

**ANAT AND QUDSHU AS THE «MISTRESS OF ANIMALS»
ASPECTS OF THE ICONOGRAPHY
OF THE CANAANITE GODDESSES**

Izak Cornelius

1. Introduction.

In two recent articles, Peggy Day (1991, 1992) argues against the common tendency to describe the Canaanite goddess Anat as a goddess of fertility. She re-examines the Ugaritic texts¹ in this regard and demonstrates that Anat was rather a «mistress of animals»², both as a huntress and a protectress. In addition, she discusses three iconographic items from Minet el Beida (**figs. 1-3, pl. I**), the port of Ugarit.

The first item³ (**fig. 1** = Keel 1984:fig. 11) is an ivory paxis lid (Louvre AO 11.601) from the 13th century BCE. A goddess, dressed in a skirt, sits on top of a mountain. She holds out plants or corn sheaves to goats flanking her. Many writers have reflected on the Mycenaean style of this item. The second item⁴ (Winter 1987:fig. 42 = **fig. 2**) is a golden pectoral (AO 14.714) dating from the 14th century. A naked goddess stands on the back of a lion. She faces the front and holds two horned animals by their legs. Behind her waist are serpents. The background may depict stars. The third item⁵ (Winter 1987:fig. 41 = **fig. 3**) is very similar to the previous one⁶, but the headdress is different and there are no serpents (AO 14.716). The horned animals are suspended in space⁷.

Day takes these three items to be representations of Anat as the «mistress of animals» (1991:143, 1992:187-90). Although her description of Anat as a huntress and a mistress of animals is accepted, the three iconographic items are in need of closer re-examination. Day does not use iconographic criteria in identifying the items under discussion, but rather the texts from Ugarit where Anat is described as the mistress of animals.

¹ These texts are cited from the edition of Dietrich-Lorctz-Sanmartín, KTU.

² That is a «Herrin der Tiere», an anthropomorphic figure holding animals (cf. Calmeyer 1972-1975:334-35 and Hörig 1979).

³ Pritchard (1969b:no 464); Caquot-Szyncer (1980:pls. IV-V).

⁴ Caquot-Szyncer (1980:pl. XIXb).

⁵ Pritchard (1969b:no 465); Caquot-Szyncer (1980:pl. XVIIIb - right).

⁶ For other examples see Winter (1987:figs. 37ff.).

⁷ The animals on the first item may be gazelles, these on the second are not gazelles (*contra* Day).

The problem with the three items referred to is that there is no inscription identifying the figures as Anat, which is admitted by Day (1992:143). Other scholars have proposed other identifications. Haussig (1965:232) connects **figs. 1 and 3** with Astarte. Dexter (1990:28) identifies the goddess on **fig. 2** as Astarte, whereas **fig. 2** is connected with Asherah by Maier (1983). The question is - whence the identification? The identification of Canaanite deities remains a problem (Wyatt 1983:271; 1984:331), especially because identifying inscriptions are a rarity. In contrast, Egyptian-type representations are more often with inscriptions. The best way to start, therefore, seems to be to take the inscribed items as a point of departure⁸. From there one can move on and compare uninscribed items⁹. We would have to look at the iconography of the major Canaanite goddesses in order to decide on the most likely candidates for the items under discussion.

2. Inscribed Anat material.

No inscribed stelae depicting Anat are available from Ugarit¹⁰. But there are items from elsewhere:

- (i) **Fig. 4, pl. II:** The New Kingdom (c. 1300-1200 BCE) stela BM 191 (presumably from Deir el Medina)¹¹ depicts on the lower register (right) a goddess on a high-backed (*khw*-)throne wearing an *atef*-crown¹² and a long garment. She brandishes a mace-axe above her head and holds a shield and a spear¹³. The inscription identifies the figure as Anat.
- (ii) A figure on a situla of Psammetichus I (c. 600 BCE) published by Grdseloff (1942:28ff. with pl. VI) is nearly identical. The inscription reads «Anat, lady of the sky».

⁸ This may give the wrong impression, as the iconography in Canaan might have been different, but this is much better than using texts and reading these into the images.

⁹ There are many collections of representations of Canaanite goddesses - cf. Pilz (1924), Pritchard (1943) and Winter (1987).

¹⁰ The only item with an inscription is the Mami-stela (Pritchard 1969b:no 485), depicting the god Baal-Zaphon.

¹¹ Pritchard (1969b:no 473); James (1970:47-48, pls. XXXIX:2, XXXIXA:2). Photograph by courtesy of the trustees of the British Museum.

¹² This is the white crown with double feathers.

¹³ The pose and weapons are very similar to that of the Canaanite god Reshef - e.g. the stelae Avignon 16 and Cambridge EGA 3002.1943 (Schulman 1985:figs. 14, 16; cf. the detailed discussion in I. Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baal in the Late Bronze - Iron Age I Periods* [to appear in OBO]).

- (iii) At Tanis, two inscribed statues dedicated by Ramses II (c. 1250 BCE) to Anat were found (Montet 1933:107-108, 125-26, pls. XLVII, LIV, LV, LXX-LXXII). In the first case an *atef*-crown is visible, but there are no sceptres or weapons. In these cases the goddess sits and stands respectively.
- (iv) Blok (1930: pl. III) published a relief depicting a seated Anat with an *atef*-crown holding a *was*-sceptre.
- (v) The final example is a relief (c. 1150 BCE) from Palestinian Beisan (Rowe 1940:33-34, pls. XXXV:3, LXVA:1 = **fig. 5, pl. III**). The goddess which is identified as Anat by the inscription wears an *atef*-crown, stands with a *was*-sceptre, and holds an *ankh*.

The iconography of Anat is (according to the inscribed items) that of:

- (i) a sitting warrior goddess brandishing a weapon above her head, holding a shield and spear,
- (ii) but also sitting in a more peaceful way with a *was*-sceptre,
- (iii) standing with a *was*-sceptre,
- (iv) or standing or seated without it next to the pharaoh. In all cases she wears a long garment.

In none of these cases Anat is depicted as the «mistress of animals», although the element of the warrior goddess is well-depicted. This last aspect is also described in the Ugaritic texts¹⁴.

3. Inscribed Astarte material.

Because some writers connect **figs. 1-3, pl. I** with Astarte, the inscribed items depicting Astarte are also reviewed:

¹⁴ E.g. KTU 1.3 II. Cf. her martial character as described in Egyptian texts (Stadelmann 1967:94-95).

