Assyrian trade movement, it is now possible to consider the locations of animal species within that trunk of the Kültepe–Aššur route. Firstly, it is important to briefly justify the absence of agential animals in the discussion that follows.

Recent archaeological scholarship has begun to give considerable attention to the agency of animals (e.g. Armstrong Oma 2010; Hill 2013; Boyd 2017; Moss & Erlandson 2017; Recht 2019). In an effort to redress human–animal dualities, these studies foreground human–animal relationships and interactiveness rather than one-sided domination. Animal agency fits neatly within a Deleuzian framework. When Birke *et al.* (2004, 175) describe the socialization of horses by way of repeated shared actions through which ‘both horse and human bodies *are changed*’ (emphasis in original), for instance, it is decidedly reminiscent of Deleuzian *folding*, and Deleuze is sometimes cited as an influence on animal-studies within the broader post-humanist paradigm (Boyd 2017, 307). The attention to relations and frequent usage of terms like ‘cohabitation’ (Boyd 2017, 300) and ‘co-creation’ (Birke *et al.* 2004, 174; Armstrong Oma 2010, 179) share much with new materialist concerns with the fluid creation of meaning found in the relations between entities that are themselves heavily indebted to Deleuze (e.g. Bennett 2005, 445; 2010, viii, x; Coole & Frost 2010, 9; van der Tuin & Dolphijn 2010, 159; Witmore 2014, 206–7).

Why then, is the Deleuzian analysis below decidedly anthropocentric?

Fundamentally, my focus here is placed on those animals that are represented in the cultic sphere. Whilst those animals’ real-world incarnations had the ability to learn, solve problems, and make decisions, and were no doubt agents (Lindstrøm 2015, 223), they were wild species and had extremely limited and non-repeated interactions with the traders whose experiences I am seeking out. Consequently, they had little potential to affect the lives of those traders other than as animal categories (Armstrong Oma 2010, 177; Knight 2018, 343–4). These merchants on the road interacted with specific animals, but other than in exceptional circumstances, it was the species that mattered to the trader, not the agential animal. Future study could, and I believe should, foreground traders’ relationships with the animals with whom they developed social contracts, particularly the donkeys on whom they relied, and who relied on them, for long journeys, but my focus remains on the traders for now.

The wild animals concerned are not confined to their natural habitats, and the precise locations of these habitats four millennia ago are in any case difficult to identify, these animals can be broadly associated with particular environments (Fig. 5.7).

As well as a foodstuff, cattle were both a source and symbol of Bronze Age Anatolian elite wealth (Archi 1987; Arbuckle 2014, 285–8). Consequently, they would have been most appropriately pastured near the centres of elite power for both accessibility and security reasons. Our travellers would therefore be most likely to encounter them in the agricultural hinterlands of Kültepe and the settlement clusters in the Elbistan plain and Lower Euphrates.

Cattle, embedded with perceptions of the chief deity, centres of the divine sphere, were therefore experienced close to the hubs of human civilization. In both socio-political and ontological terms, cities lay at the heart of society (Yakar 2000, 22; Barjamovic 2011, 5–6; Michel 2011a, 321–3) and Assyrians’ fundamental perception of geography opposed *the city*, Aššur, with everything beyond its walls. By importing the home city’s institutions to Anatolian cities, Assyrians recreated it abroad (Highcock 2018, 13, 26), replicating its ontological centrality and sharply contrasting it with the rural world beyond. The real-world bovine-*arrangements* served to reinforce this city’s place at the cosmological centre of life by embedding its surrounding landscape with associations of the head of the pantheon. The sense of security provided by the city as the nexus of political control and proxy for the supreme city of Aššur, was echoed by the power of the

