Studying Gender in the Ancient Near East

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edited by

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This volume is dedicated to all of the pioneers in the study of women, gender, and the ancient Near East. Thank you for asking new and challenging questions; you cannot find something that you do not sense is missing.

Aux alentours de midi, je me rendis compte que j'étais perdue. J'abordai un responsable en ces termes:

— Mesopotamia, please.

— Third floor, turn to the left, me répondit-on le plus simplement du monde.

Comme quoi on a bien tort de croire que la Mésopotamie est à ce point inaccessible.

(Amélie Nothomb, *Pétronille*)

Contents

Acknowledgments

This volume has its genesis in three workshops that we organized in 2013 and 2014. As two of the workshops were held in the framework of the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, they would not have been possible without the warm welcome and help of the Organizing Committees of the Rencontre conferences in Ghent (2013) and Warsaw (2014). We would especially like to thank Katrien De Graef and Małgorzata Sandowicz, who were our interlocutors for the Ghent and Warsaw conferences, respectively. In addition, we want to thank heartily all of the colleagues who made these workshops possible by chairing panels and delivering papers. The third workshop, which we organized in Helsinki in October 2014, was made possible through the generous support of the Centre of Excellence in "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions" and the Finnish Institute in the Middle East.

As indicated in our dedication, although the relationship between gender studies and analysis of the ancient Near East has not always been easy, a great deal of work has already been done during the last decades. We are hugely indebted to those scholars who have come before. As a public acknowledgment of this, we decided to dedicate the first workshop we organized together (at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Ghent 2013) to the memory of Joan Goodnick Westenholz, who sadly passed away in February of that year. She and others like her have literally made this volume possible.

We would also like to thank a number of colleagues for their help and support, as well as various sources of financial patronage during these years. Saana was employed by the project "Intellectual Heritage of the Ancient Near East" (funded by the Academy of Finland), led by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila and Robert Rollinger, from 2012 to 2014, after which she was employed in her own project (funded by the Academy of Finland, 2014–17) "Construction of Gender in Mesopotamia from 934 to 330 B.C.E." Both projects were hosted by the Department of World Cultures at the University of Helsinki. In addition to the many supportive and brilliant colleagues in the Department of World Cultures, similar gratitude is owed to the wonderful colleagues at the Centre of Excellence in "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions" (funded by the Academy of Finland since 2014) in the Theological Faculty of the University of Helsinki. In particular, the director of the Centre, Martti Nissinen, has been of invaluable help to us.

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Finally, a project such as ours could only gain momentum and significance through cooperation with other scholars. As organizers, facilitators, and editors, we are grateful to have had the chance to work with all of them.

Abbreviations

General

A.	texts in the Assur collection of the Istanbul Arkeoloji Muzeleri, siglum
AO	museum siglum Louvre
Ass.	texts excavated in the German excavations at Assur, siglum
BM	British Museum
Curt.	Quintius Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*
D. S.	Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*
ED	Early Dynastic
Hdt.	Herodotus, *Historiae*
IB	Ishan Bahriyat, Isin excavation sigla
Iust.	Marcus Junianus Justinus, *Epitome Historiarum philippicarum Pompei Trog*
K	texts in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum, siglum
MAL	Middle Assyrian Laws
ND	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud
OB	Old Babylonian
Pomp. Trog.	Gaius Pompeus Trogus
Str.	Strabo, *Geographica*
VAT	museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

Reference Works

AHw	W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1959–81
AMT	R. C. Thompson, *Assyrian Medical Texts from the Originals of the British Museum*. London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1923
ARM 26 I/1	J.-M. Durand, *Archives épistolaires de Mari 1/1*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988
ASV	T. C. Mitchell and A. Searight, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Stamp Seals*, part 3: *Impressions of Stamp Seals on Cuneiform Tablets, Clay Bullae, and Jar Handles*. Leiden: Brill, 2008
BAM	F. Köcher, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen Vol. 1–6*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1963–80
BAP	B. Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1893
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDTNS	Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts. Online: http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/
BRM 1	A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Business Transactions of the First Millennium B.C.: Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*. Part 1. New York, 1912
BWL	W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon 1960
CAD	Ignace J. Gelb et al., editors. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 21 vols. (A–Z). Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956–2011

CAT	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996
CDA	J. Black et al., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*. 2nd ed. Santag 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. Online: http://cdli.ucla.edu/
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRRAI	*Compte rendu* of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CT 4	E. A. W. Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part IV*. London: British Museum, 1898
CT 6	E. A. W. Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part VI*. London: British Museum, 1898
CT 8	E. A. W. Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part VIII*. London: British Museum, 1899
CT 18	E. A. W. Budge, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XVIII*. London: British Museum, 1964
CT 39	C. J. Gadd *CuneiformTexts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XXXIX.* London: British Museum, 1926
CT 45	T. G. Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XLV*, *Old-Babylonian Business Documents*. London: British Museum, 1964
CT 47	H. H. Figulla, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XLVII, Old-Babylonian Nadītu Records*. London: British Museum, 1967
CT 48	J. J. Finkelstein, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part XLVIII, Old-Babylonian Legal Documents*. London: British Museum, 1968
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
ePSD	*The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary.* Online: psd.museum.upenn.edu
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. Online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
GBAO	Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient
HES	Heidelberger Emesal Studien
HSS V	E. Chiera, *Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. 1: *Texts of Varied Contents*. Harvard Semitic Series V. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929
Igituḫ	B. Landsberger and O. R. Gurney, "igi-duḫ-a = tāmartu, Short Version." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 18 (1957–58): 81–86
JCS Supplement	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplement*
JEN 3	E. Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, vol. 3: *Exchange and Security Documents*. American Schools of Oriental Research, Publications of the Baghdad School: Texts 3. Paris: Geuthner, 1931
JEN 7	E. R. Lacheman and M. P. Maidman, *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*. Vol. 3. Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, Miscellaneous Texts 7. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989
KADP	F. Köcher, *Keilschrifttexte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Drogen- und Pflanzenkunde. Texte der Serien uru.an.na: maltakal, HAR. ra: hubullu und Ú GAR-sú*. Berlin Akademie-Verlag, 1955
KAR	E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–23
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, editors. *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 24. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker / Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1976

LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae.* Düsseldorf: Artemis, 1981–2009
LKA	E. Ebeling, *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953
LTBA	W. von Soden, *Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer in den Berliner Museen*, vol. 2: *Die akkadischen Synonymenlisten*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, 1933
MAD	I. J. Gelb, *Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952–70
malku = šarru	A. D. Kilmer, "The First Tablet of *malku = šarru* together with Its Explicit Version." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963): 421–46
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
MHEOP	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Occasional Publications
MHET	L. Dekiere, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum—Parts 1–6 (= Mesopotamian History and Environment Texts II 1–6)*. Wetteren: Cultura, 1994–97
MSL 12	M. Civil, *The Series lú = ša and Related Texts*. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 12. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969
MSL 17	A. Cavigneaux, H. Güterbock, and M. Roth, *The Series* Erim-huš = anantu *and* An-ta-gál = šaqû. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon 17. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1985
Murgud B	*see* MSL 12
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologique Brèves et Utilitaires*
NPN	I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*. Oriental Institute Publications 57. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary.* 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon / New York: Oxford University Press, 1989
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
Oracc	The Open Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus. Online: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RIMA 1	A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia B.C. (to 1115 B.C.)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987
RIMA 2	A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., Volume 1 (1114–859 B.C.).* Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991
RIMA 3	A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium B.C., Volume 2 (858–745 B.C.).* Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
RIME 3/1	D. O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3/1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
RIME 3/2	D. Frayne, *Ur III Period*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 3/2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
RIME 4	D. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003–1595 BC)*. Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods 4. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990
RINAP 4	Leichty, E., 2011. *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 B.C.)*. Winona Lake IN: The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4. Eisenbrauns.