- (i) A 19th dynasty (c. 1300-1200 BCE) relief from Wadi Abbad (Leclant 1960:pl. IIA = **fig. 6, pl. III**) depicts a riding goddess¹⁵ with an *atef*-crown waving a shield. The inscription reads «Asit», which is a defective form of Astarte¹⁶.
- (ii) Turin stela 50068 depicts an equestrian goddess handling a bow (Tosi-Roccati 1972:104) with an inscription containing «Astarte» (Sadek 1985:156, note 6).
- (iii) A Persian period relief from El Kharge (Davies 1953:6, pl. III [register III:11] = **fig. 7, pl. III**) depicts three goddesses in long garments: one with red crown with drawn bow, one on horseback with white crown and weapons, and one with red crown, quiver on her back, holding weapons. In all three cases the inscription has the name «Astarte».
- (iv) Stela fragment UC 14392 (Stewart 1976:50, pl. 41:2) from the temple of Ptah at Memphis (Merneptah 1224-1214 BCE) depicts a standing goddess with curved shield and spear.
- (v) A cylinder seal of c. 1300 BCE from Beitin (Rockefeller 35.4442¹⁷; Winter 1987:fig. 214 = **fig. 8, pl. IV**) depicts a god brandishing a weapon above his head. To the right is a goddess in a long garment, with *atef*-crown, holding a spear. The inscription in the centre has «Astarte». It may refer to the goddess. The *crux interpretum* is why only the *one* deity is identified by an inscription. According to H. Weippert (1988:307) we have here a case of three deities. According to this view, the goddess Astarte is indicated by an inscription only. This view is accepted, as will be shown below.
- (vi) Louvre stela E 26017 (Vandier 1969:193ff, pl. VIIb) from c. 1300-1200 depicts a goddess with an *atef*-crown and a sceptre.

The iconography of Astarte is (according to the inscribed items) that of:

- (i) A warrior goddess on horseback.
- (ii) A standing warrior goddess.
- (iii) A standing goddess without weapons.

¹⁵ See Leclant (1960) on depictions of Astarte on horseback. A goddess on a chariot appears on a Ptolemaic relief (Leclant 1960:54ff., pl. IV). This is a lion-headed goddess standing on a small horse-drawn wagon. The inscription reads: «Astarte, mistress of horses and lady of the chariot», although the goddess looks like the Egyptian Sekhmet.

¹⁶ Following Leclant (1960:34) and Stadelmann (1967:100), against Mercer (1935:196).

¹⁷ Albright (1934:7-8, fig. 1); Pritchard (1969b:no 468).

This again eliminates the figures on **figs. 1-3, pl. I** as being Astarte. Both Egyptian (Stadelmann 1967:102ff.) and Ugaritic texts (KTU 1.86:6) connect Astarte with horses, and describes her as a huntress/warrior (KTU 1.92 - cf. Margalit 1989:67ff.). The Assyrian treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre also refers to Astarte as a war deity (Pritchard 1969a:534): «May Astarte break your bow ...»¹⁸.

4. Uninscribed Anat material.

In addition to the inscribed items, there are other depictions which have been connected with Anat (cf. Wyatt 1984:331-33):

- (i) The uninscribed Michaelidis stela¹⁹ (Winter 1987:fig. 209 = **fig. 9, pl. IV**) depicts a figure identical to the seated goddess on the inscribed **fig. 4, pl. II**. The identification is therefore certain.
- (ii) The bronze AO 22265 depicts a chariot group (Seeden 1980:no 1725). Barnett (1969:410) and Wyatt (1984:332) take the larger smiting figure to be Anat. Collon identifies the figure as male (Collon-Crouwel-Litauer 1976:80-81), which excludes Anat.
- (iii) Wyatt (1984:332) refers to other bronzes depicting a smiting goddess (Seeden 1980:nos 1722, 1724), which he identifies as Anat. The problem is that Anat is not the only goddess that is depicted in the so-called «smiting pose»²⁰, i.e. with raised weapon. Astarte (albeit on horseback - cf. **fig. 6, pl. III**) also has the weapon raised. As Astarte was a warrior goddess, she can also be a possible candidate for the items under discussion.
- (iv) The same is true of the relief fragment UC 14399 (Stewart 1976:8, pl. 5), which depicts a smiting goddess with *atef*-crown.
- (v) An uninscribed stela from Beisan (Pritchard 1969b:no 475) depicts a goddess with an *atef*-crown, lotus and papyrus. Wyatt connects her with Anat. This figure can just as well be Astarte, who is depicted standing, be it with a sceptre

¹⁸ On a Phoenician scarab Astarte (chief goddess of Tyre) sits with an axe resting on her shoulder (Gubel1980).

¹⁹ Whether this item hails from Ugarit, as presumed by Wyatt, is not known.

²⁰ On this motif cf. Collon (1972) and Falsone (1986).

(cf. the item published by Vandier [cf. 3:vi]). The *atef*-crown is typical of both goddesses²¹.

- (vi) Wyatt also connects the figure with an *atef*-crown on the right of the much discussed stela from Bālū^c (Pritchard 1969b:no 488)²² with Anat. The identification is uncertain. Astarte is another possible candidate.
- (vii) A stela from Ugarit (Pritchard 1969b:no 492) depicts a headless figure, but a garment covered with wings, a staff or spear and perhaps an *ankh* is visible. The wings may connect the goddess with Anat, who is described as winged in the Ugaritic texts (Pope 1971:400ff.), but the image is too broken to be specific.
- (viii) Keel (in Keel-Shuval-Uehlinger 1990:211ff., fig. 38 and Keel-Uehlinger 1990:fig. 94e = **fig. 10, pl. IV**) closely associates a figure with raised horseback with Anat-Astarte. However, when all the inscribed items depicting Anat and Astarte are taken into account, it seems that only Astarte can be connected with horses (3: **figs. 6-7, pl. III**). In the Ugaritic texts Anat is never connected with horses, whereas this is true of Astarte.

It thus seems as if there is at the present stage only one other uninscribed depiction that can without doubt be connected with Anat - the Michaelidis-stela (**fig. 9, pl. IV**). In the other reviewed cases, the goddess could just as well be Astarte.

5. Uninscribed Astarte material.

As with Anat, there are other uninscribed items that have been connected with Astarte:

- (i) Images of the riding goddess were studied by Leclant (1960:62ff, figs. 30ff.). He ends his important study by a discussion of scarabs from the Michaelidis collection (presently in Berlin)²³. A closer study of photographs of the original indicates that many of the figures can be connected with the winged Baal standing on a horse (Leclant figs. 32a-d = SM 1931/73, 906/73, 905/73, 903/73)

²¹ Wyatt (1984) seemingly overemphasizes the importance of the *atef*-crown in connection with Anat. This crown could even be worn by male deities, e.g. on a scarab in the Ashmolean museum (Keel-Shuval-Uehlinger 1990:269, pl. XIII:2). For identification with the god Baal cf. I. Cornelius (*Reshef and Baal*, note 13, *supra*). The crown can also be found (in a different form, with horns) on the stela of the seated god from Ugarit (Pritchard 1969b:no 493), usually identified as Ilu (Wyatt1983:275).

²² Cf. now Staubli (1991:64-66) for literature.

²³ Photographs were kindly supplied by D. Wildung.

or on a lion (Leclant fig. 33a = SM 828/73)²⁴. However, quite a few are indeed representations of a goddess on horseback who is identified as Astarte: SM 841/73, 840/73, 839/73, 837/73 and 838/73 (**figs. 11-15, pls. IV-V** = Leclant figs. 30, 31a-d). The best example is **fig. 11, pl. V** (SM 841/73), which depicts a figure with a clearly visible raised weapon.

