GODS IN DWELLINGS

Temples and Divine Presence in the Ancient Near East

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CHAPTER 1
TEMPLES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST:
AN INTRODUCTION

In a dangerous and volatile world, the ancient Near Eastern temple was the primary point of intersection between human and divine. As a principle means of establishing security in an otherwise insecure world, it situated the deity in the midst of human habitation, so that humanity might offer service and gifts in exchange for divine protection and prosperity. The temple was also the divine residence, which intimates that its resident had a vested interest in his residence and the community around it. Thus, through regular and regulated interactions in the temple, people could gain some measure of control over both their own fate and that of the world around them. By influencing the resident deity, they influenced the cosmos it governed, often jointly with the other gods. Furthermore, because it marked the intersection of two otherwise separate spheres, the temple structure also served to mediate contact, facilitating safe and fruitful commerce.

Conceptually, the temple was integrally related to and dependent upon the divine presence and the interaction between that presence and humanity. It had an important role to play, yet one that should not be overestimated. The temple was secondary to both divine presence and ritual action, serving as the setting for both. Without them, it was merely an empty building, a stage bereft of actors and action. However, when all three elements converged, the temple became a place of power, accomplishing specific functions and communicating specific messages.

The temple's complementary relationship may perhaps be understood best via analogy. In a play, the actors and actions are generally regarded as more

1. "Architecture is space structured to meet social needs, and the temple is the architectural type that services the social institution of religion" (Gregory J. Wightman, Sacred Spaces: Religious Architecture in the Ancient World [Leuven: Peeters, 2007], 898).
2. The term cosmos derives from the Greek κόσμος, representing the antithesis of chaos, and refers here to the ordered universe.
3. Wightman, Sacred Spaces, 932.
4. The analogy is used here for its explanatory power in a limited context; it is not meant to be stretched too far. In making it, I am not suggesting that ritual should be understood as a drama (see, e.g., Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974]), only that drama and ritual have points of intersection.
interesting and important than the stage itself. A play, if well-performed, could be effective on nearly any stage. However, the stage and setting possess remarkable power to influence and enhance the play's effectiveness. A successful stage is not only functional, but also successfully conveys the play's message, facilitating the proper emotional and physical response. Furthermore, the stage and the theater have a significant effect on how the actors perform and perceive their performances. For example, an elaborate Broadway or West End set may be far more evocative than a simple stage in a local community center and, as such, not only affects the audience's perception but also influences the actors' performances. Likewise, a priest may perform and perceive his actions differently depending on the form and evocative power of the temple. As the arena of human-divine interaction, the temple structure evokes and enculturates in both the observer and the participant the "correct" emotive and behavioral responses. Like a play, divine presence and human-divine interaction can occur on practically any stage. However, when the deity is permanently or semipermanently resident, boundaries must be carefully established and the rooms appropriately fashioned and adorned. The deity's residence must be properly prepared, both to accommodate the deity's specifications and to communicate the appropriate message to the public.

**ARCHITECTURAL AND SPATIAL THEORY**

*Built Environment Studies*

The temple's encoded messages have a theoretical basis in built environment studies. Built environment studies builds on psychological and sociocultural anthropological approaches to architectural forms, and focuses on the relationship between the built environment and human behavior. This approach recognizes the significant role that built environments play in shaping human behavior and decision-making. It examines how physical spaces influence human activity, social interaction, and mental processes. By studying the relationship between architecture and behavior, built environment studies aim to inform the design and planning of spaces that better support human well-being and societal goals.

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INTRODUCTION TO PART 1

between the "structure and the cultural categories that influence it," recognizing that buildings are "molded theatres of human activity." Even when the structure lies abandoned, "a trace of this vanished life remains behind in a building to the extent that the purpose is incarnated in the forms of the space." This is an especially helpful insight for examining the structures of the ancient world, which have outlived the cultures that formed and frequented them. The Egyptian temple, for example, is particularly informative as the purpose of the structure is inscribed on the very walls, in the form of reliefs and inscriptions.

