

Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie

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cher); da M. wohl mit dem Namenselement Mini(m)zir zu identifizieren ist, das in Pferdennamen vorkommt und die Pferdebezeichnung *nimzir* zu enthalten scheint, dürfte es sich um eine Pferddegöttin handeln.

K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien (1954) 111–114.

M. Krebernik

*Mirkānu (Mirqānu). Achaemenid Elamite transcription of the Old Persian geographical name *Vr̥kāna*, "Hyrcania," the region south of the Caspian Sea. The Elamite is preserved in the gentilic plural Mirkanuyap (*Mi-ir-ka4-nu-ia-īp*) only in the Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great (DB § 35 Elamite ii 68), where the corresponding Old Persian passage has the place name *Vr̥kāna* (DB § 35 Old Persian ii 92f.). But where the Elamite and Old Persian say "the Parthians and Hyrcanians revolted from me (Darius)," the Babylonian (DB § 35:64) has "Parthians and Margians" ([*Mar*]–*gu-ma-a*.MES), apparently in error (see Margiana*). The episode is not included in the Aramaic version; see also Der Kleine Pauly II (1967) 1293–95: H. Treidler, "Hyrcania".

R. Schmitt, AfO 27 (1980) 115.

M. W. Stolper

MIRku (dMIR-*ku*). Name des mit Marduk gleichgesetzten Tutu* (An = Anum II 200: Litke, God-Lists, 111), in Ee VII 25 als 16. Name Marduks genannt und etymologisiert und interpretiert als *bēl šipti elleti* „Herr der reinen (kū) Beschwörung (wohl wegen mir = *šibb/ppu* „Gürtel“).

M. Krebernik

Mirmiran Tepe s. Hatay.

Mirqānu s. *Mirkānu.

MIRšakušu (dMIR-šà - kúš - ū). In Ee. VI 137 als 4. Name Marduks genannt (Var. dBA-RA-šà - kúš - ū in KAR 164 Rs. 115), auch in An = Anum II 192 (Litke, God-Lists, 110f.)

und CT 25, 34 K. 4209 ii 12 erwähnt. Sowohl in Ee als auch in An = Anum ist der Name etymologischerweise gedeutet als *eziz* (mir) *u mīstāl* (šà - kúš - ū) „(er ist) wütend und umsichtig“.

M. Krebernik

Mir Vali. Große Ruinenstätte im Rumišgān-Tal, Luristan (Iran), ca. 3 km nördl. von Coğa Sabz,* im November 1935 von der Holmes Expedition to Luristan' unter der Leitung von E. F. Schmidt kurz untersucht.

Zur Lage vgl. bes. R. C. Hennickson 1987, 217 und Fig. 57; ders., Iran 24 (1986) 3; OIP 108, Taf. 5.

Innerhalb einer offensichtlich weiträumigen, durch Steinarchitektur gekennzeichneten Stadtanlage, über deren Ausdehnung und mögliche Datierung nichts ausgesagt wird, befanden sich zahlreiche große Ganggräber, z. T. mit sorgfältig gesetzter Giebelbedeckung, die meisten davon beraubt. Wie bei den in Westiran häufigen Steinkistengräbern üblich, handelte es sich offensichtlich um Familienbestattungen. Das Inventar von fünf unversehrten oder nur teilweise geplünderten Gräbern konnte von der Expedition geborgen werden. Unter den Grabbeigaben verdienen vor allem die Tongefäße Beachtung. Die nochrom bemalte Keramik von M. V., wie die der benachbarten Fundorte Kamtarjan II und Coğa Sabz (OIP 108, Taf. 79–90) findet ihre besten Parallelen in Susa D (c-d), besonders aber in Godin Tepe III 6 (konventionell mit „ED II spät“ – ED III gleichgesetzt). Die Pflanzendarstellung auf einem polychrom bemalten Gefäß (MV 13, OIP 108, Taf. 89 = BBV 8, Taf. 30, 2) steht noch eindeutig in der Tradition der „klassischen“ ‚scarlet ware‘ (vgl. OIP 63, Taf. 13. 14, Hatfāğa, Houses 11 = BBV 8, Taf. 22).

Grab I' enthält eine Sekundärbelegung aus der „Spätbronzezeit“.

R. Schacht, 1987, S. 176, erwähnt die vage Möglichkeit, Marhāši*/Barahşum* in Mir-Vali (oder Kamtarjan) zu lokalisieren.

Die Funde der Holmes Expedition aus M. V. werden im Muze-ye Iran Bastān, Teheran, und im University Museum, Phila-

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

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

N. Karg

Mišaru s. Richtergottheiten.

Mišaru-Akte s. Schulden-Erlaß.

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

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

M. W. Stolper

Mischwesen. A. Philologisch. Mesopotamien.

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

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

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

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

of sure identifications, however, the evidence required to match the remaining types with the remaining names decreases. The Bull-of-Heaven (B § 3.18; Himmelsstier*; Wiggermann 1992 VII.C.6a note 10) was identified by R. Opifcius and W.G. Lambert with a winged man-headed bull attacked by Gilgameš and Enkidu on late second and first millennium seals; earlier (Opifcius, UAVA 2 [1961] 227) and in more conservative contexts the Bull-of-Heaven is a (humped) bull (drawings with captions, see Thureau-Dangin, RA 16 [1919] 156⁴; E. Weidner, Gestirndarstellungen auf babylonischen Tontafeln [1967] 8f.). The relations of these two types of Bull-of-Heaven with other (winged) human-headed bulls and bisons (Menschenstier*) remain unclear. For Bes (B § 3.13) a plausible Babylonian name has been suggested (CAD K *kirru* A 1a), *peššū*, the "halt one". Among objects sent from Egypt to Burnaburiaš is one ^{lu}*pé-es-sū-ū* of stone holding *kirru* containers in his hands (EA 14 iii 60). Undoubtedly in origin this is the name of the dwarfs that play a part on OB seals, only later applied to the similar Egyptian god. The Snake-god (B § 3.28) and the Boat-god (B § 4.30) belong in the context of the third millennium chthonic snake gods (§ 3.1), but cannot be named with certainty. The identification of the Bird-man (B § 3.2) with Anzû is certainly incorrect (cf. Lambert, Iraq 28 [1966] 69f.): the bird part of the Bird-man is not that of an eagle, but that of an aquatic bird (§ 7.2), his activities (companion of Utu; carrying stalk of vegetation) do not fit the mythology of Anzû, and worst of all, he does not play a part in the official iconography of Lagaš, which any Anzû should. Apparently, like Anzû, the Bird-man challenged the rule of the gods, and besides Anzû the only important mythological figure known to have done so in Sumerian texts is Enmešarra* (see M. Civil, AFO 25 [1974/77] 65-71, with previous lit.). As a primeval god Enmešarra may well have been a hybrid, and in first millennium magical texts he is associated with the *anameru* plant (SpTU II 20 Rs. 4ff., and duplicates). There are no indications of avian features, how-

