Das geistige Erfassen der Welt
im Alten Orient
Beiträge zu Sprache, Religion, Kultur
und Gesellschaft

Nach Vorarbeiten von Joost Hazenbos
und Annette Zgoll
herausgegeben von Claus Wilcke

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Inhalt

Statt eines Vorwortes
Altorientalistische Jubiläen in Leipzig ............................................................... 7

SPRACHE

Dietz Otto Edzard†
Die altmesopotamischen lexikalischen Listen – verkannte Kunstwerke? .......... 17

Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert
Wort – Vers – Text
Bausteine einer altägyptischen Textologie ......................................................... 27

Manfred Krebernik
Zur Entwicklung des Sprachbewusstseins im Alten Orient ............................... 39

Walther Sallaberger
Benno Landsbergers „Eigenbegrifflichkeit“
in wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Perspektive ....................................................... 63

Annette Zgoll
Wort-Bedeutung und Bedeutung des Wortes.
Von den Leipziger Semitistischen Studien zur modernen Akkadistik ............... 83

RELIGION

Joost Hazenbos
Der Mensch denkt, Gott lenkt
Betrachtungen zum hethitischen Orakelpersonal ............................................. 95

Silvin Košak
Ein Blick in die Bibliothek des Großen Tempels in Hattuša .............................. 111

Doris Prechel
Heinrich Zimmerns Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion ........... 117

Frans A.M. Wiggermann
The Four Winds and the Origins of Pazuzu......................................................... 125
GESELLSCHAFT UND POLITIK

Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum
„Menschen ohne König ...“
Zur Wahrnehmung des Königtums in sumerischen und akkadischen Texten .................................................. 167

Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate
The Hittite Usage of the Concepts of ‘Great Kingship’, the Mutual Guarantee of Royal Succession, the Personal Unswerving Loyalty of the Vassal to his Lord and the ‘Chain of Command’ in Vassal Treaties from the 13th Century B.C.E. ........................................................................................................... 191

Claus Wilcke
Das Recht: Grundlage des sozialen und politischen Diskurses im Alten Orient ................................................. 209

RECHT

Eva Dombradi
Das altbabylonische Urteil: Mediation oder res iudicata?
Zur Stellung des Keilschriftrechts zwischen Rechtsanthropologie und Rechtsgeschichte ................................................................. 245

Hans Neumann
„Gib mir mein Geld zurück!“
Zur rechts- und wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung keilschriftlicher Privatarchive des 3. Jahrtausends v.Chr. ................................................................. 281

MATHEMATIK

Joachim Oelsner
Zur Mathematik des alten Mesopotamien .................................................. 301

INSTITUTSGESCHICHTE

Joachim Oelsner
Leipziger Altorientalistik: 1936-1993 ............................................................ 315

SCHLUSSWORT

Gernot Wilhelm
Bemerkungen zum Selbstverständnis der Altorientalistik als Nachwort zum Leipziger Kolloquium ........................................................................... 331

Abkürzungen .................................................................................................. 341
Indices ........................................................................................................... 349
The Four Winds and the Origins of Pazuzu

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§ 1. Introduction: The problem of Pazuzu’s origins

The most striking fact about Pazuzu is his sudden appearance somewhere in the Iron Age. Since the iconography and demonology of the previous ages are well known, and since their character is generally conservative, this sudden appearance cannot be due to a coincidental weakness of the preserved evidence, but suggests that Pazuzu’s origin lies in a conscious act, in a purposeful break with the past, necessitated presumably by the observation of a gap in the fabric of Mesopotamian magic and its visual expression.

It is precisely this break with the past that stands in the way of a simple and straightforward solution to the problem of Pazuzu’s origins; any solution will somehow suffer from the discontinuity implied by invention, from the gap between the deduced forerunners and the actual novelty. The gap can be narrowed, and the creative moment defined, by investigating the historical conditions for Pazuzu’s existence, and by deriving the motives for his creation from his nature and use.

The nature of Pazuzu is twofold, and the components are only superficially integrated. On the one hand he functions as a domestic spirit, while on the other he is a wind-demon, by nature at home outside the ken of human habitation. As a domestic spirit Pazuzu takes up the functions of his Bronze Age predecessor Ḫuwawa, and like Ḫuwawa’s, Pazuzu’s apotropaic power resides in his head, in its malformed inhuman ugliness deterring unwelcome visitors. The importance of the head is evidenced by the ritual texts, where representations of it are prescribed against a variety of evils, and by the fact that the number of actual heads far exceeds that of complete figures. Pazuzu differs from Ḫuwawa, however, in being specialized against the lilû wind-demons, specifically Lamaštu. As king of the wind-demons and a wind-demon himself his task is to pacify his unruly subjects and to order them back to where they came from. Pazuzu’s two roles are neatly contrasted

2 C. Wilcke, Ḫuwawa/Ḫumbaba (1972-75).
on a Lamaštu amulet (no. 13): The domestic apotropaion is represented by the head on top, staring into the sick-room where the amulet was posted, while the wind-demon is shown in the “narrative” scene below, chasing the demoness back to the netherworld.

The two components of Pazuzu’s nature are integrated by the mythology of the incantations that serve to bring his image to life. There he is represented as a scary but in essence well-meaning traveller (the wind-demon), who seeks the hospitality of people and in return safeguards their homes from unwelcome visitors (the apotropaic domestic spirit). In the incantation written on representations of his head Pazuzu identifies himself: “I am Pazuzu, son of Ḫanpu, king over the evil wind-demons (lilû).” This introduction ensures his entry into the house of his human host, and at the same time legitimizes him in the face of his unruly subjects, the raging winds. Coming upon one of them hiding in the house he reminds it: “I, the one that drives out Evil and exits Fate, [the house] that I enter, Headache and Disorder may not approach and harass it.”

Basically, however, Pazuzu remains a wind-demon, and the incantations employ metaphors to transform him into a domestic spirit. This is shown clearly by a variant of the previous incantation:

I am Pazuzu, son of Ḫanpu, king of the evil wind-demons (lıḫa),
I ascended a mighty mountain that quaked,
and the (evil) winds that I ran into there were headed West.
One by one, I broke their wings.

It does not require a great stretch of imagination to recognize that the “mighty mountain that quaked” is the belly of the pregnant woman, on which Pazuzu’s head looks down from her necklace, and that the winds that blow there are the perils that threaten her and her baby, specifically Lamaštu.

Thus, from his nature and use, it can be concluded that Pazuzu is in origin a wind-demon, adapted for domestic use by mythological metaphors. As will be seen below, the antecedents of his image confirm this conclusion: His body is that of the earlier West wind, while the adaptation to domestic use appears in the head, a development of the head of Ḫuwawa. The process of adaptation, the fusion of head
and body, has left traces in the iconographical record, and will be discussed below in conjunction with the meaning of his name, his parentage, and the motives for transforming the West wind into an opponent of Lamaštu. First, however, the largely misunderstood iconography of the winds must be put in order.

§ 2. The four winds and the antecedents of Pazuzu

Point of departure for a discussion of the winds is a cylinder seal presumably carved in Sippar in the late 19th century B.C.10 The seal is dominated by four giant winged beings, surrounding a smaller weather god on a water-spitting lion-griffin. That the conjunction of these four beings with the weather god is no coincidence, is shown by a series of contemporary and later seals, on which these elements co-occur with rare consequence11. Moreover, in 6 out of 9 cases in which the name of the original owner is known, it contains a reference to the weather god12, or to an element related to the iconography of the seal13. The obvious identification of these four beings with the four winds14 is corroborated by a more detailed observation of the iconography.

The group consists of three males and one female. According to the Adapa legend (MB, of older origin) the South wind is feminine (referred to with -ki and -ša), while the other three winds are her brothers, and masculine15. This at first sight somewhat surprising division of labour has its roots in the Babylonian language, in which the North (ištānu), East (šadû), and West (amurru) winds are formally masculine, while the South wind (šūtu) is formally feminine16. The linguistic derivation of the latter provides a further clue for understanding the iconography: šūtu is derived from šâ'u, “to fly about, to flutter, to circle (said of birds and winds),” which explains the entwined legs of the female winged being, who thus without any doubt is the South wind17.

