

Anat

I. Introduction. *Northwest Semitic goddess*, →DDD. A. is well known from 2nd mill. Ugaritic myths (DAY 1999: 36–38; WALLS 1992), especially as an aggressive deity and sister of →Baal. She seems to play a lesser role in the 1st mill. (NIEHR 1996; for representations of the Graeco-Roman Period see CORNELIUS 2004: figs. 11 and 19). Later she was combined with →Astarte to become Atargatis (→IDD 2), the *Dea Syria* in the West (DRIJVERS 1986; DRIJVERS 1999).

The main iconographic problem is to differentiate A. from Astarte (e.g., both deities wear the *atef* crown), even on representations which identify them by name (for Palestine see 1*; for Egypt see 2*, 4–5, 8*, →Qudshu 1* lower register). Difficult and misidentified depictions will be discussed below.

Relief fragments from Saqqarah (→Astarte 4*) are not considered to represent A. but rather Astarte (VAN SICLEN 1991). Furthermore, although the name of A. occurs on the Winchester stela (→Qudshu 2*) the iconography of the represented naked figure identifies her as →Qudshu.

The Levantine smiting bronze figurines are difficult to date and even harder to identify. FALSONE (1986) shows that many of the smiting bronze figurines (SEEDEN 1980: pls. 102–103, of which nos. 1721 and 1726 are from Palestine) should be dated to the Phoenician Period and that their identification is complex. Because both, A. and Astarte are smiting goddesses, it is impossible to make a choice of one over the other. Only an inscription and specific attributes would help, which in this case do not exist. The sole bronze figurine identified by name depicts a seated Astarte (→Astarte 10*) and is not of the smiting type. Although A. apparently predominates in the Ugaritic texts, this does not mean that all Late Bronze Age smiting bronze figurines (e.g., Kamid el-Loz: SEEDEN 1980: 110f, pls. N; 103:1728) represent A., since Ugaritic evidence cannot be applied *per se* to other regions, e.g., Palestine. Similarly, Astarte plays a dominant role at Late Bronze Age Emar and is the chief female deity in Phoenicia, but there is no reason to identify all smiting bronze figurines with her. Because of this uncertainty, BARNETT'S identifications of A. are questionable; e.g., the smiting figure on a bowl from Nimrud (1969: 408f, fig. 1, pl. 5A) and his supposedly "earliest representation of A."

on a 16th cent. bone plaque from Cyprus (1978: 20*, fig. 1, pl. 2:3). Furthermore, BARNETT (1969: 410) identifies the main figure in the chariot group from the Louvre (SEEDEN 1980: 109f, pls. N; 103:1725) with A., despite the clearer link of Astarte with horses and chariots. The winged bronze figurine (WEIPPERT 1988: 307f, fig. 3.53[4]) also is not considered to be A.

A. is sometimes linked with figures on horses (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 86), but there is no depiction of a figure on horseback with an identifying inscription that relates to A. Instead, these figures should be linked with Astarte (→Astarte § II.1.3.3; CORNELIUS 2004: 41ff; see also KEEL 1997: 533, no. 4; but contra LIPÍŃSKI 2005: 124–128). The same applies to the proposed identifications by LIPÍŃSKI (1996: 262) with A. of winged figures on horseback and on a scarab from Ashkelon.

The *atef* crown as such does not allow identification of faience amulets with A. (contra HERRMANN 1994: nos. 151–153) because Astarte wears the same type of crown.

Three finds from Ugarit are traditionally identified with A.: a stela, an ivory, and a cylinder seal. Although the figures are all winged and A. is described as winged in the Ugaritic texts, the relationship between the myths and the iconography is not clear (see CORNELIUS 2004: 27–40, pls. 1:9; 2:2; 3:11). The same applies to the ivory of a musician from the same site, which SCHAEFFER (1963: 132, figs. 12–13) presumably links with A. (see CAT 1.101). DAY (1992) argues for A. as a →mistress-of-animals on pendants from Ugarit, but these should be identified as Qudshu representations.

A number of figures on cylinder seals are not clearly A., e.g., from Tell Fekheryeh (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1996: 126f, fig. 159), in the Moore Collection (BARNETT 1978: 30*, pl. 2:1), and from Tell ed-Dab'a (WILLIAMS-FORTE 1993: 186f, fig. 4). WEIPPERT (1988: 308, followed by KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 50, fig. 109) propose an A. identification for the woman with the spear on a cylinder seal from Beth-Shean (see also →Baal § II.2.1.2). However, because the pantheon in Palestine is unknown, the relationship of Baal and A. at Ugarit cannot be directly applied to the cylinder seal from Beth-Shean. This cylinder seal is instead taken as dedicated to Astarte, who is also visually represented on the seal.

