



QEDEŠET: A SYRO-ANATOLIAN GODDESS IN EGYPT

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ABSTRACT

This article considers the iconographic origins of the Egyptian goddess Qedešet and her Levantine cognate Qudšu through an examination of their individual iconographic elements, such as V-pose arms, snakes, and coiffures. As the evidence indicates, the nude, en face female, typically standing upon an animal and often portrayed as a potnia therôn, derives from Anatolia. Specifically Egyptian elements are the Hathoric coiffure and the grasping of snakes. Highly distinctive regional aspects of the iconography are presented, distinguishing among Anatolian, North Levantine, South Levantine, and Egyptian iconographic types.

This paper is a study of the iconographic origins of the Egyptian goddess named Qedešet (QDŠT) and the Levantine variation of this image, which here will be called Qudšu for the sake of convenience.¹ Both of these related images are variations on the exceptionally prolific and long-enduring “Nude Female” motif prevalent in the Near East from the third millennium BCE into the Hellenistic Age, which spread from Persia in the east to Italy in the west. Nevertheless, the Qedešet and Qudšu icons are distinct variations on this larger theme. Furthermore, their iconographies and evolutions are sufficiently different from each other that they must be considered independently.

QEDEŠET

The name Qedešet is a vocalization of the phonemes QDŠT, which derive from the Levantine radicals for “holiness” (*qdš*) with the addition of the feminizing “t” used both in Semitic and Egyptian.² There are 17 examples of Qedešet iconography extant from Egypt, which in rough chronological order are:³

1. Anonymous Stele, Cairo Museum JE 26049, 19th Dynasty
2. Anonymous Stele, Cairo Museum JE 26048, 19th Dynasty
3. Anonymous Stele, Cairo Museum JE 45535, 19th Dynasty, from Memphis
4. Stele of Illegible Dedicator, British Museum EA 355, 19th Dynasty, from Deir el-Medina

5. Stele Fragment, British Museum EA 60308 (263), reign of Ramesses II, Deir el-Medina(?)
6. Stele Fragment, British Museum EA 817, 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina(?)
7. Anonymous Stele, Vienna 1012, 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina(?)
8. Faience Amulet, Athens National Archaeological Museum 944, 19th Dynasty
9. Gilded Bronze Amulet, Athens National Archaeological Museum 559, 19th Dynasty
10. Stele of Illegible Dedicator, Moscow I. 1.1 5614 (4087), reign of Ramesses II, from Deir el-Medina
11. Stele of Ramose, Turin Museum 50066, reign of Ramesses II, from Deir el-Medina
12. Stele of Qeh/Qaha, British Museum EA 191, reign of Ramesses II, from Deir el-Medina
13. Stele of Huy, Louvre Museum C86, reign of Ramesses II, from Deir el-Medina
14. Stele of Iniahay, Moscow I.1.a.5613 (3177), 19th Dynasty, from Deir el-Medina
15. Stele of Takeret, Berlin 21626, 19th Dynasty
16. Stele of Neferhotep (a.k.a. the Winchester Stele), formerly at Winchester College, reign of Ramesses III, from Deir el-Medina
17. Anonymous Stele, Copenhagen Glyptothek 817 (AEIN 313/1908 E 536), 19th–20th Dynasty

Although Keiko Tazawa dates four of these examples—JE 26049, JE 45535, and both amulets—as “late 18th–19th Dynasty,” the evidence below suggests that the image of Qedešet did not appear in Egypt until the reign of



Figure 1: Stele of Qeh, British Museum EA 191.

Rameses II. For this reason I eschew the potential late 18th Dynasty date and list these examples as belonging to the 19th Dynasty.

In addition to these 17 images of Qedešet, the goddess's name appears in four documents: an inscribed offering basin from Memphis dating from the reign of Amenhotep III; an inscribed vessel dedicated by Sennefer, found in Memphis and dated to the reign of Horemheb; Papyrus Sallier IV, verso 1.1–4.8, dating to the middle of the reign of Rameses II; and Magical Spell pLeiden, also from Memphis and dating to the 19th–20th Dynasty.⁴ The earliest attestation of the goddess's name, then, dates to the first half of the 14th century.

Visual Analysis

The visual representation of the Egyptian goddess Qedešet consists of a consistently nude female whose arms inevitably are held to the side in a “V-pose,” whereby the upper arms extend slightly away from the body downwards, bent sharply at the elbows (thus creating a visual “V”) such that the hands are roughly at shoulder level. These two data—nudity and V-pose—are 100% consistent in Qedešet's extant iconography.

Other diagnostic details have a single exception in the extant corpus. One is the goddess's coiffure, which is normally the Hathor headdress, parted in the center and displaying a single curl to either side of the neck. The sole exception is JE 26049, which shows the goddess with what Tazawa describes as “a Nemes-like-cloth surmounted with a vessel in which plants are visible.”⁵ In all but one example, the goddess holds flowers in her right hand, either lotus or papyrus, and one to four snakes in her left. Stele 21626 from Berlin is distinct in that the goddess holds a single snake in

both hands.⁶ A second exception is Cairo Museum JE 45535, where the goddess's hands are empty.⁷ This stele and British Museum EA 60308 are also distinctive in being the only examples of Qedešet iconography where the goddess does NOT stand upon a lion, but upon the ground line.⁸ In all other examples, the goddess stands upon the back of a lion that consistently faces to the viewer's right. In 15 of the 17 examples Qedešet is shown *en face*. The sole exception is JE 26049, where the goddess faces to the right (her left); EA 817 is broken at the top, and thus no head is preserved.

There is also variation in the portrayal of her feet. In some examples, such as on the Stele of Qaha/Qeh (Figure 1), the feet face forward. In other cases, the feet are splayed outwards upon the lion's back (what ballet dancers would call “first position”). Some stele show the goddess with her feet pointing to her left, the viewer's right, with a single exception where they point to her right (JE 26048).⁹ In some examples, the right-facing feet cause the entire lower body of the goddess to turn, such that her left leg is almost completely occluded by the right leg.

When not appearing alone on the stele, Qedešet is flanked by two male deities, an ithyphallic Min or Onouris to her right, and Levantine Rešeph to her left (as on the Qaha Stele above). Finally, Qedešet may wear different headdresses above her Hathor coiffure. The solar disk is common, as is the naos-headdress. Such is the iconography of Egyptian Qedešet.

QUĐŠU

The name “Quđšu” is not attested other than as a variant vocalization of the QDŠT phonemes in Egypt (“Qadesh” also is used). In this paper I use the term “Quđšu” to refer to the non-Egyptian, Levantine variant of Qedešet's iconography.

Visual Analysis

The Quđšu image appears in terracotta, metals, and glyptic in the Late Bronze Age of the eastern Mediterranean, from Syria and Cyprus through Canaan and Palestine. Like Qedešet, the diagnostic aspects of her iconography are her nudity (occasionally emphasized and decorated with jewelry such as necklaces, arm-bands, and a belt) and the positioning of her arms. Like Qedešet, Quđšu consistently holds her arms in the V-pose, and, like her Egyptian cognate, she holds in her hands floral and animal motifs. However, there is a significant difference between Quđšu and Qedešet in this regard: While Qedešet holds lotus or papyrus in her right hand and snakes in her



Figure 2: Gold Foil Qudšu from Minet el-Beida, Louvre AO 14714. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.



Figure 3: Terracotta Aštart Plaque from Ebla, Syria, Aleppo Museum TM.88.R.624. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.

left, Qudšu always holds the same item in both hands. Most frequently, especially in the southern Levant, these are floral motifs, once again either lotus or papyrus, with stems that typically descend down to the goddess's feet. To the north, however, and especially on examples from Ugarit, Qudšu may hold animals, specifically caprids, as is shown on the famous gold foil example from Minet el-Beida and now in the Louvre (AO 14714) (Figure 2).

Unlike Qedešet, Qudšu *never* holds snakes. In fact, with the exception of this Ugaritic example, snakes never appear in Qudšu's iconography at all, a fact to which we shall return below.

Only slightly less consistent in her iconography is her *en face* posture. The goddess almost inevitably faces forward, although there is at least one exception showing the goddess facing to her left. However, while her upper body is typically frontal, her feet may be either together but splayed or turned to the goddess's left, the viewer's right. One known example from Timnah has this backwards, with the feet turned to her right.¹⁰

In most instances the goddess has the coiffure associated with Hathor in Egypt. This may, as in the example given above, be topped with some kind of *polos* or headdress. Likewise, several examples of Qudšu iconography show the goddess standing upon the back of an animal. This is most frequently a lion (or a lion's head), but in two instances—one from Lachish and one from Tel Qarnayim—it is an equid (see below). Finally, astral symbols may appear in context with Qudšu, either as solar and lunar symbols on the plaque or seal, or even something as simple as the dot/astral motif shown above.

Qudšu Plaques are NOT Aštart Plaques

In all of these details, the Qudšu icon differs dramatically from the icon with which she is most commonly associated (and incorrectly named)—the Aštart or Astarte Plaque (Figure 3).

