

Polytheism? – Henotheism! – (Monotheism)

Luna Maria Rodrigues Watkins
Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Freie Universität Berlin

Who knows the way of a god?

Ebeling, 1953

Aim

It is interesting to observe how the concepts of polytheism and monotheism keep raising discussions and questions. The aim of this essay is, once again, to discuss the problematic arising from these two terms. This, along with an introduction to the concept of henotheism, will be a tool to reanalyse Mesopotamian religion in order to categorize it without explaining it obstinately.

How are the concepts of polytheism and monotheism related? Are they two different aspects of religion or do they overlap? It is this question that the essay will look into. It will be shown how important the concept of henotheism is in this context. For this, some theoretical ideas and archaeological and written sources will be presented, which could provide a good guideline.

In a broader sense, this essay will try to appeal for more independence from narrow definitions towards which archaeology all too often tends to. In order to achieve it some word choices will be analysed more closely.

Mesopotamian History and its consequences

The Mesopotamian religion was, without a doubt, conceived to cover all areas of human conflict. The *Enūma eliš* is a good example of a narrative that not only covers in its first part the cosmogony and theogony (the origin of the world and the gods) but also, in its second part, the anthropogenesis (the origin of humans); it is evidently a polysemic text, with many interpretations, in which all three aspects are entangled and inseparable.

This idea of entanglement, inseparability and polysemy can be found throughout Mesopotamian history. From the beginning, there is syncretism, interplay and symbiosis. This can be defined very shortly as *cultural osmosis*¹. Originally this expression was used to explain Neolithisation, but it can also be applied to this case. It means that in neighbourhood relationships there are always reciprocal influences. This happens because the acceptance of certain cultural elements came originally from the neighbour. This is how the diffusion of cultural markers is explained through time.

In the second half of the fourth millennium BCE this phenomenon of syncretism can be seen in the relationship between the Semites in the North of Mesopotamia and the Sumerians in the South. Both founded, from this time on, a common cultural construct that included the religious part of their lives. Deities were set equal and had hardly any differences in their standings and spheres of action. In this respect, the identification between Sumerian and Semite deities such as An/Anu, Nanna/Sîn or Inanna/Ištar² (in Sumerian and Akkadian, respectively) are examples. This is a phenomenon that can be seen continually in Mesopotamian history and will be explained later, with some examples.

The following analysis will be done in two parallel but, in some way, overlapping levels: the personal piety and the official religion³.

¹ «Osmose cultural»: Silva and Soares 2007.

² Grandpierre 2010, 382.

³ Bottéro 1987, 1998; Grandpierre 2010; Lopéz and Sanmartín 1993.

Definition – A constant recurring problem

Definition is always perceived differently from person to person. A dictionary can provide help to equalize it. Mostly, there is lack of exact definitions and so, loanwords are used, which are more likely to be misunderstood by the reader, in the same way as the writer did. An easy way to finding a solution for this problem is to give definitions of all the main terms which will be used. The reader is in this way prepared and can accept the given interpretation.

This is why it is problematic to talk about a *personal* piety. Archaeological and written sources do not provide any insight into a belief, which is different from one person to another. They mainly provide a general aspect to a belief system which differs from the official one and can be defined as being a *family* piety or a *group* piety. One example are altars, which are not found in every house and most probably belonged to a neighbourhood (e.g.: the altars of Ur, further in the text). This is why it can be spoken of as a *popular* piety. It does not mean that the entire *lower class* population thought in the same way and that personal development is lost in the masses. A personal connotation is still possible and not excluded through this definition of piety. In my opinion, the definition of *personal* is adequate to underline the idea of a belief system which differs from the official one. At the same time this delivers a better example to defend the introduction of the term henotheism. *Personal* piety will continue to be used in this work.

The word *piety* is also problematic because of its Christian connotations. This is exactly what should be avoided. In Archaeology this often leads to many problems. Interpretation must be independent from one's own ideas (the archaeologist) and not be influenced by one's own opinions. Terms that are used in more recent history (Christianism) can be used for earlier history, but must be differentiated. *Piety* is therefore, in tendency, a term belonging to Christian theology that includes aspects such as punishment and self-flagellation. Even though, in this essay, the term will be used anyway, explaining that it is a type of belief (in general).

