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


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Die Höhe der in der Regel in Gerste, selten (OHRSP 47-49 Nr. 221, 1. unten) in Silber angegebenen Miete läßt sich für uns in keiner rechnerischen Beziehung zu eventuel-
eren anderen Angaben setzen; vgl. insbesondere Nr. 386, wo ja neben der Schiffs-
miete im engeren Sinne noch die Kosten der Miete von Personen auf 6-9 Tage registriert sind.

Für „Miete“ eines Boots ist wie für Miete (Lohn) einer Person das Wort ä ub-
lich. In VN 6, 2042 PAD má huğ-gá ("/hur Gerste") ... eines gemieteten Boots
(vel: "Z 5 PAD má ur-ra") steht an-
scheinend PAD (graphische Verkürzung von PAD.SI.ÅPA.BIGIS = addiri?) an-
stelle von ä.

"Miete" ist jedenfalls wohl die Bedeutung von addir in ... 15 Sekel Silber, Silber für ein addir-Boot"; s. oben § 1b. und § 3b.

§ 4b. 2. huğ, addir nicht verwendet. Wie im Falle der Personenmiete kann eine Schiffsmitte auch dort gemeint sein, wo weder huğ noch addir verwendet ist. Vgl. 1 má 14 gur 6 silla-ta, ú 6-lê, 1e-bi 0.0.3 6 silla, Nibrakû-ê, ėnī PN (OHRSP 47-49 Nr. 251) 1 Boot von 14 gur [etwa 4 m²] (Fassungsvermögen) (20) je 6 silla (Gerste

ugula PN ... (Nesbit Nr. XXII) 1/4 gur Gerste - Schiffsmitte - für eine Fahrt) von ON, nach ON, - Aufseher (war) PN; 15 se NBR; má huğ-gá, ON-ta, guru, lulu
gal bá dā-da-ka-ê, še lá-a, 10 še gur, še huğ-gá ... (LÜ 3, 1065 i 4 ff); 15 še gur Gerste ... - Schiffsmitte - von ON zum königlichen Getreidespeicher, neben der Mauer (ist Gerste ge... (worden) - (ferner) 10 ger Gerste - Lohn für Mietende ... 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 m²] (Fassungsvermögen)"; 15 má huğ-gá má zu-lum im má 1 (NATN 385:18) "Schiffsmitte" (für Boote mit Dat-
teln und Boote mit Öl). Es gibt auch Texte ohne irgend eine nähere Angabe zu dem Boot oder seiner Verwendung, z.B. VieOR 8/1, 53 Nr. 45.

Silber als Lohn (á) für Ur-Bikura; in der zweiten zweistelligen Jahre jünger (IS 2/VI) qualifiziert Gensu-Ningul fällen dem Lugal-
azida den Empfang von 3 Sekeln Silber als Lohn für Su-Durul auf 1 Jahr. Die Vermie-
ter verpflichteten sich unter Eid zu einer Lei-
tung von täglich 6 bzw. 10 silla Gerste an
den Mieter, falls der Mietender, d.h. also wohl der betreffende Sohn der Vermieterin, der Arbeit (die nicht beschrieben ist) frem
bleibt (§ 1a-§-dag). Wenn die erste Quittu-
tung wie die zweite den Lohn eines ganzen Jahres meint und wenn man das übliche Wertverhältnis 1 Sekel Silber: 1 gur (≈ 300 silla) Gerste annimmt, so ist die Ersatzle-
tung, die der Mieter gegebenenfalls ver-
langt, im ersten Fall mehr als siebenmal, im zweiten viertel so hoch wie die Miete, die er ansonsten zahlt.

Das eidliche Versprechen der Ersatzle-
tung und die Zeugenlisten verleihen beiden Quittungen den Charakter von Verträgen, mit denen eine Person A einer Person B ge-
ngenennemaschs - 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 dechler-
haltenden Bürgerschaftserklärung (?) NrVN 1 25 ist ganz unsicher (nach H. Saure, ZA 60/1977 76 wäre in Z 5 zu lesen i ḫu-um1
(=PN) hat (von PN eine Sklavin namens PN) gemietet")

Als Miete (á) galt nach den Gerichtsur-
kunden auch der Betrag, der fällig wurde, wenn jemand die Arbeitskraft z.B. eines Sklaven, der einem Dritten oder dem Staat gehört, widersprechend für sich in Anspruch genommen hatte (A.Falkenegg, NG 191; NrVN 228).

§ 4b. Schiffsmitte.

§ 4b. 1. huğ, addir verwendet. Wie die Personenmiete ist auch die Schiffsmitte vor allem in Texten der Staatswirtschaft belegt; wiederum wird in erster Linie die Höhe der geleisteten Miete notiert. Über die gemiet-
eten Boote und ihre Verwendung erfahren wir nicht viel. Manchmal ist Ausgangs- und Zielpunkt der Fahrt genannt, z.B. 14, 10 še

1.5.s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,s.2.2.1.4.g.14,
MISARU - MISCHWESEN, A

texts that treat the magical defense of a house or palace against intruding evil (F. Wiggemann, Mesopotamian Protective Spirits: The Ritual Texts [1992], hereafter Wiggemann 1992). The texts prescribe the mandatory placing of a clay monster collage to a house to guard against evil spirits. As is the case with apotropaic guardians, with the help of the inscription, 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. Kleinpla- stik magischer Bedeutung vom 3.-6. Jh. Chr. (1977), and A. Green, Neo-Assyrian Apotropaic and Other Clay Images (1985). 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] 179-49; D. Kolbe, Die magischen Figuren der Assyrer [1984]), Vili[p]a[u]z[iii] (DB 35 Old Persian ii 95), is restored from the Elamite.


1 § 1. Identifications and method. - 5.2. Historical development and theology. 2.1. Origins and associations with anthropomorphic gods. 2.2. Servants and defeated enemies. 2.3. The army of Tiamat. 2.4. The functions and classifications. 2.5. Theology. 2.6. Use in art. - 5.3. Non-anthropomorphic gods. 5.1. Chthonic snake gods and animal gods. 5.2. Mountains and rivers. 5.3. Abnormalities, redoublings, and metamorphoses. - 5.4. Fab- ulation, Figurativität, Schopenhauerske und -muster. - 5.7. 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

Misiru s. Rügchoteigenen, s. Schulden-Erlaß.

Misbauzait. The Elamite transcription of the name of a place in Parthia, where a battle took place on 7th January 435 B.C., according to the Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great (DB), between Hystaspes, the father of Dar- is, and Phraorates, the Median opponent of Darius. The Elamite version gives the name in the form of Aš-Mi-ii-ba-u-za-ti-ii (DB 35 Elamite ii 70): the Babylonian has Ū-mi-ii-ba-u-za-tu (DB 35 Babylonian 65). The Old Persian form, ʷu-š-r-š [a] ʷu-š-r-š [a] ʷu-š-r-š (DB 35 Old Persian ii 95), is restored from the Elamite.


Lion-dragon (B 5 § 14) and Lion-headed eagle (B 5 § 14). The classical terminology (Kocher 1928, p. 835; Wotzka 1937) was preceded in earlier art by a more lenient type ("Löwenadler" [B 5 § 1]). Its development (addition of birds to the head) was connected with that of the "lilu". The Lion-dragon is likur/Adad/*, lion-headed eagle (denoting turbulent weather phenomena) in the texts (Wiggemann 1972: VII.C.4.a). The term u-ka-š-š[-š]-nā/kwa nā/kwa (CAD NII 35 § 12.4), "Roaring Day" probably refers to the same monster that lowers its head to the earth and emits jets of water from its widely opened jaws. Anzu 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 some representations of Anzu to be mentioned in the texts, another monster must have taken its place. Although, while likur/Adad/*'s interests shifted from the Late Akkadian to the Late Babylonian, the Lion- dragon (like the Lion-headed eagle composed out of eagle and lion parts) can be found everywhere from the NA period the Lion-dragon was split into two beings (a composite split is attested for the "lilu"), one (with feathered head) is likur/Bīlit/* (the en-emy of Ninurta, one with scorpion's sting, Löwen- drachen/* [B 5 § 1]) is his mount (for the NA incagnography of Ninurta see U.Moortgat-Correns, AFO 35 (1988) 157-153). The monster on which Ninurta has his feet in the MB Göttertempel (K. Kocher, MIO 1 [1931] 66 59-69, 9), is that before the split and therefore the one with the feathered head. The dragon mon- ster that stand next to his throne in his NA temple in Kül-i (D. Wissman, Iran 14 [1954] 23-75, 55) are referred to with the general term mawakkil/*, "dragon" (also used for the Snake-dragon mawakkil/* [B 5 § 3]). A slightly different location, in the MB temple of Anu/* and Anis occurs in MA art (Löwenadler* [B 5 § 2] for the date of the Lamatū-anum 37. 34. 35 see O. Pe- dersén, Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur I [1986] 295. 135) on Lamatū/*-anum/* they fulfill the same apotropaic functions as the Lion-dragon (anum- let 39) and Pazuzu. For Anzu/wrīš/* and Pazuzu, see R. Schmidt, AFO 37 (1980) 123-133.

Although images (salma) of gods and demons are regularly referred to in the texts, detailed descriptions are extremely rare. The images (salma) of twenty-seven gods and hybrids are described in the so-called Göt- terrtexten of MB origin (Kocher, MIO 1, 57-95; see Lambert, Or. 54 (1986) 197f.). Many of their descriptions apply to other, but as yet non-existing, beings, 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 use for the Mesopotamian iconography. Forms (gāitu) of dragons and snakes are described in a text similar to those describing stones and plants (CT 45.14.17, 11) and dates, see Landberger, Fauna 1934 52f.). Unfortunately it does not
not describe the most important dragons.
A complete description of the constellations would ascertain the identity of the monsters among them (§ 3.4), but so far little has come to light. Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur, AFO 4 [1927] 73-84; id., Gestirndarstellungen [1967]. The underworld vision of an Assyrian priest under the name Kimmamua (perhaps Assurbanipal) is described in a difficult text recently reedited by A. Livingstone in SAA III (1989) 68-76 (see also K. Frank, MAOG 14/5 [1941] 24-41). In a dream the prince sees Nergal on his throne, holding his two-headed maces (§ 3.6) and, surrounded by the members of his court: Namtar, the vizier of the underworld; Sinjaritru, his wife (with the head of a kutiru, perhaps "Griffin"); Maitu, "Death" (with the head of a Snake-dragon), Sēdu lemmu, "Evil Genie" (with eagle's talons), Maṭiri, lemmu, "Upholder of Evil" (with a head of a bird and a wing), Ehemut-tabu, "Take-away-quickly," the ferryman of the underworld (with the head of a goat's head) (with the head of an ox), Uškēru lemmu, "Evil Spirit" (with a lion's head, claws for hands and eagle's talons for feet), Sudak (a lion on his hind legs), Madaka, the goat's head, Bedu (NEELDU), the porter of the underworld (with a lion's head and bird's talons), Allu-huppum, "Net" (with a lion's head), Mumma lemmu, "Evil Spirit" (with two heads, one of a lion, one of a [- ..], Muqru, "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 a bull, 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 3/5 [1908] 11 ff; MAOG 14/2, 33) identified the six or seven animals hinted at in the figures of the Lammuu—amals come with the seven Evil Spirits, one of them described in the underworld vision. His reasons, however, were insufficient (Wiggermann 1992 II, A 4, B 4). More convincing was his identification of an unnamed clay figure of "one cubit" having a lion's head (KAR 227 ii 24, etjumu ritual) with Bedu (MAOG 14/2, 33). Sudak has been associated with the lion attacked by an armahallu on a MA seal (§ 3.4, 20).
Among the monsters known from the texts the following remain especially remarkable and of long-standing fascination: Linurum, the man-eating and inhuman adversaries of Ninursa (Ninurta, ku-lēn-an), the neo-Assyrian janiform, Uraltis, the man-eating and inhuman adversary of Ninursa (Ninurta, ku-lēn-an), the neo-Assyrian janiform, Uraltis, the man-eating and inhuman adversary of Ninursa (Ninurta, ku-lēn-an) (J. Cooper, Anu, Os i. [1918] 149, ma-argi-la-um-ma-ta-tion of one monster, Wiggermann, p. 77 [1977] 98), and especially zig-áluuk (see Th. Jacobsen, MAOG 18/2 [1986] 245-313). Sumerian zig-áluuk characterizes diseases that cause a person in general; 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 zig-áluuk is practically always paired with nam-tar, "decided" disease (for the selection of examples see CAD S. v. asukku and nantara).
As a semantic field, it follows that zig-áluuk denotes diseases that are not caused by the gods, "disorders." That the zig-áluuk combated by Ninura in Lagulu is the same demon "Disorder" on a cosmic level is born out by its etymology. Art records the ideality of the creation 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, myth, and stories. Each of these sources has its main points in theology. The earliest and at once most tenacious monsters of Mesopotamian art are the Snake-dragon, Muḫḫušši, and one group of bird-man hybrids (§ 3.8), one of bird-man hybrids (§ 3.8), and one of anthropomorphic figures (§ 3.31). The first group is rooted in the third millennium Mesopotamia, but the iconographic type was introduced only in the Kassite period. The other two types are adopted by Assyrian iconography from a foreign source, and seem to have been 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 akālītu (without further distinction collected in § 3.31). They do not correspond to a god or genius of Mesopotamian tradition and are named with vague descriptive terms: kamsîtus, "kneeling
§ 4.6. Belongs to most of them are days of death and destruction, like one's dying day, the "Evil Day" (šimu lemū, šiū), the messenger of the underworld god Erra (UET 6, § 194; SEG 17) 3:1. The god is sent from the sky (e.g., UET 6, 3:91:16); howl and roar (A.Šajberg, TCS 3:100). The days of the zodiacal splendor and plenty, the golden age before the gods, are realized in the first millennium A.D. as seven anthropomorphic Sages (§ 3:31; Wiggermann 1992 II. 2:14, šimu-akadu).

