


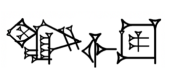





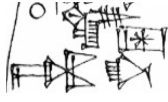


## Appendix B

# Ancient terminology related to equids

## 1. Species

Sign(s)	Sumerian value	Akkadian	Variants	Translation	Period(s) in use	Details	Cuneiform
ANŠE	anše	<i>imērum</i> (Assyrian <i>emāru(m)</i> )		donkey, equid	ED I/II - OB	Note 1	
ANŠE.ŠUL.GI		<i>agālum?</i>	ANŠE.DUN .GI	donkey	ED III, Akkadian	Note 2	
ANŠE.LIBIR	dusu <sub>2</sub>	<i>agālum</i>		donkey	Akkadian- Ur III; rarely in OB	Note 3	
ANŠE.IGI	dusu <sub>x</sub>	<i>agālum</i>	IGI, ANŠE.IGI. DIB, ANŠE.SIG <sub>7</sub> , SIG <sub>7</sub>	donkey	Peripheral Akkadian	Note 4	
ANŠE.EDIN.NA	anše-edin- na	<i>serrēmu</i>	EDIN, EDIN-NA, MI <sub>2</sub> -EDIN- NA	hemione	ED I/II- Akkadian	Note 5	
ANŠE.BAR.AN	(anše) kunga <sub>2</sub>	<i>parûm</i>	(ANŠE.)BA R.AN, ANŠE.ŠU <sub>2</sub> . AN, ANŠE.ŠU <sub>2</sub> . MUL	hybrid equid (kunga: donkey x hemione; Akkadian mule/ hinny)	ED III- Kassite	Note 6	
ANŠE.ZI.ZI	anše-si <sub>2</sub> - si <sub>2</sub>	<i>sisûm</i>		horse	ED III-Ur III	Note 7	
ANŠE.KUR.RA		<i>sisûm</i>	ANŠE.KUR, ANŠE.KUR. KUR	horse	Ur III, OB onwards	Note 8	
ANŠE.ĜIR <sub>2</sub> .NUN (.NA)		<i>kūdanum</i> , <i>damdammu</i> ?	ANŠE.NUN .NA, ANŠE.GIR <sub>3</sub> . NUN.NA	mule/ hinny	Ur III, OB	Note 9	

Sign(s)	Sumerian value	Akkadian	Variants	Translation	Period(s) in use	Details	Cuneiform
ANŠE. (AMA.)GAN.ŠA	šakan		ANŠE.AMA .GAN, AMA.GAN. ŠA	equid, foal- bearing (female equid)	Uruk IVa - Ur III	Note 10	
		<i>perdum</i>		hybrid/ mule	2nd millennium	Note 11	
		<i>hāru(m)</i>	syllabic	donkey, donkey foal, donkey stallion	OB	Note 12	

### Note 1. ANŠE / *imērum*

ANŠE can refer both specifically to the domestic donkey and to equids as a generic term. It is usually fairly straightforward to determine which is intended from context. The generic term is most commonly found in administrative accounts when summing up a total amount of different types of equids. The simple ANŠE sign is the earliest reference to equids in the epigraphic records. Zarins notes that in the late fourth and third millennium BCE, there were two different variations, which he calls ‘*gunû*-fied’ and ‘non-*gunû*-fied’ (1978: 3-4; 2014: 154-61). The latter, characterised by the absence of lines through the neck and muzzle, has the value ŠAKAN, while the former is ANŠE. The ŠAKAN sign occurs already in the Uruk period and continues in use through the Ur III period, while the ANŠE sign appears in ED I/II. Zarins suggests that while the two were used interchangeably from the ED III period, in earlier periods, ŠAKAN may actually refer to the wild hemione rather than the domestic donkey. In Old Babylonian/Old Assyrian and Late Bronze Age records, the logogram ANŠE (*imērum*) is usually used to simply mean ‘donkey’.