Lion-dragon (B § 3.25) and Lion-headed eagle (B § 3.44). The classical Akkadian Lion-dragon (Löwendrache* § 3 a; § 7.25) was preceded in earlier art by a more leonine type (Löwendrache* § 1). Its development (addition of bird parts) is comparable to that of the *mušpuššu**. The Lion-dragon is Iškur/Adad*s mount, and called *u*₄(gal)/*ūmu* (*rabū*), "(Big) Day" (denoting turbulent weather phenomena) in the texts (Wiggermann 1992 VII.C.4a). The term *u*₄-*ka-duh-a/ūmu na-irū/kaduhū* (CAD N/1, 150, K 35, § 2.4), "Roaring Day" probably refers to the same monster that typically lowers its head to the earth and emits jets of water from its widely opened jaws. Anzû was represented in art initially by the Lion-headed eagle (Löwenadler*). After the Ur III period the Lion-headed eagle disappears from Mesopotamian art, but since representations of Anzû continue to be mentioned in the texts, another monster must have taken its place. Apparently, while Iškur's interests shifted from the Lion-dragon to the bull, the Lion-dragon (like the Lion-headed eagle composed out of eagle and lion parts) came to represent Anzû. In the NA period the Lion-dragon was split into two beings (a comparable split is attested for the *mušpuššu**, one with feathered tail, Löwendrache* § 3 a) the enemy of Ninurta, one (with scorpion's sting, Löwendrache* § 3 c) his mount (for the NA iconography of Ninurta see U. Moortgat-Corrrens, AFO 35 [1988] 117-133). The monster on which Ninurta has his feet in the MB Götertypentext (F. Köcher, MIO 1 [1955] 66 i 59', ii 9), that is before the split and therefore the one with the feathered tail, is called Anzû; the monsters that stand next to his throne in his NA temple in Kalhu (D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 14 [1952] 34, 72f.) are referred to with the general term *ušimgallu*, "dragon" (also used for the Snake-dragon *mušpuššu** § 2.3). A slightly different local form of the Lion-dragon/Anzû occurs in MA art (Löwendrache* § 2; for the date of the Lamaštu-amulets 27. 34. 35 see O. Pedersen, Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur I [1986] 120. 125) On Lamaštu*-amulets they fulfill the same apotropaic function as the Bull-man (amulet 29) and Pazuzu. For Anzû/*awiti* see § 3.3.

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

not describe the most important dragons. A complete description of the constellations would ascertain the identity of the monsters among them (§ 2.4), but so far little has come to light (Weidner, Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur, AfO 4 [1927] 73-85; id., Gestirndarstellungen [1967]). The underworld vision of an Assyrian crown prince called Kummaju (perhaps Assurbanipal) is described in a difficult text recently reedited by A. Livingstone in SAA III (1989) 68-76 (see also K. Frank, MAOG 14/2 [1941] 24-41). In a dream the prince sees Nergal on his throne, holding his two-headed maces (B § 3-6), and surrounded by the members of his court: Namtar, the vizier of the underworld, Namturu, his wife (with the head of a *kuribu*, perhaps "Griffin"), *Mūtu*, "Death" (with the head of a Snake-dragon), *Sēdu lemnu*, "Evil Genie" (with eagle's talons), *Mukil rēš lemuti*, "Upholder-of-Evil" (with the head of a bird and wings), *Ḫumuṣ-tabal*, "Take-away-quickly", the ferryman of the underworld (with the head of an Anzū), *Eṣemmu*, "Ghost" (with the head of an ox), *Utukku lemnu*, "Evil Spirit" (with a lion's head, claws for hands and eagle's talons for feet), *Sulak* (a lion on its hind legs), *Māmītu*, "Curse" (with a goat's head), *Bedu* (≠NE.DU₉), the porter of the underworld (with a lion's head and bird's talons), *Alli-happu*, "Net" (with a lion's head), *Mimma lemnu*, "Any Evil" (with two heads, one of a lion, one of a [. . .]), *Muḫra*, "Confrontation" (with three feet, the two front ones those of a bird, the rear one that of a bull). Of two gods the prince does not know the names; one has the head, hands, and feet of an Anzū, the other is apparently anthropomorphic. Thus the prince understands most of what he sees, although the images described are not preserved in the Assyrian art we know. Frank (LSS 3/3 [1908] 11 ff.; MAOG 14/2, 33) identified the six or seven animal-headed figures of the Lamaštu*-amulets with the seven Evil Spirits, one of them described in the underworld vision. His reasons, however, were insufficient (Wiggermann 1992 II.A.4.B *urigallu*). More convincing was his identification of an unnamed clay figure of "one cubit" having a lion's head (KAR 227 i 24, *eṣemmu* ritual) with

Bedu (MAOG 14/2, 35). *Sulak* has been associated with the lion attacked by an *ur-maḫullū* on a MA seal (B § 4.20).

Among the monsters known from the texts the following remain unidentified: the third millennium adversaries of Ningirsu/Ninurta, *ku-li-an-na* (J. Cooper, AnOr. 52 [1978] 149), *má-(ar)-gi-lum/ma-giltu/magisu* (Cooper ibid. 148; W. Heimpel, ZA 77 [1977] 38²), and especially *á-zág/asákkū* (see Th. Jacobsen, Mem. A. Sachs [1989] 225-332). Sumeroan *á-zág* characterizes diseases or the demons that cause them in a general way; it does not denote a specific disease, but a kind of disease. The nature of the disease it denotes is revealed by incantations and medical texts, in which *á-zág* is practically always paired with *nam-tar*, "decided" disease (for a selection of examples see CAD s.v. *asákkū* and *namtaru*). From the observation that *á-zág* and *nam-tar* fill a semantic field, it follows that *á-zág* denotes diseases that are not decided by the gods, "disorders". That the *á-zág* combated by Ninurta in Lugal-e* is the same demon "Disorder" on a cosmic level is born out by the myth, which is concerned exactly with Ninurta deciding the fates, and *á-zág* hindering him at it. In view of the artificial, abstract nature of the cosmic demon "Disorder", it is not surprising that we do not find him represented in art (B § 3.25).

Of the first millennium monsters that remain unidentified must be mentioned: *abūbu*, "Flood" (CAD A/1 *abūbu* 3), *kuribu*, perhaps "Griffin" (B § 4.21; Engel, Darstellungen von Dämonen 77 f.), *mēlu*, once understood as the deified staircase, but apparently having hands (Wiggermann 1992 II.A.2.26), and *Luhšu**, a form of Nergal with an abnormal nose (TCS 4.56:27) and non-human feet (CT 38, 5:12.5; 2:16; see § 3.1). A scholarly curiosity is the *šaḫ-lū-ūluw/šáḫ[mēlu]*, "pig-man" (for the type see B § 3.4.20. 22) of Nabnitu XXXI 10 (MSL 16, 2.45).

