

# Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta

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*In the following I offer some architectural proof for the presence of communities of Near Eastern origin in the Eastern Nile Delta in order to show that the Canaanite Bronze Age world stretched from time to time into Egypt despite the strict rule of the Pharaonic state. Most intriguingly, we find not only Near Eastern architectural features in Tell el-Dab'a/ancient Avaris, the former capital of the Hyksos -a dynasty of Near Eastern origin (c. 1640-1530 BC)- but we are also able to trace such prototypes of sanctuaries at the same site back to the time of the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as well as at Tell Ibrahim Awad, only 9 km north of Tell el-Dab'a to the time of the Old Kingdom, perhaps even to the time of Dynasty 0 (Fig. 1).*

## I. General description of the temple precinct in area A/II at Tell el-Dab'a

In Tell el-Dab'a evidence of Canaanite cult can be found as early as the time of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with a seal cylinder showing the northern Syrian storm god Hadad/ Ba'al Zephon (Fig. 2)<sup>1</sup>. The seal seems to have been cut in Egypt, at least according to the late Edith Porada, Columbia University<sup>2</sup>. Soon afterwards we find evidence of a large temple precinct in the eastern part of the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty town (ph. F-E/3). It is oriented, as most of the architectural elements before and afterwards, NNE-SSW – a feature which is in accord with a huge harbour basin in the midst of the settlement. This basin seems to have dictated the topography of this town (Fig. 3).

The complex of c. 75 x 29.36 m consists of the big main temple (Temple III) in the south (Figs 4 and 5) facing NNW, in front of which we find a courtyard with an altar, not quite in the alignment with the axis of the main temple (III). To its west is a long-stretched second temple (Temple II) with bent axis and a tower. Between Temple II and the guard room at the north-western corner of the main Temple III is the western gate with a big limestone threshold leading from a street directly to the offering court of the temple precinct. Opposite Temple II there is a two-room house of Egyptian type separated from Temple II by a N-S oriented wall, leaving the house connected with the offering court and the altar. The northern edge of this holy precinct remains unexcavated for the moment.

East of Temple III, just separated from it by a narrow street which leads directly to the offering court and the altar, is another temple precinct added later

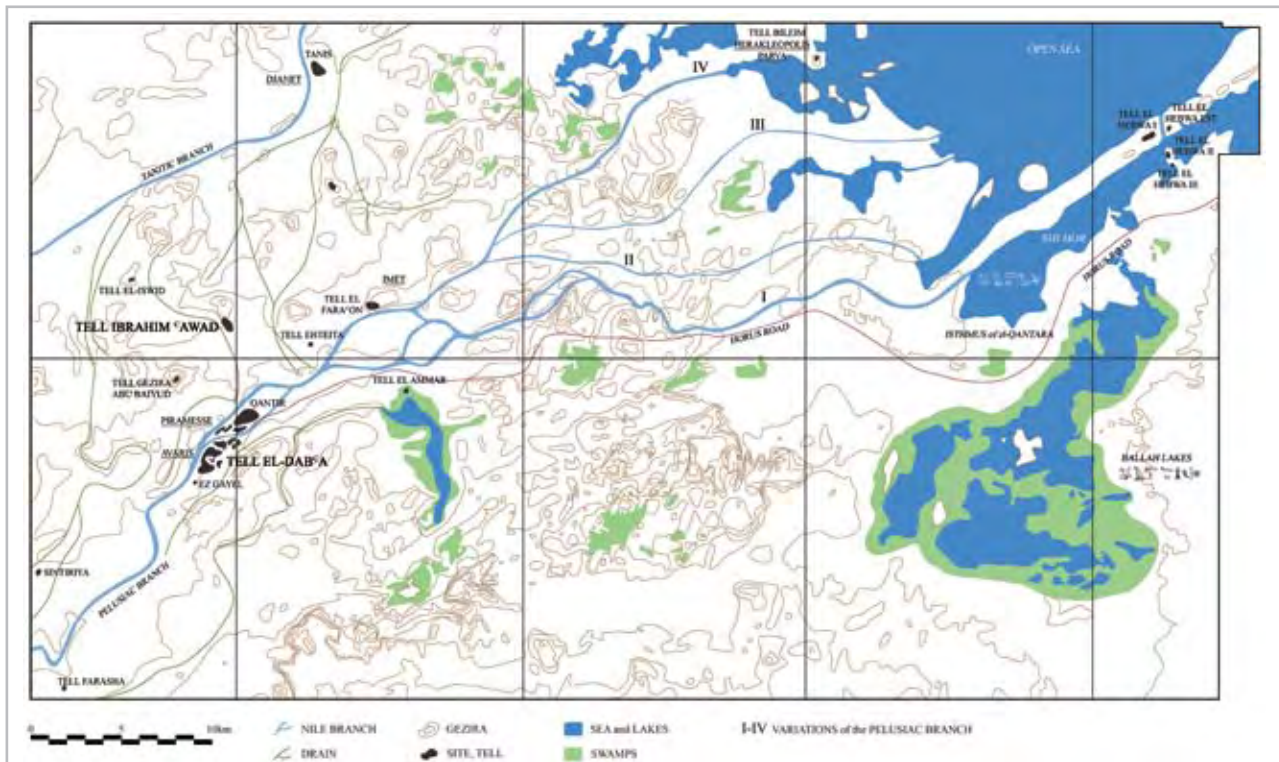


Fig. 1- Map showing the position of the sites of Tell el-Dab'a and Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Eastern Nile Delta.

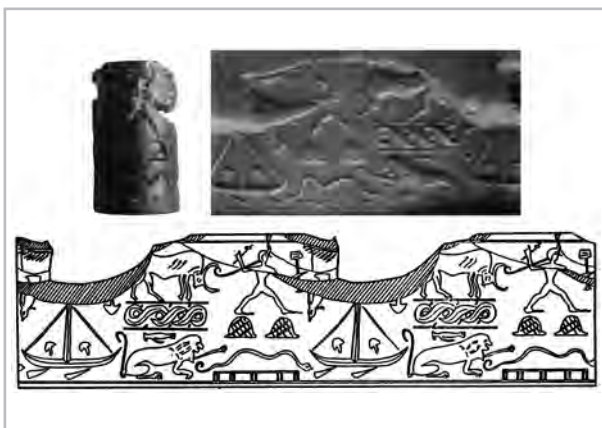


Fig. 2- Seal cylinder from the early 13th Dynasty at Tell el-Dab'a with a representation of the north Syrian stormgod Hadad/Bacal.

than the original construction of the main precinct in Ph. E/3 (late Middle Kingdom, shortly before the Hyksos Period). It has a temple of Egyptian type (Temple V) with a tripartite sanctuary and an offering court in front and was also furnished with an altar.

This temple was renewed in ph. E/2 or slightly later in a more southerly position – most probably at the time when the main temple was enlarged southwards by screening the cult niche, which originally jugged out from the southern façade (s. below). In front of its offering court and separated by a wall in a kind of continuation of the northern front wall of Temple III is another courtyard with a bench along its northern end. It was filled with remains of offerings such as pottery fragments and charred animal bones. To the east of Temple V one finds a small cemetery surrounded by a rounded hurdle wall of mud brick. The cemetery shows that this precinct of Temple V served funerary purposes.

Two more precincts with cemeteries and mortuary chapels/temples of Egyptian type are situated west of the main precinct. The shrines can be identified as mortuary chapels and Temple I has a very similar plan as Temple V. As Near Eastern features, however, one may identify mud brick benches added to the front wall and within the western part of the sanctuary<sup>3</sup>.

