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THE SYMBOLISM OF THE EYE IN MESOPOTAMIA AND ISRAEL

by HELEN L. SEAWRIGHT

Bachelor of Arts (Religion and Culture, 1976)
Wilfrid Laurier University



THESIS

Submitted to the Department of Religion and Culture
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
Wilfrid Laurier University
1988

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores eye symbolism within the context of the art forms of the Ancient Near East, including pottery, sculpture, idols or amulets, seals, cuneiform texts and the literature of the Old Testament. The central concern in this study is to bring together under one cover the iconography of the eye and its meaning from the cultures of Mesopotamia and Israel.

The human eye has been a symbol for good or evil from earliest times. This thesis shows that the Mesopotamians focused mainly on the negative aspects of the eye in their belief system, while the Israelites focused on its positive aspects. In Mesopotamia, the positive and negative aspects of this dualism are discussed in the context of the state and the popular religions. In Israel, biblical references are used to illustrate both the positive and the negative aspects of eye symbolism in the monotheistic religion of the Israelites. Rabbinic literature is used to support the concept of the Evil Eye. Incidental evidence for eye symbolism is drawn from Egyptian and Anatolian sources.

The iconography is discussed within the context of the belief system of each culture and includes an interpretation of the meaning of the eye symbols. The differences between the religion of the Mesopotamians and that of the Israelites becomes apparent from the kinds of data that are available for comparison. It is demonstrated from the literature of the Old Testament, that the ontogenesis of the soul parallels the evolution of religion.

PREFACE

The original intention of pursuing eye symbolism as a thesis topic was based on a long-standing interest in the concept of the evil eye; where it originated, how it functioned as a belief system, who really believed in it and why. The preliminary research soon indicated that eye symbolism could not be understood apart from the religious and intellectual thought of the countries involved. Therefore, the thesis was broadened to consider the role of eye symbolism in the context of the religion and culture of Mesopotamia and Israel. This new emphasis led to some new similarities and contrasts between the two which become apparent in the structure and organization of the thesis.

The thesis is divided into two parts - Part I dealing with Mesopotamia and Part II with Israel. This natural division is the most efficient organization as it not only facilitated the writing but also provides a logical structure and sequence for the reader. Both Parts of the paper deal with the positive and negative aspects of eye symbolism. However, because the belief systems in Mesopotamia and Israel are so different, their uniqueness is reflected in the headings and the organization of each Part.

Part I on Mesopotamia is divided into two sections. Due to the nature of the religion the positive aspect of the dualism between good and evil represents the state religion and the negative aspect of the dualism represents the popular religion.

The appropriate iconography follows each section. The documentary and iconographic evidence indicates that the Mesopotamians dwelt mainly on the negative aspects of their religion. The evidence also suggests that there was a belief in an Eye deity.

Part II on Israel is organized somewhat differently, again as a result of the nature of the religion. In a religion where iconography is forbidden, and everything originates with God, evil as well as good, then only literary sources can form the basis for a comparison. Therefore, the biblical references to eye symbolism are discussed under the two headings - Positive Aspects of Eye Symbolism and Negative Aspects of Eye Symbolism. However, the evil eye is also found in the belief system of the Jews and was dealt with by the Rabbis as a folk religion. This folk religion is discussed under a separate heading called The Concept of the Evil Eye. The iconography which follows is necessarily limited to amulets and objects used as protection against the evil eye.

In drawing a conclusion, the differences between the two religions are shown by the documentary and iconographic evidence. This evidence suggests that the Mesopotamians dwelt mainly on the negative aspects of eye symbolism while the Israelites dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism; but the concept of the evil eye was never completely suppressed among the Jews.

The thesis also shows in Appendix C that through the positive aspects of eye symbolism in the Old Testament the ontogenesis of the psyche parallels the evolution of religion.

The most significant contribution to knowledge in this thesis is that the iconography of the eye, and its meaning, have been brought together under one cover, thus providing a comprehensive body of knowledge about eye symbolism from the cultures of Mesopotamia and Israel.

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PART I: MESOPOTAMIA

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Documentary and iconographic evidence for eye symbolism indicates that the Mesopotamian's religious beliefs were based on a clear-cut discrimination between fear and fascination, and good and evil. This dualism touched every aspect of man's life, keeping him in a state of apprehension and insecurity. From man's earliest experiences, where the gods were perceived as the powers in nature or the "numinous" (Jacobsen, 1976:6), to the time when the gods were viewed as the rulers of the universe, down to the notion of a personal god, this dualism between fear and fascination, good and evil persisted. The forces in nature were either positive or negative. Positive forces were perceived as the intervention of the supernatural working on man's behalf and, as such, were to be cultivated and worshipped; while the negative forces were to be avoided, something against which man defended himself (Jacobsen, 1976:12). "The forces against man's staying alive were so numerous and so potent" (Potts, 5) that the Mesopotamian dwelt mainly on the negative aspect of the dualism. Political changes over time brought about an expanded perception of existence, resulting in a change in man's reliance on the gods.

The positive and negative aspects of this dualistic approach to religion differentiates the state religion from the popular religion, yet both are interrelated and survive side by side in

the Mesopotamian's world view. A brief outline of this world view, encompassing three millennia, will set the stage for an exploration of eye symbolism in Mesopotamia.

That man was ever under the watchful eyes of the gods will be amply illustrated by the literary documents and the iconography.

Chapter 2

THE POSITIVE ASPECT OF DUALISM

State Religion

World View

The Mesopotamian's world view stemmed from his experience of nature and his ideas of the cosmos. He saw his environment as one of unpredictability, in which the powers of nature are unleashed in the form of floods, scorching heat and thunderstorms, against which he was powerless. Man felt himself caught in the midst of giant forces (Jacobsen, 1946:127) and, as Jacobsen says, saw objects and phenomena of nature as personified in varying degrees; each has a will of its own; each has a definite personality. For example the fire becomes a judge, the thunderstorm a warrior and the earth a woman or mother giving birth each year to new vegetation (Jacobsen, 1946:135). Thus the Mesopotamian developed an "I-Thou" relationship with the objects and phenomena in his environment (Jacobsen, 1946:130). These powers of nature were characteristic of the gods of the fourth millennium and represent the oldest form of the gods in the Mesopotamian's world view (Jacobsen, 1976:9).

Man's notion of the cosmos as an ordered state was based on his own social order. The assembly of the gods was similar, in Jacobsen's view, to the general assembly of a primitive democracy. Therefore the structure of the universe paralleled the structure of the state (Jacobsen, 1946:135). The most powerful

elements in the cosmos were represented by the most prominent gods in the general assembly. Highest above all other things in the cosmos was the sky, and Anu, the sky god, was the leader of the gods (Jacobsen, 1946:137). The storm ranked as the second greatest component of the cosmos, and Enlil, as god of the storm, was the second highest of the gods. The third basic component of the universe was the earth. But the earth, composed of male and female elements, was divided between Ninhursag, Mother Earth or fertility, and Enki, lord Earth or creativity, the source of the life-giving waters. Thus Anu represents authority, Enlil represents force, Ninhursag, fertility and Enki, creativity (Jacobsen, 1946:137). Furthermore any god, even the great cosmic powers, might become a personal god for an individual or king, so that Sin, god of the moon, Shamash, god of the sun and justice, Adad, god of the thunderstorm, and Nergal, the ruler of the netherworld, might become the chief god of a city to whom the individual or king owes his allegiance. Mesopotamian gods were entirely anthropomorphic; even the most powerful and all-knowing gods were conceived as human in form, thought and deed (Kramer :117). To give only one example, Anu, as father and ruler of the gods, was not only the prototype of all fathers but also of all rulers and kings. It is Anu's command that comes forth from the mouth of the king and it is Anu's power that makes it effective (Jacobsen, 1946:139). By the third millennium the cosmos as a state was well established and taken for granted (Jacobsen, 1946:151). With the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period, the

small open villages disappeared, giving rise to the city-states. Wars and raids became the order of the day and men sought protection behind enormous city walls and in the institution of permanent kingship (Jacobsen, 1976:77). At the local level, the city was organized around the temple of the city god and most of the lands of a Mesopotamian city-state were temple lands. Man believed that he was created to relieve the gods of toil and to work on the gods' estates. Thus man endured a master-slave relationship (Jacobsen, 1946:186). The function of the city-state was mainly economic, to uphold some great power of the universe. For example, Nippur belonged to Enlil, "Lord Wind", the great god embodying energy and force (Jacobsen 1946:98). But at the cosmic level, Enlil was active politically as the chief executive of Anu, the high god. Both the city-state and the cosmic state were power-structures which rose above the human plane, and this new world view of the gods as rulers meant that the universe became a polity with each deity fulfilling his or her duties in some cosmic office (Jacobsen, 1946:191).

Kingship was conferred by Anu, the great god, and it was he who proclaimed the king chosen by the assembly of the gods (Jacobsen, 1976:97). The awe and majesty, once attributed to the forces of nature of an earlier era, are now concentrated in the person of the king. As a saviour-figure, the ruler was "exalted above men, fearsome as a warrior, and awesome in the power at his command" (Jacobsen, 1976:79).

The new concept of the gods as rulers allows for a more

profound experience of the numinous which is seen as the "mysterium tremendum", the "wholly other", the "terrifying unbounded power of the natural phenomenon" for which a particular god is now responsible (Jacobsen 1976:79). This new ruler concept gave rise to the epic tale in which man, represented by the ruler, is the hero, who even challenges the authority of the gods (Jacobsen, 1976:74). The Epic of Gilgamesh is a case in point. Here, on a deeper level, man seems to be taking a tentative step forward. The trend towards man's belief in himself and his powers in defiance of the gods continued into the Akkad Period. However, religion tempered this development with the assertion that in the long run divine retribution was certain.

With the ruler concept, the Mesopotamian's world view appears to have changed. Now there is a planned, purposeful universe ruled by the gods who have broadened their concerns to include society as the upholders of the legal and moral order; and to politics, deciding victory or defeat (Jacobsen, 1976:90). The gods have come to control and shape history. An echo is faintly heard among the Hebrews in Israel when their God comes to control and shape history also.

By the second millennium the Mesopotamian looked upon the great gods as remote forces, approachable only in times of the greatest necessity and only then through intermediaries (Jacobsen, 1946:203). In man's changing world view he now sees himself as having a close personal relationship with only one god, a god who watches over him and cares about him personally

and deeply (Jacobsen, 1976:147). Originally, the personal god appeared as the personification of a man's luck and success. For example, if things turn out as a man had hoped, it means that some god has taken an interest in him and his affairs, and brought him success. In return, this personal god deserves worship and obedience (Jacobsen, 1946:204). The personal god is not remote and awesome like the great gods; he is near and familiar and caring. Working within the master-slave relationship, the Mesopotamian found that the way of obedience, of service and worship, was the way to achieve protection. It was also the way to earthly success in health, long life, honoured standing in the community, and many sons and wealth, which were the highest values of Mesopotamian life (Jacobsen, 1946:205). In every house there was a small altar for the personal god where a man worshipped and brought his daily offerings. It was only in relation to his own personal god that he was "the man, son of his god" (Jacobsen, 1976:158). It is important to realize that the personal god dwelt within man's body. Therefore, it was the personal god and goddess, embodied in the father and mother, who engendered the child. Accordingly, Urnammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, calls himself the offspring of Ninsuna, the brother of the great Gilgamesh (Jacobsen, 1976:158). In various Mesopotamian dynasties, father and son invariably had the same personal god and goddess. Therefore, in each generation the god passed from the body of the father into the body of the son. This belief possibly underlies the term "god of the fathers" which may

be compared with Exodus 3:15, "The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" (Jacobsen, 1976:159).

The personal god as "father" is not only the engenderer but also the provider, protector and intercessor with higher powers. He is the individual's link with the universe and its forces. In the case of illness, for instance, man believes that any illness is an evil demon which seizes and holds a man captive. The personal god, although not strong enough to release man from the clutches of an evil, lawless demon, finds a protector among the great gods who will institute divine justice. Through the decision of the sun-god (the divine judge) guaranteed by the mighty Ea (god of the sweet waters) the evil demon is compelled to release its hold (Jacobsen, 1946:207). Justice, as a right, has become the general concept rather than justice as a favour. But this idea clashed with the established world view. The literature shows man's attempt to deal with the problems of the justification of death, the righteous sufferer and the negation of all values. (Life appears to be a pretty arbitrary affair.) (Jacobsen, 1946:207). The Penitential Psalms of the Mesopotamians, and of the Egyptians and Israelites as well, are characteristic of this kind of thinking. A few examples from each culture will clearly show this attitude which prevailed about the first millennium B.C., although the Egyptian example dates a little earlier (1250 B.C.). Eye symbolism emerges from a Mesopotamian prayer to Ishtar which pleads:

"I have cried to thee, (I) thy suffering, wearied, distressed servant.
See me, O my lady, accept my prayers!
Faithfully look upon me and hear my supplication."
(Jacobsen, 1976:148).

In another prayer from Mesopotamia the sufferer appeals to both god and goddess:

"I kept seeking but no one took my hand,
I wept, but they came not to my side,
I lamented.- no one heard me -
I am afflicted, covered over, cannot see.
'O my merciful god, turn unto me' I entreat thee,
I kiss the foot of my goddess; before thee I crawl."
(Jacobsen, 1976:148)

A similar attitude is reflected in an Egyptian prayer to Re-Har-akhti:

"Come to me, O Re-Har-akhti,
that thou mayest look after me!
Thou art he who does, and there is no one who
does without thee.
unless it be that thou actest with him."
(Jacobsen, 1976:148).

Psalm 38: 9-11 in the literature of the Old Testament reveals the same idea:

"Lord, all my longing is known to thee,
my sighing is not hidden from thee.
My heart throbs, my strength fails me;
and the light of my eyes-it also has gone from me.
My friends and companions stand aloof from my plague,
and my kinsmen stand afar off." (RSV).

While the self-abasement and humility of the penitent is obvious, the underlying presumption is not one of humility but of "unconscious human self-importance" (Jacobsen, 1976:150). The individual becomes so "centrally important in the universe that he can monopolize God's attention." (Jacobsen, 1976:150). Here is the paradox in bridging the cosmic world and the personal world

of the individual. On the one hand God is the awesome, creator and ruler of the universe, but on the other, he is the God of "my" salvation, fulfilling the personal needs of the individual (Jacobsen, 1976:152). Man's growing awareness is expressed in the new concept of human rights, in the claim for justice in the universe (Jacobsen, 1946:208). Hammurabi, the king of Babylon, who promulgated his Law Code; Pharaoh Akhenaton who attempted to establish monotheism; and Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrews, to whom Yahweh gave the choice of sacrificing a ram rather than his son, Isaac, are symbolical of "Zeitgeist" (spirit of the age) (Westman:84). With the realization of the possibility of choice man stands between good and evil and "personality" is established (Westman:100).

The principle of justice is expressed by the Mesopotamians in the concept of the personal god, by the Egyptians as Maat, and by the Hebrews as righteousness and has been projected back to mythical times and made universal in the literature of the creation epics. Thus the duality between good and evil has its origin with the gods. This dualism is uniquely different in each world view, as well as in the symbolism of the eye, which stands out as a potent force for good or evil. This correspondence between the divine world and the profane world has permeated man's thinking from the very beginning and plays a dominant role in the religions of Mesopotamia and Israel.

The Concept of the Duality Between Good and Evil

Mesopotamia In Mesopotamia this dualism is seen on a cosmic scale. In the Enuma Elish two opposing gods, Marduk and Tiamat, are engaged in never-ending conflict. Marduk, representing the forces for activity, law and order, and creation, is ranged against Tiamat, representing the forces for inactivity, chaos and destruction. The creation epic, the Enuma Elish, clearly explains that Tiamat was plotting evil as Marduk claims:

"You have named Kingu as your spouse,
installed him to make the decisions of the lordship
(an honour) of which he is undeserving.
Against Anshar, king of the gods,
you seek evil,
and have proved your evil (intent)
against the gods, my fathers:
Verily your forces are ranged,
they are girt with weapons (of) your (making).
Set to! Let me and you do battle!" (Jacobson, 1976:178).

In the ensuing battle Marduk is victorious, whereupon he kills Tiamat, splits her body in two, and proceeds to create the universe. Kingu, as leader of Tiamat's army is also put to death and "from his blood Marduk and his father fashioned the first human being" (Roux:100). This creation myth has many levels of interpretation but the two most important ones account for the creation of a moral, ordered universe and for the presence of evil in the world, as man is created from the blood of evil Kingu (Roux:100).

The concept of the Evil Eye can also be traced to the very heart of the Mesopotamian belief system, the Enuma Elish. Tiamat

is the personification of chaos, darkness and inertness, and of every kind of evil. As a she-devil, Tiamat was imagined to be part animal, part serpent, part bird, "revolting in appearance and evil in every way" (Budge, 1975:80), and in creating a formidable army to go against Marduk, she gave birth to a frightening group of monsters (Jacobson, 1976:173). As the personification of every kind of evil, Tiamat then becomes the archetype of the Evil Eye. In the world view of the Mesopotamians the cosmic battle is seen as the eternal struggle between two aspects of nature, Order and Chaos, and on a moral level between Good and Evil (Roux:97).

This concept of the duality between good and evil in the Babylonian Epic of Creation has parallels in other Near Eastern cultures. One example is a Hittite myth concerned with the slaying of the dragon, Illuyankas. The Myth of Illuyankas forms part of the mythological literature found in the archives of Boghazköy, capital of the Hittite Empire, and exists in an older and in a later version (Hooke, 1963:98). In the older version, the legend of the Purulli Festival of the Storm-god of heaven has affinities with the Mesopotamian's New Year Festival and the slaying of the dragon, Tiamat (Hooke, 1963:98). In the older version the Storm-god, who is defeated by the dragon, Illuyankas, appeals to the assembly of the gods for help. The goddess Inaras, with the help of a man, Hupasiyas, prepares a trap for the dragon. The goddess prepares a great banquet with barrels of

every kind of drink and invites the dragon with his children to attend: —

"So up came the Dragon Illuyankas with his children; they ate and drank and emptied every barrel and quenched their thirst. They could not go back into their hole. So Hupasiyas came up and bound the Dragon with a rope. Then the Weather-god came and slew the Dragon Illuyankas, and the gods were with him." (Gurney:183).

According to the later version, the Dragon not only defeated the Storm-god but took possession of his heart and eyes. This later version echoes the Egyptian myth of the fight between Horus and Seth in which Horus lost one of his eyes (Hooke, 1963:99). In order to recover them the Storm-god devised a plan and as Gurney succinctly puts it:

"He begot a son by the daughter of a poor man. When this son was grown up, he took as his bride the daughter of the Dragon, and the Storm-god instructed him saying: 'When you enter the house of your bride, demand from them my heart and my eyes'".

The stolen organs were handed to him without objection. The text continues:

"Then he brought them to his father, the Weather-god, and restored his heart and his eyes to the Weather-god. When his body had thus been restored to its former state he went off to the sea to do battle, and when they came out to battle with him he succeeded in defeating the Dragon Illuyankas" (Gurney, 1952:184).

Both versions suggest that the Babylonian myth of the slaying of the dragon Tiamat, which was recited at the New Year Festival, has influenced the Hittite myth of Purullı (Hooke, 1963:100).

Egypt The Egyptians understood the duality between good and evil in a different way, as a development of unity; as two complementary elements, rather than as two contrasting ones (Lurker, 1980:109). For instance the duality between the sun and the moon, the right eye and the left eye, Upper and Lower Egypt, the god and the king, life and death, light and darkness, Horus and Seth, Ma'at and chaos, etc. were all viewed as a development of unity, each complementing the other. In Egypt, eye symbolism permeates every aspect of life. From the very beginning, Horus the falcon was worshipped as a sky god. According to Watterson, the word "hor" can mean "face" or "distant"; thus Horus the Distant One was viewed as the face of the sky (98). The sun is called the "Eye of Horus" and the moon also is an "Eye of Horus", the sun is the right eye, and the moon the left (Budge, 1969a:467). The face of the sky is called "Horus of the Two Eyes", and when neither Eye is visible it is called "Horus dwelling without Eyes" (Budge, 1969a:467). Numerous forms of Horus are mentioned in Egyptian texts but only selected ones will be referred to here. Horus, in his aspect of the Face of heaven was the twin of the god Seth, hence Horus was the Face by day and Seth the Face by night. Originally, Horus was the son of Re and Hathor but by late dynastic times, Horus became the son of Geb and Nut and therefore, in this version of the myth, the brother of Osiris. Men identified Horus, the son of Isis, with Horus the Elder (Budge, 1969a:467). Although there were many local gods called Horus, they too came to represent the sky god, Horus.

Before the unification of Egypt, Horus had sanctuaries in both Upper and Lower Egypt and was the patron deity of both lines of kings. After the unification, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt adopted the Horus name as part of his official title (Watterson :100) in accordance with the concept of divine kingship and Horus became the earliest state god. As the living embodiment of the god, the king was called "the Living Horus" (Watterson: 100). Hence the duality between religion and government represents the unity of church and state. Horus, as the state god, was soon rivalled by Re, the sun-god at Heliopolis, but this presented no difficulty for the priests of the different belief systems. Horus merely coalesced with Re to become Re-Hor-akhty or Re-and-Horus-of-the Two-Horizons, the two horizons of sunrise and sunset. At Heliopolis, Horus was represented by a man with the head of a hawk surmounted by a sun disk (Watterson:100). The complementary elements of Egyptian religion are clearly defined for as god of the sky, he was Horus, and as god of the sun, he was Re-Hor-akhty. The greatest and most important of all the forms of Horus was the Horus of Edfu, for here he represents the Sun which prevailed in the heavens at midday and as such typified the greatest power of the heat of the sun. It is under this form that Horus waged war against Seth, the god of darkness (Budge, 1969a:475). As the days grow shorter after the summer solstice, it was believed that Seth stole the light, the Eye, from Horus. Seth also overcame or "ate" the moon and was thought to be the cause of clouds, rain, thunder,

lightning, eclipses, hurricanes; everything that tended to reverse the ordinary course of nature and of law and order. From a moral point of view, Seth was the personification of evil (Budge, 1969b:242). Plate 55:1 is a pictorial representation of the eye as morning and night.

An interesting legend is preserved in chapter CXII of the Book of the Dead in connection with Seth as a Storm God and with Horus as the son of Isis. In this chapter the deceased is made to ask a number of gods,

"do ye know for what reason the city of Pe hath been given unto Horus? I, even I, know, though ye know it not. Behold, Ra gave the city unto him in return for the injury in his eye, for which cause Ra said to Horus, 'Let me see what is coming to pass in thine eye,' and forthwith he looked thereat. Then Ra said to Horus, 'Look at that black pig,' and he looked, and straightway an injury was done unto his eye, [namely,] a mighty storm [took place]. Then said Horus unto Ra, 'Verily, my eye seems as if it were an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow'; [and thus saying] he ate his heart. Then said Ra to those gods, Place ye him in his chamber, and he shall do well.' Now the black pig was Suti who had transformed himself into a black pig, and he it was who had aimed the blow of fire which was in the eye of Horus. Then said Ra unto those gods, 'The pig is an abominable thing unto Horus; O but he shall do well although the pig is an abomination unto him.' Then the company of the gods, who were among the divine followers of Horus when he existed in the form of his own child, said, 'Let sacrifices be made [to the gods] of his bulls, and of his goats, and of his pigs. Now the father of Mesthi, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf is Horus, and their mother is Isis. Then said Horus to Ra, 'Give me two divine brethren in the city of Pe and two divine brethren in the city of Nekhen, who [have sprung] from my body and who shall be with me in the guise of everlasting judges, then shall the earth blossom and thunder-clouds and rain be blotted out.' And the name of Horus became 'Her-uatch-f' (i.e., Prince of his emerald stone); I, even I, know the Souls of Pe, namely, Horus, Mesthi, and Hapi." (Budge, 1899:336-7).

According to Budge it seems that in very early times Seth, the god of evil, took the form of a black pig, which came into the presence of Horus, who looked at the animal. Soon after this Horus found that a serious injury had been done to his eye through looking at the black pig. The legend probably refers to a great storm which swept over the city of Pe. During the storm Horus was struck in the eye by lightning or by a thunderbolt and when the storm had passed, Ra appointed two of the sons of Horus to "make the earth blossom," and destroy the thunder-clouds and rain which threatened the city (Budge, 1899:clxvi). Budge explains that the daily restoration of the eye of Horus was effected by a ceremony in which the priest approached the closed shrine containing the figure of the god, and having broken the seal and untied the cord he said:

"The cord is broken, the seal is undone, I am come to bring thee the Eye of Horus, thine eye is to thee, O Horus. The mud of the seal is broken, the celestial ocean is penetrated, the intestines of Osiris are drawn out (i.e., fished out of the water). I am not come to destroy the god on his throne, I am come to set the god on his throne.' The priest next drew the bolt, which symbolized the removal of the finger of Set from the Eye of Horus, and when he had thrown open the doors of the shrine, and the light fell upon the face of the figure of the god, he declared that the 'heavens were opened,' and the ceremony was complete."
(Budge, 1973:63).

The legend concerning the black pig explains why the pig is an abomination to the Egyptians. The legend seems to imply that if pigs, sheep and cattle were offered as sacrifices, raging storms which were caused by Seth, would cease and the flood waters would dry up (Budge, 1934:458).

Another legend from the Book of the Dead, chapter CVIII, explains an eclipse in which Seth swallows the moon. (Budge, 1899:315-6). Egyptian legends assert that as Seth had waged war against Horus, the great Sky-god, and Horus, the son of Isis, so he attacked the Sun-god, Ra, in the form of a monster serpent called Apep. Ra was victorious and thrust an iron lance into Apep and he vomited everything which he had eaten, presumably the moon, the left eye of Ra (Budge, 1973:64-5). Thus Seth, by means of eclipses temporarily blinded both eyes of Horus and tore them out of his head. Under the form of a black pig Seth swallowed the left eye which he found one night as he was wandering about the sky, and every month after the full moon, the moon was eaten away a piece at a time by Seth (Budge, 1973:62). This explains in Egyptian terms the phases of the moon. Plates 54 and 55 show the eye and parts of the eye as fractions. When they are put together in the calendrical rites, the Eye is called the "Wedjet Eye" (Clark:219). Thus the never-ending battle between light and darkness was played on a cosmic scale. While Budge sees certain similarities between the legend of Ra and Apep and the Mesopotamian one of Marduk and Tiamat, Frankfort holds that Egyptian literature lacked a coherent account of creation. The sun god is victorious, but unlike the Mesopotamian myth, not over chaos. Chaos "is seen as passive, awaiting the creator's initiative" (Frankfort, 1948:132). The sun's enemy is darkness symbolized by the snake Apophis (Apep) and at every dawn the antagonist is subdued (Frankfort, 1948:132).

In the mythological texts there are numerous versions of the fight between Horus and Seth. In the earliest form the story records only the natural opposition of Day to Night, between the two gods Horus the Elder and Set (Budge, 1969b:244). The conflict at this time is not between good and evil, but the purely physical one between light and darkness (Renauf:109). In the Pyramid Texts, Seth is closely associated with Horus and appears as a friend and helper of the dead. In the text of Pepi I, the deceased is made to say:

"Homage to thee, O divine Ladder!
 Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set!
 Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder!
 Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Set!
 Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Horus
 whereby Osiris came forth into heaven."
 (Budge, 1969b:242)

Here we find Seth regarded as the equal of Horus in every respect and it was considered necessary for the welfare of the deceased to propitiate Seth and secure his favour (Budge, 1969b:242). The idea of a ladder extending from earth to heaven is an ancient one and appears in the Mesopotamian religion as well. The ladder motif is found on cylinder seals from the Jemdet Nasr period in Mesopotamia (Pl. 20:1:4). It also survives in the story of Jacob's ladder in the Old Testament of the Hebrews (Genesis 28:12). To the Egyptians, the ladder itself is divine but to the Mesopotamians and Hebrews it appears only as a means of reaching heaven. This emphasizes once again the Egyptian's concept of unity.

In the period of the Early Empire it is clear that Horus and Seth are now in opposition, and projected backwards in time, had always been antagonists. The sun's rising could be viewed as a victory over the powers of darkness but it could also be seen as a victory over death (Frankfort, 1948:18). This duality between death and resurrection results in the unity of the Osirian figure. Horus was fitted into the Heliopolitan theology, not in his own form as a sky/sun god, but as the son of Osiris and Isis. In this legend, Horus was born posthumously in the Delta where Isis protected him from Seth, his father's murderer, until he was old enough to claim his inheritance, the throne of Egypt (Watterson:101).

It is evident that from the very earliest times in Egypt there was a conflict between two different mortuary religions: the relation of the dead to Osiris and the relation of the dead to the sun. Osiris was believed to be the god of the corn and grain and was worshipped as the god of vegetation. Just as the soil of Egypt died every year under the blistering heat of the summer sun, only to be reborn after the inundation of the Nile had made it fertile again, so Osiris was regarded as a god of resurrection (Watterson:75). But at the same time, the deceased king became Osiris, ruler of the dead while his son, who succeeded him on the throne, became Horus (Clayson:96). The king's rebirth is assured. Horus and Osiris are the complementary elements residing in the unity of Osiris.

In the mortuary religion of the sun, Re/Horus, his disappearance beyond the western horizon was looked upon as his death, but he was reborn each morning at sunrise, providing the Egyptians with further evidence of survival after death. Osiris and Re/Horus became two aspects of the same divine condition, Osiris was the king of the dead, Re/Horus was the king of the living (Clayson:61). Thus Osiris and Re/Horus together are called "the United Soul" (Frankfort, 1978:211) expressing the deeply rooted Egyptian tendency to understand the world in dualistic terms balanced in unchanging equilibrium (Frankfort, 1978:19). The cult of Osiris, once associated with absolute royal authority throughout the Old Kingdom, changed when kingship was swept away in the First Intermediate Period. Osiris became a popular funerary cult as men and women began to identify themselves with Osiris in death, thus the royal prerogatives were usurped by the common man (Frankfort, 1948:104-5). The Pyramid Texts were eventually Osirianized exhibiting the struggle between the Solar belief of the state temples and the popular belief of the Osirian religion. The dying sun and the dying vegetation (Osiris) are in competition (Breasted:150). The Pyramid Texts reflect the gradual but irresistible intrusion of Osiris into the Solar doctrines of the hereafter and their final Osirianization (Breasted:150). For example, the ladder leading to the sky was an element of the Solar religion and had nothing to do with Osiris. As Breasted has pointed out, "when the ascending king became Osiris, the editor seems unaware of the incongruity, as Seth, the mortal enemy and

slayer of Osiris, "assists him to reach his celestial abode" (Breasted:154). The sources do not disclose the process by which Seth became the enemy of Osiris but once this had happened the old rival of Seth, the Solar Horus, was drawn into the Osirian situation. An old Memphite document of the Pyramid Age reveals the absorption of the Set-Horus feud by the Osirian theology (Breasted:41).

By the time of the New Kingdom, Seth's relationship to the sun has changed. As a ferocious god of the Storm, he stood in the prow of the Barque and defended the Sun God from attack by his enemies, particularly the serpent, Apophis (Watterson:118). But at the same time Seth, as a Storm God, was sometimes a danger to the Barque of Re and was driven away by its divine crew; apparently Seth was never completely trusted (Watterson:118). Seth had always had two aspects to his character; one good, the other malevolent. According to Watterson, the Egyptians held an ambivalent attitude towards him, at times they feared his capacity for evil yet they admired his power and ferocity (116). Political expediency or personal preference of the ruler determined Seth's position, whether as a favoured god or as the personification of evil (Watterson:116). By the Late Period, Seth had become identified with the monstrous serpent and the fight between Light and Darkness went on daily. Neither god gained a final victory, hence the view that Re and Seth were equal but opposite powers; two complementary elements of the duality (Budge, 1934:141).

Thus the Egyptians saw the universe as essentially static; change was recurrent change, "the life rhythm of a universe" in which the alternation of day and night, of inundation and drought, of the succession of the seasons were significant changes but their movement was part of the established order of creation (Frankfort, 1948:50). With such a belief system the Egyptian's concept of evil was necessarily limited. Since it was held that the universe contained opposing forces in perennial equilibrium, the evil had its appointed place and was counterbalanced by the concept of good or justice called "Ma'at" (Frankfort, 1948:73). In the Pyramid Texts, Re is said to come from the primeval hill, the place of creation, after he had put order (Ma'at) in the place of chaos (Frankfort, 1948:54).

Thus the Egyptians's awareness of the duality between good and evil was nothing more than a development of unity, symbolized by the two complementary forces of Light and Darkness.

But in Mesopotamia the concept of dualism illustrates the nature of the gods and why they were feared. They were benign and helpful to man but they were also jealous and capricious and often evil as well.

Israel The concept of duality in the Hebrew religion is unique in that there is only one, universal god who follows his people throughout history. Everything comes from God, evil as well as good as we shall see later on in Part Two.

Man's Fear of the Gods

Man's fear of the gods developed partly as a result of their awe inspiring and fearful nature and partly as a result of a basic instinct in man: the fear of being looked at. In Mesopotamia, man's fear of the gods was based on his unique experience with powers not of this world. Rudolph Otto called this divine power "numinous" and explained it as the experience of a "mysterium tremendum et fascinans", a confrontation with a "Wholly Other" outside of normal experience (Jacobsen, 1976:3). Man's response to this "Wholly Other" ranged from sheer terror through awe to sublime majesty, yet it fascinated with a terrible attraction demanding absolute respect and loyalty (Jacobsen, 1976:3). In Egyptian religion, however, fear of the gods was never envisioned. Man felt secure under the guidance of the living Horus, the son of Re (Frankfort, 1978:269). For the Egyptians, the Horus-eye, which is the sun-god's eye, was in its appointed place benevolently watching over the affairs of man. The powers of nature, the sun and the Nile, which had the greatest influence on man, functioned with predictable regularity bringing forth a sense of peace and security, unique among the cultures of the ancient Near East. But in Mesopotamia the gods had to take the initiative and reveal their divine will in directing human affairs. For the Mesopotamian, the world was in a state of flux; the gods were "determining destiny" each New Year's Day; thus the past could never be taken for granted as an absolute norm as it was for the Egyptian (Frankfort, 1948:270).

The Mesopotamian's ever-present doubt about whether the will of the gods was properly understood prevented demonstrations of confidence and joy. Then too, the order of justice decreed for society was not a universal order and the Mesopotamian had no reason to believe that these decrees were necessarily just, (Frankfort, 1978:278) as they were for the Egyptian with his concept of Ma'at. In Mesopotamia, cities were known to have been ruined although their rulers and their people were not convicted of injustice (Frankfort, 1978:278).

"What seems praiseworthy to one's self is but contemptible before the god(s),
 What to one's heart seems bad is good before one's god;
 Who may comprehend the mind of gods in heaven's depth?
 The thoughts of god are like deep waters, who could fathom them?
 How could mankind, beclouded, comprehend the ways of gods?" (Frankfort, 1978:278).

This polarity between man and the gods is reason enough for man's fear but the forces of nature, especially in the raging storm personified by Enlil, emphasize the violent, unpredictable nature of the Mesopotamian gods. Enlil's character has a peculiar duality; normally he guarantees order against chaos, upholding the sky god's decrees, but his abnormal side appears in the scattering of all life in the relentless storm. Man's fear shows through in the description of Enlil whose rage is almost 'pathological which makes him inaccessible to all appeals: "O father Enlil, whose eyes are glaring (wildly)" (Jacobsen, 1946:144).

However, man's fear of the gods did not develop solely as a result of their awe-inspiring and fearful nature. There appears

to be something more fundamental and concrete which appealed to early man's basic instincts; and that was the fear of being looked at. The eye itself has a duality and may represent, among other things, the creative and protective divine gaze or the destructive evil eye (Meerlqo:9). Hence the eye of man and the eye of god are powerful symbolic forces for good or evil. From earliest times the eye assumed three functions in religious belief: the seat of the soul, the creation of good, and the creation of evil. The seat of the soul and the power of evil are to be found in the pupil of the eye, thus the eye works for both good and evil (Maloney:2). As a window to the soul, emanations from within and from without have easy access through the eyes. Evil spirits may enter through the eye but it is also through the eye that they may be exorcised. The invocation of the eye of god, in the form of an amulet, affords protection from evil spirits (Maloney:3). In Mesopotamia and in Egypt, the eye is symbolic of the deity. Shamash, the sun god, is the eye by day and Sin, the moon god, is the eye by night. The Egyptian parallel has Horus/Re as the sun god and Thoth as the moon god (Watterson:64).