10 § 5.7.
11 § 5.41.
12 § 5.41.
13 § 5.10.
16 The gender of the winds as mythological beings is sometimes at variance with their grammatical gender. In G. Meier, Keilschrifttexte (1937-1939) 143, ii 24ff., the south and North winds are the loved ones (narammu, fem.) of respectively Ea and Sin, the East and the West winds the loved ones (narammu, masc.) of respectively Anu and Ea.
17 The relation between šâ'u and the actual Mesopotamian South wind (§ 2) is less obvious.
The identity of the other winds can be established on the basis of their position and appearance. To begin with, it is clear that the four form two groups: The South wind and a partly theriomorphic wind opposite her, and the two others, both anthropomorphic but for their wings, and one of them bent-over. The natural solution, that the wind opposite the South wind is the North wind, and that consequently the two others are the East wind and the West wind, is confirmed by the texts, which virtually always group South with North and East with West. Corroborating evidence comes from the positive identification of the bent-over figure as the West wind.

The unique, unnatural, and not obviously purposeful attitude of the bent-over figure, the “acrobat,” needs a highly specific explanation, which again is to be found in the translation of language into image. A lexical tradition going back to the Early Dynastic period transmits a distinct set of names for the four winds, in which the winds are designated (among other) as piriĝ “light lion,” or u₄-men “crowned day-demon,” and distinguished from each other by adjectives or participles. In all versions of this tradition the West wind is distinguished from the East wind by a negation of the defining characteristic: He is “not perfect (šu-du₇),” “not rising from the ground (ki-ta-ê),” “not straight up (si-sá).” Only the latter occurs elsewhere in the lexical corpus, and in a religious text (Enûma Eliš IV 46, garbled). Above, it was established that the bent-over figure must be either the East wind or the West wind, and now the cited lexical tradition enforces a decision: The bent-over figure is the West wind, the “not straight up” and crooked one. Below, we will see this crookedness recur in the genealogy of Pazuzu.

The purpose of the acrobat’s not obviously purposeful attitude then is simply to translate an adjective into an image, and thereby make the figure known as the West wind. That it is not the other way round goes forth from the fact that the words are much older than the image.

The identification of the winds and the determination of their linguistic and cultural background lead to the following conclusions:

• since it is the Babylonian language and the Babylonian lexical tradition to which the images owe their iconography, they must be a Babylonian invention; although it is true

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18 So B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) in his treatment of this group.
19 MSL 17, p. 44 note 1.
20 MSL 17, p. 30:66ff.; p. 44; Malku III 187ff.
21 MSL 17, p.156:158.
22 § 3.
that in the Late Bronze Age their distribution gravitates to the north\textsuperscript{23}, this does not indicate a northern or Hurrian origin\textsuperscript{24}. 

- the group must have been created at a specific time and place, probably under some sort of priestly supervision. The place is likely to have been Sippar where the group first appears, and the date the 19th century B.C.\textsuperscript{25}, the date of its first appearance. Since a seal is hardly the place to introduce new elements of religious iconography, the images must have been presented to the public through some other medium, statutory for instance, created under the supervision of the priesthood of Adad, in whose temple the group would be naturally at home\textsuperscript{26}.

- the direct and unequivocal symbolization of natural elements by mythological beings suggests that other mythological beings, too, may have had a comparable symbolic value, and, more generally, that mythology was consciously manipulated in order to express notions of natural philosophy\textsuperscript{27}.

Although the group as a whole does not, and, in view of its linguistic affiliation, could not have a history prior to the second millennium B.C., the personification of the winds does appear to have third millennium roots. Likely forerunners of the wind gods occur already in ED II (§ 5.1, 2), and one mastering human enemies is an adjunct of Adad and Šala on an Akkadian seal (§ 5.4). Gudea refers to the North wind as a “man (n i t a ) with enormous wings (á- d i r i ),”\textsuperscript{28} and such a figure in fact accompanies Adad and the rain goddess on a contemporary seal (§ 5.6). The scimitar this figure holds connects him to OB images of the North wind holding a dagger (§ 5.7, 8), and probably links up with a piece of folklore preserved in Maqlû V 85, where the North wind scatters the clouds as gallâb šame “shearer of the skies.” That in fact the strong and the cool North wind is expected to clear the sky is shown by an omen cited in a Neo-Assyrian letter\textsuperscript{29}:

“If the sky is cloudy (adîr), (even though) the North wind is sweeping across it (rakîb), there will be a banquet of Nergal, and (consequently) the cattle will diminish”

– an abnormal situation apparently, and therefore not a good sign.

As a group of four the wind gods are very rare. Together they occur thrice in the OB period (§ 5.7, 8, 9, the latter two incomplete), and once in the Late Bronze Age,
on the seal of the Arrapḫan king, Ithi-Teššup (§ 5.17). The latter seal shows the variability of the East and the North winds that is facilitated by the presence of the unmistakable South and West winds, which defines the group as a whole. The East and the North winds of the Ithi-Teššup seal are unique, and do not recur anywhere else in the Late Bronze Age; on principle it remains possible, however, that unrecognized comparanda hide among the large and varied group of similar winged beings current at the time. On one occasion such a figure has a wind blown beard, which links him to the theme, but does not establish his identity as a wind god, since the wind blown beard has disappeared from the other wind gods of the period. A possible alternative identity for this and similar figures is that of a sage, a type known from the Neo-Assyrian period. The uniqueness of the Ithi-Teššup East and North winds, the possible alternative identity of other winged anthropomorphic figures as sages, and the fact that none of the candidates co-occurs with a certain South or West wind suggest that the North and the East winds went largely out of operation before the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Since in the Middle Bronze Age there is but one uncertain example of a North or East wind independent of the group (§ 5.16a, and now also § 5.6 end), it can be concluded that even then they had little personality by themselves.

At the transition of the Bronze Age to the Iron Age the whole group looses its former iconographic integrity. That in the Iron Age there must have been other representations of the winds is indicated by Neo-Assyrian texts attesting to their presence in a cultic context. Although there is no textual proof, the four winged gods dancing on griffins are likely successors to the earlier types (§ 5.37). Of the two well defined types, the South wind is by far the more common one (§ 5.41). She is still recognizable as a wind goddess in the Late Bronze Age (§ 5.41, in a weather god context), but after that time loses her wings (§ 5.33, 34), and probably part of her previous identity. The expected relation of the South wind with Ea is confirmed by the texts, and probably by the iconography, although the evidence is not too strong (§ 5.41, 33). But for the late loss of the wings, the South wind’s appearance is relatively stable (frontal face: § 5.16c, 30, 33). After the Middle Bronze Age she sometimes wears the horned crown of divinity (§ 5.17, 23, 25, 30, 32).

30 F.A.M. Wiggermann, Spirits (1992) 73ff., ṻumu-apkallu, § 5.31b, cf. 33 with wind blown beard; 21a, b, c, 31a, possible sages.
33 G. Meier, Keilschrifttexte (1937-1939) 143 ii 24: narāmti Ea, further evidence cited below.
The bent-over acrobat, the other well defined type, shows a larger range of variation. The earliest form is at once the simplest: But for the wings it is completely anthropomorphic (§ 5.7, 9, partly broken). Already in the Middle Bronze Age the figure may have the talons of a bird of prey (§ 5.12), or a tail, and side feathers half way up his legs (§ 5.13). In the Late Bronze Age he has a feathered tail and bird’s talons on one seal (§ 5.17, with side feathers on the legs), while the feathered tail is replaced by a scorpion’s stinger on one or two others (§ 5.18, 20); in addition he may have bull’s ears (§ 5.20). In the Babylonian South he disappears after the Middle Bronze Age, in the North he survives until the fall of the Mitannian Empire (Nuzi sealings). The faltering personality of his upright peer, the East wind, and the addition of secondary characteristics such as a tail, a scorpion’s stinger, and side feathers on the legs, create an opening for a different representation of the West wind, one without the once defining bent-over attitude, but still recognizable by the secondary features. It seems that in fact there is such a figure on a limestone slab from the OB or Mitannian temple at Tell al-Rimah (§ 5.38a). In any case, it is the West wind of the Mitannian North that comes closest to Pazuzu in time, place, and form, the difference between the West wind and Pazuzu lies in the head.