- (ii) Two stamp seals (UC 38068-38069 = **figs. 16-17, pl. VI**)²⁵ published by Petrie (1925:pl. XV:1084-1085) depicts a figure riding and one standing on horseback respectively. The first figure is identified as Astarte. It is unclear whether the one arm of the figure is raised. The second one has raised arms (identifiable as Qudshu? - cf. 7).
- (iii) A Syrian cylinder seal published by Leclant (1960:pl. Ib; cf. Mesnil du Buisson 1969 = **fig. 18, pl. VII**) depicts a riding figure with an *atef*-crown and a shield. The figure is identified as Astarte on horseback.
- (iv) In 1980 Giveon published a seal (OIC 17402 = **fig. 19, pl. VII**) depicting a figure on horseback, with raised weapon and a shield. Giveon identifies the figure as the god Reshef. Although Reshef is depicted on horseback²⁶, the figure is more typical of Astarte.
- (v) Reference has been made to the Fribourg scarab (**fig. 10, pl. IV**) and this will not be repeated here (4:viii).

6. A fusion of Anat and Astarte?

What must have been quite clear in this review of depictions of Anat and Astarte, are the similarities. Both are warrior goddesses (cf. also the textual sources). Since Albright (1968:74), scholars have been aware of the complexity of the relationship between the Canaanite goddesses Anat and Astarte²⁷. Using the Ugaritic texts, some like Wyatt argue that already in the Late Bronze Age, a process of fusion between Anat and Astarte has started (1984:327). In the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites (Pritchard 1969a:201a), «Antaret of the land of Hatti» is included among the divine witnesses. Edwards (1955:51, note 17) uses this as an indication of a fusion into

²⁴ Discussion in I. Cornelius (*Reshef and Baal, cit.*).

²⁵ The two items under discussion were traced by Frances Welsh and Rosalind Janssen to whom I am very grateful. Photographs were kindly supplied by G. Martin. It is published by courtesy of the Petrie Museum, University College London.

²⁶ *Contra* Schulman (1977), discussed in I. Cornelius (*Reshef and Baal, cit.*).

²⁷ The latest discussion is in Loretz (1990:78ff.).

a deity Anat-Astarte (*ʿntrt*). But it may be emended to Astarte²⁸. According to Goetze (Pritchard 1969:201, note 16) this is to be rejected. Nevertheless, this text can not be used as proof for a fusion between Anat and Astarte in Late Bronze Age times²⁹. It should also not be forgotten that Anat still appears in the Iron Age³⁰.

The religion of the region of Syro-Palestine was much more complex than is usually thought. What may look like a confusion of deities on the one hand and the fusion of deities on the other, might perhaps be explained in another way:

- (i) It is now becoming clear that the pantheon of Canaanite deities was not rigidly fixed, nor was it the same everywhere. Differences in time and region led to new groupings, variation in status and different pantheons. E.g. in Late Bronze Age Ugarit, Ilu is the chief deity, whereas Baal takes over in the Iron Age. Astarte is not very active in the Ugaritic myths, but she is the chief deity of Tyre in Phoenician times. In the Tell Taanach texts the storm god (viz. Baal) plays a major role. Anat as a deity does not function in the Hebrew Bible. As a matter of fact, by the time of the Hebrew Bible, Astarte is the consort of Baal, whereas in the Ugaritic texts she is still Anat. It may be that in the Hebrew Bible we have a different pantheon (viz. the Iron Age Palestinian one) in which Anat was not as important as in Bronze Age Ugarit.
- (ii) There has been an overemphasis on the importance of the Ugaritic texts as sources for Canaanite religion. This is even more true of the myths of the Baal-Anat cycle and the Keret and Aqhat epics. Reshef plays no great role in the myths, but is prominent in the rituals. It should be kept in mind that the Ugaritic texts can only be used as a «sample» of Canaanite religion (cf. Caquot-Szzyner 1980:7-8).
- (iii) Of even greater importance is the influence of local cults, not even taking into account family or personal religion which differed from the national or official religion (Weippert 1990:153)³¹. The Ugaritic texts reflect the official religion of the palace and temple. On the level of personal religion things look different. When one views the large amount of private stelae devoted to Reshef, he must have been quite popular amongst the ordinary folk of ancient

²⁸ Read Astartu by Edel in Kaiser (1983:150). Cf. Mesnil du Buisson (1969:525): confusion of the hieroglyphs  (n) and  (s) and could be read ʿsʿtrt = Astarte.

²⁹ In later times, the two deities (together with Asherah) became one as the classical Atargatis (Oden 1977:72).

³⁰ E.g. 6-5th cent Aramaic papyri (Cowley 1923:no 44:3) and the Esarhaddon treaty with Tyre (Pritchard 1969a:534).

³¹ But it seems that the differentiation between official/national, local/regional and family/ personal religion is also too limited.

Egypt³², although he is not one of the major characters in the Ugaritic myths. In contrast, he must have been important in Early Bronze Age Ebla - one of the gates was named after him (Pettinato 1981:44). In the inscription of Panammuwa (middle eight cent. BCE) Reshef is mentioned together with other major deities (Gibson 1975:no 13:2-3).

It is also argued that, although different deities could have the same iconographic attributes (eg pose, headdress, horns and weapons) because of similar characteristics and functions (cf. Xella 1990:122), it is possible to move further than only giving a general description according to types. On the other hand, similarity in function and attributes does not mean that deities were «assimilated into a single deity» (Falsone 1986:76). Although there sometimes seems to be confusion between different deities in ancient times, and some form of fusion might have occurred, the view is held that there was a definite distinction between the different deities. As far as iconography is concerned, there was also differentiation. The ancient people knew which deity was involved. Attributes, both textual (i.e. epithets) and visual (e.g. weapons) were interchangeable, but this was because these were *divine* attributes and relevant to all deities.

In short: it does not seem that there was a fusion between Anat and Astarte in the Late Bronze Age.

7. Qudshu the «mistress of animals».

A final possible candidate for **fig. 2, pl. I** is Asherah, as argued by Maier (1983). The problem here is that there are no depictions with inscriptions identifying any figure as Asherah³³. Maier (1983:42-43) bases his identification as Asherah on the parallelism between Asherah and *qdš* (holiness) in the Ugaritic texts, taken to be an epithet of Asherah. Qudshu is not a divine name in Ugarit.

Many Egyptian stelae (especially private stelae from Deir el Medina - cf. Sadek 1988:159) depict a naked, frontally-facing goddess on a lion, holding snakes and flowers. She is sometimes flanked by two other identified deities - Min and Reshef as on **fig. 4, pl. II** (upper register) depicted here, or she stands alone. The goddess is identified as Qudshu³⁴ by the inscription. The figure compares well with **figs. 2-3**,

³² Cf. I. Cornelius (*Baal and Reshef, cit.*), Sadek (1988:154ff.) and Schulman (1985).

