

## INDEX

- Achaemenid Persian period (550–331 BCE), 5  
 Adad-nirari II (911–891 BCE), 15  
 Adad-nirari III (810–783 BCE), 39  
 afterlife, 191. *See also* netherworld  
 Agni, 96–7. *See also* *brahma*  
*Amduat*, 163, 190  
 Amenemhat I, Lintel of, 115  
 Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, 115f  
 analogy, in art, 13, 16, 19, 48–9, 62  
   common occurrence of, 66  
   relationship of overlap and, 56  
   use of, 63  
 Anatolia, 14, 39  
 anatomy, xviii, 7, 11, 203. *See also* animal  
   anatomy; human anatomy  
   of battle, 40–2  
   of camel, 44–5  
   of death, 15–18  
   decorum and, 73  
   of hounds, 71  
   musculature emphasis of, 206n7  
*Angim*, 184  
 animal(s), 1, 3, 92, 203. *individual*  
   *animals*  
   as analogous to deportees, 71  
   as artistic focus, 12  
   as carrier, 36  
   chiastic placement of, 23  
   classification of, 81–2  
   congenial contact with, 32–8  
   cruelty to, 11  
   Egyptian view of, 10  
   gender and, 58–60  
   genii proximity to, 34  
   as homeopathic, 36  
   horned, 31f, 33f  
   humans and, 7–8, 10, 51  
   natural affinity with, 10  
   nature of, 18, 94–5  
   ontology of, 94–5  
   as pharmaceutical, 36  
   as tribute, 22–8  
 animal anatomy, xviii, 49, 203, 211n49. *individual*  
   *animals*  
   familiarity with, 3  
   human anatomy and, 3–4, 56  
   rhetoric of, 85  
 animal lore, 76  
 animal protomes, 101–2, 107  
 animal skins  
   inflated, 20–2  
   liminality and, 42–4  
   ritual use of, 43  
 animal slaughter, human massacre v., 66  
 annihilation, danger of, 193  
 antediluvian kings, 198  
 antediluvian lore, transmission of, 170  
 antediluvian sages, xviii, xix, 37, 98–9, 144,  
   210n40  
   as custodians of counsel, 112  
   idea of, 99–100  
 antediluvian tradition, 167, 191–2  
 Anu, 8, 164–5, 189, 193, 198  
 Anunnaki, 128, 183  
 Anzû-bird, 195–6, 243n40, 243n42  
 ape, 23, 26, 26f  
   humanoid character of, 27  
*apkallu(s)*, xix, 37, 104f, 109f, 150, 152, 168, 200,  
   210n40, 239n42. *See also* antediluvian sages;  
   genii  
   bird-headed, 98–9, 150, 172  
   capabilities of, 148  
   evoking, 101  
   fish-cloaked, 150, 151f, 153f

- apkallu(s)* (*continued*)  
 function of, 161  
 human/human-headed, 4f, 34f, 99, 103f, 110f,  
 129f, 150  
 king and, 170  
 knowledge held by, 157  
*Mischwesen* v., 148  
 mythical and literary tradition of, 182  
 protome on, 110f  
 as purifiers, 141  
 supervisor of, 136  
*ummānu(s)* and, 155–6  
 upper body of, 5f, 35f  
 apotropaic representations, xx, 147, 150, 197  
 appropriateness, in art, 13  
 Apsû, 128, 136, 152, 154, 159–62, 164, 172, 182–3,  
 185, 192  
 architectural output  
 creative process of, 5  
 overseers of, 157  
 architectural traditions, 53  
 Aristotle, 37  
 armband protomes, 103–4, 106  
 art. *See also* hieratic art  
 analogy in, 13, 48–9  
 appropriateness in, 13  
 of Ashurbanipal, 71  
 as emblematic, 204  
 history in, 203  
 as intellectual endeavor, 4  
 male emphasis in, 30–2, 58  
 metaphysics of, 126  
 nudity in, 3  
 outward meaning v. inner essence, xvii  
 overseers of, 157  
 proximity in, 12–13  
 scholars and, 4, 157  
 of Sennacherib, 61–9  
 writing and, 157  
 artist(s), 6  
 animal focus of, 12  
 creative process of, 5  
 styles/subjects of, 3  
 artistic idioms, 116  
 Asakku, 184–6, 195f  
 Ashur (Assyrian national god), 123, 128, 132,  
 180  
 Ashurbanipal (668–627 BCE), xviii–xix, 11, 71,  
 90, 169  
 on esoteric knowledge, 219n20  
 hounds of, 55, 71–6  
 library of, 7, 70  
 palace of, 71  
 Ashur-dan II (934–912 BCE), 15  
 Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE), xviii–xx, 11, 78f,  
 79f, 120, 142f  
 ape-bearing tributary of, 26  
 in ceremonial activity, 98f  
 hunting wild bulls, 15f  
 libating over dead bull, 19f  
 libating over dead lion, 19f  
 lion hunting, 123f  
 as Neo-Assyrian Empire founder, xviii, 14  
 Northwest Palace of, 16f, 21f, 87f, 96  
 reign of, 15  
 soldiers of, 46f  
 Standard Inscription of, 67, 128  
 throne room of, 28–30  
 āšipūtu (exorcism), 156, 159  
 Assur, building program in, 61  
 Assyria  
 Babylonia and, 180  
 growth of, xix, 14  
 natural border of, 14  
 rise of, 228n2  
 Assyrian archers, 78f  
 Assyrian astrologists, 123  
 Assyrian chariot, 5f  
 Assyrian horsemen, 47f  
 Assyrian imperialism, 14, 70–1  
 Assyrian national god. *Ašbur*  
 Assyrian scholarly disciplines, 155–7, 159  
 Assyrian supremacy, glorification of, 48  
 Assyrian values, 29–30  
 astral medallions, 126  
 astrology, 123  
*asūtu* (medicine and healing), 156  
 Atlas, 183  
*Atrahasis* (Old Babylonian Flood story), 68  
 attendants, with horses, 57f  
 attendants, with hounds, 56f  
*awīlu* (man), 68  
 Babylon, 70, 154  
 destruction of, 61, 180  
 kingship in, 90  
 throne of, 39  
 Babylonia  
 Assyria and, 180  
 culture of, 39  
 destruction of, 61  
 Babylonian captive, 44f  
 child and, 24  
 Babylonian poem of cosmogony. —*See Enūma Eliš*  
 Babylonian stone *kudurrū*, 181f  
 Bachelot, Luc, 88  
*banduddū* (bucket), 99, 159  
 Barnett, R. D., 36, 40, 45

