

# Why Does Female Representation in Mesopotamian Art Decline from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BCE?

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## ABSTRACT

As we move from the third millennium to the second millennium BCE, the representation of women in Mesopotamian art substantially decreases. This tendency has been noted by many academics, but the cause has not yet been discovered. With the support of the supposition that a reduction in women's status caused a decline in their representation in art, this study seeks to explain this trend. This paper primarily employs case studies to identify any variations in how women were portrayed before using the information gained to support the hypothesis. The study also gives a background on women's representation in seals and legal codes.

## **Introduction**

In her paper “The Role of Women in Work and Society in the Ancient Near East”, Adelheid Otto (2016) states “While a considerable number of women were depicted as statues or on stelae and seals in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia, there is hardly a single one on such objects in 2nd millennium Mesopotamia”. While she suggests some reasons for this, such as that the images which have reached the Ancient Middle East are a tiny fragment of what had existed in the past, they are not convincing, as fragmentary survival of sources should not be dependent on gender. Otto also quotes Harriet Crawford, who emphasises the fact that a large proportion of art-work was made for or by (hired workers) the higher sections of society, but again this elite bias should apply equally to men and women. She also states “Much has been written about the depiction of women in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia. The most comprehensive studies on Mesopotamian women during Uruk-ED III-period are those of Julia Asher-Greve (1985; 2006; 2013) and during the Akkadian and Ur III periods, those of Claudia Suter (2007; 2008; 2013); the most recent summary was written by Harriet Crawford (2014)”. Although the latter is an extensive overview, Crawford mainly talks about women from the top echelons (priestesses, queens) of society (2014), focusing less on the status of women as a whole. Furthermore, all of these studies focus on women's representation in the 3rd millennium BC, but as of yet, there are no concrete studies for the 2nd millennium BC.

This essay will discuss the correlation between the representation of women in Mesopotamian art and their decline in social status. A literature review and a case study analysis serve as the foundation for this essay. I begin by setting out the historical, political, and cultural background of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC ancient Mesopotamia. Relying on seminal synthetic texts for historical context, I then attempt an in-depth reading of certain translated legal codices to highlight differences in gendered status across the period I am focusing on. This is followed by a case study section, where I have analysed a few examples of ancient Mesopotamian art in order to showcase any differences in female representation. I utilise qualitative, visual analysis, focusing on representational conventions, as well as on economic aspects of art (such as the price and rarity of the materials used), to highlight any discrepancies in the portrayal of men and women. By doing so, I intend to problematise

Otto's observation that the declining representation of women has entered the scholarly discourse. Without a thorough investigation of the reasons behind this trend, one may fall into the trap of automatically assuming it is somehow related to the declining status of women. This paper introduces more rigour into this assumption.

## Background

The history of ancient Iraq between the 3rd-2nd millennia BC has been divided into different periods based on key events and the balance of political power in the region, which are summarised below.

**Table 1.** Periodisation of the 3rd-2nd millennia BC in Ancient Mesopotamia (after Roux 1966: 123-240).

PERIOD	DATE
Sumerian	c.2900-2700 BC
Akkadian	c.2334-2154 BC
Neo-Sumerian	c.2112-2004 BC
Old Babylonian Empire	c.1792-1750 BC

The first period relevant to this paper, the Sumerian period, begins around 2900 BC and is characterized by the cultural and political dominance of Sumer, in the south of Mesopotamia (fig. 1). This was followed by the Sargonid conquests and a period of Akkadian dominance and a subsequent renaissance of Sumerian culture. The last period relevant here was that of the Old Babylonian Empire (c.1792-1750 BC), with its capital at Babylon which ushered a new period of cultural efflorescence and economic prosperity, as well as a significant political, social, and legal change (Roux 1966: 195).



**Figura 1.** Map of ancient Mesopotamia.

In the 3rd millennium BC, both Sumer and Akkad were divided into city-states. Each city-state consisted of a city, its suburbs and satellite towns and villages. Each Sumerian city was formed of several districts and each district was protected by its own god, who had his temple. Throughout this period land was divided into three types: lord's land, ploughland and food land (Roux 1966: 131).

