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1943-2017

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THE *GIPARU* OF UR AS A PARADIGM FOR GENDER-RELATED TEMPLE TYPES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST¹

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In a project subsidized by the ERC, the origin of the Hyksos elites who ruled Egypt is addressed within eight research tracks comprising archaeological, historical and bio-archaeological methods. One of these research tracks incorporates a comparative architectural study.² This essay, which I dedicate to my longtime friend and esteemed colleague Lawrence Stager, is the result of a part of

this study, focusing on specific examples of sacred architecture in Avaris, capital of the Hyksos, and in the Levant and Mesopotamia. Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a³ is one of few Middle Bronze Age II sites with a sacred precinct in which a Broad-Room temple with a cult niche stands side-by-side with a Bent-Axis temple (Fig. 1).⁴ It seems clear that both shrines were of Near-Eastern type and originate

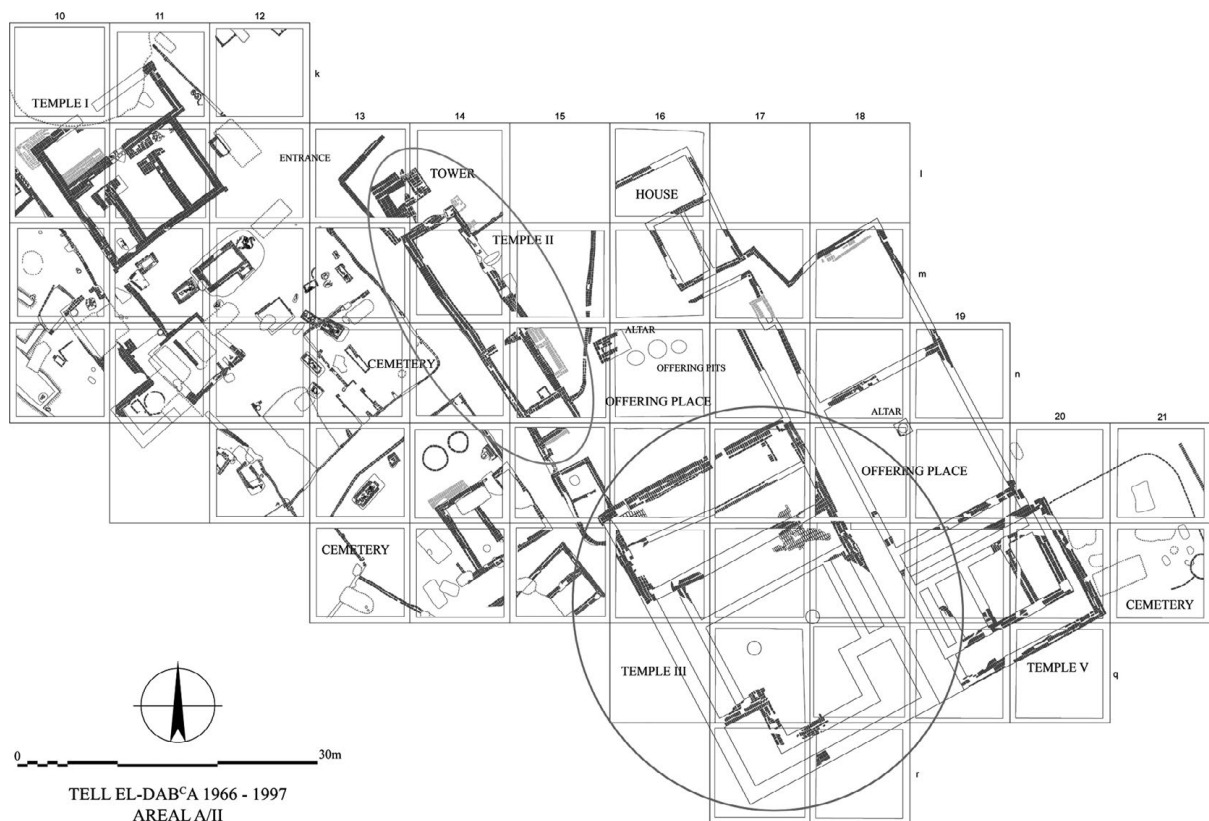


Fig. 1. The temple precinct of Area A/II at Tell-el-Dab'a (illustration by Nicola Math)