The Aštart Plaque shows a similarly nude, *en face* female. However, unlike the Qudšu icon, the Aštart plaque most frequently shows the female holding her breasts. Variations include having the arms hang down the length of the body or having one arm hold a breast while the other lies straight. Aštart plaques only rarely have the Hathor coiffure, and this appears to be due to “cross-fertilization” of the iconographies in the later Bronze Age.¹¹ The Qudšu icon, then, is a different and distinct image from the so-called Aštart plaque, with a unique evolution on the Levantine coast rather than the heartland of Mesopotamia.¹²

CHRONOLOGY

Qedešet

Chronology is extremely important in understanding the evolution of Qedešet's iconography. The goddess, with her Near Eastern-inspired “Nude Female” iconography and her Semitic name, at first seems as though she should have entered the Egyptian pantheon during the Hyksos interlude, also known as the Second Intermediate Period, and thus circa 1600 BCE, when other Levantine deities such as Rešeph, Ba'al, Anat, and Aštart first entered Egyptian

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

cult.¹³ If this were the case, Qedešet in word and image should have appeared in Egypt in the early 18th Dynasty.

In fact, this is not the case. The earliest textual attestation of the goddess appears on the offering basin dating to the reign of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BCE), where she is honored with a slight side reference to Aštart. In this votive text Qedešet is referred to as the “Lady of the Two Lands,” “Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods,” and “Great in Magic.”¹⁴ A second 18th-Dynasty reference is the vessel of Sennefer, dated to the reign of Horemheb (1319–1292 BCE), which reads:

Regnal year 16 under the Majesty of the Lord of the Two Lands, Horemhab, the Ruler, at the time of his first victorious campaign, from Byblos as far as the land of the vile chief of Carchemish. An offering which the king gives (to) Ptah, south of His Wall, Lord of the life of the Two Lands, (to) Astarte lady of the sky, (to) Anat the daughter of Ptah, lady of truth, (to) Reshef lord of the sky, (to) Qadesh lady of the stars of heavens; that they may give life, prosperity and health to the ka of the stable-master of the Lord of the Two Lands Sennefer, repeating life.¹⁵

These are the only references to Qedešet in the 18th-Dynasty. Both are late in the dynasty, and thus Qedešet does not appear in the Egyptian corpus until centuries after the flight of the Hyksos. As such, it is unlikely that this goddess first entered the pantheon with the Levantine invaders or even early in the period of Egyptian domination of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. There is certainly no evidence for it.

Quite to the contrary, images of Qedešet only begin to appear in Egypt in the 19th Dynasty. The earliest fully datable Qedešet stelai appear in the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BCE)—Moscow 1.1.a 5614; British Museum EA 60308 and EA 191, Turin 50066, and Louvre C86.¹⁶ All other depictions of the goddess either date generally to the 19th–20th Dynasties or to the reign of Ramesses III (Winchester College plaque). One might argue, then, that the *image* of Qedešet, if not the goddess’s cult itself, entered Egypt during the reign of Ramesses II.

Qudšu

The chronology of the far more prolific Qudšu icons is a more difficult matter, and not merely because of quantity. Most date generally to “Late Bronze Age,” the vast majority to the 13th century and after; that is to say, *after* the appearance of Qedešet in Egypt.¹⁷ At least one example, however, has a clear *terminus ante quem* in the late 14th

century: Uluburun KW 703, now in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology. Having gone down with the ship, the image must date to before c. 1318 =/– 2 BCE.¹⁸ The one bronze and four gold examples from Minet el-Beida, the port of ancient Ugarit, also provide chronological problems. According to Cornelius and Schroer, AO 14714 and AO 14717—both found in Dépôt 213 bis—date to “Ugarit Récent 2” and thus, for the authors, to c. 1450–1365 BCE.¹⁹ By contrast, Ora Negbi dates both deposits in which the five Qudšu icons were found—213 bis and 11—from mid-15th to late 13th centuries BCE.²⁰ The Louvre itself, where these items are kept and displayed, dates the deposits to mid-14th–late 13th centuries. In short, these Qudšu images might date anywhere from 1450 to 1200 BCE. More relevant for this study, they might date to before the appearance of Qedešet in Egypt, and thus be part of her origin, or after the rise of Qedešet’s iconography, and thus, perhaps, result from her.

It is important to note that it is only the northern examples—those from Ugarit and Uluburun—that appear to pre-date Egyptian Qedešet. As the evidence below will show, these northern images derive from a tradition slightly different from that of their southern neighbors. Nevertheless, the iconography indicates that those from Minet el-Beida were in fact influenced by the Egyptian iconography and thus should be dated to the 13th century, after the rise of Qedešet.

ORIGINS

The question then emerges: Where did the image of Qedešet come from? As noted above, although she clearly takes part in the Nude Female tradition and continuum of the ancient Near East generally, she is a separate and distinct image from the so-called Aštart Plaques and related figurines that proliferated throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze and early Iron Ages. These icons are very consistent in their arm positioning, which from the mid-third millennium in central Syria consists of arms either held straight out to the sides, or with arms bent to hold the breasts, as on an example from MBA Ebla (Figure 4).

This iconography remains a consistent feature of the icon both in Mesopotamia, where depictions of the Nude Female in the glyptic rarely varies, and in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, where both Bird-faced and Normal-faced terracotta figurines maintain this basic posture. The V-pose arm position never appears, nor does the nude female ever hold objects or stand upon an animal. Qedešet’s iconography clearly went through a different evolution than did the Aštart figurines and plaques.



Figure 4: Terracotta Aštar figurine from Ebla, Syria, Aleppo Museum TM.92.P.875+TM.94.P.530. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.



Figure 5: “Beset” statuette from Thebes, Manchester Museum acc. # 1790. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.

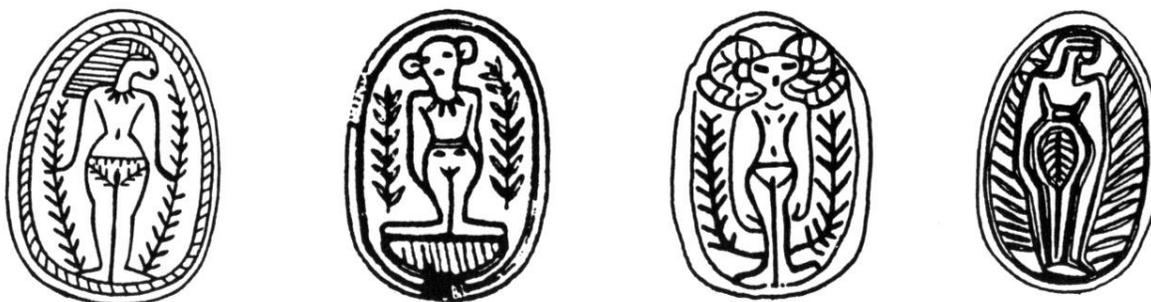


Figure 6: Examples of MB Palestinian Branch Goddesses. Drawings from Schroer 1989: 204, Abb.1–4.

An alternate hypothesis is that Qedešet is a Late Bronze Age evolution of the female counterpart to Bes who appeared in Middle Kingdom Egypt. It has become standard to refer to this daimon—called only “Sau” (“Protector”) in one inscription—by the anachronistic title “Beset,” the female counterpart to Bes. No fewer than 20 images of Beset come from the Middle Kingdom, the majority on ivory birth tusks. One Beset wooden statue with poseable arms and snakes in hand came to light in a trove of a physician’s apparatus (Figure 5).²¹ Finally, a birth-brick from the Middle Kingdom has what appears to be a depiction of Beset on side C, although the head is not preserved and thus there is no way to be certain. Nevertheless, the rest of the body shows a nude, *en face* female holding snakes, and the most likely identification is Beset.²²

The iconography of this female daimon does share much in common with Qedešet. Like the New Kingdom

goddess, Beset is nude and presented frontally, contrary to the standard convention of rendering deities and other anthropomorphic beings paratactically. In many of the ivory tusk manifestations she is shown with V-pose arms. She does not stand upon a lion, but she does have a leonine head. Most importantly, she holds snakes. For this reason especially, Beset has been proffered as a possible antecedent to Qedešet.²³

The problem with this hypothesis is chronological. Beset iconography ceases after the 13th Dynasty and is entirely absent after the Second Intermediate Period, with no perceivable links between her last appearance on a birth tusk and the emergence of Qedešet in the 19th Dynasty. All that can be suggested is that certain aspects of her iconography—such as holding snakes—remained entrenched in Egyptian iconography and were later adopted by the new goddess.

