

ALMA MATER STUDIORUM - UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA



OCNUS

QUADERNI
DELLA SCUOLA DI SPECIALIZZAZIONE
IN BENI ARCHEOLOGICI

ESTRATTO

16
2008

Ante
Quem

Editore e abbonamenti

Ante Quem soc. coop.

Via C. Ranzani 13/3, 40127 Bologna

tel. e fax + 39 051 4211109

www.antequem.it

ISSN 1122-6315

ISBN 978-88-7849-034-5

© 2008 Ante Quem soc. coop.

INDICE

| | |
|--|-----|
| <i>Editoriale</i> di Sandro De Maria | 7 |
| ARTICOLI | |
| Gabriele Baldelli, Tommaso Casci Ceccacci, Giuseppe Lepore, Marusca Pasqualini <i>S. Maria in Portuno a Corinaldo (Ancona): nuovi dati per la ricostruzione di un contesto archeologico pluristratificato</i> | 11 |
| Federico Biondani <i>Importazioni di ceramica corinzia a rilievo di età romana in area medioadriatica: nuove scoperte in territorio marchigiano</i> | 35 |
| Julian Bogdani <i>Note su alcuni siti fortificati d'età ellenistica della media valle del Pavla, Epiro</i> | 43 |
| Julian Bogdani, Erika Vecchietti <i>Nuove soluzioni in rete per la gestione e la divulgazione del dato archeologico</i> | 59 |
| Paolo Brocato <i>Osservazioni sulla tomba delle Anatre a Veio e sulla più antica ideologia religiosa etrusca</i> | 69 |
| Paola Buzi <i>Insedimenti cristiani a nord del Birket Qarun (Fayyum): il sito di al-Kanā'is</i> | 107 |
| Elena Calandra <i>Adriano fra passato e presente</i> | 113 |
| Pier Luigi Dall'Aglio <i>Un nuovo documento sulla via Flaminia "minore"</i> | 123 |
| Luisa Guerri <i>Space and Ritual in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia: a Contextual Analysis of the Shrines of Tutub</i> | 131 |
| Elio Hobdari, Marco Podini <i>Edilizia ecclesiastica e reimpiego nelle chiese di V-VI e XI-XII secolo nel territorio di Phoinike e Butrinto</i> | 147 |
| II SEMINARIO DEL DOTTORATO DI RICERCA IN ARCHEOLOGIA Bologna, Dipartimento di Archeologia, 24 maggio 2007 | |
| Alessandro Guidi <i>Archeologia dell'Early State: il caso di studio italiano</i> | 175 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Moh'd Saoud Abdallah Abu Aysheh <i>Alcune considerazioni sullo studio archeometrico-tecnologico e la conservazione dei mosaici romani di Suasa</i> | 193 |
| Valentina Coppola <i>La scultura architettonica e l'apparato musivo degli edifici di culto cristiano del Peloponneso meridionale</i> | 199 |
| Michele Dall'Aglio <i>Aspetti della fruizione di alcuni tipi di sarcofagi romani</i> | 203 |
| Federica Sarasini <i>Nuovi sviluppi sullo stato di conservazione della decorazione del Battistero metropolitano di Ravenna al tempo di Corrado Ricci</i> | 209 |

SPACE AND RITUAL IN EARLY DYNASTIC MESOPOTAMIA: A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE SHRINES OF TUTUB

Luisa Guerri*

The present paper deals with the issue of defining what is a temple in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia by considering the case of ancient Tutub (present-day Khafajah) in Eastern Iraq. The topic is developed by means of tables and diagrams and by taking into consideration the context, thus analysing the functions of each sector of the buildings, which are believed to be sacred.

1. Introduction

To define what a temple is and which functions it had in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia is still an open issue. Studying the so-called sacred buildings of the 4th and 3rd millennium BC, Jean-Daniel Forest recently put some thought-provoking views forward (Forest 1996 and 1999), which were accepted by some French scholars (cf. Vallet 2001, p. 453 and Thalmann 2003, p. 61). However, Forest's proposals are questionable and have been challenged by Nicolò Marchetti (2006: 121-125). According to Forest, only those buildings that were built on terraces inside oval precincts are to be interpreted as temples, while bent-axis rooms basically had secular functions – in spite of the many dedicatory artefacts found there. The present work aims at examining the relative distribution of objects in those buildings traditionally interpreted as temples, in order to establish, through the contextual approach adopted here, the functions of the different sectors of the buildings in question. As a case study, we will focus here on the site of Tutub (modern Khafajah), in the valley of the Diyala river (ca 15 km to the North of the confluence of the Diyala with the Tigris). Tutub is an Early Dynastic urban center excavated in the '30s by the Oriental Institute of the University of

Chicago¹. Only the major buildings will be taken into account here²: the Samuš ("Sin") temple, the Small Shrine ("Nintu") and the Temple Oval. The relative chronology of these buildings at Tutub is summarized in the following table³:

| | Samuš | Small Shrine | Oval |
|----------|--------|---------------|------|
| JN | I-III | | |
| ED I | IV-VII | I-IV | |
| ED II | VIII | V | ? |
| ED IIIa | IX: 1 | VI | I |
| ED IIIb | IX: 5 | VII (+P45:51) | |
| | X | | II |
| Akkadian | ? | | III |

Tab. 1. Relative stratigraphical chart for the buildings of Tutub examined here.

¹ Under the direction of Henri Frankfort (from 1930 to 1937) and Pinhas Delougaz. During the 1937-38 campaign, directed by Delougaz and funded by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Schools of Oriental Research, the earlier levels of the temple known as the Small Shrine ("Nintu") were explored. However, the plans of those levels, drawn by the architect Charles Bache, went lost (Delougaz, Hill, Lloyd 1967, p. 21 n. 22).

² The plans published in Delougaz 1940 and Delougaz, Lloyd 1942 have been drawn anew, with the addition of some symbols for each class of objects and an indication of their relative quantities in each room (see also the general functional classes of the small finds listed in the headline of each table). The minor shrines (the "Small Temple" and the sanctuary in S 44) do not present contexts of sufficient significance for the aims of the present study.

³ This periodization, which is different from that pro-

* I would like to thank Prof. Nicolò Marchetti, my MA dissertation supervisor, for the support and guidance he gave me at the Alma Mater Studiorum - Università di Bologna.

The final publications of the Oriental Institute of Chicago excavations at Tutub are organized according to documentary classes⁴. My study, which attempts at reconstructing the functions of the architectural complexes generally considered to be cultic buildings⁵, is mostly based on the reconstruction of the small finds contexts, as well as on the study of the plans and of the fixed installations. I have chosen to present the analysis of the evidence in a tabular form, in order to be as synthetic and clear as possible.