Essential definitions

Looking into a dictionary, we can find the following definitions⁴:

- Monotheism is the belief in only one god. It is honoured as being unique⁵.
- Polytheism is the belief in many gods. They stand in a pantheon in relation to each other and are honoured as equals⁶.
- Henotheism is the belief in one god without denying the existence of other gods. The gods, as in polytheism, stand in a pantheon, but one, as in monotheism, is exalted more than the others⁷.

Personal piety – Theory: Introduction

In order to analyse personal piety I will use two models, which will be now explained in a general aspect.

Block presented in 1988 a tripartite scheme of the relationship between deity, mankind and land (**Fig. 1**)⁸. Each party has its privileges and responsibilities. The deity must protect the land and its citizens, the citizens have to honour the deity and take care of the land and the land must give the citizens economical security.

Fales used a similar schematic in 2010 to explain Assyrian religion. The relationship here is between the deity Aššur, the citizens and the king (**Fig. 2**)⁹. Aššur is honoured by the citizens; the citizens are led by the king; who then represents them in front of the deities. Lastly is the king, who is led by Aššur and represents him on earth.

⁴ Coulson *et al.* 1981.

⁵ *Id.*, 547.

⁶ *Id.*, 655.

⁷ *Id.*, 392.

⁸ Block 1988.

⁹ Fales 2010.

My idea is to combine both models in order to construct a more complex relationship model, trying to explain Mesopotamian religion in a broader sense while defining personal piety within it. The symbiotic relationship of citizens, land, king and deity (**Fig. 3**) can therefore be defined, with the king acting as an intermediate between the deity and the citizens/land; while bringing the deity closer to the citizens, he's seen as a representative of the deity and the land is used according to his orders, on behalf of the deity. This turns out to be problematic for the individual in the *lower class* population. Their connection to the deities is interrupted by the figure of the king and loses its purity and directness, in clear contradiction with the basic notion of religion. It should be near to the citizens and helpful to all. As a next step, personal piety should be observed more carefully.

Personal piety – Sources

It's hard to find clear sources for personal piety. A few archaeological excavations have indications for this but written sources are still scarce in this area of investigation. Archaeological sources are to be interpreted cautiously. The following examples are from Tell Agrab, Khafajah, Tell Asmar (Ešunna) and Ur (**Fig. 4**). In all these cases appear isolated or low numbered shrines, chapels and altars, which lead to a labile proof of personal piety.

A small altar was found in Tell Agrab («small “altar” with a small circular offering table directly in front of it», **Fig. 5**)¹⁰. In Khafajah there are two phases of a possible chapel («... perhaps a private chapel»¹¹ or a temple¹². The first one without an entrance («...no entrance...», **Fig. 6**)¹³ which can be seen in the drawing of the second phase (**Fig. 7**). Tell Asmar/Ešnunna has a more complex altar («quadrantal “altar” ... ornamented with vertical panels and plastered with a whitish

¹⁰ Delougaz *et al.* 1967, 269.

¹¹ *Id.*, 11.

¹² Pollock 2008, 192.

¹³ Delougaz *et al.* 1967, 11.

coating, perhaps of gypsum» (**Figs. 8 and 9**)¹⁴. At Ur, Leonard Woolley identified chapels and shrines. Interesting here is Woolley's comment, where he attributes shrines to lesser deities¹⁵, behind which could be an indication of personal piety of the *lower class* population.

Most of the given examples are whether unique or infrequent. The idea of personal piety is surely not represented as expected. A different aspect can be found here. Earlier in the text, personal piety and popular piety were distinguished. A single chapel in the middle of an entire neighbourhood (as in Ur) proves more to be more of a parallel cult to the official one, than that every household had a personal deity, which was honoured and provided with an appropriate installation in a single household.

Written sources have a different problematic: uncertain origin, a later recording, no clear writer or who the writer represents. Analysis of names, invocations or hymns can still provide a partial guideline, but it's important to always keep a critical view.