The presence of the essential wings makes the addition of further avian features to these bird-like creatures understandable (talons of a bird of prey, feathered tail, side feathers). Less understandable is the appearance of a scorpion’s stinger on the West wind of the Late Bronze Age. A possible explanation lies in the constellation associated with each of the winds.34 According to MUL.APIN II i 68ff.35 these are Ursa Major for the North wind, Piscis Austrinus for the South wind, Scorpio (mul.GÍR.TAB) for the West wind, and Perseus and the Pleiades for the East wind. For a period each year around the Spring equinox the Pleiades rise in the morning at the eastern horizon, while Scorpio sets at the western horizon. If in fact the scorpion’s stinger on the West wind derives from the associated constellation, the scorpion’s stinger that occurs once on another wind (§ 5.17; cf. also the scorpion’s stinger on the abûbu-dragon) must have a different reason.

Literary traditions rooted in the Third millennium suggest the existence of alternative images of the winds that were far more theriomorphic than the basically anthropomorphic ones of Middle and Late Bronze Age art.36 Such monsters (representing violent weather phenomena) are in fact attested in Akkadian art (§ 5.4, 5), and their successors in later art presumable retained (part of) their symbolic value. The Late Bronze Age witnesses the creation of a new monster of that type,

36 GH 36ff., for MB and SB, e.g., see J. Friedrich, Bruchstücke (1930) 12, l. 13ff.; SBTU 3, 59 obv. ii 8ff.; SBTU 4, 124 obv. iii 8ff.; CT 16, 19:12ff.
the *abūbu*-dragon, who represents the flood (violent weather phenomenon!), and looks like a lion-griffin (another storm-dragon) with a scorpion’s stinger instead of a feathertail. The Arabic cognate of *abūbu* (habūb) denotes the sand storm.

On the mythological and religious properties of the winds, the texts are characteristically reticent. Besides that they are kin, “sons of one mother,” nothing is known about their genealogy. Basically they are supernatural travellers, at home in the wide world outside. As such they are once called the “messengers of Anu, the King.” In *GH* A 36 ff. (and B 38ff.) they have learned the roads on earth from above, and on the initiative of Utu guide Gilgameš on his journey to the cedar forest. In a ritual against the “murderous foes” that a traveller expects to meet on the way, he seeks the support not only of Adad, the Lady of the steppe (*Bēlet-Šēri*), and *KASKAL.KUR*, but also of the four winds. The incantation in an unpublished royal ritual against human enemies (BM 98561) invokes the South and East winds as guardians; here as elsewhere (G. Meyer, Keilschrifttexte [1937-1939] 143 ii 32) the winds are represented by *passū*, some sort of figurines. A South wind mastering animals is the main theme of a seal inscribed with a *Ḫulbazizi*-type incantation (§ 5.32) “Marduk is the god who looks after me.” The context suggests that this image had an apotropaic value.

The iconography matches the image of the winds presented by the texts. They support the king in the field, both in battle and on the hunt (§ 5.14, 28). This reminds of a Sumerian proverb, in which the East wind is called the “friend of Narām-Sîn.” The seals confirm the great outdoors as the natural habitat of the winds by showing them surrounded by wild life (§ 5.7, 11d, 12, 13, 14), or mastering animals (§ 5.25, 26, 27, 32, 33, 35). In the latter function they recur in a ritual against field pests, in which the winds are entreated to lead “the dogs of Nin-kilim” (the field pests) to the “latch of heaven,” where the heat of the sun will roast them (A.R. George, Field Pests [1999] 299).

The winds are but occasionally thought of as supernatural beings, and rarely supplied with the determinative for gods, or with the horned crown of divinity (only in Late Bronze Age). *Dalḥamun* “Whirl wind” is a name of Adad, and of his

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38 GH A 36; family relations implied by Adapa Legend cited § 1.
39 CT 16, 19:26f., and duplicates.
40 G. Meier, Keilschrifttexte (1937-1939) 143 ii 32; SB.
41 SP 4.9, B. Alster, Proverbs (1997) 114.
43 An = *Anu ša amēli* 57 and passim.
divine groom. In a passage that with slight variation recurs in various texts each of the winds is associated with a god: The South wind with Ea, the East wind with Enlil, the North wind with Ninlil (var. Adad and Ninurta), and the West wind with Anu. The meaning of these associations is unclear, however, and only that of the South wind with Ea has currency elsewhere.

The characters of the individual winds undoubtedly relate to the realities of the Mesopotamian plains. According to a Sumerian proverb:

the North wind is the wind of satisfaction, the South wind overthrows the men it hits, the East wind is the wind that brings rain, and the West wind is mightier than the man living there.

The cool North wind, the “shearer of the skies,” is generally held in good repute. Gudea expects him to blow favourably from the mountains; in the theodicy the speaker tells his friend “your insight is a North wind, a pleasant breeze (manītu) for the people.” Esarhaddon, beleaguering Uppumu on an unfavourable day, is beset by the onslaught of an Evil Day(-demon), who sets fire to the ramp; then, the king assures us, on the order of Marduk the North wind, a “pleasant breeze of the divine lord blew for me, and turned the tongues of fire back to Uppumu.”

The South wind is a hot humid wind blowing in from the Indian Ocean, and often accompanied by thunderstorms; after the North wind, it is the most frequent wind in Southern Iraq. In winter, the rains brought by the South wind are a welcome and necessary addition to the water needed for agricultural purposes, in summer the humid heat (up to 50°), referred to as “fever,” causes an immense lassitude, and aggravates ailments. In line with modern experience the ancient South wind was felt to be sometimes good, and sometimes evil. Esarhaddon takes a positive view when he calls her the “breeze of Ea, whose blowing is favourable for performing kingship,” and in an SB incantation she acts together with the other winds against...
murderous foes. An unpublished Middle Assyrian text from Aššur may imply a minor cult. In her evil aspect the South wind is probably the same as the alû-demon, who "covers the land." Demon South winds occur in bilingual texts. In the proverb just cited the South wind “overthrows the men it hits.” In Maqlû V 82ff. the witch is imagined as a South wind carrying clouds, chased away by the “shearer of the skies,” the North wind; in Maqlû VII 4 the North wind is assisted by the West wind.

The two least frequent winds, the East wind and the West wind, are correspondingly rare in the texts. The East wind is the “wind of prosperity, the friend of Narām-Sîn” in the Sumerian proverb cited above, and the West wind is virtually ignored.

On several thousands of Middle and Late Bronze Age seals the West wind occurs only eight times against the the South wind twenty-three times. He is a rare figure within a rare group. Apparently the image does not carry much weight, which means that it is free to be reused in a different context.

§ 3. The creation of Pazuzu

The creation of the new apotropaic demon Pazuzu consists of two connected acts: Developing an image, and inventing a name and pedigree. As was argued above (§ 1), the resulting neophyte has a twofold character, on the one hand he is a wind-demon, and on the other a domestic spirit. Now that the iconography of the Middle and Late Bronze Age wind-demons has been put in order, it may be asked what of Pazuzu’s appearance represents the wind-demon. The last West wind of the Late Bronze Age looks like a Pazuzu with a different head (§ 5.20), and thus it is Pazuzu’s body that represents the wind-demon, not the head.

Since the apotropaic powers of the West wind are weak or non-existent (§ 2), those of Pazuzu must reside in his new head, an observation that is corroborated by the fact that the head alone is widely used as an apotropaion. Although Pazuzu’s head is a new invention, it must somehow be the successor of Ḫuwawa’s head, the only known Bronze Age monster head with an apotropaic function. In fact, Bronze Age art and Bronze Age texts attest to the existence of a relation between the two supernatural beings that both inhabit the same distant mountain in the West. In three out of nine cases the image of the West wind co-occurs with a Ḫuwawa head (§ 5.7,

54 G. Meier, Keilschrifttexte (1937-1939) 143 ii 24.
56 CAD alû A, discussion section; cf. A. Sjöberg, Collection (1969) 102f.
57 CT 16, 19:1ff. and duplicates; Lugale 81: i₃₃₃₁ ᴵ₃₂₁-
17, 38a), hardly a coincidence, but due to the nature of artistic expression the implied relation remains unspecified. A line from the proverb cited above (SP 4.9) may serve to underpin the a priori expectation of a common home: “the West wind is the wind that is mightier than the man living there” (in the West). The proverb refers to the Boogey Man Ḫuwawa in the same oblique manner as Gilgamesh and Ḫuwawa A 1 does: “the mountain of the man living there.”