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

Finally, there is the hypothesis of Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger that Qedešet is the New Kingdom manifestation of the Palestinian Branch Goddess (Figure 6).²⁴

This image, variations of which appear on some 44 scarabs dated to the MB II period, reveals a nude female standing mostly *en face*, although in one third of the examples studied the female's face is in profile.²⁵ In several examples the female wears a *nemes*-style headdress; in others she has large ears reminiscent of Hathor. In both of these traits, as well as the scarabs on which they appear, their Egyptian influence is apparent. None of the Branch Goddesses have breasts depicted, but the rendering of the pubic triangle is emphasized on each. The legs are straight, and the feet may be either splayed or turned to the female's left. On 36 of the 44 scarabs, a leafy linear motif surrounds the female on both sides, thus her modern title "Branch Goddess." Of these 36, on four examples the female holds the surrounding "branches" in her hands at hip level.²⁶ More typical arm positions are hanging down straight to the sides of the body or, less commonly, holding the breasts.

The problems with deriving the Qedešet (or Qudšu) image from the Middle Bronze Age Branch Goddess are

chronological and iconographic. As was the case with Beset, there is a 250- year gap between the last renderings of the Branch Goddess and the earliest manifestation of Qedešet. Unlike Beset, this gap occurs *outside* of Egypt, making it even more difficult to account for any continuity between the MB Palestinian image and the LB Egyptian.

Furthermore, the iconographic traits of the Branch Goddess do not match those of Qedešet. As noted above, the defining characteristics of Qedešet are her *en face* nudity and the V-pose of her arms. Although the Branch Goddess is nude and frequently *en face*, her arms are never in the diagnostic V-pose. Even when she holds the fronds on either side of her (in only four examples, a small fraction), she holds them lower on her body, at hip level, rather than at shoulder level as is consistent with the V-pose. Far more commonly, her arms either hang down to the sides or hold her theoretical breasts. In this she has far more in common with the Levantine Aštart Plaques than with Qedešet or Qudšu. Finally, the Branch Goddess never appears with animals, whereas Qedešet/Qudšu rarely appears without them, typically standing upon a lion, and holding snakes in Egypt, occasionally caprids in Syria. Iconographically speaking, then, the Branch Goddess is not a good antecedent for Qedešet.



Figure 7: Lead figurine from Troy. In Berlin Museum before World War II.²⁹ Drawing by Paul C. Butler.



Figure 8: Lead figurine from Alishar. Ankara Archaeological Museum, no. 12358. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.



Figure 9: Lead familial figurine from Kültepe. Louvre Museum AO 9245. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.

Syro-Anatolia

In contrast to the iconographic approximations we have from the Levant and the chronological infelicities from Egypt itself, it is Anatolia and northern Syria that provide the best possible parallels, and hence origins, for the iconography of Qedešet and Qudšu.²⁷ It is from this region that we find all of Qedešet's attributes: *en face* nudity, V-pose arms, the *Potnia Therôn* motif, standing upon an animal, and even Qudšu's astral iconography. The only iconographic attribute that is not native to Anatolia and Syria is the snakes which Egyptian Qedešet (but *not* Levantine Qudšu) holds in her hands. Furthermore, there are extensive contacts between Egypt and the Hittites at precisely the time when Qedešet first appears in the Egyptian iconographic repertoire (19th Dynasty), thus resolving the chronological quandary created by the potential Beset antecedent.



Figure 10: *Potnia Therôn* sealing from Boğazköy. Ankara Archaeological Museum. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.

Nude Females—Anatolia

The Nude Female image appears in Anatolia already in the third millennium, especially in the medium of lead. A lead figurine (Figure 7) that Kutlu Emre dated to the latest phase of Level II at Troy, and thus c. 2200 BCE,²⁸ shows a nude, *en face* female with clearly rendered pellet breasts, arms positioned so that the hands support the breasts, and a relatively large, clearly rendered pubic triangle. The female also has a pellet navel, earrings, and several torque-like necklaces.

In all respects, this lead is a perfect cognate for the Nude Female images appearing in Syria at this period and demonstrates the extent of the image's early dispersal. An almost identical nude female dating to c. 1825–1725 BCE comes from Alishar (Figure 8).³⁰

The appearance of the Nude Female continues in Anatolia throughout the second millennium. Still in lead, she is frequently placed in a familial setting, where she is paired with a clothed male and one or two children. In some instances, one of the children is a diminutive nude female, for example, the lead figurine from Kültepe (Karum Kaneš) (Figure 9) dated to c. 2000–1925 BCE³¹ that depicts a nude female to the viewer's left, a bearded male in pointed

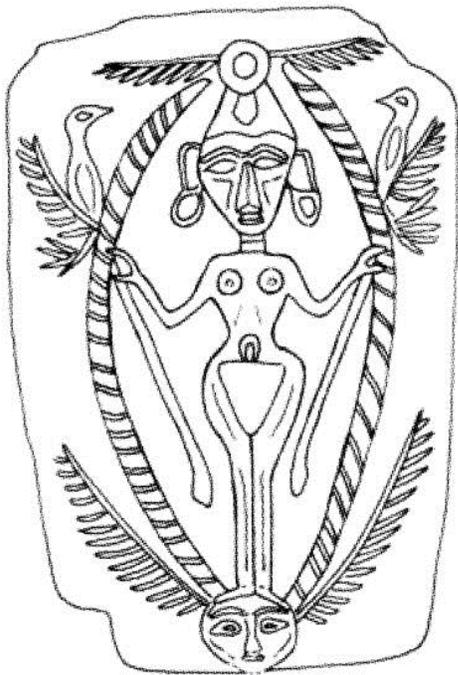


Figure 11: Serpentine mold from Kültepe. Drawing from M. K. Lahn, *Die Göttin Qedeschet: Genese einer Hybridgottheit*, *MOSAIKmonografien* 1 (Hamburg: MOSAIKjournal, 2014), 428, Kat. 86.

cap and kilt to the right, with a miniature version of the nude female between the two. Once again, the nude female(s) has clearly rendered breasts that are supported by her hands, a navel, and a pronounced pubic triangle. Necklaces adorn her neck, and she appears to have a

rudimentary belt above her navel. The striations on the male's cap reflect the horned mitre of Mesopotamian iconography, and thus suggest that the entire family unit is meant to be understood as divine, not mortal.

Potnia Therôn and V-Pose Arms—Anatolia

The Nude Female in a familial context was unique to Anatolia, and did not influence Nude Female iconography in the ancient Near East generally. By contrast, it was in Anatolia that the Nude Female became a *Potnia Therôn*, and this imagery was to have profound and long-lasting influence throughout the Near East and Mediterranean. “*Potnia Therôn*” is Greek for “Mistress of Wild Animals” and is the title used for an image of a female who appears to dominate one or two (or possibly more) animals, usually by holding some part of the animal(s) with her hand(s) in a commanding manner. It is important to note that a *Potnia Therôn* need not be presented in the nude;³² there are many examples of clothed *potniai therôn* in the artistic repertoires of the ancient Near East and the Aegean. Nevertheless, in Anatolia the earliest examples of this iconography were in fact naked (Figures 10–11). One of the oldest known examples appears on a limestone mold from Boğazköy, dating to c. 1925–1825 (Figure 10).³³ This *en face* female has one visible breast so as to determine her sex. She is nude save for a dagger at her waist, a necklace, and what may be a cap. She holds up her arms so that her hands are at head level, and in each hand she grasps a crudely rendered quadruped. In this we see not only an early manifestation of the *potnia therôn* motif but also the V-pose arms so diagnostic of the later Qedešet.



Figure 12: Seal Impression from Kültepe. Ankara Archaeological Museum/Kültepe Excavation n. g/k 14. Drawing from U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), Abb. 268.

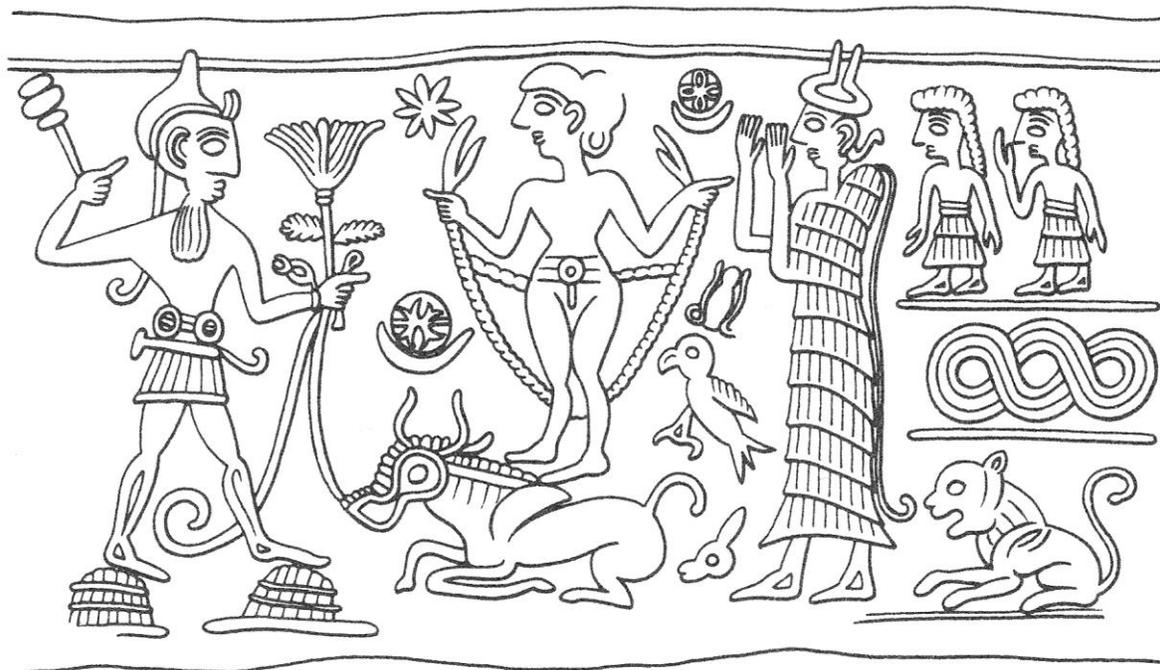


Figure 13: CANES 967, Pierpont Morgan Library. Drawing from Winter 1983, Abb. 269.

