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Samanid Pottery, 9th-10th Centuries,
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Figure of Back Cover

Samanid Goblet, 9th-10th Centuries,
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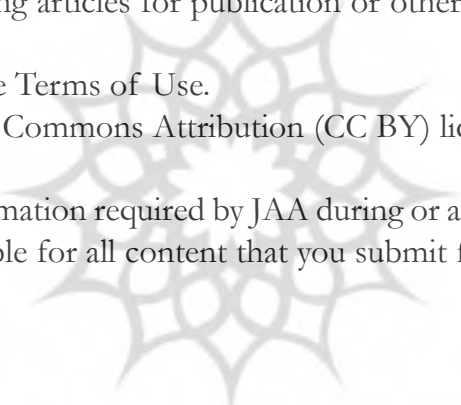
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An Intertextual Study of the Role of the Horned Man in the Artworks of Lorestan and the Role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia

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Abstract: Mythologies are closely related to each other because of the archetypes, and due to time, place, and specific geography, they appear in different forms in different peoples. Gilgamesh is considered the oldest Mesopotamian epic poem whose image can be seen on Lorestan bronzes in the second and first millennium B.C. in the form of a horned man supporting, killing, or taming animals. Identifying the visual relationship between the role of the horned man in Lorestan bronzes and Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian works to discover the common intellectual heritage between these two regions is the main goal of this research. The main question of this research is about what and why are the technical and visual similarities and differences of the paintings, which have dealt with the background of Gilgamesh's role in the Mesopotamian civilization with a descriptive-analytical method, and then, with an analytical method, he analyzed the relationship between the role of the horned man in Lorestan's bronze works and the role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art based on the theory of pre-textuality. The results show that the artist of Lorestan created a work of art under the influence of Mesopotamian mythology and art which are similar in visual and narrative components, but according to the culture and customs of the region, differences can be seen in the performance style and the structure of the topics, which shows that Lorestan artist did not imitate Mesopotamian themes. Rather, it has created a new work of art by creating transformational relationships with changes in the pretext.

Keywords: *Gilgamesh, Bronzes of Lorestan, the Horned Man, Pretext.*

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Introduction

Gilgamesh is considered the oldest epic poem in the world, which is recorded on twelve clay tablets, and now they are kept in the museum of England and its date goes back to three thousand years BC. These tablets describe the story of a legendary warrior named Gilgamesh, who is one of the oldest Uruk kings, he goes through many events to reach the secret of immortality and finally reaches self-knowledge and surrenders to fate. This epic is derived from Sumerian mythology, which is depicted on the dishes of this period as the conqueror of giants and protector of animals. In the works of art from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC, in Lorestan headbands, idols, and horse bridles, images of a man with horns or a horned hat on his head, with a long dress and a large and prominent belt on his waist are depicted, which is engaged in taming lions, snakes, goats, and demons. The question raised in this research is based on the background of the legend of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia and its role in the applied arts of Lorestan's bronze works. What are the similarities and differences between the role of Gilgamesh and the horned man in these works? Is it possible to investigate the cultural roots between these works based on intertextual approaches? The purpose of this research is to represent and express the common characteristics between the images of the horned man in Lorestan bronzes and the role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian artworks based on intertextual approaches. One of the theoretical approaches in the field of research and applied studies, which is based on comparison and comparison, is called the intertextual approach, which is pointed out the relationship between each text and said that art is the imitation of art.

Research Methods

The research method in this article is descriptive-analytical with the approach of art history and archeology, and the means of collecting information are library and field studies. Lorestan bronzes were researched and examined in the library method by preparing sources. In this regard, the study of Sumerian mythology and the study of their art play a fundamental role in reaching the goal. In the field section, pictures were prepared by referring to the museum and museum sites outside Iran. Thus, 114 objects were examined, among which 46 objects had the image of a horned man or a horned hat. To compare the textual content of the motifs created from the narrative of Gilgamesh on Mesopotamian works and Lorestan bronze works, an image was prepared, and in the continuation of these motifs, the motifs have been analyzed based on the theories of textuality, especially Genet's theory of trans-textuality, with the approach of pre-textuality.