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), the pure demon spirits, whose individual 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 past period were considered their masters. Apparently each monster is associated with a deity that participates 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 of it. The role of the monsters is to destroy or to cleanse this part of the god's realm. The god's responsibilities are limited, he accentuates, emphasizes. The monster's role is to destroy or to cleanse the part of the god's realm.

"Roaring Day" is associated with the storm god Eškur/Adad*; the Scorpion-man, who watches over the mountains of sunrise and sunset, is associated with the Human-beast (§ 3:17) and the Bull-man (§ 3:3) with the summer sun god Utu*, who alone travels the distant mountains where they are at home.

Anūz, although his cry makes the Amurru gods hide in the earth, is not in the same class as the various gods and goddesses (sages) (Mischwezen 1969 100:82), it is still a faithful servant of the gods in the Lagash Epic of Ur III origin and not yet among the defeated enemies of Ninurta (Ninurta) in Gudea Cyl. A. Under orders of his father, the Sun god, he blocks the road two ways of the (rebellious) mountains "as if he were a big door" (Is. 100:195f). Thus it is no coincidence that Anūz is not among the defeated enemies of Ninurta in the Gudea texts; they fight at the same side against the same enemy, the mountain gods. In return for his blessings Legal- bunda promises Anūz that he is set up as statues of the temple of the gods, and to make him famous over all Sumer and Akkad. (E.Šajberg, TCS 3:19f, 312:18) God who would not have let Legalbunda make such a promise, if he could not show his public that he kept his promise. The gods of the mountains (Ur III period) were statues of Anūz visible all over the temple area. In the same cuneiform tablet ("as a big door") the poet reveals that at least some of the Anūz representations he knew were apropic door keepers under orders of Enlil.

Compositional elements consisting of twice the same animal with an Anūz/eagle stretching out its wings above them are attested in third millennium and rarely in later contexts (cf. UET 6, 101f, OB). The power of a monster relies on its mythological connections (Mischwezen IV XIV Taf. 97) from Ninurta/*S* ED III temple in Uruk are the symmetrical animals of that god (Hirsch* § 4). The bezoz/bexx belongs to Enlil, who is called the "pure bezoz/berex of Akuu" (Gudea, Cyl. A 3:129) and DUR-zi-ERI/BA. Thus the connection of Enemetta's silver vase (drawing Löwender* Abb. 2) becomes transparent: three pairs of animals, each pair under an Anūz, the bezoz belongs to Enlil, in this time Ninurta's father (A. Falkenstein, ANOTA 30 [1966] 93), the stags belong to his mother Ninurta, and the lions to Ninurta himself, the god of war is his dedicated. The Anūz's belong to none, but represent another, more powerful, under whose supervision they all operate. This higher power is not exactly what the Lagashbundan epic and the Anūz myth (W.W. Hallo / W. W. Rogers A 2573:15, 315f, 331f, 11f) tells us. The association of the Lagashbundan god Anūz with Enlil, the god of the space between Heaven and Earth, was the focus of associations established for the other monsters.

§ 3.2. Servants and defeated enemies. Their unnatural form defines the monsters as a group and distinguishes them from the anthropomorphic gods. Although a group of nomadic non-anthropomorphic gods (§ 3.4) held out until the end of the OB period, the process of complementary definition seems to be essentially completed 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 lawgiver, the monsters represent what threatens it, the unpredictable. Mesopotamian mythology, as reflected in the art of the late ED and Akkadian periods, tends to highlight the difference between gods and monsters, both subordinate 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 Ibbiškur, Snake- and Bird-man of Ninurta) of the gods they were associated with. The monsters may change hands (mulûkû *), but remain in the service of gods until the end of Mesopotamian history. The art, even though it in other texts they are rebels and defeated enemies.

b) Rebels and defeated enemies. The art of the Akkadian period gives precedence to a subject that was not treated before, battles between gods and gods (Götter- kämpfe*) and between gods and monsters (Drachen und Drachenkämpfe*). 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, that the gods became more imprecise and less subject to rebellion. For the monsters, outlaws by nature, it is not surprising to see unpredictable associate to rebel, and from rebel to defeated enemy. The role of the god in their relation changes accordingly from master to powerful ruler, and from rightful ruler to victor.

In Akkadian art the Bull-man, the fore-runner of the Lion-demon (§ 3.6), and rebellious, defeated enemies are associated with Utu, the supreme of many gods, with its heavenly Sages (EWO 368f.), who is sometimes assisted by members of his court and his sister Inanna (R. M. Boehmer, UNESCO 1959 350–309: A. Green, Bag M 17 [1986] Taf. 2). After the Akkadian period the war god Utu survived only in Assyria (R. Meyer-Oppicucus, UF 16 [1982] 200), while in the Western Mesopotamia he was replaced by Ninurta/*Ninurta* (Heimpel, JCS 58 [1986] 163f.), monster slayer at least from the time of Gudea onwards. Ninurta/*Ninurta*'s enemies are listed by Gudea and essentially the same list occurs in the late Ur III myths Gugal* and Anûm (see Cooper, AnOr. 32 [1978] 141f., with discussion of individual enemies, J. A. A. van Dijk, Lagal 1 [1983] 71f.; Lambert, CRRA 32 [1986] 56f., J. Black, SMS Bulletin 15 [1988] 19–25). The only important addition to the earlier lists is Anûz. The political dimension is now omnipresent; the enemies are referred to as "captured warriors and kings", and as "slain warriors (Anûr/O) (§ 3.12). Scale c. 15 makes it clear that they were defeated gods, not mountains, the traditional home of Mesopotamia's enemies. Among the enemies is the mysterious asu (a god of sweet waters; the *šuma*), who in view of the context must be a *šuma*/*šuma/bina*, the *gu-u-*alim/*kuarsibiku* and Ninurta have a mythological future and recur in later lists of defeated enemies of gods (§ 3.3; there are some exceptional revivals in later texts).

The dragon ur/mul-taq-im*-, "Seven-headed Lion/Shark", must be identical with the seven-headed Lion-dragon fought by gods in third millennium A.D. (§ 3.8); it is to be distinguished from the seven-headed lank 1 in Aššur mythology (Heimpel, StPohl 2 [1968] 401) and an enemy of gods (S) on an ED monument (§ 5.28). For ku-lu-an-an-na, ma-er-zi-Šu-šu (šum und 1), man-er-zi-ši-Šu-šu (šum und 1); see also 1, 2, 4, 5 of the "hour- of-the-Bison," (King) Palmezer, "Strong Copper," ("Gumption", the lion's cap) and the pot- trophic features (in part booty from foreign lands) of temples and gates, etiologically explained as defeated enemies and trophies, is not among the enemies of Ninurta/*Ninurta* (Ninurta) are certain iconographic types that disappear after the Akkadian period (§ 3.4), the "human-faced" lion (§ 5.17b), and the Boot-god (§ 5.30).

Whereas the Ninurta/*Ninurta* mythology emphasized associated monsters with rebellious gods, the Anûm/*Anûm* (Angim 33f.), Angim 34 admits that ma-gi-lu, a kind of ship, is an unlikely inhabitant of mountains and has live in Apsû. In Angim 33 the word is common for all of the "fortresses of the mountains", but another third millennium text presents the related usumal-pigir-dragon as "roaring in the flood" (Trouvaille 3: 3), while in the "sea myth KAR 6 the baimu is a sea dragon. In Angim 35 the ku-alim is brought forth by Ninurta from "his battle dust", while the progeny of the Sâlû Anûm myth alludes to his
victory over the kusurrikku "in the midst of the sea" (JCS 31:79:12). The mušikku, not among the defeated enemies of Nin urta (Ninurta), but as a snake and associate of chthonic gods naturally at home in the earth, is described with the sea in the Ur III incantation (cited by P. Steinkeller, SEL 1 [1984] 6), in Angim 139, and in a SB myth of older origin (CT 13:3:6). Later refers to the Ninurta/Ningirsu mythology introduce Sea as one of his enemies (Stn. 1875, cited by B. Landsberger, WZKM 57 [1961] 106); Lambert, Or. 36 [1967] 149-149): monsters sent by her (O. R. Gurney, ANSt. 5 [1955] 98-134). Besides mā-ĝilum, a number of monsters are associated with Enki and Apsu: the lammu (B § 5.1), the sūhrummi (B § 5.2), and the sirummi (B § 5.3). The sea, Tiamat, is an Akkadian contribution to the Mesopotamian pantheon. She is attested for the first time in the Akkadian period (A. Westenholz AFO 2.5 [1978] 102), and contrary to the monsters (except lammu) whose mother she was to become (§ 2.3), her role 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 (E szcz JAROS 7 [1985] 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 the world. Both Apsu and Tiamat shelter monsters: the mythology of Earth and Sea (§ 2.2). Sea makes them into a cosmogenic pair and arch enemies of Marduk and the gods (§ 2.4).

