

Dog

I. Introduction. In historical Mesopotamia d.s were kept as a hound, watchdog, scavenger, and for waste disposal (HEIMPEL 1972). They also played an important part in religion as the companion of many gods such as →Enlil, →Ea, →Marduk, Ninkilim, →Ishtar, and →Lamashtu (CAD *kalbu* I.f). Most distinct in visual arts was their connection to →Gula and other healing goddesses (FUHR 1977; ORNAN 2004). D. burials, which presumably formed part of the cult of the healing deities, extended from Isin in Babylonia to as far as Ashkelon in the Southern Levant (BOESSNECK 1977; HALPERN 2000). Roughly the same geographic distribution can be observed in regard to iconographic representations of the dog.

In the Hittite/Hurrite area d.s were attached to →Nikkal, Yarri, and Erra (HAAS 1994: 368f, 376), but there are no known representations that illustrate this relationship.

Despite the fact that wild canidae, especially the jackal, were commonly identified with gods in Egypt, religious references to domesticated d.s are rare and date primarily from later classical periods (FISCHER 1980: 78f). The present article will thus focus mainly on visual sources from Mesopotamia and the Levant.

Two breeds of d.s were commonly represented in scenes with religious meaning or as figurines with votive or protective function. One is the mastiff, a large, heavy, smooth-haired d. with small pendant ears (22); the other is the *Canis familiaris Studer*, a large, heavy d. with small, pointed ears and a curly tail (8; BUREN 1939: 14–18; NAGEL 1962: 172f). Neither of these breeds had an exclusively religious status. If rendered visually, the religious or magical function of a d. can only be deduced from an accompanying inscription, the semantic of the representation, the functional property of the object, or from its archaeological context.

II. Typology

II.1. Phenotypes

1. SITTING (1–18, →Gula 9) 2. “ENTHRONED” (19–21) 3. RECUMBENT (22–23, →Gula 21–26) 4. STANDING (24–35*) 5. NURSING (36) 6. SUCKLING (→Swine 65) 7. RUNNING (→Heracles 1, 3) 8. MATING (37) 9. UNCLASSIFIED (38–43)

1. **SITTING.** The earliest representations of the sitting d. as a divine attribute are found on cylinder seals of the Old Babylonian period (HAUSSPERGER 1994: 105–108). For example, it appears in an introduction scene with a crook on its head behind an enthroned god (1). The same d. with crook

is depicted in similar scenes with the enthroned →king (2). As a filling motif it is integrated into →animal combat scenes, one of which bears the inscription ^dGula (3). The meaning of the d. with a crook remains obscure (FUHR 1977: 135f, n. 2; SEIDL 1989: 143, n. 91). The crook is a distinct symbol of the god →Amurru, but there is no evidence of any association of this god with a d. (KUPPER 1961: 42–49).

An Old Babylonian seal impression from Tell ed-Der (4) shows a sitting d. functioning as a chair for a goddess, probably →Gula (GÖHDE 2002: 162). On another seal impression from Tell ed-Der, the same goddess stands on the shoulders of sitting d.s placed back to back (5).

A similar pair of d.s, separated by a palm tree, is depicted on a seal from Ugarit next to two warrior deities standing face-to-face (6*). These d.s resemble those on cylinder seals of the Kassite period, which show the d.s sitting in front of gods (7), worshippers (8), or alone in the columns beside the inscription (9). The seal inscriptions address different gods, for example in case of 8 from Babylon to Tashmetu and →Nabu. Only on Old Babylonian cylinder seal 3 the dedication to Gula is accompanied by the representation of a d. (see also DELGADO 1996: 99, n. 41). The meaning of the d. on the Kassite seals is unclear. It may have been apotropaic (DELGADO 1996: 99) or even astral, if one considers the d. as constellation (WEIDNER 1927: 76 n. 10).