### Note 2. ANŠE.ŠUL.GI (previously ANŠE.DUN.GI)

With a few possible exceptions from the Akkadian period, ANŠE.ŠUL.GI was only used during the ED III period (Maekawa 1979: 38). Archaic versions may occur in tablets from Ur in ED I-II (Zarins 2014: 155, 163): see e.g. P005707 (column 1, line 7). After ED III, it was probably replaced with ANŠE.LIBIR. Its lexical equivalent is not known (Zarins 2014: 163). ANŠE.ŠUL.GI has been assigned a number of functional explanations (all suggestions based on likelihood/context rather than on lexical authority). Bauer thought it related to a specific type of yoke called *gišdungu* (1972: 182, with further references to earlier suggestions), Lambert translates it as ‘trotting donkey’ (‘âne de trot’, 1953: 204) and later ‘saddle jack-donkey’ (‘mâle de selle’, 1957: 216), Deimel as ‘breeding-donkey’ (‘Gestüt’, 1928: 46), and Rosengarten as ‘pack donkey’ (‘ânes de charge’, 1960: 82). However, given that ANŠE.ŠUL.GI equids occur as male and female, and in various age groups, Zarins is surely right that we should be looking for a species of equid rather than a functional qualifier (2014: 163). Zarins himself translates ANŠE.ŠUL.GI as ‘horse’, while Postgate (1986) and Maekawa (1979) have (domestic) ‘donkey’. Zarins bases his identification on a similar line of argument as that for ANŠE.LIBIR (see Note 3), starting with the clear distinction in the texts between ANŠE.ŠUL.GI and ANŠE.BAR.AN. With ANŠE.ŠUL.GI mares apparently giving birth to both, and Zarins’ definition of ANŠE = donkey, and ANŠE.BAR.AN = *E. caballus* x *E.*

*asinus* hybrid, according to him, ANŠE.ŠUL.GI must be the horse (2014: 164-165). As with ANŠE.LIBIR, there seems to be no good reason to exclude the option of instead translating ANŠE.ŠUL.GI as donkey, and this certainly fits the contextual data from the ED III period better, where there is as yet no secure evidence of the presence of horses at this period, let alone the number of ANŠE.ŠUL.GI recorded. Another reading suggested by Steinkeller is *dur<sub>9</sub>-gir<sub>x</sub>* (2005: 308-9), with a meaning of *gir<sub>x</sub>* (or *gir<sub>15</sub>*) as ‘native, local, indigenous, domesticated’. As noted by Postgate (pers. comm.), this reading has the advantage of connecting with the related term *dur<sub>3</sub>* (ANŠE.NITA<sub>2</sub> - see also below under age and sex qualifiers), and with the status of this equid as domestic/local, or perhaps rather ‘standard/normal’.

### Note 3. ANŠE.LIBIR (*dusu<sub>2</sub>*) / *agālum*

This replaces ANŠE.ŠUL.GI from the Akkadian period onwards (Maekawa 1979: 42). It occurs only rarely in Old Babylonian texts (Postgate 1986: 199, note 14). Several functional categories have again been put forward based on likelihood/context rather than lexical authority and may be found in some translations, e.g. ‘saddle-donkey’ (Calvot 1969; Limet 1968: 8, no. 11), or ‘riding donkey’ (Goetze 1953: 103; cf. ANŠE.LA.GU in list of qualifiers below). It is now clear that ANŠE.LIBIR is a species of equid, based on the range of age and sex (Maekawa 1979: 41). Following earlier scholars (e.g. Thureau-Dangin 1910b: 2; Deimel 1928: 435, line 48; Gelb 1955: 246-7, cf. *CAD* ‘*agālu* A’, where a dual meaning is suggested), Zarins translates it as ‘horse’ (1978; 2014), while Maekawa (1979; 2006) and Postgate (1986) understand (domestic) ‘donkey’. Salonen thought it should be a mule (1956: 71-3), but the high numbers and the fact that it is listed as a dame make this interpretation most unlikely. Others have suggested ‘onager’ (Landsberger 1935: 159, note 82; Lieberman 1968-1969), but this is usually refuted based on the assumption that the wild species would have been difficult if not impossible to tame and train for the roles carried out by ANŠE.LIBIR equids (e.g. Gelb 1955: 246).

Maekawa bases his identification mainly on the apparent equivalent function and contexts of ANŠE.LIBIR and ANŠE in the texts, it being the most common type of equid (not including ANŠE on its own) and the evidence of it being a breeding animal (1979). Zarins’ arguments can be summarised and replied to as follows:

ANŠE is the sign for ‘donkey’. As such, ‘why would scribes in this time frame adopt two additional distinct terms (*anše-šulgi* and *anše-libir*) to deal with *E. asinus*?’ (2014: 165).

