Mari (modern Tell Hariri) , was an ancient Semitic city in Syria . Its remains constitute a tell located 11 kilometers north @-@ west of Abu Kamal on the Euphrates river western bank , some 120 kilometers southeast of Deir ez @-@ Zor . It flourished as a trade center and hegemonic state between 2900 BC and 1759 BC . As a purposely built city , the existence of Mari was related to its position in the middle of the Euphrates trade routes ; this position made it an intermediary between Sumer in the south and the Levant in the west .

Mari was first abandoned in the middle of the 26th century BC but was rebuilt and became the capital of a hegemonic East @-@ Semitic state before 2500 BC . This second Mari engaged in a long war with its rival Ebla , and is known for its strong affinity with the Sumerian culture . It was destroyed in the 23rd century BC by the Akkadians who allowed the city to be rebuilt and appointed a military governor bearing the title of Shakkanakku (military governor) . The governors later became independent with the rapid disintegration of the Akkadian empire and rebuilt the city as a regional center in the middle Euphrates valley . The Shakkanakkus ruled Mari until the second half of the 19th century BC when the dynasty collapsed for unknown reasons . A short time after the Shakkanakku collapse , Mari became the capital of the Amorite Lim dynasty . The Amorite Mari was short lived as it was annexed by Babylonia in c . 1761 BC , but the city survived as a small settlement under the rule of the Babylonians and the Assyrians before being abandoned and forgotten during the Hellenistic period .

The Mariotes worshiped both Semitic and Sumerian deities and established their city as a center of old trade . However , although the pre @-@ Amorite periods were characterized by heavy Sumerian cultural influence , Mari was not a city of Sumerian immigrants but rather a Semitic speaking nation that used a dialect similar to Eblaite . The Amorites were West @-@ Semites who began to settle the area before the 21st century BC ; by the Lim dynasty 's era (c . 1830 BC) , they became the dominant population in the Fertile Crescent .

Mari 's discovery in 1933 provided an important insight into the geopolitical map of ancient Mesopotamia and Syria , due to the discovery of more than 25 @,@ 000 tablets that contained important information about the administration of state during the second millennium BC and the nature of diplomatic relations between the political entities in the region . They also revealed the wide trading networks of the 18th century BC , which connected areas as far as Afghanistan in Southern Asia and Crete in the Mediterranean region .

= = History = =

The name of the city can be traced to Mer , an ancient storm deity of northern Mesopotamia and Syria who was considered the patron deity of the city , Georges Dossin noted that the name of the city was spelled identically like the name of the storm god and concluded that Mari was named after him .

= = = The first kingdom = = =

Mari is not considered a small settlement that later grew , but rather a new city that was purposely founded during the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic period I c . 2900 BC , to control the waterways of the Euphrates trade routes that connect the Levant with the Sumerian south . The city was built about 1 to 2 kilometers away from the Euphrates river to protect it from floods , and was connected to the river by an artificial canal that was between 7 and 10 kilometers long depending on which old meander it used to be attached with , which is hard to identify today .

The city is difficult to excavate, as it is buried deep under the later layers of habitation. A defensive system against floods, composed of a circular embankment was unearthed, in addition to a circular 6 @.@ 7 m thick internal rampart to protect the city from enemies. An area of 300 meters long filled with gardens and craftsmen quarters, separated the outer embankment from the inner rampart which had a height of 8 to 10 meters, and was strengthened by defensive towers. Other findings

includes one of the city gates , a street beginning at the center and ending at the gate , in addition to residential houses . Mari had a central mound , however no temple or palaces have been unearthed , although a large building that seem to have been an administrative one was unearthed , this building had stone foundations and dimensions of (32 meters X 25 meters) , with rooms up to 12 meters long and 6 meters wide . The city was abandoned at the end of the Early Dynastic period II c . 2550 BC for unknown reasons .