During the Sumerian period, the temple was one of the most important institutions. It was responsible for land, revenue and employment. The revenue it gained through tax collection and land use was redistributed as wages or gratuities to thousands of people, mostly free women, but also free men and slaves. "Therefore, the temples were clearly important economic units" (Roux 1966:130-132), crucial to the functioning of Sumerian society and instrumental in maintaining the livelihoods not just of priests, but of many ordinary people. The importance of temples fluctuated throughout the period under discussion, decreasing during the Akkadian rule of Sargon and rising in prominence again during the neo-Sumerian period. Generally, the appearance of a particularly strong political ruler usually meant a decrease in the temples' status, itself a sign of just how powerful temples were (as they clearly constituted a dangerous political rival). Consequently, under Sargon, control of arable land was entrusted to his subordinates rather than to temples. "Politically, the period rang the knell of the small city-states and heralded the advent of large, centralized kingdoms. In social and economic fields, the Akkadian preference for private property and the constitution of large royal estates eroded the domain and power of temples, at least in Sumer" (Roux 1966:160).

Compared to the Sargonic period, the Third Dynasty of Ur or the neo-Sumerian period is poor in written sources. However, from the existing ones, we can tell that the cultivable land was still divided into the lord's land, food land and ploughland as it was done previously during the Sumerian period. With the waning of imperial Akkadian authority, the temples became politically and economically more important again. Throughout this period, men and women were employed in various occupations. Many factories, which were most probably managed by the state (palaces and temples) producing leather, textiles or flour, employed thousands of women. Their salaries varied according to rank, sex and age (Roux 1966,173).

After this came the Old Babylonian rule of Hammurabi. The 43-year-long reign of Hammurabi, the sixth king of the Early Babylonian dynasty marked the peak of a series of cultural changes. These changes deeply affected the Mesopotamians' art, language, agriculture, literature, and philosophy (Roux 1966: 195). During this period a large number of priests were once again attached to the temple. However, they acted as subordinates to the king, with temple authority becoming again subordinate to political power. Priests' sons and grandsons were brought up in temples and were given a thorough education in temple school, creating a specialised, bureaucratic class (Roux 1966,213). It should be noted that this privilege was not extended to women born into the priestly class.

During the Old Babylonian period, we also see a structured focus on law, land, culture and religion, as expressed in the Code of Hammurabi, which is considered to be one of the most important textual resources from ancient Mesopotamia. Comparisons with earlier legal codes suggest that the Code of Hammurabi was a significant departure from its predecessors, not least in terms of the severity of punishment. "The laws mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi are concerned with family and property and represent a remarkable effort to protect women and children from arbitrary treatment, poverty and neglect." (Roux 1966,205). More pertinently to this paper, a degree of inequality between sexes is apparent in the Code. For example, the wife's adultery was punished by death, although the husband could have pardoned their spouse, thus saving them. Men were not subject to the death penalty in case of cheating, and a man could divorce his wife without giving her anything if she misbehaved. This suggests that although women were considered vulnerable and worthy of protection, they were also firmly subordinate to men and were not treated equally. Another example that supports this argument is that when a woman died her property was divided amongst her sons, not daughters. (The Code of Hammurabi, translated by L. W. King). Men were able to preserve their riches and ownership of property as a result, but women lost this opportunity.

By contrast, some earlier laws such as the Code of Ur-Nammu (2100 BCE – 2050 BCE) state that women could at least function as legal persons and could own property. The code contains a clear provision for a daughter to become the heir of her father, provided he has no sons:

“§ B2 If a man dies and has no male-son: an unmarried daughter [will be] his heir (Roth 2013:148-149).”

This suggests that women, although not always treated equally to men, could at least function as legal persons and could own their own property. Furthermore, another law allows a divorced woman to marry a “spouse of her choice”, again showing a degree of decision-making and personal responsibility. By the time the Code of Hammurabi was written, this was seemingly no longer the case. For instance, a provision mentions that if a man wishes to divorce his wife, then he may do so after paying her the dowry. (provision 138. If a man wishes to separate from his wife who has borne him no children, he shall give her the amount of her purchase money and the dowry which she brought from her father's house, and let her go.). But if another provision states “If a man's wife, who lives in his house, wishes to leave it, plunges into debt, tries to ruin her house, neglects her husband, and is judicially convicted: if her husband offers her release, she may go on her way, and he gives her nothing as a gift of release. If her husband does not wish to release her, and if he take another wife, she shall remain as servant in her husband's house.”

