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SYMBOLS FOR MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

THEIR USE IN ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SYMPATHETIC MAGIC RITUALS

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EVERY serious biblical scholar today is well aware of the prominent rôle which fertility and sex enjoyed in the religions of the ancient Near East.¹ One of the principal tasks which the ancient Near Easterner entrusted to his religion was the securing of the favor of the gods, so that they would either grant fertility or sustain it. This fertility could be conceived in terms of bumper crops, of thriving livestock, or of a growing family.² But the sexual capability³ of the individual male or

¹ See the representative bibliography compiled by M. H. Pope at the close of his article "Fertility Cults" in the *IniDB*, 2, p. 265.

² The overlapping in the concept of fertility is aptly reflected in the activities of fertility deities such as Baal, who exerts his procreative powers upon livestock as well as upon female deities (*ANET*, p. 142).

³ I use the term "capability" advisedly to designate both fertility in the narrow sense and potency in the broader sense. A misconception shared unfortunately by many OT scholars is that the early Near Easterner was only concerned with the former and not the latter. If a couple could not have children, it was always the woman's fault; she was barren; no one ever said that the man was impotent or sterile. Such a conception may be plausible to some, but to the present writer it is absolutely untenable. The fact of the matter is that we actually possess rituals to restore potency to the impotent man (compare the Hittite ritual of Paškuwatti discussed below). Besides these we have mythological texts, such as Text 52 from Ugarit, where the entire suspense of the plot centers in the question of whether or not the central figure can muster the sexual vitality to copulate with his partner(s). To aid him in this task he is provided not only with the girls themselves but also with a special ritual designed to promote his potency (lines 13-15). Yet another example of a man in this plight is Appu in a Hurrian myth (*ZA NF*, 49, pp. 214 ff.). It is not sheer speculation, therefore, which leads us to conclude that sexual impotency was a problem faced by a small but nonetheless significant number of males in the ancient Near East. Men of the second millennium B.C. may not have possessed the scientific knowledge to understand male "sterility" in the sense of insufficient sperms to impregnate, but they were alert enough to comprehend the simple inability to copulate. Such men would require professional help in the form of ritual practitioners. The case of King Daniel also exhibits similarities. On this subject the detailed study by J. Obermann (*JAOS*, 66, 1946, Supplement) should be consulted. I am not convinced that the actions performed by Daniel in II AQHT (=AQHT A), col. 1, lines 1-18 constitute a remedial ritual employed to cure his sterility. It seems more likely that these offerings presented over a seven-day period and the problematic action described in lines 14-16 were designed merely to attract the deity's attention and incline him to heed the king's petition. Perhaps the distinction is slight, but such actions do not really fit in the same category with rituals of sympathetic magic.

female was certainly the keystone of the entire complex. Crops and livestock would afford small consolation to an individual who felt himself (or herself) somewhat less than a man (or woman) because of inability to reproduce.

The masculinity of the ancient was measured by two criteria: (1) his prowess in battle, and (2) his ability to sire children.⁴ Because these two aspects of masculinity were frequently associated with each other in the mind of the early Near Easterner, the symbols which represented his masculinity to himself and his society often possessed a double reference. In particular, those symbols which primarily referred to his military exploits often served to remind him of his sexual ability as well. So too with symbols associated with femininity: objects which recall her domestic duties frequently carry overtones of her fertility and sexual drives.

Such symbols served a dual purpose in early Near Eastern society: (1) as symbols of conventional propriety in dress, and (2) as possessors of a kind of inherent magical power to bestow the very sexual attributes which they represented. As such, the symbols of the two sexes were often employed in rituals and charms.⁵ In a limited number of cases it appears that practitioners employed the symbol of the opposite sex to "neutralize" or eliminate the target individual's present sexual powers.⁶ An impotent man or a barren woman might engage a professional sorcerer to perform upon him a ritual to restore the ability to reproduce. Such a ritual would usually involve the use of symbols for masculinity or femininity, which, when applied to or removed from the patient, accompanied by the recitation of the magic spell, would induce the departure of sterility and the restoration of reproductive powers.⁷ Such

⁴ Reflecting this concept is the use of the Hittite noun *LÚ-natar* (*HWb*, p. 284) "masculinity" in both the sense "male genitalia" (KUB XXXIII 84:13) and "military exploit" (so in the royal inscriptions and annals).