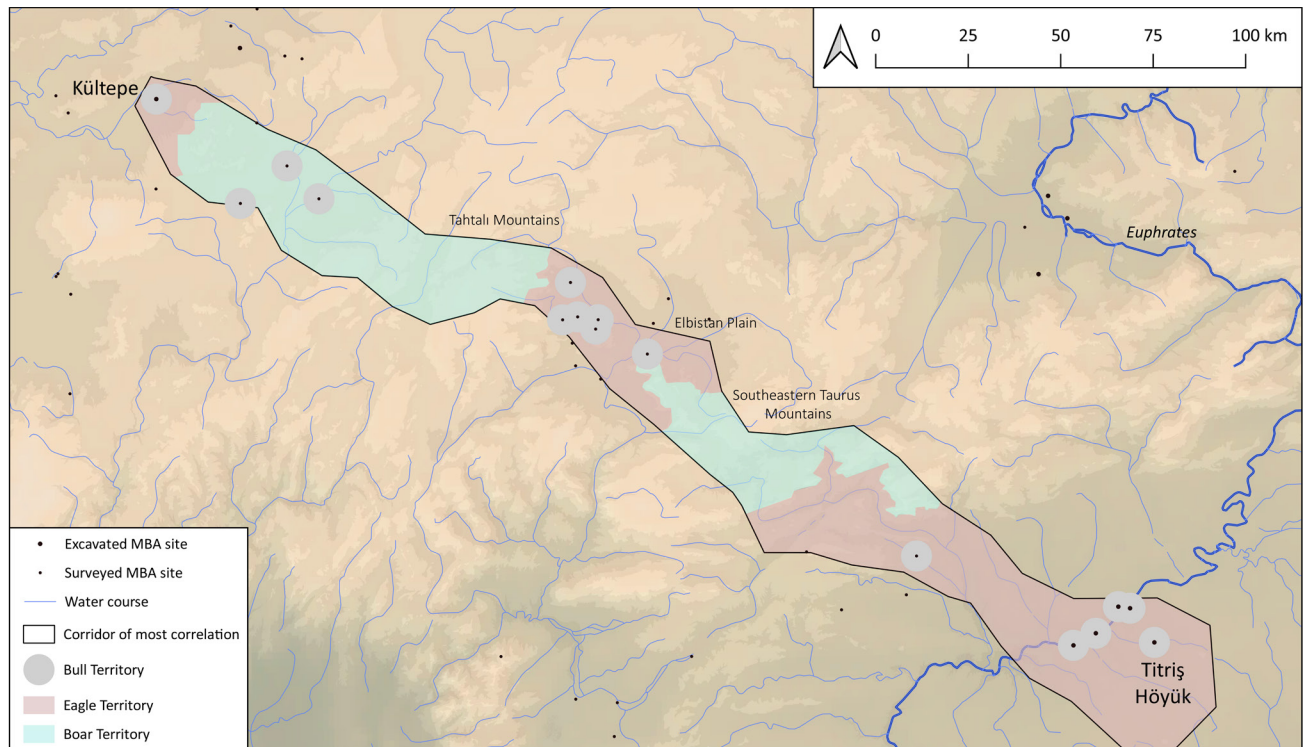


Figure 5.7. Likely animal presence within the corridor of hypothesized routes' most consistency.

chief deity, itself explicitly mirrored in the real-world physical power of the animal, and the environment took on inflections of sacral security, becoming an ever-more inviting, safe, familiar, and welcoming landscape on the approach. Conversely, departures, already worrying and intimidating events now not only represented journeys away from civilization's security, but away from divine safety.

In contrast to cattle at pasture, boars were more likely encountered further from the cities, in the rocky woodlands of the Tahtalı Mountains between Kültepe and the Elbistan plain, and the Southeastern Taurus Mountains between Elbistan and the Lower Euphrates. Though distribution patterns of large wild mammals are not comprehensively understood even in modern day Turkey (Can & Togan 2004, 48), wild boar favour rocky and wooded areas on both rocky and grassy terrain in most circumstances throughout the year (Singer *et al.* 1981; Massei *et al.* 1998; Fernández *et al.* 2006).

With cultic boar-arrangements being situated amidst particularly complex and often contradictory plateaus, their resultant experiential folds readied travellers for difficult, suspicious interactions with real-life boars. Old Assyrian texts record traders' fears of mountain bandits, their worries about, and preventative rites performed to avoid, wild animal attacks, and in one case, detail a pig attack that leaves a merchant

unable to travel with a broken leg (Barjamovic 2011, 27). Real-world boar experiences, encountered in dangerous and foreboding terrain, reinforced these worries by embedding their context with the impure and liminal associations learnt through their use in the cultic sphere, but also represented positive concepts. The religiously loaded *fold*-tinted glasses through which they, and their *arrangements*, were experienced presented potential avenues for interaction with deities through their association with divine assistants; a source of cleansing tools; and powerful symbols of fertility. Consequently, boars simultaneously tainted the landscape with their presence and presented a purification device. The rocky woodlands of the south-central Anatolian uplands, already places of potential dangers, at risk of freezing and snow-blockage in the early and late trade season and exposure to extreme heat in the mid-season, providing cover for bandits, and taking travellers far from the security of the cities, were therefore painted with the dangers of ritual interaction with porcine species through encounters with boars during routine travel.

