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Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress
on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

Volume 1

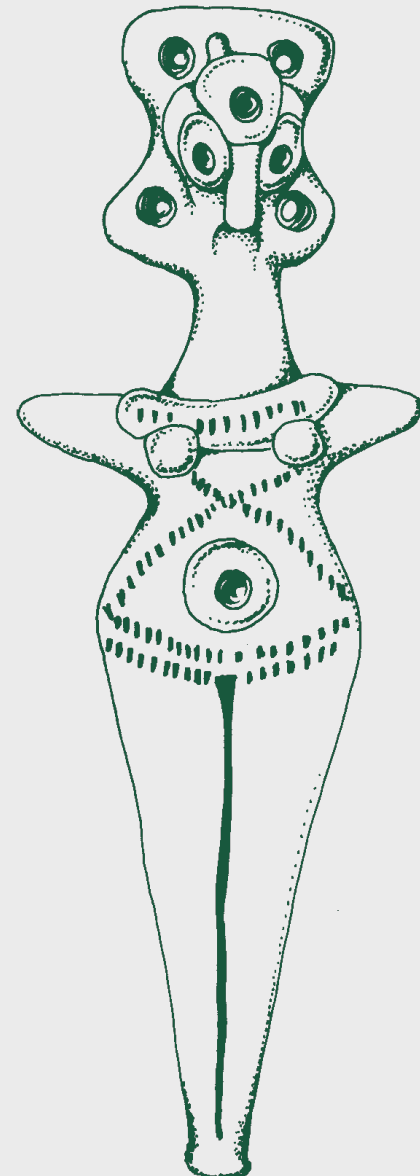
The Environment

Images of Gods and Humans

The Tell

Excavation Reports and Summaries

Varia (Chronology, Technology, Artifacts)



Department of History and Cultures, University of Bologna
Eisenbrauns

*Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on
the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*

22-26 May 2000, Copenhagen

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Edited by
Ingolf Thuesen

Department of History and Cultures, University of Bologna / Eisenbrauns
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Preface

The decision to organize an international congress requires a commitment to a project of unknown nature and size. The final number of participants will only be known long after many venue and accommodation reservations have been made. Many organizational aspects are associated with a range of unknown and unpredictable variables, from slide projection to securing housing for the delegates. The organization of the Second International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East has not been an exception and therefore depended on several people and institutions. As a basic principle it was decided that students of Near Eastern Archaeology at the Carsten Niebuhr Institute, University of Copenhagen, should handle as many logistic and practical aspects of the congress as possible. The idea was to give them an opportunity to learn to know their discipline through alternative practice. This, of course, resulted in a degree of less than fully professional, but personal service. However, the 300+ participants from the international community of archaeological scholars came to Copenhagen, and were found a place to stay in a week during which we also had to compete for hotel rooms with a huge fashion fair taking place at the same time. With participants from Denmark the total number of delegates reached 400. Eventually more than 250 papers were presented in five parallel sessions, or as posters. Several sessions were organized as mini symposia or workshops by the delegates. Eighty-eight scientific contributions are published in these proceedings of the 2ICAANE (www.icaane.net), while some of the symposium reports have been submitted for publication elsewhere. Beside the scientific reports, the congress hosted a wide range of social activities and an excursion to the Moesgaard Museum in Århus.

My first thanks go to all the participants of the 2ICAANE for coming to Copenhagen and for sharing their results with colleagues, and a special thank to the organizers of the mini symposia and workshops. The possibility of setting up a mini symposium or workshop within the congress appeared to be a popular alternative to traditional sessions.

The members of the scientific committee of the ICAANE were always very helpful in advising the organizers in Copenhagen on many general questions concerning academic and political matters. In Denmark, a National Committee was established as soon as the 2ICAANE became a reality. Its members represented most of the institutions in Denmark with interest or affinities to the congress, and the group supported the organizers in many invaluable ways both in scientific and social matters. In particular, I would like to thank the members representing the Moesgaard Museum for kindly inviting the congress to Århus, the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen for receiving the participants in the Town Hall, the National Museum for giving the participants hands-on access to finds from Hama and hosting a reception, and the New Carlsberg Glyptotek for hosting the congress dinner.

Pernille Bangsgaard Jensen, Sarah Kayser and Helle Rasmussen took care of the demanding job of running a secretarial bureau which, from a very early point, had to establish routines to solve the numerous logistic problems of the congress from housing to transportation. It was hard and demanding work which was successfully accomplished.