⁵ This usage may be conclusively demonstrated for the ritual passages and for those mythological passages where sex or fertility is involved. Sometimes it is masculinity in the sense of battle prowess which is desired by the person who invests himself/herself in the symbols, as for example Paghat (*ANET*, p. 155), who in order to secure for herself masculine battle prowess to slay her brother's murderer dons masculine attire and even stains her skin with red murex, yet for purposes of disguising her intent she then puts on women's clothes over the men's clothes! For the intention of Anat in requesting Aqhat's bow, see further below.

⁶ This is obviously the intent in the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (E. Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 406) as well as in the self-maledictory oaths of the Hittite soldiers (Laroche, *Catalogue*, no. 310). No clear example of this has been found in Ugaritic texts. A possible allusion to it in the OT is in David's curse against Joab and his descendants (II Sam 3).

⁷ Since the writer is not a full-time Assyriologist, examples of such rituals from Akkadian texts are more difficult to come by. Ugaritic text 52 has been recognized

procedures lie within the realm of "white" or curative magic. But since the removal of the symbols of one's own sex and the application of those of the opposite sex, when accompanied by the proper spells and curses, could bring about sterility, it was also possible to use such trappings as a terrible weapon against one's enemy — to deprive him of his most precious possession and most important capability, his masculinity.⁸ Such practices would naturally be classed as "black" or destructive magic.

We can be sure that such practices were widespread in the ancient Near East, wherever belief in the effectiveness of magic was current.⁹ The language of the spells might be Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, Egyptian, or Canaanite; the specific choice of symbols might vary slightly from people to people and land to land. But the cultural phenomenon was essentially the same.

The Hebrew Bible gives us very little concrete evidence regarding the forms which such practices may have assumed in ancient Canaan.¹⁰ This is, however, not difficult to understand, since such practices were offensive to Yahweh — *לִפְנֵי יְהוָה הוּא כִּי־תוֹעֵבָה הוּא* (Deut 24 4). As such, not only were they condemned, but all too often the description or even the simple naming of them was suppressed from the sacred writings.¹¹

On the other hand, we encounter no difficulty at all when we seek to identify the conventional sex symbols in ancient Israel, since these in themselves bore no offensive overtones. Indeed, they were often em-

as involving a kind of test of El's dormant procreative powers. An important aspect of the ritual drama involves his shooting a bird out of the sky with his bow (*UT* 52:37-38). In Hittite texts examples are numerous. Texts which are composite are referred to by their entry number in E. Laroche's *Catalogue des textes hittites* (published in *Revue hittite et asianique*, fasc. 58-62). Such ritual actions are prominent in the soldier's oath (*Cat.* 310), the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (*Cat.* 406), Paškuwatti's ritual against impotency (*Cat.* 319), and the ritual for founding a new palace (*Cat.* 308). The first and last of these were translated by A. Goetze for *ANET* (pp. 353-54, 357).

⁸ See n. 6 above.

⁹ See again M. H. Pope in *IntDB*, 2, p. 265 for the survey. In Egypt the principal deities involved would be Osiris, Min, and Horus. In Hatti fertility was in the hands of any of the storm-gods. H. G. Güterbock has demonstrated that even the so-called "vegetation deity" Telipinu was in all probability a storm-god (*Festschrift Friedrich*, pp. 207 ff.). The close nexus which existed there between mythological action and ritual practitioners is easily seen from the references within the Telipinu Myth itself to Kamrušepa's ritual actions (*ANET*, pp. 127-28).

¹⁰ The practice of boiling a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23 19; 34 26; Deut 14 21) has been shown to belong to that class of ritual magic actions intended to promote fertility in general and sexual potency in particular, since it is observed in the Ugaritic text 52, line 14.

¹¹ For a summary sketch of what little is known of Canaanite sacrificial practices from the Old Testament see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, pp. 438 f.

played in the poetic expression of true and orthodox religious sentiment.¹² The symbols for virile manhood were the bow and arrow,¹³ and those of womanhood the spindle or distaff¹⁴ and the characteristically feminine garments.¹⁵