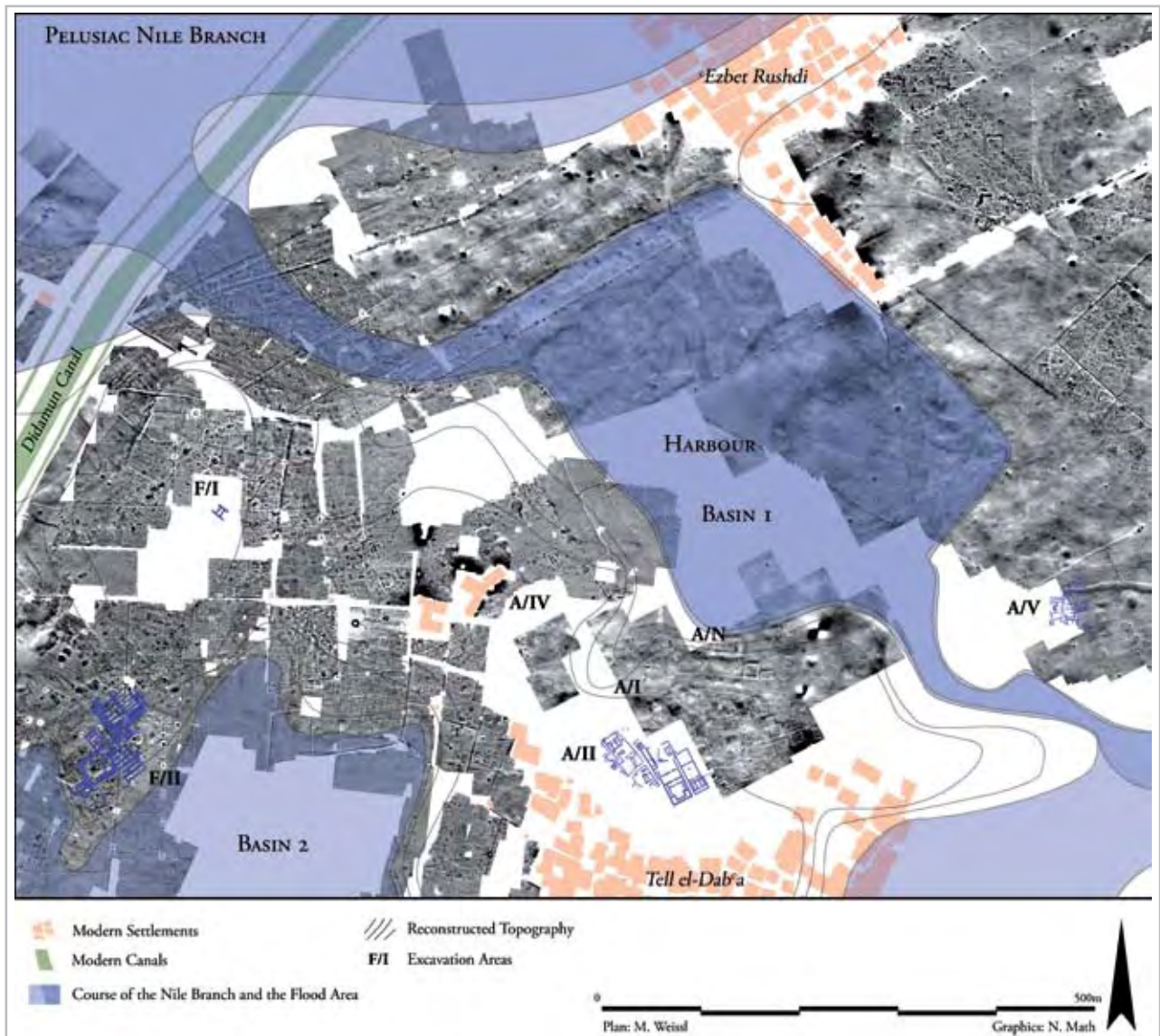


Fig. 3- Position of the Temple complex A/II, of the position of the Temple precinct F/I and of Palace II at Tell el-Dab'a and the harbour basin.

Temple I, which was constructed approximately at the beginning of the Hyksos rule during Ph. E/2, replaced an older chapel with a bigger and a smaller room and a vestibule in front of it dating to the Ph. E/3. A similar plan, without vestibule, however, is found in Temple/Chapel VI. Like Temple I it has a bench added to the front of the building. A Near Eastern feature one finds north of it, in continuation of its western wall, is a rectangular mud brick block that may be identified as an altar<sup>4</sup>.

Most interestingly, the temples of the main precinct, which we shall discuss in more detail now, are not of Egyptian but of Near Eastern types, whereas the temples and chapels in the cemeteries, serving most probably mortuary purposes for the families or clans to whom the cemeteries belong, were conceived as Egyptian mortuary chapels. The concept of a mortuary chapel can be identified as typically Egyptian, and the whole precinct appears to represent a product of Near Eastern and Egyptian cultural syncretism.

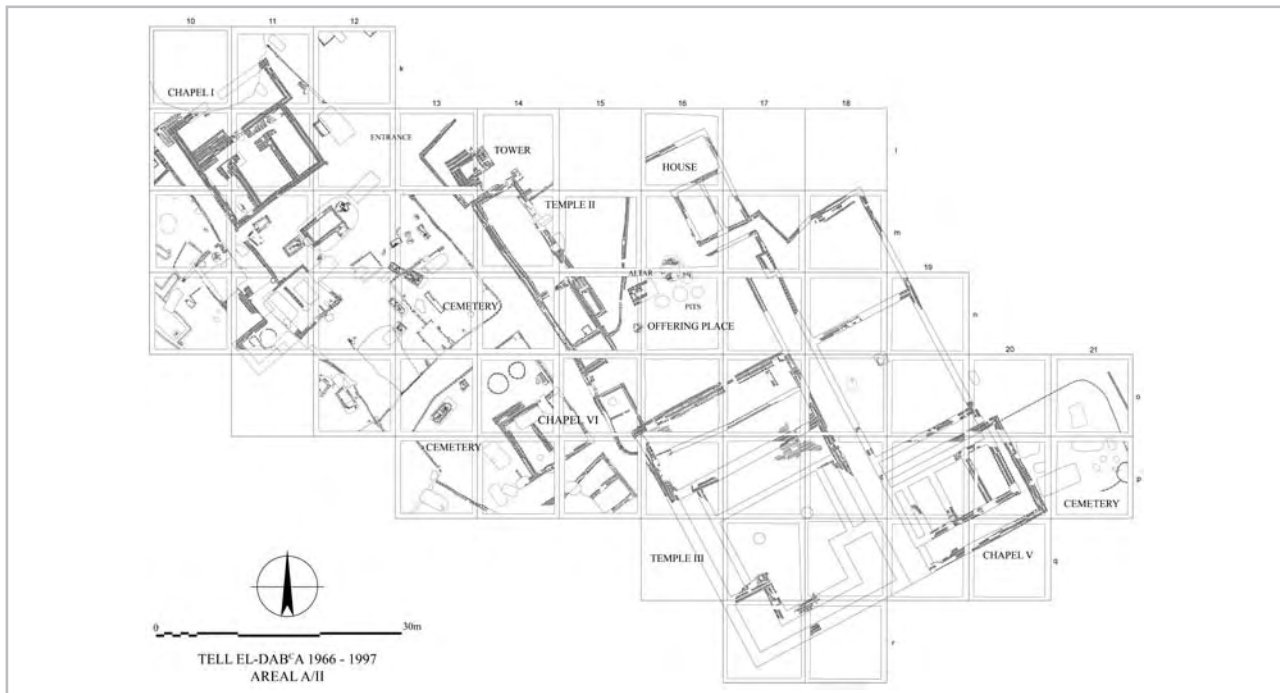


Fig. 4- Temple precinct of area A/II at Tell el-Dab'a from the early IIInd Intermediate Period.

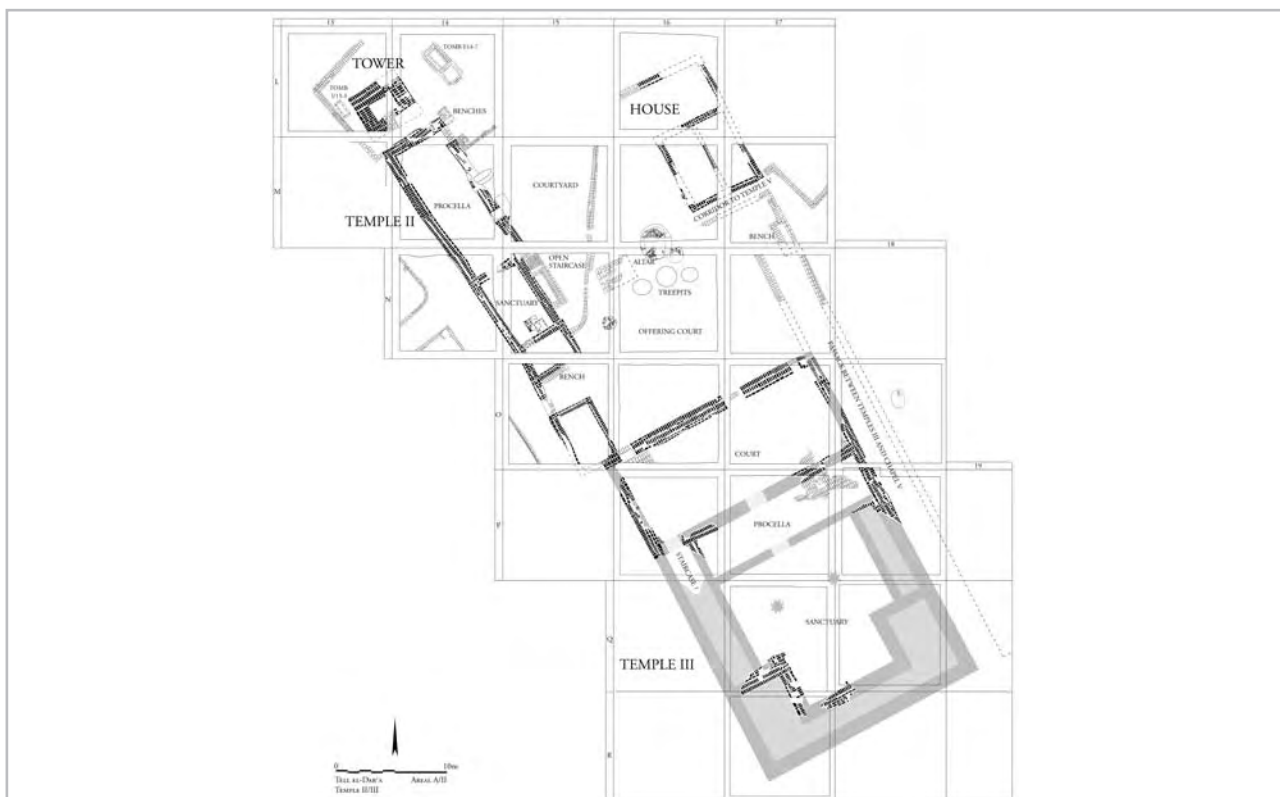


Fig. 5- The main Temple precinct of area A/II.