One of the most complex challenges of the congress was to organize more than 200 papers in sessions that were meaningful. This task was accomplished by a programme committee

including Bo Dahl Hermansen, Charlott Hoffmann Jensen and David Warburton. As is often the case, many compromises had to be made, but in the end the committee worked out a plan which gave room for as many presentations as possible, minimizing unavoidable thematic conflicts.

The organization of the entire congress was coordinated by Tine Bagh, Charlott Hoffmann Jensen and Lea Kaliszan. The tremendous work, stimulating ideas and organizational talent they added to the congress was essential to its success.

The congress would have never taken place if not for the generous donations by the following various foundations and sponsors: The Carlsberg Foundation, the C. L. David Foundation, the H. P. Hjerl Hansen Mindefondet for Dansk Palæstina Forskning, the Danish Council for Independent Research, the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Copenhagen, the Faculty of Theology of the University of Copenhagen, SAS – Scandinavian Airlines System.

Ingolf Thuesen

Preface to the digital edition

The papers published here were collected in 2001 by Emily Cocke from the participants in the 2ICAANE and were preliminarily edited in Copenhagen. The two volumes began then to be typeset by Jim Eisenbraun and his staff at Eisenbrauns and they reached the present state of elaboration by mid-2008. Because of a series of reasons, for which ultimately as the editor I must bear the sole responsibility, the book remained as it is since then, with no further editing and standardization or a final proof-reading by the authors. Regrettable as this may be, it has seemed preferable to add no further delay to the publication of this book: while some articles have been updated and published elsewhere, the fact is that most of the information and the materials contained here is still of great scientific value and deserves to be made known. Consequently, we hope in the indulgence of the authors who entrusted to us their papers at the time: present-day scholarship quickly outdates papers, but nonetheless they stay there to document the history of our field and our intellectual quests within a cooperative environment.

Once it was decided that an open access digital edition is the most suitable form of publication, the generous release of copyright by Jim Eisenbraun, whose commitment to ancient Near Eastern studies extends far beyond the logic of commercial publishing, should be acknowledged. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my friend and colleague Nicolò Marchetti, who accepted these two volumes in the open access series OrientLab at the University of Bologna: he took care of updating the table of contents and performed some necessary minor checks on the pdf files, carried out with the help of Gabriele Giacosa, while Massimo Bozzoli was responsible for technical production requirements and the cover design.

Ingolf Thuesen

Copenhagen, 15th December 2016

From Monument to Urban Complex: The City of Ebla as Symbol of Royal Ideology

A. DI LUDOVICO, D. NADALI, A. POLCARO AND M. RAMAZZOTTI
Rome University 'La Sapienza'

Introduction

The Ebla tell structure can be considered as an unicum compared to other Near Eastern sites: its topographic construction actually points out the location of the decisional centre, the Acropolis, and the defensive perimeter of the wall delimit the Lower City in a striking and monumental way. As a strong continuity is attested by the same settlement position in both main phases (EB IV A–B and MB I–II), and that continuity seems not to have been determined just by functional aims, this contribution will detect some ideological and cultural elements that influenced the spatial organisation.

In other words, the hypothesis is that the unconscious reaction to the contrast between the ordered urban territory—immediately known in its spatial limits—and everything outside it—unlimited and unknown—caused some of the peculiar classification forms, archaeologically understandable through the administrative expressions of the royal power.

The “Four Quarters of the World”: the Atlas Symbol

It can be argued that the concept of the world as an immense, but bounded and quadripartite entity was first conceived at the early North Syrian, Centre and North Mesopotamian urban cultures.¹ Actually, this concept is not attested in the pre-akkadian Sumerian background,² and it presumes the sedentary placement and the belief of being the centre of the cosmos (at least in the early manifestations).³

Likely, this cultural attitude is also expressed in the Atlas symbol; the mythic figure bears a circular quadripartite sign where two lion heads face two human ones (Matthiae 1995: 104). The emblema related to the “Cosmic Quadripartition Theory” (Matthiae 1982:

1. This conception of the world belongs to several cultures different from each other in time and space. So it might be due to human mental frames in particular environmental conditions.
2. Its first evident attestations are in lines I.6–7 of Naram-Sin from Akkad’s inscription found on a fragment of a copper statue near Bassetki (Ayiš 1976: 63–75) and in the titles of the king himself: “lugal an-ubda limmuba / šar kibratim arba‘im”, (Hallo 1957: 49 ff.).
3. The full consciousness of the opposite concepts “inside” and “outside”, “centre” and “suburb” referring to the territory is possible only in a developed urban context (Liverani 1976: 442–443). These concepts can work as basic references for a first codification of the territory, necessarily constant in time, at least in its main characters. This kind of settlement was attested for the first time in Mesopotamia and in the Nile Valley (Liverani 1995: 107 ff.); in this area the only territorial cultural interpretation regards Egypt itself divided in the “Two Lands” (Upper and Lower Egypt) (Trigger et al. 1989: 57).

82) is built on the symmetric overlapping sections, adverse and opposed in their meaning; in this way, the symbol—inspired by the royal milieu—replaces the same space division form, known and accepted since early historical times.

Considering the reciprocal cultural and linguistic influences between not-Sumerian and Sumerian peoples, we observe at Ebla a division of the Universe close to the Sumerian one, but much more interested in representing a flowing integration of beings. The Sumerian citizen wants to put under his control all fishes, birds, and minerals.⁴ The Eblaite citizen wants to control the four parts of the world, where fishes, birds and minerals are housed (Fileni 1997).⁵

A Cosmos Divided into Four: Early Syrian Ebla

With the *Cosmic Quadripartition Theory*, represented by the Atlas, it was pointed out that—in this cultural complex—the division operation, realised with symmetries and oppositions, is an instrument of royal ideology to figure the *Order* triumphing over the *Chaos*. Anyway, it is well known that these kind of images may have had a meaning for a limited public (next to administrative hierarchy), but certainly their message would not have had influence on citizenship; the other hypothesis of this research is concerning the existence of a great and ambitious urban project in the Old Syrian Ebla planning aimed to amplify the message recorded in the Atlas iconography.

Even if tried (Pettinato and Matthiae 1976; Matthiae 1995), it is still impossible to reconstruct an evident frame of the urban re-treading of the Four Quarter division schema from Royal Archives Texts: in fact there does not exist a single text citing the four gates archaeologically attested.⁶ The references made by Pettinato to the City Gate,⁷ to the ^dUTU,⁸ ^dDagan, and ^dRasap⁹ gates are not proof that these are the main entrances to the centre; furthermore the *KA*₂ sign has more than one interpretation.¹⁰

Nevertheless, as noted and verified, the topographic urban order in the Middle Bronze Age is similar to that in the Early Bronze Age; probably, the purpose to dedicate the city temples to the same god worshiped in some outer sanctuaries was an act of celebration of the royal power. Concerning this hypothesis, there follows here a new view of the historical geography described in some texts.

4. The Sumerian view does not consist of a process of a total abstraction of the object from its real situation, but in a paratactical juxtaposition of it to all the other entities in the world.
5. (Fileni 1997: 101–107; 156–157). It is important to consider the dissimilarity between the scribe's view of the world and that of most of the population, unaware of the scribal technique (Harrison and Callari Galli 1997).
6. They are: the south—western gate (A), the northeastern gate (BB), the southeastern gate (L) and the probable northwestern gate, object of recent exploration (DD).
7. The sign *al*₆ is now read "*makh*" (= "big" or "first, superior"). It is no longer interpreted as "city". The gate is mentioned in TM.75.G.243 and 524.
8. The gate is mentioned in TM.75.G.1521.
9. The gate is mentioned in TM.75.G.1438.
10. When the sign *ka*₂ is followed by a divine name it may mean the door of a temple or an area of the city. Sometimes the sign *ka*₂ is followed by a common name: as *ka*₂ has also the meaning of an administrative unit, it may indicate the building of the person mentioned. So this term has more than one meaning and in Ebla texts it is very frequent. It is, however, never clearly and directly referring to the city gate. The term "big gate" is difficult to explain, as it has no divine names or other kind of references.