= = = The second kingdom = = =

Around the beginning of the Early Dynastic period III (earlier than 2500 BC), Mari was rebuilt and populated again. The new city kept many of the first city exterior features, including the internal rampart and gate. Also kept, the outer circular embankment measuring 1 @.@ 9 km in diameter, which was topped by a wall that is two meters thick, suitable for the protection of archers.

However, the internal structure was completely changed, the city was carefully planned; first to be built were the streets that descends from the elevated center into the gates, assuring the drainage of rain water.

At the heart of the city , a royal palace was built which also served as a temple . Four successive architectural levels from the second kingdom 's palace have been unearthed (the oldest is designated P3 , while the latest is P0) , and the last two levels are dated to the Akkadian period . The first two levels were excavated , the findings includes a temple named Enceinte Sacrée , which was the largest in the city but it is unknown for whom it was dedicated . Also unearthed , a pillared throne room and a hall that have three double wood pillars leading to the temple .

Six more temples were discovered in the city, including the temple called the Massif Rouge (to whom it was dedicated is unknown), and temples dedicated for Ninni @-@ Zaza, Ishtarat, Ishtar, Ninhursag and Shamash. All the temples were located in the center of the city except for the Ishtar temple, the area between the Enceinte Sacrée and the Massif Rouge is considered the administrative center of the high priest.

The second kingdom appears to be a powerful and prosperous political center , kings held the title of Lugal , and many are attested in the city , but the most important source is the letter of king Enna @-@ Dagan c . 2350 BC , which was sent to Irkab @-@ Damu of Ebla , and in it , the Mariote king mentions his predecessors and their military achievements . However , the reading of this letter is still problematic and many interpretations have been presented by scholars .

= = = = Mari @-@ Ebla war = = = = =

The earliest attested king in the letter of Enna @-@ Dagan is Ansud , who is mentioned as attacking Ebla , the traditional rival of Mari with whom it had a long war , and conquering many of Ebla 's cities , including the land of Belan . The next king mentioned in the letter is Sa?umu , who conquered the lands of Ra 'ak and Nirum , but king Kun @-@ Damu of Ebla defeated Mari in the middle of the 25th century BC . The war continued with I?htup @-@ I?ar of Mari conquest of Emar , at a time of Eblaite weakness in the mid @-@ 24th century BC . King Igrish @-@ Halam of Ebla had to pay tribute to Iblul @-@ II of Mari , who is mentioned in the letter conquering many of Ebla 's cities and campaigning in the Burman region .

Enna @-@ Dagan also received tribute , and his reign fell entirely within the reign of Irkab @-@ Damu of Ebla , who managed to defeat Mari and end the tribute . Mari defeated Ebla 's ally Nagar in year seven of the Eblaite vizier Ibrium 's term , causing the blockage of trade routes between Ebla and southern Mesopotamia via upper Mesopotamia . The war reached a climax when the Eblaite vizier Ibbi @-@ Sipish made an alliance with Nagar and Kish to defeat Mari in a battle near Terqa . Ebla itself suffered its first destruction a few years after Terqa in c . 2300 BC , during the reign of the Mariote king Hidar .

According to Alfonso Archi , Hidar was succeeded by Isqi @-@ Mari whose royal seal was discovered and it depicts battle scenes , causing Archi to suggest that he was responsible for the destruction of Ebla while still a general . Just a decade after Ebla 's destruction (c . 2300 BC middle

chronology), Mari itself was destroyed and burned by Sargon of Akkad, Michael Astour give the date as c. 2265 BC (short chronology).

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= = = The third kingdom = = =
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Mari was deserted for two generations before being restored by the Akkadian king Manishtushu . A governor was appointed to govern the city who held the title "Shakkanakku" (military governor). Akkad kept direct control over the city, which is evident by Naram @-@ Sin of Akkad 's appointment of two of his daughters to priestly offices in the city.

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= = = = The Shakkanakku dynasty = = = =
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The first member of the Shakkanakku dynasty on the lists is Ididish who was appointed in c. 2266 BC , according to the lists , Ididish ruled for 60 years , and was succeeded by his son making the position hereditary .

