



Jens Kamlah (Editor)
in cooperation with Henrike Michelau

ADPV 4I

Temple Building and Temple Cult

Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia
of Temples in the Levant (2.-1. Mill. B.C.E.)



© Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas e. V., 2012

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photo-copying, recording, or otherwise), without the prior permission in writing of the *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas e. V.*, or as expressly permitted by law.

Harrassowitz

Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Herausgegeben von HERBERT NIEHR und HERMANN MICHAEL NIEMANN

Band 41

Temple Building and Temple Cult

Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia
of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.)

Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary
of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen
(28–30 May 2010)

Edited by Jens Kamlah

in cooperation with Henrike Michelau

2012

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

In Kommission

Table of Contents / Inhaltsverzeichnis

Preface	IX
The Institute of Biblical Archaeology at Tübingen	XI
Zur Gründung des Biblisch-Archäologischen Instituts in Tübingen	XIII
Grußwort des Prodekans der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät in Tübingen, Prof. Dr. ERHARD BLUM	XV
Grußwort des Vorsitzenden des Deutschen Vereins zur Erforschung Palästinas, Prof. Dr. ULRICH HÜBNER	XVII
Grußwort des Direktors des Instituts für die Kulturen des Alten Orients in Tübingen, Prof. Dr. KONRAD VOLK	XIX
Programm der Tagung / Program of the Conference	XXII

I. Northern Levant / Nördliche Levante

TIMOTHY P. HARRISON

West Syrian <i>megaron</i> or Neo-Assyrian <i>Langraum</i> ? The Shifting Form and Function of the <i>Tell Ta'yīnāt</i> (<i>Kunulua</i>) Temples	3
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

STEFANIA MAZZONI

Temples at <i>Tell Ḍāfī</i> in Iron Age I–III	23
-----------------------------------------------------	----

MIRKO NOVÁK

The Temple of <i>Ain Dāra</i> in the Context of Imperial and Neo-Hittite Architecture and Art	41
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

KAY KOHLMAYER

Der Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo. Baugeschichte und Bautyp, räumliche Bezüge, Inventar und bildliche Ausstattung	55
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

FERHAN SAKAL

Der spätbronzezeitliche Tempelkomplex von Emar im Lichte der neuen Ausgrabun- gen	79
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

II. Southern Levant/Südliche Levante

SHARON ZUCKERMAN

- The Temples of Canaanite Hazor 99

ROBERT A. MULLINS

- The Late Bronze and Iron Age Temples at Beth-Shean 127

STEPHEN BOURKE

- The Six Canaanite Temples of *Ṭabaqāt Faḥil*. Excavating Pella's 'Fortress' Temple (1994–2009) 159

CHANG-HO JI

- The Early Iron Age II Temple at *Ḥirbet 'Aṭārūs* and Its Architecture and Selected Cultic Objects 203

SEYMOUR GITIN

- Temple Complex 650 at Ekron. The Impact of Multi-Cultural Influences on Philistine Cult in the Late Iron Age 223

III. Jerusalem and Gerizim/Jerusalem und Garizim

SUSAN ACKERMAN

- Women and the Religious Culture of the State Temples of the Ancient Levant, Or: Priestesses, Purity, and Parturition 259

ERHARD BLUM

- Der Tempelbaubericht in 1 Könige 6,1–22. Exegetische und historische Überlegungen 291

OTHMAR KEEL

- Paraphernalia of Jerusalem Sanctuaries and Their Relation to Deities Worshipped Therein during the Iron Age IIA–C 317

DIANA EDELMAN

- What Can We Know about the Persian-Era Temple in Jerusalem? 343

BERND JANOWSKI

- Der Ort des Lebens. Zur Kultsymbolik des Jerusalemer Tempels 369

JÜRGEN K. ZANGENBERG

- The Sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Observations on the Results of 20 Years of Excavation 399

IV. Cultic Paraphernalia/Kultische Ausstattung

EDWIN C.M. VAN DEN BRINK, ORIT SEGAL and UZI AD

A Late Bronze Age II Repository of Cultic Paraphernalia from the Environs of <i>Tēl Qašīš</i> in the Jezreel Valley	421
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

P.M. MICHÈLE DAVIAU

Diversity in the Cultic Setting. Temples and Shrines in Central Jordan and the Negev	435
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

DIETER VIEWEGER

Die Kultausstattung „philistäischer“ Heiligtümer in Palästina	459
---------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

BÄRBEL MORSTADT

Phönizische Heiligtümer im Mittelmeerraum und ihre Kulteinrichtungen	483
----------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Comparative Aspects/Vergleichende Aspekte

JENS KAMLAH

Temples of the Levant – Comparative Aspects	507
---------------------------------------------------	-----

Indices/Register

Authors/Autoren	537
Biblical Texts/Biblische Texte	548
Ancient Texts/Antike Texte	552
Deities/Gottheiten	554
Persons/Personen	555
Places/Orte	557
Subjects/Sachen	565

Plates/Tafeln

West Syrian *megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*?

The Shifting Form and Function of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* (*Kunulua*) Temples

Timothy P. Harrison

Ever since its discovery in 1936, Building II at *Tell Ta'yīnāt* has been upheld as an exemplar of Iron Age Levantine religious architecture. Many scholars, including its original excavators, have identified Building II as a *megaron*-style temple, product of a long-standing West Semitic religious tradition with antecedents that occur as early as the third millennium B.C.E. Biblical scholars have largely favored this view, drawing visual inspiration from the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* structure for the various components of the Solomonic temple described in the Hebrew Bible. Others, however, have preferred to emphasize the building's similarities with Neo-Assyrian religious architecture, most notably its *Langraum*-like plan, and the magnificently carved double-lion column base(s) that once graced its entrance. These diverging views have all suffered from the limited contextual information made available in the preliminary reports of the University of Chicago's Syrian-Hittite Expedition excavations, which still remain largely unpublished.

The excavations of the University of Toronto's "Tayinat Archaeological Project" (TAP), including the recent discovery of a second temple, now offer an opportunity to clarify the lingering stratigraphic and chronological questions that concern this intriguing complex. This paper will present the results of these investigations, and attempt to place Building II within a more secure historical and cultural context, while clarifying the broader functional role of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* Temples within the religious life of the Iron Age community that built them.

1. The Syrian-Hittite Expedition Excavations

Today, *Tell Ta'yīnāt* forms a low-lying mound located on the southern edge of the *ʿAmūq* Plain (Turkish Amik Ovası, or Plain of Antioch in the classical period), 1.5 km east of the village of Demirköprü on the northern bend of the Orontes River (Fig. 1). The site consists of an upper and lower mound, with the lower mound now hidden by the alluvial accumulation from the annual flooding of the Orontes River. *Tell Ta'yīnāt* sits just north of the modern Antakya-Reyhanlı road, and measures approximately 700 m (N—S) by 500 m (E—W), or approximately 35 ha in area (for a more thorough description of the topography and geomorphology of the site, see BATIUK/HARRISON/PAVLISH 2005).

Large-scale excavations were conducted by the University of Chicago at *Tell Ta'yīnāt* over four field seasons between 1935 and 1938 as part of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition¹. Their excavations focused primarily on the West Central Area of the upper mound, although excavation areas were also opened on the eastern and southern edges of the upper mound and in the lower settlement (Fig. 2). The Chicago excavations achieved large horizontal exposures of five distinct

¹ For preliminary reports, see MCEWAN 1937; HAINES 1971.

architectural phases, or Building Periods, dating to the Iron Age II and III periods (Amuq Phase O, ca. 875–550 B.C.E.; HAINES 1971, 64–66). A series of isolated soundings below the earliest Phase O floors encountered remains that were dated primarily to the late third millennium B.C.E. (Phases I and J; earlier Phase H levels were also uncovered; BRAIDWOOD/BRAIDWOOD 1960, 13–14), indicating that a lengthy period of abandonment occurred between the Early Bronze and Iron Age settlements at the site.

In a preliminary study of the second and first millennium B.C.E. pottery (Phases K through O) recovered by the Chicago Expedition, completed as part of a doctoral dissertation, the Phase O sequence was subdivided into four stages, labeled Stages Oa–Od, with ceramic imports and key historical events providing a chronological framework (SWIFT 1958). Each stage also coincided with changes in the surface treatment of Red-Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW), the dominant local ceramic tradition during this period. Of particular significance, SWIFT assigned sherds of imported Attic Geometric pottery to his Stage Oc (ca. 800–725 B.C.E.), and fragments of Corinthian, Attic Black Figure and Assyrian Glazed and Palace wares to his Stage Od (ca. 725–550 B.C.E.; SWIFT 1958, 154–155).