- barîtu* (divination), 156  
 Battle of Til Tuba, 77f  
 battle scenes, 16  
   anatomy of, 40–2  
   with dead human bodies, 76  
 Bedouin, 44  
   captives, 45f  
 bent-axis temple plan, 120, 126  
 Berossos, 187–8  
*Bilgames and Huwawa* (Sumerian poem), 36, 188–9  
 binary divisions, 91  
 van Binsbergen, Wim, 186–7  
 bipartite arrangement, 96, 98  
   of slabs in Room G, 113  
 bird morphology, 98–9  
 bird-*apkallu*, 98–9, 150, 172  
 bird-headed genii, 142f  
*bit-hilâni*, 53  
 Black Obelisk  
   allusion in, 26  
   of Shalmaneser III, 18, 25–6, 25f, 27f, 29f, 31f  
   tributaries on, 25–6  
 bodily exposure, 3  
 bodily intimacy, 24  
*The Book of Gates*, 163  
 booty  
   of Lachish, 64f  
   records of, 63f  
 bovine  
   feline v., 69  
   as natural victim, 93  
   nonking and, 93  
   protome, 109, 113  
 bow, 113, 221n17  
   sword v., 104  
   as unchanging element, 104  
*brahma*, 96–7, 110, 138, 152, 168. *See also* Agni  
 Brandes, M. A., 88, 114, 117, 119, 127  
   on terrestrial v. celestial, 120  
 Breniquet, Catherine, 26  
 Bull of Heaven  
   attack on, 134, 135f  
   killing of, 66  
 bulls, wild, 203  
   depiction of, 17  
   hunting of, 15–17, 15f  
   king v., 67–8  
   libations over, 19f  
   as royal animal, 92  
   symbolism of, 69  
   winged/human-headed, 18f  
 burials, septenary, 99  
 Burkert, Walter, 41–2  
 camel(s)  
   anatomy of, 44–5  
   riding of, 44–5  
 capital city, move of, 15  
 captives, 24, 44f, 45f, 80  
 Carchemish, 20, 22–3, 52  
 carnivore  
   domesticated, 75  
   herbivore v., 66–9  
 caste system, 97  
 cattle, 214n39  
   advancement of, 69f  
   domestication and the castration of, 68  
   humans as analogous to, 46  
 cavalrymen, 41f  
 celestial pattern, 120  
   terrestrial v., 128  
 Central Palace, of Tiglath-Pileser III at Nimrud, 39  
 chariot, 5f, 22, 49f, 69, 184  
*chiasmus*, 115  
 Chief Scribe, 151, 219n14  
 Christian Gnosticism, 168, 204  
 Cifarelli, Megan, 28–30, 32, 46  
 classification system, for animals, 81–2  
 coming of age, 193  
 conquered states, 22  
 controlled demeanor, depiction of, 22  
 Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 88, 168, 226n19, 226n23  
   on Indian theory of government, 96–7  
   on *mixta persona*, 109–10  
 cosmic cycles, theory of, 152–3  
   eternal return and, 154  
 cosmogony, xix–xx, 144, 184  
 cosmography, 162  
 cosmology, 82, 147, 203–4  
   duality in, 128  
   of Northwest Palace, 123  
 costume, 42  
 Courtyard D of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II  
   at Nimrud, 22, 23f  
 covert, overt v., 89  
 creation, 68  
 crown prince, 130, 220n2, 220n4  
   identification of, 90–1  
   king and, 131f, 133, 139  
   liminality of, 132  
 cuneiform writing, 86  
 cylinder-seal iconography, 134, 205n1  
 Dalley, Stephanie, 137–8  
 Damascus, 22

