

Shaping the Goddess Inanna/Aštar: Temple
Construction, Gender and Elites in Early
Dynastic Mesopotamia (ca. 2600–2350 B.C.)

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED

BY

MÓNICA PALMERO FERNÁNDEZ

TO

THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE SUBJECT OF

ARCHAEOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF READING

READING, BERKSHIRE

JUNE 2019

Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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ABSTRACT

The goddess Inanna/Aštar is usually described as the goddess of love and war, as well as the morning and evening stars (i.e. the planet Venus). Thorkild Jacobsen famously described Sumerian Inanna as being “*truly all woman and of infinite variety.*” She is also associated (together with the god An) with the city of Uruk, where she is described as the patron goddess of the Eanna religious precinct from prehistoric times. The interpretation of the deity is intrinsically linked with literary compositions from the Old Babylonian period, such as Inanna’s Descent, or Iddin-Dagān A hymn. However, the evocative power of such texts tends to overshadow the analysis of the evidence that exists for the cult of the deity beyond the literary character and obscures the critical investigation of the invention of traditions as legitimising practices that can build social cohesion as well as create inequality.

It is within the context of the shaping of elite identity and the onset of dynastic kingship towards the end of the Early Dynastic period that this dissertation explores, from a gender perspective, the construction of the identity and image of the goddess Inanna/Aštar. On the basis of the recontextualisation of archaeological evidence from three case studies (Mari, Aššur and Khafajah) and the analysis of commemorative practices and associated epigraphic material, this dissertation will demonstrate that, from an archaeological and textual perspective, the existing evidence does not support beyond reasonable doubt that Inanna/Aštar was worshipped in Uruk or elsewhere from prehistoric times. Instead, the flourishing of temple architecture during the Early Dynastic period suggests that such practices were the result of conscious efforts to circumscribe sacred authority in order to utilise it as a tool to reorganise social logic and eventually concentrate secular

power in the figure of a male ruler. Gender dynamics are examined in order to better understand the roles that male and female individuals played within the temples dedicated to the goddess, and how said dynamics and associated ritual practices co-constructed the image and identity of the goddess in relation with the construction of the image of the king.

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TO MY FAMILY.

Acknowledgments

THIS WORK COULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE without the support received from my supervisors, family and friends, and the larger academic environment at the University of Reading. Special thanks go to my supervisors at Reading, Prof Roger Matthews and Dr Wendy Matthews, who welcomed and supported me from the very beginning. I first sat in one of Roger's lectures at UCL as a Year 2 undergraduate. I instantly decided to take the Year 3 Archaeology of Mesopotamia module he convened at the time and asked him to supervise my undergraduate dissertation. One Bachelor's degree, a PhD thesis, and many reference letters later I can only thank Roger for being a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I am especially indebted to him for his kindness and support, and for the many stimulating discussions over the years (thirteen now!). I am also indebted to Prof Jacob Dahl at the University of Oxford, who very kindly agreed to supervise the more technical aspects of this thesis concerning cuneiform sources and associated secondary literature. I am grateful for the opportunity to attend Sumerian classes at Oxford and for the refreshing, and at times challenging discussions that made me reflect on my own assumptions and drive my analytical approach toward fruitful results. Finally, I wish to thank my examination committee, Dr Augusta McMahon and Dr Duncan Garrow, for their timely advice and suggestions that significantly strengthened the quality of this thesis. Their advice and suggestions have been invaluable, and any errors in the resulting work remain my own.

I am grateful to all of those with whom I have had the pleasure to work during this project, and those who have kindly offered their help along the way. I thank Prof Pascal Butterlin and the team at Nanterre University (Dr. Camille Lecompte, Dr Barbara Couturaud and the curatorial team of the Mari archives) for allowing me to carry out archival work on the Early Dynastic temples from Mari, as well as Prof Jean-Claude Margueron and Dr Sophie Cluzan (Louvre Museum) for stimulating discussions on the material from Mari that contributed to refine some of my research questions and my approach to the material. The research visit to the Mari archives would not have been possible without the support of the Rob Potter Memorial Travel Fund (University of Reading), which covered the expenses of this trip.

I have received some financial support to cover programme and conference expenses over the past four years. I thank the Sir Richard Stapley Educational Trust, the Allan and Nesta Ferguson Charitable Trust, the British Institute for the Study of Iraq, the Prehistoric Society, the British Association for the Ancient Near East, and the London Centre for the Ancient Near East.

I also wish to thank the many colleagues who kindly shared their research and engaged in discussions about sources, methodologies, and materials with me, and in doing so helped shape this work over time. Prof Dr Walther Sallaberger for his openness to explain and discuss technical aspects of third millennium administrative texts, for many critical discussions, and for sharing his work with me so that it would strengthen my own. Prof Paul Delnero for his continued support and dedication to read and comment on proofs of my chapters, as well as for his unwavering encouragement and overall good spirits that motivated me whenever I encountered an obstacle along the way. Dr Kate Kelley and Dr Kamran Zand for sharing sections of their doctoral theses that helped to clarify several issues in the textual evidence and for which my own expertise was limited at best. Dr Agnès Garcia-Ventura for inviting me to participate in the Second Workshop on Gender and Methodology in the Ancient Near East (Barcelona, 1–3 February 2016) and the stimulating conversations that ensued. Dr Magdalena Öhrman for offering her knowledge on weaving and textile production. Ian Herbertson for offering his sharp eyes to proofread this manuscript. I also thank Dr Gabor Thomas for acting as Panel Chair during my biannual supervisory committee meetings and the wonderful community of staff and research students in the Archaeology Department for always being so supportive and welcoming.

My friends have been a constant source of support and encouragement, as well as a shoulder to cry on whenever the cloud of self-doubt hung over me. In Reading, I was lucky to find myself part of a wonderful group of fellow doctoral students: ‘The Gang’ are Ian Herbertson, Matt Austin, Carl Gibson and Chris Foye. Our very different backgrounds and research topics meant we all learned from each other and I am grateful for the many conversations on politics that have made me as skeptical of politics and politicians in the UK as I already was of their Spanish counterparts. I am grateful to the colleagues in archaeology and assyriology whom I am lucky to count among my friends: Alexander Edmonds and Christoph Schmidhuber (my conference buddies since 2012), Rune Rattenborg and Anne Goddeeris (for making the *Rencontres* that extra special and for all the 80s greatest hits), and Lynn-Salammbô Zimmermann (my Sackler buddy, who I shamelessly abandoned while finishing this manuscript). All of them have made over the years attending research conferences one of the highlights of my summers. Charles Draper, who, although no longer in academia, continues to be a knowledgeable source of random facts and relentless energy. Finally, my close and dearest friends, without whom I would be truly lost: Georgia Ramirez (for all the dances, cups of tea and chicken nuggets a girl needs), Clare Brown and Ian Lucas (for more dances and all the laughs), Glen Scrymgeour (for everything and more), Cecilia Montero (for being there from the start), and María Ayllón (for getting me through school and beyond with your sarcasm).

Nobody has been more important to me in the pursuit of this project than the members of my family. My father, without whose financial support I could not have accomplished all my dreams. His belief in my potential coupled with a pragmatic stance have always guided me and kept my feet on the ground. My mother, who has always been there to listen, advice, help, and support me through each triumph and setback. My sister Laura, without whom I seriously doubt I would have a half-decent work ethic (you were always the studious one, and I obviously wanted to be like you). My baby sister Leonor, who has brought immense joy and love (and a little bit of Ištar) into my life. Paula, Alberto, Elisa and Natalia, who (finally!) became family along the way. Last but by no means least, I wish to thank Quentin, whose love and support over the past months have been tremendous.

All gods are homemade, and it is we who pull their strings, and so, give them the power to pull ours.

Aldous Huxley

[The] ancients believed certain things about their gods and acted on these beliefs. [...] [These] formed part of a coherent whole, a distinct 'mode' of experiencing things and events, one which may suitably be called the theocratic mode of experiencing.

Thorkild Jacobsen

1

Introduction

HOW ARE DEITIES SHAPED?¹ Much has been written about the identity and gender of the deity Inanna/Aštar in ancient Mesopotamia.² Many studies have been devoted to analysing literary compositions of a mythological nature, interpreting *who* the deity was: *her* qualities, *her* interests, *her* motivations and, above all, *her* behaviour. Oftentimes, these are attached to arguments concerning gender and sexuality. For example, her behaviour is often portrayed as a reflection of the condition of 'woman', sometimes with male attributes (her warrior aspect), or even as 'hermaphroditos'. The expression of sexuality through links with the sacred marriage ritual and sacred prostitution have dictated, under an orientalist lens, her portrayal as a 'virginal bride' or 'maiden' as well as a 'dangerous woman' with treacherous intentions. Meanwhile, as some scholars have pointed out, the role of her cult (that is, the range of activities in temples and other dedicated spaces) in the context of sustaining kingship over the land and enhancing social cohesion (Assante 2009; Pryke 2017) remain obscured by these archetypal discussions. Archaeological evidence concerning the deity's cult (artefacts and architectural structures) is often invoked to support claims based on the literary material, rather than studied in their own right as constitutive aspects of the deity. When the archaeological evidence is studied independently, the approaches employed tend to focus on aspects other than the deity (such as defining art historical or architectural typologies) with the effect that such

¹The quotation by Aldous Huxley is taken from *Island* (Huxley 1962: 246). Jacobsen's is taken from his last public lecture, the presidential address to the American Oriental Society on April 20, 1993 (Jacobsen 1994: 146–147).

²Inanna and Aštar are here differentiated in spelling because they likely corresponded to two distinct deities in the early periods. The spelling Aštar is used to differentiate the later spelling of the post-Sargonic syncretised deity Ištar, whilst Inanna continues to be used for compositions in Sumerian. Nevertheless, distinguishing the attributes of Inanna from those of Aštar given their shared logographic writing with MUŠ₃ remains open to discussion.

studies have had less impact on how religious thought and praxis are interpreted. Beyond the field of Mesopotamian studies—though clearly resting on available scholarly work, the deity has been the subject of studies on women’s psychological behaviour, was named as a role model for female emancipation, and has even become the object of devotion in a contemporary religious setting.³

What is distilled from these approaches is a certain normative approach to *how* a certain gender *should* behave. If we cannot define Inanna/Aštar’s gender, then we cannot prescribe her behaviour, and thus, we cannot *understand* her. Furthermore, it is difficult to escape the irony in the fact that many of the written ancient texts must have been originally composed by male authors, whilst modern interpretation of the texts was largely the result of work carried out by male scholars. Can this combination truly elucidate the concept ‘woman’ or ‘feminine’? Certainly, if written by women, this would not automatically imply that their work would constitute a more faithful rendition of what these concepts mean. What I want to highlight is the problematic at the core of defining these concepts as static and monolithic, rather than in a constant process of re-interpretation. This point forms the core of third-wave feminist critique, especially in Judith Butler’s work on performativity and her political genealogy of gender ontologies.

Despite the recent influence of feminist approaches on the interpretation of Inanna/Aštar’s gender, role and status, there are two elements that have perhaps not received as much attention: a) a genealogical inquiry into the processes through which her gender was constructed, and b) a more active engagement with materiality as intrinsic to a theory of gender performativity. These two elements hinge on the position that approaches to defining the goddess usually assume that the gender of deities reflects that of humans, and that they often mistake ‘performativity’ for ‘performance’. The latter assumes a normative approach to archaeological evidence in which artefacts (including buildings) are seen as reflections of pre-existing ‘cultural norms’ in the case of culture-historical approaches, and of social values or meaning in the case of interpretive approaches, rather than being *constitutive* of such constructs. To paraphrase Conkey (2008: 49) when she stated that archaeology needs to be regendered by questioning the notions of gender which have been applied, my approach seeks to regender the notions of gender that have been applied to the divine world, inquiring how the categories of ‘goddess’ and ‘god’ and the relations between them and humans have arisen and changed over time.

In order to understand how the ‘idea’ of Inanna/Aštar was shaped, it is here proposed that the Early Dynastic period⁴ constituted a critical period in the shaping not only of the physical abodes of deities, but also their human-like corporeality, which appears to have emerged towards the end of this period. That this period is critical to understand these mechanisms and their effects is evident in the explosion in temple construction experienced during the late ED period or the new practice of placing specific types of possibly ritual deposits under the foundations of the newly built temples.⁵ Furthermore,

³A *Temple of Inanna and Dumuzi* operates in the San Jose area, California, and was founded in the 1980s (<https://www.facebook.com/Temple-of-Inanna-and-Dumuzi-76444813341/>). A publishing house named “Inanna” focusses on “*essential reading for feminists the world over*” (<https://www.inanna.ca/>).

⁴See Section §3.4 for the relative and absolute chronology framework used throughout this thesis.

⁵For clarity, the term ‘temple’ is used throughout this dissertation to refer to buildings traditionally identified as such in the literature. The problems associated with this term range from the definition of a place or locale of worship to the economic and ritual activity associated with a specific type of architectural setting. The term was mainly adopted from the Classical and Biblical traditions to refer to spaces in which burning offerings were

it is during this period that the development of visual narratives alongside textual ones incorporated for the first time elite individuals and deities in the same registers, leading to the creation of interactive narratives between deities and humans. In this context, one may inquire: under which circumstances was Inanna/Aštar's personality and corporeality produced and reproduced? And to what end(s)? What were the cultural, sociopolitical and socioeconomic advantages of sustaining an anthropomorphic gendered divine world?

Certainly, the same processes applied to other deities, though not all. The Mesopotamian divine world is often portrayed as a society, yet such a representation is probably more the product of scribal traditions than a social reality with which the inhabitants of the cities of ancient Mesopotamia lived (Hundley 2013: 72 n. 22). Furthermore, it is rarely the case that the society of deities conforms to our own modern gender norms, both socially and physiologically. For example, the god An is notoriously not depicted in human form, nor does he seem to interact with humans as much. Another example is Enlil, of whom few human-like depictions exist. The reasons behind the choices made in the representation and popularity of deities are certainly of importance, but they exceed the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, Inanna/Aštar's importance during the Early Dynastic period is strongly reflected in the numerous temples dedicated to her that were built under the concerted efforts of rulers and elites, which contrasts perhaps with other deities to whom temples were not built beyond their 'traditional' locations. Once again, there is little information on An; but more importantly, there is no unequivocal evidence for temples dedicated to Enlil before the Akkadian period, to which the Ekur in Nippur can be traced. In the Lagaš territory, Bauer (1998: 470) notes that while the temples of the ancient local gods were rebuilt after every catastrophe, the few efforts to build temples to Enlil failed. What do these differences mean in terms of how individual deities were shaped and transformed as they became part of social and political narratives through the organisation of the built environment? On a broader level, was the gendered configuration of the divine world and the institutionalisation of religion in Early Mesopotamia partly the result of the development of social structures on the supra-household and regional levels such as kingship, priesthoods and other social elites?

Although this question is too broad to answer in the space of a doctoral dissertation, it serves to frame the research question of this thesis: *What role did temple construction and elite gendered commemorative practices—as elements in the construction and legitimisation of kingship—during the Early Dynastic period play in shaping the image and identity of the goddess Inanna/Aštar?* The project recognises and values the interconnectivity of ritual, normative action and the performance of power as channelled through the negotiation of power relationships between elites—women and rulers in particular—and the divine world, positing the hypothesis that the performative enactment of these relationships amplified the gendered

made before cultic statues, as reflected in the use of the term *Herdbaus* to describe the archaic temple of Ištar in Aššur, which shall be discussed in Chapter 5. However, the concept of 'temple' in Mesopotamia is intrinsically associated with that of 'house' or 'household'. The proto-cuneiform signs AB_a (later reading eš, 'temple') and E₂ represented households (Englund 1998: 74 n.148). However, it is not clear whether the represented households nominally headed by deities or whether they were mainly secular organisations (though their members may have a range of ancestors and/or a 'household deity' associated with the organisation). The concept of household is thus complex, as it may cover both kinship ties and administrative functions, with an eventual extension into centralised class-based administration in the Early Dynastic period in which the relationship between religious and secular power is not yet fully understood. See also p. 31.

configuration of a highly malleable and fluid divine world. It focusses on temple construction as the medium through which these changes were materialised and institutionalised.

In order to answer the research question, I have identified four objectives as necessary steps to deconstruct the long-standing focus on gender regarding Inanna/Aštar and recontextualise, within an intersectional framework, temple construction and commemorative practices in relation with the shaping of the image and identity of the goddess:

- a) To unpack long-standing assumptions regarding the identity and image of Inanna/Aštar in the literature, including textual, art historical, and archaeological approaches. This review of the literature will frame the context in which a study of the Early Dynastic appears critical to understanding the construction of the concept of Inanna/Aštar.
- b) To produce an interdisciplinary and contextual methodology that caters for the theoretical limitations in the analysis and integration of textual, visual and archaeological evidence, and which aims to avoid gender bias in its interpretations.
- c) To carry out a re-examination of three case studies as a means to test the usefulness of the approach and formulate preliminary conclusions based on the results obtained. This analysis will include individual re-analysis of each excavation, as well as the comparative analysis of architecture and sociopolitical landscapes on the one hand, and of selected artefact categories associated with the performativity of gender and politics on the other (statuary, stone vessels, stone plaques and inlays).
- d) To frame the implications of the results obtained in the wider social context of the time period under examination by introducing select data from contemporary and other relevant sources.

Each objective adds layers of deconstruction and re-contextualisation that together open up the field to the construction of new narratives and approaches that move beyond the binary or monolithic. What does this approach offer to the study of gender in ancient Mesopotamia and to the field of Mesopotamian archaeology in general? In a seminal article, Conkey (2007) has questioned how feminist and gendered approaches in archaeology tend to become “ghettoised” in the field, restricted to ‘gender archaeology’ and topics such as domestic contexts, women, or childhood. Conkey argued that, simply put, the employment of such critical positioning acknowledges the fact that there are always “situated knowledges” in archaeology. By re-gendering theory, Conkey means having theory that is “*explicitly sensitive to the contextual factors, that is, responsive to context*” (Conkey 2007: 304). This is one of the driving forces that underpin this study. As such, I would like this work to contribute towards the development of a contextual approach that critically incorporates archaeological, textual and art historical data, that is concerned with the mechanisms through which social change is effected and the implications of those mechanisms’ effects, and which aims to explain the configuration of social categories such as gender or status from an emic perspective. Focussing on employing a feminist approach such as performativity to address questions beyond the concept of ‘gender’, Conkey asked:

What might a feminist approach to theory look like in archaeology? At its core, it would be about knowledge and power, difference and identity, social life and the social production of belief and praxis.

(Conkey 2007: 306)

In this sense, this thesis is not about defining *who* Inanna/Aštar was or redefining her gender. It is about understanding the social context in which her image and identity—which incorporate the notion of gender—were produced. As I shall argue in this thesis, this shaping process was entangled with contemporary social and political changes and was materialised through the political action of temple construction and ritual activity linked with the legitimisation of power. In doing so, this thesis aims to shift the attention towards the structures of power, of difference and identity that shaped social life and the production of belief and praxis.

Two quotes framed the introduction to the present study, one from well-known author Aldous Huxley's *Island*—an Utopian synthesis of Eastern religion and Western science—and one by assyriologist (and field archaeologist at times) Thorkild Jacobsen on Mesopotamian religion. These illustrate the fundamental rationale of this research project, which stems from the theoretical position that the relationship between the divine world and human society is a seamless process that never ceases to repeat itself and yet it is ever changing: it is a reciprocal process which, although perhaps experienced as Jacobsen's "theocratic mode of experiencing", is nevertheless ultimately initiated through human action, as expressed in Huxley's metaphor.

With Inanna everything had to be right away. [...] And in this there is something characteristic of Inanna. She destroyed those she loves or, at any rate, they come to grief. [...] An aura of death and disaster surrounds her. In Inanna, then, an unusually interesting and complex character has come into being [...]. She is become truly all woman and of infinite variety.

Thorkild Jacobsen

2

Inanna/Aštar, Kingship and Temple Construction in Early Mesopotamia: Research Contextualisation

THE GODDESS INANNA/AŠTAR¹ has been the object of a large number of gender-focussed studies.² The contouring of alternative, competing as well as complementary genders ('feminine', 'masculine', 'androgynous') and implied sexualities ('virgin', 'whore', 'femme fatale') on her body, and the exaltation of the concept of 'liminality' associated with her role(s) should now appear familiar to many scholars. However, there are some concerns that many of these studies have tended to distort primary sources to fit erroneous preconceptions about a sacred marriage ritual (and sacred prostitution by association) that have diverted attention from a holistic approach to cultic context and ritual activity in connection with the goddess (Assante 2009). Jacobsen's now classical history of Mesopotamian religion, *The Treasures of Darkness* (Jacobsen 1976), in which he laid out an evolutionary account of the anthropomorphisation of Mesopotamian deities with the advent of kingship in the 3rd millennium B.C., continues to focus the attention on the

¹The quotation by Jacobsen is taken from *The Treasures of Darkness* (Jacobsen 1976: 143).

²A selection of these studies shall be discussed in the following sections. Many of the early works on the deity were not explicitly about gender but focussed on aspects of a monolithic 'femininity', especially fertility and the sacred marriage ritual as an expression of a fertility cult (e.g. Kramer 1969, 1985; Jacobsen 1976: 135–43). Meanwhile, more recent literature has focussed on the problematisation and reconsideration of the deity's gender explicitly (e.g. Frymer-Kensky 1992; Groneberg 1986; Harris 1990/91; Leick 1994, or the articles in the journal *NIN* issue 1 (2000) dedicated entirely to the goddess). More details of the literature on Ištar's sexuality are given in Assante 2009.

goddess to her gender and sexual preferences as key aspects of the interpretations of her image and identity. The quotation at the beginning of this chapter highlights the subservience of all of the deity's activities to the vicissitudes of romantic love: even if Jacobsen acknowledges her dimension as a warrior deity, this aspect is articulated as the result of the goddess' approach to love rather than a quality in its own right; or, at the very least, this is not investigated further. Furthermore, although Jacobsen suggested a possible early syncretism of several deities (including the Semitic Aštar) to account for the multiplicity of character of the goddess—especially the warrior aspect associated with the Semitic goddess—his conclusion that she had become “*truly all woman and of infinite variety*” continues to drive scholarly work focussed on her gender and sexuality. For example, both Groneberg's (1986) “hermaphroditos” and Harris's (1990/91) “paradox” focus on the goddess's gender bi-polarity, which is implicitly understood as masculine and feminine traits.

The polarization of Inanna/Aštar's sex and gender into masculine and feminine stems from a few lines in literary texts, her identification with the morning and evening star—which sometimes appear to at least have a grammatical gender—and the interpretation of some gendered expressions. All of this textual evidence is scattered over more than two millennia of written tradition. Meanwhile, the visual representation of the goddess appears consistently anthropomorphised in the shape of a human female body, yet the implications and genealogy of her visual representation remain under-theorised. Finally, archaeological remains are often used to strengthen the already established narrative, rather than examined independently. This state of affairs tends to affect prehistoric remains in particular, since texts are not available to confirm the interpretation. A clear example of this practice concerns the Late Uruk remains in the area known as the Eanna in Uruk, and the transition into the Early Dynastic period. The subservience of archaeological remains to the study of Mesopotamian religion—if such a concept can indeed be applied in this case—cannot by any means offer independently-obtained results and often falls into a pattern of confirmation bias.

This chapter offers a review of the literature concerning both the archaeological and textual foundations for the interpretation of the image and identity of the goddess Inanna/Aštar. First, I shall frame the context of interpretive bias concerning the goddess Inanna/Aštar during the Early Dynastic period through the examination of two key sets of textual sources that have taken centre-stage in the process: *a)* Old Babylonian literary texts; and *b)* the late 4th millennium B.C. textual evidence from Uruk. After reviewing these two sources, I shall move on to the Early Dynastic period to demonstrate how the previous two branches of research have effectively “sandwiched” the material from this period without affording it further scrutiny. Through this review, I shall frame an existing gap in scholarly work on the material foundation of Inanna/Aštar's cult during the Early Dynastic period, positing that it is critical to understand the shaping of the image and identity of the goddess through its reflection in the ritual roles of elite women, the emerging figure of the king, the legitimisation of his power, and how temple-construction played an important role in these processes.

2.1 TEXTUAL APPROACHES: IN SEARCH OF VENUS AND THE SACRED MARRIAGE

The use of later textual sources to reconstruct the image, identity and cult of Inanna/Aštar from the Late Uruk to the early 2nd millennium B.C. is highly problematic. Whilst the paucity of evidence from the earlier periods limits what can be said concerning the world of deities and the dimensions of religious thought and ritual activity in Early Mesopotamia, such a limitation cannot be overcome through the use of semantic and linguistic referents far removed from the context of religious and ritual action in the 3rd millennium B.C. However, this is precisely what happened in the case of Inanna/Aštar. The influence of later traditions from the Graeco-Roman and Biblical worlds over the interpretation of primary sources on the sacred marriage is undeniable (Assante 2009), whilst the breath of literary texts from the Old Babylonian period offered a stepping stone in the scholarly argument for a prehistoric Venus deity through arguably creative readings of the earliest cuneiform texts from Uruk dating to the late 4th millennium B.C.

The following subsections trace these influences sequentially. First, a review of the Old Babylonian literary texts offers the bulk of the material employed in reconstructing the role(s) of Inanna/Aštar as Venus, the morning and evening star, and in the sacred marriage ritual. The Old Babylonian copies critically defined the interpretation of earlier sources from the Ur III period, for which primary texts are hard to come by. These discrepancies shall be also discussed. I will then move back in time to the Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr period and the work of Szarzyńska in particular (though not limited to her), which I will argue shows bias in favour of finding evidence to support the later Neo-Sumerian sources on Uruk and Inanna's role in the so-called Sacred Marriage, rather than analysing the evidence in its contemporary context. Finally, I will briefly discuss later sources from the 1st millennium B.C. before moving on to discuss the Early Dynastic period in the next section.

2.1.1 THE EARLY 2ND MILLENNIUM B.C.

In his 1982 article *“A Catalogue of Near Eastern Venus Deities”*, Heimpel attempted to review the evidence available on the matter of Near Eastern deities associated with the planet Venus, or, rather, with the morning and evening stars as it was known in ancient Mesopotamia. His main contribution towards detangling the nature and origins of the ambiguous characteristics of Inanna/Aštar was the suggestion that *“they are all interrelated, yet derive from two different roots: a female Sumerian Venus deity and a male Semitic one”* (Heimpel 1982: 59). Although Heimpel clearly states that the link between Inanna and Venus is prehistoric, no evidence is put forward to support this statement and the earliest textual reference cited is an inscription of Amar'Suen's (2046–2038 B.C.) (RIME 3/2.1.3.14; Heimpel 1982: 60). The references cited from the Ur III period mention Nin'sianna (^dnin-si₄-an-na), whose name is translated ‘divine lady, illumination of heaven’, and has been described as both male and female. However, some of these sources are Old Babylonian copies and their authenticity is far from clear, as shall be discussed below (see p. 14f.). Heimpel also suggested that the sign SI₄ meaning su ‘to be red’ could hint at an original etymology based on the colour of the sky at dawn and dusk—when Venus is visible (Heimpel 1982: 11). This dual nature, as well as the equation of this deity with Ištar *kakkabi* ‘Ištar of the Star’ in Old Babylonian copies of

the An = Anum god list (Heimpel 1998–2000) have supported the interpretation that, by extension, Inanna/Aštar was a Venus deity from prehistoric times (Selz 2000). However, Nin’sianna does not appear in the Fāra god list (Krebernik 1986) and seems to appear for the first time in the Ur III period, already syncretised with Inanna as Venus (Heimpel 1998–2000).

The main literary text cited in connection with Inanna as the morning and evening star is the famous hymn of Iddin-Dagān (1974–1954 B.C.). This text is interpreted as describing the ritual marriage of the ruler with the goddess, which here appears as Nin’sianna (Iddin-Dagān A, ETCSL 2.5.3.1). This text is, overall, the main evidence put forward in support of the identification of Inanna with Venus and her dual function as morning and evening star during the early periods of Mesopotamian history, which also links with the so-called Sacred Marriage ceremony. However, the fact that Nin’sianna does not appear in the earlier god lists together with the unclear dating of supposedly earlier compositions of which only Old Babylonian copies exist deserve further attention.

THE SACRED MARRIAGE RITUAL IN ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA

The existence of a sacred marriage ritual in ancient Mesopotamia is controversial, largely because there is not a Sumerian or Akkadian expression that corresponds to this concept, which was borrowed from the field of Classical studies (Bidmead 2002). As McCaffrey points out, “*the vague boundaries of this externally derived classification and the lack of a theoretical framework provide reason for concern for what qualifies as a sacred marriage*” (McCaffrey 2013: 227). From the perspective of the literary tradition, scholars have proposed a variety of interpretations of the rite that range from a symbolic union on paper only to the performance of a real sexual act between the king and, supposedly, a priestess as surrogate for the goddess (see summaries by Cooper 1993; Sefati 1998: 19–21; Lapinkivi 2004: 1–14; Pongratz-Leisten 2008). The problematics attached to such specific interpretations appear clear given the use of allusions and metaphors that hinder interpretation. The main sources for its interpretation are the hymns known as Šulgi X and Iddin-Dagān A (ETCSL 2.4.2.24 and ETCSL 2.5.3.1). These texts have been analysed by scholars to identify the sequence of actions, their nature, the location in which they take place, the objects involved, as well as the meaning of the ritual (e.g. Lapinkivi 2004: 69–80 Stol 2016: 650–54). The evidence from the hymns is often supplemented with other literary compositions, especially the so-called Sumerian love songs which may or may not have played a part in the ritual.³ Despite the focus on these texts to frame the action of sexual intercourse between the king and the goddess (or her surrogate), some scholars remain sceptical of the translations that read explicitly erotic language into the narrative of these compositions (Frymer-Kensky 2000: 91). Overall, the interpretation of these sources seems to be unduly influenced by a gendered, highly sexualised framework of analysis that relies heavily on later comparative sources and older translations and readings of the language in the texts.

³Lapinkivi (2004: 29–68) offers a review of the textual and archaeological evidence (which is only speculative); Sefati (1998) for an overview and study of Sumerian love poetry.

Intertwined with the interpretation that the function of the sacred marriage was to provide for the general fertility of the land is the political dimension of the ritual that some scholars have highlighted in the past, mainly in relation with the deification of kings (Van Buren 1944: 52; Frankfort 1948: 296–97) and the office of en-ship in Uruk which, it has been argued, acted as a link between the Sumerian rulers and the divine order in which fertility rituals formed the fundamental anchor in an agrarian society (Steinkeller 1999). More recently, Jones (2003) reanalysed the composition Iddin-Dagān A from a historical and political perspective, looking at the construction of kingship that is reflected in the narrative and how an “ancient audience might have understood issues of legitimation and mediation” (Jones 2003: 292). In this analysis, he focuses on the specific context of the transfer of power and how it was conceptualised during the early 2nd millennium B.C. and by the Old Babylonian copyists of the text. Jones emphasizes the allusions to the liminality of the context in which the exchange takes place, focussing on the Sumerian expression *gu.da la* ‘embrace’, which he explains appears “to be a common rhetorical trope emphasizing the movement from mythologized to mundane space” (Jones 2003: 298). In his view, the gendered aspects observable in the text may not be associated as much with a polarised male-female conceptualisation of the goddess, but rather should be understood within the context of the violent exchange that takes place, in which the goddess is necessarily described in “masculine” fashion, while the king appears “feminised” in his pledge to be bestowed the divine powers. He concludes, “Elsewhere, Inana is praised as the goddess who can turn men into women. If the real Iddin-Dagan ever participated in the carnivalesque scenes—so redolent of sexual confusion—that begin our literary description of the sacred marriage, how secure would he have been feeling in his own masculinity?” (Jones 2003: 300).

Jones’s analysis is a welcomed depart from ideological interpretations of the goddess’s gender and sexual behaviour, demonstrating the malleability of language to articulate abstract complex social relationships. Research on the sociopolitical dimension of ritual activity connected with goddess and king deserves further attention. For example, Pryke highlights the link between Inanna/Aštar’s pleasure and the promotion of social prosperity reflected in the language employed to describe the goddess’s sexual experiences (Pryke 2017: 83). Likewise, the celebration of festivals and other social and/or political events played important roles in strengthening social cohesion and reinforcing power networks, as Jones highlights.

INANNA AND ŠUKALETUDA

The composition known as *Inanna and Šukaletuda* (ETCSL 1.3.3) is probably one of the least known Sumerian myths involving the goddess Inanna(/Aštar). In this text, the goddess is the victim of sexual violence at the hands of a gardener named Šukaletuda, who rapes her while she is asleep. When Inanna realises upon waking up, she is angered and tries to find the culprit by sending three plagues until, with the help of Enki, she is able to hunt the gardener down and punish him with his life. Volk’s (1995) detailed study of the text presents the composition as a “mythological epic” with roots in the historical conflict at the onset of the Akkadian period when, according to the author, the Sumerian Inanna was identified with the Akkadian Aštar, goddess of war. Therefore, Volk interprets the text as a way of justifying this association between the two goddesses to legitimise Akkadian rule over the southern territories and explain Enheduanna’s—Sargon’s daughter—role in shaping the ideology of the Akkadian kings. In his words,

“Als En-Priesterin des Mondgottes Nanna in Ur verfocht sie eine ‘neue’ Inanna-Theologie und propagierte diese in ihren Werken” Volk (1995: 15).⁴ In his review of Volk’s work, Alster warns of reading mythology as history in literary disguise, which is often the case with compositions attributed to Enḫeduanna (Alster 1999b). Regardless of the role of Akkadian ideology in this composition, the fact remains that the text is only known from Old Babylonian copies. If this text indeed existed during the Akkadian period, it is perhaps worth stressing the possible influence of Enḫeduanna’s powerful rhetoric that Volk and others highlight, so that it is unclear how this and other texts ascribed to her throw light on conceptualisations of the goddess from the Early Dynastic and earlier periods (see *The temple hymns and Enḫeduanna*, p. 15f.).

Drawing on suggestions previously made by scholars including Kramer (1961: 117), Volk (1995: 177–79), Alster (1999a: 687) and Cooper (2001: 142–44), Cooley (2008) recently expanded on the proposal that the narrative of the text follows the synodic activity of the planet Venus. If accepted, the evidence would support the identification of Inanna/Aštar with Venus by the Sargonic period, according to the author. As mentioned above, only Old Babylonian copies of the text exist. Therefore, even if this composition contained a reference to the goddess as the morning and evening star, it is not clear whether this relationship can be stretched back to the 3rd millennium B.C., and before the Akkadian period in particular.

Therefore, the validity of employing this composition to shed light on Inanna’s character as Venus prior to the Old Babylonian and possibly the Akkadian periods is put into question. Nevertheless, it does not mean that some of the themes do not ring true for earlier periods as well, only that it is difficult to disentangle the historical from the folkloric that may have existed. For example, in relation with new compositions in the Sumerian literary corpus, Alster points out that they make use of common themes belonging to a longer literary tradition and give them entirely new implications (Alster 1999b). It is also important to recognise humour in many of these literary texts, which may be traced in tropes such as the reversal of fates or the use of word puns. Humour in these texts often “alludes to the conditions of civilized life in Sumer” (Alster 1999b: 687). Perhaps, it is in the more comedic aspects that some of the underlying connections of this myth with Sumerian social life may be gleaned. For example, Pryke points out that the “larger thematic concern of Mesopotamian myths and royal literature [was with] the proper religious observances of responsibilities to the goddess [which] were closely connected to the monarch’s personal fortunes”; thus Šukaletuda’s transgression was the incorrect treatment of the goddess, not his lower status (Pryke 2017: 74). Despite the gardener’s mistake, Alster points out that there is some entertainment in the ups and downs of this gardener’s fate as he hides in the city and is finally punished by the goddess, only to end up being remembered for eternity through songs performed by young singers in the king’s palace and by shepherds going about their business (ll. 290–310; Alster 1999b: 688). Why would his name be remembered if not in jest, as a sort of dark comedy on how not to behave if one wishes to succeed in their job (as gardener), indeed, become king(/shepherd)? The theme of correct observation of ritual practice by the individual in ensuring prosperity for the larger community suggests the importance of performance. Perhaps, it also alludes to the fact that seemingly anybody (allegedly) could rise to become king—shepherd of the people—in ancient Mesopotamia, but only through his work for the community and by divine sanction. Inanna/Aštar in particular appears more prominently in this capacity during

⁴As en-priestess of the moon god Nanna in Ur, she [Enḫeduanna] defended a “new” Inanna theology and disseminated it through her work.’

the Early Dynastic period, though the concept of ‘king by love of Inanna’ is often confused with that of the sacred marriage ritual discussed in the previous section (see [Westenholz 2000](#) for a discussion of this theme). Overall, this composition may contain elements of a tradition stretching back earlier than the Old Babylonian period. However, since a distinction between the earlier tradition and the new elements introduced cannot be established beyond doubt, it seems counterproductive to use it as proof of the goddess’ or even the central theme of her sexual assault as illustrative of her character as goddess of sex in earlier periods. It is possible that some elements concerning the proper observation of responsibilities towards the deity and the fortune of rising rulers may have been part of this earlier tradition, which could be explored through drawing comparisons with Early Dynastic and Akkadian royal inscriptions, or visual imagery from those periods. Such comparisons at the very least are viable, unlike the Venus and sexual connotations that are often emphasised.⁵ As I shall explore in this thesis, the construction of temples (those dedicated to the goddess Inanna/Aštar particularly) and the observance of ritual performance may have constituted important nodes of action in shaping elite power and the emerging figure of the king.

INANNA’S DESCENT AND HER CLERGY

The Old Babylonian composition known as *Inanna’s Descent* ([ETCSL 1.4.1](#); [Sladek 1974](#)) is one of the main texts employed in shaping knowledge and understanding of Inanna/Aštar’s ambivalent character, which is fundamentally attached to the interpretation of the most prominent earthly members of her clergy: the kur-gar-ra and gala-tur-ra.⁶ The narrative recounts Inanna’s trip to the netherworld, motivated by her desire to have similar powers in the realm of the dead as she does elsewhere. One of the most powerful passages in the narrative is her undressing as she crosses the seven gates into the netherworld. This passage is often discussed in connection with Inanna/Aštar’s character as goddess of sexual desire. For example, Sladek highlights how each item symbolises Inanna/Aštar as priestess, queen and goddess of sexual desire ([Sladek 1974](#): 84–85), thus focalising the interpretation of attire around the concept of gender. However, as Pryke points out, Inanna’s dressing to travel to the netherworld and the ensuing stripping has more to do with power than with gender. Moreover, two of the items described in this passage, the šembizid kohl named ‘Let a man come’ and the tu-di-da breast plate named ‘Come man, come’, which are often interpreted as markers of enhancement of sexual attractiveness ([Sladek 1974](#): 82), can be equally interpreted

⁵Volk suggested a cylinder seal purchased in the antiquities market and dated stylistically to the Late Akkadian period (AO 11569 [Boehmer 1965](#): cat. no. 379) illustrates some variant of the myth ([Volk 1995](#): 65–68). However, the figure identified with Šukaletuda is wearing a horned crown, usually reserved to deities alone. [Westenholz \(1999](#): 49 n. 161) interprets this seal as part of the popular motif during this period of a mountain god defeated by other gods.

⁶Akkadian versions of the myth dating to the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian periods also exist ([Lapinkivi 2010](#)). They share similarities but also critical differences with the older Sumerian version, suggesting that a more nuanced examination of the text within its social context of production is necessary. Here, I focus on the Old Babylonian version. [Katz \(1995\)](#) argues that the Sumerian and Akkadian texts are fundamentally different because the Sumerian text is fundamentally about the fate of Inanna, while the Akkadian version is “*a cosmological myth about the Netherworld with Inanna in the background as an instrument to exemplify its nature*” ([Katz 1995](#): 233). In the Akkadian texts, the figure created by Ea to retrieve Ištar’s corpse from the netherworld is known as the *assinnu* named Ašušunamir in the Neo-Assyrian Nineveh version, and as the *kulu’u* named Ašnamer in the Middle Assyrian Aššur version. Both are often identified as having similar sexual abnormalities and thus semantically akin. [Peled](#) discusses each name and critiques arguments that conflate the Sumerian with the Akkadian figures, suggesting that they may reflect differences in the Babylonian and Assyrian world of thought ([Peled 2016](#): 60f.).

as enhancing the power and fear-inducing qualities of the goddess in battle (Pryke 2017: 106). If Inanna's purpose for her visit to the netherworld really were to mourn her brother-in-law, she would have dressed accordingly. But she is not flaunting the funeral dress code out of capriciousness, nor does her behaviour break any rules of decorum that might apply to our own custom today. She is travelling to the netherworld to steal power from Ereškigal and thus must wear an outfit fit for battle, which incorporates elements of her physical appearance insofar as they apply to the essence of her power. As Katz also argues, Inanna's sexual powers were not adequate to seize rule of the netherworld; in fact, such an approach would have been counterproductive. As they were crucial for Inanna's plan to work, it was essential that Ereškigal ordered her stripping to protect herself from the threat (Katz 1995: 224). In fact, it is through this process of undressing that the goddess becomes stripped of the ME she was carrying with her into the netherworld, though the nature of the relationship between the items of clothing and ornaments detailed in lines 17–25 and 125–163 of the myth and the bundle of seven ME described immediately before in lines 14–16 remains unclear.⁷ This aspect of her attire and the interpretation of the passage open up the discussion to examine the construction of power through bodily performance, here through physical appearance and the use of clothes and accessories that do not simply reflect the deity's gender but are constitutive of her power.

With regard to the clergy of Inanna/Aštar, the interpretation of the gender and sexual orientation of the kur-gar-ra (Akk. *kurgarri*) and gala-tur-ra (Akk. *gala/kalû*) that Enki creates from the dirt under his fingernail to rescue her has been the object of lengthy discussions and possibly reflect changing attitudes towards non-binary gender and sexual behaviour in scholarly circles. Earlier readings of the text tended not to employ explicit sexual language, with the consequence that all the creatures in both the Sumerian and Akkadian versions were thought of as sexless (Sladek 1974: 87 n. 1). Sladek proposed that “*there was something sexually abnormal about all of them*” (Sladek 1974: 89), adding that the fact they all lacked the power of procreative male sexuality “*enabled them to enter the netherworld which abhorred the power to create life*” (Sladek 1974: 98). Sladek's conclusion highlights the general perception that gender and sexuality were key elements in the plot (above others) and essential to the overall understanding of Inanna's engagement with liminality through the work of members of her cult. Recent work by Assante (2009) and Peled (2016) questions this specific link between sexuality and liminality. On the one hand, Assante points out that the range of cult functionaries under the goddess are attested as being performers of some kind, such as singers, dancers or actors, while their sexual roles in the cult remain uncovered if they ever existed (Assante 2009: 34). Assante then convincingly argues that no evidence exists for the sexual abnormality of the gala singers (including the gala-tur-ra), while the kur-gar-ra display an overwhelming martial nature that is reflected perhaps in the celebration of ritual battles. She concludes that tasked with the job of helping Inanna/Aštar escape the netherworld where she is trapped, these are no ordinary creatures but

⁷The ME are “*the sacred, fundamental ordinances of the universe [that] formed the basis of society and allowed the cosmos to function*” (Pryke 2017: 76). They include the sum of attributes necessary for the existence and maintenance of social order but also those that can be subversive and destructive (Farber-Flügge 1973: 119). Contrary to initial Westernised interpretation of the ME as abstract concepts or “essence” (they are often translated as ‘divine ordinances’ in English), scholars now acknowledge that ME can sometimes refer to concrete objects, including two dimensional symbols or images (Klein 1997). In the Descent, the goddess' clothing and accessories may be themselves the ME, according to one interpretation (Farber 1987-1990: 610). By contrast, Pryke suggests that Inanna “*seems to shed the ME and her fine garments at the same time*” (Pryke 2017: 76), which agrees with Klein's argument that the ME Inanna brings with her to the netherworld are tied to her side or suspended (Ia₂) from her hands so they cannot be the items of clothing and ornaments detailed in the myth (Klein 1997: 214 n. 23).

her cult warriors and whose work “*lies somewhere in the decision making process of a person’s fate*” (Assante 2009: 42). Building on Assante’s work, Peled focusses the attention on the actual means by which the kur-gar-ra and gala-tur-ra persuade Ereškigal to return the corpse of her sister. Peled notes they achieve this through soothing her suffering, in other words, through the performance of cultic lamentations (Peled 2016: 53–54). This professional performance appears as a key element in the effectiveness of these figures’ work in the netherworld. In the case of the gala Peled highlights was regarded with high esteem because it was considered to derive from mysterious knowledge circumscribed to circles of these persons (Peled 2016: 93). As for the *kurgarrú*, Peled expands on Assante’s link with “playing war” or “battle” in many rites and highlights the intimate connection between this figure and the goddess, which should form the background against which the *kurgarrú*’s cultic performance and gender characteristics should probably be understood (Peled 2016: 188, 191). Concerning the link between the supposed third gender of the kur-gar-ra and gala-tur-ra and their ability to cross the boundary between the world of the living and that of the dead, Peled points out that these figures only go to the netherworld but are not documented returning from it, which means it may be possible they never returned (Peled 2016: 53). This observation appears to refute the argument in favour of border-crossing based on male sexual abnormality.

The points raised about Inanna/Aštar’s clothing and disrobing as constitutive of her power, as well as those on the ritual performance of the two figures that appear in the text—and who are also intimately connected with the goddess in ritual contexts beyond this literary composition—suggest a strong bond between the correct observance of bodily performance (attire and ritual behaviour) and the attainment of power(s) through mediation with the divine world. As I shall explore in this thesis, it may be argued that these bodily practices of attire and accessorising, as well as participatory action in ritual and commemorative celebrations were (at least partly) constitutive of networks of power in elite social spheres. It was perhaps in this context that the emergence of kingship may be understood.

COURT LITERATURE OF THE LARSA DYNASTY

In her study of Sumerian Court Literature of the Larsa Dynasty, Brisch (2006) stressed the biases inherent in analysing royal ideology, which stem from an overly positivist approach in Assyriology (Veldhuis 2002: 128). When put in context, the influence of the scribal traditions and the biases in the archaeological record have significantly impinged on the interpretation of these texts, leaning towards the voices and perspectives coming from the Nippur school (Brisch 2007: 28f.). Furthermore, Brisch argues that some of the curricular compositions in the different schools (Nippur, Ur, etc.) show the “*invention of tradition*” in the sense of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983): “*This invented tradition created the literary fiction that Sumer had always been ruled by a single dynasty and thereby legitimized the claim of the Isin rulers to rule over Babylonia [...], and possibly the even earlier claim of the Ur III rulers*” (Brisch 2007: 29).

The invention of this tradition would have affected the ideas and stories associated with the main deities linked to each dynasty. Thus, Brisch highlights the case of the goddess Bāwu/Baba and her syncretisation with Ninisina and Gula at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period, which reveals the issues behind the transmission of tradition and the copying of texts in later periods (Brisch 2007: 29f., and

Brisch 2006). Briefly, Bāwu/Baba was never thought of as a healing goddess until her syncretisation with Ninisina and Gula in the Old Babylonian period as part of the creation of a common religious backdrop during this period that blended parts of the ancient Lagaš tradition with the Isin tradition in an altered form. Finally, in her review of the motifs that appear in the Ur III and Isin royal literature,⁸ she mentions the ritual of the sacred marriage and suggests it was “(re)introduced by Šulgi” in connection with the need to claim divine parentage in the case of divine kings (Brisch 2007: 30).⁹ As she argues, the rulers of both the Ur III and Isin dynasties often bore the title dam^dInanna, which points to the specific importance of this motif during this period (Brisch 2007: 25). However, one should be aware that the Šulgi hymns Brisch discussed are only known in Old Babylonian copies and it is possible they were written during the latter period, thus perhaps themselves part of the historical background needed for the newly invented tradition.

THE TEMPLE HYMNS AND ENĦEDUANNA

The composition now known as “*The Temple Hymns*” (ETCSL 4.80.1; Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969) has also informed proposals regarding the organization of the divine world and the cult of its deities in ancient Mesopotamia. This composition is mentioned in several Old Babylonian catalogues, it is attributed to EnĦeduanna and dedicated to Nisaba. The text describes a series of temples across southern Mesopotamia including Ešnunna in the Diyala and as far north as Kiš, thus attesting to the importance of these locations in the political and cultic organization at the regional level. It has been argued that this Old Babylonian composition shares some characteristics with an earlier tradition reflected in the Early Dynastic za₃-mi₃ ‘hymns’ from Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974; Krebernik 2017), which are, however, not well understood.¹⁰ There are several elements in the text that, in my opinion, highlight the highly historical nature of this text, which could certainly have been transmitted from an older tradition but that underwent alterations and additions as it was copied and passed down over time.

1. The text mentions ancient cultic sites beginning with Eridu, which experienced a revival during the Ur III period when the kings turned their attention to the old shrine in an act of revivalism. In fact, the site seems not to have been inhabited during this period, but only served as a cultic centre, perhaps hosting the coronation rites as suggested by Klein (1981: 38).

⁸Brisch critiques Flückiger-Hawker’s suggestion that (1) divine parentage, (2) predestination, (3) selection, designation and divine favours, and (4) investiture phraseology are motifs and topoi of royal legitimization that consistently appear in the literature (Flückiger-Hawker 1999: 44 in Brisch 2007: 28) on the basis that she offers no evidence for this selection. By contrast, she puts forward the following motifs based on contemporary—not Old Babylonian copies—compositions: *a*) building and maintenance of temples for the gods, *b*) prayers for help in defeating enemies and being victorious over evil, *c*) the sacred marriage, *d*) the travels of the mood god Nanna to Nippur, and *e*) praise of kings’ physical and mental abilities, especially with Ur III kings (Brisch 2007: 30).

⁹Regarding the Ur III dynasty, “*the hymns of the Uruk cycle stress the ruler’s relationship to the local gods. This connection is likely of importance because Uruk was the home of the Ur III dynasty. Šulgi is called the son of Ninsumun and Lugabanda, and herewith he is also the brother of Gilgames. This must have represented an important factor in the new ideology of the divine king [...]. Šulgi is also named the spouse of Inanna, a function that probably alludes to the infamous sacred marriage rite*” (Brisch 2007: 20).

¹⁰See further discussion in Section §2.2.3.

2. The mention of “banqueting halls” (unu₂) likely refers to the older tradition of open buildings from the Ubaid and Late Uruk periods, as suggested by [Nissen \(2001\)](#). Banqueting halls are mentioned at the temple of Enki in Eridu (line 2), at the temple of Nanna in Ur (line 107), at the temple of Asarluḫi in Kuara (line 137), at the temple of Šara in Umma (line 304-305), and at the temple of Inanna in Zabala (lines 315 and 320), where it is dressed in šuba stones. Finally, line 19 expresses how the oven (of the banqueting hall) at Eridu *rivals* “the great banqueting hall.” Could this be a reference to the banqueting hall of the gods? Could it refer to the role of Eridug as cultic site for the coronation of the king?
3. The second dynasty of Lagaš appears in lines 240 to 262 with its reference to the temple of Ningirsu, which is followed by lines 263 to 271 that refer to the temple of Bāwu/Baba (his spouse) in Iri-ku₃. Interestingly, Bāwu/Baba is mentioned as “the great healer of the black-headed” (a-zu gal saḡ gig₂-ga – line 268), which must be an Old Babylonian addition as per [Brisch \(see above\)](#).
4. The influence of the Isin dynasty as described by [Brisch \(2007\)](#) also left its mark in the composition in lines 379 to 395, which refer to Ninisina. This deity is known from the early periods as the local tutelary deity of Isin, but her prominence only appears with the rise of the Isin dynasty in the 2nd millennium B.C., and disappears once again with their demise. It is interesting that her healing properties (she is also described as “great physician of the black-headed ones”) are also mentioned here as with Bāwu/Baba.
5. Inanna is mentioned on three occasions in the text: Inanna in Uruk (lines 198–209), Inanna in Zabala (lines 315–327) and Inanna in Ulmaš, i.e. Agade (lines 507–519). Nanna-Suen is also mentioned on three occasions, making them the only two deities mentioned more than once. The moon god appears first as Nanna in Ur (lines 101–118), then as Nanna in Gaeš (lines 158–168) and finally as Suen in Urum (468–778). The choice of wording (Nanna or Suen) might not be significant by this period, although it may reflect older differences.

The question of the “triple Inanna” remains open (for the triple Inanna in Uruk in the Late Uruk-Jemdet Nasr period, see the discussion in Appendix D; [Steinkeller 2002a](#); for Ishtar of Nineveh-Aššur-Arbela in later—mainly Neo-Assyrian—periods, see [Porter 2004](#) and [Radner 2011](#)). The fact that three Inanna temples are mentioned here may be of significance; however, as noted, there are also three temples dedicated to the moon god. Furthermore, the only reference to the morning and evening seems to appear in the lines dedicated to Inanna of Zabala, one of the ancient shrines dedicated to Inanna known from administrative texts of the ED III period from repeated illegal excavations at the site ([Molina 2017](#)). The text mentions two shrines, one to “kur šuba” and one to “KA ud”, which are not necessarily those associated with the morning and evening aspects; this is unclear (see passage below). The text also mentions the capacity of Inanna to “make beautiful the evening firmament” (line 324). The authorship of these lines is not entirely clear.

The role of Zabala as a cultic centre in the Ur III period is unclear as it was under the jurisdiction of Umma’s governor. Furthermore, the word choice of Suen (instead of Nanna as in other entries in the text) for Inanna’s father, and the warriorlike features highlighted in the hymn may suggest this

part of the text could perhaps be attributed to Enheduanna’s “original”, if it indeed existed. The following passage from the **ETCSL** transcription and translation of the text highlights these points:

315. e₂-še-er-zid-gur₃-ru unu₂ šuba-la₂
 316. ni₂ gal niġin₃-ġar kug^dinana-ke₄
 317. me zid me-a šu daġal tag-ga
 318. zabala^{ki} eš₃ kur šuba eš₃ KA ud zal-le
 319. kurku₂-a ad mi-ni-in-pad₃
 320. unu₂ zid-zunu-gig-ge kurku₂-a ma-ra-ni-in-ri
 321. nin-zu^dinana DAG.KISIM₅ × X munus dili-e
 322. ušumgal lu₂ [XX]-še₃ inim kur₂ di
 323. niġ₂ babbar₂-ra saġ mu₂-mu₂-mu₂ ki-bal-še₃ saġġa₂-ġa₂
 324. ġiš-ħe₂ u₂-sa₁₁-an-nani₂-te-a-ni-še₃ sig₇-ga
 325. dumu gal^dsuen-na kug^dinana-ke₄
 326. e₂ ki zabala^{ki} muš₃-za e₂ bi₂-in-gub barag-za dur₂ bi₂-in-ġar
 327. 12 e₂^dinana zabala^{ki}-a

315-320. *O E-šerzi-guru (House clad in splendour) dressed with ornaments of šuba stone, great awesomeness, Niġin-ġar of holy Inanna, adorned throughout with the divine powers which are true, Zabala, shrine of the shining mountain, shrine of dawn, which has resounded with pleasure (?), the Mistress has founded your good banqueting hall for you in pleasure (?).*

321-326. *Your lady Inana, the, the singular woman, the dragon who speaks hostile words to, who shines in brightness, who goes against the rebel land, through whom the firmament is made beautiful in the evening, the great daughter of Suen, holy Inanna, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Zabala, and taken her seat upon your dais.*

327. 12 lines: *the house of Inanna in Zabala.*

(**ETCSL** 4.80.1, lines 351–327)

The question of kur šuba (written with the signs KUR ‘mountain/foreign land’ and MUŠ₃, here meaning ‘(precious) stone’ or a semantically related concept) is difficult to resolve as this term is used in a variety of literary texts with the sense of ‘mythical birthplace’ (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969: 113, TH No. 26 l. 318) as well as in connection with Nippur and Ur (perhaps referring to their ziggurats). These terms are also confused with the various spellings of ^dNin-MUŠ₃.ZA / ^dNin-MUŠ₃.KUR and their meaning (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000b; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000a).¹¹ Sjöberg and Bergmann also remark that the several variants of “eš₃ KA ud” may allude to Inanna as the morning star (mul-u₄-zal-e = *kakkab namāri* ‘star of daybreak’). Finally, they remark that line 324—“through her the firmament is made beautiful in the evening”—“refers to the goddess Inanna as the evening star” (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969: 115), for which the following parallel is offered as evidence:

¹¹The names of these deities and how to translate them is not clear. The relationship between them, if any, is also unclear. It is not clear whether MUŠ₃ here should be translated as Inanna or as šuba for ‘(precious) stone’, and whether KUR refers to a mythical mountain or to, perhaps, the Zagros mountains to the East.

CT XVI 19, 3/4 ul-ḫe₂-a = *ina šupuk šamê*
 19, 59–61 ^dnanna ^dutu ^dinanna-ke₄ ul-ḫe₂-a si-sa₂-e-de₃ im-ma-ni-in-gar = ^dsin ^dšamaš u
^dištar šu-puk šamêe ana šutēšuri uktinnu

‘they installed Sin, Šamaš and Ištar to keep the firmament (the vault of heaven) in order.’

(Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969: 115)

However, CT XVI 19 dates to the Neo-Assyrian period, probably originating from Nineveh (modern Kouyunjik), and is part of the incantation series *Utukki Limnûti* (‘Evil Spirits’) which Sjöberg and Bergman suggest comes from an earlier Sumerian tradition. In any case, the relationship between the two attestations is tenuous at best. Furthermore, these elements apply only to the entry concerning Zabala, not Uruk. This, if anything, suggests that the connection between Inanna and the morning/evening star should be circumscribed to Zabala, not Uruk, at least in this composition.

Regarding the context of the three places associated with Inanna, it is worth pointing out that these seem to be highly concerned with geography rather than the identity of the deity, and the use of the name of the deity in the format “^dInanna + (location)^{ki}” perhaps hides these differences in the text for literary purposes. For example, in texts from the Sargonic period Inanna of Zabala is referred to as *Šupālītum*,¹² while in the Ur III period the deity is also referred to simply as Nin-Zabalam (^dNin-Zabalam₃^{ki} ‘Lady of Zabala’) (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000). Meanwhile, Inanna of Ulmaš must refer to the Annunītum–Ulmašītum pair from Agade, attested in the Ur III calendar (Sallaberger 1993: 198f.). Finally, following the same logic, Inanna of Uruk would be linked with Nin-Unug, also known from pre-Sargonic times as Nin-irigala. However, according to Krebernik, Nin-irigala is not associated with Inanna (Krebernik 1998–2000: 387). The resolution of this incongruity requires further analysis beyond the scope of this review.

Regarding the identification of the shrines dedicated to Inanna in this text, it should also be noted that there remain many issues with the transmission of scribal traditions from the Late Uruk into the Early Dynastic period (Veldhuis 2014). Therefore, the use of KUR and UD here is difficult to reconcile with the Late Uruk supposed attestations of Inanna-kur and Inanna-UD, which I shall review in the next Section §2.1.2 and Appendix D.

6. Dumuzi appears in Bad-tibira (lines 210–220) immediately after Inanna in Uruk. An interesting parallel is suggested by the existence of a ^dlugal-e₂-muš₃ at Bad-tibira from an Early Dynastic inscription that records the conclusion of the alliance between Enmetena of Lagaš and Lugalkignedudu of Uruk. Rather than identifying this deity with Inanna’s husband Dumuzid, Kobayashi (1983) suggests it should be understood the other way around; that is, that in later periods these independent deities became syncretized with Dumuzid. Regarding Dumuzi-abzu in Kinirša (lines 294–302), this is a female deity as generally accepted (Kobayashi 1983: 40 with n. 43).

¹²Derived from Akkadian toponym perhaps adapted from folk etymology of *salupālu* ‘juniper’ (Krebernik 2012).

The intermingling of influences and the lack of witnesses of the text from Enheduanna's time hinders the task of disentangling the individual and her agency as a historical figure from the literary construction of the compositions attributed to her. That she lived and was a powerful individual in Ur's society and the Akkadian world in general is not questioned, given the seals found in contexts from the Akkadian period that identify several of her scribes, an estate overseer, and her hairdresser.¹³ However, it is also clear that a certain degree of idealisation took place over time, as exemplified by the archaeological context of the famous "Disk of Enheduanna" (Figure 2.1). The disk was found in the debris filling the northeast end of a series of rooms (perhaps storerooms?) that lay between excavation blocks B and C of the Giparu from the Isin–Larsa period. According to the field notes,¹⁴ the only other object assigned to the same locus (C18) is a broken calcite vase with an inscription along the rim, dated to the ED IIIb period (FAOS 5/2 AnUr 16, [Steible and Behrens 1982](#)).¹⁵ [McHale-Moore \(2000\)](#) has argued that the archaeological context of the disk can be explained through the well-known practice of re-dedicating objects found during construction projects, in this case that of Enannatumma (daughter of Išme-Dagān), and the worship of deceased en-priestesses within the Giparu. McHale-Moore assumes that Enheduanna's disk was found together with the diorite statuette of Enannatumma dedicated to the goddess Ningal, but they were in fact found in different areas of the Giparu albeit in a similar stratigraphic context. As described in Woolley's field object cards, the disk was found in the debris from the Isin–Larsa period above locus C18 of the Ur III period building,¹⁶ while Enannatumma's statue was found in locus C23 of the Ur III period building ([Woolley and Mallowan 1976](#): pl. 118).¹⁷ It seems unlikely the two pieces were in fact found together, but it is probable a lot of the broken inscribed objects were scattered in the debris of the structure as part of the process of rebuilding and refounding of the Giparu.

The unusual nature of Enheduanna's disk does not end with its archaeological context and the fact that her own cylinder seal and tomb have so far eluded us,¹⁸ but in fact the style and inscription of

¹³These are: (a) U 8988 ([Woolley 1934](#): 530 and pl. 212; [Gadd and Legrain 1928](#): no. 271 and p. 311, the seal of Enheduanna's hairdresser (kinda) found in tomb PG/503 showing an animal contest scene; (b) U 9178 ([Woolley 1934](#): 542, pl. 212 no. 307; [Gadd and Legrain 1928](#): no. 272 and p. 311), the seal of an estate overseer (ugula e₂) from a grave in Trial Trench G showing an animal–contest scene; (c) U 11684 ([Woolley 1934](#): 572, pl. 191 and 212 no. 309; [Legrain 1936](#): pl. 31 no. 537), a jar sealing with the impression of her scribe Kitušdu's seal found loose in the area of the Royal Cemetery and showing a scene with water buffaloes that is closely paralleled in the seal of Ibni-šarrum, a scribe of Šar-kali-šarri (AO 22303; [Collon 2005](#): no. 529); and (d) a seal of another scribe of Enheduanna in the Rosen private collection ([Eisenberg 1998](#): 30 fig. 23), showing another animal contest scene.

¹⁴When field notes and object cards are referred to, these were consulted through the new Ur Online Database, where U numbers and their contexts can be easily consulted at (<http://www.ur-online.org>).

¹⁵The vessel was dedicated by a woman (Namnim) to ^dAmageštin for the life of her children.

¹⁶In Woolley's object cards, the disk (U 6612) is said to come from "Room 2 Larsa Level KP", and the field notes give it as "M/2 KP", glossed as "? C18" ([Woolley and Mallowan 1976](#): 224). Locus C18 is described as a lavatory on the basis of its bitumen-covered baked-brick floor sloping towards a terracotta drain located in its west corner ([Woolley and Mallowan 1976](#): 55). Previously, Woolley had described the object as found in the court of the "Temple of Ningal", an early designation given to this area of the Giparu ([Woolley 1934](#): 334).

¹⁷UE 7 ([Woolley and Mallowan 1976](#): 223) has the statuette (U 6352) as originating from locus C22, but the original field card state it came from C23. Locus C23 was an annex room to the main cella, perhaps a treasury as other dedicatory objects were also found in this room. In any case, many of the inscribed vessels and other objects found in the debris above the Ur III building were highly fragmentary and scattered, as well as burnt on occasion ([Woolley and Mallowan 1976](#): 57), thus suggesting they may have been deliberately disposed of in a similar fashion to the Ekur in Nippur ([Hilprecht 1896](#): 30).

¹⁸Or indeed any administrative texts that mention her directly, as do exist for Tūtanapšum, daughter of Narām-Sîn and en-priestess of Enlil ([Milano and Westenholz 2015](#): 21).



Figure 2.1 – ENĪHEDUANNA’S DISK BEFORE IT UNDERWENT CONSERVATION (TOP) AND AFTER (BOTTOM) (OBJECT B1666; COURTESY OF THE PENN MUSEUM).

this artefact also present some interpretive difficulties. In terms of its stylistic dating, the heavy restoration carried out on the object hinders a detailed analysis (Figure 2.1). Nevertheless, it appears clear to me that the style of the dress and hairstyle of the figure identified as Enheduanna would be anachronistic within the stylistic range of Sargon’s reign, which can be compared with other examples from the late ED IIIb/Protoimperial periods including the Stele of the Vultures and some of the late styles from Mari, as discussed by Winter (1987). By contrast, the style of the disk appears later in date, in my opinion.¹⁹ Two pieces of evidence support this conclusion:

- a) A cylinder seal whose provenance and current location is unknown (Rohn 2011: 83–84, pl. 50 no. 632 and refs. therein) belongs to an Aman-Aštar, who was a maid of Tūtanapšum, daughter of Narām-Sîn and en-priestess of Enlil. The seal shows a seated female figure in a very similar style to that on the disk (Figure 2.2). In particular, the hairstyle sported by both figures is almost identical, as well as the style of the flounced skirt with the “wavy” tufts organised in truncated cones. Rohn (2011: 83) suggests the image shows Tūtanapšum seated and Aman-Aštar in front of her.
- b) Enheduanna’s servants’ cylinder seals likely date within the Late Akkadian period according to their style, perhaps around Narām-Sîn’s time. This issue was already pointed out by Nagel and Strommenger (1968) and Gibson and McMahon (1997: 11) with regards to the dating of seals and the chronology of the Early Dynastic–Akkadian transition, which the latter suggest was not as clear-cut as it has been previously assumed; common sense dictates that artistic style during Sargon’s time must to some extent resemble that of his contemporaries, who are often classed within the ED IIIb category of style. As Nagel and Strommenger (1968: 178f.) point out, the carving style of these combat scenes and water buffaloes is typical from the period of Narām-Sîn’s reign.²⁰



Figure 2.2 – THE SEAL OF AMAR-‘AŠTAR, MAID OF TŪTANAPŠUM, DAUGHTER OF NARĀM-SĪN (ROHN 2011: PL. 50 NO. 632).

¹⁹One cylinder seal dated probably within Sargon’s reign belongs to a scribe of the king’s brother, Ubil-Eštar. It shows an individual wearing a flounced garment over the left shoulder and the flat cap typical of ED IIIb/Sargon date (Figure 8.2; see also Section §8.4 for discussion regarding evidence from Mari). The “wavy” rendering of the tufts resembles the Sargon’s stelas found in Susa (Louvre Sb1 and Sb2/6053; Winter 1987: figs. 5 and 7).

²⁰With some difficulty, they date Adda’s seal (U 9178) to the end of Sargon’s or the beginning of Rimuš’s reign, and that of her hairdresser Ilum-igi-du (U 8988) to the beginning of Rimuš’s reign; both are dated on the stylistic features of the contest scene and the “*mit doppel-konischer Kappe*” hat, which is more typical from slightly later dates (Nagel and Strommenger 1968: 203). Meanwhile, the seal of her scribe Kitušdu (U 11684) is dated to the beginning of Narām-Sîn’s reign (Nagel and Strommenger 1968: cat. ob, 1, and 4, respectively).

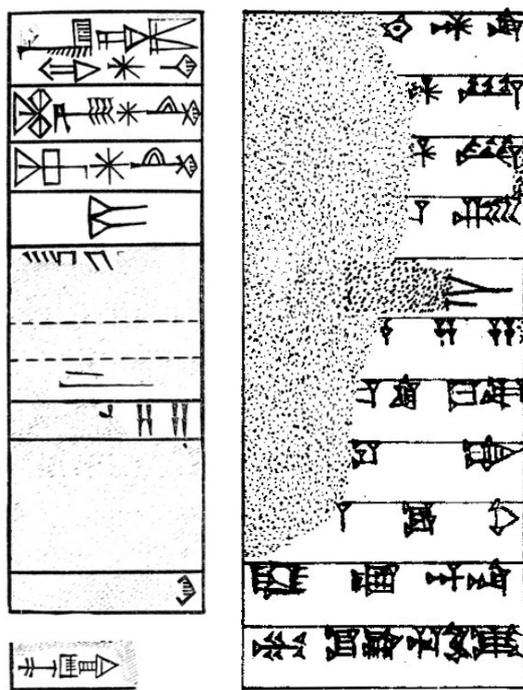


Figure 2.3 – COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK OF ENĦEDUANNA’S DISK (LEFT) AND THE COPY FROM TABLET U 7737 (RIGHT) (GADD AND LEGRAIN 1928: PL. 4 NO. 23 AND PL. 54 NO. 289).

Nagel and Strommenger (1968: 180) discuss the dating of the disk in light of the seals and place it within Maništusu’s reign. On the basis of the above evidence, I agree that the disk must have been produced at a later date but suggest perhaps even into Narām-Sîn’s reign. Together with the cylinder seals mentioning Enheduanna, there appears to be no evidence directly from Sargon’s reign that can provide more information on her role, status, and when she became en-priestess. Of no lesser importance is the fact that either she became a priestess at a very young age or her witnessing of the revolt against Narām-Sîn seems at odds with the Akkadian kings’ chronology. Sallaberger and Schrakamp (2015: table 24) propose she was 25–30 years old when Sargon died (Sargon Year 40(/55)), continued in her post during the reigns of Rimuš and Maništusu, when she would have been 48–53 (/63–68), and, finally, she would have been 63–78 (/78–93) at the estimated time of the Great Revolt (Narām-Sîn 15–25). Thus, either Enheduanna was only appointed towards the very end of Sargon’s reign or she was barely a teenager when it happened, and surprisingly old when she died. Either way, this is merely guesswork. The fact remains that no direct evidence exists of her from her father’s reign, though absence of evidence does not prove much.

Regarding the inscription on the back of the disk, it was Sollberger (1969) who first realised that a later copy of the inscription had been published in the same volume as the disk, yet it had gone unnoticed. The copy was part of a larger tablet that included copies of other dedications to the moon god by king Ibbi-Sîn, but which were copied some time during the early Old Babylonian period according to the archaeological context.²¹ As well as identifying the copy on this tablet, Sollberger published a fuller transcription

²¹Tablet U 7737 was found together with other burnt tablets in Rooms 5–6 of No. 7 Quiet Street, located in the EM neighbourhood of the Isin–Larsa period. Woolley identified Room 5 with a chapel on the basis of the niches found, though it also contained a library with texts of literary character and some circular “school” texts (Woolley

of the inscription, which is the currently accepted reading. On line eight, he suggested that the inscription was dedicated to ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$, which was further amended to read $e_2 {}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$ (Frayne 1993: 35–36, Sargon 16). However, looking at both copies of the inscription (Figure 2.3), it is highly unlikely that this reading of the line fits the available space in the case. As it is clear in the Isin-Larsa copy, where even the spacing between signs was copied, it would be impossible to fit the signs $E_2 + \text{AN} + \text{MUŠ}_3 + \text{ZA} + \text{ZA}$ given the space provided. Furthermore, the sign before ZA.ZA is unclear in both copies, though based on the available copies it does not seem to even conform to the end of the sign MUŠ_3 from contemporary texts, whether lapidary or not. The disk was heavily restored and thus the sign is far from clear. On the other hand, the sign in the tablet copy seems to end in two vertical wedges whereas the sign MUŠ_3 would always end in a single vertical wedge. The following is the current composite transcription and translation as published by Frayne (1993) in the RIME series:

1. en- ḫe_2 - du_7 -an-na
2. zirru_z(|SAL.NUNUZ.ZI.AN.ŠEŠ.KI|)
3. dam d nanna
4. dumu
5. šar-ru-gi
6. lugal
7. kiš 8. e_2 d inanna-za-za 9. uri₂^{ki}-ma-ka
10. bara₂-si-ga
11. ḫi_2 ^{ʔ1}-e-du₃
12. bara₂ banšur an-na
13. mu-še₃ be₂-sa₄

1–13. *Enḫeduanna, / the zirru-priestess / and wife of Nanna, / the daughter / of Sargon, / king / of the world, / in the temple of Inanna-zaza / of Ur / a built-up dais / she had constructed, / and Dais and Table of An / she named it.*

(RIME 2.OI.OI.16 composite)

It is indeed strange that a northern deity, even if of relative importance, would have a temple in Ur, under Akkadian rule, and in which a “Dais and Table of An” was set up. Given the fact that much of the literature on the political appointment of Sargon’s daughter as en-priestess in Ur and how it was intended as a way to normalise the northern control of the southern polities (Postgate 1995: 401), it seems odd that suddenly a deity otherwise only attested north of Mari would make its way into Ur and into the office of the en-priestess. The deity ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$ has been identified with Aštar *šarbat* recently (see further details in Section §4.1.2), which makes it even more unlikely that this deity would appear in Enḫeduanna’s personal inscription. But if not ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$, then what could be read in this line of the inscription? I would suggest that perhaps the name of an individual, perhaps someone installed by the Akkadian ruler in Ur or another of Enḫeduanna’s servants, could have dedicated this artefact and built the dais and table for her. Names ending in *za-za* are common in the Old Akkadian period, including the name *Azaza*, or perhaps even *Bazaza*, both of which could fit here.²²

and Malloyan 1976: III). Laneri highlights that this neighbourhood is formed by houses of smaller size that lack funerary chambers but which were inhabited by individuals linked with the temple authorities (Laneri 2015: 5).

²²Most notably, a *Bizaza* (*bi₂-za-za*) appears in the texts from the “Semitic Quarter” in Adab, and who was familiar

In conclusion, the context in which the Temple Hymns as a literary piece of work was written, as well as Enheduanna's role as the author, are unclear. Furthermore, Enheduanna's relationship with the goddess Inanna/Aštar, which is often stressed, is also unclear insofar that the only direct evidence of this link, the inscription on the famous disk supposedly naming ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA as the recipient of the dedication (and even a temple in Ur!), was probably read incorrectly in an effort to establish a relationship with the Old Babylonian texts.

CONCLUSIONS

What stems from the above overview of the material from the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia B.C. is the highly fragmentary nature of the evidence and the over-reliance on Old Babylonian copies. These copies have their own intrinsic order and meaning which developed organically over time, perhaps in a similar way to how fairy tales today, while retaining the titles from the 18th century when they were compiled by the Brothers Grimm or Charles Perrault, have lost parts of their plots in favour of contemporary notions of familial relationships, courtship, etc. (Warner 1994: i–xxi; 2014: 1–18). As Brisch (2007: 16) points out, it is important to consider the specific artistic genius of poets whose work gets copied as a result. For example, the reason there are so many copies of Šulgi's hymns is probably due to the calibre of the poet composing them, so much that “*the royal hymns of subsequent generations are colorless imitations of the literary forms and contents introduced by the poets of Šulgi*” (Klein 1981 in Brisch 2007: 16). However, this does not imply the compositions are to be dated to the Ur III period. Enheduanna could probably be another example of this necessary genius that drives the tradition and innovation of textual compositions in the cuneiform corpus, even though it is almost impossible to disentangle her specific contributions from subsequent copies and adaptations. As a result, it is possible that later additions contributed towards shaping the identity of the author, perhaps even skewing her work towards the figure of Inanna/Aštar, which was clearly pre-eminent in the Isin-Larsa compositions. Such skewing seems to endure in the present as interpretations are often driven by these very compositions as well as insidious ideas about the concept of the sacred marriage.

The implication the above observations have on the question of the identification of Inanna as Venus (as the morning and evening star) and their gendered perception is that the process of inventing a tradition associated with this deity which likely took place around the ED IIIb and Protoimperial periods—as I will try to demonstrate—may have influenced subsequent compositions that continued to work and rework the figure of this deity to fit changing sociopolitical circumstances. Whether Inanna is male or female or which gender should be attributed to which manifestation is secondary to the processes through which the underlying social substratum of this deity was reworked into the royal rhetoric.

with the highest dignitaries of the empire (Wilson 2012: 55–56; Milano and Westenholz 2015: 24–25). A son or daughter of an ensi₂ of iri-az^{ki} named Azaza (*a-za-za*) appears in a Sargonic text from Girsu (IT^T 5, 9275, Genouillac 1921). It should be noted that previously Eannatum claimed to have killed the ensi₂ of iri-az^{ki} and destroyed the city (Frayne 2008: 145–152, E-anatum 5/6).

2.1.2 THE LATE 4TH MILLENNIUM B.C.

The site of Uruk is often cited to substantiate claims of an uninterrupted, and to a certain extent unchanged, cult of the goddess going back to the late 4th millennium B.C. However, the published literature on the subject should be employed with caution. Despite the potentially indexical relationship between the cuneiform sign MUŠ₃, used to spell the name of Inanna/Aštar and the “reed bundle” typical from Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr pictorial scenes such as on the Warka Vase, their correlation with the figure and cult of Inanna/Aštar at Uruk is far from clear, both archaeologically and textually. The following subsections review the evidence employed to formulate the hypothesis that the Eanna of Inanna existed from prehistoric times, and that her cult was the centre of a pan-regional politico-religious league of cities.

THE URUK IV AND URUK III TEXTS

The interpretation of several occurrences of the sign MUŠ₃ in texts from the Uruk IV and Uruk III levels as manifestations of Inanna and of her cult in the city of Uruk for the earliest historical periods, which was largely developed by Szarzyńska (2000), has had a great impact on the contextualisation of Inanna as a Venus deity worshipped in Uruk since prehistoric times, which in turn has fed the circular argument around the gender and role of the deity in later periods. Although Szarzyńska examined the material in detail, the ideas she put forward already existed to some extent in the wider literature, whether based on the evidence from the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. discussed in the previous section, or in the suggestions made by Falkenstein (1936) in the earliest publication of proto-cuneiform texts from Uruk. The general acceptance of these conclusions (e.g. Beaulieu 2003; Groneberg 2007; Selz 2000; Steinkeller 1998, 2002a) demonstrates the reach that this view has in the literature today. However, there are critical limitations to the interpretation and contextualisation of proto-cuneiform texts that require further examination. The relationship between the stratigraphic sequence at Uruk, the context of the administrative texts unearthed in the Eanna district, as well as the use of pictorial representations to support the interpretation of the symbolic and semantic meaning of cuneiform signs is complex and present several obstacles that require detailed examination. Mainly, the sign MUŠ_{3a} does not unequivocally represent or is an index for the Sumerian deity Inanna and the Akkadian deity Aštar. Furthermore, the semiotic relationship between the written sign and the visual element known as the *Schilfringbündel* or ring-post with streamer requires further elaboration than a superficial association between the two.

Briefly, Szarzyńska argues that texts from the Uruk IV period attest two variant names of Inanna: Inanna-nun and Inanna-kur. The first one refers to either a “princely” Inanna, or “Inanna of Enki” depending on the reading of the sign NUN,²³ and that offering lists are attested for it (Szarzyńska 1993: 8–9). Meanwhile, the latter reportedly does not have offering lists attested (Szarzyńska 1987) and elsewhere the sign KUR in association with Inanna has been described as designating a mythical land or mountain that is also full of ambiguities and ambivalences (Bruschweiler 1987). More recently, Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 192 n. 32) note Englund’s reading of KUR as ‘male’ in some archaic tablets, but this is generally used to identify male

²³But see also Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 44 with n. 138.

slaves (Englund 1998). Therefore, the suggestion made by the authors that here it signals a male form of Inanna should be taken with care.

During the subsequent Uruk III period, and elaborating on Falkenstein's preliminary suggestion, Szarzyńska argues there existed clearer astral morning-evening manifestations of Inanna at Uruk who received different offerings in festivals (ezen) for Inanna-UD/ħud₂ ('Inanna of the morning/day') and Inanna-sig ('Inanna of the evening'). Meanwhile, Inanna-nun seemed to disappear and some attestations of Inanna-kur remain.

It should be noted that all of these supposed manifestations do not transcend, in written form at least, beyond the Uruk III period, and by the Early Dynastic period only the singular deity Inanna remains in Uruk, as far as the attestations report (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 44).²⁴ Comparative elements with later material are usually employed to suggest earlier characterizations of the material, but which are not always warranted. For example, Szarzyńska argues that:

The above mentioned three figures of Inana [Inanna-nun, Inanna-UD/ħud₂, and Inanna-sig] so explicitly singled out in archaic Uruk cannot be found in the later Sumerian religious texts. However, many epithets and descriptions characterizing the qualities of Inana, and occurring in later times are similar to those from archaic Uruk, e.g.: (Inana) shining, glittering from the sunrise, the planet Venus, princely, and so on. Inana as the morning and evening planet Venus was described in several hymns.

(Szarzyńska 1993: 9)

However, terms such as shining or glittering are certainly not unique in hymns or astronomical texts describing the appearance of celestial bodies, so that these comparisons lack the specificity sought when establishing a direct link between older and younger traditions, especially if the comparative material stretches across millennia. Furthermore, the generalised assumption that the proto-cuneiform sign MUŠ_{3a} and the ring-post with streamer symbol both functioned as referents of the goddess only is not fully justified in my opinion. Figure 2.4 collates the iconographic and textual evidence from the Late Uruk to the ED IIIa Fāra god lists concerning the associations between symbols and texts in identifying the name of main Sumerian deities and their alleged temple households. The main argument traces back the name of the goddess through the cuneiform sign employed throughout its history and conflates its meaning with that of the ring-post with streamer symbol. If we examine the "standards" symbols, it becomes clear that not all of the three main examples here reproduced in Figure 2.4 (left column) become the cuneiform signs used to write the names of the deities allegedly associated with them. All three "standards" allegedly function as sign vehicles for the reed objects which were part of architectural structures also made of reed (*mudbif*) typical of the southern marshes of Iraq, a tradition that survives today. As symbols, they appear in a range of glyptic and other visual mediums usually dated to the Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr horizon. They often appear as poles sticking out of the roofs of the reed structures, though also as standalone elements such as on the Uruk Vase (see Figure 2.11 and discussion on p. 46f.), hence the concept of "standards" or

²⁴In fact, the Early Dynastic attestations of Inanna in Uruk are also rather unclear, as I shall discuss in the next Section §2.2.3 on the *Early Dynastic textual evidence*.

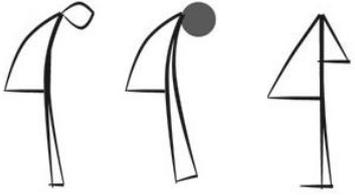
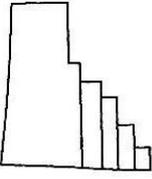
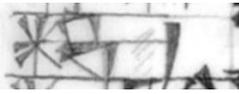
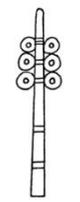
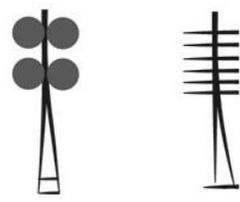
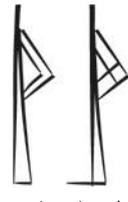
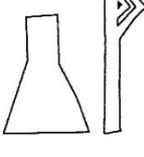
Symbol	Proto-cuneiform sign (Uruk IV/III)		Jemdet Nasr City Seal	Fāra God List (ED IIIa)
	Emblem?	Temple Household?		
 Ring-post with streamer	 MUŠ _{3a} (Uruk IV) – MUŠ _{3a} (Uruk III)	 ZATU 649	 UNUG _x	 dMUŠ ₃
 Ring-staff	 NUN _c (Uruk IV only) – NUN _a (Uruk IV/III)	 TUR _{3a}	Eridu?	 dEN.KI
 Bügelshaft	 URI _{3a} (Uruk IV/III)	 ZATU 648	 URI ₅	 dŠEŠ+KI
	 ŠEŠ ₃ (Uruk IV/III)			

Figure 2.4 – VISUAL EVOLUTION OF EACH ELEMENT USED IN ARGUING FOR THE EXISTENCE OF TEMPLE HOUSEHOLDS SPECIFICALLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUMERIAN DEITIES INANNA (TOP ROW), ENKI (MIDDLE ROW), AND NANNA (BOTTOM ROW) IN THE LATE URUK AND JEMDET NASR PERIODS. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: THE ALLEGED STANDARDS OR EMBLEMS OF THE DEITIES (BLACK AND GREEN 1992: FIG. 76 © 4.0 THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM); THE URUK IV/III CUNEIFORM SIGNS ASSOCIATED WITH THE EMBLEMS; THE URUK IV/III CUNEIFORM SIGNS ASSOCIATED WITH THE TEMPLE HOUSEHOLDS IDENTIFIED BY THEIR EMBLEMS; THE NAME OF THE CITY ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEITY IN THE JEMDET NASR CITY-SEAL (MATTHEWS 1993: FIG. 37); THE NAME OF THE DEITY AS IT APPEARS IN THE EARLIEST GOD LIST FROM FĀRA (DEIMEL 1923: SF I; HAND COPY COURTESY OF MANFRED KREBERNIK).

“emblems” with which they are often associated.²⁵ Two of these symbols, the ring-staff and the ring-post with streamer, became signs in the cuneiform repertoire; NUN_a and MUŠ_{3a}, respectively. While the symbols progressively disappear from the visual repertoire of the Early Dynastic period, the cuneiform signs continued in use, but the meaning of the latter must have shifted at least in some cases. For example, the reading ‘princely’ for the proto-cuneiform sign NUN_a that Szarzyńska argued is merely the transposition of a later meaning of the sign, which cannot be established for the earlier periods (see further Appendix D, p. 543f.). The evolution of the *Bügelshafī* is more complicated because it is not clear whether an association can be established with the sign ŠEŠ_a or URI_{3a} despite intense debate on the topic (e.g. Van Dijk 2016: 46–48; 59–66). In my opinion, given the wide range of contexts and periods in which the *Bügelshafī* appears (see p. 46f. and Van Dijk 2016: table 7.1 and 7.2), the only plausible semantic relationship would be with the later word *urin* ‘standard’, but I cannot see how the symbol stands for the moon-god specifically in the earlier visual corpus. The *Bügelshafī* is the longest-lived visual element of all three, surviving into the Neo-Sumerian period, and despite a suggestive association in the ED IIIb door plaque BM 118561 from the Giparu in Ur where it appears as an architectural element of (ostensibly) the temple of Nanna (see Winter 1987 and discussion on p. 46f.), the evidence remains slim.

Looking at the use of the cuneiform signs, a different picture emerges. The second column in Figure 2.4 shows the standalone proto-cuneiform signs which have been associated with the Sumerian deities Inanna (MUŠ_{3a}), Enki (NUN_a), and Nanna (URI_{3a}; the use of the sign ŠEŠ_a is unclear). The third column shows a series of associated signs which incorporate those in column two onto a semicircular wedge (a simplified form of the sign DU₆) which arguably represents a reed hut. Englund suggested that these pairs of signs represent temple households and the emblems associated with them (Englund 1998: 102, fig. 31). However, it is unclear why the sign ZATU 649 and MUŠ_{3a} differ from the other two pairs, for example. The sign ZATU 649 incorporates a ring-post without streamer, with unclear association.²⁶ The interpretation of these signs has been partly supported on the basis of the Archaic Cities lexical list (Englund et al. 1993), as well as the alleged City Seal (fourth column) of Jemdet Nasr period which identified the names of cities by the emblems of their associated patron deities, ostensibly. The City Seal was studied by Matthews (1993) and Englund (1998: 92–94) tentatively elaborated on the evidence. However, it should be noted that whilst the name of the city of Ur in the City Seal and Archaic Cities list incorporates the corresponding emblem, that of Uruk does not incorporate the ring-post with streamer, which in the city-seal appears as part of the name of Zabala (see Figure D.1); Eridu has not yet been identified in the City Seal and both the Archaic Cities and ED Cities lexical lists do not reflect the name Eridu as far as the evidence allows, though the entry Abzu appears in positions 33 and 60 in the former, and 61 in the latter.

Furthermore, whilst the name of Inanna is spelled ^dMUŠ₃ in later periods, the names of Enki and Nanna are not spelled with the cuneiform signs which allegedly represent their emblems, although they are sometimes interpreted as the names of their cities Eridu and Ur, respectively. Enki’s name is spelled ^dEN.KI (not NUN) and Nanna’s name is spelled ^dŠEŠ.KI as early as the ED IIIa Fāra God List (Krebernik

²⁵Further discussion of the ring-posts in connection with the Uruk Vase is provided in the next section; see p.46f.

²⁶Some scholars such as Van Buren or Szarzyńska associate the ring-post without streamer with the god An, but again this interpretation remains highly problematic as the differentiation between the ring-post without streamer and the *Bügelshafī* is inconsistent (see Van Dijk 2016: 46–48) and no further association between the sign LAGAR (sometimes identified with this symbol) and the god exists in later textual evidence.

1986). I have already noted the discrepancy between the alleged association of URI_{3a} with Nanna in the proto-cuneiform texts and the later spelling of the name with ŠEŠ, which requires further examination beyond the scope of this thesis. A simple phonetic association with the name of the city of Ur cannot be excluded, though one steps on shaky etymological grounds by doing so. The sign NUN in the later Sumerian corpus has several meanings including ‘prince; (as attribute) foremost, best’ (Akk. *rubû*). In a recent analysis of the hierarchical structure reflected in the lexical lists such as NAMEŠDA (Archaic Lu₂ A) Johnson (2015) tentatively suggested that the sign NUN_a denotes a certain office with a rank attached to it, which perhaps enables a better understanding of its later meaning.

A quantitative argument was also employed to support the reading MUŠ₃ as the name of the goddess and thus to confirm her privileged role in Uruk since prehistoric times:

The symbol of Inana—sign MUŠ₃—occurs frequently in the archaic Uruk texts; it can appear alone, as a separate entry of the text, in compositions with definite temple names, or beside various titles of priests and officials. The privileged position of Inana in Uruk, known from later times, can be confirmed by the big frequency of her symbol in archaic texts, in comparison with other god symbols, which are, in fact, rare and remain poorly documented. The offerings records primarily deal with the goddess Inana.

(Szarzyńska 1993: 7)

However, the sign MUŠ_{3a} is in fact not as well attested in Uruk as one might expect, with a frequency of 219 against EN_a’s 996, AN’s 485, or NUN_a’s 456 (Englund 1998: 70); URI_{3a} is attested 50 times. For reference, about 5000 archaic tablets were excavated in the Eanna district of Uruk dating to the Uruk IV/III period (Englund 1998: 32). Furthermore, despite the argument on the frequency of the symbol of Inanna, the number of texts that seem to register offerings to the deity according to the evidence are actually very limited in number (see Table D.2). It stands to reason that the frequency of these texts should be taken into account when drawing conclusions about the significance of cultic activity, rather than finding confirmation to already preconceived ideas. The evidence from proto-cuneiform lexical lists suggests the sign MUŠ_{3a} forms part of a range of complex sign denoting concepts such as proper names or offices (MUŠ_{3a} ME_a and MUŠ_{3a} EZEN_b),²⁷ and geographic designations (MUŠ_{3a}, AN MUŠ_{3a} KI, MUŠ_{3a} TE).

Perhaps there is another possible interpretation of the evidence discussed so far. Ethnographic studies have shown that the *mudhif* structures with which the ancient Mesopotamian reed huts from the Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr iconography are often associated generally function as ceremonial buildings for a local community (a village today), where guests are welcomed and social events such as weddings or funerals are celebrated (Ochsenschlager 2004: 145f.). More modest constructions functioned as houses which families could share with their livestock by adjoining to the main structure another one called a *sitra*, which was also the name given to reed courtyard fences built for village livestock such as cattle and sheep. Ochsenschlager (2004: 169) pointed out the similarities between *mudhif* architecture and the

²⁷Besides the well-known lexical lists, examples exist in administrative texts. An account of labour force from Jemdet Nasr clearly includes the name MUŠ_{3a} (MSVO I, 217 obv. ii l. 1(N₁), MUŠ_{3a}).

famous carved gypsum trough from Uruk depicting such a reed structure with ring-posts with streamers emerging from each side of the roof structure (Figure 2.5). Winter (2006: 121) suggested the scene depicted represents a known motif of abundance in the ‘sheep-fold’ or ‘birth hut’ symbolically framed by the goddess herself functioning as “*the divine power generating reproduction*”. However, it seems to me that the ring-posts with streamers are strategically located both as part of the reed structure and to frame the scene. They could be interpreted as a fence surrounding a compound centred around the building depicted. Other than because the object was found within the Eanna in Uruk, it is unclear how it represents, unequivocally, an aspect of Inanna’s cult, but I admit that more evidence is required from sites other than Uruk to support or reject one or other interpretation. Returning to the *mudbif* buildings, although the same use cannot be exactly extended to the ancient structures, which seem to have been unrestricted to livestock, it may be posited that the signs in the third column of Figure 2.4 represent the concept of a kinship-based household rather than necessarily a temple, even if they appear to resemble a single reed hut building. Semantically, a visually distinctive element could be taken to signify a larger concept of which it was part. This interpretation may lend support to the various uses of the sign MUŠ_{3a} to denote proper names (‘man/woman of household X’), offices associated with the households, or even associated geographic landmarks.



Figure 2.5 – THE URUK TROUGH, THOUGHT TO DEPICT THE ‘SHEEP-FOLD’ OF INANNA BUT WHICH COULD EQUALLY REFLECT THE STRONG RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIVESTOCK AND HOUSEHOLD IDENTIFIED BY ITS EMBLEM (BM 120000; 𒀭𒌦𒍪𒍪 4.0 THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM)).

Finally, it should be noted that, as pointed out by Veldhuis (2014), the transmission of scribal traditions from the Late Uruk into the Early Dynastic period remains poorly understood. Therefore, connections that at first may appear convincing should be analysed carefully and independently from later material. The suggestions made above remain, therefore, highly tentative as well, even if they offer a plausible alternative to the established narrative. Although this is not the place to carry out an exhaustive review of the proto-cuneiform material, further analysis and critique of the textual evidence concerning each of the manifestations discussed by Szarzyńska, as well as the hypothesis of an amphictyonic political organisation centralised around the cult of a “triple Inanna” deity in Uruk during the Jemdet Nasr period are provided in Appendix D. This appendix also includes more recent evidence that may suggest the existence of a ritual calendar in Uruk that perhaps demonstrates the existence of festivals or cyclic celebrations associated with the morning and evening star manifestations according to Englund (1998: 127), but which could also be interpreted as associated with rituals performed at dawn and at dusk, as explained below. Rituals associated with the phases of the moon and with specific times of the day are known throughout Mesopotamian history (Cohen 2015).

As already mentioned, this interpretation of the earliest cult and manifestations of Inanna in Uruk resonates in many subsequent studies and overviews, which generally use the Uruk IV and III evidence as a starting point from which to derive further confirmation about the identity and role of the goddess in mythological texts, royal hymns, etc. Without aiming to be comprehensive, the notion of Inanna as the morning and evening star in proto-historic Uruk is reproduced in Selz's (2000) review of the early evidence on the goddess and again in his overview of cultic activity in Uruk (Selz 2013), Asher-Greve and Westenholz's (2013: 43f.) discussion of goddesses and the amphictyonic organization around Uruk postulated by Steinkeller (2002a,b), in Cohen's (2015: 214) discussion of festivals and calendars in Uruk, in Cooley's (2008: 81) discussion of *Inanna and Šukaletuda* as reflecting Venus' synodic activity, in Marchesi and Marchetti's (2011: 192) discussion of the iconography of the 'priest-king' and its identification with Inanna-KUR as "male Inanna", in Wang's (2011: 219f.) discussion of the role of Nippur and Enlil in the "Inanna amphictyony" and, finally, in Pryke's (2017: 126–128) recent overview of largely textual evidence on Inanna/Aštar for a wider audience. These are only the most recent citations, illustrating the extent to which these ideas are active in scholarly research. On the other hand, in a little known article, Kurtik (1999) put into question the logical reading of the texts and suggested an option to which I shall return in Chapter 8:

If the hypothesis of K. Szarzyńska is correct, [then] the goddess Inanna was identified with the planet Venus at the end of the fourth millennium BC. In our opinion, however, the mentioned texts from Uruk also admit non-astral interpretation.

Indeed, if the picture of a star placed alongside of the sign of Inanna is a determinative, we have to assume that in the texts there are no direct indications for the astral character of the goddess Inanna. The time of a festival (morning/day/evening) could be unconnected with the observations of heavenly bodies, as it, no doubt, took place in many other cases. In reconstructing the way which had led to the identification of Inanna with the planet Venus, it is plausible to assume that there existed a period when the morning and evening festivals of Inanna were regularly carried out, but the goddess herself was not yet identified with Venus. The present texts probably go back just to this period. It is especially probably because during the period Uruk III we have no untextual evidence indicating the astral character of Inanna.

(Kurtik 1999: 506)

Finally, but of no lesser importance, it should be clear that the supposed names of temples "connected with the cult of Inanna" discussed by Szarzyńska (1992; 1993: 23f.; 2000: 66f.) appear difficult to demonstrate given our understanding of the sign AB and growing skepticism about the interpretation of the Late Uruk Eanna buildings as temples, discussed in the next section. The reading of the sign AB_a as the Sumerian term eš₃ 'temple/shrine' has not been proved, and is conservatively translated as "large household" or "institution," since its architectural dimension cannot be proved either. Michalowski (1993a) suggested the sign may have functioned analogously to the later use of ki, the Sumerian post-determinative of place. Sallaberger (2010) could not conclude a definite temple character of AB in the Early Dynastic texts from Ur that could confirm the same reading eš₃ as for later periods, noting that in UD.GAL.NUN orthography AB/UNUG corresponds to ki "place" (Sallaberger 2010: 33). Finally, Johnson remarks that the recent interpretation of Uruk III NUN.ME as Sumerian abgal "apkallu-priest" is completely unwarranted, and

that “*the most we can say is that abgal can be etymologized as “head of the AB-institution”*” (Johnson 2015: 181 n. 28, and references therein).

Overall, the interpretation that favours the continued existence of the Eanna as the cultic complex of Inanna from the Late Uruk period onwards has gained more acceptance in the literature than is perhaps due. There are significant limitations and question marks over the interpretation of the textual material that cannot be overlooked. Therefore, it would be unwise to continue to assume this state of affairs without further scrutiny. As Englund cautiously put it, “*the classical Sumerian pantheon as it emerged in the ED IIIa god lists is nowhere to be found in proto-cuneiform texts, so that discussions of archaic cults remain highly speculative*” (Englund 2011).

2.1.3 A SHORT NOTE ON LATER SOURCES

In this review, I have not discussed later material from the 1st millennium B.C. even if it also influenced, as it is often the case, the understanding of Venus as the split-gendered morning and evening stars. Briefly, the most common designation of the planet in 1st millennium B.C. astronomical and astrological texts are “Red lady of heaven” and “star Dilbad” (Heimpel 1982: 11).²⁸ Heimpel also mentions an astrological text from Assurbanipal’s library in which Venus is called Dilbat and is characterised according to its position as evening and morning star. The former is called female and identified with Ištar of Uruk, the latter is called male and identified with Ištar of Akkad (Heimpel 1982: 14). This piece of evidence is used by Heimpel to support his argument that the original Semitic Aštar was a male deity. However, the argument seems to weaken as the author argues that the Semites of the early 3rd millennium readily accepted the female gender of the southern Inanna as it was syncretised with their Aštar. How exactly this piece of knowledge would have survived for nearly 2,000 years and resurface during Assurbanipal’s reign is not explained and, in my opinion, seems far-fetched. It is simpler to understand the 1st millennium B.C. reference within a separate process of semiotic re-motivation of the signs and symbols associated with the planet.

Finally, recent research into the difference between the names of deities and their association with celestial bodies demonstrates a flexible approach to understanding the relationship between the two. Rochberg’s work on this topic has championed the position that gods who were associated with celestial bodies are not always part and parcel of the same concept of divinity (Rochberg 2004: 171–180; 2009: 89; 2011: 124–130). In fact, they could be differentiated from those same heavenly bodies, as expressed in an omen’s metaphoric language in which the gods do not constitute the signs, but simply produce them (Rochberg 1996: 482). On this point, Allen (2015: 41–42) notes that the often-cited celestial omen protasis suggesting that the planet Venus had a “beard” could be interpreted “*as a visual metaphor and a sign provided by a goddess who does not need a shave,*” and that such a distinction would also explain “*the fact that different names are usually used to differentiate the deity from the planetary body*” (Allen 2015:

²⁸Winter (1999) discussed the question of the association of the colour red with Venus, Inanna/Aštar and, thus, with femininity. However, red is ubiquitous in Mesopotamia and while a red-blue dichotomy was certainly valued, arguments in favour of the identification of the colour with the feminine, or even with women’s menstruation, should be supported with further evidence. In other cultures, red was not necessarily associated with Venus. For example, in the Hindu tradition, the sun is associated with red while Venus is white (Bühnemann 1989).

42). The fact that the planet Venus is often designated as ^{mul/d}*dil-bat* could point towards a distinction been made that is often overlooked for the earlier periods, when the writing ^dMUŠ₃ is often equated with both the primary agent, “Inanna,” and the secondary agent, Venus or the morning/evening star. If one applies Rochberg’s reasoning to the evidence from the 4th and 3rd millennia B.C., then it seems plausible to differentiate between the ethereal deity Inanna or Aštar and the natural phenomena of the evening and mornings star, which do not impinge on the representation and identity of the deity. Thus, the concept of identifying specific avatars of the deity that personify the morning or the evening star appears irrelevant for they are only elements of the secondary agency in the realms of omens and divination, for example.

2.2 INANNA/AŠTAR IN THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

Stemming from the ED IIIa literary compositions known as *za₃-mi₃* hymns (Biggs 1974; Krebernik 2017) that seem to suggest a regional organisation of settlements based on patron deities, the political organisation of the Early Dynastic period is roughly understood to adhere to an ideological principle “*according to which the land was composed of individual equal-ranking city-states, each with its principal deity and sanctuary*” (Postgate 1992: 26). Furthermore, “*the reality is reflected in the archaeological record: both excavation and surface survey substantiate the picture of a fairly uniform class of major population centres distributed widely across the southern plain, with strong local identities expressed in their allegiance to a city god and their pride in the temple*” (Postgate 1992: 26). For example, foundation deposits have been found across sites that attest the construction, or reconstruction, of temples by Early Dynastic rulers. A classic example is the Early Dynastic complex of the god Ningirsu in Girsu, which has been studied through royal inscriptions (Frayne 2008), the detailed administrative texts from the queen’s household (Maekawa 1973–4; Beld 2002), as well as the early French excavations at the site (Parrot 1948; Forest 1999) and renewed archaeological exploration by a British-Iraqi team from The British Museum (Rey 2016). This political organisation is often postulated as an inheritance from the earlier system reflected in the ‘city seals’ (Postgate 1992: 32f.), which I discuss in Appendix D (see p. 545) and conclude that the arguments require further supporting evidence. Coupled with the ‘strong man’ hypothesis, city-states are often described as collaborative with one another, but more often than not as conflictive and establishing strategic alliances centred around the cities of Kiš, Uruk, or Girsu. Such alliances eventually led to Sargon’s rising as the hegemonic ruler of all the regions and the establishment of the first geographic empire (Foster 2016: 3f.). The royal inscriptions, which are usually found on objects with a ritual component such as foundation deposits, plaques, statues or stone vessels, are routinely exploited for their content to elucidate the political history of the region and establish the chronology of rulers that governed in each of these polities (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011; Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015). Some of the objects have also been used from an art historical perspective in establishing a chronological sequence for this period (Frankfort 1939; as discussed in Evans 2012). The archaeological evidence is often invoked only insofar as it ratifies the political structure described, rather than studied in its own right to assess the ways in which the organisation of the built environment and the structuration of civic and religious activities contributed towards the shaping of the political structures themselves; in other words, to study the materiality of religion and power and the ways in which these may have influenced the gendered organisation of society.

However, the accepted context for the emergence and shaping of Early Dynastic political organisation may be more complex. The notion of city-states in Mesopotamia carries the weight of Deimel's temple state theory, and, as Butterlin has argued, "*Uruk was seen as the matrix of future City-States*" (Butterlin 2015: 62). Although Deimel's ideas have been heavily revised for the Early Dynastic period on the basis of extensive administrative evidence,²⁹ the same is often disregarded in relation to the site of Uruk during the previous period (Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr), as almost no archaeological or textual material dating to the Early Dynastic have so far been excavated at the site. For example, Adams and Nissen state that "*Uruk (already a flourishing theocratic center) attained its largest urbanized area during the ED I period, but thereafter its ascendancy was increasingly challenged by the growth of a number of other city-states of rival size*" (Adams and Nissen 1972: 18). As a result of the archaeological and textual gap in the evidence from Uruk during the Early Dynastic, the interpretation of Inanna as the city-goddess of Uruk during this period is fundamentally inferred from the sources discussed in the previous section together with later ED IIIb sources. For example, Steinkeller suggested that "*Sumerian city-states clearly were based on a high level of social and economic integration between towns and the countryside*" (Steinkeller 2007: 205), even though he defends at the same time the existence of an amphictyonic organisation centred in Uruk and Inanna as late as ED I (Steinkeller 2002b). However, it should be stressed that the evidence from Uruk does not support one way or another the interpretation that the central district known as Eanna was the cultic complex of the goddess, at least not until the Ur III dynasty. Unlike the lack of evidence from Uruk itself, excavations at other sites have, rather surprisingly, yielded several important temples dedicated to Inanna in the south, and to Aštar in the north. For example, buildings containing foundation deposits clearly identifying the goddess have been found in ancient Lagaš (al-Hiba), Nippur (Nuffar) and Mari (Tell Hariri). Other textual evidence suggests the existence of temples in other sites, though the archaeology remains ambiguous in some instances, for example in Adab (Tell Bismayah) or Aššur (Qal'at Sherqat). These findings are summarised in Table 2.2 and, as I shall discuss later in the section, these temples appear to have been consciously built during the Early Dynastic as no evidence suggests they existed before this period, the later stages (ED IIIa–b) in particular. Surely, if temples dedicated to the patron deities of important cities as well as to the personal deities of the royal households were built and/or renovated, often in reflection with the increasing power of male rulers, why is there no evidence, textual or archaeological, concerning the construction of a temple of Inanna in Uruk? Why is there evidence, textual and archaeological, concerning the construction of temples of Inanna/Aštar in other locations, including capital cities?

These questions deserve further examination. In the following two subsections, I will first discuss the archaeological evidence from Uruk from the later 4th millennium B.C. onwards. This discussion will show the discrepancies between approaches that focus on the archaeological evidence versus text- and image-based ones. To some extent, this discussion supplements the previous critique of the textual material. Having laid out the pitfalls in using Uruk as a case in point on which to substantiate the city-state model for the onset of the Early Dynastic period, I will move on to discuss temple construction activity during the Early Dynastic period in relation with Inanna/Aštar. The evidence discussed is summarised in Table 2.2. This review will show how the concept of an Eanna is not limited to Uruk, and may in fact

²⁹See Rey's (2016: Chapter 3) discussion of the archaeological and textual basis for the regional setting of Early Dynastic city-states.

originate outside this city. In doing so, it will demonstrate the complexity and fluidity of human-divine relationships during this period, opening up the door to further examination of the contexts in which temples dedicated to Inanna/Aštar were built, as well as investigating who was responsible for the temples, how they functioned, and what were the reasons they were built and maintained.

2.2.1 THE EANNA OF URUK: CULTIC CENTRE?

The established narrative that is often invoked in articles and books locates the cult of Inanna from at least the mid to the late 4th millennium B.C. onwards into two distinct areas: the area below the Eanna, which certainly from the Ur III period became her main cultic complex for millennia (Figure 2.6), and/or Kullāb, an area which in literary texts appears alongside Uruk, and for which the Anu district has been posited as its real emplacement. The Anu district is located about half a kilometre west of the town and is named after the temple that was built in the 1st millennium B.C. in the same spot and dedicated to the god. It is also where the oldest temple in the area of Warka was located, dating back to at least the Ubaid period. Known as the White Temple, its deity remains unidentified (Figure 2.7). The high platform on which the White Temple was built consisted of numerous superimposed terraces dating back to the Ubaid period (end of the 5th millennium B.C.), and it seems to have been bricked up and abandoned sometime in the Uruk III period, though the synchronicity between the Anu and Eanna districts has been much disputed (Strommenger 1980). These two areas seem to have been separated by a canal in the 4th millennium B.C. but, by the Early Dynastic period, the two areas had become part of one and the same town and were surrounded by a common wall (Nissen 2013: 111).

The identification of the monumental area known as the Eanna with a temple complex dedicated to the goddess Inanna is only possible through later literary texts (Mittermayer 2009; Nissen 2013: 112), as the earliest textual evidence is so far mute on this point, even from the Early Dynastic period. Nissen stresses the lack of an architecturally marked centre as evidence that the character of these buildings can hardly be interpreted solely as temples, if perhaps they cannot be completely stripped off a certain ritual character. He suggests that they probably served various functions, including as a meeting point for a possible “Council Assembly” that is named in the List of Officials (Nissen 2013: 111):

[L]arge, plaza-like open spaces may have served to accommodate large numbers of people. Apart from its assumed cultic/public function, Eanna is thought to have served as an economic center as well. On the one hand, this is indicated by spaces within Eanna that served as workshops. Remains of kiln installations, which were interpreted as metal working installations [...] indicate their workshop function.

(Nissen 2001: 155)

A number of other scholars, including Crawford (2004) or Dittmann (2007), have also noted the inconsistencies between anthropological and archaeological definitions of temples and the nature of the evidence from the Eanna. Algaze sums up the problems:

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Figure 2.6 – EANNA DISTRICT DURING THE URUK PERIOD (CA. 3600–3300 B.C.; TOP).
THE *ROTER TEMPEL* (“RED TEMPLE”) HAS BEEN POSITED AS THAT OF INANNA,
THOUGH RECENT WORK BY EICHMANN (2007: 54–60) HAS PROVED HEINRICH’S
ORIGINAL RECONSTRUCTION IS ERRONEOUS AND THE FUNCTION OF THE H-SHAPED
PILLARS CANNOT BE DETERMINED AT PRESENT (CRÜSEMANN ET AL. 2013: FIG. 14.5).

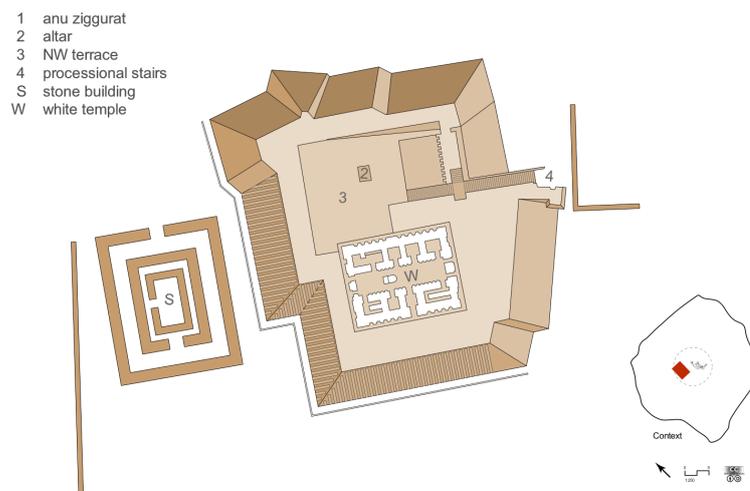


Figure 2.7 – RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ANU DISTRICT OF ARCHAIC URUK (© (i) (d)
LAMASSU DESIGN).

One fact immediately strikes the eye: while entrance to the structures in the Anu Area appears to have been carefully controlled, this was not always the case in the Eanna Area, where many of the buildings had multiple entrances and must have served purposes requiring the relatively free congregation of large numbers of people (feasting as a mode of social mobilization?).

(Algaze 2013: 78)

Meanwhile, Butterlin has also argued against the premise of a central, powerful polity from which ideas, trade, and culture emerged, which he argues infiltrated even the archaeological recording of stratigraphic sequences, as for example at Tepe Gawra (Butterlin 2015). Concerning the evidence from Uruk level IV, he argues that:

As far as we know, those compounds are enclosed and welcomed gatherings. We ignore what kind of assemblies occurred there but the very fact that those complexes coexisted means that more than one assembly occurred at the same time, and that those assemblies were divided along several compounds, but concentrated in one place. All this evokes is some kind of confederal system associating different social units. It is most probably that huge ceremonies or feasts occurred there, with redistribution operations.

(Butterlin 2015: 65–66)

Finally, Ur's work has highlighted the similarities of the Uruk monumental buildings with Ubaid domestic architecture, suggesting that the changes observed coincide with the extension of the concept of household, not a radical reconfiguration of the social order. In this sense, the monumental architecture may reflect household co-operation and competition rather than one temple complex absorbing ideological control over a geographic area:

Uruk's role as a centre for redistribution can be questioned based on recent reassessments of the bevelled rim bowl. Uruk was home to political and religious elites and their households, but it is entirely unknown whether such institutions were not present in other contemporary sites. Without knowing what functions neighboring towns and villages performed (or did not perform), it is impossible to evaluate Uruk's role as the centre.

(Ur 2014: 262)

It seems recent archaeological analysis—and I have only included some illustrative examples—has not had sufficient impact to reconsider the interpretations based on the textual and visual evidence, which remain staunchly attached to the cult of Inanna. On the other hand, some archaeologists choose the more conservative approach to accept the textual interpretations, though adding that the location of the cultic activities cannot be identified in the excavated remains. For example, van Ess notes that:

*Erwähnt ist Inanna vielleicht schon in der ‚archaischen‘ Texten der Uruk IV-Zeit und es wird deutlich, dass sie in Uruk kultische Verehrung genoss – unklar ist nur, wo dies in der Frühzeit stattfand.*³⁰

(Van Ess 2013: 226)

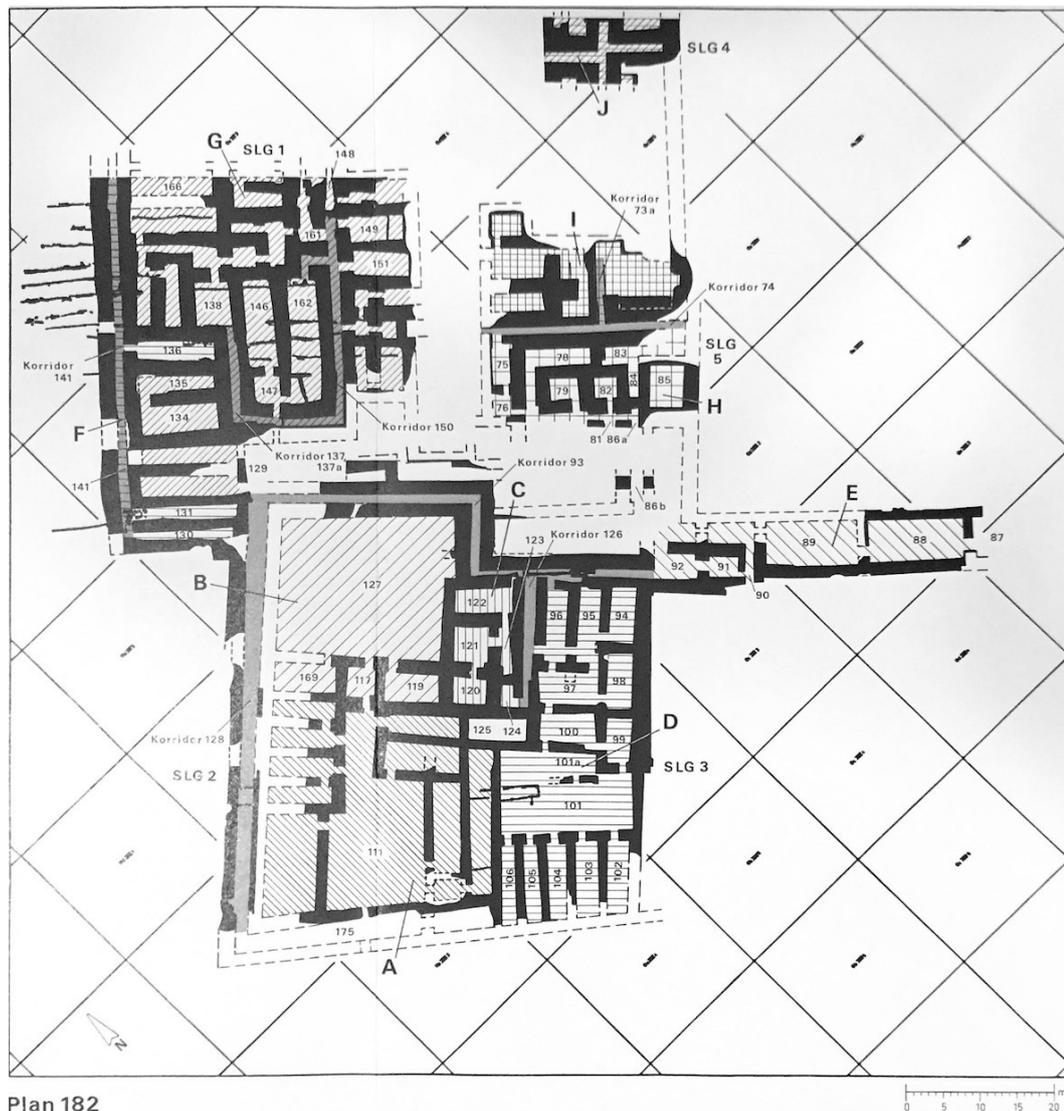
If the architectural evidence from Level IV cannot be exclusively interpreted as a cultic centre of the goddess Inanna, then it follows that perhaps the evidence has been, to some extent, selected to fit the patterns required for such interpretations. As I discussed in the previous section, this is precisely what I argue Szarzyńska did with the evidence.

The architectural changes in the Eanna introduced with the designation Uruk III for these levels is considerably harder to reconcile with the textual evidence, as well as being chronologically difficult to place. The dating of the architecture and the finds from these levels has remained largely controversial. This controversy lies in part in the definition of the Jemdet Nasr period. The issues around the existence of the Jemdet Nasr period are well-known, and have been the subject of analyses since the 1980s. Briefly speaking, there appear to be discrepancies between *a*) changes observed in the architecture; *b*) changes observed in the type of bricks used (a typical marker used to define historical changes); and *c*) changes in the palaeography of cuneiform tablets. Furthermore, the fact that objects originally assigned to Uruk III originate from the fill of the structures poses another layer of difficulty in untangling the relationship between architecture and objects: “*the finds cannot be dated by the levels and the levels cannot be dated by the finds to which they seem to belong*” (Finkbeiner 1986: 34).

To some extent, the issues concerning points *a*) and *b*) are summarised in Table 2.1. The evidence from the later excavation of the pisé building (*Stampflehmgebäude*) in 1975/76 (Siewert 1991; Finkbeiner 1991; Cavigneaux 1991a,b) has been particularly enlightening when discerning the relative chronology of the Eanna, since more meticulous recording of finds was carried out (Figure 2.8 for a plan of the building). In particular, a few cuneiform tablets found in the remains of the building have been confidently dated to a similar period as the archaic tablets from Ur, that is, the ED I–II period (Nissen 1986b), and a stone fragment containing an inscription of Lugalkigenedudu, as well as other small finds, suggest that the *Stampflehmgebäude* dates to the ED IIIb (Finkbeiner 1991). Boehmer (1991) has suggested it was built by Lugalzagesi. The context and dating of these foundations (no actual walls were found) implies that a significant construction project took place, which certainly erased any remains of previous structures beneath them. The foundation trenches extended down to even Level IVa, which means that the contiguous Levels III–I must be dated roughly between the Late Uruk and (definitely) before the late ED IIIb period. The issue here appears to be how precisely to date these levels, and whether any periods of abandonment should be considered. Whilst Finkbeiner (1991) argues Uruk IIIc–a to I7 constitute the Jemdet Nasr levels in Eanna, Sürenhagen (1999: 173) dates Uruk IIIc–a to the ED I period, based on the existence of stratified examples of solid footed goblets.³¹ The implications are clear: if these levels date to the ED I period, then

³⁰‘Inanna is perhaps mentioned in the ‘archaic’ texts of the Uruk IV period and it is clear that she was worshipped in Uruk—although it is unclear where this cultic activity took place in the early periods.’

³¹Sürenhagen suggested that the Uruk IV architecture dates to an early “early Sumerian” (*Jungfrühsumerische*) stage given the presence of conical bowls (*Blumentoft*) in ‘layer’ IVa contexts, replacing the earlier beveled rim bowls



Plan 182

Figure 2.8 – SCHEMATIC PLAN OF THE STAMPFLEHMGEBÄUDE WITH EICHMANN’S RECONSTRUCTION OF ROOM CLUSTERS (A–J). THE PLATFORM EXTENDS TO THE TO THE EAST OF THE BUILDING (EICHMANN 2007: PLAN 182).

the high terrace and gateway should be understood as (early) Early Dynastic developments. The few cuneiform tablets from the foundations of the pisé building seem to point towards the second option, if it cannot be elucidated whether a similar administrative structure existed below this building that stood during all or part of the ED I–IIIb period.

On the other hand, this dating creates another issue: how and where to place the palaeographically earlier tablets, i.e. the Uruk III tablets? These have been linked chronologically with the Jemdet Nasr tablets since the latter were excavated first. The evidence from Ur might help elucidate this point. Benati’s (2014; 2015) recent work on the archaic tablets from Ur has led to a better contextualisation of the archaeological

that disappear before the start of ‘layer’ IVb. Meanwhile, the architecture of Uruk III should be dated to the Early Dynastic period. In a recent study of conical bowl distribution, Gruber concluded that “no clear differences are recognizable between bowls from contexts dated to the Jemdet Nasr period, and those dated to the Early ED period” (Gruber 2015: 156), thus adding difficulty to the relative and absolute dating of the Uruk architecture.

remains of the beginning of the Early Dynastic period on the one hand, and of the specific dating and context of the large group of tablets found in the “Ancient Room” (Benati and Lecompte 2016) on the other (see also Benati and Lecompte 2017). The finds from this context are usually associated with the SIS 5/4 deposit, but Benati dates them slightly later than his ED Ic level; this is the former ED II period in southern Babylonia (Benati and Lecompte 2017: table 2). Sürenhagen (1999: 250, table 54) already proposed dating SIS 5/4 to the ED II–ED IIIa period, suggesting a date later than ED I for some of the stratified tablets. Benati links SIS 5/4 with Nippur Inanna Temple Level VIII. On the other hand, Lecompte (2016) places the Ur tablets in an intermediate stage that shares material features both with the earlier Uruk III and later Fāra ED IIIa texts, although the use of paleography to establish chronological relationships between corpora from different sites should be assessed carefully. If the Jemdet Nasr dating of the Uruk III texts from Uruk stands, then we effectively have a “gap” in the evidence between Jemdet Nasr and the late ED I, at least in terms of cuneiform texts and unless there is an ED I corpus of texts waiting to be found somewhere.³² On the other hand, Englund notes that a group of roughly 186 texts found in the area of the ‘Great Courtyard’ in Uruk Eanna can be securely dated to a stratigraphic level before “Late III,” i.e. presumably IIIa, and thus probably dated to IIIc or IIIb (Nissen 1986b: 319). Based on palaeographic grounds, this group was labelled IIIb by Falkenstein, which became III₂ in Nissen’s dissociation between archaeological and palaeographic sequences (Nissen 1986a,b). These texts include those on the so-called offerings to Inanna-UD/ḥud₂ and Inanna-sig. If one is to trust the correlation with level IIIc–b in the area of the ziggurat, where the high terrace first appears during this period, then one should conclude that a certain synchronicity may exist between the two, as well as the enclosure wall and gate that are dated to level IIIa. If one is to accept Sürenhagen’s dating of these levels, the implication is that the chronological context of these texts may stretch (relatively-speaking) into the ED I period, which is in fact a period of expansion for the site, reaching its greatest extent and largest population around this time (Adams 1981). This adjustment would, to some extent, reduce the gap observed between the latest Uruk III tablets and the earliest Ur Archaic texts.³³

³²In a recent contribution, Wencil (2017) proposed some adjustments to the absolute dating of the relative chronology for the late 4th millennium B.C. to the Akkadian conquest in Mesopotamia. The most significant preliminary result of his research is a gap of about 100 years between the Jemdet Nasr and ED I/II period (Wencil 2017: table 2). This gap may at first agree with the gap in cuneiform material; however, something else may explain the gap observed by Wencil. On the one hand, he could only use one carbon sample from Uruk that was indirectly linked with Jemdet Nasr material culture, whilst the samples to date the onset of ED I were obtained from Nippur Inanna Temple Level XI. The lack of a continuous sequence of samples associated with material culture from one site may account for this gap, more so than a demonstrable distinction between the two. For example, at the site of Jemdet Nasr, preliminary evidence of continuity in occupation between the Jemdet Nasr and ED I was observed in a rubbish tip excavated outside the large building in which the corpus of Jemdet Nasr tablets were excavated in the 1920s. The continuity observed included the presence of early examples of solid-footed goblets and seal impressions with allegedly earlier motifs (Matthews 1989: 237f.; Matthews 1990: 32f.). The key point in the evidence from Jemdet Nasr was that the seal impressions closely resembled those on the Jemdet Nasr administrative tablets “in style and composition, as well as in the use of several specific motifs, such as the eight-pointed rosette”, but were found in contexts of early ED I date (Matthews 1990: 34). However, these stratified sealings could not be linked with administrative tablets that could resolve the continuity of writing between the tablets excavated in the 1920s (which lack a solid archaeological context) and the ED I contexts excavated in the 1980s, to support either an overlap or a gap in this regard. In any case, the evidence available is too fragmentary and both Wencil’s results and the suggestions here presented on the basis of relative stratigraphic relationships are preliminary. Furthermore, the relative relationships also require absolute dating to understand how the length of each cultural period impacts the framing and understanding of political, economic, and social developments.

³³On the three tablets excavated in Pit G in Ur given a Jemdet Nasr date based on palaeographic comparison with Uruk counterparts, Benati notes that “it is not possible to estimate the gap between the earliest stratified [Ancient

Perhaps the synchronization between material culture, stratigraphy and palaeography requires further examination, and it should come as no surprise that the boundaries between historically-cohesive periods are often more blurry than expected. Nevertheless, perhaps it should not be surprising either that what we know as Early Dynastic, historically speaking, should perhaps appear earlier in the archaeological record at Uruk than in other places, although other sites such as Kiš or even Jemdet Nasr may yield further evidence on the context in which the emergence of political and religious centres emerged. The latter are no doubt the referent for the definition of ‘Early Dynastic’. In a forthcoming article, Sallaberger (forth.) argues for a connection in the written use of the compound AB + city name, whereby they refer to the temenos enclosing the religious and political centres of each city.³⁴ These ideas require further examination contrasted with the archaeological record, especially in light of Stone’s (2013) arguments that the main temple and the palace or palaces during the Early Dynastic period were often found on different mounds probably separated by a watercourse, spatially marking the symbolic separation between the religious and the secular. Evidence for this organisation was traced at Eridu and Kiš, and perhaps at Abu Salabikh as recently proposed by Matthews and Matthews (2017). Noticeably, the locations suggested by Sallaberger include Ur (AB–Urim “Temenos and (city) Ur”), Fāra (e₂-gal “palace” and (e₂)-iri “city(house)”), and Ebla (SA.ZA_x^{ki} wa Ebla “Palace’ and (city) Ebla”), as well his suggestion of the pair “Kullāb” and “Uruk”. Van de Mieroop (2002) also advocates for the ED III period as the context for the emergence of “true kingship” founded on a strong secular elite. Clearly, more evidence from the preceding ED I–II period is required to disentangle the social, economic, and political factors shaping kingship in ancient Mesopotamia.

What about the finds from the Eanna that, the argument goes, must be associated with the temple of Inanna and the goddess herself? The famous “Lady of Warka” was found discarded in a pit and covered with clay tablets of the later phase of Uruk III (Strommenger 1980: 482). Its secondary deposition does not allow for its dating, though the style so closely resembles Early Dynastic statuary that it would simply be too far-fetched to place its production much earlier than the earliest dated finds from the Diyala (Evans 2011); at least in the absence of any other examples. Eva Strommenger summarised the problems associated with efforts to align architectural, textual, and stylistic changes with well-defined historical periods:

The basic assumption, as with the seals, is that with the rebuilding of the sanctuary of Eanna the artistic style must have changed. For such an assumption, however, at least to date, there is no reliable evidence.

(Strommenger 1980: 481)

Room] (*i.e.*, SIS 8) and their Jemdet Nasr forerunners” because it is not possible to establish a stratigraphic relationship between the two (Benati and Lecompte 2017: 6). The tablets come from Pit G, from mixed levels that served as the foundation terrace for a plano-convex structure. Although the deposit probably dates sometime to the equivalent SIS 7–4 context based on the majority of objects found, there are also objects dating back to even the Ubaid period (Sürenhagen 1999: 184). Benati and Lecompte (2017: 6) also note that at Ur no ¹⁴C dates are available from contexts dated to Jemdet Nasr. Be that as it may, it remains unclear whether any or how much time had elapsed. Certainly, three tablets is not enough to support arguments either way, nor is palaeographic dating of tablets uncontroversial.

³⁴I kindly thank Prof. Dr. Sallaberger for sharing this contribution with me after a fruitful discussion during the workshop on *Archaeological and Textual Approaches to Ritual and Religion* that was held at the 64th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in Innsbruck, Austria, 17 July 2018.

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Figure 2.9 – THE PLATFORMS BELOW THE Ur III ZIGGURAT IN URUK WERE INVESTIGATED THROUGH TUNNELING. FROM THE EARLIEST STRUCTURE (BLUE), THE TERRACE SEEMS TO HAVE FIRST BEEN ENLARGED INTO AN L-SHAPED STRUCTURE (RED), AND FINALLY INTO A SQUARE SHAPE (YELLOW), PERHAPS OVER A PERIOD OF 1000 YEARS (EICHMANN 2013: 125). THE YOUNGEST VERSION IS DATED TO THE ED IIIb PERIOD. THE SAMMELFUND COMES FROM THE AREA OF THE REMAINS THAT APPEARED TO BE EARLIER THAN THE PLATFORMS (IN GREY), THOUGH PROBABLY FROM THE FILL ABOVE THE STRUCTURES (CRÜSEMANN ET AL. 2013: FIG. 16.12).

Sürenhagen 1999	Finkbeiner 1986	Level	Architecture	Foundations of large admin/palace-like buildings; later addition to Level I 1/2 structures.	Brick-type	Foundations					
ED IIIb (Lugalzagesi)*	ED late	“Stampflgb” I 1 2 3 4 5	High terrace still in use? ↑(c) ↑(c) ↑(c) ↑(c) Square high terrace enlargement		?	pisé in f.-pit					
							rect. / PC b.	?			
							PC b.	?			
							rect. / PC b.	?			
							rect. / PC b.	?			
ED IIIb		I	Square high terrace enlargement		rect. / PC b.	?					
							rect. / PC b.	?			
ED II/ED III	Beginning of ED (?) ↓	I	↑	Transitional layer(?)	PC-R,†	in f.-trench					
ED I	“protoliterate” or “Gamat Nasr-period”	I	L-shaped high terrace enlargement	↑ Sammelfund# (Oe XVI3/ Pa XVI2 in fill)(?)	↑ “Opferstätten”§ (trough-shaped pits in area of “Red Temple”)	?					
							III	a	Enclosure walls; monumental gate.	R. / R.-like / rect.	on terraces
		III/IV	a	c	Square high terrace	↑	Trough-shaped pits,††	-			
									Transitional levelling/terrace	R. / R.-like	on terraces
		“jüngerfrüh-sumerische”**	Late Uruk	IV	Building D/C		“Red Temple”##	on terraces			
									a	Rect. (rare)	on terraces
b	R.								on terraces		
		c			R.	on terraces					

* Boehmer 1991.

† PC Riemchen in use up to “level I/2” in P XIII trench (local terminology!).

‡ Found in fill of Level III(a?) structure in Square Oe XVI-3 or Pa XVI-2, covered by Level I structures (Finkbeiner 1986: 41 fig. 4).

§ Similar, albeit round, structures in the “*construction inferieure*” at Telloh have been interpreted as support pits for structural poles made of perishable materials used to stabilise the superstructure (Forest 1999: 13). Marchetti dates the terrace and building to ED II/IIIa (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 39 table 4).

** Denotes a certain continuity between Late Uruk, Jemdet Nasr and ED I, which Nissen suggested are “*handy labels for subdivision of one period*” (Finkbeiner and Röllig 1986: 376).

†† These were found in two rows 130m apart but without any architectural context. Interpreted as offering-pits to purify and prepare the ground for new buildings (Finkbeiner 1986: 43).

The so-called ‘Red Temple’ is not really such, and only some walls and floors remain that “*seem to be associated with one another in large part through contextual finds*” (Englund 1998: 34).

Table 2.1 – ARCHAEOLOGICAL LEVELS AND THEIR DATING IN URUK EANNA.

How this piece ended up in the pit with texts in principle dated to an earlier period may never be clarified, though note the discussion of the dating of the texts above. Nothing suggests either way that it must be dated earlier or later than the Early Dynastic. The limitations associated with the dating of the context in which it was found have not stopped scholars envisioning this artwork as the image of the goddess herself, even though little suggests the gender or divine status of the individual represented:

A unique, real portrait of Inana might be seen in the carved mask of a beautiful and majestic woman dating from the Uruk III period, or even earlier, which was found at Uruk in the area of the “Red Temple.” Such a large and excellent piece simply cannot represent even the highest priestess!

(Szarzyńska 2000: 68)

This assumption continues today:

Dass Inanna gemeint sein könnte, wird auch für den berühmten Kopf, der ebenfalls aus Uruk stammt, vermutet. Die „Dame von Warka“, wie das Stück gerne genannt wird, zeigt ein glattes Gesicht mit schmalen Lippen und einer langen Nase, welche beschädigt ist. Augen, Brauen und wohl auch der Scheitel waren für Einlagen vorgesehen. Das Haar liegt eng am Kopf an und ist in Wellen gelegt, begrenzt von klaren Graten.³⁵

(Blocher 2013)

A case in point is perhaps one example from Khafajah’s Nintu Temple Level VII (Kh. III 1017), which shows a remarkable similarity with the Warka mask. Approximately half the size of the latter (12.5 cm), the gender of the individual is unclear. It was originally deemed female, but finally published as male (Frankfort 1939: 70–71 no. 121; pl. 84, 94). Level VII is dated to the late Early Dynastic, that is, roughly ED IIIb (see Chapter 6, Section §6.1).

Regarding the famous *Sammelfund*, its archaeological context is not clear, as it was unearthed beneath the Ur-Namma ziggurat in a disturbed context. Through tunneling below the ziggurat, a series of platforms were traced underneath, dating to the Early Dynastic as discussed above (Table 2.1). Their complete reconstruction is not clear, but by the ED III period the platforms were rebuilt into a square one surrounded by a wall and drainage system. The *Sammelfund* was found among the remains of older Uruk III structures (published as Pa XVI 2, inside and in front of rooms 240 and 241, but in preliminary reports appears as Square Oe XVI 3, Room 238/239; see Figure 2.10) in the same area of the ziggurat and was believed to date to the Late Uruk period at first, though it is now conventionally dated to the Jemdet Nasr period (fill of level IIIa). Boese (2009) has argued that some doubts exist about the exact context of the findspot and, based on Sürenhagen’s (1999) work he dates the context of the deposition to at least

³⁵‘It is possible that the famous head from Uruk also represents Inanna. The “Lady of Warka,” as the piece is often called, has a beardless face with narrow lips and a long nose, which is damaged. The eyes, brows, and probably also the parting were probably inlaid. The hair is close to the head and is laid in waves, defined by clear ridges.’

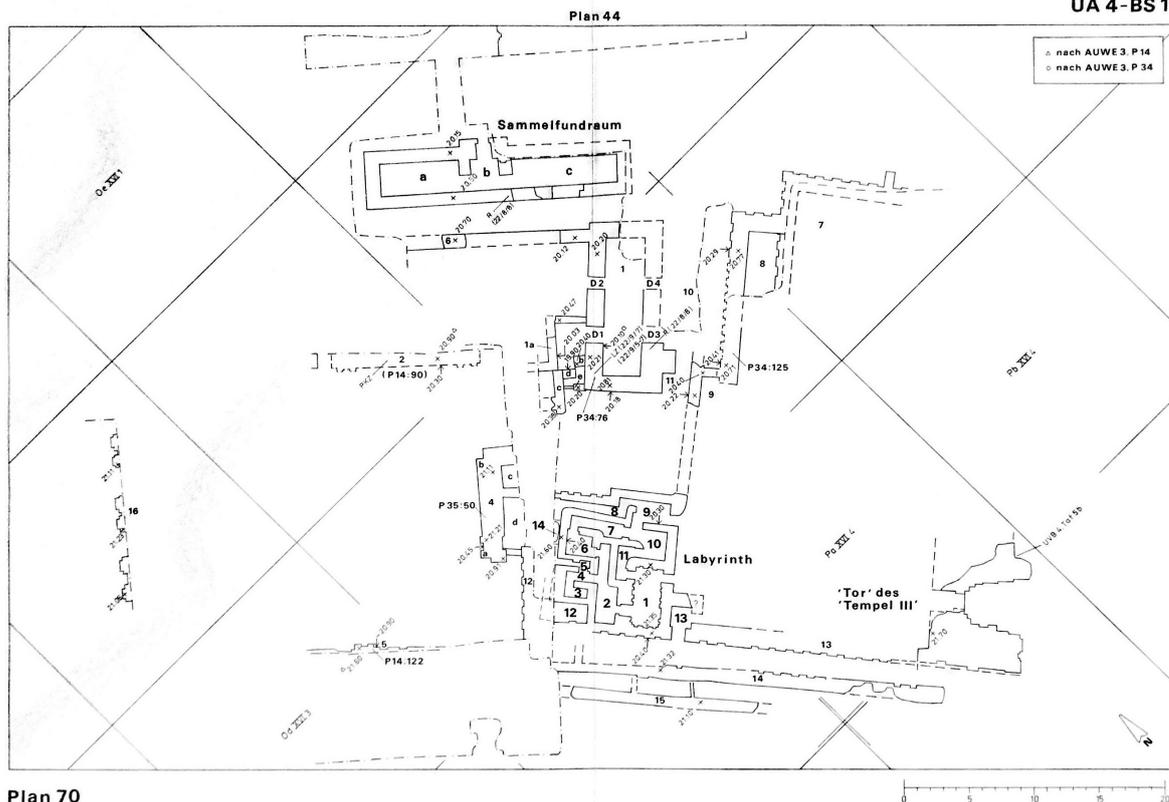


Figure 2.10 – JEMDET NASR TO EARLY DYNASTIC TRANSITION IN AREA EAST OF THE STAMPFLEHMGEBÄUDE AND SOUTH OF THE PLATFORM, WHERE THE SAMMELFUND was located. THE PLAN CORRESPONDS WITH BAUSCHICHT II, WHICH IS PART OF URUK IIIa. IT HAS BEEN DATED TO LATE JEMDET NASR (FINKBEINER 1986) OR ED I (SÜRENHAGEN 1999). EICHMANN (2007: TABLE 47) DATES THE END OF THE SAMMELFUNDRAUM AND LABYRINTH TO THIS LEVEL. THE OBJECTS WERE REPORTEDLY FOUND IN THE FILL OF THE ROOM, THUS ITS DEPOSITION MUST POST-DATE THEIR OCCUPATION (EICHMANN 2007: PLAN 70).

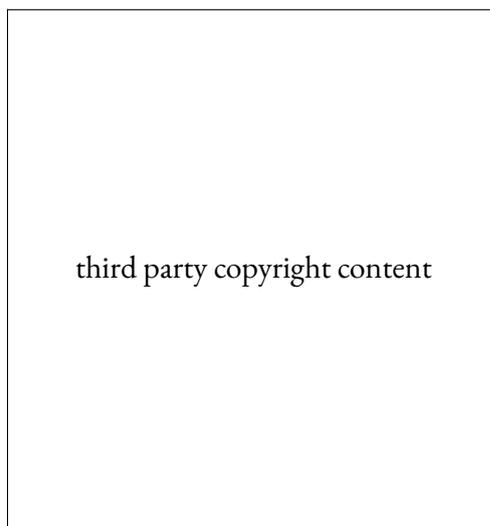


Figure 2.11 – DETAIL OF THE TOP REGISTER OF THE WARKA VASE, SHOWING THE ALLEGEDLY FEMALE INDIVIDUAL USUALLY IDENTIFIED AS INANNA OR A PRIESTESS, AND THE “REED BUNDLES” BEHIND HER (STROMMINGER 1962: FIG. 20).

the ED I period, arguing as well that another type of votive vase with high-relief lions should be dated to a later period on the basis of parallel finds in other contexts dated to mainly ED III (which includes at least part of the controversial ED II) contexts. Of course, the Uruk Vase itself may have been produced at an earlier date, presumably on the basis that it was repaired in antiquity. But the point here is that if the deposition of the *Sammelfund* may be dated within the Early Dynastic, even later than ED I, then the context in which the Uruk Vase was used and where it was deposited may not have been the same. Furthermore, the conscious deposition of a group of objects in a particular style may have functioned as a foundation deposit, thus adhering meaning to the associated constructions and bringing together a sense of coherence reflected in the motifs of the cylinder seals and the vase itself. What it does not imply is a relationship with Inanna *per se*. The large construction works across the site attest to this, as well as the fact that a small fragment of a twin vase was purchased in the antiquities market (Heinrich 1936: 17, pl. 4a), thus pointing towards a tertiary deposition of the original, that is, that quite likely the remains of the *Sammelfund* are composed of various “curated” finds perhaps recovered in the process of excavating earlier remains for the foundations of later buildings.³⁶ These may have lost to some extent their original iconographic significance in the process.

Nevertheless, two motifs on the Warka Vase have been iconographically linked with the goddess. These are the allegedly female figure on the top register of the vase and the ring-post with streamer—reed bundle or *Schilfringbündel* (see Figure 2.11). The identification of the figure wearing the plain gown is far from clear, usually ranging between the goddess herself and a priestess, though little other than general convention suggests this figure should be sexed female or male in the modern sense of the world, and which incorporates a plethora of sexual and reproductive nuances. Neither is fully convincing, in my opinion. Early interpretations of the vase focused on the theme of the sacred marriage ritual, including Frankfort (1954: 16f.) and Jacobsen (1961: 375f.). As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the validity of such claims has been put into question, especially for material from the 4th and 3rd millennia B.C. Suter (2014) provides a thorough critique of the problematic relationship between the sacred marriage and the Uruk Vase, and I will return to her analysis after discussing the most prominent recent interpretations illustrating the resonance of these ideas today.

Bahrani (2002) elaborated on the premise of performativity and how the organisation of motifs and element repetition underscores the hierarchy of nature from water, flora and fauna, and finally the human and divine realms at the top. Nevertheless, she states that the presence of the reed bundle (gate posts) identifies the scene with the temple of Inanna, and that the scene indeed represents the sacred marriage ritual, understood here as a “*performative narrative, a theatrical enactment the effects of which are magical transformation or epiphany*” (Bahrani 2002: 20). Although an important contribution on the power of illusion through the performance of art, Bahrani’s assessment assumes a ritual context for which no other evidence exists, and one that is founded on questionable premises derived from modern myths

³⁶Sürenhagen (1999: 103–107) analysed the distribution of glyptic across the areas surrounding the ziggurat, noting differences in the themes. Themes including “Temple and Procession,” “Priest-King and Temple,” “Slave scene with Priest-King” were found in the area of the courtyard terrace (*Hofierasse*), while “Animals in the wild,” “Mythical animals,” or “Boar Hunt” came from the area of the “Red Temple” (which has been proposed as Inanna’s temple). If anything, the items deposited in the *Sammelfund* would have come from the *Hofierasse*, not the “Red Temple”.

about the past. The power of self-referential images is not here questioned, but the interpretation of what exactly this self-referentiality is (re-)producing cannot be limited to the notion of a sacred marriage. In another article, Winter (2006) elaborated on the rhetorical device of repetition as articulative of the relationship between agricultural surplus and state control mechanisms in the early stages of the agrarian state. Although her focus is again on the function of a representative style as legitimising of emerging forms of social stratification and control, Winter also assumes the relationship between the reed bundle and Inanna, quoting Szarzyńska. In fact, Winter's interpretation of the themes on the vase do not call for the goddess to make sense of what the motifs on the vase illustrate, and otherwise stand independently of this association.

Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 186–196) took up the gender duality implied in the top register of the vase to argue for the existence of a dual gender of Inanna in this period. They identify the allegedly female figure as the goddess, adding that such an identification opens the door to the identification of the allegedly male figure as the so-called “male Inanna”, and that they are the two figures (“figure with the net skirt” and the figure with plain gown and long hair) which appear together on several seal motifs. They suggest validation for this interpretation comes from the identification of Inanna-KUR with “male Inanna”, which again makes use of Szarzyńska's ideas. In light of my previous discussion of the evidence, it should be clear that such an association has little basis, which does not negate by itself the interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the scenes depicted on the vase.

The most recent treatment of the Uruk Vase is by Suter (2014), in which she departs from previous analyses arguing that they often assume sociopolitical implications stemming from the sacred marriage premise that lead to a restricted approach to the identity of the (allegedly) male and female figures in the main scene. Such assumptions often result in the backward projection of a “priest-king”, and thus of Inanna opposite him (Suter 2014: 554). Suter reminds us of Englund's assessment that EN occurs solely as a “chief administrator” in Late Uruk texts (Englund 1998: 70), adding that “*it has not occurred to anyone to call early Mesopotamian kings of historical periods priests, and yet they claimed to represent the gods vis-à-vis their people and are seen personally performing cultic acts as, for example, pouring a libation to a deity*” (Suter 2014: 555). By contrast, the author suggests identifying the male figure as simply this high administrator known as EN, and the female figure as an elite woman, perhaps a “queen” (although not explicitly stated, I believe Suter refers to the EN's wife rather than a ruling queen, though the concept of king and queen is perhaps problematic in this period). Elite women, and queens, are often depicted with their husbands in Early Dynastic art, and we know they played important cultic roles in Lagaš (Beld 2002) and Ebla (Biga 2016), for example, as well as in Ur III Uruk (Sallaberger 1993: 218). I find Suter's interpretation more reasonable and in line with other evidence than the assumption of a religious amphictyonic league centred in Uruk. Ur (2014) has also argued against this perception of Late Uruk revolutionary urbanism based on an analysis of architectural change and settlement patterns. What is perhaps most interesting is Suter's suggestion that a wedding ceremony may be represented here, based on the reconstruction of a textile in the hands of the male figure, which he would be bringing to the female figure. The evidence from Ebla on yearly rituals to renovate the power in the royal couple of *maklum*—incidentally written with the Sumerogram EN—and *maliktum* perhaps hint to similar kinship-based rituals of renovation. For example, according to Biga, “[i]n a complex ritual in a place called AN-EN-KI (possibly to be read

as ^dEN^{KI}) “the place where some dead and deified kings of Ebla were buried”, some anonymous women (DAM) had the role of receiving textiles and wool for the rite” (Biga 2016: 77). Similar rites (though perhaps the object of which was different) could better explain the scene depicted on the Uruk Vase, and which do not require a sacred marriage premise. I will explore further the evidence from Lagaš and Ebla in Chapter 8, *Constructing gender and power through ritual*.

The reed bundle is an important motif in visual representations of the Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, vanishing from the visual repertoire quite significantly during the ED I period, though heirlooms certainly remained in circulation. Although its relationship with the written sign MUŠ_{3a} is suggestive, it should be stressed that the motif appears in many seals found across a vast geographical area; thus a one-to-one relationship between the two cannot be argued beyond doubt. In fact, the sign MUŠ_{3a} may be associated with a particular household as evidenced in the lexical lists of offices and geographic names (Veldhuis 2014); however, their meaning or how they should be read is not clear. To clarify, I am challenging the semiotic (and symbolic) interpretation that the reed bundle was solely an index of the goddess simply because the objects were found in Uruk and we know that a temple dedicated to the goddess was later erected in the same location. The reed bundle appears on cylinder seals together with a suite of animals, anthropomorphic figures, plants and structures, but the physical seals were found in places other than Uruk, with many originating from the antiquities market (see Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: pl. 47 and 48 and Van Dijk 2016: cat. U1–U35). For example, a seal found buried in the main podium of the temple building in Tell Agrab (Ag. 36:245; see also Ag. 35:793 which features ring-posts without streamers, rosettes, and what appears to be a face in the sky). Another seal described as from the Diyala region (Van Dijk 2016: cat. U24; Keel-Leu and Teissier 2004: 15; 411 No. 9). A seal probably from Abu Hatab (ancient Kisurra) depicts similar ‘standards’ as the ring-post with streamer (VA 10893; Blocher 2013: fig. 11.6). Furthermore, the ring-post with streamer motif is semantically linked with the ring-post without streamer, which also appears in seals from Susa (Dittmann 1986), and perhaps the ring-staff.³⁷ Claudia Suter has cogently argued against an iconic interpretation of the standards:

The fact that the same standard can recur repeatedly in the same image – three times, for example, on the Uruk Vase – speaks against the interpretation of reed standards as icons of the respective deity in symbolic form; an individual major deity does not recur repeatedly in the same scene.

(Suter 2014: 552)

³⁷The *bügelstaff* or ring-post without streamer is typical in Late Uruk and Early Dynastic art as a ‘gatepost’ or ‘standard’ but disappears after this period. It should be stressed that despite the resemblance with the proto-cuneiform signs ŠEŠ and URI₃, the *bügelstaff* is not exclusively associated with the moon god. This association has been stressed by Szarzyńska (1987–1988: 10) and supported by Steinkeller (1998: 88), but the evidence is not unequivocal. Oftentimes, interpretations of these signs and symbols is influenced by much later meanings of the written signs that have undergone processes of remotivation or semantic association. The visual representation in art and the name of the deity should not be confused. In fact, Early Dynastic archaeological finds from Ġirsu and Tell al-‘Ubaid suggest this standard or pole was simply associated with buildings described as temples (‘House’ of the deity), but not necessarily those of the moon god. In Ġirsu, a monumental copper standard was found in Tell K phase 5 (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 44 and pl. 11:11). In Tell al-‘Ubaid, the copper casing of a similar structure was found (Woolley and Hall 1927: pl. 26). The *bügelstaff* also appears in the limestone inlay frieze found in the temple allegedly dedicated to Ninḫursaġ (Woolley and Hall 1927: pl. 31).

These motifs may be related to household identity and thus codify certain relationships that appear difficult to interpret to us, as suggested by Englund (1998: 102n). Ur (2014) has posited that for the Late Uruk period, the concept of extended households might hold up better than the novelty of the ‘strong man’ hypothesis for the development of cities such as Uruk. In his view, the key to understanding the emergence of ‘cities’ lies in the extension of an existing structure—the household—to incorporate households in relationships of dependency that previously could not have existed. Furthermore, it is not entirely possible to determine whether households were secular, royal or divine in nature (Ur 2014: 263). I would suggest that they probably incorporated at least elements of the secular attached to ancestors and perhaps, eventually, a more abstract concept of the divine through which the idea of kingship (i.e. chosen by the gods) may have emerged.

Would it be possible to put forward an interpretation of the Uruk Vase based on the idea of household complexity and dependency? Could Winter’s arguments about the power of the principle of repetition be framed within the (re-)production of new relationships of dependency among households, one that does not imply the creation of a divinely appointed ruler but which reflects the motivations of individual, successful households to establish and solidify new collective dependencies rooted in changing environmental conditions as posited by Ur? This may be entirely possible, though beyond the scope of this review. The point is that other interpretations are indeed possible.

2.2.2 EARLY DYNASTIC TEMPLES OF INANNA/AŠTAR

Table 2.2 summarises the evidence on temples dedicated to Inanna between 3400 and 2200 B.C. previously discussed by Collins (1994), as well as those dedicated to Aštar beyond the Babylonian core. The evidence collated includes archaeological remains as well as textual and artistic evidence which suggests a connection with the goddess Inanna/Aštar. The main problem with clarifying the existence of temples dedicated to this deity (or deities) are the inconsistencies between the archaeological and the textual records. Out of sixteen sites with twenty temples mentioned in this table, the remains of ten buildings clearly identifiable as temples have so far been excavated for the Early Dynastic period.³⁸ These are the e₂-SAR in Adab, the Ibgal of Inanna in Lagaš, the temple of Inanna in Nippur, the terrace in Uruk (perhaps associated with the *Stampflehmgebäude*), the Temple Oval in Khafajah, the “Aštar” temple in Aššur, the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA, Aštar *šarbat*, and Baššurat temples in Mari, and the Temple Rouge in Ebla. The e₂-SAR in Adab has more reasonably been associated with Ninḫursaġ (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 44–51), despite the fact that some royal inscriptions from the earlier part of ED IIIb period mention an e₂-SAR in connection with Inanna; it remains open to interpretation (see Table 2.2 for further references on each site and temple).

I have already discussed the evidence from Uruk in the previous section, in which I reviewed the remains from the Eanna dating to the Early Dynastic period, including the possible relationship between the platform that appears at the onset of the period and the *Stampflehmgebäude* which dates to the end

³⁸I have not included the capital city of the Akkadian kings, Agade, since the site has yet to be located and its chronology cannot be ascertained. According to Collins, the earliest mention of an Inanna (Aštar?) temple comes from an inscription dating to the reign of Narām-Sîn (Sargon’s grandson) which records ‘Year: the temple of Inanna was built in Agade’ (Foster 1983 in Collins 1994: 112).

of the period. As the evidence stands, it is impossible to determine whether a similar building existed below the latter construction or how this structure was related to the platform. Crucially, neither can be linked with the goddess Inanna since no foundation deposits or other commemorative year names have been discovered which record the construction of a temple of such characteristics in this location. Certainly, lack of evidence today does not eliminate the possibility of finding conclusive evidence in the future, but for now the interpretation of the remains in Uruk should not draw too heavily on later sources with a strong political and ideological component, as we saw in Section §2.1. The interpretation of the temple in Aššur as dedicated to Aštar during this period is entirely based on later textual evidence from a temple built by king Tukulti-Ninurta I. The identification of the Temple Rouge in Ebla also rests on the interpretation of later texts, although in this case a temple to the goddess Aštar is known to have existed from contemporary administrative texts. Out of the ten buildings, only those in Lagaš, Nippur, the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and Aštar *šarbat* temples in Mari can be unequivocally associated with Inanna/Aštar based on foundation deposits dated within the Early Dynastic period, and all of these are dated specifically to the latter part of the period. One inscribed macehead from the Temple Oval in Khafajah may also identify this temple as dedicated to the deity.

Looking at the textual evidence, temples of Inanna are mentioned in dedicatory/royal inscriptions and/or administrative texts from Adab, Bad-tibira, Ġirsu, Lagaš, Nippur, Kullāb and Zabala; temples of Aštar appear in texts from Mari (^dMUŠ₃; ^dMUŠ₃.NITA ; ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA/Aštar *šarbat*; Aštar (of) *pabaka*, Aštar (of) the country of the father/elder(?); Aštar (for?) the UR₃ GUD MA₂ ritual; see discussion of these deities in Chapter 8 and Table 8.1) and Ebla, which also mention a temple in Šarbat. Although it later became an important seat of Ištar, no Inanna/Aštar temple is known from Kiš in the Early Dynastic period, though it is often assumed that one will eventually be uncovered in the environs of Palace A and the later Neo-Babylonian temple at Ingharra Stone (2013); however, it should be noted that Kiš's patron deity was Zababa, not Aštar. Given the tradition that sees Inanna as the daughter of the moon god Nanna, it is not implausible that a temple dedicated to her existed in Ur, but the evidence is not strong enough; the existence of festivals in which various deities were celebrated does not imply the existence of an important temple complex dedicated to each deity mentioned in the administrative texts unless the building/household itself is mentioned, such as in the case of Inanna's temple in Zabala which is mentioned in ED IIIb–Old Akkadian administrative texts from Tell Jokha and Tell Ibzēḫ (identified from illegal excavations) but is yet to be excavated. In conclusion, the textual evidence suggests a richer spectrum of temples, shrines, and ritual practices associated with the deity both in southern and northern locations, but the issue arises when one wishes to understand the relationship between the physical structure of the temple and the emergence of social, cultural and economic structures during this period. Let us focus on the buildings for which associated textual evidence exists and evaluate what is known about these structures and how they functioned within the development of Early Dynastic urban society.

The Ibgal of Inanna in Lagaš is a temple complex located in the southwest edge of the city, originally attributed to Ur-nanše and later rebuilt by Enannatum I in its last phase. It was probably abandoned towards the end of the ED III period, though the Bagara of Ningirsu, located further north of the Ibgal, seems to have continued to function into the Isin-Larsa period, perhaps not in the same capacity (Hansen 1992). This structure, therefore, was built during the Early Dynastic period to the same goddess, and

ceased to function towards the end of the period. Perhaps more intriguing is the fact that another Inanna of the Ibgal of Eanna is mentioned in some inscriptions from Ġirsu, though the building itself has not been found. Finally, it should be stressed that the Eanna in this case clearly refers to complexes in Lagaš and perhaps Ġirsu, not Uruk. In this context, the relationship between ‘Eanna’, the Lagašite kings, and Inanna clearly deserves further examination.

Regarding the temple of Inanna in Nippur, not much can be said yet about it, as the final report on the excavation remains unpublished. Nevertheless, Zettler (1992) already mentioned in his book on the economy of the Ur III temple that the temple seems to have evolved from what appears to be domestic quarters. This shift is observed primarily with Level IX, with what could be an incipient installation, and by Level VII we have a distinct double locus layout with a straight axis room and a bent-axis room (Zettler 1992: Chapter 2). The role of each of these spaces is not clear, but statuary and inscribed vessels were found in both rooms of Level VIIB, by far the richest in artefacts (Evans 2016). The domestic origins of this temple certainly challenge the established view that temples had to be founded on purified soil, though, remarkably, this temple is one of the clearest examples of continuity of cult from the 3rd into the 2nd and even 1st millennia B.C.

It is also interesting to note that Level VIIB is dated to the ED IIIa period, and VIIA therefore should be dated to the latter half of the ED III period. Zettler points out that whilst the levels prior to VIIA apparently stood as isolated units, the plan of VIIA suggests “*it had become part of a much larger complex, perhaps akin to a temple oval*” (Zettler 1992: 34–35 and fig. 8). This is clearly reminiscent of the situation in Lagaš and perhaps Ġirsu. Although found in a secondary context dating to the Ur III period, a stone vase with an inscription of the king of Uruk Lugalkigenedudu that virtually parallels the multiple inscriptions found in the Ekur temple, is the only inscription that mentions “Inanna of the Eanna.” Given the synchronicity between this king and the Lagašite kings, it is difficult to establish whether this Eanna does indeed refer to Uruk, or to Nippur; though I would argue that the parallelism with the Ekur inscriptions suggest it originated in Nippur, further reinforcing the pattern of temples dedicated to the goddess in the main economic, political, and religious centres. As noted before, an inscription of Lugalkigenedudu was found in the foundations of the pisé building in Uruk, perhaps suggesting that an earlier building had existed underneath. It is possible that the ED high terrace that existed in Uruk was linked with ritual activity, though it is impossible to establish beyond doubt that this was indeed the temple of Inanna in Uruk, since no foundation deposits were unearthed. Nevertheless, the construction of an enclosure wall and gate reminiscent of the complex in Ġirsu together with the high terrace are certainly suggestive.

The Temple Oval in ancient Tutub (Khafajah) may have been dedicated to Aštar, though this is unclear. The evidence suggests that a significant number of temples appear to have been built during this period, whilst the evidence from the cities traditionally associated with the goddess is largely missing. On the one hand, no direct evidence exists for Uruk, as discussed in the previous section. On the other hand, administrative evidence naming the city of Zabala, and thus possibly from the temple of the goddess, exists, though these originate from the illegal excavations the site has suffered since the 1900s. Only preliminary reports on the excavations conducted by the Iraqi State Board of Antiquities and Heritage at the site

traditionally identified as Zabala, Ibzēh, in 2001–2002 have been published, but it seems no ED remains were identified (Almamori 2014: 4 n. 6). Out of the possible sites where a temple of Inanna/Aštar existed based on textual evidence, only a few have been excavated, either partially or completely. The best known examples from the south/central region are those from Lagaš and Nippur.

In the north, Aššur and Mari have long influenced interpretations of the goddess as a Venus deity, as well as causing great discussion about the differences between Inanna and Aštar and their respective origins. The connection between Aštar and the West Semitic god Athtar (identified as the morning star) was already established by Jacobsen (1976: 140–141), who suggested that the syncretism must have taken place as the result of their shared attribute as Venus deities. As the first Early Dynastic temple excavated, Andrae's (1922) publication of the 'Archaic Ištar Temple' greatly influenced not only the understanding of the goddess in prehistoric times but also the overall understanding of one of the most distinctive objects from the period: the Early Dynastic statuette. Both Aššur and Mari—which so far have yielded two of the largest collections of Early Dynastic statuette—have been the subjects of recent re-analyses and studies that have changed perception of the scale and extent of the cult of the goddess. On the one hand, it is evident that one cannot unequivocally ascribe the 3rd millennium B.C. remains in Aššur to Aštar, at least not in light of the evidence available. The fact that several other temples dedicated to different deities were built on the same grounds over the centuries suggests that tradition may not determine the name of the deity worshipped, but the focus should be on continuity of cult and the relationship between the temple and the city or political centres. In this case, this temple seems to maintain a strong relationship with the palace in Aššur. Likewise, at Ebla, Temple D2 was originally built over part of the original plan of the palace dated to EBA IVB (period of the royal archives = ED IIIb), and which eventually became consecrated to Ištar under the influence of Ibbit-Lîm at the beginning of MBA I in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Temple P2). Kura and Išhara have been suggested as the original deities of Temple D2, being closely linked with the royal family (Matthiae 2009; Dolce 2008b; Pinnock 2016).

A critical element to interpret the data available on temples dedicated to Inanna/Aštar during the Early Dynastic period is to trace, chronologically, what evidence we have and differentiate between what remains unknown and what simply is not there. For example, at Aššur we have detailed archaeological evidence but almost no textual evidence. At Uruk the evidence is very abundant (relatively speaking) for the earlier Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr bracket, but almost non-existent for the Early Dynastic period except for the *Stampflehmgebäude* and the platform. Finally, the vast majority of systematically-recorded evidence on the earlier part of the Early Dynastic (ED I–II) comes from Woolley's excavation in Ur and, thus, it is unclear how all the evidence from various sites fits together chronologically. Another important point to highlight about the evidence here discussed is the longevity of the buildings in question. In Mesopotamia, temples are often understood as conservative elements of its cultural tradition, meaning that there existed a tendency to maintain the physical location of the temple over time and and, implicitly, the knowledge and traditions associated with it. The main exponent of this interpretation is usually Eridu, where a series of increasingly monumental in size, superimposed buildings were excavated dating to the Ubaid period. That these buildings and the site itself were of great importance and were maintained in the social memory of the region is unquestioned; however, it remains unclear whether the buildings can be said to be the house of the god Enki, that is, his temple. As Leick argued, these structures certainly provided a setting for

particular activities at least periodically, based on the large quantities of refuse found such as small bones or unremarkable pottery (Leick 1994: 8). However, none of the evidence points to a link with Enki or denotes the existence of a secluded space where the visual image of the god would have lived, as in later temple buildings. Likewise, Espak recently pointed out that the textual tradition which saw Eridu erected as the first city and the location of the oldest temple in the land was probably much later in date and linked with the politico-theological reasons which made Marduk “the first born son of Enki/Ea” (Espak 2015).

2.2.3 EARLY DYNASTIC TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Regarding the textual evidence from the Early Dynastic period, I have touched on some of the main sources of material in the previous sections. Rubio (2011), following Oppenheim’s (Oppenheim (1977)) ideas, explained that in ancient Mesopotamia, there existed several registers of religiosity that are reflected in a variety of textual materials, and which are not incompatible with one another. The concept of a pan-Babylonian pantheon is, in this sense, a scholarly reconstruction of which scholars themselves are aware. In order to understand the religious preoccupations of those living during the Early Dynastic period, Rubio identifies three sources: literature and god lists (focussing on scholarly traditions), offering lists, and cultic texts (reflecting official cult, and deities attested in personal names), which offer a better view on popular and private devotion.

Literature and god lists mainly consist of the ED IIIa texts from Fāra and Abu Salabikh, which I have already included in the overview in Table 2.2. The evidence from these sites concerns mainly lexical lists, as well as arguably the earliest literary compositions. The well-known god lists (Biggs 1974; Krebernik 1986; Alberti 1985; Mander 1986) have been a source for the analysis of a pan-Babylonian pantheon. It is important to note that although the lexical tradition goes back to the earliest texts, god lists only appear during the late Early Dynastic. It seems the inhabitants of southern Babylonia only compiled lists of things that were of use for the administrators. Logically, the introduction of god lists would mark the need for such vocabulary in the administrative realm, something that appears not to have been required before. In a sense, if we are to accept the view of an amphycyonic religious association in the Late Uruk period, one wonders why god lists were not deemed useful by the scribal/administrative communities. Evidence that the Early Dynastic god lists were simply of administrative value can perhaps be found in the fact that they are not organised according to mythographic patterns, unlike the later AN : *Anum* lists (Rubio 2011: 99), but rather follow the same principle as other lexical lists dealing with commodities and other ‘useful’ vocabulary. Of course, this does not mean that lists of a religious nature did not exist outside the written tradition (Rubio 2011: 97).

The za_3 - mi_3 compositions from Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974) are perhaps the most often cited evidence for cultic organisation across Babylonia, now centred in Nippur and the cult of Enlil. Originally thought of as precursors of the Temple Hymns (Sjöberg and Bergmann 1969), these compositions are now understood more as litanies of specific temples, which may or may not reflect a processional character across the landscape (Rubio 2011: 102). According to these litanies, Inanna temples were located in Kullāb (together with Ninirigal) and Zabala during the ED III (Krebernik 2017).

Table 2.2 – EARLY DYNASTIC TEMPLES DEDICATED TO INANNA/AŠTAR .

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Adab (Tell Bismayah)	Mound IVa (no remains).	Bricks of Narām-Sîn.	Collins (1994) relationship between the bricks and Mound V remains are unclear; an e ₂ -šar-ra of Inanna is mentioned in the Descent (Wilcke 1976–80: 78).	Banks 1912: 342.
	Mound V: e ₂ -SAR	Inscriptions of Mesalim and E'iginimpa'e; CUSAS II, 73 mentions e ₂ -SAR and Inanna; CUSAS II, 122 mentions é-Inanna.	e ₂ -SAR and later e ₂ -MAḪ of Ninḫursaĝ. CUSAS II, 195 may imply e ₂ -SAR was part of a larger complex associated with the ensi ₂ (e ₂ -TUR).	Banks 1912: 322; Wilson 2012: Chapter 9; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 44–51; Visicato and Westenholz 2010.
Bad-tibira (Tell al-Mada'in)	No remains found.	Inscription of Enmetena (foundation tablet and canephor).	Parallels found in Girsu. Construction/renovation of temple marking the 'brotherhood' between Enmetena and Lugalkigenedudu.	RIME 1.9.5.4, ex.2 (= FAOS 5/1, Ent 79, B); RIME 1.9.5.4, ex.3.
Ereš(?) (Tell Abu Salabikh)	No remains of the shrine found. Area E (Main Mound) is traditionally interpreted as the main temple complex, while a possible palace (or palaces) could have existed on the South Mound and separated by a watercourse (Matthews and Matthews 2017).	The za ₃ -mi ₃ hymns recovered from the site contain an important Inanna component, mentioning temples to her in Kullāb and Zabala; however, a fragmentary god list from the site places Inanna in 6th place after An, Enlil, Nin.KID (Ninlil?), Enki and Nanna (Biggs 1974: 83, no. 82 = Abs-T 200 + 207).	The textual evidence does not indicate the existence of an Inanna temple. The texts originate from Area E, probably part of a large temple complex (favoured) or palace. Although nin may refer to the titular goddess of the temple (spouse of Šara?) (Krebernik and Postgate 2009: 7), could it not refer to the head of the household, i.e. the queen? Note Inanna only appears in lexical texts, while a Semitic(?) U ₃ -aš-dar designated nin appears in a prebend text (OIP 99, no. 506).	Biggs 1974; Mander 1986; Krebernik and Postgate 2009; Matthews and Matthews 2017.

Table 2.2 – continued from previous page

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Girsu (Telloh)	No remains unequivocally assigned.	Construction of an Ibgal mentioned by Ur-nanše (e.g. RIME 1.9.1.20); only with Eannatum (Stele of the Vultures = RIME 1.9.3.1) and Enannatum I (e.g. RIME 1.9.4.5) appears in relation with Inanna and Eanna. Not clear where the Eanna of Inanna of the Ibgal was located, likely destroyed by Lugalzagesi according to Urukagina’s account (RIME 1.9.9.5).	Given the royal inscriptions mentioning a temple of Ningirsu from the time of Ur-nanše, it seems plausible that the <i>construction inférieure</i> (dated to ED II-IIIa) was also the temple of this god. The temple complex was enclosed by an oval wall.	Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 38–44 ; Forest 1999: 5–31 ; Rey 2016 ; Crawford 1987 .
Kiš (Tell Ingharra/ Tell Uhaimir)	NB temple of Ištar found at Ingharra, assumed to be the latest version of buildings dating back to at least the ED period. ED remains of “Palace A” appear nearby, so that perhaps an economic/political-religious complex could have existed.	No ED texts identifying a temple of Inanna/Aštar found in the excavations; texts from Isin-Larsa period mention an important shrine to Inanna/Aštar on the site, as ‘Lady of Ḫursaġkalamak.’ However, it should be noted that Zababa is the city god of Kiš, appearing in the Fāra texts (Sallaberger 2017).	Ḫursaġkalamak appears as the name of the goddess’s temple in Kiš in the Descent (Wilcke 1976–80), and it is mentioned from at least Ur III onwards. However, Inanna/Aštar was not the only deity worshipped at Ḫursaġkalamak. It is possible an ED IIIb–Akkadian necropolis was located near a sacred area with two plano-convex ziggurats (similar to Ur).	Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 75–82 ; Moorey 1978 ; Gibson 1972 ; Langdon 1924 ; Watelin and Langdon 1925–7, 1934 .
Lagaš (Al-Hiba)	Oval temple dated to the ED IIIb period (Levels I–III), with earlier levels (below Level III) dating back to ED I (the character of the earlier remains prior to the oval enclosure is not clear); disappears after Akkadian conquest.	Probably built by Ur-nanše, Level III (RIME 1.9.1.6b) and later rebuilt by Enannatum I, Level I (RIME 1.9.4.5), for whom 14 foundation deposits consisting of an inscribed stone tablet and in 10 instances also a copper figurine were found.	Enannatum’s copper figurines representing the protection of his personal god, Šulutula, over this temple reinforces the link between Inanna and kingship beyond household rites (ancestors and personal gods).	Hansen 1970, 1973, 1980–83, 1992 ; Crawford 1974 ; Ławecka 2011a .