The ritual texts describe three groups of seven *apkallū*, "sages", one group of fish-man hybrids (B § 3-8), one of bird-man hybrids (B § 3-9), and one of anthropomorphic figures (B § 3-31). The first group of sages is rooted in third millennium Mesopotamia, but the iconographic type was introduced only in the Kassite period. The two other types are adopted by Assyrian iconography from a foreign source, and secondarily named "sages". In magic all three types of sages perform purifying and exorcising functions. Assyrian art borrowed or invented a number of further iconographic types, involved in tasks more or less similar to those of the *apkallū* (without further distinction collected in B § 3.31). They do not correspond to a god or genius of the Mesopotamian tradition and are named with vague descriptive terms: *kamsūtu*, "kneeling

ones", *šūt kakēti*, "armed ones", *šūt kappi*, "winged ones", *il biti*, "god of the house", and *ša išēt ammatu lānsu*, "the one of one cubit" (Wiggermann 1992 II.A.4.B). Sages and related figures are to be kept distinct from the monsters whose histories are treated in the second paragraph.

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

§ 2. Historical development and theology.

§ 2.1. *Origins and associations with anthropomorphic gods.* There are three sources for the early history of monsters: art, etymology, and their place in theology. The earliest and at once most tenacious monsters of Mesopotamian art are the Snake-dragon/*Mušḫuššu* (B § 3.27), the Bull-man/*Kuša-rikku* (B § 4.3), the Lion-headed Eagle/*Anzū* (B § 3.14), the Long-haired Hero/*Lahmu* (B § 3.1), and the Lion-dragon/*ūmu na'iru* (B § 3.25). The Sumerian names of the Snake-dragon and the Bull-man (or rather Bison-man) do not reveal the composite character of these beings, Sumerian muš-ḫuš meaning "awesome snake", and Sumerian g_u₄-alim "bison(-bull)". Presumably in origin these words did not denote monsters, but

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

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

The names of the other early and tenacious monsters in origin do not denote monsters or animals, but the natural phenomena these monsters symbolically represent, *Anzū* the "clouds", and u₄-ka-duḫ-a/*ūmu na'iru* the "Roaring Day", that is turbulent weather. They are convincingly realized as eagle (air) and lion (roaring) composites. The u₄-ka-duḫ-a belongs to a class of beings, personified days, to which also the somewhat later u₄-gal/*ugallu*, "Big Day" (B

§ 4.6) belongs. Most of them are days of death and destruction, like one's dying day, the "Evil Day" (*šmu lemnu*, dU₄), the messenger of the underworld god Erra (UET 6, 395:12; SEM 417 ii 9). They are "released from the sky" (e.g. UET 6, 391:16), howl and roar (Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, 100). The days of exceptional splendor and plenty, the golden age before the flood, are realized in first millennium art as seven anthropomorphic Sages (B § 3.31; Wiggermann 1992 II. A. 4. B *šmu-apkallu*).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bert, CRR A 32 [1986] 56 ff., J. Black, SMS Bulletin 15 [1988] 19-25). The only important addition to the two later lists is Anzû. The political dimension is now entirely explicit. The enemies are referred to as “captured warriors and kings”, and as “slain warriors” (AnOr. 52, 142), while Lugal-e 134 makes it clear that they were defeated in the mountains, the traditional home of Mesopotamia's enemies. Among the enemies is the mysterious sag-ar (Gudea Cyl. A xxv 25), who in view of the context must be mount Saggār (Ĝabal Singār, cf. M. Stol, On Trees ... [1979] 75 ff.), a rebel like mount Ebeḫ* (Literatur* § 3.1.s). Of the whole list of Ninurta(/Ningirsu)'s enemies only the ušum/*bašmu*, the gu₄-alim/*kusarikeu* and Anzû have a mythological future and recur in later lists of defeated enemies of gods (§ 2.3; there are some exceptional revivals in later texts).

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

Whereas the Ninurta(/Ningirsu) mythology emphatically associated monsters with rebellious mountains (Lugal-e 134; also Angim 33 ff.), Angim 34 admits that má-gi-lum, a kind of ship, is an unlikely inhabitant of the mountains and has it live in Apsû*. In Angim 33 the ušum/*bašmu* lives in the “fortress of the mountains”, but another third millennium text presents the related ušumgal/pirig-dragon as “roaring in the flood” (Trouville 1.3. 11), while in the SB myth KAR 6 the *bašmu* is a sea dragon. In Angim 35 the gu₄-alim is brought forth by Ninurta from “his battle dust”, while the prologue of the SB Anzû myth alludes to his

victory over the *kusarikēku* "in the midst of the sea" (JCS 31,78:12). The *mušhuššu*, not among the defeated enemies of Ninurta(/Ningirsu), but as a snake-dragon and associate of chthonic gods naturally at home in the earth, is associated with the sea in an Ur III incantation (cited by P.Steinkeller, SEL 1 [1984] 6), in Angim 139, and in a SB myth of older origin (CT 13,33:6). Later reflexes of the Ninurta(/Ningirsu) mythology introduce Sea as one of his enemies (Sm. 1875, cited by B.Landsberger, WZKM 57 [1961] 10⁴⁶; Lambert, Or. 36 [1967] 124,149); monstrous beings are suckled by her (O.R.Gurney, AnSt. 5 [1955] 98,34). Besides má-gi₄-lum a number of monsters are associated with Enki and Apsû: the *lahmu* (B § 3.1), the *kullullû* (B § 3.2.2), and the *suḫurmāšu* (B § 3.2.3).

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

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

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

Of local (Ešnunna) importance only is the so-called Labbu*-myth (CT 13,33 f.; Literatur* § 4.1.1.k), in which Enlil has Sea create the *muš-[luššu]* (also referred to as Labbu) in order to wipe out mankind. The monster is defeated, apparently by Tīšpak, and the victor is rewarded with kingship, probably over Ešnunna (see Wiggermann in: (ed.) O.M. Haex et al., Fs. M. van Loon [1989] 117-133). A badly mutilated tablet contains a local Assyrian version of a similar myth concerning the *ba[šmu]* (KAR 6; Literatur* § 4.1.1.h). The deeds of a lesser monster slayer, Gilgameš*, are described in two Sumerian epics, Gilgameš* and Ħuwawa (Literatur* § 3.1.n; D.O. Edzard, ZA 80 [1990] 165-203; 81 [1991] 165-233), and Gilgameš* and the Bull of Heaven (Literatur* § 3.1.m). The two stories became part of the unified Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš (Literatur* § 4.1.f), and are sometimes illustrated in second and first millennium art (B § 3.12. 18).