Research Background

The bronze works of Lorestan have always been the focus of theorists since their discovery, and the most important ones are mentioned below. The archaeological studies of Louis Vandenberg, a Belgian archaeologist, in cooperation with the Department of Archeology, investigated and explored the areas of Poshtkou Lorestan in seven seasons since 1965 A.D., and they presented the results of their excavations in the annual symposium of archaeological research and introduced the bronze artifacts of Lorestan. This report was translated by Mr. Yahya Shahidi in 1970 A.D. and published in No. 27 of the Historical Research Magazine (Vandenberg, 1970). Negahban (1997) analyzed the bronzes of Lorestan in his review book on fifty years of Iranian archeology and used the activities of archaeologists to date and determine the identity of the said bronzes. Yousefi Kanari (2008) in an article entitled "Exploring the sources of the first epic of Gilgamesh" discussed the origin of the Gilgamesh epic with ancient investigations and compared it with the objects obtained from Jiroft. Fakharzadeh and Namvar Motlagh (2014)

in an article entitled *Transtextual reading of the scene of the killing of the heavenly bull in the depictions of the Gilgamesh narrative* have discussed various factors in the reception of the depictions of the Gilgamesh narrative and its representation in their works. The current research has investigated the role of Gilgamesh in Lorestan's bronze works and compared it with Mesopotamian works in the Sumerian period, according to Genet's theory of pre-textuality.

Theoretical Foundations of Research

Intertextual studies are an interesting approach based on comparing studies in the history of art. This term was used by Julia Kristeva in the 1960s to express the relationship between the texts, which in this way deals with and expresses the studies of the past and their background. Intertextuality is formed when two texts have common elements (Namvar Mutlagh, 2011: 58-59). Intertextuality is based on the principle that there is no text without a pretext. In fact, throughout history, texts have been created in a chain relationship, and new texts were always formed based on old texts. According to this theory, texts are never created independently but are formed in a network of texts of the symbolic world. Thus, this method is a new explanation of the new status of the text. Since intertextuality is not placed in a specific framework and definition, and different theories about it have been presented in this research, Genette's theory has been used. Gerard Genette has studied intertextual relations from a structuralism point of view, and he considers it as one of the five levels of transsexuality, which are intertextual, Para textual, met textual, super textual, and pretextual (Namvar Mutlagh, 2008: 98). In this way, he proposes five groups of proportions and factors that play a role in accepting and receiving the meaning of texts, which reveal the meaning of the text and make its meaning sublime (Ahmadi, 2013: 320). In the analysis of images, this research is based on the intertextuality of the symbolic seer and then on the paratextuality of Genette. With its help, he studies the relationship between previous and later texts, and with this method, he studies the impact of previous texts on the creation of new works. Such studies are based on two types of relationships:

1- Imitative or homogenous relationships where the artist does not interfere with the text and creates a new work of art.

2- The relations of transformation or metamorphosis that the artist creates changes in the new work of art by considering the main elements of the pretext (Namvar Mutlagh, 2012: 148). The subject of this research is placed in the group of interdisciplinary and transformational relationships (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: The process of using Genet's intertextual approach in art research issues.

Discuss

Gilgamesh is considered the oldest epic poem in the world, which is recorded on twelve clay tablets, which are now kept in the British Museum (Fig. 2). These tablets describe the story of a legendary warrior named Gilgamesh, who is one of the oldest Uruk kings (Gray, 1999: 63), who goes through many events to reach the secret of immortality and finally reaches self-knowledge and surrenders to fate. This epic is derived from Sumerian mythology, which is depicted as the conqueror of giants and protector of animals on the dishes of this period (Majidzadeh, 1992: 319), according to the evidence, the original text of the story must belong to 2400 B.C., which was written in cuneiform and Sumerian-Akkadian literary language (Burckhardt, 2004: 12).