That the composite image of Pazuzu did not find its final form at once, but remained in flux during the Iron Age, goes forth from the existence of variant trial Pazuzus with aberrant heads (§ 5.39a, 39b), which may be combined with regular Pazuzu heads on the same object. More generally speaking, the exchange of body parts and the creation of new types is a well attested phenomenon from the Late Bronze Age onwards59, so that the creation of Pazuzu’s image is not an isolated incident, but partakes in a tendency to adapt existing iconographical types to contemporary demands.

The motive for Pazuzu’s creation must be looked for in his only practical use, which is as an apotropaion. Although the ritual texts tend to broaden the scope of Pazuzu’s apotropaic application, the incantations make it clear that his demonic adversaries are the evil wind-demons (lilû), over whom he has power by virtue of the fact that he is their king.

As is evident from the amulets, however, Pazuzu’s arch enemy is Lamaštu, a far more potent foe than the faceless lilû’s. Originally Lamaštu was a monstrous baby snatching demoness, an independent figure without any special relation to other demons, or to a demonic opponent. In the Late Bronze Age, however, Lamaštu became a member of the lilû-class60, which changed the power structure of the demonic world. It is in this novel conjunction of evils that Pazuzu’s origin must be found: A new position opened up for an equally potent counter-demon, king over all lilû’s, a monster that would be able to force Lamaštu and her peers out of the house and back to the netherworld. The candidate should combine the properties of a domestic apotropaion, a kind of Huwawa, with those of a tirelessly traveller back and forth to the netherworld, a kind of West wind. And indeed, that is what Pazuzu does.

When it is kept in mind that the figure of the West wind made its last appearance in the Mitannian North, and that Huwawa goes out of fashion in the Late Bronze Age, the evidence on the date and place of Pazuzu’s creation seems to converge on the Middle Assyrian Empire, the date and place of Lamaštu’s new image as well. That Pazuzu is not attested prior to the Iron Age may well be coincidence; the

59 abûbu, § 2, variant with laḫmu head: D.M. Matthews, Principles (1990) no. 401; below, § 5.38c.
bilingual incantations can be taken to point to an earlier date, as well as perhaps his appearance in an *alamdimmu* omen\(^{61}\).

The derivation of Pazuzu’s image from the “not perfect,” “not straight” West wind provides a definite clue to the meaning of his father’s name, Ḫanāp/bu. The word looks Semitic, and has been considered to derive from Babylonian Ḫanāp/bu, “to be luxuriant.”\(^{62}\) This derivation makes no obvious sense, but there is a West-Semitic alternative in the root ḤNP, attested in Hebrew and Arabic,\(^{63}\) and meaning “to limp, to be perverted.” A father called “The limping one” fits Pazuzu’s origin perfectly.

For the word Pazuzu there are two possible solutions. The Neo-Assyrian PN Pa-
zu-zu occurs once in a text from Tall Halaf\(^{64}\), and is explained by Zadok\(^{65}\) as deriving either from Aramaic *p’ezôzā*, “made of fine gold,” or from Aramaic PZZ, “to be impetuous, agile,” cf. Hebrew PZZ, “eilfertig sein.”\(^{66}\) The latter derivation fits the demon very well: Pazûzu, “The impetuous (or: agile) one.” Whether the Neo-Assyrian names Ba-su-su and Ba-zu-zu reflect the same word must remain undecided\(^{67}\).

The second solution is more fanciful; Pasusu would be derived from PSS, an unattested secondary variant of PSH, known in Babylonian from the noun *pessû*, “halt,” or “dwarf.” This would place Pasusu in the class of apotropaic dwarfs well attested both in Babylonia and in Egypt. In fact, on one well-made Lamaštu amulet (§ 5.39e) Pasusu has remarkably short legs, and in an inscription\(^{68}\) he calls himself “ū-GU-uʾ, cripple.”\(^{69}\)


\(^{62}\) CAD Ḫ 75f.; AHw 320.

\(^{63}\) HAL 3 s.v. ḤNP II.

\(^{64}\) TH 110 rev. 17.

\(^{65}\) R. Zadok, West Semites (1977) 129.

\(^{66}\) HAL 3 s.v. PZZ.

\(^{67}\) PNA 1/II 277, 279; all references courtesy Dr. R. Jas.

\(^{68}\) AO 2490, see C. Frank, Köpfe (1910) 25f.

\(^{69}\) *guttula to akû B* ?
§ 4. Philology and the study of ancient art

B. Landsberger\(^70\) has the following to say on the study of ancient art; I quote him in full:

Demgegenüber erkenne ich die Priorität der Archäologie insofern an, als sie durch die Stilanalyse die Einfühlung in fremdes Wesen auch dann ermöglicht, wenn uns konkrete Gedankeninhalte nicht zugänglich sind; als sie dort, wo sowohl Bilder wie Texte vorhanden sind, unserer Erkenntnis der Kultur sozusagen eine zweite Dimension gibt (man denke etwa an Gudea’s Inschriften einerseits, seine Statuen und Weihobjekte andererseits oder an die Konzeption der assyrischen Kultur gleichzeitig aus Reliefs und Inschriften); als somit die instinktive Verhaftung der Künstler in einer nationalen Kultur durch die Stilanalyse der Bilder, trotz der Gedankenleere dieses Aktes, mit einer Unmittelbarkeit, Tiefe und Feinheit aufgespürt wird, wie sie weder der Texte interpretierende Philologe noch auch der aus stückhaftem Material konstruierende Historiker erreichen können.

F.R. Kraus\(^71\), trying to define how Moortgat’s Tammuz should have been written, isolates two future tasks, one philological (simply a book about Tamūz), one archaeological. The description of the archaeological task consists of the Landsberger text cited above, introduced by a gloss of his own:

Der Versuch, altorientalische Weltanschauungen, die wir nicht durch eine Literatur kennen, aus der im Sinne der Kunstwissenschaft verstandenen Kunst abzulesen, steht noch aus.

The fact that Kraus cites Landsberger’s general rule and applies it to the specific problem of the ideal Tammuz book, reveals a glimpse of the usually secret creed of the Leipziger Schule, the outline of a responsible art history.

The creed of the LS, however, is hard to understand. How could a book on Tammuz, written by a philologist and based on the texts, profit from an art historical study that has deduced a parallel universe from art alone – hopefully well understood *im Sinne der Kunstwissenschaft*, and not the flight of fancy produced by Moortgat and his likes. The two books would be incompatible.

An example of what I mean is Landsberger’s reaction to Moortgat’s *Gottkönig als Krieger*, his designation of a well known iconographical type, the same as that called by E. Porada the “figure with the mace.” With this composite name Moortgat effectively defined a figure of Old Babylonian art, which looks like a king, but appears in the role of a minor deity, and is virtually always holding a mace, the attribute of a warrior. One may not like composite names, or assess the figure

\(^70\) B. Landsberger, *Sam’al* (1948) 87f.
\(^71\) F.R. Kraus, Moortgat (1953) 76.
differently, but on principle there is nothing wrong in Sinne der Kunstwissenschaft with this type of descriptive designations. Landsberger, however, called Moortgat’s designation a Schreibtischgebilde, implying that Gottkönig als Krieger does not translate any Mesopotamian word, and therefore is a useless modern invention. Landsberger’s complaint reveals a real problem: the philologist tries to speak with the tongue of the ancients, whereas the art historian observes facts, and then formulates a modern opinion on the material at hand. The necessarily non-linguistic nature of this method is, I think, what Landsberger meant with the Gedankenleere des Aktes. In his statement of principle he hesitantly (trotz) accepts this Gedankenleere, but in practice, as with Moortgat’s Gottkönig als Krieger, he rejects it as useless.