- death  
 analogy of, 16  
 anatomy of, 15–18  
 imminence of, 45, 74  
 motif of, 16
- decorum, in art, 13, 35–6, 81, 92, 208n31, 210n31  
 anatomy and, 73  
 guidelines of, 73  
 placement and, 125–6  
 of protomes, 105–6, 113  
 system of, 102, 105–6  
 visual, 18, 102
- deer, 34f, 35f
- demons, with daggers, 197–8
- deportation scene, 46, 48
- Descent of Inanna/Ishtar*, 155
- dignity, of adversary, 47
- disease, 40  
 aversion of, 36
- divine, human and, 138, 170–1
- divine rule of deities, 187
- divine symbols, 126
- djed* pillar, 162, 163f, 164f, 165f
- dogs. *See* hounds
- Dolce, Rita, 120
- doorway guardian figures, 62f, 71, 72f, 147, 177f
- dream experience, 196
- duality, in cosmology, 128
- Dumézil, Georges, 83, 110
- Durand, Jean-Louis, 37
- Dur-Sharrukin, 50–1, 61. *See also* Khorsabad
- Early Dynastic period (ca. 2900–2334 BCE), 15
- ekdu* (fierce), 67–8
- elephant, 26f
- emblematic scenes, xx
- emblematic-hieratic mode, in art, xix
- encounter scene, 131, 133, 138–9
- enemy, portrayal of, 6f
- enemy prostration, 20f
- Enkidu, 7, 133, 135, 188. *See also* *The Epic of Gilgamesh*; Gilgamesh  
 animal relationships of, 8  
 arrival of, 137  
 Bull of Heaven attack by, 134, 135f  
 creation of, 8–10, 213n23  
 crime of, 188–9  
 death of, 66, 93, 189  
 dream of, 197, 243n35  
 Gilgamesh and, 10, 135, 138  
 humanization of, 67  
 iconography of, 139  
 in liminal state, 10  
 as man, 11  
 mourning for, 43  
 nature of, 136–7  
 netherworld vision of, 195  
*regnum* and, 134  
*sacerdotium* and, 134  
 as savior, 138  
 warnings of, 138  
 as *zikru*, 59
- Enki/Ea (god of wisdom and learning), 85, 111, 128, 152, 189, 240n19  
 symbol of, 136, 180–2
- Enlil, 186–7, 189, 193
- Enūma Eliš* (Babylonian poem of cosmogony), 63, 68, 144, 147–8, 156, 182, 184–6, 188
- The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 7–9, 43, 66, 93, 111, 133, 188–9, 199, 227n49. *See also* Enkidu; Gilgamesh  
 animals in, 8  
 central problem in, 10  
 composition and compilation of, 156  
 Enkidu's creation in, 8–10, 213n23  
 immortality in, 245n70  
 masculinity in, 59
- Ereškigal, 191, 193, 198
- eršetu*, 128
- Erra, Poem of*. *See* *Poem of Erra*
- Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE), 40, 48–9, 193  
 death of, 70  
 Stela of, 90–1, 91f
- esoteric kingship, 127–8, 162  
 “sacred tree” and, 163
- esoteric knowledge, 155–7, 219n20
- Etana, 191, 198
- eternal return, concept of, 154
- eṭlu girmalu*, 167
- eunuchs, 30, 51, 96, 171
- evil, aversion of, 36
- exoteric kingship, 127–8, 162
- extispicy, 37, 66
- Falkner, M., 40, 45
- family, lack of, 169
- faunal representations, 81, 209n22
- feet, overlapping of, 19–20
- feline  
 bovine v., 69  
 king and, 93
- fertility, “sacred tree” and, 160
- fertilization, 159, 170  
 interpretation of, 160
- figural representation, 51  
 conceptual v. real, 94

- fish, symbolism of, 76  
 fish-*apkallu*, 150, 151f, 153f  
 flood, phenomenon of, 151, 154  
   traditions and, 184  
 flora, 209n22  
   herbivore and, 78  
 Foster, Benjamin, 81
- garments, of tributaries, 23  
 gazelle, with hunter, 52–3  
 gender, 215n23  
   animals and, 58–60  
 genii, 51, 144. *See also apkallu(s)*  
   anatomical exposure of, 36  
   animal proximity with, 34  
   animal-bearing, 33, 92, 210n40  
   bird-headed, 142f  
   categories of, 32–3  
   as guardians, 37  
   liminality of, 36  
   in Room G, 98  
   theriophorous, 36  
   wingless, 52f  
 genitalia, 58. *See also phallus*  
 van Gennepe, Arthur, 47  
 geometry, of Northwest Palace, 123  
 Gilgamesh, 59, 133, 163–4, 193–4, 199, 235n41, 245n70. *See also Enkidu; The Epic of Gilgamesh*  
   Bull of Heaven attack by, 134, 135f  
   dream of, 137, 197  
   Enkidu and, 10, 135, 138  
   iconography of, 139  
   as liminal, 189  
   as *mixta persona*, 135  
   mourning by, 43  
   nature of, 244n69  
   quest of, 93  
   *regnum* and, 134  
   *sacerdotium* and, 134  
   as savior, 138  
   warnings to, 138  
*girtablilu* (scorpion man), 173f, 174f, 182  
 giš.hur, 192, 194  
 gnosis, xx, 116, 189, 192  
 Gnosticism. *See* Christian Gnosticism  
 goatskins, inflated, 20  
 Green, Anthony, 148  
 Groenewegen-Frankfort, H. A., 3  
 grooms, horses and, 55f  
 growth, themes of, 169  
 guardian figures. *See* doorway guardian figures  
 Gudea, 185, 187  
 Gula (goddess of healing), 75–6  
 Hamanu (Elamite city), 53  
   assault and capture of, 54f  
 Hare, Tom, 59  
 headband, appearance of, 24–5, 133, 220n4  
 healing, goddess of, 75–6  
 Heracles, 41, 183, 189  
 herbivore  
   carnivore v., 66–9  
   flora and, 78  
   rib cage visibility of, 73–5  
   role of, 67  
   slaughter of, 66–7  
 herbivorous protomes, 108  
 heroic saga, 184  
 heterosexual anxieties, 58  
 hieratic art, 88, 117  
   spatial relationships in, 120  
 historical narrative, xx  
 Hittite state, 15  
 homeopathic, 36  
 horned dragon, 180  
 horse(s), 3, 54f  
   attendants and, 57f  
   grooms and, 55f  
 horse leg, human leg v., 53–8  
 horsemen, 47f  
 Horus (falcon), 115, 143, 228n60  
   identity of, 140–1  
   purification by, 160–1  
 hounds, 217n18  
   anatomy of, 71  
   of Ashurbanipal, 55, 71–6  
   attendants with, 56f  
   as domesticated carnivore, 75  
   hunt scenes and, 73f  
   representations of, 76  
 hubris, 188  
 human(s)  
   as analogous to animals, 46, 71  
   animal contact with, 32–8, 51  
   animal kinship with, 7–8, 10  
   decapitation of, 77–8  
   depiction of, 58  
   divine and, 138, 170–1  
   Egyptian view of, 10  
   as intrusion, 7  
   king as, 97  
   marginalization of, 28  
   nudity of, 77–8  
   ontological kinship of, 10  
   positioning/posturing of, 28, 88  
   river crossing by, 20–2  
   sizes of, 51  
   spirituality decline in, 152