RINAP 3/2	A. K. Grayson and J. R. Novotny., 2014. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC)*, Part 2. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 3/2. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAA 1	S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, part 1: *Letters from Assyria and the West.* State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987
SAA 2	S. Parpola and K. Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths.* State Archives of Assyria 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.
SAA 3	A. Livingstone, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea.* Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria 3. Helsinki University Press, 1989
SAA 5	G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, part 2: *Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces.* State Archives of Assyria 5. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990
SAA 7	F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, part 1: *Palace and Temple Administration*. State Archives of Assyria 7. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992
SAA 9	S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies*. State Archives of Assyria 9. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997
SAA 10	S. Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*. State Archives of Assyria 10. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993
SAA 13	S. W. Cole and P. Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. State Archives of Assyria 13. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998
SAA 15	A. Fuchs, and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, part 3: *Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces.* State Archives of Assyria 15. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001
SAA 16	M. Luukko and G. van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon.* State Archives of Assyria 16. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002
SAA 17	M. Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib.* State Archives of Assyria 17. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003
SAA 18	F. S. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia.* State Archives of Assyria 18. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003
SAA 19	M. Luukko, *The Correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*. State Archives of Assyria 19. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2012
SAA 20	S. Parpola, *Assyrian Royal Rituals and Cultic Texts*. State Archives of Assyria 20. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2017
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAG A and SAG B	M. Civil, O. R. Gurney, and D. A. Kennedy, *The Sag-Tablet, Lexical Texts in the Ashmolean Museum, Middle Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Miscellaneous Texts*. Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon Supplementary Series 1. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1986
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SFS	V. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar, Institut français d'archéologie orientale*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1902
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East

SpTU 1	H. Hunger, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk. Teil I*. Berlin: Mann, 1976
SpTU 3	E. von Weiher, *Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk III*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 12. Berlin: Mann, 1988
SpTU 5	E. von Weiher, *Uruk. Teil 5, Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern 1998
STT	O. R. Gurney, *The Sultantepe Tablets Vol. 1–2*. Ankara: Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 1957–64
TCL I	F. Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*. Paris: Geuthner, 1910
UDB	J.-L. Cunchillos, J.-P. Vita, and J.-Á. Zamora, *The Texts of the Ugaritic Data Bank*. Vol. 1. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2003
UE	L. Woolley and M. Mallowan, *The Old Babylonian Period*. Ur Excavations 7. London: British Museum Publications, 1976
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der (Königlichen) Museen zu Berlin
WOO	Wiener Offene Orientalistik
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YOS 10	A. Goetze, *Old Babylonian Omen Texts*. Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts 10. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1947
ZTT	S. Parpola, "Cuneiform Texts from Ziyaret Tepe (Tušḫan), 2002–2003." *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 17 (2008): 1–113

Gender in the Tale of Aqhat

Stephanie Lynn Budin

The *Tale of Aqhat*,[1] first published by Charles Virolleaud in 1936,[2] is preserved on three extant tablets discovered at Ras Shamra/Ugarit in 1930–31 in the so-called library of the High Priest.[3] There was at least one more tablet that has not survived, and thus we do not know how the story ended. The left edge of the first tablet (*CAT* 1.17) preserves the colophon that reads: "Scribe: Ilimilku, Šubbanite, student of Attenu, diviner."[4] This same scribe Ilimilku is also responsible for the Ugaritic texts of the *Epic of Kirta* (*CAT* 1.14–16) and *The Baal Cycle* (*CAT* 1.1–6), of which the latter is dated in its colophon to the reign of Niqmaddu, probably Niqmaddu II of Ugarit, who reigned ca. 1380–1346 B.C.E. Our version of *Aqhat*, then, was probably redacted in the second quarter of the 14th century, when Ugarit was under considerable Hittite and Hurrian influence.

1. Plot Summary

The man Danel is in what appears to be a temple praying for offspring, or at least an heir. The god Baal intercedes with El on Danel's behalf, enumerating the duties of a son, and El accedes to Danel's request and tells him (through Baal) to have sex with his wife. Danel hosts the Kotharat birth-goddesses in his home for seven days and then successfully "mounts the couch" with his wife Danataya. After a lacuna, Danel receives a bow and arrows from the smith deity Kothar-wa-Ḫasis, which he gives to a now-older (?) Aqhat. After a lacuna, Aqhat is talking with the goddess Anat, who negotiates with Aqhat for his bow. She offers him immortality, and Aqhat counters with an insult to Anat's female sex. In revenge, Anat uses the warrior Yatpan in the form of a raptor to kill Aqhat. A drought ensues, and Danel and his daughter Pughat look for Aqhat's remains, which they find in the vulture Ṣamal, mother of birds. After a seven-year period of mourning, Pughat goes out to kill the man who murdered her brother.

The texts used in this study are Simon Parker's 1997 edition and translation and the 2012 edition by Michael D. Coogan and Mark S. Smith. Those new to Ugaritic literature may consult both with excellent results.

1. *KTU* 1.17–1.19 (= *CAT* 1.17–19 and *UDB* 1.17–1.19). *CAT* = Dietrich, Lorezt, and Sanmartín 1995: 47–62; *UDB* = Cunchillos, Vita, and Zamora 2003: 208–52. See most recently Cunchillos et al. 2003 for extensive, recent bibliography on the text. *CAT* designations will be used throughout this essay.
2. Parker 1997: 49.
3. Smith in Parker 1997: 81.
4. Smith in Parker 1997: 63.

2. The Gender Aspect

Gender is an important organizing element in the *Tale of Aqhat* and may be the key not only to deciphering the meaning of the narrative in its Ugaritic context but also to suggesting what may have appeared in some of the tale's lacunae. Although not recognized in previous studies of *Aqhat*, the progression of the narrative is organized according to a pattern of gendered activity that, over the course of the narrative, shows increasing interconnection between the male and female domains. At the beginning of the text, these domains appear as broad "swathes": first is the masculine segment showing Danel in a typically masculine pursuit for fertility and offspring, involving two male deities—Baal and El. The text then switches to the feminine domain, marked by the arrival of the Kotharat in Danel's home and the pregnancy of his wife. I argue that this feminine context is maintained in the following lacuna, where the Kotharat reappeared for the birth of Aqhat. In the next lacuna, the tale switches back to the masculine element in the creation and delivery of Aqhat's bow and arrows. Up to this point, the domains are clearly distinguished and separated and contain large blocks of text. When Anat meets the adolescent Aqhat, a change happens in the gendered pacing of the narrative, with the male and female domains interacting rapidly and often violently. This rapid switching of gender domains is paralleled by the increased pacing of the narrative in general. Finally, in the person of Pughat, the gendered domains collapse into one individual, who combines both the masculine and feminine in her persona, functionally becoming Danel's son.

2.1. The First Masculine Segment

Aqhat begins in a wholly masculine context. Danel, the story's first and main protagonist, is performing a six-day-long ritual that achieves its end on the seventh day. As we discover on Baal's reaction to Danel's petition, the cause for Danel's supplication is his childlessness, or at least his lack of a son, "For he has no son as his brothers do,/no heir like his kinsmen;/unlike his brothers, he has no son,/nor an heir, like his kinsmen." (*CAT* 1.17, col. 1, 18–21)[5] This explanation is offered by Baal to El, who in turn blesses Danel so that he might father a son, and offers him the rather practical advice of having sex with his wife for this purpose (*CAT* 1.17, Col. I, 38–42).

Although matters of fertility and reproduction are associated with the female in modern, western culture, these concerns were primarily *male* in the ancient Near Eastern context.[6] Males were understood to be the founts of new life. This could be in terms of cosmogonic creativity, such as Enki's phallic creation of the Tigris in *Enki and the World Order* (lines. 250–65), or at the level of reproduction, wherein the male, having created a new life, passed it on to a female for incubation, birth, nourishment, and care. As a late second-millennium Babylonian incantation well expressed it, "My father begot me, my mother bore me."[7] This notion of the male as the creator of progeny appears in Ugaritic literature, especially in the domain of the deities. "Father" El earns his title in the *Birth of Gracious Gods*, wherein he impregnates two maidens with the deities Dawn and Dusk (*CAT* 1.23, 33–52)[8], while Baal

5. Trans. Coogan and Smith 2012: 35.
6. Budin 2014: *passim*.
7. Foster 1993: 554.
8. See Parker 1997: 205–14.

emphasizes his procreative fertility in the *Baal Cycle*, where, on his way to face Mot (*CAT* 1.5, col. 5, 17–22), he mates with a cow 77 times, impregnating her with a son.[9]

Similar to the situation for Danel is the Mesopotamian myth of *Etana*, where the eponymous king is either without child or possibly without son, as the main concern in the story seems to be about an heir specifically. He prays to the sun-god Šamaš, who tells him to go out to search for the "plant of birth."[10] Another cognate appears in the tale of *Kirta*, where the narrative begins with a childless male who is visited by El for the express purpose of providing progeny for the story's protagonist.[11]

There are also multiple attested cases where the *lack* of reproductive fertility is seen as a masculine problem (discussed also by Couto-Ferreira in this volume). In Mesopotamia and Hattušas, the ŠÀ.ZI.GA, or 'rising of the "heart"', texts were extensive, revealing a pharmacopeia and spell list for treating erectile/sexual dysfunction.[12] The Hittite *Paškuwatti's Ritual to the Goddess Uliliyassi* (*CTH* 406) was intended to cure impotence by taking away a man's femininity and replacing it with masculinity.[13]

In both *Etana* and *Aqhat*, it is a (potential) family patriarch who prays to a male deity (Šamaš, Baal/El) for progeny. In both instances, the lack of offspring is attributed to the male, who must resolve the problem with the assistance of male deities. In the case of Kirta, the protagonist's fertility/potency is not at issue: it is expressed at the inception of the tale that the king's wife and children have all died. Nevertheless, the progeny problem is still resolved at the instigation of and with the assistance of a paternal, male deity—El.[14] In the Ugaritic narratives, the resolution to the problem of childlessness is resolved with a combination of the blessings of a paternal deity and the physical action of sex—Danel "mounts the couch" with Danataya with El's blessings, just as Kirta acquires a new bride in Hurriya, also with the blessings of El.