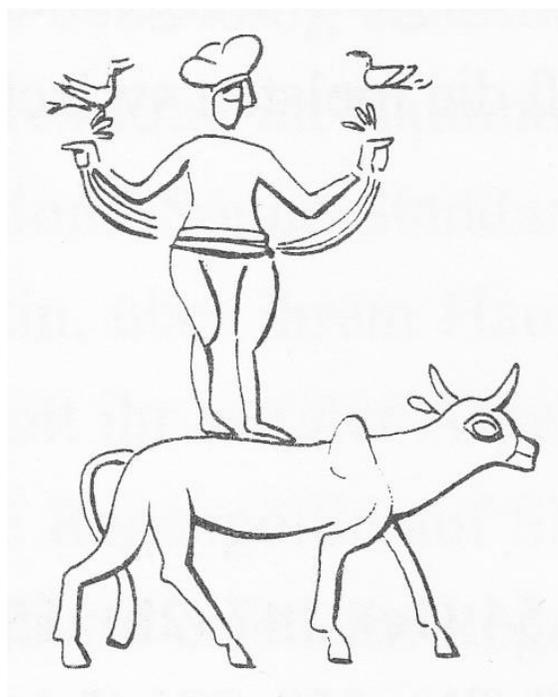


Figure 14: Borowski 209, detail. Drawing from Otto 2000, 210.

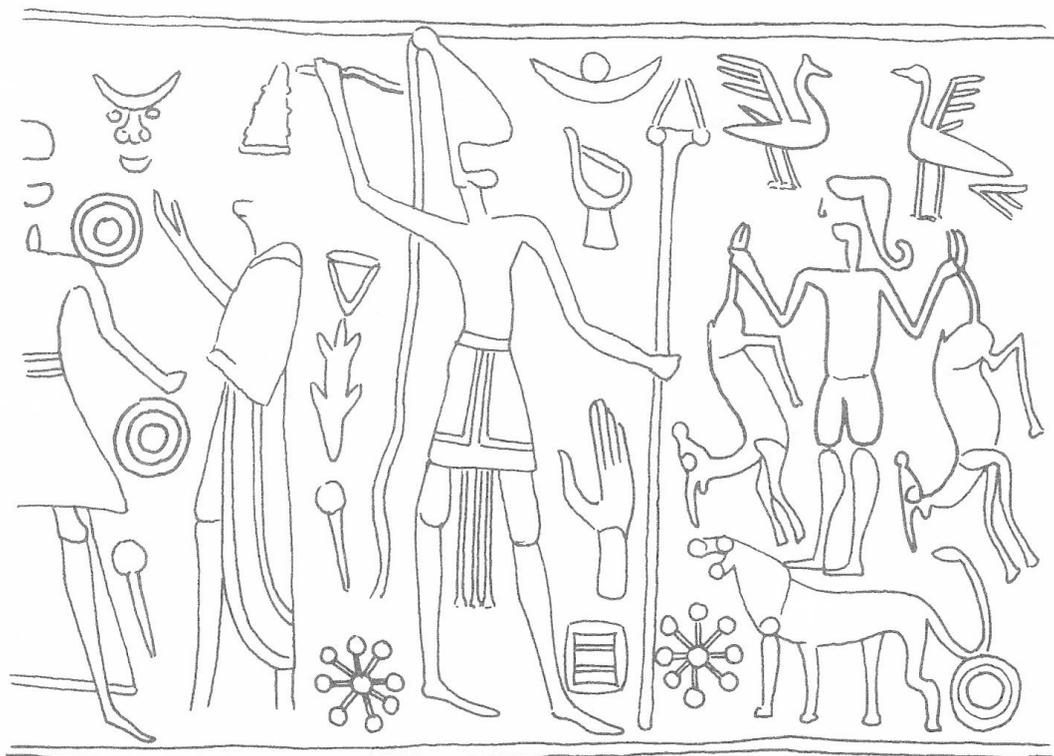


Figure 15: Old Syrian Seal, Louvre AO 1957. Drawing from Schroer 2005, 196, #425.

In fact, strongly predictive of this later Egyptian icon is another Anatolian mold, this time in serpentine, assumed to be from Kültepe and dating to stratum Ib, c. 1825–1740 (Figure 11).³⁴ Once again we have a nude female with clearly rendered breasts, navel, and pubic triangle, and thus very much in line with the Nude Female iconography seen previously in Anatolia. Her hands are in the V-pose, and rather than quadrupeds she has a single bird above each hand. The female is surrounded by striated bands emerging from a pair of wings at the bottom of the image, and she is topped with a winged sun disk. Both the birds and the sun disk suggest heavenly inclinations (see below). Her pointed headdress (later echoed in the mold from 14th-century Alalakh) is a western variation on the Mesopotamian horned mitre, and thus displays divine status.

Finally, we might consider a seal impression also from Kültepe and dating to c. 1850 BCE (Figure 12). Like the serpentine mold, this glyptic scene shows a nude female with V-pose arms standing within a circular element that she holds in her hands, much like the winged striated bands above. Her placement is in line with several astral elements in the scene, and she hovers above a horned bovine. She faces a storm/lightning god emerging from a winged gate. Thus, this Anatolian icon appears not only in lead but also in the early glyptic.

Potnia Therôn and V-Pose Arms—Syria

The Nude Female motifs that appear in Anatolia in the late third and second millennia also manifest in the Old Syrian glyptic (18th century BCE). A simple nude female appears in the early 2nd millennium. In some instances these are Mesopotamia-style nude females, where the female stands rigidly *en face* with the hands clasped beneath the breasts. In other cases, the female has her feet turned to the side, creating a paratactic effect.

More significant for this study is a derivative form of the nude female, the so-called “Skirt-Lifting” goddess in the Old Syrian glyptic (Figures 13–14). The “Skirt-Lifting” Goddess is a mostly *en face* nude female, but whose face and feet point to the side. The female holds a skirt or shawl behind her, thus not obstructing her nudity, with the ends of the fabric held in the female’s hands at chest level. Thus, her arms display the standard V-Pose. The “skirt” ends held in the hands typically appear as either floral elements or even as animals, especially birds. Some examples of this nude female have wings, so establishing her divine nature and thus “Nude Goddess.”

In addition to the animals she might hold in her hands, this version of the Nude Female also often stands upon an animal, usually a bull. The grasping of animals in her hands

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

plus the use of a “beast base” places this version of the Nude Female well within the parameters of the *Potnia Therôn* icon.

Astral Imagery and Storm God

The Syro-Anatolian Nude Female’s astral associations come across in four ways. First, and quite simply, she is depicted with heavenly symbols such as stars and crescent moons, as on the examples shown in Figures 13 and 14. Second, she is often shown holding birds. Third, the goddess may appear winged or standing within a rainbow-like structure (upon a recumbent bull) that itself has wings.³⁵ Finally, and most important for the identification of this Syro-Anatolian Nude Goddess, in the glyptic she is often shown facing a male deity who might be identified by his regalia as the storm god, either Tešub, (H)adad, or ʿIM depending on language. Thus on seal CANES 967 (Figure 13 above, #159 in Otto), the goddess with astral symbols on either side of her stands upon a recumbent bull who also has a sun and crescent moon symbol above his horns. She faces a striding male deity who holds a mace in his right hand and a stylized lightning bolt in his left. Likewise on the seal Marcopoli 477 (# 160 in Otto), a plain nude goddess with clearly delineated pubic triangle stands upon a recumbent bull and turns to face and raises her left hand to a striding male deity with horned mitre who holds a mace in his right hand, a stylized lightning bolt in his left, with a crook descending behind his right arm. Adelheid Otto classifies both examples as “North-West Syrian”; both are unfortunately without provenance or exact date.³⁶ For both her independent astral associations and her pairing with the storm god, Otto has suggested, probably correctly, that this variation of the Nude Goddess in Syria should be understood as the storm god’s consort, and thus the rain goddess Šala.³⁷

By far, the best antecedent for the eventual (northern) Qudšu appears on an Old Syrian seal now in the Louvre (AO 1857) (Figure 15).³⁸ Here we see a paratactic nude female—torso and arms *en face*, head and feet facing to the female’s right. She holds a caprid by the foot in each of her hands, with her arms in the standard V-pose. She stands upon a lion, a rare but not unique motif in the Old Syrian iconography.³⁹ Two birds hover above the female’s two hands. Beneath the lion upon which she stands are astral and solar motifs. Looking to her right, the nude female faces a much larger striding male deity wearing an Egyptian-style white crown and kilt. In his left hand he holds a staff, in his right he brandishes what appears to be a truncated mace or flail. Between this male and the goddess is a crescent lunar symbol. Once again, then, we have a nude female mastering caprids, standing on a lion

and associated with birds, who is associated with astral iconography and a male (storm) deity.