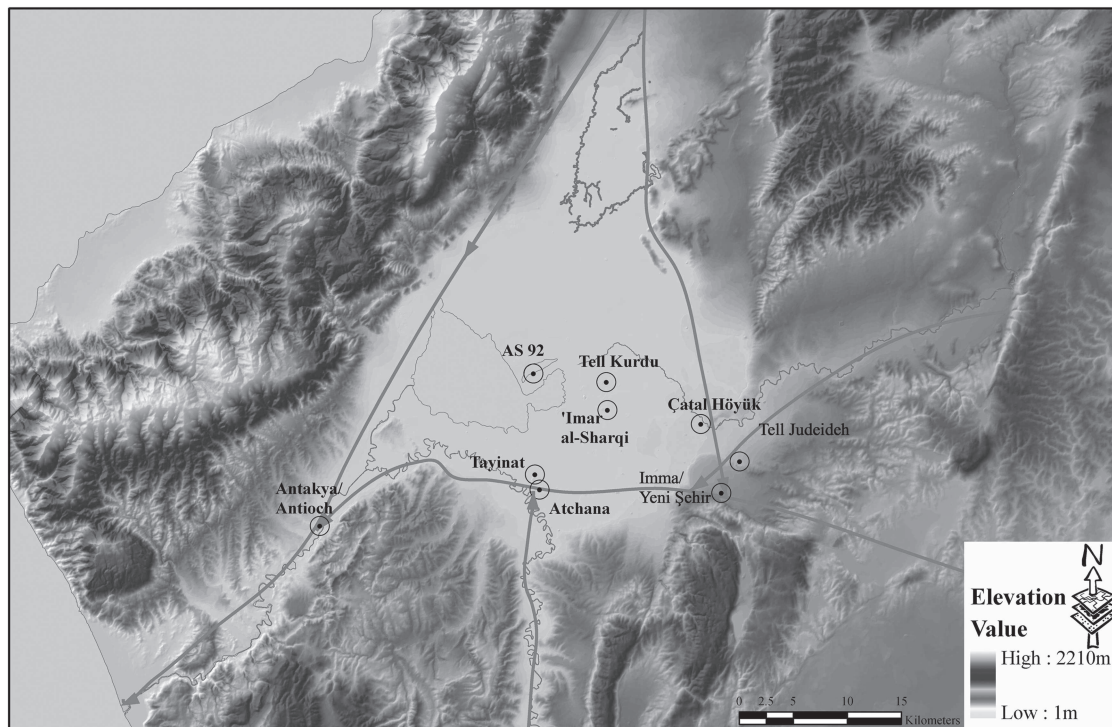


Fig. 1. Map of the *ʿAmūq* Plain showing the location of *Tell Taʿyīnāt* and other principal settlements (created by S. BATIUK).

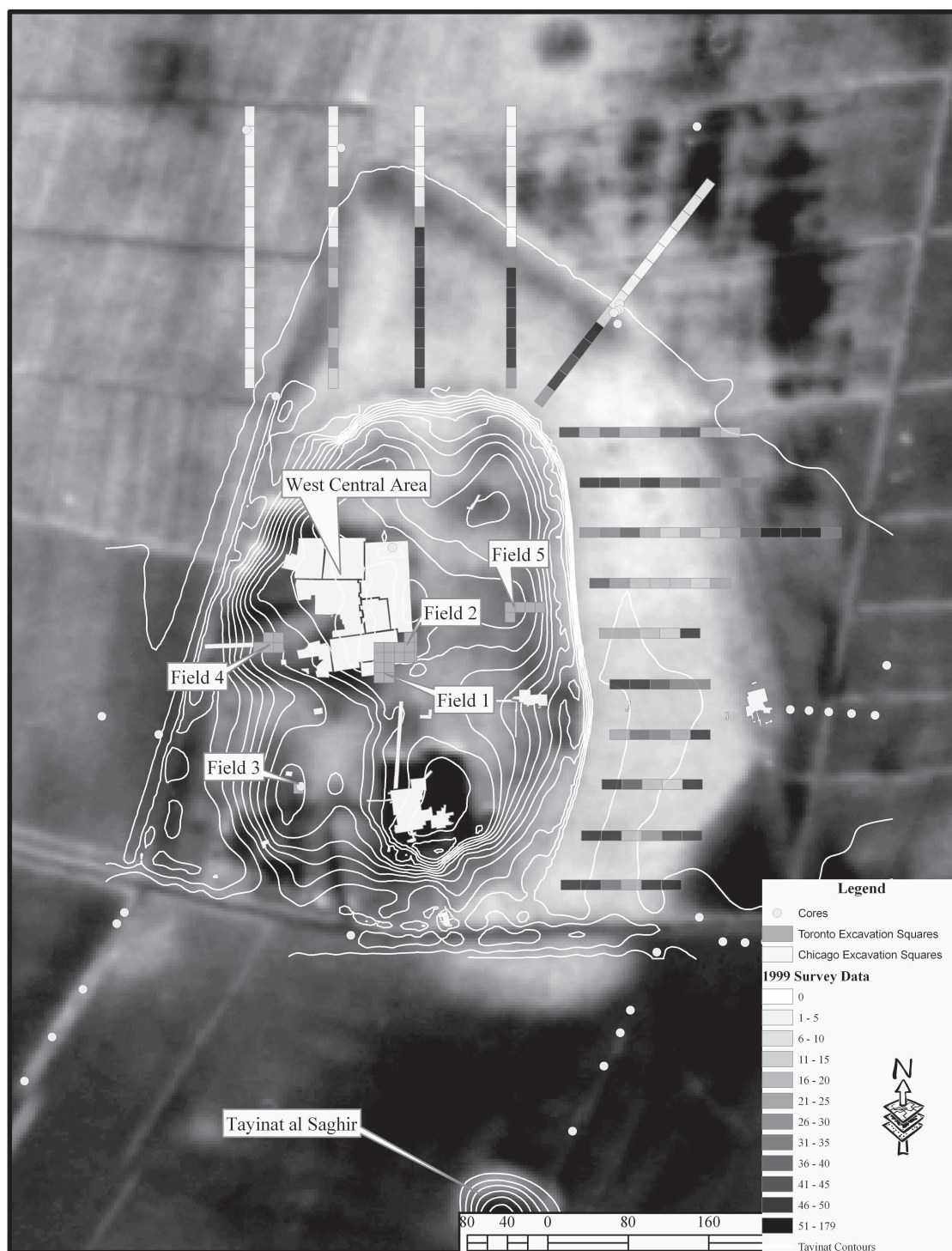


Fig. 2. Topographic map of *Tell Ta'yīnāt* overlaid on a CORONA satellite image of the site, showing the principal excavation areas (created by S. BATIUK).

1.1. The Building II Temple

Building II was excavated over the course of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's 1935 through 1937 seasons, and assigned by the excavators to their Second Building Period (ca. 825–720 B.C.E.; cf. HAINES 1971, 64–66). The building formed part of a larger complex, uncovered in the West Central Area of the upper mound, or citadel, comprised of Building I, the most famous of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt bīt ḫilāni* palaces, Building IV (a second, slightly less auspicious *bīt ḫilāni* structure), a paved central courtyard (Courtyard VIII), and a gateway that provided an approach to the citadel area from the southwest (Fig. 3)².

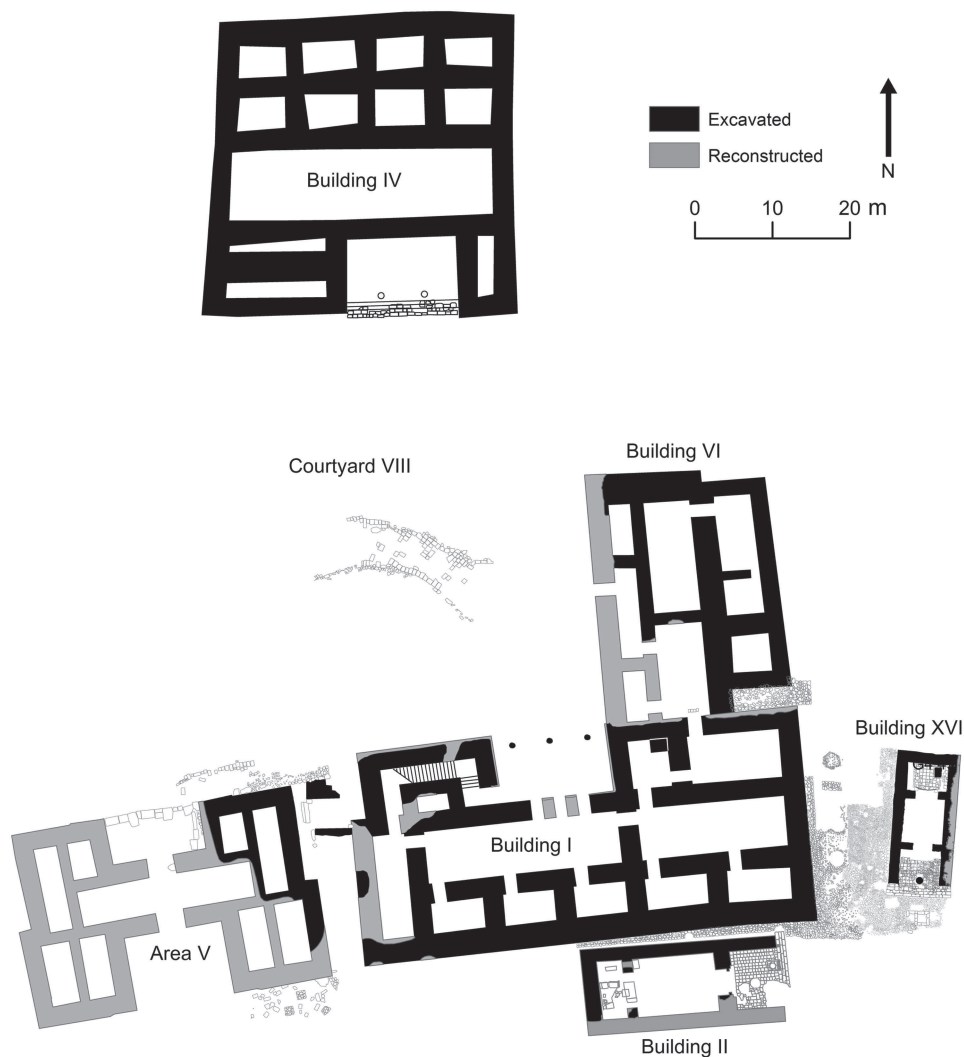


Fig. 3. Plan of Second Building Period complex in the West Central Area (created by J. OSBORNE).