The evil eye of the deity is personified in both countries as well in the form of the Mesopotamian Tiamat and the Egyptian Seth. The eye's power may take many forms; jealousy, envy, anger and destruction are all attributes of the evil eye. Envy appears to be the underlying factor in the concept of the evil eye and could originate with the gods and evil demons as well as with men. In Mesopotamia, it was believed that the gods looked

enviously upon man's good fortune and often with malicious joy destroyed it for him (Elworthy, 1986:15). Although the leading deities were assumed to be ethical and moral in their conduct the fact remained that they were the ones who had also planned evil, falsehood, violence and oppression; all the immoral and unethical modes of human conduct (Kramer:125). The power to fascinate can be a power for social control. Thus the duality of good and evil plays an important role in sustaining belief in the power of the eye to cause evil (Maloney:4). Man is therefore in constant fear of the evil eye of the gods.

All Seeing Gods

Documentary evidence shows that many gods were thought to be all seeing; this may best be illustrated by a hymn in honour of the deified king, Lipit-Ishtar. Anu, god of the starry sky, is the one "from whom none escapes" (Pettazzoni:77). A god of the sky is in a position to see all and therefore know everything that occurs here below. The same text emphasises the power of Enlil's eyes: "thy seeing eyes weary not". En-lil, in Sumerian, means "Lord of Wind" which blows in all directions and goes everywhere. Thus, like Anu, Enlil sees everything on earth (Pettazzoni:77). This closely parallels the sky god Horus or Re and later Amun Re in Egyptian mythology.

Two other deities, Sin, god of the moon, and Shamash, god of the sun, also had eyes to see and they looked down on man by day and night. In a hymn to Ninurta, in which the various parts of

that god's body are identified with various deities, it is the eyes of Ninurta which are equated with Enlil and Ninlil (Pettazzoni:78).

The Eye in Proper Names

Not only in religious texts but in the proper names do we find references to the eye. Names that mean "Sin sees" or "Sin is the eye of the land" or "Sin knows everything" because he sees everything, suggest that the owner is seeking some kind of identification or closeness to the moon god. Sin is also guardian of boundaries and is invoked against anyone who removes them (Pettazzoni:79). Early man was well aware of the moon appearing as an eye in the night sky.

Like Sin, Shamash is also an "eye god"; the sun is an open eye on the universe, or as Pettazzoni says, the daytime eye of heaven (79). Again, personal names such as "Shamash is my eye" or "Shamash is the eye of the lands" show how pervasive the concept of the eye was to ancient peoples.

The Enuma Elish

Another example of eye symbolism, with far-reaching consequences, comes from the Babylonian Creation Epic, the Enuma Elish. This creation epic is a good example of how belief systems of one culture may be appropriated and assimilated into another or subsequent culture. The myth of creation as told in the Enuma Elish is probably based upon an older myth and goes back to a

time of independent city-states when Nippur was at its height and Enlil the chief god (Pettazzoni:80). When Babylon rose to power, with Marduk as the supreme deity he replaced Enlil as the chief god in the creation myth. Similarly, when political supremacy passed to Assyria, its national god, Assur, took Marduk's place, taking over his four eyes, and four ears (Pettazzoni:80). This is not to say that Marduk had two faces or was two-headed. The Enuma Elish mentions only that he had four eyes and four ears and that his four god eyes saw everything illustrating the omniscience of the all seeing god.

According to Pettazzoni (80), when the birth of Marduk is narrated, the text describes him as having remarkable abilities and faculties and that his eyes "see everything". Roux agrees: "the eyes, in like number, scanned all things." (99). The text says that "Four were his eyes, four were his ears" (Roux:99). Jacobson puts it a little differently: "robust was his build, flashing the gleam of his eyes" (172). It is clear that Marduk is a god of seeing and we may be justified in calling him an "Eye God".

Nowhere in the Enuma Elish does it mention that Marduk had two heads or how the four eyes were arranged. They simply express the author's idea of "twofold divinity", showing Marduk to be superior to the other gods in his powers of vision and hearing which are twice or double that of the other gods. Perhaps the idea of multiplicity was a primitive method of conveying the impression of superiority.

On another level, the four eyes of Marduk are symbolical of wholeness and unification. Tiamat, like Marduk, was considered to have four eyes and must necessarily be Marduk's counterpart (Westman:260). In the Mesopotamian's way of thinking, apparent contradictory concepts are found to be different aspects of the same reality. Just as in the modern world of physics, space and time are seen to be equivalent. Thus equivalent concepts are integrated into a four-dimensional continuum (Westman:260). "Four" as in four eyes, four faces or four winds, is an archetypal symbol for wholeness and unification and holds the same meaning for the Mesopotamians, Egyptians, and Israelites.

For instance, Jacobsen has suggested that a four-faced statue from Ishchali might represent Marduk, and the four faces may symbolize the four winds with which Marduk overcame Tiamat (Westman:252).

This four-dimensionality is clearly illustrated in the Enuma Elish which states:

"The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might escape,
 The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind.
 Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father, Anu.
 He brought forth Imhullu 'the Evil Wind', the Whirlwind and Hurricane,
 The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless Wind;
 Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.
 To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him.
 Then the lord raised up the flood-storm his mighty weapon.
 He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible [and] terrifying.

He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four,
The Killer, the Relentless, the Trampler, the Swift."
(Speiser:32).

The Enuma Elish indicates that the four winds existed before the sky and earth were fashioned. Thus the winds represent the breath of life.

The four winds of heaven are also illustrated in an Egyptian text in which the god Thoth is opening the doors of the four winds, easing the way for the deceased to enter into heaven.

Chapter CLXI of the Book of the Dead states:

1. [To the Door of the west wind] "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth. Pure is the body in the earth, and pure are the bones of Osiris the am-khent, Nefer-uben-f, triumphant."
2. [To the Door of the east wind.] "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth. Sound is he who is in the chest, who is in the chest, Osiris Nefer-ubin-f, triumphant."
3. [To the Door of the north wind.] "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth. The Osiris Nefer-uben-f, triumphant, is strong in his members, Qebh-sennuf guardeth them."
4. [To the Door of the south wind.] "Ra liveth, the Tortoise dieth. The bolts are drawn and they pass through his foundation." (Budge, 1899:529).

These four winds symbolize the breath of life, for the north wind belongs to Osiris, the south wind to Ra, the west wind to Isis, and the east wind to Nephthys. "Each of these winds shall breathe into his nostrils as he entereth in his daily course." (Budge, 1899:530). How the tortoise became associated with the four winds of heaven is unknown but it was regarded as a personification of evil (Budge, 1973:258). In Egyptian mythology, winds are the breath of life emanating from the gods. Similarly, in the literature of the Old Testament, wind or "ruah" refers to God. Ezekiel 37:9 states:

"Then he said to me, 'Prophecy to the breath, prophesy, son of man, and say to the breath, Thus says the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O Breath, and breathe upon the slain, that they may live.'" (RSV:674).

"Four" is clearly a universal symbol for wholeness and unification.

Thus the Enuma Elish provides evidence for the Mesopotamian's belief in the duality between order and chaos and for the four-dimensionality of the eye symbol as representing a universal symbol for wholeness and unification.

Symbols were conceived by the Mesopotamians, not as separate units, but as part of a whole, standing for the power or gods they signify, in the same way that resemblance indicates a connection between two similar objects (Jacobsen, 1946:12). Similarly, in Guenon's view, "the true basis of symbolism is the correspondence linking together all orders of reality and consequently extending them from the natural order as a whole to the supernatural order" (Cirlot:XXXI). This idea closely corresponds to the Mesopotamian's speculative mode of thought which perceives the whole of Nature in symbolic terms as a sign of the supernatural. Thus the eye became the major symbol of a generalized conception of deity, similar to mana or numinous, neither male nor female in nature. Over time, as man's awareness and understanding developed, the concept of deity becomes specialized, first as a fertility goddess and then to include her male companion and son. The eye symbol can be used with any deity, male or female, to show the all-seeing divine quality of

the god. It is in the iconography of the Mesopotamians that the eye symbol clearly predominates as the major symbol for deity.

Iconography

The iconography of the various art forms reflects the theme of the sacred. Art was associated with imitation, idealization and stylization. The purpose of imitation and idealization was to arouse admiration both for life and for the immortality of the artist through his work. Stylization was intended to wake not admiration but veneration in relation to eternity (Malraux:XII).

The sacred was the realm of the fantastic and through it the invisible world takes form (Malraux:XIV). For instance statues reflect the sacred in human form; geometric designs on pottery and stone vessels "seem to symbolize the victory of the mind over chaos" (Malraux:XV); cylinder seals provide not only a cultural but a religious evolution of thought; and artistic offerings, amulets and miscellaneous objects illustrate not only the symbolism but also the prevalence of the eye in the Mesopotamian belief system. Thus the numinous power of an art form comes through most clearly in the various forms of eye symbolism in the iconography of the Mesopotamians.

Statues

Artists in early times may have used the technique of multiplicity in which multiple eyes, ears, heads etc., were employed to symbolize the deity.

For example, two bronze four-faced statues (Pl. 32:1,2) were

found at Ishchali dating to the Old Babylonian Period. Both figures are deities. The god (Pl.32:1) is standing with one foot on a ram, a curved weapon at his side, and wearing a long flounced robe (Parrot, 1961a:284). The goddess (Pl.32:2) is seated holding a flowing vase in both hands. According to Jacobson Pl.32:1 may be interpreted as Marduk treading victoriously on Tiamat, who is represented by a goat (1976:167). This would be a valid assumption if we stretched the concept of "four-fold divinity", with which Marduk was endowed, to mean four faces, not just four eyes as he is described in the Enuma Elish. Moortgat suggests that Pl.32:2 represents the goddess of the water of life and is the counter-part of the water-goddess from Mari (1967:89). He may be right, for the four-faced goddess is wearing a high, crown-like hat, with an altar or temple facade drawn on it, which closely resembles the high crown of Parrot's, "polos" type, worn by the queens of Mari (1961a:122). These four-faced deities reflect the Canaanite element in Old Babylonian art (Moortgat:89). Westman has taken these four-faced deities to represent Marduk and Tiamat (Westman:260). In equating Tiamat with Marduk, Westman uses the Enuma Elish to show that Tiamat was considered to have four eyes. He states that: "Her two right eyes are the Tigris, her two left eyes the Euphrates." This version allows only for a goddess with either four eyes on one face, or a two-faced goddess with two eyes on each face. Here is a contradiction of the iconographic evidence, for the statues clearly show both four-faced deities as having two eyes in each

face, and Westman has left unaccounted the other four eyes. Jacobsen's account, however, merely states that Marduk "pierced her eyes to form the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris" (In the Akkadian language "inu" means both "eye" and "source") (Jacobsen, 1976:179). Yet Tiamat is pictured with only one eye on a terra-cotta relief from Khafajah (Pl. 34:1). However, the number of eyes is not the central issue here, but rather how the artist used the eyes in his efforts to depict deity. A biblical parallel may be seen in Ezekiel's vision:

"And from the midst of it [fire] came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance: they had the forms of men, but each had four faces, and each of them had four wings." (Ezekiel 1:5-6).

Another example of multiplicity is shown on a fragment of a limestone stele which has the two-faced head of Usmu, the visir or minister, of Enki (the great God of Water). The two-faced head of Usmu is a common theme on Akkadian cylinder seals. (See plate 24:4 for an example.) This technique of multiplicity used by artists to symbolize the deity is well established in Mesopotamian art.

In attempting to symbolize the deity, artists have used various techniques as well as employing a multiplicity of eyes. The "alienation of nature" (Moortgat:16) is also expressed in the disproportionately large eyes of certain statues and figures. Naturalism has been deliberately avoided in the heads from Tell Brak (Pl. 14:1,2,3). The rejection of natural forms is the artist's way of expressing the spiritual essence of the human face (Moortgat:16).

Sometimes stone heads are all that remain from ancient statues and such is the case at Tell Brak where three heads with large eyes (Pl.14:1,2,3) were found in the grey brick stratum of the Eye Temple (Mallowan, 1947:92). The white alabaster head (Pl.14:3) differs from the other two in the shape of the oval face, with its deeper chin and slanting eyes which are of unusually large proportions (Mallowan, 1947:92). According to Mallowan, the conical hat, which is similar to the high tarbush worn by the people in the Ras Shamra area, identifies the head as being female. However, a greater resemblance in the formation of the eyes to the goddess Ishtar is shown on a wall painting from the Temple of Ishtar in Ashur (Pl.14:4). This small fragment of a gypsum stucco relief shows that the eyebrows of the goddess are exaggerated and her eyes are oval with the outside corners drawn right down so that they almost cover her cheekbones, exactly like the eyes on the head from Tell Brak (Moortgat:17). The evidence strongly suggests that this female head from Tell Brak belonged to a goddess to whom the Eye Temple must have been dedicated (Mallowan, 1947:93). The low-hatted head (Pl.14:1) and the round-faced one (Pl.14:2) were probably male. Mallowan believes that they must have been divinities associated with the earlier foundation of the Eye-Temple since both were found in the grey brick stratum of the Temple. Unlike the eyes of the goddesses, the eyes on the male heads are horizontal, but are still disproportionately large, which might be seen as symbolic of the deity.

If one accepts the theory that divinity is expressed in the size and shape of the eyes, then the two statues from Tell Asmar (Pl. 26:1, 2, 3) represent the most dramatic examples yet. The statues were discovered in the Square Temple and represent a man and a woman who share similar attributes. Both have unusually small hands and enormous eyes with abnormally large, round pupils of black inlay (Moortgat:35). Malraux (XXV) and Frankfort believe that the male statue represents the god Abu, the owner of the temple, and the female represents the goddess (Frankfort, 1934b:776). Moortgat is inclined to see these two figures as representing the priest and the priestess, the principal characters of the cult marriage (34); while Parrot suggests that they represent the king and queen of the city, praying to their gods (1961a:106). It seems to me that Moortgat and Parrot, in reaching conclusions that differ from Frankfort and Malraux, weaken their own case, especially in view of the fact that both have used the same criteria in their own arguments regarding the representation of the numinous. Parrot describes the figures, which he calls king and queen, as reacting to the presence of the numinous with their tightly closed lips, "the tenseness of their bodies, and the keen stare of their eyes" (1961a:106). However, if Parrot's theory is correct, one wonders why the other worshippers in the group are not similarly depicted as being awe-struck as well. Furthermore, early artists were not interested in portraying man's reaction to the numinous, for this was all too obvious. Artists were primarily concerned with depicting the

deity in ways that differentiated the numinous from the human form and one of the methods employed was in the use of huge, staring eyes (Malraux:XXII). Thus the worshipper was ensured protection under the ever-watchful eyes of the god and goddess in the temple.

Moortgat's only reason for rejecting the male figure as a god was the absence of the horned cap which scholars use as one method of identifying the deity. In all other respects Moortgat seems to agree with Frankfort. Whether or not Parrot and Moortgat are arguing for the sake of scholarly argument, the size and shape of the eyes seem to be more indicative of the Mesopotamian's thought processes and are good indicators of the artist's attempt to symbolize deity.

Two statues from Mari present another aspect of eye symbolism (Pl.27:1,2). The female figure is wearing a high crown of the polos type which Parrot associates with the head-gear of queens (1961a:122). The male figure is known from inscriptions as Ebih-il, superintendent of the Ishtar Temple at Mari. These statues, although contemporary with the two from Tell Asmar (Pl.26:2,3), exhibit totally different appearances. No sense of awe-inspiring strangeness emanates from these eyes. Both faces, composed with a hint of a smile and a feeling of amiability, show that the stage of abject apprehension of the gods was no longer the rule, at least in Mari. These statues were offered as effigies to the gods and would perpetuate the worshipper's presence and prolong his prayer (Parrot,1961a:112).

Thus the iconography is evidence of the changed attitude in man's behaviour towards the gods. Man is no longer afraid of the gods. He feels more in control and has found that by his own action he can change or direct to a greater degree his own affairs. Now the gods can become his allies if he uses the correct formulae, and effigies become the medium.

Two ivory heads discovered in the North West Palace at Nimrud illustrate yet another way in which eye symbolism can be explained (Pl.39:1 & pl.40:1). Both heads were carved from a large elephant's tusk. One was called, by Mallowan, "The Lady of the Well" or "The Mona Lisa of Nimrud" (Pl.40:1), and the other he called "The Ugly Sister" (1966:132) (Pl.39:1). Although the heads were found together, in the sludge at the bottom of a well, the Ugly Sister appears to belong to an earlier artistic tradition. The large eyes are comparable to those on the ivory heads found at Tell Halaf, which Mallowan dates to 825 B.C. (1966:132). On the Mona Lisa, the eyes appear in proper proportion to the face, indicating a stylistic change which is characteristic of 8th century sculpture. Mallowan dates this head to the time of Sargon II, 722 B.C. On the other hand, he admits that the heads may belong to the same time period, only reflecting different iconographic traditions (1966:135). Since nothing else is known about these ivory carvings, short of Mallowan's speculations and inconclusive conclusions, we can only say that the symbolism of the eyes represents the normal function of seeing, although one is tempted to conclude that, once again,

the large eyes represent deity.

Statues, as an art form, illustrate how early artists developed various techniques in their attempts to symbolize the gods. The concept of multiplicity and disproportionately large eyes, as well as the shape of the eyes, led to some awe-inspiring statues. But at the same time a change in attitude is evident in the pleasant, realistic faces from Mari, which go hand in hand with the personal effigies which are being dedicated to the gods. Hence the beginnings of a personal religion are taking shape.

Sometimes an art form appears, with a multiplicity of eyes, that can only be termed fantastic or grotesque, such as the two Prehistoric Period (3000 B.C.E.) figurines (Pls:3:1 and 3:2). Parrot thinks these "idols", as he calls them, were sacred objects, first because they were found in tombs, and second, because "the sacred was pre-eminently the realm of the fantastic and it is through art alone that this 'world invisible' takes form." (1961a:XIV). The female figurine (Pl.3:1), with what appear to be multiple, bulging eyes, might symbolize early man's idea of the all-seeing and protecting "mother goddess". The second figurine (Pl. 3:2), with angular shoulders and heavy-ribbed necklace, appears as a nude female. The unusually large, round eyes and navel may constitute a multiplicity of eyes. However the navel might symbolize the "eye of the world" representing a fertility goddess. On the other hand, they may have some apotropaic, amuletic function. However, if these idols are sacred objects as Parrot suggests (1961a:XXII), in the

absence of written records we have no way of knowing why or in what way they were used and we are drifting in the realm of speculation where no definitive answer can be reached.

Grotesque figurines, with or without a multiplicity of eyes, have been found throughout Mesopotamia. From the archaeological evidence we know how temples, built one on top of the other, from Tell Halaf in the north to Eridu in the south, reflect the intense religious feeling of the people. Figurines from Tell Halaf and Tepe Gawra (Pl.10:1,2), although very different from those at Ur and Eridu (Pl.11:1,2), illustrate this preoccupation with the numinous (Parrot, 1961a:54). The figurines from Tell Halaf and Tepe Gawra represent the Mother Goddess as a heavy, robust, seated female. The undeveloped heads appear as mere blobs or columns of clay. Yet the artist included eyes as the only facial feature. Why? Perhaps the eyes symbolize the presence of the numinous, or indwelling spirit of the goddess who watches over and protects the worshipper.

This heavy, mature style of figurine is in marked contrast to the slim, youthful mother goddess types from Ur. These reptilian-faced figurines appear as standing, sometimes holding a child, or as in Plate 11, figure 1, with hands on hips. Male figurines, also with reptilian-like faces, were found at Eridu. Both have large, slanting eyes which convey a sense of weird, other worldliness, indicating their supernatural attributes (Parrot, 1961a:54). Nude female figurines have always been considered as "mother goddesses" associated with fertility, but

Parrot thinks that the discovery of male figurines at Eridu complicates the situation; how he does not say. However, we know from the literature that Enki was the chief god at Eridu, from the third millennium on, and also from the iconography, which shows him as a man with water flowing from his shoulders. But nothing is known of how he was originally represented in prehistoric times, or if he was represented at all. One might suppose that this figurine symbolizes a very early form of the male aspect of fertility at Eridu.

According to Parrot, man was afraid to make his gods exactly in his own image and so he resorted to grotesque features as a means of expressing the concept of deity (1961a:54). The eye was the artist's primary method of representing the presence of the numinous in all of these figurines. For without the eyes to illuminate the figurine, the grotesqueness would only amount to an expression of the over-wrought imagination of the artist.

Figurines from Anatolia parallel the mother goddesses of northern Mesopotamia. A sense of the grotesque is also present, as shown by the figurines from Hacilar (Pl.4:1,2), as the artist expresses, in gross exaggeration, 'the attributes of female fecundity, while the huge, slanting, blank eyes dominate a mouthless face. These late Neolithic figurines (5600 B.C.) are contemporary with the Halaf and Tepe Gawra examples as well as those from Ur and Eridu and represent, in all their diversity, one common element: the eyes.

On the surface, fertility appears to be the major interest

of both man and gods. Yet underlying this interest there later emerges a sense of caring or concern, even a watchfulness in which man cannot escape the eyes of the gods which are always portrayed as being larger than life on most figurines and on other art forms as well.

The stone and clay figures from Israel (Pl. 1:1, 2) show some striking similarities to the Mesopotamian figures (Pl. 11:2) and (Pl. 14:3, 4), particularly in the shape of the eyes and cheeks and in the shape of the head. Although Mellaart sees the clay head from the Yarmukian culture (Sha'ar Ha Golan) in Israel (Pl. 1:2) as showing an "ultimate relation" to Anatolian types at Hacilar VI, (1965:61) he does not explain the relation or offer iconographic comparisons and the connection is not readily apparent. However, the clay head shows a remarkable resemblance to the figure from Eridu in Mesopotamia (Pl. 11:2). A further correspondence between Israel and Mesopotamia is shown in the stone sculpture from Israel's Natufian culture (Pl. 1:1) at Eynan. The shape and size of the eyes closely resemble the eyes on a head from Tell Brak (Pl. 14:3) and on a statue of the goddess Ishtar (Pl. 14:4) shown on a wall painting from the Temple of Ishtar in Ashur. (See Page 38 for a detailed description.) The Natufian stone sculpture dates to the 9th millennium B.C. and is one of the earliest sculptures in the Ancient Near East (Mellaart, 1965:29). Thus eye symbolism can be traced back to the Early Neolithic Period in Israel.

Cylinder Seals

Cylinder seals are another art form which graphically depicts the Mesopotamian belief system through a multiplicity of eye symbols. Seals were first used for record-keeping purposes to label and protect the surpluses accumulated in the temples (Buchanan:3). Seal designs reflect the ideas of the artist and so externalize the concept of the deity becoming over the centuries a running commentary on culture and man's belief system. Only the eye design has remained constant throughout, from Prehistoric times to the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

While some authors refer to the eye design as a "rhombus", "lozenge" or "geometric design" the term "eye symbol" or "eye design" is a more accurate terminology when the underlying meaning of the seal is taken into account. For example the seal that shows six eyes and two hunters with raised bows and arrows (Pl.12:1), clearly indicates that the eyes represent deity with the underlying meaning that the all-seeing eyes of the gods will protect the hunters and, at the same time, search out the hunted. This is further shown by a variety of eye symbols (Pl.12:2) which represent a very early stage of seal-making.

A series of line drawings (Pl.19), made from original seals found at Ur, show a wide variety of eye symbols. These seal designs originated before writing developed and may express man's very early attempts at eye representation.

Some dramatic changes in the culture occurred between the Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic II Periods as we can see from the

seals on Plates 20 and 21. Not only do a multiplicity of eyes appear on almost every seal but seals, executed in a linear style, are appearing in ever increasing quantities from sites such as Khafajah, Tell Asmar, Agrab, Ishchali etc. With such a proliferation of both eyes and seals, the symbolism suggests that not only is man more concerned with the gods, but it is believed that the gods are taking an ever-increasing interest in the lives of men. This point is outlined in the previous section on the Mesopotamian's changing world view .

A seal (Pl.20:4) with a vertical "ladder" centered between two pairs of vertical eyes supports this view. Frankfort says, that although the "ladder" is a definite element in the seal-cutter's repertoire, it is quite unintelligible (1955:21). He concedes, however, that it is one of the means by which we can distinguish Jemdet Nasr seals from those of Early Dynastic I. The eyes symbolize the god's eyes and the ladder, or stairway, now suggests man's access to the gods and vice versa, similar to the much later story of Jacob's dream in the Old Testament: "And he dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven; and behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it" (RSV: Genesis:28:12).

According to Frankfort, simple designs such as "the eye", the "bundle" and the "star " dominate the late Jemdet Nasr glyptic. They occur in almost identical form on seals found throughout Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran and Egypt (Frankfort, 1955:20). He believes, however, that they have no particular

beauty or significance, yet they occur over and over again. The eye motif, either as a single design or as a multiplicity of eyes, predominates over the other motifs in the Jemdet Nasr Period. And this, coupled with the fact that the eye had such a wide distribution, might lead one to suspect that it did, indeed, have some significance. The evidence suggests that there was a widespread belief in an all-seeing god and perhaps in a specific Eye-God or Eye-Goddess as well.

By the late Jemdet Nasr Period, the multiple eye design begins to fade and only two eyes, abstractly styled, (Pl.22) remain as a continuing motif. Reasons for the decline of multiple eye designs are found in the changing conditions of the times and in man's changing world view. This was a time of transition between the Prehistorical and Historical Periods; a time of great productivity when buildings, stone vessels and writing developed (Frankfort, 1955:21). Written documents begin to supplement the cylinder seal as a recorder of cultural and religious evolution. As society becomes specialized so do the gods, and eye symbols on cylinder seals are reduced to a pair of stylized eyes representing the concept of the personal god. Here, cylinder seals, as an art form, function as precursors of cultural change and the eye symbol becomes incorporated into the sun-symbol of the god Shamash (Mallowan, 1947:206). One unusual seal (Pl.24:2) shows an arching frieze above a temple with a face on each side, above the lowest point of the arch. With the evenly-spaced rosettes suggesting a solar motif, as well, one might interpret

this seal to symbolize an Eye-God or Eye-Goddess overlooking his/her earthly temple. On either side of the doorway to the temple are two standards which were once thought by Andrae to be the reed hut representing the goddess Inanna. However, the curled tops of the reed bundles appear to represent a variant form of an eye design surmounting a pole or standard, in which case Inanna may be thought of as an Eye Goddess. /3/

The unsatisfactory character of glyptic art in the later Prehistoric Period, according to Frankfort, seems to be the result of haste and carelessness in a desire to produce quantity (1955:21). Seals were found in temples and in private houses and they were certainly used as seals. However other uses were possible. If they were used as amulets, as Frankfort suggests, the need for quantity is now explained, which further substantiates the theory of the belief in an all-seeing Eye-God.

Eye symbols on cylinder seals continue into the Early Dynastic Period (Pl.23:) where the brocade style takes over, and is characterized by stylistic line drawings in an evenly divided network of design (Frankfort, 1955:21). On one seal (Pl.23:4) there is even the suggestion of a face with such large eyes as to symbolize an all-seeing god or goddess.

The next two seals (Pl.24:4,5) are included as a contrast between seals of the Prehistorical and Historical Periods. They reflect the mythological literature of the Mesopotamians in the Creation Epic and in the Epic of Gilgamesh with the inescapable eye symbolism. An unusual seal (Pl.24:5), dating to the Early

Dynastic II Period, shows a central figure with three eyes, two in the normal positions and one in the middle of the forehead (Mackay, 1929:194). One might conclude that this figure is a god. However, the central figure is probably Enkidu, protector of the herd. By presenting him as having three eyes, along with his huge stature, the artist has portrayed a mythological hero as having divine attributes in accordance with the artist's conception of deity. Therefore the artist has combined the concept of a multiplicity of eyes with divine stature to portray someone who is not a god but who is closely associated with them.

One further example of multiplicity, in this case a multiplicity of faces, comes from a cylinder seal from the Akkad Period (Pl.24:4). A two faced god stands behind, and to the right of the water god, Ea. Frankfort thinks that the seals from this period, in which the Sun-god is present, are based on the Enuma Elish (1934a:27-28). The two-faced god is not identified as Marduk, who is the god normally referred to as a two-faced god in the literature, but as Usmu, Ea's minister, who also has two faces. It appears that the concept of multiplicity, whether of eyes or of faces, could also be used as a general reference for deity.

Cylinder seals then, clearly show the importance of eye symbolism to the Mesopotamians. As a predominant symbol on cylinder seals of the Prehistoric Period, the eye, whether as a single eye or as a multiplicity of eyes, can mean variously: the deity in general, or it can refer to a specific deity, or it can

refer to the nature of deity in human form. By the end of the Prehistoric Period the multiplicity of eyes as a symbol on cylinder seals disappeared and eye symbolism generally declined with only the motif of a single eye remaining, when it was used at all. But with the arrival in Mesopotamia of new peoples from the mountains, such as the Kassites and the Mittanians, who settled in the south and north respectively (Roux:208), a resurgence of eye symbolism occurred. That these new peoples soon adopted the Mesopotamians' religious beliefs is evident from the cylinder seals, which point out the cultural differences, as well. A Kassite seal (Pl.36:1) and a Mittanian seal (Pl.36:2) show the eye as a symbol in the field. On the Kassite seal a long prayer to Marduk forms a linear frame top and bottom, while the eye probably symbolizes that god's function as an Eye God. The scene, with life-like palm trees on each side of a lion attacking a bull, indicates a return to an older tradition where animals and plants reflect a naturalistic style of art. The eye, the dog, the grasshopper and the elaborate inscription are characteristic of Kassite cylinder seals (Frankfort, 1939b:188). However, Parrot (1961c:160) says that it is difficult to determine whether they are Kassite or Assyrian. The Mittanian seal shows a similar return to an older tradition with the renewed use of the drill which had been discarded by the end of the Early Dynastic I Period (Frankfort, 1955:22). This Mittanian seal shows a confusion of symbols derived from the glyptic styles that prevailed in northern Mesopotamia and adjacent regions in the early second

millennium. The symbol of the sun has become a rosette of drill holes. A winged sun suggests Egyptian influence and the eye is a typically Babylonian symbol for the eye of the deity (Frankfort, 1955:47). The Kassite and Mittanian seals represent a transitional period in Mesopotamia where different religious beliefs were mingled and syncretized by a people still close to nature.

Eye symbolism, as it appears on the seals on Plates 42 and 43, reflects Assyrian influences. The Assyrians were a warlike, virile race who rose to power in Mesopotamia in the 13th century B.C. They took over not only the culture and the arts, but also the Mesopotamian religious beliefs, to which they added their own as well. As Parrot says, they did everything possible to ensure the wholehearted cooperation of the gods (1961c:4). The temples of Assur were dedicated to the old Mesopotamian gods: Ishtar, Sin, Shamash, Anu and Ea, to whom were now added Addad, the storm god, and Assur, who took the place of Enlil. "Thus all the leading deities of the ancient pantheon ... were taken over" (Parrot, 1961c:4).

Seals from the Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian Periods (1200-750 B.C.) (Plates 42 & 43) show an intermingling of realism and mythological symbolism. The gods never appear in person and are represented only by their symbols (animals or objects). Plate 43, figure 7, is one example. On this seal, a long-robed hunter is subduing two dragons. The one crouching on the ground appears defeated while the other spits in defiance (Parrot, 1961c:158).

The designs in the field, including palmettes, fishes, a winged disk, star, crescent and eyes, suggest that the battle is taking place on a cosmic level, perhaps representing the struggle between Marduk and Tiamat. A multiplicity of eyes reappears which may be appropriate for this seal since the sun, moon and stars are also taken to be eye symbols.

Distinguishing between Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals is a difficult task for the themes are identical. There is either a hero, with or without wings, fighting animals, or scenes of worship in which the worshipper is standing before a religious symbol. Plate 42, figure 4 is a Neo-Babylonian seal reflecting the theme of the winged hero capturing birds. The field is crowded with solar symbols including the fish and the eye, symbolizing the great gods Ea and Marduk.

An unusual seal (Pl.42:2) belonging to the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. shows a scene of exorcism of disease (Buchanan :106). From among the symbols crowding the four panels, two eyes, one above the other, appear on the top right panel. These are probably protective eyes intended to ward off the evil spirits of sickness.

Business documents from Nimrud (Pl.44:1,2,3,4) containing seal impressions provide further iconographic evidence for eye symbolism during the reign of Assurbanipal (668-631B.C.). A seal impression on a cuneiform tablet (Pl.44:1) states that it is the official of the god Nabu who sells his house in Calah. The tablet is dated after 648 B.C. (Parker, 1954:118). According to Parker,

the seal impression depicts a god, wearing an open tunic, mounted on a winged beast with a lion's body; the head is defaced. The figure is battling a rampant sphinx behind which stands a worshipper. A fish and an eye are in the field (Parker, 1954:118). The correct interpretation of this seal relates to a theme discussed previously, namely, the hero battling mythological animals (See Plate 43:7). The figure, therefore, is not a god but a hero doing battle with two sphinxes, one of which is crouching, already subdued. The symbolism for the fish and the eye is the same as for Plate 43, figure 7.

A second document (Pl. 44:2), also dating after 648 B.C., refers to a person called Bariki who receives a sum of silver which, Parker says, is probably for trading purposes (1954:118). The impression shows a passing animal, which Parker says is difficult to identify because the tail curls the wrong way for a dog. Above the animal is a star, and on either side of it two groups of globes which may, according to Parker, make up the seven globes of the Sibitti, but only six can be seen due to damage to the seal (1954:118). (The Sibitti are a group of seven gods, who sometimes are reckoned among the Great Gods, and were invoked with other gods to enforce the sanctity of treaties (Van Buren, 1940:277.) In front of the animal is an oval, which Parker says may be the lozenge symbol (1954:118). In the interpretation of the seal Parker believes that the dog is associated with the goddess Gula. The dog, of course, is the defender of the home from man and evil spirits, which is evident from the models of

dogs found buried under houses. Parker goes on to say that the dog was identified with the star Hercules which stands opposite Gula's constellation, Lyra. As further evidence for this theory Parker claims that on boundary stones Gula is often shown seated on a stool with the dog sitting in front (1954:19). Parker's interpretation, however, does not satisfactorily explain all of the symbols. Therefore I would like to propose a different one. The dog represents the Dog Star, Sirius (Canis Major). Above the dog is a star which represents Procyon of the constellation Canis Minor which always rises before the Dog Star, thus the position of the two stars, one above the other. The dog's tail, in curling the wrong way, forms the missing globe of the seven Sibitti. The lozenge represents the eye of the great god Marduk. This interpretation seems to fit the symbols more precisely. There is no symbol representing Gula, as Parker claims, and in any case, Gula is a goddess presiding over death, not over broken oaths and treaties.

Two further examples (Pl.44:3,4) of seal impressions on business documents show how the gods were symbolized and invoked to enforce a pledge or agreement. The eye, winged disc, seven dots, stars and other symbols representing the gods on these seals were the subjects of most seals during this period of time.

Cylinder seals provide abundant iconographic evidence for eye symbolism, but also serve as a running commentary on economic, artistic, political and religious beliefs. Seals, therefore, are indicative of cultural changes, but the eye has

remained a symbol of the gods throughout all time periods.

While cylinder seals, as an art form, give us some understanding of the Mesopotamian belief system, other art forms such as idols and votive offerings, show the eye to be a predominant symbol here as well.

Votive Offerings and Amulets

Votive offerings and amulets with eye representations have been interpreted as symbolic of the deity throughout Mesopotamia but these terms require some explanation.

A votive offering may be understood to mean "propitiation" in which one seeks favours from the gods. This can be illustrated by the Hebrew verb נָתַת , meaning offering, present, or sacrificial gift, which is derived from an Akkadian verb having the specific meaning of "advancing a plea" (Gaster, 1962:148). The Mesopotamian, in seeking favours from the gods, very often asked or pleaded for long life and prosperity which amounts to asking for the god's protection in keeping him healthy and free from harm as well as protecting all of his interests. A second way in which votive offerings may be understood is in the word "vow" or "promise". The worshipper vows to make a concrete payment to a god for fulfilling the wish of the worshipper. Offerings of this kind could be presented at the same time as the vow or later when the request had been granted. Vows could be seen either as theoretical or as binding contracts. This meaning may be illustrated by the derivation of the verb "vow". In Hebrew

the verb ~~...~~ means "to set apart; to segregate for the god or for sacred use". The corresponding noun occurs in Ugaritic, meaning "vow" (Gaster, 1962:149). Thus a votive offering may be understood as the dedication of a gift, or a vow to the god, in return for which the god is expected to grant favours and wishes and provide protection for the worshipper. Statues, representing the worshipper, were often presented as votive offerings (Parrot, 1961a:112). The worshipper thus places himself in the care of the god; literally under the eyes of the deity whose statue resides in the temple.