According to many researchers and experts in ancient literature and languages, including Kramer, the origin of Gilgamesh's epic is Sumerian, and then it spread to other civilizations (Kramer, 2002: 166). According to some researchers, the civilizations of the Near East have been influenced by the oral traditions of Mesopotamia (Burkhart, 2013: 297), and it was recovered by the contemporary and neighboring peoples of Mesopotamia and gradually spread throughout the geographical regions of the Middle East. Among others, we can mention some clay tablets from the second half of the second millennium B.C. in Asia Minor, which are translations of some parts of Gilgamesh's poem (Kramer, 2004: 162). The epic of Gilgamesh is created in this way: Gilgamesh is the son of Lugal Bande, one of the high-ranking priests of Uruk (a part of Uruk) and a semi-divine warrior (McCall, 1993: 51), his name is an old and ancient combination of Bil-gamesh, which means old man, old, old and strong (Blan, 2005: 10). At the beginning of the story, he has a rebellious personality and the gods create Enkidu to prevent his cruelty. Enkidu lives away from humans with animals. One of the fishermen takes help from the nuns of the Ishtar temple to tame Enkidu, and thus Enkidu is deceived and tamed and enters the city of Uruk and becomes acquainted with and befriends Gilgamesh. They go to war with Humbaba and kill him. After this victory, the goddess Ishtar falls in love with Gilgamesh, but he ignores her and Ishtar sends the heavenly cow to fight. Gilgamesh and Enkidu kill the heavenly cow, and this time the gods throw a severe fever on Enkidu's life and kill him. Enkidu's death makes Gilgamesh travel to distant lands in search of immortal life to find out the secret of immortality. Utnapishtim shows him a plant in the depths of the sea. Gilgamesh gets it, but he thinks to himself to take it to the city of Uruk and divide it among the warriors, but while resting, the snake swallows it and molts there. Gilgamesh returns to Uruk sad and without results (Smith, 2004: 102-125). The issues raised by examining the myth of Gilgamesh include the war with supernatural beings, which is raised in the war with Humbaba. Humbaba is a giant who rules the cedar forest and is very dangerous. He has been described like this: his paws resembled a lion, his body resembled bronze scales, his feet were like the claws of a vulture, and he wore the horns of a wild bull (Smith, 2013: 33). Other topics mentioned include killing the celestial cow with the help of Enkidu, killing the lion, animal protector warrior and wild animal controller. In the following, according to the story of Gilgamesh, his images in the Mesopotamian cylinder seals from the ancient Sumerian era to the end of the Kassite dynasty have been discussed in the William and Moorey catalog and Newell catalog (Table 1).

The Role of the Horned Man in Lorestan Bronze

Lorestan is a mountainous region in the east of the Mesopotamian valley, and ethnic groups such as the Kassite, the Cimmerian, the Hori, and other nomadic tribes lived there (Karimi, 1976: 355; Al-Qazi, 2012: 80), who were in contact with the Mesopotamians in the third millennium B.C. (RafiFar, 2003: 199). This region was the birthplace of the bronze industry, which reached its highest stages in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (Gardner, 2012: 69). Many images of Gilgamesh,

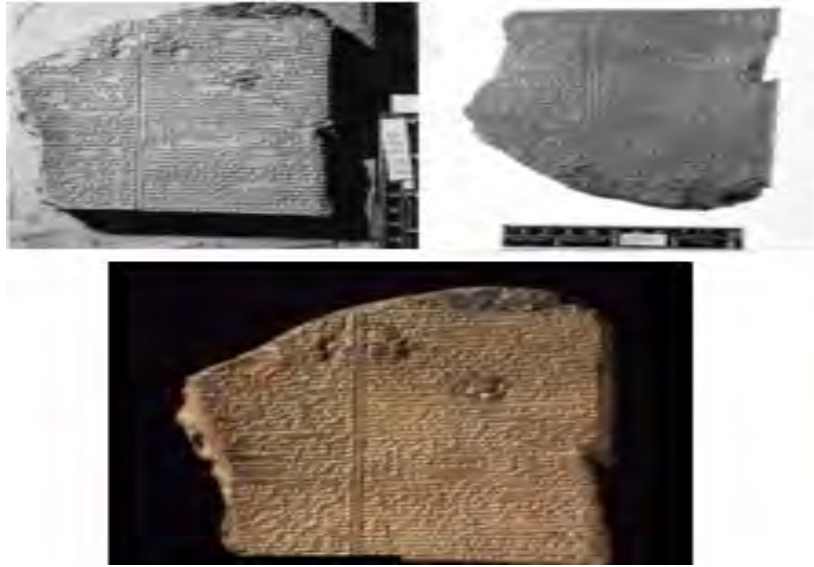








Fig. 2: parts of the Gilgamesh tablets in the British Museum (www.britishmuseum.org)