The first column and a half of *Aqhat* is thus focused on the masculine concern with reproduction and (possible) impotence. A second concern in this portion of the narrative is the iteration of the duties of a son, that is, what Danel thinks he should get from his prospective offspring. The list of filial duties is repeated four times, with changes occurring only in the third-, second-, and first-person pronouns and verbs. What is expected of a son is (1.17, Column II, 26–33):

> To set up a stela for his divine ancestor,
> A votive marker for his clan in the sanctuary;
> To send his incense up from the earth,
> The song of his burial place from the dust;
> To shut the jaws of his abusers,
> To drive off his oppressors;
> To hold his hand when he is drunk,
> To support him when he is full of wine;
> To eat his grain-offering in the temple of Baal,

9. Parker 1997: 81–180.
10. See Dalley 1989: 189–202.
11. See Parker 1997: 9–48.
12. Biggs 2002: *passim*.
13. Hoffner 1987: *passim*.
14. Kirta makes a vow to the mother goddess Athirat almost as an afterthought, and his breaking of that vow does not decrease the progeny he has with his new wife. Quite to the contrary, the wrath of Athirat manifests through Kirta's own health years later, not through any aspect of his own or his wife's fertility.

His portion in the temple of El;
To patch his roof when it gets muddy,
To wash his clothes when they get dirty.[15]

Once again, we are in a wholly masculine sphere, wherein the duties of a son and heir are carefully delineated. Thus, *Aqhat* commences in an entirely male context: The would-be patriarch performs a ritual to address the problem of his infertility/impotence by invoking two male deities strongly associated with reproductive fertility. They assist Danel while reinforcing the proper role played by sons by listing their filial duties to their fathers.

2.2. The First Feminine Segment

Column two of the first tablet of *Aqhat* ends with the transition into the feminine sphere, specifically with the arrival of the Kotharat to Danel's house. The Kotharat, the "Radiant daughters of the crescent Moon," are often referred to as goddesses of conception and birth, although their roles in ancient Near Eastern literature tend to focus more on birth than conception. In fact, it is only in the Ugaritic literature where these goddesses appear *before* scenes of parturition. In *The Betrothal of Yariḫ and Nikkal-Ib* (*CAT* 1.24), they appear at the commencement of the poem predicting the eventual pregnancy of the bride.[16] In *A Birth* (*CAT* 1.11), an abraded text that appears to pertain to reproduction, the Kotharat are mentioned alongside Baal and Anat.[17] In *Aqhat*, they appear before the hero's conception, potentially to increase Danel's potency with his wife. Feminine sexuality, while not credited with the creation of new life in ancient Near Eastern ideology, was understood as important for male arousal in the process of creation, and thus it is often the sight of a (nude) female that starts the process of procreation.[18] This is evident in the tale of *Enlil and Ninlil*, *Nergal and Ereškigal*, and *The Birth of the Gracious Gods*.[19] As the seven-day feast of the Kotharat ends with the (fruitful) sexual encounter between Danel and Danataya, it is possible to suggest that the function of these goddesses was not so much to provide fertility but to heighten Danel's sexual potency, a distinctly feminine charge.

However, as noted above, the Kotharat appear more frequently in scenes of parturition, both in Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the Assyrian version of *Atraḫasis* it is they who assist Nintu in the creation of humankind (tablet 1, col. 5).[20] Likewise, the first-millennium tale of "Sîn and the Cow" refers to the birth of the moon god's bovine offspring. At the critical time (lines 18–27), "Sîn sent down the daughters of Anu from heaven," bearing with them rubbing oil and the "water of labor" to assist the mother in bearing her calf.[21]

In Anatolia, the DINGIR.MAḪ^{meš} assisted Ḫannaḫanna, the Mother Goddess, with births. These multiple and otherwise anonymous goddesses were present at the

15. Coogan and Smith 2012: 35–36.
16. See Parker 1997: 215–18.
17. Parker 1997: 186–187.
18. Budin 2011: 20–25.
19. *Enlil and Ninlil*: See ETCSL t.1.2.1, online: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.2.1# [accessed June 29, 2015] for full translation. *Nergal and Ereškigal:* See Dalley 1989: 163–81. *Birth of the Gracious Gods:* See Parker 1997: 205–14.
20. See Foster 1993: 186–95. On the uniqueness of this passage in the Assyrian version, see Stol 2000: 113–14.
21. See Foster 1993: 891–92.

birth of a child, and along with the Gulšeš—fate goddesses—were responsible for decreeing a fate for the neonate. This is apparent at the birth of Kumarbi's son in the *Song of Ullikummi* (A iii 10–15).[22]

Considering the consistent importance of these multiple but individually unnamed birth goddesses in the cultural orbit of Ugarit, I suggest that the Kotharat returned to Danel's house at the the birth of Aqhat, in a portion of the missing text from cols. 3–4 on tablet 1.17. This potential scene of parturition, involving the Kotharat and Danataya, finishes the first feminine component of *Aqhat*.

2.3. The Second Masculine Segment

From here, with all caveats for the missing text, the narrative returns to the masculine sphere, where the smith god Kothar-wa-Ḫasis makes and delivers a bow and arrows to Danel, who presents them to what appears to be an adolescent Aqhat. The masculine aspect of this segment exists primarily in the (extant) characters: Kothar-wa-Ḫasis, Danel, and Aqhat.

Perhaps more important is the bow. There has been copious ink spilled on whether Aqhat's bow is a symbol of masculinity, virility, and even sexuality.[23] There can be no doubt that, *in general*, in the context of the ancient Near East, bows and arrows were understood to be symbols of masculinity. This comes across strongly in texts from Anatolia, where the über-masculine bow is contrasted with the consummately feminine spindle (and mirror). In the Hittite *First Soldiers' Oath* (*KBo* II 9 I 25–30 = 1.66), the practitioner pleads:

> (§9) He who transgresses these oaths and takes part in evil against the king, queen and princes may these oath deities make (that) man (into) a woman. May they make his troops women. Let them dress them as women. Let them put a scarf on them. Let them break the bows, arrows, and weapons in their hands and let them place the distaff and spindle into their hands (instead).[24]

Likewise in the loyalty oath sworn by Hittite soldiers, we read the curse on those who fail, "Let them break the bows, arrows, weapons in their hands and let them put in their hands distaff and mirror!"[25]

Perhaps the most emphatic extant reference to the masculine nature of the bow and arrow in Hittite ideology appears in *Paškuwatti's Ritual to the Goddess Ulili-yassi*. The ultimate purpose of this ritual is to take away a man's femininity and replace it with masculinity. In this ritual, the female functionary Paškuwatti uses sympathetic magic to "cure" the man of "effeminacy" (line 4):

> I place a spindle and distaff in the patient's [hand], and he comes under the gates. When he steps forward through the gates, I take the spindle and distaff away from him. I give him a bow (and) [arro]w(s), and say (to him) all the while: "I have just taken femininity away from you and given you masculinity in return."[26]

In other ancient Near Eastern contexts, especially biblical, the bow and arrow have more of a military association than anything specifically masculine *per se*, although, as men were the exclusive warriors, this military reference placed the objects within

22. See Hoffner 1998: 55–65.
23. The standard works on this are Hillers 1973, Dressler 1975, and more recently Walls 1992.
24. Collins 2003: 166. See also Hoffner 1966: 331.
25. Hoffner 1966: 332.
26. Hoffner 1987: 277. See also Miller 2010: *passim*.

masculine symbolism. In *Enuma Eliš*, it is the arrow from Marduk's bow that defeats Tiamat, "piercing her belly."[27] In the *Tale of Anzu*, Ninurta's arrows are the most significant weapons discussed in the fight against the Anzu bird.[28] In 2 Sam 1:22, we read of Jonathan's bow as a parallel to Saul's sword. In Hos 1:5 the LORD claims that he will "break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel," thus depriving Israel of military victory. In 2 Kgs 13:15–19, the drawing of the bow and the striking of arrows represent King Joash's victories over Aram.