The third Mari followed the second city in terms of general structure , phase P0 of the old royal palace was replaced by a new palace for the Shakkanakku . Another smaller palace was built in the eastern part of the city , and contained royal burials that date to the former periods . The ramparts were rebuilt and strengthened while the embankment was turned into a defensive wall that reached 10 meters in width . The former sacred inclosure was maintained , so was the temple of Ninhursag . However , the temples of Ninni @-@ Zaza and Ishtarat disappeared , while a new temple called the " temple of lions " (dedicated to Dagan) , was built by the Shakkanakku Ishtup @-@ Ilum and attached to it , was a rectangular terrace (ziggurat) that measured 40 x 20 meters for sacrifices .

Akkad disintegrated following Shar @-@ Kali @-@ Sharri 's reign , and Mari gained its independence , but the use of the Shakkanakku title continued during the following Third Dynasty of Ur period . A princess of Mari married the son of king Ur @-@ Nammu of Ur , and Mari was nominally under Ur hegemony . However , the vassalage did not impede the independence of Mari , and some Shakkanakkus used the royal title Lugal in their votive inscriptions , while using the title of Shakkanakku in their correspondence with the Ur 's court . The dynasty ended for unknown reasons not long before the establishment of the next dynasty , which took place in the second half of the 19th century BC .

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= = = = The Lim dynasty = = = =
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The second millennium BC in the Fertile Crescent was characterized by the expansion of the Amorites , which culminated with them dominating and ruling most of the region , including Mari which in c . 1830 BC , became the seat of the Amorite Lim dynasty under king Yaggid @-@ Lim . However , the Epigraphycal and archaeological evidences showed a high degree of continuity between the Shakkanakku and the Amorite eras .

Yaggid @-@ Lim was the ruler of Suprum before establishing himself in Mari , he entered an alliance with Ila @-@ kabkabu of Ekallatum , but the relations between the two monarchs changed to an open war . The conflict ended with Ila @-@ kabkabu capturing Yaggid @-@ Lim 's heir Yahdun @-@ Lim and according to a tablet found in Mari , Yaggid @-@ Lim who survived Ila @-@ kabkabu was killed by his servants . However , in c . 1820 BC Yahdun @-@ Lim was firmly in control as king of Mari .

Yahdun @-@ Lim started his reign by subduing seven of his rebelling tribal leaders , and rebuilding the walls of Mari and Terqa in addition to building a new fort which he named Dur @-@ Yahdun @-@ Lim . He then expanded west and claimed to have reached the Mediterranean , however he later had to face a rebellion by the Banu @-@ Yamina nomads who were centered at Tuttul , and the rebels were supported by Yamhad 's king Sumu @-@ Epuh , whose interests were threatened by the recently established alliance between Yahdun @-@ Lim and Eshnunna . Yahdun @-@ Lim defeated the Yamina but an open war with Yamhad was avoided , as the Mariote king became occupied by his rivalry with Shamshi @-@ Adad I of Assyria , the son of the late IIa @-@ kabkabu .

The war ended in a defeat for Mari , and Yahdun @-@ Lim was assassinated in c . 1798 BC by his possible son Sumu @-@ Yamam , who himself got assassinated two years after ascending the throne while Shamshi @-@ Adad advanced and annexed Mari .

= = = = The Assyrian era and the Lim restoration = = = =

Shamshi @-@ Adad appointed his son Yasmah @-@ Adad on the throne of Mari , the new king married Yahdun @-@ Lim 's daughter , while the rest of the Lim family took refuge in Yamhad , and the annexation was officially justified by what Shamshi @-@ Adad considered sinful acts on the side of the Lim family . To strengthen his position against his new enemy Yamhad , Shamshi @-@ Adad married Yasmah @-@ Adad to Betlum , the daughter of Ishi @-@ Adad of Qatna . However , Yasmah @-@ Adad neglected his bride causing a crisis with Qatna , and he proved to be an unable leader causing the rage of his father who died in c . 1776 BC , while the armies of Yarim @-@ Lim I of Yamhad were advancing in support of Zimri @-@ Lim , the heir of the Lim dynasty .