Many people had names based on deities and their blessing. For example evoking Ištar, the queen of Heavens: *Ištar-ummi*, meaning «Ištar is my mother», or *Ištar-šame-šarrāt*¹⁶. Invocations are very common, such as

«Šamaš, I call upon you, listen to me: [...] the spectre that inflicts and devours me, be detached from my body; I want to make him eat the bread from the funerary offering, I want to make him drink the water from the funerary offering, [...] That he eats something good, that he drinks something good; that he eats a little bread, that he drinks fresh water.»¹⁷

¹⁴ *Id.*, 179.

¹⁵ Woolley 2009, 190-191.

¹⁶ Bottéro 1998, 92-93.

¹⁷ Translated after Seux 1976, 421-422: «Šamaš, je t'ai appelé, écoute-moi: [...] le spectre qui m'est infligé et me dévore, qu'il soit détaché de mon corps; Je veux lui faire manger du pain d'offrande funéraire, je veux lui faire boire de l'eau d'offrande funéraire, [...] Qu'il mange quelque chose de bon, qu'il boive quelque chose de bon; qu'il mange un petit pain, qu'il boive de l'eau fraîche.»

The invocator wants to protect himself from the ghosts of ancestors. It is a direct appellation to Šamaš, the Sun-deity, without being disturbed by an intermediate. Hymns also show a henotheistic personal piety. The following examples belong to several hymns from the third and second millennia BCE.

To Enlil, from the third millennium BCE, in Sumerian:

«[...] Spontaneously the other gods bow down in front of him. And obey him without discussing his orders! He is the great and powerful Sovereign [...]»¹⁸

To Marduk, from the second millennium BCE, in Akkadian:

“[...] Lord Marduk, oh supreme God, with unsurpassable intelligence, [...] terrifying Lord, In the Assembly of Gods no one is equals to you!»¹⁹

To Šamaš, from the second millennium BCE, in Akkadian:

«[...] You graze together all living creatures: Up here and down there, the only Shepherd, it is you! [...]».²⁰

As seen, these hymns address “elected” deities with a very similar content: they affirm the deity’s superiority towards the others, their great intelligence or their uniqueness. The latter aspect alone is a very important indicator of henotheism: the expressions «only Shepherd» and «unique Shepherd» are clearly to be distinguished – the *only* shepherd and the *unique* shepherd. It means he is *the* only one and not *one that is better than the others*.

¹⁸ After Bottéro 1987, 252: «[...] Spontanément les autres dieux se prosternent devant lui. Et obéissent sans discuter à ses ordres! Il est le grand et puissant Souverain [...]»

¹⁹ *Id.*, 253: «[...] Seigneur Marduk, ô dieu suprême, à l’intelligence insurpassable, [...] Seigneur terrifiant, en l’Assemblée des dieux nuls ne t’égale!»

²⁰ *Id.*, *ibid.*: «[...] Tu pais ensemble tous les êtres vivants: Ici-haute et là-dessous, leur unique pasteur, c’est toi! [...]»

Other written sources are prayers and letters. The latter have an interesting structure, by which the sender clearly sees the deity he chose for its purpose as protector of the receiver.

Official Religion – Theory: Introduction

Official religion is similar to personal piety. The difference lies in the reason why the henotheistic phenomenon is triggered. With personal piety, it was the unreachable character of the deities and the intermediate position of the king which took the individual to exalt one deity more than the others. When the king exalted one deity more than others, it can be explained as a politically motivated strategy. The king's function is to hold his territory together. Politics and religion, especially in the Mesopotamian case, walk hand in hand, supporting each other in order to show unity and sovereignty, even though conflicts emerged because of political struggles and balances of power.

In this context, the manipulation of belief plays a big role as an instrument of power. In Mesopotamian belief, the king was predestined for the exercise of power by the deities, which means he was born to be king. When he actually became ruler, this predestination was confirmed by the assumption of a new royal name. This name often included the name of *his* deity (e.g., *Aššur-našir-apli*, *Aššur-banû-apli*). This second part is best explained through the process of *Vergewissierung*²¹, «assurance». The exaltation of the deity is an analogy between the earthly and the godly world, both functioning in a similar way. The king, such as the uppermost deity on the pantheon, is positioned higher than the citizens and the land.