Table 2.2 – continued from previous page

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Nippur (Nuffar)	Temple dedicated to Inanna excavated below Ur III remains of another temple dedicated to the goddess (Levels IX–V; late ED I–Akkadian period?).	Numerous inscribed bowls with dedications to Inanna were found in Levels VIII–VII (ED II–III).	Level VIIB is dated to the ED IIIa on the basis of unpublished Fāra-style tablets. The exact chronology and context of the finds is still unclear as it has not yet been published beyond preliminary results.	Zettler 1992; Haines 1956, 1958, 1961b,a; Hansen and Dales 1962; Hansen 1963; Goetze 1970; Dolce 2008a; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 34–38 Evans 2016; FAOS 5/2 pp. 223–261.
Šuruppak (Tell Fāra)	No definite temple excavated, though Martin reconstructs a possible (unidentified) one.	God lists mention Inanna in third place, after An and Enlil, but before Enki.	The mention of Inanna in lexical lists does not imply the existence of a temple to her name; perhaps a shrine or part of a large complex. In any case, nothing further can be gleaned from the evidence.	Martin 1988; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 83–84; Krebernik 1986.
Ur (Tell al Muqayyar)	ED remains buried under Ur-Nammu’s ziggurat? Temple household linked with elite burials in Royal Cemetery?	According to Alberti, two offering lists (nos. 45 and 46; ED III) for month festivals suggest Inanna and Nanna were the chief deities of Ur at this time (UET 2, supp 45 = U 02860.16; UET 2, supp 46). Benati and Lecompte (2017: 16) consider UET 2, 105 (ED Ic) a possible god list, but only known names are Nin-iri and Nin-uri.	Wu Yuhong argues the etymology of Nanna and Inanna as ‘Lord’ and ‘Lady’ of the sky, akin to the pairs Enki/Ninki and Enlil/Ninlil. However, the etymology of the latter in the archaic period and their symbolic meaning is not clear (Englund 2011; Wang 2011). Cohen (2005: 136) suggested the existence of a large temple household next to the Royal Cemetery, perhaps that of Inanna (but note Sallaberger 2010). The status and roles of elite women interred in the cemetery is contested.	Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 51–65; Alberti and Pomponio 1986: 104; Yuhong 2005; Cohen 2005: 129–138; McCaffrey 2008; (Benati and Lecompte 2017).

Table 2.2 – continued from previous page

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Uruk (Warka): Eanna	A series of high terraces dating to ED I–III were found beneath the Ur III ziggurat, which have sometimes been suggested as the location of Inanna’s ED temple.	No textual evidence unequivocally identifies Inanna in Uruk in the ED period. An inscription of Lugalkigenedudu (RIME 1.14.14.2) was found in Nippur; another by Lugalkisalsi assigned to Uruk (Frayne 2008: 411) was purchased by the British Museum and its provenance cannot be established, other than perhaps Nippur based on parallel with Lugalkigenedudu’s (Sallaberger forth.).	According to Sallaberger, Uruk became the city of the queen in Ur III times, hence the focus around Inanna and associated goddesses, which in the za ₃ -mi ₃ included ^d nin-irigal ₂ (UNU) “Lady of the Great City” and Inanna in Kullāb (see below).	Finkbeiner 1986; Siewert 1991; Finkbeiner 1991; Cavigneaux 1991a,b; Boehmer 1991; Sürenhagen 1999; Eichmann 1989, 2007; Sallaberger forth..
Uruk: Kullāb	Area usually identified as the later Anu district, where a temple on a high terrace (White Temple) dating from Ubaid to Uruk III period stood. The area was bricked up and abandoned sometime in the Uruk III period and its function cannot be determined.	No direct textual material from this area gives clues about its identification.	Nissen (following suggestions going back to Falkenstein) proposed Warka’s division into twin settlements Eanna/Kullāb on either side of a canal. Kullāb appears in za ₃ -mi ₃ hymns as the abode of Ninirigal and Inanna. Beaulieu (2003: 115) states name Kullāb probably became synonymous with the city of Uruk by the end of the 3rd mill. B.C. based on literary texts. Sallaberger argues Kullāb was always the name for the political and religious centre of the city (Eanna + royal palace).	Nissen 2013; Beaulieu 2003; Sallaberger forth..

Table 2.2 – continued from previous page

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Zabala (Ibzēḥ?)	Inscribed bricks of Ḫammurapi detailing construction of a temple to “Inanna of Zabala” were found during a survey of the mound, but recent excavation yielded no recognizable ED remains.	ED IIIb/OAkk. administrative texts from illegal excavations have been provenanced to Zabala, where they seem to originate from the temple of Inanna or sometimes “the palace”.	Name of Zabala (AB _a .MUŠ _{3a}) first attested in archaic Geographical List (ATU 3, 54 pl. 78 W 200266,148: Geography X); it appears in the ‘city seal’ (Matthews 1993). AB may refer to a temple, but Sallaberger (forth.) argues it refers to the temenos or political/religious centre. Without clear archaeological evidence, the role and status of Zabala in relation to other settlements remains unclear, though new texts attest to a possible dependency with Umma (located within 15 km radius of Ibzēḥ?).	Molina 2017 and refs. therein; Almamori 2014; Al-Subaihawi 2003–4; Fahad 2010; Ghareeb 2015.
Aššur (Qal’at Sherqat)	ED III/Akkadian temple remains (Levels H/G/GF/D/E) found beneath a temple dedicated to Ištar by Tukultī-Ninurta I.	No inscriptions found <i>in situ</i> .	This temple cannot be unequivocally associated with Aštar, and could have been dedicated to an earlier local deity (perhaps female). Nevertheless, it maintained a strong relationship with the palace throughout its history.	Bär 2003b; Andrae 1922; Beuger 2013; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 74–75.
Mari (Tell Hariri)	ED III remains of three temples identified as dedicated to Ištar, Ninni-zaza, and Ištarat.	Numerous commemorative objects inscribed with dedications to the deities.	The inscriptions actually mention ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA, ^d MUŠ ₃ ×ZA.ZA (identified as Aštar <i>šarbat</i>), and Baššurat. Aštar <i>šarbat</i> retained a special relationship with the palace, and the location of the ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA temple in the west could suggest a relationship with ancestor cults.	Parrot 1956, 1967; Margueron 2007a, 2017; Lecompte 2014a; Lecompte and Colonna d’Istra forth.; Krebernik 1984b; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 67–74; RIME 1.10 pp. 293–347 (= FAOS 7 pp. 3–26).

Table 2.2 – continued from previous page

SITE	ARCHAEOLOGY	TEXTS	COMMENTS	LITERATURE
Šarbat (near Jebel Sindjar?)	Not identified with archaeological site; perhaps Tall Afar(?) (Ziegler and Langlois 2017).	ED texts from Mari and Ebla identify Šarbat as a cultic centre of Aštar. OB texts from Mari also attest to the existence of this cultic site, which seems to be located near the Jebel Sindjar and belonged to the kingdom of Karanâ in Zimrî-Lîm's time.	It is not clear what the relationship between the ED temple of Aštar <i>šarbat</i> in Mari and the location of Šarbat is.	Archi 1993; Oliva 1993; (Stol 2009); Ziegler and Langlois 2017; Lecompte and Colonna d'Istra forth..
Ebla (Tell Mardikh)	MBA I–II Ištar Temple (Temple P ₂) on edge of acropolis SA.ZA _x ^{ki} (Area D), below which the EBA IVA Temple Rouge was found (Temple D ₂).	No specific inscriptions found in Temple Rouge.	This temple has been argued to have been dedicated to Aštar or to Kura during the mature phase of the Royal Archives, based on ritual and other texts from the palace. Thus it maintained a strong relationship with the palace throughout.	Matthiae 2009; Pinnock 2016; Dolce 2008b.
Tutub (Khafajah)	Temple Oval(?).	An inscribed macehead (FAOS 7, VP 5 = Kh. I 636) with a dedication to Inanna or probably Aštar (as it is written in Akkadian) is the only textual evidence mentioning a deity; however, it came from a superficial level.	Whilst the Temple Oval cannot unequivocally be attributed to Inanna, the fact that the temple in Nippur may have been enclosed by an oval wall in ED III, as well as the existence of the Ibgal of Inanna in al-Hiba merits further examination of the relationship between oval enclosure walls, the goddess, and political centres.	Delougaz 1940; Ehrenberg 2005; Ławecka 2011a; Del Bravo 2014.

Regarding UD.GAL.NUN literary texts, they are not fully understood and more research is required before conclusions can be drawn regarding their interpretation. Zand’s unpublished doctoral thesis covers the edition and commentary of some of these texts, which he kindly shared with me.³⁹ He concurs in the critique of Szarzyńska’s readings discussed in Section §2.1.2 and in Appendix D. Regarding the text SF 18 which Szarzyńska interpreted as a lexical list (see Table D.2), Zand argues it is a literary text (hymn?) which concerns Inanna in her warlike aspect, which suggests that either Inanna’s martial aspect developed independently, or that the alleged syncretism with Aštar (and her martial aspect) happened earlier than the date of this composition (see [Selz 2000](#)). According to Zand, in this text the sign UD (obv. i 9–10) is glossed UD^{mušen} and refers to the name of a bird, so that the combination of the signs UD and 𒄩U refers to a bird name, and not to the morning star. Regarding the lines that Szarzyńska mentions in relation with Inanna-KUR (obv. iv 13, 15), Zand suggests these are part of the narrative associated with geographical locations, not the name of the deity specifically. Furthermore, in UD.GAL.NUN the sign NUN (obv. i 16) could be read NIN, thus reading “Inanna nin_(NUN)-gal”, rather than “great Inanna, princely” as suggested by Szarzyńska (see the relevant entries in Table D.2 for these entries).

Regarding theophoric elements in personal names, this is a topic that is in need of detailed analysis, although an important contribution by [Krebernik \(2002\)](#) constitutes a first step towards exploring semantic relationships in the earliest Sumerian personal names. First, it should be noted that the few identified names in Uruk III texts appear not to be Sumerian, or at least do not incorporate typical theophoric elements from later periods ([Englund 2009](#)). But it may be that the majority of the names recorded belong to slaves and are thus perhaps ‘foreign’. Second, concerning the Early Dynastic period, the corpus of texts from Ur form the earliest evidence of personal names, followed by the material from Fāra and Abu Salabikh, and finally Lagaš. Some of the earliest forms are genitive constructions with AK- ‘made (by)’, amar- ‘calf’, and ur- ‘dog’. These are attested with several names of deities and are not restricted to Inanna. Another early form is with ama- ‘mother’, also quite ubiquitous. Other names include ^dInanna-ur-saġ ‘Inanna is a hero’ (literally ‘top dog’), or ^dInanna-diġir-ġu₁₀ ‘Inanna is my deity/star’. As Krebernik notes, these names do not concern the name-bearer as much as the social and religious environment ([Krebernik 2002](#): 50). According to Andersson, the names ^dBa-u₂-men-zi.PAP.PAP / ^dInanna-men-zi.PAP.PAP ‘Bāwu/Inanna (is/has/gives) the legitimate men-headress (of/for) PAP.PAP’ from ED IIIb Ġirsu “*imply a form of legitimizing by means of a deity’s active involvement*” ([Andersson 2012](#): 89). That both Bāwu/Baba and Inanna appear in Ġirsu reflects the presence of the latter in newly-built temples. However, without material from Uruk, it seems premature to discuss the position of Inanna at the regional level.

2.2.4 CONCLUSIONS

In light of the evidence presented in the previous section, it appears that a significant number of the temples associated with Inanna/Aštar were first built during the Early Dynastic period. Whilst those in the south may have been built earlier than ED III, it seems that intense building and rebuilding activity took place during this latter period. The archaeological contextualisation of temple construction in relation

³⁹K. Zand’s unpublished doctoral thesis titled “*Die UD.GAL.NUN-Texte. Ein allographisches Corpus sumerischer Mythen aus dem Frühdynastikum*”, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, 2009.

with the deity will be examined in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, which cover the reanalysis of the three case studies chosen for this purpose. A careful reconsideration of the dating and relationships between architectural features and material culture is essential before proceeding to the comparative analysis of the architecture and material culture in Chapter 7.

In some cases, the temples are associated with local or localised deities, and their identity and representation is difficult to establish. [Asher-Greve and Westenholz \(2013: 29\)](#) argue that the notion of “fluid divinity” allowed for the continual process of reinterpretation and syncretism, mutation and fossilization, fusion and fission. To this view, I would add perhaps that the narratives focussing on the genealogy and personality of the deity were a product of continuous change grounded in the materiality of the temple and the cultic activity there. In this sense, the relationship between who were the patrons of the temple and the narratives established may be of importance and should be further explored, although this aspect falls slightly beyond the scope of the thesis, I will discuss some preliminary thoughts and further avenues of inquiry in this regard in the *Conclusions and Future Work* (Chapter 9).

Perhaps the particular sociopolitical circumstances of the Early Dynastic period, in which the construction of new temples is well-documented, allowed for the coalescence of ideas and practices within newly designed spaces and, quite likely, alongside new objects that became part of the ritualisation that was created. We can gain glimpses into what some of these categories of objects were:

- specific types of foundation deposits and purification rituals, which show great diversity in the formative period (tablets, metal nails, anthropomorphic pegs, organic remains, seals and figurines, etc.);
- types of vessels, mainly made of stone, and including the steatite vessels in the intercultural style or the small inscribed bowls from the Inanna temple at Nippur (which eventually may have been upscaled to the dozens of inscribed stone vessels from the Ekur);
- statuary, which although diverse at first, eventually becomes restricted to the realm of royalty, and kings in particular from the Akkadian period onwards. After the Early Dynastic period, stone statues of private individuals become increasingly rare;
- door plaques depicting scenes of celebration (banqueting) as well as military events (chariots and lines of captives) or building activity; and
- shell, bone, and stone inlays, used to create composite objects such as the Standard of Ur, which present locally-crafted scenes of military events, celebrations, as well as cultic activities.

All of these objects have something in common: they are either made of materials not readily available in the environment where they were found, or a mix of local and externally sourced raw materials. Lapis-lazuli, steatite, precious stones, gold and silver, and mother-of-pearl are raw materials that must have been imported, while stone such as limestone was more readily available in some regions. Foreign imports of finished products such as the carved steatite vessels also mark the importance of these trading networks. [Van de Mieroop \(2002\)](#) linked this consumption of luxury items and external contacts with the

emergence of a social elite to posit a theory for the rise of “true kingship” from ca. 2600 B.C., that is, the ED III period. This “true kingship” theory proposes an interesting multifactorial scenario that deserves further examination. I shall return to these emerging categories in the *Comparative Analysis* (Chapter 7).

2.3 CONSTRUCTING THE IMAGE AND IDENTITY OF INANNA/AŠTAR

The role of Inanna/Aštar has been discussed as both emancipatory and subjugating for women. Oftentimes, the literature and visual representations associated with her are taken as evidence for the relative status and sexual freedom that women would have enjoyed in ancient Mesopotamia; for example, as reflected in Groneberg 2007, or Pryke 2017 (see Palmero Fernández 2018b). However, the assumption that the world of deities reflects the roles of humans in society is referred to as “the mirror image theory,” which Asher-Greve and Westenholz (2013: 27f.) warn against. Inanna/Aštar’s gender is constructed parallel to that of women, yet differentiated from them in her capacity as goddess. This is usually based on the analysis of textual evidence; sometimes material from a range of periods and geographic locations is brought into consideration, giving way to a multiplicity of roles and attributes that appear to contour the gender of the deity as “truly all woman” (Jacobsen 1976; Bahrani 2000) or “a paradox” (Groneberg 1986; Harris 1990/91). The concept of ‘contour’ in Butler’s theory, which I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter (Section §3.1, *Performativity and gender ontologies*), refers to the performance of ‘gender norms’ that regulate and control the materialisation of ‘sexed bodies’, so that they train, shape, and form the very contours of a person’s body (Butler 1993: 17, 54). What I suggest here is that the amalgam of evidence, seen through the modern lens of ‘gender’, appears to ‘fix’ or ‘contour’ the body of the goddess so that it feels unchanging or even primordial.

The implication the above observations have on the question of the identification of Inanna/Aštar as Venus, as the morning and evening star, and their gendered perception, is twofold. Firstly, as Rochberg highlights (p. 32), it is possible that the correspondence between deities and celestial bodies was not a simple one-to-one correspondence, but rather that a difference existed between the conceptualization of deities and their roles in relation with natural phenomena and celestial bodies in particular. Thus, the fact that a deity governs over a particular celestial body did not imply it was to be equated with the latter. In this sense, a split-gender Inanna/Aštar did not *exist*, but a deity Inanna/Aštar that governed over the agency of the morning and evening star could have. Secondly, when exactly the relationship between the deity and the celestial body was established is not clear. As I have argued, the evidence from the 4th and 3rd millennium B.C. has been interpreted under the premise that Inanna/Aštar were synonymous with the celestial body of the morning and evening star (p. 25f.). Thus, such a relationship needs to be reconsidered, at the very least. This is not to say that the morning and evening star were not part of the local cosmology at the time, but simply that their association with Inanna/Aštar cannot be proved beyond doubt. The fact that the earliest clear association between the two appears only during the Ur III period (p. 8) when the previously unattested deity Nin’sianna appears as the Venus deity with whom Inanna/Aštar is associated in Iddin-Dagān A, as well as the fact that Nin’sianna is later replaced by Dilbat as the name of the celestial body suggests that perhaps this connection may have been forged around this time and not earlier.

Meanwhile, archaeological evidence suggests a strong association between trading networks exemplified by large quantities of luxury materials, temple construction, and the emergence of kingship that culminated towards the end of the Early Dynastic period. In particular, temples dedicated to Inanna/Aštar appear to have been built expressively during the ED III period, after which many of them were abandoned (p. 49f. and Table 2.2). This qualitative observation may suggest a possible relationship between Van de Mieroop's (2002) proposal for "true kingship" and what I here suggest may have acted as the medium through which newly established social hierarchies could have been affirmed, that is, the construction of temples under elite patronage, and associated ritual practices. Furthermore, both the textual and visual evidence seem to suggest women played important roles in these contexts, something that is often overlooked in the literature. There appears to exist gendered relationships between ritual activity in the temples, elite women, goddesses, and kingship. These relationships and how they may have contributed towards shaping a form of government centred around an individual male figure requires further examination, to which I will return in Chapter 8, *Constructing gender and power through ritual*. It may offer insights not only into the emergence of kingship as a form of government, but also about the political genealogy of gender ontologies. Finally, it is possible that the temple construction activity may not be the *reflection of* but the very *means* of materialising kingship itself, forging a new form of social and political organisation through the structuration of space and the invention of traditions in the form of rituals attached to spatial organisation.

We cannot think without language, and yet if we take language too seriously we are in an extremely bad way.

Aldous Huxley

[Performativity is] that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains.

Judith Butler

3

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

AS DISCUSSED IN THE PREVIOUS CHAPTER, the literature and data that form the basis for the interpretation of the identity, image and cult of the goddess Inanna/Aštar during the Early Dynastic period are heterogeneous and disseminated across disciplines.¹ Furthermore, each discipline tends to adhere to different sets of theoretical and methodological paradigms that are not always explicitly exhibited in the literature, thus creating dissonance in the interpretations and exacerbating biases that become enshrined in the secondary literature. Furthermore, the data from each context (archaeological, textual and visual) have different limitations, are subject to different sets of biases, and have been catalogued and studied in different ways. This posits problems of contingency in the formulation of hypotheses and their validity in building historical narratives in a contemporary context.

In order to achieve the objectives for this research project as set out in the Introduction, I have developed a methodological approach that bridges the gap between archaeological, textual, and art historical approaches through the recontextualisation of the material remains of three specific temples dedicated to the goddess Inanna/Aštar that were excavated during the first half of the 20th century. The objective is to eventually apply the knowledge gained from the case-based analysis to present a revised hypothesis on the

¹The quotation by Aldous Huxley is taken from a lecture given in 1955 at the Vedanta Society of Southern California's Hollywood temple titled *Who are we?* (Huxley 1955). The quotation by Judith Butler is taken from *Bodies That Matter* (Butler 1993: xii).

relationship between temple-construction, Inanna/Aštar and kingship, and to discuss the implications of my findings on a regional scale. This approach is synthetic in its outlook, yet it relies on the re-analysis of primary and secondary data.

In the following section, I shall frame how previous focus on the gender and sexuality of Inanna/Aštar, mostly from a literary perspective, has driven both scholarly and popular interpretations of the goddess' image and identity as identified in Chapter 2, focussing on the theoretical implications of these interpretations. In this context, I shall discuss how a performative approach may help move beyond the definition of the goddess' gender towards understanding the sociopolitical context in which her image and identity were constructed and what the implications are in terms of the social production of thought and praxis in the realm of ritual and religion. Such an approach is based on the primary axiom that despite the perceived agency of deities, this agency must be socially and materially constructed. I previously discussed some of these ideas during a workshop on *Gender and Methodology in the Ancient Near East* that was held in Barcelona in 2016. In a contribution to this workshop, I proposed a framework of analysis for the concept DIGIR 'deity' that articulates how it must be socially and materially constructed (Palmero Fernández 2018a). The framework I developed is founded on three elements that build on each other:

- a) Judith Butler's theory of performativity and her "political genealogy of gender ontologies;"
- b) Charles Sanders Peirce's Theory of Sign (semiotics), as adapted to anthropological and archaeological inquiry; and
- c) Social Constructivist Grounded Theory.

The following section is founded on the work carried out for this workshop, which offered a preliminary attempt at modelling the shaping of Inanna/Aštar deities and gender at Mari between the Early Dynastic and Old Babylonian periods. However, it expands on its conclusions, it adds more nuanced examinations of the theoretical foundations in the context of ancient Near Eastern studies, and it incorporates new research on anthropomorphism. As a preliminary attempt, in hindsight it has some limitations which I have since understood better in the course of completing this thesis. Therefore, I will return to it at the end of Chapter 8 to discuss its limitations and incorporate the findings from the other two case studies, their comparative analysis and wider contextualisation.

The subsequent sections in this chapter cover details on case selection, data collection, and data analysis. Finally, details of the conventions and terminology concerning description of archaeological features, chronology, and text transcriptions adopted in this thesis will be provided.

3.1 PERFORMATIVITY AND GENDER ONTOLOGIES

In his seminal study on the evolution of Mesopotamian religion, Jacobsen describes Inanna in the 3rd millennium B.C. as the more refined form of fertility, that of the agrarian state. She's simultaneously the daughter of the moon god, a spoilt child and young bride, a harlot at night, but also the raging storm in her aspect of warrior goddess. He concludes: "*she is become truly all woman and of infinite variety*" (Jacobsen 1976: 143). Here, Jacobsen reduces Inanna's multifaceted personality to some primordial 'essence' of womanhood in order to *make sense* of a range of qualities and attributes reflected in the literary texts of the Old Babylonian period that were discussed in the previous chapter (see Section §2.1, *Textual approaches: in search of Venus and the sacred marriage*).

Let us contrast this definition with Hackett's research into the construction of gender and goddesses in the ancient Near East:

Women [and here I would include goddesses] have everywhere and always been the same, and without change and development there can be no history. [...] We have no history because we have always been wives, mothers, and whores; in other words, we are interchangeable.

(Hackett 1989: 65f.)

Jacobsen's rendering of Inanna as '*truly all woman*' thus becomes an empty category by virtue of its agglutinating stance. There is no doubt of Jacobsen's accomplishment in interpreting the textual and sometimes also the visual evidence concerning the goddess. However, it is perhaps unfortunate that the older preoccupation with building a coherent, chronological narrative of the goddess effectively limited the ways in which the evidence could be contextualised within the broader sociopolitical context of Early Mesopotamia. Jacobsen's use of the category 'woman' is perhaps reminiscent of a later agglutinating trend which saw the name Ištar (*ištaru*) become synonymous with the concept 'goddess' together with an increasing tendency towards conflation of goddesses and henotheism in the 1st millennium B.C. (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 110f.). However, this agglutination and syncretism in later periods did not seem to exist in the earlier materials, as far as the evidence suggests. Gelb critiqued this assumption in his discussion of the name Inanna, the question of her femininity, and how the reading 'Lady of Heaven' (nin-an-na-(ak)) became accepted not based on usage but for etymological reasons (Gelb 1960: 77). It is unclear how the use of the category 'woman' helps to understand the goddess or, indeed, women in ancient Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium B.C., especially in light of contemporary critique of such monolithic terminology. There are perhaps two interpretive layers at play here. First, there is the question of authorship in antiquity, their motivations and their social and political roles. On the other hand, one must consider the perspective, background, and motivations of the scholars who translate and interpret the texts today, and which happened to be largely male until fairly recently. The case of Enheduanna discussed in the previous chapter offers a good example to illustrate these points. On the one hand, one must consider whether the voice of a king's daughter was representative of all women at the time, or what her motivations to compose the texts attributed to her were. On the other hand, the fact that only later copies of the compositions exist today suggests that more than one author could have contributed to draft the texts as we know them

today. Meanwhile, the translation and study of the texts attributed to Sargon's daughter are not necessarily objective or complete. Earlier studies focussed on the theological and ideological nature of the texts, which were interpreted as elements of an Akkadian ideological pursuit to legitimise their rule over the southern Sumerian territories. From this perspective, Enheduanna was merely doing her father's work as priestess of the moon god in Ur. More recent studies have challenged the notion of an imperial ideology around the goddess (Westenholz 1999: 49) and scholars have shifted their attention to uncovering the woman behind her father the ruler and to restore the lives of women (elite ones in this case) in ancient Mesopotamia (e.g. Winter 1987; Westenholz 1989, 2013).

The assumption that the role and status of goddesses in pantheons and mythological texts reflected the role and status of women in society is fallacious as well. Asher-Greve and Westenholz explain this bias is known as 'the mirror image theory' and often causes misinterpretations of how gender is socially constructed. This is not to say that nothing can be gleaned about human society from the study of literary texts with mythological themes, but that such compositions need to be interpreted within their respective sociopolitical context, since they would have been produced within highly specialised, elite circles in which our modern concept of objectivity or anthropological observation were virtually unknown. As Asher-Greve and Westenholz demonstrate, such bias still affects research today, despite substantial advances in the field of gender archaeology and gendered approaches to textual sources over the past thirty years (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 27f.). For example, in an article on the role and function of goddesses in Mesopotamia, Groneberg writes:

While the hierarchical aspect [of the divine world] may be seen as a reflection of the political relations between the central authority and the chief urban centres, the gender roles of gods and goddesses also present clues as to ideological principles that govern the relations between the sexes and the social position of women on earth. In as far as the divine world is an idealised representation of life on earth we may recognise, in the goddesses at least, aspects of life of some of the more privileged women that actually lived.

(Groneberg 2007: 321–322)

Groneberg's position seems to mirror Kramer's lasting influence on the study of the relationship between goddesses and women in ancient Mesopotamia reflected in his statement that "*it was not only on the human plane that women had lost some of their rights and prerogatives in the course of centuries – it also happened on the divine plane*" (Kramer 1976: 13–14). On Kramer's influence, Asher-Greve noted how it set the tone over the following twenty-five years, during which studies focussed on goddesses' declining authority and the similarities with women's sex and gender roles (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 5).

In fact, Kramer's collaborations with folklorist D. Wolkstein established a sort of reciprocity between the interests of a scholar of Sumerian literature and religion and the contemporary second-wave feminism of the late 1960s through the late 1980s. Wolkstein seems to inherit Jacobsen's stance, perhaps through discussions with Kramer, conflating the concept 'goddess' with that of 'woman' in an attempt to build a model of a woman through "*a "grand story" of a woman in her many aspects, loving as well as angry, courageous as well as fearful, wise as well as unreasonable*" (Wolkstein 1984). Wolkstein received

extensive criticism not only for her evident misrepresentation of the sources in translation, but also for her attempt to claim the figure of the goddess as a role model for women. Surprisingly, all faults in the book co-authored with Kramer are directed towards her, as if the latter's contribution had been a lapse in judgment (see Bloom 1983 and response in Wolkstein 1984; Michalowski 1983; Cooper 1984). The fact that criticism of her work came from male scholars is perhaps not as relevant as the fact that the criticism itself largely failed to move beyond dismissal rather than attempting to contextualise the construction of the image and identity of the goddess in a constructive way. For example, in his review of Wolkstein and Kramer's work, Cooper affirmed that "[Inanna] was the avatar of all that men—who wrote down these stories—fear in women" (Cooper 1984). This claim appears as essentialist as Wolkstein's insofar that it reduces the goddess to a reflection of 'femininity', in this case as construed by 'man'. As Asher-Greve and Westenholz argue, "most Assyriologists continued to publish traditional positivist (or essentialist) studies on individual goddesses", rather than engaging with a growing body of literature on gender and religion (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 24).

The reciprocity between the study of goddesses and the social roles of women has received extensive criticism within the field of gender studies since the emergence of intersectionality and the criticism of models of women emancipation based on the principle of patriarchy. The patriarchal myth can be traced back to the work of men such as Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (Bachofen 1861), whose influence can be observed in Frazer's monumental work *The Golden Bough* (Frazer 1922). The influence of such works can be easily observed in Gimbutas' publications on the so-called fertility goddesses that permeated much of the eco-feminist movements revolving around the belief in a primordial, matriarchal society (Gimbutas 1989, 1991). In the essay entitled *Can a sexist model liberate us?* mentioned above, Hackett (1989) cogently argued how the creation of a narrative that restricts female deities within the comfortable notion of fertility does little in the way of understanding the processes through which patriarchal structures are built. She concludes that the path to understanding how such structures are built and reproduced may be paved with "the sexist categories we [women and feminist scholars] are trying to transcend" (Hackett 1989: 76). In other words, seeking to redress a patriarchal understanding of female divine power should not involve the erasure of the sociopolitical conditions in which such positions were created and reproduced, and the roles that both men and women played.

Aiming to dissociate the roles and identity of women from the female divine, Asher-Greve argues that although the deterioration in the conditions of women after the fall of the Ur III dynasty coincided with the changing status of many goddesses, "the causes of changes in religion are different from those for gender roles and regimes" (Asher-Greve 2013: 374). Asher-Greve and Westenholz (2013) explore the processes through which goddesses are transformed in their book *Goddesses in Context*, in which they lay out the continual process of reinterpretation and syncretism, mutation and fossilization, fusion and fission which all Mesopotamian deities underwent. Whilst the causes of changes in the status of women and goddesses may differ, they are both subject to sociopolitical shifts that affect the ways in which individuals and collectives negotiate social relationships on the human and divine planes. Westenholz presented a historical account of the changes observed in the divine world, linking them with political, economic, and social changes. She described three stages: *a*) Profusion (roughly the 3rd millennium B.C.); *b*) Recession (2nd millennium B.C.); and *c*) Homogeneity and Simplification (1st millennium B.C.) (Asher-Greve and

Westenholz 2013: Chapter 2). Westenholz's discussion is based solely on textual evidence, mostly of a literary nature; yet, to what extent are social and political changes fraught and/or reflected solely in the realm of court literature?

Asher-Greve contributes a discussion on the visual images of goddesses in a subsequent chapter, in which she argues against the limitations that philologists (i.e. Assyriologists) usually place on the analysis of images as independent media (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: Chapter 4). Stating that in Mesopotamia the notion that a cult statue was identical with the deity evidences the necessity to study images, she concludes that "*religious images preceded religious texts and the importance as well as the experience of seeing did not depend on text, but texts may have been originally inspired by images*" (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 152). As an extension to Westenholz's arguments, her contribution adds dimensionality to the causes behind changes in religion as reflected in the literary and visual corpuses. However, she focusses on the *image* without the *materiality* of the objects in which the visual media is contained and the contexts in which they were produced, used, and discarded. Asher-Greve notes "*the power of material images as the recipient/subject of veneration, prayers, pleas, and offerings*" (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 152–153), yet does not engage in exploring the ways in which their agency as recipient/subject is produced and reproduced. That "*material images are also always charged with a mental image of what they represent*" (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 153) is clear, but reducing the relationship to a binary reciprocity between material images and the testimony of mental representations that may be traced in cuneiform literature is problematic because it misses the point that such reciprocal action takes place in the physical world and is mediated by spaces, objects, and people.

The limitations in Asher-Greve and Westenholz's work bring me to the issue of materiality and the construction of the image and identity (including agency) of goddesses, and to question whether there is more that can be done to better integrate the textual, visual, and archaeological data. In Chapter 2, I discussed the scholarly focus on Inanna/Aštar's gender and sexuality, catalysed in the duality of the morning and evening stars. I argued how this focus has overwhelmingly driven interpretation of not only the textual evidence but also the archaeological and visual evidence as reflected in the former. As Asher-Greve pointed out, images are seldom analysed in their own right, and the same could be said of the archaeological evidence, as I also discussed. It seems that interpretations continued to draw on defining the goddess, her role(s) and power(s) as reflections of her gender and sexuality without questioning whether, how, and to what end her agency was shaped in that particular way and in what ways those attributes function to fulfil social agendas. The emergence of Third Wave feminism and the increase of post-structuralist criticisms in the 1980s certainly marked a departure towards contextualising the concept or idea of Inanna/Aštar within the system of knowledge that produced it. However, the material divide continued to be present. Some criticisms framed many of the ideas that linked 'femininity', 'fertility' and goddesses within the patriarchal system of knowledge, arguing that Inanna/Aštar functioned to validate patriarchal Sumerian society mainly through acting as a mirror on which masculine—mainly the king—identity defined itself (Frymer-Kensky 2000; Bahrani 2000), although Westenholz (2013: 83) warned that the existence of strong female deities does not often translate in the existence of equally strong women in society (i.e. females who hold the kingship). Other scholars took Inanna/Aštar's perceived contradictory nature to mean that she acted within spaces of liminality which ultimately allowed her to serve as a referent for normality and balance

within the cosmos (Vanstiphout 1984; Harris 1990/91). To some extent, these views drew on Jacobsen's description of Inanna as a single woman and of infinite variety and spin them in a way that provided that very definition with a social explanation. In this sense, the goddess' manifold roles and her seemingly contradictory nature are often extolled as the very expression of her gender and sexuality, seen as the epitome of femininity from the perspective of women, from the perspective of men, or from the perspective of a third gender meant to stand for the quality of liminality. In this sense, her power is seen to emerge from her gender condition.

In contrast with the concept of the feminine that accompanies the definition of the goddess, anything that deviates from it, that is, her aggressive behaviour and patronage of conflict and warfare, are often framed as her alleged male traits. For example Groneberg (1986) qualifies Ištar as 'hermaphroditos' not because there is any doubt about the deity's gender (female deity) but because she is a goddess to whom aspects of male power and dominance were also attributed. Earlier, I also discussed how some of Inanna/Aštar's alleged 'male' physical attributes could be explained as metaphors without a deep symbolic meaning (see p. 32). The issue with these definitions is that they assume the existence of hegemonic and monolithic concepts of 'male' and 'female' which are unchanging and often fairly similar to our own modern ideas. If we accept the premise that gender is socially constructed, it follows at the very least that whatever concept of hegemonic masculinity or femininity existed in ancient Mesopotamia must be contextualised in a historical and relational manner. So far, I have reviewed some of the literature on femininity and Inanna/Aštar, noting how her gender and sexuality is often described in contrast with the figure of the king as the epitome of masculinity and catalysed through the alleged sacred marriage ritual. However, the literature on the construction of masculinities in the ancient Near East is particularly thin, with Peled's (2016) monograph on gender-ambivalent men a notable exception. Other contributions focussing specifically on the masculinity of kings in Early Mesopotamia include Winter's (1996) discussion of the royal iconography of the Akkadian king Narām-Sîn, in which she raises questions about his male attributes, and Suter's (2012) broader analysis of royal masculinity attributes reflected in Early Mesopotamian art. Suter's contribution is based on an analysis of the iconography of physical strength and facial hair as specific markers of royal masculinity. It draws on the general idea that kings were mediators between the human and divine spheres but does not examine how these visual representations, these objects, functioned—in the social spheres in which they would have been used—to produce and reproduce that very relationship between the human and divine realms. Peled goes further to stress the relational nature of gender and discusses in detail Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) work on hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt reviewed the existing model of hegemonic masculinity, discarding one-dimensional treatments of hierarchy and trait conceptions of gender, arguing that gender is not fixed but constructed through social interaction, and stressing—among other aspects—the relational nature of gender and the need to emphasise the agency of women in the construction of hegemonic masculinities. This last point is particularly relevant because at the end of Chapter 2 I posited that, based on the review of the evidence, temple construction and the role of elite women in ritual activity in temples associated with Inanna/Aštar appears to be interrelated with the construction of power during the Early Dynastic period and its consolidation in the figure of the king. In this sense, the manner of such interrelations and how the link between the human and divine realms was consolidated in the figure of the king contributed in a performative way to shape the identity and image of Inanna/Aštar during this period.

In order to move beyond the characterisation of Inanna/Aštar’s gender and sexuality towards understanding the processes through which her image and identity were constructed, I propose to employ Judith Butler’s work on performativity and her “political genealogy of gender ontologies,” which—as I shall argue—also achieves a better integration of archaeological, textual, and visual evidence. If we accept that intersectional identities (e.g. age, status, gender, race) are socially constructed, then it must follow that the same applies to the divine world, though the processes differ.

Before discussing how performativity can help bring together textual, art historical, and archaeological evidence to analyse the social context of the construction of the image and identity of Inanna/Aštar, I would like to discuss the work of women-historian Gerda Lerner. Her work offers some insightful points relevant to the theoretical and interpretive considerations under consideration.

Working within a second-wave feminism framework, Lerner collaborated with assyriologists including Jack Sasson, Jerrold Cooper, and Denise Schmandt-Besserat to write *The Creation of Patriarchy* (Lerner 1986). Despite Lerner’s reputation as a leading historian and pioneer in women’s studies, assyriologists and archaeologists have largely ignored her work. Bahrani (2000: 47) compared Lerner’s work with that of Gimbutas on the “Mother-Goddess” theory and dismissed her work as such. However, I think this was a misrepresentation of at least some of Lerner’s ideas, which show a commitment not to the reproduction of modern myths of a utopian matriarchy, but to the analysis of the processes through which structures of subjugation are constructed:²

I think one can truly speak of matriarchy when women hold power over men, not alongside, when that power includes the public domain and foreign relations and when women make essential decisions not only for the kinfolk but for the community. [...] It may be noted that I am defining matriarchy as the mirror image of patriarchy. Using that definition, I would conclude that no matriarchal society has ever existed.

[...]

Once we abandon the concept of women as historical victims, acted upon by violent men, inexplicable “forces”, and societal institutions, we must explain the central puzzle—woman’s participation in the construction of the system that subordinated her. I suggest that abandoning the search for an empowering past—the search for matriarchy—is the first step in the right direction. The creation of compensatory myths of the distant past of women will not emancipate women in the present and future.

(Lerner 1986: 31–36)

²Lerner only mentions Gimbutas’ work in one instance when challenging the concept of “sacred prostitution,” perhaps stemming from her discussions with Cooper (Lerner 1986: 124–125). She differentiates between “cultic sexual service” and “prostitution,” noting that the evidence of naked figurines from the Neolithic onwards may signify the existence of cultic sexual service by men and women since that time. Of course, such an interpretation is unwarranted and has been disproved (Meskell 1995), but it does not nullify the overall stance of the book. Furthermore, she notes that despite their archaeological context, “there is no way of our knowing in what manner these figurines were used or worshipped” (Lerner 1986: 125).

For all the limitations in Lerner’s work that could be argued here, including the mirror image theory, it is clear that her intention was rather the opposite of Gimbutas’ search for a matriarchal past enshrined in fertility cults. Although she assumes the existence of a “Mother-Goddess”—a typical issue with writing from her time, she does not claim women or goddesses enjoyed superiority over their male counterparts, but that their status in the official cults dwindled over time, though their popular cult did not. Her focus is placed on the relationship between the perceived dwindling power of goddesses coupled with the emergence of monotheism as the context in which a patriarchal society as we understand it today emerged (Lerner 1986: 145). As such, her arguments may no longer be tenable today, but they paved the way to more nuanced analyses of the evidence. In fact, Lerner could be spared some of the ostracism and vilification as her narrative faithfully presents then contemporary analyses of early state formation in ancient Mesopotamia such as espoused by Adams (1966, 1981) or Carneiro (1970). She demonstrates a depth of understanding of the various factors discussed as influencing the formation of elites, such as ecological, economic, or ritualistic, and even discusses Maekawa’s (1973–4) groundbreaking work on the re-organisation of power and the role of elite women in Early Dynastic Lagaš. When discussing the evidence from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, her conclusions present valid arguments that anticipate recent discussions revolving around the visibility of status and the intersectional organisation of power:

The royal tombs at Ur tell us that ruling queens shared in the status, power, wealth, and ascription of divinity with kings. They tell us of their wealth and high status of some women at the Sumerian courts, of their varied craft skills, their obvious economic privilege. But the overwhelming preponderance of female skeletons over male among the buried retainers also speaks to their greater vulnerability and dependency as servants.

(Lerner 1986: 61–62)

Except for the point on divinity, one would be pressed to find issue with the above statement today, which—though underdeveloped—is in line with recent work into the configuration of women and power in the Early Dynastic period such as Asher-Greve (1985), McCaffrey (2008), Beld (2002), or some of the contributions in the recent volume on *The role of women in work and society in the ancient Near East* (Lion and Michel 2016) such as those by Karahashi (2016), Biga (2016), or Otto (2016), which highlight the limited number of women in positions of power versus the large body of female workers that filled the ranks of anonymous potters, weavers, or servants.

Furthermore, Lerner offers an important insight that perhaps has not received as much attention as it deserves. Her rejection of the victimization of women, and by extension of goddesses, should act as a starting point from which to explore the ways in which individuals and collectives negotiated the roles and identities of goddesses within specific sociopolitical circumstances and from a position that does not assume an essentialist notion of gender or sex. Despite an overall evolutionist framework of analysis, which was influenced by the work of Levi-Strauss and Marx, Lerner stresses the multiplicity of social and economic organisation beyond the binary concepts of patriarchy and matriarchy, pointing out that “women’s position in society must be viewed always also in comparison with that of the men of their social group and of their time” (Lerner 1986: 38). Some of her conclusions may not be tenable today; however,

her reasoning that social identities cannot be understood solely by looking at each self-identifying group advances the now-generally accepted position in archaeological theory that social identities are built in constant interaction and cannot be “fixed” in time despite their stable appearance.

To summarise the above discussion before moving forward:

- a) Mother-Goddess theories are founded on modern myths of a Utopian matriarchy that never existed.
- b) The idea of women, and goddesses by extension, as historical victims hinders robust analysis and interpretation of their historical status and power. Furthermore, such efforts will not emancipate women in the present and future.
- c) Changes in gender roles and regimes in the social sphere are different from those taking place in religion. Therefore, the status and roles of goddesses do not necessarily mirror the status and roles of women in society.
- d) Whilst the gender of women has been problematised as a reflection of divine gender, the implications of the latter have not been afforded the same scrutiny, in the sense that as a product of human socialization, divine gender must be socially constructed just as human gender.
- e) Therefore, it is not enough to characterise the gender and sexuality of Inanna/Aštar, even if said characterisation incorporates contemporary theoretical notions from the field of gender studies. It is necessary to analyse the processes through which gender is constructed.

The last point leads me to the work of Judith Butler who, working from the perspective of gender, defined a framework of analysis for the intersectional construction of social identity, that is, the notion that the intersection of social attributes such as age, gender, or race contribute towards the definition of social identity, as well as the processes through which seemingly “fixed” or “normal” identities are (re-)produced.

Judith Butler has criticised gender realism on two levels. First, she argues that the categories of ‘man’ and ‘woman’ fail to recognise “*the multiplicity of cultural, social and political intersections in which the concrete array of ‘women’ are constructed*” (Butler 1990: 19–20), and thus such constructs are normative because the term ‘woman’ implies there is some correct way to be gendered a woman (Butler 1990: 5). This notion generates and legitimizes certain practices, experiences, etc. But more importantly, Butler also criticises the sex/gender distinction, arguing that “*sexed bodies never exist outside social meanings and how we understand gender shapes is how we understand sex*” (Butler 1990: 139). Thus, sexed bodies are *discursively constructed*: they are the way they are because of what is attributed to sexed bodies and how they are classified. Together, these two claims support Butler’s ‘performativity’ of gender, which simply means that gender is a construct that needs to be realised through “*stylised repetition of (habitual) acts*” (Butler 1990: 179).

Butler also draws from Foucault's genealogical analysis to develop a 'political genealogy of gender ontologies' (Butler 1999). In brief, Foucault's genealogical analysis aims to "*show that a given system of thought was the result of contingent turns of history, not the outcome of rationally inevitable trends*" (Gutting 2014) through a painstaking analysis of the details and the accumulation of source material—his 'archaeology' as historiographical methodology. By extension, the social construct of gender must be the product of contingent turns of history, not inevitable or 'natural' tendencies, and must be examined as such. Therefore, at what point, for what purpose, and how did individuals and collectives negotiate the image and identity (including the gender) of Inanna/Aštar? How are these processes reflected in the archaeological, textual, and visual record, and what are their limitations? To what extent does the evidence inform about the ways in which the material context functions as the medium through which said processes are performed and consolidated?

In way of preliminary hypotheses to be explored, the following points summarise the material implications of Butler's performativity of gender that are relevant in the context of understanding the process of gendering deities:

- a) That the sex and gender of deities is socially constructed, especially when the establishment of reciprocal relationships with the divine world is required to substantiate hierarchical models of government that concentrate power in the figure of one ruler, for which the establishment of genealogies—to some extent modeled on the concept of ancestor lineage—is required.
- b) That gendering and anthropomorphism, in the sense of corporeality (e.g. divine statues), of deities are inevitably produced at the same time because sexed bodies do not exist outside social constructs (as we shall see, it may also strengthen social cohesion and the assimilation of modes of social organisation beyond kinship).
- c) That in order to establish this reciprocal relationship, it must be substantiated through the performance of rituals in the material world.
- d) That in the public sphere, such "repetition of habitual acts" must be anchored in a physical location, materialised in designated spaces and structures within the urban fabric such as temples and terraces.

Recent discussions problematising the assumed anthropomorphism of Mesopotamian deities, such as contributions in Porter (2009c), offer examples and alternative explanations, but the term 'anthropomorphic' remains controversial and it is not always consistently defined or used (Porter 2009b: 12).³ Although beyond the scope of this thesis, a short discussion of the concept of anthropomorphism, its cognitive dimension and how it drives social connectedness is relevant to the hypothesis that temples understood as houses (Sumerian *e₂*) for anthropomorphised deities who became gendered as a result appeared in the Mesopotamian landscape as an effect of changes in the sociopolitical make-up of the region.

³The assumed anthropomorphism of Mesopotamian deities is illustrated by Wilfred Lambert's position: "*Sumerian gods were supernatural beings, the personifications of some aspect of nature as then seen or understood, endowed with a human personality, but with superhuman power*" (Lambert 1997: 1).

Anthropomorphism, understood as “*the tendency to imbue the real or imagined behaviour of nonhuman agents with humanlike characteristics, motivations, intentions, or emotions*” (Epley et al. 2007: 865), has been extensively recorded as a cognitive advantage of humans that is present in all aspects of social interaction. This mechanism may have developed with the crucial cognitive changes that took place during the Upper Paleolithic (Mithen 1996), and may—according to cognitive expert Stewart Guthrie—“*in the first instance be understood as the inevitable occasional errors of perceptual and conceptual systems*” (Guthrie 2007). Guthrie’s theory has received criticism for its failure to “*deal adequately with frequently encountered attributions to gods and spirits of non-human qualities*” (Saler 2009: 50), as well as its disregard of the ‘reality of religion’, that is, the performance and ritual aspect of religion (Richardson 1996: 179).

It seems that anthropomorphism, and its sibling animism, do not automatically imply the visual representation of the subject of religious thought in human shape (e.g. the presence of a cultic humanlike statue). Anthropomorphism itself is not particularly special in any way because it seems to be a cognitive function of humans. In anthropologist Roy Ellen’s words, “*to say that non-human objects of all kinds are treated anthropomorphically is not, in itself, to say a lot, since humankind has no option but to apprehend and represent its world in anthropomorphic terms*” (Ellen 1988: 226). With regard to divine agents, distinguished cognitive scientist Justin L. Barrett reached the following conclusions after extensive observations and experiments carried out with Hindu (polytheistic) populations:

That gods are given human properties does not imply that these attributions are due to cognitively coding gods as “humans” or “persons” as [Pascal] Boyer’s theory might suggest; nor does it imply that people are biased to interpret ambiguous stimuli as “humanlike” as Guthrie’s theory predicts. The same results could be explained in terms of a more general intuition-generator that operates on all intentional agents. Since gods and humans are intentional agents, they will be expected to conform to similar psychological and physical assumptions. If this is the case, what has been documented is not “anthropomorphism” at all.

(Barrett 1998: 617)

In other words, humans tend to explain or make sense of phenomena to which agency is ascribed in terms that are familiar to us, that is, by using humanlike descriptions; but they are metaphors, approximations, a cognitive mechanism that is useful in telling stories using (verbal) language; it does not exhaust the phenomena itself (Barrett 2011: 137). Coincidentally, the existence of a language particle in Sumerian that differentiates between animate and inanimate, and which is used mainly with humans and deities but also with some “things” (Porter 2009a,b), may underscore the validity of Barrett’s conclusions in the Sumerian case at least. Barrett explains that he avoids using the term *anthropomorphism* to discuss intentional agency, unlike Guthrie, for three reasons: *a)* because it tends to imply all intentional agency is humanlike, and that is debatable; *b)* because it may be confused with other approaches such as Freudian or Piagetian that suppose it must have a humanlike bodily form; and *c)* because it assumes human agency is a reflection of divine agency, and not the other way around (Barrett 2011: 187 n. 9). Here, I shall employ the term ‘material anthropomorphism’ to refer specifically to the tendency to materially embody deities in human shape, whilst agency itself is not necessarily circumscribed to humanlike bodily forms.

Barrett highlights the fact that the distinction between *language attributes* and *bodily form* is not always made clear when defining anthropomorphism, and that this phenomenon seems to encode an intuition-generator that operates on agency. Supplementing Barrett's work with recent advances in the field of cognitive archaeology may help elucidate how 'material anthropomorphism' works in the sense here employed, as well as its social implications. Cognitive archaeologist Lambros Malafouris's *Material Engagement Theory* (MET) aims to overcome the limitations of psychological and cognitive approaches that largely continue to adopt a mind-body dichotomy when defining agency. Discussing anthropomorphism and object agency, Malafouris argues for the dissolution of the modernist distinction between action and instrument if we are to investigate the causal efficacy (social or cognitive) of material culture:

The element of anthropomorphism that the argument for material agency incorporates becomes problematic only when placed against the intellectual background of modernism. It is our deeply entrenched assumptions about persons and things as separate and independently defined entities that make any attempt to understand the one in terms of the other look problematic; it is not the projection itself.

(Malafouris 2013: 132)

Malafouris's aim is to disentangle how exactly humans interact with reality by escaping the subject-object (agent-patient) dichotomy. In his view, humans are not the subjects of a social universe; the social universe itself is activity-centered. Thus, agency and intentionality must be understood as the 'emergent properties of material engagement', not as innate properties of humans, or things (Malafouris 2013: 149). In other words, the key is in the active *engagement* or *interaction*, and the intentionality in causal relationships is of the "intention-in-action" type (Malafouris 2013: 139). As will appear evident by now, such an approximation to material agency and causality fits well with Butler's notion of performativity in the construction of sexed bodies and gender. Addressing some common misinterpretation of 'performativity' for 'performance', Butler clarified that whereas performance presupposes a pre-existing subject, performativity contests the very notion of the subject; it should be understood through the notion of resignification as it has the capacity to produce what it names (Butler 1996: 112). It is in this interactive process that the social efficacy of material anthropomorphism in the Early Dynastic period may be fleshed out.

In a recent contribution, Epley, Waytz and Cacioppo (2007) identified "*the motivation to be effective social agents (effectance motivation)*" as one of three factors driving the development and strength of anthropomorphism.⁴ The other two factors are "*the accessibility and applicability of egocentric or homocentric knowledge (elicited agent knowledge)*" and "*the motivation for social connection (sociality motivation)*" (Epley et al. 2007: 878). These factors underscore the critical value of anthropocentrism as

⁴The authors discuss what they identify as "strong" and "weak" forms of anthropomorphism. Strong versions entail "*behaving as if a nonhuman agent has humanlike traits or characteristics along with explicit endorsement of those beliefs (such as religious agents)*." Weaker versions "*may only entail "as if" metaphorical reasoning (such as with one's malevolent computer)*." The authors stress that the difference between the two versions "*is a matter of degree regarding the strength and behavioural consequences of a belief, not a fundamental difference in kind*" (Epley et al. 2007: 867).

a mechanism to stabilise social relationships, and how it may have been advantageous at certain times and to certain groups of people. Focussing on the effectance motivation of anthropomorphism, the authors argue that:

Like hunger or thirst, depriving people of a sense of efficacy or social connection should activate a goal to repair this deprived state. This goal should then remain active, or even increase in strength over time, until the goal is satisfied [...]. Anthropomorphism, we suggest, serves as one way of satisfying a goal to feel efficacious in one's environment, or to increase a sense of social connection, and should therefore increase as a function of these two motivational states.

[...]

Effectance motivation entails the desire to reduce uncertainty and ambiguity, at least in part with the goal of attaining a sense of predictability and control in one's environment.

(Epley et al. 2007: 871–872)

How does anthropomorphism's sense of efficacy or social connection translate to the sociopolitical context of the late Early Dynastic period? How does performativity and MET's "intention in action" apply when considering the significant increase in material anthropomorphism during this period?⁵ I tentatively suggest as a hypothesis that the increase in temple-construction together with the explosion in materially embodied anthropomorphic images of humans and deities (sculpture, glyptic, plaques), and supplemented with literary compositions, observed during the ED III period may have had the effect of reinforcing new forms of social connectedness and stabilising the motivation underlying such programmes of action at the collective level. Such a process may have been *co-constitutive* (that is, both a cause and effect) with the construction of hegemonic kingship, which required a genealogical link to nonhuman religious agents (i.e. deities) to be legitimised. The material realisation of a world beyond human society may have proved efficacious in strengthening the relationships between human and nonhuman agents. The motivation(s) for such changes are difficult to trace because they are likely multifactorial and tangled, though perhaps could be traced back to the Late Uruk period according to Pollock and Bernbeck (2000); Bernbeck and Pollock (2002). However, these interpretations are in need of revision. From a performative

⁵ Although the evidence from the late ED III period far exceeds what is currently known for the ED I–II period, the wealth of evidence from contexts in which a complete sequence covering the Early Dynastic period such as in the Inanna temple in Nippur, the evidence from the various test pits in Ur, or the material from the Diyala sites strongly suggest a trend towards increasing material anthropomorphism in the temple complexes reflected in the dedicatory statuary and other object categories as I will discuss in Chapter 7 in this thesis. For example, the majority of statuary in the Inanna temple in Nippur came from Level VIIB dated to ED IIIa (the richest stratum) while earlier contexts yielded some inscribed stone vessels, similar to the situation in Adab (see further discussion in Chapter 7 Section §7.2.2 on stone vessels from these contexts). In the Diyala, the richest contexts in which statuary was found date to ED III although the earliest finds correspond to the Abu Square Temple I and date to the late ED I period according to Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 18–19). It is also possible that some of the finds in later contexts had been in use for a long time, though stylistic dating of geometric-style sculpture is notoriously unreliable (Evans 2007: 627f.). Finally, it is unclear whether the Diyala sites definitely show the earliest forms of Early Dynastic statuary or whether these finds are simply the result of excavation bias and similar finds will eventually be excavated in ED I contexts in southern Mesopotamia. It is also generally accepted that after the Early Dynastic period statuary became circumscribed to royal individuals, mainly kings but also some royal women and priestesses, even though votive objects continued to be donated by women, for example (Westenholz 2013).

or “intention in action” perspective, the construction of temples, material anthropomorphism, and royal inscriptions are actions tangled in the process of shaping society during this period, in which social organisation was performatively (*re*)-produced through actions. Therefore, they are not representations of an existing system, but *constitutive* of the relationships that produce the appearance of continuity or tradition—the system itself does not ‘exist’ in the abstract sense. What I want to stress here are the cognitive and social implications of anthropomorphism, and how the production of anthropomorphism, and gender by extension, is not simply a mental process, but must be achieved through material engagement.

The above points agree with the generally accepted notion that in ancient Mesopotamia and from at least the late Early Dynastic period, rulers were legitimized through “theocratic” institutions, where Theocracy refers to government or political rule directly by god(s) or by priests and/or officials as representatives of god(s). The programme of temple-construction, the creation of visual cues, and incipient royal inscriptions seem to foster the power of individuals within their own community and against foreign communities whilst reinforcing social connectedness through the medium of temples and associated celebrations, e.g. festivals. Several recent studies have focussed on the secularization of Early Dynastic rule through military victory and charismatic authority, such as those by Beld (2002) and Cohen (2005), largely based on original suggestions by Jacobsen (1957) supplemented with Michalowski’s (1991) work on the concept of charisma. Both Beld and Cohen discuss the function of ritual activity in legitimising palace ideologies and the authoritative figure of the king. Beld focusses on rituals and festivals associated with the agricultural cycle and controlled by the main city temple, through which rule was legitimised. Meanwhile, Cohen focusses on elite ritual activities connected with death as important factors contributing to the establishment and legitimisation of a monarchic system of power. The problem with these approaches is that they interpret the material dimension of their work (i.e. the temples and tombs) as the *tools* with which certain preconceived notions of authority were realised, authenticated, and legitimised. In line with MET, I would argue instead that such a “higher” cognitive process did not exist *per se*, but was entangled with the material practices themselves. In other words, there is not a *prior intention* and then an *action*, but that intention is entangled with the *doing* itself (Malafouris 2013: 137–140).

When seen from a causal perspective, studies that focus on military achievement and charismatic authority assume the individual agency of kings and the collective agency of men in creating the social structures that legitimise a—to some extent—*pre-existing* notion of power (i.e. the ‘intention’). The essentialist model on male power stretches back to models posed for the transition to agriculture in the Near East. Bolger aptly describes how “*the notion that big events and big men functioned as prime movers in prehistory, when combined with a genderless perspective on the past, creates a theoretical vacuum that opens the door for uncritical views about gender roles, such as the association of women with private domestic spheres and men with the more cosmopolitan spheres of trade, politics, and public life*” (Bolger 2010: 522). As I have suggested, it may prove productive to explore how the active construction of spaces and structures may not constitute representations or *effects* of power structures but be constitutive of them. Furthermore, these studies often minimise the well-documented role that women played precisely in the rituals and celebrations said to be essential to the legitimisation of power. This brings me back to Lerner, Butler, and the power of gender as a social construct.

The state of Lagaš during the ED III period may serve to illustrate this point. Beld argued that during this period, the consort of the Lagašite rulers was the head of the cult-institution of the goddess Bāwu/Baba, and she was considered to be her earthly representative. He concluded that:

[T]he purpose of cult-institutions, such as the Emunusa, was to provide for the care and feeding of the gods who in turn provided order and productivity. [...] The ritual economy was the basis of and supported the ideological framework of Sumerian states through the religious activities of rulers with the ultimate end of maintaining royal authority and power by integrating elite members of Sumerian society to the royal families and Sumerian states into a pan-Sumerian cultural area.

(Beld 2002: 229)

Beld then added that by the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods, rulers could not only be considered to be representatives of the gods but gods themselves (Beld 2002: 39), and the consort of the king became at certain times the goddess Inanna/Aštar. I would argue that these shifts reflect the performativity of gender in relation to the social construct of goddesses, who became mothers, wives, harlots and warriors as part of the reciprocal relationship established between the ruling elite—especially in the figure of the king—and the divine world. Furthermore, I would add that such a co-constitutive production of identity was to some extent mediated through the specific roles of elite women. Evidence of this can be found not only in the fact that queens were the effective heads of cultic institutions and thus in charge of the organisation of offerings and cultic activities among other functions, but also in the status of objects such as statues that they commissioned and maintained inside the temples. Perhaps Lerner's point in asking about women's participation can be explored further in this sense. Likewise, in the vein of Butler's 'political genealogy of gender ontologies,' investigating the emergence of material anthropomorphism of deities from a MET perspective may throw light on the co-constitutive production of the social identity of the king and the gendered identity of the goddess Inanna/Aštar. The implications of these conclusions will be further explored in Chapter 8, *Constructing gender and power through ritual*, in which I shall contextualise the archaeological evidence from the case studies within the sociopolitical environment during the Early Dynastic period.

Finally, it is interesting to note that temples dedicated to Inanna/Aštar seem to proliferate during this period as highlighted in the previous chapter, followed by a blooming of anthropomorphic visual images of the goddess that seems to become more restricted to royal imagery by the Neo-Sumerian period (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 207). By contrast, the god Enlil only had one main seat of power, in Nippur, and that itself has been contested to some extent during the Early Dynastic period. It is also well known that virtually no humanlike visual representations exist of the god, despite having a prominent role in both later literary compositions and (late) Early Dynastic royal inscriptions as the god responsible for *nam-lugal-kalam-ma* 'kingship of the land'. It would indeed be of interest to explore this particular difference in treatment of clearly two of the most important deities associated with kingship in Early Mesopotamia, especially in light of recent suggestions by Such-Gutiérrez and Wang. On the one hand, Such-Gutiérrez (2003: 28–33) suggested that during the ED IIIa period Enlil was responsible for the legitimization of *nam-lugal* 'kingship' in northern Sumer, while Inanna of Uruk probably held a parallel office in southern

Sumer to legitimize *nam-en* ‘rulership’. These would have been integrated together only during the ED IIIb period, following the evidence from the royal inscriptions. Wang (2011: 25–28) correctly pointed out Such-Gutiérrez’s assumptions regarding the identity and role of Enlil as national god of Sumer and demonstrated that, in fact, a temple of Enlil in Nippur does not appear to exist according to the ED IIIa textual sources. Wang instead suggests that “*the idea of Enlil as the patron deity of nam-lugal-kalam-ma was perhaps the innovation of Lugalzagesi who was defeated by Sargon*” (Wang 2011: 245).

The relationship between temple-construction and the contouring of deities’ identities and roles in human society—especially in relation to social stratification and the organisation of power—appears critical in this sense, and deserves further investigation. Furthermore, the gendering and material anthropomorphism of Inanna/Aštar appears specific to this deity, or perhaps to deities gendered female, less so than male ones. The processes and motivations behind such a development ought to be carefully analysed. To this end, I have proposed the use of performativity substantiated with contemporary archaeological approaches to materiality (i.e. MET), as laid out above. In short, the framework proposed focusses on actions and processes through the theoretical lens of performativity, aiming to delineate their context carefully in order to identify the *conditions* under which specific actions, intentions, and processes emerge or are muted. I look for ways to interpret these data, paying attention to specific words, images, and spaces that seem to acquire particular meaning. Following Conkey’s suggestion mentioned at the end of Chapter 2, this is an approach that seeks to explain the social production of power.

3.2 CASE STUDIES

The core of the thesis comprises three key case studies that have been selected for the scope and variety that they offer. As I mentioned before, although synthetic in its outlook, if the aims of this thesis are to be achieved, it must be through the detailed (re-)analysis and contextualisation of primary data that includes stratigraphic, artefact, and textual analysis—whenever possible. In Chapter 2 (see Section §2.2), I discussed the archaeological and textual evidence of temples built for the goddess Inanna/Aštar during the Early Dynastic period, especially towards the final part of the period. Out of these, my initial selection for analysis included the temples in Nippur, Mari, and Aššur. Excavated over roughly half a century (1913–1961), these three case studies offered not only fully excavated sequences to the foundations of the temples, but also a variety of excavation techniques and approaches to interpretation, having been excavated by American, French, and German teams, respectively.

The site of Aššur is key in understanding the modern interpretation of the “archaic” cult of the goddess and its particularly resilient tradition. Walter Andrae’s publication of the excavation presented subsequent scholars with a vision that has resonated since the 1930s. Evans (2012) recently analysed extensively the impact of Andrae’s reconstructions of the temple and its modernist vision of Early Dynastic temples as museums with displays of statuary and other object inside the cella. Evans argues that this original reconstruction eventually influenced Frankfort, who then developed his art historical sequence based on the statuary from the Diyala and how it influenced the work of the Diyala excavators in their reconstructions (Evans 2012: 88f.). Of course, Frankfort’s approach contributed another layer of interpretation that moved

beyond Andrae's focus on ethnicity to his own focus on using art historical analysis to establish a relative chronology of the Early Dynastic period. Likewise, Parrot's work in Mari was also heavily influenced by Andrae's findings, having been in contact with the excavation and comparing his findings in Mari to those from Aššur.

Unfortunately, access to the Nippur material was not possible given that the final report of the excavation of the Inanna temple has not yet been published, even though the volumes are apparently ready.⁶ Despite trying to gain access to the material prior to the "imminent" release of the publication, I was not granted it, and thus, had to drop the case study in this instance. This constituted a small setback as I had already carried out preliminary work on the site and the material, but it was nevertheless useful for the later discussion and contextualisation of the other three case studies that are finally included here. The excavation of the Inanna temple in Nippur is one of the most prominent examples of some of the issues around data analysis and publication of older excavations. While the textual material were readily published in at least a preliminary manner (Goetze 1970) and the most visually impacting objects have been included in comprehensive catalogues including statuary, inscribed stone vessels and plaques (Braun-Holzinger 1977, 1991), only cursory preliminary reports have so far been published since the 1950s (Haines 1956, 1958, 1961a,b) with the exception of Zettler's (1992) doctoral work on the Ur III material.

Having the opportunity to include the material from Nippur would have supported the objectives of this project for several reasons. First, it was excavated in the 1950s, and thus the techniques and excavation methodology had improved since the earlier excavations of the 1930s. Secondly, the fact that the temple likely emerged from the organic development of domestic spaces that increasingly morphed into the well-known temple layout (Zettler 1992: Chapter 2) poses an important point of contrast with the generally accepted view that temples had to be founded on "purified" soil. It would have been interesting to investigate further the similarities and differences between the sequence in Nippur compared to other well-known sites as part of the analysis of the sociopolitical context of temple-construction during the Early Dynastic period. The large corpus of inscribed vessels that were apparently presented to the temple by high-ranking women would have added dimensionality to questions around the role of women in ritual and the co-construction of gender constructs. Finally, given the location of Mari and Aššur, having a case study closer to the Southern city-states would have added variety and highlighted similarities/differences between the regions, thus strengthening the robustness of the analysis and interpretation.

As Nippur was ruled out, choosing a third case study that met the conditions for a detailed re-analysis of the material proved difficult. Uruk was not considered because the evidence from the Early Dynastic period is very limited and not unproblematic, as discussed in Chapter 2. On the other hand, the material from Zabala is also limited and only preliminary reports were published by the Iraqi excavators (Al-Subaihawi 2003–4; Fahad 2010, 2016; Ghareeb 2015). Despite the existence of unprovenanced tablets originating from the site since the early 1900s (Powell 1978) and perhaps the temple archives (Monaco 2011, 2016; Pomponio et al. 2006), the evidence is not reliable enough to be considered in this instance at least. Having one of Inanna's main cultic centres as a case study would have proved invaluable. However, the evidence simply is not available, yet.

⁶This was transmitted to me during the email exchange with the institution regarding accessing the material.

Another option was the Ibgal in Lagaš, which was excavated by Crawford and Hansen between 1968 and 1971 (Hansen 1970, 1973, 1992; Crawford 1974). However, this is another example of excavations pending publication of final reports. A project based at the University of Pennsylvania is currently in the process of studying and publishing all the material from the excavation, and there is not a lot material on the Ibgal itself, as very few finds came from this area of the excavation. Although a potentially good case-study, I finally rejected this option for these two reasons: that it is in the process of publication, and that the material is limited.

With the idea of the Ibgal in mind, the option of revisiting the Temple Oval from Khafajah emerged as a good option for comparison with the temples in Mari and Aššur. An inscribed macehead dedicated to Inanna/Aštar that was found in the area of the temple and which was decorated with two reclining lions led the excavators to tentatively suggest it was dedicated to the goddess, although this was never explored further. The existence of an oval temple in Lagaš and the mention of another one perhaps in Girsu, as well as the oval temple dedicated to Ninḫursaĝ excavated in al-'Ubaid has also led some to conclude that oval temples were always built for goddesses or associated with femininity, and not gods (Hansen 1993; Lawecka 2011b). However, as Forest (1999) demonstrated for the Early Dynastic religious complex of Ninĝirsu in Girsu, an oval structure may have been associated with the patron deity of the city during this period. With these thoughts in mind, it seemed productive to re-analyse the evidence from the excavation and explore the context in which the Temple Oval was built, not only as a potential temple dedicated to Inanna/Aštar, but because the circumstances of its construction offer an important insight into the shaping of power structures in the Early Dynastic period as reflected in the monumental works required for the erection of the building. Furthermore, even if not dedicated to the goddess, the Temple Oval offers useful comparative material to understand both the urban context of temples—the excavations yielded another three temples in the vicinity—and the relationship between temple construction and power structures—possibly reflected in the incorporation of a house within the walls of the building complex. Finally, the fact that all the archival material from the site has now been digitised and is readily available through an online database provided a substantial advantage to work with well-organised and catalogued primary data.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Social constructivist grounded theory frames the theoretical approach laid out in the previous section within a reflexive methodology. It recognises the role of the researcher in the co-construction of theories and thus incorporates *reflexivity* as a tool. It also points out the impossibility of apprehending data *a priori* without understanding the circumstances in which they are co-constructed. Thus, it highlights the role that as researchers we play in co-constructing the very ideas we seek to explain, and advocates an approach that re-engages data in order to reconceptualise it with the help of explicit analytical frameworks. In terms of data collection, the heterogeneity and limitations of archival data from excavations carried out by different teams from different countries, to different standards according to the methodological advances of the time, and the differences in their publication requires a qualitative approach to the collection and analysis of the data for the purpose of re-contextualising temple construction. Social constructive grounded

theory provides a good foundation from which to build a tailored approach that brings together archaeological, visual, and textual data:

Qualitative data collection is not a linear process but rather, it is a recursive and iterative one that is inductive—with processes that build upon and influence each other in real time as research unfolds both theoretically and empirically—and therefore that the research is emergent in response to the learning that happens throughout the research process and especially during data collection.

(Charmaz 2014: 112–113)

Therefore, before embarking on data collection for the selected case studies, I carried out a preliminary case study to explore the possibilities the adopted approach offered, investigate best practices for data collection, and develop my expertise with the material. To this end, I chose the site of Tell Agrab for the following reasons: *a)* all the archival material is readily accessible online; *b)* the site yielded a wealth of material culture that has often been overlooked; and *c)* to my knowledge, there is no recent reanalysis of the original excavation and interpretation published in 1958. Some preliminary results from this initial case study were presented at the 61 Rencontre Internationale Assyriologique in Geneva, July 2015.

Carrying out this preliminary study allowed me to assess the main limitations of earlier excavations, and how best to employ the available archival material and record it in a useful manner. The objective of the thesis is not to produce comprehensive databases of each case study, so an approach that prioritised data concerning the questions posed by this study was adopted. The three case studies selected presented different advantages and disadvantages that also required a slightly different approach to each of them. First, all archival material from the Diyala excavations is now fully digitised and available online, including a database of all the objects from the field register. Therefore, this site did not require the creation of a complete database of the objects or of the archival material. Secondly, the on-going project to re-analyse all the early excavations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft has produced an updated re-analysis of the excavation of the Ištar temple in Aššur, which include both a reanalysis of the stratigraphy as well as comprehensive catalogues of the finds. Although published in book format, the copying and pasting of information onto a database appeared unproductive beyond the necessary data for analysis. Finally, the site of Mari posed the most difficulty, as no complete reassessment of the material from Andrae's excavations has been carried out or published in book format, nor is the archival material available online for consultation. Specific re-analyses of some material are available, but these are not comprehensive.

With these limitations in mind, and after discussing the possibility of building a tailored database solution in Filemaker for the purpose of the thesis, I decided that tailored spreadsheets for each case study would offer a better solution than creating an integrated database. What this meant in reality is that different levels of detail were required for each case study, as well as individual spreadsheets for the various elements analysed as part of the project.

First, complete spreadsheets of all objects were created for both Mari and Khafajah, but not for Aššur, as the latter had been fully restudied in Bär (2003b) and thus it was thought unnecessary to carry

out a complete, new reanalysis of the archival material. The spreadsheet for the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari was populated using the original publication of the excavation (Parrot 1956) and archival material from a research visit to the Mari archives in Paris carried out in June 2016. The spreadsheet for the Temple Oval in Khafajah was populated using the original publication of the excavation (Delougaz 1940) and the Diyala Project online database which contains all the archival material held at the Oriental Institute in Chicago (DiyArDa 1992–2018). These two spreadsheets contain details on the archaeological context of the objects that was used together with other archival material to reconstruct the stratigraphic sequence and relative chronology, with the limitations of the data in mind. The archival material employed in these cases included:

- Field diaries
- Field registers
- Field and published plans
- Field photographs
- Object cards
- Published preliminary and final reports

Instead of detailing all the limitations of these data sources, details of each of these are provided in the relevant chapters devoted to each case study. An example of the differences between the case studies are field notes. Whilst the field diary proved particularly useful in the preliminary case study (Tell Agrab), field notes are almost non-existent in the case of Mari and highly variable in quality and quantity in the case of Khafajah. This difference is due to the excavation methodology employed at each site under the direction of different individuals. In general, archival photographs provided the best evidence in the re-assessment of the original interpretations made by the excavators, together with the field plans. This is reflected in the respective appendices included for Mari and Khafajah, whilst in the case of Aššur several recent volumes reanalysing the stratigraphy and pottery from the temple are employed. Figure 3.1 shows an excerpt of the spreadsheet created for the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari, showing all the variables collected. These included archival details collected from the research visit to the Mari archives in Paris. For example, details of the “Finds Catalogue” with date of entry, associated archival photograph number and bibliographic notes from Parrot’s publication. For the statuaries, further details were collected, when available, about their condition, gender, dress and hair style, pose, and accessories. Together with the observations made by previous scholars including Braun-Holzinger (1977, 1991) and Evans (2012, 2014a) on specific attributes of male and female statuary, these details helped decide the reasoning employed when identifying an individual as male or female. For example, it was noted that only males are represented with one foot forward. Usually, it is the left foot, except in the case of Yišqimari’s statuette that has the right foot forward as a possible sign of power (see Figure 8.4). By contrast, females always have both feet together (e.g. Figures 7.16, 7.17). Plain or tufted skirt with a back knot is always associated with males while plain or tufted over the shoulder and caped tufted garments with single/double hem are female (see some examples of these in Figure 7.11).

Although some individual objects are discussed as part of the re-analysis of the stratigraphy, four specific object types are discussed in more detail in the comparative analysis (Chapter 7). These are:

- Statuary
- Stone vessels
- Plaques
- Inlays (in the case of Mari)

Spreadsheets collating the data for each object category from the case studies, as well as other comparative material, were produced, with the exception of the inlays since these were only used to compare specific aspects of dress and hair styles between the statuary and the inlay evidence from Mari specifically. Given that this is primarily a qualitative study, that the circumstances in which the data were originally collected is highly problematic—not to mention biases in the archaeological record itself—and that the number of objects is not large enough to yield significant results through quantitative analysis, no statistical analysis of the data was performed beyond the qualitative discussion of the summarised data in pivot tables and other forms of cumulative data analysis and comparison.

Figure 3.2 shows a sample spreadsheet for the analysis of statuary from the Temple Oval in Khafajah. This was used to calculate the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), assess the fragmentation of the corpus (through comparison of MNI with the number of catalogue and excavation numbers, and the number of visible fragments of each) and to analyse the distribution of statuary by level, locus and gender. Similar spreadsheets were also created for the Šamuš temple and Small Shrine for comparison. The stratigraphic context for these was drawn from the online database and [Marchesi and Marchetti's \(2011\)](#) reassessment of these contexts. In the case of Aššur, [Bär's \(2003b\)](#) catalogue was used. In Mari, the spreadsheet for ^dMUŠ₃.NITA was prepared using the original catalogue ([Parrot 1956](#)) supplemented with the data from the archives and results from my reanalysis of the excavation. Further spreadsheets for the Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat temples were populated using the original publication ([Parrot 1967](#)).

Temple Oval, Khafajah: Analysis of the Statuary

Field/Ex. Number	No. Visible Fragments (DiyArDa)	Level	New Level Assigned	Locus	Gender	Inscribed	Complete	Headless Body	Waist Down	Bust (incl. Head)	Torso	Head	Arms	Hands clasped	Hands single	Base (incl. Feet)	Naked Fragment	Naked Figurines	
Kh. 1 179	1	II	1/2	N44:1	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Kh. 1 188	1	II	1/2	N44:1	M	N		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 219	1	II	1/2	N44:1	M	N		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 231	1	II		M45:2	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kh. 1 232	1	II/III		M45:2	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kh. 1 238	1	II	1/2	N44:1	UNDET.	N		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 255c	1	II	1/2	N44:1	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 255d	4	II	1/2	N44:1	M	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kh. 1 279	2	II	1/2	N44:1	M	N		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 280	1	II	1/2	N44:1	M	N		0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 290	1	II	1/2	N44:1	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kh. 1 444	1	II	1/2	K43:3	M	N		0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 452	1	II	1/2	K43:3	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 453	1	II	1/2	K43:4	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Kh. 1 548	1	I	1/2	K46:6	M	N		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 552	1	II	1/2	L43:4	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kh. 1 554	1	I	1/2	L43:4	F	N		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 562	1	I	1/2	L43:4	F	N		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kh. 1 568	1	II	1/2	L43:4	UNDET.	N		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Kh. 1 578	1	I	1/2	L43:4	M	N		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 3.2 – SAMPLE SPREADSHEET OF DATA CREATED FOR THE ANALYSIS OF STATUARY IN CHAPTER 7 CONCERNING THE TEMPLE OVAL IN KHAFAJAH.

For the analysis of stone vessels and plaques, data was compiled not only from the case studies, but other comparative material from other sites was also collected. In this case, the material was compiled from publications and the limitations of the available data are discussed in the relevant sections of Chapter 7, §7.2.2 and §7.2.3. Figure 3.3 shows a sample of the spreadsheet created to analyse and compare corpuses from the various sites and contexts. Figure 3.5 shows a sample of the spreadsheet created to analyse and compare corpuses from the various sites and contexts, which included a thematic analysis of the plaques summarised in a visual code created for this purpose (Figure 3.4).

The raw data files employed in this thesis are included in the CD attached to the back of this thesis. The catalogue of objects and archival material for the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple in Mari (Chapter 4) and the Temple Oval in Khafajah (Chapter 6) are included in the respective Appendix folders (Appendix A and B, respectively). Given the recent catalogues published of the material from Aššur (Chapter 5), the same was not thought necessary for this case study. The spreadsheets used in the Comparative analysis (Chapter 7) are included in the folder of that chapter, organised by Table number and site. These include summary artefact catalogues compiled for both Mari and Khafajah. References to relevant files on the CD are provided throughout the thesis.

Object Provenance number	Museum Number	Temple	Level	Dedicated Inscribed by?	Deity	Inscription (CDLI)	Bibliography
Adab	OIM A00212	Earlier Temple	Artifact-rich stratum	Y	lugal	é-sar	Medurba 1 A = HSAO 3, G 32; OIP 138: 168; Pl. 45b
Assur	Assur 22382a+b+ c+d+f	VA 8170a	Temple G	G floor	N		WVDOG 105: GE 8
Khafajah	Kh. III 805	OIM A21289	Temple Oval	P46?	Y	woman(?) nin-girim	1. {d}nin-girim3# 2. sza3-TAR 3. dumu rest broken FAOS 05/2 AnHaf. 5 = HSAO 3, G 57.
Lagash	3 H-T 003		lbgal(?)	unknown	Y	unknown inanna	1. {d}inanna 2. eb-gal e2#[...] 3. x [...] rest of column missing = HSAO 3, G 21.
Mari	M.00138		Inanna.nita	Locus 20	Y	unknown unknown	beginning broken 1'. [...] x 2'. [...] -ku sa12-rig9 FAOS 07 MP 38 = HSAO 3, G 71.
Nippur	8N-0004	IM 066944	Inanna	VIIA	Y	dam énsi {d}RU-kalam!-ma	1. {d}RU-kalam!-ma 2. pa4-UN 3. dam 4. nam-mah 5. ensi2 6. nibru{ki} 7. a mu-ru FAOS 05/2 Nip: Nammah 1 = HSAO 3, G 75.
Sippar		BM 090905 (was BM 012033)	unknown	unknown	Y	unknown nanshe	1. {d}nansze 2. ba-zi 3. lugal-dilmun 4. x-si-gar HSAO 3, G 145.
Tell Agrab	Ag 35:0777	IM 031073	Temple Main Level (superficial?)	L14:1	Y	lugal(?) unknown	1'. [...] 2'. lugal kisz 3'. dumu 4'. munus-uszumgal rest broken FAOS 05/2 AnAgr. 2 = HSAO 3, G 50.
Tello		Ist EŞEM 00427	Tell K	8m from E corner of "construction d'Umanše"	Y	lugal baba	1. {d}ba-ba6 2. ur-{d}nansze 3. lugal 4. lagasz 5. dumu gu-ni-DU 6. a mu-ru FAOS 05/1 Urn. 47 = HSAO 3, G 1.
Tell Asmar	As. 33:120		Single Shrine I		N		

Figure 3.3 – SAMPLE OF THE DATA COMPILED TO ANALYSE AND COMPARE STONE VESSELS FROM THE CASE STUDIES AS WELL AS OTHER SITES.

LEGEND				
☆	Banquet	♁	Royal scene	Banqueting with procession
♀	Female	♁	Mythical beings	Several banquet scenes variation
♂	Male	♁	Anzu Anzu bird	Banqueting with animal scene
♂♀	Male/female couple	♁	Animal scene	
☞	Divine	L	Lion	Boat scene (usually with banqueting)
●	Procession of goods	B	Bovine	
H	Humans	C	Caprid	Scene related to kingship
A	Animals	O	Ovine	
☉	Procession of goods (chariot)	*	Boat scene	Divine banquet/presentation
☽	Libation scene	☒	Undecorated	
♁	War/fight scene	?	Unclear	Unclear context/ antiquities market

Figure 3.4 – VISUAL CODE EMPLOYED FOR THE THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF STONE PLAQUES.

3.4 NOTES ON THE USE OF RELATIVE AND ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGIES

The relative chronology that divides the period known as the Early Dynastic is here retained, although discussion of its subdivisions is provided throughout the thesis, as the problems with the relative chronology established as a result of the Diyala excavations are well-known, especially in connection with the subdivision known as the ED II period. For the correlation between the various terminology employed for southern and northern chronologies, and their absolute dating, I have adopted the most recent version of the Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean periodization table, here reproduced as Figure 3.1 (ARCANE 2017). Nevertheless, the Early Dynastic terminology is retained to discuss and compare the material so as to avoid confusion. On-going discussions regarding the distinction between Jemdet Nasr and ED I (Finkbeiner and Röllig 1986; Sürenhagen 1999), the use of ED II across northern and southern sites (Evans 2007; Benati 2015), and the transition between ED III and the Akkadian period (McMahon 2006) are referenced and discussed wherever relevant; in general, I have followed the results in these studies. Whenever relevant, reference to other relative terminology is also provided. The comparative results of the stratigraphic analysis and associated relative chronology for the case studies are discussed in Section 7.1 and collated in Figure 7.1.

With regard to the relative chronology of rulers from the Early Dynastic and Pre-Sargonic periods, I shall follow the latest evidence published by Sallaberger and Schrakamp (2015), being aware of the discrepancies with Marchesi's chronology (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: table 15a,b; Marchesi 2015). Whenever relevant, a discussion of the significance of synchronicities between rulers and a comparison of the evidence will also be provided.

3.5 NOTES ON THE USE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY

The three case studies chosen to form the basis of analysis in this thesis are largely published in three different languages, as well as the excavations being conducted by different teams from various countries. As a result, the terminology employed in each case usually differs not only in meaning but also in the

CODE	UAVA 6 REF	UAVA 6 DATE	HSAO 3 RSO NS 88 REF	RSO NS 88 Suppl. 1 DATE	EX. NO.	MUS. NO.	SITE	CONTEXT	MAIN THEME	SECONDARY THEME 1	SECONDARY THEME 2	NOTES
☆1☆1☆1A	AG 1	Mesilim-Zeit	AGRAB 9	ED II	Ag. 35:8; Ag. 35:744; Ag. 36:284	IM 27869	Tell Agrab L13:4		Banquet couple	Couple male	Animal fight	2 female + 1 male on top register.
☆1●1●1	AG 2	Mesilim-Zeit	AGRAB 6	ED II	Ag. 35:668; Ag. 35:743	OIA 18073	Tell Agrab L13:4		Banquet couple	Procession of goods	(chariot)	Procession of goods
☆1●1●1☆	AS 1	Mesilim-Vorstufe	ESNUNNA 2	ED I	As. 33:102; As. 33:350; As. 33:435	IM 19776/19795	Asmar D17:7	Square Temple I	Banquet	Animal scene (bull fight?)	Procession of goods	Procession of goods with weapons?
☆1●1●1☆	CT 3	2. Übergangszeit	KHAFAJA 12	ED II	Kh. II 245	OIA 11587	Khafajah N45:3	Oval 1/2 late	Banquet couple(?)	Procession of goods	Banquet	Unclear. Only right male side preserved. Comparatively, top register appears to be a couple, but bottom register is unclear.
☆1●1●1●1	CS 1	Mesilim-Zeit	KHAFAJA 8	ED II	Kh. V 35	IM 24340	Khafajah Houses 3	Sin IX(?) or	Banquet couple(?)	Animal scene (ovine)	(chariot)	Based on comparisons, probably a couple on top register. Only male on left preserved.
☆1●1●1*	CS 2	Mesilim-Zeit			Kh. IV 392	IM 19672	Khafajah Sin VIII R52:2		Banquet(?)	Animal scene (bovine)	Boat scene	Probably banquet scene on first register.
7171*	CS 3	Mesilim-Zeit			Kh. IV 389	IM 19671	Khafajah Sin VIII R42:2		-	-	Boat scene	Order of registers unclear. Bottom right register of plaque.
☆1●1●1?	CN 4	2. Übergangszeit			Kh. III 959	-	Khafajah Small Shrine VII Q45:4?		Banquet	Animal scene (bovine)	Unclear	Unclear, only seated female figure with foot rest preserved on left side.
●1●1●1?	CN 5	2. Übergangszeit			UM 37-15-027		Khafajah Small Shrine VI Q45:4?	Procession of caprids	Procession of bovinds		Unclear	
7171☆1?7171☆1	CN 6	2. Übergangszeit			Kh. IX 75	IM 42494	Khafajah P45:3 (below)?		Unclear	Unclear	Divine(?) banquet (?) male	Only lower left-hand corner remains. Appears to be divine figure with crown. Holding mace and staff.
☆1?	CN 7	Ur I-Zeit	W 10		Kh. III 793; Kh. III 1207	IM 31734	Khafajah P45:6?		Figural scene male (royal?)			Dedication inscribed by two individuals? (MC 14: 225-26) The attire appears royal, at least for second individual.
☆1A☆1☆1☆1☆1?	N 3	Mesilim-Zeit	NIPPUR 1	ED (I)-II	7 N 408		Nippur IT VIII/VII? Room 173? (near N door of 219)		Banquet males	Animal scene (ovine/caprid?)	Unclear	Males wearing hats; not clear if they are wearing the divine crown. Half skirt similar to Kish attitude of male kings.
☆1●1●1?	N 4	Mesilim-Zeit	NIPPUR 3	ED II	-		Test pit level VII (level VII)?		Banquet couple(?)	Procession of goods	Unclear	Only left female figure preserved. But comparative evidence suggests this is a couple with procession of goods.
☆1●1●1☆1●1☆1?	U 4				U 6831	BM 118561	Ur cross beamed mud wall on NE end		Libation scene	Libation scene		scene on two levels, outside the temple and inside. Perhaps depicts ziru priestesses of Nanna.
☆1●1●1☆1?☆1?	M 1	2. Übergangszeit			M. 232; M. 326		Mari Inanna NITA L10		Banquet couple(?)	Banquet	Unclear	Only right (male) side preserved.
☆1●1●1☆1	M 7	Ur I-Zeit			-		Fill of PP 2 courtyard XXVI-XXVII		Master of animals			
☆1●1●1☆1-L	T 1	Ur I-Zeit	W 5		AO 2783		Telloh? Antiquities market		Anzu bird and lions			One register around the central peg hole. Inscription to Ningirsu from Ur-nanshe.
☆1●1●1☆1H?	T 8	Ur I-Zeit			AO 48		Telloh	Between Tell K and Tell J	Divine banquet and war			Seated female? Divine? Figure in banquet scene and behind the figure Ningirsu? King? Clubbing roped naked men.

Figure 3.5 – SAMPLE OF THE DATA COMPILED TO ANALYSE AND COMPARE STONE PLAQUES FROM THE CASE STUDIES AS WELL AS OTHER SITES.

translation into English. Wherever possible, I have endeavoured to maintain consistency in the terminology employed throughout the thesis, although at times the individual terminology from each excavation report has been retained, for the simple fact that, for those wishing to consult the excavation reports, it would be easier to correlate the original terminology with the discussion in this thesis. Where relevant, new or existing terms shall be explained. In particular, clear difficulties arise in two instances: when discussing stratigraphic relationships and when describing material culture. I sometimes employed Aurenche's (1977) multilingual dictionary of the architecture of the ancient Near East to correlate some of the terms across the excavation reports and various publications in order to maintain a consistent use of the language.

With regard to stratigraphic relationships, the distinctions made between 'Level', 'Phase' or 'Period' are not always clear-cut. Overall, in this thesis, the term 'level' (and sometimes sub-level) is the smallest unit of analysis (French *niveau*), identified with a single occupation where sub-levels usually refer to replasterings or repairs often involving few architectural changes. They are generally associated with occupation horizons (German *Benutzungsphase* and *Fußböden* for individual floors, French *sol*). The term 'phase' is usually employed in the sense of 'construction phase' (German *Bauzustand*, not to be confused with *Bauschicht* which refers to a level of construction activity without occupation), and which incorporates significant changes and/or complete levelling and reconstruction following the same building layout. Finally, the term 'period' designates the chronological dimension associated with buildings and occupations of a settlement, whether they include changes in the architectural configuration or not.

With regard to the architectural terms employed to discuss the internal layout of temples, these often vary significantly between languages. Furthermore, since the architecture of ancient polytheistic temples is based on knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman temple architecture, the terminology often does not fully translate when discussing ancient Mesopotamian temples, which has been the source of discussion on the typology of temple architecture (Heinrich 1982) as well as their function (e.g. Forest 1996; Ławecka 2011b). In this case, I have generally opted to retain the term 'cella' to describe rooms with podiums along one of the walls, although their function may vary from the definition of the concept. The following correlation between terms has been employed:

- Cella = *Lieu Très Saint* = Shrine = *Allerheiligste*.
*Note the German term *Kultraum* to refer to architectural space, whilst *Allerheiligste* refers to the space where the podium stands.
- Antecella = *Lieu Saint*
*Note that *Lieu Saint* can also refer to courtyards leading directly into cellas.
- The term *Adyton*, which refers to a specific architectural feature in the 'archaic' Istar temple in Aššur has been retained in the original.
- The term 'podium' rather than 'altar' has been used to avoid the semantic connotations of the latter, which imply the presence of a cultic image set up on top of the architectonic feature. Other controversial names such as 'sacristy' are avoided, with 'adjoining room' being favoured.
- Annexe = Annex / Adjoining room = *Nebenraum*.

- The French term *barcasse* has been retained to discuss trough-like vessels usually embedded in architectural features such as floors and podiums (German *Schüssel*).
- The Arabic term ‘juss’ or ‘djuss’ appears in French, German, and English texts, and is translated as ‘lime plastered floor’ (German also *Gipsbewurf* or *Gipsputz*), though sometimes simply as ‘plastered’ if the raw material cannot be determined.

Finally, with regard to the material culture, note that both the French term *kaunakés* and the English ‘tufted’ are employed when describing the typical skirt or over-the-shoulder outfit seen on statuary from the Early Dynastic period. The material of which this type of dress was made is not entirely clear, although the general acceptance is that it was made of wool. The use of the term ‘temple’ throughout this book was already covered in the Introduction (see p. 2 n. 4).

The recording of stratigraphic sections at all three sites was either defective, or completely non-existent. The study of the material culture was to some extent done independently from any study of archaeological context, and the phasing of the sites was often carried out at much later dates and on the basis of architectural shifts, to which groups of material culture were assigned retrospectively, once the typologies of the objects themselves—whenever possible—were established. Certainly, the methods employed do not meet even the most basic criteria established by Harris (1989); nevertheless, at least some information remains from four out of the five principal sources of evidence that Harris (1989: fig. 57) outlined in his proposed method of recording and analysis, and which are: the finds, plans, sections, and site notes. Other evidence such as excavation photographs can prove invaluable when assessing the veracity of published sections and plans. For each of the case studies, I shall outline the sources available and their limitations before proceeding to their analysis and interpretation.

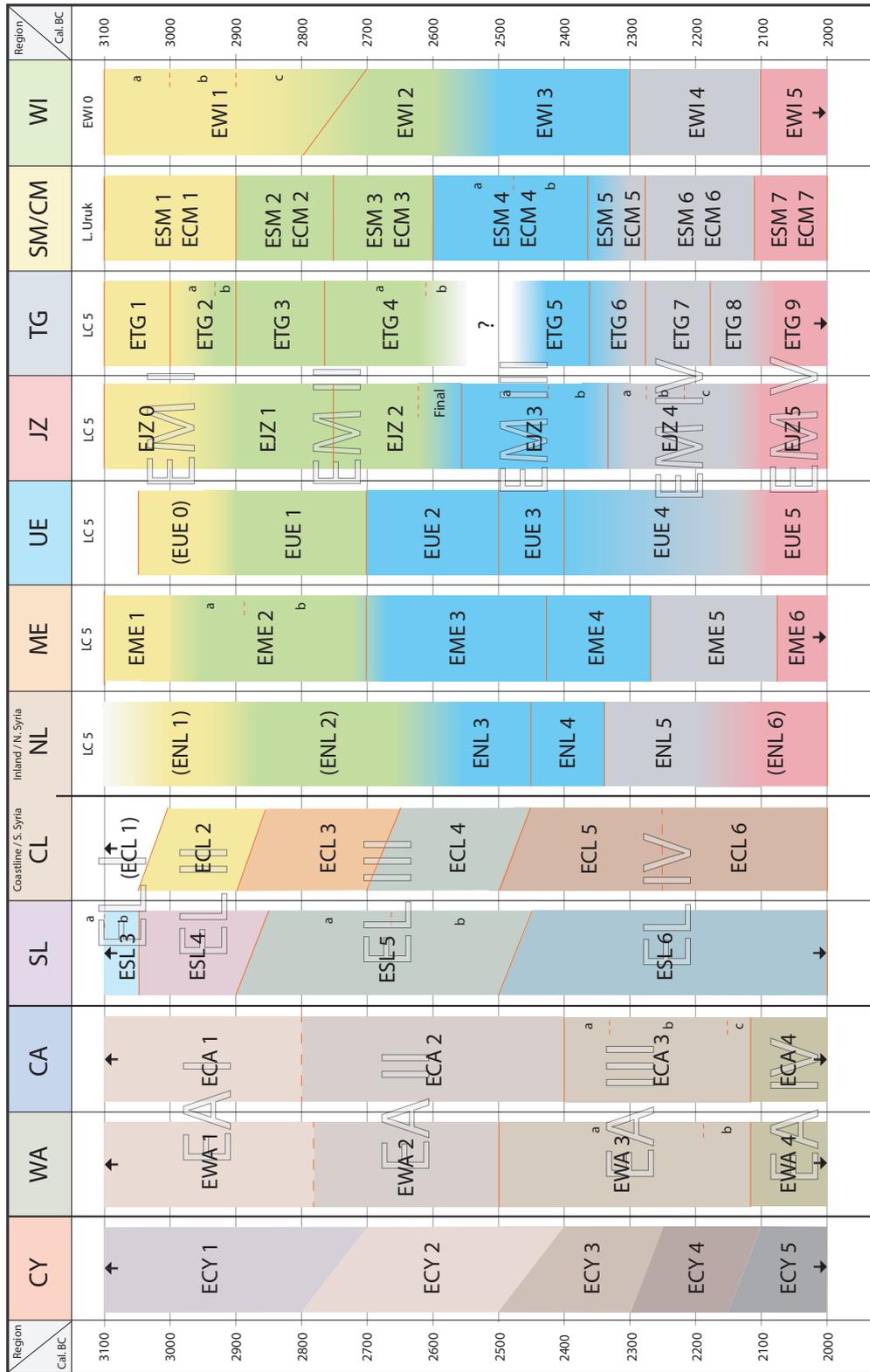
3.6 NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS

Given that the focus of this thesis is not the editing of textual materials, nor do I have the training necessary to carry out such a job, when a text appears in transliteration in this thesis, I have retained the original from the source referred to, as well as the translation unless otherwise stated. Thus, there may be some inconsistencies in some of the transliterations as a result, but this should not affect the overall results of this thesis.

With regard to the transcription of proper names, given the on-going debate surrounding the reading and transcription of Sumerian during the Early Dynastic period, I have opted to use the traditional spelling without vowel diacritics or glottal stops other than those generally accepted. Nevertheless, I am aware of work on this front, such as that of Marchesi in Marchesi and Marchetti (2011). Proper names are normalised according to the conventions in the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series, whenever available, and when quoted, the transcriptions in the original publication have been retained. The use of the spellings Inanna, Aštar, and Ištar was already discussed in the Introduction (see p. 1 n. 2).

For clarity, the following abbreviations and conventions are used in the various tables collating textual evidence and in the text:

Akk.	Akkadian
DN	Divine Name
ED	Early Dynastic (ED I-II; ED IIIa; ED IIIb)
GN	Geographical Name
Oakk.	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
obv.	obverse
PN	Personal Name
rev.	reverse
X	denotes an unknown sign
x	denotes a broken/illegible sign or string
[]	enclose a broken piece of text
⌈ ⌋	enclose one or more graphemes that are only partially preserved
!	marks an emended grapheme
?	marks a grapheme of uncertain reading
//	encloses a phonemic transcription
.	denotes a morpheme boundary
-	denotes a word or syntagm boundary
×	denotes linked elements in a compound sign
:	denotes a reversed sign sequence



EA (Early Anatolian) – EL (Early Levantine) – EM (Early Mesopotamian)* Cultural Horizon Table**, v.5.4.6

The regional phases or sub-phases reflect changes in the material culture (predominantly ceramics), and/or the level of urbanisation, and refer to the comparative stratigraphy of chronological benchmarks, at a regional and inter-regional level. Use of the same colour denotes the existence of strong cultural links or parallel phenomena between neighbouring regions.

The absolute dates are based on the harmonised radiocarbon data.

E : Early, CY : Cyprus, WA : Western Anatolia, CA : Central Anatolia, SL : Southern Levant, CL : Central Levant, NL : Northern Levant, ME : Middle Euphrates, UE : Upper Euphrates, JZ : Jezirah, TG : Tigris region, SM : Southern Mesopotamia, CM : Central Mesopotamia, WI : Western Iran.

* EM I (Early Mesopotamian/Iranian) for WI, ** EA, EL, EM & EMI are labels proposed by M. Lebeau and adopted by the ARCANÉ community at the Bern final meeting, on December 8-11, 2011.

Table 3.1 – ARCANÉ NEW PERIODIZATION TABLE V.5.4.6

4

The Temple(s) of Aštar in Mari (Tell Hariri)

THE SO-CALLED “*TEMPLE D’ISHTAR*” excavated at the site of Mari (modern Tell Hariri) is one of the key archaeological contexts in the study of the cult and identity of Inanna/Aštar during the Early Dynastic period. On the one hand, the excavator, André Parrot, was influenced by Andrae’s work at Aššur, which shall be covered in the next chapter. On the other hand, the various spellings using the sign MUŠ₃ on dedicatory inscriptions found at three different temple contexts has sparked a long debate over the years in the assyriological community about the identity behind each of the spellings, and what they mean in relation with the literary persona of Inanna or/and Aštar. This discussion is usually carried out in light of later sources, as I explained in the review of the literature in Chapter 2. As a result, a certain process of co-mingling between archaeological and linguistic observations have reinforced some assumptions and perhaps contributed to overlook details that I hope will come to the fore in the following review of the evidence and subsequent analysis in Chapter 7.

The reason to begin with Mari as a case study is because it offers more depth and width of analysis than perhaps the other two, having been excavated continuously for around eighty years. Thus, it will offer more evidence on the urban setting of temple construction, as well as a wider chronological span that allows for patterns to emerge more clearly over time. The interpretation of the site as a whole owes much to Margueron’s work, though the temples on which I will focus were excavated under Parrot’s direction. Although Margueron’s work is taken as a starting point to discuss the urban layout and chronological sequence at Mari, his interpretations are open to discussion and in some cases I will offer alternative reconstructions that I believe are sufficiently supported by the data presented.

The following sections discuss the material from the volumes originally published by the Mission Archéologique de Mari (mainly Parrot 1956, 1958-1959, 1967, 1968), as well as subsequent material published in archaeological reports, special issues and monographs. In particular, new images and studies resulting from an exhibition at the *Institute du monde arabe* are published in Butterlin and Cluzan (2014). Further details on the materials used for the re-analysis of the stratigraphy and context of the “Temple d’Ishtar” are provided in the Section *Sources and limitations* (§4.5.1). Finally, during my research visit to the Mari archives in Paris, I had the chance to discuss the history of the site and the “Temple d’Ishtar” in particular with members of the team including: Jean-Claude Margueron, Pascal Butterlin, Camille Lecompte, Dominique Beyer, Sophie Cluzan, and Barbara Couturaud. These conversations have been of great assistance and any errors or omissions remain my own.

4.1 CONTEXT AND HISTORY OF THE SITE

The site of Tell Hariri is located on the western bank of the river Euphrates south of its confluence with the Khabur river on its course down through the plains of central Mesopotamia and the southern marshlands before flowing into the Arabic Gulf. Therefore, it lies at a crucial meeting point between the Jazirah and Northern Levant regions (West Semitic region with its centre in Tell Mardikh (ancient Ebla); Upper Khabur region including the main regional centre of Tell Brak (ancient Nagar); northern territories in the Middle Euphrates) and the settlements in central and southern Mesopotamia (Figure 4.1). This position is clearly visible in the configuration and composition of the archaeological remains, especially in the many metallurgical and craft workshops found at the site, which point towards Mari’s central role in the trade and manufacture of metal objects between the northern mines and the southern clients at the beginning of the Bronze Age (Margueron 2014b: 47).

Mari was also connected, probably by land, to the regions of Upper Mesopotamia and the Diyala valley, as evidenced by some of the material culture found at the site (Figure 4.2). For example, presence of Ninevite 5 pottery linking the site to the Jazirah and into the Upper Tigris down to the region of Mosul, and presence of Scarlet Ware pottery linking the site to both central and southern Mesopotamia, as well as the sites in the Diyala valley (Lebeau 1985; 1987; 2007). Written evidence also links Mari and Ešnunna (modern Tell Asmar) in the Diyala politically, at least during the reign of Zimri-Lim in the early 2nd millennium B.C. (Charpin 1991: 139–147; Durand 1997b: 454–456). Frankfort already pointed to this connection on the basis of two female heads found at Khafajah’s Temple Oval with similar hairstyles to two found at Mari’s “Ishtar Temple” (Frankfort 1939: 51). See Figure 4.2 for a schematic presentation of these early cultural connections across the region.

The modern history of Mari begins in 1933, when local Bedouin tribesmen accidentally dug up a headless statue at the site, and excavations followed soon after the French authorities got word of the discovery. A team led by André Parrot worked at the site for 21 seasons between 1933 and 1974, which were followed by another 20 seasons between 1979 and 2004 under Jean-Claude Margueron’s direction and, from 2005 to 2009, Pascal Butterlin’s, until the onset of the civil war in Syria prevented further exploration

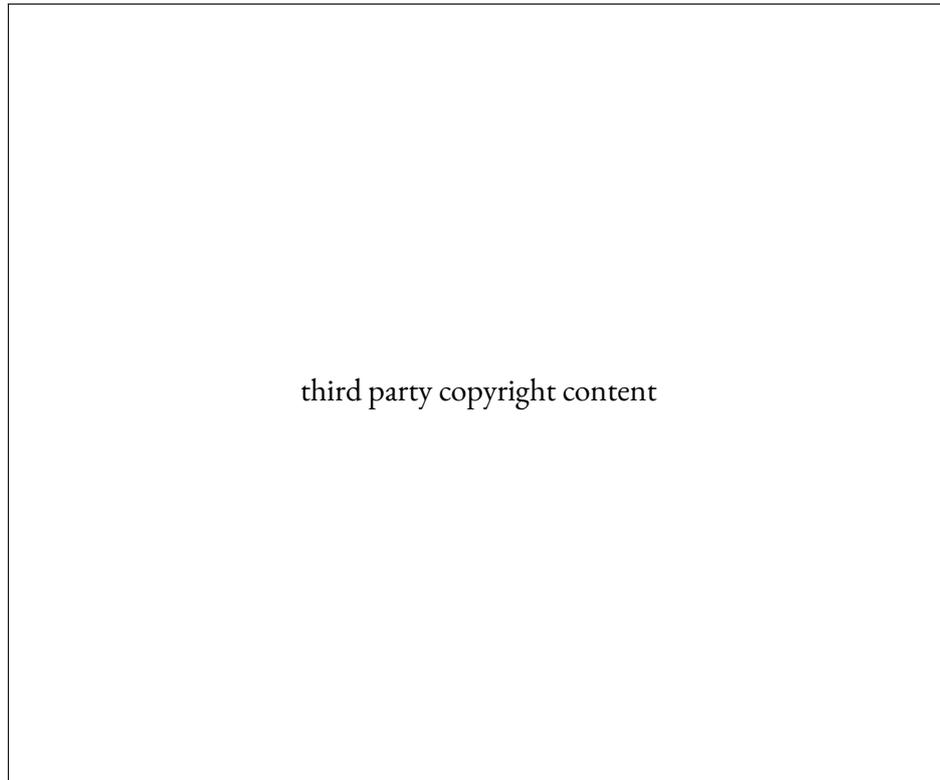


Figure 4.1 – POSITION OF MARI IN THE SYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN WORLD (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 5).

of the site.¹ Since then, the site has suffered severe looting by illegal diggers, causing substantial damage throughout the site (AAAS 2014).

Archaeological investigation of the site has reconstructed a round-shaped settlement with outer and inner walls that is asymmetrically divided into two areas by a built canal that runs northwest-southeast through the settlement and which would have supplied the city with water and enabled access for boats to stop on their way up and down the Euphrates. Mari's urban layout did not develop out in an organic way, but its foundation was carefully planned and executed, according to Margueron. There was probably already a political power in the region during the 4th millennium B.C. that occupied and controlled the area between the confluence of the Khabur and the narrows of Baghouz, and which increasingly accrued power through the expansion of trade with the southern city-states, as attested by the Urukian foundations of Habuba Kabira, Sheikh Hassan and Jebel Aruda. The accumulation of power and resources probably brought about the careful foundation of Mari as a point of trade and control in the region (Margueron 2014b: chapter 2).

¹For a synthesis of all work carried out between 1933 and 2003 (40 campaigns) see Margueron 2004 with catalogue of published material (pp. 555–556) and Margueron 2014b for the revised and shortened English version, catalogue on pp. 161–165. The preliminary reports from 1993 onwards are published in the series Akh Purratim (Margueron 2007a;2007b; Margueron, Rouault and Lombard 2016).

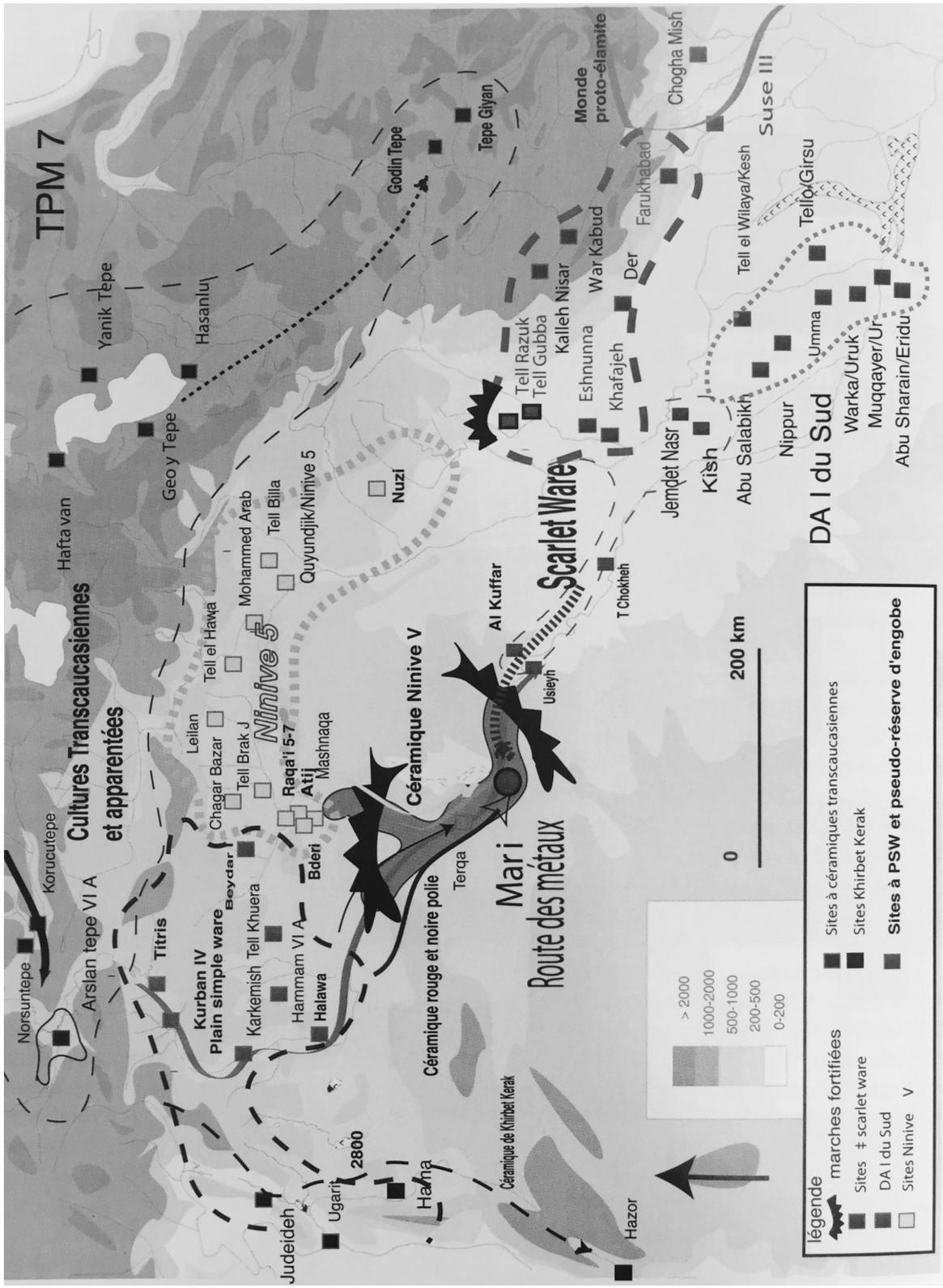


Figure 4.2 – CULTURAL GROUPS, URUK PERIOD. SCHEMATIC MAP OF THE VARIOUS CULTURAL GROUPS RESULTING FROM THE DECOMPOSITION OF THE URUKIAN WORLD (LATE 4TH-EARLY 3RD MILLENNIUM BC) (BUTTERLIN AND LECOMPTÉ 2014; FIG. 2; IMAGE COURTESY OF P. BUTTERLIN).

Three main construction levels have been identified, which correspond to three well-defined occupation horizons separated by events of destruction and/or abandonment (Table 4.1).² The foundation of the first occupation period (City I) is dated to ca. 2950 B.C., expanding across ED I and ED II until its presumed abandonment ca. 2650 B.C., although the events behind the end of this occupation are not yet well understood (Margueron 2014b: 25), with the added issues around the definition and chronology of the ED I–II period across Mesopotamia.³ Recent archaeological investigation at the site suggests the city was founded *ex-nihilo* and its layout carefully planned; especially the outer and inner walls and the radial distribution of the street layout, both of which seem to have been maintained throughout the subsequent phases according to Margueron (2014b: chapter 4; Margueron and et al. 2016a, 2016c).

The next construction phase and period of occupation (City II) corresponds with the onset of the ED III period ca. 2550 B.C. This occupation expanded for about 300 years before a destruction level attributed to an Akkadian king, Sargon or Narām-Sîn.⁴ After the city was destroyed, it is clear that a process of reconstruction began immediately after but which was not initially spread across the entire settlement. It was probably carried out under the rule of a dynasty installed by the conquering Akkadian ruler, which we know as the *Šakkanakku*. This initial phase of what is termed City III occupation is still little understood, and it is the last fifty years of the history of this phase, coinciding with the installation of an Amorite dynasty chiefly represented by the ruler Zimrî-Lîm—from whose reign the main body of textual evidence originates—that the city was last active until its second destruction at the hands of Hammurabi I of Babylon as punishment for its involvement in a rebellion against him.

4.2 RELIGIOUS URBANISM IN MARI

The carefully planned and *ex-nihilo* foundation of Mari is important in the context of understanding religious thoughts in ancient Mesopotamia because it points towards the deliberate organisation of religious spaces with the aim of regulating and structuring religious thought and praxis in association with urban planning at the hands of ruling elites, or perhaps in conjunction with well-organised local communities.

²The chronological sequence used for Mari will be that of Central and Southern Mesopotamia for convenience, although Mari's location also links it to the Jazirah sequence. See Table 4.1 for a summary of Mari's intrasite relative chronology (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014: fig. 1), Lebeau (2007) for the reassessment of the early stratigraphic sequence at Mari, and Figure 3.1 for the ARCANÉ cross-regional periodization table.

³The temporal boundaries of these periods are not clearly defined and the material culture associated varies geographically. The division of the Early Dynastic period into three sub-periods was done on the basis of excavations in the Diyala region (outside the main Sumerian core) in the first half of the 20th century, and the divisions were created on the basis of stylistic changes in the material culture that do not seem to reflect the historical situation. According to Van de Mierop (2016: 44–45), this period is uniform in political terms, with the same basic characteristics throughout its duration.

⁴The traditional view is that it was Narām-Sîn who destroyed Mari (Margueron 2014b: 26). However, a recent article on the radiocarbon dating of the destruction of Ebla, Mari and Nagar suggests it was Sargon (Lebeau 2012). Archi and Biga (2003) already suggested that Ebla was destroyed by Mari before being destroyed by Sargon some years later in return, based on textual sources. Durand (2012) suggests an occupation by Sargon, but attributes its destruction to Narām-Sîn. Finally, Lecompte (2014b) suggests Ebla attacked Mari, next Mari destroyed Ebla, and finally Sargon destroyed Mari. The most recent reconstruction of the list of kings from Mari in this period places two or three kings of Mari as contemporaneous with Sargon, which means Mari's conquest would have happened towards the later part of his reign of 40 to 56 years (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 136–140 and table 6).

Although there are certainly monumental religious spaces that developed organically over time, perhaps through the social collaboration of a community and even as early as in the Neolithic period (such as at Gobekli Tepe) the interpretation of the highly structured urban temples that began to emerge over largely domestic levels in the cities of southern Mesopotamia during the late 4th and early 3rd millennium B.C. pose many unknowns as to the reasoning behind their development. Recent critiques of previous “temple-palace” models of state formation in Early Mesopotamia have pointed out significant parallelisms between domestic and monumental religious architecture in the 4th millennium B.C., which perhaps point towards a more organic relationship between the increasing power and prestige of households and the development of public or institutional architecture (Ur 2014: 264).

Despite the seemingly planned foundation of Mari’s City II, the evidence for the existence of temples in City I is controversial and Margueron states that there is currently no archaeological evidence for temples during this period, with the possible exception of an imposing structure found beneath the City II temple dedicated to the goddess Ninḫursaġ (Margueron 2014b: 82). Intriguingly, Parrot records the existence of two rooms with benches and buried clay *barcasses*, which are typical cultic installations at Mari, in level *d* of the “Ištar” temple area, which is traditionally ascribed to the City I construction level. In recent reassessments of the early levels of the temple, Margueron (2007a, 2017) did not discuss these structures and I have not found any arguments that revise Parrot’s interpretation. In a close reassessment of the available data the exact stratigraphic context of these rooms remains unclear (see Section §4.3). This situation poses even further questions about the original role of the city, its inhabitants, and its political configuration during the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. which contrasts with its renewed identity upon its re-foundation at the onset of the ED III period. These questions are still open to discussion, and a closer look at the cultic evidence from Mari may provide some insights that clarify the relationship between religion, power and state formation in ancient Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that alongside the recurrent craft installations found in City I levels (including craft installations below the later palace and the temple of Aštar) and the lack of clear central governmental/religious buildings, an exemplar of the Sumerian King List from Tell Leilān has several craftsmen as kings of Mari during the early part of the Early Dynastic period. These kings include a leather-worker and a fuller, who are followed by an anointed priest and, finally, a ruler who incorporates the (southern) title *lugal* (generally translated as ‘king’) in his name: *lugal-i-ter = Šarrum-īter* (Vicente 1995). In light of this evidence, the nature and organization of governance during City I remains to be explored further .

In contrast with the evidence from City I, the foundation of City II seems to have incorporated the construction of both a palatial complex—including a sacred wing—and a temple neighbourhood nearby. Therefore, the builders of this new city maintained its shape and general layout whilst introducing new architectural elements that point towards the adoption of specific modes of social stratification and institutionalisation that are reflected in the organisation of the built environment.

The temple complex was founded at the same time as City II and consisted of a cluster of temples and a high terrace around a main street now known as the ‘Sacred Way.’ Figure 4.3 shows the location and modern names of these temples. The identity of the deities to whom the temples were dedicated was established on the basis of foundation deposits and inscriptions on votive objects found within them, as

well as a few presargonic texts found in the vicinity. However, polyvalence of cult at some of these temples may have existed given some votive inscriptions to different, albeit seemingly related, deities found in some of the temples. This is the case in the temples of “Ninni-zaza” and “Ishtarat.”

The following is a summary of the temples in the complex during City II and City III. Table 4.1 provides a summary of their relative lifespans. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show plans of the City II and City III urban layout and monuments, respectively.⁵

4.2.1 THE TEMPLE OF AŠTAR ŠARBAT (=“NINNI-ZAZA”)

Dedicated to a deity commonly known as “Ninni-zaza,” there are, however, a variety of issues with the inscriptions found in the temple regarding the identity of this goddess, including the presence of an inscription dedicated to a male deity (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 228). It is tentatively understood as an aspect of the Sumerian goddess Inanna that is not quite well understood. Nevertheless, it must quite certainly be geographically differentiated from the Sumerian Inanna (^dMUŠ₃) and her likely Semitic equivalent Aštar (^dMUŠ₃ or *aš-tar₂/aš-dar*).⁶ The presence of an erected stone (‘betyl’) in the court of the temple has been connected previously to the ligature ZA.MUŠ₃ = šuba ‘stone’ in the name (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000g). Marchesi dismisses Lambert’s proposition to read the name as a logogram for Aštar (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 228 n. 77) and Cavigneaux and Krebernik have collected evidence on several spellings reminiscent of the Mari deity (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000a, 1998–2000b, 1998–2000e, 1998–2000f). However, the most recent work on this deity’s name comes from on-going research by Lecompte and Colonna d’Istria (Lecompte and Colonna d’Istria forth., in Lecompte 2014a: 134 n. 12), who interpret the name as the ingenious creation of a Semitic scribe working at the margins of Sumerian influence, who employed the sign ZA with a double meaning. The first ZA is read as the phonetically homonym /ša/ while the second sign plays with the visual aspect of the sign—four vertical strokes in two rows—to signify a phonetic reading of the Akkadian word for the number 4, *erbum*, thus rendering the reading as Aštar šarbat, a deity whose name appears in syllabic writing in ED IIIb administrative texts from the area between the palace and the massif rouge, and is also known from texts in the Ebla archives (Oliva 1993). This temple disappeared in City III.

⁵See Margueron (2014b: chapter 6) for an overview of the religious monuments at Mari and Beyer (2014b) for recent insights into Chantier G (the temple complex).

⁶As discussed by Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 228) and supported by the co-occurrence of ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA and ^dMUŠ₃ in a contemporary text found in the temple sector that provides a list of offerings (mostly animals) to various deities, probably to be carried out on the high terrace (“Massif Rouge”) for the benefit of all the deities (Cavigneaux 2014: 307 no. 28 — TH07–T9). This text must date to an early phase of City II since it was found in a room partly affected by the enlargement of the Massif Rouge at a later stage (Cavigneaux 2014: 307). The choice of a logographic versus a syllabic spelling for the name of the Semitic Aštar cannot be explained, although it is interesting that in TH07–T9 the offering is to ZIZ₂ ^dMUŠ₃ ‘the throne of Inanna’ (Cavigneaux 2014: f.i.l. 3) and that there are two entries for offerings to ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA, therefore pointing towards the relative importance of this deity (Cavigneaux 2014: f.ii l. 3 and f.iii l. 3).

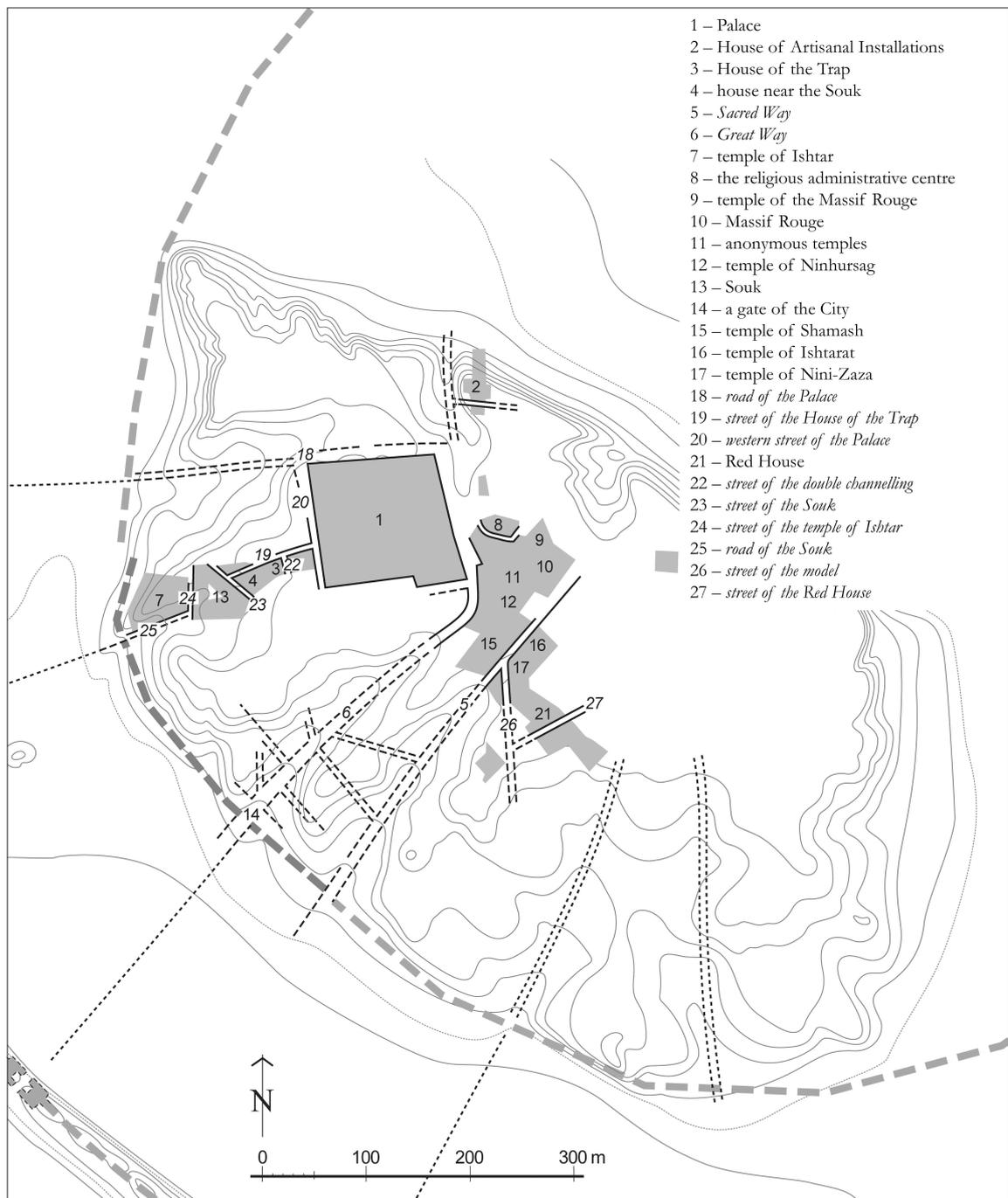


Figure 4.3 – THE DIFFERENT MONUMENTS AND THE URBAN ORGANISATION OF CITY II
 (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 49).

4.2.2 THE TEMPLE OF BAŠŠURAT (= “ISHTARAT”)

Dedicated to the goddess Baššurat (of Semitic origin) on the basis, once again, of a few votive inscriptions. This temple had been initially identified as the “Ishtar Temple” under Parrot (1967), which was based on an imperfect reading of the cuneiform by Dossin (in Parrot 1967). Despite the careful observations made by Krebernik (1984b) on this mistake, Margueron continued to refer to the temple as that of Ishtar, even following Parrot’s interpretation that she is “another avatar of Ishtar” (Margueron 2014b: 85). Other specialists have supported Krebernik’s reading (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 70). Nevertheless, its identity and role within Mari remains obscure, although one of the inscriptions seems to connect the deity with Id(a) (^dID₂), the deified river ordeal (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 228). In light of the new identification of “Ninni-zaza” as Aštar *šarbat*, Lecompte and Colonna d’Istra (forth.) further suggest the identification of Baššurat with the deity later known as Ištar of the Bišri region in textual sources from the 2nd millennium B.C., thus suggesting that most of the deities associated in one way with Inanna/Aštar (^dMUŠ₃ / *Aštar*, *Ašdar*, *Ištar*) seem to carry a geographic specificity in their name. This temple disappeared in City III.

4.2.3 THE TEMPLE OF ŠAMAŠ

Dedicated to the god Šamaš (^dutu), identified on the basis of foundation deposits containing inscriptions of a later temple built directly on top of an old one—of which no trace appears to have been left, or has not yet been excavated—by king Yaḥdun-Līm. Nevertheless, the action, by this king, of reburying the foundation deposits from the earlier temple that were dug up during the foundation works clearly points towards a great continuity in the configuration and identity of this temple (Margueron 2014b: 93). Of interest for our gender case is that Šamaš at Mari was clearly male, as in central and southern Mesopotamia, unlike the solar deity at Ebla and elsewhere in Syria, where a female form of the sun deity is found (Roberts 1969: 51–52; Pomponio and Xella 1997: 335). The temple underwent significant reparations during City III, adding a high terrace structure in its court known as the “Massif à Redans” (Margueron 2002b).

4.2.4 THE TEMPLE OF NINḪURSAĜ

Dedicated to an unknown deity. Although no inscriptions were found within the City II remains, foundation deposits of an almost identical temple structure in City III but relocated about 10 m to the east identify it as belonging to the goddess Ninḫursaĝ, which suggests the City II temple was also dedicated to the goddess. A gypsum stela found in a cache in a corner of the City II cella of the temple has been interpreted as belonging to her cult (Beyer and Jean-Marie 2007). Furthermore, this is the only location where evidence for a cultic structure in City I levels has been found, although it cannot be yet associated with the cult of this deity in particular. The high status of Ninḫursaĝ as a main deity in the earliest texts from southern Mesopotamia do, in any case, align with the possibility of her cult at Mari during the ED I–II occupation. The temple underwent a complete change in its organisation in City II, including a 10–15 m shift in the placement of the cella and a change from a horizontal temple to a vertical one. Although the deity remained the same, the profound architectural changes are surprising. Ninḫursaĝ has been identified with the

goddess Šalaš at Mari, consort of Dagān (Durand 2008 for 2nd millennium B.C. sources; Archi 1995 for the 3rd millennium B.C.). Interestingly, this temple was clearly the first temple to be rebuilt under the Šakkanakku, before that of the ‘King of the Land’/Dagān.⁷

4.2.5 THE MASSIF ROUGE

A high terrace for sacrifices serving all the temples of the city with an associated temple-tower built at a later stage that would have presided over the terrace during the latter part of City II (Butterlin 2014d). This terrace was later superseded by the High Terrace in City III (Figure 4.4 no. 1).

4.2.6 THE “ANONYMOUS TEMPLES”

Assigned as ‘anonymous temples’ but in reality covers two distinct phases: the early ‘Temple du Seigneur du Pays’ and the unidentified temples from the City II–City III interface. The latter would have been associated with other buildings that disappeared under the High Terrace that was built later on (Margueron 2014b: 93). The current interpretation sees these temples as intermediary between the early “Temple du Seigneur du Pays,” which was placed directly under them and was only explored and identified in 1999 Margueron and et al. (2016b); Beyer (2014b), and the later development of the Temple of the Lions–High Terrace complex in City III, which lies nearly on top of the Massif Rouge–Temple du Seigneur du Pays–Anonymous Temples complex. Therefore, the current interpretation sees all these structures dedicated to the same deity, the otherwise obscure ‘LUGAL DIGIR KALAM’ (akk. *Bēl-Mātim*; literally ‘king, god (of) the land’), who may or may not be identified as the pan-regional Dagān in his particular manifestation at Mari.⁸ The definite identification of the earlier temple was made when a cache of statuettes, of which some bear inscriptions, was found buried between two podiums in the cella, and thus constitutes one of the few deposits of this type in a carefully-recorded context (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014). If identified with Dagān, his consort would have been Ninḥursaḡ (later syncretised with Šalaš, Dagān’s consort), an association that, although lacking in textual evidence for this period (but attested for City III), the excavators venture to support (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014: 609). This complex and the Massif Rouge were later superseded by the Temple of the Lions and the High Terrace during City III (Figure 4.4 no. 1–2).

4.2.7 THE TEMPLE OF THE LIONS AND THE HIGH TERRACE

This complex belongs to the City III phase and lies on top of the earlier LUGAL DIGIR KALAM–Anonymous temples–Massif Rouge complex. It was not immediately rebuilt after the Akkadian destruction of Mari, as

⁷Nūr-Mēr rebuilt Ninḥursaḡ’s temple, while his brother and successor, Ištup-ilum, is named in the foundation deposits of the Temple of the Lions/High Terrace complex.

⁸The current direction at Mari (see Butterlin and Lecompte 2014: 609 with n. 10) supports the identification of the deity with Dagān already during City II. They accept Jacquet’s (2009) rebuttal of Feliú’s (2003) arguments in his monograph on the deity in Bronze Age Syria, who followed Durand’s (2008) idea that the *maître du Pays* was not Dagān. The distinction vs syncretisation of these regionalised deities remains a point of discussion among scholars.

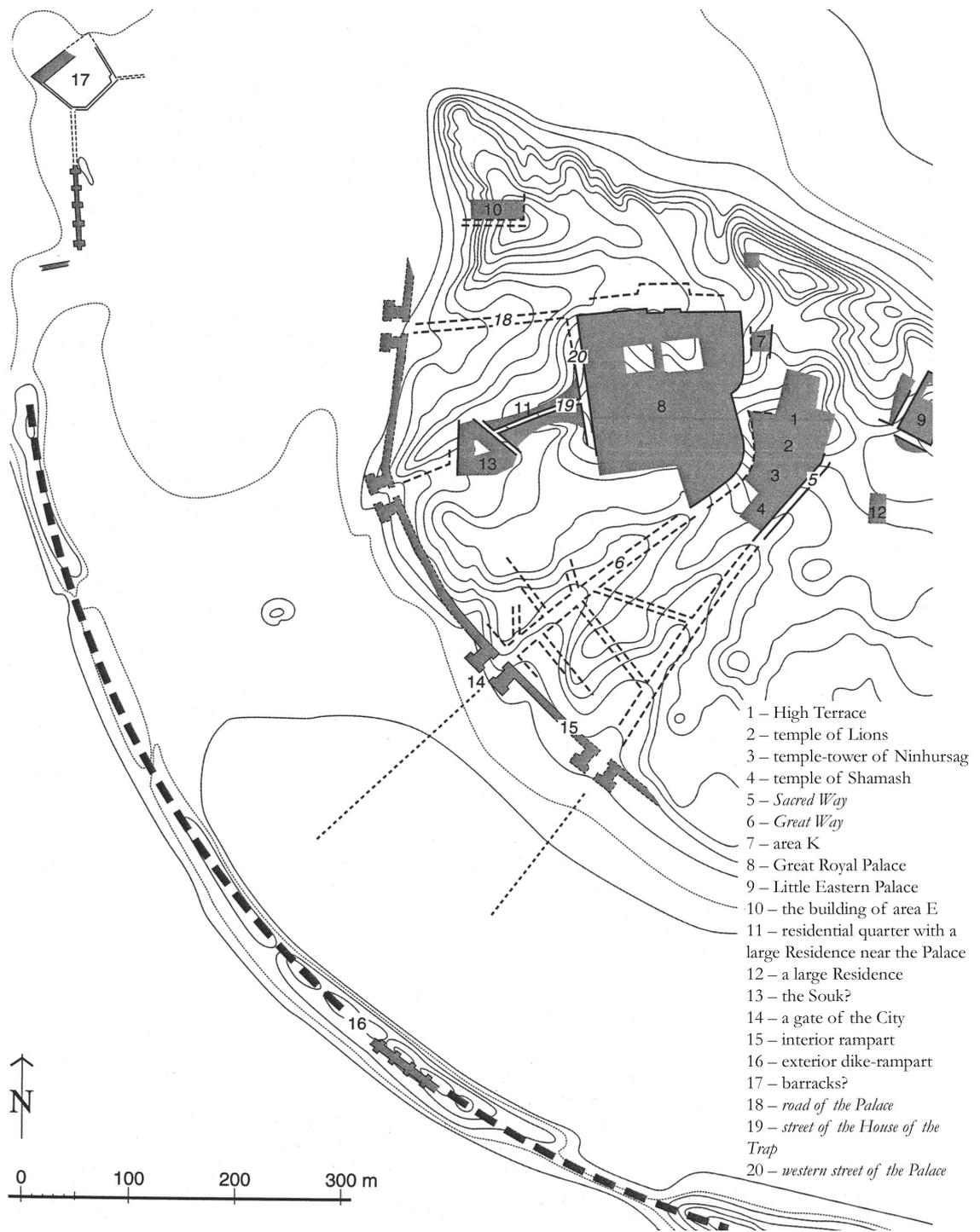


Figure 4.4 – THE DIFFERENT MONUMENTS AND THE URBAN ORGANISATION OF CITY III (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 58).

the foundation deposits of the temple name Ištup-ilum, who was the brother and successor of Nūr-Mêr, the rebuilder of the temple of Ninḥursaġ. While Margueron (2014b: 95) Margueron favours the identification of the “King of the Land” with a storm deity such as Adad or Addu, of Syrian origin, Butterlin and Lecompte (2014: 609) reaffirm Dagān as the deity behind this title, therefore weaving a long and complex history for this deity at Mari as well as across the Middle Euphrates between the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C.. As mentioned above, it is intriguing that the reconstruction of the temple of Ninḥursaġ/Šalaš, Dagān’s consort, was carried out before the construction of the Temple of the Lions.⁹

4.2.8 THE SACRED PRECINCT

The palace complex at Mari contained a sacred area located in its southeast wing from the time of its foundation at the beginning of City II (see Figure 7.1 for a plan of the later Great Royal Palace and elements discussed here). During City II, it consisted of a well-defined, structured set of rooms around a central space with cultic installations that led into a long “bent-axis” cella with separate podium at the eastern (short) end of the room. This organisation was maintained, with some additions and changes, throughout its three City II occupation levels (P₃, P₂ and P₁), as well as during the intermediate period after the destruction of the city by the Akkadian kings (Po). There is an intermediate period (that of the *Šakkanakku* rulers) of which nothing remains but which likely incorporated the innovations that are found in the final Great Royal Palace of City III, built under the period of the Amorite dynasties and destroyed by Hammurabi I. The main changes to the palace plan include a drastic change in the spatial organisation of the Sacred Precinct with the central space almost disappearing and the addition of some chapels including one dedicated to Aštar (dated to the *Šakkanakku* period) in the largest courtyard of the palace, as well as the addition of a throne room and *papaḫum* ‘antechamber’, in each of which cultic statues were also placed. In the throne room, the life-size statue of king Ištup-ilum (a *Šakkanakku*) stood on the tribune where the throne would have been placed, also located at the eastern (short) end of the room. In the *papaḫum*, a platform set against the (long) wall facing the entrance supported the statue of the Goddess of Flowing Waters. As it will be discussed later on, this new organisation of the space and flow of movement in the palace points towards important changes affecting the relationship between religion and kingship in Mari.

The palace and the temple quarter were linked by a religious administrative building placed between them (Figure 4.3 no. 8; see Margueron 2007b), which seems to have been a point of contact between the palace and the temple quarter concerning with the management of religious activity in the latter (Sallaberger 2014b: esp. p. 346), but which seems to have disappeared with the onset of City III.

Finally, another temple was uncovered on the West edge of the town on a main radial road west of the palace by a reconstructed gate (Figure 4.3, no. 7). This is now known as the “Temple of Ištar” and it will be discussed in further detail in the next section. No other temple structures have been found so far at Mari and the limits of Chantier G (the temple quarter) have not been completely established yet, although it seems unlikely that other temples would emerge around the ones that have already been excavated.

⁹The implications of this observation require further study, and will be discussed below in the context of the reorganisation of cult with the onset of the 2nd millennium B.C. at Mari. See Section §7.1.5.

4.3 THE ROLE OF EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE ^dMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE AND INANNA/AŠTAR AT MARI

The discovery of the statuette of king Yišqīmari very early on in the excavation allowed for the identification of the site with the city of Mari. Given the scarcity of administrative tablets dating to before the Akkadian conquest of the city, the epigraphic material from the temples offered substantial evidence on which the interpretation of the pantheon of the site during the 3rd millennium B.C. was reconstructed (Dossin 1950; Lambert 1985). It is indeed this material, together with the few administrative tablets dealing with cultic activity published (Charpin 1987, 1990) that provided the grounds for the discussion of the position of Mari within the Sumerian–Semitic worlds. The main issue surrounding the interpretation of cultic activity at Mari stemmed from the seemingly Sumerian origin of the deities mentioned in the textual evidence, for it suggested that Mari should be placed within a southern sphere of influence. However, it seems the logographic writing of many of these deities was simply a means to identify local deities, which were “hiding” behind Sumerian logograms. Thus, the identification of ^dMUŠ₃ with the goddess Aštar rather than Inanna, ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA with Aštar *šarbat*, Ishtar with Baššurat, or perhaps Ninḫursaġ with the goddess Šalaš, that is, the consort of Dagān (Durand 1997a: 278). However, the deity “hiding” behind ^dMUŠ₃.NITA does not seem to have received the same treatment, and is often simply identified with Aštar, or a “male” or martial avatar of the goddess.

4.3.1 PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS ABOUT THE DEITY ^dMUŠ₃.NITA

In the 1956 final report of the excavation Parrot identified the temple as being dedicated simply to the goddess Ištar from only three inscriptions on the shoulders of male statuettes that had been found in the environs of L18 and the south area L20 (see Figure A.7 for Parrot’s plan of the main level of the temple and locus numbers). However, these inscriptions only represent a very small fraction of the total of statuary or other votive objects found in the temple as a whole. As I shall demonstrate in Chapter 7, *Comparative Analysis*, the composition of the statuary found in L17 and the rest of the temple area, which is strongly female, contrasts with that found in L18 and its environs, which is strongly male. The inscriptions on these three statues mention a deity ^dMUŠ₃.NITA, which at first appears to be a male form of Inanna/Aštar. The relationship between the gender distribution of the statues and the name of the deity thus appears of significance here, and I shall return to this point later on. Here, I shall review the interpretation of the evidence in the literature and explain the use of the archaeological remains in the construction of a religious narrative.

One of the most widely discussed theories on the identity of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA was Lambert’s (1985: 537) proposal to identify this ‘male’ Aštar with the West Semitic male god ‘Aštar. Based on the assumption of an East–West polarity between the temple of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and that of Baššurat (before Krebernik’s (1984b) correction of the reading Ishtar), the argument suggested that these temples were linked together as those of the South Arabian *‘tr* (Athtar – male) and *‘trt* (Athtar – his female consort). Meanwhile, Lambert suggested that ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA was actually the Semitic goddess Aštar .

Lambert's dichotomy was used by [Bordreuil \(1985\)](#) in an article in the same volume in which he discussed the Mariote deities in light of the Ugaritic evidence. It is usually accepted that Athtar in South Arabia is the same deity as the Ugaritic 'Aštar, not to be confused with the Semitic goddess Aštar, although they have been linked in the past ([Heimpel 1982](#)). Diverging slightly from Lambert's proposal, Bordreuil suggests that ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ is perhaps Athtar (*'ttr*), that ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$ is Ištar–'Attart (or 'Ittart), and that a deity *'ttrt mrb*, who appears in an Ugaritic text, should be identified with Ištarat in Mari, that is, the goddess Attarat of Mari. Not only does the effort of identifying deities seem rather convoluted and obscure, but when seen in light of the fact that the basis of comparison is between texts dating to the 14th century B.C. from a site on the Mediterranean coast and inscriptions from the third quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. from a temple that disappeared soon after, it seems a rather weak argument in my opinion. Furthermore, as [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: 185\)](#) note, 'Aštarat is not attested in the 3rd millennium B.C. texts from Mari.

But the male–female dichotomy and the Venus aspect of Inanna/Aštar casts a long shadow, as discussed in the review of the literature in Chapter 2. With regard to the case of ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ in Mari, this aspect has been linked once again with the pair Athtar–Athtarat as the morning and evening star, respectively. However, it should be clear that if indeed there is an East–West meaning to the location of the temples in Mari, it would be reversed in this case, for in the West Semitic tradition 'Aštar was the morning, not the evening star ([Jacobsen 1976: 140](#)). Hence, the temple would be located in the East, not the West as is the case of the ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ temple in Mari. [Archi's \(1993\)](#) elaboration on the matter can thus be easily dismissed. [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: 185 n. 124\)](#) mention the male aspect of Nin'sianna as further evidence that perhaps ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ refers to this Venus deity. However, according to [Heimpel \(1982\)](#), Nin'sianna is a female deity, and the male aspect appears only in later periods under the influence of Semitic theology where Venus deities are usually male (referring to the West Semitic 'Aštar). Furthermore, [Asher-Greve and Westenholz \(2013: 93\)](#) affirm that in southern Mesopotamia the morning star was female while the evening star was male, although Reiner quotes "*one solitary source (K.5990) that asserts that Venus is female at sunset and male at sunrise*" ([Reiner 1995: 6 n. 14](#) cited in [Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 93](#)). Finally, in any case, it should be stressed that Nin'sianna is a Sumerian deity and that she is only attested from the Ur III period onwards ([Heimpel 1998–2000](#)).

In conclusion, a lot has been written about the identity of ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$, though usually from the assumption that, since it must be an avatar of Inanna/Aštar, therefore the male aspect must relate to *a*) the morning or evening star, and *b*) the spatial location of the temple within Mari. The most disconcerting point of all these efforts is the fact that, although attested in the statuary, and clearly being an important temple of the city, the deity ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ is not mentioned in any of the administrative texts. However, the recent identification of ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3 \times \text{ZA.ZA}$ with Aštar *šarbat* opens another avenue of inquiry. Perhaps, ${}^d\text{MUŠ}_3\text{.NITA}$ could be associated with another region in Mari's sphere of influence across the Syrian landscape.

4.4 THE EXCAVATION OF THE “TEMPLE D’ISHTAR” AND ITS INTERPRETATION

During the first season of excavations, Parrot uncovered early on an important building on the West edge of the city adjacent to the inner rampart that surrounds the settlement (Figure A.1), and proceeded to investigate it over the course of three seasons (1934 to 1936). The preliminary findings were published in the journal *Syria* (Parrot 1935a,b, 1936, 1937, 1938) and in 1956 Parrot published the final version as the first volume in the Mari series titled “*Le Temple d’Ishtar à Mari*” (Parrot 1956).

The stratigraphic sequence in the area of this temple spans the whole sequence at Mari, although the levels from City III were completely eroded but for a well that had been built against the outer wall of the courtyard (L15). Significant statuary from the 2nd millennium B.C. was found in the court and well, attesting to its existence and relative prominence during the later periods. Parrot divided the sequence in the area of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple into a series of construction phases associated with occupation levels labelled A through F, as well as superficial finds that were not labelled. Plans of each construction phase with a composite occupation level were published in the final report and are reproduced here:

- Levels *e* and *f* (Parrot 1956: pl. 2 = Figure A.3): a composite plan of the earliest remains that were not fully understood was published. These remains have been restudied by Margueron (2007a).
- Level *d* (Parrot 1956: pl. 3 = Figure A.4): the plan of an earlier temple was uncovered to the West of the later temple, and which was much damaged by later construction projects including the interior rampart. It is not clear whether the remains are those of a temple. Margueron (2007a) does not treat the remains as those of a previous temple.
- Level *c* (Parrot 1956: pl. 4 = Figure A.5): this construction phase was divided into two sublevels in L17, plans of which were published separately (Parrot 1956: pl. 5, nos. 6–7), and into three sublevels in L15, based on the sequence of *barcasses* along the exterior wall of L17 (Parrot 1956: fig. 9).
- Level *b* (Parrot 1956: pl. 6 = Figure A.6): this construction phase was divided into two sublevels in L17 based on the plastered floors. Plans of each level in L17 were published separately (Parrot 1956: pl. 5, nos. 4–5).
- Level *a* (Parrot 1956: pl. 8 = Figure A.7): the construction phase was divided into two sublevels in L17, plans of which were published separately (Parrot 1956: pl. 5, nos. 2–3). In L15, level *a* was associated with a stone pavement covered with a gravel floor, and a higher floor that is not illustrated and of which no evidence remains.
- Superficial levels (Parrot 1956: fig. 34 and pl. 5, no. 1): no plan was published for the superficial levels, apart from the structures in L17. Some of these appear also in the preliminary plan published in 1935 (Parrot 1935a: pl. 5).

The numbers Parrot assigned to each locus in the temple are included in the plan of level *a*, in Figure A.7. Whenever a locus is mentioned in the text, it will be as follows: L15 = “locus 15” = the courtyard.

To a certain extent, the time lapse between the excavation in 1934–1937 and the final publication in 1956 must have caused a certain level of abstraction, if not some mistakes as well, in the presentation of the evidence and the division into construction phases. By then, the site was certainly better understood, as the area of the palace had been explored, as well as the area where the temples of Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat were discovered. Therefore, it is not surprising that the final publication offers a coherent view on the stratigraphic sequence even if the reality of the excavation differed to some extent from the account presented. The issues with the context of the foundation, layout, and construction phases in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple have been the source of much discussion over the years. The relationship between the main cella (L17) and the adjacent room L18, which was also interpreted as a second cella, as well as the context of a so-called “courtyard” (L20) located to the south of L18 present serious inconsistencies that have not been fully resolved over the years, and perhaps never will. Jean-Claude Margueron, who worked alongside André Parrot and was the director of excavations at Mari between 1979 and 2004 has devoted significant time to re-examining the excavation of this temple.

In 1997, the area of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple was re-explored as part of a campaign dedicated to understanding the foundation of the city and the construction of the inner city wall (Margueron and et al. 2016a). A second sounding in 2000 aimed to explore further the lower levels in the stretch of the city wall adjacent to the temple (Margueron and et al. 2016c). With this new activity in the sector, it was possible to establish better stratigraphic and chronological relationships for the City I levels, at which point the temple had not been founded. In 2007, Margueron published a reassessment of the earlier levels beneath the temple that corresponded to City I, as well as the foundation of the temple in City II (Margueron 2007a). However, since 2007, Margueron carried out another reanalysis of the remains and has recently proposed a very different sequence for the temple (Margueron 2017). His new re-interpretation offers some radical suggestions for which there is not always enough evidence to support them beyond reasonable doubt. Nevertheless, I shall discuss his proposals in light of my own analysis of the archival evidence. The aim of the reanalysis here presented is not to contradict Parrot’s or Margueron’s interpretation of the evidence, but to circumscribe some elements of the stratigraphy in relation with the context in which ED IIIb material culture was found in the temple and its environs. Framed within the wider historical context of the city of Mari, they can offer insights into how temple construction and the gender dynamics observed in their internal organisation and dedicatory practices contributed to the construction of power and gender through the medium of ritual in Mari during this period of time.

4.5 REANALYSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE

As discussed in Chapter 3 Sections §3.2 and §3.3, a detailed reanalysis and contextualisation of primary data is a necessary step to achieve the objectives of this thesis. The idiosyncrasies of each excavation require a tailored approach to the reassessment of each case study in this thesis. In the case of Mari, the lack of systematic recording of stratigraphic details and the lapse of time between the excavation and publication of the material—with the added issue of stylised reconstructions of plans and vertical profiles—means that the context in which the artefact which are of interest for the purpose of this thesis remains poorly understood. The re-examination of the stratigraphy and findspot distribution of artefacts from the case

study will allow for a more granular analysis of the context of construction of the temple, the use and function of artefacts, and their deposition. For example, the segmentation of statuary distribution in Mari requires a detailed assessment of dimensions such as gender and status, but also quantitative variables such as Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI), degree of fragmentation of the evidence, or ratio of heads vs bodies. These variables can shed light not only on the socioeconomic make-up of the individuals who dedicated statuary in each temple, but also on depositional practices that can help when comparing corpuses. As Tunca (1984: 206–207) critiqued, the number of catalogue entries for each context is not a reliable criterion to compare corpuses because of the issue with fragmentation. Understanding how the objects were deposited and/or tampered with over time can offer key evidence to curb biases in interpretation. As mentioned in previous sections, the distribution of statuary in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple has been the source of some controversy over the identity of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated and the overall interpretation of the evidence from the three temples associated with Inanna/Aštar in Mari. The reanalysis of the stratigraphy in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple will contribute key evidence that will help in the comparative analysis of artefacts in Chapter 7, allowing for a more detailed breakdown of their distribution across the various contexts and enabling the discussion of alternative interpretations of the existence and meaning of these temples in Chapter 8 (Section §8.4).

The following sections cover aspects of the context of the foundations, lifespan, and abandonment/destruction of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple. Given the large-scale nature of the excavation at Mari, the limited training of many of the workers, the fact that this area was the first excavated at the site, as well as Parrot's limitations as an archaeologist (evidenced in the method of recording findings and his preoccupation with architecture, which was nevertheless typical of the time in Mesopotamian archaeology), it is often impossible to disentangle completely the reality of the stratigraphic sequence from the stylised presentation of construction phases and occupation levels that was finally published. Thus, the focus will be placed on what can be reconstructed, and how this evidence can clarify the relationships between temple construction, the construction of power at Mari, and gender, which is the main objective of this thesis. Therefore, the following analysis does not constitute a complete reanalysis and re-publication of the whole excavation of the temple and its material culture.¹⁰

4.5.1 SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

The following analysis of the stratigraphy and all the artefacts found in the temple and its surroundings was carried out as a result of a one-month research visit to the Mission archéologique de Mari's archives housed in the *Maison Archéologie et Ethnologie, René-Ginouvès*, Nanterre University. This visit was substantially sponsored through a grant from the *Rob Potter Memorial Travel Fund* at the University of Reading, and approved by the current director of the *Mission archéologique de Mari*, Professor Pascal Butterlin. During the month of June, 2016, I was able to review the following archival material from the excavation:

¹⁰ Whilst Margueron has focussed on the reconstruction of the architecture of the temple (Margueron 2007a, 2017), partial re-analysis of the material culture from the temple has been carried out separately. For example, Couturaud's (2013) analysis of the inlays from Mari, or Butterlin's (2014c) analysis of the steatite vessels from the temple.

- a) Field notes: Parrot's excavation suffered from many shortcomings, and perhaps one of the most prominent example is the lack of field notes on the stratigraphy and context of the finds. A notebook with some notes exists, but is notoriously unhelpful as it only contains general details of the progress of excavation (Pascal Butterlin, pers. comm.).
- b) Plans: The majority of the existing original plans of the excavation are those produced for publication. Nevertheless, one preliminary plan of the excavation, which seems to have been drawn at the end of the first season of excavation, exists (Figure A.2). This plan was originally published in the first preliminary report (Parrot 1935a: pl. 5) and offers a few insights into the controversial area south of of temple and the so-called courtyard in L20. Thus, it is a key piece of evidence in reconstructing the interpretation of the stratigraphy and architecture of the temple. All the plans from the excavation have been digitised and were available for my inspection. When illustrated, the MAM reference codes are detailed in the *Sources of Illustrations (Appendices)*.
- As for the published profiles (Figure A.8), it should be stressed that these do not represent real vertical profiles but rather reconstruct large N-S and E-W sections based often on an interpretation of the stratigraphy carried out after the excavation. They serve as a starting point to evaluate the published stratigraphy against the available archival photographs, which offer some insight into the original relationships between rooms and features. As Margueron (2017: 67–69) pointed out, the profile drawn by Paul François after the end of the first season (Figure A.8 bottom) is more reliable than those drawn by Jean Payern (Figure A.8 top) after the whole sector had been excavated and which include a highly unreliable reconstruction of levels *b, c, d*.
- c) Glass plates: all glass plates and film from the excavation have now been digitised, and which I could review. Together with the plates themselves, a register book provides details of the content in each photograph and when it was taken. However, it is clear from the contents that the dates provided are not always reliable, or that the photographs are not always in the correct order. Nevertheless, this information was recorded and it sometimes provides key supporting evidence. All glass plates referenced in the text are reproduced in Appendix A. Higher resolution copies have also been included in the CD attached in the corresponding folder.
- d) Object cards: Objects were recorded on site, but not always in the exact sequence as they were found. Sometimes, a batch of objects was organised by object category and then would be dated sequentially in order as they were processed, perhaps at the end of the working day, or after a few days. Cut-outs of photographs were added at a later date, as well as details of the context and publication. I was able to review the details on all the object cards of objects found in the temple or published in MAM 1 (Parrot 1956). Some were missing (these are noted), notably those of the inscribed statuettes. Seemingly, they had been taken out for an exhibition recently (*Voués à Ishtar*, at the Institute du Monde Arabe; Butterlin and Cluzan 2014) and had not yet been returned to their original storage.

Altogether, the material from Mari is collected in one spreadsheet that has been attached to this thesis as explained in Chapter 3 under the section on data collection (Section §3.3). It can be found on the attached CD under the folder for this chapter (Chapter 4 - Mari/Mari_archival_material.xlsx).

The archival photographs and plans used in the reanalysis are reproduced in Appendix A, “*Archival Material and Illustrations from Mari,*” and their references are duly provided in the *Sources of Illustrations (Appendices)*. Auxiliary illustrations appear embedded in the text.

Apart from the original archival material, the following publications pertaining to the excavation of the temple and studies on the material have also been used:

- Preliminary reports: originally published in the journal *Syria* between 1935 and 1938. The first report provides the most detailed account of the excavation, before Parrot diverted part of his efforts elsewhere on the site. It also includes the preliminary plan here reproduced as Figure A.2.
 - Parrot 1935a.
 - Parrot 1935b.
 - Parrot 1936.
 - Parrot 1937.
 - Parrot 1938.
- Final report: Unlike Andrae’s publication of the “Archaisches Ishtar-Tempel” that was mainly focussed on the ethnic study of “the people” of the temple, or The Oriental Institute’s focus on the statuary as an organising principle for the stratigraphy (see Section *Catalogues and the art historical approach* in Chapter 7), Parrot’s final report surprisingly offered first a description of the remains divided in the established construction phases. Of course, the final publication dates to 1956, over twenty years after the original excavation. This time difference accounts for the new style of publication, though it also means there exist differences between the observations made in the field and the recollection for publication twenty years later, by then influenced by the course of excavation and the findings in other sectors of the settlement. The published plans are here reproduced as Figures A.3, A.4, A.5, A.6, and A.7.
 - Parrot 1956.
- Subsequent studies: since the final report was published, several studies have aimed to resolve some of the issues in the stratigraphy of the temple. During my visit to Paris, I also had the opportunity of meeting with Professor Jean-Claude Margueron to discuss his work on the architecture and stratigraphy of the temple.
 - Margueron 2007a.
 - Margueron 2017.
 - Otto 2014.

Many are the issues that plague the reconstruction of the excavation and the decisions that led to the shaping of the plans and profiles eventually published in the final report. They hinder the process of reconstructing the links between floor and installations in the different loci within the building, and how

these must be interpreted chronologically and in relation to the artefacts found within the structure, for which oftentimes only vague contexts are provided (i.e. simply the locus without elevation or relationship to other objects). In his recent re-analysis of the excavation, Margueron presents a reconstruction of the elevation of floors and architectural features based on the analysis of temple construction techniques observed at the site, as well as elsewhere across the region (Margueron 2017: fig. 10).

The difficulties in reconstructing not only the original layout and stratigraphic relationships between the foundations and the installations found within the buildings, but also the context in which the artefacts that were later assigned to the different loci inside the temple were originally found are numerous. For example, the entry in the field diary corresponding to the date when the famous inscribed statuettes of king Yišqimari, the nu-banda, Yindin'il and the elder Iddi-Nârum (the twenty-third of January, 1934) gives little in the way of context other than listing the items, though it is clear from subsequent examination that they must have been found scattered over the area in and around the cella L18 (Butterlin 2014a: 39; and Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 69 Arch. 20). Likewise, the archival photographs showing these objects *in situ* offer little information on their context, being more concerned with showing André Parrot “at work” (Figures A.15 and A.17). As Pascal Butterlin mentioned in a private conversation with me, Parrot was not always present during the excavation of the temple, especially after excavations started in the sector of the palace. It seems he would sometimes pose with the objects “*in situ*” but was not the one who found them (Figure A.16).

It is now impossible to reconstruct the relationship between the inscribed objects and the L17/L18 complex beyond the fact that they were found probably south of the wall, that is, in the area later named “Court 20” (L20). However, given the fact that they were found near the surface (Figure A.15), and that the site suffered severe and irregular erosion (Margueron 2017: 60–67; see Figure A.12), it is even difficult to establish whether they were originally found inside the temple or outside. Thus, it is clear that the published context in which many of the artefacts were found is not always reliable, but nor is it often possible to reconstruct their original context beyond vague associations. The following discussion of the evidence will aim to reconstruct, as far as possible, some of these details, as well as untangle some of the assumptions made over the years, thus differentiating between what can be reasonably assumed and what should remain in the sphere of speculation.

4.5.2 THE EARLY LEVELS

The configuration of the City I levels is not immediately clear because of the gap left by foundation works beneath the City II cella L17 (Figures A.3 and A.4). Thus, it is difficult to establish the relationship between the two sectors East and West of the cella for the earlier period, or decide whether a cella had existed directly beneath. As Margueron pointed out to me (pers. comm.), the stratigraphy of Mesopotamian sites is never as straightforward as it may seem, and there are many instances in which entire levels are partially or entirely missing from the record due to the construction techniques employed, especially in the case of public buildings such as palaces and temples.

Without dwelling on the remains from levels *e* and *f*¹¹ and focussing on level *d*, Parrot had identified a cella and antecella in the immediate environs of the City III interior rampart, the construction of which probably cut through these rooms (Figure A.4). It seems odd that a city wall would intrude in a sacred area, although not unheard of.¹² The findings seem to attest to at least an area where libations had been carried out. Margueron (2007a) does not discuss this section of the plan and only states that no temple existed in level *d* despite the seemingly cultic installations found there. It would perhaps seem difficult to identify this as an earlier level of the subsequent temple given its very different shape, location and orientation, despite the cultic installations found in the two rooms. Nevertheless, the plan does not seem too dissimilar from rooms found in the early City II temple of Ninḫursaġ, nor does it seem dissimilar from private cultic installations found in City II domestic—albeit high-status—houses.¹³ Finally, the relatively thin walls of these rooms also point against their identification with a cella, for which we would expect much thicker walls; this is, however, an assumption that may be incorrect.

Margueron’s reassessment of the stratigraphy is important because it pointed out a mistake that Parrot had made when ascribing some rooms east of the temple’s core to City II level *c*, which he identified as the old priest quarters beneath those of level *a*. Margueron subsequently reassigned them to level *d*, which belongs to City I (Margueron 2007a: fig. 9). Between the end of City I and the foundation of City II there seems to have been a period of abandonment or disuse that could have lasted around 100 years, but there is not clear evidence one way or the other (Margueron 2014b: 25). Intriguingly, three monumental stone tombs were found between the two construction phases, which are difficult to interpret. Margueron, like Parrot, argues that they must date to this intermediate layer of abandonment (Margueron 2014b: 47). However, Otto (2014) suggested as an alternative that these tombs are part of the temple complex of the earliest City II level (level *c*) and links Mari with northern regions beyond the established areas of contact in the South, the Khabur plain, and Ebla in central Syria.

In her study of the stratigraphic and architectural configuration of the temple, Otto points out the following evidence in support of her hypothesis:

- a) Margueron’s reassessment leaves an empty space to the east of the courtyard–cella complex that is difficult to explain. Furthermore, the one metre stratigraphic jump between the old level *c* and the intermediary *b* (slightly higher than level *c* in L17, the cella, and L15, the courtyard) in this area also

¹¹These do not seem to bear a relationship with the subsequent temple construction, and have been discussed by Margueron (2007a).

¹²For example, the later construction of the walled quarter in Khafajah directly cut through the cella of the earlier small shrine (= “Nintu Temple”), as well as covering the entirety of the small temple in O 43 (see Sections §6.2.2 and 6.2.3).

¹³Beyer and Jean-Marie (2007) discuss Parrot’s (1955) findings in the temple of Ninḫursaġ. The house known as “Maison Rouge” (Margueron 2014b: 73–74 and fig. 68d) has similar “bench plus *barcasses*” installations in its central space, although the long, rectangular room from level *d* does not seem to have functioned as a courtyard given its shape and dimensions. In any case, the remains from both the Ninḫursaġ temple and the “Maison Rouge” date to City II levels. Parrot’s identification of one room as a courtyard and the other as the cella is suspect given the dimensions of the courtyard (same width as the short side of the cella) and the placing of the entrance to the cella through the short end of the long, rectangular room, which would be highly unusual for a temple given that it does not seem to be a straight axis type such as those from southern sites (Ławecka 2014). It would fit better the typical northern bent-axis Early Dynastic temple layout if the smaller room were described as an annex rather than a central space.

points towards this area being clear of architectural walls during level *c*.¹⁴

- b) The dating of Tomb 300 is based on Parrot's understanding of the stratigraphic sequence and Lebeau's (1990) analysis of the ceramic content, which included two jars of Scarlet Ware—normally dated to late ED I. The Metallic Ware found in the tomb has now been re-dated to the Early Jazirah IIIa period (equivalent to ED IIIa) by Lebeau (Lebeau 2007), while Jean-Marie (1990) dated other objects to the ED III period.
- c) The presence of complete Euphrates Branded Ware jars and other associated items suggest to Otto a link to the north, since this pottery is normally found in the region of the Euphrates between Karchemish and Tuttul in contexts roughly contemporary (Bronze Ancien III–IVA, ca. 2650–2300 B.C.).
- d) Monumental stone tombs are a rarity at Mari but are common in the North-Syrian region of the Middle Euphrates during ED III, and they would have been visible above ground.

The issues with the dating of these tombs are evident, and in my opinion, the late date of some of the contents of T.300 discussed by Otto, together with the now absence of a clear floor for level *c* in this area after Margueron's reanalysis (a construction level that would not have been missed entirely even if it had only consisted of a dirt floor) offer support to the proposal that they could date within the timeframe of the temple foundation. Quenet's analysis of the contents of the tombs concluded T.300 dates to ED II and is associated with level *d* (note the alignment of the orientation of the walls in this level and the orientation of the tomb; Figure A.3). Meanwhile, T.241 and T.242 were dated within the ED IIIa period at the earliest (Quenet 2005: 34). Quenet notes an inscribed cylinder seal showing a contest scene (M.1388; Figure 4.5) that was found in level *c/d* and might come from one of the tombs. It must be dated within the latter part of the Early Dynastic (Quenet 2005: 32, fig. 1d).¹⁵ The ED IIIa dating of the material culture adds weight to Otto's suggestion.

From the archival photographs, it does seem that T.241 and T.242 are almost on a part with the floor of level *c*, even though a direct stratigraphic relation cannot be established. The photographs of the excavation in L15, certainly taken from the top of the outer wall (Figures A.50 and A.52), show how from this position the floor of L15 is visible and the tombs appear in the foreground. Another photograph (Figure A.56) shows the excavation from the south. In this photograph the top of the tombs appears quite high up, certainly closer to level *c* than to the level *d* structures in the foreground. If not at the same level, it appears to me too close to have been missed in the original construction. Furthermore, assuming tombs T.241 and T.242 were missed during the levelling of the ground prior to constructing the temple implies that builders only dug deeper in the area of L17–L15–L18, and not in the eastern part of the temple. This seems rather illogical in view of many other known examples, including the other two case studies in this thesis, where foundation works encompassed the entire extension of the building complex.

¹⁴See Parrot's only published sections of the temple (Parrot 1956: pl. 7a), reproduced here as Figure A.8.

¹⁵This seal is often compared in style with item Kh. I 514 (Figure C.85) from the Temple Oval, which is discussed in Section §6.5.4. Collon places the shift towards a more vertical composition of contest scenes as the marker for his ED B dating, which corresponds with the second half of ED II plus ED IIIa-b (Collon 2005: 27). Rohn uses a different notation of *älterfrühdynastische* (= ED II) and *jüngerfrühdynastische* (= ED IIIa/b), dating both M.1388 and Kh. I 514 to "*älterfrühdynastische Periode*" (Rohn 2011: 14, cat. 15 and 16). Regardless of the terminology employed, they seem to date within a similar timeframe.



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Figure 4.5 – THE INSCRIBED CYLINDER SEAL M.1388 IN THE CROSSED STYLE. THE INSCRIPTION IS NOT CLEAR; PERHAPS TO BE READ SAR-IL ‘(THE GOD) IL IS THE KING’ (TOP: QUENET 2005; FIG. ID AFTER AMIET 1980; BOTTOM: PARROT 1956: PL. 65).

Finally, Margueron’s analysis offers further evidence. He reconstructs some of the elevations across the sector of the temple according to the level of the stone entrance, which he establishes at an elevation of roughly 176–176.25 m based on a study carried out in 2004 (Margueron 2017: 60, fig. 7).¹⁶ Based on this point of reference, the top of tombs T.241 and T.242 at their eastern end is established at 174.20 m (though note that they were probably stuck up a little higher at their western edge). This is a similar elevation established for the lowest floor of level *c* in L17, at -110 m of the level in the entrance, thus 174.10–174.25 m (Margueron 2017: fig. 68).

In conclusion, the interpretation of the remains from level *d* is not clear. Meanwhile, it is possible that the tombs T.241 and T.242, originally assigned to a period of abandonment between level *d* and the foundation of the temple in level *c*, may actually be part of the structure of the earliest temple, which would connect this building with cultic practices in the North-Syrian region of the Middle Euphrates that seem to be linked with the cult of ancestors. This interpretation cannot be wholly ruled out, perhaps even more so in light of the evidence from the area south of L18/L17 known as L20, where material culture clearly dated within the ED III period was found at an elevation not dissimilar from that of the top of tombs T.241 and T.242, as I shall discuss in Section §4.5.6.

4.5.3 THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS

A key piece of information on the foundation and stratigraphic sequence of the temple is the context of the foundation deposits found in L17 and L18. On the one hand, they are, for the most part, homogeneous in their composition, which usually included a copper nail and ring, and two uninscribed stone “tablets” made of lapis-lazuli and alabaster. These are collated in Table 4.2, and their findspots are shown in Figure 4.6.

¹⁶These elevations are based on the current system employed at the excavation.

After reviewing the details of the excavation and archival photographs, the following observations can be made:

- a) There is a clear difference in the elevation of certain groups of foundations. Whilst similar in shape and composition, the foundation deposits found below the walls in L18 and L17 were found at different elevations, the latter being found much deeper than the former. Those from L18 (M.1086–M.1089) were found just below the level of the stone structure on the southeast corner of the room. The elevation is roughly below floor *a2* in L17, but not as low as the earliest floor of level *c* (Figure A.45). Meanwhile, the foundation deposits found beneath the walls of L17 (M.1372, M.1375, M.1377, M.1379 and M.1381) were found significantly lower than the earliest floor of level *c*, at least 1m based on the height of a worker standing nearby when M.1372 was found (Figure A.54).
- b) The two foundation deposits found in L17 but not below walls (M.335 and M.355) differ significantly from the other deposits because they include silver “tablets,” which none of the other deposits have. These were found early on in the excavation, in an area of L17 where plastered floors could not be traced. They seem to be part of a later renovation, though it is impossible to establish which level they are associated with as this area of the room was poorly understood. The only archival photograph showing M.335 *in situ* (Figure A.25) appears to be deposited below level *c*, but it is clearly unrelated to the other deposits from L17. Overall, these may have been deposited either with the renovations associated with level *a1*, or at a later date.
- c) The other two foundation deposits from L18 (M.151 and M.296) are also different, as the nail and ring are significantly shorter than the other ones. These items were found apparently embedded in a later podium in L18, of which little remained. A bronze trough was also found buried here (M.132). These were apparently found at different heights within the podium (M.151 ca. 0.50 m below top of podium and M.296 ca. 1.00–1.50 m or “on floor level”).

What can be concluded from the above observations? There is a clear issue in the findspot elevations between L18 and L17 foundation deposits, which probably led Parrot to conclude that L18 had been added at a later date, as the levels are clearly higher than in L17. This is possible. However, the homogeneity of the foundation deposits and the regularity in their layout along the walls of both rooms, which include one deposit at each corner and one more flanking the entrance to the room, seems to suggest they were laid out at a similar time. This is to some extent inconclusive, especially given the poor preservation of levels in L18, which must have either eroded away or were not plastered as in L17. In other words, it does not seem possible to me today to resolve satisfactorily the issue of whether L18 was built at a later date than the original cella L17. If anything, the sequence of stacked up *barcasses* along the walls of L18 (Figure A.27) seem to suggest a similar development as levels *c*, *b* and *a2* in L17, as well as the *barcasses* along the south wall of L15 (Figure A.51). However, these are found above the elevation of floor *a2* in L17 (Figure A.28). Without establishing a direct stratigraphic relationship between these rooms, it seems counterproductive to favour one explanation over the other.

Object no.	Ring L (cm)	Nail L (cm)	Lapis-lazuli tablet	Alabaster tablet	Other
M.1375	38.5	41.2	x	x	
M.1381	34	41.5	x	x	
M.1372	40.8	32.1	x	x	
M.1377	35	37.5	x	x	
M.1379	33.5	42.5	x	x	
M.335	39	38.1	x	x	1 silver tablet
M.355	40.3	35.7	x	x	2 silver tablets
M.1086	42.9	44	x	x	
M.1087	41.5	36	x	x	
M.1088	49.5	36.2	x	x	
M.1089	41	45.5	x	x	animal bone
M.296	14.7	17.7	x	x	
M.151	15.1	20	x	x	

Table 4.2 – FOUNDATION DEPOSITS FROM THE ^dMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE.

Despite the inability to establish a relationship between the chronological sequence in L17 and L18, the foundation deposits do offer one key piece of information that I believe resolves one of the main puzzles surrounding the layout of the temple: Where was the entrance to L18? Parrot saw the ruined stone remains in the southeast corner of the room as the remains of steps leading down to his so-called “Court 20” (L20) (Figure A.7). But, as shall become evident in the section dealing with the stratigraphy in L18 and L20 (Section §4.5.6), the evidence for this court is scanty at best, and a different situation entirely might explain the remains in this area. If one looks at the layout and orientation of the foundation deposits, it is clear that they are placed at all four corners of the room, as well as the other “edge,” that is, the corner of the entrance. Since the doorway into L17 is located close to the NE corner of the room, it was not necessary to place another foundation deposit there. Likewise, the foundation deposits in L18 follow a similar pattern, which leave an opening between M.1087 and M.1088 that fits a doorway perfectly. Therefore, I would suggest this mirror layout in L17 and L18 resolves the issue of where the doorway into L18 was located, which was slightly west of Parrot’s “steps.” After all, if the foundation of the temple was so carefully planned, as everybody seems to agree, why would they be so careless as to add an extra foundation deposit at a random point in the wall? In fact, the ruined stones in L18 clearly mark the edge of the doorway, and being almost on the surface of the tell, it is likely that the rest had been slowly carried off by rainwater or eroded over the years. Figure A.12 shows the superficial stone remains with findspots in the environs of the doorway, which had completely disappeared by then.