² The proposed reconstruction follows PUCCI (2008, 137–138 pl. 32), who assigned a structure in Area V to the Second Building Period, in contrast to the excavators, who placed their Gateway XII in both the First and Second Building Periods, and the Area V structure in later building periods (HAINES 1971, pl. 106–107).

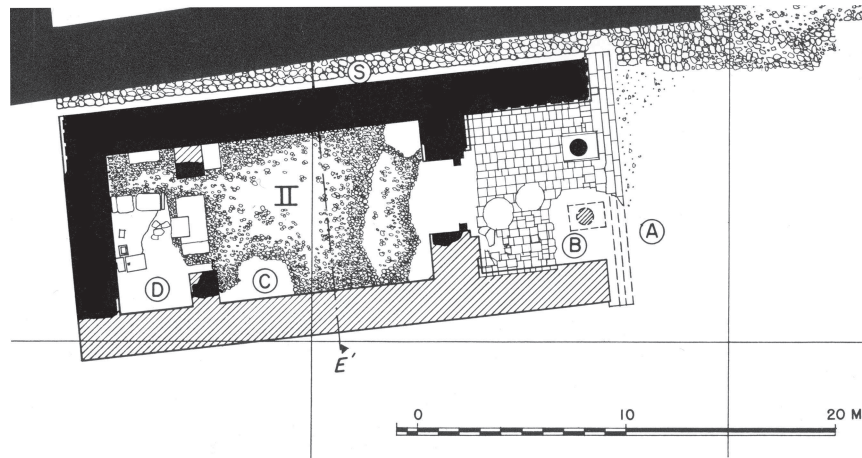


Fig. 4. Plan of Building II (detail from: HAINES 1971, pl. 103).

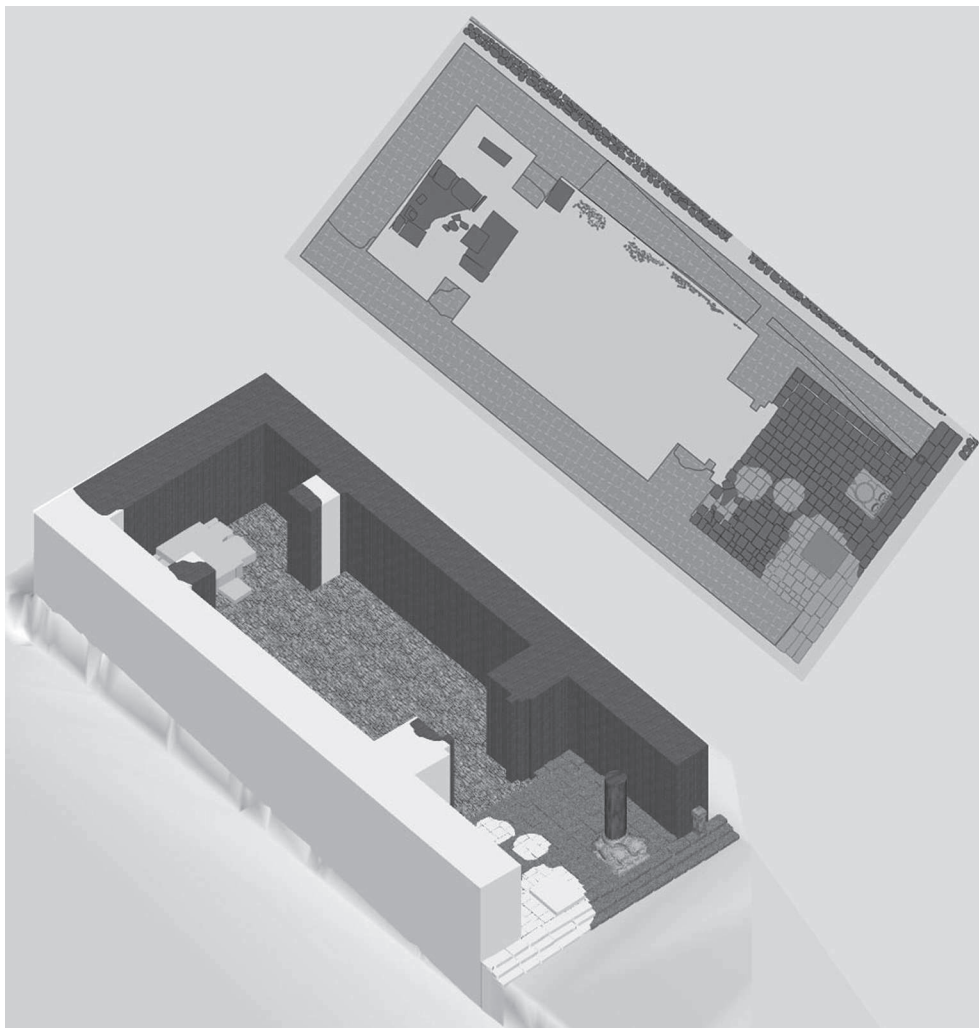


Fig. 5. Isometric reconstruction of Building II (created by S. BATIUK).

Building II was situated adjacent to the south side of Building I, or essentially in back of the larger building, which was entered from the north. Building II, in turn, was approached from the east, via a paved open space, or courtyard (Fig. 4–5; Taf. 1A–B). Entrance was gained by means of a stepped porch, flanked by two columns *in antis*, each apparently supported by double-lion column bases carved out of basalt stone. The building measured 11.75×25.35 m in size, and was constructed using the same materials and techniques employed in the adjacent *bīt hilāni* palace (Building I), including the use of a distinctive ‘wood-crib’ construction technique (see illustration in HAINES 1971, pl. 114), and similarly dimensioned unbaked mud bricks (HAINES 1971, 53).

The walls of Building II exhibited traces of a white plaster, and the central room also produced pieces of red and blue-painted plaster. The walls extended below floor level for approximately 95 cm. The excavators identified only one occupational floor, or phase, although this floor had clearly undergone renovations and repairs (patching) in some areas (HAINES 1971, 53–54).

The porch steps of Building II were made of dressed limestone blocks, and had been integrated into the stone revetment (or ‘glacis’) that supported Building I to the north (see Fig. 4), while the porch floor was made of gray sandstone blocks of varying sizes. The sole surviving double-lion column base ($1.12 \times 1.58 \times 0.72$ m) was set into a layer of bitumen on a large flat stone (Fig. 6; Taf. 2A). A pedestaled-basin made of basalt, clearly in secondary reuse (a heavily weathered Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription was preserved upside down on its base), was found installed against the north wall of the building (Fig. 7; Taf. 1A–B; HAINES 1971, 54).

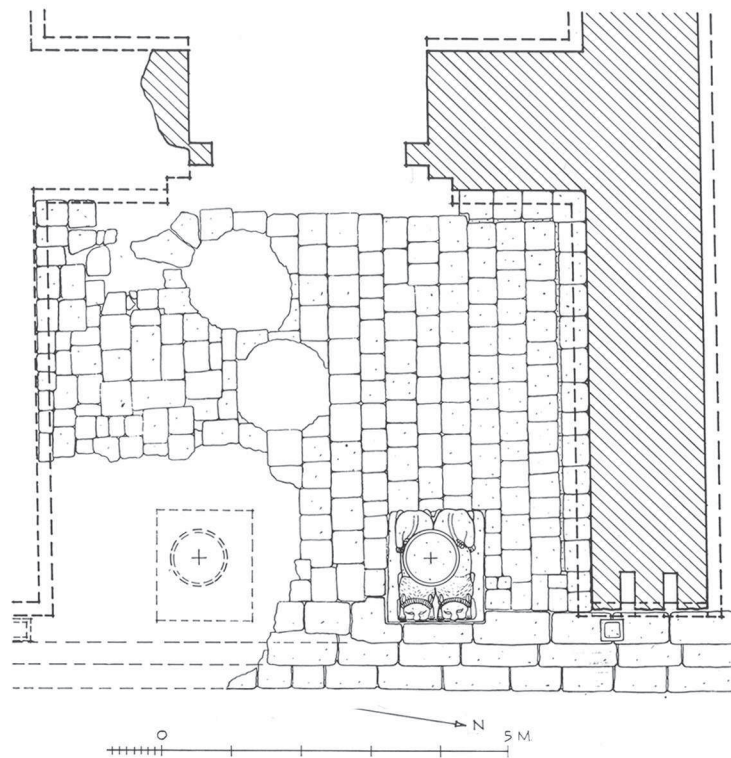


Fig. 6. Plan of the forecourt, or porch, of Building II (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 100B).