- human anatomy, xviii, 21, 49, 203  
 animal anatomy and, 3–4, 56  
 in battle scenes, 76  
 generic, 58  
 nudity and, 21  
 Paley on, 7  
 rhetoric of, 85  
 rib cage visibility and, 21, 73–5  
 as taboo, 32
- human body, virility of, 60
- human leg, horse leg v., 53–8
- human-headed bull, 8f
- human-headed quadrupeds, 28f
- human/human-headed *apkallu*, 4f, 34f, 99, 103f,  
 110f, 129f, 150
- humanoid quadrupeds, 26
- Humbaba, 134, 138
- hunt scenes, 15–17, 15f, 51, 79f  
 hounds and, 73f  
 sacrifice v., 51–3
- hunter, with gazelle, 52–3
- hybrid figures, 27, 108–9, 188  
 in Slain Heroes, 185
- hypervirility, 59
- iconography, xvii, 85–6, 180–1, 201  
 cylinder-seal, 134  
 duality of, 133–4  
 of *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 139  
 of *kudurrus*, 182  
 of musculature, 206n7  
 mythological and emblematic vocabulary of,  
 xix–xx
- identity  
 costume and, 42  
 sexuality and, 30
- ideology, of sovereignty, 110, 194
- Inanna/Ishtar (goddess), 34, 129, 132  
 honoring of, 42  
 netherworld descent of, 199
- Indian theory, of government, 96–7
- Indra (*ksatra*), 96–7, 110, 168
- initiation, connotations of, 185
- intellectual endeavor, art as, 4
- intellectual tradition, 12
- internal viscera, examination of, 37
- intimacy, 24
- Isaac, Erich, 68
- Ishtar. *See* Inanna/Ishtar
- Isin Dynasty (ca. 2017–1793 BCE), 153
- iššakku šangû (SANGA), 132
- Jehu, submission of, 30f  
 judgment, conception of, 161
- Kalhu, xviii. *See also* Nimrud, citadel of  
*kalpa*, 152  
*kalûtu*, 155–7
- Kar Tukulti-Ninurta, 14
- Karatepe, 52
- Kassite Period (ca. 1595–1157 BCE), 68
- Katz, Dina, 191
- Khorsabad, 50. *See also* Dur-Sharrukin  
 abandonment of, 61  
 palace in, 51
- king(s), 92, 101, 114, 125, 127, 132, 170, 210n31,  
 223n6  
 antediluvian, 198  
*apkallus* and, 170  
 bull v., 67–8  
 contributions of, 39  
 creation of, 168–9  
 crown prince and, 131f, 133, 139  
 feline and, 93  
 headband of, 133  
 as human, 97  
 ideal, 139, 166  
 immediate community around, 32  
 as incarnation of gods, 228n63  
 Livingstone on, 168  
 with military paraphernalia, 94  
 nudity and, 35–6  
 Paley on, 139  
 priest and, 92, 97, 226n23  
 ritual burial of, 61  
 ritual purity of, 161  
 roles of, 124, 168, 201  
 “sacred tree” and, 125–9  
 as sage, 158, 167  
 as superhuman, 169–71  
 as union of regnum and the sacerdotium, 96  
 of Uruk, 153  
 vassal, 70  
 virility of, 68  
 wisdom of, 192
- king side  
 interpretation of, 91  
 nonking side v., 91
- Kingdom of the Mitanni (ca. 1500–1350 BCE), 14
- King-Man, 167–71
- kingship  
 dual nature of, 126–7, 139, 143, 203  
 exoteric and esoteric, 127–8, 162  
 metaphysics of, 144, 226n19  
 theology of, 124
- Kingsley, Peter, 190
- Kingu (dead god), 63
- kinship, of animals and humans, 7