Official Religion – Historical Background and Sources²²

For a better understanding of the development of religion in Mesopotamia here is a brief historical background, followed by a theoretical framework.

²¹ Pongratz-Leisten 1999, 11-16.

²² Main references: Bottéro 1987, 1998; Grandpierre 2010; Lopéz and Sanmartín 1993, Nissen 2012; Pollock 2008; Van De Mieroop 2007.

In the Late Obeid Period a direct form of religiousness existed. The house had a tripartite structure: administration, production and religion. So, religiousness was intrinsic in each house.

In the Late Uruk Period this religiousness took place mostly in temples, being now extrinsic to the house. The *lower class* population was now forced to find new forms of gaining direct access to their deities without an intermediate. This explains the growth of personal piety, presented earlier, in a developing hierarchical society. This social hierarchy and legitimisation of power of the elite strengthened the official religion, and therefore institutionalized it.

The Early Dynastic Period indicates a growing connection between politics and religion. There are fewer settlements, but those remaining increase in size. Every so-called *city-state* with its *satellite*-town has its own patron, each positioned at the top of the pantheon, such as Enki in Eridu, Inanna in Uruk or Nanna in Ur²³. These are all forms of henotheism.

In the Akkad Period, Sargon unifies for the first time all the city-states, an important step for the further development of the process here presented. One of his successors, Naram-Sîn, deifies himself. However, this phenomenon of deification of the king does not last for long, peaking in the Ur III Period and disappearing afterwards.

Around 1750 BCE, Hammurabi holds sovereignty over a vast territory with Babylon as the capital in its centre. His difficulties in holding together politically such far ranging territory would not be increased by a strong personal piety of the *lower classes*. There are cases where the *ordinary* person was allowed to connect with the official highest deity, for example, during the Akîtu festival of the New Year, when the king showed himself publicly and the statue of the deity was revealed. Usurpers to the throne did this too, so that they could give continuity to the past²⁴, manifested through the continuity of religion. This shows how then people did not exclude two realities, incompatible for us, as

²³ Grandpierre 2010, 382. Other examples: Pollock 2008, 187.

²⁴ Kuhrt 1987, 22-55.

in the case of a usurper taking over the throne but legitimized through the preservation of the religious traditions.

In the *epos Enūma eliš*, Marduk is honoured with 50 names («And made Marduk's destiny highest; they themselves did obeisance»)²⁵ and named the ruler of all deities («And confirmed for him mastery of the gods of heaven and earth»)²⁶. The names are very interesting because although the deities had different spheres of action and own characteristics, they could easily be unified into just one. The following incantation demonstrates this idea:

«I want to worship you, great deity! Invocation(s) through hand-lifting [*Handerhebung*] to Marduk: or with sacrifices or with incense basin you should carry (it) out. Invocation: Šin is your divinity, Anu your *lordness*, Dagan your magnificence, Enlil your kingly dignity, Adad your strength, Ea, the wise, your ears, who holds the reed pen, Nabû, your ability, your leadership Ninurta, your force Nergal, the advice of your heart Nusku, your sublime Vizier, your dignified judgment is Šamaš, the shiny, who does [not(?)] let enmity be created, your weighty (!) name is Wise of the Gods, Marduk, your terrible spear, the unsparing lion... Invocation(s) through hand-lifting [*Handerhebung*] to Marduk: or with sacrifices or with incense basin you should carry (it) out.»²⁷

A deity was chosen, in this case Marduk, to whom prayer should be made. At the same time other deities (Anu, Enlil, Adad, Ea...) were transformed into aspects of the *chosen* highest deity (Marduk).

²⁵ Dalley 2008, 264.