## II. Discussion of the Near Eastern Temples

### Temple III

The main Temple III is quite large among the Middle Bronze Age temples, measuring originally 25.18 x 21.87 m (Ph. F). That the temple, like all sanctuaries at Tell el-Dab'a, is oriented with its four corners towards the cardinal points is in agreement with Near Eastern Temples but also with the local topography. The northern front wall was originally in a more southerly position, leaving the entrance hall only half as deep as in the final version (Fig. 6). Also the niche of the sanctuary protruded from the south wall of the temple. Later a second wall hid the niche in form of a filling wall. After this enlargement the temple measured 32,62 x 21,48 m (Fig. 7).

The temple opened to the NNW. It was constructed – as are all buildings at Tell el-Dab'a where no stone was available for building material – of mud brick. Its walls were two and a half bricks strong and only preserved in their foundations. In the north we also found some brick courses of the standing walls. The building was badly damaged by *sebakh* digging, especially in the area of the sanctuary; but there are sufficient wall-remains to reconstruct the plan. The building seems to have been painted blue on the outside, as on the front-wall blue painted mud plaster was found *in situ*.

The *cella* is a Broad Room leading to a big niche in its south, measuring with the niche 13.23 x 13.41 m, without the niche 13.23 x 8.28 m. To carry a roof columns were necessary. The most likely reconstruction based on the Temple in Hazor area H are two columns, which would have to bridge – as at Hazor - distances of up to 5 m. No remains of such columns were found *in situ* due to destruction by illicit digging. The *cella* was enclosed in its east south and west by double filling walls which provided a thickness of 3.9 m, in the corners even 6.47 m. In front of it was a broad *procella* (16,02 x 3,69 m) with a floor paved with mud brick. It was accessible by an eastern side entrance from the passage between Temples III and V. The exact position of the two consecutive doors leading from the big entrance room to the Holy of the Holies remains unknown. I have reconstructed both in a central position.

The spacious entrance hall (vestibule) measured 19,31 x 7,92 m. It was also a Broad Room and was paved as some remains show. It is therefore likely that it has been roofed for which a row of columns must have been necessary. No remains, however, have been found. The entrance hall had not less than four doors from outside. Two were positioned near the eastern and western corner of the northern front wall. One was asymmetrically positioned east of the middle of the façade. The reason may have been that a column or another important cultic sign was set up against the middle of the front wall at the southern end of the offering court. We found there a column base of limestone, which was, however, turned upside down but with its edges in alignment with the façade. It could have been reused as a foundation of a cult sign<sup>5</sup>. Another possibility would have been a pair of columns beside temple entrances, carrying a small porch or without static function. Such columns are known from several temples such as the LB Temple H at Hazor<sup>6</sup> and remind us of the two columns Yakhin and Boas reported from the Temple of Jerusalem (1 Kings 7,15-22) and are frequently shown on both sides of the entrance of terracotta models of Late Bronze Age shrines<sup>7</sup>.

Another door was installed on the northern end of the western sidewall. It was accessible from a small guard (?) room attached to the north-western corner of the temple jutting into the offering court. From the entrance hall there may have been access to a straight stairway within the western filling wall of the sanctuary leading to the roof. There is, however, no clear evidence for such a stairway, but this feature is found in both phases of Temple V. Similarly the earlier temple of 'Ezbet Rushdi had such a stairway besides the sanctuary<sup>8</sup>.

In front of the main shrine, Temple III, was a courtyard of 30,74 x 19,19 m which was shared originally with Temple II. Later the space was divided with a wall, two bricks, 1.5 bricks and partly only 1 brick wide, which was renewed several times. The division was oblique leaving a triangular court for Temple II and the larger rest in form of a truncated four-cornered yard in front of Temple III. An altar of a rectangular mud brick construction was positioned asymmetrically west of the prolonged axis of the temple. Possibly the asymmetric position has something to do with the asymmetric position of the middle door of the temple

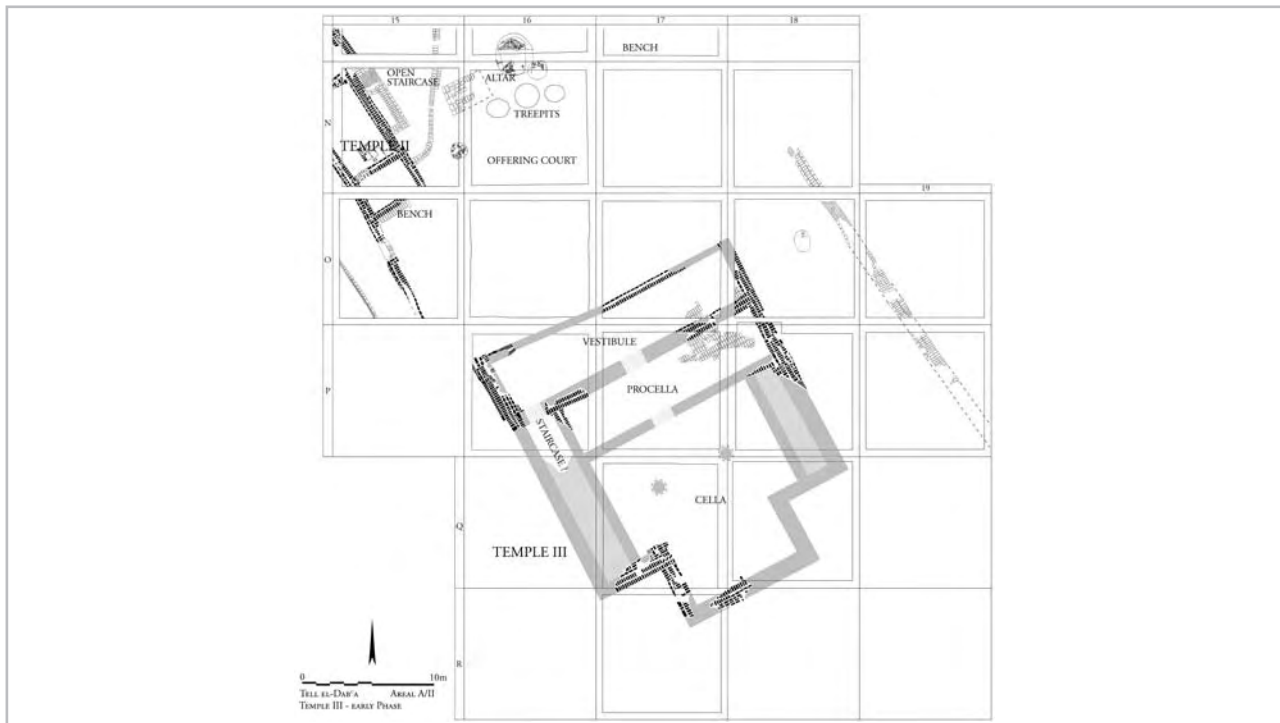


Fig. 6 - The early Temple III of ph. F.