An "amulet", on the other hand, ~~always~~ denotes protection and may be defined as "some object, as a locket or carved image, worn as a magic charm against evil, disease or harm" (WBED:69). The amulet, therefore, was something carried about or worn by a person, in order to get some magical benefit from it, in other words, protection. The need for protection, illustrated by the various ways in which amulets were used, shows that the possession of an amulet, fortified the wearer with the psychic effect of giving confidence, self-reliance, and strength in the face of that terrible fear that often kills, the fear of evil spirits including the Evil Eye (Petrie: 2). In the case of illness and disease an amulet, that is believed by the patient to be beneficial, may act as a "faith-healer" and promote either the prevention of, or the cure of, sickness. Amulets in the shape of, or resembling, bodily organs were believed to be the most efficacious for they were believed to be the double or alter ego

of the different organs and were connected with them in a mystic way. So it was believed that anything happening to a kidney stone amulet, a bloodstone, an eye-stone or other various amulets connected with the different organs, would also happen to the organ involved (Petrie:2). Amulets might also be thought of, and used, as vicarious doubles to which the demons of disease may be transferred from the body (Petrie:2). An object which was thought to resemble the disease or a model of the organ might be used to receive the attacks of the evil spirits instead of the real person. In this way, amulets function as a means of protection in warding off evil spirits. Something similar to this is the idea of the scape-goat. In Mesopotamia, the king became the scape-goat charged before the gods with all the sins of the community (Frankfort, 1978:259). The same idea is found, centuries later, in Israel (Leviticus 16: 20-22) in which the sins of the people are transferred to a goat and sent off into the wilderness (RSV). All of these examples of the use of amulets might come under the heading of "sympathetic magic", or as Petrie calls it, "the doctrine of similars" (Petrie:2). Under this doctrine objects which have a similarity to each other are supposed to be connected; they are in touch with the abstract quality or influence which has to be evoked. It can act by producing a similarity in the person or by averting a similarity. Thus the amulet confers qualities or protects from danger.

The term "idol" also requires some explanation. A commonly accepted definition of an idol is "an image or other object

worshipped as a god" (WBED). A more satisfactory definition of "idol" is found in Mallowan's description of his eye-idols from Tell Brak when he says "that they were probably abstract symbols of some divinity, made at a period when gods were rarely represented in human guise" (Mallowan, 1947:155). It seems reasonable to assume that the Mesopotamians did not worship idols, since they were well aware that they were made of wood or stone. However, it was the in-dwelling force or power of the god, represented by the idol, that was the focus of the Mesopotamian's awe and devotion. This may be understood in the same sense as sympathetic magic in which the idol evokes the presence of the god; "the creation of the outer form, the external habitation, was inviting, or magically enforcing, the presence of the power within" (Jacobsen, 1976:14). Thus, votive offerings, amulets and idols play a major role in the Mesopotamian belief system.

Nowhere are votive offerings and amulets more prolific than at Tell Brak during the Jemdet Nasr Period. At Tell Brak a very large collection of objects were discovered on the site of a temple which Mallowan called the "Eye-Temple" because of the thousands of eye images or idols discovered within the precincts and buried within the temple platform (1947:32). Two important objects were found in the sanctuary: one was a fragment of copper panelling stamped with an eye design, and the other a life-size stone eye-socket (Pl.13:3) on the floor adjacent to the podium. Mallowan suggests that the temple, like its predecessor lying several metres below, "was devoted to the worship of an "Eye God"

and that the cult-statue had probably once stood on the podium itself" (1947:32).

Five successive temples were discovered, the earliest dating to the Uruk Period when the belief in an Eye-God may have originated, at least in the form of an organized religion. The Eye-Temple, in which the eye-idols were found, dates to the Jemdet Nasr Period, but the material remains discovered in contemporary levels at Ur, Uruk, Lagash, Kish, Jemdet Nasr, Khafajah and Nuzi are astonishingly similar (Mallowan, 1947:31). This, in itself, might lead one to an obvious conclusion concerning an Eye-God belief, yet spectacle-topped idols provide additional evidence.

The spectacle-topped idols at Tell Brak, (Pl.9:3,4; pl.16:2,3;) are figures with a pair of perforations in place of the eyes. Mallowan thinks that they represented the cult-statue and were an older form of eye-idol. This variety of idol has also been found at Gawra (Pl.9:1,2) and Khafajah (Pl.15:2) as well as Ur, Uruk and Hama (Mallowan, 1947:34). A close parallel to these idols is the spectacle-topped idol (Pl.16:1) in the Anatolian collection at the Berlin Museum. Mallowan has pointed out that this idol is standing on a podium which was the proper place for the cult statue within the temple (1947:203). Andrae sees the volute on this idol as the reed or "hut" symbol of the goddess Innana (Mallowan, 1947:203). However, this theory has lost ground in the light of more recent evidence in the form of the naturalistic eye-idols subsequently found at Tell Brak: Mallowan

places this idol, which is of unknown provenance, as originating somewhere between the Tigris and the Euphrates but was added to the Anatolian collection at a time when little was known about this class of object (1947:204). What Andrae calls a "hut" symbol now appears more likely to represent an Eye deity standing on a pedestal (Mallowan, 1947:204). Mallowan, however, fails to make the connection that if the reed bundle, which Andrae considers to be symbolic of the goddess Inanna, is in reality an eye standard, then Inanna must be an Eye Goddess presiding over the city of Uruk. Although Mallowan argues that "there is not the remotest trace of the reed form or reed bundle" (1947:204) on the spectacle idols, the fact remains that both the spectacle idols and the reed bundles may be interpreted as being variant forms of the eye design. Andrae gives many illustrations of the variant forms of the reed symbol such as the clay models, the engravings on seals where the symbol appears as an isolated standard, sometimes singly, sometimes in pairs, or directly outside the entrance to the shrine. Elsewhere it is a portable symbol carried by the attendants of the deity or it appears as one of a pair of posts surmounted by a ring, framing the temple doorway (Pl.24:2) (Mallowan, 1947:203). The eye standard, as representing the goddess Inanna, is more in line with the Mesopotamian belief system and provides further evidence for the belief in an all-seeing Eye deity.

The spectacle-topped idols, which were set up on bases in the temple sanctuaries, were symbolic of some as yet unknown

divinity. The wide diffusion of this type of idol suggests some widely-accepted religious idea which transcended the political rivalries of city states (Mallowan, 1947:205), which leads to the speculation of a universal belief in an all-seeing Eye God.

While the spectacle-topped idols were found to be widely diffused, the eye-idols were confined to Tell Brak only. Mallowan thinks that eye-idols were a derivative of the spectacle-topped forms. Over three hundred intact eye-idols (Pl.17:1) of the standard form were found in the Eye-Temple or its precincts. Five examples (Pl.17:2) of eye-idols display various markings or designs which may be representative of clothing; one wears a pointed object, perhaps a hat. There is one curious example (Pl.17:2:fig.5) of a two-eyed idol engraved with a stag and a bird standing on the animal's back. Most of the eye-idols (Pl.17:2) were made of translucent white alabaster but many of them were of black alabaster. Of the various types there are examples of multiple-eyed idols; some had three or four eyes (Pl.18:2) and one even had six eyes. Mallowan (1947:257) explains the multiple eye-idols as a pair, such as husband and wife and perhaps also a child, as represented on the six-eyed idol. However, the three-eyed idol is more difficult to explain, and he calls it a triad of gods perhaps symbolizing father, mother and child. (The concept of a trinity of gods was current in Anatolia at the end of the third millennium B.C. (Mallowan, 1947:198) particularly at Hacilar.) But if that is so, one would expect to find a great many more three-eyed idols instead of only the one.

There also appears to be little reason to postulate a triad of gods, for the three-eyed idol similar to the mythological figure with three eyes on a cylinder seal (Pl.23:2), may simply represent the artist's conception of deity.

One pair of eye-idols (Pl.16:4) is of particular interest for it suggests the worship of a pair of gods (Mallowan, 1947:156). These eye-idols, of North Syrian provenance and now in the Ashmolean Museum, may help to explain other eye-idols, with four eyes on a single body, which were found at Tell Brak. Mallowan sees these idols as representing the Mother Goddess embodying both the male and the female elements of reproduction (Mallowan, 1947:156).

Mallowan is correct as far as the worship of the Mother Goddess at Tell Brak is concerned. However, he has only half of the answer. The eye-idol engraved with a stag is the key (Pl.18:1). The stag is the symbol of Nin-hur-sag, the female element of the earth, who is known as "Mother Earth" (Jacobsen, 1946:137) and in this respect Mallowan is correct. However, in the Mesopotamian belief system the waters of the earth are also life-giving but are thought of as the male element, known as Enki, "Lord Earth". Thus the eye-idols with four eyes, as well as the pair of idols, probably represent two separate deities, Nin-hur-sag and Enki, who were worshipped together as the male and female elements of the earth.

Mallowan supplies further evidence for this theory but again only in part. He suggests that the religious leaders at Tell Brak

developed some kind of a scheme whereby an earlier tradition was translated into a modern form peculiar to Tell Brak from which Tell Brak became "rich and famous". This popular religion spread throughout Mesopotamia during the Jemdet Nasr Period (1947:156). In the present writer's opinion the religious leaders may have taken the earlier tradition for the dualism between male and female and turned it into a tangible form producing an amulet in the shape of the "modern" eye-idol. That some eye-idols were made of white alabaster and others were of black alabaster must have had some cultic significance (Mallowan, 1947:301). Perhaps the duality between male and female was broadened to incorporate the concept of the duality between black and white and even between good and bad in some way, hence the formula male = white = good, and female = black = bad. As a result these eye-idols, symbolizing a variety of concepts, would have universal appeal. Furthermore, the eyes on an eye amulet would symbolize the female element, the protective eyes of the Mother Goddess, Ninhursag, and the alabaster of which the amulet was made, would symbolize Enki, the male element of the earth. Therefore one amulet holds the symbols of both deities. This concept would have been readily understood by everyone and as Mallowan has already said: "transcended the political rivalries of city states" (1947:205). There had always been Mother Goddess amulets for women, now there was an amulet for men as well. Thus Tell Brak was destined to become a popular religious centre where a male and a female Eye deity were worshipped together. But the predominance of the white

alabaster eye-idols found suggests that the male deity was of prime importance at Tell Brak.

Figures found at Hacilar (Pl.2:1,2) provide an Anatolian parallel to the Tell Brak eye-idols. Flat, stone or baked clay figures with incised eyes were found in every house excavated in level VI at Hacilar, which dates to about 5700-5600 B.C. (Mellaart, 1965:106). Mellaart has difficulty interpreting these figures and wonders if males as well as females are represented here. He suggests that they may represent earlier types which were retained for the purpose of religious conservatism (Mellaart, 1970a:176). Although these figures at Hacilar are earlier than the Tell Brak eye-idols, the emphasis on the eyes perhaps indicates a similar belief system.

Another form of votive offering, possessing great potency and special significance to the Mesopotamians, was the 'eye-stone'. An-eye stone (Pl.37:21), found in the Temple of Enlil at Nippur, provides an example of the use of this type of gem as votive offerings during the period of Kassite rule in Mesopotamia (1600-1200 B.C.). This agate eye-stone is a black-brown and white colour with the inscription written around the pupil on the face of the centerpiece and running onto the white border. The inscription reads: "To Enlil his lord Kurigalzu gave (this)" (Lambert, 1969:67).

A similar eye-stone (Pl.38:1), belonging to the same king, has an inscription written in four horizontal panels across the face of the centerpiece. This eye-stone is dedicated to Ninurta,

son of Enlil. In Nippur, Enlil was worshipped as a wind god and god of the hoe, and his son, Ninurta, as god of the thunderstorm and the plow (Jacobsen, 1976:25).

Plate 38 figure 2 shows a badly damaged eye-stone, but enough survives to see the unique arrangement of the script. It is the only Kassite Period eye-stone, according to Lambert, with a poetically phrased address to the god (1969:68). The section identifying the deity is missing but Lambert suggests that perhaps the centerpiece was filled with epithets and the white border contained only the name of the king (1969:68).

One further example of an eye-stone as a votive offering is the inscribed agate eye-stone of Esarra-hamat, Esarhaddon's wife (Pl.45:1). The inscription reads: "Queen of Esarhaddon, king of the land of Assyria" (680-669 B.C.).

That eye-stones were regarded as precious objects is confirmed by the fact that normally only kings' names appear on these stones. Eye-stones, which were made of agate or onyx, were highly prized in antiquity, since they could be cut to resemble the human eye. Great care was taken by the engraver to secure a piece of agate with a white band and to cut it so that white appeared around the brown or black centerpiece (Lambert, 1969:66).

A pair of onyx eyes (Pl.37:1) were cut for Abi-esuh, eighth king of the first Dynasty of Babylon (2042-2015 B.C.) (Langdon, 1923:9). The eyes were carved from a piece of onyx, in layers of three colours, dark brown, white and light brown, in such a way

that human eyes with light brown pupils, dark brown irises and white eyeballs were produced (Langdon, 1923:9). On the flat surface on the back an inscription reads "To Ningal his lady, Abi-esuh, king of Babylon" (Langdon, 1923:9). According to Langdon, these eyes are unique because they represent two eyes, when one eye is usually the rule, and they were made from three layers of agate (onyx) instead of two. (Langdon uses agate and onyx synonymously) (1923:11). The eye-stone was dedicated to the goddess, but it was intended to be worn on the royal robe of the king, thus the eye-stone was used as an amulet. The potency and value of the eye-stones were recognized by the Assyrians who, long after Abi-esuh's time (about 700 B.C.), plundered Babylon and took this gem to Nineveh, where a scribe cut a Semitic inscription upon the outer edge of the stone, which reads: "To Ningal the shining light, the Assyrian (Ningal); O hear" (Langdon, 1923:9). Ningal was the wife of the moon-god Sin, whose worship survived into Assyrian times, especially at Harran. Her name is also found in Aramaean inscriptions, as Nikal, and later in a Syriac narrative. Ningal was known as a goddess of counsel and adviser to kings (Langdon, 1923:10). Since this eye-stone was worn on the person of the king, it should be seen as an amulet that was used to ward off evil, disease or harm, and not as a votive offering which would have been placed in a temple. Lambert sees a parallel in this eye-stone to a stamp seal (Pl.30:1) of unknown origin, which similarly had been cut down to form a pair of eyes (1979:31). This stamp seal was placed in the Western

Iranian, Anatolian and North-Syrian collection of the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art in Durham, England. This perhaps assumes a non-Mesopotamian origin and suggests the wide-spread use of the eye as a symbol. These eye symbols on the stamp seal turn the seal into an amulet in which case evil was supposed to be averted through the power of the eye to turn away evil.

Eye-stones were used not only by kings and queens but, perhaps, by the gods as well, for in the myth of the "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World" it states:

"Let courtesans turn his mood.
 When Belili was stringing her jewelry,
 And her lap was filled with 'eye-stones',
 On hearing the sound of her brother, Belili struck
 the jewelry on [...]
 So that the 'eye-stones' filled the [...]
 My only brother, bring no harm to me!"
 (Pritchard, 1958a:85).

Although the operative words are missing, it might be supposed that the eye-stones were used as amulets affording Belili protection from her brother's wrath.

From these few examples it is evident that the eye-stones were used by man both as gems, and as votive offerings by which kings sought favours from their gods. They were also used by men and gods as amulets for protection.

Amulets representing the human figure, except for fertility figurines, were rare during the Prehistoric Period. Only one example of this type of amulet has been found (Pl. 15:1). A figure with very large eyes was discovered at Telloh. According to Goff, it is of undetermined sex (106). However, it may represent a male figure on the basis of its close resemblance to

the large, oval-eyed and round-faced head from Tell Brak (Pl. 14:2), which Mallowan identified as being male (1947:92). In addition, the pectoral muscles on the figure, although not well defined, appear to be those of a man. Perhaps then, this amulet symbolizes Ningirsu, the chief god of Telloh. On the other hand, the figure might just as easily be a votive offering for there is no definitive answer. In any case, the large eyes indicate that it very likely represents either a god or a votive offering.

Three pendants from Khafajah (Pl. 13:1) are more easily identifiable as amulets. They are all crescent-shaped, representing Sin, the moon-god, who might also be thought of as the eye of the night sky. Two of these amulets were made of stone and inlaid with shell, in the shape of dot-centered circles, representing eyes. These stone crescents were found in Sin Temple I and symbolize the deity residing there. The eyes on the crescents symbolically allow the god to "keep an eye on" his worshippers.

Dot-centered circles were also used to decorate two marble idols from Kultepe (Pl. 31:1a,c), on what Amiet refers to as a "two-headed female idol" (Pl. 31:2) (389). These idols from Kultepe have some similarity to the two eye-idols from Tell Brak (Pl. 18:2:40,41) but only to the extent that "fertility" and "eyes" are clearly emphasised on each. The two eye-idols from Tell Brak each have a superimposed figure on the centre and are assumed by Mallowan to represent a mother and child (1947:198). Therefore, these eye-idols symbolize the female aspect of

fertility. However, the idol from Kultepe (Pl. 31:1c), with the two superimposed figures of the male genitalia on the centre, symbolizes the male aspect of fertility. Further evidence in support of this theory, is found in the form of the idols themselves (Pl.31) which also take the shape of the male genitalia. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the idol, with the two superimposed figures on its centre, represents a father and two children. One further thought on the subject is that this idol may represent an Anatolian concept of a combined male and female principle of fertility.

Although eye symbolism on pottery and stone vessels is not as prevalent as it is on idols, seals and amulets, nevertheless it has considerable significance for eye symbolism.

Pottery and Stone Vessels

Eye decoration on pottery, while originating in the Prehistoric Period, is not well represented past the Early Dynastic Period, although a few specialized pieces appear down into the Kassite Period. The majority of pottery was utilitarian ware, either plain or decorated, but finer ware was also produced and, since pottery types are the main evidence used for dating purposes, a summary of Goff's chief characteristics of Prehistoric pottery (1-142) will be useful.

The Hassuna Period was a time when stylized forms predominated which featured incised, appliqued and painted geometric designs. Samarran ware was a luxury ware of this period

which also had stylized, representational and geometric designs. In the Halaf Period stylized designs of plants, animals and birds continued, with a few instances of naturalistic forms, but human figures are not common. During the Ubaid Period monochrome decoration and geometric designs continue to be the dominant types. However, a change occurs in the Uruk Period with plain ware predominating. Designs were purely geometric with incised, naturalistic patterns. A few specialized forms appeared for religious purposes. During the Jemdet Nasr Period formal geometric patterns developed side by side with naturalistic forms. The polychrome painted ware was a distinctive type of this Period. The Gawra Period continued the formalized geometric designs on pottery, with incised, applied and painted decoration later coming into vogue. Ninevite 5 ware shows that there was a change of culture in Northern Mesopotamia in the Ninevite Period. Southern influences appear in two predominating types of pottery, painted ware and plain and/or incised ware. Geometric designs are popular once again with a few representational, stylized designs.

The most common decoration on pottery from the Prehistoric Period clearly emerges as geometric designs. It is therefore clear that when pottery pieces appear with eye motifs they must have had a specialized function and significance.

The Mesopotamians recognized an in-dwelling force or power in nature, so religion appears to be the chief source of inspiration for art. Therefore much of the elaborately decorated

pottery with eyes or faces probably had a cultic function (Parrot, 1961a:46). One needs to tread cautiously here, in the interpretation of eye symbols from another culture, for the symbols may not necessarily have had the same meaning for ancient peoples. In point of fact, owing to the dualistic nature of the Mesopotamian belief system, a completely opposite meaning may be possible in many instances and, instead of the symbol representing the eye of the god, it may symbolize the evil eye, in which case there is no cultic function.

A Samarran vase from Hassuna (Pl. 7:1) dating to about 5000 B.C., for example, and painted in red-brown on buff, has a boldly stylized face with applied decoration in the form of "coffee-bean" eyes (Strommenger:375). These "coffee-bean" eyes, made from incised, clay pellets, resemble the cowrie shells (Kenyon,:52) inlaid in the eye sockets of a skull at Jericho, dating to about 7000 B.C. One sees in this Hassuna vase the survival of a long tradition in which cowrie shells were one of the earliest amulets used as protection against the evil eye; and the clay pellets represent a reasonable facsimile (Distasi,100).

A similar type of "coffee-bean" eye decoration is found on pottery from Umm Dabaghiyah, a site contemporary with Hassuna. "Coffee-bean" eyes seem to have been a popular form of decoration on pottery through all periods at Umm Dabaghiyah as well as in the areas of Hassuna, Gird Ali Agha, and Matarrah (Kirkbride, :14). These round, slitted pellets or applied rolls of clay representing human eyes, seem to indicate an early stage of

pottery-making in Mesopotamia. These eyes, so like those on the Samarran vase, were believed to have had apotropaic properties. It was believed that "like repels like", a belief which Petrie calls "the doctrine of similars", meaning sympathetic magic (2).

Another early example of eye symbolism, on a plate from Arpachiyah (Pl.10:3) dating to the Halaf Period, has two dot-centered circles surrounded by radiating lines. It has been suggested that these dot-centered circles represent solar symbols and are referred to as "rayed suns" (Goff:22). Solar symbols they may be, but they more closely resemble stylized eyes rather than "rayed suns". The iconographic evidence supports this view and indicates a later date for sun symbols. Stylized suns, represented either as winged discs or as personification of the sun-god Shamash, do not appear on cylinder seals until the Early Dynastic Period while stylized eyes appear as early as the Uruk Period. (Frankfort, 1939b:208). The "solar symbol", then, appears to be a stylized eye where the artist has exaggerated the eyelashes to surround a large pupil, around which is a white ring representing the eyeball. This type of stylization is also found on a figurine from Tell Halaf, (Pl.10:1) which also has exaggerated eyelashes. Thus the dot-centered circles on this plate may represent eyes which are symbolic of a generalized solar deity. It may not be too far-fetched to suggest that here we have an origin for asking the deity to bless the food upon one's plate. The idea of asking for a blessing may not have been verbalized during this early period but perhaps the eyes

symbolize the desire for the deity's protection and blessing. During this period, early man may not have distinguished between particular deities but envisioned the general concept of deity as mana or the numinous, the "Wholly Other" (Jacobsen, 1976:3).

Anatolian parallels for the use of eyes on pottery are found at Hacilar dating to about 5435-5250 B.C. Ritual bowls were found in two shrines at Hacilar in level II. On four bowls which are shown on Plate 5:1-4, the designs were in the form of stylized eyes. That these bowls, decorated with a red eye on a cream or ivory slip, had a special significance in the cult ritual is highly probable for two reasons: first because they were found inside a shrine, and secondly because of the use of the red paint which is indicative of deity. The eye on these bowls might be representative of the Great Goddess who was worshipped at Hacilar during this period (Mellaart, 1970a:38). Red burnished mother goddess figurines were also found at Hacilar (Mellaart, 1970a:109) as well as the figurines with red stripes similar to those from Tell Halaf and Chagar Bazar (Strommenger: 376). (Pl.10:1,2).

Another vessel closely associated with the shrines at Hacilar is the cup in the shape of a woman's head (Pl. 6:1). The large, almond-shaped eyes on the head are similar to those on the Great Goddess figurines (Pl. 4:1-2) and on the flat stone and baked clay figurines (Pl. 2:1,2) from this site. The cup also suggests some ritual function and affinity with the Great Goddess (Mellaart, 1970a:127) but its actual purpose is unknown.

The effigy vase shown on Plate 6:2 is another example of eye symbolism on pottery. Effigy vases, in the shape of the rotund Great Goddess, with eyes inlaid with obsidian, seem to be associated with burials. This is suggested by the remains of a red ochre deposit found in an effigy vase at Hacilar and by the decorating of the stomach region with a red design (Mellaart, 1970a:181). The red ochre, which is the colour of blood, means life, and the red paint on the stomach and navel, which symbolically represents an eye, suggest a belief in the afterlife and rebirth (Braidwood:74). The cult of the Great Goddess with her husband, who was represented by a bull in the shrines, evidently flourished at Hacilar from about 5700 to 5000 B.C. (Mellaart, 1965:102). A child is sometimes included to form a triad of gods.

While the eye often seems to be symbolic of the gods, it might also, and at the same time, be symbolic of the evil eye. For example, among the many other motifs used on pottery, the use of the hand is the most significant. Stylized hands, on pottery from Hacilar, with only three or four fingers suggest an apotropaic function. Since hands and eyes were found together as decorative motifs in this culture, it is possible they relate a symbolic attempt to ward off the evil eye, a method still widely used in the Near East and in the countries around the Mediterranean (Mellaart, 1970a:123). These examples from Mesopotamia and Anatolia show that the eye symbols on pottery are closely linked with the eye symbols on figurines and idols.

However, the meaning of the symbolism does not remain constant. Eye symbolism can have ambivalent meanings. In one instance the eyes may represent the "all-seeing eyes" of the gods and in another the "evil eye" and there are times when both meanings apply at once. The ambivalence of eye symbols may be understood in another sense as well. Based on their experiences with nature, the Mesopotamians were never sure when the gods would be favourably disposed towards them and so their symbols reflect this ambivalence. As a result, eyes become a symbol for both propitiation, to win the favour of the gods, and for protection from their wrath for the gods could be capricious at times.

To further illustrate the ambivalence of eye symbolism, consider the large polychrome vessel from Jemdet Nasr (Pl. 13:2) which prominently features a pair of eyes drawn in separate panels. In similar panels encircling the vessel, there are religious symbols representing goats, scorpions, fish and birds. The eyes belong to this set of religious symbols relating to the gods's shrine which is also represented in one of the panels (Mallowan, 1947:206). The eyes probably represent a deity, but in which aspect; benevolent, malevolent, or both? When the function of a vessel is known, eye symbolism can often be interpreted with some degree of accuracy. However, in the case of this vessel no information as to its use is available and the eye symbolism remains unknown.

Eyes, as the only form of decoration on pottery, (Pl.7:2 and Pl.25:1), may not necessarily represent the eyes of the gods, but

may be the symbols used by the Mesopotamians in attempting to ward off the baneful influences of the evil eye. The pottery jar (Pl. 25:1) discovered at Tell Brak, depicting a pair of eyes enclosed in an oval, is unique since decorated pottery is not a feature of the late Early Dynastic Period or of the Akkad Period. These eyes are a reminder of the eye-idols found in the Eye-Temple at Tell Brak but one wonders as to their significance on the pottery jar. Perhaps they are a mark of identification similar to those on the large storage jars which are marked with incised patterns (Oates, 1982: 207). Or perhaps the eyes signify an apotropaic function. It is difficult to suppose, on the other hand, that these almost comic-looking eyes symbolize deity. Thus a clear-cut, definitive answer is not possible.

Two stone vessels decorated with shell inlay (Pl. 8:1,2) show how the artist has depicted the eyes abstractly and may be interpreted to have powerful symbolic meaning. In abstract art, the symbol stands for the whole and so the eyes stand for the deity. As a result abstract symbols affirm a direct relationship between the worshipper and his gods (Parrot, 1961a:320). According to LeBele, "every created object is a reflection of divine perfection, a natural and perceptible sign of a supernatural truth" (Cirlot:XXX). Landrit explains that "symbolism is the science of the relations which unite the created world with God, the material world with the supernatural" (Cirlot, :XXX). Before discussing this iconography, the abstract nature of art requires further clarification whereby an awareness

of shape and form becomes important.

The study of morphology has shown that there are only a few fundamental forms or shapes with the ovoid or eye-shape being one. This fact has a direct bearing on the eye symbolism of the Mesopotamians, for the place of symbolism is within the archetypal pattern of each form, each being, and each rhythm. Within this archetypal pattern, all like beings can be presented as one being. By virtue of this oneness, the predominant rhythm changes all that might appear to be separate, so that the one, or any part, stands for the all or the whole being (Cirlot :XXXIV). Thus, the abstract symbol of the eye stands not just for the eyes of the god, but for the entire god.

This concept applies not only to the abstract art of the Mesopotamians but to all forms of eye symbolism including those found in the literature of the Old Testament of the Hebrews. One Hebrew parallel comes from Psalm 33:18: "Behold the eye of the Lord is on those that fear him," (RSV). God, himself, in his whole being, is watching and it is this "awareness" that is symbolized by the eye. Here also is the parallel of an all-seeing God with the Mesopotamian all-seeing Eye-God. Abstract art symbolizes not only the object but the emotions that pertain to the symbol and emotions are a powerful force to either attract or to repel. Thus abstract art can have powerful symbolic meaning. For instance a deep stone bowl, with abstract eye symbols in a mosaic of shell inlay, (Pl. 8:2) was found in the Sin Temple, level II, at Khafajah, dating to the late Uruk Period or Early

Dynastic Period. The decoration on the bowl consists of a rosette placed below what appears to be two eyes depicted abstractly by three rings of shell, graduated in size to form the pupil, iris and eyeball of the human eye. These eyes are symbolic of the deity, the Moon-god Sin, in whose temple the bowl was found. Shown below the eyes is an eight-petalled rosette, which is also a solar symbol representing the deity (Mallowan, 1947:210).

Archaeological evidence from the Jemdet Nasr Period provides a parallel for rosettes as symbolic of deity and hence of the eye. The rosette was a common form of decoration on the walls of the sanctuary of the Eye Temple at Tell Brak which dates to the Jemdet Nasr Period. Rosettes also decorated the outer walls of the temple and were composed of black shale and white marble, with a center of red limestone (Mallowan, 1939: ILN:885). The colours are highly significant, for they perhaps symbolize the many aspects of the deity combined into the single symbol of the eight-petalled rosette. For example, the eight petals may symbolize the dualistic nature of the deity in the paired opposites of black and white, male and female, good and bad, and birth and death. This dualism is further emphasized by the four black petals and the four white petals. The red centre of the rosette symbolizes both the sun and the moon which in turn symbolizes the all-seeing eyes of the god. Thus the rosette is clearly an eye symbol.

Rosettes also decorated the walls of the temple at Uruk (Mallowan, 1939:885) and were a common motif on cylinder seals

(Pl. 24:3) during this time. The rosette continued as a symbol of divinity down to Assyrian times where it became a symbol of royalty related to divinity (Goodenough, 1958a:183). For example, on the border of a robe worn by Sargon II, there are two rows of alternating rosettes and eyes (See Plate 43 in Parrot, 1961c: 37).

Thus, the stone bowl (Pl. 8:2), decorated with a rosette and two abstract eyes, which was discussed earlier, shows yet another way in which eye symbolism is to be understood. One could take the interpretation of eye symbolism on this bowl one step further and see a face in the arrangement of the symbols. The eyes and mouth, as solar symbols are symbolic of creation with references from the Enuma Elish (Jacobsen, 1946:140) and the Old Testament (RSV: Genesis 1:3,4.).

A stone libation jug (Pl. 8:1) from Uruk, dating to the same period as the stone bowl above, is decorated with rosettes, inlaid with shell, and stylized eyes, suggesting a symbiotic relationship to the deity. The eyes on ritual vessels might symbolize the eyes of deity but they might also be used as a charm as a means of throwing back "the baneful power which emanates from the Evil-Eye" (Mallowan, 1947:208).

The face-vase from Tell Brak (Pl. 35:1) illustrates eye symbolism from a different perspective. The criterion for the interpretation of eye symbolism, up to now, has been the unusual size and shape of the eyes. However, the eyes on this face-vase are fairly well-proportioned, necessitating a change in the

criteria to a consideration of style and decoration on pottery. Artists, during the second millennium, were quite adept at realistically portraying the human face on art forms, such as on cylinder seals and on statues, and presumably the same would apply equally to pottery. However, this has not happened and the human face was not commonly depicted on pottery. Face vases, of the kind we are considering, are rare (Mallowan, 1947:186). The artist has used heavy, black lines to exaggerate and emphasize the prominent eyes and facial features on this well-defined human face. Thus a stylized face was the method reserved by the artist for representing the deity. The face vase, fashioned about 1500 B.C., stands on a small pedestal base and was intended to be used for drinking or at least for holding liquid (Mallowan, 1947:186). It was discovered in the same room as a clay altar, which suggests a ritual purpose. The evidence points to a personal use of the face-vase since it was found in a house and was not part of a cultic tradition in a temple. This parallels the change in religious thinking in Mesopotamia dating from the second millennium B.C. At that time there arose a personal religion in which individuals see themselves as having a close personal relationship with the deity, expecting help and guidance in their personal life (Jacobsen, 1976:147). With this in mind, the interpretation of the eye symbolism seems clear; the face-vase represents the presence of the deity in the home, with the eyes of the god watching over all.

Pottery with handles representing a female deity provides

further insight into the meaning of eye symbolism. Large water jars with so-called "goddess handles" (Pl. 25:3,4) were found in almost every burial in the "A" cemetery at Kish, dating to the time of Ur-Nina, (2900 B.C.) king of Lagash (Mackay, 1929:76). Nina was a water goddesses and Mackay assumes that she is the one represented on these handles (1929:76). The contents of the jars, then, were under her protection and the water was intended either for drinking or for ablutions in the after-life (Mackay, 1925:23). The unique eyes on these handles were designed in accordance with the potter's conception of deity. In some cases the eyes are simply large, round balls of clay, (Pl. 25:3) in others, clay pellets are impressed with a circular mark in the centre to represent the pupil (Pl. 25:4) (Mackay, 1925:22). In each case the symbolism clearly suggests a goddess watching over water, her primary concern.

A dish with similar eyes was found on the palace mound at Kish (pl. 25:2) and dates to the same period as the "goddess handles" (Mackay, 1929:207). This curious pottery dish is decorated with faces all the way around. The eyes are formed with flat pellets of clay with a circle incised in the middle to represent the iris. However, a third eye is placed where the forehead should be. This dish closely parallels the cylinder seal, shown on Plate 24:5, which also has a third eye. Mackay believes that the dish was washed out of a burial and rightfully belongs to the burial period. In discussing the cylinder seal, it was shown that the representation of the third eye was the

artist's way of symbolizing the deity as a hero figure. Perhaps the same idea applies to the dish, and while the identity of the deity may be unknown, the eyes may symbolize the protective attitude of the deity.

That the eyes have been powerful symbols for both good and evil has been shown time and again but nowhere is it more apparent than on the faience bowl taken from the tombs at Ugarit (Pl. 34:2), dating from the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries B.C. Egyptian influence is unmistakable in the pair of wedjet-eyes returning the gaze of the beholder (Smith, 1965:43). The wedjet-eye, in Egyptian mythology, was the left eye of the god Horus. After Seth had stolen it, it was returned and healed by Thoth. This eye is therefore called "the whole one" and is the symbol of the power of the god of light, the sun. It was also used as protection against the evil eye. From late in the Old Kingdom wedjet-eyes were placed on the doorways of tombs as symbols of protection (Lurker:128). Thus pottery with eye representation, whether stylized, abstract or realistically portrayed, provides graphic evidence from which eye symbolism may be understood. The eyes, in most instances, are symbols standing for the deity but they can have an apotropaic significance as well.

Miscellaneous Objects

Six miscellaneous objects, representing iconography from burials, temples and palaces, emphasize the prevalence of eye symbolism, but at the same time, point out the limitations of archaeology. These objects defy categorization yet their significance as works of art is irrefutable. Abundant material has been recovered from many sites in Mesopotamia and often good chronologies can be established. However, in the absence of written records our understanding of these objects remains in the realm of speculation.

The first object, a silver eye patch, found on the left eye socket of the skeleton of a child (Pl. 30:2), comes from a burial at Abu Salabikh and dates to the Early Dynastic Period. The eye patch was formed by impressing the outline of an eye on a thin sheet of silver and two vertical markers indicate the position of the pupil (Postgate, 94). If silver was the metal associated with the moon, then the child was literally under the protective eye of the Moon-god, Sin. On one level, this might be understood as "sympathetic magic" but on another the "principle of sufficient identity" perhaps gives a clearer understanding of the symbolism (Cirlot, XLI). For example, from the equation: "The moon shines like silver." or "Silver shines like the moon." it follows that "The moon is silver," to the extent that its brilliance is silver. The identity is "sufficient" for symbolic purposes for when their functions coincide and reveal a common essence, both objects become one on the symbolic plane and are therefore

interchangeable. For this reason the symbolic image is not an external example, but an internal analogy (Cirlot, XLI).

The practice of placing metal on the body was believed to confound both the evil demons and the ghost of the deceased, both of which were feared by the living (Trachtenberg, 174). Placing the silver patch on the left eye provides not only protection against the Evil Eye, but also prevents the return of the spirit, forcing it away from the body and into its proper realm (Thompson, 1972:115). Thus eyes have special significance, not only for the living, but for the dead as well.