2. Tabular discussion (figs. 2-14, tabs. 2-21)⁶

| SYMBOL | DESCRIPTION |
|--------|----------------|
| + | TOOLS |
| ∩ | POTTERY |
| ▭ | CYLINDER SEALS |
| □ | STAMP SEALS |
| ▽ | STATUES |
| △ | RELIEFS |
| ○ | MACE HEADS |
| ∪ | STONE VASSELS |
| ☾ | ORNAMENTS |
| ◇ | VARIA |
| ▷ | ARMS |

Fig. 1. Legend.

posed by the excavators, follows Marchetti 2006, pp. 112-121, tab. 12.

⁴ The volumes published so far concern architecture (with a summary catalogue of finds) (Delougaz 1940, Delougaz, Lloyd 1942; Delougaz, Hill, Lloyd 1967), pottery (Delougaz 1952), glyptic (Frankfort 1955), sculpture (Frankfort 1939 and 1943). The small finds, on the contrary, are still mostly unpublished, only few of them having been published in the preliminary reports (Frankfort 1934, 1935a, 1935b and 1936) or in the above-mentioned volumes on the architecture.

⁵ Cf. Heinrich 1982. However, Heinrich's analysis disregards contextual data. I refrain here from other kinds of analysis, such as that brilliantly carried out by Irene Winter (1999) for some objects from the Ur cemetery.

⁶ In the tables, the number in brackets refers to the bibliographical reference in the Appendix. If no number in brackets is present, it means that the quantities given have been inferred from the synthetic entry of the objects catalogue in Delougaz, Lloyd 1942.

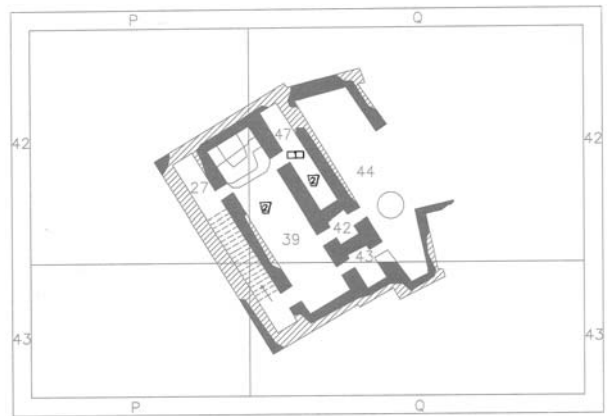


Fig. 2. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple I at Tutub.

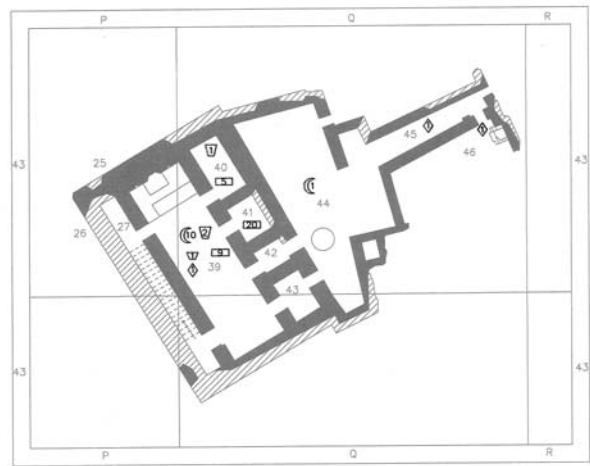


Fig. 3. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple II at Tutub.

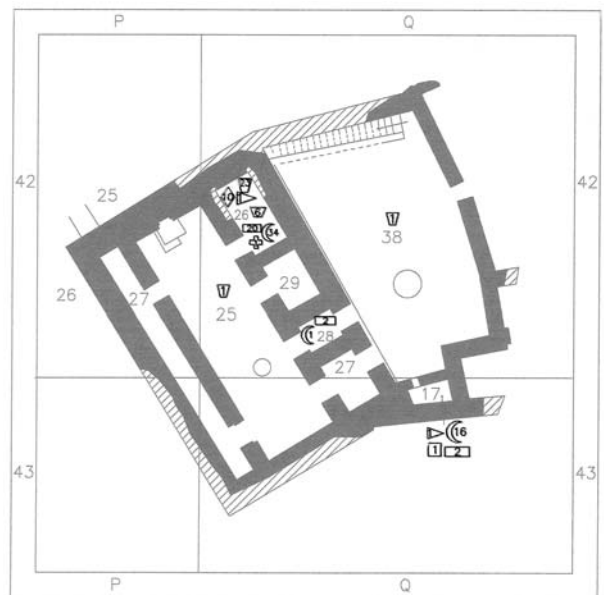


Fig. 4. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple III at Tutub.

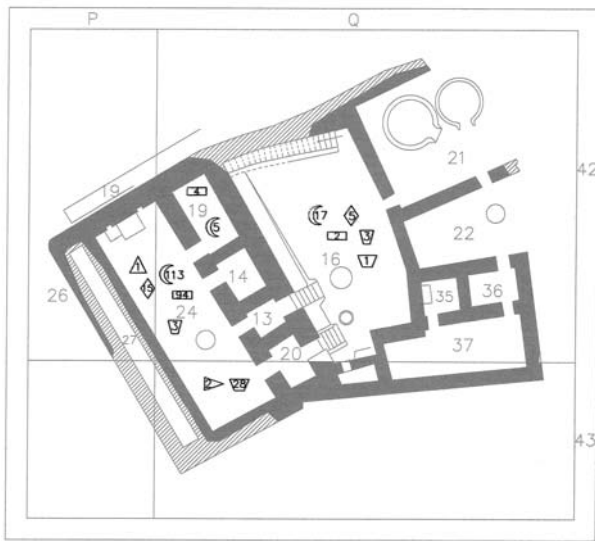


Fig. 5. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple IV at Tutub.

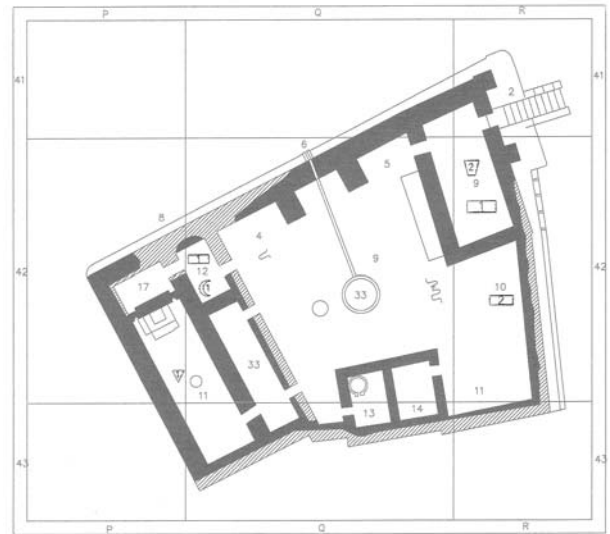


Fig. 8. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple VII at Tutub.