Recognizing the communicative power of structures, built environment studies examines the effect the "physical constitution of an environment has on the human activity within it." It analyses the purpose of the structure (for both designers and users), how its form communicates this purpose, and its power to influence, if not determine, behavior. Instead of (or in addition to) having signs for people to read and obey, a building often communicates unconsciously. When viewing the physical layout of a building, the observer unconsciously makes associations derived from that layout. For example, the structures of a modern cathedral, skyscraper, or an ancient temple often inspire awe. This response is not a conscious decision. Instead, viewing the building itself elicits this emotive reaction without any conscious thought. The temple employs this powerful tool to

9. Ibid., 160.
12. Cf. Rapoport (Built Environment, 19–34), who notes two levels to the built environment, the perceptual and associational, where the perceptual notes the physical items perceived by the observer and the associational is concerned with the different associations the user makes with the physical elements.
13. For Richard E. Blanton, the form of a dwelling facilitates and promotes the behavior that inspired its structure. For example, the decoration and levels of elevation provide signals within a culture of the privileged status of older generation over the younger (House and Households: A Comparative Study [New York: Plenum, 1994], 102).
reinforce already established cultural messages. For Rapoport, it serves as a cue to inspire the appropriate emotive, interpretive, and behavioral response. In his words, “it is the social situation that influences people’s behavior, but it is the physical environment that provides the cues.” In other words, the structure provides a behavioral mnemonic that reminds the body how to behave.

The building’s message goes beyond implicit prompting. Its beauty lies in its ability to make the appropriate cultural response seem like a truth inherent in nature, which thus cannot be ignored. In Egypt, for example, the ubiquity of the king in the decoration instilled in the observer the idea that the king alone was the mediator between the people and the gods, between order and chaos. Since such “truths” were built into the very fabric of the temple, created to house the deity, they seem to have been built into the very fabric of creation.

Walls and doors are particularly relevant examples of a building’s communicative strategy, and, in the ancient Near East, portals between spaces were especially important, evidenced by the overabundance of terms for doors and gates in Egyptian. Walls form an impenetrable barrier between significant spaces and doors serve as the only means of access between those spaces. As such, walls and doors are especially useful in separating spaces and defining access to those spaces. Today, as in the past, people often take these forms for granted, responding to their cues without consciously noticing them.

However, the structure in isolation often contributes an ambiguous message. As with ritual action, in which multiple actions may accomplish the same purpose and the “same” action may accomplish multiple purposes in different contexts, different architectural and decorative features may communicate the same message, while the same features in different settings may express different messages. One must also know something of the cultural context of the building and the actions conducted therein. Rather than focusing exclusively on design, we may also ap-
peal to the preserved texts, which provide invaluable evidence about the use of the structures and their elements. Written texts, especially those concerned with the planning and construction of the building, provide important clues as to the intent of the planners and builders. These texts are less open to interpretation as the designers often communicated their intentions explicitly.

Within these texts and within the structure of the building, one also finds elements of an ideological nature. For example, various elements often speak to the underlying rationale of a structure, how it is understood by designers and users, religious authorities and commoners, and where the temple and its ideology fit within the larger cultural worldview (e.g., how is it understood to be an appropriate residence from the deity, different from all others, and what is its cosmic symbolism?). When evidence of an ideological nature is missing or does not explicitly indicate purpose, the interpreter must “rely on his own sensitivity and creativity to offer an explanation that approaches the cultural and social significance of the structure.”

From another (similar) perspective, George has recently examined the biblical tabernacle through the lens of spatial theory, or, more particularly, a spatial poetics. Building on the work of Lefebvre and the New Historicism, he posits three categories through which space may be analyzed: spatial practice, conceptual space, and symbolic space. According to George, “social space ... is understood as more than physical reality. It is a combination of interrelated fields; the physical reality of space; the conceptual systems a society creates to explain and think space; and the symbolic meanings a society ascribes and imputes to space.”