The mythology of combat and defeat naturally solves the tension between gods and monsters, rightful rulers and outlawed foes, 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 describing their relation. Thus there is no need to look for one specific event between a god and a monster more monstrous than the others to find the origin of the combat myth. The general scheme is the process of divine emergence, a schema that may apply 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 little is known about the appearance 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 as a major development related to the position of their divine protagonists in the pantheon, not the common tension between god and monster. The most influential is that of the A series (Literatur* § 4.1-1.1; Sumerian forerunner: S. N. Kramer, Aor. Or. 2 [1984] 231 ff.), the model for the combat between Marduk, Tiamat, and Enki (Ninurta), and his army of monsters (B § 5.2). Of local (Ešnunna) importance only is the so-called Lâbûn-mother myth (Literatur* § 4.1-1.3), in which Enlil has Sea create the muš (Bullu) (also referred to as Labbu) in order to wipe out mankind. The monster is defeated, apparently by Tilipak, and the reward is won by kingship, probably over Ešnunna (see Wiggermann in: (ed.) O. M. Hasel et al., Festschrift für O. J. Steinmann zu seinem 75. Geburtstag 1968, which badly mutilated tablet contains a local Assyrian version of a similar myth concerning the labu (RAK 6: Literatur* § 4.1-1.4). The deeds of a lesser monster slayer, Gilgamē, are described in two Sumerian epic (northern) texts. The enemies of a Ea, a Edzur, ZA 80 [1990] 165-203; 81 [1991] 165-233), and Gilgalmeš and the Bull of Heaven (Literatur* § 3:1.1) The two stories became part of the unified Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš (Literatur* § 4.1), where, for the first time, the myth of Tiamat is found in two and first millennium art (B § 5.2-1.1).

§ 2.3. The army of Tiamat. The third millennium Ningurta (Ningirsu) mythology becomes a shaping force of the recent and first millennium mythologies of other gods, notably of Marduk. Marduk started collecting trophies probably from the time of Hammurbabi, the king, and when he took over the mušikku (mušikku § 3.5) from Tilipak, the defeated god of Ešnunna. The lammu, kušikku, and sušikku were servants of his father Ea, and probably served Marduk as well. The mermu (B § 3.7), 5 may have been acquired from the army of Tiamat in the time of its invention onwards. One of these men (identified as Agam-Kalkarum) R Y 33 iv 50ff., cf. Wiggermann 1993 VII:3-7.

§ 2.4. Cosmic functions and constellations. Before a general discussion of the gods, consider the earth's cosmic function in the Sumerian culture. Sumerian cosmology, apparently imagined as a cow (Landberger, JNES 20 [1961] 191 ff.; see also Anc. 57, a tail (V 59, cf. Livingstone, SAA III 101, 14) and a horn, cut off by Marduk (SAA III 81, 1), and undoubtedly the other cosmic cows called "Horns of the Sea" (sī-ah-ah-ba) that enters the land from the north, and the family of a Borsippa (Barisp; A. L. Oppenheim, Dict. of Scientific Bibliography 15 [1978] 649ff.).
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 lambum cannot be defined sharpened on this basis. Unfortunately the only text that tries to inform us on the nature of the cosmic lambum is the late Hittite text from which Wiggermann, JIEL 27 [1987/82] 94 is completely ununderstandable.

Cosmic (cosmogonic) functions were established by Amiet, RA 50, 113 ff. for three third millennium monsters associated with the sun god Utu: the Scorpion-man (§ 7.44), who supports moon and stars with its four (or five) tentacle-like head. As a headless Bod (§ 7.179), who together with its double may form the mountains through which the sun rises, and the Bull-man, who may appear as a quadruped, is the human-faced headed goat (?), formed out of, or accompanied by, moon and stars, and carrying drinking vases on its back (Porada, Fs. J. M. Dikkenoff 287; B. Schlossman, AFO 25 [1974/77] 150ff.). The scene has been interpreted as "the representation of some astral myth, CAINES I 24. In late second and first millennium, Babylonian monster and animal gods and goddesses (R. Mayer-Opificius, UEF 1977) § 1.4. A P. S. Matthews, Principes of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic (The Monograph Series, Second Millennium B.C. [1990] 452 ff.). Anzû, who provides the water for Euphrates and Tigris in the SB Anzû myth (Hallø/Morano, JCS 31 [1970] 91 ff.) and takes care of Enlil's (ibid. 80 ii 6) land, is shown with streams coming from each of his two heads on late second millennium seals (Porada, AFO 28 [1981] 51 ff. no. 27 and 43) in the face of the rod the two rivers. Among gods, animals, plants, objects, and geometric figures also animals appear in the night sky as constellations: bauma/MUS (§ 2.40), gula/GU, anana/ANNA (ibid. 73. 75. 77. 96. 200. 279), kisirűkib/ALIUM (ibid. 76), kadādu/P/UKA, DUJULU/BU (ibid. 144. 208), uril/dumu (ibid. 163), MAZ (ibid. 196), and suhumāl/ANNA (ibid. 263. 344). The constellation mušubuzu did not survive the OB period, and must have been renamed (mušubuzu § 6). Patently the stars and constellations were not all named at one place and period, and a coherent mytho- cosmology underlying all figures of the night sky as known mainly from first millennium tablets (§ 1.42) from Isin-Larsa is not to be expected. Babylonian sources of the second millennium also consider the monsters in heaven symbolic representations of the "real" monsters, drawings of gods (cf. CAD lâmûša, mulhûn § 6, and patronymic allusions), which 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-lumum version of Gilgamesh and Ḫuwawa (Literature § 1.1.6.2.2 cf. A.Shaffer, JCS 30 [1974] 307) S. S. Kramer, JCS 14 [1974] 369f. the "star" is the ubûnû, the "obliviating one": Gilgamesh (Edzard ZA 80, 184, 36-45) guides him to the cedar forest from heaven.

Gigantic upright lions and boulders, male and female, appear as atlantes, masters of wild animals (Herrin) der Tiere *), and mythological action in early third millennium Elamite, Iranian (Glyptic 734-596), and rarely Mesopotamian (Glyptic 641) art. They might have contributed to the development of ED Mesopotamian monsters such as the Versai, to which, and generally, do not wear the horned crown of divinity (exceptions: § 5.174a and its successors from the Ur III period onwards; § 5.7 and other figures in the list of the gods § 1.2. but are not listed among the "spiritual animals" (suμakû lenanû * ) and are not demons of disease in the medical texts, although sometimes they appear in images of animals (med. OB 5.12 and lakûnu/lamû :, see D. M. Dikkenoff, AFO 25 [1981] 150ff.) or animals in the OB 5.24a: lamûnu see J.-M. Durand, AM 36 (1969) 109-110). The languages of Mesopotamia do not have a generic term "monster". The monsters that constitute Tiāmāt's army are referred to in OB texts as: Bēztu-namīs, "Hus(Jingu)š-teten"-creatures (K 277-24, 22. In the Old ASSUR (p. 22), the god of chaos, "Storms" (lit. "neurally Days") (Šuruppak VI 8, umānûn, "beasts" (OII 1.141.145), galûku, "soldiers" (EE 114, 154; Eshkunû in place of "real") "or those that remained of Ea and Marduk (§ 2.6.2). The application of the myth of combat and defeat to other apotropaic features of temples and gates lead to the creation of a number of highly apotropaic, including the devotional lion of Marduk/Ninurta (Ningurru) (§ 1.2b). The application of this myth to other deities also, lead to the inclusion of a thoroughly peaceful being like the lamûnu in the list of enemies of Marduk.

§ 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 demonomorphic titles, and generally do not wear the horned crown of divinity (exceptions: § 5.174 and its successors from the Ur III period onwards; § 5.7 and other figures in the list of the gods § 1.2. but are not listed among the "spiritual animals" (suμakû lenanû * ) and are not demons of disease in the medical texts, although sometimes they appear in images of animals (med. OB 5.12 and lakûnu/lamû :, see D. M. Dikkenoff, AFO 25 [1981] 150ff.) or animals in the OB 5.24a: lamûnu see J.-M. Durand, AM 36 (1969) 109-110). The languages of Mesopotamia do not have a generic term "monster". The monsters that constitute Tiāmāt's army are referred to in OB texts as: Bēztu-namīs, "Hus(Jingu)š-teten"-creatures (K 277-24, 22. In the Old ASSUR (p. 22), the god of chaos, "Storms" (lit. "neurally Days") (Šuruppak VI 8, umānûn, "beasts" (OII 1.141.145), galûku, "soldiers" (EE 114, 154; Eshkunû in place of "real") "or those that remained of Ea and Marduk (§ 2.6.2). The application of the myth of combat and defeat to other apotropaic features of temples and gates lead to the creation of a number of highly apotropaic, including the devotional lion of Marduk/Ninurta (Ningurru) (§ 1.2b). The application of this myth to other deities also, lead to the inclusion of a thoroughly peaceful being like the lamûnu in the list of enemies of Marduk.

§ 2.6. Use in art. Besides gods and heroes monsters appear in art in apotropaic function as masters of doors and gates 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 unshift to Sea as focus of monster mythology attested in the texts (§ 2.2) is not reflected in the iconography. Woman (§ 7.25; winged § 9). On OB seals she appears, like the bowldge dwarf, as a diminutive added element unrelated to the main scene. She has been tentatively identified as Bātu, "Bloom" (Wiggerman, JEO 29, 28). Assyrian art employs anthropomorphic geryes (§ 3.1i) and Griffin-demons (§ 3.9) in purifying and excising functions. They are labelled akpallu after the similarly employed fish-akpallu (§ 3.8). Other (winged) geryes 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 ʾāšu ("Well-being"); from Semitic ʿāšū, differently lambert in J.A.Emerson, V.T. Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986 [1987] 137; from Hurrian ʾāšu, Hurrian date, whose sister, who shared this identity from the Akkadian period onwards, the also has the Sumerian name Mediniša, "The beautiful one", while in Hurrian she is the lady of Nineveh, Šašiški (cf. F.L. Alexander, JNES 50 [1991] 411, with previous commentators 12, 7a, 32).

§ 3. Non-anthropomorphic gods.

Anthropomorphosis (Anthropomorphismus) distinguishes gods from humans, and helped to shape their contrasting roles in Mesopotamian mythology (§ 2.2). Among the major gods two groups can be defined, the astral (Nanna', Utu', Inanna') and the astral-like (Ea, Enki, Enlil, Ninurta) gods that became anthropomorphically early, and the developing astral gods (§ 3.7) that retained theriomorphic features until the end of the OB period. Halfway in the third millennium members of both groups have horns prominently on their heads (Horner-krone), not a theriomorphic feature so much as the mark of their divinity, later transformed into a horned tiara. Lesser gods of nature (§ 3.2a, 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 Nintu Anu-Zu (V 239), his son Ninigizida (V 250), Ninazu's successor as city god of Eninnu, Tišpak (V 273), the city god of Susa, Inšiškinu (V 286), and the city god of Dēr, Ištaran (V 287), all with their families and courts except Inšiškinu. A nearly identical grouping is attested in an OB list of city gods from Ur (UET 6:2, 412:7-13). followed by Ninkurta and their traits held in common by the members of this triad, the chthonic underworld deities define it as chthonic, and based in the Translagritian region. Not each of these gods is their entire list, but for all a relation with snakes can be established with reasonable certainty. Ereškigal and Ninigizida are linked to the constellation Hydra (S.T. IV a, 284) and Ereškigal's messengers Mītu, "Death", has the head of a multumuh in the Vision of the Underworld (§ 1). Dannina (cf. CAD D 91), one of the names of the undersurface Anum (V 234), is undoubtedly identical with the grain dragon Tannin (Ugaritic Tunnana). Ninazu, "Lord Healer", is king of the snakes in OB inscriptions (YOS 3131, 3134, 453; see van Dijk, Or 38, 411) and the original master of the multumuh (§ 1.2). One of his names is MUS (An-Anum V 240) and he himself, or one of the members of his family, is scaled on an An-Anum list from Eshnunna (H. Frankfort, OIP 50 [1943] no. 331). In an OB incantation his successor is still "green" (van Dijk Or 38, 450), obviously dedicated to the god of skin. He is the next owner of the multumuh (§ 3.4), and at least two members of his court are dragons (Rāma and *Usum-curag, § 3.3, 34) (cf. van Dijk Or 38, 450). Udumgal is mentioned in the inscription. The seal was presumably dedicated to the god b-ba-am, that is Ishpiqu, "Viper" (Hebrew yīḥāq, cf. MEE 4:351:354, where the same word is equated with muš-dagāš, also attested in pres. inscriptions). Ay Bā in Aṣīla is Šašiški (YOS 3131). 1.1. Chthonic snake gods and animal gods.