It is evident, then, that every iconographic aspect of Egyptian Qedešet—except for her snakes and Hathoric coiffure—has clear antecedents in Anatolia and northern Syria. In point of fact, the 18th-century serpentine mold from Kültepe could easily be designated a “Proto-Qedešet,” a full manifestation of Qedešet’s later iconography, excluding only the wig, snakes, and lion base. And she is not the only “Proto-Qedešet”—as noted above, a few examples of what appears to be Qedešet or Qudšu iconography have come to light pre-dating the 19th Dynasty origins of Qedešet’s visual representation. One example is the Qudšu-style gold-foil plaque from the Uluburun shipwreck, which must date to before 1316 BCE. However, this plaque displays Anatolian, not Egyptian, features. Qedešet’s lion base, Hathor curls, snakes, and lotus/papyrus plants are not present. Instead we have a female with a high *polos* crown and tresses descending over both shoulders. In her hands she holds caprids, distinctive of northern, but not southern, iconographies (see below). She stands on ground level. In all respects, then, this female reflects the iconography of the Syro-Anatolian Nude Goddess, a fact possibly emphasized by her find spot on a shipwreck from southern Anatolia. All that remains to Egyptianize the image is the Hathor coiffure, lotus blossoms, and snakes.

Proto-Qedešet’s Chronology

As noted above, Qedešet only begins to appear visually in Egypt in the 19th Dynasty, well after any influence from invading Hyksos would have become apparent, and certainly well after any final vestiges of the Egyptian daimon Beset.⁴⁰ It is true that the Syro-Anatolian iconography discussed above also pertains mainly to the Middle Bronze Age and thus could involve the same chronological problems as Beset. However, there is evidence that the *en face* nude goddess with V-pose arms continues in the Levantine (and even Mesopotamian) iconography into the Late Bronze Age. To the south, both Hazor and Tell el-Farah (north) brought to light cylinder seals featuring the nude goddess of the “skirt-lifting” variety, both dating to the 16th century BCE.⁴¹ To the northeast, a Middle Assyrian sealing now in Berlin shows an *en face* nude goddess with elaborate headdress and V-pose arms holding up a quadruped in each of her hands. As is typical with such iconography, she has astral symbols on either side of her head.⁴² From the Syrian site of Alalakh comes a late 14th–early 13th-century “Proto-Qedešet” similar to the one from Kültepe (Figure 16). As is diagnostic of Proto-Qedešet’s iconography, this image shows an *en face*

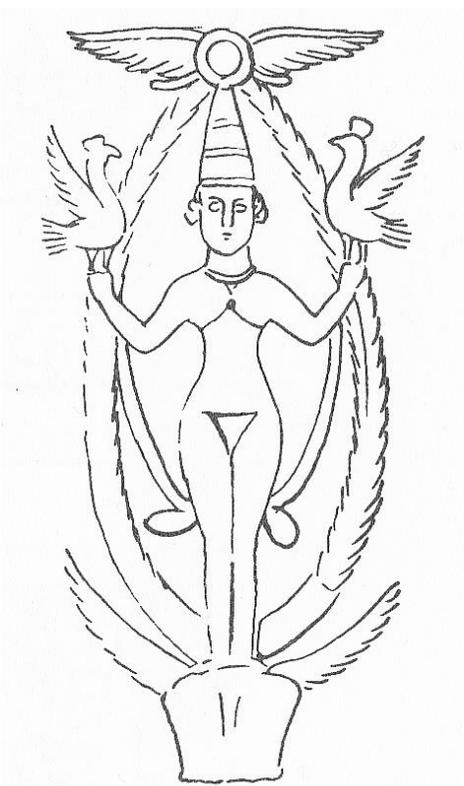


Figure16: Terracotta from Alalakh. Drawing from Winter 1983, Abb. 291.

nude female with clearly rendered pubic triangle, V-pose arms, and birds in her hands, thus qualifying her for the title of *Potnia Therôn*. The sun disk above her head is a direct descendant of that decorating her Anatolian ancestress from Kültepe, while the lines descending from her hands to her thighs call to mind the skirt of the Old Syrian glyptic. The “wings” at foot level are reminiscent of the winged goddesses or rainbows of the Old Syrian glyptic, and her crown, identical to that of her Kültepe predecessor, indicates her divinity.

Later and farther north, the Hittite site of İmamkulu in the Taurus mountain range brought to light a 13th-century rock carving featuring a winged nude goddess with a polos crown and V-pose arms facing a storm god riding a bull-drawn chariot (Figure 17). The lines behind the goddess may be reminiscent of the original skirt held up by her predecessors.

Unlike the case with Beset, then, there appears to be iconographic continuity between the Syro-Anatolian “Proto-Qedešet” image and the Qedešet who appears in the reign of Ramesses II.

The political situation also allows for direct borrowing between Hittite realm and the Egyptians during Ramesses

II’s reign. Qedešet was clearly recognized and revered in Egypt before Ramesses II, as is evident from the texts composed during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Horemheb mentioned above. However, it is likely that it was not until the ongoing marriage negotiations between Ramesses II and Hattušili III and Queen Puduhepa for a daughter of the Hittite royal couple, culminating in the actual marriage in 1245 BCE, that the goddess’s iconography became prevalent in Egypt. Qedešet’s iconography thus would have appeared during a period of relative peace with Egypt’s northern neighbors, and her erotic iconography is well in tune with the needs of the high-ranking nuptials.

Northern and Southern Qudšu

One of the most important findings of this study of Qedešet-Qudšu iconography is that there are, in fact, two separate categories of Levantine Qudšu: northern and southern. Northern Qudšu emerged almost directly from the Syro-Anatolian “Proto-Qedešet” iconography, with some Egyptian influence apparent especially in the frequent (although not universal) use of the Hathoric coiffure. Of the five plaques plus several glyptic examples of the *en face* nude goddess holding caprids in her V-pose arms, *all come from the Hittite orbit*, be that Ugarit, Uluburun, Northern Syria, or Cyprus (College de France Chypre A2)⁴³. This northern Qudšu is especially marked by her domination of caprids, in contrast to the floral motifs held by her southern cognate; *no such goddesses hold caprids to the south*. In the glyptic, birds at hand level, be they held or hovering, are also distinctive of this northern iconography. Although the glyptic nude goddesses (specifically the skirt-holding goddess identified as Šala) who contributed to the rise of Proto-Qedešet’s iconography typically stood upon a bull, she could also stand upon a recumbent lion, and it was this imagery that prevailed in Ugarit and elsewhere in the northern Qudšu iconography.

Because northern Qudšu is a direct descendant of Proto-Qedešet, it is entirely possible for her to precede Egyptian Qedešet chronologically, thus the late 14th-century date for the Uluburun Qudšu, which, it must be noted, betrays no Egyptian influence in terms of coiffure or floral iconography. Other examples of northern Qudšu iconography, such as Louvre AO 14714, may be later, displaying as they do distinctive Egyptianizing traits such as Hathor’s coiffure and (uniquely) snakes.

In the southern Levant, “Southern Qudšu” consistently holds long-stemmed flowers in both hands, be they lotuses

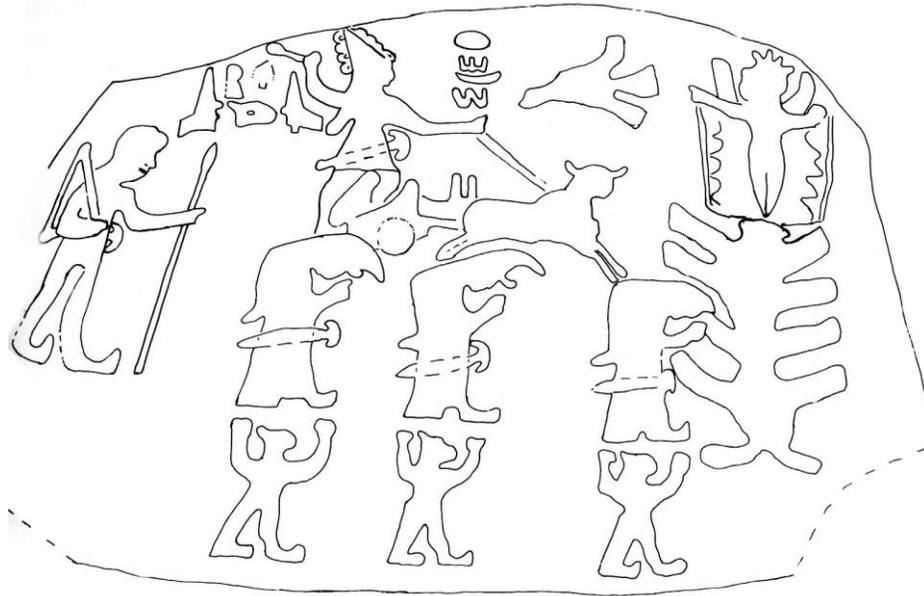


Figure 17: İmamkulu Rock Relief. Drawing from K. Kohlmeyer, "Felsbilder der hethitischen Großreichszeit," *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 15 (1983), 7–135.