³³ Wyatt (1983) identifies the figure on the much discussed ivory bed (a horned and winged goddess with Hathor-like headdress and sundisk suckling two children at her breasts is depicted) with Asherah (Pritchard 1969b:no 829). Excluded here is the Kuntillet Ajrud material which has the inscription «YHWH and his asherah/Asherah». The inscription need not be related to the figures. The seated figure with the lyre is no Asherah, but a human musician (*contra* Dever 1984).

³⁴ For a list see Leibovitch (1961) and the latest in Schulman (1984). The central figure has the name Kent, but this is identical to Qudshu (Leibovitch 1961; cf. James).

pl. I : naked, facing the front, standing on a lion. The only difference is that she holds horned animals - on **fig. 4** she holds flowers and serpents (but note the serpents behind her waist on **fig. 2**)³⁵. **Figs. 2-3** are images taken out of their broader context³⁶ to emphasize a certain aspect³⁷.

We thus have depictions of a goddess identified as Qudshu, but she does not seem to have been an independent goddess (in any case not in the Ugaritic texts). To identify all the Qudshu depictions as representations of Asherah goes too far. Asherah is the mother of the gods (KTU 1.4 III 26), a creator like Ilu. The Qudshu depictions represent a younger goddess, different from what one would expect from the mother of the gods.

The whole matter has been made even more complicated by a stela published by Edwards (1955; Winter 1987:fig. 37 = **fig. 20, pl. VII**). The figure is more similar to **fig. 4, pl. II** (centre of the upper register), but also very near in comparison to **figs. 2-3, pl. I**. What creates the real problem is that there are not one, but three inscriptions (anticlockwise): *Qudshu*, «Anat» and «Astarte». Edwards interprets this as the merging of three deities into one. Stadelmann (1967:112-16) sees the *qdš* as a cult type of Anat and Astarte. Maier (1983:91) identifies the figure as Asherah.

It is argued that we have here a depiction of an independent goddess Qudshu and no hypostasis or cult type of either Anat and Astarte, or Asherah:

- (i) The place where the name Qudshu stands is the usual on Egyptian stelae reliefs for the names of deities (cf. on **fig. 4, pl. II**). I.e. the inscription identifies the deity that is depicted.
- (ii) Astarte and Anat had an independent iconography, different from that of Qudshu, as shown by the examples given above. None of these are comparable in any way to **figs. 1-3, pl. I**. On BM 191 (**fig. 4, pl. II**) there is a definite distinction between Qudshu (upper register centre) and Anat (lower register right), both identified by accompanying inscriptions.
- (iii) Although it might sound too modern for the ancient Near East, it may be possible that deities were indicated by inscriptions alone. This may be the case with Anat and Astarte on the Edwards stela. Another example could be on **fig. 8, pl. IV** (cf. 3:v - following Weippert). Taking into account the ancient

³⁵ The face of **fig. 4, pl. II** is damaged, but the Hathor locks are clear. These features are comparable to other depictions as on Louvre C86 (Pritchard 1969:no 474) and Turin 50066 (Leibovitch 1961:pl. II:1). It does not seem that there is a sundisk with a crescent on her head. The headdress is rather as on **fig. 2, pl. I**. The lion is also damaged - compare the other two cited examples.

³⁶ As on the stela, where other deities and worshippers are depicted.

³⁷ Cf. Keel (1989:308ff.).

Egyptian belief in the magical powers of writing (i.e. hieroglyphs)³⁸, this is not totally impossible.

In addition to the items already referred to, there are other depictions which may be closely associated with Qudshu:

- (i) A golden plaque from Lachish, discussed in detail by Clamer (1980; Keel-Shuval-Uehlinger 1990:212, fig. 36 = **fig. 21, pl. VIII**).
- (ii) A pottery mould³⁹ from Tel Qarnayim (Ben-Arieh 1983; Keel-Shuval-Uehlinger 1990:212, fig. 37 = **fig. 22, pl. VIII**).
- (iii) Scarab UC 38069 (**fig. 17, pl. VI**) discussed above (5:ii).

In contrast to the common view that Qudshu was only an epithet of Asherah (or with reference to the Edwards stela, of Astarte and Anat), it is argued that Qudshu was an independent deity. Qudshu is not only an attribute or hypostasis of other goddesses, she was a goddess «in her own right» (Schulman 1982:86, note 24):

- (i) The well-known place name Qadesh on the Orontes (Tell Nebi Mend in northern Syria - cf. Kuschke 1984:27ff.) must have some connection with the deity. It was devoted to the goddess Qudshu and still contains her name⁴⁰.
- (ii) In KTU 1.4 IV 14-17 *qdš w-amrr* serve(s) Asherah and prepare(s) her mule. These divine names are usually taken to be the fusion of two deities into one (e.g. Haussig 1965:304). When the iconography of servants with a mule is taken into account, it will be seen that there are usually *two* (Staubli 1991:181, figs. 16-18)⁴¹. Note that in the mentioned text, *qdš w-amrr* function separately (lines 16-17). It is conjectured that we have here two independent deities, the one being Qudshu, the other Amurru. That there is a close relationship between the former and Asherah is clear from this text as well as from others.

What was the function of the goddess Qudshu? I am fully in agreement with the views of Day (1991, 1992) and Hackett (1989) that the description of the Canaanite goddesses as «fertility goddesses» is biased and does not reflect what the Ugaritic

³⁸ On this see H. te Velde (1985-86).

³⁹ It was used to bake cakes for the «queen of heaven» (Schroer 1987:277).

⁴⁰ Cf. Leibovitch (1961:32); Meyer (1981:100-101). The original name was Kinza, but according to Helck (1962:309) it was Qadesh. The variants of the place name (Qadesh/Kinza/Kenṭu) can be used to explain why **fig. 4, pl. II** uses the variant name Kenet/Kent for Qudshu (for detail see Leibovitch 1961:31ff.).

⁴¹ Cf. Gen 22:3!

texts seem to convey. Consequently, the warrior aspect of Anat and Astarte has been emphasized with reference to the many depictions of this element.

What about Qudshu? Is she a fertility goddess? She is after all depicted as naked and facing the front?

First of all the name *qdš* does not mean «sacred prostitute», it has to do with the idea of «holiness» (i.e. the devoted one). The קדושים and קדושות of the Hebrew Bible are rather devotees or holy men/women than male or female prostitutes/whores involved in some of the supposed (but unproven) sexual rites of ancient Canaan. That ritual sex was a custom has finally been rejected⁴². This does not exclude the importance of fertility in the Ancient Near East, and even today. Fertility involves sex, but it is a much broader concept to the ancient mind. To equate fertility with sex is a popularisation by modern people (males?). «Fertility» did not only involve the sexual act, but should be understood as a total *concept*. Baal fights against Yam and Mot, to proof his lordship over the sea and death, but also to protect and enhance *fertility*. It is noticeable that Baal is usually described as a god of fertility, but never in degrading sexual terms as is the case with the female deities.