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

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

Up to the creation of Ee., Marduk's rulership was apparently felt to be sufficiently covered by the traditional model that made the ruling city god an appointee of the divine assembly led by Anu and Enlil. At the end of the second millennium the old model, in which the power of the ruling city god was checked by the divine assembly, was abolished. The justification of Marduk's rulership was changed: he was made independent of the decisions of a divine assembly and promoted to sole ruler of the universe. The myth giving form to this rearrangement of divine power is Ee. (Literatur* § 4.1.1.01), presumably composed at the occasion of the return of Marduk's statue to Babylon in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (Lambert in: (ed.) W. S. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom* [1964] 3-13). Implicit in Marduk's elevation is the elevation of his enemies, and the promotion of the combat myth from good versus evil to Good versus Evil. The collection of preexisting enemies was indeed restructured along this line. Tiāmat, formerly only one among the enemies and a breeding place of monsters (§ 2.2), was promoted to arch enemy and cosmic power of evil. The other monsters were made dependent on her as her children and soldiers: *bušmu* (B § 3.2.6), *mušūušū* (B § 3.2.7), *lahmu* (B § 3.1), *ugallu* (B § 3.4), *ur(i)dimmu* (B § 3.5), *girtablillū* (B § 3.4), *kullullū* (B § 3.2.2), *kusarikku* (B § 3.3), with the addition of three types of monsters that do not recur in other lists enumerating enemies of Marduk or of gods identified with him (Wiggermann 1992 VII.A; see also VS 24.97, and A. R. George, RA 80 [1988] 139 ff.).

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

Burstein, SANE 1/5 [1978] 14 f.) presents her both as a body of water and a woman. In Ee. she is the cosmic sea, apparently imagined as a cow (Landsberger, JNES 20 [1961] 175) or a goat. She has udders (V 57), a tail (V 59, cf. Livingstone, SAA III 101, 14) and a horn, cut off by Marduk (SAA III 82, 1. 13), and undoubtedly to be connected with the body of water called "Horn of the Sea" (si-a-ab-ba) that enters the land from the Persian gulf and gave its name to Borsippa (Barsip*; A. L. Oppenheim, *Dict. of Scientific Bibliography* 15 [1978] 640⁶⁴).

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

Since the texts are silent on this point, the cosmogonic function of the *lahmu* can only be derived from art. It is found in Long-haired heros appearing in functions that can be interpreted as cosmic and at the same time distinguish them from their peers, the soldier *lahmu*'s (P. Amiet, RA 50 [1956] 118 ff.; id., *Glyptique* 147 ff., Pl. 111; E. P. O. rada, Fs. E. Reiner [1987] 279 ff.); they are Long-haired heros in horizontal position (contrasting with the common servant *lahmu* on two OB seals, *Glyptique* 147-8, 1480), sometimes with watery bodies, and

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

Cosmic (not cosmogonic) functions were established by Amiet, RA 50, 113 ff. for three third millennium monsters associated with the sun god Utu: the Scorpion(-man) (§ 7, 4a), who supports moon and stars with its pinchers; the Human-headed Bison (§ 7, 17a), who together with its double may form the mountains through which the sun rises; and the Bull-man, who may appear as atlantid. Obscure is the human-faced bearded goat(?), formed out of, or accompanied by, moon and stars, and carrying three naked women on its back (Porada, Fs. I. M. Diakonoff 287; B. Schlossman, AfO 25 [1974/77] 150f.). The scene has been interpreted as "the representation of some astral myth" (Porada, CANES I 24). In late second and first millennium art many monsters and genies (R. Mayer-Opificius, UF 16, 197f.) appear as atlantids (D. M. Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the Later Second Millennium B. C. [1990] 452ff.). Anzû, who provides the water for Euphrates and Tigris in the SB Anzû myth (Hallo/Moran, JCS 31, 70. 92f.) and takes care of Enlil's bath (ibid. 80 iii 6), is shown with streams coming from each of his two heads on late second millennium seals (Porada, AfO 28 [1981] 52f. no. 27 and Fig. o), undoubtedly the two rivers.

Among gods, animals, plants, objects, and geometric figures also monsters appear in the night sky as constellations: *bašmu*/MUŠ (ŠL IV/1, 51. 284. 370), (*a*)*lû*/GU₄.AN.NA (ibid. 73. 75. 77, cf. 96. 200. 279), *kusarikêu*/GU₄.ALIM (ibid. 76), *kaduhû*/U₄.KA-DUĪ.A (ibid. 144. 208), *ur(i)dimmu* (ibid. 163), *Anzû* (ibid. 196), and *suburmašû* (ibid. 263. 344). The constellation *mušhušû* did not survive the OB period, and must have been renamed (*mušhušû* § 6). Patently the stars and constellations were not all named

at one place and period, and a coherent mythology underlying all figures of the night sky as known mainly from first millennium sources is not to be expected. Babylonian sources of the second and first millennia consider the monsters in heaven symbolic representations of the "real" monsters, drawings of gods (cf. CAD *lumāšu*, *muš-huššu** § 6, and *passim*). Earlier they seem to have been imagined as the "real" monsters, that, like the sun god Utu, travelled not only the distant regions at the end of the earth (§ 4), but also the bordering skies. Thus in the 1-a-lum-lum version of Gilgameš and Īuwwa (Literatur* § 3.1.n.2; A. Shaffer, JAOS 103 [1983] 307; S. N. Kramer, JCS 1 [1947] 36²¹⁷) the dragons assigned by Utu to Gilgameš (Edzard ZA 80, 184, 36-45) guide him to the cedar forest from heaven.

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

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

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

the fishes (Pisces and Piscis Austrinus) swim (ibid. 27- 218, 389). Nearby are *šihurimāšu*/Capricorn who belonged to Enki from the Ur III period onwards, *enzu* (ibid. 145), "She-goat" who is marked as his by a curved staff (*gamūtu*, D. Pingree/C. B. F. Walker, Mem. A. Sachs [1988] 315, 31), a simplified form of the staff with ram's head (U. Seidl, BagM 4 [1968] 180), and the Lion-dragon U. KA.DU.ĜA who, being Iškur's mount, spits water on Akkadian, Old Babylonian, and Nuzi seals (§ 7, 25; B § 3, 25). The gigantic water god/genius (§ 3, 2) of Kassite seals (Matthews, Principles of Composition, 129-131, 135-137) who fertilizes the land with the assistance of Fish-men (B § 3, 22) and a two-headed (lion-headed) eagle (Aquila/Anzu), is undoubtedly related to, and perhaps identical with, the "Giant" Aquarius.

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

§ 2.5. *Theology.* The monsters belong to a class of supernatural beings that are neither gods nor demons. They do not occur in god lists, are supplied with the determinative only sporadically, and generally do not wear the horned crown of divinity (exceptions: § 7, 17 a and its successors from the Ur III period onwards; § 7, 5 and other figures in first millennium art). They are not listed among the "evil spirits" (*ūtukku lem-nūtu**) and are not demons of disease in the medical texts, although sometimes they appear to be noxious (*mušnušu* in OECT 5, 24:4; *lahmu* see J.-M. Durand, ARMT XXI 363³², all OB).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Naked Woman is not only a vaguely defined figure of good luck, but also a goddess, integrated in mythology as the wife of the storm god, presumably at first in the North where she received the name Šala ("Well-being", from Semitic *šlw*; differently Lambert in J.A.Emerton, V.T. Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986 [1988] 137: from Hurrian *šala*, "daughter"). In Mesopotamia, where she is attested with this identity from the Akkad period onwards, she also has the Sumerian name *Medimša**, "The beautiful one", while in Hurrian she is the lady of Nineveh, Šauška (cf. R.L.Alexander, JNES 50 [1991] 165ff., with previous literature; D.Stein, Xenia 21 [1988] 173-209). This goddess appears in Ur III Sumer under the name *Ša/Ša-u₁₉/u-ša/ša*, (Ninu-a-kam, AnOr. 7.79-6). Šauška (of Niniveh), the same word without the diminutive suffix -ga (I.M. Diakonoff/S.A.Starostin, Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language [1986] 69). Figurines of Šauška were votive objects (W.W.Hallo, BiOr. 20 [1963] 141), and a type of lute is called a šauša-lute, translated into Akkadian as *inu malḫāti* (Laute* A § 1.2). Unfortunately the meaning of the adjective *malḫu* is not clear, but the verb *malḫū* denotes some kind of dance, and on this basis A.D.Kilmer associated šauša/*malḫu* with the nude lutanists (Laute* A § 1.3). The context adduced here points rather to his nude female companions (Laute* B). In Assyria Šauška is called Ištar of Niniveh. Both goddesses have androgynous traits (§ 3.3).