The philologist, in a way, is uncritical; he reconstructs ancient systems of theology, society or state, as they existed in the minds that used the language and produced the written documents. To say, for instance, that the invention of gods serves only the powerful, is beyond philology, an interpretation that it can never sustain, because what it uses, theology, serves to veil unpleasant truths, not to make them explicit. For pure art history in Landsberger’s sense, on the contrary, the words of the ancients are irrelevant, and the results can be only critical, that is they reveal a truth beyond what the object or figure expressed for the ancient viewer – a speechless, subconscious truth. The vocabulary of this type of art history may include terms like power relation, ostentation, and state formation, and even if the philologist acknowledges the Unmittelbarkeit, Tiefe und Feinheit of the culture conjured up by the art historian, he has no choice but to ignore it as useless: It all remains a hopeless Gottkönig als Krieger that can be matched with nothing in his vocabulary; or: each discipline remains caught in its own Eigenbegrifflichkeit.

The heart of the matter is that the results of a pure art history are useless to philology, and vice versa. The two disciplines enter different material from a different angle, and the results do not fuse. The percept of the Leipziger Schule (Landsberger and Kraus) aggravates matters by demanding something from the art historian that the philologist cannot and will not use, it perpetuates the cleft, instead of trying to bridge it. This, to be true, is not to blame on the LS alone; the ill-feelings between philologists and art historians (archaeologists) are universal, in Classics, in Egyptology, and even in Maya studies, where they started immediately after the script was deciphered.

My own method follows the practice of the Leipziger Schule, rather than its creed. It is rooted in a conscious application of linguistics to visual problems of “meaning,” which often boils down to the explanation of single figures by their lexical counterparts, or Gottkönig als Krieger by šēdu, to abide with the example. I can sum it up with one phrase: iconography is the continuation of lexicography with different means. The very real gap between philology and art history cannot be
bridged by this method. Only big words can do the trick, the avoidance of which is the LS’s main reason of existence.

§ 5. Catalogue and comparanda

1., 2. In his article on the Bird-Man, P. Amiet, L’Homme-oiseau (1952) 153 (Figs. 1 and 2), gives two examples (Fara Pl. 54f., SCS 471) of ED II “Bird-Men” that do not conform to the regular Bird-Man (cf. A. Green, Mischwesen [1994] § 3.2), who is rarely winged (P. Amiet, o.c. 164 Fig. 6, Syrian), and completely avian below the waist in the ED period (the legs become human in the Akkad period). The aberrant “Bird-Men,” or rather winged heroes, master animals on the two seals cited, and are the forerunners of the Akkadian examples mastering human beings (5.3, 5.4 both cited by P. Amiet, o.c., Figs. 14, 15).

3. Cylinder seal from Ur (UE II 325ff. no. 394): R.M. Boehmer, Entwicklung (1965) Abb. 340. Winged god mastering two humans and standing on a third (detail drawn); beside him is Šamaš with saw and rays, and a contest between two naked gods, the victor with rays. Akkadian.

4. Cylinder seal (VA 611, dealer): A. Moortgat, Rollsiegel (1940) no. 233; R.M. Boehmer, Entwicklung (1965) Abb. 333. Winged god mastering two humans and standing on a third; to his left Adad and Šala each on a lion-griffin, with in between them a lion-demon/ugallu pacing menacingly through the sky. The lion-demon is associated with Adad and Šamaš, sometimes an enemy of the gods, and impersonates violent weather phenomena (A. Green, Lion-Demon [1986] 169 no. 8, 156ff.; F.A.M. Wiggermann, Spirits [1992] 169ff.). As the expression of violent weather phenomena he is replaced by the lion-griffin on other Akkadian seals.

Boehmer, Entwicklung [1965] Abb. 367ff.; A. Vanel, L’Iconographie [1965] 173 Figs. 5-8; E.D. van Buren, Rain-Goddess [1959]; M. van Loon, Rain Goddess [1990]; idem, Rainbow 1992). That rain was in fact somehow expressed in contemporary art is shown by Ibbi-Sin’s dedication of a bowl to Nanna, which is adorned with bull-men, snakes (gu-šaš-muš-ša), and awful rain(-clouds) (šeg ni-il) (FAOS 9/2 286: 19f.); the adjective indicates that these rain(-clouds) were depicted as monsters (5.4f.), rather than as (goddesses with) streams.

An isolated North Babylonian North wind (lightning coming from his wings) occurs on a seal from Sippar (Klengel-Brandt, Wettergottdarstellung [2002] Abb. 3, OB) in a clear weather god context.

Middle Bronze Age – Babylonian

7. Cylinder seal, said to have been acquired by E. Herzfeld near Borsippa (BM 134773): D. Collon, Catalogue (1986) no. 451; eadem, Impressions (1987) no. 867; B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) Pl. Ie (photos); E. Porada, Remarks (1979) Fig. 3 (drawing here reproduced). The four wind spirits have wind-blown hair, the north Wind holds a dagger or stick in his left hand, the entwined legs of the south wind end in lion’s paws, not snakes. In the field: priest with cup and pail, fly, Huwawa head, laḫmu head, hedgehog, dog, lion-fishes, sun-disc plus crescent. The other elements in the field may serve to define the nature of the different winds: East wind with couchant (wild) bull and bezoar goat, West wind with couchant ram. The presence of Huwawa and laḫmu heads may not be coincidental (cf. 5.17).

On the basis of composition, style, and filling motives D. Collon, Catalogue (1986) 175f., ascribed this seal to a Sippar workshop, the same that produced 5.8 and 5.9 below. On the basis of 5.9 she dates the whole group to the late 19th century B.C. (eadem, Impressions [1987] 167 ad no. 782). She further suggests that the seal was “specially commissioned and made for a foreign, probably northern, merchant and dignitary.” Above, I have shown that the wind spirits are a Babylonian invention, so that the second part of this assessment cannot be upheld.
8. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Sippar dated to Samsu-iluna 27 (BM 79484A): L. Dekriere, Documents (1995) no. 401 (text, rent of an edakkumm); D. Collon, Impressions (1987) no. 782; cf. eadem, Catalogue (1986) 176 ad 451. None of the parties or witnesses of this document (sealed with three seals) have a name containing Adad or Šala. Collon assigned this seal to a Sippar workshop (cf. 5.7), and dated it to the late 19th c. B.C. The West wind is probably to be restored to the left of the East wind, and the North wind to the right of the South wind, so that the composition parallels that of 5.7 (dotted lines in drawing). Parallels for a bull or lion (?) added to Adad’s lion-griffin date to the first part of the Old Babylonian period: F. Blocher, Siegelabrollungen (1992) no.s 22 (Immerum), 313 (Apil-Sin); 5.16b below (Tell Leilan).

9. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Larsa dated to Warad-Sin 9 (YBC 5698): B. Buchanan, Seals (1981) no. 763; idem, Snake Goddess (1971) Pl. 1a (photos) and Fig. 1 (drawing D. Osterle, redrawn). The complete scene probably showed all four winds, just as
5.7 and 5.8 from the same workshop. The feet of the South wind end in serpent’s tails (E. Porada, Remarks [1979] 6 and Fig. 5), or at least are not marked as claws.

10. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet envelope from Sippar dated to Hammurabi 18 (VAT 902): VS 9: 11. E. Klengel-Brandt, Siegelabrollungen (1989) 294ff. no. 40c (drawing here reproduced). The owner of the seal is called Ṭābšār-ili “The breath (lit. Wind) of the god is pleasant” (for the relatively rare type see J.J. Stamm, Namengebung [1939] 234ff.). Since the likelihood of an accidental co-occurrence of a relatively rare PN type with an extremely rare iconographical type is negligible, the conclusion is warranted that the “god” in the name is Ea, whom the iconography honors by showing his benevolent presence (flowing vase) in the lower register, and his propitious “breath,” the South wind, in the upper one.


b. Cylinder seal (VA 827, dealer): A. Moortgat, Rollsiegel (1940) no. 472; H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (1939) Pl. XXIXe; B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) 1 note 3 (early Old
Babylonian on account of “quasi-modelled style”). Contest scenes (lāhmu with lion, lion with bull, lion-griffin with bull) with in between a diminutive South wind.

a. Cylinder seal impression on an “unopened envelope” dated to Samsu-iluna 30 (HSM 109): D.G. Lyon, Seal (1906) 135ff.; A. Goetze, Texts (1957) 77 (text: share of inheritance); L. al Gailani-Werr, Table (1980) 76 no. 43. Diminutive South wind facing a king carrying a kid to an enthroned deity holding a stylus; behind the king a goddess with flowing vase and a diminutive lāhmu. None of the parties or witnesses of this document (sealed with seven seals) has a name containing Adad or Šala (the father of one of the witnesses is called Ipqu-Šala).

b. Cylinder seal (Louvre, dealer): L. Delaporte, Musée (1923) A 387; cf. B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) 8f. (later Old Babylonian on account of linear style). To the left of the group shown in the drawing are two bull-men holding a double lion-scythe standard. The South wind seems to be holding a lightning fork in its left hand.