The interpretation of d. representations is less complex in the case of Kassite kudurrus, on which the animal sits beside the feet of an enthroned goddess. Due to the close visual relationship of the goddess and the d., they form a distinct iconem, which stands for →Gula (SEIDL 1989: 140–143; note the inscription ^dGula on →Gula 9). The d. of Gula also occurs independently on some kudurrus of the Kassite period and on almost all kudurrus of the 1st mill. (see →Gula § II.2.2.1 for references). The same symbolic representation of a sitting d. continues to be depicted on stamp (10–15) and cylinder seals (16) until the end of the 1st mill. In case of 16 the dog is sitting on a line and facing the →stylus of Nabu and →spade of →Marduk.

Sitting d.s were also rendered in three-dimensional form, either alone (17, inscribed to Gula) or together with a man standing in prayer (18).

2. **“ENTHRONED.”** On a seal impression from the archive of Tiglat-pileser I (1114–1076) at Assur, a d. sits on a throne chair, placed in the recess of a building. A worshipper stands in front of the building

(19), which may represent one of →Gula's three temples in Assur (ORNAN 2004: 14). The d. in this scene clearly served as a cult object in place of a deity. This function becomes even more evident by the glyptic of the 1st mill., which often depicts single d.s as "enthroned" on a platform, facing a worshipper and symbols of gods, such as the crescent of the moon god (→Sin; 20–21 [see base of seal, which belongs to an Aramaean named Kinabu]). These are apparently the same Gula d.s as described in § 1.1 (see 10–16).

3. RECUMBENT. The steatite d. from Tello (22), dedicated by Sumu-ilu of Larsa (1894–1866) to the goddess Nin-insina, provides a good example of d.s as *ex voto* offerings to gods. Nin-insina was identified with Gula. Many figurines as well as incised plaques and burials of d.s were discovered in her temples at Isin (HROUDA 1973: figs. 9–12) and Nippur (GIBSON 1993: 14f, fig. 10).

The recumbent d. also appears as a distinct attribute of Gula on seals of the 1st mill. The goddess always sits on a throne which rests on the recumbent d., as on a stamp seal of the 7th cent. from Amman (→Gula 26*). In this example the goddess holds the d. on a leash (see also →Gula 21–25). The recumbent d. beneath the throne is sometimes confused with a →lion (see →Gula § I), and so the identification with →Ishtar is alternatively proposed (see for example the different identifications in regard to 23 suggested by MOORTGAT 1940: 144 and SEIDL 1989: 142).

4. STANDING. Clearly distinct from Babylonian votive gifts are standing clay d.s of the Neo-Assyrian period, which were buried under the house for its protection against demons and disease (RITTIG 1977: 116–121; GREEN 1983). Some of these models were painted and inscribed with programmatic phrases such as "Don't think, bite!", "Expeller of evil!", "Catcher of the Enemy!" (24*–28). Apparently these d.s were not considered supernatural creatures but substitutes for living d.s (POSTGATE 1994: 178). In the Southern Levant several figurines of standing d.s have been found. They are shaped from clay (29), lead (30), or bronze (31).

On a Neo-Assyrian cylinder seal from Tell Halaf a d. stands outside a reed shelter in which a priest ministers to a sick man (32*; see also →Gula § II.2.2.1). It is not clear if this d. is guarding the scene or if it is actively participating in the healing ritual. It has been suggested that d.s were employed in medicine, especially to lick the wounds of the injured (FUHR 1977: 144). Although

this would well fit the d. as an attribute of the healing goddess, the only text which confirms such a function is a Hittite ritual (KUB 35.148; HAAS 1994: 901). D.s are known to be kept for medical purposes only in Greek and Roman times in the sanctuaries of Asklepios and →Astarte (JAYNE 1962: 230f; FUHR 1977: 139–142). A Hittite "button" seal found in Megiddo (33*) probably shows a standing d. on one side while the other side is occupied by the name of the owner written in Hittite hieroglyphs. The amulet character of the seal may correspond with the protective or healing function of the d. Among the several incense burners with incised decorations found at Tell Jemmeh (ZWICKEL 1990: 79f), one shows a d. as accompanying element of a ritual scene (34).

A unique representation is found on the so-called "Orpheus Jug" from Megiddo, on which a d. standing on the back of a lion forms part of an animal procession that surrounds a figure with a lyre (35*). The identification of standing quadrupeds with raised and inward turned tail (e.g., KEEL 1997: Akko no. 128; STARKEY/HARDING 1932: pl. 61, above left, 4th row) as d.s is uncertain, since these animals may also represent jackals or felines.