**Modern Analogs**

Even today buildings communicate. Two of the closest modern analogs to the ancient Near Eastern temple are particularly illustrative as points of comparison and contrast, highlighting the two primary aspects of the ancient temple: a cathe-

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22. Ibid., 16.
23. Mark K. George, *Israel’s Tabernacle as Social Space* (SBL. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 2; Atlanta: SBL, 2009).
(as the temple was the place for encountering the deity) and a private house 
as the temple was the home of the deity).

As with an ancient Near Eastern temple, the adornment of a cathedral indicates its relative wealth, and its layout marks access. The elaborate structure and its ornamentation indicate the prestige of the place, while the layout controls access to its various parts. More than that, its sheer presence evokes an emotional response. Rather than consciously analyzing its elements to intuit the proper reaction, one is simply affected by it. As in the temple of old, the observer is awestruck and responds appropriately with reverence. For example, visitors often instinctively lower their voices, even if the building is empty. The architecture thereby unconsciously reinforces and in some ways even creates the impression of divine power and presence.

Nonetheless, there are major differences between a modern cathedral and an ancient Near Eastern temple. Although constructed as a point of contact between human and divine, ancient Near Eastern temples primarily served as the estates of the gods to which people had limited access, not gathering places for a congregation. In ancient Near Eastern contexts, the deity's continued presence was the primary concern, and, as such, the people's role focused on keeping the deity happy so that it would remain at home and positively disposed to its servants. Likewise, personal concerns, which are often primary in a modern context, played

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27. Especially in years past, many Catholic and Orthodox churches were hierarchically divided, separating the common people from the clergy and especially from the divine presence made especially manifest in the elements of the Eucharist, in some cases kept in a niche like ancient Near Eastern statues (see esp. Kilde, Sacred Power). As such, they have many parallels with ancient Near Eastern temples that may be profitably explored. Here, analysis will focus on more recent understandings of the cathedral as a gathering place for a worshipping congregation, akin to that of Protestant churches. For as Kilde notes, “Vatican II transformed the house of God into the house of God’s people” (Sacred Power, 189).

28. Many modern churches meet in nondescript buildings, often as a response to the opulence of the cathedrals, aiming to be more accessible and emphasizing that the building itself is not as important as the believer's internal relationship with the deity; cf. Steven Snape, Egyptian Temples (Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire, 1996), 8.

29. Kilde, Sacred Power, 58.

little role in ancient Near Eastern temples since they did not necessarily contribute to the divine well-being.\(^3\)

Access is an especially important contrast. Although in the ancient Near Eastern temple courts were occasionally accessible and often their size could accommodate large crowds, especially during festivals, access was severely restricted to the temple interior, and one is hard-pressed to find anything resembling pews inside.\(^3\) Furthermore, rather than serving as a refuge like cathedrals and other modern churches where worshipers seek physical and emotional sanctuary, ancient Near Eastern temples often elicited fear and threatened danger. In the ancient Near East, this intersection between human and divine was perceived to be volatile, and a positive divine reception was not assured. In a modern context, although the deity is perceived to be present, especially in Catholic and Orthodox contexts, worshipers often focus more on their internal relationship with the deity. The church is thus used to accommodate their worship and enhance their feelings of intimacy, such that the modern cathedral functions more as a house for God's people than the house of God.\(^3\)

For another analogy, we turn to the private house. Like temples, homes communicate on a general level the prestige of their occupant, their tastes, and the hierarchical divisions within their households. The house and its furnishings communicate wealth or status, while the layout of the house indicates rank within the household and access to its various regions. For example, in a western home, the private domain is often separated from the public world by a front door. Practically anyone from the public sphere may come to the front door, the threshold between public and private worlds. Access to the private world, however, must be given, while those who transgress this boundary may be punished.\(^3\) The entryway (or vestibule in archaeological parlance) often indicates the next level of accessibility, beyond which one typically encounters a room for entertaining guests. Only the privileged few travel further, as we move beyond the category of guest to that of intimate. Graded access becomes especially pronounced when the house has two or more levels. Access to the upper floor, and particularly to its bedrooms and bathrooms, is a special privilege. The master bedroom, frequently the most important room, is often the largest and best-decorated bedroom and the most isolated room in the house—i.e., the farthest from the front door. Likewise, in an ancient Near Eastern temple, the importance of a room was usually proportional