In fact, as also hinted by Maekawa (1979: 44-5), this may be more a matter of local scribal conventions, since the use of ANŠE.LIBIR does seem largely confined to specific places (more precisely, Drehem, ancient Puzriš-Dagan). Notice also that another convention seems to be in place at Ebla, where we find the variants ANŠE.IGI/ANŠE.IGI.DIB (Archi 1998: 12).

In two similar texts both containing rare occurrences of ‘*anše-ġir<sub>3</sub>-nun-na*’, ANŠE.LIBIR and ANŠE.ZI.ZI occur in the same place, suggesting that they are synonymous (2014: 167, Appendix texts no. 60 and no. 61 (= P135628, P113386)).

The two texts do bear some similarities, but they are from different years, and do not involve the same personnel. Perhaps more importantly, ANŠE.LIBIR and ANŠE.ZI.ZI also appear in the same texts (e.g. P109345, P127971, P127972, P109708), where they clearly refer to different equids, as pointed out by Zarins himself (2014: 168). If the identification of ANŠE.LIBIR as horse is upheld, we would instead then have two signs for horse to explain.

ANŠE.BAR.AN is a hybrid: more specifically, a cross between *E. asinus* and *E. caballus* (2014: 164). ANŠE.LIBIR occur as dames of ANŠE.BAR.AN in what is believed to be foaling records. Since ANŠE on its own is the donkey, ANŠE.LIBIR must be the horse (2014: 168).

If ANŠE.BAR.AN is instead understood as an *E. asinus* x *E. hemionus* hybrid (as it is here, see Note 6), ANŠE.LIBIR makes more sense as the donkey.

#### Note 4. ANŠE.IGI

Sometimes ANŠE.IGI.DIB. ANŠE.IGI (or even just IGI + NITA/SAL) seems to be a local variation or abbreviation of ANŠE.LIBIR (using only first part of the LIBIR sign, which itself is IGI+ŠE<sub>3</sub>) used in the Ebla archives (see e.g. Archi 1998: 12; Conti 1997). It is now also known from tablets found at Tell Beydar (e.g. P227182, P227205; Ismail et al. 1996). In these texts, ANŠE rarely occurs on its own, and ANŠE.IGI seems to have the same value as ANŠE.LIBIR (i.e. domestic donkey). ANŠE.SIG<sub>7</sub> or simply SIG<sub>7</sub> seems to be another variant (Archi 1998: 12); Maekawa has argued that these variations are geographically and chronologically based (2018).

#### Note 5. ANŠE.EDIN.NA

Literally, “equid of the steppe” (Postgate 1986: 197). Early versions include shorter EDIN, and EDIN-NA, possibly from as early as ED I/II in tablets from Ur (Postgate 1986: 199, note 18, 200-201). There is general consensus that this is a wild equid, usually translated as ‘onager’, but more correctly probably the ‘hemione’ (Syrian or Persian onager). Maekawa, however, insists that ANŠE.EDIN.NA is a different type of equid than ANŠE.BAR.AN (which he considers to be the Persian onager), based on the fact that the ANŠE.EDIN.NA is not used for ploughing and does not seem to have been domesticated or tamed (1979: 37 and note 15). Maekawa offers two alternatives: either a different kind of wild donkey, or a feral donkey. The latter seems extremely unlikely (and one would think might be more conducive to interaction with humans rather than the opposite), but given the possibility of the presence of several other wild species on the margins of the Near East (*E. africanus* and *E. hemionus onager*), it may be that more than one was known and recognised. However, ANŠE.BAR.AN is here understood as a hybrid (for which, see Note 6).

