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Absolute Jahreszahlen vor 1530 werden, wenn nicht ausdrücklich anders erwähnt, nach der kurzen (Cornelius-Albright) und der mittleren Chronologie (S. Smith) nebeneinander zitiert.

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Türkische Namen entsprechen der heutigen amtlichen Schreibweise.

Für die Umschrift des Sumerischen wird R. Borger, Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste<sup>2</sup> (= AOAT 33/33 A, 1981), für das Akkadische W. von Soden – W. Röllig, Das akkadische Syllabar<sup>2</sup> (1967), zugrunde gelegt.

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Silber als Lohn (á) für Ur-Iškura; in der zweiten zweieinhalb Jahre jüngeren (IS 2/VI) quittiert Geme-Nungala allein dem Lugal-azida den Empfang von 3 Sekeln Silber als Lohn für Šu-Durul auf 1 Jahr. Die Vermieter verpflichten sich unter Eid zu einer Leistung von täglich 6 bzw. 10 sila Gerste an den Mieter, falls der Mietling, d. h. also wohl der betreffende Sohn der Vermieterin, der Arbeit (die nicht beschrieben ist) fernbleibt (ġá-la-dag). Wenn die erste Quittung wie die zweite den Lohn eines ganzen Jahres meint und wenn man das übliche Wertverhältnis 1 Sekel Silber : 1 gur (= 300 sila) Gerste annimmt, so ist die Ersatzleistung, die der Mieter gegebenenfalls verlangt, im ersten Fall mehr als siebenmal, im zweiten viermal so hoch wie die Miete, die er ansonsten zahlt.

Das eidliche Versprechen der Ersatzleistung und die Zeugenlisten verleihen beiden Quittungen den Charakter von Verträgen, mit denen eine Person A einer Person B gegen *praenumerando*-Zahlung eine Person C (hier den eigenen Sohn!) auf eine bestimmte Zeit zur Arbeitsleistung zur Verfügung stellt. Das gilt auch für die § 4a.5 zitierte Mietquittung NATN 882.

Die Lesung und Deutung der schlecht erhaltenen Bürgschaftserklärung(?) NRVN I 226 ist ganz unsicher (nach H. Sauren, ZA 60 [1970] 76 wäre in Z. 5 zu lesen ì-hu-un! „(PN<sub>1</sub>) hat (von PN<sub>2</sub> eine Sklavin namens PN<sub>3</sub>) gemietet“).

Als Miete (á) galt nach den Gerichtsurkunden auch der Betrag, der fällig wurde, wenn jemand die Arbeitskraft z.B. eines Sklaven, der einem Dritten oder dem Staat gehört, widerrechtlich für sich in Anspruch genommen hatte (A. Falkenstein, NG I 91; NRVN 228).

§ 4b. *Schiffsmiete.*

§ 4b.1. huġ, addir *verwendet*. Wie die Personenmiete ist auch die Schiffsmiete vor allem in Texten der Staatswirtschaft belegt; wiederum wird in erster Linie die Höhe der geleisteten Miete notiert. Über die gemieteten Boote und ihre Verwendung erfahren wir nicht viel. Manchmal ist Ausgangs- und Zielpunkt der Fahrt genannt, z.B. 1.4.0 še

ugula PN ... (Nesbit Nr. XXII) „1<sup>4</sup>/<sub>5</sub> gur Gerste – Schiffsmiete – (für eine Fahrt) von ON<sub>1</sub> nach ON<sub>2</sub> – Aufseher (war) PN“; 36 še NIR, á má huġ-ġá, ON-ta, guru, lugal da bàd-da-ka-še, še lá-a, 10 še gur, á lú-huġ-ġá ... (UET 3, 1065 ii 4'ff.) „36 gur Gerste ... – Schiffsmiete – von ON zum königlichen Getreidespeicher, neben der Mauer (ist) Gerste ge. ... (worden) – (ferner) 10 gur Gerste – Lohn für Mietlinge ...“. In anderen Fällen ist die Größe des Bootes oder die Art des Transportgutes angegeben, z.B. má 2 gur (NATN 385:2) „Boot von 2 gur [etwa 0,5 m<sup>3</sup>] (Fassungsvermögen)“; á má huġ-ġá má zú-lum ù má ì (NATN 385:18) „Schiffsmiete (für) Boote mit Datteln und Boote mit Öl“. Es gibt auch Texte ohne irgend eine nähere Angabe zu dem Boot oder seiner Verwendung, z.B. VicOr. 8/1, 53 Nr. 45.

Die Höhe der in der Regel in Gerste, selten (OrSP 47-49 Nr. 221, s. unten) in Silber angegebenen Miete läßt sich für uns in keine rechnerische Beziehung zu eventuellen anderen Angaben setzen; vgl. insbesondere NATN 385, wo ja neben der Schiffsmiete im engeren Sinne jeweils noch die Kosten der Miete von Personen auf 6-9 Tage registriert sind.

Für „Miete“ eines Bootes ist wie für Miete (Lohn) einer Person das Wort á üblich. In MVN 6, 204:2 PAD má huġ-ġá „(1<sup>4</sup>/<sub>5</sub> gur Gerste –) ... eines gemieteten Bootes“ (vgl. Z. 5 PAD má ur-ra) steht anscheinend PAD (graphische Verkürzung von PAD.SI.A.PA.BI.ĠIŠ = addir?) anstelle von á.

„Miete“ ist jedenfalls wohl die Bedeutung von addir in 5 ġin kù-babbar, kù má addir (OrSP 47-49 Nr. 221:1-2) „5 Sekel Silber, Silber für ein addir-Boot“; s. oben § 1b. und § 3b.

§ 4b.2. huġ, addir nicht *verwendet*. Wie im Falle der Personenmiete kann eine Schiffsmiete auch dort gemeint sein, wo weder huġ noch addir verwendet ist. Vgl. 1 má 14 gur 6 sila-ta, u, 6-še, še-bi o.o.3 6 sila, Nibruki-še, ġiri PN (OrSP 47-49 Nr. 251) „1 Boot von 14 gur [etwa 4 m<sup>3</sup>] (Fassungsvermögen) (zu) je 6 sila (Gerste

delphia, aufbewahrt; Endpublikation durch Schmidt/van Loon/Curvers 1989.

E. F. Schmidt/M. N. van Loon/H. H. Curvers, *The Holmes Expedition to Luristan* (= OIP 108, 1989). – R. Schacht, *Early Historic Cultures*, in (ed.) F. Hole, *The Archaeology of Western Iran. Settlement and Society from Prehistory to the Islamic Conquest*, (1987) 171–203, bes. 176; ebd., R. C. Henrickson, *Godin III and the Chronology of Central Western Iran circa 2600–1400 B.C.*, 205–227.

N. Karg

Mišaru s. Richtergottheiten.

Mišaru-Akte s. Schulden-Erlaß.

**Misbauzatiš.** The Elamite transcription of the name of a place in Parthia, where a battle took place on March 8, 521 B.C., according to the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great (DB), between Hystaspes, the father of Darius, and Phraortes, the Median opponent of Darius. The Elamite version gives the name *ASMi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš* (DB § 35 Elamite ii 70); the Babylonian has *U-mi-iš-pa-za-tu* (DB § 35 Babylonian 65). The Old Persian form, *v<sup>i</sup>-i-š-[p]-u-z-[a]-t-i-š* = Viš[pa]uz[ā]tiš (DB § 35 Old Persian ii 95), is restored from the Elamite.

R. Schmitt, AfO 27 (1980) 122–123, id., *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great, Old Persian Text* (= CIL Iran I/1 [1992]) 62.

M. W. Stolper

**Mischwesen.** A. Philologisch. Mesopotamien.

§ 1. Identifications and method. – § 2. Historical development and theology. 2.1. Origins and associations with anthropomorphic gods. 2.2. Servants and defeated enemies. 2.3. The army of Tiāmat. 2.4. Cosmic functions and constellations. 2.5. Theology. 2.6. Use in art. – § 3. Non-anthropomorphic gods. 3.1. Chthonic snake gods and animal gods. 3.2. Mountains and rivers. 3.3. Abnormalities, redoublings, and metamorphoses. – § 4. Fabeltier. – § 5. Flügelgestalten. – § 6. Schuppenkleid und -muster. – § 7. Survey of types.

§ 1. Identifications and method. The denotations of the majority of Babylonian monster names were established on the basis of a group of similar Standard Babylonian

texts that treat the magical defense of a house or palace against intruding evil (F. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts* [1992], hereafter Wiggermann 1992). The texts prescribe the manufacture of clay monster figures to be interred at strategical points in the house (entries, corners, stairs, bathrooms) and there to serve as apotropaic guardians. With the help of the inscriptions prescribed for some of them, the monster figures of the texts could be matched with the monsters actually produced, interred and excavated. The clay monster figures were collected and described by D. Rittig, *Ass.-bab. Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 13.–6. Jh. v. Chr.* (1977), and A. Green, *Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic Figures*, Iraq 45 (1983) 87–96. The same group of monsters served the magical defense of NA palaces, but there in relief along the walls, and sometimes in the round, made of precious metals or stone (see J. Reade, *Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject-Matter*, BagM 10 [1979] 17–49; D. Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Charakters in neu-assyrischen Palästen* [1981]). NA royal inscriptions and further official documents contain some information on their manufacture, purpose, and whereabouts (B. J. Engel, *Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren in assyrischen Palästen und Tempeln nach den schriftlichen Quellen* [1987]). The denotations of the monster names thus established are supported by etymology and isolated bits of information from various places and periods (cf. B § 3.1. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 20. 22. 23. 26. 27).

Some of the remaining monsters could be identified from correspondences between text and image: *Huwawa\** (B § 3.12) from an OB tablet with on one side his face and on the other an omen concerning “entrails in the form of the head of *Huwawa\**” (F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 22 [1925] 23–26), *Lamaštu\** (B § 3.11) and *Pazuzu\** (B § 3.10) from amulets showing their images and inscribed with incantations mentioning their name. All other identifications are based on circumstantial evidence, and more or less debatable. With every increase in the number

of sure identifications, however, the evidence required to match the remaining types with the remaining names decreases. The Bull-of-Heaven (B § 3.18; *Himmelsstier\**; Wiggermann 1992 VII. C.6 a note 10) was identified by R. Opificius and W. G. Lambert with a winged man-headed bull attacked by Gilgameš and Enkidu on late second and first millennium seals; earlier (Opificius, UAVA 2 [1961] 227) and in more conservative contexts the Bull-of-Heaven is a (humped) bull (drawings with captions, see Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 [1919] 156; E. Weidner, *Gestirndarstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln* [1967] 8 f.). The relations of these two types of Bull-of-Heaven with other (winged) human-headed bulls and bisons (*Menschenstier\**) remain unclear. For Bes (B § 3.13) a plausible Babylonian name has been suggested (CAD K *kirru* A 1a), *peššū*, the “halt one”. Among objects sent from Egypt to Burnaburiaš is one *lūpé-es-sū-ū* of stone holding *kirru* containers in his hands (EA 14 iii 60). Undoubtedly in origin this is the name of the dwarfs that play a part on OB seals, only later applied to the similar Egyptian god. The Snake-god (B § 3.28) and the Boat-god (B § 4.30) belong in the context of the third millennium chthonic snake gods (§ 3.1), but cannot be named with certainty. The identification of the Bird-man (B § 3.2) with Anzû is certainly incorrect (cf. Lambert, Iraq 28 [1966] 69 f.): the bird part of the Bird-man is not that of an eagle, but that of an aquatic bird (§ 7.2), his activities (companion of Utu; carrying stalk of vegetation) do not fit the mythology of Anzû, and worst of all, he does not play a part in the official iconography of Lagaš, which any Anzû should. Apparently, like Anzû, the Bird-man challenged the rule of the gods, and besides Anzû the only important mythological figure known to have done so in Sumerian texts is Enmešarra\* (see M. Civil, AfO 25 [1974/77] 65–71, with previous lit.). As a primeval god Enmešarra may well have been a hybrid, and in first millennium magical texts he is associated with the *anameru* plant (SpTU II 20 Rs.4 ff., and duplicates). There are no indications of avian features, however.

Lion-dragon (B § 3.25) and Lion-headed eagle (B § 3.14). The classical Akkadian Lion-dragon (*Löwendrache\** § 3a; § 7.25) was preceded in earlier art by a more leonine type (*Löwendrache\** § 1). Its development (addition of bird parts) is comparable to that of the *mušhuššu\**. The Lion-dragon is Iškur/Adad's mount, and called *u<sub>4</sub>(ga)l/ūmu (rabū)*, “(Big) Day” (denoting turbulent weather phenomena) in the texts (Wiggermann 1992 VII. C.4a). The term *u<sub>4</sub>-ka-duh-a/ūmu na'iru/kaduhū* (CAD N/1, 150, K 35, § 2.4), “Roaring Day” probably refers to the same monster that typically lowers its head to the earth and emits jets of water from its widely opened jaws. Anzû was represented in art initially by the Lion-headed eagle (*Löwenadler\**). After the Ur III period the Lion-headed eagle disappears from Mesopotamian art, but since representations of Anzû continue to be mentioned in the texts, another monster must have taken its place. Apparently, while Iškur's interests shifted from the Lion-dragon to the bull, the Lion-dragon (like the Lion-headed eagle composed out of eagle and lion parts) came to represent Anzû. In the NA period the Lion-dragon was split into two beings (a comparable split is attested for the *mušhuššu\**), one (with feathered tail, *Löwendrache\** § 3a) the enemy of Ninurta, one (with scorpion's sting, *Löwendrache\** § 3c) his mount (for the NA iconography of Ninurta see U. Moortgat-Correns, AfO 35 [1988] 117–133). The monster on which Ninurta has his feet in the MB Göttertypentext (F. Köcher, MIO 1 [1953] 66 i 59', ii 9), that is before the split and therefore the one with the feathered tail, is called Anzû; the monsters that stand next to his throne in his NA temple in Kalhu (D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 14 [1952] 34, 72 f.) are referred to with the general term *ušumgallu*, “dragon” (also used for the Snake-dragon *mušhuššu\** § 2.3). A slightly different local form of the Lion-dragon/Anzû occurs in MA art (*Löwendrache\** § 2; for the date of the Lamaštu-amulets 27. 34. 35 see O. Pedersen, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur I* [1986] 120. 125) On Lamaštu\*-amulets they fulfill the same apotropaic function as the Bull-man (amulet 29) and Pazuzu. For Anzû/*awiti* see § 3.3.

Although images (*šalmu*) of gods and demons are regularly referred to in the texts, detailed descriptions are extremely rare. The images (*šalmu*) of twenty-seven gods and hybrids are described in the so-called Göttertypentext of MB origin (Köcher, MIO 1, 57–95; see Lambert, Or. 54 [1985] 197 f.). Many of their names are not attested elsewhere, and most of the described images do not actually occur in art. The text has a highly specific, though unknown, purpose, and is of limited value for the study of Mesopotamian iconography. Forms (*gattu*) of dragons and snakes are described in a text similar to those describing stones and plants (CT 14.7 and duplicates, see Landsberger, *Fauna* [1934] 52 ff.). Unfortunately it does

not describe the most important dragons. A complete description of the constellations would ascertain the identity of the monsters among them (§ 2.4), but so far little has come to light (Weidner, Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur, AfO 4 [1927] 73–85; id., Gestirndarstellungen [1967]). The underworld vision of an Assyrian crown prince called Kummaju (perhaps Assurbanipal) is described in a difficult text recently reedited by A. Livingstone in SAA III (1989) 68–76 (see also K. Frank, MAOG 14/2 [1941] 24–41). In a dream the prince sees Nergal on his throne, holding his two-headed maces (B § 3.6), and surrounded by the members of his court: Namtar, the vizier of the underworld, Namtartu, his wife (with the head of a *kuribu*, perhaps “Griffin”), *Mūtu*, “Death” (with the head of a Snake-dragon), *Šedu lemnu*, “Evil Genie” (with eagle’s talons), *Mukil reš lemutti*, “Upholder-of-Evil” (with the head of a bird and wings), *Humuṭ-tabal*, “Take-away-quickly”, the ferryman of the underworld (with the head of an Anzû), *Etemmu*, “Ghost” (with the head of an ox), *Utukku lemnu*, “Evil Spirit” (with a lion’s head, claws for hands and eagle’s talons for feet), *Sulak* (a lion on its hind legs), *Māmītu*, “Curse” (with a goat’s head), *Bedu* (dNE.DU<sub>8</sub>), the porter of the underworld (with a lion’s head and bird’s talons), *Allu-happu*, “Net” (with a lion’s head), *Mimma lemnu*, “Any Evil” (with two heads, one of a lion, one of a [. . .]), *Muḫra*, “Confrontation” (with three feet, the two front ones those of a bird, the rear one that of a bull). Of two gods the prince does not know the names; one has the head, hands, and feet of an Anzû, the other is apparently anthropomorphic. Thus the prince understands most of what he sees, although the images described are not preserved in the Assyrian art we know. Frank (LSS 3/3 [1908] 11 ff.; MAOG 14/2, 33) identified the six or seven animal-headed figures of the Lamaštu\*-amulets with the seven Evil Spirits, one of them described in the underworld vision. His reasons, however, were insufficient (Wiggermann 1992 II. A. 4. B *urigallu*). More convincing was his identification of an unnamed clay figure of “one cubit” having a lion’s head (KAR 227 i 24, *eṭemmu* ritual) with

Bedu (MAOG 14/2, 35). *Sulak* has been associated with the lion attacked by an *ur-mahlullû* on a MA seal (B § 4, 20).

Among the monsters known from the texts the following remain unidentified: the third millennium adversaries of Ningirsu/Ninurta, ku-li-an-na (J. Cooper, AnOr. 52 [1978] 149), mā-(ar-)gi-lum/*magillu/magisu* (Cooper ibid. 148; W. Heimpel, ZA 77 [1977] 38<sup>22</sup>), and especially á-zág/*asakku* (see Th. Jacobsen, Mem. A. Sachs [1989] 225–232). Sumerian á-zág characterizes diseases or the demons that cause them in a general way; it does not denote a specific disease, but a kind of disease. The nature of the diseases it denotes is revealed by incantations and medical texts, in which á-zág is practically always paired with nam-tar, “decided” disease (for a selection of examples see CAD s.v. *asakku* and *namtaru*). From the observation that á-zág and nam-tar fill a semantic field, it follows that á-zág denotes diseases that are not decided by the gods, “disorders”. That the á-zág combatted by Ninurta in Lugal-e\* is the same demon “Disorder” on a cosmic level is born out by the myth, which is concerned exactly with Ninurta deciding the fates, and á-zág hindering him at it. In view of the artificial, abstract nature of the cosmic demon “Disorder”, it is not surprising that we do not find him represented in art (B § 3.25).

Of the first millennium monsters that remain unidentified must be mentioned: *abūbu*, “Flood” (CAD A/1 *abūbu* 3), *kuribu*, perhaps “Griffin” (B § 4, 21; Engel, Darstellungen von Dämonen 77 f.), *mēlu*, once understood as the deified staircase, but apparently having hands (Wiggermann 1992 II. A. 2.26), and Lu-ḫuššu\*, a form of Nergal with an abnormal nose (TCS 4, 56:27) and non-human feet (CT 38, 5:125; 2:16; see § 3.1). A scholarly curiosity is the šaḫ-lu-ūlu/\**šaha[mēlu]*, “pig-man” (for the type see B § 3.4.20.22) of Nabnitu XXXI 10 (MSL 16, 245).

The ritual texts describe three groups of seven *apkallū*, “sages”, one group of fish-man hybrids (B § 3.8), one of bird-man hybrids (B § 3.9), and one of anthropomorphic figures (B § 3.31). The first group of sages is rooted in third millennium Mesopotamia, but the iconographic type was introduced only in the Kassite period. The two other types are adopted by Assyrian iconography from a foreign source, and secondarily named “sages”. In magic all three types of sages perform purifying and exorcising functions. Assyrian art borrowed or invented a number of further iconographic types, involved in tasks more or less similar to those of the *apkallū* (without further distinction collected in B § 3.31). They do not correspond to a god or genius of the Mesopotamian tradition and are named with vague descriptive terms: *kamsūtu*, “kneeling

ones”, *šūt kakkī*, “armed ones”, *šūt kappī*, “winged ones”, *il bīti*, “god of the house”, and *ša išēṭ ammatu lānšu*, “the one of one cubit” (Wiggermann 1992 II. A. 4. B). Sages and related figures are to be kept distinct from the monsters whose histories are treated in the second paragraph.

The applicability of the identifications proved or proposed is not unlimited. Mesopotamian iconography spread widely beyond the limits of Mesopotamian culture, and served the needs of a variety of religions, each with its own ideas on gods and monsters (Syria, Anatolia, and in part also Assyria). Their names and values should be related to the native theologies, not to Mesopotamian ones. Inside Mesopotamia itself, mythology varies from place to place, and from period to period. Ideally the identity of each monster should be proved for each place and period independently, a demand that in view of the scarcity of relevant texts can never be met. The point of view taken here is that when the identity of a monster is proved for one random time and place, and its history is straightforward, its identity can be confirmed for other times and places. Obviously, however, historical straightforwardness is not an exact datum, and seemingly straightforward cases may have to be reassessed in the future.

## § 2. Historical development and theology.

§ 2.1. *Origins and associations with anthropomorphic gods.* There are three sources for the early history of monsters: art, etymology, and their place in theology. The earliest and at once most tenacious monsters of Mesopotamian art are the Snake-dragon/*Mušḫuššu* (B § 3.27), the Bull-man/*Kusarikku* (B § 4.3), the Lion-headed Eagle/*Anzû* (B § 3.14), the Long-haired Hero/*Lahmu* (B § 3.1), and the Lion-dragon/*ūmu na’iru* (B § 3.25). The Sumerian names of the Snake-dragon and the Bull-man (or rather Bison-man) do not reveal the composite character of these beings, Sumerian *muš-ḫuš* meaning “awesome snake”, and Sumerian *gu<sub>4</sub>-alim* “bison(-bull)”. Presumably in origin these words did not denote monsters, but

mythological animals, abstract Exemplary Members of a species to whom its awe-inspiring qualities were ascribed. The transition from Exemplary Member to monster can only be explained from the demands of visual expression. Since simple representation of one member of a species does not adequately express the extraordinary qualities that are ascribed to the abstract Exemplary Member, it follows that in order to express those qualities the Exemplary Member must be formally distinct from the ordinary member. Conversely, it is only regular artistic activity that can be made responsible for the creation of a commonly known and accepted religious art, the only channel through which the novelty of monster form could spread and take a hold on public imagination. Art needs monsters and monsters need art, which implies that monsters in general cannot be older than the first recognizable art styles (Late Uruk period), and more specifically, that first attestations cannot be very far removed from invention.