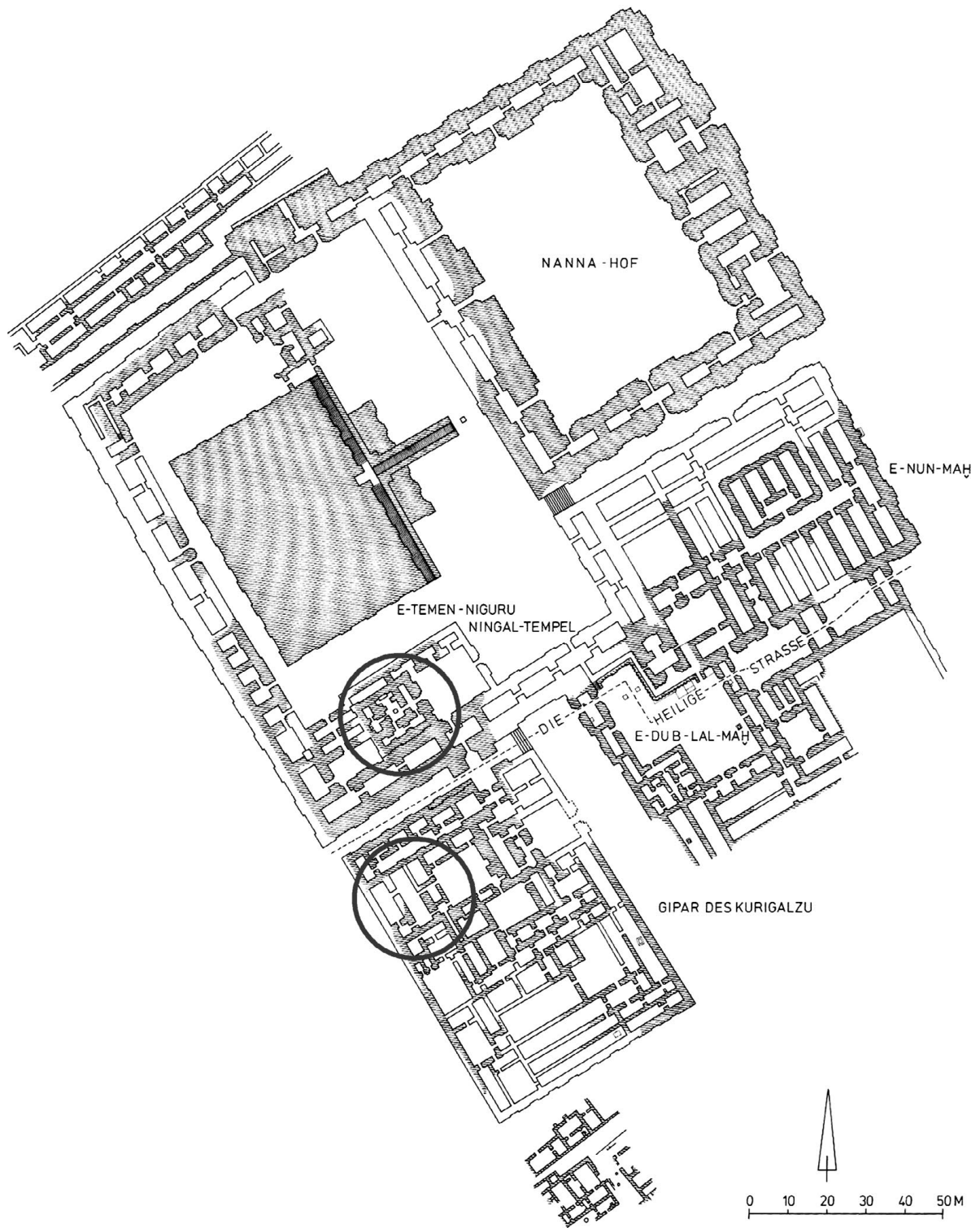


Fig. 2. The precinct with the Ziqurat of Nanna-Sin at Ur in the Old Babylonian and the Kassite Period (after Heinrich 1982, fig. 306)

from a population of foreigners of the Near East, settled in Egypt in the time of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period. Each temple seems to have been dedicated to a different divinity. As no inscriptions or cult objects were found which would indicate to which divinity each temple belongs, one has to employ other means to identify the gods to whom these shrines were dedicated.

Besides the Uruk type of temple, conceived mainly as a Middle-Room house with niched façades, the Broad-Room-, the Long-Room- and Bent-Axis temples were the most important types of sacred architecture in the Ancient Near East.⁵ They can also be found incorporated within the Middle-Room house category. In this article, we concentrate on the possible gender type identification of the Broad-Room- and the Bent-Axis temples. One key to understanding how different temple types may have been tied to specific kinds of divinities with a gender connotation, is the temple complex of the moon god Nanna Sin at Ur⁶ where it seems, at least in the second half of the 3rd and in the 2nd millennium BCE, that Broad-Room temples were built for gods and Bent-Axis temples for goddesses. Such a kind of pair dedication can be identified at this site in two cases.

The Ziqqurat of Nanna-Sin and the Temple of Ningal at Ur (Tell Muqaiyir)

This Ziqqurat is one of the best-preserved in Mesopotamia and goes back to the Early Dynastic period (Fig. 2).⁷ The major building phase is dated to the time of the Ur III Dynasty under the kings Ur-Nammu and Šulgi in the 21st century BCE. The building was repaired and changed repeatedly until the end of the Neo-Babylonian period. It was devoted to the most important divinity of Ur, the Moon-god Nanna-Sin. The precinct and its temples are all oriented with their corners according to the cardinal points.

The Ziqqurat covered a rectangle of 62.5×43 m² and can be reconstructed from the Ur III period onwards as a mound with three steps.⁸ On the uppermost step stood the temple which is, however, not preserved. It is reconstructed as a Broad-Room shrine because the rectangular upper terrace

dictates a rectangular temple and the ramp with the steps meets all the terraces together in the middle and therefore strongly suggests the entrance to the shrine was in the middle of its façade. Therefore, it must have been a Broad-Room temple.⁹ There were other temples on terraces where the ramp meets the platform asymmetrically at one side of the façade. In such a case, in all likelihood, a Bent-Axis temple can be reconstructed.¹⁰

The sanctuary of Ningal, the consort of Nanna-Sin,¹¹ is preserved only from the Kassite period (Fig. 3).¹² It is situated at the southeastern side of the Ziqqurat and is attached to the southeast casemate walls of the courtyard of the Nanna-Sin Temple.¹³ It is possible, or even likely, that this temple replaced an older one, as the Ziqqurat goes back to the Archaic period, and as there was a *Giparu* precinct (see below) that goes back at least to the Ur III period, to the south of the Ziqqurat compound.¹⁴

The sanctuary of Ningal was constructed of baked bricks. It had a square instead of a long procella and is only a peripheral representative of the Bent-Axis temples, but its access from the side with a bent-axis to the right classifies this building clearly as a Bent-Axis temple in a Middle-Room

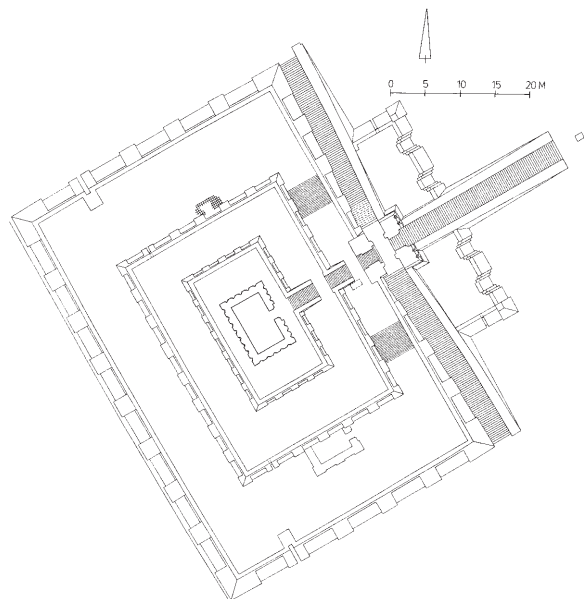


Fig. 3. The Ziqqurat of Ur with the reconstructed Broad-Room Temple (after Heinrich 1982, 223 and Woolley 1939, pl. 84)

scheme. While Ernst Heinrich identifies this shrine because it is combined with a courtyard as a “Hürdenhaus Anlage,”¹⁵ Walter Andrae identifies it as a “Herdhaus”¹⁶ which in his terminology is a Bent-Axis temple; in this case it is endowed additionally with a courtyard in front. The courtyard seems to have been added after the temple was constructed.

The access to the courtyard and the temple was from the northeast, the same approach as the Ziqqurat. The doorway with pilasters, an altar and a podium following the entrance and the doorway to the temple, also between two pilasters, are axially arranged. The squat courtyard of c. 15.10×13.50 m has rooms along its north side — possibly for storage of objects needed for the cult.

