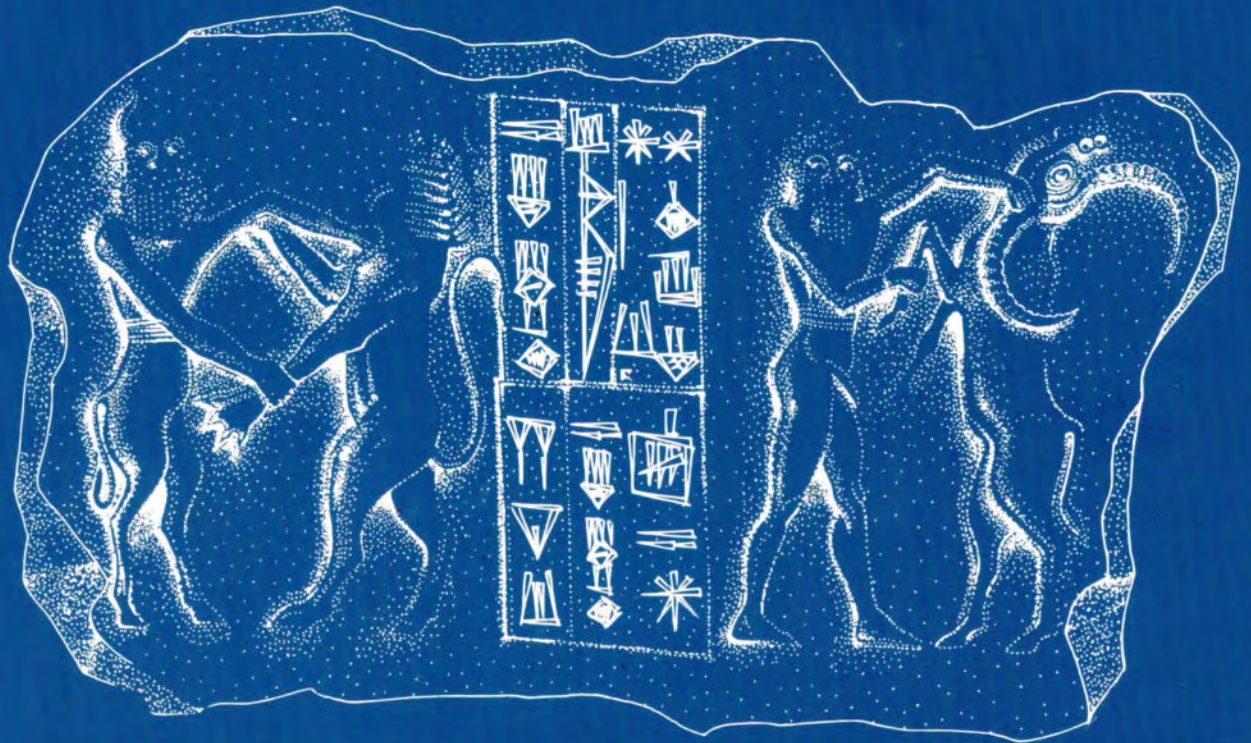


BETWEEN SYRIA AND THE HIGHLANDS

*STUDIES IN HONOR OF
GIORGIO BUCCELLATI & MARILYN KELLY-BUCCELLATI*

Stefano Valentini - Guido Guarducci
(editors)



SANEM 3

STUDIES ON THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND THE MEDITERRANEAN





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STUDIES ON THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

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ŠAMAGAN AND THE MULES OF EBLA SYRIAN GODS IN SUMERIAN DISGUISE*

ALFONSO ARCHI

Roma

Abstract

The scene on a seal from Urkiš represents an equid jumping toward a seating god, who may be identified with Šamagan, the deity of the steppe animals also at Ebla, and a major one at Nabada (Tell Beydar). This proves that Šamagan was a god of Northern Mesopotamia. Ebla imported mules from Nagar (Tell Brāk): hybrids obtained in the regions east of the Ḥabur crossing onagers with female asses.

Although Urkiš (Tell Mozan), the extraordinary capital of the 3rd millennium BC brought to light by Giorgio and Marilyn, was cut off from contact with Ebla by the geographical position of the state of Nagar during the 50 years (ca 2380–2335 B.C.) documented by the Ebla's archives, a seal with an unusual scene of an Akkadian official of the time of Naram-Sin of Akkad has established an indirect link between the two cities.

The seal, owned by an high official by the name of Išar-beli (an Akkadian name), was found together with that of the Akkadian princess Tar'am-Agade, daughter of Naram-Sin and quite probably the spouse of one "king", *endan*, of Urkiš. The scene represents a water-buffalo moving forward from the left. Two gods stand in the middle. The second one holds on his left arm a small animal, probably a young equid, as an offering, and is introduced by the first god to a third god seated on the right. In front of the seated god an adult equid jumps towards his extended right arm. In presenting this seal, it has been suggested that the equid "was probably an onager or a hybrid, for the animal is short in stature and has the typical tail and mane of these animals". The texts from Tell Beydar (Nabada, of the kingdom of Nagar), and Ebla provide evidence for the breeding of hybrids. Moreover, a temple in Area FS of Tell Brak (Nagar) has been interpreted by the excavators as being possibly dedicated to Šakkan, the god of steppe animals. "Since the prancing equid shows no evidence of male genitals, we may assume the animal is a mare", so that an attractive hypothesis is that "the Išar-beli seal celebrates a female hybrid that has given birth ... the baby animal being carried by an attendant god to be presented to the main deity."¹

"Given the high artistic quality of the design and the carving (we may) assume that the seal cutter came from the south. It is even possible that also the seal owner came from Akkad accompanying Tar'am-Agade". The seal, however, "bears what can only be characterised as a northern motif".²

The importance of equids in the society of Urkiš is confirmed by a remarkable and unusual number of figurines of equids recovered from the first floors of the Royal Storehouse and from layers immediately atop them.³

The data from Ebla suggest that this god placed with every evidence in relation to an equid, and a water-buffalo which closes the scene at the opposite side, may be identified with Šamagan.

1. ŠAMAGAN AT EBLA

Twenty-two monthly documents of the two years preceding the destruction of Ebla account for the sheep assigned by the central administration for sacrifices and consumption. They present three sections: sheep sacrificed in the temples of the city, é-é dingir-dingir; sheep consumed at the Palace, SA.ZA^{ki}; and sheep sacrificed or consumed outside the city by members of the central administration. Documents of previous months were destroyed; a text (75.1630) gives the total of 36,892 sheep needed in a previous year).⁴

¹ More probably, perhaps, an onager, that is a male *E. hemionus*, and a newborn hybrid.

² Buccellati, Kelly Buccellati 2002, 22-25. For the traits identifying this equid, reference was made to Moorey 1970, 37; the data from Tell Beydar were presented by Van Lerberghe 1996, 112. This dedication of the temple of Tel Brak, first suggested by Oates, Oates 1993, 161-167, has been in part corrected in Oates, Oates 2001, 387-388.

³ These figurines have been analyzed by Hauser 2015.

⁴ Pettinato 1977, 260-262.

**Ibr., I.Z. + numeral: "year x of the minister Ibrum / Ibbi-zikir"

The registration which opens each of these monthly documents concerns 2 sheep for the god Šamagan: ^dŠa-ma-gan/ga-nu, with a single exception: 75.3858(+) (month II), which starts instead with 2 sheep ([1⁷+]1 udu) for the Moon-god EN.ZU, while 75.2635, of the same month but of a different year, has again Šamagan.⁵ Notwithstanding this peculiar position, many other gods received many more animals, also on different occasions in the same month. The offerings for Šamagan, besides those prescribed for the start of the month, are only those which follow:

75.2635 (month II)	§ 21: 3 sheep from (the crown prince) Ir ^{aq} -damu, nídba <i>al</i> ₆ sur _x -BAR.AN § 31: 2 sheep from the sons of the king, nídba <i>al</i> ₆ sur _x -BAR.AN-BAR.AN
75.2516(+) (month V)	§ 16: 2 sheep from (the crown prince) Ir ^{aq} -damu, nídba in sikil ^d Aš-da-bíl
75.2598 (month VII)	§ 15: 12 sheep from the king, nídba in ud nídba § 22: 1 sheep from (the crown prince), nídba in ud nídba
75.2403 (month IX)	§ 59: 2 udu
75.11365(+) (month IX)	§ 13: 2 udu from the king, nídba
75.2075 (month X)	§ 12: 1 udu ninda-u ₉ : Šamagan (from) the king, nídba § 40: 2 udu izi-gar: Šamagan
75.2397 (month X)	§ 47: 1 udu izi-gar: Šamagan ugula sur _x -BAR.AN ugula sur _x -BAR.AN šu-du ₈ § 56: 1 udu ninda-u ₉ : Šamagan NI-da-ba-du šu-du ₈ § 57: 1 udu ninda-u ₉ : Šamagan I-da-NE šu-du ₈

In some of these passages additional information is provided: “offering on the occasion of the (due) offering”. In month V the crown prince offered to Šamagan on the occasion of (his) “purification”, sikil, by the god Aštapil (the relation between these two gods is inexplicable). In month X fell the festival of the “braziers”, izi-gar, when this god also received a second and a third sheep offering, this time with a particular bread, ninda-u₉ (cf. ARET IX, 401); this offering was performed perhaps by overseers of the teams of the mules (NIDA-badu and Ida-NE), who “took in possession” (šu-du₈) the animals. This bread was given also to ^dNE-la, a deity not otherwise known, together with a sheep from the queen (75.2075 § 53).

Peculiar to Šamagan was his relation to mules. In month II the crown prince and the other sons of the king “sacrificed sheep in relation with (their) teams of

mules”, nídba *al*₆ sur_x-BAR.AN-BAR.AN; in month X an offering was performed by the overseers of the teams of the mules, ugula sur_x-BAR.AN ugula sur_x-BAR.AN šu-du₈.

This direct relation of Šamagan with the mules of the chariots of members of the elite finds a peculiar proof in 75.1916 rev. vii 11–16: “4 measures of wool to make 1 chariot of Ibbi-zikir, (a certain) Šamagan has received”, 4 “KIN” siki UNKEN-ak 1 GIŠ-gígir I-bí-zi-kir Ša-ma-ga-an šu-ba₄-ti. The man to whom was entrusted the task of overseeing the making of a chariot for the minister is called simply Šamagan, surely with the omission of the first element of the name, as is the case of a king of Ibbu in ARET XIX 10 § 21 (here below, § 2).

In all the other genres of texts Šamagan is mentioned very rarely. According to eight documents of different months registering the distribution of clothes, garments were given to members of the šeš-II-ib confraternity present in pairs in an offering ceremony to the god: ARET XX 18 § 18 (month VII); MEE 7, 23 obv. v 19–vi 1 (month [x]); 75.2343 rev. i 10–15 (month I); 75.2504 obv. i 9–ii 4 (month VII); 75.2505(+) obv. vii 5–10 (month IX); 75.2522 rev. v 15–vi 8 (month [x]); 75.10191 obv. vi 14–vii 5 (month [x]); 75.12470 obv. iii’ 3–10 (month [x]).⁶

According to 75.2333 (Ibr. 03) obv. ix 8–13, the king expended 8 g of gold for a sheet to cover the face of the statue of the god, adding a garment; it is not indicated where this statue of Šamagan was placed. According to ARET XIX 11 § 29, instead, a certain Mar-rúm received a garment for “Šamagan of EN.NE”. This Marrum from EN.NE is mentioned also in 75.2465 (Ibr. 16) rev. x 1–4, because he received 78 g of silver. EN.NE, where Šamagan was worshiped, was a town belonging to Nagar,⁷ which precedes Kablul and Irritum (two cities east of the Euphrates region) in ARET XIV 60 (Ibr. 07) § 26.