A conceivable alternative channel through which monster form could have spread is the cult, dressed-up priests. For the Snake-dragon and the Bull-man this is not an alternative, since formally they cannot be dressed-up human beings. Conceivably the fourth millennium Iranian Ibex-man or Mufflon-man (P. Amiet, *Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale* 1 [1986] 1–24) has his roots in the cult, as well as in mythology. *Laḫama*, “Hairy-One”, the Sumerian name of the Long-haired hero, is a special case. The name is purely descriptive and must have been given to the being after it had been formed. The secondary nature of the name is also indicated by the fact that it is a Semitic loanword in Sumerian. Formally the Long-haired hero is the only one among the early monsters that could be a human being and thus could have its origins in the cult rather than in art. The transition from mythological animal to monster is an observable fact in the case of the Scorpion(-man) (§ 7.4 a. b.; B § 3.4).

The names of the other early and tenacious monsters in origin do not denote monsters or animals, but the natural phenomena these monsters symbolically represent, *Anzû* the “clouds”, and *u<sub>4</sub>-ka-duḫ-a/ūmu na’iru* the “Roaring Day”, that is turbulent weather. They are convincingly realized as eagle (air) and lion (roaring) composites. The *u<sub>4</sub>-ka-duḫ-a* belongs to a class of beings, personified days, to which also the somewhat later *u<sub>4</sub>-gal/ugallu*, “Big Day” (B

§ 4.6) belongs. Most of them are days of death and destruction, like one's dying day, the "Evil Day" (*ūmu lemnu*, <sup>d</sup>U<sub>4</sub>), the messenger of the underworld god Erra (UET 6, 395:12; SEM 117 ii 9). They are "released from the sky" (e.g. UET 6, 391:16), howl and roar (Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 100). The days of exceptional splendor and plenty, the golden age before the flood, are realized in first millennium art as seven anthropomorphic Sages (B § 3.31; Wiggermann 1992 II. A. 4. B *ūmu-apkallu*).

The analysis of the names has revealed two types of early monsters, the animal spirits turned into monsters by the addition of animal and human parts (Snake-dragon, Bull-man), and the turbulent days and weather phenomena symbolically represented by lion/eagle composites. Whether or not the monsters are the original forms of the anthropomorphic gods (§ 3.1), they must have been in some way associated with the gods that in the next period became their masters. Apparently each monster is associated with a god that operates in the same field of action, a part of nature; but while the god covers the whole of his realm, the monster covers only a slice, and while the god is responsible for a stable and lasting background, the monster's responsibilities are limited, it accentuates, emphasizes. The Snake-dragon is associated with Ninazu\*, "Lord Healer", the ruler of the Netherworld before Nergal, and king of the snakes (§ 3.1; *mušhuššu* § 3.2); the Long-haired hero, a spirit of streams, is associated with Enki\*, the god of sweet waters; the Lion-dragon "Roaring Day" is associated with the storm god Iškur/Adad\*; the Scorpion-man, who watches over the mountain of sunrise and sunset, the Human-headed Bison (§ 2.4; B § 3.17) and the Bull-man (B § 3.3) with the sun god Utu\*, who alone travels the distant mountains where they are at home.

Anzû, although his cry makes the Anunna gods hide like mice in the earth (C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos [1969] 100:82f.), is still a faithful servant of the gods in the Lugalbanda Epic of Ur III origin, and not yet among the defeated enemies of Ningirsu/(Ninurta) in Gudea Cyl. A. Under orders of his father Enlil he blocks the entry of the (rebellious) mountains "as if he were a big door" (o. c. 100:99ff.). Thus it is no coincidence that Anzû is not among the

defeated enemies of Ningirsu in the Gudea texts; they fight at the same side against the same enemy, the mountain lands. In return for his blessings Lugalbanda promises Anzû to set up statues of his in the temples of the great gods, and to make him famous all over Sumer (o. c. 108:181ff., 110:198ff.). The poet would not have let Lugalbanda make such a promise, if he could not show his public that he kept it. Thus, when the Lugalbanda epic was composed (Ur III period), statues of Anzû were visible all over Sumer in the temples. With the simile cited above ("as a big door") the poet reveals that at least some of the Anzû representations he knew were apotropaic door keepers under orders of Enlil.

Composite emblems consisting of twice the same animal with an Anzû/eagle stretching out its wings above them are attested in third millennium and rarely in later contexts (cf. UET 6, 105:10f., OB). The stags under an Anzû on a copper relief (PKG XIV Taf. 97) from Ninĥursag's ED III temple in Ubad are the symbolic animals of that goddess (Hirsch\* § 4). The bezoar/ibex belongs to Enki, who is called the "pure bezoar/ibex of Abzu" (Gudea, Cyl. A xxiv 21) and <sup>d</sup>Dāra-abzu\*. Thus the symbolism of Enmetena's silver vase (drawing Löwenadler\* Abb. 1) becomes transparent. It shows three pairs of animals, each pair under an Anzû; the bezoars belong to Enki, in this time Ningirsu's father (A. Falkenstein, AnOr. 30 [1966] 91), the stags belong to his mother Ninĥursag, and the lions to Ningirsu himself, the god to whom the vase is dedicated. The Anzû's belong to none, but represent another, more general power, under whose supervision they all operate. This higher power can only be Enlil, which is exactly what the Lugalbanda epic and the Anzû myth (W. W. Hallo/W. L. Moran, JCS 31 [1979] 80 ii 25f., iii 1ff.) tell us. The association of the Lion-headed eagle/Anzû with Enlil, the god of the space between Heaven and Earth, fits the pattern of associations established for the other monsters.

§ 2.2. *Servants and defeated enemies.* Their unnatural form defines the monsters as a group and distinguishes them from the anthropomorphic gods. Although a group of non-anthropomorphic gods (§ 3.1) held out until the end of the OB period, the process of complementary definition seems to be essentially closed at the end of the ED period. The establishment of formal complementarity fixes the character of the monsters in opposition to that of the anthropomorphic gods: whereas the gods represent the lawfully ordered cosmos, the monsters represent what threatens it, the unpredictable. Mesopotamian mythology, as reflected in the art of the late ED and Akkad periods, found two ways of formulating the difference between gods and monsters, both subordinating monsters to gods:

a) The vague "associations" assumed for the previous period are transformed into master-servant relations. The monsters became the doormen (Long-haired hero of Enki, Bull-man of Utu) or mounts (Human-headed Bison of Utu, Lion-dragon of Iškur, Snake-dragon of Ninazu) of the gods they were associated with. The monsters may change hands (*mušhuššu*\*), but remain in the service of gods until the end of Mesopotamian civilization, even though in other contexts they are rebels and defeated enemies.

b) Rebels and defeated enemies. The art of the Akkad period gives precedence to a subject that was hardly treated before, battles between gods and gods (Götterkämpfe\*) and between gods and monsters (Drachen und Drachenkampf\*). Although it cannot be totally excluded that Akkadian art finally found a way to depict a traditional subject that for some reason was avoided by earlier art, it is much more likely that the political innovations of the empire gave rise to mythological adaptations, and that the gods became more imperious and sensitive to rebellion. For the monsters, outlaws by nature, it is only a small step from unpredictable associate to rebel, and from rebel to defeated enemy. The role of the god in their relation changes accordingly from master to rightful ruler, and from rightful ruler to victor.

In Akkadian art the Bull-man, the fore-runner of the Lion-demon (B § 3.6), and rebellious mountain gods are combatted by Utu, the supervisor of distant regions (EWO 368ff.), who is sometimes assisted by members of his court and his sister Inanna (R. M. Boehmer, UAVA 4 [1965] Abb. 300-309; A. Green, BagM 17 [1986] Taf. 2). After the Akkad period the warrior Utu survived only in Assyria (R. Mayer-Opificius, UF 16 [1984] 200), while in southern Mesopotamia he was replaced by Ninurta/(Ningirsu) (Heimpel, JCS 38 [1986] 136f.), monster slayer at least from the time of Gudea onwards. Ningirsu/(Ninurta)'s enemies are listed by Gudea, and essentially the same list occurs in the late Ur III myths Lugal-e\* and Angim (see Cooper, AnOr. 52 [1978] 141ff., with discussions of individual enemies, J. J. A. van Dijk, Lugal I [1983] 11ff.; Lam-

bert, CRRA 32 [1986] 56ff., J. Black, SMS Bulletin 15 [1988] 19-25). The only important addition to the two later lists is Anzû. The political dimension is now entirely explicit. The enemies are referred to as "captured warriors and kings", and as "slain warriors" (AnOr. 52, 142), while Lugal-e 134 makes it clear that they were defeated in the mountains, the traditional home of Mesopotamia's enemies. Among the enemies is the mysterious sag-ar (Gudea Cyl. A xxv 25), who in view of the context must be mount Saggār (Ġabal Singār, cf. M. Stol, On Trees ... [1979] 75ff.), a rebel like mount Ebeḥ\* defeated by Inanna in a Sumerian myth (Literatur\* § 3.1.s). Of the whole list of Ninurta/(Ningirsu)'s enemies only the *ušum/bašmu*, the *gu<sub>4</sub>-alim/kusarikku* and Anzû have a mythological future and recur in later lists of defeated enemies of gods (§ 2.3; there are some exceptional revivals in later texts).

The dragon *ur/muš-sag-imin*, "Seven-headed Lion/Snake" must be identical with the seven-headed Lion-dragon fought by gods in third millennium art (B § 3.28); it is to be distinguished from the seven-headed snake *muš-mah*, one of Ninurta's weapons (Heimpel, StPohl 2 [1968] 480f.) and an enemy of gods (?) on an ED seal (§ 7.28). For *ku-li-an-na*, *má-(ar)-gi<sub>4</sub>-lum* and *á-zag* see above § 1. "Head-of-the-Bison", "(King) Palmtree", "(Strong) Copper", "Gypsum", the lion and the captured cattle are apotropaic features (in part booty from foreign lands) of temples and gates, etiologically explained as defeated enemies and trophies. Not among the enemies of Ninurta/(Ningirsu) are certain iconographic types that disappear after the Akkad period: the Bird-man (B § 3.2), the (human-faced) lion (§ 7.17b), and the Boat-god (B § 3.30).

Whereas the Ninurta/(Ningirsu) mythology emphatically associated monsters with rebellious mountains (Lugal-e 134; also Angim 33ff.), Angim 34 admits that *má-gi<sub>4</sub>-lum*, a kind of ship, is an unlikely inhabitant of the mountains and has it live in Apsû\*. In Angim 33 the *ušum/bašmu* lives in the "fortress of the mountains", but another third millennium text presents the related *ušumgal/pirig*-dragon as "roaring in the flood" (Trouville 1, 3. 11), while in the SB myth KAR 6 the *bašmu* is a sea dragon. In Angim 35 the *gu<sub>4</sub>-alim* is brought forth by Ninurta from "his battle dust", while the prologue of the SB Anzû myth alludes to his

victory over the *kusarikku* "in the midst of the sea" (JCS 31,78:12). The *mušhuššu*, not among the defeated enemies of Ninurta(/Ningirsu), but as a snake-dragon and associate of chthonic gods naturally at home in the earth, is associated with the sea in an Ur III incantation (cited by P. Steinkeller, SEL 1 [1984] 6), in Angim 139, and in a SB myth of older origin (CT 13,33:6). Later reflexes of the Ninurta(/Ningirsu) mythology introduce Sea as one of his enemies (Sm. 1875, cited by B. Landsberger, WZKM 57 [1961] 10<sup>46</sup>; Lambert, Or. 36 [1967] 124,149); monstrous beings are suckled by her (O.R. Gurney, AnSt. 5 [1955] 98,34). Besides má-gi<sub>4</sub>-lum a number of monsters are associated with Enki and Apsû: the *lahmu* (B § 3.1), the *kulullû* (B § 3.22), and the *suhurmāšu* (B § 3.23).

The sea, Tiāmat, is an Akkadian contribution to the Mesopotamian pantheon. She is attested for the first time in the Akkad period (A. Westenholz AFO 25 [1978] 102), and contrary to the monsters (except *lahmu*) whose mother she was to become (§ 2.3), her name is Semitic and not Sumerian. Her later history reveals a rebellious nature that is best explained by reference to the West, where the tension between near-by Sea and the ruling gods is naturally expected and in fact attested (Th. Jacobsen, JAOS 88 [1968] 105 ff.; D. Charpin/J.-M. Durand, RA 80 [1986] 174). In the course of the second millennium Sea replaces the mountains as geographical focus of monster mythology. The shift is most clearly observable in the cases of the *bašmu* and the *kusarikku* cited above. Thus both Apsû and Tiāmat shelter monsters before the mythology of Enūma Eliš makes them into a cosmogonic pair and arch enemies of Marduk and the gods (§ 2.3).

The mythology of combat and defeat naturally solves the tension between gods and monsters, rightful rulers and outlawed freaks, good and evil. Just like anthropomorphism and monster form are general schemes distinguishing two groups of different beings, so the combat myth is a general scheme defining their relation. Thus there is no need to look for one specific collision between a god and a monster more monstrous

than the others to find the origin of the combat myth. The general scheme is the origin of the combat myth, to be a rebel is an inalienable property of every monster, and to be a victor of every god. Once this is established it is no longer surprising that so very little is known about the personality of each individual monster, and that the nature of its collision with the gods is not specified in a separate myth. The few myths that feature a monster treat extraordinary developments related to the position of their divine protagonists in the pantheon, not the common tension between god and monster. The most influential of them is the Anzû myth (Literatur\* § 4.1.1; Sumerian forerunner: S.N. Kramer, AulaOr. 2 [1984] 231 ff.), the model for the combat between Marduk, Tiāmat, and her army of monsters in Ee. (Lambert, CRRA 32,56 f.).

Of local (Ešnunna) importance only is the so-called Labbu\*-myth (CT 13,33 f.; Literatur\* § 4.1.1.k), in which Enlil has Sea create the *mušhuššu* (also referred to as Labbu) in order to wipe out mankind. The monster is defeated, apparently by Tišpak, and the victor is rewarded with kingship, probably over Ešnunna (see Wiggermann in: (ed.) O. M. Haex et al., Fs. M. van Loon [1989] 117-133). A badly mutilated tablet contains a local Assyrian version of a similar myth concerning the *bašmu* (KAR 6; Literatur\* § 4.1.1.h). The deeds of a lesser monster slayer, Gilgameš\*, are described in two Sumerian epics, Gilgameš and Huwawa (Literatur\* § 3.1.n; D. O. Edzard, ZA 80 [1990] 165-203; 81 [1991] 165-233), and Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven (Literatur\* § 3.1.m). The two stories became part of the unified Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš (Literatur\* § 4.1.1.f), and are sometimes illustrated in second and first millennium art (B § 3.12. 18).

§ 2.3. *The army of Tiāmat.* The third millennium Ninurta(/Ningirsu) mythology became a shaping force on the later second and first millennium mythologies of other gods, notably of Marduk. Marduk started collecting trophies probably from the time of Hammurabi's defeat of Ešnunna onwards, when he took over the *mušhuššu* (*mušhuššu*\* § 3.5) from Tišpak, the defeated god of Ešnunna. The *lahmu*, *kulullû* and *suhurmāšu* were servants of his father Ea, and probably served Marduk as well. The *ur(i)dimmu* (B § 3.5) may have been Marduk's from the time of its invention onwards. One text, an inscription of Agum-kakrime (5 R 33 iv 50 ff., cf. Wiggermann 1992 VII.B.7)

attests to the association of a group of monsters, probably his defeated enemies, with Marduk before the creation of Ee. The list includes two former enemies of Ninurta(/Ningirsu), the *bašmu* and the *kusarikku*.

Up to the creation of Ee., Marduk's rulership was apparently felt to be sufficiently covered by the traditional model that made the ruling city god an appointee of the divine assembly led by Anu and Enlil. At the end of the second millennium the old model, in which the power of the ruling city god was checked by the divine assembly, was abolished. The justification of Marduk's rulership was changed: he was made independent of the decisions of a divine assembly and promoted to sole ruler of the universe. The myth giving form to this rearrangement of divine power is Ee. (Literatur\* § 4.1.1.01), presumably composed at the occasion of the return of Marduk's statue to Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (Lambert in: (ed.) W.S. McCullough, The Seed of Wisdom [1964] 3-13). Implicit in Marduk's elevation is the elevation of his enemies, and the promotion of the combat myth from good versus evil to Good versus Evil. The collection of preexisting enemies was indeed restructured along this line. Tiāmat, formerly only one among the enemies and a breeding place of monsters (§ 2.2), was promoted to arch enemy and cosmic power of evil. The other monsters were made dependent on her as her children and soldiers: *bašmu* (B § 3.26), *mušhuššu* (B § 3.27), *lahmu* (B § 3.1), *ugallu* (B § 3.4), *ur(i)dimmu* (B § 3.5), *girtablullû* (B § 3.4), *kulullû* (B § 3.22), *kusarikku* (B § 3.3), with the addition of three types of monsters that do not recur in other lists enumerating enemies of Marduk or of gods identified with him (Wiggermann 1992 VII.A; see also VS 24,97, and A.R. George, RA 80 [1988] 139 ff.).

According to W.G. Lambert (The History of the *mušhuš* in Ancient Mesopotamia, in: L'animal, l'homme, le dieu dans le proche orient ancien, Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1981 [1985] 90; apud U. Seidl, BagM 4 [1968] 206) Tiāmat is represented by wavy lines on Marduk's seal (F. Wetzel, WDOG 62 [1957] Taf. 43 f.) and on a kudurru\* (no. 41) showing a battle scene perhaps related to Ee. Berossos (S.M.

Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] 14 f.) presents her both as a body of water and a woman. In Ee. she is the cosmic sea, apparently imagined as a cow (Landsberger, JNES 20 [1961] 175) or a goat. She has udders (V 57), a tail (V 59, cf. Livingstone, SAA III 101,14) and a horn, cut off by Marduk (SAA III 82,1. 13), and undoubtedly to be connected with the body of water called "Horn of the Sea" (si-a-ab-ba) that enters the land from the Persian gulf and gave its name to Borsippa (Barsip\*; A.L. Oppenheim, Dict. of Scientific Bibliography 15 [1978] 640<sup>64</sup>).

§ 2.4. *Cosmic functions and constellations.* Before Ee. a connection of monsters with the early cosmos (Kosmogonie\*) cannot be proved, with one exception, the *lahmu*. Babylonian incantations reveal the existence of independent cosmogonic traditions with a genealogy of An that differs completely from the one recorded in the OB forerunner of the canonical godlist (TCL 15,10:31 ff.; Götterlisten\* § 5): Dūri-Dāri, *Laḫmu-Laḫamu*, Alala-Belili (Lambert, Or. 54 [1985] 190). The canonical godlist An-Anum (Götterlisten\* § 6) that assimilates traditions of many different sources, inserts the originally independent list before the last pair of Anu's ancestors of the forerunner. The occurrence in Babylonian incantations, the Semitic words (Dūri/Dāri, *Laḫmu/Laḫamu*), and the importance of Alala-Anu in Hurrian cosmogony (Kumarbi\* § 4) point to a non-Sumerian (northern) background for this cosmogonic tradition. Ee., that rebuilds mythology from the debris of previous ages, finds room for both traditions concerning *lahmu*, for the cosmogonic god (I 10), and for the humbler monster, soldier of Tiāmat. The fact that Ee. recognizes both, shows that the two existed side by side as separate entities.

Since the texts are silent on this point, the cosmogonic function of the *lahmu* can only be derived from art. It is found in Long-haired heros appearing in functions that can be interpreted as cosmic and at the same time distinguish them from their peers, the soldier *lahmu*'s (P. Amiet, RA 50 [1956] 118 ff.; id., Glyptique 147 ff., Pl. 111; E. Porada, Fs. E. Reiner [1987] 279 ff.); they are Long-haired heros in horizontal position (contrasting with the common servant *lahmu* on two OB seals, Glyptique 1478. 1480), sometimes with watery bodies, and



sometimes with stars on either side of their heads. Apparently these Long-haired heroes are in some way connected with cosmic water, but the cosmogonic function of the *lahmu* cannot be defined sharper on this basis. Unfortunately the only text that tries to inform us on the nature of the cosmogonic *lahmu* (KAV 52 and duplicates, see Wiggermann, JEOL 27 [1981/82] 94) is completely understandable.

Cosmic (not cosmogonic) functions were established by Amiet, RA 50, 113 ff. for three third millennium monsters associated with the sun god Utu: the Scorpion(-man) (§ 7.4a), who supports moon and stars with its pinchers; the Human-headed Bison (§ 7.17a), who together with its double may form the mountains through which the sun rises; and the Bull-man, who may appear as atlantid. Obscure is the human-faced bearded goat(?), formed out of, or accompanied by, moon and stars, and carrying three naked women on its back (Porada, Fs. I. M. Diakonoff 287; B. Schlossman, AfO 25 [1974/77] 150f.). The scene has been interpreted as "the representation of some astral myth" (Porada, CANES I 24). In late second and first millennium art many monsters and genies (R. Mayer-Opificius, UF 16, 197f.) appear as atlantids (D. M. Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C. [1990] 452ff.). Anzû, who provides the water for Euphrates and Tigris in the SB Anzû myth (Hallo/Moran, JCS 31, 70. 92f.) and takes care of Enlil's bath (ibid. 80 iii 6), is shown with streams coming from each of his two heads on late second millennium seals (Porada, AfO 28 [1981] 52f. no. 27 and Fig. o), undoubtedly the two rivers.

Among gods, animals, plants, objects, and geometric figures also monsters appear in the night sky as constellations: *bašmu*/MUŠ (ŠL IV/1, 51. 284. 370), (*a*)*lû*/GU<sub>4</sub>.AN.NA (ibid. 73. 75. 77, cf. 96. 200. 279), *kusarikku*/GU<sub>4</sub>.ALIM (ibid. 76), *kaduhû*/U<sub>4</sub>.KA.DUĤ.A (ibid. 144. 208), *ur(i)dimmu* (ibid. 163), *Anzû* (ibid. 196), and *suḫurmāšu* (ibid. 263. 344). The constellation *mušḫuššu* did not survive the OB period, and must have been renamed (*mušḫuššu* § 6). Patently the stars and constellations were not all named

at one place and period, and a coherent mythology underlying all figures of the night sky as known mainly from first millennium sources is not to be expected. Babylonian sources of the second and first millennia consider the monsters in heaven symbolic representations of the "real" monsters, drawings of gods (cf. CAD *lumāšu*, *muš-ḫuššu* § 6, and passim). Earlier they seem to have been imagined as the "real" monsters, that, like the sun god Utu, travelled not only the distant regions at the end of the earth (§ 4), but also the bordering skies. Thus in the i-a-lum-lum version of Gilgameš and Huwawa (Literatur\* § 3.1.n.2; A. Shaffer, JAOS 103 [1983] 307; S. N. Kramer, JCS 1 [1947] 36<sup>217</sup>) the dragons assigned by Utu to Gilgameš (Edzard ZA 80, 184, 36-45) guide him to the cedar forest from heaven.