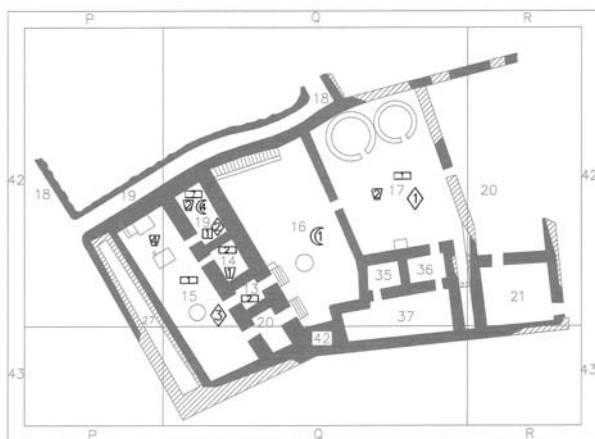


Fig. 6. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple V at Tutub.

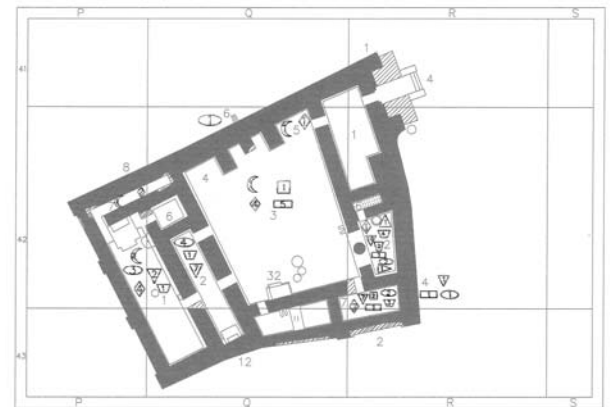


Fig. 9. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple VIII at Tutub.

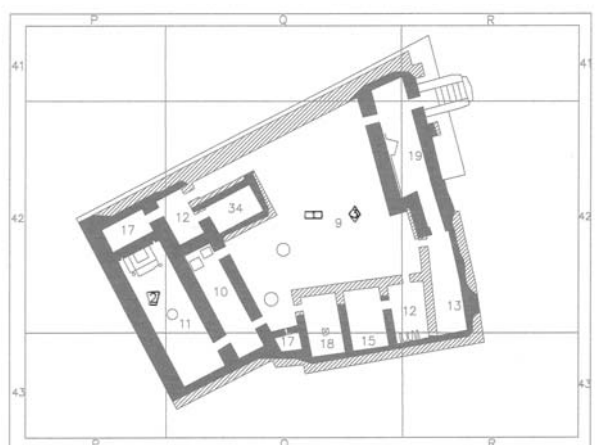


Fig. 7. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple VI at Tutub.

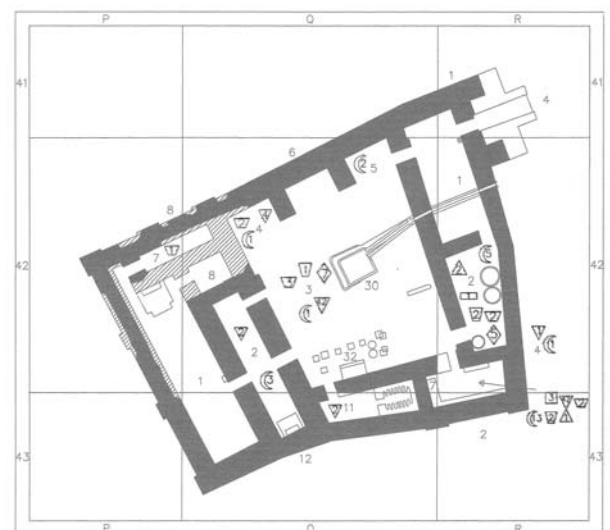


Fig. 10. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple IX at Tutub.

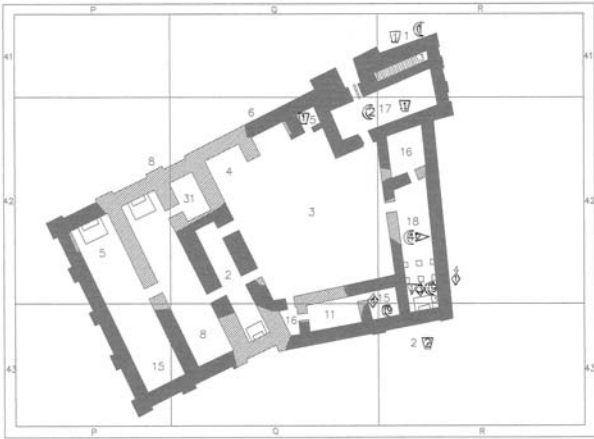


Fig. 11. The Samuš ("Sin") Temple X at Tutub.

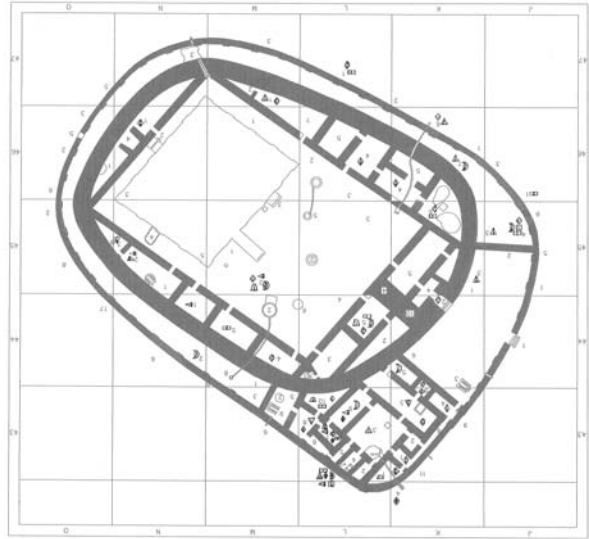


Fig. 13. The Oval temple I at Tutub.