So one must recognize that Aqhat's bow does at some level represent masculinity, especially considering the strong cultural connections Ugarit maintained with Hatti. However, within the context of Ugaritic mythology, it is important to recognize that the bow very rarely appears in the extant corpus, and that the only known, unambiguous use of bow and arrows in this corpus is in the hands of the goddess Anat. In the *Baal Cycle*, Anat first appears in a martial setting (*CAT* 1.3, col. 2, 13–16):

> Knee-deep she gleans in warrior blood
> Neck-deep in the gore of soldiers
> With a club she drives away captives,
> With her bow (string) the foe.[29]

The only other extant reference to a bow and arrows appears in the Ugaritic narrative *Baal Fathers a Bull* (*CAT* 1.10), col. 2, 4–9, where Baal's servants inform Anat:

> Baal is not in his house,
> Hadd, the god, is not in the palace.
> He took his bow in one hand,
> His arrows up in the other;
> Then he set his face
> For the grasslands of SHMK, abounding in bulls.[30]

A far less certain reference appears in *The Birth of the Gracious Gods*, where Father El (*CAT* 1.23, 37–38):

> He lifts, he shoots skyward,
> He shoots a bird in the sky.[31]

As numerous scholars, and most recently Mark Smith, have argued, this "upward shooting" is likely a euphemism for El's seduction of a pair of goddesses rather than a reference to hunting. "Then he 'shoots skyward,' perhaps an allusion to a new erection. He shoots a bird, perhaps an allusion to the females whom 'he plucks' . . . an image of sexual play."[32] Therefore, not only is this verse not a reference to the use of a bow, but it highlights the correspondence between sexuality, fertility, and the male.

In other contexts where one might expect bows and arrows, in scenes of combat and hunting, other weapons dominate. In the *Baal Cycle*, Baal kills Yamm with a pair of clubs. Later, Anat kills Mot with a sword. In *Athtart the Huntress* (*CAT* 1.92), the goddess hunts bulls with a spear and club, not arrows.[33]

27. See Dalley 1989: 228–77.
28. Dalley 1989: 203–27.
29. Smith in Parker 1997: 107.
30. Parker 1997: 183.
31. Lewis in Parker 1997: 210.
32. Smith 2006: 88, with references.
33. For *Athtart the Huntress*, see de Moor 1986: *passim*.

Unlike the comparanda from the Hebrew Bible, then, while Aqhat's bow may be a general marker of masculinity, it is not a masculinity associated (yet) with military prowess. Instead, the "masculinity" of the bow appears to be emphasized by its specific association with hunting. Lines 37–39 of col. 5 are words of wisdom that Danel offers to Aqhat along with the new weapon, specifically that the son offer "first fruits" to the deities after a successful hunt. That the ensuing interactions with Anat unfold in hunting contexts also emphasizes that the bow and arrows are meant as hunting weapons, not as weapons of war.

This fact is significant, for it suggests the context in which Danel gives the bow to Aqhat. The missing text makes it impossible to know how much time has passed since Aqhat's birth. That he is old enough to converse somewhat reasonably with the goddess Anat in the following section, and that he seems to understand how his bow was constructed, suggests an older child or adolescent at least. That his father presents him with weapons, but to be used in hunting rather than warfare, along with a brief lecture on hunting etiquette, suggests a boy who is just entering into manhood—he gets his first "real" weapon, but not the sort that implies military training. It is possible that the presentation of the bow serves as a coming-of-age ritual for Aqhat, the moment when he makes the transition from boy to young man. As such, the bow and arrows have additional masculine meaning insofar as they mark the transition into young manhood. However, there is no evidence that they symbolize sexuality, sexual prowess, or fertility.[34] There is certainly no evidence in the extant text that Aqhat ever even has sex.

I suggest that two additional elements may have existed in the lacunae in cols. 3 and 4. The first is *at least* one iteration of the construction of the bow.[35] This is suggested by two data. The first is simply that in col. 6, lines 20–23, Aqhat can recite for Anat the components of the bow. This suggests that these data were imparted to the hero earlier in the text. Second is the fact that the *Aqhat* text is prone to repeating technical details. The initial rite by which Danel invokes Baal and El is presented in conscientious if tedious detail. The litany of a good son's duties is repeated four times. Danel's wounding, examining, and healing of the vultures when searching for his son's remains repeat with exacting attention to detail. In short, ritualistic and functional processes are given emphasis in the text, and the fashioning of a bow would fall into this category. Considering the knowledge expressed by Aqhat in col. 6, it is possible that the lacuna contains a scene of the fashioning of the bow itself, followed by at least one iteration of the verbal explanation of the construction, either by Kothar-wa-Ḫasis to Danel, Danel to Aqhat, or both.

The second possible item in the lacuna, in keeping with the notion of Aqhat's coming of age, is a discussion of the mortal condition and the inevitability of death. I shall return to this point below.

2.4. Gender Alternations

With col. 6 comes the narrative's second phase, where the broad swathes of masculine and feminine domains are replaced by a narrative in which masculine and feminine elements closely interact without blending. Here, some of the most complex and long inscrutable aspects of the tale emerge.

34. Aqhat embodies the fertility of the land, as is evident in the drought that follows his death. However, this pertains to Aqhat's body, *not* his bow.

35. See also Parker 1989: 108.

2.4.1. Conflict

When the text reemerges after a long lacuna, Anat and Aqhat are at a banquet (?) together. Here, Anat lays eyes on Aqhat's bow, covets it, and enters into negotiations for it. From a gendered perspective, this is the first time we see a male and female interacting extensively in any way that has impact on the plot.

One of the primary questions that emerges in the interaction, predicated on the bow = masculinity hypothesis, is what, exactly, Anat is coveting when she negotiates with Aqhat for his bow, and what, exactly, the young hero believes that he is retaining by not parting with it. Although it was originally suggested that Anat desired Aqhat sexually,[36] the more common assumption is that Anat desires masculine identity.[37] As Neal Walls put it in his study of the goddess Anat:

> Indeed, Anat's desire for the bow serves as a striking reminder of her ambiguous gender identity in Ugaritic myth. She is a female, yet she pursues male activities such as hunting and warfare and rejects the feminine roles of wife and mother.[38]

Anat seeks to attain Aqhat's male gender through the physical acquisition of his masculine symbol—the bow.

Anat's identity as the perpetual young virgin (*btlt*) argues against the notion that Anat is attempting to seduce Aqhat. However, the comparative Ugaritic evidence also suggests that Anat is in no need of (a symbol of) masculine identity. As noted above, the bow appears rarely in the extant Ugaritic corpus, and the only time we see it used is by Anat herself in a militaristic setting. This indicates that in the Ugaritic worldview Anat is fully compatible with the regalia of masculine pursuits. She is a fighter, both in the *Baal Cycle* and in *CAT* 1.10, lines 24–25, and, like Athtart, a huntress (*El's Divine Feast*, *CAT* 1.114, lines 23–27). In short, Anat does not need a bow to endow her with a masculine identity; she already enjoys whatever benefits and roles a male gender might provide.

Bringing the argument down to the practical, one might argue that Anat, as a huntress (specifically in *Aqhat*), desires the bow because it is a very good bow. Because Anat already has a quasi-masculine identity as warrior and huntress, it is hardly surprising that she would find a superior weapon enticing. The description offered of the bow's components lists (col. 6, lines 20–23):

> From Lebanon the strongest trees,
> From the buffalo the strongest sinews,
> From the ibex the strongest horns,
> From the bull's heel ⟨the strongest⟩ tendons,
> From the great break the strongest canes.[39]

A very high-end recurve bow is what is implied by this list, a technological wonder that would appeal to the deity most closely associated with bows in the Ugaritic corpus.