Qudshu is depicted as naked⁴³, but this is an element that should not be overemphasized by describing her as one of the so-called «fertility goddesses». More important is the animal on which she stands and the attributes that she holds. Her pedestal is a lion. This may be connected with the lion as a symbol of the numinous⁴⁴.

The same meaning of *power* may be symbolised by the goddesses, either riding or standing on horseback. Horse-riding was not so common in the Ancient Near East and Egypt before the first millennium BCE, although the oldest representation of horse-riding now goes back to pre-Sargonic times (Staubli 1991:fig. 1). Both the horse and the lion were powerful symbols of the numinous powers.

Qudshu holds animals. In this regard she is a «mistress of animals». Two other depictions may also depict Qudshu in this aspect:

- (i) A Syrian cylinder seal (c. 1750 BCE) in the Louvre (AO 1857; Keel 1984:fig. 19 = **fig. 23, pl. IX**) depicts on the right-hand side a naked goddess on a lion holding two horned animals.
- (ii) A cylinder from Middle Bronze Cyprus (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:59 = **fig. 24, pl. VIII**) depicts a similar figure in the centre. Note that the previous goddess faces the side, this one faces the front.

⁴² Cf. Barstad (1984:22ff.); Hackett (1989:68-70) and Oden (1987:131ff.).

⁴³ It seems that earlier (Victorian) writers had problems to depict her in this way. In his famous study Wilkinson (1878:III:pls. LV-LVI) dresses her in full.

⁴⁴ Cf. Cornelius (1989:59). Keel (1986:148) talks of the «...wilde, ungebrochene, unnahbare und jungfräuliche Kraft».

A final remark should be made on the function of the iconographic media in which Qudshu is represented. The private stelae from Deir el Medina (e.g. **fig. 4, pl. II**) played a role in the personal religion of the artisans residing there (Sadek 1988). Some were placed in a niche in private chapels. The Lachish plaque (**fig. 21, pl. VIII**) was found in a Late Bronze Age temple. Clamer (1980:152) takes it as part of the temple equipment, a cult object. According to her it was originally masked or framed. The two pendants (**figs. 2-3, pl. I**) were carried as amulets or talismans to protect the owner.

In sum: each Canaanite goddess had her own iconography. Perhaps Qudshu should be given back her divinity and not only be taken as an epithet of Asherah, Anat or Astarte. Qudshu is depicted as a mistress of animals, standing on a lion or a horse. Anat is a warrior goddess.

8. Anat the «mistress of animals».

Qudshu on **figs. 4, pl. II** and **20, pl. VII** is comparable to the goddess on **fig. 2** and **3, pl. I** which makes an identification with Anat less likely (*contra* Day). It thus seems better to identify the goddesses on **figs. 2-3** with Qudshu in her capacity as the «mistress of animals».

What about **fig. 1, pl. I**? The iconography of this figure does not compare with either that of Anat (Day) or Astarte (Dexter) on the inscribed material. It is proposed that this is a depiction of Asherah⁴⁵.

Are there perhaps other possible depictions of Anat as the «mistress of animals»? I believe there are. In his *opus magnum* on Syrian religion Gese (1970:159, fig. 16) connects the figure of a female, horned, winged figure enthroned on a bull, holding a lion on a leash with Anat⁴⁶. It is depicted on a cylinder seal from Ugarit (Louvre AO 17.242; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983:16ff.; Winter 1987:fig. 496 = **fig. 25, pl. IX**). In the Ugaritic texts Anat is the only goddess described as having wings (1.10 II 11)⁴⁷.

To the goddess' right is another goddess, naked, her body en face, but her face points to the right (cf. **figs. 21, pl. VIII** and **23, pl. IX!**). She stands on two lions - the one held by the goddess on the left. Is the figure on the lion perhaps another example of Qudshu on the lion? If this interpretation is correct, it would be another example (in addition to **fig. 4, pl. II**) of the difference (and independence) between the iconography of Anat and Qudshu.

⁴⁵ To be published elsewhere.

⁴⁶ Also Caquot-Szyncer (1980:27) and Weippert (1988:309).

⁴⁷ Cf. Pope (1971:400ff.).

BIBLIOGRAPHY⁴⁸

- ALBRIGHT, W. F., *The Kyle Memorial Excavation of Bethel*: BASOR, 56 (1934), 1-15.
- *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore 1968.
- BARNETT, R.D., 'Anath, Ba'al and Pasargadae': MUSJ, 45 (1969), 407-22.
- BARSTAD, H., *The Religious Polemics of Amos* (VTS 34), Leiden 1984.
- BEN-ARIEH, S., *A Mould for a Goddess Plaque*: IEJ, 52 (1983), 72-77.
- BLOK, H.P., *Drei Stelen aus der Spätzeit im Haagner Museum*: AcOr, 8 (1930), 177-94.
- CALMEYER, P., *Herr der Tiere; Herrin der Tiere*, in RIA IV, 1972-1975, 334-35.
- CAQUOT, A. - SZNYCER, M., *Ugaritic Religion*, Leiden 1980.
- CLAMER, C., *A Gold Plaque from Tel Lachish*: TA, 7 (1980), 152-62.
- COLLON, D., *The Smiting God: Levant*, 4 (1972), 111-34.
- COLLON, D. - CROUWEL, J. - LITTAUER, M.A., *A Bronze Chariot Group from the Levant in Paris: Levant*, 8 (1976), 71-81.
- CORNELIUS, I., *The Lion in the Art of the Ancient Near East*: JNSL, 15 (1989), 53-85.
- COWLEY, A., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1923.
- DAVIES, N.d.G., *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, New York 1953.
- DAY, P., *Why is Anat a Warrior and Hunter?*, in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis*, Cleveland 1991, 141-46, 329-32.
- *Anat: Ugarit's «Mistress of Animals»*: JNES, 51 (1992), 181-90.
- DEVER, W.G., *Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrûd*: BASOR, 255 (1984), 21-37.
- DEXTER, M.R., *Whence the Goddesses*, New York 1990.
- EDWARDS, I.E.S., *A Relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection*: JNES, 14 (1955), 49-51.
- FALSONE, G., *Anath or Astarte? A Phoenician Bronze Statuette of the Smiting Goddess*, in *Religio Phoenicia*, Namur 1986, 53-76.
- GESE, H., *Die Religionen Altsyriens*, in *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (= *Die Religionen der Menschheit* 10/2), Stuttgart 1970.
- GIBSON, J.C.L., *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions. Volume II. Aramaic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1975.
- GIVEON, R., *Review article. Resheph in Egypt*: JEA, 66 (1980), 144-50.
- GRDSELOFF, B., *Les débuts du culte de Réchef en Égypte*, Le Caire 1942.