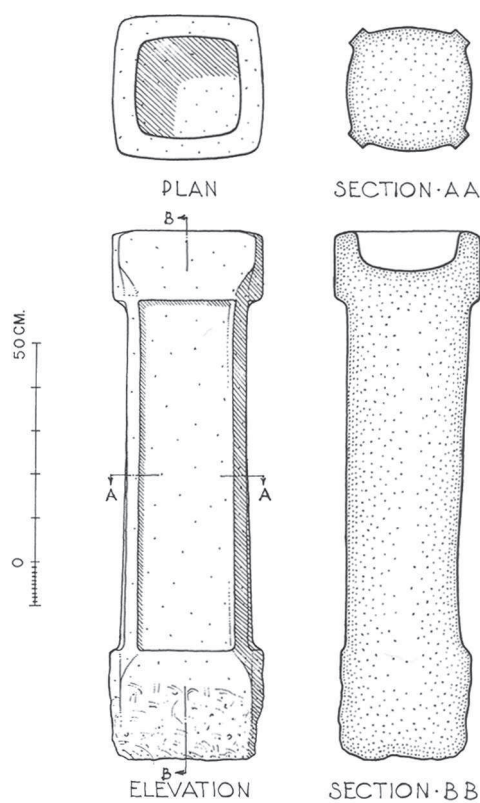


Fig. 7. Scale drawing of the basalt pedestaled basin found reused in the forecourt of Building II (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 113J).

The central room, or ‘cella’ as it was called by the excavators, measured 7.62×9.6 m, and was paved with cobble-sized (8 cm) stones. This central room was separated from the back room, or ‘sanctuary’, by a set of piers constructed directly on top of the cobbled surface (Fig. 4; Taf. 3A). A small plastered bench was attached to the east face of the north pier. The sanctuary measured 7.62×3.25 m. A plastered mud brick stand (95×85 cm), perhaps an offering stand (?), stood in the center of the opening into the room (HAINES 1971, 55).

Immediately behind this installation, and possibly connected to it, was a broad elevated platform, framed on the sides by flat ashlar stones (both limestone and basalt), and filled with a mud brick core (Taf. 3B). The two side flanking ‘frame’ stones were each pierced by holes, which perhaps might have functioned as post holes designed to support furniture or some kind of superstructure. Although only partially preserved, the platform measured 3.55×2.60 m in size, and was identified as an altar by the excavators. Two squared limestone blocks were recovered on top of the platform, although the excavators questioned whether they were found *in situ* (HAINES 1971, 55).

1.1.1. Early Interpretations

In their preliminary report, published in 1937 (Oriental Institute Bulletin 1, [1937]: 13; see also MCEWAN 1937, 13), the excavators of Building II suggested that it exhibited western influence, and in fact “appeared to be a *prodomus* and megaron that had been altered to accommodate a religious ritual” (HAINES 1971, 53). The scholarly community was quick to latch on to the broader cultural and religious significance of Building II. Biblical scholars, in particular, promptly identified Building II as a contemporary parallel of the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem, and drew visual inspiration for the various components of the structure described in 1 Kgs 6–7; 2 Chron 3–4, and Ez 40–43 (see especially WRIGHT 1941). The Solomonic parallels have been noted by numerous scholars³, although some recent studies now favor the impressive temple at *Ain Dāra*⁴.

³ E. g., BUSINK 1970, 558–562; KUSCHKE 1977, 340–341; FRITZ 1980, 62–64; DAVEY 1980, 133–134.

⁴ See KING/STAGER 2001, 334–336; MONSON 2000; 2006.

However, in his widely influential text, “The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient”, first published in 1954, HENRI FRANKFORT cast doubt on the western, *megaron*-style plan of the *Tell Ta’yīnāt* structure. Although he acknowledged its resemblance, FRANKFORT noted a key difference: “at Tell Tayanat [*sic!*] the large central apartment is not the main room (as it is in the megaron) but the antecella” (FRANKFORT 1996, 289–290). Instead, he maintained, the *Tell Ta’yīnāt* temple closely resembled the late eighth-century Neo-Assyrian temples constructed by Sargon II at Khorsabad (ancient *Dūr Šarrukīn*), with a western Syrian example preserved at *Guzāna* (*Tell Halāf*) in the form of the *Stadttempel*. To quote FRANKFORT, “The resemblance to the megaron seems fortuitous, whereas that to the Assyrian temple is part of the profound influence exercised by the political centre on its dependencies” (1996, 290), though he also acknowledged that the *Tell Ta’yīnāt* structure did not have the typical Assyrian entrance lobby.

By the time the HAINES report appeared in 1971, almost two decades later, the original interpretation had lost favor, and northern Mesopotamian cultural influence was assumed. In his report, HAINES noted the lack of any apparent architectural continuity with the earlier Bronze Age temples at nearby Alalah, and emphasized the Assyrian *Langraum*-like appearance of the building’s central room, or cella. Nevertheless, he also recognized that the elaborate façade with columns *in antis* was not typical of northern Mesopotamian temples, and proposed a compromise reconstruction, namely that Building II represented a composite construction, combining a West Syrian porticoed-entrance with an Assyrian-style cella (HAINES 1971, 53).

Nevertheless, some have continued to challenge the West Syrian orientation of Building II. HAWKINS, for example, has emphasized the Assyrian architectural and sculptural influence, in particular the Assyrian style of the double-lion column base, while invoking the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription fragments reported to have been found under the floor of the building as further evidence that the complex was built by the Assyrians following their conquest of *Tell Ta’yīnāt* (ca. 738 B.C.E.), sometime in the late 8th (or possibly early 7th) cent. B.C.E. (HAWKINS 2000, 366; 2009, 167–168), rather than the late 9th/early 8th cent. B.C.E. date proposed by the excavators.

2. The “Tayinat Archaeological Project” Investigations

The “Tayinat Archaeological Project” represents part of an ongoing regional research effort investigating the historical development of urban institutions and the rise of early state societies in the ancient Near East. More specifically, TAP was conceived within the framework of the “Amuq Valley Regional Project” (AVRP), which has been systematically documenting the archaeology of the *‘Amūq* Plain in southeastern Turkey since 1995. This explicitly regional project seeks to facilitate a multi-scalar approach to the investigation of the complex social, economic and political institutions developed by the first urban communities to emerge in this strategic part of the eastern Mediterranean world. As first revealed by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition investigations in the 1930s, *Tell Ta’yīnāt* preserves the extensive remains of the royal city of *Kunulua*, capital of the Neo-Hittite Kingdom of *Pattina-Unqi*. Within the broader framework of the regional perspective articulated by the AVRP, therefore, the TAP investigations were initiated for the specific purpose of documenting the archaeological record preserved at this important settlement.

Following survey seasons conducted between 1999 and 2003 (see further in BATIUK/HARRISON/PAVLISH 2005), and a brief two-week exploratory excavation season in 2004, full-scale

excavations resumed at *Tell Ta'yīnāt* in 2005, and they have continued on an annual basis since⁵. To date, seven fields, or excavation areas, have been opened, all situated on the upper mound or citadel. The excavations in Fields 1 and 2, which straddle the southeastern corner of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's West Central Area (Fig. 2), were initiated specifically to refine the cultural sequence established by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition in this area. The investigations in Fields 1 and 2 thus offer an opportunity to resolve the lingering stratigraphic and chronological questions about Building II, as well as its broader functional role within the religious life of Iron Age *Tell Ta'yīnāt*.

2.1. The Field 1 Excavations

An exploratory probe was initiated in Field 1 in 2004. The field was then extended laterally to the south in 2005, expanding the area of excavation to four 10 × 10m squares, for a total excavated area of 400 sq m. The Field 1 excavations have continued on an annual basis since, and to date have revealed eight discrete architectural Field Phases (FP), with the primary sequence of phases (FPs 3–6) dating to the Early Iron Age, or Iron Age I period (ca. 12th cent. B.C.E.).

Sealing these Early Iron Age levels were the remains of large mud brick structural foundations, assigned to FP 2, which supported the north and south walls of Building II. Unfortunately, most of Building II was no longer preserved, having been destroyed by agricultural cultivation since the completion of the Chicago excavations. Nevertheless, during the exploratory 2004 season, excavations succeeded in uncovering portions of the cobbled surface that paved the central room of the sanctuary, the north and south piers that separated this room from the front porch of the building, three flat stone pavers that had once formed part of the stepped approach to the building, and the mud brick foundation that had supported the façade of the building (Fig. 4). The associated pottery, although from heavily disturbed contexts, dated predominantly to the Iron Age II (ca. 9th – 8th cent. B.C.E.), and included large quantities of Red Slip Burnished Ware.