Evidence to support that L17 and L18 may have been built at different points in time is offered by the later foundation deposits. It seems the tradition of making these deposits was retained over time, as evidenced by the two later additions in L18 and L17 that were almost identical in nature. Thus, it is not inconceivable that the memory of the tradition was still preserved when L18 would have been built at a later date. By the time the second deposits were interred, the memory was still alive, but the deposits were interred within the perimeter of the walls as they are probably renovation deposits, not foundation ones. Figure 4.7 shows a rough reconstruction of the elevation at which the foundation deposits were found.



Figure 4.6 – THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS IN THE ^dMUŠ, NITA TEMPLE. THE COLOUR SCHEME CORRESPONDS TO THE SAME USED FOR THE ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPHS. THUS, THE DEPOSITS IN PINK ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTALLATIONS IN L18, THOSE IN YELLOW WERE FOUND DIRECTLY BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE STONE WALLS/PAVEMENT, AND THOSE IN BLUE WERE FOUND DEEPER INTO THE FOUNDATIONS OF L17 (ADAPTED FROM PARROT 1956: FIG. 38).

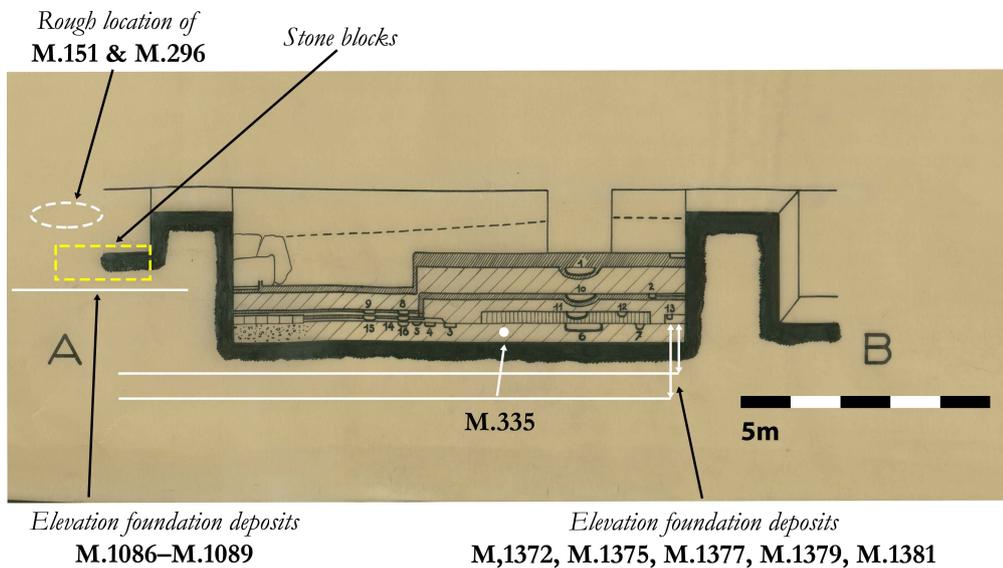


Figure 4.7 – RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ELEVATION OF FOUNDATION DEPOSITS. A 5-METRE SCALE HAS BEEN ADDED BASED ON THE DIMENSIONS OF L17 (9.30 M × 7.20 M) GIVEN BY PARROT (1956: 16), AS THE ORIGINAL WAS CLEARLY ERRONEOUS (PARROT 1956: PL. 5). THE ELEVATIONS ARE RELATIVE, AS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONSTRUCT THE EXACT ELEVATION OF EACH FINDSPOT. BASED ON FIGURES A.25, A.45, AND A.54. NO PHOTOGRAPH ILLUSTRATES THE FINDSPOT OF M.151 AND M.296, BUT THEY ARE DESCRIBED AS FOUND 0.50 M BELOW THE SURFACE (ADAPTED FROM DRAWING AP50_009, COURTESY OF MAM; PUBLISHED IN PARROT 1956: PL. 5 A-B).

In conclusion, it is not possible to determine beyond doubt whether L17 and L18 were built at the same time. The difference in elevation between the floors and foundation deposits, as well as the odd shape of L18 in relation to the relatively rectangular layout of the building suggest it was added at a later date, perhaps sometime during or between levels *a2* and *a1* in L17. On the other hand, the similarities between the type, composition and distribution of foundation deposits as well as the sequence of stacked-up *barcasses* in L18 may point towards this room being an original feature of the temple. Given the weight of evidence, I would be inclined to support the first option, but the second possibility is not excluded entirely. Finally, it is here suggested that the distribution of foundation deposits in L18 circumscribes the position of the doorway leading into the space between the two deposits along the south wall.

4.5.4 LEVEL B AND LEVEL C IN L17 AND L15

The relationship between Parrot's level *c* and level *b* is not clear throughout the temple as a whole. Margueron has posited that these two levels correspond to one single construction phase, which he recently identifies as the *Temple Ancien* (Margueron 2017), though he had already discussed the distinction between construction phase and renovation layers in a previous article (Margueron 2007a). It is not the aim of this analysis to reconstruct in detail the structure of the whole temple, but to focus on the areas which offer better information. These are L17 and L15, of which we have ample visual documentation of their excavation. By contrast, the so-called *chambres des prêtres* were not recorded in as much detail. I have already discussed Otto's interpretation of the situation in this part of the temple during the earliest phase of occupation, which she has suggested included monumental tombs dating to the ED IIIa period at the earliest (Otto 2014). Her suggestions cannot be dismissed, and will become relevant to the discussion later on in the thesis about the relationships between temple construction, ritual, gender, and power (Chapter 8, *Constructing gender and power through ritual*). By contrast, Margueron (2017) follows Parrot's interpretation that the tombs belong to an intermediate phase between the early remains from City I and the foundation of City II. In his analysis of the stratigraphy, he proposes that the reason why the remains from the City II temple (*Temple Ancien*) could not be traced beyond the core of the building is due to processes of abandonment and erosion following Narām-Sîn's destruction of the city and before the temple was reconstructed (*Temple Récient*) at a later time and following the original plan. It is not the aim of this discussion to prove one or the other option right. For now, both options offer different views on an issue difficult to resolve entirely given the evidence available.

After analysing the existing photographic material on the excavation of L17 and L15, I concur with Margueron that the difference between levels *b* and *c* is not strong enough to support the conclusion that they constitute two different construction phases. Instead, I would argue that the sequence of levels *c*, *b*, and *a2* form a coherent pattern of renovation within L17 and that there is not sufficient evidence to suggest the entire building was dismantled, levelled, and reconstructed given the small difference in elevation between the plastered floors (Figure A.42) and the lack of significant structural changes. The floor *a2* is further discussed in a separate section as the disentangling of the features associated with the stone pavement and foundations/walls requires some consideration.

The same situation as in L17 can be traced in L15. The sequence of *barcasses* along the wall of L17 appears to me to mirror the sequence in L15, even as far as the slightly thicker fill between the upper floor *b* and the plastered floor of level *a2* (Figure A.53 top). The lower layers of plastering that probably correspond with Parrot's level *c* appear broken and mixed-up, but can be traced nonetheless. It is possible their thinner section meant they cracked more easily. Although this reconstruction is preferred here, another option is provided in Figure A.53 (bottom), which maintains Parrot's reconstruction. However, further evidence from L15, in my opinion, supports the first option.

One of the key pieces of evidence in this regard is the relationship between the installations along the wall of L17 and the pillars and installations at the opposite end of L15. Parrot traced plastered surfaces across the courtyard which, however, were not always directly connected stratigraphically. In some cases, a slope was reconstructed in order to fit the installations with a given elevation. A large stretch of plaster was cleaned along the wall between L15 and L17 that is definitely associated with a floor of level *c* (Figure A.51) and appears in Parrot's plan of this level (Figure A.5). Through examining the archival photographs that show L15 at various stages of excavation, I propose the visual reconstruction shown in Figures A.50 and A.52. These two photographs show L15 at very similar moments in the excavation, before and after the plaster layer along the south end of L15 referred to above was removed, and the southeast drain in the corner of L15 was cleaned. Taking the line of the horizon in the background, and allowing some variance due to perspective distortion from the position of the camera from which the photographs were taken, I drew parallel lines along the three-dimensional volumes of the pillars and the stratigraphic referent maintained in the now dismantled L17. The most likely interpretation of the photographic analysis is that the base of the plastered pillars in Figure A.52 corresponds roughly with the earliest floor in L15 at the other end of the room, whilst the volumetric elevation of the remaining height of the pillars corresponds with level *b/a2*. This is difficult to determine beyond doubt. Figure A.50 shows a similar situation, this time the floor that appears in the photograph is a higher plastered level *c* floor. The volumetric elevation of the pillars suggests level *b* appeared at a higher elevation, but that the top plastered coat of the pillars corresponds again with level *a2*. Figure A.49 shows a closer view of the pillars clearly taken at the same time as Figure A.50 (they have consecutive plate numbers). The plaster floor (on the left) of level *c* appears lower than the plaster-coated top of the pillars. Finally, Figure A.55 shows the plotted relationships between the pillars, the *barcasses* in L15, and the plastered floors in L17 after the whole volume of the temple had been excavated and only stratigraphic references had been left in place.

The southeast corner of L15 also offers clues relating to the sequence of installations and their association with occupation floors in L15 and L17. Figures A.33, A.34, and A.43 (with two possible interpretations) show this area of the temple at different stages in the excavation, whilst Figures A.50 and A.52 show this corner down to the earliest floor in relation with the other features of L15 discussed in the previous paragraph. The stone structures that Parrot associated with a renovation/construction phase above level *a1* in L17 appear clearly above the brick basin that Parrot associated with level *b* (Figure A.6). I suggest this basin is associated with level *a2* instead, and that the original paved and bitumen-covered structures that appear in Figures A.50 and A.52 are associated with levels *b/c*. These appear in Figure A.33, which was taken from above. It is clear that the paved area in Figure A.43 at surface level must be that associated with floor *a2* and the built brick basin, while the paved area that appears at a much lower elevation in Figure A.33 must be

associated with the floors of level *b/C* here under discussion. These reappear during the dismantling of L15 in Figures A.50 and A.52. This reconstruction suggests the floor level in the SE corner of L15 was lower than in L17. Another possibility could be that the basin was associated with level *b* and level *a2*, so that the two layers of baked bricks laid out on top of each other in Figure A.43 (top) actually represent the floors of *a2* and *b*, whilst the depression of the previous installation without basin appears in the hole in Figure A.33. Nothing prevents the conclusion that the basin could have been added at an intermediate stage and channelled through the existing drain in this area, which seems to have been in use until the stone drain in the northeast corner of L15 was installed together with the stone pavement (here associated with level *a1*).

In L17, the original plaster floor was not present throughout the room and not enough photographic evidence remains to assess the sequence. It seems clear that, initially, the entire room was plastered without a podium but with vessels embedded in the floor, much like the layout in level *d* structures (Figure A.40). The introduction of a raised podium constituted a second event (Figure A.37) that included a new vessel incorporated into the plaster coating of the podium. It is unclear whether the room was used prior to the installation of the podium. There seems to have been another stage before the well-defined plaster flooring of the subsequent level *b2/b1* with the enlarged podium; however, this intermediate level must have been partly destroyed in the process and the only remains may be the strange plastered brick structure described west of the podium and a small plastered area at a higher level directly south of it (Figures A.38 and A.36; see also the vertical profile, Figure A.10; and the plan of level *c*, Figure A.5).

In conclusion, it is often difficult to link the structures in L17 with those in L15. Some mix-up of the stratigraphic relations in L15 seems to have happened, especially in relation with the later stone pavement. It is here suggested that what Parrot described as levels *c*, *b*, and *a2* form a coherent sequence of renovations that do not necessarily warrant the complete rebuilding of the temple. Instead, they could conform to renovations that would have been carried out over a relatively long period of time, given the chronology established for the City II period. Mudbrick structures can be in use for a much longer period of time than previously thought and renovations are not always carried out homogeneously (Kramer 1982: 264). Several options have been proposed to interpret the sequence of renovations and alterations observed in L17 and L15, and the relationships between. These cannot always be established beyond doubt, but it is clear that, together, they form a coherent uninterrupted sequence with no significant structural changes such as those introduced with the use of stone as a construction material, a new drainage system, or new foundation deposits, as will be observed in a subsequent section (Section §4.5.7).

4.5.5 LEVEL *A2* IN L17 AND L15

In L17, this level appears clearly below the stone foundation/rubble wall, as the level of the plaster floor clearly extends into the wall beneath the stone (Figure A.42). From a stratigraphic point of view, this floor level in L17 could correlate with the bottom level of the embedded stacked vessels on the walls of L18 at around the foundation level of this room, which appears to be shallower than in L17 (Figures A.28 and A.40). This is, however, not entirely clear. Since the stone and gravel pavement in L15 must belong with the later addition of the stone foundations/rubble wall, the corresponding floor in courtyard L15 was

either destroyed or may be reconstructed as the top plaster level associated with embedded vessels that was uncovered in the area (Figure A.53). The difference in height does not necessarily imply chronological dissonance. The existence of three layers of embedded vessels in L17 and L15 seem to form a coherent renovation sequence that cannot be overlooked.

In L15, the stone and gravel pavement is associated with the stone foundations/rubble wall level and floor *a1* in L17. Thus, the floor corresponding to level *a2* in L15 must be below this stone flooring, or it may have been destroyed during these construction works. Parrot's assignment of all levels of *barcasses* in L15 to level *c* meant that the corresponding level *b* was at a much higher elevation in L15 than in L17. Thus, he reconstructed a sloped floor in L15 in order to explain the disparities in level height between the north and south ends of the court. A more coherent interpretation of the available data may be that the remains of Parrot's level *b* floor in L15 should be associated with level *a2* of L17, including the drain and water basin in the southeast corner of the room (Figures A.33, A.34 and A.43). Remains of the plastered surface of this level were only found near the round pillars along the north and east walls, right below where the stone footings of two new walls demarcated the new space of L15 on the level above (Figure A.48 and Parrot's plan of level *b*, A.6). Therefore, the surface of L15 at level *a2* was probably destroyed during the changes that saw it paved with stones. The two new walls were either added before the plaster floor was removed, or they were an intermediate addition between levels *a2* and *a1*. The plaster visible on top of the pillars (Figure A.43) and the plastered vessel next to it remain difficult to explain within the established sequence. It seems that during a renovation of the courtyard L15, the pillars were levelled and plastered over, before the stone partition was placed above at the time of the stone pavement.

4.5.6 THE SITUATION IN L18 & L20

The context of the foundation of L18 has already been discussed in the earlier Section §4.5.3, *The foundation deposits*, in which I compared the evidence to support either a foundation at the same time as the rest of the temple, or a later addition as originally suggested by Parrot. Margueron has also studied the evidence from the area of L18 and the so-called courtyard L20 in detail. He concludes:

- a) That L18 was part of the original layout of the temple and that only the foundations from the City III construction (*Temple Rézien*) were discovered due to erosion (Margueron 2017: 98, 124f.).
- b) That the space north of L18 was actually part of the temple layout, but was not preserved due to erosion and the construction work of the City III internal rampart (Margueron 2017: fig. 17). Furthermore, he reconstructs the entrance to L18 along the north wall leading into this area (Margueron 2017).
- c) That the *barcasses* in L18 are not part of occupation floors, but part of the consecration of the temple from City III, of which only the foundations (at an elevation of 176-176.20 m) remains (Margueron 2017: 126).
- d) That the function of L18 is the same as L17, thus a *Lieu Très Saint*. Margueron argues that a double

cella layout is not common during the 3rd millennium B.C. and is first found here in Mari (Margueron 2017: 128).

- e) Regarding L20, Margueron argues that this is not a courtyard but simply an open space outside the external walls of the temple, perhaps on the road or a square outside the gate at the end of this road (Margueron 2017: 102–107, 133, fig. 35). Furthermore, the pavement traced in this area was actually caused by a fan landslide caused by water flooding the ruins of the temple, which caused the objects originally buried in a *favissa* of L18 to be displaced into the space south of this locus (Margueron 2017: 235, fig. 84).

The analysis here presented differs on some points with the above conclusions, but agrees on other points:

- a) It is not clear whether L18 was an original feature of the temple or was added at a later date. The different height at which the foundation deposits were found in L17 and L18 (see Figures A.45 and A.54), as well as the lack of plastered floors at a similar height as L17 below level *a2* suggests L18 may have been an extension added at a later date.
- b) The entrance to L18 is here suggested to have been between the stone structure in the southeast corner and the foundation deposit placed along the south wall of the room. This is based on a reversed entrance to that in L17 with the same layout of foundation deposits flanking it.¹⁷
- c) The floor of L18 was not fully traced, and it is not even clear whether what appears as a plastered floor in Figure A.22 is actually a floor. There is also limited visual evidence of the podium along the east wall of the room. The evidence in this regard is inconclusive.
- d) The so-called courtyard L20 was not a courtyard, at least from the available evidence. As Margueron argues, there are inconsistencies between the interim plan (Figure A.2) and the published plan of level *a* (Figure A.7), mainly the “wall” of the courtyard. The problem with this reconstruction is easily spotted in the archival photographs. Figure A.21 shows this area during the first season of excavation (ca. 28/01/1934), around the time when the “pavement” on which the remains of shell inlays were found. Figures A.18 and A.19 show the context of the finds directly on top of the paved area that appears in Figure A.21. Thus, this context is clearly about 1.00–1.50 m below the stones in the southeast corner of L18 (if the man standing in L18 can be used as a rough reference). Figures A.28 and A.29 show the area S of L17/L18 at a later date (ca. 19/03/1934). Finally, Figure A.46 shows this area around two years later (ca. 01/03/1936) when it was excavated down to the earliest level. Here, the wall that appears published in Parrot’s level *a* plan (Figure A.7) is clearly found at a lower elevation after the paved area had been removed and only a few courses of the wall brickwork of L18 remained in place.

¹⁷In view of the remains in the aerial photograph (Figure A.11) and the solid brickwork shown along the exterior of the north wall of L18 in Figure A.31, I do not see how a doorway could have existed here, even if erosion is accounted for.

- e) Nevertheless, L20 was the entrance to L18, which must have been built to have a floor higher than the ground outside. The shell inlays clearly dating to the ED IIIb period strongly suggest that this area must have been in use. The shell inlays were found directly outside the entrance of L18 at least 1–1.5m below the floor inside the room.
- f) What about the other finds from this area? Figure A.13 shows many of the objects found close to the surface in the area around the stone blocks in the southeast of L18. These were the earliest finds from the excavation. Nothing contradicts Margueron’s conclusion that these superficial finds had suffered displacement from their primary context, perhaps, as Margueron suggests, in a *favissa* against the east wall of L18 (Margueron 2017: 235, fig. 84). Another option is that the statuary found early on in the excavation was part of L18 and had indeed suffered redeposition due to taphonomic processes. Meanwhile, the context in which the shell inlays had been found was undisturbed since the original deposition, which itself could have been secondary. One inlay fragment depicting a male individual wearing a flat cap and a robe over the left shoulder in the same style as the figures from L20 (M.547) is described as found under the floor of L18; however, the floor in L18 is not always clearly traced. This suggests at least a similar chronological horizon for both finds in L18 and L20, and M.547 could have been part of the entourage of the panel found in L20 given the stylistic similarities (see also Figure 8.3). Such a scenario would see the destruction of L18 and the objects contained in that room, perhaps including the partial collapsing of its walls. Therefore, there are two distinct findspot contexts in the L18–L20 area: one close to the surface and mixed-up with the eroded southern wall of L18, and another about 1.00–1.50 m below, on the ground outside L18, and which had not been affected by recent taphonomic process although it may have suffered destruction or abandonment in antiquity.

In conclusion, the published plan mixed up remains from several levels in this area. The floor in L18 must have stood at a higher elevation than the ground level outside, which was paved. The walls that appear surrounding this paved area actually belong to an earlier level, or did not exist at all. It is here suggested that L20 was an entrance area for room L18, which was built to have a floor at a higher elevation. The remains of a paved area must be dated to the ED IIIb period based on the shell inlays found there, which provide a *terminus post quem*. The regularity of the stone structures in this area also suggest they are not the result of a landslide. While Margueron suggests this area was simply part of the street or a city square, Pascal Butterlin (pers. comm.) suggests there was a deliberate elevation of the temple above street level, which included an outdoor space with cultic installations and placed near the Western Gate of the city.

Annex rooms to temples in which statuary was found are not uncommon, though they are usually located within the enclosed courtyard. For example, the Ninḫursaġ temple in Mari has a similar room that is located at a lower level to the cella (Beyer 2014b: 521f. and fig. 6). The Šamuš temple in Khafajah has similar rooms added along the courtyard during the ED IIIb period levels (see Section §6.2.1). The Small Shrine, also in Khafajah, was not fully excavated (see Section 6.2.2) but the bent-axis cella (Locus Q45:4) bears some resemblance with L18, with the installations and statuary found outside its entrance in the courtyard (Locus Q45:12). The situation in the Inanna temple in Nippur is not clear, though Locus 179

in Level VII B and Level VII A is described by Zettler as a bent-axis cella located next to the straight-axis main cella, Locus 178. Locus 179 has similar bench-like structures, where some of the statuary is said to come from (Zettler 1992: 31f. and figs. 7–8). In other words, the layout of multiple-cella temples with annex rooms is highly flexible during this period. Although it may seem strange to have a cella opening directly into a public space, I do not think this is completely inconceivable.¹⁸ How to define the concept of ‘cella’ is another issue entirely, since these rooms probably served multiple functions and may not fit the modern criteria used to define it. The term ‘cella’ is derived from the classical tradition that defines it as the inner area of a temple, usually one that houses—and hides from view—the cult image in a Greek or Roman temple. For example, Forest (1996) argued for a distinction between ‘real’ temples with high terraces and an enclosure wall, and social spaces in which men and/or women would gather and where the ‘cella’ was actually an audience room (in his view these include all the Diyala temples except the Temple Oval). His ideas were challenged by Lawecka (2011b), who argued that they were indeed temples. Perhaps the problem here is not with the architecture and associated material culture, but with the definition of ‘temple’ for this period. As I shall discuss in Chapter 8, the lack of cultic images from the Early Dynastic may help disentangle the classical approach to the interpretation of rooms with podiums from their seemingly multi-functional nature.

The location of L18 near the western entrance of the city may be significant and this room may have functioned in relation to this spatial location.¹⁹ Access restriction into these rooms is not always clear. For example, in the case of the Small Shrine in Khafajah, the cella Q45:4 opens into an irregular courtyard Q45:12 with a single entry point. However, there is no photographic evidence of the walls of this courtyard, nor was this area explored beyond the cella and the area outside it. Furthermore, Q45:4 has a box-like podium and a cache of statues was found embedded in the floor of one of the floors. Statuary and a significant number of maceheads were also found near some structures set up outside the entrance to Q45:4 in Q45:12. As I shall explore in Chapter 7, both Khafajah’s Small Shrine and L18 have a high ratio of male statuary compared to other contexts. Overall, I think these are reasonable comparisons and I do not think an entrance with cultic installations outside should be automatically dismissed simply because a courtyard could not be traced. Perhaps it is also possible that some sort of enclosure existed but had all but disintegrated or was missed given the shallowness and disturbed nature of an area located next to a city gate of the later City III period.

¹⁸ Although earlier in date, note also the Upper Mesopotamian single roomed shrines dating to the Ninevite 5 period (EJZ I–II, ca. 2900–2550 B.C.), some of which were also built on a raised mudbrick platform with rising steps (Matthews 2002).

¹⁹ The western entrance to Mari is presided over by the imposing presence of Tell Medkoku, which lies directly West of the city gate outside the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple. The tell was investigated over two seasons in 2005 and 2006, which found a ramp on the west side and the remains of a structure dating to the period of the *Šakkannaku* (Butterlin 2016b: 224). Butterlin suggests this could be either a platform or a funerary complex (Butterlin 2016a: 218) and that it may bear some meaning with the celebration of the September equinox as it was observed that someone standing on the High Terrace would observe the sun set exactly at the top of Tell Medkoku (Butterlin 2007). In 2015, Tell Medkoku was bulldozed, probably in search of antiquities (Ministère de la Culture Français 2018). This fact seems to add weight to the suggestion that it contained royal tombs.

4.5.7 THE STONE PAVEMENT IN L15 AND LEVEL *a1* IN L17

The “stone foundation” observed by Parrot and visible in the photographic evidence probably correlates with a short-lived rise in power of the city of Mari (see Section §4.2), with associated economic strength driving the presence of stone and other materials and objects. The stone and gravel pavement in L15 must be associated with these foundations on the basis of stratigraphic correspondence and use of materials (Figures A.40 and A.41). In particular, Parrot’s levels *a1* and *a2* should be split into differentiated construction phases. Level *a2* (inferior) is stratigraphically below the stone foundation and, therefore, cannot belong to the above construction level (Figure A.41). By contrast, Parrot records a 0.40 m fill layer between *a1* and *a2* (Parrot 1956: 35), which corresponds better with a distinct new construction level. Unfortunately, little photographic evidence remains of level *a1* in L17 (Figures A.24 and A.25).

The sequence of artefact catalogue entry dates and the excavation photographic record suggest the majority of statuettes and other significant artefacts were probably found between the stone pavement and the surface level (Figures A.12 and A.13), which were excavated in January and February 1934. Since it is clear from other findings that a level dating to the early 2nd millennium B.C. must have existed above the 3rd millennium B.C. strata, these deposits most likely belong to a late ED III or early Akkadian period. However, surface finds illustrate the difficulty in reconstructing the stratigraphic context of many of the artefacts recovered. Whether the objects found near the surface can be associated with the surrounding stratigraphic sequence and structures remains ambiguous at best, especially given the abundance of pits cutting through the plaster floors and other structures that suggest heavy looting activity even in antiquity.

Although it is impossible to argue for one explanation against another with certainty, the overall consistency in architectural design points towards the few remaining stones on the south wall of L18 belonging to the same stratigraphic sequence as in L17 (Figure A.45). This construction level with stone foundations/rubble walls²⁰ was probably associated with the foundation deposits found on the floors of L18 and L17, whereas the deposits found marking the boundaries of each room and embedded in the walls would be associated with their respective original foundations (Figure 4.6). Following this conclusion, the foundation of L18 appears clearly above that of L17 (Figure A.45). However, the difference in elevation does not imply that they were founded at different points in time, given the consistency in the size and composition of the deposits. This is inconclusive. What appears to be clear is that L17 experienced a higher level of plastering and reconfiguration of the central raised altar, whereas L18 seems to have suffered more erosion or plaster was not used as often. Either L18 was not plastered during the earlier levels, or these were destroyed during the construction of the stone foundation structure that in this case may have dug deeper into the previous levels than in L17. As this level appears at surface, features of the associated occupation level were probably highly disturbed and/or missing entirely. This aligns well with the context of statuary findings in this area.

The stone construction level clearly disturbed the stratigraphic sequence in several areas; for example, the southeast corner of L17 where Parrot’s team could not trace the thick plaster floors consistent

²⁰It is not clear to me whether these are true stone foundations or, rather, rubble wall footings with not much bearing strength.

throughout all underlying levels. This is the area where two foundation deposits (M.335 and M.355; see Figure A.25) of a considerable size and weight were found, which were associated with lapis lazuli and alabaster stone “tablets” (M.345 and M.356, respectively), as well as other made of silver (M.495 and M.496, respectively). Other uninscribed tablets were also found that were not associated with the standard nail and D-shaped ring (M.344, M.364, M.494). These unusual deposits below floors rather than under walls are also present in L18, where two deposits (M.151 and M.256) of a smaller calibre were found in the northeast corner of the room under a brick structure described by Parrot as a “podium” (Parrot 1956: 37f.). Parrot also describes finding a large-sized bronze trough (M.132) buried inside the brick structure at about 1.00 m below surface, and two ceramic ones (M.151 and M.296) stacked around 0.20 m below the bronze one. However, this statement provides little context to the finding. The entry for bronze trough M.132 dates it to 18/01/34, and the only *in situ* image (Figure A.14) is dated around that time as well. The depth at which it was found was clearly quite superficial if compared to later stages in the excavation of L18 (Figures A.21 and A.22). Therefore, this trough was found around the same level or slightly below the stone feature, while the two other ceramic ones appeared clearly below this level (Figure A.22). Only one other object out of the large quantity of vessels embedded in floors and structures that were recovered from L17, L18 and L15 was made of bronze. The second one was found in the latest podium in L17 associated with level *a* (Figure A.10). Therefore, both bronze troughs appear to be associated with the latest sequence of three superimposed vessels but below the level of stone structures.

In view of the above, it may be concluded that the group of statuettes discovered in this area during the first days of excavation and described as found inside this brick foundation (*soubassement*) in a “*favissa*” (Parrot 1956: 38) cannot be upheld given the archival material available. These objects come from the northeast angle of the room, which was excavated first (Figure A.21), and like the objects found in L17 at a later date, they were subsequently grouped by Parrot for publication. Whether this was a looting hole and the brick structure a podium is difficult to establish retrospectively. Nevertheless, their deposition could to be associated with the stone construction level given the fact that the looting holes in which some items were found in L17 cut through the plaster coating of the latest podium associated with level *a1/a2*.

Finally, some of the features uncovered in other areas of the settlement provide further context to this level. In the cella of the ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA temple (R13), a stone wall addition placed on top of the SE podium was added to the design of the room at a late stage in the lifecycle of the temple (Parrot 1967: pl. 12). This suggests an interesting parallel between the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA temples that saw a late introduction of heavier use of stone in its structures, and in particular in connection with rooms where cultic structures such as embedded vessels and plastered podiums were found. Finally, recent work on the northwest angle of the *Massif Rouge* (“*chantier temple nord 1 ouest*”) to understand the context of a similar level of stone blocks previously excavated by Parrot suggests that these marked the remains of an older structure than the City III one. As Butterlin argues, these are unlikely to be repairs carried out on the most recent version of the *massif*, since they would have had to be carried out below ground level. Instead, he suggest they are probably repairs carried out on the more ancient structure, which is, however, not well understood (Butterlin 2016b: 236–237).

Margueron's reconstruction assigns the stone structures of level *a* (though not the L17 plastered floor and podium of level *a2*) as part of his "Temple Récient", which in his opinion was built after a period of abandonment following Narām-Sîn's destruction of Mari. He argues this reconstruction explains the mixed-up levels around the edges of the temple against the preservation of the installations towards its center in L17 and L15 (Margueron 2017: 137–40 and fig. 49). To distinguish in terms of before and after the destruction is difficult in the context of this temple, as it was the first building excavated at the site. However, I would argue that given: *a*) the superficial finds of ED IIIb date in the L17–L18 area (as well as some above the stone pavement in L15);²¹ *b*) the links with the renovations in the Aštar *šarbat* and Bašsurat temples; *c*) the presence of structural remains from completely eroded levels at a much higher elevation (see Figures A.30 and A.40); and *d*) the difference between the plastered floor *a2* and the bottom of the stone wall in L17 (see Figure A.42) support, in my opinion, the conclusion that the mix-up happened between the floor levels *a1* and *a2*, which actually belong to different phases. The floor *a2* belongs with the sequence of levels *c–b*, which constitute a series of renovations over a long period of time, while floor *a1* belongs with the stone pavement and rubble filled stone walls. Margueron interprets the rubble filled stone wall in L17 as a repair of the already worn walls from the previous "Temple Ancien", which the builders wished to retain for the new construction (Margueron 2017: 139). However, the fact that the first course of stones appears above the thick plastered floor *a2* proves that this feature must belong to a floor above it, since it would be almost impossible to dress a worn, collapsing wall at a higher level than the actual floor at which the occupation level is set; the plastering of the floor would be the last step in the process, not the first one. Therefore, I do not see these walls as the repair of worn mudbrick walls but simply as rubble filled walls which could have run along the entire length of the walls, though they may have been looted or eroded away at a later date.

To counter the above arguments, I would add that the construction associated with the stone pavement, stone drainage and stone walls in L17 cannot be unequivocally dated to before the destruction of Mari, since no burnt remains are specifically identified within the temple. Although I suggest here that these remains belong to a time before the destruction of Mari and should be associated with a short-lived period of time in which Mari fought for regional hegemony with other powerful cities such as Uruk, Kiš and Agade (under Sargon), as well as with Ebla to the West, I do not rule out entirely Margueron's suggestion that it is to be dated in City III, except with regard to the reassignment of floors *a1* and *a2*, for which I believe the evidence is strong enough. In fact, Margueron (2017: 124) agrees that the podium *a* in L17 must date to City II and is not associated with the stone structures. Thus, Parrot's floor *a2* belongs to an occupation before the stone pavement, and floor *a1*—the little that remains of it— belongs with the stone pavement and the dressed walls. Whether this latest level corresponds with an occupation before or after the destruction of Mari is inconclusive, but in my opinion the weight of the evidence points towards the period immediately before its destruction.

²¹It is almost impossible to reconstruct the exact elevation of the finds from L15. When cross-referenced with entry dates in the field records and using the aerial photograph A.11 (taken on 12/03/1934) as a reference point as it shows the stone pavement, it can be determined that the only two fragments of diorite statues clearly dating to the early 2nd millennium B.C. (M.350 and M.351) must have been found above the stone pavement. Both artefacts appear recorded on 12/02/1934, so they must have been found on or before that date (artefacts were not always recorded on the day they were excavated). Meanwhile, archival photographs from around that time show L15 before the stone pavement was fully cleaned. For example, Figure A.26, which is dated 21/02/1934 (though these dates are not always completely reliable), shows L15 with the brick installation in front of L17 still in place (see the interim plan A.2).

4.5.8 THE SUPERFICIAL LEVELS

The superficial levels in this area of the site presented heavy erosion. However, it is clear there once existed a later construction phase above the remains of the City II temple. The architectural and spatial distribution of this later phase is impossible to reconstruct, as only a few elements of the original structures remain, which were described by Parrot (1956: 42–47). L17 and L15 experienced alterations to their original design, but these are difficult to interpret (Figures A.20 and A.30). The existence of a temple during this phase cannot be convincingly established. However, the presence of fragments of two statues—one male and one female—of considerable size and good craftsmanship found scattered over the surface of L15 as well as thrown into a baked-brick well probably dating into the 2nd millennium B.C. may suggest that the area maintained its sacred or symbolic status at the very least.

The fact that the southwest corner of L18 appears clearly cut off by the construction of the City III interior rampart in the aerial photograph A.11 taken during the first season of excavation suggests at least this area of the temple might not have been part of the new building, but the evidence is inconclusive one way or the other.

4.6 DISCUSSION

The analysis of the published and archival material regarding the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple suggests that some mixing up of evidence happened during the process of publication, exacerbated by the lapse of time between the excavation in the 1930s and the publication in 1956. Furthermore, Parrot's reliance on Andrae's earlier results in Aššur (which I shall discuss further in the next chapter) seems to have influenced the interpretation of the temple as dedicated to Ištar on the basis of the dedicatory inscriptions found. In fact, the archaeological remains seem to have been used to prop up the interpretation of the textual evidence rather than being investigated in their own right. As discussed in Section §4.3, the extensive research into the identity of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and the relationship between the alleged three avatars of Inanna/Aštar has to some extent overshadowed research into the social, cultural and political dynamics behind the practices of temple construction and commemorative practices such as the dedication of statuary in temples. As I shall discuss further in Chapter 7, the preoccupation with identifying the *polos* figure as the goddess herself and later as her priestess seems to have driven Parrot to somewhat force the evidence to fit this idea.

The detailed re-analysis of the stratigraphic sequence carried out in this chapter show significant divergence from both the original results published by Parrot and more recent work by Margueron. Focussing on the remains in the complex L15–L17 and L18–L20, I have suggested that what were originally divided into three construction phases *c*, *b*, and *a* actually constitute one construction phase with several renovations and modifications over time. On this, I agree with Margueron (2017), who has named this complex the *Temple Ancien*. However, I do not think it is possible to reconstruct in detail the complete layout of the temple, and here I have focussed on the four well-documented loci. The stratigraphic relation of tombs T.241 and T.242 in the eastern part of the complex may be significant, as discussed by Otto (2014). The ED IIIa date of some of their contents suggests they might have been part of the earliest construction

dated within the City II period. Finally, I separate level *a2* and level *a1*, linking the stone structures in L17 and L15 with only level *a1*, and not *a2*. I suggest these renovations with stone may not have been a complete refounding of the temple, but do imply a significant investment of economic resources and manual labour. Although it is not possible to say whether the stone structures date to before or after Mari's destruction, I suggest that they date to before the destruction and that this renovation may be associated with a moment in time during which Mari enjoyed economic prosperity and extensive regional power. This would agree with the period of time prior to the Akkadian conquest, during which we know Mari fought against powerful enemies (Archi and Biga 2003).

With regard to the relationship between L17 and L18, I have suggested that it is not clear whether L18 was built at a later date than L17, but that the weight of the evidence seems to suggest it was. Furthermore, I suggest that the doorway to L18 should be placed along the south wall between the two foundation deposits near the southeast corner. Thus, the stone blocks in this corner were part of a similar stone rubble wall or foundation as observed in L17, and flanked the doorway. Therefore, they are not the remains of some steps. Finally, L20 was the entrance area to L18 and was located at the ground level some 1.00–1.50 m below the floor level in L18. Parrot's reconstruction of a courtyard actually mixes up structures from different stratigraphic levels. A courtyard wall cannot be reconstructed, but it is not entirely ruled out.

When examined against the backdrop of Mari during the 3rd millennium B.C., the location of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple stands in stark contrast with the strongly centralised urban layout of the city as demonstrated by the palace compound and nearby cluster of religious buildings. Besides earlier interpretations which sought to link astronomical phenomena with the location of the temple such as Lambert (1985) or Bordreuil (1985), not much has been attempted at understanding the relationship of the temple with its urban layout and the wider regional setting of Mari during the 3rd millennium B.C. As noted, the area of L20 would have been placed near an important entrance to the city from the western regions, perhaps the way along which visitors from Ebla and other northwestern locations would have entered the city. The importance of this location needs to be contextualised within similar arrangements in other settlements, which Lauren Ristvet (2011) has discussed in detail. I will return to some of these points in Chapter 7, when discussing the material culture associated with these rooms, and Chapter 8, when framing the construction of these buildings and the commemorative practices that took place within them.

The implications of the results obtained from the reassessment of the stratigraphic sequence concern the chronological span of the temple, the context of its original construction and function, and the establishment of a series of renovations that may be understood within the evolving sociopolitical status of the city during the Early Dynastic period. This reconstruction offers key elements that will aid in the comparative analysis of the material in Chapter 7, as well as the discussion of the relationship between the sociopolitical and religious landscapes in Mari in Chapter 8. In particular, this chapter has shown that specific elements in temple construction such as the addition of secondary structures or the use of expensive materials like stone in the course of renovations could signal shifts in temple patronage that may be associated with political activity. As I shall explore in later chapters, these shifts may also be traced across social boundaries based on kinship, gender, or status reflected in the material culture associated with the temples.

5

The “Archaischen Ischtar-Tempel” in Aššur (Qal’at Sherqat)

THE CITY OF AŠŠUR (MODERN QAL’AT SHERQAT) lies on the western bank of the Tigris between the two Zab rivers. Its location offers natural barriers that protect the settlement. It is set on a cliff that runs as high as twenty-five metres above the river and falls almost perpendicular to it. Meanwhile, the natural course of the river and an ancient tributary sheltered both the eastern and northern edges of the city (Figure B.1). Thus, Aššur enjoyed a strategic position that made it easy to defend. Although it enjoyed good access to the fertile plain by the Tigris, evidence of a long history of craftsmanship at the site suggests the city derived its wealth from the trading routes descending from the Zagros mountains and the Iranian Plateau towards Syria and Anatolia to the northwest, and Babylonia to the south. These routes and their traffic shifted over time, when other trading centres controlled the resources that passed through the region. The history of the city and its architecture is thus entangled with the geopolitical and economic history of the region.

The site was known already in the mid-19th century, but systematic exploration only begun in 1903 with a team from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft under the direction of Walter Andrae, a then young architect. Andrae’s background influenced the focus of the excavation towards establishing a coherent

architectural and cultural history of the site, which he later published in book form in 1930 as “*Das wiedererstandene Aššur*” (*Aššur Resurrected*; Andrae 1977). Although the context of the foundation and the early history of the city remain largely unexplored, Andrae used the findings from the so-called “Archaic Ištar Temple” to establish architectural and object typologies for what eventually became known as the Early Dynastic period. Both the American team working in the Diyala and the French one working in Mari followed many of Andrae’s ideas in their excavation and interpretation of the remains, especially since the conflagration that destroyed the temple at one point in time preserved a high quantity of artefacts and cultic installations in their primary context, a rare instance in the life-cycle of temples.

Several recent studies have focussed on the reassessment of material from Andrae’s excavations in Aššur, mainly on its monumental architecture. The first volume published was Bär’s (2003b) reanalysis of the “archaic” Ištar temple, followed by Schmitt’s (2012) volume on the “later” Ištar temple and Beuger’s (2013) study of the pottery from the “archaic” temple. Other volumes on the monumental architecture of Aššur include studies on the Old Palace (Pedde and Lundström 2008), the Šin-Šamaš temple (Werner 2009), the Anu-Adad temple (Werner 2016) and, finally, on the Aššur temple (Gries 2017). Together, they offer a renewed understanding of the archaeology of the site and its historical context. The following sections will focus on Bär’s reconstruction of the layers from the 3rd millennium B.C., but will also take into consideration evidence from the later studies in order to reconstruct the context of the temples within the city and their roles.

5.1 CONTEXT AND HISTORY OF THE SITE

The foundation and early history of the city remain obscured by the wealth of remains from the 1st millennium B.C. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests that the site may have been founded as a cultic place due to its preeminent position in the landscape. The oldest remains come from layers below the later Nabû and Ištar complexes, located on high ground in the northwest area of the town, as well as below the temple of the god Aššur, located at the tip of the cliff surrounded by the river (Figure B.1). These two locations represent the highest and most guarded points on the mound, respectively. Layers dating back to the 3rd millennium B.C. were explored in several other areas (Figure B.2), including below the Old Palace. The remains from the early periods seem to be circumscribed to the north and eastern edges of the later city, below the cultic and administrative centres. The Ištar temple represents the westernmost extension of remains from this period but since no traces of a city wall from this period exist, the original extension of the settlement cannot be reconstructed on the basis of the available evidence.

The area of the Ištar temple is the only place in Aššur where there exists a continuous stratigraphic sequence from the second half of the 3rd millennium to the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. (Bär 2003c: 144) (Figure B.3 and Table 5.2 for an overview of the stratigraphic sequence). The lack of consistent findings elsewhere on the site limits the potential for determining the role of this temple within the larger urban context of the earliest occupation phases. Outside the temple, all remains of the 3rd millennium B.C. dated to the second half around the transitional period between the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods. Given the difficulties in establishing consistent absolute chronologies for these cultural horizons across

southern and northern Mesopotamia,¹ authors diverge slightly in their interpretation of the chronological sequence at Aššur, with the overall consensus being that the site was probably first occupied fairly late in the Early Dynastic period, contrary to Andrae's earlier view that the site dated to the beginning of the Early Dynastic, if not to the Jemdet Nasr period (Bär 1999). Table 5.3 collates the most recent interpretations of the stratigraphic sequence in the Ištar Temple area up to the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I.

At the northeast edge of the site overlooking the Tigris where the later temple dedicated to the god Aššur was located, evidence from below the 2nd millennium B.C. remains points towards the existence of a cultic place even towards the end of the Early Dynastic period or Akkadian period. No architectural features were recovered, but a statuette was found there that in appearance and execution clearly matches another from the Ištar temple (Bär 2003b: 39). Although both the city of Aššur and the cult of its eponymous god are attested from the beginning of the Old Assyrian period around the turn of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Ebeling 1928), nothing can be established with confidence regarding the evidence prior to this period. Like the later Ištar, the etymology of Aššur's name remains obscure, although it has been associated with a weather god of West Semitic or Hurrian origin (Leick 2001: 216). However, while the name Aštar is attested in personal names of pre-Sargonic times (Westenholz 1988: 110–117), no evidence of this kind exists for Aššur. Studies on the personality and cult of the god have focussed mainly on the Neo-Assyrian period (Holloway 2001) and only Lambert has attempted to provide some background to the figure of the god before the Old Assyrian period (Lambert 1983). According to him, Aššur was simply the deified city, a *numen loci* who was never fully a *deus persona* (Lambert 1983: 83). As the focus of Assyrian identity “lacking any basic attributes [...] [Aššur] readily assumed the role most suited to the character of his citizens. When they became military imperialists, he became a god of war” (Lambert 1983: 86). This explanation suits the context of the foundation of the city as a cultic site on the preeminent landscape, and Lambert highlights evidence from Hittite and Hurrian sources about divine mountains or mountain gods, as well as putting forward the examples of several mountains (including the famous Mount Ebiḥ)² and rivers as evidence for the existence of deified geographic features who are, nevertheless, not quite actively involved in official cults (Lambert 1983: 85). However, it must be noted that the limited archaeological evidence and the lack of written evidence for the existence of this deity before the 2nd millennium B.C. casts doubt over the nature of the cultic activity below the temple of Aššur. Whether, as Leick suggests, the location was initially a small hill sanctuary dedicated to a female deity who was eventually displaced as titular deity by the establishment of the cult of Aššur (Leick 2001: 198) cannot yet be settled beyond doubt, although it remains an interesting proposition.

Another area where deep trenches were opened was in the Old Palace, located roughly between the Aššur and Ištar temples. As it was customary, deep soundings were opened in the floor areas of courtyards and rooms so as not to dismantle the later walls. Trench U in the main courtyard revealed a series of floor levels identified with the letters A (latest) through I (oldest). Virtually no architectural features were found in the oldest levels U–I and U–H. Only a few artefacts were recovered, including a spearhead and some decorated pottery (Pedde and Lundström 2008: 27). On the basis of the pottery recovered, these levels

¹The chronological issues have recently been tentatively addressed in the international project “Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean”, the results of which are in the process of being published. For a preliminary report, see Reichel 2009.

²Aššur is listed as ‘lord of Ebiḥ’ in texts from the Ur III period (Leick 2001: 216).

have been dated to the ED-Akkadian transitional period (Beuger 2007). Levels U-G and U-F consisted of the remains of a wall and a kiln near which some clay models (carriage, house) and large pottery were found. A couple of luxury items (an alabaster piece and a frit scarab) and 14 burnt clay tablets were also found (Pedde and Lundström 2008: 27). The tablets seem to be school texts of Old Akkadian date (Pedersén 1985: 25f.). Bär assigned the early remains to the Akkadian, possibly ED period (Bär 2003b: 40). Pedde and Lundström note that the findings in these levels find equivalents with levels in the “archaic” Ištar temple dating to the ED-Akkadian period.³ They propose a date towards the end of the ED period (ED IIIb?) and conclude that, given the prominent location of the remains, their proximity to the Ištar temple area, and the presence of tablets, it can be assumed that an important building existed here during this period (Pedde and Lundström 2008: 28). Whether this building was a palace or an administrative centre like the building below the palace in Mari cannot be determined.

The remains of private dwellings dating back to the ED–Akkadian period were also uncovered in those areas of the site where erosion had exposed the older layers, between the area of the Ištar temple and the river to the west. According to the excavators, this area, known as the “Graves Hill” (“Gräberhügel”), must have been one, if not the centre of the first settlement (Bär 2003b: 41). At least some of the houses appear to date back to the same occupation level as the destruction of the temple towards the end of the ED period,⁴ although the most recent excavations near the Ištar temple area only found remains from the late 3rd millennium B.C. and early 2nd millennium B.C. (Dittmann 1990). Miglus stresses that the wall remains of Temple H of the “archaic” Ištar temple are still the earliest known architectural remains in Aššur (Miglus 1996: 53). Beuger’s analysis of the pottery from Andrae’s excavation and Dittmann’s trench near the Ištar temple found that the earliest occupation level outside the temple was contemporary with Temple G, which she dates to the early Old Akkadian period (Beuger 2007: 327f. and table 13). Thus, the earliest architectural structures in the Ištar temple area, Temple H, remain the oldest stratigraphic layer identified in Aššur. The evidence uncovered in the area of private dwellings suggests local craft production including pottery and metalwork, in some cases pointing towards manufacture of cultic items outside the temples in seemingly private contexts.⁵ A few artefacts typically found in Early Dynastic temples such as a stone statuette and some small vessel stands were found in the so-called “altakkadische Haus,” but their context is probably secondary in layers dating to the very late 3rd millennium B.C. and beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. (Bär 2003b: 40).

Beuger has recently suggested that an earlier occupation already as early as the Ubaid period should not be completely dismissed, based on comparative material from Tell Nader (Beuger 2016). Although the site may have been known and even “informally” occupied at one point or another,⁶ the evidence so far points to the horizon of the construction of Temple H as a foundational event in terms of Aššur’s role in the regional network of trading routes. As Reade pointed out regarding the role of casual, unpredictable

³Level F, but mostly level G. See §5.3 for the details of the levels in the “archaic” Ištar temple.

⁴The soundings in the trenches opened in Squares g B 6 I and h A 6 I reported architectural features built with similar construction materials and a similar destruction layer to Level G in the Ištar temple area (Miglus 1996: 167f.). See §5.3.2 for details of this level.

⁵For example, a house/“altar” model was unearthed near a kiln in Square f E 6 II, while a casting mould was found inside a furnace, together with numerous pottery fragments of ED-Old Akkadian date (Bär 2003b: 40).

⁶Andrae described some prehistoric remains such as simple pits and fire places without associated artefacts such as lithics or prehistoric pottery (Andrae 1977: 98).

factors in the shaping of patterns of communication, “[these] *are seldom in practice controlled by considerations such as the location of one particular mountain pass or river crossing. There tend to be alternative patterns recurring at different times*” (Reade 1982: 77).

Overall, the scattered architectural features and few significant findings do not offer a clear picture of the settlement until the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. Furthermore, although private dwellings appear to cover the stretch of land east of the Iṣtar temple area to the Tigris river, these seem to date to a slightly later period than the earliest stratigraphic level in the area of the Iṣtar temple. Whether this means the settlement was founded around this particular building and its surrounding area cannot be concluded beyond doubt. I will discuss the implications of this possibility after reviewing the evidence from this area.

5.2 ANDRAE’S EXCAVATION OF THE IṢTAR TEMPLE AREA

The area of the temples of Nabû-Tašmetu and Iṣtar was explored between 1908 and 1914, with the excavation of the “archaic” levels spanning from early April 1913 to April 1914. The existence of a temple dedicated to Iṣtar in Aššur was known from an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) found at the site before the German excavation, and which is one of the earliest cuneiform inscriptions that were successfully translated (Bär 2003a: III). Andrae’s interpretation of the layers of superimposed architectural remains uncovered in this area was highly influenced by the few royal inscriptions found scattered across the site and inside these structures, and reflects the accepted theory of continuity of cult in ancient Mesopotamia. Andrae published the results of the excavation in two volumes that divided the remains into two chronologically and architecturally distinct phases: the so-called “archaic” temple of Iṣtar (Andrae 1922) and the “later” temple of Iṣtar (Andrae 1935); the latter included the remains of the late Neo-Assyrian temple of Nabû-Tašmetu.

Andrae’s excavation focussed on architectural phasing through the tracing of walls and the employment of tunneling techniques. Horizontal excavation was only attempted once significant findings warranted the destruction of later, better-preserved walls and foundations, which were always afforded priority. Floors were not usually recorded as separate levels, leading to confusion over the sequence of habitational horizons (Bär 2003b: 23). Three distinct, monumental structures were uncovered in the upper layers below the Nabû Temple. Associated inscriptions led Andrae to identify each structure with specific deities and the Assyrian rulers responsible for the construction projects (Table 5.1), which he then placed sequentially on plans of the area (Bär 2003b: figs. 3 and 4). Below Tukulti-Ninurta I’s building (Iṣtar-aššuritu and Šulmanītu temple), which was associated with a floor level designated “Floor A,” the remains of five superimposed buildings without associated inscriptions were uncovered. These were labelled H to D from the earliest to the latest, with C and B being floor levels described as renovations of building—and floor level—D (Table 5.1).

Although Andrae improved on his teacher Robert Koldewey’s methods and for the first time implemented a more detailed approach to stratigraphic analysis in Mesopotamian archaeology, the results of the excavation of construction phases H–D present several important limitations that impinge on his interpretations, some of which are still largely accepted with respect to the cultural horizon and religious

architecture of the ED period. The main issues identified with Andrae's excavation of this area and its publication are:

- Areas were not explored sequentially, but rather were initially explored through tunneling and horizontal excavation was only carried out within the confines of later walls. Thus, the stone foundation and mudbrick walls of Temple E were not removed to investigate levels F and G, nor were the remains of Temple G dismantled in order to investigate the earliest phase H. The reconstructions of these structures and associated floor levels outside the areas where horizontal excavation was carried out remain highly hypothetical (Bär 2003b: 23).
- The plans drawn by Andrae provide confusing and sometimes wrong information. Relative heights are not reliable and shading of plans sometimes obscure other features. Tunneling was not often recorded, and structures were usually reconstructed on the basis of later or earlier structures. Andrae's use of Koldewey's technique of superimposing the outline of later architecture in the plans of older structures hinder especially the interpretation of the architecture (Bär 2003b: 30f.).
- The numbering system employed to identify structures and levels changed often and does not display any consistency, while back references in the field records are rare (Bär 2003b: 25). Pottery and small finds were assigned to a construction phase without distinguishing floors and only exceptional artefacts were given a more detailed archaeological context in the excavation records (Bär 2003b: 23f.). These issues obscured the overall interpretation of the architecture as well as the assignment of artefacts to specific chronological and architectural phases as reflected in the publications.
- No "real" profiles from the excavation are available. The ones provided are composite profiles, as was customary in many early excavations (Bär 2003b: 31). This approach influenced the idealised representation of stratigraphic relationships. Furthermore, legends explaining the symbols and abbreviations used on plans and profile drawings are usually missing. As Bär notes, there are significant differences between the original profile records and the published ones. Thus, levels are to be understood as approximations only (Bär 2003b: 32).
- With regard to findspots, as in other early excavations, finds lay either on the floor of a room, above it or below it, so that oftentimes many items belong to thick fill layers between floor levels (Bär 2003b: 24). Often, a single find number was given to a specific context or even whole area. All finds were grouped regardless of their type, quantity, and relative closeness to each other (Bär 2003b: 33). Phases G and F are particularly cumbersome, and it seems the published context of many finds is simply wrong, with the only exception being the cella of the temple (Bär 2003b: 24).⁷

⁷Architectural elements from H, G and F were mixed together in order to reconstruct and "ideal" composite cella of the temple. Bär has endeavoured to separate the finds from level G from those of level F. A complete list of the artefacts that can certainly or presumably be assigned to level F are published in Bär 2003c.

Andrae established a typology for temples dedicated to the goddess Ištar based largely on a mix of architectural principles from various phases in the “archaic” temple from Aššur and loosely associated finds presented through the lens of preconceived ideas about religion and cult that resonated with contemporary research. He defined the typology of these temples as *Herdhaus mit vorgelegte Hof*, a sort of contemporary to the characteristic bent axis temple (*Knicknachsella*) typically described for temples from the Early Dynastic period (Heinrich 1982; Novák 2001; Ławecka 2014 for a critique of the typology). In fact, many of Andrae’s ideas form the basis of the German school of Mesopotamian architecture, championed by Ernst Heinrich, whose compendium of cultic architecture remains the sole volume of its kind to this date (Heinrich 1982). Andrae thought the archaic temple of Ištar at Aššur was not only the oldest temple in Aššur but in all of Mesopotamia (Bär 2003b: 16, n. 215). However, the initial suggestion of Jemdet Nasr remains below the earliest construction Phase H has been thoroughly assessed and dismissed (Bär 1999).

Since the earliest structures were not explored in their entirety, Andrae based his ideas on the so-called *Urbau*, or prototype, a composite temple layout largely based on the mudbrick and stone foundation of Temple E/D (see Section §5.3.3). Based on the assumption of continuity of cult, the same principle was applied to the architecture as to the textual sources, whereby Andrae proceeded to reconstruct the plan of the temple for each construction phase through borrowing elements from earlier and later construction levels and putting them together to fit the notion of continuity. Thus, he supplemented the plan of Temple G with elements from Temple H and the later E/D foundations with artefacts and installations from floors G1 and G2 (Bär 2003b: 25) (Figure B.7).

5.3 NEW STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE

Bär has restudied the oldest archaeological remains in Aššur, located below the later Ištar temple, with the primary goal of reconstructing the process of excavation as precisely as possible in its chronological sequence using all available archival sources. The sources employed include extensive written, photographic and graphic documentation of the excavation consisting of Field Object Catalogues, Field Diaries, as well as the numerous photographs and plans of the relevant areas (Bär 2003b: 4). One of the main shortcomings of Andrae’s publication was the number of finds published, which was reduced to 162 artefacts. By contrast, Bär’s publication includes over 900 published and unpublished artefacts from the excavation, some of which have been lost and are only described in the archival sources (Bär 2003b: 3). Despite the limitations of such an early excavation, Bär’s detailed work to reconstruct the earlier phasing of the building and the details about object findspots provided in his catalogue allow for a more granular contextualisation of the material culture as shall be carried out in Chapter 7. Therefore, a detailed reanalysis of the stratigraphy was not carried out for this case study, although a summary of the stratigraphy of the temple complex is here provided as it helps to understand the confirmation bias caused by the influence of later textual sources in the interpretation of the material and its publication (Section §5.4). Understanding this bias is critical for the purpose of recontextualising the artefacts from this temple in Chapter 7. For example, to reconstruct the distribution of statuary by gender, or to better understand the differences in distribution of artefacts between the case studies.

In the following sections, I follow mainly Bär's work, supplemented with some of Beuger's notes on the pottery. However, there remain question marks over the interpretations of some of the layers, as demonstrated by the discrepancies between Bär's work and that of Beuger and Schmitt (Table 5.3), especially concerning the earliest occupation (Temple H) and the later sequence in Temple D/E. The best preserved layers are those of Temple G, due to its destruction by fire. Bär's reconstruction of Phase G and F (new GF) closes the gap on one of the main issues with Andrae's reconstruction, the break in cultic activity he described for Temple F. Table 5.2 provides Bär's chronological reconstruction translated into English (Bär 2003b: 38; Bär 2003c: table 1). The following sections provide short descriptions of each construction phase and associated reconstructed occupation levels, highlighting relevant aspects for discussion.

5.3.1 CONSTRUCTION PHASE H

The earliest layers in the area were only explored in a handful of locations, where the early walls were traced. Andrae's pursuit of "neat" architectural reconstructions led him to draw the plan based on the layout of the subsequent phase G. Although Temple H was clearly differentiated from later layers, which can be observed in the discrepancies in the existing field notes, not enough evidence is available to reconstruct formally the original plan (Bär 2003b: 42). The material used for construction was air dried bricks and mortar of local origin. Plano-convex architecture is not explicitly described and stone was not used as raw material (Bär 2003b: 43). The building appears to have been built directly on the bedrock, which was levelled with a layer of virgin soil (Bär 2003b: 316). It seems the architecture of the building was of local origin and not influenced by southern techniques or style. The main obstacle to the interpretation of this phase is the lack of substantive artefacts as a result of its rebuilding, especially of diagnostic pottery that could help date the construction and destruction of the building more accurately (Beuger 2013: 54). As Beuger notes, the pottery in Aššur is extremely uniform and locally made, which hinders the distinction of chronological variances (Beuger 2013: 55). The structure itself seems to have been in use a reasonable amount of time, as the excavators describe a high degree of wear. It seems the building was replaced due to its state, rather than as a result of conflict or change in local politics or religious activity. The whole building was razed to a height of 0.80–1.10 m and the rooms filled in with the rubble from the building itself. Temple G was then built on top of this artificial platform (Bär 2003b: 42).

Like other temples during the 3rd millennium B.C., Temple H was not freestanding but embedded in the surrounding urban fabric almost like a large house (Figure B.5). The building seems to have been arranged around a main central space designated as a courtyard. Doors set around this courtyard led to separate areas of the building, although the areas to the west and north were not explored. To the south of the courtyard, a series of interconnected small rooms were described, where the presence of several ovens suggested economic activity in this area. The location of the main entrance was not directly excavated, but must have stood to the west of the courtyard, perhaps through another series of rooms and corridors.

The main cultic space lay to the east of the courtyard. It consisted of a large rectangular room (11.10 m x 5.95 m approximately) with a semi-partitioned extension at the north end and two small adjacent

The archaic Ištar Temple: Previous Chronology			
Phase	Architectural Features	Comments	Date
H	Directly on the levelled natural floor	This is the only area in the entire excavation with artefacts associated with the oldest archaic layer	Djemdet-Nasr Period (Late 4th - Early 3rd mill. B.C.)
G	Plan of H phase maintained with newly built walls	The most striking layer of all the archaic temples, which was purposely destroyed	Early Dynastic to Old Akkadian Period (ca. 2800-2200 B.C.)
F	Crude remains of houses built on rubble foundations	Cultic continuity interrupted: no sanctuary during this period.	Gutian Period (after 2200 B.C.)
E	Well-designed mudbrick (42x42x10cm) structure, employing clay and gypsum mortar	New construction detached from neighbouring houses. Five-room layout with staircase and towered gate	Ur III Period (ca. 2100-2003 B.C.)
D	Crude foundation built using bricks recycled from E Temple	Very large cultic space without room divisions; almost empty of artefacts.	Old Assyrian Period (ca. 1894-1594 B.C.)
C	Repair phase and floor levelling	Probably still part of D Temple	Old Assyrian Period (ca. 1894-1594 B.C.)
B	Repair phase and floor levelling	Probably still part of D Temple	Old Assyrian Period (ca. 1894-1594 B.C.)

The later Ištar Temple: Previous Chronology			
Phase	Architectural Features	Comments	Date
Temple of Ištar-Aššurītu and Šulmanītu = Floor A	Plan of the archaic temple and shift in orientation	Seven-room layout that served as a double sanctuary	Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.)
Temple of Ištar-Aššurītu	On a new construction site over private houses	Layout of a smaller, more simple shrine consisting of an unpartitioned cella	Aššur-Rēša-iši I (1133-1116 B.C.)
Temple of Šarrat-Nipḫi	Poor quality limestone foundation	Built directly on top of the mudbrick structure of Temple D; empty of finds	Salmanassar III (858-824 B.C.)
Houses	Two distinguishable occupation layers	Interruption of cultic continuity once again: No shrine at this location	Neo-Assyrian Period 7th - 6th cent. B.C.
Temple of Nabû	Mudbrick foundation over the Middle and Neo-Assyrian temples as well as the Neo-Assyrian houses	A large-scale temple in which Nabû, Tašmetu and perhaps Ištar were worshipped	Šin-šar-iškun (626-612 B.C.)

Table 5.1 – ANDRAE'S STRATIGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE AREA OF THE IŠTAR TEMPLE (ADAPTED FROM BÄR 2003B: 36).

The Istar Temple: New Chronology		
Construction Phase	Floor Levels / Structures and Findings	Date
H	Longer period of use without phase differentiation	Early Dynastic (ED III)
G	Main Temple Area: G 1 = Cella with Stone-Installation ----- G 2 = Cella with Stairs Outside the Temple: Partial reconstruction or reuse of Level H structures in the courtyard.	Early Dynastic (ED III) to Akkadian Period
GF	Main Temple Area: Reuse of G Level plan with floor attrition in Cella Outside the Temple: GF 1: Older level in courtyard and adjoining rooms ----- GF 2: Younger level in courtyard and adjoining rooms	Early Dynastic (ED III) to Akkadian Period
E (+ Floors D - C - B)	Prior to new temple construction: remains of walls ----- E 1 = Older construction phase of the steps and cella ----- E 2 = Younger construction phase of the steps and cella = Floor D in courtyard ----- E 2-C = Floor C in courtyard ----- E 2-B = Floor B in courtyard ----- Post-abandonment: burials	Ur III to Old Assyrian Period
D (+ Floor A)	Mudbrick substructure (D) below stone foundations of the temple previously known as the Šarrat-Nipḫi Temple = Floor A in courtyard	Old Assyrian to Middle Assyrian Period (1st Half)
Temple of Istar-Aššurītu and Šulmanītu	Plaster brick floor in courtyard	Middle Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian Period
Houses	1. Older Phase ----- 2. Younger Phase	Neo-Assyrian Period (2nd Half)
Nabû Temple	Mudbrick foundations	Neo-Assyrian Period (Final)
Houses	Stone foundations	Parthian / Islamic
Hill Surface	Organic and sedimentary layers	Modern

Table 5.2 – REVISED STRATIGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE AREA OF THE ISTAR TEMPLE (ADAPTED FROM BĀR 2003B: 38).

Bär 2003b		Schmitt 2012				Beuger 2007		
Date	Layer	Absolute Date	Historical Period	Layer	Date	Archaic Istar Temple	Deep sounding	
ED III	H	ca. 2500/2400	ED III	H	Early Dynastic III ?	H (Building H)		
ED III - Akkadian	G (G1 + G2)			G	Early Old Akkadian	G (Building G)	IIIb5 (IIIälter c)	
ED III - Akkadian	GF (GF1 + GF2)	ca. 2200	Old Akkadian	GF	Late Old Akkadian / Ur III	F(1-2) (G-renovation)	IIIb4 (IIIälter b3)	
		ca. 2100	Neo-Sumerian	E	Ur III (Zarriqum?)/Isin-Larsa (Early Old Assyrian)	E(1) (Building E)	IIIb3 (IIIälter b2)	
Ur III - Old Assyrian	E (+ Floors D - C - B)	ca. 1960		D	Isin-Larsa (Early Old Assyrian, Ilušuma?)/Old Assyrian	E(2) (Building E)	IIIb2 (IIIälter b1)	
		ca. 1900	Old Assyrian	Renovation	Old Assyrian (Šamši-Adad I ?)	D (Building E or D)	IIIb1 (IIIälter a)	
		ca. 1540		Renovation				
				Renovation	Late Old Assyrian/Mittrani (Adad-nirari I ?)	C (Building D/Šalmaneser?)	IIIa3 (IIIjünger 2b)	
Old Assyrian - Middle Assyrian	D (+ Floor A)	ca. 1365-1328	Middle Assyrian	Renovation	Mittrani/Middle Assyrian	B (Building D/Šalmaneser?)	IIIa2 (IIIjünger 2a)	
		ca. 1305 - 1240		Renovation	Middle Assyrian (around time of Tukulti-Ninurta I ?)	A (Building D/Šalmaneser?)	IIIa1 (IIIjünger 1)	

Table 5.3 – COLLATED EVIDENCE OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF CONSTRUCTION LEVELS IN THE IŠTAR TEMPLE AREA UP TO TUKULTI-NINURTA I'S REIGN. THE DATA FROM THE "DEEP SOUNDING" CORRESPOND TO THE TRENCH OPENED BY R. DITTMANN IN 1988-1989 TO ESTABLISH A MORE ACCURATE SEQUENCE OF ASSYRIAN CERAMICS.

rooms at the southern end. No door is reconstructed directly from the courtyard. Instead, it seems that access to the cella was through a small distribution hall in the southeast corner of the courtyard. Low bench-like protrusions about 0.40 m in height and plastered over were added to the walls around the cella (Bär 2003b: 47) and the adjacent rooms (Bär 2003b: 48). These are the same benches on which Andrae placed the votive statues found around the temple area in a museum-like display (Evans 2012: 81f.; see also Section §7.2.1 and Figures 7.5 and 7.6). Both plaster and gravel floors are described around the cella and adjacent rooms, although the remains are inconsistent (Bär 2003b: 43). No installations on the floor of the cella are described.

The so-called *Adyton* was an extension to the cella at the north end of the room separated by pillars on each side. A mudbrick podium was built against the back of the wall, which presented several construction phases with subsequent modifications that cannot be fully reconstructed today (Figure B.8). Given the description of a “whitish floor” at the bottom of a rectangular space (1.30 m long x 0.90 m high) behind a mudbrick wall, which was subsequently filled with loose mud bricks and plastered over, it is possible that the podium was conceived of after the initial construction of the building, or that it was hollow at first. There may have been an earlier structure, although there exists no photographic evidence of this area of the excavation (Bär 2003b: 48). Directly before the mudbrick wall, inserted in the floor and evenly spaced were five oval-shaped clay pots (Parrot’s *barcasses*) with rounded bottoms (Figure B.6). The installation clearly bears similarities with those found at Mari and discussed in Chapter 4.⁸ The *barcasses* are the only pottery finds found *in situ*, and Beuger compares them with finds dated to between ED IIIa and the Akkadian transition period from Abu Salabikh and Nippur. However, those do not have a rounded bottom. From the only existing drawings, it seems to me, however, that these bowls share more shape and dimensional similarities with those found in L15 (the courtyard) of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari, as well as being functionally closer (Beuger 2007: 142 and pl. 67.1; Parrot 1956: 61 and fig. 9; 59 and fig. 41.5). The podium could be accessed through a series of steps located in the southwest corner of the *Adyton* (Figure B.6). Replastering of the surface is not recorded and the podium of Temple G seems to have been laid directly on top of the old one (Figure B.8).

Since the temple was cleaned and seemingly ritually demolished, few artefacts were found *in situ*, which has significantly hindered its dating. All the objects assigned to this level are collected in Table B.1. A set of important finds from Temple H were a few scattered fragments of gypsum plaques decorated with geometric designs in black and red (Bär 2003b: VR 1 = Assur 22093 / VAAss 3464 and VR 2 = Ass S 22668), as well as the famous representation of a naked female figure (Bär 2003b: VR 3 = Ass S 23206 / BM 118996), identified by Andrae as the image of the goddess (Figure 5.1). This assumption has been abandoned as naked figurines are very common across all periods, and there is no evidence to suggest the identification of the goddess with this particular image (Evans 2012: 81f.; Bär 2003b: 99). Bär dismisses Moortgat’s stylistic comparison with either the polychromatic pottery of Jemdet Nasr date or the subsequent early ED scarlet ware (Moortgat 1945: 89f.), arguing that the geometric design and colour scheme are not enough to establish a substantial comparative basis with a piece that has no parallel (Bär 2003b: 163–164).

⁸Perhaps closer architecturally to the podium at the north end of Room 5 (the cella) in the Bašūrat temple (Parrot 1967: 20), although the configuration in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple with the courtyard (L15) as functionally equivalent to an antecella (*lieu saint*) and L17 as the *Adyton* or *lieu très saint* offers a better, albeit more elaborate, overall comparison, in my opinion (Parrot 1956: 15, 20).

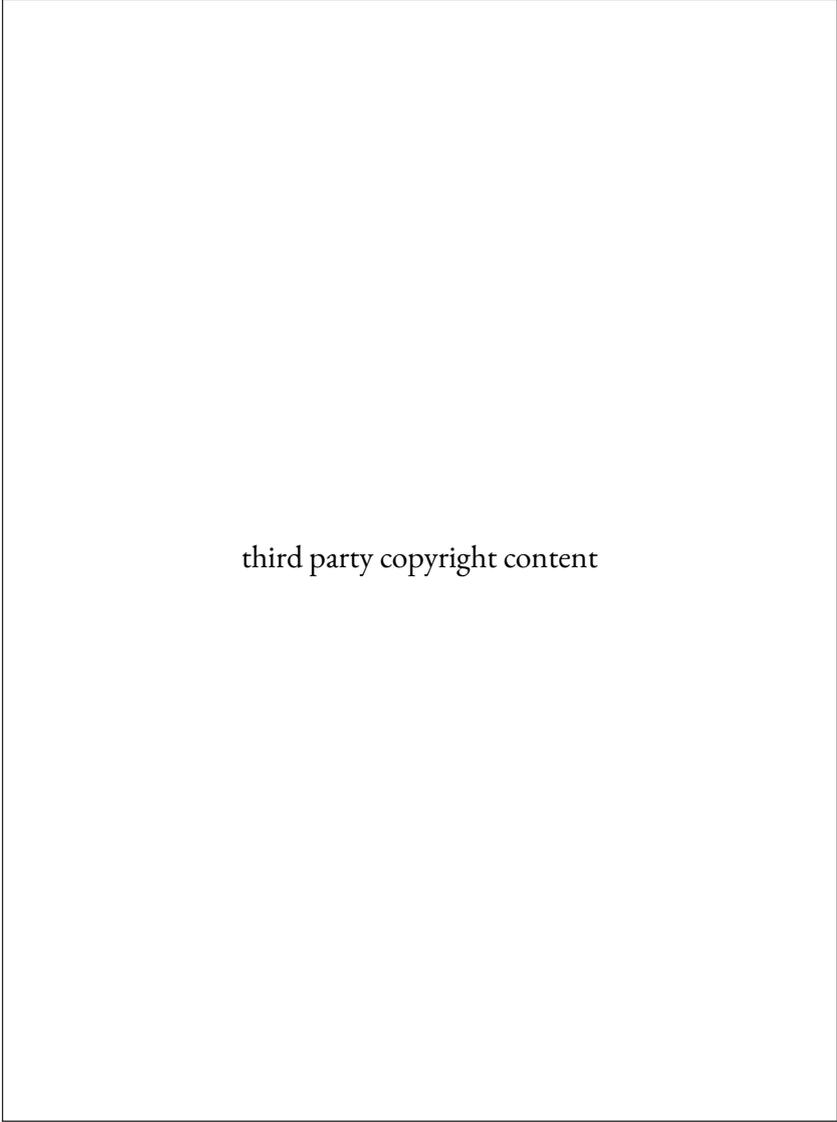
Temple H did not yield enough diagnostic pottery for analysis, with sketches in the field journals the only available evidence for some of the finds (Beuger 2013: 54). Bär notes that the ceramics from phases H and G are indistinguishable. Beuger employed the sequence from a deep sounding carried out by Dittmann near the Ištar Temple area in 1988-1989 to supplement the scarce evidence from phases H and E (Beuger 2013: 54). According to Beuger, the most distinctive finds from Temple H were a few fragments of almost bowl-like vessels with combed decoration in waves and concentric notched ridges (Beuger 2007: 216, Ass 22623 a–c). This decorative style is also found in one of the clay stands (Bär 2003b: GS 37 = Ass 22714) and a well-preserved fenestrated large cylindrical pot (Ass 22665 / VA Ass 8271; Figure 5.2). In contrast with the styles found in the deep sounding, this style seems to be in high demand in the context of the temple, sometimes incorporating decorative elements in the shape of snakes (Beuger 2013: 56). It continues in use in the subsequent strata and thus may not be especially distinctive when discussing short periods of time (Figure 5.3). Sconzo and Bianchi (2014) frame the decorative style within the ED IIIb/Early Akkadian period and locate its origin in the Jazirah and Tigridean regions. In my opinion, the overall assemblage in Temple H appears closer to the assemblages dated to the ED IIIa in the Diyala in composition, if not in style completely (Bär 2003b: 207).⁹

5.3.2 CONSTRUCTION PHASE G

The plan of the next construction phase and associated levels remains obscured by Andrae's reticence to dismantle the walls of the later Temple E, as well as his belief that the newly discovered older architectural structures must follow the same layout as the later temple (Bär 2003b: 49). There exists no separate plan of this phase, although it was later acknowledged that it largely followed the floor plan of the older temple, if it introduced more substantial walls around the core of the temple (Figures B.4 and B.7). Two levels were detected based on changes in the internal structures. At some point, the temple succumbed to a great fire that also affected neighbouring areas. Whether it was accidental or the result of conflict cannot be established with certainty (Bär 2003b: 49). As a result, the burnt remains of the temple, the installations and the artefacts that were in use when the fire destroyed the building were left in place and a new floor was laid on top of the packed rubble and collapsed roofs (Bär 2003b: 49).

The structure was built with the same locally sourced mud bricks and yellow clay mortar, and the walls were also covered with greenish clay plaster. The same materials were used elsewhere in the city and below the Old Palace (Bär 2003b: 49). Stone was only used in doorways, and a pebble floor is described in the main courtyard. The layout followed Temple H, with a main courtyard (10 x 10 m) off of which different separate areas of the temple could be accessed (Figure B.4). The new construction introduced a monumental gate with a long corridor leading directly into the main courtyard. A secondary courtyard lay north of the main one and was accessed through a narrow passage off it. A side entrance leading into this

⁹Bär gives the old dating of Diyala material in the ED I–II period. However, many of the artefacts from the Diyala excavations previously dated in the ED I–II period have now been dated in the ED IIIa period. The new dating has been carried out by the Diyala Project and is available on their online database (DiyArDa). The EDIIIa dating given by the Diyala Project Team is based on Porada et al.'s (1992) reassessment of the chronology for the Early Dynastic but remains open to discussion. The material from the Diyala shall be further discussed as part of the third case study in Chapter 6.



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Figure 5.1 – PHOTOGRAPH AND DRAWING OF THE RELIEF FROM TEMPLE H FEATURING A NAKED FEMALE FIGURE WITH EXAGGERATED FACIAL FEATURES AND DECORATION IN GEOMETRIC STYLE. DIMENSIONS: H= CA. 20.0 CM; D=1.3 CM; NOT TO SCALE (BÄR 2003B: VR 3: ASSUR S 23106 / BM 118996, PL. 62).



Figure 5.2 – DRAWING OF FENESTRATED CERAMIC VESSEL FROM TEMPLE H WITH RIDGED AND COMBED DECORATION. DIMENSIONS: $\varnothing=22.5$ CM; NOT TO SCALE (BEUGER 2013: ASSUR 22665 / VA 8271, PL. 40.2).

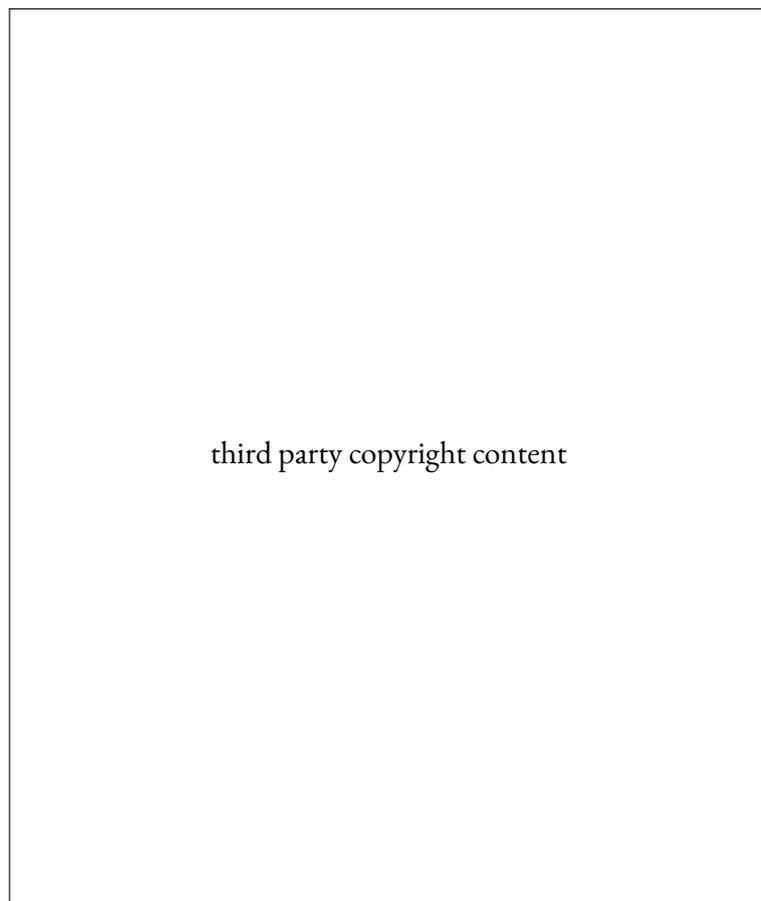


Figure 5.3 – STAND WITH NOTCHED RIDGES AND COMBED DECORATION. GS 19: ASSUR 22030B / VAASS 4199 . DIMENSIONS: H=49.1 CM; \varnothing 1=10.5 CM; \varnothing 2=14.3 CM; D=1.0–1.2 CM; NOT TO SCALE (BÄR 2003B: GS 19: ASSUR 22030B /VAASS 4199, PL. 75).

courtyard lay in the northeast edge of the temple, and was probably for everyday use (Bär 2003b: 52). The floor level in the cella appears slightly higher than in the courtyard, approximately half a metre difference (Bär 2003b: 47).

The cella followed the exact layout of Temple H, although the walls increased significantly in thickness, now ranging between 1.05 m and 2.05 m in width. Bär suggests this structural reinforcement marks a complete refoundation of the temple that focusses on the physical isolation of the innermost space in the temple, a well-known feature in temple construction in Mesopotamia (Bär 2003b: 55). However, it seems at least some of the brickwork was part of a later renovation, as well as the use of stone in some of the doorways and as flooring in the courtyard (Figure B.9). Despite these substantial changes, Bär points out that the pottery from phases H and G is indistinguishable, and concludes that many of the cultic objects from Temple H must have been retained and reused in Temple G (Bär 2003b: 316).

The distribution hall leading into the cella seems to disappear with the new building and the cella is now accessed directly from the courtyard. Inside, the space is arranged as in Temple H, with the *Adyton* and adjacent rooms maintained. The bench-like wall footings are also preserved. However, the foundation works of Temple E affected this area greatly and no information can be gleaned from the excavation records (Bär 2003b: 59). The floor space of the cella seems to be organized according to different activities, with a “wet” area such as the basin in the middle of the room, or an installation consisting of three large unhewn stones placed in a circle with a ceramic pot in the middle (Bär 2003b: 57), as well as specific installations such as the “temple models” in the northeastern corner of the room, or the “y-shaped” structure placed before the “Adyton.” Fragments of a clay pot were recovered near a wall protrusion on the south wall, together with fragments of small naked female figurines, perhaps marking another distinctive area (Bär 2003b: 58).

The area of the *Adyton* also shows evidence of a later renovation. During level G₁, the system of *barcasses* was replaced by a long gypsum stone loosely placed over the new clay floor in the pillared space separating the cella and the *Adyton*.¹⁰ Bär’s suggestion that this was a temporary solution does not, in my opinion, agree with its preservation within the temple structure, and it simply should be seen as part of the ever-changing nature of the cultic activity taking place in the temple. After a period of time, the stone was covered up by a new mudbrick installation laid on top and thus marking level G₂ (Figure B.7). In this level, the podium retained its shape, though increasing both in height and extension. The space east of the podium was now almost inaccessible due to the podium’s new size. The remains of a reed mat were discovered in this space, of a type similar to those found in the Diyala temples, as well as in secular contexts (Bär 2003b: 59).

The majority of stratified artefacts from the excavation come from this level, which was destroyed in a conflagration. Therefore, this allows for a detailed analysis of the spatial and functional distribution of the artefacts recovered. Functionally, Bär divides the objects into three categories (Bär 2003b: 2):

¹⁰Compare this installation with the gypsum stone installed against the podium in the cella (L17) of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari at the level of stone footings (Level *ax*) dated to the Early Dynastic–Akkadian transition, as well as the podium installation in Tell Asmar’s Single Shrine Level A, previously dated to the Early Dynastic IIIa (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942) but now dated to the Early Akkadian period (Gibson 1982).

- Votive objects offered to the goddess by worshippers.
- Cultic and liturgical objects necessary for the exercise of ritual acts during the service.
- Everyday objects which were part of the temple's inventory to operate.

Beyond the functional division, it is worth noting the spatial distribution of these artefacts within the temple as discussed above, including the high ratio of statuary found in the courtyard (Figure B.7; these will be studied in further detail in §7.2.1). Within the temple, only a few statuettes were found near the innermost space of the temple, while the installation against the south wall of the cella seems to have been associated with naked female figurines (Bär 2003b: 58). Many fragments of statuettes were found scattered throughout the southeast corner of the main courtyard, radiating from the entrance to the cella. Regarding motifs, it should be noted that lions do not appear as often, and that snakes seem to be more popular, with both clay models and vessels decorated with them. However, relief snake decoration is generally characteristic of the Akkadian and Late Akkadian period (Quenet 2014).

5.3.3 CONSTRUCTION PHASE F

Bär's level GF substitutes Andrae's Temple F. Andrae did not recognise a consistent construction level after the destruction of Temple G by fire. This led him to suggest an external colonization from Asia Minor. Contemporary research into the Sumerian King List and tenuous correlations between archaeological and historical periods led him to link Temple F with the Gutian invasion. Moortgat later refuted this suggestion and argued that, based on the introduction of stone foundations from this level onwards, an influx of people of Hurrian origin must have taken place (Moortgat 1982 in Bär 2003c). Nowadays, it is generally accepted that visual representation of people is a matter neither of race nor of portraiture (Evans 2012). Bär has demonstrated that there was no interruption in the use of the temple resulting from foreign settlement, but that the structural foundations of Temple G, which had survived the fire by virtue of being sturdier than the surrounding buildings, were reused and only repairs were carried out in order to make the temple fit for use once again (Bär 2003b: 149). Therefore, it constitutes a renovation level (GF), rather than a complete construction phase as originally established.

The excavation of level GF presents the same stratigraphic issues as Temple G, mainly: *a)* that there exists no separate floor plan of this level; *b)* that most structures associated with this level were heavily damaged by later building activity, especially by the huge foundation blocks of temples E and D; and *c)* that the excavators explored only small areas and selected locations inside the buildings (Bär 2003c: 148).

Little can be said with confidence about this level beyond the existence of reinforced walls around the cella (Figure B.9). The walls were built of mud brick with packed earth floors, thus continuing with the same local tradition. With regard to the use of stone, this was limited to thresholds and door sockets (Bär 2003c: 158). As Bär comments, these are not comparable with the stone footings from Tell Taya (Bär 2003c: 158, n. 98), or even to the amount of stone used in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari.

The extensive foundation works of the subsequent Temple E greatly damaged the rooms built behind the cella during this period, but the inventory suggests a domestic use (Bär 2003c: 149). These works also obliterated any remains of the floor inside the temple, and only a strip of earthen floor between the walls of Temple D and E remained (Figure B.9). Outside the temple proper, remains of new installations in the courtyards and surrounding rooms attest to the renewed and innovative installations despite the preserved architectural layout of the temple complex. The southwest area of the main courtyard remained the domestic wing, where objects such as ovens, pestles and cooking pottery were found. To the west of these rooms, a terracotta basin (1.00 x 1.23 m) with a drain where liquids must have been handled was installed that was used only in sub-level GF1 and subsequently covered over (Bär 2003b: 63). Another two drains belonging to different sub-levels of GF surfaced in the secondary courtyard (Figure B.4), starting below the passage between the two courtyards. The drain on the later sub-level GF2 consisted first of three stacked clay vessel stands with the rest of the drain made of stone (Bär 2003b: 64). Although apparently more modest in size (no photographic evidence exists), these drains are reminiscent of the stone drains from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari (see Section §4.4). Whether these drains were built to wash off rain water from an open air courtyard or they were connected with cultic activity is difficult to establish, as it is not yet clear whether the courtyard was roofed or not.¹¹

The collection of artefacts associated with this level (Bär 2003c: 152f.) do not differ from those found in phase G, which hinders the distinction between historical periods that may not carry drastic changes in material culture or traditions. While Bär dates level GF to the ED III–Akkadian transition, Schmitt pushes it into the Old Akkadian period, and Beuger suggests a Late Akkadian–Ur III date based on pottery analysis (Table 5.3). Thus, the exact chronological context of level GF remains unclear.

5.3.4 CONSTRUCTION PHASE E

The construction of Temple E marks a significant shift. The layout of the cella is roughly maintained, perhaps suggesting the new construction has the aim of replacing the older Temple G/GF; however, evidence of some intermediate remains are difficult to explain (Bär 2003b: 65). The walls of the cella shift (Figure B.4) and their overall thickness and symmetry is carefully observed. Fired bricks are used from this level onwards. Rooms are larger in size and the number of adjoining rooms increases. An imposing stepped entrance separated the cella from the forecourt. The rounded edges of the bottom steps are reminiscent of other constructions from the Ur III period, including perhaps the chapel of Ištar built in the palace in Mari (see Section §7.1.5 and Figure 7.1). A later renovation of this temple saw the stepped entrance become nearly obsolete due to the increased floor level in the forecourt. With this construction phase, the temple seems to have been detached from the surrounding network of rooms and the number of forecourts

¹¹The same problem exists in Mari (Margueron 2007a; 2014a). As Liverani pointed out, “one of the recurrent problems for the German school (from the time of Heinrich) is the identification of the central space, both in the ordinary dwelling houses and in the great public buildings, as a covered room or as a courtyard – a doubt which is born from the habit of working more from ground plans (which is inevitable for the building excavated in times by now distant) than in the concrete reality of the excavation’s workplace” (Liverani 2016: 280).

reduced to one, thus marking a further change in the structuring of space. Unfortunately, the temple was dismantled and only the foundations remain. Furthermore, no floors were recovered, and very few artefacts were found associated with this construction (Bär 2003b: 65).

The temple seems to have been built around a period contemporary with the Third Dynasty of Ur and was probably in use throughout the Old Assyrian period (Table 5.3), during which contact with Mari is documented by a seal impression of Isi-Dagān, a *Šakkanakku* (Bär 2003b: 317, seal S 6). No inscriptions were found associated with this structure. Eventually, it seems to have been consciously dismantled and materials reused in the construction of the subsequent Temple D, which is the largest temple ever built in this area (Bär 2003b: 317).

5.4 THE ROLE OF EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SITE

Andrae's reconstruction of Temple H–E remains as a long-lived temple consecrated to the goddess Ištar was based on two main assumptions: *a*) that the typology of the temple—his *Herdhaus mit vorgelegte Hof*—was intrinsically linked with the cult of the goddess, and *b*) the need to reconcile the archaeological and historical evidence to fit the premise of continuity of cult (Bär 2003b: 12). Given that the existence of a temple dedicated to the goddess was known from an inscription before the excavation began, Andrae approached the excavation process with a preconceived idea that led him to somewhat force some of the evidence to conform to this notion. Table 5.1 summarises Andrae's chronological sequence including the association of construction phases with specific inscriptions found at the site. Table B.2 collates all the epigraphic material discussed below in connection with the Ištar temple in Aššur chronologically.

Several inscriptions found at the site over the course of the excavation were interpreted to be associated with Ištar regardless of their archaeological context. When found in secondary contexts, inscriptions that mention unknown or otherwise vaguely-named goddesses were assumed to be related to the cult of Ištar and to have originated from her temple, even after the latter was finally excavated. However, it is often the case that many more deities are mentioned in the textual sources, for example in the *Götteradressebuch*, than can be traced in the archaeological record. This fact led Bär to conclude that several manifestations of the goddess must have been worshipped in smaller shrines or chapels across the cultic district or the entire city (Bär 2003b: 13). Although this is clearer in the later periods, the evidence from before such written compendia existed is more difficult to assess.

Of particular importance are the findings from Room 6 of Tukulti-Ninurta I's building (Schmitt 2012: pl. 3). This room was part of the original construction and seems to have played an important role in the cultic activity of the temple (Schmitt 2012: 44f.). Although of later date, three inscribed stone objects dating to the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia B.C. were found in this room, seemingly used as paving material. Two door plaques—a typical Early Dynastic votive object—were found inserted in the pavement with the inscriptions facing down (Schmitt 2012: 45). One of them bears a dedication to Ištar (written ^dMUŠ₃) by an 'overseer/ruler' (PA = ugula = *waklum*) named Ititi (Ass 20377; Figure B.10) while the second one bears an inscription by a 'governor' (kiš.nita₂ = *šakkanakkum*) of Aššur named Zarriqum (Ass

21982; Figure B.11) that describes the construction of a temple or shrine dedicated to *Bēlat-ekallim* ‘Lady of the Palace’ (written ^dnin-e₂.gal). A broken stone object described as a door lock bore an inscription of Ilu-šumma (Ass 19977), an ensi₂ of the city who is otherwise known for supposedly liberating northern Mesopotamia from southern control. A further inscription on a copper spearhead with a dedication to a *Be’al-SI.SI* (‘Lord...’ – translation unclear) by Azuzu (Ass 21340), who describes himself as servant of Maništušu, was found near the southeast corner of Temple D.

It is unclear how exactly these inscriptions fit within the archaeological or historical context of the area. Grayson states that the inscriptions found in Aššur “*show that it was in vassalage to southern conquerors, the kings of Akkad and the third dynasty of Ur*” (Grayson et al. 1987: 3) but the evidence is not conclusive. Ititi seems to have lived sometime around the reign of the Akkadian king Rīmuš, if one is to admit the proposed palaeographic similarities (Grayson et al. 1987: 7).¹² However, palaeography of lapidary inscriptions is generally a very poor tool for chronology. This individual is otherwise not found in any other documents¹³ and the nature of the relationship between Akkad and the city is not completely clear (Michalowski 1993a: 82). Ititi is described as an *ugula* ‘overseer’ here probably in the sense of ‘ruler’ since it is a title attested in the Old Assyrian period when it was used mainly by the ruler of Aššur when communicating with his subjects, especially in letters (Veenhof 2017: 71). The conflict with Gasur appears strange at this time, when, if anything, both cities would have been under the rule of the kings of Akkad, and such a conflict does not appear in any of the detailed accounts of Rīmuš’s campaigns (Westenholz 1999: 41f.). A thick deposit filled with objects but devoid of architectural features found above the Akkadian levels in Gasur has been interpreted both as proof of continuous occupation and as evidence of abandonment, with the latter hypothesis supported by the only inscription mentioning this event, that of Ititi (Stein 1998–2000: 642). However, this seems at odds with a date for the destruction of Gasur within Rīmuš’s reign and, if anything, Westenholz suggests this event may have taken place within the context of the dissolution of the Akkadian Empire (Westenholz 1999: 50, n. 171). Finally, the style of writing and the fact that the inscription is found on a door plaque typical of the Early Dynastic period also seems at odds, as if perhaps the inscription, or at least part of it were added at a later date (Figure B.10). Lines seven to nine (*a-na* ^dMUŠ₃, a mu-ru ‘to/for Aštar, (he) dedicated (this)’)) form a typical dedication from the latter part of the Early Dynastic period with the writing spaced across the cases. However, the combination of an Akkadian preposition (*a-na*) and a Sumerian verb (*a ru*) is typical of the Old Akkadian period. By contrast, lines one to six appear to have been composed in an entirely different style. Braun-Holzinger described both this and Zarriqum’s inscriptions as Neo-Sumerian (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 304). Thus, this inscription likely dates to the late 3rd millennium B.C. and was probably done on an “antique” or copy.

Such an interpretation agrees with Michalowski’s (2009) analysis of the context of the inscriptions by Azuzu and Zarriqum. He questions the assumption that Aššur was under the control of the Ur III state and proposes that, despite Zarriqum’s mention of Amar-Šuen in his inscription, this did not mean

¹²Braun-Holzinger erroneously provides the context of this artefact as Temple G, although she dates it within the Neo-Sumerian period (Braun-Holzinger 1991: 317, W 32).

¹³An individual by the name of Ititi appears in some administrative texts from Gasur. However, this was someone from Ḥamazi who was not part of the elite (Foster 1987). It would be strange to find a dedication from this individual in Aššur. As to the name *innin-laba*, it is attested in a few texts dated to the Old Akkadian period, including one from Gasur (Meek 1935: 211, IM 050681). These do not say much about the identity of Ititi or when exactly he lived.

subordination, but rather a form of respect towards the more powerful rulers in the south (Michalowski 2009: 155). He concludes that both Zarriquim's and Azuzu's inscriptions (and here I would include Ititi's, too) were probably "*designed for a construction that was at another location in the city, or even perhaps elsewhere*" (Michalowski 2009: 154). Thus, the inscriptions found in the pavement of Room 6 of this temple are probably better understood as foundation deposits for the new construction set up in this location and whose location, orientation and layout shifted significantly from previous structures.

Finally, Ilu-šumma's inscription is a shortened, adapted version of a well-known text of his, which is highly political in nature. As Larsen suggested, from an economic point of view, Ilu-šumma's rhetoric may have had the intention of luring traders from the south with tax privileges and other privileges within the larger context of private trading in the city (Larsen 1976: 78). Larsen also supports the view that Aššur's highest authority during this period was an assembly, not the appointed governor, and that the latter was unlikely to have been in effective control of the commerce of his city. Ilu-šumma's patronage of the cult of Ištar may have had more to do with his economic policy for the city than with a sense of tradition given the idiosyncratic nature of the various other inscriptions found. Finally, it should be noted that in later inscriptions only Ilu-šumma is mentioned as the builder of the temple of Ištar, who is usually referred to as Ištar-aššuritu in later periods. Noting that in the 3rd millennium B.C. Ištar of Nineveh was known as Šauša, of Hurrian origin although it may be written ^dMUŠ₃ (Beckman 1998: 1), it is not inconceivable that a similar situation was in place at Aššur, eventually leading to the triad formed by Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela and Ištar of Aššur, which required a geographical distinction between them (Lambert 2004: 35). However, Lambert asks whether these were conceived as separate goddesses or three geographical manifestations of a single deity, concluding that the former is more likely (Lambert 2004: 35). Of course, the evidence Lambert discusses is drawn largely from the 1st millennium B.C., but it seems logically difficult to envision a single deity for the earlier periods given this information.

Overall, the evidence for the identification of a temple dedicated to the goddess Ištar (or rather Aštar) in Aššur during the 3rd millennium B.C. is controversial. There are no extant inscriptions from the Early Dynastic or Akkadian periods, with the exception of the dedication to Ištar-anunitu that was found elsewhere on the site. This suggests either that worship of this deity within the context of the hegemony of the Akkadian rulers took place in a different shrine, perhaps within the Old Palace,¹⁴ or it could also be a relic brought to Aššur at a later date. Although Early Dynastic statuary were uncovered in the ED–Akkadian levels, pointing towards elite patronage of the temple, none of them were inscribed.

The inscriptions found embedded in the structural remains of the temple attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta I do not support a hypothesis for the continued cult of the goddess throughout all the previous construction phases. Instead, I suggest that the assemblage observed in this room, which was eventually decommissioned and sealed off (Schmitt 2012: 4of., table 4), reflects practices associated with the lifecycle of the temple, especially with foundation and renovation, and that they may be strongly associated with contemporary political discourse. As I will discuss in the next section, this suggestion is not at odds with the cultic evidence found in temples H–E. Rather, it helps unpack the context in which the idea of InannaAštar came to be through an agglutinative process framed within a dynamic economic and political environment.

¹⁴Compare this suggestion with the shrine in the palace (Po) in Mari, described in reference to earlier Section §4.2.8.

5.5 DISCUSSION

Andrae's publications on the Aššur excavations reflect deeply ingrained ideas about the urban architecture and the sociopolitical organisation of the city, which themselves mirrored contemporary research. His ideas influenced the selection of material and the stylised plans and drawings that were eventually published. Likewise, Andrae's ideas about the early levels of the "Archaic Ištar Temple" influenced the excavation process and interpretation of the architecture and artefacts elsewhere, especially in Mari and the Diyala sites. Eventually, these excavations would form the basis for the chronological and stylistic sequence known as the Early Dynastic period.

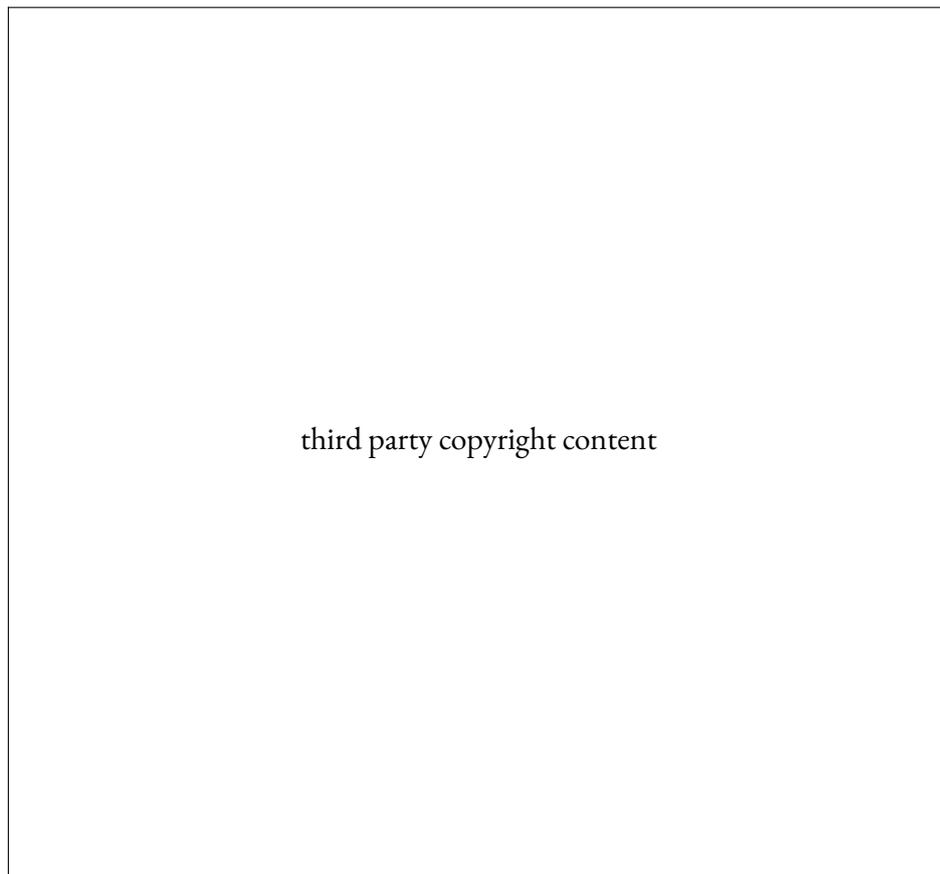


Figure 5.4 – CARVED STEATITE VASE IN HIGH RELIEF FOUND IN TEMPLE G/GF.
DIMENSIONS: H=8.0 CM; W=10.0 CM; Ø=7.6 CM; NOT TO SCALE (BÄR 2003B: GE 9:
ASSUR S 22408 / VA 7887, PL. 51 F (LEFT TOP) AND D (LEFT BOTTOM); PL. 52 B (RIGHT
TOP) AND D (RIGHT BOTTOM)).

Overall, the use of textual evidence to shape the interpretation of the archaeological remains presents serious limitations that have generally been glossed over or even misrepresented. Certainly, the scarcity of administrative texts from Aššur itself during the early periods leaves a question mark over the city's organisation and its religious life. What remains clear is an evident elite patronage and likely also community support of the temples over time, which is materialised through monumental architecture, including the use of stone, and luxury objects found within the various structures, some of which fall within wider regional trends. The overall feeling, however, is that of a local temple. The architectural style

does not seem to reflect southern influence given the lack of plano-convex structures, while the pottery was locally produced. By contrast, the functionality of pottery types such as the elongated stands and the presence of statuary—also locally produced—is clearly associated with cultic contexts cross-regionally. The presence of a relic from an earlier date in the 3rd millennium B.C., the carved stone vase depicting a contest scene (Figure 5.4), attests to the increased wealth and importance of the site in the second half of the 3rd millennium B.C., but it is not enough to support the hypothesis of an occupation in the first half of the millennium, as these objects were probably part of extended trading networks in luxury materials and objects and thus could remain in use for a long time.¹⁵ Despite the scarcity of artefacts in Temple H and the abundance of stratified artefacts from Temple G, there are two significant diagnostic objects of elite contexts missing from the assemblage. Neither carved steatite vessels of the intercultural style nor shell inlays depicting banqueting or warfare-related scenes were found in the early levels. Both of these objects have been found in temple and palatial contexts, as well as in the royal cemetery of Ur, during the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods. They have been associated with elite trading networks in luxury items and the hierarchization of northern Mesopotamian societies reflected in the development of “feasting economies” ca. 2700–2400 B.C. (Ristvet 2017). Their strong link with political elites may suggest a lack of such a social hierarchy at Aššur, where perhaps a more horizontal political organisation based on the community prevailed during this period of time alongside the political developments taking place further south. This conclusion remains tentative as more archaeological investigation of 3rd millennium B.C. remains at the site is required.

The image that emerges from Aššur before the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. is too sketchy to allow for any firm conclusions. Both the timeline and context of its foundation remains difficult to establish. The strongest suggestion sees its origin linked with the consecration of its main landscape feature, as the site lies along an important trading route. There is no indication of any form of settlement or cultic activity before the mid-3rd millennium B.C., unless this was completely erased before the foundation of the main monumental structures on the site. Furthermore, the lack of evidence on private dwellings obscures understanding of the everyday livelihoods of the local residents. The earlier buildings in the area of the Ištar temple (temples H/G/GF) were not standalone temples, but firmly embedded in a network of rooms and courtyards of which we know little other than that craft production seems to have taken place in at least some of the rooms. While the construction of Temple E maintained several features of the earlier structures, it marked a significant change in the organization and use of space, at least from an architectural perspective since few objects were recovered. However, there seems to have been levels

¹⁵Bär has argued that this vessel, as well as those found in the Diyala and from the antiquities market, must be regarded as examples of archaizing art. According to him, “*Dies gilt auch für das skulptierte Gefäß aus Assur, das sämtliche stilistische Kriterien für einen späteren zeitlichen Ansatz erfüllt, die insbesondere bei den Löwenwiedergaben, mit den betonten Fersengelenken, dem deutlich von den Läufen abgesetzten Hinterkörper, einem schmalen Nasenrücken, den engstehenden Augen mit den voluminösen, nahezu halbkugeligen Drüsenpolstern, den Ohren, die als flache, henkelartige Wülste in transversaler Richtung zum Kopf ansetzen sowie den geritzten Linien, die quer über die Gliedmaßen gezogen sind, bestehen*” – “This also applies to the sculptured vessel from Assur, which fulfills all stylistic criteria for a later date range, especially in the rendering of the lions with heel joints emphasised, the animal’s hind clearly differentiated from the legs, a narrow bridge of the nose, protruding, almost hemispherical eyes, ears shaped like flat, handle-like protrusions from the top of the head, and the lines carved across the limbs’ (Bär 1999: 37–38). However, when compared with the evidence from the Diyala and elsewhere, this is more likely a relic from an earlier time, although perhaps as late as the ED IIIa period (see Section §7.2.2).

of abandonment both before and after its occupation, which are difficult to explain within a context of an uninterrupted cult of Ištar. Without further information on the archaeological context of this construction and its relationship with other evidence from Aššur during the late 3rd millennium B.C., it is difficult to connect it with contemporary political activity. Nevertheless, I would tentatively suggest that such a strategic new construction over a level of abandonment that displays some similarities with southern architecture could fit within Ilu-šumma's political campaign better than Andrae's previous suggestion that Temple D was built by this ruler (Bär 2003b: 17). In any case, the abandonment layer between Temple G/GF and Temple E (as well as subsequent ones) strongly points towards significant shifts in the patronage of the temple and perhaps the identity of the deity worshipped.

6

The Temple Oval in Tutub (Khafajah)

THE TEMPLE OVAL EXCAVATED BY THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO'S Diyala Expedition remains one of the most emblematic buildings from the Early Dynastic period that have so far been discovered. Although the deity to whom the temple was dedicated was never identified beyond doubt, the most significant find from this context, an inscribed macehead with a dedication to Inanna (or Aštar?) and two lions sculpted on the top, hinted towards the goddess. Together with the archaeological evidence of another oval temple dedicated Inanna in Lagaš (Hansen 1970) and the link with the concept “ibgal”—perhaps to be translated as ‘earth bank’ or ‘corner’—at Girsu and Umma (Krecher 1976–80), the Temple Oval at Khafajah offers an opportunity to explore further the implications of temple construction during the Early Dynastic period and the Akkadian transition. It also allows for the investigation of oval structures in the context of temple architecture development, their function and meaning, and their relationship with the goddess Inanna.

This case study offers a great opportunity to re-evaluate long-standing paradigms in the chronological sequence and historical interpretation of the Early Dynastic period as initially described by Julius Jordan through his work on plano-convex architecture at Uruk (Jordan 1931) and later investigated by the Diyala Expedition. In fact, the results from the Diyala excavations became the cornerstone for the definition and interpretation of the architecture, material culture, and history of the Early Dynastic period. Whilst other contexts including the Šamuš (= “Sin”) Temple in Tutub and the Abu Temple in Ešnunna have been the

subject of recent studies re-evaluating their chronology and historical context (e.g. [Evans 2007](#), [Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 11f.](#)), the Temple Oval remains understudied, largely due to its shallow stratigraphy. The enduring interpretive bias with regard to the context of the excavation of this temple, which was contemporaneous with those in Mari and Aššur, is reflected in the preface of the final report:

When the Temple Oval at Khafajah was discovered, the archaic Ishtar Temple at Assur represented all that was known about the appointments of an Early Dynastic shrine. Since that time the Sin Temple, the Nintu Temple, and two small sanctuaries at Khafajah, the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar, the Shara Temple at Tell 'Agrab, and the Ishtar Temple at Mari have been excavated. But the Khafajah Temple Oval still retains a unique position; it is there alone that we find reflected the function of the shrine not only as a centre of worship but also as a centre of social life.

([Delougaz 1940: ix](#))

The potential influences across these three excavations during the early 1930s, together with the issues identified in the stylistic dating of the statuary found in all three contexts requires further attention to clarify the chronological and political synergies between the three polities, as well as investigate the role that Inanna/Aštar seems to have enjoyed across all three and even across the entire region during the period leading to the Akkadian conquest. As suggested by Delougaz, the combination of a seemingly public sacred building and space with a private dwelling in the Temple Oval has been the source of much speculation around the relationship between religious and secular power, and the context in which it emerged. Therefore, the inclusion of this building in the context of this thesis is justified insofar as it augments the comparative power of the case studies chosen to draw conclusions at the regional scale.

In the proposed reanalysis of the Temple Oval's stratigraphy and associated material culture, the dating of the construction is revised to a later date, firmly in the ED IIIa period at least, if not later depending of the chronological sequence employed. This reassignment has implications for the interpretation of the context and chronology of Early Dynastic temple construction and political history, which I shall discuss in Chapter 7, Section §7.1.

The following sections discuss the material from the volumes published by the Oriental Institute (OIP series) and the archival material on the Diyala Project Database ([DiyArDa](#)). All the archival material from Khafajah reproduced in this thesis was obtained through the Diyala Project website¹ and are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License.² Each resource is labelled appropriately to ease its identification in the database and reference to its publication is given in the *Sources of Illustrations (Appendices)*. Due to the nature of the database, it is impossible to include a hyperlink to each resource. *Sources and limitations* (Section §6.5.1) gives a detailed description of the resources employed. Finally, to ease reading, all archival material is reproduced in Appendix C, *Archival Material and Illustrations from Khafajah*. Auxiliary illustrations that are not part of the archival material appear embedded in the text.

¹<http://diyalaproject.uchicago.edu>

²<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

6.1 CONTEXT AND HISTORY OF THE SITE

The site of Khafajah is located on the right bank of the Diyala river, northeast of Baghdad. The site was explored by two teams over a period of ten years. The first six seasons were conducted by the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute (1930–1937), with two further seasons under the patronage of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR). The director of the excavations was Pinhas Delougaz.

The main mound of the site (Mound A) is where the settlement dating to the first half of the 3rd millennium B.C. to the Akkadian period was uncovered (see Figure C.1), including a series of important public buildings (temples) as well as what was interpreted as an administrative centre built at the end of the Early Dynastic or the beginning of the Akkadian period (Figure 6.1). These finds led the excavators to conclude that the site must have been a urban centre of some prominence during this period. Mound A was only partially explored, but the evidence gathered included both public and domestic architecture spanning over a total of twelve building phases in the case of the domestic architecture (Houses 12–1); the individual sequences in the public buildings were subsequently “matched” to the Houses sequence. In the case of the main temple (Śamuš= “Sin”), the sequence spanned further in time as it was excavated in more detail.³ The earliest remains in this area seem to date back to the Jemdet Nasr period (Phases Śamuš I–II). A turning point in the architecture of the site appeared between the phases Houses 5 and Houses 6 (= Śamuš VIII), which marked a spatial reorganisation of the domestic architecture that emphasised the structuration of space around the public buildings. It is at this juncture that the Temple Oval is described as being built (Oval I), clearly intruding in what were previously domestic quarters, although the area may have included a previous, smaller public building that was completely destroyed with the construction of the Temple Oval. Other temples were enlarged and gained terrain from domestic areas. Meanwhile, the houses—at least those that were excavated—appear to increase in size and introduce courtyards (Delougaz et al. 1967). Whether this shift corresponds with a historical change remains open to discussion. Another important change in the spatial organisation of the site appeared with building phase Houses I (= Śamuš X and Oval II?), when the previously established layout of public buildings integrated—yet also segregated—from the surrounding domestic architecture underwent a radical change. First, the smaller temples (The Small Shrine (= “Nintu”), The Small Temple in O 43, and the Small Single Shrine in S 44) disappeared. Thus, only the Temple Oval and the Śamuš temple remained in use. Surrounding the former, a walled quarter was built which adjoined the Śamuš temple but which clearly separated the two. Once again, the historical context of this change remains open to discussion, as it seems to correspond with a relative date in the late Early Dynastic or Early Akkadian period.

The chronological correlations of these urban shifts, and their historical as well as symbolic meaning has been the topic of discussion since the publication of the first volume in the series, on the Temple Oval (Delougaz 1940). The fact that both domestic and public architecture were excavated within the same area of the settlement make Khafajah one of the primary case studies for the analysis of social hierarchies as expressed in the architecture of a settlement, a topic that has extensive literature in both archaeology and

³Table 6.4 shows the stratigraphic correlations between the various contexts in Khafajah, which will be further explored in relation to the dating of the Temple Oval in a subsequent section.

anthropology. Pollock's (1999) discussion of the changing urban landscape in Khafajah served to illustrate her analysis of the changing social and political landscape in Mesopotamia, arguing that an *oikos* economy was established in the Diyala during the ED II period and was superseded by more secular households in the Akkadian period (Pollock 1999: 123–137). Without entering the ongoing debate surrounding the conceptualisation of the ED II period, it is clear that the evidence from Khafajah was an important element in the application of theory to data. Since Pollock's seminal study, others have also looked to Khafajah as a key case study in the analysis of the relationship between urban architecture and the development of networks of secular and religious power. For example, Stone's (2013) work on the organisation of space in the 3rd millennium B.C. employed Khafajah as a prime example of the new social organisation of the Early Dynastic that was characterised by “*the institutional complexity of palace and temple and the dense urban fabric based on courtyard houses*” (Stone 2013: 161). The key conclusion of this shift in urban organisation is the appearance of true cities in which there was no room for domestic animals as in previous times. Stone argues that despite the monumentality of palaces and temples, the presence of an assembly integrated in the organisation of space into neighbourhoods and represented by kin-based groups may have been the most striking feature, and that the key to understanding social life in this period lies in the interaction between assembly, temple and palace (Stone 2013: 174). On-going research by Heinz (2013) focusses on the symbolic realm of spacial and urban integration of public buildings, highlighting the sets of contradictions embedded in the material solutions adopted to meet the representational demands of the elites. Using Khafajah as a case in point, Heinz argues that the fortified walls and gated entrances of new public buildings seem to segregate them from the local population, yet they are embedded in the existing urban fabric of the site and thus integrated to some extent. Heinz suggests that “[b]eing thus in and out at the same time created [...] the aura of a ‘visible but unknown’ sphere of the life of the elites, which in return potentially intensified the impact of the ‘hidden monumentality’ as a stabilising force” (Heinz 2013: 197).

The interrelations between urban landscape and social development have thus been highlighted in the literature concerning Khafajah. The Temple Oval in particular is the centre of much discussion on the relationships between temple and palace, as well as the economic and social dimensions of its internal organisation, as evidenced in Pollock's analysis. By contrast, reanalyses of the stratigraphic sequence and implications to the relative chronology of all Diyala sites has largely been driven by the sequences in other contexts of Khafajah and Tell Asmar; in particular, the Šamuš temple in the former and the Abu Temple in the latter (Evans 2007). Based on the reanalysis of these contexts, the other relationships are then shifted to match the the original relative connections established by the excavators. A recent reanalysis of the stratigraphy in Khafajah has been published by Margueron (2012, 2014c), in which he applies the same construction principles he employed at Mari to reconstruct the three main construction phases identified there (see Chapter 4). However, it is perhaps necessary to investigate further the interrelations between a reanalysis of the stratigraphic sequence in the Temple Oval and its association with material culture (including the suggestion that it was dedicated to Inanna/Aštar) in order to assess links between urban landscape, social stratification, and historical interpretation.

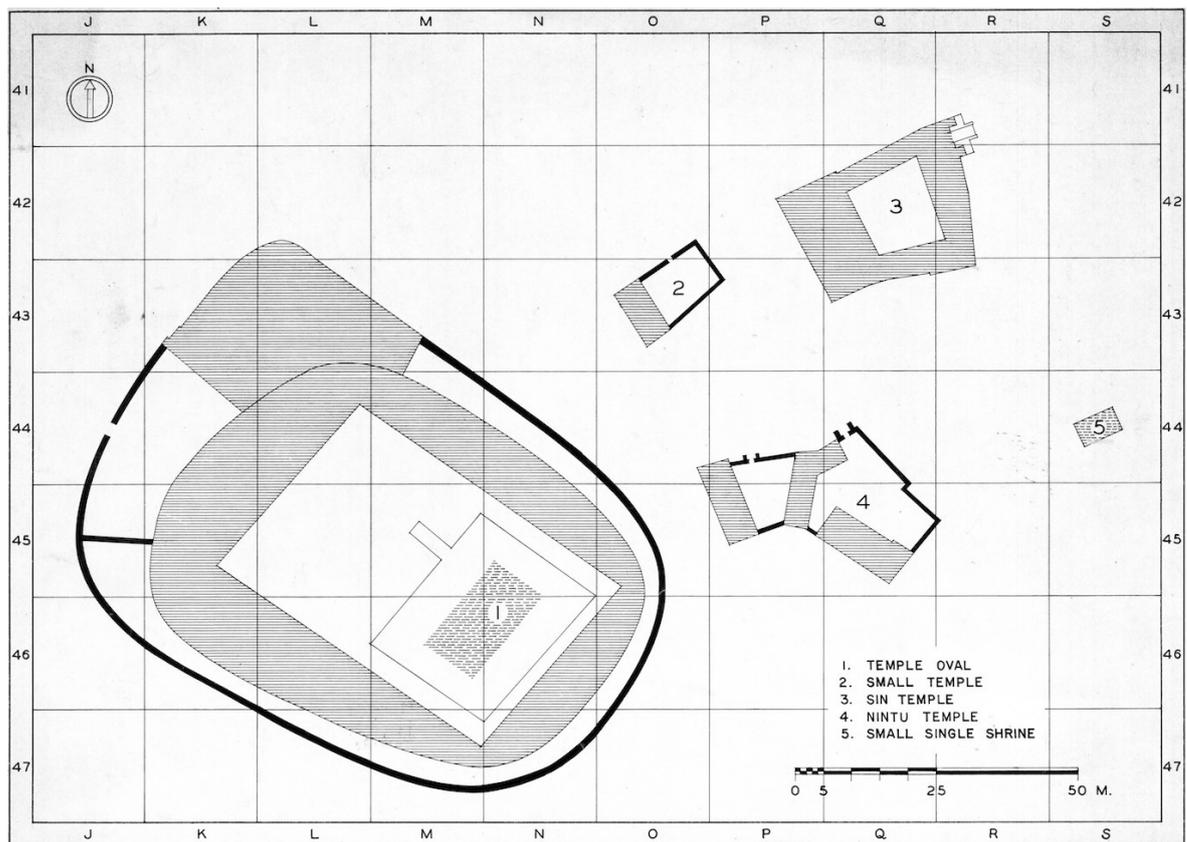


Figure 6.1 – SCHEMATIC PLAN OF THE LOCATION OF THE TEMPLES ON MOUND A, KHAFAJAH, DURING THE LATE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD. BETWEEN THE TEMPLE OVAL AND THE ŠAMUŠ TEMPLE (= “SIN”), THE SMALL TEMPLE WOULD HAVE BEEN EMBEDDED IN A NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HOUSES. THE SMALL SHRINE (= “NINTU”) LATER DISAPPEARED, DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALLED QUARTER DATED TO THE AKKADIAN PERIOD (SEE DELOUGAZ ET AL. 1967: PL. 49).
 (© 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT; PUBLISHED IN DELOUGAZ AND LLOYD 1942: FIG. 1)

6.2 RELIGIOUS URBANISM IN KHAFAJAH

As discussed in the previous section, the relationships between the domestic and public spheres in Khafajah have been the focus of research on the site and have influenced the ways in which social and political life during the Early Dynastic period is currently interpreted in the literature. The following subsections describe the main temples uncovered in Mound A of the site and the interrelations among them before moving on to examine the case of the Temple Oval in detail. The aim of this section is to provide some contextual material for the interpretation of the Temple Oval, which will then be discussed at the end of this chapter, as well as in the analysis of the results from the three case studies in Chapter 7.

6.2.1 THE ŠAMUŠ TEMPLE (= “SIN”)

The oldest temple so far uncovered in Khafajah was originally identified as dedicated to the moon god Šin on the basis of a votive inscription on the statue of a temple administrator of the god Šin of Akšâk

(Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 6–8). However, the reading was not clear. Marchesi identifies the god as Šamuš (d^dSAĜ.MUŠ = d^dsa₁₂-mùš) and connects the deity with d^dsa-mu-UŠ, who is attested in the Sargonic onomasticon of Tutub (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 226f.). The chronology of the Šamuš Temple is of particular importance when considering the context of the foundation and life span of the Temple Oval. The latter’s shallow stratigraphy has hindered its reanalysis in the past, meaning that while its relative stratigraphy has remained unchallenged, its chronological sequence has shifted with that of the Šamuš Temple instead of being the object of independent re-examination as will be undertaken in this study.

The building was explored down to a depth of around 9 metres, tracing a total of ten building periods which the excavators distinguished based largely on architectural principles mixed with the stylistic dating of the material culture associated with each phase. Table 6.4 collects evidence on the chronological sequence of this temple as analysed by several scholars. Clear structural changes only appear with Šamuš VI, when the shrine shifts slightly eastwards and is extended westwards. This change does not necessarily correlate with a new historical period, as originally established. The changes observed with Šamuš VIII are perhaps not as significant from an architectural perspective, but this phase marked the appearance of statuary typical of ED date, except for two earlier examples. In particular, statuary was found not in the shrine Q42:1, but in rooms Q42:7 and R42:2, and some in the courtyard Q42:3 where a podium was located (Figure 6.2). Rooms Q42:7 and R42:2 are the most significant additions to the temple plan, and Q42:7 appears to have a ‘benchlike’ structure along its walls in Šamuš IX. This corner of the building became another shrine in Šamuš X. Even with the aid of unpublished photographic evidence, it is not clear whether the distinction between Šamuš VIII and Šamuš IX constituted a complete rebuilding of the temple or only internal changes. Only one image illustrates the complete vertical stratigraphy in Q42:1 (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: fig. 108), and the top levels are too ruined to make any useful distinctions in the mudbrick matrix that would identify a new structure. The dating of this period has enjoyed certain debate. Delougaz assigned it to an early ED II date (Delougaz et al. 1967: table 3), which for Evans would stretch back into a late ED I (Evans 2007). Marchetti has also reanalysed the statuary from the temple, retaining the ED II nomenclature to distinguish stylistic differences across the corpus (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 21f.; table 1). The issue of the relative chronology and stratigraphic relationships between the various contexts across the site will be further investigated in Section §6.5.4.

6.2.2 THE SMALL SHRINE (= “NINTU”)

Located south of the Šamuš temple, the excavation of this temple was not completed and its stratigraphy appears unclear as a result (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 79f.). The upper levels appeared trumped by the later construction of the walled area between the Temple Oval and the Šamuš temple probably dated to the Akkadian period according to Gibson and McMahon’s reanalysis (Gibson 1982; Gibson and McMahon 1995). The first remains of the temple were found during the third season of excavation (1932/33) in what was subsequently labelled locus Q45:4, but which was initially thought of as a sculptor’s workshop. The extension of the temple was later assessed towards the end of the excavations in 1937 by the University Museum of Philadelphia’s team, when it was realised that it was no ordinary building. However, only the cellas were investigated beyond the more recent remains of levels VII and VI, with earlier levels I–IV



Figure 6.2 – PLANS OF ŠAMUŠ VIII (TOP) AND ŠAMUŠ IX (BOTTOM) (DELOUGAZ AND LLOYD 1942: PL. IO AND II).

described as dating to ED I. The published plan (Figure 6.3) appears to reflect level VI, which was originally dated to ED IIIa. However, this is not completely clear as no field plan exists and the stratigraphic relationships were not examined in detail. Be that as it may, the excavators report that the temple appeared to have two adjoining complexes that were built a different times. The eastern complex in Square Q was described as the older one, to which a second complex with two cellas was later added (Square P). *Marchesi and Marchetti* (2011: 28–34) have reanalysed the stratigraphic relationships between this temple and Šamuš, concluding that level VI consisted of cella P45:52 (below Houses 2) and corresponding levels in the area of cella Q45:4 and courtyard Q45:12/7, while cella P45:51 was added with the subsequent level VII, which would correspond with Houses 1 and Šamuš X.

This temple was identified with the goddess Nintu on the basis of an inscribed bas-relief, which *Marchesi and Marchetti* (2011: 225–226) have since reinterpreted in a different light. As Marchesi argues, the divine name is part of the donor’s name, not the recipient of the dedication. Arguably, their interpretation leaves the inscription with no identifiable recipient, which appears at odds with other examples from a similar date. As shall be explored in Chapter 7, this temple presents an unusually strong male presence in the statuary, suggesting that it may have been connected with a male sphere of ritual activity.

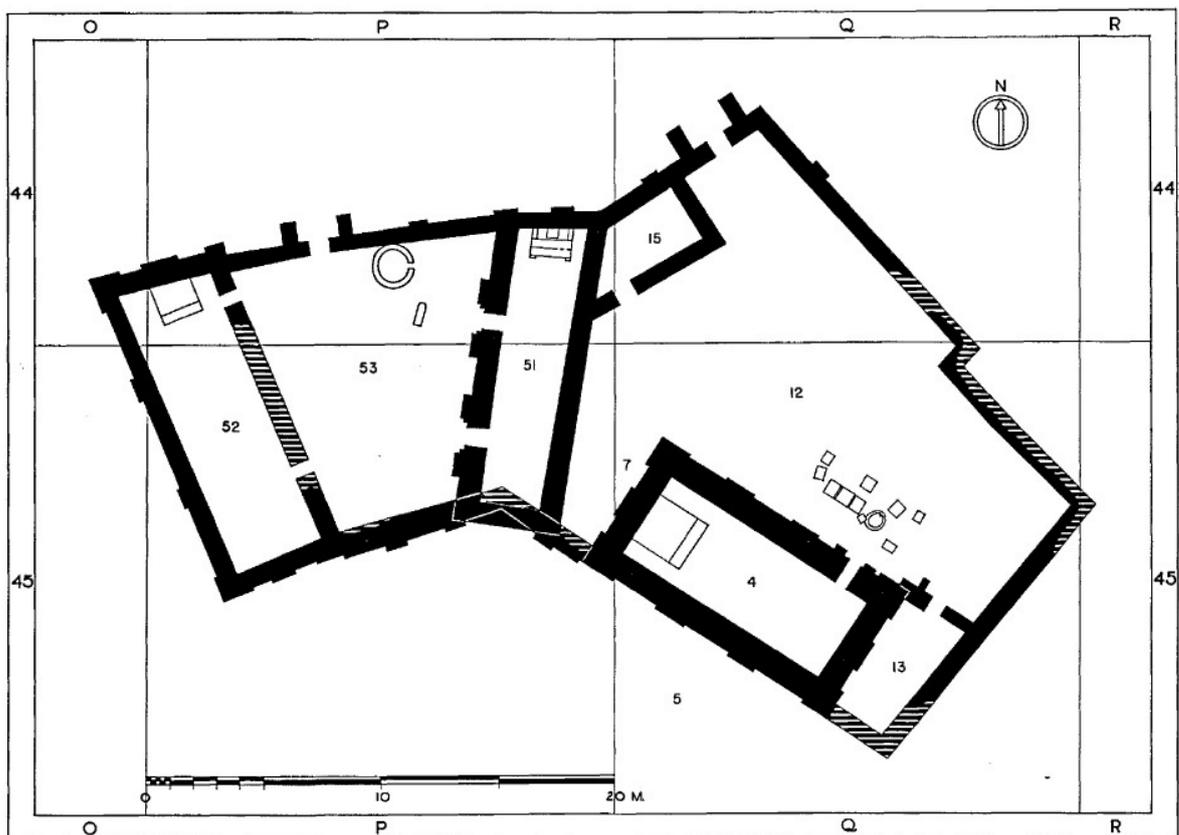


Figure 6.3 – PLAN OF THE SMALL SHRINE (= “NINTU”), 6TH BUILDING PERIOD
(DELOUGAZ AND LLOYD 1942: PL. 6).

6.2.3 THE SMALL TEMPLE IN O 43

Located approximately halfway between the Temple Oval and the Šamuš temple, another sanctuary was uncovered, which extended throughout the known life of the settlement until the latest phase (Houses 1 = Šamuš X = Oval III). The layout of the temple was initially a single, bent-axis room with a podium along the short wall furthest from the entrance. With level VI (= Houses 6) a new extended layout that included a courtyard and a second room along the opposite side of the courtyard from the older cella was introduced. This new layout extended the perimeter of the temple at the expense of domestic quarters. Finally, with the construction of the walled quarter associated with the Temple Oval, this temple was abandoned and built over. Although very few objects were found inside it, this building seems to have had an important role within the core neighbourhood of Khafajah, as evidenced by its enlargement and integration within the surrounding domestic architecture. Its close proximity to both the Temple Oval and the Šamuš temple (as well as the Small Shrine) puts into question the function of each of these buildings from a private and a public perspective. Were they part of the same public religious system, or do they respond to localised expressions which were dependent on the economic patronage of certain groups alone?

The answer to this question remains open, and the fact that few artefacts were recovered inside this building attests to the bias that the presence or absence of material culture can introduce in functional and symbolic interpretations of archaeological features. For example, one of the few objects found in this temple was a finely carved green stone bowl with a typical motif dating to the Jemdet Nasr period (Kh. V 14; [Delougaz and Lloyd 1942](#): fig. 98). The bowl was found on the floor of the latest occupation recorded for this temple (level IX), seemingly abandoned there as evidence of collapsed brickwork on top suggests ([Delougaz and Lloyd 1942](#): 112). The object was complete, which may suggest that the inventory of this temple was used for a very long time and that the deliberate deposition of items from this inventory was not deemed necessary throughout its lifespan (see also p. 252). Furthermore, the motif on the carved bowl shows cattle around a byre with ring-staffs. The ring-staff has been associated with a variety of deities, but the reality is that its use appears too widespread (at least in the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C.) to determine whether it was indeed symbolically associated with one deity in particular.⁴ But it does seem to retain a strong association with cattle. Elizabeth [Stone \(2013\)](#) argues that a shift in urban organisation occurs around the ED III period that saw domestic spaces reserved for animals (mainly cows and sheep) drastically reduced within urban contexts. Perhaps, this carved bowl was an heirloom from a previous time in which the social group attached to this temple bore an association with cattle rearing. A seal with the same motif was found in the Šamuš temple in Q42:41 underneath wall of Šamuš III, but above Šamuš II (Kh. VII 260), which may suggest the importance of cattle-rearing in the earlier periods of the site.

⁴For a discussion of all the theories put forward over the years regarding the ring-staff, see [Van Dijk 2016](#): 52–58.

6.2.4 THE SMALL SINGLE SHRINE IN S 44

A room similar in layout to the main cella of the Small Shrine (Q45:4) was uncovered in Square S44 but the area was only cursorily investigated (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 113–116). Thus, the excavators could not establish whether a courtyard had existed around the self-standing room. Like Q45:4, the room was rectangular with shallow buttresses regularly placed along the outer surface of its walls (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: fig. 105). The building was dated to the ED IIIb based on surrounding evidence, as little was recovered from inside the room itself. Since the stratigraphic correlations between this building and the main area to the west could not be established beyond doubt, it is not completely clear whether this temple was contemporary with the buildings before the construction of the walled quarter and whether it survived as it was located beyond the perimeter of this new construction. In any case, its closest parallel remains cella Q45:4 of the Small Shrine, so that it stands to reason that it probably functioned in a similar way, if at a smaller scale perhaps.

Perhaps these smaller temples may, to some extent, be characterised as “neighbourhood” shrines financed by individual extended households. If so, it may be posited that the changes and extensions seen across these reflect the changing fortunes of these kin-based groups. Turning to the Temple Oval for a moment, whether its construction reflects the social expansion of one local elite groups above others cannot be established, as it is impossible to determine whether a prior, smaller temple once existed underneath.

6.3 THE EXCAVATION OF THE TEMPLE OVAL AREA AND ITS INTERPRETATION

The site of Khafajah was excavated by three different research teams over a period of nine seasons from 1930 to 1938. The changes in the composition of the excavation and research teams, and the subsequent publications of the archaeological findings at much later dates pose significant obstacles to the reconstruction and interpretation of the data. The first season of excavation (1930/31), financed by the University of Chicago, was conducted under the supervision of Conrad Preusser and under the overall direction of Henri Frankfort. Preusser was then substituted by Pinhas Delougaz for the following six seasons (Frankfort 1933, Frankfort 1934, Frankfort and Jacobsen 1935, Frankfort 1936). Preusser’s work was published as part of the preliminary report on the Oriental Institute’s excavations in the Diyala (Frankfort et al. 1932). However, as Frankfort noted, Preusser’s hasty departure prevented further discussion on the implications of his findings and subsequent seasons of excavation (Frankfort et al. 1932: vii). Later analysis and reinterpretations of Preusser’s findings was done by Delougaz, presumably with Frankfort’s approval. Finally, the site was excavated by a joint team of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University of Pennsylvania over the course of two further seasons in the spring of 1937 and the winter of 1937/38 (Speiser 1937a, 1937b). Although by this point the Temple Oval had been completely excavated, it is worth mentioning that some of the original documentation from these seasons (kept in Philadelphia) was later lost (Delougaz et al. 1967: 21 n. 22). With regard to the final reports, the Temple Oval was published by Delougaz (1940), who was the only long-standing member of the excavations at Khafajah, except for the first season of excavation.

6.3.1 METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES DURING THE EXCAVATION

The difficulties of excavating the Temple Oval, and the more superficial layers in Khafajah in general, are reflected in the field diary as well as in the second preliminary report of the excavation (OIC 16), which includes a detailed description of how oftentimes the workmen hired to trace the mudbrick structures would carve out bricks or walls that did not exist.

Some of the walls, especially the part near to the Oval, are in a very poor state of presentation. They are usually quite thin and some of them between 60 and 80cms. thick seem to contain no brickwork at all, but just loose earth covered with mud plaster. Once this plaster is broken, there is no way of telling if you are cutting a wall, or excavating inside accumulated rubbish. At least in two points the actual walls were excavated this way until the outer plaster was reached.

(Khafajah Field Diary, 1934/35, p. 3/45)

Mr. Delougaz used various stratagems. He marked an S-shaped trench and ordered the men to clean every brick in the walls which they would find there. The bricks [...] discovered by an experienced man were genuine and indicated the direction in which the brickwork was laid throughout. The novice carved out bricks following the curve of his section of the S-shaped trench merely because the first bricks had lain parallel to its sides. He, of course, was henceforth assigned to carrying baskets.

(Frankfort 1933: 59)

Whilst Delougaz employed several strategies to identify those workmen who were apt at clearing brickwork—usually experienced craftsmen or builders themselves—from those who were not (Frankfort 1933: 58f.), it remains difficult to ascertain whether some of the more detailed observations on the occupation levels and the several construction phases in the Temple Oval can be upheld in light of more recent work re-examining the chronology of the Early Dynastic period and associated material culture, and whether the re-evaluation of the archival material from the excavation can yield evidence to support and/or challenge the established reconstruction. Gibson has challenged many of Delougaz's conclusions over the years, pointing out the irony that even though he was only in charge of the excavation in Khafajah from the second season onwards, the task of publishing the majority of the results from the Diyala Expedition ended up falling back on him despite his lack of formal training as an archaeologist (Gibson 2011: 59f.). Furthermore, I concur with Gibson on the point that Preusser's work during the first season certainly offers more detailed evidence of the process of the excavation, even when the context of the objects recorded in the field register is not always clear (Gibson 2011). Apparently, the lack of further information was caused by Preusser's sudden departure due to friction with other members of the team (Gibson 2011: 59).

On top of the difficulties of the terrain, the Temple Oval was the first structure dated to the Early Dynastic period excavated in the region and it was largely explored during the first season (1930/31). In fact,

half of all artefacts assigned to the Temple Oval were excavated during the first season (514 out of a total of 1,022), before Delougaz's arrival with his mudbrick tracing techniques. In the 1930/31 season, Preusser recorded the location and elevation of the artefacts found in a rather informal manner, with relation to the nearest walls (both horizontally and vertically to the top of the excavated walls). Some details were added in the field register, which acted as a sort of diary, register and sketchbook all in one (Fig. C.25). When Delougaz arrived the following season, he implemented a new system of recording:

In the beginning of the second campaign a system of locus numbers was introduced [...]. The site being divided into 20-meter squares, the loci in each square were numbered from 1 upward. Thus M44:2 means locus No. 2 in square M 44. [...] Objects found in such rooms are recorded with their corresponding floor levels or with the geometric levels when necessary. The geometric level is arbitrary, as a certain point of the excavation was arbitrarily given the level of +40.00 meters. [...] Two concrete pillars set at corners of squares M 46 and H 46 respectively served as fixed points for all leveling operations. The levels of all architectural features and of the most important finds were recorded in relation to these fixed points by means of a precise leveling instrument.

(Delougaz 1940: 5 n. 5)⁵

The new system may appear rigorous at first glance; however, the archival material from the excavation reveal inconsistencies, as well as reassignments done at a later date (likely for publication) for the artefacts from the Temple Oval. Delougaz reassigned the artefacts from the first season to his construction periods, sometimes based on Preusser's sketches (e.g. N44:1 or L43:4; see Figs. C.25, C.41, C.30), though more likely simply on stylistic grounds and the need to "fit objects to occupations" for the majority of finds. These reassignments were later added in red and sometimes changed on several occasions (Figures C.26 and C.27). After the first season, elevations were not systematically recorded for artefacts; only some of the more 'outstanding' pieces have specific elevations assigned to them and, in any case, objects were ultimately assigned to a construction phase (Figure C.27). In particular, small finds such as beads are rarely assigned to a context other than a locus, or simply to one of the 20 x 20 m squares. Finally, the pottery from the Temple Oval was hardly ever recorded. Only distinctive items and whole vessels appear in the field register and many were only analysed at a later date on the basis of the typologies established through the analysis of grave goods across the Diyala sites (Delougaz 1952).⁶

By including in a single volume the pottery from the four sites we follow the general plan for publishing the archaeological results of the Iraq Expedition—a plan that aims to present these results in a series of books, each devoted to a single category of finds from all the sites and disregarding, as far as possible, the accidentals in the progress of digging.

(Delougaz 1952: ix)

⁵Figure C.8 shows the position of the arbitrary point on top of the basin M44:2.

⁶An example is the vessel Kh. I 642 found in House D during the first season, but which was only published in OIP 63. This vessel is further discussed in relation with the dating of House D in Section §6.5.4, p. 201.

It is almost impossible to clarify today whether these ‘accidentals’ were truly such or the corrections were borne out of the need to ‘fix’ inconsistencies between the archaeological context and the chronological sequence established through the typological analysis, which aimed to overlap construction periods with specific diagnostic material culture in order to define a temporal horizon. The case of the Early Dynastic II is a clear example of this practice, since its existence across southern and northern Mesopotamia has been the source of much debate (e.g. [Porada et al. 1992](#); [Evans 2007](#)).

The majority of clay vessels and sherds from the Temple Oval do not appear in the catalogue provided at the back of OIP 53 ([Delougaz 1940](#)), even though they are later included in the pottery volume OIP 63 ([Delougaz 1952](#)). The contextual information available through DiyArDa on these artefacts is limited to what was published in the latter, so that it is often impossible to reassess the context of the findings as they are simply assigned to one of the construction periods. As pointed out, assigning artefacts to construction periods was sometimes the result of bias in the relationship between typology and chronological sequence associated with the excavators’ definition of construction periods. Furthermore, it is logical that contexts exhibiting more robust features, such as plastered floors and installations, received more careful attention from the excavators, so that they are more often illustrated in photographs and drawings, and more detailed notes on these contexts and the artefacts found in them exist. This is the case of locus N44:1 (the “macehead” room), which was plastered and contained a high number of “important” finds (as illustrated in Fig. C.29), or locus L43:4 (the shrine in House D), which also had a high concentration of finds (Figs. C.25 and C.30). As discussed in Section §6.2.1, this is one of the main reasons the chronological sequence in the Diyala was largely established on the basis of contexts such as the cella of the Šamuš Temple; the observations were then extrapolated by comparison to the rest of the remains.

Despite the issues associated with the assignation of artefacts to specific construction phases on the basis of elevations, the evidence from the excavation archives offers some informative glimpses that can help towards clarifying the context of the foundation of the Temple Oval, as well as better understand its lifespan and the context of the construction phases defined by Delougaz. The reanalysis may help produce interpretations that are more attuned to current research into the archaeology and history of the Early Dynastic period, as well as addressing methodological concerns around stratigraphic and typological analysis when establishing relative and absolute chronologies.

6.3.2 ISSUES ARISING FROM THE INTERPRETATION OF THE REMAINS

Although the final report on the Temple Oval was written by Delougaz, this does not mean the interpretation of the findings was all his own. It is well known that the chronological sequence in the Diyala was the result of specific bias towards architectural typologies such as the characterisation of plano-convex architecture as defining purely the Early Dynastic period, or period subdivisions based on the stylistic typology defined for the corpus of sculptures from the Diyala sites defined by Frankfort ([Frankfort 1939, 1943](#)). The sequence defined in the Temple Oval follows the established distinctions, despite the fact that its stratigraphy was significantly shallow, the ruins were practically exposed on the surface and the architectural features were difficult to trace as they “turned into mush” under heavy rain, a persistent obstacle during excavations:

In some seasons we had to shift our operations to and from the Temple Oval repeatedly, and this not according to a definite, prearranged program nor because of the excavators' whim. It was mainly the weather and the special character of the ruins that dictated these seemingly arbitrary changes, for the regular excavations often had to be abandoned for a short period after a day or two of heavy rain. This is easily understood if it is remembered that Mound A is very low—almost on the same level as the surrounding plain—so that the soil there is markedly affected by even the slightest shower of rain.

(Delougaz 1940: 10)

As discussed, the overall chronological sequence of the Early Dynastic in the Diyala was subsequently established largely on the basis of the excavation of the Šamuš Temple, which started during the fourth season (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 6), as well as the Temple of “Abu” at Tell Asmar, which was discovered during the third season (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 156) and the analysis of associated material culture in the graves from the surrounding private dwellings (Delougaz et al. 1967). Through examining the field registers and object cards from the original excavation, it appears the artefacts from the first season of excavation were later reassigned according to Delougaz’s system. Whilst loci were easily identified through the existing sketches in the field register and the field plan (Fig. C.7), the assignment to specific occupation levels must have entailed a certain degree of arbitrariness based on an eagerness to fit the evidence to the sequence established once the excavations were finalised.⁷ These facts could have easily contributed to the overall confusion around the dating of the building, as objects supposedly dating to much earlier ED I dates seem to appear alongside ED IIIa material, which suggested to the excavators that the building must have been in use for an exceptionally long period of time without change, even though it was built “*at a late stage in the history of the town*” (Delougaz 1940: 139).

Therefore, a certain amount of bias in the establishment of horizontal relationships between occupation levels across the Temple Oval and its surrounding environment appears evident at first glance, and seems to stem from an over-reliance on arbitrary elevations against real horizons coupled with culture-historical object typologies, that is, object typologies that favour an evolutionary approach to the definition of historically contingent styles. In fact, as is the case with many early excavations, the published sections do not correspond to real vertical sections across the site. Instead, these were reconstructed from observations in the field and some recorded elevations, which were then taken as the basis for reconstructing sequences that had limited empirical basis. This approach is evident in the unpublished drawing of the sections from the Temple Oval (Fig. C.17).

Overall, the approach employed revealed a concern with two aspects: firstly, with the function of the building and the various spaces and rooms within it, as demonstrated throughout the discussion of each building period in the final report; and secondly, with the overall meaning and origin of the oval shape from a culture-historical perspective, as demonstrated by Delougaz’s conclusions:

⁷In fact, the object cards from the first season were produced in Chicago at a later date. By contrast, the object cards from subsequent seasons were used in the field, while the field register was compiled back in Chicago.

If the oval shape did not derive from any practical need, other possibilities are either that it was adopted to satisfy certain religious or ritual requirements or that it was maintained or revived out of a reverence for an ancient tradition. In the first case it might have been connected with a specific deity or group of deities; in the second it might have reflected a tradition naïve to the land or one brought in from another region long before the Early Dynastic period. It is also possible that it was an innovation introduced in the Early Dynastic period either by a new wave of conquering immigrants or by peaceful travelers and merchants. Moreover, the possibility that this type of building had some symbolic meaning or represented a round structure of a less permanent nature, such as a tent or a byre, should not be excluded. (Delougaz 1940: 144f.)

Such a preoccupation with the origin of architectural techniques and artistic styles is typical of the time when the Temple Oval was excavated and published, around the same time as the debate on ‘the Sumerian question’ was (re-)flourishing after Landsberger’s article on the matter (Landsberger 1944). From an archaeological perspective, the concern with this question was perhaps initiated through Jordan’s suggestion that the introduction of plano-convex architecture in Uruk, which he considered of lower quality than the previous Riemchen and Patzen technique (Jordan 1931), signalled a foreign origin of this type of architecture. This suggestion seemed to accord with the (less favoured) theory that the Sumerians—understood in this context as a distinct cultural entity and ‘people’—were not autochthonous but arrived in the region at a later date that remained to be determined (Jones 1969). One such argument sees the Sumerians as the ‘people’ associated with plano-convex architecture, an argument which has been wielded up to the present on different occasions (most recently Englund 1998: 81; Whittaker 2005). From an archaeological perspective, the culture-historical argument in favour of external influence on the architecture of the Early Dynastic period has fallen out of favour, especially since Sauvage’s analysis of the matter (Sauvage 1998). From a philological perspective, the question remains unresolved, although the cautious views espoused by Rubio (1999) tend to gain consensus in the field.

Regardless of the reality behind such interpretations, Delougaz’s intention was focussed on determining the historical context and significance of this architectural development. His approach was founded on the principle that changes in urban layout, building techniques and materials are historically contingent; that is, they define horizons of change in historical terms within one single settlement and/or cultural region:

[Delougaz discussing the origin of plano-convex architecture from stone building techniques observed in the foothills]

All these points cannot be due to mere chance; they suggest that the early inhabitants of Mesopotamia brought their building traditions from the foothills, where stone buildings possessing all these features are still in existence. On the other hand there is no doubt that the plano-convex builders were closely connected if not identical with the bearers of the early dynastic Sumerian civilization. [...] Of course, if the invaders were the stronger people and took over all the political power, they would naturally apply their own methods of building to the most important public buildings.

(Delougaz 1933: 37–38)

Delougaz's approach also tied in with Deimel's work on Early Dynastic administrative texts, which put the temple-state at the centre of the economy and political organisation (Delougaz 1940: ix). The inclusion of House D within the layout of the oval building certainly lent itself to speculation over the social and political implications of the architecture, towards which Delougaz was clearly inclined. His analysis of the remains and functional interpretation of the spaces within the oval structure suggest a preoccupation with the relationship between the political and religious power that was inherently read into the monumentality of the structure and the activities controlled centrally from the seat of power (= 'the state'), such as fishing (in House D) and agriculture (in the rooms behind the platform). Within the context of the Temple Oval, the evidence identified for these activities is linked with ritual, thus serving to justify the link between the activities of the community and the religious seat of power:

[discussing findings in N46:1, N46:4 and O46:1, behind the platform of the Temple Oval]

All of the finds in these rooms at the back of the platform were of a very definite character, giving the impression that this part of the building was connected with the agricultural activities of the community. [...] It is unlikely that the rather primitive type of sickle discovered here was predominantly used in the fields at the time when copper and bronze implements were very common. Perhaps the specimens we found represent implements used in a ritual that was connected with the harvest. [...] In light of this consideration it is perhaps possible to assume that the grain kept in these rooms [...] was only a "token," a supply for the use of the deity and the priests.

(Delougaz 1940: 30–31)

With regard to the "net sinkers" (Figures C.31–C.36) found in House D (Delougaz 1940: 55), this interpretation is not necessarily warranted. Without examples of similar annular objects found in ancient water courses, a direct connection between the shape of the object and its function cannot be established beyond doubt. Similar hollow artefacts made of lead were recovered from an underwater wreckage off the Carmel coast in Israel (Galili et al. 2002), though they probably date to at least the Roman period. Examples made of clay are equally posited for a range of periods and geographic locations, but determining their function remains the source of much discussion. Recent literature on ancient fishing gear highlights this difficulty, noting that clay artefacts identified as net sinkers range in shape (truncated pyramid, cylindrical, spheroid) and weight (about 60–200 gr), and that only context is the best guide to identification (Alfaro Giner 2010: 77). Bernal's typological and chronological chart of clay fishing net weights shows disc-shaped examples from coastal Romano-Iberian contexts that could potentially be compared with those from Khafajah, although the contexts in which they were found were more directly associated with fishing activities such as salting factories or pottery workshops directly feeding to the fisheries along coastal regions (Bernal Casasola 2009, 2010). Although there is ample evidence from a range of geographic and chronological contexts that disc-shaped fired clay objects of varying weight can function as net sinkers, this is not the only explanation. In fact, distinguishing between net sinkers and loom weights appears to be a well-known issue concerning these objects. In light of the context in which these objects were found in Khafajah, the possibility that they were loom weight requires further examination.

Annular, torus or doughnut shaped objects similar to those here under discussion have been described as loom weights for a variety of periods and contexts, though they are largely not described as such in Mesopotamia. In fact, Breniquet has pointed out how these clay ‘donuts’ were indistinctively described as net sinkers without further discussion, particularly those from Eridu (Breniquet 2014: 69f.). She also suggests that a cylinder seal from Khafajah may depict a warping loom used to weave the starting border for a warp-weighted loom (Figure C.91). Strikingly similar ethnographic examples of warp-weighted looms with the warp tied around the weight using a warp plait/chain are abundant (Rogers 2007: p. 30 Andersson Strand 2009: fig. 6; 2012: fig. 13). The fibre fragment that appears still attached to one of the torus-shaped objects from Khafajah looks like a warp plait/chain, as shown in Figure C.33. An experimental project from the Tools and Textiles – Texts and Contexts (TTTC) research program sponsored by The Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Textile Research (CTR) at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, explored the impact of the weight and thickness of loom weights on weaving (height and material have a minor impact on weaving) (Mårtensson et al. 2009). One set of experiments using reproductions of weights found in Bronze Age Troy tested the impact of weight, concluding that optimal textile production depends on the selection of loom weights and correct weight distribution on the warp threads for tension (Mårtensson et al. 2009: 382). The two sets of weights used for these experiments had a thickness of approximately 2 cm and ranged in weight between 108–112 g and 183–187 g. The weight of the loom needs to provide optimal tension of the warp and the number of threads per loom weight will depend on the type of material and the desired density of the fabric. A second series of experiments tested the role of loom weight thickness, concluding that an optimal set up should have a total width of loom weights identical or slightly wider than the fabric to be produced (Mårtensson et al. 2009: 389). Overall, to produce a dense fabric using fine yarn with many threads per cm, a weaver would choose light, thin loom weights (Mårtensson et al. 2009: 290). This set up appears the closest to the items from Khafajah though, unfortunately, their thickness and weight was not systematically recorded. From the available images and recorded examples, they are fairly regular in shape, ranging between 5.3 and 6.4 cm in diameter and roughly 1.8 to 2.0 cm in thickness (see Figure C.33). At Ebla, no loom weights have so far been recovered from EB IV contexts, but later doughnut shaped examples from Iron Age contexts range between 4.8–9.0 cm in diameter and 63–512 g (Peyronel 2007: fig. 5.11).

Therefore, in principle, the objects from Khafajah fit the criteria for loom weights. Although the fact they were found baked could suggest they were used in water, fired clay loom weights are also known and there is a possibility they were accidentally baked in antiquity (Rogers 2007: 31–32). The context in which these objects were found in Khafajah offer important information for their interpretation. A large group of clay ‘doughnuts’ were found in L43:7 in House D of the Temple Oval, in an area which suffered a conflagration that helped preserve otherwise perishable materials; it is possible they were preserved in a group as a result, but given other specimens found elsewhere in the Temple Oval area it is likely they were fired in antiquity. Because of the significance of the finding, there is unusual photographic evidence of the artefacts *in situ* (Figures C.31 and C.32), of the objects themselves (Figure C.33), and of the organic remains found with them (Figure C.34 shows textile remains and Figure C.35 shows remains of a wooden object which given the central orifice could have been part of a loom structure). Unfortunately, the textile remains were not analysed, unlike other organic remains recovered from the site (Delougaz 1940: 154). The photographic evidence is inconclusive, though a ~5mm double-stranded S-lay thread seems discernible in

Figure C.34. Cord could be used to hold the vertical warp threads or to attach them to the weights (Wright 2013: 405). It is also possible the organic remains found were not part of a textile being woven at the time of the conflagration, as L43:7 was likely a storage area. The Temple Oval is located 800 m away from the Diyala river, which is not necessarily a lot, but the context of the finds in a room directly off the courtyard of an elite household (perhaps that of a local ruler or priest) suggests an association with textile-making is far more likely than with fishing. Other findings from L43:7 include a spindle whorl (Kh. I 518) and metal needles and pins (Kh. I 503, Kh. I 508, Kh. I 543) (see Table C.2 for all objects found in L43:7). Perhaps the mysterious clay stands or legs that were found in L43:9 and K43:3 (Delougaz 1940: 52f.) could be part of a loom, as their odd shape make them unlikely candidates as legs of a table or high stand. The piece of wood with a 4.00 x 4.50 cm central orifice interpreted as a (single!) floater could also be part of a loom structure, perhaps of the upright loom (Figure C.35 and C.36). Finally, similar annular objects are also recorded, though in single digit numbers, in other loci in and around the Temple Oval. A few were found in the main reception room in House D K43:3 and its annex rooms K43:5 and K44:5. Several were found in L43:10, where other tools possibly connected with textile work were also found such as awls and other tools made of bone (Kh. I 490b, Kh. II 124, Kh. II 125, Kh. II 126). Finally, a few items were found in Houses 4/3, mainly in the area directly outside the Temple Oval entrance (J42:2 and J43:2; see Figure C.11).

Finally, it may be noted that the complexity of the warp-weighted loom made it a high-status tool requiring expertise, for example when producing long garments worn by the elite (Breniquet 2014: 70f.). The implication of the interpretation here suggested may become of importance in light of the evidence available concerning the role of women in weaving, a craft that has been largely understudied in Mesopotamian archaeology until recently. The remains from House D certainly do not suggest that industrial production of textiles took place in the building itself (though not much is known beyond the central area of the site during this period), but—if correct—suggest the presence of women in some of the main areas of the building, which given its status could further suggest the elaboration, at the household level, of specific garments perhaps associated with the Temple Oval. While the small size of the objects may appear misleading, it is precisely these characteristics which make them apt to manufacture delicate garments. As Wright (2013: 404) points out, more work needs to be done on the corpuses of textile tools from Mesopotamia to understand how they were used to manufacture the range of fabrics and garments detailed in the texts, though the results from the TTTC experiments offer a starting point. I will further discuss the gendered dimension of elite women in relation with textiles in cultic settings and as part of elite exchange networks and political alliances in Chapter 8, where I examine textual evidence from Girsu and Ebla to tentatively bridge the gaps in textual evidence from the case studies.

Delougaz's tendency towards functional interpretations may have obscured some aspects of ritual activity that deserve further analysis, such as the use of space in some of the rooms around the courtyard. In particular, the plastered floors and installations in room N44: 1 (the "macehead" room) suggest this room may have played a more important role than that of a magazine for the stonecutter's products (Delougaz 1940: 27). A similar situation could be said about the rooms on the opposite side of the courtyard (L46:4, L46:5, K46:4, K46:5 and K46:6), where the absence of objects led Delougaz to suggest K46:6 was "of no particular importance" (Delougaz 1940: 37). Likewise, a functional explanation for the round brick structures in this room was preferred to a more symbolic one on the basis of their spatial location:

No conclusive evidence was found concerning the exact use of these structures. [...] The view has been expressed that they served some ritualistic purpose, but their position in one of the most remote rooms, with no direct communication into the rest of the sanctuary, makes such a theory to my mind very unlikely. [...] [T]he corner of the courtyard near this room was occupied by a large refuse pit; hence it is possible that these fireplaces were used for burning the more solid rubbish instead of letting it accumulate in the refuse pit.

(Delougaz 1940: 37)

The above considerations help define the issues encountered with the methodology of excavation and interpretation of the remains from Khafajah, and the Temple Oval in particular. These observations do not render the evidence obsolete but help towards understanding the limitations of the available evidence and its interpretation. Through a careful re-examination of the archival material from the excavation, it is possible to redress some of these issues and offer an updated view that accounts for the limitations that have been pointed out. In particular, the stratigraphic reanalysis will offer a new interpretation of the context of the foundation and lifespan of the temple, while further discussion of the religious landscape and material culture in Chapter 7, focussing on a comparative approach to aspects of ritual and gender, will offer new insights into the relationships between power, gender, and religion in the Early Dynastic period. Together, the re-analysis of the stratigraphy and contextualisation of the material culture will enable a more granular understanding of temple construction within a historical context which in turn will help to contextualise the political genealogy of gender through the organisation of cultic activity and the influence of temple construction on the emergence of kingship.

Before moving on to the re-examination of the evidence, the following section will provide an overview of the cuneiform sources associated with the Temple Oval, and how they influenced the interpretation of the building within its urban and regional context.

6.4 THE ROLE OF EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL IN THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SITE

As with the large majority of excavations from the historical periods, the chronological sequence in the Diyala was also influenced by the interpretation of the epigraphic material. In fact, the discrepancies between the dating of material culture versus the dating of the epigraphic sources is part of the discussion surrounding the chronological sequence of the Early Dynastic evidence, and which affect the site of Khafajah and the Temple Oval in particular.

The main issues that affect the contextualisation of epigraphic material from Khafajah are:

- a) The definition of ED II contexts: is the ED II period really a “phantom” period based only on construction phases (Porada et al. 1992; Evans 2007) or does it have definite characteristics both in terms of its material culture and epigraphic evidence (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 90f.)? Conversely,

how does the lack of real vertical profiles and the unreliability of the resulting phasing affect the interpretation of the chronological sequence within and beyond the Diyala?

- b) The seeming lack of ED IIIb levels across the Diyala sites: is plano-convex architecture *the* diagnostic feature of the ED period, from an archaeological point of view at least, or does the coexistence of plano-convex architecture with epigraphic material firmly dated in the Old Akkadian period signal regional differences that need to be reconsidered?

As a result of the above, there exists an apparent dissonance between the sequence established for the material culture versus the historical sources, which have largely caused problems when establishing synchronicities between sequences at the inter-site level while the intra-site sequence was heavily influenced by the architectural phasing and the material culture typologies as discussed in the previous section. The issues with the phasing and chronological sequence from an archaeological and material culture perspective will be further discussed comparatively with the other case studies in Section §7.1. Here, I shall describe the issues that concern the dating of the epigraphic material from the Temple Oval as well as the influence of material from the Šamuš Temple and the Small Shrine—which were already introduced in Sections §6.2.1 and §6.2.2—in establishing and dating the stratigraphic sequence in the Temple Oval.

Table C.1 shows all the epigraphic material associated with the Temple Oval. It provides a comparative analysis between the original context and date to which each artefact was attributed and the new suggested context and date. While the new context has been defined on the basis of my re-analysis of the archival evidence (see below, Section §6.5), the historical period suggested has been determined on the basis of the most recent studies by experts, of which references are provided in the column to the right.⁸ Notes on the context and the inscription are provided in support of the suggested revisions.

Delougaz's correlation between plano-convex architecture and ED levels in the architecture of the Diyala created a disparity between the dating of the architectural remains and material culture on the one hand, and epigraphic material on the other. From the established chronology for the Diyala (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: fig. 15; Delougaz et al. 1967: table 3), the problems with assigning levels to an ED IIIb or "Protoimperial" date stand out, an issue that has caused some problems when correlating the sequence with other sites both in southern and northern Mesopotamia. This problem is not aided by the variable use of the ED IIIb, Protoimperial and Early Akkadian labels at different sites, as evidenced in Porada et al. 1992, for example. Gibson's and McMahon's work have contributed towards untangling the ED–Akkadian sequence, signalling in particular the significant continuity in architectural forms and pottery between distinct historical periods, i.e. the ED, Akkadian and Ur III periods (Gibson 1982; McMahon 2006). Although based largely on excavations in Nippur, their work impinges directly on the reanalysis of the Diyala sequence, as both expeditions are based at the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

⁸However, it should be noted that on some occasions the dating of inscriptions was made on the basis of its archaeological context. For example, Sommerfeld noted in relation with macehead Kh. I 636 that given its Oval 3 context (dated by excavators to Protoimperial–Early Akkadian period) the assumption that the form *SA₁₂.RIG₉* belongs exclusively to ED contexts and was replaced by A.MU.(NA).RU in the Akkadian period should be revised (Sommerfeld 2004: 288). However, the date when the macehead was made may have been earlier, as suggested here.

The different use of labels extends to the epigraphic material, which varies according to the amount of material available. Thus, the label ED IIIb—and hence the subdivision of the late ED period into two—was adapted to define the chronological period spanning the reigns of the kings of Lagaš, roughly equal to ca. 100–150 years before the defeat of Lugalzagesi by Sargon of Akkad (Bauer 1998: 431). The epigraphic evidence from these kings stands in stark contrast with previous material available (see Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: table 15a,b for the contrast between pre-ED IIIb royal inscriptions and those from ED IIIb–Protoimperial dates) and this seems to have tipped the scale in favour of defining a historical period that reflects this shift. Such a definition is therefore based on historical and palaeographic grounds and may not reflect the actual political, social and cultural realities of the period as a whole, which may have been more uniform overall (Van de Mieroop 2016: 44f.).

The implications of the above observations, at least insofar as it concerns Khafajah and the Temple Oval, are clear: given the relatively shallow stratigraphy of the remains of the Temple Oval, its construction sequence and dating were established largely on the basis of an unclear stratigraphic correlation with the Šamuš Temple, and by extension with the levels in Tell Asmar on the one hand, and the *terminus ante quem* determined by the scattered remains of Akkadian royal inscriptions naming kings Narām-Sîn and Rīmuš. The problem with this sequence is that it forced the excavators to stretch the lifespan of the building from an ED I date (for the archaeological context defined as “Houses G”) up to the Akkadian period, as Delougaz states that the use of plano-convex bricks should circumscribe the Temple Oval within at most a protoimperial context:

Although hardly any objects were found in connection with the remains of the third period, the facts that plano-convex bricks were still used and that characteristics of the earlier buildings certainly survived leave no doubt that the straightened wall and the gateway belong to the Early Dynastic, pre-Sargonid period. However, remains of flat bricks just above the remaining brickwork of the late gateway, the general stratigraphy of the site, and the few fragmentary inscriptions, especially that on the macehead, which may be dated to Eannatum, helped to assign these remains to the latest part of the Early Dynastic period. Inscriptions of Rimush on fragments of bowls give, perhaps, some ground to assume that this monumental building was finally destroyed during the period of conflict preceding the Akkadian conquest of the region. (Delougaz 1940: 106)

The disparity between the archaeological levels without written evidence and the Akkadian inscriptions seemingly attached to or postdating the plano-convex architecture presents an issue: to what extent can the architecture determine the exact historical context and lifespan of a particular building? Recently, the solution put forward to overcome the gap between the dating of epigraphic evidence and its archaeological context in the Diyala has been to suggest that given the fact that the Diyala sites must have been located closer to the capital Agade than other cities, they could have fallen under its control earlier than other locations such as Uruk or Mari (Reichel 2009). Therefore, the shift in architecture and pottery would not have been felt until perhaps later into the Akkadian Empire. The fact that some of the earliest epigraphic material mentioning the city of Agade come from Khafajah seems to support this conclusion (Sommerfeld 2011: 92; 2004: 288).

These issues and the discussion of the context and dating of the inscribed objects, as well as other artefacts including the door plaques, will be discussed in Section §6.5.3, which focusses on the differentiation between Oval 1 and Oval 2 construction phases and their respective dating. The section will show how oftentimes the attribution of artefacts to several construction phases was done to satisfy the architectural distinctions, rather than purely on stratigraphic grounds.

6.5 REANALYSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE

The following sections cover aspects of the context of the foundation, lifespan, and abandonment/destruction of the Temple Oval. Given the nature of the excavation at Khafajah and the publication scheme of the results from the Diyala Expedition, it is often impossible to disentangle completely the reality of the stratigraphic sequence from the stylised presentation of construction phases and typologies that was finally published. The shallowness of the sequence at the Temple Oval also hinders this task and, as it will become clear, oftentimes the attribution of objects to levels was done more to fit the established architectural sequence (and based on the typologies assigned to the Houses sequence) than anything else. As mentioned before, the reanalysis of the stratigraphic sequence will enable better chronological contextualisation of its foundation, which in turn affect the interpretation of the religious landscape at Khafajah, the context in which political and religious structures of power became intertwined (from an ED I to an ED III date) and, ultimately, understand the explosion of temple construction during the late part of the Early Dynastic period in conjunction with the emergence of kingship and how it shaped gender dynamics within elite networks and in relation with the figure of Inanna/Aštar.

6.5.1 SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

The following reanalysis is based on a close examination of all the material available through the Diyala Project website,⁹ which is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License.¹⁰ When applicable, the published version of any item here illustrated is duly referenced as well (see *Sources of Illustrations (Appendices)*). The following materials were used:

- a) *Daybooks* of seasons three (1932/33) and four (1934/35). These are rather general and do not cover too many specific descriptions of the work.
- b) *Field registers* for all seasons. The field register of season one (1930/31) worked also as a sort of field diary, in which sketches of the context in which artefacts were found were drawn (Fig. C.25). It is written in German, as it was completed under the direction of Preusser. Delougaz established a system of object cards that substituted the field register, so that the object cards from 1930/31 were actually produced back in Chicago, whilst it was the field registers from subsequent seasons that were filled in back in Chicago based on the object cards that were produced on site (Fig. C.28).

⁹<http://diyalaproject.uchicago.edu>

¹⁰<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

Unlike the first season of excavation, the field registers thereon are quite brief and do not contain much information on the context of the finds. This information was now partly done on the field plan (elevations) and the objects cards (loci). In any case, the vertical context of many of the objects remains debatable due to the shallowness of the remains and the excavation technique employed.

- c) *Object cards*: As explained for the field registers, these two sources are actually sometimes one and the same. The object cards from season one were produced in Chicago based on the evidence from the field register. By contrast, object cards were used in the field during subsequent seasons. In any case, the context of the artefacts is usually added in hindsight, sometimes it is clear that some deliberation about the context was involved during the publication phase, with assignments often crossed out on the cards and a red checkmark used to double check the final assignation of the object to one of the building periods (Figs. C.26 and C.27).
- d) *Field plans and maps*: These include both the published plans of the site and the field plans. During the first season, one plan was produced by Mr H.D. Darby, which was published in the interim report (Frankfort et al. 1932: fig. 22). During the first season, elevations were given relative to the height of traced walls, so the context of the artefacts is not entirely clear. Once Delougaz took over the excavation, “a precise levelling instrument” was used to record elevations of the various features, including top of walls and “floors”. The geometric point was set up at +40.00 m, and elevations are given relative to it (Delougaz 1940: 5 n. 5). The grid and loci numbering system also changed, so that the evidence from the first season was later adapted to the new system. The plans reproduced here are those available through the Diyala Project Website, so that they often contain handwritten notes and details not available in the print versions. They also offer higher resolution to zoom in. Due to their size, the plans are included in Appendix C, *Archival Material and Illustrations from Khafajah*, rather than as figures in the text. Furthermore, the field plans are also included in the attached CD for consultation (they can also be consulted online). The following are reproduced and referenced here:

Fig. C.1 (= Delougaz 1940: pl. 2): Topographic plan of Mound A, Khafajah.

Fig. C.2 (= Delougaz 1940: pl. 3): Plan of the Temple Oval, First Building Period (First Occupation).

Fig. C.3 (= Delougaz 1940: fig. 56): Plan of the Temple Oval, First Building Period, Second Occupation.

Fig. C.4 (= Delougaz 1940: pl. 4): Plan of the Temple Oval, First Building Period, Third Occupation.

Fig. C.5 (= Delougaz 1940: pl. 7): Plan of the Temple Oval, Second Building Period and Later Alterations.

Fig. C.6 (= Delougaz 1940: pl. 11): Plan of the Temple Oval, Third Building Period.

Fig. C.7 (= Frankfort et al. 1932: fig. 22): Plan of the excavation during the first season (1930/31).

Fig. C.8: Isometric drawing after first season (1930/31).

Fig. C.9: Field plan of eastern area of the Temple Oval.

Fig. C.10: Field plan of western area of the Temple Oval.

Fig. C.11 Field plan of Houses NW of Temple Oval.

Fig. C.12 (= [Delougaz et al. 1967](#): pl. 13): Plan of Houses 3 level north of Temple Oval.

Fig. C.13: Field plan of Houses N of Temple Oval.

Fig. C.14: Houses 6 and Houses 5 field plans, superimposed.

Fig. C.15: Houses 4 and Houses 5 field plans, superimposed.

Fig. C.16: Houses 4 and Houses 3 field plans, superimposed.

- e) *Sections*: The published sections from the Diyala excavations are not “true” sections, which means they were not drawn in the field and do not represent real vertical cuts in which the relationships between the various spaces and buildings were examined. The reconstruction of these sections is based largely on absolute elevations, often creating artificial levels that may not have been true in reality. Figure C.17 shows the deliberate reconstruction of the sections before they were drawn for publication. Nevertheless, the excavators made an effort to establish the relationship between the Temple Oval and its surrounding, as evidenced in the publications ([Delougaz 1940](#): 11f.). The result was an obviously stylised reconstruction of the architectural sequence. Through careful examination, it is possible, nevertheless, to extract information that can contribute towards the reanalysis of the sequence. Unfortunately, floor levels are largely misleading and cannot be reconstructed with any degree of certainty beyond the speculative. Only where plastered floors (e.g. in N44:1 – Fig. C.29) were traced can occupation levels be established beyond doubt.

The published sections are reproduced here and will be referenced by their original number when applicable (e.g. “section 6”, “section A”), with cross-reference to the respective figure in the appendix. Once again, due to the size of the originals, the sections are included in Appendix C:

Fig. C.17: Draft of sections from The Temple Oval.

Fig. C.18 (= [Delougaz 1940](#): pl. 8): Sections 1–1’, 8–8’, 12–12’, and 13–13’.

Fig. C.19 (= [Delougaz 1940](#): pl. 9): Sections 2–2’, 6–6’, 9–9’, 10–10’, and 11–11’.

Fig. C.20 (= [Delougaz 1940](#): pl. 10): Sections 3–3’, 4–4’, 5–5’ 7–7’, 14–14’, and 15–15’.

Fig. C.21 (= [Delougaz and Lloyd 1942](#): pl. 18): Section showing stratigraphic sequence from Temple Oval to “Sin” Temple.

Fig. C.22 (= [Delougaz et al. 1967](#): pl. 15a = [Delougaz 1940](#): pl. 12): Section A–A’ between Temple Oval and “Sin” Temple.

Fig. C.23 ([Delougaz et al. 1967](#): pl. 15b): Section B–B’ between Temple Oval and walled quarter of Akkadian date.

Fig. C.24 (= [Delougaz et al. 1967](#): pl. 15c): Section C–C’ between Temple Oval and NW Houses.

- f) *Archival photographs*: as with the site of Mari, archival photographs rarely published offer further information on the sequence of the excavation and, sometimes, the context of some of the finds.