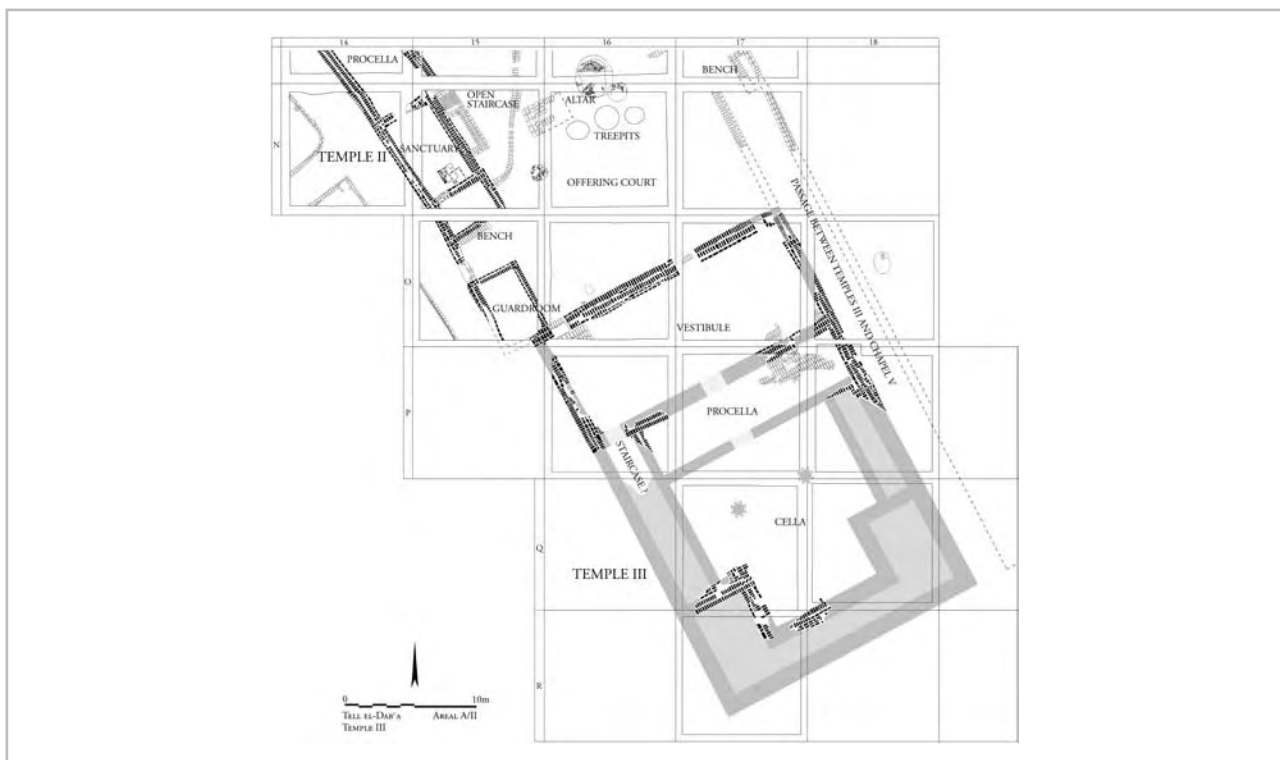


Fig. 7- Temple III in ph. F, and in ph. E/3-2.

façade and the position of the column base, described above. The core of the altar contained ashes, charred animal bones and acorns (**Fig. 8**). The altar seems to have been used for burnt offerings. Acorns found in the ashes and tree pits south of the altar could make us believe that they may have been used for the planting of oak trees. They were not known in Egypt and seemed to have been planted in the sacred precinct by the Canaanite settlers because they were associated with the goddess Ashera, consort of Baal. The trees may have provided shade for the offerings on the altar. One may get an understanding of the frequent feature of a nude goddess appearing between two branches or trees on scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period (**Fig. 9**). This image may offer us the idea of the appearance of the goddess between the trees, approaching her altar.

In the offering court one could find scattered remains of pottery and charred bones, especially at its northern end, near the two-room-house. 92% of the charred bones were from cattle; some bone fragments were from sheep<sup>9</sup>. Entirely different was the evidence from the deposits in front of the mortuary chapel "Temple V": Cattle bones only comprised 28.4% while the majority of 69.2% were from sheep or goats; 2.4% were bones of pigs, which were entirely absent from the deposits in front of the main temple<sup>10</sup>. The explanation could be that the offerings in front of Temples III and II were for gods while the offerings for Temple V were for the deceased<sup>11</sup>.

Ritual meals apparently were held in the above-mentioned house and in front of it as well as in front of Temple V in the open air. Inside the house were found a four-handed crater and a drinking cup. The cemeteries surrounding this precinct strongly suggest that the repasts were of a funerary nature. In two other publications it was reasoned that this building could be identified as a *beth-marzeah*, an ancient Near Eastern ritual installation which goes back to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC<sup>12</sup>. It served a ritual community to congregate at specific occasions, if funerary or festive in order to hold ceremonial meals. During the Hyksos Period it became the custom to inter all remains of the meals, which previously were distributed in the forecourt of the temple within round pits of ca. 2 m diameter<sup>13</sup>. Such pits were also found in this precinct between the altar and the house identified as the *beth marzeah*. The pits date, however, from much later,



Fig. 8- Oak seeds from the altar of Temple III.

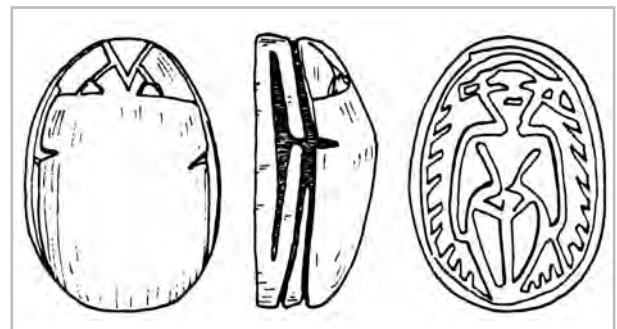


Fig. 9- Scarab with Canaanite goddess between two branches or trees.

from Ph. D/3-1 and show that the temple continued to be used till the end of the Hyksos Period and even into the early New Kingdom. The original strata and architecture were no longer preserved, because *sebakh* digging had denuded the surface. The pits help to show this continuation..

Temple III – a Broad Room temple with a niche within a relative long building – has a room programme of three elements: a relatively deep *cella*, a narrow *procella* and an entrance hall/vestibule which was originally as narrow as the *procella*. The same elements can be found with the Temple H of Stratum 1A at Hazor (**Fig. 10b**), which has a long history going back to the Middle Bronze Age. The *cella* of both temples has similar proportions: Temple III has 1:1.6, Hazor H, str. 1B has 1:1.66 and 1:1.54 in str.

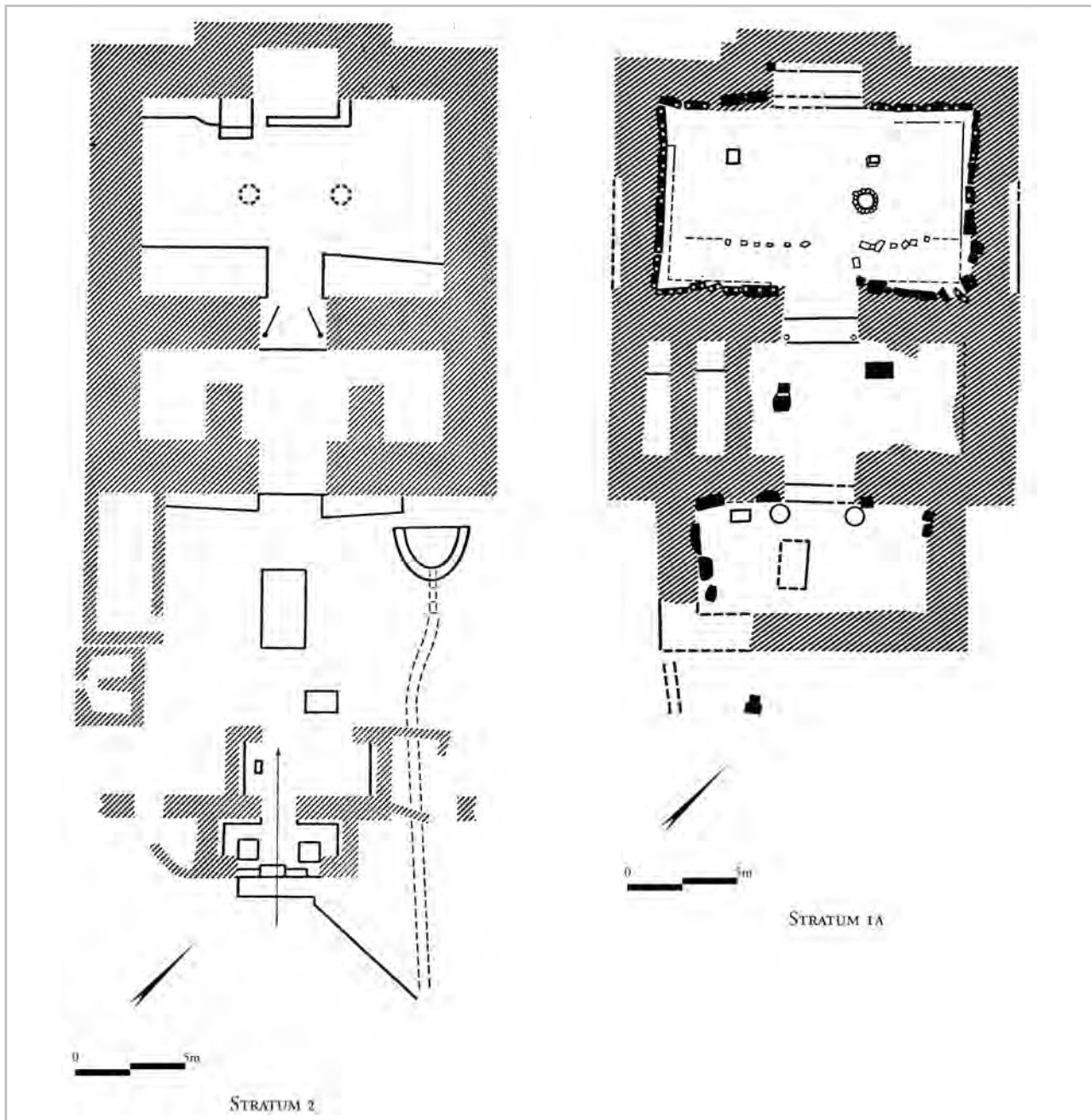


Fig. 10- Temple of Area A at Hazor Str. 2 and Hazor Str. 1A

2. Both temples were originally constructed in such a way that the niche protruded from the back wall. With Hazor Temple of area H of stratum 2 (**Fig. 10a**) our Temple III shares the guardroom attached to a corner and the rectangular altar in front, in Hazor, however, positioned nearly symmetrically in continuation of the

temple's axis<sup>14</sup>. A second rectangular altar oriented parallel to the front wall was, however, positioned asymmetrically as at Tell el-Dab'a<sup>15</sup>.