#### Note 6. ANŠE.BAR.AN (anše kunga<sub>2</sub>)

ANŠE.BAR.AN is later replaced with ANŠE.ŠU<sub>2</sub>.MUL / ANŠE.ŠU<sub>2</sub>.AN, Akkadian *parûm*, ‘mule’ (Salonen 1956: 74; Gordon 1958: 46, note 3). BAR.AN may also occur by itself, as for example at Ebla (Pettinato 1981: 58, text no. 18, III 5-6). As with other terms, it was initially interpreted as a functional qualifier: Deimel thought it was a ‘driving donkey’ (‘Fahresel’, 1928: 74.182-3), Calvot considered it a draft donkey (‘âne de trait’, 1969: 101), as did Salonen (1956: 50-1), and Lambert called it a ‘pack donkey’ (‘âne de bât’, 1953: 204). It is now generally agreed to be a kind of hybrid, although Maekawa insists that it must be the Persian onager (1979; 2006; 2018). He argues that it cannot be a hybrid because 1) almost no sucklings or foals are recorded, 2) hybrids are extremely difficult to breed (for example, ‘only the jackasses suckled by female horses can mate with female horses’ (1979: 37), and 3) would assume extensive horse and donkey breeding.

It is indeed the case that very few sucklings (‘ga’ or ‘amar ga’) are recorded (I have only identified two possible examples: P107405, P315523), but young animals (‘amar’, presumably under one year) are not uncommon (e.g. P107405, P221446). Further, sucklings are also rarely recorded for horses (though of course they occur in much lower numbers). EDIN.NA, which are wild, also occur as young animals (e.g.

P134144, P270833). The age may therefore not be useful for this identification, and one could in any case argue that wild equids of any age may have been hunted and caught - in fact, the younger the better, if longer-term interaction between human and equid was envisioned.

Hybrids may be more difficult to breed, but certainly not to the extent suggested by Maekawa. Hinnies are more difficult to breed than mules (lower success rate in fertilisation). It is not the case that male donkeys will only breed with female horses if brought up by them, but it does make it easier if the donkey stallion has mostly been used to horses because it is then easier for it to 'read' the sexual signals of the mare, which are different in the two species (Faith Burden, pers. comm.). Information on donkey-hemione breeding is extremely limited, since it has rarely been attempted, but the examples reported by Antonius in the Schönbrau Zoo demonstrate that it is certainly not impossible (Antonius 1929). What we do know is that donkey breeding was extremely extensive, as especially recorded in the Ur III archives. We also know that mules/hinnies were bred in the second millennium, where the knowledge and capacity was clearly present to carry out such programmes. There is thus no inherent reason to assume that it was not possible also in the third millennium, where at least three different species of equid were known, and other wild and domestic animals were cross-bred (Postgate 1986: 199).

Maekawa's identification is based on an assumed ancient distinction between the Syrian and Persian onagers, reflected in ANŠE.EDIN.NA (Syrian onager, *E. hemionus hemippus*) and ANŠE.BAR.AN (Persian onager, *E. hemionus onager*) respectively. He considers the Syrian onager too small for hybrids, and untameable, as reflected in the texts, and thinks that the Persian version was 'seized in hunting and tamed as draught animals' (1979: 37).

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is as yet no confirmed evidence of the presence of the Persian onager in the Near East in the third millennium. This significantly decreases the strength of the identification; and although little is known, it seems unlikely that there should have been such a great difference in the tameability of two otherwise very similar species.

The identification of ANŠE.BAR.AN as a hybrid is based on the fact that in later times, the same cuneiform sign (ANŠE.ŠU<sub>2</sub>.AN / ANŠE.ŠU<sub>2</sub>.MUL = *parû*) referred to a horse-donkey cross (Salonen 1956: 74-5), and that ANŠE.BAR.AN, in contrast to other equids, never occur as parents in the texts. There are two main possibilities for this hybrid: *E. asinus* x *E. caballus* and *E. asinus* x *E. hemionus*. The former is favoured by Zarins and reliant on the identification of ANŠE.ŠUL.GI/LIBIR as horse (1978; 2014: 164; although the issue is slightly confusing in his later work, see 2014: 149, where the interpretation is donkey-hemione). If ANŠE.ŠUL.GI/LIBIR is instead understood as donkey (as it is here), this identification does not work. The *E. asinus* x *E. hemionus* was proposed by Postgate, who thought the hybrid meaning of the word was simply retained in later times, but shifted to a different kind of cross (1986). This is now the prevailing interpretation, and has been implemented by a number of scholars (Charpin 1990: 252; Oates 2001: 292-3; Uerpman 2003: 556; Weber 2008; 2012; 2017; although using the word 'mule', Archi now also favours the *E. asinus* x *E. hemionus* hybrid based on the Ebla texts (1998: 9, note 48)).