- knowledge, 82  
 of *apkallus*, 157  
 concealment of, 154–5  
 esoteric, 155–7, 219n20  
 Kolbe, Dieter, 148, 238n14  
 kšatra, 96–7, 110, 168  
*kudurru(s)*, 181f  
 iconography of, 182  
*kullullū* (merman), 172, 174, 182, 188, 200  
*kusarikku* (upright bull-man), 174, 182  
 Kvanvig, Helge, 150, 153, 170, 190–2, 196–7
- Lachish, 65f  
 booty of, 64f  
 fall of, 64  
 massacres of, 63–6  
*lahmu*, 172, 174–5, 177f, 180, 182  
*lamassu*, 175–6, 188  
 lamentation priest, institution of, 155  
 Land of Assur, 22  
 Late Bronze Age, 14–15  
 Layard, Austen Henry, 40  
 libation, prostration and, 18–20  
 libation scenes, 19, 19f, 90  
 visual analysis of, 93–4  
 Library of Ashurbanipal, 7, 70  
*lilissu* drum, 86, 147–8  
 liminality, state of, 13, 22  
 animal skins and, 42–4  
 of crown prince, 132  
 of genii, 36  
 of Gilgamesh, 189  
 theory of, 47, 48  
 of tributary, 28–32  
 lion(s), 75f, 175f, 203  
 combat with, 59f  
 as domain of king, 93  
 hunting of, 16f, 17–18, 71, 74f, 123f, 133  
 libations over, 19f  
 musicians and, 57f  
 protome, 93f, 105, 108f, 113–14  
 as royal animal, 92  
 skin of, 43  
 as symbol, 243n40  
 winged/human-headed, 17f  
 lion skin figures, 213n20  
 literacy, 70  
 liver, 37  
 Livingstone, Alasdair, 62–3, 86  
 on kings, 168  
*Lugal-e*, 86, 184–5  
 Lugal-irra, 197–8  
*lullū*, 10, 68, 134, 136, 139, 167  
 lustration ritual, 161  
*ma'at* (truth, justice, and order), 140, 161, 186  
 Magen, Ursula, 85  
 on purification, 159–60  
 magical theories, 36  
*mahāyuga*, 152  
 male sex, emphasis on, 30–2, 58  
 male-centered discourse, 32  
*māliku amēlu*, 167–8  
 Mallowan, Max, 36  
 man, nature and ontology of, 167  
*manvantāra*, 152  
 Marcus, Michelle, 32, 58  
 Marduk, 133, 154, 164–5, 182, 206n15  
 hubris of, 188  
 power of, 239n39  
 resignation of, 136  
 rise of, 172  
 Marduk-apla-iddina II, 50  
 margin, of van Gennepe, 47–8  
 masculinity, 32, 57–8  
 in *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, 59  
 nature of, 59  
*mašhultuppū* (scapegoat), 36  
 massacres, of Lachish, 63–5  
 animal slaughter v., 66  
 Mayer, Werner, R., 168  
 MĒ, namtar v., 186  
*melammu*, 193, 196  
 Meslamta-ea, 197–8  
 Mesopotamia  
 Assyrian presence in, 14  
 iconography of, xvii  
 religion of, 86  
 traditions of, 12  
*mesu*-tree, 164–5  
 metaphor, 12  
 yoke as, 46–7  
 metaphysicality, 12, 144  
 metaphysics, of art, 126  
 Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1350–1000 BCE), xix,  
 14  
 Middle Babylonian period (1595–1157 BCE), 68  
 military camp, 42f, 65  
 military campaigns, 39  
*Mischwesen* (mixed being), xix, 33, 62, 147, 178,  
 204, 239n42  
*apkallus* v., 148  
 demonic appearance of, 200  
 as guardians, 37  
 mythical and literary tradition of, 182  
 nature of, 185  
 survey of, xx  
 of Tiamat, 172  
 Mitra, 97, 109–10