2.2. The Field 2 Excavations

In 2005, excavations were initiated to the north of Field 1 in the vicinity of Building I (Fig. 2). The primary objectives of the excavations in this area, designated Field 2, were to determine whether anything remained of Building I, and then to excavate the earlier levels associated with Building XIV, and thereby better establish the stratigraphic relationships between these two structures. The 2005 excavations, limited to a 10 × 10m area, proceeded to uncover a series of large mud brick walls immediately below the modern plow zone. The walls averaged more than 3m in width, and formed a tight grid of small rooms, none of which were equipped with doorways. Probes against the faces of several walls reached depths of more than 3m before finding the bottom. Unfortunately, no internal surfaces or floors corresponding to the use-phase of the complex were identified. Clearly the foundations of an enormous structure, the Field 2 excavations suggest the walls very probably formed part of the southeastern corner of the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's Building XIV, which they assigned to their First Building Period (HAINES 1971, 64).

⁵ For yearly reports, see HARRISON 2006; 2007; 2008; HARRISON/BATIUK/SNOW 2009; HARRISON/BATIUK 2010; HARRISON/BATIUK/DENEL 2011; HARRISON/DENEL/BATIUK in press.



Fig. 8. Plan of Building XVI (created by J. OSBORNE).

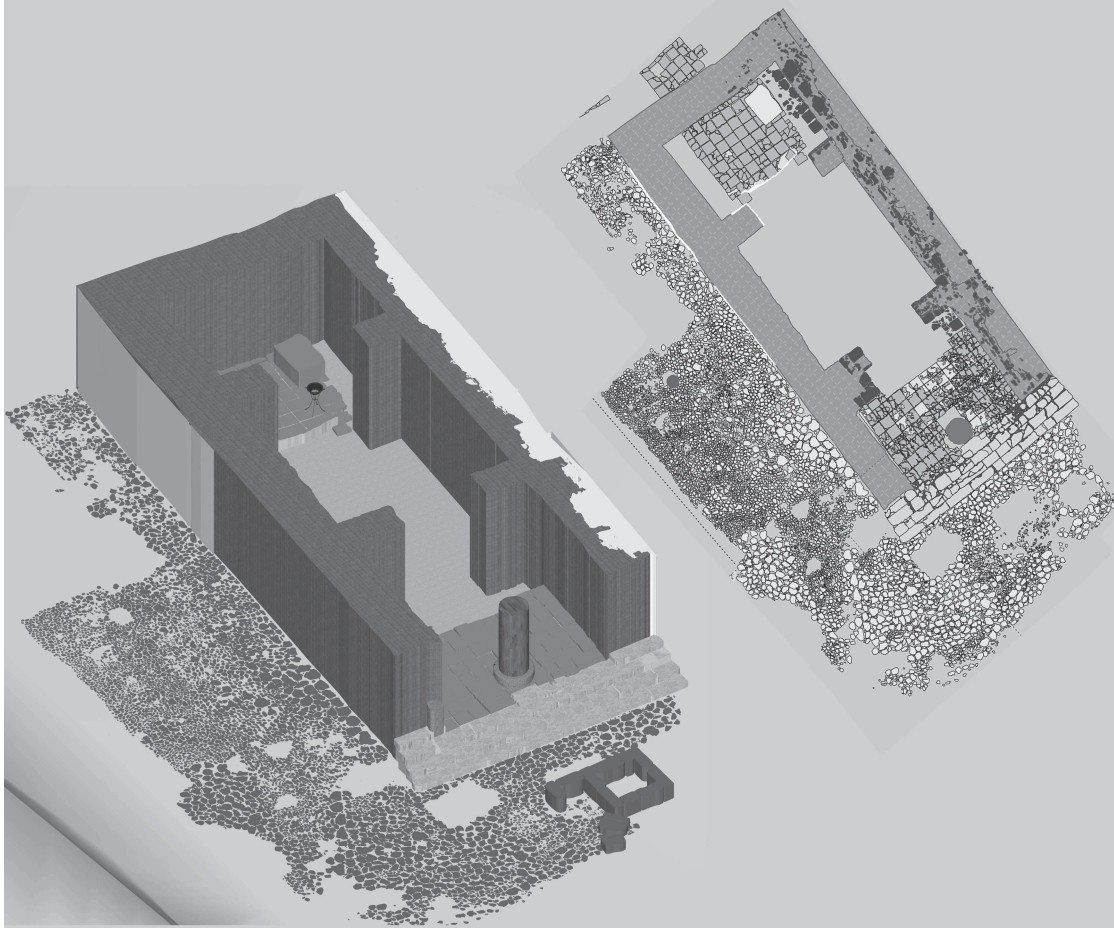


Fig. 9. Isometric reconstruction of Building XVI (created by S. BATIUK).

In 2007, excavations were initiated to the east of this building in an effort to find surfaces that might have sealed against its eastern exterior. These excavations revealed a stone pavement, which in turn sealed a densely packed sherd-strewn surface, comprised predominantly of Red Slipped Burnished Ware pottery. Unfortunately, the Syrian-Hittite Expedition had trenched along the exterior face of the wall, obliterating any stratigraphic connections that might have existed between these surfaces and the wall. Consequently, in 2008, two new squares were opened further to the east in the hope that similar disturbance might be minimal in this area, and the stratigraphic sequence therefore relatively more intact. Quite unexpectedly, the ensuing excavations, which continued through the 2009 season, revealed the burnt remains of a second temple, designated Building XVI (Fig. 8–9; Taf. 4).

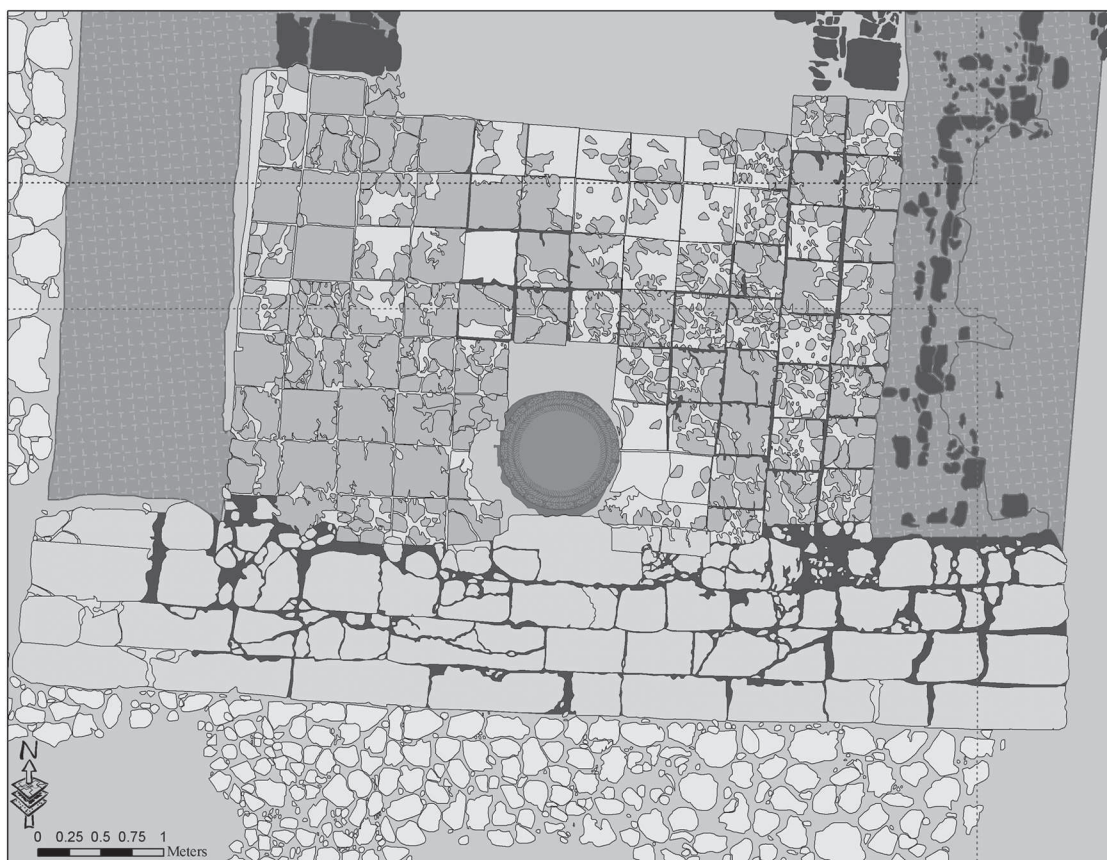


Fig. 10. Plan of the forecourt of Building XVI (created by S. BATIUK).

Building XVI measured $9 \times 21\text{m}$ in size, and was approached from the south via a wide limestone staircase. A small basalt column rested on the western edge of the upper-most step, in front of the southern end of the building's west wall (Taf. 5A). The stairs led to a porch, which supported an ornately carved basalt column base set deeply into its floor (Fig. 10; Taf. 2B, 5A). The column base is decorated in three engraved registers: the top contains a sequence of alternating ornamental palmettes and vertical rope patterns, the middle a running guilloche and rosette pattern, and the bottom an inverted and schematic repeat of the top register. The column base is virtually identical in size, shape and design to the column bases found in the portico of Building I during its Second Building Period phase. Significantly, its lowest carved register was largely hidden from view, obscured by a mud brick-paved surface, suggesting that an earlier floor, or phase, of the building still lies unexcavated below.