Since this is the interpretation that best fits the data overall, it is the one used throughout this study. Having said that, there are some peculiar aspects concerning the records of ANŠE.BAR.AN in the third millennium. The first is that no text considering a 'foaling record' clearly refers to both parents, whichever species they may be. Female equids are noted as dames (or 'mothers' / 'foal-bearing'), but males are never qualified as sires. Secondly, ANŠE.BAR.AN occur in substantial quantities, and texts from some sites apparently only record two types of equid, the ANŠE.IGI and ANŠE.BAR.AN (Ebla and Mari, Archi 1998: 12; possibly this also applies to Tell Beydar). The latter could be because ANŠE.BAR.AN were imported rather than bred at those sites, but both aspects may also be a result of the peculiarity of the archives

themselves. They meticulously record some matters, such as the transfer and receipt of various types of equids (and many other animals), and their fodder, but are remarkably silent on actual breeding, training and function, for which the information is only indirect.

The second millennium *parûm* is generally agreed to refer to a horse-donkey cross, as also noted in lexical inventories. ANŠE-*pa-ar-a-ga-al*, found at Mari, may be a variation (van Koppen 2002: 20).

### Note 7. ANŠE.ZI.ZI

There is general agreement that ANŠE.ZI.ZI is the horse, as suggested by Civil (1966: 121-2). In later periods, ANŠE.ZI.ZI was replaced with ANŠE.KUR.RA.

### Note 8. ANŠE.KUR.RA

ANŠE.KUR.RA (literally ‘equid of the mountains’) replaced ANŠE.ZI.ZI in the second millennium, still with the meaning ‘horse’ (Deimel 1928: 435, line 48; van Koppen 2002: 20; cf. *RLA* ‘Pferd, A.I’, ‘Pferd, A.II’). Early versions of ANŠE.KUR occurring at Jemdet Nasr probably do not refer to horses, as ‘KUR’ may have been used to indicate ‘male’ (Postgate 1986: 200, note 27; Englund 2011; cf. Potratz 1938: 35 for earlier reading). A lexical list from Ebla equating ANŠE.NITA.KUR with *ag-lum* should probably be seen in this light as well, to be understood as donkey rather than horse (van Koppen 2002: 22; cf. Archi 1998: 11-12; text published in Pettinato 1982: 351, no. 039). There is an early occurrence of ANŠE.KUR.RA in Šulgi A (line 17, ETC SL 2.4.2.01), an Old Babylonian copy, but originally probably from the Ur III period.

### Note 9. ANŠE.ĜIR<sub>2</sub>.NUN(.NA)

ANŠE.ĜIR<sub>2</sub>.NUN may be another equid species, but it is so rarely attested that it is difficult to be certain. Later texts equate it with the Akkadian *kūdanum*, a mule or hinny (Landsberger 1960: 51, line 359). Since it first occurs around the same time as ANŠE.ZI.ZI, one might wonder if this could in fact refer to an early horse-donkey hybrid (Zarins suggests more specifically a hinny - 1978: 14-15; 2014: 174-5, but this is also predicated on the mule already being recorded as ANŠE.BAR.AN). ANŠE.NUN.NA, occurring at Old Babylonian Mari, may be a variant, with the Akkadian reading *damdammu* (*RLA*: ‘Maultier’, §2; *CAD*: *damdammu*), a horse-donkey hybrid. The lexical text H-ḫ Tablet 13, recording domestic animals, has ANŠE.NUN.NA as *damdammu*, and ANŠE.ĜIR<sub>3</sub>.NUN.NA as *kūdanum*, both translated as ‘mule’ by Oppenheim & Hartman (1945). Van Koppen considers ANŠE.NUN.NA a later variant of ANŠE.ĜIR<sub>3</sub>.NUN.NA (2002: 24-5, note 30), and equates it with *kūdanu*, a horse-donkey cross (2002: 27), but the difference is quite clear in H-ḫ Tablet 13, which is also accurate in its other equid correlations. It seems that either ĜIR<sub>2</sub> or ĜIR<sub>3</sub> could be used.<sup>1</sup>