- mixed being. *See Mischwesen*, figures of  
*mixta persona*  
 Coomaraswamy on, 109–10  
 expressions of, 138–9  
 Gilgamesh as, 135  
 royal figure as, 136  
 model initiate, 183  
 moral inferiority, 68–9  
 morphology, of birds in relief, 98–9  
*mullilu* (purifier), 159  
 mummery, 42, 43f  
 musculature, emphasis on, 206n7  
*musḫuššu*, 105, 172, 174, 177, 180, 182, 200  
 musicians, lions and, 57f  
 mystical-mythological tradition, 86, 144
- Nabû, 111, 133–4, 180  
 Nagy, Gregory, 140  
 namtar, ME v., 186  
 narrative representation, 87  
 naturalism, 45  
 negative rhetoric, of netherworld, 199–200  
 Neo-Assyrian art. *See art*  
 Neo-Assyrian deportation, 48  
 Neo-Assyrian Empire (883–612 BCE), xvii–xviii, 14  
 Neo-Assyrian iconography. *See iconography*  
 Neo-Assyrian imperialism, 22  
 Neo-Assyrian representational systems, 81  
 Neo-Assyrian scheme, of duality/union, 116  
 Neo-Hittite states, 52  
 Nergal (god of the netherworld and of war and  
 plague), 42, 191  
 epiphany of, 193  
 servants of, 197–8  
 speech of, 192  
 netherworld, 164, 190, 198, 224n9, 235n34. *See also*  
 afterlife  
 capacity of, 194  
 complexity of, 190–1  
 Enkidu in, 195  
 function of, 155  
 guardians of, 182  
 Inanna in, 199  
 luminescence and, 242n27  
 negative rhetoric of, 199–200  
 residents of, 194–5, 199  
 visions of, 195–6  
 netherworld semantics, 128  
 knowledge transmission and, 155  
 Nimrud, citadel of, xviii, xx, 15, 28, 39, 41f, 88. *See*  
*also* Room G, of Northwest Palace of  
 Ashurnasirpal II  
 Nineveh, 61, 67f, 70, 132, 175  
 fall of, 70  
 reliefs at, 61
- Ninurta, 86, 111, 128, 133, 136, 184–6, 188–9,  
 193–4, 195f  
 Ninurta Temple, 20, 194, 195f  
 inscription in, 40, 67  
 Ninurta/Ningirsu, 195f  
 chariot of, 184  
 exploits of, 188  
 presentation of, 186  
 slaying by, 185  
 symbol of, 243n40  
 non-Assyrian figures, postures/gestures of, 29–30  
 nonking side  
 bovine and, 93  
 interpretation of, 91–2  
 king side v., 91  
 North Palace, Nineveh, 53–6, 54f, 57f, 59f, 71, 72f,  
 73f, 74f, 75f, 79f, 80, 132, 175–6, 179f, 180  
 Northwest Palace, of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud,  
 16f, 21f, 87f, 96. *See also individual rooms*  
 cosmology of, 123  
 geometry of, 123  
 as model of cosmos, 123–4  
 notational system, of protome placement, 126–7  
 nudity  
 in art, 3  
 human anatomy and, 21  
 of humans in relief, 77–8  
 king and, 35–6  
 the other and, 40  
 of soldiers, 22  
*numen*, 36  
 notion of, 48  
 visual denotation of, 42
- Oannes, morphology of, 188  
 Old Assyrian period (ca. 1920–1740 BCE), 14  
 Old Babylonian Flood story, 68  
 Old Babylonian period (1894–1595 BCE),  
 180  
 omens, 211n45  
 ontological kinship, of man/animal, xviii, 10  
 ontology, 82  
 of animals, 94–5  
 costume and, 42  
 of man, 167  
 oral knowledge, 82  
 order, conception of, 161  
 organic matter, 76  
 Ornan, Tallay, 178  
 Osiris, 141f, 162  
 Re's union with, 163  
 the other, nudity and, 40  
 overlap, 204  
 of buckets, 101  
 relationship of analogy and, 56



- overseers, of art and architecture, 157  
 overt, covert v., 89  
 ox/oxen, 66, 80, 214n39  
   inferiority of, 68–9  
   respect for, 68–9  
   symbolism of, 48, 69  
   temperament of, 68  
   use of, 213n31  
 palace reliefs, 3  
 Paley, Samuel M., 221n13, 221n14  
   on crown prince identification, 90–1  
   on human anatomy, 7  
   on king identity, 139  
 Parker-Mallowan, Barbara, 36  
 Parpola, Simo, 94, 148–9  
   on Chief Scribe, 151  
   on scholars, 156  
 Persepolis, artistic program at, 5  
 perspective, in art, 51. *See also* visual hierarchy  
 phallus, 56. *See also* genitalia  
 physical intimacy, 24  
 placement  
   of armbands, 103  
   decorum and, 125–6  
   meaning of, 102  
   of protomes, 126–7  
 Plato's essentials of good government, 110  
  
*Poem of Erra*, 136, 148, 153–4, 159, 164–5, 198  
 poet, as vessel, 156  
 political-propagandistic rhetoric, 88–9  
 politics, 39  
 pollination, 159  
 Porada, Edith, 24  
 Porter, Barbara Nevling, 159  
 postdiluvian world, 165  
*pralaya*, 152  
 priest. *See also* *sem*-priests  
   king and, 92, 97, 226n23  
   training for, 156  
 primeval events, repetition of, 86  
 primordial cosmos, 200  
 Prometheus, 183, 186, 189  
 proportion, importance of, 7  
 prostration  
   of enemies, 20f  
   libation and, 18–20  
   scenes of, 131  
 protome(s), 102–3, 103f, 105f, 107f  
   animal, 101–2, 107  
   on *apkallu*, 110f  
   armband, 104, 106  
   bovine, 109, 113  
   decorum in, 105–6, 113  
   herbivorous, 108  
   placement of, 126–7  
   ram, 113  
   waistband, 105–6, 126–7  
 proximity, in art, 12–13  
*puluḫtu*, 193–4, 196  
 purification rituals, 85, 159. *See also* ritual purification  
   of Horus and Thoth, 160–1  
   interpretation of, 160–1  
   Magen on, 159–60  
 de Pury, Albert, 7–8, 10  
*Pyramid Texts*, 161, 190  
 Pythagoras, 10–11, 207n24  
  