Gigantic upright lions and bovids, male and female, appear as atlantids, masters of wild animals (Herr(in) der Tiere\*), and mythological actors in early third millennium Elamite, Iranian (Glyptique 574-589; 1690), and rarely Mesopotamian (Glyptique 641) art. They may have contributed to the development of ED Mesopotamian monsters such as the Bull-man, and perhaps even the much later Lamaštu (Porada, JAOS 70 [1950] 226; van Dijk, BBVO 1/I [1982] 105f.).

The later ED and Akkadian Boat-god (Glyptique 1411-1488; 1777-1785; 1495-1506; N. Karg, Bag-Forsch. 8 [1984] 69f.), transporting Utu through a cosmic ocean in heaven (thus Amiet, Or. 45 [1976] 17f., id. RA 71 [1977] 113f.) or under the earth (thus H. Frankfort, Iraq 1 [1934] 18f., id. CS 95 ff., 105 ff., 132 ff.), is accompanied by a remarkably stable collection of unrelated objects, animals, and monsters, that can be explained as forerunners of (planets or) constellations known from much later sources: the plowed field (Glyptique 1431) of *mul*AS.GĀN, "Field", the pointed star (Venus) of *mul*Dili-bat, "Venus", plow (and pot) of *mul*APIN, "Plow", Bird-man (§ 1) of *mul*ŠU.GI/Enmešarra, bull-altar (Glyptique 1412) or Human-headed Bison of Bull-of-Heaven (Taurus), (human-faced) lion of *mul*UR.GU.LA, "Lion" (Leo), the Boat-god of *mul*MUŠ, "...-Dragon" (Hydra), the woman with an ear of corn (Glyptique 1505) of Virgo with Spica (Weidner, Gestirndarstellungen, Taf. 10), the scorpion of *mul*GĪR.TAB, "Scorpio". To what groups of stars the images belong at this early period, however, cannot be established, and the relation with the agricultural cycle that is indicated by "Field", "Plow", and Spica, must remain indeterminate.

The night sky of the second half of the year (autumn/winter), the "himmlische Wasserregion" (ŠL IV/1 p. 27), is dominated by *mul*GU.LA/Aquarius (ibid. 81), the "Giant" from whose arballois issue the streams (ibid. 53. 192, Euphrates and Tigris) in which

the fishes (Pisces and Piscis Austrinus) swim (ibid. 27. 218. 389). Nearby are *suḫurmāšu*/Capricorn who belonged to Enki from the Ur III period onwards, *enzu* (ibid. 145), "She-goat" who is marked as his by a curved staff (*gamlu*, D. Pingree/C. B. F. Walker, Mem. A. Sachs [1988] 315, 31), a simplified form of the staff with ram's head (U. Seidl, BagM 4 [1968] 180), and the Lion-dragon U<sub>4</sub>.KA.DUĤ.A who, being Iškur's mount, spits water on Akkadian, Old Babylonian, and Nuzi seals (§ 7.25, B § 3.25). The gigantic water god/genius (§ 3.2) of Kassite seals (Matthews, Principles of Composition, 129-131, 135-137) who fertilizes the land with the assistance of Fish-men (B § 3.22) and a two-headed (lion-headed) eagle (Aquila/Anzû), is undoubtedly related to, and perhaps identical with, the "Giant" Aquarius.

The red star in the kidney of LU.LIM (B Andromedae), *ka-muš-i-kú-e* (ŠL IV/1, 215), "Eaten by the mouth of the Hydra", is named in Babylonian *pašittu*, the "obliterating one", or, in view of the Sumerian perhaps better, *pašittu*, the "obliterated one". The star is identified with the she-demon Lamaštu who was thrown out of heaven because of her evil intentions towards mankind (BIN 4, 126: 1-16 and parallels).

§ 2.5. *Theology.* The monsters belong to a class of supernatural beings that are neither gods nor demons. They do not occur in god lists, are supplied with the determinative only sporadically, and generally do not wear the horned crown of divinity (exceptions: § 7.17a and its successors from the Ur III period onwards; § 7.5 and other figures in first millennium art). They are not listed among the "evil spirits" (*utukkū lemnūtu*\*) and are not demons of disease in the medical texts, although sometimes they appear to be noxious (*mušḫuššu* in OECT 5, 24: 4; *lahmu* see J.-M. Durand, ARMT XXI 363<sup>32</sup>, all OB).

The languages of Mesopotamia do not have a generic term "monster". The monsters that constitute Tiamat's army are referred to in SB texts as: *Ešret-nabnissu*, "His(Qingu's)-ten-creatures" (K 2727+, see Lambert, CRRA 32, 58), *ūmū*, "Storms" (literally "Days") (Šurpu VIII 8), *umāmānu*, "beasts" (OIP 2, 141: 14), *gallū*, "soldiers" (Ee. IV 116), *šūt mē nāri u nābali*, "those of the water of the river, and of the dry land" (Šurpu VIII 6), *binūt apsī*, "creatures of Apsū" (Wiggermann 1992 text I 144), and, in apotropaic context, *sākip lemnūti ša Ea u Marduk*, "those that repel the evil ones, of Ea and Marduk" (o.c. text I 160f., 165f.). Sumerian texts refer to monsters as *ur-sag*,

"warriors": the captured and killed enemies of Ninurta/(Ningirsu) (Gudea Cyl. A xxvi 15, Lugal-e 128), the dragons that accompany Gilgameš to the cedar forest (Edzard, ZA 80, 184: 36), and Huwawa (Cooper, AnOr. 52, 110). A late theological text explains *GUD.ALIM* as *kabtu* (ALIM) *qar-rādu* (GUD), "Venerable Warrior" (CT 46, 51 r. 20').

Like the gods the monsters were immortal, but not invulnerable; they could be killed. The mythology of captured and killed monsters gains increasing importance from the time of Gudea onwards (§ 2.2b-2.3), but does not replace the simpler model in which the monsters are servants of gods (§ 2.2a). In practice the tension between the two models did not surface, since both serve equally well to cover the most important application of monster mythology, apotropaic magic. Alive, as servants of the gods, they guard temples, houses, and palaces against intruding evil, while as dead enemies, the god's trophies, they remind it of the futility of its endeavours. The fastening of slain adversaries to the god's war chariot (Ninurta: Angim 51 ff.; Marduk: Lambert, Symbolae Böhl [1973] 275 f.) or temple (Ee. V 73 ff.; Burstein SANE 1/5, 14; T. Frymer-Kinsky, JAOS 103, 133: 20, STT 23/25: 56'; cf. Lambert, Iraq 27 [1965] 8: 6 ff.) is well attested in the texts, but not in art, where the monsters on chariots (PKG XIV Abb. 111) and in gates are alive, with opened eyes, and holding gate posts or symbols. The artists and their public apparently favoured the servant model.

The application of the mythology of combat and defeat to other apotropaic features of temples and gates lead to the creation of a number of highly unlikely enemies, included in the list of trophies of Ninurta/(Ningirsu) (§ 2.2b). The application of this mythology to monsters in general, lead to the inclusion of a thoroughly peaceful being like the *kulullū* in the list of enemies of Marduk.

§ 2.6. *Use in art.* Besides gods and heros monsters appear in art in apotropaic function as masters of the animals from the late Uruk period onwards (Herr(in) der Tiere\*), and as guardians of temples and houses from the Akkad period onwards. From the late ED period onwards monsters reinforce the iconography of their divine masters by

being present as their mounts or servants. Battles between gods and monsters are depicted from the late ED period onwards, but rarely, and schematically fixed only in the second half of the second millennium. The battles take place in the mountains, and the shift to Sea as focus of monster mythology attested in the texts (§ 2.2) is not reflected in art (for an exception on a Middle-Syrian seal see Mayer-Opificius, UF 16, 185). Battle scenes do not depict specific mythological battles (§ 3.2), but highlight, and implicitly praise, the power of the ruling gods and the victory of rightful rule. Only the killing of Huwawa and the killing of the Bull-of-Heaven, episodes of the Epic of Gilgameš, are illustrated with a certain regularity from the OB period onwards (B § 3.12. 18, with literature).

Descriptions of evil demons and underworld servants in texts like Lugal-e (á-zág § 1), *utukkū lemnūtu*, and the Underworld Vision (§ 1) imply that they could be imagined as hybrids. For such evil beings Mesopotamian art had little room, which must have prevented the formation of fixed iconography types. Two exceptions are the bull-eared gods (§ 3.1), and Lamaštu (§ 3.11), but even her iconography is not completely fixed (deviant Lamaštu's on amulets 18. 32. 42, MDP 23, 51 Fig. 19/2). How the Assyrian prince Kummaju (§ 1) identified most of the demons he saw in his vision of the underworld remains obscure, but since it is highly unlikely that the entire art form responsible for the fixation of iconographic types had disappeared without leaving a trace, his identifications were presumably based on theological interpretation, rather than on recognition. The exorcist that made figurines of demons and ghosts must have known how to, but his products may have been just as undefined as the drawings of gods on STT 73 r. 57ff. The rituals generally ask for the destruction of the figurines, and consequently they have not come to light.

Mesopotamian art invented, or borrowed from foreign sources, a number of iconographic types that do not correspond to a god or genie of Mesopotamian mythology. Lacking mythological back-up these figures

remained ill-defined good luck charms. Some such symbolic function must be ascribed to the OB bowlegged dwarf (§ 1, *pessū*; B § 3.13). A comparable symbol of luck and prosperity, but much older, is the figure of the Naked Woman (§ 7.25; winged: § 5). On OB seals she appears, like the bowlegged dwarf, as a diminutive added element unrelated to the main scene. She has been tentatively identified as Bāštu, "Bloom" (Wiggermann, JEOL 29, 28). Assyrian art employs anthropomorphic genies (B § 3.31) and Griffin-demons (B § 3.9) in purifying and exorcising functions. They are labelled *apkallu* after the similarly employed fish-*apkallu* (B § 3.8). Other (winged) genies and gods employed in vague apotropaic or ritual functions have received equally vague descriptive names (§ 1.7, 17c).

The Naked Woman is not only a vaguely defined figure of good luck, but also a goddess, integrated in mythology as the wife of the storm god, presumably at first in the North where she received the name Šala ("Well-being", from Semitic *šlw*; differently Lambert in J.A. Emerton, V.T. Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986 [1988] 137: from Hurrian *šala*, "daughter"). In Mesopotamia, where she is attested with this identity from the Akkad period onwards, she also has the Sumerian name Medimša\*, "The beautiful one", while in Hurrian she is the lady of Nineveh, Šauška (cf. R. L. Alexander, JNES 50 [1991] 165ff., with previous literature; D. Stein, Xenia 21 [1988] 173-209). This goddess appears in Ur III Sumer under the name *šauša-u<sub>18</sub>/ù-ša/ša<sub>4</sub>* (Nin-u-a-kam, AnOr. 7, 79: 6), Šauška (of Niniveh), the same word without the diminutive suffix -ga (I. M. Diakonoff/S. A. Starostin, Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language [1986] 69). Figurines of Šauša were votive objects (W. W. Hallo, BiOr. 20 [1963] 141), and a type of lute is called a *šauša-lute*, translated into Akkadian as *inu malhāti* (Laute\* A § 1.2). Unfortunately the meaning of the adjective *malhu* is not clear, but the verb *malāhu* denotes some kind of dance, and on this basis A. D. Kilmer associated *šauša/malhu* with the nude lutanists (Laute\* A § 1.3). The context adduced here points rather to his nude female companions (Laute\* B). In Assyria Šauška is called Ištar of Niniveh. Both goddesses have androgynous traits (§ 3.3).

On occasion Mesopotamian mythographers promoted abstractions to gods or (evil) demons, some of them imagined as hybrids (á-zág, "Disorder", *Māmītu*, "Oath", *Mūtu*, "Death" § 1; u<sub>4</sub>, "Day" § 2.1; *nī/pu-luhtu*, "Fear" § 5, etc.). With some exceptions, notably the u<sub>4</sub>-beings, such personified abstractions were not represented in art,

and their hybrid nature remained dependent on the imprecise descriptions of the texts. The unique iconographic program of the Göttertypentext (§ 1), whether executed or not, reveals, however, an unexpected need to visualize abstractions and to express notions that lay beyond the horizon of the texts. Besides sometimes shocking alterations in the iconography of known gods (§ 3.1 Ensimah), and the creation of imaginative iconographies for little known ones (*dAmma*[*kurkur*], the *utūtu*, "door woman"(!) of Ereškigal, with a monkey's face, Köcher, MIO 1, 72 iv 5ff.), the text introduces a set of completely new "demons", personified abstractions represented by newly created hybrids: Conflict (*adammū*), Struggle (*ippiru*), Zeal (*hīntu*), and Grief (*niziqtu*) (ibid. 74 iv 47; 76 v 10; 105 v 42; 80 vi 23, cf. Wiggermann JEOL 27, 97f.; Lambert Or. 54, 197f.).

### § 3. Non-anthropomorphic gods.

Anthropomorphism (Anthropomorphismus\*) distinguishes gods from monsters, and helped to shape their contrastive roles in Mesopotamian mythology (§ 2.2). Among the major gods two groups can be defined, the astral (Nanna\*, Utu\*, Inanna\*) and cosmic (Enki\*, Enlil\*, Ninhursag\*) gods that became anthropomorphic early, and the chthonic and underworld gods (§ 3.1) that retained theriomorphic features until the end of the OB period. Halfway in the third millennium members of both groups have horns growing out of their heads (Hörnerkrone\*), not a theriomorphic feature but the mark of their divinity, later transformed into a horned tiara. Lesser gods of nature (§ 3.2; § 7.32, 33) can be represented by hybrids composed out of human and natural elements.

§ 3.1. *Chthonic snake gods and animal gods.* The canonical list of gods *An-Anum* starts its treatment of underworld deities in V 213 with Ereškigal\*, followed by her son Ninazu\* (V 239), his son Ningišzida\* (V 250), Ninazu's successor as city god of Ešnunna, Tišpak\* (V 273), the city god of Susa, Inšušinak\* (V 286), and the city god of Dêr, Ištarān\* (V 287), all with their fami-

lies and courts except Inšušinak. A nearly identical grouping is attested in an OB list of city gods from Ur (UET 6/2, 412: 7-13; followed by Nergal). The traits held in common by the members of this subgroup of underworld deities define it as chthonic, and based in the Transtigridian region. Not each of these gods is well documented, but for all a relation with snakes can be established with reasonable certainty. Ereškigal and Ningišzida are linked to the constellation Hydra (ŠL IV/1, 284 iii); Ereškigal's messenger *Mūtum*, "Death", has the head of a *mušhuššu* in the Vision of the Underworld (§ 1). *Dannina* (cf. CAD D 91), one of the names of the underworld (An-Anum V 234), is undoubtedly identical with the Hebrew dragon Tannin (Ugaritic Tunnanu). Ninazu, "Lord Healer", is king of the snakes in OB incantations (YOS 11, 32: 4, 34: 3; see van Dijk, Or. 38, 541ff.) and the original master of the *mušhuššu*\* (§ 3.2). One of his names is *dMUŠ* (An-Anum V 240) and he himself, or one of the members of his family, is scaled on an Akkadian sculptured stone from Ešnunna (H. Frankfort, OIP 60 [1943] no. 331). In an OB incantation his successor Tišpak is still "green" (van Dijk Or. 38, 540, 2), obviously because of his snake's skin. He is the next owner of the *mušhuššu*\* (§ 3.4), and at least two members of his court are dragons (*dBašmu* and *dUšum-ur-sag*, An-Anum V 278f.). An Akkadian seal (Boehmer UAVA 4, Abb. 570) shows a god on a dragon, probably Ninazu rather than Tišpak in view of the name Ur-*dNin-a-zu* in the inscription. The seal is dedicated to the god *I-ba-um*, that is *Ipahum*, "Viper" (Hebrew *ʾēfēh*, cf. MEE 4, 351: 034, where the same word is equated with *muš-dagal*, also attested in presargonic Lagaš, R. D. Biggs, JNES 32 [1973] 30x1'). This god was canonized in An-Anum V 262 as *dIb-bu*, the vizier of Ningišzida, and is probably to be identified with the second god on the seal, the anthropomorphic servant of the god on the Snake-dragon. Ningišzida, the "Lord of the true tree", is, like his father, master of the (or a) *mušhuššu*\* (§ 3.3). Ninazu, Ningišzida, and members of their family, are linked to Ištarān not only by An-Anum and other god lists, but also by the fact that all



of them are among the dying gods of vegetation lamented in Sumerian litanies (cf. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once* [1987] 59f.). Ištarān's messenger is Nirah\*, the deified snake (Seidl, *BagM* 4, 155f.). The Snake-god (B § 3.29) of Akkadian seals, whose ophidian nature and stalk of vegetation link him to the gods under discussion, is, in view of the fact that he receives worship, Ištarān rather than his servant Nirah. The winding snake's body on which he seems to sit (§ 7.29) relates the Snake-god to a similar Elamite god (§ 7.35, and below for the bull's ears), attested from the 19th to the 13th century. The context favours de Miroschedji's identification of this god as Ištarān's neighbour Inšušinak (P. de Miroschedji, *IrAnt.* 16 [1981] 1-25; id. *Syria* 66 [1990] 360, differently: Seidl, *Die Elamischen Felsreliefs von Kūrāngūn und Naqš-e Rostam* [1986] 20f.). Inšušinak is an underworld god, who like his peers must be expected to be associated with snakes. Finally also the Boat-god (B § 3.30) is ophidian and chthonic (§ 2.4). Above he has been tentatively determined as a forerunner of the constellation Hydra (§ 2.4), but unless he is identical with one of the snake-gods already mentioned (Ningišzida), he does not occur in the An-Anum section of chthonic gods.

Gods with animal names are not uncommon, but in most cases it is not known whether they were represented by theriomorphic, hybrid, or anthropomorphic figures. Theriomorphic animal gods and genies certainly existed (Nirah, Hallulāja, see *maškim\** § 3.3), as well as anthropomorphic ones (*Ipahum*). The owl goddess Kilili (§ 5, 7.33) is a hybrid. The name of a number of gods and demons are equated with, or spelled by, the logogram GUD, bull, and, while not for all of them a bovine nature can be demonstrated, most of them are related to death or the netherworld (An-Anum VI 203ff., Ea IV 138ff., with glosses; SLT 124 vii 17-19, VS 24.20 iii 7-9, OB, without glosses). West Semitic are the pest demon Dapar\*/Dipar (Hebrew *daber*, cf. A. Caquot, *Sources Orientales* 8 [1971] 116; STT 136 iii 32.42; Dipar), and the death gods Rušpān\* (Rešef) and Kammuš\* (a form of Nergal). *Kušum* must be the underworld

demon *kūšu(m)\**. Qudma(š)\* and Nirah (Civil, *JNES* 33, 334; BAM 499 iii 3') are servants of Ištarān; a bull-headed snake did exist in Mitannian glyptics (Porada, in: (ed.) D. J. W. Meijer, *Nat. Phen.* [1992] 227-243), but can not be proved to be Nirah, and Qudma(š) must have been anthropomorphic because he had a nin-dingir (OB seal, B. Buchanan, *Catalogue...* Ashmolean Museum [1966] no. 513). Kušdim and Gugarit remain unidentified, and may belong to a foreign or peripheral pantheon as well. Certainly bovid is (Ba)ḥar, the messenger of the underworld gods Lugal-irra\* and Meslamta-ea (see Lugal-(ba)ḥar/Ḥar\*, PSD 46b), whose name derives from Proto-Semitic *ba'ir* (Akkadian *bīru/būru*, "calf", cf. P. Fronzaroli, *Rendiconti delle Sedute dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* [1969] Serie VIII 24, 313). SB texts occasionally spell the name of the Hurrian bull god Šerīš (Hurri, Šeri und\*) with <sup>d</sup>GUD (E. Ebeling, *ArOr.* 21 [1953] 401; id., *Or.* 23 [1954] 126; CAD K 29a; see E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite* [1980] 227f.). Once the name of the bull god Indagara is spelled with GUD (OB Sumerian incantation, P. Michalowski, *Or.* 54 [1985] 122), and once the name of his wife Kusu (An-Anum I 325). In a cosmogonic context a pair of <sup>d</sup>GUD is equated with Laḥmu/Laḥama (Wiggermann, *JEOL* 27, 94), but the meaning of this passage remains obscure (§ 2.4). The names of Šerīš, Indagara, Kusu, Laḥmu, Qudma(š) and Nirah normally are spelled differently.

The Göttertypentext describes three figures with bull's ears. Of one of them the name is not preserved (Köcher, *MIO* 1, 70: 55), and another, *niziqtum* (§ 2.6), "Grief", is completely fictitious. The third is Ensimah, a god of the Apsū and a servant of Enki (TCL 15, 10:96, An-Anum II 293), who is described as an anthropomorphic figure with bull's ears (*MIO* 1, 76: 13ff.). That, however, the description does not refer to an existing figure is shown unequivocally by the fact that the god holds a bucket in his right hand, while all figures, both in the texts and in art, always hold the bucket in their left hand.

Besides gods the ghosts of dead people may have bull features or be related to bulls.

The G[IDI]M<sup>2</sup>, "ghost" of the Underworld Vision (Livingstone, *SAA* III 72:6) has a bull's head, the word *etemmu* can be spelled with the logogram GUD, in omens bovids in the protasis regularly lead to *etemmu* in the apodosis (cf. SpTU I 27 Rs. 5, SB commentary), and their hooves and horns play a part in the rituals for the dead (G. Castellino, *Or.* 24 [1955] 246:11. 17; 260:28f.; 266:12).

According to an often cited phrase that recurs in several SB literary texts (EG VII iv 38, cf. J. Bottéro, *CRRA* 26 [1980] 34<sup>123</sup>) the dead were "clothed with feathers", which has been generally taken to imply that avian features refer an iconographic type to death and the underworld. This conclusion, however, does not follow from the text passage, and in fact hybrids with avian features and winged hybrids are rarely associated with death or the netherworld (§ 5). Birds lived in or near the netherworld, but they cannot be identified with the ghosts of dead people (ADD 469, cf. T. Kwasman/S. Parpola, *SAA* VI [1991] 232f.).

A lesser Nergal, Luḥušū (§ 1), has an abnormal nose, and non-human feet. The omen passages in which the imprints of his feet are mentioned beside those of other animals and hybrids (CT 38, 5:125ff.; 25: 16ff.) lead to the conclusion that they were not those of an eagle, a bull, a horse or a donkey. Probably they were those of a lion.