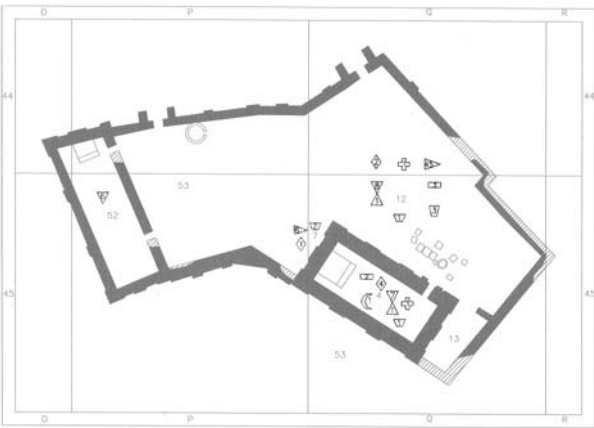


Fig. 12. The Small Shrine ("Nintu") VI at Tutub.

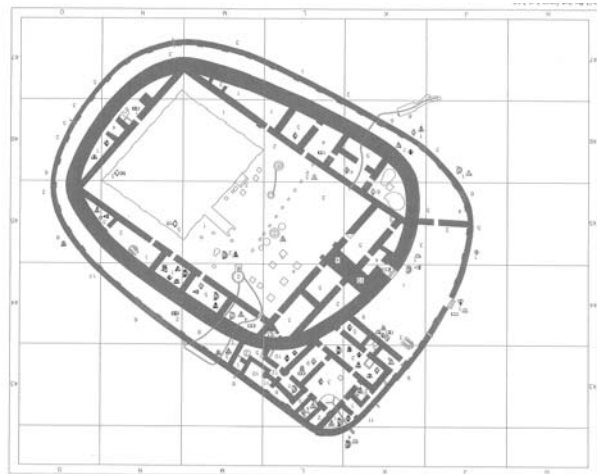


Fig. 14. The Oval Temple II at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (1) | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Q 42:39 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (2) | - | - | - | 2 | - |
| Q 42:47 | - | - | 1 (3) | - | - | 2 (4) | - | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 2. Materials from level I of the Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42 | - | - | 1 (5) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Q 42:39 | - | - | 9 (6) | - | - | 2 (7) | 1 | - | - | 10 | 1 |
| Q 42:40 | - | - | 5 (8) | - | - | 1 (9) | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:41 | - | - | 20 (10) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:44 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Q 42:45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Q 42:46 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Tab. 3. Materials from level II of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42 | - | - | 1 (11) | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | 5 | 1 |
| Q 42:25 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:26 | - | - | 20 (12) | - | - | 23 (13) | 6 | 1 | 1 | 34 | 10 |
| Q 42:28 | - | - | 2 (14) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Q 42:38 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (15) | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 43:17 | - | - | 2 (16) | 1 | - | + | + | - | 1 | 16 | - |

Tab. 4. Materials from level III of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42:16 | - | - | 2 (17) | - | - | 3 | 1 | - | - | 17 | 6 |
| Q 42:19 | - | - | 4 (18) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | - |
| Q 42:24 | 1 (19) | - | 94 (20) | - | - | 3 (21) | 28 | - | 2 | 113 | 15 |
| Dump | - | - | 1 (22) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |

Tab. 5. Materials from level IV of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|----------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42:13 | - | - | 2 (23) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:14 | - | - | 2 (24) | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:15 | - | - | 1 (25) | - | - | 4 | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Q 42:16 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| Q 42:17 | - | - | 1 (26) | - | - | 2 (27) | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| Q 42:19 | - | - | 7 (28) | 1 | - | 2 (29) | - | - | - | 4 | 2 |
| R 42 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| nel muro | - | - | 1 (30) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |

Tab. 6. Materials from level V of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42:9 | - | - | 1 (31) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| Q 42:11 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 (32) | - | - | - | - | - |
| R 42 | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 7. Materials from level VI of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 42:11 | 1 (33) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 42:12 | - | - | 1 (34) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| R 42:9 | - | - | 1 (35) | - | - | 2 (36) | - | - | - | - | - |
| R 42:10 | - | - | 2 (37) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 8. Materials from level VII of Samuš ("Sin") Temple at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| P 42:7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - |
| Q 42:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 9 | 1 |
| Q 42:2 | 7 (38) | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 1 | - | 3 | - |
| Q 42:3 | - | - | 6 (39) | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 1 |

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 45:9 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 12. Materials from level III of the Small Shrine ("Nintu") at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 45:7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |

Tab. 13. Materials from level IV of the Small Shrine ("Nintu") at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Q 45:4 | 11 (63) | 1 (64) | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | 1 |
| Q 45:12 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 14. Materials from level V of the Small Shrine ("Nintu") at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| P 45:51 | 8 (65) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 | 1 | - |
| P 45:52 | 6 (66) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 44:15 | 2 (67) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| Q 45:4 | 7 (68) | 1 (69) | 2 (70) | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 8 | 1 | 4 |
| Q 45:7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 6 | - | 1 |
| Q 45:12 | 8 (71) | 1 | 3 (72) | - | - | 3 (73) | 1 | 1 | 45 | - | 2 |

Tab. 15. Materials from level IV of the Small Shrine ("Nintu") at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|-----------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| P 45:3 | - | 1 (74) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| P 46:6/12 | - | 1 (75) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 45 s | - | - | - | - | - | 3 (76) | - | - | - | - | - |
| Q 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | - | - |
| Q 45:4 | 26 (77) | 5 (78) | 1 (79) | 1 | - | - | - | - | 7 | - | 4 |
| Q 45:7 | 4 (80) | 1 | 3 (81) | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | 8 | 1 | - |
| Q 45:12 | 1 (82) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 16. Materials from level VII of the Small Shrine ("Nintu") at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| J 45:3 | 1 (83) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| J 45:4 | - | - | 1 (84) | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 3 |
| J 46:1 | - | - | 2 (85) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 44:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| K 45:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| K 45:3 | 1 (86) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 45:6 | - | - | 1 (87) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| K 46 | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 46:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 46:6 | 2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 46:7 | 1 (88) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| L 44:5 | - | - | 1 (89) | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | 2 |
| L 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 46:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 47:1 | - | - | 1 (90) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| M 44:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| M 44:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 |
| M 44:5 | - | - | 2 (91) | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| M 44:6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| M 45 | 1 (92) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| M 45:2 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (93) | - | - | 1 | 8 | 1 |
| M 46 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 |
| M 47:1 | 1 (94) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| N 44:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 | - | - |
| N 44:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| N 44:5 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (95) | - | - | - | - | - |
| N 45:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 | - | 9 | - | - |
| N 45:3 | - | 1 (96) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| N 46:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | - | - |
| N 47:2 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (97) | - | - | - | - | - |

Tab. 17. Materials from level I of the Temple Oval at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| K 42:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 |
| K 43:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 43:3 | - | 2 (98) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5 |
| K 43:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 43:5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | 2 |
| L 43:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| L 43:4 | 14 (99) | - | 1 (100) | 1 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| L 43:7 | - | - | 2 (101) | - | - | 3 (102) | - | 2 | 1 | - | 6 |
| L 43:8 | - | 1 (103) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 43:9 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| L 43:10 | - | - | 2 (104) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |

Tab. 18. Materials from "House D", level I of the Temple Oval at Tutub.