2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC codes other than the Code of Hammurabi also depict women as subordinates to men. In the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, written under the late Sumerian First Dynasty of Isin ca. 1925 BC, a woman is explicitly referred to as being “given (in marriage) from the house of her father” (Roth:2013). In the Laws of Eshnunna, which come from northern Mesopotamia, ca. 1800 BC, women were similarly described as the property of men. For eg: “§ 25 If a man comes to claim (his bride) ...” (Roth:2013).

Due to the poor preservation of the Code of Ur-Nammu, which is the only 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC legal code we have, the evidence for this period is tentative. However, it seems plausible that women enjoyed more civil rights in Sumerian politics than later on. Women could hold important political, administrative, or economic functions in society, they were allowed to own seals which played an important role in legal, and administrative affairs and most importantly in trade. Women were most importantly represented in erotic, fertility, medical and textile-related seals. This points to the main spheres of life where women were key: sexual, family, textile production and medicine (Lassen 2020). This shows that women were not only restricted to the private sector, however it is still a narrow range of professions.

## Case Studies

### Section – 1

#### *The female head with elaborate hairstyle*



**Figure 2.** Female head with elaborate hairstyle. (The Met Museum Catalogue, online.)

Time period: 2600-2500 BC (early dynastic)

This Early Dynastic sculpted female head is made of limestone. The female is shown to be wearing an elaborate headdress. Her nose is large and the lips are small but full and her eyes are rimmed. This sculpture does not seem to be wearing any jewellery other than the headdress. The eyes of this sculpture are hollow, and other examples of this period suggest they may have originally been inset with eyes in a different material (e.g., bone, bitumen, lapis lazuli).

### *Head of a Male*



**Figure 3.** Head of a male. The Met Museum Catalogue, online.

Time period: 2000-1600BC. (Babylonian)

This male statue is made of ceramic, and it was painted, probably with red paint, but the paint has worn off. The sculpture has large, rimmed eyes. The grooves on his neck depict jewellery. He has a well-structured nose. The lips are thin and are shaped into a gentle smile. His ears are protruding. This sculpture seems to be a part of a larger piece. The large, somewhat unusual nose and the lines on his forehead suggest a relatively high degree of realism.

### *Head of a female*



**Figure 4.** Head of a female. The Met Museum Catalogue, online.

Time Period; 2000-1600 BC (Babylonian)

This female sculpture is also made of ceramic. Like the male example of this period and the earlier female head, it also has rimmed eyes. The grooves on the neck depict jewellery. The nose and lips are well structured. The hair is open and falls on her shoulders. The ears protrude from her hair. This sculpture head

seems to be a part of a larger sculpture. It is more worn than the male figure, but seems to be made with a similar degree of realism.

### *Discussion*

The two sculptures from the Babylonian period are made of ceramic. The male one was most likely painted in red, while no traces of paint remain on the female sculpture. Considering the poorer preservation of the latter, this might simply be a preservation issue, although it is also possible that the female was not painted. One certainly might notice that the female sculpture is less intricately carved as the lines and patterns are bold and wider spaced. Therefore, we can infer that the male sculpture could have been given more importance, perhaps depicting an individual of higher status. His lined forehead quite unambiguously suggests a mortal man, rather than a god.

### *Comparing the Babylonian sculptures with the Early Dynastic*

The material used in the first case study is different, as the sculpture is made of limestone. In Mesopotamia, mud and clay were easily available, but limestone was not. One might infer that the Early Dynastic sculpture was more expensive. Carving limestone is also arguably a more skilled operation than moulding clay, again suggesting higher value. Accordingly, the limestone sculpture seems more intricately carved. One another difference to note is that the case studies one and two have rounded eyes, whereas case study three has hollow eyes. This could be due to the reason that there could have been an eye-ball structure made up of a rare material, like lapis lazuli inserted there (again potentially indicating higher value). The sculpture from the third dynastic period seems to be wearing no jewellery other than the headdress – a usual sign of elite status in the Early Dynastic period. Taken together, the headdress, the material, the potential inset eyes all suggest that this sculpture may represent an important person and/or have been commissioned by someone relatively wealthy, capable of accessing materials and of paying for the work of a sculptor.