A bull-eared full-face god, sometimes with bird's talons, armed with scimitars, axes, or maces, with daggers in his belt, enclosed in a "sarcophagus", wrapped in rope coils (§ 7.34b), or free standing (§ 7.34a) occurs sometimes on seals and much more often on terracottas of the OB period (cf. Buchanan, *Iraq* 33 [1971] 5f.; Porada apud M. Weitemeyer, *Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers...* [1962] 109<sup>26</sup>; E. Klengel-Brandt, *AoF* 16 [1989] 345f.; N. Wrede, *BagM* 21 [1990] 251). The bull's ears, the lion scimitar (B § 3.6), and the association with further iconographical elements related to Nergal, support the general opinion that he is an underworld god (Opificius, *UAVA* 2 [1961] 214f.; Porada, *CRRA* 26, 265; differently M. T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie Antique* [1968] 181f.). As such he is the only candidate for identification with one of the <sup>d</sup>GUD-underworld figures discussed above. When foreign, unidentified, and normally differently spelled figures are excluded, his name can be established as (Ba)ḥar, messenger of Lugal-irra\* and Meslamta-ea. Like him full-face and shouldering scimitars, but without the bull's ears and receiving offerings, his masters appear on an OB

seal (Buchanan, *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection* [1981] no. 455).

The Elamite snake god (§ 7.35) identified above as the underworld god Inšušinak, has the bull's ears fitting his character on the 13th century Untaš-Napiriša stele (de Miroschedji, *IrAnt.* 16 Pl. VIII).

The bull-eared god receiving worship on an OB Syrian seal from Ališar (Frankfort CS Pl. XXIVb, cf. Buchanan, *JCS* 11 [1957] 50) is a local form of Šamaš (feet on human-headed bison, bull-man offering kid).

The head of a bull-eared god is cut off by another god on an Ur III relief fragment from Tello (J. Börker-Klähn, *BagF* 4, no. 44).

The god Ningublaga\*, also named Lugal-(ba)ḥar\*, is a bull god (cf. Lambert, *JNES* 48 [1989] 216, 6-8). He is at least partly anthropomorphic (J. Boese, *UAVA* 6 [1971] Taf. XXXVI/UM 1, Late Akkadian dedication plaque; feet and ears of god broken), and probably completely, since he has a nin-dingir priestess (UET 1, 106; cf. D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur au Siècle d'Ham-murabi* [1986] 220f.).

§ 3.2. *Mountains and rivers*. Naked gods on mountains are combatted by Utu, members of his court, and Inanna on Akkadian seals (§ 2.2; Boehmer, *UAVA* 4, Abb. 300 ff.). That these scenes do not depict specific battles against specific gods of the mountains, but visualize in a general manner the struggle of the gods with their foreign opponents, is shown not only by the lack of distinction between the mountain gods and the scenes in which they appear, but also by the association of gods defeated on mountains with defeated monsters. Third millennium royal inscriptions (e.g., the Utu-hegal inscription, W. H. Ph. Römer, *Or.* 54 [1985] 276, 6) and mythological texts (Ninurta mythology, § 2.2) refer to kur "mountain land" as the habitat of enemies in the same general manner. Third millennium mythology singles out two mountains as the enemies of gods, Saggar, defeated by Ninurta (§ 2.2), and the deified Ebeḥ, defeated by Inanna. The latter battle became the subject of a mythological tale that is generally believed to reflect historical reality (P. Steinkeller apud (ed.) McG. Gibson, *Uch Tepe I* [1981] 163 ff.).

Defeated mountain gods are part of the mountains on which Utu and Inanna sit or

rise (Boehmer, UAVA 4, Abb. 299, 379, 488), or their half anthropomorphic (§ 7.36 d) servants on Akkadian (ibid. Abb. 433) and Ur III (Buchanan, JNES 31 [1972] 96 Fig. 1) seals, and once in the round (Statue Cabane, PKG XIV Abb. 161, cf. U. Moortgat-Correns, BiMes. 21 [1986] 183-188; E. Klengel-Brandt/D. Rittig, FB 22 [1982] 107. Dedicated to Šamaš by Jasmaḥ-Addu, but the statue is older).

Mountains are part of the landscape from the Uruk IV (§ 7.36 a), and mountains and rivers together from the ED period (§ 7.36 b, c) onwards. In the Akkad period mountains and rivers begin to occur together in symbolic functions, and are represented with the help of partly or completely anthropomorphic figures (Boehmer, UAVA 4, Abb. 379). On a seal from Mari (§ 7.36 e) a mountain-and-river goddess is linked to later representations by the vegetation growing from her watery lower body, and by the large cup with ears she holds in her hands. The cup symbolizes the mountain part, since on later representations it is held by the mountain god (§ 7.36 d, f; cf. *buršūšallū*, a cup with handles, and a divine symbol), and apparently is the analogon of the flowing vase held by the river goddesses. It should contain earth, and on one OB example actually has a plant growing out of it (Frankfort, CS Pl. XLI i). In the OB period a fixed scheme is developed (§ 7.36 f), in which the mountains are gods with scaled lower bodies, and the rivers goddesses with watery lower bodies (R. L. Alexander, Syria 47 [1970] 37-49; river goddesses alone: ibid. 43). R. S. Ellis has convincingly connected these figures with the figures of mountains (ḥur-sag) and rivers (id) carrying plenty and abundance (ḥé-gál, also the name of the flowing vase, see CAD *ḥegallu* 3) placed in temples by OB kings (BiMes. 7 [1977] 29-34). This scheme continues to be used in the Kassite period (PKG XIV Abb. 169; Opificius, UAVA 2, no. 386). In this period also the earlier single figure representations are revived (cf. M. Trokay, Fs. J.-R. Kupper [1990] 87-96): a gigantic god or genius holding flowing vases, or combined with a figure holding flowing vases, represented as a mountain or rising from the mountains,

and assisted by mermen. Although, as is shown by his two faces (Isimu\* B Abb. 6), the flowing vases, and the mermen, the iconography of this figure ultimately depends on that of (the cycle of) Enki, the two are not necessarily identical (Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic... 60f., with references and discussion, Mayer-Opificius, UF 16, 203f.). Above (§ 2.4) a relation with the "himmlische Wasserregion" and Aquarius (GU.LA, "Giant") was considered.

In the old well in the Assur temple in Assur a smashed cult relief was found, showing a mountain god shouldering branches (cf. § 7.36 h) and flanked on either side by much smaller goddesses holding flowing vases (PKG XIV Abb. 194; dated to the OB period by E. Klengel-Brandt, Akkadica 19, 38 ff., with previous lit. and discussion). The figure represents either a specific mountain god such as Ebeḥ\* or Tibar\*, or a mountain god in a specific function, such as Id\*-ḥur-šan (Ordal\*), which would establish a connection with the findspot.

Ninhursag\*, the "Lady of the foothills", is an anthropomorphic goddess, sometimes seated on a mountain throne, and once on an Akkadian seal wearing a tiara with mountains (§ 7.36 g).

§ 3.3. *Abnormalities, redoublings, and metamorphoses.* Marduk in Ee. has four eyes and four ears (I 95), and thus, presumably, two faces. Jacobsen (OIP 98 [1990] 99 ff.) identifies the four-faced god from Iščāli (Nērebtum) (PKG XIV 165b, OB) with Marduk. The traditional two-faced figure of Mesopotamian art is Enki's vizier Isimu\*, but he lost one of them after the Kassite period. From late (SB, LB) commentaries and theological texts some other two-faced figures are known, but none of them can be identified in art: Tiāmat *turamtu* has a male and a female face (STC I 213:12); an apotropaic figure representing at once the male *šēdu* and the female *lamassu* spirits has a male and a female face (SpTU I 50:11 f.); the underworld demon *Mimma lemnu*, "Any evil", has two heads, one of a lion and one of a [...] (SAA III 72:7, Underworld Vision). A clay figure with human and leonine faces was found in a foundation box in

building DD of the outer town at Nimrūd (Green, Iraq 45, 95 XIIb), but since the figure presumably is apotropaic, it cannot be identified with *Mimma lemnu*.

Like Marduk Ištar of Nineveh is described as having [four eyes], and four ears, and thus presumably two faces (KAR 307:19f.). Since she was bearded (ABRT 1,7:6), one face may have been male, and one female. The same text that gives the goddess two faces, defines her androgynous nature: "her upper parts are Bēl, and her lower parts are Ninlil" (KAR 307:21 f.; cf. B. Groneberg, Die Sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos?, WO 17 [1986] 25-46). Her Hurrian double Šauška (§ 2.6) appears twice in a Hittite "Bildbeschreibung", once as a male figure, and once as a female one (H. G. Güterbock, Fs. K. Bit-tel [1983] 204f.; cf. Stein, Xenia 21, 173 ff.).

In the Hittite sources Šauška is accompanied by an *awiti*, some kind of winged lion (monster) (cf. J. Danmanville, RA 56 [1962] 122-129), and by two goddesses, Kulitta\* and Ninatta. An Assyrian text enumerating Ištar figures in the city of Arbela (B. Menzel, StPohl 10/2 T 120f., 20'-26') closes the list after "Ištar of the lions" (Ištar of Arbela) with an "Ištar of the Anzū(s)", followed by *Ni-ni-tu*, and *Ku-li-tu*. As is indicated by the names of her two servants, this Ištar is Ištar/Šauška of Nineveh, the naked companion of the storm god (§ 2.6), and as such the only Mesopotamian Ištar figure associated with the Lion-dragon, in this time called Anzū (§ 1). Thus *awiti* denotes either the Lion-dragon, or a functionally or formally similar Hittite monster.

Metamorphoses are rare in Mesopotamian sources. In Enlil and Ninlil (Literatur\* § 3.1 f) Enlil changes into "the one in charge of the city-gate", "the one in charge of the River of the Netherworld", and "the one in charge of the ferry" in order to copulate with Ninlil. In another Sumerian myth Enlil appears to the man Namzitarra in the guise of a raven (Civil, AfO 25, 68:15). On his request Utu changes Dumuzi into a gazelle to escape the demons (B. Alster, Dumuzi's Dream [1972] 73). In an OB myth (C. B. F. Walker, AnSt. 33 [1983] 145 ff.) the demonic goddess Elamatum is changed after her defeat by Girra into the "bow-star" (part of Canis Major). In the epic of Gilgameš it is related how Ištar changed her lovers into animals, the shepherd into a

wolf hunted down by his own herd-boys, and the gardener into a frog (EG VI 58 ff.).

#### § 4. Fabeltier.

Animals acting as human beings first appear in late fourth millennium Susa (archaic and Proto-Elamite), on cylinder seals (Glyptique Pl. 14 bis o; 559-573; 1684f.; H. Pittman et al., JNES 9 [1977] 61 no. 2), or in the round (PKG XIV Pl. XXXI). Thematically related, but stylistically different are Glyptique 590f. The humanized animals are sedentary agriculturalists, exploit domestic animals, cooperate in manual tasks, hunt and go to war, all without obvious leadership. Among them are bovinds, lions, (wild) goats, (wild) asses, wolves or dogs, but no human figures. The images mirror an animal state that is not in any way funny or stupid, do not seem to offer moralistic comment on human affairs, and thus do not belong to a cycle of fables of the Aesopic type.

In Mesopotamia and Syria humanized animals are attested intermittently from the ED III period onwards, on seals of the third (B. Teissier, Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection [1984] no. 335; Glyptique 1307-1313) and first (D. Collon, First Impressions [1987] 937f.; B. Parker, Iraq 24 [1962] 39, Teissier o.c. no. 209) millennia, and on two reliefs from Tall Ḥalaf (see W. Orthmann, Untersuchungen zur Spätheth. Kunst [1971] 396f.; E. Bleibtreu, WZKM 67 [1975] 15). The most impressive and best preserved example is the ED III panel with engraved shell plaques from the Lyre in PG/789 (Royal Cemetery) at Ur (PKG XIV Pl. IX, cf. Bleibtreu, WZKM 67, 1-19). All pieces, with the exception of Glyptique 1309, show celebrating animals, dining and/or making music. Among them are lions, bears, wolves, dogs or hyenas, jackals, gazelles, (wild) goats, equids (wild asses?), monkeys, and some other types on the Tall Ḥalaf reliefs, notably the cat and the fox. The animals seem to be mostly wild, but in many cases their exact identification is in doubt. A human being is present only on Glyptique 1309 (Akkadian, from Tall Asmar). In two cases the animals are accompanied by a monster, a Scorpion-man (Teissier, o.c. 335; PKG XIV Pl. IX). A

moralistic comment on human affairs, a warning against credulity, is given form on Glyptique 1308 (from Ur), on which a beoar and three wild asses dance and make music at the court of king lion (seated and being served), while another lion shows the "good intentions" of the predators by slaughtering a lamb. On the Lyre from Ur a wolf or dog, the slaughterer with a knife in his belt (giri-lá/*tābiḥu*, "slaughterer"), carries a dining table with the remains of domestic animals, but the predators peacefully cooperate with gazelle and (wild) ass. The thematic and formal similarity of some of the third millennium (especially Glyptique 1313) images with those on first millennium seals (cited above), and the conspicuous part played by equids in both groups, suggest that some of the underlying ideas are related. A parodic (A. Ungnad, AfO Beih. 1 [1933] 134) or humoristic (F. R. Kraus, WZKM 52 [1953/55] 67) interpretation is now generally rejected (Bleibtreu, WZKM 67, 16 ff.; Orthmann, o.c. 397). A relation with the few known Mesopotamian fables and animal contests (Literatur\* § 3.7.3 a; 4.7.6) was first proposed by A. Jeremias (Handb. der altor. Geisteskultur<sup>2</sup> [1929] 440), but the lack of correspondence between the most conspicuous characters of the texts (the cunning fox, man's friend the dog) and of art (various animals in indistinctive roles), and the different nature of their activities in both sources (quarrels in the texts, static feasts in art), militate against a connection (with the possible exception of Glyptique 1308). One animal of an Akkadian fable, the eagle of the Etana legend (Literatur\* § 4.7.6 a), regularly appears on Akkadian seals (Boehmer, UAVA 4 nos. 693 ff.), but his companion, the snake, is nowhere to be seen, and it may be doubted whether in this time the fable was already fused with the legend.

Obviously animals acting as human beings are not normally encountered, and their association with the Scorpion-man makes it clear that they could be regarded as inhabitants of the distant regions where he is at home, where the mountain of sunrise and sunset is located (B § 3.4, cf. Heimpel, JCS 38 [1986] 140 ff.), where demons roam

(Heimpel, *ibid.* 148<sup>58</sup>), and where the dead go after they have crossed the desert and passed the Hubur\* or Ulaya\* (Heimpel, *ibid.* 148; J. Bottéro, CRRA 26 [1980] 31 f.; *id.*, ZA 73 [1983] 180, 191 ff.; the scene on the Lyre from Ur can be interpreted as what awaits the deceased ruler on the other side). In the same vein the LB *Mappa Mundi* (W. Horowitz, Iraq 50 [1988] 149; cf. RIA VI 466) gives wild animals a diabolical tinge by locating them at the edge of the world, in or near the ocean, and associating them with monsters (Anzû, *girtablullû*, *kusarikku*), destroyed cities, and annihilated gods (*ilānu abtûtu*). The text lists [moun]tain goat, gazelle, water-buffalo, panther, [l]ion, wolf, red-deer, hy[ena], [monk]ey, female monkey, ibex, ostrich, wild cat, and chameleon, "beasts which Marduk created on top of the restless sea". The farther away from home, the more the familiar and domesticated is replaced by the wild, strange, primeval and diabolical (cf. also § 5, winged animals, and S. Lackenbacher, in: Le Désert, Image et Réalité, Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1983 [1987] 67-79).

The oldest and best attested of the half mythological foreign animals is the monkey. It is shown playing the flute on its distant home mountain on seals from the ED III period onwards (Glyptique 1268, cf. 1260; 1310 f., 1314; touching a "sacred tree" on a NA seal: B. Parker, Iraq 17 [1955] 114, Text Fig. 5), and entertains Utu in his mountain palace on an OB cylinder (H. Pittman, Ancient Art in Miniature [1987] 28 Fig. 16). Imported monkeys entertain third millennium kings, and one that is ill-treated in the home of the chief musician in Eridu sends a letter with complaints to his mother at home (S. Dunham, ZA 75 [1985] 24; Jacobsen, OIP 98, 105 ff.). Just like representations of defeated mountain dwellers (gods, monsters, but also cattle, § 2.2, Lambert, CRRA 32, 57) served to show the might of Mesopotamian gods and inspired Evil with fear, representations of mastered wild (diabolical) animals serve as apotropaia against evil. Apotropaic monkeys appear on OB seals (Dunham, ZA 75, 246), on a Lamaštu amulet (no. 56 [RIA VI 441] fake?), and as a figure in LB Ur (C. L. Woolley, JRAS 1926, 693<sup>1</sup>, and Fig. 26).

Exotic animals were hunted by Assyrian kings, and brought back as trophies from their campaigns. They placed representations of them in the gates of their cities and palaces, next to monsters and the traditional lions and wild bulls, and undoubtedly, like them, apotropaic: *apsasîtu*, "she-water-buffalo" (B § 3.17; Engel, Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren ... 50 ff.), *nā-ḥiru*, "whale" (? *ibid.* 69 ff.), and *burḫiṣ*, "yak" (? *ibid.* 71 ff.).

#### § 5. Flügelgestalten.

Winged monsters are attested in Mesopotamia from the proto-literate period onwards. Griffins (with talons for forepaws) are common in Iran and Elam, from where they reach Egypt (Boehmer, AMI 7 [1974] 22 f.; Teissier, Iran 25 [1987] 31 f.), but rare in Mesopotamia, and later discontinued. For the early attestations of the lion-headed eagle see Löwenadler\* § 1, and for the somewhat later lion-dragon see Löwendrache\* § 1.

The addition of wings to anthropomorphic figures begins much later, and gains ground only slowly until the second half of the second millennium, when it becomes common practice. Allegedly the first example is a winged naked goddess on a shell plaque from the presargonic Ištar temple in Mari; her identity is obscure (Amiet, RA 48, 32-36), and the wings may in fact be her dress, opening as she dances. In the Akkad period Inanna is sometimes winged (Barrelet, Syria 32, 222-237 and Pl. X), but normally not, and once a winged Inanna is attested in OB Mari (Amiet, Syria 37, 230 Fig. 12).

Winged male figures are even rarer. A winged god with snakes for feet, and a scorpion as right hand occurs on an Akkadian seal (Pittman, Ancient Art in Miniature 23 Fig. 11). He is one of the last examples of a type of monsters - not winged - that was common in ED II, rare already in ED III (N. Karg, BagF 8, 48 f.), and discontinued after the Akkad period. Another winged god, subduing two small human figures with each hand and trampling a third under foot, occurs twice on Akkadian seals, once anthropomorphic and accompanying Iškur (Boeh-

mer, UAVA 4 no. 333), and once with the lower body of a bird (Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 340). A winged Scorpion-man, if that is what it is, tops a standard on the Akkadian Narām-Sîn stele (J. Börker-Klähn, BagF 4 [1982] Taf. 26 e), and Utu rises from a winged mountain on a seal (Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 488); both are abnormal.

A winged gate or temple (Flügeltür\*) is common in Mesopotamian art of the Akkad period (Boehmer, UAVA 4 nos. 589 ff.), and then disappears. In Syrian and Anatolian iconography it continues, associated with the storm god and the naked goddess, who stands in it (M. van Loon, Fs. A. Bounni [1990] 363-378; P. Matthiae, Fs. A. Finet 127-134). In second and first millennium peripheral art, the naked goddess herself can be winged (Barrelet, Syria 32, 212 ff.; G. Voet, Akkadica 72, 26; Stein, Xenia 21, 180 ff.).

The Ur III period witnesses the introduction of goddesses floating in the air and holding aryballoi from which water flows down (Börker-Klähn, BagF 4 Taf. 94 H. G.; cf. also 99 a). With wings they recur in OB Mari (Amiet, Syria 37, 215 Fig. 1), once replacing the wings of a "winged" temple with the naked goddess inside (A. Parrot, Syria 38 [1961] 6 Fig. 8). The *mušḫuššu* is not normally winged (§ 7.27); the additional wings on the *mušḫuššu* of Ningišzida (*mušḫuššu* § 3.3) serve to differentiate it from the *mušḫuššu* of Ninazu and his successor Tišpak.

From the Ur III period onwards the storm god can be accompanied by a group of one to four winged genii with wind blown hair. The earliest attestation is on an Ur III seal owned by a scribe in the service of the governor of Simurru (Buchanan, Iraq 33, Pl. Id, impression). The figures are attested on OB seals cut in Sippar (Collon, Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III [1986] 176 ad no. 451) but apparently not farther to the south, and they enjoyed their greatest popularity in Syrian and Mittanian art of the second third of the second millennium. On the basis of their distribution the figures are generally believed to have originated in the North (Buchanan, Iraq 33, 13; Porada, Akkadica 13, 2. 5. 6). After the fall of the Mittanian state

they become rare, but still exist in the NB (Collon, First Impressions no.869) and Neo-Elamite (ibid. no.870f.) periods. Of the four only two have additional properties: one is bent over (generally called "acrobat"), and the other has intertwined legs (§ 7.32). Even in the OB period certain iconographic features are not completely stable. Thus the acrobat has human feet (Collon, Western Asiatic Seals III no.451) or talons (L.al-Gailani Werr, Sumer 37 [1981] 132 no.69) on seals from Sippar, and a tail on a seal with Northern characteristics (Archäologie zur Bibel, Sammlung Borowski, no. 69). After the OB period the figures lose their wind blown hair (or their wings, cf. PKG XIV Abb.306 right figure; according to Wiggermann 1992 VII.C.5c an *uridimmu*), and develop various other traits to distinguish themselves from other winged beings and from their peers. No solution, however, found common acceptance, and the strangest monsters make ephemeral apparitions (§ 7.32b. c. d, compared with § 7.32a, the OB types). Generally they are recognizable only when the "acrobat", or the figure with intertwined legs is present.

B. Buchanan, A Snake Goddess and her Companions. A Problem in the Iconography of the Early Second Millennium B.C., Iraq 35 [1971] 1-18. - E. Porada, Remarks on Mittanian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art, Akkadica 13 [1979] 2-15; ead., Die Siegelzylinder-Abrollung auf der Amarna-Tafel BM 29841 im Britischen Museum, AfO 25 [1974/77] 132-142. - Stein, Xenia 21, 177 ff.

*Additional examples:* (OB) D. Collon, First Impressions no.782, Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III nos.107, 126. - E. Klengel-Brandt, AfO 16 [1989] 297 no.40c. - B. L. Schlossmann, AfO 25 [1974/77] 144 Fig. 2. - (Middle Periods) D. Collon, The Alalakh Cylinder Seals, BAR 132 [1982] no.116. - M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, Or. 26 [1957] Taf. XXX Abb.56. - J.-Cl. Margueron, BiMes. 21 [1986] 159 Fig. 1.