On occasion Mesopotamian mythographers promoted abstractions to gods or (evi) deities, sometimes them imagined as hybrids (§ 2.4, 3.1; Disorder, Mâmûtu, "Oath", Mûtu, "Death" § 1; ušri, "Day" § 2.1; ni/pu- larning, "Fear" § 5, etc.). With some exceptions, notably the beings, such personified abstractions were not represented in art,
of them are among the dying gods of vegetation lamented in Sumerian litanies (cf. Jacobson, The Harps that Once [1957:91]). Ištaran’s messenger is Nirah*, the disembodied snake (Seidl, BagM 4.1555). The Snake-god (B § 2.39) of Akkadian seals, whose outlines and details of vegetation link him to the gods under discussion, is, in view of the fact that he receives worship, Ištaran rather than his servant Nirah. The winding makātu of his body which seems to sit (a § 2.39) 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, to favor the Mesoopotamian identification of this god as Ištaran’s neighbour Inšuškin (P. de Miroscbiedi, Ir Ant. 16 [1981:1] 23; id. Syria 66 [1990:36], differently in id. Die Elamischen Fundreliefs von Kúr-rúngu und Na-ši-rú Rustam [1986] 201). Inšuškin 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 opidian and chthonic (§ 2.4). Above he has been tentatively determined as a forerunner of the constellation Hydrea (§ 4.2), but unless he is identical with one of the snake-gods already mentioned (Ningi- zidā), he does not occur in the An-Anna section of chthonic gods.

Gods with animal names are not uncommon, but in most cases it is not known whether they were represented by therio-morphic, hybrid, or anthropomorphic figures. The therio-morphic animal gods and goddesses are certainly existed (Ninhursag, Helia, see ma-kin* § 3.9), as well as anthropomorphic ones (Išpmah). The owl goddess Kullī (§ 3, 7.33) is a hybrid. The name of a number of gods and goddesses are demoted with or spelled by, the logogram GUD, bull, and, while not for all of them be a bovine nature is confirmed, there are many related to death or the afterworld (Anu-Anna V 203ff., Ea IV 138ff., with glosses; SLT 124 vii 17-19, VS 61.20 iii 7-9, OB, without gloss, without context). The pest demon Dar-pār/Dibpar (Hebrew dabur, cf. A.Ca-quot, Sources Orientales 8 [1971:116; STT 136 iii 32; 42], and the death gods Rēš Tim and Kimmart* (A form of Nergal). Kullūm must be the underworld demon kilum*). Qudum* (Civil, JNES 33.334; RAM 499 iii 3) are serv-ants of Ištaran; a bull-headed snake did exist in Manianian mytics (Brokx in: (ed.) D.W.J. Meijer, Nat. Phen. [1993:227ff.] what can not be proved to be Nirah, and Qudum* must have been anthropomorphic because he had an animal name, see also in: Bub, Catalogue... Asmolean Museum [1966] 513). Kūṣidām and Garugar remain unidentified, and may belong to a foreign or peri- pheral pantheon as well. Certainly given is Baljar, the messenger of the underworld gods Lugal-irra* and Meslamta-ee (see Lu- ga-bal-baljar*), PSD 466, whose name derives from Proto Semitic *bār (Akkadian binūn, blirn, “call,” cf. P.Frazzoni, Rapp. conti delle sedute dell’Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei [1969] Serie VIII 24.313). SB texts occasionally spell the name of the Hur- rian bull god Sérēti (Hurri, Sérēt und*) (GUD E. Ebeling, Æcr 21 [1953] 401; id. Or. 25 [1954] 126; CAD K 292; see E. Larocche, Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite [1982] 227f.). Once the name of the bull Indagara is spelled with GUD (OB Su- merian inscription, P. Michalowski, Or. 51 [1985] 122), and its owner be his wife Kusu (An-Anun I 335). In a cosmogonic context a pair of GUD is equated with Lḫumu/Lahāma (Wiggermann, JEOL 29, but the meaning of this passage remains obscure (§ 2.4). The names of Sérēti, In- garus, Kusu, Lḫumu, Qudum(§) and Nirah are commonly spelled differently. The Göttertypen text describes three figures with bull’s ears, but there is no preserved (Kocher, MIO I 170, 55), and another, nizīrutum (§ 2.6), “Grief,” is completely fictitious. The third is Einsi- mah, a god of the Apūu (§ 5.5). The bull’s ears, the Enki (TCL T 50-96, An-Annum II 239) who is described as an anthropomorphic figure with bull’s ears, MIO 1 76; 123f. The, however, the description of the Apūu goddesses relates to Nergal, support the general opinion that he is an underworld god (Opicius, UASS 2 [1961] 214f.; Porada, CRON 1969:114). T. Barrete, Figure in relief in terre cuite de la Mésopotamie Antiquée [1968] 181). As such he is the only candidate for identification with one of the GUD-underworld figures discussed above. when foreign, unidentified, and normally differently spelled figures are excluded, his name can be established as (Baljar, messenger of Lugal-irra* and Merodach, see above). In that same goods, 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] n° 453).

The Elamite snake god (§ 7.37) identified above as the underworld god has the task of fitting his character on the 13th century Until-Naprištī stele (de Mirōscbiedi, Le Décryptage de l’apodosis (cf. SpTU I 27 Rs. 5, SB commentary), and his hooves and horns play a part in the rituals for the dead (G. Castellano, Or. 24 [1926] 266:28ff; 266:12).

According to an often cited phrase that recurs in several SB literary texts (EG VII IV 36, cf. J. Bottéro, CRON 26 [1960] 143) 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, was derived 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 out of doors, but they cannot be identified with the ghosts of dead people (ADD 469, cf. T. Kwsamana/S. Parpola, SAA VI [1991] 212f.).

A head of Lūpušu (§ 1), has an ab- normal nose, and non-human feet. The omen passages in which the imprints of his feet are mentioned beside those of other an- imals (CT 58,1525ff.; 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 sword, bow, or a mass, with daggers in his belt, encased in a sarcophagus, wrapped in rope cloths (§ 7.31b), or free standing (§ 7.31c) occurs sometimes on seals and more often on terracottas of the OB period (cf. Buchanan, Iran 31 [1957]:51). Porada and M.Wetterborn Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers... [1962: 193f.; E. Kriesel-Brandt, AoF 16 [1985] 345], N. Weiβ, CRON 1970:151). The bull’s ears, the lion scimitar (B § 5.6), and the association with fur- ther, iconographic elements related to Nergal, support the general opinion that he is an underworld god (Opicius, UASS 2 [1961] 214f.; Porada, CRON 1969:114). T. Barrete, Figure in relief in terre cuite de la Mésopotamie Antiquée [1968] 181). As such he is the only candidate for identification with one of the GUD-underworld figures discussed above. when foreign, unidentified, and normally differently spelled figures are excluded, his name can be established as (Baljar, messenger of Lugal-irra* and Merodach, see above). In that same goods, 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] n° 453).

The god Ninguihla*, also named Lugal- (ba)hrāt*, is a bull god (cf. Lambert, JNES 48 [1989] 216,6-8). He is at least partly anthropomorphic (J. Boege, UASS 6 [1971] Taf. XXXVII; see also the evocative inscription, the tradition of the circle dots in the insignia: “true heart” on his legs and flying; feet and ears of god bro- ken), and probably completely, since he has a two-lingering priestess (UET 1.106, cf. D. Charpin, Le Clergé d’Ur au Siècle d’Ham- murabi [1986] 122f.).

§ 5.2. Mountains and rivers. Naked gods on mountains are described by Utu, mem- bers of his court, and Инанна and Akkadian seals (§ 2.2; Bohemer, UASS 4, Abb. 300ff.). That these scenes do not depict specific battles against specific gods of the moun- tains, but visualize in a general way the struggle of the gods with their foreign oppo- nents, is shown not only by the lack of distinction between the mountain gods and the scenes in which they are present, but also by the association of gods defeated on moun- tains with defeated monsters. Third millenn- ium royal inscriptions (e.g., the UtU-legal inscription, W. Ph, Richer, Or. 54 [1985: 276,6) and mythological texts (Ninurta mythology, § 2.2) refer to kur “mountain land” as the habitat of gods and heroes in the same ge- neral manner. Third millennium royal inscriptions single out two mountains as the enemies of gods, Saggār, defeated by Ninurta (§ 2.2), and the deficiency Eēbē, defeated by Inanna. The latter battle of Ninurta and Eēbē, described in a mythological tale that is generally believed to reflect historical reality (P. Steinke- ler (ed.), McG. Gibson, Uch Tepe I [1981] 165ff.).

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) ser-vants on Akkadian (ibid. Abb. 43) and Ur III (Buchanan, JNES 31 [1972]. 96 Fig. 6) seals, and once in the round (Statue Cabane, PKG XIV Abb. 161, cf. U. Moortgat-Cor-tens, BMES. 21 [1986] 18–18); E. Kelling-belt, R. Röttig, and A. Elamatics (1982) 107; Dedicat-ed to Šamaš by Jashmu-Addu, but the statue is older).

The most part of the landscape from the Uruk IV (§ 7, 36,6), and mountains and rivers together from the ED period (§ 7, 36,6) onwards. In the Akkad period moun-tains, and rivers, begin to occur together in symbolic functions, and are represented with the help of partly or completely an-thropomorphic figures (Boehmer, UAVA 4, Abb. 299). On a seal from Mari (§ 7, 36,6) a mountain-and-river god 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, 36,6; cf. burūdāluši, with a cup and a handle, and a divine symbol), and apparently is the analogous of the mountain or valley held by the river goddesses. It should contain earth, and on one OB example actu-ally plant growing out of it (Frankfort, CS PI XI. 93). The mountain period and fixed scheme is developed (§ 7, 36,5), in which the mountains are gods with scaled lower bodies, and the rivers goddesses with watery lower bodies (R. Lammert, Syd., Akkadica 19 (1970) 37–49; river goddesses alone; ibid. 43). R. S. Ellis has convincingly connected these figures with the figures of mountains (§ 7, 36,1–2), and rivers (§ 7, 36,5) and abundance (§ 7, 40.1, also the name of the flowing vase, see CAD dequlu) placed in temples by the OB kings (BMES. 7 [1977] 29–34). This scheme continues to be used in the Kassite period (PKG XIV Abb. 166; Opifici-us, UAVA 2, no. 386). In this period also the water figures singular figure representations are revived (cf. M. Troxel, Fb. J., R. Kopper [1980] 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 (Isimlu B Abb. 6), the flowing vases, and the mermen, the icono-graphy 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...). The present discussion, Mayer Opificius, UF 16 (2013), above (§ 2,4). A relation with the “himmische Wassererre-gion” and Aquarius (GU. A. “Giant”) was considered.

In the old world in the Assur temple in Assur a smashed cult relief was found, showing a mountain god shouldering branches (cf. 1, 39, 1. 2); he is represented by much smaller goddesses holding flowing vases (PKG XIV Abb. 194; dated to the OB period by E. Kelling-belt, Akkadica 19 (1970) 19–25; and previous articles and discussion). The figure represents either a specific mountain god such as Ebel or Tībar, or a mountain god in a specific function, such as Idel-Hur-šīn (OIP 19), which would establish a connection with the findings.