The Early Dynastic sculpture appears somewhat more idealised than the Old Babylonian pieces, although this may well be a function of the medium (it is more difficult to render things like irregularities, curves, and wrinkles in a sculpted than moulded material). However, the beaky nose and full cheeks suggest a degree of individualism, reminiscent of the rather realistic Old Babylonian heads, and likely again suggesting that this was a woman, not a goddess. Considering the difference of media, it is impossible to tell whether representational conventions have changed much between the Early Dynastic and Old Babylonian periods based on these sculptures. However, the apparently high value of the sculpture, coupled with the naturalism suggesting a human (not a goddess), demonstrates that quite powerful women were depicted in Early Dynastic art.

## Section – 2

### *Standing male worshipper*



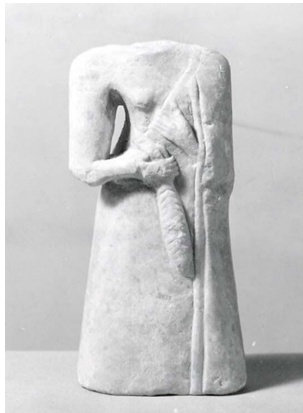
**Figure 5.** Standing male worshipper. The Met Museum Catalogue, online.

Time Period: 2900-2600 BC (Sumerian)

Dimensions: 29.5×12.9×10 cm

This standing male sculpture is carved of gypsum alabaster, shell, black limestone and bitumen. Black limestone and bitumen were used for the eyes, and to give dark details on the beard. The materials used for this sculpture are quite unique. The hands of the male are clasped together and the lines are smooth and static, in a typical Sumerian pose. He is wearing a skirt and his chest is naked.

### *Standing Female Figure*



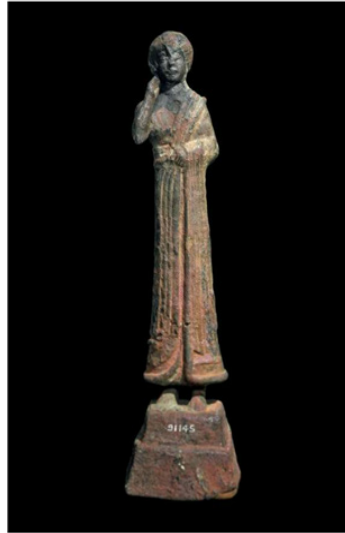
**Figure 6.** Standing female figure. The Met Museum Catalogue, online.

Time Period: 2700-2600 BC (Early Dynastic)

Dimensions: 11.3×4.6×3.2 cm

This female sculpture is also carved of gypsum alabaster. It has no head. She is probably wearing a cloth draped as a skirt, and then falling on her left arm. In her right arm she appears to be holding a fish. Fish are known to be an important part of the Mesopotamian diet but were also used as offerings to the gods – this may suggest that the figure is a religious worshipper (Buren 1948). The sculpture is simple in carving, there are no special or minute details, and compared to the male sculpture it is only made of a single material (although it is not impossible that the head included eyes similar to those of the male). Like the male sculpture, the pose is static, simple, even somewhat severe again in a typical Sumerian fashion (Legrain 1927).

### *Statuette*



**Figure 7.** Statuette. The British Museum Catalogue, online.

Time Period: 1974-1954 BC (Old Babylonian)

Dimensions: 84.92×9.52 cm

This sculpture shows a man standing on a pedestal. It is made of copper, most likely cast in the “lost wax technique”. This is a method of casting which involves making a wax model, sometimes with a core of another substance, enclosing the model in a mould, melting away the wax, and pouring molten metal or glass into the void resulting from the removal of the wax, then allowing the material to harden before removing the mould. The final stage after casting usually entails polishing of the finished object. Copper was not difficult to procure but, being an imported and somewhat rare commodity, was relatively expensive (see Leick 2002 for a discussion of the complex copper trade routes). Furthermore, casting such a figure required considerable skill, money and time. The man appears to be wearing a long robe which is draped over his left arm, and he is wearing a necklace with a crescent moon, indicating a relationship to the god Sin (perhaps the man was a priest?). His right arm is raised slightly. The facial expressions look calm, and the statue, although Old Babylonian, retains something of the calm, static aspect of the two Sumerian sculptures discussed.