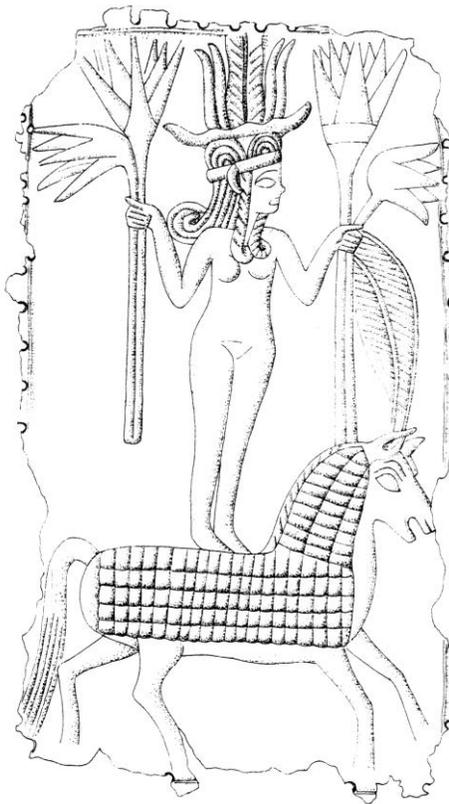


Figure 18: Gold Foil relief from Lachish. IAA 78-1. Drawing from C. Clamer, "A Gold Plaque from Tel Lachish." *Tel Aviv* 7 (1980), 153.

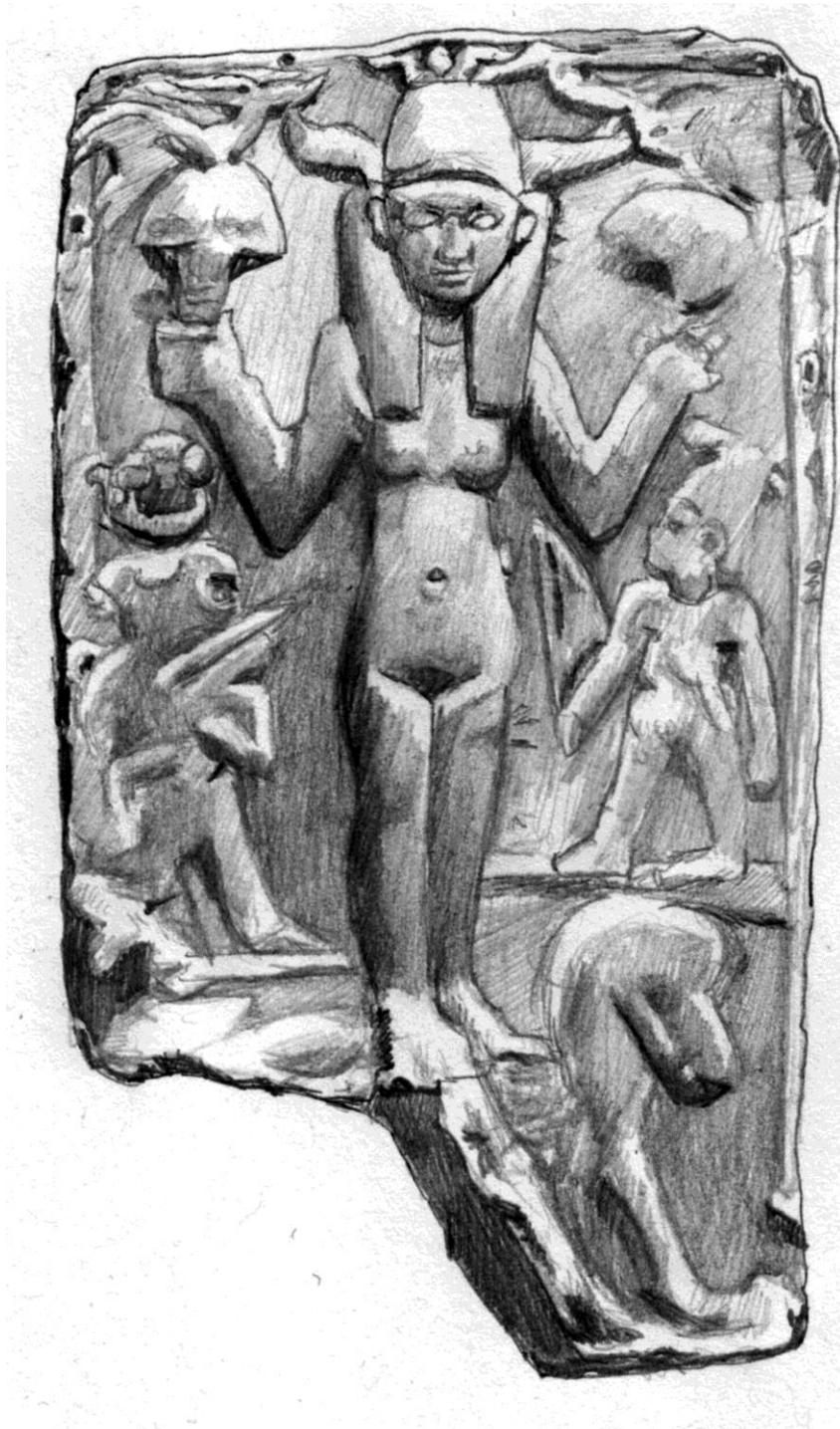


Figure 19: Mold from Qarnayim. IAA 76-999. Drawing by Paul C. Butler.

or papyrus. Like Qedešet, she usually has the standard Hathoric coiffure, parted in the middle with outward curls at shoulder-level. The goddess's feet may be splayed, face forward or to the side, and she stands either at ground-level or, more commonly, upon a lion, a detail common in Egyptian renditions of Qedešet but also appearing, as we have seen, in the northern iconographies.

However, one important aspect of Southern Qudšu is that in two instances she stands not upon a lion, but upon a horse. One gold foil example comes from the Palestinian site of Lachish (Figure 18). Here we see a paratactic nude goddess facing to her left. Her coiffure is reminiscent of the Hathoric style, but because the goddess is facing to the side, the part and curls are misplaced upon her head. As is

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

standard for Qudšu iconography, the goddess holds long-stemmed lotuses in her V-pose arms. She stands upon a horse wearing a quilt pattern (armor?), which also faces to the left and wears a large feather upon its head.

The second example is a mold from Tel Qarnayim, also in Palestine (Figure 19). This female is fully *en face*, but unlike other Qudšu icons she bears a horned, fez-like hat, as well as an Egyptianizing *nemes*-headdress, descending to just above her breasts. She holds papyrus (?) flowers in her hands, but the stems are shorter, mainly to leave room for the two gods standing on either side of her, one wearing the Egyptian white crown. Above the blossoms hover vultures, far more typical of northern iconographies. The goddess stands upon a horse, facing to the viewer's left, thus appearing to the right in the finished product.

Both examples come from the southern Levant, in areas under Egyptian domination in the LBA. Both examples appear to be late: Cornelius gives a date in the LBA for the Tel Qarnayim mold and a date in the 12th century for the gold foil from Lachish.⁴⁴ It is almost certain that the equine iconographic distinction derives from Egyptian influence, where there had been a centuries-old tradition of portraying the Levantine goddess Astart as nude and riding a horse. It is likely, then, that this southern Levantine variation on the Qudšu icon was intended to portray the goddess Astart, originally manifested as the nude goddess with hands to breasts or sides in the Levant (see above), but rendered as nude and horse-riding (but still *en face*) in the Egyptian orbit.⁴⁵

All southern Qudšus display strongly Egyptianizing elements. All have the Hathor coiffure; almost all hold flowers. When two examples of southern Qudšu appear on equines, it is in keeping with a distinctly Egyptian way of seeing a Levantine goddess. No southern Qudšus appear to date before the reign of Ramesses II in Egypt. All the evidence, then, suggests that, in contrast to northern Qudšu, southern Qudšu derives her iconography directly from Egyptian Qedešet. This is perfectly logical, really: Levantine areas under Hittite dominion reveal Syro-Anatolian iconography; regions under Egyptian dominion reveal Egyptian.