The nearly square temple of c. 15.2×17.2 m has niched facades with fortified corners. It could be considered as a Middle-Room-building. The dedication to Ningal and the builder-king Kuringalzu is secured by stamped bricks with the text of the foundation legend. The entrance leads into a narrow vestibule and the square central room (c. 4.5×5 m), which in a Bent-Axis temple is normally

a slim rectangular transversing procella or single-room shrine. It has benches along its southwestern walls. The cella is oriented towards the Ziqqurat and is a Broad-Room of c. 5×1.5 m with a cult podium. Parallel to the orientation of the Ziqqurat towards the southwest, there is a second cella; it is a Broad-Room with a niche and a cult podium. At its northwest side is a deep side-room, probably a sacristy. From the vestibule and the procella there is access to three more rooms that may have served to store cultic paraphernalia.

The Giparu of the Ur III till Old Babylonian period at Ur

This building requires a lengthier discussion as it contributes to our understanding of the combination of temple typologies tied to the gender of specific divinities and their relationship to each other.¹⁷ It incorporates rooms of different functions together with two shrines, one a Bent-Axis and the other a Broad-Room temple.¹⁸

This precinct is situated south of the Ziqqurat compound and was found below the Kassite

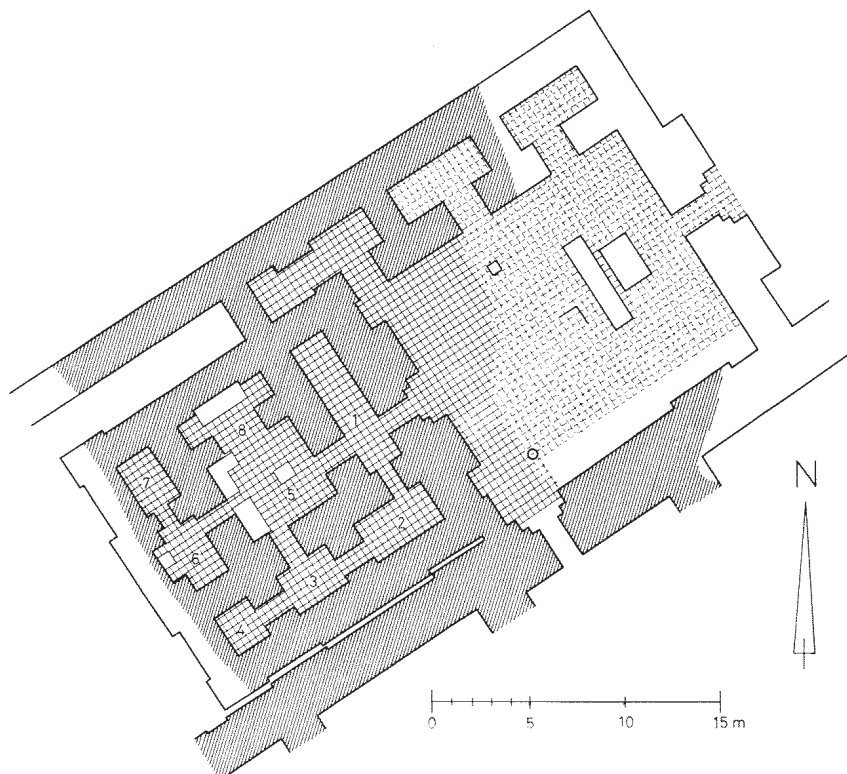


Fig. 4. The Temple of Ningal of the Kassite Period at Ur (after Heinrich 1982, fig. 301)

Giparu. It was destroyed at the end of the Ur III period and renewed and repaired several times afterwards. It is accessible from the south side of the courtyard of the Ningal Temple where a rabbeted doorway leads via one of the peripheral casemate chambers of the Ziqqurrat precinct out of the southeast gate of this compound directly to the northwest entrance of the *Giparu*. This southeast gate of the sacred precinct of Nanna-Sin was fortified by two towers, enclosing a rabbeted entrance niche.

The so-called *Giparu* was the abode of the *entu*-priestesses.¹⁹ From among them the human consort of the god Nanna was chosen for the ritual of the “sacred marriage,”²⁰ which is supposed to have taken place in the *Giparu*.²¹ Therefore, this precinct was closely related to the divine consort of this god, Ningal. Among the priestesses’ duties was also to provide for the comfort of Ningal. This relationship explains the architectural connection between the Ningal Temple and the *Giparu* (see below). It seems therefore possible, that the court and the doorways served processional rituals.²²

The *Giparu* is a unique and nearly square compound of 79×76.50 m (corresponding to c. 150×145 cubits).²³ Originally, a true square plan may have been intended, but the southeast enclosure wall of the Ur III period made the shortened version imperative. For this reason, the builders of the enclosure wall of the *Giparu* had in its southeast omitted a niched façade as it would have been invisible. The enclosure had a thickness of c. 5 m, its northwest side even 6.50 and 7 m.

The enormous enclosure walls should not be interpreted as an example of defensive architecture, but should be considered as having served rank and importance. Between the inner precinct and the enclosure walls with niches, there is a corridor of c. 1.50–2 m width. Along the southeast enclosure wall there was, for reasons mentioned above, no space for this corridor. Another corridor that transverses the compound southeast of its median line in a northeast-southwest direction divides the precinct into two parts. The southeast part is dominated by a Broad-Room temple with a courtyard while the north half is dominated by a shrine in form of a so-called Hearth-House — a Bent-Axis temple with two courtyards in its east

and a bipartite building in between the two yards. Most probably, the Bent-Axis Shrine was at the same time the residential building for the *entu*-priestess.²⁴ The northern part of the *Giparu* and its surrounding corridor were accessible by a north gate without pilaster fortification. The southern part could be entered from a separate south gate with pilaster fortification. This difference must have had a meaning that still has to be established.

Let us turn to the temple in the southern part first: A procella (C20) leads to a Broad-Room cella (C22) of equal size (both c. 12.50×3 m). In the middle of its back wall is a rabbeted niche that leads to an *adyton* (C27) towards the southwest, which is also the cult direction of the Ziqqurrat north of the *Giparu*. The *adyton* was created on a much higher level than the cella and was approachable by stairs on the left side of its access. It had a low podium for a statue of modest size. Left of the *adyton* is another even slightly larger room (C28) with a low platform inside that occupied half of this room. The absence of a rabbeted doorway means it should not be considered as a shrine. As it lacks the usual position of a sacristy, which is normally positioned at a right angle to the shrine, it is also not this sort of room, besides which a sacristy (C23) can be found at the northwest (right) small wall of the cella. Following a suggestion of Leonard Woolley, Penelope Weadock thinks that Room C28 was endowed with a bedstead where the sacred marriage²⁵ between Nanna-Sin and Ningal was ritually performed.²⁶

The cella and the procella had both rabbeted doorways leading from the rectangular courtyard (C7) to the *adyton* while the entrance to the courtyard had a rabbeted niche leading to Vestibule C3 and to the outside. Also, the other doorways of the courtyard are directed with their rabbeted niches to the outside. Of special interest is a very wide doorway to the southeast, leading to Room C8, which belongs to the peripheral rooms. A blind rabbeted niche (false doorway) points in the same direction towards the neighbouring satellite Room C11. Opposite it, to the northwest, is a rabbeted doorway leading to Room C13 that provides, via the neighbouring Room C14, access to the traversing corridor and to the other part of the *Giparu*.