The ideal, upper-class woman (the **לְיָמֵי הַיָּלְדוּת**, vs. 10) is described in Proverbs 31 in all of her characteristic activities. Central among them is putting forth her hand to the spindle (vs. 19). She does this, though with her husband's wealth she could hire others to spin for her, because this occupation and its accoutrements have become the standard mode of identifying herself with her sex.¹⁶ The ideal male, the true "man's man" of ancient Canaan, was skilled with the bow.¹⁷ He used his bow and arrows either to slay the enemies of his people or to procure game for his table. When a true man is celebrated in song, his many children (the visible proof of his sexual potency) are compared to arrows in the quiver of a mighty man.¹⁸ The ideal man piously boasts that Yahweh gives him such strength of arm, that he can bend a bow of bronze.¹⁹ When a paragon of manhood is tragically cut off in the midst of his youth, his weapons of war (and his bow in particular) will receive special attention in his funeral lament.²¹

The same symbols for the ideal "man's man" and "woman's woman" were part of the epic repertoire of the Homeric bards in ancient Greece. They sing not only of fair Penelope at her loom, faithfully awaiting the return of her lord Odysseus from Troy, but even of the seductive goddess Calypso, who as a goddess might be expected to be exempt from such menial chores of mortal woman, sitting at her loom. And on the masculine side, it seems plausible that the task set before Penelope's suitors of stringing and drawing Odysseus' powerful bow was not only a test of

¹² The spindle (**קֶלֶב** or **קִישוֹר**) is referred to in Prov 31 19 and II Sam 3 29. The bow or its arrows as a symbol of masculine physical prowess and sexual potency occurs in II Sam 1 22; 22 35; II Kings 13 15 ff.; Hos 1 5; Ps 127 4-5.

¹³ See passages cited in n. 12 above. Note also Gen 27, where Esau is the "man's man" and carries a bow, while Jacob is portrayed as somewhat less than a true man, because he confines his activities to the flocks and tents.

¹⁴ Prov 31 19 and II Sam 3 29.

¹⁵ Deut 22 5.

¹⁶ Compare also other women from ancient myth and legend who, though of royal or divine status, are frequently associated with the loom (Penelope in the *Odyssey*, or the seductive goddess Calypso in *Odyssey* v, 61-2) or the spindle (Andromache in *Iliad* vi, 490 ff., and Asherah in the Elkunirša Myth). Hector's words to Andromache (*Iliad* vi, 490 ff.) are particularly interesting, since they contrast woman's tasks (the loom, *ιστός*; and the distaff, *ἡλακάτη*) with man's (war, *πόλεμος*).

¹⁷ Esau (Gen 27 3) and Jonathan (II Sam 1 22); cf. also I Chron 12 2.

¹⁸ Ps 127 4-5.

¹⁹ II Sam 22 35.

²¹ II Sam 1 21-22 mentions the **קֶלֶב**, the **קִישוֹר**, and the **כֶּרֶךְ**. On this lament and its East Mediterranean connections see C. H. Gordon, *JNES*, 17 (1958), pp. 46 ff.

physical strength, but also symbolized the ability of such a man to sire further children by her.

In Ugaritic literature two examples of the bow as a masculine symbol can be found. The first is in the tale of Aqhat. A bow and arrows are fashioned by the god Kothar-wa-Khasis and brought to King Daniel as a gift for his son Aqhat. Later in the story, when the goddess Anat seeks to buy them from Aqhat, the young hero, eager to be "diplomatic," at first seeks to dissuade her by offering her materials with which Kothar-wa-Khasis may fashion an identical set for her also. But when this conciliatory approach fails to dissuade the goddess, Aqhat reminds her that the bow is for men, and in particular for heroes, but not for women.²² In this instance (a strictly nonritualistic, mythological context with no sexual associations) the goddess seeks the bow, not to secure for herself male sexual powers, but rather to enhance her "quasi-masculine" bellicose attributes. The second example comes from a mythological episode with more pronounced fertility traits. In the Baal and Anat cycle, Baal's only recorded use of the bow (on a buffalo hunt to Shimak Cane-break in the vicinity of Lake Huleh) results in a prodigious orgy, in which he copulates with a heifer and sires a calf.²³ The spindle, the feminine sexual symbol, is mentioned only twice in Canaanite mythological contexts, in both cases in the hand of Asherah. The first instance, from the Ugaritic texts themselves, is of little value to our present discussion, since the immediate context of Text 51 II 3-4 is unintelligible because of lacunae. On the other hand, the second instance is quite relevant, for it is a seduction scene. In the tale of Asherah and Elkunirša — extant only in its Hittite version, but bearing unmistakable marks both in style and content of its Canaanite original²⁴ — Asherah cuckolds her husband by making amorous advances to Baal. When the latter declines her offers with all due propriety, she threatens him with the vehemence of a woman scorned: "With my word I will oppress you; with my spindle²⁵ I will pierce²⁶ you!" Here it would appear that the spindle, the very symbol of her sexual powers, will turn upon him who has rejected her charms and become the instrument of violent and bloody revenge.

