

Megan Boomer
ARCH1600: Archaeologies of the Near East
Professor Harmansah
5/4/08

Priestess and King: Representations of Power and Gender in the Akkadian Royal Family

The Akkadian Empire has frequently been referred to as the world's first empire and controlled territories from the Mediterranean Sea and Anatolian Peninsula in the west to Elam and the Persian Gulf in the east (Van Der Mieroop, 64-73). The empire was founded by Sargon of Akkad in the 23rd century BC, and lasted for nearly a century and a half. During this time, the cultural and social makeup of Mesopotamia was fundamentally altered through a linguistic transition to the Semitic Akkadian, a restructuring of the Sumerian pantheon, and numerous changes to previous social institutions. The ideology of the Akkadian kings sought to promote the idea of divine rule to an unprecedented degree by presenting the rulers as gods. Naram-Sin, the third ruler of Akkad, firmly promoted the ideology of the ruler as a god-king through public artistic works like the Stele of Naram-Sin (Image I).

However, the attempt to associate the Akkadian ruling family with the gods of the pantheon happened far earlier in a different institution, when Sargon installed his daughter Enheduanna as the En, or High Priestess, of the Temple of Nanna at Ur. This new role for the Akkadian princesses continued for centuries after the downfall of the Akkadian Empire, as it became an important part of the secular and religious power structure of Mesopotamia. The Disc of Enheduanna serves as a lasting visual representation of the institution of the En High Priestesses, and provides clues as to the construction and marking of gender in the society at the time (Image II). The Disc of Enheduanna and contemporaneous literary texts appear to reveal a progressive society

wherein females were empowered and able to lead as freely as men, but the reality is far more complex. The iconographies of female power in temples work within highly gendered terms to establish an office that, although powerful, is distinctly different from the positions of their male counterparts. These crucial distinctions revealed in the artistic record in turn have a larger significance for the gendering of Mesopotamia as a whole.

A Woman of Her Time

In order to establish the gendered representations and manifestations of power in Akkadian society, the construct of “gender” must first be examined. Gender is not a static category of analysis, but is intrinsically dependent on the historical period and cultural properties of the society in which people live (Bahrani, 11). Therefore, to properly construct Enheduanna’s position of power in relation to her gender, traditional conceptions of femininity and masculinity as espoused by our 21st century Western society must be rejected in favor of the mores and traditions of 22nd century BCE Mesopotamia. Instead of making assumptions based on “universal” characteristics of femininity and masculinity, the archaeological and textual record must be examined to build a gendered identity that places Enheduanna within the contexts of her time. The epistemological sources used include art, such as the Disc of Enheduanna, literature, including Enheduanna’s own compositions, archaeological field reports of the excavation of the Giparu at Ur in which Enheduanna and other High Priestesses of Nanna resided, and additional textual evidence that provides clues as to the daily role of En priestesses in Ur.

The Disc of Enheduanna belongs to a tradition of visual representation that is in and of itself dependent on the culture in which it was created. Art is not an unbiased

visual depiction of reality but is filtered through the society that commissions and performs the acts required for its creation. Iconographic programs contain information outside of their visual program that is intelligible to members of the society and generally seeks to reinforce the status quo. Images such as the Disc of Enheduanna would therefore have worked to reinforce the ideology and conceptualization of gender at the time.

Representational practices and conventions produced images that served as models for embodiment to Mesopotamian viewers that saw the definitions of a powerful femininity inscribed in stone (Joyce, 2005; 142). This transmission of social identity within society is one of art's greatest powers, and is part of what makes the Disc of Enheduanna so significant to modern scholars. However, art does not only work to transmit messages, but is also a tool for the creation of norms. Through viewing the seemingly static representations of ideology, innovations become normalized and reinforced.

Enheduanna's office was very much a creation of her father, and certain new elements of it were contrary to the traditional institution of priestesses established by the Sumerians. Through the Disc of Enheduanna, these new elements and roles of her office, and of women in power on a more general level, were made more acceptable. The Disc of Enheduanna helps to reinforce and create a powerful feminine.