As Zimri @-@ Lim advanced, a leader of the Banu @-@ Simaal (Zimri @-@ Lim 's tribe) overthrew Yasmah @-@ Adad, opening the road for Zimri @-@ Lim who arrived a few months after Yasmah @-@ Adad 's escape, and married princess Shibtu the daughter of Yarim @-@ Lim I a short time after his enthronement in c . 1776 BC . Zimri @-@ Lim 's ascension to the throne with the help of Yarim @-@ Lim I affected Mari 's status, Zimri @-@ Lim referred to Yarim @-@ Lim as his father, and the Yamhadite king was able to order Mari as the mediator between Yamhad 's main deity Hadad and Zimri @-@ Lim, who declared himself a servant of Hadad .

Zimri @-@ Lim started his reign with a campaign against the Banu @-@ Yamina , he also established alliances with Eshnunna and Hammurabi of Babylon , and sent his armies to aid the Babylonians . The new king directed his expansion policy toward the north in the Upper Khabur region , which was named Izdamaraz , where he subjugated the local petty kingdoms in the region such as Urkesh , and Talhayum , forcing them into vassalage . The expansion was met by the resistance of Qarni @-@ Lim , the king of Andarig , whom Zimri @-@ Lim defeated , securing the Mariote control over the region in c . 1771 BC , and the kingdom prospered as a trading center and entered a period of relative peace . Zimri @-@ Lim 's greatest heritage was the renovation of the Royal Palace , which was expanded greatly to contain 275 rooms , exquisite artifacts such as The Goddess of the Vase statue , and a royal archive that contained 25000 tablets .

Mari 's alliance with Eshnunna contributed to its demise, as that city later became an enemy of Hammurabi. The relations with Babylon worsened with a dispute over the city of H?t that consumed much time in negotiations, during which a war against Elam involved both kingdoms in c. 1765 BC. Finally, the kingdom was invaded by Hammurabi who defeated Zimri @-@ Lim in battle in c. 1761 BC and ended the Lim dynasty, while Terqa became the capital of a rump state named the Kingdom of Hana.

= = = Later periods = = =

Mari survived the destruction and rebelled against Babylon in c . 1759 BC , causing Hammurabi to destroy the whole city . However , Mari was allowed to survive as a small village under Babylonian administration , an act that Hammurabi considered merciful . Later , Mari became part of Assyria and was listed among the territories conquered by the Assyrian king Tukulti @-@ Ninurta I (reigned 1243 ? 1207 BC) . Afterward , Mari constantly changed hands between Assyria and Babylon .

In the middle of the eleventh century BC , Mari became part of Hana whose king Tukulti @-@ Mer took the title king of Mari and rebelled against Assyria , causing the Assyrian king Ashur @-@ bel @-@ kala to attack the city . Mari came firmly under the authority of the Neo @-@ Assyrian Empire , and was assigned in the first half of the 8th century BC to a certain Nergal @-@ Erish to govern under the authority of king Adad @-@ Nirari III (reigned 810 @-@ 783 BC) . In c . 760 BC , Shamash @-@ Risha @-@ Usur , an autonomous governor ruling parts of the upper middle Euphrates under the nominal authority of Ashur @-@ dan III , styled himself the governor of the lands of Suhu and Mari , so did his son Ninurta @-@ Kudurri @-@ Usur . However , by that time ,

Mari was known to be located in the so @-@ called Land of Laqe, making it unlikely that the Usur family actually controlled it, and suggesting that the title was employed out of historical reasons. The city continued as a small settlement until the Hellenistic period before disappearing from records.

= = People , language and government = =

The founders of the first city may have been Sumerians or more probably East Semitic speaking people from Terqa in the north . I. J. Gelb relates Mari 's foundation with the Kish civilization , which was a cultural entity of East Semitic speaking populations , that stretched from the center of Mesopotamia to Ebla in the western Levant .