²⁶ *Id.*, *ibid.*

²⁷ Translated after Ebeling, E. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* I/II (WVDOG 28, 1919; 34, 1923): Nr. 25. II. Column 15: «Deiner großen Gottheit will ich huldigen! Beschwörung(en) durch Handerhebung zu Marduk: entweder mit Opferzurüstung oder mit Räucherbecken sollst du (sie) ausführen. Beschwörung: Sin ist deine Göttlichkeit, Anu deine Fürstlichkeit, Dagan, deine Herrlichkeit, Enlil deine königliche Würde, Adad deine Stärke, Ea, der Weise, deine Ohren, der das Schreibrohr hält, Nabû, dein Können, deine Führerschaft Ninurta, deine Gewalt Nergal, der Rat deines Herzens Nusku, dein erhabner [Vezier], deine Richterwürde ist Šamaš, der glänzende, der Feind[schaft nicht(?)] entstehen läßt, dein gewichtiger (!) Name ist Weiser er Götter, Marduk, dein furchtbarer Speer der[scho]nungs[lose] Löwe... Beschwörung(en) durch Handerhebung zu Marduk. Ritual dafür: Entweder mit Opferzurüstung oder mit Räucherbecken sollst du (sie) ausführen.»

In Assyria it was Aššur who was chosen as the main deity. Aššur replaced Marduk especially, and radically, from Sennacherib's reign onwards, by the denial of his Babylonian counterparty. This is a strong monotheistic attempt (as explained earlier, the denial of other deities is, by definition, a sign of monotheism). *Enūma eliš* was rewritten in this period, replacing Marduk with Aššur²⁸. The Assyrian capital had many temples; the one of Aššur was seen as the most important. He unified all other deities within himself and was therefore stronger than Marduk ever was. This can be seen as an attempt to honour just one deity.

A hymn from King Aššurbanipal to Aššur makes this obvious. Aššur is named «the omniscient», «the Illil of the gods», and it is stated that «(Even) a god does not comprehend [...] your [..., O Aššur; the meaning of your...] is not understood»²⁹. This was a big step towards later monotheism and the unreachability of the transcendent deities.

Conclusion

This essay debated the connection between monotheism and henotheism. They are clearly not two mutually exclusive *-theisms*. On the contrary, they seem to complement each other in the Mesopotamian case.

Monotheism is clearly seen as such only later, with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. However, the trends to its formation are much earlier, forming a *monotheistic process* where boundaries between the concepts analysed are blurred. Such ambiguity yet gives structure to this analysis and some details of the process can be seen. For this I will recapitulate the main points.

It was shown that written and archaeological sources are of a problematic nature. The evidence, which should support a clear definition,

²⁸ Dalley 2008, 228.

²⁹ After Livingstone 1989, 4-5, lines 1-3 and 28. Additional consultation: Caramelo 2007, 166-168, also available at <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/docentes/fcaramelo/Textos%2013.html>

is not firm enough. This is why only some fundamental elements of Mesopotamian religion can be defined, for now. Some areas, such as the history of civilization, politics and the history of mentality, are part of this.

The first is characterized by the earlier mentioned *cultural osmosis*. It is the continuous movement of cultural factors which allow mentality and line of thought to lead to antagonist structures (from our point of view).

The political field uses all possible instruments to rule. Religion is just one of them. Politics consciously makes use of tradition and innovation as two sides of the same coin (as described previously with the Akîtu festival). The last mentioned element is important, despite being often regarded as secondary. Archaeological sources promote *purser* evidence to how daily life was and common things were dealt with; especially about things not mentioned in written sources. Nevertheless the latter source should not be ignored in favour of *purist* archaeology. We can interpret facts from archaeological sources and conclude then the psychological processes; written sources add a lot to this. They mark the *Zeitgeist*, the mental construction, the urge to write. Eventually it is *mentality* which precedes and influences all areas.

This leads to an appeal to make a history of mentality in which archaeological sources are embedded. However, this should be done carefully because written sources are often used as guides to excavations and posterior interpretation (e.g., excavations guided by the Bible). Finally, the balance between both kinds of sources is the most important. This is how henotheism can be extracted from written sources. Finds in excavations can be, in this way, interpreted with a broad view. From the perspective of henotheism an analysis can be made towards monotheism or polytheism instead of having only these last two options. As a whole, Mesopotamian religion should not be divided into the two definitions: monotheism and polytheism. They promote pre-defined ideas and give weight to the moment instead of the process.

