

Amurru

I. Introduction. *Mesopotamian god.* As do many ancient Mesopotamian gods, A., has a Sumerian forerunner called ^dmar.tu or ^dAn.mar.tu. Iconographic differences between the divinities are not yet obvious. Though 3rd mill. written sources mention A., the deity does not appear in iconographical sources before the 2nd mill. A. is the most commonly represented deity of the Old Babylonian Period (see BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: nos. 219–484). Additionally, an invocation of A. is currently the oldest prayer conserved in the form of a seal legend (before Sin–muballit 14 [c. 1734 following the short chronology]; AL–GAILANI WERR 1988: no. 195h) though A.’s iconography seems obvious, defining his original divine nature seems to be difficult. A./Martu could have been the name of an amalgamated divine figure that combined Mesopotamian ideas about divinized natural forces with features of a hitherto-unidentified West Semitic deity adored by nomadic tribes.

II. Typology

General remarks. With some exceptions, the following typological discussion is based on BRAUN–HOLZINGER’s catalogue of cylinder seals (1996: nos. 219–484) which mention the name of A. in the legend. Only exemplary references are made below in order to guarantee that only seals whose authenticity is fully confirmed are referred to in the following discussion.

A. is the only Mesopotamian deity who is described in full detail in an early 2nd mill. letter (COLBOW 1997) that mentions the creation of a relief including a figure of A. in an adoration scene figuring a royal worshipper. A.’s 2nd mill. Mesopotamian iconography is clear-cut and well known. As headgear A. may wear a horned crown (Crown [Mesopotamia]), which can vary in style (1*-2, 9–10) or is missing altogether (17). Alternatively, he is rarely depicted as wearing a cylindrical headgear with cannelures (5), which is a Syrian feature. A. is normally dressed in a long, flounced (21, 24; COLBOW 2002: no. 221.2) or slashed (9–11, 18; COLBOW 2002: nos. 152.1, 204.1, 376.1, 449.2) garment, and more rarely in a striped garment (18). Sometimes the god wears a short outfit. The latter may be a garment (12; COLBOW 2002: no. 468.1), or the so-called Naram–Sin skirt (5, 13, 26*; COLBOW 2002: no. 431.3 [?]), which is typical of Mesopotamian and especially late Old Babylonian divine representations. This garment makes the figure of A. part of an iconographic evolution that many Old Babylonian divine representations un-

derwent after the reign of Hammurabi. Anthropomorphic divine figures increasingly show human or suprahuman (“heroic”) attributes, which blur the previously very explicit design schemes used to differentiate humans and deities. Another special characteristic of A. is his attribute animal, the →caprid (see KUPPER 1961: 49ff), which is probably also a Syrian feature.

II.1. Phenotypes

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC 1. STANDING (1–8) 2. ASCENDING (9–19) 3. ENTHRONED (20–24) 4. STRIDING (25–26) 5. POSSIBLE B. THERIOMORPHIC (27–31) C. SYMBOLIC (15, 32–42)

A. ANTHROPOMORPHIC

1. **STANDING.** A. holds in his outstretched hand the crook pointing usually toward (1*-3; COLBOW 2002: nos. 4.1, 136.1, 152.1, 204.1, 376.1, 431.3, 441.2) but sometimes away (4–6; COLBOW 2002: no. 75.1) from him. He may also hold a second crook in the other hand over his shoulder (7). Cylinder seal 8 is distinctive as well, where the outstretched arm holds a horned animal while the other hand holds a crook over the shoulder.

2. **ASCENDING.** In most cases A. in ascending posture (see →Shamash) is stepping on a →caprid, his attribute animal (9–16; COLBOW 2002: no. 468.1). In some cases he may place his lifted foot on a dais (17[?]–19).

3. **ENTHRONED.** On an Old Babylonian relief from Larsa (20*) that decorates the dais of a bronze statuette representing a kneeling adorant, A. is figured enthroned in a flounced garment. The god is adored by a second kneeling adorant which is a carved copy of the statue on the dais. He is not holding his crook. Though there is no label naming the divine figure, the inscription accompanying the object includes a prayer to A. Interpreting this representation as a picture of A. thus seems quite obvious. A. as enthroned deity is not frequently depicted on cylinder seals (20*–23). In addition to the crook in his outstretched hand, he may also hold a second one over his shoulder (24).