Despite the high quality of photographic plates, the main issue with them is the deterioration of the silver emulsion. Such deterioration usually produces a silver mirroring effect around the edges of the plate and any area of the coating that was not well treated in the past. This mirror effect hinders digitization, since the computer is unable to successfully render the now “positive” areas with the correct exposure and contrast. The result is usually flattened images with little contrast that can hardly be enhanced digitally using post-processing software such as Adobe® Photoshop. Nevertheless, they offer some valuable information on occasion.

Only photographs referenced in the text are illustrated here. The structures and elevations that are sometimes noted on the photographs are taken from the field plans. All the photographs reproduced in Appendix C are also attached in the accompanying CD.

6.5.2 THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE AND ITS URBAN CONTEXT

The foundation of the Temple Oval was originally linked to Houses 6 construction phase (Delougaz 1940: 138). This phase has been variously dated to the beginning of the ED II period by Delougaz and Lloyd (1942: fig. 14) and Delougaz et al. (1967: table 3), the end of the ED II period by Porada et al. (1992: fig. 4), the late ED I (“Early Dynastic II”) period in the redistribution of the ED sequence proposed by Evans (2007: table 6), and most recently within ECM 5 of the ARCANE periodization table (Reichel 2009: table 1). In light of subsequent excavations at Nippur, Gibson revised the context of the end of the history of the Temple Oval from an ED IIIa date to an Early Akkadian context (Gibson 1982: 537), which is reflected in ARCANE’s ECM 7 dating (Reichel 2009: table 1). Margueron has also published a different reanalysis of the architectural sequence at Khafajah (Margueron 2012, 2014c), including the context of the foundation of the Temple Oval (Figure 6.4). He follows an interpretation of Mesopotamian architecture that he has refined over the course of his career working at the sites of Ugarit, Emar, Faq’ous, Larsa, and Mari (Margueron 2012: 61). Briefly, his approach reduces the number of levels and proposes deeper foundation and levelling strata composed of either a foundation trench (shallow in the case of smaller buildings, or deeper in the case of monumental structures such as in the case of the Temple Oval) or previously tamped ruins from an earlier occupation level, on which the new walls were built (Margueron 2012: 62).

As far as I am aware, this reassignment has yet to make an impact on wider research on the Diyala sequence and material. Margueron’s reanalysis was based only on the published material, which was organised and schematised to fit the excavators’ reconstruction of the site and its history. Margueron noted these circumstances, pointing out the lack of elevations on the published plans as well as the scarcity of photographic evidence to study stratigraphic relationships (Margueron 2012: 68). With the aid of the evidence available through the Diyala Project website, it is possible to supplement the evidence and suggest a revised stratigraphic and chronological sequence that differs from both the original reconstruction by Delougaz and Margueron’s views. It should be noted that the following observations on the stratigraphic sequence were made without having read Margueron’s work, which I only encountered after having reanalysed the material independently. Thus, my interpretation was not influenced by his work and, as it will become clear, follows a different methodology despite sharing some similar conclusions regarding the foundation of the temple and the occupation level associated with the construction of the building.



Figure 6.4 – J.-C. MARGUERON’S REVISED STRATIGRAPHY OF KHAFAJAH. MARGUERON’S INTERPRETATION OF THE “COUCHE ARCHITECTURALES” AT TEMPLE OVAL. ACCORDING TO HIM, THE SHALLOW LEVELS OF BRICKWORK SHOULD BE GROUPED TOGETHER AS FOUNDATIONS OF DISCRETE OCCUPATION LEVELS (MARKED BY DASHED LINES). AS SUCH, THE FOUNDATION OF TEMPLE OVAL WOULD BELONG TO “COUCHE ARCHITECTURALE D,” WHOSE OCCUPATION LEVEL IS HOUSES 4–3 (HOUSE 6–5 BEING THE LEVELLING OF PREVIOUSLY RUINED REMAINS (MARGUERON 2014C: FIG. 1).

Determining the stratigraphic context of the foundation of the Temple Oval is critical to place it within the chronological sequence of the site. As I have already mentioned, this sequencing was primarily done using the evidence from the Šamuš temple and the Houses sequence. However, close examination of the construction elements of the Temple Oval including the sand fill, the foundation walls and clay packing, and the location and elevation of drains offer important information that suggests the Temple Oval was built slightly later than the original Houses 6 context. This change in the chronological context of the Temple Oval is important because earlier interpretations suggested this temple showed the earliest elements of political control over the religious world through the incorporation of domestic quarters (House D) as part of the temple complex (Stone 2013). Earlier temples were either stand-alone structures or embedded within the urban layout, but did not appear to incorporate living or domestic quarters as part of the buildings themselves. For example, the temples in Eridu and Uruk, or even the earlier levels of the Šamuš temple at Khafajah itself demonstrate this difference. If the Temple Oval is reassigned to a slightly later context than the original ED I–II date, it can have implications for our understanding of the emergence of kingship and its relationship with temple construction, which in turn can impact the contextualisation of gender dynamics shaped through this temple construction and cultic activities concerning elite women and Inanna/Aštar, as shall be explored in Chapters 7 and 8.

From an architectural point of view, the following points apply to the interpretation of the stratigraphic sequence:¹¹

- a) When loose or not protected correctly, sand is more unstable as a material on which to build due to its properties. Loose sands can create uneven surfaces as they settle and sand can easily be washed away over time if left unprotected. Although water drains quickly from sand soils, it is important to protect a sand fill from water damage around its perimeter, which could destabilise the structure and cause significant differential settlement. In modern practice, this is usually achieved through the employment of plinth protection for sand-filled foundation trenches of strip foundations used in soils of good bearing capacity. In ancient Mesopotamia, plinth and plinth protection (also described as the footings of walls; *soubassement* in French) have not been studied in detail, and only the use of baked bricks or mud/plaster/bituminous coating are highlighted as methods in the literature (Sauvage 1998: 53–54).
- b) In order to protect the sand fill on which the foundations rest, water must be directed away from the fill and/or vertical draining installed to control seepage. A differential in elevation of the ground floor between the inside and the outside of the building would have helped to drain water outside the perimeter of the sand fill. The existence of vertical drains or soakaways inside the building would protect the foundations from water damage caused in the event of upwards seepage.
- c) The foundation wall should be buried below ground level enough to protect the overall structure on top as well as the cut for the sand fill. It would have been dangerous to have a ground level too close to the sand fill outside the perimeter of the Temple Oval.

The following observations regarding the context of the foundation of the Temple Oval and its chronological span are based on close scrutiny of the original field plans, archival photographs, as well as published plans and sections. Table 6.2 summarises key elevations across the building and its perimeter.

THE SAND FILL CUT IN CONTEXT

The excavators explored the relationship between the sand fill cut and the surrounding urban levels in five areas: K43:11 outside K43:1 in House D (Figure C.38), in N44:9 (Figure C.37), O47:5 (Figure C.39), O46:2 (Figure C.40), and K46 (Delougaz 1940: 13). The photographs do not give details of the walls that appear, and it is impossible to discern from the field plans alone. The sand fill cut was consistently traced under the bottom level of the foundation wall as rendered in the published sections, pointing towards knowledge of the properties of sand as a material on which to lay down the foundations of a building with the characteristics of the Temple Oval. The only exception to this rule would be along the outer wall of House D in squares M43 and N44 (see Section 8; Figure C.18), where the cut extends beyond the perimeter of the building (Delougaz 1940: 16). The excavators noted this discrepancy and suggested

¹¹These observations were initially made by architect Miguel Palmero Martín (*pers. comm.*) and subsequently investigated in the literature.

that the original plan of House D was perhaps larger than the final plan. Regardless of the origin of this change in the plan, this area would have been more vulnerable to filtrations and differential settlement if left exposed at ground level as suggested by the excavators' reconstruction.

Slope of sand fill cut (m)			Difference
SE–NW	O46 (Section 12)	38.00	-0.42m
	J44 (Section 1)	37.58	
NE–SW	M43 (Section 7)	38.00	-0.66m
	J45:6 (Section 15)	37.34	

Table 6.1 – DIFFERENTIAL ELEVATION OF SAND FILL CUT ACROSS EAST–WEST AND NORTH–SOUTH AXES.

Overall, the cut does not appear completely level across the extension of the building. The excavators noted a difference of up to 0.66 m along its perimeter, which caused a slight downwards slope east–west and north–south (Table 6.1). The sand fill was also consistently slightly higher towards the centre of the building (38.34 m below E corner of the platform; 38.16–38.18 m along the front of the platform) than below the enclosure wall (usually between 37.50 m and 38.00 m). This difference could be explained by the settlement of the fill after the walls were built, though it does not appear to have caused structural damage, perhaps thanks to the significant thickness and load spread of the strip foundation.

THE FOUNDATION WALLS AND THE CLAY PACKING INSIDE THE BUILDING

The excavators reconstructed a differential in occupation level between the ground level outside the Temple Oval (~38.20 m at J44:1) and the inner courtyard (~39.40 m at M45:3), stating that “[o]nly the outer surface of the outer inclosure wall was exposed, the latter forming the retaining wall of a low artificial terrace rising 1.20–1.40 m. above the surrounding area” (Delougaz 1940: 18). According to their observations, the wider foundation walls were laid out on top of the sand fill to a height of about 1.20m–1.40m, which is rather high for shallow foundations, though the size of the building and its load clearly required more substantial foundations. The space inside the building perimeter was then completely filled with a solid packing of pure clay (Delougaz 1940: 17). As it has already been pointed out, the sand fill would have been too exposed and the stability of the building compromised if the foundation walls were completely exposed, not less because the clay packing could have shrunk and swelled with the seasons. The ground level in M45 and N44 is particularly worrisome, as it was reconstructed at exactly the same elevation as the top of the sand fill cut, which in this area was exposed beyond the perimeter of the foundation walls (Figure C.14). As mentioned, the foundation walls must have been buried under ground level enough to protect them from settlement, erosion, and other phenomena that could cause structural damage. A conservative estimate suggests at least 1.00 m be buried below ground level, but further evidence about the drainage system helps to clarify this (see p. 186). This conclusion suggests that the original ground level outside the temple was higher than the excavators' reconstructed sequence.

Section	Locus	Sand fill cut (m)	Top of foundation wall (m)	Total height foundation wall (m)	Arbitrary floor height (2/3 of foundation height) (m)	Other features	Height (m)	Notes
1-1'	J44:1	37,55	38,59	1,04	38,24	Stone steps (bottom level)	38,00	
	J44 near drain	37,58	38,76	1,18	38,37	J44 drain (on outer face of enclosure wall)	38,63	
2-2'	K42:4	37,61	39,05	1,44	38,57	K42:4 drain in street outside Temple Oval	38,51	
	K43:1	37,38	39,10	1,72	38,53	Drain in I43:1	38,90	
						Lowest level bitumen corner in I43:3	39,38	
						Drain in K43:6	38,91	This drain probably belongs to a higher ground level.
3-3'	M43:6	37,70	38,70	1,00	38,37			Sections 3 and 4 only appear down to Oval 2 features in "Kh Oval eastern half field plan nbr1"
4-4'	M43:6	37,75	38,75	1,00	38,42			
5-5'	M43:6	37,86	39,20	1,34	38,75	Inside drain	39,06	Drain associated with Oval 1, 3rd Occupation
6-6'	M43:6	37,90	39,25	1,35	38,80			No specific details on field plans. Same as Section 7?
7-7'	M44:6	37,86	39,44	1,58	38,91	Inside drain	38,83	Drain associated with Oval 1, 3rd Occupation
	N44:2	38,12	39,79	1,67	39,23			
8-8'	N44:6	37,96	39,54	1,58	39,01			Kh Oval eastern half field plan nbr2
		37,87	39,36	1,49	38,86			Kh Oval eastern half field plan nbr3
						N44:1 Limeplaster Floor I	39,68	Oval 1 First Occupation?
						N44:1 Limeplaster Floor II	39,73	Oval 1 Second Occupation?
						N44:1 Limeplaster Floor III	39,80	Oval 1 Third Occupation?
						N44:1 Limeplaster Floor IV	39,95	Oval 2?
						Lime plaster floors against platform, N45	39,40-39,85	Estimate from elevations, based on comparison with brickwork (fig. C.60 and C.61).
9-9'	O44:17	37,94	39,50	1,56	38,98			
10-10'	O45:8	38,00	39,75	1,75	39,17	Sand fill below W corner of platform	38,34	No details on field plans. Not clear.
11-11'	O45:2	38,00	39,50	1,50	39,00	Top elevation of sloped foundation wall	39,09	
12-12'	O46:5	37,96	39,66	1,70	39,09	Brick drain(?) in O46	39,52	The exact elevation of the outer face of the foundation wall is not given, only inner face of wall.
		37,71	39,04	1,33	38,60	N47:3 Drain outer face of enclosure wall	38,76	N47:3 (Bitumen platform with drain) associated with Oval 1, 3rd Occupation.
13-13'	L47:1	38,04	38,93	0,89	38,63			Sand level not clear. Only given for outer face of inner oval wall opposite I46:7 (38.04).
						M45:3 platered floor against platform	39,40-39,45	
13-13'	L47:1	37,75	39,20	1,45	38,72			Elevations from published section.
14-14'	K46:6	37,70	39,00	1,30	38,57	K46:6 drain top elevation outside enclosure wall	38,60*	*Estimation
						K45 drain 1	39,77	"Oval 1, 3rd Occupation"
						K45 drain 2	39,38	"Oval 1, 2nd Occupation"
						K45 drain 3	39,28	"Oval 1, 1st Occupation"
15-15'	J45:6	37,30	38,50	1,20	38,10	Internal face of inner oval, foundation wall height	39,05	The enclosure wall does not appear on field maps at this point and no further evidence is provided.
	J45:6 (corrected)	37,30	39,05	1,75	38,47			
	Average	37,77	39,17	1,40	38,70			

LEGEND	
Black:	field plan
Red:	from published sections (when no info available from field plans)
Blue:	limeplaster/bitumen floor (field plan)
1 m difference between bottom of foundation wall and associated drain elevation	

Table 6.2 – KEY ELEVATIONS WITHIN THE TEMPLE OVAL.

The substantial thickness of the foundation and standing walls probably increased the resistance and durability of the structure, as long as the outer coating of walls was maintained on a regular basis. It is possible, however, that the construction of the later enclosure wall—wider and buttressed—was the result of a repair required as a result of damage to the standing structure, though the foundations themselves may have not been affected. A repair hypothesis could perhaps explain the buttresses traced along the outer surface of a repair to the inner oval against House D, which the excavators found hard to explain (Delougaz 1940: 77). The repair of the buttressed outer oval noted in square N44 could also be explained in the same fashion. Whilst the bricks used to build the buttressed outer oval were of lower quality than the original mudbrick, the later repair was done with finer, as well as larger, bricks (Delougaz 1940: 76–77). Although they attributed the repair to damage caused by a siege (based on the assumption that the buttressed wall signalled the fortification of the Temple Oval), it is possible the cause was structural damage given the poorer quality of the materials employed and the care put into its repair in order to avoid further damage. As noted before, M43 and N44 were potentially more vulnerable.

The excavators noted the following regarding the clay packing:

The method of first building the various foundations and then filling the inclosed area with a solid packing of clay would seem to squander labour; for, although there may have been a certain advantage in this method, the structures erected upon the various foundations could have been supported by the packing alone.

(Delougaz 1940: 18)

Whilst it may seem to have squandered labour, setting the foundations on the sand deposit was a better choice, given the settlement properties of sand and clay. The settlement of soils with a high value of permeability such as sand or gravel usually occurs immediately after load applications, and are often much smaller than those on clay. Clay may have offered steadier ground for the internal floor levels, but as a mat foundation would have posed more risks than benefits due to its longer settlement and susceptibility to changes in volume. If anything, only some of the non-load-bearing internal partitions of the building could have been built directly on the clay packing. Deep foundations can completely eliminate absolute and differential movements within the main structure, as opposed to shallow foundations. In this case, the latter seems the most logical explanation. Although a ritual association between the characteristics of this foundation and the function of the building cannot be completely ruled out, the carefully planned construction suggests greater knowledge of soil properties and construction principles than perhaps afforded to its builders by the excavators.

DRAINAGE SYSTEM OF THE TEMPLE OVAL

The well laid out drainage system was noted by the excavators, who suggest that in some areas of the building water would have been directed towards the interior of the courtyard, and not towards the exterior (Delougaz 1940: 71). This discrepancy could be explained by the more controlled environment of the

courtyard, where water could have been collected and drained, perhaps through the main drain located near its western corner (Figure C.2; C.42, C.43). From the lowest elevation of the drain (“drain 3”, see Table 6.2) inside the inner courtyard at ~39.28 m, the drain slopes downwards to ~38.95 m on the outer face of the inner oval. The outer oval wall at this point was destroyed, but the drain may have dropped another ~0.30 m down to ~38.60 m outside the outer oval.¹² Regarding the elaborate drain K46:8, this was originally linked with the third occupation of Oval 1. It is hard to elucidate from the existing evidence what the relationship of this drain with the building is, and it could have just as easily been built at a later date (Figure C.44).

Another drain was excavated near the entrance in square J44, which is recorded at ~38.63 m; presumably this was the elevation of the bottom of the drain. Figure C.46 shows the profile of this drain from the outside. Since the top of the foundation here was traced at ~38.76 m, the drain seems to have been built into the foundation wall before the standing wall was built on top, with the baked brickwork used to vault the drain as the walls were built. Since the plano-convex brickwork does not show signs of having been tampered with, this must be the original drain built during the foundation of the building. A similar situation seems to occur with other drains (in M43, O46, N47, K46, and K43), but only this one is illustrated. Other drains show signs of later repairs through the wall, though these are almost impossible to reconstruct from the existing evidence.

To the north, the drains from M44:2 were also assigned to various levels based on elevations. This area probably constitutes the most important “piece of the puzzle” and a lot of the interpretations were likely based on the stratigraphic observations made along this portion of the building, as demonstrated by the higher number of photographs taken in this area and the fact that erosion affected the south and west of the building more heavily. The excavators noted the difficulty in establishing the sequence of use for these drains (Delougaz 1940: 59) and guided their interpretation on the basis of elevations and later reconstructions. Whilst the existence of several superimposed drains is not questioned, the published sections (Section 5 and Section 7) are not necessarily reliable and elevations are spread across several field plans (Figures C.9 and C.13). The lowest drains from M44:2 appear to leave this installation at elevations ~39.60 m for the longer one (Section 5), and ~39.90 m for the shorter one (Section 7). However, the photographic evidence only shows one drain at the foundation level (Figure C.45 and Figure C.47). The original floor in the courtyard is roughly traced at about ~39.50 m (± 0.10 m), except towards the eastern corner of the courtyard, where it is higher. M44:2 seems to have been installed at ~39.50m, too. Thus, the lowest drain level outside the Temple Oval probably belongs with the foundation of the temple. The longer drain exits the outer oval wall at an elevation of ~39.05 m (Section 5; Figure C.48). Due to the drain pot installed later (M44:6), the context of the earlier shorter drain was not fully explored, or it was destroyed. A drain appears at ~39.55 m (Section 7; Figure C.49), but this seems not to be the earliest, as another drain appears below (Figure C.50), what appears to be the drain cover, at ~39.26 m. This level is suggested as roughly the ground level north of the Temple Oval.

¹² Although the field plan notes elevations for the drain through the outer oval wall, these were probably reconstructed as there appears to be no evidence left.

House D was serviced by a drain located in its courtyard (L43: 3), which led directly outside room L43:1. Two photographs (Figure C.52 and Figure C.53) illustrate the area between House D and the area NW of the Temple Oval at several stages of excavation, clearly showing how the top level of the earliest drain, parallel to the bottom of the enclosure wall, follows the original ground level inside and outside House D. From the north corner of L43:3 at an elevation of ~39.40 m, the drain slopes downwards to ~38.90m through L43:1 and finally ends at ~38.50 m. Thus, there was a differential of about 1.00 m between floor levels inside and outside House D. Another drain was found opposite K43:2, but it was only traced through the wall and not inside the building. Finally, the drain from M43:9 (Section 4) was traced at 39.26 m on the inner face of the outer oval wall, which is roughly on a par with the drains off M44:2 discussed above. There is, however, no photographic evidence for this lower drain, only for the drains located at a higher elevation (Delougaz 1940: 92 fig. 84).

Two drains are described along the SE part of the building. The drain associated with N47:3, a bitumen-covered space between the walls, was traced at an elevation of ~38.76 m on the external face of the outer oval (Figure C.54). The drain located in square O46 appears clearly on Section 12, where it is once again levelled with the top of the foundation wall, at ~39.52 m.

Soakaways seem to have been placed between the outer and inner oval walls at J45:3 and M44:8. J45:3 was originally assigned to the later brickwork from Oval 3; however, its elevation is compatible with an earlier date, given that the remains of the structures in K45:6 dating to the foundation of the temple were traced to a similar or higher elevation (~39.50 m). It could be linked with a later renovation, since the elevation of “drain 1” in the courtyard stood at ~39.77 m (Table 6.2). The remains in this area were rather shallow and thus it would be difficult to establish beyond doubt (Figure C.55; Figure C.56). By contrast, M44:8 seems to have only been in use as a drain during the first occupation period (Figure C.51; Figure C.49).

In my opinion, the evidence suggests the level of the lowest drains surrounding the Temple Oval is likely to coincide with the foundation of the temple. They are described as uncovered drains (Delougaz 1940: 124), though they are sometimes covered with another layer of baked bricks. Thus, they mark (roughly) the floor level along their course. A differential of 1.00 m between different points around the temple—both inside and outside—is not significant for a building of this size and nature. The next section explores these relationships.

GRADING OF FLOOR LEVELS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE OVAL

The excavators noted a sloped profile of the supposedly exposed foundation wall outside the temple, which appears to have been caused by erosion. The eroded profile would seem to suggest that the brickwork was exposed to the elements around the perimeter of the building. However, it does not necessarily suggest that more than half a metre was exposed, although this cannot be established beyond doubt. The best evidence showing this phenomenon are the two archival photographs already discussed with relation to the drain outside House D (Figure C.52 and C.53). The profile of the slope is also not consistent along

the entire perimeter. Considering the elevations at which the drains were set along the outer oval wall, it seems the foundation wall was indeed exposed to the elements in some areas, though not as far down as reconstructed by the excavators. As noted above, if too much of the foundations were exposed, this could have facilitated structural damage. Nowadays, the standard for shallow foundations is around 1.00 m below ground; obviously, this need not be exactly the same in the past, but it works as guidance. In fact, 1.00 m seems to be a good estimate, for the drains were built roughly 1.00 m above the bottom of the foundation wall (see Table 6.2), as discussed in the previous section. It also coincides roughly with the sloped profile of the exposed foundation wall, which the excavators described as well (Frankfort 1934: 65 and Delougaz 1940: fig. 110). Ethnoarchaeological studies demonstrate the same phenomenon appearing along alleys two to three meters wide in a modern village in the Zagros mountains (Figure 6.5).



Figure 6.5 – ALIABAD ALLEY, IRAN (KRAMER 1982: FIG. 4.2).

Beyond the rounded profile of the foundation wall itself, the excavators reconstructed a gentle slope away from the wall down to what they identified as the ground level, which is consistently set at between 38.00 m and 38.50 m. This reconstruction was largely based on the discovery of the stone steps at J44:1 (Figure C.57), as they stood at ~38.00 m, as well as the area outside House D (Frankfort 1934: 65). As noted before, the elevation of the sand fill cut varied across the perimeter of the building, and so did the height of the foundation wall. Therefore, it seems logical that the ground level along the perimeter would also change, and a difference of 1.00–2.00 m is not significant for a building the size of the Temple Oval (Table 6.3). The ground level at the entrance in J44:1 is the lowest, standing only ~0.50 m above the sand fill cut, whilst the highest was at the opposite end, where the drain in O46 was uncovered, at ~39.50 m (Section 12). Except for the area around the gateway, the rest of the foundation wall was at least 1.00 m below ground.

Suggested occupation levels for Oval 1, First Occupation (m)				Difference
External perimeter		Interior		
Outside entrance J44	38.00-38.20	M45:3 against platform	39.40-39.45	0.80m
Outside House D (N corner)	38.50	Courtyard House D	39.30	
Street NE of Temple Oval	38.85-39.20	N corner of inner courtyard	39.35	
Outside E corner	39.00-39.20	E corner of courtyard	39.90	0.90m
Outside S corner (N47:3)	38.75	Plaster floors N corner of platform	39.85-39.40	-0.20m
K46 outside Temple Oval	38.60	W corner of inner courtyard	39.30	0.70m
Outside W corner	38.50			
Difference J44:1 vs. E corner: 1.90m				

Table 6.3 – SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTED OCCUPATION LEVELS FOR THE FIRST OCCUPATION OF THE OVAL TEMPLE ACROSS MAIN LOCI AND OUTSIDE ITS PERIMETRE.

The street surrounding the Temple Oval provides further evidence on the context of the foundation and urban setting of the Temple Oval, as it seems to mold to the shape of the temple. The field plans show the outline of a street shaped around the contour of the Temple Oval that is consistently linked with Houses 4–3 (Figures C.9, C.11 and C.13). Along the northwest corner (Figure C.11), the distinction made between Houses 4 (the building to the left) and Houses 3 (the rest — Figure C.12) is probably just the slope towards the entrance to the Temple Oval, as well as the effect of erosion, which perhaps made it look as if the buildings belonged to different levels. Since no elevations seem to have been recorded in this area (at least on the field plan), it is, however, difficult to clarify beyond doubt. Nevertheless, the fact that the buildings clearly form part of a coherent layout separated by a narrow alley supports this interpretation. The street was also traced in N47–O47, where the rounded contour of the walls along it was traced. These remains only appear published in the general plan of Mound A (Figure C.1), but can also be seen in the field plan (Figure C.9). The elevation of the walls along the street in this area (top of preserved wall: ~40.26–40.76 m; floor(?): ~39.72–40.00 m) seem to correspond with Houses 4–3 in the area northwest of the Temple Oval (Section 2), with a slight 0.5 m difference. They stood to a height just below the bottom of the buttressed outer oval wall.

The excavators describe a difference of 1.00–2.00 m between the level outside the gate (~38.00 m) and that inside the courtyard (~39.40 m for lowest plastered floor associated with M45:3; ~39.90 m against the east corner of the platform). However, this was probably not as pronounced, on average, if corresponding points outside and inside the perimeter are compared (Table 6.3). Despite this difference in elevation, the building itself, although clearly higher than the surrounding houses, was not set apart from its urban setting in a significant way, as evidenced by the street (3–4 m wide) that ran around its perimeter. The higher, mud plastered walls would have created a barrier that was nevertheless visually and aesthetically integrated in its urban setting. The original height of the outer oval wall cannot be reconstructed beyond the speculation though given its width, it must have stood higher than the average house.

THE CONTEXT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE OVAL

The Temple Oval was located on the edge of the settlement (Mound A), though due to its size it seems to have cut into its older part, which surrounded the Šamuš Temple. Whether Khafajah was inhabited or not during the construction of the Temple Oval—or which areas were inhabited—the cut for the sand fill to level the ground would have started at the existing ground level, or “Houses 6”. The excavators estimated that 64,000 m³ of soil had to be excavated and replaced by the same amount of sand, which was presumably brought in from the banks of the river (Delougaz 1940: 16). Besides bringing in the sand, it would have needed to be tamped meticulously and left to settle for some time before the foundations were laid down. After laying down the foundations, the material for the clay packing would have also needed to be brought in and tamped conscientiously. It would be too cumbersome to try to calculate how long these tasks would have taken, as the number of people involved in the construction project cannot be clarified, nor are any other details known. Without the sand fill, a mudbrick structure could be erected fairly quickly if the bricks themselves have been prepared in advance and all the individuals in a community take part. A modern example for comparison is the practice of *kar seva* for building gurdwaras, which are a place of worship for Sikhs (Glover 2012). Delougaz discussed modern mudbrick construction techniques observed while in the field in Iraq, pointing out that bricks are usually made in the spring but construction usually takes place in early autumn after the dry season (Delougaz 1933: 6). Kramer further noted that private houses, or even just extensions and reforms, could take several years to build (Kramer 1982: 94), which means the Temple Oval could potentially have taken quite a long time to build. The nature of the project suggests, nevertheless, that it would need to have been executed collectively. The variability in brick size observed at the Temple Oval (Delougaz 1933: figs. 3 and 6–8) and the “rubble” technique employed (Delougaz 1933: fig. 25) support this conclusion.

Once the foundations were laid down, it would have been necessary to raise the ground level to the elevation at which the drains were found. Perhaps the resulting process of construction did not follow a steady chronological or stratigraphic sequence, so that the coherent sequence of Houses 6–3 represents an amalgam of changes over a period of time roughly 100 years in length, if one is to adopt ARCANÉ’s ECM 5 periodization (Table 3.1). These changes need not have taken place in sequence, as proposed by Delougaz. For example, the difference between Houses 6 and Houses 5 was based on slight alterations, such as the shifting of an internal partition wall (Delougaz et al. 1967: 11). Whilst the Small Temple and the house between it and the Šamuš Temple may have been rebuilt, or at least some parts of them, the house next to the Temple Oval does not show any significant changes (Figure C.14). The elevation of the walls is consistent (breaks in the mudbrick structure were not recorded, at least in the field plans) and the floor elevations could have easily been arbitrarily set as the workers traced only walls or other substantial structures (Figure C.58). Only if a room was plastered would it have been easily recognised as an occupation floor. Thus, the excavators’ reconstruction of the sequence of occupation could also be biased in favour of the sequences in the Šamuš Temple, which was the main source of evidence for the Early Dynastic periodization established by the excavators, based on architectural principles (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 123, 125f.).

Just as with Houses 6 and Houses 5, the differences between Houses 5 and Houses 4 (Figure C.15) and Houses 4 and Houses 3 (Figure C.16) show that changes did not affect the three buildings between the Temple Oval and the Šamuš Temple simultaneously, but that they could have been altered or rebuilt completely at different times. There is no extant photographic evidence of the changes in the mudbrick that could establish beyond doubt whether a complete reconstruction or just internal renovations were carried out, and in which sequence. The lack of real stratigraphic relationships between the various buildings and levels across them makes it nearly impossible to establish the sequence.

Both Delougaz's and Margueron's reconstructions of the stratigraphic sequence are modelled on a symmetrical urban development of the settlement, meaning that all structures are considered to be built (and rebuilt) at the same time. Delougaz established many construction phases based on relatively small architectural changes that could signal individual changes affecting only certain buildings. By contrast, Margueron reduced the number of construction phases and introduced the concept of the *couche architecturale*, which includes a foundation level and temporary, non-occupation surfaces that misled the excavators to establish numerous occupation floors (Margueron 2012: 72f.). He concludes that there were only four "real" construction levels, and that in each case the city was entirely constructed in an artificial way and in a single operation (Margueron 2012: 75).

The bias regarding the distinction between construction phases is evident if one looks at the sequence of drains uncovered in Šamuš IX, for example (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 66 fig. 58). There, a basin and drain installation was also uncovered in the courtyard, and five occupation floors distinguished based on the superimposed drains leading away from the basin. Because the drains did not change course, the excavators chose not to illustrate the five floorplans of the temple. By contrast, the reconstruction of the sequence of three occupations in Oval 1 gives the impression that the building was occupied for a much longer period of time because "more changes" occurred between the three occupation levels defined (Delougaz 1940: 139). Establishing chronological distinctions between floorplans based on certain types of reforms and not others can lead to bias in the reconstruction of the lifespan of a building. The life expectancy of a building varies significantly based on a variety of factors that do not seem to have been fully accounted for in earlier excavations. At Khafajah, the main element used to estimate the length and absolute dates of the Early Dynastic period was the mud replastering on the walls of Šamuš Temple VII (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 125f. and fig. 112). However, in one of the earliest ethnoarchaeological studies of mudbrick architecture in the Middle East, Carol Kramer demonstrated how "*the "traditional" Middle Eastern mud or mud-brick house may have a longer life expectancy than is sometimes attributed to it,*" that "*the process of mounding occurs side by side with the construction of new houses,*" and that "*the structural alteration and frequency of plastering vary among households*" (Kramer 1982: 264). The number of construction "phases" in buildings or of plaster layers on the walls do not necessarily signal coherent periods of occupation, and the frequency and quality of wall plastering could vary according to socioeconomic factors that affect urban development and the process of mounding (Figure 6.6).

From the above observations, the context of the foundation of the Temple Oval is clearly set within the Houses 6–3 phase. It is here suggested that the original ground level outside its perimeter is set by the drain elevations, which differs from the original reconstruction, thus somewhat shifting the relative



Figure 6.6 – BUILDING DECAY, MOUNDING, AND “RAMP” AT NORTH END OF ALIABAD
(KRAMER 1982: FIG. 4.9).

dating of the foundation of the temple and eliminating the chronological differences between Houses 6 and Houses 3. Houses 6–3 constitute a coherent local occupation period and subphasing is unwarranted. The reconstruction of buildings, as well as renovations would have taken place across the area at different points in time over its life span, which has recently been correlated with a ED IIIa = ECM 5 date, lasting ca. 100 years (ARCANE 2017). The original distinctions between “construction phases” were made based on an amalgam of archaeological, art historical and textual dating schemes that do not hold up under closer scrutiny, especially given the limitations of the excavation. In fact, the material culture distinctions made between the phases correlated with ED II and ED IIIa in the area around the Temple Oval have proved inconsistent and do not sustain the existence of a “real” period that can be assigned an absolute date (Evans 2007; Reichel 2009). Regional vs local periodization requires further investigation.

Given the size of a construction project such as the Temple Oval, it is possible that the area surrounding it was both inhabited and/or ruined whilst it was being built. The Šamuš Temple at least seems to have been in use uninterruptedly, but it was after all the most important building in the town. Despite the new layout introduced with “Houses 6”, the area between the Šamuš Temple and the Oval Temple seems to have been planned around the former, not the latter, as evidenced by the trapezoidal shape of the house directly outside the Temple Oval. Section A appears to suggest a foundation trench only for this wall at “Houses 6”; perhaps the original shape of this house had to be altered to accommodate the construction of the Temple Oval so that the “Houses 6” structures would predate its construction, which then had to be adapted to the new building leading to the changes observed in “Houses 4”. This area perhaps allowed for a communal space, a sort of town square, to form around the drain off M44:2. The trapezoidal wall was only partly traced to an elevation of 39.26-39.66 m, whilst the rest of the building’s walls were traced

to a higher elevation (40.60–41.20 m). The ash layer is recorded at 40.37 m in this area (Figure C.16). This suggests they were perhaps not part of the building, or ruined (Figure 6.7). Whilst it is impossible to elucidate what lay below the Temple Oval, and whether it was only residential or included an earlier temple or public space, the new building would have been firmly integrated in the urban layout of the town.

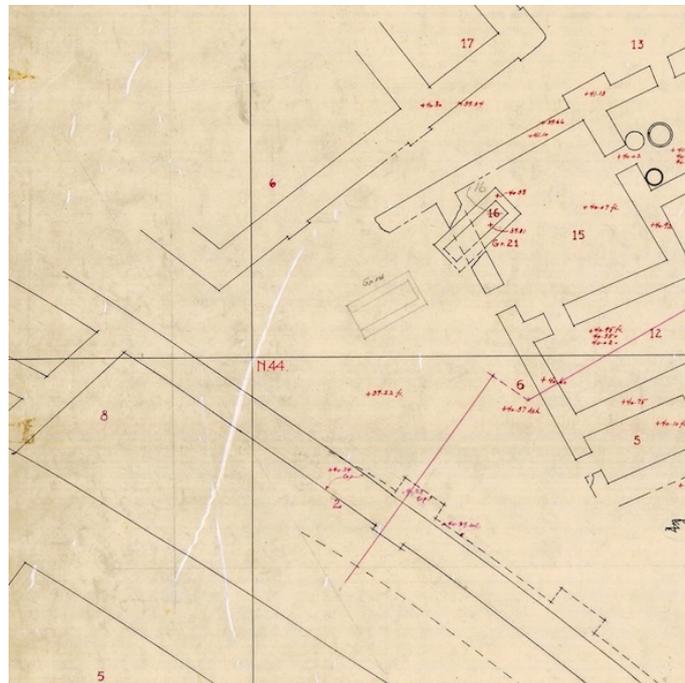


Figure 6.7 – DETAIL OF HOUSES 3 FIELD PLAN OUTSIDE TEMPLE OVAL.
 DETAIL OF HOUSES 3 FIELD PLAN SHOWING A POTENTIAL PLAZA BUILT WHERE THE DRAINS WOULD HAVE ENDED. THE GROUND FLOOR OF THE PLAZA WOULD NOT NEED BE COMPLETELY LEVEL, AND THE DRAINS WOULD HAVE BEEN AT A LOWER ELEVATION. THE DIFFERENCES IN ELEVATIONS IN THIS AREA ARE RELATIVELY SMALL AND ALLOW FOR AN IRREGULAR GROUND PLAN, WHICH WOULD NOT BE OUT OF PLACE IN A HEAVILY BUILT AREA (© 2013 DIYALA PROJECT).

6.5.3 THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN BUILDING PHASES

If Houses 6–3 constitute a coherent occupation period, the internal architectural changes within the Temple Oval pose further questions regarding the correlation between construction phases and historical periods. The alterations noted within Oval 1 building period and classified as first, second and third occupations (Figures C.2, C.3 and C.4) can easily be explained the same way the renovations or repairs in Houses 6–3 would have taken place. Certain renovations need not have affected the entire building, and the sequence divided into three distinct occupations may not hold up under scrutiny. Instead, the architectural changes observed could have been the result of everyday repairs at different times and for different reasons, be they functional, aesthetic, or symbolic.

For example, in N44:1 (the “macehead room”), four plastered floors are described. The lower three were assigned to Oval 1, thus fitting neatly into the three occupation levels. The fourth floor was

assigned to Oval 2, though it stands at the same height as the bottom of the supposedly new inner oval wall. Meanwhile, the courtyard wall appears to not have been rebuilt (Figure C.29b). The only clear stratigraphic disruption appears with the “sandy layer” and the “hooked wall” (= straightened oval = Oval 3) above. A layer of sand over a fill inside a room seems a clear sign of a new building period, as evidenced at other sites such as al-Hiba (Hansen 1970). The sand deposit appears clearly above a fill deposit in N44:1 and M44:5, which is evidenced in an archival photograph (DiyArDa: AP “kh1-027”), the field register (DiyArDa: “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, page 24”), and the published preliminary section (Figure C.29b). The layer separates the straightened oval from previous material. However, the distinction made between an original inner oval wall and a later reconstruction (the “Old Wall” and the “Inner Ring Wall” in Figure C.29b) is not as clear-cut as it may appear.

The few photographs showing any detail of the excavation in Squares N44 and M44 between the inner and outer oval walls during the first season of excavation are inconclusive regarding the distinction between two construction phases. It was only along these squares that any significant distinction was made. However, only one distinct level of plastered floors was traced in the space between the two walls, which must be attributed to the earliest occupation of the Temple Oval as they overlay the clay packing and were later covered with ashy deposits (Figure C.29b). Figures C.59 and C.60 show details of the plastered floor in relation to the outer face of the inner oval wall. The photographs show the remains of the supposedly old wall at the bottom as the plaster extends vertically, with plano-convex brickwork of the second building inner oval wall on top. At times it is impossible to distinguish between the two, but that does not necessarily mean they were not distinct phases. Whether these represent separate constructions or are the result of a project that would have taken time and a team of people to plan and execute, especially between the laying down of the foundations and the erection of the standing walls (see Section §6.5.2), is difficult to say. The presence of a 0.14 m thick “refuse layer” at one spot (Frankfort et al. 1932: 66) is not enough to support the conclusion that the entire building was demolished, in my opinion, at least when other evidence does not overwhelmingly support such a conclusion.

Friday, February 24th., 1933.

Two men in Squares N-44 and M-44 in order to establish the different building periods of this inner oval at that spot. There is a distinct water deposit a few centimeters thick between the lower and the upper part, so that the two building periods of the inner oval, observed in the mace-head room from the inside, are clearly confirmed here.

(Khafajah Field Diary 1932/33, p. 52)

Saturday, February 25th., 1933.

The inner oval being at least of two periods, we cannot yet decide to which of them the earlier gate belongs. The later gate and the brickwork connected with it to the West, is founded on a layer of [sic] crushed baked bricks. This layer continues over a thin wall of perfect bonding which is connected with the inner oval.

(Khafajah, Field Diary 1932/33, p. 53)

The thin watery deposit, if indeed it existed (there is no photographic evidence), could be the result of time that elapsed between the construction of the foundations and the erection of the standing walls, or even simply the result of a sandstorm, as suggested for a similar deposit described in Nippur Area WF, between Level XVII, Phases C and B (McMahon 2006: 13). Likewise, in the case of the context of the earlier gate and brickwork connected with it presents problems to distinguish two separate levels.

In fact, the excavators explain how “*it even seems that parts of the earlier building continued in use*” (Delougaz 1940: 75). The plano-convex walls in House D, for example, were not rebuilt, as the exposed brickwork does not show signs of refurbishment (Figure C.61), and no floors can be securely attributed to a second building period since they are vaguely described as being not much higher than the original building (Delougaz 1940: 75). Another example are the installations in the courtyard, which cannot be firmly attributed to either “Oval 1, 3rd occupation” or “Oval 2” (Delougaz 1940: 80). Likewise, the changes in the size of the platform could be attributed to the straightened oval phase, rather than an Oval 2 phase. Figures C.62 and C.63 show the only details of the platform brickwork preserved in the northeast side; several foundation deposits were found between the two masses of brickwork on a thin layer of sand which included objects made of different materials: gold, copper, lapis lazuli, or carnelian (Delougaz 1940: 85–86). Finally, the fact that bricks of various sizes were employed (Delougaz 1933: fig. 3) and different patterns of laying them out were recorded suggest only that several specialists were employed to make them and lay them out, and that the construction project required planning but several teams of people must have been at work simultaneously. By way of comparison, at Ur, Woolley already proved that plano-convex bricks and flat bricks could coexist even in the same building, especially for such a large project as the temple complex found below the remains of the Ur III ziggurat (Woolley 1955: 35–36 and pl. 10c). The remains illustrated in Woolley’s publication correspond to his “Archaic II phase,” thus older than the “Archaic I” remains recently re-dated to the ED IIIa–b period by Benati (Benati 2013).¹³

The seemingly ruined state of the remains of the inner oval wall against the better preserved straightened oval, together with the ashy deposit traced in the area between the inner and outer oval walls in N44 and the scattered, fragmentary remains of walls unconnected with the layout of the building point towards a period of abandonment, which was not ruled out by the excavators (Figure C.59; Delougaz 1940: 96). Furthermore, the observed erosion predates the construction of the buttressed outer oval wall as the ruined remains appear slightly below the level of the new wall. One of the main questions that Delougaz sought to answer was whether the new outer oval wall was built at the same time as the thicker inner oval wall (Delougaz 1940: 75) and whether the buttressed oval wall and the straightened oval were contemporary (Delougaz 1940: 108f.).

The other argument employed to define the Oval 2 phase was the construction of a new outer oval enclosure, which increased in width from 1.50 m to 3.50 m (Figure C.5), thus similar in thickness to the inner enclosure wall, and which was now buttressed on its outer face (as opposed to the inner buttresses in Oval 1). The excavators noted the “slapdash” brickwork of the new outer oval wall, which clearly contrasted with the earlier brickwork of fairly pure clay (Delougaz 1940: 76). They also recorded a layer of ash, which they seem to trace across the Houses area and into the Šamuš Temple (Delougaz et al.

¹³The remains from Ur are actually of relative importance to the Temple Oval and will be discussed further in §7.1.

1967: 15; Figures C.21 and C.22). The ashy layer is consistently mentioned in reports; however, only one photograph survives that shows the layer against the outer wall of the Šamuš Temple and appears to be a destruction/abandonment level given its curved shape (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 72 fig. 65). The new outer oval wall was not traced along the entire perimeter of the building, thus raising doubts regarding the construction sequence between the Oval 1 structures and the later straightened oval (Oval 3), as evidenced in the difficulties discussed by the excavators to reconstruct the buildings from Oval 2 and Oval 3 phases (Delougaz 1940: 107f.). Furthermore, the ash layer that appears in Preusser's report from the first season of excavation is inconclusive, given that he had not yet found the remains of the earlier outer enclosure wall, which were buried below the wider outer oval (Frankfort et al. 1932: 65; Figure C.29b). I cannot see how Delougaz could subsequently determine that the ash layer traced by Preusser inside the temple must distinguish an earlier Oval 1 from a later Oval 2 construction. As noted above, the inner oval wall of Oval 1–2 seems to be ruined below the level of the new buttressed outer oval, so that I would tentatively suggest they may not have been contemporary after all, and that the buttressed wall may well belong with the straightened wall. However, it would be impossible to say with certainty either way.

If one is to admit the above considerations regarding the construction phases, then the following conclusions must be taken into consideration:

- Oval 1 and Oval 2 cannot be sufficiently distinguished stratigraphically or chronologically as reported in Delougaz's publication (Delougaz 1940).
- The assignation of artefacts to Oval 1 and Oval 2 was done based on the assumption that there existed two distinct construction phases separated chronologically, and that the artefacts belonged to ED II or ED III period based on the reconstructed sequence (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: fig. 15). However, this distinction was artificial to some extent. I suggest the scattered remains of restorations are part of individual restorations necessary for such a large building, but that the building in Oval 1–2 was not demolished and reconstructed in its entirety.¹⁴
- Between Oval 1–2 and Oval 3 the site was probably destroyed by fire, although the origin of the conflagration is not clear. It is also not clear whether a short period of abandonment followed the destruction or not.¹⁵
- Therefore, Oval 3 is a distinct construction phase associated with the widespread changes observed with Houses 2 and Šamuš X, as well as the disappearance of the Small Shrine and House D.
- The connection between the construction of the buttressed outer oval and the straightened oval is not completely clear, but I suggest they are at least contemporary. Perhaps one of the alternative reconstructions that Delougaz discussed but did not prefer—here illustrated as Figure 6.8 (Delougaz 1940: fig. 101)—better reflects the layout of the building during (at least part of) the Oval 3 phase.

¹⁴For example, ethnographic evidence of Gurdwara renovations discussed by Glover (2012) suggest these do not necessarily affect the entire building and, in fact, may incorporate older structures re-discovered as part of the renovation project.

¹⁵A similar situation appears in Mari, where the destruction of the city by an Akkadian king was followed by partial abandonment of certain areas of the settlement (see Section §4.1).

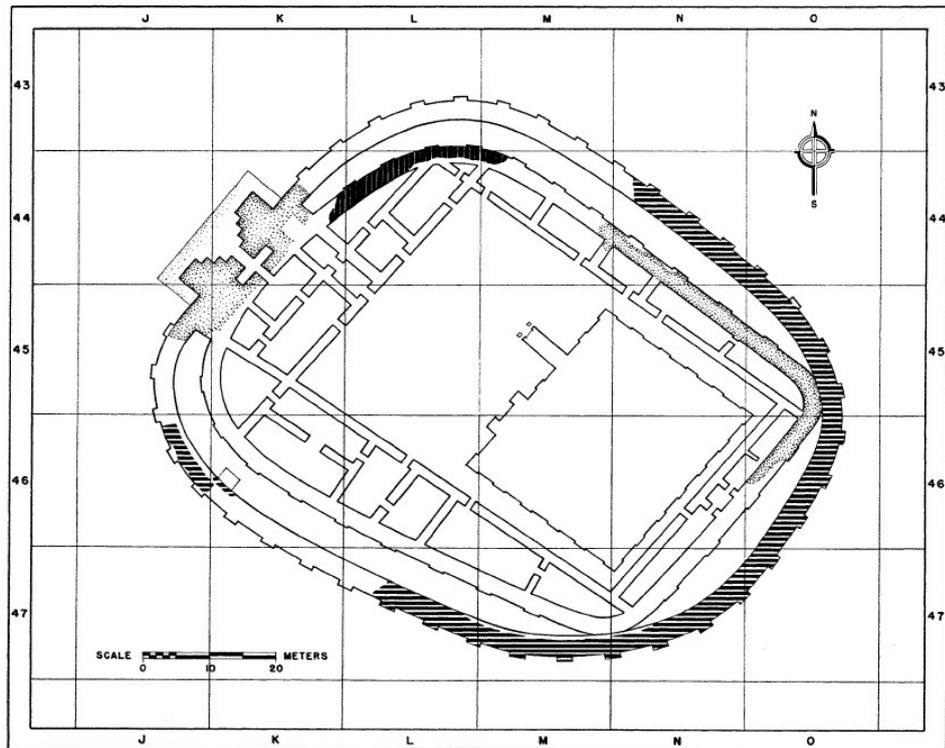


Figure 6.8 – CONJECTURAL RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, OVAL 3 (© 1940 De Lougatz) 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT; PUBLISHED IN DELOUGAZ 1940: FIG. 101).

6.5.4 DATING OF THE TEMPLE OVAL

Table 6.4 summarizes the chronological sequence in Khafajah as interpreted by the excavators as well as subsequent reanalyses by other scholars. Over time, the dating of important, usually artefact-rich, contexts across the site has shifted increasingly towards favouring a later date. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the basis for these changes has been largely limited to the reanalysis of the material culture associated with the building phases in the Šamuš temple (Khafajah) and the Abu temple (Tell Asmar). Certainly, the dating of the Diyala sequence remains open to discussion, especially since it formed the basis for the periodization of the Early Dynastic in the first place. There is a long literature on the characterisation of ED II as a subphase on the one hand (Porada et al. 1992; Evans 2007; Benati 2014), and on the transition between the Early Dynastic and the Akkadian period on the other (McMahon 2006). According to Evans, the term ED II was erroneously applied in the Diyala on the basis of an existing stylistic horizon from southern sites (Fāra) that is not reflected in the Diyala material. As a result, she suggested that what was described as ED II in the Diyala in reality stretches the ED I–ED IIIa chronological horizon. Likewise, the context of the ED IIIa–Early Akkadian transition in the Diyala has become a source of debate, and a seemingly lack of ED IIIb levels was already remarked upon by the excavators in their endeavour to establish an uninterrupted occupation sequence. In fact, ED IIIb appears to correspond with the Early Akkadian Period in the region according to later pottery analysis (Gibson 1982). However, some of the conclusions derived from pottery analysis have also been challenged by some, as evidenced in the exchange between Gibson and McMahon (1995, 1997) and Matthews (1997).

Regarding the statuary from Khafajah, [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: table 1\)](#) re-date the majority of contexts in which statuary was found to the later part of the Early Dynastic, noting the possibly archaizing features which could have confused earlier chronological sequences that relied too heavily on an art historical analysis. From the perspective of the textual evidence, I have already remarked upon the suggestion that the lack of ED IIIb texts was caused by the gradual expansion of the Akkadian empire, which would have incorporated the Diyala region earlier than other regions further away or with a stronger military (see p. 177). Since the Diyala was located closer to the capital Agade, it is likely the region fell under its influence earlier than other regions such as Mari or Uruk ([Reichel 2009: 4](#)). Perhaps this historical fact could explain the contradiction of finding plano-convex architecture with Early Akkadian material culture. Finally, [Dittmann's \(2013\)](#) recent analysis of the glyptic from the Diyala also suggests a slightly later dating for the contexts that were previously dated as ED II—now towards ED IIIa—and as ED IIIa—now closer to Early Akkadian in date. Interestingly, Dittmann places the glyptic from Oval 1 alongside that from Houses 4 rather than Houses 6, which is the traditional context used for the foundation of the Temple Oval. As I argued in the preceding analysis of the excavation, it is highly likely that the original ground level outside the Temple Oval when it was first built corresponds with Houses 4 more so than with Houses 6, although it is possible that the work for its construction started earlier and spanned a number of years given the volume of work required. Furthermore, I also argued that the excavators did not consider the existence of an uneven surface around the perimeter of the temple or the possibility that some of the changes in domestic architecture correspond to scaled interventions, rather than a uniform demolition and complete reconstruction of the entire area at one point in time.

Several points concerning the material culture associated with the first occupation of Oval 1 in House D as described by the excavators help to contextualise the dating of the first construction. As discussed in detail in this chapter, it is not clear, in my opinion, whether Oval 2 constituted a completely new construction over the ruined remains of Oval 1 or whether the changes observed corresponded to adjustments and repairs in life. First, it will be helpful to retain the excavators' sequence in order to highlight an important incongruence in the dating of some artefacts, which can provide a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the first occupation of Oval 1 associated with a conflagration in some of the rooms as described by the excavators.

Locus L43:7 is a rectangular room located between the main courtyard and the eastern, more domestic quarters of House D. It was excavated early on to the top of the foundation wall as evidenced in Figure C.84, which shows this locus in relation to the courtyard and rooms around it. The field plan from Preusser's excavation (Figure C.8) shows some of the main finds in each of the loci. A sketch in the field catalogue (Figure C.88) shows some of these finds "*in situ*" and the pottery shown in the west corner of the room is clearly visible in Figure C.84. Finally, the objects assigned to this locus are collated in Table C.2.

First, it should be noted that some confusion between L43:9 and L43:7 appeared in the publication, where L43:9 is described as the room where the "net sinkers" and textile remains were found ([Delougaz 1940: 55](#)); this was, however, L43:7 (see p. 172). A sketch in the field diary (Figure C.95) shows the finds from the earliest occupation level, although they seem to include both the occupation floor and the fill above it; this is impossible to distinguish in the archival evidence. The first correlation of levels across

the site was published in [Delougaz and Lloyd 1942](#) on the basis of the analysis of plastered floors in the Šamuš temple. This correlation established a date at the onset of the ED II period for the foundation of the Temple Oval (Oval 1). Oval 2 was dated to the ED IIIa, although the excavators noted a possible abandonment in-between these phases, which I have argued may be simply the result of elapsed time during the process of repairing the temple. The material from the floor and possibly the fill of locus L43:7 suggests a date in the ED III period, with some items possibly later in date. A descriptive list of the artefacts found in L43:7 is included in Appendix C as Table C.2. First, a group of seals included one in the drill style of pig-tailed women (Kh. I 509; Figure C.86), one in the brocade style (Kh. I 517; Figure C.87), and a cross style contest scene with bull-man and naked horned(?) human (Kh. I 514; Figure C.85). Although the first two are also found in earlier levels, it is clear from the context of other finds that they remained in use (or as heirlooms) throughout the Early Dynastic ([Dittmann 2013](#)). However, the contest scene can hardly be dated earlier than ED IIIa, especially for an inscribed example. When compared with the Fāra corpus, Harriet Martin remarked that “[a]ll Crossed Style seals and seal impressions whose provenances are known at Fāra were found with tablets and once with seal impressions of ED IIIa date [...which suggests] that the Crossed Style was common when writing became more generally popular” ([Martin 1988](#): 75). However, Martin concluded that in light of the ED II date of examples from the Diyala, this style of seal carving should be dated to the ED II period. Given the inherent issues in the Diyala sequence, it seems more plausible to understand the crossed style within Evans’s new periodization for the Diyala, that is, as ED IIIa ([Evans 2007](#)). In fact, the first inscribed seals from Fāra are clearly dated to the ED IIIa by [Martin \(1988](#): seal nos. 421–422, p. 264). Collon also problematised the Diyala sequence with regard to glyptic and how to adapt it to southern sites. She divides the Early Dynastic into ED A (ED I and early part of ED II) and ED B (latter part of ED II and ED III), noting the shift in the Diyala from a Susa-Syria trade in ED A to a Mesopotamian influence in ED B ([Collon 2005](#): 24). Collon’s ED B is marked by the vertical shift in the composition of contest scenes that can be appreciated in the seal from locus L43:7, as well as the seal M.1388 found in the foundations of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari (see Section §4.5.2 and Figure 4.5).

The seals are not the only evidence suggesting a date in the ED III for the assemblage found on the floor and fill of L43:7. Two bowls with inner rims (Figure C.89a,b) were also found in this room, seemingly in the same pile of debris according to the field sketch. These and other examples were dated to the ED III period by the excavators, with the majority assigned to contexts in Houses 2/3 and some slightly slender types dated into the Akkadian period ([Delougaz 1952](#): 95, pl. 97a-k). A third bowl (Figure C.89c) with a flat rim was given an ED II date, but this is not clear as no comparative examples were found. Therefore, these also seem to suggest a date into the ED III period at least. All three are assigned to Oval 1 in the publication ([Delougaz 1940](#): 156).

That this was the earliest and possibly only floor in L43:7 can be established from the field plans and archival photographs. House D was largely excavated during the first season, and Preusser’s plan (Figure C.8) notes the elevation in L43:7 as +39.19 m. Delougaz’s later field plan (Figure C.11) includes the elevation of the top of the foundation wall in L43:7 as +39.08 m. The top of the foundation wall was traced at an average +39.17 m across the perimeter of the Temple Oval (see Table 6.2). Although the elevations were probably only added at the end of the first season (March 1931) after the arbitrary geometric reference point was set at +40.00 m on top of the basin in the main courtyard, the archival

photograph shown in Figure C.84 clearly shows the depth to which L43:7 was excavated, and this was clearly the height of the preserved wall (≥ 1.00 m). Although Delougaz established two floors in House D at +38.91 m and +39.11 m (see Figure C.11), these probably reflect an intention to assign floors to building phases rather than real traced floors. Furthermore, a floor at +38.91 m would appear lower than the elevation of the top of the foundation wall in some places.

Finally, a large, complete spouted vessel with ridged shoulder and base (Kh. I 642; Figure C.90) was found in courtyard K43:3. Based on archival photographs, it appears significantly below the height of the courtyard's south wall and is approximately 0.40 m tall (see Figure C.84). It appears to sit at an elevation of about 0.80–1.00 m below the top of the wall, although this is impossible to determine with precision today. Despite the good preservation of the vessel, no floor was traced at the elevation of its rim, although a similar vessel was found embedded in a floor in Abu Salabikh (Moon 1949: 149 cat. 706). Therefore, it is not clear whether the vessel belonged to the original occupation or a later untraceable level at least 0.50 m above the original floor (which would in fact be at a higher elevation than Delougaz's Oval 2 occupation). The vessel was originally assigned to Oval 2, ED IIIa (Delougaz 1952: pl. 191). McMahon compares this vessel with 'Type C-16b' in Area WF of Nippur, noting it may be an eastern variant based on the examples from the Diyala, Hamrin, and further east (McMahon 2006: 72 n. 100). In Area WF, Type 16-b appears from Level XIVB in small numbers, increasing in frequency from Level XII onwards (McMahon 2006: table 60). Area WF Level XIV marked the transition from the early to the late Akkadian period according to McMahon. Moon dated the example from Abu Salabikh to early ED IIIa but it has a rounder profile with the spout placed along the curvature of the shoulder (Moon 1949: pl. 2b). The example from House D by contrast has a sharper profile and the spout appears closer to the rim.¹⁶ Other vessels with ridged shoulders from Khafajah are dated mainly to Akkadian contexts (Delougaz 1952: pl. 191) while vessels with simple necks and a vertical spout near the rim are found in Houses 4 graves onwards and dated to ED III (e.g. Kh. NR:571 = C.525.462; Delougaz 1952: pl. 90b). In conclusion, while the exact depositional context of this vessel remains unclear, it must be dated firmly in ED III.

House D was investigated in more detail than other areas of the Temple Oval. Furthermore, there appears to have been an intention to conciliate the findings from this area with the construction periods reconstructed through the analysis of the overall evidence across the area and the site. Consequently, it is possible that the correlation between the relative chronology established for the site and the stratigraphic relationships observed in relation with the material culture found within the Temple Oval deserve some reconsideration. On the basis of the evidence presented above, I would suggest that the evidence from the earliest occupation in House D suggests a dating in the ED III period, possibly towards its latter part. This suggestion remains open to discussion, as it is based on the few pieces of evidence that can be taken into consideration due to their more detailed description and recording in the archival sources. In any case, what the evidence from within House D supports is a *terminus ante quem* for the foundation, as the artefacts found could have been deposited at any point throughout the life of the earliest occupation

¹⁶The examples used for comparison by McMahon include one from Tell Abqa dated to ED III–Akkadian (Trumpelmann 1982: fig. 8) and one from Tell Sabra (Tunca 1987: pl. 54/2). Trumpelmann remarks that the ridged decoration along the base and the more stylised ridges on the shoulder and pronounced shoulder angle are more common in examples of ED III and Akkadian dates (Trumpelmann 1982: 47). Tunca dates the example from Tell Sabra to the Akkadian period.

floor. Nevertheless, the evidence discussed concerning the stratigraphic relationship between the Temple Oval and the surrounding domestic architecture also suggests the foundation of the Temple Oval could actually be linked with Houses 4 rather than Houses 6, in which case the lifespan of Oval 1/2 could be placed roughly between the remains associated with the rounded street surrounding the building (roughly Houses 4) and Houses 2 perhaps before the walled quarter was built. This assessment seems to be in agreement with the most recent reanalysis of both the statuary (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011) and the glyptic (Dittmann 2013) from Khafajah, as reflected in Table 6.4.

6.6 DISCUSSION

Oval temples have been discussed both within the evolution of temple architecture in southern Mesopotamia (Forest 1996; Ławecka 2011a) as well as in relation with similar structures found in northern regions that served various functions and are dated to the earlier Halaf through to ED I periods (Ehrenberg 2005). The origins and tradition of oval temples were already questioned by the excavators of the Temple Oval, who pondered about whether oval temples “reflected a tradition native to the land or one brought in from another regions long before the Early Dynastic period” (Delougaz 1940: 145). From the evidence gleaned in this chapter, it appears that the Temple Oval, which was up until now dated to the ED II period and thus the earliest dated oval temple of its kind, may be dated to the onset of the ED III period at the earliest. Therefore, an imported tradition following the earlier structures from northern regions appears insufficiently supported in this case. Consequently, the theory that this was an innovation of the ED III period seems to gain strength. But why is this important?

A chronological context in the ED III is important because this period is when ‘true’ kingship can be traced in the development of palace architecture together with ‘true’ cities evidenced in the restructuring of intrasite space from a more open layout towards a more crowded urban layout (Stone 2013). Excavated oval temples, with the possible exception of al-‘Ubaid for which evidence is lacking, are integrated in the urban fabric of cities yet separated through the increasingly elaborate use of walled enclosures. They are also located on the periphery of the settlements, a fact also pointed out by Stone. That several important temples of this kind were built for the goddess Inanna is also significant insofar as it is linked with royal patronage of these constructions. Several are mentioned in other inscriptions that suggest perhaps kings were not always in charge of building temples. In fact, how did rulers in particular become the builders of temples dedicated to the deities who were responsible of legitimising their own power? Perhaps it is in these oval temples, which only appear in the ED III period, that we see such a specific development. The construction of a new temple by a king needs to meet specific requirements, as Suter (2000) demonstrated through her analysis of Gudea’s inscriptions. It is perhaps naive to assume that these specific requirements of rulers were already well established during the Early Dynastic period, as opposed to a community-based project such as reflected in the earlier temple constructions in Khafajah. Therefore, is it possible to trace the introduction of the specific practice of royal temple construction through these oval temples in particular? If one concedes that the Temple Oval might have been dedicated to Inanna —although this remains speculative—how, then, does the emerging figure of the goddess Inanna fit within such an interpretation? These questions will be explored further in the following chapters.

7

Comparative Analysis

THIS CHAPTER OFFERS A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS of architecture and the material culture from each case study. Resting on the detailed reanalysis of the excavation and stratigraphy carried out in the previous three chapters, the following sections shall bring together the evidence in a comparative manner to draw correlations between temple construction, material practices and the historical emergence of ruling elites and kingship during the Early Dynastic period, with a particular focus on gendered practices. Differentiating between primary use contexts on the one hand, and primary, secondary or even tertiary depositional contexts constitutes an important element in the contextualisation of the material culture carried out in this chapter. As seen in the previous three chapters, each case study is unique and presents unique depositional contexts as well as methods of excavation that impact to a greater or lesser degree our ability to reconstruct contexts of use and deposition of artefacts today. On the basis of the examination of each excavation that I have carried out for the purpose of this thesis, I will discuss the confidence with which the relationship between use context and depositional context can be inferred from the data, as well as the limitations of such interpretations.

The artefact categories that will be examined include statuary, stone vessels, stone plaques, and inlays. These objects have been employed in the past by other researchers to reconstruct the presence and role(s) of women in Early Dynastic society, partly drawing on textual sources supplemented and illustrated through the analysis of iconography in visual representations. These artefact categories display specific gendered aspects. For example, inscribed statues of females are virtually unknown although the chronologically earlier practice of inscribing stone bowls is almost entirely correlated with female individuals

even if the inscriptions mention their husbands and family members. By contrast, stone plaques offer visual evidence of males and females interacting ostensibly in acts of celebration and commemoration which offer contextual evidence with which to compare the statuary and stone vessels. Finally, inlays also offer further contextual evidence for social interactions among men and women and between them which contain details otherwise impossible to discern or recreate in stone sculpture. For example, they offer comparative evidence on female clothing and hairstyles, the details of which are sometimes not clear in the less detailed or more damaged examples in the round. The proposed detailed analysis of the objects within their archaeological context can offer further details on the ways in which the involvement of women in cultic activity could have been critical in shaping elite identity and the figure of the king during this period. It is certainly impossible to gauge a complete picture of the ways in which men and women of different ages and statuses interacted in the context of ritual activity during this period without looking at the textual evidence, which I shall explore in further detail in Chapter 8. However, the point of the analysis in this chapter is to highlight the ways in which examining material culture independently can contribute important findings in their own right, findings that can also help contextualise the often difficult to interpret textual evidence. The issues connected with an over-reliance on textual sources in the case of Inanna/Aštar were laid out in Chapter 2, where I argued that a certain confirmation bias in favour of continuity of cult had limited the examination and interpretation of the archaeological evidence from the Later Uruk to the Akkadian period, leading to unwarranted or ambiguous interpretations that remain open to contest. It is here suggested that the combination of a contextual analysis of the material culture with a detailed reading of textual sources can yield stronger interpretations that reduce inherent bias in the interpretation of each type of data as well as complementing each other to fill the qualitative lacunae in each source type. For example, textual evidence is rarely self-explanatory about the context of ritual but offers details about agents and the administration of cultic activity involving offerings that are often perishable in nature. Conversely, objects are not always self-explanatory about the agents involved in their production, use and deposition but the context in which they are found can yield information about their value, function and symbolic meaning. The contextual analysis of material practices that involves built spaces, objects and texts can enhance understanding ritual as a performative practice with social and political implications.

7.1 ARCHITECTURE AND THE POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF SPACE

The three case studies presented show widely different characteristics in terms of their construction and internal layout. Earlier studies on temple typology were predicated on an art historical approach, such as Heinrich's (1982), focussed on the internal layout of buildings. The organising principle to understand temple architecture and its evolution was based largely on defining the cella and to some extent the immediately surrounding rooms, giving rise to two preminent types *par excellence*: the bent-axis and the straight-axis cellas. Tunca's (1984) study highlighted the limitations of typological definition, chronological contextualisation and identification of temples in the Early Dynastic period. His study began to look at the hierarchization of religious spaces based on size, though he concluded that the size of temples likely depended on the 'social stratification' Oppenheim suggested probably existed in Mesopotamian religion (Tunca 1984: 245,

citing Oppenheim 1977: 181). But why seek social stratification in the divine world rather than on earth? Perhaps something can be said about the social setting of temples, how they were integrated in the urban fabric, and how this integration played an important role in the organisation of society and the power vested on public figures such as the town assembly, the elites, and the emerging kings.

Recent work is beginning to address these limitations in the literature, such as Ristvet's (2011) study of how town planning structured political interactions in the making of northern polities, or Stone's (2013) analysis of urban planning and the social relationship between palatial and temple architecture. In light of these studies and the detailed analysis carried out on the three case studies here presented, it is perhaps adequate to revisit questions concerning the role of kings in temple construction, the development of social and political landscapes, and how these are contextualised within a historical framework.

7.1.1 CHRONOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE CASE STUDIES AND ITS RELEVANCE

Before focussing on the implications that temple construction and the organisation of urban space may have had on the hierarchisation of society, it is important to contextualise the construction and use of these buildings within a coherent chronological framework. Table 7.1 reconciles the analysis carried out in chapters 4, 5 and 6 within a relative cultural periodization and the latest calibrated dates (Benati and Lecompte 2017: table 2). Allowing for certain flexibility in the relative positioning of the construction and lifespan of these buildings, their dating within the ED III period is fairly clear on the basis of the stratigraphic, ceramic and glyptic analysis. Establishing any further divisions between ED IIIa and ED IIIb becomes extremely difficult unless stratified texts exist that can help date a context with more precision. How the relative periods span across the occupation of each site, and how these can be correlated with one another becomes an even more difficult endeavour. Nevertheless, this table reflects this author's best attempt at qualitatively calibrating the evidence both from primary as well as secondary sources.

7.1.2 THE SOCIOPOLITICAL DIMENSION OF RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES

That temples existed before the ED III period is not here questioned, but what appears interesting is the stronger relationship between temple construction and kingship that is appreciated in this period. On the one hand, unequivocal evidence of royal participation in temple construction appears in ED IIIb with Ur-nanše (Ellis 1968: 20). The new tradition of placing a specific kind of foundation deposit consisting of a (metal) peg and associated stone tablets in temples also emerges around the ED IIIa–b (Ellis 1968: 46f.), which begs the question of whether there existed a relationship between these emergent traditions and the consolidation of kingship above town assemblies and local elites. The relationship between public architecture and power cannot be overstressed in this case. Although a cautious suggestion, it appears to me quite possible that peg foundations were a royal innovation, in which the invention of a new tradition explicitly created to legitimise a certain social order and naturalise it can be traced. I would also put forward the hypothesis that these foundation deposits were restricted to temples commissioned by the relatively newly established kings, or those co-opted for that purpose. A potential association with oval temples also

Cultural periodization	Mari		Aššur	Khafajah	Nippur	Calibrated dates (BCE) [†]
	^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA	‘Aštar šarbat	“Ištar”	Temple Oval	IT [*]	
Akkadian	?	–	GF	Oval 3	VI–V	~2330-
ED IIIb	a	↑	↑	↑	VIIA [‡]	~2530-2330
	b	Occupation	G	Oval 1/2		
ED IIIa	c		↓		H	↓(?)
	↓(?)		↓(?)			
EDI/IIIa			?		↑ VIII	~2750-2700/2650
ED I					IXA XI–IXB	~2900-2750

^{*}Based on [Marchesi and Marchetti 2011](#): table 12 and [Dittmann 2013](#): table 3.

[†]Absolute chronology based on [Benati and Lecompte 2017](#): table 2.

[‡]Oval(?) enclosure traced around temple with this level ([Zettler 1992](#): fig. 8).

Table 7.1 – COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE CASE STUDIES.

deserves further attention, and I will discuss these temples in more detail in the next section. However, an exhaustive treatment of the foundation deposits is beyond the scope of the present work. Ellis’s analysis remains impressively informative in this regard, if perhaps the chronological framework of the Early Dynastic has since changed.

In a seminal work on how politics operates through landscapes, [Smith \(2003\)](#) demonstrated how political analysis that takes the concept of ‘state’ and its operation in an abstract sense devoid of a sense of space constitutive and transformative of political relations “*obscure the practical relations of authority that constitute the civil sphere*”, move analysis away from everyday life, and allow for ‘perceived regularities in structure’ to be unduly amplified ([Smith 2003](#): 16). Although Smith only touches on Early Dynastic material briefly, he discusses how the general interpretation of Urukagina’s reforms as “*a reactionary turn back to a more pious past*” has obscured the fact that they constituted a radical transformation ([Smith 2003](#): 237). More significantly, the reforms seem intrinsically linked with the shaping of the political landscape—in a literal sense, as they are bracketed with descriptions of architectural accomplishments. Building on this textual example and counteracting the assumption that spatial forms are markers of social development rather than constitutive of such processes, the three case studies examined here illustrate the variety of ways in which emerging elites and rulers engaged with public architecture as part of the material shaping of social hierarchy, the manufacture of authority, and the legitimation of power, which cannot be disentangled from the discursive foundations of Kingship or State.

7.1.3 SOCIOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPES IN KHAFAJAH

Occupation of the site spans throughout the Early Dynastic, but it is only with the onset of the ED III period that a conscious urban planning project was implemented across at least the central area of the site and which may have included a town wall. Before the horizon of Houses 6–3 (the distinction between these levels remains unclear), domestic and temple architecture were minimally differentiated, with several local or neighbourhood temples spread among the domestic architecture. With the restructuration of space at the onset of the ED III period, the neighbourhood temples underwent expansion and isolation from surrounding domestic areas by way of walled courtyards and restricted entrances that increased their isolation from the surrounding architecture yet continued to be fully integrated in it at the same time (Heinz 2013). The changes also increased the amount of space for controlled social gatherings. Out of the four smaller temples excavated, it is clear that the Šamuš temple was the best endowed, and it is possible that by then it had become a significant meeting point for the local elites and perhaps the elusive town assembly, which would have extended its function beyond that of an immediate kin-based neighbourhood.

Regarding the other ‘small’ temples, they appear to have also undergone extension with the shift associated with Houses 6–3. The Small Temple in O₄₃ was enlarged to include a courtyard and another room opposite the original cella. The Small Shrine was extended eastwards with a separate courtyard and associated rooms/cellas, although the context of these is not well understood. The fact that the Small Temple in O₄₃ was maintained after the extensive urban reorganisation that was carried out demonstrates its importance within the urban fabric of the site despite the lack of artefacts found inside. It also shows the evolution of access restriction imposed upon many religious spaces towards the late Early Dynastic, which seems to have marked the increased institutionalisation of ritual activity. The disappearance of all three smaller temples with the construction of a walled district between the Oval Temple and Šamuš may be characterised as the triumph of this institutionalisation and the associated expansion of centralised administrative activity that may have replaced traditional kin-based urban organisation. Rather than interpreted as individual temples dedicated to lesser deities in the ‘social hierarchy’ of an idealised pantheon, there is strong suggestion, in my view, that these spaces could function as spaces of social worship that may not be restricted to one deity necessarily. Their integration in the surrounding domestic architecture strongly suggests a close connection with the local population, as well as perhaps a tension between them, which was resolved with their disappearance during the transitional period between the Early Dynastic and the Akkadian period.

How does the Temple Oval fit within this reconstruction of socialpolitical dynamics in the urban architecture of Khafajah? Heinz (2013) examined the transition between the earlier tradition and the new design introduced with the Temple Oval. According to her assessment, the new design must have been introduced by a powerful group—an elite—who upon coming into power “*had had no benefit from the former ruling order and had at the same time the means at hand to change the situation*” (Heinz 2013: 191). I concur with her conclusion that the Temple Oval presents heterogeneous and ambivalent signs that supplied the building with an arcane aura (Heinz 2013: 192), which would have served the purpose of innovating through the invention of traditions as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argued. These contradictory signs, such as a complete Jemdet Nasr pot (Kh. IV 473) found *in situ* in locus L44:5 (Delougaz 1940:

25–27), or the flint sickles found in a wooden box (Kh. II 65) alongside a pot more likely dating to ED III (Kh. NR:772; Delougaz 1952: pl. 195, D.565.310) in locus N46:I (Delougaz 1940: 31–32) raise questions about the motivations of those behind the construction, as well as the Temple Oval’s function within an already established social–religious landscape. As Heinz points out, it is almost impossible to determine today whether the Temple Oval was the product of competing elite interests at the local level or incoming actors from ‘another’ cultural context (Heinz 2013: 192). I would argue perhaps the former appears to carry more weight. The fact that the new urban planning incorporated newly redesigned and enlarged domestic spaces, old religious buildings, and the new oval structure suggests to me that respect for established traditions was maintained and enhanced whilst exploring new spacial forms. An external force is more difficult to reconcile with the archaizing aspects of the Temple Oval and its integration within the urban landscape. This does not rule out external influences over local knowledge and style.

If the explanation for the construction of the Temple Oval rests on changing sociopolitical dynamics at the local/regional level, what were these? How did a group come to accumulate the wealth to afford such a structural change? Pollock (1999: 131) noticed the presence of textile-related material culture in the houses located to the north of the Temple Oval, as well as in the walled quarter that was built at a later date. Stone (2013: 161) also points out how changing patterns in the urbanisation of cities in the late Early Dynastic evidence a shift in animal husbandry from earlier small-scale private activity to large-scale management of cattle and sheep by the state. The shift is represented in the introduction of courtyard houses, which in Khafajah appears with the Houses 6–3 horizon. In Chapter 6, I noted that some of the items recorded as “net sinkers” found in House D but also in other contexts in the Temple Oval and in the houses northeast of the temple are likely candidates for loom weights possibly used to make fine garments given their weight and thickness because thin and light weights are better to produce dense garments with fine yarn. Furthermore, a cylinder seal possibly depicting a warping loom (used to make the starting border) was also found in a House 2 context (see p. 172f.). Although this evidence can hardly demonstrate industrial production of textiles at the site, it poses an interesting avenue of interpretation. Is it possible that the wealth required for the construction project came from the concentration of textile production and trade in the hands of a local elite? McCorriston explored the relationships between textile extensification and social stratification in ancient Mesopotamia, pointing out two key aspects. On the one hand, she argues that “*changes in textile production played an essential role in the emergence and transformation of ancient Mesopotamia from a predominantly kinship-organised to a predominantly class-based society*” (McCorriston 1997: 534). On the other hand, although the mechanisms themselves are not always well understood, it seems clear that textile extensification drove the social status of women in polar directions with a significant number of female workers in meagre conditions under state workshops at one end and elite women controlling the textile production in wealthy households (McCorriston 1997: 527–529). Finally, a recent contribution by Vila and Helmer (2014) has demonstrated the relationship between increasing urbanization and the development of large-scale wool production. Vila and Helmer demonstrate that the exploitation of small-sized sheep in northern Mesopotamia indicate that “*the 3rd millennium formed a key period in the development of a woolly breed and production of wool*” (Vila and Helmer 2014: 34).¹ Textual evidence on fabric quality and function suggests that the finest types of garments were made

¹Textual evidence consistent with Vila and Helmer’s model of large sheep with hairy coat exploitation during the preceding Late Uruk period is discussed in Appendix D and is further supported by iconographical representations

of a twill-type dense fabric (ba-tab-du₈) and a tabby-type but fine and light fabric (ni-lam₂), both of which are likely candidates for using light, thin loom weights (Wright 2013: 399). The evidence for weaving using a warp-weighted loom in 3rd millennium B.C. Mesopotamia is currently limited, though Breniquet (2014: 69) has argued this is due to interpretive bias of material dating as early as the Ubaid period.² As she also notes, the warp-weighted loom is mainly associated with wool weaving.

The evidence from House D is limited and points, if my interpretation is correct, to household manufacture of fine garments, which could be associated with elite women in this location and perhaps with activity in the Temple Oval. Whether larger scale textile production was present in Khafajah is a moot point, but comparisons—though on a much larger scale—may be noted in the contemporary sites of Girsu and Ebla, where centrally-controlled large-scale textile production is known under royal households, that of the queen in Girsu and the Royal Palace in Ebla (Maekawa 1973–4; Biga 2010). If a little later in date, the only Akkadian structure sometimes identified with industrial textile production is the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar, also in the Diyala. This identification is made on the basis of textual evidence, but again the archaeological evidence (such as spindle whorls or loom weights) is thin on the ground (Foster 2010: 119). The evidence from Girsu and Ebla also highlights the importance of textiles in cultic activity and in gift exchange networks, particularly in association with elite women (Wright 2013: 411f.; Biga 2016). In Chapter 8, the specific relationships between elite women, textiles, and the rituals associated with the (re-)generation of power will be explored further.

7.1.4 SOCIOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPES IN AŠŠUR

As discussed in Chapter 5, it is not possible to determine whether the temple dating to the Early Dynastic/Akkadian period was dedicated to the goddess Aštar like the much later structure built by Tukulti-Ninurta I. Nevertheless, this was quite possibly the oldest temple in the city, with the possible exception of a natural feature on the edge where the temple of the god Aššur would eventually stand. Furthermore, not enough is known from the earliest occupation levels of the site, which limits analysis of the sociopolitical landscape during the 3rd millennium B.C. (see Figure B.2). The later temples in this same spot played important roles in relation with the palace, the earliest remains of which are dated to the ED–Akkadian transitional period (Beuger 2007). The relationship between the later temples and the Palace can be ascertained through the royal patronage over the commission, design, and possibly use of the space by rulers, as evidenced by foundation deposits and inscribed objects including several stone ‘altars’. Furthermore, the fact that a series of temples with varying layouts were built in the same spot and that at a later date a temple dedicated to Nabû was built on top of earlier ruins hints towards the importance of the space and location of the temple within the urban landscape of the city, as well as its relationship with the palace. However, it does not seem to suggest the identity of the deity worshiped within its walls was its key defining element.

such as on glyptic or on the Warka Vase.

²Warp-weighted looms are attested in the Anatolian plateau as early as the 5th millennium B.C. (Peyronel 2014: 132).

7.1.5 SOCIOPOLITICAL LANDSCAPES IN MARI

The results of the reanalysis of the urban landscape in Mari and the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple suggest a close link between certain temples and the royal court in Mari. This section explores further these links, bringing together archaeological and textual evidence to reconstruct the political dimension of ritual in Mari during the Early Dynastic–Akkadian transition on the one hand, and the later developments during the early 2nd millennium B.C. on the other. The changes observed between the City II and City III religious landscape in Mari bear meaning in the construction of power in this polity, as well as codifying gendered relations in the construction of the image and personality of the goddess Aštar, her syncretism with Inanna, the relationship with the image and status of the king, and the liminal role of women as intermediaries between the goddesses and the legitimacy of the king, which will be explored further in Chapter 8.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF RITUAL IN MARI IN THE EARLY DYNASTIC

The situation of the suggested renovation of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple may be further explained within the contemporary political history of Mari in this period, which provides some key information on the sociopolitical context of temple building. In their very insightful article on the relationships between Mari and Ebla, [Archi and Biga \(2003\)](#) relate the on-going fights between the two polities, the evolution of their political territory, their political alliances in the region and with the city of Kiš further south, as well as Sargon of Agade when he began to expand his military presence across the region. While Mari had always been under the religious and political umbrella of Terqa and its god, Dagān, we do not know of any kings of Mari before the foundation of City II, which may suggest Mari was only a trade outpost during its earlier phase; whether it “belonged” to Ebla or a centre to the North (Tell Brak? Terqa?), or it was independently founded from the start by local groups remains obscure.³ With the foundation of City II, Mari sought to establish itself as an independent polity through the appointment of lugal (‘king’) rather than en (‘ruler/governor’). How this process took place also remains difficult to explain without further evidence from the transition between City I and City II. The foundation of City II implied a conscious effort to organise the space and integrate a palace for the new rulers with a complex of temples dedicated to a range of deities. Outside this complex, another temple to the west of the palace by the inner rampart was built. According to [Otto \(2014\)](#), this ‘neighbourhood shrine’ may have included tombs T.241 and T.242, linking the cultic setting of the temple with the northeastern regions, rather than with a purely southern or northern Mesopotamian tradition, i.e. the construction of temples on pure soil devoid of domestic architecture or prior interments. By contrast, the presence of foundation deposits in L17 and L18 of a type strikingly similar to other deposits found mainly in contemporary temples located in the Sumerian heartland (e.g. Ĝirsu, Lagaš, Adab, or Uruk) clearly posed an interpretive challenge as it suggested a southern influence in temple construction, or at least that their foundation aimed to emulate southern practices for a reason. I believe this was part of Mari’s aspirations to become a regional power, for which a strong cultic presence was essential. The practice is nevertheless mixed with other kinds of

³The material culture from City I does not suggest that Mari was controlled by a polity in southern Mesopotamia ([Lebeau 1985, 1987, 2007](#)).

foundation deposits that included the mixing of small objects in the wall mudbrick, such as in the temple of Ninḫursaġ (Beyer and Jean-Marie 2007). By contrast, a very different type of foundation deposit, the *maquettes*, are linked with domestic and urban spaces (Muller and Weygand 2007).

Without inscriptions on the foundation tablets, it is impossible to ascribe the foundation or the renovation of the temple to one particular king. With regard to the renovation, the statue of Yišqimari is suggestive as it places a *terminus ante quem* for the renovation. Archi and Biga (2003: 11) discuss how Mari must have been involved in fending off Kiš with Enšakušana of Uruk, probably contemporary of Yišardāmu of Ebla and Ṭābdayar of Mari (Table 8.2), after which Mari intensified commercial relations with Ebla. Seemingly within this period of short-lived affluence, Mari succeeded in defeating Haddu. The authors comment that the period of peace between Ebla and Mari lasted 25 years. Towards the reign of Yišardāmu, it seems Ebla succeeded in defeating Mari in some minor confrontation, but Mari soon replied by destroying Ebla in a military success that completely annihilated the city. In return, a few years later Mari would fall at the hands of Sargon. Although he submitted the city to complete destruction and burnt it down, it seems Mari did not befall the same fate as Ebla, and soon after reconstruction works began at the hands of the rulers appointed, it is assumed, by the Akkadian king. It is at this point that the evidence from the temple becomes difficult to interpret. Was the renovation carried out before Sargon's conquest, or after but before the refoundation of City III? Despite heavy erosion in this area of the tell, the lack of any objects of clear Akkadian date—which are found elsewhere on the site—seems to suggest Parrot was correct in concluding that the area was abandoned during this period. However, it may have been bricked up to prevent further destruction given that it was a sacred space.

Finally, the statuary from Mari is clearly of local production (Evans 2014a), whilst other material culture found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, such as the wealth of steatite vessels in the intercultural style, suggests links with a globalised elite exchange network in luxury or exotic items (Butterlin 2014c). How, then, to reconcile the seemingly opposing views that link the remains of this temple with local traditions and communities on the one hand, and a globalised trading community on the other? This question, and the material culture from the temple will be discussed in the next Section §7.2 on the material culture.

OLD AKKADIAN AND EARLY 2ND MILLENNIUM INNOVATIONS: IMPORTING GODDESSES INTO THE PALACE

With the Akkadian conquest, the temples dedicated to localised deities associated with “blood lineages” and local elites were abandoned; perhaps they had no place in the social world of a conquered city. Nevertheless, they appear to eventually resurface as Mari regained its independence in the 2nd millennium B.C.

Mari was likely conquered by Sargon of Agade towards the end of his reign (Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015). After the clear destruction level of the city that saw many buildings burnt and razed to the ground, temples ransacked and the statues within them systematically mutilated, the whole city and its monuments were not immediately rebuilt. Nevertheless, it seems that the new rulers—seemingly appointed by the Akkadian kings—rebuilt the palace and built a couple of temples among the ruins of the



Figure 7.1 – PLAN OF THE GREAT ROYAL PALACE OF CITY III (ADAPTED FROM MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 114).

old ones, thus acknowledging the sacredness of the ground and the need for the continuation of libations and offerings to the deities. In this picture, it seems that while Sargon accomplished the conquering of the city, its reconstruction was likely part of Narām-Sîn's reign as attested by his foundation deposits. These temples—now known as the “anonymous temples”—were short-lived and soon after the temple of Ninḫursaġ was rebuilt, thus attesting to the pre-eminence of this goddess over the city (perhaps Šalaš), as well as the “Temple of the Lions” with its attached terrace afterwards. Meanwhile, the evidence from the western edge of the town is not clear regarding whether and when L17 and L18 were rebuilt, if at all. According to Parrot, L17 and L15 were carefully filled in with rubble as well as with mudbrick walls, perhaps the foundations of a smaller superficial structure on top. Finally, a well was built in L15, where many fragments of diorite statues were found during the excavation. These, and other fragments found scattered in L15 but above the stone and gravel pavement, were likely the result of the destruction of the city at the hands of Hammurabi's army. Whether they were *in situ* or carried to this location in the aftermath of the ransacking is difficult to establish. Margueron (2017) suggested that the stone pavement and renovation of the temple belongs with the foundation of City III, and that the occupation floor(s) associated with this construction phase have all but eroded away. By contrast, I have argued that these structures belong with a late renovation in the ED IIIb/Protoimperial period, but establishing whether this happened before or after Sargon's conquest is probably impossible today. I opt to place the remains before Sargon's conquest, during a short-lived period of affluence and political power. The lack of any foundation deposits from the Šakkanakku period (typically a copper nail driven through an uninscribed brick) or the later Amorite period (inscribed baked bricks) (Margueron 2002a: 179) add weight to the conclusion that no complete reconstruction of the temple took place. Instead, it may have been bricked up, as suggested by the superficial

levels (see Section §4.5.8). This action may reflect an act of decommission or formal closure of the temple that befits any sacred space. As evidenced in the area occupied by the Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat temples, domestic architecture could supersede temple structures once the land was deconsecrated.

While the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA, Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat temples seem to have been decommissioned at the end of City II, other temples were renovated including the Šamaš and Ninḫursaġ temples, as well as the Temple of the Lions and the High Terrace. This shift suggests a change in the urban and cultic arrangements between pan-regional deities—who retained their temples—and localised ones—who lost them. However, localised deities did not completely disappear from Mari's cultic activity; they simply underwent a significant change that helps to better map the relationship between temple construction, cultic activity, and the legitimization of power at Mari. It is here proposed that they were incorporated into the realm of the palace, where they appear prominently in the spatial organisation of the building (Figure 7.1).

The overall configuration of the palace underwent significant changes that reflect an increased intertwining of religion within the royal court, especially in association with Ištar. The overall shape of the sacred precinct changed. In particular, the central space almost disappeared and two chapels were annexed to the long cella. In the first one (Room 145), a foundation chest with an inscribed broken male sculpture dedicated to Annunītum suggests it was a shrine dedicated to the city-goddess Aštar-Annunītum, thus reinforcing the Akkadian influence in the city. Perhaps this statue once stood in another shrine or temple dedicated to the goddess from the intermediate period and was deliberately interred in the process of renovation with the construction of the Great Palace. Meanwhile, the first court in the palatial complex was presided over by a chapel dedicated to Inanna/Aštar, as clearly identified by the paintings that were found inside (Figure 7.2). In this painting, we can see the astral manifestation of the goddess. She is sitting down in a throne and rays of light are depicted next to her. Below this scene, there is a similar one in which a male deity sporting a crescent above a simple cap is also sitting down and receiving liquid libations. This deity was most probably the god Sîn, Inanna's father in the southern tradition as Nanna. Therefore, here we can see the syncretised manifestation of Ištar as an astral deity.⁴ This painting is interesting as it offers an insight into the development of Mari's political alliances after Sargon's conquest. First, two inscribed bronze bowls were found in the Red House, located south of the temples of Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat (Figure 4.3) and dated to the Akkadian occupation (Margueron 2014b: 135). The bowls mention two daughters of Narām-Sîn's, Simat-Ulmaš, who married a prince or ruler of Mari, and her sister Šumšani, who was a high-priestess of the sun god at Sippar (Foster 2016: 22). Another of Narām-Sîn's daughters was Enmenanna, en-priestess of Nanna/Sîn in Ur. A seal belonging to one of her servants shows a strikingly similar representation of the moon god, who is depicted sitting on a mountain throne. He is wearing a tufted robe over the left shoulder and a simple cap with horns on which a crescent sits. He is holding a cup and opposite him a goddess with a multiple horned crown (Ningal?) is sitting on a simple stool, also wearing a tufted robe and holding a cup in front of her (Braun-Holzinger 1993: cat. 2; Colbow 1997: 20–21, fig. 2; Boehmer 1965: fig. 725a–f). Meanwhile, Colbow (1997: 22) remarks that the plain garment

⁴The spelling Ištar is here used for the post-Sargonic sources to differentiate between the earlier and distinct Inanna and Aštar from the later syncretised form, regardless of whether it is possible to distinguish the attributes of Inanna from those of Aštar given the use of a logographic writing with MUŠ₃. This includes the spelling *eš₄-tar₂*.

is typical from Neo-Sumerian depictions of the god. Furthermore, one of Šulgi's wives, Taram-Uram ('She-Loves-Ur'), was born in Mari (Foster 2016: 22). Thus, this representation seems to reflect a stylistic influence and motif borrowing from the ruling city of Ur in this period, reworked within the political landscape of Mari. The city retained its aristocratic status despite Sargon's conquest and established important genealogical links with the south, which may help explain the style of this painting and its mixed motifs.

A further development dated into the period of the Great Royal Palace is found in the second court, where a completely different scene welcomed those entering the throneroom and accessing the more private areas of the palace. The "Investiture Painting" stood at the threshold between the court and the ante-room to the throneroom. In it, Ištar in her more warlike manifestation stands, wearing her battle clothes with one foot on top of a lion and hands the rod and stick to the king (perhaps Zimri-Lim), therefore clearly establishing the hierarchical command between the goddess and the king. In the register below this scene we also find two female deities with vases from which water is flowing. This scene has been interpreted as the ritual representation of the crowning of a king, but also as an accurate visual reconstruction of the space inside the palace (Figure 7.3), whereby the vegetation on the fringes represent the fake palm tree that likely stood in the courtyard based on archaeological remains. The lower register represents the anteroom, where the statue of a goddess holding a vase was found. Finally, the central register represents the throneroom (Margueron 2014b: 152–153 and fig.175; Barrelet 1950). This image is highly suggestive if we remember that the temples of Aštar *šarbat*, Baššurat and ^dMUŠ₃.NITA disappeared after the ED IIIb/Akkadian period. As mentioned earlier, Baššurat seems to have been connected with ^dÍD, the 'river ordeal', and the inscriptions found in her temple point towards her role in relation with merchants, who would have traded along the Euphrates. The statue of the goddess of the flowing waters may be associated with the earlier Baššurat and identified as Ištar of Bišri (Lecompte and Colonna d'Istra forth.). The statue of a previous ruler (Ištup-ilum) placed on a podium in the throneroom materially establishes the genealogy of the king within the spatial organisation of the palace, and situates him closer to a supernatural realm.

Regarding state administrative texts of the Old Babylonian period, they reveal both intrasite and regional variation, naming Ištar, Ištar of the palace, Ištar of Bišra or Ištar of Dīr, but also Bēlet-ekallim, Bēlet-ḥiṣāri, or Bēlet-Akkadi.⁵ The particular case of Eštar Irradan (deity probably worshipped at Ekallatum, home of Samsi-Addu) at Mari has recently been studied by Knott, who proposes that "*localized Ištar goddesses like Eštar Irradan were often invoked to construct and amplify social and political ties across space*" (Knott 2017: 55). Whilst regional variations appear in the textual sources, there is no archaeological evidence so far for separate temples or shrines dedicated to any Inanna/Aštar figure outside the palace.

⁵Both Lambert (1985: 533) and Dossin (1950: 48f.) regard all as "avatars" or "hypostases" of Ištar. The difference between the syllabic *eš 4-tar₂* and logographic NIN *bēlet* 'lady' is not explained.

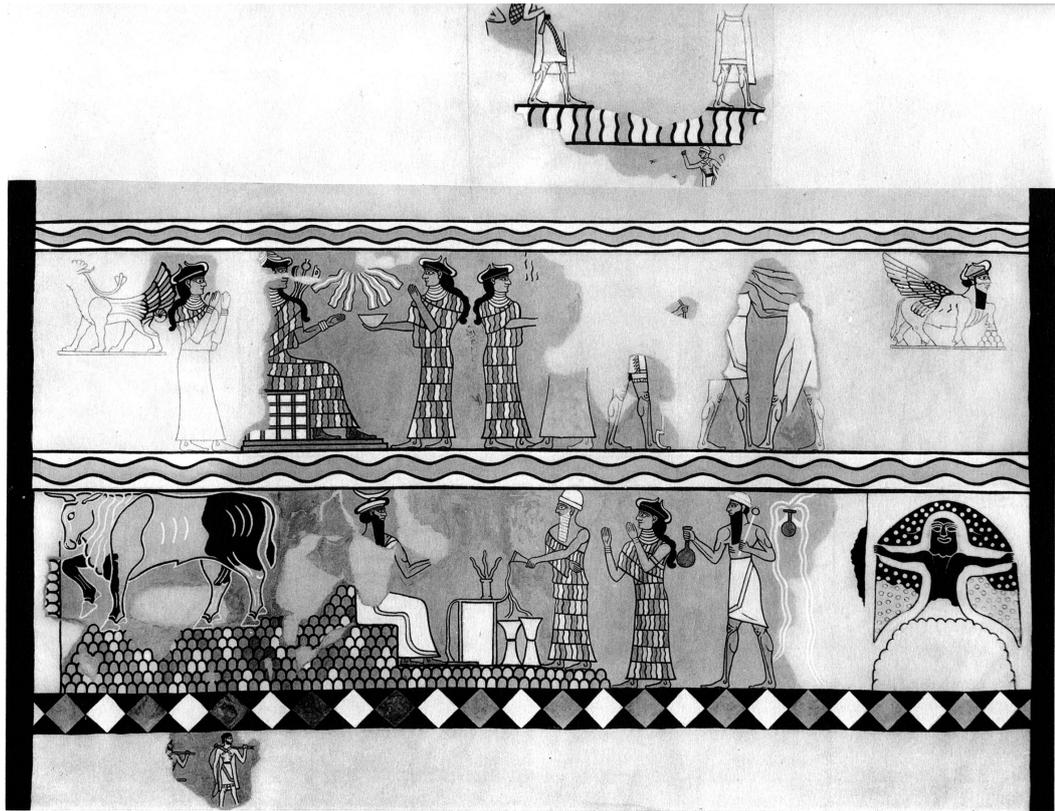


Figure 7.2 – PAINTING IN THE PALACE CHAPEL IN COURT B OF THE GREAT ROYAL PALACE OF CITY III (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 168).

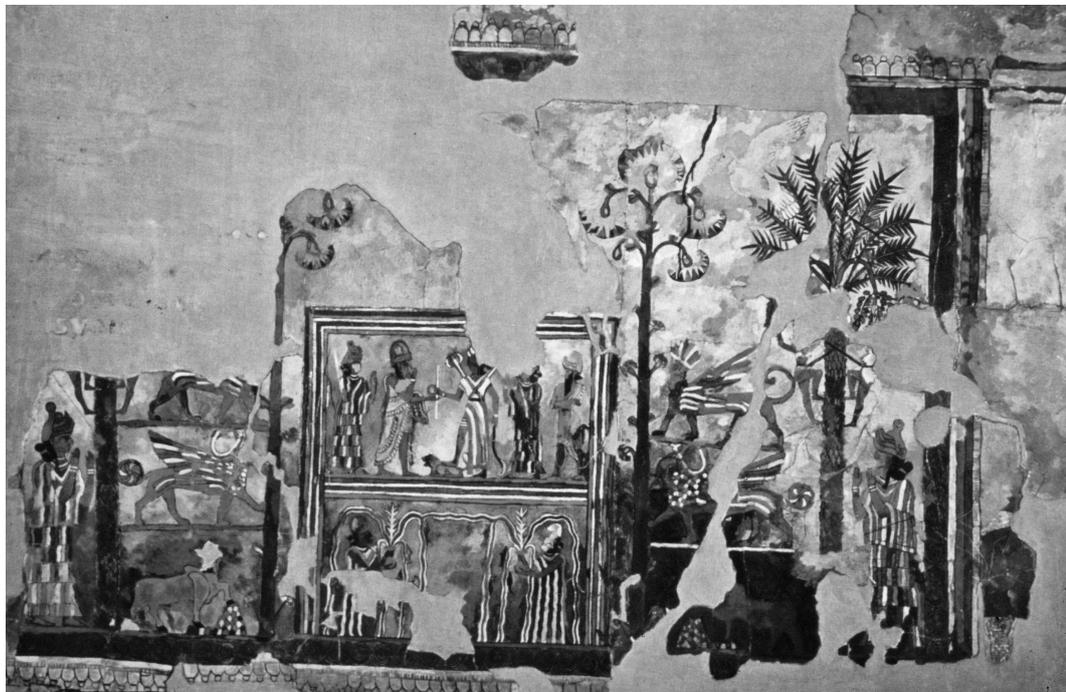


Figure 7.3 – PAINTING OF THE INVESTITURE IN COURT M OF THE GREAT ROYAL PALACE OF CITY III (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 174).

7.1.6 IGBAL TEMPLES AND INANNA

The deity to whom the Temple Oval in Khafajah was dedicated was never identified beyond doubt. Nevertheless, the most “important” find from this context, an inscribed macehead with a dedication to Inanna/Aštar and two lions sculpted on the top (Kh. I 636; Fig. C.74) was the only indication that the temple could have been dedicated to the goddess. A more recent palaeographic analysis suggests it was produced within a Semitic context rather than Sumerian, thus complicating the identification of the deity as Inanna or Aštar (see Table C.1). The oval temple excavated in al-Hiba was built above a pre-existing—seemingly not oval—structure of ED III date, which was filled with sand and lumps of clay and covered with a layer of bricks to form a uniform surface (Hansen 1970: 245). It was dedicated to Inanna on the basis of foundation deposits of Enannatum I (Hansen 1970: 247). The oval temple in al-‘Ubaid, also apparently built on a low terrace, appears to have been dedicated to Ninḫursaġ based on an inscription of A’annepada found loose in the temple debris (Woolley and Hall 1927; Delougaz 1938; Delougaz 1940: 140–145). It has been suggested that the temple of Ninḫursaġ in Adab Mound V also had an oval enclosure based on similarities with the al-‘Ubaid temple, which also included peg foundation deposits (Wilson 2012: 98). The temple complex of Ningirsu in Tello has recently been suggested to have been built on a low terrace within an oval enclosure (Forest 1999: 15–23; figs. 13–14). Finally, it is possible that the Inanna temple in Nippur was surrounded by an oval enclosure during the late part of the ED III period (Gibson 1982: fig. 8). What appears to be another oval temple was recently excavated at Tell Abu Sheeja, located near the Jebel Hamrin on the road to Elam (Hussein et al. 2010). The layout most closely resembles that of the Temple Oval in Khafajah. Although the earliest excavated remains are firmly dated in the Akkadian period, it is possible an earlier version of the building existed below these remains. The temple was identified as dedicated to the Elamite deity Šuda on the basis of an inscribed relief stele (Old Akkadian) and a door socket (Ur III). The nature of the urban fabric around this building was not clarified. It has been suggested before that oval temples were reserved for female deities (Falkestein 1966: 161) and certainly at least several were dedicated to Inanna (Selz 1995: 152–154). However, in light of the last two examples, this suggestion may be premature.

The relationship between the concept of *ibgal* and Inanna is supported by the clear association of textual evidence with the archaeological context of the temple excavated in al-Hiba. The foundation deposits found in the filling of Level II (therefore part of the foundation of Level I) mention Enannatum I as the builder of the *Ibgal*, as well as taking credit for restoring the (temple precinct known as) Eanna. The context in which “Eanna” is used here is not clear. Many parallel inscriptions exist from Ur-nanše’s time down to Enannatum I’s and his sons, found both in Lagaš and Ġirsu, that refer to both the *Ibgal* of Inanna and the restoration of the Eanna, which was “made greater than all the lands”. The puzzling part is that none of them were found in Uruk and many of them were inscribed on clay nails purportedly “affixed” to the Eanna itself, suggesting that there existed twin Eanna temple complexes with an *Ibgal* in both Lagaš and Ġirsu (Collins 1994). Hansen mentions finding clay cones of Enannatum I about a mile north of the temple in Lagaš, washed out of the wadi (Hansen 1970: 248). It is possible these cones were not meant to be placed in the temple itself, in which case it is not clear how the Ġirsu–Lagaš evidence should be interpreted. Selz suggested that Inanna was the main deity in Lagaš and that her worship in Ġirsu was only secondary to the existing cult centre in Badtibira and a later connection between Bāwu and Uruk (Selz 1995: 154). The Ur-nanše inscriptions from Lagaš are usually mentioned as evidence that

he must have been the original builder of the temple there, as well as in Ġirsu. Later royal inscriptions from Enmetena's time mention the construction of the Emuš for Inanna and Lugalurub in Ġirsu. This construction is sometimes explained as part of the alliance established between Lagaš and Uruk (Selz 1995: 154). The relationship with the (previous?) Eanna cannot be established. Finally, Ur III administrative texts from Umma mention a temple dedicated to Ninibgal (translated as 'Inanna of the Ibgal' by some scholars) there (Krecher 1976–80; Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000c). Despite the connection between the physical remains of the temple in al-Hiba and the term *ibgal*, the etymology of the word is not clear, though it has been suggested to mean *Aufschüttung* ('earth bank') or *Ecke* ('corner') (Krecher 1976–80). The existence of a deity ^dIbgal is also not well understood either (Sallaberger 1993: 247). Rather surprisingly, there is no evidence of an Eanna of Inanna in Zabala (George 1993: 67–68). In the Sumerian composition known as Inanna's Descent, her Zabala temple is referred to as the E-giguna.

The question remains whether all three (four if Ġirsu is included) of these structures were contemporary, and if there was a particular reason for their existence that was connected with the local rulers in each of these towns. The Temple Oval in Khafajah has traditionally been described as the earliest, dating back to the ED I period (Delougaz 1940). However, as discussed in Chapter 6, this dating is problematic. I would suggest that it should be revised to a later period, most likely into the ED III. This would contextualise the construction of the Temple Oval alongside the other excavated oval temples, which seem to belong to a later date likely in ED IIIb. At al-'Ubaid, foundation deposits mentioning A'annepada of Ur situate the construction project firmly within the ED IIIb period. At Al-Hiba, Enannatum I's inscriptions place Level I of the temple in a contemporary setting with al-'Ubaid (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: table 15b). However, this was the third construction phase according to Hansen's publication, suggesting the oval enclosure was only introduced as part of this later construction (Hansen 1970: 249). The use of sand and lumps of clay to build a "terrace" for the new building may be comparable with works in Khafajah, too. As discussed, Ur-nanše is usually mentioned as the builder of the earlier Level II or Level III temple, in which case the concept of *ibgal* could be at odds with that of an oval shape as the remains below Level I may not conform to the same oval layout (Hansen 1970: 249). Since the Ibgal seems to have been contained within the larger Eanna, it is not clear how the interpretation of the name fits with the shape of the temple. This issue remains unresolved. Finally, at Nippur, the oval enclosure wall that was traced was associated with Level VIIA, dated to the beginning of the ED IIIb period (see Table 7.1). Without the final publication on the excavation, it is difficult to assess further the situation in this temple. Nevertheless, Ellis reported that several peg deposits were found beneath the foundations of this level, which he considered to be probably the earliest of the kind (Ellis 1968: 46). They consisted of a copper nail and "a flat object resembling a pair of horns joined at the base" (Ellis 1968: 47 and fig. 1), though to me they also resemble the strong uni-brow typical of Early Dynastic style.⁶

That another peg foundation deposit associated with a temple dedicated to Inanna exists is highly significant because, so far, all the ED III Inanna/Aštar temples excavated or known from inscriptions seem to contain these deposits. In Lagaš, ten deposits consisting of an anthropomorphic metal peg (horned, beardless, long-haired) and inscribed stone tablets were found in the foundations of the building in a

⁶An abstract form of the uni-brow also appears in cylinder seal Ag. 35:793, which was found inside the podium of the main cella in the Tell Agrab large building (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 274; Frankfort 1955: pl. 84 no. 880).

seemingly random pattern (Hansen 1970). In Mari, only the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple had D-shaped “ring-bolt” deposits. One single deposit was found in the centre of the Massif Rouge, that is, Mari’s ritual platform (Ellis 1968: 47). Its function is not completely understood, but its link with the Palace at this point cannot be ruled out. In Aššur, no foundation deposits were reported, although it is not clear the temple was dedicated to Aštar during the Early Dynastic period. In Uruk, a D-shaped “ring-bolt” exactly like those from Mari was found in the eastern part of the Eanna, but its context is not clear. A similar “ring bolt” had been found during the earlier excavations near the angle of the L-shaped terrace, dated sometime in the middle of the Early Dynastic period (Ellis 1968: 48). The Temple Oval in Khafajah did not contain any foundation deposits as far as the excavators investigated.⁷ The earliest known peg deposits are probably from Ġirsu Tell K, where uninscribed anthropomorphic examples were found in the *Construction inférieure* and dated to ED II by Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: table 5 sub b). This is of course the temple complex of Niḡirsu, which also appears to have been surrounded by an oval enclosure wall (Forest 1999; Rey 2016). In al-‘Ubaid, a white marble tablet bearing the inscription by A’annepada was found loose in the debris but points to a similar style of deposits (Ellis 1968: 56). Finally, it may be noted that foundation deposits were also found in two corners of the Temple Oval in Khafajah, which the excavators argue were deposited during the construction of the second building period (Oval 2). As discussed in Chapter 6, Oval 2 was likely part of on-going renovations and these deposits could be associated with the subsequent ‘straightened oval’ associated with the buttressed external oval wall (see Section §6.5.3 and Figure 6.8). The deposits did not include a peg but contained the typical array of objects made of materials such as lapis lazuli, gold, or carnelian (Delougaz 1940: 85–86). Although oval in shape, there is no evidence that the Temple Oval was built by a king and the ‘lower quality’ of the deposits may simply signal some form of emulation by the group responsible for its construction. Thus, peg deposits seem to bear an association between kings and oval enclosures on the one hand, and with kings and Inanna/Aštar on the other. However, there was no tripartite relationship kings–oval temple–Inanna/Aštar with peg deposits; instead, it appears that the relationship between the three elements was a fluid exchange that during the late part of the Early Dynastic could have acted as one of the ways in which kingship and a new social restructuring was achieved and materialised. Figure 7.4 helps to illustrate the overlaps between peg foundation deposits, oval enclosures and the deities discussed, and how these fall under the activity of kings. Whilst all peg foundations seem to be produced through royal activity, it is unclear whether all oval temples were built by kings (e.g. the case of Khafajah), nor is all activity related to the deities under the prerogative of kings.

Were oval temples a continuation of a tradition, or were they a new development? Did all of them fulfil a similar function? With the exception of al-‘Ubaid, oval temples appear to be embedded within the urban fabric of cities. In Khafajah and Lagaš they appear to fulfil multiple roles, perhaps associated with patron deities and the city’s elite. In this sense, the oval construction effectively created a physical barrier between the interior of the building and the surrounding domestic areas, more so than the earlier

⁷The context in which a group of copper statuettes (Kh. I 351) were found is, however, not clear to me, and they could have formed a deposit; one had an illegible inscription (Figures C.68 and C.69). According to Preusser’s field object catalogue, they were found “0,25 Tief im Steinhartem Liben vermischt mit Brocken von Lehmziegel”, that is, 0.25 m deep in stone-hard clay mixed in with lumps of bricks(?) (see Figures C.64 and C.65). The archival photographs (Figures C.66 and C.67) do not provide any information on the context. Published Section 13 seems to suggest they were found on the floor of Oval 1 3rd Occupation, but these cannot be relied on. The stone-hard clay agrees with the description of the clay filling Delougaz investigated in later seasons. The question remains open.

neighbourhood shrines and courtyard temples had achieved. This separation together with the creation of platforms reinforced the isolation of the divine sphere of influence from everyday experience, as well as building the physical distance between humans and deities which could perhaps only be bridged by a few, although this remains open to question. On the other hand, the area around the temple in al-‘Ubaid was not well understood, or at least the remains were not well preserved. The excavators found graves dating to the Early Dynastic period, but it is not clear if they were intramural interments or part of an evolving cemetery (McMahon 2014: 261). Heinz (2013) has argued that oval temples were part of the New, a break with the earlier tradition of local temples that had developed organically within the urban fabric. Heinz points out, as in the analysis presented here, that the Temple Oval is a contradictory building which sought to both restrict, as well as integrate a monumental structure within an existing, tightly knit urban fabric. However, such a contradictory nature can be easily understood within a programme of naturalising a new (‘invented’) tradition that sought to establish and legitimise an emerging social elite (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

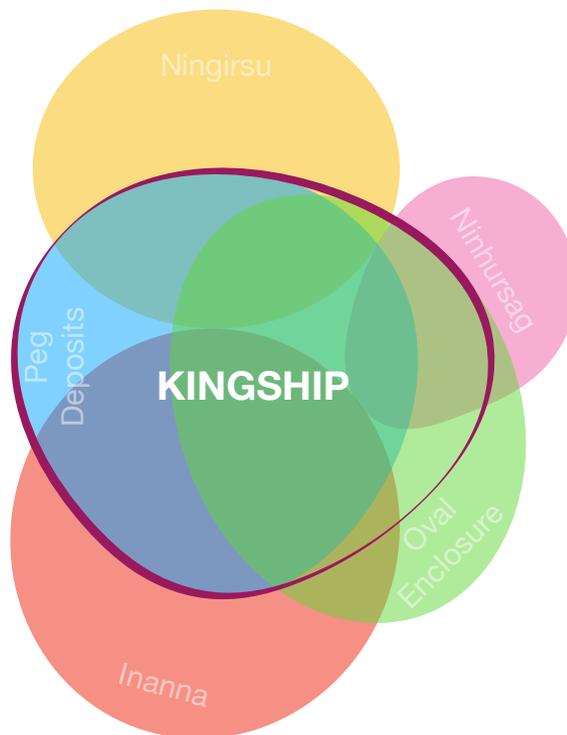


Figure 7.4 – CONCEPTUAL MAP ILLUSTRATING ROYAL ACTIVITY IN RELATION WITH PEG FOUNDATION DEPOSITS, OVAL ENCLOSURES, AND THE DEITIES INANNA, NINGIRSU, AND NINHURSAĜ. THE SIZE OF EACH BUBBLE ILLUSTRATES THE RELATIVE ABUNDANCE OF EVIDENCE IN RELATION WITH EACH VARIABLE, ALTHOUGH IT IS ONLY ILLUSTRATIVE AND DOES NOT CORRESPOND WITH A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS.

7.1.7 BUILDING RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPES AND INANNA/AŠTAR IN THE ED III PERIOD

Ristvet (2011, 2015) has studied the relationships between ritual, the social organisation of space, and networks of authority in northern Mesopotamia. Her work highlights the importance of the creation of sociopolitical landscapes linking political and religious centres with important locales of worship and remembrance found across the hinterland between the main centres of Ebla, Mari, and Nagar. She also explores how urban planning and the structuration of movement across cities sought to reinforce the political authority of kings through the manipulation of tradition (Ristvet 2011: 23). However, it is possible that some of the religious locales that became part of these networks of pilgrimage and urban planning existed before the organisation of settlements into true cities, as happened towards the end of the ED III period. Each case study offers a different approach in which I suggest this link was created and strengthened.

We have seen in Khafajah how this restructuration of space was probably a concerted effort that both transformed and maintained the affective locales embodied in community spaces such as temples. As Smith demonstrates, built features evoke affective responses, in the sense that the interaction between humans and their environment articulates *and* reproduces political authority (Smith 2003: 8, 272). At Khafajah, while changes were grounded in (often invented) tradition, these traditions were certainly molded to existing affective networks built through the spatiality of social life. They effectively bridged the social logic of a horizontal network of authority (the assemblies) with the newly established (hereditary) kingship.

Large oval temples were built near the edges of cities, just like palaces. They were two innovations that appear to go hand in hand in the process of shaping kingship. The new tradition of metal peg foundations appears strongly associated with these oval temples and kingship, too (see Figure 7.4). Nevertheless, oval temples are generally integrated within the surrounding domestic architecture, thus minimising the impact of their radical construction and dimensions on the urban landscape. As Stone (2013) suggested, they probably represent an intermediate step before the construction of palaces and the physical separation of cultic centres from the centres of secular authority. Oval temples demonstrate the importance of temple-construction and legitimising an activity which may otherwise have appeared at odds with ‘tradition’. In fact, the act of creating a city or new locus of political authority (such as a temple or a palace) may have been seen as an act of *hubris* (Van de Mierop 1997: 59) that could only be overcome through pious action (Smith 2003: 205).

By contrast, in Aššur it seems that an already established temple complex increasingly gained the favour of rulers, who integrated it into the organisation of movement between the city gates and the palace. Therefore, instead of building a new temple, an existing one was adopted for the purpose. However, the context of this shift is difficult to establish as very little domestic architecture from the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. was excavated. Thus, some questions remain open about this temple and the overall organisation of the religious–political urban landscape. It is not clear whether this shift happened before, during, or after the Akkadian period. Given the fact that the earliest remains of the palace appear to date to the Akkadian transition, it is likely the temple was embedded into the first palace built at the site under Akkadian rule, and thus at a later date when the power of palaces was firmly established. In this case, incorporating one of the oldest public buildings in the city and perhaps moulding it into

a temple dedicated to the dynastic deity, the Akkadian Aštar, could have had a significant effect in the process of producing the new social logic associated with the palace and the emerging local god Aššur, who is often interpreted as the deified form of the city.

Finally, in Mari we observe possibly a multi-tiered approach that incorporates at least two temples: the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and the Aštar *šarbat* temples. In this case, a monumental structure such as an oval temple has not been traced, although the remains of City II are usually dated to the later part of the ED III period. This would mean that the intermediate stage that Stone argues was characteristic of oval enclosures did not apply in this case. However, a palace with a religious quarter incorporated appears to have been built, a rather unusual construction when compared with Stone's arguments that palace and temple undergo spatial separation in the urban fabric of cities, whereby palaces are located as far from the temple as possible (Stone 2013: 173). Charpin (2012) discussed the integration of palace and temple in Mari, noting the difficulty in reconciling the notion of a presargonic palace built below the later building of Akkadian date on the one hand, and the evidence retrieved from the Sacred Precinct in which a statue with a dedication to Amašumgal (usually interpreted as an earlier form of Dumuzi) was found on the other. He pointed out that the location of the presargonic palace mentioned in the texts is by no means established beyond doubt, although the evidence from the Sacred Precinct does suggest there existed a temple to Amašumgal in this location during the City II period (Charpin 2012: 77). An alternative explanation of the evidence sees the whole building designated as e₂.gal 'the palace', which contained the residence of the king (e₂ lugal) and a "residence" of the gods (e₂.diġir.diġir) (Charpin 2012: 82). Thus, the context of these finds remains open. If the palace were to be located elsewhere, it would radically change the interpretation of the religious landscape in Mari.

Meanwhile, a range of temples were built in a centrally-located cluster along a main artery of the city, except for the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple which was located on the western edge of the city. Some evidence from the temple of Ninḫursaġ suggests that at least an earlier version of this temple during City I existed, thus strengthening the interpretation that this cluster maintained a tradition of religious buildings probably throughout the lifespan of the site until its destruction by Hammurabi. It is usually accepted that all the constructions in Mari correspond with large-scale urban planning that oversaw the establishment of a street network and the installation of a central drainage system across the entire site (Margueron 2014b: 51f.). However, the context of the renovation of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and the foundation of L18 is not without doubt, as discussed in Chapter 4 (see Sections §4.5.3 and §4.5.6). That this temple was located on the western edge of the city in alignment with the nearby Tell Medkoug, which Butterlin had suggested could have played a role in ritual pilgrimage and ancestor cults (Butterlin 2007), must be stressed. Despite a relative modest size compared with the oval complexes in southern Mesopotamia, the quantity and quality of its foundation deposits, its location, and its connection with Mariote kings strongly suggest that the shaping of this temple at the edge of the city was co-productive of dynastic rule. The rather unusual characteristics of the Mari case will be further discussed in Chapter 8 (Section §8.4), as their analysis requires a closer inspection of textual evidence from Ebla and discussion of supporting evidence from a regional perspective to understand and map the internal relationships between the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and Aštar *šarbat* temples with the Mariote elite and kings.

7.2 MATERIAL CULTURE AND GENDERED RELATIONSHIPS

The analysis of the statuary from the three case studies will focus on reconstructing the social make-up of the corpora from each site, looking to identify any patterns in the location, composition, deposition and destruction (if applicable) of the artefacts in each of the contexts. The examination of each case study in turn will provide enough evidence to support preliminary conclusions regarding the practice of dedicating statues and statuettes during this period, its relationship with the formation of elite identities, and the role that rulers played in these practices, or how the practices themselves contributed in the shaping of the royal identity and ideology. But statuary should not be studied in isolation from other types of objects found in the same contexts. Other objects may function in a similar fashion to statues within the context of the temple, despite the fact that interpretation and publication bias has worked in favour of establishing a hierarchy of sorts regarding the status and value of dedicatory objects in Early Dynastic temples. Stone vessels in particular seem to function in ways akin to statuary given the formal similarities in the format of their inscriptions, yet the former are often understudied because they are mainly dedicated by women and do not offer the same evocative power as human sculpture. Therefore, stone vessels will be analysed in relation with statuary in order to establish if a relationship exists between the gender and status of the offeror and the object dedicated and where it was found. The aim is to approach these objects on a similar grounding as the statuary, without introducing value judgements based on contemporary notions of art and literacy, and their value within the realm of ritual. To support the observations made about the statuary and stone vessels, ancillary sections on plaques and inlays will help contextualise the results as they often offer figural representations in which men and women of various statuses interact. Finally, I will put together the conclusions from the previous section with the results obtained through the analysis of the object categories in this section in order to put forward some preliminary conclusions that will be further explored and contextualised in the next chapter.

7.2.1 VOTIVE STATUARY

During the course of excavations of Early Mesopotamian sites from the ED period a range of stone statues and statuettes were found in the context of temples, particularly in connection with the innermost chambers and cultic areas within them. Although the setting up and dedication of statues in religious contexts expands over a much longer period of time, it was during this early stage in the history of ancient Mesopotamia that we see an explosion in the numbers of this kind of objects and in the specific context of private worship, particularly by the elite including kings. The maintenance of this practice over time seems to have become circumscribed to kings from as early as the Akkadian period, when the number of private statues and statuettes in temple contexts drops dramatically. This does not mean private practices disappeared, but that the specific practice of dedicatory sculpture, especially when inscribed, fell out of fashion or was restricted to royalty.

Dedicatory sculptures have been found at a number of sites throughout Mesopotamia and neighbouring regions, which attest to the spread and pan-regional nature of this practice, although where it originated

cannot be ascertained at present. Large groups of dedicatory sculpture have been found at three sites in the Diyala valley (Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab and Khafajah), in Aššur and Mari in the north, as well as Nippur in central Mesopotamia. A total of around 100 inscribed statues exist, of which around half were found at Mari, attesting to the relative importance of this practice at this site.⁸ However, the fact that they were inscribed should not be taken simply as a sign of higher status of those individuals identified in the inscriptions than other non-inscribed statuary. Scribal practices and expertise varied significantly across sites during the ED period, as evidenced by the relatively laggard Nippur scribes compared with their Lagaš counterparts (Westenholz 1999: 74 n. 347). Furthermore, the gendered aspects of dedicatory practices beyond statuary have yet to be explored in detail. For example, is it fair to say the dedication of an inscribed statuette stands above the dedication of a stone vase from a social and political perspective? The fact that many of the artefacts dedicated by women to Inanna in Nippur (Goetze 1970) were stone vessels and not statuettes of the women does not by itself imply the reasoning that by virtue of inscribing visual representations of themselves, men held positions of higher status or greater political power than women across the whole spectrum of society. In fact, the development of such a practice may have indeed brought about changes in social stratification, rather than simply being its reflection. As such, the social and political context of dedicatory practices, the role of writing within them, and their influence in the construction of gendered social relationships must not be taken for granted.

The practice of dedicating statues and statuettes in temples seems to be associated with an increase in temple building activity associated with the structuration of power in the figure of the (sometimes dynastic) ruler that took place during the Early Dynastic period, especially towards its end during the ED IIIa–b period as discussed in the previous section. Bauer (1998: 450) suggests that the unexpectedly intense building activity—especially of religious structures—of Ur-Nanše of Lagaš was undertaken within the process of increased anthropomorphism of deities that required they had a more substantial visual presence than the earlier tradition of divine emblems and totems. Whilst this process may have indeed taken place aside of any religious shift, some scholars argue against a totemic view of religion and defend that Mesopotamian deities were and had always been anthropomorphic (Finkel and Geller 1997: Introduction). Be that as it may, the correlation between temple building activity and the onset of dynastic rulership leading up to Sargon's reign and the establishment of the Akkadian Empire seems strong. The examination of how the political environment of these newly built temples together with the significance of the development of dedicatory activity can inform the intricate configuration of religious thought and behaviour, and political power in ancient Mesopotamia.

CHRONOLOGY

Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: table 12 and table 13) provide an overview of the relative stratigraphy of the main contexts in which statuary was found both in southern Mesopotamia as well as in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Their analysis serves as a starting point to understand the development of this practice. Although it may appear that statuary is found in temple contexts as early as the Jemdet Nasr

⁸Braun-Holzinger (1991: 240–256) lists 92 inscribed statues in her catalogue, to which those recently found in the LUGAL DIGIR KALAM temple in Mari should be added (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014).

period, it should be noted that these early examples are far from numerous or even resemble the style and execution of those from ED IIIa contexts onwards. The earliest corpus of statuary appears to be that from the “Abu” “Square I” level, which [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: table 1 and table 12\)](#) date to the late ED I period. Although it may seem plausible, given the evidence, to place the origin of this practice beyond the circumscription of southern Mesopotamia, this conclusion must be withheld until further evidence from southern sites is gathered, since it is possible that the current distribution reflects a bias in the archaeological record.

CATALOGUES AND THE ART HISTORICAL APPROACH

From the earliest excavation of Early Dynastic temples, the focus was heavily placed on the statuary found within them. [Andrae’s \(1922\)](#) publication of the Istar temple in Aššur was organised so as to give preference to the statuary (as part of the *Ergebnisse* or results) even before discussing their archaeological context or the building itself in detail ([Andrae 1922: 9–12](#)). Surprisingly, even though the majority of statues recovered from the temple were of females, male statues were described first, an approach also followed by [Bär \(2003b\)](#). Andrae’s naturalistic description of the statuary from Aššur reveals an ethnographic preoccupation surrounding the identity of the individuals, as well as revealing its bias towards inscribed statues to reconstruct the status of the individuals as well as the political standing of the city:

Die Assur-Leute der H und G-Zeit sehen sehr friedlich aus. Wir kennen nichts Kriegerisches, das sie hinterlassen hätten. Nun ist zwar der Tempel einer Göttin der Liebe und der Zeugung nicht der geeignete Ort, mit Waffen zu prunken.⁹

([Andrae 1922: 7](#))

Das Fehlen der Standbilder-Inschriften in Assur ist verwunderlich, ich könnte dafür nur die Vermutung äußern, daß sie ein Vorrecht großer Fürsten sei, während die Kleineren sich mit dem bloßen Herstellen und Aufstellen von Standbildern begnügen mußten. Das würde vielleicht darauf schließen lassen, daß sie G-Leute, ebenso wie später um 2300 Zariku, abhängig waren von einem der Herrscher im Süden.¹⁰

([Andrae 1922: 9](#))

Evans discusses how the study of Sumerian statuary was co-opted by “the belief that sculpture could contribute to an understanding of the racial issues comprising the Sumerian problem” ([Evans 2012: 47](#)), and how it shifted toward art-historical methodologies largely under the influence of Henri Frankfort

⁹“The people of Aššur from the H and G periods look very peaceful. They do not seem to have left anything pertaining warfare behind. However, the temple of a goddess of love and procreation is not the place to make offerings of weapons’.

¹⁰“The absence of inscribed statues in Aššur is surprising. I could only suggest that it was a prerogative of great rulers, while the lesser ones had to content themselves with the mere making and setting up of statues. This might suggest that the G-People, as well as those in Zariku’s time around 2300 BC, were under the control of a southern ruler’.

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Figure 7.5 – ANDRAE’S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CELLA IN THE SO-CALLED “ARCHAIC” IŠTAR TEMPLE, IN WHICH HE MIXED ELEMENTS FROM LEVELS H AND G AND POSITIONED THE STATUETTES IN A MUSEUM-LIKE DISPLAY ON THE BENCH-LIKE STRUCTURES ALONG THE WALLS (ANDRAE 1922: PL. IIA).

in the Diyala excavations. Under Frankfort’s direction, the focus for publication was once again placed on the statuary, with *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah* (Frankfort 1939) being the first volume in print, years before the results of the excavations were published. As Gibson points out, “Frankfort [...] created the grand syntheses based on the work in the Diyala, [yet] supervised little of the actual digging, spending most of his time in the dig house analysing and categorizing objects, working out stratigraphy, and beginning to write up the reports” (Gibson 2011: 60). Not only was the statuary the first type of objects to be published, but the catalogue was organised following the same gendered hierarchy as Andrae’s. However, Frankfort’s interpretive focus was on establishing a chronological sequence based on the formal analysis of the sculptures, rather than distinguishing between ethnographic traits. Nevertheless, the gendered bias in favour of the male form is clearly visible:

The fact seems to be that the figures of women were not treated as a serious sculptural problem at all. They did not offer the sculptor much scope anyhow [...]. Small wonder, then, that the sculptures of women at best appear to us as no more than charming ornaments. [And then added:] In fact, the sculptures of women are so lacking in style that no account of their development can be given, nor can those which have come from other sites or which have been bought from dealers be correlated with the chronology supplied by our stratification. (Frankfort 1939: 31)

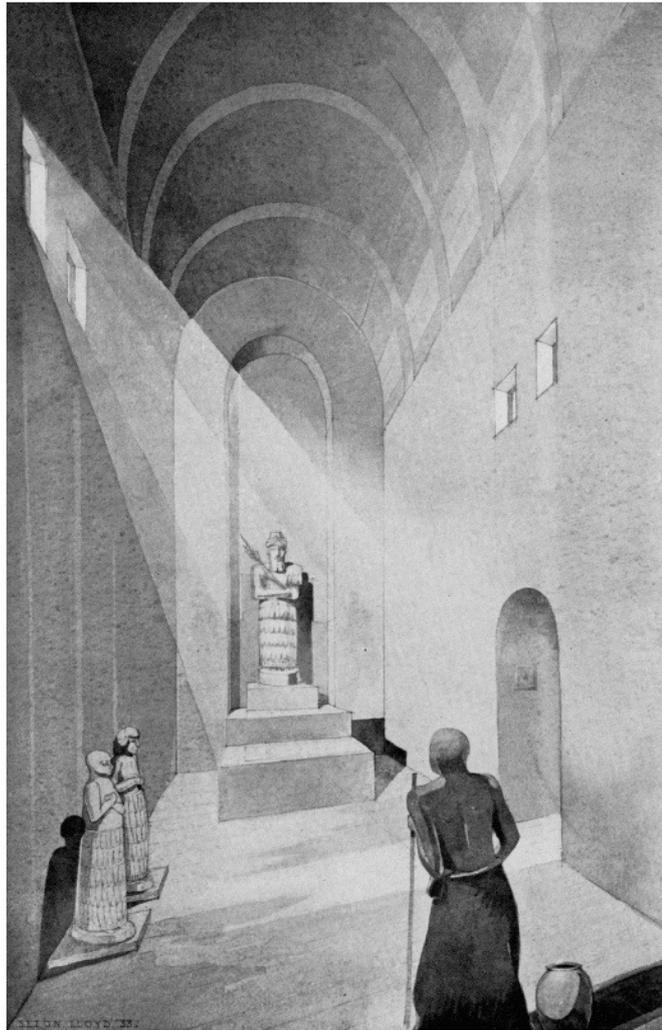


Figure 7.6 – SETON LLOYD, 1933 RECONSTRUCTION OF TELL ASMAR, ABU TEMPLE, SINGLE SHRINE TEMPLE I (DELOUGAZ AND LLOYD 1942: FIG. 159). IMAGE COURTESY OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

In Frankfort’s view, not only is female statuary inferior stylistically and less challenging for the sculptor, but the perceived lack of variety in form impedes any chronological discussion on the matter, so that females appear to be one and the same over time: inferior to men and relegated to a mere “ornament” without a role, status, or even age. Women were thus made invisible by virtue of their non-compliance with the criteria of classical and modern art criticism.

Finally, Parrot’s publication of the excavation and material from Mari followed a slightly different plan. Surprisingly, Parrot opted to publish the archaeological context together with the object catalogue from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA (“Ishtar”) temple (Parrot 1956). Meanwhile, the temples of Aštar *šarbat* (“Ninni-zaza”) and Bašūrat (“Ishtarat”) were published together as the buildings were at first thought of being one and the same (Parrot 1967). On the down side, the same gendered hierarchy was followed in both publications, while their archaeological context was secondary. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, Parrot’s method of excavation and recording in the field left many lacunae regarding the stratigraphic relationships between architecture and finds.

Besides the catalogues published by each of the excavation teams as part of their publication plan, two studies focussing on statuary from across the entire region were subsequently published in the 1970–80s. First, Braun-Holzinger’s 1972 thesis (later published, [Braun-Holzinger 1977](#)) collated all complete statuary from the Early Dynastic period excavated to the date, focussing on inscribed statues first and foremost. She attempted to describe the development of local sculpture styles on the one hand, and to organise them chronologically based largely on the Diyala sequence on the other. In a subsequent volume, [Braun-Holzinger \(1991\)](#) covered the extent of votive objects including statuary, door plaques and reliefs, stone vessels, maceheads, etc., from the Early Dynastic to the Old Babylonian periods. She expanded on her previous analysis, working from the assumption that dedicatory objects (*Weihgaben*) are gifts akin to sacrifices made by individuals to specific deities, and noting—though based on later terminology—that their purpose was to place the life of the devotee under the protection of the deity, to obtain the favour of the deity and to secure the presence of the devotee in the temple before the image of the deity.¹¹

This interpretation reflects the influence of Andrae’s and Frankfort’s treatment of the statuary in their publications and the temple cella reconstructions discussed above (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6). Little is devoted to examining the social and political context in which dedicatory practices first appeared or developed over time, especially given the increase in temple building activity during ED IIIa–b and the associated practice of including foundation deposits in the new buildings. Likewise, the dynamics and tension between private and royal dedicatory practices as well as gender dynamics are underexplored.

Alongside Braun-Holzinger’s, [Spycket’s \(1981\)](#) work offers another art historical approach to statuary from the ancient Near East. In this case, the scope is expanded geographically, thematically and chronologically. Spycket covers both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic statuary from c. 8000 B.C. to Alexander the Great’s conquest in 333 B.C. Like Braun-Holzinger, her preoccupation revolves around the reconstruction of the technique and artistic accomplishment of the sculptures with a clear classical referent insofar as “art” (i.e. non-functional) is understood. Their functionality is again partly described and its evolution discussed, yet little is devoted to the social context in which their production and use appears, or how such practices themselves can contribute towards shaping social hierarchy and political organisation:

La conception de la ronde-bosse a changé suivant le génie des populations, bénéficiant des ères de prospérité, des ateliers royaux qui permettaient de meilleurs matériaux, souvent au détriment d’une spontanéité ou de la libre création. [...] Une statue avait une fonction religieuse, royale ou funéraire; il n’y a aucune évidence d’œuvre d’art pur et c’est peut-être en cela que l’art grec a introduit une notion complètement différent, avec ses canons et ses lois tendant à la perfection.¹²

([Spycket 1981](#): 440)

¹¹“Zweck der Weihgaben war es, das Leben des Stifters unter den Schutz der Gottheit zu stellen, das Wohlgefallen des Gottes zu erwirken und die Präsenz des Stifters im Tempel vor der Gottheit zu sichern” ([Braun-Holzinger 1991](#): 1).

¹²“Design in the round changed thanks to individual genius, flourishing during times of prosperity as part of royal workshops which allowed for better materials but often to the detriment of spontaneity or freedom to create. [...] A statue had a religious, royal or funerary function; there is no evidence that art in the pure sense was produced and it is perhaps in this context that Greek art introduced a completely new concept with its canons and perfection-seeking laws’.

Spycket's work thus aims to provide a grand synthesis on the evolution of sculpture in the ancient Near East from the perspective of a modern criticism of Classical art, but which does not engage in the contextualisation of art as a social as well as functional and symbolic practice. Given that its conclusion rests on the statement that no pure art existed prior to the Hellenistic period and that all art was "functional", describing the treatment of the body in the round or its rendering of dress and facial features seem a rather long-winded way to justify that statement without even aiming to inquire further into the complexity of its functionality within its social setting. Finally, the treatment of gender is limited to describing and comparing styles of gender markers, dress and hairstyle to distinguish between males and females of different status (deities, royal, devotees), but without delving into questions of the production of intersectional identities codified through their plastic representations, for example (Spycket 1981: 77–121).

With regard to the inscriptions on statuary, as well as other dedicatory artefacts, from the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods, these were collated and published by Steible and Behrens (1982) for the Sumerian inscriptions from the southern region, and by Gelb and Kienast (1990) for the northern region and Akkadian inscriptions. Only those connected to kingship were subsequently included in the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia series (Frayne 1993, 2008).

Finally, the most recent studies on Early Dynastic statuary are those by Marchesi and Marchetti (2011), which focusses largely on royal statuary, and Evans (2012), who offers a general critique of previous art-historical approaches and offers a new general interpretation of the production, consumption, and deposition of statuary within the historical context of the Early Dynastic period. Marchesi and Marchetti's focus on royal statuary perhaps limits their perception of gendered relations—especially among the elite—during this period, and the role such dynamics may have played in the construction of royal identity and associated ideology. This limitation is predicated on the distinction made between inscribed and uninscribed statuary, and in spite of the evidence discussed in one of the appendices where statues of women appear in the administrative records of the e_2 - mi_2 or e_2 - d ba-ba₆, a cult-institution dedicated to the goddess Bāwu in the state of Lagaš (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: Appendix B), and which I will discuss in Chapter 8. Furthermore, and as discussed in Chapter 2 (Section §2.1.2) and Appendix D, their conclusions on the identity of the "Priest-King" are founded on several assumptions about the archaeological and textual evidence from the Late Uruk period that should not be taken for granted.

Meanwhile, Evans exposed how the Diyala excavators' attitude toward the sculpture of female figures obscured a full assessment of dedicatory practices with respect to gender (Evans 2012: 190). She then briefly examines both the social context of dedicatory practices and contextualises gender and identity within those practices, also referring to the textual evidence from the e_2 - mi_2 . Evans offers a critical appraisal of the shortcoming of previous research that limited the visibility of females in the archaeological record and presents a more nuanced reconstruction of the social and performative setting of Early Dynastic dedicatory practices, noting that reliance on later sources to understand Early Dynastic dedicatory practices can lead to unwarranted assumptions being made as a result (Evans 2012: 119). Evans' work does not focus on analysing in detail the social and political context in which temple construction and commemorative practices developed and changed over the course of the Early Dynastic period, or the gender dynamics associated with them; these remain to be explored further.



Figure 7.7 – BASE OF STATUETTE STILL IN PLACE, PLASTERED INTO A RAISED SURFACE (“BENCH”?) IN AN ANNEX OF THE TEMPLE OF NINĤURSAĜ, CITY II, LEVEL II (MARGUERON 2014B: FIG. 86).

Therefore, from an art-historical perspective, the history of the interpretation of this practice is intrinsically tied with our own notions of art, display, and religiosity. Evans argues that the initial reconstruction of how these objects would have been displayed within the temple was based on modern ideas on museum/art displays that led to our interpretation as static, lifeless mementos set up in the presence of the deity in the cella. This was largely the result of the work of the artists who drew isometric views of the temples excavated in Aššur and the Diyala. In these, they placed a life-sized statue of a deity where the so-called “altars” were excavated, and then placed, “museum-style”, the statues and statuettes on top of low benches or stands around the room (Figures 7.5 and 7.6):

The idea of a passive pedestal to support the cult statue in isolation is a museum way of seeing Early Dynastic altars. Museum pedestals function only as supports for displayed objects. The Early Dynastic altar did not function solely as a pedestal to support a hypothetical cult statue. Rather, Early Dynastic altars often were massive, elaborate, multilevel structures, with a wide array of associated objects, installations, and activities.

(Evans 2012: 87)

Evidence that statues were placed on these benches is very limited. In fact, the only clear evidence of this practice is found at Mari, where the base of a statuette that had been incorporated into the plastering of a raised surface (“bench”) and showed signs of repair was found in an annex of the Early Dynastic temple presumably dedicated to the goddess NinĤursaĝ (Figure 7.7). This example, as well as other bases of statues found outside temples (e.g. outside the “Anonymous Temples”; see Section §4.2.6 and Beyer 2014b) points towards the need for the reinterpretation of their context and significance, as their location suggests they could be accessed by individuals other than priests, and even receive offerings.

In conclusion, the approach taken to the study and publication of Early Dynastic statuary played a key role in the shaping of interpretations about the context of their production, use and meaning, as well as the associated interpretation on the Early Dynastic social make-up and even political organisation. The mode of classification of statuary into art historical typologies based on a modern conceptualization of art that effectively removed the objects from their original physical contexts enabled the idealisation of an evolutionary order of artistic expression that is, however, unwarranted (Evans 2012: 691). But perhaps more relevant to the present study, it also helped to reaffirm a certain social hierarchy reflected in the choice of publishing artefacts hierarchically in the following sequence: inscribed (vs uninscribed), anthropomorphic (vs other object types such as vessels), male (vs female or other gender), status (royal vs other), and condition of the object. In spite of the textual evidence discussed above, the interpretation of social status continues to be vested in the practice and evidence of physically inscribing the object, with little effort made to understand the ways in which different types of objects and agencies interacted to produce and alter social relationships during this period, and how they may have transformed and consolidated the notion of dynastic rulership in the figure of a “king.”

ALAN, (AN.)DUL₃ AND MATERIALLY MEDIATED ENGAGEMENT WITH THE DIVINE

As discussed, the early reconstructions of temple cellas drew partly on the Christian tradition of envisioning an altar on which a divine statue was placed which was the recipient of worship. However, the existence of cultic statues in ancient Mesopotamia before the Akkadian period remains contested. In Chapter 3, I introduced the possibility that divine anthropomorphism understood as the material representation of deities in human plastic form could signal specific changes in sociopolitical organisation and that, in turn, increased anthropomorphism associated with the divine could strengthen the expression of gender constructs associated with divine beings. As I discussed, some scholars have argued that Mesopotamian deities were always and had always been anthropomorphic despite the lack of textual and archaeological evidence. These arguments were partly based on the transposition of later conceptualisations of the divine onto prehistoric evidence such as in Uruk and which I also discussed in Chapter 2 concerning the case of Inanna/Aštar. To some extent, the perdurance of buildings identified as temples in the prehistoric period such as at Eridu and Uruk was interpreted as the endurance of (unchanging) religious ideas and beliefs, and religious behaviour. However, these early temples had no discernible platform or altar on which to ostensibly place a divine statue. These inconsistencies in the evidence make it difficult to discern not only when anthropomorphic divine statues first appeared in Mesopotamia, but also to understand the impact that such a shift had on society and its implications in terms of the gendering of deities. If the conceptualisation of divine beings as physical human-shaped statues emerged during the Early Dynastic period (especially the latter part), how did such a shift come about and what were its consequences? This section examines the evidence concerning the existence of and making of divine statues as a way to contextualise the emergence of this practice probably within the Early Dynastic period alongside the intensification of temple construction by elites and the legitimisation of the emergent kingship.

Evans (2012: 112) discusses in detail the different Sumerian verbs used to describe the making of a statue ($du_2(-d)$ ‘to give birth; to form’)¹³ from other objects (dim_2 ‘to build, make’). Such a distinction seems to apply depending on the concept of animation that is clearly reflected in the Sumerian language. The implication of the Sumerian animate/inanimate category has sparked much academic discussion about the interpretation of the Sumerian term *alan* from the perspective of agency, which in Akkadian inscriptions is represented using the logogram DUL_3 or $AN.DUL_3$. Both *alan* and $AN.DUL_3$ are equated with the Akkadian term *šalmu* in later lexical lists. As Evans explains, some scholars have tried to grapple with this distinction, suggesting that both *alan* and *šalmu* should be translated as ‘image’ or ‘manifestation’, as both terms seem to reflect better the animated quality imbued by the verb in understanding the symbolic realm of statuary as living, embodied and physical “doubles” of the donors (Evans 2012: 112 and refs. therein). Such a shift can be explained within “*an effort to move away from treating such representations as we would treat Western artworks*” (Evans 2012: 114). However, whilst this interpretation may suit later practices in which the term appears to have been extended to other objects such as stelae of the late 2nd and early 1st millennium B.C. that have no figural imagery, Evans poignantly argues that one must remember the term *alan* is inextricably linked with the physical object, that is, with the material form of a frontal human figure with clasped hands (Evans 2012: 113–113). During the Early Dynastic period, the term used to refer to a stela is usually $na-ru_2-a$ ‘erected/planted stone’.

In reclaiming the materiality of Early Dynastic sculpture, Evans suggests that the physical act of dedicating a sculpture and the material form as present within its physical environment, together with the acts performed with and around them constitute the “belief system” itself. In other words, there is no need to invoke some pre-existing immaterial beliefs to justify the material practices; instead, it *is* the material acts themselves which constitute and shape religious thought. As discussed in Chapter 3, the performance of ritual acts *produces* at the same time as it *reproduces* the belief—for want of a better word—that triggers the act itself; they are thus inextricable.

If the concepts of *alan* and DUL_3 are inextricably linked with the material form of the Early Dynastic statue, how did this concept come to appear in the semantic realm of the time? Is it possible to trace the use of these signs and posit whether they have always signified the same object category or within a similar semantic range?

Turning to the earliest writing, it seems that the concept of ‘statue’ cannot be clearly identified in the proto-cuneiform corpus. According to Civil (2008: 79), the sign used in Early Dynastic and Sargonic periods to designate a statue was DUL_3 , with unknown reading, and which would have later been replaced by *alan*. However, the latter seems to also be employed in the Early Dynastic period as mentioned above. Furthermore, there seems to exist a geographic distribution of the terms, so that *alan* is more frequently used in the south, whilst DUL_3 makes its appearance in northern contexts including Mari and Ebla, but also seemingly in the Fāra god-list in the entry $^d\text{lugal-DUL}_3.DU$, as pointed out by Selz (1997: 173).

¹³Evans transcribes the verb *tud* after Steible and Behrens (1982). I have followed Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 148) on the transcription $du_2(-d)$.

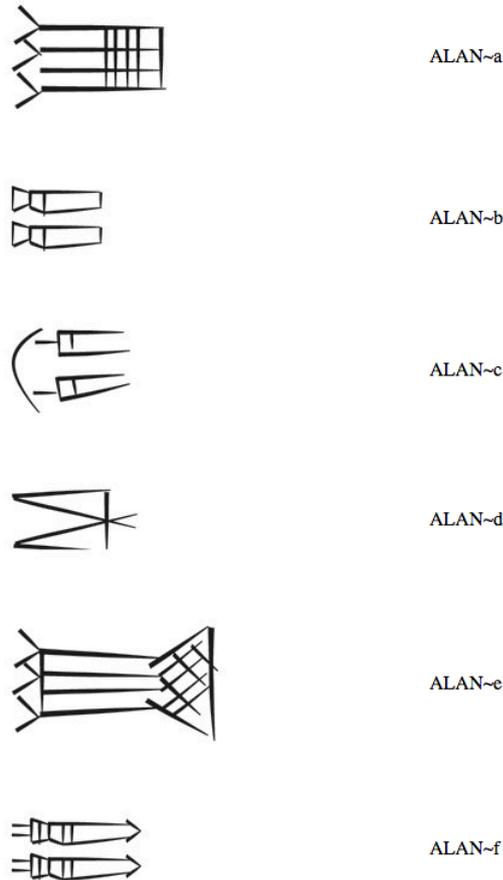
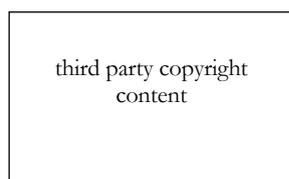


Figure 7.8 – THE SIGN ALAN IN PROTO-CUNEIFORM TEXTS. ALAN_d IS ONLY ATTESTED ONCE IN AN UNPUBLISHED ADMINISTRATIVE TEXT (IM – = P003096) DATED TO THE URUK IV PERIOD. ALAN_f IS ACTUALLY THE FORM ATTESTED IN THE FAMOUS BLAU OBELISK DISCUSSED.



Sign alan in ED IIIa source.
NTSS 496 (= FS-2121) rev. iii 2.



Sign alan in ED IIIb administrative text.
AoF 38, 3-14 obv. v 8. (©Toppan Rare Books Library, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming).



Sign alan in ED IIIb stone royal inscriptions.
RIME 1.9.5.17, ex. 1 (= U 00805) – Enmetena 1 surface a iii. 9 (UET 1: pl. A. ©The Trustees of the British Museum CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Figure 7.9 – THE SIGN ALAN IN ED SOURCES (IMAGES COURTESY OF CDLI).

Spycket tried to find a visual relationship between the signs and what they represented, an approach that is particularly fraught with bias in the earliest writing. She suggested the sign ALAN had “claws” (meaning the v-shaped endings of the sign) (Spycket 1968: 29), which somehow made it easier to associate the concept with mythical or anthropomorphised figures. However, the sign ALAN in the Uruk IV and III texts (Figure 7.8) does not seem to be an index of anthropomorphic statues and, if anything, appears connected with wood (or clay?) craftsmanship through the entry TAK₄ ALAN in Archaic Lu₂ A, the use of TAK₄ with objects made of wood (Civil 2008), and the later meaning of kid₂ *karāṣu* ‘to break off, pinch off’ in relation with the creation of figurines and human beings (Sallaberger 1996: 8).

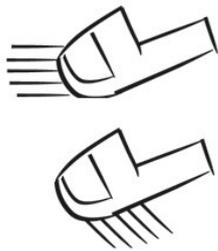
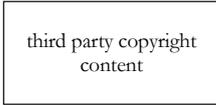
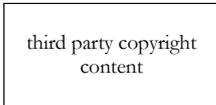
Proto-cuneiform		ŠUR _{2a} ŠUR _{2b}	
ED I–II		ŠUR _{2b}	UET 2, 152 obv. I 4 (©The Trustees of the British Museum CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).
ED IIIa (lexical)		ŠUR ₂ (/DÙL)	SF 23 obv. ii 6 (©Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin).
ED IIIb (lapidary)		DÙL	RIME 1.10.17.01 (©Colonna d’Istria Laurent).
ED IIIb (administrative)		DÙL	DP 98 obv. ii 2 (©Louvre Museum).

Figure 7.10 – THE SIGN DUL₃ IS A *GUNŪ* FORM OF SAG, WHICH TOOK ON A VARIETY OF MEANINGS. THE PROTO-CUNEIFORM ŠUR_{2A-B} IS AN EARLIER VARIATION ON THE PROTO-CUNEIFORM SIGN SAG, WITH UNCLEAR MEANING, AND DOES NOT NECESSARILY SURVIVE INTO THE EARLY DYNASTIC VOCABULARY (IMAGES COURTESY OF CDLI).

In her analysis of the concept of statue and the sign alan, Spycket (1968: 31) argued that the sign could be traced back to its most archaic form in the Blau Obelisk, which at the time was dated to the Jemdet Nasr period. Gelb et al. (1989: 39–43, cat. 10) date the inscription to the Uruk III period, suggesting the sign is part of a name, probably identifying the bearded man that appears on the reverse holding a four-legged animal (a goat?). The authors suggest line 5 identifies the man’s profession as engar eš₃ (AB_a APIN_a) ‘cultivator of the sanctuary’ and line 4 could be his name, ALAN_f NE_a IB_a PAP_a ZATU687 ŠITA_{a3}. However, Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 193–195) discuss the issues surrounding the dating of both Blau monuments, as they were purchased in the antiquities market and therefore lack any archaeological

context. As they point out, “*it is not correct to compare the more conservative examples of paleography on stone with those on clay*” (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 194 n. 38), though stylistic comparisons of the imagery are undoubtedly also fraught with bias. Although at first thought of dating to the Uruk III period, they are now dated within the ED I period, with some suggestion they should be dated to the ED II period. It is interesting to note how the rendering of the sign appears to be almost an attempt at archaizing the Early Dynastic form of the sign ALAN, given the parallel wedges on the left and the pointed ending on the right (Figure 7.9).¹⁴

Apart from the unclear evidence from the Blau Obelisk, the use of alan to refer to a material image of a human being in the context of dedicatory sculpture is only attested from the late Early Dynastic period, as discussed by Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 179–180) in relation to the statue of Hinna’il of Kiš, whose reign they place at the beginning of the ED IIIb period.

Regarding DUL₃, the reading of this sign remains unclear. Spycket tried to associate the visual rendering of the proto-cuneiform sign ŠUR₂ to the later sign DUL₃ by stating that it is an index for a headdress or a crown (Spycket 1968: 30). However, this connection is so far impossible to establish as the context in which ŠUR₂ appears in proto-cuneiform administrative texts seems unconnected with any meaning related to such an object (Figure 7.10). The meaning behind the combination of signs with other marks in proto-cuneiform is not fully understood, and ŠUR₂ in some instances could be part of personal names (Englund 2009: appendix). Finally, an-dul₃ ‘shade’ is reportedly attested in ED IIIa sources such as the overseer (ugula) ^dSud₃-an-dul₃ ‘Sud (is) shade/protection’ (TŠŠ 100 obv. vi 1.; WF 15 obv. ii 11.), or the names nin-an-dul₃ ‘Lady (is?) shade/protection’ (CUSAS II, 8 obv. iv 2.) and lugal-an-dul₃ ‘King (is?) shade/protection’ (CUSAS II, 28 obv. ii 3.), so that it is not clear whether the concept of ‘image’ attached to (AN.)DUL₃ derives from the earlier notion of ‘shade’ or the other way around, though the former appears more likely. The semantic range of the term itself appears ambiguous. It seems to originally refer to a physical structure such as a canopy, and it is unclear how it came to be employed symbolically and extended to mean ‘statue’, if indeed it was the result of a semantic relationship (Civil 2008: 79). The Fāra text SF 2, which was at first identified as a god-list, actually contains a list of personal names formed by geographic names including the uncertain entry ^den-ša₃-lal₃-an-dul₃ (Krebernik 1986: 167). In Ebla, both AN.DUL₃ and alan_x(KID₂.ALAN) are attested when referring to statues (Archi 1999: 155).

What the evidence suggests is that the concept of ‘statue’ in the sense of the Early Dynastic statuary may not have fully developed until the Early Dynastic period, more specifically the ED III period, with some potential early exceptions perhaps made of wood or clay rather than stone. Figurines of the composite type may be reflected under TAK₄.ALAN if one is to admit the evidence from the lexical lists.

Regarding the evidence on cultic images, despite the suggestion that the Warka mask represents Inanna and the discussion surrounding the figures represented on the Warka Vase (see p. 41f.), the overall consensus is that there is no unequivocal evidence supporting their existence prior to the Akkadian period (CAD *šalmu* s., a) 1’; Spycket 1968: 29–42; 144–146; Spycket 1981: 77f.; Kobayashi 1983). Spycket suggested that liminal figures were the first to become materialised anthropomorphically, such as the copper pegs

¹⁴For detail images of the Blau Obelisk, see the CDLI webpage (<<https://cdli.ucla.edu/P005995>>).

representing Enannatum I's personal god Šulutula from the Ibgal in Lagaš. On the other hand, Kobayashi (1983: 56) suggests the origin of divine cultic statues is to be sought in the idea of monarchical worship, not the other way around. Both hypotheses propose that anthropomorphic cultic images emerged from other forms of material engagement with objects not originally thought of as divine, so that the inductive process of ascribing sacred status to material “things” may be involved in the mechanism through which cultic images came to exist as an element in the spatial context of temples. Moreover, Selz has disputed the hierarchical distinction made between images and objects in terms of divine embodiment and power, which often sees images as “the (real) embodiment of the deity”:

[I]mages and objects alike could be understood as representations of ‘divine powers’ [...] No distinctive feature could be found that functionally separates the divine images proper from “cultic objects”, including the statues of the ruling elite. They both seem to vary only in their degree of religious importance, not in their conceptualization.

(Selz 1997: 167)

How does the material aspect of religion, as realised in the divine powers ascribed to objects within physically circumscribed spaces such as temples and shrines, interrelate with the emergence of cultic statues during the latter part of the Early Dynastic period? I suggest that perhaps looking at other object categories such as stone vessels may help towards understanding the mechanisms through which anthropomorphic images entered the realm of temple inventories, and how they ended up becoming the prerogative of deities and kings. In this sense, the materially-mediated engagement with the divine is here suggested as a key component in the shaping of social and political discourse during this period.

In Chapter 3, I briefly discussed Epley, Waytz and Cacioppo's (2007) work on the concept of anthropomorphism and its social implications. Their work could help understand the ways in which different ‘degrees’ of anthropomorphism could be interpreted on the basis of the available evidence. Epley and colleagues suggest anthropomorphism is driven by a cognitive mechanism they describe as the accessibility and applicability of egocentric or homocentric knowledge (elicited agent knowledge), supported by two additional motivational mechanisms—the motivation to be effective social agents (effectance motivation) and the motivation for social connection (sociality motivation) (Epley et al. 2007: 866). This theory provides a framework to understand the contexts in which people will anthropomorphise and when they will not. In terms of the material culture from Early Dynastic temples, it may help to untangle and examine the ways in which the materially-mediated engagement with the divine incorporated elements of anthropomorphism and how these contributed *performatively* to the shaping of social and political religious spaces realised through the construction of temples and the organisation of the built environment discussed in the previous section.

STATUARY FROM THE CASE STUDIES

The following sections offer a detailed analysis of the statuary from each of the three case studies. Whilst preparing the comparative analysis, several issues arose that needed to be addressed. The first issue surrounding

the comparison of corpuses both at the intrasite and intersite levels is the determination of the volume of artefacts by context and gender. The results are presented in Table 7.2 for Mari, Table 7.7 for Aššur and Table 7.9 for Khafajah. Complete statues are rarely found *in situ* or unbroken. Differences in the field methodology of artefact collection can affect the total number of objects recovered, including fragments. Excavation numbers (of Field numbers in the case of Khafajah) often incorporate all fragments of one object found in the same spot, while catalogue entries may incorporate one or more excavation numbers. Furthermore, catalogue entries can reflect relatively complete artefacts as well as small fragments. Thus, the number of catalogue entries for each context is not a reliable criterion to compare volume of corpuses, even if it can offer some information of relative distribution such as in the case of gender distribution of statuary in loci. Tunca (1984: 206–207) already critiqued the use of catalogue numbers to compare statuary corpuses.

In order to estimate the number of individuals from each context, an adapted and simplified version of the principle of the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) was applied (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). One relatively easy way of establishing MNI is by counting parts of bodies (head, torso, hands, etc.) and determining the highest number yielded for one of those variables. For the purpose of this analysis, I have determined an average MNI based on the following elements: head, torso, arms, hands, waist down (because of the skirts, legs are rare so waist down refers to the part of the body from the waist to the ankles), and base (feet were attached to the base so they are not counted separately). These are highlighted in GREEN in the tables, and the average MNI also appears in GREEN. The overall NI was certainly higher than the obtained average MNI since some of the objects do not match (e.g. heads that do not match any headless bodies). Furthermore, oftentimes one of the parameters used yielded a higher number than the averaged MNI which gives a more accurate MNI than the average MNI calculated. These minimum number of unique parts of the body are highlighted in BOLD GREEN in each table (note that arms and hands are counted individual and so their totals need to be divided by two). These issues will be discussed in each section. I have also included the number of inscribed and complete statuettes at the top of the tables for reference when comparing fragmentation and the value of inscriptions (note that some not all inscribed statuettes are complete and not all complete statuettes are inscribed). Fragmentation will also be discussed, although there are some limitations to this analysis. Firstly, as I mentioned the collection method employed in the field can affect the number of fragments recovered. Secondly, many objects were restored and it is now impossible to determine with certainty the number of fragments for analysis. Nevertheless, some discussion about the results suggests different practices of potential curation or deliberate destruction of artefacts in each of the contexts. To this end, the total Catalogue entries, Excavation numbers and rough observation of total fragments in the archival and/or published photographs are included at the bottom of each table. Overall, the results offer a glimpse into the gender composition of each corpus, the degree of fragmentation of the remains, as well as the overall volume in each context. The data used to populate the tables in the following subsections can be consulted in the attached CD in the folder ‘Chapter 7’.

Another issue that arose was the examination of the spatial distribution of the statuary within each of the contexts, in order to establish whether there were any patterns surrounding the clustering of statues by gender, class, or location in the buildings. In this instance, catalogue entries from each of the

case studies were employed, rather than the estimated number of individuals from the previous analysis, as in this case the focus was on tracing concentrations for in each locus, rather than necessarily number of individuals. The results are presented in Tables 7.3 and 7.4 for Mari, Table 7.8 for Aššur and Table 7.10 for Khafajah.

The results from the individual case studies are summarised and discussed in Section §7.3, contextualising them within the established interpretive framework and offering some new preliminary conclusions regarding the role of gender in dedicatory practices and how it could have shaped elite identity during the Early Dynastic period for the case studies under discussion.

MARI

Table 7.2 shows the results of MNI analysis across the main three temples that have been associated with the figure of Inanna/Aštar and discussed in Chapter 4. At first, it may appear that the temple of Aštar *šarbat* was of more importance, given the fact that more inscribed statues were found and the overall number of catalogue entries is also higher. The average MNI obtained suggests that both the temples of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and Aštar *šarbat* received a similar number of dedications (average of 47.33 and 46.46, respectively). Unique features suggest a different picture, however. A total of 51 heads were found in ^dMUŠ₃.NITA, while 68 bases were found at Aštar *šarbat*. These numbers again suggests slightly more representation at the Aštar *šarbat* temple. What this probably suggests is that the corpus from Aštar *šarbat* was likely subjected to more vicious destruction than that in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, given the higher number of excavation numbers versus MNI. It should be noted, however, that a high number of heads which did not match any of the bodies were found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, which would probably add a few numbers to the total NI. The high number of heads without bodies, especially in the L18/20 area, perhaps points towards curatorial practices in deposition such as those associated with the cache found in the LUGAL DIGIR KALAM temple and discussed by [Butterlin and Lecompte \(2014\)](#). This possibility is further investigated below. As for the temple of Baššurat, it is clear that fewer statues were dedicated there and the discrepancy between the number of heads and torsos found (6 and 12 respectively) and the fact that no complete statuettes were recovered may also point to specific depositional practices, although with such low numbers this conclusion remains tentative.

With regard to the gender distribution across the three temples, the Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat temples have a strong male representation, while the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple shows a more balanced ratio of male and female statuary. Two couples were also found in the latter, while several statues found in the Aštar *šarbat* temple are of ambiguous gender, including those of the singer Ur-Nanše. When looking closer at the gender distribution within each of the temples, the balanced picture presented in Table 7.2 shifts towards more strongly gendered spaces within the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple. Table 7.3 shows the distribution of all catalogue entries by gender and locus across all three temples. The loci included reflect the contexts where statuary are most likely to be found in temple contexts, that is, the courtyard or sometimes antecella and the cella (= *Lieu Saint* and *Lieu Très Saint*). At Mari, statuary is usually found in the cella of the temple and, to a lesser degree, in the courtyards. The apparent wear of some of the sculptures suggest that

at least some must have been outdoors for a significant amount of time. When found in courtyards, it seems they were placed near the entrance to the cella, as in the case of the temple of Aštar *šarbat*.

The evidence from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple is more interesting, especially in view of the stratigraphic reanalysis carried out in Chapter 4. There is a strong correlation between the location in which statuary was found and gender. Whilst female statuary was found largely in cella L17 and its courtyard, L15, male statuary was found mostly in L18 and L20. Furthermore, statuary finds from the area south of the temple (South Area) were identified male, while those found to the north and east of the temple (N/E Areas) were identified as female. This seems to me to strengthen the hypothesis that L17 and L18 were not linked, as proposed by Margueron (2017); however, this is not a definitive interpretation. The three inscribed statues found in this temple which identified a deity as ^dMUŠ₃.NITA were found in the L18/20 area, though their original context is not clear. As discussed in Chapter 4, Parrot's identification of L20 with the courtyard leading into a cella L18 is not without issue. Margueron has argued that all that remains of L20 is simply the result of erosion over time, which caused part of the foundations and wall of L18 to collapse onto the lower ground outside the temple, so that the finds from this context are actually from hoards originally in L18 and L17 (Margueron 2017). As I have argued, L18 and the outdoor area identified as L20 were likely added to the side of the temple at a later date than the original foundation, given the fact that the foundation deposits found in this room appeared at a higher level than those in Cella L17, but probably at a similar height as the foundation deposits from the renovation of the latter associated with the so-called "stone foundations". However, I must stress that this is by no means established beyond doubt and the question remains open, though it is the most plausible reconstruction in my view. If my reconstruction is correct, the spaces associated with female statuary (L17 and L15) appear to have been in use from its original foundation, while the spaces associated with males (L18 and the L20 area) were perhaps added at a later date.

The fact that fewer inscribed statues were found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple than in the Aštar *šarbat* temple does not automatically suggest that the latter was a more important deity, though it does suggest that the Aštar *šarbat* temple was more strongly associated with official cult and the palace. Such a relationship is supported by the positions held by the individuals who dedicated statues in this temple. Table A.1 summarises the information from the inscribed statues found in Mari or dedicated by Mariotes elsewhere. The majority, if not all, of the individuals who dedicated statues in the temple of Aštar *šarbat* hold a connection with the palace and the official administration. However, it is not clear whether kings themselves also dedicated statues in this temple, as no evidence remains. The only documented dedications by kings themselves are those of Yišqimari from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and the Mes'annepadda bead found in the "Ur Treasure", which may have been obtained during a diplomatic or military campaign.¹⁵ The supposed inscription of An(u)bu has been demonstrated to be unclear (see Table A.1, n. 1).

As inscribed female statues are virtually unknown from this period, it is not surprising that none were found at Mari, with the exception of the gender-ambiguous singer Ur-nanše.¹⁶ Given the important

¹⁵Another inscription sometimes ascribed to Yišqimari before he became king and was found in the Sacred Area of the Palace. However, Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 185) has argued a different reading (see Table A.1 n. 31).

¹⁶There is only one seated statuette of a headless individual, quite possibly a woman, with an almost illegible inscription on the right shoulder (BM 115031). The object comes from The British Museum's excavations in Sippar,

	^d MUŠ ₃ ,NITA					Aštar Šarbat					Bašūrat					
	M	F	COUPLE ⁱ	UNDET.	TOTAL	M	F/M	F	UNDET.	TOTAL	M	F	UNDET.	TOTAL		
INSCRIBED	3	0	0	0	3	18	2	0	3	23	2	0	1	3		
COMPLETE	3	0	6	0	9	13	2	1	0	16	0	0	0	0		
HEAD	19	13	6	1	39	41	3	2	0	46	4	2	0	6		
TORSO	17	22	8	4	51	33	4	5	0	42	8	3	1	12		
ARMS	25	45	16	6	92	42	8	6	21,5	77,5	9	6	4	19		
HANDS ⁱⁱ	clasped	22	32	8	6	68	42	4	0	24	70	6	6	10	22	
	single	0	13	8	3	24	0	0	6	2	8	0	0	0	0	
WAIST/DOWN	14	29	8	10	61	37	3	5	0	45	6	1	2	9		
BASE (INCL. FEET)	12	16	6	7	41	30	3	4	31	68	2	0	9	11		
FRAGMENT	0	0	0	3	3	18	0	1	77	96	4	1	4	9		
				MNI	47,33					46,46				9,75		
TOTAL Catalogue Nos. ⁱⁱⁱ					113	TOTAL Cat. Nos.					304	TOTAL Cat.No				49
TOTAL Excavation Nos.					116	TOTAL Ex. Nos.					354	TOTAL Ex.Nos				52

• Rows in GREEN were used to calculate average MNI (in GREEN) based on number of parts of bodies. NI is likely higher, e.g. some heads do not match any of the bodies. Rows in BOLD GREEN show absolute MNI based on unique part of the body.

• Tufted fragments with back knot identified as male (based on complete examples).

• Dress fragments with single/double hem identified as female (based on complete examples).

• Bases with left foot forward identified as male (based on complete examples).

• Isolated fragments of eye inlays not included

ⁱThere are 4 couples statuettes, but one of them had neither head preserved. The entries reflect individuals not artefacts, thus a total of 8 headless bodies but only 6 heads.

ⁱⁱThe hands are counted individually, even if clasped. To calculate the average, the number of hands was first summed and divided by two.

ⁱⁱⁱCatalogue entry numbers reflect reconstructed artefacts from one or more excavation numbers, which could contain one or more fragments each. The number of fragments per excavation number cannot be determined as many statuettes were heavily reconstructed.

Table 7.2 – AVERAGE NUMBER OF STATUES AND STATUETTES FOUND AT EACH OF THE THREE MAIN TEMPLES WHERE STATUARY WAS FOUND AT MARI DURING THE CITY II PERIOD.

presence of females in the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple, it is thus not surprising that the number of inscribed statues from this temple is significantly lower than in that of Aštar *šarbat*. However, the presence of Yišqimari's or Yindin'il's statues suggests this temple was of significant importance. The concentration of polos-style headdresses in the environs of the temple and their association with cultic practices strengthens the weight of the evidence to support that this was indeed an important temple in Mari despite its decentralised location. Other evidence includes the presence of foundation deposits, the high-status female heads possibly found in the deposits from Cella L17 and Locus 18 (see Figures 7.14 and 7.18), and the concentration of steatite vessels in the intercultural style.

Table 7.4 breaks down the distribution of types of statuary fragments found within the loci discussed for the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple. Whilst the total of male and female is roughly similar, more variety is shown in the styles of females, which are broken down in the table. Evans (2012: 180–190; 2014a) has discussed gendered aspects of dedicatory sculpture in Mari, where she notes the characteristically Mariote tradition of mentioning the occupation of male donors in their inscriptions. She adds that identity was probably not so much reflected in a previously assumed attempt at realistic depiction of facial features, but more in the dress, posture, and accessories that the statue presented (Evans 2012: 182). In this sense,

though no context is known. Perhaps unrelated, but a statue with a dedication for the life of king Yikūnšamaš of Mari was also discovered during the same excavation (BM 90829)(see also Table A.1). Irving Finkel suggests to read the inscription [.....]^rd¹en¹lil¹ or possibly as [...A]N.ŠE².NIR² (Reade 2000). However, examining the available photographs on the museum's online collection database, the signs SAR and É appear to me to be a better match, similar to some of the inscriptions on bowls from Adab (Steible and Behrens 1982: AnAdab 06).

^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA					Aštar Šarbat					Baššurat			
	M	F	COUPLE	UNDET.		M	F/M	F	UNDET.		M	F	UNDET.
CELLA 17	3	22	1	6	CELLA 13	80	3	5	155	LOCUS 8	7	3	9
COURT 15	1	4	1	3	COURT 12	23	1	1	21	COURT 6	6	0	8
LOCUS 18	19	4	0	1	OTHER	6	1	1	7	CELLA 5	4	2	2
LOCUS 20	7	9	0	2						OTHER	3	1	4
OTHER TEMPLE	4	3	1	3									
SOUTH AREA	5	0	0	0									
N/E AREAS	0	7	1	6									
TOTAL	39	49	4	21		109	5	7	183		20	6	23

- Numbers reflect catalogue entries, thus both complete objects and fragments of varying size
- Isolated fragments of eye inlays not included

^dMUŠ₃.NITA (All except later statuary from 2nd millennium B.C.)

CELLA 17 = Main cella of building

COURT 15 = Main courtyard

LOCUS 18 = Secondary cella (?)

LOCUS 20 = Previously described as the courtyard of Cella 18

OTHER TEMPLE = “Priest Rooms” and other areas within temple perimetre

SOUTH AREA = South of the Temple (near Locus 20)

N/E AREAS = North and East of Temple, including buildings

Aštar Šarbat (City II contexts)

CELLA 13 = Main cella of building

COURT 12 = Main courtyard of building, especially near entrance to Cella 13

OTHER = Rooms off the main courtyard as well as a few pieces found outside the temple's perimetre

Baššurat (City II contexts)

LOCUS 8 = Identified as a room off Court 6, but no exterior walls were traced. Located along northern corner of the building

COURT 6 = Identified as a courtyard but not clear if it was roofed or not

CELLA 5 = Main cella of building

OTHER = Other rooms in the building

Table 7.3 – DISTRIBUTION OF STATUARY ACROSS THE THREE MAIN BUILDINGS IN WHICH STATUARY WAS FOUND AT MARI DURING THE CITY II PERIOD, BY LOCUS AND GENDER. NUMBERS REFLECT CATALOGUE ENTRIES, NOT INDIVIDUAL, COMPLETE OBJECTS. WHEN A CATALOGUE ENTRY CONTAINS EXCAVATION NUMBERS FOUND IN MORE THAN ONE LOCUS, ONE ENTRY PER LOCUS WAS INCLUDED.

a seated position denotes higher status, as does holding a cup and vegetation. The cup and vegetation motif is typically found on carved stone door plaques depicting banqueting scenes, so that the thematic repertoire seems to extend across mediums.¹⁷ Evans argues that banqueting is particularly associated with a subset of elite female statuary from Mari, and suggests that “*in temple sculpture, banqueting female figures are analogous to inscribed male figures*” (Evans 2014a: 698). Returning to the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, table 7.4 shows that fewer examples with cup and vegetation were dedicated than females wearing tufted capes. The latter were sometimes associated with priestesses through the polos headwear, which in one case led to the reconstruction of a statuette bearing a seated female holding the cup and vegetation from the environs of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and a polos head recovered from the Great Royal Palace in a later context (Parrot 1956: M.647+M.826, pp. 85–86 and pl. 37). It is clear the head and body do not belong together.¹⁸ Furthermore, as evidenced in Table 7.5, fragments of polos headwear were largely found outside the innermost areas of the temple, with only one head found in L17 and another two in the environs of L15 and L13/14 (see Figure 7.20). It is not clear how this distribution affects the interpretation of females

¹⁷I shall discuss this theme further in Section §7.2.3 *Plaques and reliefs*.