The Southwestern Quarter

Ka_2 ^dRasap should be the door of the Rasap temple, identified in the south-western area of the Lower City on the axis joining the Gate A and the Acropolis: ¹¹ following what was suggested before, an outer sanctuary dedicated to Rasap/Rešef should have been reachable through this gate, as well as another one sited inside the city. Rasap and his wife Adamma are often cited in the texts related to different places: ‘Adani/Atanni, ¹² Dunep/Tunip, ¹³ and Gunum (Bonechi 1993: 165). These three toponyms, all placed southwest from Ebla, are seats of the Rasap cult: the Eblaite Rasap temple was thus located in the southwestern quadrant of the city, corresponding to the gate looking at the Rasap sanctuary.

The Southeastern Quarter

Ka_2 ^dDagan could be the gate of the Dagan temple. Anyway in this quarter any archaeological excavations have never been conducted. However a Dagan temple should be supposed in the southeastern quadrant of the city; in fact, the Acropolis mound is surrounded by temples on south—western, northwestern and northeastern sides. ¹⁴ This could imply the existence of another temple southeast from the Acropolis. Also in this case a correlation between an inner and an outer sanctuary is attested. Ebla texts mention very often Dagan, specifying his places of worship: Dagan from Tuttul, ¹⁵ Dagan from MaNE ¹⁶ and Dagan ganana’im, ¹⁷ all related to a ^dBAD or ^dDagan ¹⁸ worship-place east from Ebla.

The Northeastern Quarter

Ka_2 ^dUTU should be the gate of a Sun god temple; an Old Syrian temple dedicated to the Sun god was discovered at Ebla (Matthiae 1995: 160). Nearby are the remains of an EBIVA shrine, maybe consecrated to a similar god (Matthiae 1995: 53). There are many references in Ebla texts hinting at places about ^dUTU worship: e.g., *ARET XI. Testi rituali della regalità* (Fronzaroli 1993) and *Hymn to the Sun God* (Lambert 1989).

The first text is about the ritual journey made by the royal couple and the divine couple Kura-Barama in several places before the arrival to the Royal Ancestors’ mausoleum at Nenaš/Binaš, 20 km northwest from Ebla (Bonechi 1993: 78). The cult of the Sun God is attested in the places reached by the king and the queen. In those places, Irad, Udukhudu

11. It is the Temple B1 (Matthiae 1995: 160).
 12. It can be identified with Atanni mentioned in Alalakh’s texts that had to be located on the upper Oronte, southwest of Ebla (Bonechi 1993: 18–20).
 13. It can be identified with Tunip near Hammath (Bonechi 1993: 114).
 14. The Temple B1 with the Sanctuary B2, the Temple P2 with the Monument P3 and the Temple N, respectively.
 15. Identified with Tuttul on the Balikh = Tel Bi‘a, cultic place of ^dBAD (Dagan) (Bonechi 1993: 119).
 16. It is an important Syrian centre, cultic place of Iskhara and of ^dBAD (Iškhara is known as the wife of Dagan).
- It is situated east of Ebla, in a strategic position, along the trade routes between Ebla and Mari (Bonechi 1993: 27–228).
17. Term referred to ^dBAD (Bonechi 1993: 147; Archi and Biga 1982, *ARET III* 31 r. II: 13).
 18. BAD means “wall, fortress” and it is interpretable as a divine attribute related to Dagan, the god of war and strength: Sargon of Akkad, in his stele, says he conquered the upper country thanks to Dagan.

and Niap (Bonechi 1993: 205, 303, 260), sacrifices for the Ancestors (Fronzaroli 1993)¹⁹ are celebrated “when the Sun rises”. The Sun god is particularly related to kingship: for this reason a ^dUTU temple should have existed in Ebla, in the north—eastern sector, in front of the gate towards the outer ^dUTU sanctuaries. It seems possible to localize these centres northeast of Ebla corresponding the supposed Nenaš/Binaš mausoleum position, the goal of the ritual journey.

The text adds that the royal couple reached Nenaš/Binaš by “the Long Way” (Fronzaroli 1993):²⁰ evidently these centres are located in opposite directions, far from the mausoleum place, i.e., northeast of Ebla, not northwest. The mention of a region called “Waters of Masad, those of Nirar” (Fronzaroli 1993),²¹ first stop of the travel, is consistent with this hypothesis. This place east of Ebla could be compared to the quotation of a ^dUTU swamp in two Eblaite texts (Archi and Biga 1982: *ARET III*; Biga and Milano 1984: *ARET IV*),²² in the first referring to the Madkh area, south from the Quweiq river (hypothesis contrary to the one made by Bonechi on the possible Nirar localization), in the second referring to Adaš^{ki}, maybe the Ghab area, placed southwest from Ebla and diametrically opposite to the Madkh one.