32. As we will see in ch. 5, the benches occasionally lining the walls of sanctuaries in many ways provide a poor parallel.
34. Indeed, in some American states, a violation of this boundary legally permits homeowners to shoot trespassers.
to its distance from the entrance of the temple complex, and the number of walls and portals one must pass through to reach it. With each successive wall and doorway, fewer and fewer people had access, until only a privileged few could enter the divine bedchamber, often found in the most secluded and most protected area of the compound.

More than simply mediating access and marking status, the house provides a powerful impetus to behave according to its rules. Entering an impressive private domain, especially when it is owned by someone of higher social status, naturally evokes a submissive response. One feels privileged to be allowed into another’s private space and unconsciously compelled to follow the rules of that space. Indeed, when guests enter a person’s domain, wherein they have no authority, they must obey its rules as a condition of their access. Because the space belongs to another, a guest would never think to regulate the inhabitant’s rules; he or she would instead follow those rules willingly.35

Ancient Near Eastern temples functioned similarly. They were universally referred to as divine residences, and deities were of a higher social, even ontological, standing than everyone else, including the king. As such, ancient Near Eastern and biblical literature on temples and temple protocol often focused on the rules of the house, given to ensure proper conduct in the divine domain and a profitable interchange between the deity and its human servants. Since humans could not presume to understand, regulate, or enumerate divine actions in divine space, divine conduct was commonly mentioned only when it was necessary to ensure that guests behave appropriately.

However, once again, there is an important difference between a human home and a temple, just as there is an important difference between their residents. To differentiate it as an appropriate divine abode, the ancient Near Eastern temple builders, as we will see, often included marks of its otherness in the structure itself and almost always in their textual presentation of it.

In each context, whether the cathedral, home, or temple, the environment itself does not create messages; instead it is created to reinforce, perhaps even en-culture, preexisting messages regarding rank and access. This message is particularly persuasive precisely because the observer often absorbs it unconsciously. Thus, by reinforcing the divisions within the society and within the homes of its members, the structure seems to indicate that the differences are innate.

35. For example, a person entering a home and seeing shoes stacked by the door would yield to the owner’s preference and defer to his or her wishes, rather than imposing her or his own personal preferences or habits.
How Do We Interpret Ancient Temples as Buildings?

Analyzing ancient temples requires an understanding of their complexity and interconnectedness with divine presence, and the interaction between that presence and humanity. The divine has been understood as the wholly other that stands outside of normal experience and is thus indescribable in its terms; "for all available descriptive terms are grounded in human experience and so fall short." To describe it, one must use analogical language, for although a metaphor cannot and does not encapsulate meaning, it can approximate it. When dealing with the wholly other, approximation is the best one can do. However, no single approximation exhausts meaning, and if taken too far it can even distort meaning. Instead, various metaphors are amassed, each grasping to catch an aspect of the ineffable, together grasping at the whole. Again, one must be careful not to stretch the metaphors too far, thereby producing contradictions that are often more a result of the inadequacy of the description, rather than the inadequacy of that being described.

The ancient Near Eastern temple represented an uneasy symbiosis, a necessary mixing of human and divine spheres. As the house of the divine, the temple had elements of the numinous. As a building in human space, it also had elements of this world. The temple was built in the natural world with earthly materials and was frequented by humans. Because it was a physical, terrestrial abode, we are right to call it a home, but as the home of a god, it was different from all human analogs, requiring elements of analogical representation that point to its otherness. On a practical level, the design of a temple functionally differentiated it from ordinary buildings, in order to construct an abode suitable for its divine resident.