So there is no need to assume that Anat desires Aqhat's bow because of something that it represents: she desires the actual bow, as is in keeping with her nature throughout the Ugaritic corpus. Sometimes, a bow is just a bow. Anat does not need

36. See Hillers 1973: 72 for a brief history of this argument.
37. See especially Walls 1992: 189–97.
38. Walls 1992: 203.
39. Parker 1997: 60–61.

masculinity; as a goddess she is free to flout the gender roles considered standard for mortals.

Alternatively, we must consider what Aqhat believes he will lose should he part with the bow. This is an important element of the myth, for Aqhat's subsequent death serves as an object lesson. Unfortunately, because of the abraded quality of the text, there is considerable debate as to exactly what the young man did wrong.

The confrontation between Aqhat and Anat begins politely enough. Anat, on seeing the bow, offers Aqhat silver and gold for it. There are many reasons Aqhat might chose to deny the goddess. The bow probably served as a coming-of-age gift from his father and thus has both symbolic and sentimental value in addition to its technological superiority. The bow was a gift from a god to his father before being bestowed on Aqhat, and thus it is a twofold gift, and one from a deity at that. To sell it would be ungracious and potentially impious. Instead, Aqhat politely advises the goddess on how she, too, might get Kothar-wa-Ḫasis to make her an equivalent bow.

Anat, not known for her patience, ups the ante and offers Aqhat eternal life in exchange for the bow. In return, Aqhat becomes abusive, accuses the goddess of lying, and reminds her that females do not hunt (and thus do not need bows). Here is the critical exchange.

It is traditional at this point to compare this narrative with tablet 6 of the *Gilgameš Epic*, where Ištar attempts to seduce Gilgameš.[40] There are several similarities between the two narratives. Anat offers Aqhat first riches, then eternal life in exchange for his (phallic?) bow. Ištar offers Gilgameš riches in exchange for his phallic "fruit." Both heroes accuse their goddess of lying, offering insults. Both Ištar and Anat proceed to heaven, where each implores the divine patriarch to allow her to kill the offending hero, either by unleashing the Bull of Heaven onto his kingdom, or an assassin in the form of a raptor. Anat is successful in her murderous attempt; Ištar is not. In both cases, a drought/famine results from the goddess's actions. In the end, both goddesses are left crying. These point-by-point similarities suggest that a common underlying motif was active in the formation of both myths, or, possibly, that *Gilgameš* influenced the formation of *Aqhat*.

However, there are also considerable differences between the two encounters that do not allow the more intact *Gilgameš* narrative to serve as a foil for *Aqhat*. The encounter between Ištar and Gilgameš is blatantly sexual—it occurs in the context of a bath, the goddess pointedly requests the hero's "fruit," and a proposal of marriage is directly stated. Gilgameš counters that the goddess is deceitful: All of her past lovers/husbands have died and/or been transformed into beasts. Not wishing to share their fate, Gilgameš impolitely declines the goddess's offer.

I believe that Vanstiphout's analysis[41] came closest to the mark when he noted that Gilgameš's refusal of Ištar was a rejection of his royal duties. Since Sumerian times, Inanna/Ištar was understood to be a kingmaker, the goddess who legitimized the king's right to rule and whose good graces were required for stability and prosperity.[42] Ištar's "seduction" or "proposal" was a mark of her favor, that she accepted Gilgameš as the legitimate king of Uruk and offered to bless his reign with prosperity.

40. For the *Epic of Gilgameš*, the reader might consult either Andrew George's 1999 publication or Stephanie Dalley's 1989 anthology.

41. Vanstiphout 1990.

42. See especially Cooper 1993.

However, to be a good king implies adulthood, a stage of life in which Gilgameš had no interest. To be king required responsibility, listening to the town elders, marriage, and the production of an heir. None of these typified Gilgameš until the end of the epic, when Enkidu was forcefully taken and immortality denied him—the hero was forced to grow up. In tablet 6, Gilgameš was still a young man, low in wisdom, impetuous, and irresponsible. One might understand his rejection of Ištar's proposal as a rejection of maturity and responsibility.

Furthermore, Gilgameš was technically correct in his assessment of Ištar's previous relationships—the goddess transformed all of her previous consorts, and all eventually died. This, however, is not a mark of Ištar's duplicity; it is a result of her role in the pantheon and her immortality. What Ištar does not grant to her consorts, *and what she did not offer to Gilgameš*, was immortality. Ištar makes mortal kings to rule mortal kingdoms. When those kings die, she seeks new loves. The death of Ištar's consorts is part of the mortal condition, the inevitability of death, facts that Gilgameš is unwilling and unable to contemplate until the end of the epic. Ištar, then, offers transformation and kingship, but *not* divinity and eternal life. Gilgameš wishes to stay the headstrong, irresponsible, adventuring lad he is, having adventures with his best friend, Enkidu. What Ištar offers is antithetical to his current desires, hence his vehement rejection.

The encounter between Anat and Aqhat is *not* sexual—neither party can even be construed as a sexual being. There is no offer of marriage. However, there is an offer of immortality, and there is no reason to assume that Anat is lying when she makes this offer. Nevertheless, the goddess's proposal invokes a vehemently negative response in Aqhat, one that leads to hubris and impiety.

There are no extant documents from Ugarit which address the notion of apotheosis—the process by which a mortal becomes immortal, even a deity.[43] As such, we are left in the dark regarding the validity of Anat's offer. The closest potential comparandum is the story of *Adapa*, a tale existing since at least the 14th century and sufficiently widespread that our oldest copy derives from Avaris/Tell el-Da'aba.[44] In this tale, the sage Adapa, devotee of Enki, breaks the wings of the South Wind. As punishment he is summoned before the divine court, where he will probably be executed. Enki comes to his votary's rescue, advising him on how to get onto Anu's good side but also warning him:

> They will hold out for you the bread of death, so you must not eat.
> They will hold out for you the water of death, so you must not drink.[45]

Enki's counsel was so effective that Adapa does wind up charming the divine council. Instead of death, Anu and the others offer Adapa immortality in the form of the bread of life, the water of eternal life. But Adapa, remembering his lord's words, will not accept them, and thus he inadvertently declines immortality.

As noted above, it is possible that in the lacuna preceding the events of col. 6 in *Aqhat* the young hero, as part of his coming of age, received a lecture about the nature of mortality and the inevitability of death. Thus, Aqhat, who is still young and perhaps not a little foolish, cannot believe that it is possible for a goddess to grant immortality. When Anat, like Anu, offers immortality to the story's hero, Aqhat, like

43. The Rephaim may be the honored dead, but they are still dead.
44. Dalley 1989: 183.
45. Dalley 1989: 186.

Adapa, declines the offer, either not believing the possibility of the gift, or assuming that the gift is actually death itself. Nevertheless, one must note that in the case of Adapa, the gods can and do make a legitimate offer of immortality to a mortal, an offer that is actually fulfilled in the case of Atraḫasis/Ut-Napištum and his wife in *Atraḫasis* and *Gilgameš*, showing that such a grant is possible. Not understanding what is possible for the deities, Aqhat instead may parrot what he has learned from his mortal elders, chastising Anat with this information, and accuses the goddess of lying. In this respect, Aqhat, who is young and, once again, not a little foolish, shows that he has no understanding of divine power.

If accusations of prevarication were not enough, Aqhat takes his abuse of Anat a step further when he states (col. 6, lines 39–41):

> Bows are [weapons] of warriors;
> Will womankind now be hunting?[46]

Well, yes; that's the point. Anat does hunt, as does Athtart. Anat also fights with a bow and arrows, as well as a phallic sword. Aqhat displays his lack of understanding of divinity when he contemptuously scoffs at the notion that a "girl" such as Anat can take on the masculine role. Furthermore, Aqhat uses Anat's sex to argue that she is disqualified from having a "toy" like Aqhat's, that she is not good enough to own, much less use, a bow.

In all three stories—*Aqhat*, *Gilgameš*, *Adapa*—the mortal hero is offered something he should want: immortality for Aqhat and Adapa; prosperity and kingship for Gilgameš. All three refuse the gift—Aqhat and Gilgameš because of a lack of understanding and maturity; Adapa because of a misunderstanding. But in *Aqhat* and *Gilgameš*, gender adds an additional complication to the narrative. In both stories, the hero is offered a boon by a deity of the opposite sex. Both heroes are blinded by the female sex of the deity they confront and use that sex to discount the boon offered. Gilgameš cannot, or does not want, to see the implications for kingship, prosperity, peace, and stability in Ištar's proposal. He merely sees a sexual advance that will eventually lead to his death, not realizing that, being a mortal, *everything* will ultimately lead to his death. That's the mortal condition. Aqhat sees a girl before him, not a deity—he cannot fathom that her divine nature suits her to the masculine realm of warfare and weaponry, or that she can bestow the gift of immortality.