Minister Ibrum delivered (mu-DU; Ibr. 14) a statue of a male ass plated with gold, presumably for the god Šamagan, ARET XIV 67 obv. iii 5–IV 2: 15 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za₁₁ kun 2 ma-na 12 gín DILMUN kù-gi nu₁₁-za gaba 1 zag su an-dùl IGI-nita “117 g of gold for plating the tail, 1.034 kg of gold for plating the breast (and) 1 side of the body of a statue of a male ass”.

2. ^dŠA-MA-GAN IN PERSONAL NAMES

Šamagan appears as theophoric element in few personal names. Who provided a chariot to the

⁵ Four of these documents have been published by Pettinato (Pettinato 1979); they are: 75.1764; 75.2075; 75.2238; 75.10101(+).

⁶ A major duty of the šeš-II-ib confraternity was to accompany the statue of the god ^aAdabal on a journey of 39 days in the north of the country. Other members had to be present at cultic ceremonies for other deities (Archi 2002a, 42-43). The passage in 75.10157(+) obv. iv 8–9 concerns also a PN with the first element omitted: 1 gu-mug-tùg 1 sal-tùg 1 ib+III- tùg gùn ^dŠa-ma-gan.

⁷ Archi 1998, 7.

minister Ibbi-zikir was named *Ša-ma-ga-an* (with the first element omitted: 75.1916 rev. vii 15; above, § 1). This is the only occurrence of the name of the god with the ending *-ga-an*. Another man from Ebla was *I-nu-^dŠa-ma-ga-nu* (ARET IV 13 rev. iii 5).

UR-^dŠa-ma-gan (ARET VIII 541 xix 18–19) was a man from Urša^{um}, north of Ebla.

I-lam-^dŠa-ma-gan was a king of Ibbu at the time of the minister Ibrum. The yearly document ARET II 13 § 1 (Ibr. 06) registers that he delivered 3 garments and 3 minas of silver when he went to Ebla to swear the oath of alliance in the temple of Kura (nam-tar é ^d*Ku-ra*). The gift he received on that occasion is probably mentioned in ARET XIX 10 § 21: “2 mantles the mother (of the king has given to) Šamagan, the king of Ibbu and his spouse”, 2 túg-NI. NI ama-gal *Ša-ma-gan* en *I-bu*, ^{bu}ki wa dam-sù. This time the scribe simplified the unusual name of the king writing only the theophoric element. Some lists of city-states suggest that Ibbu was located east of Ḥarran and the Balih. Another royal name of this city had the Moon as its theophoric element (below, § 3f).

I-ku-^dŠa-ma-gan (RIME 1, 2001), that is: Ikū(n)-Šamagan, was a king of Mari.

<*I->kūn-^dŠa-ma-gan* (ARET VIII 526 ix 6–7), and ^d*Ša-ma-gan*-BE (MEE 10, 2 rev. vii 9–10) were two people (the second one a merchant, lú-kar) from Dub (Tuba), a city close to the Euphrates.

Ir-mi-^dŠa-ma-gan (ARET IV 3 § 23) was a son of the king of Iritum (Irrite), a city immediately east of the Euphrates.

Puzur-^dŠa-ma-gan (ARET VIII 531 xiv 23) was quite probably a chief of Ibal, in the semi-arid region east of Qatna.

I-ti-^dŠa-ma-gan, was a “representative of a merchant who travelled by boat”, maškim ga-eš_g, presumably at the service of the king of Mari, based, therefore, in the region of the Middle Euphrates.⁸ It is mentioned in a document which registers tributes to Enna-Dagan king of Mari (75.1559 obv. viii 8, rev. iii 3–6). This name is attested also at Abū Šālābīkh (OIP 99: 34): *I-ti-^dŠa-^{ga}gan*.

3. ORIGIN OF THE GOD ŠAMAGAN/ŠAKKAN

Šamagan was considered at Ebla (as in Mesopotamia) the tutelary god of all the quadruped animals of the steppe, as is proven by the fact that the offering lists of sheep open regularly (with one exception) with a modest number of animals given to him. The sheep represented all these animals; direct protection over the mules, the most valuable equids, was however requested in particular cases (in

the months II and X); two members of the šeš-II-ib confraternity would take part in these cultic acts, as was usual also for other deities (above, § 1). Although Šamagan received other offerings very rarely, the king provided a gift for his statue at EN.NE, a town belonging to the kingdom of Nagar (the gift registered in 75.2333 could also concern this cult place; above, § 1). His name was used rather rarely as an element in theophoric personal names, at Ebla, Urša^{um} and in the eastern regions (above, § 2).

This evidence suggests that the cult of Šamagan did not belong originally to Western Syria, but was instead spread east of the Euphrates (Mari included), and particularly in the Ḥabur triangle, as the administrative documents from Nabada prove. These texts (concerning mostly the distribution of cereals and deliveries of animals) mention only two gods: the Sun deity, ^dUtu, and Šamagan.⁹ Two months took their names from them; the others from the goddess Išhara and several divine “Lords”, *ba^{lu}*, lugal.¹⁰ At Nabada the name of the god is written usually ^d*Ša-ma-gan*; the ending *-gán* is found in no. 101 i 3. The personal name Lú-Ša-ma-gan is attested in nos. 1 ii 7, 4 viii 5.

Nagar (with its town Nabada) and Ebla adopted the writing of the god’s name in use at Mari, attested in the royal name *I-ku-^dŠa-ma-gan* (Ikū(n)-Šamagan), and in the list of gods TH07-T9 f. iii 4: ^d*Ša-ma-gan*.¹¹

The God List of Abū Šālābīkh has instead the writing ^d*Ša-^{ga}gan* (OIP 99, 82 obv. iii 12),¹² found also in the personal name *I-ti-^dŠa-^{ga}gan* (OIP 99: 34).

ED texts have ^dŠakkan(GIR) with various phonetic indicators which explain that the name was *šam(a)kan/šum(u)qan. Thureau-Dangin had suggested that this god was “préposé à la reproduction de bétail” on the basis of the seal inscription: ^dGIR / ama-gan-ša.¹³ He determined correctly the function of the god in giving a mistaken etymology of the second line explained as *ummun (w)ālittum*, which is instead a phonetic indicator of GIR.¹⁴ Pomponio produced several names from Fāra supporting the proposal that, in origin šu-ama-gan was the reading of ANŠE/GIR.¹⁵ This would not exclude, however, the name being pronounced Šam(a)gan at Fāra and also at Ebla.¹⁶ A Sargonic text from Umm el-Jir has SIG₅-^d*Ša-am-ga-an*.¹⁷

⁹ Talon 1996, 192; 2004, 128.

¹⁰ Sallaberger 1996a, 85-87.

¹¹ See respectively Frayne 2008, 317-318, and Cavigneaux 2014, 308.

¹² Alberti 1985, 8 no. 56.

¹³ Thureau-Dangin 1914, 103-104.

¹⁴ Lambert 1981.

¹⁵ Pomponio 1984, 1-7.

¹⁶ Lambert 1986. On the logogram AMA^{gan}, cf. Steinkeller 1987, 163, n. 10.

¹⁷ Foster 1982, 27, iii 4.

⁸ The text is published in Archi 1981, 155-161; it concerns tributes for Mari at the time of king Enna-Dagan. Note the writing with SA-

Although Šam(a)gan > Šakkan is well attested to in Sumer by the texts from Fāra (about 2500 B.C.), the wide diffusion of his cult in the kingdom of Nagar documented by the archives from Nabada and Ebla can be better explained if the god (and his name) originated in the proto-Akkadian regions.¹⁸

4. SUMEROGRAMS FOR GODNAMES IN THE WRITING OF EBLA

The Bilingual Lexical Lists (LL) include a number of Sumerian gods in the section AN, nos. 780–815.¹⁹

- a) ^dAšnan = *A-za-na-an* (LL nos. 811–813) is not attested to in the administrative documents
- b) ^dEn-ki = ²à-u₉ /*ḥay(y)u(m)*/. The name (from **hyy* “to live”) indicates that Ea originally symbolized life. This led the Semites settled in Mesopotamia to assimilate this god with Enki, the god of subterranean freshwater, together with all his manifestations.²⁰ He appears also in the Pre-Sargonic text TH07-T9 from Mari,²¹ a list of sheep offerings for about fifteen deities including Hadda (of Ḥalab) and Kura (of Ebla). These are all expressions of Syrian cults, although some names are written in Sumerian, like ^dEn-ki, ^dInanna, ^dTU. ^dAMA.UŠUMGAL should therefore be also a Syrian shepherd god, as ^dŠa-ma-gan was the god of the steppe animals
- c) According to the offering list 75.1764 obv. vi 7–19, the queen “offers”, *nidba*, first to ^dNin-ki and then to ^dA-da-“*bal*” of Luban.²² A parallel passage is in a text concerning deliveries of clothing, 75.2278 rev. viii 1–11, which registers garments received by the queen and Amaga, a priestess of the god ²Adabal of Luban, respectively for ^dNin-<ki> and ^dA-da-“*bal*” of Luban. It is possible that ^dNin(-ki) is a peculiar writing for the usual ^dBE-munus / ^dBa-al₆-*tum* of ²Adabal of Luban, the spouse of the god. *nin-ni* was the usual writing for “sister”. “The lady of the country”, *nin-ki kalam-tim^{ki}*, in ARET XIII 9 obv. iv 8–9, could refer to a goddess.²³ *Nin-ki*, as an honorific title, is referred to Tilut, one of the “spouses”, of the minister Ibrium, ARET XVI 27 obv. viii 9, x 5–6.
- d) Enlil is mentioned both in the literary texts of

Sumerian origin ARET V 6, 7,²⁴ and in several Sumerian incantations. In the incantation ARET V 1–3, translated into Eblaite, his name is written syllabically: ^dI-li-lu, which is the equivalence given in the L.L. (no. 802): *i-li-lu*.²⁵ Enlil receives several epithets, as is usual in Sumerian hymns, not only in ARET V 6, 7, but also in the Eblaite incantation ARET V 1 v 3–4, vi 2–3; 3 iii 1–2, where he is said to be the “father of the gods”, a-mu dingir-dingir-dingir. Enlil does not appear in any other texts from Ebla; moreover, the theological thought that the gods were generated by a divine father was foreign to Ebla insofar as it emerges from the documentation, while this concept was introduced in Ugarit through the reception of Babylonian religious texts. Enlil did not belong to the Syrian pantheon of Ebla.