Another reference temple is Alalakh IV, also from the Late Bronze Age (**Fig. 11a**). It especially resembles the early phase of Temple III with a relatively deep



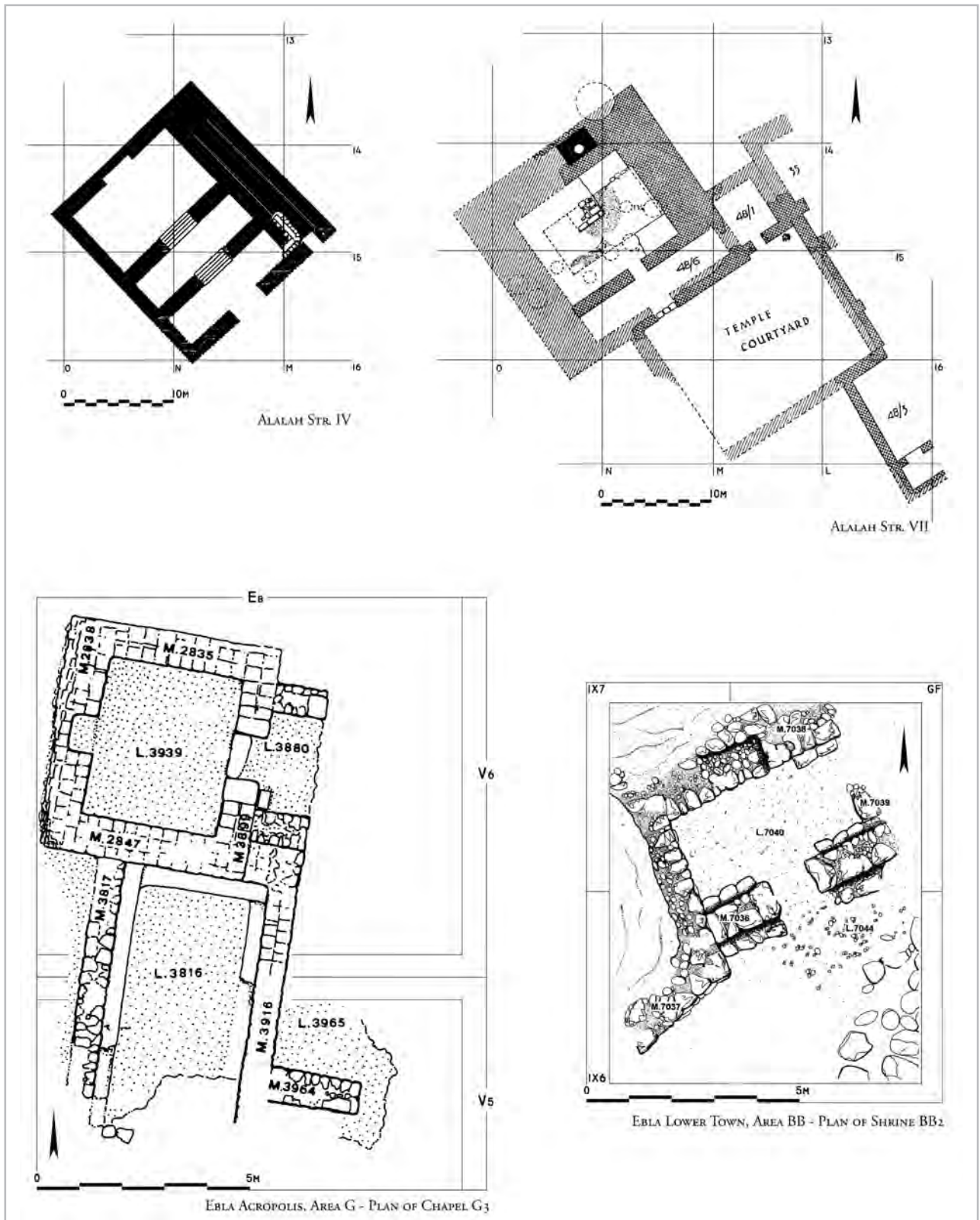


Fig. 11 Temples of Alalakh IV and Alalakh VII, Ebla G3, Ebla PP2.

Broad Room (proportion 1:6.9) with a niche in the back wall. The *procella* has nearly the same proportions as the vestibule, if we can rely on the reconstruction of Leonard Woolley<sup>16</sup>. Both temples, Tell el-Dab'a III and Alalakh IV, seem to have had a staircase integrated into the right long wall of the temple which is accessible from the vestibule<sup>17</sup>. Together with this stairway the temple Alalakh IV measures 17.6 x 17.6 m, otherwise it would have similar dimensions as Tell el-Dab'a III. Already the predecessor from Alalakh, the temple from stratum VII, dating to the late Middle Bronze Age, was a Broad Room house with a wide niche in the back of the sanctuary, taking nearly the same width as the *cella* (**Fig. 11c**). In front of it is a narrow 2.80 m deep and 14.5-17.4 m wide *procella*. The door is set slightly asymmetrically.

A simpler *comparandum* with only the Broad Room *cella* is the Stelae Temple of Area C at Hazor<sup>18</sup>. It was a small sanctuary of LB II set at the inside of the bigger city near the foot of the western rampart. It consisted only of a small Broad Room 6 x 4.5 m with a niche in the centre of the back wall, oriented to the west. This small shrine was renewed in LB III. In the niche were found 10 stelae, the middle one showed the images of two raised arms and was topped with a moon sickle. A statue of a man, sitting on a stool, wearing a moon emblem around his neck, was found at the left edge of the stela. The stelae give the temple a funerary connotation.

Two closely comparable sanctuaries of small size are known from Ebla<sup>19</sup>. Both were situated at the edge of ramparts and both were set on roads. Shrine G3 (3.85 x 3.2 m) with a deep Broad Room with a niche was found in a similar westerly position as Temple area C at Hazor (**Fig. 11c**). It dated to the MB I-II period and was situated at the western side of the ritual track leading to the great Temple of Ishtar (Area D), opening toward the east. On both sides of the entrance one faces a retaining wall. A basalt stela stood in front of the entrance. It seems that this small sanctuary served a similar function as the later temple in area C at Hazor. Also within this shrine, fragments of basalt figures have been discovered. Another small MB II sanctuary from Ebla with Broad Room and niche with the dimensions of 4.2 x 2.25 m (Shrine BB2) was at the side of the approach to the Euphrates Gate and was even connected to its structural complex (**Fig.**

**11d**)<sup>20</sup>. It was embedded in the slope of the northern earthwork rampart.

The *comparanda* for our Temple III at Tell el-Dab'a are all from the northern Levant and could be identified as Syrian dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Our Temple III is one of the early examples and may indicate the origin of the Canaanite cults traced at ancient Avaris from northern Syria.

## Temple II

Particularly interesting from the point of view of Near Eastern architecture is Temple II with its bent axis (**Fig. 12**). It forms the western edge of the offering court and is aligned like the whole compound NNW—SSE. The temple opens towards the east-north-east. To the north of this temple there are remains of a tower with thick walls. It was accessible from a narrow passage north of the temple. Its western façade is in alignment with the long western façade of the temple, thus prolonging this building to the NNW and creating a monumental western enclosure of the whole precinct. The tower is situated already right inside the forecourt of the sacred precinct which is enclosed by a thin mud brick wall running off the north-western corner of Temple II. On both sides of this tower were found tombs belonging to ph. E/3, the main period of this temple. It is not clear if the tombs encroached onto the temple or whether the temple reached out into a newly established cemetery which seems not to have been occupied afterwards. The whole precinct being surrounded by cemeteries most probably served funerary purposes (s. above).

The earliest phase of this temple was a long-room building with its entrance in the north (**Fig. 12a**). Attached to its southern wall, enclosed within a thin mud brick wall, was a cult podium which is positioned asymmetric in order to give way to a door leading to another room in the south – most probably a kind of sacristy for storing cult paraphernalia. Under the podium was buried, as the only *ex voto*, a harpoon head of copper. In a later phase a broadroom as a *procella* was added to the north creating a temple with a bent axis (**Fig. 12b**). Its façade faced east-northeast. Although the excavation could produce no evidence, it is possible that this addition only replaced an older attachment of a Broad Room made of wood and reed (**Fig. 12a**).