Table 1: Image of Gilgamesh in the Mesopotamian cylinder seals		
Subjects	References	Fig.
Fighting hybrid Creatures	Ancient Sumer (William and Moorey, 1940: 114, fig. 23)	
Support for Domestic animals	The period of dynasties (Muslim) (Newell, 1934: 229, fig. 90)	
Killing the Heavenly Cow	Ur (MacCal 1994: 59)	
Fighting with Lion	Akkadian Period (Newell, 1934: 229, fig. 103)	
Gilgamesh is Fighting	Old Babylon, Gilgamesh on the Side Lines (Porada 1993: 25)	
Gilgamesh is a Supporter of Domestic animals	Kassite (Porada 1981: 59)	

the legendary hero of Mesopotamia who fights with all kinds of animals, can be seen in Lorestan bronzes in the form of a man with horns or a horned hat on his head (Masoumi, 1969: 27), which date back to the middle of the second millennium and the beginning of the first millennium B.C. (Diakonoff, 2011: 127). Some researchers associate these motifs with Kassite. The exact origin of the Kassite is still unknown, many archaeologists consider the origin of the Kassite in the middle region of Zagros (Potts, 2006: 113). In Akkadian, Assyrian and Greek written sources, it is also stated that the Kassite people lived in the Zagros mountains (Levine, 1974: 24; Grayson and Novotny, 2012: 52-62). Probably the Kassites living in Zagros migrated to Mesopotamia through these mountains and entered Babylon and were able to take over the government after the old Babylon era (Sommerfeld, 1995: 915). Thus, the Kassite ruled Babylon from around the 17th century B.C. to 1155 B.C. and played an important role in the kingdom of Babylon and Kardonia (Brinkman, 1976: 1968), and thus, in many ideas and beliefs, they were influenced by Mesopotamian culture and imitated them. Gilgamesh is one of the gods that is worshiped in Lorestan and is the protector of domestic animals and herds of goats and sheep, and because these people were mostly herdsmen, they were interested in this god (Dadvar and mobini, 2009: 156). By examining the bronze works of Lorestan, we can see the role of the horned man in all kinds of war tools, idols, and decorative items, which will be discussed further.

Bridles: As a tool for controlling wild horses, artists have given meaning to this practical tool and turned it into a ritual tool by depicting the role of a horned warrior and animals on both sides of the bridle. Ghirshman believes that the role of the warrior between the two animals fully shows the connection with the position of divinity and divine power (Ghirshman, 1991: 105). The people of Lorestan accepted Gilgamesh as the protector of goats and sheep and depicted him together with them. In some examples, mythological creatures with a human head, bird's wings, lion's tail, and cow's hooves are depicted in the bridle (Curtis, 2008: 55) (Fig. 3).

Scabbard: On an engraved scabbard, there is a Fig. of a man with a horned hat fighting with Shiran (Fig. 4). This role of symbolic elements can be seen in the artworks of Mesopotamia (Pakbaz, 2004: 15).

Idols: The people of Lorestan believed in creating idols for worship, which are usually seen in the form of a horned human flanked by two animals, or they can be seen individually in the form of a horned man or a horned hat on his head (Fig. 5). Horns as a symbol of power and hats in Mesopotamia were the head coverings of the gods, and in the Kassite dynasty, the head coverings of Anu and Enlil are in this form (Hall, 2011: 57).



Fig. 3: Bronze Horse bridle; horned human in the two sides of hybrid creatures, Lorestan, 1st millennium B.C. (www.metmuseum.org)



Fig. 4: A part of the engraved on the scabbard, A Horned human fighting with Lions, 11th century B.C. (Pakbaz, 2014: 15).



Fig. 5: Idol with Head of horned Human, 8th & 7th centuries B.C., Lorestan (www.metmuseum.org)



Fig. 6: A human with a Horned Hat Controlling Snakes, 1st & 2nd millennium B.C., Lorestan ([www.pinterest bronze_lorestan.com](http://www.pinterest.com/bronze_lorestan.com))



Fig. 7: A horned Human with a Goat character, Lorestan, 1st millennium B.C. (www.metmuseum.org)



Fig. 8: A horned Human who supporter Domestic animals, Lorestan, 8th & 7th centuries B.C. (www.royalathen.com)

Pinheads: Lorestan's bronze pin heads, which have more of a ritual aspect and are also used as a wound eye, which is divided into 4 different groups in terms of form, which are 1- circular (plate) (Fig. 6), 3- crescent-shaped (Fig. 7) and 4- rod-shaped (Fig. 8), which are also divided into 4. The groups are divided into: 1- animal, 2- human-mythical, 3- vegetable, 4- geometric (Mahmoodi, 1998: 123-128). The image of a horned man has been observed in sixteen plate brooches, fifteen square-rectangular brooches, and fifteen crescent and rod brooches.