In Hittite texts the same sexual symbols are commonly employed

²² II Aqht VI 39-40.

²³ UT 76 II and 132; ANET, p. 142.

²⁴ See the writer's paper, "The Elkunirša Myth Re-considered," RHA, f. 76 (1965), pp. 5-16.

²⁵ The word "spindle" is written ideographically here (𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠) rather than phonetically Gišpulali.

²⁶ On the problematic verb *bat(to)rai-*, rendered here tentatively "to pierce," cf. H. Otten, MIO, 1, pp. 126 f., 128; E. Laroche, MNHMIS XAPIN, II, p. 3, n. 5; and the writer's forthcoming study "Composite Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives in Hittite," *Orientalia*, NS, 35 (1966).

both in myth and in ritual: the bow and arrows for the man,²⁷ and the spindle (often coupled with the mirror)²⁸ for the woman. In the ritual of the sorceress Paškuwatti to cure sexual impotency²⁹ a key part of the proceedings involves taking a spindle, a mirror, and women's clothing from the impotent man and bestowing upon him the bow and arrow.³⁰

Examples of magical operations intended to *impair* the masculinity (hence, both military prowess and sexual potency) of one's enemy can also be found in Hittite texts. The best-known example is in the ritual and prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh,³¹ where the intention of both ritual and prayer is to destroy the masculinity and battle prowess of the enemy and to secure an extra measure thereof for the troops of Hatti.³² The key point of the prayer is reached when the practitioner says:

Take from (their) men masculinity, prowess, robust health, swords(?), battle-axes, bows, arrows, and dagger(s)! And bring them to Hatti! Place in their hands the spindle and mirror of a woman! Dress them as women! Put on their (heads) the *kureššar*!³³ And take away from them your favor!³⁴

²⁷ In addition to the soldier's oath (*Cat.* 310), the prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh (*Cat.* 406), and Paškuwatti's ritual (*Cat.* 319), note in particular the passage from the ritual of the "washing of the mouth" (*Cat.* 389), KUB XXIX 8 obv ii 8-11, where, if the offerer is a man, he shoots with a bow and arrow. If the offerer is a woman, she lays her hand on the bow and then lets the LÚ.AZU shoot it for her.

²⁸ The same texts as adduced above for the bow are relevant here also.

²⁹ KUB IX 27 obv 20 ff. (*Cat.* 319).

³⁰ See *ANET*, p. 349.

³¹ KBo II 9 i 25-30 (*Cat.* 406).

³² Friedrich, *AO*, 25, pp. 21 ff.

³³ The *TÚGkureššar* is a kind of headgear characteristic for women. See Goetze, "Hittite Dress," in *Corolla Linguistica*, pp. 48-62, who does not discuss *TÚGkureššar*, since it does not occur in the lists of apparel which form the skeleton outline of the study. *HWb*, p. 117 gives a representative bibliography of studies of the word. It should be observed that on the basis of two independent lines of evidence one can establish the equation *TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS* = *TÚG kureššar*. (1) In the soldier's oath three (not just two!) items characteristic of women are employed. In KBo VI 34 obv ii 42 they are: *TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS*, *GIšpulali-*, and *GIšpueša-*. In lines 50 and 53 they are: *TÚG kureššar*, *GIšpulali-*, and *GIšpueša-*. The juxtaposition of these two sections yields the equation *TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS* = *TÚG kureššar*. The second line of evidence is phonological. In the account of the siege of Ursum there occurs a term *kuleššar* (KBo I 11 ii 17) which Güterbock was able to define as "feminine conduct" (*ZA NF*, 10, p. 128). This same term, which I would interpret as "femininity," occurs as *kureššar* to designate the headpiece so characteristic of womanhood. The (apparently unconditioned) phonetic alternation of *l* and *r* in cuneiform Hittite has been recognized for some time (cf. Kronasser, *EHS*, p. 66, to which add cuneiform Luwian *adduwalahit-* and hieroglyphic Luwian *atuwara-*). Apparently the stem of *kureššar*/*kuleššar* ("femininity") has no direct relationship to the "Hittite" term for "woman" which lies behind the *SAL/MUNUS* sign when it is not preceded by *NÍG*, for in such cases its phonetic complements indicate an *n*-stem noun. Cf. *HWb*, pp. 290-91. The man's headgear is *kupaḫi-* (Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 59) possibly the source of Hebrew *קַפֵּי*. See the writer's remark in *JNES*, 23, p. 67, n. 17, where *𐎎* is a printer's error for *𐎏*. T. H. Gaster first proposed the equation *kupaḫi-* = *קַפֵּי* in the 1930's.