4. **STRIDING.** In rare instances A. is represented in striding posture taking a step forward (25–26*).

5. **POSSIBLE.** On a seal whose authenticity is yet to be confirmed (MOORTGAT 1940: PL. 51:412), a figure in the pose of a smiting god is brandishing a weapon with one hand and holding a crook in the other. If a crook is also associated with the smiting god on a seal impression from Ur (DE-LAPORTE 1923: pl 118:3) is uncertain.

B. THERIOMORPHIC

In rare instances the crouching →caprid alone symbolizes the god in a *pars pro toto* manner (27). More often the animal appears with the crook above it (28–30; COLBOW 2002: nos. 10.1, 58.2) or placed on its back (31). In the case of BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 274, two crooks are placed on the animal's back. The seal's authenticity is yet to be confirmed.

C. SYMBOLIC

The crook may likewise symbolize A. in a *pars pro toto* manner and appears frequently. Most often it is a single crook (32–41; COLBOW 2002: nos. 161.1, 208.3, 406.3, 453.1, 471.1; possibly also: BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: nos. 260, 334, 472, 479 and BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 170), but there are also instances where two crooks (16, 42) are depicted.

II.2. Associations

ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS 1.1. Adad (13) 1.2. Moon god (13, 15, 21, 24, 28–29) 1.3. Marduk (36) 1.4. Ishtar (38–39) 1.5. Naked goddess (14, 28, 33–34) 1.6. Suppliant goddess (5, 11, 16, 18, 22, 27, 29, 31–34, 39–40) 1.7. Possible 2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS 2.1. Caprid 2.2. Dog (19, 24, 41–42) 2.3. Monkey (29, 39) 3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS 3.1. Worshipper/warrior (1–2, 6, 11–15, 17–18, 21, 24–26, 36–38) 3.2. Ruler (32)

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS. Pictorial associations of deities in the ancient Near East are not always to be understood as depicting two divinities sharing similar aspects. Deities can sometimes be rather randomly combined in seal decors. For example, on a seal owned by a magistrate from Babylon who took up office in Sippar, important divine powers from his former and his new hometown appear side by side in adoration motifs.

1.1. **Adad.** A. is repeatedly represented together with the symbol of the →storm god →Adad, the lightning bolt (13). The divine figures seem to have shared special bonds in written sources (BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: 288, n. 148). Additionally, they seem to have borrowed iconographic attributes from each other from time to time. When bearing in mind that A. as a god of the steppe might have developed some features of a storm god, his association with Adad is not surprising.

1.2. **Moon god.** Since the →moon is another deity of the steppe (KUPPER 1961: 60f, 77) A. and the moon god (→Lunar deities; 15), or rather the moon emblem (13, 21, 2, 28–29; COLBOW 2002: no. 292.1), are quite often represented side by side.

1.3. **Marduk.** On several seals A.'s crook (36; COLBOW 2002: no. 119.1) is

associated with the →spade, the symbol of →Marduk (RITTIG 1987–1990: 372).

1.4. **Ishtar.** In some scenes with a warrior, who may be accompanied by a suppliant goddess, approaching Ishtar the non-divine figure is complemented by the crook of A. (37, summarily cut; 38, re-cut?).

1.5. **Naked goddess.** A possible part of iconographic constellations with A. is the frontally displayed →naked goddess, which appears with anthropomorphic A. (14) as well as with his symbol (28, 33–34).

1.6. **Suppliant goddess.** A. is part of numerous introductory scenes; consequently the suppliant goddess figures prominently. The suppliant goddess appears on about 20% of the cylinder seals mentioning A. in a legend and depicting him in his anthropomorphic form (11, 18). When only the crook is depicted, the suppliant goddess is shown in 70% of cylinder seals with a legend related to A., (27, 29, 31–34, 39; COLBOW 2002: nos. 453.1, 471.1), often in opposition to the warrior king (27, 29, 31, 33–34, 39). In some cases one suppliant goddess (5, 16, 22) or two (22[?], 30, 40) may also flank a legend that mentions A.

1.7. Possible

1. In a few instances the crook of A. appears in the presence of the sun god (→Solar deities) →Shamash, who is approached by a worshipper with an offering (BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: nos. 260, 472). In the case of BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 479 the sun god accompanies the motif of the warrior facing the suppliant goddess. The crook of A. and a →star appears between them. However, the authenticity of all seals cited above is yet to be confirmed.

