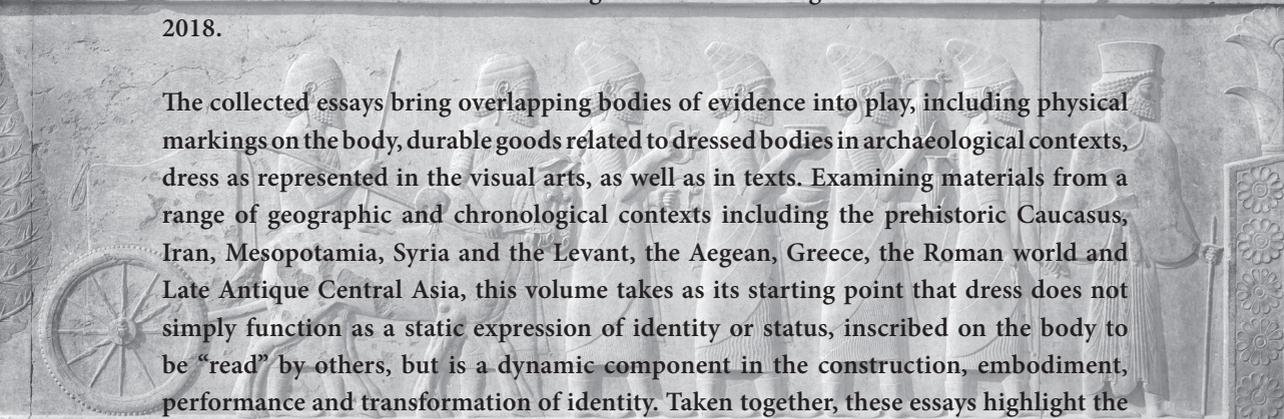
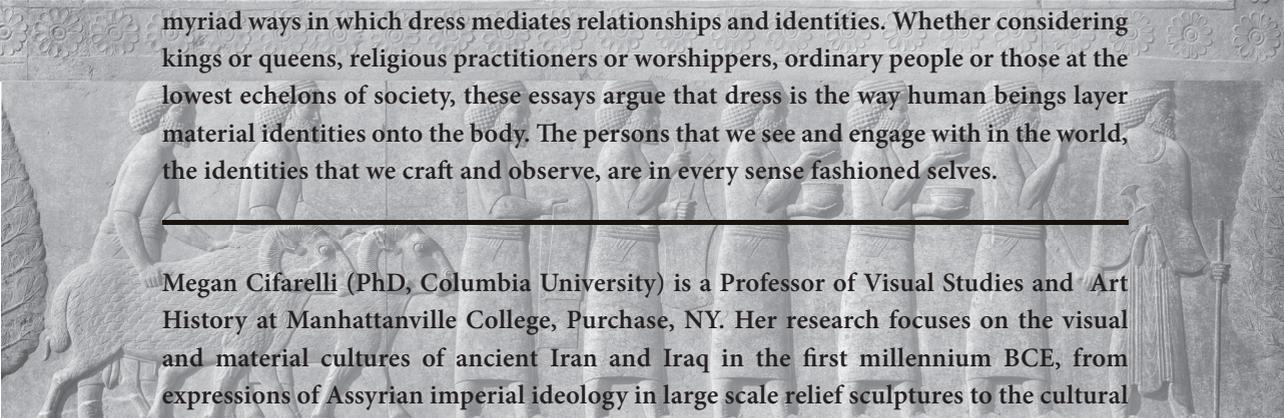