Rather interestingly, the figure is wearing a headband, which is somewhat similar to the one we observed in case study 1 of the previous section. Furthermore, the robe looks like the clothing worn by case study 2 in this section. Both suggest a woman more than a man, yet archaeologists have interpreted the statue as a man, perhaps in the absence of clear sexually dimorphic characteristic (breasts, wide hips). In fact, the British Museum catalogue notes that it had been “erroneously” interpreted as a female worshipper by at least one scholar. This points to the lack of clear sexual/gender dimorphism in at least some human representations in the Old Babylonian empire.

### *Discussion*

The sculpture from the Early Dynastic period (case study 2) is made of gypsum alabaster. The one from the Sumerian period (case study 1) is also made of gypsum alabaster, but also uses bitumen, black limestone and shell. Even though they both use the same material as a base, the Sumerian one has more details, as well as greater diversity of material. By contrast, the Early Dynastic one is relatively plain and simple. All these factors might indicate that the male sculpture could have been given more importance, although of course a single comparison like this is hardly indicative of broader societal trends.

Now if we compare case studies 1 and 2 with case study 3, one major difference we notice is material (copper alloy), which would impose its own restrictions in terms of shape, size, and appearance as compared to



gypsum alabaster. However, even with this difference taken into account, the figures look remarkably similar: all are static, all stand in a somewhat upright posture, with arms bent at the elbow and hands either clasped or folded. Considering that two of these include religious symbols (fish, half-moon pendant), while one has been explicitly interpreted as a “worshipper”, this suggests they may all have religious significance. Apparently, humans in relation to gods were represented in calm, static poses, looking rather idealised. This is in contrast to the heads discussed before, and persists even in the Old Babylonian period, where the Sumerian conventions of static serenity began to change.

### Section – 3

#### *Female plaque*

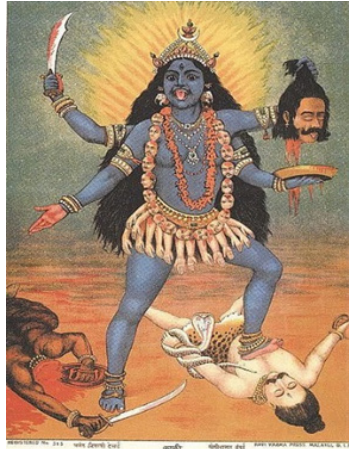


**Figure 8.** plaque. The British Museum Catalogue (online)

Time Period: 2100 BC - 2000 BC

Excavated from: Dakheileh (Ur)

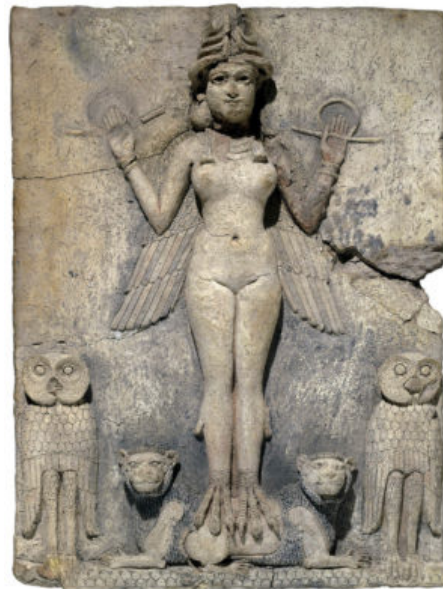
This is a fired plaque of a nude woman made during the Third Dynasty of the Ur or during the Larsa dynasty (around 2100BC-2000BC). It was excavated from Dakheileh (Ur). The female is wearing a necklace, bracelet and a thin belt. She is standing *en face*, with one arm raised, the other stretched in front of her, perhaps holding something. Her pose is similar to that of a goddess –comparable stances can also be seen in portrayals of Hindu goddesses, such as goddess Kali (figure 7) or Durga. Although no direct Mesopotamian comparisons exist, the stance clearly evokes power.