The next two objects, dating to the Early Dynastic Period, were found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. Both are decorated with eyes, rosettes and dot-centered circles. One is a stone plaque (Pl. 29:2), the other a gaming-board (Pl. 29:1). Eyes, rosettes, and dot-centered circles are symbolic of deity and perhaps it is the Moon-god, Sin, chief god of Ur, who is represented here (Woolley, 1955:50). It may also be Shamash, the Sun-god, who is represented by the rosettes for they are often generalized symbols for deity. The stone plaque has tentatively been referred to as a "gaming board", because of the similarity of its decoration, and is also likened to a "small bucket", similar to that carried by the winged genie on Assyrian monuments (Gadd, 1935:44). While many entertaining speculations are possible for the identity of the plaque, perhaps the significance of the symbols should be used as a point of departure. While the eyes and rosettes are symbolic of deity, the rosette also represents

the status of the deity, thus the ~~people~~ buried in the Royal Cemetery identified themselves with the cosmic or sky god, Sin. At the same time, however, what could be more powerful than eyes and rosettes as cosmic symbols of protection and to ward off all forms of evil? Here we have a plaque that may have been used by royalty as a protective amulet. The handle suggests suspension over an entrance-way or on a door post. The plaque's presence in the burial chamber is further evidence of its protective qualities. However, the plaque may also signify a belief in the after-life, symbolized by the over-arching handle representing the dome of the sky, which is the abode of the gods.

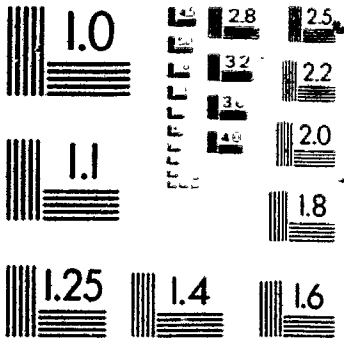
The gaming board with the symbols of deity may have a similar apotropaic significance but understood in an entirely different way. For instance, the gaming-boards from Ur are similar in shape to the one found at Tell Halaf and to the later Assyrian models (Van Buren 1937:15), which represent an abstract shape of the human form. This may mean that the gaming-board represents man, and the symbols on the board represent deity or, as Unger suggests, the rosettes were lucky signs and the eyes symbolize the Evil Eye (Van Buren, 1937:14). While it may be entertaining to speculate that the gaming-board represents a game called something like "Gods and Demons" or "Men and Gods" no definitive answer is available for its use. Nevertheless, the fact that the gaming-board was found in the royal tombs suggests its importance to the deceased. The gaming-board may have had some religious significance, perhaps representing a belief in the

after life and re-birth.

The next two "miscellaneous" objects are two shell plaques (Pl. 28:1,2), which were also found in the Royal Cemetery at Ur. One plaque (Pl. 28:1), was decorated with four panels of animal figures with an eye design down one side. The other plaque (Pl. 28:2) was part of the decoration on a lyre and has a two-panelled banquet scene with an eye design along the top. The significance of these plaques, and of the eye design, is similar to that of the gaming-boards.

The sixth object, a bronze standard or plaque, (Pl. 35:2) was found at Lagash and dates to the Early Dynastic Period. On the face of the plaque is the imprint of a single eye with its eyebrow (Laroche:5). Two parallels for this type of plaque were found, one at Ras Shamra and the other at Hazor (Laroche:5). The Ras Shamra plaque was made of silver-plated bronze with a design representing the sun and lightning, the symbols for Shamash, the sun god, and Adad, god of the thunderstorm (Jacobsen, 1976:157). At Hazor, the plaque was decorated with a goddess, holding a serpent in each hand with a crescent above her head, who is identified as the Canaanite goddess, Ishtar. According to Yadin this plaque was probably used when the priests carried the standards of the various gods in processions (Laroche:6). This could have important implications for the interpretations of the religious beliefs held throughout Mesopotamia. It may mean that over a long period of time, perhaps as early as the Uruk Period and down to the Old Babylonian Period, there was a widespread

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belief in an all-seeing Eye God. From Lagash, in southern Mesopotamia, to Tell Brak, in the north, the eye-standard was carried by the priests during the ceremonial processions (Yadin, 1961:6): For example, at the Akitu, or New Year's festival, at Tell Brak, the priests, no doubt, followed this well-known practice and carried the eye-standard from the temple of the Eye God along the processional way to the Bit-Akitu (Frankfort, 1948:324). The New Year's festival was the most important ceremony of the year and served to establish harmony with nature in which god, king and man participated (Frankfort, 1948:313). Thus, the evidence from Lagash, and from Tell Brak (Pl. 16:2), strongly weighs in favour of a widespread belief in an all-seeing Eye God.

The next miscellaneous objects to be considered are three shell objects (Pl. 30:3), decorated with dot-centered circles, which were found at the palace of Sargon II (722-715 B.C.) at Nimrud. The decoration on these shell ornaments closely resembles the dot-centered circles, decorating the gaming-boards from Ur (Pl. 29:1) and on the marble idols from Kultepe (Pl. 31:1,2) as well as on an eye-idol from Tell Brak (Pl. 15:3), (which may have been a cross between the perforated spectacle-type and the naturalistic eye-idol) (Mallowan, 1947:35)). On all of these objects, the dot-centered circles represent the deity, symbolizing the eyes of the gods. At Nimrud, the shell objects are clearly symbols of the king since another set of shell ornaments from Fort Shalmaneser were found "inscribed with the

name of a king of Hamath, who was a contemporary of Shalmaneser III" (Mallowan, 1966:125). What the shell ornaments were used for is unclear but it has been suggested by Mallowan that they may have decorated some part of the king's chariot (1966:125). Dot-centered circles, which symbolized deity during the Prehistoric and Early Dynastic Periods, continued as symbols down into the Assyrian Period, but, like the rosette, became a symbol of royalty related to deity. By Assyrian times artists still had difficulty representing the deity and, due to a growing feeling that only the human form was suitable for visualizing a god, the struggle between the human and the non-human form continued. The non-human form eventually gave way and the gods were portrayed in their human form. Symbols only were used to represent their non-human forms. At Nimrud the chief god was Ninurta, god of the thunderstorm who was seen by the Mesopotamians as a god of war, the sound of thunder being the roar of his war chariot (Jacobsen, 1976:129). "As a victorious charioteer, the human form of the god became a war leader, a king" (Jacobsen, 1976:129). Therefore, if the shell ornaments were a part of the king's chariot the relationship between the king and the god is clear. The dot-centered circles on the chariot are symbolic of the war god, Ninurta, and may symbolize the eyes of the god as he goes forth with the king in his chariot to do battle.

The final object to be considered in this section is a terra-cotta relief from Khafajah (Pl. 34:1) dating to the Old Babylonian Period. It presents deities in a mythological battle

and may symbolize the Evil Eye. The horned crown, the saw-like dagger, and the up-lifted foot are all symbolic elements of the Sun-god, Shamash. However, it is not Shamash who is represented here, but Marduk. Semitic influences, which are apparent on many cylinder seals of this period, commonly equate Marduk with the sun (Frankfort, 1939b:96, Pl. XVIII:k). The victorious battle of the Sun-god, which dominates the "Epic of Creation" is a Semitic conception, seeing strife between the cosmic and the chaotic forces (Frankfort, 1939b:96). In other words, the origin of the world order is seen in the never-ending conflict between two opposing principles, forces for activity and those for inactivity, hence the forces of light overcome the forces of darkness. The other deity on the relief is Tiamat. The artist has portrayed her as a fearful demon whose head is surrounded by fiery rays and whose face has a single eye. Marduk is shown subduing Tiamat. Tiamat and her frightful brood represent the personification of evil and perhaps this terra-cotta relief is the earliest iconographic evidence for the origin of the Evil Eye. This kind of imagery illustrates that fear of potent forces, inimical to human survival, was deeply rooted in the human psyche, and still persists in many countries of the world especially in the Near East and in the countries around the Mediterranean. /1/

It was this fear of evil forces, which were beyond man's means to control, that led to a well-developed system of

demonology with its charms, spells and incantations such as we find in the popular religion of the Mesopotamians.

Conclusion

In summary, the religion of the Mesopotamians, outlined so far, might be called "state" religion. It was polytheistic in nature and teeming with gods arranged in a hierarchical order. Chronologically, the greater gods were seen as descendants of one another. Cosmologically and geographically the sky, water and earth were the realms of the great gods, Anu, Enlil and Enki who divided the heavens and earth among themselves. Every city had its own particular god or goddess. At Ur there was the moon-god, Sin; at Larsa, the sun-god, Shamash; at Nippur Enlil; and at Uruk, Anu, the great god with Ishtar, the Lady of heaven; and at Babylon, Marduk (Hallo:170). Literary documents and iconographic evidence show that the Mesopotamian, believed that the gods were watching his every move. The circumstantial evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of a belief in an all-seeing, ever-present Eye-God. It is not surprising then that under this constant surveillance the religion of the Mesopotamians was one based on fear (Woolley, 1965:125).

A biblical parallel can be seen in Psalm 33:18: "Behold, the eye of the Lord is on those who fear him" (R.S.V.).

Chapter 3

THE NEGATIVE ASPECT OF DUALISM

Within the Mesopotamian's dualistic belief system the positive forces in nature were perceived as the intervention of the gods working on man's behalf and as such were to be cultivated and worshipped (Jacobsen, 1976:12). This positive aspect of the dualism was earlier referred to as the State Religion from which man derived a measure of security under the watchful eyes of the gods. However, the negative forces in nature were also potent and were to be avoided, something against which man defended himself (Jacobsen, 1976:12). This negative aspect of the dualism falls into the category of Popular Religion. While fear is an underlying factor in both State and Popular religions, the fear man experienced in the State Religion seems to take on a more remote quality in comparison with the overwhelming, almost paralyzing, fear underlying the Popular Religion. The negative powers were perceived as evil only, and the Mesopotamian used amulets, spells, incantations, divination, and other magical means (Jacobsen, 1976:12) to defend himself against innumerable numinous powers such as evil demons, gods, spirits and the evil eye. In this Popular Religion the Mesopotamians' views on fear, divination, evil spirits and the after-life all combine to present a world view of the common man where fear predominates. In a world where survival is so precarious and uncertain, man's instinctive fear of the eye, or being looked at, which relates to

the Evil Eye, may be the primary reason for dwelling on the negative aspects of the duality. The iconography and the literary documents will illustrate, through eye symbolism, the Mesopotamian's popular belief system.

Popular Religion

Fear

Side by side and overlapping with the state religion was a practical or popular religion with the underlying concept of evil as the basis of man's fear. Fear, as Kramer says, tended to colour "deeply and darkly" the Mesopotamian way of life (262). Man had cause to fear. His friends and enemies, the violence of nature, sickness, death and even his gods kept him in a state of apprehension and insecurity (Kramer, 1963:262). Since everything around him, every object or natural phenomenon, had an "in-dwelling spirit", or will of its own, it is not surprising that when pain and sickness, misfortune, death and natural disasters struck, man felt these negative powers as the personification of evil spirits, evil demons, evil gods (Jacobsen, 1976:12) and the evil eye. The Mesopotamians characterized these negative powers as "supernatural wills and powers who will evil things into being" (Jacobsen, 1976:13).

"The shivers and chills (of death)
that fritter the sum of things,
spawn of the god of heaven,
spawned on an evil spirit,
the death warrants, beloved sons of the storm god,
born of the queen of the netherworld,
who were torn out of heaven and hurled from the earth as
castoffs,

are creatures of hell, all.
 Up above they roar, down below they cheep,
 they are the bitter venom of the gods,
 they are the great storms let loose from heaven,
 they are the owl, (of ill omen) that hoots in the town,
 spawn spawned by the god of heaven, sons born by earth
 are they.
 Over high roofs, over broad roofs like a floodwave
 they surge,
 from house to house they climb over,
 Doors do not hold them, locks do not restrain them,
 through the doors thy glide like snakes,
 through the hinge boxes they blow like wind.
 From the man's embrace they lead off the wife,
 from the man's knee they make the child get up,
 and the youth they fetch out of the house of his in-laws,
 they are the numbness, the daze,
 that tread on the heels of man.
 (Jacobsen, 1976:13).

In this popular religion the Mesopotamians even classified the evil forces in their world.

Evil Spirits

The Mesopotamians recognized three distinct classes of evil spirits. First came the disembodied human soul which wandered over the face of the earth; secondly, the gruesome spirits which were half human and half demon; and thirdly, the fiends and devils who were of the same nature as the gods, who rode the noxious winds or brought storms and pestilence (Thompson, 1903:XXIV).

Each of these three classes of evil spirits was divided into six main categories, called evil Spirit, evil Demon, evil Ghost, evil Devil, evil God and evil Fiend. Other malignant spirits such as ghouls, phantom and hag-demon were frequently added to the list. These were the principal spirits but they formed only a

single class of the powers of evil which might attack man. Witchcraft, sorcery, the Evil Eye, the Evil Tongue, and the Evil Man, were all enemies which the exorcist had to expel (Thompson, 1903:XXXIII). Divination was one means of communication with these evil forces.

Divination

Although divination is very broad in scope and practice, it can be reduced to three main concepts. First, there is prediction. Man needs to know the will of the gods in order to bring some security into his life. Secondly, there is treatment. When disaster or evil does strike, the diviner is prepared to exorcise the evil spirits. And thirdly, there is prevention. The ways in which evil may be averted constitute a major part of the diviner's repertoire and the Evil Eye appears to be one of the most potent forces with which the diviner had to contend.

A great deal of our knowledge about the Mesopotamian religious beliefs comes from the Divination or Omen Texts from the royal library at Nineveh. These divination texts comprise the largest single category of Mesopotamian literature and reflect the official world view held by the court and the temple as well as the belief of the common people (Hallo:158). Medical texts show that religion and medicine were inextricably combined, for the medical practitioner frequently consulted the "omen texts" of the diviner. From among the diversity of methods and techniques available to the doctor and the diviner, extipacy was a primary

method of foretelling the future (Oppenheim, 1977:207). /2/

Medicine was a well-recognized art and for every disease there was an appropriate drug; but at the same time, all sickness was thought to be caused by demons and evil spirits which thronged the universe, and the doctor, while attending to the physical symptoms, must exorcise the demons and evil spirits as well (Woolley, 1965:127). According to popular belief many illnesses were the result of the Evil Eye. Incantation texts were written for the purpose of driving diseases out of the body and many of these incantations allude to the Evil Eye or name it directly as the cause of illness. For example, a document called the "Tablet of the Evil Eye" was composed, as Thompson says, "with the express purpose of affording relief to those unfortunate wights who ... have come under the influence of the Evil Eye" (1904:XIII). Thus illness and the Evil Eye become almost synonymous.

This incantation text was used as a form of treatment but prevention was also fervently sought and the ways of preventing or averting the Evil Eye are both numerous and varied. The eye itself, as an amulet, was one of the most potent forms of protection and was used by kings and commoners alike both in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. In Mesopotamia, amulets fashioned into eye-stones were worn as jewellery (Langdon, 1923:9) and in Egypt, the Wedjet-Eyes (the Eyes of Horus) were powerful amulets worn as protection against the Evil Eye (Watterson:103). Most eye symbolism pertained to the living, during the early period in

Mesopotamia but, over time, man's ideas began to change. With the belief in a personal god came a new awareness of death and the after-life. Therefore an understanding of these factors will be useful in the interpretation of eye symbolism.

The After Life

Mesopotamian literature paints a gloomy picture of the after-life. The abode of the dead is located beneath the earth and its inhabitants eke out a wretched existence in darkness, eating dust and drinking dirty water (Moscati:76). If the living forget to furnish the dead with food and drink or if they forget to bury the dead, these souls return in the form of demons and evil spirits to molest the living. Thus the Mesopotamian has a dismal prospect beyond the grave where the soul wanders ceaselessly in search of remembrance (Moscati:76). There was no system of reward or punishment; no heaven or hell. Man's prayers and devotion were aimed at temporal and material rewards, limited to this world only. The eyes of the gods were only on the living and did not follow man into the "land from which there is no return" (Woolley, 1965:121). Therefore death was to be avoided and delayed as long as possible. Nevertheless, by the end of the second millennium a heightened interest in death and the netherworld developed and found expression in stories and descriptions of the netherworld and its inhabitants (Jacobsen, 1976:228). The Mesopotamians believed the Netherworld to be enclosed by seven walls with seven gates tended by Nerdu, the

gate-keeper, (Jacobsen, 1976:224) and ruled over by Nergal and his consort, Ereškigal. Nergal had his followers, which were the evil spirits and demons that caused disease and sickness for man (Budge, 1975:115). The netherworld had a judicial assembly, the Anunnaki, which was presided over sometimes by the sun god, as he travels nightly through the netherworld, or by the moon god on the days the moon is invisible, or by Gilgamesh (Jacobsen, 1976:228). Thus death, disease and the netherworld have now become personified and man is stalked by the Eyes of Death and the Eyes of Sickness, the ultimate Evil Eyes.

The ubiquity of death and disease made the Mesopotamian's life a constant struggle in an effort to ward off these evil spirits and demons of the netherworld. Nergal, ruler of the netherworld, Pazuzu, king of the evil spirits of the air, and Lamashtu a fierce female demon were represented in monstrous animal form with huge, round bulging eyes and were commonly used as potent prophylactics. The iconography in the Popular Religion emphasizes man's fear of death symbolized by the Evil Eyes of sickness and death.

Iconography

Amulets

The iconography of the demon Pazuzu (Pl.41:1,2,3) reveals the awe that was inspired in the Mesopotamians by evil spirits. On a bronze statuette in the Louvre, Pazuzu is described in an inscription as saying: "I am Pazuzu, the son of Hanpu, king of

the evil spirits of the air” (Budge, 1930:113). Georges Perrot calls him the demon of the South-West Wind (81), while Parrot sees him as the personification of the scorching wind of Mesopotamia that brings storms, fever and, no doubt, malaria (1961c:117). Pazuzu appears in monstrous animal form with fierce, round, bulging eyes and it was believed that evil would befall anyone on whom certain evil spirits merely cast an eye (Thompson, 1903:XXVI). This statuette had a ring on the top of the head for suspension and was used as an amulet for protection from the evil spirits.

Another image of Pazuzu (Pl.33:1) appears on a bronze plaque dating to the Old Babylonian Period. It shows Pazuzu overlooking a grisly scene of sickness caused by the female monster, Lamashtu and other demons (Budge, 1930:113). The purpose of this plaque was to expel the evil spirits which had possessed the sick man, shown lying on his bed near the bottom of the plaque. This apotropaion is similar to a plaque discovered by Mallowan at Nimrud (Pl.41:3) dating to about the 7th or 6th century B.C. The two plaques are identical except for the shape of the head of Pazuzu. While the Babylonian head represents a more realistic art form, the later, more stylized head loses none of the awe-inspiring qualities of its predecessor. These two plaques clearly emphasize that man's belief in evil spirits remained undiminished down into the sixth century B.C. where the eye was still believed to be a potent force for evil.

One further iconographic example of this ubiquitous belief

again features Pazuzu, this time on the Pazuzu-Nergal plaque (Pl.33:2). Pazuzu with his baleful eyes is on one side of the plaque and Nergal, god of the netherworld, who also has enormous, round, staring eyes, is on the other. In every other respect this plaque resembles the ones already discussed and was believed to be efficacious in exorcising the demons of sickness.

The iconography of Pazuzu is only one small example but it helps to illustrate the Mesopotamian belief in, and fear of, evil spirits with their evil eyes.

Cuneiform Texts

Copies of transliterations and translations of several Cuneiform incantations and tablets dealing with sickness and the Evil Eye have been included with the Plates, which should be helpful in understanding the symbolism of the eye.

The first example is an incantation for sickness from Tablet "C" (Pls.48,49) which reads:

"Sickness of the head, of the teeth, of the heart,
heartache,
Sickness of the eye, fever, poison (?),
Evil Spirit, evil Demon, evil Ghost, evil Devil,
evil God, evil Fiend,
Hag-demon, Ghoul, Robber-sprite,
Phantom of Night, Night Wraith, Handmaiden
of the Phantom,
Evil pestilence, noisome fever, baneful sickness,
Pain, sorcery, or any evil,
Headache, shivering, (?), terror, (?), (?),
Roaming the streets, dispersed through dwellings,
penetrating bolts,
Evil man, he whose face is evil, he whose mouth
is evil, he whose tongue is evil,
Evil spell, witchcraft, sorcery,
Enchantment and all evil,
From the house go forth!

Unto the man, the son of his god, come not nigh,
 Get thee hence!
 In his seat sit thou not,
 On his couch lie thou not,
 Over his fence rest thou not,
 Into his chamber enter thou not,
 By Heaven and Earth I exorcise thee,
 That thou mayest depart.
 (Thompson, 1903:145).

This incantation is meant to exorcise the evil spirits of sickness. All of the evil spirits are listed, and by inference, the Evil Eye, in order to cover off every possible source of evil which is the cause of the sickness, and thereby exorcising them by "Heaven and Earth". Here we see the belief in the power of the "name" of deity to ward off evil = sickness = the Evil Eye.

Table "J" (Pl. 45:2) is another incantation against the evil spirits of sickness in which the evil eye is implied and is an integral part of the concept of evil generally. It reads:

The evil Spirit (and) Fever of the desert,
 O Pestilence that hast touched the man for harm,
 The evil Spirit which hath cast its glance on the
 man,
 The evil [Demon] which hath enshrouded the
 man,

 (Thompson, 1903:183).

From this incantation it is clear that all evil Spirits may be regarded as Evil Eyes.

A reference that man may also be the source of the evil eye is found in Tablet XVI in the "Prayer of the Hair of the Yellow Goat (and) the Kid" (Pl. 46 and 47).

Incantation: -

"He that is evil is evil,
 That man is evil:
 That man among men is evil.

In the midst of mankind
 They have let (him) lurk (like) a snake;
 That man is set among men as a cord that is
 stretched out for a net
 He hath sprinkled the man as with venom,
 The terror of him stifling his cries.
 Where his evil pain (hath smitten)
 It hath torn his heart . . .
 Spirit, evil eye, evil god . . .
 Hunting the sheep fold . . .
 Hunting the cattle-pen . . .
 His side the man . . .
 His side the man . . .
 Unto his heart Shamash . . . hath spoken
 By this (incantation) may Shamash remove his
 hand,
 O my lord Ea! Thine is the power to brighten
 and bless!
 (Thompson, 1903:113).

This incantation indicates the popular belief that the gods use men as instruments of evil which is directed against other men and, in this instance, in the form of the Evil Eye.

According to Budge, evil spirits and the Evil Eye have "from time immemorial been regarded as one and the same, and it is for this reason that among many peoples . . . the Evil Eye has been regarded as a being with a form and a personality" (1930:356). Budge's view appears to be borne out by the literary documents of the "popular" and the "state" religions. For example, Tablet "U" is an exorcism incantation called the "Tablet of the Evil Eye" (Pls. 50, 51, 52, & 53) which states:

(Obverse)
 "The . . . which bindeth,
 A demon which envelopeth the man,
 The . . . bringing trouble, which bindeth,
 The . . . heavy (?) upon the land,
 Bringing sickness upon men,
 The roving Evil Eye
 Hath looked on the neighbourhood and hath
 vanished far away,
 Hath looked on the vicinity and hath vanished

far away,

Hath looked on the chamber of the land and
hath vanished far away,

It hath looked on the wanderer
And like wood cut off for poles it hath bent his
neck.

Ea hath seen this man and

Hath placed food at his head,
Hath brought food nigh to his body,
Hath shown favour for his life--

Thou man, son of his god,

May the food with which I have made an
"atonement" for thy body

Assuage thy sickness, and thou be restored,
That thy foot may stand in the land of life;

Thou man, son of his god,

The Eye which hath looked on thee for harm,

The Eye which hath looked on thee for evil,

Which in

(Reverse)

May 'Ba'u smite [it] with flax,

May Gunura [strike (?) it] with a great oar (?).

Like rain which is let fall from heaven

Directed unto earth,

So may Ea, King of the Deep, remove it from
thy body.

(Thompson, 1904:113-117).

The personification of the evil eye, clearly evident in this
incantation, finds a parallel in the Enuma Elish:

"He of supreme intelligence, skillful, capable,
Ea, comprehending everything,
sought a stratagem against them.

He formed, yea, he fixed against him
the configuration of the All,

skillfully made his overpowering sacred spell.

He recited it so that he quieted down
in the waters,

poured slumber over him,

so that he soundly slept."

(Jacobsen, 1976:172).

In the interpretation of this version of the myth, Ea's
spell, which is symbolized by the power of the word, overcame
Apsu's evil eyes, which are symbolized by the cloak of fiery rays
(Jacobsen, 1946:174). The personification of the evil eye is by

association, following Cirlot's "principle of sufficient identity", if the person is evil then his eyes are evil" (Cirlot: XLI). These references to Ea and the personification of the evil eye show the blending and overlapping of the "state" and the "popular" religions and leave no doubt about the Mesopotamians' belief in, and fear of, the Evil Eye as a separate entity.

The concept of the evil eye might be postulated to have originated in the Enuma Elish with Tiamat and her brood as the source of all evil:

"Angry, scheming, restless day and night,
they are bent on fighting, rage and prowl like lions.
Gathered in council, they plan the attack.
Mother Hubur--creator of all forms--
adds irresistible weapons, has borne monster serpents,
sharp toothed, with fang unsparing;
has filled their bodies with poison for blood.
Fierce dragons she has draped with terror,
crowned with flame and made like gods,
so that whoever looks upon them shall perish with fear,
and they, with bodies raised, will not turn back their
breast."
(Jacobsen, 1946:175).

These evil forces are ranged against Marduk but he also is fearful in battle:

"With his fearsome halo his head was turbaned,
The lord went forth and followed his course,
Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face.
In his lips he held a spell;"
(Speiser, 1958:33).

Van Buren (1945:48) suggests that "Marduk, in his fight with Tiamat, held between his lips an eye of red paste", and that Marduk used the eye as a talisman for protection against Tiamat. If Van Buren's interpretation is correct, it lends weight to the theory that an eye was used as an amulet to ward off the evil

influences of the original Evil Eyes of Tiamat. However, in Speiser's interpretation of Tablet IV of the Enuma Elish he says of Marduk: "In his lips he held a spell" (1958:33). The accuracy of the interpretation is not as important as the fact that both authors are in agreement that an amulet of some sort was used for protection against the Evil Eyes of Tiamat, the personification of evil.

From a different point of view, eye symbolism in the Enuma Elish appears to support Speiser's interpretation that what Marduk held between his lips and what conquered Tiamat was a "word of power" (Jacobsen, 1946:174), his magic spell, and not an eye of red paste.

Marduk had no need for such a talisman for when the gods conferred kingship on him, his word became the creative force in the universe, more powerful than the eye. In the Enuma Elish one reads, for example: "He spoke, and at his word the constellation was destroyed. He spoke again and the constellation was reconstructed. . . . The gods, his fathers, seeing the power of his word rejoiced" (Jacobsen, 1946:176). Thus in Mesopotamia the creative force of the universe was the word of the god.

A very close parallel to this aspect of the Mesopotamian creation epic is found in the Old Testament in Genesis 1:3 : "And God said 'Let there be light'; and there was light. And God saw that the light was good" (RSV).

Another interesting parallel emerges from the Egyptian

creation myths. In Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, the text reads "The Word came into being. All things were mine when I was alone. I was Re in all His manifestations" (Clark:79).

Another parallel comes from a hymn to Amon Re which reads:

"Thou art the sole one, who made all that is, The solitary one who made all that exists; From whose eyes mankind came forth" (Moscati:133).

In all three religions it becomes apparent that creativity depended upon both the mouth and the eye and once creation had been accomplished, the all-seeing eyes of the gods focussed on man. One might conclude from this that the Mesopotamians and Egyptians, and perhaps the Hebrews, believed in an all-seeing Eye-God.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

The documentary and iconographic evidence for eye symbolism conclusively shows that the Mesopotamian's religious beliefs were based on a clear cut discrimination between fear and fascination and good and evil. From the perspective of the "state" religion, the positive aspects of the dualism between good and evil encompass one part of the Mesopotamian's world view. From the earliest conception of the gods as the forces of nature, down through the millennia to the idea of the gods as rulers, to the rise of the personal god, the Mesopotamians believed themselves to be constantly under the watchful eyes of their gods.

The concept of the duality between order and chaos, good and evil, is found in the Enuma Elish where the gods are the personification of this duality. The Egyptians had a similar belief in the duality—between good and evil but duality for the Egyptians was viewed as a development of unity in the two complementary forces of light and darkness.

Fear was a large component of Mesopotamian religion, not only as a confrontation with the "wholly other" but as an instinctive fear of being seen or looked at. It was not so much the evil eye of other men that brought out this reaction as it was the evil eye of the gods. The documentary evidence clearly shows the all-seeing nature of the great gods such as Anu as the sky god, Enlil as the wind god, and Shamash and Sin as the sun

and moon gods, and there was no escaping the eyes of these gods. The Mesopotamians even identified themselves with particular eye-deities in their use of proper names.

Additional evidence for eye symbolism appears, once again, in the Enuma Elish in the four-dimensionality of Marduk where "four" becomes a symbol for wholeness and unification. Symbols link all orders of reality from the natural order, as a whole, to the supernatural order. Thus the eye is the major symbol of a generalized conception of deity. As man's awareness and understanding develops, the concept of deity becomes specialized so that the eye symbol can be used with any deity, male or female, to show the all-seeing, divine quality of the god.

The iconography reflects the theme of the sacred which comes through most clearly in the eye symbolism on the various art forms from Mesopotamia, Anatolia and Egypt.

On statues, the multiplicity of eyes, and the alienation of nature in the form of grotesque figurines and of disproportionately large eyes represent the artist's conception of deity. A sense of caring or concern, even a watchfulness, emerges from eye symbolism as man remains the focus of the god's attention.

Cylinder seals provide a running commentary on culture and religious beliefs, showing that the eye as a symbol has remained constant from the very beginning to the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

Votive offerings and amulets are evidence of man's need for protection and his dependency on the gods for security. The eye-

idols at Tell Brak strongly point to a belief in an Eye god. Since the majority of eye-idols were made from white alabaster it is reasonable to speculate that the popular deity at Tell Brak was Enki, Lord Earth, not the mother goddess Ninhursag as some authors claim. The reed hut symbol of the goddess Inanna has been suggested in reality to be an eye symbol (see above p. 60) which means that there is growing evidence for a universal belief in an all-seeing Eye god.

Miscellaneous objects show not only the prevalence of the eye symbol in Mesopotamian art, but also, in their interpretation, the concept of the good eye and the evil eye comes through as well.

Eye symbolism on pottery and stone vessels, from Prehistoric to late Assyrian times, had a cultic function usually representing the benevolent eyes of the gods. However, the evil eye is always a possibility in any interpretation of the eye symbols.

The discussion on the morphology of forms shows the eye to be one of the basic shapes in the universe, standing for the abstract symbol of deity as a whole and is therefore found in the Egyptian and Israelite religions as well. Stylized, abstract and realistic eye symbolism may be understood as symbols representing deity, but at the same time could also have an apotropaic significance.

From the perspective of the "popular" religion, the negative aspects of the dualism between good and evil reflect the other

side of the Mesopotamian's world view. In this popular religion fear predominates; fear of evil spirits, evil demons, evil gods, and the Evil Eye. But man's instinctive fear of the eye, of being seen or looked at, was the primary reason for the Mesopotamian's dwelling on the negative aspects of the duality. The concept of evil was so overwhelming that it led to the classification and personification of the evil forces in the world. The Evil Eye personified all forms of illness. Illness was therefore seen as evil but at the same time illness was willed by the gods. Hence divination was the method commonly used in determining the will of the gods and thereby averting impending evil.

Incantation texts, as well as amulets and charms, were the common forms used by the masses for protection in warding off the baleful influences of the Evil Eye. But the Enuma Elish records that evil and the Evil Eye originated with the gods. Thus belief and fear of the Evil Eye underlies both positive and negative aspects of religion and is the reason for the Mesopotamian's dwelling on the negative aspect of the duality.

The iconography and the literary documents show conclusively that the all-seeing eyes of the gods were directed towards man. The creation texts of the Mesopotamians, the Egyptians and perhaps the Israelites all point to the belief in an all-seeing Eye God.

In discussing eye symbolism the conclusions reached have been that eyes represent either the protective and benevolent eyes of deity or the malevolent evil eyes. However, the concept

of the evil eye appears in the positive aspect or "state" religion as well as in the negative, or "popular" religion of the Mesopotamians as evidenced by the iconography and by the literary documents. Conversely, there are positive elements to be found in the negative or "popular" religion when appeals are made to exorcise sickness and the Evil Eye in the name of the great gods. Thus the division into "positive" and "negative" aspects of Mesopotamian religion leads to an understanding that while there is a clear-cut discrimination between good and evil the positive and negative aspects must be combined to make one whole "Mesopotamian religion". Although good and bad properly belong in both parts to some degree, the evidence clearly indicates that the Mesopotamians dwelt mainly on the negative aspects of their religion.

The eye, as a universal symbol, has the greatest potential for psychic evolution for it looks away from the inferior towards the superior. According to Jung, the universal symbol is the numinous, structural element of the psyche which enables it to attract certain contents out of the conscious mind, which act as transformers to convert the forces motivating mental life from a lower to a higher form (Cirlot:XXXV). This means that there is an intermediate realm, between the oneness of the soul and the variety of the universe, where there is an image of the world in the soul and of the soul in the world; it is the place of symbolism working in areas prepared by the universal symbols, whether or not it is consciously perceived (Cirlot:XXXV). Thus it

becomes apparent that the iconography of eye symbols in Mesopotamia reflects the evolution of "the soul", in the Jungian sense of that word, and man's striving for awareness. This evolution of the soul closely parallels the evolution of religion.

In the Mesopotamian's changing world view, justice becomes important, death is seen as evil and the personal god rises to prominence. Evil and illness, which are still viewed as attacks by demons, are no longer accidental happenings, and the gods, by allowing them to happen, are responsible. Thus human moral and ethical values conflict with divine will as man accepts the inevitability of death. However, it is the last step for the Mesopotamians; their time has run out. But as they fade from world view the development of the soul continues in the new thought patterns of the Israelites of the Old Testament.

PART II: ISRAEL

Chapter 5

INTRODUCTION

When human moral and ethical values conflict with divine will, man is forced into a new awareness of reality. This new awareness, which found expression in the literature of the Old Testament, points out the major differences between the religion of the Mesopotamians and that of the Israelites in the concept of the eye and in the duality between good and evil. These differences became evident in the kinds of data available for comparison between Mesopotamia and Israel.

In Mesopotamia we find an abundance of iconography relating to the divine but relatively little (translated) literature. However, in Israel the reverse is true; there is little or no religious iconography but an abundance of literature. For this reason the eye symbolism of the Mesopotamians appears to have a much broader basis in belief than the eye symbolism of the Israelites. The iconography indicates that the Mesopotamians and their neighbours dwelt mainly on the negative aspects of the eye with the belief that protection from the Evil Eye was of paramount importance.

In Israel, however, eye symbolism appears mainly through the metaphors of the written language. It is evident that the writers of the Old Testament dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism in order to suppress what they regarded as the magical and superstitious beliefs common to the peoples of the ancient

Near East. The purpose of this suppression was threefold: to stress the unique power of Yahweh, to show that the Israelites were Yahweh's chosen people, and to show Yahweh as a moral being within the Israelite conception of monotheism. In this religion the belief in only one God sets the Israelites apart from the "exuberant polytheism of the surrounding peoples" (Moscatti:251). In addition, God must not be represented, and this accounts for the lack of iconography in Israelite art, although divine figures are a principal subject of the representational art of the Mesopotamians. Finally, the name of God is ineffable, (Moscatti:251) a name so sacred that its utterance constitutes a sin. This monotheistic religion holds that God is not only righteous but benevolent and the religious writers emphasize the divine qualities of justice and mercy. However, the concept of the duality between good and evil plays an important role in understanding the eye symbolism of the Israelites, for it raises the question: "How is it that suffering and sin (evil) exist in a world created by a good and all-wise God?" (Irwin:271). According to Isaiah 45:7 we read: "I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." (KJV). Thus good and evil originate with God. But evil could also derive from man's freedom of choice. Man's greed, envy, hate and aggression are concentrated in his "heart" and projected outward through the eye in a destructive manner; hence the popular belief in the evil eye. While biblical references stress the positive aspects of eye symbolism, references for the evil eye, abound in

the "folk religion" of the Israelites. The Israelite belief system then, may be compared to the Mesopotamian world view in which the Torah corresponds to the Mesopotamian "state" religion, and the "folk religion" closely parallels the Mesopotamian "popular" religion of the common people.

The eye symbolism in the Old Testament indicates the wide range of expression and communication of which the eye is capable. The eye may, in effect, stand for the whole person and be virtually equivalent to the first personal pronoun, or "my soul" (Hebrew naphshi) which is the equivalent of "me". Within this wider context the eye can be specialized as the seat of almost all of the emotions and functions of personality, both good and bad. The eye is the most striking and most "alive" feature of the face. As "the window of the soul" the eye is an index of life and presence of the life force, for example in weeping, flashing in anger, brightness in health, becoming dim in sickness or being closed in death. Not only does the eye symbolize the physical function of seeing but the whole process of cognition and understanding, which will be discussed under the positive and negative aspects of eye symbolism.