Enheduanna's Office and Role in Society

An examination of the historical record is essential in understanding what Enheduanna's role as high priestess actually entailed, which is in turn fundamental to the understanding of the daily mechanics of feminine power displayed by the Disc. En high priestesses were considered to be among the highest dignitaries in the realm (Suter, 318). They served a lifelong tenure—Enheduanna's reign, though specific dates are

unavailable, is known to have begun during the reign of Sargon, continued through the reigns of two of her brothers (which spanned 22 years), and ended during the reign of her nephew Naram-Sin (Meador, 49). The En priestess was chosen through divination, but was nearly always the daughter or sister of the ruling monarch. The year of En priestess enthronement was frequently marked by naming the year in honor of the new priestess, indicating a large amount of significance to the greater community (Suter, 318). Former high priestesses appear to have had cults dedicated to their memories, judging by extant offering lists to their statues in the Giparu (Charpin, 219). This provides further indication of their importance to the people of Ur.

In daily life, the En priestess fulfilled important sacred and secular roles. The Temple of Nanna at Ur possessed large land holdings and agricultural enterprises that rendered it both an economic and religious power house. It conducted business transactions both within Ur and abroad, with traders, scribes, and manufacturing sites for leather goods and other craftworks (Meador, 52). The En priestess oversaw this economic apparatus as well as the religious functioning of the temple. This entailed controlling a large administrative bureaucracy of both sacred and secular personnel, in a role akin to that of a priest-king of a small city state. The temple domain and land holdings were named after the en (GANA-en) in Sargonic times, indicating that the priestess was considered the top supervisor of economic resources and their accompanying bureaucracy as well as the ritual functions of the priesthood (Steinkiller, 108).

The main role of Enheduanna and other En priestesses was to appease Nanna and Ningal, his divine consort, through the performance of rituals and other sacred tasks. The Disc of Enheduanna depicts the performance of one such ritual, in which a libation is

poured in honor of the new throne room or altar to the goddess Inanna-Zaza that Enheduanna had constructed in her honor (Suter, 324). Other ritual functions of the En included the reception of messages from the gods through dreams, and their interpretation on behalf of individuals or people as a whole (Asher-Greve, 31-32). A final essential component of the En priestess's role as established by Sargon was her participation in the sacred marriage with Nanna, which will later be discussed in more detail.

The Disc of Enheduanna

The Disc of Enheduanna was found in the Giparu of the High Priestess of Nanna at Ur, where Enheduanna would have resided. Its narrative program is traditionally believed to show Enheduanna offering a ritual libation to the goddess Inanna in commemoration of a new throne room or altar in her name. Within the program Enheduanna is represented in the traditional garb of a high priestess, and is flanked by two attendants. In front of her is a nude male pouring a libation before a four stepped ziggurat or a deity enthroned on a platform (the heavily damaged Disc, which was found in fragments, was originally reconstructed to show a four stepped ziggurat, though scholars now believe the bottom may have served as a base for an altar of sorts) (Winter, 1987; 192). The reverse of the disc has an inscription reading "Enheduanna, true lady of Nanna, wife of Nanna, daughter of Sargon, King of all, in the temple of Inanna [of Ur, a dais you built (and) "Dais", table of heaven (An) you called it" (Meador, 37). The disc's somewhat unusual round format is believed to symbolize the moon, controlled by Nanna, the moon god whose cult she oversaw, providing an additional reference to her position.

Enheduanna is centrally located on the disc, giving her prime importance in the field. Her placement even positions her as important in relation to the god, whose

monument is pushed into the left corner. She is slightly larger than the other figures, with her head brushing the top of the register, in a convention that showed elevated rank in the Mesopotamian artistic tradition. Her hand is raised to her nose in a gesture seen in other Near Eastern commemorative monuments that is traditionally interpreted as a gesture of pious greeting to a deity (Winter, 1987; 192). She is directly overseeing the ritual, which is being carried out by the nude male. Irene Winter's analysis of the piece assumes that the lack of action from Enheduanna is indicative of women's inability to fully participate in ritual in the patriarchal society, but this may be due to her emphasis on the domesticity of women and the exceptionality of public figures of women (Winter, 1987; 201). However, Bahrani argues that the male/female dichotomy of public/private spheres did not exist to nearly the same extent in Mesopotamia and that women occupying public positions were not seen as unusual, although Enheduanna's level of control and influence was significantly above the norm (Bahrani, 115).¹ Furthermore, Enheduanna's position as viewer and controller of the scene as a nude man pours wine for a ritual might actually reinforce her ideology of power over her temple's personnel, rather than enforce her gender-dependent lower status. Indeed, Susan Pollock's analysis of imagery found in the Royal Tombs of Ur privileges this view by mentioning the longstanding association in Mesopotamian art between nakedness and powerlessness (Pollock, 180). This alternative view is further supported by the inscription on the reverse, which clearly privileges Enheduanna's role as builder of monuments to the gods, including the one whose dedication is shown in the image.