The eagles of Anatolia, which include golden eagles, lesser spotted eagles, steppe eagles, eastern imperial eagles, Bonelli's eagles, and booted eagles, all have habitats favouring varying combinations of mountains, steppes, and sparse woodland, and can

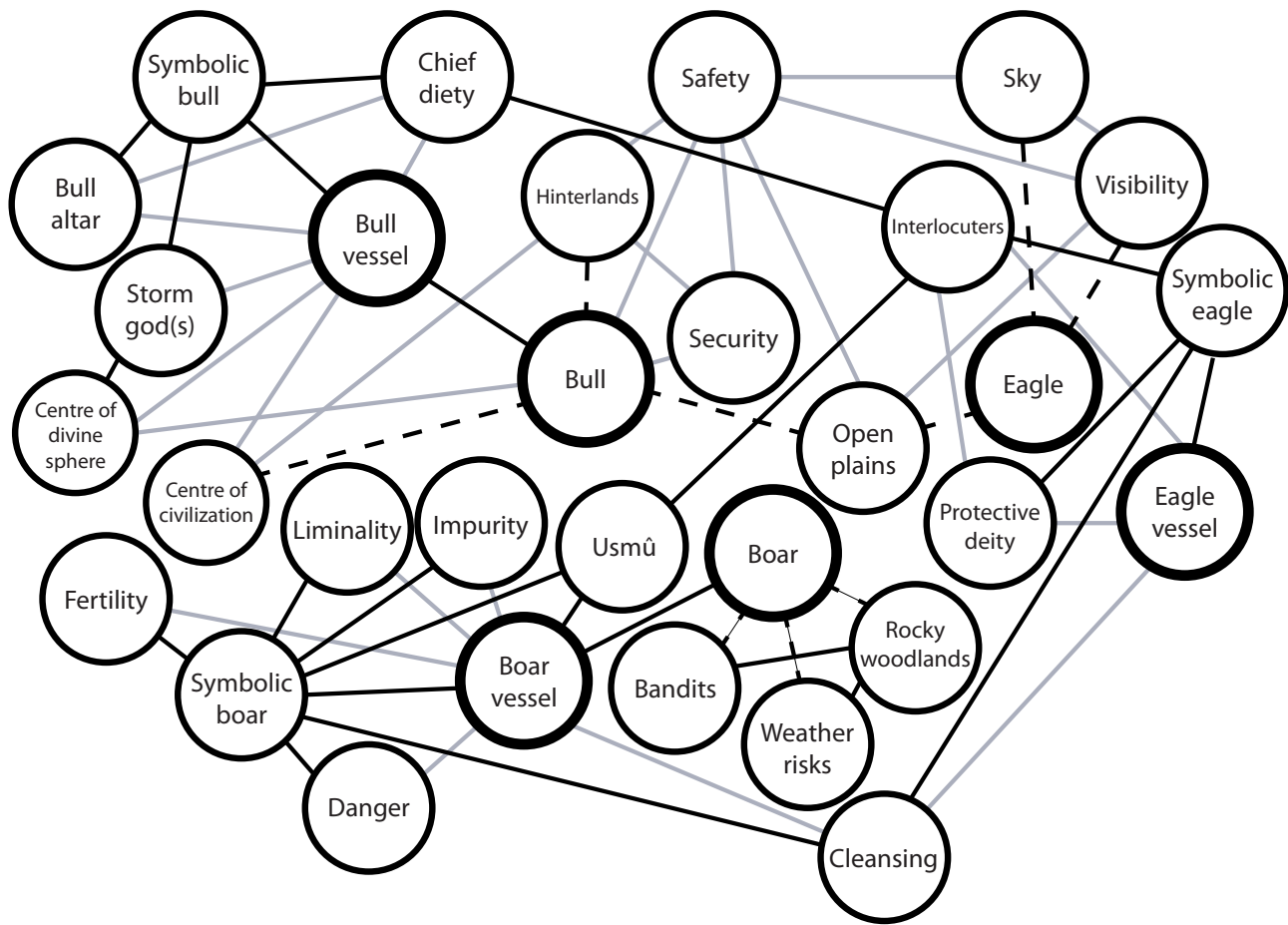


Figure 5.8. *Landscape rhizome. Black lines depict connections that are attested in texts or evidenced by the iconographic corpus. Dashed lines depict connections that can be made on account of the likely proximity of the plateaus that they connect in the landscape. Grey lines illustrate further extrapolated experiential connections.*