 quadrupeds, human-headed, 28f  
  
 ram protome, 113  
 Ramesses II  
   coronation of, 143f  
   purification of, 142f  
 Re (sun god)  
   descent of, 163  
   Osiris' union with, 163  
 rebellion, 185–6  
 recession, 14–15  
*regnum* (royal), xix, 88, 128, 139  
   duality of, 95  
   Enkidu and, 134  
   Gilgamesh and, 134  
   king and, 96  
   *sacerdotium* and, 93, 114  
 relief program, of king, 11, 174–5  
   audience of, 124  
   grammar of the composition of, 102  
   narrative of, 171  
   semantics of, 201, 203  
 religion, war and, 40–1  
 rhinoceros, 26  
 rib cage visibility, 21, 73–5  
*Rigveda*, 138  
 rite of passage, 47, 200  
 ritual, 147–8  
 ritual basin, 153f  
 ritual purification, 160. *See also* purification rituals  
   of king, 161  
 ritual slaughter, 40–1, 74, 210n40  
 ritual transformation, 148  
 river crossing, 20–2, 208n12  
 River Ulai, 77f  
 Roaf, Michael, 148

- Room B, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 5f, 16f, 102, 107, 129f, 208n12  
 as nuclear space, 118  
 panel 23 in, 127f  
 panels 2–12 in, 124f  
 “sacred tree” in, 122f
- Room C, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 120–1  
 panels 6–8 in, 116f
- Room E, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 142f, 144  
 panels 5–17 in, 121f
- Room G, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 96, 106, 109f  
 bipartite division of slabs in, 113  
 characterization of, 102  
 composition of, 98, 113, 126, 141–2  
 genii in, 98  
 hieratic language of, 117  
 king images in, 97, 125  
 as nuclear space, 118  
 panel 2 detail in, 100f  
 panel 4 of, 103f  
 panel 6, 104  
 panels 2–3 in, 99f  
 panels 5–16, 106f  
 panels 7–20 in, 100f  
 Room H v., 109  
 spatial configuration of, 120
- Room H, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 121  
 hieratic language of, 117  
 panels 18–33 in, 118f  
 panels H 1–18 in, 111f  
 Room G v., 109  
 sacerdotal emphasis of, 117–18
- Room L, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 119, 144  
 panels 1–17 in, 119f
- Room N, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 121  
 panels 4–7 in, 117f
- Room S, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 120–2  
 panels 2–5 in, 122f
- Room T, of Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, composition of, 122  
 rosette, as symbol, 34  
 royal animals, 92  
 royal chariot, 22, 69  
 royal entourage, 91  
 royal figure, as *mixta persona*, 136  
 royal hunt  
 rituals of, 18–19  
 symbolism of, 68  
 royal ideology, 194  
 royal parasol, 94  
 royal person, creation of, 168–9  
 royal unity, philosophy of, 130  
 royalty, understanding of, 88  
*rubā’um* (princehood), 132–3  
 Russell, John, 36
- sacerdotium* (priestly), xix, 88, 110, 128, 139  
 duality of, 95  
 Enkidu and, 134  
 Gilgamesh and, 134  
 king and, 96  
 precedence of, 97  
*regnum* and, 93, 114  
 in Room H, 117–18
- sacred language, 88  
 sacred power, 48  
 “sacred tree,” 35, 78, 85, 99, 235n30  
 composition of, 129  
 esoteric kingship and, 163  
 fertility and, 160  
 king and, 125–9  
 meaning of, 165–6  
 repetitions of, 144  
 in Room B, 107, 122f  
 in Room G, 106
- sacrifice, 210n34  
 hunt v., 51–3
- sage, king as, 158, 167. *See also* antediluvian sages
- Sam’al (Zincirli), 22
- Samaria, 22
- šamû*, 128
- SANGA. *See* iššakku šangû
- šar kibrāt arba’im* (King of the Four Quarters), 123
- Sargon II (721–705 BCE), xviii, 11, 50–6, 174  
 death of, 61  
 palace of, 53f
- Sargon legend, 169
- Sargonids, xix, 178
- SBV. *See* Standard Babylonian Version
- scapegoat, 36
- scholars, 4, 156–7
- scorpion man, 173f, 174f, 243n33
- scribe(s), 158, 231n45  
 education of, 156  
 engraver v., 232n55
- secret lore, 86
- sed* festival, 115, 115f
- semantics  
 of netherworld, 128, 155  
 of relief programs, 201, 203
- semi-divine beings, 32
- semiotics, 143–4