In this analysis, the indications show that we should move to the notion of henotheism in order to have a more accurate approach to the Mesopotamian mentality, by giving it, in a first step, enough space for a neutral viewpoint of the subject which in a second step can be interpreted in the appropriate context as being monotheistic, polytheistic or staying in the henotheistic sphere.

Bibliography

- ALBERTZ, R. 1978. *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion*. Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag.
- ASSMANN, J. 2008. *Of God and Gods. Egypt, Israel, and the Rise of Monotheism*. The University of Wisconsin Press.
- BLACK, J. and GREEN, A. 1992. *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia – An Illustrated Dictionary*. British Museum Press.
- BLOCK, D. I. 1988. *The Gods of the Nations – Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology* (ETS Monograph Series 2). Evangelical Theological Society, USA.
- BOTTÉRO, J. 1987. *Mésopotamie. L'écriture, la raison et les dieux*. Paris: Gallimard.
- 1998. *La plus vieille religion – En Mésopotamie*. Paris: Gallimard.
- CARAMELO, F. 2007. “A religião mesopotâmica: entre o relativo e o absoluto”, *Revista da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas* 19: 165-175.
- DALLEY, S. 2008. *Myths from Mesopotamia. Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DELOUGAZ, P.; HILL, H. D.; LLOYD 1967. *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 88. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press.

- EBELING, E. 1919. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts I* (WVDOG 28). Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft.
- 1923. *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts II* (WVDOG 34). Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft.
- 1953. *Die akkadische Gebetsserie „Handerhebung“*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- FALES, F. M. 2010. *Guerre et paix en Assyrie: religion et impérialisme*. Paris: Éd. du Cerf.
- GRANDPIERRE, V. 2010. *Histoire de la Mésopotamie*. Paris: Gallimard.
- HORNUNG, E. 1996. *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and The Many*. Ithaca, New York. Cornell University Press.
- INSOLL, T. 2005. “Archaeology of cult and religion” in Renfrew, C. and Bahn, P. (eds.). *Archaeology – The Key Concepts*. London and New York: Routledge: 33-36.
- KREBERNIK, M. and VAN OORSCHOT, J. 2002. *Polytheismus und Monotheismus in den Religionen des Vorderen Orients*. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 298). Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- KUHRT, A. 1987. “Usurpation, Conquest and Ceremonial: From Babylon to Persia” in Cannedine, D. and Price, S. (eds.). *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 20-55.
- LAMBERT, W. G. 1960. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford University Press.
- LARA PEINADO, F. 2008. *Enuma Elish*. Madrid: Editorial Trotta.
- LEVINE, B. A. 2005. “Assyrian Ideology and Israelite Monotheism” in *Niniveh. Papers of the 49th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part Two*. *Iraq* 67/1: 411-427.

- LIVINGSTONE, A. 1989. "Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea" in *State Archives of Assyria*, Vol. III. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- LÓPEZ, J. and SANMARTÍN, J. 1993. *Mitología y Religion del Oriente Antiguo. I – Egipto – Mesopotamia*. Barcelona: Editorial AUSA.
- NISSEN, H. 2012. *Geschichte Alt-Vorderasiens*. München. Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag.
- PARPOLA, S. 2000. "Monotheism in Ancient Mesopotamia" in B. N. Porter (ed.), *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*. Casco Bay: The Casco Bay Assyriological Institute: 165-209.
- POLLOCK, S. 2008. *Ancient Mesopotamia. The Eden That Never Was*. Cambridge University Press.
- PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, B. 1999. *Herrschaftswissen in Mesopotamien: Formen der Kommunikation zwischen Gott und König im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (State Archives of Assyria Studies X). Helsinki, Institute for Asian and African Studies: University of Helsinki.
- PORTER, B. N. 2000. "The Anxiety of Multiplicity. Concepts of Divinity as One and Many in Ancient Assyria" in B. N. Porter (ed.), *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World*. Casco Bay: The Casco Bay Assyriological Institute: 211-271.
- POSTGATE, J. N.; KILLICK, J. A. 1983. "British Archaeological Expedition to Abu Salabikh" in *SUMER*, 39. 95-99.
- SEUX, M. 1976. *Hymnes et Prières aux Dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- SILVA, C. TAVARES DA; SOARES, J. 2007. *Osmose Cultural e a Neolitização na Pré-História. A propósito da transição Mesolítico-Neolítico no Sul de Portugal* (Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras 15). Oeiras, Câmara Municipal: 37-46.