Steinkeller has noted that “throughout the 3rd millennium Enlil’s name is consistently written with the signs ^dEN.É, and not ^dEN.LÍL, as commonly believed”, which holds true also for the lexical manuscripts from Ebla.²⁶ The name of Ninlil is written instead ^dNIN.KÍD. Steinkeller has consequently suggested that “the original meaning could have been: master of the household, paterfamilias”.²⁷

In order to surmount this discrepancy, Jacobsen has suggested that RÉC 423 was: e₂/líl, and RÉC 425: kid/líl_x/suḥ.²⁸ During the period of Ur III the two would have been conflated into one sign (É, in the period of Ur-Nammu), which then developed in two different forms: e₂ – líl/kid/suḥ. According to Jacobsen, there were two homonymous terms: líl “with a basic meaning ‘wind’ slightly differently seen and stressed” (referred to Enlil), and the líl which “most likely denoted the young fully grown barley plant” (referred to Ninlil).

Edzard has excluded, however, that ^dEN-É could mean “Lord of the house”, because é “house”, Sum. **ḥay*, does not have the ending -l, while in Ean. 1 xvi 14–15 one has: šuš-gal-^dEN-É-lá(-k) “the great battle net of Enlil”, which shows that “(É) ein anderes nominales Element [ist], das auf -l endet – einschliesslich des später KID = líl geschriebenen Elements”.²⁹

¹⁸ See in general Wiggermann (Wiggermann 2011/13), who mentions the surnames which “circumscribe his functions: dingir-sig “god of wool”, dingir-máš “god of herd-animals”, dingir-ú-gu, “god of pastures”. For the poetic expression in Šulgi: “stallion of Šamagan”, *dūr* ^dŠamagan(-na), see Wilcke 2012, 8, n. 23.

¹⁹ Pettinato 1982, 287–291. This list has had a first valuation in Lambert 1984.

²⁰ Archi 2010.

²¹ Cavigneaux 2014, 307–308.

²² Pettinato 1979, 133.

²³ Fronzaroli, ARET XIII, 106, *ad* (7).

²⁴ Krebernik 1992, 96.

²⁵ Fronzaroli 1988.

²⁶ Steinkeller 1999, 114, n. 36. The edition of the Lexical Lists by Pettinato (Pettinato 1982) has to be emended.

²⁷ While this was for Steinkeller only a possibility, for Lisman (Lisman 2013, 129–135) became a certainty, a thesis criticized by Vacín (Vacín 2016, 399). Lisman maintains, however, that “Enlil is probably of Sumerian origin.”

²⁸ Jacobsen 1989. This study was in reaction to the presentation given by Steinkeller at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, Chicago 1988.

²⁹ Edzard 2003.

The syllabic writing *I-li-lu* in the texts from Ebla demonstrates that \dot{E} has to be read lil_x in the name of the god, therefore: ${}^d\text{En-lil}_x$.³⁰

- f) The Moon, ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$, received just the first offering of the month according to the list 75.3858(+), which is anomalous, but on no other occasion in the twenty-two monthly lists of sheep offerings (above, 1.). Only four administrative documents of a different kind mention this deity. EN.ZU of NĪRAR received an “offering”, nĪdba (75.1441 rev. iii 17–2). This was a city on the border of Abarsal and Manuwat, in the area of the Baliḥ river (cf. ARET XIII 5 § 39; 10 § 10; 13 § 16). This location of the cult of the god is confirmed by the fact that a šeš-II-ib official was in the service of “ EN.ZU and the two Baliḥ” (75.1837 obv. ix 10–14).

In the other two passages where the god is mentioned, MEE 10, 27 rev. ii 3(!) and 75.1738 rev. iii 8, the Moon is in the dual: 2 EN.ZU , probably in relation to the two horns of the crescent (if not with two phases of the moon).³¹

This supposition seems to be confirmed by the presence of ${}^d\text{Ša-nu-ga-ru}_{12}$. An incantation in Eblaite, ARET V 4 § 4, mentions “the beams of the Sun and the 2 horns (2 si) of ${}^d\text{Ša-nu-ga-ru}_{12}$ ”.³² The parallel passage ARET V 1 § 8 has: “I have bound you on the beams of the Sun, on the two horns of the Moon (al_6 *su-lu-la-a* 1 iti).³³ Edzard (ARET V, 20) has inferred: “ein Name des Mondgottes oder eines seiner Epithete”. ${}^d\text{Sa-nu-ga-ar/ru}_{12}$ was worshiped at Mane on the Euphrates, immediately upstream from Emar, and could have been the same as the god Šangar(a)/Šaggara of Emar of the 2nd millennium.³⁴

³⁰ According to Steinkeller, the spelling in the Ebla sources, *I-li-lu*, could suggest a possible Semitic etymology **il-ilī* “god of (all) the gods”. Michalowski (Michalowski 1998, 241–247) came independently to the conclusion that *I-li-lu* in the Ebla texts “must have originated as reduplication of the Semitic word for deity: *il*, and that the writing Enlil represent a Sumerization.” In giving a Semitic etymology, he did not mean that a god was ethnic or linguistic in nature, but that it was “the issue of an evolving common culture.” The total absence of Enlil in the cult of Ebla excludes this possibility.

³¹ These passages have been given again in Pomponio, Xella 1997, 172–173. Archi 1994, 252–254 = Archi 2015, 596–598.

³² Fronzaroli 2003, 98.

³³ Fronzaroli 1988, 17.

³⁴ Archi 1994, 254–256 = Archi 2015, 598–600, with previous literature. Stol (Stol 1979, 75–80) had identified the deity S/Šaggar of the texts from Mari and Tell al-Rimah as the name of the Jebel Sinjār, which could appear on the horizon as a semicircle. The GN *Sag-ga*^{ki} (ARES II, 422; not *Sag-gār*^{ki}, as is suggested in Bonechi 1993, 327) could be identified with the Sangaratum/Saggaratum of the 2nd millennium BC, which would have been close to the confluence of the Ḥabur and the Euphrates, see Ziegler, Langlois 2017, 295. According to 75.1923 obv. ii 4–9, two men of Saggar received a gift when they “travelled (to join) the military

The identification of “2 ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ ” and his “two horns” with Sanugaru is not compelling (his Sumerian equivalence is: *iti*, in ARET V 1 iii 12). One has to consider, however, that the scribes knew perfectly well the reading of EN.ZU in Babylonia, which they registered in the L.L. no. 799: ${}^d\text{EN.ZU/ZI} = \text{su-i-nu}$. This phonetic writing was used only for the name of two messengers from Kiš: *Du-bi-zu-i-nu* and *Īram₆-zu-i-nu*.³⁵ In the case of the name of a king of Ibbu (*I-bu₁₆-bu/ib*^{ki}) of the time of the minister Arrukum, the scribe(s) wrote instead *Li-im*- ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ in two different documents (ARET XV,2: 344). The successor of this king (a few years later, at the time of the minister Ibrum) was Ilam-Šamagan (above, § 1). Ibbu was a city east of Ḥarran and the Baliḥ, on the border to the realm of the god Šamagan.³⁶ The theophoric elements in personal names were not necessarily those used at Ebla, so that there is no certainty that the logogram ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ was read in such cases Su^{en} .

The God List of Abū Šalābīkh has both ${}^{[d]N}$ [anna] and ${}^{[d]}\text{EN.ZU}$ (OIP 99, 82 i 6, 16; 86, i 37).³⁷ It has been argued that “ ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ (Kurzform ZU) nicht semitische Entlehnung ist, sondern ein genuin sumerischer Name des Mondgottes, der überregional in ganz Sumer verbreitet war”, so that “die frühen Semiten Mesopotamien haben dann die Schreibweise ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ für ihren Gott Su^{en} adaptiert ... ${}^d\text{EN.ZU}$ läßt sich also dementsprechend als ‘en zu’ analysieren”.³⁸ The name of the Mondgott in western Syria was, however, not Su^{en}

- g) The L.L. no. 805 gives the well known equivalence: ${}^d\text{Inanna} = \text{aš-dar}$. ${}^d\text{Aš-dar}$ (this is the only writing used at Ebla) was preceded in importance by Iṣhara, but became the goddess of Ebla at the beginning of the 2nd millennium.³⁹ ${}^d\text{Inanna}$ is used only in the two literary texts of Sumerian origin, ARET V 6 and 7.⁴⁰ At Mari one has: ${}^d\text{Inanna zar-bad}$,⁴¹ and Aštar Šarbatum was a hypostasis well known also at Ebla.⁴² However, the offering list TH 07–T9 f. i 3, ii 3 distinguishes only between ${}^d\text{Inanna}$ and ${}^d\text{INANNA.ZA.ZA}$.⁴³

- h) ${}^d\text{mul}$ has the equivalence *Kab-kab* (L.L. no. 791), Akk. *kakkabu* “star”. In the Sumerian incantation translated in Eblaite ARET V 1 v 8–vi 1 // 3 iii 5–8,

expedition (against) Tuttul” (*kaskal nig-kas₄ Du-du-lu^{ki}*).

³⁵ Archi 1987b, 131.

³⁶ Archi 2019a.

³⁷ Cf. Alberti 1985, 7.

³⁸ Sommerfeld 2011, 296.

³⁹ Archi 2019a.

⁴⁰ Krebernik 1992, 96.

⁴¹ Charpin 1987, 99.

⁴² Archi 2019b.

⁴³ Cavigneaux 2014, 307. On ${}^n\text{MÜŠ.UŠ}$ and ${}^d\text{INANNA.ZA.ZA}$ at Mari, see Lambert 1985, 537.

- Ga-ga:bu-bù* / SUD (for SÙD) is the “messenger”, *maškim-e-gi₄*, of Enlil (^d*I-li-lu*). The L.L. no. 1185b has SUD = *ga-ba-ga-bu*₁₆.⁴⁴
- i) The L.L., no. 806, gives as equivalence of Nergal the West Semitic god Rašap: ^dNE.LUNUG = *ra-sa-ap*.⁴⁵ The Eblaite scribes recognized, therefore, that the two gods had some common traits, but they never used the Sumerian writing. Rašap was one of the more important gods of the pantheon of Ebla, his name occurring in numerous passages. There was a “Rašap of the Palace”, SA.ZA^{ki}; his major sanctuaries were, however, at Adani (in the Amuq(?)) and Tunip (Tell Ašarne, west of present Hama), with another six cult places inside the kingdom.⁴⁶ His spouse Adamma gave her name to the first month of the local calendar. Rašap was the only god who received a mace and the horns of two bulls once a year like Hadda and Hadabal. His icon was, therefore, that of the “menacing god”: a male figure brandishing a spear, common to both the Storm-god and Rešef of the following periods.⁴⁷ He was associated in some cases with Haya/Enki (see above). The typologies of the texts do not enable us to define more precisely the character of this god in the 3rd millennium.
- j) According to the offering lists, the goddess ^dNin-kar (in the LL no. 798: ^dNin-kar-rá = *ni-ga-ra/la-du* in the LL no. 798) was object of particular devotion by the queen and other ladies of the royal house.⁴⁸ This hardly would be explicable if she was the obscure Mesopotamian goddess of the daylight ^dNin-kár(-ra). The goddess of Ebla has to be identified with the ^dNin-kar-ra-ak of the Old Akkadian period, a healing goddess whose veneration was generated in north-western Mesopotamia.⁴⁹ ^dNin-kar is attested in the Pre-Sargonic period also at Mari.⁵⁰ The cult of this goddess continued in the Middle Euphrates area until the first half of the second millennium. Her name appears in the form of ^dNin-ḫar(!)-ra-ak in the later version (Amorite period) of the “pantheon” of Mari, and she was one of the deities who regularly received sacrifices.⁵¹
- k) To ^dNisaba (LL no. 780), “the first-born of Enlil”, is

dedicated the Sumerian hymn ARET V 7, adapted in Babylonia in a Semitic-speaking scriptorium.⁵² The goddess is mentioned also in the Sumerian incantation ARET V 19 obv. iii 6.⁵³ The PN in the following obscure passage probably refers to an official from Mari, 75.1218 obv. v 5–8: (silver) UR-^dNisaba u₅ dingir en.