Ninhursag*, the “Lady of the foothills,” is an anthropomorphic goddess, sometimes seated on a mountain, and once on an Akkadian seal wearing a tiara with mountains (§ 7, 36).§ 3.3. Abnormalities, redoublings, and metamorphoses. Marduk in Ee has four eyes and four ears (1 55o r), seemingly two faces. Jacobsen OIP 98 (1990) 99 ft.

identifies the four-faced god from Iskālā (Ninurta) (PKG XIV 161,0) with Marduk. The tradition of a two-faced figure of Mesopotamian art is Enki’s vizier Isīm-Limit, but he lost one of them after the Kassite period (§ 3.1.1 and 2, SB, LB commentaries and theological texts on other two-faced figures are known, but none of them can be identified in art: Tiamat turubalu has a male and a female face (STC 1: 213–23); an apo-tropic figure represents once the male Šedu and the female lamasiru stands a male and a female face (SPU 1: 502. 11); the underworld demon Mimma limnu, “Any evil,” has two heads, one of a [ ... (SAI III 72: 7, Underworld VIsion).] A clay figure with human and lion faces was found in a baboon in building DD of the outer town at Nimrud (Green, Iraq 45, 19XII, but since the figure presumes to be a zootropic, it cannot be identified with Mimma limnu.

Like Marduk Iltar of Nineveh is described as having four eyes, and four ears, and thus presumably two faces (§ 7, 30–208)19). Since she was bearded (ABRT 1, 26); 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 nature are Ninīlî” (KAR 307: 211; cf. B. Grendler, Die ‘numerischen-akkadische Inanna/Ilura. Hermaphroditismus? WO 19 (1986) 25–45). Her Hurrian double Šaušu (§ 2.6) appears twice in a Hittite “Blidbes-schenung,” once as a male figure, and once as a female, a state that is also indicated to the K. Bittel (1983) 204 ft.: cf. Stein, Xenia 21, 173 ff.).

In the Hittite sources Šaušu is accompanied by an ani, some kind of winged lion (monstros). (cf. Diamantov, RV 16 (1912) 126–139, and by two goddesses, Kalliste and Ninater. An Assyrian text enumerating 111ar figures in the city of Arbel (B. Mentzel, SB 90 (1987) 69–70, art. no. 206) closes the list after “Iltar of the lions” (Iltar of Arbel) with a “Lil-ar of the Ani bi” (§ 3.1.4), followed by “Ku-nilu, and [...] bi-ter, as is indicated by the names of the two bears. In another text, this Iltar/Šaušu of Nineveh, the naked companion of the storm god (§ 3.4), and as such the only Mesopotamian lion figure associated with the Lion-god, is in this time called Ani (§ 3). Thus even denizens of lion-god, or a function-al or formally similar Hittite monster.

Metamorphoses are rare in Mesopotamian sources. In Enlil and Ninīlī (Literatur* § 3.1) Enlīl changes into “the one in charge of the city-gate,” “the one in charge of the River God,” “the one carrying plenty in charge of the ferry” in order to copulate with Ninīlī. In another Sumerian myth Enlīl appears to the man Namizzahra in the guise of a raven, and was eaten by the wild cat (OIP 15, 34.12). On his return Utu changes Dumuzi into a gazelle to escape the demons (B. Alster, Dumuzis Dream (1972) 73). In an OB myth (C.B. E. Walker, Anr. 33 (1985) 145 ft.) the demonic goddess Elamatu is changed after her defeat by Girra into the “bow-star” (part of Canis Major). In the epic of Gilgamesh it is related how Iltar 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. Fabelliti.

Animals acting as human beings first appear in late fourth millennium Susa (archaic Sumerian) and Puzur-Eshnunna (PKG XIV PI. XXXII. Thematic-ally related, but a most different, is the Glyptic 590 f). The humanized animals are sedentary agriculturists, exploit domestic animals, cooperate in manual tasks, hunt and go to war, all without obvious leadership. Among them are bovids, lions, (wild) goats, (wild) asses, wolves or dogs, but no human figures. The images mirror an animal world, and the human figures 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 Mari Extra-Mural Area, no. 335; Glyptic 1307–1313) and first (D. Collon, First Impressions [1987] 937 f.; B. Parker, Iraq 24 [1962] 39, Teissier o.c. no. 209) of Tello, and from the funerary figurines of Tall Halaf (see W. Ortmann, Untersuchungen zur Spätheth. Kunst [1971] 396 f.; E. Bleibeur, WZKM 67 [1975] 15). The most im-presively bad example is the ED III panel with engraved silver plaques from the Lyre in PG/890 (Royal Cemetery) at Ur (PKG XIV PI. IX, cf. Bleibeur, WZKM 67, 1–19). All pieces, with the exception of Glyptic 1509, show celebrating animals, dining and/or making music. Among them are lions, bears, wolves, dogs or hye-nas, jackals, gazelles, goats, equids (wild asses?), monkeys, and other figures on the Tall Halaf 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 Glyptic 1509 (Akkadian, from Tall Asmar). In two cases the animals are accompanied by a human, by T. Teissier (o. c. 335; PKG XIV PI. IX, A)
moralistic comment on human affairs, a warning against credibility, is served form on Glyptique 1308 (from Ur), on which a bez- oand three wild ass danse and make music at the feet of 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 is shown slaughtering a frish with a knife in his belt (gi1-th-ab, "slaughteerer") , 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 (above) show the conspicuous part played by equals in both groups, and suggest that some of the underlying ideas are related. A parody (A. Ungnad, AFO Beih. 1 [1953] 36) of homuncular (F.R. Krauz, WZKM 52 [1955] 67) interpretation is now generally rejected (Belbteur, WZKM 16, 171f. Orthmann, o.c. 397). A relation with the few known Mesopotamian fables and animal contests (Literatur 4.7.6) was first proposed by A. Jeremiad (Handb. der Altertumswissenschaft [1929] 449) as a possible example of the lack of correspondence between the most conspicuous characters of the texts (the cunning fox, man's kinsman) and art (various animals in inarticu- lary and the different nature of their activities (quarrels in the texts, static feats in art), militate against a connection (with the possible exception of Glyptique 1308). One animal of an Akkadian fable, the eagle of the Enlil legend (Literatur 4.7.6), usually appears on Akkadian seals (Boehmer, UAVA 4 nos. 40, 41, 64, but his companion, 58, is nowhere to be seen, and it may be doubted whether in this time the fable was already fused with the legend. The activity of animals as human beings are not formally encountered, and their association with the Scorpion-man makes it clear that they could be regarded as inhabited by the distant regions where he is at home, where the mountains of sunrise and sunset is located (§ 3.4, cf. Heimpel, JCS 38 [1986] 140f.), where demons roam (Heimpel, ibid. 148f.), and where the dead go after they have crossed the desert and passed the 1iburu* or Ulula* (Heimpel, ibid. 148; J. Bottero, CRRA 26 [1986] 31f. id., ZA 73 [1985] 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 Mundt (W. Browicz, Iraq 50 [1988] 119; cf. RIA V 466) gives wild animals a diabolical tinge by locating them at the edge of the world, or near the ocean, and associating them with monsters (Acsr, girtaballuk, warsukku), destroyed cities, and annihilated gods (dn a m a s u). The text lists [mountain goat, gazelle, water-buffalo, panther, [lion, wolf, red-hare, hyena], [monkey, female monkey, ibex, ostrich, dog, cat, and chameleon, "beasts which Marduk created on top of the restless sea". The farther away from the home, the more the familiar and domestified is replaced by the wild, strange, primeval and diabolical (cf. also § 5, winged animals, and S. Lackenbacher, in: De Desert, Image et Realite, Actes du Colloque de Cartaginy 1983 [1987] 69-79). The oldest and best attested of the half mythological foreign animals is the monkey. It is shown playing the flute on its distant mountain or hill (on the E.3.11.3 period onwards (Glyptique 1268, cf. 1260; 1301f., 1314: touching a "sacred tree" on a NA seal; B. Parker, Iraq 17 [1955] 14, Text 5), and entertains Enki in his mountain palace on an OB cylinder (H. Frankfort, Ancient Art in Miniature [1967] 28 Fig. 16). Imported monkeys entertain third millen- nium kings, and one is ill-trea- ted in the temple of the home of the chief musician in Eridu sends a letter with complaints to his mother at home (S. Dunham, ZA 75 [1985] 24; Jacobson, OIP 98, 103f.). Gilgamesh has a large monkey, but also cattle, § 2.2, Lambert, CRRA 32, 57 served to show the might of Mesopotamian gods and inspired Enil with fear, representa- tions of mastered wild animals are also attested (§ 3.3) serve to differentiate it from the mul- lilatum of Ninazu and his successor Tishpak. From the Ur III period onwards the storm god can be accompanied by one (or two) 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 Simmurna (A.3.3. 3. Pl. id. impression). The figures are attested on OB seals in Sippar (Collon, Western Assurian Seals in the British Museum, Cylin- der Seals III [1970] 28) by animals acting ap- parently not farther to the south, and they enjoyed their greatest popularity in Syria and Mesianian art of the second third of the second millennium. On the basis of their distribution the figures are generally be- lieved to have originated in the North (Buchanan, Iraq 13, 5, 13; Forada, Akkadica 13, 5-6). After the fall of the Mesianian state...
they become rare, but still exist in the NB of Collon. First Impressions (no. 860) and Neo-Elatnic (ibid. no. 870f.) periods. Of the four only two have additional properties: one is bent over (generally called "acro-
broth") and the other has an intertwined leg (§ 7.52). Even in the OB period certain cia-
ographic features are not completely stable. Thus the acrobat has human feet (Collon, no. 734), and the other intertwined leg (§ 7.52).

The goddess is sometimes identi-
cified with the she-demon Lithuia
(Bk. 625) and B, since the Burney relief on which she appears is a cult relief and Lithuia has no cult, this identification seems to be a demon that has no cult can effectively le-
served. The conspicuous owl and owl's claws are the point of departure for another inter-
pretation, most recently defended by Jacob-

tin (in: [ed.] M. Mindlin, D. 451) or talismanic
Language in the Ancient Near East (1987)
11."owl", celtis, corresponds to Sumeri-
ian (Sinu-Nisina), "(Divine Lady) owl", which in turn is connected with the lexical
texts with Kilii, a name of Inanna as god-
ness of harlots, who like the owl, comes out
dusk and sits in the window. The phalli
not known to Jacobtin. C. 5c. as all 
dimmu), and develop various other traits to
distinguish themselves from other winged
tings and from their peers. No solution,
however, found common acceptance, and the
strangest monsters make epiphenomenal ap-
paritions (§ 7.52b. c. d. compared with
§ 7.32a, the OB types). Generally they are
referred to only when the seal figure with intertwined legs is present.

B. Buchanan, A Snake Goddess and her Compan-
ions. A Problem in the Iconography of the Early Sesostris Age, in: JEA 51 [1965]. E. Porada, Remarks on Muttian (Hurrian) and
Armanna-Tafel BM 2614 in the Britischen

Examples: (Old) D. Collon, First Impress-
Klingel-Brandt, Aof 16 [1981] 290 no. 40c. - B.
Schlossmann, Aof 45 [1974/77] 142 Fig. 1.

D. Collon, The Alacahoyuk Cylinder
Erlenmeyer, Or. 26 [1957] Taf. XXX Abb. 56. - C.J. Marquardt, Bim 23 [1986] 159 Fig. 1.