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|--------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| J 44:1 | - | 1 (105) | 1 (106) | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| J 46:1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| J 46:2 | - | - | 1 (107) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 44:2 | - | - | 1 (108) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 45 | 1 (109) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 45:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | - |
| K 45:6 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 46:1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 46:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| K 46:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| K 46:7 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 45 | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 45:1 | - | - | 1 (110) | - | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | - | - |
| L 45:2 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 46:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | 2 | - |
| L 46:3 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 46:4 | - | - | 1 (111) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 46:5 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3 |
| L 46:7 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| L 47 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |

| Room | STATUES | RELIEFS | CYLINDER SEALS | STAMP SEALS | SEALINGS | POTTERY | STONE VESSELS | TOOLS | WEAPONS | ORNAMENTS | VARIOUS |
|---------|---------|---------|----------------|-------------|----------|---------|---------------|-------|---------|-----------|---------|
| J 44:1 | - | 2 (127) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| J 45:2 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| J 45:3 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 |
| K 43 | 1 (128) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 43:1 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (129) | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 43:3 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (130) | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 43:5 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (131) | - | - | - | - | - |
| K 44:1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| K 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 8 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| K 45:3 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| K 46 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 43 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| L 43:3 | - | - | 1 (132) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 43:10 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (133) | - | - | - | - | - |
| L 46:6 | 1 (134) | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |
| M 43 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | - | 1 |
| M 43:5 | - | - | - | - | - | 1 (135) | - | - | - | - | - |
| M 44 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - |
| M 44:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| M 44:5 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 4 | - |
| M 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | 4 |
| N 44 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - |
| N 44:1 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| N 44:4 | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | - |
| N 45 | 1 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| O 45 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | - |
| P 46:4 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1 |

Tab. 21. Materials from the III of the Temple Oval at Tutub.

3. Concluding remarks

Architecturally, the buildings have a specific structure, with a central courtyard serving as the focus of the inner circulation. The *cella* (either single or double) is placed in the farthest sector with the lowest degree of accessibility from the outside. Secondary rooms open on the main ones. Moreover, especially in the most structured and complex buildings, there exist vestibules, or rooms controlling the access to the various sectors⁷. Such features can be observed in all the superimposed construction phases of the buildings, in which the bent-axis *cella* and its fixed installations remain the focus of the overall plan, notwithstanding later refurbishings and enlargements.

In the Samuš (“Sin”) Temple, most of the finds of the earlier levels (II, III, IV and V) were made in the alleged *cellae* and the small rooms connected to them. Among the various object typologies examined, cylinder seals⁸ from the alleged *cella* and the subsidiary rooms of the earlier levels (Samuš I – V⁹) seem to be particularly significant; no find of statues or reliefs is reported except for a fragmentary relief from the Samuš IV *cella* (where some pottery vessels were also found in front of the *podium*).

From level VI onwards, seals are no more present and other materials become less abundant too, both in the alleged *cella* and in the annexed rooms. Four statues come from level VII: two from the alleged *cella*, two from the *antecella* (which features a subsidiary “altar”). The same sector, in level VIII, was the theatre of some important finds. Level IX yielded statues in great quantity, but they were almost exclusively found in the courtyard and its surrounding rooms to the South-East. The same is true for the other objects coming from this level. So in level IX we can observe an increase of finds from the area of the courtyard and the secondary rooms opening on it, while in the earlier periods the finds are more concentrated

in the alleged *cella* and its annexed rooms¹⁰. The Small Shrine (“Nintu”) complex presents a different distribution of the materials in respect of the Samuš Temple, perhaps partly because of the different architectural layout; the typology of the found objects is also different. The most significant level is level VI (contemporary with Samuš level IX), with a double courtyard structure and two alleged *cellae*: one to the East and another one to the West. In the western part no object was retrieved in the courtyard, but only in the alleged *cellae*. Two statues and some mace-heads have been found near the *podium* of P45:51 (level VII). In the eastern part, on the contrary, the finds were retrieved both in the alleged *cella* and in the courtyard. The most significant ones are the statues¹¹ and a large amount of weapons which comes from the courtyard¹².

Still different is the distribution of finds in the Temple Oval, where no room showing the features of a *cella* has been preserved; moreover, as has been seen above, the attribution of finds to a given level is not always certain. The most significant finds are the weapon deposits of level I (in N 44:1 and in N 45:2) and level II (in N 44:1). Yet, the greatest concentration of objects lied in the so-called “House D” (usually interpreted as a private dwelling for a high priest), in particular in the so-called “private

⁷ For a spatial analysis concerning a different case study, cf. Burasco 2004.

⁸ They are found in all of the first five levels of the Samuš (“Sin”) Temple, in particular in the *cellae* of levels II (9), IV (94) and V (11), as well as in the subsidiary rooms of levels II (25), III (22) and V (11).

⁹ See tables 2-6.

¹⁰ Note, for instance, room Q 42:7 and the courtyard Q 42:9 of level VI, for which the catalogue reports 42 items (whole statues and fragmentary statues). The different distribution of materials seems related to a significant change in the architectural layout of both rooms and installations (cf. also Meijer 2002). The rooms with direct and exclusive access from the alleged *cella* in level VI disappear, except for the entrance room which is enlarged and provided with rectangular tables; in the following levels, these will be shaped as *podia* similar to the ones of the alleged *cellae*. The traditional, circular offering table, located next to the entrance of the alleged *cella*, is not rebuilt; instead, in level VIII, a *podium* appears, flanked by tables of various shapes. This change probably reflects a shift of the activities carried out there from the *cella* to the courtyard. The *ex-voto* were laid down near the courtyard *podium* and then stored in the subsidiary rooms, as the multiplication of the offering tables allows one to think.

¹¹ In the excavation catalogue, 7 are reported from the alleged *cella* Q 45:4, 8 from the courtyard Q 45:12 and 2 from the room adjacent to courtyard Q 44:15.

¹² The weapons found in courtyard Q 45:12 are 51, of which 6 in Q 45:7.

shrine” of level I (L 43:7). The concentration of statues (14), which in other parts of the buildings are only found scattered in various rooms, seems to be particularly noteworthy.