Northern Mesopotamian and Syrian

12. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Sippar dated to the reign of Samsu-iluna (IM 85875): L. al Gailani-Werr, W. al Jadir, Seal (1981) no. 69 (drawing here reproduced). That the sphinx-like being following the bent-over West wind is not a stand-in for one of the other winds is shown by the hair, which in contrast to that of the West wind is not wind-blown.
13. Cylinder seal (Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem; dealer): E. Williams-Forte in: O.W. Muscarella, Ladders (1981) 105f. no. 65 (assigned a North Mesopotamian origin, and dated to ca. 1850-1700). A weather god with lightning forks is accompanied by three winged spirits with wind-blown hair, the middle one of which (West wind) is bent-over, and seems to have a bird’s tail rather than a scorpion’s stinger (contra R. Mayer-Opificius, Sonne [1984] 193 note 16). In the field are a lion, a bird, and a small quadruped, possibly a fox. The missing wind is the South wind.


15. Cylinder seal (Beyrouth, dealer; present location unknown): F. Bisson de la Roque et al., Trésor (1953) 41 (drawing only, here reproduced); cf. B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) 7 note 38, 14 (Syrian, dated to before 1800 B.C. on the basis of style). The man-
headed bird (a creation of the Iron Age) in combination with the ball-staff (limited to the Middle Bronze Age), and a spoked sun, throw doubt on the authenticity of this seal.

16. Details: a. Bronze beaker (Brooklyn Museum 75.29; dealer): published and discussed by B. Schlossman, Beakers (1974-1977) 151ff., 144 Fig. 2 (drawing; detail here reproduced), authenticity doubted by O.W. Muscarella, Lie (2002) 121 no. 11. The iconographic details – the leonine being on top of a lion-griffin in combination with a wind spirit (parallels see above 5.8) – inspire confidence both in the authenticity of the piece, and in Schlossmann’s assessment of its date (around 1850) and provenance (border, Iranian region). As a parallel for the wind god, B. Schlossman, o.c., cites an unexcavated silver cup (AO 22373: 156 and Fig. 21), for which she suggests an early second millennium date (late second millennium date proposed by B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess [1971] 10 note 46, and by E. Porada, Remarks [1979] 4). The wind god on this cup has a tail, leonine feet, and wind-blown hair, but lacks the essential wings, which in combination with the stylistic problems briefly discussed by E. Porada, Remarks (1979) 4 (citing P. Amiet: different from other “Amlash” material, special workshop postulated) indicts the piece together with its – said to be from Amlash/Marlik – peers exhibited and published by the Musée Rath, Trésors (1966) 95 no. 404 and Pl. 7; discussed and indicted by O.W. Muscarella, Lie (2002) 34 nos. 14-19.

b. Cylinder seal impression on tablets from Tell Leilan dated to the 18th century B.C. (L 85-482, L 87-161): D. Parayre, Définition (1993) 514 and 529 Fig. 3. Parayre considers the “double dragon” (lion-griffin carrying a bull or lion, see 5.8, 5.16a) a northern feature, and on that basis assigns the seal to a northern workshop (see also D. Parayre, Tell Leilan [1989] 131 ad no. 15). Here and elsewhere the (winged) nude or semi-nude goddess may be replacing a South wind figure, but the two must not be merged into one type, since they can co-occur (naked goddess and South wind: 5.14, 5.17; winged naked goddess and South wind: 5.22).

c. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Tell Leilan dated (after archaeological context) to ca. 1760-1740 B.C. (L 87-467): D. Parayre, Définition (1993) 514 and 529 Fig. 4 (here reproduced). Citing B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971), Parayre assigns the figure with intertwined legs and the Tell Leilan seal to the north (see also D. Parayre, Tell Leilan [1989] 131 ad no. 16; a southern origin for this figure is suggested above). The en face representation is borrowed from the naked goddess (see provisionally C. Uehlinger, Nackte Göttin [1998], F.A.M. Wiggermann, Naked Goddess [1998], with previous literature and suggestions on functions, see also 5.30).
Late Bronze Age – Northern Mesopotamian (Mitannian) and Syrian

Cylinder seal impressions on Nuzi tablets dated to the 14th century B.C.: D.L. Stein, Seal Impressions (1993) no. 659 (Archive of Šilwa-Teššup no. 712); also D.L. Stein, Inhalte (1988) 177ff., 193, 203 Fig. 10 (discussion and drawing, details here reproduced); RIMA 1 335 (transcription and translation). The main components of the scene are a praying king (probably the owner of the seal himself, king İṭḫi-Teššup) under a sun-disc with crescent, and the weather god, in Nuzi Teššup, holding a lightning bolt and standing on his lion-griffin. The naked goddess in the lower right corner is his consort, in Nuzi Śauška, who is accompanied by a double-headed griffin-demon explained by D.L. Stein, Inhalte (1988) 180ff. as one of her hypostases. There are four further winged Mischwesen present on the seal, two of which D.L. Stein, o.c., 177ff., recognizes as the successors of the earlier west (a: „Vogelmensch“) and south (b: „Schlangengöttin“) winds, and two of which she dissociates from the group of four winds, undoubtedly because of their widely different images. The latter two are identified respectively as a winged scorpion-man (c), which he clearly is not (the scorpion-man has the talons of a bird of prey), and as a development of the Old Babylonian lion-fish (d), far-fetched and not supported by the actual image (on the earlier drawing, T. Beran, Glyptik [1957] 204 Abb. 107, he did have the tail of a fish). In fact, neither (c) nor (d) belongs to any of the established Mischwesen types, they are *unica* and occurring only here, which means that now as well as in antiquity their meaning depends completely on the present context. Thus, notwithstanding the widely different images, they must be viewed as successors of the Middle Bronze Age North and East winds, defined by the presence of their clearly recognizable peers, the South and West winds. While wings in this period are a widely spread and well-nigh meaningless iconographic feature (F.A.M. Wiggermann, Mischwesen [1993-1997] § 5), it is the presence of fire/water (c), and lightning (d; see U. Moortgat-Correns, Kultbild [1988] 124f., *Aḥābu* with lightning bolt) emanating from their mouths that establishes their character as weather phenomena, courtiers of the weather god and his consort. In the field is a Ḫuwawa-type head just above the wing of the West wind and touching (c). The similar position of a Ḫuwawa head on 5.7 may not be coincidental (see above on the ancestry of Pazuzu).
18. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi: JEN 110, E. Porada, Seal Impressions (1947) 61 no. 730. Porada recognizes a weather god (Taššup) on a lion-griffin, the weather god’s bull in the upper field, and below that the “scorpion-man in acrobatic posture, bending his head to the ground.” The seal is owned and used by Tarmi-Taššup, the son of Eḫli-Taššup (JEN 110:1, 11), whose name is followed in the seal inscription by a statement of personal piety: ša Adad [ša Šala], “of Adad, [of Šala].”

19. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi (SMN 2654): HSS 14 no. 24 (copy), pl. 117, no. 300 (photo); T. Beran, Glyptik (1957) 213f. Abb. 111 (drawing here reproduced); D.M. Matthews, Principles (1990) no. 473. Letter of Tehip-apu, the vizier, from the archive of Eḫli-Taššup. The main figure resembles the West wind of 5.20 (bent-over), but there is no evidence for claws or a scorpion’s stinger, and no obvious relation to the weather god. Similar
(claws, no tail or stinger) is a winged figure holding a lightning fork on a sealing from the archive of Šilwa-Teššup (D.L. Stein, Seal Impressions [1993] no. 258). The relation of these beings to the winds must remain undefined.

20. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi (SMN 1428): HSS 14 p. XIII (owned/used by Ḫutip-Teššup), pl. 111, no. 270 (photo); T. Beran, Glyptik (1957) 212f. Abb. 110 (drawing); B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) Pl. IIb (photo); D.M. Matthews, Principles (1990) no. 468 (drawing). Two heraldically doubled West winds (bull’s ears, scorpion’s stingers, talons) under a winged sun-disc from which water (R. Mayer-Opificius, Sonne [1984] 192f., 198f., 201, 206) flows down. In the centre of the scene (in the drawing on the left) is a weather goddess with double axe and lightning fork.


23. Cylinder seal (Ermitage, dealer): E. Porada, Siegelzyllinder-Abrollungen (1974-1977) 141 Abb. 7 (photo); W.H. Ward, Seal Cylinders (1910) no. 955 (drawing here reproduced); H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (1939) 267 Fig. 90; M. Matthews, Principles (1990) no. 475. South wind attended to by two naked heroes. The naked heroes are clearly some kind of spiritual beings, probably the variant ḫmnw (type „Mann“) known from apotropaic art (F.A.M. Wiggermann, Exit talim! [1981-1982] 92); on 5.33 a relation to Ea is indicated by the presence of his carp-goats. A verbal relation between lú-uₜ₁₄₃₈₅₁ “primitive man” (still uncivilized, and not dressed) and im-uₜ₁₄₃₈₅₁ “South wind” is suggestive, but needs corroboration (see above note 54).


25. Cylinder seal impression on a tablet from Nuzi: JEN 409, E. Porada, Seal Impressions (1947) no. 720; D.L. Stein, Inhalte (1988) 204 ad 13 (literature), 192 Abb. 13 (drawing here reproduced). The text identifies the owner/user of the seal as Tarmi-Teššup, son of Arteja. South wind rising over two lion-griffins. The South wind holds two objects (mirrors), which elsewhere in the same period are held by a nude winged goddess (D.L. Stein, Inhalte [1988] 177f. and Fig. 12), probably Šauška.


28. Sculptured caprid’s horn from temple M-2 at Emar: J.-C. Margueron, Corne (1986) 159 Fig. 1 (drawing; detail here reproduced). The scene constitutes the second register (from the top down) of seven, all more or less completely preserved. The theme around which all images revolve is the royal hunt depicted in the fourth register; the South wind is probably the king’s supernatural supporter, just as she is that of an earlier king (5.14) and of gods (5.29). Although there are no caprids among the hunted animals depicted on the horn (bull, lion, gazelles, sphinxes), the horn itself is undoubtedly a hunting trophy, dedicated by someone (a king of Mitanni or of the Hittite/Assyrian vassal state Ḫanigalbat) to the god of temple M-2, presumably Šamaš (F.A.M. Wiggermann, Nin-šubur [1998-2001] 494, § 2.3). The Balikh area, the land Ḫarran, and the wastes of Mitanni near Arazigu are the traditional hunting grounds of later Assyrian kings (see provisionally W. Heimpel, Jagd [1976-80]). In the Epic of Gilgamesh (VI 147ff.), Gilgamesh dedicates the heart of the killed bull of heaven to Šamaš on the spot, and the horns to Lugalbanda after his return home.

29. Cylinder seal (ex-Moore collection, dealer), probably from western Syria or the Levant (on account of Egyptian influence): G.A. Eisen, Seals (1940) no. 159; B. Buchanan, Snake
Goddess (1971) 8 (13th century Levant); E. Porada, Siegelzylinder-Abrollungen (1974-1977) 141 note 36 (agrees with Buchanan that the snake under her feet signifies the netherworld character of the snake-goddess). An undulating snake probably representing Jamm, the cosmic Sea (cf. C. Uehlinger, Leviathan [1990]; F.A.M. Wiggermann, Snake Gods [1997] 48f. ad 1e-h, with literature), is combatted by a weather god supported by the South wind (cf. 5.28).

30. Cylinder seal (BM 89332, dealer): W.H. Ward, Seal Cylinders (1910) no. 954 (drawing here reproduced); H. Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (1939) 271 Fig. 87; E. Porada, Seals (1948); eadem, Siegelzylinder-Abrollungen (1974-1977) Abb. 6 (photo). D. Collon, Impressions (1987) no. 868 (photo); probably from Cyprus (E. Porada, Seals [1948]; D. Collon, Impressions [1987] ad 868). B. Buchanan, Snake Goddess (1971) 1, dates the seal to the 15th century B.C., which seems too early to E. Porada, Siegelzylinder-Abrollungen (1974-1977) 141 note 36. The arc that houses the South wind is usually the shelter of a (semi-)nude goddess, the consort of the weather god (M. van Loon, Rain Goddess [1990]; M. van Loon, Rainbow [1992]).


Babylonian

b. Cylinder seal found in Thebes, Greece: E. Porada, Thebes (1981/1982) 57f. no. 30 (photo and drawing); D.M. Matthews, Principles (1990) no. 142. Winged genius with wind-blown beard (and without theriomorphic features), mastering animals; in the field a carp-sage and two carp-goats (see F.A.M. Wiggermann, Sage [forthcoming] on the magical function of the carp-sage on this and related Kassite seals). The wind-blown beard reveals the figure’s relation to the present subject, the magical context and the prayer to Marduk suggest an apotropaic function; the North wind is a suitable candidate (see above note 50), but the proliferation of the winged figures and their permutations need to be studied more closely.

c. Kudurr of the time of Melišipak, probably from Sippar (BM 90829): L.W. King, Boundary-Stones (1912) 19ff. and Pl. XXX Face D (photo); cf. U. Seidl, Kudurru-Reliefs (1989) 24, 221 no. 12; for the detail: 168f. no. XLIII. On this kudurr Marduk is represented twice, once by a kusarikku holding a spade, and once by a spade with tassels standing in front of the kusarikku: it may be suggested that Ea, too, is represented twice, once by the South wind, and once by the ram-headed crook standing in front of her.


Neu-Babylonian
The Four Winds and the Origins of Pazuzu

33. Cylinder seal (AO 22350, ex-de Clerq collection, dealer): M. de Clerq, J.M. Ménant, Collection (1888) no. 357; W.H. Ward, Seal Cylinders (1910) no. 956; P. Amiet, Bas-reliefs (1973) no. 424 (drawings); D. Collon, Impressions (1987) no. 869 (photo). D. Collon, o.c., ad 869, dates the seal to the Neo-Babylonian period, other authorities prefer a Late Bronze Age date (P.R.S. Moorey, Plaques [1975] 21f.; A. Moortgat, U. Moortgat-Correns, Review [1970] 103; C.F.A. Schaeffer-Forrer, Corpus [1983] 20). The South wind is supported by two naked heroes, and has winged carp-goats on either side of her head (cf. 5.23); she is matched by a winged monster (with unique features), whose wind-blown beard reveals a relation to the wind gods. This seal and 5.34 are the only examples of the South wind without wings. Amiet draws the beard as a necklace.

**Neo-Elamite**

34. Cylinder seal (AO 6516, dealer): L. Delaporte, Musée (1923) Pl. 85/9 A 607; D. Collon, Impressions (1987) no. 871. D. Collon, o.c., ad 871, dates the seal to the Neo-Elamite period; A. Moortgat, U. Moortgat-Correns, Review (1970) 103, prefer an earlier date. South wind without wings (cf. 5.33) intertwining her legs with two winged attendants (see 5.37).


Related material and Pazuzu

37. Cylinder seal (VA 7737), from a Neo-Babylonian level in Babylon: A. Moortgat, Rollsiegel (1940) no. 610, B. Wittmann, Rollsiegel (1992) 196f. no. 41 (cf. no. 42 with a single quite similar “dancing” figure mastering lions). The lower bodies of the winged gods are in turn bovine (or leonine ?) and human, but their harmonious co-operation shows that they belong to the same mythological class. The natural interpretation of these four dancing figures as winds is corroborated by the appearance of their likes in the same context: 5.31b (wind-blown beard), 5.33 (wind-blown beard, accompanying South wind), 5.34 (supporting South wind).