2. Cylinder seal (BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 334 depicts →Ea in the form of the ram crook before an enthroned god who holds a wedge-shaped symbol (A.?).

2. ASSOCIATED WITH ANIMALS

2.1 **Caprid.** Ascending A. is most often depicted as stepping on his attribute animal (see § I), a _caprid (9–16). But he may also hold a horned animal in his outstretched arm (8). On a number of cylinder seals only A.'s symbol, the crook, is associated with the caprid (28–31, 34; see also § II.1.B) thus representing the deity in a heraldic motive.

2.2. **Dog.** A number of times the crook of A. is placed above the head of a →dog (19, 41–42), an inexplicable association to date (KUPPER 1961: 42–49; →Gula § II.1.5). The animal may also appear in the presence of A. without the crook above it (25).

2.3. **Monkey.** Several times a →monkey is part of the scene of anthropo-

morphic or symbolic A. (29). In the case of 39 the crook is above the animal.

3. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

3.1. Worshipper/warrior. Figurative A. is approached in the majority of representations by a worshipper or warrior (1*, 2, 6, 11–12, 13–15, 17–18, 21, 24–26). When the main motif involves a warrior and a suppliant goddess the presence of A. is indicated through a crook, which may be placed between these two figures (36–38).

3.2. Ruler. A. plays a secondary role in adoration scenes involving an adorant and suppliant goddess before an enthroned ruler. This may reflect the fact that A. was not very popular in the first half of the Old Babylonian Dynasty. If depicted in an adoration scene he commonly appears in his symbolic form as a crook (32).

III. Sources

III.1. Chronological range. Although the god under his Sumerian name Martu is known from 3rd mill. (Akkad Period) written sources, identifiable representations from this period are still lacking. Representations of A. generally date to the Old Babylonian Period (1830–1531) and seem to disappear thereafter, whereas his name continued to symbolize the western regions of Mesopotamia. Late exceptions are a pillar fragment (35) from Western Iran and possibly an 8th cent. rock relief (BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 170) from Northern Mesopotamia. Both scenes show A.'s symbol, the crook.

III.2. Geographical distribution. Likenesses of A. are distributed over Mesopotamia and the immediately adjacent areas, with items originating from the region of Dohuk in Northern Mesopotamia Tell Harmal (3; see also possibly BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 170) and Tell Dhiba'i (16) and Ishchali (17) in the Diyala region, Sippar (1*, 23, 26*; COLBOW 2002: 189f), Babylon (2) and Nippur (33 in central Babylonia, Kutalla/Tell Sifr (4*; COLBOW 1995: figs. 3:14.3, 8), Ur (24–25, 34), Larsa (20*), and Tello (11) in Southern Babylonia, and Susa (36) Negahban (14, and Kirmanshah) in Elam respectively Western Iran. The Syrian glyptic of the Old Babylonian Period so far attests no representations of A.

III.3. Object types. With the exceptions of the late rock relief BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 170, which is almost completely eroded; pillar fragment 35; and a relief on the stand of an Old Babylonian bronze statuette depicting an adorant from Larsa (20*), all representations of A. known to date are found on cylinder seals and seal

impressions. The description of an image of A. in a letter from Mari, however, confirms that his image was also carved on a stela (COLBOW 1997: 86).

IV. Conclusion. Representations of A. show him as a deity of the steppe and thereby complete written sources which describe him in the same manner. The iconography of A. comprises certain features, like the horned crown (→Crown [Mesopotamia]), the flounced garment, and the ascending posture that characterize this god as an ordinary Mesopotamian deity. Besides this, A. shows few but obvious special characteristics, such as the crook or his attribute animal. A.'s crook (*gamlu*) may well have been a shepherd's tool, though it was sometimes interpreted as an incantation instrument (BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: 257f). The →caprid under his feet may represent the wild animals of the Mesopotamian steppes, which A. is described to dominate. The variants in A.'s appearance are most probably related to the fact that A., like →Ishtar, can figure at different positions within the adoration. A. thus belongs to a group of Mesopotamian gods who not only serve the function of adored deity, but also that of accompanying adorants to the deity they wished to pay reference to. Typological restrictions seemingly apply both when being an adored figure (e.g., only in this function is A. depicted as enthroned), as well as when accompanying a worshipper (e.g., only in this function does A. wear the Naram–Sin skirt).