Chapter 6

BIBLICAL REFERENCES TO EYE SYMBOLISM

Positive Aspects of Eye Symbolism

Functions of Seeing

The first, and most obvious use of the eye is in the ordinary, physical functions of seeing which would include dreams, sorrow, and death. If we take the passage in Genesis 13:8-10 at face value, we find an example of the ordinary function of seeing:

"Then Abram said to Lot, 'Let there be no strife between you and me, and between your herdsmen and my herdsmen; for we are kinsmen. Is not the whole land before you? Separate yourself from me. . . .'. And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the Jordan valley was well watered everywhere like the garden of the LORD, like the land of Egypt in the direction of Zo'ar; . . ." (RSV).

The phrase "lifted up his eyes" is a favourite device of Old Testament writers to dramatize the act of looking and seeing.

In Genesis 16:13: Hagar says:

" . . . , 'thou art a God of seeing'; for she said, 'Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?'" (RSV).

Two things are going on here; Hagar sees God, but God as all-knowing and all-seeing, also sees Hagar. The writer takes every opportunity to emphasize the nature and power of God.

In the Old Testament the physical aspect of seeing can also be expressed in a dream. Jacob says, in Genesis 31:10:

"In the mating season of the flock I lifted up my eyes, and saw in a dream that the he-

goats which leaped upon the flock were striped, spotted and mottled."

There appears to be no conflict here in the sense of "seeing in a dream" and seeing while awake. We use the same language when describing a vivid dream. By the observation of the natural process of breeding animals, whether in a dream or wide awake, Jacob became a better farmer than his father-in-law and so was able to outwit Lavan.

The eye may also symbolize sorrow as we see in Jeremiah 13:17:

"But if you will not listen, my soul will weep in secret for your pride; my eyes will weep bitterly and run down with tears, because the LORD'S flock has been taken captive." (RSV).

Jeremiah is lamenting Judah's fate and the fall of the nation. The expression "eyes run down with tears" is a favourite term of Jeremiah to express grief and sorrow; while in Lamentations, "eyes flow with tears" or "eyes cause me grief" is preferred by other authors. The eye symbolism in Jeremiah is very strong. The weeping eye is a universal symbol for sorrow and it graphically and dramatically illustrates the nature of Jeremiah's prophecies.

There is only a very brief reference to the eye in death, found in Genesis 46:4:

"... Joseph's hands shall close your eyes."

(RSV)

symbolizing the last act of filial piety.

In this category then, we find that the eye symbolizes physical sight, dreams, death and sorrow.

Cognition and Understanding

The physical aspect of seeing is sometimes combined with, and indeed is almost inseparable from, the whole process of cognition and understanding. For example in Genesis 3:4-7 we find this passage:

"But the serpent said to the woman, 'You will not die. For God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil.' So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made themselves aprons." (RSV).

The expressions, "the woman saw that the tree was good for food" and "it was a delight to the eyes" refer, of course, to the function of seeing, while the term "the eyes of both were opened" refers to awareness, knowledge or understanding.

A similar reference comes from Job 42:5:

"I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees thee;" (RSV).

This cannot mean that Job actually saw God; he says "my eye sees, thee", one eye, singular. The eye in this case symbolizes understanding or spiritual knowledge about the nature of God.

Isaiah 6:10 further illustrates this point:

"Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed." (RSV).

The setting is in Isaiah's call to prophecy. The people will hear

God's message and they are not to be deceived. Since they do not perceive, the nation is to be exterminated like an owl.

List or Desire

The "eye" is often used in such a way as to be almost synonymous with "list" or "desire". For example Genesis 39 reads:]

"And after a time his master's wife cast her eyes upon Joseph, and said to him: 'Lie with me'."
(RSV).

The meaning is explicit enough, however, the expression, "cast her eyes upon Joseph" suggests that Potiphar's wife first looked and saw that Joseph was handsome and good looking, which is her own cognition and understanding, but then she also looked at him seductively, which would require cognition and understanding on Joseph's part. So in this case the eyes communicate or symbolize desire and recognition of desire.

Similarly, in Isaiah 3:16 Isaiah castigates the women of Jerusalem:

"The LORD said: Because the daughters of Zion are haughty and walk with outstretched necks, glancing wantonly with their eyes, mincing along as they go, tinkling with their feet:"

(RSV).

The term "glancing wantonly with their eyes" can mean "seductive glances," "falsely setting off their eyes with paint," or "to blink coquettishly," and such are the customs of prostitutes (Clarke:567). Therefore, through eye symbolism Isaiah compares Jerusalem to a harlot or prostitute.

Judgement or Opinion

Besides cognition and understanding the eye might also symbolize judgment or opinion. This is evident in a number of passages. In 1 Samuel 15:17 Samuel says:

"Though you are little in your own eyes, are you not the head of the tribes of Israel? The LORD anointed you king over Israel." (RSV).

Saul evidently has a poor opinion of himself, but understandably so, since his efforts have been undermined by Samuel, the leader of the prophetic party (Micklem:391).

Job on the other hand, is just the opposite and thinks too highly of himself. Job 32:1:

"So these three men ceased to answer Job, because he was righteous in his own eyes." (RSV).

In Jeremiah 7:11, however, there is judgement or opinion in a different sense:

"Has this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes?" (RSV).

The people obviously have a poor opinion of God's house. Jeremiah says that the Lord cannot understand how people who behave so wickedly can come to God's house and expect salvation.

Health or Illness

The eye in the Old Testament symbolizes health or illness by the brightness or dimness of the eye. In 1 Samuel 14:27:

"But Jonathan had not heard his father charge the people with the oath; so he put forth the tip of the staff that was in his hand, and

dipped it in the honeycomb, and put his hand to his mouth; and his eyes became bright." (RSV).

And in Psalms 38:10 we find:

"My heart throbs, my strength fails me; and the light of my eyes-it also has gone from me." (RSV).

Brightness of the eye symbolizes life and vitality similar to the breath or ruah (wind) of life (Wolff:32). This "wind" or breath, as man's vital power, is given by God (RSV, Isaiah 42:5). The eye when it is bright, symbolizes health, vigour and well-being. However, dimming of the eye means loss of the life force and when the light has gone from the eye altogether it means death.

Humility

The eye symbolism for humility, though scarce in the Old Testament, may be found in 2 Kings 10:5 and in Psalms 123:2. In 2 Kings 10:5 the authorities of the city of Samaria and the guardians of Ahab's sons, replied to Jehu's letters:

"We will not make anyone king; do whatever is good in your eyes." (RSV).

Jehu's revolution, therefore, is unopposed and the leaders of Samaria humbly submit to him. However the submission seems more an act of fear than true humility. Perhaps a better example is found in Psalms 123:2:

"Behold, as the eyes of servants look to the hand of their master, as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so our eyes look to the LORD our God, till he have mercy upon us." (RSV).

Eye symbolism in this instance refers to a position of

lowliness and a way of acting toward God and man (Mendenhall: 659).

Pity

It is interesting to note that while my research revealed only two references for humility, relating to the eye symbol, there is only one positive reference symbolizing pity; seven others are on the negative side. The positive reference is found in Ezekiel 20:17:

"Nevertheless my eye spared them, and I did not destroy them or make a full end of them in the wilderness." (RSV).

Deuteronomy 7:16 illustrates the negative aspect of pity.

Moses is instructing the people on entering Canaan:

"And you shall destroy all the peoples that the LORD your God will give over to you, your eye shall not pity them; neither shall you serve their gods, for that would be a snare to you."

The Israelites are instructed not to have pity or sympathy for the people of Canaan, whose land the Israelites are about to usurp. The eye symbolism emphasizes the fear of syncretization and the adoption of Canaanite beliefs. It is also a reminder of what it means to be Yahweh's chosen people and the "temptations of culture" (Anderson:316). The maintenance of covenant purity meant the institution of the harem, the total destruction of the inhabitants of Canaan during the time the Israelites were first entering Canaan. The author of Deuteronomy took the address of Moses, a part of an old legal tradition, and re-interpreted it

for the people of the seventh century B.C., to recall the people to the original faith of the Mosaic period. Josiah used this Deuteronomic Torah as the basis of his reform. Thus the eye symbolism of an earlier period became current in the seventh century B.C. as a reminder of Israel's past and as a covenant renewal.

Favour

Favour is another category, under which the eye symbol may appear. Although "favour" could be applied to the larger category of "God's eyes", it will be dealt with separately under this heading. In Genesis 6:8, the text states that:

"Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord."
(RSV).

Noah found favour in God's eyes because he alone was a righteous man in his generation; that is, he never departed from the truth in principle or practice and he did all that God commanded (Anderson:386). The biblical writer is emphasizing that God's eyes are continually on mankind. God sees man's wickedness and determines to destroy his creation, all except Noah and his family. Here is another example of the universality of an all-seeing omniscient God.

Turning to Isaiah 43:4 we find,

"Because you are precious in my eyes, and honoured, and I love you, I give men in return for you, peoples in exchange for your life." (RSV).

Generally this means that God often saved his people at the

expense of other nations. This may refer to the deliverance of Jerusalem from the invasion of Sennacherib. Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, had come out to war against the king of Assyria, who was thereupon obliged to raise the siege on Jerusalem. Thus the Ethiopians and her allies, the Egyptians and Sabaeans, were delivered into the hands of the Assyrians as a ransom for Israel (Clarke:596).

Favour, from a different perspective, may be seen in Psalm 17:8:

"Keep me as the apple of the eye; hide me in the shadow of thy wings." (RSV).

In this Psalm the writer is seeking God's favour and protection. Eyes can not only symbolize the seeking of favour but also the bestowal of favour by God.

The Eyes of God

In discussing the symbolism of God's eyes, we find that, like Noah, Uzziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, Josiah and others did what was right in the "eyes of the Lord". But Ahaz and Manasseh did what was evil in "the sight of the Lord". This moralistic view of right and wrong in God's eyes is a major theme of the Old Testament. God's eyes are related to judgement and opinion in human life, only stronger, since God's opinion is the divine will which controls the world and human history.

From a different perspective, man asks God to open his eyes. In 1 Kings 8:52 Solomon is praying to God:

"Let thy eyes be open to the supplication of

thy servant," (RSV).

And similarly, in Daniel 9:18:

"... open thy eyes and behold our desolations," (RSV).

The term "open thy eyes" does not mean that God is sleeping and must be awakened, rather it refers to awareness, understanding, and cognition on God's part in order to answer prayers of supplication and entreaty. But when God's eyes are closed towards a person, that person cannot expect well-being. Similarly in the reference in Isaiah 1:15, where God hides his eyes:

"When you spread forth your hands, I will hide my eyes from you;" (RSV).

The hidden eyes of God mean withdrawal of divine favour. Thus, through eye symbolism in the Old Testament, the biblical writers clearly show that the life-giving power flows from God's open eyes and becomes important as an attribute of Israel's God as the "living" God.

The dualism between right and wrong, good and evil, permeates both positive and negative aspects of eye symbolism, and in this respect, may be seen to parallel the Mesopotamian belief system. Furthermore, the literature of the Old Testament clearly states that there is no escaping the all-seeing eyes of God.

Negative Aspects of Eye Symbolism

In its developed form Israel's religion is an ethical monotheism in which the sin of man is seen as the counterpart of

the transcendence of God (Irwin:261-2) with punishment as the natural consequence of man's transgression. Therefore, biblical references dealing with sin and punishment document the negative aspects of eye symbolism. Old Testament writers viewed sin not only as an expression of human pride but primarily as rebellion, "either wilful or deliberate or unconscious through 'forgetting' God by absorption in other interests" (Irwin:263).

Arrogance

As a negative symbol, the eye can express arrogance.

Proverbs 6:16-17 state:

"There are six things which the LORD hates, seven which are an abomination to him: haughty eyes, a lying tongue, and hands that shed innocent blood," (RSV).

And again in Proverbs 21:4 one reads that:

"Haughty eyes and a proud heart, the lamp of the wicked, are sin." (RSV).

When taken together, the eye and the heart symbolize the seat of the emotions or the self which is equivalent to "personality" (Dentan:550). Therefore, the meaning is clear, arrogance and pride constitute sin and are the symbols of a wicked man.

Proverbs 30:13 says the same thing in more graphic detail:

"There are those-how lofty are their eyes, how high their eyelids lift!" (RSV).

However, in Isaiah 37:23 we read:

"Whom have you mocked and reviled? Against whom have you raised your voice and haughtily lifted your eyes? Against the Holy One of Israel!" (RSV).

Through eye symbolism Isaiah is saying that the Assyrians behaved arrogantly towards Israel and hence towards Israel's God.

Mockery

The eye may also express mockery; Proverbs 30:17 reads:

"The eye that mocks a father and scorns to obey a mother will be picked out by the ravens of the valley and eaten by the vultures." (RSV).

This verse is reminiscent of the rebellious youth who is stoned to death by the elders in Deuteronomy 21:18-21, but goes one step further to describe his fate after being stoned.

The terms "mock", "scorn" and "scoff" are used synonymously in the Old Testament but the word "scoffer" has the wider application. Unfortunately, "scoffer" is not expressed in terms of eye symbolism. There is only one other related word, "gloat", found in Micah 7:10 that refers to the eye in a similar sense:

"My eyes will gloat over her; now she will be trodden down like the mire of the streets."
(RSV).

The terms "mock" and "gloat" symbolize the negative expressions of the eye which result in punishment. In Proverbs 30:17 punishment will be by the hands of the parents and the elders of the city. In Micah 7:10 God will punish Israel by means of the Babylonian captivity and, in turn, he will punish Israel's enemies by the fall of Babylon at the hands of the Persians and Medes.

Eye as an Object

In the Old Testament, the eye as an object can have both positive and negative connotations. We find in Exodus 21:24, Leviticus 24:20, and Deuteronomy 19:21 laws concerned with acts of violence in which case the punishment requires "an eye for an eye". And similarly in Judges 16:21 we read:

"And the Philistines seized him and gouged out his eyes, and brought him down to Gaza,"
(RSV).

Without entering into the controversy of the Samson stories, we can say that Samson's punishment was twofold: the lust of the eye in looking after and gazing on strange women was punished and his eyes were put out so that he would never again plan an attack on the Philistines.

A positive view of the eye as an object is found in the Song of Solomon 1:15:

"Behold, you are beautiful, my love; behold you are beautiful; your eyes are doves."
(RSV).

Here the bridegroom describes his bride and compares her eyes to the beautiful eyes of the Syrian dove which is supposed to have remarkably fine eyes (Clarke:561). Here we have eye symbolism as a direct comparison.

Envy or Greed

Envy or greed is another category for eye symbolism. In 1 Samuel 2:29 the text reads:

"Why then look with greedy eye at my sacrifices and my offerings which I

commanded, and honour your sins above me by fattening yourselves upon the choicest parts of every offering of my people Israel?" (RSV).

"Look with greedy eyes" means to covet and explains the corrupt behaviour of the priesthood. Verses 32-35 suggest that Eli and his sons will have good reason to "look with envious eye" when the Levitical house of Zadok, the "faithful priest", shall supercede the house of Eli. The references seem to indicate dissention between two priestly factions, the Levitical Eli and the non-Levitical Samuel.

Ecclesiastes 4:7 (RSV) expresses the hopelessness of life in which a man's "eyes are never satisfied with riches," he is always greedy for more.

In Proverbs 23:6 there is a reference to the eye which states:

"Do not eat the bread of a man who is stingy; (lit. whose eye is evil) do not desire his delicacies;" (RSV).

However, "stingy," in the KJV is translated to mean "evil eye". It is interesting to note that its opposite, the "good eye" is found in Proverbs 22:9: (RSV) "He who has a bountiful (good) eye shall be blessed" (Cohen: 270). In Hebrew, "evil" has a qualitative sense when it is judged by its appearance or effects. Therefore, something is evil when it is judged, for example, to be worthless, corrupt, displeasing, ugly, sad, painful or injurious (De Vries:182). According to Brav (46) there is no mention of the Evil Eye in the Bible, for the term "rah ayin" means a jealous or envious eye, a miser's eye. However, "rah

ʿayin" also means "bad eye", rah being taken from the root רָחַ , meaning "to be bad" (De Vries:182). Brav insists that it was the writers of the Talmud who tried to inject the "evil eye" into the Bible by means of interpretation (46). Cohen, however, recognizes that "the dread of the Evil Eye was universal in past ages and still persists among the uneducated" (270) and that it was precisely these magical and superstitious practices which the biblical writers so vehemently denounced. Nevertheless, if no references to the Evil Eye are to be found in the Bible, they certainly abound in the Talmud and in the "folk religion" of the common people.

Chapter 7

THE CONCEPT OF THE EVIL EYE

After the fall of Jerusalem (596 B.C.) the Jewish community recognized the evil eye as two distinct types of supernatural phenomena. In the one aspect there are certain baneful potencies which are inherent in the "evil" eye itself so that some men are born "jettatori" whose every glance sheds rays of destruction (Trachtenberg: 54). Some jettatori are unaware of their dreadful influence until some sad experience enlightens them; others are recognizable by the peculiar and striking appearance of their eyes. The Rabbis who were accredited with the power to turn men into "a heap of dry bones" with a glance or to cause whatever their gaze fell upon to burst into flames, belong to this type of (evil eye) belief system. This form of the evil eye was believed to have been introduced into Israelite thought through the writers of the Babylonian Talmud (Trachtenberg: 54).

In the other aspect, the evil eye belief is rooted in the conviction that the gods and the spirits are man's adversaries and are envious of his good fortune. Therefore, man apprehends the envy of the gods and the envy of his fellow-men as the "evil eye" (Trachtenberg:54). Menasseh b. Israel wrote in Nishmat Hayim, III,27:

"Demons are like men; when a man receives praise in the presence of his enemy, the latter is filled with anger and reveals his discomfiture, for envy consumes his heart like a raging fire, and he cannot contain himself." (Trachtenberg: 54).

Thus a look or glance of envy, jealousy and hate constitutes the concept of the evil eye. In the Palestinian Talmud the evil eye is an expression of the moral powers of envy and hatred and prevailed in later Jewish life.

The Babylonian Talmud reveals very clearly the conflict between the rational doctrines of the Bible and the popular beliefs and superstitions which pervaded the world in which the Jews lived. (Cohen: 274). The similarity between the Talmud and the Omen Texts of the Mesopotamians becomes apparent, in one sense, in that both contain incantations, amulets and magic formulae as a means of protection from the evil eye. It is interesting to note too that the treatment for the evil eye and for the demons is practically the same (Brav: 50).

In the Talmud, "envy" is interpreted as "an ungenerous disposition" and explains the Biblical passage in Deuteronomy 28:54 in which conditions of famine prevail:

"The man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he hath remaining, so that he will not give to any of them the flesh of his children whom he shall eat." (RSV).

The verse:

"Eat thou not the bread of him that hath an evil eye" (Proverbs: 23:6. RSV)

also denotes a lack of generosity. Greed can also suggest the evil eye for Proverbs: 28:22 states:

"He that hath an evil eye hasteth after riches" (Cohen:270).

Other occurrences in the Talmud show that the evil eye (as envy), the evil inclination, and hatred of his fellow-creatures put a man out of joint with the world. For example, in alms-giving there are four dispositions:

"he who desires to give but that others should not give, his eye is evil towards what appertains to others; he that desires that others should give but will not give himself, his eye is evil against what is his own; he who gives and wishes others to give is a saint; he who will not give and does not wish others to give is a wicked man." (Cohen:271).

Another Talmudic passage, with reference to the offering set aside for the priests, states that a generous person (a good eye) gives a fortieth, a person of average disposition gives a fiftieth, and a niggardly person (an evil eye) a sixtieth (Cohen:271).

The Talmud also interprets the evil eye as the spirit of jealousy. For instance, it is written of Saul: "from his shoulders upward he was higher than any of the people." (RSV. 1 Samuel: 9:2), so when Saul clothed David in his apparel and saw that it fitted him, at once the evil eye entered into him. David perceiving that Saul's face had gone white, said to him:

"I cannot go with these, for I have not proved them'";" (1 Samuel:17:39) (Cohen:272).

Another example is Jacob's advice to his sons when they went to Egypt to buy corn:

"You are mighty men and handsome; do not enter through one gate nor stand together in one place, so that the Evil Eye may not have power over you." (Cohen:273).

The story of Sarah and Hagar is also interpreted to convey the

idea that Sarah threw an evil eye upon Hagar as a consequence of jealousy (Brav:46).

In Talmudic times the belief in the Evil Eye was so prevalent that it required rabbinic legislation. For instance, although work is forbidden on the Sabbath, it is permissible to utter an oath against the Evil Eye (Moss:6). The priestly blessing, "God bless thee and protect thee." is, according to Rabbinic interpretation, a protection against the Evil Eye, as well as "The Lord will take away from thee all sickness." (Brav:46). The extent to which the Jews believed in the power of the Evil Eye is evidenced by the fact that an invocation for protection against the Evil Eye has been incorporated in their morning prayer (Brav: 47).

The chief protection against the Evil Eye is to avoid arousing jealousy: "Do not make a display of your possessions, otherwise the envy of your neighbour will be excited and he will look upon them with the Evil Eye." (Cohen: 273). "Individuals can avoid the Evil Eye by shunning publicity" (Cohen: 273). An example from the Talmud shows that: "Although Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah escaped from the fiery furnace, they died from the Evil Eye" (Cohen:273) which means that "Their fame brought them into prominence and that was their undoing." (Cohen:273). Another means of averting the Evil Eye is suggested in the Talmud:

"He who enters a town and is afraid of the Evil Eye, let him take his right thumb in his left hand and his left thumb in his right hand and say the following: 'I, A son of B, come from the seed of Joseph, against whom the Evil Eye has no power.'" (Cohen: 274).

In the case of self-discipline:

"Should he be afraid of his own Evil Eye, let him gaze upon the wing of his left nostril."
(Cohen: 274).

These accounts further emphasize how the Evil Eye was an ordinary component of daily life among the Jews.

Other forms of protection against the Evil Eye fall into the category of amulets. Originally "All ornaments worn on the person seem to have been amulets." (Bloch: 546). Women and children, who were regarded as weaker members of society, wore jewellery not only for ornaments but for protection as charms or amulets. (Bloch: 546). Many different kinds of amulets were used by the Jews as protection against the Evil Eye and some are made known to us through references in the Old Testament. Gold crescents were worn by women (RSV, Isaiah 3:18-22) and by kings (RSV, Judges 8:26) and were tied to the necks of camels (RSV, Judges 8:21) as protection from the Evil Eye (Budge, 1930: 213). Phylacteries or frontlet bands were worn on the hand or between the eyes (RSV, Exodus 13: 9; Deuteronomy, 11:18) and were inscribed with special formulae, for example:

"Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord; And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." (KJV, Deuteronomy 6:4, 5).

Another text is Aaron's blessing:

'The LORD bless thee and keep thee: the LORD make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace."
(KJV, Numbers 24-26).

Amulets with verses for healing and protection were popular, for example Exodus 15:26 states:

"I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the LORD that healeth thee." (KJV)

and from Deuteronomy 7:15:

"And the LORD will take away from thee all sickness," (KJV).

These verses, according to Talmudic interpretations, refer to protection from the Evil Eye (Cohen 272). The belief that sickness was caused by the Evil Eye was apparently as widely held by the Jews as it was by the Mesopotamians and the Egyptians.

The text on another amulet contains a play on words in which the word "ayin" means both "eye" and "well" (Budge, 1930: 319). Genesis 49:22 states that:

"Joseph is a fruitful bough, a fruitful bough by a spring;" (RSV).

This means that the Evil Eye has no power over Joseph or his descendants since "ale ayin" meaning well (spring) is to be read "ole ayin" meaning overcoming the Evil Eye. (Cohen:274).

The mezuzah is another amulet, popular still, which assured one of the Divine protection and, by extension, protection from the Evil Eye (Cohen:152). The word "mezuzah" means "gate-post" or "door-post" and originally referred to a Mesopotamian amulet with a cuneiform inscription, and was affixed to a door-post to keep demons and evil spirits out of the house (Oppenheim, 1977:235). Later the mezuzah was given a religious content by the Israelites in the form of strips of parchment inscribed with the biblical

verses, Deuteronomy 6:4-8 and 9:13-21 (Cohen:152). These were placed in tiny cases and attached to the door-post of the house. Their purpose there was to provide one with a continuous reminder that one lived, even in the privacy of one's home, under the all-seeing eye of God (Cohen:152).

Tassels or fringes tied with blue cords, mentioned in the Old Testament, became amulets in the popular mind. In Numbers 15:38 it is written:

"Speak to the people of Israel, and bid them to make tassels on the corners of their garments throughout their generations, and to put upon the tassel of each corner a cord of blue;" (RSV).

While the biblical writers adopted the tassels for an exalted purpose, a superstitious value was attached, for it was the common belief that neglect in the wearing of the tassels caused death among one's children (Cohen:154). Death is the ultimate harm caused by the Evil Eye (of God).

Although there is no definitive proof that the Israelites, under Mosaic law, resorted to amulets, it is almost certain that the popular "belief in their efficacy was tacitly and unofficially adopted," (Budge, 1930:216). According to Trachtenberg: "The popular addiction to this form of magic was so strong that it was futile to prohibit altogether the use of amulets on the Sabbath, and instead a set of rules was created ..." (143). Thus principles were established in the Talmud for the preparation and use of amulets. There were also rules and rituals for the writing of amulets, emphasizing their religious character. On the other hand

the "Sefer Raziel" provides a table of hours and days which are most propitious for this activity, revealing perhaps the superstitious character of amulets, as well (Trachtenberg, 1939:145).

Thus the concept of the Evil Eye, while suppressed by the writers of the Old Testament for religious purposes, was nevertheless, a strong and deeply rooted belief among the common people and among certain Rabbis as well.

Chapter 8

ICONOGRAPHY

No iconographic evidence exists for the God of the Israelites, other than the written documents of the Old Testament. Therefore, eye symbolism is limited to the iconography of the "folk religion" where amulets and incantations reflect the popular belief in the Evil Eye.

It has been suggested that all ornaments worn on a person were originally amulets, and phylacteries are a well-known example. Plates 71-73 show an Abyssinian phylactery with its leather case and its translation. The language is the Amharic of the sacred books called "Geez" and was translated by an Ethiopic scribe (Elworthy, 1986: 390). This amulet dates to 1840 and was worn, as the translation says, as protection against epilepsy and the Evil Eye. "Eyes may be seen peeping out at the beginning and at the middle of the writing." (Elworthy, 1986: 391).

An amulet (Plate 66), inscribed on bronze foil, is one of 5 Hebrew amulets found in tombs excavated at Arbela, Syria dating to about the second to the fifth centuries C.E. The inscription was written on foil no larger than 4" by 1.5" in size and folded into a tiny capsule (Montgomery: 273). The amulet, addressed against the Evil Eye, was intended to be worn on the person. Amulets of this type still survive in Israel among the Jews (Montgomery: 280).

Two amulets (Pls. 59, 60 and 61-65) (not precisely dated but

belonging to the first centuries of the Christian era) both from Tunis, North Africa, written on a kind of vellum palimpsest, were also used as protection against the evil eye, evil spirits and sickness (Casanowicz, 1917a:43). The amulet (Pls. 59 and 60) for the protection of Daniel, son of Berakah, is divided into sections and in the top half, Psalm 67 is written in the form of the menorah; the bottom half contains a "Shield of David" inscribed with:

"Salvation, or healing, from God of the world, for the delivery from the evil eyes, and from magic, and from every evil disease."
(Casanowicz 1917a :45).

Casanowicz notes that a phrase on this amulet is the same as one of the stock exclamations in the Nippur bowls (1917a:48). It has been suggested that this amulet represents one of the earlier stages of the transition from the syncretistic use of magic to the more Judaic form (Casanowicz, 1917a:48).

The second amulet, (Pls. 61-65) has two invocations which are separated by Psalm 67, written in the menorah shape, and, below, by a prayer forming two concentric circles (Casanowicz, 1917a:48). This amulet resembles the Mesopotamian incantation for sickness from Tablet C (pls. 48, 49) in which all of the evil spirits are named in order to exercise power over the one causing the sickness. The "name" of the deity is also called upon to exorcise the evil spirit, in the common belief that to know the name of a man, evil spirit or deity is to exercise power over him (Trachtenberg:79). The eye symbolism, particularly in the "Invocation to the Left" in lines 25 to 28, is unmistakable.

Another example of eye symbolism, reflecting the popular belief in the Evil Eye, comes in the form of two Syriac incantation bowls. (pls. 67, 68). The inscriptions on these Judeo-Babylonian bowls were written in a dialect of Edesenne Estrangelo type and probably date to a period later than 699 A.D. (Teixidor:62). The bowl on plate 68 shows 14 lines of inscription, written in spiral form on the interior of the bowl, and 4 lines on the exterior part above the border. Teixidor translates part of the inscription to mean: "They are loosened above them the seven holy angels." (54). Teixidor explains that: "Among the bowls from Nippur the texts mention 'the seven words', 'the seven stars', and 'the seven spells'; ... the subject of seven is treated as a magical number." (54). It is apparent that the number seven was sacred to many Semitic peoples, originating with the Mesopotamians. (In this reference the seven stars provide a parallel to the seven Sibitti referred to in a Mesopotamian business document (pl. 44:2) from Nimrud.) The seven stars and the seven angels represent, in Israelite thought, the seven branched candelabra which in turn represents the eyes of God (Goodenough, 1953a:221).

The second Syriac bowl (pl. 67), inscribed in lines radiating like spokes from the centre, allows only a partial translation but there is no doubting its prophylactic character, including protection from the evil eye. In line 13, the word SYN means the god Moon, or Sin, the moon god of the Mesopotamians. In the Mesopotamian religion the moon god has undertaken the part of

the "adviser" god with a paternal character who was referred to as "Father Namar", Lord Sin (Teixidor:59) and was the protector from all evil.

The Phoenician amulet from Arslan Tash (pl. 56), dating to the 7th century B.C., parallels the Israelite tradition in the use of amulets as protection against the evil eye. However, a closer correspondence is found in the similarity of the language, for certain words and phrases on the amulet also appear in the Old Testament. For example, mzh is connected with the Hebrew mzh found in Deuteronomy 32:24 and have to be read as being the agents of plagues (De Moor:111). Similarly in line 9: "Flee, you who are casting the (evil) eye!", the participle of the verb 'YM is the same in Ugaritic and in Hebrew (De Moor:111). This amulet not only contains an incantation but depicts the demon as well. The meaning of the last four lines appears to be that "whenever the bearer of the amulet hits the eye of the demon depicted on it, he hopes that the eye of the ghost will be destroyed for the benefit of his own eye" (De Moor 111). I suspect that this interpretation follows along the lines of the old ghost theory for the evil eye which "depends upon the belief that numerous evil spirits exist in the eye which at certain times, under provocation, may do harm to others, cause disease and even death." (Brav:50). This amulet is further evidence for the importance of eye symbolism to ancient peoples in the Near East.

Amulets as objects represent another aspect of eye symbolism as it relates to the evil eye. The evil eye was such a potent

force that it was believed to be harmful not only to people, but to animals as well. Boar's tusks were used as important amulets to avert the evil eye from horses (Macalister, 1912b:449). The tusks were placed base to base to form a crescent, and were united by a silver band with a ring for suspension (Macalister, 1912b:449). These amulets are reminiscent of the gold crescents tied to the necks of camels in the Old Testament to ward off the evil eye (Judges 8:21). Boar's tusks (Pl. 57:3) found at Gezer were made of silver and date to the 9-8th centuries B.C. Such amulets were found in all strata, in many sizes and with or without loops for suspension; figures 8-10 are from the Hellenistic stratum (Macalister, 1912b:450). The crescent in Mesopotamia represented protection from Sin, the moon god. This ancient symbol appears to have continued in use throughout the centuries, being reinterpreted to fit the current belief system.

The Eye of Horus amulets (pl. 57:1) found at Gezer are direct importations from Egypt (Macalister, 1912b:104) and represent one of the most potent amulets for warding off the evil eye.

Eyebeads from Samaria (pl. 57:2), dating from the Israelite Period, represent another very popular form of amulet, current still in many countries around the Mediterranean. These eyebeads reflect the three main methods of manufacture; the impressed, the stratified and the inserted cone processes, with all three methods overlapping during the periods in which they were made (Crowfoot:391). Methods for the manufacture of eye beads were of

great importance owing to the significance of the eye symbolism in ancient belief systems. Eye bead number 3 had eight eyes, each with a blue centre and one white ring around it (Crowfoot:392). Crowfoot mentions that "Beads of this sort, but with the eyes varying from three to twelve, have been found in a great many sites in Europe and elsewhere. The earliest date from 1400 B.C." (392). This longevity indicates the importance of beads as amulets. Seven of the twelve eye beads found at Samaria were blue and white. The combination of eyes and the colour blue provided a powerful and universal amulet against the evil eye. Blue, as a protective colour, may be traced to the Old Testament (Numbers 15:38). Also, Rabbinic interpretation holds that: "the colour of the blue thread resembled the colour of the sea which is like that of the firmament and in turn is like that of the Throne of Glory." (Trachtenberg:153). Thus, through Rabbinic interpretation, blue is everywhere recognized as protection against the evil eye.

Eye symbolism takes on a new dimension in the synagogue in Dura-Europos, in Syria. Between the first and second structures, in 243-244 C.E., there was a drastic change in artistic decoration away from the conservative approach (Hopkins:141). Ceiling tiles of the reconstructed synagogue now carried Aramaic and Greek inscriptions as well as animals, human faces, fruit and flowers. "Two tiles (pl. 58:1/2) represent the human eye, one evil the other benign". (Hopkins:141). One of the eyes is being attacked by snakes and three daggers, a beetle or scorpion moves

in from below, while lines radiating downward indicate tears streaming from the eye (Goodenough, 1964a:54). This can be identified with the "much-suffering" eye of Horus, and for the Israelites symbolizes immortality. The letters "Iao" above the eye represent the hellenization of "Yahweh", the personal name of Israel's God (Goodenough, 1953a:192). This then is not the evil eye but a good eye, the "eye of God", suffering, and as a result potent against the evil eye (Goodenough, 1964a:54).

~~The second eye (fig. 2) is the sound eye, which is standing between light symbols, representing the menorah, which in turn symbolizes the "eyes of God" (Goodenough, 1953a:221). Above the eye is the sun ship, familiar from Egyptian religion as the ship of immortality. Below the eye is "the bolster of sacramental and eschatological banquets" (Goodenough, 1953a:240). These eyes as the "eyes of God" represent a departure from the strict prohibition of pictorial representation but are in harmony with a strongly hellenized Judaism (Goodenough, 1953a:192).~~

Three amulets, derived from the Kabbalah, (pl. 58:3, 4 and pl. 69) are also included for they show how the compilers of the Kabbalah used ancient beliefs which became available to them through the works of the Greek writers in the first and second centuries C.E. (Budge, 1930:218). These amulets show the prevalence of the belief in the evil eye as well. The inscriptions on amulets were sometimes intended to cure one particular sickness or disease." (Budge, 1930:220). The formula Shebriri on the first amulet (pl. 58:3) was used to heal any

disease of the eye and also counteract the effects of the Evil Eye (Budge, 1930:220). The patient began by saying the whole formula but dropped a letter after each repetition until there was no letter left to pronounce. "As the formula diminished so the sickness diminished for the patient said, 'Shebriri, Briri, Riri, Iri, Ri, I.'" (Budge, 1930:220).

The second amulet (pl. 58:4) comes from the "Book of Raziel" which gives explicit directions for its use. Its authorship is ascribed to Adam (Bloch:549). The amulet protects the mother and child during childbirth against witchcraft, the evil eye, and demons. Outside the circle are the names of the four rivers of paradise, Pishon, Gihom, Prath and Hiddekel (Budge, 1930: 236). Inside the circle are Psalm 91:11: "For he will give his angels charge of you to guard you in all your ways."; the names of Adam, Eve, Lilith, (the night hag (Isaiah 24:14)), "The first Eve", and names of angels and of God. In the centre are the words from Exodus 11:8 and permutations of the mystical name of God (Bloch:549).

The third amulet (pl. 69) is a silver Hebrew amulet from Israel containing allusions to the Kabbalah and to the Old Testament. (Budge, 1930:236). Line 6, on the reverse side, reads: "The single ones, like the apple of thine eye, guard them," (Budge, 1930:238). It refers, perhaps, to Deuteronomy 32:10, with the intention that the bearer of this amulet is under the protection of God's eyes. These three amulets, therefore, reflect the Kabbalistic view expressed through eye symbolism.