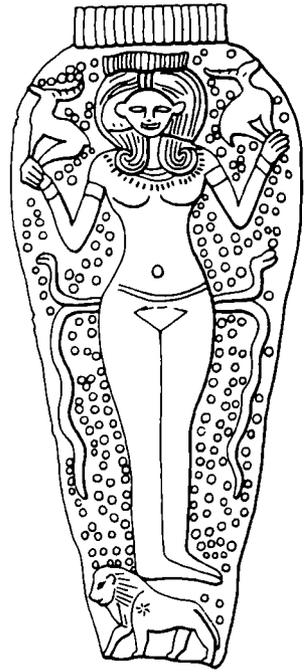
⁴⁸ The abbreviations in Siegfried Schwertner, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Abkürzungsverzeichnis*, Berlin 1976 have been generally used.

- GUBEL, E., *An Essay on the Axe-Bearing Astarte and Her Role in a Phoenician 'Triad'*: RSF, 8 (1980), 1-17, pls. I-II.
- HACKETT, J.A., *Can a Sexist Model Liberate Us? Ancient Near Eastern 'Fertility' Goddesses: Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 5 (1989), 65-76.
- HAUSSIG, H.W. (Hrsg.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie I. Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient*, Stuttgart 1965.
- HELCK, W.G., *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1962.
- HÖRIG, M., *Dea Syria* (AOAT 208), Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979.
- JAMES, T.G.H., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Part 9*, London 1970.
- KAISER, O. (Hrsg.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments I/2: Staatsverträge*, Gütersloh 1983.
- KEEL, O., *Deine Blicke sind Tauben. Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes* (SBS 114/115), Stuttgart 1984.
- *Das Hohelied* (ZBK), Zürich 1986.
- KEEL, O. - KEEL-LEU, H. - SCHROER, S., *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina / Israel II* (OBO 88), Fribourg/Göttingen 1989.
- KEEL, O. - SHUVAL, M. - UEHLINGER, C., *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina / Israel III* (OBO 100), Fribourg/Göttingen 1990.
- KEEL, O. - UEHLINGER, C. (Hrsg.), *Altorientalische Miniaturkunst. Die ältesten visuellen Massenkommunikationsmittel. Ein Blick in die Sammlungen des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz und einer Privatsammlung*, Mainz 1990.
- KUSCHKE, A., *Qadesch*, in LÄg V, Wiesbaden 1984, 27-31.
- LECLANT, J., *Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes: Syria*, 37 (1960), 1-67.
- LEIBOVITCH, J., *Kent et Qadech: Syria*, 38 (1961), 23-34, pls. I-II.
- LORETZ, O., *Ugarit und die Bibel. Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament*, Darmstadt 1990.
- MAIER, W.A., *ʿAšerah: Extrabiblical Evidence* (HSM 37), Atlanta 1986.
- MARGALIT, B., *KTU 1.92 (Obv.): A Ugaritic Theophagy: AuOr*, 7 (1989), 67-80.
- MERCER, S.A.B., *Astarté in Egypt: Egyptian Religion*, 3 (1935), 192-203.
- MESNIL DU BUISSON, R., *Ashtart cavalière et armée dans le mythe de la planète Vénus: MUSJ*, 45 (1969), 523-38, pl. I.
- MEYER, E., *Geschichte des Altertums II/1: Die Zeit der ägyptischen Grossmacht*, Darmstadt 1981.
- MONTET, P., *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis*, Paris 1933.
- ODEN, R.A., *Studies in Lucian's De Dea Syria*, Missoula 1977.
- *The Bible without Theology*, San Francisco 1987.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., *Buttons and Design Scarabs. Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London*, London 1925.
- PETTINATO, G., *The Archives of Ebla*, New York 1981.
- PILZ, E., *Die weiblichen Gottheiten Kanaans: ZDPV*, 47 (1924), 129-68.
- POPE, M.H., *The Scene on the Drinking Mug from Ugarit*, in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, Baltimore 1971, 393-405.

- PRITCHARD, J.B., *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to Certain Goddesses Known through Literature* (AOS 24), New Haven 1943.
- *Ancient Near Eastern Texts. Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1969a³.
 - *The Ancient Near East in Pictures. Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1969b².
- ROWE, A., *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan. Part I. The Temples and Cult Objects* (Publications of the Palestine Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania 2), Philadelphia 1940.
- SADEK, A.I., *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 27), Hildesheim 1988.
- SCHAEFFER-FORRER, C.F.A., *Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia I*, Paris 1983.
- SCHROER, S., *In Israel gab es Bilder. Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament* (OBO 74), Fribourg/Göttingen 1987.
- SCHULMAN, A.R., *Reshep on Horseback?: JSSEA, 7/4 (1977), 13-17.*
- *A Stela of Qudshu from Memphis: BES, 4 (1982), 81-91.*
 - *On the Goddess Plaque Mould from Tel Qarnayim: JSSEA, 14/3 (1984), 74-80.*
 - *The Cult Statue 'Reshep, he who hears prayers': BES, 6 (1985), 89-106.*
- SEEDEN, H., *The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant* (Prähistorische Bronzefunde I/1), München 1980.
- STADELMANN, R., *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 5), Leiden 1967.
- STAUBLI, T., *Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn* (OBO 107), Fribourg 1991.
- STEWART, H., *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection I*, Warminster 1976.
- TOSI, M. - ROCCATI, A., *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, Turin 1972.
- VANDIER, J., *Le dieu Seth au Nouvel Empire: à propos d'une récente acquisition du Louvre: MDAIK, 25 (1969), 188-97.*
- TE VELDE, H., *Egyptian Hieroglyphs as Signs, Symbols and Gods: Visible Religion, 4-5 (1985-86), 63-72.*
- WEIPPERT, H., *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Handbuch der Archäologie. Vorderasien II/1), München 1988.
- WEIPPERT, M., *Synkretismus und Monotheismus*, in *Kultur und Konflikt*, Frankfurt 1990, 143-79.
- WILKINSON, J.G., *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians I-III*, London 1878.
- WINTER, U., *Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (OBO 53), Fribourg/Göttingen 1987².
- WYATT, N., *The Stela of the Seated God from Ugarit: UF, 15 (1983), 271-77.*
- *The 'Anat Stela from Ugarit and its Ramifications: UF, 16 (1984), 327-37.*
- XELLA, P., *Baal Hammon. Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique* (Contributi alla storia della religione fenicio-punica I), Rome 1991.