Analysis

According to the topics raised in this part, to better understand the impact and impressions of the Gilgamesh motif in the art of Lorestan, we will compare this motif in two regions. By examining forty-six bronze objects from Lorestan that had the appearance of a horned man and examining the role of Gilgamesh in the cylinder seals of the two William and Moorey catalogs and the Newell catalog, we see similar issues. These include Gilgamesh conquering lions, controlling snakes, fighting demons and mixed creatures, and protecting domestic animals. To understand the similarities and differences between the role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian works and the role of the horned man in Lorestan's works, the motifs of the subjects were examined from 4 perspectives, which are: A- Visual characteristics that include face painting and sculpting, B- Executive characteristics and the way of artistic expression that includes the frame and artistic space. C- The structural features include the composition type and its side elements. D- functional features that include ritual content (Table 2).

Considering the visual elements, the design and composition of the motif of Gilgamesh in the Mesopotamian cylinder seals and the motifs of Lorestan bronzes (pinheads, bridles, and idols) in terms of narrative and visual components have many similar features, however, significant differences have also been observed. The role of Gilgamesh in both civilizations is depicted as a complete human or a hybrid creature in the form of a cow-man and a horned man, which has a static, balanced, symmetrical, and dramatic structure. His head is larger and more prominent than his stature. His hands are performing a symbolic activity, sometimes shown as fighting, controlling, and sometimes supporting. From the characteristics of his face and body, we can mention his horns, long hair, beard, and belt, which are depicted in a mythological, supernatural, and imaginative way from the front with profiled and static legs. In both civilizations, the artist has a better understanding of animal design and works closer to nature, and is more mobile than the warrior (Table 3).

From the aspects of difference, the role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art is shown with a strong body, closed lips, a proud face, and a fighting posture, but in Lorestan, it is depicted with a thin body, a deep look, and a primitive state. They are also different from each other in terms of clothing, Gilgamesh's clothing in Mesopotamian art includes a naked upper body with a skirt and a simple belt, while in the artworks of Lorestan, it is shown in a long and covered dress, with a horned hat on his head and a large and prominent circular belt on his waist. Also, Mesopotamia's head covering (horned hat) differs from the Lorestan region. In Mesopotamian art, animals and humans are separate and distinguishable, but in Lorestan art, warriors and animals are intertwined and connected. In terms of performance and structure, Lorestan art is simple and local, and the static state can be seen in the pictures. In the end, according to Genett's intertextual and pretextual approach, which is based on the effect of one text on other texts based on the type of function and style of the work, it can be said this way, taking into account the age of Mesopotamia artworks (about three thousand to two thousand five hundred B.C.), Mesopotamia artworks are considered as a pretext. Therefore, the presence of similar visual and narrative components in Lorestan art shows their influence from Mesopotamia art,