### Note 10. ANŠE.(AMA.)GAN.ŠA

<sup>1</sup> J.N. Postgate, personal communication, who also notes that ‘this seems to imply that it genuinely is /ĝir/ in Sumerian and therefore that it should be accepted as standing for ĝir.nun.a (not a compound logogram). It is odd that ĜIR<sub>2</sub> is found already in Ur III, if not very often (Reisner 1901 once, but there may be more) and is then replaced by ĜIR<sub>3</sub> most of the time, except for one solitary Neo-Assyrian legal document (<http://oracc.org/saao/P335101/>). The MA version of Hh XIII from Tell Billa (Landsberger 1960) has the same pair for ĜIR.NUN.NA which seems to me to confirm that the scribes heard this logogram as /girnunna/. ĜIR<sub>3</sub> usually means a foot, or a path, ĜIR<sub>2</sub> most often a knife or dagger’ [modified to add references].

This does not appear to be a separate species of equid, but an equid associated with breeding. When qualified, it is always a female, and the sequence of signs includes AMA ('mother'), perhaps an equid specifically for breeding. It is usually translated as 'foal-bearing' or a similar term (Zarins 2014: 159-60; Salonen 1956: 48). The value šagan/šakan may be an older version of anše, but is also associated with the deity Šakan, a deity of quadrupeds, especially of the steppe. Lambert thought that AMA should in the equid term not be assigned the value of 'mother' since this is usually reserved for humans and deities, and instead prefers the reading šagan<sub>x</sub> (Lambert 1981). Following Lambert, Frayne has suggested that this may be an early version of ANŠE.EDIN.NA / hemione, given the god's association with the steppe (2008: 184). However, it remains remarkable that in the majority of cases, the equid is qualified as female (and frequently at the beginning of lists that could be interpreted as lists of offspring), and the translation of 'foal-bearing' is therefore cautiously maintained here.

### Note 11. *Perdum*

The word is so far confined to the second millennium BCE, and mainly occurs in Old Assyrian records from Kanesh (in about 30 instances, see Michel 2004: 192), along with a few examples from Mari, Ugarit and the Bible. Mainly by process of elimination and the context of other equids, Veenhof made the suggestion that this should be understood as a hybrid, most likely a mule, but also cautions that other options are possible (1989: 521). The identification was taken up by Michel in her detailed discussion of the evidence for this animal (2004).

### Note 12. *Ḥāru(m)*

Also written *a(y)yarum*, *ḥā'aru*, *ajaru*, often qualified with 'anše'. This is actually a West Semitic rather than Akkadian word (CAD, 'ḥāru'; Lafont 2000: 215). It appears to be restricted to Old Babylonian texts, mainly from Mari but also with an example from Tell al Rimah (e.g. ARM 2, 37; ARM 26, 24, 404, 410, 428; P223837), and always refers to the killing of a donkey in relation to a treaty, to the extent that it may have been synonymous with this. It is usually translated as 'donkey' (Durand 1988: 153), 'donkey foal' (CAD; Dalley et al. 1976: Text 1) or 'donkey stallion' (Heimpel 2003: 343-6), or even simply as making a treaty/alliance (Durand 1988: 153). Cf. Ugaritic ḥimāru and 'ēru (Pardee 2000: 228).

## Ugaritic

The terms for equids in Ugaritic, a West Semitic language written in a locally developed cuneiform script (Hawley 2020), are well-established and clearly identified by Pardee (2000) and Olmo Lete & Sanmartin (2003; see also Loretz 2001: chapter 2):

Ugaritic	Vocalisation	Translation
<i>ātṇ</i>	'atānu	donkey mare
<i>ḥmr</i>	ḥimāru	donkey
<i>kdn</i>		hybrid (mule/hinny)
<i>pḥl</i>	paḥlu	donkey stallion

Ugaritic	Vocalisation	Translation
<i>pḥlt</i>	paḥlutu	equid mare (horse or donkey)
<i>prd</i>	pardu	hybrid (mule)
ʾr	ʾēru	donkey
śśw	śūśawu	horse

ʾr is mainly known from texts involving the sacrifice of donkeys. Pardee considers it an old Amorite word. Compare also to *ḥāru(m)*, Note 12.

## 2. Qualifiers

A number of other terms are frequently found with and qualifying equids. Some of these, relevant to various chapters of this book, are listed here.