¹⁸This was confirmed by Louvre curator Sophie Cluzan (pers. comm.).

with polos headwear as priestesses, although the almost complete example from the Aštar *šarbat* temple clearly points towards their very high status—perhaps royal, especially when compared with material from Ebla (Dolce 2014). More on the relationships between women and occupations in banqueting, textile production, and ritual activity shall be explored together with evidence from inlays in Section §7.2.4, which add information to the otherwise decontextualised evidence from sculpture in the round.

	ᵈMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE						
	MALE	FEMALE				COUPLE	UNDET.
		HEAD	PLAIN GOWN	TUFTED CAPE	HOLDING BRANCH		
CELLA 17	5	3	1	10	3	1	7/8
COURT 15	1	2	0	0	1	1	1
LOCUS 18	19	1	2	0	2	0	0
LOCUS 20	8	2	3	3	2	0	0
TOTAL	33	8	6	13	8	2	8/9
					35		

Table 7.4 – DISTRIBUTION OF STATUARY BY LOCUS, GENDER AND TYPE WITHIN THE ᵈMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE. ENTRIES REFLECT CATALOGUE ENTRIES, NOT INDIVIDUAL, COMPLETE OBJECTS.

Finally, were the statuary found in Cella L17 and L18 part of curated hoards, or, as it seems to have been the case in the Aštar *šarbat* temple, had they been broken in the ransacking and destruction of the city? The paucity of context-recording in the excavation of the ᵈMUŠ₃.NITA temple prevents any definite answer to the question. Margueron (2017) suggested the items from L18/20 were all part of a hoard in the disintegrated podium of L18; however, I have to some extent challenged that conclusion in Chapter 4. Meanwhile, the evidence from L17 is far from clear, and the evident existence of later pits cutting through the plastered surface of the superimposed podiums suggests at the very least that the deposition of curated items inside them may have been compromised at a later date (e.g. Figures A.24 and A.25). A recently excavated hoard found buried inside one of the podiums in the cella of the LUGAL DIGIR KALAM temple provides an opportunity for comparison with the available evidence from the ᵈMUŠ₃.NITA temple (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014). The evidence is collated here in Table 7.6 and the same information visually in Figure 7.11. I have followed Butterlin and Lecompte’s organisation into pairs from more complete and “higher status” statues to fragments such as bases. The evidence is not conclusive as expected, although the objects from L17 described as found in a ‘pit’ appear to be more complete, while those from the *favissa* in L18 seem to be mainly busts and heads of males (and one female). It is not clear to me whether this fact is meaningful, unless the bottom half of the male statuettes were made of another material. It is highly likely that these were deliberately deposited here, but whether it is a primary or secondary depositional context is a moot point. The gender distribution remains, on the other hand, rather significant. In particular, the heads of two female statuettes recovered one in each context should be noted, especially given their dimensions (M.120 H: 9.30 cm; M.127 H: 9.60 cm) compared to the statue of Yindin’il (M. 177 Head H: 10.00 cm) or the male head M.117 from L18 (H: 9.8 cm). L17 group includes wider variety such as a seated couple, and individual with long hair (a rare occurrence limited to the singer Ur-nanše in Mari), and two females wearing tufted robe and cape.

Overall, the evidence from Mari demonstrates the relevance of analysing object distribution to reconstruct social spheres of action built on various forms of social stratification such as gender, status, or even kinship as I shall explore in Chapter 8 Section §8.4. This stratification demonstrates the possibilities of an intersectional approach that looks at the intersections between gender and social and political power to better contextualise inequalities and shifts in the sociopolitical make-up of Early Dynastic society. The detailed analysis of stratigraphic contexts also allows to better discern between contexts of use and contexts of disposal, and their limitations, thus qualifying long-standing interpretations about how Early Dynastic statuary were displayed or their symbolic meaning. In particular, this analysis has highlighted a trend which sees a stronger male presence in the area of the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple towards the end of the City 2 phase (ED IIIb), although male and female areas continue to be separated. Further discussion of the possible implications of these results in relation with ritual and the construction of power will be carried out in Chapter 8 Section §8.4.

POLOS		
Object no.	Findspot	Description
M.0172	Body: Cella 17 Head: Threshold of rooms 13-14	Polos Head. Long uniform robe fringed at bottom.
M.0277	East wall of temple	Polos Head.
M.0327	Court 15	Polos "Wig" from composite statue. Onyx
M.0331	Cella 17 - hole?	Polos Head.
M.0340	Cella 17 - cache	Long kaunakès and cape standing figure with clasped hands.
M.0396	Cella 18	Long uniform robe fringed at bottom.
M.0521	Exterior, East of temple	Long uniform robe fringed at bottom.
M.0541	Exterior, East near gate	Polos Head.
M.0647	House outside temple	Seated figure with kaunakès robe and shoulder cape, holding branch (of dates?) in left hand. Seated on bull-leg stool.
M.0668	House North of temple	Fragment of polos? Head (not clear)
M.0826	Room 65, GRP	Polos Head.
M.1797	Cella 17	Torso with uniform garment ("polos"?)

Table 7.5 – FINDSPOTS OF “POLOS” HEADDRESS, ^dMUŠ₃,NITA TEMPLE, MARI. HEADS FOUND IN CELLAS ARE HIGHLIGHTED IN SHADES GREEN, WHILE ITEMS FOUND OUTSIDE A TEMPLE CONTEXT ARE HIGHLIGHTED IN SHADES OF RED. NEUTRAL ITEMS ARE LEFT BLANK.

Cache Cella – Temple “Signeur du Pays” ¹	“Pit” Cella 17 – Temple ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA	“Favissa” Cella 18 – Temple ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA
2 Inscribed male devotee	1 female head with wrapped hairstyle. Eye inlays present and lapis band on forehead	1 female head with elaborate hairstyle headband. Eye inlays present.
	1 headless male devotee sitting	1 headless seated worshipper holding branch (female?)
1 bust and kaunakès of small size	1 couple headless no base, woman kaunankès robe male kaunakès skirt	
2 headless male devotee (torso and kaunakès)	1 headless worshipper kaunakès robe over left shoulder, no base. (male? Female?)	1 headless male devotee kaunakès skirt. Affected by erosion? Bearded
	1 headless worshipper standing with long double kaunakès robe, base (female?)	
2 headless male devotees without hands	1 headless worshipper (torso, kaunakès and base) with long hair back.	
	1 headless	
2 bust of male devotee		1 male bust (devotee) with top head mutilated. Naked torso. Bearded. Hands present, nose mutilated.
		1 bust of male devotee. Bearded, shaven head. Affected by erosion? Inlays missing
		1 head of male with beard and shaven head. Eye inlays present. Mutilated nose.
		1 male head with beard and shaven head. Eye inlays missing. Mutilated nose and left ear.
1 bust and kaunakès of small size		1 male head with beard and shaven head. Eye inlays missing. Mutilated nose and right ear.
		1 very mutilated head of male devotee. Eyes and eyebrow inlays gone.
2 fragment of kaunakès	1 kaunakès skirt, broken	1 kaunakès skirt
		1 kaunakès skirt.
2 base with feet	1 base with feet paralel (female?)	1 uniform skirt and base (lower than waist)

¹From Butterlin and Lecompte 2014

Table 7.6 – COMPOSITION ANALYSIS OF STATUARY ASSEMBLAGES DESCRIBED AS FOUND IN “PITS” OR “FAVISSAS” IN CELLA 17 AND CELLA 18 OF THE ^dMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE COMPARED WITH THE RECENT FINDS FROM A CACHE FOUND IN THE ^dLUGAL KALAM-TEMPLE.

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Figure 7.11 – VISUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE STATUARY ASSEMBLAGES DESCRIBED IN TABLE 7.6 (IMAGES COLLATED FROM LEFT: BUTTERLIN AND LECOMPTE 2014; CENTRE AND RIGHT: PARROT 1956).

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VISUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE STATUARY ASSEMBLAGES DESCRIBED IN TABLE 7.6
(CONT.) (IMAGES COLLATED FROM LEFT: BUTTERLIN AND LECOMPTE 2014; CENTRE
AND RIGHT: PARROT 1956).

Table 7.7 shows the results of MNI analysis for the “archaic” Istar temple in Assur, discussed in Chapter 5. In this case, no other contexts with similar finds have so far been excavated at the site. Two very different types of evidence were recovered: typical stone statuary as well as a collection of naked female figurines. Thus, these have been differentiated in the calculation. The average statuary MNI is 16.3, which coincides roughly with the number of heads and upper bodies. However, it seems a larger number of lower parts of bodies were preserved, giving an MNI of 23–24. It is unclear why more lower body parts were preserved, though it is possible the heads were recovered or kept beyond the conflagration of Temple G/GF. A total of roughly 15 naked female figurines were also found. In this case, the number of catalogue entries corresponded with the identified number of unique figurines recovered, complete or otherwise. Once again, fewer heads were preserved altogether (only 6 out of the 15 figurines). Finally, very few identifiably male statuettes were recovered compared with both the female statuary and the naked figurines. Given the low male presence, it is no surprise that none of the statues and figurines were inscribed.

		OLD “IŠTAR” TEMPLE			
		M	F	UNDET.	TOTAL
INSCRIBED		0	0	0	0
COMPLETE		1	6	0	7
<hr/>					
HEAD		2	13	1	16
TORSO		4	11	0	15
ARMS		5	17	0	22
HANDS ⁱ	clapsed	2	6	4	12
	single	0	6	0	6
WAIST DOWN		6	13	4	23
BASE (INCL. FEET)		4	10	10	24
EYE FRAGMENT		0	0	14	14
FRAGMENT		0	1	31	32
				MNI	16,3333
<hr/>					
NAKED FIGURINES	Cat. no.	0	15	0	15
	heads	0	6	0	6
<hr/>					
TOTAL Catalogue Nos. ⁱⁱ					102
TOTAL Excavation Nos.					137
No. Fragments from photos					177

*Rows in GREEN were used to calculate statuary MNI (in GREEN) based on number of parts of bodies, except naked figurines. NI is likely higher, e.g. some heads do not match any of the bodies. Row in BOLD GREEN shows absolute MNI based on unique part of the body; BOLD ORANGE shows MNI of naked figurines. At Aššur, there was probably an NI of at least 24 statuary and 15 naked figurines.

- Tufted fragments with back knot identified as male (based on complete examples).
- Dress fragments with single/double hem identified as female (based on complete examples).
- Bases with left foot forward identified as male (based on complete examples).

ⁱThe hands are counted individually, even if clasped. To calculate the average, the number of hands was first summed and divided by two.

ⁱⁱCatalogue entry numbers reflect reconstructed artefacts from one or more excavation numbers, which could contain one or more fragments each. The total excavation numbers from Bär's publication is 137. However, many of excavation numbers include a number of fragments. A rough count of the fragments from the publication's photographs gives the figure of 177 fragments.

Table 7.7 – AVERAGE NUMBER OF STATUES AND STATUETTES FOUND AT THE “ÄLTEREN ISCHTAR-TEMPEL.” THE MAJORITY OF FINDS COME FROM THE COMPOSITE LEVELS G–GF (SEE FIGURE B.7).

The fact that Temple G was destroyed by a conflagration appears to suggest that the majority of finds from this context were found *in situ*, in the place where they would have been in use before the fire destroyed the building. As Evans (2012: 84) pointed out, Andrae disregarded this detail when reconstructing what the cella would have looked like in use (Figure 7.5), an oversight that undermines other aspects of his interpretation regarding the social make-up of Aššur during this period. Following Andrae's logic that the

statuary must have been taken *out* of the sanctuary by the raiders of the temple, Bär also concluded that all the statuary originally stood inside the cella, rather than in the courtyard. Unlike Andrae's "display" on benches along the walls, he posited a more functional connection between the installations inside the cella and the statues, suggesting that some of the statues may have originally stood on the floor of the cella and not only on the so-called benches (Bär 2003b: 96).

The identification of the temple with Aštar led Andrae to base his interpretations of the archaic temple on the assumption that it was dedicated to the same Ištar deity throughout the 3rd millennium B.C. (levels H–E). To a certain extent, it also suggested that temples dedicated to goddesses were more popular with women than with men, an assumption that would be rehashed over time (e.g. with regard to the Inanna temple in Nippur; see Goetze 1970) but which is clearly untenable given the evidence from the temple of Aštar *sarbat* in Mari discussed in the previous section. Therefore, nothing suggests this temple was dedicated to a female deity simply on the basis that a temple dedicated to Ištar was built on the same spot at a much later date.

When plotted across the various loci in the temple, the distribution of male and female statuary offers further insight into the gendered use of space in the temple. Table 7.8 shows the distribution of statuary and naked figurines across the main loci from levels G/GF by gender (note that catalogue numbers are used, not individuals, and that small, unidentifiable fragments are not included). These are also roughly plotted in Figure B.7, which shows the main finds from levels G/GF in the area of the cella and main courtyard. As Bär pointed out, the distinction between these two levels is not often clear, especially with regard to the context in which the objects were found. This is because the focus on tracing architectural remains took precedence over the stratigraphic context of the finds within those same architectural remains. Nevertheless, the picture that emerges is fairly clear: female statues and figurines appear most closely clustered around the entrance to the cella and inside the cella itself, whilst male statuary was further removed from this area. Furthermore, it should be noted that very few remains of statues were actually found within the cella, and that the majority of these finds are clustered by its entrance. By contrast, the naked figurines were mostly found within the cella itself, clustered at the entrance by the wall protrusion along the back wall. This particular findspot may have had a specific function or meaning associated with the use of these figurines.

As mentioned in an earlier section, the focus afforded to male statuary in publications concerning this case study seems unwarranted in light of the evidence here presented. That the largest statue found in the course of the excavation was of a standing female figure should also be stressed (Figure 7.16 bottom, H: 0.80 m). Similar standing statues were found in Khafajah in the Small Shrine (Figure 7.16 top, H: 0.43 m) and in the Royal Cemetery in Ur (Figure 7.17, H: 0.25 m). The latter was found in grave PJ/B.36, which Woolley identified as that of a soldier based on the presence of a dagger and axe, and dated within the context of the Royal Cemetery (Woolley 1955: 39, pl. 37). Braun-Holzinger (1977: 53f. and 62, pl. 25e–g) also compares the three examples and places this style under her *Stilstuffe III*, which coincides with the later part of the Early Dynastic period. Marchetti dates the Royal Tombs (series B in Woolley's terminology) to the ED IIIb period (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: table 12). The size of the statue from Aššur is quite impressive compared with other examples. The largest statues from the Diyala came from

	OLD "IŠTAR" TEMPLE		
	M	F / ⑧	UNDET.
G/GF Cella	0	6 / ⑩	6
Main Courtyard by entrance	1	7 / ⑩	1
Main Courtyard Other	2	3 / ①	0
Other	5	5 / ⑩	0
Unknown	0	0 / ③	0
Temple E	0	2 / ①	1

- Numbers drawn from Bär's catalogue (Bär 2003b: 102–128), roughly reflected in composite plan (Figure B.7).
- Smaller, unidentified fragments and eye inlays not included (Total of 48 of 102 catalogue entries are small, unidentifiable fragments).
- Numbers enclosed in a circle correspond to naked female figurines.

Table 7.8 – DISTRIBUTION OF STATUARY ACROSS THE MAIN LOCI IN THE "ÄLTEREN ISCHTAR-TEMPEL." ALL FINDS COME FROM THE COMPOSITE LEVEL G–GF (SEE FIGURE B.7), EXCEPT FOR THOSE UNDER "TEMPLE E," WHICH LIKELY ORIGINATED FROM THE RUBBLE OF ITS FOUNDATION LEVEL. NUMBERS REFLECT CATALOGUE ENTRIES, NOT INDIVIDUAL, COMPLETE OBJECTS.

the Tell Asmar hoard in the Square Temple. The male statue (As. 33:446) is 0.72 m tall, while the female one (As. 33:445) is 0.59 m tall. Given their size, it was at first thought they were the divine statues of the god Abu and his consort simply described as a 'mother goddess', although that theory has since been refuted. In Mari, the statue dedicated by the chief surveyor Šibum for king Ikūn-Šamagan (M.2300+2323) in the Aštar *šarbat* temple was 1.00 m tall (with base). That of Yindin'il from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple was 0.52 m tall in seated position (see also Figure 8.4). Thus, the statue from Aššur is certainly on a par with these other examples representing high status individuals. But at Aššur the size of the statue was not taken into consideration and instead the focus was placed on an unusual-looking relief depicting a naked female figure as the image of the goddess Aštar (see Figure 5.1). Given the comparative evidence, I would argue that this statue likely represents a very high status person in Aššur at the time, certainly someone in a prominent position of power.

Overall, the evidence from Aššur offers important insights into gender dynamics within an Early Dynastic temple complex, as well as redressing some previous interpretations of the building and the material culture based on preconceived ideas about the goddess Inanna/Aštar coupled with the tendency to give male statuary a more prominent presence in interpretations and reconstructions. Since the identity of the alleged deity worshipped in this temple cannot be determined, it is not possible to discuss further whether the strong female representation in the statuary from the temple is related with the gender of the deity. It appears that this temple was more strongly associated with a female sphere of influence, such as the case of L17/L15 in Mari. From these results, it is not possible to establish whether the deity (or deities) associated with this temple during the phases G/GF was female on the basis of the presence of women and naked female figurines. Finally, it should be stressed that the picture which emerges from this temple is strongly associated with phase G/GF and that little is known from the previous Temple H or the subsequent structures (D and E) that certainly date later than the Early Dynastic period. The lack of artefacts from Temple H is particularly difficult to assess because it offers no clear chronological diagnostic data, thus hindering assessment of specific shifts concerning the latter part of the Early Dynastic in this particular context. Certainly, absence of data does not mean absence of function. Nevertheless,

the presence of statuary which is only dated later in the period than other earlier corpuses, such as the Square Temple in Tell Asmar (Evans 2007), points to an interpretation of innovation in ritual practices. Elements such as naked reliefs and figurines find some relative continuity from Temple H to Temple G/GF as tentatively demonstrated by the earlier relief of a naked female figure (Figure 5.1) and the naked female figurines found concentrated in a specific area of the cella G/GF. By contrast, the introduction of the characteristic Early Dynastic statuary and its associations with commemoration and banqueting quite certainly appeared later in the life of the temple and may suggest a shifting approach to ritual activity that was incorporated alongside earlier, established traditions in the temple.

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Finally, Table 7.9 shows the results of the MNI analysis of the three main contexts in which statuary was found in Khafajah. In this case, the results offer further support that the gender of the deity did not dictate the gender of those dedicating statues there. The temple of Šamuš is by far the richest of the three contexts with an average MNI of 62.17 individuals, followed by the Small Shrine with 34.33 and the Temple Oval with 21.75. In all three contexts, heads are the most abundant single part of the body, giving a likely higher NI of 79 in Šamuš, 44 in the Small Shrine, and 32 in the Temple Oval. The difference in number between heads and other body parts preserved may suggest that at least some of the statues could have been ritually deposited with their heads “severed”, or that their bodies were made of perishable materials. Burial of statues is attested at least in the Šamuš and Small Shrine temples, as discussed by Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 11f.), so that this is certainly a possibility. Figure 7.12 shows the upper layer of the hoard found in front of the podium in locus Q45:4 of the Small Shrine, which was the cella identified as being a later extension to the original building. In the photograph, some complete objects as well as headless bodies are visible. Some appear face down while other are facing up, unlike in the case of the LUGAL DIGIR KALAM temple in Mari discussed earlier. By contrast, two headless bodies of a male and a female appear to have been deliberately placed in front of the southeast corner of the podium in cella P45:52 on an occupation floor (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 89). That deliberate deposition fulfilled a specific function within a ritual context appears clear from this evidence, but whether and in what way head or body mutilation prior to deposition had a particular symbolic meaning is unclear concerning the evidence from Khafajah.

Surprisingly, it is the temple of Šamuš that presents a rather balanced male/female ratio, with a slightly higher number of females than males (44 and 31 heads, respectively), as well as a couple. However, if these numbers are broken up by context and gender, a slightly different picture emerges. Table 7.10 breaks down field numbers by gender and loci in each of the three buildings (note that not all loci are included and thus not all Field numbers are included in this table). The statuary in the Šamuš temple was found concentrated in the annex rooms added during the Level VIII/IX extension (Q42:7 and R42:2), which eventually were transformed into a cella by Level X (R42:3), as well as in the courtyard (Q42:3). As Evans (2007: 627) notes, Frankfort made a distinction between the floor in Q42:7 where the statuary was found and a slightly later floor in the courtyard Q42:3 where a number of statuettes in a more realistic style were found. As can be observed in Table 7.10, the majority of statuary from the slightly earlier contexts of

	OVAL				ŠAMUŠ					SMALL SHRINE			
	M	F	UNDET.	TOTAL	M	F	COUPLE	UNDET.	TOTAL	M	F	UNDET.	TOTAL
INSCRIBED	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	1
COMPLETE	2	0	0	2	9	5	1	0	15	13	1	0	14
HEAD	25	5	2	32	31	44	2	2	79	37	3	4	44
TORSO	10	6	4	20	32	31	4	1	68	36	2	2	40
ARMS	18	11	12	41	45	61	8	4	118	58	4	4	66
HANDS ⁱ													
clasped	12	6	10	28	44	58	4	2	108	60	4	4	68
single	0	6	0	6	2	6	4	0	12	4	0	0	4
WAIST/DOWN	8	7	8	23	24	33	4	3	64	30	2	3	35
BASE (INCL. FEET)	4	2	12	18	12	10	4	17	43	15	1	2	18
FRAGMENT	0	0	15	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NAKED FIGURINES	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	MNI			21,75	MNI			62,17	MNI			34,33	
	TOTAL Field. Nos. ⁱⁱ			96	TOTAL Field. Nos.			150	TOTAL F. Nos.			72	
	No. Fragments			111	No. Fragments			189	No. Fragments			85	

•Rows in GREEN were used to calculate MNI (in GREEN) based on number of parts of bodies. NI is likely higher, e.g. some heads do not match any of the bodies. Rows in BOLD GREEN show absolute MNI based on unique part of the body. At Khafajah, heads appear better preserved. This could mean either deliberate curation or composite artefacts.

•Tufted fragments with back knot identified as male (based on complete examples).

•Dress fragments with single/double hem identified as female (based on complete examples).

•Bases with left foot forward identified as male (based on complete examples).

ⁱThe hands are counted individually, even if clasped. To calculate the average, the number of hands was first summed and divided by two.

ⁱⁱIn the Diyala, Field Numbers (= excavation number) were used to prepare the published catalogues of artefacts in OIP 53 and OIP 58; for the statuary volumes OIP 44 and OIP 60, Field Nos. were assigned new catalogue numbers by gender and preservation state. Here, Field Nos. are used as they are more easily consulted on the online database than the catalogue numbers. Each Field No. may include one or more fragments, which if found together were assigned one Field No. Some objects match fragments with different Field Nos., but these were maintained in the catalogues. For example, the total Field Nos. in the Šamuš Temple is 150 and a rough look at the published photographs on DiyArDa suggest at least 189 fragments. The number of fragments per Field No. cannot be determined precisely as many statuettes were significantly reconstructed.

Table 7.9 – DISTRIBUTION AND VOLUME OF STATUARY BY GENDER, KHAFAJAH.

Level VIII and Level IX early (Q42:7 and R42:2) is female, whilst the larger proportion of male statuary in the ‘realistic’ style was found in the courtyard Q42:3 of Level IX late. Note also that statuary in the courtyard was only recovered during this later phase, although it is possible that the courtyard did not function as a context in which to deliberately deposit or bury statuary and that this practice was restricted to rooms. Nevertheless, the fact that the majority of statuary from Level VIII is also female suggest that this shift in gender did indeed take place sometime during Level IX, as already suggested by Evans (2007: 627). Finally, it should be noted that bench-like structures were found in Q42:7, and that some of the statuary may have been found on/in them (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 66). This gendered distribution and the shift with the introduction of more male statuary is reminiscent of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari.

By contrast, the Small Shrine, which was not completely excavated, shows a strong male presence akin to the ratio in the temple of Aštar *šarbat* in Mari. Because this temple was not fully excavated, it is difficult to discuss further the context of the foundation and development of the internal structure of the temple. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the highest concentration of male statuary was found in locus Q45:4, a room that is reminiscent of L18 in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple due to its bench-like extensions along its walls, as well as a podium located against one of its short walls. The excavators described this cella and courtyard complex as the original construction, to which later additions were made consisting of two cellas, P45:51 and P45:52, and a courtyard, P45:53. Despite the strong male presence, the most puzzling find from this temple was a pair of male and female statues found on the earlier occupation floor of P45:52 level VI, in front of the southeast corner of the altar (see Figure 6.3). The excavators note that they must

have been carefully deposited there with the intention of placing a fire on top (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 90). The female statue (Kh. IX 178) is described as ‘among the finest of this period’ (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 91), which could suggest the intentional destruction as a means of regeneration for some of the inventory of the temple, as noted as well in the Inanna temple in Nippur (Evans 2016). P45:52 is the only room in this temple with a gender balance, so that it is possible this room and the adjacent courtyard were not restricted in the same way as Q45:4 and its courtyard Q45:12. The two areas with associated gendered spheres are again reminiscent of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari. The excavators also remark that P45:52 was overall “*inferior in both plan and construction to the first sanctuary—a fact which may indicate that it was an addition of no great importance*” (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 91). If so, it would seem to imply that the eastern extension effectively either divided the use of the temple into two distinct gendered areas, or that access to the original temple was at one point restricted to a certain group (of males), thus triggering the need for an extension to accommodate other individuals, including males and females. However, no female statuary was found in the earlier contexts (Level V), which suggests otherwise. The options are only suggestions, and why exactly this distinction seemed to have been made in level VI cannot be clarified at present.¹⁹ Nevertheless, it should be noted that the only female statue from Q45:4 found in Level VI, when the alleged extension was added to the original layout, is the most complete example from this context, and has a considerable size (H: 0.43 m). This statue (Kh. III 1000) shows a standing female wearing a tufted dress over the left shoulder and sporting a draped-style hairdress (Figure 7.16 top). Furthermore, it shares some striking similarities with the large female statue from Aššur discussed in the previous section. Other male statues from Q45:4 Level VI are similar in height but their heads are missing (Kh. III 1001, 1002, 1003), adding to the evidence on the significance of head mutilation prior to deposition. The unique presence of this, by all accounts, high status female among the all-male statuary found in this locus perhaps points to the particularly high status and reverence commanded by the woman who commissioned this piece, just as we saw in Aššur and in Mari as well. Further discussion of this particular dress and hair style in the section on inlays (§7.2.4) will highlight the synergies between the three sites and offer further comparative material to suggest a hypothesis of who these women were.

The other two small temples in the vicinity, the Small Temple and the Single Shrine, also disappeared in Level X. Although located in the midst of the administrative and religious centre, they appear to be smaller in scale, perhaps serving the neighbourhood, or may have had a different function since no statuary was found in either of them. Perhaps it could be argued that whilst some, initially private, temples turned more public with the opening up of dedicatory practices to those beyond the household or domestic spheres, others remained within a domestic sphere of influence. Very few objects were found in the Small Temple, for example. Nevertheless, a carved stone bowl with a reed hut, ring post, and cattle motif (Kh. V. 14) was found broken in five pieces in a context assigned to Level IX (39.80 m), Houses area level 4, that is, dated to the ED IIIa/b period (see Section §6.2.3. However, the style of the bowl can clearly be placed within a much earlier context within a Jemdet Nasr / ED I horizon, so that it was clearly an antique and thus probably a prized possession. Significantly, the Šamuš temple appears to have been the oldest,

¹⁹As the excavators note, only cella Q45:4 was explored below level VI, and thus “*the connection between this sanctuary and the other parts of the temple in the earlier periods is still unknown; and, indeed, at the present stage of the excavations it is impossible even to say whether in its earlier forms the temple extended over the same area as in its later versions.*” (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 92).

perhaps flourishing from an original neighbourhood shrine into a more prominent building over time. Such a development is certainly well documented, with the Inanna temple in Nippur a prime example (Zettler 1992).

As for the Temple Oval, any conclusions regarding the statuary must remain open to revision, as the evidence is too scanty to allow for firm interpretations to be drawn. The evidence is more scattered and fragmentary given the size of the complex, exacerbated by the fact that heads make up a large portion of the finds. Nevertheless, several points are of importance since they expand on, as well as diverge from, Delougaz's interpretation of the evidence. Overall, at first sight it appears to have a strong male presence (25 male heads vs 5 female); however, it is necessary to break down these numbers by context.

OVAL					ŠAMUŠ						SMALL SHRINE				
LEVEL	LOCUS	M	F	UNDET.	LEVEL	LOCUS	M	F	COUPLE	UNDET.	LEVEL	LOCUS	M	F	UNDET.
1/2	N44:1	5	0	5	VIII	Q41:1	0	0	0	0	V	Q45:4	12	0	0
	L43:4	5	8	5		Q42:2	4	2	0	5		Q45:12	1	0	0
	K45:2	1	0	6		Q42:7	4	5	0	0	VI	Q45:4	6	0	1
	K46:6	5	1	1		Q42:3	0	0	0	0		Q45:12	5	0	2
1/2-3	M45:2	2	0	4		R42:2	0	14	1	1		P45:52	3	3	0
					IX	Q41:1	0	0	0	0	VII	Q45:4	24	1	3
						Q42:2	0	0	0	0		Q45:12	1	0	0
					IX early	Q42:7	15	29	0	0		P45:1	Q45:4	1	0
					IX late	Q42:3	18	13	0	10	Q45:12		1	0	0
					IX	R42:2	3	3	0	4	P45:1		4	0	1
					X	R42:3	0	1	0	1					
TOTAL		18	9	21	TOTAL		44	67	1	21	TOTAL		56	4	7

•Numbers reflect Field Nos., thus both complete objects and fragments of varying size.

•Not all loci in each temple are included, so sum of totals does not give total Field Nos provided in Table 7.9.

OVAL (Level 1/2 except M45:2)

N44:1 = 'The Macehead room'

L43:4 = Shrine in House D

K45:2 = Probably mistake for K44:2? (Area of later gateroom)

K46:6 = Room with round brick installations

M45:2 = Area near steps to platform in main courtyard.

*unclear context for finds in courtyard; maybe between Oval 1/2 and Oval 3.

ŠAMUŠ

Q42:1 = Main cella

Q42:2 = Room/cella between courtyard and cella

Q42:3 = Courtyard (later Level IX floor)

Q42:7 = Annex room off courtyard with low "benches" (1st Level IX floor)

R42:2 = Annex room off courtyard

R42:3 = Late cella above R42:2 and Q42:7 (Level X)

SMALL SHRINE

Q45:4 = Cella (original?)

Q45:12 = Courtyard (original?)

P45:52 = Cella (later addition in Level VI?)

P45:53 = Courtyard for P45:51 and P45:52 (later addition in Level VI?)

P45:51 = Cella (later addition is Level VII?)

Table 7.10 – DISTRIBUTION OF STATUARY BY LOCUS AND GENDER, KHAFAJAH.
NUMBERS REFLECT FIELD NOS. FROM THE **DIYARDA** DATABASE. FIELD NOS. WERE
ASSIGNED TO BOTH COMPLETE OBJECTS AND FRAGMENTS OF VARYING SIZE.



Figure 7.12 – THE UPPER LAYER OF THE HOARD OF STATUES AND OTHER ARTEFACTS FOUND IN FRONT OF THE PODIUM IN LOCUS Q45:4 OF THE SMALL SHRINE, KHAFAJAH (© 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT; PUBLISHED IN DELOUGAZ AND LLOYD 1942: FIG. 86).

Based on the stratigraphic reanalysis carried out in Chapter 6, I have suggested that locus N44:1 was not the workshop of a stonecutter, but a room with a function associated with ritual activity. The vases embedded into the plastered floors and the high number of maceheads found in and around them strengthen this interpretation, in my opinion. As such, the few remains of statuary found in this room should be associated with its function, and it seems this would be more strongly associated with male rather than female individuals. Perhaps a comparable context for this would be the liquids installation in Locus 173 of the Inanna temple in Nippur that Evans (2012) discusses as a male sphere of cultic activity.

By contrast, the finds from locus L43:4, known as the shrine in House D, reflect a different distribution. Here, there is a slightly higher proportion of females (4 heads, 2 bodies, 1 skirt and 1 naked stone figurine) than males (4 heads and 1 bust of a stone inlay). One female head (Kh. I 562) resembles another found in the Šamuš temple Level IX Locus Q42:7 (Kh. IV 214) (Figure 7.14) and perhaps also one from the Small Shrine Level VI (Kh. IX 195). Another statuette of a seated female holding a cup in the right hand and the female date cluster in the left is significant. Two other similar statuettes were found in the Temple Oval in other locations (Kh. II 138 was found near the inner gate probably in secondary deposition; Kh. II 244 was found in M47:1), as well as another one from the Small Shrine Level VII (Kh. III 1001) where male seated figures were found. Other seated female figures from Šamuš Level VIII (Kh. IV 307; Kh. IV 321; Kh. IV 356?) and a couple (Kh. IV 354) have clasped hands. The composition of locus L43:4 resembles similar assemblages found in other contexts dated to the ED IIIa period, including the evidence from level VIIB of the Inanna Temple in Nippur (Haines 1961b).

Evans has suggested that banqueting iconography in the round is a female prerogative and that the seated female figures with cup and date cluster should be equated with inscribed male figures in terms of status (Evans 2012: 189). One inscribed statuette of a standing male with clasped hands was found in the Temple Oval (Kh. I 428), probably from a disturbed context as it was found on top of the buttressed wall

in L44 (see Table C.1). Overall, the evidence from L43:4 is difficult to interpret, though perhaps it could be argued that it reflects a slightly stronger female presence. Nevertheless, it appears quite balanced and could be the result of a private household shrine with both men and women of similar status represented.

If the hypothesis that House D was the residence of the local ruler and was intrinsically attached to the activity on the high terrace, then L43:4 could be understood within the private sphere of cultic activity. The balanced presence of male and female statuary could signal more flexible gendered interactions within a single household as opposed to the gendered spheres of cultic activity identified in Mari, Aššur, and the Šamuš Temple, as well as in Nippur as discussed by Evans. The objects found in rooms K43:3 and L43:7 are also relevant in this sense. K43:3 was identified as the most important room in the building given its size. It perhaps functioned as a reception room, given that some sealings were found here (Kh. II 259a–b and Kh. II 260) and that small, storage-like annex rooms contained a range of items of daily use perhaps connected with eating and drinking. An almost complete stone door plaque was also found in the room (Kh. I 400), showing a banquet scene, and which will be discussed in a subsequent section. It is not clear who had access to this room, though the door plaque depicts a high-status female and male seated pair on the top register. Regarding Locus L43:7, this was described as a storage room, but its proximity to the courtyard and the connecting room L43:9 suggest it may have function to store items in use in the main areas of the house for receiving people and carrying out social activity. It is in this room that the so-called ‘net sinkers’ were found, which I argued may be the remains of loom weights rather than a fishing net (see p. 172f.). Although warp-weighted looms are especially associated with wool textiles, they were also employed to produce linen garments, which are known to have been reserved for the secular and religious elite (McCorriston 1997; Biga 2010; Wright 2013; Sallaberger 2014a). In this sense, it may be noted that charred flax seeds were found in the northwest corner of K43:3 (Delougaz 1940: 54), which demonstrates the presence of the plant at the site and could signal its trade or use for oil extraction though perhaps also its use for obtaining textile fibres; this is a tentative suggestion. As well as the remains found in L43:7, a few of the doughnut-shaped objects were also found in K43:3 and its annexes. If they were indeed loom weights, it would strengthen the view that gendered dynamics within an elite household might be more fluid than previously thought, at least at the local level and if this interpretation of the remains in House D is correct.

Overall, the evidence from Khafajah follows the results seen in Mari and Aššur. There is strong evidence for gendered spaces in the temples. Spaces that are initially represented mainly by female statuary, with some couples as well, appear to develop more male presence towards the end of their Early Dynastic life, such as in the Šamuš temple, while others remain strongly male as in the Small Shrine. The Temple Oval presents an interesting case because, despite the paucity of evidence, females appear more strongly represented in House D while the rest of the evidence from the temple is mainly of males or undetermined gender. It is interesting to note that the number of female statuary decreased drastically in the Šamuš temple during Level IX occupation with its end coinciding roughly with the end of the Early Dynastic period (see Table 6.4). Meanwhile, a more balanced picture was kept in the shrine of House D (L43:4) of the Temple Oval (although numbers are quite low for both). The overall shift to a more heavily male dominated commemorative practice associated with statuary precedes the eventual co-option of the practice for and by kings; a similar trend was observed in Mari but not in Aššur.

7.2.2 STONE VESSELS

Stone vessels are an ubiquitous feature in temple, as well as grave contexts during the Early dynastic period. However, they have been understudied for a variety of reasons. First, they are more numerous than statuary, but they are not as ‘distinctive,’ or, rather, as interesting to study. Second, the fact that they provided little in the way of art historical analysis perhaps relegated them to a secondary plane of importance, unless when they were inscribed. In that case, they routinely appeared in catalogues of royal and private dedicatory inscriptions, which often did not include a full description or image of the object. For example, the dedicatory inscriptions from the Inanna temple, which included a large number of stone bowls published by [Goetze \(1970\)](#) included drawings of the inscriptions but no illustrations of the objects themselves. [Braun-Holzinger’s \(1991\)](#) work on votive objects includes inscribed items, but not uninscribed ones. Finally, the focus on royal inscriptions taken by several publications ([Frayne 2008](#); [Marchesi and Marchetti 2011](#)) to some extent circumscribes their interpretation to their value as historical sources rather than exploring the contexts in which they functioned as agents of ritual action, or their power to ‘produce the phenomena it regulates and constrains’ in Judith Butler’s words; that is, how the vessels as ritual and discursive agents aided in the shaping of social relationships through engaging with the divine world. For example, what purpose did the large number of inscribed vessels found near the Ekur in Nippur serve? When organised according to their inscriptions, these vessels are rather repetitive and only contain two or three variants of the same royal inscription. However, should they be reduced to just inscriptions to be studied for their historical value? Is this simply an example of the lavishness of kings towards the end of the Early Dynastic period? Perhaps another approach is possible which examines the evolution of practices with stone bowls and larger vessels within temples and the intersections with the statuary discussed in the previous section, as well as social identity of those producing, dedicating, and using these objects.

One of the consequences of the bias in the study of stone vessels is that they cannot be easily studied quantitatively. Whilst inscribed vessels are easily found and quantifiable in the published literature, finding details of uninscribed ones is not always a straightforward task. This bias is reflected in Table 7.11, in which I have included the data from the three case studies in this thesis, as well as comparative material from other sites as could be readily obtained.²⁰ In many instances, catalogues of uninscribed objects were not available. Nevertheless, the evidence that could be obtained shows the importance of including uninscribed examples in any analysis or discussion of the evidence. The results from the sites from which numbers were available show the relative frequency of stone vessels in temple contexts. They must have served a range of purposes in everyday activities as well as commemorative celebrations such as life-cycle rituals (e.g. puberty, gender, marriage, or death), seasonal festivals associated with the agricultural calendar, or those legitimating social structure and power such as temple construction or yearly festivals to mark the renewal of royal power. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to determine the function and use context of each item, and the best that can be done is to highlight the variety of functions they served.

²⁰The file containing the data for this table can be consulted on the attached CD.

Stone Vessels From Early Dynastic Contexts				
		Uninscribed	Inscribed	Total
Adab	Earlier Temple	13	25	38
	Unknown		1	1
	Adab Total	13	26	39
Aššur	Temple G	3		3
	Temple E	1		1
	Aššur Total	4		4
Khafajah	Šamuš	93		93
	Small Shrine	8		8
	Temple Oval	81	4	85
	Khafajah Total	182	4	186
Lagaš	Area B (Bagara)		3	3
	Ibgal(?)		1	1
	Lagash Total		4	4
Mari	Bašsurat		1	1
	^d MUŠ ₃ NITA	45	3	48
	‘Aštar šarbat	13		13
	Mari Total	67	4	71
Nippur	Ekur		152	152
	Inanna		39	39
	North Temple	14	11	25
	Parthian level		3	3
	Other / Unknown		27	27
	Nippur Total	14	232	246
Sippar	Unknown		6	6
	Sippar Total		6	6
Tell Agrab	Temple Early Level	23		23
	Temple Main Level	109	2	111
	Temple Top Level	3		3
	Unknown	19		19
	Tell Agrab Total	154	2	156
Tell Asmar	Archaic Shrine IV	18		18
	Archaic Shrine III	2		2
	Square Temple I	63		63
	Square Temple II	6		6
	Single Shrine I	1		1
	Other Early Akk.	11		11
	Tell Asmar Total	101		101
Tello	"Massif d'Entemena"		1	1
	Tell K		2	2
	Unknown		18	18
	Tello Total		21	21
Antiquities market		4	4	
Grand Total		535	303	838

Table 7.11 – DISTRIBUTION OF INSCRIBED AND UNINSCRIBED VESSELS FROM EARLY DYNASTIC CONTEXTS. THE LIST COVERS ALL KNOWN STONE VESSELS INCLUDING THOSE IN THE INTERCULTURAL STYLE. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE LIST IS NOT EXHAUSTIVE DUE TO LIMITATIONS IN THE PUBLICATION OF THE MATERIAL THAT IS BIASED IN FAVOUR OF INSCRIBED OBJECTS.

It is difficult to assess how stone vessels were employed and what their symbolic value was in temple contexts. These are questions that require a more detailed data collection and analysis than is possible in this study; for example, to study their size, material, or colour. Nevertheless, the following points are worth noting:

- The earliest inscribed stone vessels come from ED IIIa contexts in the *kiri₆* temple in Adab, that is, the temple probably dedicated to Ninḫursaġ (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 47) and which could have been enclosed by an oval wall during the latter part of the ED III period (Wilson 2012: 98), and from the Inanna Temple in Nippur Level VIIB (Goetze 1970; Evans 2016). These early examples are often inscribed with one sign, e₂:sar (‘Esar’, the name of the temple) and MUŠ₃ (‘Inanna’, the name of the deity), respectively. It has been suggested that these inscriptions identify the items as the ‘property’ of the temple or deity, and are thus not dedicated by identifiable individuals. However, subsequent examples contain more elaborate inscriptions usually with requests by women seemingly seeking prosperity for their families. All of these examples are small bowls and goblets comparable with ones depicted in banqueting scenes and female statuary. The correlation between female commemorative practices, banqueting, and temple statuary at the onset of the ED III period, together with the possibility these temples were eventually surrounded by an oval enclosure wall and associated with royal foundation deposits appear to signal an important sphere of symbolic activity at the social and political levels that requires further examination.
- By contrast, the vessels containing royal inscriptions from ED IIIb date and found near the Ekur of Enlil in Nippur appear to be of a different type to the small bowls and goblets. They are larger in size, sometimes with flat bases and/or flared rims. Therefore, they appear to fulfil a different function, or at least a new function in relation with the legitimation of kings towards the end of the period.²¹
- Stone vessels in the ‘intercultural’ style are particularly associated with temple contexts and have been described as luxury imports from the East through several land and sea routes (Moorey 1984: 46–49). They are found in large quantities in Susa and Adab, in Mari in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, as well as in the Temple Oval in Khafajah and the Inanna temple in Nippur. In a recent article, Marchesi (2016) studies two inscribed examples of this kind of vessel from Nippur. The inscriptions are both dated to ED IIIa when vessels of this kind were a rare and highly valued commodity. The first vessel is a well-known tall vase depicting a feline (cheetah?) and coiled snake. It contains a dedication by someone with the extremely rare name Pab-nune (PAP.NUN), whose gender is unclear (7N-122=IM 66071). The second example is an unprovenanced short beaker with wild animals and a hybrid being. It contains a dedication by a high status woman by the name E-amaġu, mother of Abzu-ki (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, MFA 1980.71). Marchesi points out the exceptional nature of the object, which appears to have been repaired in antiquity, and the inscription by a woman qualifying herself as ‘mother of’ rather than the typical ‘daughter of’ or ‘wife of’. He identifies the woman as the mother of king Abzu-kidug, whose wife dedicated two vessels in the

²¹Some of these are illustrated in Hilprecht (1896)’s publication or can be consulted on the CDLI website. For example, the large trough with an inscription of Lugalġignedudu that parallels another one found in the Inanna temple is CDLI object P247703 (= RIME I.14.14.01, ex. 15).

Inanna temple. The connections between objects of the highest value with elite women and commemorative practices in the Inanna temple demonstrate the strong relationship between women and ritual activity, as well as the power that queen mothers achieved.²²

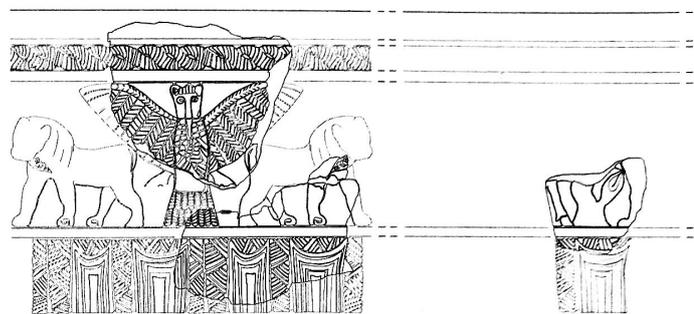
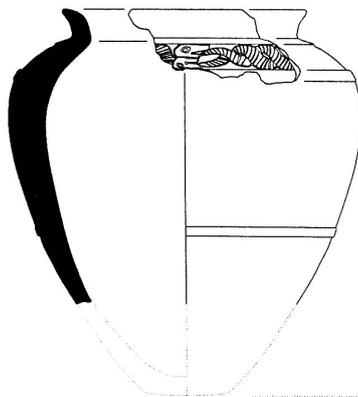
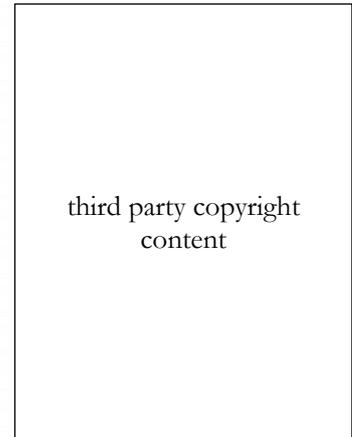
- Potts (1989) stressed that although trade was an important mechanism for the movement of these vessels, especially in the case of the *série ancienne*, they could have been brought into the Mesopotamian core as booty, as demonstrated by a Narām-Sin inscription found on a goblet from Ur (Potts 1989: 146). They could also have been part of extended gift-exchange networks serving political alliances.



M.267 (Base Ø: 13.8cm)
Area of L20
dMUŠ₃.NITA Temple, Mari



7N-120 = IM 66071
Level VIIB
In'anak Temple, Nippur



M.165, M.150, M.171, M.665
L20, Priest Rooms, L20 and L17, Exterior House
dMUŠ₃.NITA Temple, Mari

Figure 7.13 – EXAMPLES OF CHLORITE VESSELS IN THE ‘INTERCULTURAL STYLE’ FROM MARI AND NIPPUR (FROM TOP LEFT: BUTTERLIN 2014B: FIG. 3; MARCHESI 2016: FIG. 1; HAINES 1961B: FIG. 8; BUTTERLIN 2014B: FIG. 7).

What light do these observations throw on the evidence from the case studies here discussed? Regarding gendered practices and stone vessels, not much can be said besides drawing some similarities

²²More on the roles and ritual power of queen mothers in Ebla shall be discussed in the next chapter, Section §8.3.

with the evidence from Nippur and Adab. When seen together with the statuary and stone plaques, stone bowls and goblets may be gendered more strongly towards a female sphere of ritual activity, although banqueting seems to be a fairly egalitarian activity among elite men and women (see next section). In the Temple Oval, stone bowls were mainly found in K_{43:3/5} and N_{45:2}. The former are two small rooms off the main reception room in House D, K_{43:3}. Thus, they may be associated with social activity of the elite using these spaces. As discussed in Chapter 6, a strong female presence in House D is evidenced by the statuary found in the shrine room (L_{43:4}) and perhaps also by the remains of a warp-weighted loom in another room if my interpretation is correct. Therefore, it is possible that stone vessels were used by both men and women at social occasions. The latter context N_{45:2} is a room off the inner courtyard, located next to N_{44:1} where statuary and maceheads associated with possible cultic installations were found. In this case, they could be associated with activities in the main courtyard. Several stone bowls with inscriptions were also found scattered near the surface of the Temple Oval area, although they seem to be of Akkadian date (see Table C.1). At Mari, not many bowls were found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and a few examples originate from the house north of the temple. Three stone vessels were recovered from the floor of the cella in Level G of the temple in Aššur and one is an elaborately carved vessel with naked hero combating lions motif (Figures 5.4) that was probably in use for a long time when compared with similar specimens such as the one from the *Sammelfund* in Uruk (see p. 46f. and Boese 2009).

More can be said about the ‘intercultural style’ vessels, as significant numbers were found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari and the Temple Oval in Khafajah, though not in Aššur. These vessels have been studied for their association with Early Dynastic elites and luxury trading networks that arguably shaped the socioeconomic network of interactions during this period. Pascal Butterlin discussed this «*système-monde*» *sumérien* in relation with the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari (Butterlin 2014b,c), stressing the fact that this temple has yielded the largest corpus of chlorite vessels in Mesopotamia, including the largest example found to date. This piece is a large vessel with pointed base, broad shoulder and flared rim (Figure 7.13, bottom). Similar ceramic examples exist from an ED III date onwards, and a similar style is often depicted on plaques and inlays, in which the vessel is carried by two individuals towards the scene of a banquet (see Figure C.95 for an example from the Temple Oval); it is not clear whether ceramic or stone vessels are depicted on the plaques. The example from Mari is also unique because it contains a typical Mesopotamian motif, the anzu bird clawing the hinds of two lions, whereas chlorite vessels usually have exotic motifs from their place of origin in southern Iran. The anzu bird is often linked with kingship, especially in Lagaš. The remains of this large vessel, probably weighing around 35 kg, were scattered across the area of the temple, which Butterlin points out may be the result of the violent actions of the Akkadian army, but equally could suggest a long history of use and deposition (Butterlin 2014b: 184).

A smaller truncated cone vessel with a snake and cheetah combat scene was found in the area of L₂₀ (Figure 7.13, top left), where a large proportion of intercultural style vessel fragments were found. Similar examples are known from Jiroft (Perrot and Madjidzadeh 2005), and an inscribed example was found in the Inanna temple in Nippur, which was discussed above (Figure 7.13, top right). It is impossible to determine who presented these vessels in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari. Comparison with Nippur would suggest high status females, though an inscribed fragment from Adab seems to mention a king (Wilson 2012: pl. 52). However, the latter has a palm tree vegetation design not found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA

temple. Combat and animal scenes are associated with high status women in Mari, as evidenced in the glyptic from the period (Beyer and Jean-Marie 2007: 242–244, figs. 7–9). The earliest inscribed cylinder seals from Mari were found in the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and also portrayed combat scenes between animals and mythical beings, though the role and gender of the owners is unclear (Quenet 2005). The concentration of intercultural style vessels in L18/L20 is interesting in light of the results obtained from the analysis of the statuary, whilst fragments of the anzu bird piece were scattered across the entire area of the temple.

Finally, a small piece of an inscribed intercultural vessel was found in the Temple Oval and published under Oval 2–3 (Kh. II 243; Table C.1 and Figure C.70; Delougaz 1940: 161). The only discernible element in the piece is a pair of horns. Possible comparanda from Jiroft include motifs of ibexes and rosette-style flower plants (Perrot and Madjidzadeh 2005: fig. 5). The small fragment is said to have come from an installation for liquids or ablutions in the corner of K45:5 (surprisingly assigned to Oval 1 3rd occupation!), which was an intermediate room providing access into the inner courtyard. Broken pieces of vessels, including inscribed ones, were also found in installations for liquids in the Inanna temple in Nippur (Evans 2016: 170f.). Other fragments of possible vessels in the intercultural style were found in the Temple Oval, though in smaller numbers than in Mari. Furthermore, some important fragments were found in Šamuš Level IX, perhaps pointing towards the influence of this temple during the earlier part of the ED III period.²³

7.2.3 PLAQUES AND RELIEFS

Door plaques and reliefs are a well-studied artefact category for their representational value (Braun-Holzinger 1991; Boese 1971), which is often employed to investigate relationships of power, gender, and status in the Early Dynastic period (Suter 2013, 2017; Romano 2015a). The subject of banqueting in particular has been the source of many studies focussing on the context of religious and ritual-based ceremonies involving a couple, or sometimes many individuals. It is not the place here to review the history of interpretation, and I shall here refer to the most recent treatment of the theme by Romano (2015a,b), who also provides an overview of the key literature.

Table 7.12 offers a thematic overview of the door plaques found in the contexts associated with the three case studies discussed in this thesis, as well as other stratified material for comparison, as catalogued mainly in Boese 1971.²⁴ Given the limited number of examples, I have not made temporal distinctions among the various objects, especially since some of the relative stylistic phases clash with the archaeological context of the artefacts—when context is available—and stylistic differences may be due to regional rather than chronological differences. The analysis focusses not only on the banqueting scene, which usually appears on the top register, but on the co-occurrence with other themes on the middle and bottom registers

²³These include one small tall vessel with vertical walls and snake motif (Kh. IV 65a,b) found in Q42:4; one truncated cone beaker with complex figural/mythological motif (Kh. IV 156) found in Q43:II and joined with another fragment purchased locally; and a miniature vessel with architectural motif (Kh. IV 144) found also in Q43:II.

²⁴The spreadsheet with details of each entry can be found in the attached CD under Chapter 7. These include cross-references to Boese 1971; Braun-Holzinger 1991; Romano 2015b.

when these exist. When seen together, certain patterns emerge that suggest a variety of contexts in which banqueting could take place, as already discussed by Pinnock (1994). The motifs show more regional variation than any other trend, although there could be an element of bias in the excavation of these objects. For example, at Tello the archaeological context of the objects is far from secure and in Nippur the plaques with divine figures are also from unknown or vague contexts with at least one dated to the early Akkadian period (Boese 1971: N 11).

In terms of numbers, the Temple Oval in Khafajah yielded the largest corpus of stone plaques, similar in number to the corpus from the Inanna temple in Nippur. Meanwhile, few examples were discovered in Mari and none in Aššur. Significantly, no examples were found in the Aštar *šarbat* temple in Mari, which was strongly associated with the royal court. By contrast, the examples from ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple demonstrate a strong association with social banqueting, perhaps including ancestor celebrations as several banquet scenes are represented in each plaque. One example from the Temple Oval also has several banqueting scenes. In order to understand the motifs on the plaques from Mari and Khafajah, it is necessary to understand the distribution of motifs across other sites, and their interpretation.

The Sacred Marriage or hierogamy remains a key concept in the interpretation of banqueting scenes involving a male/female pair based to some extent on later cuneiform sources such as Šulgi's hymn or the neo-Babylonian version of the New Year's festival. However, the influence of later written sources limits the interpretation of these figural scenes. Taking on a contextual approach, Romano analysed the evolution of the theme in both glyptic and relief formats, highlighting some geographical and chronological trends. She concluded, like others before her, that the symbol of the banquet must have been linked with the negotiation of power structures during this period. In particular, she highlights an earlier trend “*aiming at maintaining power in the hands of a more or less large group of people*” superseded by another “*allowing the individual to emerge over the group*” (Romano 2015a: 297), clearly visible in the late Lagašite examples:

The passage of the cup from the hands of many to the hand of the individual seals the reinforcement of the royal figure, a reinforcement which took place in a stronger and faster way in the north and in the west than in the south, and which ended up with the creation of the Akkad Empire by the cupbearer of the king of Kish.

(Romano 2015a: 298)

The relationship between banqueting and the emergence of hereditary power in the figure of a king is an important visual and material example of how practices influence and reinforce ideas, societal values, and rules. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed Evans' work on statuary and how she argues that banqueting was largely associated with female individuals, more so than with males. Evans suggests that seated females holding a cup and vegetation may have had a similar social status to the males whose statues were inscribed (Evans 2012: 180–190). Therefore, it is interesting to observe that a practice strongly associated with women may have been adopted by elite males to effectively achieve supremacy of the individual over the group. As discussed in the previous section on stone vessels, stone cups were usually inscribed with dedications from women in the Inanna temple in Nippur as well as the e₂-sar in Adab, a practice

that antedates many of the inscribed male statues, and especially the more complex royal dedications on stone vases from the late ED IIIb period found in the environs of the Ekur in Nippur. In this regard, as the power of rulers increased towards the end of the period, “*the banquet motif and its archaic “choral” symbolism are adapted to serve a ceremonial rather than a ritual function*” (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 205). This shift in practice appears to be concomitant with the evolution seen in the banquet scene as investigated by Romano. The implications of these observations, however, may not be as straightforward as stating that women lost social status as a result. The role of queen mothers, for example, requires further investigation. Nevertheless, it seems clear that a shift in gendered roles and practices of the elite took place, and that these were negotiated through a variety of material practices.

The material domain of banqueting as a practice through which social ties and hierarchical structures were shaped appears both in representational as well as functional media, so that it was reinforced in a variety of ways. I suggest that the use of stone bowls as dedicatory objects to some extent preceded, as well as co-existed, with three- and two-dimensional representational media such as statuary and reliefs, which gained primacy towards the end of the Early Dynastic. At the same time, stone vessels underwent a transformation into royal commemorative objects that performatively produced the *nam-lugal-kalam-ma* ‘kingship of the Land’, associated with what Wang (2011) terms ‘the metamorphosis of Enlil’, that is, the creation of a patron deity of kingship, and which he suggests may have been Lugalzagesi’s innovation (Wang 2011: 245). The extension of the stone bowl as index of the act (of celebrating for the deities) to the visual representation of the individual performing the act perhaps constituted an intermediary step towards the visual representation of deities in human shape, which are suggested to first appear precisely in similar banqueting, as well as libation scenes on reliefs (see p.235; Westenholz 2013: 163f.). Perhaps as the medium of material representation in stone became intertwined with that of the ancestors as the individuals represented passed away, leaving behind their statues which persisted in time, the latter transformed into the recipients of offerings of food, drink, and other materials. These statues became a material embodiment of those who had left, and as such a liminal channel to connect with deities. The relationship between human and divine representation may have been achieved through the eventual transition of sculptures and other visual representations of living humans into ancestors who received offerings and for whom banquets may have been celebrated. To some extent, these are also intertwined with power regeneration rituals, and I shall explore further the textual evidence for all these practices in the next chapter. Reading a sacred marriage ceremony into the banqueting scenes is, therefore, not necessarily adequate or even necessary.

Another reason for not reading a sacred marriage context into these scenes is the fact that the examples in which divine beings are clearly depicted (wearing horned crowns) appear to be linked with libation scenes and same-sex divine participants, in which the divine figure is only approached by a naked beardless and hairless male holding a libation vessel.²⁵ Therefore, although the scenes in which divine figures appear depicted in human form share some formal resemblance with banqueting scenes, there is

²⁵Boese (1971) cat no. N 8 depicts two bearded seated figures with horned-vegetation crowns (the name of the deity ^dMUŠ₃.EDEN(or IL₂) is inscribed on the garment of the figure on the right); N 9 probably depicts two bearded figures with horned-vegetation crowns too; KI 4 and CN 6 probably have a similar scene; U 4 probably depicts the zirru priestess of Nanna and a libation scene before the seated god, T 10 depicts a libation scene before a seated female deity with horned-vegetation crown, and UK 1 seems to depict a similar scene with two seated deities.

a critical difference: divine beings are never depicted banqueting with humans, nor are they approached directly by ‘high status’ individuals, but only by a naked man usually holding a libation vessel, whose social status remains contested (Winter 1987).²⁶ As such, they also share some similarities with the later presentation scenes, in which humans could only be introduced before the main deities by a lower-status deity (Lamma). Presentation scenes without an intermediary figure only appear from the Akkadian period onwards, and are a rare occurrence (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 174).

Looking at the distribution of themes across contexts, it becomes clear that some strong regional trends existed, but which may be associated with one specific moment in time. The many plaques with an Anzu bird attacking two lions is clearly linked with Ġirsu, and may be related with the god Ningirsu; but more importantly, they are largely linked with one ruler, Ur-nanše, so that their relative importance in the overall distribution may have been overestimated. By contrast, banqueting scenes with a female/male couple show strong regularity across all contexts leading up to what Romano terms the passing of the cup from the hands of many to the hand of the individual. A few of these (in light blue in Table 7.12) show a banquet scene with what appears to be a procession of goods, including a chariot on the bottom register. Plaques with almost identical sequences come from: Temple Oval 1/2 House D reception room K43:3, Šamuš IX Q43:11? (room off courtyard where podium was located), Tell Agrab main shrine M14:2 and secondary shrine L13:4, Ur (Trial Trench E, in loose soil), and quite possibly the Inanna temple in Nippur Level VIIB found in two rooms (173 and 194) in which other artefacts were deposited for reuse as raw materials (Evans 2012: 193). Variations of the theme with secondary banquet scenes were also found in Mari ^dMUŠ₃, NITA temple in the ‘priest rooms’, the Small Shrine in the later added cella Q45:4 (associated with a scene of naked males fighting), as well as in the contexts mentioned above. The banquet scene with a male and a female participant was touted as representing the so-called Sacred Marriage by some (Moortgat 1949); however, when seen together with other evidence, this interpretation weakens. Firstly, there is no textual evidence alluding to hierogamy in the Early Dynastic. Secondly, nothing in these images suggests a non-secular celebration. Moorey (1977) suggested that women played a preeminent role in the celebrations depicted, but could not provide details of his proposal.

However, there exist other sources of evidence for the role of elite women in ritual and festival celebrations, which could help understand the context of these banqueting scenes. The administrative texts from the e₃-mi₃ in Ġirsu, as well as the ritual texts from Ebla speak of the roles of queens and other elite women in festivals associated with ancestors and the renewal of power. These will be discussed further in the next chapter, but I wanted to highlight in particular the plaques depicting the female/male couple with a procession of goods because they highlight the balance of power between the seated figures in the top register. One possible reading of these scenes that perhaps has not been explored in detail is that they represent secular marriage ceremonies associated with the regeneration of power, as described for example in some Ebla ritual texts. A record of offerings to the temple of Bāwu/Baba in Ġirsu on the occasion of the wedding of Lugalanda’s son demonstrates the range of prestige goods included in such ceremonies: a carriage, furniture, vessels, jewellery and high-quality textiles, many of which are clearly represented in the banqueting scenes on these plaques (text DP 75 and perhaps DP 478; Schrakamp 2009: 448 n.10 with references). This evidence shall be discussed further in the next chapter. They could equally represent

²⁶Boese (1971) cat nos. CN 6, N8, N9, KI4, U4, T8, T10.

other festival celebrations during which goods were brought in and presented by a variety of groups and individuals linked with the celebration through kinship or political alliances.

7.2.4 INLAYS

Inlays constitute the last artefact category that contribute to contextualise the social environment of temples during the Early Dynastic period, especially concerning the realm of elite women. While inlays were found in abundance in Mari, both Aššur and Khafajah contributed limited or no evidence in this regard. Therefore, other sources of evidence are also employed to supplement the gaps in the evidence. Couturaud's (2013) doctoral thesis treats the iconography of inlays from the 3rd millennium B.C. in detail, and I refer to her work when discussing some of the motifs in this medium.

The figures in this subsection illustrate one important aspect that cross-cuts media in temple and banqueting scenes: hairdress. The styles employed by women have been the source of discussion surrounding their roles and status, such as in the case of the 'polos' style initially associated with queens, then with the goddess Aštar in Mari, and subsequently with her priestess (Couturaud 2013: 206). The style seems to be associated with ritual scenes in Mari, as demonstrated by inlays found in the *Maison du Grand Prêtre* depicting animal sacrifice and libation scenes (Couturaud 2013: 207). Couturaud suggests they are priestesses of high-status background, perhaps also belonging to the royal family as was the case in other regions, especially Ur with the zirru priestesses of the moon god Nanna (Couturaud 2013: 206).

There are two main ways of styling hair for women, and which stretch across a vast geographic span. The 'ruched' style can be observed on figures in statuary, inlays, and plaques (Figures 7.14 and 7.15). In fact, it is the most common style observed in the banquet scenes on plaques where a male and female figures are depicted together.²⁷ The statuary examples of this style were recovered from rooms perhaps more strongly associated with a secular elite, such as L18 of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple in Mari, the long-axis cella of the Inanna temple in Nippur, or the shrine in House D of the Temple Oval in Khafajah.

The other 'draped' style (Figures 7.16, 7.17, 7.18, and 7.19) appears more frequently in northern contexts, from Mari to the Diyala, with the exception of a statuette recovered from one of the so-called 'soldier graves' in the Royal Cemetery of Ur (Figure 7.17) and which remains difficult to explain. This style rarely appears in the stone plaques, with only one example (Boese 1971: AS 4 = As. 32:930/1178) from Tell Asmar Single Shrine I, that is, dating to the end of the Early Dynastic period (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: table 12). This plaque has been described as the only example of a clear sacred marriage ceremony taking place on a table-bed with animal legs and in the presence of a priest or servant.²⁸ However, this interpretation appears rather forced since the scene is rather unclear in the copy, notwithstanding the difference in size with the figure standing to their left who must have been of a lower status by necessity.

²⁷Boese 1971 cat nos. AG 1, AG 2, CT 2, N 6 (?) K 1, K 2, K 8; Romano 2015b cat no. Nippur 3 (?).

²⁸"kultische Szene [...] rechts die Darstellung eines „hieros gamos“: Priester (oder Diener) vor einem zottenbehängten, tischartigen Bett, darauf zwei übereinanderliegende menschliche Gestalten" 'cultic scene [...] on the right the representation of a hiero gamos: priests (or servants) in front of a table with animal-shaped legs on which two human figures lay one on top of the other' (Boese 1971: 171).

This style is represented by the largest statue from the “archaic Ištar temple” in Aššur (Figure 7.16), but the role and/or status of the female depicted cannot be determined beyond doubt. Whether a queen was depicted in this fashion is not clear, although the similarity with Puabi’s hairstyle and those of other women from the Royal Cemetery cannot be overlooked. The composite statuette of a seated female from Ebla’s Royal Palace G that [Matthiae \(2009\)](#) interprets as a figure of a deceased queen also offers a point of comparison. The hairdress has a zig-zag pattern closer to a textile than human hair, so that perhaps it resembles more closely a ruched style than a draped one.

The draped style may have appeared later than the ruched style, as it is only found in ED IIIb contexts. Some inlays found in the religious administrative area of Mari seem to suggest both styles co-existed, so that the difference in meaning (social status? role?), if any, between the two styles remains unclear. Parrot’s reconstruction of a scene associated with spinning and textile production ([Margueron 2004: fig. 281](#)) may be to some extent fabricated, but it suggests that some textiles were produced by high-status women, rather than in large workshops. Furthermore, these female individuals seem to carry cylinder seals attached to the large pins holding their garments in place, which may attest to their status and possible administrative functions.

Finally, the so-called ‘polos’ headwear constitutes a specific Mariote style that establishes a unique and highly identifiable social cue for Mariote elite women (Figure 7.20). This headwear is strongly associated with a double pin used to fasten a cape over a plain fringed gown, from which a pendant ending in a cylinder seal would have hung. Whether the use of two pins signifies a higher status is unclear. [Couturaud \(2013: 175–176\)](#) interprets this outfit and headwear as restricted to priestesses. Although the polos outfit may be associated with a particular social identity (priestess), it is perhaps better understood within a context-specific social role associated with ritual. Therefore, it is possible that the same women who wore the ruched and draped styles also sported the polos headwear on certain occasions ([Baadsgaard 2014](#)).

7.3 DISCUSSION

The comparative analysis of the case studies and their wider framing at the regional level reveals some significant relationships that emerge from the data. With regard to the architecture and organisation of space, the case studies reveal the creation of spaces and practices aimed at weaving a sense of tradition out of innovation (Section §7.1). The ways in which these innovations are introduced are multiple. For example, through the integration of new spatial shapes such as oval enclosures within an existing urban logic of space, or by incorporating, renovating, or extending pre-existing temples under royal patronage through commemorative practices such as peg foundation deposits or royal inscribed objects. I suggested that a fluid relationship seems to exist between temple construction and kingship, which is materialised in the innovation of oval temples and peg foundations, as well as the tension between the deities to whom the temples were dedicated—mainly Inanna and Ninḫursaĝ, but perhaps also Ninĝirsu (see Figure 7.4). That two are female deities is of relevance. The lack of evidence on Bāwu/Baba is perhaps surprising here, as she is the ‘Lady of the Holy City’, although [Heimpel \(2002\)](#) suggested that the original patron deity and inhabitant of the temple was Bāwu/Baba and not Ninĝirsu, and that she was eventually restored to

that title under Gudea. The context of the emergence of Ningīrsu as the patron deity of the king remains rather obscure, though perhaps it may be understood along the same lines as Wang's (2011) discussion of the emergence of Enlil as patron deity of 'Kingship of the Land' (p. 264). Finally, I posited the possibility that the link between textile production and increased urbanization posited by some scholars including McCorrison (1997), Stone (2013) and Vila and Helmer (2014) may have underpinned the development of a building such as the Temple Oval in Khafajah, although this observation remains highly tentative and based on limited data (see p. 209).

The study of the material culture (Section §7.2) revealed potentially gendered practices and spaces within temples that suggest elite women played important roles in ritual activity, perhaps extended to the emerging office of kingship and the legitimating practices required for its consolidation. However, what has emerged from the data and the analysis carried out are preliminary suggestions that are difficult to contextualise more widely because of the idiosyncratic nature of early excavations and publications, which to some extent limits larger comparative analyses. The next chapter will frame these elements within a wider body of textual and iconographic evidence to demonstrate how the emerging trends in the archaeological data align with and complement the more developed understanding of the textual sources from this period, which are nevertheless also limited and do not always coincide with the evidence recovered through archaeological excavation.

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M.120 (Mari, ⁴MUŠ₃.NITA Locus 18, "favissa")



Kh. IV 214 (Khafajah, Šamuš IX Locus Q42:7)



Kh. I 562 (Khafajah, Oval I-II Locus L43:4)

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(Nippur, Inanna Temple VIIb, "rear room")

Figure 7.14 – EXAMPLES OF SIMILAR STYLES OF RUCHED-STYLE HAIRDRESS FROM MARI, KHAFAJAH AND NIPPUR (FROM TOP TO BOTTOM: PARROT 1956: PL. 28; © 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT; HAINES 1961B: FIGS. 20 AND 22).

Ruched Hairdress



M. 2765
Temple of Šamaš, surface



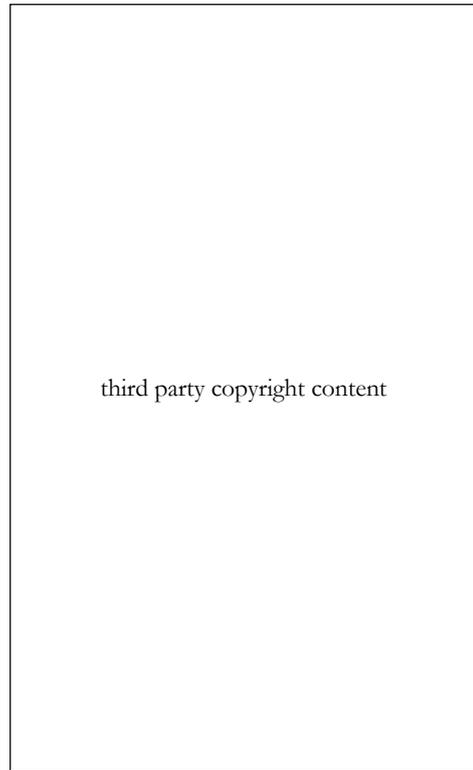
M. 3736
Centre administratif dit du
Grand Prêtre, Room 7, Level III



M. 570
Quartier du Souk, maisons du
secteur sud



M. 3708
Centre administratif dit du Grand Prêtre, Room
10, Level III

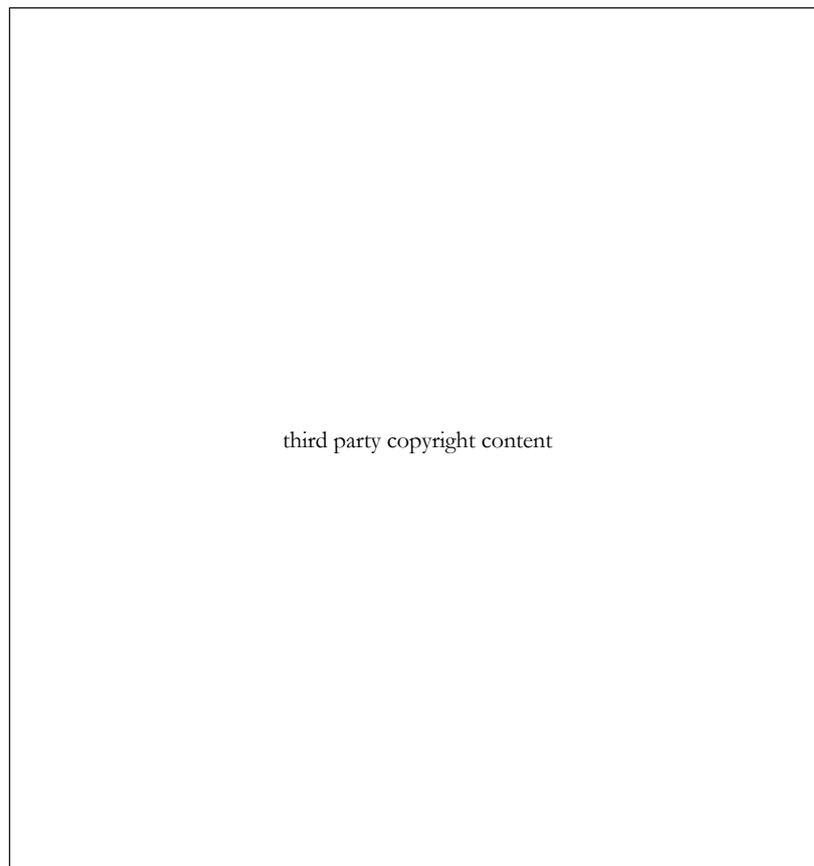


Inanna Temple, Nippur
(no context given)

Figure 7.15 – EXAMPLES OF SHELL INLAYS FROM MARI WITH SIMILAR STYLES OF RUCHED HAIRDRESS (FROM TOP LEFT: COUTURAUD 2013: VOL. IIA, P. 76 CAT. 130; P. 85 CAT. 148; P. 85 CAT. 149; P. 82 CAT. 142 © (i) (s) (e) 4.0; EISENBERG 1998: 28 FIG. II NO. 12).



Kh. III 1000 (Khafajah, Small Shrine VII, Locus Q45:4)



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Assur S 22129 (head) + Assur S 22144 (body)
 (Aššur “archaic” Istar Temple, Level G/GF in doorway to cella; H: ~0.80m)

Figure 7.16 – EXAMPLES OF STRIKINGLY SIMILAR FEMALE STATUES WITH DRAPED-STYLE HAIRDRESS FROM KHAFAJAH (TOP) AND AŠŠUR (BOTTOM) (TOP: 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT; BOTTOM: **BÄR 2003B**: PL. 20).



Figure 7.17 – ALABASTER STATUETTE U.19037 FROM UR ROYAL CEMETERY GRAVE PJ/B.36; H= ~25.50 CM (WOOLLEY 1955: PL. 37; IMAGE CREDIT: © 4.0 THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM).



M.127 (Mari, ^dMUŠ₃.NITA Locus 17, "pit")



Kh. IV 34 (Khafajah, Šamuš IX Locus R42:2)

Figure 7.18 – EXAMPLES OF OTHER SIMILAR HEADS OF FEMALES WITH DRAPED HAIRDRESS FROM MARI AND KHAFAJAH (TOP: PARROT 1956: PL. 28; BOTTOM: © 3.0 DIYALA PROJECT).

Draped Hairdress



M. 2050
Temple nord du Massif Rouge,
Room 2



M. 3575
Quartier administratif,
Level III



M. 3716
Centre administratif dit du
Grand Prêtre, salle 10, Level III



M. 3707
Centre administratif dit du Grand Prêtre,
Room 10, Level III



M. 3710
Centre administratif dit du Grand Prêtre,
Room 10, Level III

Figure 7.19 – EXAMPLES OF SHELL INLAYS FROM MARI WITH SIMILAR STYLES OF DRAPED HAIRDRESS (FROM TOP LEFT: [COUTURAUD 2013](#): VOL. IIA, P. 77 CAT. 133; P. 79 CAT. 137; P. 80 CAT. 138; P. 83 CAT. 144; P. 83 CAT. 145 © 4.0).

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M.172

^dMUŠ₃.NITA Temple. Body in Cella L17; Head in threshold of L13-14. H: 0.23m.

third party copyright content



M.3700

Quartier administratif,
Level III. H: 6.5cm.

M.331

^dMUŠ₃.NITA Temple,
Cella L17 in hole(?). H:~4cm.

Figure 7.20 – EXAMPLES OF FEMALES WITH POLOS HEADWEAR AND ASSOCIATED OUTFIT FROM ^dMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE AND COMPARATIVE EXAMPLE IN SHELL FROM THE *QUARTIER ADMINISTRATIF* (TOP AND BOTTOM RIGHT: **PARROT 1956**: PL. 36; BOTTOM RIGHT: **COUTURAUD 2013**: VOL. IIA, P. 276 CAT. 579     4.0).

8

Constructing gender and power through ritual

THE CONTEXTS AND COMPOSITION OF THE STATUARY ASSEMBLAGES and associated objects (stone vessels, plaques, and inlays) discussed for the three case studies offer previously under-explored gendered insights into the mechanisms through which humans could interact with deities, “who” had access to the spaces that seem to have been restricted to the public, and the innovations that allowed certain groups to overcome these restrictions and even shift the established traditions in order to favour them. In this section, I will put these results into a wider context and, together with supporting textual evidence from relevant contexts, shall argue how the evidence supports the view already emerging from the previous chapter that gaining control over sacred authority was key to the construction and legitimation of royal ideology and dynastic rule. Furthermore, it seems that such a process involved women in particular and their role in the invention of the dynastic tradition deserves to be explored in further detail. As will become clear, such a role does not imply a preexisting female superiority; rather, the point of the discussion will be to explore the ways in which gender dynamics in a socioeconomic setting contribute towards the creation of social logic and, consequently, shape hierarchy and inequality in complex ways. In this sense, I shall conclude this chapter by discussing recent archaeological work by Ristvet (2011, 2015) on the cultural and ideological changes that accompanied the rise of Mesopotamian polities, in which she focusses on how the inhabitants of Mesopotamian polities “*created a sense of political belonging through ritual and daily practice*” and how ritual “*provided a space and means for sovereignty to be both created and debated*” (Ristvet 2015: 2).

8.1 RECONTEXTUALISING EARLY DYNASTIC COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES

As discussed in the previous chapter, dedicatory statues are generally described as *ex-voto* for the deity of the temple, a way for the donor to be in the presence of the deity without being present in flesh and blood. Their image would even become an embodiment of the donor and act as a constant “prayer” *‘for their life’* (Sum. *nam-ti*), a typical inscription on these objects. Thus, the practice may be connected with the notion of prosperity and longevity, though not necessarily with physical health. Sometimes individuals would dedicate their statues for the life of a king, in which case it is not clear who the statue represents, although it seems to have been the devotee not the royal figure on the basis of later inscribed statuary of females (Evans 2012). Andersson remarks that the Sumerian verb *ti* “*has a decided overtone of linking a person to a certain locus since the verb is equated not only with the Akkadian verb *balātu* ‘to live’, but also with *ašābu* ‘to dwell’*” (Andersson 2016: 63). As I suggested in Chapter 7, the transformation of these objects from dedicated in life into embodiments of the memory of the devotee may have helped to materially mediate the shift towards the physical representation of deities in anthropomorphic shape. The use of the verb *ti* in my opinion reinforces the performative and thus agential capacity of these material embodiments. Andersson also highlights the *chaîne opératoire* associated with the production of votive objects, and suggests employing the term ‘commemorative’ as “*it focusses on the life of the object after it had been placed in the context where it would see practical use [and] incorporates the material aspects of procurement of raw materials and the whole production process for which the devotee could take credit*” (Andersson 2016: 48). Finally, Ristvet notes Connerton’s (1989) influential work on defining the importance of rituals as locales of social memory, adding that although societies remember through commemoration ceremonies, “*what fixes this memory, what makes it powerful, unquestioned, and habitual, is its performativity*” (Ristvet 2011: 24). How did this performativity of commemorative practices transform the social logic of Early Dynastic society into a monarchical system?

Evidence suggests that Early Dynastic statuary were not simply placed in a museum-like display directly in front of the anthropomorphic statue of the deity but in a variety of locations across the temple building (see p. 229f.). I have also discussed the difficulty in establishing the existence of cultic images before the ED III period (see p. 235f. and Section §7.2.3). Statuary seem to have been set up mostly in secondary rooms of temples, or in courtyards. It is also possible they were “stored” and only displayed at specific times of the year (Evans 2012: 106). At Tell Agrab, a cache of statuettes was found in the fill of a small room annexed to the main cella that seems to have functioned as a store (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942: 239–242). Finally, the ritual burial of statues within temples as part of wider practices of temple renovation and purification is another aspect that has received limited attention (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014; Evans 2014b). In Mari, the unusual characteristics of a cache of statuettes buried in one of the podiums in the LUGAL DIGIR KALAM temple and discovered in 2009 led Butterlin and Lecompte (2014) to suggest they were ritually deposited after being “decommissioned” from the temple. The statuettes had their eyes removed, the hands broken off, and were placed face down in what appeared to be a deliberate act of severing the relationship between deity and devotee established at the point of dedication when the statue would have become animated in order to exercise its duties in the temple on behalf of the offeror and their family (Butterlin and Lecompte 2014: 625). Similar contexts may have been found in L17 and

L18 of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple. At Khafajah, at least one such hoard seems to have been deposited in one of the cellas in the Small Shrine (Figure 7.12), while the room fills in locus N_{44:1} and L_{43:4} of the Temple Oval could also be interpreted as the deliberate destruction and burial of an assemblage upon renovation of the building after its destruction.

Late ED IIIb administrative texts offer evidence that at least some of the statues set up in temple contexts became the recipients of offerings themselves, which challenges the understanding of agency and divinity in a temple context; in other words, “*statues can be understood in relation to those who visited temples rather than solely in relation to the divine inhabitant*” (Evans 2014a: 645). At Lagaš, it seems that queens (and/or their proxies) were largely responsible for the up-keeping of offerings in the temples for which records exist. Both Baragnamtarra (wife of Lugalzagesi) and Sassag (wife of Urukagina) appear in texts mentioning offerings to royal and elite statues, in which they seem to hold the same status as their male counterparts (Beld 2002; Cohen 2005). At Ebla, the role of royal women in rituals connected with marriage ceremonies and the renovation of the royal couple’s power have long been recognised (Biga and Campomacchia 2012; Biga 2016). Finally, evidence from the royal cemetery of Ur perhaps shows the full range of elite women’s power in ritual connected with dynastic rule as displayed in their lavish burials (Cohen 2005), and which have led some to suggest they should be considered (female) kings for all intent and purpose (McCaffrey 2008). With regard to the issue of divine anthropomorphic statues and their worship, Kobayashi argued on the basis of the textual evidence from Lagaš that “*we should think that the idea of monarchal worship gives birth to a statue of worship and not the opposite*” (Kobayashi 1983: 56). I suggest that such a process probably involved elite men and women engaging materially in the production of ancestor memory and liminal channels of communication with deities through commemorative objects in temples, earlier than monarchal worship. The focus on the figure and deification of kings is endemic of studies restricted to understanding kingship *from* the perspective of kingship alone rather than exploring the social dynamics at play in shaping and supporting the idea of kingship (e.g. Steinkeller 1999; Beld 2002; Cohen 2005; Bonechi 2016).

In order to re-examine the presumption that kings were somehow self-made into their sacred authority or emerged in a Great Man or hero sort of way rather than being products of their societies, I shall now discuss further textual and archaeological evidence in relation with ritual activity (including festivals) and the role that royal women played in the Early Dynastic period, as well as the relationship between festivals and the legitimation of power through ancestor cults and certain deities. This evidence sheds light on the sociopolitical developments leading to the struggle for hegemony towards the end of this period, and which I argue is reflected in the construction of temples dedicated to Inanna/Aštar. This evidence will then lead towards a re-examination of the material from Mari, as it is the case study which offers the richest sources to explore these dynamics further. Finally, possible scenarios for Aššur and Khafajah will be incorporated into a wider discussion at the end of the chapter.

8.2 ĜIRSU AND THE e₂-mi₂

The administrative evidence from the archive of the the Lagašite queen's household has long been the source of our understanding of how temple (and royal) estates operated during the Early Dynastic period. During the Urukagina reforms, it was renamed as the 2₂ dBa-wa₃ 'the house of (the goddess) Bāwu/Baba', though this change did not alter its institutional character in economic or administrative terms (Bartash 2014: 9). The fact that this temple household institution was ultimately administrated by the queen has sometimes been framed with knowledge that the estate of Ningirsu was roughly twenty times larger than that of the queen (Maekawa 1973–4). Nevertheless, this archive is acknowledged as the largest corpus of official administrative records from the ED III period and thus was employed to model how larger temple or royal households would have functioned in the absence of equally illuminating evidence. For example, the well-known literature on the Sumerian temple-state (Deimel 1931; Jacobsen 1957) and the main critiques to this hypothesis by Diakonoff (1969) and Gelb (1969) were modelled on this archive. Scholars such as Maekawa (1973–4) have since pointed out the evidence from this archive may not fully reflect the economic organisation across the Lagaš state. Other studies have employed some texts dealing with ritual activity to discuss funerary and death rituals associated with kingship (e.g. Cohen 2005). Meanwhile, the gendered dynamics of its administration waned behind theories of priest-kings or re-distributive states managed by secular kings in consortium with temple institutions. Some scholars have also questioned whether queens held 'real power' given the fact that oftentimes administrative documents in queen's archives are signed by male officials rather than the women themselves (Sharlach 2007; Suter 2013). If so, where are all the administrative documents signed directly by kings? I do not see a clear reasoning in this instance, as kings would rarely sign the administrative records in their own households. Therefore, it does not seem clear to me why queens would be expected to sign administrative records pertaining to their estate.

In a review of the premise of the temple-state, Schrakamp (2009) suggested that Early Dynastic temples were institutions that managed a subsistence economy for the local populations, while the palace was the centre of power and the state. In his analysis, he concluded that the temples served only as repositories of luxury goods and could not dispose of them unless directed by the palace (Schrakamp 2009: 451). From a political perspective, this may have well been the case in the ED IIIb period, yet the question remains how exactly the military and strategic power of the palace emerged alongside and surpassed that of well-established economic institutions (the temples). In this regard, the administrative texts concerning ritual activity in the temple of Bāwu/Baba as well as festival celebrations offer interesting insights into the mechanisms of legitimation and control between the organism of power at the interregional level and the everyday experience of the local population who, after all, sustained the system through the production of barley and wool (in the case of the e₂-mi₂), even if they were not ultimately in control of the trade (Sallaberger 2014a: 96, 103). Therefore, let us turn to the evidence linking elite women and ritual activity in relation with the structures of power.

The administrative text VS 27, 72 was studied by Cohen (2005: appendix) and referenced by Evans (2012: 124) and Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 230) because it records the distribution of various commodities to several craftsmen including a stonecutter (za-dim₂), two smiths (simug), five silversmiths

(ku₃-dim₂) and a chief sculptor (gal-KID₂.ALAN).¹ The context of these payments seems to be the making and setting up of a statue (alan) of queen Sassag named ‘Bāwu/Baba Made Her Perfect for Queenship’ and set up in the (offering-) place of Utu (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 230).²

The relationship between women and alan/DUL₃ ‘statue’ goes beyond the evidence in VS 27, 72. Other administrative texts from the e₂-mi₂ register a variety of offerings to several statues (alan) during festivals for which the queen seems to have been in charge. It should be noted that given the fact that the majority of administrative texts concerning festivals and offerings from Early Dynastic southern Mesopotamia originate from Ġirsu’s e₂-mi₂ during a relatively short period of time, the validity of the following suggestions may not hold for other settlements or even reigns. Nevertheless, it seems that queens (and/or their servants) were largely responsible for the up-keeping of offerings in the temples for which records exist. Both Paragnamtarra (wife of Lugalanda) and Sassag (wife of Urukagina) appear in texts mentioning offerings to royal and elite statues (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: Appendix B no. 2 (=TSA 1) and no. 3 (=DP 53), respectively). Another tablet from the reign of Urukagina (DP 77) records garments for en-en-ne₂-ne ‘ancestors’ during the festival of Bāwu/Baba, referring to four individuals as e-ta-e₃ ‘those who leave’, and another one as e₂-ta nu-ta-e₃ ‘(one who) does not leave the temple’; these terms seem to refer to statues (Evans 2012: 133; Cohen 2005: 105). Even more significant is the fact that the statues of royal women do not seem to hold a lower status than their male counterparts, although admittedly there is no comparative evidence from the temple of Ningirsu, for example. Besides Sassag’s statue mentioned above, one text from Ġirsu (DP 55) lists the statues of Erešhilišug, Enmetena and Irkununa, in that order. Some scholars suggest Erešhilišug was the wife of Enmetena (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 231 with n. 10), though this is not clear. Each entry in the list received the same offering: one litre of oil and one litre of fruit. Erešhilišug also appears in lists of offerings to female ancestors of the royal family, just after Ayašurmen, who was the wife of Enannatum I (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 231 with n. 9). One litre of oil and one litre of fruit/dates (perhaps syrup?) seems to be the standard offering for statues or individual “locations” during special religious ceremonies in the state of Lagaš at least, as evidenced by the various offering lists. Evans (2012: 198) suggests the oil and dates could correspond to the cup and vegetation in the hands of seated female figures in the round, thus becoming self-referential. Other daily provisions may have also been assigned to them, but this is not entirely clear (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 235).

Perhaps an overlooked detail in one text from the ED IIIb period holds a key element to how to interpret this information. The text often referred to as ‘The Fall of Lagaš’ (AO 04162 = RIME 1.9.9.5) appears to be an account of the destruction caused by Lugalzagesi (while he was still ensi₂ of Umma) during a conflict with Urukagina of Lagaš, which the latter lost. It details how Lugalzagesi destroyed a range of temples and sacred locations across Ġirsu and other nearby places. Urukagina lost but seems to have survived the conflict; thus, this literary text may reflect his mourning for the destruction caused. Several statues are mentioned in the text, but only in the temples of Gatumdu and the Ibgal of the Eanna

¹With reference to the earlier discussion on the term alan (See Section §7.2.1), the relationship between KID₂.ALAN and ‘sculptor’ here appears clearer, which strengthens the suggestion that TAK₄.ALAN likely designated the same concept in the earlier periods. Furthermore, TAK₄.ALAN appears in-between wood- and stone-related professions in the lexical list Lu₂ E. TAK₄ is also associated with metalwork, which could point towards the composite nature of these objects (see p. 234). As Zettler (1996) notes, sculptors seem to appear attached to large institutions as well as working independently, at least from the ED IIIa Fāra corpus.

²Note that the place of Utu may not actually be his temple, but a shrine within the temple of Bāwu/Baba.

of Inanna (seemingly the one in Girsu?). Whilst most temples were plundered (*šu be₂-bad*) and their silver and lapis lazuli bundled off (*ku₃ za-gin₃-bi ba-ta-keš₂-keš₂*), only those of Gatumdu and Inanna had, on top of the plundering, their statues demolished (*alan-bi i₃-gul-gul*). These are the only temples in Girsu with named statues. Other temples dedicated to female deities appear in the text but are from other, probably less prominent, locales. This evidence may suggest that the statues of royal and elite ancestors may have only been placed in the temples of these goddesses, although the fact that the temple of Bāwu/Baba is not mentioned in the text appears puzzling.

It is interesting that *a*) the queen was responsible for the offerings, ostensibly in the temple of Bāwu/Baba; *b*) statues of women appear prominently and alongside those of kings; *c*) statues from temples dedicated to goddesses are specifically mentioned in relation to destruction that carries a significant meaning for the loss of power of one household (that of Lugalzagesi); and *d*) the largest corpuses of Early Dynastic statuary seem to originate from temples dedicated to female and/or dynastic deities (ancestors?), at least as far as the evidence allows.³ On the latter, these include the temple of Inanna in Nippur, the temples of ^dMUŠ₃, NITA, Aštar *šarbat*, Baššurat, and Ninḫursaġ in Mari (as well as LUGAL DIĠIR KALAM, perhaps a tutelary deity), the “archaic” temple of Ištar in Aššur, the e₂-SAR (probably dedicated to Diġirmaḥ/Ninḫursaġ in Adab (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 223–225),⁴ the temple below the Ninḫursaġ temple in Susa (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 82–83) and, in the Diyala, from temples that have not been identified either way including the “Abu” Temple, the Small Shrine, the Šamuš temple (which could be a tutelary deity) and the temple at Tell Agrab (which has only one statue inscribed with the DN Iluma’tim and another with Išhara; this temple has several rooms with podiums).⁵

³It is possible that this is the result of excavation bias. On this point, one may note that the large corpus from Tell Asmar originally interpreted as the temple of the god ‘Abu’ and the “mother goddess” is now anonymous and presents no indication whether a male or female deity was worshipped there (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 12f., 227). It may be posited that the oldest and longest-lived temple buildings in Tell Asmar and Khafajah were multifunctional social spaces with kinship ties as they were tightly embedded within the surrounding domestic architecture (see p. 208). Excavated and identified temples dedicated to male deities include the large complex of Ninġirsu in Girsu, where few statuary have been found so far although it has not been fully excavated. In Mari, the temple of Šamaš did not yield any statuary while the Ninḫursaġ temple did show evidence of statuary in one of the rooms off the courtyard (see Figure 7.7). The temple of Inanna in Nippur yielded a high volume of statuary, but the evidence from the Ekur of Enlil is scarce. This could be due to excavation bias, but a large volume of inscribed stone vessels were found there, thus demonstrating a strong royal presence but not a particular connection with individual kinship groups because, after all, Enlil was probably not a kinship-based dynastic deity but a supra-kinship god that legitimised kingship of the land(s) to individuals from a variety of backgrounds (see Wang 2011 for discussion on the creation of Enlil as grantor of lugal-kalam).

⁴However, note the similarities with bowls dedicated in the Inanna Temple in Nippur (see Section §7.2.2), so that the focus of dedications could be on the temple, not the deity. This would explain why dedications to various deities are found within one temple. Also, contra Marchesi and Marchetti, the similarities between several administrative texts that have the e₂-SAR followed immediately by Inanna and other deities could suggest this was a multipurpose temple where several deities had shrines. It also suggests an important role of Inanna in Adab.

⁵The statuette with the DN iluma’tim (Ag. 35:857) was found in locus M14:4, a small room off the main cella of the temple where a wealth of artefacts was found in a hole dug in the centre of the room sometime during or after the secondary occupation of the Main temple (below the 3220 m floor), thus probably during the ED III, although the objects contained in the pit vary in date. Marchesi and Marchetti’s suggestion that the statuette may be from phase 1 is irrelevant given that it is made on the basis of the palaeographic analysis of the inscription. If anything, it was found with other objects typical of ED IIIa date if one removes the distinction of an ED II period in the Diyala and extends the ED IIIa period according to Evans (2007). On the reading ḪAR.TU, the authors point out this is well attested as a personal name (male or female) of the type ḪAR.TU + DN, mainly in Fāra texts with ^dsud₃ (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 165 with n. 70).

8.3 EBLA AND PALACE G

To contrast the above evidence from southern Mesopotamia, the archives and archaeological evidence from Ebla offer further evidence relevant to the discussion. The ritual texts published by Fronzaroli (1993 = *ARET II*) and more recently re-studied by Biga and Campomacchia (2012) were found in the archival room L.2769 of the palace in Ebla, thus the house of the king. They contain details of royal nuptials and cyclical rituals of purification and renewal of royalty that were accompanied by a parade and rituals with the cultic statues of the tutelary deities Kura and Barama. The first two texts (*ARET II*, 1 and 2) are almost identical and seem to record the nuptials of Irkab-Damu with an unknown royal woman, and then of his son Iš'ar-Damu to Tabur-Damu, who was his cousin. The third text (*ARET II*, 3) contains parts of the previous ones but does not exactly parallel the previous two. Fronzaroli suggests it details the nuptials of a third king. It is important to note that Iš'ar-Damu was already king for 13–14 years before the marriage recorded in *ARET II*, 2. Biga suggests the reasoning behind this was that Iš'ar-Damu had ascended to the throne while still a child and it was his mother, Dusigu, who was in charge with the help of vizier Ibrium (Biga 2016: 75). Thus, with his wedding to Tabur-Damu, Iš'ar-Damu would have effectively come into full power as king. Based on supporting administrative texts paralleling the amounts of metal and textiles disbursed in the ritual texts, Biga and Campomacchia (2012) suggest that, although at least one text includes a wedding ritual, they mostly focus on the rituals for the purification and renewal of royalty.⁶

The texts⁷ recount the royal wedding rituals first, in which the action is centred on the queen and then follow the en 'king' and *maliktum* 'queen' as they embark on a four-day trip to the cult centre of Binaš with the statues of the deities ^dKU-*ra* and ^dBa-*ra-ma*, stopping at six towns where they offer

Regarding the object bearing the name of a deity previously read ^dšara₂ (Ag.35:203), it was found in a rubbish pit of a later period in locus M13:2, a small room off the main courtyard. Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 227 with n. 68) read this name as that of the goddess Išhara.

Two other inscribed objects were found. Another inscribed stone bowl (Ag.35:777) was found on the floor of a secondary occupation of the Main temple in locus L14:1 (±3270–3275 m elevation) together with a cylinder in the vertical crossed style (Ag. 35:775), a lioness amulet (Ag. 35:779), and an earlier geometric-style cylinder seal with a rosette motif (Ag. 35:776). This bowl seems to identify a king of Kiš, though the individual dedicating the bowl was quite likely a woman, perhaps 'for the life of the king'. The king of Kiš is described as the son of Munus-UL₄-gal 'The Woman is a Protection Hedge(?)', which is a well-known PN though not of a king, or queen (Krebernik 2002: 17, 21 with n. 90 for names with UL₄-gal; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 100 with n. 30 for reading it as a royal inscription; and Cooper 1986's interpretation as a personal name).

Finally, the shoulder of a male statuette with an inscription in Akkadian (Ag. 35:79) was found in a superficial level. The name of the deity is illegible. (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 225–227).

⁶Bonechi (2016) argues that the "*unique raison d'être*" of the rituals is fertility and that the figure and role of the king remain preponderant, rather than the queen as the majority of researchers agree. Despite aiming to establish parallelisms with administrative texts known to concern dowries and wedding expenses, his interpretation does not sit quite right given the forced interpretation of the nominative *ma-lik-tum* 'queen' with the verbal form *šu mu-taka₄* 'deliver' as dative on certain occasions but not others, thus sometimes reading 'delivered (by the king) to the queen' and 'offered by the queen' others, where the identical syntax would only allow *ma-lik-tum* to be the patient (subject) of the action rather than an indirect object, which would have to be in the dative form (Thomsen 2001: 319). The reasoning behind his translation is not provided in the article but in a forthcoming contribution on Early Syrian weddings. In any case, the lack of texts concerning textiles for the nuptials, as are known for other Eblaite princesses (Biga 1998), seems to support the view that these texts may concern more than a wedding. Therefore, I follow Fronzaroli's (1993) copy with Biga and Campomacchia's (2012) interpretation.

⁷This account is based on *ARET II*, 1. Notes on the other texts are given in footnotes.

sacrifices to various gods and many of the dead kings of Ebla. It becomes clear that they are travelling to the royal mausoleum (e_2 *ma-dim₂*). Once at the mausoleum, both the divine couple and the human royal couple are transformed through the intervention of the birth goddess Nintu, after which the couple carry out a vigil for the deceased kings that includes sacrifices. Towards the end, the en carries out a ritual around the mausoleum and makes further sacrifices to deceased kings and Išhara. At this point, the *maliktum* appears to have a more passive role, as she is not mentioned taking part in the sacrifices but must have been present during the vigil when they sat ‘in the thrones of the ancestors’. While the king makes these sacrifices, two statues (*an-dul₃*) are set up (*la-gu₂-nu*) for ‘the protective spirit’ (*sa-du*) of the en and *maliktum*, respectively. The sculptor is mentioned in the next section (*uš-da-ti-ma* / 2 *an-dul₃* / *la-gu₂-ne-im* / *wa-a* / *dim₂* / 1 *an-dul₃*;gurus),⁸ perhaps highlighting the importance ascribed to the making and fashioning of statues, or pointing towards the statues being made or finished within the temple.⁹ Note that here the verb used is *dim₂*—contra Evans’ argument on the use of *du₂*(d) mentioned earlier (see p. 231). Next, the en dedicates (*i-da-ga-a*) two composite statues or figurines of deities, one of Išhara and the other of ^d*Lu-bu₃-du* (‘the lioness?’ – an epithet of Aštar?)¹⁰ made of a wooden core with their faces and belts made of silver and holding a cup in their hands. The ritual ends when the heads of the en and *maliktum* are washed.

The different verb used for the two sets of statues is interesting;¹¹ it may suggest the latter were not made on site but brought from Ebla, or that in fact there are only two statuettes made, set up and offered to the deities for the protection of the en and the *maliktum*. Thus, it is possible that the statuettes are not *of* the deities (who protected the king) but were dedicated *for* them.¹² Other administrative texts cover parallel entries for the decoration of a statue of the goddess Išhara of the king, which in this case was made mostly of gold as would befit a divine statue of the tutelary deity of royalty (TM.75.G.1730+ in [Fronzaroli 1996](#): 56–57; [Matthiae 2009](#): 294–295 with n. 38–39 for the use of gold in Ebla statuettes). Other texts detailing disbursements of metals for statuettes of Išhara by the queens also follow a similar pattern:

8 gín DILMUN babbar: kù nu_{II}-za 3 an-dùl ... 3 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu_{II}-za igi-UM 2 šu 2
DU-*si*

‘62.64 g of silver: sheets (for decorating) three statues: 23.49 g of gold: gold leaf (for decorating) their face, hands, and feet’.

(TM.75.G.2429 = [MEE 12](#), 36; I.Z. 10) obv. iv 7-12; in [Archi 2005](#): 82)

⁸ [ARET II](#), 2 has *a-la-gu₂-nu* / *wa* / *du-uš-da-a-da-mu* / *wa* / *dim₂* / [*guruš an-dul₃* *guruš an-dul₃*].

⁹ Evans discusses the possibility that statues were worked on-site in temples, based on the evidence from the Small Shrine in Khafajah where unfinished statues were found ([Evans 2012](#): 124–125).

¹⁰ [ARET II](#), 2 has ^dSI-GAR.

¹¹ Early Dynastic inscribed statues usually have a verbal form with Sumerian a ru or Akkadian *SA₁₂.RIG₇* in their formulas, but the use of *gub* is also attested. However, these usually clarify the context of the setting up of the statue with the formula *DUL₃-SU₂ IGI^{me} DN i₃-gub* ‘his/her statue in front of DN he/she set up’, so that it is clarified that the statue is set up in front of the deity. The verb *gub* usually appears in relation to the standard of Ur in Eannatum’s royal inscriptions ([Frayne 2008](#) = [RIME 1](#) Eannatum 1, 5, 6, 8).

¹² Whilst there is evidence of human statuettes dedicated in temples to deities other than the main one (e.g. at Mari in the temples of Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat; see Tables 8.1 and A.1), the dedication of divine statuettes would seem out of place as they would be thought to reside in their own sanctuaries in order to receive their daily worship; in the case of ‘Išhara of the king’, this was the temple of ^dKU-*ra* within the acropolis ([Archi 2005](#): 84).

This description may be compared with southern Mesopotamia, e.g. the translucent stone statuette with a gold face from the Inanna Temple in Nippur (Haines 1961b: fig. 17). Another text mentions a larger quantity of 156 g of silver (20 shekels) for the decoration of a statue of Ištar (MEE 2, 48 obv. iv II–v 3; in Archi 2005: 85), which must have been medium in size, though it does not compare with the probably near life-sized statues of deities (Archi 2005: 86–88). The latter are usually gifts of the king to male deities from other cities, except for a statue of Aštar, of whom no geographical location is provided.

Recent archaeological excavations have produced strong evidence for the identification of the locales described in the ritual texts here discussed (Matthiae 2009; Pinnock 2016) and which highlight the role of kinship relations and ancestor cults. Both Matthiae and Pinnock argue for the identification of the remains of a temple unearthed directly below the Ištar Temple (Temple P₂; dated MBA I–II “Old Syrian period”) and known as the Red Temple (Temple D₂; dated EBA IVA “Early Syrian period” 2400–2300 B.C.; period of the palace archives) as the second Kura temple that is mentioned in the texts, in which the *maliktum* carries out some rituals on her journey. The fact that this temple may be replaced by one of Ištar is more than mere coincidence, as I have argued on the relationship between Inanna/Aštar (in some instances other goddesses) and the legitimization of a ruler’s power through ritual activity pertaining to ancestors. In this case, the incoming Amorite princes would have decided to dedicate the new temple built on the same ground to the new patron of kings, Ištar of Ebla (Matthiae 2009: 773). Following a different logic, Dolce (2008b) suggested that this Early Syrian temple should be identified as that of Išhara, as the role and position of this goddess seems to be replaced by Ištar by the Old Syrian period. Dolce suggests that a contemporary larger-than-life-sized stone female head found in a secondary context in the Temple P₂ area should be identified with the cultic statue of Išhara (Dolce 2008b: 165); however, I have noted above that the use of metal to cover faces extends to both deities and humans at Ebla. I would argue that the conclusion this head represents a deity is not sufficiently justified, even though the fact that a female head of large proportions was found here is significant in relation with the context of this temple in the rituals associated with the reinforcement of the local elite and ruling family, as suggested by Pinnock:

Thus, the presence of places for funerary cults to the West, might be related with the belief that the West, the place of sunset, was the place for the deceases. I think, however, that it is also possible that other meanings were superimposed on the main one, and that the ritual, as already mentioned, might also somehow be used for the interior, in order to honour the dominating family’s ancestors, and for the exterior, in order to mark a territory of economic and/or political influence.

(Pinnock 2016: 402)

Pinnock discusses how the location of mausoleums in Darib/Atareb and Nenash/Binnish (located to the north and northwest) could be associated with Ebla’s territorial policy rather than marking the origin of the sovereigns, which was in the East (Pinnock 2016: 404). The setting up of such sacred spaces marks the making of political relations rooted in a proto-imperial organisation that incorporates complex strategies of control ranging from direct control to more “traditional” relations with peer polities, so that their material set-up becomes what *makes* such relations and *effects* the changes necessary in a complex

setting leaning towards imperialism. Looking back to Mari and the evidence discussed in Chapter 4, the site of Jebelet el-Beidha emerges as a good candidate to materialise such relations in the Mariote sphere of influence, as will be discussed in the next section. Certainly, Jebelet el-Beidha is located much further from Mari than either of the two mausoleums connected with Ebla. Nevertheless, such differences may or may not be of importance, and may symbolise different territorial relations between Mari and the northern regions. Without explicit written material, it may be too risky to put forward a definite answer to this question, but it may be the case that what was observed in terms of temple activity and patronage in Mari reflects the configuration of these territorial and diplomatic relations between Mari and a range of other polities that must have incorporated complex strategies like in Ebla.

Queen mothers seem to hold important roles in the election and maintenance of sovereignty in Ebla, especially through their involvement bride selection (Biga 1998) but also in their involvement with cultic duties associated with the goddess Išhara, who had a strong relationship with kingship (Biga 2016: 74–77). Concerning queen mothers in Mari, perhaps it is worth noting a text from Ebla (ARET 7, 16) dated to Year 1 of the reign of Ni-zi of Mari. It mentions agents of Hinnadagān and Ṭābdayar, who eventually succeeded Ni-zi at the Mariote throne. The text covers disbursements mainly of metals given to a variety of agents including those mentioned. A female named AL₆-ma appears twice in the text in connection with agents of the princes of Mari. Frayne (2008: 315) suggested that this is actually king Yiqūnmari's wife, who dedicated an inscribed jar to the deity ^dNIN-ZI wa-ra-ne^{ki} (now in a private collection; see Table 8.1). Of course, according to the current chronology (Table 8.2), this king reigned before Yīplus'il, who himself reigned for a long time (perhaps c. 40 years). Some confusion seems to exist with some ED IIIa texts from Abu Salabikh that mention a king of the same name though there may have been two (Marchesi 2015: 154). In any case, it is tempting to identify this AL₆-ma in both sources:

- (11) 2 tar bar₆:kù / AL₆-ma
 (12) ša-pi gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / 1 m[i]-at 20 ma-ra-šum bar₆:kù / 5 ma-na zabar / 1 mi-at
 20 bu-di-bu-di / Ma-ri^{ki} / Ha-su-mu / šu-ba₄-ti
 (13) šú+ša gín DILMUN [bar₆:]kù / I-ku-a-ḥa / Gul-la / e-gi₄:maškim / En-na-Da-gan:^d
 (14) 10 gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / sukkal / Íl-gú-uš-Da-mu / šu-mu-« taka₄ »
 (15) šú+ša gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / A-bù-BAD / Il-Da-mu / Í-lum-ak / šu-mu-« taka₄ »
 (16) šú+ša gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / Za-na / A-zi-du / e-gi₄:maškim / En-na-Da-gan
 (17) 10 gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / AL₆-ma
 (18) 10 gín DILMUN bar₆:kù / Puzur₄-Aš-dar / e-gi₄:maškim / Hi-da-ar

-
- (11) 30 (shekels) of silver: to AL₆-ma.
 (12) 40 DILMUN shekels of silver (for?) 120 strings of silver, 5 mina of bronze (for?) 120 necklaces: (for) Mari, Hasumu has received.
 (13) 20 DILMUN shekels of silver: to Ikuahā and Gulla, agents of Ennadagan.
 (14) 10 DILMUN shekels of silver: delivered by Ilgūš-Damu to the representative (of) the king of Mari).
 (15) 20 DILMUN shekels of silver: delivered to Abu-BAD, Il-Damu and Ilum-ak.
 (16) 20 DILMUN shekels of silver: to Zana and Azidu, agents of Ennadagan.
 (17) 10 DILMUN shekels of silver: to AL₆-ma
 (18) 10 DILMUN shekels of silver: to Puzur-Aštar, agent of Hidar
 (ARET 7, 16 obv. v 4–viii 7.)

Other than the amount of silver received, no other information about her is given, such as whether she is the servant or messenger of someone else, or the wife of a deceased king. Is it possible that she was a queen mother by the time this text was drafted? More importantly, was she travelling with royal agents on official business to Ebla? If so, this text could highlight the important role that queen mothers could have in official business of the royal court.

8.4 CONTEXTUALISING RITUAL AND POWER IN MARI: AŠTAR DEITIES AND GENEALOGICAL LINEAGES

The textual evidence from Girsu and Ebla offer some comparative material that may support the interpretation of the archaeological evidence from the case studies analysed in this thesis. Mari appears in the administrative records from Ebla and thus offers a good starting point to contextualise the evidence. This section explores the sociocultural contextualisation of temple material culture and textual evidence concerning Mari to examine whether ritual practices such as the dedication of statues in temples shows any correlation with specific social groups based on genealogical or kinship ties, and how the gendered distribution of statuary observed in Chapter 7 may inform the role of ritual activity in the construction of power in Mari in connection with Inanna/Aštar deities in particular.

The geographical position of Mari locates it at a crossroads between southern territories including Uruk and Kiš, and the north and northeastern regions including Ebla and the Nagar–Nabada area of influence. For a long time, Mari was thought to have primarily a southern cultural tradition but a Syrian architectural tradition based on the material culture and lapidary inscriptions found in the temple contexts (Margueron 2014b: 100). However, lapidary inscriptions tend to favour the use of logograms while administrative texts often employ the syllabic writing of the names of deities. The choice of wording and graphic representation in lapidary inscriptions perhaps reflects a conscious effort to give credence to a practice that appears to have been borrowed from the south, whilst at the same time legitimising the sphere of power and influence of a burgeoning ruling elite at Mari, perhaps around the time of king Yipluš'il when Mari was the hegemonic power of Upper Mesopotamia and Syria (Sallaberger 2014b).¹³ The use of archaizing script as a means to enshrine political action in the construction of tradition has been discussed at length for monuments from later periods, most notably the Cruciform Monument dating to the Neo-Babylonian period (Sollberger 1968). The identification of the deity ^dMUŠ₃ × ZA.ZA from the statuary inscriptions with the deity Aštar *šarbat* that appears in the administrative texts opens up other options to better understand the relationship between cultic activity, temples, and the construction of elite identity at Mari.

Table 8.1 summarises the epigraphic evidence from the three main temples in which statuary was found (^dMUŠ₃.NITA, Aštar *šarbat* and Baššurat), as well as selected examples from administrative texts mentioning goddesses. Only one deity that appears in inscriptions on objects has been identified in administrative texts dealing with offerings and that is the goddess Aštar *šarbat*. Furthermore, the number

¹³This is not to imply that the practice of dedicating inscribed objects was limited to the ruling elite, though this aspect of dedicatory practices is admittedly not explored more fully in this thesis. The evidence discussed here from Mari does offer a

of deities of the type DN + Description—in which the description is usually a geographical location—stands out as a significant aspect of cultic practice in Mari. Gelb already noted that “*of the two chief gods of Mari in later periods, Dagān occurs only twice [...] and Līm, not at all [in the 3rd millennium B.C. sources]*” (Gelb 1992: 135). Finally, Lecompte and Colonna d’Istra (forth.) propose to identify the deity Baśsurat with Ištar of the Bišri region, which appears in later texts (Lambert 1985). The earliest attestation of the Jebel Bišri appears in one of Narām-Sîn’s royal inscription that recounts the king’s conquest of Basar (*ba-sa-ar*), the mountain of the Jebel Bišri (MARTU.TU^{ki}) (Pappi 2006: 244).

If these two deities are identified with geographical locations in the region of the Jebel Sindjar and Jebel Bišri, it may stand to reason that a similar identification befits ^dMUŠ₃.NITA. What could that be? The deity ^dNIN-KUR appears in several administrative texts with Aštar *šarbat*, as well as Aštar kur *ab-ba*, both of which have not been identified with specific regions or deities. ^dNIN-KUR is a poorly understood deity, and it seems that several deities are identified under this writing (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000). For the Mari evidence, a logographic reading for the name is suggested, so that perhaps it could be read as ‘Bēlet-mātim’ (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000: §4). Meanwhile, the deity ^dNin.MUŠ₃.KUR appears in the Fāra god list after ^dNin.MUŠ₃.ZA (Cavigneaux and Krebernik 1998–2000a). The latter has been suggested as a variant of the ^dMUŠ₃×ZA.ZA deity found in the Mari inscriptions.¹⁴ If ^dNin.MUŠ₃.ZA stands for Aštar *šarbat*, perhaps ^dNin.MUŠ₃.KUR may be said to be the same as the *aš-tar₂ kur ab-ba* that appears in the administrative texts. This is certainly only a tentative suggestion. Finally, note also ^dMUŠ₃ ^dBE-al₆ KALAM-tim ‘Aštar, the lord of the Land’ (?) found in a text from Ebla (ARET 5, 7 vi 2, cf. Krebernik: 95; in Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 185) and ^dMUŠ₃ LUGAL ‘Eštar-king’ (?), in a votive inscription from Mari dating to the time of Šamšīdad (Charpin 1984: 44–45 no. 2:1 in Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 185).

How do the textual sources compare with the archaeological evidence, if at all? The location of Šarbat is currently placed somewhere near the Jebel Sindjar (Wäfler 2001: 154 with references), while Ištar of bišri, if identified with Baśsurat, would be located in the Jebel Bišri, a region historically associated with the Amorites, who were ostensibly genealogically related with the founding elites of the new kingdom of Mari in the 2nd millennium B.C. (Pappi 2006; Lönnqvist 2010). Other than these two mountainous regions, Jebel ‘Abd al-Aziz is located between the Balikh and the Khabur rivers. Surveys have revealed Early Bronze Age settlements with a general decline towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C. (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 309; Kouchoukos 1998). It is from this region that the now lost Jebel el-Beidha monumental works originate (found at the site of Ras et-Tell in the southern foothills of the mountain range), which can be dated to the end of the ED IIIb/Protoimperial period (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 154 cat. 15). These have been interpreted as a place of worship or a victory monument (Moortgat-Correns 1972), as well as being monuments/tombs built by local pastoral communities (Meyer 1997: 297; Kouchoukos 1998: 433–435; Wilkinson 2003: 123; Silver 2014) or northern Mesopotamian small kingdoms or city-states (Ristvet 2011). However, these monuments are some of the few representations of elite individuals from the third quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. in the region despite the proliferation of art objects in this

¹⁴ Cavigneaux and Krebernik (1998–2000) also note a potential link with Zabala’s temple of Inanna in the temple hymns, which is described as eš₃ kur šuba ‘shrine of the shining mountain’ (ETCSL 4.80.1 line 380). However, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.1.1), this description may not necessarily apply to the situation in Zabala during the Early Dynastic period and may reflect a literary style from the Old Babylonian period.

Archaeological Context	Object Type	Deity Mentioned	Identification	Reference
Temple of ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA (=“Ištar”)	Statuary	^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA ^d MUŠ ₃ .UŠ	Male Aštar (?)	Cluzan and Lecompte 2014.
Temple of ^d MUŠ ₃ ×ZA.ZA (=“Ninni-zaza”)	Statuary	^d MUŠ ₃ .ZA.ZA ^d MUŠ ₃ ×ZA+ZA ^d MUŠ ₃ ×ZA	Aštar <i>šarbat</i> (Lecompte and Colonna d’Istra forth., cited in Lecompte 2014a: 134 n. 12)	Over 20 inscribed statues. See Gelb and Kienast 1990 for text editions.
	Statuary	<i>BE-li-SU₃</i>	Unspecified male deity; not originally from Mari (?)	Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 181–184, cat. 11a.
	Statuary	^d MUŠ ₃ -GIŠ.TIR	Aštar of the forest(?) (Gelb and Kienast read <i>šarbat</i>)	Gelb and Kienast 1990: 6–7 MP 4.
	Statuary	^d NIN. <i>da²-ra-[x]</i>	Lady of...	Gelb and Kienast 1990: 21–21 MP 29.
Temple of Baššurat (=“Ishtarat”)	Stone vessel	^d I ₇ ^d <i>Ba-sur_x-ra-at</i>	God of the river ordeal Baššurat (goddess of the flowing waters?)	Krebernik 1984b; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 10–11 MP 10.
	Stone plaque	^d <i>Ba-sur_x-ra-at</i>	Baššurat	Krebernik 1984b; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 23 MP 33.
Private Collection	Clay jar	^d NIN.ZI <i>wa-ra-ne^{ki}</i>	NIN-ZI of Warane	Gelb and Kienast 1990: 8–9 MP 7.
G Sector, Area of North Temple 1 (TN ₁)	Clay tablet	^d INANA	Aštar (Inanna?)	Cavigneau 2014: 307 no. 28 (TH07-T9).
		^d INANA×ZA.ZA	Aštar (of) <i>šarbat</i>	
		^d NIN-na-gar ₃	Bēlēt-Nagar	
		^d INANA×ZA.ZA	Aštar (of) <i>šarbat</i>	
		^d NIN-TUL ₈ (LAGAB×TIL)	Bēlēt-birī	
		^d NIN-KUR		
		^d NIN-KAR	Ninkarak	
Residential area West of the “Temple de Dagān présargonique”	Clay tablet	^d <i>inanna-šar_x(SUM)-bat</i> <i>aš-tar₂ pa-ba-ka^{ki}</i> <i>aš-tar₂ iš ur₃;gu₄:ma₂</i> <i>aš-tar₂ kur ab-ba</i>	Aštar (of) <i>šarbat</i> Aštar (of) pabaka Aštar (for?) the UR ₃ GUD MA ₂ ritual* Aštar (of) the country of the father/elder(?)	Charpin 1987: 74 no. 9 (T.67).
		^d <i>a-bir₅-tum</i> ^d nin-kur	Hibirtum	
	Clay tablet	^d <i>inanna-šar_x(SUM)-bat</i>	Aštar (of) <i>šarbat</i>	Charpin 1987: 73, no.8 (T.66).
Presargonic Palace P ₁	Clay tablet	^d nin-x- <i>ba-da-num₂</i> ^d nin-n[a]- <i>ga[r₃^k]ⁱ</i>	Bēlēt Hadanum(?) Bēlēt-Nagar	Charpin 1987: 79 no. 20 (M.5390–5391).

*Originally thought of being offerings for a “sacrificial boat” (Charpin 1987: 75), Sallaberger (2014b: 343 with n. 16) reads an enigmatic ritual related to boats (ma₂).

Table 8.1 – FEMALE DEITIES IN PRESARGONIC DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS AND ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS FROM MARI. ALL NAMES OF DEITIES FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE ^dMUŠ₃.NITA, AŠTAR ŠARBAT AND BAŠŠURAT TEMPLES ARE COMPILED HERE, INCLUDING MALE DEITIES AND AN UNPROVENANCED JAR. FOR THE ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS, ONLY THE NAMES OF DEITIES LISTED FROM REPRESENTATIVE TEXTS ARE COMPILED HERE FOR COMPARATIVE PURPOSES.

period (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 272). They bear a striking similarity with the visual representation of kings from the late Early Dynastic that in my opinion strongly suggest some external involvement, perhaps part of kinship ties that link the local population with elite groups in a capital city (see Figure 8.1). The main hegemonic power in the region up to Sargon's conquest must have been Mari, whose rulers seem the only ones to employ the title of lugal, whilst rulers of other cities such as Nagar or Ebla take the title of en (Sallaberger 1998: 34; 2011: 328). This hegemony must have extended at least during the reign of Yiplus'il and resurfaced with Yišqimari before the city's fall. In this context, the striking similarities between the Jebelet el-Beidha's representations of elite men and the evidence from Mari cannot be understated.¹⁵ But, why would any Mariote king contribute to erect such monuments in such a remote location and in association with hierarchically structured interments? Other than the suggestion that they are victory monuments, are there any other possible explanations?

Cluzan and Lecompte (2014) have recently re-studied the statuette of Yišqimari found in the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple. In their study, it became clear that two holes were drilled in the area of the hands, so that a movable part of the statuette could have been attached. In their reconstruction, two possibilities are offered: a spear and a macehead (Figure 8.1 top left). The latter appears in the famous Yišqimari seals, thus supporting this reconstruction (Figure 8.1 bottom). Meanwhile, the statue in the round from Jebelet el-Beidha (Moortgat-Correns 1972: 10–13 cat. 1, pl. 9–13) appears holding a similar object in the right hand and wears a similar *kaunakès* garment over the left shoulder (Figure 8.1 top right). The large relief from Jebel el-Beidha (Moortgat-Correns 1972: 13–18 cat. 3, pl. 14–19) also shows a figure wearing a *kaunakès* garment over the left shoulder and holding a macehead in the right hand (Figure 8.3 page 2). The head is preserved, showing a bearded male wearing a flat cap style of hat and hair in a chignon at the back. The curls of the beard are particularly similar to other statuary from Mari. Besides the statuette of Yišqimari, the hat style depicted has parallels in Mari, in shell inlays found at the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple and the pre-Sargonic palace, as well as comparative material from Kiš (Figure 8.3). In fact, this type of hat is found in figural representations dated to the ED IIIb and early Akkadian periods (Figure 8.2) ranging from Susa to Tepe Gawra, and including Tell Asmar (Frankfort 1955: nos. 622, 645).

Of a different style yet similar in its monumentality is the statue of Šumba'li found in the Aštar *šarbat* temple. Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 181–184 cat. 11a) date this statue to the end of the ED IIIb period. Furthermore, they suggest that the statue might have originated from elsewhere, and that it includes a list of names, perhaps Šumba'li's offspring. The context of this monumental dedicatory object and its association with a “blood alliance” of which Šumba'li was ostensibly a leader strongly associates it with the realm of ancestor cults and lineages discussed by Meyer (1997: 303) in relation with the sociopolitical configuration of northern Mesopotamia. Thus, it is possible that the Mariote kings of the pre-Sargonic period belonged to one or various “blood alliances” as reflected in the statue of Šumba'li. Such an interpretation would also explain the seemingly composite nature of cultic activity in Mari and the presence of important deities from nearby regions, including the ‘Lord of Terqa’ (i.e. Dagān) and Šalaš (disguised as Ninḫursaĝ), Aštar *šarbat*, Baššurat, Nin-Nagar (‘Lady of Nagar’, albeit only in administrative texts), and now ^dMUŠ₃,NITA.

¹⁵Although not conclusive beyond doubt given the size of Tell Brak, the lack of statuary in a similar fashion from this site seems, in my opinion, to substantiate the view that the Jebelet el-Beidha monuments do not belong within the sphere of influence of the ancient city of Nagar, as Ristvet (2011: 19) suggests.

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Figure 8.1 – STATUETTE OF KING YIŠQĪMARI FROM THE ^PMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE, MARI; RECONSTRUCTION HOLDING MACEHEAD (TOP LEFT); JEBELET EL-BEIDHA STATUE IN THE ROUND (TOP RIGHT); IMPRESSIONS OF KING YIŠQĪMARI'S SEAL FROM PALACE P1 AT MARI (BOTTOM). THE STATUES ARE NOT TO SCALE (TOP LEFT: CLUZAN AND LECOMPTE 2014: 261, FIG. III. 2.; TOP RIGHT: MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1972: PL. IIA; BOTTOM: BEYER 2014A: 282, FIG. III. 3A ET B).

Marchesi and Marchetti 2011

Mari	Ebla
	Taldayli' mu?
	Yabūrlī' mu
	Yagūrlī' mu
Yiqūnmari	Yibbi' dāmu
	Bākādāmu?
Yikūnšamkan	Yinḥardāmu
Yištupsarru	Yisarmalku
	Qūmdāmu
Yiplus'il	Yaddubdāmu
'Iz(z)ī?	Yigrishalab
Hinnadagān	Yirkabdāmu
	Yis'ardāmu
Tābdayar	
Yišqimari	
Yikūnšamaš	
Yiškurdayar	

Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015

Ebla years	Ebla rulers	Mari rulers
until -43	Igrishhalab	Iplu(s)il
-42 to -36	Irkabdamu 1-7	Nlzi, Ennadagan
-35	Ibrium 1 / Ishardamu 1	Ikunishar
	Ibrium 2(?)	
-17	Ibbizikir 1 / Ishardamu 19	?
(ca. -15)		? (ca. Sargon 1)
-13	Ibbizikir 5 / Ishardamu 23	
+1	<i>Ebla destroyed</i> (after Pepy I 1-30)	Hlḏar
1 to 8		Ishqimari(?)
c. +15 to +20		Mari destroyed

Table 8.2 – COMPARATIVE SYNCHRONISM BETWEEN THE KINGS OF MARI AND EBLA DURING THE ED IIIb/PROTOIMPERIAL PERIODS.



Figure 8.2 – SEAL OF KALKI, SCRIBE OF UBIL-EŠTAR, SCRIBE OF THE KING’S BROTHER, POSSIBLY SARGON OF AKKAD. THE FIGURE IN THE CENTRE WEARING THE FLAT CAP AND A FOUNCED ROBE OVER THE LEFT SHOULDER IS PROBABLY UBIL-EŠTAR. KALKI IS PROBABLY THE INDIVIDUAL BEHIND HIM, HOLDING A TABLET(?). THE SCENE PROBABLY DEPICTS A FOREIGN EXPEDITION DURING WHICH KALKI ACQUIRED THE UNUSUAL STONE FROM WHICH HIS SEAL WAS CUT (COLLON 1982: 141) (H=3.32 CM; Ø=2.05 CM; NOT TO SCALE) (BM 89137; 𒀭𒌦𒀭𒌦 4.0 THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM).

It is also interesting to note that the statues associated with kings Yīplus’il and Yikūnšamkan were found in the Aštar *šarbat* temple (Table 8.2 for a chronological list of Mari kings and synchronism with Ebla kings, which will be discussed hereafter). The strong presence of a temple with such a wealth of dedicatory objects and offerings to a localised deity, that is, not a “pan-regional” one, seems odd unless a strong connection between the living populations from both places can be established. Perhaps it can be argued that the statuary from the Aštar *šarbat* temple is associated with the social sphere of Šumba’li on the one hand, and that of Nagar(Tell Brak)/Nabada(Tell Beydar) on the other. In fact, on the basis of the statuary and textual evidence, Sallaberger (2011) suggests these towns were under Yīplus’il’s rule. Perhaps, the lineage associated more strongly with this temple belongs to the time of Yikūnšamkan to Yīplus’il (and perhaps until Ḫinnadaḡān), sharing genealogical ties with the region that were reflected in the patronage of Aštar *šarbat* in the Mari temple. The texts from Beydar that mention queen Paba, Yīplus’il’s consort,¹⁶ and the dispatches of offerings for the deity given to the king of Mari from Ebla may substantiate the association the cult of Aštar *šarbat* with Mariote power and diplomatic relations with Ebla during this period.¹⁷ If my interpretation is correct, and given the wealth of statuary from this temple, this lineage seems to have lasted a long period. Interestingly, there is no surviving statuary from Ḫinnadaḡān’s reign, who ostensibly wanted to assert his power against Ebla.

By contrast, no statue of Yišqimari was found in the Aštar *šarbat* temple, despite the notable number of individuals linked with the royal entourage. Admittedly, his was probably not a long reign and, as Sallaberger and Schrakamp (2015: 101 and table 26b) suggest, he was probably the last or the penultimate

¹⁶ Archi and Biga (2003: 3 n. 15) discuss the evidence on Paba, who appears in texts dated to both the reigns of Yīplus’il and Ḫinnadaḡān, thus leading to the conclusion that two women had the same name. Furthermore, they suggest the mentions in the Beydar texts could mean that Paba (either or both) was a princess from Nagar.

¹⁷ TM.75.G.2235 = ARET 7, no. 9 obv. ix 2–6 and rev. i 4–9: “21 minas of silver and 3 minas of gold delivered by Igi (to) the king of Mari; expeditions (kaskal-kaskal) (for) Aštar *šarbat* (^des₄-dar za-ar₃-zu-ad^{ki})” (Archi 1993: 75).

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Figure 8.3 – COMPARATIVE FLAT HAT STYLES FROM THE ^PMUŠ₃-NITA TEMPLE IN MARI (TOP), THE PRE-SARGONIC PALACE IN MARI (CENTRE), KIŠ (BOTTOM), AND JEBELET EL-BEIDHA (NEXT PAGE); NOT TO SCALE (TOP: BUTTERLIN AND CLUZAN 2014: 220, FIG. 89K–M; CENTRE LEFT: COUTURAUD 2013: VOL. 3, FIG. 24D; CENTRE RIGHT: MARGUERON 2004: FIG. 279D; BOTTOM: LANGDON 1924: PL. 36/3; NEXT PAGE: MOORTGAT-CORRENS 1972: PL. 18A AND 19A.

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COMPARATIVE FLAT HAT STYLES (CONT.).

king of Mari.¹⁸ One individual could have dedicated objects at both ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and Aštar *šarbat* temples. *i-di₃-^dI₇* (= “Iddin-narim”), who was an ‘elder’ (*lu₂ še₃-bum*), dedicated a bust (M.176) found in the environs of L18. The fragment of a statue (M.2314) found in the cella of the Aštar *šarbat* temple bears the inscription of a *i-di₃-^dI₇* *dumu-ni[ta]*. Since the inscription is broken, it is impossible to establish whether this is indeed the same person, though it seems a likely possibility. Although it could be the result of bias in the archaeological record, it is also possible that the evidence signals a shift in royal patronage from the Aštar *šarbat* temple towards the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple, and more specifically the L18/20 area as discussed in Chapter 7 Section §7.2.1. This shift may be tentatively traced in the stone renovation carried out in the building complex, which I have suggested could have been contemporary with the period of renewed power that Mari experienced towards the end of the City II period (see Section §7.1.5).

The presence of Iddin-narim’s statues in both temples highlights the importance accorded to lineage, as discussed in relation with the statue of Šumba’li.¹⁹ In fact, Iddin-narim’s statue from the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple is considerably larger in size than that of Yišqīmari while that of Yindin’il is the largest (Figure 8.4). I already compared the sizes of these statues and others with those of female individuals (see). It is worth mentioning that a large polos “wig” from a composite statue was found in L15 (M.327 – H=18.00 cm; W=14.10 cm) which would certainly belong to a statue of at least similar dimensions as Yindin’il’s if not larger. The strong male presence in L18 thus appear to not be accidental and two aspects may help elucidate the context in which this room functioned. On the one hand, it should be noted that, except for the inscribed statues of Yišqīmari and Yindin’il, the majority of objects from L18 and its environs consisted of broken pieces, heads in particular. The “naturalistic” style of the Mari statuary has been stressed in the past, though Evans notes that it is in fact a sort of “*idealized realism or naturalism that itself is also an abstraction*” (Evans 2012: 181–182). Nevertheless, the heads from L18 and its environs offer an interesting collection of individuals in what could have been a curated environment, that is, the preservation of only the heads in this case. The fact that two statues were found almost intact—even if perhaps deliberately broken or marked in the process of destruction (Cluzan and Lecompte 2014)—whilst other items were either headless or only the head was preserved suggests there are here two different events: *a*) the deposition of a group of fragments, possibly within the podium or its environs; and *b*) a destruction/abandonment level in which (almost) complete objects could be restored, including the statues of Yišqīmari and Yindin’il, as well as the so-called “Standard of Mari”. The lack of photographs of the group of items found during the first few days of excavation hinder the distinction between a possible cache of objects and other items scattered in the destruction level. Nevertheless, a possible reconstruction of this context is discussed elsewhere (Chapter 7, Section §7.2.1, Table 7.6, and Figure 7.11).

¹⁸Sallaberger and Schrakamp (2015), after Archi and Biga (2003), suggest that the last king must have been Yišqīmari, or perhaps Yiškurdayar based on the sealings from the destruction layer in the palace. By contrast, Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: 137–140) suggest the majority of Yišqīmari’s sealings come from a floor preceding the destruction layer, whilst other two kings are attested in sealings attributed to the destruction layer (those of Yiškurdayar and Yikūn[...]). Either way, the short reigns of the last kings of Mari suggest Yišqīmari must have reigned at the time, or within the 15–to–20–year period before Sargon destroyed Mari. See Marchesi and Marchetti (2011: table 15b) and Marchesi (2015: table 1.2).

¹⁹Another statue of large size (H = ca. 0.6m) found on the first day of the excavation (M.13) in the area of the temples, possibly near the Aštar *šarbat* temple (Parrot 1935a: 5; Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 97 Arch. 74–75) may be interpreted in a similar light. However, this statue has received little attention.

Within the context of a curated number of heads in L18, the female head M.120 (see Figure 7.14) should be noted for its dimensions. It belonged to a statue of similar dimensions to that of Iddin-narim or even Yindin'il. That one of the largest female statues was found in L18 should not be underestimated, as it probably belonged to an important woman involved in the affairs of the state and who could enjoy the status of other high status male individuals, as we have seen reflected in the textual material from Ebla and Girsu, or in the statuary from all three sites (see pp. 242, 248 and 252; Figures 7.14, 7.16 and 7.18).

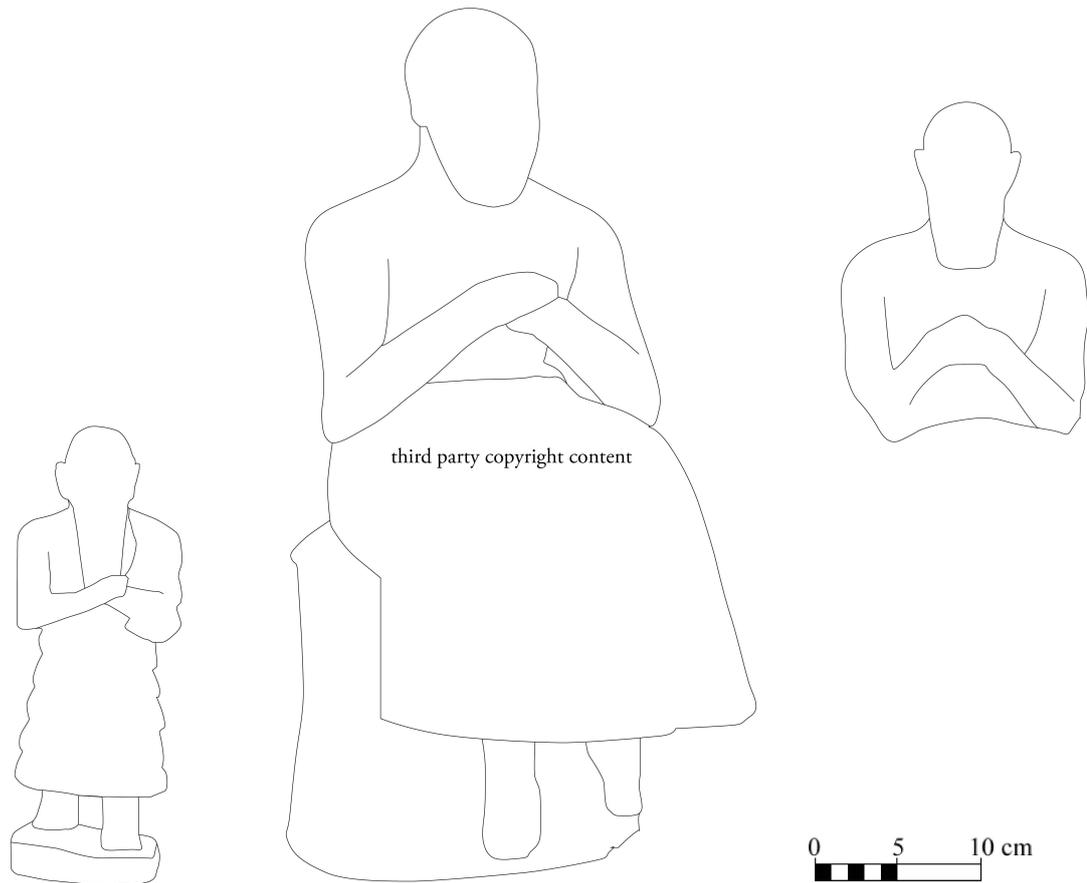


Figure 8.4 – RELATIVE SIZE OF YIŠQĪMARI (H=27.2 CM), YINDIN'IL (H=52.5 CM), AND IDDIN-NARIM (H=20.4 CM) STATUES (ADAPTED FROM BUTTERLIN AND CLUZAN 2014: 225 CAT. 97 (LEFT), BUTTERLIN AND CLUZAN 2014: 226 CAT. 98 (CENTRE), AND PARROT 1956: PL. 30 (RIGHT)).

Based on the contextual reanalysis of the archaeological evidence carried out in Chapter 4 and Section §7.1.5, and of the textual sources above, I have made the case for a connection between temple construction and political/economic shifts during the City II period. The results of this analysis suggest links between some of the temples from this period and regional groups centred around landscape landmarks such as the Jebel Bišri, Jebel Sindjar, and perhaps also Jebel 'Abd al-Aziz. These links could have a genealogical component associated with kingship in Mari that may be reflected in three specific temples across the city: the Aštar *šarbat*, Baššurat and ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temples. I have argued that these links are substantiated by the presence of inscribed dedicatory objects, especially statuary dedicated by or for kings. Oftentimes, genealogical links are strengthened through intermarriages, which may be evidenced in the presence of

Paba (wife of king Yīplus'il), who was likely a woman from the Nagar (Tell Brak) / Nabada (Tell Beydar) region. The statuary of high-status women is of great importance in this context and the implications of the gender distribution of statuary were discussed in Section §7.2.1 of the *Comparative Analysis* in conjunction with the other two case studies. In this context, the differences observed between L18 and L17 are important, and I suggest they signal gendered spaces associated with cultic activity in relation with the construction of the genealogy and legitimization of kingship.

While access to L17—a mainly “female” space—was restricted through a series of doorways and passageways, L18—mainly “male”—seems to have been more open towards the area near an entrance to the city on the western edge. This orientation could have played a role in the relations of Mari with neighbouring regions to the west and north. For example, in a recent contribution Ristvet (2011) examines the organisation of urban space in nascent states in northern Mesopotamia ca. 2600–2300 B.C., focussing on how the formation of pilgrimage networks interconnected with economic and political systems played an important role in the process of assimilating and ‘making sense’ of these polities. Ristvet discusses the tension between the limitation of access and inclusive spaces in the urban landscape, so that a hierarchical structure was reflected in the setting up of checkpoints and processional routes within walled cities whilst the collective foundation of power at the top was reflected in the inclusive spaces also part of the urban landscape, in particular open spaces linked to city gates or temples (Ristvet 2011: 7). In this context, the location of the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA temple and the space outside L18 may have played a key role in the negotiation of power in Mari between the collective—represented by the statue of Iddin-narim and high-status heads of men and women—and the king—represented by the statue of Yišqimari. The largest concentration of vessels in the intercultural style was also found in the L18/L20 area, which attest to the importance of these spaces in strengthening the political and economic ties of the city with the northern and western regions.

By contrast, L17/15 show signs of restricted access limited mainly to females, who may have engaged in specific ritual activity. If Otto (2014) is correct in her interpretation, this activity may be linked with the cult of ancestors in connection with northern regions. Ancestors may be involved in the collective power of councils of elders who ostensibly served as part of the civic government of the polity and possibly exercised influence over the king. Similar scenarios have in fact been suggested for Beydar and Ebla (Ristvet 2011: 7). The connection between the role of elite women in ritual activity and the legitimisation of the king’s power is not entirely clear in Mari, given the scarcity of textual evidence from the ED IIIb period. Nevertheless, the evidence gleaned from Ebla and Beydar texts about Mari suggests this was indeed a likely scenario.

What I am specifically hinting at here is the relationship between deities under the umbrella of ^dMUŠ₃ with these localised lineages. Those under the umbrella of NIN may sometimes be included. The qualitative differences between the various spellings of deities’ names such as Nin-Nagar and Aštar *šarbat* are not clear. The use of NIN and MUŠ₃ is not entirely clear in the context of northern Mesopotamia. In discussing the names of later deities from the 1st millennium B.C. associated with the ethereal goddess Ištar, Allen explains how “each localized Ištar goddess had her own unique name – or sets of name formulas – that distinguished her from (the unspecified) Ištar and other Ištar goddesses” (Allen 2015: 47). More importantly, he stresses the fact that the interchangeable element in the names is the “forename,” not the

geographic “surname.” Thus, the Ninevite goddess has the following names: ^dIštar-of-Nineveh, ^dIštar/Who-Resides-(in)-Nineveh, ^dLady-of-Nineveh, ^dQueen-of-Nineveh, ^dIštar//Lady-of-Nineveh, or possibly ^dNinuaṛtu (Allen 2015: 47). If one remembers that this deity is usually traced back to the 3rd millennium B.C. in the guise of the great Hurrian goddess Ša’uška (Meinhold 2009: 168–173), the connotations between these appellations and the substrate deity hiding behind them appear of lesser importance, whilst their roles as localised deities representing their (geographic) lineage comes to the fore. I suspect the later “syncretism” with Ištar simply reflects this role, as well as the growing importance of the city of Nineveh, rather than necessarily being a Venus deity. After all, Ša’uška was mostly known as a goddess of healing and magic, hardly Inanna/Aštar’s domain.²⁰ Finally, whether and how these deities are linked with the morning/evening star (i.e. the planet Venus) is also not clear in this period, as I have discussed in detail in a previous section in connection with the interpretation of ^dMUŠ₃.NITA (Section §4.3.1).

Of course, it is important to stress that this situation does not apply everywhere. The syncretism of the deity Ištar in later periods is of great complexity, but does generally involve deities associated with royalty. Thus, at Ebla Ištar became the foremost deity by the Old Syrian period, superseding Išhara of the king and even the Kura-Barama pair reigning over the city. Matthiae argues that:

The role of the main deity Ishtar had at Ebla in Middle Bronze I is shown by the peculiar presence in the city of two temples dedicated to the goddess, one in the Lower Town north-west, and one at the western periphery of the Citadel. These two temples [...] were [...] the first one the public cult place of the great goddess for the needs of the community, and the second one the cult place of the same goddess reserved to the ruling dynasty. [...] [B]oth sanctuaries of the Ishtar Eblaitu had a close connection with kingship. This consideration can be proved also by the observation that only in the sacred areas of the great goddess remains of votive royal statues were found, as if only in the temples of the patron deity of kingship they used to dedicate votive images of the kings.

(Matthiae 2003: 386–389)

Finally, the evidence from Mari suggests that the cult of Inanna/Aštar had indeed become the prerogative of the king by the Old Babylonian period. The enactively constructed—that is, through action or performance rather than language—gendered representation of the deity mirrors the multiplicity of her roles as the dynastic appointer and ruler of the land, protector of the city, and astral body. These and other aspects are joined together to give a sense of substance to the gender of Inanna/Aštar as a result of underlying sociopolitical processes in the region of Mari, which saw the city transform from a regional trade centre into an independent polity at times, incorporated into the realm of the Akkadian empire, briefly under the influence of the political rise of Ur at the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., and finally brought together under the Amorite dynasty before its demise at the hands of Ḫammurabi’s army. A similar shift has also been noted at Ebla. Dolce (2008b: esp. 162f.) has discussed the syncretisation of Ištar from earlier local forms Aštar/Eštar and Išhara which, according to her, included the assimilation

²⁰Wegner (1981: 46–55) discussed the “male” aspect of the goddess, but this applies mostly to Ša’uška of Šamuḫa. As Beckman points out, “the Anatolian Ištar of Nineveh does not display either the pronounced astral or martial [...] aspects characteristic of Ištar of Šamuḫa” (Beckman 1998: 7).

of the most important prerogatives of the Early Syrian god Kura, patron of the city. The evidence seems to suggest a more complex regional scenario in the third quarter of the 3rd millennium B.C. followed by strong processes of syncretism that would have catalysed the creation of a more homogenous idea of the goddess from a range of local patron deities associated with competing as well as collaborating polities.²¹ Interestingly, Ištar could assimilate elements from male deities, which points towards a political or ideological explanation for the assimilation, rather than the simple agglutination of female deities with similar characteristics under one name. These observations suggest that in focussing mainly on the sexuality and astral aspect of the goddess, the politically charged processes that clearly played an important part in contouring her gendered body may have been overlooked.

8.5 WOMEN AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF POWER IN EARLY DYNASTIC SOCIETY

So far in this chapter, I have discussed the roles that elite women played in ritual contexts, specifically in relation with the legitimation of genealogical ties as a source of sacred authority ultimately vested on the figure of the king. Although the discussion has focussed on Mari more heavily than on the other two case studies, the comparisons drawn in the previous chapter help substantiate, albeit in a preliminary way, possible scenarios in which elite women also had influential roles in the social and political dynamics of Aššur and Khafajah during the ED III period. The specifics of what those roles and relationships were are more difficult to draw in detail.

Ristvet (2015) has examined the cultural and ideological changes that accompanied the rise of Mesopotamian polities with specific attention to the role of ritual and performance in the shaping of polities. Ristvet notes a transition from ancestor veneration to patron deity worship that takes place at critical points in a society's socioeconomic transformation into urban polities with more salient social hierarchies and inequality. She discusses several examples from the anthropological literature, such as the formation of the Majapahit state on the island of Java (Ristvet 2015: 13), or the late formative period pueblo in K'axob (Ristvet 2015: 23). These examples show processes of ancestor creation, deification of ancestors, and/or transformation of domestic rituals into civic ceremonies. Upon becoming ruler, one member of a rival dynasty in K'axob dedicated three patron deity temples, which were the same temples that housed the remains of these early kings. In Ristvet's words, "*in so doing, he transformed the ancestor shrines of his political rivals into temples that belonged to the entire community*" (Ristvet 2015: 23). As she stresses, ancestor veneration and patron deity worship are very different because "*while the former is exclusive, glorifying a particular lineage, the latter is inclusive*" (Ristvet 2015: 24). This inclusive nature of patron deities mean they belong and protect the entire community. Within the context of strengthening social ties beyond kinship alongside political expansion, the performativity of ritual emerges as a transformative force in the creation and legitimation of power, which in the case of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia appears reflected, for example, in the rituals from Ebla discussed earlier and which Ristvet also discusses:

²¹On the broad trends of syncretism and fusion of deities towards the end of the 3rd millennium B.C., see Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 64f..

Ritual provided a space and means for sovereignty to be both created and debated. Priests, kings, and ordinary citizens used festivals to negotiate, establish, and contest political power. Indeed, ritual was one of the main techniques that individuals used to create political communities and establish a framework for belonging.

(Ristvet 2015: 2)

In order to ascend Ebla's throne, the king, queen, and their divine counterparts undertook a pilgrimage around the kingdom, ending with a long ceremony at the royal mausoleum, in which they were remade in the image of their ancestors.

(Ristvet 2015: 36)

In Ebla, at least, the ritual role of women in the achievement of sacred authority appears clearly alongside that of the king and not simply in a secondary position. But does the rich and detailed evidence from Ebla apply further south to both northern and southern Mesopotamian polities? The evidence from banqueting scenes on stone plaques discussed in Chapter 7 Section §7.2.3 exemplifies the involvement of women in social and civic ceremonies without any visible signs suggesting they held a lower status than their male counterparts. Furthermore, the evidence from stone plaques covers a much wider geographic span across southern and northern regions. This conclusion is also supported by the predominance of seated female statuary and inscribed stone bowls with dedications by women, who appear to be responsible for ensuring the health and prosperity of their families. When elaborated upon over time, this theme of prosperity ostensibly became entangled with ancestor cults through the increasing accumulation of stone statues and other material locales of memorialisation of those ancestors in the temples over the course of the ED III period. In that context, the roles of the emerging elite women perhaps were extended to ensuring the protection of newly forged patron deities over the whole community and the appointed ruler, who was symbolically 'chosen' for the job by the deity. The organisation of festivals and civic celebrations associated with the prosperity of the land and the renewal of power probably became important arenas for the negotiation of social and political structures in a historical context marked by conflict between polities struggling to control resources.

Briefly turning to the site of Ur which I have so far not discussed in this thesis, Benati (2015) carried out an equally interdisciplinary analysis of political economy in early 3rd millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia based on archaeology, textual evidence, and anthropological theories. His observations are strikingly similar to some of the emerging trends observed across the three case studies and the comparative evidence discussed here. They include intra-site competition among elite groups through labour-organisation, as observed in Khafajah, feasting and ceremonies of a strong political connotation, as observed in Mari and framed in relation with comparative textual evidence, and a rapidly changing political landscape that “*may very well have provided an arena to shape beliefs through the creation of new ideologies aiming at legitimizing hierarchy and eliteness*” (Benati 2015: §7.1.5). I have suggested similar conclusions for the case studies in this thesis, highlighting the role of primarily elite women—as far as the evidence allows—in the realisation of commemorative celebrations such as festivals, banqueting feasts and other ritual activity linked with the renewal of power.

Benati points out that the major sociocultural changes observed towards the end of the Early Dynastic period that saw a “*hyperhierarchical landscape dominated by monarchic institutions*” are connected with changes in economic and political strategies that remain ill-defined (Benati 2015: §7.2.5). This thesis suggests one such strategy afforded to elite women. The political roles of elite women expressed through ritual activity may have acted both to favour the legitimisation of ancestor and divine genealogies associated with kingship in the short- and mid-term whilst ultimately undermining their own power dynamics in the long-term through the increasing presence of royal paraphernalia in temple contexts and the ultimate elevation of the king above all other institutions such as the assembly of elders or the town assembly. This particular strategy may have been sustained by other economic strategies such as those associated with textile production and expanded trading networks in luxury materials. However, any further conclusions on these would require further analysis of material beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, they remain tentative suggestions and potential avenues of inquiry.

In the course of this thesis, the entanglement between temple construction and the cultic role of elite women in the legitimation of power has emerged as a force of sociopolitical change during the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia. This entanglement ostensibly followed an upwards trend throughout the Early Dynastic period, culminating in the forging of kingship as a form of rulership that extended beyond kinship ties to exert singular control over individual polities and larger territories. The creation of kingship, alongside other socioeconomic developments such as changes in textile production and expanded trading networks in exotic materials, paved the way to the expansion of territorial states and, ultimately, the forging of the Akkadian empire. These other factors in sociopolitical change have been more cursorily treated in this thesis, for example in relation with the possible textile evidence from House D in Khafajah or the value of steatite stone vessels in the intercultural style. More research is certainly required to assess the interrelation between the social factors analysed in detail in this thesis and these other economic, and perhaps also environmental factors. Nevertheless, the research carried out in this thesis strongly suggests that ritual activity, as Ristvet points out, provided a powerful means to negotiate and strengthen social ties beyond kinship, strengthening social cohesion whilst exacerbating hierarchical relations. The process may be reflected ultimately in the shaping of supra-kinship deities that operated beyond the individual city-state to exert power over entire regions and an idiosyncratic population. One such dynastic deity was probably Enlil, whose patronage over ‘Kinship of the Land’ (nam-lugal-kalam-ma) Wang (2011: 245) argued was Lugalzagesi’s innovation. It is in this context of ritual innovation and changing social organisations that I argue the image and identity of the goddess Inanna/Aštar was shaped to eventually become the paradoxical, multifaceted deity described in the later literary sources.

8.6 INANNA/AŠTAR AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF POWER IN THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD

What, if anything, can be said about the political ontology and gendering of Inanna/Aštar in the context of this thesis? While investigating the theoretical foundations of gender constructs and carrying out the analysis of the first of the case studies, Mari, I developed an interpretive framework that is here illustrated as Figure 8.5. This model is based on Judith Butler’s (1990; 1993) work on *performativity* and on a triadic interpretation of the production of divine beings based work by Preucel (2006) on the application of

Charles Sanders Peirce’s work on semiotics to archaeological data sets. In a forthcoming contribution, I explored the implications of this framework in relation with Inanna/Aštar in Mari, and described the framework in the following way:

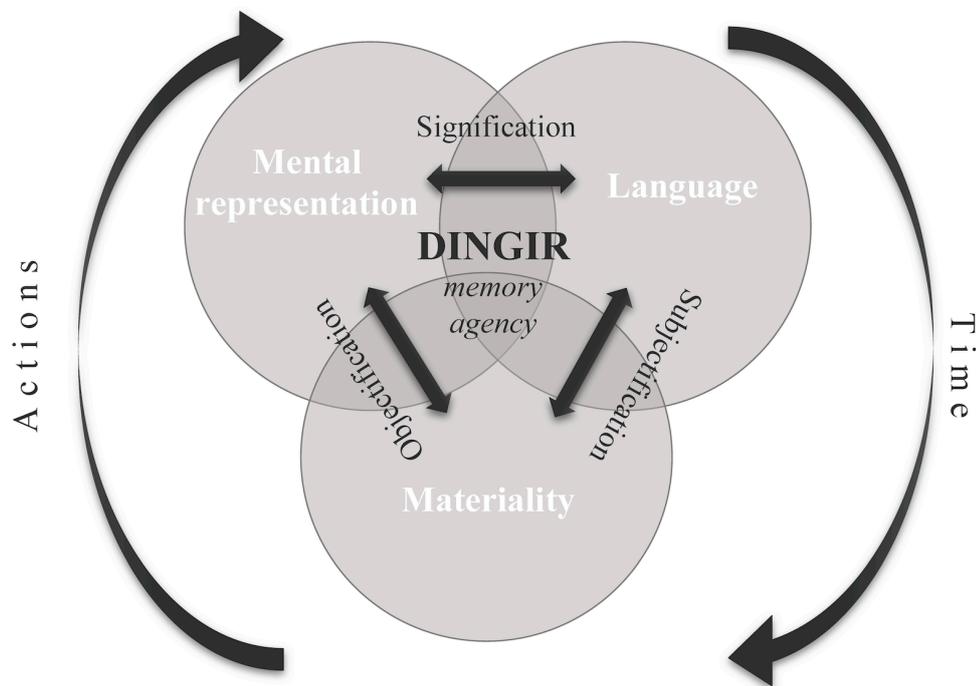


Figure 8.5 – A WORKING FRAMEWORK OF THE GENEALOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF A DEITY.

The framework revolves around the conceptualization of divinity in ancient Mesopotamia (the sign “DIGIR”), which here refers to the “congealed” appearance of substance, the identity of the deity, that is produced through the repeated stylization of the body as repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame. This is formulated on Judith Butler’s definition of the performativity of gender (Butler 1990: 45). The repetition of ritual acts produces the sense of memory which appears as tradition, even though each act is never quite the same. This aspect introduces the potential for change, which Butler explains as subversive acts. Each act is intrinsically determined by the “*political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained*” (Butler 1990: 4) yet ever shifting through the choice of repetition. The sensory experience of signs produces the agency of the deity through a range of sign-vehicles, because signs (in the Peircean sense) are active agents of communication that form chains of signification (Preucel and Bauer 2001: 91). The outside arrows exemplify the regulatory repetition of these *actions* over *time*, through which the sign (“DIGIR”) is congealed to appear substantial, e.g. in the case of our modern definition of Inanna/Aštar as goddess of femininity, sexuality and warfare. The intersection of the three aspects of ‘mental representation’, ‘language’, and ‘materiality’ surrounding the central region illustrate Robert

Preucel's interpretation of Peirce's Theory of Signs. Preucel explains that "[a] *more productive approach* [to causality] *is to consider social relationships as mediated by things in a triadic relation where people, things, and words in various combinations can all function as signs, objects, and interpretants depending upon the semiotic context*" (Preucel 2006: 257). The semiotic context can frame triadic processes of 'objectification', 'signification' and 'subjectification' through which the Interpretant is produced (Preucel and Bauer 2001: 92). (Palmero Fernández 2018a)

Thus, I argued that the continued material engagement through ritual activity in the shape of dedicatory practices and indexes of power and status associated with gender such as clothing, gesture, or hairstyle, gave goddesses the appearance of substance. In relation with Mari, I suggested that these practices eventually led to the deity becoming the prerogative of the king by the Old Babylonian period (see also Section §7.1.5) through enactive action, that is, through action or performance rather than language alone. The act of performatively constructing the gender of the deity, I argued, could be traced in the City II localised temples, which disappear after the Akkadian conquest. After that, the ^dMUŠ₃.NITA and Aštar *šarbat* temples disappeared, but Ištar gained a preeminent position in the expanding palace. The idea of Inanna or Aštar thus emerged from the coalescence of multiple roles and traditions that saw the deity as dynastic appointer and ruler of the land, protector of the city, and possibly by then also astral body.

Whilst this model served to explain the shift between the Early Dynastic and the Old Babylonian period in Mari, its application to the other two case studies is not as developed as in the case of Mari. As a preliminary interpretive framework, it is also open to rectification and changes. I think that as a theoretical framework it offered a point of reference from which to approach the analysis of the data from the case studies. However, I am not sure whether it is the best way to interpret the relationships observed and the patterns emerging from the comparative analysis carried out since, as Mari was the first case study that I analysed. The conceptual map of emerging patterns illustrated in Figure 7.4 perhaps offers a more adequate summary of one set of observed interrelationships between temple construction (especially oval enclosures), kingship, and the figure of Inanna/Aštar during the late Early Dynastic period. As discussed in the previous section, the entanglement between elite women, ritual activity and the shaping of dynastic genealogies necessary to establish control over sacred authority as required for the legitimation of social inequality introduced by the office of kingship has also emerged from the comparative examination of the material culture as an important force driving social change. Furthermore, this entanglement may be further qualified within economic developments such as the extensification of wool textile production and other industries such as metallurgy, which likely played important roles in the creation of wealthy elites that subsequently shaped the network of socioeconomic interactions during this period.

It is perhaps in the context of the changing material engagement patterns in temple contexts in the late Early Dynastic period described throughout this thesis that the gendered configuration of the divine world and the institutionalisation of religion in Early Mesopotamia emerged. This position supports the generally-accepted view that visual representations of deities are extremely rare before the Akkadian period, with only a handful of examples dated to the ED III period, while anything earlier remains highly speculative. The results of the current analysis are, however, too limited to provide a definite

answer. These changing patterns, I have argued, enabled and sustained the legitimisation of the divine genealogies of kings—though not yet their deification—which effectively granted them the sacred authority above the economic and political hegemony they had already achieved. I have stressed the fact that elite women (queen mothers, queens, priestesses, etc.) played key roles in this process of legitimating kingship through their engagement in the production of a ritual logic around the concept of kingship.

Some scholars have argued that kingship originated in the Late Uruk period in Uruk and that Inanna played a key role in the dynamic between king and divine world which ultimately legitimated the office of kingship and justified the often-discussed Sacred Marriage ceremonies through the analysis of key visual representations on artefacts recovered from the area of the Eanna in Uruk. As I argued in Chapter 2, there is strong evidence that, at the very least, challenges the assumptions usually attached with the Eanna cultic area of Uruk, Inanna and kingship. First, recent work on the ‘strong man’ model that sees the Late Uruk as the context in which kingship emerged in ancient Mesopotamia requires further analysis. For example, J. Ur (2014) has posed serious question marks over the categorisation of 4th millennium B.C. Mesopotamia as an urban society. His proposal of an emergent household-based model for urban society suggests that although Uruk was inhabited by religious and political elites, it is impossible to determine similar organisations were not present in other contemporary sites, and that the concept of state cannot be applied to Uruk (Ur 2014: 264). Stone (2013) has argued the emergence of true cities and palaces only occurs in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. The emergence of high terraces could be associated with increased concentration of wealth and power in the figure of a ruler, but it can also be interpreted as collective effort through the creation of extended households and dependencies that do not imply the notion of supra-kinship social hierarchy, similar to J. Ur’s model. The late Early Dynastic period appears as a better candidate for the creation of kingship and the ‘invented traditions’ associated with such a radical reconfiguration of social logic. This is reflected in the appearance of artificial high terraces associated with the foundation of oval temples for which the concept of peg foundation deposits may have originally been fabricated to justify and naturalise their intrusive nature into the earlier, collective religious ecosystems.

The newly built oval structures, as well as some temples co-opted by rulers, are strongly associated with the work of named, individual rulers who make explicit their actions in the eyes of the gods, but more importantly, in the eyes of their competitors. As I argued in Chapter 7, Section §7.1.6, oval structures are strongly associated with royal temple construction through their overlap with peg foundation deposits, as demonstrated by the evidence from Girsu, Lagaš, al-‘Ubaid, Khafajah and possibly even Uruk. In my opinion, oval temples appear strongly associated with dynastic deities and reflect the aspirations of rulers to elevate these deities beyond their territorial boundaries.

As argued in this thesis, the link between kinship-based and class-based social organisation may be found (among other factors) in the cultic role of elite women who, in the course of the Early Dynastic period, increasingly reduced the gap between concepts of divine agents, ancestors, and human living agents. This role appears strongly associated with goddesses, and with Inanna/Aštar in particular. The evidence from Mari, Aššur, and Khafajah, supplemented with the available evidence from the Inanna temple in Nippur, demonstrate the strong female presence in the temples concerned, which I have argued also show strong ties with emerging ruling elites. Inanna/Aštar, however, was not the only female deity

associated with women and kingship. As argued in relation with ibgal temples and kingship, other female deities were also involved in these processes.²²

It is in the context of this association with kingship that the gendering of Inanna/Aštar into her characteristic paradoxical and contradictory nature may be contextualised. However, this transformation may not have been completed until the 2nd millennium B.C. During the Akkadian period, Aštar Annunītum emerges triumphant as the dynastic goddess, which evidently supports the reasoning behind Inanna/Aštar's martial qualities in the context of an expanding territorial empire. By contrast, the persona of Inanna/Aštar presented in modern studies on the subject seems to me to correspond with the later literary figure rather than reflect the realities of cultic activity and the sociopolitical tensions of the late Early Dynastic period.

It seems to me that, as the Early Dynastic period advanced, the idea of Inanna/Aštar increasingly served to agglutinate strong dynastic deities associated with ruling households in a range of polities across the Syro-Mesopotamian landscape under the umbrella term MUŠ₃. I argue that this process of innovation through the creation of tradition formed one of the foundations for the legitimisation of power during this period. What the role of Uruk, if any, was in creating the original of MUŠ₃ deities remains unclear to me given the paucity of evidence from the site between the onset of the 3rd millennium B.C. and the construction of the *Stampflehmgebäude*. I have noted the presence of Inanna temples in other sites including Lagaš and Nippur (textual as well as archaeological evidence), Ġirsu, Bad-tibira and Zabala (only in textual evidence). An Eanna of Inanna of the Ibgal is described in both Lagaš and Ġirsu, while oval structures were traced in Lagaš and perhaps Nippur. The evidence from Kiš is not without issue and no unequivocal archaeological remains have been found. Nevertheless, Maeda (1981) argued that the title 'King of Kiš', which is generally taken as a metaphor for imperial hegemony over the territories of Sumer and Akkad, actually may simply refer to just the city, at least in Early Dynastic sources. As he stated, the Early Dynastic kings who held the title were Mesannepada of Ur, Lugalkignedudu of Uruk, and Eannatum of Lagaš was also given the title by the goddess Inanna. According to Marchesi and Marchetti's (2011: table 15b) chronology, these three kings reigned during a period for which there is no known ruler of Kiš. Maeda argues that the title 'King of the Land' only appears very late in the ED III period with the reign of Enšakušanna, which Marchesi places in the Protoimperial phase. Before then, rulers could take on the titles of conquered cities under their belt in the form 'king (lugal) + city name'. In the case of Kiš, the known inscriptions date before Enšakušanna's reign and follow the pattern of 'king+city name'. Therefore, Maeda argues that when these kings took on the title 'King of Kiš' this simply referred to their conquest of the city, which correlates with Marchesi's gap in Kiš during the reigns of these rulers. This interpretation does not reduce the value or power of Kiš, in fact, it likely increases it by comparison with Ur and Uruk as sizeable conquests worthy of a title. Furthermore, Maeda goes on to highlight the special relationship between the appointment as king of Kiš and the goddess Inanna/Aštar as reflected in the known inscriptions. Eannatum was given the title by the goddess and Lugalkignedudu dedicated a vase to An and Inanna as 'King of Kiš' (the vase was found in the Ur III levels of the Inanna temple in Nippur). By contrast, the

²²The case of the oval enclosure of Ninġirsu appears as an oddity within this emerging pattern. However, Heimpel's (2002) suggestions regarding the role and status of Bāwu/Baba as patron deity of the city and her replacement by Ninġirsu during the ED IIIb period offers an interesting explanation for this variation, as well as the strong association between the temple of Bāwu/Baba and celebrations involving the statues of royal ancestors and living members of the ruling household.

inscriptions of Mesilim—an important king of the city of Kiš from the end of the ED IIIa period—do not mention a link with Inanna/Aštar, but this is because they concern Mesilim’s conquests elsewhere and thus incorporate the “conquered” deities. [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: 101–102\)](#) note that in Adab, Mesilim appears as ‘the beloved son of Ninḥursaġ’, patron deity of the city. In Lagaš, he is ‘the builder of Ningīrsu’ (chief god of Lagaš) and in Larsa he built the Ebabbar of Utu (its city-god). After Mesilim’s reign, Kiš ostensibly lost its hegemonic rule over other southern city-states, yet the connection with Inanna/Aštar in the later royal inscriptions perhaps suggests the special dynastic link of this city and its lasting impression across the southern and northern regions.

Finally, with the emergence and consecration of Enlil as supreme god and grantor of titles with a territorial component beyond the single polity towards the end of the Early Dynastic period, commemorative practices were increasingly co-opted by kings and employed in the service of legitimating their power, a practice that is most clearly exemplified in the numerous inscribed stone vessels found in the Ekur (Enlil’s main temple) in Nippur (see p. 280 in this chapter and Chapter 7 Section §7.2.2). The titles granted by Enlil specifically include *lugal-kalam-ma* ‘king of the Land’ (= Sumer), *lugal-an-ub-da-limmu₂-ba* ‘king of the four quarters’ and *lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri* ‘king of Sumer and Akkad’. Unlike Enlil, I believe Inanna/Aštar retained her dynastic and genealogical character, serving as a main link between aspiring rulers and the divine world while retaining the character of a local deity that perhaps enhanced her popularity in literary compositions and art. By contrast, despite Enlil’s position as supreme god, there are very few identified visual representations of this god in human form or interacting with humans. This paucity of evidence is mirrored in literary texts and, outside Nippur, Enlil did not have any other important cult centers while the few efforts to built temples to Enlil in the Lagaš territory failed ([Bauer 1998: 470](#)).

These are only preliminary observations on a body of data that certainly requires further study and which would include taking a closer look at the onset of the Akkadian empire. With Sargon’s rise to power, we see a continuation and a culmination of the trends observed in the Early Dynastic period, which could help to better understand the crystallisation of the processes which I have so far delineated. For example, with the foundation of the city of Agade, a new Aštar goddess was created for the purpose of becoming the patron deity of the city: Aštar Annunītum, literally ‘Aštar the Skirmisher’. Rather than holding a title linked solely to the name of the city, through her name she was directly linked with success in warfare, or what some see as Inanna/Aštar’s ‘martial or warlike aspect’. This martial aspect need not be qualified as ‘male’, however, but seen in light of the increasing entanglement of Inanna/Aštar deities as dynastic or genealogical deities within a context of conflict and territorial expansion.

9

Conclusions and Future Work

The aim of this thesis was to produce a cogent *political ontology* of the gendering of Inanna/Aštar whereby this deity became codified as ‘female’ and/or ‘male’ (other liminal or non-gender as well) alongside the development of centralised structures of power and external memory systems of representation, employing theories of materiality, enactive cognition and intersectionality and focussing on temple construction as the medium through which these changes were materialised and institutionalised. Throughout the thesis, I have engaged in the deconstruction of established monolithic interpretations of the deity in order to re-contextualise the evidence within a framework of analysis that focusses on understanding how structures of power, of difference and identity that shaped social life and the production of belief and praxis.

Beginning with a research contextualisation of the textual approaches to Inanna/Aštar, I demonstrated the existence of confirmation bias in the use of Old Babylonian literary texts coupled with Late Uruk administrative texts from the Eanna district in Uruk (§2.1). This combination has formed the basis of interpretation of the majority of studies and overviews of the evidence, which often begin by stating that Inanna was identified as the planet Venus and worshipped in her city, Uruk, from prehistoric times. Such a monolithic approach has produced several gaps in the literature that affect material from the Early Dynastic period in particular (§2.2.3). The establishment of a correlation between Old Babylonian texts and Late Uruk material effectively built a bridge between the two traditions that meant everything in-between must be interpreted according to the same pattern. Therefore, the evidence from the Early Dynastic is unusually influenced by this interpretive “sandwich.”