¹ Bahrani cites the institution of the *é-bau* as a primary example of a female-driven economic and administrative secular institution, usually associated with royal women during the Sumerian Period (Bahrani, 105-108).

Enheduanna's costume is an important marker of her power, status, and individual position as high priestess. Rosemary Joyce states that "dress functions as a primary means of non-verbal communication emitting constant, complex social messages that would have been *intended* by the wearer and understandable by the viewer" (Joyce, 2005; 142). Within the narrative and ideology of the disc lies an additional signifier of Enheduanna's gendered power and agency found in her dress, which Claudia Suter has shown to be typical of depictions of en high priestesses from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa period (Suter, 330-333). This uniform of their office was a flounced robe, loose long hair hanging down their backs, and a distinctive headdress known as an aga-crown (Suter, 330-333). Other traditional depictions of women (mainly queens and other royals) show them in fringed robes with their hair tied up, indicating that priestesses were easily distinguishable from the general female population of Ur. The flounced robe imitates the traditional garment of female deities in art, linking the priestesses to the sacred realm and indicating their proximity to the gods. The long loose hair marked them as distinct from the goddesses, as did the aga crown which belonged to their office alone. The aga crown is seen as referring to the headdresses worn by Uruk kings in the past, who were also known as "ens" in traditional literature (Suter, 321). This dual referent, primarily evidenced by the crown, shows an intentional linkage of the title En to secular institutions of power and the past. Ornaments like the aga crown and other traditional conventions of dress linked priestesses from generation to generation and provided an embodied example of their powerful office to the public. This legitimized their rule through visual links to respected figures of the past, and was essential to continuity of the office and social role.

Symbolic Recontextualization of the EN office

The aga-crown's role in providing visual legitimacy of the En priestesses' office by linking them to the past Uruk kings is tied to the ideological background of the office of En priestess created for Enheduanna. The office of En was not limited to women, though they often filled the position. In Sargonic times it is believed that the office of En was generally filled by female priestesses when deities were male, and male priests for the female deities, to fulfill the "sacred marriage" their office entailed. However, early uses of the title "en" date back to the late Uruk period, where the visual record attests to king-like figures that had power over the administration, economy, military, and local cult (Steinkiller, 104-105). They were believed to be the leaders of the temple community, and held the title "En" while living in a gipar, which would have served as the living quarters of the en as well as the administrative center of Uruk. Certain artifacts, most notably the Warka Vase, portray this ruler ("the man in the net kilt") as the consort of Inanna, further highlighting the parallel between ancient and modern Mesopotamian institutions. The title of En was reintroduced as a clerical position when Enheduanna took it as her ceremonial title (Steinkiller, 125). Previously high priestesses of Nanna had been known as zirru, but Enheduanna did not refer to herself as such except on the back of her Disc, choosing instead to go by En. This recontextualization of the title "En" shows a deliberate manipulation of power and ideology privileging Enheduanna. En originally meant a king selected by a god through the clergy. Enheduanna's role closely parallels that of the ancient Ens of Uruk in that she too was a divinely chosen leader of the local cult who controlled economic, political, bureaucratic, and religious apparatuses in her sphere of influence. As such, this elucidation of power places a masculine title in

feminine hands, and places Enheduanna and later En priestesses on the plane of kings, not queens.

This shift in titles from zirru to En is reflective of the new political role Enheduanna fulfilled for her father and the Akkadian royal family. Her appointment as En was politically motivated and probably driven by her father, who needed to establish a power base in the rebellious south in the early days of his empire. Ur provided a convenient location from which to operate, and the institution of High Priestess was a pre-established structure that could be manipulated to fulfill Sargon's political needs. By appointing Enheduanna zirru, he established initial control over the area through the cult of Nanna. In changing her title from zirru to En, he worked within even older institutional structures to grant her additional powers and means of control on a purely ideological level. Her role in the cult does not appear to have expanded, but the ideological basis on which it rested became more firm through granting of this powerful male title. By establishing the support of the powerful religious hierarchy through cooption of local gods and cults, Sargon increased his influence. Enheduanna's new role, while powerful, was primarily a way to support her family, and not a spontaneous expression of increased female power. Naram-Sin further extended these powers to his daughters and sisters by appointing additional En priestesses in other centers of Southern Mesopotamia, occasionally creating positions once the precedent had been established in Ur.