In the courtyard of the Broad-Room temple,

Leonard Woolley found bases of statues, basins and an altar just in front of the entrance to the procella. To the right of it, against the wall of the procella, were four more bases of statues or stelae. Near the entrance into the courtyard from the northeast was once set up a stela of King Hammurabi. In the north corner of the courtyard a basin was found, most likely for ritual purification before proceeding to the inner part of the sanctuary. All the doorways from the niche until the entrance to the court were in-line with the axis of the temple. The vestibule (C3) was, however, not accessible axially, but from its southeast side, thus creating a bent-axis entrance. Most likely this layout had topographical reasons. The entrance from the southeast is fortified by two pilasters. This temple is enclosed on both sides at its northwest and southeast by a

succession of narrow rectangular chambers, in the southeast with two rows, in the northwest with one row.

Behind the Holy of Holies is a long traversing room (C31), accessible from the southeast satellite rooms. The latter seem to be storerooms and the former is the most remote unit and is situated directly behind the sanctuary. It could be tentatively identified as the treasure house of the temple.²⁷ Because of its position just behind the shrine, it could equally have served as the most secret room for the “sacred marriage” ritual. To the north of it is a well-preserved kitchen of three rooms (C32-C34) with direct access via the traversing separation corridor to two middle-room units (B5-B8 and A20-A24) and the Bent-Axis building (A26-35) in the northwest half of the compound.

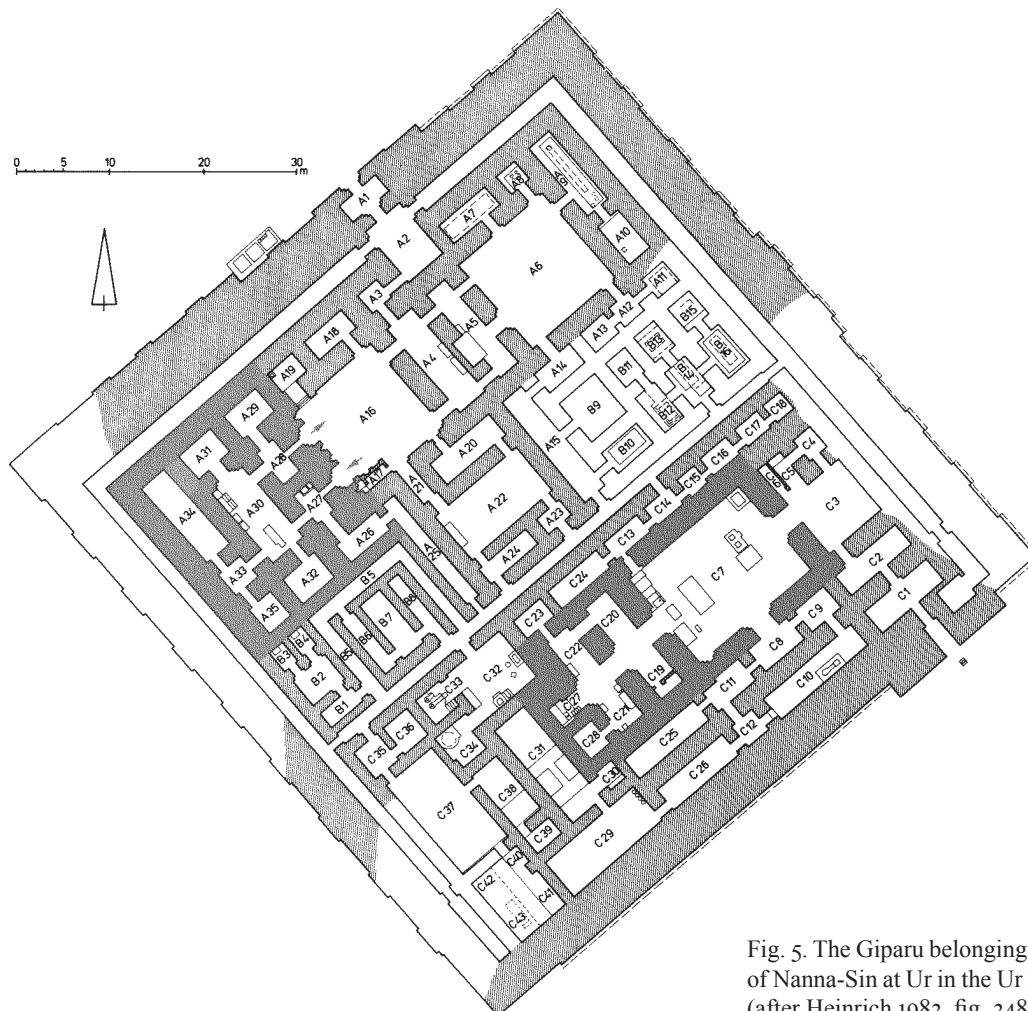


Fig. 5. The Giparu belonging to the holy precinct of Nanna-Sin at Ur in the Ur III- and Larsa times (after Heinrich 1982, fig. 248)

The westernmost units (C35-C43) of the southeast half of the *Giparu* are badly preserved and mysterious, especially as there is a corbel-vaulted subterranean chamber (C43) which may have been a tomb. It cannot be ruled out, that it belonged to an older phase of the *Giparu*.

The northwest part of the *Giparu* consists of two zones. The north one is a Middle-Room house, which was arranged like a Bent-Axis temple (A26-35), with two squat courtyards (A16 and A6) in front of it, separated by a building (A2-5) which must have served for purification rituals involving submersion into water. It consists of two rectangular units (A2-A4 and A3-4) providing access from the precinct with the Ziqqurat — the Nanna-Sin Temple.