On occasion Mesopotamian mythography promoted abstractions to gods or (evil) demons, some of them imagined as hybrids (á-zág, "Disorder", *Māmītu*, "Oath", *Mītu*, "Death" § 1; u₄, "Day" § 2.1; ni/*pu-luḫtu*, "Fear" § 5, etc.). With some exceptions, notably the u₄-beings, such personified abstractions were not represented in art,

x Fehlmenge Studien
insid.

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

§ 3. Non-anthropomorphic gods.

Anthropomorphism (Anthropomorphismus*) distinguishes gods from monsters, and helped to shape their contrastive roles in Mesopotamian mythology (§ 2.2). Among the major gods two groups can be defined, the astral (Nanna*, Utu*, Inanna*) and cosmic (Enki*, Enlil*, Ninĥursag*) gods that became anthropomorphic early, and the chthonic and underworld gods (§ 3.1) that retained theriomorphic features until the end of the OB period. Halfway in the third millennium members of both groups have horns growing out of their heads (Hörnerkrone*), not a theriomorphic feature but the mark of their divinity, later transformed into a horned tiara. Lesser gods of nature (§ 3.2; 5; 7.32, 33) can be represented by hybrids composed out of human and natural elements.

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

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

Enlil, Enki + Inšušinak

of them are among the dying gods of vegetation lamented in Sumerian litanies (cf. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once* [1987] 59f.). Ištarān's messenger is Nirah*, the deified snake (Seidl, *BagM* 4:155f.). The Snake-god (B § 3:29) of Akkadian seals, whose ophidian nature and stalk of vegetation link him to the gods under discussion, is, in view of the fact that he receives worship, Ištarān rather than his servant Nirah*. The winding snake's body on which he seems to sit (§ 7:29) relates the Snake-god to a similar Elamite god (§ 7:35, and below for the bull's ears), attested from the 19th to the 13th century. The context favours de Miroschedji's identification of this god as Ištarān's neighbour Inšūinak (P. de Miroschedji, *IrAnt.* 16 [1981] 1-25; id. *Syria* 66 [1990] 360, differently: Seidl, *Die Elamischen Felsreliefs von Kūrāngūn und Naqš-e Rostam* [1986] 20f.). Inšūinak is an underworld god, who like his peers must be expected to be associated with snakes. Finally also the Boat-god (B § 3:30) is ophidian and chthonic (§ 2:4). Above he has been tentatively determined as a forerunner of the constellation Hydra (§ 2:4), but unless he is identical with one of the snake-gods already mentioned (Ningš-zida), he does not occur in the An-Anum section of chthonic gods.

Gods with animal names are not uncommon, but in most cases it is not known whether they were represented by theriomorphic, hybrid, or anthropomorphic figures. Theriomorphic animal gods and genies certainly existed (Nirah, Ḥallulāja, see maškim* § 3:3), as well as anthropomorphic ones (*Ipahum*). The owl goddess Kilili (§ 5, 7:33) is a hybrid. The name of a number of gods and demons are equated with, or spelled by, the logogram GUD, bull, and, while not for all of them a bovine nature can be demonstrated, most of them are related to death or the netherworld (An-Anum VI 203ff., Ea IV 138ff., with glosses; SLT 124 vii 17-19, VS 24:20 iii 7-9, OB, without glosses). West Semitic are the pest demon Dapar*/Dipar (Hebrew *daber*, cf. A. Caquot, *Sources Orientales* 8 [1971] 116; STT 136 iii 32,42; Dipar), and the death gods Rušpān* (Rešef) and Kammuš* (a form of Nergal). *Kūšum* must be the underworld

demon *kušū(m)**. Qudma(š)* and Nirah (Civil, *JNES* 33, 334; BAM 499 iii 3) are servants of Ištarān; a bull-headed snake did exist in Mitannian glyptics (Porada, in: (ed.) D. J. W. Meijer, *Nat. Phen.* [1992] 227-243), but can not be proved to be Nirah*, and Qudma(š) must have been anthropomorphic because he had a nin-dingir (OB seal, B. Buchanan, *Catalogue ... Ashmolean Museum* [1966] no. 513). Kušdim and Gugarit remain unidentified, and may belong to a foreign or peripheral pantheon as well. Certainly bovid is (Ba)ḥar, the messenger of the underworld gods Lugal-irra* and Meslamta-ea (see Lugal-(ba)ḥar/Ḥar*, PSD 46b), whose name derives from Proto-Semitic *baḥr* (Akkadian *bīru/būru*, "calf", cf. P. Fronzaroli, *Rendiconti delle Sedute dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* [1969] Serie VIII 24, 313). SB texts occasionally spell the name of the Hurrian bull god Šeriš (Ḥurri, Šeri und*) with [Ⓞ]GUD (E. Ebeling, *ArOr.* 21 [1953] 401; id., *Or.* 23 [1954] 126; CAD K 29a; see E. Laroche, *Glossaire de la Langue Hourrite* [1980] 227f.). Once the name of the bull god Indagara is spelled with GUD (OB Sumerian incantation, P. Michalowski, *Or.* 54 [1985] 122), and once the name of his wife Kusu (An-Anum I 325). In a cosmogonic context a pair of ^dGUD is equated with Laḥmu/Laḥma (Wiggermann, *JEOL* 27, 94), but the meaning of this passage remains obscure (§ 2:4). The names of Šeriš, Indagara, Kusu, Laḥmu, Qudma(š) and Nirah normally are spelled differently.

The Göttertypentext describes three figures with bull's ears. Of one of them the name is not preserved (Köcher, *MIO* 1, 70: 55), and another, *nizigtum* (§ 2:6), "Grief", is completely fictitious. The third is Ensimah, a god of the Apsū and a servant of Enki (*ITCL* 15, 10:96, An-Anum II 293), who is described as an anthropomorphic figure with bull's ears (*MIO* 1, 76: 13ff.). That, however, the description does not refer to an existing figure is shown unequivocally by the fact that the god holds a bucket in his right hand, while all figures, both in the texts and in art, always hold the bucket in their left hand.