In the end, the chronology of these various categories of nude females might be understood as follows: Proto-Qedešet evolved in the Syro-Anatolian orbit out of the Old Syrian rain goddess. Proto-Qedešet gave rise in the Hittite-dominated Levant to northern Qudšu, as well as heading south into Egypt proper to become the image of Qedešet. Qedešet then gave rise to southern Qudšu in the Egyptian-dominated southern Levant.

Qedešet's Flowers and Snakes

When Qedešet emerged in Egypt in the 19th Dynasty, the most significant adaptations of the Syro-Anatolian iconography were the goddess's coiffure and what she held in her hands. Unlike the Anatolian and Syrian nude females, Qedešet consistently bears the Hathoric headdress. As Hathor is the Egyptian goddess most frequently associated with foreigners, especially those of the Levant, this perhaps reflects the simultaneous sense of adoption and adaptation of the iconography of this relatively new deity.

The objects the goddess holds in her hands are distinctively Egyptian. Gone are the caprids and birds of the northern rain goddess. Instead, Qedešet holds long-stemmed flowers in her right hand, snakes (one to several) in her left. The flowers themselves are either lotus (blue or white) or papyrus. As is typical of Egyptian ideology, both of these flowers have associations with rejuvenation and resurrection. Concerning the lotus:

Because the water lily closes at night and sinks underwater—to rise and open again at dawn—it was a natural symbol of the sun and of creation ... As a symbol of rebirth the lotus was also closely associated with the imagery of the funerary cult—the four sons of Horus are sometimes shown on the flower which rises from a pool before the throne of Osiris, and Chapter 81 of the Book of the Dead contains spells for “transforming oneself into a lotus” and thus into the reality of resurrection.⁴⁶

The papyrus was a more joyful image, associated with notions of green, youth, flourishing, and happiness. It was linked with several goddesses, particularly Hathor, the goddess of joy herself.⁴⁷ Both blossoms are strongly Egyptianizing and suggest a role for the goddess that pertains to both life and liveliness.

The snakes are by far a more difficult matter. It must be noted that this aspect of Qedešet's iconography is the most distinctively Egyptian: No Qudšus, or Astartas for that matter, ever carry snakes. With only one exception—AO 14714—the snake never appears in Levantine Qudšu iconography at all.

As noted above, the closest cognate for the *en face* nude female carrying snakes is the Middle Kingdom daimon Beset. As also noted above, the chronological gap between this Beset and Qedešet argues against any borrowing or transference of the icon from the one to the other. Nevertheless, one must note that Beset was not the only

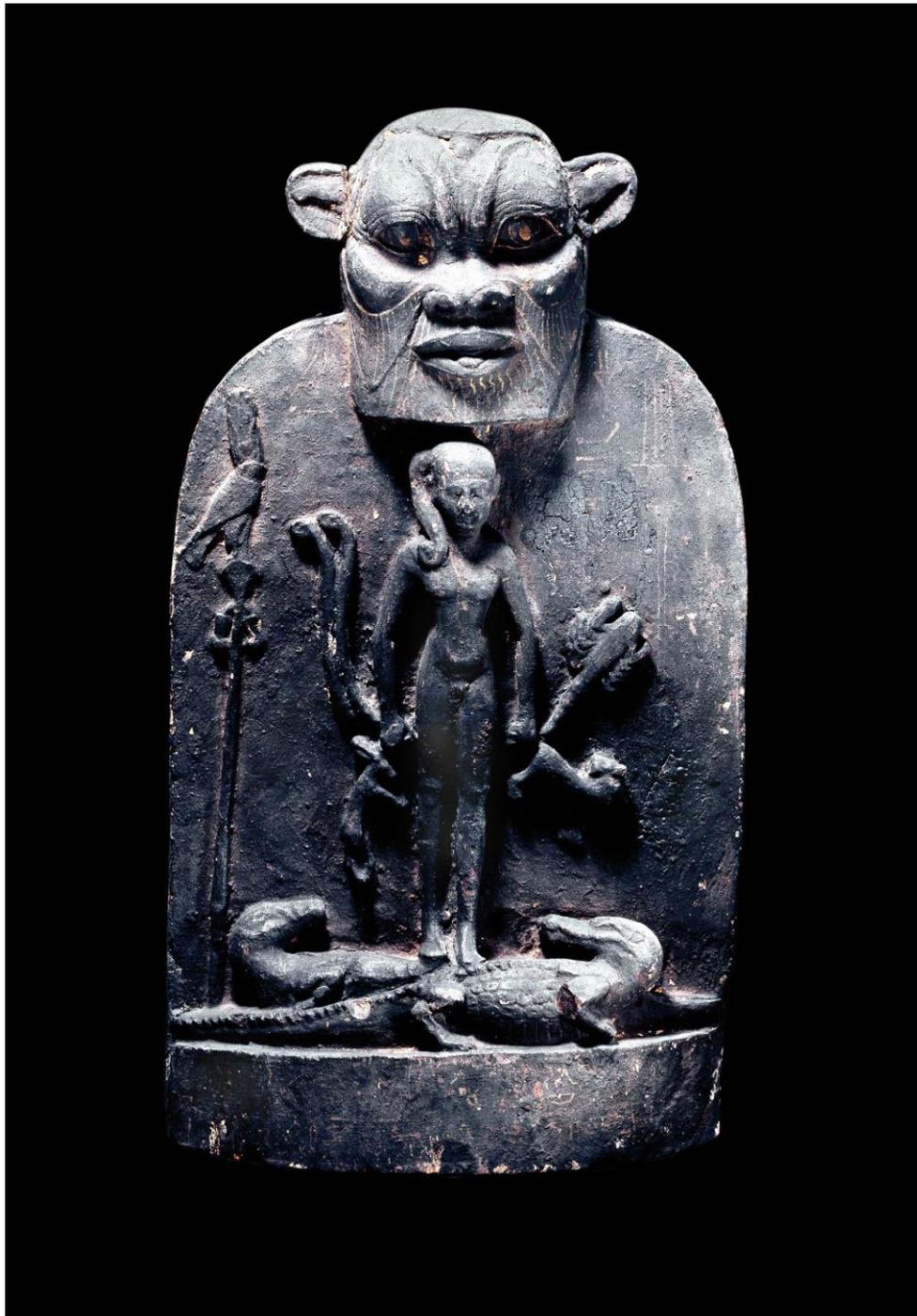


Figure 20: Horus-Shed Cippus: British Museum EA60958.

deity or daimon in Egypt associated with snakes and that the serpentine motif did extend into the New Kingdom and the rise of Qedešet. Although Beset disappears, Bes continues to be rendered in the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom. His own snaky attributes go into temporary abeyance in the early part of this period, but in the reign of Amenhotep III his snake iconography returns,

typically emerging from the dwarf god's mouth.⁴⁸ Hand-held snakes also reappear, and James Romano notes a Bes holding snakes in his hands in Middle Kingdom-style from the Third Intermediate Period.⁴⁹

In the New Kingdom a new manifestation of the child Horus appears, known as the "savior" Shed. As a deity who protects humans from dangerous/malevolent animals,



Figure 21: Lamaštu Plaque, British Museum BM 117759.

Shed is typically portrayed as holding an array of animals in his hands, including (consistently) snakes, as well as scorpions, lions, caprids (which I personally rarely think of as being “malevolent”), and who may also stand upon a crocodile.

Although there are numerous goddesses in the Egyptian pantheon who manifest as actual snakes, such as Meretseger and Renenutet, who are beneficent deities, the snake as symbol has a negative aspect in Egyptian ideology. Deities who grasp snakes, such as Bes or Shed-Horus, are thus shown to be protective, controlling the forces of evil. It is perhaps in this light that we might consider Qedešet’s snake iconography. It is extremely

important to note that Qedešet appears to be a “personal” deity. Her image does not appear in the royal propaganda or iconography. Quite to the contrary, the majority of her images come from the workers’ village at Deir el-Medina and belonged to relatively affluent commoners. To show her as a protective goddess, then, in a similar vein to Bes and Beset, is not out of line with her archaeological contexts.

What is of considerable interest considering the consistent appearance of snakes in Qedešet’s iconography is the fact that this aspect does not appear, ever, in Levantine Qudšu iconography. Quite to the contrary, southern Qudšu inevitably holds flowers in both of her

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

hands, heraldically, while northern Qudšu, more heavily influenced by Anatolian and Syrian precedents, hold caprids.

The most likely reason for this iconographic reticence is that there was already a well-established icon of a nude female holding snakes that came from early Mesopotamia, and this was not a beneficent deity. Mesopotamian Lamaštu, documented since the early second millennium,⁵⁰ was a demon who attacked babies and new mothers. The fact that a Middle Babylonian version of a ritual against Lamaštu was discovered at Ugarit indicates that the fear of this being reached the Levant in the Bronze Age.⁵¹ Her Bronze Age iconography was not as firmly established as it would become in the Iron Age, where the goddess consistently has breasts, a leonine head, talons, and holds snakes in her hands (Figure 21).