Familial Relations: Filial Piety and Divine Marriage

Another way by which Akkadian rulers used their female relatives to solidify their rule over their empire was through the institution of sacred marriage. The inscription on the Disc refers to Enheduanna as the "wife of Nanna," indicating some form of spiritual

link between the high priestess and the god. Successors of Enheduanna were also referred to and depicted as wives of Nanna, as were other female priestesses of other gods. This feminine way of establishing relationships of power in relation to the sacred can be equated to political marriages to foreign princes—a way of establishing relations with other powers in the region. The sacred marriages of the female line of Akkad to Nanna legitimated the terrestrial political ideologies of the male rulers by implying divine support. The exact nature of the divine marriage is a subject of debate among scholars, but its role as a tie between royal and divine in these cases is certain. Furthermore, later seals of people connected to the priestly household show the High Priestess and Nanna at their wedding banquet (Image III), providing more visual links to said ideology through narrative programs.

The seal showing Enmenana's marriage to Nanna equates Enmenana with the goddess Ningal, Nanna's divine consort (Suter, 325). This linkage deifies the daughter of Naram-Sin, who later deifies himself, through association. This association is also evident within the dwelling space of the En Priestesses, the Giparu excavated by Leonard Woolley at Ur. The Giparu is a massive square complex within the sacred center of Ur that Woolley separated into three blocs of analysis—A, B, and C. The C bloc is a Temple to Ningal, while A and B are devoted to the living quarters and reception halls of the En high priestesses. This combination of the Temple of Ningal with the daily living quarters of the High Priestesses further reinforces the links between the divine Ningal and mortal En. The two spaces shared a common kitchen that provided food to the priestly household as well as to the Gods, and prepared offerings to both the cults of the ancestral priestesses and the cult of Ningal (Charpin, 219). The intersection of human and divine

space is a testament to the intersection of human and divine roles fulfilled by Enheduanna and other En priestesses within the sacred marriage. Intriguingly, there is evidence that the Giparu may have expanded and swallowed the previously independent Temple of Ningal, in a literal expansion of the Priestess's office and role (Charpin, 219).

Heroism and Deification in the Akkadian Male Line

The intersection of human and divine in royal Akkadian figures was not only happening in the ecclesiastical realm. The Stele of Naram Sin is a visual testament to the formation of an ideology of the king as both royal and divine. The deification of Naram Sin is visually evident in the horned crown he wears in the image. Much as the aga crown distinguished high priestesses from other figures and tied them to each other, the horned crown had been used for thousands of years to symbolize divinity in visual representations of gods (Perkins, 58). Naram-Sin's wearing of the horned crown specifically reserved for divinity therefore served as an explicit act of self-deification. This distinguishes the kingly role from the referent yet distinct position of Enheduanna as a mortal within a divine relationship, and places Naram-Sin directly into the pantheon. Outside of visual cues distinguishable to the society of the time, there is a fundamental display of power in the Stele of Naram-Sin that is unprecedented. He is depicted as being far larger than any of the other figures in the field, on a scale more exaggerated than Enheduanna on her disc. Additionally, as opposed to the single register composition of the Disc, Naram-Sin's stele physically places him above all other people in the frame, mounting them and reaching for the sun, in an act of clear and unmistakable domination. This arrangement is an early example of the "culmination method" of displaying narrative scenes, where all scenic elements are composed to draw the eye in to Naram-

Sin and his dominating presence (Perkins, 59). In this arrangement, the king becomes the sole focal point, rather than a somewhat larger person within a register.

Naram-Sin's power as depicted in the stele appears to be rooted in conquest, expansion of power, and modernity. This separates him from the role filled by his aunt and daughter, who are represented as preserving tradition and ritual. Their power lies in their ability to preserve the status quo and maintain the delicate balance of the gods through appeasing and diplomacy, while Naram-Sin and the male heirs appear to legitimize their rule through terrestrial conquest. Naram-Sin's clearly delineated musculature and emphasized arms are an indication of this intentional focus on power and strength in male rulers. Enheduanna's depiction on her Disc shows her pious deference to the Gods and her construction projects in their honor, while Naram-Sin's stele shows his membership in the ranks of the divine as a way of extending his power on earth.