An interesting incantation (pl. 70) taken from a Syriac manuscript, (Gollancz:93) further illustrates the prevalence of the belief in the evil eye. This incantation, entitled "The Anathema of the Angel Gabriel, Which is of Avail for the Evil Eye" clearly shows the survival of an ancient Mesopotamian incantation formula. However, it is not a Hebrew substitution but a Christian one, and was written in 1804 (Gollancz:78). The translation reads:

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Evil Eye went forth from the stone of the rock, and the angel Gabriel met her. He said unto her: 'Whither goest thou, O daughter of destruction?' She replied unto him: 'I am going to destroy men and women, boys and girls, the souls of cattle and the fowl of heaven.' The angel Gabriel said unto her: 'Hast thou not been to Paradise and seen the Great God, the One who is surrounded by thousands upon thousands, and myriads upon myriads of angels who sanctify him? By His Name thou art bound by me, and I bind thee, O Evil and Envious Eye, an Eye of seven evil neighbours! It is not within thy power to approach either the body or the soul, the spirit, or the connexions of the sinews, or the 366 members which are in the frame of the one who carries these formulae, through the prayer of my Lady, the blessed Mary, and of Mar John the Baptist, Amen!'"
(Gollancz:93-94).

It is apparent from this that ancient demonology has survived through many centuries with very little change. As Gollancz points out, the only change is in the substitution of the Christian elements, such as Christ, the apostles and Saints, for the ancient gods who were appealed to for protection against the old Sheddim (78).

It is evident that the iconography of the Jewish

communities, which is found chiefly in the "folk religion", relates almost exclusively to the evil eye and the methods for averting its harmful effects. The use of amulets, from ancient times to the present, whether in written form or as objects, reveals the Jew's deep-seated fear of the evil eye. Thus eye symbolism maintains a prominent position in Jewish folk religion.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION: ISRAEL

The documentary and iconographic evidence for eye symbolism shows a sharp distinction between the written language of the Old Testament and the iconography of the folk religion. Due to the religious prohibition against pictorial representation there is little or no iconography available, but there is an abundance of literature. As a result, the writers of the Old Testament dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism. The iconography shows that the belief in the Evil Eye was prevalent among the common people, forming the basis of an extensive "folk religion". This distinction is comparable to the "state" and "popular" religions of the Mesopotamians, as well as to the positive and negative aspects of eye symbolism.

In the positive aspects of eye symbolism, the physical functions of seeing are integrated with cognition and understanding. Under the heading "Functions of Seeing", the story of Adam and Eve symbolizes the change from man's original state of unconsciousness to the awareness of personality (Westman:207). However, Hebrew writers still considered this to be 'the Fall', rather than an elevation to a higher state" (Westman:208).

The categories of "Desire" and "Judgement" signify choice in the development of the emerging personality. The remaining categories express the experiences of individuals in their heightened awareness of their relationship to God. Through eye

symbolism man is confronted with the positive as well as the negative aspects of his being. But being fearful, the human being needs the direct experiences of symbols which express his uniqueness. Hence, in the symbolism of the Burning Bush, fire represents the process of transformation and change, and the Ten Commandments symbolize the fundamentals of Hebrew law (Westman: 146).

The negative aspects of eye symbolism emphasize man's sin as rebellion, and God's punishment, on a universal scale, as the natural consequence. Talmudic interpretations regarding the concept of the evil eye, along with biblical references to amulets used by the masses to counteract its harmful effects, provide evidence for a deep-seated and universal belief in the evil eye.

Since there is no iconography for God, eye symbolism is limited to the amulets and the incantations found in the "folk religions" of the Jews. All of these amulets, without exception, symbolize protection from the evil eye.

Thus the inescapable conclusion, that while the Jewish religion dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism, within the precepts of monotheism, there existed at the same time, a deeply rooted, universal belief in the evil eye, which the rabbinic teachers of the Old Testament were unable to suppress.

Chapter 10

CONCLUSION: MESOPOTAMIA AND ISRAEL

This thesis has brought together under one cover the iconography of the eye and its meaning from the cultures of Mesopotamia and Israel. The differences between the religion of the Mesopotamians and that of the Israelites is apparent from the kinds of data available for comparison. In Mesopotamia there is an abundance of iconography relating to the divine but relatively little literature. However, in Israel, the reverse is true; there is little or no religious iconography but an abundance of literature.

The iconographic evidence from Mesopotamia conclusively shows that the Mesopotamian religion was based on a clear cut discrimination between fear and fascination, and good and evil. Fear was a major component in both the "state" and the "popular" religions but fear of the Evil Eye was the predominating factor within the popular religion. As a result, the folk religion of the Mesopotamians focused mainly on the negative aspects of eye symbolism. The state religion also concentrated on the negative aspects, but to a lesser degree.

In Israel, however, due to the prohibition against religious iconography, evidence for eye symbolism comes from the literature of the Old Testament. This literature clearly shows that the Israelite religion was also based on a clear-cut discrimination between good and evil, with both the evil as well as the good

originating with the deity. It is evident that the writers of the Old Testament dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism in order to suppress the magical and superstitious beliefs common to the peoples of the ancient Near East.

Rabbinic literature provides evidence that the belief in the Evil Eye was prevalent among the common people, forming the basis of an extensive "folk religion". Iconography, in the form of amulets and incantations which were used as a means of protection against the Evil Eye, provides further evidence for this belief. Thus the inescapable conclusion, that while the Israelites dwelt mainly on the positive aspects of eye symbolism within the precepts of monotheism, there also existed a deep-seated and universal belief in the Evil Eye which the religious leaders were unable to suppress.

ENDNOTES

/1/ For books referring to the belief in the Evil Eye in the modern world see Distasi, Dundes, Maclagan, Maloney and Seibers.

/2/ For a good discussion on the arts of the diviner see Oppenheim, 1977:207.

/3/ For a detailed discussion of Inanna as an Eye-Goddess refer to the discussion on the spectacle-topped idols from Tell Brak in the Section on Votive Offerings and Amulets.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF KEY SITES

MESOPOTAMIA

Asmar (Eshnunna)
Assur
Babylon
Brak
Eridu (Abu Shahrain)
Tiara (Shuruppok)
Gawra
Halaf
Hassuna
Jemdet Nasr
Khorsabad (Dur Sharrukin)
Kish
Larsa
Mari
Nimrud
Nineveh
Nippur
Nuzi
Telloh (Lagash)
Ur
Warka (Uruk)

ANATOLIA

Aleppo
Boghazköy
Hacilar

SYRIA

Ebla
Ugarit

APPENDIX B

EYE REFERENCES FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT
(K.J.V.)

EYE

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Leviticus	21:20. 24:20.
Deuteronomy	7:16. 13:8. 15:9. 19:13,21,21. 25:12. 28:54,56. 32:10. 34:7. 24:10.
I Samuel	22:25.
II Samuel	5:5.
Ezra	7:7,8. 10:18. 13:1. 16:20. 17:2,7. 20:9. 24:15,15. 28:7,10. 29:11. 42:5.
Job	6:7. 17:8. 31:9. 32:8. 33:18. 35:19,21. 54:7. 88:9. 92:11. 94:9.
Psalms	7:2. 10:10. 20:12. 22:9. 23:6. 28:22. 30:17.
Proverbs	1:8. 4:8. 13:19. 52:8. 64:4.
Ecclesiastes	
Isaiah	

Jeremiah 13:17.
 Lamentations 1:16.
 2:4,18.
 3:48,49,51.
 Ezekiel 5:11.
 7:4,9.
 8:18.
 9:5,10.
 16:5.
 20:17.
 Micah 4:11.
 Zechariah 2:8.
 11:17,17.

EYES

Genesis 3:5,6,7.
 6:8.
 13:10,14.
 16:4,5.
 18:2.
 19:8.
 20:16.
 21:19.
 22:4,13.
 24:63,64.
 27:1.
 30:27,41.
 31:10,12,40.
 33:1,5.
 34:11.
 37:25.
 39:7.
 41:37,37.
 42:24.
 43:29.
 44:21.
 45:12.
 46:4.
 47:19.
 48:10.
 49:12.
 50:4.
 Exodus 5:21,21.
 8:26.
 13:9,16.
 14:10.
 24:17.
 Leviticus 4:13.
 20:4.
 26:16.

Numbers

5:13.
 10:31.
 11:6.
 15:39.
 16:14.
 20:8,12.
 22:31.
 24:2,3,4,15,16.
 27:14.
 33:55.

Deuteronomy

1:30.
 3:21,27,27.
 4:3,9,19,34.
 6:8,22.
 7:19.
 9:17.
 10:21.
 11:7,12,18.
 12:8.
 13:18.
 14:1.
 16:19.
 21:7.
 24:1.
 28:31,32,34,65,67.
 29:2,3,4.
 34:4.

Joshua

5:13.
 23:13.
 24:7.

Judges

16:21,28.
 17:6.
 19:17.
 21:25.

Ruth

2:9,10.

I Samuel

2:33.
 3:2.
 4:15.
 6:13.
 11:2.
 12:3,16.
 14:27,29.
 20:3,29.
 24:10.
 25:8.
 26:21,24,24.
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II Samuel

6:20.
 12:11.
 13:34.
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 18:24.
 19:27.
 22:28.
 24:3.

I Kings
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 11:33.
 14:4,8.
 15:5,11.
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 6:17,17,20,20.
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 I Chronicles
 13:4.
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 21:16,23.
 II Chronicles
 6:20,40.
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 29:6,8.
 34:28.
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 3:12.
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 Nehemiah
 1:6.
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 Esther
 1:17.
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 Job
 2:12.
 3:10.
 4:16.
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 11:4,20.
 14:3.
 15:12.
 16:9.
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 19:27.
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 28:21.
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 31:1,7,16.
 32:1.
 34:21.

Job

36:7.

39:29.

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41:18.

Psalms

10:8.

11:4.

13:3.

15:4.

17:2,11.

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25:15.

26:3.

31:22.

34:15.

36:1,2.

38:10.

50:21.

66:7.

69:3,23.

73:7.

77:4.

91:8.

101:3,6.

115:5.

116:8.

118:23.

119:18,37,82,123,136,148.

121:1.

123:1,2,2,2.

131:1.

132:4.

135:16.

139:16.

141:8.

145:15.

146:8.

Proverbs

3:7,21.

4:21,25.

5:21.

6:4,13.

10:26.

12:15.

15:3,30.

16:2,30.

17:8,24.

20:8,13.

21:2,10.

22:12.

23:5,26,29,33.

25:7.

27:20.

28:27.

29:13.

30:12,13.

Ecclesiastes	2:10,14. 5:11. 6:9. 8:16. 11:7,9.
Canticles	1:15. 4:1,9. 5:12. 6:5. 7:4. 8:10.
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Lamentations	2:11.
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	33:25.
	36:23.
	37:20.
	38:16,23.
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	44:5.
Daniel	4:34.
	7:8,20.
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	9:18.
	10:5,6.
Hosea	13:14.
Joel	1:16.
Amos	9:4,8.
Micah	7:10.
Habakkuk	1:13.
Zephaniah	3:20.
Haggai	2:3.
Zechariah	1:18.
	2:1.
	3:9.
	4:10.
	5:1,5,9.
	6:1.
	8:6,6.
	9:1,8.
	12:4.
	14:12.
Malachi	1:5.

Appendix C

ONTOGENESIS OF THE PSYCHE

In Mesopotamia and in Israel, cultural changes over time brought about an expanded perception of existence. This awareness, which expresses itself^f in the ontogenetic principle, underlies the process of man's development and change. It is the essence or "that which guides the unique development of the individual" (Westman:2). This thesis seems to shed light on the process of the ontogenesis of the psyche and the various levels of human experience. The ontogenesis of the psyche also seems to parallel the evolution of religion, for religious writing and biblical stories reveal not only the working of the human mind but are also vehicles of communication of our inner history on the spiral of man's "becoming" (Westman:5).

Through the eye symbolism of the Mesopotamians one can understand the struggle between Marduk and Tiamat in the Enuma Elish as the first "step of the psyche toward freeing itself from the tumultuous darkness of the unconsciousness" (Westman:255). In addition there is also the four-dimensionality of Marduk where "four" becomes a symbol for wholeness and unification and where the struggle between good and evil parallels the ontogenesis of the psyche as first steps towards awareness.

In terms of the ontogenesis of the psyche, man's growing awareness is expressed in the new concept of human rights, in the claim for justice in the universe (Jacobsen, 1946:208). Hammurabi, the king of Babylon, who promulgated his Law Code;

Pharaoh Akhenaton who attempted to establish monotheism; and Abraham, the patriarch of the Hebrews, who sacrificed a ram rather than his son, Isaac, are symbolical of the "Zeitgeist" (the spirit of the age) and represent the next step in the ontogenesis of the psyche as man emerges from his mystic participation with nature (Westman:84). With the realization of the possibility of choice man stands between good and evil and "personality" is established (Westman:100).

In the Mesopotamians' changing world view, justice becomes important and death is seen as evil. Evil and illness, which are still viewed as attacks by demons, are no longer accidental happenings, and the gods, by allowing them to happen, are responsible. Thus when human moral and ethical values conflict with divine will, man accepts the inevitability of death, and in terms of the ontogenesis of the psyche, has taken another step forward. However, it is the last step for the Mesopotamians, but as they fade from world view the development of the soul continues in the new thought patterns of the Israelites of the Old Testament. The moral monotheism of the Israelites is the next step in the ontogenesis of the psyche.

Through the positive aspects of eye symbolism, the Hebrew writers have dramatically presented the unfolding of the ontogenesis of the psyche in the literature of the Old Testament. Central to the understanding of this development of the soul are the experiences of Adam and Eve, Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Esau, and Moses. The story of Adam and Eve symbolizes the change

from man's original state of unconsciousness to the awareness of personality (Westman:207) but "despite the fact that the ontogenesis of the psyche freed Adam and Eve from their mindlessness, Hebrew writers still considered it to be 'the Fall', rather than an elevation to a higher state" (Westman:208).

Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac also demonstrates "the psyche's essential step towards the establishment of personality" (Westman:203). Abraham's substitution of the ram instead of his son also reveals that Isaac could then father Jacob and Esau as the archetypal symbols of man's becoming, allowing the development of the psyche to continue (Westman:203-204).

Jacob and Esau are symbols of man as he really is; they form a single personality, "a composite symbol of man's potentialities as he is torn between good and evil, heaven and earth" (Westman:204). That Jacob integrated his opposite side is symbolized by his brother Esau, which was another vital step in the ontogenesis of the psyche.

Moses' statement "the word is in your heart ... therefore choose life" (RSV, Deuteronomy 30:14-19) put the responsibility for choice and its consequences on the shoulders of the individual (Westman:154). Spiritual reality, no longer conditioned by an external God, leads man to new knowledge and an awareness of the freedom of the Self (Westman:170). This new consciousness makes the individual recognize not only his own personality but also his own limitations (Westman:174). Therefore, man has reached a level where redemption is possible

to the extent that he can fulfill the quality of his individual being. As long as no consciousness of the "divine" in man existed, the divine law was represented by mythology or based upon group experience (taboo); hence the divine impulse was extraneous to the individual and God's abode was in heaven (Westman:169).

Thus, in Mesopotamia the external gods were clearly in control, but by biblical times the psyche had developed sufficiently for the writers of the Old Testament to recognize and express the divine as "I Am" (Westman:155). This explains the commandment "You shall not make yourself a graven image ... (RSV, Exodus 24:4) because the divine is the center of the creative process within the personality (Westman:154). With the conclusion of the Old Testament the ontogenesis of the psyche may be seen as awaiting further development from the writers of the New Testament in the evolution of religion.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFO	Archiv für Orientforschung
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASOR Supp.	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplemental Series
BMQ	British Museum Quarterly
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
ILN	Illustrated London News
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KJV	Authorized (King James) Version of the Holy Bible.
MAM	Mission, Archéologique de Mari.
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
MJ	The Museum Journal
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly
QDAP	Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Holy Bible
WBED	The World Book Encyclopedia Dictionary

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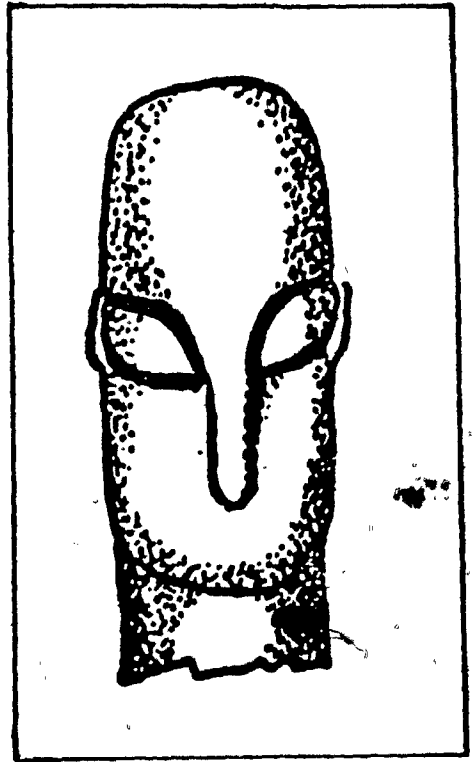
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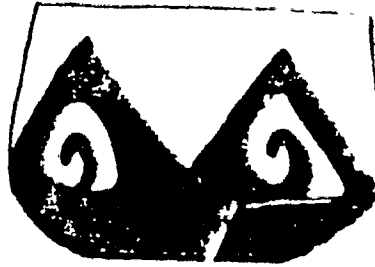
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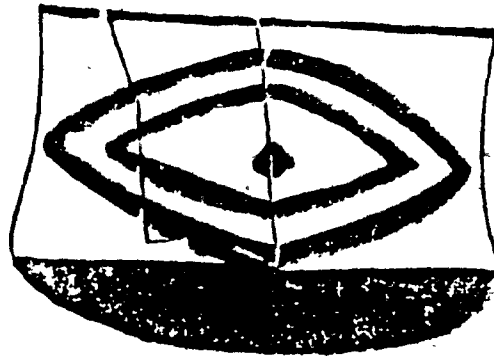
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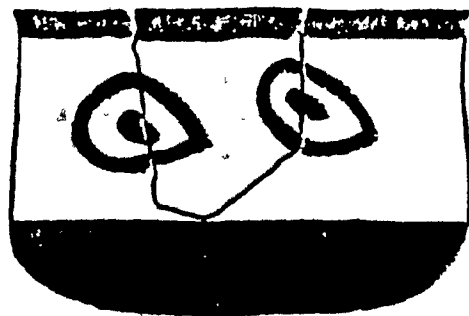
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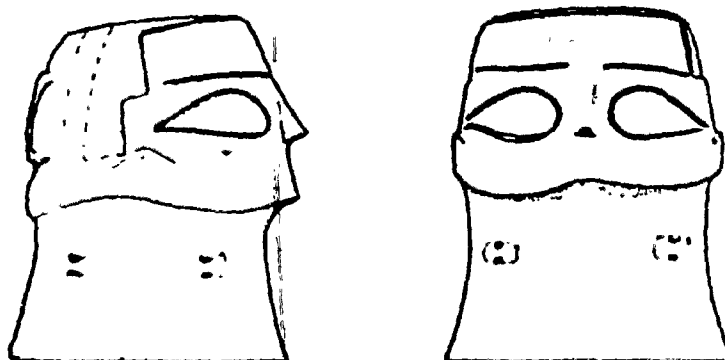
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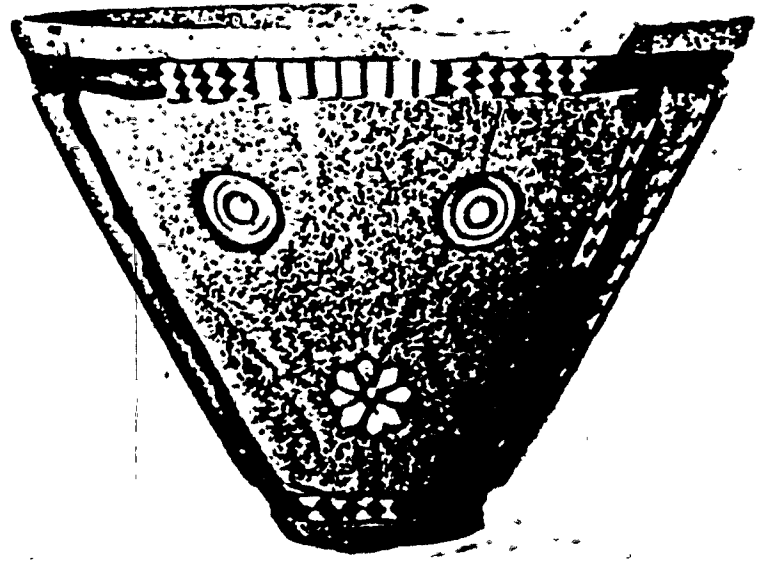
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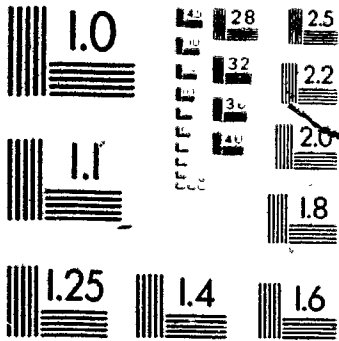


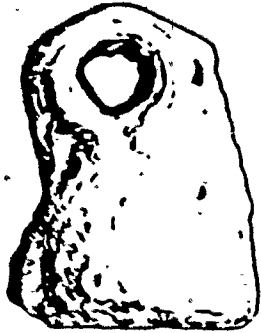
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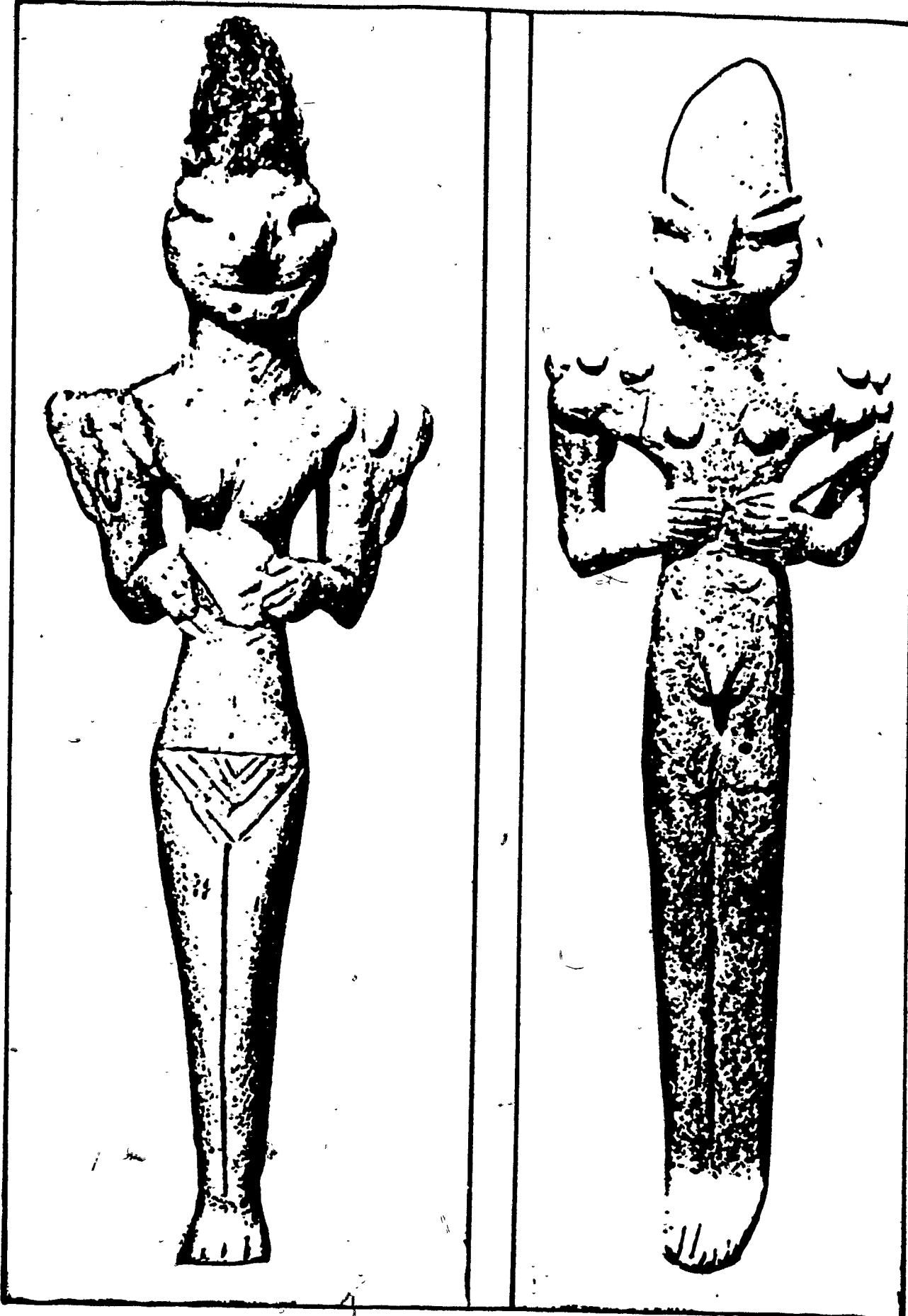
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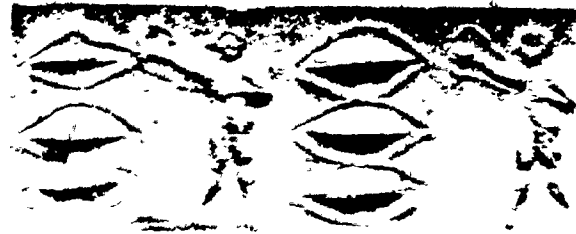


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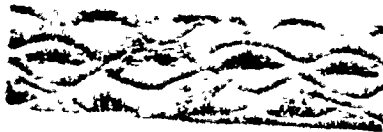
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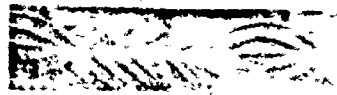
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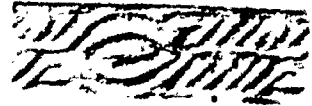
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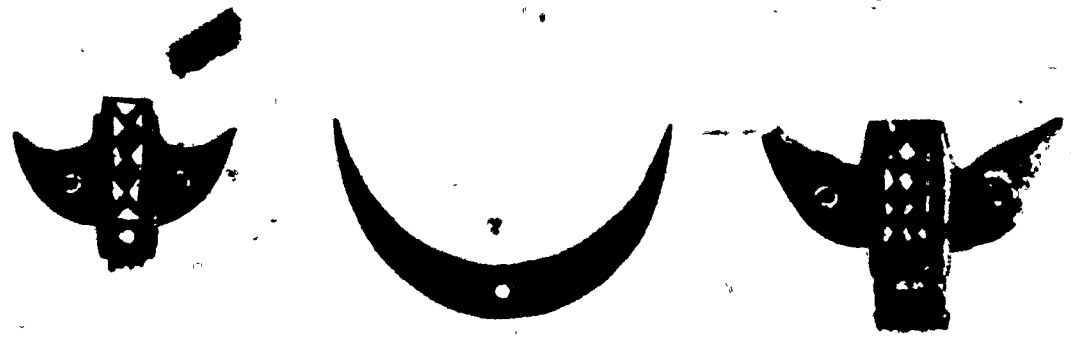
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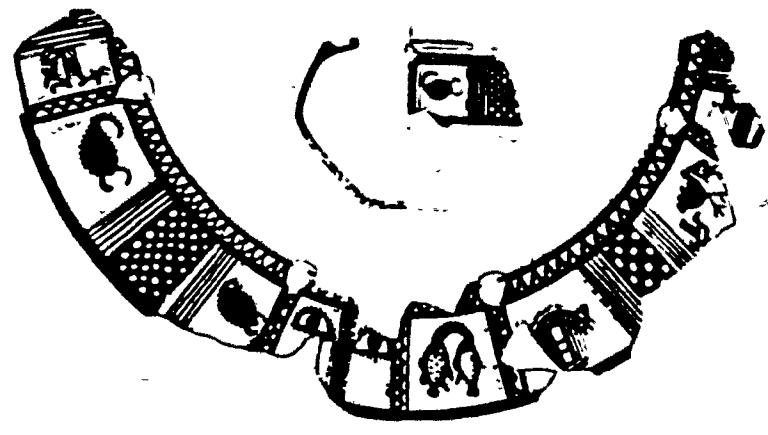
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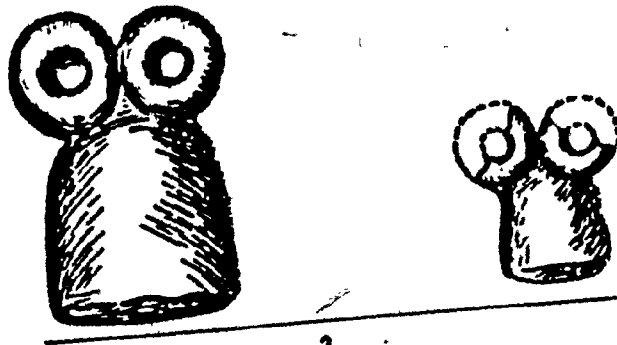
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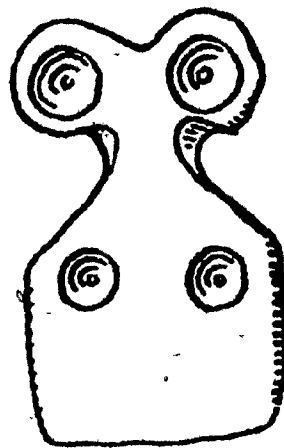
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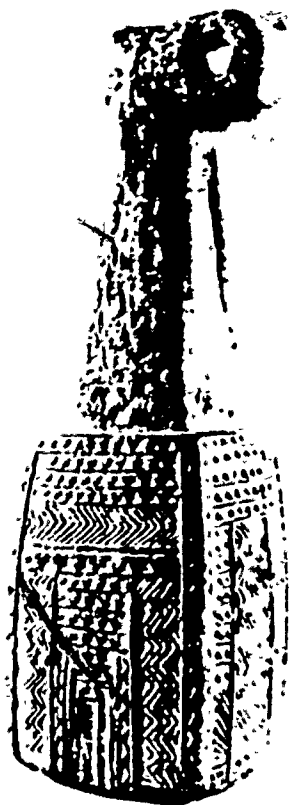
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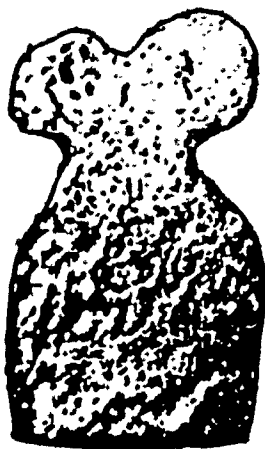
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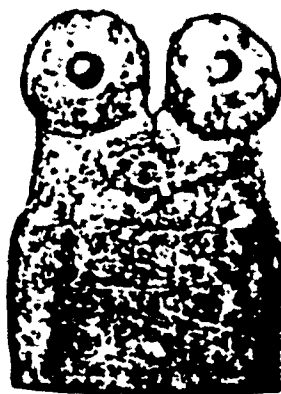
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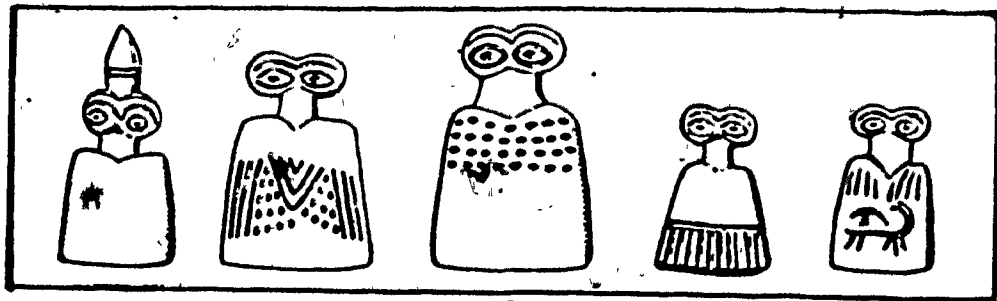
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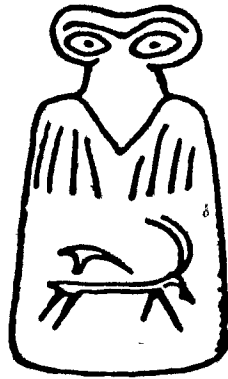
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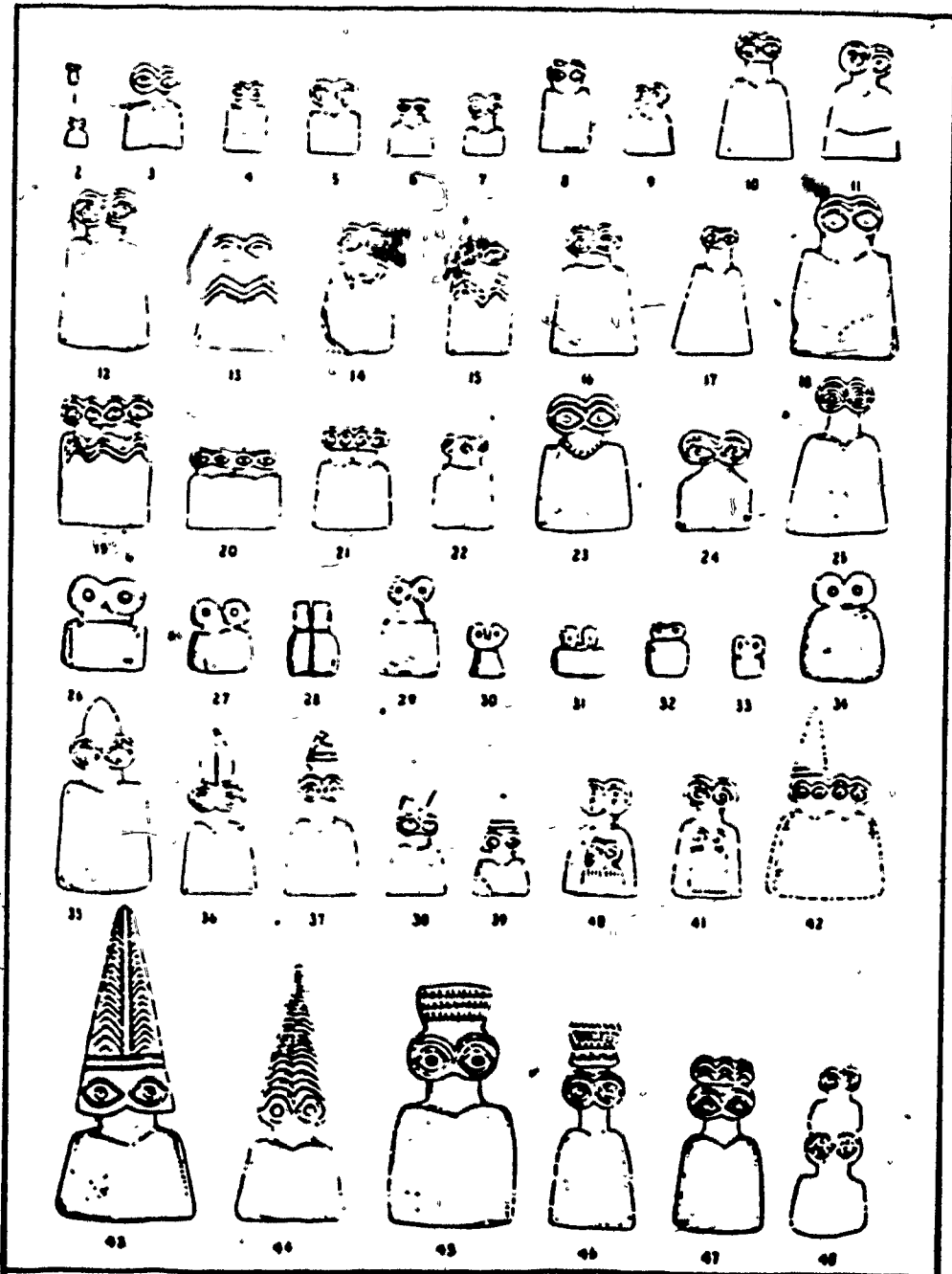
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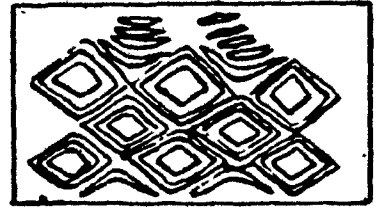
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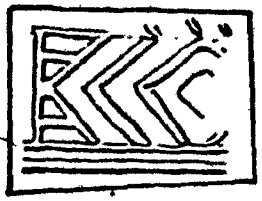
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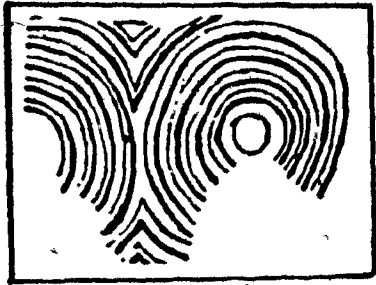
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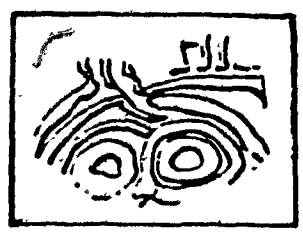
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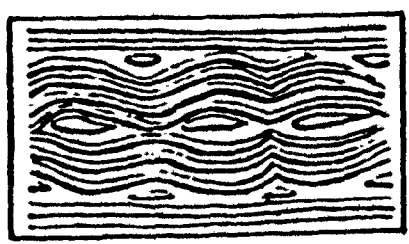
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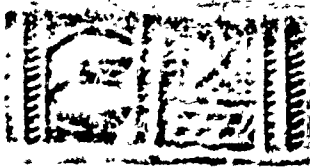
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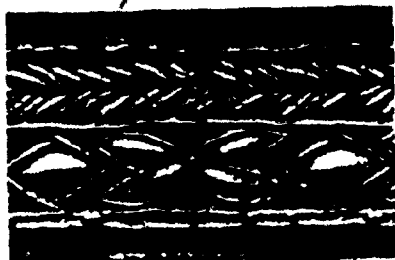