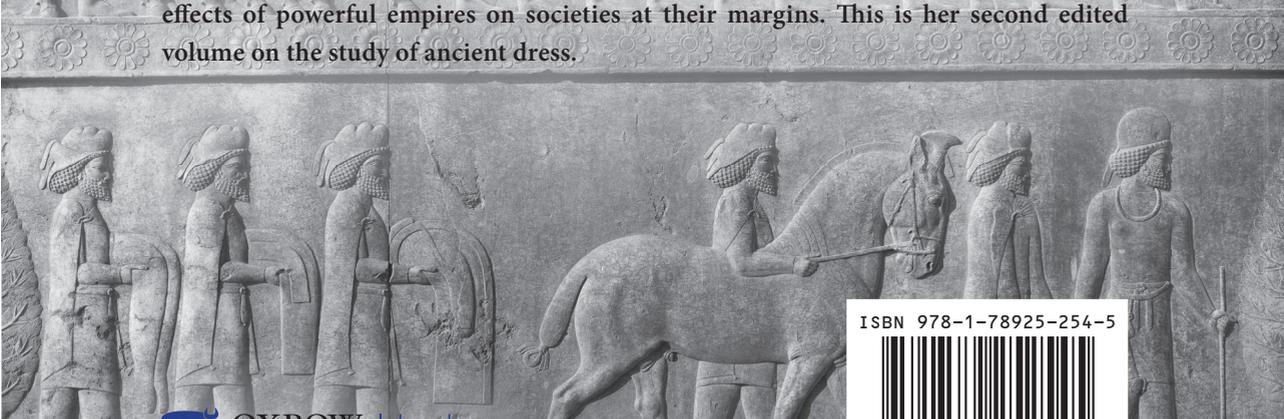
The study of dress in antiquity has expanded in recent years, evolving from investigations of costume and ethnicity in ancient art and texts, to historical analyses of textiles and their production, to broader studies of the social roles of dressed bodies in ancient cultural contexts. This volume emerges from sessions at the Annual Meetings of the American Schools of Oriental Research in 2016 and 2017, as well as sessions relating to ancient dress at the Annual Meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America in 2018.



The collected essays bring overlapping bodies of evidence into play, including physical markings on the body, durable goods related to dressed bodies in archaeological contexts, dress as represented in the visual arts, as well as in texts. Examining materials from a range of geographic and chronological contexts including the prehistoric Caucasus, Iran, Mesopotamia, Syria and the Levant, the Aegean, Greece, the Roman world and Late Antique Central Asia, this volume takes as its starting point that dress does not simply function as a static expression of identity or status, inscribed on the body to be “read” by others, but is a dynamic component in the construction, embodiment, performance and transformation of identity. Taken together, these essays highlight the myriad ways in which dress mediates relationships and identities. Whether considering kings or queens, religious practitioners or worshippers, ordinary people or those at the lowest echelons of society, these essays argue that dress is the way human beings layer material identities onto the body. The persons that we see and engage with in the world, the identities that we craft and observe, are in every sense fashioned selves.



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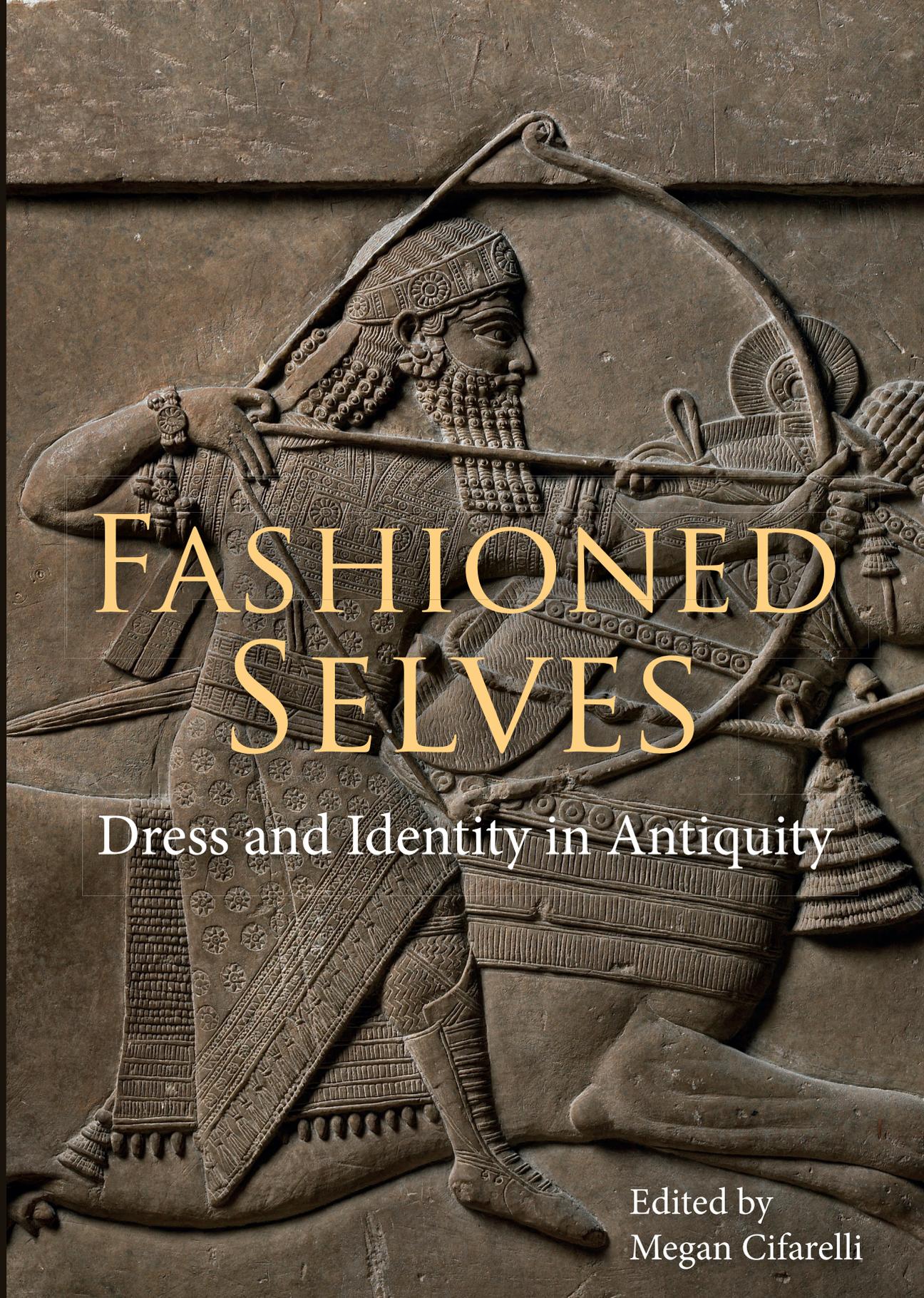
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Front cover: BM 124876 Assurbanipal on horseback, dressed in a rosette-patterned hunting dress with stylus inserted in the waistband. North Palace Room S, Panel 13 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