Age and sex	
<b>Female equids</b>	SAL, munus, eme <sub>3</sub> /eme <sub>5</sub> /eme <sub>6</sub> (donkey), <i>atānu</i> (donkey), AMA ('mother')
<b>Male equids</b>	NITA, dur <sub>3</sub> (donkey), sometimes ANŠE without further qualification (usually donkey)
<b>Suckling foals</b>	AMAR GA
<b>Young (up to 1 year)</b>	TUR, AMAR
<b>Young (1-3 years)</b>	MU [+ number]
<b>Adult</b>	GAL (lit. 'big')
<b>Mature, milk-producing</b>	mah <sub>2</sub>
<b>Old</b>	LIBIR, šu-gi <sub>4</sub>

### Working equids

A number of tablets include lists of equids that are qualified in various ways (e.g. P273338, P461397; Oppenheim & Hartman 1945: 172-5). Some qualifiers relate to the working roles of equids, while others concern equine behaviour. The qualifiers were used in other texts, but these lists conveniently bring together many of the variations.



ANŠE<sup>GIŠ</sup> : ‘Yoked/draft equid’

Possibly an abbreviation of ANŠE<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>APIN, but in any case seems to designate equids engaged in ploughing activities (Zarins 2014: 189). Zarins further believes it to designate mature animals (2014: 202, 209).

ANŠE<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>APIN / *epinnu* : ‘Plough equid’

Note that APIN can also be read as ‘engar’, i.e. ‘farmer’ or the person doing the plowing (Zarins 2014: 189).

ANŠE.BALA / *tēnû* : ‘Replacement donkey’

Salonen instead has ‘transport donkey’ (1956: 51).

ANŠE<sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR / *narkabtum* : ‘Chariot donkey’, ‘chariot equid’

The wheeled vehicle used need not be the ‘true’ light, two-wheeled chariot. In fact, since these equids sometimes come in teams of four, a <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR is surely not limited to the ‘true’ chariot. Based on texts from Mari, van Koppen considers these equids ‘a specific breed of equids fit for towing chariots, either by training, by breed, or a combination of both qualities’ (2002: 20).

ANŠE.GU<sub>2</sub> / *anše ša biltim* : ‘Pack donkey’

Found at e.g. Chagar Bazar and Mari (van Koppen 2002; Charpin et al. 1988).

ANŠE<sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA / *imēru kuššu* : ‘Saddle donkey’

<sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA lit. ‘(wooden) chair’; also <sup>GIŠ</sup>GU.ZA <sup>GIŠ</sup>GIGIR = ‘(wooden) chariot seat’.

## ANŠE.LA.GU : ‘riding equid’, ‘riding donkey’

This is so far only found in tablets from Mari and Chagar Bazar in the Old Babylonian period. Van Koppen identifies it as a logogram and equates it with the earlier ANŠE.LIBIR/dusu<sub>2</sub>. He suggests it should be read as *aqālum* (2002: 20). Since it appears as a qualifier of both donkeys (ANŠE) and hybrids (ANŠE-kunga<sub>2</sub>) in the second millennium, he understands it as an adjective, meaning ‘riding donkey/hybrid’, also sometimes used for carrying packs, but never as a draught animal (2002: 28; cf. ANŠE.NUN.NA, which is only used for pulling wheeled vehicles).

ANŠE<sup>(GIŠ)</sup>MAR / *ereqqum* : ‘Wagon donkey’, ‘wagon equid’

Equid used for pulling a wheeled vehicle. The type of vehicle is not clear, but Oppenheim & Hartman equate it with *eriqqum* (1945: 172), and Deimel translates it as ‘Lastwagensesel’ (1928: 45). The *eriqqum* found in the Old Assyrian tablets from Kanesh is a heavy vehicle best described as a wagon (Dercksen 1996: 64-7), used for transporting bulk goods and often pulled by cattle, although donkeys could also be used (see Chapter 4).

ANŠE *rākibi* (or *ra-ka-bi*) : ‘Riding donkey’.

At Ebla also IGI.NITA-u<sub>5</sub> (sometimes abbreviated to just u<sub>5</sub>), an equid distinguished from the simple IGI or IGI.NITA (domestic donkey, with the male designation), but its precise meaning is not clear (Conti 1997: 31-2).

ERIN<sub>2</sub>, BIR<sub>3</sub>, *šamādu*, *šimdātum*, *šimittum* : ‘team’ of equids (‘yoke’, ‘plough team’)

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