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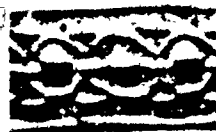
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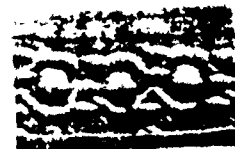
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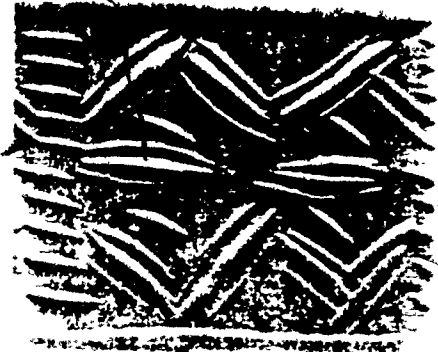
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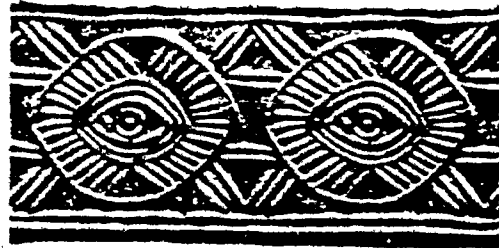
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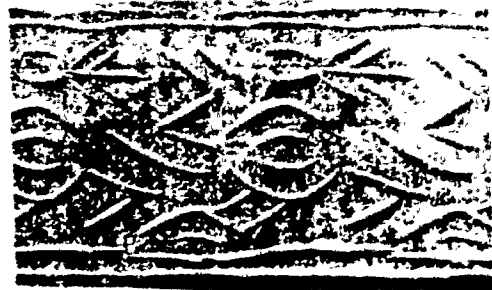
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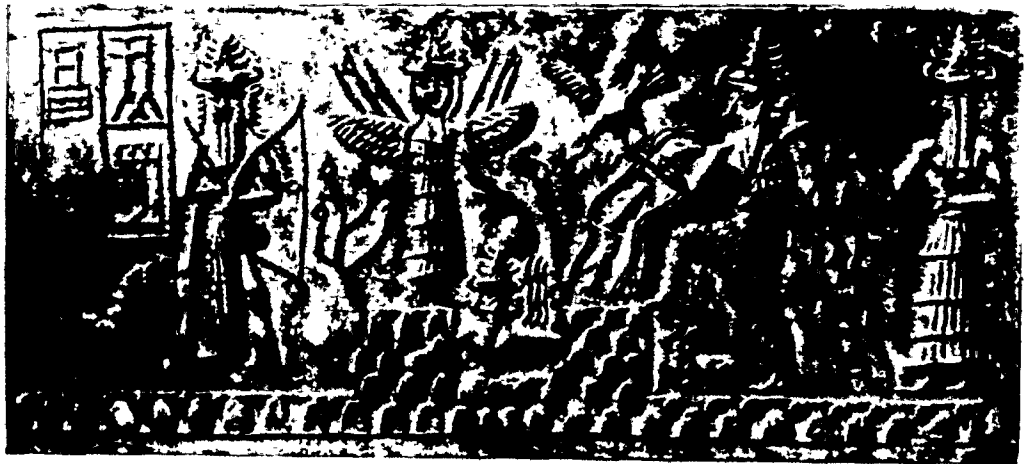
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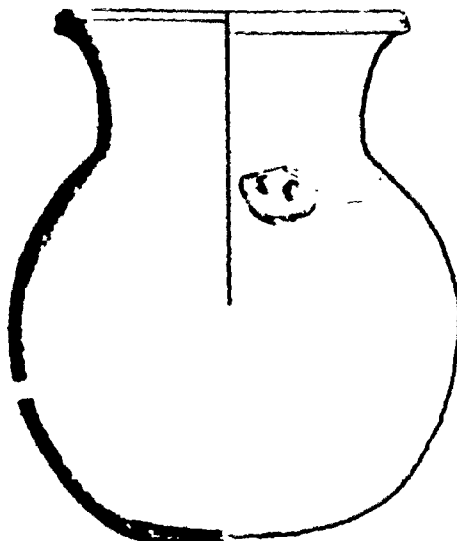
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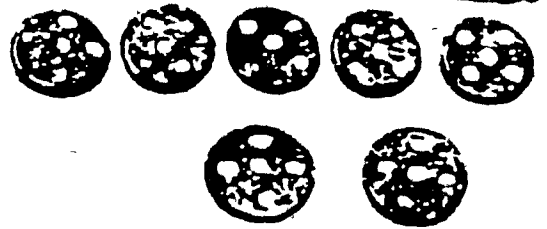
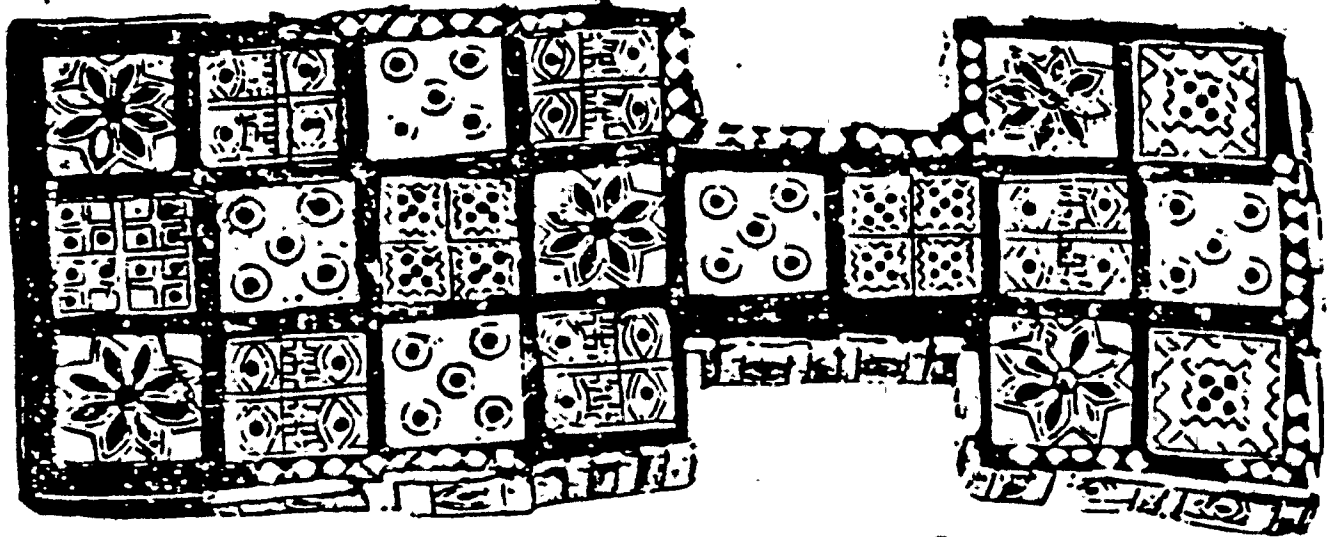
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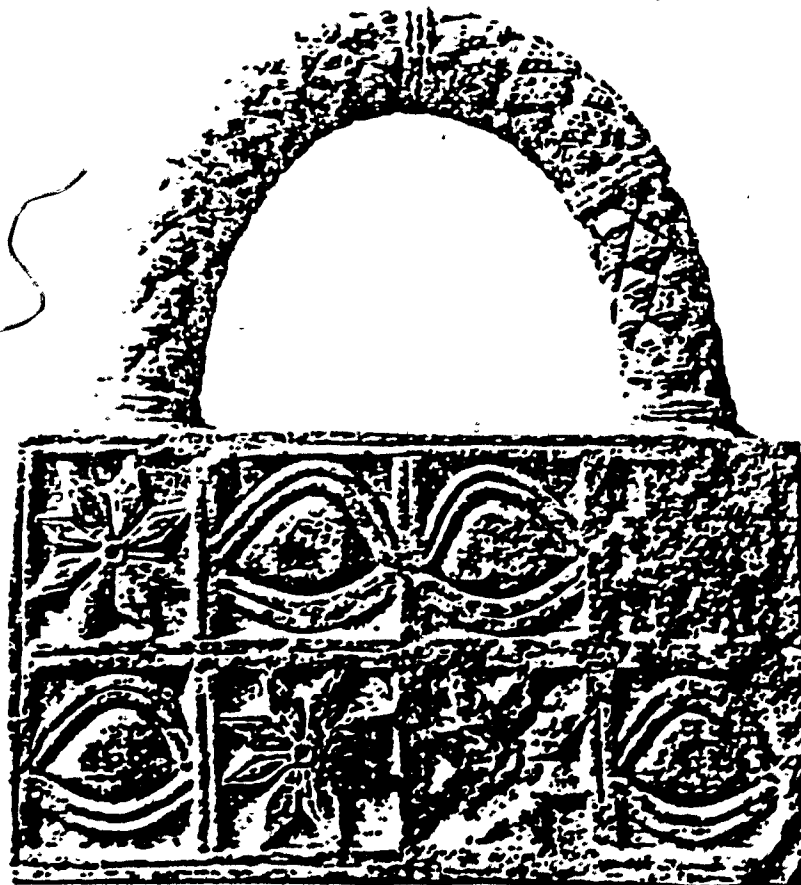
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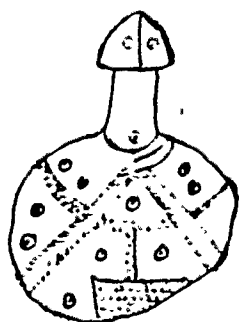
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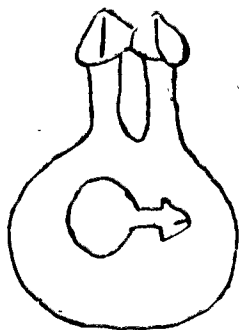
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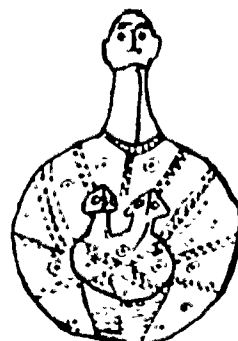
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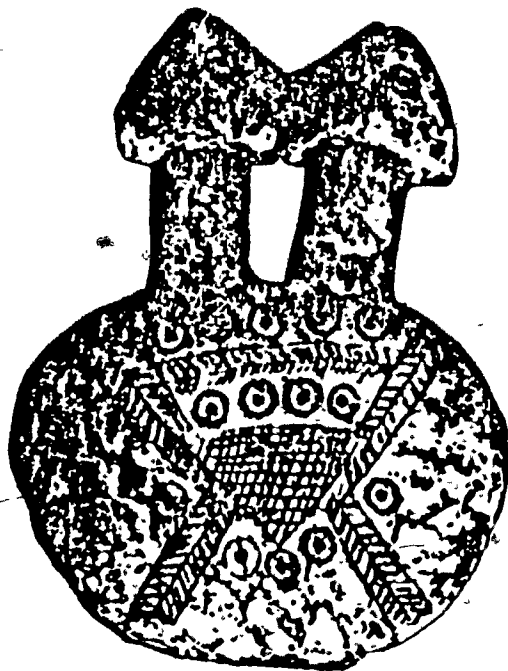
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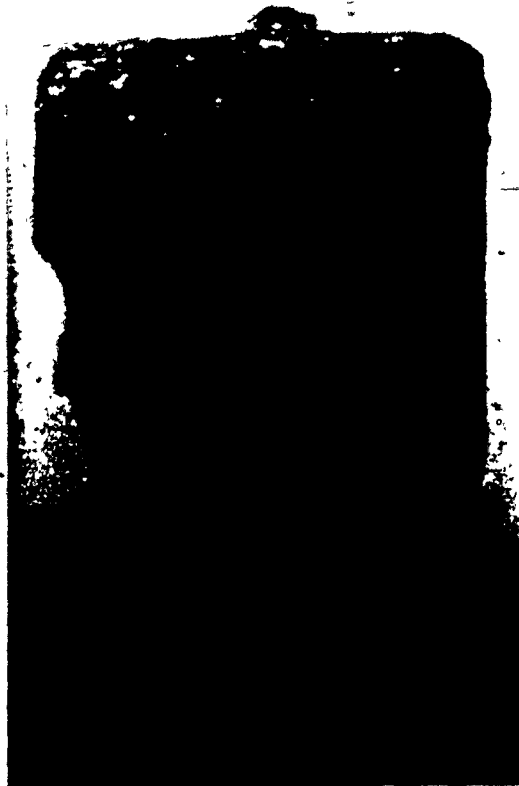
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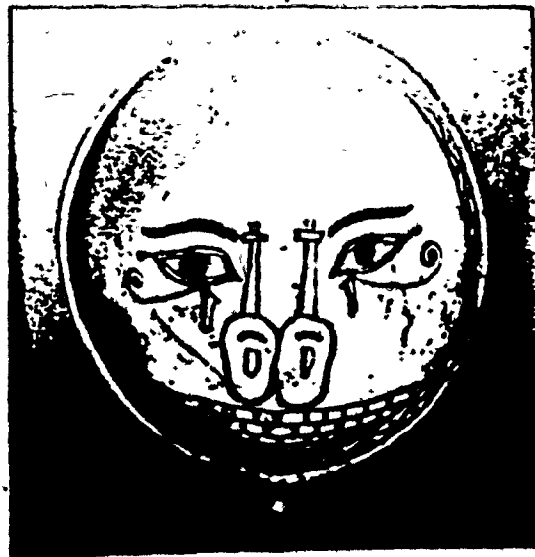
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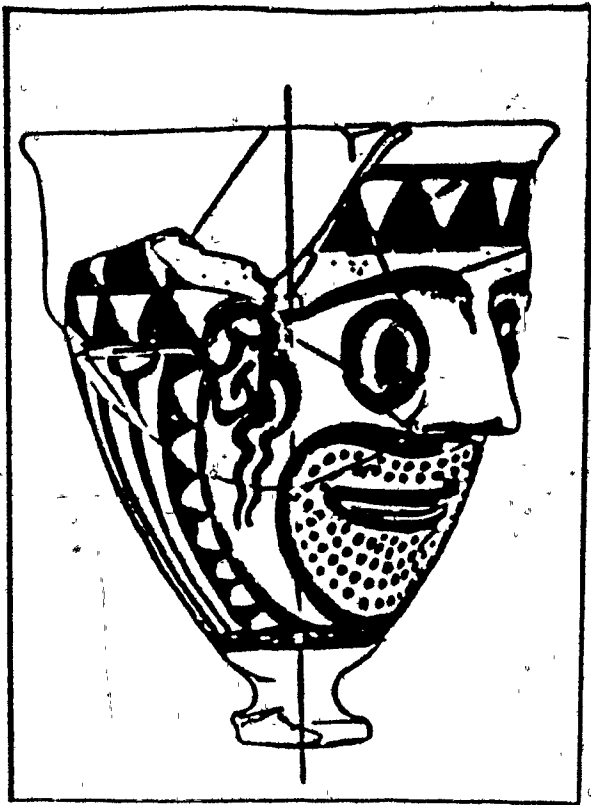
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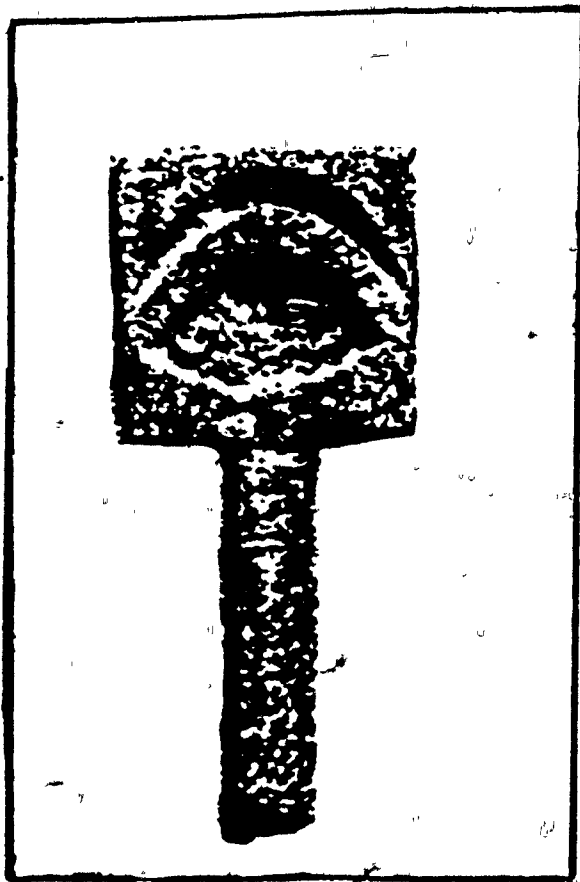
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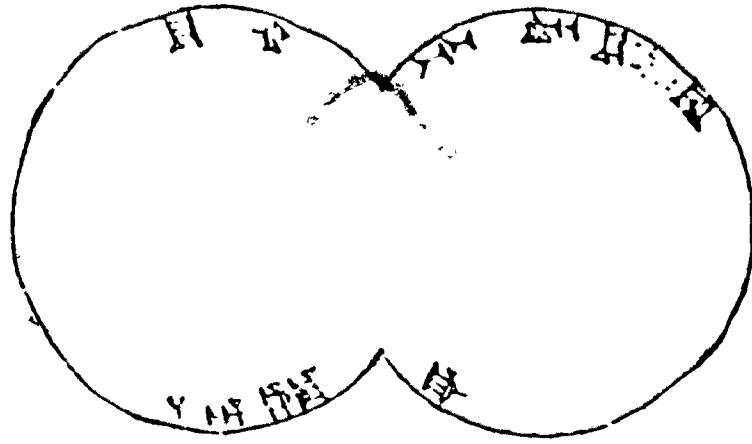


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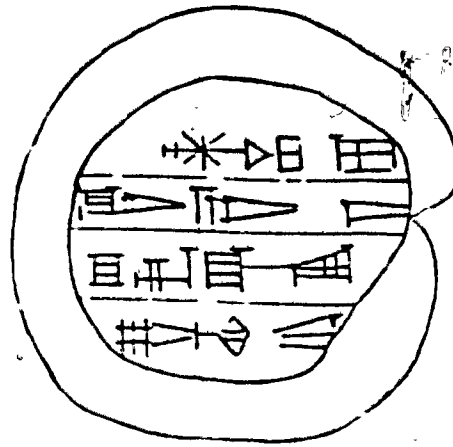


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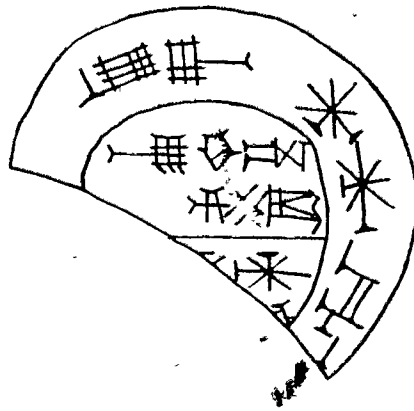
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D



'nin. urta	To Ninurta
lugal a. ni. ir	his lord
lu-ri-gal-zu	Kurigalzu
in na ba	gave (this).

1



Centre :
 en ša.ta.dalla
 [...] x an [...] x

The lord, resplendent from the womb,

Edge :
 [(...) ka-da]-aš-ma-an-en-III

[(...)] Kadašman-Enlil

2



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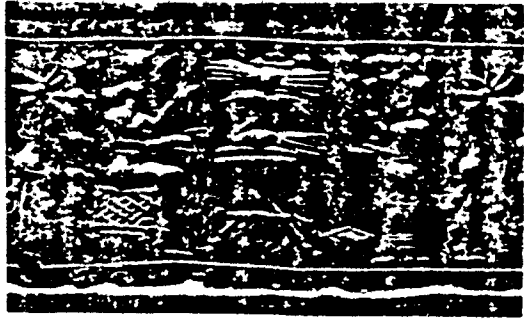
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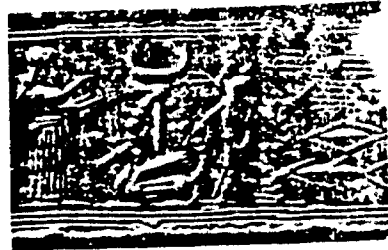
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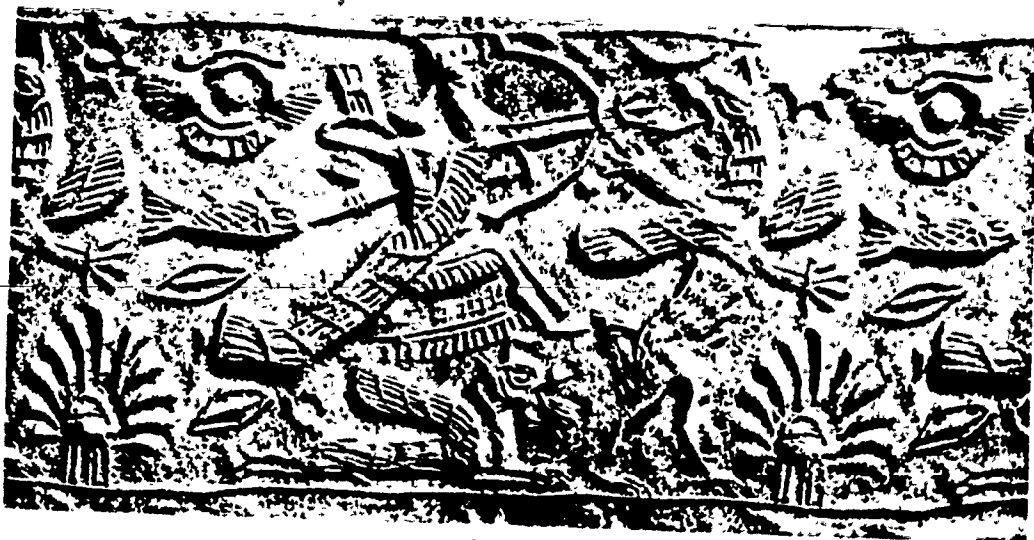
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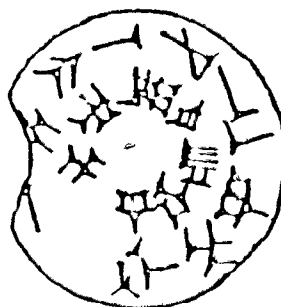
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šā šar-ri-ša-ri-ša-ri-mat

SAL. KUN šā šar-ri-ša-ri-ša-ri-mat šar-ri-ša-ri-mat šar-ri-ša-ri-mat

Of Esarra-šamat.

Queen of Esarhaddon King of the land of Assyria.



1

Tablet "J."

ORIENT

(PLATE VIII)

[PRAYER] AGAINST THE EVIL SPIRITS.

- 5. The evil Spirit (and) Fever of the desert,^b
O Pestilence that hast touched the man for harm,
The evil Spirit which hath cast its glance on the
man,
- 10. The evil [Demon] which hath enshrouded the
man.

2

INIM-INIM-MA SIG-IZ-SIG-GA BIK-KAR-KAN

IN MULO-HUL MULO-HUL MULO-BI MULO-HUL
 332) *lim-nu li-mun a-me lu su-u li-mun*
 MULO-BI KAM-MULO-GISAL-LU MULO-HUL
 MULO-BI MULO-HUL
a-me lu su-u ina ni-si li-mun

[SA] HUL NAM MULO-GISAL-LU SIG-TIK-KIL-IZ-GA
ma sa-sar na-si gaa u-kam-ni-mu
 335 MULO-BI NAM-MULO-GISAL-LU GUL(?) SA-A LAE-L
na-si sa-n ma ni-si lu-a e-sa-a
gaa sa-si tar-gu
 NI-HE-A KA-ET-A GU-DE-A NI-TA
 CH(?) MULO-FA SU-SU
 340 *pa-bah-ta-su ga-si-i-ut ti-gim-su*
ca-tu at-ia i-sal-[lah]
 BI-GIS-GA-BI HUL-A NI-DE . . .
 SA-PI-GUL US-NU-EN-GIR(?) . . .
a-car ma-in-ni-ti-su lu-[ta] . . .
 345 *sa-ba-su i-lay-ga-ay* . . .
 2ALAD BI-HE-L DINGIR-HUL . . .
 TER-FA ME-HE-HE . . .
 AMAS-A NE-HE-DE . . .
 HE-HE MULO-NE-SA . . .
 350 . . . *su(?)* . . .
 SA-PI-A DINGIR-EALFAG BA . . .
 HUL . . .
ma ib-bi-su Samsu ul . . . *kab-la*
 DINGIR-EALFAG NI-FA-SU-[BI] . . . SIG-RA-A-KAN
 355 *Samsu ma na-ni-te kat-su li-is-suh
 LEGAL-MP DINGIR-EN-KI-GI *SAG-GA
 TAG-TAG-GUB-BI ZA-A-KAN

PRAYER OF THE HAIR OF THE YELLOW
GOAT (AND) THE KID.

Incantation: -

330. He that is evil is evil.
That man is evil:
That man among men is evil.
That man is evil.

- In the midst^a of mankind
They have let (him) lurk^b (like) a snake:
335. That man is set among men as a cord that is
stretched out for a net
He hath sprinkled the man as with venom.
The terror of him stilling his cries
Where his evil pain [hath gnitten]
345. It hath torn his heart
Spirit, evil eye, evil ool
Hunting the sheepfold
Hunting the cattle-pen
350. His side the man
Unto his heart Shamash . . . hath spoken
355. By this (incantation) may Shamash remove his
hand,
O my lord Ea! Thine is the power to brighten
and bless!

MIM • 2N

COL. II (PLATE XXXI).

SAG • GIG KA • GIG SA • GIG LIKIR • GIG

95. *mu-ru-us šak-ku-di „ sin-ni „ libbi ki-is lib-bi*

IGI-GIG A7AG: *mu-ru-us i-ut a-šak-ku sa-ma-nu:*
SA-MA-NA

UTUG-IJUL A-LA-IJUL GIDIM-IJUL MULLA-IJUL
DINGIR-IJUL MAŠKIM-IJUL

DINGIR-RAB¹ • KAN • ME DINGIR-RAB¹ • KAN • ME • A
DINGIR-KAB-KAN-MI-KIL

MULU-LIL-LA KI-EL-LIL-LA KIFL-UD-DA KAR-RA
100. NAM-TAR-IJUL-IK AZAG-GIG GA TUR-RA-NU-DUG-GA
GAR • GIG GAR • ŠA • A GAR • IJUL • GIM • MA
SUK-AŠ-ŠUB A-ĪA-AN-TUM U-ŠU-ŪŠ-ŠUB DUB-GIM-MA
BAR-GIŠ-KA

SILA-A GIN-GIN AB-BA ŠU-ŠU GIŠ-ŠAGIL TU-TU-E-NE

mut-tal-lik su-ki mu-ta-at-bi-ik a-pa-a-ti
mu-tir-ru²-bu me³-di-lu

105. MULU • IJUL IGI • IJUL KA • IJUL ENIS • IJUL

lim un ša pa-an¹ lim-ku pa-n lim-un li-ša-un

²U²(?)-IJUL U²(?)ZU U²(?)³ • A-KI-A GAR-ŠA-A GAR-IJUL
• GIM-MA-TA⁴

ŠA-LA-LA: *iš-tu ki-rib hiti ši-i: tu-ta-e*

⁵MULU-GIŠ-GAL-LU DU DINGIR-KA-NA BA-BA-AN-TE-MAL
• NE BA-BA-AN-GE-GE-E-NI

110. GIŠ-GE-ZA-NA: *im lu-us-ši-šu la tu-šub-šu:*

NAM-BA-TUŠ-NI-UN

GIŠ • NAM-BA-NA: *im u-ši-šu la tu-na-ol:*

NAM-BA-NA-U-NE UN

⁶UR-KU: *ana u-ri-šu la te-el-lu-šu: NAM-BA-GIŠ-NE*

⁷L-KI-TUŠ-A-NA: *ana bit šul-ti-šu la te-ru-ub-šu:*

NAM-BA-TU-TU-NI

21. AN-NA-KI-BI-BA-GE I-KI-PA ĪA-BA-KA-DE-UN

115. *us šum(š) u iršim tim, u-tam-me-ku*

lu-u-ta-at-ta-lik

Sickness.

Col. II (PLATE XXXI).

95. Sickness of the head, of the teeth, of the heart,
heartache.

Sickness of the eye, fever, poison (?).

Evil Spirit, evil Demon, evil Ghost, evil Devil,
evil God, evil Fiend,

Hag-demon, Ghoul, Robber-sprite,

Phantom of Night, Night Wraith, Handmaiden
of the Phantom,

100. Evil pestilence, noisome fever, baneful sickness,
Pain, sorcery, or any evil.

Headache, shivering, (?), terror, (?), (?).

Roaming the streets, dispersed through dwellings,
penetrating bolts.

105. Evil man, he whose face is evil, he whose mouth
is evil, he whose tongue is evil.

Evil spell, witchcraft, sorcery.

Enchantment and all evil,

From the house go forth!

Unto the man, the son of his god, come not nigh.

Get thee hence!

110. In his seat sit thou not.

On his couch lie thou not.

Over his fence rise thou not.

Into his chamber enter thou not.

115. By Heaven and Earth I exorcise thee.

That thou mayest depart.

Tablet "U."

Obverse.

(PLATE XXXIII)

- LAL-LAL . . . -tum ka sa a-tu¹ a-a-lu-u sa
 ameli i-kat-tum : GISGAL-LU MULU BA(?)DUL
 . . . dal-la a-tum ka sa [a] tu : GAR-LAL-A-AN
 . . . ka ba-a-ti sa ma-a-tu : KALAM-MA-GE
 . . . GIG-GA [] mu-sam-ri-za a-tu¹ sa ni-si :
 NAM-MULU-GISGAL-LU-GE
- 5 [IGI-GAR-HU]L-GIM-MA [] i-ni li-mut-tum
 mut-tal-lik-tum : IAP-IJAL-LA-GE
 [UB-KU AB]SI-IN-BAR [] a-na tub-ka ip-pal³-lis-ma
 tub-ki u-ri-ik : UB IM-SU
 [DA-KU AB]SI-IN-BAR [] ana sa hat ip-pal³-lis-ma
 sa hat u-ri-ik : DA IM-SU
 [DAGAL KALAM-MA] AB-SI-IN-BAR : ana¹ mas-tak
 ma-a-tu¹ ip-pal-lis³-ma mas-tak ma-a-tu u-ri-ik :
 DAGAL KALAM-MA IM-SU
 [MULU-GISGAL-LU]-PAP-IJAL-LA-KU AB-SI-IN-BAR
 GIS KUD-KUD-DA-GIM TIG-KI-A IM-MI-IN-GAM
10. ana a-me-lu mut-tal-li-ku ip-pal³-lis-ma ki-ma is-si
 nak-su se-ib-ri ki-sad-su ur-da-du-ud
 DINGIR-EN-KI MULU-BI : "Ea ameli MU³-a-tum
 i-mur-ma : SI-U-NE-IN-GAB
- GAR SAG-GA-NA : a ka lu ma kat-ka di su ti-kun :
 MU-NI-IN-GAR
 GAR SU-NA : a ka lu ana zum-ri-su u-tah-hi :
 MU-NI-IN-TE
- ? NE NAM-TIL-LA-GE MU-UN-NA-AN?
15. ik-ri-bi ba-la-tu i-kar-rab-su
 [MULU]-GISGAL-LU DU DINGIR-RA-NA : amelu mar
 ili-su at-ta : ZA-I-MI-EN
 [GAR SAG]DU : a ka lu sa ma kat-ka-di-ka
 u-tah-hu-u : [MU-NI]-IN-TE-A-TA
 [GAR SU]-ZU : a-ka-lu sa zu-mur-ka u-kap-pi-ru :
 SUB-BA . . .
- [. .]-ZU HE-EN-IB-SIG-GA ZA-E-ME-EN NAM-TIL-[LA]
20. [mu]-ru(?)-us-ka lip-sah-ma at-ta bu-lu-[u?]
 [KI-NAM]-TIL-LA-GE GIR-ZU GUB-BU-NE
 [ina kat]-ka-ru ba-la-tu se-ip-ka li-iz-ziz
 [MULU]-GISGAL-LU DU DINGIR-RA-NA ZA-E-ME-EN
 [a]-me-lu ma-ri ili-su at-ta
25. [IGI] GAR-GIG-GA : i-ni sa ana ma-ru-us-tum
 ip-pal-su-ka : MU-UN-SI-IN-BAR-RA . . .
 [IGI] GAR-HUL-GIM-MA : i-ni sa ana limuttim(tim)
 ip-pal-su-ka : MU-UN-SI-IN-BAR-RA . . .
 . . . RA-GE : sa ina a

REVERSE.

. . . . CE
 - a - lu
 30 BAD - GA
 la ka - ni - e
 [DINGIR]-DA-MU URUDU-SUA-TAB-BA HU-MU-UN-SIG-GA
 "Ea'na ina pa-as-tum li-im-ha-as . .
 [DIN]GIR-GU-NU-KA TARGUL-GAL-BI HU-MU-UN-DAR . .
 35 " " ina tar-gul-li-i ra-bi-tum lil-te
 A-AN-AN-NA-US-SA-GIM KI-A MU-UN-SI-IN-BAR-RA
 ki-ma zu-an-nu sa is-tu sam(e) sur-du-u ana
 is-sim(tim) us-su-[ru]
 SU-BAR-RA-ZU-TA DINGIR-EN-KI LUGAL ZU-AB-GE
 HE-IM-MA-RA-AN-ZI-[ZI]
 ina su-un-[ri]-ka "Ea sar op-si-i li-is-suh-su
 TE EN

Tablet of the Evil Eye.

Tablet "Q."

OVERSE

(PLATE XXXIII.)

- The . . . which bindeth,
 A demon which envelopeth the man,
 The . . . bringing trouble, which bindeth,
 The . . . heavy (?) upon the land,
 Bringing sickness upon men,
5. The roving Evil Eye
 Hath looked on the neighbourhood and hath
 vanished far away,
 Hath looked on the vicinity and hath vanished
 far away,
 Hath looked on the chamber of the land and
 hath vanished far away,
10. It hath looked on the wanderer
 And like wood cut off for poles* it hath bent his
 neck.)
 Ea hath seen this man and
- Hath placed food at his head,
 Hath brought food nigh to his body,
15. Hath shown favour for his life—
 Thou man, son of his god,
 May the food which I have brought to thy head—
 May the food with which I have made an
 "atonement" for thy body
20. Assuage thy sickness, and thou be restored,
 That thy foot may stand in the land of life;*
 Thou man, son of his god,
25. The Eye which hath looked on thee for harm,
 The Eye which hath looked on thee for evil,
 Which in

REVERSE.

May Ba'u smite [it] with flax.

35. May Gunura [strike (?) it] with a great oar (?).
Like rain which is let fall from heaven
Directed unto earth,
So may Ea, King of the Deep, remove it from
thy body.

Exorcism, incantation.