The stele would have been placed in a public space, and served as a vehicle for the construction of "cultural rhetorics" of power (Winter, 1996; 22). Much as Enheduanna's disc would have aided in providing a representation of powerful femininity and restructuring of gender roles, the new conventions on the Stele of Naram-Sin help to construct a new vision of the "ideal male" as well as the "ideal ruler". This new vision of kingship is reinforced by literary evidence of the time, especially in epic poems like "Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes" and the "Great Revolt against Naram-Sin." In her analysis of those two poems, Joan Westenholz reveals the differences between Sumerian and Akkadian tales of kingship, which reinforce the representational changes reflected on the Stele (Westenholz, 335-336). In "The Great Revolt against Naram-Sin," the king is

referred to as “Naram-Sin, the Strong King/King of Akkade/ King of the four quarters of the world/Who extends the strength of weapons against all kings” (Westenholz, 332).

This Akkadian emphasis on manhood and honor rooted in violence is characteristic of most of their tales of rulers, where man triumphs due to his own strength and qualities, not through divine intercession. In contrast, previous Sumerian epics told of kings who obeyed the gods and were assisted by loyal companions. Many Sumerian royal tales invoked the king’s divine favor and showed him triumphing due to his intellectual or magical prowess, whereas Akkadian tales always focused on military strength and power (Westenholz, 335).

Naram-Sin deliberately defies the gods in “Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes,” and is repeatedly defeated in battle until Enlil agrees to assist him (Westenholz, 330). His ignoring of the oracle’s words shows the role of the high priestess in preserving tradition and ritual so that the king can achieve his goals. Without the support of his female relatives’ and their divine companions, the king, however mighty and strong, is unable to triumph over his enemies. This collaborative approach, wherein the priestesses maintain the balance between the kings and the gods, is also reflected in the writings of Enheduanna herself. Her 42 extant hymns are all dedicated to “her King,” but glorify the gods (Meador, 68). By performing reverent acts on behalf of the king, Enheduanna aids in winning divine support for her relatives’ agendas of conquest, which cannot succeed without divine support. These hymns, found in temples all across Mesopotamia, also help to knit isolated cult centers and places of worship together, for the sake of the Akkadian empire and the gods. Enheduanna’s writing helps to extend both her influence and the influence of her father, brothers, and nephews.

Conclusion

The distinctions in representational conventions and official roles reflect more broadly on the female and male elucidations and formulations of power within Akkadian society. Placing them within the traditional gendered dichotomy of male activity and female passivity would oversimplify their complicated positions of power. However, it would not be inaccurate to say that female and male agents in Mesopotamian society appear to manifest their power along gendered lines. The institution of the En High Priestess was established by Sargon and Enheduanna to control the cult of the conquered Sumerians at Ur as well as to enforce and promote political stability in the region. This was achieved by working within the indigenous structure of the zirru High Priestess office, with very slight modifications intended to further extend the High Priestess's power over both the secular and sacred dimensions. These modifications were largely ideological, and always considered the rituals and traditions of the past. The female office of En may have been rooted in previous male traditions, but was very different from the modern (for the Akkadian) conceptions of male power. Enheduanna and her successors maintained the precarious balance between the divine and their secular relations through the institution of marriage as well as through prayers and intercessions on the king's behalf. The performance of ancient rituals and construction of temples and altars was a way of preserving the safety of the daily life of the empire.

Conversely, masculine power lay in conquest and domination. The new formulations of kingship were rooted in military campaigns and physical prowess evidenced by the propagandistic monuments erected by kings. They derived their power through manly displays of strength and terrestrial power they equated to divine powers

through deification. This extension of human agency and royal prowess was linked to the consolidation of Mesopotamia into a single empire ruled by a divine king. This new elucidation of male power as dependent on military campaigns and battles was a function of the intense period of territorial expansion undergone by the Akkadians. However, the king's conquests and deification left a vacuum in the preservation of the old order, which was dependent on the worship of the gods. This vacuum was filled by the women of the royal family, who appeased the gods in their sacred positions while entering into relationships of marriage that sanctioned their male relations' actions. The quasi-deification of women gave them the power to maintain the status quo while their male relations worked to challenge it. Paradoxically, Enheduanna had to overturn and revitalize the old order to be able to maintain normalcy. Her reworking of the position of High Priestess allowed her to do so, which therefore ensured the successful transition to Akkadian rule.