- l) Išhara was the most important goddess of Ebla, therefore of Syrian origin.⁵⁴ The God List of Abū Šālābīkh has Šara, the Sumerian god of Umma, written ^dŠÁRA (^dLAGAB×SIG₇), (OIP 99, 82 II 11). The name of the Syrian goddess Išhara presents an archaic writing: ^dSIG₇.AMA, preserved in the wedding ritual of king Irkab-damu (first year of minister Arrukum): ARET XI 1 obv. iii 2’, rev. xvi 24’, xvii 21; further in the (Eblaite) incantation ARET V 16 i 5,⁵⁵ and in the administrative document ARET XV 19 § 91 of about the same period. The LL no. 809 has: ^dŠARA₈(GÁ×SIG₇)^{ra} = *iš-ḫa-ra/la*. The usual form in the later administrative documents is ^dšara₈:Iš(GÁ×SIG₇^{is}), sometimes simplified as ^dšára:Iš(LAGAB×SIG₇^{is}), and complemented with -RA (GÁ×SIG₇^{ra} / LAGAB×SIG₇^{ra}). In 75.2078 rev. i 3 both complements are added: ^dŠARA₈(GÁ×SIG₇)^{is-ra}. The Eblaite scribe reinterpreted the Sumerian name of a male god as the name of a local goddess. At Nabada Išhara gave the name to a month, written: ^deš⁵GÁ×SIG₇ (also ^deš⁵LAGAB×IGIGUNŪ). In the second millennium Išhara remained an important goddess not only at Ebla but in general in northern Syria, and even in eastern Anatolia.
- m) The Sun-deity, ^dUtu, was female, as in WS. The Eblaite version of a Mesopotamian incantation presents the following variants, with the fem. prefix *ti-* referred to the Sun-deity, ARET V 3 i 1–3: ^dUtu *ti-a-ba-an sig₄-gar*; 2 i 1–3: *I-li-li* (Enlil) *i-la-ba-nu [sig₄-gar]*;⁵⁶ 1 iv 7–8: *a-bi-nu-un i-a-ba-nu sig₄-gar* “The Sun-goddess / Enlil / the maker of bricks moulded the bricks”.⁵⁷ According to the ritual of the royal wedding, ^dUtu received as offering a “virgin heifer”, *péš-áb nu-giš-gál-“tak₄”*, ARET XI 2 § 74 (cf. 1 § 71). The Eblaite were aware that in the eastern regions the Sun was male; as a consequence they adopted also a (secondary) male hypostasis and, in a few cases, felt it necessary to state precisely to which of them they referred, ARET III 637 I 6: ^dUtu-munus; 75.2593 rev. IV 4–8: 1 aktum-TÚG IGI.KID ^dUtu-nita in ^rx-x^r-^rki, “the female / male Sun”.

⁴⁴ Krebernik 1984, 324. The incantation has been studied by Fronzaroli (Fronzaroli 1988).

⁴⁵ On the Sumerian writing, see Civil, *apud* Lambert 1984, 399–400; Steinkeller 1987.

⁴⁶ Pomponio, Xella 1997, 297–315.

⁴⁷ Archi 2013, 223–224 = Archi 2015, 509–510.

⁴⁸ Archi 2019a.

⁴⁹ Goodnick-Westenholz 2010, 387, 397–398.

⁵⁰ Cavigneaux 2014, 308, no. 28 rev. i 1.

⁵¹ Lafont 1984, 243–244. For the “pantheon”, see Dossin 1950, 44, no. 24.

⁵² Krebernik 1992, 87–94, 97.

⁵³ Krebernik 1984, 150–151.

⁵⁴ Archi 2019a.

⁵⁵ Krebernik 1984, 130.

⁵⁶ 75.11748 (ARET V 2)+75.3216+75.18214, see Catagnoti 1988.

⁵⁷ Fronzaroli 1988, 18.

Utu was also at Ebla the tutelary deity of truth and oaths. The king, guarantor of a donation by the minister Ibrium to his sons, invoked as witnesses the Sun together with the city-god Kura, the Storm-god Hadda and all the gods, ARET XVI 27 §§ 8, 27. In the ‘international’ Treaty with Abarsal (Tell Chuēra), Utu, Hadda, and all the gods were requested to punish any who violated the agreements (Kura, considered a local god, was not mentioned in this case), ARET XIII 5 low edge § 5.⁵⁸

n) ^dTu (without Semitic equivalence in LL) is a short form of ^dNin-tu, the Mother-goddess. At Ebla, she was worshiped in the temple of Kura. She played a major role in the wedding ritual for the royal couple, when she pronounced the crucial words signifying the investiture of king and queen to represent on earth the divine couple at the head of the pantheon, and assuring the continuity of the dynasty: “The goddess Tu announces: ‘(there is) a new Kura, a new Barama; a new king, a new queen’” (ARET XI 1 § 65, 2 § 68). The logogram ^dTU represents in the text of Ebla a local Mother-goddess.⁵⁹ ^dTu is the writing adopted also at Mari, TH07-T9 f. ii 1.

Sumerian logograms were used as the name of a god only according to analogies between two divine entities. Similarly, in Anatolia SUMUQAN(^dGIR) was read Miyatanzipa, the name of the Hittite genius of Vegetation.⁶⁰ All the deities of Ebla have to be considered peculiar of the Syrian regions, with the exception of two Common Semitic astral goddesses: A/Eštar, whose name was always written phonetically, and the Sun: Šamaš (at Ugarit Šapš), written ^dUtu, female in Syria, who became male in Akkadian Mesopotamia under Sumerian influence.

Kura, the god of Ebla, possibly belonged to the substrate, and he disappeared along with the city itself.⁶¹ The name of his spouse Barama was an epithet, roughly meaning “Full of colour”, *brm. Hadda, the Storm-god of Ḥalab, was the major god of northern Syria, and survived until the Classical period also with his epithet of Ba^cl. His wife Ḥa(l)abadu was named according to the place where she was worshipped: “She of Ḥalab”; this epithet became Ḥebat in

later periods. Her cult expanded through the Hurrians as far as Anatolia, together with that of Adamma and Aštapi(l). Kamiš (Chemoš in Moab) and Rašap (Rešef) were, together with Hadda, the major Syrian gods until the 1st Millennium.

5. THE EQUIDS OF EBLA

The unilingual Animal List B (represented by three manuscripts) offers the most common list of equids in a source from Ebla: ANŠE-kúnga(BAR.AN) / ANŠE-kúnga-munus / dúsu(ANŠE.IGI)-níta / ANŠE.IGI-munus / anše-eden-munus / anše-(^{ga})gan / an[še-] / anše[-] / anše-ed[en-níta?].

The ED Practical Vocabulary (ARES IV, nos. 246–251) lists the following names of equids: anše-AN/^x-níta / anše-munus (eme₆) / ANŠE.IGI-níta / ANŠE.IGI-munus / anše-eden-munus / ANŠE-BAR.AN-níta

The canonical bilingual lexical lists have only the name of the most common equids at Ebla: IGI-níta⁶² / IGI-munus; BAR.AN / BAR.AN-munus (MEE 4, nos. 709, 710; 1062, 1063). The short bilingual list 75.10018+ used a different Sumerian source and is more detailed. It opens with the following names of equids, obv. i 1–6: ^ranše[?]-^rgur₈ / IGI-níta-tur / ANŠE-níta-kur / *ag-lum* / ^rANŠE-níta⁻-^reden[?] / *gú-da-núm*.

Later Akk. sources have the equivalence: *agālu* = anše^{du-su}Ü, a simplification of ANŠE-libir(IGI+ŠÈ). “The references up to the Ur III period designate with ANŠE-libir(IGI+ŠÈ) a domesticated equid which is frequently mentioned and used as a draught animal before plows and wagons.”⁶³

The administrative texts of Ebla record two genres of equids, the only ones which had an economic significance: IGI-níta, IGI-munus, (3 mu 2 mu 1 mu, tur), IGI-níta u₅, and kúnga(BAR.AN)-níta/munus, (5 4 3 2 1 mu, tur). The determinative ANŠE was not written, and IGI(-níta/munus) is an abbreviation of ANŠE.libir. IGI-munus is the Eblaite writing for eme₆.

Similarly to the Akkadian personal names *I/E-ma-ru-um* “Donkey” and *Ku-da-núm* “Mule”,⁶⁴ the onomasticon of Ebla had *Si-ti*-BAR.AN “Drink, Mule!” (75.2491 obv. xvii 9), and the toponyms IGI-níta^{ki} and IGI-munus^{ki}.⁶⁵

⁶² All the documents of Ebla have NITA (UŠ, as in dumu-nita) and not NÍTA.

⁶³ CAD A,I, 141. The *kūdanu* “(a type of mule)”, CAD K, 491, was the ANŠE.GIR.NUN.NA of the OB literary texts and in the lexical tradition. Civil (Civil 2008, 112-113) gives the section of equids in the lists from Fāra and Abū Šalābīkh, and comments *ad* no. 250 (*gú-da-núm*): “The normal Akk. translation of anše-eden is otherwise *sirrimu* ‘onager’”. Against the meaning “mule” for *kūdanu*, he notes that “the enigmatic list SLT 58:4 [gud]-ku-da-an-núm (PN?), seems to exclude a hybrid animal”.

⁶⁴ See CAD I, 112; K, 491.

⁶⁵ 75.10187 obv. iii 2–5: *Ma-sa-nu*^{ki} *wa* IGI.NITA^{ki} *lú* *Ib-al*^{ki} (there-

⁵⁸ For the Sun-goddess, see further Archi 2019a.

⁵⁹ Archi 2019a.

⁶⁰ Klinger 2011/13.

⁶¹ The only possible survival of Kura in a later period seems to be (to the present writer) the god *Ku-ur-ri* of the Ḥišuwa festival from Kizzuwatna (Cilicia). This festival, known from the Hittite archives, presents a strong Hurrian influence from North-Syria (Wilhelm 1992). Other suggestions are examined by Sallaberger 2018, 111-114.

By far the most common equid was the IGI-nita, ARET XIII 5 rev. viii 10: *ù-ma gud ù-ma IGI-nita* “cattle or asses”. A merchant, Gida-na^{im}, negotiated in one of his trade travels for three and four IGI-nita, three and four oxen, and 1 BAR.AN-munus together with other goods.⁶⁶ In an account of deliveries to the Central Administration by some “lords”, lugal-lugal, distinction is made only between large and small quadrupeds, ARET II 25 § 7: “Total: 11,788 cattle and asses (gud-gud ù IGI-nita), 36,100 sheep (udu).” According to ARET II 20 § 10, an official was responsible (lú šu [PN]) for “1030 sheep, 176 oxen, 18 IGI-munus-IGI-munus 4 IGI-nita 6 sur_x-BAR.AN 440 jars of oil.”