It is possible that both these geographical areas were in antiquity consecrated to the god ^dUTU as the former is towards east, in sunrise direction, the latter towards west in sunset direction, traditionally the dead region sacred to the god Rasap/Rešef.²³ An Ugaritic text joins both ^dUTU and Rasap, saying: “Shapash set and his doorkeeper / was Rasap” (Xella 1979–1980: 149). The Sun God during his daily run rises from the water at dawn, and symmetrically dies in the water at sunset, accompanied by Rasap. At Ebla it is well attested as a ^dUTU cult, and it is not unusual that a temple in Ebla was dedicated to him since the Early Bronze age.

The second text, the Hymn to the Sun God, describes the rising of the Sun from the northeastern mountains, where there is a “Shrine in the Mountains”. This shrine could be a worship place in connection with a mountain sacred to the sun, most likely northeast of the city. Then the hymn draws the setting of the Sun “on the other bank of the sea” where a temple is constructed. The existence of two ^dUTU cult places, an open-air northeastern sanctuary and a southwestern temple, towards the sea seems probable. Once more it is pointed out the natural eastwest run of the sun and its particular link with the underworld, where the sun spent the night (Healey 1980: 239—242).

The Northwestern Quarter

In the northwest sector of Ebla, the presence of a Hadad temple, since the EBIV age, has been suggested (Marchetti and Nigro 1997: 3), so that the probable inner and outer corre-

19. Fronzaroli 1993, *ARET XI* 1 r. XIII: 14–15: *dingir Abur-Lim*; r. XIV: 6–7: *dingir Amana*; r. XV: 9: *dA’aldu*; r. XV: 15: *dDayin*.

20. Fronzaroli 1993, *ARET XI* 1 v. I: 9–14.

21. Fronzaroli 1993, *ARET XI* 1 r. VII: 9–12. Mašad: northwestern Syrian centre, maybe north from Ebla (Bonechi 1993: 29); Nirar: important Syrian kingdom northeast/east from Ebla, maybe west from the river Quweiq (Bonechi 1993: 266–268).

22. In *ARET IV* 15 (Biga and Milano 1984) AMBAR^{ki} (= “pond, marsh”) is followed by ^dUTU. In *ARET III* 587 (Archi and Biga 1982) is mentioned an AMBAR^{ki} determined by Adaš^{ki}, an important Syrian centre probably referring to the Ghab area (Southwestern from Ebla) or to the Madkh area (north—east from Ebla). The first reference is more probable than the second one; in fact the second one can be identified with the pond mentioned in *ARET IV* 15 or with the “water place” in *ARET XI* 1 r. VII: 9–12 (Fronzaroli 1993).

23. In the Old Syrian city, in the southwestern area, there are the Temple B1 and the Sanctuary B2, probably referring to mortuary cult (Matthiae 1995: 160).

spondence could be confirmed. In the north, an important sanctuary of Hadad was located in Aleppo (Bonechi 1993: 171–172).

Several referencfes to the god in written sources seem to confirm this hypothesis. Here the god is associated with many centres: Armi, Dub, Lub and Luban (Bonechi 1993: 52–55, 107–109, 219–220, 220–222). The places are all centres directly dominated by Ebla: in fact, they have no own royal authorities. On the contrary, kingdoms with own kings are not mentioned in the Ebla Archives in connection with god names (Bonechi 1990). Significantly Dagan is always related to Tuttul and never to the Mari kingdom²⁴ or to Terqa, the near cultic centre under Mari control (Liverani 1995: 380).

Same Cosmic Division, Different Power Ideologies: Ebla and Akkad

During the Early Syrian age, Ebla was a dominating royal power seat whose area of dominion covered the entire northern Syria, west of the Euphrates River. The region directly submitted to Ebla according to the Royal Archives texts reached at least Karkemiš (east), the Antioch plain and Amanus (west), Taurus (north) and beyond Hama (south), (Matthiae 1995: 260; Archi 1992). At the same time Ebla plays a main role in a very wide trade net (Matthiae 1985: 48–49; Matthiae 1995: 268), able to occur frequently and in many ways onto his huge hinterland (Matthiae 1985: 37–49; Matthiae 1995: 262–263).