Back cover: Tribute procession of the Syrian delegation, with a Persian courtier leading a delegate by the hand on the Eastern stairway of the Apadana, Persepolis (top); Tribute procession of the Assyrian delegation, with delegates leading rams and carrying textiles on the Eastern stairway of the Apadana, Persepolis (bottom) (courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

Chapter 7

Weapons and weaving instruments as symbols of gender in the ancient Near East

Sophus Helle

Abstract

A consistent association runs through the cultures of the ancient Near East: weapons are used by men and weaving instruments by women. The two sets of items were not only employed as practical instruments in warfare and textile labour respectively, but were also worn on the body as symbolic items of dress used to construct the wearer's gendered identity. However, the representation of gender through cultural symbols in turn allowed for gender to be actively manipulated. Gender became as mobile as the items that symbolized it. In ritual contexts, weapons and weaving instruments were used to enhance and impede masculinity, by presenting or removing the apposite symbols, and further, the symbols could be flipped, redeployed, or intertwined in a number of surprising ways. The essay emphasizes the complexity that lies beneath the deceptively simple equation of weapons with men and weaving with women, arguing that in ancient Near Eastern literature, weapons and weaving instruments were employed both to reinforce and to disturb normative constructions of gender.¹

Introduction

In the cultures of the ancient Near East, two sets of symbols were consistently used to symbolize gender. Weaving instruments such as spindles, shuttles, and pins were associated with women, while weapons such as swords, bows, and axes were associated with men. Already fifty years ago, Harry Hoffner (1966) noted the remarkable recurrence of this pattern across Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Israelite, and Canaanite cultures. The symbolic pair seems to have had an almost universal appeal in the ancient world, serving as a solid cross-cultural foundation for the representation of gender. Regardless of language, period, or region, in the ancient Near East the key symbols of gender seem to have remained more or less stable. However, in this essay I

will explore some of the complexities and instabilities that lie beneath the seemingly straightforward associations of weapons with men and weaving with women.