An inspection in the village of ²*A-za-an*^{ki}, ARET II 23, gave the result that Badulum, an “overseer of the farmers”, ugula engar, had under his control (lú 2 šu) 80 IGI-munus tu-da (“in the age to give birth”), 10 BAR.AN-nita 5 4 3 mu, 14 BAR.AN-munus 5 4 3 mu, 4 BAR.AN-nita tur, 5 BAR.AN-munus tur 1 mu, 2 IGI-nita 3 mu. Ingar, the “overseer of the mules (BAR.AN-BAR.AN)”, was instead responsible for 72 IGI-munus tu-da, 11 BAR.AN-nita 5 4 3 mu, 5 BAR.AN-munus 5 4 3 mu, 2 BAR.AN-munus tur 1 mu. Given the number of mares and of young animals, this document most probably concerns two breeding farms.⁶⁷ As Zarins has remarked, “the text combines two different groupings but defines a six-year foaling record since the terms tur (young) and 5 mu (fifth year) are mentioned”.⁶⁸

It is evident that there were just two kinds of equids: (ANŠE.)IGI, necessarily “ass”, and (ANŠE.)BAR.AN, that is: kúnga, a hybrid.⁶⁹ The fact that there was a “riding ass”. IGI-nita u₅ suggests that the *E. asinus* widespread in northern Syria was quite a vigorous animal. 75.2084 obv. ii 4–rev. i 2 register “2 reins, 3 brooches of 1 wagon (and) 3(!) riding asses of the king”, 2 níg-anše-ak 3 kù-sal 1 GIŠ-GÍGIR×É-IV 3 IGI-nita-IGI-nita u₅ en. According to a passage in 75.2333 the price of an IGI-nita u₅ was 30 shekels; such animals were, however, estimated at only 13.5 shekels in 75.2365. We cannot, therefore, deduce that the asses qualified by u₅ had a particular constitution, their value being no greater than the others.⁷⁰ The

term u₅ could mean just that these asses were trained for riding or for drawing chariots.⁷¹

In the period of king Irkab-damu, Enna-il, a “lord”, lugal (a high official), was entrusted with the responsibility of the IGI-nita of the Palace.⁷¹ In the following period there were several “overseers”, ugula, instead of a lugal.

Similarly, the “mules”, BAR.AN (kúnga), of the Palace came first under the control of Titina, a “lord”, and later under several overseers.⁷²

While ARET II 23 (above) concerns a farm where equids were bred, the document 75.1826+ is an account concerning the maintenance of draught animals. The first sections (obv. i 1–rev. iv 5) register one after the other one or two teams of BAR.AN entrusted to men residing in villages, each having at their disposal 200 gána-kešda-ki measures of fields in relation to one team. The colophon makes it clear that (a part of?) the production of barley of the 9400 measures of fields had to be used for feeding (kú) these equids, therefore surely not plough animals. The total of the document distinguishes between asses and mules (rev. x 1–9): “54 teams of riding mules, 9 teams of draught mules. Document of the fields (which) maintain the mules (entrusted) to IrNE”, šu-nígin 54 sur_x-BAR.AN u₅ 9 sur_x-BAR.AN GIŠ-GÍGIR×É dub ki-ki kú bîr-BAR.AN bîr-BAR.AN áš-da Ir-NE. One passage (rev. vii 8–12) mentions that 375 gú-bar measure of barley were given to maintain 25 asses for one year, that is daily 1 níg-sagšu for each ass: še kú 25 IGI-nita 1 še níg-sagšu in 1 mu. That is: 375 gú-bar = 9000 níg-sagšu (1 gú-bar = 24 níg-sagšu); therefore 360 níg-sagšu for each ass in one year.

This IrNE was probably the same who had at his disposal large expanses of fields according to 75.1992 rev. iii 3–6, as well as a certain Ibdulu: 11,000[+x] (gána-kešda-)ki: *Ib-du-lu*; 10,100 (gána-kešda-)ki: *Ir-NE*.

Postgate’s suggestion that ANŠE-kúnga means “mule” has found consensus.⁷³ The mule is valued for its strength and endurance, while it is doubtful whether the *Equus hemionus* was domesticated. It is uncertain how much larger an onager was in comparison to an ass. Evidence of a rather better performance offered by the offspring of an onager stallion, the BAR.AN, is that it was usually used as the draught animal for the chariots of the king and high officials.

fore in the region east of Qatna). This name proves that the toponym IGI-munus^{ki} cannot be read *Ši-sal*^{ki} (contrary to ARES II, 442; correctly transcribed in Bonechi 1993, 197); there are also the occurrences 75.10184 obv. iv 3–5: 4 dumu-munus NE-di IGI-munus^{ki}; 75.11757 rev. iii 18. IGI-SAL^{ki} was a village of Ebla.

⁶⁶ ARET II 29, see Milano 2003.

⁶⁷ Cf the text from Mari TH 80.101 (Charpin 1987, 83, no. 24), concerning exclusively female asses, eme₆.

⁶⁸ Zarins 2014, 169.

⁶⁹ Zarins has discussed in great detail the paleozoological evidence for equidae and the names given to equid species in the Ancient Near East (Zarins 2014).

⁷⁰ See table 2.

⁷¹ ARET XIV 8 rev. iii 3; 14 rev. ii 2; 49 obv. vi 12.

⁷² For *Ti-ti-na* lugal BAR.AN-BAR.AN, see ARET XIV 8 obv. vi 6; 9 rev. iv 5; 14 obv. v 3; 15 obv. i 4; 32 obv. x 8. At the beginning of the reign of Išar-damu, when Ibrum was minister, *Ri-i-ma-lik* was “overseer” ugula, of the mules.

⁷³ Postgate 1986; see Heimpel 1987/90 (a synthesis of the data concerning this equid); Heimpel 1995, 89–91; Zarins 2014, 170–177. Maekawa had instead suggested that ANŠE-kúnga refers to the *E. hemionus*, the onager (Maekawa 1979).

The value of a BAR.AN, given the difficulty of obtaining these equids, is made clear by the list of the animals delivered on the occasion of the marriage (mu-DU níg-mu-sá) of princess Kešdut with a prince of Kiš (in the year before the destruction of Ebla), and perhaps sent to Kiš as a gift: “3290 cattle (gud), 1680 sheep (udu), 159 mules (BAR.AN), 1 male ass (IGI-nita), 5 pigs (šaḥ), 19 buffalos (alim), 14 bears (az).⁷⁴

Identification of *E. hemionus* and domestic Equidae based on skeletal evidence provided by archaeological excavation is, in general, rather difficult.⁷⁵

6. MULES FROM THE HIGHLANDS

The mules, kúnga (BAR.AN), were mostly imported from the kingdom of Nagar, the regional state in the Ḥabur triangle, a natural ally of Ebla since both had Mari as their principal adversary.⁷⁶ Prices for these animals fluctuated somewhat: if we consider that 15 shekels (117 g) of silver was the average price of an ass and 2 minas (940 g) that of a mule, this hybrid could have been eight times more valuable than an ass. In some cases, a mule could be worth as much as four or even five minas (1.88/2.35 kg).⁷⁷ This silver was in some cases just the converted value of oil or wool.

The region which provided these hybrids was therefore the Ḥabur triangle and east of there. Urkiš was excluded because of the geographical location of Nagar. Ebla tried to provide itself with a second source. Ibutu, “the chief steward of the house of the king”, agrig é en, sent a letter to Ḥamazi (in the region of Sulaymaniyah) with the request for “good mules”, BAR.AN sa₆, in exchange for timber, but this did not obtain a result.⁷⁸

A seal impression from Nagar represents two sitting gods (besides others two): the one on the left sits on a stool which rests on a gazelle, his left hand extended towards a rampant gazelle, while the god on the right sits on a stool which rests on two standing equids, his right hand extended forwards to a rampant equid (perhaps an onager). This second representation is similar to that of the Urkiš seal, and the god may

safely be identified with Šakkan, who played a major role in the region according to the documents from Tell Beydar (above, § 3).⁷⁹ This is a good illustration how religion permeated the perception of the environment by the human beings.

Mules were exchanged only exceptionally in international relations. The document 75.1559, to be dated to the very last years of Iblul-il king of Mari (in obv. i 2 Enna-il, the cupbearer of Paba, Pa₄-ba₄, spouse of Iblul is mentioned), registers 470 g of silver given to Puzur-Aštar who had to carry a chariot to the grand vizier of Mari, while 39 g of silver were given to another official for delivering a team of mules, obv. x 4–xi 3: 1 ma-na babbar:kù Puzur₄-Aš-dar ḥi-mu-DU GIŠ-gígir-II Ma-r₄ki 5 gín DILMUN babbar:kù Bù-da-ni-um sur_x-BAR.AN gal:sukkal. About 40 years later (I.Z. 13) the cupbearer Šugadu, who had led a delegation from Mari, received 313 g of silver having to bring several mules as a gift, 76.534+ obv. vi 18–23: ša-pi babbar:kù níg-ba Šu-ga-du Ma-r₄ki éš DU.DU ḥi-mu-DU BAR.AN-BAR.AN. The dowry of princess Kešdut, perhaps to be sent to Kiš (I.Z. 16) included 159 mules!⁸⁰

7. MULES IN AGRICULTURAL DOCUMENTS

Several documents register animals located in villages, given into the charge of individuals controlled by the central administration, e.g.: 76.188 rev. i 1–ii 1: “[x seed-barley], 7 male mules, 22 oxen, 11 cows, 130 sheep for breeding [GN]”, [x še-numun] 7 BAR.AN-nita 22 gud 11 áb 130 udu ti-la [GN]; 76.189 rev. iii 1–6: “1 mule, 1 female mule, 1 male ass, 2 oxen, 2 cows, 2 calves”, 1 BAR.AN 1 BAR.AN-munus 1 IGI-nita 2 gud 2 áb 2 amar (... PN).⁸¹ According to 75.10250 obv. xvi 12–14, there were “64 houses of servants (in charge) of mules”, 64 é ir₁₁ BAR.AN-<BAR.>AN.

The agricultural units which had mules at their disposal were, however, few. Among the several farms which had to reserve part of their barley production as fodder for animals, there was that of a certain Zabara: “13 breeding bovines, 10 female asses, 4 young mules, 4 teams of mules, 1 riding ass, 1 wild ass”, 13 gud ti-la 10 IGI-munus 4 BAR.AN tur 4 sur_x-BAR.AN 2 IGI-nita u₅ 1 BAR.AN eri-bar (75.1475 rev.ii 4–iv 6). The inventory of precious metals,

⁷⁴ Archi 1987a, 122-124.

⁷⁵ See Zarins 2014, 41-83.

⁷⁶ A first presentation of the relations between Ebla and Nagar and its satellite towns has been given in Archi 1998. EN-NE^{ki} and Sag-gár^{ki} were the satellite towns which provided mules. The occurrences of the term anše-BAR.AN in the texts of Beydar are listed by Sallaberger 1996b, 176. It is not possible to locate Ir-ku^{ki}, at whose “market”, ganba, mules were acquired. For the documentation from Nabada concerning Nagar, see Sallaberger 1999.

⁷⁷ See tables 1 and 2.