At its height, the second city was the home of about 40 @,@ 000 people. This population was East @-@ Semitic speaking one, and used a dialect much similar to the language of Ebla (the Eblaite language), while the Shakkanakku period had an East @-@ Semitic Akkadian speaking population. West Semitic names started to be attested in Mari since the second kingdom era, and by the middle Bronze @-@ Age, the west Semitic Amorite tribes became the majority of the pastoral groups in the middle Euphrates and Khabur valleys. Amorite names started to be observed in the city toward the end of the Shakkanakku period, even among the ruling dynasty members.

During the Lim era , the population became predominantly Amorite but also included Akkadian named people , and although the Amorite language became the dominant tongue , Akkadian remained the language of writing . The pastoral Amorites in Mari were called the Haneans , a term that indicate nomads in general , those Haneans were split into the Banu @-@ Yamina (sons of the right) and Banu @-@ Simaal (sons of the left) , with the ruling house belonging to the Banu @-@ Simaal branch . The kingdom was also a home to tribes of Suteans who lived in the district of Terqa

Mari was an absolute monarchy , with the king controlling every aspect of the administration , helped by the scribes who played the role of administrators . During the Lim era , Mari was divided into four provinces in addition to the capital , the provincial seats were located at Terqa , Saggaratum , Qattunan and Tuttul . Each province had its own bureaucracy , the government supplied the villagers with ploughs and agricultural equipments , in return for a share in the harvest .

= = = Kings of Mari = = =

The Sumerian King List (SKL) records a dynasty of six kings from Mari enjoying hegemony between the dynasty of Adab and the dynasty of Kish. The names of the Mariote kings were damaged on the early copies of the list, and those kings were correlated with historical kings that belonged to the second city. However, an undamaged copy of the list that date to the old Babylonian period was discovered in Shubat @-@ Enlil, and the names bears no resemblance to any of the historically attested monarchs of the second city, indicating that the compilers of the list had an older and probably a legendary dynasty in mind, that predate the second city.

The chronological order of the kings from the second kingdom era is highly uncertain; nevertheless, it is assumed that the letter of Enna @-@ Dagan lists them in a chronological order. Many of the kings were attested through their own votive objects discovered in the city, and the dates are highly speculative.

For the Shakkanakkus, the lists are incomplete and after Hanun @-@ Dagan who ruled at the end of the Ur era c . 2008 BC (c . 1920 BC Short chronology), they become full of lacunae . Roughly 13 more Shakkanakkus succeeded Hanun @-@ Dagan but only few are known, with the last known one reigning not too long before the reign of Yaggid @-@ Lim who founded the Lim dynasty in c . 1830 BC .

= = Culture and religion = =

The first and second kingdoms were heavily influenced by the Sumerian south. The society was

led by an urban oligarchy , and the citizens were well known for elaborate hair styles and dress . The calendar was based on a solar year divided into twelve months , and was the same calendar used in Ebla " the old Eblaite calendar " . Scribes wrote in Sumerian language and the art was indistinguishable from Sumerian art , so was the architectural style .

Mesopotamian influence continued to affect Mari 's culture during the Amorite period , which is evident in the Babylonian scribal style used in the city . However , it was less influential than the former periods and a distinct Syrian style prevailed , which is noticeable in the seals of kings , which reflect a clear Syrian origin . The society was a tribal one , it consisted mostly of farmers and nomads (Haneans) , and in contrast to Mesopotamia , the temple had a minor role in everyday life as the power was mostly invested in the palace . Women enjoyed a relative equality to men , queen Shibtu ruled in her husband 's name while he was away , and had an extensive administrative role and authority over her husband 's highest officials .

The Pantheon included both Sumerian and Semitic deities , and throughout most of its history , Dagan was Mari 's head of the Pantheon , while Mer was the patron deity . Other deities included the Semitic deities ; Ishtar the goddess of fertility , Athtar , and Shamash , the Sun god who was regarded among the city most important deities , and believed to be all @-@ knowing and all @-@ seeing . Sumerian deities included Ninhursag , Dumuzi , Enki , Anu , and Enlil . Prophecy had an important role for the society , temples included prophets , who gave council to the king and participated in the religious festivals . Ornina , the singer of Ishtar temple , was one of the oldest multi @-@ talented women who has a prominent statue depicting her playing music during the reign of Iblul @-@ II .