2.4.2. Revenge

Upon being insulted by Aqhat, Anat threatens that the hero will regret his words and then flies off to El to demand justice. Thus, the maiden goddess leaves the young male to approach the old male, violently requesting permission to kill Aqhat. This the father of the gods grants, noting that Anat is unscrupulous and incapable of restraint. Anat then returns to Aqhat in a lacunose text, where she appears to pretend to reconcile with him and invite him on a hunting expedition by the town of Abiluma. It is clear from the later narrative that Aqhat travels to this region, where he is killed. The abraded text must contain another gender-based episode between the hero and the goddess to account for why Aqhat would follow Anat's advice vis-à-vis hunting, seeing as how she is "just a girl."

The subsequent portion of the narrative (*CAT* 1.15, col. 4) provokes numerous questions, few dealt with in the current literature on *Aqhat*. Upon luring Aqhat

46. Parker 1997: 62.

away from his home to the wilds around Abiluma (wilds implied by the hunting activity in which he engages), Anat fetches her assassin, the "Sutean Warrior,"[47] the man Yatpan. Her plan is to change both herself and Yatpan into raptors who will fly among the vultures hovering over Aqhat when he prepares his supper after hunting. Carrying Yatpan in avian form in her belt, the goddess releases him onto Aqhat so that Yatpan may strike and kill him.

This is absurd. As Margalit asked, "with a seemingly infinite number of 'realistic' stratagems available for perpetuating the homicide, why does the poet resort to 'fantasy'?"[48] Anat is fully capable of killing Aqhat herself, and she even has permission from the head of the pantheon to do so. She is capable of slaughter, having killed Mot in vengeance for Baal. She routinely threatens to turn El's beard red with his own gore. But, like Ištar in *Gilgameš*, the goddess instead chooses to get a mortal, male agent for her assassination—Ištar selecting the Bull of Heaven, and Anat Yatpan. This begs the question why a war goddess would choose to have an assassination, her vengeance, carried out by a male. Once again, there is a deliberate intertwining of genders, where a male is acquired by a female to kill a male.

Numerous not-mutually-exclusive explanations come to the fore. To begin with, although we are dealing with a very small literary repertoire, we may note that one apparent convention of Ugaritic mythology is that deities do not directly kill humans. Deities might kill other deities, as do Baal Yamm, Mot Baal, and Anat Mot in the *Baal Cycle*. Deities might be present, and revel, when humans slaughter other humans, as Anat in the battle scenes in the *Baal Cycle*.[49] But there is no known text in which a god or goddess directly attacks and kills a mortal. A lacuna prevents us from knowing the means taken by Asherah to punish Kirta for leaving his vow to her unfulfilled (*CAT* 1.14, col. 3, lines 25–30), but even this does not result in his death, as the deities heal the ailing king.

The use of / need for mortal assistance also appears in the Anatolian materials. In the "Myth of Illuyanka" the storm-god's daughter Inara has sex with the mortal man Ḫupašiya, in exchange for which he binds the serpent who had defeated the storm-god, at which point the god himself comes to slay the serpent (§§6–12). In §§22′–24′ the storm-god took a mortal to wife; their son then married into the serpent's family and helped his father achieve his revenge.[50] The importance of mortal male heroes to divine vengeance is explicit. Anat's use of a mortal may in part be in conformation to this convention.

From a more engendered perspective, it is possible that the patriarchal audience for whom *Aqhat* was composed was uncomfortable with the notion of a female killing a male, regardless of the power differential between mortal victim and divine killer. In such a confrontation there is a direct conflict between the hierarchy where deities are innately superior to mortals, and where males are (supposedly) innately superior to females. The conflict between man and goddess disrupts that hierarchy, pitting divine/mortal status against gender. To allay this paradox, this direct man-goddess conflict is avoided in preference for a confrontation between two mortals, particularly between two men. The use of Yatpan is thus an avoidance technique that preserves the patriarchal ideology without resorting to impiety.

47. Or "Lady's Warrior" per Coogan and Smith 2012: 44.
48. Margalit 1989: 336.
49. *CAT* 1.3, col. 2, 3–16.
50. See Hoffner 1998: 10–14.

Finally, the use of a raptor to kill Aqhat inverts the natural order, where, normally, it is the human hunter who kills the animal. I would not, however, go so far as Margalit, who argues:

> A sophisticated form of hunting developed by man for his pleasure and benefit is perverted by a goddess who turns the sport, literally and symbolically, 'upside-down': instead of men hunting birds, we now have birds hunting, and killing, men! Anat emerges as a menace not only to the specific individuals who do her honour, but to the entire mortal and natural order of the universe.[51]

The use of Yatpan as a killing raptor is an inversion, but rather than an overthrow of "the natural order of the universe," we might instead see Aqhat's death at the wings of Yatpan under the auspices of Anat as a dehumanization of Aqhat himself. Aqhat the prince, the junior hunter, becomes the prey.

2.4.3. Consequence

The damaged text makes it difficult to know what happens after Aqhat's death, especially regarding his bow. At the opening of tablet 3, it appears that the bow is broken and lost over the sea, and that Anat laments its loss and/or the death of Aqhat. In this we might see a reflection of tablet 6 in *Gilgameš*, where Ištar's attempt at revenge on Gilgameš and Enkidu is unsuccessful, and the goddess is left lamenting the death of the Bull of Heaven.

Anat's loss of the bow has been cited by some scholars as the clearest evidence that the bow was a phallic symbol, and that Anat's inability to possess it resulted from her inevitable female sex. Thus, Walls: "Aqhat is deprived of his phallic symbol and Anat is denied access to it. Hence the bow—a symbol of masculine gender and sexuality—is an unobtainable goal for the impetuous goddess."[52] Even more severe is Margalit, who claimed, "Despite her best efforts, in dress as well as in deportment, to conceal and deny her femininity, Anat is and remains, by nature, a 'weakling-woman' just as Aqhat said she was."[53]

Nevertheless, as discussed above, it is probable that Anat desired the bow not as a symbol of masculinity but simply as an excellent weapon appropriate for a hunting goddess. This does not, however, discount the bow's masculine implications for Aqhat, who received the hunting bow as a marker of his own emergent manhood. Thus, the bow does have consequence in terms of gender, but it is relevant mainly for Aqhat, not Anat. Furthermore, the destruction and loss of the bow reflects Aqhat's own loss of manhood and life.

What is far clearer is that Aqhat's murder results in an immediate and severe drought. The first to notice this is Danel's daughter Pughat, who notes the dried, withered grains on the threshing floor and the presence of vultures above the house. She then, in tears, tears the clothes of her father in mourning, while Danel curses the lack of moisture.

This drought brings us back to the close correspondence between fertility and male gender noted above. Once again, in the ancient Near East it was the male who was seen to be the fertile sex, not the female, who "merely" incubated and nourished the offspring provided by the male. This was especially so in instances of

51. Margalit 1989: 336.
52. Walls 1992: 190.
53. Margalit 1989: 337. Margalit had issues.

non-reproductive fertility, i.e. the fertility of the land, or creation itself. In a slight inversion of this theme, some Near Eastern gods express their fertility through absence: the motif of the "vanishing god" includes litanies of the earth's lack of fertility while the god is absent. Thus when the Hittite Rain/Storm god Telipinu disappeared:

> Telipinu too went away and removed grain, animal fecundity, luxuriance, growth, and abundance to the steppe, to the meadow. . . . Therefore barley and wheat no longer ripen. Cattle, sheep, and humans no longer become pregnant. And those (already pregnant) cannot give birth. The mountains and trees dried up, so that the shoots do not come (forth). The pastures and springs dried up, so that famine broke out in the land. Humans and gods are dying of hunger.[54]

An almost identical situation emerges when Baal was vanquished by Mot. While the god is dead, El dreams that "Parched are the furrows of the fields," but when he returns, "The heavens rain oil, the wadis run with honey."[55]

That the motif did not apply exclusively to deities but also to kings/princes is evident in *Aqhat* and as well in *Kirta*. In the latter (*CAT* 1.16), when Kirta lay ill and close to death, the rains ceased and the land was brought close to famine. In col. 3, lines 4–11 we read of the desperate need for rain in the fields, while lines 13–16 lament:

> The food is all spent from its storage;
> The wine is all spent from its skins;
> The oil is all spent from its [casks].[56]

The connection between the royal male body and the fertility of the land was very strong.