Moreover, intentional depositions have been found inside rooms believed to be the *cellae*; these include a small pit with a clay lid containing amulets and ornaments from level VIII of the Samuš Temple; a steatite vessel which had been placed on the *podium* of the Small Shrine – level III; a group of statues in front of the altar of the Small Shrine – level VI; many fragments of raw materials – like gold, bronze, copper, lapis lazuli, crystal and slate – in the Temple Oval II, in the north-eastern and north-western corners of the platform. At least some of these deposits – especially those with ornaments or raw materials – are related to the rituals carried out during the construction phase.

To sum up the architectural structure, the distribution of the small finds and the presence of offering pits, cultic installations and dedicatory inscriptions (cf. Marchesi 2006) – all these features suggest that the buildings in question were indeed temples.

Appendix (cf. tabs. 2-21)

1) Delougaz 1952: pls. 144, 175: A.633.263, C.414.253. 2) Delougaz 1952: pl. 134b-c: B.413.253, C.49.-53. 3) Frankfort 1955: no. 1, pl. 1. 4) Delougaz 1952: pl. 28: C.494.253, C.495.253. 5) Frankfort 1955: 53. 6) Frankfort 1955: nos. 2-10, pl. 1. 7) Delougaz 1952: pls. 147, 169: B.041.500, C.041.500. 8) Frankfort 1955: nos. 11-15, pl. 2. 9) Delougaz 1952: pl. 170: C.200.200. 10) Frankfort 1955: nos. 16-34, pls. 2-4. 11) Frankfort 1955: no.60, pl. 6. 12) Frankfort 1955: nos. 36-56, pls. 5-6. 13) Delougaz 1952: pls. 25a, 27, 147, 172, 175, 134, 186, 189: B.041.500 (2), B.085.200, B.415.253, B.493.253, B.546.242, C.305.400, C.413.253: a-b, C.603.270, C.634.253, C.634.373(2), C.634.453, C.702.253. 14) Frankfort 1955: nos.57-58, pl. 6. 15) Delougaz 1952: pl. 177: C.494.273. 16) Frankfort 1955: no.59, pl. 6. 17) Frankfort 1955: no. 210, pl. 18. 18) Frankfort 1955: nos. 211-214, pl. 18. 19) Frankfort 1949: no.208, pl. 1 fig. 23. 20) Frankfort 1955: nos.66-209, pls.7-18. 21) Delougaz 1952: pl. 156: B.516.273, C.654.222. 22) Frankfort 1955: 53. 23) Frankfort 1955: nos. 221-222, pl. 21. 24) Frankfort 1955: nos. 223-224, pl. 22. 25) Frankfort 1955: pag. 53.

26) Frankfort 1955: nos. 11-15, pl. 2. 27) Delougaz 1952: pl. 182: C.533.313 (2). 28) Frankfort 1955: nos. 215-220, pl. 21. 29) Delougaz 1952: pls. 133c, C.96.-. 30) Frankfort 1955: nos. 225, pl. 22. 31) Frankfort 1955: no. 227, pl. 22. 32) Delougaz 1952: pl. 183: C.202.200, C.545.320, C.367.010. 33) Frankfort 1939: no. 92, pl. 69: G. 34) Frankfort 1955: no. 234, pl. 23. 35) Frankfort 1955: no. 237, pl. 23. 36) Delougaz 1952: nos. 160: a-b, pl. 48: g-f. 37) Frankfort 1955: nos. 235-236; pl. 23. 38) Frankfort 1939: nos. 87, 170, pls. 68: B-E-H, 96: B. 39) Frankfort 1955: nos. 239-243, pls. 23, 24. 40) Frankfort 1939: nos. 58, 60, 133, 139, 145, 148, pls. 61: P-R, 46: A-B, 86: I-K, 88: D-F, 89: G-H, 89: N-P. 41) Frankfort 1955: no. 238, pl. 23. 42) Frankfort 1939: nos. 83, 86, 88, 114, 115, 124, 127, 130, 140, 151a, 151b, 190, 191, pls. 67: E, 68: A-D-G, 68: C-F-I, 81: A, 81: B, 86: C-D, 85: I-J, 86: C-D, 90: A, 88: G-I, 91: A-C, 91: D-F, 109: A, 109: B. 43) Frankfort 1955: no. 245, pl. 24. 44) Delougaz 1952: pls. 82, 83, C.99-., Delougaz, Lloyd 1942: figs. 48, 49. 45) Frankfort 1939: no. 91, pl. 69: E. 46) Frankfort 1955: no. 234, pl. 23. 47) Frankfort 1955: no. 247, pl. 24. 48) Frankfort 1939: no. 46, pl. 58: A-B. 49) Frankfort 1939: nos.18, 20, 26, 35, 37, 39,110, 113, 119, 132, 141, 149, 173, 174, 176, 251, 252, 253, pls. 27: A-B-C-D, 29, 30C-D, 31, 33, 34, 39: B, 46: C-E, 48, 50, 52, 53, 78: D-F, 80, 84: F-G, 86: L-M, 88: J-K, 90: B-M, 95: A, 96: E-F-H. 50) Frankfort 1939: nos. 38,48,138, pls. 51,58: D,88: A-C,90: L. 51) Frankfort 1939: nos. 21-25, 27, 34, 36, 51, 76, 102b, 104, 106-108, 109, 111, 112, 116-118, 123, 125, 128, 135, 136, 146, 150; pls. 35-38, 39: A, 40: A-B-C-E, 45: A-C-D-F, 47,60: G-H, 64: G-H, 71, 74, 76, 77: D-F, 78: A-C, 79: A-C-D-E, 82, 83, 84: A-C, 85: A-B-E-F-K-L, 87: C-D-E-F, 89: I-J, 90: C-D-E-F-I-J-K-O, 95: B. 52) Frankfort 1939: no. 189, pl. 108: B. 53) Frankfort 1939: no. 129, pl. 86: A-B. 54) Frankfort 1939: no. 192, pl. 109: C. 55) Frankfort 1939: nos. 44,147, pls. 57: A-B,89: K-M. 56) Frankfort 1939: nos. 17,37,104,134,137,151, pls. 28, 30: A-B, 48-50, 87: A-B-G-H, 74, 90: G-J-N, 91: A-C-D-F, 95: B. 57) Frankfort 1939: no. 185, pl. 105. 58) Frankfort 1955: no. 246, pl. 24. 59) Frankfort 1939: no. 143, pls. 89: A-B, 90: P. 60) Frankfort 1955: no. 248; pl. 24. 61) Delougaz 1952: pl. 140: A.014.703. 62) Delougaz 1952: pl. 155: B.514.570, B.756.521. 63) Frankfort 1949: nos.209-219; pls. 2-3,4: A-B-C,5,6,7: A-B-C-D,8-10, 11: A-B-C. 64) Frankfort 1949: no.313; pl. 62. 65) Frankfort 1943: nos. 225, 226, 237, 238, 240, 293-295, pls. 14: C-D, 15, 22: D-E-F-G, 23: C-D, 46-50, 51: A-B. 66) Frankfort 1943: nos.220, 235, pls. 12: A-B, 22: A-B. 67) Frankfort 1943: nos. 232, 233, pls.19, 20, 21: A. 68) Frankfort