most often be seen above the plains and river valleys interspersing mountains (Forsman 1999, 16, 48, 74, 390, 404). These areas, which evolutionary psychological studies demonstrate are consistently found to be attractive by humans over other landscapes (Oriens & Heerwagon 1992), characterized the traders' route around Kültepe, on the Elbistan plain, and on the final approach to the Lower Euphrates settlements.

The landscapes in which eagles were most often encountered therefore presented inviting spaces, close to or leading towards the safety of settlements, in wide flat areas with good visibility, albeit perhaps interspersed with tree cover, feelings that were duplicated by the *folded* experiences of divine protection associated with eagle motifs. The potential to send messages to the gods via eagles in the sky perhaps invited prayers and rituals to be conducted by the roadside, as they sometimes were by rivers on trade journeys (Barjamovic 2011, 196), further embedding

sacred significance in a landscape already inflected with religious significance by the eagles above it. Through these reinforcing *folds*, the presence of eagles in the Anatolian sky created sacred landscapes embedded with divinely rooted safety and relief.

Considered together, the *plateaus* developed through individuals' interactions with animal-vessel *arrangements* allow the interpreter to paint the landscape *arrangements* encountered by those individuals with meaning (Fig. 5.8). The trip from Kültepe took travellers through a series of emotive and engaging landscapes including city hinterlands that spoke of safety and drew together cosmological and mundane hierarchies, rocky upland passes coloured with complex and intimidating liminal tensions, and inviting open plains where they escaped the discomfort of the hills and supernatural actors could be contacted. The cultic experiences of the city made animals inseparable from their divine associations, those animals in turn

made their religious associations an intrinsic part of their natural habitats, and those habitats became reinforcing devices for the cosmological ideas learnt in cult practices.

Conclusion

Having utilized Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy to investigate the cultic and landscape experiences of Assyrian traders in second millennium Anatolia it has been possible to provide a reconstruction of how interaction with faunal representations transformed real animals into reflexive socialization tools that reinforced cosmology and made the landscape a meaningful and affective environment. Animals were important glyptic motifs, connoted particular meanings, and carried emotive religious weight through their association with specific deities. Interactions with the ubiquitous animal-motif vessels of Kültepe were internalized by those who used them or observed their use and later informed their experiences of real life versions of the same species. In turn, those animals imbued the landscapes in which they lived with the meanings projected by their artistic representations. Consequently, the Anatolian landscape encountered by those travelling through it became safe, inviting, intimidating, or frightening, depending on the species that inhabited it.

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Notes

- 1 Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* has been criticized for the editing and potential misrepresentation of its Lakota narrator, Black Elk, but the bison hunt narrative remains a striking example of the potentially deep social meaning of human-animal interactions.
- 2 Deleuzo-Guattarian thought has made its way into archaeological thought via the new materialists (e.g. DeLanda 2002; 2004; 2006; 2016; Bennett 2010) who draw heavily upon it, but rarely are Deleuze and Guattari utilized directly.
- 3 'Assemblage' has been the consistent English rendering of the French *agencement* used by Deleuze and Guattari. However, *agencement* implies a group or layout of distinct elements encountered together, in contrast to the coming together of components into a single form implied by 'assemblage' (Nail 2017, 22), and so I follow Hamilakis and Jones (2017, 80) and use *arrangement* here. This has the additional benefit of avoiding confusion with the

traditional archaeological 'assemblage' denoting a collection of artefacts.

- 4 See Highcock (2018) for the difficulties of defining 'kārūm'. For this study, however, understanding the kārūm as both an Assyrian merchant community and a political, legal, and economic institution is sufficient.
- 5 Or, at least, houses usually associated with one or the other on the basis of the names of the owners of archives found within them; a problematic assumption given the high rates of intermarriage and the cultural variability of the names passed to children (Larsen 2015, 252).
- 6 Özgüç (2009, 68) reports the discovery of a bull figurine with a cone on its back at Samsat which may represent such an object but includes no images.

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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 symbolising 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.

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