36. In his classic book, Rudolf Otto uses the expression "numinous" to refer to the confrontation between humanity and a power not of this world (The Idea of The Holy [trans. J. Harvey; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958]). This is not to say, as we will see in the section on divine presence, that the deity does not overlap at all with humanity, only that deities exceed humans in almost every conceivable way, and thus cannot be adequately described in human terms.

37. Thorkild Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness: A History of Mesopotamian Religion (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 3, describing religion as a universal. Division between the natural and the supernatural is a modern distinction. Nonetheless, this distinction is useful in putting words to the innate understanding of the ancients that the divine is special; and, although present in the ordinary, it is also distinct from it.

38. Thus, the metaphor is central to religious expression; cf. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, 3. On the nature of religious language, see, e.g., Janet Soskice, Metaphor and Religious Language (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); for a brief summary, see Hundley, Keeping Heaven, 12-14.

39. This is akin to Catherine Bell’s ritualization, which refers to a "way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in relation to other, more quotidian, activities" (Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992], 74).
In other words, the ancient Near Eastern temple was made similar enough to be meaningful and comprehensible to humans, yet different enough to be appropriate for the deity. In constructing a divine abode, the ancient Near Eastern temple builders were bound to the constraints of physical materials, available resources, and the human imagination. In order to highlight its special status, they were limited to the elements of design, language, and aesthetics to communicate its otherness. In this analysis, we will note both how the temple is differentiated from human analogs and attempt to explain what that differentiation implies about its perceived nature.

**Methodology**

In recognition of the temple's complexity, I adopt a multilayered approach suitable to the multivalent temple, analyzing it using four categories: structure, use, structural communication, and ideology. Although by no means perfect, this fourfold division provides a fuller portrait of the ancient Near Eastern temples by addressing their effects and how they were used and perceived from different angles.

Structure literally refers to the structure of the building, in effect providing its blueprint, including the description of gates, walls, furniture, and adornment. For example, this section addresses the location of the sanctuary and its decoration. Use is also rather straightforward category, referring to what the building was designed and used for, according to textual and archaeological evidence, on both an overall and room-by-room basis. For example, each culture refers to the temple as a "house," thereby employing the same terminology used for human dwellings, while the presence of an altar and animal bones would indicate animal offerings.

As its name suggests, structural communication addresses what the structure itself likely communicated and the effects it elicited from its observers. Whereas the level of structure notes that the Egyptian pylon is large and describes its shape, structural communication describes how the pylon's size highlights the importance of the space it protects and describes the response it likely elicited. At this level, information is communicated largely unconsciously, involving a reaction rather than a cognitive process, one that may be engineered to reinforce already existing cultural messages. For example, the temple structures often unconsciously inspire awe and prompt submission to their codes of conduct.

The level of ideology takes us one step further, examining the underlying rationale of the building, primarily from the perspective of the builders but also of its users, and situating it in the context of the larger cultural worldviews. For example, it asks: why was the temple constructed the way it was constructed? How does it

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40. For an explication of their relevance to ritual theory, see Hundley, *Keeping Heaven*, 26–37, esp. 34–37.
reflect and reinforce the society's conceptions of the divine and temple space? How is the temple perceived to be suitable for the deity and different from human analogs? To communicate the underlying thoughtworlds, this category incorporates mythology and includes symbolism. For example, many ancient Near Eastern temples were conceptually linked with creation, served as a bridge between heaven and earth, and constituted semidiscernible worlds whose well-being determined the well-being of the human world around them. Because the texts rarely fully articulate their ideological agenda and different texts articulate it differently, ideology may function on many levels, and because it derives from the diverse associations people make, ideological interpretations invariably vary.41

Analysis thus moves from the more concrete—describing the temple's layout and function—to the more subjective and abstract—examining the effect of the structure on the observer and the underlying rationale of the building. Viewing temples from multiple angles with multiple perspectives allows for a more robust portrait of ancient Near Eastern temples. The four-pronged format makes room both for the more straightforward structural layout, terminology, and purpose as well as the more theoretical analysis of temple ideology and the effect the structure elicits.