STEELE, C. 1990. *Living with the Dead: House Burial At Abu Salabikh, Iraq*. Thesis (Ph. D.). State University of New York at Binghamton.

VAN DE MIEROOP, M. 2007. *A History of the Ancient Near East. Ca. 3000-323 BC*. Oxford, Malden: Blackwell.

WOOLLEY, L. 2009. *Excavations at Ur: A record of twelve years' work*. New York: Routledge.

ZGOLL, A. 2006. "Vielfalt der Götter" in Kratz, R. G. and Spieckermann, H. (eds.), *Götterbilder - Gottesbilder - Weltbilder: Polytheismus und Monotheismus in der Welt der Antike*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament, Reihe 2, 17, Band I. Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck: 103-130.

Additional Bibliography:

COULSON, J. et al. 1981. *The Oxford Illustrated Dictionary*. Clarendon Press.

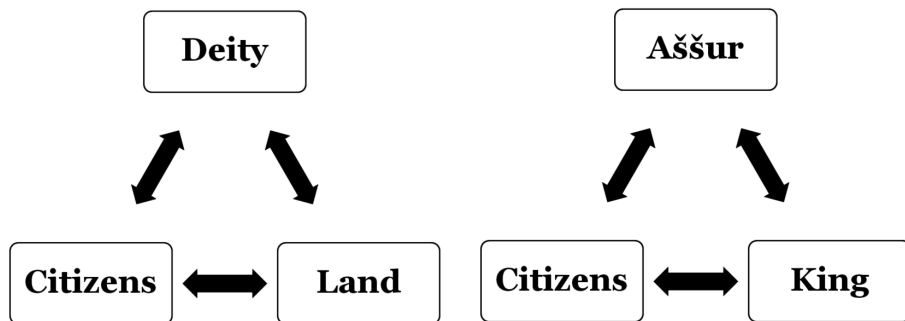


Fig. 1: Scheme based on Block 1988.

Fig. 2: Scheme based on Fales 2010.

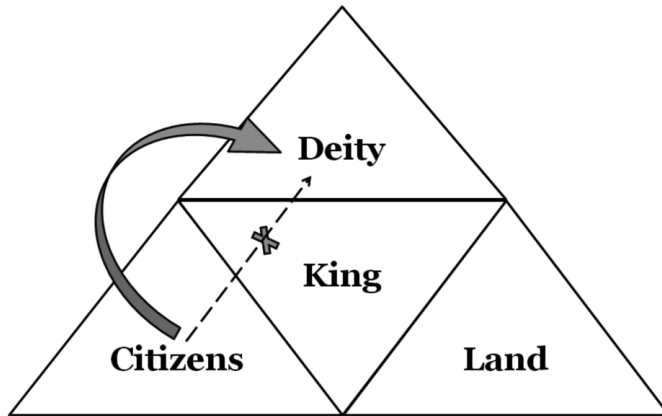


Fig. 3: Scheme based on both previous models.