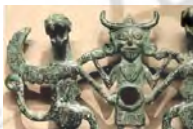



Table 2: Comparative study of the role of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art and the horned man in Lorestan art based on the subject		
Gilgamesh in the role of conquering lions	Bronze works of Lorestan with emphasis on horned man (Pakbaz 2014: 15) 	Mesopotamian cylinder seals in the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Old Babylonian eras with an emphasis on the role of Gilgamesh (Gardner, 2012: 54) 
Visual feature	The angle of view of the hero is from the front, but the legs are shown in profile, he is wearing a long and luxurious dress and a horned hat, and he is shown with big eyes and a smile on his face. Animals are on both sides of him in the form of a profile.	The role of the man is seen from the opposite angle. who is kneeling and holding the lion above his head? The warrior has piercing eyes with curly hair and his legs are profiled. The lion's role is also a profile
Executive feature	Man is standing in the center of the scene and animals are standing in profile and on two legs.	The hero is kneeling and holding the lion on top of his head, It has an inscription.
Structural feature	Patterns are static.	Hero has a theatrical mode and we see dynamics and movement in the role.
Functional feature	Ritual-mythical	Ritual-mythical
Subject: snake controller	 (www.pinterest bronze lorestan.com)	 (Black and Green, 2004: 166)
Visual feature	The horned man is placed in the center of the stage from the front, wearing a long dress and a decorative belt, holding the snakes with both hands.	On the right side, a man with a horned hat is seen in profile, his legs are in the form of a snake, and two wings are on his back. The image on the back is of a man with a horned hat sitting on a snake holding his head.
Executive feature	Real art has been used, the snakes are shown on both sides in the shape of a Fig. and standing.	Abstract art is used for the show and the person is depicted standing and sitting
Structural feature	The motifs are static and motionless	The patterns are dramatic and dynamic.
Functional feature	Ritual-mythical	Ritual-mythical
Subject: Fighting animals	 Museum of Los Angeles (www.benedante.blogspot.co.il)	 (McCall 1994: 59)
Visual feature	A horned man with large eyes is seen from the opposite angle. He wears a horned cap, his hands are open, and on both sides of it are two hybrid animals that look like winged birds, which are in profile.	Gilgamesh is seen with a horned hat on the head and body of a cow, who is killing the cow, humans, and animals are shown in this profile scene
Executive feature	They are abstract and can be seen in a square frame in the form of relief work. Animals are seen on both sides and juxtaposition is observed to a great extent.	The wrestlers here are abstract, but real animals are shown. The way the animals perform is seen in front of the male cow.
Structural feature	Patterns are static.	The animal and the warrior have a theatrical state and dynamism and mobility can be seen in them
Practical feature	Ritual-mythical	Ritual-mythical
Pet support issue	Horned man protecting animals, 7 th and 8 th century B.C., British Museum (www.Store.barakatgallery.com). 	The impression of a cylinder seal of the Akkadian period (Newell, 1934: 229, fig. 90) 
Visual feature	The angle of view is from the front, while he has opened his hands and said the heads of two goats. Horned humans and goats are the same sizes and the proportion is not observed.	The warrior is shown from the front, holding a ram's head with his hands open. The proportion has been observed.
Executive feature	The horned man is standing in the center and the animals are depicted on both sides of him.	The standing warrior is shown from the front and sitting, and the sitting ram is shown as a simile.
Structural feature	Static and motionless	Patterns are dynamic
Functional feature	Ritual-mythical	Ritual-mythical

Table 3: The Similarity of the Horned man in the art of Lorestan and Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia

<i>Art</i>	<i>Cowman</i>	<i>Beard</i>	<i>Long Hair</i>	<i>The man with the Horned Hat</i>	<i>Skirts</i>
Mesopotamia	*	*	*	*	*
Lorestan	*	*	*	*	*

which can represent the cultural and commercial exchanges between the people of these two lands, but the difference in the performance style and the structure of the subjects can indicate that the Lorestan artist did not simply imitate Mesopotamian subjects. Rather, by creating transformational relationships, the artist has created changes in art by considering the main elements of the pretext in creating a new work of art. The artist of Lorestan used a simple and local style in the representation of the horned man, and simplicity, order, and avoidance details can be seen in the bronze works of Lorestan. Thus, taking into account the similarity in the subject and the difference in the performance style and artistic structure based on Genette's theory of pre-textuality, it is possible to propose how to reproduce and produce the role of the horned man in the societies of Lorestan, that during the Akkadian period, the Mesopotamians were able to dominate the central Zagros regions, and between these two regions, we witness political and cultural relations that cause the spread of political and cultural relations between these two regions and the proliferation of some Mesopotamian myths in the art of the late second and early first millennium B.C. in Lorestan.

Conclusion

A comparative evaluation between Gilgamesh motifs in Mesopotamian works dating from three to two thousand and five hundred B.C. with horned human motifs in Lorestan bronze works in the late second and first millennium B.C. shows the similarities in form and content between the artworks of these two regions. According to the historical background and the expansion of the Mesopotamian rule in the Akkadian period over the central Zagros regions, we can say that the images of a horned man or a horned hat on the head in the artworks of Lorestan are taken from the myth of Gilgamesh in Mesopotamia. In this period, the artist of Lorestan created a pre-textual work of art, exploring the influence of Mesopotamian mythology and art, but in the creation of works of art, he abandoned the imitative and repetitive view and used his inner resources to create his work and made changes in its display according to the culture and customs of the region, which has caused a change in the content of the pretext. The role of Gilgamesh in the two civilizations of Mesopotamia and Lorestan is closely related in terms of structure and content, which shows that both regions had a common understanding of the myth of Gilgamesh, and this myth has infiltrated their lives and beliefs. The cultural difference between these two regions has affected the way they show their feelings and beliefs. Gilgamesh in Mesopotamian art has a serious, strong, extroverted, and warrior-like state, but in Lorestan, he is shown as primitive, smiling, mysterious, and introverted with a thin and religious body. In the end, we can say that according to the time and space distance of the Gilgamesh myth in these two civilizations, we are witnessing a single and identical intellectual and cultural source that shows the cultural connection of these two civilizations in the form of ancient beliefs.

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