Before proceeding, I must note several limitations of this study. First, since much of the communicative power of a temple comes across as a response to viewing it,42 the fact that little remains of the once glorious temples to respond to puts the interpreter in a difficult predicament. I will use the structural remains and imagination, hoping to reconstruct both the buildings in their pristine form and the response they likely would have elicited.43

Second, a temple is notoriously difficult to identify. When little remains of the original structure and of our understanding of the culture using it, our identification relies on circumstantial evidence. The structure itself, its furniture (e.g., tables and altars), the presence of cult objects (e.g., the divine cult statue[s]) and paraphernalia (e.g., votive vessels and censers), and the remains of cult offerings (e.g., animal bones) provide the best indicators. However, they are often less than foolproof, as statues and an altar may have been present in a person's home as well as a temple.

Third, we must recognize the superficial nature of this survey, which attempts to identify the common features of temples and the ideologies attached to them across millennia and vast, ever-shifting regions. This common pattern must also

42. Like poetry and ritual action, the temple must be engaged with so that it may evoke a visceral response from its audience.
43. In light of these hurdles, the state of preservation of many Egyptian temples is a welcome boon, as they still evoke a response in the observer.
be derived from the few examples that have survived, most of which are analyzed on the basis of minimal remains. Thus, instead of being an exhaustive examination of ancient Near Eastern temples and their various elements, the present study explores some of the common features and their implications in each ancient Near Eastern culture. In other words, it is an attempt to find unity in the diversity of ancient Near Eastern material, to find the common traits within each culture and the worldviews encoded in the various temples and to analyze their import. I will focus more narrowly on the official (often state) temples, which are often closely allied to the royal interests. However, rather than simply focusing on a comparison with the royal palace, which is often its closest analog, I will examine how it is constructed to be a suitable divine abode, both like and unlike royal palaces. In addition, although the temple is far more than merely a religious institution (as it has economic, political, and social implications), I will focus on its religious aspects, that is, what it communicates about perceptions of the divine and their interaction with humanity in various ancient Near Eastern cultures.

**Order of Analysis**

I will analyze the temples of each region separately, beginning with Egypt. Egypt occupies the primary position for several reasons. The temple remains are the best preserved in the Near East and are accompanied by an abundance of textual and pictorial representations. They are likewise the most capable of eliciting a response today similar to that evoked by the temples in their original states. Official Egyptian architecture, especially of a religious nature, was extremely conservative, thus producing great continuity. I will proceed to Mesopotamia, followed by Hittite Anatolia, and finally Syria-Palestine, after which I will offer a synthesis comparing the temples of the various regions.

44. The term "culture" refers rather loosely to the people who make up each of the various regions analyzed. It is an inadequate term since it requires a more precise definition and each region was undoubtedly made up of more than one culture. However, it is employed here generally to indicate that the people in Egypt, e.g. are part of a different culture than those in Mesopotamia.
46. To avoid the unnecessary complications of biblical comparisons, I also will limit my analysis of Syro-Palestinian temples to non-Israelite examples.
47. Although the results may profitably be applied to biblical studies, these results will be compared with the biblical material only incidentally. Instead, the assessed material will be offered in such a way that it invites the reader to make comparisons with analogs from the Bible and from other cultures, both ancient and modern. Indeed, the material amassed in the present study has been the foundation for all of my publications in biblical studies.
INTRODUCTION TO PART 1

Each chapter begins with a general introduction including some of the limitations specific to each region. Analysis follows using the fourfold categories of structure, use, structural communication, and ideology, with occasional subsections. For example, in Syria-Palestine, subsections on the relationship between temple and palace appear at the end of the structural communication and ideology sections.