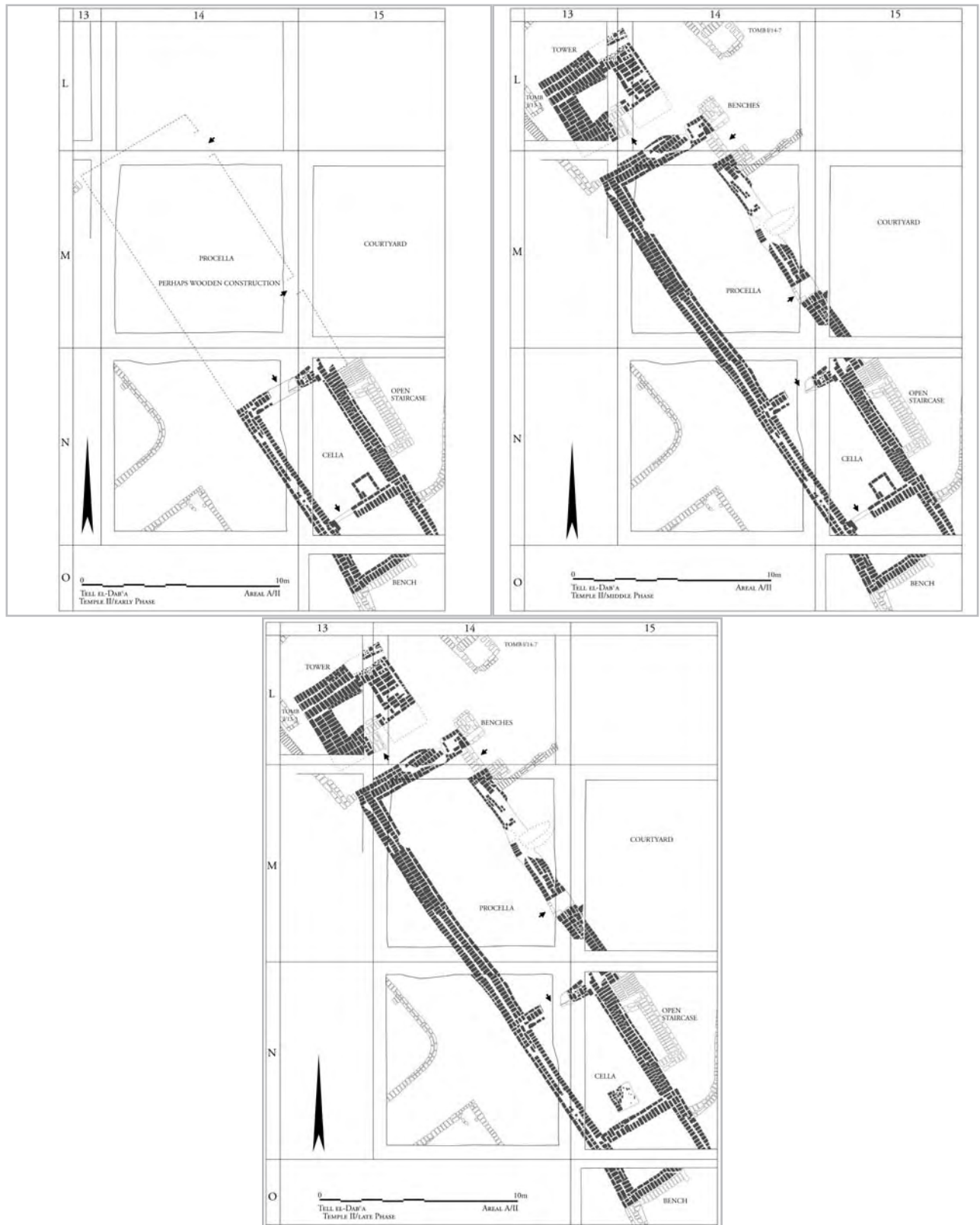


Fig. 12 Temple II, early, middle and late phase.

The façade of the *procella* protruded into the courtyard, creating a corner towards the eastern façade of the *cella*. It is there that one finds a substantial brick construction leading to a rectangular wall abutting the façade. As one can find the same corner on the same side at Temple I and the Temple of ʿEzbet Rushdi, where we have evidence of a stair leading to the roof of the *procella* and, as at Temple V in the same position there is an actual stairway, it could be suggested, that this construction served as a foundation for an open stairway leading to the roof of the *procella*.

At the northern end of the eastern long wall is situated the main entrance of the added broadroom. Towards the southern part of this wall a second smaller door is located, the function of which seems to have been to lead outside to a closed triangular courtyard set off from the major offering court (s. above). The function of this small triangular court is unclear. It was not a cemetery because the tomb at its northern edge dates only as late as the end of the functional period of this temple (ph. E/2), perhaps even after it had fallen into disrepair. The Broad Room, the *procella*, was arranged in such a way that the participants of ceremonies entered the room from the northern door, walked through the room and stepped out to the courtyard. During their passage they had opportunity to look at the entrance to the Holy of the Holies. They congregated in the courtyard before walking back through the *procella* to leave the temple again, or they left the courtyard through a door, which was not discovered by excavation.

During the latest phase of the temple the sacristy in the south was abandoned and closed, forming a complete back wall for the *cella*. The cult podium was taken off the south wall and moved in the direction of the middle axis of the shrine. It was now rebuilt as a square and solidly filled block (**Fig. 12c**).

It is not uninteresting that there existed in the eastern Delta, only 9 km from Tell el-Dab'a, a sanctuary very similar to Temple II. The shrine of phases 2b-c at Tell Ibrahim Awad dates to the Old Kingdom (**Fig. 13**)<sup>21</sup>. This temple goes back to a series of superimposed Broad Room temples, starting at least with Dynasty 0 and was originally a Broad Room – the archetypical kind of temple of the Chalcolithic- and Early Bronze Age Period in the Near East<sup>22</sup>. The entrance façade

faces east as in Temple II at Tell el-Dab'a. The brick structure shows that originally it had a central entrance in its eastern long wall which seems to have been later blocked up. Against the middle of the back wall there are, opposite this central entrance, the remains of a podium.

Another typical feature which the Tell Ibrahim Awad shrine shares with Broad Room Temples is the closed narrow corridor behind the rear wall that seems to have been opened only on rare occasions to deposit or bury cult paraphernalia that had gone out of use. Parallels can be found among the EB Broad Room Temple at Ay<sup>23</sup> and the EB Twin Temples *in antis* (4047 and 4050) at Megiddo<sup>24</sup>.

It is possible that the northern door was already there when the temple was still a Broad Room. A good parallel for a Broad Room temple with a central and a side entrance can be found with the EB-temple at Tel Yarmut<sup>25</sup>. Otherwise this is a typical feature of the Mesopotamian prototypes of Bent Axis temples<sup>26</sup> such as the Abu Temple at Tell Asmar<sup>27</sup>, the Temple of Ishtar and Nini-Zazza at Mari<sup>28</sup>, different phases of the Sin Temple at Khafadja<sup>29</sup> the painted Temple at ʿUqair<sup>30</sup> the Red Temple and the Grey Temple at Gebel Aruda<sup>31</sup>, and the Ishtar Temple at Assur<sup>32</sup>, where the two entrances/exits can be found opposite the single main entrance.

Indeed it seems that the temple of Tell Ibrahim Awad was changed to a Bent Axis temple by blocking the central entrance and either opening another, new one at the northern end of the façade's long wall, or by then using the northern entrance alone<sup>33</sup>. The cult podium was not transferred to the small south wall as is normally the rule with Bent Axis temples, but stayed in the middle of the back wall. This feature alone clearly shows the Bent Axis temple was founded on an original Broad Room temple. The orientation of the podium originally facing east was transferred to the north by a secondarily erected L-shaped wall which closed the central entrance leaving the cult podium open only to the north. The southern part of the Broad Room having lost its original function, was blocked off with a secondary wall, and now served only to bury *ex-votos*.