38. Scorpion-Man: a. Limestone orthostat found out of context in Tell al-Rimah: C. Postgate et al., Excavations (1997) 26 and Pl. 8b (probably from the Level 3 temple dating to the Old Babylonian period); cf. T. Howard-Carter, Interpretation (1983) 72 (ca. 1800 B.C., Pazuzu); A. Green, Note (1985) (Scorpion-man/girtablullû). The figure is certainly not a Pazuzu, and probably not a girtablullû (F.A.M. Wiggermann, Spirits [1992] 180f.; idem, Mischwesen [1993-1997] § 7.4; A. Green, Mischwesen [1993-1997] § 3.4), since the latter appears winged only in the Iron Age, and even then not always (e.g. A. Green, Note [1985] Pl. X). Moreover, if the piece is correctly dated to the Old Babylonian period, this would be the only Old Babylonian girtablullû known. Thus, although the evidence is of the negative type, it is preferable to view the Rimah figure as one of the winds, probably the West wind. For the Huwawa heads guarding the entrance to Tell al-Rimah temples see T. Howard-Carter, Interpretation (1983).

b. Cylinder seal impression on a Middle Assyrian tablet from Nineveh, dated by the līmu to the 12th century B.C.: N. Postgate, Texts (1973) 16f. and Pl. XVa, b (līmu būt-nū). Unwinged Late Bronze Age girtablullû.
Cylinder seal impression on a Middle Assyrian tablet from Assur, dated to the time of Tiglath-pileser I. A. Moortgart, Glyptik (1944) 39 no. 40. Unwinged Late Bronze Age gištablaḫtu with laḫmu head. The same exchange of heads occurs in the case of Huwawa, who may have a laḫmu head on Late Bronze Age and Iron Age seals (W.G. Lambert, Gilgamesh [1987] Pl. X-20, VII-3, 6).
d. Cylinder seal impression from Hasanlu IVB (ca. 9th century B.C.): M. Marcus, Lips (1994) 11 Fig. 2; for the (disputed) date see I.N. Medvedskaya, Destruction (1991). Winged early Iron Age giratabalîlund.


39. Pazuzu: a. Neo-Babylonian Lamaštu amulet (no. 2) said to be from Surğul or Warka: A. Green, Lion-Demon (1986) no. 116 (good photo and comments). Pazuzu has an aberrant, leonine face, while a regular version of his head is fitted onto the side-mount(s) on the upper edge of the plaque.

b. Neo-Babylonian Lamaštu amulet (no. 29): A. Green, Lion-Demon (1986) no. 117 (good photo and comments). Aberrant Pazuzu with taurine horns, ears, and hindquarters, and the feet of a bird of prey; the head overlooking the obverse is too corroded for identification, but stands in the place of a Pazuzu head on other Lamaštu amulets, and does not resemble the aberrant Pazuzu head on the reverse. A further aberrant Pazuzu (two upper bodies, two heads) is found on a Neo-Babylonian amulet from Warka (Lamaštu amulet no. 53).

c. Neo-Babylonian amulet: A. Green, Lion-Demon (1986) no. 206. Regular Pazuzu guarding the entrance to the sick room together with a lion demon (ugallu) and the god Lulal (F.A.M. Wiggermann, Pazuzu [2004]). The incantation on the other side is the one in which Pazuzu introduces himself: “I am Pazuzu, son of Ḫanpu” (above 1).

d. Pendant from an Early Bronze Age grave at Tall al-Raqāʿi: S. Dunham, Beads (1993) 244f. Anthropomorphic figure with large eyes and a wide grin showing teeth (description Dunham; detail not visible on published photograph). Dunham treats the finds from this grave as reflecting an early Lamaštu-type exorcism. The grinning “demon” fits in as the functional equivalent of Pazuzu.


40. Electrum goblet from north-west Iran (AO 20281, dealer): A. Parrot, Acquisitions (1958) Pl. XV. The goblet shows double-headed winged feline monsters with entwined bodies, holding horned animals by their tails; it is sometimes cited in connection with the iconography of the winds (P.R.S. Moorey, Plaques [1975] 24 and Pl. IVc), and is certainly relevant, in as far as it is not a forgery (O.W. Muscarella, Lie [2002] 41 63a). Similar, but not identical, beings occur on seals from Tchoga Zanbil (E. Porada, Tchoga Zanbil [1970] no. 40: lion-griffin mastering animals; no. 41: double-headed lion griffin without wings mastering animals). A double-headed feline monster mastering animals occurs on a Lamaštu amulet on exhibition in the British Museum (WA 132520); because it is not winged, and because Lamaštu herself can be a mistress of the animals (Lamaštu-amulet 60, from Byblos), the double-headed monster represents Lamaštu, rather than a variant Pazuzu (double-headed on Lamaštu-amulet 53). Another forgery is a Neo-Hittite stele in Jerusalem (O.W. Muscarella, Lie [2000] 193 no. 28); it shows a semi-nude goddess holding a spear (Šauška), and flanked by a South wind.

41. Summary: The table summarizes nos. 1-32. Except for 5.35 (which might belong to the Late Bronze Age), the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Elamite examples (5.35-5.37) show too many aberrations (South wind without wings) to be profitably summarized.

In the table W designates the presence of the weather god (Adad or Teššup) or/and his consort, the (semi-)nude goddess (Šala or Šauška); w-b means wind blown hair or beard, m-a means mastering animals; gods between brackets are somehow implied by the iconography; the last column gives the owner’s names, in as far as they contain relevant elements.
### Early Dynastic and Akkadian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Character</th>
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<th>Context</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>winged god/hero m-a</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>winged god/hero m-a</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>winged god mastering humans</td>
<td>contest Šamaš</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>winged god mastering humans</td>
<td>lion demon W</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
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### Neo-Sumerian

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<th>Attribute</th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>winged hero w-b, holds sc</td>
<td>imitar rain goddess</td>
<td>W Ibbi-Adad</td>
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### Middle Bronze Age: Babylonian

<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>four winds w-b, N holds dagger</td>
<td>animals, Ḫuwawa</td>
<td>W –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>four winds w-b, N holds dagger</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>W Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>four winds w-b, [ ]</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>contest Ea Tāb-sār-ili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>S-wind (small)</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>introduction ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>S-wind (small) w-b</td>
<td>contests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td>S-wind (small) [ ]</td>
<td>audience (Ea) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>S-wind (small) [ ]</td>
<td>holds lightning Udug, Lamma W –</td>
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### Middle Bronze Age: Northern Mesopotamian and Syrian

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>W-wind</td>
<td>w-b</td>
<td>sphinx, animals ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>N-, E-, W-winds w-b</td>
<td>animals</td>
<td>W –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>conquering king W Sin-šeme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>man-headed bird –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>w-b</td>
<td>W –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>lily-topped staff ?</td>
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</table>

### Late Bronze Age: Northern Mesopotamian and Syrian

<table>
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<th>Character</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>four winds fire, lightning</td>
<td>Ḫuwawa</td>
<td>W Ithi-Teššup</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>W-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Tarmi-Teššup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>W-wind (doubled) animal features</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>W Hutip-Teššup</td>
</tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Tušratta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>naked heroes, tree (Ea) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>naked heroes, contest (Ea?) –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>S-wind m-a, holds mirrors</td>
<td>lion griffins (W)</td>
<td>Tarmi-Teššup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>S-wind m-a</td>
<td>winged bulls</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>lion griffin ? (W?) Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>royal hunt, contests Royalty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>cosmic battle –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>S-wind in arc</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>W –</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Late Bronze Age: Babylonian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31c</td>
<td>S-wind</td>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>Ea? –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>S-wind m-a</td>
<td>lions, tree</td>
<td>Ea –</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/Marduk?
Bibliography


The Four Winds and the Origins of Pazuzu

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— Remarks on Mitannian (Hurrian) and Middle Assyrian Glyptic Art, in: Akkadica 13 (1979) 2-15.