1

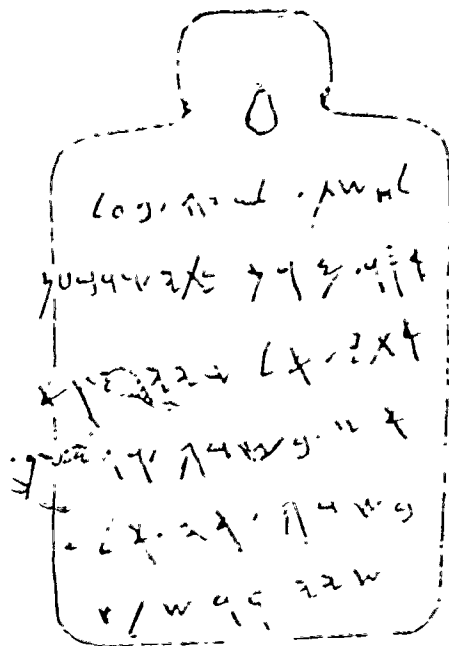


$$= \text{◁} + \text{○} + \text{~} + \text{▷} + \text{∩} + \text{∪}$$

$$= \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \frac{1}{16} + \frac{1}{32} + \frac{1}{64}$$

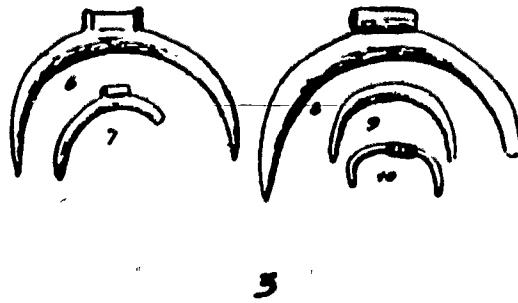
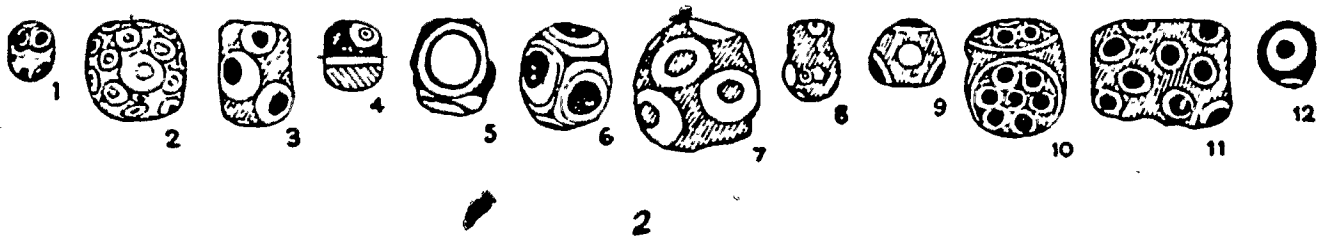
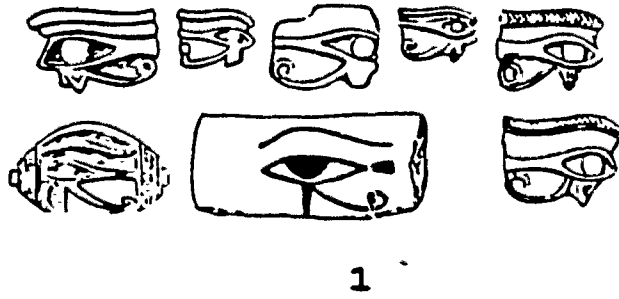
The parts of the Eye

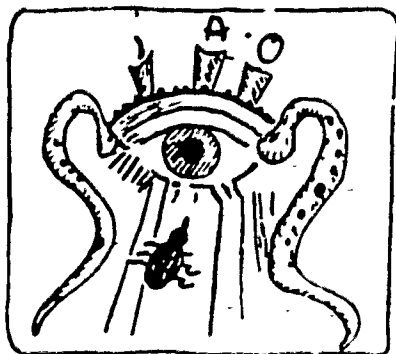
2



Handwritten cuneiform text below the two tablets, consisting of several lines of script.

<p>lht lwh k'l 'sr mrkht wrb 'n 'ly 'l byy y' 's h'ldh wgl 'n h'ldh 'y 'l byy qrt n'li mn'l brh 'yn b'ld br'3 mgnr lnt br'3 hlm kv hlm 'n hm 'ny tm 'nk mnty kmgt</p>	<p>Incantation against the Blood-sucker¹⁶). The Lord¹⁷) has tied up his chariot. yea, Big-eye is coming!¹⁸) The murderous god¹⁹) has gone out, he who (roams) in the field. Yea, Open-eye²⁰) in the field, woe! the murderous god in the camp²¹). I have bolted the door. Flee, you who are casting the (evil) eye!²²) Keep away from the head of him who is gaining insight, from the head of him who dreams. When I hit (this) eye, for the integrity of my eye the integrity of your eye!²³) My incantation is according to the scroll.</p>
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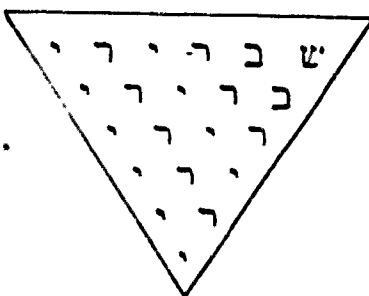


1

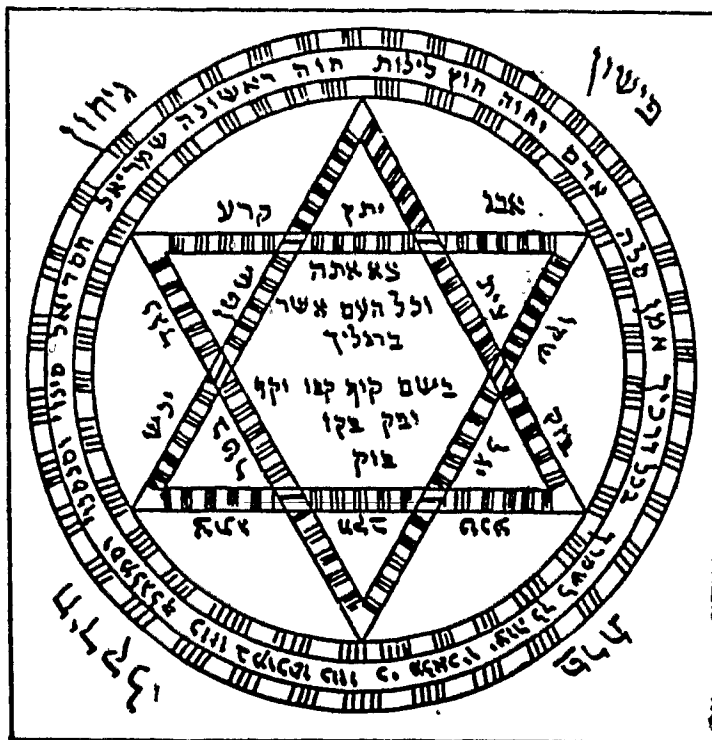


2

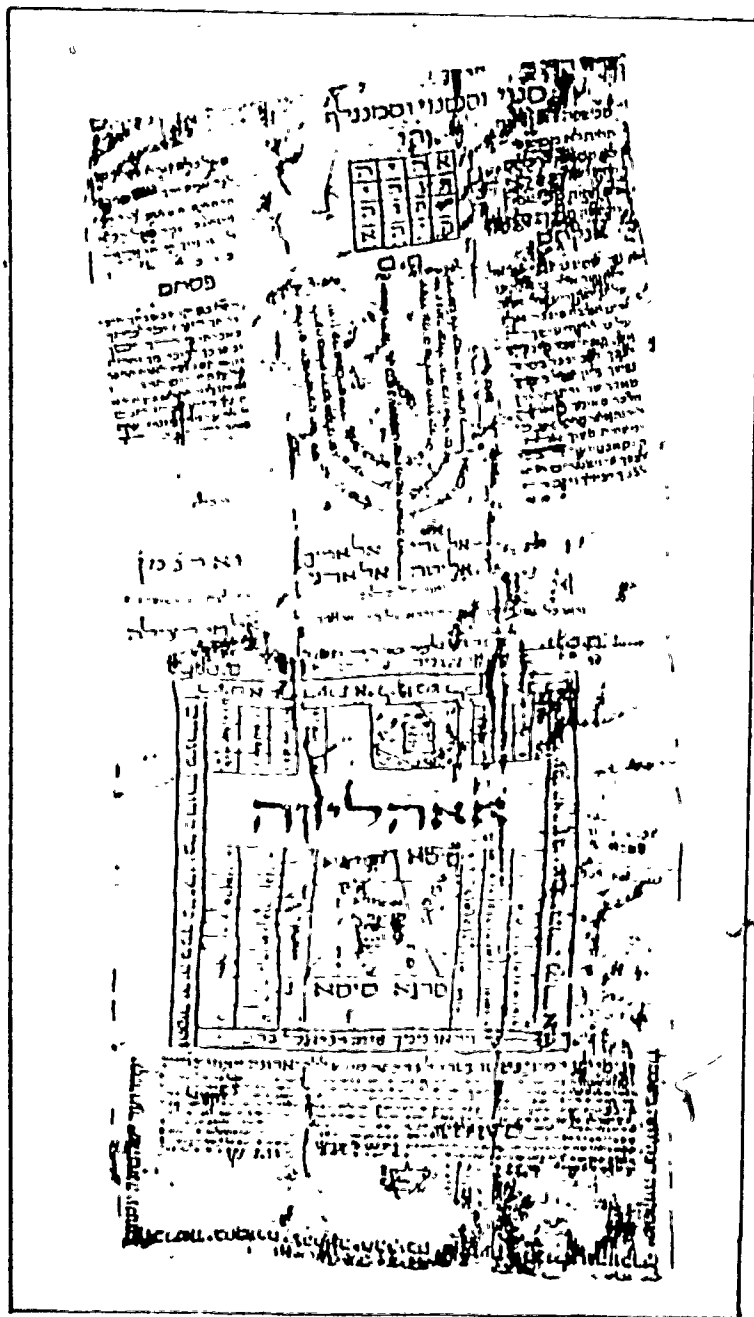
Shubrikf



3



4



TRANSLATION

- 1 I pray of you, ye holy angels, who stand before the great God, JHIVII, who is blessed, in the name of Michael, Suriel, Saelkel, Pucl, Kadarnel, Shamschiel.
- 2 Rafael. And in the name by which he was revealed to Moses on Sinaï; and in the name by which he cut the sea into twelve pieces; and in the name by which he gave the Torah to Israel; and in the name by which he was revealed to Elijah on Carmel; and in the name by which he healed the water through Elshat; and in the name by which he rescued Daniel from the den of Lions; so that they did not destroy him—so may you deliver and heal and shuchl and preserve Daniel, son of Berakah, the bearer of the annulet upon him, from the kinds of . . . that fit about between heaven and earth, and from evil spirits, and from Lilitis; and from injurious spirits; and from the terror of the night; and from evil diseases, and from all evil plagues.
- 3 and from all kinds of visitations, in the name of YHKA. For he shall give his angels charge over thee. And ye may guard him against all uniseric accidents, and all kinds of magic, in the name of Ma'ni Shannul.
- 6 So(u)ya, Baayah. And may you deliver and preserve and loosen and free him from the evil eye and from all evil afflictions; but render him an object of favor and grace and compassion in your eyes.
- 7 and in the eyes of all who see him, in the name of Haniel Hasdiel, Bahaniel, and by the power of the name which issues from the verse, 'And Noah found favor in the eyes of JHIVII.' And ye the angels, who are set over the treasures of heaven and blessing, may you open your treasures and save and lavish abundance from your bounty in the name of the power of the name which issues from the verse, 'JHIVII will open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven.' In the name of TG'S, T'SS, Amen. Amen, Amen. Selah, Selah, Selah. ANDS, JHIVII. SMARKI).
- 10 Most Holy, Our God JHIVII: BD.

THE INVOCATION

- 1 בנקיטה כבש אהון בלאכא קדישא דקוין קדם אלהי רבא יהוה בכרך כבשם ניכאל נוראל דקרא פוא קדרניאל שבישאל
- 2 הפאל וכבשם שנגלה לימיה כבשם וקבשם שקרע את הים לייב קרעם וכבשם שנתן הורה לישראל וכבשם שנגלה האלהו בכבדל וכבשם
- 3 שרפא הדיש על ידי אלישע וכבשם שהניל את דניאל כטוב אריות ולא הכלהו בן הנצילו והרפאו והננו והשכרו הדניאל בר
- 4 ברבך הנקע והנרשא קביע עליו כביעו הותין דפרחין בן הקיע לארעא וברוחין כייטין וכלילת שוכבייקין וכשחד הייה ויחלאים רעים וככל פנעם
- 5 היים וככל כיינ פורעניות כבשם יודך כי כלאכין צוה לך והשכרה פבל מקורות מיאורין ויכל מינ כישופים כבשם כאני שביאל
- 6 סוסא בניה ותצילו והיטרו והיטרו והפרו כיינא כיינא וככל מרעין כייטין אלא חגורה לחן ולהסד ולרחבים כייניכם
- 7 ובעני כל רואין כבשם חניאל חסדיאל רחמיאל וכבך היים הוצא כפסוק ונח כיינא חן כייני יהוה ואהם הכלאים הכינים
- 8 יעל אוצרות השמים והברכה התפתח את אוצרותיכם והשביעו והשפעו שפע כמותכם כבשם כח השם הוצא כפסוק יפתח יהוה לך את אוצרו הטוב את השמים כבשם הנעיש הנעיש אלא סוסא אנדי כונו ציכרדי
- 10 קדיש הקדישים כמוכסו כונוי כד . . .



THE INVOCATION TO THE RIGHT

- 1 כִּי־סָם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יוֹשֵׁב
- 2 הַכְּרוֹבִים אִשֶׁר כִּפְחָדוּ יַגְדּוּ
- 3 אֱלֹהִים וַיִּרְעִישׁוּ אֹפְנִים וְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל
- 4 כִּרְכַּבְהִי לִפְנֵי כַרְעִים וּמִשְׁתַּחֲוִים
- 5 כּוֹתֵב אֲנִי קָמִיעַ זֶה לִשְׁם שְׁמִירָה
- 6 וּרְפוּאָה וְהַצְלָה נִקְדָּע וְנוֹשֵׂא קָמִיעַ זֶה עֲלֵינוּ
- 7 כִּכְחַ מְלֶאכֶךְ זֶה הַיּוֹם יִשְׁכַּלּוּ אֲרֻיָּה
- 8 וּמִלֵּאכֹר רִפְאָל וּמִיִּשְׁרָתוֹ צְדָקָה שִׁיְהִיָּה
- 9 נִשְׁמַר נִקְדָּע כִּכְחַ חֲלָאִים רַעִים
- 10 וְנֹאמְנִים וּמְכַל כִּיאֹרְעוֹת קִשׁוֹת וְרַעוֹת
- 11 וּמְכַל פַּחַד וְאִיכָה וְצַעַר וְנוֹק וְרִפְיוֹן
- 12 וְכַהֲלָה וְהַרְגָּזָה וְהַרְעִישָׁה וְכוֹבֵד רֹחַ
- 13 רַעַה וּמִיִּשְׁרָן לִלְיָן צַפְרִירִין וְטַהֲרִירִי
- 14 רֹחַמֵי־אֲרָצִים וּמִיִּבְיָסֵי הַרְעִים
- 15 נִסְתַּר וְנִגְלוּ בְיּוֹם וּבְלֵילָה וּמְכַל
- 16 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁרָה הַיְטוֹכְנִים כְּבָתִּים וּבַחֲצוֹת וּבִאֲפִיקִים
- 17 וּבְכִרְחֻצָאוֹת וּבִאֲנָמִים וּבְכִאֲרוֹת וּבְכַחֲלִים
- 18 וּבְמַעֲיָנוֹת וּבִאֵילָנוֹת וּבַפְּנוֹת הַבַּיִת וּבְרַפְשֵׁי
- 19 וּבְטִיט וּבְפִרְשֵׁת דְּרָכִים עַל הַכֹּל אֲנִי
- 20 מִיִּשְׁבִיעַ בְּכַח סְנוּי וּסְנַסְנֵי וּסְנַנְגַּלְף וּבִשְׁם
- 21 יוֹאחַצְצַבִּירֹן וְעֵלִיךְ לֵילִית וְעַל כָּל כַּת דִּילְךְ
- 22 וְעֵלִיךְ זִמְזִמִּית וְעַל כָּל כַּת דִּילְךְ וְעֵלִיךְ אַגְרַת
- 23 כַּת כַּחֲלָה וְעַל כָּל כַּת דִּילְךְ וְעֵלִיךְ קַפְקַפּוּעִי
- 24 מִלְכָּא דִּישְׁדִי וְעַל כָּל הַיְלִילִיה וְעַל כָּל רֹחַן
- 25 כִּיִּטֵּן וּמִזְקֵן וּמִרוּחַ אַבְרִי וּמִרוּחַ קְטוּלִי וּמִרוּחַ
- 26 קְבִרִי וּמִרוּחַ מִינְיָ וּשְׁלִיטָא וְעַל כָּל שְׂדֵן דְּרַכְרִין
- 27 שְׁמִיחֹן וְדֵלָא דִּישׁ שְׁאֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ שְׁמִיחֵן וְשִׁאֵן אִישׁ
- 28 שְׁלָא הוֹיָקוּ וְלֹא הַפְּחִירוּ וְלֹא הוֹיָעוּ וְלֹא
- 29 הַרְעִירוּ וְלֹא הַרְעִישׁוּ וְלֹא הִשְׁחִיתוּ וְלֹא הַפְּסִירוּ
- 30 נִקְדָּעֵי בִּשְׁמוֹ אֲכַר מִרְמָחִי
- 31 אִיכְרִיו לֹא בְרָאִישׁוֹ וְלֹא כִּמְרָאִית עֵינֵי..."

TRANSLATION

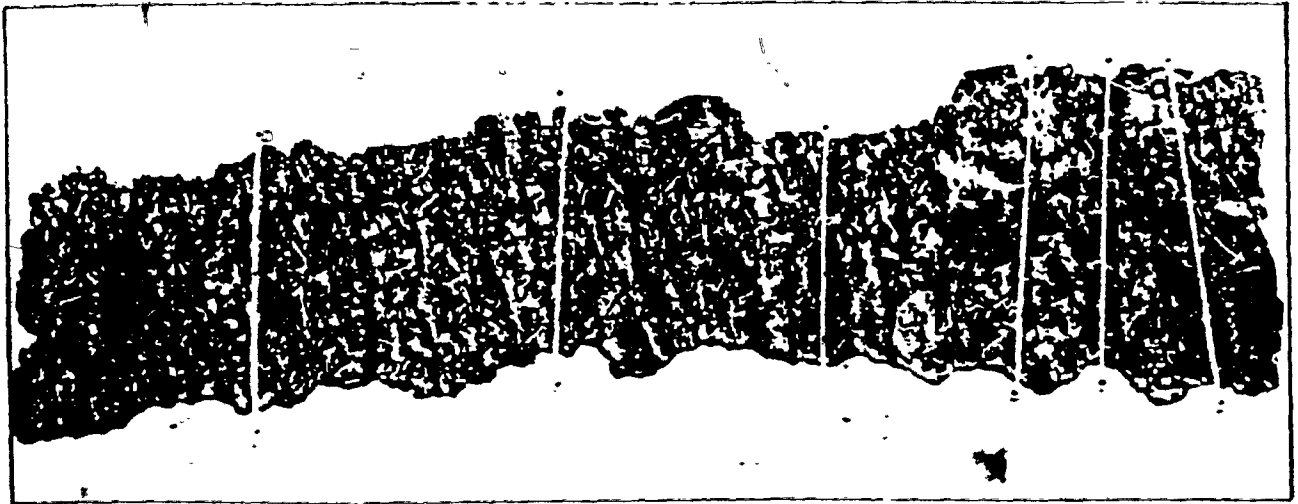
- 1 In the name of JHVH, the God of Israel, who dwelleth
- 2 among the Cherubim, before whose awfulness the angels (or gods) fear;
- 3 and the Ofanim (wheels) tremble, and all the princes
- 4 of the Merkabah (chariot) kneel down and prostrate themselves before him—
- 5 I write this amulet for the protection
- 6 and healing and delivery of the bearer of this amulet upon him.
- 7 By the power of the angel of this day, whose constellation is Leo,
- 8 and his [ruling] angel is Rafael, and his servitor is Jupiter,² that
- 9 the bearer of this amulet be guarded against all evil and
- 10 enduring diseases, and against all severe and evil vicissitudes
- 11 and against any fear, terror, anguish, injury, and feebleness,
- 12 and panic, and upsetting, and trembling, and depression of an evil
- 13 spirit, and against Shedim, Lalin, morning demons, and mid-day demons,⁴
- 14 whether they be evil [demons] of the winds, the earth, or the waters,⁵
- 15 hidden or revealed, by day or by night; and
- 16 against any male Shed and female Shed who dwell in houses, and in courtyards, and in channels,
- 17 and in bath-houses, and in pools, and in wells, and in brooks,
- 18 and in springs, and in trees, and in the corners of the house, and in mire
- 19 and dirt, and on the cross-roads.⁶—All of them
- 20 I adjure by the power of Sanuy and Sansanuy and Samangaluf, and in the name
- 21 of Yu'ahashbirum, and thee Lilith and thy entire band,
- 22 and thee Zamzamith and thy entire band, and thee Agrath,
- 23 daughter of Mablath,⁷ and thy entire band, and thee Kafkapu'a,⁸
- 24 king of the Shedim, and his entire host, and all evil
- 25 spirits, and injuring spirits. And against the spirit of . . .⁹ and the spirit of a slain man¹⁰ (?!), and the spirit
- 26 of the grave,¹¹ and the spirit of . . . and of . . .,¹² and all the Shedim whose names
- 27 are remembered or whose names are not remembered,¹³ whose names I know or no man [knows]¹⁴—
- 28 that ye shall not injure, and not frighten, and not disturb, and not
- 29 terrorize, and not upset, and not destroy, and not harm
- 30 the bearer of this amulet upon him in any member of his two hundred forty-eight¹⁵
- 31 members, neither in his head nor in his eyesight . . .¹⁶

THE ISRAELITIC TO THE LEFT

- 1 יהו רצון כלפניך יהוה אלהי ואלהי
- 2 אבתי למינך ולמינך שכך הגדול
- 3 המוכתר באלו שמות הקדושים
- 4 והנוראים ויהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו
- 5 ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו
- 6 ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו
- 7 ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו ייהוהו
- 8 שמותך הקדושים אלו אנלא
- 9 אוננה יהך כלך כונו במוכסו כונו
- 10 שתשמור ותציל
- 11 נקזע ככל עין הרע ומליטון הרע
- 12 ומכל רכור רע ומכל כראים כישין
- 13 ומנפפה ומאפפפה ומנזילה ומחולי
- 14 שחורה ולבנה וארוכה וירוקה ומכל
- 15 הרדמת אברים וממיתה מישונה
- 16 וממיתה פתאימית ומישטות ומכלכול כוח
- 17 ומתכהון לבב ומעילוף ורתת חוץ ומרמינות
- 18 רעות וממזוקות לב ומראבון לב ומרוחק
- 19 לב ומציד לב ומעצבון לב כישם וככח
- 20 לטבלא ונחב שתשמור ותציל לנקזע מכאב
- 21 ראש וכחלי עין וממזוקות לב ומקטב ומריר
- 22 ומדבר ומנפה כישם צדנלכיש קהסמנה
- 23 קסטיאל קטסיאל ומבל מיני קישור ומישוף
- 24 שבעולם כדכתיב ככישפה לא תחיה כישם
- 25 היה ומצא חן ושכל טוב בעיניך ובעיני כל
- 26 רואיו כדכתיב ונח מצא חן בעיני יהוה וכתיב
- 27 ומצא חן ושכל טוב בעיני אלהים ואדם ותהיה (מ)
- 28 לאהבה לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני
- 29 כל רואיו כישם אהביאל חניאל חסדיאל
- 30 רחמיאל אמן נצח סלה ועד אוריאל רפאל
- 31 נכריאל כיכאל סמכיאל יגוריאל צדקאל
- 32 ייעשיאל

TRANSLATION

- 1 May it please thee, O JHVH, my God and the God
 2 of my fathers, for thy sake and for the sake of thy great
 name
 3 which is crowned with these holy
 4 and awful names _____
 5 _____
 6 _____
 7 _____, and for the sake
 8 of these thy holy names 'AGLA'
 9 AZBUGAH YUHK ELK³ KUZU BMUKSZ KUZU⁴
 10 That thou mayest guard and deliver
 11 the bearer of this amulet upon him from any evil eye and
 from an evil tongue,⁵
 12 and from all evil speech, and from all evil sights,
 13 and from epilepsy, and from croup, and from a running
 catarrh,
 14 and from the black sickness (melancholy, or *melanœmia*),
 and the white sickness (*leucœmia*), and the red sickness
 (jaundice), and the green sickness (biliousness, or Egyptian
chlorosis),
 15 and from any torpor of the limbs (paralysis, or narcosis),
 and from a strange death,
 16 and a sudden death, and from folly and confusion of the
 brain,
 17 and from stupor of the heart, and from faintness, trembling,
 and shock, and from evil
 18 fancies and distress of the heart, and languor of the heart,
 and pressure
 19 of the heart, and . . . of the heart, and sadness of the
 heart. In the name and by the power
 20 of LTBLA' WNIIB mayest thou guard and protect the
 bearer of this amulet upon him from head-
 21 ache, and from eye-sore, and from distresses of the heart,⁶
 and from Keṭeb and Meriri,⁷
 22 and from pestilence and plague: in the name of SDNLBSH
 KHSMGT
 23 Kasiel Katsiel. And from any bond⁸ and magic [that
 exist]
 24 in the world, as it is written, 'Thou shalt not suffer a sor-
 ceress to live,'⁹ in
 25 the name of HYII. And may he find favor and good under-
 standing in thine eyes and in the eyes of all
 26 who see him, as it is written, 'And Noah found favor in the
 eyes of JHVH';¹⁰ and is written,
 27 'And thou wilt find favor and good understanding in the
 eyes of God and man.'¹¹ And may he be an object
 28 of love, favor and grace and compassion in thine eyes and
 in the eyes
 29 of all who see him; in the name of Ahabiel, Hanniel, Hasdiel,
 30 Rahaniel. Amen, enduring forever. Uriel, Rafael.
 31 Gabriel, Michael, Samkiel, 'Azriel, Šadkiel.
 32 Sha'ashiel.

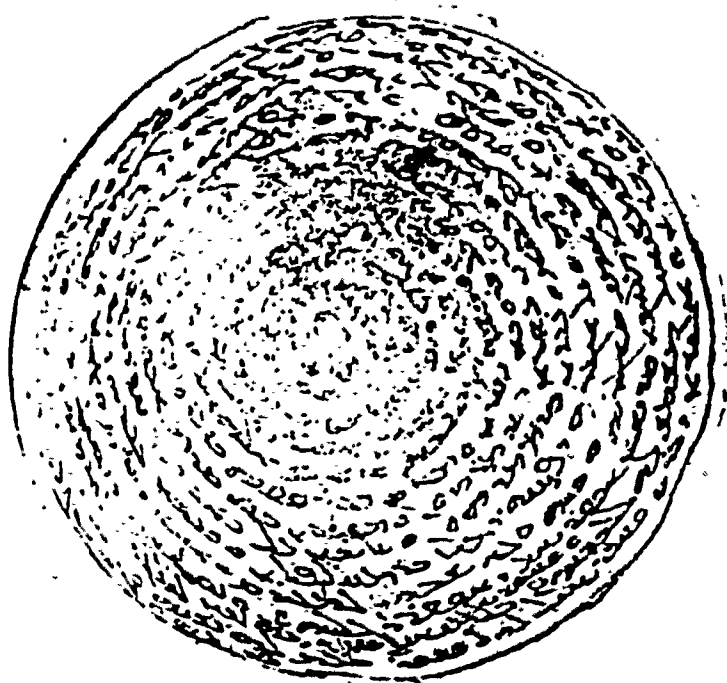


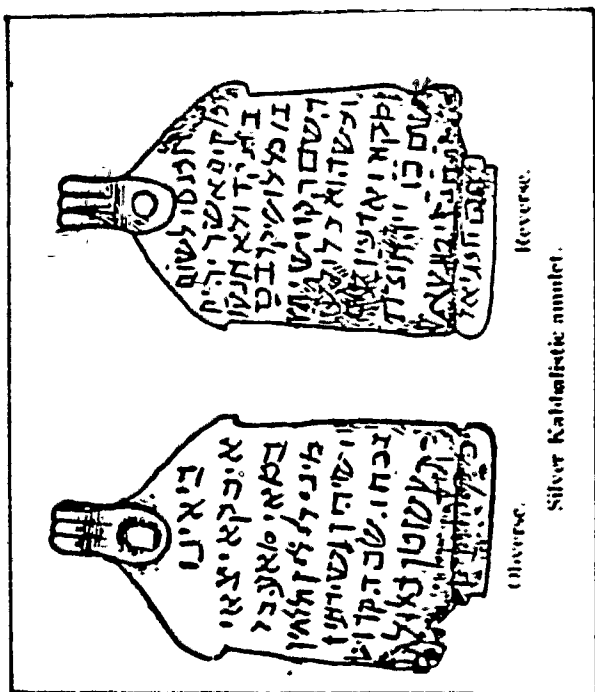
Text.

1. ונפח הנזנים ביה רמנאחיס מן כל כיש ומן עין ודאכורו
2. -ומון עין דאיש ומן עין דנשן ומן עין דנברו ומן עין דבהילאחאן
3. ודורו צבאות עימט מיסכב לנו אליה יעקב סלה אמן סלה אמן
4. ודורו צבאות אמן . . אל וחרדו ס . . . ת לומט עריה יהום
5. . . ומרש וצער ורוח וטיד אמן סלה אמן אמן אמן
6. . . אל וחרדו . . . יהוה שמרית . . . יהום . . .
7. אמן סלה אמן

Translation.

1. [Protect the . . .]
2. and the body of Georges son of Pagatus from all evil.
3. from the eye of [his father]
4. and from the eye of his mother and from the eye of women
5. and from the eye of men and from the eye of virgins.
6. [YHVH] Sabaoth is with us, the god of Jacob is our refuge.
7. Solah, Amen, Amen, Solah, Amen.
8. [YHVH] Sabaoth, Amen . . .
9. . . . siltment and shame and spirit and demon. Amen, Amen, Solah, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, Amen, . . .
10. ? . . . ?
11. . . . Amen, Amen, Solah, Amen





Reverse.

Obverse.

Silver Kabbalistic amulet.

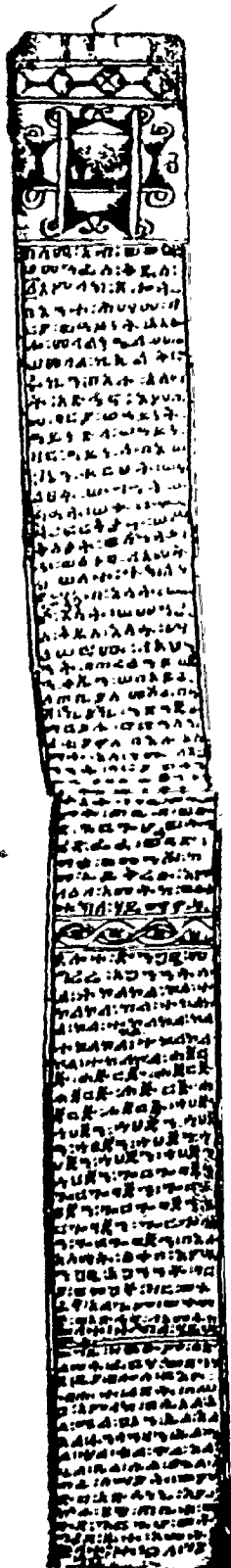
OBVERSE.

1. In the Name of the Lord God of Israel we shall do and prosper.
2. "I beseech thee by the power of the greatness" of God, the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel.
3. In the names of the angels of the God (of Israel) I conjure you all
4. kinds of Lilin (i.e. night-devils), male and female,
5. and Demons, male and female,
6. by the power of the holy Name.
7. "Accept the prayer of thy people, exalt them, purify them, O Thou Who art tremendous," combined with
8. its root (i.e. source) YHVH, that they do not

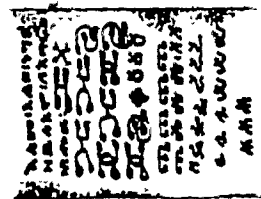
REVERSE.

1. enter to any
2. place where there be
3. in it "O mighty one, those who beseech thee," nor shall touch
4. it at all, nor hurt by the power of
5. the holy Name "thy right hand shall loosen the bondage."
6. "Thy single ones, like the apple of thine eye, guard them, combined with
7. its root (i.e. source) ADNI, and with
8. the name of 26 (letters) (the Tetragrammaton) "Accept our entreaty, and hear our cry, Lord who knowest the hidden things."
9. "May the Lord preserve thy going out and thy coming in from now and evermore." Amen. Selah.

Ethiopian Charm, and Case, 2



LEATHER CASE,
Showing marks of much wear.



BACK OF SCROLL

TRANSLATION

1. Bè asma áve, wa weld, wa mánfars kèdoos,
In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost,
2. Ahade Amlack Salot
One God Prayer.
3. Ber ter hamamer báryá wa áyènet.
For (against) the sickness of the slave (epilepsy) and the (evil) eye.
4. Awlo mela-el: Metowé mela-el: Corooking.⁶¹¹
5. Bè illoo asmat
By these names
6. Adi hanna inhemamer bárya wa áyènet,
Deliver her from the sickness of the slave (epilepsy) and the (evil) eye.
7. Ayène seila wa ayène Zár.
The shadow of the eye and the eye of the Zár.⁶¹²
8. Ayène sáve wa ganeri,
The eye of men and demons.
9. Coorsat wa feltát,
Colic and headache,
10. Wegat wa serkseát was sbentemát.
Rending, and sharp pain, and painful micturition.
11. Ikerba lamátka weilata Tekla Haimanoót.⁶¹³
Keep thy servant, the daughter of Tekla Haimanoót.
12. Avè isát, weld isat, wa manfar kèdoos isát,
The Father is fire, the Son is fire, and the Holy Ghost is fire.
13. Maisaromoo le aganáat.
The chain of the demons.
14. Betaranyou: Bejune: Cashoon: wa Veafa satavias:
15. Mashatanersh: Keeyakee: Borons: Cantyanos.⁶¹⁴
16. Bè illoo asmat iseromoo le aganant.
By these names chain the demons (viz. the following),
17. Bana wa Legawon, Dabas wa Jinn, Salawogi wa Fagen,
and and and
Zár wa Nagergar: Didk wa chunafár:
and : plague and sudden sickness;
18. Mitch wa Mitat Nahavi wa goosimt:
Sharp pain and stroke: the hunter and the toucher.⁶¹⁵
19. Tawive wa Booda.⁶¹⁶ Googoohá wa tigdá.
The clever-wicked and sorcerers; choking and wind paroxysm;

20. Fira wa nedad : Magua wa mansho :
Fever and ague ; fever and periodic illness
21. Cama iyikravoo imlaila amatea Welata Tekla Hai
manoot.⁶¹⁷
Lest they approach her, (and fail) on thy servant, the
daughter of Tekla Hamanoot.
22. Soter d ngate megraray agant.
The prayer of fear to Him who tules the demons
23. Coltekoleol, Coltekòleol, Coltekoleol, Colte- (Repetition
keleol, Coltekoleol, Coltekoleol, Coltekoleol in 27 lines)
24. Hajirji, Hajirji, Hajirji, Hajirji, Hajirji, Hajirji, Hajirji
25. Gohajir, Gohajir, Gohajir, Gohajir, Gohajir, Gohajir,
Gohajir.
26. Gorgovajir, Gorgovajir, Gorgovajir, Gorgovajir, Gorgovajir,
Gorgovajir, Gorgovajir.⁶¹⁸
27. Be illoo asmat, Ikaba indingaza agant,
B. these names keep her from the terror of the demons.
28. Bora a wa magaña, Zár wa kurafa, Algoom wa
[Kòomafa]⁶¹⁹
still birth, evil possession, dumbness
and standing sickness
29. Adhinnna, lamstika, Welata Tekla Hamanoot.⁶²⁰
Deliver her, thy servant, daughter of Tekla Hamanoot.
30. Wa gázoo zahzoom lé zilmát, firha wa dangaza Diávoles
(fikát)
Then he whose face is covered with darkness, feared and
trembled ; the archdevil.
31. Rigó bihóoteridat besiga Amlocka be seol
When he saw the mighty one who was born in the flesh
(even) God, in hell.
32. El ; M'el ; Jan'el ; Iilitarsangana-el ; M'el ; Telk-el
Walil-el ; Z'el , B'el ; M'el.⁶²¹
33. Fatare samayat wa midir, Adhinnamí amatika Eon Kallou
deeré taviv wa booda goorgooha wa tigrída, Welata
Tekla Hamanoot
The creator of heaven and earth, deliver me, thy servant,
from every ill by the evil, wicked, and sorcerer choking
and paroxysm daughter of Tekla Hamanoot.

Back of Story

Continuation : there being not sufficient space below the
last line on the face.

34. Isma alvo negar Zeyesano lé Egziáwehair.
Nothing is impossible with God

The figures and letters after the above form a talisman,
signifying in words : "Bind him ! Bind him ! Bind
him !"

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