= = Economy = =

The first Mari provided the oldest wheels workshop to be discovered in Syria, and was a center of bronze metallurgy. The city also contained districts devoted to smelting, dyeing and pottery manufacturing, charcoal was brought by river boats from the upper Khabur and Euphrates area.

The second kingdom 's economy was based on both agriculture and trade . The economy was centralized and directed through a communal organization , where grains were stored in communal granaries , and distributed amongst the population according to social statues . The organization also controlled the animal herds in the kingdom . Some people were directly connected to the palace instead of the communal organization , those included the metal and textile producers and the military officials . Ebla was Mari 's most important trading partner and rival , Mari 's position made it an important trading center as it controlled the road linking between the Levant and Mesopotamia .

The Amorite Mari maintained the older aspects of the economy , which was still largely based on irrigated agriculture along the Euphrates valley . The city kept its trading role and was a center for merchants from Babylonia and other kingdoms , it received goods from the south and east through riverboats and distributed them north , north west and west . The main merchandises handled by Mari were metals and tin imported from the Iranian Plateau and then exported west as far as Crete . Other goods included copper from Cyprus , silver from Anatolia , woods from Lebanon , gold from Egypt , olive oil , wine , and textiles in addition to precious stones from modern Afghanistan .

= = Excavations and archive = =

Mari was discovered in 1933, on the eastern flank of Syria, near the Iraqi border. A Bedouin tribe was digging through a mound called Tell Hariri for a gravestone that would be used for a recently deceased tribesman, when they came across a headless statue. After the news reached the French authorities currently in control of Syria, the report was investigated, and digging on the site was started on December 14, 1933 by archaeologists from the Louvre in Paris. Discoveries came quickly, with the temple of Ishtar being discovered in the next month. Mari was classified by the archaeologists as the "most westerly outpost of Sumerian culture".

Since the beginning of excavations, over 25 @,@ 000 clay tablets in Akkadian language written in

cuneiform were discovered . Finds from the excavation are on display in the Louvre , the National Museum of Aleppo , the National Museum of Damascus , and the Deir ez @-@ Zor Museum . In the latter , the southern façade of the Court of the Palms room from Zimri @-@ Lim 's palace has been reconstructed , including the wall paintings .

Mari has been excavated in annual campaigns between 1933 @-@ 1939, 1951 @-@ 1956, and since 1960, and the first 21 seasons up to 1975 were led by André Parrot, followed by Jean @-@ Claude Margueron (until 2004), and Pascal Butterlin (starting in 2005). A journal devoted to the site since 1982, is Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires. Archaeologists have tried to determine how many layers the site descends, according to French archaeologist André Parrot, "each time a vertical probe was commenced in order to trace the site 's history down to virgin soil, such important discoveries were made that horizontal digging had to be resumed."

= = = Mari tablets = = =

The tablets were written in Akkadian , and they give informations about the kingdom , its customs , and the names of people who lived during that time . More than 3000 are letters , the remainder includes administrative , economic , and judicial texts . The tablets , according to André Parrot , "brought about a complete revision of the historical dating of the ancient Near East and provided more than 500 new place names , enough to redraw or even draw up the geographical map of the ancient world . " Almost all the tablets found were dated to the last 50 years of Mari 's independence (c . 1800 ? 1750 BC) , and most have now been published . The language of the texts is official Akkadian but proper names and hints in syntax show that the common language of Mari 's inhabitants was Northwest Semitic .

= = Current situation = =

As a result of the Syrian Civil War, excavations stopped, and the site came under the control of armed gangs, and witnessed a large scale looting. An official report revealed that the robbers are focusing on the royal palace, the public baths, the temple of Ishtar and the temple of Dagan.