5. NURSING. Terracottas of d.s from the Old Babylonian period (OPIFICIUS 1961: 179f) probably fulfilled the same function as the steatite d. from Tello (22), i.e., as preemptory goodwill and votive thanksgiving offerings. One of these terracottas shows a mastiff bitch nursing her four pups (36), an image which points to the fertility of d.s. It is not clear if these terracotta d.s were related to any specific deity.

6. SUCKLING. On stone and metal plaques the d. is depicted as being suckled together with a →swine (e.g., →Swine 65* from Palestine/Israel) on the breasts of →Lamashtu (see also FRANK 1908: figs. 2, 5; BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1984: pl. 57:284).

7. RUNNING. Most representations of a running d. relate to its profane function as hound. However, the series of so-called "Heracles seals" from Palestine/Israel show that the hound may also be involved in a mythological scene. On →Heracles 1* and 3 "Heracles" is fighting a →lion with his club; the d. appears behind the hero running upward along the border of the seal. It is worth noting that this d. resembles the earliest breed of hunting d., the Saluki, previously depicted on seals of the Chalcolithic period (TOBLER 1950: pl. 169: 159, 163f, 167). Representations of d.s aiding a lion-slaying hero are also found on Syrian seals of the 2nd mill. (SEYRIG 1963: pl.

21:2) and on Phoenician bowls of the early 1st mill. (MARKOE 1985: E3). This motif has been misleadingly called “dog of →Ba‘al” (CULICAN 1969: 88, n. 165).

8. MATING. Of particular interest is the representation of two mating d.s in the lower register of an Old Syrian cylinder seal (37). The main scene depicts a naked goddess touching a male hero. The seal is one of the rare visual examples where d.s are associated with life and fertility (see also 36).

9. UNCLASSIFIED. In Jordan several terracotta dog’s heads are reported from rather undefined settlement contexts (38–43).

II.2. Associations

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Gula (3–5, 14–16, 22, →Gula 1–50) 1.2. Lamashtu (→Swine 65) 1.3. Heracles (→Heracles 1, 3) 1.4. Symbols of other deities (14, 16, 20–21) 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Animal combat scene (3) 2.2. Lion (35*) 2.3. Swine (→Swine 65) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS (2, 14–15, 18–19, 21, 32, 34)

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS

1.1. Gula. We cannot explain exactly why the d. was the sacred animal of →Gula and is thus frequently associated with her in visual sources (3–5, 14–16, 22, →Gula 1–50). Gula was titled *azugallatu* “great physician,” and it can be assumed that the d. was chosen as her attribute because it also filled a function in the healing rituals (see 33*; FUHR 1977). This assumption becomes more probable when regarding the prominence of d.s in the iconography and cult of the healers Asklepios and Apollo Asgelatas (= *azugallatu*?). The hundreds of d.s buried in the Persian layer of Ashkelon seem the most striking archaeological clue of a tradition linking the cult practice of these gods with that of their Babylonian forerunner, Gula (HALPERN 2000: 135–139).

1.2. Lamashtu. The scavenging d., which often roamed the city streets, was intimately related to →Lamashtu. It is known that black d.s were presented to her (FRANK 1908: 78). The depiction of the d. together with another scavenger, the swine, suckling on the breasts of Lamashtu alludes to this close relationship (→Swine 65*).

1.3. Heracles. The representation of a running d. accompanying “Heracles” on →Heracles 1* and 3 is a typical example of the mixed character of the Phoenician iconographic repertoire. The replacement of the traditional Levantine hero or hunter (see § II.1.A.7) with the Greek “Heracles” mirrors the general syncretistic tendencies in Phoenician religion during the Persian pe-

riod (KLINGBEIL 1992: 108f; on the d. as the zodiac of Heracles see WEIDNER 1927: 84f).

1.4. Symbols of other deities.

When the d., represented in front of the symbols of →Sin (20–21 [see base of seal]), →Marduk and →Nabu (16), or →Shamash (14) is enthroned on a platform (or horizontal line) it seems unlikely that the d. is meant to be their attribute. We have to consider it instead as a symbol for another deity, most probably →Gula (see AVIGAD/SASS 1997: 300f).