The four genii (three male, one female) with wings and wind blown hair belong together, and, since they are associated with the storm god (cf. § 7.32a. b, and passim), they can hardly be anything else than the four winds. The texts do not describe the appearance of winds in detail, but it is known that they had wings, and thus were personified. In the MB Adapa legend Adapa

breaks a wing of the south wind, after which it does not blow for seven days (S.A. Picchioni, Il Poemetto di Adapa [1981] 114:5, 116:6). The south wind is feminine, and has brothers (ibid. 114:4), undoubtedly the three other winds. Pazuzu, addressed as *šaru*, "wind" (he too is a winged demon), breaks the wings (*pa/iziru*) of the winds (R. Borger, AOS 67 [1987] 19, 33. 27; 109). The intertwined legs express iconographically what is expressed in writing by crossing signs (*dalhamun<sub>2-3</sub>/ašamšutu/mehû* A, "storm", cf. MUŠ×MUŠ/*šerû kitpulûtu*, "intertwined snakes").

Winged beings impersonating abstractions, and not attested in art, occur in the story of Gilgameš and Huwawa. The "Fears" of Huwawa have pa, „wings", or "branches" that are kud, "clipped" or "cut" by Gilgameš' companions (M. de Jong Ellis, AfO 28 [1981/82] 124, 2 and parallels). Probably inspired by the wooded environment, translators have unanimously decided on "cut branches", and implicitly or explicitly consider the "Fears" a kind of trees (cf. most recently Edzard, ZA 80, 182). Since, however, trees cannot move, while the "Fears" reach Gilgameš from afar (Edzard, ZA 80, 185:67), the translation "clip wings" is to be preferred, implying that the "Fears" were some kind of winged beings, effectively neutralized by the loss of their wings, just like the south wind. This interpretation is supported by the OB Bauer fragment (S. Greengus, OB Tablets from Ishchali and Vicinity [1979] no.277), in which the "Rays" (*melammû*, here for the "Fears", ní(-te) of the Sumerian version) are running around loose in the woods, and compared by Enkidu to fledglings (Obv. 15'-20').

A winged nude goddess with human feet or bird's talons, sometimes those of an owl, sometimes those of another bird of prey, sometimes in profile (Opificius, UAVA 2 Taf. 3 Abb.208) but usually full face, with both hands raised and generally wearing the horned crown, appears on OB terracottas and on a vase from Larsa (PKG XIV Abb. XIV), in association with birds, fishes, a bison, and a tortoise (Larsa vase), owls, lions (Burney Relief, § 7.33), ibexes (Opificius, UAVA 2 no.212) or phalli (Buchanan,

Iraq 33, 5<sup>28</sup>). The goddess is sometimes identified with the she-demon Lilitu (Lilû\* A and B), but since the Burney relief on which she appears is a cult relief and Lilitu has no cult, this identification and any other with a demon that has no cult can be effectively excluded. The conspicuous owl and owl's claws are the point of departure for another interpretation, most recently defended by Jacobsen (in: [ed.] M. Mindlin et al., Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East [1987] 1-11). "Owl", *ešebu*, corresponds to Sumerian (<sup>d</sup>Nin-)ninna, "(Divine Lady) owl", which in its turn is equated in the lexical texts with Kilili, a name of Inanna as goddess of harlots, who, like the owl, comes out at dusk and sits in the window. The phalli not known to Jacobsen fit in effortlessly.

Buchanan, Iraq 33, 4f., with previous literature. - Porada, CRRA 26, 226. - Farber, BID 79 with further literature, and objections against Kilili as owl goddess.

After the OB period wings are added to a variety of supernatural beings previously not winged. A striking example of the meaninglessness of such wings occurs on a seal found in Thebes (Porada, AfO 28 [1981] 14ff. no. 3) that shows an OB introduction scene with a worshipper secondarily supplied with wings by a Cypriote engraver. Undoubtedly the loss of meaning is related to the development of an iconographic *koiné* that took place in this time, and made monsters and genii into the more or less interchangeable elements of a popular demonology. Only later, in Sargonid Assyria and imperial Babylonia, the traditional canon was restored, but in an extended form, due to the inclusion of some of the products of the *koiné* period (§ 1, *apkallu* types, and others).

*Winged monsters:* *girtablullû* (the "acrobat" wind demon of § 7.32c coincides with a winged *girtablullû* as attested on a relief from Karkemiš, PKG XIV 354b); *kusarikku* (PKG XIV 313, Ziwiye); *ugallu* (OA: Green, BagM 17, 162 no. 52; Hittite ibid. 163; MA and other: Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic ... no.495, 279, 470, etc., *two-headed ugallu*: Matthews, o.c. 146; Green, BagM 17 Taf. 50 no. 17, etc.; an UD.GAL<sup>mušen</sup> is one of the *passû naprušûtu*, "winged puppets" of a board game, cf. Landsberger, WZKM 56 [1960] 122<sup>39</sup>), *lahmu* (Matthews, o.c. 357, 358, 495), *kulullû* (Matthews, o.c. 452), (*a*)*lû*/Bull-of-Heaven (§§ 1; 7-18), *bašmu*

(the being of § 7.26, whatever its identity, is winged on Weidner, Gestirndarstellungen, Taf. 9); *genies/gods mastering animals* (§ 7.31) are winged (e.g. Matthews, o.c. 142, 145) and not winged (e.g. Matthews, o.c. 204, 427) in about equal proportions, their female counterpart is rare, and winged (Matthews, o.c. 429, naked goddess, 561, seated; cf. Barrelet, Syria 32, 247ff. for the "maîtresse des animaux" in Mesopotamia), *genies/gods attacking animals and monsters* are generally not winged, and have no female counterpart; certain *animals*, horse (Matthews, o.c. 399), wild goat (Matthews, o.c. 132, etc.), and bull (Matthews, o.c. 148, etc.), can be winged, but interchange with unwinged ones, and cooccur with a young animal of the same type without wings (Matthews, o.c. 377, 399). From the texts it is known that wings could be added to an *abûbu*, an unidentified monster (TCL 3, 373, Sargon); that Lilû\* and Lamaštu\* (contrary to the well attested iconographic type § 7.11) had wings and could fly (Lamaštu Tablet I i 8; ii 42); and that one of the *ûmû* drawing Marduk's chariot was winged, since it is called *Mupparû*, "Flyer" (Ee. IV 52). Beside these the sphinx and the griffin, introduced already in the OB period, spread all over the Orient and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The only pattern that can be clearly discerned is that in the earlier periods (up to and including OB) wings belong to beings at home in the air or related to Iškur/Adad and the weather. The logical conclusion, that they needed their wings to fly and do their work in the skies, is confirmed by the Adapa legend that makes it clear that without wings the south wind does not blow. Contrary to a widely held opinion there are no indications that wings have a relation with death or the netherworld (§ 3.1).

In the Göttertypentext (Köcher, MIO 1, 57ff.) wings are given to *Šerum* (iv 29), the *lahmu* of Gula (v 46), *niziqtum*, "Grief" (vi 19), and Tiruru (vi 30), not or badly attested figures, demonic, but without clear underworld connections. In the Underworld Vision (§ 1) only one servant of death is supplied with wings (*Mukil rêš lemutti*, "Upholder-of-Evil"). The talons of a bird of prey, and the sharp beak of a *kuribu* (if indeed denoting the griffin) given to certain underworld figures in the Underworld Vision (§ 1) are the instruments of death, just as the lion's head and claws, the Lion-dragon head, and the Snake-dragon head given to others.

## § 6. Schuppenkleid und -muster.

Scales on snakes are represented by ovals (third millennium, PKG XIV 26a, § 7.28), wavy lines parallel to the outline of the snake (late third millennium, cf. E.D. Douglas van Buren, AfO 10 [1935/36] 56 Figs. 7-9), crossing lines (from the later third mil-

lennium onwards, § 7.26 f.), or drawn more realistically (from the later third millennium onwards, PKG XIV 119, Frankfort, OIP 60 no. 331), see Douglas van Buren, *The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Or. 15 (1946) 1-45 and Plates I-VIII, with examples from all periods. The realistic scales resemble the mountains as drawn in § 7.36 c. d, which undoubtedly explains the curious description of the goddess of birth Nintu, a name of Ninḫursag, the "Lady of the mountains" (§ 3.1), in the Göttertypentext (Köcher, MIO 7, 72 iii 48' f.): "from her belt to her . . . she is . . . with scales (*quliptu*) like a snake". "Scales like of a snake" is the way to describe the mountain-pattern of art, for which there is no other name.

The scales of fishes are either not indicated, indicated by parallel lines (e.g. L. Le-grain, UE X [1951] nos. 91 and 833), or by a more realistic pattern (§ 7.8, 22).

#### § 7. Survey of types.

The types surveyed here correspond to those of B § 3. The members of the army of Tīāmat (§ 2.3), representations of whom were used as apotropaia (§ 2.5) and could be identified with the help of descriptions in ritual texts (§ 1), are indicated with an exclamation mark. Of the other identifications the more questionable ones are indicated with a question mark. Each being ideally has three names, one type name that contains a brief description of its appearance, a Sumerian/Akkadian name, and the modern translation of the latter. The abbreviations of B § 3 are used here as well. See Wiggermann 1992 for more detailed information.

1. Long-haired "hero"; *la-ḫa-ma/laḫ-mu*; "Hairy One"! The Sumerian name is a loanword from Akkadian (or another Semitic language). One of the oldest "monsters" (§ 2.1; Glyptique 1599), associate of Enki (§ 2.1, 2.2). Cosmogonic and cosmic functions (§ 2.4). Type: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 232; further drawings see Held\*.

2. Bird-man; Enmešarra??; "Lord (of all) me\*". Identification § 1, § 2.4; disappears after the Akkad period. Type: Glyptique 1402.

3. Bull-man; *gud-alim/kusarikku*; "Bison(-bull)"! On account of the beard the archaeological type is more correctly a Bison-man (M. Hilzheim, *Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien*, MAOG 2/2 [1926]). The Akkadian word is a loanword from Sumerian. One of the older monsters, associate and adversary of Utu (§ 2.1, 2.2). Cosmic function and name of constellation (§ 2.4). At home in the mountains, and associated with fabulous animals (§ 4). Type: Glyptique 820.

4a. Scorpion with cosmic function (§ 2.4), forerunner of 4.b. Type: Glyptique 1245.C.

4b. Scorpion-man; *gír-tab-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu/girtablullû*; "Scorpion-man"! Humanized scorpion, associate of Utu (§ 2.1, 2.2). Guardian of the mountain of sunrise and sunset and associated with fabulous animals (§ 4). Later also winged (§ 5), but not to be confused with § 7.32.c. Type: Glyptique 1246.C; older (ED II/III) examples see Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, no. 335.

5. Lion-humanoid; *ur-idim/ur(i)dimmu*; "Mad Lion"! Also constellation. Type: Kolbe, *Reliefprogramme*, Pl. XIV/1. Additional examples on NA seals: Parker, *Iraq* 24, 37 Fig. 2, Kwasman/Parpola, SAA VI no. 331 (holding crescent on a pole).

6. Lion-demon; *u<sub>4</sub>-gal/ugallu*; "Big Day"! This being belongs to a class of beings personifying days, generally days of death and destruction represented by leonine monsters (§ 2.1). Type: Kolbe, *Reliefprogramme*, Pl. XII/3.

7. Lion-garbed figure; *Lā-tarāk*; (unclear)! Type: Ellis, *Essays . . . Finkelstein* 76 Fig. 3. The hand raised to the mouth occurs elsewhere, and must have a specific meaning (cf. Wrede, *BagM* 21, 265).

8. Fish-garbed figure; *apkallu*; "Sage". Identified on the basis of the ritual texts. The texts indicate that the being is a hybrid, partly man, partly carp, rather than a fish-garbed human being, as indicated by the representations (Wiggermann 1992, 76). Type: Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic . . .* 196.

9. Griffin-demon; *apkallu*; "Sage". Iden-

tified on the basis of the ritual texts. Foreign monster named *apkallu* on the basis of a partial similarity of functions (the real *apkallu* § 7.8 is never aggressive, and unarmed). Type: Matthews, o.c. 283.

10. (No descriptive name); Pazuzu; (unclear; foreign word). Identification § 1. Type: from Saggs, *AfO* 19, 123 ff. Fig. 3, and Lamaštu\*-amulet 40d.

11. (No descriptive name); Lamaštu; (unclear; foreign word). The Sumerian name of this demon is dime (spelled dime<sub>x</sub> (DĪM)<sup>(me)</sup>), syncretized with an originally distinct demon of the Akkadians. Related to Elamite lion-demon (? § 2.4). Identified with the star *ka-muš-ī-kū-e/pašittu* (§ 2.4). Type: Amulet 1 (Lamaštu\* Abb. 1).

12. (No descriptive name); Huwawa; (unclear; foreign word). Type: Pittman, *Ancient Art in Miniature* Fig. 72; further drawings see Huwawa\*.

13. "Bes"; *pessû*; "the halt one"? Identification § 1. Type: Opificius, UAVA 2 Abb. 450.

14. Lion-headed eagle; *an<sub>x</sub>(IM)-du-gud/anzû*; "Heavy Cloud". The Akkadian word is a loanword from Sumerian, the translation is uncertain. The Lion-headed eagle is the original Anzû. Later it was represented by the other lion/eagle composite § 7.25 (§ 1). One of the oldest monsters, and originally associated with Enlil (§ 2.1), later an adversary of Ninurta/(Ningirsu) (§ 2.2). Cosmic functions, constellation, and survivals see § 2.4. Type: Glyptique 1271.

15. Scorpion-tailed bird-man; not identified. Type: Collon, *First Impressions* no. 356.

16. Hybrid bull. Not drawn.

17.a. Human-headed bison; *alim/alimbû*; "Bison" ?? The name *alim* is likely for Sumerian, but Akkadian must have had (an)other name(s), since *alimbû* is restricted to lexical lists and bilingual literature: From the Ur III period onwards it wears the horns of divinity. Associated with Utu (§ 2.2), represents mountains through which Utu rises (§ 2.4). Relation with § 7.17.d unclear. Type: Glyptique 1271.

17.b. Human-faced lion; not identified. A regular member of the set of beings accompanying the boat god (§ 2.4), but rare in

other contexts. Sometimes replaced by a regular lion (Glyptique 1423, 1499 etc.). Attacked by anthropomorphic figures (Glyptique 1404). ED II/III-Akkadian. Not related to the imported sphinx. Type: Glyptique 1402.

17.c. Female Sphinx; *lamassu*; (Sumerian loanword, connotation not known)? For the identification see Engel, *Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren . . .* 99. Foreign being named *lamassu* on the basis of a similarity of function (protective goddess). The *male sphinx* seems to have been named *ALAD*, after the (male) human-headed bull. Type: Collon, *First Impressions* no. 386.

17.d. Human-headed bull; *alad/šedu*; (connotation not known)? For the identification see Engel, o.c. 99. Relation with § 7.17.a unclear. Not drawn.

17.e. Human-headed cow; *apsasitu*; she-water-buffalo?? For the possible identification see Engel, o.c. 100. Not drawn.

18. Man-headed bull; *gud-an-na/(a)lû*; "Bull of Heaven" (Sumerian)/(Akkadian unclear). For identification, and a winged and not winged form see § 1. Winged *a-lu*. MEŠ are described in the MA inventory Köcher, *AfO* 18 (1957/58) 302 i 17 ff. On account of the short vowel the word spelled is taken by the editor and the dictionaries to be *alu* A (a kind of sheep), but since winged sheep do not occur in MA art, the spelling probably refers to *alû*. Constellation see § 2.4. Type: Collon, *First Impressions* no. 858. The other figures are Gilgameš (left), and Enkidu (right). Relation with § 17.a.d. unclear.

19. Centaur; *Pabilsag*; (Sumerian god). Type: Collon, *First Impressions* no. 364.

20. Lion-centaur; *ur-maḫ-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu/ur-maḫlullû*; "Lion-man"! Type: Matthews, o.c. 393.

21. Griffin; *kuribu*; (foreign word)? Identification uncertain, see §§ 1, 5. The word is related with the Semitic word for raven (*gārib*), rather than with Akkadian *karābu*. Type: Matthews, o.c. 290.

22. Merman; *ku<sub>6</sub>-lú-u<sub>18</sub>-lu/kulullû*; "Fish-man"! Type: Matthews, o.c. 141.

23. Goat-fish; *suḫur-máš/suḫurmāšu*; "Carp-goat"! Constellation (§ 2.4). Type: Matthews, o.c. 529.

25. Lion-dragon; 1) *u<sub>4</sub>-ka-duḫ-a/kad-*



*uhhû/ûmu na'iru*; 2) *Anzû*; 1) "Roaring Day"; 2) "Heavy Cloud"? The being is also described as Lion-griffin (Greif\*). The identification is not completely certain (§ 1). After the Ur III period the original Anzû, the lion-headed eagle, disappears, and Adad's interests shift from the lion-dragon to the bull. From that time onwards the lion-dragon is available for Anzû, but from when exactly Anzû is represented by the Lion-dragon remains uncertain (§ 1). The Lion-dragon is referred to with the general term *ušumgallu* as well (§ 1). The naked woman on the back of the Lion-dragon is the wife of the storm god (standing on the chariot), Šala/Medimša/Šauša/Šauška/Ištar of Nineveh, associated in Hittite texts with the winged lion monster *awiti* (§§ 2.6, 3.3, 5). Type: Boehmer, UAVA 4, no. 373.

26. Horned snake; *ušum/kuš-ša-tùr/bašmu*; (a type of snake)! The variety of types subsumed under this heading is briefly discussed under *mušhuššu\** § 6. Type: Collon, First Impressions no. 850.

27. Snake-dragon; *kuš-huš/mušhuššu*; "Awesome snake"! One of the oldest monsters, originally associated with the chthonic snake god Ninazu (§ 3.1). Type: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 570.

28.a. Seven-headed snake; *kuš-mah/kušmahhu*; "Distinguished snake". A companion of Ninurta in battle (§ 2.2). Type: Glyptique 1393.

28.b. Seven-headed snake-dragon; *ur/kuš-sag-imin*; "Seven-headed lion/snake". A defeated adversary of Ninurta (§ 2.2). Type: Glyptique 1394 (not drawn).

29. Snake-god; Ištarān? Chthonic snake-god (§ 3.1). Type: Pittman, Ancient Art in Miniature Fig. 11.

30. Boat-god; not identified; chthonic snake-god, perhaps forerunner of constella-

tion Hydra (§ 2.4, 3.1). Type: Glyptique 1440.

31. Genie; secondarily called *apkallu*, or named with descriptive phrases (§ 1). Type: see § 7.15.

32.a. Wind genies on OB seal cut in Sippar; Collon, Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Cylinder Seals III no. 451.

32.b. Variant post-OB wind genies on seal of Ithi-Tešup from Nuzi: Porada, Akkadica 13, 15 Fig. 1 (drawing).

32.c. Wind genie from Nuzi seal, not to be confused with § 7.4.b: Matthews, o.c. 468.

32.d. Wind genie from NB seal: Collon, First Impressions 869.

33. Winged goddess of Burney relief: H. Frankfort, AfO 12 [1937/39] 130. See § 5.

34. Bull-eared god Baḥar(?) (§ 3.1), messenger of Lugal-irra\* and Meslamta-ea. a. Porada, CRR 26 Pl. XIIb; b. Porada, CANES no. 386.

35. Chthonic snake god with bull's ears, presumably Inšušinak (§ 3.1). From stele of Untaš-Napiriša (dotted part restored on the basis of parallels on seals): de Miroshedji, IrAnt. 16 Pl. VII.

36.a. Mountains on proto-literate seal: a. GMA 192; b. mountains and rivers on ED seal: Glyptique 603 (date ?); c. on Akkadian seal: Boehmer, UAVA 4, 232; d. mountain god on Ur III seal: Buchanan, Iraq 31, 96 Fig. 1; e. mountain/river goddess on Akkadian seal from Mari: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 552; f. mountain and river deities on broken mace head from Mari, OB: Alexander, Syria 47, 40 Fig. 2; g. horned tiara of Ninḫursag on Akkadian seal: J. Nougayrol, Syria 37 [1960] 209f.; h. mountain god on late second millennium Assyrian seal: Matthews, o.c. 339. See § 3.2.

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essentially relics of a prehistoric mythology (Lugal [1983] I 10–19). Conversely, Wiggermann argues that they are “(among) the simple beginnings of a new mythology yet to be structured” (1986, 278). Yet the process drew upon hybrid forms of ancient (and diverse) origin, adding new forms created on analogy with the old, and so developing new groups of monsters and demons with new or adapted mythical narratives.

## § 2. Chronology.

For *Mischwesen* in the pre-Achaemenid art of Mesopotamia and Iran, E. Porada has proposed, mostly on the basis of seal designs, a rough chronological division into five main phases of development; namely (1) the beginnings of hybrids in the Late Ubaid and Uruk periods; (2) the glyptic art of the Akkadian period, characterised by the apprehension and punishment of nefarious demons; (3) the OB period, when beneficial elements may balance malevolent ones; (4) Mittanian, Kassite and MA art, which saw a change from human-centred scenes to a proliferation of animal hybrids; (5) NB art, which produced images of a number of individual demons in horrifying form (in: Farkas et al. 1987, 1–2).

From at least the MB period – if not earlier (cf., e.g., J. Black, *The Slain Heroes – Some Monsters of Ancient Mesopotamia*, SMS Bulletin 15 [1988] 19–25) – Mesopotamian monsters and demons began to be presented as groups, featuring in mythical narratives (cf. Green, *Visible Religion* 3 [1984] 83–86). By the first mill. B.C. a clear and restricted repertoire of commonly portrayed *Mischwesen* had developed, including newly ‘invented’ types supplementing those of more ancient origin. At some stage a number of these creatures became associated with groups of constellations bearing some resemblance to them. According to C. B. F. Walker (*Cuneiform* [1987] 27), all the signs of the zodiac can be recognised on stamp seal designs of the Hellenistic period.

Here we can review only the most common and identifiable creatures of various periods.

## § 3. Iconographic Types (cf. also A § 7).

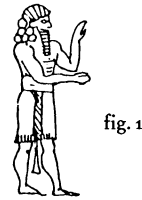


fig. 1

§ 3.1 *Long-haired 'hero'*. A figure known to art historians as the “Nude Hero”, “Wild Man” or (due to an incorrect identification) “Gilgameš” is a stock type in Mesopotamian art from ED II–III onwards and is found latest in early Islamic art. A one-eyed variant may be known as early as the Uruk period (CANES, no. 4). The figure has a long beard and long hair, usually with exaggerated curls, most often six (or four) in number. He is often shown naked apart from a girdle and perhaps occasionally a cover for the genitals. In the animal ‘contests’ of ED II–III seals he is seen holding up, or holding off, a pair of lions (e.g., CS, Pls. XI m; XIII a) or is flanked by ruminants whom he embraces (e.g., *ibid.*, Pls. XIII c.f; XIV d). In such scenes he may represent the protector of cattle against the attacks of wild lions. On Akkadian period seals he is a guardian figure, often shown holding a flowing vase or ring-headed post (German *Bügelschaft*). The usual number of curls from this time onwards – six – is probably due to assimilation with a different ‘hero’ figure of ED glyptic shown with large loop-curls, by ED III invariably six in number. The close association of the Nude Hero with the bull-man begins in ED III, apparently inherited from yet another type of ‘hero’ shown with a pair of cephalic projections, probably locks of hair on either side of a shaven scalp (cf. CS, p. 59).