Two other depictions of A., the Michaelides stela and Psammetichus situla, are presumably imitations (CORNELIUS 2004: 22f, figs. 3–4).

There is no known theriomorphic representation of A. Although A. can fly, it is debatable whether she is represented as a bird on a mug from Ugarit (POPE 1971: 400, 403, fig. 2) or on seals (KEEL 1990: 215; KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: 158f, figs. 163a–164d). The same applies to the identification of A. with the cow (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 78, figs. 155a–b), which is based on an outdated reading (e.g., WINTER 1987: 327, 404–413) of A. as a cow in Ugaritic texts such as CAT 1.10 and 1.11 (see DAY 1992; WALLS 1992: 122ff). It is also questionable whether the heifer on the gold cup from Ugarit represents A. (CAUBET 2002: 221, fig. 6.4). Based on 12th cent. inscriptions on arrowheads, however, A. may be linked with the lioness (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: § 78, fig. 156), which further indicates her martial association (DAY 1999: 38). But this does not mean that she has a feline iconography. The bow as a symbolic representation of the warrior A. (WIMMER 1994) is highly speculative, as she is never shown with a bow.

II. Typology

II.1. Phenotypes

1. STANDING 1.1. Holding a scepter (1) 1.2. Holding a weapon (2–3) 1.3. Without an object (4–6) 1.4. Possible (7) 2. SEATED 2.1. Brandishing a weapon (→Qudshu 1*) 2.2. Resting one hand on the Pharaoh's shoulder (8)

1. STANDING

1.1. Holding a scepter. The Late Bronze stela from Beth–Shean (1*) is the only Palestinian example which identifies A. by inscription and shows her holding a scepter, although the type is unclear due to damage. It could be the familiar Egyptian *was* scepter (KEEL/UEHLINGER 1998: fig. 108), but could also be the pluriform type (see 7). The goddess wears a long dress and the *atef* crown, and holds the Egyptian *ankh* in her right hand.

1.2. Holding a weapon. On a 19th dyn. column from Heliopolis A., identified by inscription, with the *atef* crown with horns and a streamer, a long dress, and an *ankh* in her left hand, holds a battle axe (2*). A Bubastis vase depicts a nonmenacing, standing woman in a long dress with a feathered headdress. In her left hand she holds an *ankh* and with the other a spear and shield in front of her, which reminds of A. (3*; see →Qudshu 1* lower register).

1.3. Without an object. On a limestone relief which bears A.'s name, only her upper part with the head and *atef* crown is visible (4). An inscribed headless statue from Tanis shows A. in a long dress (5). On an 8th cent. relief of Shamash–resh–usur, governor of Suhu and Mari, found (as booty?) in Babylon there is a headless figure

on the right side identified by the label as A. (6).

1.4. Possible. A second stela from Beth–Shean (7) with no legible inscription (only lines are visible) might depict standing A. with the high headdress of the *atef* crown with horns, dressed in a long flowing garment, holding an *ankh* and a pluriform scepter. In the Roman temple at Denderah a similar A., identified by name, is dressed in a feline skin (CORNELIUS 2004: 36f, fig. 19; PORTER/MOSS 1939: 83).

2. SEATED

2.1. Brandishing a weapon. On a stela, possibly from Deir el–Medina, A. is seated on a throne, holding a battle axe menacingly (on the use of the term see →Resheph § II) above her head, and a rounded shield and spear in front of her (→Qudshu 1* lower register; see also →Resheph 10*).

2.2. Resting one hand on the Pharaoh's shoulder. Unarmed A. with a long dress and an *atef* crown is seated next to Ramses II (1279–1213) on a life–size statue from Tanis (8*). Her right hand is resting on the Pharaoh's left shoulder. A Graeco–Roman stela inscribed with her name also depicts her seated and unarmed (BLOK 1930: 177–194, pl. 3; CORNELIUS 2004: 30, fig. 11).

II.2. Associations

1. ASSOCIATED WITH DEITIES/DEMONS: Qudshu. In the period under consideration, the only deity associated with A. is →Qudshu. On →Qudshu 1*, A. is depicted on the lower register and Qudshu on the top (main) register.

2. ASSOCIATED WITH HUMANS

2.1. Royal figures. A. appears together with Ramses II (1279–1213), who had a strong connection with her (for relevant texts see KITCHEN 1996: 273). On statues from Tanis she either holds him by the hand (5) or rests her hand on his shoulder (8*). On 4 she stands next to him. On 6 A. stands behind the governor Shamash–resh–usur.