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

The GIDIM², "ghost" of the Underworld Vision (Livingstone, SAA III 72:6) has a bull's head, the word *etemmu* can be spelled with the logogram GUD, in omens bovids in the protasis regularly lead to *etemmu* in the apodosis (cf. SpTU I 27 Rs. 5. SB commentary), and their hooves and horns play a part in the rituals for the dead (G. Castellino, Or. 24 [1955] 246:11. 17; 260:28 f.; 266:12).

According to an often cited phrase that recurs in several SB literary texts (EG VII iv 38, cf. J. Bottéro, CRRA 26 [1980] 34¹²³) the dead were "clothed with feathers", which has been generally taken to imply that avian features refer to an iconographic type to death and the underworld. This conclusion, however, does not follow from the text passage, and in fact hybrids with avian features and winged hybrids are rarely associated with death or the netherworld (§ 5). Birds lived in or near the netherworld, but they cannot be identified with the ghosts of dead people (ADD 469, cf. T. Kwasman/S. Parpola, SAA VI [1991] 232 f.).

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

A bull-eared full-face god, sometimes with bird's talons, armed with scimitars, axes, or maces, with daggers in his belt, enclosed in a "sarcophagus", wrapped in rope coils (§ 7.34b), or free standing (§ 7.34a) occurs sometimes on seals and much more often on terracottas of the OB period (cf. Buchanan, Iraq 33 [1971] 5 f.; Porada apud M. Weitemeyer, Some Aspects of the Hiring of Workers ... [1962] 109³⁶; E. Klengel-Brandt, Aof 16 [1989] 345 f.; N. Wrede, BagM 21 [1990] 251). The bull's ears, the lion scimitar (B § 3.6), and the association with further iconographical elements related to Nergal, support the general opinion that he is an underworld god (Opificius, UAVA 2 [1961] 214 f.; Porada, CRRA 26, 265; differently M. T. Barrelet, *Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie Antique* [1968] 181 f.). As such he is the only candidate for identification with one of the ⁹GUD-underworld figures discussed above. When foreign, unidentified, and normally differently spelled figures are excluded, his name can be established as (Ba)ḫar, messenger of Lugal-irra* and Meslamta-ea. Like him full-face and shouldering scimitars, but without the bull's ears and receiving offerings, his masters appear on an OB

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

rise (Boehmer, UAVA 4, Abb. 299, 379, 488), or their half anthropomorphic (§ 7.36 d) servants on Akkadian (ibid. Abb. 433) and Ur III (Buchanan, JNES 31 [1972] 96 Fig. 1) seals, and once in the round (Statue Cabane, PKG XIV Abb. 161, cf. U. Moortgat-Correns, BiMes. 24 [1986] 183–188; E. Klengel-Brandt/D. Rittig, FB 22 [1982] 107. Dedicated to Šamaš by Jasmaš-Addu, but the statue is older).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the Hittite sources Šauška is accompanied by an *awitti*, some kind of winged lion (monster) (cf. J. Danmanville, RA 56 [1962] 122–129), and by two goddesses, Kulitta* and Ninatta. An Assyrian text enumerating Ištar figures in the city of Arbela (B. Menzel, *StPohl* 10/2 I 120f., 20'–26') closes the list after "Ištar of the lions" (Ištar of Arbela) with an "Ištar of the Anzū(s)", followed by *dNi-ni-tu*, and *dKu-ḫi-tu*. As is indicated by the names of her two servants, this Ištar is Ištar/Šauška of Nineveh, the naked companion of the storm god (§ 2.6), and as such the only Mesopotamian Ištar figure associated with the Lion-dragon, in this time called Anzū (§ 1). Thus *awitti* denotes either the Lion-dragon, or a functionally or formally similar Hittite monster.

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

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

§ 4. Fabeltier.

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

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

moralistic comment on human affairs, a warning against credulity, is given form on Glyptique 1308 (from Ur), on which a bea-ear and three wild asses dance and make music at the court of king lion (seated and being served), while another lion shows the "good intentions" of the predators by slaughtering a lamb. On the Lyre from Ur a wolf or dog, the slaughterer with a knife in his belt (*giri-lā/tābīhu*, "slaughterer"), carries a dining table with the remains of domestic animals, but the predators peacefully cooperate with gazelle and (wild) ass. The thematic and formal similarity of some of the third millennium (especially Glyptique 1313) images with those on first millennium seals (cited above), and the conspicuous part played by equids in both groups, suggest that some of the underlying ideas are related. A parodic (A. Ungnad, AfO Beih. 1 [1933] 134) or humorous (F. R. Kraus, WZKM 52 [1953/55] 67) interpretation is now generally rejected (Bleibtreu, WZKM 67, 16ff.; Orthmann, o. c. 397). A relation with the few known Mesopotamian fables and animal contests (Literatur* § 3.7.3.a; 4.7.6) was first proposed by A. Jeremias (Handb. der altor. Geisteskultur² [1929] 440), but the lack of correspondence between the most conspicuous characters of the texts (the cunning fox, man's friend the dog) and of art (various animals in indistinctive roles), and the different nature of their activities in both sources (quarrels in the texts, static feasts in art), militate against a connection (with the possible exception of Glyptique 1308). One animal of an Akkadian fable, the eagle of the Etana legend (Literatur* § 4.7.6a), regularly appears on Akkadian seals (Boehmer, UAVA 4 nos. 693ff.), but his companion, the snake, is nowhere to be seen, and it may be doubted whether in this time the fable was already fused with the legend.

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

(Heimpel, *ibid.* 148⁸⁸), and where the dead go after they have crossed the desert and passed the Ḫubur* or Ulaya* (Heimpel, *ibid.* 148; J. Bottéro, CRRA 26 [1980] 31 f.; *id.*, ZA 73 [1983] 180, 191 ff.; the scene on the Lyre from Ur can be interpreted as what awaits the deceased ruler on the other side). In the same vein the LB *Mappa Mundi* (W. Horowitz, Iraq 50 [1988] 149; cf. RIA VI 466) gives wild animals a diabolical tinge by locating them at the edge of the world, in or near the ocean, and associating them with monsters (Anzū, *girtabullā*, *kusarikku*), destroyed cities, and annihilated gods (*ilānu abtūtu*). The text lists [moun]tain goat, gazelle, water-buffalo, panther, [l]ion, wolf, red-deer, hy[ena], [monk]ey, female monkey, ibex, ostrich, wild cat, and chameleon, "beasts which Marduk created on top of the restless sea". The farther away from home, the more the familiar and domesticated is replaced by the wild, strange, primeval and diabolical (cf. also § 5, winged animals, and S. Lackenbacher, in: *Le Désert*, Image et Réalité, Actes du Colloque de Cartigny 1983 [1987] 67-79).