In doing so, I will be treating weapons and weaving instruments as items of dress that were carried in one's hand or worn on one's body to display – or, as I will show, to transform – one's gendered identity. This is not to say that swords and spindles were not also, and indeed primarily, practical instruments. Weapons were tools of war, and weaving instruments were used in textile production, serving a specific function regardless of the gender of the person using them (see Garcia-Ventura 2014 for men attested as involved in textile production in Sumerian sources). But the two sets of objects also had a parallel function as symbolic markers of identity, as made clear by their use in rituals. A Sumerian incantation to ease childbirth is followed by a ritual carried out over the new-born child: “If it is a male, let him take a weapon, an axe, the force of his manliness. If it is a female, let the spindle and the pin be in her hand” (l. 46–47, Stol 2000, 61). Weapons and weaving instruments are here employed to ritually demarcate the infant's identity. Axes and spindles were thus not only used to fight and weave, but also to symbolically demarcate gender. Gender was part of the range of associations triggered by weapons and weaving instruments, so the very fact of carrying them on one's body would have influenced the way that this body was perceived by others. Women may have carried spindles in their hands for much of the day for no other reason than that spinning is a very time-consuming activity, but as a result, spindles also became part of their social appearance. “Physical appearance is a powerful and meaningful mediation of social categories and identities”, as Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (1997, 93) puts it, and in this context, the inclusion of spindles in that physical appearance marked their wearer as belonging to the social category of women.

But what kind of category was this? What do I even mean by “gender”? Let us return to the birth incantation. The description of the ritual clearly relies on the assumption that one can tell baby boys from baby girls just by looking at them: the text presupposes that it will be clear to the ritual practitioner whether “it” is male or female. But the practice also relies on the notion that gender had to be constructed through other means than one's body, reinforced by items that made gender manifest. The text identifies the axe given to the boy as the “force of his manliness”, but for a mewling new-born child, that force cannot be anything but symbolic – it was not something that could have sprung from his strength or behaviour alone. Gender was thus not just a property of the body, but also had to be actualized and made visible by other means.

“Gender”, to me, refers to that process of “making visible by other means”, whereby a supposedly inherent bodily property is exteriorized, symbolized, and made socially apparent. The process began at birth but certainly did not end there. The construction of gender is a continuous process, and social expectations demand that one must constantly present one's body as easily legible in terms of gender, that is, as clearly male or female. The creation of legibility involves a variety of

social practices, symbolic associations, and items of dress. Take *Two Women B*, a Sumerian debate between two women hurling insults at each other. One of them claims that her rival “is not fit for womanhood: she cannot comb wool, she cannot operate a spindle” (l. 66–68, Matuszak 2016, 246, 250; forthcoming). Being fit for womanhood thus included the ability to employ spindles, so womanhood was not merely given once and for all by one’s body but had to be repeatedly proven through the use of specific symbols. The symbolization of gender through weapons and weaving instruments was therefore not only a question of representation, but also of performance. Gender identity is something one does in the eyes of others, and weapons and weaving instruments served as the tools of that doing.

One might argue that there is a difference between biological sex, like the bodily properties allowing the ritual practitioner to identify the child as male or female, and cultural gender, like the use of weapons and spindles. But that division is difficult to maintain in an ancient context. Following Judith Butler (1990), I would argue that the recognition of the infant’s body as male or female would always have been shaped by culturally specific associations. We never see a naked body without a pre-existing filter of assumptions about what bodies mean and what they are supposed to look like. Biology always comes to us through the lens of discourse. Either way, in an ancient context that theoretical question is practically moot, since the biological bodies in question are lost to us. We do not have any kind of access to the sex of ancient individuals. All that is preserved are cultural products, such as texts and symbolic objects, so the construction of gender through cultural processes is all we can meaningfully hope to study (Helle 2018).

But crucially, the construction of gender in a social context is a far from stable process. Because gender did not emanate from an unchanging property of the body, but had to be constantly performed and made visible, it also became possible to negotiate gender through symbolic means. Gender could be reinforced, as in the birth ritual, or misperformed, as in *Two Woman B*, and below we will see that gender could also be transferred, transformed, disturbed, and turned against itself. Specifically, I will show that weapons and weaving instruments were used in a number of surprising ways to construct and reshape the gender of ancient individuals. Like all culturally significant items, weapons and weaving instruments were rich in connotations and symbolic potential. Over the following pages, I will delve into their ritual uses and poetic representations in ancient Near Eastern literature.