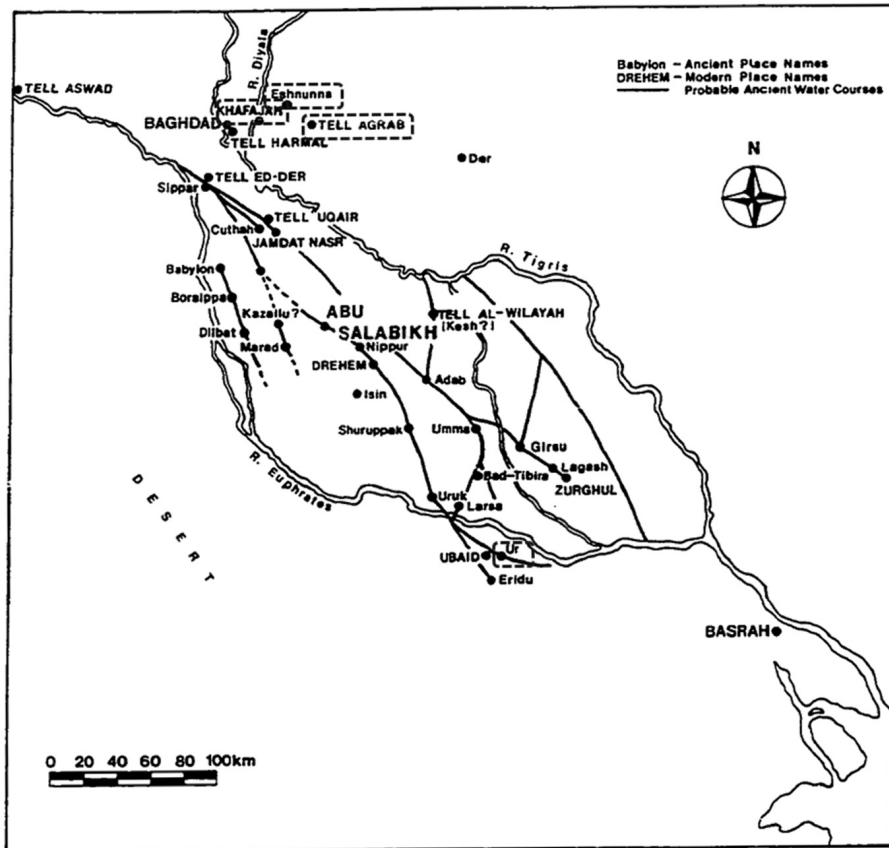


Fig. 4: Mesopotamia (Steele 1990, after Postgate 1983).
Tell Agrab, Khafajah, Tell Asmar/Ešnunna and Ur are marked.

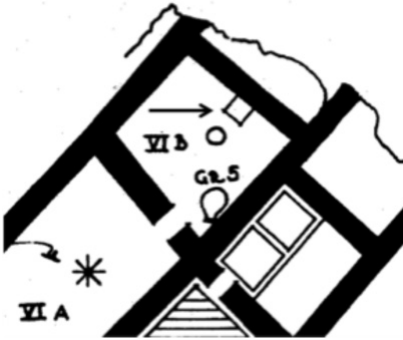


Fig. 5
(Delougaz *et al.* 1967, Plate 50, detail).

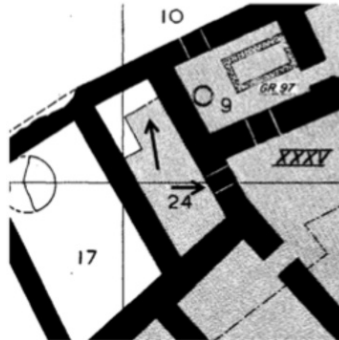


Fig. 6
(Delougaz *et al.* 1967, Plate 9, detail).

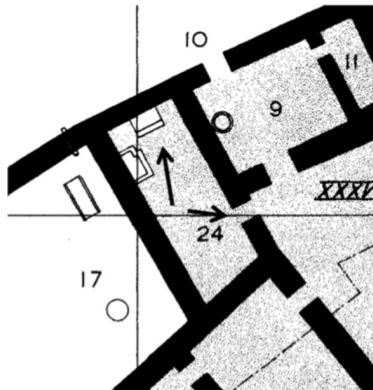
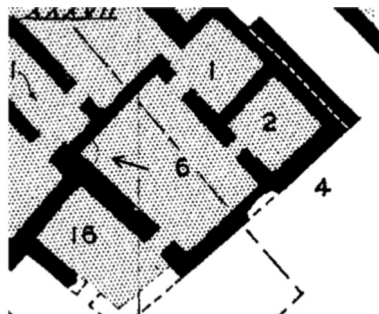


Fig. 7 (Delougaz *et al.* 1967, Plate 10, detail).



Figs. 8 and 9 (Delougaz *et al.* 1967, Plate 72A, Plate 28, detail).