Lahmu (“Hairy”) is the name of a protective and beneficent deity, originally associated with Enki/Ea, later with Marduk. At least by the NA period, the long- or curly-haired ‘hero’ was the standard iconography for depicting this god and figurines of the deity in this form were used as apotropaic foundation deposits (Wiggermann 1983, 90–

105; 1992, 164–166; cf. Rittig 1977, 51–58). However, because the figure was a stock type, its use in art was not, apparently, straightforward. Sometimes the figure could replace the more usual image of Humbaba (12) in scenes of his murder (W. G. Lambert, in: Farkas et al. 1989, 45), or the type could be transformed into one of the hybrid types, such as the scorpion-man (4) (e.g., C. H. Gordon, *Iraq* 6 [1939] 27 no. 85; A. Moortgat, *ZA* 48 [1944] 39 Nr. 40), or altered in various other ways, for instance by having its legs merging into the bodies of animals (e.g., snakes on Ward, SC no 275 or ?lions/?birds an unpublished Akkadian period cylinder seal in Birmingham Museum, inv. no. A 1877–1982).

P. Amiet, *RA* 50 (1956) 114, 118–123; *id.* 1960, 169–173. – R. M. Boehmer, *Held, RIA* IV 293–302. – Frankfort, CS, as index s.v. “Hero (naked hero)”, esp. pp. 60, 67. – Heidenreich 1925, 1–16. – Kolbe 1981, 89–108. – W. G. Lambert, *The pair Lahmu-Lahama in Cosmology*, *Or.* 54 (1985) 189–202. – Offner 1960, 175–181. – Reade 1979, 38. – Rittig 1977, 51–58, 213–215. – Unger 1927, 205–209. – Van Buren 1933, *passim*, esp. 12–15; *id.* 1947, 312–332. – Wiggermann 1983, 90–105; *id.* 1992, 164–166.



fig. 2

§ 3.2 *Bird-man*. A figure human above the waist and with the hindquarters, tail and talons of a bird. This creature is commonly shown on cylinder seals of the Akkadian period, when he is presented to Ea. The scene has been related by some to the myth of the bird Anzû, who stole the “tablet of destinies” (not the “tablets of destiny”, as commonly misquoted in art-historical literature), but was eventually slain by Ninurta. The earliest extant version of the story dates to the Old Babylonian period, but the story evidently originated earlier since there is reference by Gudea to the Imdugud (Anzû) as associated with Ningirsu/Ninurta. In the Sumerian version of the myth, moreover, it

is Enki (Ea) from whom the tablet is stolen and returned, although in the Akkadian version it is Enlil. It may well have been a Sumerian version of the myth that was current in the Akkadian period, so there is no need, with Lambert (*Iraq* 28 [1966] 70), to dismiss a connexion with the bird-man iconography on the grounds that Ea would not figure so prominently. However, in the narrative, Ninurta kills the bird and there is no mention of any imprisonment, so the iconography does not parallel the later myth perfectly. Moreover, there are other fundamental objections to the identification, in particular the absence of the bird-man in the official iconography of Lagaš, and Wiggermann has proposed an alternative tentative identification of the figure as Enmesarra. However, he too is not described as a bird-man (see A § 1).

Amiet 1952, 149–167. – Barrelet 1970, 213–251. – Edzard 1965, 101 “Zû”. – Frankfort, *Iraq* 1 (1934) 1–29; *id.*, CS, pp. 132–137. – Fuhr-Jaepelt 1972. – Unger 1927, 201. – Van Buren 1933, 41–50; *id.* 1953, 47–58.



fig. 3

§ 3.3 *Bull-man*. Bulls and lions which are natural in form but quasi-human in posture are found among the fabulous beasts in ‘heraldic groups’ in the so-called ‘proto-Elamite’ glyptic art of north-western Iran. They have been interpreted as personifying “des puissances élémentaires chargées de la stabilité du monde” (Amiet, *Glyptique*<sup>2</sup> [1980] 132–133). The repertoire of figures has been thought to have been inspired by contemporaneous representations in Mesopotamian art (Amiet, *Glyptique susienne des origines à l’époque des perses achéménides*, *MDAI* 43 [1972] 42–43), but neither the bull in human pose nor human-taurine hybrids of any kind are yet known in the art of that period (for the themes of Uruk IV–VI seals, cf. Moortgat, *MVAG* 40/3 [1935] 78).

The figure of the 'bull-man', with human head and torso but taurine horns, lower body and legs, first appears in the ED II period, when it is found on the majority of seals (CS pp. 46-47). Commonly it is paired with the 'hero' with curls (1). The bull-man remained a popular figure in art until the Achaemenid period (cf. D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* [1978] 69, Pls 59, 60a). *Kusarikku* (Sumerian *gud-alim*), probably the name for the extinct bison, became the term for the bull-man (Wiggenermann 1992, 51-52, 174-179).

P. Amiet, *RA* 50 (1956) 117-118. - Edzard 1965, 101. - Frankfort, CS, as index s.v. "Bull-man", esp. pp. 64-67. - Kolbe 1981, 135. - B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* (1948) 96. - Reade 1979, 40. - Rittig 1977, 98-103. - Seidl 1989, 175-176. - E. Unger 1927, 214-215. - Van Buren 1933, 15-16. - Wiggenermann 1992, 174-179.



fig. 4

§ 3.4 *Scorpion-man (and scorpion-woman)*. The 'scorpion-man' (Akk. *girtablullû*) is shown in art as a human-bodied, bearded human-headed creature with the hindquarters and talons of a bird, a snake-head penis and a scorpion's tail; he may or may not have wings. The figure first occurs in unequivocal form on a cylinder seal of the Akkadian period (Amiet, in (ed.) E. Porada, *Ancient Art in Seals* [1980] Fig. II-20). It is next seen on the impression of a cylinder seal on a MA tablet (J. N. Postgate, *Iraq* 35 [1973] Pl. XV.a.b). The type became common, however, only in NA and NB times (some references collected in Green 1985, 75<sup>11</sup>). It is last found pictured in the impression from a stamp seal on a Seleucid period tablet (Wallenfels 1989, no. 201). The antecedents of the figure probably lie in the representations of a scorpion with humanoid head and arms in third mill. B.C. glyptic art (Digard 1975, II, 122-123), which Seidl (1989, 170 Anm. 124, Typ 1) regards as es-

entially the same figure as the more elaborate and more human-looking type portrayed on a roughly contemporary (Ur I / ED III) shell plaque from the front of a bull-lyre from Ur (C. L. Woolley, *UE* II [1934] Pl. 105).

As attendants of Šamaš, a pair of scorpion-men are often shown standing beneath and supporting the solar winged disc, and it may also be such a pair whose heads are sometimes shown above the wingtips of the disc (for both features together on a Neo-Assyrian seal, cf. CS, Pl. XXXIIIe). These pairs are always bearded males, but ritual instructions for the making of apotropaic foundation figurines prescribe a "male and female" pair (KAR 298 Rs. 8: Rittig 1977, 158, 167 = P. Hibbert, in: Kolbe 1981, 196, 204; cf. Wiggenermann 1992, 52), recalling the scorpion-man and scorpion-woman who guard the gate of Mount Mašû\*, where the sun rises and sets, in the *Gilgamesh* Epic (IX ii-iv). No example of the 'scorpion-woman' in art has yet been identified (but cf. the mermaid, 22).

Edzard 1965, 100. - Green 1985, 75-82. - Kolbe 1981, 79-83. - Frankfort, CS, 198-199, 202, 210. - Reade 1979, 39. - Rittig 1977, 78-79 [but her "Genius mit Skorpionstachel" figurine is probably a lion-humanoid 5]. - Unger 1927, 201-202. - Wiggenermann 1992, 52, 143-144, 180-181.



fig. 5

§ 3.5 *Lion-humanoid*. This apotropaic figure known in Kassite (Seidl 1989, 41-42, Nr. 64, Abb. 10, cf. p. 176 = Basmachi, *Treasures of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* 1976, Fig. 128 [wrongly regarded as scorpion-tailed by Kolbe 1981, 134]), NA (Kolbe 1981, 132-136, 217-218; Green 1985, 77; Wiggenermann 1992, 173) and Seleucid period art (Wallenfels 1989, no. 197) is human above the waist but with two lion's legs and lion's hind-quarters, including a curled-over lion's tail. It seems to have been a late crea-

tion along the lines of the bull-man (3) and scorpion-man (4). The name in Akkadian seems to have been *uridimmu* (contra Reade 1979, 40: *urmahlullû*); this could be translated "mad lion" (Wiggenermann 1992, 50-51).

Green 1985, 77. - Kolbe 1981, 132-136. - Reade 1979, 40. - Wiggenermann 1992, 50-51, 172-174. [The figurine discussed by Rittig 1977, 78-79 and 218, is probably a lion-humanoid rather than a scorpion-man.]



fig. 6

§ 3.6 *Lion-demon*. A human-bodied hybrid figure with the head of a lion, upright (perhaps donkey's) ears and the talons of a bird is present in Mesopotamian art from the OB period (and with more leonine features from the Akkadian period) until the Persian conquest, when it passed into the art of the Achaemenids (examples collected in Green 1986b, 155-232). It is last seen on an impression from a Seleucid period stamp seal (Wallenfels 1989, no. 195). The demon most often (and always in the first mill. B.C.) raises one hand with a dagger and holds in the other, lowered, hand a mace. Its torso is generally naked. Usually it wears a short kilt, but when it is fully naked it has a curly lion's tail.

At least for the NA and NB periods, the type can be certainly identified as the apotropaic *ugallu* "big weather-beast" or "big day" (Wiggenermann 1992, 169-170; Green 1986b, 153-154). In art it is often associated with an anthropomorphic smiting god, thought by Wiggenermann to be Lulal (1992, 63-64; cf. Green 1986b, 155).

On OB seals, however, the lion-demon often holds a man upside down by one leg, and is associated with the 'god with scimitar', probably Nergal. It has been suggested therefore that at this early time the creature represents an attendant upon the underworld god, and is a bringer of disease (CS, pp. 167, 175, 202; L. al-Gailani Werr, *Studies*

in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals, *BiMes.* 23 [1988] 13).

E. Braun-Holzinger, *RIA* VII 100-102, s.v. Löwenmensch; cf. Unger, *RIA* II 114-115, s.v. Dämonenbilder. - Green 1986b, 141-254 [principal literature listed p. 152], with minor additional note in *Iraq* 50 (1980) 167-168. - Wiggenermann 1992, 169-172.

Nergal's staff or scimitar often has a lion's head, or rather the head of a lion-demon, with upright ears. The double lion-headed standard is probably also a symbol and attribute of Nergal; this sometimes appears to have the heads of lion-demons rather than natural lions.

U. Seidl, *RIA* III 488, s.v. Göttersymbole und -attribute, id. 1989, 157-163. - F. Pomponio, 'Löwenstab' e 'Doppellöwenkeule'. *Studio su due simboli dell'iconografia mesopotamica*, *OrAnt.* 12 (1973) 183-208.



fig. 7

§ 3.7 *Lion-garbed figure* (*Lā-tarāk\**?). This creature of NA art is a human-looking figure cloaked in a lion's pelt, with full lion's head, and carrying a whip (*Löwenmensch\**). Some have regarded the type as invariably a dressed-up man (R. S. Ellis, in: M. de J. Ellis (ed.) 1977, 73-78; J. E. Reade, *Iraq* 34 [1972] 96), and there seems little doubt that on occasion the figure is human (cf. R. D. Barnett/M. Falkner, *The Sculptures ... from the Central and South-west Palaces at Nimrud* [1962] Pls. I-II). However, since the type is found as one of the group of NA apotropaic foundation figurines (Rittig 1977, 110-112), it is likely to be a supernatural being, sometimes imitated in rituals. It has been suggested by Wiggenermann that the figure is the god *Lā-tarāk* (1992, 64). It is possible that this god's name is connected with a word for "whipping" (suggestion of J. Black; cf. *AHW.* s.v. *tarāku(m)*).

E. Braun-Holzinger, *RIA* VII 99-100, s.v. Löwenmensch. - R. S. Ellis, 'Lion-men' in Assyria, in: Ellis

(ed.) 1977, 67-78. - E. Klengel-Brandt, FB 10 (1968) 36-37. - Kolbe 1981, 121-123. - Madhloom 1970, 80, 109. - Rittig 1977, 105, 110-112. - M. Rutten, RA 40 (1945/46) 99-102. - E. Weidner, Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige, I (= AfO Beiheft 4, 1967) 156-157. - Wiggermann 1992, 64.



fig. 8

§ 3.8. *Fish-garbed figure*. The 'fish-garbed man' is a bearded human figure shown as if wearing the full body of a fish, the fish-head drawn over the scalp above the human face, the fish-body with caudal and dorsal fins hanging like a cloak. The figure first occurs on cylinder seals of the Kassite period (D. M. Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B.C. [1990] nos. 142-144, 196) and was very common in NA and NB art (e.g., E. Williams Forte, Ancient Near Eastern Seals ... Mrs. William H. Moore, Metropolitan Museum [1976] nos. 39-40, 54). Probably from the Assyrian reliefs and wall paintings (references collected in Green 1983, 90<sup>22</sup>), the figure passed into the early monumental art of Achaemenid Persia (Stronach, Pasargadae, 68-69, Pls. 59, 60b). It is last found on stamp seal designs of the Seleucid period (B. Buchanan, in G. J. P. McEwan, OECT 9 [1982] 19-20, nos. 30, 40; Wallenfels 1989, nos. 186-194).

In Akk. the figure is known as *apkallu* 'sage' (Wiggermann 1992, 76) and the type is related to the Babylonian tradition of seven 'old sages from before the Flood' (E. Reiner, Or. 30 [1961] 9, with references; cf. also J. J. A. van Dijk, SSA, 20<sup>66</sup>; and references cited by Wiggermann 1992, 77). The Seven Sages are doubtless the origin of the eight fish-monsters from Oannes to Odakon mentioned by Berossos as having in succession emerged from the sea and taught the arts of civilisation to humankind. Berossos describes Oannes thus:

Its entire body was that of a fish, but a human head had grown beneath the head of the fish and

human feet likewise had grown from the fish's tail. It also had a human voice. A picture of it is still preserved today. S. M. Burstein, The Babyloniaca of Berossus, SANE 1/5 (1978) 155.

For Hellenistic art this may have been the accepted identity of the fish-garbed figure.

T. S. Kawami, A Possible Source for the Sculptures of the Audience Hall, Pasargadae, Iran 10 (1972) 146-148; id., The Date of the Fish-garbed Men from Assur, FB 16 (1974) 9-13. - Reade, 1979, 38-39. - Rittig 1977, 94-96, 214-215. - Kolbe 1981, 14-30. - Wiggermann, 1992, as index A s.v. *apkallu*: fish-*apkallu*, esp. pp. 76-77.



fig. 9

§ 3.9. *Griffin-demon*. A human-bodied figure with bird's (probably eagle's) head and wings first occurs on cylinder seal designs of the Middle Assyrian period, usually in hunting scenes (e.g., O. Weber, Altor. Siegelbilder, AO 17/18 [1920] Abb. 47, Nr. 354 a; B. Parker, Iraq 39 [1977] Pl. XXVII 7) or as an apotropaic figure in association with the 'sacred tree' (e.g., A. Moortgat, ZA 48 [1944] 35, Abb. 31; CANES no. 609; Parker, Iraq 39, Pl. XXIX 32 B). The type has possible antecedents on an impression of an ED III seal from Susa (Porada, Alt-Iran [1962] 31, Fig. 13; so the comment on origin by Wiggermann 1992, 75, needs modifying) and on impressions of an Old Hittite and an OB seal, as well as possible analogues in Mittanian art (Parker/Mallowan 1983, 33, 35 Figs. 6-7). The figure became very popular in NA art, especially of the ninth century B.C. (Kolbe 1981, 14-30, 212-214). Room I of the North-West Palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud was dominated by bas-reliefs depicting kneeling 'genies' and standing griffin-demons flanking 'sacred trees' (S. M. Paley/R. P. Sobolewski, The Reconstruction of the Relief Representations and their Positions in the Northwest-Palace at Kalḫu (Nimrud), II, BagF 10 [1987] 1-29, Pls. I-II). The NB figure (e.g., Rollisiegel,

Nr. 600) is probably borrowed from Assyrian art. The creature in art is well-known in many areas of the Near East in the late second millennium and first half of the first millennium B.C. (cf. Madhloom 1970, 105-106). After the seventh century B.C., the figure is rarely seen, although it occurs on seals of the Seleucid period (Wallenfels 1989).

Although the origins of the figure are not Babylonian, in the Neo-Assyrian period figures of this type were explained as representations of the Babylonian Seven Sages (*apkallū*) (Wiggermann 1992, 75-76), and groups of figurines of them, often seven in number, were used as foundation deposits to protect houses and palaces (cf. 8) (Rittig 1977, 70-77). This is an interesting case of a comparatively recently introduced figure being attributed the name, and no doubt some of the traditions, of a figure of more ancient literary tradition.

In modern archaeological writing the griffin-demon is sometimes known as "Nis-roch", because Layard\* (wrongly) related the type to the Biblical account of the death of Sennacherib in the temple of that god (2 Kings 19; 2 Chron. 32; Isa. 37; Tobit 1), whom he interpreted as Ninurta\*, a deity supposedly with certain bird-like characteristics (Layard, Nineveh and Its Remains<sup>3</sup>, I, 64; II, 458-459).

Frankfort, CS, pp. 202-203. - Kolbe 1981, 14-30. - Madhloom 1970, 105-106. - M. E. L. Mallowan, Iraq 16 (1954) 86-93. - M. E. L. Mallowan/L. G. Davies, Ivories from Nimrud 1949-1963, II (1970) 50-51. - Parker Mallowan 1983, 32-39. - Reade 1979, 39. - Rittig 1977, 70-77, 215-216. - Unger 1927, 211. - Wiggermann 1992, as index A s.v. *apkallu*: bird-*apkallu*, esp. p. 151, with additional references.



fig. 10

§ 3.10. *Canine-headed demon (Pazuzu)\**. The god Pazuzu is represented in NA and NB art as having a canine-looking face with

abnormally bulging eyes, a scaly body and the talons of a bird. His close association in art (though not in available texts) with Lamaštu (11) led to his being used as a counter to her evil: he is shown forcing her back to the underworld. Amulets of Pazuzu were therefore placed in buildings or, often in the form of his head only, were hung around the necks of pregnant women (since among Lamaštu's victims were unborn and newly born babies).

Green 1985, 75-82. - B. K. Ismail, Ein Pazuzu-Kopf aus Ninive, Sumer 30 (1974) 121-128. - C. Frank, MAOG 14/2 (1941) 15-23. - P. R. S. Moorey, A Bronze 'Pazuzu' statue from Egypt, Iraq 27 (1965) 33-41. - H. W. F. Saggs, Pazuzu, AfO 19 (1959/60) 123-127. - Unger, RIA II 114, s.v. Dämonenbilder. - V. Wilson, Levant 7 (1975) 94.



fig. 11

§ 3.11. *Lion-demoness (Lamaštu)\**. The evil goddess Lamaštu is described as having the head of a lion, the teeth of a donkey, naked breasts, a hairy body, hands stained (with blood?), long fingers and finger nails, and the feet of Anzû, that is, a bird's talons. Thus, in the ninth to seventh centuries B.C., she is depicted on the so-called 'Lamaštu plaques' of metal or stone which show her being forced back to the underworld by Pazuzu (10). Here she is depicted also with upright ears which resemble those of a donkey. A piglet and a whelp suckle at her breasts; she holds snakes in her hands. Like other deities she has her distinctive animal, a donkey, and her boat, in which she floats along the river of the underworld. Although Lamaštu is iconographically a female counterpart of the lion-demon (6), the two figures appear to have no particular connexion.

W. Farber, RIA VI 439-446, Lamaštu; cf. Unger, RIA II 114, s.v. Dämonenbilder. - W. Fauth, Istar als Löwengöttin und die löwenköpfige Lamaštu, WO 12 (1981) 21-36. - C. Frank, MAOG 14/2 (1941) 4-15. - H. Klengel, Neue Lamaštu-Amulette aus dem Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin und dem British Museum, MIO 7 (1959/60) 334-355; id., Weitere Amulette gegen Lamaštu,

MIO 8 (1963) 24-29. - F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel et amulettes contre Labartu*, RA 18 (1921) 161-198. - Unger 1927, 204-205. - Wiggermann, *Lamaštu, dochter van An*, in: M. Stol, *Zwangerschap en Geboorte* (1983) 95-116; id. 1992, xiii.



fig. 12

§ 3.12. *Hideous-faced demon (Huwawa / Humbaba\*)*. Sumerian Huwawa / Akkadian Humbaba, perhaps a form of the Elamite god Humban, appears in the Gilgameš stories as the guardian of the Cedar Forest, appointed by Enlil. He was killed by Gilgameš and Enkidu.

In art, Humbaba is typically portrayed as a human-bodied figure with lion's claws for hands, a monstrous face, long hair and whiskers. Clay plaques and seals of the second and first millennia B.C. depict his killing by Gilgameš and Enkidu: they pin him down with their feet while one of the heroes cuts off his head with a sword. Often in such scenes the standard iconography of Humbaba is replaced by that usual to Lahmu (1). Babylonian models of the face of Humbaba (ranging in date from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Babylonian periods) were sometimes connected with divination, but may have usually been apotropaic.

Amiet 1960, 169-173. - W. G. Lambert, *Gilgameš in literature and art: the second and first millennia*, in (ed.) Farkas et al. 1987, 37-52. - Opificius 1970, 286-292. - D. Opitz, *Der Tod des Humbaba*, AfO 5 (1929) 207-2. - S. Smith, *The Face of Humbaba*, AAA 11 (1924) 107-114. - C. Wilcke, RIA IV 530-535, Huwawa/Humbaba.



fig. 13

§ 3.13. *'Bes'*. The Egyptian god Bes or Bisu, an apotropaic deity, god of recreation,

was represented as a dwarf with bowlegs, oversized head, goggle eyes, protruding tongue, bushy tail and usually a large feathered crown as headdress. A very similar figure is found widely in Syria, Palestine, Assyria and Babylonia in the first millennium B.C. (cf. V. Wilson, *The Iconography of Bes with particular reference to the Cypriot evidence*, Levant 7 [1975] 77-103; cf. for a NA example M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* [1966] II, 436 Fig. 361), as well as in the Greco-Roman world (cf. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, III/1, 98-112, s.v. "Bes"). Since "Bes" is not, however, mentioned in cuneiform sources, the god must have been known in the Near East by some other name, possibly Pessû (see A § 1).