The porch was separated from the building's central room by two brick piers that bonded with the exterior walls of the building (Fig. 8; Taf. 4). A thick deposit of burnt brick, apparently collapse, covered much of the floor between the two piers. This material, in turn, sealed three heavily charred wooden beams, at least one of which appeared to have been set directly into the floor, and therefore possibly part of a threshold for this doorway.

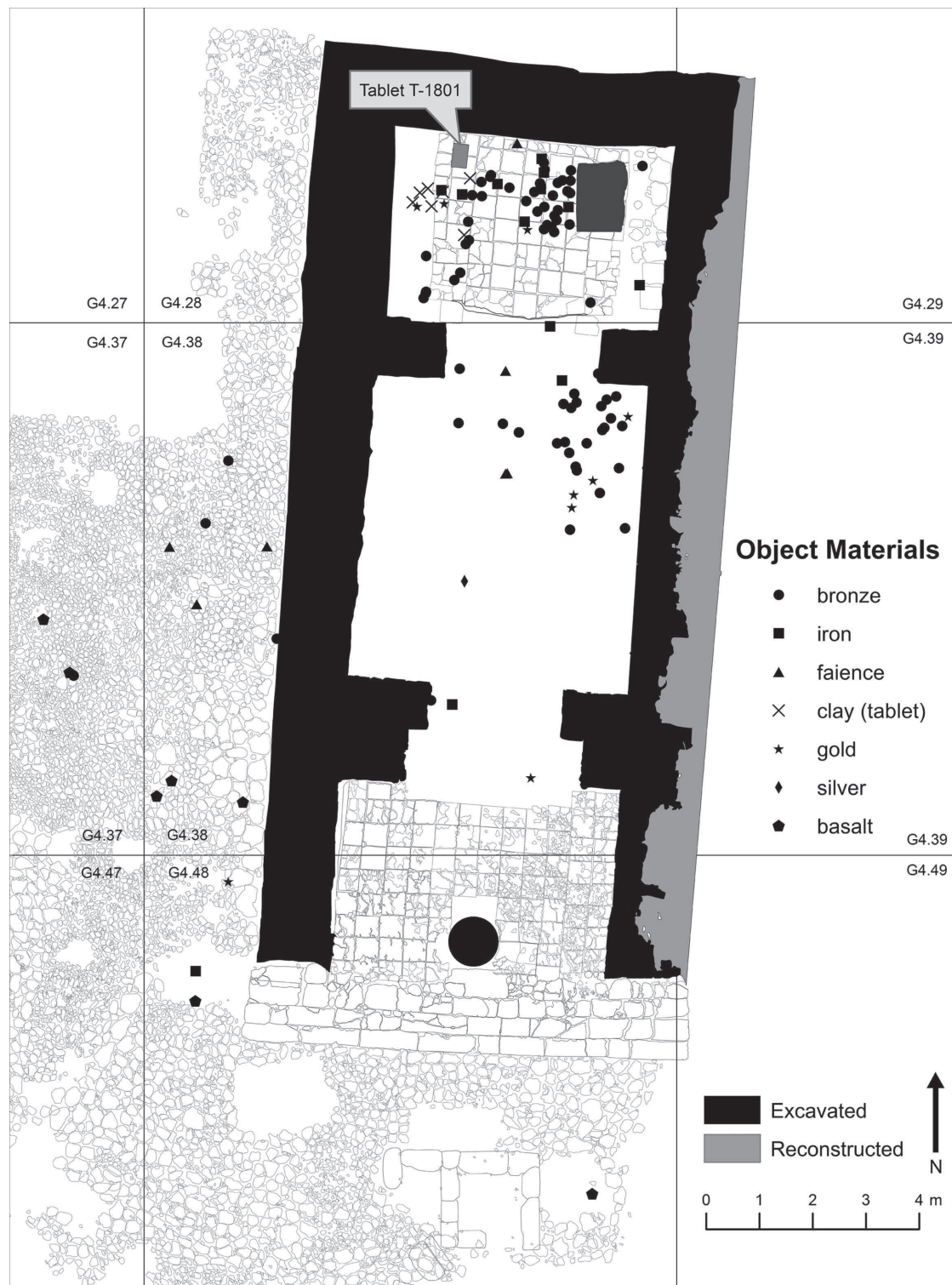


Fig. 11. Plan of Building XVI showing the spatial distribution of artifacts within the structure (created by J. OSBORNE).

The floor of the central room, though badly burned, was covered with a layer of plaster. The room was largely devoid of pottery or organic remains, but it did produce a quantity of bronze metal, including riveted pieces and several fragments of carved ivory inlay. Though heavily burned and damaged, these remains suggest the central room had been equipped with furniture or fixtures, perhaps for a door. The room also produced fragments of gold and silver foil, and a piece of carved eye inlay. A thick layer of collapsed burnt brick sealed the entire room, and in some places had fused with the brickwork of the temple's outer walls, vivid evidence of the intense conflagration that had consumed the structure.

A second set of piers and a wood-lined threshold separated the central room from a small back room, the inner sanctum of the temple (Fig. 8; Taf. 4). This northern-most room contained an elevated, rectangular platform, or podium, that filled almost the entire room. The podium was made of fired brick, similar in shape to the bricks that paved the portico, and its sides were coated with a white plaster. The podium was accessed by four steps in each of its two southern corners, and a free-standing, plastered mud brick installation, possibly an altar, stood on its eastern side. This room had also been burned intensely by fire, preserving a wealth of cultic paraphernalia found strewn across the podium and around its base, including gold, bronze and iron implements, libation vessels, a large Assyrian Glazed Ware jar and other ornately decorated ritual objects (Fig. 11; Taf. 6A–B; for a more detailed description of these remains, see HARRISON/OSBORNE in press).

The surface debris on the podium also contained a collection of fragmented cuneiform tablets written in Late Assyrian script. The analysis completed to date has identified at least eleven discrete texts, all except one preserving literary or historical documents (see LAINGER 2012). The most notable document, T-1801, records an oath imposed by Esarhaddon on the governor of Kunalia in 672 B.C.E., confirming that the final use-phase of Building XVI extended into the mid 7th cent. B.C.E. The text of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* 'oath-tablet' closely parallels the 674 lines of the so-called Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, eight copies of which were found in the throne room of a building adjacent to the Temple of Nabu at *Nimrūd* (ancient *Kalhu*)⁶. Significantly, the find spots of this remarkable collection help to establish their broader social context. Several of the tablets preserve markings that suggest they belonged to a class of amulet-shaped tablets, as well as horizontal piercings that indicate they were intended to be suspended or mounted. The tablets recovered from the inner sanctum of Building XVI, in other words, were intentionally designed for exhibition and display (LAINGER 2012). Their provenance, distributed across the western part of the room's elevated podium, facing the altar-like installation positioned on the podium's eastern side, provides further evidence of their cultic function.

The construction methods used to build the exterior walls of Building XVI are identical to those typically found in the other public buildings of the West Central Area, including use of the distinctive 'wood-crib' construction technique used in Building II. In addition, the exterior face of the temple's west wall was decorated with a bright white painted plaster, similar to Building II. Building XVI was surrounded on its west and south sides by a cobblestone pavement, the same pavement that was cut by the Chicago excavations, and clearly part of an expansive open courtyard or plaza.

In 2011, a probe was excavated in the northwest corner of the central room and a section cut through the west wall of the building to determine the construction sequence of the temple, and to establish whether earlier floors or phases of the complex might exist. Although no earlier

⁶ For a detailed description of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* document, see LAINGER 2012 and in press.

floors were found, the probe and section produced clear evidence of two discrete construction phases to the west wall of the temple. A solid mud brick construction that extended across the bottom of the entire section was all that remained of the earlier of the two phases. This feature is reminiscent of the large mud brick foundations that supported the walls of Building II excavated in Field 1, and very likely provided the same structural function for this earlier phase of Building XVI. This mud brick feature, in turn, was cut by a sharply delineated line marking a later foundation trench, which was filled with crumbly, nari-filled mud brick, a construction technique commonly used in the buildings of the Iron Age III (ca. late 8th – 7th cent. B.C.E.), or Neo-Assyrian, settlement at *Tell Ta'yīnāt*.

Since the construction methods used to build the west wall of the temple differ sharply from the 'wood-crib' technique used in the production of its east wall, these two outer walls appear to preserve different phases in the temple's construction history. The pier walls that separated the central room from the inner sanctum about the temple's outer walls and therefore clearly belong to the later phase. The temple's north wall, which abuts the northern end of the west wall rather than bonding with it, appears also to have been built (or rebuilt) as part of the later complex.

In summary, Building XVI had become a complex composite of architectural modifications and additions by the time of its destruction in the seventh century B.C.E.. An initial phase included the stone staircase approach, the basalt column base, and the front piers and eastern exterior wall (delineated in black in Fig. 8). The final, terminal phase (highlighted in gray in Fig. 8) witnessed the addition of the baked brick floor in the portico, the piers or partition wall between the central and inner rooms, the baked brick podium in the inner room, and the replacement (or repair) of at least parts of the western and northern exterior walls. Portions, if not all, of the cobblestone courtyard, sections of which sealed against the west wall of Building XVI, must also belong to this terminal phase. The date of this later phase almost certainly coincides with the Neo-Assyrian occupation of the site (*i. e.*, late 8th/7th cent. B.C.E.), in light of the artifact and epigraphic remains recovered from the destruction debris found within the building.