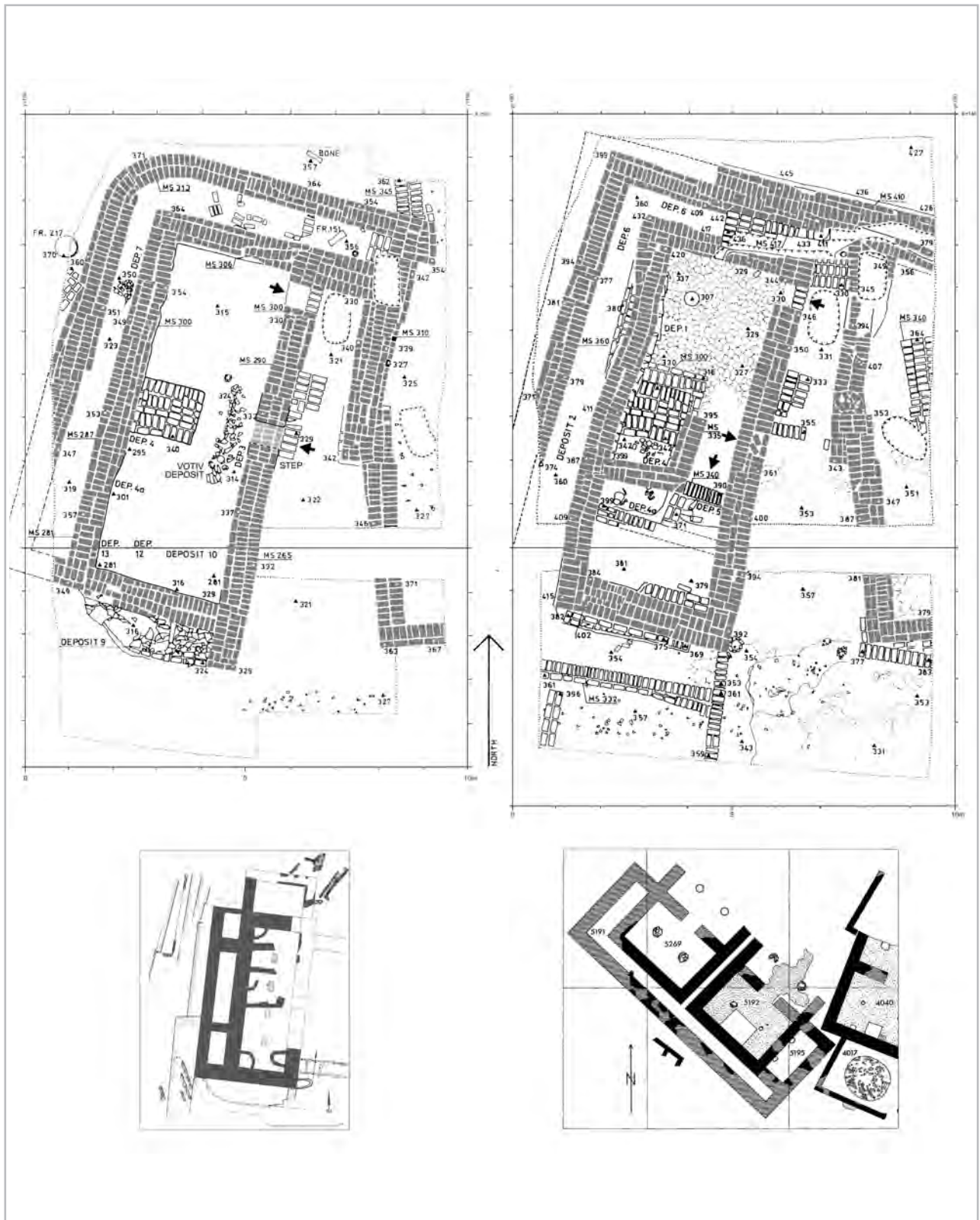


Fig. 13- Temple of Tell Ibrahim Awad reinterpreted after D. Eigner, *E&L* 10 (2000).

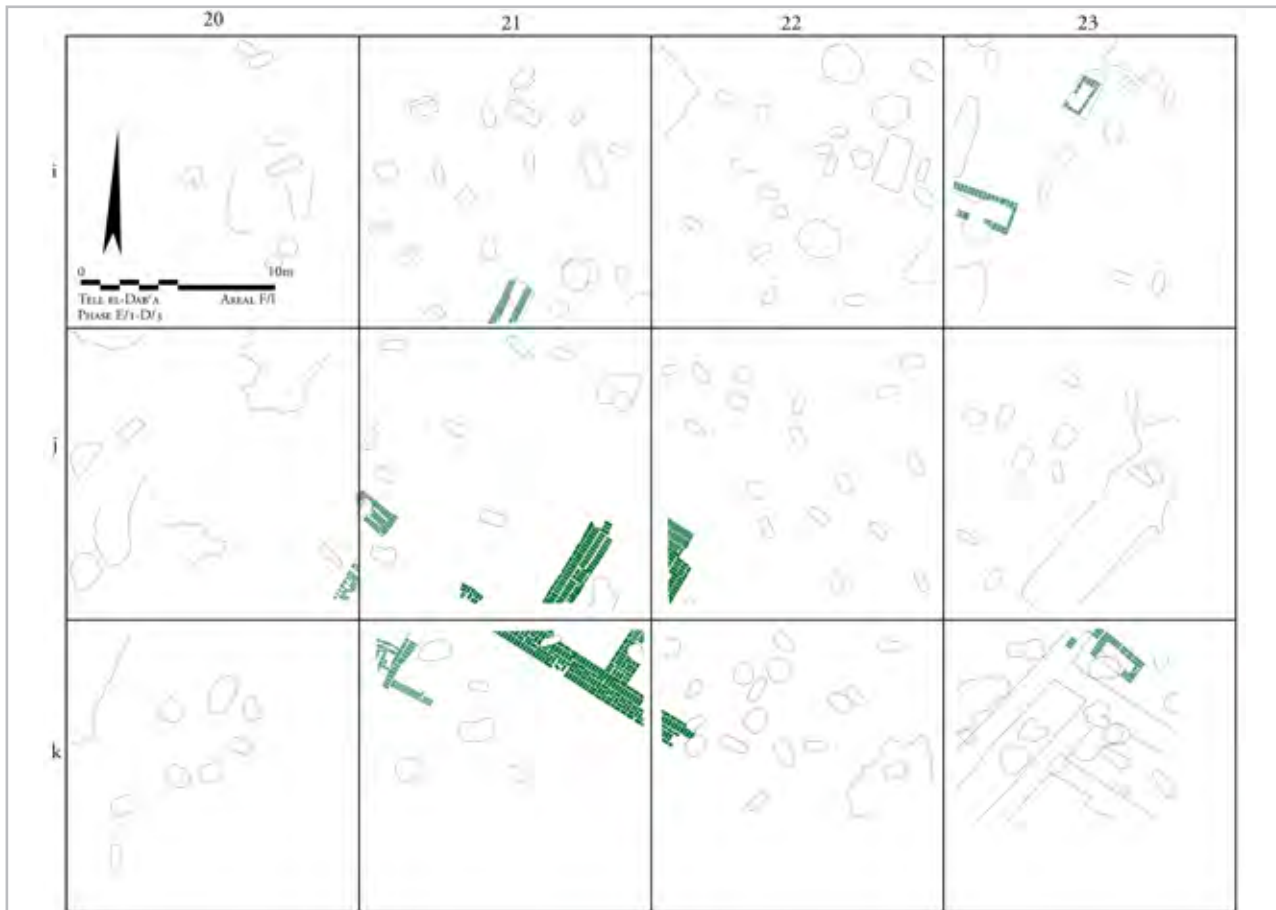


Fig. 14- Temple precinct F/I with offering pits.

### III. Temple and Palace in Area F from the Hyksos Period

In the central part of Avaris in Area F/I-II another sacred precinct was unearthed (**Fig. 15**). Unfortunately, agricultural levelling destroyed the major part of it. Remains of a building with massive brick walls seem to belong to a temple, because north of them offering pits of the same size as in front of the abovementioned Temples III and V were found<sup>34</sup>. Also a pit with two donkeys with offering jugs appeared among those deposits<sup>35</sup>. This would mean that the temple opened towards the north and that an altar could be expected north of it. The strata below provide for the temple a *terminus post quem* with Phase E/2 (beginning of the Hyksos Period). The alignment of the building is in accord with the II<sup>nd</sup> Intermediate Period orientation.

The evaluation of pottery from the offering pits indicates that the pits date to phases E/1 and D/3<sup>36</sup>. Whether this building is Egyptian or Near Eastern is not clear—the remains leave both interpretations possible. There are also tombs in the northern fore-place of the temple; some of them date before the time span of the temple, whilst others are contemporary with it.

At a distance of c. 200 m to the south one finds a palace that dates to the same period as the temple and the offering pit<sup>37</sup>. Its size could be estimated by geophysical survey to c. 10,500 m<sup>2</sup>. This palace was connected to the temple precinct according to geophysical surveying by a processional road (**Fig. 15**)<sup>38</sup>.

This means that the temple of area F/I must have been one of the main temples at Avaris and as the palace is of Ancient Near Eastern type and not an



Fig. 15- Geophysical map with Palace F/II and Temple precinct F/I.



Fig. 16- Palace F/II with circle around offering court.





Fig. 17- Plates and rhyta from the offering pits of the palace.

Egyptian palace it could be expected that also the temple would be of a certain size and of Near Eastern type.

Also the palace had sacred installations (**Fig. 16**). Especially worth mentioning is a court added to the south of the building in its late phase. The court was originally very spacious (27 x 21.3 m) and enclosed on three sides by very thick double walls. In its inner space benches were erected along its north-eastern and south-eastern walls and also across the yard. After a cellar was installed against the north-eastern wall of the court the benches were renewed in the reduced space. Within the court was discovered a series of spacious pits, filled with intentionally broken pottery and charred animal bones. The major part was primarily of cattle, but also sheep, even hippo-bones, some pig bones and fish remains turned up. It is peculiar that the bones were lying around for some time before being interred according to traces of the

effects of rodent gnawing the bones. Smell of rotting meat must have developed after such meals in this court and in the temple forecourts – an attraction for rodents and vultures alike.

Over 5,000 pots were reconstructed, the major part for eating and drinking, but there was also a number of ritual vessels such as libation vases, so-called fishbowls with incised piscine representations on the base and antelopes and hippos on the inner side<sup>39</sup>. Furthermore rhyta in the shape of birds, hippos and one in the form of a nude woman were among the collected material. Many finds indicate fertility rituals taking place in this courtyard--seemingly ritual meals were celebrated there from time to time. Therefore one must ask if this courtyard too could be identified as a *marzeah*. That is, an ancient Oriental installation for ritual communities congregating at the occasion of feasts such as the birthdays of gods, or at the funeral of an important individual, such as the king<sup>40</sup>.