However, the review of the archaeological evidence suggested a more complex situation existed during mid-third millennium B.C., with socioeconomic and political changes that probably began at the onset of the Early Dynastic extended and culminated with the beginning of the Akkadian empire (§2.2.2). In particular, the textual references to Ibgal and Eanna outside Uruk have not received sufficient attention, nor has the notion of the Eanna of Inanna in Uruk been questioned. Finally, I argued that the archaeological and visual evidence is usually invoked to confirm ideas posited in the realm of texts originating from the scribal schools, rather than studied in their own right, and that there exists a certain dissociation between recent archaeological studies and textual approaches (§2.3).

The review of theoretical approaches to gender demonstrated how a performative approach may help move beyond the definition of the goddess' gender towards understanding the sociopolitical context in which the image and identity of the goddess were constructed, and what the implications are in terms of the social production of thought and praxis in the realm of ritual and religion (§3.1). The research contextualisation in Chapter 2 suggested that an interdisciplinary methodological approach which accommodates the strengths and limitations of archaeological, art historical, and textual data could be useful in re-contextualising the evidence from early excavations where recording and publication contain significant limitations. It would also aid in formulating a new hypothesis (or hypotheses) that moves away from gender as the object of inquiry towards analysing social constructs with the aim of explaining the shaping of social life and the production of belief and praxis.

The detailed review and analysis of the three selected case studies highlighted the difficulties in working with old archival material from excavations carried out during the first half of the 20th century. The very different approaches taken by the excavation teams critically influenced the availability of material to consult and the reassessment of stratigraphic and contextual data. The case studies nevertheless demonstrated the wealth of data that may be extracted and analysed, which in some cases proved too rich to assess systematically within the time and scope constraints of this thesis.

Chapters 4–6 covered the re-analysis of archival material to deconstruct assumptions made in the final reports and assess the potential for reconstructing the chronological and stratigraphic sequence, as well as re-contextualising objects in their original findspots. This was not always possible, and the evidence available varies widely between case studies. Nevertheless, it was possible to contextualise some of the artefacts (usually those that were considered significant), and to re-study the stratigraphic sequence with the aid of archival photographs, which are an invaluable source of information only when coupled with detailed descriptions in field notebooks or object cards.

A comparative analysis of the architecture and urban landscape on the one hand, and of the material culture from the case studies on the other, was carried out in the first part of Chapter 7. The analysis of sociopolitical urban landscapes (§7.1) suggested important relationships between patron deities (largely female), oval enclosures, and the emergence of traditions through which kingship was shaped and legitimised, such as the use of peg foundation deposits. Inanna was one of these deities, and it remains to be further explored whether some aspects of her gendered persona were co-constructed through this relationship with kings, which becomes amplified even further under the Akkadian rulers. Further analysis of material from the Sargonic period is required in this sense, and perhaps a key point raised in this thesis

is the need for more careful examination of the evidence associated with the cult of Inanna/Aštar during the 3rd millennium B.C., instead of offering a singular account of how the goddess Inanna/Aštar *became* Inanna/Aštar. As has been argued throughout this thesis, although some sense of uniformity seems to emerge in terms of temple construction associated with the deity, the flexibility observed and range of localised deities continue to pose difficulties to narrow down what appears to be a flexible and multi-localised phenomenon into the literary character of Inanna known from later compositions.

Since only some artefact categories were better recorded in the archival material, the comparative analysis of the material culture in the second part of Chapter 7 (§7.2) was restricted to them. These categories are usually those later included in art historical and inscription catalogues and studies. The limitation of artefact types to those in the visual arts and texts constitutes a potential limitation in this study. Nevertheless, the object of this thesis was to focus on the shaping of anthropomorphic deities and the interactions between humans and divine agents through temple construction. Visual representations attest to the important roles that women played in temples, as they appear alongside men in banquet scenes without any apparent difference in status between them, as well as being represented in large numbers of statuary from a number of temples. They are also the donors of a large number of stone vessels in various temples, a fact that requires further investigation to determine the significance of statuary versus stone vessels within the context of commemorative practices.

The evidence from the case studies was contextualised within contemporary evidence on the role of elite women in ritual activity, in particular connected with the regeneration of power and ancestor cults in Chapter 8. What this contextualisation revealed was that perhaps the focus of interpretation should not necessarily be placed on Inanna/Aštar in a vacuum, or Inanna/Aštar in relation with the ruler. Instead, it suggests that the real ‘makers’ of prosperity through ritual, and by implication of the institution and success of rulers, may have been in the hands of women and their ritual activity. Demonstrated by the power of ‘queen-mothers’ in the selection of new queens, the role of women in organising the most important festivals in Lagaš and perhaps Uruk (see Appendix D, p. 551f.), as well as other polities, becomes clearer.

Finally, Section §8.6 of Chapter 8 offered some preliminary conclusions concerning the political ontology and gendering of Inanna/Aštar in the context of the Early Dynastic period. I argued that it is perhaps in the context of the changing material engagement patterns in temple contexts in the late Early Dynastic period described throughout this thesis that the gendered configuration of the divine world and the institutionalisation of religion in Early Mesopotamia emerged. I propose that the image and identity of Inanna/Aštar was shaped in connection with the historical processes that underpinned conflict among city-states in the Early Dynastic period, noting that the idea of Inanna/Aštar increasingly served to agglutinate strong dynastic deities associated with ruling households in a range of polities across the Syro-Mesopotamian landscape under the umbrella term MUŠ₃.

At the start of this thesis, I set out to deconstruct the long-standing focus on gender in the study of Inanna/Aštar and shift attention towards understanding the social context in which her image and identity were produced. The analysis of the case studies and the comparative work carried out were necessary steps in the process of deconstruction and re-contextualisation of the material. This process turned out

to require more detailed examination than expected, which to some extent limits the conclusions of this thesis with regard to the image and identity of the goddess across the Syro-Mesopotamian landscape of the 3rd millennium B.C. Nevertheless, the foundations laid offer substantive grounds to widen the work done and elaborate on the conclusions obtained.

9.1 FUTURE WORK

This thesis has demonstrated the need for detailed reanalyses of archival material from early excavations and the potential that such contextual approaches have to frame and contextualise interpretations about social identity and its material foundations. This thesis has focussed on a limited data set, with the objective of contextualising a set of interrelated questions on the association between temple construction, the deity Inanna/Aštar, and kingship. Through this analysis, the role of women—elite women especially—on the one hand and innovation in material practices such as oval enclosures, peg foundations or banqueting on the other have emerged as agency nodes in the production of political genealogies for kings, and perhaps deities as a result. These emerging elements remain, however, ill-defined, in the sense that more work remains to be done to characterise the complex relationships between economic, political and social (including gender and religious) dynamic forces.

One of the limitations of this study is the number of case studies assessed. Therefore, expanding these would contribute towards refining inter-site dynamics. For example, it was not possible to include a site located closer to southern Mesopotamia, such as Nippur. Although evidence from Ġirsu was discussed, more detailed analysis of the archaeological remains would be a significant step to follow, as well as detailed analyses of the other oval enclosures described in the general discussion of the material in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2). As discussed in Chapter 7, sometimes published catalogues do not include all the artefacts recovered in the course of excavation (as well as the selection that would have taken place in the field), which limits comparisons between corpuses. In the case of stone vessels (§7.2.2) the gap was particularly acute. The differences in the quality and range of recorded data affect quantitative analyses and possibly introduce some bias into the results. Finally, this thesis has focussed on centres of political and economic activity. In order to strengthen some of the preliminary conclusions about the role of women in ritual and social celebrations it would be positive to include evidence from smaller towns and villages, and compare the results in different environments.

Throughout this thesis I have touched on the concept of anthropomorphism, its definition, and how it was materially realised in images, objects, and texts. However, the discussion was here limited insofar that I focussed more on deconstructing established assumptions about the gender and sexuality of Inanna/Aštar than on providing a well-defined explanation of the cognitive mechanisms associated with the gendering of deities. Although the cognitive foundations of anthropomorphism as part of the emergence of religion have been explored by archaeologists and anthropologists (e.g. [Mithen 1996](#); [Guthrie 2007](#); [Saler 2009](#)), discussion generally does not extend to the dimension of gender or the materiality of anthropomorphic representation in the shape of cultic statues. The distinctions between ‘idol’, ‘ancestor statue’ and ‘cultic statue’, for example, may be further contextualised within their social frameworks. Not

from an evolutionary perspective aiming to establish a progression from animistic to anthropomorphic conceptualisations of the divine, but with the objective of assessing the mechanisms—to put it in Huxley’s terms—through which humans pull the strings of the gods and how, in turn, we give them the power to pull ours. In other words, and to paraphrase Jacobsen’s words echoed at the beginning of this thesis (p. 1), how was the theocratic mode of thinking built and sustained, if indeed this term faithfully captures the experience of reality in ancient Mesopotamia?

In Chapter 3, I introduced current work by cognitive scientists on anthropomorphical constructs (Epley et al. 2007). Some of their findings suggested that social complexity may be a factor in the promotion of anthropomorphic representation. The authors argued that individuals living in urban settings tended to use more anthropomorphic description of animals than those living in rural contexts, which they argue reflects cognitive difference based on social context. With regard to Mesopotamian visual arts, the changes observed in the development of glyptic art may reveal some insights into the transition from more rural-based societies to the emergence of urban centres. The glyptic from the Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr characteristically depicts scenes of economic production such as processions of animals, textile and dairy-making. Throughout the Early Dynastic, a slow shift from earlier, more geometric motifs to mixed representational scenes showing animals, human-shaped individuals and hybrid figures in the well-known contest scenes took place, which began to introduce direct links between scenes in the human realm and those taking place in the divine or the imaginary realms. Finally, it is only towards the end of the Early Dynastic period that scenes clearly depicting deities in fully human shape appear in the repertoire of motifs involving humans (Collon 2005). Could this development be explained cognitively through the emergence of urban elites that enabled the development of increasingly more anthropomorphic representations of non-human agents? This is not to state categorically that human-shaped representations did not exist earlier, but that a stronger relationship between them developed in certain emerging social contexts. Perhaps the framework of analysis presented in Figure 8.5 could serve as a starting point to investigate the mechanisms through which anthropomorphism could have become advantageous to an emerging social elite wanting to reaffirm their power and lineage over competing and collaborating kinship groups.

Finally, in this thesis I have employed performativity (Butler 1990, 1993) as the central theoretical framework, together with a little input from Malafouris’s (2013) MET. Given the strong need for a detailed analysis of the archival material from each case study, I have not been able to explore in more detail the ways in which these theoretical tools can help make sense of the data. I hope to continue developing this line of work and elaborate on the results here presented with a view to publish an expanded version of this thesis that incorporates more data to assess the emergent trends and strengthens the ties between the data and the theoretical framework here presented. Approaching the same material from other perspectives would also help to triangulate the results and offer more nuanced interpretations of the data. In this sense, Hodder’s (2016) recent work on human-thing entanglement might be a useful addition to understand the ways in which artefacts ‘behave’ within architectural spaces or how interactions between humans and things in defined spaces contributed to shaping social and political structures. Other anthropological approaches may be of interest in formulating the interrelation of factors configuring power relations.

List of Abbreviations

ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
ADOG	Abhandlungender Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Ag.	Tell Agrab (excavation number, Diyala Expedition, Oriental Institute, Chicago)
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
Alep.	Aleppo Museum (object siglum, unknown)
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AO	Louvre (object siglum, Louvre Museum, Paris)
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
AP	Archival Photograph
ARCANE	Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (http://www.arcane.uni-tuebingen.de/)
ARES	Archivi reali di Ebla. Studi
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla. Testi
	5: Edzard 1984
	7: Archi 1988
	II: Fronzaroli 1993
	13: Fronzaroli 2003
<i>ASJ</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
Assur	Aššur (excavation number) (S = Sonderserie)
ATU	Archaische Texte aus Uruk
	1: Falkenstein 1936
	3: Englund et al. 1993

5: Englund 1994

6: Englund and Nissen 2005

7: Englund and Nissen 2001 (= ADFU 17)

AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka. Endberichte
AVO	Altertumskunde des vorderen Orients
<i>BagM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports (IS = International Series)
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BFE	Krebernig 1984a, <i>Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla</i>
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BM	British Museum (object siglum, British Museum, London)
BPOA	Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago (Chicago 1956 ff.)
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>CDLI</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative</i> , University of California Los Angeles and Max Planck Institute for the History of Science (http://cdli.ucla.edu)
<i>CDLJ</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Journal</i> (http://cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdkj.html)
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CEPOA	Centre d'étude du Proche-Orient ancien
CHANE	Culture and History of the ancient Near East
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London 1896 ff.)
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
Damas.	Damascus Museum (object siglum, unknown)
DiyArDa	Diyala Archaeological Database (diyala.uchicago.edu)
<i>DP</i>	Allotte de la Füye 1908–20
<i>ETCSL</i>	<i>Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> , Oriental Institute, University of Oxford (http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk)
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien

	5: Steible and Behrens 1982
	7: Gelb and Kienast 1990
HANES	History of the Ancient Near East, Studies
HSAO	Heidelberg Studien zum Alten Orient
	3: Braun-Holzinger 1991
IFPO	Institut Français du Proche-Orient
ILN	<i>The Illustrated London News</i>
IM	Iraq Museum (object siglum, Iraq Museum, Baghdad)
Ist EŞEM	Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi (object siglum, Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul)
ITT	Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservés au Musée Impérial Ottoman
	5: Genouillac 1921
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society "Ex Oriente Lux"</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
Kh.	Khafajah (excavation number, Diyala Expedition, Oriental Institute, Chicago)
M.	Mari (excavation number, Mission archéologique de Mari)
MAM	Mission archéologique de Mari
	1: Parrot 1956
	2: Parrot 1958-1959
	3: Parrot 1967
	4: Parrot 1968
M.A.R.I.	<i>Mari, annals de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations (Eisenbrauns)
	14: Marchesi and Marchetti 2011
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i>
MEE	Materiali epigrafici di Ebla
	2: Pettinato and Pomponio 1980
	12: Watzoldt 2001
MSVO	Materialen zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients

	1: Englund et al. 1991
	2: Matthews 1993
	3: Englund and Damerow unpubl.
	4: Englund 1996
NABU	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NIN	<i>Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity</i>
NTSŠ	Jestin 1957
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (SA = Series Archaeologica)
OI	Oriental Institute (object siglum, Oriental Institute, Chicago)
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
	44: Frankfort 1939
	53: Delougaz 1940
	58: Delougaz and Lloyd 1942
	60: Frankfort 1943
	63: Delougaz 1952
	72: Frankfort 1955
	88: Delougaz et al. 1967
	97: McCown et al. 1978
	129: McMahan 2006
OPKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
OWA	<i>Chronologies in Old World Archaeology</i>
P	CDLI number
PSD	<i>The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i>
QuadSem	Quaderni di Semitistica
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
	1: Grayson et al. 1987
	2: Grayson 1991

	3: Grayson 1996
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods
	1: Frayne 2008
	2: Frayne 1993
<i>RLA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>
<i>SAAB</i>	State Archives of Assyria Bulletin
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SANTAG	Santag – Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico</i>
SF	Deimel 1923
SHAMO	Séminaire d’Histoire et d’Archéologie des Mondes Orientaux
<i>SMS</i>	<i>Syro-Mesopotamian Studies</i>
StPohl	Studia Pohl (SM = Series maior)
SVA	Schriften zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TCS	Texts from cuneiform sources
<i>TSA</i>	Genouillac 1909
TSO	Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik, Hildesheim
<i>TŠŠ</i>	Jestin 1937
U	Ur (excavation number). See http://www.ur-online.org/
UAVA	Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Ergänzungsbände zu ZA
	6: Boese 1971
UE	Ur Excavations
	2: Woolley 1934
	3: Legrain 1936
	7: Woolley and Mallowan 1976
UET	Ur Excavations; Texts

1: Gadd and Legrain 1928

VA	Vorderasiatische Abteilung (object siglum, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin)
VA Ass	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Assur (object siglum, uncatalogued Aššur provenance, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin)
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafeln (tablet siglum, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin)
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin

27: Marzahn 1996

W	Warka (excavation number)
WF	Deimel 1924
WO	<i>Die West des Orients</i>
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete / Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

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Sources of Illustrations

FIGURES

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6.8	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 3rd Building Period Restoral_vers1_nbri” (= Delougaz 1940 : fig. 101).
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7.2	Margueron 2014b : fig. 168.
7.3	Margueron 2014b : fig. 174.
7.5	Andrae 1922 : pl. 11a.
7.6	Delougaz and Lloyd 1942 : fig. 159. Image courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
7.7	Margueron 2014b : fig. 86.
7.8	Public domain, courtesy of CDLI.
7.9	From top to bottom: Justin 1937 ; ©Toppan Rare Books Library, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; Gadd and Legrain 1928 : pl. A, ©The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.
7.10	From top to bottom: Public domain, courtesy of CDLI; ©The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0; ©Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin; ©Colonna d’Istria Laurent; ©Louvre Museum.
7.11	Collated by Mónica Palmero Fernández from material in Parrot 1956 ; Butterlin and Lecompte 2014 .
7.12	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh8-072” (16/02/1937) (= Delougaz and Lloyd 1942 : fig. 86).
7.13	From top left: Butterlin 2014b : fig. 3 (Courtesy P. Butterlin); Marchesi 2016 : fig. 1 (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 G. Marchesi); Haines 1961b : fig. 8; Butterlin 2014b : fig. 7, (Courtesy P. Butterlin).
7.14	From top to bottom: Parrot 1956 : pl. 28; DIYARDA REF: “kh4-163_03” (left) and “kh4-163_01” (right); DIYARDA REF: “kh1-232_01” (left) and “kh1-234_01” (right); Haines 1961b : figs. 20 and 22.
7.15	From top left: Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 76 cat. 130; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 85 cat. 148; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 85 cat. 149; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 82 cat. 142; CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 B. Couturaud; Eisenberg 1998 : 28 fig. 11 (no. 12).
7.16	Top: DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-156_01” (left) and AP “kh3-158_01” (right); Bottom: Bär 2003b : pl. 20.
7.17	Woolley 1955 : pl. 37. ©The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.
7.18	Top: Parrot 1956 : pl. 28; Bottom: DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-198_02” (left) and AP “kh4-198_01” (right).
7.19	From top left: Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 77 cat. 133; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 79 cat. 137; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 80 cat. 138; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 83 cat. 144; Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 83 cat. 145. CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 B. Couturaud.
7.20	M.172 and M.331: Parrot 1956 : pl. 36; M.3700: Couturaud 2013 : Vol. IIa, p. 276 cat. 579, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 B. Couturaud.
8.1	Cluzan and Lecompte 2014 : 261, fig. III. 2. (top left); Moortgat-Correns 1972 : pl. 11a (top right); Beyer 2014a : 282, fig. III. 3a et b (bottom).
8.2	Object BM 89137, ©The Trustees of the British Museum, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.
8.3	Butterlin and Cluzan 2014 : 220, fig. 89k–m (top); Couturaud 2013 : vol. 3, fig. 24d (centre left), CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 B. Couturaud; Margueron 2004 : fig. 279d (centre right); Langdon 1924 : pl. 36/3 (bottom); Moortgat-Correns 1972 : pl. 18a and 19a (next page).
8.4	Adapted from Butterlin and Cluzan 2014 : 225 cat. 97 (left), Butterlin and Cluzan 2014 : 226 cat. 98 (centre), and Parrot 1956 : pl. 30 (right).
8.5	©Mónica Palmero Fernández. Published in Palmero Fernández 2018a : fig. 3.

TABLES

<i>Table</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
2.1	Data collated from Finkbeiner 1986 and Sürenhagen 1999 .
2.2	Collated by the author. References provided in the table.
3.1	ARCANE 2017 (http://www.arcane.uni-tuebingen.de/EA-EM-EL_phasing_v5-4-6.pdf)
4.1	Collated by the author. References provided in the table.
4.2	Data collated from Parrot 1956 : 54–57.
5.1	Adapted from Bär 2003b : 36.
5.2	Adapted from Bär 2003b : 38.
5.3	Collated data based on Bär 2003b : 38; Schmitt 2012 : fig. 7; Beuger 2007 : table 13.
6.1	Collated from field plans, DiyArDa .
6.2	Collated from field plans and published elevations, DiyArDa ; Delougaz 1940 .
6.3	Collated from field plans and published elevations, DiyArDa ; Delougaz 1940 .
6.4	Collated from Gibson 1982 : 537, table; Evans 2007 : 630, table 6; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011 : 87, table 12; Dittmann 2013 : 55, table 3.
7.1	Collated by the author. Further references provided in the table.
7.2	Collated by the author. Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.3	Collated by the author. Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.4	Collated by the author. Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.5	Collated by the author from published reports (Parrot 1956 , 1958-1959 , 1967), and archival material. Data from archival material available on external memory attached under Chapter 4.
7.6	Collated from data in Parrot 1956 , 1967 ; Butterlin and Lecompte 2014 .
7.7	Collated from data in Bär 2003b . Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.8	Collated from data in Bär 2003b . Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.9	Collated from published data (Delougaz 1940 ; Delougaz and Lloyd 1942) and online database (DiyArDa). Data from archival material available on external memory attached under Chapter 6. Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.10	Collated from published data (Delougaz 1940 ; Delougaz and Lloyd 1942) and online database (DiyArDa). Data from archival material available on external memory attached under Chapter 6. Data for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
7.11	Collated from a range of published materials including Braun-Holzinger 1991 ; Delougaz and Lloyd 1942 ; Wilson 2012 ; Parrot 1956 ; Parrot 1967 ; Steible and Behrens 1982 ; Gelb and Kienast 1990 ; and the DiyArDa database. The primary spreadsheet can be consulted on the attached digital materials.
7.12	Collated from a range of published materials including Boese 1971 ; Braun-Holzinger 1991 . Detailed references and data used for table available on external memory attached under Chapter 7.
8.1	References provided in the table. Transliterations are maintained from the publications referenced.
8.2	Collated from Marchesi and Marchetti 2011 : table 15b and Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015 : table 30.

Sources of Illustrations (Appendices)

APPENDIX A

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
A.1	Parrot 1956: pl. 1.
A.2	AP50_008 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (= Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 67, Arch. 16).
A.3	Parrot 1956: pl. 2.
A.4	Parrot 1956: pl. 3.
A.5	Parrot 1956: pl. 4.
A.6	Parrot 1956: pl. 6.
A.7	Adapted from Parrot 1956: pl. 8.
A.8	Parrot 1956: pl. 7.
A.10	Adapted from AP50_009 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: Pl. 5 A–B).
A.11	Parrot 1956: pl. 10/2.
A.12	Adapted from AP200/0768 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 89, Arch. 61).
A.13	Adapted from AP200/0770 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 102, Arch. 82).
A.14	Adapted from AP200/0790 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: fig. 44).
A.15	AP200/0796 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 103, Arch. 85).
A.16	AP200/0798 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 104, Arch. 87).
A.17	AP200/0799 (top) & AP200/0899 (bottom) — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 105, Arch. 88 and Arch. 89).
A.18	Adapted from AP200/0823 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.19	Adapted from AP200/0824 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 96, Arch. 73; Parrot 1956: fig. 32).
A.20	Adapted from AP200/0850 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 91, Arch. 65; Parrot 1956: fig. 27).
A.21	Adapted from AP200/0851 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.22	Adapted from AP200/0878 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: pl. 21/1).
A.23	Annotated print of AP200/0880 bis — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 86, Arch. 52).
A.24	Adapted from AP200/0881 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.25	Adapted from AP200/0882 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.26	AP200/0896 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.27	AP200/0987 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.28	Adapted from AP200/1023 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.29	Adapted from AP200/1024 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: pl. 19/1).
A.30	Adapted from AP200/1028 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.31	Adapted from AP200/1041 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
A.32	Adapted from AP201/1092 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.33	Adapted from AP201/1094 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.34	Adapted from AP201/1095 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.35	Adapted from AP201/1098 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: pl. 20/1).
A.36	Adapted from AP201/1115 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.37	Adapted from AP201/1166 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: fig. 14).
A.38	Adapted from AP201/1167 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.39	Adapted from AP203/1722 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 87, Arch. 56).
A.40	Adapted from AP203/1768 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 88, Arch. 58).
A.41	Adapted from AP203/1770 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.42	Adapted from AP203/1773 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.43–A.44	Adapted from AP203/1793 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.45	Adapted from AP203/1837 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.46	Adapted from AP203/1878 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.47	Adapted from AP203/2108 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.48	Adapted from AP203/2111 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.49	AP203/2117 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: pl. 13/4).
A.50	Adapted from AP203/2118 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.51	Adapted from AP205/2143 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.52	Adapted from AP205/2145 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 82, Arch. 43; Parrot 1956: pl. 13/2).
A.53	Adapted from AP205/2151 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Parrot 1956: pl. 14/3).
A.54	Adapted from AP205/2152 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.55	Adapted from AP205/2189 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.
A.56	Adapted from AP205/2190 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin (=Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 88, Arch. 59).
A.57	Adapted from AP205/2509 — MAM, Courtesy P. Butterlin.

<i>Table</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
A.1	Collated from Steible and Behrens 1982; Gelb and Kienast 1990; Butterlin and Lecompte 2014; Frayne 2008.

APPENDIX B

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
B.1	SapraAshuraya 2016.
B.2	Adapted from Bär 2003b: fig. 2.
B.3	Bär 2003b: fig. 5.
B.4	Bär 2003b: fig. 9.
B.5	Bär 2003b: fig. 10.
B.6	Bär 2003b: fig. 11.
B.7	Adapted from Bär 2003b: fig. 14.
B.8	Bär 2003b: fig. 16.
B.9	Adapted translation into English of Bär 2003b: fig. 15 and Bär 2003c: fig. 5.
B.10	Schmitt 2012: 109 cat. no. 5; pl. 159.
B.11	Schmitt 2012: 109 cat. no. 7; pl. 160.

<i>Table</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
B.1	Collated from material in Bär 2003b and Beuger 2007,2013 .
B.2	References of the collated texts provided in the table.

APPENDIX C

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
C.1	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Topo Mound A_nbr4” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 2).
C.2	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 1st Building Period_nbr2” Delougaz 1940 : pl. 3)
C.3	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 1st Building Period 2nd Occupation_nbr2” (Delougaz 1940 : fig. 56).
C.4	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 1st Building Period 3rd Occupation” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 4).
C.5	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 2nd Building Period w-Alterations” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 7).
C.6	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval 3rd Building Period_nbr2” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 11).
C.7	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval Darby_part1_nbr1” (top) and “Kh Oval Darby_part2_nbr1” (bottom) (Frankfort et al. 1932 : fig. 22).
C.8	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval Darby_isometric_part1_drawing” (top) and “Kh Oval Darby_isometric_part2_drawing”.
C.9	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval eastern_half_field_plan_nbr2”.
C.10	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval western_half_field_plan_nbr3”.
C.11	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses NW of Oval field plan_nbr2”.
C.12	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses 3 NW of House D_nbr2” (Delougaz et al. 1967 : pl. 13).
C.13	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses N of Oval_field_plan_nbr2”.
C.14	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses Houses 6_field_plan” and “Kh Houses Houses 5_field_plan”.
C.15	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses Houses 4_field_plan” and “Kh Houses Houses 5_field_plan”.
C.16	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses Houses 4_field_plan” and “Kh Houses Houses 3_field_plan”.
C.17	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval sections A_C-H_J_drawing”.
C.18	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval sections 1_8_12_13_nbr1_drawing” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 8).
C.19	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval sections 2_6_9_10_11_nbr1_drawing” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 9).
C.20	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval sections 3_4_5_7_14_15_nbr1_drawing” (Delougaz 1940 : pl. 10).
C.21	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval Houses Sin_sections_drawing” (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942 : pl. 18).
C.22	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses_section_AA’_drawing” (Delougaz et al. 1967 : pl. 15a = Delougaz 1940 : pl. 12).
C.23	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses_section_BB’_nbr1_drawing” (Delougaz et al. 1967 : pl. 15b).
C.24	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Houses_section_CC’_nbr1_drawing” (Delougaz et al. 1967 : pl. 15c).
C.25	DIYARDA REF: “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, page 110”.
C.26	DIYARDA REF: “Object Card — Kh. I 586”.
C.27	DIYARDA REF: “Object Card — Kh. I 586”.
C.28	DIYARDA REF: “Object Card — Kh. II 138”.
C.29	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval Maceroom_plan_section” (top) and “Kh Oval section_Ring_Walls_Macehead_Room_nbr3_drawing” (bottom) (Frankfort et al. 1932 : fig. 23).
C.30	DIYARDA REF: “Kh Oval Room XVIII” (top), “Kh Oval Room XVIII_nbr1_section_drawing” (middle) and “Kh Oval Room XVIII_nbr2_section_drawing” (bottom).

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
C.31	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-201” (1930/31).
C.32	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-202” (1930/31) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 54).
C.33	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-350” (1930/31) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 55).
C.34	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-351” (1930/31) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 53).
C.35	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-352” (1930/31).
C.36	DIYARDA REF: AP “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, page 124”.
C.37	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh5-187” (06/02/1935) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 10).
C.38	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-272” (05/03/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 7).
C.39	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh5-005” (25/11/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 8).
C.40	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh5-007” (26/11/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 9).
C.41	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-153” (1930/31).
C.42	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-291” (05/03/1934).
C.43	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-278” (05/03/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 13).
C.44	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-322” (1930/31).
C.45	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-020” (1930/31) (Frankfort et al. 1932: fig. 28).
C.46	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-185” (02/03/1933) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 112).
C.47	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-289” (05/03/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 35).
C.48	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-028” (24/12/1933).
C.49	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-030” (24/12/1933).
C.50	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-215” (12/03/1933).
C.51	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-027” (24/12/1933) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 113).
C.52	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-184” (02/05/1933) (Frankfort 1934: fig. 55).
C.53	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-275” (05/03/1934).
C.54	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-III” (24/01/1934) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 14).
C.55	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-187” (1930/31).
C.56	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-290” (05/03/1934).
C.57	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-216” (12/03/1933).
C.58	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh5-190” (06/02/1935).
C.59	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-082” (1930/31).
C.60	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-087” (1930/31).
C.61	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-199” (1930/31).
C.62	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh7-004” (11/1936) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 75).
C.63	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh7-005” (11/1936) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 76).
C.64	DIYARDA REF: “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, page 65”.
C.65	DIYARDA REF: “Object Card — Kh. I 351a,b,c”.
C.66	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-132” (1930/31).
C.67	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-127” (1930/31) (Delougaz 1940: fig. 28).
C.68	Frankfort 1939: pl. 99.
C.69	Frankfort 1939: pl. 101a.
C.70	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-107_04” (17/03/1932).
C.71	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-141_01” (12/02/1933).
C.72	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-185_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1933: 43, fig. 29; Frankfort 1955: Pl. 27, no. 273).
C.73	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-104_01” (17/03/1932).
C.74	DIYARDA REF: “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, p. 122”.
C.75	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-307” (1930/31).
C.76	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-301_01” (left) and AP “khi-301_02” (right) (1930/31).
C.77	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-223_01” (left) and AP “khi-225” (right) (1930/31) (Frankfort 1939: Sculpture no. 102, Pl. 71).
C.78	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-141_04” (12/02/1933).

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
C.79	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-102_10” (17/03/1932).
C.80	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-112_06” (17/03/1932).
C.81	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-276_04” (1930/31).
C.82	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-112_10” (17/03/1932).
C.83	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh4-047” (06/01/1934).
C.84	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-189” (1930/31).
C.85	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-186_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1933: 43, fig. 29; Frankfort 1955: Pl. 26, no. 258).
C.86	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-186_02” (1930/31).
C.87	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-280_03” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1955: Pl. 26, no. 257).
C.88	DIYARDA REF: “Khafajah Season I (1930-31) Field Register, page 96”.
C.89	DIYARDA REF: (from top) AP “khi-296_10” (Delougaz 1952: Pl. 97a and Pl. 146), AP “khi-296_06” (Delougaz 1952: Pl. 97e and Pl. 146), and AP “khi-296_08” (Delougaz 1952: Pl. 74c and Pl. 147) (1930/31).
C.90	DIYARDA REF: (from top left) AP “khi-308” (Delougaz 1952: Pl. 91e), AP “khi-309” (1930/31), and (Delougaz 1952: Pl. 191).
C.91	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh5-092_03” (1934/35) (Frankfort 1955: Pl. 34, no. 344).
C.92	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-144_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1939: no. 196, Pl. 110).
C.93	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh3-229_01” (07/03/1933) (Frankfort 1939: no. 197, Pl. 111).
C.94	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-247_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1939: no. 198, Pl. 111).
C.95	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-181_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1939: no. 187, Pl. 107).
C.96	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-248_01” (1930/31).
C.97	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-230_01” (1930/31) (Frankfort 1939: no. 195, Pl. 110).
C.98	DIYARDA REF: AP “khi-275_03” (1930/31).
C.99	DIYARDA REF: AP “kh2-122_01” (17/03/1932) (Frankfort 1939: no. 193, Pl. 109).
C.100	DIYARDA REF: “Object Card — Kh. II 271”.

<i>Table</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
C.1	Collated from DiyArDa and other sources referenced in table.
C.2	Collated from DiyArDa and Delougaz 1940.
C.3	Collated from DiyArDa and other sources referenced in table.

APPENDIX E

<i>Figure</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
D.1	Matthews 1993: 37 (top); Matthews 1993: fig. 12, 2 = U 14706 (IM 49843) (bottom).
D.2	German Archaeological Institute, Berlin, Germany (on loan, University of Heidelberg) HD: W 21671; copy courtesy R.K. Englund (https://cdli.ucla.edu/P004434).
D.3	Cohen 2015: 79; image courtesy of M.E. Cohen.

<i>Table</i>	<i>Source, credits</i>
D.1	Data collated from CDLI entries. Transliterations maintained from CDLI entries.
D.2	References provided in the table. Transliterations maintained from CDLI entries.
D.3	References provided in the table. Transliterations maintained from CDLI entries.



Archival Material and Illustrations from Mari

APPENDIX A contains the archival material from Parrot's excavation of the ^dMUŠ₃,NITA temple in Mari, including Parrot's plans as well as Margueron's reinterpretation of the stratigraphy. Professor Pascal Butterlin, the current director of excavations at Mari generously allowed me to study the archival material at the *Maison Archéologie et Ethnologie, René-Ginouvès*, Nanterre University, during the month of June of 2016. Furthermore, he kindly allowed me to make use of the archival photographs here reproduced, which was invaluable for my re-analysis of the evidence. The legend to the colour scheme used in the archival photographs is reproduced below as Figure A.9. The abbreviations described in Section §4.4, *The excavation of the "Temple d'Ishtar" and its interpretation*, are used in the appendix as well. All images by Mission Archéologique de Mari are reproduced with the permission of Prof P. Butterlin.

DESCRIPTION OF NUMBER LEGEND ON ARCHIVAL IMAGES FROM MARI

<i>Ref. no.</i>	<i>Description</i>
1	Stone platform below L18, associated with earlier City I levels.
2	Stratigraphic reference in N wall of L17 comprising vertical profile of plastered floors and stone foundations/dressed wall.
3	Stone building level <i>e/f</i> .
4	Level <i>d</i> remains.
5	Pillars in courtyard L15 along N side.
6	External enclosure wall associated with level <i>a2</i> or <i>a1</i> .
7	Drain in SE corner of courtyard L15 associated with level <i>c</i> .
8	Stratigraphic reference S of cella L17.
9	Reference point of stone remains in area of entrance to L18.
10	So-called courtyard wall of L20.
11	Plaster floor room in level <i>d</i> building below S area of L18.
12	Stone wall in SW area of temple near the city gate.
13	Long room with interred <i>barcasses</i> in level <i>d</i> building below S area of L18.
14	Stone wall S of temple area near the city gate.
15	S wall of L18.
16	Stone drain associated with levels <i>c/b</i> .
17	Reference point of masonry remains on SE corner of L18 where entrance door was probably located. This point consistently appears in the archival photographs as it was traced immediately below the modern surface of the mound.
18	Brickwork from earliest podium remains in cella L17 (level <i>c</i>).
19	Drain in SE corner of courtyard L15 associated with level <i>c/b</i> .
20	Deeper excavation in S end of cella L17, where the foundations deposits were found.
21	Stone installation(?) outside L18 in so-called courtyard L20.
22	Level of stone and gravel floor in courtyard L15.
23	Possible floor levels in L18 at elevation of vessels embedded in plaster layers.
24	Remains of eroded level with baked-brick flooring.
25	Area of paved stoned immediately outside L18 in the so-called L20 courtyard, near findspot of inlaid panel.
26	Assigned findspot area of “favissa” in L18; podium(?).
27	Unclear remains of wall in area of so-called courtyard L20.

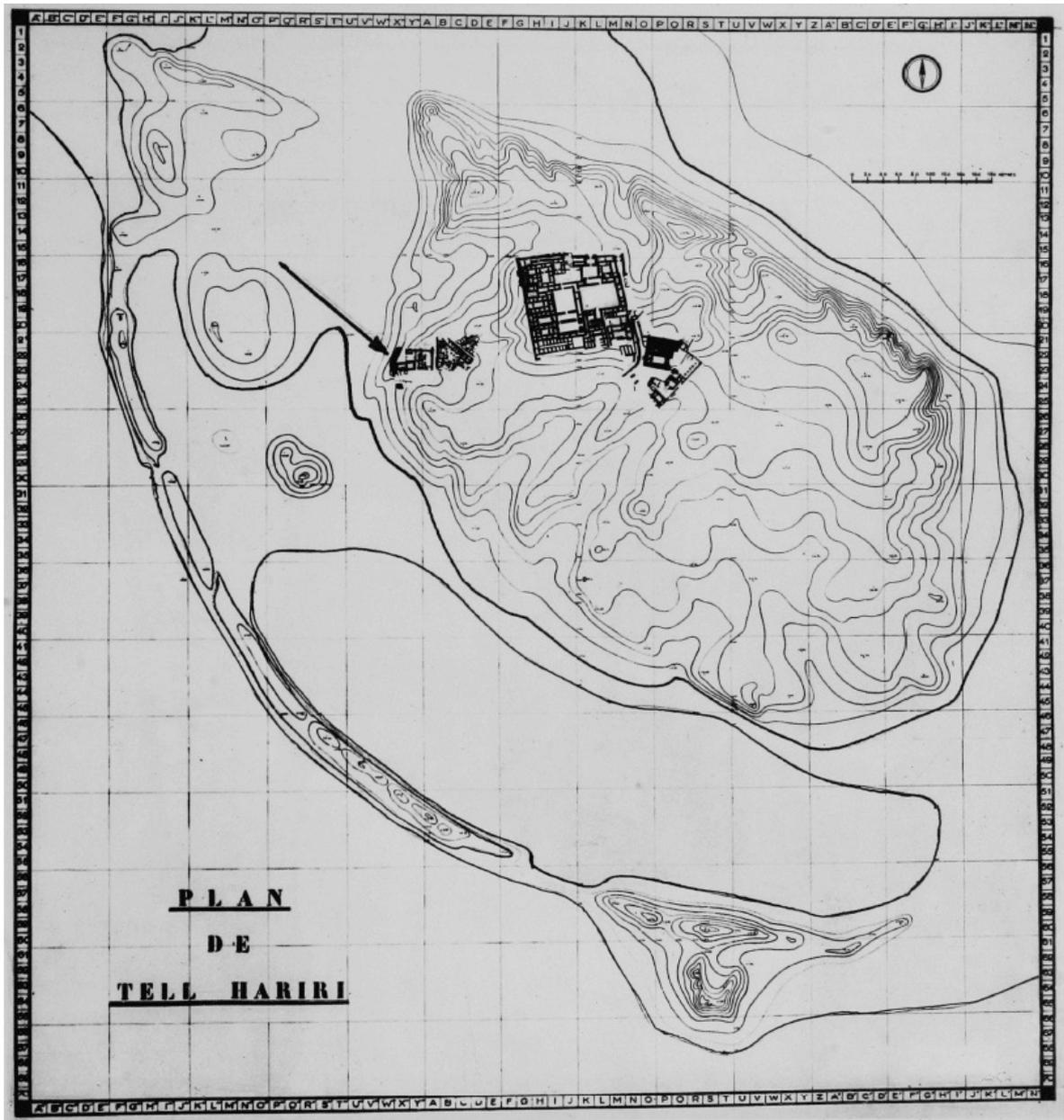


Figure A.1 – GENERAL PLAN OF MARI FROM PARROT’S EXCAVATIONS.

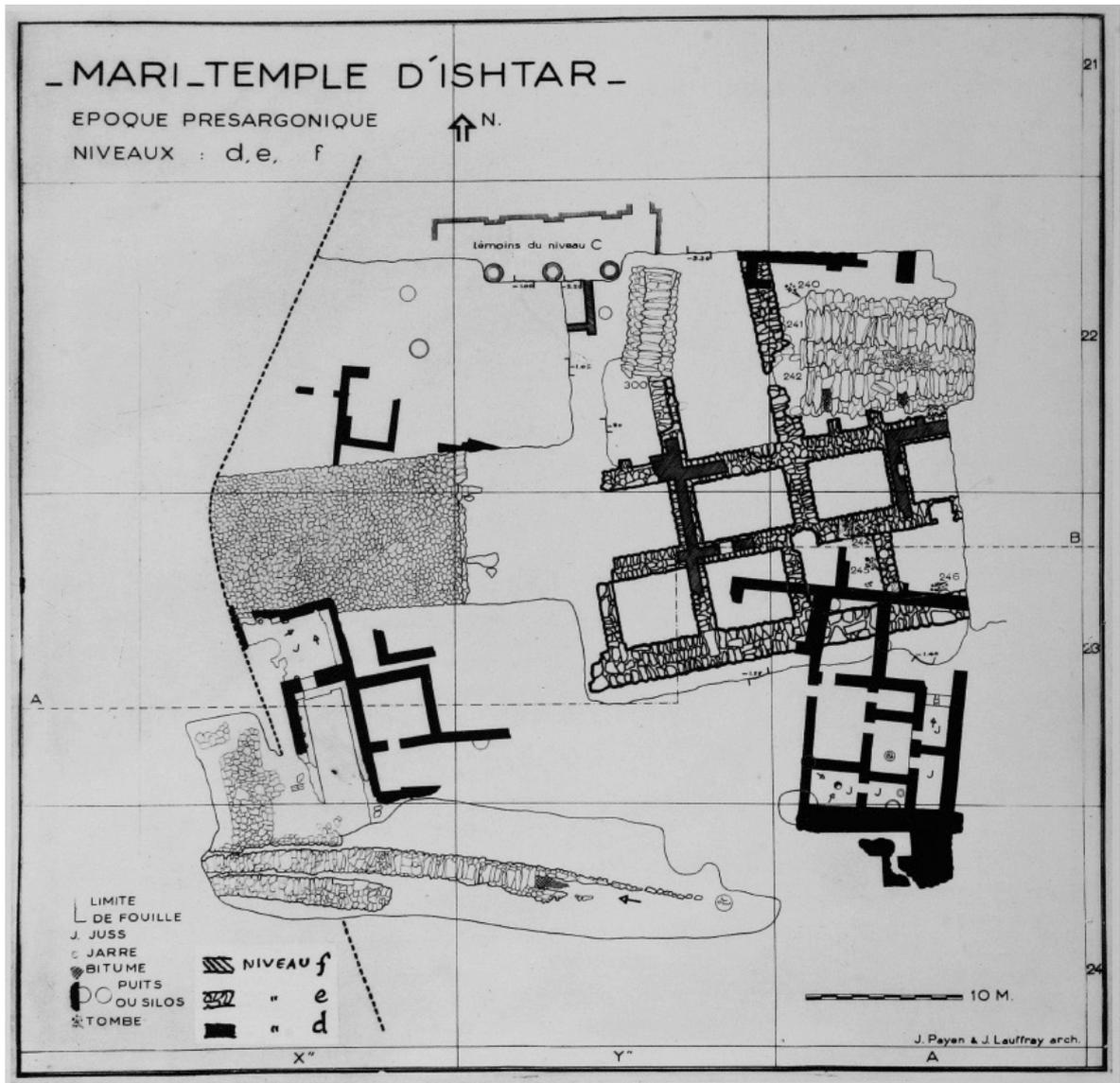


Figure A.3 – PLANS OF THE EARLY LEVELS *d*, *e*, AND *f* BELOW THE TEMPLE, AS PUBLISHED BY PARROT.

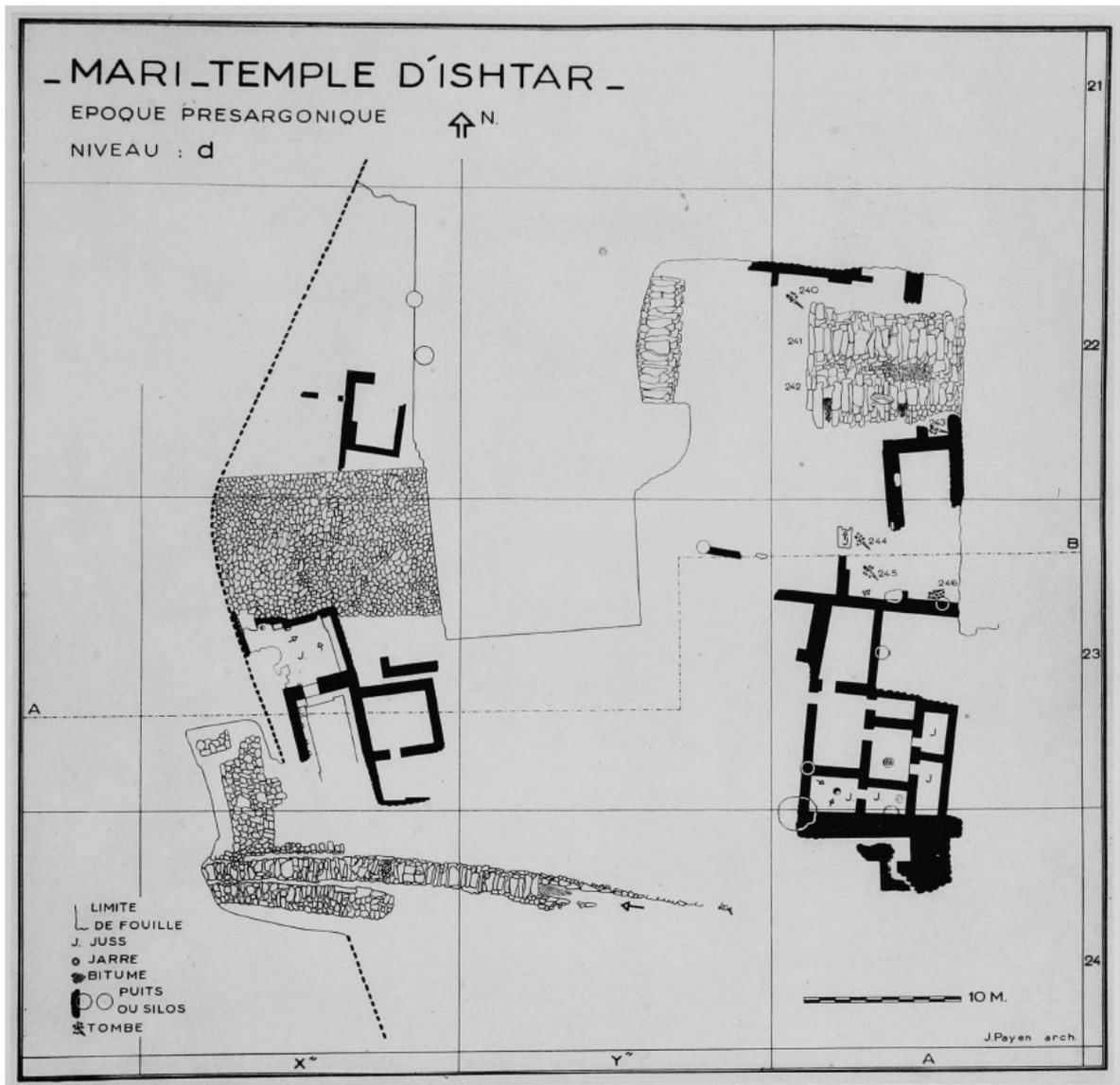


Figure A.4 – PLAN OF LEVEL D, AS PUBLISHED BY PARROT.

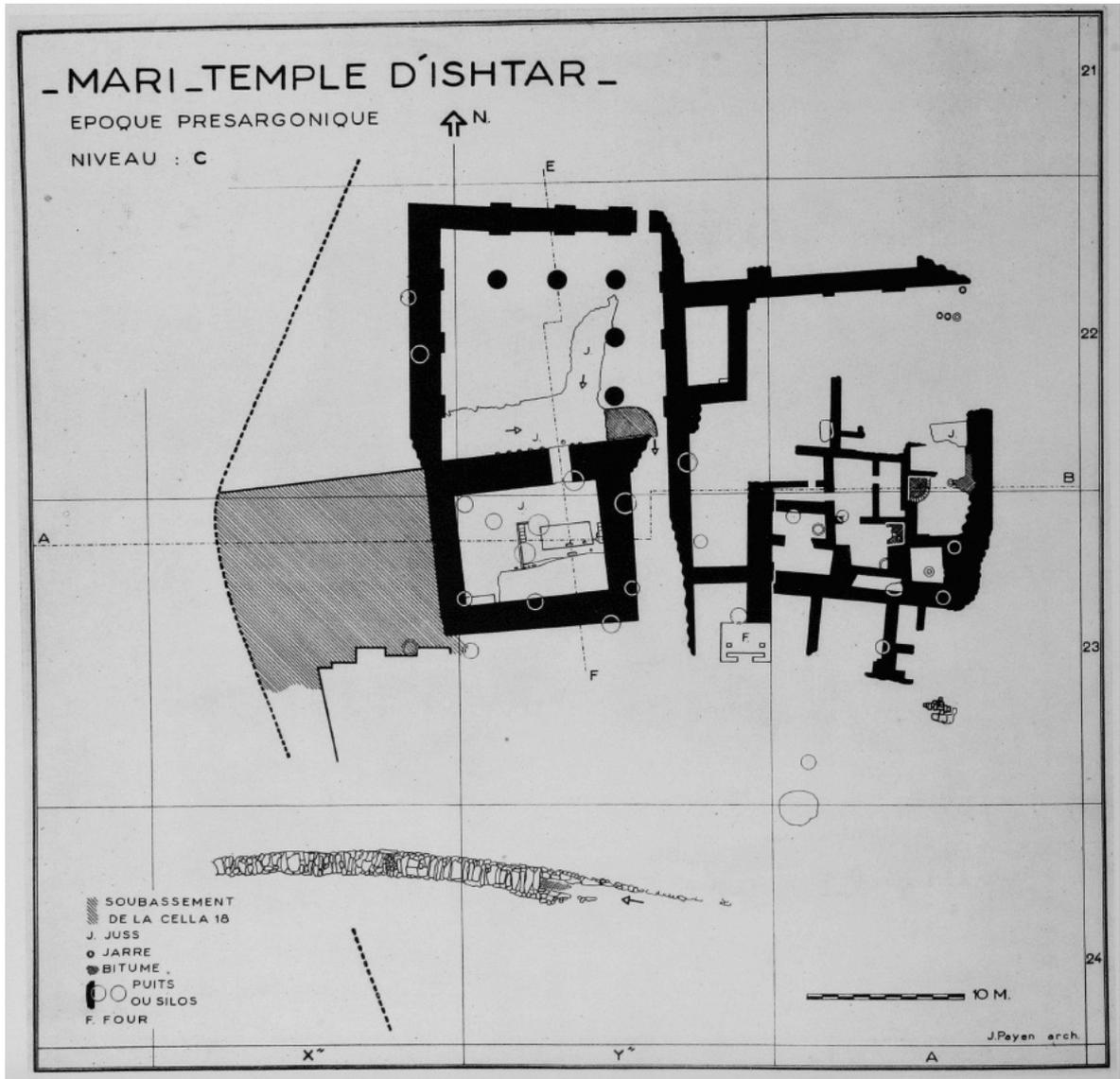


Figure A.5 – PLAN OF LEVEL C, AS PUBLISHED BY PARROT.

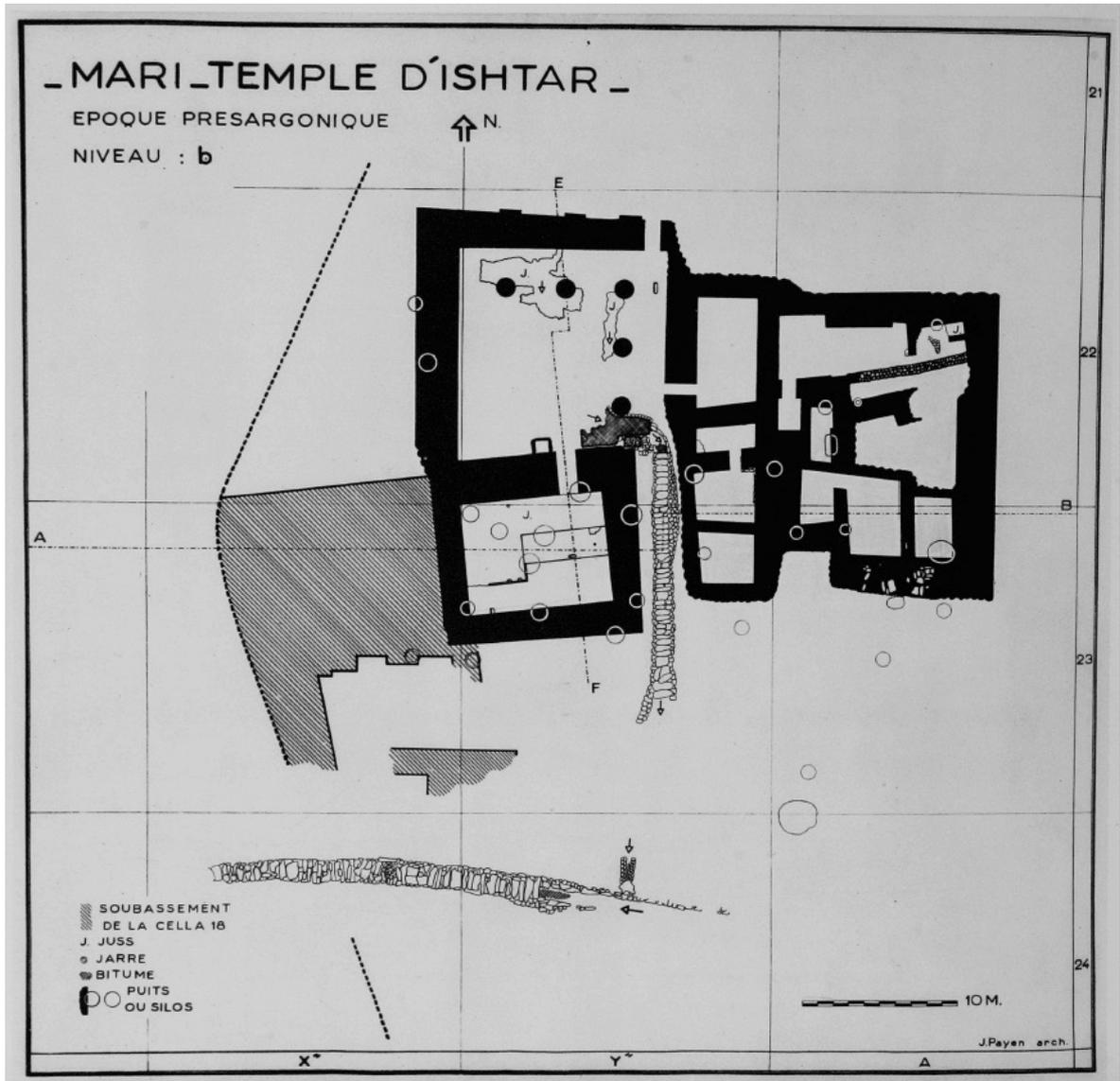


Figure A.6 – PLAN OF LEVEL *b*, AS PUBLISHED BY PARROT.

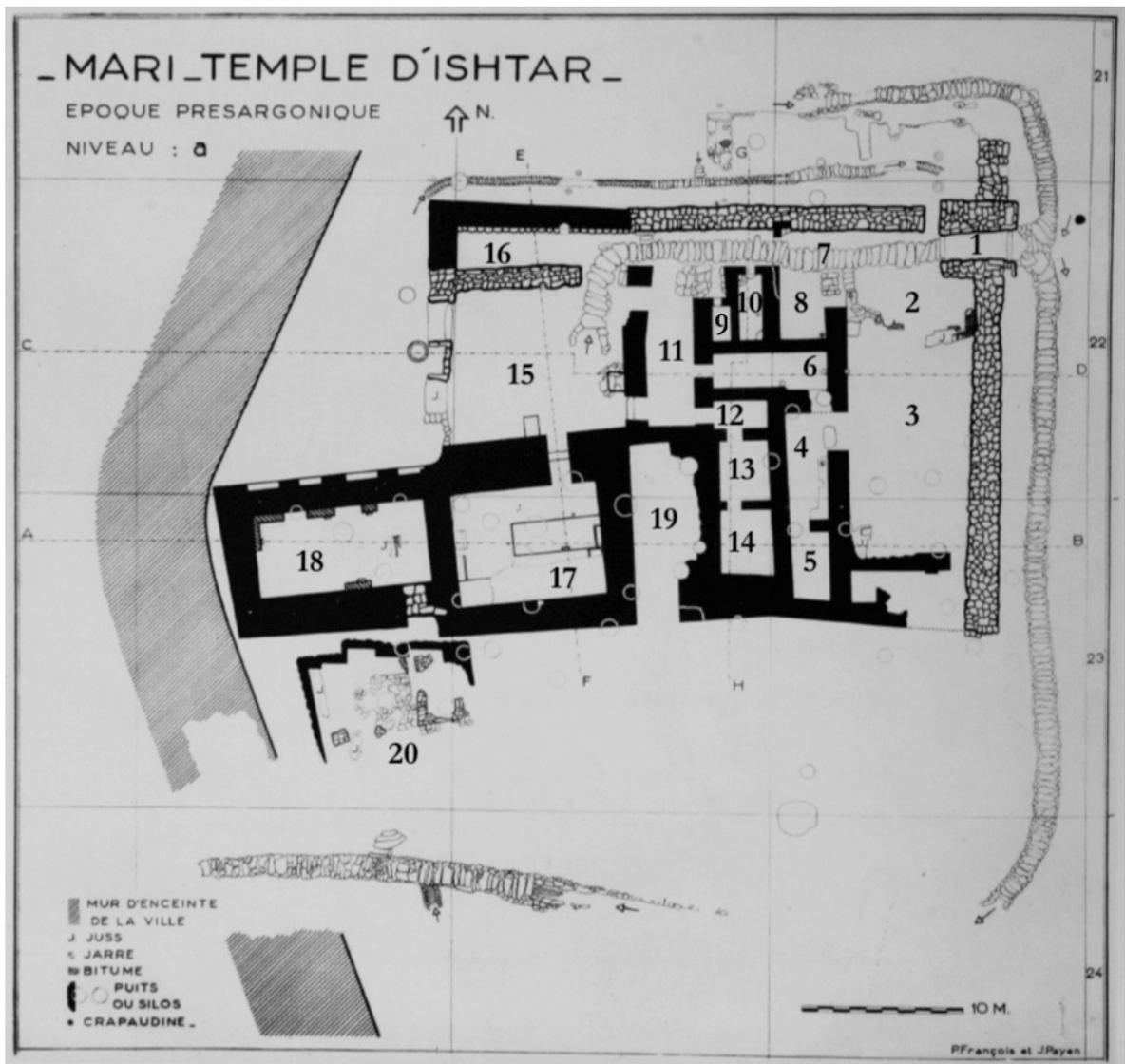


Figure A.7 – PLAN OF LEVEL a, AS PUBLISHED BY PARROT, WITH ADDED LOCUS NUMBERS ASSIGNED BY PARROT.

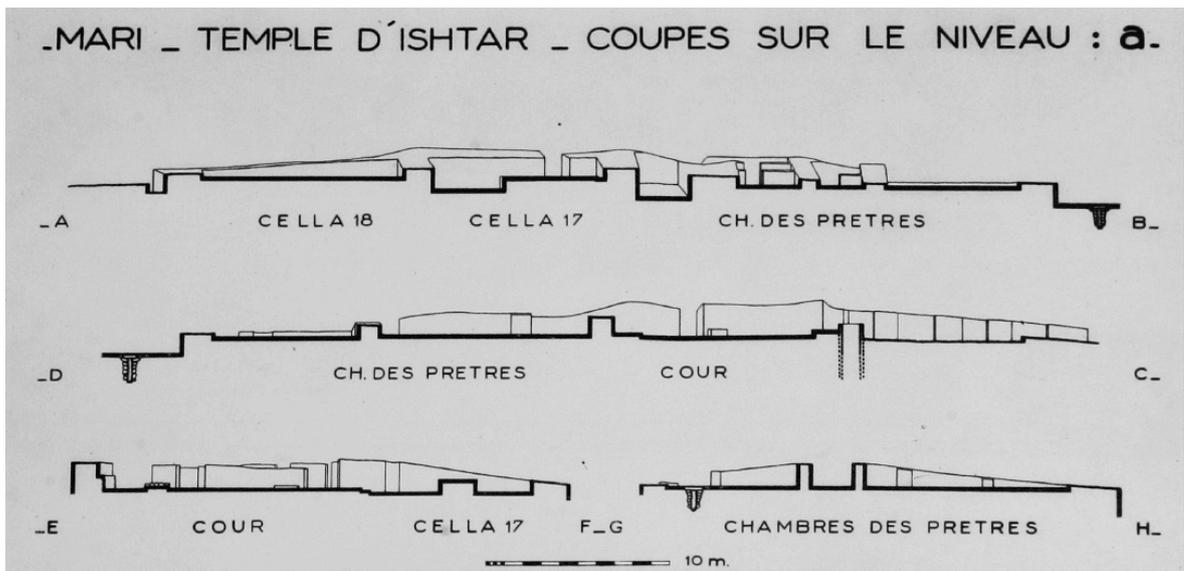
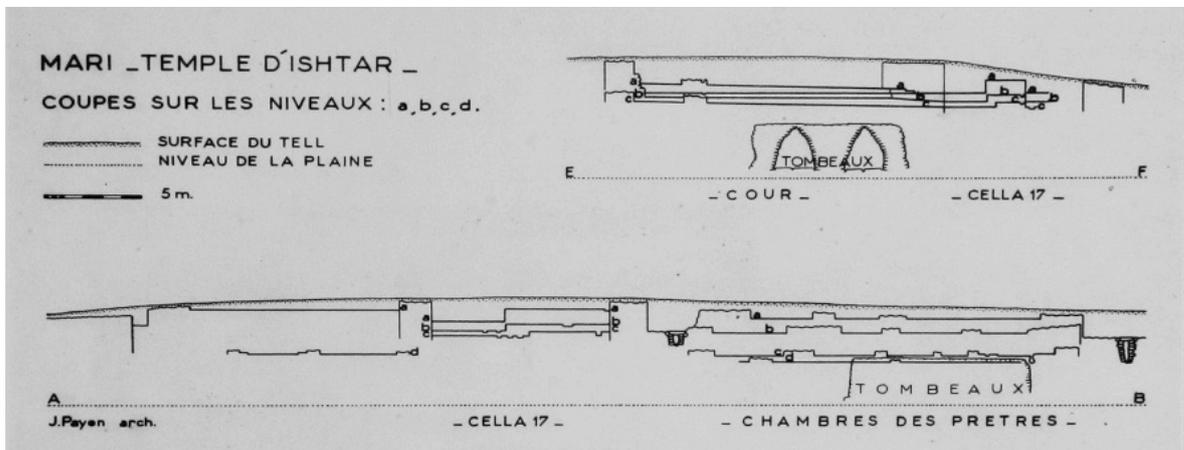


Figure A.8 – Cross-sections of the temple as published by Parrot.
 TOP: SUPPOSED LEVELS A-D; DRAWN BY JEAN PAYEN, WHICH DUE TO ITS INCONSISTENCIES MAKE IT UNRELIABLE AND MUST HAVE BEEN A RECONSTRUCTION (MARGUERON 2017: 67–69, FIG. 13)
 BOTTOM: LEVEL A; DRAWN BY PAUL FRANÇOIS; OFFERS A RELATIVELY FAITHFUL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LEVEL, ALBEIT MIXING ELEVATIONS FROM LEVEL A1 AND LEVEL A2, WHICH THE EXCAVATORS SEEM NOT TO HAVE DISTINGUISH FULLY (E.G. MIXING THE STONE PAVEMENT FROM LEVEL A1 IN L15 WITH LEVEL A2 FLOOR IN L17).

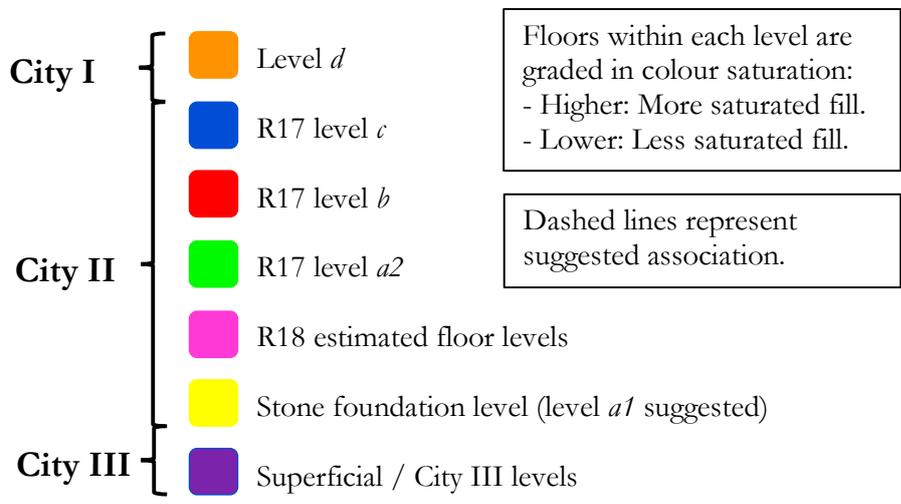


Figure A.9 – LEGEND FOR VISUAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRATIGRAPHY FROM ARCHIVAL PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING THE EXCAVATION OF THE ^dMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE.

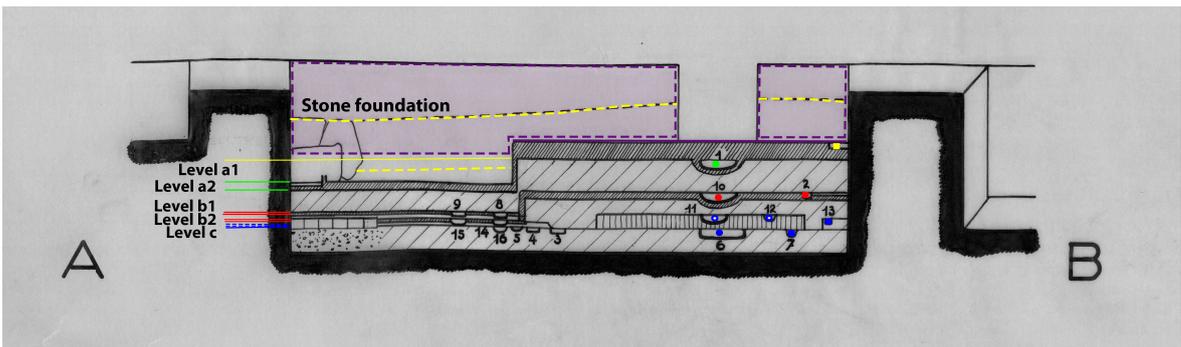


Figure A.10 – RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PROPOSED STRATIGRAPHIC RELATIONS IN L17. NOTE THAT THE PROFILE HERE PRESENTED IS BASED ON PARROT’S PUBLICATION BUT DOES NOT REPRESENT A “TRUE” VERTICAL PROFILE. INSTEAD, IT PRESENTS THE FEATURES EXCAVATED IN L17 IN A COMPOSITE MANNER.



Figure A.11 – AERIAL PHOTO OF THE EXCAVATION CA. 12/03/1934. IT SHOWS THE STONE PAVEMENT IN L15 (CF. FIGURE A.32), PROBABLY LEVEL A1 IN L17 (NOT RECORDED IN OTHER PHOTOGRAPHS, THOUGH REMAINS CAN BE SEEN IN FIGURES A.24 AND A.25), AND THE ONLY FLOOR LEVEL IN L18 (CF. FIGURE A.22).

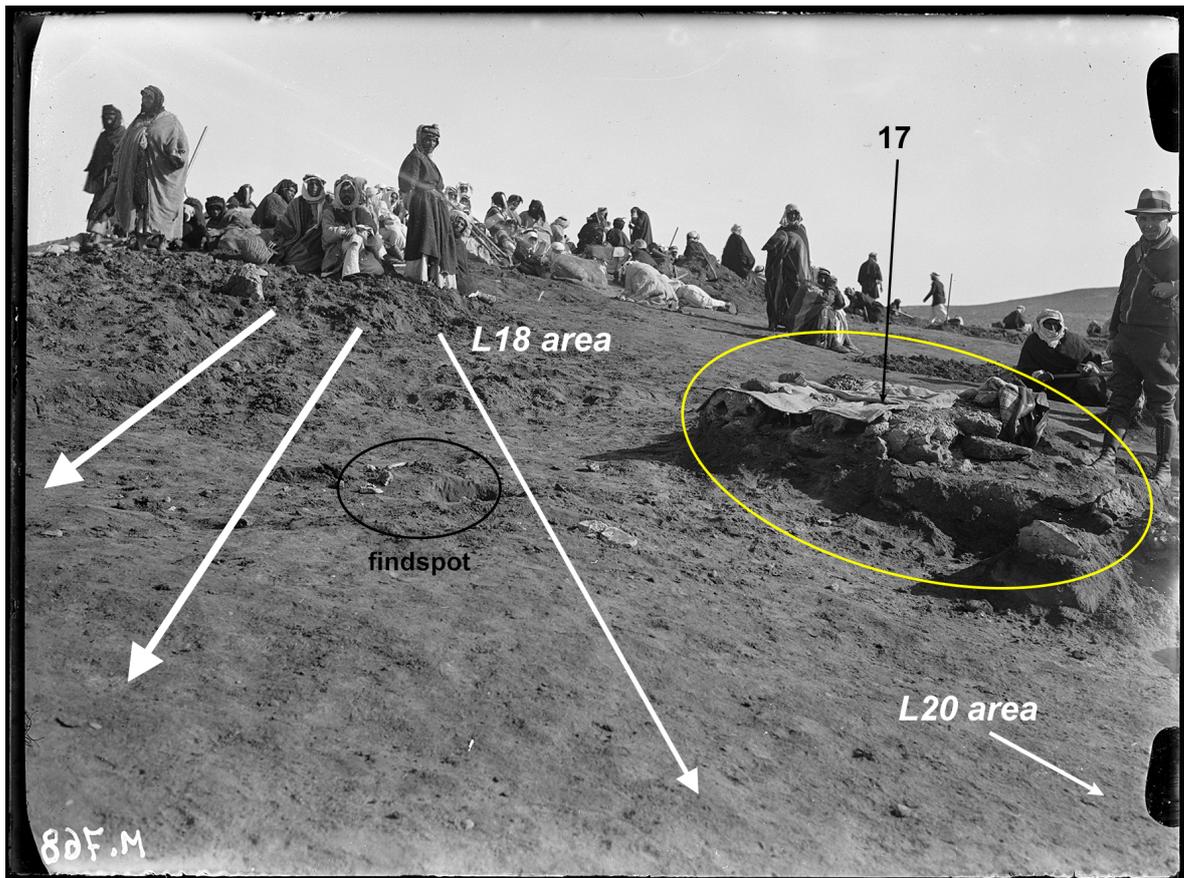


Figure A.12 – BEGINNING OF EXCAVATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE TEMPLE, SHOWING THE REMAINS OF STONE ON S WALL OF L18 (17), WHICH WERE UNCOVERED IMMEDIATELY BELOW SURFACE LEVEL. THE ARROWS ILLUSTRATE THE DIRECTION OF EROSION OF THE MOUND IN THIS AREA. ALSO VISIBLE IS ONE OF THE FEW FINDSPOTS OF STATUARY FROM THE TEMPLE, VISIBLE ALMOST AT SURFACE LEVEL. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 15/01/1934.

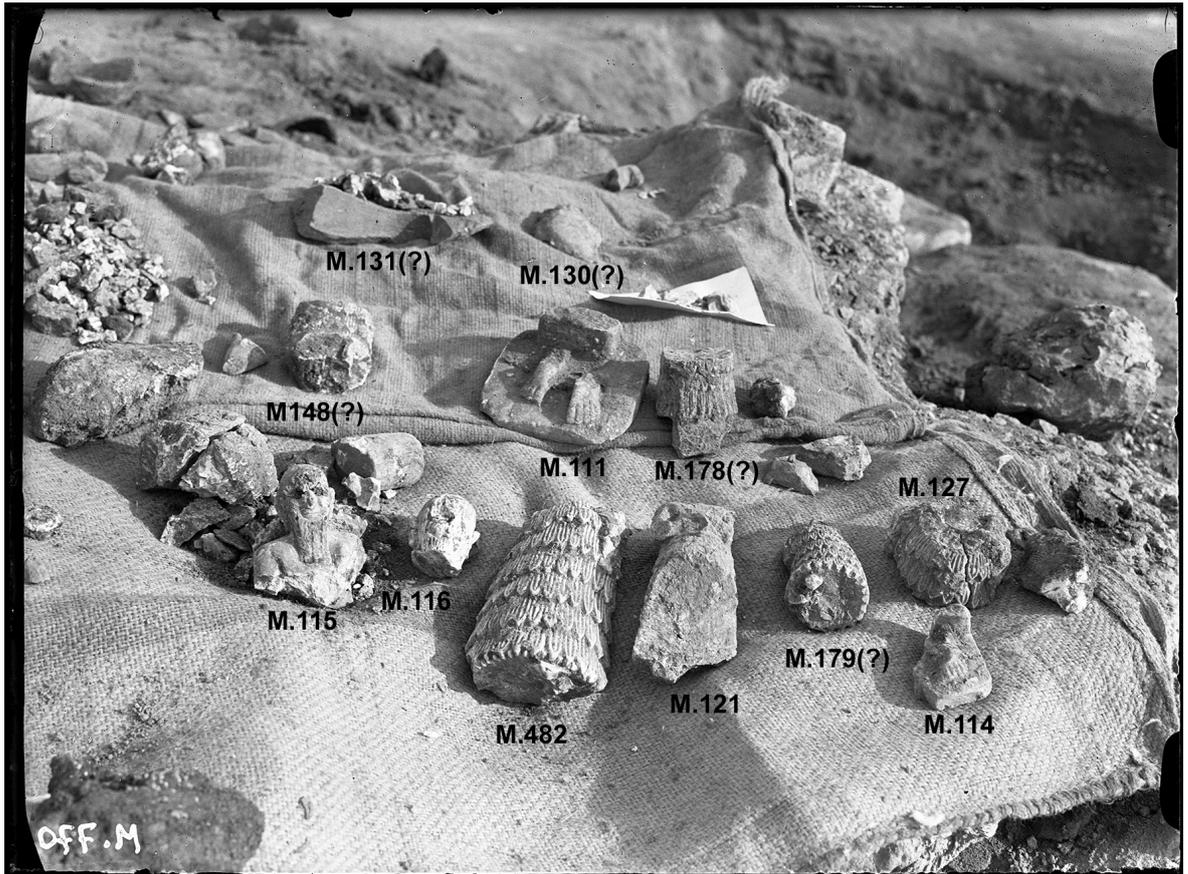


Figure A.13 – OBJECTS LAID OUT ON TOP OF THE STONE STRUCTURE IN THE SE CORNER OF L18 AFTER EXCAVATION. THESE WERE FOUND PROBABLY CLOSE TO THE SURFACE IN THE ENVIRONS OF L18/L17 AND THE AREA TO THE SOUTH. THE FIRST ARTEFACT ASSIGNED TO THE TEMPLE IS M.III, WITH AN ENTRY DATE OF 15/01/1934. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 15/01/1934.



Figure A.14 – THE BRONZE *BARCASSE* FROM Li8 *IN SITU*. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN (CA. 19/01/1934?).



Figure A.15 – STATUETTE OF YIŠQĪMARI *IN SITU*. NOTE HOW CLOSE TO THE SURFACE THE FIND WAS, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE GENTLER SLOPE SOUTH OF L18 (FIGURE A.12). PHOTOGRAPH DATED 23/01/1934.



Figure A.16 – ANDRÉ PARROT POSES WITH THE HEAD OF YINDIN'IL. THIS COULD BE A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FINDSPOT, OR PERHAPS THE WORKERS FETCHED HIM FOR THIS PARTICULARLY EXQUISITE FIND. THE ENTRY IN THE FIELD JOURNAL IS 23/01/1934 (BUTTERLIN AND CLUZAN 2014: 69, ARCH. 20). PHOTOGRAPH DATED 22/01/1934.



Figure A.17 – THE HEAD AND BODY OF YINDIN'IL *IN SITU*. THE ENTRY IN THE FIELD JOURNAL IS 23/01/1934 (BUTTERLIN AND CLUZAN 2014: 69, ARCH. 20). PHOTOGRAPHS DATED 22/01/1934 (AP0799) AND 23/01/1934 (AP0800).



Figure A.18 – AREA OF PAVEMENT WITH SHELL INLAYS *IN SITU*; SO-CALLED COURTYARD L20. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 28/01/1934.

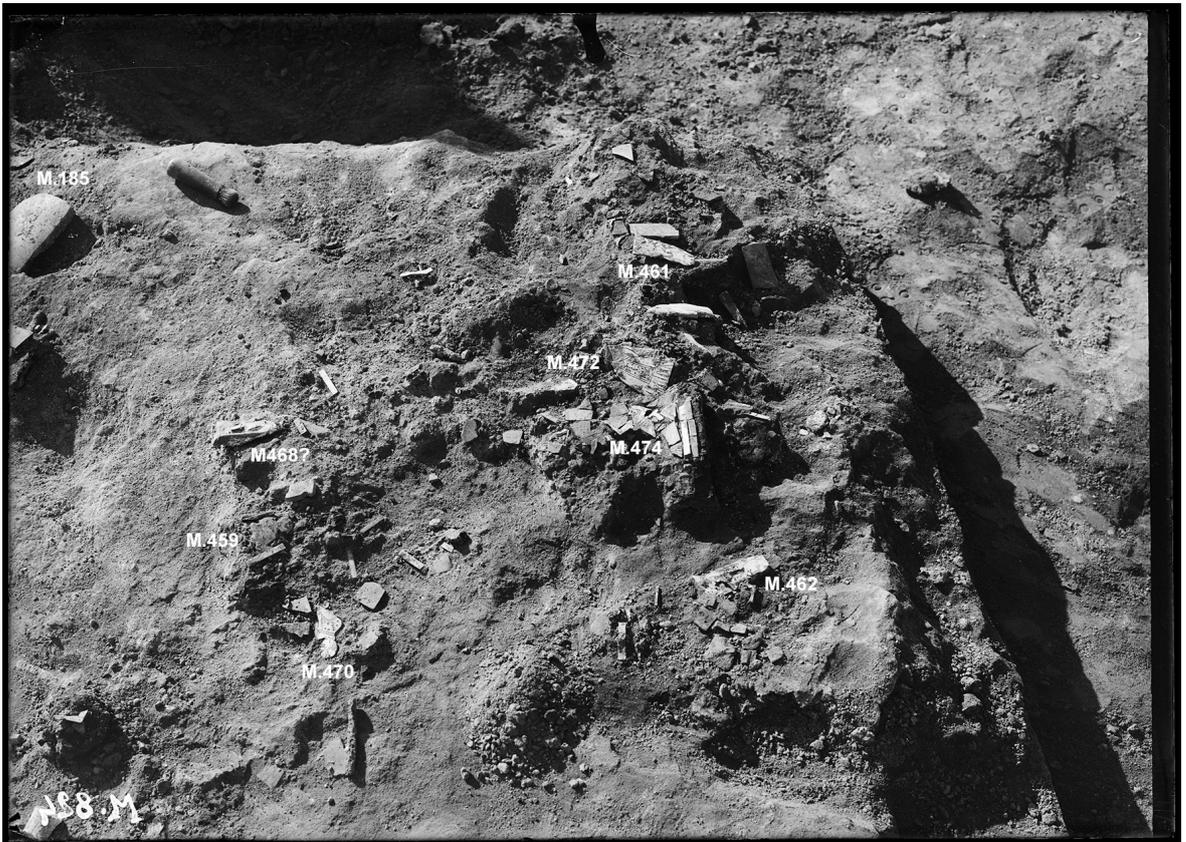


Figure A.19 – SHELL INLAYS *IN SITU*, AREA OF THE SO-CALLED COURTYARD L20.
PHOTOGRAPH DATED 28/01/1934.

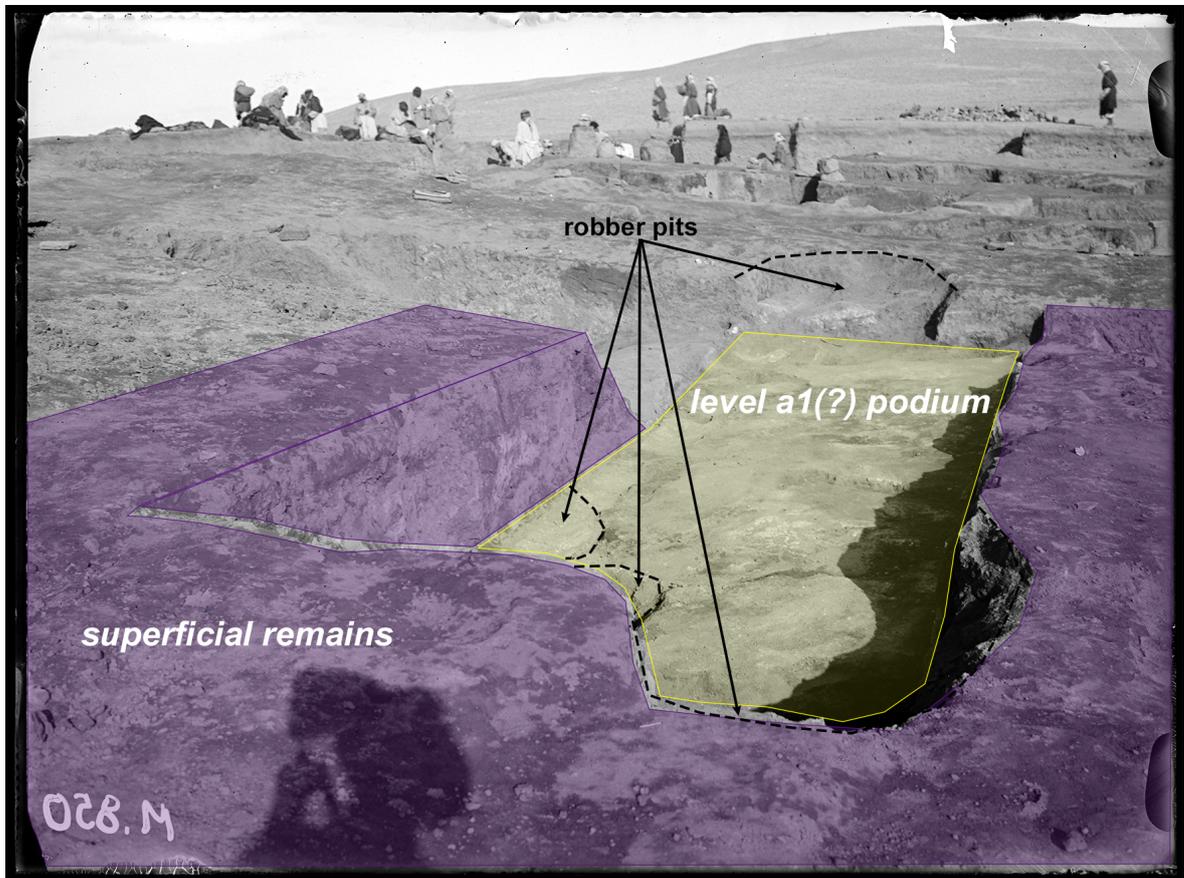


Figure A.20 – VIEW OF L17 (NOT DATED BUT AROUND BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY 1934), SHOWING THE BRICKWORK FILLING UP THE ROOM AND REUSING THE TOP PLASTER LEVEL OF THE PODIUM AS THE FLOOR, WHICH APPEARS TO CREATE A SMALLER ROOM. THE LOOTING HOLES THAT CUT THROUGH THE PODIUM DOWN TO THE EARLIEST LEVELS ARE VISIBLE. THERE IS DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE RECORDED DATE FOR THIS PHOTOGRAPH AND THE ENTRY DATES FOR THE GROUP OF FEMALE STATUARY DESCRIBED AS COMING FROM A PIT OR LOOTING HOLE IN THIS ROOM. THESE OBJECTS ARE DESCRIBED AS APPEARING AROUND 1.1M–1.3M BELOW SURFACE, WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE STRATIGRAPHY PROFILES PRODUCED BY PARROT (1956: PL. 5 AND 7), WOULD BE AROUND THE LEVEL THAT APPEARS IN THIS PICTURE. HOWEVER, THESE CANNOT BE RELIED UPON WITH CERTAINTY. WHAT IS CLEAR FROM THE ARCHIVAL MATERIAL IS THAT OBJECTS WERE FOUND EARLY ON IN THE EXCAVATION, AND THUS MUST HAVE BEEN NEAR THE SURFACE LEVEL. PHOTOGRAPH MUST HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN EARLY FEBRUARY, 1934; CERTAINLY BEFORE THE 12TH AS IT SHOWS L17 AT AN EARLIER STAGE THAN ON THE AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH A.11. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN (EARLY FEBRUARY 1934?).

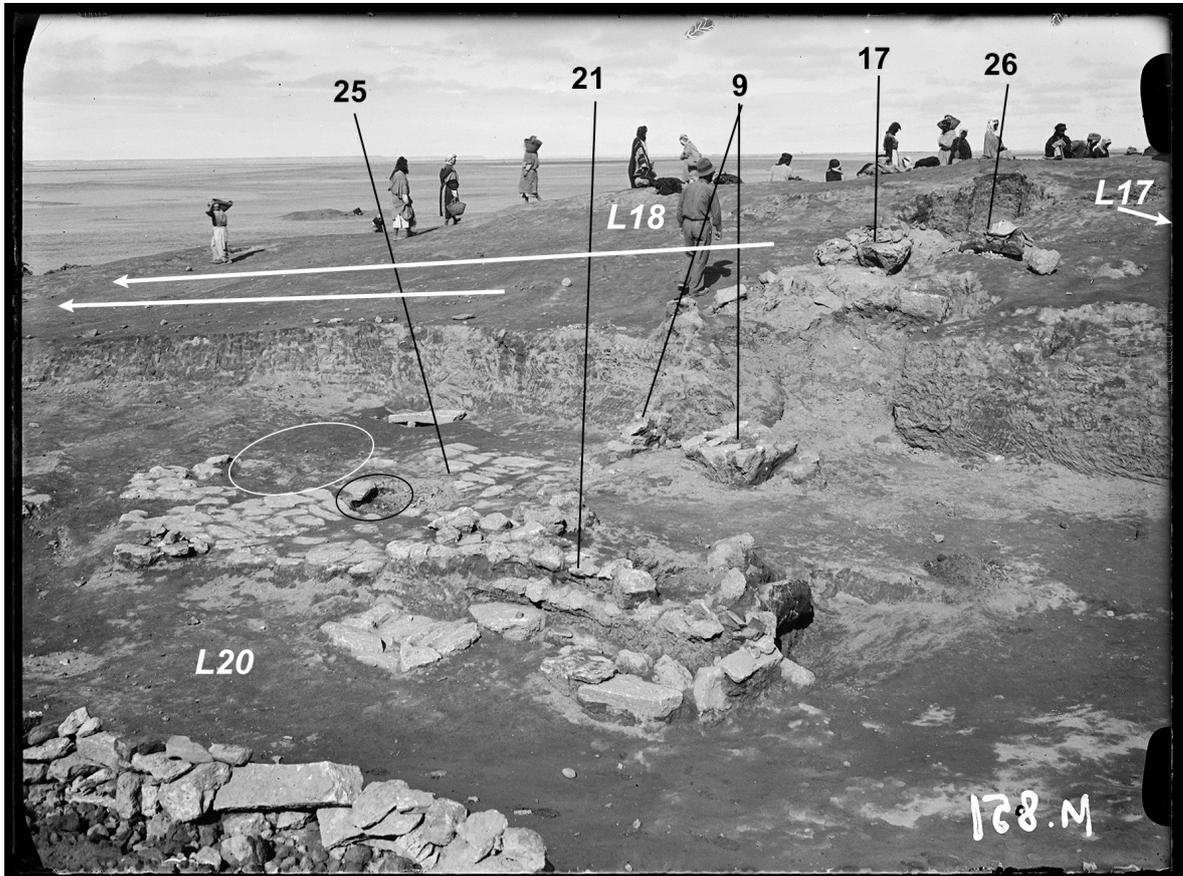


Figure A.21 – VIEW OF EARLY PART OF EXCAVATION (DATE AROUND END OF JANUARY 1934). THE AREA OF L20 APPEARS DOWN TO THE MAIN LEVEL. THE INLAID PANEL WAS FOUND IS MARKED IN RED (6). IT WAS FOUND ON A LEVEL AROUND 0.10M ABOVE THE PAVEMENT (25). THE FINDSPOT OF THE STATUARY ASSIGNED TO THE “FAVISSA” IS THE NE CORNER OF THE ROOM (26). THIS AREA WAS LATER IDENTIFIED AS THE PODIUM IN THE ROOM. THE BRONZE TROUGH WAS ALSO FOUND AROUND THIS TIME IN THE SAME E WALL AREA. IT IS DESCRIBED 1.00M BELOW SURFACE, WHILE THE STATUARY IS DESCRIBED AROUND 0.40M BELOW SURFACE. NOTICE RELATIVE LEVEL WITH STONE STRUCTURE (17), WHICH APPEARS TO BE APPROXIMATELY 50CM BELOW HIGHEST SURFACE POINT, BUT CERTAINLY NOT LOWER THAN 1M. THIS POSITIONS THE BRONZE TROUGH AT LOWER STRATIGRAPHIC LEVEL, WHILE THE STATUARY MAY COME FROM THE BRICK STRUCTURE ASSOCIATED WITH THE STONE CONSTRUCTION. IN ANY CASE, CERTAINLY HIGHER. PHOTOGRAPH MUST HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN EARLY FEBRUARY, 1934; CERTAINLY BEFORE THE 12TH AS L18 HAS NOT YET BEEN EXCAVATED. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN (EARLY FEBRUARY 1934?).

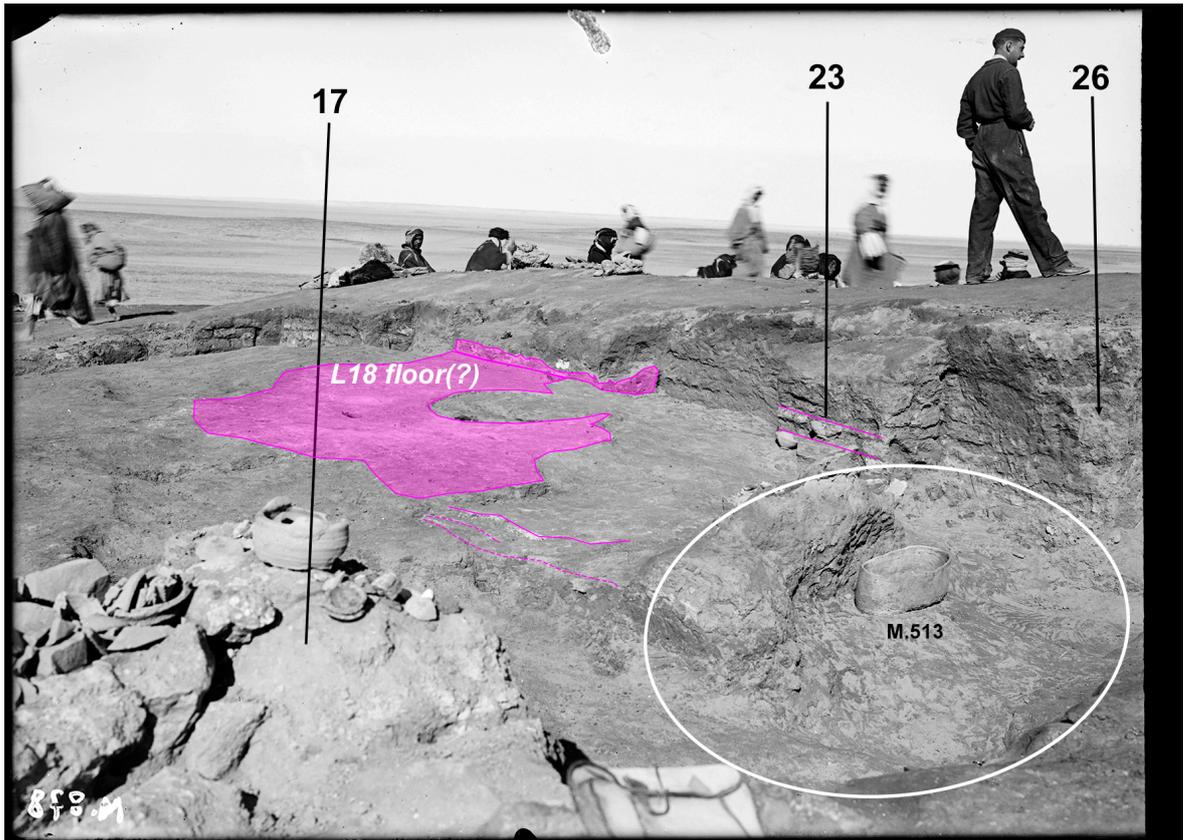


Figure A.22 – VIEW OF L18 WITH ONLY EVIDENCE OF ITS PLASTER FLOOR THE VESSELS AGAINST THE WALL ARE EVIDENCE OF A HIGHER FLOOR THAT IS NOT PRESERVED. THE “PODIUM” WITH THE BURIED TROUGHS INSIDE APPEARS DOWN TO THE LOWEST LEVEL (28); THE BRONZE TROUGH WOULD HAVE BEEN FOUND ABOVE THE AREA WHERE M.513 IS PLACED. THE “FAVISSA” WHERE A LOT OF STATUETTES WERE FOUND IS CLEARLY ABOVE THE FLOOR LEVEL IN THE PICTURE (26), AS THEY WERE FOUND 0.40–0.60M BELOW THE SURFACE. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 14/03/1934.

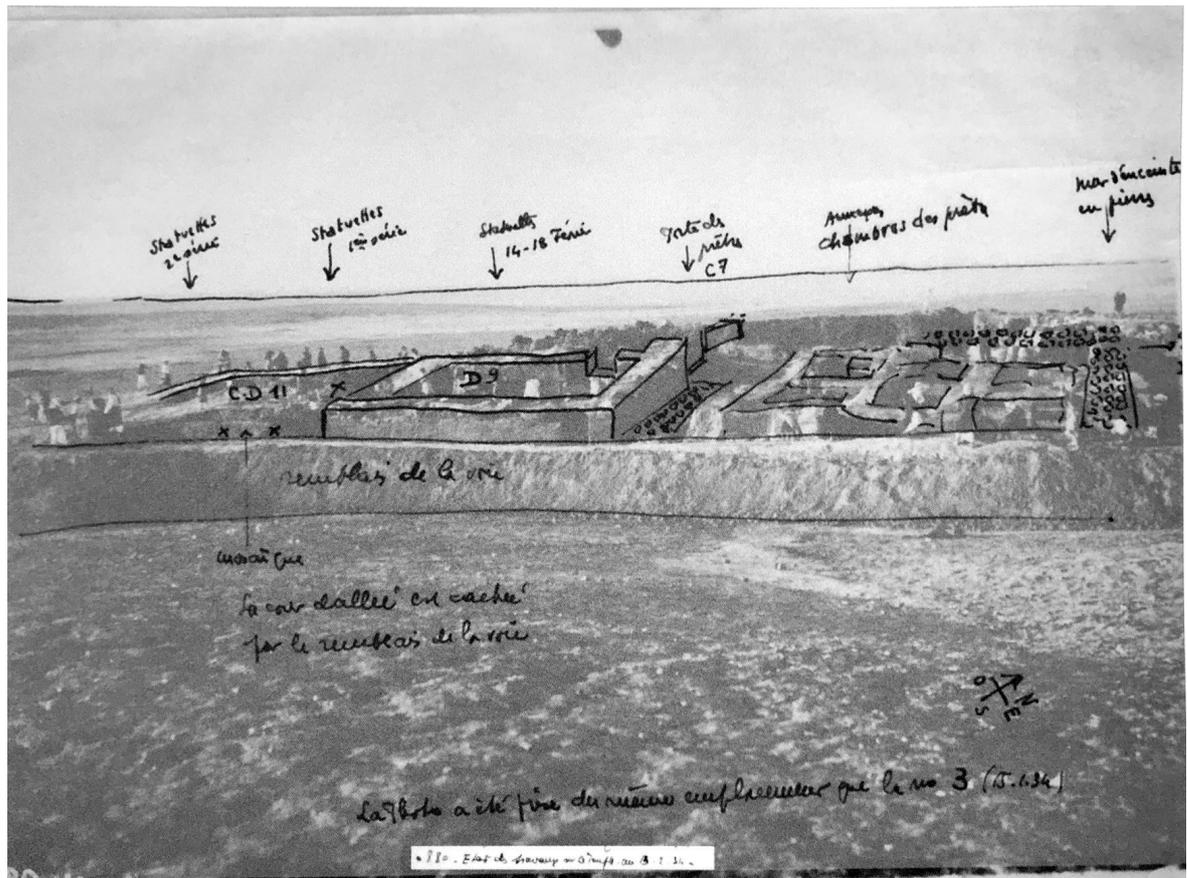


Figure A.23 – Excavation ca. 13th February, 1934. Print with annotations by Parrot, pointing to the findspots of several groups of statuettes. Photograph dated 13/02/1934.

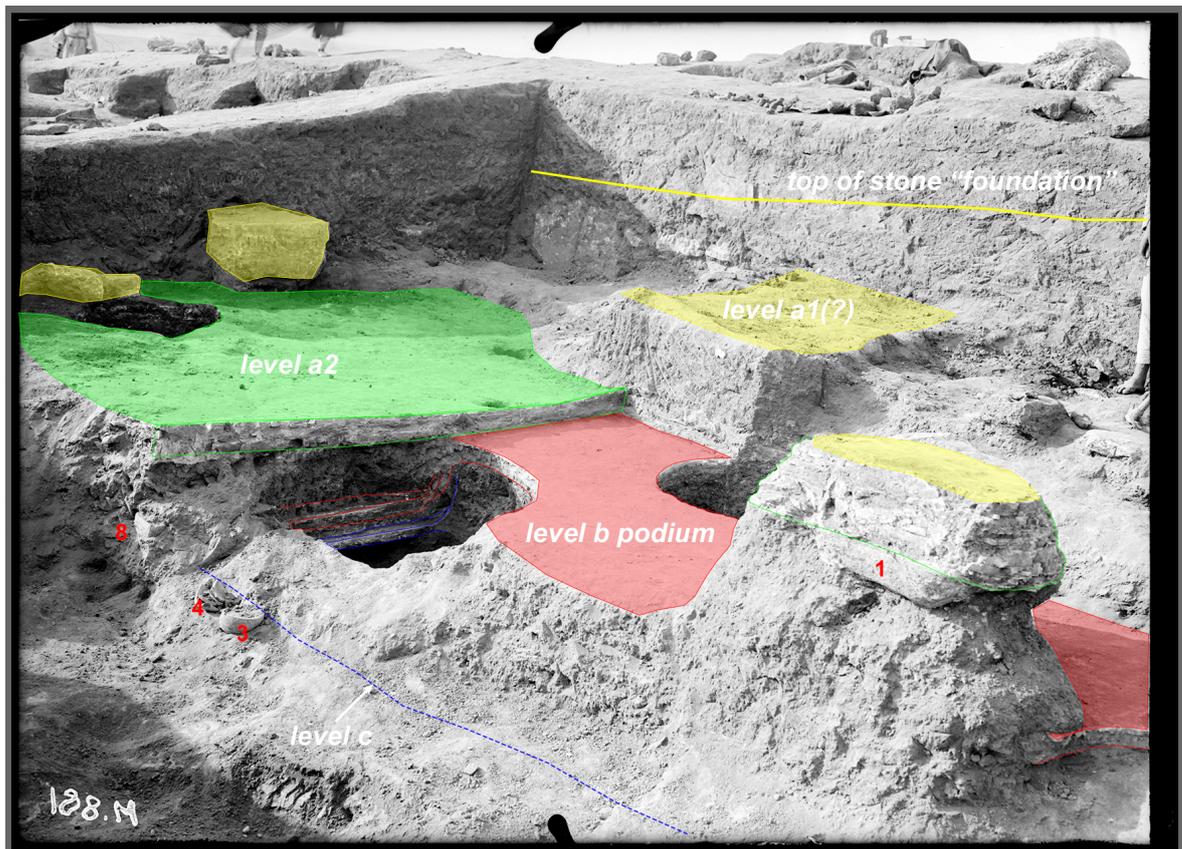


Figure A.24 – View of L17 ca. 15/02/1934, showing several occupation horizons. Correlated with object entry dates in the catalogue suggests the majority of objects from this room came from the looting holes clearly visible in the image. However, the objects seem to have come from the strata between the surface and level *a2* (green) as they are recorded between 1.10–1.50m below the surface. The numbers in red correspond with the *BARCASSES* illustrated in Figure A.10 and published in PARROT 1956: FIG. 12. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 15/02/1934.

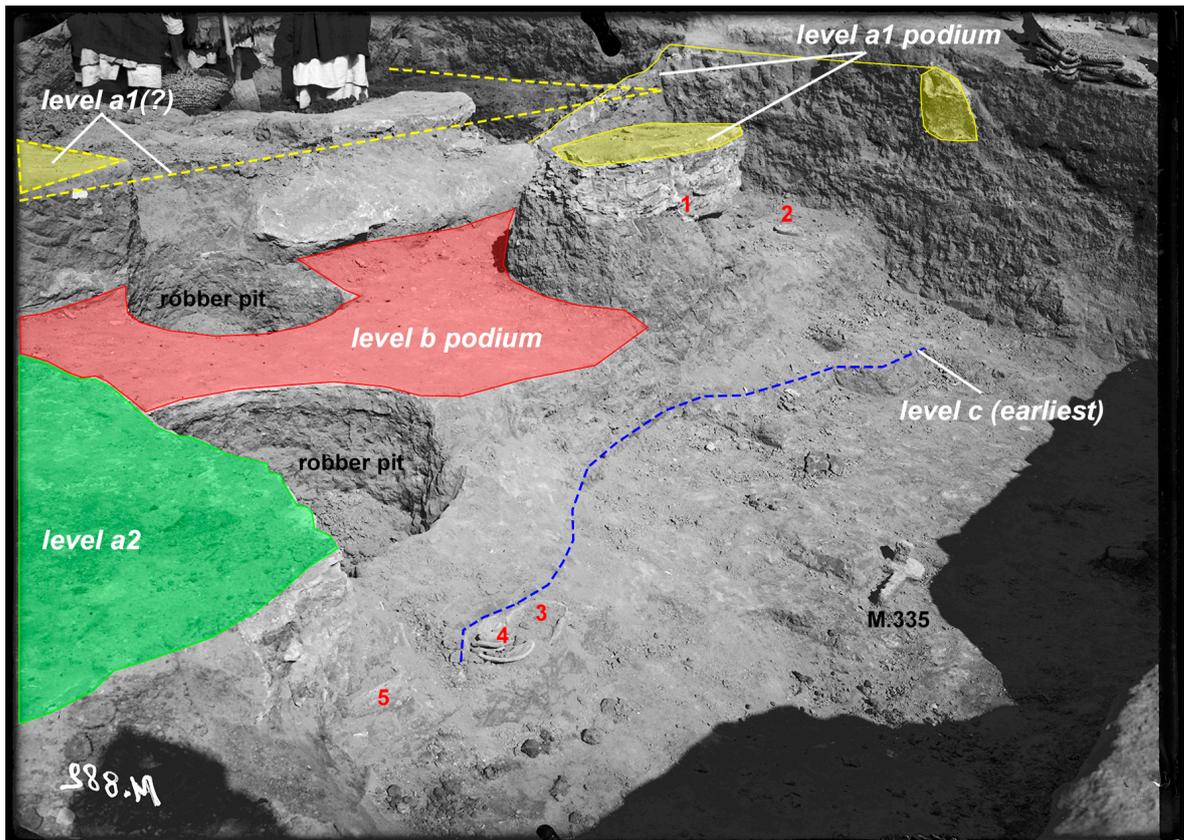


Figure A.25 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION OF L17 (DATED 15/02/34), SHOWING THE FOUNDATION DEPOSIT M.335 APPROXIMATELY AT EARLIEST FLOOR LEVEL. THE OBJECT NUMBERS CORRESPOND TO PARROT’S NUMBERING SYSTEM (PARROT 1956: PL. 5) AND THE NUMBERS IN RED CORRESPOND WITH THE *BARCASSES* ILLUSTRATED IN FIGURE A.10 AND PUBLISHED IN PARROT 1956: FIG. 12. PARROT DESCRIBES FINDING A VARIETY OF OBJECTS IN THE LOOTING HOLES IN THE PODIUM, ALTHOUGH NO *in situ* IMAGES OF THEM ARE PRESERVED. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 15/02/1934.

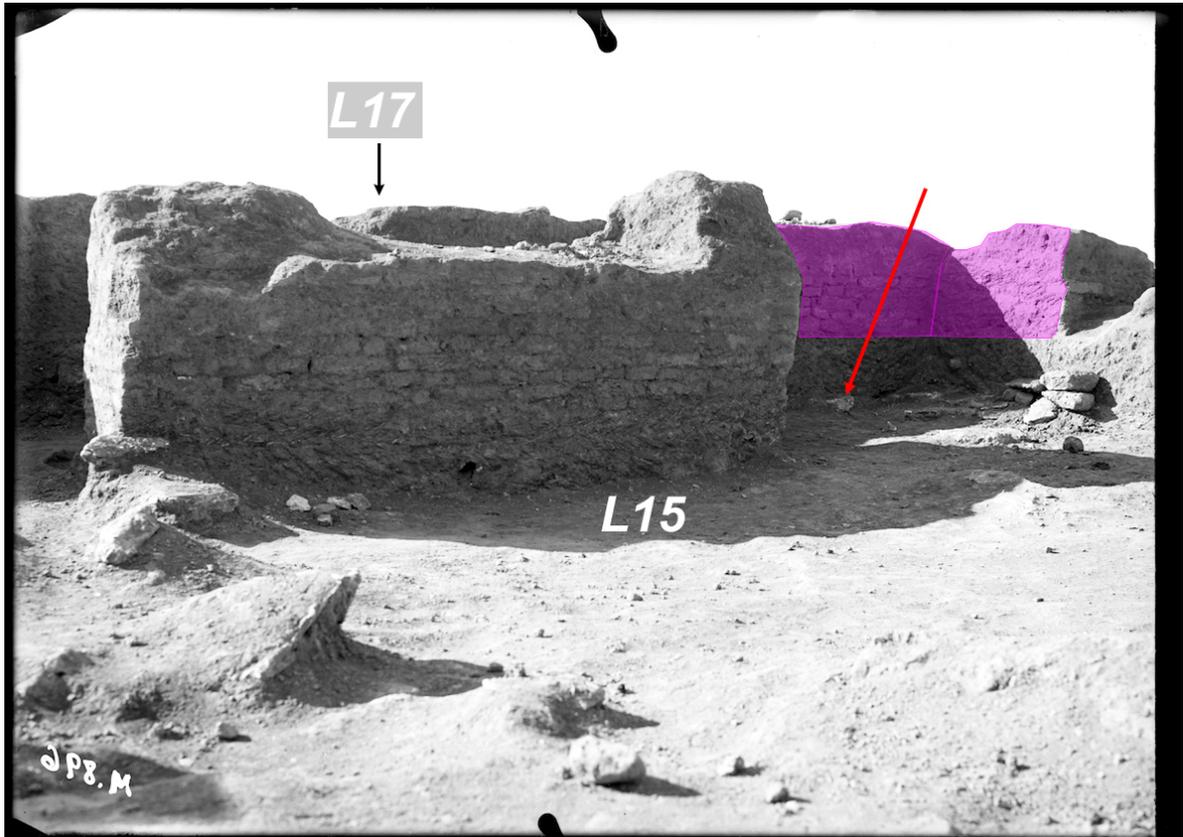


Figure A.26 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION IN L₁₅, SHOWING THE MUDBRICK STRUCTURE IN FRONT OF THE ENTRANCE TO L₁₇ THAT APPEARS IN THE PRELIMINARY PLAN (FIGURE A.2). SOME OF THE STONES FROM THE STONE PAVEMENT START TO APPEAR ON THE GROUND LEVEL, THOUGH IT HAD NOT BEEN CLEANED YET. BEHIND THE MUDBRICK STRUCTURE, THE MUDBRICK WALL OF L₁₇ APPEARS, WHICH AT THIS POINT SHOWS THE MUDBRICK LAID ABOVE AND SEEMINGLY IN FRONT OF THE STONE FOUNDATION/WALL AS A THICKENING OF THE WALL FROM A LATER PERIOD. THE SAME STONE FROM THE PREVIOUS PAVEMENT APPEARS STICKING BELOW THE MUDBRICK AS IN FIGURE A.32 (RED ARROW), WHERE REMAINS OF THIS ADDITIONAL MUDBRICK APPEAR AGAINST THE ORIGINAL WALL. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 21/02/1934.



Figure A.27 – STACKED-UP *BARCASSES* AGAINST THE N WALL OF Li8. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 14/03/1934.

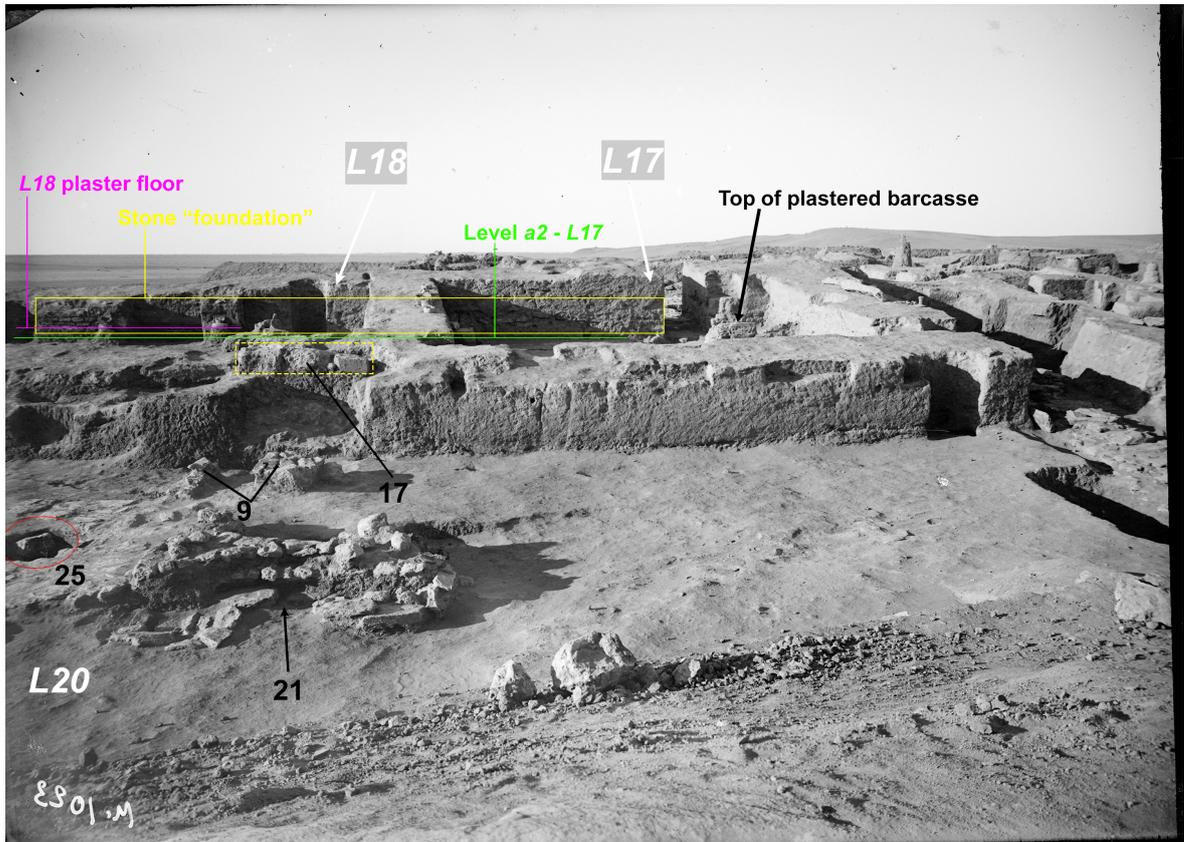


Figure A.28 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION SHOWING L17, L18 AND L20. NOTICE THE STONE STRUCTURE (17) INTERPRETED BY PARROT AS STAIRS MAY ACTUALLY BE PART OF THE RECONSTRUCTION PHASE COINCIDING WITH THE STONE FOUNDATION LEVEL. THE AREA S OF L18 THAT PARROT INTERPRETED AS A COURTYARD REMAINS STRATIGRAPHICALLY UNCONNECTED TO THE MAIN BUILDING STRUCTURE. NEVERTHELESS, A GROUP OF INLAY FIGURINES AND GEOMETRIC SHAPES IN BONE/IVORY AND STONE OF CLEAR ED III DATE (SEE SECTION §7.2.4 AND FIGURE A.20) WAS FOUND SCATTERED SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE STONE PAVEMENT ON THE LEFT (25), WHILE SOME STATUETTES ARE DESCRIBED AS COMING FROM THE AREA ABOVE THE STONE STRUCTURE BELOW L18 (24)(SEE SECTION §7.2.1). THE EXACT LOCATION IN THE MATRIX IS IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONSTRUCT, BUT THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS (THE INSCRIBED STATUETTES) WERE FOUND LESS THAN 1.00M BELOW SURFACE LEVEL AS RECORDED IN THE FINDS CATALOGUE, THUS POINTING TOWARDS DISTURBED DEPOSITION. THE FLOOR LEVEL IN THIS AREA MUST THUS BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE ED IIIb PERIOD ON THE BASIS OF THE ASSOCIATED MATERIAL CULTURE (SEE SECTION §4.5.6); HOWEVER, THE SPECIFIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSTRUCTION LEVELS IN L17, L18 AND L20 CANNOT BE RECONSTRUCTED FURTHER BASED ON THE AVAILABLE ARCHIVAL MATERIAL. THE “COURTYARD WALL” DESCRIBED BY PARROT (1956: PL. 8) IS ONLY VISIBLE AT ALMOST LEVEL *d* (SEE FIGURE A.46), AND HIGHLIGHTS THE RELATIVE SHALLOWSNESS OF THE LEVELS IN THIS AREA, THE REASON FOR WHICH CANNOT BE CLARIFIED BEYOND DOUBT. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 19/03/1934.

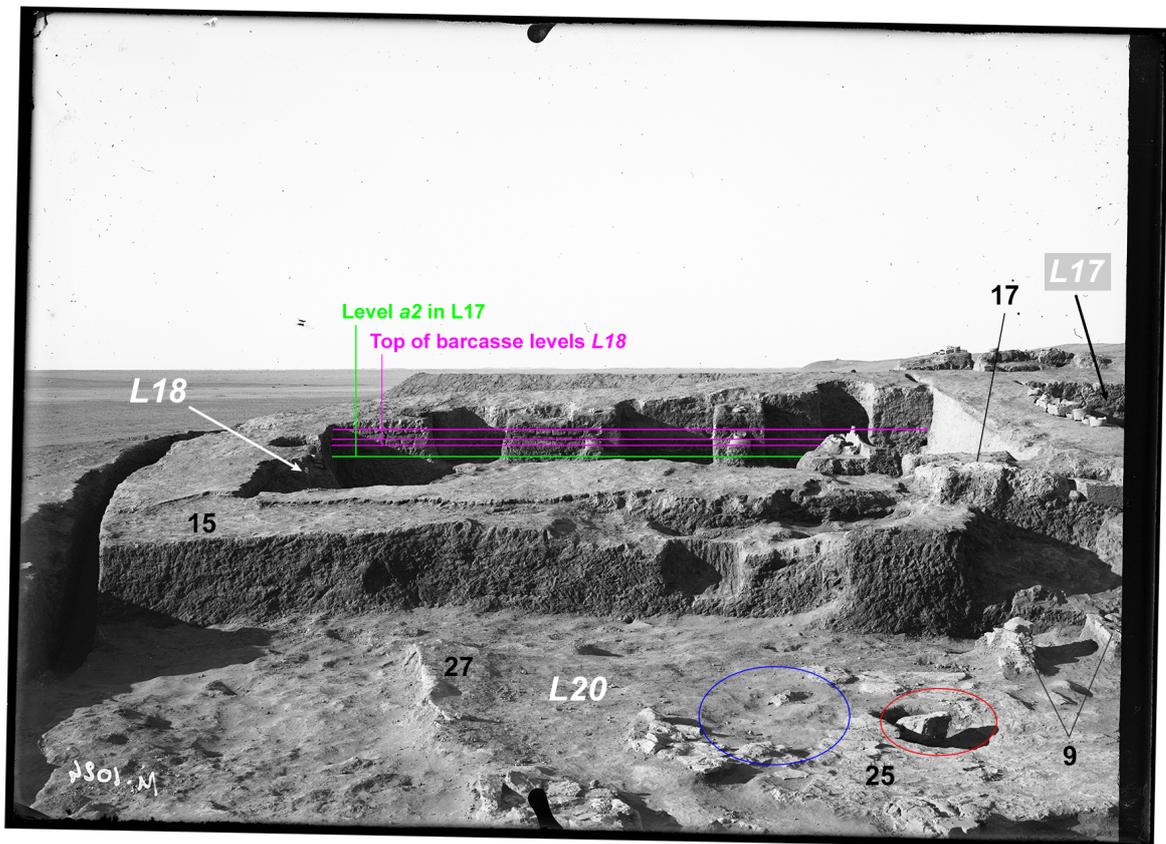


Figure A.29 – VIEW OF THE AREA L20, SOUTH OF L18. CONTINUATION OF THE PREVIOUS PHOTOGRAPH (FIGURE A.28), SHOWING THE AREA L20 LOCATED SOUTH OF L18. RECONSTRUCTED LEVELS ARE ILLUSTRATED, THOUGH THESE ARE ONLY TENTATIVE AS THE DISTANCE FROM THE FEATURES MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO RECONSTRUCT THE ACTUAL FLOORS AND STRATIGRAPHIC LEVELS. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT THE “PAVEMENT” IN L20 (25) IS LOCATED CA. 1–1.5M BELOW THE BOTTOM OF THE STONE LAYER IN THE SE CORNER OF L18 (17). A SHALLOW WALL (33) THAT APPEARS IN BOTH THE INTERIM PLAN (FIGURE A.2) AND THE PUBLISHED PLAN OF LEVEL A (FIGURE A.7) APPEARS HERE AT A SIMILAR ELEVATION. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THIS WALL IS NOT CLEAR, THOUGH IT IS NOT AT THE SAME ELEVATION AS THE LOWER WALLS IDENTIFIED AS THE WALLS OF THE COURTYARD AND WHICH BELONG WITH A LOWER LEVEL (SEE FIGURE A.46). PHOTOGRAPH DATED 19/03/1934.

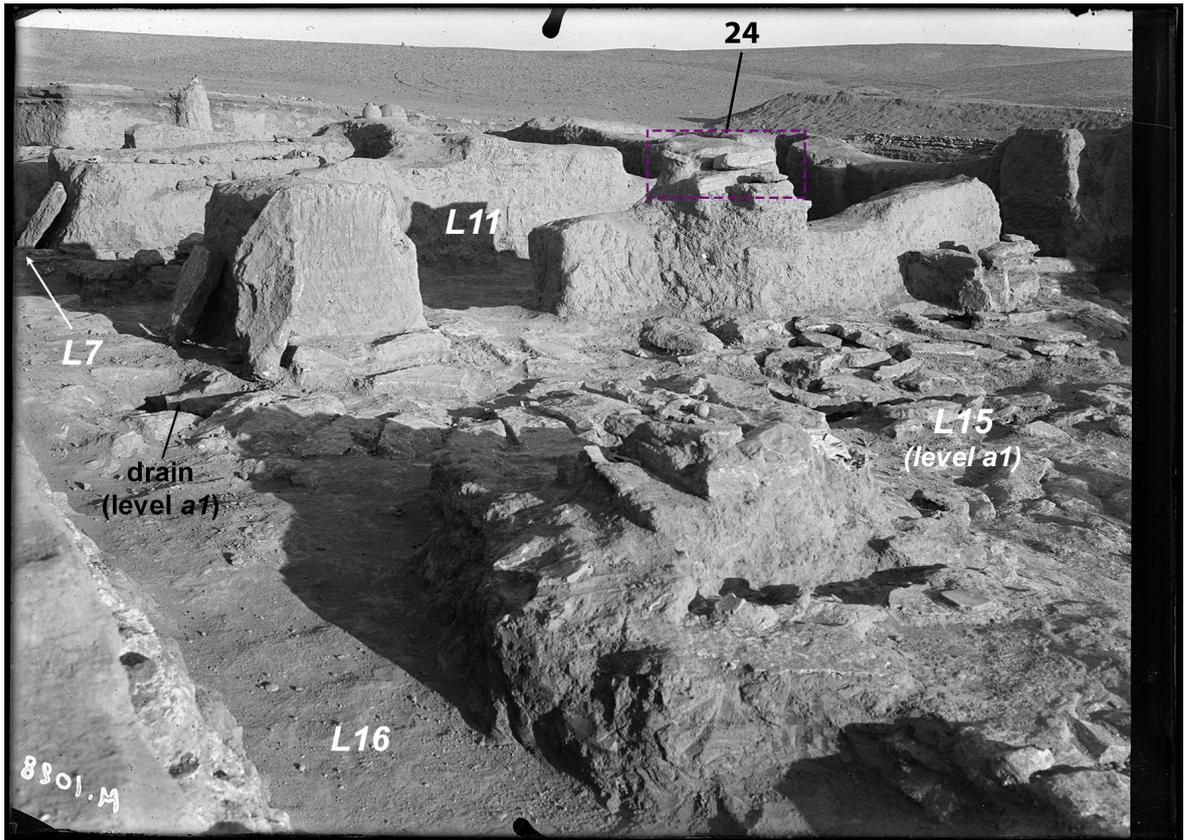


Figure A.30 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION IN L15, E WALL. THE STONE PAVEMENT HAS BEEN CLEANED. (24) MARKS WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A HIGHER LEVEL, COMPLETELY LOST TO EROSION. THIS LEVEL WAS PROBABLY ASSOCIATED WITH A CITY III CONSTRUCTION AND THE DIORITE STATUARY FOUND IN THE ENVIRONS. SEE ALSO FIGURE A.40. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 19/03/1934.

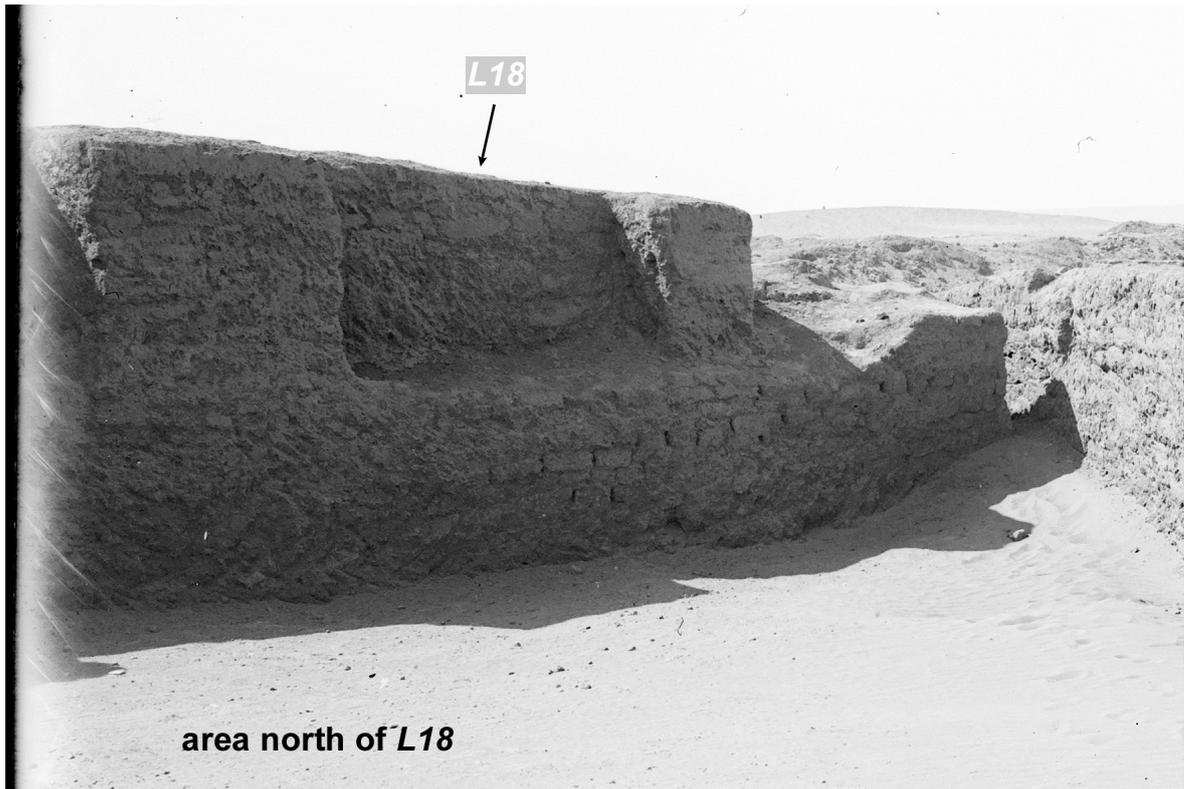


Figure A.31 – VIEW OF THE EXTERIOR OF L18 FROM THE NORTH. WHEN COMPARED WITH FIGURE A.11, THE SECTION OF WALL THAT APPEARS HERE CORRESPONDS TO THE WESTERNMOST BUTTRESSES, BETWEEN WHICH A DOORWAY HAS BEEN SUGGESTED. GIVEN THE STRUCTURES INSIDE THE ROOM AND THE CLEAR MUDBRICK SHOWN IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH, A DOORWAYS APPEARS UNLIKELY TO HAVE BEEN PLACED HERE UNLESS AT A HIGHER ELEVATION. THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN WHAT APPEARS TO BE A LOWER MUDBRICK PLATFORM AND THE BUTTRESSED WALL SEEMS TO SUGGEST THE LATTER WAS ABOVE FLOOR LEVEL. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

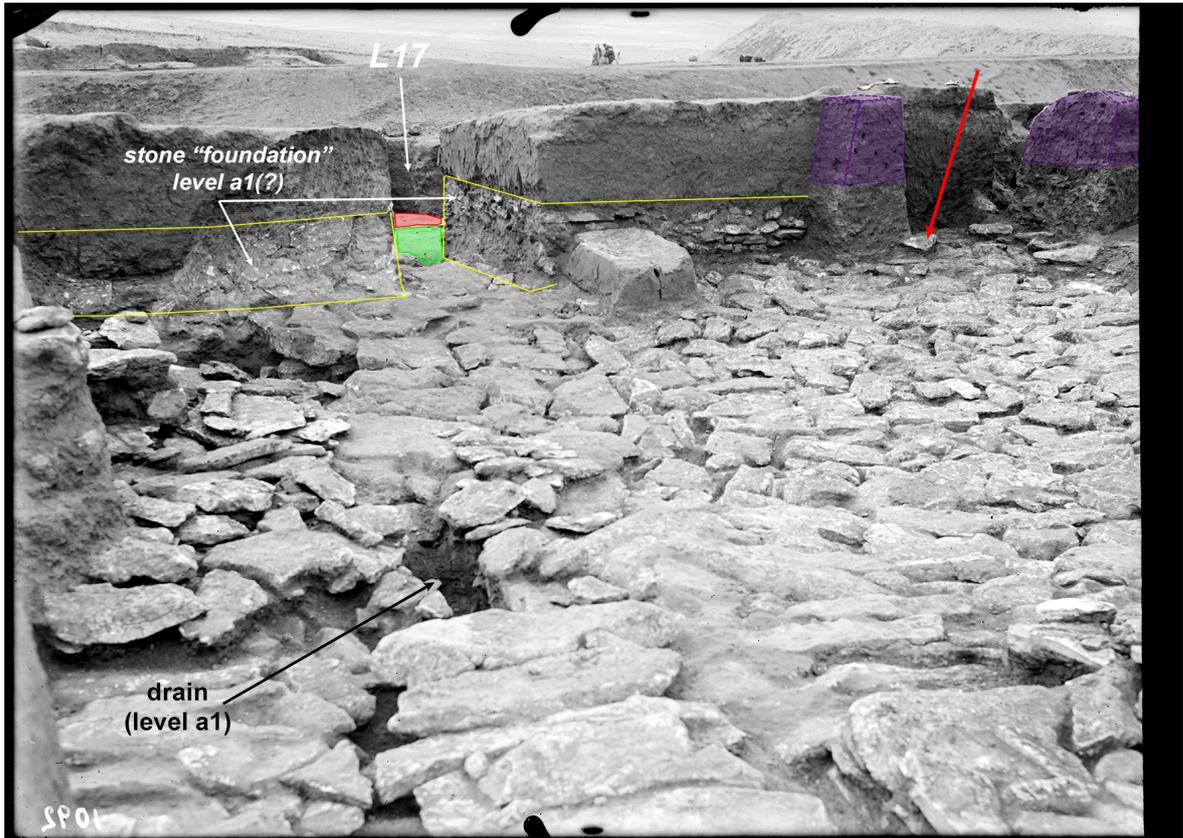


Figure A.32 – VIEW OF THE STONE FLOOR IN L₁₅ FROM THE NORTH. THE STONE WALL IN L₁₇ IS CLEARLY VISIBLE AND APPEARS TO BE AT OR ABOVE THE L₁₅ LEVEL. SOME STRUCTURES ON THE RIGHT (PURPLE) ARE PROBABLY FROM A LATER LEVEL. THROUGH THE DOORWAY TO L₁₇ IT IS POSSIBLE TO DISTINGUISH THE FLOOR OF LEVEL *a2* AND PODIUM *b*, WHICH STAND AT A SIMILAR HEIGHT. AS EVIDENCED IN THE PRELIMINARY PLAN PUBLISHED AFTER THE END OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN (FIGURE A.2; PARROT 1935A: PL. 5), THE EXCAVATION IN L₁₇ STOPPED AT LEVEL *a2* DURING THE 1934 SEASON. THIS IS THE STATE OF THE EXCAVATION EARLY INTO THE SECOND SEASON. THE RED ARROW MARKS A STONE VISIBLE IN AN EARLIER PHOTOGRAPH (FIGURE A.26). PHOTOGRAPH DATED “END OF DECEMBER 1934.”

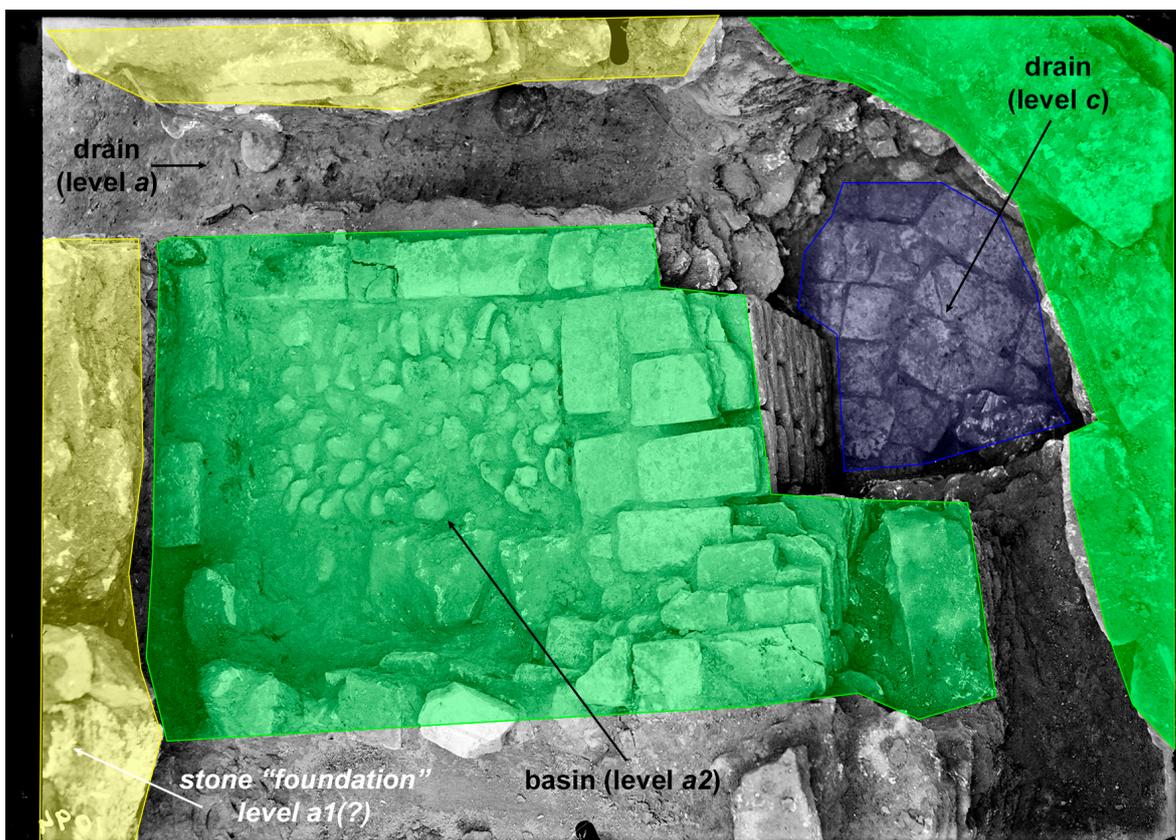


Figure A.33 – VIEW FROM ABOVE OF THE SE CORNER OF L15 WITH DRAIN SYSTEM. THE BRICK BASIN APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN FILLED IN WITH COBBLESTONES, AND THE STONE FOUNDATION IS CLEARLY ABOVE THE STRUCTURE. BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE DRAIN AT WHICH SEVERAL SMALL CUPS ARE VISIBLE, ANOTHER PAVED LEVEL APPEARS, WHICH MUST CORRESPOND WITH THE LOWER LEVELS *b/c*. THE SEQUENCE AT THIS LEVEL IS NOT CLEAR FROM THE EXTANT PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE (SEE FIGURES A.43 AND A.52). THE FLOOR OF LEVEL *b/c* THAT APPEARS IN THE PICTURE IS ALSO VISIBLE AT A LATER STAGE IN THE EXCAVATION (SEE FIGURE A.52, NO. 23).

PHOTOGRAPH DATED 29/12/1934.

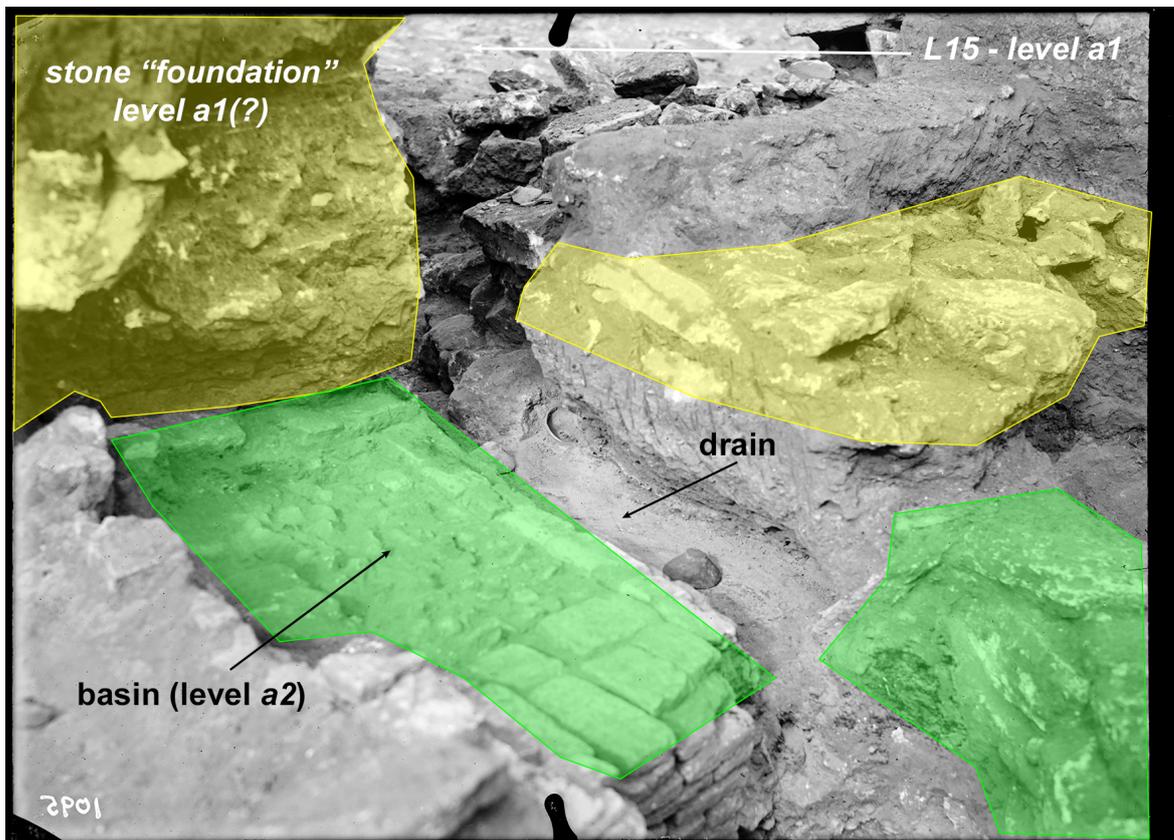


Figure A.34 – VIEW OF SE CORNER OF L₁₅ WITH DRAIN SYSTEM. AT THE BACK, L₁₅ STONE FLOORING IS VISIBLE. IT IS CLEAR THE STONE FOUNDATION IS STRATIGRAPHICALLY ABOVE THE BRICK BASIN, WHICH WAS PROBABLY FILLED IN DURING THIS CONSTRUCTION LEVEL AS THE N WALL OF L₁₇ WAS WIDENED. THE LEVEL IN L₁₅ WHEN THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS TAKEN CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND. IT IS CLEAR THIS CORNER WAS EXCAVATED BEFORE THE STONE PAVEMENT IN L₁₅ WAS LIFTED. LOGICALLY, THE PAVEMENT IN THIS AREA WOULD HAVE BEEN BELOW THE PAVEMENT LEVEL ELSEWHERE TO ENSURE DRAINAGE. THIS IS ALSO EVIDENT IN THE LOWER LEVELS (FIGURE A.52. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 19/12/1934.

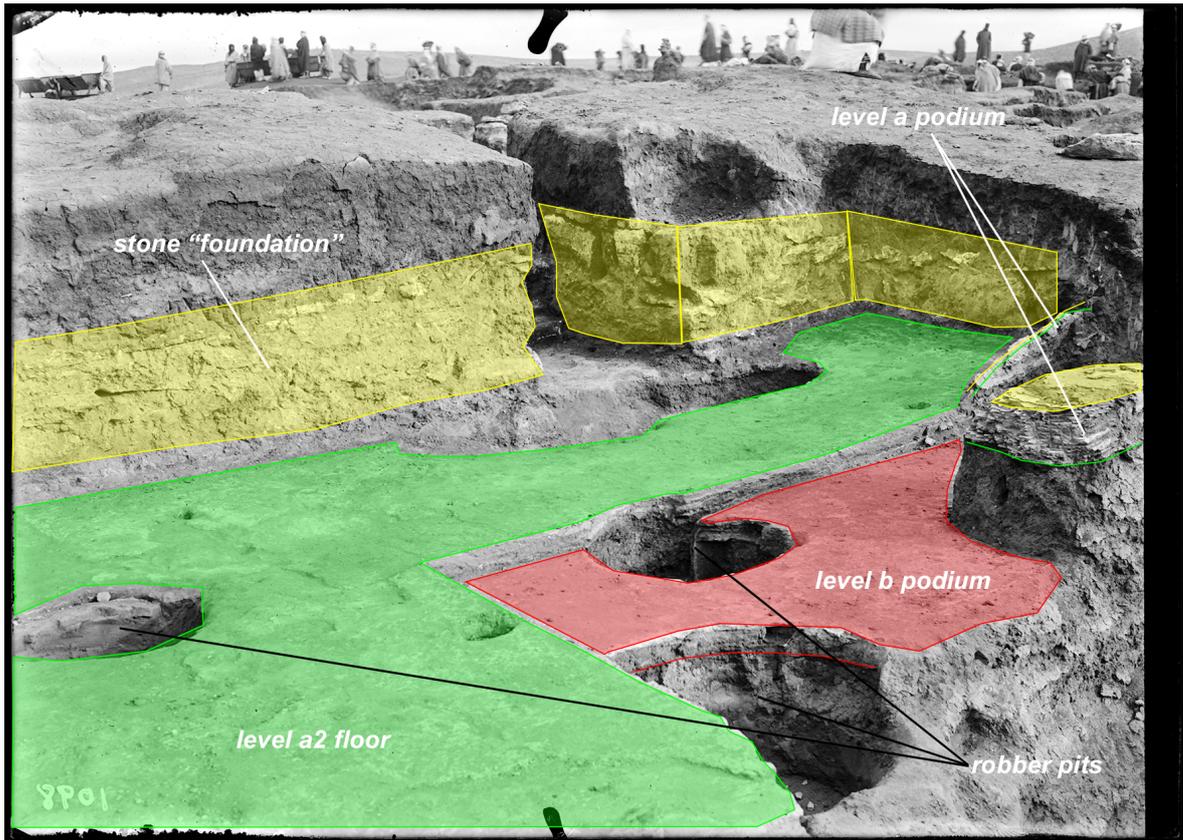


Figure A.35 – Excavation in L17 (DATED 30/12/34). PROBABLY TAKEN WITH P.1092 AS THE SECOND SEASON BEGAN. FROM INSIDE L17, THE STONE FOUNDATION IS CLEARLY VISIBLE ABOVE FLOOR a2. FLOOR a1 IS DESCRIBED AROUND 0.40M ABOVE FLOOR a2, WHICH WOULD PLACE IT APPROXIMATELY AT A HALFWAY POINT OF THE STONE FOUNDATION HEIGHT. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 30/12/1934.

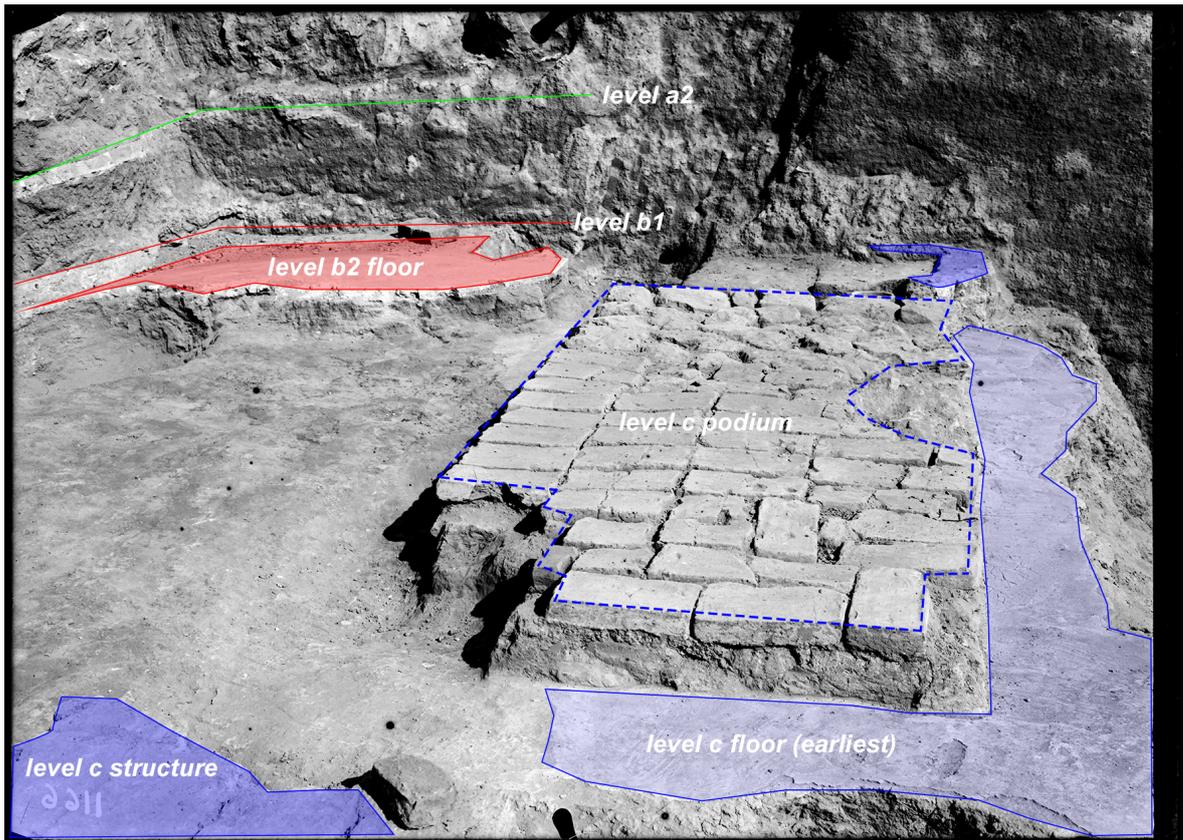


Figure A.37 – VIEW OF L17 EARLIEST FLOOR OF LEVEL *c* WITH DENUDED PODIUM. FLOOR EXTENDED UNDER PODIUM. SECTION OF FLOOR *b2* IS VISIBLE IN NE CORNER, WITH RECONSTRUCTED FLOORS *b1* AND *a2* ON THE WALL. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

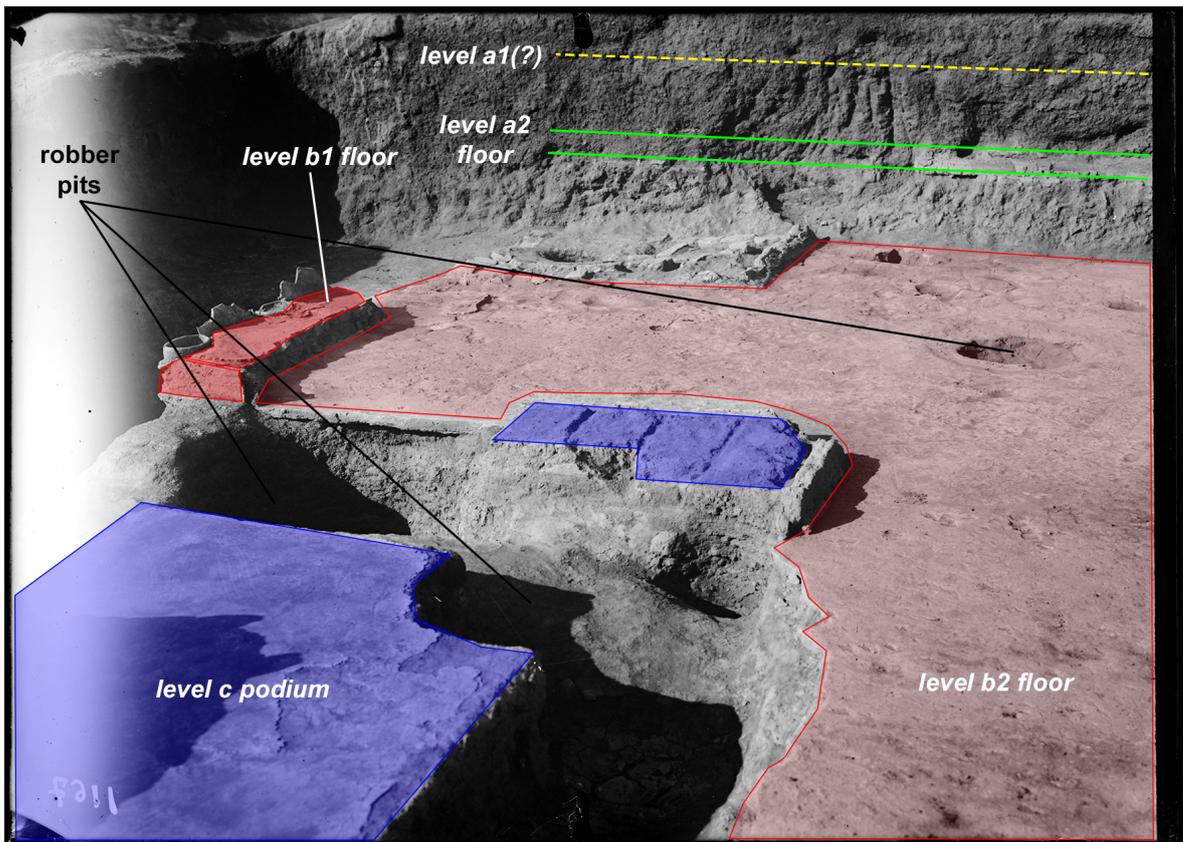


Figure A.38 – VIEW OF L₁₇ ON *b*₂ FLOOR AND LEVEL *c* PODIUM, WITH RECONSTRUCTED FLOORS *a*₁ (STONE FOUNDATION LEVEL) AND *a*₂. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

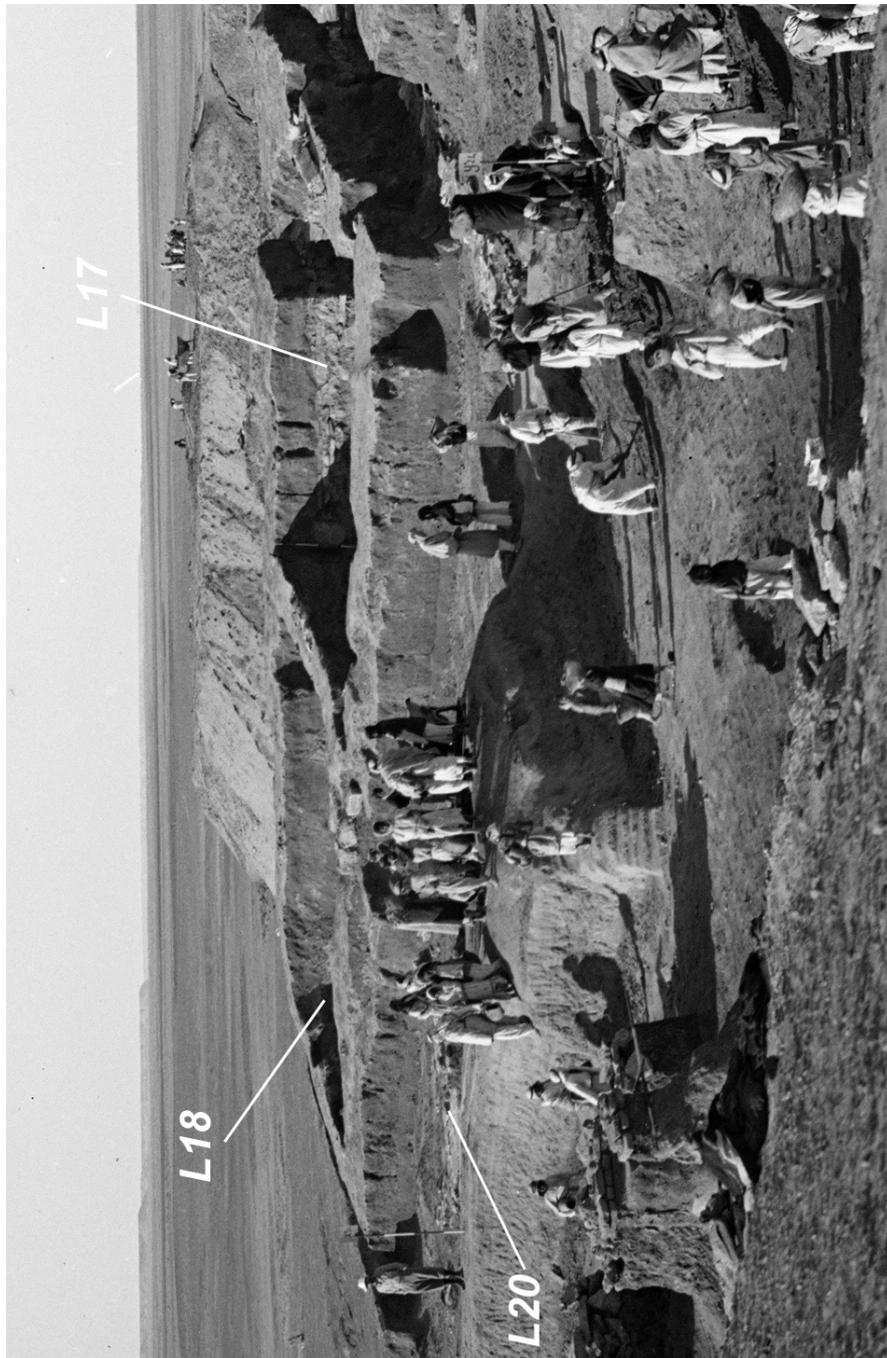


Figure A.39 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION FROM THE SE. NOTE THE METRE STICKS (0.5M SECTIONS) IN THE NW CORNER OF L17 AND AT THE BOTTOM OF L20 WITH A MAN STANDING NEXT TO IT. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

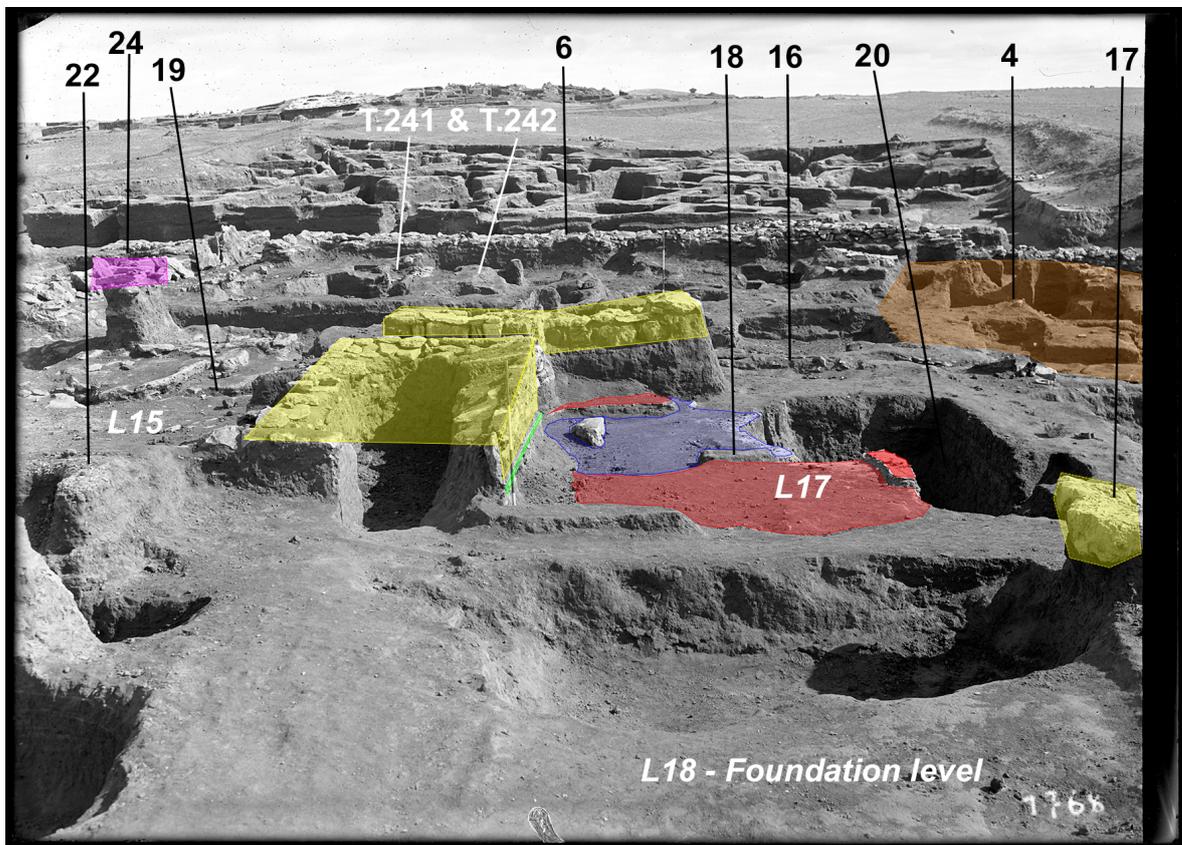


Figure A.40 – VIEW OF L17 FROM W (L18), SHOWING ADVANCED STAGE OF EXCAVATION. IN THIS PICTURE, THE MUDBRICK WALLS HAVE BEEN REMOVED DOWN TO THE STONE FOUNDATIONS. BOTH LEVEL *b* AND LEVEL *c* FLOORS ARE VISIBLE, WITH ONLY THE LAST REMAINS OF THE ALTAR-LIKE STRUCTURE VISIBLE (18) ON EARLIEST FLOOR (BLUE). TO THE RIGHT, THE HOLE EXCAVATED IN THE S SIDE OF L17 (20) IS CLEARLY VISIBLE. THIS AREA SHOWED GREAT DISTURBANCE AND NO PLASTER FLOORS WERE FOUND BELOW SURFACE LEVELS; HOWEVER, TWO FOUNDATION DEPOSITS WERE FOUND APPROXIMATELY AT SAME HEIGHT AS LEVEL *c* FLOOR (M.335 AND M350). THESE APPEAR TO BE RE-FOUNDATION DEPOSITS FROM A LATER CONSTRUCTION LEVEL THAT DESTROYED THE PREVIOUS LAYERS IN THIS AREA—POSSIBLY ASSOCIATED WITH STONE FOUNDATIONS. NOTE THE RELATIVE HEIGHT WITH L18 FOUNDATION LEVEL, WHERE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS WERE UNCOVERED IN THIS ROOM (SEE FIGURE 4.6). TO THE LEFT, L15 APPEARS APPROXIMATELY ON FLOOR 22 BELOW THE LATER ADDITION OF A STONE AND GRAVEL FLOOR (22) THAT SUPPORTED A NEW STONE DRAINING SYSTEM NW AND SW OF THE ROOM (19 AND 16). THE FOUNDATION WORK FOR THE NEW STONE FLOORING MOST LIKELY DAMAGED THE EARLIER LEVEL OF L15, WHICH WOULD HAVE MOST LIKELY BEEN PLASTERED JUST AS LEVELS *c/b*. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 31/01/1936.

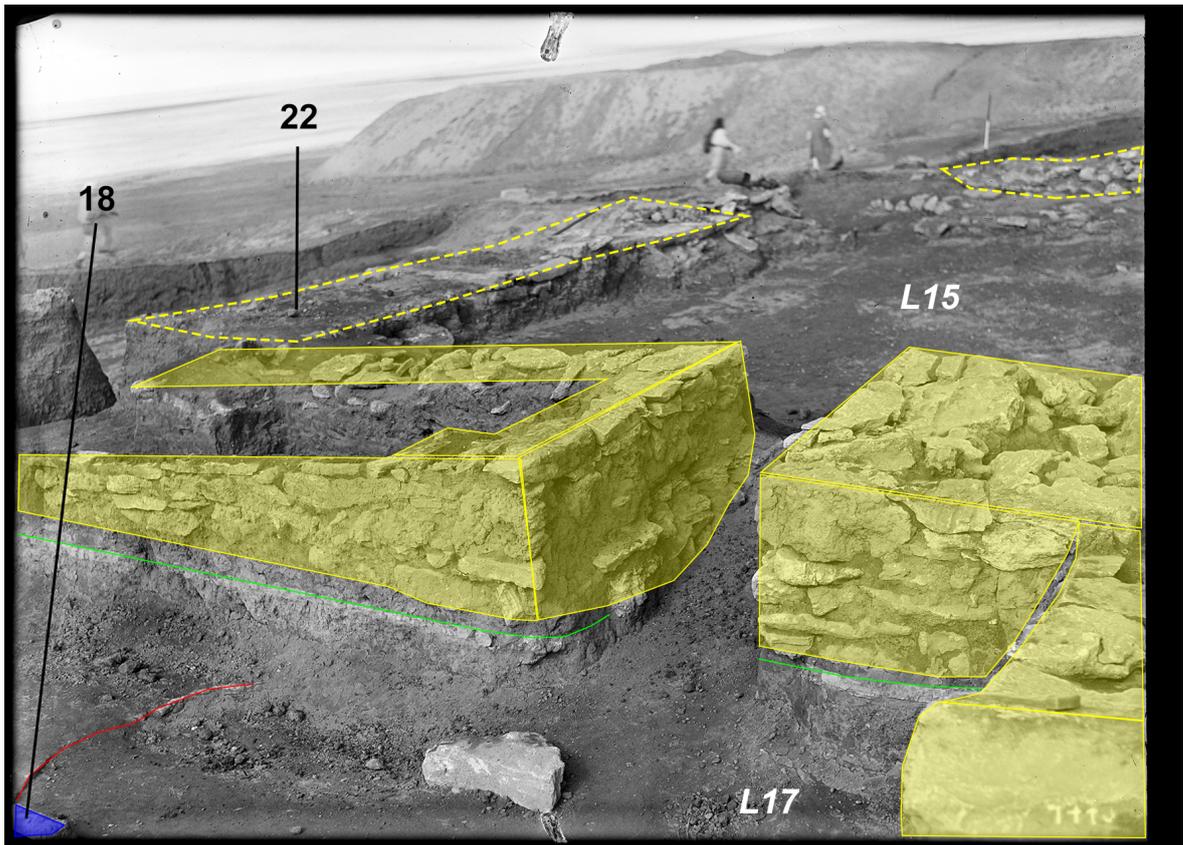


Figure A.41 – View of stone foundation in relation with levels in L17 and L15. The W wall of L15 with associated gravel and stone pavement appears clearly at the bottom level of the stone foundation, thus reinforcing their stratigraphic relationship. The noticeable level difference between L17 and L15 strongly suggests that the L15 pavement of level *a* is not the stone and gravel one suggested by Parrot; rather, the associated level must be located at or below the floor level in L17.

PHOTOGRAPH DATED 31/01/1936.

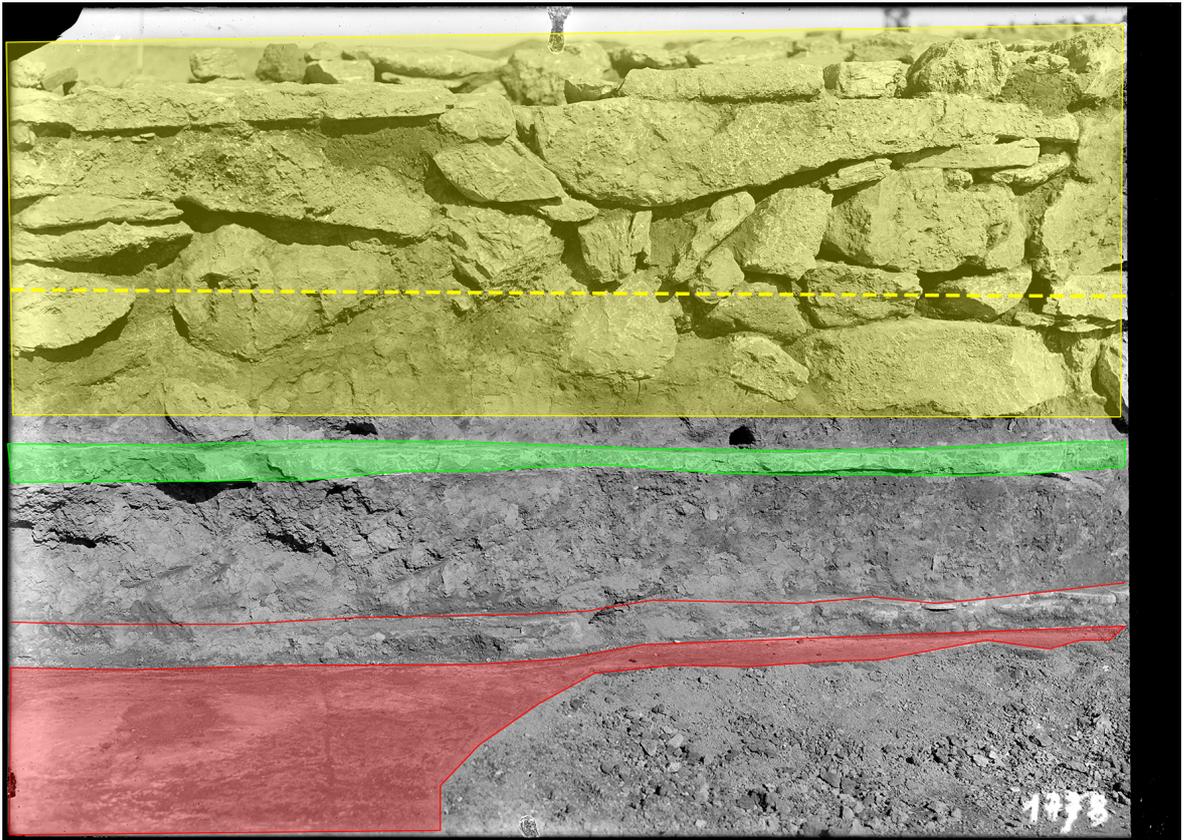


Figure A.42 – CLOSE-UP VERTICAL PROFILE VIEW OF STRATIGRAPHIC LEVELS IN L17.
PHOTOGRAPH DATED 31/01/1936.

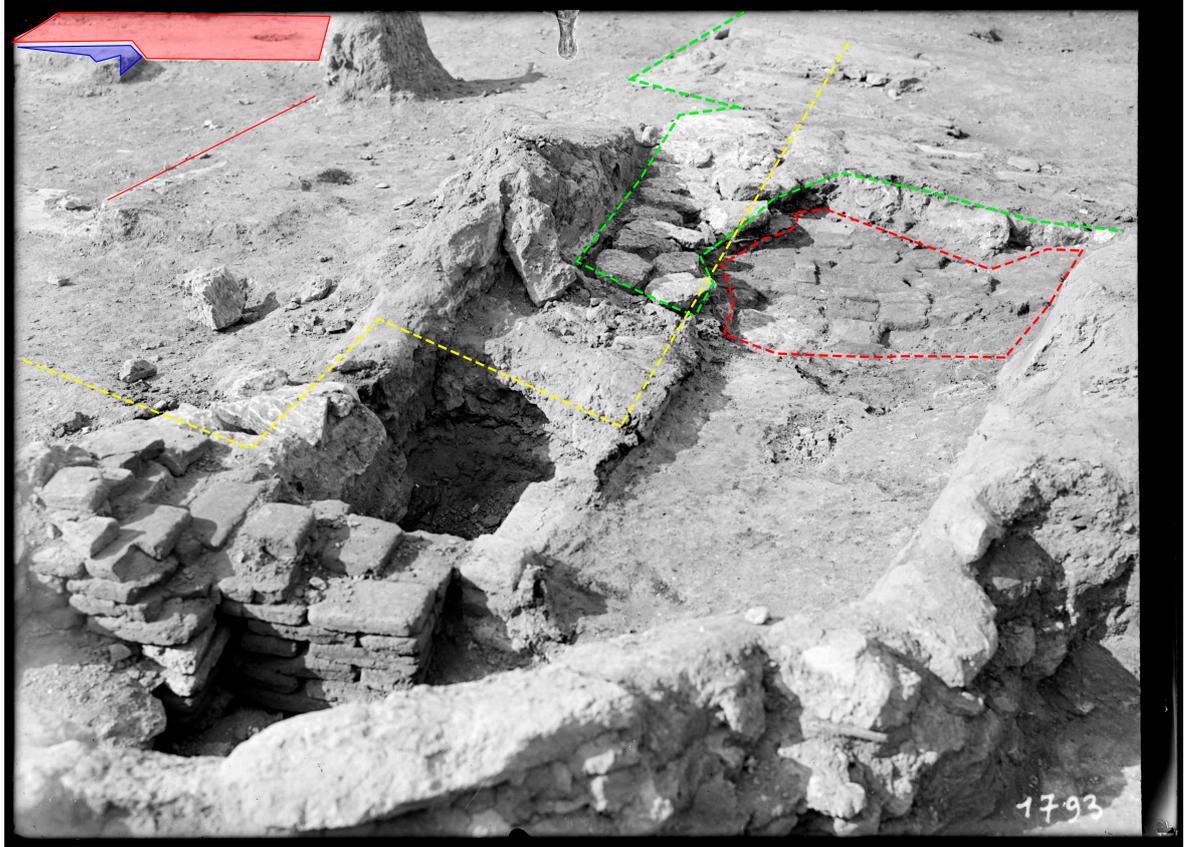


Figure A.43 – VIEW OF THE SE CORNER OF L₁₅ SHOWING THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEVELS AND ASSOCIATED FEATURES IN THE COURTYARD AND L₁₇ IN THE BACKGROUND.

IN MY REASSESSMENT OF THE STRATIGRAPHY, I HAVE REASSIGNED THE LEVELS IN L₁₅ SO THAT THEY FALL AT OR BELOW THE CORRESPONDING LEVEL IN L₁₇, AS WOULD BE EXPECTED. THE LEVEL REFERENCE IN L₁₇ MARKS LEVEL *b*, WHICH STANDS SLIGHTLY BELOW THE PAVED AREA IN THIS PICTURE. AGAINST PARROT'S ASSESSMENT, THE WATER BASIN BELONGS TO LEVEL *a*/FLOOR *a2* (BELOW THE STONE FOUNDATION) AND THE CORRESPONDING FLOOR IN L₁₅ IS WHAT PARROT ASSIGNED TO LEVEL *b*. THIS WOULD ALLOW FOR THE THREE LAYERS OF BURIED VESSELS IN L₁₅ TO CORRESPOND WITH THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN L₁₇ RESPECTING THE LEVELS ACROSS THE TEMPLE, AS WELL AS THE UPWARDS DIRECTION INTO THE INNER CHAMBER, RATHER THAN PARROT'S RECONSTRUCTION OF STEPS DOWN INTO L₁₇ FROM L₁₅ IN LEVEL *a*. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

(THE DASHED LINES FOLLOW THE PROFILE OF THE WALL—BY THEN REMOVED IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCAVATION—ASSOCIATED WITH FLOORS *a2* AND *a1*)

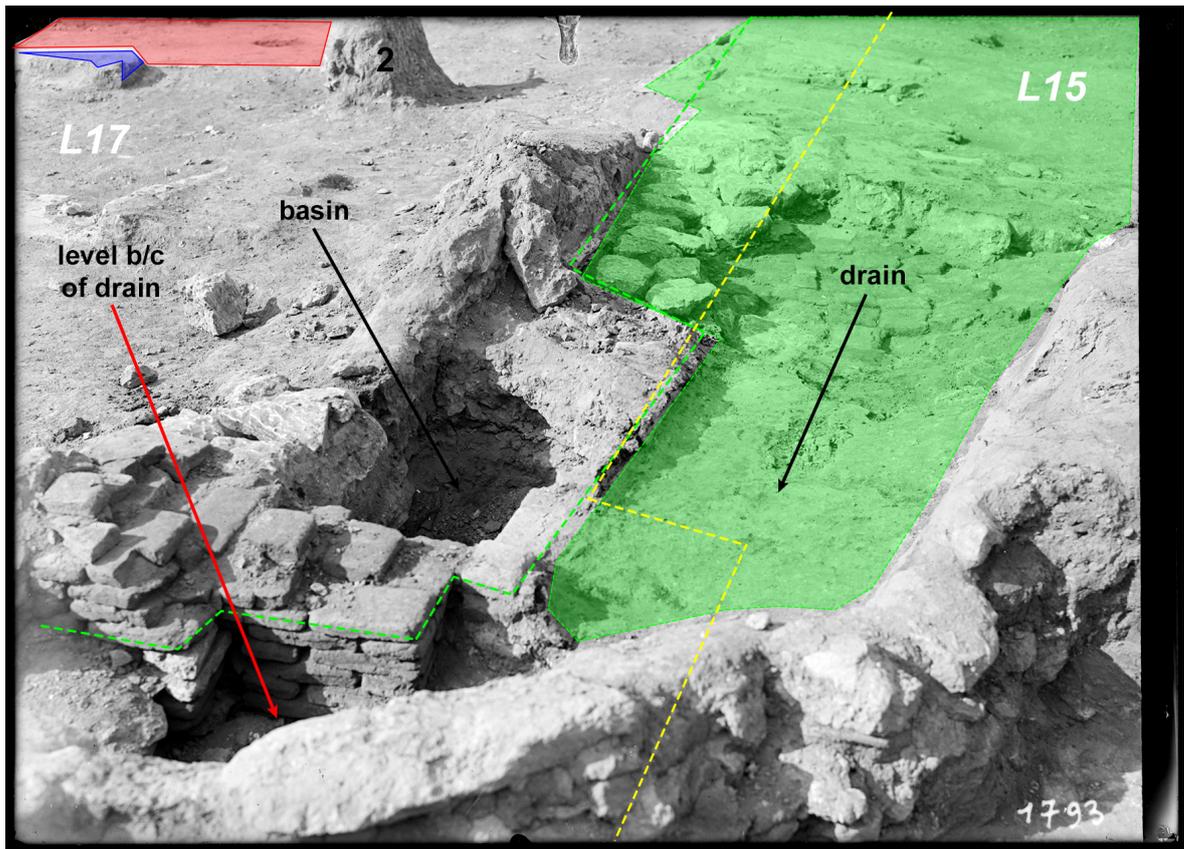


Figure A.44 – VIEW OF THE SE CORNER OF L15 DOWN TO LEVEL *a*, ROUGHLY FLOOR *a2*.