2.4.4. Vultures

After an intense physical reaction to the news of Aqhat's death, and yet another lacuna, a particularly odd portion of the narrative commences. In *CAT* 1.19, col. 3, Danel seeks the remains of his dead son in the bodies of the vultures circling his house since the onset of the drought. In an almost fairy-tale-like sequence, Danel brings down three sets of vultures: first, a general grouping of the birds; then, Hargub, the father of the vultures; and finally Ṣamal, Mother of Birds. In each instance, Danel calls on Baal to injure the vulture(s) in question, and in the first two cases calls on the god to heal the (innocent) birds.

The sex of the birds is usually neglected. Simon Parker took such a casual approach to this issue that he confused the identities of the latter two vultures and claimed that it was Hargub who consumed Aqhat.[57] By contrast, Wright suggested that, "Perhaps Ṣamal's ingestion of Aqhat is a sign of Anat's ability to obtain or assert power within the male-structured world. If so, Dan'il's killing of Ṣamal carried out with the help of Ba'l is a symbolic attempt to reestablish traditional structure."[58] Margalit noted the sex of the consuming vulture and claimed that the feminine gender was a deliberate reflection of the killing goddess Anat, here symbolizing the goddess as a "mother-hawk."[59]

54. Hoffner 1998: 15.
55. Smith in Parker 1997: 158–59.
56. Greenstein in Parker 1997: 36.
57. Parker 1989: 124; 1987: 79.
58. Wright 2001: 180.
59. Margalit 1989: 407.

No doubt, both Wright and Margalit are at least partially correct. That the hero's remains were found in the only specifically designated female vulture does reflect back onto the female goddess who orchestrated his death. However, it is also important to note the pointedly *maternal* nature of Ṣamal, one that contrasts with the staunchly maiden (*btlt*) goddess Anat. Aqhat was not merely consumed by a female; he was found within the body of a mother (*um*).

In this, we see a further undoing of the young hero. Aqhat is at his pinnacle in 1.17 col. 6—he is a young man who has just received what is presumably his first weapon. He dines with the gods, catches the eye of Anat, and is offered immortality. In his foolishness, he not only declines but insults the goddess—an act of impiety and hubris. He loses both the good will of Anat and the protection of El. When the text becomes readable again, Anat has lured the young man to the wilds by Abiluma. Thus, the young hero has abandoned the civilized urban environment and entered the wilds, the territory of the hunt, decivilizing him in the process. Aqhat becomes less human. This dehumanization is intensified in the manner of his death. Aqhat is literally turned into prey as he is slaughtered by a raptor—the hunter becoming the hunted; the human the prey species. Aqhat's final undoing is shown in his return whence he came—the body of a mother. Aqhat becomes "unborn," a few scraps of tissue in the entrails of Ṣamal *um nšrm*. From a symbolic and literary perspective, the gender and maternal identity of the vulture cannot be overestimated.[60]

The end of Aqhat's cycle appears in col. 4, after Danel has cursed the cities surrounding the area where Aqhat died. Now (lines 8–22) Danel engages in a seven-year period of formal mourning for his son in his house:

> Danel arrived at his house,
> Danel reached his palace.
> The weepers entered his house,
> The mourners his palace,
> Those who gash their skin his court.
> They wept for Aqhat the Hero,
> Shed tears for the child of Danel, the man of Rapiu.
> The days became months,
> The months became years,
> Up to seven years.[61]

As Parker noted, these mourners are probably female, based on comparanda from both biblical and Hittite texts. As such, this scene is reminiscent of the earlier arrival and feasting of the female Kotharat in 1.17, col. 2.[62] The ring composition of Aqhat's life is completed. Not only is the hero undone by returning, finally, to the body of the mother, but even his original conception is unwrought: The seven-day feasting of the goddesses of conception and birth is replaced with the seven-year lament of female mourners.

2.5. The Union of Male and Female—Pughat

The increasing interaction between the genders in *Aqhat* reaches its culmination in 1.19 col. 4, when Aqhat's sister Pughat goes to avenge his death. Pughat is a consummately androgynous character, and there is reason to believe that the

60. *Contra* Parker 1989: 137.
61. Coogan and Smith 2012: 53.
62. Parker 1989: 126.

purpose of the *Aqhat* narrative is to justify Pughat's (literally "girl") legitimacy as Danel's heir. The "girl" becomes the son.

There is some debate as to whether Pughat is Aqhat's older or younger sister. At the inception of the narrative, Danel is praying specifically for a son and heir; it is possible that he already had a daughter. There is no way to tell from the extant text whether Pughat, or any daughter, already dwelled in her father's home. However, there is a distinct absence of any reference to daughters in the early narrative, when even Danataya features in the story. More significantly, at the end of the narrative Pughat is still depicted as young enough to be a maiden, with no reference to a husband or family of her own. If we assume that Pughat was born after Aqhat (once Danel's possible impotence/infertility was cured), and that Aqhat was an adolescent when he died, and that seven years of mourning passed after the death of the hero, then it is easy to suggest that Pughat would have been in her (late) teens when she sought revenge for her brother's murder. If Pughat were older than Aqhat, we would expect a woman in her 20s, with a husband and children of her own. So it seems reasonable that Pughat is Aqhat's younger sister.

Pughat's mingling of genders is first evident in her adoption of the filial duties narrated so emphatically and repeatedly in 1.17. Pughat assumes several of these duties. Because the preserved text does not deal with the period after Danel's death, we cannot determine how the duties performed on behalf of a dead father would pertain to her. However, Pughat's role as avenger of crimes against her family immediately places her within the context of what Wright terms "Duty C": renouncing detractors.[63] As Danel is too old and Aqhat dead, Pughat becomes the source of justice for her family.

We do not see Danel drunk in the extant text. However, we do see the man in grief and sorrow, another context where the body is rendered infirm and in need of help. It is Pughat who assists her ailing father, notably in 1.19 col. 2, lines 5–11:

> Paghit attends, the bearer of water,
> Collector of dew from the fleece,
> Who knows the course of the stars.
> Weeping she leads the donkey,
> Weeping, she ropes the ass.
> Weeping, she lifts up her father
> Onto the back of the donkey,
> The shapely back of the ass.[64]

Later, in col. 4, the text suggests that Pughat is present at Danel's ritual ending the mourning for Aqhat. In lines 20–22 he dismisses the mourners, in lines 22–25 he sets up a meal and incense for the deities. Although lines 25–27 are awkward, Pughat's presence is established (as well as her role as avenger) in her own words to her father in lines 29–35:

> My father presented a meal for the gods,
> Into the heavens sent incense,
> [To the] stars the Harnemites' incense.
> Bless me—I would go blessed!
> Empower me—I'd go empowered!

63. Wright 2001: 61–62 and 68.
64. Parker 1997: 68.

> I would slay the slayer of my sibling,
> Finish [who] finished my brother.[65]

Pughat's presence at her father's rite, including the reference to the burning of incense, places her within the context of Wright's duty E—the ritual consumption of offerings. Pughat, like a dutiful son, performs the sacred acts alongside her father.

Finally, several aspects of Pughat's presence in the narrative link her with the mundane tasks at the end of the filial duties list. We have already seen how Pughat fetches a donkey and assists her father in mounting it. More significant is the girl's epithet, the longest by far in *Aqhat*. Pughat is (*CAT* 1.19, col. 2, 5–7):

> She who carries water,
> Who collects dew on her hair,
> Who knows the course of the stars.

The responsible daughter brings water from the stream or well for the household, attending to her duties as the evening or morning dew falls. It is not difficult to suppose that her "aquatic" chores extend into matters of cleaning and laundry, just as is mentioned in the filial duties list.

Most important in the analysis of Pughat's gender is, of course, her role as avenger of her brother. Lines 41–46 of col. 4 delineate her preparations, starting with a bath, the application of rouge, and the donning of clothing. Concerning the latter, Pughat:

> [P]uts on a hero's outfit [below?],
> Places a knife in her belt,
> In her [scabbard] places a sword,
> A woman's outfit on top.[66]

Here, Pughat is at her most androgynous, a female with the weapons and garb of a male, all underneath the dress of a woman.