**Figure 9.** Goddess Kali. World History Encyclopaedia.

Having said that, the subject in the selected plaque is notably naked (with the exception of the few ornaments described). Behrens (1982) defines nakedness as the deprivation of status conveyed by clothing. Nakedness identifies those who are humiliated or are not yet fully part of the community, or else who stand outside a community. This does not necessarily contradict the identification as a goddess, as divine beings do stand outside society, but it does seem to preclude an identification as an elite woman.

In Mesopotamian art, goddesses generally are not represented naked. However, exceptions do exist - for instance, in figure 8 the 'Queen of the Night' (© The Trustees of the British Museum) relief, depicts a naked woman, most likely either Ereshkigal (the goddess of the underworld) or Ishtar (goddess of love and war and the most important Mesopotamian female deity).



**Figure 10.** The 'Queen of the Night' relief. (© The Trustees of the British Museum) (example of a naked goddess)



**Figure 11.** Plaque. The British Museum Catalogue (online)

The woman on the plaque appears to have a rounded belly, which can be suggestive of pregnancy. It could also just be an accentuated feature due to the sexual portraiture of the woman – here both her nakedness and the heavily swollen pudendum may offer clues to the exaggeratedly sexual portrayal. The emphasis on reproductive and sexual features may suggest some kind of fertility deity or symbol.



**Figure 12.** Terracotta plaque, excavated at Diqdiqqah, Ur, Iraq. British Museum 116814 © Trustees of the British Museum (Humbaba).

Figure 6 and figure 10 are quite similar. Subjects in both the plaques are naked and wear a similar style of headdress. Both have their right hand raised as if attacking someone. The male represented in figure 10 is recognised as Humbaba, a well-known demon from the Sumerian and Akkadian mythology. The similarity of the stance, otherwise uncommon among portraits of human or divine women, raises the possibility of the demonic nature of the woman or at least reaffirms the initial intuition that her stance evokes power. In any case,

the woman seems to be in some way placed outside society, be it above it (goddess), as a dangerous enemy (demoness), or perhaps as a human associated with breaking social norms and gender roles (prostitute).

### *Male Plaque*



**Figure 13.** Plaque. The British Museum Catalogue (online)

Time Period: Old Babylonian

Excavation site: Diqdiqqa (Ur)

This is a Babylonian, fired clay plaque excavated from Diqdiqqa (Ur). This shows the subject, a bearded male, walking towards the right with an axe in his left hand. He is wearing a turban, which in Mesopotamian art might suggest a person of high position, possibly a god or a king who was deified (the catalogue note indeed describes him as a “slightly deified king”). The presence of an ornament (bracelet on the right wrist) supports this idea of a high position.

Below is another example of a king/god holding a mace with a long beard. The stance of the male in the selected plaque (figure 11) and the male in figure 12 is also quite similar. One must also notice the similarity in the way the cloth is draped in both the figures.



**Figure 14.** King or a god carrying a mace. The Metropolitan Museum Online Catalogue.

*Discussion/Comparison*



Comparing both the plaques one clear difference we see is that the woman in the female plaque is nude whereas the subject in the male plaque is shown to be wearing a skirt. As noted above, this may be symptomatic of a difference in status – while the man is dressed in a garb typical of kings (but not deities, who usually wear a specific type of a flounced skirt) and is thus at the pinnacle of the social order, the woman’s nakedness places her outside of it.

Thus, while it is quite easy to establish that the male one is most probably a king, perhaps somewhat deified, the social and indeed ontological status of the female one is difficult to determine. The absence of clothes could mean that the female is from a lower section of society. However, there is evidence of naked goddesses as well, example figure 8. The attacking stance of the female also supports our assumption about her being a goddess or a demoness. On the whole, it is much more difficult to draw specific conclusions about the female plaque, which may be due to there generally having been more research on men than on women in Mesopotamian archaeology. However, this ambiguity, contrasted with the clear, earthly status of the man and the fact that no comparable plaques of Mesopotamian queens exist does suggest that while there were clear avenues for men to high public visibility and elevated status in the ancient Mesopotamian society, the situation was rather more complicated for women.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, we first see that as we get from the Sumerian period to the Old Babylonian period, the political organisation in Ancient Mesopotamia becomes increasingly centralised and bureaucratised. This is seen in the way that laws evolve over time to become more detailed codices, as well as in the slow (and sometimes uneven) but nevertheless undeniable move from fragmented, city-state-based temple authority to secular, imperial/state-based, political power. Against this backdrop of political change, the status of women also seems to shift. When we compare earlier accessible legal codes to the Old Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, we notice changes in the status of women, with the Code of Hammurabi code being stricter for minor punishments and apparently granting women fewer rights than men, as well as a lesser political and legal standing than the earlier Code of Ur-Nammu did.