³⁴ KBo II 9 i 25-30.

A similar phraseology can be found in the self-maledictory loyalty oaths taken by the Hittite soldiers:

They bring the garment of a woman,³⁵ a distaff,³⁶ and a mirror;³⁷ they break an arrow and you speak to them as follows: "Are not these (you see here) the fine garments³⁸ of a woman? We have them (here) for (the ceremony of taking) the oath. Therefore, whoever breaks these oaths and plots evil against the king, queen, and princes, let these oaths change him from a man into a woman! Let them change his troops into women, let them dress them in the fashion of women and put on their heads the *kurešsar* headdress! Let them break the bows, arrows, (and) weapons in their hands and let them put in their hands distaff and mirror!"³⁹

The OT furnishes us with two allusions to this type of practice in ancient Israel. The first is contained in a curse, which is uttered by none other than King David.⁴⁰ When Joab had almost irretrievably wrecked David's chances for securing the allegiance of the northern tribes by his treacherous and brutal assassination of Abner, David was prevented by circumstances from taking overt punitive measures.⁴¹ So he resorted to the next best course of action: he cursed Joab and his male descendants, dooming them (among other fates) to being those who "hold the spindle" (מחזיק בַּפִּלָּה, II Sam 3 29), i. e., to the loss of their masculine attributes and powers.

The second example is more problematic. Yet its relevance to our subject should be apparent when it is viewed against the background of the Hittite rituals and Ugaritic mythological texts discussed above. In the deuteronomic laws there is a short passage the exact import of which has been often discussed but never completely settled.⁴² It is Deut 22 5, which reads: לֹא יִהְיֶה קְלִי־נָקֵר עַל־אִשָּׁה וְלֹא־יִלְבַּשׁ נָקֵר שִׁמְלַת אִשָּׁה כִּי חוֹעֲבַת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כְּלִי־עֵשָׂה אֲלֶיָּהּ ("the implement of a man shall not be borne by a woman, nor shall a man clothe himself in the attire of a woman, for whoever does this is an abomination to Yahweh your God"). The קְלִי־נָקֵר in this context is certainly not a garment, but rather an implement or weapon.⁴³ Hebrew קְלִי is the semantic counterpart of Akkadian *unūtu* in such expressions as *unūt ili* ("implement of the deity," i. e., divine symbol),⁴⁴ *unūt pahāri* ("implement of the potter,"

³⁵ TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS.

³⁶ GIŠ^hulahi.

³⁷ GIŠ^hueša.

³⁸ ŠA MUNUS TÚG.NÍG.LÁM.MEŠ.

³⁹ KBo VI 34 obv ii 42 ff. and transl. in *ANET*, p. 354.

⁴⁰ II Sam 3 28-29.

⁴¹ Later, when circumstances permitted, he instructed his son to execute Joab (I Kings 2 5 ff.).

⁴² S. R. Driver, *Deut. (ICC)*, pp. 250-51; R. Smith, *OTJC*, p. 365; *IntB*, 2, p. 464.

⁴³ Driver, *loc. cit.*; Gesenius-Buhl, *HHAT*¹⁷, p. 348.

⁴⁴ Written *ú-nu-ut* DINGIR-lim in KUB XXXVIII 1 rev iv 6, 13.