Nevertheless, it is evident from the amulets bearing her image deriving from the Late Bronze Age that the demon was already strongly associated with snakes. To quote F.A.M Wiggermann on this aspect of her iconography:

On two peripheral amulets dating to the Late Bronze Age Lamaštu holds in one hand a dagger, and in the other a snake. “Dagger that splits the skull” is one of her names, and the snake too must be understood as an instrument of death, the carrier to the poison with which she kills. A snake and a scorpion, another of her deadly “weapons”, regularly appear in the field of the Bronze Age amulets from Mesopotamia, and on the Iron Age amulets Lamaštu invariably holds one or two snakes in either hand. Dog, snake, and scorpion are in origin certainly independent evil agents, and, to judge from the relatively large number of preserved incantations, a serious source of worry in the third and early second millennia. After that time they practically disappear as independent evil agents, but linger on in the mythology of Lamaštu as instruments/manifestations of her evil will.⁵²

Contrary to Egypt, then, where holding snakes indicated the subduing of evil and chaotic forces, the Levanto-Mesopotamian ideology held that snake-holding was the purview of a vicious demon with no benign

attributes. As such, Qudšu, clearly partaking of Qedešet’s protective, beneficent characters, made no use of Lamaštu’s snakes.

AO 14714

This leaves one final quandary in the study of Qudšu’s evolution and iconography: Ugaritic gold pendant AO 14714 in the Louvre (Figure 2). In most respects this gold foil Qudšu image from Minet el-Beida embodies the standard northern Qudšu iconography, where the goddess holds caprids in her hands instead of Egyptianizing flowers. What is unique in this object is that this Qudšu does display serpentine iconography: Extending out from the goddess’s hips are two snakes that cross behind the goddess’s back such that their heads extend up to her waist while their tails extend down to her calves. This is the only known example of snake iconography associated with Qudšu. Quite to the contrary of Qedešet’s iconography, the goddess does not hold the snakes; they extend behind her at hip-level.

AO 14714 does not partake of either Qedešet’s or Lamaštu’s snake imagery: The goddess does not master the snakes. Rather, the snakes appear at hip-level in a way strongly reminiscent of the skirt that typified Šala’s iconography in the Old Syrian glyptic and the “feathery” frills that surrounded the legs of both the Kültepe mold and the later version from Alalakh (see above). As a result, what we may be seeing in AO 14714 is a unique blending of Syro-Anatolian, Levantine, and Egyptian iconographies. The artist, possibly familiar with Qedešet iconography (although the problems in dating this piece make this difficult to determine), translated the “skirt” motif as serpentine imagery. Thus, the lines emanating from the goddess’s hips are not apparel, but Qedešet’s snakes. These snakes then mimic the lines followed on the one hand by the up-lifted skirt and on the other hand by the leg-framing lines on the Anatolian and Syrian molds, which themselves are probably translations of the Syrian up-lifted skirt. In this way, what is really a quintessentially northern Qudšu image partakes of the iconography of her Egyptian cohort, but not in any way that calls to mind baby-killing demons. It is truly a masterpiece of Near Eastern iconographic fusion.

NOTES

¹ This study emerged from several exceptionally stimulating discussions with Judith Weingarten about snakes and Qedešet in Egyptian iconography. I am truly grateful for all of her

insights and help. The paper is also most highly indebted to the arduous and detailed cataloguing efforts of Izak Cornelius, M. Kristina Lahn, and Keiko Tazawa, whose work made this current

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

- study possible.
- ² The feminizing “t” is occasionally left out of the Egyptian orthography, as noted by M K. Lahn “Qedeschet. Genese einer Transfergottheit im ägyptisch-vorderasiatischen Raum,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 33 (2005), 204.
- ³ All references from K. Tazawa, *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence*, BAR International Series 1965 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 2.1.6.
- ⁴ Tazawa, 101.
- ⁵ Tazawa, 96.
- ⁶ I. Cornelius, *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500–1100 BCE* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), Cat. 5.17.
- ⁷ Cornelius, Cat. 5.10.
- ⁸ Tazawa, 97.
- ⁹ Cornelius, Cat. 5.9.
- ¹⁰ Cornelius, Cat. 5.34.
- ¹¹ S. L. Budin, “The Nude Female in the Southern Levant: A Mixing of Syro-Mesopotamian and Egyptian Iconographies,” in C. Doumet-Serhal (ed.), *Cult and Ritual on the Levantine Coast and its Impact on the Eastern Mediterranean Realm*, BAAL Hors-Série X (Beirut: Ministère de la Culture, Direction Générale des Antiquités, 2015), 315–335.
- ¹² There is also a tendency to equate Qedešet/Qudšu and her iconography with the Levantine goddess Athirat/Asherah, in spite of the distinct absence of references to Asherah in the Egyptian corpus, and a lack of iconographic commonalities between the two deities. On this matter, see Budin 2015: 329–332.
- ¹³ On this phenomenon generally see Tazawa, *passim*.
- ¹⁴ Tazawa, 92, Doc. 34.
- ¹⁵ Tazawa, 58, Doc. 58.
- ¹⁶ Tazawa, 97–98.
- ¹⁷ See Cornelius, 124–142 for such chronological designations.
- ¹⁸ Cornelius, Cat. 5.29.
- ¹⁹ S. Schroer, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient: Eine Religionsgeschichte in Bildern*. Band 3: Die Spätbronzezeit. (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2011), 302–304; Cornelius, Cat. 5.20.
- ²⁰ O. Negbi, *Canaanite Gods in Metal: An Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, 1976), 100.
- ²¹ E. A. Waraksa, *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function*, Ph.D. dissertation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2007), 140; G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1993), 217; J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 110.
- ²² J. Wegner, “A Decorated Birth-Brick from South Abydos: New Evidence on Childbirth and Birth Magic in the Middle Kingdom,” in D.P. Silverman, W. Kelly Simpson, and J. Wegner (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven and Philadelphia: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University, and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009), 466–471. See also J. Weingarten, “The Arrival of Taweret and Bes[et] on Minoan Crete: Contact and Choice,” in L. Bombardier et al. (eds.), *SOMA 2012: Identity and Connectivity*, Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012, BAR International Series 2581 (I) (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2013), 373 and 376–377.
- ²³ Tazawa, 122.
- ²⁴ O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 54.
- ²⁵ Keel and Uehlinger, 28.
- ²⁶ S. Schroer, “Die Göttin auf den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel,” in O. Keel, H. Keel-Leu, S. Schroer (eds.), *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel*, Band II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 89–207.
- ²⁷ *Contra* Lahn 2005, 217–221.
- ²⁸ K. Emre, *Anadolu Kurşun Figürinleri ve taş Kalıpları, Anatolian Lead Figurines and Their Stone Moulds* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1971), 96.
- ²⁹ “Lost with the ‘Treasures of Troy,’”: according to Emre, 110.
- ³⁰ M. N. Van Loon, *Anatolia in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 37.
- ³¹ Van Loon, 37.
- ³² *Contra* Wegner, 469.
- ³³ Van Loon, 37.
- ³⁴ O. Keel and S. Schroer, *Eva—Mutter alles Lebendigen: Frauen- und Göttinnenidole aus dem Alten Orient* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2004), Kat. 69, Freiburg Schweiz, Sammlung BIBEL + ORIENT der Universität VFig. 2000.5, Ex-Sammlung Aulock.
- ³⁵ U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin: Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), Abb. 135 and 136 for such iconography.
- ³⁶ A. Otto, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 82.
- ³⁷ Otto, 211.
- ³⁸ Schroer 2011: 196, #425.
- ³⁹ For other examples of a Nude Goddess standing

Stephanie L. Budin | Qedešet: A Syro-Anatolian Goddess in Egypt

- upon a lion in mid-second millennium glyptic, see Winter, Abb. 97 (Old Babylonian), 166 (mid-second millennium), 295 (Old Syrian), 494 (Mitanni).
- ⁴⁰ See particularly J. Romano, *The Bes-Image in Pharaonic Egypt*, Ph.D. Dissertation, (New York: New York University, 1989) on Bes (and Beset) iconography, and the short endurance of the female form exclusive to Middle Kingdom Egypt.
- ⁴¹ Keel and Uehlinger, 31a and 31b.
- ⁴² Winter, Abb. 146.
- ⁴³ Cornelius, Cat. 5.11.
- ⁴⁴ Cornelius, Cat. 5.13 and 5.22.
- ⁴⁵ Budin 2015, 328–329.
- ⁴⁶ R. H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), 121.
- ⁴⁷ Wilkinson, 123.
- ⁴⁸ Romano, 65–66.
- ⁴⁹ Romano, 66, n. 137.
- ⁵⁰ F. A. M. Wiggermann, “Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu: A Profile,” In M. Stol, *Birth in Babylonia and the Bible: Its Mediterranean Setting* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1990), 217.
- ⁵¹ Wiggermann, 219.
- ⁵² Wiggermann, 234, excerpted.
-