The iconographic type may be related to the so-called 'bowlegged dwarfs' appearing on Mesopotamian seals of the ninth-tenth century B.C., which D. Collon suggests are "probably itinerant dancers and musicians" (*First Impressions* [1987] 151). These figures may be original *pessû* (A § 1).

V. Wilson, *Levant* 7 (1975) esp. pp. 83, 87, 94.



fig. 14

§ 3.14. *Lion-headed eagle*. This is one of the earliest animal hybrids, first occurring on cylinder seals of the Uruk period, common in Early Dynastic art and still found in the Neo-Sumerian period. It disappears from art after the Ur III period. It represents the mythical bird Imdugud (Anzû). Cf. 25.

E. A. Braun-Holzinger RIA VII 94-97, Löwenadler, with literature; cf. "Anzû", RIA Nachträge. - Fuhr-Jaepelt 1972. - Th. Jacobsen, *Treasures of Darkness* (1976) 128-129. - E. Porada, in: CRRA 38 (1992) 69-72, and V. Lukonin *Memorial Seminar* (British Museum, 1991) (1993) 44-53.



fig. 15

§ 3.15. *Scorpion-tailed bird-man*. A figure with a human head, the full body, legs and talons of a bird and a scorpion's tail is found in Kassite, NA, NB and Seleucid period art (some references collected by Seidl 1989, 169-170; for a Seleucid stamp seal impression see Wallenfels 1989, nos. 199-200). The Akkadian name of the creature is unknown. Edzard has suggested *girtablullû* "scorpion-man" (1965, 100). Wiggermann, however, regards the being as distinct from that of 4 - for the two creatures are found together on the throne of Mullissu on the Maltai\* rock-carvings (Fig. 1) - and that it cannot, therefore, have also been a *girtablullû* (1992, 144). On the other hand, Wiggermann himself admits two iconographically distinct forms of the *bašmu* (26).

Edzard 1965, 100. - Seidl 1989, 170-171. - P. Toscanne, *Sur la figuration et le symbole du scorpion*, RA 14 (1917) 187-203. - Unger 1927, 201.

§ 3.16. *Winged bull*. From the OB period onwards the bull is usually associated with a god whose attribute of forked lightning identifies him as a weather god, in Assyria the god Adad. On some Mittanian and Middle Assyrian seals an otherwise natural bull is given wings.

U. Seidl, RIA III 487; ead. 1989, 146; 193. - Unger 1927, 214.

§ 3.17. *Human-headed bull and lion*. A human-headed winged or wingless bull is a common motif in Mesopotamian art from ED III (e.g., CS, Pl. XIIb) through to NB times, and was taken over also into the art of the Achaemenid Empire (e.g., S. Moscati, *Persepoli* [1980] Pl. 5). Monumental sculptures of man-headed bulls and lions carved in the round were particularly employed in the Neo-Assyrian period (and similarly in Achaemenid times) as gateway guardians. Such figures adorned the palaces of the more important Assyrian kings from As-

surnasirpal II to Esarhaddon (Kolbe 1981, 1-14); as suggested by D. Stronach (pers. comm.), their absence from the North Palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh was possibly due to the non-availability of large enough blocks of stone by that time. In smaller scale art, a woman-headed lion or lioness is also seen (e.g., on details of embroidery on Assurnasirpal reliefs: Layard 1853, I Pl. 44: 3.5.8). Both the male and female human-headed lion are sometimes referred to in modern literature as a 'sphinx'. Barnett has suggested that either form was known in Akkadian as *kuribu* (A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories [1975] 86), while Reade thinks that the female type is an *apsasītu* (1979, 42). The more usual identification of the human-headed bulls and lions with figures called by the Assyrians *alad-lammû* (or *lamassu* and *šedu*, perhaps denoting respectively the anthropomorphic and animalian elements or paired figures) is also possible (see B. J. Engel, *Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren*, in ass. Palästen ... [1987] 99), although many difficulties remain over the use of these terms (RIA VI 446-453). The idea that the human-headed bull was the *kusarikku* (B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 93) has found little acceptance, while the term is now known to apply to the bull-man (3) (Wiggermann 1986, 310).

J. V. Canby, *Iraq* 33 (1971) 39-40. - A. Dessene, *Le sphinx, étude iconographique des origines à la fin du second mill.* (1957). - Frankfort, CS, as index s.v. "Human-headed bull" and "Human-headed lion". - Kolbe 1981, 1-14. - B. Landsberger, *Fauna*, 93. - Rittig, RIA VIII, Menschenstier. - W. von Soden, *Die Schutzgenien Lamassu und Schedu in der babyl.-assyrr. Literatur*, BagM 3 (1964) 148-156. - Wiggermann 1992, 79, and as index A s.v. *šedu*, esp. p. 95.

§ 3.18. *Man-headed bull*. A rather different man-headed winged or wingless bull shown on second and first millennium seals



fig. 17



fig. 18



being attacked by two men is certainly, as demonstrated independently by Opificius and Lambert, the "Bull of Heaven" slain by Gilgamesh and Enkidu. In at least one instance, published since these studies, the outraged goddess Ištar herself appears, attempting to restrain the two heroes (Collon, *First Impressions*, no. 858).

W.G. Lambert, in: A. Farkas et al. 1987, 37-52. - Opificius 1970, 286-292.



fig. 19

§ 3.19. *Centaur*. A figure human above the waist with, below, the body and all four legs of a horse, is seen on *kudurrus* and on Kassite, MA and NB cylinder seals (some references collected by Seidl 1989, 176-177). It also occurs on Babylonian stamp-seals of Seleucid date (e.g., Buchanan, in: McEwan, *OECT* 9, p. 18, nos. 22, 25). Sometimes the creature has the tail of a scorpion. The human part is often shown armed with a bow or club, hunting other animals. As is known from astronomical texts, in the Hellenistic period the creature represents the god Pabilsag (C.B.F. Walker, pers. comm.; for the archer as Pabilsag, cf. van Dijk, *Lugal* ..., I 10).

P. Calmeyer, *RIA* V 569-570, *Kentaur*. - Seidl 1989, 176-178. - Unger 1927, 199-200.



fig. 20

§ 3.20. *Lion-centaur*. The so-called lion-centaur of MA and NA art is a hybrid creature with a lion's lower body (including all four legs), and the head, upper body and arms and hands of a man. The creature's Akkadian name was simply *urmahlullû*

"lion-man" (C.J. Gadd, in Barnett, *Ashurbanipal*, 40, Pl. XX; independently, Ellis 1977, 74; cf. Wiggermann 1992, 181 [NB. Gadd in fact published earlier than Ellis]; Reade 1979, 41 wrongly suggests *kuribu*). The type seems to have been introduced only in the MA period, Wiggermann suggests (1992, 181) on the artistic analogy of the centaur (19), and named along the lines of the more ancient *girtablullû* "scorpion-man" and *kulullû* "fish-man" (3.22). Apparently, representations of the *urmahlullû* were placed outside lavatories (Wiggermann 1992, 86, 98), where the creature fended off the attacks of the demon *mukil-rēš-lemutti* "evil attendant" (for this demon, cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *Dreams*, 263; W. Farber, *Sagħulhaza mukil rēš lemutti*, *ZA* 64 [1975] 87-95). This demon may be represented by the lion with whom the lion-centaur is shown in combat on a MA cylinder seal (Rollsiegel, Nr. 581). Wiggermann connects this with Šulak\*, a demon said to have resided particularly in toilets and described as taking the form of a lion (1992, 98; cf. maškim\* p. 455 l.). The two evil demons may therefore be associated or identical.

Barnett 1976, 40, comm. to Pl. XX. - R.S. Ellis, in: (ed.) Ellis 1977, 74. - E. Klengel-Brandt, *FB* 10 (1968) 26-27, 36-37. - Kolbe 1981, 121-123. - Madhloom 1970, 98-99. - A. Moortgat, *ZA* 47 (1942) 67-68. - Reade 1979, 40-41. - Rittig 1977, 112-114. - Unger 1927, 199-200. - W.H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910) 382. - Wiggermann 1992, 181-182.



fig. 21

§ 3.21. *Griffin*. Griffin (Greek *gryphon*) was the name used in mediaeval Europe, and today in studies of art, for a fabulous composite animal, typically having the body (winged or wingless), hind-legs and tail of a lion and the head and foreparts of a bird, usually an eagle. Probably originating in Syria in the second millennium B.C., the griffin was known throughout the Near East, including Mesopotamia, and in Greece by the fourteenth century B.C. (cf. A § 5).

The beast can be shown recumbent or seated on its haunches. The Near Eastern version has a crested head. The beak is often parted to show the curling tongue.

Apparently the creature had some specific religious function, being shown in the Near East among other beasts of gods and in the West in funerary art. It may have been magically protective, but its precise associations and functions in either the Near East or Greece are unknown. Wiggermann has tentatively suggested an identification in Mesopotamia with the creature known in Akk. as *kuribu* (see A § 1).

A.M. Bisi, *Il grifone: storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico Oriente mediterraneo* (= *StSem.* 13, 1965). - J. Börker-Klähn, *RIA* III 633-639, *Greif*. - T.A. Madhloom, *More notes on the Near Eastern griffin*, *Sumer* 20 (1964) 57-62. - K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq* 18 (1956) 154-157.



fig. 22

§ 3.22. *Merman and mermaid*. A figure with the head, arms and torso of a man but with the lower body and tail of a fish exists in most periods of Mesopotamian art from its first known occurrence on a cylinder seal of the Ur III period (CCL II, no. A. 251; common in OB and Kass.: cf. Wiggermann 1992, 183, with references). In the MA period, for which no representations are known to us, it may have been displaced by the analogously composed lion-centaur (20), but if so it was revived as a popular figure in NA times (some references collected by Green 1983, 93<sup>54</sup> and 1986a, 26; Wiggermann, 1992, 183). Continuing into the Achaemenid (e.g., L. Legrain, *PBS* 14 nos. 804-806) and Seleucid (Wallenfels 1989, nos. 216-218) periods, this being is perhaps the prototype for the merman figures of Greece (cf. E. Buschor, *Meermänner*, *SB München* 1941, 2/1) and European mediaeval art and literary tradition. To the Assyrians, the creature was known simply as

*kulullû*\* "fish-man" (Wiggermann 1992, 182-183).

Edzard 1965, 100. - Green 1986, 25-30. - W.G. Lambert, *RIA* VI 324, *Kulullu*. - Lutz 1930, 383-384. - Madhloom 1970, 99-100. - J. Ménant, *Glyptique orientale*, II (1886) 49-50 = *RHR* 11 (1885) 295-296. - Reade 1979, 40. - Rittig 1977, 94-96, 214-215. - Unger, *RIA* III 70-71, *Fischkentaure*; id., *RIV* 4/2, 440, *Göttersymbol*; id. 1927, 197. - E.D. Van Buren, *Or.* 23 (1954) 22-23. - Wiggermann 1992, 182-183.

Possibly on OB seals (Cat. ... III, no. 119) and on NA and NB seals (Green 1986, 27, Pl. Xa.b), an apparently female version of the figure (half fish and half woman) occasionally appears, and may be attested textually as the *kuliltu*, "Fish-woman" (?).

Green 1986, 27. - Wiggermann 1992, 182; cf. S. Dalley/J.N. Postgate, *CTN* 3, 162, note to line 28.



fig. 23

§ 3.23. *Goat-fish*. A creature with the head and forelegs of a goat and body of a fish is represented from Ur III through to Seleucid times (Seidl 1989, 178-179, lists references; for Seleucid stamp seal impressions see Buchanan, in McEwan, *OECT* 9, pp. 18-20, nos. 23, 24, 26, 33, 48; Wallenfels 1989, no. 217). Indeed, this figure even made its way, as Capricornus, into Roman art, especially of the Augustan period - Capricorn being the emperor's personal zodiacal sign (cf. eventually *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, s.v. "Zodiacus"). The identification of the Mesopotamian creature with the being named *šuhurmāšu* "carp-goat" is proved by the caption on a *kudurru* and by the inscriptions prescribed in Assyrian rituals for foundation figurines of the type, which appear on actual examples (cf. Wiggermann 1992, 184, with references). Association with the god Ea is textually attested (Wiggermann, loc. cit.) and alluded to in art by the frequent juxtaposition with the ram-headed staff (Seidl 1989, 180). However, the goat-fish could also be a general apotropaic figure, not attached specifically to any deity.



Edzard 1965, 100. – Lutz 1930, 383–384. – Reade 1979, 40. – Rittig 1977, 97. – U. Seidl, RIA III 489, s.v. Göttersymbole und -attribute; id. 1989, 178–181. – Unger 1927, 216. – Van Buren 1933, 77 et passim. – Wiggermann 1992, 184–185.



fig. 24

§ 3.24. *Lion-fish*. A creature occasionally depicted on OB seals is a figure with the head of a lion and the body of a fish (e.g. Buchanan 1981, no. 912, “demonfish”). Its significance is unknown.



fig. 25

§ 3.25. *Lion-griffin*. The lion-dragon or lion-griffin is a winged lion with bird's talons (usually only at the hindlegs) and usually a bird's tail, sometimes the tail of a lion or of a scorpion (Braun-Holzinger, RIA VII 97–99 distinguishes a number of variants; probably they should be interpreted as having upright ears rather than bull's horns). Creatures of this type are represented from the Akkadian period down to the NB (some references listed by Seidl 1989, 181–185).

These representations include one on a bas-relief from the temple of Ninurta at Kalḫu (Layard 1853, II, Pl. 5). This has been interpreted as Tīāmat (e.g., by Reade 1979, 43), but the creature is here clearly male. It may be a late form of Anzû, in succession to that of 14 (so Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 128), or perhaps a rendering of the monster Asakku, also killed by Ninurta. (However, van Dijk, Lugal ... I, frontispiece and pp. 20–21, regards a rare sun-headed cyclops as the Asakku.) Wiggermann suggests that the lion-dragon is the *ūmu nā'iru*, “roaring weather-beast”, the beast of the god Iškur/Adad, the bird-tailed variant of NA

art being identified with Anzû (1992, 185; cf. 1986, 323; see A §§ 1, 7.25).

E.A. Braun-Holzinger, RIA VII 97–99, Löwen-drache. – Kolbe 1981, 71–77. – Seidl 1989, 181–187 (principal literature listed p. 181). – Unger 1927, 27. – E.D. Van Buren, The God Ningizzida, Iraq 1 (1934) 60–89 (72–73). – Wiggermann 1992, 185.

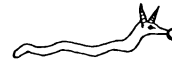


fig. 26

§ 3.26. *Horned snake*. A snake with horns rising from the forehead is found on Kassite *kudurrus* (Seidl 1989, 155–156) and in NA art on palace reliefs (Reade 1979, 40, Pl. 6), cylinder seals (e.g., CS, Pl. XXXIV 9; Roll-siegel, Nrn. 680–681) and among foundation figurines (Rittig 1977, 122–123). The creature may be a genuine snake, *Cerastes cerastes* (cf. § 1)). The iconographic type has been identified by Wiggermann as the creature called *bašmu* “poisonous snake” in Akk. (Sum. *muš-ša-tùr*). The mythological traditions are obscure, but in NA art the figure was normally apotropaic.

Reade 1979, 40. – Rittig 1977, 122–123, 216–217. – Seidl 1989, 155–156. – Unger 1927, 212–213. – Wiggermann 1992, 168.

A variant horned snake with forelegs was apparently regarded as a different creature, but known in Akkadian by the same name, *bašmu*, though for Sum. *ušum*, and also known as *ušumgallu* (Sum. *ušumgal*). At one time one of the ‘Slain Heroes’ (cf. 28), it was later, when the snake-dragon (27) became Marduk's beast, transferred to various gods formerly associated with the snake-dragon (Wiggermann 1992, 167).

F.A.M. Wiggermann 1992, 168.



fig. 27

§ 3.27. *(Snake-)dragon*. The snake-dragon, with horns, scaly body and neck, snake-like tail set upright, lion's forelegs and bird's hindlegs, is represented from the

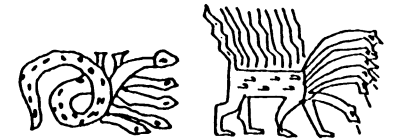


fig. 28

Akkadian down to the Seleucid period (some references collected by Seidl 1989, 187–191; Seleucid stamp seal impressions in Wallenfels, 1989; as zodiacal sign Hydra inscribed on Seleucid tablet: J.Oates, Babylon, rvd. ed. [1986] 189 Fig. 129). When it is a symbol it can represent a number of different gods. By comparing the figure depicted on the gates and processional way at Babylon (cf. R. Koldewey, Das wieder erstehende Babylon, 5th. ed. [1990] 60–61, Abb. 31–32) with the description of the building operations given by Nebuchadrezzar II, Koldewey was able to identify with certainty the creature's Akk. name, now read *muš-ḫuššu\** “the furious snake” (MDOG 19 [1903] 14–16). The complex mythologies and divine associations surrounding the creature have only recently been collected and explained (by Wiggermann 1992, 168–169; cf. A § 3.1 and *Mušḫuššu\**). Originally an attendant of the snake-god Ninazu, in Ešnunna it was ‘inherited’ by Tišpak when he replaced Ninazu as city god in the Akkadian or early OB period, and in Lagaš became associated with Ninazu's son Ningiškida. Possibly after Hammurabi's conquest of Ešnunna, the creature was transferred to the new national god of Babylon, Marduk, and to that god's ‘son’ Nabû. Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon brought the motif to Assyria, normally as the beast of the national god Aššur. On Sennacherib's rock-reliefs at Maltai\* (Fig. 1), however, the creature accompanies two different gods, Aššur and another god, most likely, Nabû (identification suggested by Postgate, SAAB 1 [1987] 58; the association of the snake-dragon makes the suggestion likely, although the god does not carry a stylus as Postgate maintains, but the rod-and-ring only).

Edzard 1965, 100–10. – C.J. Gadd, The Stones of Assyria (1936) 185. – Kolbe 1981, 123–131. – Reade 1979, 40. – Rittig 1977, 114–116. – U. Seidl, RIA III 489; ead. 1989, 187–193 (principal literature listed p. 187). – Unger 1927, 213–214. – Wiggermann 1986, 293–294.

§ 3.28. *Seven-headed snake and (snake-)dragon*. The ‘Slain Heroes’ were a group of monsters killed, according to a mythological tradition reaching back at least to Gudea

(and with mention of some of them much earlier), by the god Ningirsu, or in a variant version by Ninurta (A § 2.2, with references). One of their number is a seven-headed *mušmahhu* “distinguished snake”. As proposed by several writers (Frankfort, Van Buren, Landsberger, Heimpel, Cooper), this is almost certainly the snake (or ‘hydra’) with seven heads on seven long necks depicted in Early Dynastic art. A similarly seven-headed “snake-dragon”, sometimes shown about to be slain by a god (e.g., on engraved shell inlay: D.P. Hansen, in: Farkas et al. 1987, Pl. XVI 29), is another of the ‘heroes’, known as *muš-sag-imin* “seven-headed snake” (A § 2.2).

D.P. Hansen, in: (ed.) Farkas et al. 1987, 60–61. – Wiggermann 1992, 153, 164 (with listed references).



fig. 29

§ 3.29. *Snake-god*. Many Akkadian period seals show a god with human upper body and the lower body of a snake. Usually he carries a vase or a stalk of vegetation and he stands before an altar while receiving worship. He is often associated with the symbols of the crescent moon or star. Frankfort (CS, pp. 119–121) regards this god as a fertility aspect of Ningiškida. The type may rather represent the snake-deity Niraḫ or, perhaps more likely, Ištaran\* (see A § 3.1).