Secondly, the case studies also show differences in the way women were represented in art. For instance, one can see that both in the Old Babylonian and Sumerian case studies, the female sculptures have bolder and thicker grooving, whereas male sculptures are more carefully and intricately carved. But there are a lot of similarities in posture and type of representation, and overall, it is by no means clear whether this difference, seen only in two pairs of case studies, indicates any status-based differences that apply to the wider society. Another interesting point to emerge from the case studies is the ambiguous gender of the copper statuette (case study 2) and of the female clay plaque (case study 3). In the latter case in particular, while the male plaque almost certainly represents a king, perhaps deified, the female one's social and even ontological status is difficult to determine. The lack of clothing could indicate that the female is from a lower social class, and there is evidence implying that the female could also be a demon. Overall, it is much more difficult to draw specific conclusions about the female plaque, which may be due to the fact that men have received far more attention in Mesopotamian archaeology than women. If differentiating between men and women is difficult in iconography, then it is possible that the decline in representation observed by Otto is partly to do with such ambiguities.

The final observation is that, although these sources are insufficient to cover such a broad subject, the status of women does appear to be declining in some contexts, such as the legal codes. In addition, there may be other factors contributing to the fall in the portrayal of women, such as the mistaken interpretation of female sculptures and artefacts as belonging to men (perhaps due to most archaeologists in the past being male). Men were given more credit than women in ancient Mesopotamian archaeology, according to the case studies as well. On the whole, this multitude of factors suggests that although Otto may have observed a trend when noting the decline of female representation in Mesopotamian art between the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> millennia BC, it may not be as obvious as she has suggested.

## Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my advisor for the valuable insight provided to me on this topic.

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- Tab. 1. Outline of ancient Mesopotamian history. Based on Roux, G. 1966. *Ancient Iraq*. London: Penguin.
- Fig. 1. Map of ancient Mesopotamia, available at: <https://owlcation.com/humanities/Ancient-Mesopotamian>
- Fig. 2. Female head with elaborate hairstyle. The Met Museum Catalogue, available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324060> [accessed 3.05.2022].
- Fig. 3. Head Of a Male. The Met Museum Catalogue, available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/326046?ft=mesopotamia+men&offset=40&rpp=40&pos=59> [accessed 3.05.2022].
- Fig. 4. Head of a female. The Met Museum Catalogue, available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327396?ft=mesopotamia+women&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=29> [accessed 3.05.2022].
- Fig. 5. Standing male worshipper. The Met Museum Catalogue, available at: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/323735?ft=the+male&offset=0&rpp=40&pos=2> [accessed 3.05.2022].
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- Fig. 7. Statuette. The British Museum Catalogue, available at : [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1890-0510-2](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1890-0510-2) [accessed 3.05.2022]

Figure 8 : plaque. The British Museum Catalogue (online) available at :

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1935-0112-61](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1935-0112-61)

Figure 9: Goddess Kali. World History Encyclopaedia. <https://www.worldhistory.org/Kali/>

Figure 10: The 'Queen of the Night' relief. (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

<https://smarthistory.org/the-queen-of-the-night-relief/>

Figure 11: The British Museum Catalogue (online) available at:

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1935-0112-61](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1935-0112-61)

Figure 12: Terracotta plaque, excavated at Diqqiqah, Ur. Iraq. British Museum 116814 © Trustees of the British Museum (Humbaba)

Figure 13: plaque. The British Museum Catalogue (online) available at:

[https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W\\_1933-1013-181](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_1933-1013-181)

Figure 14: king or a god carrying a mace. The Metropolitan Museum Online Catalogue: available at :

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