1

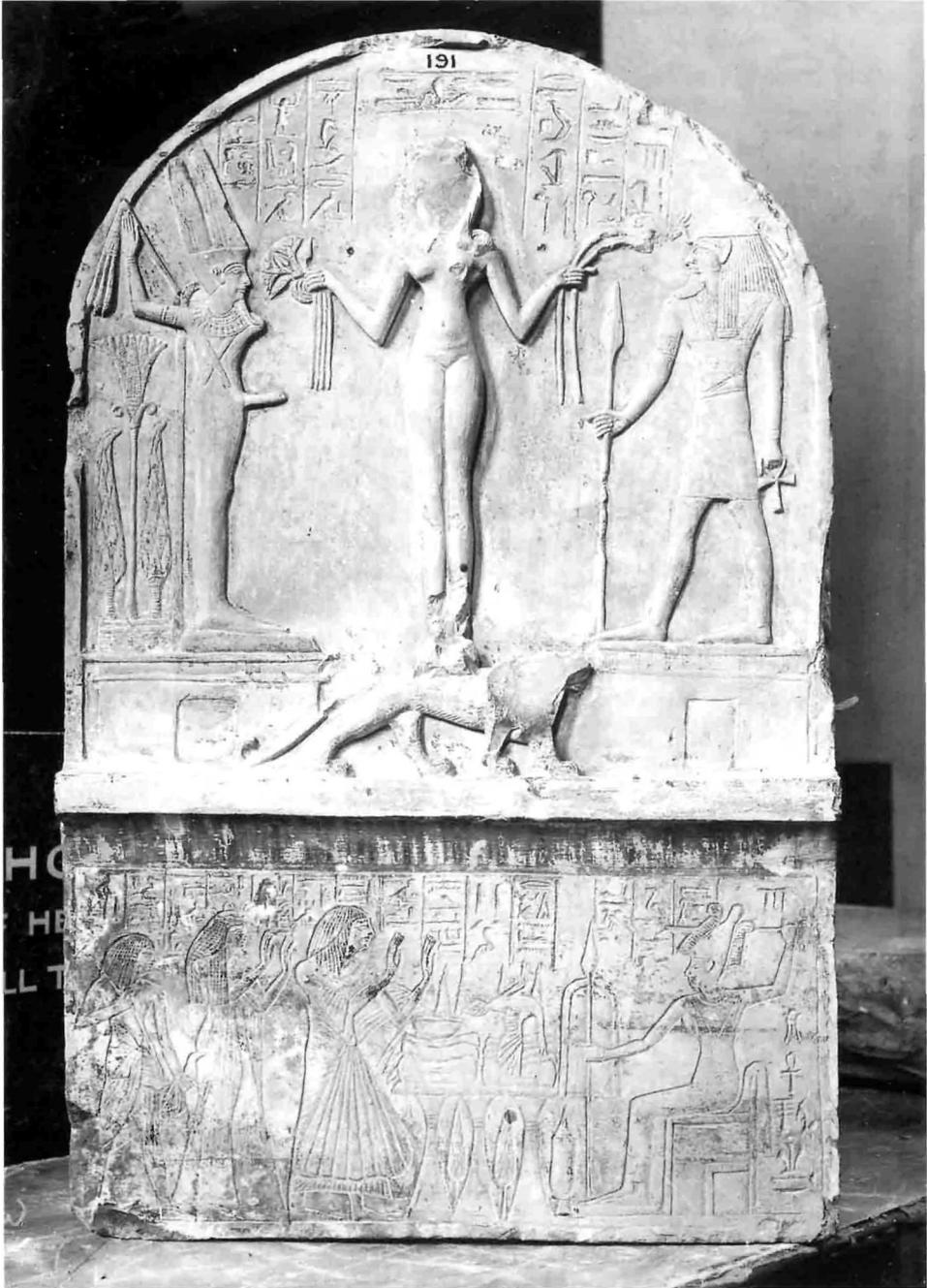


2

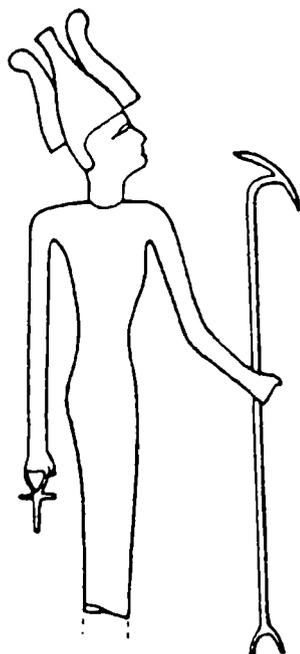


3

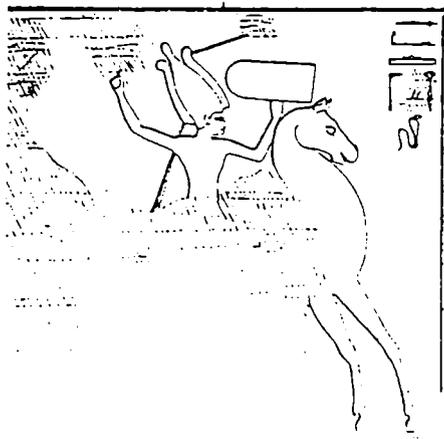
Pl. I, figs. 1, 2, 3



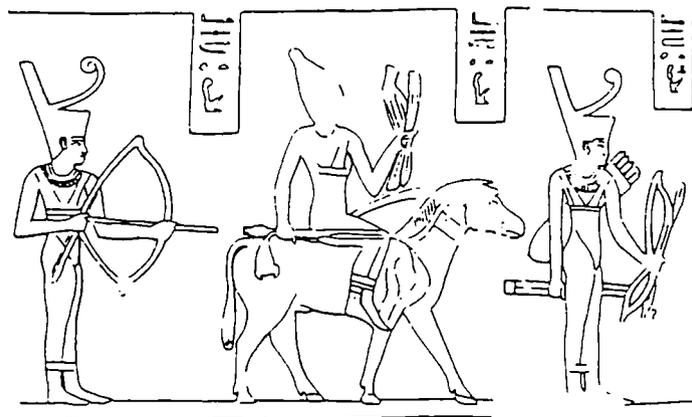
Pl. II, fig. 4



5

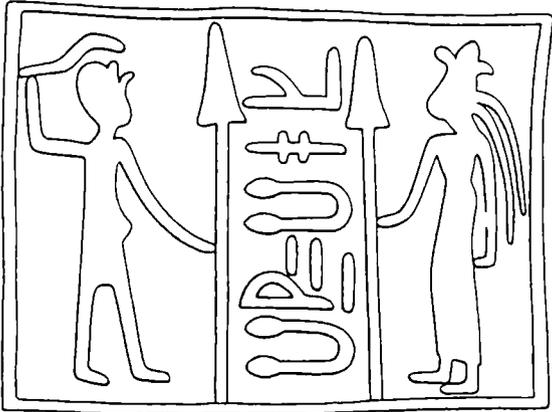


6

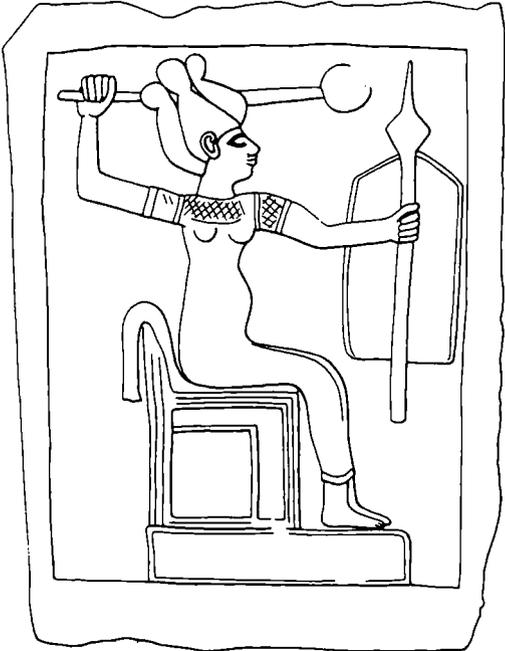


7

Pl. III, figs. 5, 6, 7



8



9



10

Pl. IV, figs. 8, 9, 10



11



11



12



12



13



13



14



14