In the southern zone, in its northeast, is a block in form of a house with tombs (A11-15, B9-15), the latter serving most likely as the final resting place for the *entu*-priestesses. In the centre of this zone follows a Middle-Room-building (A21-24) which may have served, according to Ernst Heinrich, as a kind of refectory²⁸ for the repasts of the *entu*-priestess and her entourage, because it has a near connection to the aforementioned kitchen (C32). By the thickness of its walls it belongs to the northern building unit with the Bent-Axis building (A26-35). The westernmost unit seems to have served a cultic function. It consists of a small double sanctuary whose cellae (B3-4) had rabbeted doorways. Each cella had a cult podium against its northeast wall. In front is a common procella (B2) with an asymmetrically positioned entrance that has a rabbeted niche leading to the outside, to a vestibule (B1) with a rabbeted entrance, parallel to the traversing corridor of the *Giparu*. Northeast of the double shrine is a kind of Middle-Room building (B5-8) with two opposite entrances from the north and the south into long narrow vestibules (B6, B8). The southeast entrance also had a rabbeted doorway, which indicates ritual use. This building is surrounded on all sides by corridors (B5), and in the south by the major traversing separation corridor through which it had short access to the kitchen (C32). The kind of rituals that were performed in this quarter is unknown. The middle room (B5-8) may have had a connection to the double shrines (B3-B4) which are directed

towards the Bent-Axis building (A26-35) which we believe, following Ernst Heinrich, was the residence of the *entu*-priestess. One may think therefore of an ancestors' cult. In the midst of the middle Room B7 were three stelae with the statement that king Amar-Sin of the IIIrd Dynasty of Ur endowed this for the goddess Ningal.²⁹ He was the brother of Me-Enlil who had been most likely an *entu*-priestess. This inscription, which is important for chronological reasons, shows the royal origin of the *entu*-priestess and the involvement of the dynasty in sacred architecture.

The northwestern zone of the precinct is the most important for the present discussion. A building in its southwest end has all the affinities of a Bent-Axis temple, conceived as a Middle-Room house. It has an elaborately niched façade towards the northeast with two rabbeted entrances. After passing two vestibules (A27, A28) with attached side rooms to the northwest and southeast, an elongated procella (A30) is accessed. Directly opposite the north entrance via A28 is a broad podium with steps, which had pedestals at both sides, most probably for officiating royal statues. In the southeast half of the procella, Woolley found a long rectangular mudbrick construction which probably served as a pedestal for a stela. On the floor of this room a fragment of a calcite vase with the inscription "to Ningal for the life of (king) Sumu-Ilu..." was found.³⁰ At the northwest end of the hall, three steps lead to a wide rabbeted doorway and a small room (A31), whose entrance has all of the attributes of a shrine except that there is no cult podium. If we follow Ernst Heinrich in his interpretation of this building as residence of the *entu*-priestess,³¹ this would be the location of the patroness' throne. Heinrich thinks of a sleeping room, but the position is too open and the room too small for such an identification. The better candidate for the sleeping room is the long unit (A33-35) at the northwest end of the building. It is accessible from a square anteroom, which also provides access on the opposite southwestern side to Room A35, perhaps a bathroom. Rooms A33 and A35 were both paved. The next adjoining room southeast of the hall (A32) and opposite the supposed throne room would have been suitable for a maid servant. It is a place from where one could overlook the hall, the "sanctuary"

(A31), and the entrance to the supposed sleeping room. As it was in all likelihood a residential building, access from the kitchen was provided via the southeast vestibule A27, its sub-room A26 and the corridor A25, leading to the traversing corridor of the building and directly to the spacious kitchen C32. The northern vestibule A28 was controlled from its northwest by Room A29, which could at the same time have been the sleeping room for another attendant of the *entu*-priestess.

The first courtyard (A16) in front of the temple/residence is nearly square and led through a doorway in the middle of its southeast wall via a short corridor directly to the southwest wall of middle Room A22 of the supposed refectory and via another doorway to its vestibule (A21). At the northwest face of the courtyard are two doorways at the left and right end. The left one leads with five steps to the rectangular Room A19 with a basin in its left back corner. The entrance was not rabbeted but its wide entrance was endowed with pillars. Perhaps it was a bathroom for those who lived nearest to the *entu*-priestess. Room A18 behind the right doorway of the northwest side of the courtyard was wide and rectangular and could have provided a sleeping room for a further attendant of the patroness.

Between the two courtyards (A6 and A16) of the temple/residence of the *entu*-priestess stood the aforementioned building for purification. It consisted of two elongated rectangular rooms (A4 and A5). Besides separating the two courtyards they also provided access to the outside, to the northwest entrance from outside, which was the main gate of the whole complex. This building was accessible from both sides by two doorways each of which provided direct connection between the two courtyards.

The second courtyard A6 is the same size as A16; it is nearly square and has doorways to rooms of different sizes (A7-A10) in the northwest and northeast. The long room (A9) was dominated by a long horizontal canal which issued into a shaft. It may have served washing or sanitary purposes for the entourage of the *entu*-priestess who were perhaps accommodated around this courtyard.

The *Giparu* was rebuilt in Kassite times. Again, the residence of the *entu*-priestess is a

Middle-Room house with the two courtyards in front of it, separated by a dividing building that was used, perhaps again, for purification. The poor preservation of the complex does not allow us to identify a temple in the southern quarter as in the case of its predecessor.

Interpretation of the *Giparu* complex

The *Giparu* was the residence of the *entu*-priestess officiating as the goddess Ningal, consort of god Nanna-Sin. This explains why her residence is in the shape of a temple with bent-axis in the mode of a Middle-Room building, adorned with rabbeted entrances. As the temple of Ningal is already present further north in this precinct, just southeast of the Ziqqurat, at least in the time of the Kassites, but seems to have existed earlier, it is illogical to identify the second temple in the southeast of the *Giparu* also as a temple of Ningal. The type of this temple as a Broad-Room with a niche would speak in favour of a male god who could have only been the consort of Ningal, Nanna-Sin. All the textual material found in this temple is not sufficient to identify this building as a temple for Ningal.

The whole precinct should be conceived as the residence of the *entu*-priestess — a palace in which its patroness, who was of royal descent and had divine status, lived with the god as his divine consort. The concept of a royal palace in which a temple of a god is incorporated is well-known from texts³² and architecture in the Ancient Near East.³³ Also the burial of the *entu*-priestesses in her abode reminds us of royal burials in palaces in Syria.³⁴ Altogether, the *Giparu* shows us the duality of two temple concepts: the Broad-Room and the Bent-Axis temples as abodes of a divine couple.