1943: nos. 227, 228, 234, 236, 239, 303, pls. 16: A-B-C, 21: B, 22 C, 23: A-B, 53: A. 69) Frankfort 1943: no. 328, pl. 67: E. 70) Frankfort 1955: no. 280, pl. 28. 71) Frankfort 1943: nos. 219, 223, 224, 227, 228-231, pls. 11: B-C, 13, 14: A-B, 16: A-B-C, 17, 18: A-B-C. 72) Frankfort 1955: no. 277-279, pl. 28. 73) Delougaz 1952: pls. 146, 154: B.001.200a (2), B.416.371. 74) Frankfort 1943: no. 315, pl. 64: A. 75) Frankfort 1939: no. 201, pl. 114. 76) Delougaz 1952: pls. 146, 154, 106: m: B.002.200, B.675.220. 77) Frankfort 1939: nos. 69, 71-73, 75, 77, 78, 89, 103, 121, 162-164, 166, 167, pls. 64: A-C-D-E-F-I-K, 65, 66, 69: D, 72, 73, 84: H, 94: E-F-G-I-J-K. Frankfort 1943: no. 245, pl. 25: E. 78) Frankfort 1939: no. 189, pl. 108: B e Frankfort 1943: nos. 313, 325, pls. 62, 67: B. 79) Frankfort 1955: no. 283, pl. 28. 80) Frankfort 1943: nos. 242, 244, 296, pls. 24, 25: B, 51: C. 81) Frankfort 1955: nos. 281, 282; pl. 28. 82) Frankfort 1943: no. 243, pl. 25: C. 83) Frankfort 1939: no. 49, pl. 59. 84) Frankfort 1955: no. 253, pl. 25. 85) Frankfort 1955: nos. 259, 260, pl. 26. 86) Frankfort 1943: no. 329, pl. 67: F. 87) Frankfort 1955: no. 252, pl. 25. 88) Frankfort 1939: no. 47, pl. 58: C. 89) Frankfort 1955: no. 254, pl. 25. 90) Frankfort 1955: no. 249, pl. 25. 91) Frankfort 1955: no. 251, pl. 25. 92) Frankfort 1939: no. 43, pl. 56: D-E. 93) Delougaz 1952: pl. 142, A.525.273. 94) Frankfort 1939: no. 84, pl. 67: F-G. 95) Delougaz 1952: pl. 179: C.516.371a. 96) Frankfort 1939: no. 193, pl. 109. 97) Delougaz 1952: pl. 187: C.654.510. 98) Frankfort 1939: no. 187, pl. 107. 99) Frankfort 1943: no. 54-56, 59, 85, 131, 142, 144, 154, pl. 61: A-D-E-H-J-M-S, 67 H-I, 86: E-H, 88 L-O, 89 C-F, 91 I-J. 100) Frankfort 1955: no. 261, pl. 26. 101) Frankfort 1955: nos. 257, 258, pl. 26. 102) Delougaz 1952: pls. 148, 146: B.033.210, B.002.200, B.062.210. 103) Frankfort 1939: no. 195, pl. 110: A. 104) Frankfort 1955: no. 255, 256, pl. 25. 105) Frankfort 1939: no. 187, pl. 107. 106) Frankfort 1955: no. 272, pl. 28. 107) Frankfort 1955: no. 269, pl. 28. 108) Frankfort 1955: no. 268, pl. 28. 109) Frankfort 1939: no. 79, pl. 67: A. 110) Frankfort 1955: no. 267, pl. 28. 111) Frankfort 1955: no. 273, pl. 29. 112) Frankfort 1955: no. 266, pl. 28. 113) Frankfort 1939: no. 52, pl. 60: D-F. 114) Frankfort 1939: no. 28, 40, 41, 152, pl. 41, 54, 55, 91: G-H. 115) Frankfort 1955: no. 263, pl. 27. 116) Frankfort 1955: no. 270, pl. 28. 117) Delougaz 1952: pls. 174, 145: C.365.810, A.655.520. 118) Delougaz 1952: pl. 174: C.365.810. 119) Delougaz 1952: pl. 161: B.574.220. 120) Frankfort 1955: no. 265, pl. 27. 121) Delougaz 1952: pls. 164, 161, 149: A.424.353, B.663.540, B.575.223. 122) Frankfort 1939: no. 57, pl. 61: O. 123) Delougaz 1952: pl. 142: A.173.200, A.516.151. 124)

Frankfort 1955: no. 264, pl. 27. 125) Delougaz 1952: pl. 154: B.494.560. 126) Delougaz 1952: pl. 162: B.601.530. 127) Frankfort 1939: no. 207, pl. 113. 128) Frankfort 1939: no. 187, pl. 107. 129) Delougaz 1952: pl. 146: B.002.200. 130) Delougaz 1952: pl. 179: C.516.371. 131) Delougaz 1952: pl. 150: B.174.220. 132) Frankfort 1955: no. 275, pl. 28. 133) Delougaz 1952: pl. 156: B.515.373. 134) Frankfort 1939: no. 53, pl. 60: I-J. 135) Delougaz 1952: pl. 149: B.082.210.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrae 1922 = W. Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur* (WVDOG 39), Hinrichs, Leipzig 1922.

Bär 2003 = J. Bär, *Die älteren Ischtar-Tempel in Assur. Stratigraphie, Architektur und Funde eines altorientalischen Heiligtums von der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends v.Chr.* (WVDOG 105), SDV, Saarbrücken 2003.

Burasco 2004 = P. Burasco, *Theory and practice in the study of Mesopotamian domestic space*, in «Antiquity» 299, 2004, pp. 142-157.

Butzer 1982 = K.W. Butzer, *Archaeology and Human Ecology: Method and Theory for a Contextual Approach*. Cambridge 1982.

Butzer 1989 = K.W. Butzer, *History of archaeological thought*, Cambridge 1989.

Delougaz 1940 = P. Delougaz, *The Temple Oval at Khafajah* (OIP LIII), Chicago 1940.