2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

2.1. Animal combat scene

D.s were apparently never directly involved in animal combat scenes. However, 3 demonstrates that a d. can accompany this scene as filling motif.

2.2. Lion. The animals on the →lion relief from Beth-Shean, controversially dated to the 14th (THOMPSON 1970: 110–112) and 8th cent. (GALLING 1967: 131) respectively, represent two lions and not a lion and a d. as previously thought (see ROWE 1929: 48f). GALLING has convincingly argued that the lions are not fighting but are involved in a mating ritual (GALLING 1967: 127–129). Thus the only representation which clearly associates a d. with a lion is that on the “Orpheus Jug” (35*).

2.3. Swine. See above § 1.1.2.

3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

Some representations show d.s together with the enthroned king (2), worshippers (8, 14–15, 18–19, 21 [see base of seal]), or priests (32*). These scenes can be either interpreted as worship of the deity represented by the d., or as scenes in which the magical protective qualities of the d. are evoked. On the incense burner from Tell Jemmeh (34) the d. stands behind a human who turns towards another human (?) figure sitting on a table or altar.

III. Sources

III.1. Chronological range.

From the early 2nd mill. onward, representations of d.s were attributed or dedicated to the healing goddess (3–5, 17, 22, →Gula 1–16). In the latter half of the 2nd mill. they appear in different religious scenes of which the meaning is unclear, although it can be assumed that some of them could have fulfilled a magical purpose (6*–9, 36). During the 1st mill. d. representations assume the function of magical protection (24*–31, →Swine 65*). In this time associations with the healing goddess again became very popular (10–17, 20–21 →Gula 17–50) and were consequently transmitted to the Greek pantheon (BURKERT 1992: 75–79; see 18).

III.2. Geographical distribution.

Most of our sources come from Mesopotamia or have been exported from there to the Southern Levant (14–15, →Gula 26*, →Swine 65*) and the Aegean (18). With one possible exception (32), the lack of visual representations from Anatolia does not match with the textual evidence (see §§ I and II.1.A.4). There are only a few sources thus far which attest local traditions for Syria and the Southern Levant (6*, 35*). The d. figurines (29–31, 38–43), however, appear in a longer Palestinian tradition, since examples have been also found in prehistoric contexts (e.g., MACDONALD 1932: pls. 21:10–12; 27:83–84). In the case of the “Heracles seals” (→Heracles 1*, 3), a local tradition has obviously been introduced by early contact with the Greek world.

III.3. Object types. Object types range from steatite statuettes (22), bronze (18, 31), lead (30), and terracotta figurines (17, 24*–27, 29, 36, 38–43), which can be regarded either as votive gifts or protective figures; to representations on kudurrus (→Gula 1–16), plaques (→Swine 65*), incense burners (34), vase paintings (35*), and many stamp (10–15, 33*) and cylinder seals (1–9, 16, 19–20, 22, 32*, 37).

In monumental art d. representations are always profane, such as those on Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh, which depict mastiffs being led to the royal hunt (CURTIS/READE 1995: 84, n. 27). They are therefore not covered in this article.

IV. Conclusion. Religious representations of d.s emerged in Mesopotamia and were transmitted from there to the Levant. The image appears from the Old Babylonian period onward as a distinct attribute or symbol of the healing goddess and sometimes as a symbol of fertility, but never as a deity in itself. Statuettes and figurines of d.s served as votive gifts to gods in Babylonia, and later as magical protections in Assyria. Its efficacy also increased by association with other deities, demons, and heroes. Apart from that associated with →Lamashtu, most of the representations reflect the esteem in which d.s were generally held – an esteem which contradicts the negative image of the stray d.s quoted in the Old Testament (GALLING 1977: 149).