The four genii (three male, one female) with wings and winged hair belong to-
gether, and, since they are associated with the goddess (§ 7.52), 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 (§ 7.52) that, besides birds, they were personified. In the NB Adapa legend Adapa

The one that can be clearly dis-
cerned is that in the earlier periods (up to and including OB) wings belong to beings in home in the air or related to Anu/Adad and the weather. The logic 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 with-
out wings the south wind does not blow. Conversely to a widely held opinion there are no indications that wings have a relation with death or the underworld.

In the Gottyprestrex (Kocher, 1937) the 717f. wings are given to Strm (vs 9), the laguna of Gaul (vs. 45f), magnip (vs. 91), and Tirru (vs. 401), not or badly attended figures with the usual clear underworld connections. In the Underworld Vio-
(s 5) only one servant of death is shown with wings (Mak i Básal, "U thored-Of-Evil"). The talons of a bird of prey, and the sharp beak of a wib (unless the meaning of the word refers to the genus as well, whatever its identity, is winged on Weidner, Götterhandbuch, Tafl 9; geni/ god mastering animal (§ 7.51) is winged (e.g. Matt-

theus, o.c. 141f. 325, 326). The Burney relief (no. 241f. 325f.) is about equal proportions, their fe-
cular counterpart is rare, and wings (Matthew, o.c. 459, naked god with wings, ibid. no. 324f. 325, 326) for the "maître des animaux" in Mes-
opotamia, genii, god and animals as attendants are generally not winged, and have no female coun-

terpart; certain animals, horse (Matthews, o.c. 199), wild goat (Matthews, O.C. 148, etc.) can be winged, but interchange with unwinged ones, and cooccur with a young ani-
mall of the same type without wings (Matthews, o.c. 777, 799). From the texts it is known that wings could be added to animals occasionally (e.g. § 3.37, Sargon); that Liliu and Lamaria* (con- tra the well attested epigraphic type § 7.51) was the winged, and could fly (Lamaui Tables I 8; 4, 85); and that one of the anu drawing Marduk's chariot was winged, since there is a wild goat with wings (§ 5.42, 513). Between these the sphinx and the griffin, intro-
duced already in the OB period are spread all over the Orient and the Eastern Mediterranean.

6. Schunkenkunde und musket. Scales on snakes are represented by ovals (third millennium, PIG 246. 7.28), wavy lines parallel to the outline of the snake (late third millennium, cf. E.D.Dou-

glas van Buren, Aof 19 [1942] 7-9), crossing lines (from the later third mil-

Iraq 33, 49). The goddess is sometimes identi-
cified with the she-demon Lithuia
(Bk. 625) and B, since the Burney relief on which she appears is a cult relief and Lithuia has no cult, this identification seems to be a demon that has no cult can effectively le-

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lennium onwards, §7.26.f.), or drawn more realistically (from the later third millennium onwards, PFK XIV 119, Frankfort, OIP 60 no.313), see Douglas van Buren, The Dragon in Ancient Mesopotamia. Or. 15 (1964-1965) 1-45 and Plates I-VIII, with examples from all periods. The realistic scales resemble the mountains as drawn in §7.36-6.d, which understands the Mesopotamian conceptions of the goddess of birth, nemesis, a name of Ninhursag, the "Lady of the moun-
tains" (§1.1), in the Göttertypenextext (Köcher, MIO 7.2.10 48.f): "from her belt to her...she is...with scales (qattis) like a snake...Scales like 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 83.3), or by a more realistic pattern (§7.8, 22).

§7. Survey of types.
The types surveyed here correspond to those of § 3. The members of the army of Tilman, (§2.3), representations of whom were used as apotropaia (§2.5) and could be identified with the help of descriptions in rit-
tual texts (§1), are indicated with an exclama-
tion mark. Of the other member, the more questionable ones are indicated with a question mark. Each being ideally has three names, one type that contains a brief description of its appearance, a Sumer-
ian, and an Akkadian name, and the modern trans-
literation of the latter. The abbreviations of § 3 are used here as well. See Wiggermann 1992 for more detailed information.

1. Long-haired "hero"; lā-ḫa-ma-lu-ma- 
mu; "Hairy One"? The Sumerian name is a loanword from Akkadian (or another Semitic 
language). One of the oldest "monsters" (§2.2.1), especially in the Akkadian texts (§2.1, 2.2). Cosmographic and cosmic func-
tions (§2.4). Type: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 232; further drawings see Held*. 2. Bird-man; Enmeatarsu; "Lord of all 
man". Identification § 5, §2.4; disappears after the Akkad period. Type: Glyptique 1402.
26. Horned snake; *uṣum/muš-ša-tar-halma*; (a type of snake); The variety of types was used under this heading is briefly discussed under *muḫḫišuš* §6. Type: Collon, First Impressions no. 850.

27. Snake-dragon; *muš-buš/muḫḫišuš*; "Awesome snake!" One of the oldest monsters, originally associated with the chthonic snake god Ninazu (§3.1). Type: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 170.

28. Seven-headed snake; *muš-maḫ/muḫḫišuš*; "Distinguished snake". A companion of Ninurta in battle (§2.2). Type: Glyptique 1593.

29. Seven-headed snake-dragon; *ur/muš-ta-g-imin*; "Seven-headed lion/snake". A defeated adversary of Ninurta (§2.2). Type: Glyptique 1594 (not drawn).

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

31. Genie; secondarily called *apkallu*, or named with descriptive phrases (§1). Type: §7.2.

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

b. Variant post-OB wind genies on seal of Išḫ-Tešip from Nuzi; Porada, Akkadica 13, 15 Fig. 1 (drawing).

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


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

36. a. Mountains on proto-literary seal: a. GMA 192; b. mountains and rivers on ED seal: Glyptique 605 (date (?)); c. on Akkadian seal: Boehmer, UAVA 4 no. 532; 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. 28; f. mountain and river deities on broken mace head from Mari, OB: Alexander Syria 47, 40 Fig. 2, g. horned tiara of Ninlursag on Akkadian seal: J. Nouayrol, Syria 37 [1960] 209 f.; h. mountain god on late second millennium Assyrian seal: Matthews, o.c. 339. See §3.2.

F.A.M. Wiggermann


§ 1. Introduction (cf. also A § 2.b).

Hybrid figures are common in the art of the ancient Near East in all but the earliest (prehistoric) periods. They may combine elements of two or more animals or of human and animal. In historical periods, at least, when textual sources exist, they seem normally to represent either evil supernatur- nal beings or, more usually in fact, benefici- cent creatures intended to counter evil (see A, and cf. E. Ebeling, Apotropaen, RIA 1 120-122). In these circumstances, the idea behind introducing elements of different an-

imals was probably to combine the most awesome or powerful features of a number of predominant creatures so that the result- ing amalgam would be the more effective in challenging malevolent forces (as suggested, e.g., by C. G. Gadd, The Assyrian Sculptures, British Museum [1934] 14, and by T. Kendall, Boston Museum Bulletin 75 [1977] 49. As H. A. Layard* puts it: "They could find no better way of intellect and knowledge than the head of a man; or of strength, than the body of the lion; of ubiquity, than the wings of a bird" (Nineveh and Its Remains [1849/50] I 70), "the union of the greatest intellectual and physical powers" (ibid., II 460). Certain combinations were especially popular. Lion-headed beings, for instance, often have upright ears, perhaps those of a donkey (although the textual base for this, cited by Green 1986b, 150, and Wigger- mann 1986, 206, has since been discredited); they also tend to have avian attributes, such as a bird's tail or, especially, talons. A mod- ern distinction is sometimes drawn between 'demons', depicted in art as human-bodied, and 'monsters', which are animal combina-
tions on all fours (E. Porada, in: Farkas et al. 1987, 1).

In stark contrast to the animal divinities of ancient Egypt, gods and goddesses in Mesopotamia and the rest of the Near East were almost always depicted anthropomorphi-

cally (cf. Ebeling, Anthropomorphismus, RIA 1 113-114), but on occasion they also might have some attributes of animal or vegetal origin or of the elements. In this category we might place not only partly ani-

tal deities like La-tarask, Zaza, and La-amaatu (§ 3.3, 7, 10, 11) - deities because their names are written with the divine de-

terminative - but also some of the major and minor gods pictured on Akkadian pe-

riod cylinder seals (cf. R. M. Boehmer 1965), for example the common motifs of Ea with streams of water issuing forth from his body, or Samaš or his attendant gods with flames or rays emerging from the shoulders, or of the boat-god (30), or the rarer case of a god or goddess with vegetation stalks growing from the body (as on H. Frankfort, CS Pl. XX, from Ur). Furthermore, some

other otherwise anthropomorphic gods or demi-gods are sometimes included in the category of anthropomorphs on account of their often having wings (31). Such deities may be referred to in modern literature as 'genies' or 'genii'.

Though usually themselves anthropomor-

phic, many deities had their distinctive beasts, and are shown in art together with them or standing upon them (Fig. 1). God-

desses were usually associated with compar-

ably natural animals (such as the lion of Inanna/Istar, dog of Gula, or donkey of Lamassu); gods more usually had hybrid beasts, although Samaš in NA art of the 7th cent. BC rode a horse (cf. U. Seid, RIA III 487; P. Calmeyer/U. Seid, Eine frühmittelalt-

erische Siegelsdarstellung, AnSt. 33 [1983] 103-113, 114). In these circumstances, the distinction between 'natural' and 'hybrid'

is modern and somewhat artificial. Never-


theless, in line with convention, this article is largely restricted to the latter. In certain cases, however, it is a difficult distinction to make. The horned snake baima (26), for in-

stance, is generally referred to by modern writers as a "mythological creature" (e.g., in CAD B 141) or "mythical snake" (e.g., Reade 1979, 40); yet the mildly venomous snake ceraes cerases, distinguished by its pair of often projecting scales on the brow, actually exists in the Middle East and is said to be the comenest viper of the Mesopo-

tamian plains (cf. M. Latifi, The Snakes of Iran [1991] 85, 128, Pl. 37) A. E. Levston et al., Handbook to Middle East Amphibians and Reptiles [1992] 112-113, 206-207, Pls. 20-21). Again, the 'hero' figure with long, usually curly, hair (3), though not strictly speaking a hybrid figure, is usually consid-

ered along with Mischwesen because of his often 'wild' appearance and because of his association in art with animals and genuine hybrids, especially the bull-man (3). Most hybrid figures and 'genies' are to be seen both with and without wings; in some cases we know that the winged and wingless ver-

sions of a figure were known by the same name (cf. A § 5).

In the view of Th. Jacobsen (The Treas-

ures of Darkness [1976] 128-129), theri-

omorphic forms were the original concep-

tions of deities in Mesopotamia, but had

been given way to anthropomorphising tenden-


cies, the theological concept being reflected mythically in battles between gods and mon-

sters. His specific case in point is a scene which he interprets as the conflict between Ninurta and Anzu (cf. 34), which he charac-


terises as the anthropomorphic god fighting his own animalian form. To this Wigger-

mann retorts (1986, 278) that even if this should be the case, it is perhaps so for other monsters. He notes that Ninurta also defeats the baima-snake (26), which can hardly have been another theriomorphic form of the god. Nor can the content of the Anzu myth be derived from a theological conflict concerning the form of the god, so the evidence for such a conflict is lacking. J. van Dijk, drawing on parallels in Germanic myths, regards Mesopotamian monsters as
essentially relics of a prehistoric mythology (Lugal [1985] 110–19). 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 gypical art of the Akkadian period, characterised by the apprehension and punishment of nefarious demons; (3) the OB period, when beneficial elements may have been involved among the demons; (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 mythic 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. 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).