More examples of combination of the Broad-Room and Bent-Axis temples

More examples for the combination of these two temple types as abodes for pairs of divinities can be found in Nippur,³⁵ with a series of rebuilding that dates, however, to the 3rd millennium BCE (Fig. 5). *Ex-votos* such as stone bowls with inscriptions dedicated to Inanna help to identify the Bent-Axis temple as a shrine of this goddess.³⁶

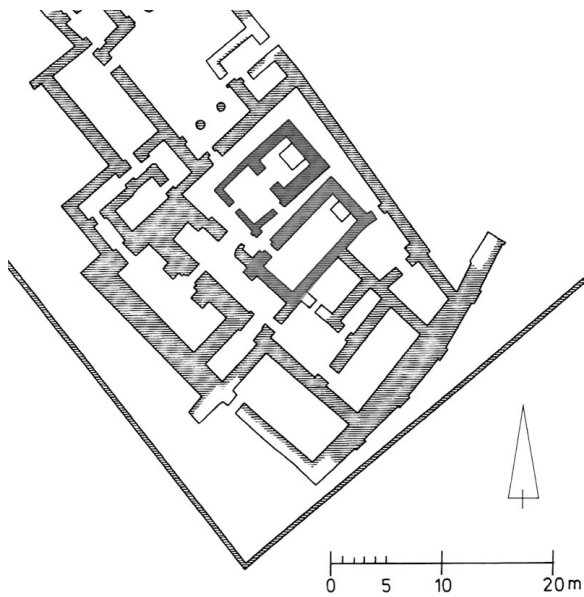


Fig. 6. The Twin Temple at Nippur (after Heinrich 1982, fig. 211)

In Ebla, beside the MB I-II Long-House temple attributed to Ishtar Eblaitu, a building is situated, the so-called “Priest-Barracks,”³⁷ which looks, however, like a typical Bent-Axis temple, very similar to Temple II at Tell el-Dab^ca (Figs. 1 and

7). The supposed sanctuary — its *cella* — in the west has a receding front wall like its comparable counterpart at Tell el-Dab^ca. The *procella* has two breaches in the front wall, one on the right side of the front wall and the other near the entrance to the supposed Holy of Holies. These breaches are exactly in positions where one would expect entrances or an entrance and exit. The right-hand breach is funnel shaped towards the inside and the second breach is funnel shaped towards the outside. They look like negatives of doorframes which had been removed by looters or for other building projects in the precinct. They seem to suggest an entrance and an exit as found at the front wall of Temple II at Tell el-Dab^ca. On the right-hand side of the façade, there is a projecting element. Inside is a division wall that looks like the typical foundations for a staircase. It is within the remains of the so-called “Priest-Barracks” in a similar position as the foundations of the staircase-tower of Temple II at Tell el-Dab^ca. The end wall in the west of the *cella* is missing. The ends of the side walls of the sanctuary seem to lean against the eastern long wall of the Ishtar Temple. This arrangement is unusual. Could it be that the end wall was chopped off by the MB I-II Ishtar Temple? If so, then the “Priest

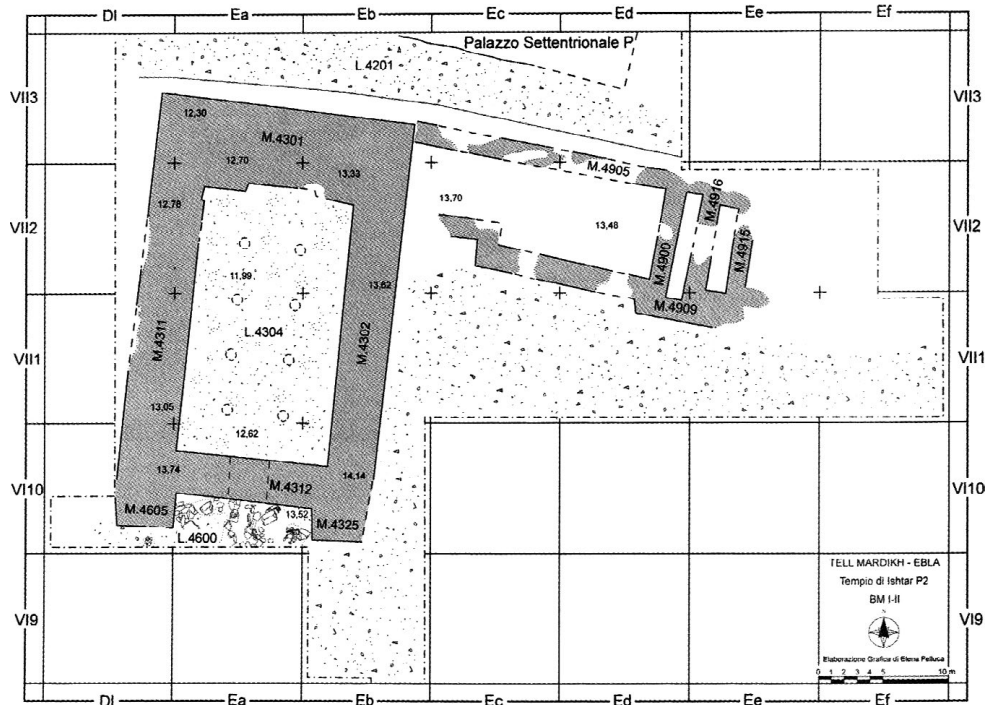


Fig. 7. The holy precinct of Ishtar at Ebla (after Matthiae 2016, fig. 18)

Barracks” preceded the Long-House temple, although while the latter building also dates to MB II, a construction date already in MB I is possible.³⁸ If the “Priest Barracks” preceded the Long-House temple, then this building could have been also its functional predecessor. This association would be more in keeping with the parallels of the Temples of Ishtar in Mari³⁹ in Assur⁴⁰ and in Nuzi⁴¹ which all had been Bent-Axis temples, some of them conceived as Middle-Room houses,⁴² some endowed with courtyards.⁴³ If the Long-Room temple and the “Priest Barracks,” which we identify as a Bent-Axis temple, existed contemporary side-by-side, then they would fulfil to some extent the juxtaposition we have met at the Giparu and in Nippur, except that one shrine is a Long-Room and not a Broad-Room, and the gender identification would be reversed.

Conclusion

Broad-Room temples may have been the shrines of male gods, in Syria the Storm-God. The temples of the Storm-God in Hazor/Areas A⁴⁴ and H,⁴⁵ in Aleppo,⁴⁶ and in Ugarit⁴⁷ were all Broad-Room shrines. There is perhaps another, but unusual, combination of a Broad-Room and Bent-Axis temple within one building in Late Bronze Age Tell Brak (Fig. 7),⁴⁸ dedicated most likely to the Hurrian Storm-God Teshub and, possibly, the back part of this shrine with a bent-axis plan was dedicated to his consort, the goddess Shaushka, associated with the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh.