The oldest and best attested of the half-mythological foreign animals is the monkey. It is shown playing the flute on its distant home mountain on seals from the ED III period onwards (Glyptique 1268, cf. 1260; 1310f., 1314; touching a "sacred tree" on a NA seal: B. Parker, Iraq 17 [1955] 114, Text Fig. 5), and entertains Utu in his mountain palace on an OB cylinder (H. Pittman, Ancient Art in Miniature [1987] 28 Fig. 16). Imported monkeys entertain third millennium kings, and one that is ill-treated in the home of the chief musician in Eridu sends a letter with complaints to his mother at home (S. Dunham, ZA 75 [1985] 24; Jacobsen, OIP 98, 105 ff.). Just like representations of defeated mountain dwellers (gods, monsters, but also cattle, § 2.2, Lambert, CRRA 32, 57) served to show the might of Mesopotamian gods and inspired Evil with fear, representations of mastered wild (diabolical) animals serve as apotropaia against evil. Apotropaic monkeys appear on OB seals (Dunham, ZA 75, 246), on a Lamaštru amulet (no. 56 [RIA VI 441] fake?), and as a figure in LB Ur (C. L. Woolley, JRAS 1926, 693¹, and Fig. 26).

Exotic animals were hunted by Assyrian kings, and brought back as trophies from their campaigns. They placed representations of them in the gates of their cities and palaces, next to monsters and the traditional lions and wild bulls, and undoubtedly, like them, apotropaic: *apsasîtu*, "she-water-buffalo" (B § 3-17; Engel, Darstellungen von Dämonen und Tieren ... 50ff.), *nā-hiru*, "whale" (? *ibid.* 69ff.), and *burhîš*, "yak" (? *ibid.* 71 ff.).

§ 5. Flügelgestalten.

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

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

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

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

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

The Ur III period witnesses the introduction of goddesses floating in the air and holding aryalloī from which water flows down (Börker-Klähn, BagF 4 Taf. 94 H. G; cf. also 99 a). With wings they recur in OB Mari (Amiet, Syria 37, 215 Fig. 1), once replacing the wings of a "winged" temple with the naked goddess inside (A. Parrot, Syria 38 [1961] 6 Fig. 8). The *mušḫuššu* is not normally winged (§ 7-27); the additional wings on the *mušḫuššu* of Ningišzida (*mušḫuššu* § 3-3) serve to differentiate it from the *mušḫuššu* of Ninazu and his successor. Tišpak.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Iraq 33, 5²⁸). The goddess is sometimes identified with the she-demon Lilītu (Lilī* A and B), but since the Burney relief on which she appears is a cult relief and Lilītu has no cult, this identification and any other with a demon that has no cult can be effectively excluded. The conspicuous owl and owl's claws are the point of departure for another interpretation, most recently defended by Jacobsen (in: [ed.] M. Mindlin et al., *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* [1987] 1-11). "Owl", *esēbu*, corresponds to Sumerian (d)Nin-ninna, "(Divine Lady) owl", which in its turn is equated in the lexical texts with Killili, a name of Inanna as goddess of harlots, who, like the owl, comes out at dusk and sits in the window. The phalli not known to Jacobsen fit in effortlessly.

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

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

Winged monsters: girtabullū (the "acrobat" wind demon of § 7.32.c coincides with a winged *girtabullū* as attested on a relief from Karkemiš, PKG XIV 354b); *kusarikku* (PKG XIV 313, Ziwiye); *ugallu* (OA: Green, BagM 17, 162 no. 52; Hittite *ibid.* 163; MA and other: Matthews, Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic . . . no. 495, 279, 470, etc., *two-headed ugallu*: Matthews, o.c. 146; Green, BagM 17 Taf. 50 no. 17, etc.; an UD:GAJ.museén is one of the *passū naprišūtu*, "winged puppets" of a board game, cf. Landsberger, WZKM 56 [1960] 122³⁹), *laḫmu* (Matthews, o.c. 357, 358, 495), *kullūlū* (Matthews, o.c. 452), (*a*)*lū*/Bull-of-Heaven (§§ 1; 7.18), *bašmu*

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

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

In the Göttertypentext (Köcher, MIO 1, 57ff.) wings are given to *Serum* (iv 29), the *laḫmu* of Gula (v 46), *niziqatum*, "Grief" (vi 19), and Tiruru (vi 39), not or badly attested figures, demonic, but without clear underworld connections. In the Underworld Vision (§ 1) only one servant of death is supplied with wings (*Mukil res lemuti*, "Upholder-of-Evil"). The talons of a bird of prey, and the sharp beak of a *ku-riḫu* (if indeed denoting the griffin) given to certain underworld figures in the Underworld Vision (§ 1) are the instruments of death, just as the lion's head and claws, the Lion-dragon head, and the Snake-dragon head given to others.

§ 6. Schuppenkleid und -muster.

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

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

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

§ 7. Survey of types.

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

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

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

3. Bull-man; gud-alim/*kušarikku*; "Bison(-bull)"! On account of the beard the archaeological type is more correctly a Bison-man (M. Hilzheimer, *Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien*, MAOG 2/2 [1926]). The Akkadian word is a loanword from Sumerian. One of the older monsters, associate and adversary of Utu (§ 2.1, 2.2). Cosmic function and name of constellation (§ 2.4).

At home in the mountains, and associated with fabulous animals (§ 4). Type: Glyptique 820.

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

4b. Scorpion-man; gír-tab-lú-u₁₈-lu/*giritablullû*; "Scorpion-man"! Humanized scorpion, associate of Utu (§ 2.1, 2.2). Guardian of the mountain of sunrise and sunset and associated with fabulous animals (§ 4). Later also winged (§ 5), but not to be confused with § 7.32. c. Type: Glyptique 1246. C; older (ED II/III) examples see Teissier, *Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from the Marcopoli Collection*, no. 335.

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

6. Lion-demon; u₄-gal/*ugallu*; "Big Day"! This being belongs to a class of beings personifying days, generally days of death and destruction represented by leonine monsters (§ 2.1). Type: Kolbe, Reliefprogramme, Pl. XII/3.

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

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

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

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

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

11. (No descriptive name); Lamaštu; (unclear; foreign word). The Sumerian name of this demon is dime (spelled *dimēx* (DİM)^(me)), syncretized with an originally distinct demon of the Akkadians. Related to Elamite lion-demon (? § 2.4). Identified with the star *ka-muš-i-kú-e/pašittu* (§ 2.4). Type: Amulet 1 (Lamaštu* Abb. 1).

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

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

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

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

16. Hybrid bull. Not drawn.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. Lion-centaur; ur-maḥ-lú-u₁₈-lu/*ur-maḥlullū*; "Lion-man"! Type: Matthews, o. c. 393.