§ 3.1 Long-haired 'hero'. A figure known to art historians as the "Nude Hero", "Wild Man" or (due to an incorrect identification) "Gilgamesh" is a stock type in Mesopotamian art from ED II-III onwards and is found 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 usually holding up, or holding off, a pair of lions (e.g., CA, Pl. XLI; XIIIa) or is flanked by ruminants whom he embraces (e.g., ibid., Pls. XIIIc; XIVd). 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 pest (German Bügelkauf). The usual number of curls from this time onwards is six – probably due to assimilation with a different 'hero' figure of ED gypical 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 prev. periods and developed, including other figures of cephalic projections, probably locks of hair on either side of a shaven scalp (cf., e.g., P. 59).

Lahun ("Hairy") is the name of a protective and beneficent deity, originally associated with Enki/En, later with Marduk. At least by the NA period, the long- or curly-haired 'hero' was the standard iconography for depicting this god and figures of the deity in this form were used as apotropaic foundation deposits (Wiggermann 1985, 90–


However, because the figure was a stock type, its use in art was not apparent, particularly 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 [1934] 27 no. 85; A. Moortgat, ZA 48 [1944] 39 No. 40), 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/ 


§ 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, but a 'hero' type has been related to some by the myth of the bird Anzu, who stole the 'tablet of destinies' (not the 'tablets of destiny', as commonly mistaken) 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 evidence originated earlier in the Hellenistic period, firstly by Gudea to the Imduugud (Anzu) as associated with Ninirisu/Ninurta. In the Sumerian version of the myth, moreover, it is Enki (Enki) from whom the tablet is stolen and returned, although in the Akkadian version it is Enil. It may well have been a Sumerian version of the myth that was current in the Akkadian period, where there is no need, with Lambert (Iraq 28 [1966] 70), to dismiss a connection with the bird-man iconography on the grounds that Ea would not figure so prominently. However, in the 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 Lagas, and Wiggermann has proposed an alternative identification of the figure as Enneissar, in which he is also not described as a bird-man (see A §1).


§ 3.3 Bull-man. Bulls and lions which are natural in form but quasi-human in posture are found among the fabulous beasts in 'heral-

dric groups' in the so-called 'proto-Elamite' gypical art of north-western Iran. They have been interpreted as personifying "des puissances élémentaires chargées de la stabilité du monde" (Amiet, Glyptique [1960] 332–333). The repertoire of figures has been thought to have been inspired by contemporaneus representations in Mesopotamian art (Amiet, Glyptique [1960] 332–333) à l'époque des paries 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 Ur IV–VI seals, cf. Moortgat, MVAG 40/5 [1953] 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 cursils (1). The bull-man remained a popular figure in art until the Achaemenid period (cf. D. Stronach, Pasargadae 1978) 69, Pls. 59, 60a). Ksharashtu (Sumerian gud-alim), probably the name for the extinct bison, became the term for the bull-man (Wiggenscher 1992, 51-52, 174-179).


\section*{3.4 Scorpion-man (and scorpion-spom-an).} The scorpion-man (Akk. girtaballiu) is shown in art as a human-bodied, bearded human-headed creature with the hindquar- ters and talons of a bird, a snake-headed and a scorpion's tail; he may or may not have wings. The figure first occurs in an equivocal form on a cylinder seal of the Ak-hadian period (Amiet, in ed.) E. Porada, Arcaean 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] IV 5). The type became common, however, only in NA and NB times (some references collected in Green 1985, 75-79). It is last found pictured in the impres- sions from a tomb sealed with a Selecuteus period tablet (Wallenfels 1989, no. 201). The ante- cedents of the figure probably lie in the repre- sentations of a scorpion with human 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- sentially the same figure as the more elebo- rate and more human-looking type portrayed on a roughly contemporary (Ur I / ED III) shell plaque from the front of a bull-lure from Ur (C.L. Woolley, Uri: II [1934] Pl. 105). As attendants of Samal, a pair of scorp- ion-men are often shown standing beneath and supporting the solar winged disk. These may also be such a pair whose heads are some times shown above the wingtips of the disc (for both features together see on Neo- Assyrian seal, cf. CS, Pl. XXXIII). These pairs are always bearded males, but ritual in- structions for the making of apotropaic foundation figures prescribes a "male and female" pair (KAR 298 R. S. Rittig 1977 158, 167 = P. Hbberl, in: Kolbe 1981, 196, 204; cf. Wiggenscher 1992, 52), recalling the scorpion-man and scorpion-woman who guard the gate of Mount Mäti* where the sun rises and sets, in the Gilgames Epic (IX ii-iv). No example of the 'scorpion-woman' in art has yet been identified (but cf. the mermaid, 22).


\section*{3.5 Lion-humanoid.} This apotropaic figure known in Kassite (Seidl 1989, 47-48, Nr. 64, Abb. 10, cf. p. 176 = Basmach, Treasures of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad 1976, Fig. 128 [wrongly regaded as scorpion- man by Kolbe 1981, 134]), NA (Kolbe 1981, 132-136, 217-218; Green 1985, 77; Wiggenscher 1992, 173) and Selecuticus 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 (5) and scorpion-man (4). The name in Akkadian seems to have been uridimmu (contrae Rade 1979, 40: urumballiu); this could be translated "macaw-man" (Wiggenscher 1992, 50-51). Green 1985, 77; Reade 1979, 132-136. - Reade 1979, 40. - Wiggenscher 1992, 50-51, 172-174. [The figure discussed by Rittig 1977, 77-79 and 218, is probably a lion-humanoid rather than a scorpion-man.]

\section*{3.6 Lion-demon.} A human-bodied hy- brid 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 fea- tures from the Akkadian period) until the Persian conquest, when it passed into the art of the Achaemenids (examples collected in Green 1986b, 155-152). It is last seen on an impression from a Seleucicus period seal (Wallenfels 1989, no. 195). The demon most often (and in almost the first mill. B.C.) raises one hand with a dagger and holds in the other, lowered, hand a mace. Its torso is almost always nude. Usually it wears a short kilt, but when it is fully naked it has a curly lion's tail. For at least the NA and NB periods, the type can be certainly identified as the apo- tropeic ugalii big weather-beast or big day" (Wiggenscher 1992, 169-170; Green 1986b, 153-154). In art it is often associated with an anthropomorphic smiting god, thought by Wiggenscher to be Lugal (1992, 63-64; cf. Green 1986b, 153). On OB seals, however, the lion-demon often holds a man upside down by one leg, and is associated with the 'god with scimi- tar', probably Nergal. It has been suggested therefore that at this early time the creature represents an attendant or messenger of the world god, and is a bringer of disease (CS, pp. 167, 175, 202). L. al-Gailani Wurr, Studies in the Chronology and Regional Style of Old Babylonian Cylinder Seals, BSimes. 23 [1988] 13). E. Braun-Holzinger, RIA VII 100-102 s.v. Löwen- mensch; cf. Unger, RIA II 114-115 s.v. D. Davon- mohler. - Green 1986, 141-154 (principal litera- ture listed p. 153), with minor additional note in Iraq 50 (1980) 167-168. - Wiggenscher 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.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{lion_demon.png}
\caption{Lion-demon figure as found in Mesopotamian art.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{lion_god.png}
\caption{Lion-god figure from a Selecuteus period seal.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{lion-man.png}
\caption{Lion-man figure from a Kassite period cylinder seal.}
\end{figure}

\section*{3.7 Lion-garbed figure (Là-tàrk?\textsuperscript{1})} 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 (Löwemensch). Some have regarded it as a dressed-up man (R.S. Ellis, in: M. de J. Ellis ed.) 1977, 73-74, J.E. Read, Iraq 34 [1972] 96), and there seems little doubt that on oc- casion the figure is human (cf. R. D. Barnett/ M. Falkner, The Sculptures ..., from the Central and South-west Palaces at Ninmur [1962] Pls. I-II). However, since the type is found as one of the NA Apotropaic foundation figurines (Rittig 1977, 110-112), it is likely to be a supernatural being, some- times imitated in rituals. It has been sug- gested by Wiggenscher that the figure is the god Là-tàrk (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. tarku\textsuperscript{2} (n)).

human feet likewise had grown from the fish's tail. It also had a human voice. A picture of it is still present today. S.M. Burstein, The Babylonian of Barossus, SANE 1, 1949, 99-102. E. Weidner. The Reliefs of the Assyrian Kings, I (= AFO Bei-

§ 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, 9027), the figure passed into the early monumental art of Achaemenid Persia (Storach, Pasargade, 68-69, Pls. 59, 60b). It is last found on stamp seal designs of the Seleucid period (B. Buchanan, in G.J.P. McF. WHO, OCT 9 [1982] 19-20, nos. 30, 47; Wallerfang 1989, nos. 186-194). In Akk. the figure is known as apkallu "sage" (Wiggemar 1992, 76) and the type is related to the Babylonian tradition of se-
ven "sages from the Flood" (e.g., a Reiner, Or. 30 [1961] 9, with references; cf. also J.A. van Dijk, SSA, 204; and references cited by Wiggemar 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 civilization to human-kind. Beros-
sos describes Oannes thus:

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

abnormally bulging eyes, a scaly body and the talons of a bird. This type of association in art (though not in available texts) is described for Amal-
altu (22) 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 Lamaitez's victims were unborn and newly born babies).

Green 1983, 75-82. B. K. Ismail Ein Pazuzu-

§ 3.9. Griffin-demon. A human-bodied figure with bird's (probably eagle's) head and wings first appears on cylinder seal de-
signs of the Middle and Late Assyrian periods, usually in hunting scenes (e.g., O. Weber, Altor. Siegelbilder, AO 17/18 [1920] Abb. 47, Nr. 354; B. Parker, Iraq 39 [1967] Pl. XXVII. 7) or as an apotropaic figure in an impression with the "sacred tree" (e.g., A. Moortgat, GA 48 [1944] 35, Abb. 31: CANES no. 609; Parker, Iraq 39, Pl. XXII. 38). The type has possible antecedents in Mesopotamia, noted as an impression of an Old Hit-
tite and an OB seal, as well as possible arag-
ulates in Mittanian art (Parker/Mallown 1980). 135. 35, Fig. 67-6). The figure became very popular in NA art, especially of the ninth century B.C. (Kolbe 1981, 14-30, 21-214). Room I of the North-West Palace of Assur-nisirpal II at Nimrud was dominated by bas-reliefs depicting kline 'genius' and standing griffin-demons flanking 'sacred trees' (S. M. Paley/R. P. Sobolewski, The Re-
construction of the Relief Representations in the North-West Palace at Kalhu (Nimrud), IL 6 (1987) 1-29, Pls. 1-2). The NB figure (e.g., Rillosiegel,

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

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

In art, Humba is typically portrayed as a human-bodied figure with lion’s claws on hands, a monstrous face, long hair and whiskers. Clay plaques and seals of the second and first millennia B.C. depict his kill by Gilgamesh 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 Humba is replaced by that usual to Lalmu (1). Babylonian models of the face of Humba (ranging in date from the Old Babylonian to the Neo-Babylonian periods) were sometimes connected with divination, but may have usually been apotropaic.

A. Gottschalk, Babylonian Demonology and Magic (1933), 189-191.

§ 3.13. 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 1969, 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 girriballu “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 Malign rock relief (fig. 6), and that it cannot, therefore, have also been a girriballu (1992, 144). On the other hand, Wiggermann himself admits two iconographically distinct forms for the creature.


§ 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 47; red. 1989, 146; 193 - Unger 1937, 214.