While separate temples of the same kind are attested as abodes of divine couples, such as double Long-House temples *in antis*,⁴⁹ double Broad-Room temples⁵⁰ and double Bent-Axis temples,⁵¹ it appears that certain types of temples acquired gender connotation, at least in the late third and in the second millennium BCE. This finding may be further elaborated and may lead to a better understanding of the meaning of sacred architecture. At the same time, the distribution of the combination of Broad-Room and Bent-Axis temples (Fig. 8) shows that religious concepts, coined in Mesopotamia, reached the eastern Nile Delta before and during Hyksos rule, and were firmly established

there together by a Western Asiatic population that settled in Egypt by the late Middle Kingdom. It seems most likely that the northern Syrian Storm God and Ishtar/Astarte were the divinities introduced at that time in Egypt and were most likely the gods of the Temples II and III in Tell el-Dab^{ca}. A cylinder seal of local production with the representation of the northern Syrian Storm God as overlord of the sea and patron of the sailors was found in Tell el-Dab^{ca} in a 13th Dynasty context.⁵²

The place of origin of the architectural realisation of the divine duality seems to have been Mesopotamia. The concept was directly exported to the eastern Nile Delta by Western Asiatic elites who later became responsible for the Hyksos rule in Egypt. How this came about is still a mystery. As we lack parallels in the middle and in the southern Levant, the connection could only have been made by sea. This conclusion is supported by the aforementioned cylinder seal from Tell el-Dab^{ca}.⁵³

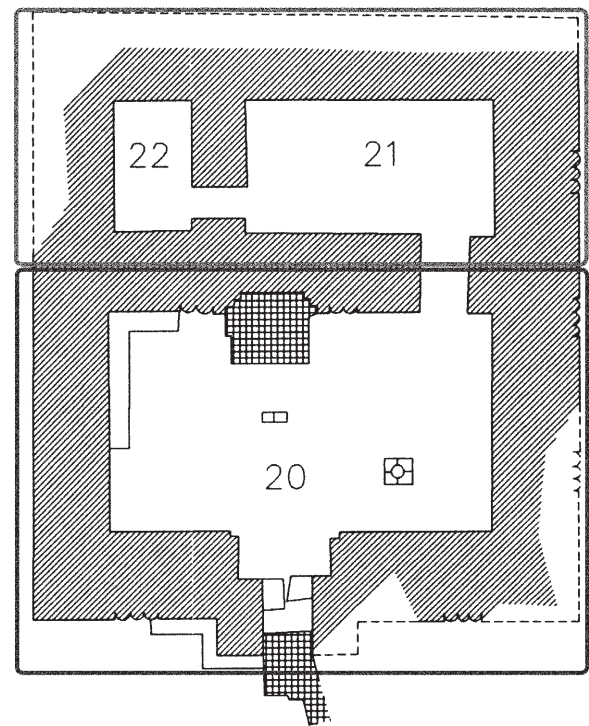


Fig. 8. The Mittanian Temple of Tell Brak (after Werner 1994, 137)

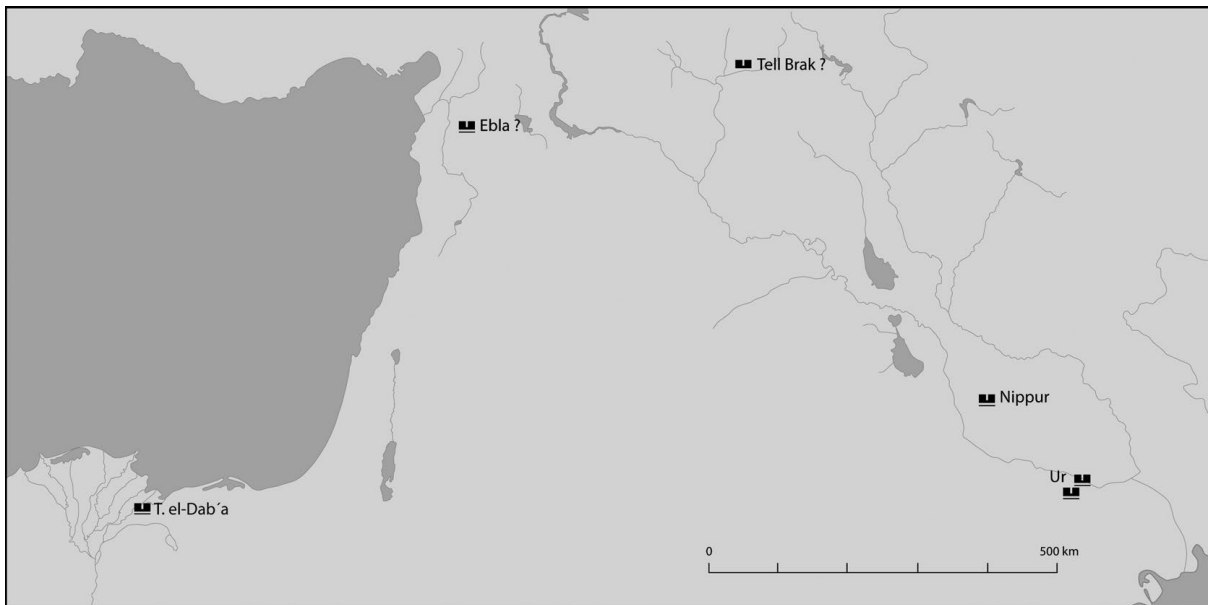


Fig. 9. Distribution of combinations of Broad-Room and Bent-Axis temples in the Near East (Illustration: Silvia Prell)