Pl. V, figs. 11, 12, 13, 14



15



15



16



16



16



17

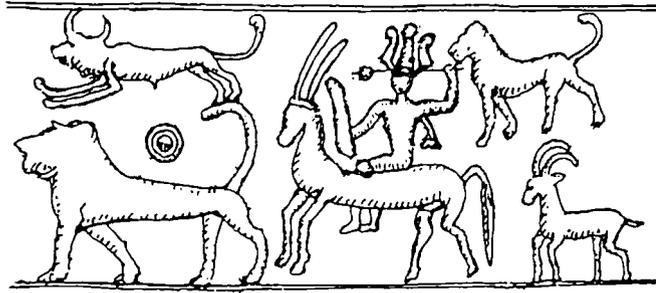


17



17

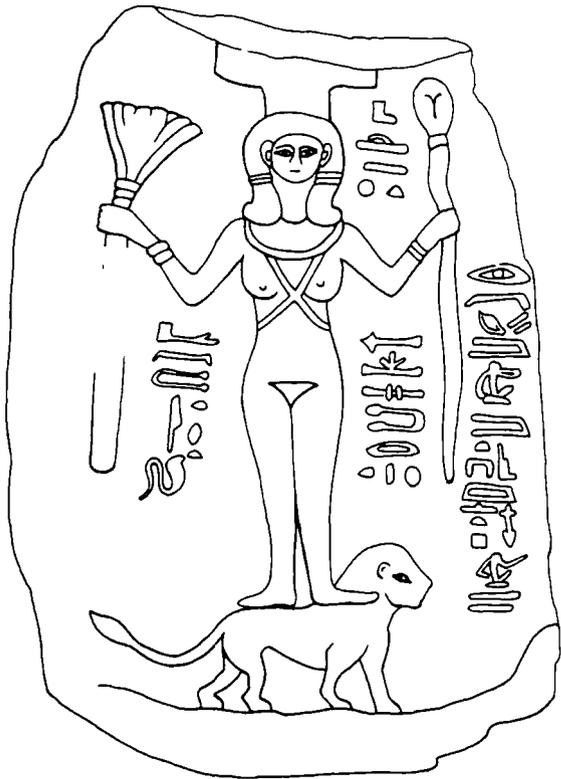
Pl. VI, figs. 15, 16, 17



18

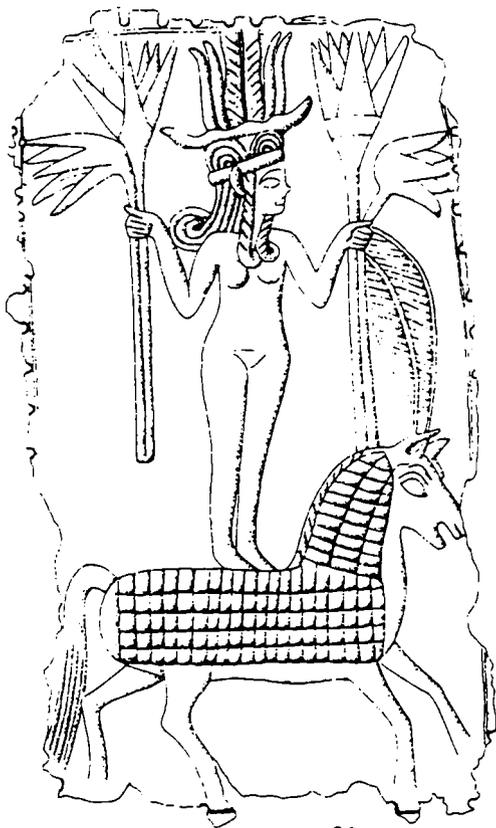


19

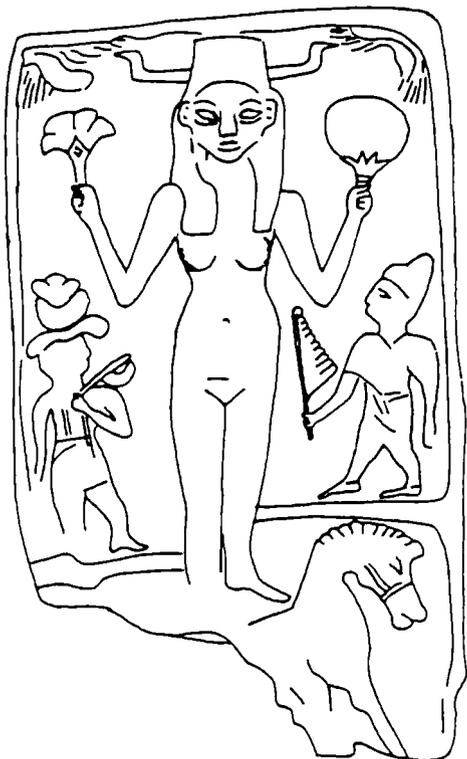


20

Pl. VII, figs. 18, 19, 20

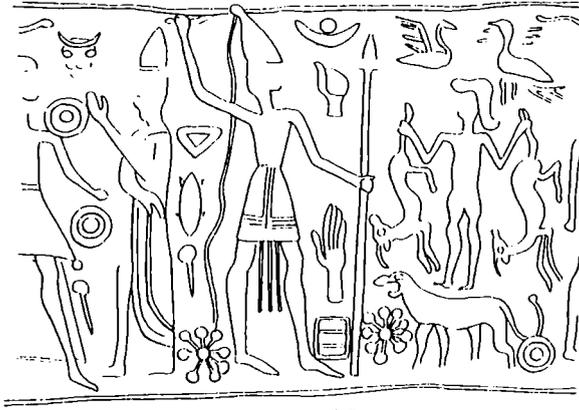


21



22

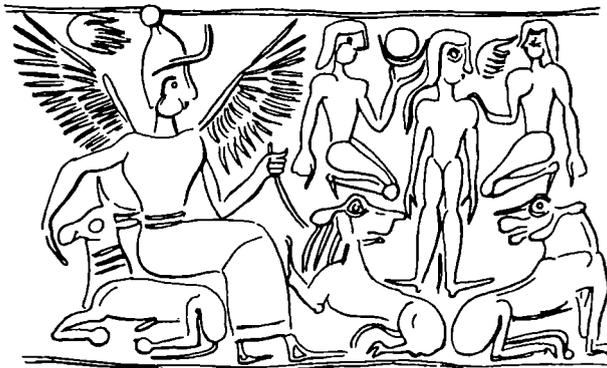
Pl. VIII, figs. 21, 22



23



24



25