Appendix: Images

Image I: The Stele of Naram-Sin



Image II: The Disc of Enheduanna



Bibliography

Asher-Greve, Julia M; 1987. "The Dream Priestess." In *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique: XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986)*. Edited by Jean-Marie Durand. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 27-32.

Bahrani, Zainab; 2001. *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia*. London and New York: Routledge.

Battini, Laura ; 1998. "Les Portes Urbaines de la Capitale de Sargon II: Étude sur la propagande royale à travers les données archéologiques et textuelles." In *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East : Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Prague, July 1-5, 1996*. Edited by Jiri Prosecky; Prague: Oriental Institute, 41-56.

Charpin, Dominique; 1986. *Le Clergé d'Ur au Siècle d'Hammurabi*. Paris and Geneva : Librairie Droz.

Collon, Dominique; 1999. "Depictions of Priests and Priestesses in the Ancient Near East. In *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East—the City and its Life*. Edited by Kazuko Watanabe. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 17-46.

Feldman, Marian H; 2007. "Darius I and the Heroes of Akkad: Affect and Agency in the Bisitun Relief." in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*. Edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 265-294.

Frankfort, Henri; 1996. *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*. 5th ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Goldsmith, Naomi and Edwin Gould; 1990. "Sumerian Bats, Lion-Headed Eagles, and Iconographic Evidence for the Overthrow of a Female-Priest Hegemony." *Biblical Archaeologist* 53, No. 3: 142-156.

Joyce, Rosemary; 2005. "Archaeology of the Body." In *Annual Review of Anthropology* (34), 139-158.

Maekawa, Kazuya ; 1999. "The "Temples" and the "Temple Personnel" of Ur III Girsu-Lagash." In *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East—the City and its Life*. Edited by Kazuko Watanabe. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 61-102.

Meador, Betty de Shong; 2000. *Inanna Lady of Largest Heart: Poems of the Sumerian High Priestess Enheduanna*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Perkins, Ann; 1957. "Narration in Babylonian Art." In *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 61 No. 1, 54-62.

Pinnock, Frances; 1998. "The Iconography of the Entu-Priestesses in the Period of the Ur III Dynasty." In *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East : Papers Presented at the 43rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Prague, July 1-5, 1996*. Edited by Jiri Prosecky; Prague: Oriental Institute, 339-346.

Pollock, Susan; 1991. "Women in a Men's World: Images of Sumerian Women." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. Edited by Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey; Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 366-387.

Pollock, Susan; 1991. "Of Priestesses, Princes, and Poor Relations: The Dead in the Royal Cemetery of Ur." In *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1:2, 171-189.

Steinkeller, Piotr; 1999. "On Rulers, Priests, and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship." In *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East: Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East—the City and its Life*. Edited by Kazuko Watanabe. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 103-137.

Suter, Claudia E.; 2007. "Between Human and Divine: High Priestesses in Images from the Akkad to the Isin-Larsa Period," in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*. Edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 317-362.

Tanyeri-Erdemir, Tugba; 2007. "The Temple and the King: Urartian Ritual Spaces and their Role in Royal Ideology." in *Ancient Near Eastern Art in Context: Studies in Honor of Irene J. Winter by Her Students*. Edited by Jack Cheng and Marian H. Feldman; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 205-228.

Van de Mieroop, Marc; 2004. *A history of the ancient Near East. ca 3000-323 BC*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Van Der Mieroop, Marc; 1989. "Review of *Le clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi (XIXe-XVIIIe siècles av. J.-C.* by Dominique Charpin." In *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* Vol. 41, No. 2, pp. 237-252.

Westenholz, Joan Goodnick; 1983. "Heroes of Akkad." In *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 103, No. 1, 327-336.

Winter, Irene J; 1996. "Sex, Rhetoric, and the Public Monument: The Alluring Body of Naram-Sin of Agade." In *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*. Edited by Natalie Boymel Kampen. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 11-26.

Winter, Irene J; 1987. "Women in Public: The Disk of Enheduanna; the Beginning of the Office of EN- Priestess and the Weight of Visual Evidence. In *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique: XXXIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 7-10 Juillet 1986)*. Edited by Jean-Marie Durand. Paris : Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 189-201.