The manipulation of gender

A Hittite text known as “Paškuwatti’s Ritual” gives instructions for how to cure a man of effeminacy:

As regards the patient, I put in [his hands] a spindle and distaff, and he comes [forth] under the gates. When he passes [forwa]rd through the gates, I take away from him the spindle and distaff. I [g]ive him a bow [and arrows], and continuously

say thus: “Now I took womanhood away from you! I gave you manhood instead!” (Peled 2016, 311).

As noted in the introduction, masculinity was envisaged not as a constant condition that merely emanated from the body, but as something that could be built up or removed. The ritual employs the strategic potential that lies in the fluidity of socially constructed gender, that is, the possibility of actively manipulating gender through objects. By replacing female items with male ones, the ritual practitioner also replaces womanhood with manhood. And if masculinity could be constructed through symbols, it could also be deconstructed. Hoffner (1966, 331) notes a Hittite prayer with precisely the opposite intent of “Paškuwatti’s Ritual”, namely to undo masculinity. The ritual practitioner entreats Ishtar of Nineveh to impair the maleness of the enemy troops:

Take from the [enemy] men manhood, courage, vigor and *māl*, maces, bows, arrows [and] dagger(s), and bring them into Ḫatti. For those [*i.e.* the enemy] place in their hand the distaff and the spindle of a woman and dress them like women (Collins 2003, 164).

If taking away a man’s weapons meant taking away his masculinity, then gender must have been seen as a rather versatile affair. In other words, the construction of gender through items made gender as mobile as those items themselves, at least in a ritual context where the movement of objects was imbued with magical efficacy. As Hoffner (1966, 334) puts it, the ritual client became “a kind of living dressmaker’s dummy upon whom the practitioner could interchange the symbols which, accompanied by the proper spells, would effect the desired result”.

Across the ancient Near East, the power to manipulate gender was thought to reside especially with Ishtar, known as Inana in Sumerian, the goddess of love, war, paradox, and transgression (Harris 1991). Inana was said to overturn all regulations established by other gods, and she is repeatedly attributed the power to reverse the gender of her followers. The Old Akkadian priestess Enheduana sings to her: “To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inana” (l. 120, Sjöberg 1976, 190–191). Tellingly, this transformation is often accompanied by an exchange of weapons and weaving instruments. In *Ishme-Dagan K*, Inana is attributed the power

to turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man,
to change one into the other,
to dress young women in clothes for men on their right side,
to dress young men in clothes for women on their left side,
to put spindles into⁷ the hands of [men ...],
and to give weapons to women (l. 21–23 and edge, Römer 1988, 32).

Compared with the Hittite rituals, this passage takes the mobility of gender one step further. It is not only a matter of decreasing or increasing the masculinity of men, but of transferring masculinity to women and femininity to men. However, the passage

also reveals a further layer in the manipulation of gendered symbols. The passage describes three simultaneous but distinct operations – the reversal of gender, the reversal of gendered dress, and the reversal of gendered instruments. In other words, gender identity is depicted as consisting of three separate aspects: what one is, what one wears, and what one uses. To be seen as male one has to be a man, dress as a man, and use male items. It is possible to manipulate one of these aspects by manipulating the others – e.g. building up one’s masculinity by wearing weapons – but they remain fundamentally separate. Gender is not exactly the same as gendered symbols, though the two influence one another.

The simultaneous division and linkage between gender and dress made it possible for ancient individuals to disturb the seemingly straightforward equation between them. Some ritual practitioners associated with Ishtar, such as the *assinnu* and *kurgarrû*, are described as “carrier of the spindle” (*nāš pilakki*, Henshaw 1994, 301; Peled 2016, 272–277). The expression is a kind of conceptual oxymoron in Akkadian. The word for “carrier”, *nāšu*, is masculine, so a “carrier of the spindle” was both grammatically male and symbolically female, yielding a mismatch that disturbed the usual workings of gender.² The phrase suggests that the *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* wore spindles on their body during their rituals, indicating that their gender identity was neither unambiguously male nor female (for these figures in general, see most recently Svärd and Nissinen 2018). The three-fold division of gender into what one is, what one wears, and what one does thus allowed cultic performers to introduce an element of discord between the various layers. A similar logic is at play in Enheduana’s description of how Inana created the so-called “pilipili”, another distinctive form of gender identity: “She called for the pilipili, she broke the ... lance in pieces and as if she (the pilipili) were a male ... she (Inanna) gives her a weapon” (l. 82, Sjöberg 1976, 184–85, see also Svärd and Nissinen 2018, 390–391; Peled 2016, 267–270). Note that the pilipili is given the spear “as if she were a male” (*nita-gin₇*), meaning that she is not considered to be male as such (this may also be why Inana breaks the spear before giving it to her). Again, it is a purposeful mismatch between gender identity and gendered dress. This opens a rift in the underlying cultural logic, establishing a difference between gender and the way gender is made visible, thereby upsetting the social performance that was routinely associated with weapons and weaving.