Delougaz 1952 = P. Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region* (OIP LXIII), Chicago 1952.

Delougaz, Lloyd 1942 = P. Delougaz, S. Lloyd, *Pre-Sargonic Temples in the Diyala Region* (OIP LVIII), Chicago 1942.

Delougaz, Hill, Lloyd 1967 = P. Delougaz, H.D. Hill, S. Lloyd, *Private House and Graves in the Diyala Region* (OIP LIII), Chicago 1967.

Forest 1996 = J.D. Forest, *Les pseudo temples de la Diyala, ou le contrôle de la population urbaine au Dynastique Archaique*, in H. Gasche, B. Hrouda (eds.), *Collectanea orientalia*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1996, pp. 97-111.

Forest 1999 = J.D. Forest, *Les premiers temples de Mesopotamie, (4e et 3e millénaires)* (BAR-S 765), Oxford 1999.

Frankfort 1939 = H. Frankfort, *Sculpture of the Third Millennium B.C. from Tell Asmar and Khafajah* (OIP XLIV), Chicago 1939.

Frankfort 1943 = H. Frankfort, *More Sculpture from the Diyala Region* (OIP LX), Chicago 1943.

Frankfort 1954 = H. Frankfort, *The Art and*

Architecture of Ancient Orient, Harmondsworth 1954.

Frankfort 1955 = H. Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (OIP LXXII), Chicago 1955.

al-Gailani Werr *et alii* 2002 = L. al-Gailani Werr, J.E. Curtis, H. Martin, A. McMahon, J. Oates, J. Reade (eds.), *Of Pots and Plans. Papers on the Archaeology and History of Mesopotamia and Syria Presented to David Oates in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, London 2002.

Goetze 1970-1971 = A. Goetze, *Early Dynastic Dedication Inscription from Nippur*, in «JCS» 23, 1970-1971, pp. 39-56.

Haines 1956 = R.C. Haines *Where a Goddess of Love and War Was Worshipped 4000 Years Ago: The Temple of Inanna Uncovered During Further Excavations at Nippur, the Ancient Holy City of Sumeria and Babylonia*, in «ILN» 6115, 18th Aug, pp. 266-269.

Hall, Woolley 1927 = H.R. Hall, C.L. Woolley, *Ur Excavations I. Al 'Ubaid*, Oxford 1927.

Hansen 1963 = D.P. Hansen, *New Votive Plaques from Nippur*, in «JNES» XXII 1963, pp. 145-166.

Hansen 1965 = D.P. Hansen, *The Relative Chronology of Mesopotamia. Part. II. The Pottery Sequence at Nippur from Middle Uruk to the End of the Old Babilonian Period (3400-1600 B.C.)*, in R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago 1965, pp. 201-213.

Hansen 1971 = D.P. Hansen, *Some Early Dynastic I Sealings from Nippur*, in D.G. Mitten *et alii* (eds.), *Studies presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*, Mainz 1971, pp. 47-54.

Hansen, Dales 1962 = D.P. Hansen, G.F. Dales, *The Temple of Inanna Queen of Heaven at Nippur*, in «Archaeology» 15, 1962, pp.75-84.

Harper *et alii* 1995 = P.O. Harper, E. Klengel-Brant, J. Aruz, K. Benzel (eds.), *Discovery at Ashur on the Tigris. Antiquities in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin*, Metropolitan Museum of art, New York 1995.

Harris 1979 = E.C. Harris, *Principles of Archaeological Stratigraphy*, London 1979.

Heinrich 1982 = E. Heinrich, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im alten Mesopotamien. Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte* (DAA 14), Berlin 1982.

Liverani 1988 = M. Liverani, *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*, Roma-Bari 1988.

Marchesi 2006 = G. Marchesi, *Statue regali, sovrani e templi del Protodinastico: i dati epigrafici e testuali*, in Marchetti 2006, pp. 205-271.

Marchetti 2006 = N. Marchetti, *La statuaria regale nella Mesopotamia protodinastica*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma 2006.

Matthiae 1986 = P. Matthiae, *Scoperte di archeologia orientale*, Roma-Bari 1986.

Matthiae 2000 = P. Matthiae, *La storia dell'arte*

dell'Oriente antico. Gli stati territoriali 2100-1600 a.C., Milano 2000.

McCown-Haines-Biggs 1971 = D.E. McCown-R.C. Haines-R.D. Biggs, *Nippur II. The North Temple and Sounding E. Excavation of the Joint Expedition to Nippur of The American Schools of Oriental Research and The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (OIP XCVII), Chicago 1971.

Meijer 2002 = D.J.W. Meijer, *The Khafaje Sin Temple Sequence: Social Divisions at Work?*, in al-Gailani Werr *et alii* 2002, pp. 218-226.

Orthmann 1975 = W. Orthmann (ed.), *Der alte Orient* (P.K.G. 14), Berlin 1975.

Parrot 1956 = A. Parrot, *Le temple d'Ishtar* (BAH 65; MAM 1), Paris 1956.

Parrot 1967 = A. Parrot, *Les temples d'Ishtar et Ninni-zaza* (BAH 86; MAM 3), Paris 1967.

Thalman 2003 = J.-P. Thalman, *Larsa 1987/1989: le bâtiment B 33*, Larsa 2003, pp. 35-139.

Tunca 1984 = O. Tunca, *L'Architecture religieuse proto-dynastique en Mesopotamie* (Akkadica Supplementum II), Leuven 1984.

Vallet 2001 = R. Vallet, *Khafadjé ou les métamorphoses d'un quartier urbain au IIIe millénaire*, in C. Breniquet, C. Kepinski (éds.), *Études mésopotamiennes*, Paris 2001, pp. 449-461.

Vivante 1996 = A. Vivante, *Cult furnishings of Mesopotamia from Ubaid to the end of Early Dynastic periods*. (C.M.A.O. VI), Roma 1996, pp. 71-170.

Wilson 1986 = K.L. Wilson, *Nippur: The Definition of a Mesopotamian Gamdat Nasr Assemblage*, in Finkbeiner-Röllig (eds.), *Gamdat Nasr*, Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 57-89.

Winter 1999 = I.J. Winter, *Reading Ritual in the Archaeological Record: Deposition Pattern and Function of two Artifact Types from the Royal Cemetery of Ur*, in H. Kühne *et alii* (hrsg.), *Fluchtpunkt Uruk. Archäologische Einheit aus methodischer Vielfalt. Aufsätze für Hans J. Nissen*, Rahden/Westf 1999, pp. 229-256.

Zettler 1992 = R.L. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur. The Operation and Organization of Urban Religious Institutions in Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium B.C.* (BBVO 11), Berlin 1992.