Intriguingly, the TAP excavations have recovered several Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription fragments that were found scattered across the stone-paved courtyard. Moreover, we have been able to link some of the stones in the pavement south of the temple entrance directly to a section of pavement uncovered by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition in their eastern probe, excavated at the end of their final season in 1938. The probe also uncovered what appears to have been a foundation, or platform, roughly square in shape and built of finely-dressed stone blocks, possibly the support for a free-standing monument (Taf. 5B; see HAINES 1971, 45). The Syrian-Hittite Expedition also reported finding numerous Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments in the vicinity, including parts of a block-shaped inscription, designated *Tell Ta'yīnāt* Inscription 2⁷ (Fig. 12), and it is tempting to conclude that these fragments all came from a single monument that once stood on the platform (see similarly in PUCCI 2008, pl. 27). Unfortunately, nothing of the original structure remained intact, having been removed, or destroyed, following the Chicago excavations.

Thus far, the TAP excavations of Building XVI have only uncovered its terminal phase, which as we have seen almost certainly dates to the late 8th or (more probably) early 7th cent. B.C.E., during the settlement's Neo-Assyrian provincial phase⁸. The building's earlier construction history and dating therefore remain unclear. Nevertheless, the distinctive architectural style

⁷ See detailed description and commentary in HAWKINS 2000, 367–368.

⁸ See further in HARRISON 2005; 2012.

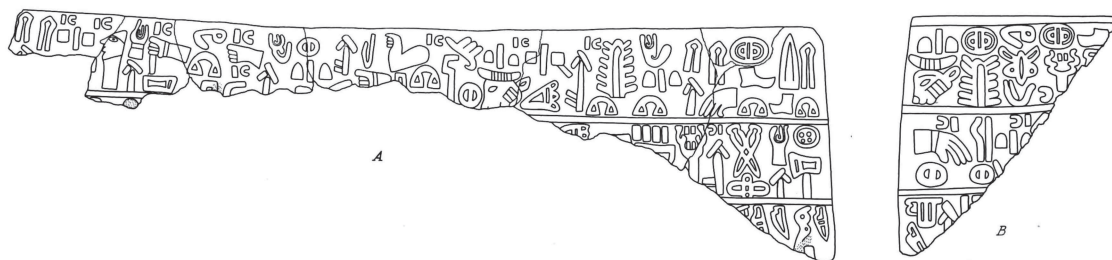


Fig. 12. Drawing of the block-shaped Hieroglyphic Luwian *Tell Ta'yīnāt* Inscription 2 (after: GELB 1939, pl. 86).

and design of the building's original structures suggest that it was constructed together with the adjacent Buildings I and II, and therefore should be assigned to the Second Building Period, or sometime during the late 9th or 8th cent. B.C.E. The Hieroglyphic Luwian fragments found in association with these buildings furnish further evidence that they were constructed sometime during this period.

3. The *Tell Ta'yīnāt* Sacred Precinct and the Double Temple Tradition

To conclude, were the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* temples West Syrian *megara* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? In a sense, the answer is that they were both. In short, the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* temples exhibit the characteristics of a religious architectural tradition, the temple *in antis*, indigenous to West Syria and the Levant, with antecedents that can be traced back to the third millennium B.C.E., though not to be confused with the so-called *migdal*-type common in the second millennium B.C.E., or its often wrongly assumed correlate the Aegean *megaron*. The salient feature of the *anten* temples were their elaborate entryways, or façades, and flanking *antae*, the projecting, or pilastered, ends of the lateral walls that framed the long central room of the building. Access to the central room was restricted by two large piers, or dividing walls, with the cultic sanctum, or *adytum*, centered at the back of the room, often further secluded by a second internal dividing wall (see the convenient summary in MAZZONI 2010)⁹. The construction methods employed, in particular the 'wood-crib' technique, but also the almost identical size, shape and design of the basalt column bases in Building XVI and Building I, clearly link the temples architecturally to the adjacent *bīt ḫilāni* palaces, and mark them as an integral, though subsidiary, component of the Second Building Period complex (Fig. 3).

Nevertheless, the subsequent architectural renovations, such as the baked brick floors and elevated podium that were installed in both temples, and the artifacts associated with their terminal phase of use, most notably the Late Assyrian cuneiform tablets found in Building XVI, also indicate that at some point in the late 8th or early 7th cent. B.C.E. both buildings were converted and incorporated into an Assyrian religious complex, or sacred precinct, replicating a well-established Assyrian double temple tradition best exemplified by the perpendicularly oriented twin temples in the Ziggurat complex on the citadel at Khorsabad.

⁹ See also NOVÁK (2001) for further distinctions between the *anten* and *Langraum* temple types.

What about the religious function of the *Tell Ta'yīnāt* temples? Do the archaeological and epigraphic evidence provide any insight? Here we must speculate, but it is reasonable to propose that the twin temples served as the dual residences of the Storm (or Weather) God, the Neo-Hittite Teshub (alternatively, the West Semitic Baal, or Aramaic Baal Hadad), and his consort Ḫepat (or Astarte). Precedent for such an arrangement is found in the double temple complex at thirteenth century Emar, clearly dedicated to Baal and Astarte¹⁰, and more immediately in the Level III and II temples at Late Bronze Age Alalah, where inscriptional evidence provides indication of their divine occupants (YENER 2005, 109–111).

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the Storm God and his consort were the patron deities of *Tell Ta'yīnāt*, or more properly ancient *Kunulua*, royal city of the Kingdom of *Pattina-Unqi* (Early Iron Age Palistin), as inferred by the recently found Taita inscription on the east wall of the Temple to the Storm God on the Aleppo citadel. These indigenous traditions were then subtly transformed by the Assyrians, who applied a new veneer of religious piety, framed in a dual tradition of their own (most likely involving the divine scribal patron Nabu), resulting in the heterogeneous, syncretistic synergy preserved in the burnt ruins of Building XVI.

Acknowledgements

The “Tayinat Archaeological Project” has received research grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP), the Brennan Foundation, and the University of Toronto, for which we are deeply grateful. I wish also to thank the Directorate of Cultural Heritage and Museums of Turkey, which has graciously awarded the research permits necessary to conduct each of our excavation seasons, the landowners who have generously permitted us to work on their land, the staff of the Antakya Archaeological Museum, and our project staff, whose dedicated efforts have ensured the successful results of each field season. I wish to express particular thanks and appreciation to Mehmet Kızılcı, Director of the Reyhanlı Residential School during our 2008 through 2010 field seasons, for generously permitting us to use their facilities, and for the warm hospitality we received during our stay.

Zusammenfassung

Seit seiner Entdeckung im Jahre 1936 durch die *Syrian-Hittite Expedition* galt Gebäude II in *Tell Ta'yīnāt* („Building II“) als ein Musterbeispiel für eisenzeitliche Sakralarchitektur der Levante (Fig. 4–5). Zahlreiche Forscher, darunter die ursprünglichen Ausgräber, ordneten es als Tempel des Megaron-Typs ein und sahen in ihm das Ergebnis einer langlebigen religiösen Tradition Westsyriens, deren Vorläufer bis in das 3. Jt. v. Chr. zurückreichten. Diese Deutung dominierte auch in den biblischen Wissenschaften, in denen Gebäude II von *Tell Ta'yīnāt* als visuelle Inspiration für verschiedene Rekonstruktionsversuche des sogenannten salomonischen Tempels von Jerusalem diente (vgl. 1 Kön 6–7).

Demgegenüber haben andere Forscher die Affinitäten hervorgehoben, die Gebäude II von *Tell Ta'yīnāt* mit der neuassyrischen Sakralarchitektur verbinden. Dies gilt insbesondere für den „Langraum“-artigen Plan des Gebäudes und für die großartig gestaltete Doppel-Löwen-Basis seiner Eingangshalle (Taf. 2A).

Die divergierenden Ansichten über Gebäude II und über seine baugeschichtliche Ableitung litten alle darunter, dass die ursprüngliche Publikation der *Syrian-Hittite Expedition* nur in begrenztem Umfang Informationen vermitteln konnte (HAINES 1971). Die neuen Ausgrabungen des *Tayinat Archaeological Project* durch die Universität von Toronto bieten nun die Möglichkeit, die bisherigen Unsicherheiten der Stratigraphie und der Chronologie dieses faszinierenden Komplexes zu klären. Die Neugrabungen führten kürzlich unter anderem zur Freilegung eines zweiten, etwas kleineren Tempels (Gebäude XVI; Fig. 8–9;

¹⁰ MARGUERON 1982, 29–31; PITARD 1996, 17–18.