- sem*-priests, 213n22
- Sennacherib (704–681 BCE), xviii, xix, 11, 61–9, 67f, 79f  
 enthronement of, 64f  
 murder of, 70  
 reign of, 181f  
 Southwest Palace at Nineveh, 24
- septenary burials, 99
- Seth. *See* Thoth and Seth
- seven counselors, 111
- seven *muntalki*, 111
- seven sages, 177
- sexuality, identity and, 30
- Shakkan, 191, 198
- Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE), 39  
 Black Obelisk of, 18, 25–6, 25f, 27f, 29f, 31f
- Shalmaneser V (726–722 BCE), 50
- Shamash (sun-god), 123, 129
- Shamash-shum-ukin, 70, 90
- Shamshi-adad V (823–811 BCE), 39
- sibitti* (seven deities), 177, 179f, 197–8
- Siege of Lachish, 64f, 65f
- siege scene, 40
- Sin of Sargon*, 61
- Sippar, 154–5
- Slain Heroes, 184, 187  
 hybrid beings of, 185
- slaughter, ritual, 40–1, 74
- slaves, 32
- Sloping Passage LI, 55
- soldiers, 6f, 214n2  
 of Ashurnasirpal II, 46f  
 nudity of, 22  
 river crossing of, 20f  
 trophy heads of, 62
- Southwest Palace, Nimrud, 40, 41f, 47–9, 49f
- Southwest Palace, Nineveh, 7, 8f, 24, 40, 43, 44f, 55, 61–4, 64f, 65f, 67f, 69f, 76, 77f, 79f, 80, 150, 175, 177f, 178f
- sovereignty, 83
- sow, 9f
- space, function of, 119–20
- staff, connotations of, 121–2
- Standard Babylonian Version (SBV), 7, 43
- Standard of Ur, 16
- Stela of Eannatum, 93
- Stela of the Vultures, 93
- Stela of Ur-Namma, 93
- submission, scenes of, 29f
- suḫurmāšū*, 136, 180, 188
- The Sumerian King List*, 153
- šumma izbu* (omen series), 75
- sword  
 bow v., 104  
 pommels of, 105  
 presence and absence of, 114  
 as sign of military, 113  
 symmetrical design, 125
- tablet of destinies, 186, 240n23
- terrestrial pattern, 120, 127–8  
 celestial v., 128
- Teumman (Elamite king), decapitation of, 76
- thematic dominance, 12
- theocracy, 123
- theological revolution, 61
- theology, of kingship, 124
- Thoth and Seth (moon god), 115, 140–1, 141f, 143, 198, 228n59  
 purification by, 160–1
- throne room, of Northwest Palace of  
 Ashurnasirpal II, 120, 125, 129–30  
 Winter on, 160
- Tiamat (female monster), 63, 188, 200  
 army of, 172  
 creatures of, 176, 182, 185, 237n8  
*Mischwesen* of, 172
- Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BCE), 14
- Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 BCE), xviii, 11, 40–9  
 art of, 51  
 chariot of, 49f  
 palace of, 39  
 reign of, 22
- time. *See* world era succession
- Titans, of Greek mythology, 183, 186, 188
- transitional events, significance of, 22
- transubstantiation, 148
- tree, sacred. *See* “sacred tree”
- tree slaughters, 66
- tributary/tributaries, 31f, 32  
 on Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, 25–6  
 garments of, 23  
 with gifts, 23f  
 horned animals and, 33f  
 liminality of, 28–32  
 marginality of, 28  
 in procession, 22–3
- tribute  
 animal as, 22–8  
 bearers of, 22
- Tukulti-Ninurta Epic*, 14
- Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207 BCE), 14
- Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 BCE), 15
- tupšarrītu* (astrology), 156
- turtānu*, 90–1
- turtle, 136

- ugallu*, 62f, 150, 175–6, 178f, 179f, 195  
 appearance of, 177–8  
*ummānu(s)*, 133, 150–1, 154, 157, 159, 164, 168,  
 170  
*apkallus* and, 155–6  
*Underworld Vision of an Assyrian Prince*, 155, 185,  
 190–2, 194–7  
 unification, schemes of, 140  
 Ur III period (ca. 2112–2004 BCE), 132  
 Urartian, 48  
 Urartu, kingdom of, 50  
*uridimmu* (upright lion-humanoid), 172, 176, 182  
*urmablullū*, 175–6, 179  
 ur-sag, 184  
 Uruk, 132  
 kings of, 153  
 Utnapishtim, 152–3, 182, 183  
 location of, 227n50  
 Utu (sun-god), 36  
*utukku lemnu*, 194
- Varuna, 97, 109–10  
 vassal kings, 70  
 vassal states, 22  
 virility. *See also* hypervirility  
 of human anatomy, 60  
 of king, 68  
 perspective of, 58  
 virtual proximity, 21  
 viscera, examination of, 37  
 visual decorum, 18, 102  
 visual discourse, xx, 11  
 visual formulas, 24, 140
- visual hierarchy, 52. *See also* perspective  
 visual language, 7, 85, 90, 140  
 nature of, 89  
 visual narrative, 87–8
- Wäfler, M., 23  
 waistband protomes, 105–6  
 positioning of, 126–7  
 war  
 prisoners of, 28, 131  
 as religious activity, 40–1  
 water skins, 43, 80  
*Wê-ilu*, 68  
 whip, 213n21  
 whisk-bearer, 92  
 Wiggermann, F. A. M., 148, 186–7  
 on scorpion man, 243n33  
 winged disk, 85, 99, 123, 126–8, 128f, 130, 162,  
 166, 182  
 Winter, Irene, 160  
 wisdom literature, 155–6  
 world era succession, 152, 186  
 Gilgamesh and, 153–4  
 writing, art and, 157
- yoke, as metaphor, 46–7  
 “Yoke of Assur,” 22  
*yuga* (age), 152
- zikaru* (man/male), 59  
*zikaru qardu* (heroic man/male), 59  
*zikru* (command, inherently masculine), 8, 59  
 zone of occultation, 164, 183