Notes

- 1 The author would like to thank Alexander Ahrens, Hermann Hunger, Paolo Matthiae, Frances Pinnock and an anonymous reviewer for kindly reading this article and for their advice, mistakes remain, however, his. The author is also indebted to Ezra Marcus for editing the manuscript.
- 2 In addition to the ERC, the author thanks the Austrian National Bank and the Paul Getty Research Institute at Los Angeles and Malibu, which promoted this project. The Getty Institute invited the author as a guest scholar to do research on this comparative study and provided all of the necessary facilities. In particular, I thank Alexa Sekyra, Director of the Foreign Scholars Program at the Getty Institute and Timothy Potts, Director of the Getty Museum in Malibu for inviting me. The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 668640).
- 3 For an overview of the site, see Bietak 1996, 1997a; 1997b.
- 4 Bietak 2009; Bietak 2016.
- 5 For a classification of Ancient Near Eastern temples, see Koldewey 1911, 14f. and the architectural historians Andrae 1930, 14ff., Figs. 8.11–17, and Heinrich 1982, 14f., n. 7., Figs. 38–58. For general literature on Ancient Near Eastern temples, see e.g., Albers 2004; Busink 1970; Kamlah (ed.) 2012a; 2012b; Kempinski 1992; Kempinski and Reich 1992; Matthiae and d'Andrea 2016; Mazar 1992; Ottosson 1980; Sala 2008; Warner 2008; Werner 1994; Wright 1985; Zwickel 1994.
- 6 Woolley 1939, 98–121, Pls. 79–84; Heinrich 1982, Figs. 154f., Figs. 223–224, 226, 228,
- 7 See previous note.
- 8 See n. 6.
- 9 Woolley, *loc. cit.*; Heinrich 1982, Figs. 224.
- 10 For example, the temple at Tutub/Khafadja of the Early Dynastic I period onwards (Heinrich 1982, 106f., Figs. 165–168). Another example with a still preserved example of a Bent-Axis temple on top of a stepped terrace, comparable to a Ziqqurat, is the shrine at Tell Mozan/Urkeš (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1998; Pfälzner 2008, figs. 14, 16, architectural reconstruction by J. Schmid).
- 11 Behrens and Klein 1998–2001.
- 12 Woolley 1939, Pl. 73, 75.
- 13 Andrae 1930, 20f., Fig. 18; Woolley 1939, 53–58, Pl. 72–73; Heinrich 1982, 226f., Figs. 301, 306.
- 14 Heinrich 1982, 185–188, Fig. 248;
- 15 Heinrich 1982, 226 f.
- 16 Andrae 1930, 20 f.
- 17 Woolley 1926; Lenzen 1955; Weadock 1958; 1975; Woolley and Mallowan 1976, 40–63, Pls. 1–11, 117–118; Heinrich 1982, 185–188, Figs. 248–251. See also Battini 2006; 2012. http://www.odysseyadventures.ca/articles/ur_of_the_chaldees/ur_article02gip.html



erc

- 18 Woolley and Mallowan 1976, Pls. 117–118.
 19 Weadock 1975, 101–105.
 20 Regarding the “sacred marriage,” see Nissinen and Uro 2008; Pongratz-Leisten 2008.
 21 *Ibidem*.
 22 Van Ess 2013.
 23 It seems that the same distance measurement of one cubit = 0.525 m. was often used in the Near East as in Egypt. This phenomenon deserves an in-depth study.
 24 Heinrich 1982, 188.
 25 See n. 21.
 26 Weadock 1975, 116–119
 27 A good parallel can be found behind the broad-room-cella at Ishkhali (Heinrich 1982, 189, fig. 253, room 4).
 28 This dining room is probably mentioned in the text about the repair work of the Giparu by the *entu*-priestess Enanedu of the Old Babylonian period (Weadock 1975, 109).
 29 Weadock 1975, 107; Heinrich 1982, 187.
 30 Weadock 1975, 122.
 31 Heinrich 1982, 170 f.
 32 We know of religious sanctuaries or temple rituals in palaces mainly from textual evidence: Labat 1939; Frankfort 1951; Behrens and Klein 1998–2001; Novák 2002; de Clercq 2004, 38–41, 92–99, 156–161, 168–172. This information was provided to me by Alexander Ahrens to whom I am most grateful.
 33 Architectural evidence of integrated sanctuaries and temples can be established especially at the palace of Mari: Margueron 1982, 545; Margueron 2004, 197–227, 254–259, Margueron 2014, 268f. and at Arslan Tash in the 1st millennium BCE (Thureau-Dangin et al. 1931). For Qatna, see Novák 2002. The other examples have the temple and the palace side-by-side as at Alalakh, Carchemish, but in the same compound such as in Khor-sabad (Loud 1936, 80–128, frontispiece and Figs. 98, 99, 115–126; Loud and Altmann 1938, 56–64, Pls. 2, 12–29, 79) and Tell Asmar (Frankfort et al. 1940, 9–26, Pls. 1–4).
 34 For example, Qatna, Hazor, Ebla, Ugarit
 35 Crawford 1959, 74–83; Hansen and Dales 1962, 74–84; Heinrich 1982, 133–134, Fig. 211.
 36 Hansen and Dales 1962, 74–84.
 37 Matthiae 1990a; 1993; 2016, 24–27, Fig. 18; Marchetti and Nigro 1997.
 38 This date is based on kind personal communication by P. Matthiae and F. Pinnock. However, both scholars reject my interpretation of the “Priest Barracks” as a Bent-Axis temple. Their reasons are that all other temples in Ebla are Long-Room temples, most of them *in antis*. They also think that the “Priest Barracks” were not chopped off by but attached to the Long-Room temple and, therefore, the relative construction date was: first the Long-Room temple and then the “Priest-Barracks.” I myself think the missing end wall of the Holy of the Holies of the “Priest-Barracks” and the non-alignment of the back walls of both buildings speak in favour of the establishment of the “Priest Barracks” first and the Long-Room temple afterward, but a co-existence seems also possible, as the excavators suggest.
 39 Parrot 1967, 22–34; Heinrich 1982, 130–132, Fig. 197; Margueron 2004, 241–248, 250–252.
 40 Andrae 1922, Pl. 1, 3; 1935; Heinrich 1982, 197, Fig. 282; Bär 2003; Schmitt 2012, 26–68.
 41 Starr 1937, Plans 12–14; Heinrich 1982, 221, Fig. 294. In Nuzi, where the Temple of Ishtar/Shauska was a Bent-Axis temple, the temple of the Storm God was also a Bent-Axis temple.
 42 Heinrich 1982, Figs. 148, 149, 171, 301, 309, 316.
 43 Heinrich 1982, Figs. 173, 174, 181–183, 197, 208, 216, 294, 301, 309, 328, 345; Parrot 1967, 22–34.
 44 Ben-Tor et al. 2017.
 45 Yadin et al. 1961, Pls. CCCXXIVf.; Yadin 1972, 95, Pl. XXa.
 46 Kohlmeyer 2000; 2009; 2012; 2016; Gonella, Khayyata and Kohlmeyer 2005.
 47 Schaeffer 1931, 1–14; 1933, 93–127; Courtois 1978, 1124–1295; Werner 1994, 135, Pl. 52/1–2.
 48 Oates 1987; Werner 1994, 136f., Pls. 54–56/1; Oates, Oates and MacDonald 1997, 13, Figs.
 49 Margueron 1995; Sakal 2012.
 50 Heinrich 1982, 189 f., Fig. 255.
 51 Heinrich 1982, 152f., Figs. 213, 216, 294.
 52 Porada 1984; Bietak 1990; Ühlinger 1990.
 53 See previous note.

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