A NOTE ON SPATIAL TERMINOLOGY

Primary space refers to the immediate locus of divine presence, the cult image, and the space immediately around it that sets it apart from its surroundings. Secondary space refers to the larger space around the primary cult image, either in the same room or adjacent to it. The cult image was set apart from the surrounding secondary space in various ways. Most prominently, it was situated on a pedestal, in a niche in the back wall, a small shrine, or occupied its own small room. In such cases, the pedestal, niche, shrine, or room and the cult image constitute primary temple space, while the space around it is secondary space. Tertiary space refers to the spaces that mediate access to secondary and primary space, such as vestibules and corridors, and to auxiliary rooms, such as storerooms, slaughter rooms, and archives. Quarternary space often appears outside of the primary roofed temple structures (e.g., courts, processional paths, and separate buildings used among other things as workshops and priestly residences) or mark the entryway to those structures (e.g., gates).

The terminology used to describe primary divine space is often employed variously and inconsistently by scholars across and even within disciplines. Cella is a Latin term that refers to a small chamber, while naos is a Greek term for temple. Both terms are used to refer somewhat inaccurately to the space housing the cult image. Given the complexity and uncertainty of temple structure and function, these designators are not problem free and require some comment. The inner sanctuary serves as the point of reference and is designated "primary space," since it is generally the most isolated space and the resting place of the cult image. This is not to say that the cult image always remained in the sanctuary, that it was not moved to other temple spaces for ritual purposes. In such contexts, by virtue of the perceived divine presence, secondary spaces became primary. However, within the structure of the complex and according to normal practice, these spaces remain secondary. Likewise, chapels to other deities, often members of the divine entourage, were present in the temple complex. Although presumably some form of cult image rested within, the cult image of the temple's primary deity was situated elsewhere and the architecture was designed to privilege the sanctuary of the primary deity, such that architecturally the other chapels are secondary.

48. The terms “primary,” “secondary,” “tertiary,” and “quarternary” are used in reference to the temple architecture. Given the complexity and uncertainty of temple structure and function, these designators are not problem free and require some comment. The inner sanctuary serves as the point of reference and is designated “primary space,” since it is generally the most isolated space and the resting place of the cult image. This is not to say that the cult image always remained in the sanctuary, that it was not moved to other temple spaces for ritual purposes. In such contexts, by virtue of the perceived divine presence, secondary spaces became primary. However, within the structure of the complex and according to normal practice, these spaces remain secondary. Likewise, chapels to other deities, often members of the divine entourage, were present in the temple complex. Although presumably some form of cult image rested within, the cult image of the temple’s primary deity was situated elsewhere and the architecture was designed to privilege the sanctuary of the primary deity, such that architecturally the other chapels are secondary.

49. Regarding the labels primary, secondary, tertiary, and quarternary, see further Wightman, Sacred Spaces, 932–52.
image in a temple, the former especially for Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine and the latter especially for Egypt. The *naos* often refers more particularly to the small shrine built to house the cult image. Instead of using *cella* and *naos*, the space housing the cult image will be referred to as the sanctuary.\(^{50}\) When evidence exists for the separation of the cult image from its surroundings (e.g., through a pedestal or separate room), the separated space will be referred to as the “inner sanctuary” and the space it is separated from the “outer sanctuary,” in accord with the designators primary and secondary space.

Moving further out from the center, the “temple core” refers to the area within the temple around the central sanctuary and may include various tertiary spaces like storerooms, secondary chapels, vestibules, and corridors. The “temple complex” refers to the primary temple building and, when its walls extend around them, to the temple court(s). If two courts (e.g., in Mesopotamia) are present, they will be designated “inner” and “outer” court.\(^{51}\) The divine sphere or sacred precinct (*temenos*) refers to the entire (often walled) compound belonging to the deity in distinction from the mundane world, that is, the rest of the city or surrounding area, and includes various quarternary elements, such as unwalled courts and auxiliary buildings. Processional ways may extend beyond the walled divine sphere and thus extend its influence further into mundane space.

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50. This nomenclature too has its limitations, especially since others, like Wightman (*Sacred Spaces*), refer to the entire divine complex as the sanctuary.

51. Multiple pylons occasionally feature in Egypt and will be given numerical values starting from closest to the sanctuary and moving outward (e.g., the first pylon, the second pylon, etc.).