⁷⁸ The letter ARET XIII 3 was written at the time of king Irkabdamu, and the request was for king Zizi of Ḥamazi. I-bù-ka^xKID agrig é en has probably to be identified with I-bu₁₆-bù[?], the overseer of the house of the king, ugula é en, active in the year Ibr. 03 (75.2362 rev. xvi 19–21).

⁷⁹ The description of the seal is given in Felli, 2001, 144-145 with fig. 181; the identification of the god Šakkan was suggested by Oates, Oates 2001, 387-388. According to Oates, Oates 2006, 401-402, “the Area FS complex at Brāk, with its temple and large courtyards, was situated near the north gate of the city, and we believe that it may have been an early form of way-station or caravanserai. Certainly there was an unusually large water supply and evidence of herbivore dung and stake-holes in one of its large courtyards.” The number of figurines reproducing equids and chariot models found at Brāk is remarkable, see Oates 2001.

⁸⁰ Above, § 4.

⁸¹ See Milano 1987, 181, 195.

objects, and clothing 75.10263 (without an administrative reference) adds also the following animals: “31 teams of mules, 22 items of cattle, 10 fattened cattle”, 31 sur_x BAR.AN 22 gud 10 gud niga (rev. iv 3-5).

According to ARET III 106(+)-111, each team of mules received 1 *ba-ri-zú* measure of barley (= 12 níg-sagšu) a day; 106 rev. v 3-5: še kú 11 sur_x-BAR.AN 1 sur_x-BAR.AN 1 *ba-ri-zú* še.⁸² Half of this amount would also have been sufficient according to 75.1798 obv. II 5-7: 5 níg-sagšu še 1 sur_x-BAR.AN; rev. ii 4-6: 6 níg-sagšu še 1 sur_x-BAR.AN.

For the maintenance of a team of asses only 100 (instead of 200) measures of land could suffice. 75.4833+ ii 3-4: 100 gána-kešda-ki lú 2 IGI-nita; 76.48 i 3-4: 50 gána-kešda-ki lú 1 IGI-nita.⁸³

Further passages make clearer the situation regarding the number of mules held by overseers or farmers in relation to other equids and cattle.

75.1245 obv. iii 1-10: 5 IGI-munus 5 BAR.AN tur wa 2 GIS-gígir{×É}-sum *En-na-il* šeš *Ìr-am₆-ma-lik si-in A-a-za-du^{ki} ħi-mu-DU*; vi 5-10: 6 BAR.AN lú *Úr-lu^{ki} wa lú A-ga-ar^{ki} Ìr-am₆-ma-lik ħi-DU*; vii 2-5: 12 gud 3 IGI-munus 1 IGI-nita 1 BAR.AN *mi-nu Ša-dab₆^{ki} A-da-gàr ħi-DU*.⁸⁴

75.1248+ obv. i 1-3: [...] 170 gud-gud 1 sur_x-BAR.AN.

75.1508 obv. i 6-ii 3: 30 gud 9 áb 7 IGI-munus 6 IGI-nita 4 BAR.AN.

75.1547⁸⁵ rev. v 1-iv 5: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 97 gud mu-DU uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 188 gud è uru^{ki}-uru^{ki} AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 25 IGI-nita AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 14 BAR.AN “Total: 97 cattle, delivery (by) the villages; total: 188 cattle, expenditures of the villages. Total of the male asses: 25; total of the mules: 14.”

75.2032 rev. i 1-ii 3: (*áš-ti* ugula é ugula é ...) AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 185 sur_x-BAR.AN 80 IGI-nita u₅ 41 IGI-nita 3 mu 2 mu 24 IGI-nita tur 258 IGI-munus 50 IGI-munus IGI-munus tur 4 mu 3 mu 2 mu 82 BAR.AN 3 mu 2 mu 1 mu “(animals by the overseers of the houses.) Total: 185 teams of mules; 80 riding male asses; 41 male asses of 3, 2 years; 24 young male asses; 258 female asses; 50 young female asses, of 4, 3, 2 years; 82 mules of 3, 2, 1 year.”

75.2637 rev. v 10-vi 3: [x] udu-niga 6 IGI-munus 2 BAR.AN 3 mu 17 ir₁₁ 27 géme *Nu-ba-du^{ki}*.

⁸² I cannot agree with the analysis of this document given by Bonechi (Bonechi 2016, 42-46). The Irti of Tunip, to whom was entrusted just one team of mules (ARET III 111 obv. viii 1-3), was a farmer, not a son of the minister Ibrum (Irti was a quite common name).

⁸³ A document of the minister Arrukum registers the silver (18.80 kg) expended for acquiring some mules for the king and that (940 g) for their futter, 75.1872+ obv. i 8-ii 1: 2 ma-na babbar:kù še kú BAR.AN-BAR.AN en.

⁸⁴ Enna-il, Iram-malik and Adagar had to deliver several mules and female asses from some villages of Ebla.

⁸⁵ Archi 1984, 49.

75.12605+ rev. v 3-8: 40 gud 13 áb 7 IGI-munus 6 IGI-nita 1 BAR.AN 3 BAR.AN-munus.

76.92 obv. i 1-3: 38 gud ti-la 8 IGI-munus 1 IGI-nita 1 BAR.AN-munus.

ARET XX 1 § 15: 31 sur_x-BAR.AN 22 gud 10 gud-niga (this datum refers to the central administration).

8. MULES AND ASSES AS DRAUGHT ANIMALS OF CHARIOTS, AND THEIR “OVERSEERS”

Text 75.1785 (Ibr.) rev. ix 2-4 attributes to the king eight “overseers of teams of mules”, ugula sur_x-BAR.AN; five are those of the king and two of the minister Ibbi-zikir according to 75.1829 (I.Z.) rev. x 8-14. In 75.1917 rev. i 15-ii 11 eight “overseers”, ugula, of the king and six of Ibbi-zikir are mentioned by name: *Ìr-ni-ba Ĥu-ba-an Puzur₄-ra-ma-lik Gur-da-LUM Ba-du-lum A-mi-ni-bar-zú Še-numun^(BAL)⁸⁶ Ib-ga-i – En-na-BE Bù-ĥi Ìr-ba_x-zé* of *Dur-rí^{ki} Mi-ga-i Gú-šu Ib-dur-i-šar* respectively. Those listed in ARET III 61 v 3-14 are five for the king and four for Ibbi-zikir: *Ĥu-ba-an Ru₁₂-zú-i Ib-ga-i Še-numun^(BAL), A-za_x-bar-zú – En-na-i Da-zi-ma-at Bu-ĥi Ṛ₆-ga-lu* respectively.⁸⁷ Those at the service of the crown prince I³aq-damu were three according to ARET VII 73 § 1. In ARET IV 14 § 53 a distribution of wool is registered for six teams of mules (sur_x-BAR.AN) of the king, two of Ingar (an overseer of teams of mules), thirteen of Ibbi-zikir, and four for his son Tubuĥu-Hadda. The number of the teams of mules of the minister and his son was justified by their military tasks.

Like other officials, these overseers received land for the maintenance of these animals. 75.1827+ obv. viii 4-6: 152(?) gána-kešda-ki *Ìr-ni-ba* ugula sur_x-B.A., rev. vi 1-3: 56 gána-kešda-ki *Ib-dur-i* ugula sur_x-B.A. 75.3887+ obv. iii 2-7: 400 gána-kešda-ki *Ru₁₂-zú-i* ugula sur_x-B.A. 300 gána-kešda-ki *Zu-ne* ugula sur_x-B.A. 75.6029 rev. ii 5-7: 200 gána-ki ugula sur_x-B.A. *A-rí-mu^{ki}*. 75.12041 rev. xiv 1-3: 200 gána-kešda-ki sur_x-B.A.

Text 75.2280+ registers the gifts distributed to the royal family, the court and the representatives of the allied cities probably on the occasion of the victory over Mari, about two years before the fall of Ebla.⁸⁸ Preceded by other people employed at the Palace such as 27 dancers and 15 lyre players, 49 “overseers of the teams of mules”, ugula sur_x-BAR.AN, received one garment (sal-TÚG) and a kilt each, as well as eight plates of 39 g of gold, presumably for their chiefs (rev. xiv 26-27). These charioteers were employed also in

⁸⁶ The writing Še-BAL (cf also ARET I 4 rev. ix 21 !) alternate with Še-numun (e.g. ARET I 10 obv. iii 1).

⁸⁷ A chariot of the minister Arrukum is mentioned in 75.1406 rev. iv 4-5; another for the minister Ibrum in ARET XIX obv. vi § 21, together of those of Bagama and Ibbi-zikir, his sons, § 36.

⁸⁸ Archi 2019b.

war: they appear (in numbers of 60/47) in the list of the yearly distribution of clothing to the personnel of the Palace and to the men organized in gangs (*ir-aním*) who formed the army.⁸⁹

Several members of the elite had their “overseers of teams of mules”, that is charioteers in charge of their chariots. The documents of the last period of the archives mention these sons of the king: Gadum, Ibte-damu, Iḥsub-damu, Ilzi-damu, Sag-damu, and Zib-damu, ARET VIII 525 vii 15–19; 542 ix 20–24. Dusigu, the mother of the king, also had her team of mules, 75.2359 r. xi 4–5.

The cortege of deities who accompanied the king and queen to the mausoleum of the ancestors in NENAŠ on the occasion of their wedding used a GIŠ-gígir-sum carriage drawn by four(?) bulls for the god Kura and a covered wagon, GIŠ-É×GÍGIR drawn by a team of mules, ARET XI 1 §§ 26–29, 2 §§ 26–29.

A courier, whose name denotes his origin in an eastern region, received 470 g of silver in relation to a team of mules for the “god of the king / the deified ancestor”, 75.1218+ obv. v 8–12: 1 ma-na babbar:kù Ur-^dNisaba u₅ sur_x-BAR.AN dingir en.

Chariots and wagons employed by the elite might be drawn also by asses, although more rarely. Decorations for the reins of “the two asses”, 2 IGI-nita, of the king are mentioned in MEE 10, 20 obv. xix 7–11; 29 obv. xvi 35–xvii 11; MEE 12, 35 § 92c; 36 § 17a; 37 § 25b; 75.1730 rev. ii 18–22; 75.1923 obv. iv 5–8, x 5–15; 75.2462 rev. iv 26–36; 75.2644+ obv. vi 12–13; 75.2502 rev. i 5–12; 75.2507 obv. ix 7–24; 75.10144 rev. xiii 5–7. Those for the minister Ibrium are mentioned in 75.2365 obv. vii 7–10; 75.2359 rev. iv 1–4; for the minister Ibbi-zikir in 75.2644+ obv. vi 6–7, 15–16.⁹⁰ Also Dusigu, the mother of the king, had two asses for her chariot, 75.1730 obv. vii 11–14.

Mention of teams of oxen are uncommon, ARET XX 1 obv. v 5–vi 1: 1 sur_x(ERIM)-BAR.AN 15 sur_x-gud-gud. “Two reins” (usually completed by four decorations)⁹¹ referred to two animals, 75.2365 obv. vii 8–9: 2 níg-anše-ak 4 kù-sal 2 IGI-nita. If, instead, a single animal was employed, one has: 1 níg-anše-ak 1 IGI-nita, MEE 12, 37 obv. xi 14–15.