2.2. Worshipers. On a stela from Beth–Shean (1*), the Egyptian official Khesy–Nakht is worshipping A. and asking for life, prosperity, and health. An offering table with a lotus flower stands between them. On a second stela from the same site (7), a female worshipper wears the same dress as A. and holds a flower. On the lower register of →Qudshu 1*, A. is worshipped by a couple, followed by a boy holding a lotus stalk and fowl. An offering table is in front of A. Priests make offerings to her on the silver vase from Bubastis (3*).

III. Sources

III.1. Chronological range. A. appears mainly in the Late Bronze Age. Among these belong the representations with the name of Ramses II (4–5, 8*), but also stela 7 from Beth–Shean. The Beisan stela 1* is probably somewhat younger (Iron Age I), as is the silver vase from Bubastis (3*) and the 8th cent. stela of Shamash–resh–usur (6). Late depictions date to the Graeco–Roman Period (CORNELIUS 2004: figs. 11, 19).

III.2. Geographical distribution. Representations of A. range from Beth–Shean in northern Palestine (1*, 7) to Thebes in Egypt (→Qudshu 1*, lower register). The latter presumably comes from the worker’s colony at Deir el–Medina, and the Brooklyn relief (4) may come from Saqqarah. Statues 5 and 8* are originally from Qantir before their secondary set–up at Tanis. Relief 6, found at Babylon, most likely comes from the Middle Euphrates.

It is striking that no clear representation of A. exists from Ugarit, where A. played such an important role. One would have hoped for an inscribed stela, but the only female example is too uncertain. No female smiting bronze statuettes come from Ugarit, only smiting gods.

III.3. Object types. A. occurs in various media: a relief (4), a column (2*), relief stelae (1*, 7, →Qudshu 1* lower register), statues (5, 8*), and on a metal vase (3*). She may be represented on seal amulets and bronze figurines, but identification in these media should be approached critically.

IV. Conclusion. Only one definite representation from Palestine is known (1*); the others are of Egyptian origin with the exception of 6, which stems from Mesopotamia. In visual art A. is not only the “violent goddess,” as she is usually described in texts. Although she is shown armed (→Qudshu 1* lower register, 3*), she can also be rendered peacefully (1*, 4–8*). Thus some of the bronze “peace figurines” (SEEDEN 1982) might be A. Her iconographic phenotypes range from the peaceful standing (1*, 4–7) and seated figures (8*) to the armed, menacing, seated (→Qudshu 1* lower register) and armed, standing figures (2*–3*). In regard to function, she appears as a protector of pharaohs (5, 2*, 8*) and royal figures (6), but is also worshipped by an official (1*) and the common people (→Qudshu 1* lower register).

A. has been compared with →Ishtar–Shawushka (WEGNER 1981: 196) and Greek Athena (→IDD 2; WALLS 1992: 28ff). The

aggressive image of A. may be compared with the Hindu goddesses Kali and Durga (POPE 1977: 606ff, pl. 9; WALLS 1992: 33ff, 54ff).

V. Catalogue

1* Stela, basalt, 44 x 39 x 13 cm, Beth–Shean, 1200–1000. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, 36.920 *CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 3.1; PORTER/MOSS 1952: 379; ROWE 1930: pl. 50:2; ROWE 1940: pls. 35:3, 65A:1 2* Column, granite, 137 (h) cm, Heliopolis, 1237–1226 (Lybian war of Merenptah). In situ. *CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 1.7; SOUROUZIAN 1989: fig. 16a (wrong view!) 3* Vase, silver, Bubastis, 1100 (?). Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 53264 (?). *CORNELIUS 2004: fig. 8; MONTET 1937: fig. 179 4 Relief, limestone, Saqqarah (?), 1279–1213 (Ramses II). NEW YORK, BROOKLYN MUSEUM, 54.67. COONEY 1956: pls. 51:31; 52c; CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 3.8 5 Statue, granite, Tanis, 1279–1213 (Ramses II). CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 3.7; MONTET 1933: pl. 70; PORTER/MOSS 1934: 24 6 Relief (fragment), limestone, Babylon (taken as booty from the Middle Euphrates?), 800–700. PRITCHARD 1969: no. 533; *BÖRKER–KLÄHN 1982: no. 231; CAVIGNEAUX/ISMAIL 1990: fig. 3; MAYER–Opificius 1995 7 Stela, limestone, Beth–Shean, 1250. CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 3.2; PORTER/MOSS 1952: 377; ROWE 1930: pl. 48:2; ROWE 1940: pls. 35:5, 49A:1 8* Statue, granite, life–size, Tanis, 1279–1213 (Ramses II). Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 6336. *CORNELIUS 2004: pl. 2.1; MONTET 1933: pl. 54; PORTER/MOSS 1934: 24

VI. Selected Bibliography

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