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i. e., tool of his profession),⁴⁵ or *unūt awīli* ("implement of a man," i. e., tool or weapon characteristically borne by men). The *קלי-ינר* is in all likelihood a reference to the bow. No woman should carry a bow, since — as Aqhat reminds us — "the bow is for heroes."⁴⁶

Conversely, this verse prohibits a man from clothing himself as a woman. In the afore-mentioned Hittite rituals the TÚG.NÍG.MUNUS ("feminine attire") includes not only the characteristic garments of the female (her TÚG*kureššar* and full-length body veil),⁴⁷ but her spindle and mirror as well.⁴⁸ In the Marash stela inscribed with hieroglyphic Luwian we can observe two women, holding mirror and spindle.⁴⁹ And in the Karatepe inscription Asitawanda gives us the impression that in times of domestic security a well-dressed woman might even have a spindle in her hand as she took a stroll, just as a well-dressed American woman fifty years ago would carry a parasol. "But in my days even a woman could take a stroll with only a spindle in hand, because of the grace of Baal and the (other) gods."⁵⁰

But there is still one very important question left unanswered: why in the world would an ancient man or woman wish to wear the attire or symbols of the opposite sex? Several answers are possible. (1) Some kind of sexual perversion could be in view, such as homosexuality. This certainly is *תועבה* in the OT.⁵¹ But there are more direct ways for referring to this practice, which are, in fact, employed elsewhere in the OT.⁵² (2) Or this passage could be alluding to an ancient cult practice, whereby worshipers dressed in the garb of the opposite sex venerated a deity considered to be bisexual. This was the view of Robertson Smith, which has found favor in certain circles to this present day.⁵³ The difficulty with this view is that Smith's evidence for the existence of such a cult was taken from the literature of the hellenistic era. Such a view would be more credible if we could marshal support from texts of the late second millennium B.C.⁵⁴ But in default of such evidence

⁴⁵ Written *ú-nu-ut* BAĤĀR (KUB II 2 rev iv 10) or *ú-nu-ut* LÚ.BAĤĀR (KUB XI 28 obv iii 11-12, 20).

⁴⁶ ANET, p. 152.

⁴⁷ See n. 33 above.

⁴⁸ KBo VI 34 obv ii 42.

⁴⁹ ANEP, no. 631.

⁵⁰ Donner and Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, sel. 26, text A, ll 6-7 (pp. 5, 37, 41).

⁵¹ Lev 18 22.

⁵² See Lev 18 22 also.

⁵³ See n. 42 above.

⁵⁴ It is true that some additional observations along this line can now be added. Servius observed the worship of the bearded Astarte on Cyprus and the perambulations of the Galli, eunuch priests of Cybele, soliciting the populace to unholy rites. We now know from Akkadian texts (see CAD, Z, p. 126) that Ishtar had a beard like that

we can only regard the interpretation as interesting and somewhat plausible, but hardly demonstrable. On the other hand, we have cited evidence above which confirms the existence in the late second millennium B.C. of ritual and curse forms which utilize the external symbols of masculinity and femininity to maintain, restore, or eradicate the sexual potency of oneself or one's enemy. In order for such procedures to be effective it would have been necessary for the client to serve as a kind of living dressmaker's dummy upon whom the practitioner could interchange the symbols which, accompanied by the proper spells, would effect the desired result. The biblical prohibition is characteristically elliptical and makes no mention of motive, but simply describes the outward motions of the practice. Such behavior, entailing as it did an appeal to the powers of fertility (even if in the minds of some, Yahweh was the source of these powers), was bound to be considered הוֹעֵרָה by the pious and the orthodox. Indeed, there is much to be said for von Rad's view that Yahwism even in its premonarchic forms was already opposed to all kinds of magic *per se*, since these were designed to influence the Deity "automatically."⁵⁵ As an invasion of Yahweh's personal liberties and sovereign actions, then, such a magical ritual was properly termed הוֹעֵרָה .

of the god Ashur. It is clear also from the Yazilikaya reliefs that her Hurro-Hittite counterpart Shaushga was bisexual (Goetze, *Corolla Linguistica*, p. 51). Other texts (*CAD*, Z, p. 117, *s.v. sikrūtu*) show that Ishtar danced the whirl like a man, and that she had the power to turn a man into a woman in order to teach the people religious fear. On statues dedicated to NINNI+NITA ("male Ishtar?") at Mari a male symbol accompanies her ideogram (cf. A. Parrot, *Mission archeologique de Mari I, Le Temple d'Ishtar*, pp. 68-74). Further textual evidence for the goddess Anat acting as a male and clad in garments both male and female can be found in J. Wilson's citation of Papyrus Chester Beatty VII, verso i, 8-9 (*apud ANET*, p. 250, n. 18): "Anath, the goddess, the victorious, a woman acting (as) a man, clad as a male and girt as a female." Yet even this new evidence is still too slim to support Smith's interpretation of Deut 22 5.

⁵⁵ G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, pp. 34-35.

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