9. CHARIOT AS A GIFT

A chariot was a luxurious gift. When Ibbi-zikir “left for the campaign” (è níg-kaš₄) against Badanu, he received some garments for his asses. Having

succeeded in occupying this town and conquering Masanu and IGI.NITA^{ki} (that is Agālu, all of the confederation of Ibal), the king rewarded him with a dagger and earrings in gold together with a chariot decorated with “mother-of-pearl, carnelian and gold”, 1 giš-gígir-II ra-^a-tum si₄ kù-gi (75.10187 obv. ii 6).

The victory over Mari was the occasion for further gifts of this kind. According to the extremely fragmentary annual document 75.12450 (I.Z. 15), the chariots of Ibbi-zikir and two other leaders needed “572 g of gold for the decorations of their wheels, 1.54 kg of copper for “hooks”, GIŠ-zú, [...]”. The gold for the decorations of the pectorals and the reins of the chariot of the minister, together with that for the reins of the king of Nagar, had been first registered in 74.102. A similar short text, 74.101, concerns the gold for the reins given to another ally, the king of Haddu.⁹²

A chariot belonged to the iconography of the Storm-god Hadda of Ḥalab, a warrior god. The king offered to him for his own “purification”, sikil, “1 chariot, whose 2 wheels (were decorated with) gold, mother-of-pearl and carnelian, together with 2 reins, four bridles (with) an eagle of gold, 4 hooks, a goad, 1 dagger of gold, 1 multicoloured kilt”, 1 GIŠ-gígir-ii ša-ti 2 GIŠ-gam-gam-sù kù-gi wa ra-^a-tum si₄ 2 níg-anše-ak 4 eškiri_x á-MUŠEN kù-gi 4 zi-kir-ra-tum wa GIŠ-bar-uš 1 gir mar-tu kù-gi 1 íb+iii-TUG-sa₆-gùn (75.1542 obv. I 1-ii 6).⁹³ Another chariot was offered to Hadda in the year I.Z. 06: 75.1918 (MEE 10, 29) obv. i 9–ii 29.

The amounts of gold and silver employed for covered wagons (presumably for the ladies of the court) are given in ARET XIV 2 rev. iv 4–5 // 76.974 rev. iii 2–4: 29 ma-na (13.63 kg) babbar:kù 5 ma-na tar (2.70 kg) kù-gi GIŠ-GÍGIR×É- GIŠ-GÍGIR×É; 75/86.G.3 obv. ii 6–iii 1: 24 ma-na (11.28 kg) babbar:kù kin₅-ak 1 GIŠ-GÍGIR×É. The gold employed for the harnesses of these chariots follows, ARET XIV 2 rev. iii 3–5 // 76.974 rev. ii 2–3: “10.81 kg of gold for the neckchains of the mules of the king”, 23 ma-na kù-gi KA-dù-gíd BAR.AN-BAR.AN en.

A rein-ring in bronze (TM.06.G.906) has been identified by R. Dolce.⁹⁴ It was found in a room together with two statuettes, wooden carvings and tesserae of mother-of-pearl inlays used as decorations for furniture. Rein-rings from Kiš and Ur have a mule or an onager as decorative element, not an ass judging from its short ears.⁹⁵ These rings were

⁸⁹ ARET XX, 197. A first list of charioteers has been given in Archi 1988.

⁹⁰ For the asses of the chariot of the minister Arrukum, see ARET XV, 2, 432, *sub* igi-nita.

⁹¹ See, however, MEE 12, 36 obv. ix 13–14: 1 níg-anše-ak 1 kù-sal 1 IGI-nita!

⁹² Archi, Biga 2003, 19 and 25–26 respectively.

⁹³ Archi 2013, 11 = Archi 2015, 584. The harness of the equids have been studied by Conti 1997, 44–55.

⁹⁴ Dolce 2015, 129–130. A list of rein-rings dated to the 3rd millennium B.C. is given in Zarins 2014, 401–402.

⁹⁵ Zarins 2014, 132, figs. 2.66, 2.57.

used also for quadrigas: four draught animals were hitched to a two-wheeled chariot, according to some representations of the third millennium B.C. from Sumer and Babylonia.⁹⁶ The seal impressions from Mari and Tell Beydar seem to represent a team of two equids; another from Urkiš has instead three equids.⁹⁷ The leaders of Ebla went to war with two-wheeled chariots, whereas the war scenes from Mari and Tell Beydar represented on seals and inlays have four-wheeled carts, following the iconography of the standard of Ur.⁹⁸

10. CHARIOTS IN FUNERAL CEREMONIES

The set of funerary gifts for the minister Ibrum (75.1923 obv. xiii 8–xiv 25) included “470 g of gold for two pairs of reins with four brooches and for the decoration of the two wheels of a chariot; 39 g of tin to be melted (with copper for) one hook; 39 g of silver (for) three z.; 117 g of gold (for) 1 pairs of reins and one brooch (for) one male ass”, 1 ma-na kù-gi kin₅-ak 2 níg-anše-ak 4 kù-sal wa nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-ašud GIŠ-gígir-ii 5 gín DILMUN an-na šub si-in 1 GIŠ-zú 5 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 níg-anše-ak 1 kù-sal 1 IGI-nita. This passage makes it clear that the two reins (the usual equipment for two draught equids) were given as funerary sets to be deposited in the grave together with a belt, a dagger and a helmet as the belongings of a valiant warrior. The *single* pair of reins was instead for the ass which had to draw the chariot bearing the corpse.

A chariot is mentioned also in relation to the funeral of two princesses: Tinib-dulum and Tište-damu. It was the minister Ibbi-zikir in both cases who provided the 470 g of gold for the reins and their four decorations (2 níg-anše-ak 4 kù-sal): 75.2334 (= ARET XX 25) obv. iii 4–10, and 75.2276 obv. ii 9–13.⁹⁹ Also Dusigu, the mother of king Išar-damu, was taken to her grave in a chariot drawn by two asses, 75.1962+ obv. xii 2–8: “1 pair of reins of 235 g of gold; 8 g of silver (for) covering the side of 1 chariot; 2 brooches of 204 g of gold; {235 g of gold (for) 1 pair of reins} of two asses”, 2 níg-anše-ak tar kù-gi 1 babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 zag 1 GIŠ-gígir-II 2 kù-sal 26 kù-gi {tar kù-gi [2] níg-anše-ak} 2 IGI-nita.¹⁰⁰

The fact that a great leader, a major protagonist in the fortunes of Ebla during the eighteen years when he was in office, was borne to his grave by a chariot drawn by a *single* ass, while the reins for a team of animals which symbolized his war chariot were given as a funeral gift (to be placed in his grave), is clear proof that the chiefs of Ebla were not buried with a team of equids. It is even less probable that equids were buried alongside the tomb of deceased ladies, as a mark of their high status. A rich harness was provided in this case for the funeral chariot, and further reins were not added to their personal funerary outfit.¹⁰¹

The hypogeum G4, built roughly 6 m below the flooring of a central unit of the Palace,¹⁰² belonged to a phase characterized by a trend towards mortuary exclusiveness, as Peltenburg has theorized: “the material stage for ancestor ceremonies had been transferred from open, inclusive performances to more controlled spaces and finally to highly restricted venues and social participants”.¹⁰³ This hypogeum did not permit the burying of equids.

It is quite possible, instead, that it was felt unacceptable that the animals hitched to the funerary chariot could be used again and that they were, consequently, slaughtered. In a previous phase, when the tombs were outside the city, like the mausoleum for the kings (é ma-tim *bayt-i maw-tim) in NENAŠ,¹⁰⁴ it is possible that these animals (asses, not hybrids according to the written evidence) were buried in the vicinity of the tombs and considered in some way as possessions of the deceased for the afterlife. The leadership of the minister Ibrum would not have been symbolized, however, by the ass used for his funeral, but by the reins similar to those he had used in so many battles for his war chariot draught by mules. The precious decoration of the funerary chariot might however have been deposited in the tombs.

The extraordinary mortuary complex of Umm el-Marra, defined as “an elite landscape of death”,¹⁰⁵ precedes ideologically (although not chronologically) the evidence from Ebla, and reflects a different social group. It was enclosed by a stone wall and, adjacent to the tombs were mudbrick structures containing equids. In particular, installation G consisted of “a

⁹⁶ See Zarins 2014, 116–127, figs. 2.40, 2.41, 2.42, 2.46, 59 (Dyala, Nippur, Ur).

⁹⁷ For Mari see Beyer 2007. The seals from Tell Beydar/Nabada and Mari are reproduced by Bretschneider *et al.* 2009, 22, 26. The seal from Urkiš is published by Dohmann-Pfälzner, Pfälzner 2000, 227 fig. 29.

⁹⁸ See e.g. Zarins 2014, 127 fig. 2.59, 130 fig. 62.

⁹⁹ Archi 2002b, 174–177 = Archi 2015, 774–777.

¹⁰⁰ 75.1962+ is a monthly document. A parallel passage concerning the funerary gifts for Dusigu is in the annual document 75.10088+ rev. xvii 24–xviii 23, which does not add the equipment for the chariot, Archi 2002b, 178 = Archi 2015, 778–779.

¹⁰¹ For the funerary gifts of the ladies of Ebla, see Archi 2002b = Archi 2015, 760–798; Archi 2012, 20–25. The Ebla documentation does not enable us to agree with Dolce 2014, 9, who considers the hybrids (“gifts at the centre of interregional economic dynamics”), a “possession in death” even of women: “a mark of social distinction for elites and sovereigns, *but not of gender*”.

¹⁰² Matthiae 1997.

¹⁰³ Peltenburg 2007/8, 232.

¹⁰⁴ ARET XI, 144.

¹⁰⁵ Detailed reports of this mortuary complex are Schwartz 2012; 2016.

lower pit which contained four equids of relatively young age ranged one beside the other, as a team of four animals (fig. 17), while the upper pit included four standing equids of varied ages¹⁰⁶. These equids, diagnosed as being hybrids of onager and donkey, indicated the high status of the interred individuals. It seems quite probable that these animals had to accompany the deceased in the afterlife. At Ebla this belief seems to have been represented by the reins, and probable by the precious decorations of the chariot.¹⁰⁷

The burying of sacrificed donkeys, attested in other areas and periods, as in Tell Haror (Negev), cannot be confused with the meaning of burying equids in EB III-IV northern Syria.¹⁰⁸ The rite of the “sacrifice of donkeys”, *ḥayāram*, *ḥayārī qaṭālum*, was common at Amorrite Mari on the occasion of political alliance.¹⁰⁹

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¹⁰⁶ Schwartz 2012, 66.

¹⁰⁷ In some graves at Terqa, about of the period of Ebla, skeletons of equids were also found, see Rouault 2014, 249-250. Donkeys were buried with Umamma of Ur, see Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 108-109, line 70.

¹⁰⁸ Katz 2009.

¹⁰⁹ See Lafont 2001, 262-271.