The instability of cultural symbols

In the case of the pilipili and the carrier of the spindle, gender identity seems to remain largely unaffected by the reversal of gendered signs. The carriers of spindles are still grammatically male, and the pilipili’s wear a spear only “as if” they were male. But it is not always the case that gender identity remains stable. As we saw with *Ishme-Dagan K*, Inana had the power to change people’s genders as well as their dress, and the combination of the two could lead to unpredictable results. For example, the *Epic of*

Erra describes the destruction of the city of Uruk and the exile of its ritual performers. Among these are the aforementioned *assinnu* and *kurgarrû*, who are described as “those whose maleness Ishtar turned fe[male] for the awe of the people; carriers of swords, carriers of razors, scalpels, and blades, who break [taboos?] to Ishtar’s delight!” (l. IV 56–58, Cagni 1969, 110).³ The *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* are identified in two contradictory ways within the same stanza: they are both made female and made to carry weapons. Gender identity and gendered dress are thus portrayed as equally reversible, but they are also reversed in opposite directions.

To complicate matters further, in other texts *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* are identified with the epithet discussed above, “the carrier of the spindle”. In all cases discussed so far, even when there was a mismatch between gender and gendered items, at least each person carried only one such item at a time. However, the alternating attestations of *assinnu* and *kurgarrû* as carriers of spindles and of swords shows just how unpredictable gender becomes when it is constructed through mobile objects – the same individuals can carry spindles in one context and weapons in another (see also Garcia-Ventura 2014, 170). The symbols of gender could not only be flipped and reversed, but also doubled and combined, colliding or alternating with one another.

But there is a further layer of complexity at play here. So far, I have assumed that even as they moved around in various ways, the symbols themselves remained fairly stable, with weaving always representing femininity and weapons always representing masculinity. However, there are instances that suggest that these symbols were not always as easily legible as one might assume. For example, Laura Mazow (2017) discusses archaeological evidence from Iron Age Turkey of a so-called “weaving sword”, a tool well known from other ethnographic contexts. It is a sword-shaped beater used to press textiles together, pushing new rows of weft into the weave. It can be made of wood, bone, or metal, but as Mazow (2017, 11) points out, it can also be made by repurposing a sword originally meant for combat. Though weaving swords were not habitually worn on the body in the same way as spindles were, they are still a reminder that, functionally, the difference between instruments of weaving and warfare could be surprisingly small. In some cases, the materiality and practicalities of the tools led to a surprising symbolic ambiguity. The spindle is a case in point. Though it was clearly seen as a female instrument, the way it was actually used in textile production, in a continuous spinning motion, invited other symbolic associations as well: reversal, transformation, and change. Consider the passage from *Ishme-Dagan K* discussed above, where Inana is given the power to “to change one into the other” and “to put spindles into the hands of men”. The Sumerian word for “change” here is “bala”, but “bala” could also mean “spindle”. The juxtaposition of the two meanings in the same stanza gives the spindle an ambiguous connotation: it is a quintessential symbol of femininity but also connotes the reversal of gender. As a cultural sign, the spindle thus stands for its own negation (see Helle 2018, 29).

The same kind of double meaning might also apply to weapons. Many of the weapons associated with Ishtar are cutting weapons, like swords and daggers. As noted by Julia Assante (2009, 45), such weapons could also have signified Ishtar's power to transform the lives of her followers:

[The *assinnu* and *kurgarrû*] paradigm about wielding sharp-edged tools probably serves as an outward and ominous warning to the people of Ishtar's special power over individual fates. [...] The goddess's weapon-wielding functionaries remind the people that she keeps fate balanced on a razor's edge, as it were.