Taf. 4). Die Größenunterschiede schlugen sich zum Beispiel darin nieder, dass das Dach der von Anten eingefassten Eingangshalle von Gebäude II durch zwei Säulen getragen wurde, während Gebäude XVI an gleicher Stelle nur eine Säule aufwies (vgl. Fig. 6 und 10). Trotz der Größenunterschiede repräsentieren beide Tempel eindeutig einen spezifischen Tempeltyp.

Der hier vorliegende Beitrag beschreibt die Ergebnisse der Neuuntersuchungen und versucht, zu einer gefestigten historischen und kulturellen Einordnung der Tempel von *Tell Ta'yīnāt* zu gelangen. Dabei wird auch die übergeordnete funktionale Rolle beleuchtet, welche die Tempel im religiösen Leben der eisenzeitlichen Gesellschaft von *Tell Ta'yīnāt* gespielt haben.

Bibliography

- BATIUK, S./T. P. HARRISON/L. PAVLISH
 2005 The Ta'yinat Survey, 1999–2002, in: K. A. YENER (*ed.*), *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, I. Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 131; Chicago), 171–192.
- BRAIDWOOD, R. J./L. S. BRAIDWOOD
 1960 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, I. The Earlier Assemblages Phases A–J* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 61; Chicago).
- BUSINK, T. A.
 1970 *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes. Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus, I. Der Tempel Salomos* (Studia Francisci Scholten Memoriae Dicata 3; Leiden).
- DAVEY, C. J.
 1980 *Temples of the Levant and the Buildings of Solomon*, Tyndale Bulletin 31, 107–146.
- FRANKFORT, H.
 1996 *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 5th edition (New Haven).
- FRITZ, V.
 1980 *Der Tempel Salomos im Licht der neueren Forschung*, Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin 112, 53–68.
- GELB, I. J.
 1939 *Hittite Hieroglyphic Monuments* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 45; Chicago).
- HAINES, R. C.
 1971 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch, II. The Structural Remains of the Later Phases: Chatal Hueyuek, Tell al-Judaidah, and Tell Ta'yinat* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 95; Chicago).
- HARRISON, T. P.
 2005 *The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Ta'yinat*, Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies 40, 23–33.
 2006 *2004 Yılı Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27, 353–362.
 2007 *Neo-Hittites in the North Orontes Valley. Recent Investigations at Tell Ta'yinat*, Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies 2, 59–68.
 2008 *Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 29, 85–98.
 2012 *Temples, Tablets and the Assyrian Provincial Capital of Kinalia*, Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies 6, 29–37.
- HARRISON, T. P./S. BATIUK
 2010 *Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2008, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31, 491–504.
- HARRISON, T. P./S. BATIUK/E. DENEL
 2011 *Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2009, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 32, 368–384.
- HARRISON, T. P./S. BATIUK/H. SNOW
 2009 *Tayinat Höyük Kazıları, 2006–2007, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 30, 503–520.
- HARRISON, T. P./E. DENEL/S. BATIUK
 in press *2010 Tayinat Kazıları ve Araştırmaları, Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 33.

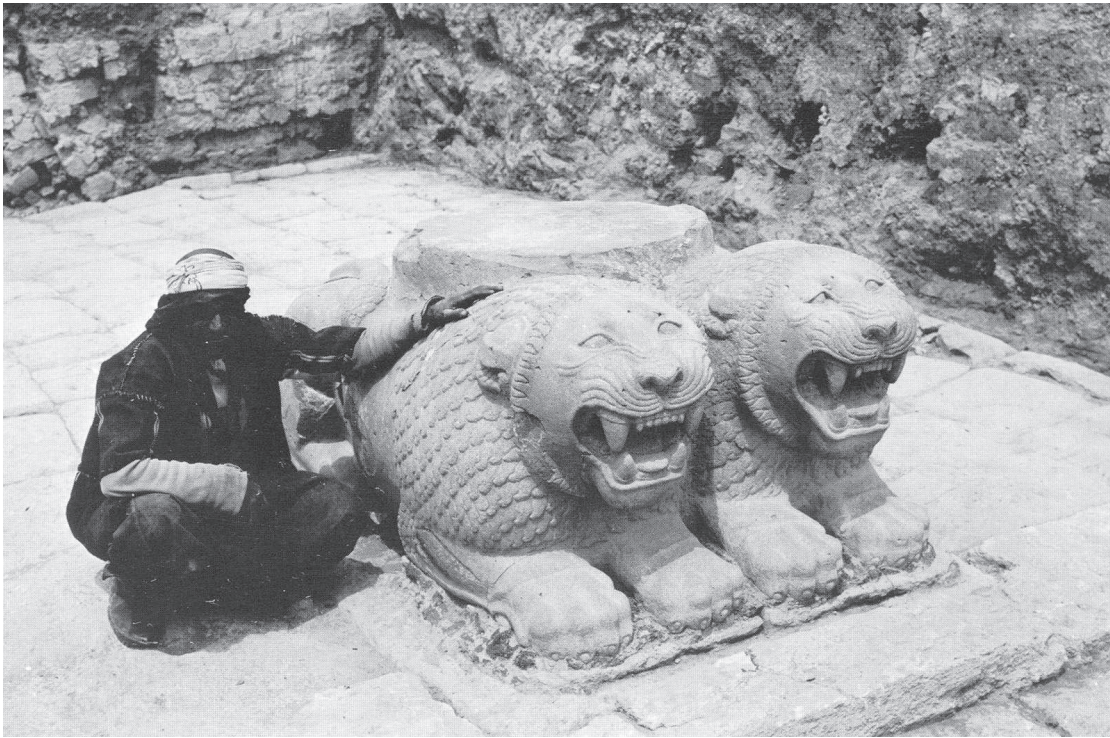
- HARRISON, T. P./J. OSBORNE
in press Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 64.
- HAWKINS, J. D.
2000 *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft. Neue Folge 8/1; Berlin, New York).
2009 Cilicia, the Amuq, and Aleppo. New Light in a Dark Age, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72, 164–173.
- KING, P. J./L. E. STAGER
2001 *Life in Biblical Israel* (Library of Ancient Israel; Louisville, London).
- KUSCHKE, A.
1977 Tempel, in: K. GALLING (ed.), *Biblisches Reallexikon (BRL²)*, 2nd edition (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I 1; Tübingen), 333–342.
- LAUINGER, J.
2012 Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 6, 5–14.
in press Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat. Text and Commentary, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 64.
- MARGUERON, J.
1982 La ville, in: D. BEYER (ed.), *Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux 1972–1982. À l'occasion d'une exposition* (Paris), 17–39.
- MAZZONI, S.
2010 Syro-Hittite Temples and the Traditional *in antis* Plan, in: J. BECKER/R. HEMPELMANN/E. REHM (ed.), *Kulturlandschaft Syrien. Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalke Meyer* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 371; Münster), 359–376.
- MCEWAN, C. W.
1937 The Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, *American Journal of Archaeology* 41, 8–16.
- MONSON, J.
2000 The New 'Ain Dara Temple. Closest Solomonic Parallel, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 26/3, 20–35, 67.
2006 The 'Ain Dara Temple and the Jerusalem Temple, in: G. M. BECKMAN/T. J. LEWIS (ed.), *Text, Artifact, and Image. Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion* (Brown Judaic Studies 346; Providence), 273–299.
- NOVÁK, M.
2001 Hofhaus und Antentempel. Überlegungen zur Entwicklung des assyrischen Tempelbaus, in: J.-W. MEYER/M. NOVÁK/A. PRUSS (ed.), *Beiträge zur vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Winfried Orthmann gewidmet* (Frankfurt am Main), 366–385.
- PITARD, W. T.
1996 The Archaeology of Emar, in: M. W. CHAVALAS (ed.), *Emar. The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (Bethesda), 13–23.
- PUCCI, M.
2008 *Functional Analysis of Space in Syro-Hittite Architecture* (British Archaeological Reports. International Series 1738; Oxford).
- SWIFT, G. F.
1958 The Pottery of the 'Amuq, Phases K to O, and Its Historical Relationships [Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago].
- WRIGHT, G. E.
1941 Solomon's Temple Resurrected, *Biblical Archaeologist* 4, 17, 19–31.
- YENER, K. A.
2005 Alalakh Spatial Organization, in: K. A. YENER (ed.), *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects, I. Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 131; Chicago), 99–144.



A. Overview of Building II from the east (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 81A).



B. View of the forecourt of Building II, with the double lion column base and pedestaled-basin in the foreground (after: GELB 1939, pl. 84).



A. The double lion column base (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 80B).



B. The ornately carved column base in the forecourt of Building XVI (photo by J. OSBORNE).



A. View of the inner room (or 'sanctuary') of Building II (after: HAINES 1971, 81B).



B. Close-up view of the raised platform in the 'sanctuary' of Building II (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 82A).



Overview of Building XVI from the south (photo by S. BATIUK).



A. View of the approach to Building XVI, as first uncovered in 2008 (photo by J. OSBORNE).



B. Square-shaped 'platform' uncovered by the Syrian-Hittite Expedition's exploratory trench east of Building I (after: HAINES 1971, pl. 74B).



A. Close-up view of the podium in the inner room of Building XVI, with cultic paraphernalia and tablets found *in situ* (photo by J. JACKSON).



B. Artifact assemblage recovered from the podium surface in the inner room of Building XVI (photo by J. JACKSON).