V. Catalogue

1 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1900–1700. VON DER OSTEN 1934: pl. 13:139 2 Cylinder seal, serpentinite, Assur, 1900–1700. MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 35:296 3 Cylinder seal, steatite, 1900–1700. PORADA 1948: pl. 52:360 4 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Tell ed-Der, 1900–1700. GÖHDE 2002: fig. 2 5 Cylinder seal impression, clay, Tell ed-Der, 1900–1700. GÖHDE 2002: fig. 6; AL-GAILANI WERR 1988: pl. 50:167 6* Cylinder seal, black stone, 20 x 9 mm, Ugarit, 1450–1350. Damascus, National Museum, 2672. AMIET 1992: no. 179 7 Cylinder seal,

agate, 1400–1200. MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 66:554 8 Cylinder seal, lapis lazuli, Babylon, 1400–1200. MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 66:556 9 Cylinder seal, granite, Babylon, 1400–1200. MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 66:558 10 Scaraboid, serpentinite, end of 8th/7th cent. KEEL–LEU 1991: no. 146 11 Conoid, chalcedony, 600–500. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 765 12 Conoid, agate, 600–400. DELAPORTE 1910: no. 536b 13 Conoid, chalcedony, 600–400. PORADA 1948: no. 795 14 Conoid, agate, Samaria, 700–500. CROWFOOT/CROWFOOT/KENYON 1957: pl. 15:19 15 Stamp seal, Tel Kabri, 700–500. ORNAN 1994: fig. 21:1 16 Cylinder seal, chalcedony, 600–400. PORADA 1948: no. 782 17 Figurine, clay, Sippar, 800–600. SCHEIL 1910: figs. 13–14 18 Figurine, bronze, Samos, 700–600. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1984: pl. 63:331 19 Seal impression, clay, Assur, 1114–1076. MOORTGAT 1944: fig. 46 20 Cylinder seal, lapis lazuli, 600–400. PORADA 1948: pl. 119:781 21 Conoid stamp seal, chalcedony, 800–600. AVIGAD/SASS 1997: no. 803 22 Statuette, steatite, Tello, 1890–1870. HEUZEY 1910: pl. 5 23 Cylinder seal, porphyry, Assur, 800–600. MOORTGAT 1940: pl. 78:655 24* Figurine, clay, painted red, 70 x 19 x 45 mm, Nineveh, 645. London, British Museum, WA 30002. CURTIS/READE 1995: no. 74 25–28 Figurines, clay, Nineveh, 645. CURTIS/READE 1995: nos. 73, 75–77 29 Figurine, clay, Jericho, 800–500. KENYON 1965: fig. 260:11 30 Figurine, lead, Beth-Shean, 1200–1100. JAMES 1966: fig. 108:1 31 Figurine, bronze, Beth-Shean, 1200–1100. JAMES 1966: fig. 108:3 32* Cylinder seal, 28 mm, 800–600. Present location unknown, formerly Berlin, Tell Halaf Museum. *HROUDA 1962: pl. 23:9; FUHR 1977: 137f 33* Convex “button” seal, steatite, 18 x 17 x 11 mm, Megiddo, 1400–1200. Chicago, Oriental Institute, A20551. LOUD 1948: pl. 162:7 34 Incense burner, terracotta, Tell Jemmeh, 700–500. PETRIE 1928: pl. 41:10 35* Jug, clay, 20* x 17 cm, Megiddo, 1100–1050. Place, Institution, Inv. no. LOUD 1948: pl. 76:1 36 Figurine, clay, Diyala region, 1900–1700. OPFICIUS 1961: pl. 22:661 37 Cylinder seal, haematite, 1800. KEEL/UEHLINGER 1990: fig. 37 38 Figurine (fragment), clay, Tall Deir ‘Alla, late 9th/8th cent. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 179, pl. 50:2 39 Figurine (fragment), clay, Buseirah, late 9th/8th cent. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 180 40 Figurine (fragment), clay, Sahab, 700–500. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 181, pl. 50:3 41 Figurine (fragment), clay, Amman citadel, 700–500. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 182, pl. 50:4 42 Figurine (fragment), clay, Tawilan, 800–700. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 183 43 Figurine (fragment), clay, Tall Deir ‘Alla, 1100–1000. ‘AMR 1980: fig. 184s

VI. Selected bibliography

BLACK/GREEN 1992: 70 • FUHR 1977 • HEIMPEL 1972–75 • ORNAN 2004 • SEIDL 1972–75

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