Assante suggests that weapons were not only symbols of masculinity but also of transformation. While the idea cannot be proven definitively with the evidence presently at our disposal, it cannot simply be dismissed either. We have to bear in mind that the symbols at work in ancient cultures were necessarily polyvalent, complex, and ambiguous, and Assante challenges us to keep these multiple meanings in mind at the same time. Like the spinning of the spindle, the edge of a sword might have indicated two things at once: a specific gender and the reversal of that gender.

Weapons and weaving in modern scholarship

I have argued that in the ancient Near East, weapons and weaving instruments served as symbolic items of dress, and that the representation of gender through symbols allowed for a series of complex cultural performances. However, modern scholarship has not always been sensitive to the depth of that complexity. Scholars tend to underplay the rich variation we find in our material, presenting instead a rather straightforward equivalence between sexes and symbols. Jerrold Cooper (2017, 113), for example, writes that:

I have grown more willing to acknowledge the power of nature and recognize the limits of nurture. The similarity of distinct basic gender roles in the vast majority of known cultures must to a large extent be determined by biological universals: women give birth and nurse, and men are, on average, somewhat larger and more muscular than women, giving them significant advantages in wielding weapons for the hunt and war.

I will not delve into the question of whether we can assume a causality between biology and cross-cultural patterns. Rather, what strikes me about the passage is the context in which it appears. Cooper makes this claim just after presenting a passage from *Enki and the World Order* where Inana is told that she can make men into women and women into men, and put spindles into the hands of male warriors. Cooper's account of biological difference thus seems to be at odds with the text that he is actually discussing. Even if the gendered patterns of weapons and weaving did indeed follow from the biology of our bodies, how would that help us understand the reversals that we find in our texts? As I see it, we cannot account for the complexity of culture by appealing to a supposed simplicity of biology (Helle 2018, 29).

Even when scholars do note a reversal of gendered dress, they often undermine its significance. For example, Jak Yakar and Avia Taffet (2007, 783) describe the association between spindles and femininity in ancient Anatolia, noting that “[i]t is generally maintained that in view of women’s natural ability to absorb the creative intricacies of weaving, this craft as well as spinning became the epithets of women’s wisdom, loyalty and housekeeping since prehistoric times”. They go on to discuss a Canaanite text that associates spindles with the goddess Asherah:

According to this myth, when her amorous advances to Baal were not reciprocated, Ašerah threatened to destroy him: “With my word I will oppress you; with my spindle I will pierce you!” This passage might reflect the existence of a popular belief that the spindle at the hand of a vindictive female with supernatural powers could be used as a lethal weapon (Yakar and Taffet 2007, 783).

The quoted passage clearly presents an inversion of the spindles’ usual connotations. Asherah threatens to use a spindle as a weapon, conflating a symbolic opposition that served as the cornerstone for the representation of gender in the ancient Near East. But Yakar and Taffet undermine the force of that subversion through the language of their discussion. According to them, the use of spindles in weaving springs from women’s “natural abilities”, while the use of spindles as weapons bespeaks “supernatural powers”. Household weaving is a natural epithet of femininity, and not only in the ancient Near East – it is something that is “generally maintained”. Weaponized weaving, by contrast, is merely a “popular belief” that seems fanciful at best (“*might* reflect”, “*could* be used”). Those who use their spindles for weaving are referred to as “women”, while the goddess who threatens to use it as a weapon is referred to as a “female”.

This kind of language registers a disinclination among scholars towards working with texts that depart from our conventions about the workings of gender. But if we cling to our contemporary and normalized expectations, assuming that symbols always function in the same way and with the same meaning, we risk missing much of the complexity, subtleties, and indeed the beauty of the texts we study.

Case study: *The Elevation of Ishtar*

An example of such complexity is a passage from *The Elevation of Ishtar*, a bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian text that describes the elevation of Ishtar to supreme kingship among the gods. It was most likely composed during the Neo-Assyrian period and was attributed by the ancient scholars to the lamentation priest Taqisha-Gula (Veldhuis 2018, 198–201). It is a highly difficult text, but a new electronic edition has recently been made available.⁴ In a crucial but fragmentary passage, the hymn collapses the symbolic contrast between weapons and weaving:

With knife and dagger, the sharp edge of a knife [...]
The ones who carry knives at their sides, Inana [...]
Their seven lions with raised paws [...]

With the dust storm stirred up by their running, [...]

 Protectress of womanhood, equipment, and the weapon of defeat [...]