## Notes

- 1-** Cairo TD 2995. See E. Porada, E. Porada, “The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Dab’a”, *AJA* 88 (1984), 485-488; M. Bietak, Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris, Egypt and the Levant 1 (1990), 9-16; C. Uehlinger, Leviathan und die Schiffe in Ps. 104, 25-26, *Biblische Notizen* 71 (1990), 499-526; M. Bietak Zylindersiegel und Abdruck, 119-120 [62], in M. Bietak, I. Hein et al., *Pharaonen und Fremde: Dynastien im Dunkel* ( Exhibitioncatalogue), Vienna 1994: Museen der Stadt Wien.
- 2-** Porada, op.cit., 487.
- 3-** A.H. Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt*, London 1991, 85-87.
- 4-** M. Bietak, Tell el-Dab’a V, Ein Friedhofsbezirk mit Totentempel der Mittleren Bronzezeit im östlichen Nildelta, *UZK VIII. Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd. IX.* Vienna 1991, 154, Plan 5, o/13 in L344.
- 5-** Places in front of temples specified by pebbles or stone bases are attested at Hazor, Temple H, str. 2 in front of the altar and in front of the temple at Megiddo. S. Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV (Plates)*, Jerusalem 1961, pl. CXII/3; Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV (Text)*, ed. by A. Ben-Tor & Sh. Geva, Jerusalem 1989, plan XXXVIII; Y. Yadin, *Hazor, The Head of all those Kingdoms*, Joshua 11:10, *The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy* 1970, London 1972, 81; G. Loud, *Megiddo II, Seasons of 1935-39*, Chicago 1948, figs. 255, 259.
- 6-** Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV (Plates)*, pls. CXV/2, CXVI/2,5, CXXVIII/1-2; Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV (Text)*, 263, Plan XL; Yadin, *Hazor*, London 1972, 89, pl. XVIIa; Loud, op. cit., figs. 255, 259.
- 7-** Th. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem*, vol. I, Leipzig 1970, 173 f.; W. Zwickel, *Der salomonische Tempel*, Mainz 1999, 113-125.
- 8-** M. Bietak & J. Dörmel, with contributions by E. Czerny und T. Bagh, “Der Tempel und die Siedlung des Mittleren Reiches bei cEzbet Ruschdi - Grabungsvorbericht 1996”. *Egypt and the Levant* 8 (1998), 9-40.
- 9-** J. Boessneck & A., von den Driesch, Tell el-Dab’a VII: Tiere und Historische Umwelt im Nordost Delta im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. anhand von Knochenfunden der Ausgrabungen 1975-1986, Vienna 1992, 19-20.
- 10-** Ibidem; s. also V. Müller, Tell el-Dab’a XVII: Opferdeponierungen in der Hyksoshauptstadt Auaris (Tell el-Dab’a) vom späten Mittleren Reich bis zum frühen Neuen Reich, *UZK XXIX*, Vienna 2008, Teil I, 237-239.
- 11-** In the eastern Mediterranean world pigs were sacrificed for the dead or underworld deities in eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Aegean (R. de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, London 1972, 252-269).
- 12-** M. Bietak, “The Function and some Architectural Roots of the Fosse Temple at Lachish”, *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume, Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines*, 56-85 in E.D. Oren & S. Ahituv (eds.), Beer Sheva XV, Beer Sheva 2002; idem, “Temple or ‘Beth Marzeah?’” 155-168, in W.G. Dever & S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel and their Neighbors, From the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestine*, The W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial Symposium, Israel Museum, Jerusalem, May 29-31, 2000, Winona Lake, Ind. 2003.
- 13-** Müller, op.cit., Teil I, 288–292; Teil II, 178–214, 218–231.
- 14-** Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor III-IV (Text)*, Plan XXXVIII, locus 2534.
- 15-** Ibidem, locus 2554
- 16-** L. Woolley, *Alalakh, An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay 1937-1949*, Oxford 1955, fig. 30.
- 17-** P. Werner, *Die Entwicklung der Sakralarchitektur in Nordsyrien und Südostkleinasien, vom Neolithikum bis in das 1. Jt. v. Chr.*, München-Wien 1994, 62, would like to reconstruct a temple in antis without the stairway – an opinion which I do not share.
- 18-** Y. Yadin et al., *Hazor I*, Jerusalem 1958, 83-85, pl. XXVII, XXVIII, CLXXXI; Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, London 1972, 67-74, figs. 15-17, pl. XIII, XIVa.
- 19-** P. Matthiae, “Les dernières découvertes d’Ebla en 1983-1986”, *CRAIBL* (1987), 148-154; idem, “Middle Bronze II Minor Cult Places at Ebla?” 217-233 in A.M. Maeir & P. de Miroschedji (eds.), “I will Spak the Riddles

of Ancient Times”, *Archaeological and Historical Studies in Honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, Winona Lake, Ind. 2006.

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**21-** D. Eigner, “Tell Ibrahim Awad: Divine Residence from Dynasty 0 until Dynasty 11”, *Egypt and the Levant* 10 (2000), 17-36; W. van Haarlem, “Les fouilles de Tell Ibrahim Awad (delta oriental du Nil): Resultats récentes”, *BSFE* 141 (1998), 8-18; idem “The Excavations at Tell Ibrahim Awad (Eastern Nile Delta): Recent Results”, 509-513 in C.J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995, Leuven 1998; idem, “An Introduction to the Site of Tell Ibrahim Awad”, *Egypt and the Levant* 10 (2000), 13-16; M. Bietak, “Two Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta”, *Egypt and the Levant* 13 (2003), 13-38.

**22-** A. Ben-Tor, “Plans of Dwellings and Temples in Early Bronze Age Palestine”, *Eretz Israel* 11 (1973), 25, 97-98 (Hebr.); Z. Herzog, “Broadroom and Longroom House Type”, *Tel Aviv* 7 (1980), 86-88; G.R.H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, VII. Abt., Kunst und Archäologie, Bd. I Der Alte Orient, 2. Abschn., Die Denkmäler, ed. by B. Hrouda B Vorderasien, Lieferung 3, Leiden-Cologne 1985, 231-232, figs. 123-129; A. Kempinski, “Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Temples”, 53-59 in A. Kempinski & R. Reich (eds.), *The Architecture of Ancient Israel*, ed. by Jerusalem 1992.

**23-** J. Marquet-Krause, *Les fouilles de ‘Ay (et-Tell)*, 1932-1935, Paris 1949, 10-12, 14-16, pl. 92.

**24-** J. Loud, *Megiddo II*, 61-70, figs 180-181. For redating the temples see I. Dunayevsky & A. Kempinski, “The Megiddo Temples”, *ZDMG* 89 (1973), 167-172 (n.20), 167-172.

**25-** P. de Miroschedji, *Yarmouth I*, *Rapport sur les trois premières campagnes de fouilles à Tel Yarmouth (Israël)* (1980-1982), Paris 1988.38-41, fig. 2, pl. 8.

**26-** W. Andrae, *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im Alten Orient*, Berlin 1930, 18f.; E. Heinrich, *Die Tempel und Heiligtümer im Alten Mesopotamien*, *Typologie, Morphologie und Geschichte*, *Denkmäler antiker Architektur* 14, Berlin 1982, 14f.

**27-** Heinrich, op. cit., fig. 186,

**28-** Ibidem, fig. 197.

**29-** Ibidem, fig. 151.

**30-** Ibidem, fig. 105.

**31-** Werner, op.cit. 116, 118.

**32-** Heinrich, op.cit., fig. 243.

**33-** Bietak *Egypt and the Levant* 13 (2003), 36-38, figs. 6-7; s. also M. Bietak, “The Predecessors of the Hyksos”, 285-293 in S. Gitin J.E. Wright and J.P. Dessel (eds.), *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever* Fs, ed. by, Winona Lake, Indiana 2006, see especially 289-291, figs. 5-6.

**34-** Müller, op. cit., Teil I, 288-289; Teil II, 19-177.

**35-** Ibidem, 291; Teil II, 174-177.

**36-** Ibidem, Teil I, 288-289; Teil II, 19-177.

**37-** M. Bietak & I. Forstner-Müller, “Eine palatiale Anlage der frühen Hyksoszeit (Areal F/II) Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Grabungskampagne 2006 in Tell el-Dab‘a, Egypt and the Levant 16 (2006), 61-76; M. Bietak & I. Forstner-Müller, “Ein Opfermahl und das Ende eines Palasts in Tell el-Dab‘a/Ägypten”, *WZKM* 97 (2007), 211-34; M. Bietak, I. Forstner-Müller & T. Herbich, “Discovery of a New Palatial Complex in Tell el-Dab‘a in the Delta: Geophysical Survey and Preliminary Archaeological Verification”, 119-125 in: Z. Hawass & J. Richards (eds.), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt, Essays in Honor of David O’Connor*, vol. I, Cairo 2007.

**38-** Previous note.

**39-** D. Aston & B. Bader with a contribution of K. Kunst, “Fishes, Ringstands, Nudes and Hippos, A Preliminary Report on Pit Complex L81”, *Egypt and the Levant* 19 (2009 in print).

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