ANOTHER VIEW RECONSTRUCTING THE EXTENSION OF LEVEL *a2* OVER THE CORNER OF THE COURTYARD WHERE THE BASIN MADE OF BRICKS WAS BUILT BETWEEN LEVELS *b/c* AND *a* (THE DASHED LINES FOLLOW THE PROFILE OF THE WALL—BY THEN REMOVED IN THE COURSE OF THE EXCAVATION—ASSOCIATED WITH FLOORS *a2* AND *a1*). NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.



Figure A.45 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION OF FOUNDATION DEPOSITS IN L18. TO THE RIGHT, RELATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH L17 LEVELS, SHOWING THAT FOUNDATIONS OF L18 STAND AT LEAST 1M ABOVE L17 FOUNDATIONS, WITH L18 FLOOR LEVELS CLOSER TO L17 LEVEL *a*. ALL THE DEPOSITS ARE WITHIN THE 35–45CM RANGE IN NAIL LENGTH. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT IMPLY NECESSARILY CONTEMPORANEOUS FOUNDATION WITH L17 SINCE DEPOSITS M.335 AND M.350 WERE FOUND IN THE FLOOR AND WALL OF THE LATTER AROUND THE SAME LEVEL AS FLOORS IN LEVEL *c* IN L17, CLEARLY ABOVE THE PRIMARY FOUNDATION DEPOSITS (SEE ALSO FIGURE A.54). THE STONE FOUNDATION EXCAVATED IN L17 (YELLOW—CONTINUOUS LINE) LIES CLOSER IN HEIGHT TO THE STONE STRUCTURE UNCOVERED ON THE SE CORNER OF L18 THAT PARROT IDENTIFIED AS THE REMAINS OF STEPS LEADING FROM THE SO-CALLED “COURTYARD” (L20) INTO THE ROOM (17). MARGUERON (2014A) NOTES THAT THE IDENTIFICATION OF THESE STONES WITH AN ENTRANCE TO L18 IS DUBIOUS AND CONFUSED DUE TO HEAVY EROSION IN THIS AREA. THE EVIDENCE SUGGESTS THESE MAY BE THE REMAINS OF A LATER STONE FOUNDATION COINCIDING WITH THAT IN L17, BUT OF WHICH LITTLE REMAINS, PROBABLY DUE TO LOOTING AND EROSION. THE VARIATION IN HEIGHT BETWEEN L18/L17 FLOORS AND L20 (9) CAN BE OBSERVED NEAR THE S WALL OF L18 (15), SHOWING A DIFFERENCE OF OVER 1M WHEN COMPARED TO THE HEIGHT OF THE CLOSEST WORKER. NOTE THAT THE WALL STRUCTURE OBSERVED IN FIGURE A.46 AND ASCRIBED TO L20 BY PARROT IS NOT YET VISIBLE HERE. THUS, THAT STRUCTURE COULD NOT BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE STONE PAVEMENT UNCOVERED ON A HIGHER LEVEL. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

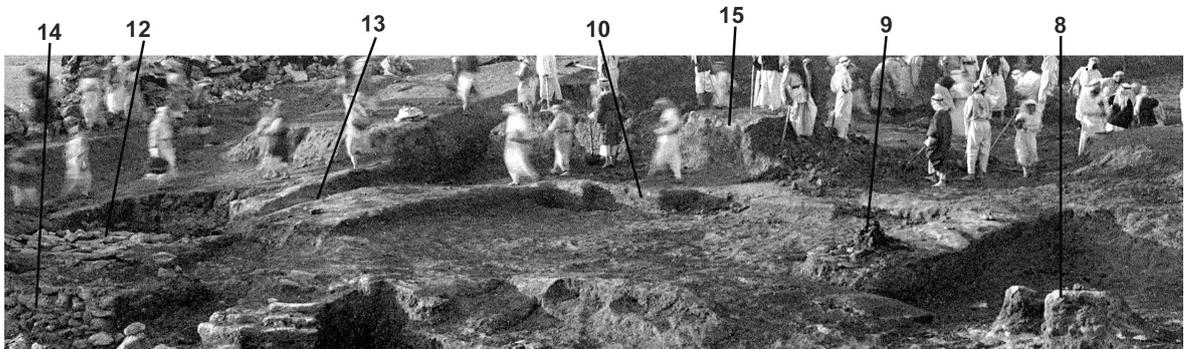


Figure A.46 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION FROM SE. THIS VIEW CORRESPONDS TO AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE BETWEEN THE EXCAVATION OF THE UPPER LEVELS (*c,b,a*) AND THE LOWER ONES (*d,e,f*). THE STRATIGRAPHIC REFERENCE IN L17 (2) SHOWS LEVELS *a* (GREEN), *b* (RED), AND *c* (BLUE). TO THE LEFT, WORKERS ARE DISMANTLING THE S WALL OF L18 (15), BELOW WHICH THE SO-CALLED WALL OF L20 IS VISIBLE (10). TO THE E, REMAINS OF L20 INSTALLATION (9) APPEAR, WITH ANOTHER STRATIGRAPHIC REFERENCE S OF L17 (8). THE DRAIN FROM ERODED UPPERMOST LEVEL OF L15 (16) FLANKS THE STEPPED EXCAVATION OF THE TEMPLE. TO THE W, LOWER LEVELS ARE IN THE PROCESS OF EXCAVATION; STONE WALL/FOUNDATION (12 AND 14); AND W WALL OF “TEMPLE D” (13). THE STRATIGRAPHIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE CONSTRUCTION LEVELS IS CLEAR DESPITE PERSPECTIVE ERROR. THE NATURE OR EXISTENCE OF L20 AS DESCRIBED BY PARROT REMAINS AMBIGUOUS AND THE WALL (10) PUBLISHED BY PARROT (SEE FIGURE A.7 CANNOT BE DETERMINED GIVEN THE SCANT EVIDENCE. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

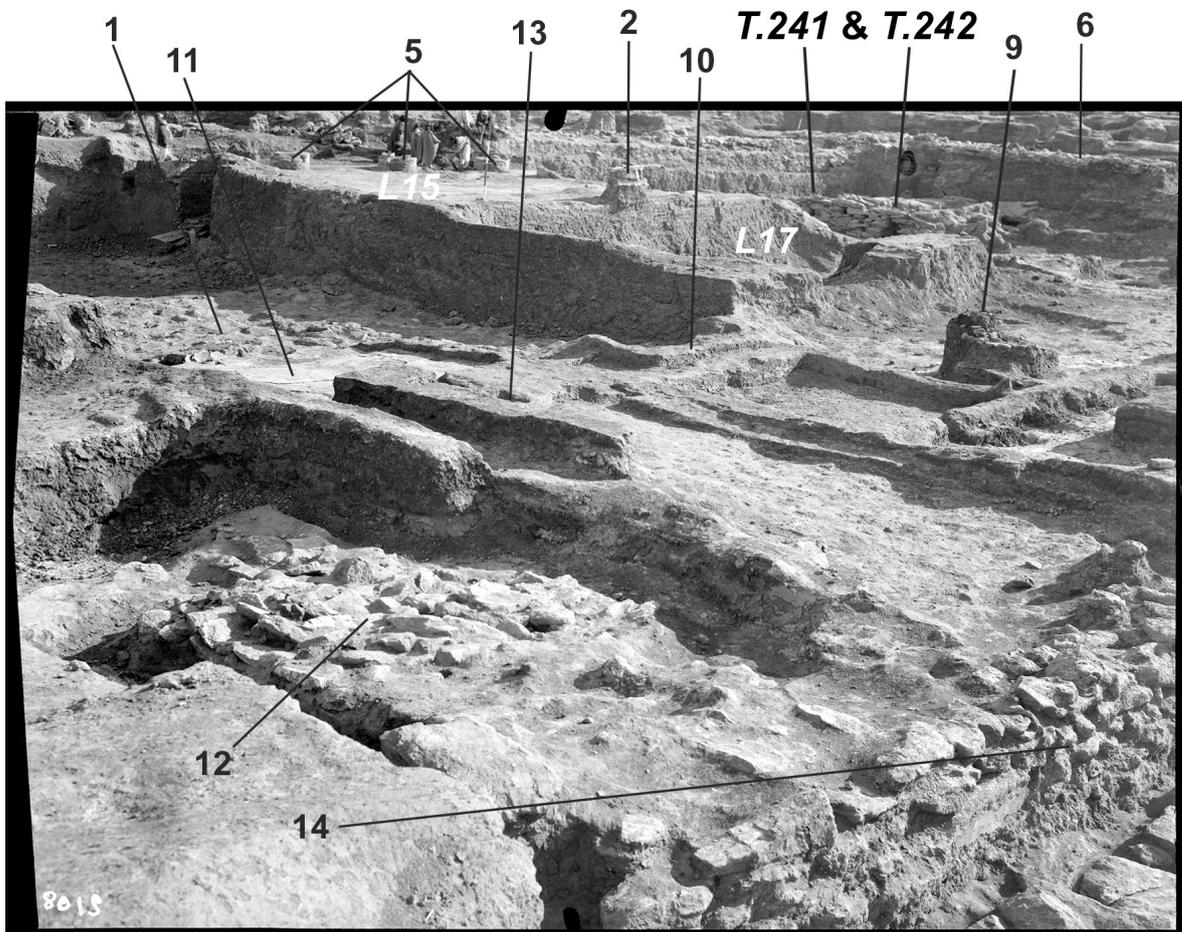


Figure A.47 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION FROM SW (ON TOP OF CITY WALL), SHOWING RELATIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN L20, L17, STONE WALLS, AND “TEMPLE D”. THE PLASTER FLOOR (11) IS JUST ABOVE THE STONE PLATFORM LEVEL JUST APPEARING BENEATH L18 (1). TRACES OF WALL S OF L18 DESCRIBED BY PARROT AS A COURTYARD WALL ARE VISIBLE (10) WITH INSTALLATION SHOWING AT RAISED LEVEL (9) ABOVE OTHER STRUCTURES ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL *d*. BOTH THE PLASTER FLOOR ROOM (11) AND THE LONG ROOM WITH INTERRED VESSELS OR “BARCASSES” (13) APPEAR AT SIMILAR HEIGHT JUST BELOW FEATURES (10) AND (9). THE ASSOCIATION OF THESE LEVELS WITH THE STONE WALL W AND S (12 AND 14) IS UNCLEAR. SIMILAR STRUCTURES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY I WALL AND A GATE (MARGUERON AND ET AL. 2016A,B; MARGUERON 2014B: 38); HOWEVER, REMAINS OF CITY I WALL HAVE NOT BEEN OBSERVED AT THIS LOCATION (MARGUERON AND ET AL. 2016C: 97) AND THE LOCATION OF THE STONE PROJECTION ON THE INSIDE SUGGESTS A DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION, PERHAPS CONNECTED WITH THE PLASTERED ROOMS AND INSTALLATIONS. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

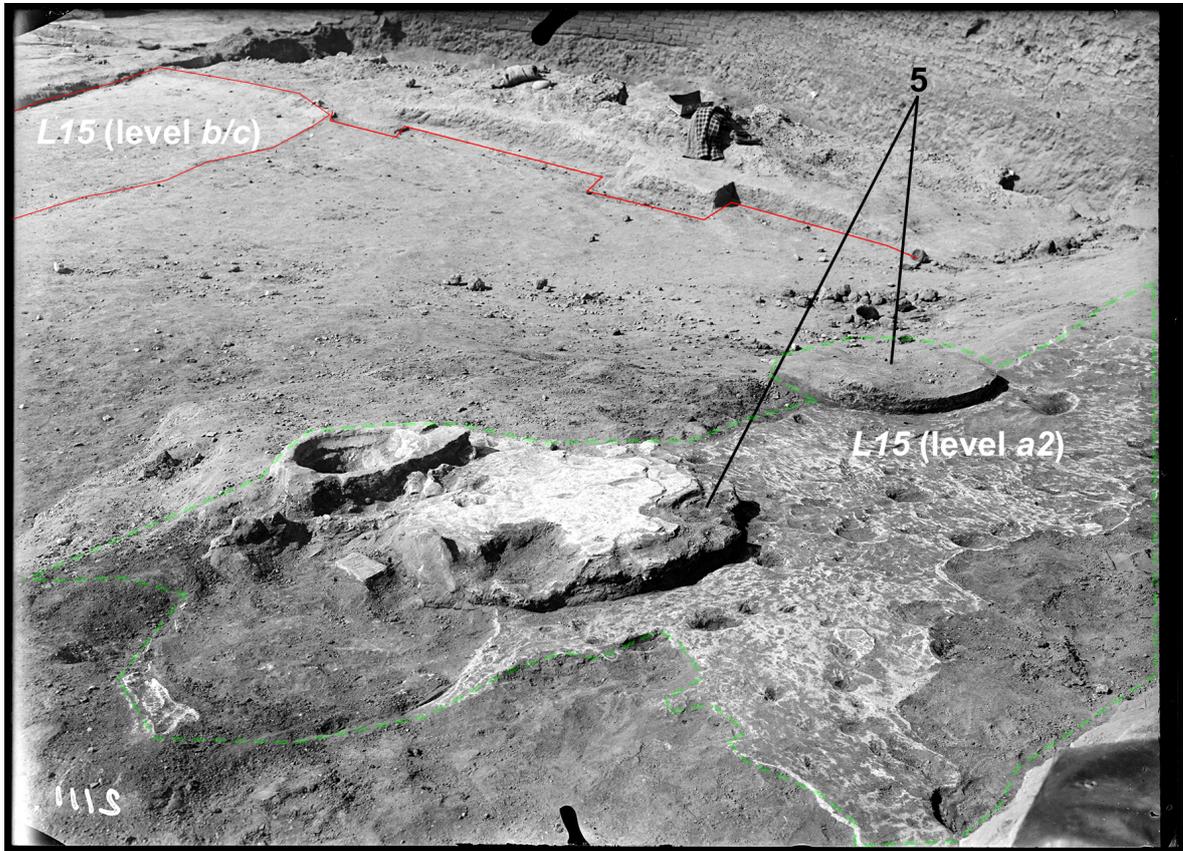


Figure A.48 – VIEW OF L15 WITH REMAINS OF PLASTERING ON FLOOR AND PILLARS.

PARROT ASSIGNED THE PLASTERED FLOOR IN THE FOREGROUND TO LEVEL *B*. HOWEVER, THE REASSESSMENT CARRIED OUT RESOLVES THE ISSUE OF THE SLOPE DESCRIBED BY PARROT IN THIS ROOM THROUGH A MORE FITTING RE-ASSIGNATION OF THE LEVELS. SINCE LEVEL *A2* IS NOW FIRMLY PLACED BELOW THE STONE FOUNDATION, THE REMAINING PLASTER FLOOR IN L15 JUST BELOW THE STONE PAVEMENT MUST CORRESPOND WITH LEVEL *A2* IN L17. THE EXACT PURPOSE AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PLASTERING OF THE PILLARS AND THE PLASTERED BASIN PLACED NEXT TO IT IS DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN. PERHAPS WITH LEVEL *A2* THE PILLARED COURTYARD WAS SUBSTITUTED BY A DIFFERENT ARRANGEMENT AND THAT IS WHY THE PILLARS APPEAR PLASTERED OVER. NEVERTHELESS, THE LEVEL AT WHICH THE FIRST SET OF *BARCASSES* APPEARED ALONG THE SOUTH WALL OF L15 IS MUCH LOWER THAN THE LEVEL AT THE NORTH END OF THE ROOM. ALTHOUGH PARROT ASSIGNED ALL OF THEM TO LEVEL *C*, IT SEEMS MORE LOGICAL TO ASSIGN THE PLASTERED FLOOR IN THE BACKGROUND TO LEVEL *B* (SEE ALSO FIGURE A.53, SO THAT IT CORRESPONDS WITH THE LEVELS OBSERVED IN L17. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.



Figure A.49 – VIEW OF L₁₅ FROM THE NE, LEVEL C. PLASTERED AREA (LEFT) PROBABLY BELONGS WITH LEVEL B (SEE FIGURE A.48). NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.

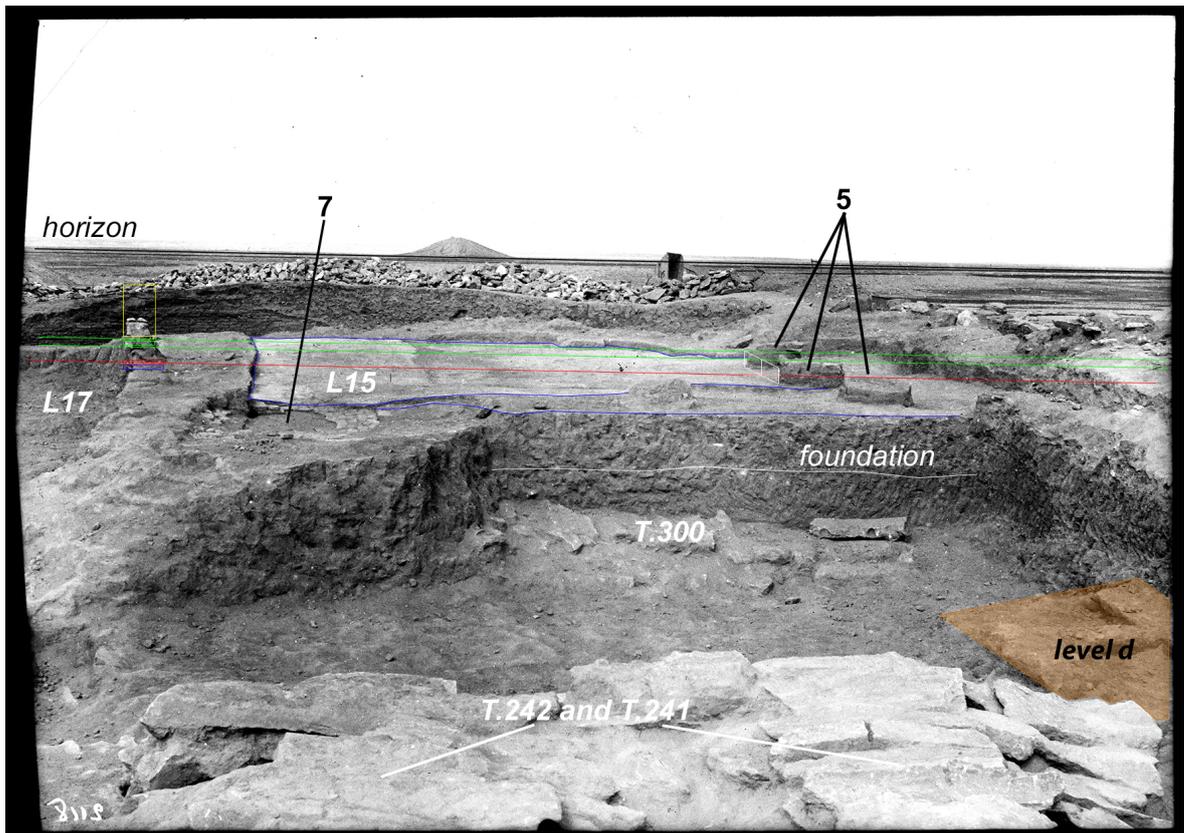


Figure A.50 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION IN COURTYARD L15 TAKEN FROM THE TOP OF THE ENCLOSURE WALL. THE TOMBS APPEAR IN THE FOREGROUND, WITH T.300 BELOW THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION LEVEL (LOWEST IN BLUE). THE AREA OF THE DRAIN (23) APPEARS AT AN INTERMEDIATE OCCUPATION ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL C/B, WITH BRICK STRUCTURE COATED IN BITUMEN. USING THE HORIZON AS A POINT OF REFERENCE, POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STRUCTURES AT THE N AND S ENDS OF L15 ARE DRAWN IN BLUE, RED, AND GREEN, AS WELL AS THE FOUNDATION (IN WHITE). THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN T.300 AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE IS UNCLEAR. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN.



Figure A.51 – VIEW OF L15 WITH *BARCASSES* AGAINST THE WALL OF L17. A PLASTERED FLOOR FROM LEVEL C APPEARS HORIZONTALLY, WHILST THE *BARCASSES* ASSOCIATED WITH LEVELS B AND A2 APPEAR *IN SITU*. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 04/01/1937.

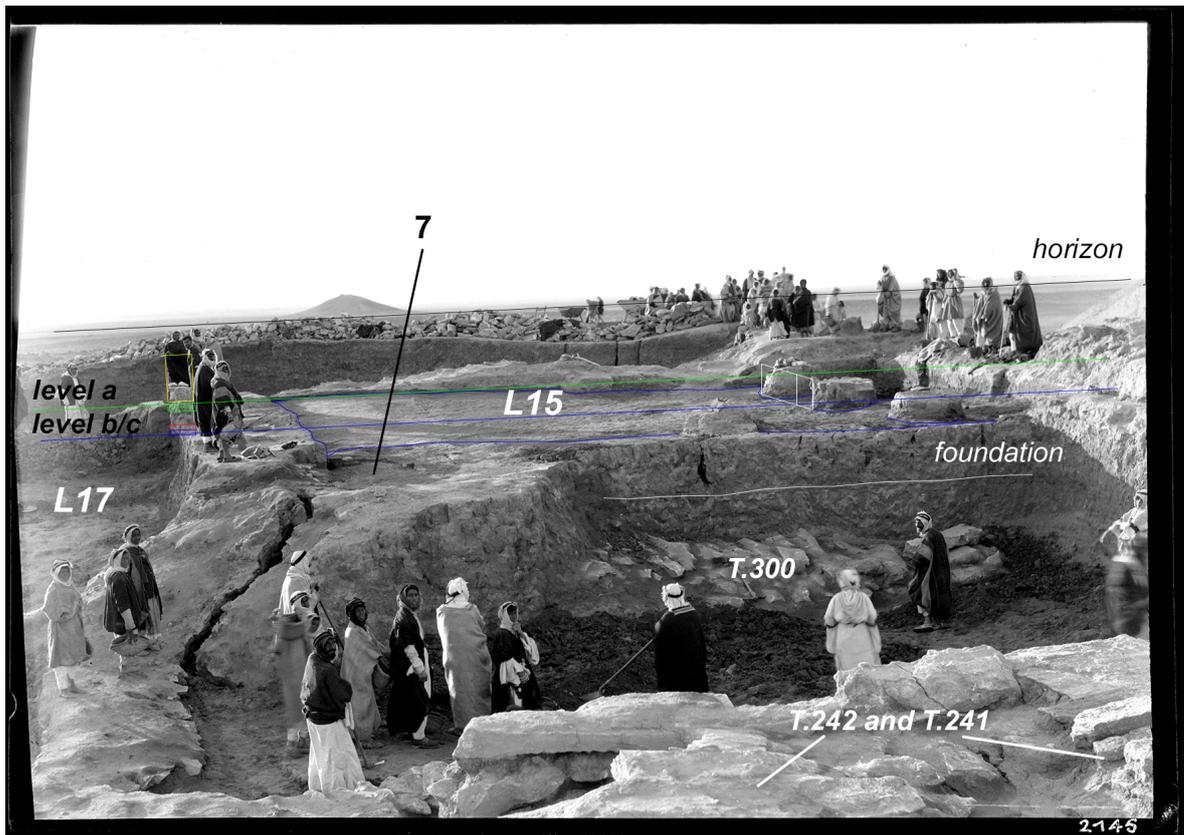


Figure A.52 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION IN COURTYARD L15 TAKEN FROM THE TOP OF THE ENCLOSURE WALL. THE TOMBS APPEAR IN THE FOREGROUND, WITH T.300 BELOW THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION LEVEL (IN BLUE). THE AREA OF THE DRAIN (23) APPEARS AT THE LOWEST OCCUPATION ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL C. USING THE HORIZON AS A POINT OF REFERENCE, POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STRUCTURES AT THE N AND S ENDS OF L15 ARE DRAWN IN BLUE, RED, AND GREEN, AS WELL AS THE FOUNDATION (IN WHITE). THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN T.300 AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEMPLE IS UNCLEAR. NO PHOTOGRAPH DATE GIVEN (CA. 04-05/01/1937?).

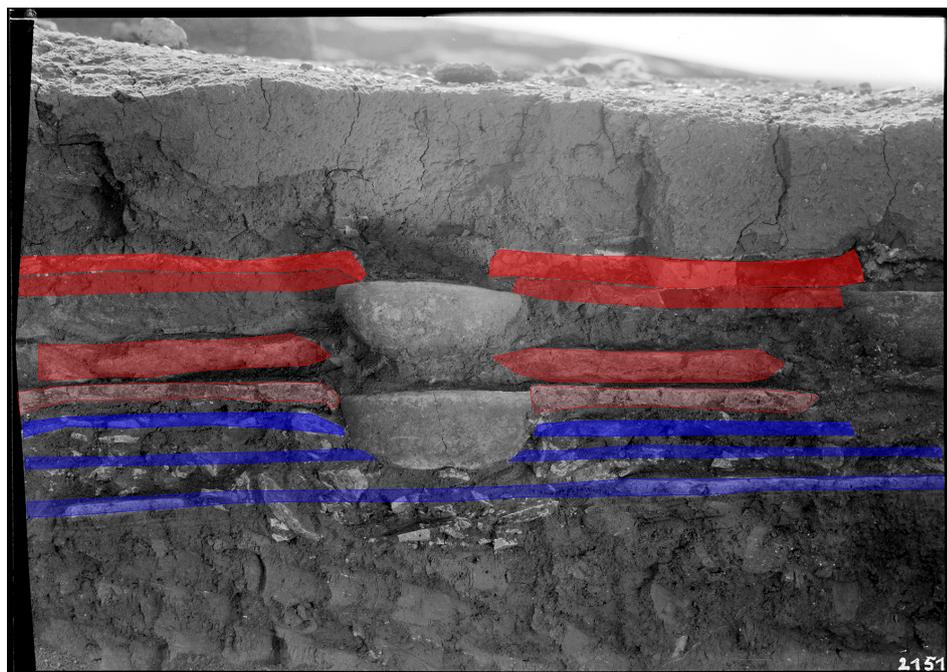
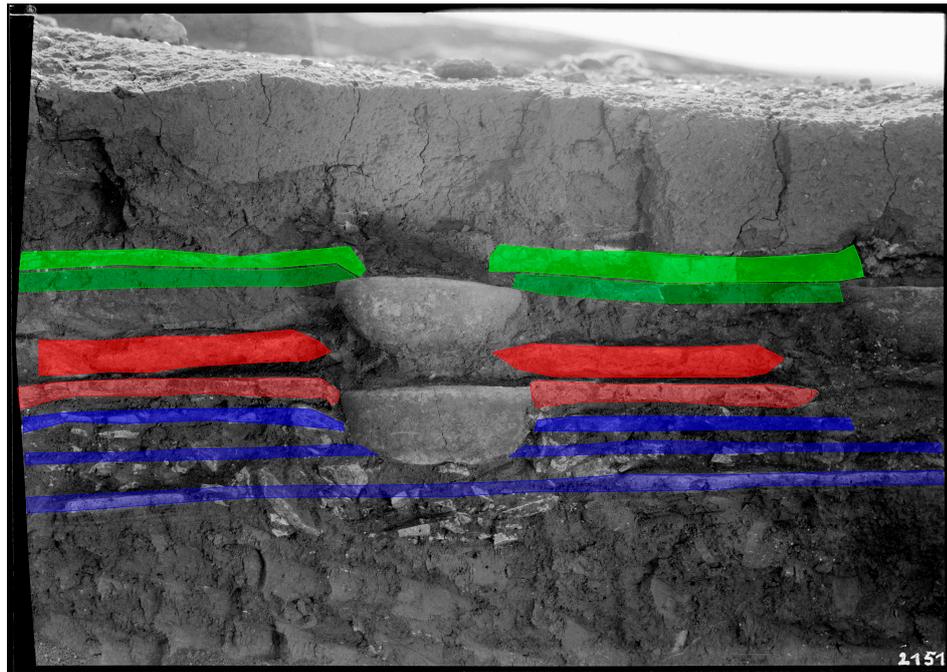


Figure A.53 – PROFILE OF PLASTERED LEVELS IN L15 AGAINST THE WALL OF L17, SHOWING THREE DISTINCT LEVELS AND SUBLEVELS. TWO POSSIBLE RECONSTRUCTIONS ARE OFFERED, WHERE THE TOP ONE IS PREFERRED ON THE BASIS THAT A FILL LAYER EXISTED BETWEEN LEVELS B AND A2 BUT NOT BETWEEN B AND C IN L17.

TOP: LEVEL A2 (GREEN) IS ASSIGNED TO THE TOP *BARCASSE*, UNLIKE PARROT WHO THOUGHT THIS LEVEL WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THE STONE PAVING. HERE, THE STONE PAVING IS ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL A1 (SEE FIGURE A.32); THE NEXT *BARCASSE* IS ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL B WHILST THE LOWER, THINNER FLOORS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL C.

BOTTOM: THE SECOND OPTION PROPOSES THAT THE FLOOR OF LEVEL A2 WAS DESTROYED BY THE STONE PAVING OF LEVEL A1, SO THAT THE TWO LEVELS OF *BARCASSES* SHOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL B, WHILST THE LOWER PLASTERED FLOORS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH LEVEL C. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 05/01/1937.

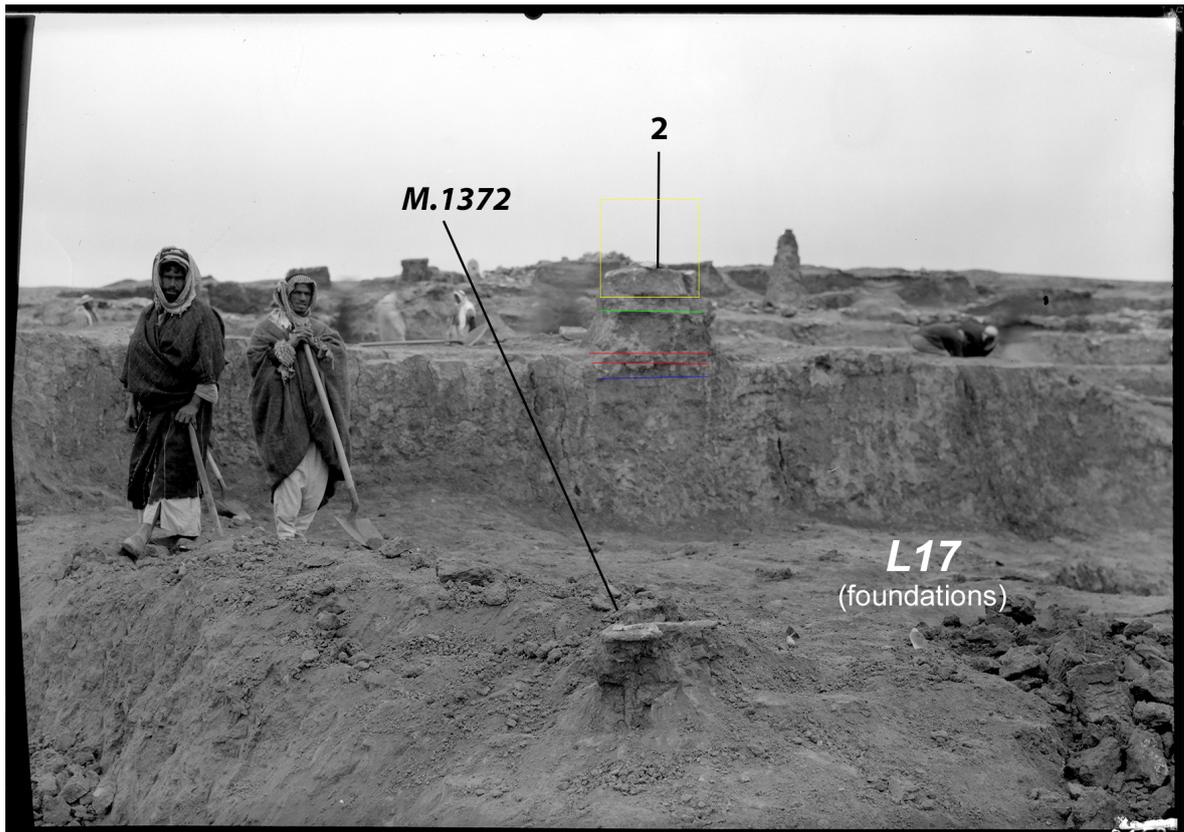


Figure A.54 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION OF ONE OF THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS (M.1372) BELOW L17. IN RELATION TO THE STRATIGRAPHIC REFERENCE (2), THE DEPOSITS ARE OVER 1M BELOW THE EARLIEST FLOOR (LEVEL *c*). FOR REFERENCE, THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS FROM L18 WERE FOUND AROUND THE SAME HEIGHT AS LEVEL *a* (SEE FIGURE A.46). ALL THE DEPOSITS FOUND AT THIS LEVEL IN L17 INCLUDED NAILS WITHIN THE 35–45CM RANGE. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 05/01/1937.

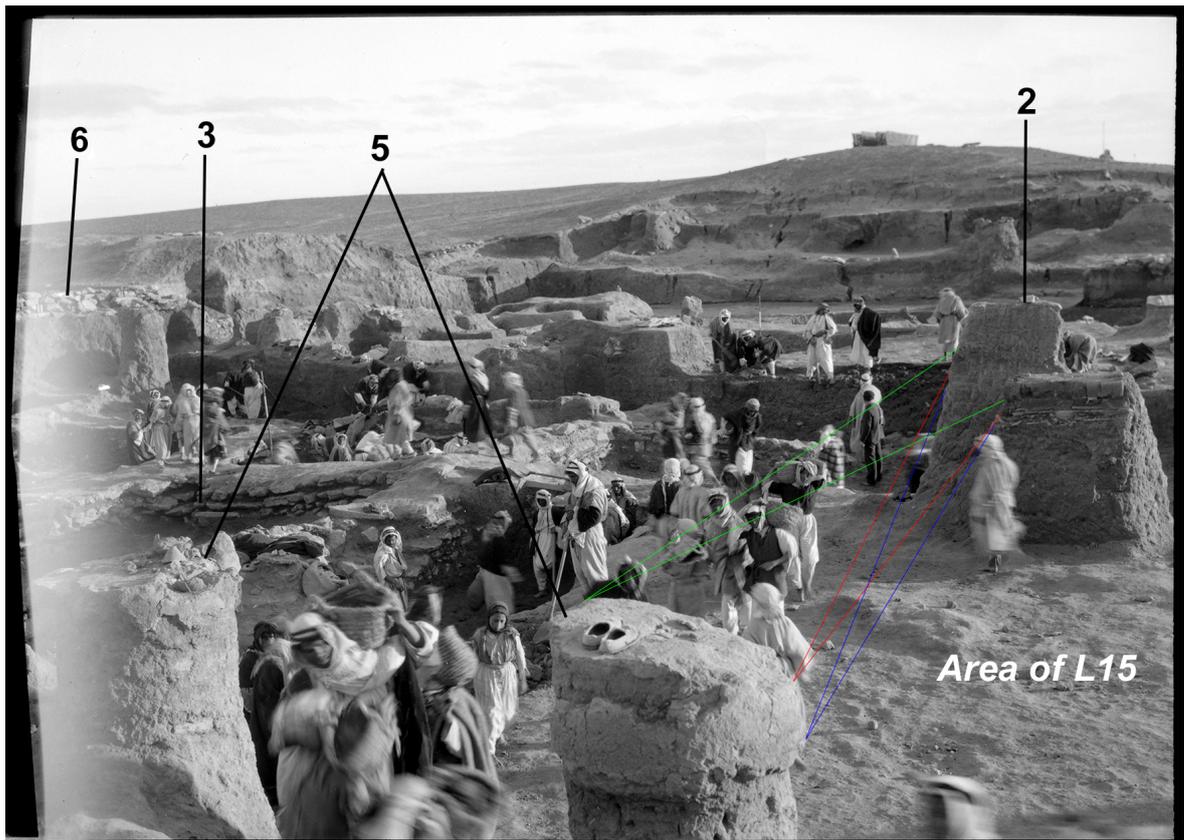


Figure A.55 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION IN COURTYARD L₁₅ N-S. THE FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN EXCAVATED AND IT IS NOW DOWN TO LEVEL D IN THE BACKGROUND. THE PILLARS (5) APPEAR WITH THE PLASTER ABOVE FLOOR LEVEL PRESERVED. THESE ARE CORRELATED WITH THE STRATIGRAPHIC REFERENCES MAINTAINED AT THE OPPOSITE END OF L₁₅ (2), WHERE THE *BARCASSES* ARE STILL VISIBLE. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 14/01/1937.



Figure A.56 – VIEW OF EXCAVATION FROM SE, SHOWING RELATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN E AND W FOR STRATIGRAPHIC LEVEL *d*. THE REMAINS OF THE STONE INSTALLATION IDENTIFIED AS PART OF L20 (LEVEL *a*) APPEAR HERE WITH REFERENCE TO SURROUNDING LEVELS. IT IS CLEAR THIS AREA WAS AT LEAST 1.5M BELOW THE FOUNDATION LEVEL OF BOTH L17 AND L18. (1) STONE PLATFORM LEVEL *ef*; (2) LEVEL REFERENCE N WALL OF L17, DOWN BELOW FOUNDATION LEVEL; (3) T.300; (5) L15 N END PILLARS, DOWN BELOW FOUNDATION LEVEL; (6) T.241 AND T.242; (7) STONE FOUNDATION OF EXTERIOR WALL, LEVEL *A1*(?); (8) STRATIGRAPHIC REFERENCE S OF L17; (9) REMAINS OF L20 INSTALLATION. PHOTOGRAPH DATED 18/01/1937.



Figure A.57 – THE EARLIEST REMAINS FOUND BENEATH THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE ^PMUŠ₃.NITA TEMPLE IN PARROT'S LEVELS E/F (4) WITH LEVEL D REMAINS IN THE FOREGROUND. PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN CA. 01/04/1937.

Table A.1 – DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS FROM MARI, BY RELATIVE STATUS WITH PROFESSIONS IN BOLD

ᵀMUŠ ₃ .NITA		‘Aštar šarbat		Baššurat		Lugalkalam		Other ¹	
ᵀ ₁₂ (L.AM)- <i>g₄-ma-ri₂</i> / lugal ma-ri₂ / PA.TE.SI.GAL / ᵀ ₁₁ LIL ₁₀ (EN.E ₂) / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / <i>a-na</i> / ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ .UŠ / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉	<i>sum₆-BE</i> / DAGAL DAM / a-GURUŠ KALAG / <i>me-da</i> / GIDIM.GIDIM / IL ₂ DIGIR.DIGIR / <i>sum₆-BE</i> / <i>a-bu₁₀(NI) sur₇(KAM)-am₆-A₁₁H</i> / <i>ka₄(KID)-pum</i> / <i>ri₂-ad</i> / <i>us</i> / <i>x-bu-bu</i> / <i>’a₅(NI)-na</i> / BE-ġ-SU₃	Šumba’i, he who extends the “blood”/lineage, the powerful man , he who takes care of the spirits of the ancestors, he who maintains the gods. Šumba’i, father of Sur’am’ahu, Qēpum(?), and ...bubu, for his lord ³				^d lugal-kalam / mes-an-ne ₂ -pa ₃ -da / lugal uri₂^{ki} / dumu / mēs-kalam-du ₁₀ / lugal kiš ^{ki} / a mu-na-ru (For) Lugalkalam, Mesanepada, king of Ur , son of Meskalamdag, king of Kiš. He dedicated it. (this object) ⁴			
Yišqimari, king of Mari, the chief steward of Enlil (Dagān?), presented his statue to ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ .UŠ ²	<i>[ib-lul-il</i> / lugal <i>ma-ri₂^{ki}</i> / <i>pa₄-ba₄</i> / nin / AMAR-AN / dumu UR-ᵀ ₁₁ UTU.ŠA / [...] <i> nagar^{ki}</i> / lu₂ A PA maḥ / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ ×ZA.ZA / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉	(For) Iblul-il, king of Mari, and Paba, the queen, AMAR-NA, son of Ur-Samaš, (PN) of Nagar, man of... , (this) statue of him to Aštar šarbat he presented ⁵				AL- <i>ma</i> / dam / I- <i>ku₃-ma-ri₂^{ki}</i> / lugal <i>ma-ri₂^{ki}</i> / ᵀ ₁₁ nin.zi <i>na-na-n^{ki}</i> / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉ AL- <i>ma</i> , wife of Iku₃-mari , king of Mari, to NIN.ZI of Warane she presented (this vessel) ⁶			
	<i>gul-la</i> / dumu / <i>ku₃-bād</i> / šeš lugal / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / ig ^{ne} / ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ -GIS.TIR / <i>i₅-gub</i>	Gulla, son of Kun-duri, brother of the king , his statue before Aštar of the Forest he stood up. ⁷	<i>Kun₃-bād₃</i> / šeš lugal / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / [...] <i> / [S.A₁₂.RIG₉]</i>						
	<i>sa-lim</i> / pa₄-šeš / LUGAL: DIGIR-KALAM / [DUL ₃ -SU ₃] / [ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ ×ZA.ZA] / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉	Šalim, the anointed-priest of the god Lugalkalam , his statue for Aštar šarbat he presented ⁹				[<i>ā</i>] <i>-me-šar</i> / dumu <i>i-dur₂-[um²]</i> / gal ni[mgir] / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / LUGAL.DIGIR KALAM / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉ Il-mešar, son of Idursum(?), great herald , his statue to Lugalkalam he presented ¹⁰			
<i>i-di₃-d₁₇</i> / lu še-bum / ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ ×NITA / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉	<i>i-di₃-d₁₇</i> / dumu-ni[ta] / [...] [lu₂ še₃-bum(?)]	Iddi-narim, son of ..., the elder ¹³				[...]LUM / ugula e₂ sanga / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉ / e ₂ ^d ama-ušum-gal ...LUM, foreman of the household of the temple administrator , his statue he presented. Temple of Amaušumgal ¹¹			
Iddi-narim the elder , to ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ ×NITA he presented (his statue) ¹²	<i>ib-lul-il</i> / lugal <i>ma-ri₂^{ki}</i> / ur-ᵀ ₁₁ [anšc] / nar-maḥ / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / [ᵀ ₁₁ MUŠ ₃ ×ZA.ZA] / S.A ₁₂ .RIG ₉	(For) Iblul-il, king of Mari, Ur-nanšc, the chief musician , his statue to Aštar šarbat he presented ¹⁴							

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS FROM MARI (CONT.)

dMUS ₃ .NITA	'Aštar šarbat	Bašúrat	Lugalkalam	Other ¹
	<i>i-ku-d[ša-ma-gan]</i> / <i>lugal ma-r₂^{ki}</i> / AB×AS ₂ / SA ₁₂ -DU ₅ / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / dMUS ₃ ×ZA.ZA / S ₄ 12.RIG ₉			
	(For) Ikūn-Šamagan, king of Mari, Šibum, chief surveyor, his statue for Aštar šarbat he presented ²⁵			
	<i>i-bu₃-sar</i> / dub-sar maḥ / [DUL ₃ -SU ₃] / d ⁿⁱ n ² [...] / [S]A ₁₂ .RIG ₉			
	Ipum-šar, the chief scribe , his statue for Nin... he presented ²⁶	[...] ²⁷ x ²⁸ / [tuš ²⁹] i ³⁰ g ³¹ me ³² .m ³³ x x x ³⁴ / i ³⁵ g ³⁶ ub (...) his courier , (before)... he stood it up ²⁷		<i>i-ku-dutu</i> / <i>lugal ma-r₂^{ki}</i> / ensi ³⁷ -gal / d ⁿⁱ lil / ar-ra-digir / tuš ig³⁸me³⁹ -m ⁴⁰ / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / d ⁿⁱ utu / S ₄ 12.RIG ₉ (For) Ikūn-Šamaš, king of Mari, chief ruler of Enlil, Arra-llum, his courier , his statue for Samaš he presented ²⁸
		[x] x x ⁴¹ / [ni]-li / ga:eš⁴² / d ⁿⁱ ba-wir ⁴³ -ra-at / S ₄ 12.RIG ₉		
	[ni]a-ni / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / dMUS ₃ ×ZA.ZA / S ₄ 12.RIG ₉	NI-li, the trader , for Bašúrat he presented it (this statue) ²⁹		<i>z⁴⁴2-g⁴⁵-BE</i> Yišqibaflum or Yišqibafl ³¹
"lugal".UD / "lugal" / [...] Lugal-UD the king (...) ³²	Nani, his statue for Aštar šarbat he presented ³⁰ <i>ar-zi-a-qa</i> / <i>dumu ma-ra-NI</i> / d ⁿⁱ n ³¹ i ³² -ra-at / DUL ₃ -SU ₃ / [S ₄ 12].RIG ₉			
"LAK 647" / AN.AN ³⁴	Arši-aba, the son of Wana-NI, to Bašúrat his statue he presented ³³			
[...] ³⁵ x / [...]-KU S ₄ 12.RIG ₉ (...) presented it (this statue) ³⁶	<i>i-ku-m[ša-ma-gan]</i> / <i>lugal ma-r₂^{ki}</i> / [...]			
[x] x ³⁷ -LUM / S ₄ 12.RIG ₉ ...-LUM, presented it (this statue) ³⁸	(For) Ikūn-Šamaš, king of Mari... ³⁵ [i]g ³⁶ me ³⁷ / dMUS ₃ ×ZA.ZA / i ³⁸ g ³⁹ ub before Aštar šarbat he stood it up (this statue) ³⁷			3 other inscribed statuettes (illegible) ⁴⁰
	4 other inscribed statuettes (name/profession illegible) ³⁹			

- ¹ The macehead U 11678 = FAOS 05/2, AnUr 13 was wrongly attributed to a “An(u)bu” of Mari, who appears in the Sumerian King List. Per [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: 118 n. 193\)](#), the inscription in question, in fact, reads: ^dutu / ŠEŠ.ʽKIʽ.[N]A / ʽmuʽ[-gub] (or: [a] ʽmuʽ[-ru]). Therefore, the stone cup (U 6332; RIME 1.10.1.3) found near the Giparu in Ur and attributed to An(u)bu’s daughter and possible en-priestess Ninmetabare ([Weadock 1975: 105 n. 40](#)) cannot be associated with this supposed king either.
- ² M.174 = FAOS 7, MP 17 = MC 14, Cat. 12.
- ³ M.2350+2722 = FAOS 7, MP 24 = MC 14, Cat. 11a.
- ⁴ M.4439 = FAOS 05/2, Mesannepada 1. Inscribed lapis lazuli bead found in a hoard at the foot of the eastern pillar of the courtyard in the Sacred Precinct of Palace P-0 ([Parrot 1968: p. 44, fig. 35 \(photo\); 53, fig. 36 \(copy, photo, edition\)](#)).
- ⁵ M.2620+2785+2853 = FAOS 7, MP 12. This statue is now understood to have been dedicated by a ruler of Nagar (AMAR-AN/*maru*₂-AN = Mara’il (*ma-ra*-AN) on behalf of king Yiplu’sil and his wife Paba ([Sallaberger 1998: 35; 2011: 328; Tonietti 1998: 92–95](#)). [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: 182 n. 111\)](#) read the profession ^{lú}a-UGULA MAḪ = (*w*)*aklum širum*. “chief overseer.”
- ⁶ FAOS 7, MP 7. Clay jar; in private collection.
- ⁷ M.2240+2247+2278+2334 = FAOS 7, MP 4.
- ⁸ M.2239 = FAOS 7, MP 20.
- ⁹ M.2306+2390+2396+2434 = FAOS 7, MP 23.
- ¹⁰ IX E 48 SE 8 : TH 09.05. = [Butterlin and Lecompte 2014: 621](#).
- ¹¹ M.4307 = FAOS 7, MP 26. From the palace, level P1-P0 ([Parrot 1965: 214](#)).
- ¹² M.176 = FAOS 7, MP 5.
- ¹³ M.2314 = FAOS 7, MP 6.
- ¹⁴ M.2272+2376+2384 = FAOS 7, MP 14.
- ¹⁵ M.2416+2365 = FAOS 7, MP 15.
- ¹⁶ M.177 = FAOS 7, MP 1.
- ¹⁷ M.2342 = FAOS 7, MP 19.
- ¹⁸ M.2315+2332+2777 = FAOS 7, MP 25.
- ¹⁹ M.2241 = FAOS 7, MP 9. Stone vase.
- ²⁰ M.2316+2327+2341+2393 = FAOS 7, MP 2.
- ²¹ M.2242 = FAOS 7, MP 30.
- ²² M.2268+2283+2413 = FAOS 7, MP 28.
- ²³ M.2414+2415+2446+2450 = FAOS 7, MP 13.
- ²⁴ M.2336+2375+2389 = FAOS 7, MP 21.
- ²⁵ M.2300+2323 = FAOS 7, MP 9.
- ²⁶ M.2270+2271+2307+2318+2793+2855 = FAOS 7, MP 16.
- ²⁷ M.2571 = FAOS 7, MP 32.
- ²⁸ BM 90828 = FAOS 7, MP 8. From Sippar(?).
- ²⁹ M.2248 = FAOS 7, MP 33. Plaque/relief.
- ³⁰ M.2420+2441 = FAOS 7, MP 22.
- ³¹ M.4380 = FAOS 7, MP 18. From the palace, level P1-P0 ([Parrot 1965: 214](#)). Previously suggested to be a statue of Yišqimari prior to becoming king, the inscription is now read Yišqiba’lum or Yišqiba’li ([Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 185](#)). The rest of the inscription is broken.
- ³² M.413 = FAOS 7, MP 40. Macehead. [Tonietti \(1998: 95\)](#) points out the similarity with a royal inscription from Kiš of Lugal-ud, suggesting this object could originate from somewhere else. [Marchesi and Marchetti \(2011: table 15a\)](#) date the reign of this king of Kiš within the ED IIIa period. However, the macehead from Mari was found below the stone pavement in the courtyard L15 ([Parrot 1956: 130](#)).
- ³³ M.2335+2407+2447+2701 = FAOS 7, MP 29.
- ³⁴ M.324 = FAOS 7, MP 39.
- ³⁵ M.2385 = FAOS 7, MP 11.
- ³⁶ M.138 = FAOS 7, MP 38. Stone vase.
- ³⁷ M.2623 = FAOS 7, MP 31.
- ³⁸ M.667 = FAOS 7, MP 37. Onyx fragment.
- ³⁹ M.2243 = FAOS 7, MP 27; M.2269 = FAOS 7, MP 34; M.2475 = FAOS 7, MP 35; M.2333 = FAOS 7, MP 36.
- ⁴⁰ [Butterlin and Lecompte 2014](#).

B

Material and Illustrations from Aššur

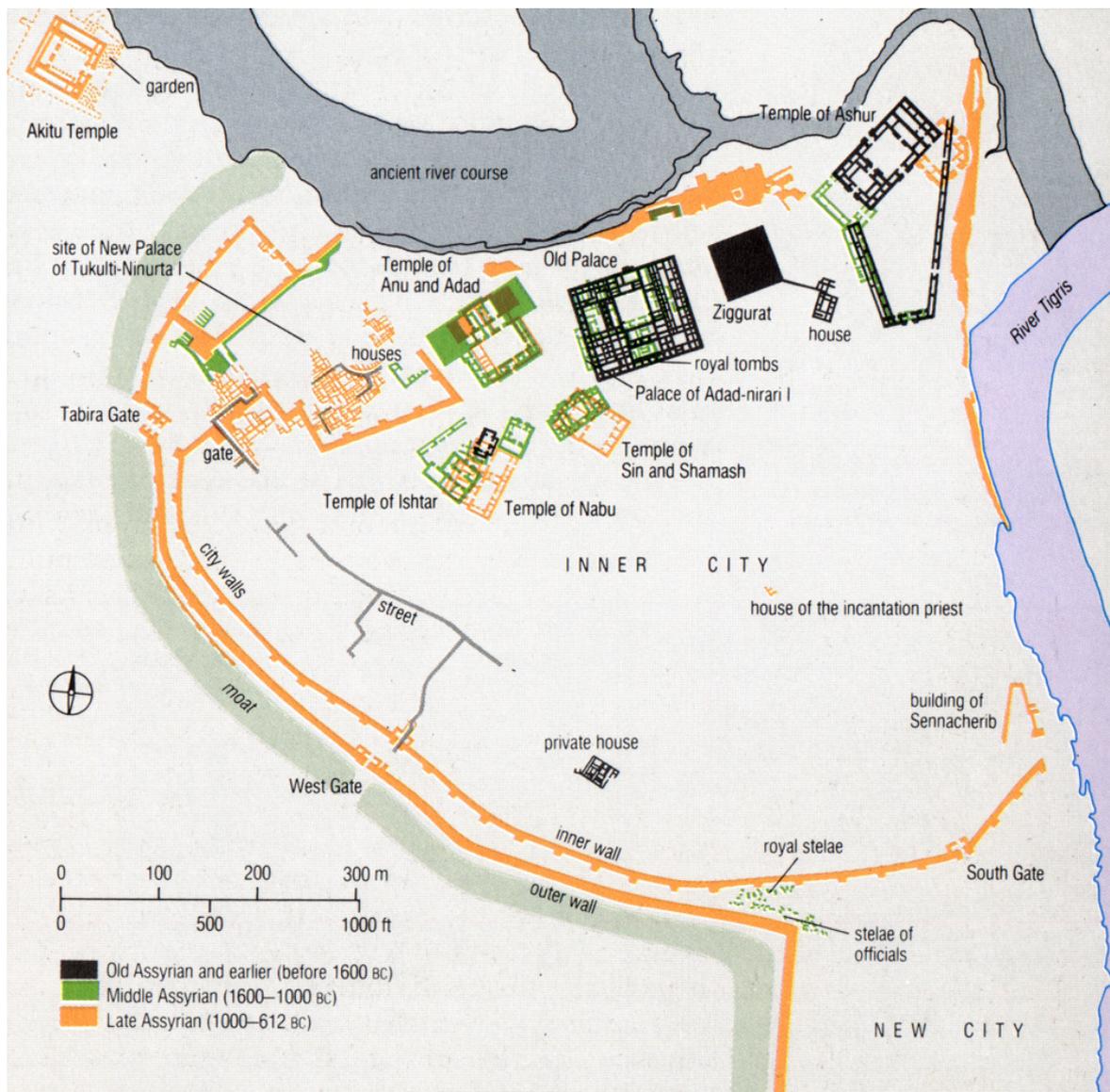


Figure B.1 – COMPOSITE PLAN OF THE CITY OF AŠŠUR SHOWING AREAS INVESTIGATED THROUGH EXCAVATION AND SURVEY.

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Figure B.2 – SCHEMATIC PLAN OF 3RD MILLENNIUM B.C. REMAINS IN AŠŠUR.

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Figure B.3 – COMPOSITE PLAN OF THE CONSTRUCTION LEVELS IN THE AREA OF THE IŠTAR AND NABŪ TEMPLES. PREFERENCE WAS GIVEN TO WELL-PRESERVED STRUCTURES, SO THAT THE EARLIEST LEVELS WERE GENERALLY INVESTIGATED ONLY WITHIN EXISTING FLOOR SPACES AND THROUGH TUNNELLING. THE REMAINS OF PHASE D INCLUDE THE STONE FOUNDATIONS THAT ANDRAE MISTAKENLY IDENTIFIED AS THE “ŠARRAT-NIPĥI” TEMPLE BUILT BY SALMANESSER III BUT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE ACCORDING TO BĀR’S RECONSTRUCTION (TABLE 5.2). THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN (MA) REMAINS CONSIST OF ANDRAE’S IŠTAR-AŠŠURĪTU AND ŠULMANĪTU TEMPLE BUILT BY TUKULTI-NINURTA I (SOUTHWEST BUILDING) AND THE SMALLER TEMPLE OF IŠTAR-AŠŠURĪTU BUILT BY AŠŠUR-REŠA-IŠI I. THESE IDENTIFICATIONS WERE BASED ON EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL AND ARE NOT CONFIRMED. FINALLY, THE NEO-ASSYRIAN (SPNA) REMAINS CORRESPOND WITH THE NABŪ TEMPLE.

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Figure B.4 – COMPOSITE PLAN OF THE EARLY LEVELS OF THE SO-CALLED IŠTAR TEMPLE.

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Figure B.5 – PLAN OF TEMPLE H.

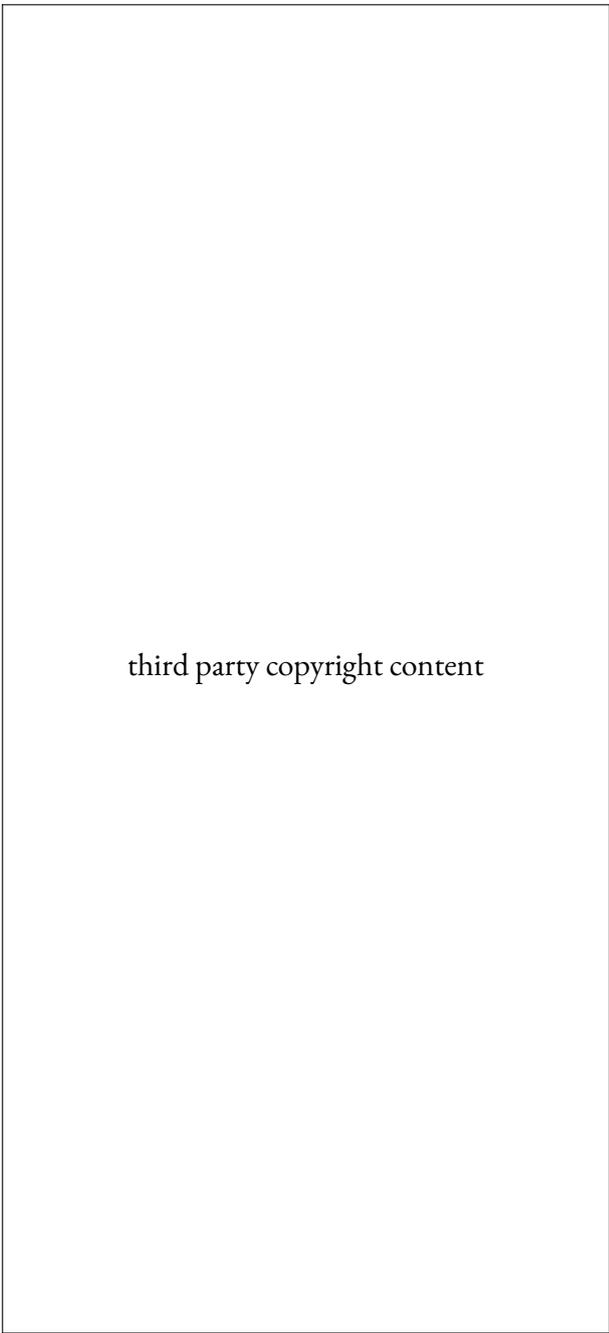


Figure B.6 – DETAIL OF THE “ADYTON”, TEMPLE H.

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Figure B.7 – COMPOSITE PLAN OF LEVELS H–G–GF IN THE CELLA OF THE TEMPLE, SHOWING FINDSPOTS OF ITEMS SUPPOSEDLY FOUND ON THE BURNT G FLOOR. HOWEVER, DUE TO THE TUNNEL EXCAVATIONS AND NON-LINEAR SEQUENCE OF EXCAVATION IN THIS AREA, THE FAITHFULNESS OF THIS COMPOSITE VIEW IS LIMITED TO ANDRAE’S INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS.

SK – Sculpture

★ – Female statuary

▲ – Naked female figurines

★ – Male

S – Seals and seal impressions

GE – Vessels

WA – Weapons (tools)

VP – Votive Plaques

VR – Votive Reliefs

NA – Pins

PE – Individual beads

PES – Assortment of beads

SCHM – Jewellery

WTG – Shell

GS, GU, KGS, UR — Types
of vessel stands and supports

ABS – Architectural
models / offering tables

GF – Molds

V – Varia



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Figure B.8 – NORTH–SOUTH PROFILE ACROSS THE “ADYTON”, SHOWING THE WALL STRUCTURE FROM PHASE H, SUBSEQUENTLY FILLED UP DURING THE CONSTRUCTION OF BUILDING G. BURNT REMAINS FROM THE END OF PHASE G APPEAR AT THE NORTH END OF THE CELLA.

- Gewachsener Boden: raised ground over bedrock for foundation of building H.
- Rötlicher Lehmputz: Reddish wall plaster.
- Gelber Lehmputz: Yellowish clay plaster with a white external layer.
- Weisslicher Fussboden: Whitish floor.

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Figure B.9 – EAST–WEST COMPOSITE PROFILE VIEW OF THE CELLA ACROSS ITS NORTH EXTENSION, ALSO KNOWN AS “ADYTON”.

1. Fire pit filled with layers of ash.
2. Phase F floor inside the room located West of the Cella between the two courtyards.
3. Phase G floor inside the room located West of the Cella between the two courtyards.
4. Mudbrick wall of the room located West of the Cella between the two courtyards.
5. Internal front wall of Cella G at the level of the “Adyton”.
6. Mudbrick foundation of temple E.
7. Ash and mudbrick debris between the foundations of temples E and D.
8. Mudbrick foundation of temple D.
9. Exterior wall of Cella G at the level of the “Adyton”.
10. Mudbrick wall of a room set against the exterior wall of Cella G during the early phase (GF 1) of construction phase GF.
11. Mudbrick wall of a room set against the exterior wall of Cella G during the later phase (GF₂) of construction phase GF.
12. Plastered floor level in the main courtyard of construction phase H.
13. Hypothetical reconstruction of the west wall of Cella H and its podium.
14. Podium in “Adyton” of phase H with steps reaching the top and five clay troughs (“barcasses”) embedded in the floor directly in front of the podium.
15. Mudbrick pillar extension attached to the podium in phase H.
16. Open space between the podium and the east wall of building H, where a white-coloured floor (plastered?) was discovered.
17. Back external wall of temple H at the level of the “Adyton”.

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Figure B.10 – VOTIVE PLAQUE OF ITITI (Ass 20377) WITH HAND COPY.

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Figure B.11 – VOTIVE PLAQUE OF ZARRIQUM (Ass 21982) WITH DETAIL VIEW OF THE INSCRIPTION.

Table B.1 – CATALOGUE OF ARTEFACTS ASSIGNED TO TEMPLE H

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT	AREA	FINDSPOT	REFERENCE	COMPARANDA
Ass 20374b	Small fragment of an alabaster statuette (?)	e B 6 V	Oldest layer in the north half of the main courtyard	Bär 2003b: SK 46	
Ass 20374a+c	Two fragments of bottom half of alabaster statuettes with tufted skirts/robes, one with holes for the feet.	e B 6 IV	Oldest layer in the north half of the main courtyard	Bär 2003b: SK 56, Pl. 37	Ass 22136 (Bär 2003b: SK 7) The hemmed robe on one of the fragments is typically found in female statuettes from Mari temple, some of which also had holes for the feet (Parrot 1956: Pl. XL)
Ass 20391	Bottom half of an alabaster statuette with tufted skirt/robe	e B 6 IV	From the oldest layer of rubble in the NW end of the side courtyard	Bär 2003b: SK 57, Pl. 37	
Ass 21483	Fragment of alabaster statuette with tufted skirt/robe. Size of tufts suggest a larger statuette and the style is reminiscent of pieces from Kiš and Mari	e B 6 V	In courtyard of oldest Ištar Temple	Bär 2003b: SK 58, Pl. 37	The pointed, slightly irregular, flat tufts are highly unusual. Closest example is Kh. IV 303 (Frankfort 1939: Nr. 106)
Ass 22093	Fragment of gypsum relief with traces of a geometric design in black and red	e B 6 V	The findspot could either be in the wall remains on the north end of the “Aduyton” at level of Temple H, or below the mudbrick under Temple D in the area of the wall between Room 1 and Room 5 (“Aduyton”) of Temple E.	Bär 2003b: VR 1, Pl. 61	Unique piece in manufacture and design; previously compared with Djemdet Nasr polychromatic pottery and “scarlet ware” (Moortgat 1945: 89f.)
Ass S 22668	Fragment of gypsum relief with geometric design in black	e B 6 V	On the floor of the main courtyard in front of the door into the cella of Temple H	Bär 2003b: VR 2, Pl. 61	Unique piece in manufacture and design; previously compared with Djemdet Nasr polychromatic pottery and “scarlet ware” (Moortgat 1945: 89f.)
Ass S 23106	Fragment of a gypsum relief portraying a front-facing female figure in bas-relief. Traces of black and red paint. The head is slightly oval and elongated with oversized eyes. The nose is missing or has not been preserved. The body of the figure is decorated with geometric patterns all over, with a different pattern used to frame the figure in the relief	e C 6 V	On the floor of the adjoining room southwest of the cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: VR 3, Pl. 62	Unique piece in manufacture and design; previously compared with Djemdet Nasr polychromatic pottery and “scarlet ware” (Moortgat 1945: 89f.)
Ass 21306	Bronze/copper toggle pin with rounded head.	e A 6 V	Unspecified location in the fill above the oldest temple. The Square covers the southwestern part of the temple complex including the gate and main courtyard	Bär 2003b: NA 1, Pl. 63	Type found in 2 nd half of 3 rd mill. B.C. contexts from Cilicia and northwest Syria to southern Mesopotamia (Klein 1992: 89f., 271f. (Type I. 9B1a)); Mari M.145, ED III–Oakk (Butterlin and Cluzan 2014: 202 no. 40; Parrot 1956: 182, Pl. LXIV)

Table B.1 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT	AREA	FINDSPOT	REFERENCE	COMPARANDA
Ass 23120	Needle fragment. Very corroded. Not distinctive type	e C 6 V	In adjoining room south of cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: NA 17, Pl. 64	
Ass 22714	Body and top rim of a clay stand, reconstructed from numerous fragments. Combed decoration in concentric wavy rings and notched ridges at intervals of three combed rings per notched ridge	e B 6 V	On the floor of the adjoining room northeast of the cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: GS 37, Pl. 82	
Ass 22712	Small, undecorated stand	e B 6 V	In the northern corner of the main courtyard, on the floor; Temple H	Bär 2003b: KGS 12	Perhaps in the style of some found in graves from Diyala dated to ED IIIa (Kh. V 282, Kh.V 292; Delougaz 1952: Pl. 70 ; similar to Ass 22629 (Bär 2003b: KGS 9), found in main courtyard of GF 1 level
Ass 23118	Spherical stone, pierced through at one end; may have been used as weight	e C 6 V	On the floor of the adjoining room south of the cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: GST 31	
Ass 23117	Small, funnel-shaped object	e C 6 V	On the floor of the adjoining room south of the cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: V 20	lost/missing
Ass 22623a–g	Fragments of various ceramic vessels, partially painted and decorated	e C 6 V	In one of the rooms northwest of the main courtyard; Temple H	Bär 2003b: 300	
Ass 22623a–c	Only sketch. Fragments of bowls (?) with wide mouths; combed decoration in waves and notched ridges on the upper half of the body	e C 6 V	In one of the rooms northwest of the main courtyard; Temple H	Beuger 2007: 168. Pl. 61.17–19	Reminiscent of pots from levels G/GF (Beuger 2007: Pl. 29–31) Beuger notes the style of these nearly bowl-shaped pots may be decisive criterion for differentiation between H and G/GF temporal horizons for this type of vessel Beuger 2007: 216
Ass 22612	Does not appear in catalogue (?)	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard; Temple H	Beuger 2013: 9	
Ass 22613 a	Small beaker with rounded bottom.	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard in an ashy deposit at level H	Bär 2003b: 300; Beuger 2007: 186, Pl. 61.28	Similar to Ass 22544f (layer GF)
Ass 22613b	Vessel with short, vertical blunt rim. Shoulder probably rounded	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard in an ashy deposit at level H	Bär 2003b: 300; Beuger 2007: Pl. 63.15	
Ass 22613c	Only sketch. Fragment of bowl with rounded walls and flattened rim inwards.	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard in an ashy deposit at level H	Bär 2003b: 300; Beuger 2007: 168, Pl. 61.3	Similar to Ass 21905be, Ass 2159911+... (Level GF)

Table B.1 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT	AREA	FINDSPOT	REFERENCE	COMPARANDA
Ass 22613d	Vessel with thickened lip and probably rounded shoulder	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard in an ashy deposit at level H	Bär 2003b: 300; Beuger 2007: Pl. 63.22	
Ass 22665	Nearly complete large vessel with almost vertical body and flat base. Zig-zag combed decoration and notched ridges. Large square fenestration with rounded edges	e B 6 V	In one of the rooms southwest of the main courtyard of Temple G; found at level H	Bär 2003b: 301; Beuger 2007: Pl. 40.2	Zig-zag decoration also found on vessels from layer III jünger 1 of the Deep Sounding and Temple E (Beuger 2007: 171, 250)
Ass 22667a	Fragment of ceramic vessel	e B 6 V	On floor of level H in the entrance to the temple	Beuger 2007: Pl. 54.3	
Ass 22703	Fragment of ceramic vessel with applications (notched ridges?) and carved decoration (combed incisions?)	e B 6 V	Northeast area of the temple, in adjoining room between main and secondary courtyard, on level H	Bär 2003b: 302	
Ass 22663	Bottom half of ceramic vessel; combed decoration in waves and mesh	e B 6 V	In east corner of the main courtyard, on level H	Bär 2003b: 301; Beuger 2007: Pl. 50.20	Rim probably similar to those in Beuger 2007: Pl. 40
Ass 22664	Fragment of ceramic vessel with grooved comb lines and applied notch bands	e B 6 V	In east corner of the main courtyard, on level H	Bär 2003b: 301; Beuger 2007: Pl. 66.1 (Ass 22664g)	
Ass 22687	Fragment of a clay pot	e B 6 IV	In adjoining room southeast of cella G, at level H	Bär 2003b: 301	
?	Oval bowls with deep rounded bottoms and wide mouths	e B 6 V	Embedded in the floor of cella Temple H directly before the podium in the “Adyton”	Beuger 2007: 168, Pl. 67.1	According to Beuger, comparable oval shape with Ass 23107 (layer G); Parrot 1956: p. 61 and fig. 9; p. 59 and fig. 41.5
Ass 23104	Base of “Fruit Bowl” Stand (?)	e B 6 V	In the cella, Temple H	Beuger 2007: 9. Pl. 66.5 (Ass 23104 f)	
Ass 22682	Bone; probably from animals	e B 6 V	In a ceramic vessel (Ass 22665) that was found embedded in the level-H floor on the doorway of a room located to the southwest of the main courtyard	Bär 2003b: 308	
Ass 22688	Bone; unspecified	e B 6 IV	In the adjoining room to the south the G–cella, below the floor; perhaps at level H	Bär 2003b: 308	
Ass 23119	Ostrich eggshell	e B 6 IV	On the floor of the adjoining room south of the cella; Temple H	Bär 2003b: 308	

Table B.2 – EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL FROM AŠŠUR LINKED WITH THE TEMPLE OF IŠTAR

ABSOLUTE CHRON.	HIST. PERIOD	EX. NUMBER	PRIMARY PUBLICATION	RULER	BUILDING ACTIVITY OR DEDICATION	REFERS BACK TO (EARLIER RULERS)	KNOWN BY (LATER RULERS)	ARCH CONTEXT	NOTES	OBJECT TYPE	MUSEUM ACCESSION NUMBER
ca. 2500–2400	ED IIIb										
		Ass 20580	RIME 2.01.02.20, ex. 42	Rimuš	Standard “King of Kiš” inscription			f E 6 IV	The inscription is mainly found on stone vases. Only one other macehead is known from Ur (RIME 2.01.02.20, ex. 36)	Hematite macehead	VA 5298
		Ass 04938	RIME 2.X00.00.1005, ex. 01		Votive inscription for Ištar-anunitu in Old Akkadian script			h E 5 l Deep level between Aššur temple and ziggurat	Although Weidner and Bolger attribute the construction of an Ištar temple to a Sargonic king (Frayne 1993: 312), the archaeological context does not support this thesis	Stone alabastron	unknown
ca. 2200	OAKk	Ass 20377	RIME 2.04.01.01, ex. 01	Ititi	Votive plaque dedicated to Ištar			Room 6 of Tukulti-Ninurta Building. Reused as paving material? In the pavement near the SE wall with inscription facing down	Similarities with inscriptions of Rimuš (Grayson et al. 1987: 7)	Stone plaque	VA 08831a
		Ass 21340	RIME 2.01.03.2002, ex. 01	Maništūšu	Votive spearhead dedicated by Azuzu for the life of the king. The deity mentioned is Be'al-SI.SI			c A 7 I 2.85m below hill surface in the area of the limestone foundation of Temple D; 1.90m from its south-east corner	Unclear how the inscription ended up in the temple. For identity of Azuzu, see Michalowski 2009	Copper spear head	VA 08300
ca. 2100	NSum	Ass 21982	RIME 3/2.01.03.2001, ex. 01	Zarriqum	Temple of Bēlet-Ekallim			Room 6 of Tukulti-Ninurta I's Building, in the pavement with inscription facing down	This inscription was eventually linked to the “Urbau,” i.e. Building E. (Bār 2003b: 17)	Stone plaque	Ist EŞEM 07070
ca. 1960	OAss	Ass 19977	RIMA 1.0.032.001, ex. 01	Ilu-šumma	Construction of a temple dedicated to Ištar		Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nērārī I, Šalmaneser I, Tukulti-Ninurta I	Room 6 of Tukulti-Ninurta I's Building, in the pavement, eastern corner	The inscription was eventually linked with Building D (Bār 2003b: 17)	Stone object	BM 115690

Table B.2 – continued from previous page

ABSOLUTE CHRON.	HIST. PERIOD	EX. NUMBER	PRIMARY PUBLICATION	RULER	BUILDING ACTIVITY OR DEDICATION	REFERS BACK TO (EARLIER RULERS)	KNOWN BY (LATER RULERS)	ARCH CONTEXT	NOTES	OBJECT TYPE	MUSEUM ACCESSION NUMBER
		Ass 19624a	(Bār 2003b: 159, VP 1)		Votive inscription for Ištar-aššuritu dedicated by an unknown individual			e C 6 V In area of Temple E cella above floor level; with Ass 19624b	Dated to same period (ca. 1850 B.C.) as Ass 19624b, with which it was found	Bronze disc	VA 08356
ca. 1900	OAss	Ass 19624b	RIMA 1.0.035.x2001, ex. 01	Sargon I	Votive inscription for Ištar-aššuritu dedicated by Ḫaditu, wife of Bēlum-nāda		Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nērārī I, Šalmaneser I	e C 6 V In area of Temple E cella above floor level; with Ass 19624a	The text explains how Ḫaditu placed (the symbol of) genitalia in the temple as an ex-voto	Triangular bronze plate	VA Ass 04286
ca. 1540		Ass 13741	RIMA 1.0.061.002, ex. 02	Puzur-Aššur III	Renovation of the É šu-ḫu-ri in the temple of Ištar-Aššuritu.	Ilu-šumma, Sargon I	Adad-nērārī I, Šalmaneser I	e C 6 V In a tangle of stone blocks on the rubble of a mud brick terrace.	The connection of the terrace to a building could not be clarified (Bār 2003b: II n. 140,141)	Stone slab	unknown
		Ass 13742	RIMA 1.0.061.002, ex. 01	Puzur-Aššur III	Renovation of the É šu-ḫu-ri in the temple of Ištar-Aššuritu.	Ilu-šumma, Sargon I	Adad-nērārī I, Šalmaneser I	e C 6 V In a tangle of stone blocks on the rubble of a mud brick terrace.	The connection of the terrace to a building could not be clarified (Bār 2003b: II n. 140,141)	Stone slab	unknown
1365–1328		Ass 20456	RIMA 1.0.073.004, ex. 01	Aššur-uballiṭ I	Renovation of the shrine of Ištar-kud-nitu			d E 7 II Room 7 of Tukulti-Ninurta's building, on paved floor in debris at centre of NE wall	It is not clear whether this is a later copy or a reference copy from the time of Aššur-uballiṭ I (Meinhold 2009: 71)	Clay tablet	VAT 9554
	MAss	Ass 22053–57	RIMA 1.0.076.015, ex. 01	Adad-nērārī I	Renovation of the É šu-ḫu-ri, the storeroom, gates and the shrine of Išhara in the temple of Ištar-aššuritu	Ilu-šumma, Sargon I, Puzur-Aššur III	Šalmaneser I	e A 7 I In a square recess at on the back wall of the podium in Room 3 of Tukulti-Ninurta I's temple. Glass beads were also found in the soil	The tablets seem to have been redeposited by Tukulti-Ninurta I when he renovated the temple	Stone tablet	EŠ 7139, EŠ 7138, VA 8800, VA 8801, VA 8252
		Ass 06509	RIMA 1.0.077.007, ex. 01	Šalmaneser I	Renovation of dilapidated areas of the temple.			e A 6 II in a container at the southern end of the NE corner of the fortification wall	In the text includes a reference to Ninuaittu as the deity worshipped in an ancient temple	Gold tablet	Ist ESEM 03763

Table B.2 – continued from previous page

ABSOLUTE CHRON.	HIST. PERIOD	EX. NUMBER	PRIMARY PUBLICATION	RULER	BUILDING ACTIVITY OR DEDICATION	REFERS BACK TO (EARLIER RULERS)	KNOWN BY (LATER RULERS)	ARCH CONTEXT	NOTES	OBJECT TYPE	MUSEUM ACCESSION NUMBER
		Ass 19699	RIMA 1.0.077.006, ex. 01	Šalmaneser I	Inscription of Šalmaneser I for the Ištar-aššuritu temple with record of its construction.	Ilu-šumma, Sargon I, Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nērārī I	Šalmaneser III	d E 7 I On the wall at the corner where the NE wall of Room 7 at the NW exterior wall begins in Tukulti-Ninurta I's temple.	Parts of the inscription are borrowed directly from a text of Adad-nērārī I (RIMA 1.0.076.015) Copies found also in Aššur and Anu-Adad temples (Ass 00928, Ass 12746)	Stone tablet	Ist EŞEM 09518
1305–1076		Ass 19735	RIMA 1.0.078.005, ex. 01	Tukulti-Ninurta I	Construction of the new temple dedicated to Ištar-aššuritu and the shrine of Dinitū	Ilu-šumma and all previous rulers	Šalmaneser III	d E 7 I Room 7 of Tukulti-Ninurta I's temple. On pavement, a little to the NW of the first step leading to the podium		Stone tablet	VA 08832
		Ass 06508	RIMA 1.0.078.017, ex. 01	Tukulti-Ninurta I	Silver plate inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I found in a shell (Ass 06507)			e A 6 II (north of temple area)		Gold tablet	Ist EŞEM 03762
	MAss	Ass 06510	RIMA 1.0.078.017, ex. 02	Tukulti-Ninurta I	Silver plate inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I found in a shell (Ass 06507)			e A 6 II (north of temple area)		Silver tablet	unknown
		Ass 22981	RIMA 1.0.086.009, ex. 01	Aššur-rēša-iši I	New construction of the temple of Ištar-aššuritu		Sîn-šarra-iš-kun(?)	e D 6 V Aššur-rēša-iši I's building, in podium of the cella, layer 3	The inscription is significantly short in comparison with this king's texts detailing his reconstruction of the Ištar temple in Nineveh. Perhaps he simply appropriated construction of this building in Aššur?	Clay brick	unknown

Table B.2 – continued from previous page

ABSOLUTE CHRON.	HIST. PERIOD	EX. NUMBER	PRIMARY PUBLICATION	RULER	BUILDING ACTIVITY OR DEDICATION	REFERS BACK TO (EARLIER RULERS)	KNOWN BY (LATER RULERS)	ARCH CONTEXT	NOTES	OBJECT TYPE	MUSEUM ACCESSION NUMBER
		Ass 22980	RIMA 2.0.087.001, ex. 01	Tiglath-Pileser I	Completion or renovation of the temple of Ištar-aššuritu			Anu-Adad Temple		Clay prism	VA 08255
1075–859	NAss										
	NAss	Ass 08726	RIMA 3.0.102.049, ex. 01	Šalmaneser III	Renovation or new construction of the shrine of Šarrat-nip̄i	Tukulti-Ninurta I		e B 6 IV West of the trench, rain washed. Found not far SE of the findspot of Ass 06508/10		Stone slab	VA Ass 2946
858–783	NAss	Ass 19743	RIMA 3.0.102.049, ex. 02	Šalmaneser III	Duplicate of Ass 08726			e C 6 IV Diary entry 11.05.1912: “before the north corner” [of Ištar Temple D]		Stone block	unknown
		Ass 12880b, Ass 12881a, Ass 12881b, Ass 12881c, Ass 12884, Ass 12885	RIMA 3.0.103.005–008	Šamši-Adad V	Votive inscription on stone beads for Bēlat-parṣē			e A 6 V No context given		Stone bead	VA Ass 1730, VA Ass 1731, VA Ass 1734
		Ass 12880a, Ass 12883a, Ass 12883b	RIMA 3.0.104.010–011	Adad-nērāri III	Votive inscription on stone beads for Bēlat-parṣē		Šin-šarra-iškun	e A 6 V No context given		Stone bead	VA Ass 1730, VA Ass 1733
ca. 620				Šin-šarra-iškun	New construction of the temple of Nabû	Šalmaneser I, Aššur-rēša-iši I(?), Adad-nērāri III					
614											
ca. 100 A.D. Parthian											

*Table collated with information from the CDLI database, Bär (2003b: 7f.), Schmitt (2012: table 7,8), Grayson (1987, 1991, 1996), Frayne (1993). Copies of inscriptions are not included. For a complete list, see Schmitt 2012: 133–134, table 9.



Archival Material and Illustrations from Khafajah

APPENDIX B contains all the archival material from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago's Diyala Expedition to Khafajah that has been referenced throughout this thesis, mostly in chapter 6. For the sake of easing the use of the archival material, plans and sections are reproduced first, followed by other documentation including archival photographs and field records. These have been organised as much as possible to follow the flow of the text, but sometimes items are referenced on several occasions or in different chapters. All the archival material from Khafajah reproduced in this thesis was obtained through the Diyala Project website (<http://diyalaproject.uchicago.edu>) and are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>). The credit of the published version is listed in the Sources of Illustrations, where relevant.

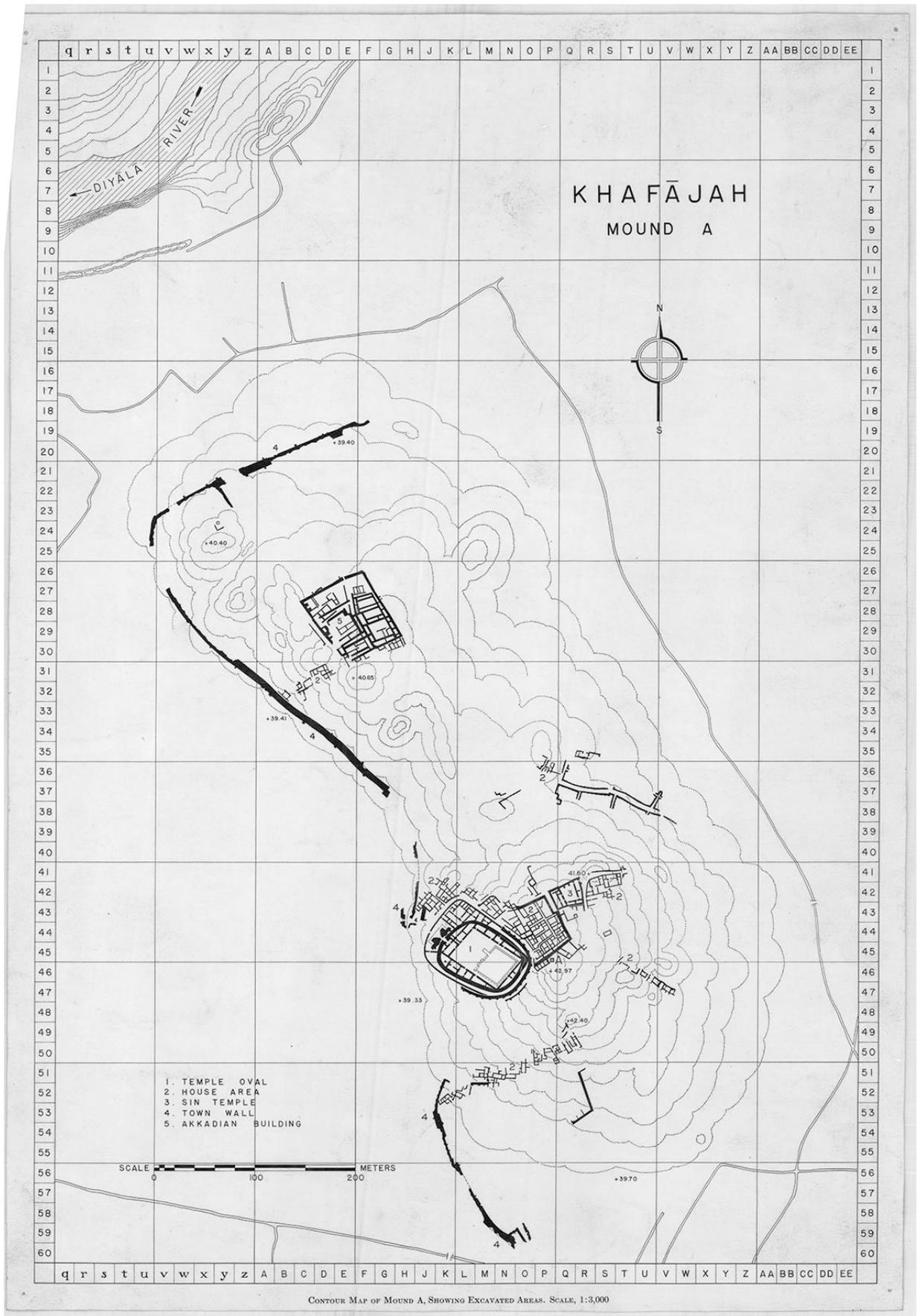


Figure C.1 – TOPOGRAPHIC PLAN OF MOUND A, KHAFAJAH, SHOWING EXCAVATED FEATURES. NOTE THAT THE AREAS SHOWN CORRESPOND TO VARYING CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCES AND ARE NOT NECESSARILY CONTEMPORARY.

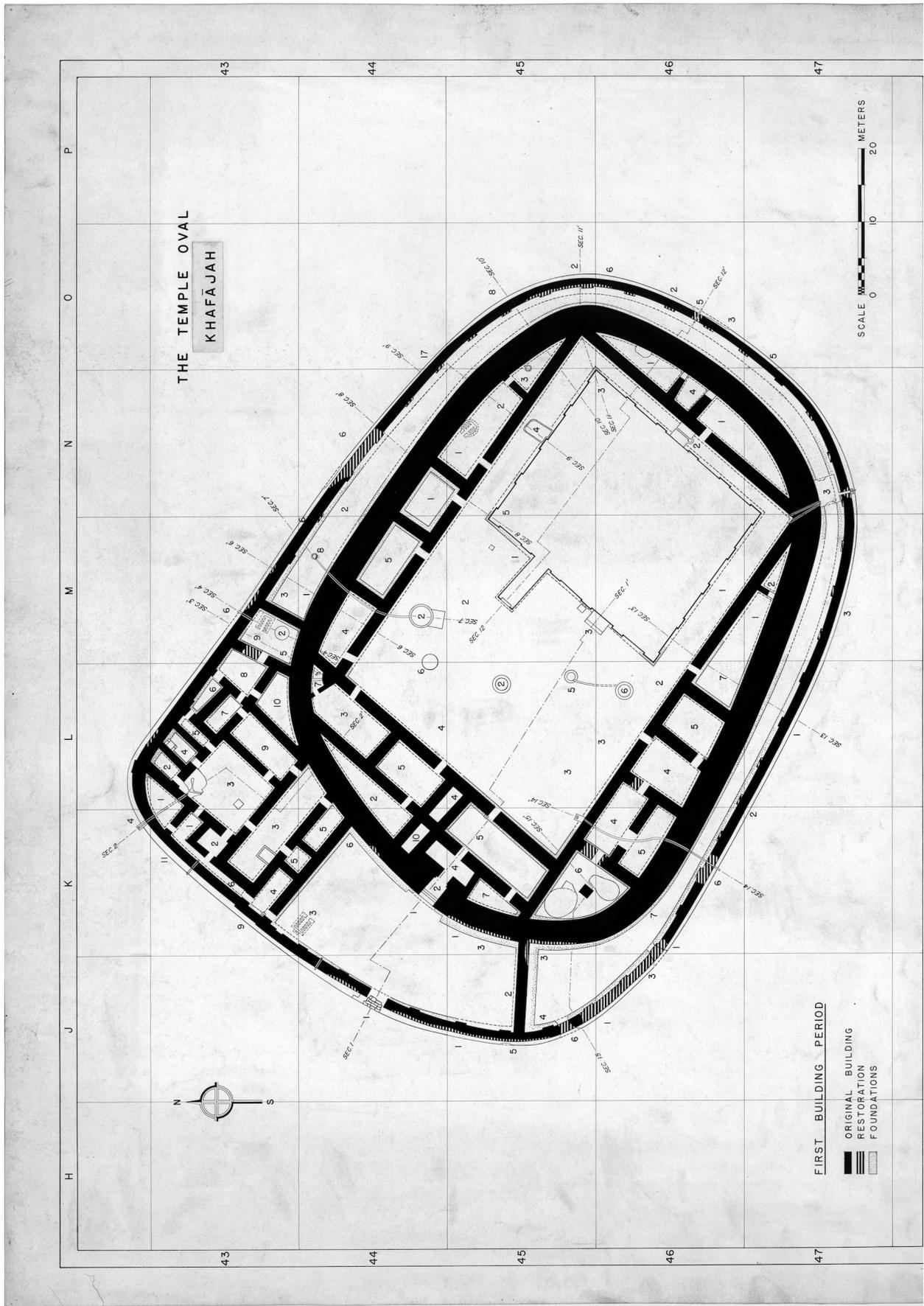


Figure C.2 – PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, FIRST BUILDING PERIOD (FIRST OCCUPATION)

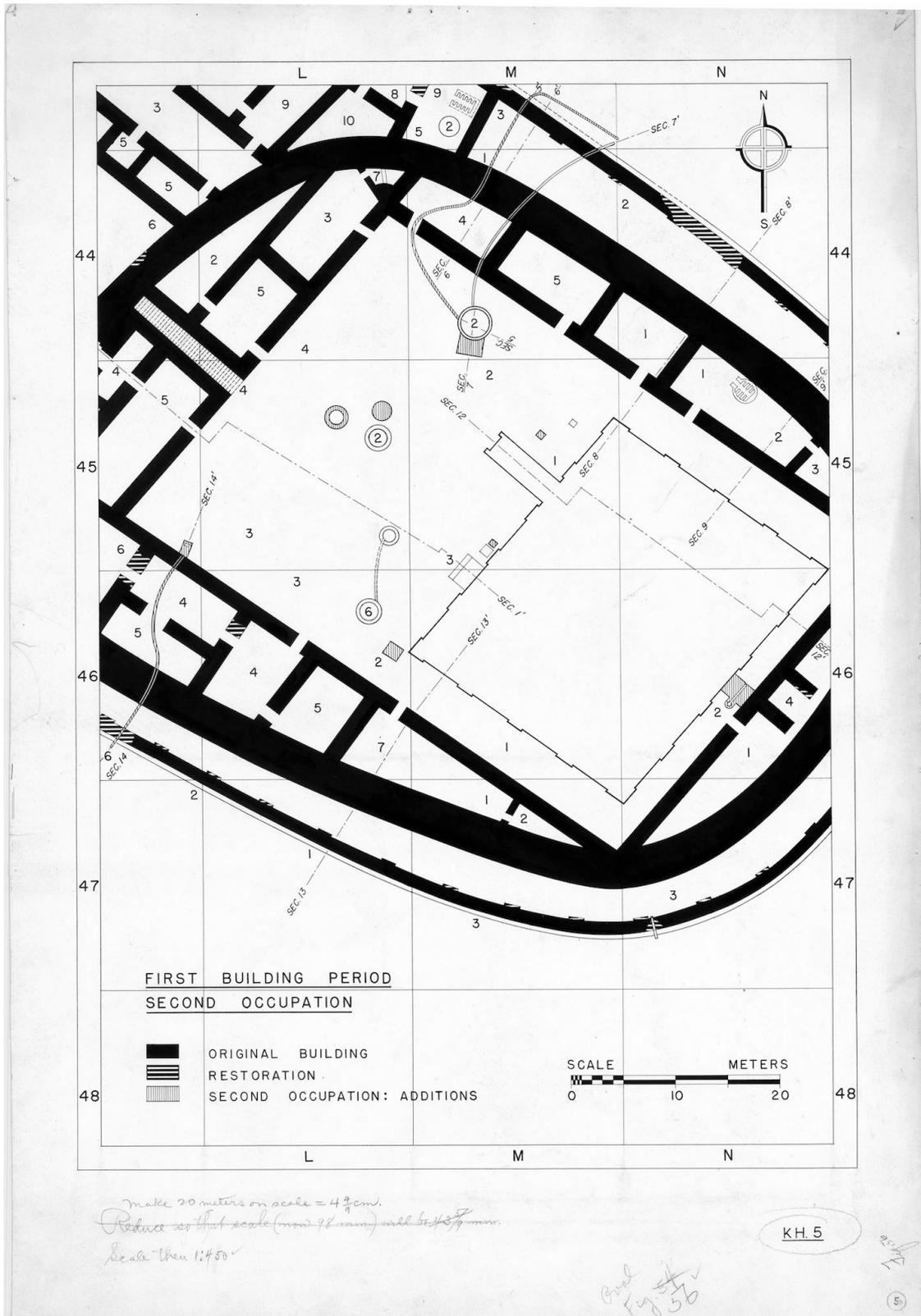


Figure C.3 – PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, FIRST BUILDING PERIOD, SECOND OCCUPATION

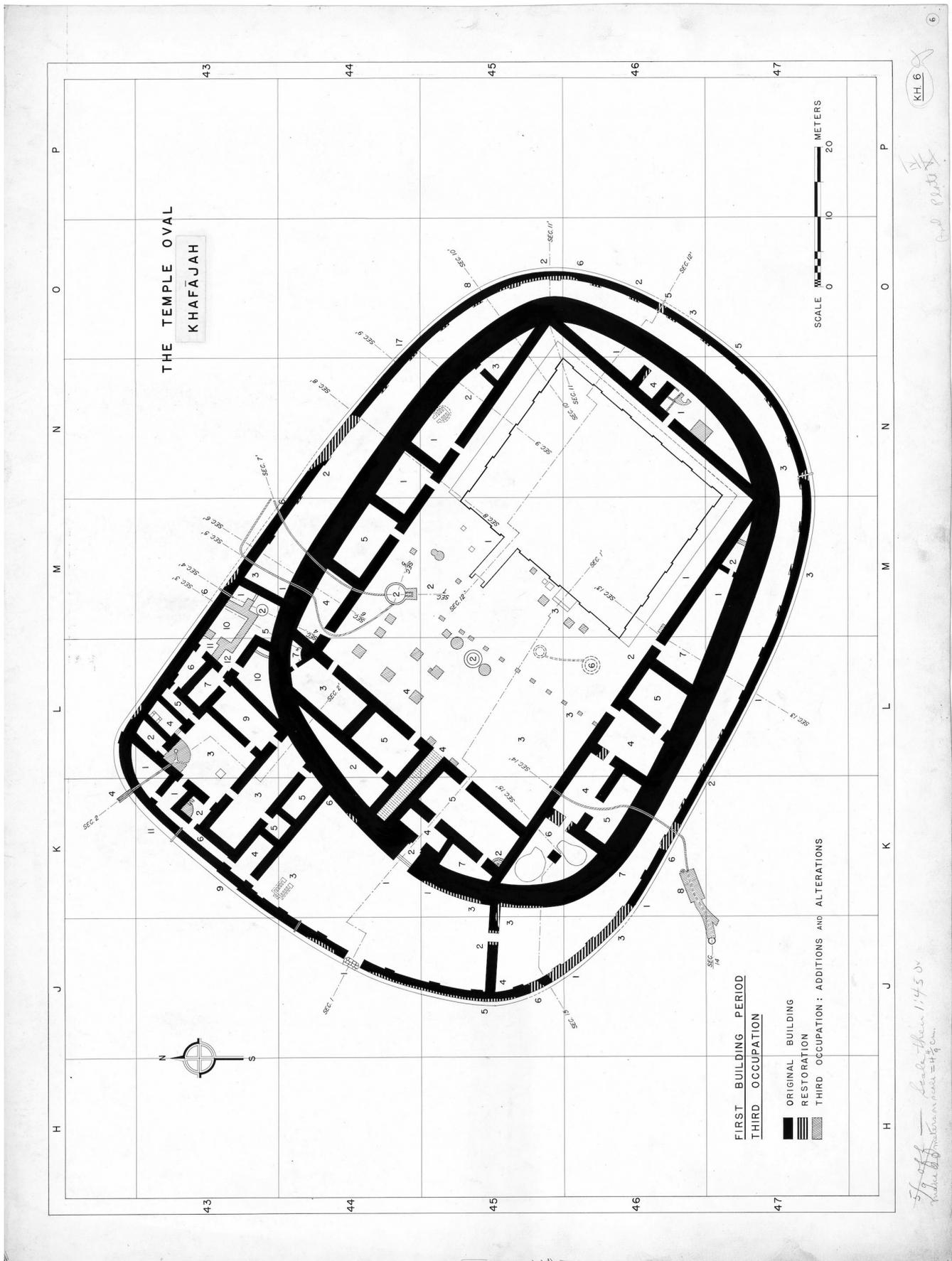


Figure C.4 – PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, FIRST BUILDING PERIOD, THIRD OCCUPATION

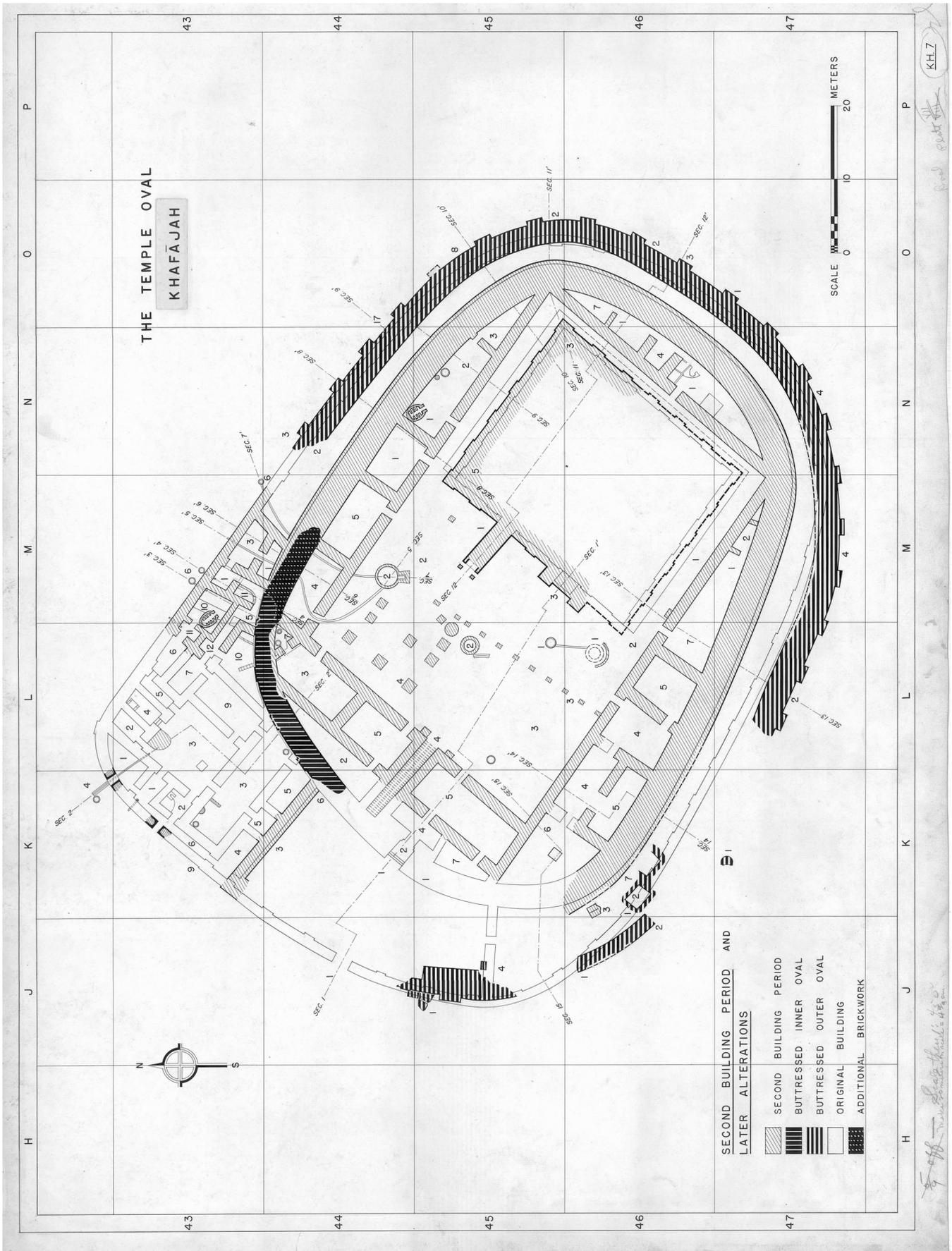


Figure C.5 – PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, SECOND BUILDING PERIOD AND LATER ALTERATIONS

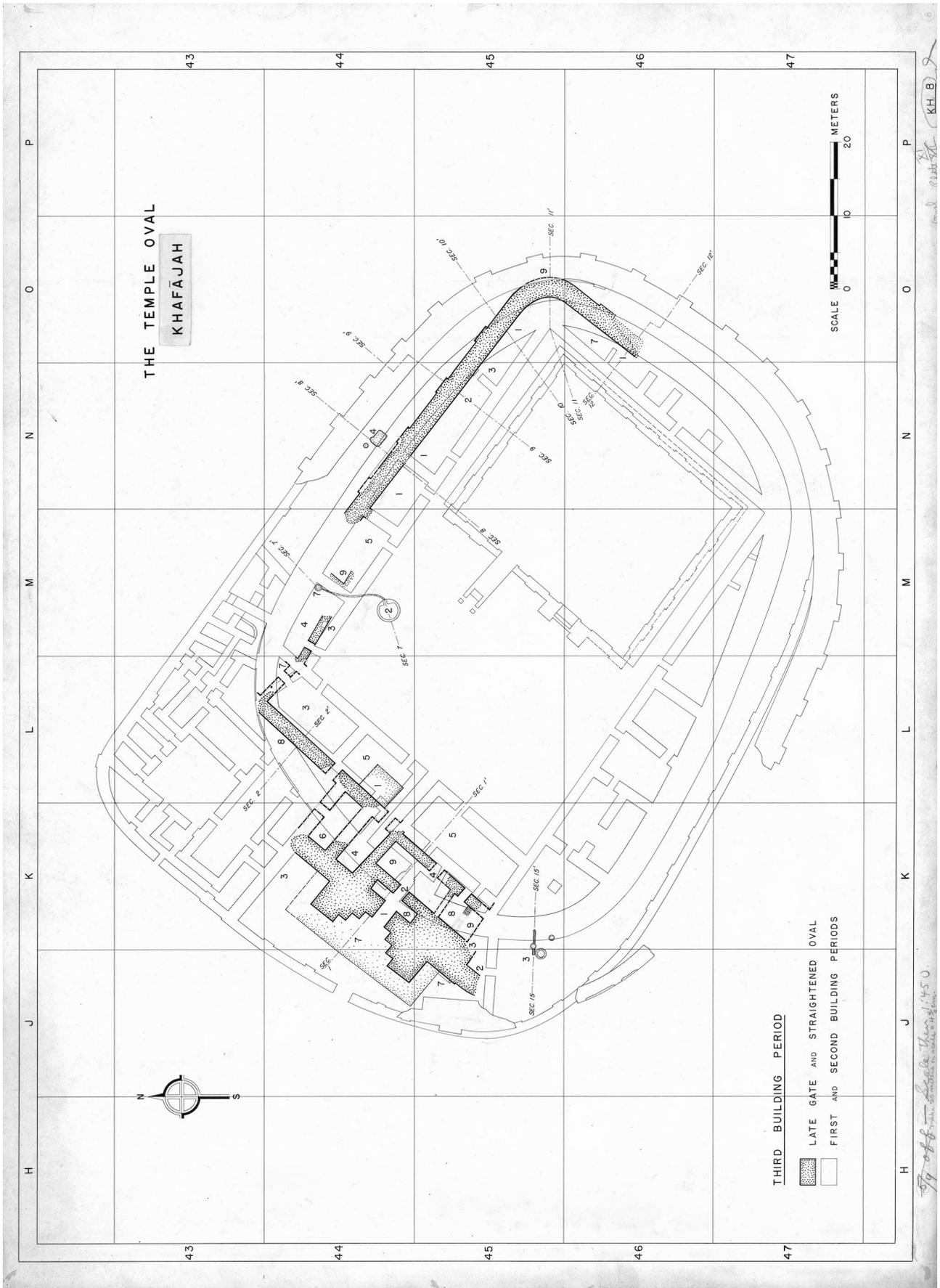


Figure C.6 – PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, THIRD BUILDING PERIOD

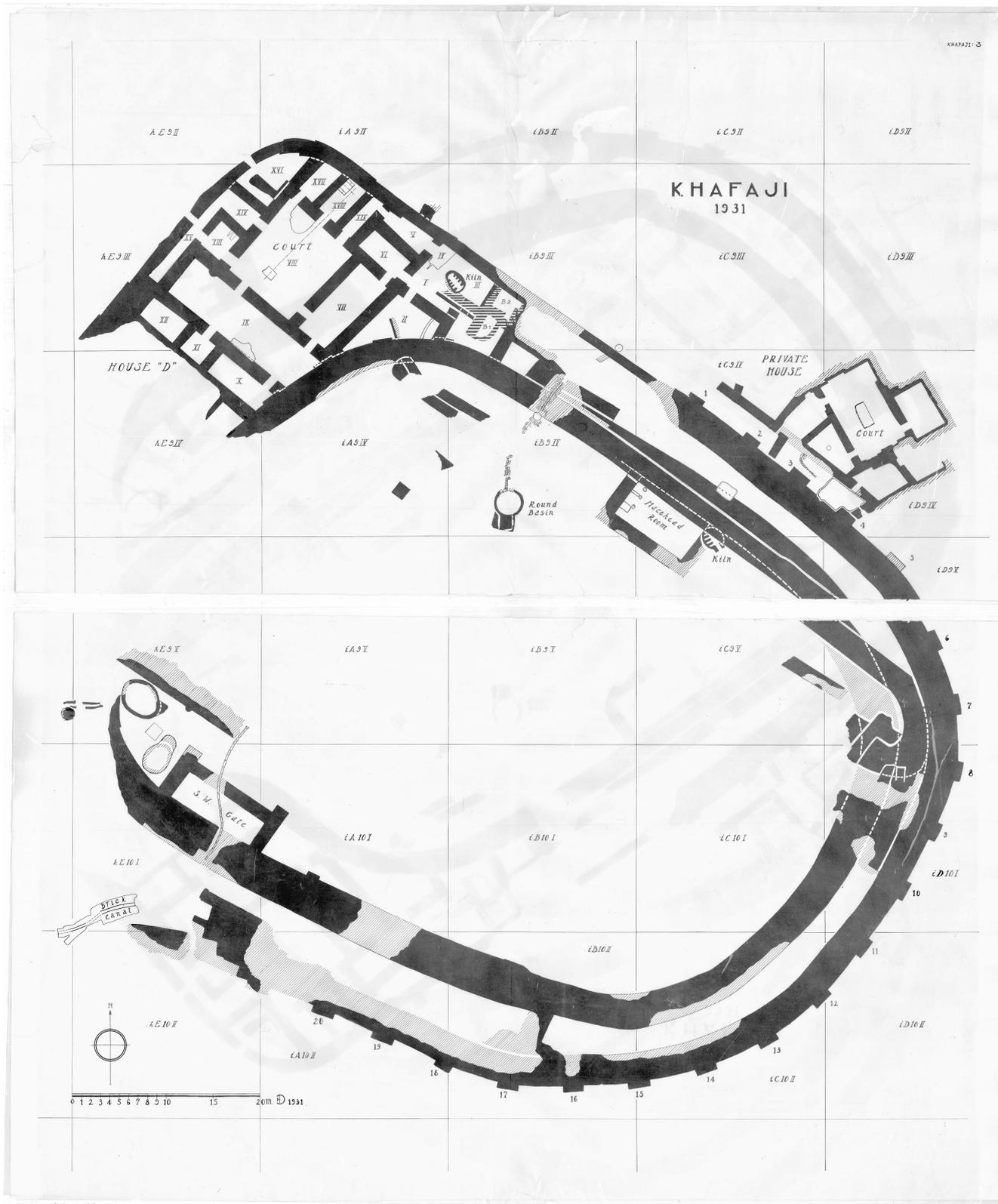


Figure C.7 – PLAN OF THE EXCAVATION FROM THE FIRST SEASON, 1931, BY MR DARBY

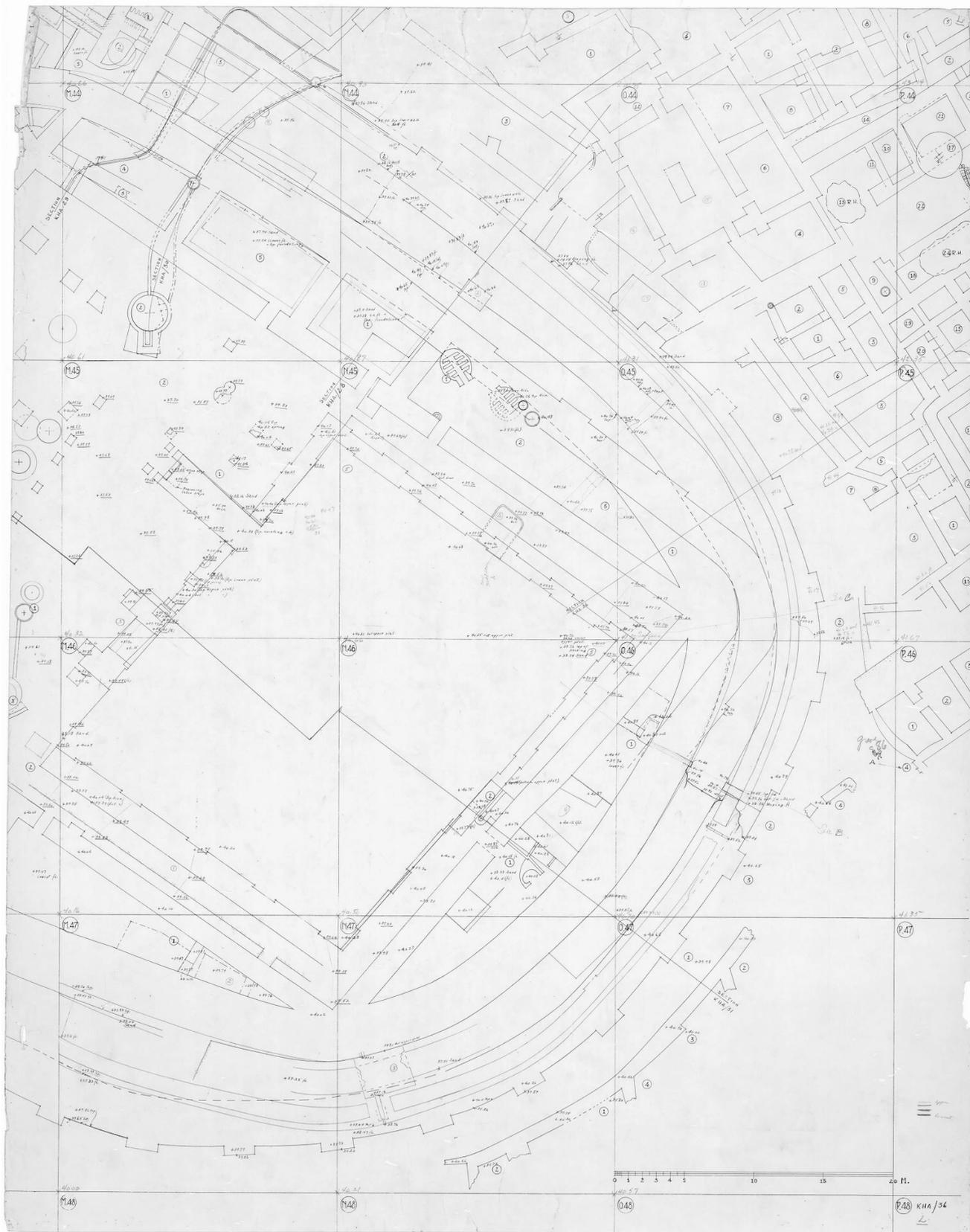


Figure C.9 – FIELD PLAN OF EASTERN AREA OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, FROM DELOUGAZ’S EXCAVATION. IT SHOWS THE ELEVATION POINTS USED TO DETERMINE THE OCCUPATION HORIZONS IN THE TEMPLE. ACCORDING TO THE LEGEND ON THE BOTTOM LEFT-HAND CORNER, BLUE CORRESPONDS TO THE LOWEST LEVEL, FOLLOWED BY GREEN, RED, AND FINALLY YELLOW FOR THE UPPER LEVEL.

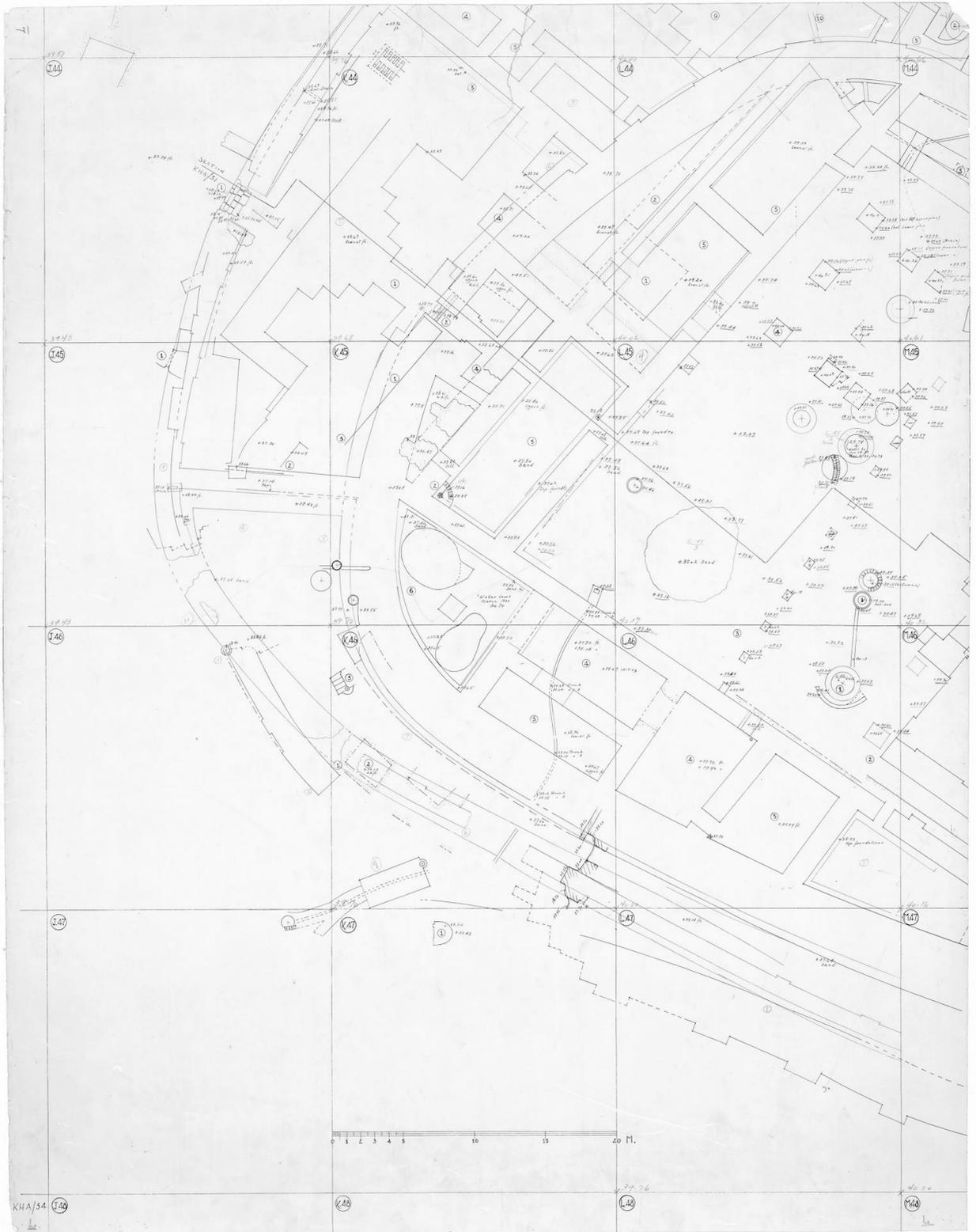


Figure C.10 – FIELD PLAN OF WESTERN AREA OF THE TEMPLE OVAL, FROM DELOUGAZ’S EXCAVATION. IT SHOWS THE ELEVATION POINTS USED TO DETERMINE THE OCCUPATION HORIZONS IN THE TEMPLE. ACCORDING TO THE LEGEND ON THE EASTERN PLAN, BLUE CORRESPONDS TO THE LOWEST LEVEL, FOLLOWED BY GREEN, RED, AND FINALLY YELLOW FOR THE UPPER LEVEL.



Figure C.11 – FIELD PLAN SHOWING THE AREA OF HOUSES NW OF THE TEMPLE OVAL.
NOTE THE LACK OF ELEVATIONS RECORDED IN THIS AREA.



Figure C.12 – PLAN OF HOUSES 3 LEVEL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NW AREA AND AREA BETWEEN TEMPLE OVAL AND SAMUŠ TEMPLE, SHOWING THE STREET CURVING ALONG THE EDGE OF THE TEMPLE. INSIDE, THE PLAN OF HOUSE D CORRESPONDS TO THE PUBLISHED ONE FOR OVAL 1, THIRD OCCUPATION.

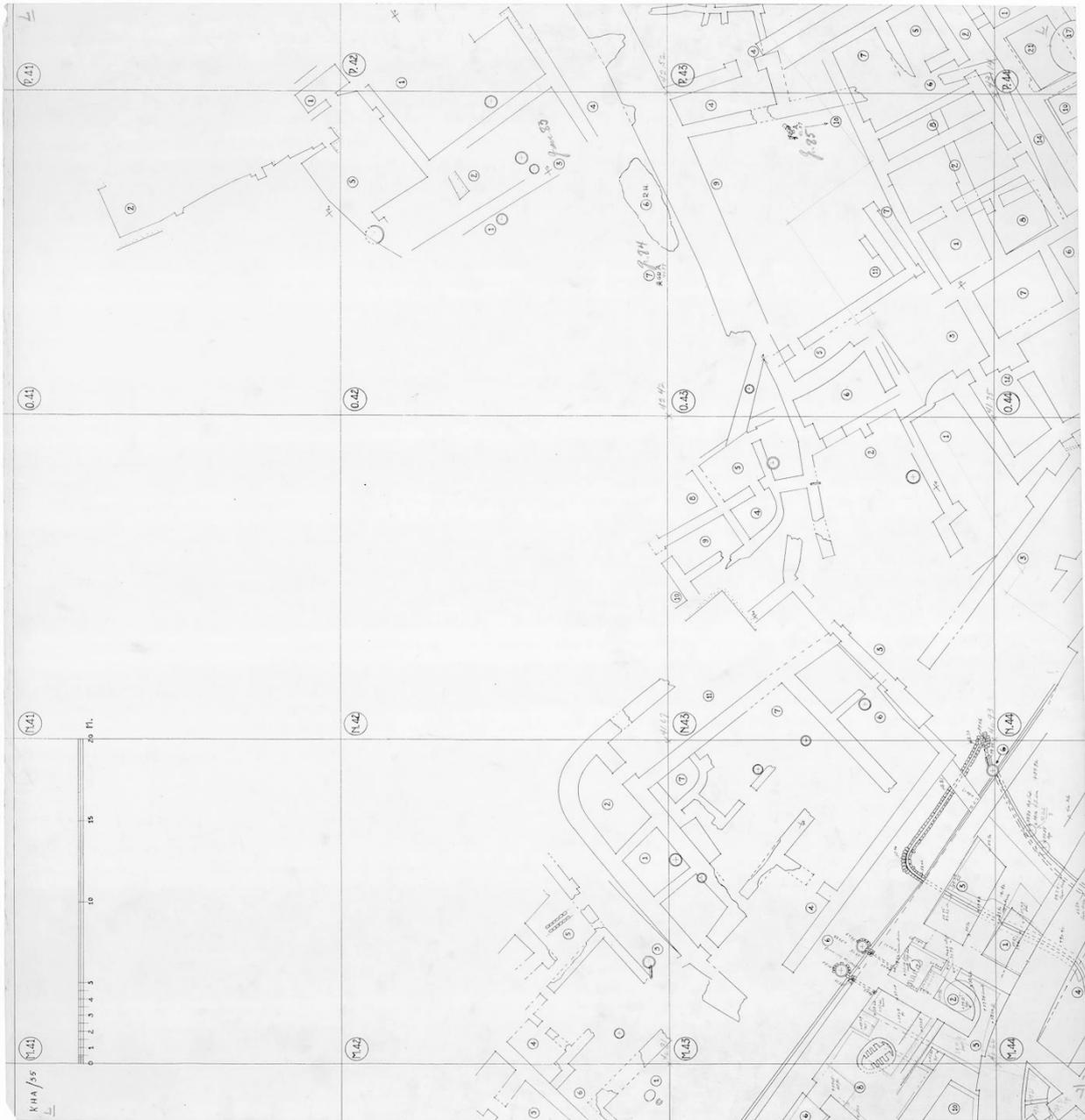


Figure C.13 – PLAN SHOWING THE HOUSE N OF THE GENERAL HOUSES AREA, AT ROUGHLY HOUSES 2 LEVEL. HOWEVER, ELEVATIONS DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE BEEN RECORDED FOR THE WALLS IN THE HOUSE IN SQUARE M43. THIS PLAN ALSO GIVES FURTHER DETAILS OF ELEVATIONS IN HOUSE D AND THE DRAINS FROM THE TEMPLE OVAL.

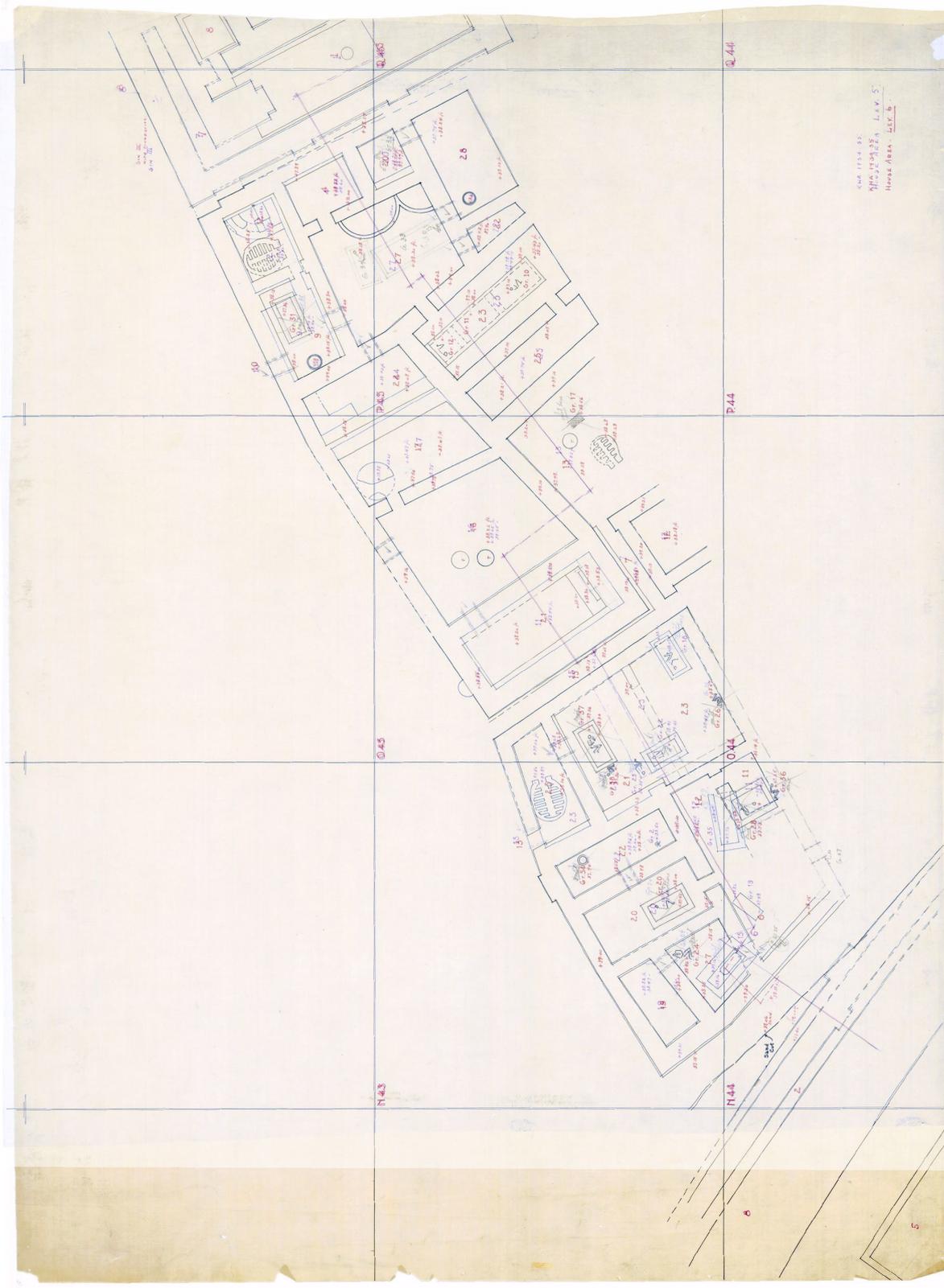


Figure C.14 – Houses 5 field plan superimposed over Houses 6 field plan. Houses 5 field plan appears tinted blue to differentiate it from the details from Houses 6. Note how the only changes are two partition walls in the Small Temple (middle) and the house next to the Samu's Temple (right).

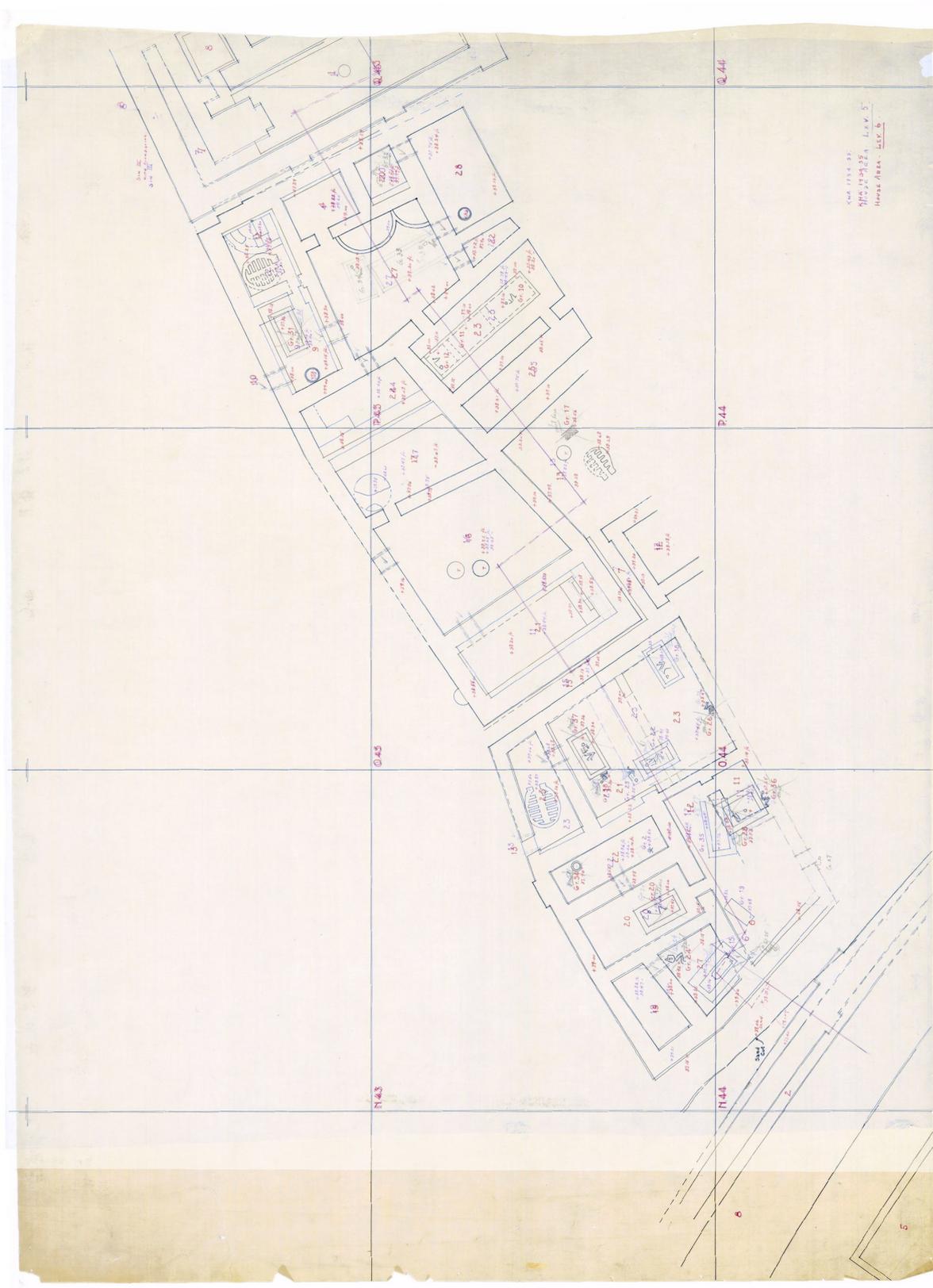


Figure C.15 – HOUSES 5 FIELD PLAN SUPERIMPOSED OVER HOUSES 4 FIELD PLAN. HOUSES 5 FIELD PLAN APPEARS TINTED BLUE TO DIFFERENTIATE IT FROM THE DETAILS FROM HOUSES 4. NOTE HOW CHANGES ARE MOSTLY CONFINED TO THE HOUSE NEXT TO THE TEMPLE OVAL.

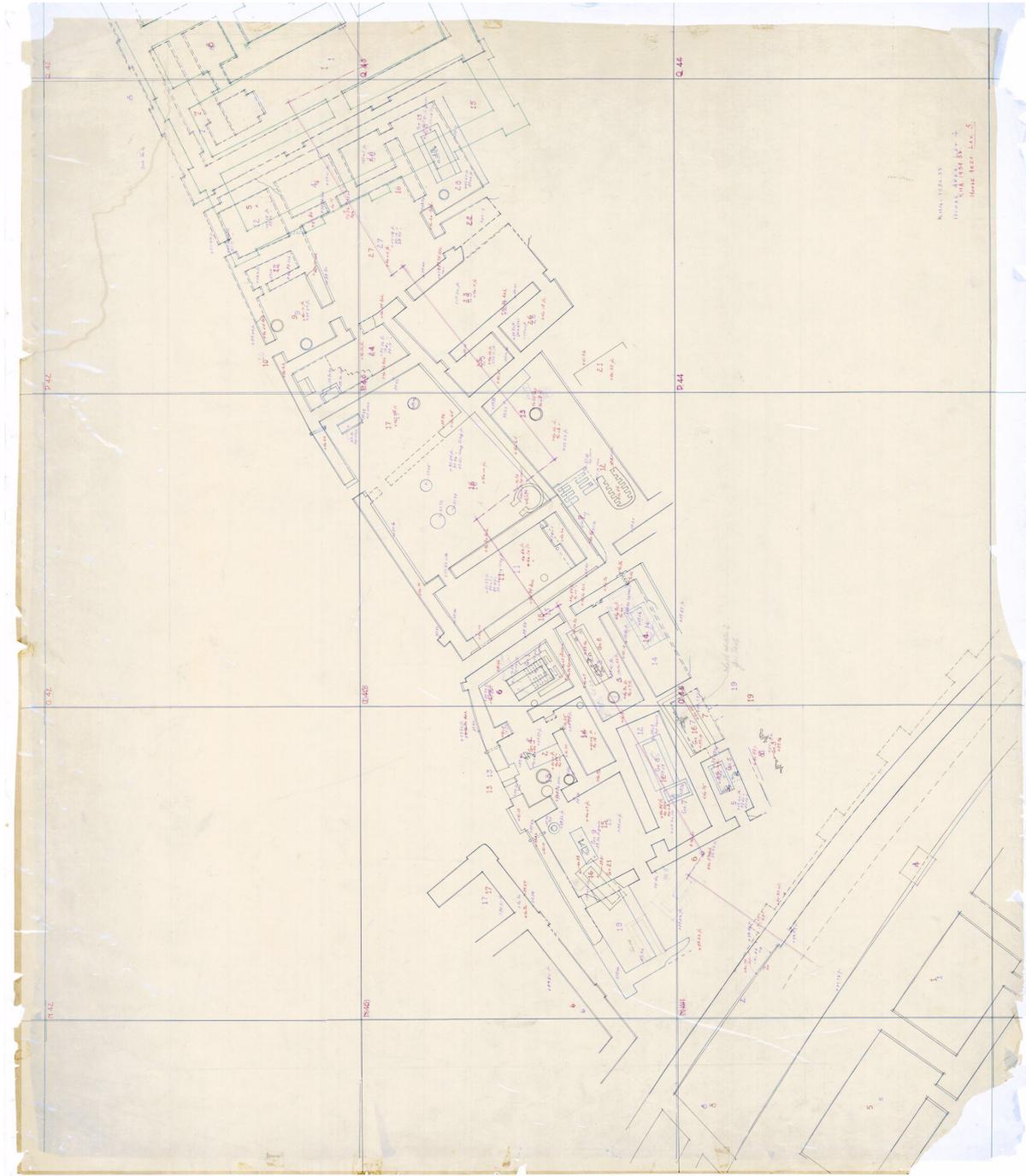


Figure C.16 – Houses 4 field plan superimposed over Houses 3 field plan. Houses 4 field plan appears tinted blue to differentiate it from the details from Houses 3. Note how the only change is one partition wall in the house next to the temple oval and a kiln behind the small shrine.

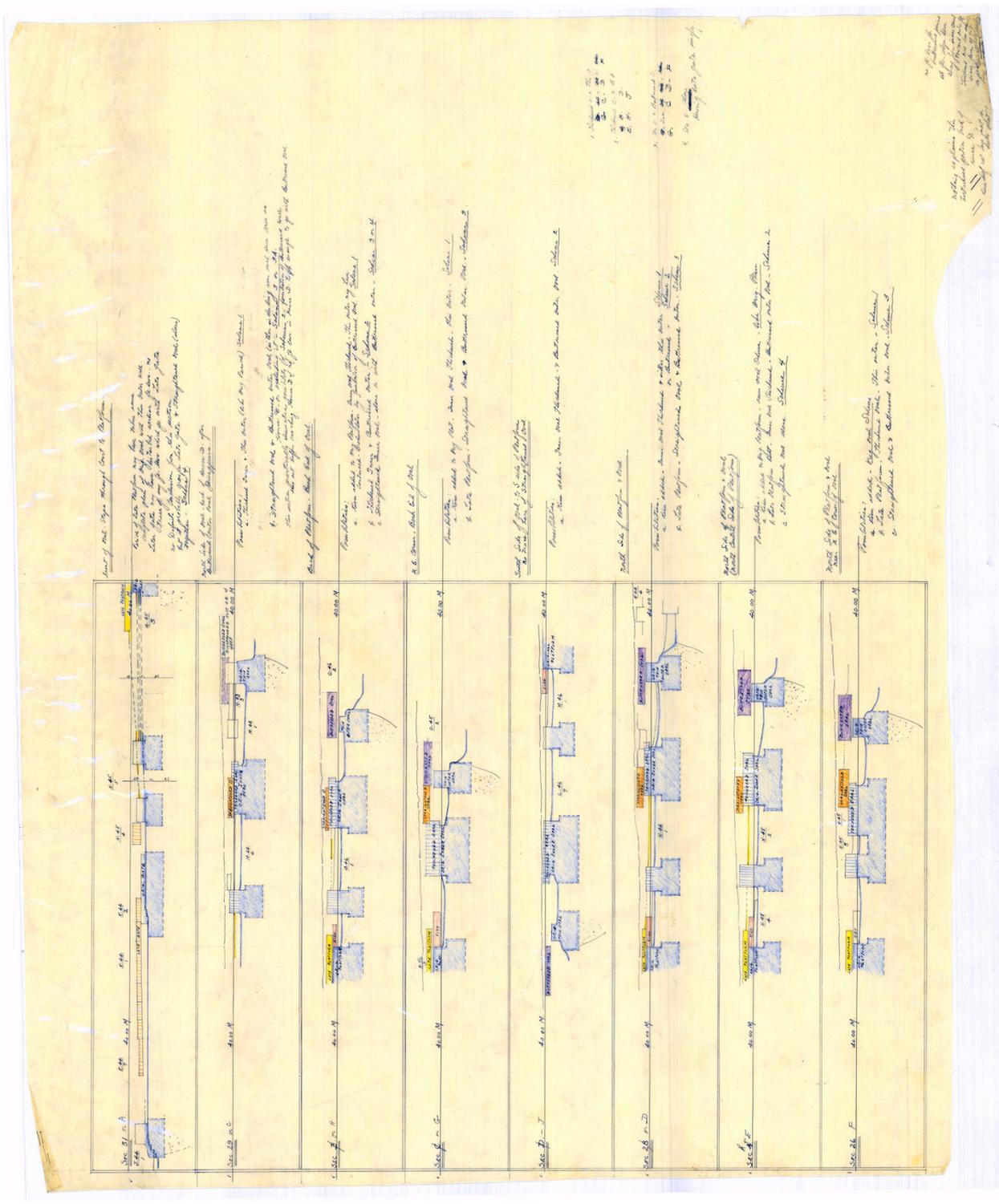


Figure C.17 – ORIGINAL PRELIMINARY WORK FOR THE PUBLISHED SECTIONS, SHOWING ELEMENTS OF DECISION-MAKING WHEN ESTABLISHING THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE AT TEMPLE OVAL. IT SHOWS THE DEGREE TO WHICH SOME OF THE RELATIONSHIPS WERE POLISHED IN ORDER TO ADHERE TO A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CONSTRUCTION AND OCCUPATION SEQUENCE.

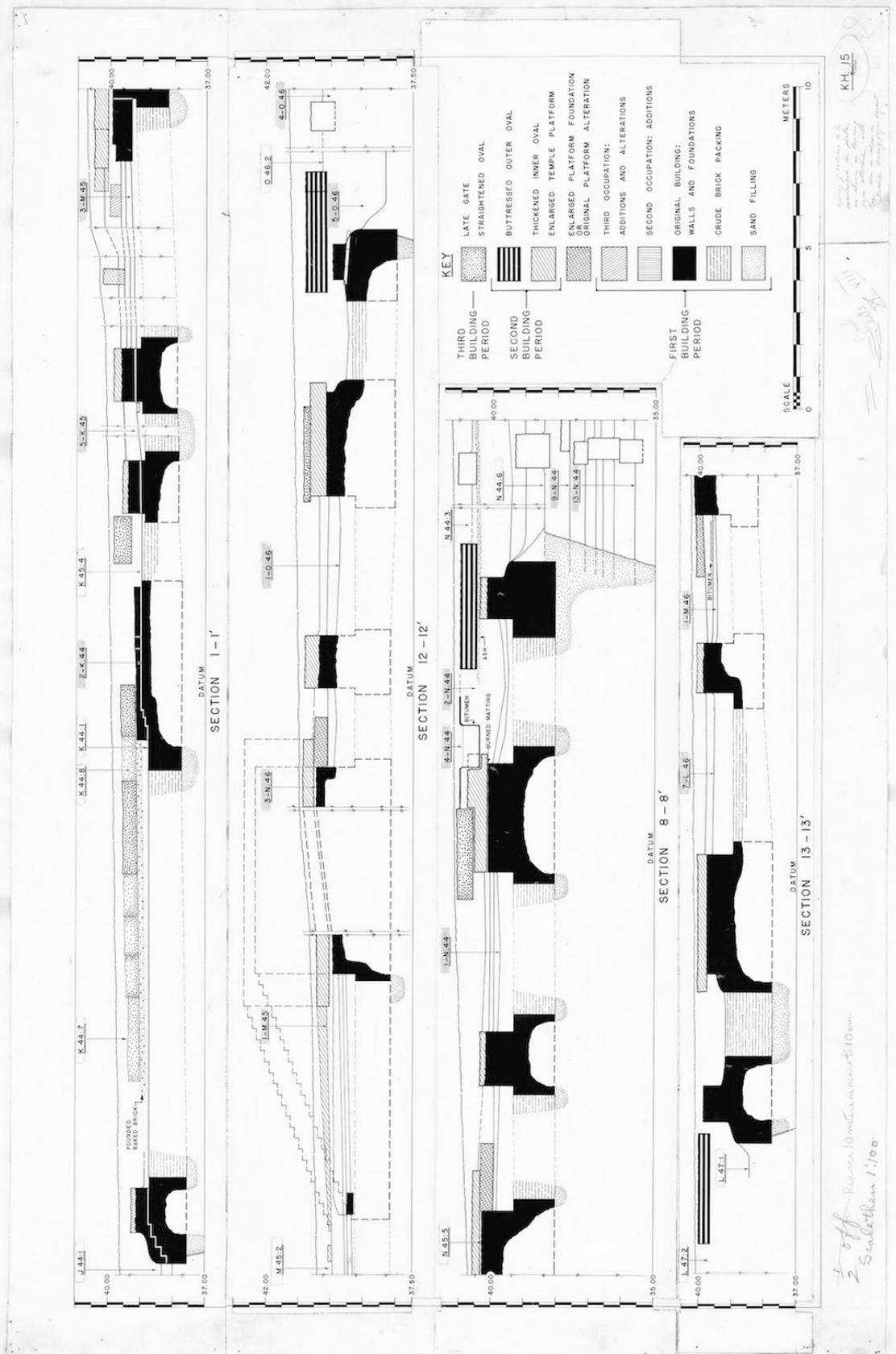


Figure C.18 – TEMPLE OVAL PUBLISHED SECTIONS 1-1', 8-8', 12-12', AND 13-13'

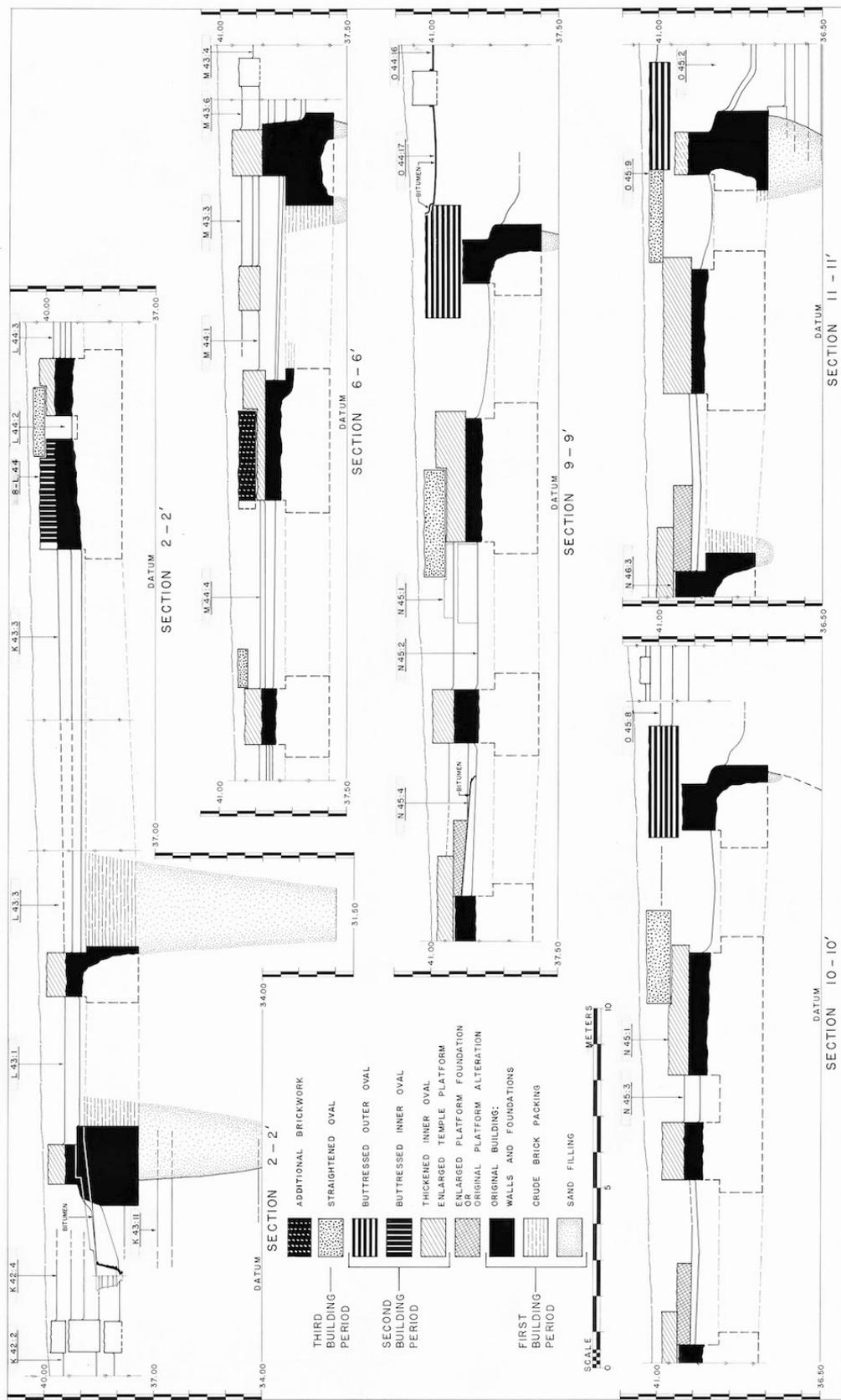


Figure C.19 – TEMPLE OVAL PUBLISHED SECTIONS 2-2', 6-6', 9-9', 10-10', AND 11-11'

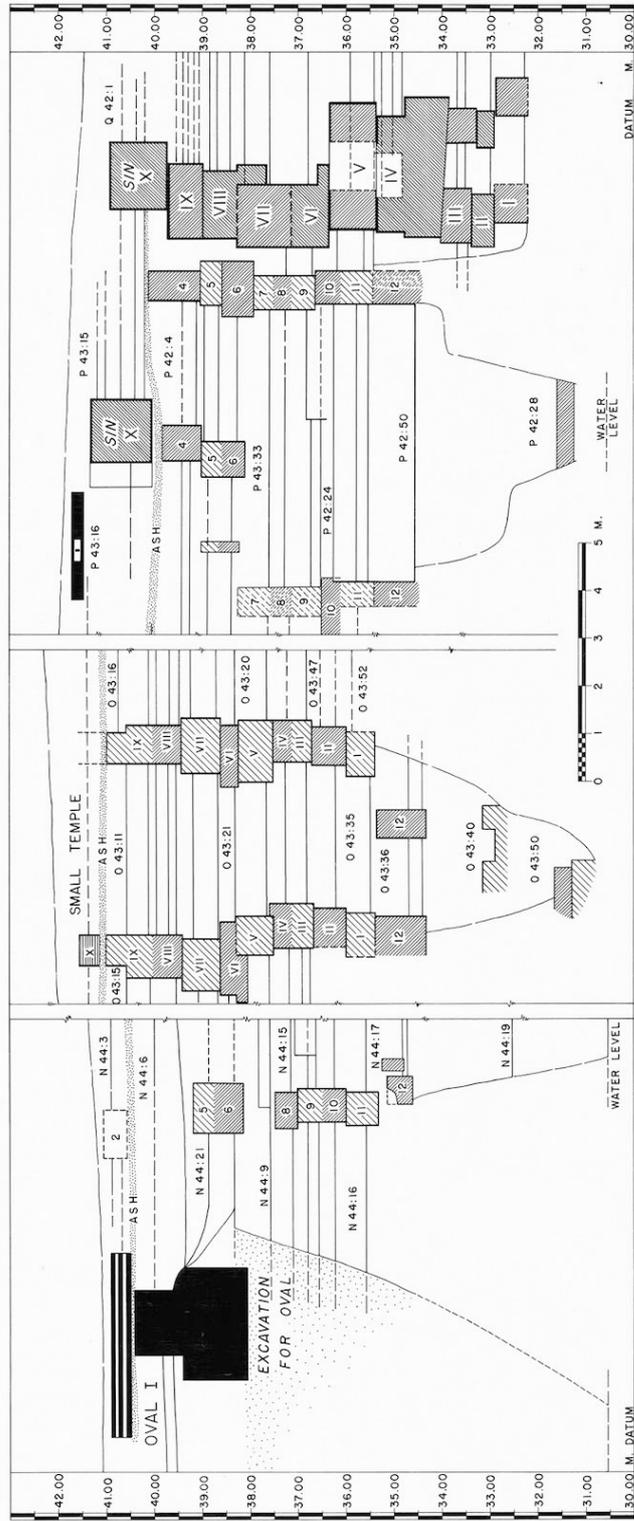


Figure C.21 – SECTION THROUGH THE SMALL TEMPLE IN O43 COMPARED WITH PARTIAL SECTIONS OF THE TEMPLE OVAL AND SAMU'S TEMPLE AND THE HOUSES IN THEIR IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

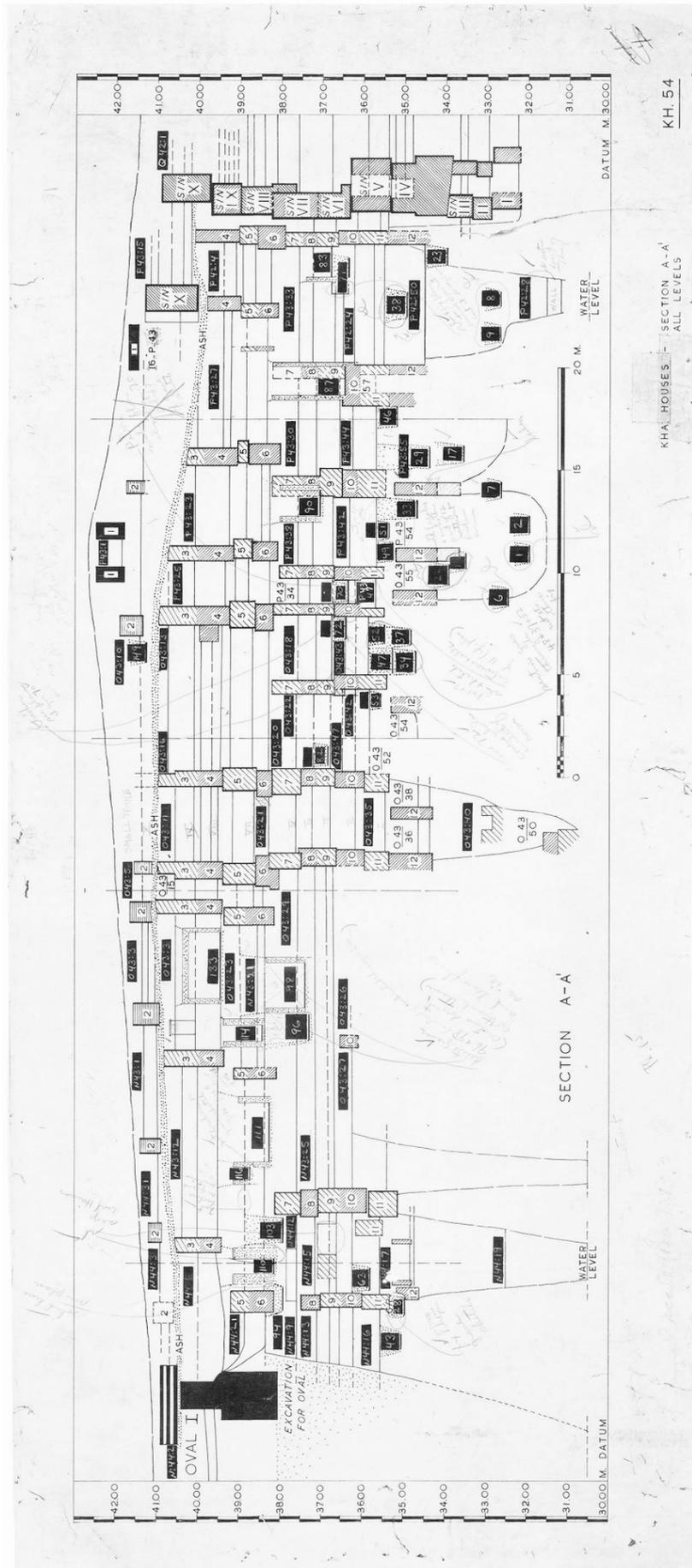


Figure C.22 – SECTION A-A' BETWEEN TEMPLE OVAL AND ŠAMUŠ TEMPLE

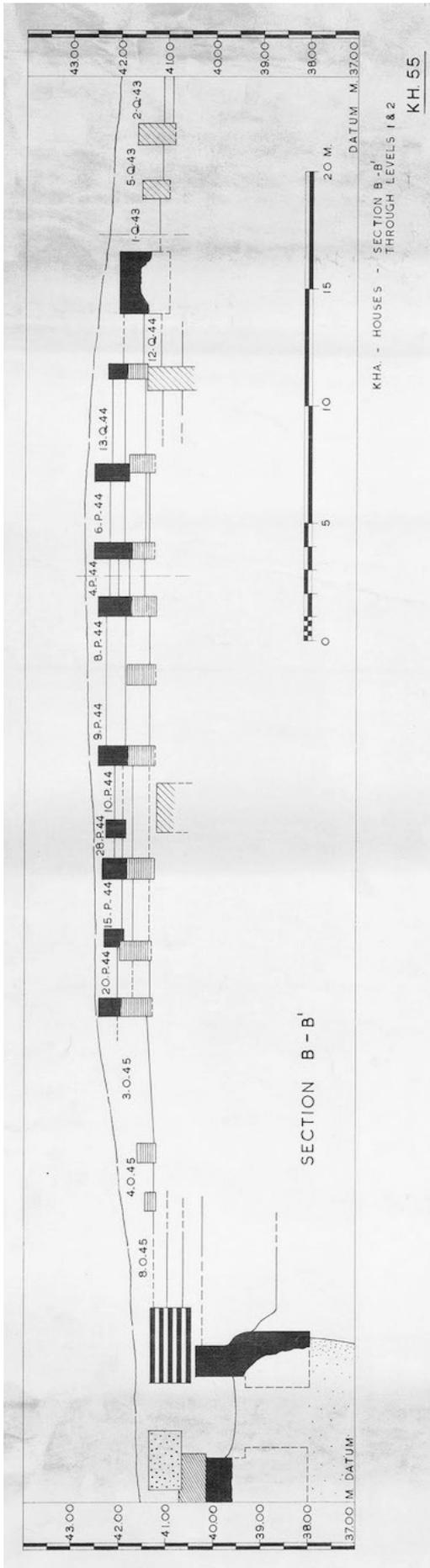


Figure C.23 – SECTION B-B' BETWEEN TEMPLE OVAL AND THE WALLED QUARTER

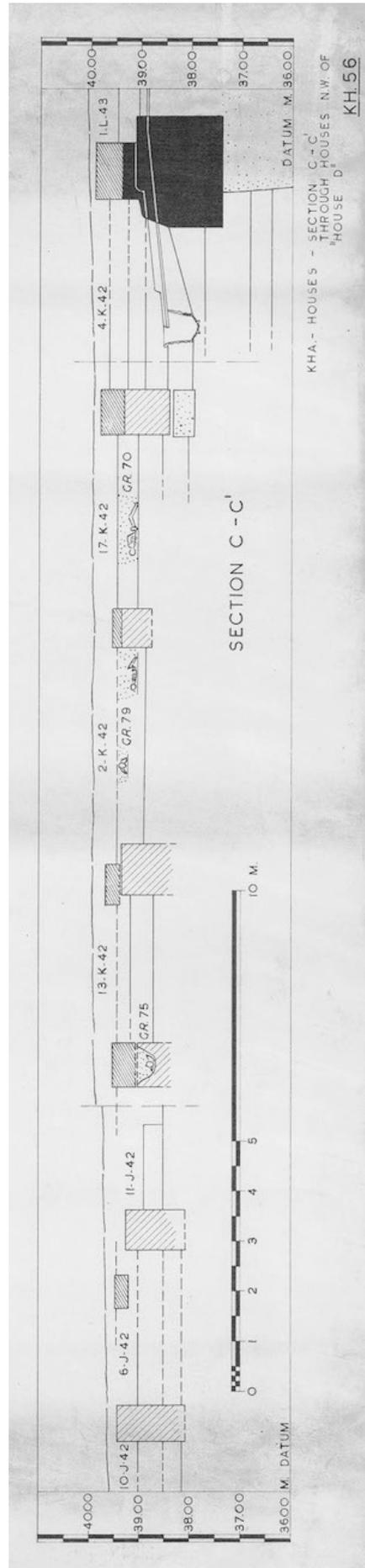


Figure C.24 – SECTION C-C' BETWEEN TEMPLE OVAL AND HOUSES NW OF THE TEMPLE

Gul

Haus "D" Raum X

L 43 / 4

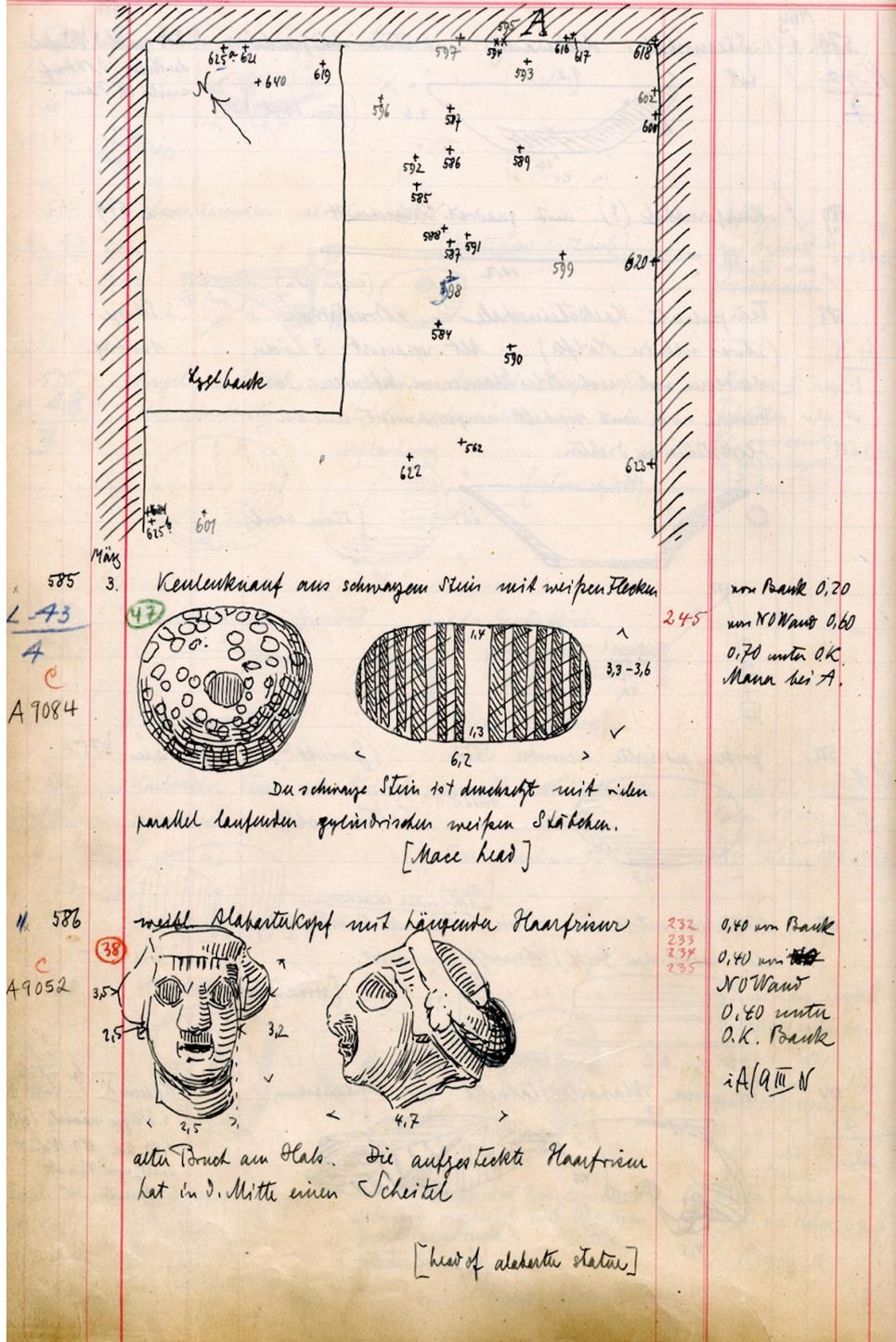


Figure C.25 – NOTES ON CONTEXT AND CHRONOLOGY WERE ADDED LATER FOR PUBLICATION AND CATALOGUING PURPOSES (USUALLY IN BLUE, RED, OR PENCIL). THIS PAGE SHOWS ROOM L43:4 WITH HORIZONTAL DISTRIBUTION OF FINDSPOTS. ELEVATIONS ARE GIVEN ON THE RIGHT MARGIN AND ARE RELATIVE, BASED ON DISTANCE EITHER BELOW TOPSOIL OR IN RELATION TO A SPECIFIC FEATURE (WALL). ON THE BASIS OF THIS SKETCH AND OTHER REMARKS IN THE FIELD REGISTER, A PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE ROOM WERE DRAWN (ADD REFS: FIGURE 4.3.37; FIGURE 4.3.38; FIGURE 4.3.39).

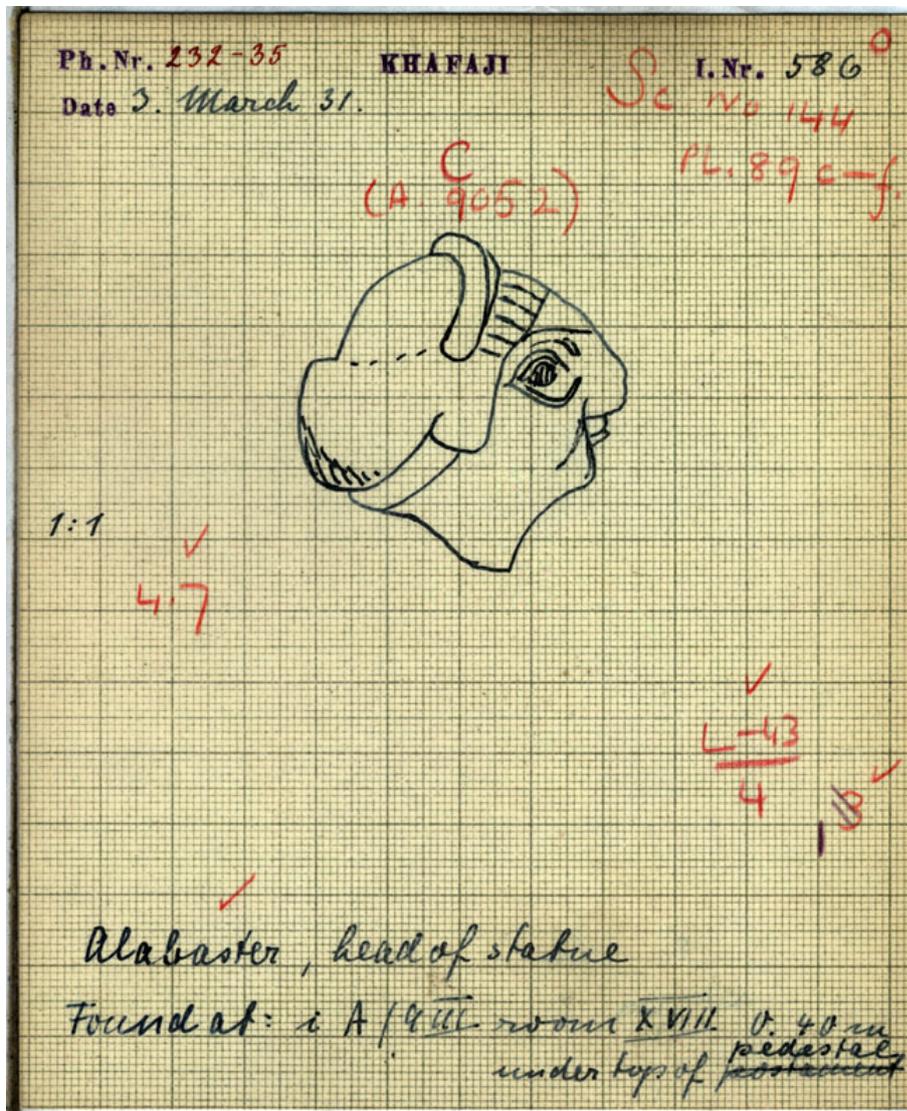


Figure C.26 – EXAMPLE OF AN OBJECT CARD FROM SEASON I (1930/31), FOR ARTEFACT KH. I 586. THESE WERE LATER PRODUCED IN CHICAGO. ARTEFACT KH. I 586 IS SHOWN HERE AND ALSO IN THE FIELD REGISTER IN FIG. C.27. A TYPICAL FEATURE OF BOTH THE LATER REGISTERS AND THE OBJECT CARDS ARE THE ADDITIONS IN RED PENCIL, WHICH ADD THE LATER CONTEXT OF THE OBJECT. IN PARTICULAR, THESE WERE ASCRIBED TO ONE OF THE BUILDING PHASES. THIS OBJECT WAS FIRST ASSIGNED TO OVAL 3 (IN RED ON RIGHT), WHICH IS SUBSEQUENTLY CROSSED OUT AND REASSIGNED TO OVAL 1 (IN RED/BLUE TO THE LEFT), WITH A TYPICAL CHECKMARK IN RED NEXT TO IT. OTHER DETAILS SUCH AS MUSEUM NUMBER OR PLATE NUMBER IN THE PUBLICATION WERE ALSO ADDED AT A LATER DATE.

KHAFAJE

DATE March 1, 1932 **B** NO. Kh-II-138 ⁰
 ✓ Pl. 67a **50**
 Seated statuette, headless ^{No. 79}
 ✓ 8.0cm.



12.8cm

SIZE limestone ✓ PHOTO NR. Kh-II-114 ¹¹⁵

MATERIAL Gypsum(?)

FOUND AT K-45 ✓ level 39.43m. ✓
_{2 1-2 2✓}

Figure C.27 – EXAMPLE OF AN OBJECT CARD FROM SEASON 2 (1931/32), FOR ARTEFACT KH. II 138. THE OBJECT CARDS FROM SEASON 2 WERE PRODUCED ON SITE, WHILST THE FIELD REGISTER WAS FILLED IN BACK IN CHICAGO. NOTE THE CHANGES TO THE INITIAL NOTES, SUCH AS MATERIAL (FROM GYPSUM TO LIMESTONE), BUILDING PERIOD (“1”, AND IN PENCIL “-2”, THE CROSSED OUT AND IN RED “2” WITH A RED CHECKMARK NEXT TO IT), AND PERHAPS ELEVATION (IN PENCIL).

Khafaje II (1932) Good

Date	No.	Description	Size	Provenance	Photo No.
2-28-32	Kh. II-132	Bead ~ Lapis. Cylindrical	h. 0.9 cm. w. ?	K 46:1	Kh. II-109
2-28-32	Kh. II-133	Inlay (?) Pendant (?) ~ Lapis	l. 2.5 cm. w. 2.5 cm.	N. of K 46:6	Kh. II-111
2-28-32	Kh. II-134	Neck of stone vessel ~ Fine marble (?)	h. 2.0 cm. w. 3.0 cm.	K 45:2	Kh. II-111
2-28-32	Kh. II-135	Bead ~ Lapis. Roughly spheroid.	diameter. 1.2 cm.	K 45:1	Kh. II-109
2-28-32	Kh. II-136	Frag. of relief ~ Fine limestone	l. 8.0 cm. w. 8.0 cm.	K 45:2 (?) Arabana	Kh. II-112 ⊕
2-28-32	Kh. II-137	Frag. glazed (?) pottery ~ Baked clay, glazed (?) C-A17012	l. 3.6 cm. w. 2.2 cm.	J 45:2	Kh. II-108 Kh. II-120
3-1-32	Kh. II-138	Seated statuette, headless ~ Limestone. Remarks: Sc. pl. 67a, No. 79 B	h. 12.8 cm. w. 8.0 cm.	K 45:2 Level 39.43 m.	Kh. II-115 114
2-28-32	Kh. II-139	Frag. of stone trough ~ Grey stone.	?	K 45:1	Kh. II-111
3-1-32	Kh. II-140	Seal impressions ~ Clay, unbaked	?	L 43:10 S. end.	?
3-1-32	Kh. II-141	Seal impression ~ Unbaked clay.	?	L 43:10 S. end.	?
3-1-32	Kh. II-142	Seal impression ~ Unbaked clay.	?	L 43:10 S. end.	?

Figure C.28 – EXAMPLE OF A FIELD REGISTER PAGE FROM THE SECOND SEASON OF EXCAVATION, WHEN OBJECT CARDS WERE USED IN THE FIELD AND THE REGISTER WAS FILLED IN BACK IN CHICAGO.