 Inana, like the rope of your net, the *asag*-demon that no one can [...]

 And like a spindle, [...] a settlement.

 Lady, like [throwing] a discarded loincloth at the wicked one [...]

 For the wicked and the evil one, like [...]

 [...] straight like a taught cord, the good? spear [...]

 [...] catastrophe [...]

 Daughter of Sin, both your arms like [...]

 Lady, like a needle, the angry dagger [...]

 Your heddle, like a bow ... the tendon [...]

 May the arrowhead, piercer of heart and lungs, fly like a shuttle!

 Ishtar, make war and battle whirl around like a skipping rope!

 Like ball and mallet, lady of battle, let battles clash!

 Goddess of strife, pursue battle like playing with dolls!

 Lady, where weapons clash, play with the chaos like knucklebones!

 (IV obv. 3'-rev. 9)⁵

The passage is challenging to say the least, but in the last lines, the poetic structure of the text becomes somewhat clearer. Here the metaphors establish a similarity between what are otherwise opposite cultural symbols: play and battle, childish amusement and lethal danger. The shuttle of the loom is said to fly like an arrowhead, and as with Mazow's weaving sword, the text thereby points to a functional likeness between weapons and weaving instruments which undermines their symbolic opposition. Just like Asherah's spindle, here the female shuttle is given to power to pierce and penetrate as effectively as the phallic arrowhead. Weapons and weaving become one.

We may then move backwards through the text, tentatively assuming that something similar is going on in the more fragmentary part of the passage. Here, weapons are compared to spindles, cords, and needles, but surprisingly, the comparison also moves in the opposite direction: weaving instruments are compared to weapons, as when Ishtar's heddle is said to be like a bow. Weaving is a metaphor of warfare, but warfare is also a metaphor for weaving. The various images follow each other in rapid succession, alternating between the two sets of symbols and so making it difficult to keep of track of which is the source and which the target of the metaphor: needle, dagger, heddle, bow, arrowhead, shuttle... Taqisha-Gula thus develops what can only be described as a "poetics of mixed metaphors", applying it in full force to the representation of gender. The comparisons complicate any easy distinction between the two main gender signifiers of cuneiform cultures, folding them inextricably together.

Conclusion

In sum, *The Elevation of Ishtar* illustrates the three main arguments of this essay. Firstly, the passage relies on a broader cultural assumption that weapons were male

and weaving instruments female. In the ancient Near East, weapons and weaving instruments were always both tools and symbols, that is, both practical instruments and items of dress which were worn on the body to make one's gendered identity socially visible.

Secondly, the passage then goes on to undermine that cultural association, combining weaving and weapons in novel ways. Since gender identity was represented through items, it became possible to manipulate gender by moving those items around. Masculinity and femininity could be reinforced, impaired, reversed, or even subverted through the transfer of symbols.

Thirdly, the passage stresses the unpredictability of this operation. The movement of gender symbols led to complex and unforeseeable combinations. Men could become less male by wearing spindles, women could wear weapons while remaining women, men could be turned into women while wearing swords, and the same individuals could wear spindles in one context and daggers in another. It could even be difficult to tell which items counted as weapons and which as weaving instruments, since one could pierce with spindles and weave with swords. In the *Elevation of Ishtar*, this symbolic confusion is employed to highlight the power of Ishtar, who plays with chaos as with knucklebones. All rules can be overturned at her decree, and mortals can do nothing but bow to her might.

Notes

- 1 My heartfelt thanks go to the editor, Megan Cifarelli, for her kind and spirited support, and to the anonymous reviewer for the helpful suggestions.
- 2 Though grammatical gender is not always a clear indicator of either cultural gender or biological sex. See Helle (2018, 25, fn. 13).
- 3 The passage is a staple of discussions of non-normative gender in the ancient Near East. For previous literature, see e.g. Svärd and Nissinen (2018, 391–92), Peled (2014, 288–90), Assante (2009, 44–45), and Helle (2018, 32), with references.
- 4 Available online through the “Bilinguals in Late Mesopotamian Scholarship” project, at <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/blms/corpus>, under “The Elevation of Ishtar” (accessed 21 September 2018).
- 5 From ms. 1880–07–19, 281, edited by Jeremiah Peterson. Where the Sumerian and the Akkadian versions disagree, I follow the Sumerian.

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