There is nothing specifically engendered in her first two acts, either the bathing or the application of rouge. Such actions typify Anat in the *Baal Cycle* (*CAT* 1.3, cols. 2–3), just as they were taken by Kirta in both ritual and military contexts in *Kirta* (*CAT* 1.14, col. 3, 52–54).[67] Her clothing, however, is significant, and it is not surprising that several scholars have noted an apparent paralleling of mortal Pughat with divine Anat. However, we never get a description of Anat's garb in *Aqhat*: we cannot assume what gender her clothing reflected. By contrast, Ilimilku was clearly emphasizing the simultaneous male and female nature of Pughat's revenge apparel. The girl is deliberately rendered androgynous.

Pughat's androgyny is manifest not only in her clothing but in her adoption of her father's and brother's title *ǵzr*, "hero." According to Mark S. Smith most recently on this:

> When Danil enters into the formal acts of mourning, Aqhat the Hero is the one he laments (1.19 IV 11–12, 15–16), and at this point the father too is again called the Hero (1.19 IV 19). With the father mourning the son, the two are linked in this title: the elderly hero weeps for his son, the young slain hero. The final use of the title is

65. Parker 1997: 76–77.
66. Parker 1997: 77.
67. Wright 2001: 206–9.

> deployed for neither father nor son, but for Danil's daughter, Aqhat's sister Pughat. In the final, extant scene of the text, it is this female figure who takes on the clothing of the hero (1.19 IV 43). Clothing marks her identity in this scene, to avenge the death of her brother, the Hero, and the honor of her father, the Hero.[68]

Although the text is fully broken at this point, and we cannot know how Pughat's tale ends, it is traditional to compare her task with that of biblical Judith. Both females—a widow and a virgin—don fine apparel to enter an enemy camp. There is evidence to suggest that both were understood to be sexually available to the head of that camp, especially if we accept the passive-voice reading of *agrtn* in *Aqhat* as "the woman we hired," thus, possibly, a prostitute.[69] Both get the intended victim intoxicated; both use an edged weapon. Based on these similarities, it is assumed that, just as Judith slew Holofernes, Pughat killed Yatpan and thus avenged her brother and family.[70] In this respect, then, Pughat fulfills the duties of a son, replacing Aqhat in the familial context.

3. *My Son the Maiden*

I would argue that it is this transformation of Pughat into a "son" that is the ultimate aim of the *Aqhat* narrative. As Margalit expressed, "The (symbolically) nameless daughter of Dan'el is the true heroine of *Aqht*, the poet's model character, the figure most representative of his/her ideal of human conduct."[71] Granted, in this Margalit is mainly contrasting the ideal character of Pughat with the abomination he sees in Anat, but the point remains that Pughat is, by far, the most effective and noblest character in the narrative. Furthermore, Ilimilku consistently emphasizes the heroine's masculine aspects—her fulfillment of the filial duties, her transvestitism, her vengeful violence. It is not merely that Pughat is the ideal, dutiful daughter, the ultimate expression of what society calls for in a maiden, daughter, and sister;[72] Pughat becomes a son to Danel.

Aqhat justified the adoption of daughters as sons in the Syro-Mesopotamian orbit, as is evidenced in texts from Emar, Ekalte, and Nuzi.[73] In Huehnergard's Text 1 from Emar the male testator Zikri-Dagan son of Ibni-Dagan formally established his daughter Unara as a male and a female, and that she was to worship his gods and the spirits of his ancestors:

> My daughter Unara I have made her female and male that she may invoke my gods and my ancestors.[74]

A similar declaration appears in Huehnergard's Text 2 (T 104), where the testator's wife Ḫepate is made both father and mother of the household, and his daughter

68. Smith 2014: 129.

69. Smith 2014: 211; Walls 1992: 208.

70. Margalit 1989: 458–59, noting a correspondence with biblical Jael (Judg 5: 24–27); Parker 1989: 131–33; 1987: 80–81, noting correspondences with the story of Ehud in Judges.

71. Margalit 1989: 479.

72. Parker 1987: 82–83.

73. Justel 2013: 100. The Hurrian orientation of Nuzi does not detract from its relevance to Ugaritic culture. As noted by G. Saadé (2011: 96, with citations), there was an extensive Hurrian component in Ugarit since the Middle Bronze Age.

74. Expressed in Akkadian as *ᶠUnara* DUMU.MUNUS-*ia an* MUNUS *ù* NITAḪ *aṣkunši ilanuia u meteia lu tunabbi*. Huehnergard 1983: 13–17. See also Ben-Barak 1988: 94; Grosz 1987: 82.

Al-aḫati is made both male and female and given the family gods and spirits.[75] Two wills from Nuzi offer similar data. Text YBC 5142 is a will by Pui-tae, the male head of household. Here is stated:

> Thus declared Pui-tae: These [my] three d[aughters] I have given the status of sons (*ana marūti epešu*). All my fields, buildings, miscellaneous property, I have given to these my daughters.[76]

A similar declaration of *ana marūti epešu* appears in *Sumer* 32, no. 2, also from Nuzi.[77] From Nuzi comes text IM 6818, wherein the paterfamilias Unap-tae, who had a daughter but sons, declared:

> Testament of Unap-Tae, son of Taya. I have established a testament in favor of my daughter Šilwa-turi. Thus Unap-tae:
>
> I have adopted my daughter Šilwa-turi as a son (*marūtu*). All my properties [list follows] . . . all the inheritance in the city and in the exterior regions from my father Taya have been given to my daughter Šilwa-Turi, whom I have adopted as a son.[78]

Daughters could be legally turned into "sons" in the Syro-Mesopotamian orbit, granted all the property rights and familial religious functions of male sons. This was the case particularly when the daughters in question had no brothers, and thus the paternal estate had to travel down the female line. Not only did these actions ensure that the father's estate would remain with his descendants through his daughter but it also guaranteed the continuation of the familial cult under the auspices of the daughter-turned-male.

This last point is significant in our study of *Aqhat*. As noted above, it is impossible to determine if Pughat took on the first of the filial duties listed in *CAT* 1.17, as Danel remains alive throughout the extant text. However, if we suggest that Pughat does become a "son" to Danel, and if we assume that the obligations that fall onto Pughat coincide both with those presumed of the son Aqhat and those legally required of newly made "sons" regarding the family gods and ancestors in Emar and Nuzi, then it appears that Pughat, too, fulfills the first set of filial duties:

> To set up a stela for his divine ancestor,
> A votive marker for his clan in the sanctuary;
> To send his incense up from the earth,
> The song of his burial place from the dust.

4. Conclusions

"It has been insufficiently appreciated that in all his three works Ilimilku emphasizes that the real power is in the hands of women."[79] *Aqhat* begins with the masculine and feminine spheres clearly defined and separated. Danel beseeches Baal and El for fertility, and the gods oblige. Danataya, with the apparent assistance of the feminine Kotharat, bears a son. At some point in that son's adolescence,

75. Huehnergard 1983: 16–19. See also Justel 2013: 102–3; Grosz 1987: 83.

76. Paradise 1987: 203. See also Lion 2009: 10; Ben-Barak 1988: 92.

77. Paradise 1987: 204; Grosz 1986: 83.

78. Justel 2013: 103; Lion 2009: 10; Ben-Barak 1988: 91–92; Paradise 1980: 189. See Justel 2013: 100–103 and Lion 2009: 11–14 for additional examples.

79. Korpel 1998: 106.

Kothar-wa-Ḫasis makes him a hunting weapon, which is given to Aqhat by his father along with a speech on etiquette. One might say that all is well in the world.[80]

Then, a crisis emerges, a crisis marked by the closer interaction of male and female genders. The youth Aqhat comes into conflict with the goddess Anat, female in sex but masculine in gender. The boy is uppity and insulting, specifically insulting the goddess's sex, for which she kills him, using the man Yatpan as a weapon. In these first two tablets, we see Aqhat's full life circle: he does not exist, he is desired; he is conceived and born, made flesh; he grows up, educated in the civilized environment of the city; he is impious; he leaves the city for the wilds, losing part of his humanity; he is killed like prey, eaten like prey; he returns to the body of the mother; he returns to the earth and is mourned; he is no more. But the end of the circle is not quite like the beginning, for now, in addition to his son, Danel has a dutiful daughter who can take on the persona of a son.

In Pughat, the genders collapse into each other, as the literal "girl" becomes a son to Danel in all ways emphasized in the text. She fulfills the litany of filial duties and even appears to conform to the requirements of adopted sonship in the legal documents of the surrounding territories. We might assume that the crisis sparked by Aqhat and Anat in tablet 2 is resolved at the end of the (missing) narrative, and that peace and stability are restored to Danel and his people under the authority of his wise, valiant, and responsible female son.

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