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Text	Year	Mules: number, price (nig-sa ₁₀) in silver (ma-na), place of origin
75.1379 r. iv 4–6	Arrukum	1 B.A.: <u>3 m.</u> <i>Mi-na-i-um</i> ^{ki}
75.1406 o. xi 1–19 o. xi 11–13	”	B.A.-B.A.: 3 m. <i>Īr-ku</i> ^{ki} , B.A.-B.A.: 4 m. <i>Da-ti-um</i> ^{ki} 1 B.A.: <u>1 m.</u>
75.1413 o. iii 11–4 o. iv 5–7 o. v 2–5	”	B.A.-B.A.: 10 m. <i>I-šar šu-mu-tag</i> ₄ 2 B.A.: 4 m. [<u>(2 m.)</u>] 1 B.A.: <u>52 gín</u> <i>Ti-ti-nu</i>
75.1872(+) o. i 8–ii 1 o. viii 6–9 o. xi 3–6	”	B.A.-B.A.: 40 m.; 2 m. še kù B.A.-B.-A. en B.A.-B.A.: 1 m. <i>áš-ti</i> EN-šar ^{ki} 3 B.A.: 3;10 m. ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (<u>1;03 m.</u>)
75.1928 o. ix 5–10	”	1 B.A.: <u>2 m.</u> <i>áš-ti</i> en <i>Gàr-mu</i> ^{ki}
75.10050 r. xiv 14–18	”	1 B.A.: <u>1 m.</u> <i>áš-ti</i> <i>Ga-ga-ba-an</i> ^{ki}
75.1705(+) o. vi 9–10 r. ix 10–11 r. x 2–6	Ibr. 01	1 B.A.: <u>1;30 m.</u> 1 B.A.: <u>1;10 m.</u> ganba (KILLAM) 1 B.A.: <u>4 m.</u> <i>áš-ti</i> en <i>Ra-à-ak</i> ^{ki}
76.672(+) o. v 1–5		1 B.A.: 10 gín kù-gi (= <u>50 gín</u> kù-babbar) <i>Ba-ḥa-ni-um</i> ^{ki}
75.10077(+) r. v 6–11 r. v 20–vi 2 r. xv 9–11	Ibr. 02	1 B.A.: <u>1;30 m.</u> <i>áš-ti</i> <i>Ra-à-ak</i> ^{ki} 1 B.A.: <u>2;25 m.</u> <i>Mi-na-i-um</i> ^{ki} [x] B.A.: [x] m. <i>A-šu</i> ^{ki}
75.2464 o. xiv 17–19	Ibr. 03	1 B.A.: <u>2 m.</u> EN-NE ^{ki}
75.2333 o. viii 9–11 r. x 2–7		1 B.A.: <u>1 m.</u> <i>Sag-gar</i> ^{ki} 1 B.A.: <u>55 g.</u> ganba NI-ab ^{ki}
75.1771 o. 9–17	Ibr. 04	1 B.A.: <u>2 m.</u> <i>Ba-na-i-um</i> ^{ki} in nig-kas ₄ <i>Ma-r</i> ^{ki}
74.2365 o. xiii 6–8	Ibr. 13	[1?+]2 B.A.: 6 m. <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>2 m.</u> ?)
75.1730(+) o. ii 15–19 o. iii 22–24	Ibr. 14	2 B.A.: 6 m. <i>Ḥi-ra-ù Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>3 m.</u>) <x> B.A.: 5 m. <i>A-ša</i> ^{ki} <i>Wa-na šu-ba</i> ₄ -ti
75.2465 r. xix 8–12	Ibr. 16	<x> B.A.: 6 m. <i>Iš₁₁-da-mu</i> di-kud šu-mu-tak ₄
75.10210 o. xiv 16–19 r. xvi 3’–6’	Ibr. 17	2 B.A.: 4 m. <i>áš-ti</i> <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>2 m.</u>) 1 B.A.: <u>1 m.</u> <i>Wa-na šu-ba</i> ₄ -ti
75.10088(+) o. xii 3–8 xii 11–16 r. v 15–19	I.Z. 03	4 B.A.: 20 m. <i>à-gàr</i> šu-mu-tak ₄ <i>si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>5 m.</u>) <x> B.A.: 20 m. <i>Gú-sa si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} šu-mu-tak ₄ 24 B.A.: 19 m. (<u>1;16 m.</u>)
75.10201 o. xxv 30–34 r. ix 24–27 r. xiii 17–20	I.Z. 04	1 B.A.: <u>2;30 m.</u> <i>áš-da Na-ba-ti-i-um</i> ^{ki} en 4 B.A., 1 B.A.: 2;40 m. ganba <i>Īr-ku</i> ^{ki} (<u>32 gín</u>) 4 B.A.: 8 m. <i>A-šum</i> šu-ba ₄ -ti (<u>2 m.</u>)
75.1918 r. I 1–6 r. i 7–12	I.Z. 05	24 B.A.: 10 m. ganba <i>Īr-ku</i> ^{ki} 4 B.A.: 20 m. in <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} EN-à-da-mu <i>Da-zi-ma-du</i> (<u>5 m.</u>)
75.10074 r. vii 9–18 r. x 32–36	I.Z. 06	2 B.A. <i>Ib-rí-um</i> 1 B.A. <i>Zú-ba-lum</i> [dumu-nita <i>Ibr.</i>]: 6 m. [<i>áš-du</i>] <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>2 m.</u>) 1 B.A.: <u>2;02 m.</u> en <i>áš-du Na-gàr</i> ^{ki}
75.2622 r. ii 18–iii 7 r. iii 8–13	I.Z. 07	38 B.A. ganba <i>Īr-ku</i> ^{ki} 2 B.A. ganba <i>à-da-ni</i> ^{ki} : 11;20 m. (<u>17 gín</u>) 6 B.A.: 14 m. <i>áš-da Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (<u>2;20 m.</u>)
75.2428 o. xiii 14–15 o. xxi 13–17 o. xxi 18–22 o. xxi 23–27	I.Z. 08	1 B.A.: <u>53 gín</u> 3 B.A.: 12 m. <i>A-bù-a-du</i> ^{ki} <i>Zu-um ḥi-mu-DU</i> (<u>4 m.</u>) 1 B.A.: <u>3 m.</u> <i>A-bù-a-du</i> ^{ki} in SA.ZA ^{ki} 2 B.A.: 6 m. EN-à-da-mu šu-mu-tag ₄ (<u>3 m.</u>)
75.2508 o. i 28–29 o. xix 35–41 r. xiii 31–32	I.Z. 09	4 B.A.: 10 m. (<u>2;30 m.</u>) 5 B.A.: 14 m. <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} EN-à-da-mu DU.DU <i>si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>2;48 m.</u>) 2 B.A.: <u>1;20 m.</u> (<u>40 gín</u>)
75.2429 o. ii 18–21 r. xvii 7–8 r. xxiii 18–29	I.Z. 10	3 B.A.: 3 m. en <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>1 m.</u>) 5 B.A.: 10 m. en <i>Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} (<u>2 m.</u>) 1 B.A.: <u>2 m.</u> <i>Ma-r</i> ^{ki} ... EN-à-da-mu DU.DU <i>si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki}
75.2507 o. ii 1–4 o. v 39–vi 9 o. vi 12–18	I.Z. 11	2 B.A.-SAL: 1 m. <i>ri-ḥa</i> ^{ki} en (<u>30 gín</u>) <x> B.A.: 12;36 m. <i>si-in Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} EN-à-da-mu šu-bal-ak 3 B.A.: 5 m. lú <i>Zú-ba-lum Ša-la-da-rí-NE Na-gàr</i> ^{ki} šu-ba ₄ -ti (<u>1;40 m.</u>)
76.534 o. iv 8–9 o. iv 20–21	I.Z. 12	16 B.A.: 60 m. (<u>3;45 m.</u>) 2 B.A.: 6 m. (<u>3 m.</u>)
75.10202 rev. 4–8	I.Z. 13	1 B.A.: <u>3 m.</u> <i>áš-da Sa-ù-mu Na-gàr</i> ^{ki}
75.2543 o. iii 5–8	I.Z.	4 B.A.: 4 m. <i>GABA-da-mu</i> (<u>1 m.</u>)
ARET VII 71 § 1 §§ 2–8	?	1 B.A.: <u>1;03 m.</u> 1 B.A.: <u>1 m.</u>
ARET VII 75 § 1		4 B.A.: 6 m. (<u>1;30 m.</u>)
ARET XII 614 iii 5–7	?	3 B.A. sikil lú lugal <i>Ma-r</i> ^{ki} : 12 m. (<u>4 m.</u>)
ARET XII 786 i	?	4 B.A.: 10;05 m. (<u>2;31 m.</u>)

Table 1. Prices of mules.

Text	Year	Asses (I.N.): price (níg-sa ₁₀) in silver, place of origin
75.1872(+) o. xi 6–7	Arr.	4 I.N.: 1;37 m. (24.25 gín)
75.2333 r. x 5–7	Ibr. 03	4 I.N. u ₅ : 2;02 m. ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (30.5 gín)
75.10143+ o. xvii 7–8	Ibr. 10	3 I.N. u ₅ : 1;01 m. (20.3 gín)
75.1464 o. xvii 9–r. i 2	Ibr. 12	4 I.N.: 1;25 m. Puzur ₄ -ma-lik ganba ^d Ga-mi-iš (21.2 gín)
75.2365 r. iv 18–19	Ibr. 13	6 I.N. u ₅ : 1;21 m. [PN] ganba (13.5 gín)
75.1730 o. iii 28–iv 3	Ibr. 14	2 I.N. u ₅ : [x m.]
75.10210 r. vii 1–3	Ibr. 17	2 I.N. u ₅ : [x m.] Bù-da-ma-lik [...] ganba ^d Ga-mi-iš
75.1860 r. i 19–21	I.Z. 01	6 I.N.: 1;41 m. ganba (17 gín)
r. i 22–24		3 I.N. en: 56 gín Wa-ba-rúm ganba ^d Ga-mi-iš (19 gín)
75.2462 r. iii 12–13	I.Z. 02	6 I.N.: 1;55 m. áš-da Mu-mu Ma-rí ^{ki} (19 gín)
75.10201 r. ix 20–23	I.Z. 04	3 I.N.: 54 gín ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (18 gín)
75.1918 r. xvii 21–22	I.Z. 05	12 I.N.: 3;04 m. (15.34 gín)
75.10074 r. xix 18–19	I.Z. 06	3 I.N.: 53 gín Wa-ba-rúm ganba (17.67 gín)
75.2622 r. iii 14–15	I.Z. 07	9 I.N.: 2;08 m. Wa-ba-rúm ganba (14.23 gín)
75.2428 r. vii 3–11	I.Z. 08	10 I.N. en: 2;19.5 m. Wa-ba-rúm ganba (14 gín)
75.2508 o. xxiv 23–27	I.Z. 09	9 I.N. en: 2;10.5 m. ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (14.5 gín)
75.2507 r. xvii 12–16	I.Z. 11	5 I.N.: 44.5 gín Wa-ba-rúm (8.9 gín)
75.2426 r. xii 9–13	I.Z. 13	8 I.N. en: 2 m. ganba NI-ab ^{ki} (15 gín)
75.2543 o. ii 11–12	I.Z.	2 I.N.: 1 m. (30 gín)
75.2543 o. v 2–3	I.Z.	2 I.N.: 30 gín [(15 gín)]
ARET X 59 obv. 3–5	I.Z.	2 gú-bar gig gùn níg-sa ₁₀ I.N. (4 níg-sagšu)
ARET XVI 30 § 13	I.Z.	1 I.N.: 10 gín (10 gín)

Table 2. Prices of asses.