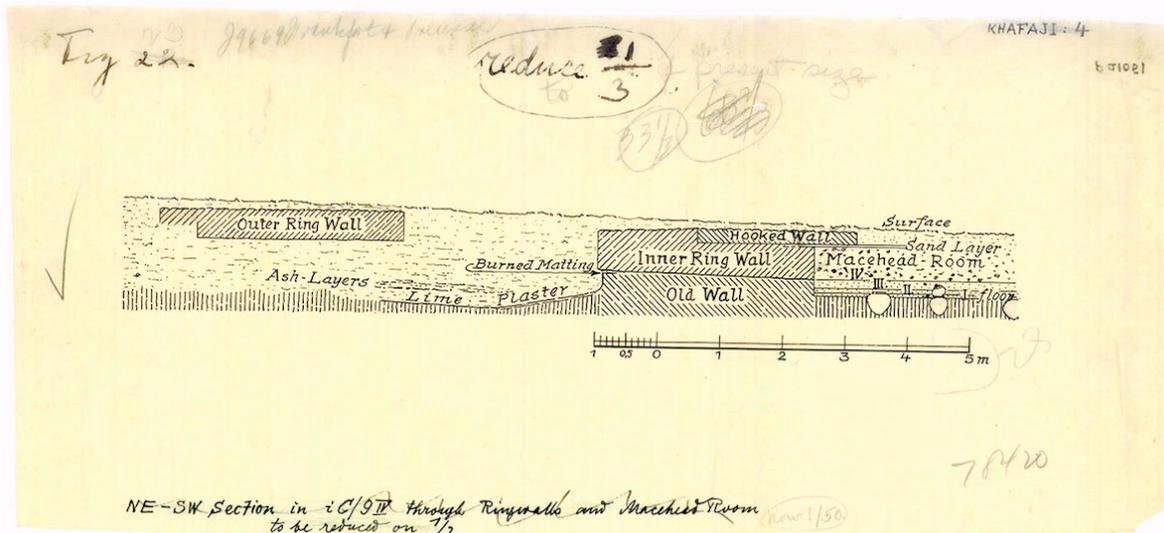
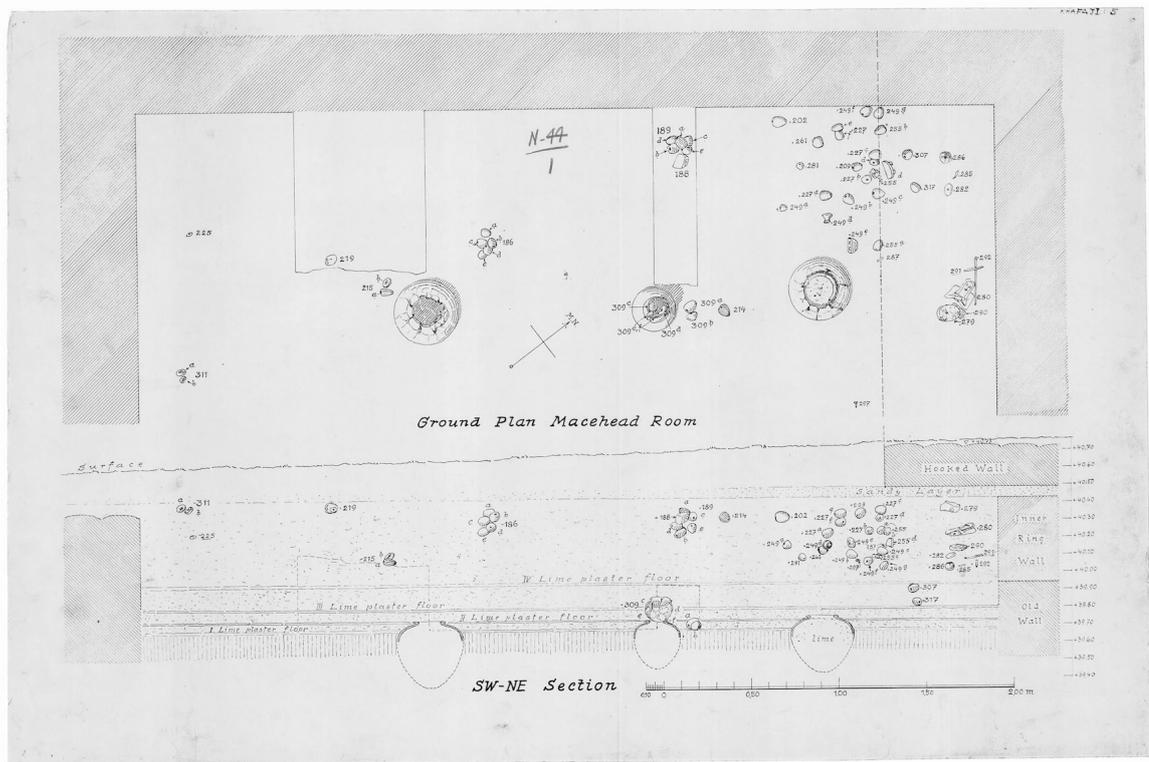
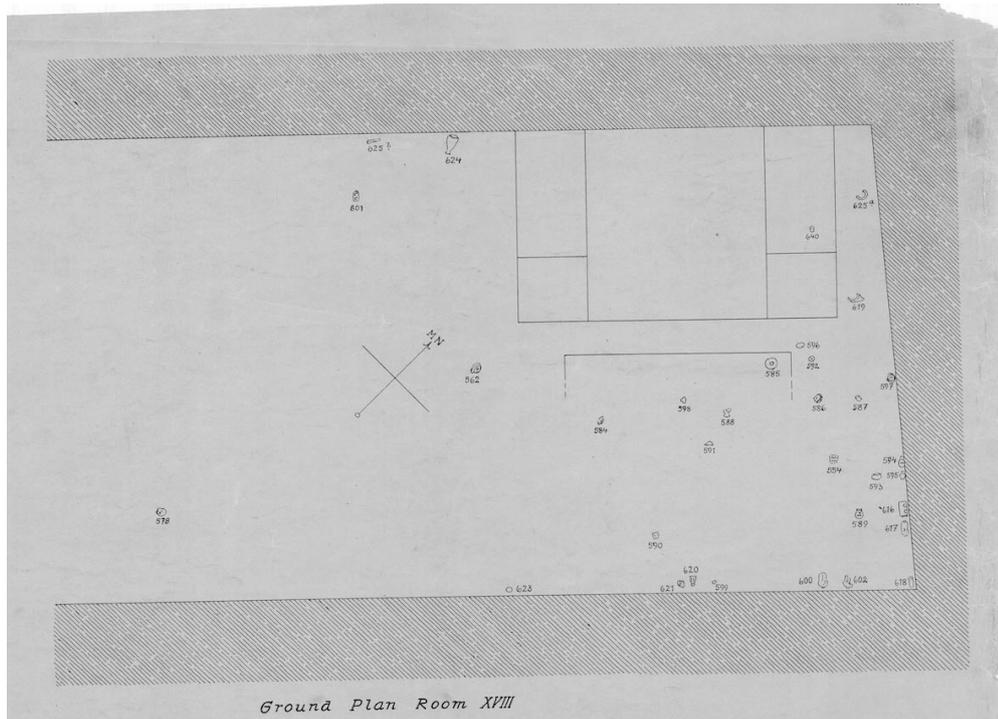
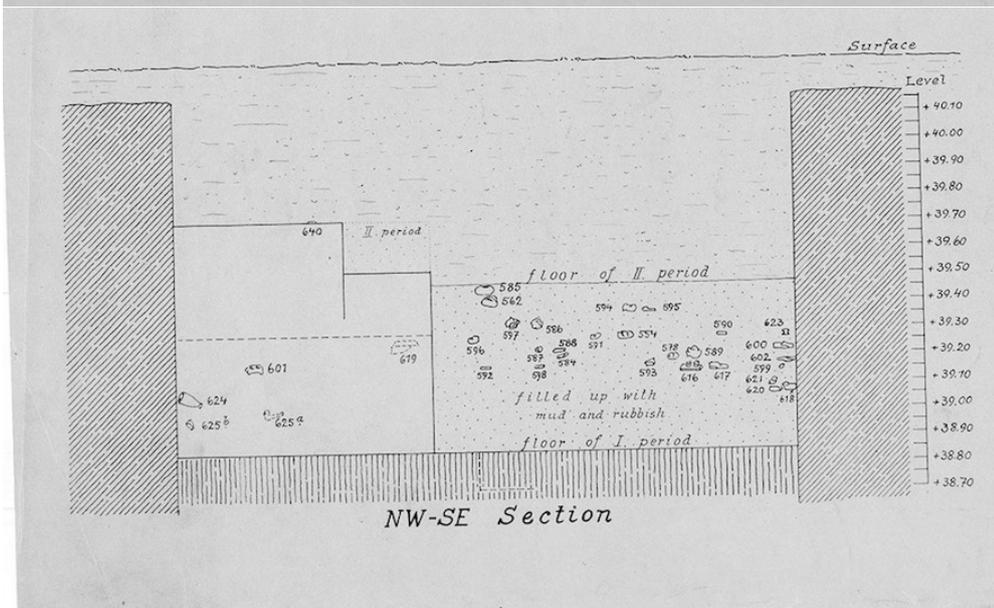


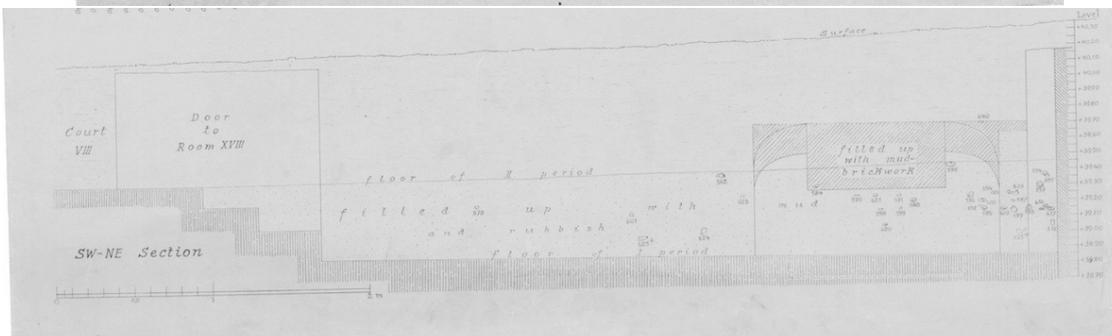
Figure C.29 – PLAN OF THE ‘MACEHEAD ROOM’ N44:1 (TOP), AND SECTION THROUGH THE OUTER OVAL WALL (BOTTOM), BOTH PROBABLY FROM THE END OF THE 1930/31 SEASON, WHEN THE ROOM WAS FIRST EXCAVATED. THE TOP DRAWING SHOWS THE HORIZONTAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINDSPOTS OF ARTEFACTS FROM THIS CONTEXT, AND THE SAME ARTEFACTS IN PROFILE. AS IT IS CLEAR FROM THE NUMBERING OF THE ARTEFACTS, THE ROOM WAS NOT EXCAVATED UNIFORMLY BUT OVER A SERIES OF DAYS. THE OBJECTS FOUND HERE FROM SUBSEQUENT SEASONS ARE NOT ILLUSTRATED EITHER. THE BOTTOM IMAGE IS THE ONLY REFERENCE, WITHIN THE TEMPLE OVAL, TO THE ASH LAYER DESCRIBED ACROSS THE SITE; HOWEVER, IT IS NOT A REAL PROFILE.



Ground Plan Room XVIII



NW-SE Section



SW-NE Section

Figure C.30 – PLAN (TOP), NW-SE SECTION (MIDDLE) AND SW-NE SECTION (BOTTOM) OF L43:4 FROM THE FIRST SEASON OF EXCAVATION (1930/31), SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOME OF THE OBJECTS FOUND IN THE ROOM. THE CONTEXT OF THESE ARE SOMETIMES SKETCHED IN THE ORIGINAL FIELD REGISTER (SEE FIG. C.25). PROBABLY DRAWN USING THE RELATIVE ELEVATION DETAILS NOTED IN THE FIELD REGISTER DURING THE FIRST SEASON (1930/31).



Figure C.31 – CLAY RINGS *IN SITU* IN L43:7. THIS PHOTOGRAPH CLEARLY SHOWS THE ROOM IS L43:7 AND NOT L43:9, WHICH IS LOCATED IMMEDIATELY TO THE RIGHT. THE CURVED PROFILE OF THE INNER OVAL WALL IN L43:10 CAN BE OBSERVED IN THE BACKGROUND.



Figure C.32 – CLAY RINGS *IN SITU* IN L43:7.



Figure C.33 – CLAY RINGS (KH. I 643) FROM ROOM L43:7 IN HOUSE D, AFTER REMOVAL FROM THE GROUND, SHOWING BITS OF TEXTILE STILL ATTACHED. DESCRIBED AS “NET SINKERS,” BUT POSSIBLY LOOM WEIGHTS.

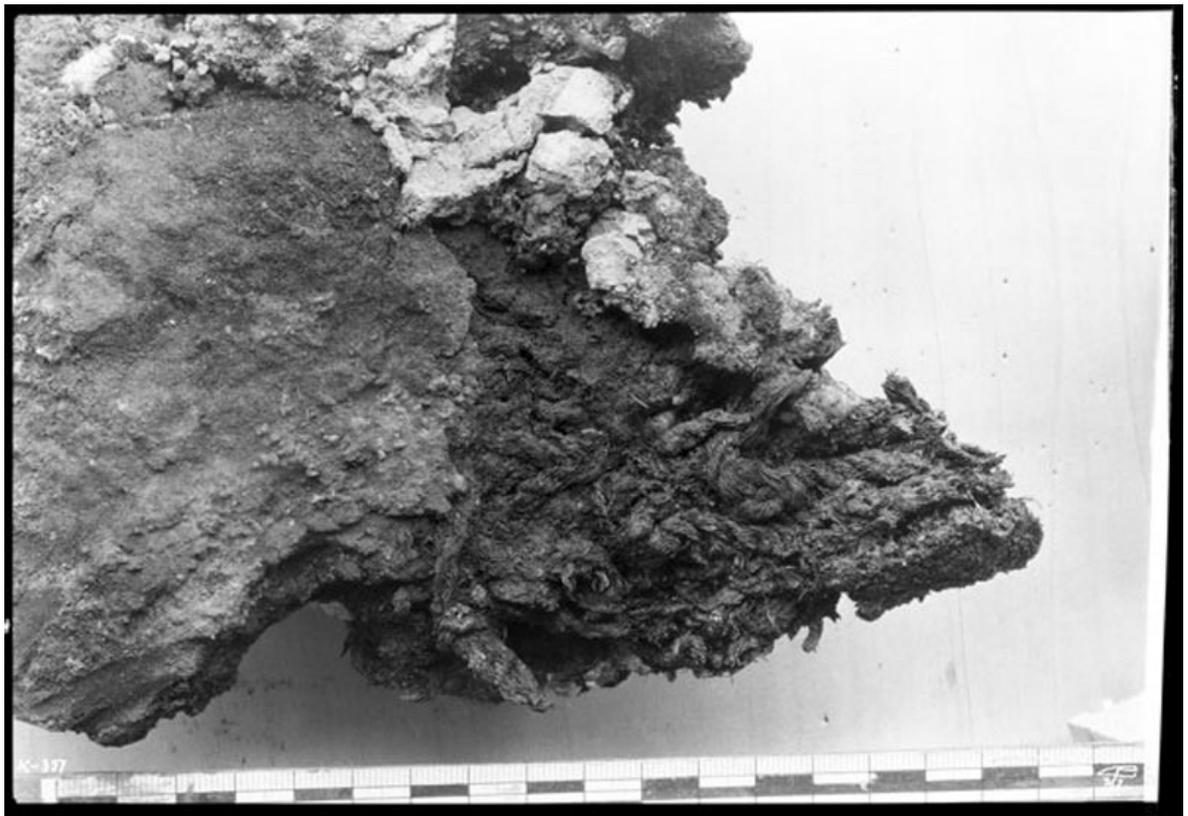


Figure C.34 – REMAINS OF TEXTILE FOUND WITH CLAY RINGS. A ~5 MM STRANDED S-LAY CORD IS CLEARLY DISTINGUISHABLE, BUT OTHER DETAILS ARE HARD TO MAKE OUT FROM THE IMAGE ALONE.

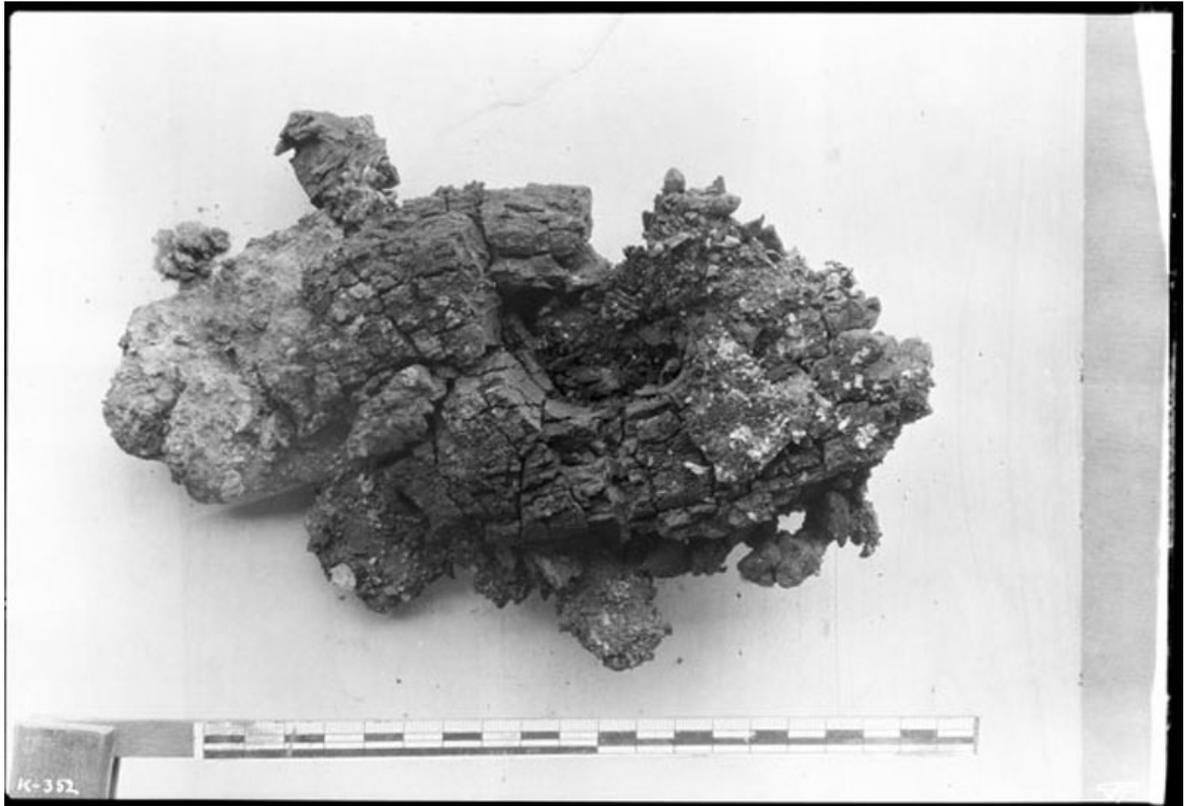


Figure C.35 – REMAINS OF BURNT WOOD FOUND WITH CLAY RINGS AND DESCRIBED AS A FLOATER FOR THE FISHING NET. AS THE WHOLE AREA WAS DESTROYED BY A CONFLAGRATION IT IS UNCLEAR THE CONTEXT IN WHICH THIS PIECE WAS FOUND, BUT THE CENTRAL HOLE COULD ALSO SUGGEST THESE REMAINS WERE PART OF A LOOM STRUCTURE, PERHAPS THE LOOM UPRIGHT.

Grub

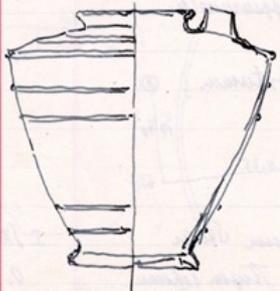
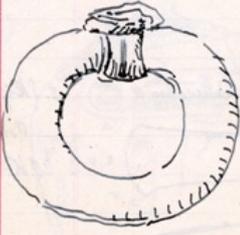
<p>642 $\frac{L43}{3}$</p>	<p>Mars 26 Großer Tontopf mit Tülle (afat)</p>  <p>metallisch gesichert. mit Drah</p>	<p>308 309 Sieddecke des Hofes im Haus, D</p> <p>D. 514-262</p>
<p>643 $\frac{L43}{9}$</p>	<p>2 Tournige des Fischernetzes mit erhaltenen Netzknuten daran a, b. konserviert mit Celluloid und Paraffin</p> 	<p>Fischernetz 201 202 203 Raum VII D 336 350</p>
<p>644 $\frac{L43}{9}$</p>	<p>Stück vom Netzwerk des Fischernetzes. konserviert mit Celluloid und Paraffin</p>	<p>357 " Raum VII D</p>
<p>645 "</p>	<p>Verkehrter Rest eines Holzstückes mit Loch vom Fischernetz (Holzschwimmer)</p>  <p>Lochweite 4 x 4 1/2 cm Länge mindestens 24 cm Dicke mindestens 5,5 cm konserviert mit Paraffin</p>	<p>352 " "</p>

Figure C.36 – PAGE FROM THE FIRST SEASON’S FIELD REGISTER SHOWING A DRAWING OF THE CLAY RING AND THE WOODEN ARTEFACT DESCRIBED AS A ‘FLOATER.’ THE REGISTER SAYS THE REMAINS WERE CONSOLIDATED WITH CELLULOID AND PARAFFIN. KH. I 644 (THE TEXTILE REMAINS) WERE TAKEN TO THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE (OI A09219) AND COULD BE FLAX, BUT THIS IS NOT CONFIRMED.



Figure C.37 – FOUNDATIONS AND SAND FILL IN N44:9.
“VIEW SHOWING THE SLANTING EDGE OF THE SAND IN N44:9 (BELOW N44:6) AND
TWO WALLS (A AND B) CUT THROUGH BY THE ANCIENT EXCAVATION WHERE THEY
ABUT THE SAND (C), VIEW FROM NORTH.”
NO DETAILS OF THE CONTEXT OF THESE WALLS IS GIVEN.



Figure C.38 – FOUNDATIONS AND SAND FILL IN K43:II.
“SOUNDING BELOW AND OUTSIDE THE TEMPLE OVAL IN K43:II, OPPOSITE ROOM TO K43:I.”

A: BRICKWORK OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE OUTER WALL OF THE OVAL.

B: THE SAND LAYER UNDERNEATH THE FOUNDATION.

C: WALLS ABUTTING THE SAND LAYER, WHICH WERE CUT AWAY FOR THE TEMPLE FOUNDATION.

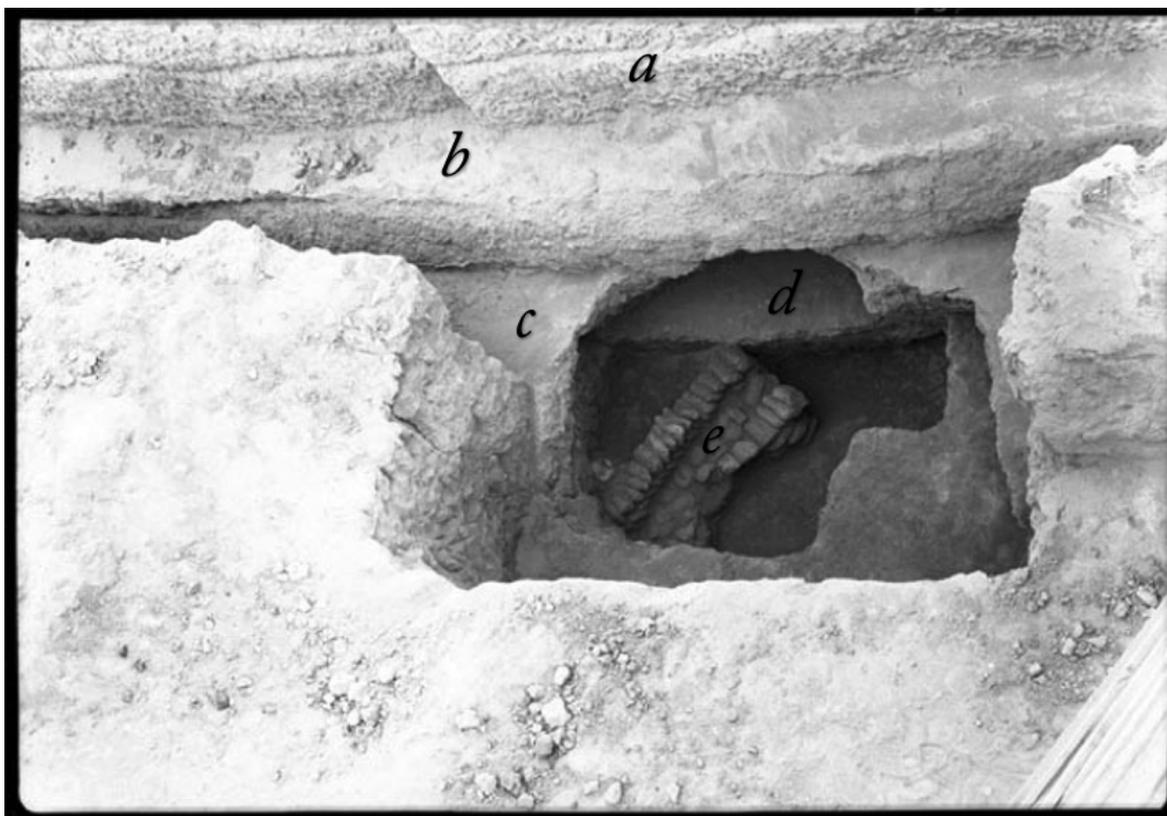


Figure C.39 – FOUNDATIONS AND SAND FILL IN O47:5.

“VIEW SHOWING THE FOUNDATION OF THE OUTER WALL OF THE TEMPLE OVAL RESTING ON THE SAND IN O47:5 AND A PORTION OF A WALL OF UNBAKED PLANO-CONVEX BRICKS ABUTTING THE SAND, VIEW FROM THE EAST.”

A: THINK OUTER WALL OF THE OVAL.

B: PROJECTING FOUNDATION WALL.

C: FLOOR LEVEL OUTSIDE THE OVAL.

D: SAND (PARTLY TUNNELLED AWAY) BELOW THE FOUNDATION.

E: THE WALL OF THE PLANO-CONVEX BRICKS ABUTTING THE SAND LAYER.

THERE IS NO STRUCTURE O47:5 IN THE FIELD PLANS, SO IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT THE CONTEXT OR ELEVATION OF THESE FEATURES ARE.

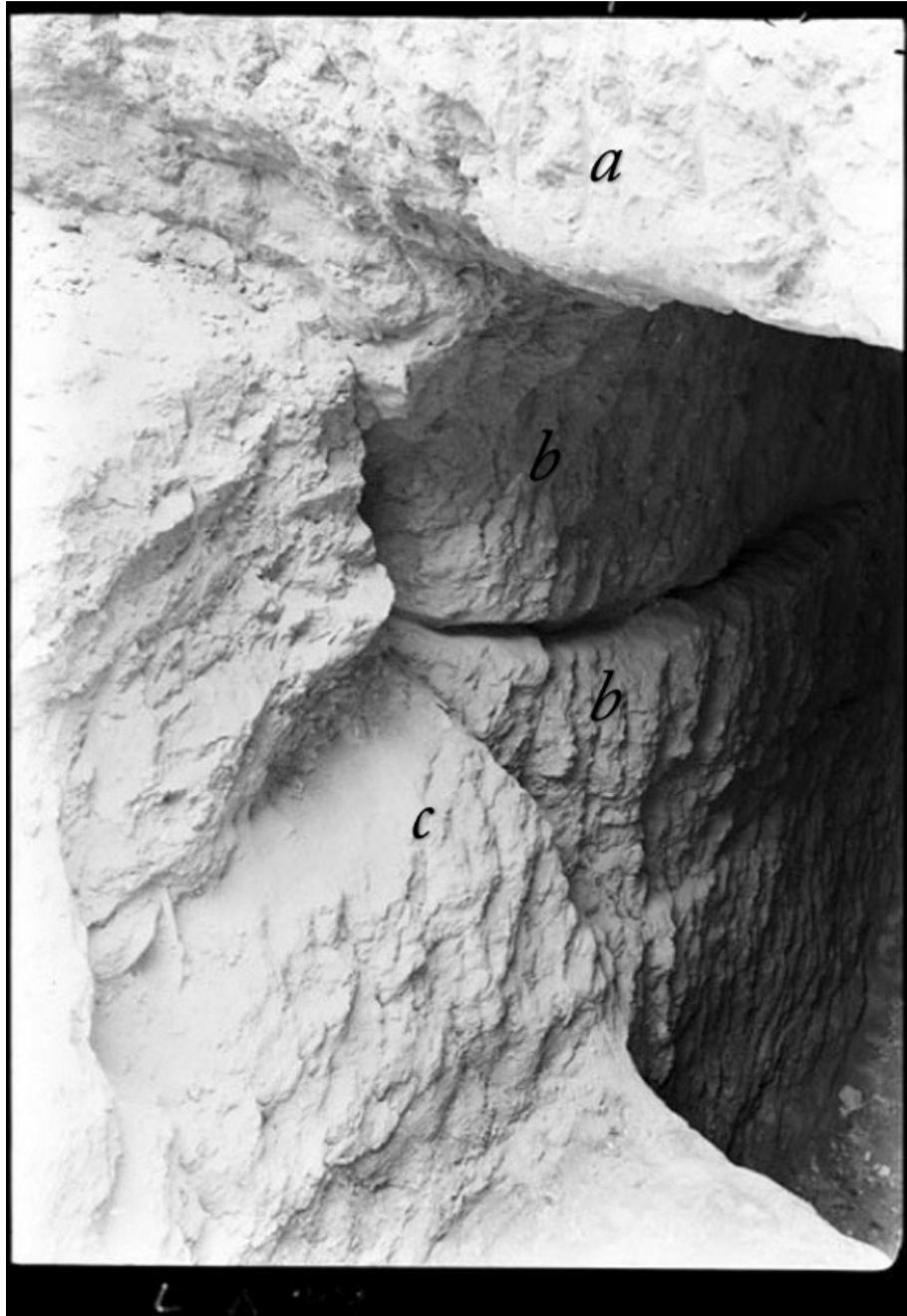


Figure C.40 – FOUNDATIONS AND SAND FILL IN O46:2.

“VIEW SHOWING THE SLANTING EDGE OF THE SAND IN O46:2, VIEW FROM THE EAST.”

A: UPPER PART OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE OUTER WALL OF THE OVAL.

B: THE SAND.

C: EARLIER RUINS.

BETWEEN B AND C IS THE DOWNWARD SLOPING LINE OF THE EDGE OF THE SAND PIT.



Figure C.41 – SOUTHWEST DRAIN FROM INNER COURTYARD, FIRST SEASON.
VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION IN SQUARE K46, SHOWING THE TOP LEVEL OF THE DRAIN
FROM THE INNER COURTYARD, ALMOST AT SURFACE LEVEL.

A: POINT OF REFERENCE WITH FIG. C.42.

B: INNER OVAL WALL.

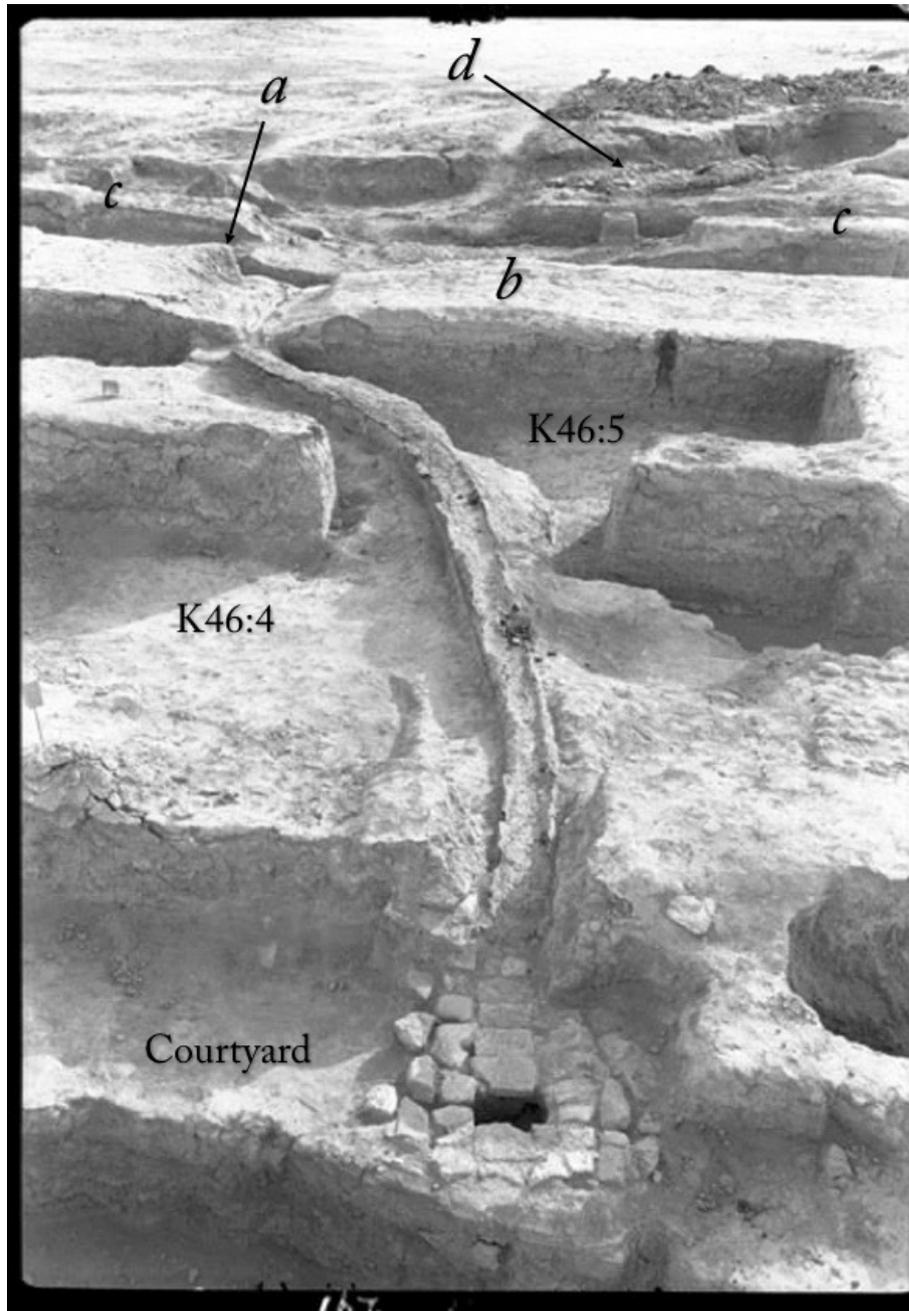


Figure C.42 – SOUTHWEST DRAIN FROM INNER COURTYARD, FOURTH SEASON.

A: POINT OF REFERENCE WITH FIG. C.41

B: INNER OVAL WALL

C: OUTER OVAL WALL

D: DRAIN K46:8



Figure C.43 – INNER AND OUTER OVAL WALLS ALONG THE SOUTHWEST SIDE, FOURTH SEASON.

THE ARROWS FOLLOW THE COURSE OF THE DRAIN FROM THE COURTYARD AS IT CUTS THROUGH THE INNER OVAL WALL AT THE TOP OF THE FOUNDATION. ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OUTER OVAL IS LOST AS THE BRICKWORK COULD NOT BE TRACED AT THIS POINT.



Figure C.44 – SW--NE view of excavation of K46:8 drain.

THE PHOTOGRAPH APPEARS OVEREXPOSED AND/OR SHOWING SIGNS OF DEGRADATION. NEVERTHELESS, IT APPEARS THAT THE VAULTED DRAIN IS PLACED SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE LEVEL OF THE DRAINS ASSOCIATED WITH OVAL 1, AS APPRECIATED IN THE CORRESPONDING SECTION (DELOUGAZ 1940: PL. 10, SECTION 14).



Figure C.45 – THE BASIN M44:2 AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EXCAVATION.



Figure C.46 – TUBULAR POTTERY DRAIN, J44.



Figure C.47 – THE BASIN M_{44:2} TOWARDS THE END OF THE EXCAVATION.



Figure C.48 – VIEW NE--SW, DRAIN SYSTEM IN M43.
THE EXCAVATORS ASSOCIATED THESE DRAINS WITH A LATER RENOVATION OF OVAL I
("SECOND BUILDING PERIOD").
A: OUTER OVAL WALL
B: INNER OVAL WALL

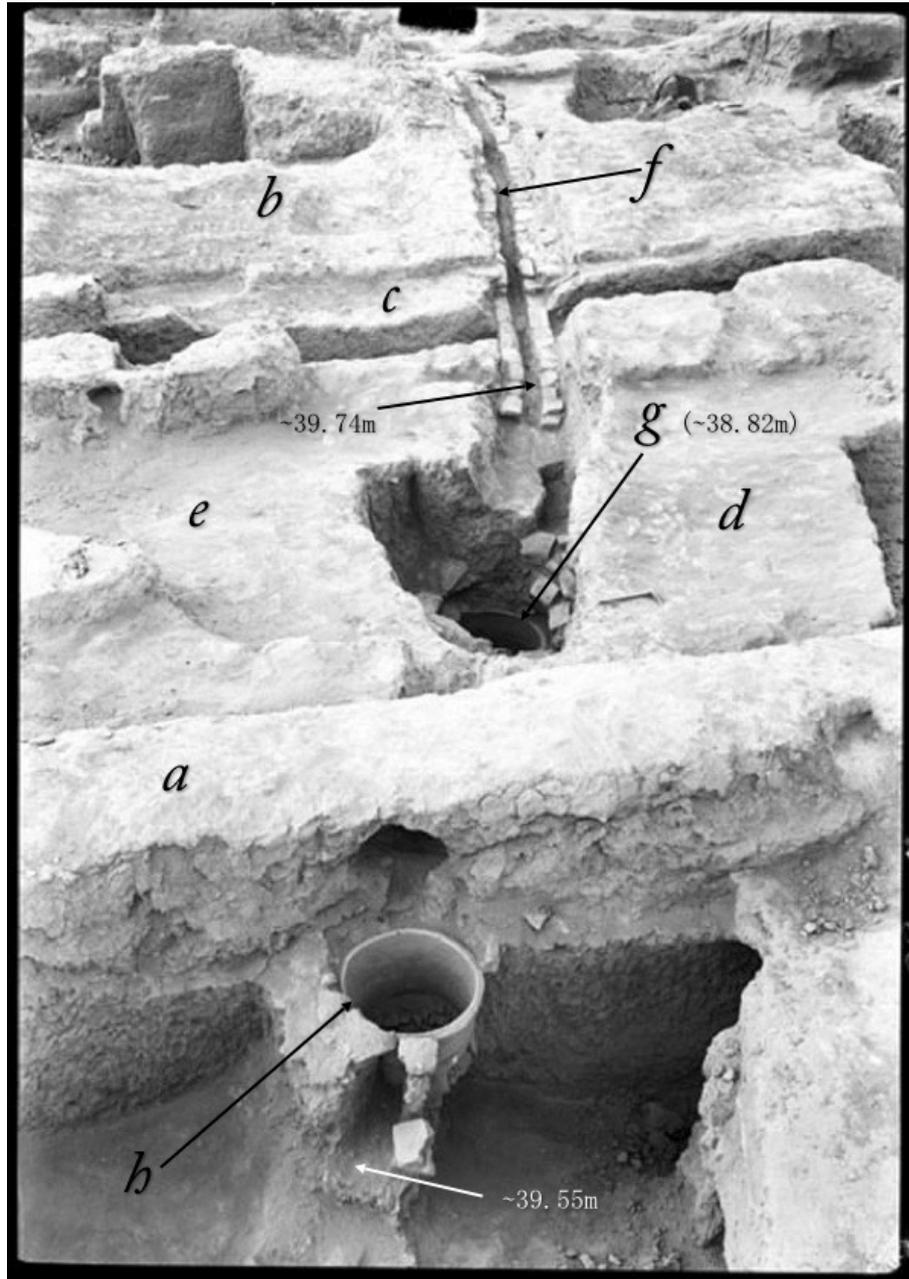


Figure C.49 – DRAINAGE SYSTEM AND FOUNDATIONS IN M44--M45.

- A: OUTER OVAL (OVAL 2)
- B: INNER OVAL, LATER REPAIR (OVAL 2)
- C: INNER OVAL, SECOND BUILDING PERIOD (OVAL 2)
- D: WALL OF M43:3 (OVAL 2)
- E: THE SPACE BETWEEN THE OUTER AND INNER OVALS
- F: EARLIER DRAIN FROM M44:2 TO THE VERTICAL SHAFT M44:8 (OVAL 1), WITH ELEVATION IN BLACK
- G: THE VERTICAL SHAFT M44:8 (OVAL 1)
- H: THE LATER DRAIN M43:6 (OVAL 2) WITH ELEVATION IN WHITE



Figure C.50 – VIEW FROM SOUTHEAST, DRAINS N OF TEMPLE OVAL.

A: OUTER OVAL WALL

B: REMAINS OF HOUSE N OF TEMPLE OVAL (HOUSES 2-1)

C: ELEVATION OF LATER DRAIN

D: ELEVATION OF EARLIER DRAIN STARTING N OF M44:2

E: ELEVATION INSIDE THE BITUMEN DRAIN STARTING W OF M44:2



Figure C.51 – THE VERTICAL SHAFT M44:8, FROM ABOVE.



Figure C.52 – DRAIN (K42:4) BETWEEN HOUSE D AND HOUSES NW OF TEMPLE OVAL.



Figure C.53 – DRAIN (K42:4) BETWEEN HOUSE D AND HOUSES NW OF TEMPLE OVAL.
THE WHITE ARROW POINTS TO THE LOCATION OF THE DEEP TRENCH TO
INVESTIGATE THE SAND DEPOSIT. THE DRAIN K42:4 AT THE LOWEST LEVEL,
RUNNING THROUGH THE OUTER OVAL WALL AT THE SAME LEVEL AS THE TOP OF THE
FOUNDATION WALL.



Figure C.54 – THE BITUMEN-PLASTERED SPACE N47:3.

A: THE BITUMEN-PLASTERED SPACE N47:3

B: THE INNER OVAL WALL

C: BUTTRESSED OUTER OVAL (OVAL 2)

D: FOUNDATION WALL OF INNER OVAL (OVAL 1)

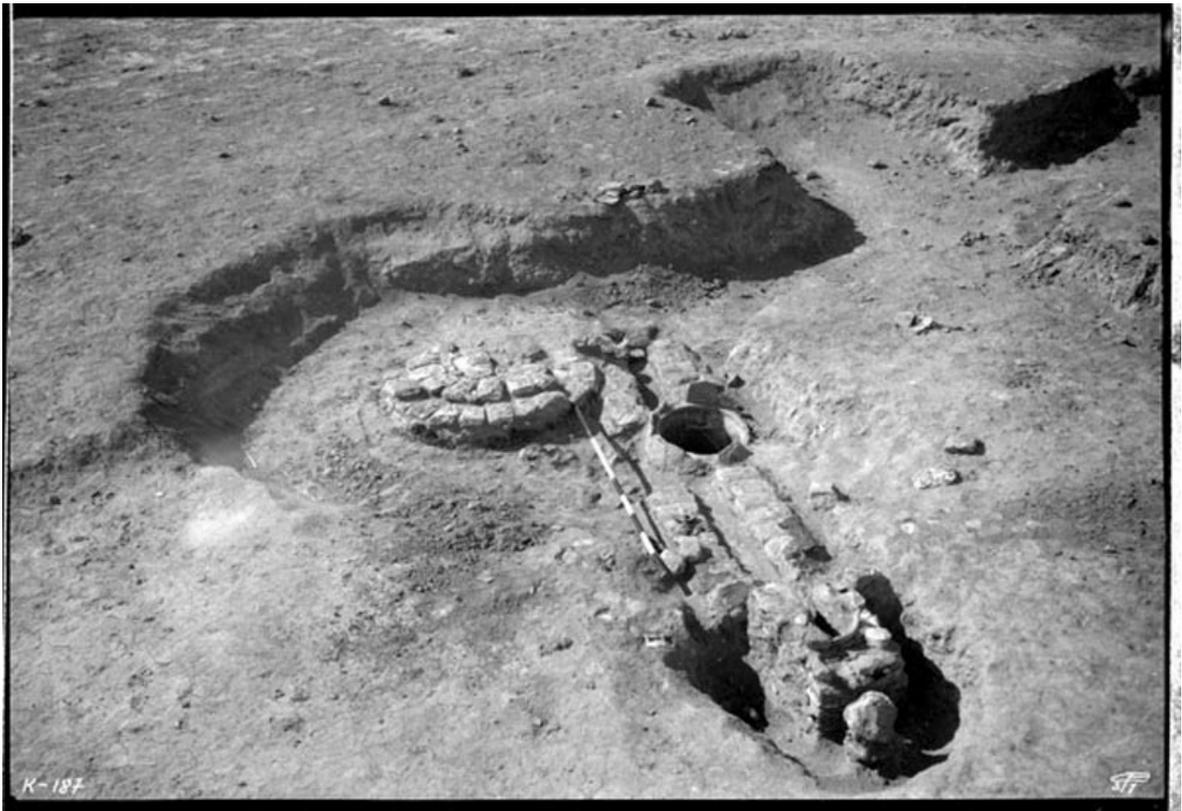


Figure C.55 – DRAIN AND VERTICAL SHAFT J45:3.
THIS SEEMS TO SHOW THE LOCATION OF THE DRAIN AND VERTICAL SHAFT AT J45:3
(OVAL 2-3?)

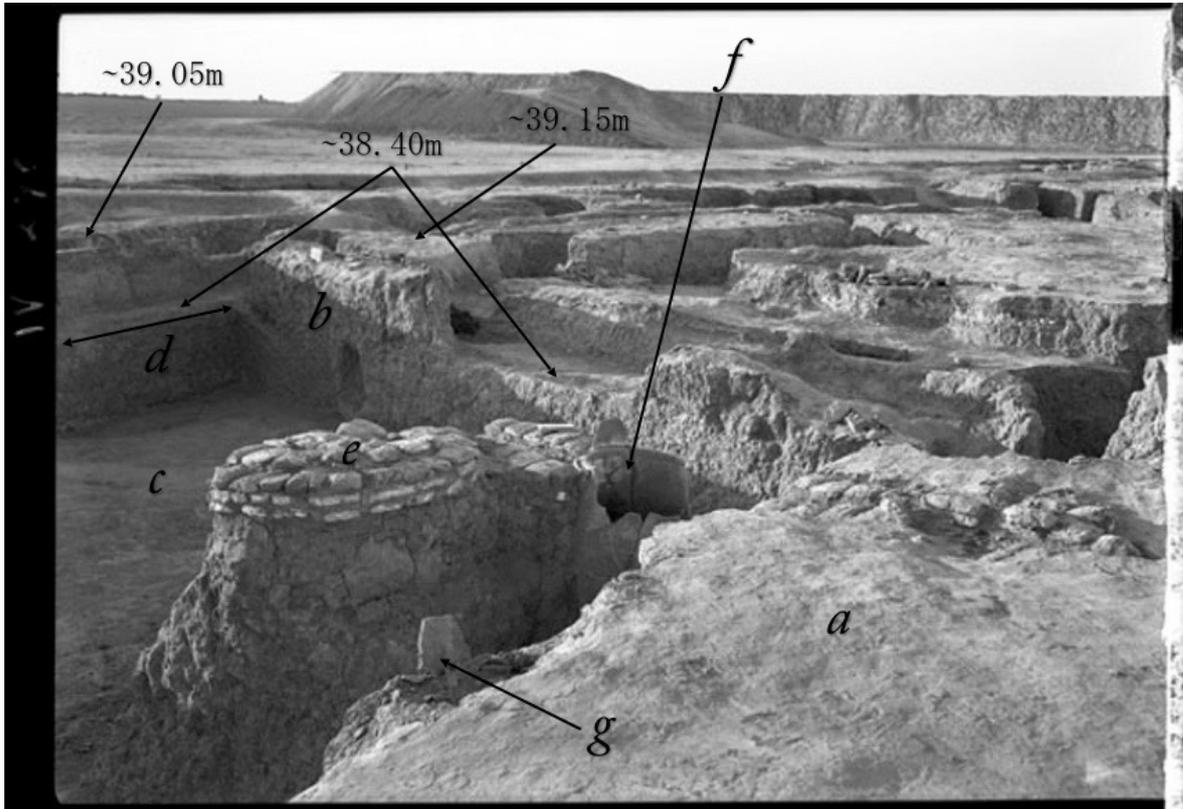


Figure C.56 – Drain and vertical shaft J45:3.

THE RELATIONSHIP IS NOT CLEAR, NO ELEVATIONS GIVEN IN THE FIELD PLAN.

A: INNER OVAL WALL

B: WALL PARTITION BETWEEN INNER AND OUTER OVAL AT J45

C: SAND LEVEL

D: FOUNDATION WALL OF OUTER OVAL

E: BAKED BRICK INSTALLATION (OVAL 2-3?)

F: VERTICAL DRAIN ATTACHED TO HORIZONTAL DRAIN RUNNING THROUGH INNER OVAL

G: REMAINS OF VERTICAL SHAFT OF LATER DATE (OVAL 3) CUTTING THROUGH FOUNDATION WALL OF INNER OVAL (SECTION 15)

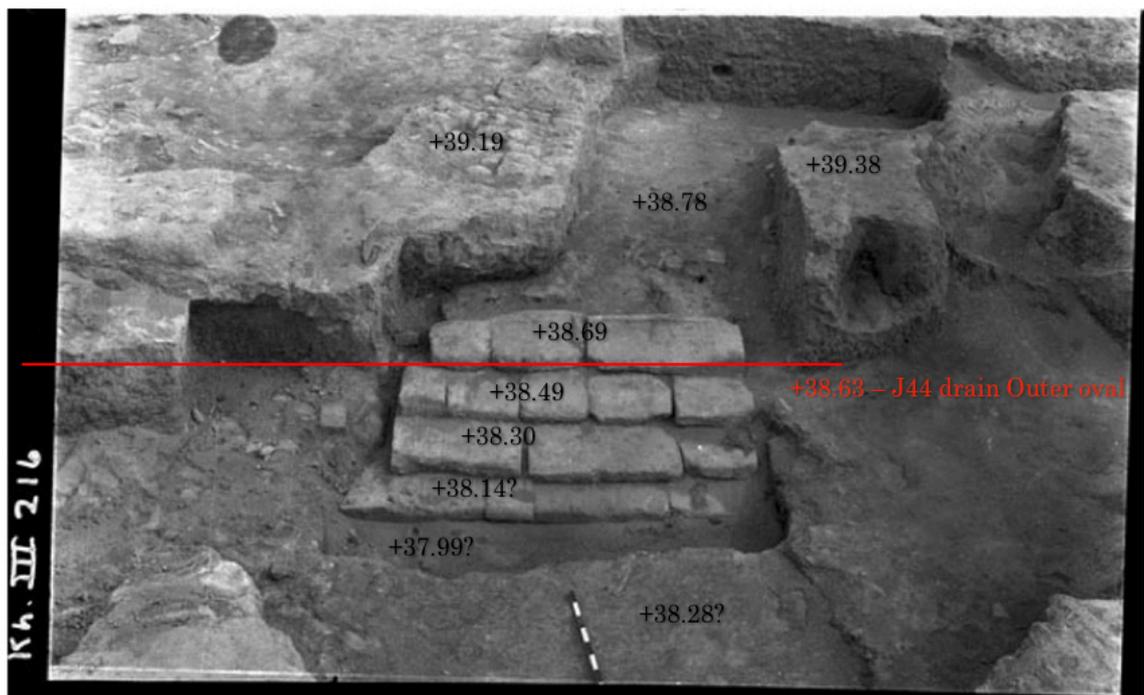


Figure C.57 – THE STONE STEPS IN J44:I.
 “VIEW FROM NORTHWEST, STONE STEPS IN J44:I, SHOWING ALSO SOME OF THE
 BRICKWORK OF A LATER PERIOD THE LAYING OF WHICH DESTROYED ANY ORIGINAL
 WALLS AT THESE POINTS.”

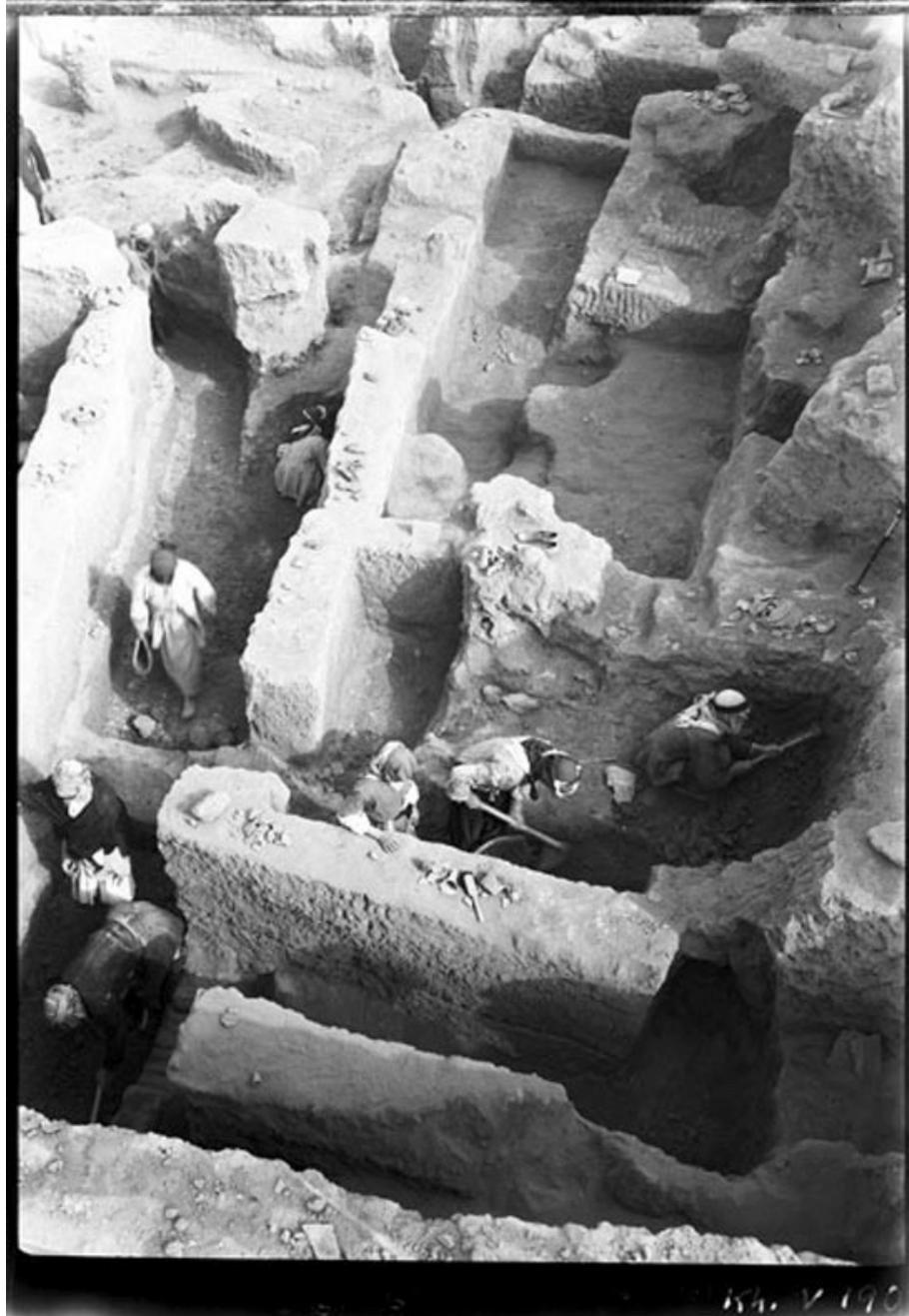


Figure C.58 – VIEW OF THE EXCAVATION N OF THE TEMPLE OVAL.
EXCAVATION BELOW “HOUSES 6.”



Figure C.59 – VIEW OF THE PLASTERED FLOOR (*a*) TRACED BETWEEN THE INNER (*b*) AND OUTER (*d*) OVAL WALLS AND PROBABLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ORIGINAL FLOOR LEVEL OF THE BUILDING. NOTE THE APPARENTLY RUINED STATE OF THE INNER OVAL WALL, AGAINST WHICH THE STRAIGHTENED OVAL (*c*) WAS BUILT, AND HOW THE OUTER OVAL IS WELL PRESERVED AT A HIGHER LEVEL.



Figure C.60 – DETAIL OF THE EXCAVATION OF THE AREA BETWEEN THE INNER AND OUTER ENCLOSURE WALLS, WHERE THE EXCAVATORS DESCRIBE TWO DISTINCT CONSTRUCTION PHASES (*b* AND *c*) ABOVE A PLASTERED FLOOR (*a*). ALTHOUGH INCONCLUSIVE, THE IMAGE SHOWS THE PLASTER EXTENDING UP THE WALL, WHICH BECOMES INDISTINGUISHABLE FROM THE ABOVE MUDBRICK AT TIMES. NO FLOOR WAS TRACED AT A HIGHER ELEVATION IN THIS AREA.



Figure C.61 – DETAIL OF THE HERRINGBONE PATTERN IN PLANO-CONVEX CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSE D IN ROOM L43:9. THE WALL IS PRESERVED FROM ITS LOWEST COURSE ABOVE THE FOUNDATION UP TO ca. 1.30m HIGH, WHICH MEANS IT WAS NOT REBUILT AS SUGGESTED IN THE PUBLISHED SECTIONS (SEE FIGURE C.19).

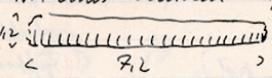


Figure C.62 – PLASTERED LEVELS (*a*) FROM OVAL 1 APPEAR BELOW THE ADDITIONAL BRICKWORK (*b*) AGAINST THE EARLIER PLATFORM ; ABOVE IT THE BRICKWORK OF THE LATER PLATFORM (*c*). THE ADDITIONAL BRICKWORK MAY HAVE SERVED AS A FOUNDATION FOR THE LATER PLATFORM. NO REMAINS OF A SUBSEQUENT PLATFORM ASSOCIATED WITH THE STRAIGHTENED WALL ARE RECORDED BY THE EXCAVATORS.



Figure C.63 – A CUT THROUGH THE ADDITIONAL BRICKWORK AGAINST THE EARLIER PLATFORM, SHOWING ABOVE TO THE RIGHT THE BRICKWORK OF THE LATER PLATFORM AND, BELOW, SEVERAL FLOOR LEVELS.

Jan
 350 ²³ Pro. eines runden Kupferstabes
 0 45
 1



[Copper pin]

357 ^B A, B, C. Drei schöne mit ausgezeichnet gut erhaltenen
 Bronzeblechen auf einkerbigen
 Stielen mit geschwungenen
 Beinen



entf. s. Fundbuch!

351b ^C A9270
 351c ^C A9271

127
 128
 129
 130
 131
 132
 133
 138
 139
 140
 141
 142
 143
 217
 218
 219
 220
 214
 215
 216

7cm SW des Ringwelles
 an der Innenkante
 der Innenwand.
 0,10 Pf.
 Oval

S. Skizze an der
 Innenkante der
 Innenwand
 0,25 Pf. in
 Steinhauten Lidem
 vermischt mit
 Bronzen von Kypn.
 2 B/10 Pf.
 Oval

Figure C.64 – FIELD REGISTER ENTRY FOR THE THREE ANTHROPOMORPHIC METAL STANDS KH. I 351A,B,C FOUND DURING SEASON I (1930/31).

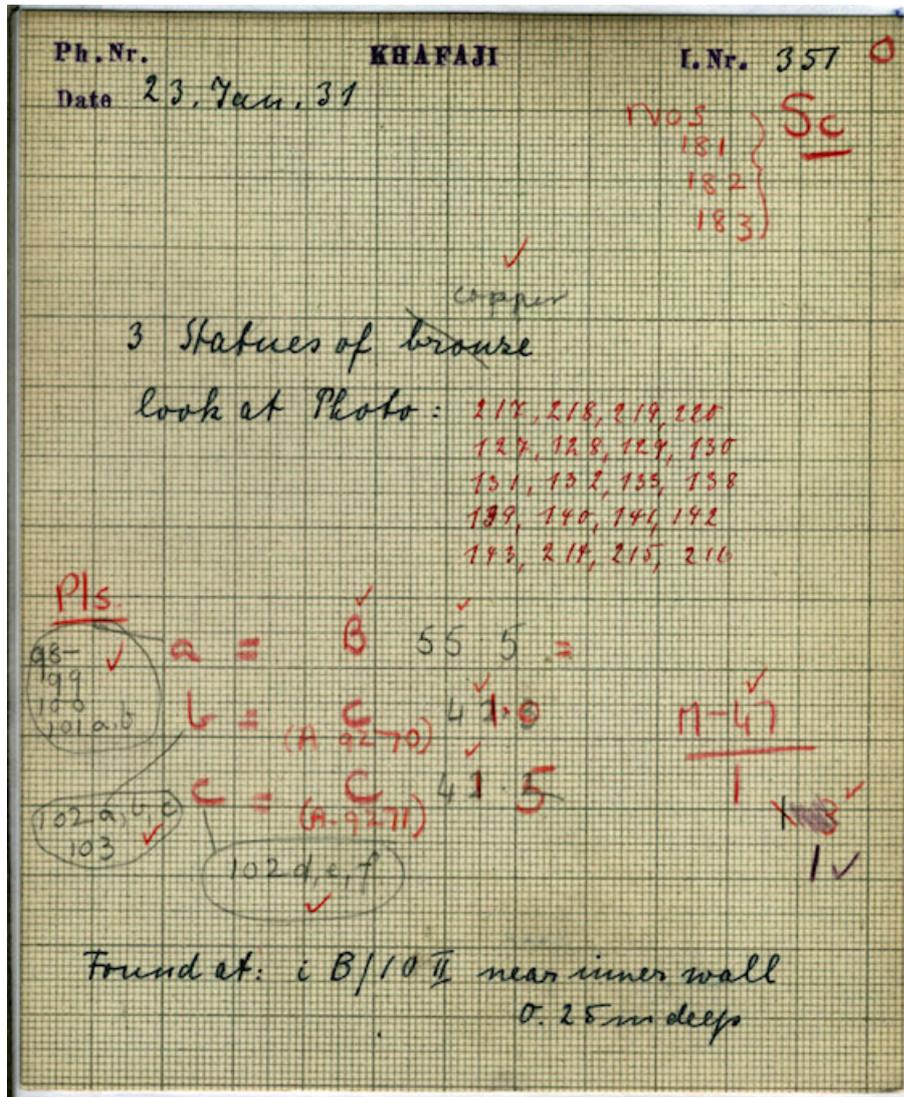


Figure C.65 – OBJECT CARD FOR THE THREE ANTHROPOMORPHIC METAL STANDS KH I 351A,B,C FOUND DURING SEASON I (1930/31).



Figure C.66 – GENERAL EXCAVATION VIEW SHOWING THE COPPER STATUETTES KH. I 351A,B,C IN SITU. THEY WERE FOUND AGAINST THE INNER FACE OF THE INNER OVAL WALL IN M47:I.



Figure C.67 – CLOSE-UP SHOT OF THE COPPER STATUETTES KH. I 351A,B,C AGAINST THE INNER FACE OF THE INNER OVAL WALL. THEY APPEAR TO BE BURIED IN THE PACKING ABOVE THE ORIGINAL FLOOR LEVEL AS THEY WERE FOUND IN CLAY MIXED WITH CHUNKS OF MUDBRICK.

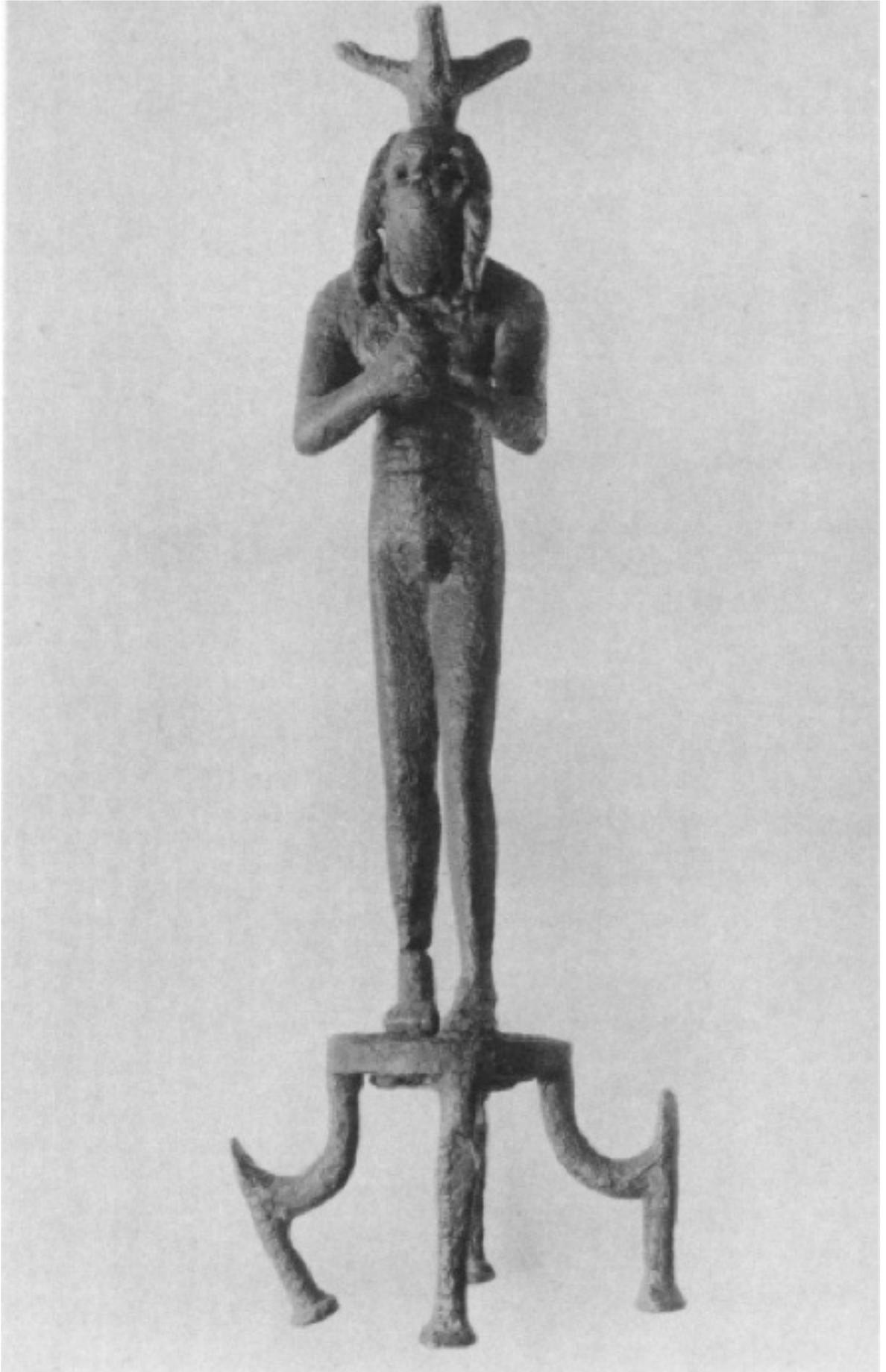


Figure C.68 – KH. I 35IA, FRONT VIEW

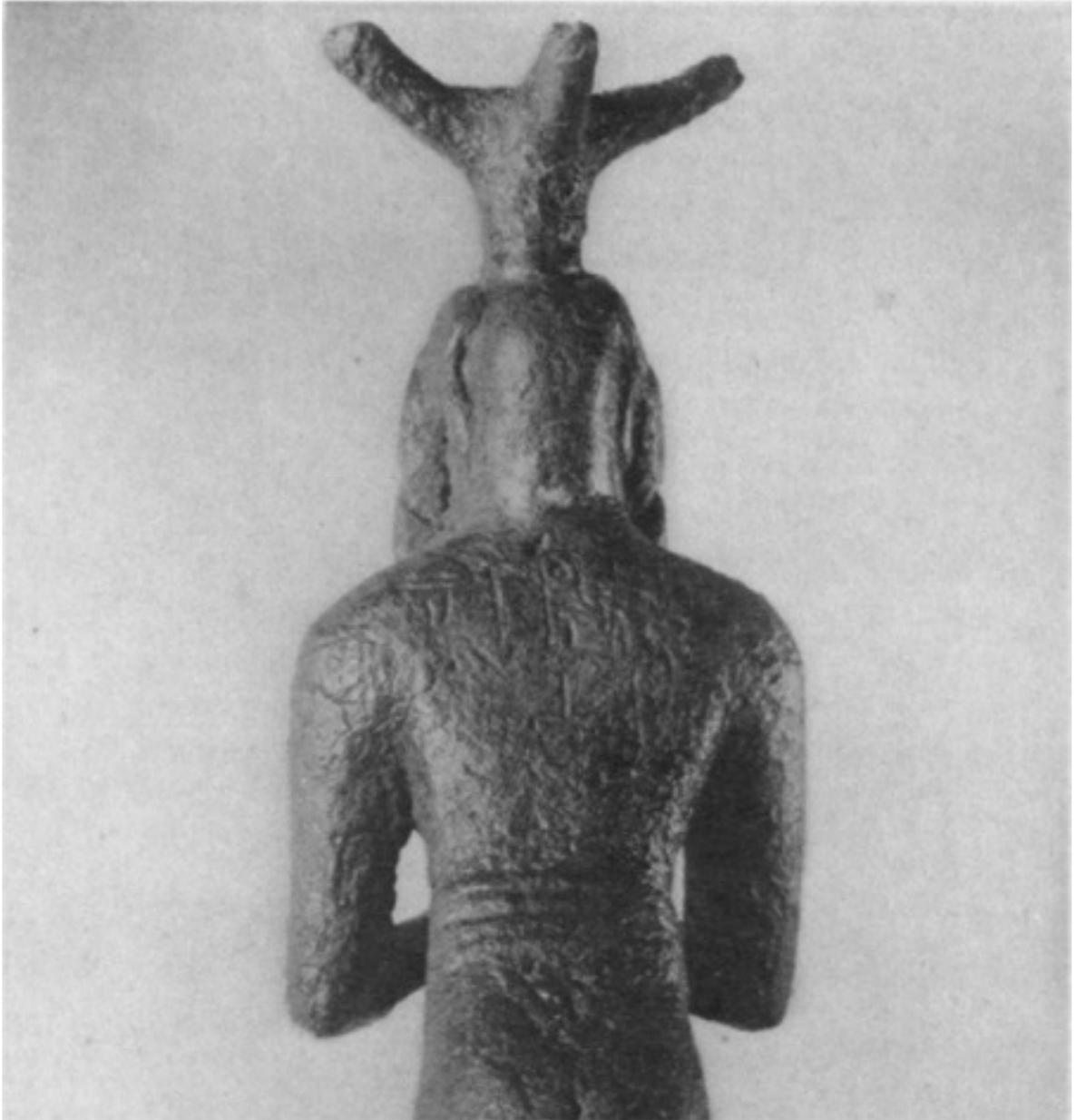


Figure C.69 – DETAIL OF THE BACK OF KH. I 351A AFTER IT WAS CLEANED. THE INSCRIPTION IS ILLEGIBLE.



Figure C.70 – KH. II 243 (NOT TO SCALE).
THE INSCRIPTION READS: TE².NUN²



Figure C.71 – KH. III 35.
THE INSCRIPTION READS: me-bara₂-[si²]



Figure C.72 – THE CYLINDER SEAL KH. I 360, FOUND IN L46:4 DURING THE FIRST SEASON CA. 25/01/1931.



Figure C.73 – THE LIMESTONE RELIEF KH. II 51 (NOT TO SCALE).



Figure C.75 – THE MACEHEAD KH. I 636 *in situ*. NOT MUCH CAN BE GLEANED ABOUT THE CONTEXT FROM THIS PHOTOGRAPH.



Figure C.76 – KH. I 636, SHOWING DETAILS OF THE INSCRIPTION, WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN SMOOTHED AT SOME POINT TO THE POINT THAT THE THIRD REGISTER IS ILLEGIBLE.



Figure C.77 – KH. I 428, FRONTAL VIEW (LEFT) AND DETAIL OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE RIGHT SHOULDER/ARM (RIGHT).



Figure C.78 – KH. III 805, INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF STONE VESSEL.

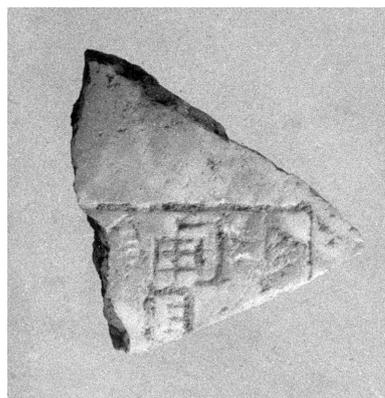


Figure C.79 – KH. II 79, INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF ALABASTER BOWL (NOT TO SCALE).



Figure C.80 – KH. II 94, INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF CALCITE VESSEL (NOT TO SCALE).

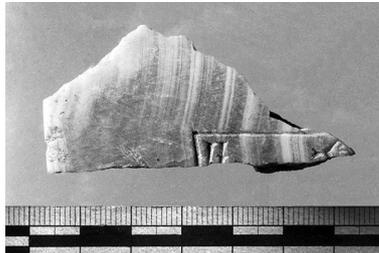


Figure C.81 – KH. I 381, INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF ALABASTER VESSEL.

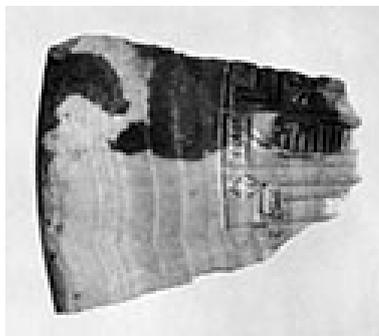


Figure C.82 – KH. II 104, INSCRIBED FRAGMENT OF CALCITE VESSEL (NOT TO SCALE).



Figure C.83 – PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING THE STATE OF LOCUS M43:1 (LEFT) AS OF 06/01/1934, JUST BEFORE THE BITUMEN FLOOR WAS REMOVED.



Figure C.84 – Excavation in House D, view to the southwest. L43:7 in foreground excavated down to earliest occupation floor just above top of foundation wall. L43:9 along the right with millstone above which burnt remains of loom weights and textile were found. The courtyard L4:33 (in the centre) appears only partially excavated. The vessel KH. I 642 (Figure C.90) appears in the south corner of the room near the main room K43:3.



Figure C.85 – KH. I 514, ‘TIERKAMPF’ INSCRIBED CYLINDER SEAL. FOUND IN L43:7 “ON FLOOR”, 1.30M BELOW THE TOP OF THE WALL.



Figure C.86 – THE CYLINDER SEAL KH. I 509, FOUND IN L43:7, 1M BELOW THE TOP OF THE WALL.



Figure C.87 – CYLINDER SEAL KH. I 517, FOUND TOGETHER WITH KH. I 514 IN L43:7.

all oval

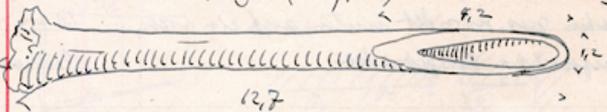
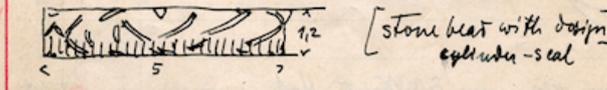
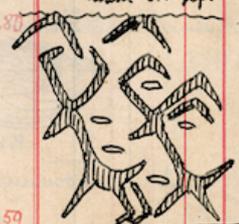
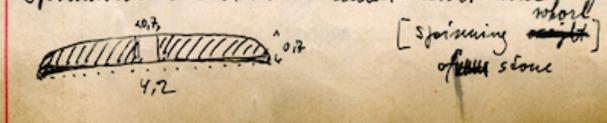
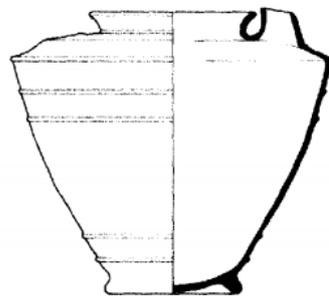
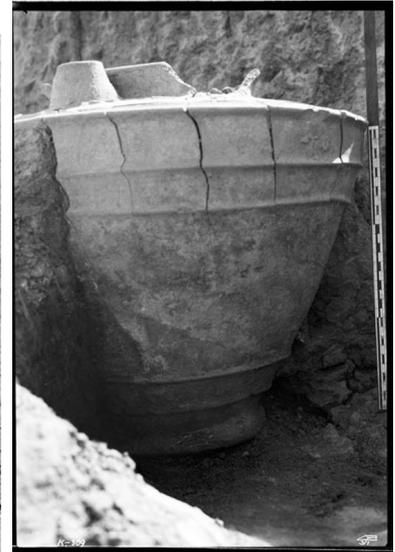
<p>573 B L43 7</p>	<p>Fibr. 15. Knochenwerkzeug (Löffel) [spron of bone] 12,7</p> 	<p>257 s. Skizze bei 502 0,90 Hf. mit OK</p>
<p>574 L43 7 C A9107</p>	<p>großer Siegelzylinder mit Inschrift. [seal cylinder] 3,7 0,6 * I-II d' Me-si (Dimpir Me-si)</p> 	<p>186 Raum VII 0,45 m Schmalwand im NW, NO und NO Wand, auf Fußboden, 1,30 unter H.O.</p>
<p>575 L43 7 C A9127</p>	<p>hellbrauner leicht speckiger Stein rotbrauner Kiesel, elliptisch, flach, durchbohrt und als Kurbänger verwendet. [stone head] 3,3 2,8</p> 	<p>243 neben 514</p>
<p>576</p>	<p>großer Flintsteinmesser [flint knife] 1,7 7,6</p> 	
<p>577 A9102</p>	<p>Schwarze lange Steinperle mit eingeschliffener Zeichnung. An einem Ende abgebrochen. Siegelzylinder? [stone bead with design] 1,2 5 eyeliner-seal</p> 	<p>250 neben 514 gef. </p>
<p>578 B</p>	<p>Spinnwirtel aus Stein unten leicht hohl [spinning wheel] 4,7 4,2 offen stone</p> 	<p>259 2 Tierpaare über dem des. Komplexum nur die Zähne noch vorhanden</p>

Figure C.88 – FIELD REGISTER ENTRY FOR KH. I 514, SHOWING THE CONTEXT OF THE FIND IN LOCUS L43:7 WITH ASSOCIATED OBJECTS FOUND “ON FLOOR” OF THE ROOM, 1.30M BELOW THE TOP OF THE WALL.



Figure C.89 – BOWLS KH. I 523A,B,C. FOUND IN SAME CONTEXT AS SEAL KH. I 514.
CONICAL BOWLS WITH INNER RIMS ARE OVERWHELMINGLY DATED TO ED
III- AKKADIAN CONTEXTS BY DIYALA EXCAVATORS (DELOUGAZ 1952: PL. 97, 149).
SEVERAL VERY SIMILAR ONES WERE FOUND IN CONTEXTS ASSIGNED TO “HOUSES 2”
(OR ABOVE) (E.G. KH. I 270, KH. I 283, KH. I 289).



D. 514. 362

Figure C.90 – VESSEL KH. I 642 *IN SITU* IN COURTYARD L43:3 OF HOUSE D AT THE SOUTH CORNER. VIEW FROM THE TOP (TOP LEFT) AND THE SIDE (TOP RIGHT), AND DRAWING (BOTTOM).



Figure C.91 – SEAL KH. IV 420. CONTEXT: “R42:5, HOUSE AREA EAST OF ŠAMUŠ X, FL. 40.39, HOUSES 2.” (NOT TO SCALE)

THIS SEAL HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS DEPICTING A BANQUET SCENE, TYPICAL FROM THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD. ACCORDING TO BRENIQUET (2014: 70 AND FIG. 4.13), IT MAY DEPICT A WARPING LOOM.



Figure C.92 – THE STONE RELIEF/PLAQUE KH. I 126.



Figure C.93 – THE CARVED STONE PLAQUE KH. I 195, KH. I 632 KH. III 1136 AND KH. III 1170, WITH CENTRAL SQUARE OPENING FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.



Figure C.94 – THE STONE RELIEF/PLAQUE KH. I 226.



Figure C.95 – THE CARVED STONE PLAQUE KH. I 400, WITH CENTRAL SQUARE OPENING FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.



Figure C.96 – THE STONE PLAQUE KH. I 537.



Figure C.97 – THE CARVED STONE PLAQUE KH. I 565, WITH CENTRAL SQUARE OPENING FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.



Figure C.98 – THE STONE PLAQUE KH. I 629, WITH SQUARE OPENING (ROUNDED EDGES) FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.



Figure C.99 – THE CARVED STONE PLAQUE KH. II 245, WITH CENTRAL ROUND OPENING FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.

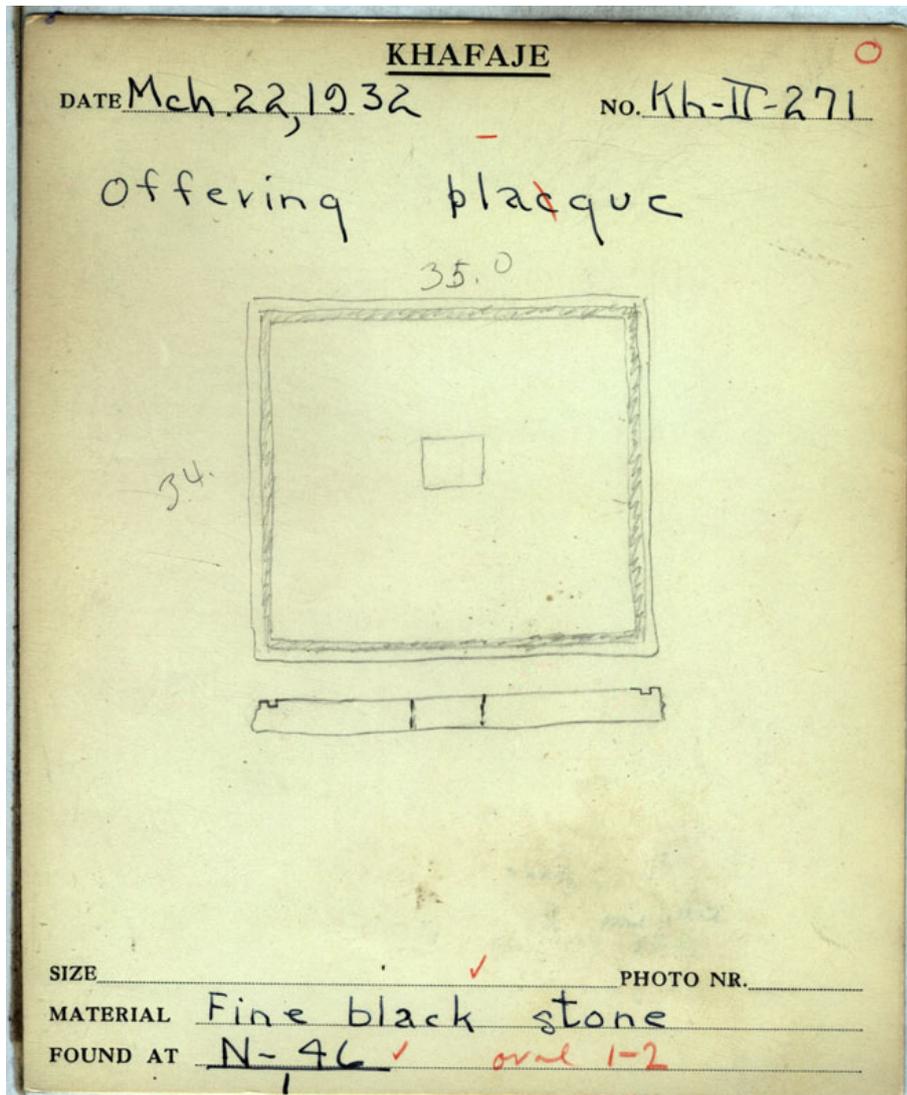


Figure C.100 - THE UNDECORATED STONE PLAQUE KH. II 271, WITH CENTRAL SQUARE OPENING FOR PEG TO ATTACH TO WALL OR DOOR.

Table C.1 – LIST OF EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL FROM THE TEMPLE OVAL, KHAFAJAH

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT TYPE	PUBLISHED CONTEXT		DiyArDa DATE	NOTES ON CONTEXT	NOTES ON INSCRIPTION	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.
		Building Period	Locus				Building Period	Historical Period		
Kh. III 35	Alabaster vessel	Oval 1	L46:4	ED I	Figure C.71. The original object card is lost, and the only context given in the field register is “Oval 1”. The other artefacts recovered from this room during the 3rd season are not diagnostic. A cylinder seal (Kh. I 360) with an animal combat scene was recovered during the 1st season and assigned to Oval 2 (Figure C.72). The levels in this part of the building are not clearly distinguished or are too shallow.	Originally identified with Meparagēsi, King of Kiš, of whom only an inscribed vessel dated to ED I on paleographic grounds is known (Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 99). However, Sommerfeld (2004) points out the name type “Me + Place + si” was around for centuries and that the last sign is far from being beyond doubt.	Oval 1?2	ED IIIa	FAOS 5/II 213 Mebarasi 1 HSAO 3: 125 G 59 Sommerfeld 2004 MC 14: 99 n. 18	-
Kh. II 243	Stone vessel	Oval 2-3	K45:2	-	Figure C.70. The context is not clear. The object card states its context to be K45:2, which is the W corner of K45:5 during the 3rd occupation of Oval 1. This corner was interpreted to be an area for ablutions. The majority of inscribed ‘intercultural style’ vessels are dated within the ED IIIa period (Marchesi forth.)	Not clear, but most likely votive in nature.	Oval 1?2	ED IIIa	FAOS 5/II 206 AnHaf. 1 HSAO 3: 124 G 56 Sommerfeld 2004: table Marchesi forth.	OI A21304B
Kh. I 351a	Bronze statuette (stand)	Oval 1	M47:1	ED I	Figures C.68 and C.69. Field register (Figure C.64) records they were found against the inner face of the inner oval wall, 0.25m deep, in clay mixed with chunks of mudbrick. Several photographs record the finding, showing the statues roughly 25 cm below the top of the wall (Figures C.66 and C.67). According to section 13 (Figure C.18), such a context would place them on or above the floor of Oval 2. The object card also shows Delougaz changed his mind regarding the context of these at a later date (Figure C.65).	The inscription on the back of the figure is illegible. Other inscriptions on the back of votive figures usually date to ED IIIa onwards.	Oval 1?2? Foundation?	ED IIIa↑	Braun-Holzinger 1984: no. 50. HSAO 3: 213(+608) Sommerfeld 2004: table	IM 08969
Kh. I 428	Limestone statue	Oval 2-3	L44	-	Figure C.77. This statue of a standing male figure with clasped hands and an inscription over the right shoulder and arm was found “on top of buttressed wall in L44”, thus probably in a secondary context and cannot be securely dated to any of the occupation levels.	The inscription on the right shoulder and arm resembles those from Mari.	-	ED IIIb?	FAOS 5/II 207, AnHaf. 3 HSAO 3: 243 St 16 Sommerfeld 2004: table	

Table C.1 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT TYPE	PUBLISHED CONTEXT		DiyArDa DATE	NOTES ON CONTEXT	NOTES ON INSCRIPTION	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.
		Building Period	Locus				Building Period	Historical Period		
Kh. III 1069	Alabaster vessel	Oval 2-3	M43:1	-	The context M43:1 is associated with the Oval 2 building period. Given that House D was excavated during the 1st season almost entirely but that the floor of M43:1 was covered in bitumen and thus left intact until the 4th season as evidenced by photographs (Figure C.83), it must have come from cleaning of the area during season 3, or from a different context.	The verbal form used (<i>SA₁₂.RIG₉</i>) places this inscription within a semitic context of a late date.	Oval 1?2?	ED IIIb – Oakk	FAOS 5/II 211 AnHaf. 9 FAOS 7, 30 VP 7 HSAO 3: 12.4 G 58 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 51	Limestone relief	Oval 3	J44:1	-	Figure C.73. The relief was found during season 2, probably while tracing the remains of the later gate. The context was originally assigned to ‘Oval 1’, but later revised to ‘Oval 3’ for publication. This is due to the difference in elevation in this area, which was lower than the main area of the temple. The context is, thus, not clear.	The inscription identifies a so-called King of Kiš (the determinative of place is omitted). Sommerfeld (2004: 287) suggests the identification of a local ruler, around the time of Sargon, who identifies himself as an <i>énsi</i> (whether a governor of Tutub or elsewhere remains unknown). The co-occurrence of the title “King of Kiš” with that of <i>énsi</i> points towards an ED IIIb date at the earliest, if not Akkadian as evidenced by other inscriptions of Rīmuš found at the site.	Oval 3?	ED IIIb – Oakk	FAOS 5/II 206f. AnHaf. 2 HSAO 3: 336 Stela 8 Hauptmann, MDOG 123, 149ff. RIME 1.07.43.01, ex. 01 Sommerfeld 2004: table	-
Kh. I 636	Limestone macehead	Oval 3	M44:5	-	Figure C.76. The context of this artefact is well-recorded as it was an exceptional find, including an image <i>in situ</i> (Figure C.75) and a sketch in the field register (Figure C.74). It was found 0.25m below the surface, around the same level of the drain associated with Oval 3.	The verbal form used (<i>SA₁₂.RIG₉</i>) places this inscription within a semitic context, similar to those from Mari. As such, it must be dated to at least an ED IIIb date.	Oval 3?	ED IIIb – Oakk	FAOS 5/II 207f. AnHaf. 4 FAOS 7, 29 VP 3; 8, 327 HSAO 3: 43 K 8 Westenholz, ARES 1,114 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. III 805	Figure C.78 Stone vessel	Houses 2?	P46:4	ED IIIa	Although found outside the Temple Oval, this fragment was published in OIP 53. Houses 2 has been correlated with Oval 2-3.		Houses 2	ED IIIb – Oakk	FAOS 5/II 208 AnHaf. 5 HSAO 3: 12.4 G 57 Krebernik BFE 235,258 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 79	Alabaster vessel	Oval 3	K45	-	Figure C.79. This fragment must have been found during the clearing of the brickwork associated with the later gate. Thus, it dates around or after this construction.	Names Akkadian ruler Narām-Sin	Oval 3↑	Oakk	FAOS 7: 100 Naramsin 15 HSAO 3: 162 G 216 RIME 2.01.04.40, ex. 01 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 94	Calcite vessel	Oval 3	K45	-	Figure C.80 Another fragment found during the clearing of the brickwork associated with the later gate. The original records give an elevation +39.53 in context K45:2, which is almost surface level at K45 point (+39.68).	Names Akkadian ruler Rīmuš	Oval 3↑	Oakk	FAOS 7 67ff. Rimush 2G HSAO 3: 153 G 198D RIME 2.01.02.15, ex. 01 Sommerfeld 2004: table	

Table C.1 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	OBJECT TYPE	PUBLISHED CONTEXT		DiyArDa DATE	NOTES ON CONTEXT	NOTES ON INSCRIPTION	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.
		Building Period	Locus				Building Period	Historical Period		
Kh. I 381	Alabaster vessel	Oval 3	K45:6	-	Figure C.81. This fragment was found only 0.10m below the surface (or below the top of the wall), and was thus assigned to the Oval 3 context. However, given the erosion and pits, this is unclear.	Taken as a copy of Kh. II 94	Oval 3†?	Oakk	FAOS 7: 67ff. Rimush 2H HSAO 3: 166 G 235 RIME 2.01.02.15, ex. 02 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 104	Calcite vessel	Oval 3	J45:2	-	Figure C.82. Fragment found during the clearing of the brickwork associated with the later gate. The original records give an elevation +39.07. According to the field plan, the later brickwork in this context stood at +39.09, whilst the top of the preserved height of the much earlier wall of Oval 1-2 stood at +39.14. Thus, the context is unclear. However, it does not seem plausible that Oval 2 dated to the time of Rimuš.	Standard inscription of Rimuš, “King of Kiš”.	-	Oakk	FAOS 7: 70ff. Rimush 6D HSAO 3: 158 G 2020 RIME 2.01.02.20, ex. 04 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 162	Stone vessel	Oval 2-3	K45:2	-	Fragment found during the clearing of the brickwork associated with the later gate. Although found in the same context as Kh. II 94, it is not clear why 162 was assigned to Oval 2-3 and not Oval 3. It may have had to do with style rather than archaeological context.	Inscription mentioning the city of Agade.	-	Oakk	FAOS 7: 125 Fragment 5 HSAO 3: 165f. G 234 RIME 2.x00.00.1008, ex. 01 Sommerfeld 2004: table	
Kh. II 80	Clay tablet	Oval 3	K44:2	-	Fragment found during the clearing of the brickwork associated with the later gate. No further context or elevation given in the object card, but it must have been found around the time of the other vessels of Akkadian date.		-	Oakk	OIP 53: 150, no. 12	
Kh. I 514	Cylinder seal	Oval 1	L43:7	ED I	Figure C.85. Described as found on a floor, 1.30 m below the top of the wall. Another floor (perhaps 1.00 m deep) was described, but it might be the same (see Table C.2). Other finds included a ‘brocade style’ seal (Kh. I 517), which suggests some items could all be heirlooms or have been in use for a long time before deposition. The pottery associated is not diagnostic beyond an Early Dynastic date (Kh. I 523a,b,c).	The inscription reads simply “ur-dingir” (Sommerfeld 2004: 291).	Oval 1	ED IIIa±	Sommerfeld 2004: 291 OIP 53: 156 OIP 72: Plate 26, no. 258	

Table C.2 – OBJECTS ASSIGNED TO LOCUS L43:7, HOUSE D

EX. NUMBER	OIP 53 CONTEXT	DESCRIPTION	FINDSPOT	LITERATURE	SUGGESTED DATE		MUSEUM
					Building Period	Historical Period	Acc. No.
Kh. I 336	Uncertain	Clay rings (“net sinker”) Published as found in L43:8, perhaps a mistake (?)	0.20 m deep, in rubble. Isometric plan from Season 1 (Figure C.8) suggests the “fishing net” was found in L43:7, not L43:9 as later published.	OIP 53: 164	Oval 1/2↑		
Kh. I 478	Oval 3	Fragment of stone bowl	Surface	OIP 53: 162			OI A09209
Kh. I 484	Oval 2	Lilac stone bead with rough ornament	Found 0.75 m under top of wall	OIP 53: 159	Oval 1/2		
Kh. I 496	Unpublished	Fragment of alabaster stone vessel	Found 0.40 m deep				
Kh. I 501	Unpublished	Shell “belt ring”	Found 0.80 m under top of wall				OI A09201
Kh. I 503	Oval 1	Copper pin; medial eyelet with flat head	Found “on floor.” Assigned to “Oval 1” on object card. Sketch in field register (Season I, p. 94) shows L43:9 and L43:7. Floor must be same, or slightly above, that sketched later (Season I, p. 96)	OIP 53: 156			OI A09242
Kh. I 508	Unpublished	Copper pin	Found 1.00 m under top of wall. Sketched in field register (Season I, p. 94) but not described as found on floor.				
Kh. I 509	Unpublished	Shell	Same as 508				
Kh. I 510	Unpublished	Half shell “belt ring”	Same as 508				
Kh. I 514	Oval 1	Stone cylinder seal with combat scene. Horned naked individual with double belt yoking a pair of upright crossed caprids to the left, and pair of upright crossed lions(?) to the right. Next to lion stands a bull-man with double belt fighting an upside-down lion. The inscription appears between the upside-down lion and the crossed caprids and reads “ur-dingir.” Perhaps could be compared with the seals from the ^d MUŠ ₃ .NITA temple in Mari (see p. 116 and Figure 4.5).	On floor, 1.30 m below mound surface (See Figure C.88 for a sketch of the findspot). Most crossed-style seals from Khafajah appear in Šamuš IX and Houses 1–2, except for one from Šamuš VIII (Kh. IV 333), which could be a mistake. Types from Houses 6–4 seem of earlier date. Two seals assigned to Houses 3–2 have combat scenes with blank panels for inscription (Kh. III 265 and Kh. III 700).	OIC 16: 43, fig. 29 OIP 53: 156 OIP 72: Pl. 26, no. 258	Oval 1/2	ED IIIa± (?)	OI A09107
Kh. I 515	Oval 1	Red-brown flat stone with bored hole	With Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		OI A09129
Kh. I 516	Oval 1	Flint blade	With Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		
Kh. I 517	Oval 1	Black stone cylinder seal; brocade style with geometric/animal design (caprids)	With Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156 OIP 72: Pl. 26, no. 257	Oval 1/2	ED I (?)	OI A09102
Kh. I 518	Oval 1	Spindle whorl	With Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		IM 16621

Table C.2 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	OIP 53 CONTEXT	DESCRIPTION	FINDSPOT	LITERATURE	SUGGESTED DATE		MUSEUM
					Building Period	Historical Period	Acc. No.
Kh. I 519	Oval 1	Shell (cosmetic pot?)	With Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		OI A09202
Kh. I 520	Unpublished	Copper object (strip?); broken	With Kh. I 514	Oval 1/2			
Kh. I 521	Unpublished	Shell “belt ring”	With Kh. I 514	Oval 1/2			
Kh. I 522	Oval 1	Worked stone (weight?)	With Kh. I 514 “All (the above) below many pottery fragments; probably of a pipe(?)”	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		
Kh. I 523a	Oval 1	Clay bowl with wide inwards rim. Unusual type. All three bowls were found together, though elevation is not clear but probably similar to the other finds, as they appear in the sketch too. Published as “Oval 1 or 2 (ED II or III)” in OIP 63.	Near Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156 OIP 63: Pl. 97e; Pl. 148	Oval 1/2	ED III–Akk(?)	
Kh. I 523b	Oval 1	Clay bowl with wide inwards rim. Unusual type. Published as “Oval 1 or 2 (ED II or III)” in OIP 63.	Near Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156 OIP 63: Pl. 97a; Pl. 146	Oval 1/2	ED III–Akk(?)	
Kh. I 523c	Oval 1	Clay bowl. Published as “Oval 1 (ED II)” in OIP 63, even though it was found with previous two bowls. Same type as Kh. NR: 152, which is described as found in K42:2, Houses 3 (ED IIIa).	Near Kh. I 514	OIP 53: 156 OIP 63: Pl. 74c; Pl. 147	Oval 1/2	ED III–Akk(?)	
Kh. I 538	Unpublished	Burned horn of animal. The fact that it is burned could suggest it was destroyed in conflagration that destroyed other parts of House D and described between Oval 2 and 3 (?).	“On floor”	Oval 1/2↑			
Kh. I 539	Unpublished	Fragments of copper objects, baked together.	“On floor”; 1.00 m SE from 517	Oval 1/2↑			OI A09269
Kh. I 543	Oval 1	Rectangular copper needle	Along SE wall; 0.60 m from E corner; 1m deep	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2(?)		OI A09243
Kh. I 544	Oval 1	Bronze tool (chisel?)	“On floor”, under fire rubble	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		OI A09260
Kh. I 633	Oval 1	Oval shaped worked stone (weight?) with 11 incisions.	Mixed in with the clay rings from the “fishing net”, on floor	OIP 53: 156	Oval 1/2		OI A21249
Kh. III 365	Oval 1	Complete bronze axe.	No context other than “M43:7, Oval 1.” Not clear whether it was found in this locus or if it is a mistake.	OIP 53: 156			IM 15510

Table C.3 – PLAQUES AND RELIEFS FROM THE TEMPLE OVAL

EX. NUMBER	PUBLISHED CONTEXT				DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.	FIG. Ref.
	Locus	Elevation	Building Period	DiyArDa Date			Building Period	Historical Period			
Kh. I 126	M45:2	0.70 m above floor(?) level of basin M44:2	Oval 2–3	-	Fragment of a limestone relief or door plaque showing a human figural scene. Two bare-chested males with long hair and beards appear back to back. Only the torso and heads are preserved. Described as a “victory scene” in OIP 44. However, it could also be a banquet scene.	The similarity with top register of Kh. I 400 suggests it could be part of the top register of a ‘banquet scene.’ Boese argues it is not a plaque, but a monumental relief (OIP 44, pl. 113 E).	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 196, pp. 78–79, Pl. 110 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 196, p. 23 UAVA 6: CT 5, Pl. 6–3	OI A09273	C.92
Kh. I 195	M44:4	0.40 m deep	Oval 1–2	-	Bituminous black stone door/wall plaque with three registers of inlaid or painted procession of caprids (ibexes?) carved in the plaque. Three animals per register; the bodies take up the entire height of the register. Field register and AP kh1-035 show the artefact in relation to a later terracotta drain. Given the scattered fragments of this plaque, it seems to have been broken and redeposited between end of Oval 1/2 and construction of Oval 3. Joins Kh. I 632, III 1136, 1170.	“2. Übergangszeit” — Boese The style of Kh. I 195, Kh. I 226 and Kh. I 537 is unique, only found in the Temple Oval.	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 197, pp. 78–79, Pl. 111 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 197, pp. 14, 16, 23 UAVA 6: CT 4, Pl. 6–2		C.93
Kh. I 632	M44:5	0.40 m below top of traced mudbrick 6	Oval 1–2	-	Another fragment of Kh. I 195.	See Kh. I 195	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b?	See Kh. I 195		C.93
Kh. III 1136	K44:2	Uncertain	Oval 1–2	-	Another fragment of Kh. I 195. Found in the later gate complex. Although no elevation is provided, the archival photographs from the time around February 1932 (e.g. AP kh2-047) show very superficial excavation of the area, so that the fragments could have only been found near the surface or in the fill below the later rooms.	See Kh. I 195	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b?	See Kh. I 195		C.93
Kh. III 1170	K45:4	Uncertain	Oval 1–2	-	Another fragment of Kh. I 195.	See Kh. I 195	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b?	See Kh. I 195		C.93

Table C.3 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	PUBLISHED CONTEXT				DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.	FIG. Ref.
	Locus	Elevation	Building Period	DiyArDa Date			Building Period	Historical Period			
Kh. I 226	N45:2	0.62 m under top of inner oval wall.	Oval 2	ED IIIa	Fragment of bituminous black stone door/wall plaque with probably three registers of inlaid or painted animals. AP khI-039 shows the fragment on floor(?) at same elevation as the kiln associated with Oval 2 in this room. The kiln clearly belongs to level prior to straightened oval, though it could have been a temporary fixture on a fill level, given that all other findings in this context were found at a lower elevation (floor?) during Season 2.	“2. Überganszeit” — Boese The style of Kh. I 195, Kh. I 226 and Kh. I 537 is unique, only found in the Temple Oval.	Oval 1/2↑	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 198, pp. 76–77, Pl. III UAVA 6: CT 5, Pl. 6–3		C.94
Kh. I 400	K43:3	0.50 m under mound surface	Oval 1	ED I	Rectangular plaque with 3 rows of pictorial reliefs; square hole in centre; left half of bottom row missing. The top register shows a banquet scene with high-status male and female sitting at opposite ends. The central register shows a left-to-right procession of bald, beardless males carrying animals and produce, while the bottom register (again left-to-right) shows a procession of long-haired, bearded males and a quadriga. AP khI-159 shows view of the excavation and the artefact in context. 0.50m below the mound surface does not correspond with the occupation levels associated with Oval 1 in House D and K43:3. Thus, it belongs to a fill level before the construction of Oval 3 structures.	“Mesilim-Zeit” — Boese Ag. 35: 668 (=UAVA 6: AG 2); U.8557 (= UAVA 6: U 1); Ag. 36: 192 (= UAVA 6: AG 5); Kh. V 35 (= UAVA 6: CS 1); Kh. IV 133 (= UAVA 6: CS 4)	Fill, Oval 1/2–3	ED IIIa/b	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 187, pp. 76–77, Pl. 107 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 187, pp. 14–15, 23 UAVA 6: CT 2, Pl. 5–2	IM 14.661	C.95
Kh. I 537	K46?	In the plano-convex brickwork near SW gate (= K46:5), under a brick(?)	Oval 1	ED I	Door plaque multi-register. Preserved only in the lower left-hand corner and along the left side, featuring at least three registers of intaglio relief (for inlays or pigment decoration?). The context of the drain K46:8 or exactly which plano-convex brickwork Preusser was referring to is not clear.	“2. Überganszeit” — Boese The style of Kh. I 195, Kh. I 226 and Kh. I 537 is unique, only found in the Temple Oval.	-	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 60: p. 37 UAVA 6: 173 (not described)		C.96

Table C.3 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	PUBLISHED CONTEXT				DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.	FIG. Ref.
	Locus	Elevation	Building Period	DiyArDa Date			Building Period	Historical Period			
Kh. I 565	L43:8?	1.10 m below "A" (not clear)	Oval 1	ED I	Fragment of a limestone plaque with two registers and a central, square opening for a peg. Both the upper and lower registers show a row of long-haired, bearded male figures wearing fringed, knee-length skirts and looking to the left. The eyes are round and inlaid, one of which is preserved. The plaque was damaged by fire; perhaps the same fire that caused the ashy layer elsewhere? If so, this would place this artefact in the fill between Oval 1/2 and the construction of the buttressed outer oval wall. AP kh1-198 shows the plaque in situ near some brickwork rubble and at what seems a higher elevation than the floors in the background.	"Mesilim-Vorstufe" — Boese However, the only other example with similar hair and inlaid eyes (U.6727 = UAVA 6: U 2) is inscribed and dated to ED IIIb on paleographic grounds (FAOS 5/2, AnUr 18). Boese (and Woolley, UE IV: 47) suggests it may be a secondary inscription. However, the upright animal facing the male figure suggests the inscription panel was part of the original composition.	Oval 1/2 [↑]	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 195, pp. 78–79, Pl. 110 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 195, pp. 13, 23 UAVA 6: CT 1, Pl. 5–1	OI A09059	C.97
Kh. I 629	L43:1	0.40 m below top of wall(?)	Oval 1	ED I	Fragment of alabaster relief showing legs of individual. The elevation of this find is not clear, as it is grouped with other items from L43:1 (Field Register Season 1, p. 125). A floor is described at this depth and later attributed to Oval 2 by Delougaz, in which case this object was attributed to Oval 1 solely on stylistic grounds.	The fragment is too small to compared with other finds.	Oval 1/2	ED IIIa/b?	OIP 60: p. 37 UAVA 6: 173 (not described)		C.98
Kh. II 51	J44:1	Uncertain; superficial?	Oval 3		Relief(?) showing the bottom of a register with human figures. Below the register, there is an inscription identifying a "King of Kiš." See Table C.1.		Oval 3?	ED IIIb–Oakk?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 207, pp. 78–79, Pl. 113 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 207, p. 23 RIME 1.07.43.01, ex. 01 FAOS 05/2, AnHaf 02 Hauptmann, MDOG 123, 149ff. Sommerfeld 2004: table		C.73
Kh. II 129	J44:1	Uncertain	Oval 3		Fragment of stone relief(?); could also be stone inlay. Appears to be a knee-length fringed skirt.	The style of the skirt is similar to Kh. I 400 and U.8557 (from Ur)			OIP 53: 162 UAVA 6: 174 (not described)		

Table C.3 – continued from previous page

EX. NUMBER	PUBLISHED CONTEXT				DESCRIPTION	COMPARANDA	SUGGESTED DATE		LITERATURE	MUSEUM Acc. No.	FIG. Ref.
	Locus	Elevation	Building Period	DiyArDa Date			Building Period	Historical Period			
Kh. II 136	K45:2(?)	Uncertain; arabana (=spoil heap)			Small fragment of a relief showing the head and upper torso of a long-haired, bearded male.				OIP 53: 163 UAVA 6: 174 (not described)		
Kh. II 245	N45:3	Uncertain	Oval 1	ED I	Fragment of green schist plaque with three registers and round opening in the centre. The top register appears to be a banquet scene; the central register shows a bald, beardless male wearing a skirt and carrying fish; the bottom register shows another banquet scene: a long-haired, bearded male sitting down and holding a cup in the left hand and another male(?) figure standing in front of him. No elevation or context is given. On object card, initially assigned to Oval 3, then finally to Oval 1 (possibly on stylistic grounds). Note the pointy elbows, the geometric style for the hair, the guy carrying a fish on a pole and a net(?) in a basket over his head.	“2. Überganszeit” — Boese Perhaps the “pointy” style of the elbows reminds of ED IIIb examples from Lagaš (e.g. UAVA 6: T 4–7)	Oval 1/2↑?	ED IIIb?	OIP 44: Sculpture no. 193, pp. 78–79, Pl. 109 OIP 60: Sculpture no. 193, p. 23 UAVA 6: CT 3, Pl. 6–1	OI A11587	C.99
Kh. II 271	N46:1	Uncertain	Oval 1–2		Fine black stone plain square plaque with square central opening for peg. Context is not clear as no further evidence of elevation is provided, only that it is attributed to “Oval 1–2.”	Plain square plaques are known from later periods (Late Akkadian onwards), but this is inconclusive.	Oval 1/2?		OIP 53: 158 UAVA 6: 173 (not described)		C.100
Kh. III 1364	J44:1	Uncertain	Oval 2	ED IIIa	Fragment of a stone relief/plaque with registers. Only head of warrior wearing helmet (?) is preserved. The style of this relief appears later in date, at least Protoimperial/Sargon’s time. Context of the find is unclear beyond that it was found in the remains of the later gate. It is simply attributed to “Oval 2.”	For style perhaps the cylinder seal of Kalki (BM 89137; Collon 1982: no. 141), or an early victory stele found in Susa and now in the Louvre (Louvre Sb 3; Foster 2016: 6, fig. 1.3).		Oakk?	OIP 53: 158 UAVA 6: 174 (not described)		

D

Textual evidence from Uruk

The following sections examine the evidence used to support the interpretation that four different manifestations of the goddess Inanna existed in Uruk in the Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, as well as the hypothesis first put forward by Steinkeller that the political organisation of southern Mesopotamia during the Jemdet Nasr and beginning of the Early Dynastic period was an amphictyony centred around the cult of a triple Inanna deity in Uruk. Finally, the evidence for a ritual calendar as suggested by Englund is discussed, noting a potentially different interpretation of the material.

INANNA DEITIES IN ARCHAIC URUK

Inanna-kur. The main evidence presented to support this reading in the earlier Uruk IV and III texts are the za_3 - mi_3 hymns on the one hand, and the onomasticon of the Early Dynastic period on the other. With regards to the onomasticon, the reading mu-Inana-kur-ta — “name: Inana from kur” for one of Ur-Nanše’s sons (Szarzyńska 1987: 7) is now read mu-kur-šuba₄-ta, *Mu-kuršubata* (Frayne 2008: RIME 1.09.01.02), thus highlighting the problems with distinguishing names written with and without the determinative for deities. On the other hand, the name mu-kur-ta is attested in Fāra.¹ Thus, the evidence from names is hardly substantial to support the argument. Regarding the za_3 - mi_3 hymns, these belonged to a very different tradition to that reflected in the onomasticon (Rubio 2011). The relevant lines, as transcribed

¹WF 25 obv. viii 3; WF 65 rev. i 2; WF 77 obv. vi 12; WF 117 obv. ii 4 (Deimel 1924); WVDOG 143, 58 obv. i 2 (Steible et al. 2015); TŠŠ 158 obv.iii 4 (Jestin 1937).

in Biggs's edition of the text, are:

46. ^dInanna kur
47. kur ki-sikil
48. INANNA.UNUG ban-kù-lá
49. kar gur₇-gur₇-nun Zabalam(INANNA.AB)
50. ^dInanna hu ud
51. ^dNin-um zà-mì
(...)
172. ab^{KÁR}_{KÁR}
173. ^dMen
174. ^dInanna kur kù zà-mì

Composite transliteration of Abu Salabikh za₃-mi₃ hymns; Biggs 1974: 47

In this case, the first instance is probably a location, not the deity, as was the usual sequence of the texts (Krecher 1978–1980: 159). Furthermore, this sequence seems to be associated with Zabala, not Uruk, although this stanza may establish some connection between the two cities that is not explicit, yet. Surprisingly, the deity being praised here is Nin-UM, not Inanna, although Cavigneaux and Krebernik (1998–2000f) suggest it might be another name of the goddess. Furthermore, Krebernik (1994) posits a relationship between this deity and Nin-naġar as names of Inanna in the stanza no. 68:

221. kul-ab₄ sila daġal
222. men_x babbar šu BAD
223. UD ^dKA.DI
224. ^dNin-UM
225. ban-sa-babbar
226. ŠÌTA+GIŠ za-gìn
227. ^dNIN-naġar/NĪGIN zà-me

221–226. *im breitstraßigen Kullāb, das eine weiße Tiara trägt, ... (von) An(?), Ištaran und ^dNin-UM, pries NIN-naġar mit dem weiß bespannten Bogen und der Lapislazuli-Keule (scil. den Enlil).*²

Composite transliteration of Abu Salabikh za₃-mi₃ hymns; Krebernik 1994: 157

Krebernik's reading suggests some parallels with the previous passage, so that it appears clearer that the reference is to a place known as kur, which is qualified as the pure place (ki-sikil), and that it may be located in Zabala, not Uruk. In fact, Kullāb is already mentioned in the second and third stanzas, in relation with Nin-unug and Inanna. The urge to identify all deities with Inanna should not blur the multiplicity of names that perhaps hints at a more complex situation in Kullāb during this period, wherever Kullāb is to be located exactly. The mention of Kullāb and not Eanna in the texts is also an important

²In the broad streets of Kullāb, carrying a white tiara ... (of) An(?), Ištaran and ^dNin-UM praised NIN-naġar with the white-banded bow and the lapis lazuli mace/club (namely of Enlil)?.

difference that should not be glossed over when discussing the cultic character of the area later known as the Eanna in Uruk, since it suggests this may not have existed (as the ‘Eanna of Inanna’ at least) at the time when or before the ED IIIa za₃-mi₃ hymns were written. Finally, note that although Inanna, Nin-unug, Nin-UM, and Nin-naġar have been associated with the goddess in Uruk, none of these appear to correlate with any of the suggested manifestations in the earlier (Uruk IV and Uruk III/Jemdet Nasr) texts. In my opinion, these differences should warn against drawing conclusions about the identity behind these names, the beliefs and ritual practices attached to them until further material, especially from beyond Uruk, can be incorporated, and we gain a better understanding of the early part of the Early Dynastic period, of which much is speculative.

The attestations from Uruk IV and III texts are inconclusive in my opinion, given the lack of consensus on the use of the determinative diġir to identify deities and the fact that readings are taken out of context from the tablets. For example, the string EN_a MUŠ_{3a} KUR_a ĤI AN in the text *ATU 7*, W 20274,24 (Uruk III), which Szarzyńska argues should be understood as “*the dignitary en of the sweet goddess Inana from kur*” (Szarzyńska 1987: 10), is not fully warranted given the fact that the sign ĤI is a qualifier that appears in association with other entries in the same text.³ Furthermore, the relationship between the signs KUR and MUŠ_{3a} should not be assumed to be read in that sequence, and KUR may be a phonetic or semantic qualifier that we cannot reconstruct today, or may simply refer to a geographic region (the Zagros to the East?) without a mythological meaning. The syntactic distinction made between the signs in order to structure them into a sentence is unwarranted, and it is possible that the whole group should be interpreted as one single ideogram (Englund 1998: 71).

Kelley (2017) discusses the sign KUR_{a-g} in proto-cuneiform in her doctoral dissertation. According to her, the interpretation that KUR_a stands for slaves (some of foreign origin) in the proto-cuneiform corpus stems from “*the later Sumerian conceptual links between ‘mountain’, ‘foreign land’, and ‘east’*”. She concludes that “*most uses of proto-cuneiform KUR_{a-g} can be understood in context to relate to mountainous or foreign products or animals, and KUR_a is indeed likely to represent humans ‘come down from the mountains’ or from regions described as KUR_a*” (Kelley 2017). How does Kelley’s new research affect the interpretation of the association of KUR with Inanna? Kelley suggests the Uruk III texts showing a combination of KUR_a and MUŠ₃ reflect personal names or titles. A possible reading En^dInanna-kur-dug₃ (?) is suggested for (EN) (AN) KUR_a ĤI MUŠ₃, discussed in the previous paragraph. Although Kelley does not argue for or against Szarzyńska’s suggestion, it is clear that the use of KUR remains ambiguous: does it refer to the mythical mountain or to real mountains, i.e. the Zagros to the east? Given the sign’s strong relationship with foreign goods and animals, a more straightforward semantic reading of the name/title and its relationship with networks of exchange between Uruk and the Zagros mountains cannot be fully dismissed. The combination 3N₅₇ MUŠ_{3a} is also suggested as a name/title, which appears in the ‘city-seal’ texts from Jemdet Nasr. These will be discussed in a subsequent subheading on the ‘triple Inanna’ deity in Uruk.

Inanna-nun. It should be clarified that this refers to the sign NUN_a. Szarzyńska discusses nine texts that were found in square Qa XVI-2, where ca. 450 texts were found. Out of these nine texts,

³Szarzyńska reads the sign DUG₃ ‘sweet,’ which appears in later periods. On the sign ĤI and its possible meaning ‘egg’ or a semantically similar qualifier, see Englund (1998: 139 n. 306).

only one has the string MUŠ_{3a} NUN_a, that is ATU 5, W 9169,c (Englund 1994). None of the others do, mainly because they are fragmentary. Szarzyńska argues that “[i]n the registers of offerings for Princely Inana, even well preserved, we cannot find any signatures of persons responsible for the records” (Szarzyńska 1993: 12). However, it is possible this string is actually a signature, as it is placed in the bottom left case.

It is interesting to look at two texts which have the string MUŠ_{3a} NUN_b: ATU 5, W 9656,dm and ATU 5, W 9656,bb (see Table D.2). NUN_b designates a type of goat, and thus MUŠ_{3a} must be a noun—whether individual or collective—that need not carry a theophoric element. Szarzyńska (1993: 15–16) discusses NUN_b, since it appears in the text ATU 5, W 9656,as qualifying the sign ZATU639(?), and concludes that it must designate a kind of goat. However, there is no discussion of the other texts in which MUŠ_{3a} appears, even though they were published in the same volume (ATU 1).

Therefore, not only does MUŠ_{3a} NUN_a appear inconsistent with an epithet or manifestation of a deity that was part of a triad, but the sign MUŠ_{3a} could clearly be used as a personal name or without necessarily referencing the goddess. In this case, it was perhaps read /suba/ or a similar semantic meaning, though the reading /muš/ ‘steppe’(?) cannot be fully dismissed. The semiotic relationship between the written sign and what it signifies is not a one-to-one relationship.

Inanna-UD/hud₂ and Inanna-sig Despite the importance allocated to these two manifestations, as they would seem to confirm the existence of a cult of the morning and evening stars (i.e. Venus) in pre-historic times, the textual evidence is not as strong or substantial as it may appear at first.⁴ Regarding Inanna-UD/hud₂, the weight of the argument about the cult of this deity rests on one single text: ATU 5, W 6288 (see Table D.2). A quick survey of the texts identified by Szarzyńska (1993: table 2) demonstrates the fallacy in assuming these are all dispatches of offerings to a deity. First, they are indeed similar accounts, recording the dispatch of similar items and quantities usually beginning with UDU_a (sheep), so that there seems to have been a regular dispatch of similar quantities from/to the office/household to which these texts belong. However, the frequency of these dispatches cannot be determined. The texts contain colophons or “signatures” identifying officials or offices/households(?), and some include what appears to be a countersignature or second “check,” which is the sign GEŠTU_b in three tablets, and AN MUŠ_{3a} U₄ in a fourth one. Szarzyńska suggested that GEŠTU_b belongs “to the so-called processional standards [which in the archaic texts] indicates a person performing the definite cult function” (Szarzyńska 1993: 16). However, recent research has demonstrated a different interpretation for the use context of this sign. Furthermore, the suggestion that “the standard-signs as logograms of the archaic writing, if they do not indicate the very standards (as objects), they designate indirectly individuals involved in the standard cult” (Szarzyńska 1993: 16 n. 9) demonstrates an often superficial understanding of proto-cuneiform writing that sees signs as purely pictorial.

Johnson (2015: 174) recently discussed the signs GEŠTU_b, GAL_b and NUN_a, which he suggested marked three hierarchical levels within each office of the Uruk IV structure reflected in the NAMEŠDA List. Unsurprisingly, such a hierarchical organisation fits well with the evidence so far discussed, since the

⁴Although Szarzyńska developed the bulk of the interpretation on the offerings to the goddess, Falkenstein already drew attention to the parallel usage of ^dINANNA + BABBAR “(zum) Aufgang der Venus” and ^dINANNA + ŠU₂+ŠU₂ (=SIG) “(zum) Untergang der Venus” (Falkenstein 1936: 48).

texts concerning “Inanna-nun” are mostly dated to the Uruk IV period. This would suggest a reading not “Princely,” which is merely the transposition of a later meaning of the sign, but simply the identification of a high-ranking official attached to the office or household designated by the sign MUŠ_{3a}, whether one wishes to see a temple reflected in the sign or not. It is also possible NUN and MUŠ_{3a} stood simply for two different households in the Uruk IV structure. Johnson further argues that whilst this tripartite organisation continues into the Uruk III period, another, newly introduced, orthographic “code” began to operate during this period, too. This new orthography was “reorganized on the basis of phonological connections between different groups of proto-cuneiform signs” (Johnson 2015: 180). Unsurprisingly, we find elements of both orthographies in the texts employed to discuss offerings to “Inanna-UD/ħud₂ and Inanna-sig,” which are largely dated to this period though not together in the same text. For example, GEŠTU_b appears in a number of texts, whilst another has the signature ENDIB (part of the new orthography).⁵

More decisive perhaps, is Johnson’s suggestion that these texts concern the butchering of animals and derived products. Johnson (2015: 193f.) discusses the very same texts employed by Szarzyńska in connection with “Inanna-UD/ħud₂” and argues they are connected with animal products.⁶ Furthermore, he highlights how these texts usually have GEŠTU_b in their colophon, except for one with ENDIB, and that they enumerate products related to ŠITA_{ar}, which in this case stands for “cuts of meat,” that is, from the animals in the first entry of the texts (UDU_a). There is no doubt that these concern elite rations, in the sense that throughout history high-quality meat products were reserved for the elites while the rest of the population followed a diet largely based on grain and vegetables with occasional meat/fish and dairy. However, the interpretation that these texts concern offerings to a specific goddess is, in my opinion, not sufficiently founded. Perhaps it could be argued that they are indeed part of festival celebrations, as the distribution of high quality products to the elites was certainly carried out at such occasions. In particular, the allotment of cuts of meat appears to be a highly structured system that moves beyond mere nutrition to become a hierarchical structure of power relations, according to Milano (1998: 20). In this case, the object of the festivals may confidently be connected with cultic activity (in the vague sense of the word) that perhaps functioned to structure and legitimise social order. However, the identity of the goddess Inanna cannot be established from this data alone, nor should the extent of the meaning of festivals be reduced as such. Ritual activity and festivals are explored in more detail in Chapter 8 (*Constructing gender and power through ritual*), where I contextualise how temple building and the cultic role of elite women in festivals constituted key elements in the construction of kingship during the Early Dynastic period.

Regarding “Inanna-sig”, once again Szarzyńska refers to one “key document” that explains other texts in which no traces of the string AN MUŠ_{3a} SIG could be found, even in complete texts. In this case, it is the tablet ATU 5, W 5233,b. However, this tablet has been identified as a “theoretical calculation of grain,” just as its “twin” ATU 5, W 5233,a (see Table D.2; Englund 1998). In fact, this excavation number corresponds to seven texts found scattered in the debris of room 91 (‘Red Temple’) in square Pd XVI,4 (Figure 2.6 and Englund 1998: fig. 6), thus probably from a dump as the whole area of the so-called ‘Red Temple’ is poorly understood during the Uruk III period and the architectural remains probably date to an earlier period (see Section §2.2.1). That the two best preserved texts out of a total of only four appear

⁵Johnson mentions a possible precursor endib_x(EN.MU) in ATU 6, W 12123 (Johnson 2015: 179 n. 24).

⁶It should be noted that Johnson’s work remains preliminary.

to not have been real accounts at the very least limits the conclusion that these are indeed offerings to this deity. If anything, their context remains obscure.

In conclusion, the hypothesis that four different manifestations of the goddess Inanna existed in Uruk during the Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr period has been repeated in the literature without further scrutiny. This hypothesis has significant issues that limit its validity:

- a) Texts from distinct periods (Uruk IV and Uruk III) are often mixed or not differentiated, as demonstrated in Table D.2,
- b) Links with later comparative material are unclear, as literary evidence from the ED IIIa period was mistaken for lexical entries, thus invalidating the confirmation that these manifestations continue into the later tradition.
- c) The use of “key documents” to interpret other texts in which the same entry does not appear undermines the strength of the hypothesis. Furthermore, some of these texts appear to be theoretical in nature, so that their administrative validity is nullified.
- d) The use of archaeological details to support the context in which the texts were found is imprecise. Findspots are often provided so as to *suggest* a relationship between architectural features such as the so-called ‘Red Temple’ and the texts, but these are not explored in detail. Furthermore, these contexts have been demonstrated on all accounts to be secondary in nature, and thus a relationship between the use context of texts, ritual, and architecture is impossible to establish.
- e) Pictorial evidence invoked to support interpretations of the textual material shows bias in favour of an already established narrative about the identity of the goddess that relies on literary texts from later periods, for example with regard to the so-called ‘Lady of Warka’ stone mask. These assumptions need to be addressed.

“*Triple Inanna*”. Building on Szarzyńska’s work, Steinkeller revised the hypothesis that the Jemdet Nasr (and Tell ‘Uqair) texts with the sequence 3(N₅₇) MUŠ_{3a} detailed offerings of dried fruits sent to Inanna-kur in Uruk (Szarzyńska 1987: 10 n. 7) and instead suggested the reading “triple Inanna” (Steinkeller 2002a: 253). Steinkeller sought in this triple manifestation the coalescence of the other names, namely “Princely Inanna” and the morning and evening star. The interpretation of the sign 3(N₅₇) as “triple” is unclear, given the well-attested use of this sign in a wide variety of contexts, including other so-called cultic symbols.⁷ Furthermore, in the case of the tablet from Tell ‘Uqair, the fact that the string

⁷For example, Englund (2009: fig. 5) suggests reading 3N₅₇ NUNUZ_c as (KUR_x.ZA₇=) “ZAGIN_x” = “Lapis,” “Blue(-eyed one),” based on a witness of the proto-cuneiform Archaic Metal lexical list (W 22104,0; Englund 1998: 98). The sign also appears in a collection of probably school texts (unprovenanced, unfortunately) that contain simple and complex sign associations (Monaco 2014: 6–8); these include its combination with URI_{3a}, MUŠ_{3a}, A, or NU, as well as to form the sign read Šuruppak. These examples seem to support Matthews’ suggestion that 3N₅₇ MUŠ_{3a} represents either an ancient city name or some kind of institution (Matthews 1993: 38–39). Finally, it can represent the number three when associated with other signs such as U₄ or SU_a in relation with time notations such as year or month. For example, in CUSAS I, 100 a possible “royal year name” is U₄.3(N₅₇) NIN UNUG_a GAL_b EZEN_c “year 3 of the queen of Uruk, (month of the) great festival” (Monaco 2007).

3(N₅₇) AN that Steinkeller interprets as “(the) triple deity” is actually part of a more complex case with subdivisions nullifies the correlation with the examples from Jemdet Nasr. I am not here denying the fact that the same seal was used in all these texts, or that they present a high internal cohesion. I simply suggest that other scenarios ought to be considered.

Steinkeller’s interpretations incorporate Matthews (1993)’s work on the so-called ‘city seals’ (Figure D.1) found on the reverse of the tablets from Jemdet Nasr (dated ca. 3000–2900 B.C.), as well as ones from the SIS 5/4 layers in Ur, which Benati and Lecompte have recently dated to the mid-late ED I period (ED Ib, ca. 2750 BCE) (Benati 2015: table 1; Benati and Lecompte 2017: table 2).⁸ As already mentioned, Matthews’ suggested 3N₅₇ MUŠ_{3a} represents either an ancient city name or some kind of institution (Matthews 1993: 38–39). His interpretation of the city seals as reflecting inter-city cooperation of a likely military and defensive nature “*albeit rooted, perhaps, in an already existing religious and ritual framework*” (Matthews 1993: 49) stems from Jacobsen’s classic work on political organisation in early Mesopotamia in the shape of the Kengir League (Jacobsen 1957). Comparing the meagre evidence afforded by the Jemdet Nasr and Ur material with William Hallo’s work on the bala city interactions of the Ur III period in Ur (Hallo 1960), Matthews concluded that the nature of inter-city interaction reflected in these early practices may have been a “*complex and fluid mesh of shifting factors*” (Matthews 1993: 50). The fact that the bala system is often used to explain aspects of the less-understood Kengir League poses difficulties in assessing the real differences between the two (Sharlach 2004: 165), and may have led to assumptions in the interpretation of earlier material. In this sense, Steinkeller assumed the overarching presence of a cult of Inanna in Uruk that both paralleled the later literary texts and the evidence from the bala system, and extrapolated the evidence from the seals to fit within a cultic interpretation that saw Uruk not only as an economic centre, but as the focus and beneficiary of “the system” (Steinkeller 2002a: 256), despite the fact that the system itself is not explained. Conversely, Piotr Michalowski suggested that it is not necessary to “*reconstruct political or socio-economic institutions in order to explain the data at hand,*” and instead proposed a semiotic explanation (Michalowski 1993b: 128). Given the fact that the existence of taxation has not been proved beyond doubt before the Ur III period (Sharlach 2004: 164), it is perhaps more misleading than helpful to compare a system based on state taxation with what appear to be the remains of inter-city exchanges nearly 1000 years earlier, the nature of which remains—as Matthews stressed—difficult to understand and likely multifactorial.

Steinkeller’s conclusion that the “owner” (who is here assumed to be male, though no evidence exists to determine his or her gender) of the seal was based outside Jemdet Nasr and ‘Uqair, and that, therefore, “*he represented [...] some supra city-state institution*” (Steinkeller 2002a: 256) involves an interpretive leap that *reads* an abstract centralised, hierarchical relationship where perhaps none is necessary. For example, other types of transactions among cities may be attested in the Uruk corpus, such as a text concerning herds of animals (W 20274,1; Englund 1998: fig. 50) in which what appears to be the “chief accountant(?) of large and small cattle from Šuruppak” is involved as the highest official overseeing the transaction. This tablet may originate from a larger archive dealing mostly with dairy products (Englund 1991). The text at the very least hints at more complex economic relationships between Uruk and other settlements that

⁸However, also note Sørenhagen (1999: 250 table 54)’s dating of SIS 5/4 to the transition between ED II and ED IIIa, which in Benati’s relative chronology would be ED Ic–ED IIIa; thus slightly later.

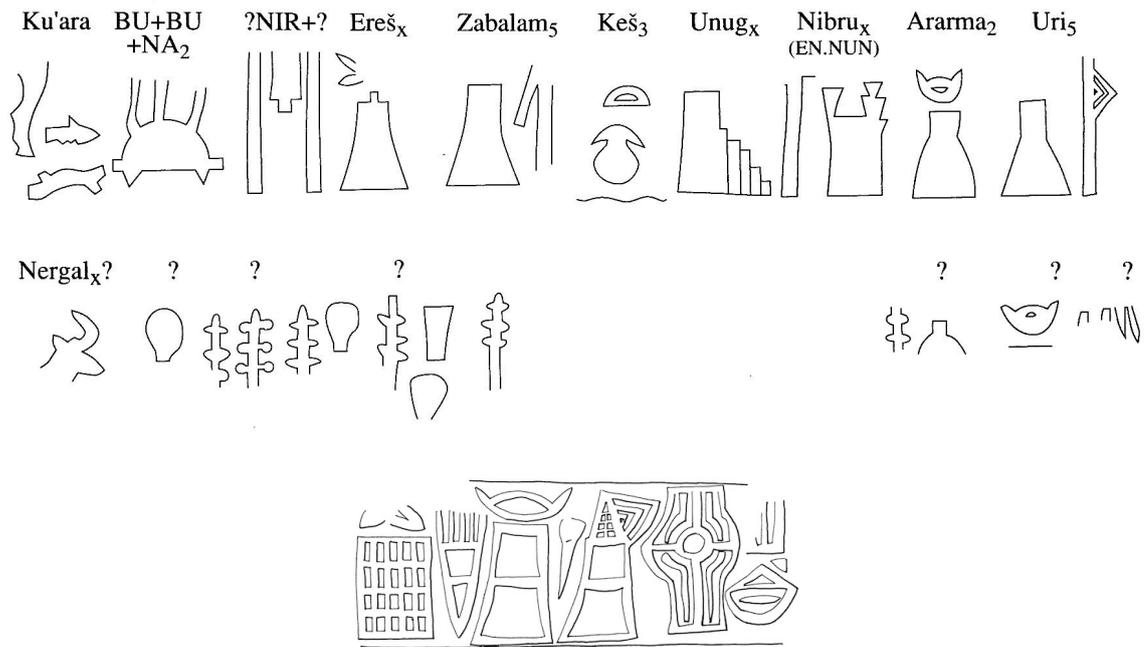


Figure D.1 – THE “CITY SEAL” FROM JEMDET NASR, URUK III (TOP) AND SEAL IMPRESSION FROM UR, ED I-II (BOTTOM) WITH POSSIBLE NAMES OF CITIES (MATTHEWS 1993: 37 AND FIG. 12,2).

do not assume a centre-vs-periphery hypothesis. The fact that the modern site of Fāra is hardly located on prime sheep grazing land is, if anything, surprising. However, a recent article hints at different sheep varieties exploited during the Late Chalcolithic/Uruk period compared with the Early Bronze Age. According to Vila and Helmer, the sheep variety exploited during the former period corresponds with a large type with horizontal spiral horns and a hairy coat that is better adapted to arid environments, while the sheep variety of the latter were smaller in size with coiled horns and a woolly coat (Vila and Helmer 2014: 33–34). This evidence could agree with large exploitation of sheep of the type that appears represented on figural art from the period, such as the Warka Vase. On the other hand, texts similar to the ‘city seal’ tablets from Jemdet Nasr in terms of the products and quantities detailed have been found in Uruk though not brought into the discussion. If the reasoning goes that such small, structured quantities of products cannot possibly amount to purely economic exchanges, then texts of a similar nature ought to be incorporated into the discussion to contextualise their symbolic meaning, if not their functional context at the very least. For example, **ATU 7**, W 19416,a (found in Square Na XVI,3 in the fill of a room under a Seleucid wall) and W 21498 (found in Ob XVI,1 in one of the rooms of the rammed earth building, 60 cm below the top of the wall) contain nearly identical entries to the texts from Jemdet Nasr (Matthews 1993: 36, figure). What are these quantities for? What is the context for their inclusion in large accounts of grain products that also contain smaller quantities of other mixed products? These questions may not be answerable with the evidence that is currently available, but they ought to be considered when drawing conclusions. In Jemdet Nasr, parallel entries to the city seal texts appear summarised as “rations” in larger accounts such as **MSVO 1**, 93, 107 and 108 (Englund 1998: 197f.), together with time notations associated with names of months that may identify (seasonal) festivals (Englund 2001: 21).

All of these points may hint at possible scenarios in which these distributions took place. However, the evidence remains simply too fragmentary and biased in favour of Uruk to be able to reconstruct a centralised ritual economy system centred on the cult of a triple deity at the site of Uruk, as well as assess its social implications. As Matthews pointed out, the situation is complex and the evidence is meagre. On the point about an already existing religious and ritual framework, I would consider that perhaps these items may have been involved in festivals and that perhaps the names of some of those may be identified in the corpus of texts. However, it is a very different thing to *read* religious ideas and ideologies into either the archaeological or the textual evidence; caution should be exercised in this sense.

AN EARLY CULTIC CALENDAR FROM URUK?

As discussed in Chapter 2, Sürenhagen (1999)'s re-analysis of the Uruk IV–III transition in the district of Eanna suggested that the Uruk IV architecture dates to an early “early Sumerian” (*Jungërfrühsumerische*) stage given the presence of conical bowls (*Blumentoft*) in ‘layer’ IVa contexts, replacing the earlier beveled rim bowls that disappear before the start of ‘layer’ IVb. Meanwhile, the architecture of Uruk III should be dated to the Early Dynastic period. In a recent study of conical bowl distribution, Martin Gruber concluded that “*no clear differences are recognizable between bowls from contexts dated to the Jemdet Nasr period, and those dated to the Early ED period*” (Gruber 2015: 156), thus adding difficulty to the absolute dating of the Uruk architecture. Clearly, the relationships between changes in the architecture, material culture, and what may be gleaned from the textual evidence remain difficult to interpret and correlate. Furthermore, continuity in one may not imply continuity in another.

Focussing on the relationship between architecture and Uruk III texts, some clues suggest they were produced before the archaeological ‘Period’ III (Sürenhagen 1999: 171–173), though this simply locates them somewhere along the earliest part of said ‘*Jungërfrühsumerische*’ period (see Table 2.1). The destruction caused by the construction of the Stampflehmgebäude so far prevents further analysis of the relationship between the texts and the supposed architectural structures that existed between Level IV and Level I in this area, and which may have included a previous building of the palace type associated with the high terrace built underneath the later ziggurat. Nevertheless, there seems to be an emerging ritual calendar that can perhaps be traced to somewhere towards the end of the palaeographic Uruk III phase. It would be tempting to associate it with the construction of the high terrace and whatever structure existed prior to the Stampflehmgebäude; however, this suggestion remains highly speculative.

Several stratified texts from the 1970s excavation in the area of the Stampflehmgebäude contribute important evidence when seen together with another text from the earlier excavations and three other unprovenanced texts. Altogether, these are the texts that Englund identified as possibly reflecting a cultic calendar, and their details are summarised in Table D.3.

The unpublished tablet W 21671 (Englund 1988: 167 n. 39; Englund 1998: 127; Englund 2001: 21). here reproduced as Figure D.2, concerns an account of textiles handed out to a number of individuals or offices, or perhaps for a specific celebration. Most of the ‘recipients’ are repeated several times in the text,

so that it seems to establish a regular activity concerning a group. Englund suggests these may have been distributions of textiles for specific festivals associated with the deities Inanna, Enki and Nanna that appear to follow a cyclical recurrence:

- obv. i 3. , EZEN_b 'U₄' AN MUŠ_{3a}
 'Festival of morning Inanna'
 obv. i 8. , 'GIBIL' NUN_a
 'New growth (festival) of Enki'
 obv. ii 1. , 'EZEN_b' AN SIG MUŠ_{3a}
 'Festival of the evening Inanna'
 obv. ii 5. , NAGAR_b 'NANNA_a'² EN_a
 'Lord ... (festival) of Nanna'
 obv. ii 9. , EZEN_b U₄ AN MUŠ_{3a}
 'Festival of morning Inanna'
 obv. iii 5. , GIBIL NUN_a
 'New growth (festival) of Enki'
 obv. iii 8. , EN_a NAGAR_b URI_{3a}
 'Lord ... (festival) of Nanna'
 obv. iv 5. , 'SU_a' NUN_a
 '... (festival) of Enki'
 rev. i 2. , EN_a EZEN_b AN HI 'ZATU₇₃₇×SAL| URI_{3a}' [...]

The text is signed by the responsible individual/office EN_a EZEN_b AN HI ZATU₇₃₇×SAL URI_{3a}. The sign ZATU₇₃₇×SAL is not well-attested in administrative texts, despite the entry SANGA_a ZATU₇₃₇×SAL in the archaic LU₂ List (Englund et al. 1993: 69–86). If the limited evidence available is anything to go by, this seems to identify an office related with textile production, as is the similar sign ZATU₇₃₇×U₄, since both appear together in the lexical list. Wu Yuhong (2005: 446)'s reading of the sign EN as part of the name of Nanna in this text (en URI₃) is not without question, as the text itself is clearly signed by an official of that rank. Joan Goodnick Westenholz (2013: 251)'s further suggestion—based on Yuhong's work—that this expression identifies a *zirru* priestess of Nanna from Ur in these texts appears to take a leap that should be considered carefully, especially since the relationship between Ur and Uruk is not clear during this period. I would suggest here EN simply refers to an official's title.

REFERENCE	LINE(S)	TITLE/OFFICE	COMMENTS
W 17729,bp + W 17729,bx (unpublished)	rev. ii 1–2	SAL.KUR _a ZATU ₇₃₇ ×SAL	Account of workers (SAL.KUR _a)? Found in Ne XIV,3.
W 20274,80 + W 20274,127 + W 20274,136 (unpublished)	obv. vi 1 and rev. ii 1	ZATU ₇₁₉ ZI _a ? ZATU ₇₃₇ ×SAL ZATU ₇₅₃	Large account of textiles. Found in Nc XVII,1.
W 15771,e = IM 23435,12 (unpublished)	obv. iii 2	ZATU ₇₃₇ ×U ₄ SANGA _a	Large account of textiles(?) Found in Seleucid layer in Nb/c XVI,4.

Table D.1 – URUK III ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS CONCERNING THE SIGN
ZATU₇₃₇×SAL

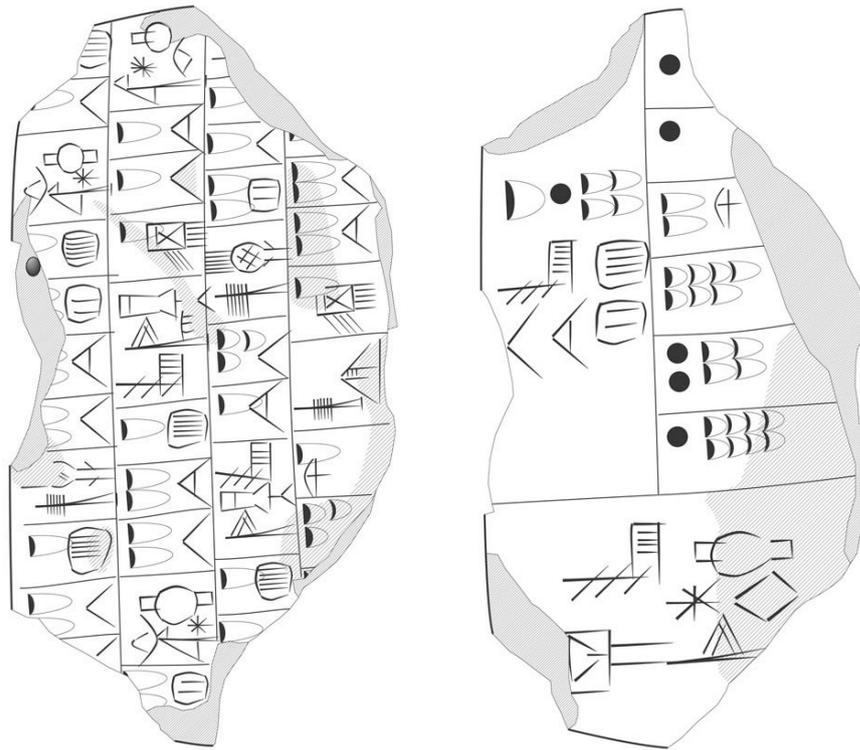


Figure D.2 – TABLET W 21671, WHICH SHOWS APPARENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF TEXTILES AND CONTAINS POSSIBLE EVIDENCE OF A CULTIC CALENDAR. © 2014 CDLI.

The summary account of the textiles seems to qualify them as ‘EN’ textiles, that is, ‘fit for the EN’, although the interpretation of this sign in an adjectival capacity cannot be determined beyond doubt; it could also identify the EN office signing for these textiles (Englund 1998: 152 n.349). Petr Charvát (2014: 92) suggests reading the colophon of this tablet (rev. i 2.) as “ZATU₇₃₇ × SAL of Ur gives out EN’s textile products upon EN EZEN AN [in?] HI”. This is, however, may be incorrect. That the city of Ur is here implied is not necessarily clear, unless the ‘household of Ur’ was also one of the main household in Uruk. If anything, this colophon seems vaguely to refer to administrative practices accounting for the production of textiles that fall under a coherent semantic corpus and thus perhaps produced within a single workshop, which could be the ZATU₇₃₇ × SAL, of a household or institution, perhaps URI_{3a} though not necessarily the city of Ur at this time. Could URI_{3a} be interpreted as a temple of the moon god? The textiles under consideration seem to include both wool and linen items, as evidenced by the sign GARA_a, which Englund tentatively suggested may be an index for a device used to hand and dry retted and cleaned flax (Englund 1998: 153 n. 353). Later sources indicate that linen was reserved for cultic use (Sallaberger 2014a). Thus, it appears plausible that the text concerns high quality textiles, which may have been used during festivals or celebrations. However, that this is the House of Nanna seems more difficult to explain in Uruk. Furthermore, whether such celebrations were associated with the Sumerian pantheon is unclear:

Certainly numerous signs and sign combinations are known in the archaic material that correspond to later divine names in the Sumerian pantheon, some of which combined with a sign representing a community building to stand for apparent temple household; the discrepancy

in treatment of the referents behind these signs might, again, be the result of the vagaries of excavation, but might also point to a substantially different system, or level, of religious belief.

(Englund 1998: 102)

RITUAL ACTIVITY AT URUK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC?

In the previous sections, we have seen that beer and meat cuts are the products which appear in the texts suggested as offerings to “Inanna-UD/ḥud₂ and Inanna-sig”. Furthermore, a case was made concerning small quantities of dried fruits and their potential significance within the context of ritual, as they could not have been intended as rations for a large number of individuals. How do these products correspond with our knowledge of festival celebrations? Are ‘offerings’ to a deity the only possible interpretation for these texts?

Both beer and meat cuts were consumed during festivals and other celebrations according to later sources (Cohen 2015), although certainly not limited to such activities. Robert Englund has discussed several texts concerning beer and textiles as evidence of an archaic cultic calendar at Uruk, and which explains the terms Inanna-UD/ḥud₂ and Inanna-sig as festivals in a cyclic period rather than names of the deity (Nissen et al. 1993: 17; Englund 1988: 167 n. 39; 1998: 127; 2001: 21 n. 47). Although the existence of festivals is not here disputed, it should be noted that early calendars were highly flexible and incorporate both cyclical celebrations largely linked with agricultural cycles, as well as individual, non-cyclic celebrations. In fact, earlier administrative texts sometimes employed a numerical system rather than month names after specific celebrations or deities.

In a recent analysis of calendars and festivals in the ancient Near East, Cohen (2015) provides extensive evidence for the existence of such cultic calendars and the kinds of activities and products associated with them. It should be noted that textiles are not directly mentioned in association with specific festivals, except for a suggestion made by Alster that in the Ur III calendar of Nippur and during the month kiġ-d^dInanna, there may have been a custom of wearing new or fine items of dress (Cohen 2015: 14of). Nevertheless, according to Zettler and Sallaberger (2011), the origin of this month’s name comes from an oracular pronouncement given by Inanna, perhaps on the 15th of the month, at the full moon, during the goddess’s festival. Other evidence on months named after the goddess and associated festivals is rather limited, and in no instance are the morning and evening stars mentioned. The only celestial phenomena recurring in the majority of calendars are offerings provided for the phases of the moon, also at Uruk (Cohen 2015: 213f.). The other cyclic phenomena in the earliest calendars are agricultural or economic activities.

In conclusion, it is perhaps not too far-fetched to frame Englund’s discussion within a ‘calendar’ of celebrations based on agricultural activity, as known from subsequent periods and especially in connection with Ur’s calendar, which Cohen already suggested (Figure D.3). However, the interpretation that these are offerings to the morning and evening star seems unclear to me. Why would these important, if not *fundamental*, offerings not continue in the Urukian tradition if indeed this was *the* city of *the* goddess? In fact, the use of Venus’ apparitions in the sky as month or festival names would not be particularly useful

given the planet's eighteen-month cycle:

A mixture of this sexagesimal system with a heritage of natural cycles resulted in the 3rd millennium time divisions attested by administrative documents. The fact that the new moon returned nearly every 30 days, that harvest times returned nearly every 12 moons, led an increasingly involved organizational control, faced with necessary conversions of time units into counted things—in particular rations—to correct this “unevenness” and its administrative dealings. The resulting system of artificial time measurement, which without question complemented throughout the 3rd millennium natural, lunistellar divisions, is attested in its basic form of a twelve-month, 360-day year in the archaic documents from the end of the 4th millennium.

(Englund 1988: 122)

Englund's characterisation of the emerging calendrical system is illustrated in the Ur III calendar of the city of Ur, which Cohen suggested probably bore significant similarities with that in Uruk. The Ur calendar is heavily organised around the relative preeminence in the sky of the moon and the sun, as well as incorporating agricultural celebrations. At Uruk, later evidence on its calendar suggests a mixture of observances that were neither annual nor monthly together with offerings for the phases of the moon, as was commonplace in other sites (Cohen 2015: 214). Thorkild Jacobsen had already remarked on the relationship between lunar festivals and the king and his house, arguing that “*during the Third Dynasty of Ur the offerings on the day the moon was invisible seem to have been in charge of the reigning queen, and in Umma, and perhaps elsewhere, the ešēš festivals were a responsibility of the temples of the deified deceased rulers of the dynasty*” (Jacobsen 1976: 123). Walther Sallaberger has also remarked on Ur III evidence regarding the role of royal women in the provision of offerings for festivals in Uruk (Sallaberger 1993: 218).

One long-standing festival that Sallaberger remarked had a distinctly female character (or in which royal women were at least heavily involved), and which may incorporate the natural phenomenon of flooding at Uruk was the festival of the Boat of Heaven (ezem-má-an-na). This was the name of the 10th month in Uruk (right after the month ezem-^dInanna) as reconstructed by Cohen (2015: 219f.). Later sources detail some of the activities taking place during this festival, which included the offering of sheep for the goddess and for Ninsumun, another important Urukian deity. The offerings on Day 25 are:

4 grain-fed sheep and 1 large grain-fed goat as the regular offering for Inana, 1 grain-fed sheep for Ninsumun in(?) the city and 1 grain-fed sheep for Ninsumun in(?) the city as the midnight offering, and 1 grain-fed sheep for the dawn offering.

(Cohen 2015: 220)

These offerings at midnight and dawn evidence the specific time context that certain activities associated with festivals required. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Kurtik (1999) stressed how the time of a festival, such as midnight or dawn, could be unconnected with the observations of heavenly bodies. Thus, is it possible that the evidence from the Uruk III texts reflects a series of activities made in connection with

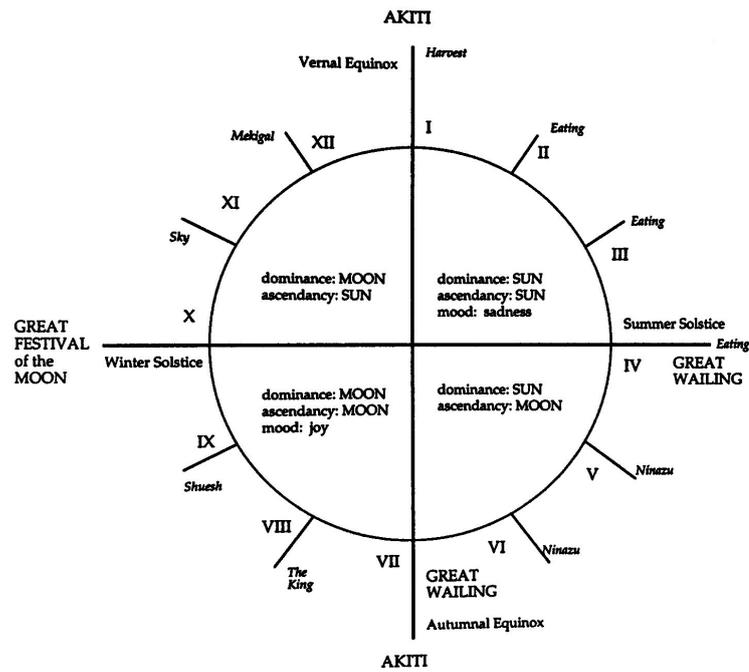


Figure D.3 – RECONSTRUCTION OF THE Ur III CALENDAR USED IN Ur, BUT WHICH CAN BE PARTLY TRACED BACK TO THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD. THE CALENDAR IS ORGANISED AROUND THE PREEMINENCE OF THE MOON AND THE SUN IN THE SKY.

a festival celebrated in the city? Furthermore, could this festival have been some predecessor to the Boat of Heaven festival attested for over 2,000 years in Uruk and perhaps linked with annual flooding in the city as discussed by Cohen?

There are two competing explanations of the Boat of Heaven festival in Uruk. On the one hand, Steinkeller posited it was a funerary ritual for deceased kings in which Inanna played a liminal role, a sort of Charon metaphor (Steinkeller 2013). By contrast, Cohen emphasizes the close cultural connection between Ur and Uruk evidenced in their calendars and highlights the fact that “*ezem-má-an-na was celebrated at least twice a year at Uruk, about ninety days apart, on fixed lunar dates obviously unrelated to the conjunctions and transits of Venus*” (Cohen 2015: 221). He posits that this celebration could be related to the solstices and equinoxes just as the Boat of the Moon at Ur. Furthermore, Cohen draws some comparisons with the composition ‘Inanna and Enki’, suggesting perhaps it offers a mythological background to the festival and its celebration in the season when the waters crested. The flooding of Uruk could provide a natural setting to facilitate transportation by boat and Inanna’s flight by boat from Eridu with the *mes*.

In conclusion, the situation in Uruk may not have differed much from other Early Dynastic centres of power. In this scenario, an important administrative building would have been run by elite women (queen?), who were in charge of the organisation of festivals and offerings for deities following a primarily agrarian “calendar” similar to that in Ur (Figure D.3) with individual feasts for the dead or ancestors. This calendar probably became increasingly tangled with the royal apparatus and the yearly renewal of kingship, as outlined in Cohen (2015).

Table D.2 – PROTO-CUNEIFORM AND EARLY DYNASTIC TEXTS CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED CULT OF INANNA IN ARCHAIC URUK. “ADDITIONAL TEXTS” ARE NOT INCLUDED IN SZARZYŃSKA (1987, 1993).

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Inanna-KUR (Szarzyńska 1987) // “Triple Inanna” (Steinkeller 2002a)			
Uruk (Uruk IV)	ATU 5, pl. 59, W 9578,f (=ATU 1, 65)	obv. i 1. 2(N ₁), AN MUŠ _{3a} ʽKASKAL ʽ ʽKUR _a ʽ DUB _b NAGA _a A IB _a ʽNUN _c ʽ	Unclear administrative text; may concern households(?).
	ATU 5, pl. 72, W 9579,cf (=ATU 1, 204)	obv. i 1. 1(N ₁), ʽAB _a ʽ AN MUŠ _{3a} ʽKASKAL ʽ ʽBA ʽ KUR _a ʽ DUB _b ʽ	Unclear administrative text; may concern households(?).
Additional Texts Uruk (Uruk IV)	ATU 7, pl. 19, W 19466,c	obv. i 1. [...], X obv. i 1. [...], X MUŠ _{3a} KUR _a gunú [...] // 2. [...], X NAGA _b [...]	Unclear administrative text; may concern households(?).
Uruk (Uruk III)	ATU 7, pl. 42, W 20274,24	obv. iii 5 2(N ₁), EN _a MUŠ _{3a} KUR _a ʽHI AN	Unclear administrative text.
	W 20274,11 (unpublished; ATU 2, pl. 21 obv., photo)	obv. ii 3.b3. , EN _a KUR _a ʽHI MUŠ _{3a}	Unclear administrative text.
	W 20274,34 (unpublished; ATU 2, pl. 30, photo)	obv. i 2. 4(N ₁₄) 5(N ₁), EN _a AN ʽHI KUR _a MUŠ _{3a}	Unclear administrative text.
Jemdet Nasr (Uruk III)	MSVO 1, 163 = Ashm. 1926.608	obv. ii 1. , NI _a .RU // 2. , 3(N ₅₇) MUŠ _{3a} // 3. , UNUG _a	City seal text concerning small quantities of MA , ʽAŠḪUR, MA ZATU _{735b} , GA _{2a1} × GEŠTU _{c5} , UKKIN _b × DIN ; no signature.
	MSVO 1, 165 = Ashm. 1926.607	obv. ii 2. , NI _a .RU // 3. , 3(N ₅₇) MUŠ _{3a} // 4. , UNUG _a	City seal text concerning small quantities of MA , ʽAŠḪUR , ZATU _{735b} , GA _{2a1} × GEŠTU _{c5} , UKKIN _b × DIN ; signature TAK ₄ KI NUN _a .

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Jemdet Nasr (Uruk III)	MSVO 1 , 166 = Ashm. 1926.658 (?)	Colophon not preserved.	City seal concerning small quantities of MA , GA _{2ar} × GEŠTU _{c5} , UKKIN _b × DIN , etc. (broken); signature NUN _a [...].
	MSVO 1 , 167 = Ashm. 1926.673	obv. iii 1. , NI _a .RU // 2. , 3(N ₅₇) AN // 3. , UNUG _a	City seal text concerning small quantities of ḪAŠḪUR , GA _{2ar} × GEŠTU _{c5} , etc. (broken); signature TAK ₄ KI NUN _a .
	MSVO 1 , 172 = Ashm. 1926.675	obv. iii 2. , NI _a .RU // 3. , 3(N ₅₇) MUŠ _{3a} // 4. , UNUG _a	City seal text concerning small quantities of DUG _c × I(N ₅₇) , ŠU ₂ , ḪAŠḪUR , GA _{2ar} × X , UKKIN _a ; signature NUN _a TAK ₄ KI.
	MSVO 1 , 174 = Ashm. 1926.712	obv. iii 3. , NI _a .RU // 3. , 3(N ₅₇) MUŠ _{3a} // 4. , UNUG _a	City seal text concerning slaves (?) SAL.KUR _a ? ; signature broken.
Tell ‘Uqair (Uruk III)	MSVO 4 , 15 = VAT 5296 (=ATU 1, 656)	obv. iii 1. , [...] ‘KU _{6a} ’ RAD _a ’ ‘UR ₂ ’ [...] // 2.a. , MAḪ _a × NA _a // 2.b1. , AN 3(N ₅₇) // 2.b2. , PAP _a // 3. , ‘UNUG _a ’	City seal text concerning small quantities of DIN , MA , ḪAŠḪUR , SUḪUR , etc. No signature? Although this tablet was acquired in the antiquities market, one tablet found near the ‘shrine’ in Tell ‘Uqair confirmed the identity of the site as Urum.
Additional Texts Jemdet Nasr (Uruk III)	MSVO 1 , 169 = IM 55619	obv. ii 1. , U ₄ NI _a .RU // 2. , EN _a PAP _a I(N ₅₈)? // 3. [...] , [...]	City seal text concerning small quantities of MA , ḪAŠḪUR , MA ZATU _{735b} ; signature EN _a ? SAR _a × ŠE _a [...].
	MSVO 1 , 170 = Ashm. 1926.740	Colophon not preserved.	City seal text concerning small quantities of ḪAŠḪUR , MA ZATU _{735b} , GA _{2ar} × GEŠTU _{c5} , UKKIN _b × DIN ; signature NUN _a TAK _{4a} X [...]

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Additional Texts Jemdet Nasr (Uruk III)	MSVO 1 , 171 = Ashm. 1926.694	obv. ii 2. , U ₄ NI _a .RU // [...]	City seal text concerning small quantities of 𒀭AŠHUR , MA ZATU _{735b} , etc. (broken); signature [...] TAK _{4a} KI NUN _a [...].
	MSVO 1 , 175 = IM 55614		Mixed account with Seal MSVO 2 , Jemdet Nasr cat. 15 (individual with headband holding branch) including small quantities of DUG _c × I(N ₅₇) , MA , MA ZATU _{735b} , etc. (broken) as well as rations(?); signature 𒀭SANGA _a 𒀭AB _a ; (recipient?) NI _a .RU GU ₇ .
	MSVO 1 , 176 = IM 132909	obv. ii 1. , 𒀭NI _a .RU ¹ // 2. [...] , [...] // 3. [...] , [...] 𒀭 ₃ (N ₅₇) ²¹ 𒀭EN _a ¹ AB _a	City seal text; very damaged.
Ur (ED I–II)	UET II , 168 = U 12901	obv. i 7 [...] , MUŠ _{3a} KUR _b AMAR	Administrative text. Note that the sign is KUR _b . Note name AN MUŠ _{3a} AK _a (obv. iii 7.).
Abu Salabikh (ED IIIa)	Biggs 1974 , p. 47 (lines 46–51) and p. 51 (lines 172–174).	(discussed in text; see p. 541)	Composite transliteration of the so-called za ₃ -mi ₃ hymns, now understood as litanies.
Fāra (ED IIIa)	SF 7 = VAT 12761	obv. viii 22. muš ₃ -kur	School text. Sign MUŠ ₃ repeated; may be meaningless.
	SF 18 = VAT 12426	Szarzyńska's transliteration: obv. iv 13. tur ₃ -muš ₃ -kur-ta obv. iv 15. tur ₃ -an-muš ₃ -kur-ta Zand (2009) 's transliteration: obv. iv 13. inana èš _(NESAG) kur- ¹ ta ¹ obv. iv 15. ^d inana èš _(NESAG) ¹ kur ¹ -ta	UD.GAL.NUN literary text perhaps concerning Inanna. According to Zand's transliteration, this is a sentence involving a temple of Inanna.
	SF 55 = VAT 9112	obv. ii 16. muš ₃ -kur-UD-ŠA	UD.GAL.NUN literary text, perhaps concerning Keš.

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Fāra (ED IIIa)	SF 72 = VA 12778	obv. vi 5 muš–3-kur-A	Probably a word list. Note the sequence MUŠ ₃ -ZA followed by MUŠ ₃ -KUR. These could be designations of stones.
Additional Texts (ED IIIa)	SF 1 = VAT 12760+	obv. iv 28. ^d nin-muš ₃ -kur rev. ix 18'. [^d]rMUŠ ₃ [?] -KUR-ĤE ₂	Large Fāra god list.
	OIP 99, 83 = IM 70208+ = AbS-T 206+210	obv. v 7'. MUŠ ₃ -AN-MUŠ ₃ -KUR obv. v 8'. GA ₂ × AN ¹ -AN- ^r MUŠ ₃ ¹ -KUR obv. v 9'. ^r šuba ₃ ¹ -MUŠ ₃ -KUR	Abu Salabikh god list.
	OIP 99, 84 = AbS-T 209	obv. iii 3'. ^d MUŠ ₃ -AN- ^r MUŠ ₃ ¹ -KUR obv. iii 4'. [^d]rGA ₂ × AN ¹ -AN-MUŠ ₃ -KUR obv. iii 5'. ^d šuba ₃ -MUŠ ₃ -KUR	Abu Salabikh god list. Partly a duplicate of OIP 99, 83.
Lagaš (ED IIIb)	RIME 1.9.1.2, ex. 1 = AO 2344	surface c ii 5. mu-kur-šuba ₄ -ta dumu	Name of one of Ur-Nanše's children.
Inanna-nun (Szarzyńska 1993: table 1)			
Uruk (Uruk IV)	ATU 5, pl. 38, W 9123,ae (=ATU 1, 528)		Account of cereal products(?). No signature(?).
	ATU 5, pl. 42, W 9169,b (=ATU 1, 371)		Account of cereal products. No signature(?).
	ATU 5, pl. 42, W 9169,c (=ATU 1, 334)	obv. iii 3. , MUŠ _{3a} ^r NUN _a ¹ [...] rev. i 1. ^r I(N ₅₁) 4(N ₁₄) ¹ [...], ^r I(N _{39b}) I(N ₂₆) I(N ₂₈) I(N ₂₄) ¹ X ^r NUN _a MUŠ _{3a} ¹ [...]	This is the only text bearing the signature MUŠ _{3a} -NUN _a of the lot. Account of beer (KAŠ) and other cereal products. All these texts were found in squares Qa XVI,2 and Qa XVI,3 — purportedly in the fill above the area of the Limestone Building.
	ATU 5, pl. 46, W 9206,b (=ATU 1, 552)		Account of cereal products. No signature(?).
	ATU 5, pl. 64, W 9579,t (=ATU 1, 307)		Account of cereal products. No signature.

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Uruk (Uruk IV)	ATU 5, pl. 88, W 9656,t (=ATU 1, 556)		Account of cereal products Signature AN [...]?
	ATU 5, pl. 91, W 9656,as (=ATU 1, 537)	rev. ii 2. [...] , [...] ṛMUŠ _{3a} ṛ	Account concerning animal-derived products in vessels.
	ATU 5, pl. 105, W 9656,ew (=ATU 1, 356)		Mixed account of various products and animals(?). Signature(?) ṛU _{2b} ṛ ŠUBUR AN.
	ATU 5, pl. 109, W 9656,fv (=ATU 1, 554)		Account of cereal products. No signature.
Additional Texts Uruk (Uruk IV)	ATU 5, pl. 92, W 9656,bb (=ATU 1, 475)	obv. ii 1. 1(N ₁₄) , MUŠ _{3a} NUN _b obv. iii 1. ṛ6(N ₁)ṛ [...] [...]	
	ATU 5, pl. 99, W 9656,dm (=ATU 1, 302)	obv. i 3. ṛ2(N ₁)ṛ , NUN _b MUŠ _{3a}	Also found in Square Qa XVI,2. this account concerns animals (caprids) (for?) the institution UNUG _a GURUŠDA given to/received by? individuals. The text is complete and has a sum total of 19 animals (10+9) on the reverse.
Fāra (ED IIIa)	SF 18 = VAT 12426	Szarzyńska's transliteration and translation: obv. i 16. ḏInana-gal-nun “great Inana, princely” obv. ii 6. ḏInana: e ₂ : en ₂ -ta “Inana princely, from the temple e ₂ en ₂ ?” Zand's transliteration: obv. i 16. ḏinana ṛnin _(NUN) ṛ gal obv. ii 6. LAK358 NUN / kur _(AN) -ṛMÙŠ-taṛ	UD.GAL.NUN literary text concerning Inanna according to Zand.

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Inanna-UD/ḥud ₂ (<i>Szarzyńska 1993</i> : table 2)			
Uruk (Uruk IV)	<i>ATU 5</i> , pl. 3, W 6066,a (=ATU 1, 599)*	obv. ii 3. , 'EN _a ŠE _a ' [...] // 4. , GEŠTU _b	Account of animals (UDU _a) and derived products. Signature EN _a ŠE _a [...]; (countersignature? office?) GEŠTU _b . Found in Square Pd XVI,3. *Szarzyńska refers to this text as no. 559, but it is clear this is a typographical mistake.
Uruk (Uruk III)	<i>ATU 5</i> , pl. 3, W 6066,b (=ATU 1, 600)		Account of animals (UDU _a) and derived products. No signature preserved; no colophon. Found in Square Pd XVI,3.
	<i>ATU 5</i> , pl. 5, W 6288 (=ATU 1, 602)	obv. ii 3. , GEŠTU _b NAM ₂ 'KAB NUN _a ' obv. iii 1. , 'AN MUŠ _{3a} ' U ₄	This is the only text bearing the colophon AN MUŠ _{3a} U ₄ . According to <i>Johnson (2015)</i> , these texts concern the butchering of animals and derived products. These texts were found scattered in another area rich in texts that are part of the filling used during construction projects in and around the Great Court. This text was found in Square Pd XVI,3.
	<i>ATU 5</i> , pl. 30, W 7343,1 (=ATU 1, 601)	obv. ii 2. , 'AMA _a PAP _a ŠE _a I(N _{5,8})tenú GEŠTU _b '	Account of animals (UDU _a) and derived products. Signature AMA _a PAP _a ŠE _a (?); (countersignature? office?) GEŠTU _b . Found in Pc/d XVI,3/4.
	<i>ATU 5</i> , pl. 9, W 6573,a (=ATU 1, 604)	obv. ii 5. , 'IDIGNA' AN MEN _a [...] // 6. , 'GEŠTU _b ' [...]	Account of animals (UDU _a) and derived products. Signature IDIGNA AN MEN _a [...]; (countersignature? office?) GEŠTU _b [...]. Found in Square Pd XVI,3.

Table D.2 – continued from previous page

PROVENANCE (PERIOD)	REFERENCE	ENTRY	COMMENTS
Uruk (Uruk III)	ATU 6, pl. 85, W 16731 = VAT 16742*	obv. i 4. , ENDIB	Account of animals (UDU _a) and derived products. Signature ENDIB (bottom case for countersignature or office left blank). No archaeological context available. *Szarzyńska has this text as W 16881.
	VAT 17756	Could not find this tablet.	I suspect this is another mistake in Szarzyńska's manuscript.
Inanna-sig (Szarzyńska 1993: table 3)			
Uruk (Uruk IV)	W 16719 (=ATU 2, pl. 57)	obv. Ii 4. , NIR _b // 5. , EN _a ME _a X ŠU	Account of grain (ŠE _a) and cereal (Ḫiḡun _a).
	ATU 5, pl. 1, W 5233,a (=ATU 1, 605)	obv. ii 4. , DUG _a // 5. , GAL _a SANGA _a NUN _a rev. i 1. 1(N ₁) 4(N _{39a}) 1(N ₂₄) 1(N _{30a}), DUG _a // 2. , 'GAL _a ' SANGA _a NUN _a	This text has been identified as a theoretical calculation of grain.
Uruk (Uruk III)	ATU 5, pl. 2, W 5233,b (=ATU 1, 606)	obv. ii 5. , EN _a ŠIM _a // 6. , NAM ₂ 'KAB NUN _a ' rev. i 2. , AN SIG MUŠ _{3a}	This is the only text bearing the colophon(?) AN MUŠ _{3a} SIG. It has been identified as a theoretical calculation of grain. The names of the offices involved do, however, exist. These tablets were found in Pd XVI,4 (“Red Temple”), in different locations in the debris of room 91.
	ATU 5, pl. 2, W 5233,c (=ATU 1, 607)	obv. ii 5. , 'DUG _a ' // 6. , EZEN _b 2(N ₅₇) rev. i 1. 4(N ₁) 2(N _{39a}) 1(N ₂₄) 1(N ₂₆), DUG _a	Could this also be another exercise?; (recipient?) EZEN _b 2(N ₅₇).

Table D.3 – URUK III TEXTS THAT POSSIBLY REFLECT ELEMENTS OF FESTIVAL CELEBRATIONS IN URUK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC PERIOD.

REFERENCE	FINDSPOT	COMMODITY	COMMENTS
MSVO 3, 6 (unlocated)	Antiquities market	ŠEN _b GAL _a ; ŠEN _c tenû ; ŠEN _b TUR (beer)	Account of various types of beer distributed to several individuals; signed by the head of beer production “KU ŠIM” (“checked off”).
MSVO 3, II (priv. coll.)	Antiquities market	ŠEN _b GAL _a ; ŠEN _c tenû ; ŠEN _b TUR ; DUG _a (beer)	Consolidation of at least five texts recording the distribution of various types of beer to several individuals and festivals(?); signed by the head of beer production “KU ŠIM”.
MSVO 3, 55 = MMA 1988.433.03	Antiquities market	ĪIgunû _a (barley groats) and 1(N _{4o}) (malt)	Account of grain groats and malt (for beer?) issued to two individuals/offices; signed by the head of beer production “KU ŠIM”.
ATU 7, W 21671	Square Ob XVI,1 “aus der untersten Lage einer tof-Mauer.”	(see p.549 and Figure D.2)	Account of textiles, suggested as possible evidence of a cultic calendar (Englund 1998: 127 fig. 44; 1988: 167 n. 39). For a different translation, see Yuhong 2005.
BagM 2, pl. I no.2 = W 20274,77	Square Nc XVII,1 “neben Sickerschacht unter den obersten Riemchen und der obersten adale.”	(DUR ₂) BARA ₂ and ZATU764 (textiles)	Account of textiles. The first column seems to concern daily(?) or at sunset(?) (U ₄ ŠU ₂) “rations” deliveries of textiles involving similar recipients as W 21671.
BagM 22, 59, W 23968	Square Ob XV,3 “nordwestlich vom Stampflehmgebäude etwas tiefer als die Oberkante der Patzenreihen.”	ZATU764 (textile); DU _{6b} [?] (?)	Account of textiles classified as rations (GU ₇) delivered daily(?) or at sunset(?) (U ₄ ŠU ₂); signed by the official GA _a .ZATU753.
BagM 22, III, W 24021,10	Square Oa XV,3 “schutt nordwestlich vom Stampflehmgebäude.”	DUG _a (beer)	Account of beer given as rations (GU ₇) to individuals under (the official?office?) AN U ₄ MUŠ _{3a} ZATU756. Total of 10(N ₁₄) beer jugs; (office?) AN MUŠ _{3a} U ₄ , signed by the official PAP _a E _{2a} . On the reverse they are described as delivered daily(?) or at sunset(?) (U ₄ :ŠU ₂).