From an iconographic point of view, A.'s social climb is confirmed through becoming a deity that receives adoration during the Old Babylonian Period and his pictorial association with the most powerful gods of the Old Babylonian pantheon. However, the picture remains ambiguous with images still showing A. in subaltern functions, such as accompanying either an adorant worshipping another deity or, rarely, accompanying other deities as a sort of courtier (messenger?). The devotement lines of the seal legends substantiate A.'s social climb, naming him at least as often as →Shamash and →Adad. In scenes decorating cylinder seals, his symbol, the crook, is often associated with one of the great gods mentioned in the legend, particularly Shamash (see BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: 300f). Old Babylonian texts picture A. as an outsider and newcomer to the Mesopotamian pantheon, with rather barbaric manners. A. is the eponymous god of the Martu nomads, whose zenith of popularity was reached during the Hammurabi–Dynasty; like his

“flock“ the deity tries to adapt to a new society with different social rules.

Though A. seems to have been accepted in Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian Period he does not appear on Kassite Kudurrus (SEIDL 1989), where the canonized deities of the later 2nd mill. and 1st mill. are represented through their symbols. This seems to indicate that he was not accepted in the canonized Mesopotamian pantheon of the second half of the 2nd mill. The known Neo-Assyrian representations of A. therefore seem to point to a certain “afterlife” of this deity in the Tiglath-pileser era (35).

In general, though, A. is closely related to the Amorite dynasty. His cultic adoration follows their rising and falling in political power.

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V. Selected Bibliography

KUPPER 1961 • EDZARD 1990: 435–438 • BLACK/GREEN 1992: 129f • BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: 287–301 • COLBOW 1997 • COLBOW 2002: 189f

VI. Catalogue

1* Cylinder seal impression (on several texts), clay, 26* x 32 mm, Sippar, 1589-1575 (Ammiditana 20-Ammisaduqa 8). Baghdad, Iraq Museum. COLBOW 2004: 131, fig. 4a **2** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 232 **3** Cylinder seal impression (on bulla), clay, Tell Harmal, 1830–1531. AL–GAILANI WERR 1988: no. 111 **4** Cylinder seal impression, clay, Kutalla/Tell Sifr, 1680 (Samsu-iluna 6). COLBOW 1995: fig. 3:14.2 **5** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 251 **6** Cylinder seal impression (on envelope), clay, Tell Dhiba'i, 1830–1531. AL–GAILANI WERR 1988: no. 118 **7** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 225 **8** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 241a **9** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 245 **10** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 253 **11** Cylinder seal, haematite, Tello, 1830-1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 241 **12** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 224 **13** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 248 **14** Cylinder seal, haematite, Negabban, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 239 **15** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 229 **16** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 252 **17** Cylinder seal, haematite, Ishchali (Diyala region), 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 240 **18** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 231 **19** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. COLLON 1986: pl. 25:343 **20*** Relief, copper, 19.5 cm, Larsa, 1708-1664. Paris, Louvre Museum, AO 15704. BOEHME 1993: figs. 1-2 **21** Cylinder seal impression (on text), clay, Babylon, 1599 (Ammiditana 20). BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: 290, no. 236 (catalogue description does not fit picture) **22** Cylinder seal impression, clay, (text on envelope is from Larsa), 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 221 **23** Cylinder seal, haematite, Sippar, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 476 **24** Cylinder seal, haematite, Ur, 1850–1700. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 243 **25** Cylinder seal, haematite, Ur, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 244 **26*** Cylinder seal impression (on envelope), clay, 24 x 19 mm, Sippar, 1662 (Samsu-iluna 24, 05/28). Baghdad, Iraq Museum, IM 82746, di 1998 Seal 5 **27** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 300 **28** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 327 **29** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 281 **30** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 309 **31** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830-1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 298 **32** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531 BC. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 265 **33** Cylinder seal, haematite, Nippur, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 283 **34** Cylin-

der seal, haematite, Ur, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 289 **35** Pillar (fragment), dolomite, Kirmanshah (?), 738. BÖRKER-KLÄHN 1982: no. 171 **36** Cylinder seal, haematite, Susa, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 287 **37** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 262 **38** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 264 **39** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 295 **40** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 315 **41** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. COLLON 1986: pl. 27:371 **42** Cylinder seal, haematite, 1830–1531. BRAUN–HOLZINGER 1996: no. 279

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