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

22. Merman; ku₆-lú-u₁₈-lu/*kuullū*; "Fish-man"! Type: Matthews, o. c. 141.

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

25. Lion-dragon; 1) u₄-ka-duḥ-a/*kad-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

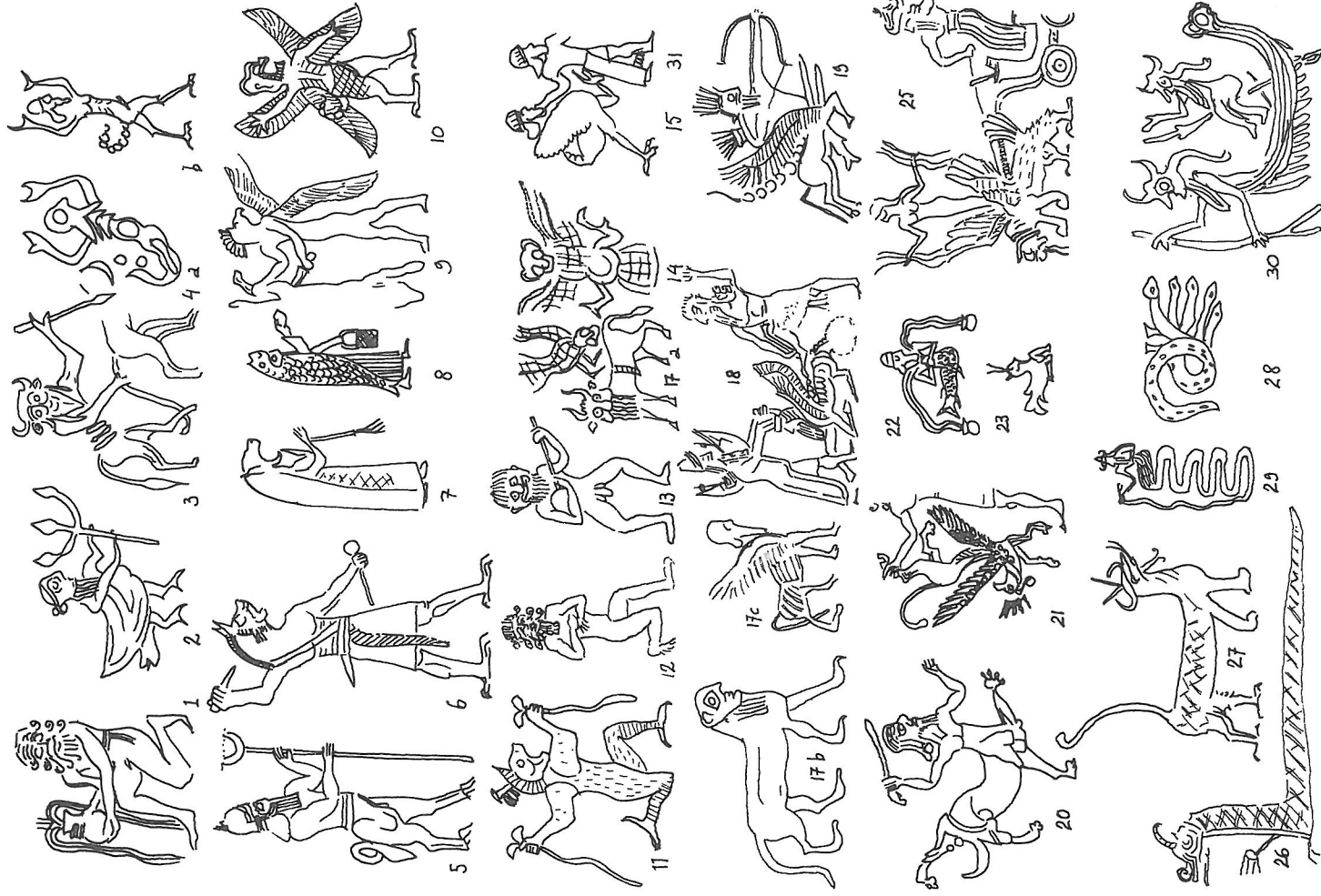
33. Winged goddess of Burney relief: H. Frankfort, *AfO* 12 [1937/39] 130. See § 5.

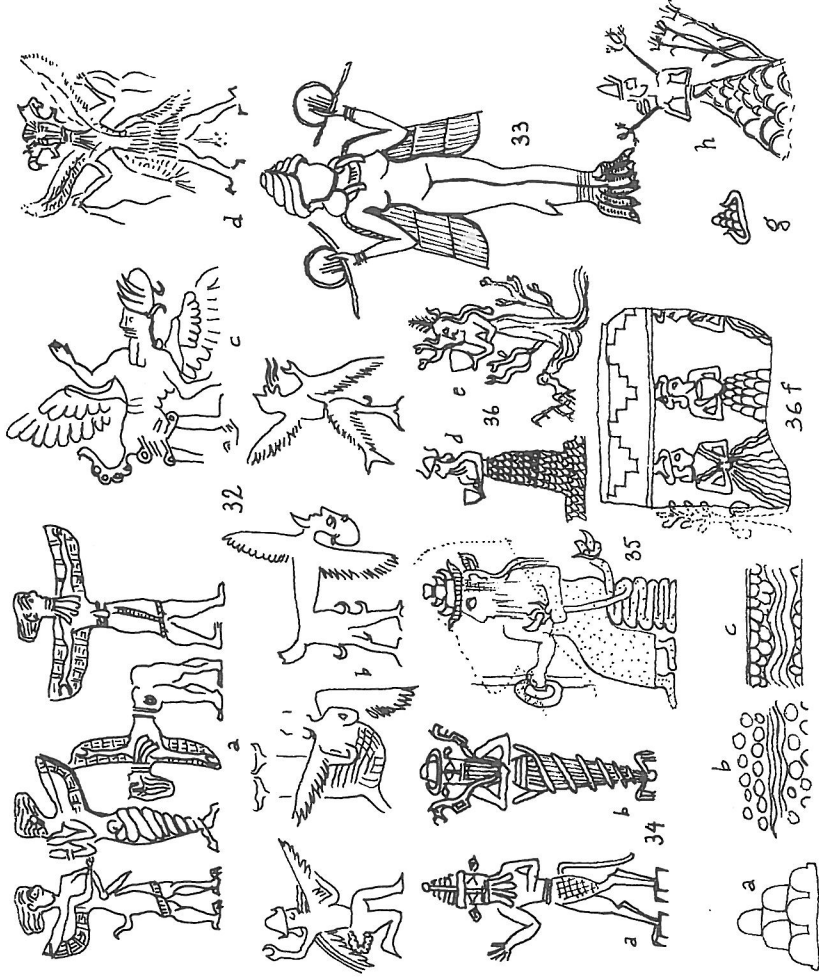
34. Bull-eared god Baḫar(?) (§ 3.1), messenger of Lugal-irra* and Meslamta-ea. a. Porada, *CRRA* 26 Pl. XIIb; b. Porada, *CANES* no. 386.

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

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

F. A. M. Wiggermann





Mischwesen. B. Archäologie. Mesopotamien; s. a. Löwenadler, Löwendrache, Löwenmensch und Menschenlöwe.

§ 1. Introduction. - § 2. Chronology. - § 3. Iconographic types. - § 4. Additional remarks.

§ 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 supernatural beings or, more usually in fact, beneficent creatures intended to counter evil (see A, and cf. E. Ebeling, *Apotropäen*, RIA I 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 resulting amalgam would be the more effective in challenging malevolent forces (as suggested, e. g., by C. J. Gadd, *The Assyrian Sculptures*, British Museum [1934] 14, and by T. Ken-dall, *Boston Museum Bulletin* 75 [1977] 49). As A. H. Layard* puts it: "They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of a man; 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,