§ 3.17. Lion-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 most important Assyrian kings from As-surnasirpal II to Esarhaddon (Kolbe 1981, 1-143); 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 lionness is also seen (e.g., on details of embroderies on Assurnasirpal reliefs: Layard 1853, 1 PI. 3.8). Both the male and female human-headed lion or lionness are sometimes referred to in modern literature as a ‘sphinx’. Barnett has suggested that either form was known in Akkadian as 

§ 3.11. ‘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 feath- ered 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] 72-103; cf. for a NA example M. E. A. Mallowan, Nimrud and Its Remains [1966] II, 436 Fig. 361), as well as in the Greco-Roman world (cf. Lexicon Iconographicum MythologiaeClassicae, 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 Pessu (AA 54).

The iconographic type may be related to the so-called ‘bowlegged dwarfs’ appearing on Mesopotamian seals of the ninth-twelfth century B.C., which D. Collon suggests are “probably itinerant dancers and musicians” (First Impressions [1987] 152). These figures may be original pessu (AA 54).


§ 3.14. Lion-headed eagle. This is one of the earliest animal hybrids, first occurring on cylinder seals of the Ubaid-early Dynastic 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 Indumug (Anzu). Cf. 25.


Fig. 17

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

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


§ 3.19. Centaur. A figure human above the waist with, below the body and all four legs of a horse, is seen on a kudurru and on Kasite, 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, OCT 9, p. 118, nos. 22, 23). 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, Lu....)


§ 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 hands and arms of a man. The creature's Akkadian name was simply ummahudi li "lion-man" (C. J. Gadd, in: Barnett, Ashurbanipal, pl. XX; independently, Ellis 1977, 74; cf. Wiggermann 1992, 181 [NB: Gadd in fact published earlier than Ellis]; Read 1979, 41 wrongly suggests kuribhu). It seems to have been introduced only in the MA period, Wiggermann suggests (1992, 181) on the artistic analogy of the centaur (29), and named along the lines of the more ancient gurishidi "scorpion-man" and kulašli "fish-man" (3.22).

Apparently, representations of the ummahudi li were placed outside lobbies (Wiggermann 1992, 86, 98), where the creature fended off the attacks of the demon mukīl-rēlimašu "evil attendant" (for this demon, cf. A. L. Oppenheim, Dreams, 26, W. Farber, Saggilhulma mukil-rēlimašu, ZA 64 [1975] 87-93). This demon may be represented by the lion with whom the lion-centaur is shown in combat on a MA cylinder seal (Rolligsele, Nr. 85). Wiggermann connects this with Sulak, a demon said to have resided particularly in toilets and described as taking the form of a lion (1992, 82; cf. S. Mainik, pers. comm.; the Sulak representations may therefore be associated or identical.


§ 3.21. Griffin. Griffin (Greek grýphon) 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 BC, the Griffin was known throughout the Near East, including Mesopotamia, and in Greece by the fourteenth century BC. (cf. A § 4.) The beast can be shown recumbent or seated on its haunches. The Near Eastern version has a crested head. The beak is often too 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 kuribhu (see A § 1). A. M. Bini, Il grifone. storia di un mito iconografico nell'antico Oriente mediterraneo (= SES 13, 1965). - J. Borker-Kühn, RIA III 633- 634 (1984), 123-127. - Kuhle, ibid. More notes on the Near Eastern Griffin, Sumer 20 (1964) 57-62; - R. K. Maxwell-Hyslop, Iraq 18 (1956) 154-157.

§ 3.22. Merman and mermaid. A figure with the upper body 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. A1, common in OB and Kass.: cf. Wiggermann 1992, 183, with references). In the MA period, for which no representations are known, it was supplanted by the analogously composed lion-centaur (20), but if so revived as a popular figure in NA times (some references collected by Barnett in CASS 38) and 1964, 26; Wiggermann 1992, 181). Continuing into the Achaemenid (e.g., L. Legrain, PBS 14 nos. 804-806) and Seleucid (Wallenfels 1980, 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 medieval art and literature (1). The two Assyrians, the creature was known simply as kulašli * "fish-man" (Wiggermann 1992, 182-183). Edzard 1963, 107. - Green 1986, 35-37. - W. G. Lambert, RIA VI 314, Catoles. - Lutz 1940, 185- 186. - Madlboom 1970, 99-100. - J. Menant, Gypse et encensoir, 1988, 49-50. - RHR II 11 (1885) 295-296. - Reade 1979, 40. - Rüttig 1977, 94-96, 214-215. - Unger, RIA III 70-72, Phönixkenta ur, id., Riv. gl. 42, 420, 420, 420, id. 1927, 197. - E. D. Van Buren, Or 23 (1914) 22-23. - Wiggermann 1992, 182-185.

Possibly on OB seals (cat., III, no. 119) and on NA and NB seals (Green 1986, 27, PL XA, Xb), an apparently female version of the figure (half fish and half woman) occasionally appears, and may be attested textually as the kulašli, "fish-woman" (?).


§ 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, OCT 9, pp. 18-20, nos. 2, 24, 26, 33, 48; Wallenfels 1989, no. 217). Indeed, this figure even made its way, as Capricornus, into Roman art, essentially of the Augustan period. - Capricornus being the emperor's personal zodiacal sign (cf. eventually Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae, s.v. "Zodiacus"). The identification of the Mesopotamian creature with the being named nūmudāštur "carr-goat" is proved by the caption on a kudurru and by the inscriptions prescribed for Assyrian rituals for foundering figures 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 steed (Seidl 1989, 180). However, the goat-fish could also be a general apotropaic figure, not attached specifically to any deity.

§ 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-griffon. The lion-dragon or lion-griffon 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).

Fig. 26

These representations include one on a bas-relief from the temple of Ninurta at Kalkhu (Layard 1853, II, Pl. 5). This has been interpreted as Tiamat (e.g. by Reade 1979, 43), but the creature is not clearly male. It may be a late form of Anzu, in succession to that of 140 (to Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 128), or perhaps a rendering of the mountain spirit Apsu, also killed by Ninurta. (However, van Dijk, Lugal ... I, frontispiece and pp. 20-21, regards a rare sun-headed cy- clops as the Asakku.) Wiggermann suggests that the lion-dragon is the dnu naṣu, "roaring weather-beast", the beast of the god Ilkūr/Adad, the bird-tailed variant of NA art being identified with Anzu (1992, 185; cf. 1986, 333; see A § 1.7.25).

Fig. 27


§ 3.26. Horned snake. A snake with horns rising from the forehead is found on Kasnte kudurrus (Seidl 1989, 155-156) and in NA art on palace reliefs (Reade 1979, 40, Pl. 6), cylindrical seals (e.g. IV XXXIV 97, Rote aššur, Nm. 680-681) and among foundation figurines (Ritig 1977, 122-133). The creature may be a genuine snake, Cerastes cerastes (cf. § 5). The iconographic type has been identified by Wiggermann as the creature called bâmuu "poisonous snake" in Akk. (Sum. muā-sā-tū). The mythological tra- ditions are obscure, but in NA art the figure was normally apotropaic.


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


§ 3.27. Snake-dragon. The snake-dragon, with horns, body and neck and "snake-like tail set upright, lion's forelegs and bird's hindlegs, is represented from the Akkadian down to the Seleucid period (some references collected by Seidl 1989, 181-191; Seidl 1989, 202). Top seal impressions in Wallenfels, 1989; as zodiacal sign Hydra inscribed on Seleucid tablet: J. Oates, Babylon, red. 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 Ba- bylon (cf. R. Koldeway, Das wieder erstehende Babylon, jbr [1995] 60-61, Abb. 31-32) with the description of the building operations given by Nebuchadrezzar II, Koldeway was able to identify with certainty the creature's Akkadian name, now read muihu-īnu* "the furious snake" (MODG 19 [1903] 14-16). The complex mythologies and divine associations surrounding the creature have only recently been collected and explained (by Wiggermann 1992, 268- 269; cf. A § 3.1 and Muṣṣûtu). Originally an attendant of the snake-god Ninazu, in Eanna it was 'inherited' by Tsiqap when he replaced Ninazu as city god in the Akka- dian or early OB period, and in Lag六 became associated with Ninazu's son Ningi- zida. Possibly after Hammurabi's conquest of Eanna, the creature was transferred to the new national god of Babylon, Marduk, and to that god's ʻon Nahū. Sennacherib's conquest of Babylon brought the motif to Assyria, normally as the beast of the na- tional god ᵃššur. On Sennacherib's rock-re- lies at Malatil (Fig. 1), however, the crea- ture accompanies two different gods. Ashur and another god, possibly Nahū (identifi- cation suggested by Postgate, SAAB 1 [1987] 58); the association of the snake- dragon makes the suggestion likely, al- though the god does not carry a stylus as Postgate maintains, but the rod-and-ring only.


§ 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 re- ferences). One of their number is a seven- headed muṣṣûtu "distinguished snake". As proposed by several writers (Frankfort, Van Buren, Landsberger, Heimpel, Cooper), this is almost certainly the snake (or 'hya') of the seven heads depicted in Early Dynastic art. A similarly seven- headed "snake-dragon", sometimes shown about to slay a god (e.g. on engraved shell inlay: D.P. Hansen, inc; Far- kas et al. 1987, Pl. XVI 29), is another of the 'heroes', known as muṣ-su-igim in "seven-headed snake" (A § 2.3).


§ 3.29. Snake-god. Many Akkadian peri- ods seals show a god with human upper body and the lower body of a snake. Usually he carries a vase or a stalk of vege- tation 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 Ningizzida. The type may rather resemble the snake- debris Hireh or perhaps, more likely, Istaran* (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) 66-75 (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 Siris? (cf. Landsberger 1930) - perhaps thought of as
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 charac-
ters known as the Slain Heroes (cf. 289) is
one referred to as the magillum-boat. How-
ever, it is not known which form this crea-
ture took.

P. Amiet, Or. 45 (1975) 17-18; id., RA 71 (1977)
133-144. - Edzard 1965, 101. - Frankfurt, Iraq 1
362-366.

§ 3.31. Genies. A number of so-called
‘genies’ or ‘genii’ are found in Assyrian mon-
umental and minor arts, often engaged in
royal rituals (Kolbe 1981, 14-20). Some
types wear the horned cap and so are pre-
sumably 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-
65); 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 Akka-
dian term adadlamim (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 au-
thors cited below) that they might represent
the Seven Sages in anthropomorphic form
(cf. 8). See also A § 1.
Green 1984, 82-83. - Kolbe 1982, 14-63. - Kühn
1979, 35-38. - Wiggermann 1992, as index A s.v.
“apkalla: limu-apkalla”.

§ 4. Additional remarks.
At least by the NA period, an artistic re-
ertoire of ‘monsters’ and ‘demons’ had
developed which, despite varied origins, had
a unity centred upon cosmological myths.
They included figures long known in Me-
opotamian art and more recent creations
along parallel lines, often with archaizing
features to support their pretended antiquity
(cf. Green, Visible Religion 3, 84-85). Al-
though new types of figures were from time
to time added, in certain periods in larger
numbers than in others, the groups, and in-
deed the overall repertoire, remained very
restricted. Outside Mesopotamia there is
little evidence for such exclusive and ‘ration-
alised’ groups of monsters, although individ-
ual Mistwarzem could become common fea-
tures; 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
Mistwarzem, however, is the art of Urattu.
The Urartians took over a number of Assy-
rian animals and hybrids intact – the scor-
pion-man (4) and fish-garbed figure (8), for
example, are known from apanupiai fig-
urines from Urartian sites (references in
Green 1985, 79). Probably, however, these
figures were to some extent divorced from
their Assyrian identities; we can hardly im-
agine, for example, that the Urartians
should have been concerned about the ante-