In this town placed in a political context less conflictual than the contemporary Lower Mesopotamia, titles as “king of the four edges of the world” or “king of the totality”, frequently since Naram-Sin of Akkad, should have been less significant in the ideological sphere. In fact there are no kingdoms close to Ebla as to make its citizens anxious about a possible invasion.²⁵

The Akkad dynasty upsets the political-territorial situation fixed in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, rising to a “heroic’ and warring kingship” (Liverani 1993: 4) that reaches its power with the creation of an empire unifying the territory of each city. Naram-Sin, the last king of Akkad, completes this ideological revolution: firstly, he assumes the title of “King of the Four Corners of the World”. Secondly, he divinises himself (Hallo 1957: 49), an uncommon action for the previous Mesopotamian kingship (Liverani 1993: 4).

The royal ideology of Ebla has different characteristics: it does not need to emphasize the defeat of the enemies (even if it is not unknown, in Ebla, a particular idea of the war), rather it prefers the ritual and the cultic expressions.²⁶

From the outside Ebla comprises the entire world divided into four parts: the Hadad sanctuary is projected towards the mountains (northwest), the ^dUTU temple towards the waters of the Euphrates river (northeast), the hypothetical Dagan sanctuary towards the

24. The definition of the city as *kingdom* and as *centre* belongs to an article written by Bonechi (Bonechi 1990), in which the author distinguishes cities that are *kingdoms* (with their own king) from cities that are *centres* (depending on more powerful cities): this situation is typical of Ebla at the passage of dynasty and at the end of the Early Syrian age.

25. Actually, conflict *inter pares* is attested only with the far centre of Mari (Matthiae 1995: 258; Liverani 1995: 206–207) and it regards institutions. That is why it is distant from the citizens, who really are worried about their personal safety, and who did not feel the need to be protected by royal authority from this kind of threat.

26. A particular war ideology is attested at Ebla, thanks to the findings, in some rooms of the Royal Palace G, of interesting fragments of reliefs of wood and calcareous inlays, obviously inspired by the war (Matthiae 1985: Pls. 41c-e, 42b, 43c-d, 47e-f). These inlays can be compared with some administrative texts, in which is described the sending of some heads of enemy kings to the king of Ebla (Archi 1995).

steppes (southeast) and the Rasap complex towards the sea waters (southwest). These directions are moreover the gods' abodes and their physical manifestations: Hadad is the mountain god, lord of weather phenomena; Dagan is the steppes god, linked to sheep-herding and breeding; Rasap, the underworld god, is related to the sea; ^dUTU, justice keeper, is the sun-god rising from the river at east. Mountains and steppes, river and sea defined the boundaries of the world and in its centre was Ebla.

Conclusions

Ebla appears as a city ordered according to the quadripartition of inner space with a major temple in each sector; the four gates are the points of contact with the outer world, which also is divided into four parts.

The macrocosm, and in its centre the microcosm Ebla, is a big controlled space based on the presence of four places of worship dedicated to the corresponding Eblaite gods. The narrow relation between the inner and the outer world is created by those divine correspondences sealing the rules of the macro- and the microcosm.

These gods are also related to the natural boundaries of the macrocosm: Hadad with the mountains, Dagan with the steppe, Rasap with the sea and ^dUTU with the river water. This mental setting is probably reflected in the seal impression, where Hadad and Dagan could be recognized in the two lion heads related to the nature around Ebla, mountain and steppe, ^dUTU and Rasap in the two human heads, symbolising the dawn and the setting of the sun, the birth and the death of each man (Dolce in press).

In the first of its two main phases, the city of Ebla experienced the condition of being an important and independent kingdom that, in the same city structure, was presented as a symbol of an influent royal power, dominating also the regions far from Ebla itself. In the second phase, Ebla is a centre with a limited independence, which does not control far regions, but still maintains its status of holy city (Matthiae 1995: 188, 196); for these reasons we can observe a centralization of the religious functions related to royal succession rites, a monumental re-building of the sacred structures, which assume a new aspect, although maintaining, in many cases, the original Early Syrian placement.

The annual researches and studies at Ebla have, on one hand, clearly demonstrated, the relationship between ancient man and space and between power and space itself, and on the other hand, they are an occasion to precisely define the attitude of the ancient citizen towards the artificial urban world, power icons, and natural ecosystems.

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