D. Collon, Cat. ... II (1982) 90–91. – Frankfort, CS, pp. 119–121.

§ 3.30. *Boat-god*. On cylinder seals of the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods, the

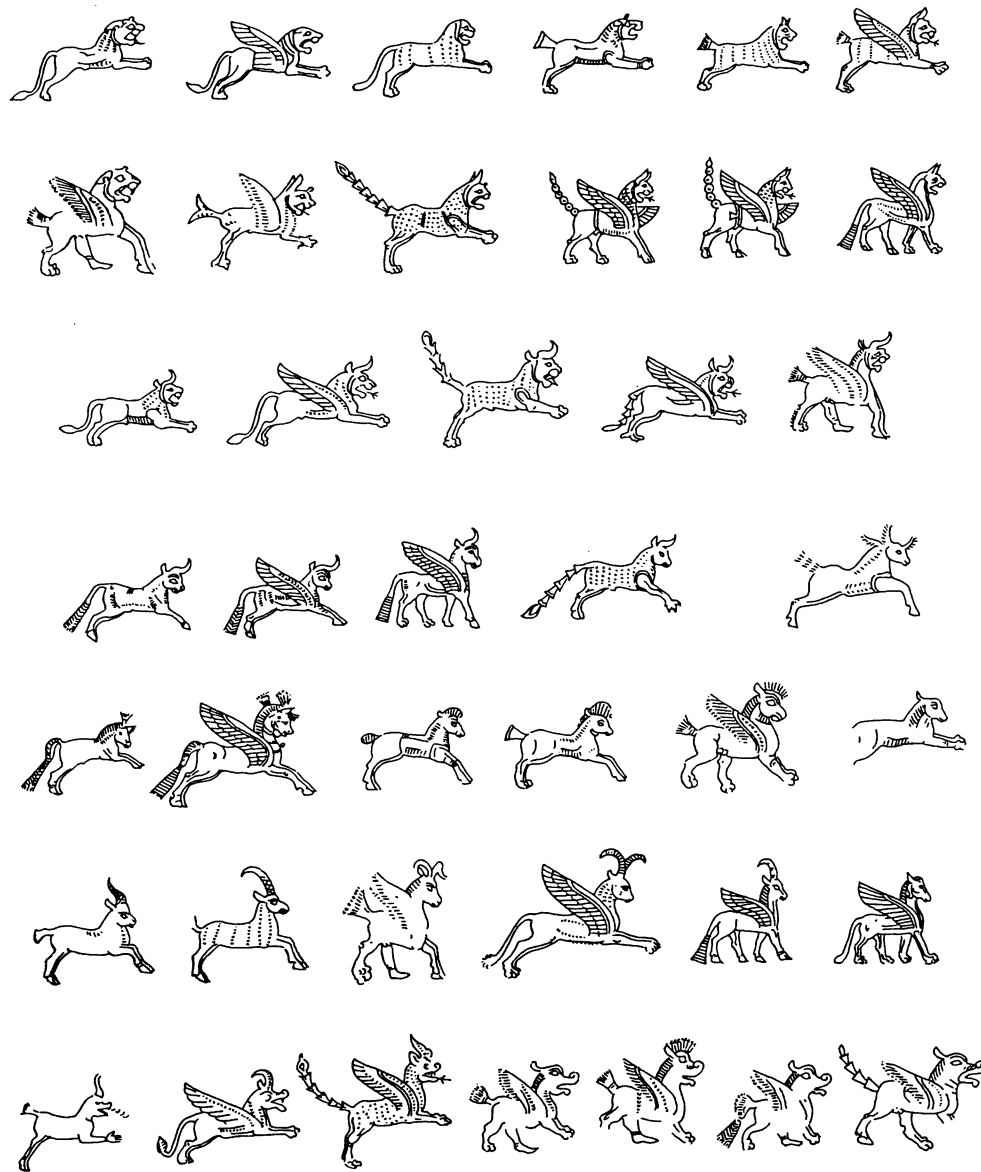
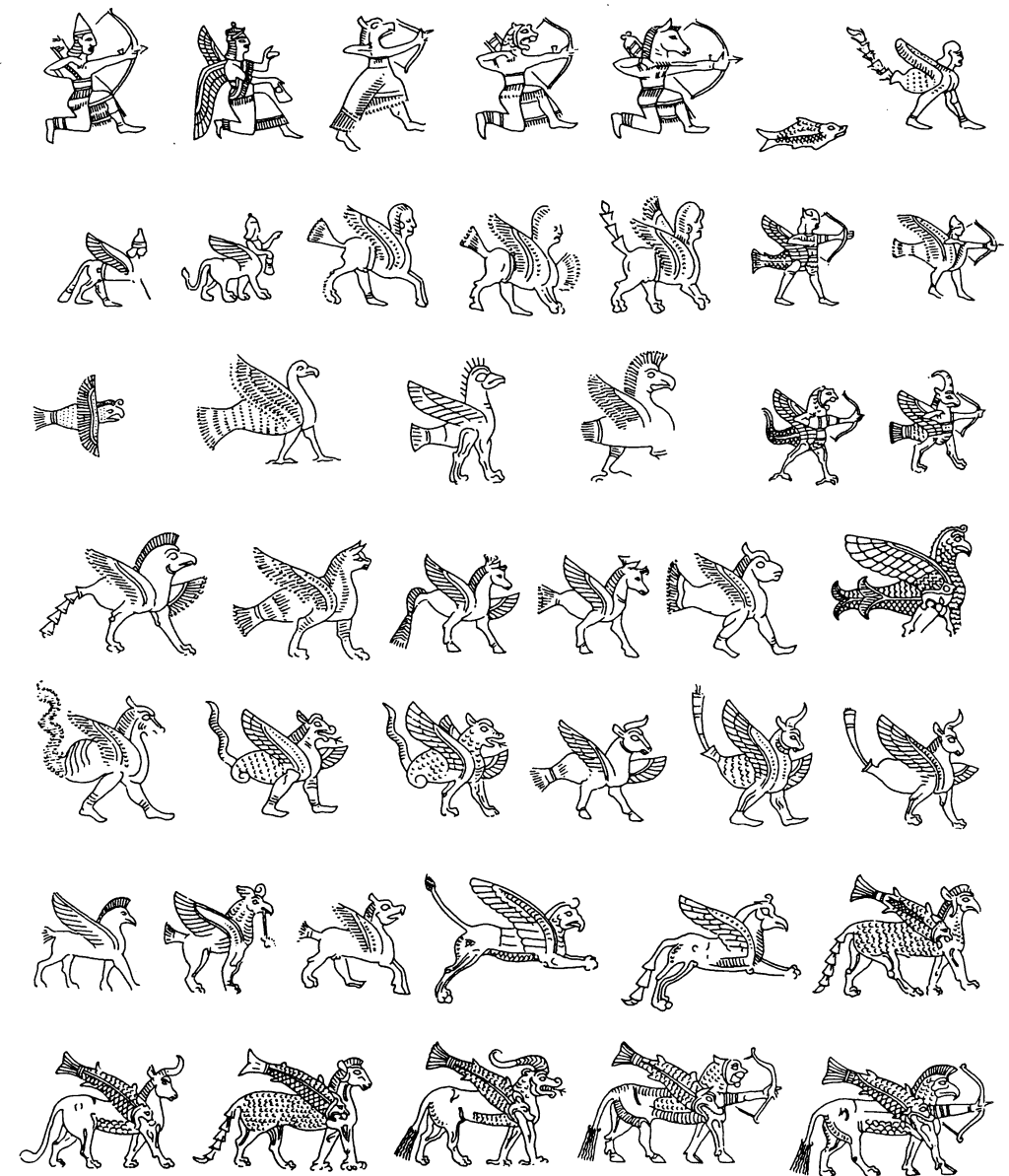


fig. 1

Collection of some of the many animals, animal hybrids and 'genies' depicted in Urartian metalwork. After T. Kendall, *Urartian art in Boston: Two bronze belts and a mirror*, Boston Museum Bulletin 75 (1977) 26-55 (52-53, fig. 18), where references are given.



boats which are shown conveying people or deities by river or canal are on occasion rendered with a prominent prow terminating in a human head, occasionally also with human torso and arms, with which the man-boat might actually row himself (e.g., Frankfort, CS, Pl. XIX e.f.). Since the human head is

sometimes crowned by a horned cap, it seems likely that the rendering is of a boat-god, or in effect, perhaps, an animation and personification of the boat of a god. The sun-god in particular is to be seen within his human-fronted boat - the god Sirsir? (cf. Landsberger 1950) - perhaps thought of as



fig. 30

sailing the skies or river of the underworld. Wiggermann has suggested that the Boat-god is an antecedent of the constellation Hydra (A §§ 2.4, 3.1).

Among the group of mythological characters known as the Slain Heroes (cf. 28) is one referred to as the *magillum*-boat. However, it is not known which form this creature took.

P. Amiet, *Or.* 45 (1975) 17-18; id., *RA* 71 (1977) 113-114. - Edzard 1965, 101. - Frankfort, *Iraq* 1 (1934) 3, 18-19. - B. Landsberger, *WO* 1 (1950) 362-366.

§ 3.31. *Genies*. A number of so-called 'genies' or 'genii' are found in Assyrian monumental and minor arts, often engaged in royal rituals (Kolbe 1981, 14-30). Some types wear the horned cap and so are presumably minor deities; others may be human. A male winged god, standing or kneeling, holds a bucket and cone and may be involved in the scenes of 'ritual' centred on the 'sacred tree'. A similar female figure holds a chaplet of beads (Kolbe 1981, 55-63); Reade suggests she may have "some link with" the goddess Narudu (1979, 36). It is possible, however, that these male and female figures might be covered by the Akkadian term *aladlammû* (cf. 17). A third figure carries a flowering branch, sometimes also a sacrificial(?) goat (Kolbe 1981, 30-50). Sometimes he wears the horned cap, and even when he does not he often has wings. Presumably, therefore, such figures are also

non-mortal; it has been suggested (by all authors cited below) that they might represent the Seven Sages in anthropomorphic form (cf. 8). See also A § 1.

Green 1984, 82-83. - Kolbe 1981, 14-63. - Reade 1979, 35-38. - Wiggermann 1992, as index A s.v. "*apkallu: ūmu-apkallu*".

#### § 4. Additional remarks.

At least by the NA period, an artistic repertoire of 'monsters' and 'demons' had developed which, despite varied origins, had a unity centred upon cosmological myths. They included figures long known in Mesopotamian art and more recent creations along parallel lines, often with archaizing features to support their pretended antiquity (cf. Green, *Visible Religion* 3, 83-85). Although new types of figures were from time to time added, in certain periods in larger numbers than in others, the groups, and indeed the overall repertoire, remained very restricted. Outside Mesopotamia there is little evidence for such exclusive and 'rationalised' groups of monsters, although individual *Mischwesen* could become common features; animals and hybrids were associated with particular deities in Anatolia, Syria and Iran, and, as we have seen in § 3, a number of Mesopotamian figures were absorbed into Achaemenid art. Most interesting for *Mischwesen*, however, is the art of Urartu. The Urartians took over a number of Assyrian animals and hybrids intact - the scorpion-man (4) and fish-garbed figure (8), for example, are known from apotropaic figurines from Urartian sites (references in Green 1985, 79). Probably, however, these figures were to some extent divorced from their Assyrian identities; we can hardly imagine, for example, that the Urartians should have been concerned about the ante-



fig. 31

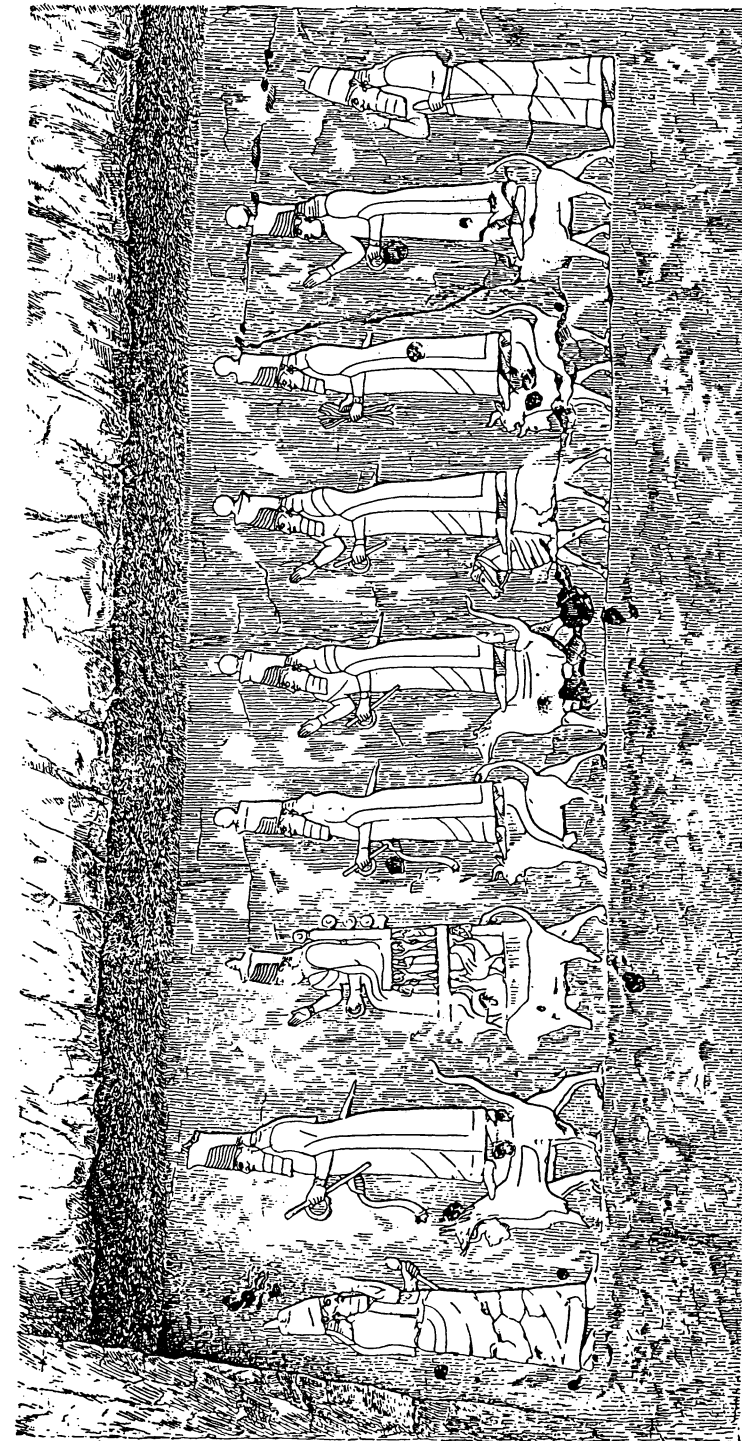


fig. 2  
The best preserved of four similar panels of rock reliefs at Maltai\*, carved on the cliff-face on the southern side of the Dehok valley, by the road leading from Assyria to the upper Zab valley. The Assyrian king, probably Sennacherib, flanks a procession of seven deities upon their animals. After F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les sculptures rupestres de Maltai*. *RA* 21 (1924) 183-197 (187). For the beasts, cf. U. Seidl, *RIA* III s.v. "Göttersymbole und -attribute".

diluvian sages of Babylonian cities. Having thus adopted the idea of absorbing such creatures and disregarding, at least to some degree, their Mesopotamian background, the Urartians felt free to create a plethora of new hybrids which would have been inadmissible in Assyria or Babylonia (Fig. 2). This much more extensive and inclusive repertoire of hybrids requires more detailed study, but the initial impression is that there was scant regard for the literary and theological 'legitimacy' required of such combinations in NA and NB art.

P. Amiet 1952: L'homme-oiseau dans l'art mésopotamien, Or. 22, 47–58; id., 1960: Le problème de la représentation de Gilgameš dans l'art, in: (ed.) P. Garelli, Gilgameš et sa légende, 169–173.

R.D. Barnett 1976: Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.). – M.Th. Barrelet 1970: Etude de glyptique akkadienne: l'imagination figurative et le cycle d'Ea, Or. 39, 213–251. – R.M. Boehmer 1965: Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit (= UAVA 4). – B.W. Buchanan 1981: Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection.

F. Digard 1975: Répertoire analytique des cylindres orientaux (3 vols., esp. vol. 2, 115–135: Hybrides).

D.O. Edzard 1965: WbMyth. I 19–139. – M. de J. Ellis (ed.) 1977: Mem. J.J. Finkelstein.

A.E. Farkas et al. (ed.) 1987: Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. – I. Fuhr-Jaepelt 1972: Materialien zur Ikonographie des Löwenadlers Anzu-Imdugud.

A. Green 1983: Neo-Assyrian apotropaic figures, Iraq 45, 87–96; id. 1985: A note on the 'Scorpion-man' and Pazuzu, Iraq 47, 75–82; id. 1986a: A note on the Assyrian 'Goat-fish', 'Fish-man' and 'Fish-woman', Iraq 48, 25–30; id. 1986b: BagM 17, 155–232.

L. Heidenreich 1925: Beiträge zur Geschichte der vorderasiatischen Steinschneidekunst.

D. Kolbe 1981: Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Charakters in den neu-assyrischen Palästen.

A.H. Layard 1853: Monuments of Nineveh. – H.F. Lutz 1930: Two Assyrian apotropaic figurines complementing KAR 298, Rev. 4–7, UCP 9/7, 383–384.

T.A. Madhloom 1970: The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art.

G. Offner 1960: L'épopée de Gilgameš a-t-elle été fixée dans l'art?, in: (ed.) P. Garelli, Gilgameš et sa légende, 175–181. – R. Opificius 1970: Gilgameš und Enkidu in der bildenden Kunst, Hundert Jahre Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie ... 2, 286–292.

B. Parker Mallowan 1983: Magic and ritual in the Northwest Palace reliefs, in: (ed.) P.O. Harper/H. Pittman, Fs. Chr. K. Wilkinson.

J.E. Reade 1979: Assyrian Architectural Decoration: Techniques and Subject-matter, BagM 10, 17–49. – D. Rittig 1977: Assyrisch-babylonische Kleinplastik magischer Bedeutung vom 13.–6. Jh. v. Chr.

U. Seidl 1989: Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs: Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten (= OBO 87; enlarged edition of BagM 4 [1968] 7–200).

E. Unger 1927: RIV VIII 195–216, Mischwesen. E.D. Van Buren 1933: The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams; ead. 1947: The guardians of the gate in the Akkadian Period, Or. 16, 312–332; ead. 1953: An investigation of a new theory concerning the bird-man, Or. 22, 47–58.

R. Wallenfels 1989: Sealed Cuneiform Texts from Hellenistic Uruk (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University). – F.A.M. Wiggermann 1983: Exit *Talim*! Studies in Babylonian Demonology, I, JEOL 27, 90–105; id. 1986: Babylonian Prophylactic Figures: The Ritual Texts; id. 1992: Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts (revised ed. of 1986).

A. Green

**Mišime.** *Mi-ši-me<sup>ki</sup>*, einer der von Eannatum von Lagaš zerstörten Orte, wohl in Elam gelegen.

D.O. Edzard/O. Farber/(E. Sollberger), RGTC I und II s.v.; dort auch zwei Belege aus Verwaltungsurkunden vor und aus der Zeit von Ur III – unergiebig.

I.J. Gelb hat in AJSL 55 (1938) 73 eine Gleichsetzung mit Bašime\* (s.a. RGTC I und II s.v.) vorsichtig erwogen. Sie empfiehlt sich ohne sichere Belege nicht, da der verschiedene Anlaut unerklärt bliebe.

D.O. Edzard

**Mišini.** Heth. Gott, der im Kult der Stadt Šapinuwa(?) in Gestalt einer silbernen Statue verehrt wird (<sup>d</sup>*Mi-ši-ni-iš* KUB 38,7 iii 14) und u.a. mit dem Wettergott der Stadt und dem vergöttlichten Gebirge Kuwarri in einem Textabschnitt zusammengefaßt ist.

L. Rost, MIO 8 (1963) 193f.

G. Wilhelm

**Mišir, Mizru, Mušur, Mušri III, Muzir**  
(kur *Mi-šir-ši-ir*, kur.(uru) *Mi-iz-ri(-i)*, kur *Mu-*

*sur/su-ri-uš-ri*, Nisbe *mi-šir-a-a*, *mu-zir/iz-ri-ia*) die bab.-ass. Bezeichnung für „Ägypten“. Etymologie unklar, ebenso die Herkunft der hebr. Dualform(?) *Miṣrayim*, phön. *mšrm*.

Da gegenüber dem Forschungsstand des Beitrages von D. Opitz über Ägypten und Mesopotamien in RIA I (1928) 45–51 wesentliche Änderungen und Ergänzungen erforderlich sind, wird der gegenwärtige Forschungsstand im Folgenden resümiert.

§ 1. Verwendung der unterschiedlichen Namensformen. – § 2. Ägypten und Vorderasien in der Frühzeit und im III. Jt.: 2a. Schrift; 2b. Rollsiegel. – § 3. Ägypten und Ebla. – § 4. In der MB-Zeit. – § 5. Während der 18. und 19. Dynastie: 5.1. Assyrien und Ägypten; 5.2. Babylonien und Ägypten; 5.3. Hatti und Ägypten; 5.4. Mittan(n)i und Ägypten; 5.5. Ugarit und Ägypten. – § 6. Neassyrische Zeit. – § 7. Ägypten und das Neubabyl. Reich.

§ 1. Verwendung der unterschiedlichen Namensformen: a) Die Namensform *Mi-šir* und Nisbe *mi-iš-ra(-a)-ú* ist in mB Texten (s. RGTC V 199) und im Amarna-Archiv, in Ugarit, in Emar belegbar; *mi-šir(-a-a)* ist nB die Regel (s. RGTC VIII 299f.). Auch in lit. Texten überwiegt diese Schreibung (s.z.B. CAD M/2, 166a, aber *mušritu* CAD M/2 245a). b) Hethitisch wird die Form *Mi-iz-ri(-i)* gebraucht. c) Im Assyrischen jedoch wird konsequent (einige Belege in Chroniken, astrolog. Reporten usw., s. NAT p. 250, sind babylonisch) *Mu-uš-ri* usw. geschrieben, wobei eine Unterscheidung von Mušri I\* (im Osttigrisland) und Mušri II\* (in Nordsyrien) gelegentlich nur nach dem Kontext möglich ist. Zu M. gehörte nach bab.-ass. Verständnis offenbar auch ein Teil der Wüstenregion zwischen Süd-Palästina und dem eigentlichen Ägypten. d) Elamisch als Nisbe oft *mu-iz-ri(-ia)*, *mu-zir-ra-ia*, s. RGTC XI 190ff. – Zur Übertragung der Landschaftsbezeichnungen Magan\* und Meluhha\* auf Ägypten s.d. – Zum (uru) *na-ḫal Mu-sur* (NAT 256), der Grenze Ägyptens, dem heutigen Wādi al-ʿAriš, s. H. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958) 78; N. Naʿaman, Tel Aviv 6 (1979) 68–90; A.F. Rainey, Tel Aviv 9 (1982) 31f.

Zu Mušri s. H. Tadmor, IEJ 11 (1961) 145–147; ältere Literatur bei E. Michel, WO 2 (1955) 141 Anm. 5.

§ 2. Ägypten und Vorderasien in der Frühzeit und im III. Jt v. Chr.

Nach wie vor schwer faßbar sind die Kontakte, die in der Zeit der Entstehung der Hochkulturen zwischen Ägypten und Vorderasien bestanden. Es scheint lediglich sicher, daß sie nicht direkt, sondern auf indirektem Wege, d.h. über den Handel verliefen, der einerseits mit Syrien-Palästina (bes. über Byblos), andererseits über den Persischen Golf abgewickelt wurde.

a. *Schrift*: Eine direkte Einflußnahme Mesopotamiens auf die Entwicklung der ägypt. Schrift läßt sich nicht erweisen. Sowohl das System der jeweiligen Kommunikationsmittel als auch die Form und der Gebrauch der Schrift sind so deutlich voneinander geschieden, daß von gegenseitiger Einflußnahme nicht gesprochen werden kann. Ob es in einem sehr frühen Stadium evtl. eine Weitergabe der „Idee des Schreibens“ gegeben hat, ist nicht erweisbar.

b. *Rollsiegel*: Die Verwendung dieses sehr typischen vorderasiatischen Gebrauchsgegenstandes und Artefakts ist schon früh in Ä. nachweisbar (Gräber der 1. Dynastie); er hat aber sicher, auch wenn häufig ägypt. Motive vorkommen, nicht-ägypt. Ursprung. Die Siegelpraxis mit Rollsiegeln hat sich in Ägypten auch nie konsequent durchgesetzt. Stattdessen wurden diese Objekte offenbar meist magisch als Amulette genutzt. Als Material begegnet oft Holz, gelegentlich Elfenbein, Steatit, Fritte. Mesopotamische Rollsiegel in Hortfunden aus späteren Perioden (z.B. al-Töd) sind über den Handel nach Ä. gekommen.

c. *Übernahme von ikonograph. Motiven*: Einige in der Forschung stark betonte Motivübernahmen auf Einzelobjekten (Narmer-Palette; Messergriffe von Gebel al-ʿArak und Gebel al-Tārif), so das Schlangenhalsmotiv, der Löwenbezwinger mit Kalottenmütze, antithetische Gruppen, bestimmte Bootsformen, weisen eher auf Elam als auf das südl. Mesopotamien, so daß hier ebenfalls Handelsverbindungen zu zeitweiligen Beeinflussungen geführt haben mögen. Diese blieben aber peripher. Einflüsse von Ägypten nach Vorderasien sind in dieser Zeit nicht nachweisbar.